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An edition of the Gutnish manuscripts of *Guta lag*

with

introduction, translation, commentary and glossary

edited by

Christine Ingegerd Peel

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

Degree of PhD

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Abstract

The following thesis is an edition incorporating the texts of two manuscripts of *Guta lag*, the law of the Gotlanders. The first is a fourteenth-century vellum manuscript held in Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm and designated *B 64*. The second is a sixteenth-century paper manuscript, based on a lost fifteenth-century manuscript, held in the Arnamagnaean manuscript collection at the University library in Copenhagen, Denmark. It is designated *AM 54 4°*. These are the only two independent manuscripts of the law in Gutnish, the medieval language of Gotland, two later Gutnish manuscripts being copies of *AM 54 4°*.

The Introduction contains a discussion of the following: historical background, preservation, nature and content, origins, date, place and circumstances of composition, previous editions and translations of the text. The principles and structure of the current edition are described.

The text of the manuscript is normalized and contains a number of emendations, which are detailed in endnotes, together with variant readings between the two manuscripts.

Following the text is an English translation.

The Commentary discusses the language and background of individual elements of the text, referred to by page and line number. The notes place the text in historical, legal and social context.

The Glossary lists at least one page and line number for each word in the text (all instances where there are fewer than five for a particular form). The majority of these are in normalized form, but are in unnormalized form for instances occurring only in the sixteenth-century manuscript, all under a normalized headword.

Included are reproductions of one page of each of the manuscripts, and a number of tables as Appendices.

The Bibliography gives the source of all references in the Introduction and Commentary, together with abbreviations used. An Index lists the proper names occurring in the text.
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INTRODUCTION

I Historical background

The first known literary reference to Gotland's belonging to Sweden is in the ninth-century description of Wulfstan's voyage (*Orosius*, 16, line 28), although Wessen (*SL IV*, 306) and others contradict this (see *GS*, xxxiii-xxxv). In particular, Rydberg (*STFM I*, 40) argues that Gotland was independent of Sweden in the tenth century. Later runic inscriptions, notably the Torsätra stone in Uppland (U 614) from the second half of the eleventh century, indicate that there was conflict between Gotland and mainland Sweden during that period, and tribute was collected from the islanders. By the twelfth century Gotland was certainly subject to Sweden in some respects. A document in Latin from the time of Pope Callixtus II, which lists bishoprics in a number of countries, including those of Scandinavia, is held in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. This is dated to circa 1120 and forms part of the Ashburnham collection, where it is catalogued as *Codex (Laurenzianus) Ashburnham 1554*. The library acquired the collection in question in 1878 on the death of Lord Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham. The text of the document, commonly called *Florensdokument* in Swedish, was published first by Delisle (1886, 70-75). As well as enumerating the Swedish bishoprics, it lists *Guthlandia* as one of the *insulae* of Sweden. Although the usual sense of *insula* is 'island', the list includes other, non-insular districts. Since, however, the document contains a number of obvious errors, its reliability on the matter of Gotland's relationship to Sweden must also be questionable (cf. Delisle 1886, 75; Fabre and Duchesne 1910, Introduction 41-43; Tunberg 1913, 28; *DS* Appendix 1, 3, no. 4; *GV*, 449-451).

A lost document from the reign of Emperor Lothar (1125-1137) apparently gave Gotlanders statutes of rights and freedom, but the oldest preserved such document is
the Declaration of Artlenburg (Artlenburgprivilegiet or Artlenburgfördraget in Swedish), drawn up in 1161 (or possibly 1163) by Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. This document, in Latin, contains various reciprocal provisions relating to trade, inheritance, personal protection, and fines for violations against the person, but none of these is mentioned in GL. The oldest extant copy is dated 1225, the year in which Mariakyrkan in Visby was consecrated. It was originally kept in that church but is now preserved in the town archives of Lübeck. The document is edited in STFM I, 78-79, no. 42 (cf. Yrwing 1940, 109-137; 1978, 109-116; SL IV, lxxxi; KL s. v. Handelsfred; GV, 455-459).

Although Gotland does not figure in the corpus of West Norse literature to any great extent, it is mentioned a number of times in connection with St Olaf. Snorri in Chapter 77 of Ólafs saga helga links it with Öland under the bishopric of Östergötland (cf. İF XXVII, 109). Accounts of visits by St Olaf to Gotland are to some extent contradictory, but it seems certain that he visited the island on at least two occasions and possibly three (cf. İF XXVII, Chapters 7 and 192; GS, xxxvi-xxxxviii). The purpose of Olaf's first visit in 1007 or 1008, when he was twelve, was to extract tribute, but later visits seem to have been incidental to his voyage to and/or from Russia in 1029 and 1030. One of these later visits may have resulted in the introduction of Christianity to Gotland, or at least to the baptism of individual Gotlanders, but it is questionable whether a general conversion of the whole of the population resulted. Gotland took St Olaf as its patron saint, but this may have been influenced more by colourful legend than by an historical event. Church building in Gotland seems to have been initially the result of private initiative (see 61/22-62/7). It cannot have started later than about the middle of the twelfth century, since by that time Gotland was evidently incorporated into the See of Linköping. The Cistercian
monastery of Beata Maria de Gutnalia was founded at Roma in 1164, a daughter house to that of Nydala in Småland, which implies that Christianity was firmly established in Gotland by that date and that there were already close links with Sweden (cf. Pernler 1977, 57, 61-62, 65).

In 1195, at the instigation of Bishop Meinhard of Livonia, Gotlanders apparently took part in a crusade in Livonia, which embraced what is now southern Estonia and northern Latvia (cf. Yrwing 1940, 59; 1978, 123; Christiansen 1997, 81, 114). It appears that shortly after this, or at the beginning of the thirteenth century, commitment to an annual levy (laipingr) for the Baltic crusades was established in Gotland, although Rydberg (STFM I, 71) dates this arrangement to circa 1150 (cf. Yrwing 1940, 58-59; 1978, 21-22). The Gotlanders agreed to supply seven manned warships for these crusades, or, alternatively, pay forty marks in coin for each ship not provided. One ship was to be funded by each sixth district and the seventh, it is assumed, by the inhabitants of Visby (both Gotlanders and Germans). The option of a payment in money rather than men was presumably offered in deference to the importance of trade between Gotland and her Baltic neighbours (see Yrwing 1978, 21). Details of these arrangements appear in Guta saga, although there is no record of when they were put in place (see GS, 12-14 and notes). There are further records of Gotlanders actually refusing to take part in crusades, such as those in 1199 to Livonia and in 1226 to the Baltic island of Ösel, presumably because they were unwilling to jeopardize their trading relationships with these countries (cf. Björkander 1898, 27-28; Yrwing 1963, 94; Pernler 1977, 62, 108; Yrwing 1978, 124; 1991, 164).

Although Gotland was attached to the See of Linköping in Östergötland, it was Archbishop Andreas Suneson of Lund, a Danish province at that time, who appears to have taken most interest in the island. He visited Gotland in 1207, a circumstance that
has led to the supposition that it was he who initiated the writing of the first manuscript of *GL*. A letter from Pope Innocent III dated 1213 (*DS* I, 178, no. 152) concerns the abbot of Gotland and rural deans of the northern and southern districts (*Northlánda* and *Suthërlánda*), linking them to the diocese of Lund. Pernler (1977, 153-154) argues that Lund is in this document most probably an error for Linköping, but as the Archbishop of Lund was primate of Sweden at that time, above the Archbishop of Uppsala, an error here might be understandable. Eight years later, in 1221, Archbishop Suneson, together with Bishops Karl and Bengt of Linköping, wrote a letter (*DS* I, 690, no. 832) setting out the arrangements relating to visitations by the bishop to Gotland. The contents of this letter may be compared with information given by *Guta saga* on the same topic (see *GS*, 10-12 and notes).

During the thirteenth century, there was considerable correspondence from the papacy concerning the level and distribution of tithes payable in Gotland. In 1217 Pope Honorius III confirmed tithe laws previously arranged for Gotland between Archbishop Suneson and Bishop Karl of Linköping (*DS* I, 190, no. 168). No document containing the original agreement survives, but the laws apparently differed from those in other Swedish provinces, where the bishop normally received a third of the remaining tithe, after a third had been paid to the parish priest. The parish church and the poor each received the same proportion as the bishop. It seems that allocation of a portion of the tithe to the bishop was a later innovation, perhaps replacing *ad hoc* payments for individual services rendered (e.g. church consecrations). In Gotland no payment was made to the bishop while in Italy and elsewhere on the continent the bishop received a full quarter of the tithe, rather than two ninths. A three-way division of the tithe was English in origin and did not take account of the exhortation by the pope in 1080 to pay a four-way tithe. The Swedish system followed that adopted by
Spain, England, the Netherlands, Denmark and parts of Germany. GL’s is the only tithe law with no modification in favour of the bishop. That arrangements for Gotland occasioned certain dissatisfaction in Linköping is suggested by a letter from Pope Gregory IX in 1230 (DS I, 257-258, no. 256) confirming them, against protests from Bishop Bengt. In 1253 Pope Innocent IV had to issue the same edict to Bishop Lars (DS I, 366, no. 411). At the same time he issued statements of protection relating to the people and clergy of Gotland (DS I, 365-366, no. 410). He also confirmed the right of the priests to elect their own rural deans and the people to select their pastors (DS I, 366-367, nos 412 and 413). Whether Gotland succeeded in resisting later encroachments into the various elements of the tithe is doubtful and in all probability some of the tithe collected for parish churches was diverted to building the cathedral at Linköping. Since, however, there are no parish accounts covering the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this must remain a matter for conjecture (cf. SL IV, 247-248 note 14; Pernler 1977, 133-144).

So far as the secular, as opposed to the ecclesiastical history of Gotland is concerned, it is evident that trade, in particular in and out of Visby, was of strategic importance in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. A dramatic rise in Baltic transit trade in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries is possibly related to the decline in the importance of Birka. Activity by Gotlandic merchant farmers (farmannabönder) filling the resulting vacuum (cf. Yrwing 1978, 104-105, 138-140). The goods most traded were skins, but wax, iron and weapons were also significant. That Gotlanders had been trading in the Baltic and beyond during the Viking period is supported by finds of silver in almost every parish on the island and by finds in the Baltic countries of artefacts of Gotlandic design. The existence of a Gotlandic trading station in Novgorod and documentary evidence of trade with England in the form of customs
declarations and literary references also shows that trade flourished over a wide area before Visby emerged as a Hanseatic town (cf. *HansUB* I, 270, 283, 281, 322; Bugge 1899, 151-171; Bohman 1951, 35). In 1229 Pope Gregory IX wrote to the Bishop of Linköping, the Cistercian abbot of Gotland and the rural dean of Visby to ask them to prevent trade first with the Russians (*DS* I, 253-254, no. 250, 27/1/1229), who were harassing Finnish converts, and then with unconverted Finns (*DS* I, 255-256, no. 253, 16/2/1229). The first request in all probability referred to Gotlandic merchants and the latter did explicitly and was an attempt to enforce a previous interdict by Honorius III in 1221 (*DS* I, 220-221, no. 206, 13/1/1221). This is again evidence that the Gotlanders valued their Baltic trade and were reluctant to relinquish it in the cause of defending Christianity (see Pernler 1977, 196-197).

The building of Mariakyrkan in Visby started in the early thirteenth century and this ambitious project must reflect the success of the town itself. According to a letter dated 1225 from Bishop Bengt (*DS* I, 241, no. 231), which is the first written record of a German population in Visby, the church was to be consecrated as a parish church for both resident Germans and visiting merchants. Björkander (1898, 88-89 notes 2, 3, 4) considers that the church was built primarily for the new German visitors, but that it was not their only church. Yrwing (1940, 223-238; 1978, 114-115) argues that the reference is both to a permanent and a transient German population and that Germans had started to inhabit Visby from the twelfth century and had possibly had an earlier church on the same site.

From about the middle of the thirteenth century, tension began to rise between the merchant farmers of the countryside and the largely German inhabitants of Visby. This was initiated by the actions of Lübeck and Hamburg in 1252, when they declared themselves representatives of the merchants of the Holy Roman Empire and excluded
the Gotlandic merchants. Although the latter were granted safe conduct through Saxony in 1255, and their rights as expressed in the Declaration of Artlenburg (see p. 5) were reiterated, by 1280 the German inhabitants of Visby had made their own arrangements with Lübeck and later Riga to the exclusion of non-German merchants. Trade with England had also reduced considerably by 1255, with only one Gotlandic merchant mentioned in records of fur trading (cf. *HansUB* I, 475; Yrwing 1978, 28, 138). In 1282 the situation worsened and Frisians and Gotlanders were forbidden to trade in the North Sea. There was even an attempt to prevent the English trading in the Baltic.

By 1288, conflict between Visby and the rest of Gotland was inevitable and there was a bitter civil war. This resulted in a victory for the inhabitants of Visby, who then raised a wall around the town. Magnus Ladulås took advantage of the situation to punish the townspeople and force them to confess that they had broken their duty to the king in building the wall without permission. For this they paid a fine of 2,000 marks of silver with further sums at regular intervals, and agreed to allow the other Gotlanders to send messengers to the king. The viability of foreign trade by the merchant farmers of the countryside had, however, been destroyed. At the same time Magnus confirmed his sovereignty over Gotland, as well as new tax laws, which he had introduced in 1285, i.e. an annual levy tax to be paid whether the fleet was called out or not. The inhabitants of Visby retained their independence from the rest of Gotland, but at the expense of a humiliating surrender to the king of Sweden (cf. Yrwing 1978, 27-33). One advantage that they did gain was their own law in German, *Visby Stadslag* (*VStL*), which appears to have been set down in the early part of the fourteenth century. As a result, ordinary Gotlanders were slowly reduced to a
population of domestic freeholders and leaseholders, a situation that considerably worsened when King Valdemar Atterdag of Denmark invaded Gotland in July 1361.

The year previously Valdemar had retaken Skåne and Blekinge from Magnus Eriksson and, earlier in 1361, he had invaded Öland and captured the castle of Borgholm. On 27th July a well-equipped Danish force defeated an army of farmers, inflicting heavy losses. The citizens of Visby seem to have taken no part in the fighting and two days later Valdemar confirmed their ancient rights and privileges (DD III:6, 65-66, no. 69), simply replacing Sweden by Denmark in the agreements drawn up (cf. Yrwing 1978, 46-49). The situation in the remainder of Gotland is less clear, and on 26th July 1364 Albrekt of Mecklenburg, who had seized power from Magnus, appeared to be in a position to pledge Gotland to Count Henry of Holstein for 4,000 marks of silver, or at least to be able to promise to do so (STFM II, 337-343, no. 368). This promise was never fulfilled, however, and in 1389 Albrekt lost power in Sweden to Queen Margareta. In the period from 1395 to 1398, Albrekt had regained control of Visby, while the remainder of the island was in Danish hands under Sven Sture. The latter cooperated with the Vitalic Brotherhood, a band of pirates in the pay of members of the Mecklenburg family, who were at that time destabilizing the Baltic and in 1396 Albrekt's son Duke Erik took command of the Vitalsians and Sven Sture himself in Gotland. When Erik died of the plague in the following year, Sven Sture took over both the Vitalsians and, effectively, Gotland (see Yrwing 1978, 51-52).

The damage to Baltic trade that this piracy caused and advances made by Margareta in creating a Scandinavian superpower, led in 1398 to intervention by the Teutonic Order. They seized power in Gotland and took responsibility for both Visby and rest of the island from Duke Johan of Mecklenburg on behalf of Albrekt, confirming that
open trade was permitted in Visby and that taxes would not be imposed by the Order, or by anyone to whom the island was pledged (STFM II, 585-587, no. 424 (5/4/1398)). In the following year, Albrekt pledged the island to the Order in return for 30,000 gold nobles. Of these, 20,000 were to be waived in respect of the costs incurred by the Order in the rescue operation. This arrangement was clearly intended to prevent Queen Margareta from claiming Gotland from either party. In this it failed and finally, in 1407, Margareta agreed to pay the newly-appointed Grand Master 9,000 nobles in respect of the castle of Visborg, which the Order had started to build in Visby. In November the following year, the Grand Master confirmed that he had received the sum named and was content to hand both Gotland and the castle to Erik of Pommern, joint monarch of the Union with Margareta, on the sole condition that Visby retained its ancient rights and privileges. All outstanding claims by the Teutonic Order for the cost of rescuing, maintaining and defending Gotland (i.e. the 20,000 nobles mentioned above) had been abandoned, as the task had become an economic liability, which they were perhaps only too relieved to surrender (see Schück 1945, 199-205; Yrwing 1978, 53-54).

The power struggle over Gotland continued through the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries, but in 1526 it finally ceased to be a bone of contention in Scandinavia and became an unimportant Danish province for 119 years. More than two hundred years of conflict and uncertainty, during which Visby lost its place in the Hanseatic League as early as 1470, had completely obliterated Gotland’s importance in Scandinavian and Baltic trade (cf. Schück 1945, 205-220).
The text of *Guta lag*, the law of the Gotlanders, is preserved in eight manuscripts. Two of the medieval manuscripts, one vellum and one paper, are in Gutnish and it is these that are edited in the present thesis. The others consist of a vellum manuscript in a mixture of Middle High German and Middle Low German, two Danish paper manuscripts, a paper manuscript containing a number of later provisions in Danish and two eighteenth century paper manuscripts in Gutnish. All eight manuscript traditions are taken into consideration when attempting to construct a stemma.

There are four further manuscripts that contain only the historical appendix to the law, referred to as *Guta saga*. These are not considered in the present study, but are described in the introduction to *GS* (xii-xiv).

**A. Holm B 64**

This octavo (17.2 cm x 13.4 cm) manuscript, held in Kungliga Biblioteket (the Royal Library) in Stockholm, is the only medieval vellum manuscript of *GL* in the original Gutnish. It is also bound in vellum, with a number of blank paper leaves at the beginning and end. The text of *Guta lag* covers forty-two leaves, followed by eight leaves containing the text of *Guta saga* (cf. *GS*, x). Schlyter (*CIG*. i, iv) dates this manuscript, which he calls 'A', to about the middle of the fourteenth century. Wessén (*LG*. xxvi) and others support this dating. The manuscript was discovered in Gotland in circa 1680 and taken to Stockholm, where it was passed to the archive of antiquities by Professor Andreas Spole (†1699) and subsequently used by Johan Hadorph for his edition (1687). A copy of a dedication of this edition, dated 1st February 1690, to Gustaf von Osten Sacken and others, including all the inhabitants of Gotland, is held in Palmstiöldsa samlingena in University library in Uppsala (XIV, Tom. 50). In it Hadorph states that the manuscript (*B 64*) was 'några åhr sedan igen funnin uthi en
Kyrckia der på Landet ibland orenligheet, såsom en förkastat Ting’. Schlyter describes this dedication but has not seen any copy of Hadorph’s edition containing it. The chapter numbers in the table of contents, which is written in two columns, have been inserted by a later hand and the table of contents itself differs slightly from the content. The nature of the differences (e.g. the inclusion of references to slaves, missing from the text) suggests that the table reflects an earlier edition of the text. The language of three chapters (62, 63 and 65) and of Guta saga is later than that of the other chapters. Chapter 64 has been omitted from its proper place (according to the table of contents) and inserted between Chapters 63 and 65 (cf. GU, vii-x; GLGS, vii-xii; SL IV, lxv). The same scribe is responsible for the whole manuscript and it seems likely, as Wessen suggests, that most of these inconsistencies existed in his original. This manuscript is hereafter referred to as B 64 and its content as the A-text.

B. *AM 54 4°*

This paper manuscript, bound in vellum, is in Den arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling at the University library in Copenhagen and is designated ‘B’ by Schlyter (CIG, xii). According to a statement on folio 55r, it was copied by David Bilefeld in 1587 from a manuscript (no longer extant) dated 1470. *AM 54 4°* consists of fifty-seven numbered leaves. On folios 55v to 57v is a table of contents. A further leaf at the front is inscribed Anno Dei MDLXXXVII, and a separate leaf attached to the manuscript has a note by Árni Magnússon repeating the information on folio 55r. David Hansson Bilefeld was born in Denmark and received a German education. In 1568 he was a teacher in Rostock and a year later he came to Gotland as tutor to the sons of the Danish governor Jens Bilde. In 1571 he was appointed headmaster in Visby and at the date of the production of *AM 54 4°* was parish priest in Barlingbo in Gotland and rural dean (*proastr*) of the northern riding (*pripiungr*) of Gotland.
Bilefeld was appointed suffragan Bishop of Gotland in 1592 and died in 1596 (cf. Pipping 1901a, 72; Lemke 1868, 22-23). The text of Bilefeld’s manuscript differs from the A-text in that sections relating to the children of priests and to the sale of and theft by slaves missing from B 64 appear in AM 54 4°. The provisions concerned seem to be older than those in sections where the texts agree, and were thus likely to have been deliberately omitted from B 64 or its original (see GLGS, xviii; SL IV, lxvi). This circumstance supports an assumption that AM 54 4°, and hence the manuscript of 1470, although of a later date than B 64, represents an earlier state of the law. The text of AM 54 4° is hereafter referred to as the B-text.

C. Holm B 65

This is an octavo (17.2 cm x 13.4 cm) vellum manuscript from 1401, held in Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, and containing a medieval German translation of GL. It has no covers and consists of thirty-two leaves, the first twenty-eight of which are numbered and contain the text of the law and the beginning of a German translation of Guta saga, written in two columns. The last four leaves contain the remainder of Guta saga. Two leaves have been excised from the start of the manuscript and six vellum leaves have been cut away from the end (see LG, xiv-xv). One can still discern, on the stumps of the latter, the same handwriting as that of the law text. Following these are attached thirteen paper leaves, the first nine and last two of which contain two sets of Danish statutes, written in a mid-sixteenth-century hand. One set is dated Christmas Eve (helig afton) 1492 and the other 1537. The first is complete, but only the first two and a half chapters of the latter are included. According to information in the manuscript itself (folio 28v), the German translation was prepared under instructions from Johann Techewicz, who was captain (hauptman) of the Teutonic Order in Gotland and supervisor of the fisheries of Putzig in Prussia. The significance of the
Teutonic Order in the history of Gotland has been touched on earlier (see pp. 11-12).

The translation itself was executed by Sunye (known only by his given name), recorded in June 1402 as superintendent at St George’s Hospital, Visby (SD I, 143, no. 195). The scribe was Peter Warthenberg von Costanz, who completed work on Palm Sunday 1401. Sun(y)e is named in May 1412 as one of the envoys collecting taxes from the Gotlanders on behalf of Erik of Pommern in 1401 (SD II, 508-509, no. 1572). Pipping (GLGS, xx) draws attention to errors in both Schildener’s and Schlyter’s reading of the name Sunye. (Svüve and Svure respectively) and refers to Lindström’s comments on this (cf. G-L, 88; CIG, 162; Lindström 1895, II 27, 425).

Sunye has also been identified with Sune or Suno, later (c. 1412) rural dean of the northern riding of Gotland (see Pernler 1977, 167). Schlyter (CIG, xiv) considers that it is in a mixture of Middle High German and Middle Low German, such as was probably spoken by the German residents of Visby. This has been challenged by Ekelund (1906, 9), referring to Lindström (1895, II 460-479, 508-531). Ekelund maintains on linguistic grounds that the translator was not a Low German speaker but that he must have learned German as a foreign language. He further holds (1906, 32-34) that, because of errors that he makes in the translation, Sune could not have been a Gotlander and concludes, again on linguistic grounds, that he was a Swedish priest.

The translation contains the chapters concerning the sale of and theft by slaves, but not the other extra provisions in AM 54 4°, nor the three additional (latest) chapters in B 64. The last thirteen chapters are in a different sequence with respect to both B 64 and AM 54 4°. The translation in B 65 is designated tylGL by Wessén (SL IV, lxvi).

The manuscript Holm B 65 is hereafter referred to as B 65 and its content as tylGL.
This mid-sixteenth-century paper manuscript, containing a Danish translation of *GL*, is held in Den arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling at the University library, Copenhagen. It consists of sixty-five numbered leaves and an unnumbered title leaf. It is bound in a paper cover, inscribed *Den gamle Gullands Low*. On the title page, as well as the words *Gullans Lov*, is the name of the owner: Claudius Christophori F. Lyschander and '† 1623'. Lyschander was born in the rectory at Vrams in Skåne and became a parish priest and rural dean as well as royal histographer. The manuscript later belonged to Fredrik Rostgaard († 1745) as recorded in a printed catalogue of his collection of books, with the note: Claud. Lyschandri fuit. The first two leaves contain a table of contents, which does not wholly agree with the text itself and is written in a different hand. Folios 3-59 contain the text of the law. Folio 60v contains some notes on coinage in the same hand and folios 61-65 contain an outline, in a later hand, of an alphabetical index, which has not been completed. The eighty-three chapters were not numbered by the original scribe, but Chapters 1-3 and 5-21 have been numbered in the same hand as that of the table of contents. Wessén, who designates the text in the manuscript *daGL*, thinks that the translation might have been made in connection with a declaration by King Hans I in 1492, confirming the validity of 'then gamble Gudlandtz lough'. supplemented by certain other provisions contained in manuscript *Holm C 81 4°* described below (see *SL* IV. lxvii, lxxxvii). According to Schlyter (*CIG*, xvii), however, the manuscript was probably written out by the translator himself, which would place it approximately fifty years later in date. Both Schlyter and Wessén consider it to be a poor translation, full of obvious inconsistencies and misunderstandings of the original Gutnish, although they give no specific examples (cf. *CIG*, xviii; *SL* IV. lxvii). Three chapters present in the medieval Gutnish
manuscripts are missing from this translation; it contains, however, seven chapters that do not appear in the other texts and three that differ in content from similar provisions elsewhere in the text. The last thirteen chapters are in a different sequence from the last fourteen of the three preceding manuscripts and the chapter on taxes is omitted. The provision concerning the sale of slaves is present, but not that concerning theft by slaves. AM 55 4° therefore evidently follows a tradition independent of the three manuscripts previously described, and is of value in respect of the provisions not found elsewhere, since it in all probability throws light on a lost Gotlandic original.

E. Holm C 81 4°

This paper manuscript from the late sixteenth century, consisting of twenty-one leaves, bound but without covers, is held in Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm. It contains in complete form the two sets of Danish statutes, which are to be found in truncated form in B 65. The statutes are divided into thirty-two and seventeen headed sections respectively. On one of two blank leaves at the beginning a later hand refers to the first set of statutes as that laid down by King Hans I in 1492. The second set of statutes was, according to its rubric, drawn up in 1537 by King Christian III Frederiksson.

F. GKS 3363 4°

This paper manuscript is held in Den gamle kongelige samling (GKS) of Det kongelige Bibliotek (the Royal Library) in Copenhagen. It is bound in vellum and consists of 123 pages with supplementary notes inserted at the end of the manuscript. It has two title pages, one inscribed Lex Gothlandica 1470 scripta and the other Exaratum Anno MDLXXXVII. The last six folios are blank. In the catalogue details, confirmed in private communication (23/1/2004) by Palle Ringsted of the manuscript
department of the library, it states: 'Lex Gothlandica, ad exemplar 1470 exerat, manu
O. Sperlingii jun. 1687'. This date is presumably the date assigned to the manuscript.
It is an imperfect, although largely careful copy made by Otto Sperling (†1715), a
professor in Copenhagen, and was intended to consist of the Gutnish text with a Latin
translation on facing pages. Only the first two and a half chapters and the chapter
headings have been translated, however. The copy is followed, as stated, by some
leaves containing notes relating to page 30 of the text, in the same hand. These notes
refer to Chapter XVI *Aff wereldi manna.* Since it names the years 1470 and 1587 on
the title page, the Gutnish would appear to be a copy of Bilefeld’s manuscript, *AM 54
4°*, as stated by Schlyter (*CIG*, xix), and thus does not represent an independent
tradition. This manuscript is omitted from Gigas’s catalogue (1903-1915) of
Scandinavian manuscripts in Det kongelige Bibliotek.

=G Kall 650 4°=

This unbound paper manuscript is held in Kalls samling of Det kongelige Bibliotek,
Copenhagen. The collection was the property of Professor Abraham Kall (†1821) and
was inherited by Det kongelige Bibliotek in 1821. The manuscript consists of eighty-
seven leaves and the Gutnish (on the verso pages) is an exact copy, apart from a
number of misreadings, of *GKS 3363 4°* and hence ultimately of Bilefeld’s
manuscript. *Kall 650 4°* was executed at almost the same time as *GKS 3363 4°* (i.e.
late seventeenth or early eighteenth century) and like the latter, is written on alternate
pages, although only the titles of the chapters appear in Latin, on 2 recto to 80 recto.
The last seven leaves, not referred to in the catalogue information supplied by Palle
Ringsted (23/1/2004), are presumably also blank. This manuscript is not listed in
Gigas’s catalogue (1903-1915).
H *Holm* B 68 4°

This paper manuscript, also bound in paper, and held in Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, is a Danish translation of *GL* from the beginning of the seventeenth century and is a copy of *AM 55 4°*. It consists of forty-two leaves with numbered pages (1-84), a separate leaf with a title page and two leaves with a table of contents in the same hand as the main text. Schlyter (*CIG*, xix) considers the scribe to be Swedish on the grounds of his handwriting and orthography. He describes the copy as relatively accurate, although it does exhibit certain errors (which he does not list). There are a number of spaces left in the manuscript, presumably for later insertions that were never completed.

From an analysis of the preserved manuscripts of *GL* described above a tentative stemma may be proposed. Following Wessén’s suggestions (*SL* IV, lxiv-lxviii), it seems likely that the surviving complete manuscripts that are not obviously copies (A-D above) represent four different traditions, here designated w, x, y and z. Of these, w and x are assumed both to be derived from a common source v. Two arguments for this are: (1) the presence of some errors common to *B 64* and *AM 54 4°*, such as those noted in endnotes 600, 619 and 647, and (2) the identical sequence of the fourteen later chapters, which is not the case in the other two traditions. Pipping points out (*GLGS*, xviii note 1) that Bilefeld could have had *B 64* to hand when he made his copy and been influenced by it. He certainly had access to the latter, since he has made annotations in it, e.g. the number 27 in the margin on folio 22r, which is in his handwriting (see Pipping 1904, 16-18). Pipping observes, however, that Bilefeld appears to have had a third manuscript (which Pipping calls X) to hand when making his copy of the one dated 1470 (see *GLGS*, xvii-xviii). Pipping reaches this conclusion in his edition of *AM 54 4°*, where he considers various marginal notes that Bilefeld
made in his manuscript and points out their differences in orthography from the main text (and hence presumably from the manuscript of 1470) and from B 64 (see Pipping 1901a, 73-81). In addition, the number '27' written by Bilefeld on folio 22r of B 64, alongside Chapter 20, does not refer to the equivalent chapter in AM 54 4°, which is 26, and so, argues Pipping, must refer to the equivalent chapter in X. Since Pipping's X has not survived, there is little that can be conjectured concerning its content or age, and it has been excluded from the stemma.

If it is assumed that the original manuscript of GL dated from circa 1220, there must have been a later manuscript, u, that contained the provision, designated *A1 on the stemma on p. 24, relating to inheritance by daughters of non-Gotlandic (i.e. Swedish) men and which is present in all the extant manuscripts (e.g. at the end of Chapter 24 in B 64 and in Chapter 36 in AM 54 4°). Manuscript u can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century at the earliest, since the inheritance law could not have been included prior to 1260, when Birger Jarl introduced it into Swedish law (cf. Pipping 1926, 247-250).

The miscellaneous provisions (designated *A2 on the following stemma) contained in Chapters 48-61 of B 64, which Wesson also considers to be later than the main corpus, must have been added after the writing of u, and independently in each of the traditions v, y and z (as indicated) since these fourteen chapters are in different sequences in three of the four complete manuscripts, but in the same sequence in B 64 and AM 54 4°. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Danish statutes, which are present in B 65 and Holm C 81 4° clearly represent a separate tradition, outside that of the main text. They are not included in the stemma on p. 24.

The w tradition represents an early version of the law, deriving from v, which retained the specific provisions relating to slaves and the children of priests. At some
point various additions to existing provisions concerning hair pulling, toasts at weddings, and inheritance by women were absorbed into the text (designated *\(A_3\) on the following stemma). A copy of this version, dated 1470, was used by Bilefeld in writing \(AM 54\) 4°, the \(B\)-text, and this in turn was copied by several later scribes (e.g. as \(GKS 3363\) 4° and \(Kall 650\) 4°).

The \(x\) tradition derives similarly from \(v\) but omits the provisions concerning the children of priests and the sale of and theft by slaves, presumably when clerical celibacy was enforced, and slavery became less common because of economic, rather than moral, circumstances. Lis Jacobsen (\(GGD\), 6) infers from this that \(x\) represents a later stage of the law than \(w\), \(y\) or \(z\). The first manuscript with these omissions, shown by a broken line from \(v\), Pipping assumes was made circa 1300, i.e. shortly before \(B 64\) was written. Since the table of contents in the latter refers to the provision relating to the sale of slaves not contained in the text, it seems that \(B 64\) was written at a time of transition in the law. At some point, represented by \(x\), the heterogeneous additions (*\(A_3\)) made to the \(w\) tradition were included, but not absorbed into the body of the text as they were in the \(w\) tradition, appearing instead in Chapters 62, 63 and 65. Whether this happened before or after the omissions in question were made is not possible to determine, since no change was made to the table of contents to incorporate them. \(Guta saga\) (*\(GS\)), which was not part of the \(w\) tradition, was also appended at or around this stage. The \(x\) tradition is represented only by \(B 64\), the \(A\)-text.

The \(y\) tradition, represented by \(B 65\) (\(tyGL\)), contains some of the older provisions, namely those concerning the sale of and theft by slaves, but not the additions (*\(A_3\)) found in the \(w\) and \(x\) traditions. On this basis, Jacobsen considers that the German translation represents the oldest preserved content. At some point, however, say \(y\), the text of \(Guta saga\) was translated and incorporated into \(B 65\).
Finally, the z tradition, which is represented by AM 55 4° and its copy B 68 4° (daGL), omits some of the provisions that might be regarded as original, shown by a broken line from u. Some, but not all, of the provisions assumed to have been later additions are included (shown by the dotted line leading from *A₃) as are others that have no equivalents elsewhere (designated *A₄ and forming Chapters 13, 52, 54, 55 and 57-59 of the named manuscripts).

As a supplement to the following stemma, Appendix A contains a table showing the differences in content and sequence of chapters in the four principal manuscripts (1-4 above) and thus the four manuscript traditions.
III Nature and content

A The nature of Guta lag

There are three differing opinions concerning the nature of manuscripts of GL. Richard Steffen (1943, 40) contends that GL is the work of a priest, partly theoretical in nature and reflecting an ideal rather than an achieved legal framework. In support of this view Bengt Söderberg (1956, 13) points out that a wergild of twenty-four marks of silver must have been equivalent to a large farm complete with its contents and movables. Since only wealthy landowning families could have considered paying such a fine, it might be assumed that for others the price must have been their life or liberty, a process that started when the killer fled to an area of asylum with his close family. Such an assumption, i.e. that the fines were unrealistic, changes the balance of the law as presented in the manuscripts. Instead of fines taking precedence over other forms of punishment, the old system of retaliation would seem still to hold good, in defiance of the new principle of reconciliation.

Karl Westman (1912b, 16-18) uses the terms rättsbok and lagbok in the context of Swedish provincial laws. He defines the former as a record of the law in force at a particular date, recorded from the words of law speakers as an aide mémoire. A suitable English translation of rättsbok might be ‘justice book’. Westman cites ÄVgL and ÖgL as examples of this type and contrasts these with a number of other provincial laws, particularly those from Svealand (UL, SdmL and HL), which he designates lagbocker. Westman defines these as systematic, normalized codes prepared by lawmakers from existing written records. These were presumably designed to incorporate the complete legal process. Lagbok would be usefully translated as ‘statute book’. Hafström (1970, 25, 27) holds that all the law texts from Götaland were justice books and by implication includes GL in this category.
Westman does not classify \textit{GL}, or certain other provincial laws (e.g. \textit{DL}, \textit{Vml}, \textit{YVgL}), but Wessén (\textit{LG}, xix) places \textit{GL} in the second of Westman's categories, rather than the first and refers to the concluding words of the law:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Pa en nequarar atbyrpir kunnu \textding{192} par ver\textdialect{192} sum ai hittas hier, \textdialect{192} pa skulu \textdialect{192} slitas mip domera tali ok \textdialect{192} pair \textdialect{192} pet sueria et \textdialect{192} pet sein ret guta lag ok siban skrifas hier i.}
\end{quote}

On the basis of this provision he holds that \textit{GL} appears to be a formally accepted and applied text. He contrasts this with \textit{AVgL} and \textit{OgL}, which he agrees with Westman to be private records of the law at a particular date, written by men involved with legal matters as \textit{aides m\émoires}, i.e. justice books. On the other hand, Holmbäck (\textit{SL I}, xv-xvi; \textit{MELLNT}, xiv-xvi) considers that \textit{GL} as preserved represents a private record of the law that applied in the province at a specific time (i.e. a justice book rather than a statute book). He includes \textit{DL} in this category, but designates both \textit{Vml} and \textit{YVgL} as statute books, the result of 'omfattande bearbetning av den tidigare rätten'. Holmbäck (\textit{MELLNT}, xv note 4) leaves open the question of how many changes took place when the justice books were prepared from the recited law.

A glance at the table of contents of \textit{B 64} (taking into account the small differences between that and the text) reveals how unstructured \textit{GL} is. Matters of civil law are interspersed with matters of criminal law, and provisions covering related topics appear at various points in the content. From the fact that, in the main, the chapters in the text agree with the table of contents at the start of the manuscript, and that the new provisions at the end of \textit{B 64} are not included in that table, it seems likely that the sequence of provisions is original. The arrangement of the content in the manuscript gives the impression of a document that records, somewhat randomly, what someone remembered. Reading the body of the text gives a similar impression: there are
omissions, repetitions and slight inconsistencies such as one would expect if memory were the chief source of the information. These observations militate against Steffen’s suggestion that the text was written as an unrealised ideal, and it certainly does not have the characteristics of a theoretical work.

If one assumes that GL is to some degree practical rather than theoretical the opposing conclusions of Wessén and Holmbäck (i.e. that GL is either a statute book or a justice book) are equally worthy of serious consideration. Although GL as it is preserved has clearly undergone certain revisions, it does not seem to be a systematized set of statutes as Wessén contends. It is not organized into sections and chapters (Swedish balkar and flockar) in any logical manner and certainly could not be said to cover the whole legal process (cf. Amira 1882, 711). Some chapters are relatively lengthy and unstructured, covering a number of different provisions (e.g. those on wounding and inheritance) whilst others (especially those towards the end of the text) are extremely short, frequently containing only one provision. The law relating to property is split across several chapters, scattered throughout the text (see SL IV, lxxiv-lxxv). GL could therefore be described as a private, more or less selective, record of the law in force in Gotland at various times prior to the dates of the preserved manuscripts: in other words it is more nearly a justice book than a statute book.

B Legal system as reflected by Guta lag

A discussion of the legal system contained in GL might usefully start with what is not included, since that is what distinguishes it most markedly from the mainland Swedish provincial laws. The most obvious omission is a section relating to the pledge of royal involvement in local law (Swedish edsöreslag, see p. 46), and indeed there is no mention of the king at all in GL or in VStL. No fines are stated as payable
to the king, and although taxes are referred to in *Guta Saga* (*GLGS*, 64, 68), there is only an unspecific mention of them in *GL* (Chapter 53). There is no reference to Sweden, although it has been assumed by modern scholars that the non-Gotlandic people referred to were residents of Swedish origin. Reciprocal arrangements between Gotland and Sweden are mentioned in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 64) and the forty-mark wergild, which is payable for non-Gotlanders, appears to be an import from the mainland provincial laws. Wessén notes that this same level of fine appeared in the Declaration of Artlenburg (see pp. 4-5, 10 above) and considers that in this latter case it reflected the existing law in Gotland (see *SL IV*, lxxix-lxxxii).

Another omission from *GL* is any element of commercial or maritime law, despite the apparent importance of trade to Gotland; indeed Visby is named only once, and that in passing. Yrving (1978, 105) suggests that this omission is explained by the existence, at the time of writing of *GL*, of special laws covering these matters. and cites the provision relating to the redemption by a foreigner of a captive Gotlander as an indication that this was the case (see 86/20-22). Provisions relating to ships are included (Chapter 36) but these cover only the responsibilities of their owners to take due care to protect them from theft.

Although there are a number of provisions relating to the church (tithes, observance of the Sabbath, the duties of priests. etc.) there is no specific church law section covering the dedication. care and ringing of bells. forbidden degrees of kinship in marriage. trial by ordeal or bishop’s visitations and courts such as appear in other Swedish provincial laws and in *SkL*. The fact that arrangements for the bishop’s visitation are described in detail in *Guta saga*, however, supports Wessén’s contention (*LG*, xviii) that the latter is ‘ett naturligt komplement till lagen’ in that it includes relevant matter not present in *GL* itself.
A further example of *Guta saga* complementing *GL* may be noted. There is no reference in *GL* to the commission (*nämnd*), which forms an important element in mainland provincial laws. In *Guta saga*, however, an oath given by commissioners or nominees (*nemnda aipr*) is described in reference to the failure of the islanders to send troops to the levy (*laipngi*). Significantly it is stated in this context that the only such oath permitted is this particular oath to the king (cf. *SL IV*, lxxix; *GLGS*, 69).

*GL* contains very few descriptions of the legal process itself, how assemblies were organized, their frequency and constitution. One institution that seems to have been absent from Gotland, however, is that of lawspeaker (*lagman*). This office was also lacking in the Danish legal system, whose law texts are similarly less structured than those of mainland Sweden. Wessen (*SL IV*, lxxxvi) suggests that there might have been a college of judges (*domerar*) in Gotland determining the legislative programme. One may infer that there were three or more (*pings*)*domerar* in each sixth (see 74/22) and that a number of these were designated as *siettungsdomerar*. There also seem to have been a number of provincial judges (*lanzdomerar*), who had some legislative power. Such an arrangement is certainly implied by the second half of Chapter 61, the original conclusion of the law text. On the other hand, Söderberg (1956, 12) thinks that there was a speaker at the general assembly, i.e. the *lanzdomeri*, who was the highest authority. He may have been the highest judicial voice, but one cannot infer that he was the sole lawmaker. The only instance of the word *lanzdomeri* in *GL* (Chapter 19, 71/24) suggests that there was at least one of these officials for each sixth (*siettungr*), possibly chosen from amongst the (*pings*)*domerar* or *siettungsdomerar*. A similar phrase later in the same chapter (74/22) uses *domeri* alone, however, and Steffen (1943, 39 note 2) maintains that *lanzdomeri* referred only to the judge who presided over *land alt*, i.e. the general assembly.
In another contribution Steffen (1945, 229) suggests that a particular *lanzdomeri* might have been simultaneously a judge in lower levels of the judiciary. If the first manuscript of *GL* were written as a private document, the author might have had in mind a specific situation in which the provincial judge was a local sixth judge when he wrote the provision. Yrwing (1978, 80-81) states that all the judges attended the general assembly and that until about the middle of the fifteenth century the three rural deans also attended. It appears at least possible that the author of *GL* was misled by this arrangement into thinking that all the judges attending the general assembly were designated *lanzdomerar*. It is also possible that the cited use of this word is simply an error, but if so it is an error common to all four manuscript traditions of *GL*. It is worth noting that there is no specific reference in *GL* or other contemporary sources to *pripiungsdomerar*.

*GL* was a law designed for a closed, self-governing, farming community with a need to maintain estates at a viable size, despite the necessity of providing younger sons with a living and daughters with a dowry. Other classes were the lease-holding farmers who rented land, the landless, who were obliged to provide unpaid labour at harvest time, servants and slaves. Elsa Sjöholm (1976, 170-173) in her discussion of the date of origin of *GL* makes much of the importance of the Gotlandic aristocracy, but other scholars (e.g. Wessén in *SL* IV. lxxxiii) argue that there was, in effect, no aristocratic class in Gotland, and it is difficult to find evidence of such a class. Even the priests were answerable to the assembly of the people, and the power of parishioners in general seems to have been quite extensive.

As well as the native people, there was evidently a considerable foreign population (*ogutniskt fulk*) who were permitted to own land and who had their own rules of inheritance and their own levels of wergild. This population is considered by most
scholars to have been Swedish people from other provinces, since the laws that relate to them coincide with the provincial laws of mainland Sweden, rather than those of Germany (cf. GGD, 45 note 1; SL IV, lxxx). A similar expression, *vtlænsker maper*, is used in this sense in *AVgL* Md 5 §§4, 5. On the other hand, Sjöholm (1976, 167) seems to argue that the group referred to was the population of Visby, or at least the (mainly German) merchants who lived there while visiting Gotland. She admits, however, that the lower level of wergild applicable to this group contradicts earlier agreements relating to compensation for travelling merchants.

Although information is sparse, at least three levels of judicial assembly are recognized in *GL*. The highest level was the general assembly (*gutnalping*). This was thought, by tradition, to have been held at Roma, in central Gotland, although this is not mentioned in the Gutnish manuscripts of *GL*, and has now been called into question. It is possible, for instance, that the word *Rume* used in the German translation of *Guta saga* (*C1G*, 164) referred simply to an open space, possibly near Visby (see Steffen 1945. 246, 250; Söderberg 1956, 12). Steffen (1943, 37, 45-46) suggests that there might not have been a fixed site for the assembly, but that it was held at the farm of the presiding provincial judge. Yrwing (1978, 81 note 3), however, dismisses this as extremely unlikely in the early Middle Ages, although circumstances might have changed later (cf. Wildte 1926, 212, 215-216, 219-221; 1931, 181; 1933-1934, 171-172). The number of general assemblies held in the course of a year is not specified in *GL* but would seem to be more than one, since the ‘assembly next following the Feast of St Peter’ is specified in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 69). According to later laws, the frequency of assemblies varied between weekly and twice yearly province by province. *AVgL*, however, like *GL* gives no details (cf. Sjöberg 1969, 60, 81-82). By the end of the fifteenth century Visby was represented by burgomasters
at the same time that *GL* remained in force effectively until 1645, despite King Christian IV’s attempt to introduce *Skånelag (SkL)* to Gotland. This persistence, he infers, would hardly be likely if *GL* were a theoretical work by a cleric, with no practical application (see pp. 25-27 above). Ecclesiastical matters that were not resolved at the appropriate riding assembly were referred to the general assembly (see *GLGS*, 68). Although there are no contemporary records naming the sites at which the riding assemblies were held, Lindström (1895 II, 482-483) suggests that these were: at Tingstäde church for the northern riding, at Roma for the middle riding and at Suderting for the southern riding. Pernler (1977, 189) points out, however, that Suderting was actually in the middle riding. Suderting does not survive as a place-name, but it was situated in a property called Ajmunds (or Ejmunds), in the parish of Mästerby, southwest of Roma, and was an assembly site for the Hejde sixth (see Steffen 1945, 250-253).

Gotland was further divided into sixths (*siettungar*), which Lindström (1895 II, 480-483), Steffen (1943, 21. 22) and others consider to be pre-Christian in origin. The boundaries of these districts do not, however, exactly coincide with those of the ridings from which they were assumed to have been created (see Steffen 1945, 236). Sixths seem to have had some administrative significance in that a number of judges were allocated to each. These judges apparently had the authority to adjudicate in cases in which the fine did not exceed three marks, but there is no reference in *GL* to an assembly for a sixth, which weakens Steffen’s argument that such assemblies were part of the judicial structure at the time that *GL* was written. Yrwing’s suggestion (1940, 107) that by this time the function of the sixth assembly had been taken over by the lower, district assembly seems in part to be supported by provisions elsewhere in *GL* relating to three mark fines. He goes further, however, in a later article (1978,
to put forward the theory that sixths only became important as areas for taxation, and later the levy, under Swedish rule and did not have any judicial significance before Danish occupation. Pernler (1977, 188) supports Yrwing in this assessment, pointing out that the first mention of a sixth judge occurs in 1511. He interprets the phrase *ann lanzdomeri af sama siettungi* to mean that there were judges who represented each sixth at the general assembly, rather than assuming that there were assemblies for each sixth. The Danish sixth assemblies and their judges were abolished when Gotland was recovered by Sweden in 1645 (see Yrwing 1978, 86 note 6).

The third level of assembly that is mentioned specifically in *GL* relates to a further division of the sixths into local districts or hundreds. The word *hunderi* appears in five contexts, in Chapters 19, 28, 31, 32 and Addition 8, but is not recorded outside *GL*. The word *ping* alone is used elsewhere (see Yrwing 1978, 86-87). Tunberg has argued that the word *hunderi* may be an import from mainland Sweden (cf. Tunberg 1911, 138-139, 202-203; *SL* IV, lxxxiv-lxxxv). In *GL* it appears that each such district had a number of local officials, consistently called *rapmenn* (Chapters 19, 31, 32 and the *B*-text addition to 38). The origin of the use of this word is questioned by Steffen (1943, 41), who thinks that it reflects a failed attempt to introduce the *nämnd*, alongside a system of local judges. Since the latter are not mentioned in *GL*, this theory lacks sufficient support and it seems more probable that the term *rapmenn* was used deliberately to distinguish local officials from those appointed to the riding assemblies. At least three *rapmenn* were chosen for each *hunderi* and it seems likely that they acted as local magistrates (see Addition 8 and Chapter 31). The terminology is, however, ambiguous and *rapmenn* might have just assisted a single *domeri*, appointed for the *hunderispeng* (cf. Amira 1882, 21; *SL* IV, lxxxv-lxxxvi, 280-281
note 1). Although Hegel (1891, p. 302), noting various three-mark fines payable by the parish, considers that the hundred was an administrative authority in Gotland, this interpretation is challenged by Yrwing (1940, p. 104). While other laws (e.g. UL Rb 1) mention reæter pinxstaper in relation to the hundreds, there is no indication of such fixed assembly sites in GL.

It might be inferred from GL that the lowest administrative and judicial body was at parish level. This body appears to have been of considerable practical importance, although Steffen (1943, p. 41) considers that it was, rather, the lowest level of ecclesiastical court, below the riding court and the consistory court. Certainly many of the cases referred to the parish were ecclesiastical in nature, or at least related to crimes committed in or near the church, but some of the duties of the parishioners were of a secular character. Examples are: (1) witnessing the freeing of a slave after his period of service (Chapter 16, 70/12-13), (2) witnessing the statement of a woman relating to a child born as a result of an illicit liaison (Chapter 20, 78/19-21) and (3) valuing a debt for which surety has been given (Chapter 30, 87/18). Yrwing (1940, p. 93, 95-98, 107) suggests that as the number of parishes increased and their importance developed, the power exercised by the sixth assemblies was passed to the parishes. These latter then became the local assemblies (called simply ping, see p. 34), the manifestation of the so-called hundred assemblies (cf. SL IV, lxxxii-lxxxviii, xc-xcviii).

Magnus Eriksson’s national law for Sweden (MELL) was drawn up in the mid-fourteenth century to replace individual provincial laws prevailing in Sweden (outside the towns) with a single law. This replacement did not occur simultaneously in all parts of Sweden: HL, for example, was still in force in 1436. In Gotland circumstances were such that GL remained in force until 1645 when Sweden finally
recovered Gotland from Denmark. As noted above, in 1595 King Christian IV of
Denmark ordered that all his subjects in Gotland should follow the provincial law of
Skåne, but how far this was enforced is unclear and the attempt to replace GL seems
to have been a failure (see Westman 1912b, 21).

C System of fines and non-monetary punishments
The system of fines in GL is a complex one and in some sections seems to be
confusing and contradictory: Appendix C sets out the monetary system used and
Appendix D, table (ii) offers an analysis of fines imposed for different offences,
showing the variations depending on the perpetrator and the victim. Wennström
(1940, 74-95, 259-263) analyses the fines on the basis of the amount extracted.

Theft and adultery seem, to some extent, to have been regarded as more despicable
Crimes than killing, presumably because they were crimes that broke down trust in the
farming community. An isolated killing resulting from a fight between two adult
males, if admitted to and compensated for, could be forgiven or at least accepted. The
danger came when compensation was not paid and a blood feud could start. One
noteworthy aspect of the law relating to what might be called sexual harassment is
that the woman appears to have been assigned some responsibility for protecting
herself against unwanted advances, since fines for these reduced with the intimacy of
the advance. Such advances were clearly distinguished from straightforward indecent
assaults, which were (as would only seem right to modern eyes) punishable in relation
to the degree of exposure the woman suffered. This difference, so tersely described,
gives us, perhaps, an insight into the prevailing relationships between men and
women in thirteenth century Gotlandic society. There are no similar provisions in
other Swedish provincial laws, but one cannot infer from this that attitudes to women
were therefore different.
The levels of compensation extracted for various criminal acts can be used as an indicator of the relative value of the goods involved. Wennström (1931, 25-26) suggests that a cow was worth nine örtugar of silver (¼ mark) in thirteenth-century Halland. The definition of ‘full theft’, punishable by death or payment of wergild, in most other provincial laws is half a mark of silver (twelve örtugar), or alternatively a cow (see ÖgL Vb 32 pr, §1). In GL the limit for ‘full theft’ is one mark and if this were equivalent to two cows or more, the full wergild of twenty-four marks would most probably have been equal in value to the estate and moveables of a considerable farm. Only the very rich would have been able to afford to pay it; the remainder of the population might in most circumstances have had to forfeit their lives or liberty (see p. 25). There is, however, an indication that this extreme was not always the case. In Chapter 14 we have the following:

\[
\textit{Hittir mapr sakar at giera lerpr epa olerpr, pa byti engin frammar firi}
\]
\[
\textit{annan, pan hans kustr vindr at.}
\]

If a man, whether ordained or not, commits a crime, no one shall be fined more for another than his resources can cover.

This provision appears to refer specifically to cases in which someone has inherited an obligation to pay a fine for another’s crime, in particular the children of priests. Later in the same section there is an implication that the maximum that a person could be liable for was his or her personal share (hafublutr) of their inheritance. If these provisions applied more generally (and the rather disorganized nature of the preserved texts does not preclude such a possibility) then this throws a completely different light on the structure of compensation.

In comparison to some other Swedish provincial laws, there is little detail in GL concerning non-monetary punishments meted out to wrongdoers. Such punishments:
excommunication, prolonging slavery, outlawry, loss of inheritance, branding, mutilation, hanging, and other capital punishments were, however, inflicted in certain cases, particularly for theft, adultery and misuse of property. The circumstances in which they were applied are tabulated in Appendix D, table (i).

Where slaves had offended, they could not be expected to pay compensation themselves, and hence an alternative had to be found if the master were not to carry all the burden of restitution, as was usually the case. To extend the slave’s period of bondage, or to execute the slave were the most obvious options, although in the latter case his or her owner would again be the loser. Where a killing (other than infanticide) was involved, the slave himself was offered as part of the wergild. In cases of infanticide and Sabbath-breaking (considered to be ecclesiastical crimes), the period of slavery was extended, and for the rape of a Gotlandic woman the slave’s life was forfeit, unless she preferred to receive compensation.

So far as residents of Gotland other than slaves were concerned, excommunication was imposed for damage to monastic property and as an interim punishment for violence during church festivals, until compensation had been paid. If compensation for a killing (including infanticide) was not paid within the specified time, the killer was outlawed, but this penalty is not mentioned in any other context. Selling one’s farm illegally, led to loss of one’s inheritance and reduction in status to a non-Gotlander. If one laid waste to land worth three marks in rent, the punishment was even more severe: execution for a man and loss of her pew in church for his wife. Working in another man’s woodland led to confiscation of one’s tools, material and draught animal, which would have been a severe penalty.

Branding was the punishment for theft of an amount between two öre and one mark of silver. Theft of greater amounts (including land), or a second theft of a smaller
amount resulted in a shameful death by hanging. The only other crimes leading to physical punishment were adultery, abduction and rape. The provisions were complicated, ranging from loss of a hand or foot for discovered adultery with an illegitimate daughter of mixed Gotlandic and non-Gotlandic parentage, to execution for the rape of a married woman. In most cases the woman could choose wergild or other payment as an alternative. No information is given in GL concerning the form of execution imposed, but as the neck is mentioned in at least one situation, it was probably either death by hanging or beheading (see Notes to 79/14-16).

The complex provisions relating to killings, and the killer's circle of safety, seem to be unique to Gotland. They are described in detail in the Commentary to Chapter 13.

D Oaths

In parallel with the punishments there was a system of oaths to be taken or arranged by the parties in a dispute. This system is summarized in the table in Appendix E, which shows that the person or group to whom the oath was given and the number of supporting witnesses or oath-takers varied considerably with the crime or misdemeanour involved. Oaths were in many cases sworn rather in the nature of character witnesses, as is touched upon in the Note to 60/16.

E Laws of inheritance

The inheritance provisions in GL have been justifiably described as extremely complex. Holmbäck (1919, 12-51, 219-241) has made a detailed analysis of them, particularly in relation to legitimacy and in comparison to other Swedish provincial laws. He sees, in the inconsistencies, evidence of an organic growth in the provisions and a gradual improvement in the position of women in relation to inheritance. Guta lag thus offers a valuable insight into the social history of the period not available in the mainland provincial laws (cf. Holmbäck 1919, 48-51).
A consideration of the origins of the content of a legal text differs from a consideration of the sources of material in a narrative or poetic work, whether historical or otherwise. Two questions that have to be asked are: (1) whether this law was influenced by any other law formulated earlier (which might assist with dating) and (2) whether this particular redaction was a record of the law as it was enforced in a particular place and at a particular time or was an idealized representation of how the author felt that the law should be. This latter issue has been touched on to some extent in the preceding section, but in the case of GL, the questions of origin and nature and those of date and authorship are so closely bound together that it is difficult to separate the arguments.

Although an oral recited law (the older sense of the word lagsaga) may be presupposed, according to Wessen (SL IV, lxxiii), the lack of the office of lawman or lawspeaker in Gotland might be a counter-argument to the suggestion that GL was a lawman's aide mémoire for his oral discourse (see pp. 25-27 above). It might still, however, have been a private record prepared by a judge or some other person involved in the legal process. Whatever their provenance, there must have been some earlier form of the law than the written manuscripts that have been preserved and, if Lis Jacobsen (GGD, 13) is correct in her assumptions concerning the age of the language in the A-text, there must have been a pre-Christian law containing at least some of the material in that manuscript. Despite the broadly prose language, there are many alliterative phrases and some residual rhythmic passages. If there were no single lawman reciting the law, then perhaps the duty rotated between the elders, and GL originated as a result of a group of them agreeing upon a text to be recited. This might
explain some slight inconsistencies and apparent repetitions, to be found within each of the manuscripts.

The opening words of GL, invoking Christianity rejecting heathendom (60/2-3) provide us with a clue to the origin of the text. There are remarkable similarities between these words and those of GulL, the oldest manuscript of which dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century. The latter states:

\[ \text{Pat er upphaf laga varra at ver scolom luta austr oc biòia til hins helga} \]

\[ \text{Crist ars oc friðar. Oc pess at vèr halldem lande varo bygdùu. Oc lánar} \]

\[ \text{drotne varom heilum. Se hann vinr varr, en ver hans. En Guð se allra} \]

\[ \text{varra vinr. Pat er nu þvi nest . . . (NGL 1, 3)} \]

It has been suggested that this similarity can be explained by assuming that the Christian section of the Gotlandic law was composed during a visit to Gotland by St Olaf in 1030 or thereabouts and his conversion of the Gotlanders to Christianity. Schlyter, however, who considers GL to date from the last quarter of the thirteenth or first quarter of the fourteenth centuries, suggests a later influence from Norway and this view is supported by Pernler (cf. CIG, vi-vii; Beckman 1920, 12-13; Wessén 1945a, 160; Schück 1945, 182; SL IV. lxxiii-lxxiv; Pernler 1977, 16-19).

A later borrowing of certain selected passages seems to be a possible explanation for the similarities, since the church laws in GulL differ quite fundamentally from those (such as they are) in GL. Had St Olaf been involved in the initial development of the law in Gotland, the relevant provisions would surely have been more extensive. It is noticeable also that penalties for infringing church laws are much more severe in GulL than they are in equivalent passages in GL. In particular, total forfeiture of property and banishment are frequently imposed as punishments in the former, whereas GL only implies banishment (but not outlawry) for a woman who cannot pay
the fine for infanticide, i.e. as a punishment of last resort. Further, although sections
relating to the exposure of children in a number of Norwegian law texts begin in a
similar manner to that in *GL* (60/8):

*Pat er nu þvinest. At barn huert scal ala a lande varo er boret verðr* (*GulL*
21; *NGL* 1, 12)

*Ala skal barn huært, er boret uærðr en ængu spilla. Sina sæng for skal
huær kona uita, oc lata barn til kirkiu bera* (*EidsL* I (B-text), 1; *NGL* 1,
375)

*Ala skal barn huært, er boret er ok ængo spilla. Sinaæ sængfor skal huar
kona vita, ok lata barn til kirkiu bera* (*EidsL* II (C-text), 1; *NGL* 1, 394)

the older text of *GulL* contains the proviso that severely deformed children might be
exempt, and detailed laws concerning baptism, completely absent from *GL*. The *B-
text* of *EidsL* is, however, particularly close to the text in *GL* (cf. Beckman 1920, 11-
12).

One of the greatest differences between Norwegian and Gotlandic society was the
hierarchy that seems to have existed in the former. The king and two levels of
aristocracy were followed by three levels of free landowning farmers. There is no
indication in *GL* of any inequality between people apart from that between the free,
slaves and non-Gotlanders. Admittedly, tenant farmers had different obligations from
landowning ones, but there are no provisions that appear to have affected their status
in any other regard. The conclusion would seem to be that, while the authors of *GL*
might have borrowed phrases from other laws with which they were familiar,
including those of Norway, the content of the law and the punishments applied were
very much their own. This content was affected by the society to which the law was
applied, as well as the priorities of the lawmakers, as is discussed below.
There are four principal theories concerning the date of composition of *GL* in written form. The first is that it was composed between 1220 and 1250 at the instigation of Andreas Suneson, the second that it was composed towards the end of the thirteenth century, the third that it was composed in the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps as a response to the production of *MELL*, and the fourth that it originated in the twelfth century or even earlier. This last is subscribed to by Hadorph (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, Introduction), Schildener (*G-L*, xxvi), Nordström (1839, vii) and Säve (*GU*, x). (Cf. also *SL* IV, lxxiii note 1.) There is no concrete evidence to support such an early dating of a written law, although there is internal evidence to suggest that some of the individual provisions date from a period not long after the adoption of Christianity in the early eleventh century, and that others are pre-Christian in origin, as Jacobsen (*GGD*, 6-7) indicates.

Arguments for a dating in the second half of the thirteenth century or rather later were first put forward by Schlyter (*CIG*, v-xi) and have been supported by Maurer (1878, 168-170), Amira (1913, 98) and others. They are based principally on the existence of the provision relating to the inheritance rights of non-Gotlandic (i.e. Swedish) daughters in which two sisters received the same inheritance as one brother (82/9). This must indeed have been included in *GL* after Birger Jarl introduced it into Swedish law, namely in 1260, at the time of the wedding of Valdemar Birgersson to Sofia, daughter of the murdered Danish king Erik Plogpenning (cf. *SRS* I:1, 25, 86; *SRS* III:1, 5). The circumstances are referred to in *Erikskrönikan* (26, ll. 458-461). Schlyter takes this date as a *terminus post quern* for the first written version of *GL*, thus placing it in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, Wessén thinks that this particular provision, even though it appears in all four traditions, might
have been a later addition, *A; on the stemma, first included in the manuscript represented by u in the stemma. Accordingly, the original manuscript of GL (*GL on the stemma) could have been considerably older (cf. SL IV, lxix-lxx). Two further pieces of evidence in support of this theory are: (1) the fact that the provision in question is to be found in the chapter concerning weddings, rather than in the chapter concerning inheritance, in which there are other specific provisions relating to females and (2) that there appear to be slight differences (noted by Pipping; GLGS, xii-xiii) between the language of that particular provision and that in the majority of the A-text, suggesting that it originated from a different part of Gotland (see Läffler 1878, 288-289).

Recently an even later dating, namely the fourteenth century, has been forcefully argued by Elsa Sjöholm (1976, 170-173). She also argues on the basis of the provision relating to the inheritance rights of non-Gotlandic (Swedish) females, but an inconsistency in her argument is that she initially uses a different interpretation of the expression ogutniskt fulk, namely that it refers to the inhabitants of Visby (cf. pp. 21, 28, 30-31 above). In that context she points to the lack of any reference to maritime law in GL in order to place it in time after the separation of the town of Visby from the rest of Gotland in 1288 (see pp. 10-11 above), by which date she considers that farmers were no longer seafaring merchants. The main thrust of Sjöholm’s argument in the present context, however, is that the very fact that Gotlandic laws of inheritance differ from those of MELL indicates that GL was written in order to emphasize Gotland’s independence at the time of the development of a common Swedish law. This, she contends, was because any change in inheritance provisions would have led to a collapse of the social order in Gotland, which required that landholdings should not become excessively fragmented. She consequently dates GL, in what she calls
'seine endgültige Form' (1976, 171-172), to as late as the second or third quarter of the fourteenth century, i.e. some one hundred years later than Schlyter’s dating. Sjöholm’s expression, which is similar to that used by Lis Jacobsen (‘sin endelige Redaktion’; see GGD, 80 note 1) in reference to the date of GL, leads one to ask what Sjöholm considers the earlier forms of GL were and when they came into being. She appears to ignore the fact that there were in all probability written redactions of GL, as opposed to an oral law, earlier than the manuscripts that have been preserved and it is the date of the first of these (*GL on the stemma) that is of principal interest in the present context. Furthermore, since the oldest surviving manuscript (B 64) has been dated to about the middle of the fourteenth century, Sjöholm’s argument would lead one to the conclusion that, in the manuscript B 64, GL was close to ‘seine endgültige Form’. Inconsistencies and errors in B 64, however, and the fact that the text of AM 54 4° seems to represent an earlier form of GL, militate against such an assumption. On internal evidence, B 64 would appear to be a copy of an earlier manuscript, which was itself more consistent and did not contain as many errors. It seems that there are equally strong arguments for an earlier dating as suggested by Wessén (SL IV, lxxii) and several other scholars (cf. Skov 1946, 114-116; Mitchell 1984, 151). They suggest that GL was composed in the first half, if not the first quarter, of the thirteenth century. The most recent challenge to Sjöholm’s arguments comes from Dick Harrison of Lund University (2002, 164-169, 602). He summarizes her arguments and those of Lindkvist (1989, 415-417) concerning the dating and nature of the provincial laws, and he concludes that the core of these laws must have been in existence prior to the laws of Magnus Eriksson, and that they reflected local conditions independently of centralized influence.
The fact that there is no mention of the king’s person or rights, nor of the royal commitment (konungens edsöre) to punish crimes that threatened the general peace and that were regarded as too grave to be subject to fines alone, might indicate a date prior to 1280 (see Notes to 63/4-5, 66/23, 80/2, 80/16-18, 90/16). The law concerning edsöre was first set in place during Birger Jarl’s regency (1250-1266) and confirmed by Magnus Ladulås in the Statute of Alsnö (1280), which also freed from taxes those who undertook to bear arms for the king. The concept of crimes designated edsöresbrott finally disappeared from Swedish law with a major revision in sentencing enacted on 16th February 1864 (cf. Westman 1912b, 106; Hemmer 1928, 269-286; Yrwing 1940, 68; KL s. v. Konungs edsöre).

Part of the agreement relating to edsöre was that fines for breaking any of the relevant laws would be payable to the king in addition to or instead of to the victim and the relevant assembly. Sjöholm would no doubt cite the purpose she perceives in GL of upholding Gotlandic independence as a reason for the omission.

Another circumstance that suggests a date prior to 1300 for the first redaction of GL is the set of laws relating to slaves, particularly in the B-text. The laws of Västergötland and Östergötland contain provisions relating to the sale of slaves, but the later laws of Svealand (e.g. UL) forbid the purchase and sale of slaves. Magnus Eriksson abolished slavery in Västergötland in 1335 in the Statute of Skara (see Neveus 1974, 158-159). and it therefore seems unlikely that GL would have originated after circa 1300. Sjöholm’s argument that the exclusion from the A-text of provisions concerning the sale of and theft by slaves supports the idea that GL in ‘seine endgültige Form’ post-dated the prohibition seems to be a circular one; it surely only indicates that the manuscript itself, or the one of which it was a copy, post-dates it.
Provisions relating to the children of priests (63/2-4, 97/3-7) must be considered in the light of the Synod at Skåninge in 1248 (see GGD, 32 note 4; SL IV, lxix). The papal legate, Cardinal Vilhelm of Sabina, declared the marriage of priests forbidden, and that those currently married, with some exceptions, had to separate, thereby confirming the decision of the Lateran council of 1139. It is clear that this law did not come into force immediately, as is witnessed by provisions in ÖgL relating to children of bishops. Furthermore, Lars, Bishop of Linköping, had to remind Gotlandic priests and people of the rules in a letter dated 18/6/1255 (DS I, 375, no. 426), and it was not until about 1280 that celibacy finally became the norm in Sweden. The detailed nature of the provisions in GL makes it unlikely, however, that they were devised and written long after the synod (cf. Hegel 1891, I 300 note 5).

The case has been made by the present author for a date between 1220 and 1275 for the composition of Guta saga (see GS, xlix-liii). Since the language of the majority of the law text in B 64 appears to pre-date the language of Guta saga in the same manuscript (Pipping. GLGS, vii-xii), a date of circa 1220 for the earliest manuscript of the law, as Wessen proposes, seems not unreasonable.

There is no direct statement of the place of composition of GL, but sufficient indirect evidence to suggest that it was actually written in Gotland. The principal indication is clearly the use of the Gutnish language. It is unlikely that this would have been employed had the text been composed in mainland Sweden. The opening sentence of GL, contains the expression i lagum orum (‘in our law’). This makes it highly probable that the writer was himself a native of Gotland. There are, moreover, references to circumstances peculiar to Gotland, such as the three churches of asylum for killers, in Farþaim (Fardhem), Þingsteþi (Tingstäde) and Atlingabo, which might not have been familiar to a non-Gotlandic author. Frequent references to non-
Gotlanders (ogutniskt fulk) are evidence that the author was aware that different laws applied to such people, but as he does not define who they were, he must have assumed that his audience would know to whom he referred. This also might be taken as an indirect indication that GL was written in Gotland for Gotlanders.

There is no external evidence of the authorship of GL as it is preserved, but if it is assumed that it was written at the instance of Andreas Suneson, it seems likely that a priest would be responsible. It cannot be ignored, however, that lack of a coherent church law section argues to some extent against a clerical author and the whole law has an element of earthy practicality that seems less clerical than one might expect if Bishop Suneson were responsible. It is possible, of course, that the writer in question was one of the last married priests in Gotland and that he deliberately wrote in this manner to emphasize his closeness to and feeling for the community as a whole. Indeed, the most emotive passages are those that refer to the dilemma of a priest’s offspring having to take up a compensation case on behalf of his father and the painful choice between Christian forgiveness and honour that this duty implied.

What is clear is that the author was a Gotlander. This is manifested initially in the language, but also in the manner in which non-Gotlanders are referred to throughout: not disparagingly, but as a separate group. The closing sentences of the original text also suggest that it was intended to be a living document to be updated as circumstances dictated, rather than a fixed record at a particular time (see pp. 25-27).
VI Editions and translations of Guta lag

A Previous editions

The earliest printed edition of GL, covering only the A-text (including Guta saga), is that of Johan Hadorph in 1687, not long after the discovery of the manuscript B 64 in around 1680. The edition, Gothlandz-Laghen, is described in detail by Schlyter (CIG, xx-xxii). It contains certain errors and includes an introduction coloured by a romantic view of his subject matter, but it is important in that it raised awareness of GL at a time when the manuscript was in danger of being lost and has an index of statutes and levels of fine, together with a number of glossary entries.

The second edition is that of Karl Schildener in 1818, G-L, the main purpose of which was to present the text of tyGL. Schildener takes this from a copy of B 65 prepared by an unnamed German-raised and educated scribe (‘[einer] in Deutschland erzogenen und gebildeten Litterator’) and supplied to him by Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1785-1827), philosopher and copyist at Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm, who had supervised the work (cf. G-L, vi, 89; CIG, xxii). Schildener includes, in parallel, a copy of Hadorph’s reading of the A-text. The medieval German text is incomplete in that, although it contains the Danish statutes (see above, p. 15), it is lacking Guta saga, which is found in full in B 65 (see CIG, xxiii). Alongside these two texts Schildener gives a German translation. The derivative nature of the content, and the fact that the A-text has been presented in a sequence altered to match that of tyGL, makes this edition of less value than others.

In 1852 C. J. Schlyter published the first critical edition of all the major manuscripts of GL, CIG, as the seventh volume of Corpus iuris Sueo-Gotorum antiqui (CIS). His edition contains a more or less diplomatic edition of the A-text, with the B-text
reading in footnotes. Schlyter also gives the full tyGL text from B 65, the daGL text from AM 55 4° and the Danish statutes from B 65 with alternative readings and the completion of the second statute from Holm C 81 4°. Each of these has footnotes indicating where equivalent statutes can be found in the others, and in the A-text. The edition contains a detailed description of all these manuscripts and the above-mentioned editions, a glossary (into Swedish and Latin) and an index of proper names of firstly the A-text and secondly tyGL. The textual apparatus is in Latin and there is a parallel translation into Swedish of the A-text. Schlyter’s edition is consequently the most thorough available and his readings and translations have been accepted by most subsequent editors and commentators, often in preference to later editions. This preference is probably motivated by the fact that Schlyter edited all the Swedish provincial laws, thus facilitating comparison of them with GL by direct reference to his editions. Schlyter’s comprehensive glossary, CISG, is particularly valuable, covering as it does all the Swedish provincial laws; this enables comparison to be made between their equivalent provisions and vocabulary.

In 1859 Carl Säve published his academic thesis Gutniska urkunder: Guta lag, Guta saga och Gotlands runinskrifter språkligt behandlade, GU. The text of B 64 is to a certain extent normalized without comment, but emendations are clearly noted. Major additions in AM 54 4° are given at the end of the text and differences between the two manuscripts appear in footnotes. Säve’s introduction consists to a great extent of an analysis of the language of the manuscripts and inscriptions he has taken as his subject. He relies heavily on Schlyter’s edition (CIG) but offers useful alternative readings in a number of instances, partly in footnotes and partly in a short commentary, and makes comparisons with the Gotlandic dialect (Gutamål).
Some extracts of *GL*, less radically normalized than Säve’s text, appear in Noreen’s *Altschwedisches Lesebuch (AL, 36-37)*, first published in 1892-1894.

In 1901 Hugo Pipping published *Gotländska studier*, which contains a diplomatic edition of the *B*-text of *GL*, followed by a short commentary and a detailed examination of some linguistic features of the text. This is the only complete edition of the *B*-text, and is therefore a valuable contribution. In 1905-1907 Pipping published a diplomatic edition of the *A*-text of *GL* and *Guta saga*, which includes apparatus showing the *B*-text variants and additions, a detailed study of the language and a complete glossary of the text. These two editions offer useful alternative readings of the manuscripts to those of Schlyter, Säve and Noreen.

A facsimile edition (*LG*) of *B 64* and *B 65*, edited by Elias Wessen was published in 1945 in the series *Corpus codicum Suecicorum medii aevi (CCS)*. There is no facsimile edition of *AM 54 4°*.

The most recent edition of *GL* is that edited by Tore Gannholm in 1994. The text is presented in a form close to a diplomatic reading of *B 64*, using some of the emendations suggested by Schlyter (*CIG*), but with a number of peculiarities (e.g. *p* is rendered as *th* throughout). Gannholm also offers a parallel translation into Swedish, which clarifies some points left ambiguous in the translation by Wessén (*SL IV*), which he has used as a basis. The edition is useful in some respects, although the arguments in Gannholm’s introduction do not always bear scholarly scrutiny.

**Translations**

The first modern translation of *GL* (as opposed to the medieval translations into German and Danish) is that which appears in Hadorph’s 1687 edition (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, see above). While there are some inaccuracies and misunderstandings, the translation is serviceable.
Schildener’s parallel translation into German (G-L) is described and evaluated by Schlyter (CIG, xxiii-xxiv) and he implies that it, too, contains some inaccuracies. Schlyter’s own parallel translation into Swedish is a vigorous and illuminating. It was the last translation into Swedish before the appearance in 1943 of the edition by Åke Holmbäck and Elias Wessén, the fourth in the series Svenska landskapslagar (SL IV).

This latter translation, which covers the A-text, the additional provisions found in the B-text and the Danish statutes found in the other manuscripts, is clear and straightforward. It is supported by a full introduction and detailed notes and references, which have been useful for the present edition and translation. The editors analyse in detail the content and significance of the texts, with reference to the other provincial laws, and they also evaluate previous editions and translations (see SL IV, lxxxviii-lxxxix).

A further translation into Swedish of all the provincial, city and maritime laws, including some appendices not translated in Svenska landskapslagar, was published as an omnibus edition by Åke Ohlmarks in 1976: De svenska landskapslagarna. I komplett översättning, med anmärkningar och förklaringar. His translations are close to those of Schlyter, and Ohlmarks claims that, despite his use of more contemporary language, they follow the sense and vocabulary of the originals more closely than those of Holmbäck and Wessén. Ohlmarks’s introduction discusses stylistic features of the laws and he includes a number of notes. Although his work is useful in many respects, his approach is not as scholarly as might be hoped and some of his translations are inaccurate.

The remaining translation is that of Lis Jacobsen into Danish. Her Guterlov og Gutasaga (GGD) appeared in 1910 and is largely based on Pipping’s edition. In indicating Danish equivalents to Gutnish expressions, Jacobsen provides useful
insights into the meaning of the latter and her translation is valuable for the interpretation of a number of otherwise obscure words and expressions. Jacobsen draws particular attention to the alliteration, rhythm and other poetic features found in the text, as well as including an index, and footnotes clarifying her interpretations.

C The present edition

This is the first edition giving an English translation of GL. It is a continuation of the work by the present author on Guta saga (GS 1999) and takes into account the two medieval manuscripts of the law in Gutnish. The presentation of the text is broadly based on Pipping’s edition of the A-text (GLGS), but uses his edition of the B-text (Pipping 1901a) to record further variant readings as indicated below.

Where there are possible differences between Pipping’s reading and the manuscript of the A-text, or the readings of other editors, this is indicated in an endnote and, as appropriate, discussed in the Commentary.

In an attempt to avoid lengthy or repetitive endnotes or a complex presentation of the text, three different fonts have been used to indicate the source of the variant readings. The principal fonts are Times New Roman for the A-text and Arial for the B-text. Since the aim is to produce a single, readable, normalized text the following criteria have been applied:

1. A difference only in orthography (e.g. final j for i, single final consonant for a double or vice versa) or word order between the A- and B-texts is not indicated, if it makes no semantic distinction (e.g. en han [B-text masculine form] ey windir undan loyst for en hann vindr ai undan loyst).

2. Commonly occurring differences between the two manuscripts are noted in the Glossary once for all.
3. The apparent interchangeability of *epa*, *en* and *ok*, *ella*, *ellar* and *epa*, *vara* and *vera*, *pan* ('than') and *en* have been accepted silently, as has the substitution of final –*a* for –*u* in the third person plural present indicative, together with final –*om* for –*um* in the dative masculine and plural, *a* for *e* in *huar*, etc.

4. Words missing from the *A*-text that can be inferred from the reading of the *B*-text are inserted in the *B*-text font in the text without further comment, if the sense is thereby extended or clarified. If they correct an error in the *A*-text, the insertions are enclosed in square brackets. If an alternative *B*-text reading is preferred to the *A*-text, this is presented in angled brackets in the *B*-text font. In both these latter cases an endnote is given.

5. Editorial additions to the *A*-text (e.g. letters or words accidentally omitted by the scribe) are inserted in square brackets in the *A*-text font with an endnote. Editorial corrections to the *A*-text reading not derived from the *B*-text are inserted in angled brackets in the *A*-text font, again with an endnote.

6. Any words or passages missing completely from the *B*-text are italicized in the *A*-text font. These are presented in the text, without further comment, unless the *B*-text omission is considered to be an error.

7. Differences in reading of words or short phrases between the *A*-text and the *B*-text that have a bearing on the sense or accuracy of the text are indicated by the use of endnotes (cf. (1) and (5) above). The preferred reading is shown in the text and the alternative *A*-* or *B*-text reading in the endnote, together with the readings of previous editors, if relevant.

8. Longer passages missing from the *A*-text but present in the *B*-text are recorded in an endnote and are presented as Additions, pp. 97-98, 99-101.
9. Where there are extended differences between the A- and B-texts, the A-text reading is recorded in italics in the text, and the B-text reading is presented as an addition, pp. 98-99.

10. A number of provisions in the A-text are generally considered by all editors to be later additions, because of their language and orthography. These are shown in the same font as the main body of the text, but in a smaller point-size.

11. Differences in the reading of the B-text that are considered by Schlyter and others to be scribal errors have not, in general, been noted, but certain other differences not affecting the sense of the text are recorded in endnotes (see (1) above).

12. Pipping's edition of the B-text differentiates between additions in the margin of AM 54 4° signalled by a dagger (†), and those by a caret mark (^). He refers only to the former in his edition of the A-text, presumably because he considers the latter to be corrected scribal omissions. He infers that the former, which are sometimes introduced with the words nota defectum, were derived from another manuscript used by Bilefeld when making his copy (see GLGS, xvii-xviii). The differentiation Pipping makes is recorded in the relevant endnotes.

The chapter headings require special comment. They do not always agree with the table of contents, which in the case of the B-text is a later addition. A single table of contents has been constructed (pp. 58-59), using the same font convention as for the main body of the text. The appropriate heading has been placed above each differentiated section, together with the chapter number or numbers relevant to the A- and the B-texts.

The spelling of the text has been normalized, or more strictly standardized, favouring the reading of the A-text, in most instances following the headwords in Pipping's glossary or suggestions in his footnotes. The orthography of the B-text is
too inconsistent to provide a useful basis for a normalization of the B-text passages. Where the B-text reading appears in an endnote, however, and in the Glossary, the orthography of the original has been retained. Nasal strokes and corrections or deletions by the scribes of the original manuscripts (all signalled in Pipping’s editions) have been expanded or applied without comment, both in the text and the Commentary. Punctuation, capitalization and paragraphing have been rationalized by the present editor to give the text and translation a readable form. For the same reason, the manuscripts’ division into paragraphs has been ignored.

The normalization that has been used has been chosen to make the text as accessible as possible to the modern reader, without sacrificing too much of the particular quality of Gutnish. The following may be noted: (1) c in the manuscripts has been rendered as k throughout; (2) ch has been rendered as k, gh as g; (3) w has been rendered as v if consonantal but as u if vocalic; (4) u has been rendered as v if consonantal, but as u if vocalic, although hu and su have been retained (e.g. in huar and suin). In the A-text th has been rendered as t and in the B-text th and t as t or p as appropriate. Also in the B-text, d has been rendered as d or p following the A-text spelling. The letter y in the B-text is consistently written with a dieresis; this has been dropped in all cases.

These choices reflect the most common overall usage in the A-text, and do not result in a radical alteration to the orthography as a whole. In individual instances not covered by this system, where the same word form appears with different orthography, that most commonly occurring has been selected. Pipping presents all instances of the different forms (GLGS, Ordbok), as well as describing the orthography of the A-text in detail, and the B-text in summary in his introduction (li-lxxxvi, lxxxvi-xcii); it does not, therefore, seem appropriate or necessary to duplicate his work.
Superscript numbers, in brackets to differentiate them from endnote references, show the start of each page number of Pipping’s edition of the A-text. Similarly, in the translation, the page numbering in Wessén’s Swedish translation is indicated.

The translation is presented after the text (the thesis format restricting the material to one side of a leaf) and no attempt has been made at parallel pagination. The font differentiation for significant variations and later additions in the A-text is replicated. The translation retains as far as possible the tenses and moods of verbs in the original. It also uses, if relevant, familiar legal concepts, where they reflect those of the original. The aim has been to include as much elucidation of the sense of the text as is possible in a translation. Where applicable, this elucidation has been included in braces, thus {}. Punctuation and capitalization follow modern English practice.

In order to avoid repetition in the Commentary, the Glossary contains cross-references to the former, where more information is presented than would be appropriate in the Glossary, or where a concept is not sufficiently explained by a translation.
[1] Register paa forskreffe low

[2] 1 Af barnum
[3] 2 Af tiunt
[4] 3 Af blotan
[5] 4 Af prestum ok prestbarnum
[6] 5 Af helgum dagum
[7] 6 Af munka aigmum
[8] 7 Af mannhelg
[9] 8 Af aldra manna frið
[10] 9 Af varfríði
[12] 11 Af haimafriði
[13] 12 Af mandrapi
[14] 13 Af biauði bot manni
[15] 14 Af lutnum sakum
[16] 15 Af vereldað manna
[17] 16 Af <banduverelda> aigmum
[18] 17 Af <osoyðum>
[19] 18 Af berþri <kunu>
[20] 19 Af sarum
[21] 20 Af loyski
[22] 21 Skainir þu kleþi mans
[23] 22 Af ypnu sari
[24] 23 Gier maþr manni vegþuera

24 Bers þrell
[20] 25 Af allum lutum
26 þar som gangs i garþi
30 27 Af quinna lutum
28 Af þybarn
[20a] 29 Af manni <innitaknum>
[21] 30 Af <horkarlum>
[22] 31 Af <quinna> skam
35 23 32 Af quinna gripum
[24] 33 Af bryþlaupum
[24a] 34 Af erfsigjerþum
35 Af quinna ret
[24b] Af skarlaþi
[24c] Af raiþkleþum
[24d] 36 Af gutniskum kunum
[24e] Af <ogutnisku> fulki
[24f] 37 Af farvegum <manz>
[25] 38 Af skoga brigslum
45 26 39 Af halfgierþi
40 Huar som haggr oloyfis
[27] 41 Af sauíð
[28] 42 Af aignakaupi
43 Sitr maþr i hers handum
50 þa en gangn biers aimum til handa,
frammar þan andrum
44 Af gutnisk mans syni

[29] 45 Af gieldum

[30] 46 Af veþium

[31] 47 Af þingum

5

[32] 48 Af fearkrafi

[32a] 49 Af kauptum mann1

[33] 50 Af kauptum uksa2

[33a] Af kaupro ko

30

[34] 51 Af kauptum hesti3

[35] 52 Af hestatekt4

[36] 53 Af skipa gezlum5

[37] 54 Af ranzaki6

[38] 55 Af þiaufa ret7

[39] 56 Af oqueJ)insorJ)unr

15

[40] 57 Af omerktu smafilefi8

[41] 58 Af suinum

[42] 59 Af bolambum

[43] 60 Af fastum veþuri okliptum

40

[44] 61 Af fastum veþuri kliptum

[45] 62 Af bukkum ok gaitum

20

[45a] 63 Af nautum ok russels

[46] 64 Af amerki

[47] 65 Af akrum

[48] 66 Af rof ocurum3

25

[49] 67 Af hafreki

[50] 68 Af eldi

[51] 69 Af bierueloi

[52] 70 Af <broagierp>3

[53] 71 Af skuti

[54] 72 Af varbi

[55] 73 Af husum ok husþiaum

[56] 74 Af <byrslfulki>

[56a] 75 Af seþalausu fulki

[57] 76 Af ikornum

[58] 77 Af herum5

[59] 78 Af skafli

[60] 79 Af messufallli

[61] 80 Af dufla

[62] [Hitta ... um loyski]

[63] 82 Um skoga ok festuaigur

[64] Af burgan viþr byamen

[65] [Af quinna ret]37

allar
Hier byrias lag guta ok segia so at fyrstum

Þetta er fyrst upphaf i lagum orum, þet vir skulum naikka haiðnu ok iatta krisnu ok troa allir <a ann> guð alzvaldanda, ok allir hann þar biðja, þet hann unni os ar ok frið. Sigr ok hailsu ok þet et vir magin halda kristindomi orum, ok tro vari retri ok landi oru <bygðu>, ok vir magin huern dag þet sysla i allum giarningum ok vilia orum sum guði sei dyrð i, ok or sei mest þarf at beði til lífs ok sialar.

Af barnum

Þet ier nu þi nest et barn huert skal ala sum fyt verþr a landi oru ok ekki ut kasta.

Vita skal hueriun kuna seng sina <þa en> han i barnfarum liggr. Fai mið sir vitniskunur tuar, griðkunu ok grankunu, et barn vari datt burit, ok ai gingin hennar handaverk til.

þa en frels kuna verþr at þi san et han hafi barni sparlt, þa byti han þriar markr þegar sum þet kumbr upp firi Kirkiumenn, utan þi at ains et han hafi fyr skriptat sett mal, ok henni bír; lerðr maðr fult vitni um. þa inni han skript sina, en engin maðr a þar sak a. þa en han dular ok kumbr mal upp firi þingsmenn, verþr han skir þa hafi han sinar þriar markr af þaim sum hana vítr ok symdaraþ mið siex mannum. þa [en] han verþr ful, þa byti han þriar markr sokninni, en sokn vindr sykt. þa en mal kumbr upp firi þingsmenn, þa byti þriar markr þingi ok aþrar þriar markr <þroasti> en han at san verþr. En kumbr mal upp firi alla lyþi, ok verþr han en sipan at san. laupr þet i tolf markr viþr landa alla. Hafn han ai fe at byta, þa flyi land ok liggi huerium manni þriar markr viþr sum hana hysir, eþa haimir, eþa henni mat giefr. þa <en> han vil ai til aiz at ganga, þa ir han þau ful ok feld at þy mali.

þa en hinir ganga atr mals sum henni sak kendu, ok vilia ai fe fram leggia, þa skulu men hana saklausa dyma, ok skir þes mals. En þair symin hana mið aþhum, ok
takin henni orð af baki sum a legðu.73 Þa en han gangr víðr et han <møpir>74 var, ok <kallar>75 barn vara datt burit, þa þarf ai henni fe fram leggia, en men vilia henni mistroa um, ok engar hafr han76 vitnisunikur víðr, þar sum mið henni varu þa en han i barnfarum var.

Pa en <ambatnu>77 manz verþr slíkt mal kient, þa leggir78 engin henni maira fe fram þan siex oyra penninga. Þa en han verþr ful, þa byti drotin firi hana siex oyra penninga, ok leggi a bak henni siex <vintr>79 sen mali80 ier <intr>.81

[5][3] 38 Af tiunt

Þet ier nu þi nest et þar a huer tíþr hafa, ok tiunt til fyra sum han[n]82 kirkiu hafr garra, ok bol var af anduerþu tilskurat. Þan prestr a firir hanum allan kristindom at <vaita>,83 huart sum hann <víþr>84 þarf arla eða siþla.85 So iru allir menn um satir et firi Mariumessu í fastu skal huer mær hafa tiunt sina <framraida>,86 þeþi leþum manni sin luta ok kirkiu sen. I rauki a huer mær tiunta. Þa ma engin þet segia firir et ai sei tiunt berþ sen Mariumessu kumbr. En eptir Mariumessu þa skal prestr lysa um þria sunnudaga, en a fiårþa kirkjudurum atr luka ok <tíþr>87 hepta þa firi kirkiumannum til þes tima et tiunt ier all framraid, ok þriar markr fylgia af þaim manni sum ai vildi fyr tiunt sinaframraþa. Þitta aigu allir sykia saman ok allir aigu at hafa. <Soknamenn>88 aigu þriþung ok kirkia þriþung, ok þriþung prestr. Þa en <laigulenningar>89 far bort90 meþ tiunt oguldni aþ91 sokn ok i andra, þa sekr hann sik at þrim markum víþr prest ok kirkiu ok víþr kirkiumenn, ok fyri en þau92 tiunt sina atr, þau et siþar sei.

Guta lag

62

ma hann ganga fra hinni fornu ok til nyu, sìpar96 þan a þaim dagi sum biskupr legði vigslir a. Þa en þaim takr skilia um þegar um fyrsta ar eða annat, þa skal <sielfr>97 vita mìp aipi, ok kirkiumannum tuem þaim sum hinir vilia til nemna, et <hann>98 þar i kirkugerði vari, ok i vigslum, ok i allum lutum so sum andrir kirkiumenn. Þa en fram

5

íru gangnir þrir vintr eða þrim maira, þa skal hann hafa beði <kirkiumanna>99 vitni, et hann þar mìp þaim i gierði vari, ok prest senz100 vitni et hann ok tiunt hafi þar esìpan hanum af <fyrþa>,101 so sum huer annara kirkiumanna.102

Þa en maþr laigir akr eða engi103 yr annari104 kirkiusokn, ok íru engun hus a, þa skal hann korntiunt querra laifa,105 þar sum akr var tilskuraþr. En hoy eða <humbla>106 þa

10 fyri hann haim. ok giefi þaim107 presti tiunt af sum hann <sykir>108 tipir at, ok allan kristindom hafar takit af.109 Þa en hus íru a, þa skal alt quert laifa. Hafi þan presti tiunt af sum þar at kirkia <sitr>,110 iemvel a þain kirkia sen lut sum presti senn.

[4] 3 Af blotan

Þet íer nu þy nest et <blot> íru111 mannum <miek>112 <firibuþin>,113 ok fyrmska all <þaun>114 sum haiþnu [7]fylgir. Engin ma <haita>115 huatki a hult eða hauga eða haþin116 guþ, huatki a vî117 eða stafgarþa. Þa en nequar verþr at þi sandr, ok laiþas hanum so118 vitni a hand et hann hafi hauþl nequara119 þa, mìþ mati eða mìþ drykkiu senni,120 sum ai fylgir <kristnum>121 sîþi, þa ir hann sakr at þrim markum viþr kirkiumenn, en þair sykt vinna. Þitta aigu ok allir sykia saman ok allir aigu at hafa, presti ok kirkia ok kirkiumenn. Þa en venzil ir hanum a hendi, þa standi hann firi meþ siex manna aþi. Þa en kirkiumenn vinna122 ai sykt ok kümbr þet upp firi þingsmenn, þa veris123 hann en mìþ siex manna aþi, eða byti iii markr þíngi. Þa en þet upp kümbr firi landa all, þa byti hann tolf markr landi, en hann ai vindr mìþ tolf manna aþi firistandit.
[5] 4 Af prestum ok prestkunum, ok þaira barnum

Bet ir nu þi nest et prestr ok prestkuna ok prestbarn lerb <þaun>125 íru slik at sleg ok at drapi ok at allum lutum sum bondabarn. En hin olerþu, þaim <fylgir>126 mohur kyni sinu.127 [8a]Hittir mþr sakar at giera <þerþr>128 eþa olerþr, þa byti engin frammar firi annan, þan hans kustr vindr at.

[9a] [6] 5 Af helgum dagum

Þitta129 ír nu þi nest et daga aigu menn alla helga halda þa sum biskupar hafa helga buþit ok allir menn hafa viþraktit. Engin skal annat verk at <giera>130 um sunnudag131 eþa annan helgan dag, utan tiþir at hafa eþa guz þianistu at lyþa, ok luf hafa at riþa um bo sett sen messa ier sungin, eþa tiþir íru hafþar. Ai ma mandr maira a vagni <hafa>132 um sunnudag133 þan punz þunga eþir xynna oyk, ok halfs134 eþir hesti. Þa en maira hafr, þa ma halda lassi hans til siex oyra ok þau byti hann siex oyra firi helgisbrut, utan þi at ains et nauþsinar135 til gangin ok <þerþr mþþr>136 [10]verþi atspyþr. Þa ma hann asia huat sum til <þrengir>137 ok lufa í <kirkusokn>138 senni, so et mþþr verþi ai þar klandapr ella avittr um gar. Þa en viþari vil aka, þa laiti hann e viþ þann lerp139 mann firi siir sum <kirkusokinnar a val>,140 en hann vil ovittr vera. Til kaupungs ier manni lufat at fara ella aka miþ garlakum <matnaþi>141 ustum, ok smieri, ok allum mielkmati, fiskum ok fuglum, eþa soþþum þaim sum þa al a torgi selia, miþ bakaþu braþi ok ai miþ mieli, eþa korni, ok ai miþ varu annari,142 utan hann heti viþr beþi lassi ok siex oyrum. Sak a halfa þann sum <takr>,143 en halfa prestr, ok kirkiumenn þair sum hann þa var i staþin, þa en hann miþ var takin. Þa en mþþr riþr ok <raþþir>144 <byþþi>,145 þa ma ai þan mann klanda eþa sakan um <giera>,146 en hann sielfr sitr a baki. Þa en hann hafr rus i tugi, eþa laþþir miþ byþþi, þa ir byþþ þaun tyk med skielum, <þegar>147 sum halfu pundi ier maira, ok þau fylgia en siex oyra148 helgisbrut. Verþ þrels mþþr eþa þrels kuna a verki takin um
sunnudag eða annan helgan dag, þa í er tykt verk þet alt sum þaun þa í handum hafa, ok liggi þau við siex oyra aviti firi helgisbrut. Þet a ok hæft þan sum takr, en hæft a prestr, ok kirkia, ok kirkiumenn. Verþ þrel eða ambatn manz um helgan dag a verki takin, þa bytir drotin firi þaun þria oyra, en þaun yrkin þria vintr sen mali ir <intr>.153

[7] 6 Af munka aigum154

Þet ier nu þi nest en nequar verþr at þi sandr et hann hægr skoga firi munkum, eða garþa niþr leggir, eða <nequar> main gierir við þa, eða <þaira> aigur, þa <liggr> hanum viðr bann, ok bot hæftu maini þan bonda milli. Ok hafi byt firi þet fyrsta þing sum þar verþr nest eptir. Þa en þings at biþar, þa liggia viðr þriar markr landa sak, ok þau byti hann <viðr> pa at lagum, þau et siþar sei.

Þa en nequar maþr giefr sik til klostrs barnalausan, þa valdi sielfr aign senni; huatki ma hana selia eða skipta miþan hann lifr. Þa en hann doyr, þa stez <þriþungr> quer i klostri, en <þuair> lutir ganga atr undir niþia. Þa en hann barn a, þa valdi <hafþulut> sinum. Þa en nequar verelzmaþr vil aign til klostrs giefa eða til kirkur, þa giefi tiunda lut af iorþaign senni, ok ai frammar, utan þi at ains et niþiar lufin.

[8] 7 Af mannhelg166

Þet ier nu þy nest et mannhelg a standa um daga þa alla sum verkelgir iru, fran þi et sol setr um aftun ok til þes et lysir a þriþia dygri. Fiurtan dagar i aaulum iru i fríþ taknir, siau vikur i fastu, ok all þaskavika, þrir <gangdagar> ok all helgudagavika, Drepr þu mann a þaim fríþi, þa byt þriar markr. Sargar þu mann, byt tolf oyra. Slar þu man miþ stangu, eða yxar hambri, byt siex oyra. Nykkir þu manni, eða rindr. eða i har takr, eða miþ <nefa> slar, þa byt þria oyra, en i raiþi ir gart. Firi þrel bytir ai frammar þan þria oyra, en hann bloþugt gierir. Þar skal e byta
sum gart ir, en ai þar sum hinn ier sum gierþi. Prestr a tíþir hepta, ok kirkiumdurum atr
luka tírir allum þaim sum guz helg hafa brutit, miþ þi et e fylgir bann helgisbruti. Þa
skal yr banni sla þegar so ir byt sum lag segia, ok kirkiumnum þykkir raþ vera. Allir
aigu sak sykia saman, ok allir aigu at hafa. Soknamenn aigu þriþiung í sak en annan
kirkia, ok þriþia prestr, hurvitína172 sum ai <kumbr>173 landa sak i. En landa sak
<kumbr>173 huergi i helgisbrut, utan þi at ains et mandr verþi174 í kirkui drepin; þa175
liggia fiauratigi markr viþr ella í kirkugarþi, þar liggia xii markr viþr. Þet ir landa sak.
þar a proastr176 þriar <kmarkr>177 af113firi banzmall.178

Kirkuiu iru allr iemhelgar a landi, en mandr verþr <vegin>179 i. En kirkugarþar iru
þir helgastir í lag taknir. Þar skulu sakir menn helg hafa iemvel í prestgarþi180 sum i
kirkugarþi. Þar liggia viþr fiauratigi markr en sakir mandr verþr <vegin>181 í þairi
helg. En sakir allar andrar þar sum smeri182 ieru, ok ai kumbr landa183 sak i, þa aigu e
kirkiumenn þriþiung yr, en kirkia ann lut, ok ann lut prestr. Slar þu mann í kirkui meþ
stangu eþa yxar hambri. eþa sargar í kirkugarþi, þar liggia siex markr viþr.184 Slar þu
mann miþ nefi í kirkiu eþa skiautr þu manni185 eþa í har takr, eþa í kirkugarþi miþ
stangu slar,186 eþa meþ yxar hambri, þar liggia viþr þriar187 markr. Slar þu mann miþ
nefa í kirkugarþi, ella skiautr þu manni, eþa takr þu mann í har, þar188 liggia viþr tolf
oyrar helgisbrut. Þann a e vigrslum syrgia sum vigrslir hafir brutit, ok þar skirt giera
sum hann oskirt gierþi meþ þrim189 markum.

[9] 8 Af aldra190 manna friþi

Nu iru191 enn <friþir>192 andrir tuer þair sum mestu varþa et menn ulu mannahelg193
halda. Þar liggr ai bann viþr ok ai biskup194 sak, utan þy at ains et þet verþi a helgum
dagi gart. Þet ier aldra manna friþr. <Laupr>195 a fiurtan natum eptir paskar ok fem
natum eptir <miþsumar>196 ok standr a tuí14<n>197 netr ok tuí daga at huaru bragþi.
Laupr um198 solauppgang beþi af ok a.199 <Drepr>200 þu mann a þaim friþi, þa byt201 e
so miklu vereldi víþr landa alla sum hinn ier dyr sum þu drapt. Banda haldr þir engun
fyr þan þu <byt>²⁰² hafr.²⁰³ Sargar þu mann eþa ber a þaim friþi, þa byt þriar markr. A
þaim friþi ma engin firi andrum spiella huatki²⁰⁴ hus eþa garþa, utan hann sei sakr at
þrím markum.

[10] 9 Af varfriþi

Nu ier enn varfriþ siþan. Hann laupr a halftum manþi firi aldra manna sþpí, ok
standr a halftan manþ eþtir. A þaim friþi ma engin víþr firi andrum huatki hest eþa
uxa, miþ þy et bondi þarf þa þeþi huern dag a akrum hafa, utan hann sei sakr at þrím
markum. Þa en gield ir manna millan ok ier lagrytt²⁰⁵ til gielz, þa víþin annat²⁰⁶ bo
hans <soyþi>²⁰⁷ eþa kust, ok ai ortasoyþi²⁰⁸ sum hann þa víþr þarf.


Þar²¹⁰ ier enn siþan þingfriþ²⁰⁹ manna. Þingsmenn aigu þingfriþ²⁰⁹ sykia. Takr þu
mann i har, eþa meþ nefa slar, a þingi, þa byt þriar markr firi þingfriþ²⁰⁹ ok þau laga
bytr. Slar þu mann miþ stangu, eþa yxar hambri, eþa sar <vatir>²¹¹ manni, byt²¹² þriar
markr. Drepr þu mann at dauþum, eþa af hagg <vatir>,²¹¹ byt²¹³ siex markr, utan þy
at ains et mandr verþi²¹⁴ at [15] hemdum drepin. Ai ma sakr maþr þingfriþ²⁰⁹ um
troysta, en ai ier aldra manna firiþ.

[12] 11 Af haimfriþi

Þa ir enn huerium manni haimaþriþ siþan.²¹⁵ Drepr þu at dauþum manni haima i
garþi sinum, eþa af hagg <vatir>,²¹⁶ þa byt²¹⁷ tolf markr víþr landa alla, ok andrar tolf
hanum, ok þau vereldi. Slar þu mann miþ stangu eþa yxar hambri, eþa sar <vatir>,²¹⁶
þa byt²¹⁸ þriar markar hanum, ok andrar þriar moga, ok þau laga bytr. Verþr husbondi
berþr i garþi sinum haima, eþa flaira fulk, þa takr²¹⁹ þann ann haimsokn sum hoygstr
ir, ok ai flairin. En all skulu hafa laga bytr.
[13] 12 Af mandrapi

Det ier nu þy nest en so illa kann bieras mið fianda ræpi et mandr <hittir> mann at drepa, þa skal flya mið hanum faðir, ok sun, ok broðir. Þa en ai iru þair til, þa flyin mið hanum nestu niðiar um fiauratigi netr til þairi kirkjur sum allir menn hafa helg i <takit>. Þet ir <Farðaim> ok þingsteþi ok Atlingabo. Þar skal hafa helg ok heli so i prestgarþi sum i kirkjugarþi. En síðan þet ier utgangit, þa riði þengat sum hann bandu vill hafa dragit, ok dragi um haimþorp þry, ok so læng a skoga frán haimþorpum þaim þrim, et i miðiu mytis frán andrum haimþorpum sum <annanveg skogs> liggia, en hann loyfi far af þaim sum aign aigu. Ai ma bandu draga um þing eða kaupung ok ai um kirkju maira þan aina, þa sum hann til sykir. Hafi síðan helg i bandu sinni, ok sii viðr annar. Ók dragi e a þaim friði sum nestr ier eptir <paskar>, en þar til halldr hanum banda þaun sum hann þa drog, en hann vandreþi hafþi ny gart. Þet kalla menn vatubandu. Óaun banda sum dragin standr um atmeli hana, ma engin lasta sen atmeli ir uti. En mandr hafi síðan sielfsvald at vera i bandu senni eða fara utlendis til helgra manna, sinar syndir at byta. Hafi atta daga frest til skips at fara, ok fari so i friði pilagrims ferþ sina. Ok þegar hann at kumbr, þa hafi ok atta daga frest fara atr til bandur sennir i friði. Þa en mandr gierir til sakar i kirkiusokn þairi samu sum hann sielfr bor i, þa flyi hann yr þairi, ok dragi so annansteþ bandu, ok þau þar sum huatki bor i moðir eða dotir eða systir. Kirkju þa syki hann þau andra miðan, firi þy so et ai magu þair beþir til annir at fara. Tiunt þa fyri hann halfa þar sum hann tíþir sykir, en half liggi quer at þairi kirkju sum hans bol var tilskurat. Þa en mandr gierir sakar i haimþorpi þi sama sum hann bor i, þa flyi hann þegar þeþan ok dragi annansteþ bandu, en hann frið vil hafa, með þy et ai magu þair beþir i aínu haimþorpi boa. Þa en ogutniskr maþr drepr
ogutniskan mann, þa dragi so bandu sum <gutniskr>, en hann a boli sielfs sins bor a Gutlandi.

13 Af biaúpi bot manni

Biaúpi bot manni en hann orkar, sen atmeli ir utgangit, ok lati atmeli ai milli, ok biaúpi þrysuar um þry ar. En hinna sei mandr oskemdr, þau en hann taki at fyrsta sinni þegar buþit verþr. Þa en hann vil ai taka at fyrsta sinni ok ai at andru, þa taki hann at þriþia, sen þry ar iru utgangin. Vil hann ai þa taka, þa skal biera a þing firi alla lyþi. Taki en þar en hann vil. Þa en hann ai vil, þa raþin allir lyþir firi þe en hann sei mandr osakr. Þa en hinn kallar ai vera fest liþin, en hann kallar varar liþin sum vereldi biaúþr, þa hafr þann vitorþ sum liþit kallar, miþ þrim þaira manna skillum sum miþ hanum haima at garþi varu, ok bot buþu þrysuar um þry ar. Ok viti þet miþ tolf manna aþi et e vari atmeli a millum latit. Þa en mandr vil ai vereldi <biaúþa> ok <frestir> íru þau allar liþnar, þa skal land hann friþlausan dyma, ok til dags um manaþa fest vereldi utretta, ok hann sakan at siex markum siþs viþr malsaiganda, ok þrar siex landi. So liggi ok þaim viþr sum ai haldr bandu sina. Þar gangi ok engun byn þirir et ai skuli alt upp takas.

[14] 14 Af lutnum sakum

En um lutnar sakir eptir fáþur eþa broþur eþa niþia, þa aigu allir viþr at sia þar til et þair orka vereldi biaúþa. En hinna taki þegar en hann vil ok veri mandr oskemdr. Þa en hann ai vil so brat taka, þa skal biaúþa hanum þrysuar til iemlanga, biera ok síþan a þing firi alla lyþi. Taki enn þar en hann vil, eþa raþin allir lyþir þirir Þe, en þair sein osakir.

Vela <tuair> um eþa flairin ok dreþa ann mann, þa hafin þair allir aina bandu, þar til et ann takr viþr bana.
Niði ma hemna en hann vil fyri ungan oformaga. All þaun sum lutu aigu liauta ok vilia hemna firi ungan oformaga, þa ir þet hemnat sum nequar af þaim hemnar firi hann, huart sum heldr265 ir quindismaþr eþa kerldis-. Þaun hemd standr so sum266 en hann sielfr hemni. Þaun varþa ok vereldi upp taka en erfingi er ungr, sen at þi mali er kumit, et hinn ma fe fram biauþa ok yr sakum loysas sum i hafr varit.

Þa enn <gutniskr>267 maþr drepr ogutniskan mann ok orkar268 vereldi biauþa, þa þarf hann huatki viþr vegsl269 eþa bandur. Þa enn <ogutniskr>270 maþr drepr gutniskan mann, þa haldr ai hanum banda, utan þi at ains et271 hann vereldi vinni buþit.

Þa en [19]oformagi verþr manni at bana, þa ir byt at tolf markum silfs.

Þa en kuna hafandi verþr vegin miþ barni ok orka272 menn aþum uppihalda <et>273 barni vari henni quikt i quþi, þa viti þet hennar husbondi en hann ir til. Ier han[n ai]274 til, þa viti275 þann sum henni ier nerkumnastr miþ þrim bolfastum mannum gutniskum at samu276 sokn, ok þar til so margum et tolf sein, allir henni iemburnir. Þa <bytir>277 barnit at tolf markum silfs oburit, en hana at fullu vereldi.

15 Af vereldi manna

Nu iru enn fram sýþan verelði manna. Gutnisks manz verelði bytis at þrim markum gulz, en hann ir at dauþum drepin. Aldra annara manna verelði bytis278 at tiu markum silfs, utan þrels verelði bytis at halffemti mark penninga. <Takr>279 <gutniskr>280 maþr ogutniska kunu. þa bytis <han>281 at fullu verelði sinu, en barn fylgin fþrni sinu at verelði. Takr ogutniskr maþr gutniska kunu. þa vari huart þaira at verelði sinu.

En barn fylgin fþrni at verelði.

16 Af <banduverelði>282

Gutnisks manz <banduverelði>283 iru tolf markr silfs, en ogutnisks manz at fem markum silfs.284 ok þrels at siþx oyrum penninga.
Allir iru iemnir at botum þar til et limalyti kan i at kuma. Þa en limalyti kumbr i, þa

Drepr þrel manz mann gutniskan, þa taki drotin ok laiþi hanum bana bundnan\(^{286}\) i
garþ firi fiauratigi nata, ok niu markr \(<\text{silsf}>^{287}\) miþp. Þa en ai ier bani til, þa gieldi tolf
markr silfs ok ai maira. Þa en þrel drepr ogutniskan mann, þa byti drotin \(\text{firi hann}\) tuar
markr silfs ok laiþi bana \(<\text{bundnan}>^{288}\) i garþ firi fiauratigi nata. Þa en ai ir bani til, þa
byti hann\(^{289}\) fem markr silfs. Ok vinni hanum siex manna ælþ et hann huatki vari i
þaim skaþa raþandi eþa valandi. Vindr ai drotin aiþi uppihaltit, þa byti fult vereldi,
þeþi gutniskan ok ogutniskan. Þa en þrel drepr þrell, þa vindr ai mann \(<\text{noyþgat}>^{290}\)
til þes et hann gieþi bana at botum, en halffemti mark penninga í i buþi.

En þrel þan sum ort hafr mala, þa taki \(<\text{frelsi}>^{291}\) firi kirkjudurum miþ soknamanna
vitnum ok sþan \(<\text{varþar}>^{292}\) þrell siir sielfr huat sum hann gierir.

[17] \textbf{17 Áfoseyþum}

Uxi fastr ok fem vittra gamal \(<\text{bier}>^{293}\) ok manni tolf marka sak i garþ, en hann
verþr manni at bana. Hest all\(^{294}\) binda. en til bonda kumbr. at\(^{295}\) fiarþa staurgulfi frán
liþstukki ok \(<\text{fiugur}>^{296}\) stig frán durum manz. Þa varþar ai utan frembra foti
\[^{21}\text{manninerar}\] \(^{297}\) ok tannum en hann bitz. Þa en þu i garþ far eþa til kletis, þa bint viþr
gaf iþ eþa bak vegg.\(^{298}\) þa varþar þu ai frammar þan aþans\(^{299}\) var telt. Galtr merktr ir at
þriþia en hann hafr þria vintra fastr gangit. Hundr ir at fiarþa. Hanum varþar e um alt.
en hann skaþa gierir. aigj þan sum vil. þaim fiaurum oqueþinsvitum varþar huer maþr
i garþi sinum viþr tolf marka silfs sak.

Þa en oqueþinsvitr verþr suerþhari manni at bana þan gutniskum, þa falla e
\(<\text{tuair}>^{164}\) lutur af vereldi hans en þriþiung þa byti \(<\text{hin}>^{300}\) sum soþþin a. Þet kalla
menn krafarvereldi en oqueþinsvitr verþr manni at bana, eþa lestir mann at limum. Þet
al <krefia> ok ai hemna, lagryþia til sum til annara gieldeta. Þa en oqueþinsvitr vaitir mannari sar eþa lasti, þa fallin e <tuair> lutir af bot, en þriþing bytir hin sum soþpin a, firiutan hund bit; þa bytir tanna spur <huert> at tuem oyrum til fiugura.

[18a] [18] 18 Ber maþr kunu

Ber maþr kunu so et barn spillis oburit, ok haþr þau quikt i quipi verit, þa bytir hann halft vereldi. Þa en han kennir þet manni en hann dular, þa bindi han hann viþr miþ tuem <vitnum>. þa paim sum <han> sik <skirskutaþi> firir a þriþia dygri et han <berþ> vari, eþa þaim sum viþr varu, ok þau bolfastum, ok <tuaim> quinna vitnum et barn vari sþan datt burit sen han var berþ. Ok viti þet sielf miþ siex þiaþa aþi et þet quikt vari.

Afsarum 19 Af sarum

Gierir maþr manni sar att eþa flairin mundar diaupt, þa byti mund huern at half mark til atta marka beþi a diauplaik ok a langlaik, ok halftu minna en ai ir mundar diaupt ok þau þarf lekisskep viþr. Þan maþr sum firi sarum verþr, þa haþi vitni af tuem rþmunnar i sama hunderi ok ains lanzdomera af sama siettungi ok sueri sielþr miþ siex mannum miþ þaira vitnum, utan þaira aþi, en bot ir mairi þan þriar markr. Þa
Guta lag

en þriar markr íru eða þrim[324] minna, þa ier þríggia manna aihr. Þa en hann flairi sar hafr, þa sueri hann huat hann heldr vil, a ann eða flairin ok þau til sama bota. All hulseri íru byt at mark silfs. Sargar maþr mann miþ knifi, þa bytir tuar markr silfs. Kastar[325] maþr at manni miþ staini eða andru nequaru ok far sar af, þa bytir þriar markr. Verþr maþr berþr miþ lukahaggum, so et synir slegir íru, þa bytir half mark huern[326] sleg[327] til fiugura ok þau miþ sama vitnum sum til sara. Íer mandr sargarþr


atr ir groit. Íer ypit[331] so et ai kann hailna, þa íru fullar mestu bytr. En oyra halfu


þa brunar, þa bytir half mark silfs. Þa en sia ma yfir þuert mot, þa ír mark silfs; ok
þau sara bytr. Suarþsprang bytir[332] at mark penninga. Skin hiernskal, þa bytir tuar
markr penninga.333 En ier hiernskal suugin eða rimnin,334 þa ír mark silfs. Sis[335] a

himin[336] eða hinna, þa ír byt at <tuaim>164 markum silfs.

Bain huert sum i skalu skieldr íer byt at mark penninga þuert til fiugura337 baina.

Huafibain <huert>[338] sum bier elna langan þrap yfir fem elna <hauga>[339] ri ír byt at
tuem markum penninga huert[340] til fiugura baina. <Fingr>[341] huert ír byt at iii
markum penninga en pet af ír. Þumlingr íer bytir at tuem markum silfs. Þa en fingr ír
liþstarkt so et engin ír <fengr at>,342 þa ír byt so sum af sei. Þa en mandr ír at anni
hendi lestr. ok ma þau halda a suerþi eða sikli ok vindr ai vapni uppi vegit, þa ír byt at

íi markum [silfs. Þa en maþr íer lestr at gangfemprn ella runfemprn, þa íer byt at íi
markum]343 silfs. Þa en sundr íer þan hels eða nakka, þa ír ok byt at íi markum [silfs.

Tia hueriun íer byt at íi markum]343 penninga en han af ír. Þa en af ír hand eða fotr eða
auga uti. þa ír byt at siex markum silfs huert þaira. Þa en mandr laikr at manni ok

mandr en siþan, þa byti tolf markr[345] silfs huert þaira. Þa en nasar íru af skurnar af
manni so et hann ma ai veria\textsuperscript{346} sikli e\(\text{\textacute{a}}\) snori, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) bytir ok at tolf markum silfs. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en
tunga ver\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)r dragin ut af hafpi ok af\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)kurin, so et ai ma mals vi\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)r at niauta, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) ir ok byt
at tolf markum silfs. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en mandr ver\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)r lestr at skapum, so et \textit{hann} ma ai barns fa\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)rir
vera, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) ir byt at siex markum silfs vigniauri huar. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en be\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)r iru \textit{<lestir>},\textsuperscript{347} \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) ir byt
at tolf markum silfs. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en \textit{[alt]}\textsuperscript{348} ir af m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p skapti, so et mandr \textit{ma} ai hugunda niauta
utan sitiandi sum kuna, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) ir byt at xviii markum silfs.

\textit{Rif huert bytir at ii markum til fiugura rifia. <Telgia>\textsuperscript{349} i hendi e\(\text{\textacute{a}}\) foti ir byt at
mark penninga. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en maira bain ir sundr, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) ir byt at mark silfs so foz sum handar,
en lastalaust ir atr haitl. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en limalastir fylgia, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) bytir ii markr silfs.}\textsuperscript{350} Hafr mandr
syna slegi a hendi,\textsuperscript{351} ok segr hana onyta vara, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) viti m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p samu vitnum sum til sara.
\(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en ai iru synir slegir, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) hafi \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)n vitor\(\text{\textacute{a}}\) sum vers. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)t er handalestr minstr, en ai ma
\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)ula varmt e\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)a kalt so sum fyr. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)t er byt at mark penninga\textsuperscript{26}ok viti sielfr m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)
ainsyri.\textsuperscript{352}

Ier ly\(\text{\textacute{a}}\) bist mannir yr hafpi m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p synum slegum\textsuperscript{353} so et hann huatki hoyrir hund i
bandi e\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)a \textit{<hana>}\textsuperscript{354} a vagla, e\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)a mann en hann a durum kallar, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) ir byt at xii
markum silfs ok viti sielfr m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p siex manna a\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)pi ok m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p samu vitnum sum til sara. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en
mandr ver\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)r a\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)n ouyr at ly\(\text{\textacute{a}}\) bi lestr so et hann ekki hoyrir m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p \(\text{\textacute{a}}\), en hann haldr firi
andru, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) ir byt at vi markum silfs. \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) en ouyr ver\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)r manni af hagguit, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) ir byt at
mark silfs.\textsuperscript{355} \textit{En ver\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)r ouyrat <ly\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)rt>, }\textsuperscript{356} \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) bytir at \textit{<tuaim>}\textsuperscript{164} markum penninga. Slar
\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u manni tendr yr hafpi, \(\text{\textacute{a}}\) bytir \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u so huern sum hann \textit{<dy\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)r>}\textsuperscript{357} ir: yfru fremstu tua
bytir at \textit{<tuaim>}\textsuperscript{164} markum penninga huarn, en \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u tua sum \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u sitia nest at mark
penninga huarn. en \\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u huern at mark penninga m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p bitum ok allu. En n\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)ru tendr
alla \textit{<halfur>}\textsuperscript{358} legra ut ok ut.\textsuperscript{359}

Takr \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u manni\textsuperscript{360} i \textit{<har>}\textsuperscript{361} m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p anni hendi,\textsuperscript{362} byt tua ouyr. Takr \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u m\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)p ba\(\text{\textacute{a}}\)hum, byt
half mark. Nykkir \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u manni\textsuperscript{363} byt tua ouyr. Skiautr \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u manni byt tua ouyr. Slar \(\text{\textacute{a}}\)u

20 Af loyski

Skieg manz bytír so sum annur hardrag. Loyski þet sum <fingr> 368 ma asetia bytíis viii ertaugar. 369 Þa en tu ma asetia, þa bytíis half mark. Þa en þumling lafr til at þriðja, þa ír bytí at mark penninga. Þa en loyski ir so mikit et lofða ma a leggia, þa íru tuar markr penninga. 370 Þa en huert har ír af. þa bytír at mark silfs, en frammar bytír ai þau et huert har sei af dregit. Þa en torfa ier manni af hafþi haggvin, þa ír bytí at mark silfs.

21 Skainir þu kleþi mans

Skainir þu kleþi manz, þa bytí yfirkleþi at oyri. Kurtill 371 at <tuaim> 364 oyrum, likvara at atta ertaugum, ok gier alt hailt kleþi manz ok iemgut sum þet fyr var. Likvara kallar 372 [28] serk ok skyrtru, brok 373 ok hatt manz. Þaun íru all iem dyr, huert þaira sum skaint verþr. Þa en a harund kumbr ok verþr sar, þa bytír 374 þu beþi sar ok kleþi.

22 Af ypnu sari ok lukahaggum

Sari skal mæþr varþa ypnu til iemlanga, ok aina nat. Verþr mæþr berþr miþ lukahaggum ok liggr í seng samu so et hann ai gangr uppi millan ok far þau forskiel, þa hafi fiugura 375 bolfasta manna vitni ok þriggia domera af sama siettingi ok þar til so marga et tolf sein. Þa en hann ai far forskiel, þa hafi hans arfi vitorþ miþ samu vitnum. En gangr hann uppi millan, þa hafi hann vitorþ sum vers.
23 Gier mæþr mannni vegþuera

Gierir mæþr mannni vegþuera, takr ribandi mann i baizl, eþa gangandi mann i akslar ok vendir um af gatu senni, þa bytir þu þunka viii ertaugar. En gierir hann mannni vald ok latr lengr fylgia, þa bytir þriar markr hanum firi vald ok aprar þriar markr moga.

5 24 Bers þrell

Bers þrell manz viþr mann frelsan, þa hafi e hann hag tu gin ainu, þa ier þaira millan iemt. Þa en þrell far flairi ðan tu gin ainu, þa þyr slegr huer at <tuaim> oyrum til fygura. Þa en hin frelsir far flairi hag ðan att gin <tuaim>, þa ir hanum byt at halft mark huert hag til fygura. Þa en þrel far nyk eþa ryst eþa rind, þa ier e hanum byt halfu sueverþari ðan frelsum. Þa en i <sarafar> kumbr, þa bytir iemdyrt sum frelsum til þruggja marka ok ai frammar. Þunka bytir engin þreli ok engum <bytir> ok þrel þunka. 

[29a] 20 25 Af allum lutum

En oformagar iru, ungir, eptir faþur dauþan, ok iru synir magandi menn, þa ma ai hin elzti skilias viþr hin yngsta, þau et noybas <taki>, fyr ðan hann ir magandi. Noytin allir af allu oskiptu, þar til et hann ir femtan ara gamal. Siþan taki hann viþr skiaþpu ok skalum ok <laitar> firir sir huer en þair ai vilia lengr saman vera. Þa en so takr noybas et iorþ verþr til <þyþur> selia fyr þan allir sein magandi, þa al festa aldra iemt ok [ai] at fastu selia, so elzta sum yngsta, utan þy at <ains> et nequar taki ungan oformaga til sina, huat sum hann heldr ier quindismaþr eþa kerdis-, ok giefi hanum fyþu þar til et hann ir magandi, þa haldr hann inni sinum luta, þau et andrir verþin iorþ til fyþur selia. Gifdir faþur sun senn ok doyr suninn ok <laifir> <dyþtrir> eptir sik, þa skulu þaar sitia i karls skauti ok biþa luta senna. Þa en karlin <doyr> ok gangs eptir, þa skiptin arfí at hafþatali <dyþtrir> ok <sunadyþtrir>. Þa en synir karls iru flairin, þa liautin sunadyþtrir eptir faþur senn.
Samulund liauz ok eptir faþurmoþur en han lir\textsuperscript{162} lengr en sun. Hafr erfilytia\textsuperscript{394} aign lutna, þa liautr huert sîþan eptir annat i hueria quisl sum þet kumbr, huart sum heldr sei lindagyrt eþa gyþlu-, emîþan bloz ir til.\textsuperscript{395} Þa en gangs bloþ alt ok ir kumit undir tua lindagyrtok okumit undir þriþia, þa liautr atr i garþ sama sum yr var kumit. Þa en kumit ir undir þriþia ok iru allir þrir eptir sik, þa stepz par quert i garþi sum i ier kumit, þau et gangis. Hafr erfilytia lutu\textsuperscript{396} lutna ok gangs eptir hana, þa liauti þan sum bloþz ier nestr. Þa en bæþi iru\textsuperscript{397} iemner, kerldi ok quindi, þa liauti\textsuperscript{398} þau kerldi ok ai quindi.

26 Þar som gangs i garþi

Þar sum gangs\textsuperscript{399} i garþi, þa liauti dotir eptir faþur senn myþrni ok faþurmyþrni. Þa en <faþursystrir>\textsuperscript{400} iru til, giptar eþa ogiptar,\textsuperscript{401} þa takin þar sett <faþurmyþrni>.\textsuperscript{402} Þa en nekkrar iru ogiptar, þa takin attunda penning af feþrni sinu þegar gield iru guldin.

\textsuperscript{403}\[29\]Par sum gangs i garþi, þa liautin nîþiar hafuþlut <sinn>\textsuperscript{404} mîþ burnum a fiarþa mann. En fiarrar ier, þa tak\textsuperscript{405} attunda lut sîþan gield iru guldin ok quinna lutir iu utrettadir. En quindi tak\textsuperscript{405} slikt yr garþi sum <han> i hafþi,\textsuperscript{406} en þet skrifat ier i\textsuperscript{407} fyrsta ari. Íer þet ai skrifat, þa haði garþin\textsuperscript{408} vitorþ.

\textsuperscript{30a}Gangs eptir mann ok limnar enkia i garþi, þa haði at uppheldi i garþi til atmelis laup rygar\textsuperscript{409} ok annan korns.\textsuperscript{410} um huern\textsuperscript{411} manaþ, en han ai doyr eþa giptis a fran.

En þann kustr sum henni <fylgþi>\textsuperscript{412} þar i garþ, þa taki slikan yr \[31\]garþi sum <han >\textsuperscript{413} quam. Verþr kuna gipt i flairi garþa ok far barn i flairum, þa liauti so barn sum barn myþrni sitt beþi aign ok oyra. Ok bryþr takin upp siri samsystrir sinar huat sum þar\textsuperscript{414} iru heldr, giptar eþa ogiptar. Þa en kuna ir gipt af garþi mîþ haimfylgi ok gangs eptir hana, þa liautz atr i garþ sama sum han af giptis. Þa en gangiz\textsuperscript{415} ier i þaim garþi, þa liauti nesta bloþ, huat sum heldr ier kerldi eþa quindi, ok <þoþgin>\textsuperscript{416} quindi lengra þan a fiarþa mann. Íru beþi iemner, þa liauti þau kerldi. \[41\]Þet iru ok lag et kuna
liautr\textsuperscript{418} hogsl ok íp eptir bonda senn. \textless Strit\textgreater \textsuperscript{419} han lengr enkia i garði með synum sinum ok gangs eptir syni hennar fyr þan atta ar íru utgangin, þa taki mark penninga um huert ar miðan synir líðpu. En giptis han fran barnum sinum lifandum, þa hafi hogsl ok íp ok ai maira. Enkia þaun sum barnalaus ir, þa hafi herbergi en han vil i sama garði sum han gipt íer i. Þa en han ai vil, þa hafi half mark penninga um huert ar til siextan ara ok taki upp eptir þí sum ar líða.

\textbf{27 Af quinna lutum}

En um quinna lutu, þa liautr dotir eða doturbarn. \textit{Pa en ai íru þaun til, þa liautr syster eða systurbarn.} Þa en ekki íer þaira til, þa liautr faðursystir eða faðursysturbarn.

\textbf{28 Af þyðarn}

Engin þysun far sík gytt til luta utan \textit{bi at ains et} hann hafi aðal gutniskt\textsuperscript{424} beði faður ok moður ok vitri þegar mið \textit{<skrifan>\textsuperscript{425}} í etarmanna skra, þar til et þriar íru eptir sík allar \textit{<gutniskar>\textsuperscript{426}}. Þa liautr sun þairi \textit{<þriðiu>\textsuperscript{427}} lutu\textsuperscript{428} með niðium. Far gutniskr maðr þyðarn viðr gutniska kunu ok gangs eptir hann ok loyfir\textsuperscript{429} eptir sík þyðarn syni ok dytrir, þa skiptin þaun\textsuperscript{430} feðrnis oyrum at haðatali mið aðal dytrum, en þar íru til.

Iru ai þar til, þa skiptin \textit{þaun} sina milli at haðatali feðrnis oyrum. En far gutniskr
máþ þysyni viþr ogutniska kunu, þa fyþi hann þaim þar til et þair iru magandi. Vilia þair ai lengr miþ feþr vera, þa gieþi þriar markr penninga huerium [33]þaira ok fulkvapn ok sengakleþi, faldu[431] ok legvit[432] ok vengi, ok femtan elnar <kleþis>[433] til gangkleþa. Þa en hann haþr þydytrir, þa fyþi ok þaim, þar til et þar iru xviii ara gamlar; hafi sielfsvald um gipta þaim en nequar baþpis. En varþa þar ai giptar ok vilia þar ai lengr meþ feþr vera sen xviii ar iru[434] utgangin, þa gieþi mark silfs hueri þaira ok seng ok gangkleþi ok ko eþtr emnum sinum. Þybarna ret skal utgieþa allan miþ kirkiumanna vitnum ella skielum. 705


[20a] 29 Af intekt

innitakin miþ ogutniskri kunu, þa far han þviar markar af hanum ok þoygi446 ellerutan hann sei innitakin þar sum hennar seng ir ok hennar haim. Verþr ogutniskr maþr innitakin miþ gutniskri kunu, þa byti sum aþal gutniskr. Þa en hann verþr ai innitakin ok far þau barn meþ hann, þa gieði henni hogsl atta markar ok fyþi sielfr barn sett. En kennir kunabarn hanum ok hann queþr447 nai víþr, þa veri sìk miþ samu vitnum sum gutniskr. En barn fyþin þair sum hogsl aigu upp taka, faþir eþa broþir, en han ogiptier.448 Far <ogutniskr>449 maþr barn víþr ogutniska kunu, þa gieði ok henni hogsl iii markr ok fyþi faþir barn sett. Þa en hann verþr innitakin miþ, þa gieði ok þviar markr, þau et ai sei barn.

[21] 30 Gierir mandr hor450

Gierir mandr hor, þa byti iii markr þingi ok siex markar malsaganda. Þa en mandr gierir yfirhor [lerþr ella]451 olerþr,128 þa byti xii markr landi ok aþrar tolf markr malsaganda. Gierir gipt maþr hor víþr ogipta kunu, þa skal hann hana hogsla. Gierir laggipt kuna hor víþr ogiptan mann, þa skal hann hana ai hogsla. Verþr maþr innitakin miþ annars manz kunu, lerþr eþa olerþr, þa liggi hanum víþr fiauratigi markr eþa lif hans ok rapi <pau>452 malsagandi huat hann heldr vill, fe eþa lif hans. Lukkar mandr dotur manz eþa nequan hans varnaþ til festur utan faþurs raþ eþa frenda, þa byti xl markr malsaganda; þar hafi land tolf markr af. Takr mandr kunu eþa moy meþ rani eþa valdi, utan faþurs raþ eþa frenda, þa raþin þair sum hennar mal rykta halsi eþa vereldi hans. en kuna ir gutnisk; þar hafi land tolf markr af. Þa en kuna ir ogutnisk, þa raþin þair sum hennar mal rykta halsi hans eþa x markum silfs; þar hafi land xii markr af.
[22] 31 Verþr kuna skiemð a vegum

Verþr kuna skiemð i skogi ok til symnis noyð eþa annansteþ, þa laþi þann miþ opí en han ai vil skam þula, ok fari þengat eptir sum hann far firir. Þa en nequar hoyrir op hennar, þa ma þan biera henni ful skiel ok all so sum hann viþr vari ok augum a sagi. Þa en engin hoyrir op hennar, þa skirskuti han sik þegar um fyrsta dygr þar sum han til byar kumbr, ok segi namn manz. Þaira niautr han ok skiela at, en þaun duga vilia. Þa en han lengr suelir ok kerir ai, þa ir þigia best yfir. Þan far þa vitorþ sum vers. Þa en mandr verþr at sliku sandr ok fylgia skiel kunu, þa bytir hann gutniskri kunu xii markr silfs, en ogutniskri kunu fem markr silfs ok ofrelsi kunu vi oyra penninga. Verþr firi laggiþt kuna gutnisk eþa ogutnisk, þa haþr hann firigart lifi sinu, eþa loysi sik miþ so miklu vereldi sum kuna ir dyr. Þa en kuna kennir ai mann, ok skirskutar þau sik um fyrsta dygr síþan <han> til [36]byar kumbr, ok latz síþan hafa kient mann síþan lengra ir frangangit, þa vers hann miþ xii manna aþi fyri þeiri sum ai ier hafandi. Þa en han ier hafandi ok biers a þaim tima sum han skam sina skirskutaþi, þa aigi han vitorþ miþ tolf manna aþi ok vitnum þaim sum han sik skirskutaþi firir. Þa en þrel manz gierir slikt viþr gutniska kunu, þa <vindr> ai drotin miþ vereldi vert hann, utan þi at ains at han heldr vili hafa vereldi takit þan lif hans.

[23] 32 Um quinna gripi

En um quinna gripi iru lag þaun. Slar þu tupp eþa huif af kunur haþpi so et ai ier miþ vaþa gart ok beras haþþu hennar <halft>, þa byt mark penninga; þa en beras alt þa byt ii markr penninga. Hafi han <vitorþ> um miþ vitnum þaim sum a sagu huat sum heldr beraþis, alt eþa halft. En ofrels kuna far slega bytr, ok ai maira. Slitr þu nast eþa nestla kunur, þa byt atta ertaugar. <Slitr> þu beþi byt half mark. Þa en hann faldr niþr a iorþ, þa byt mark. Slitr þu snoþir kunur, þa byt half mark hueria til mestu
bota. Ok fa henni alt atr. Viti sielf han ner alt ir. <Skiautr>465 þu kunu so et henni stinqua kleþi yr lagi, þý sum þaun fyr varu, þa byt atta ertaugar. Stinqua þaun a legg miþian, byt half mark. Stinqua þaun so háut et sia ma kníborþ,466 þa byt mark penninga. Stinqua þaun so háut et beþi ma sia lend ok [37]<lóyndir>,467 þa byt i spærkr.

5 Takr þu kunu um baugliþ byt half mark en <hán>468 kera vil. Takr þu um alnbuga, byt atta ertaugar. Takr þu um axlar hafþiþ, byt fem ertaugar. Takr þu um briaust, byt oyri. Takr þu um ankul,469 byt half mark. Takr þu milli knis ok kalva, byt atta ertaugar. Takr þu en handar mair, þa ir þet griþr hinn ohaþverþi ok <háitir>470 fola griþr; þar liggia engar febytr viþr;471 flestar þula472 sen þar til kumbr. Þa en firi verþr ogutnisk kuna, þa bytir473 þu henni halþu minna griþi alla þan gutniskri kunu, en firi ir kuna frels ok friþvet.

[24] 33 Af bryllaupum474

Um vagnikla ferþir þa skulu aí flairin aca þan <tuair>164 a huarum vagni. En maga raiþ ir aftakin. Þar singis bruþmesss a sum ungi maþr iar ok bryllaup skal <drikkas>.475

15 Sendi ungi maþr þria menn gin bruþ senni ok bryttuga biþi þar sum bruþmesss aing ok bryllaup <drikkas>.476 En bryllaup skal drikkas um tua daga miþ allu fulki ok giefar giefi huer sum vil. eptir vilia sinum. En fyrmingar iru <aftaknar>477 til bryllaupa hafa. A þriþia dagi þa hafþi sielfsvald um at biaþþa aþt drozsetum ok gerþamanunn478 ok nestu frendum. Minni skulu skenkiþa so marg sum husbondi vil [38]firir Mariu minni.

20 En eptir Mariu minni, þa hafþi huer maþr haimluþ ok ol bieris479 aí lengr in. Huer sum þitta briautþ, þa byti xii markr landi. En huer sum obuþin kumbr til bryllaups eþa vaizlur ols, þa gieldi iii oyri penninga.480

[24a] 34 Af erfisgierþum

Erfisgierþir iru allar aftaknar. Utan huer sum vil, þa giefi kleþi ok skyþi innansoknafulki eptir þan sum fram481 iar líþin.
35 Af quinna ret

Skarlað ok bladragning sliti þet huer 483 sum til ier, 484 ok engin mairi til auki sen þet ier slitit, huatki fornð eþa nyt.

Raiþkleþi485 ok raiþvengi skierins ai smeri486 þan i fjarþunga.

[24d] 36 Af gutniskri kunu

Þitta ir ok semp sik487 um gutniskar kunur, et huer broþir gieri ræþ firir syster senni til giptur. Vil hann488 ai, þa gieði henni attunda lut af aigu senni til uppheldis, miþ skynian nestu489 frenda ok soknamanna, so et han huergi <oraþlika>490 firigieri sinum kust.

En um ogutniskt fulk,491 þa liautin tuar syster gin ainum bryþr. Þa en falla kann syskana millan eþa syskanabarna, þa skiptin so þi sum feþri eþa myþri. Þa en fjarraar <gangr>,492 þa liauti þan sum bóþi ier nestr.493

494 [60a] [24f, 64] 37 Af farvegum manz

En um farvegi manna þa írú lag þaun: a mandr aign huergin tafasta, þa al hann sielfr at vita <a>495 ypna varst, hur hann farveg a. Þa en hann tafasta a ok ypna496 varst, þa far497 hann ai vita a annars aign ypna. En hafr hann sielfr lukna, þa ma hann vita a annars ypna. Þa en menn vilía gierþa talautir498 innan gierþa, þa aigu þair quiar <laifa>499 femtan stiga braþar. Þa helga þair garþ senn ok ai ellar. Gierþir mandr sîr haga yfir farveg manz, þa gierþi500 hann hanum liþ en hin fari þet sum hann ﬀor for.

Þa en hann gierþir atr gatu manz yfir laga501 farveg manz, þa gierþi500 þan liþ sum garþin a, ok þan502 varþi liþium sum veg a.

[38a] [25] 38 Af skoga <brigslum>503

Brigþas <tuair>164 menn um skog, þa al mandr hafa tu vitni: <liksvitni>504 ok ortarvitni. Laþigs viþ garran eþa <troþur>505 klufit ok a stumbla legt, eþa [39]klappat quiði ok saman burit ok par latit þorkas til hafallar,506 þet ir ortarvitni fult.507 Vitorþ hafþ þann sum liksvitni hafþ driaugari at ort umkring. An[n] af þaim sum mest a skal
<fyrsti>508 til aiz at ganga. Vil hann ai mið aðbi vitna, þa dugin509 hans vitni huargum.510 En um aðal iorþ skal ok hafa tu vitni: niðiavitni ok ortarvitni um þria vintr. Ortarvitni bierint511 þar sum aign aigu a fasta.512 <Brígþr>513 þan sum kringum a, þa vitnín514 þar sum nest aigu utanum. Niðiavitni bier ai nerari515 þan fiarþi frankumin.

Þa en þaun mytas, aðal iorþ ok skogr ok myr, þa takin516 aðal iorþ tua luti517 ok skogr ok myr þriðung. Skogr ok myr þa takr518 halft huat af daufiorþu519 þar sum þaun mytas millan stumbla ok starþufur. Ok huatki ma þaira mið andru vitna, ai skogr mið myri ok ai myr mið skogi.

10 Lufi engin maþr andrum manni hagga i oskiptum skogi, eþa ag sla i oskiptri myri utan hann sei sakr at þrím markum viþr malsaiganda ok aþrum þrím viþr moga. Dirfis engin maþr yrkia i annars manz skogi eþa myri520 utan þet sei tykt miþ sкиllum705 sum hann miþ far, anbol eþa faruskiaut. En segr hann et hinn oskelliða hafi521 takit, þa vitin522 [40]þet meþ asyn. Huer sum skaþa far um skog eþa aþrar aiguur ok vil hann nequarum mistroa um nequat, þa syni engin andrum ranzsak523 ok asyn utan sak.

Huer sum <merkium>524 spillir utan staurs eþa innan, þa vari sakr at þrím markum viþr malsaiganda ok aþrum þrím viþr moga. Dirfis ok engin maþr gerþa af oskiptri aign utan hann sei sakr at þrím markum viþr malsaiganda ok en aþrum ili viþr moga. Garþi a varþa huer þar sum hann giert hafr; þan tagarþi525 sum tafast a. En þan sum ai a tafast, þa varþar þan526 miþalgarþi. Þar bytir huer spiel sum hann garþ a527 fiirir. Þa en flairi aigu ella hafa528 garþ auman, þa giaðlin allir spiel sum ai hafa garþ laggjertan. Engin far haildir fiirir spiel sin utan hann hafi ella a529 sielfr laggjertan <garþ>.530 Ai ma visa spiellum a annars garþ auman utan hann sielfr hafi goþan.
[26] 39 Af halfgierþi

Bajþis maþr halfgierþi af manni, þa al til segia hanum miþ granna vitnum eþa kirkiumanna. Ok skilin soknamenn til lutar i samu siaunatum. Liauti þan síþan sielfr miþ granna vitnum, en hinn ai til viþr vara, ok gierþ þar sum þu liautr. En hin hafi

síþan atmelis frest fran lutadagi. Þa en síþan kuma soþbir i, þa tak i hus ok lat ai ut fyr þan hann spill bytír ok half mark fram setr til garz. Hafi giert i halfum manapi ok taki atr veþ sin. Þa en hann ai gierþir i halfum manapi, þa tappi sinni half mark ok þu tak atr til annrar half mark þar til et gert ier. Varþi e spíllum miþan ogert ir. Firi þi et garþr ir granna <setir>. 5

10 Huer sum takr soþb i hus, þa anduerþi soþbi til þes et hann til segr hinum miþ granna vitnum sum soþbín a. Vil hann ai síþan soþb sen ut loysa, þa hafi sielfr skaþa en soþbir ir verri eþa dauþr meþ allu. Þa en allum ier laglika tilsegt, þa anduerþi þan sum garþ a auman. Þa en mandr a osoþan ok laupr i at laggiertum garþi, þa al manni til segia miþ granna vitnum ok bijþa soþb senn hepta. Þa en hann síþan gierir skaþa, þa al taka soþb i hus ok hann537 bytír spel sum soþbín a. Briaur uxi bandhailan garþ, þau et hann ai sei laggiertr, þa bytír þu spill. Þa en hann laupr yfir, þa bytír ai, en ai ok garþr laggiertr ier. Þa ir uxi at lagum heptr en hornband ir a eþra foti ok so um horn. Engin garþr er laggiertr utan hann sei539 meþ <tuaim>164 bandum bundin ok halfþþi elna haur til yfrsta banda ok pau firi þaim soþum sum yfir laupa ok ai

20 firir suinum eþa firir <þaim>541 soþum sum undir skriþa. Gasa eþa grisa gieti huer sielfr en garþr er laggiertr firir.

40 Huar som haggr oloyfis

Haggr maþr innan gierþa oloyfins ok akr til, þa vari sakr at þrim markum viþr malsaiganda ok aprum þrim viþr moga. En bier hann yr haim til sina, þa vari sakr at
atta ertaugum ok e hailt atr. Brestr axul a gatu ept annat raiði, þa haggi saklaust i
annars aign en hann ai sielfr a so ner et hann sia ma oyk ok vagn, ept rus ok kerru.

Rifr þu garþ manz upp so et þu briautr yfrsta banda, þa byt half mark. En rifr þu
annot staurgulf byt <vii>543 ertaugar>.544 Rifr þu þríþia, byt iii545 ertaugar. Rifr þu
so brat sum líþzmeli sei;546 þa byt tuar markr ok ai frammar. Ok gierþ atr garþ hans
iemgoðan ok iemlangan sum hann fyr var ok varþa skaþa emen547 ypit ier.

Takr þu viþ manz eþa garþ virki eþa timbr i skogi, byt vi oyra. Þa en hinn hafr til
gatur fyrþ, þa iru548 þiar markr, en hann ekki laifir sett atr. Ok fai hanum alt sett aigít
atr iemgutt ok iemmikit, en þu verþr <sandr>549 at. Viti550 sielfr miþ aðbi ner alt ier.

[27] 41 Af sauþi

Sauþi varþar huer sum hann i garþi hafr utan þi at ains et hiaul <þeggi a>551 <eþa>552
fellidur; þa varþar þann sum fran yþnu gangr. Grafr þu <sauþ>553 i engium eþa aign
þenni, þa gier gang ok gatu iemgoþa fran sum til, ellar varþar þu soyþi manz en hann
vþaþa liautur.

[43] [28] 42 Af aignakaupi

Aign ma engin selia utan þrang rekin til. Þa segi554 til skyldasta meþ soknamannum
ok etarmannum, ok þair skynin huat til <þrengir>.555 En huer sum giefr penninga a
aign utan þissa skynian, þa hafi firigiefit penningum sinum ok byti tolf markar landi
ok æþrar xii skyldum mannum, þaim sum rypta. En aign ir aldri lagkaupit utan meþ
þingsmanni skynian, ok æfraþr frammi standi um atmeli. Meþ samu vitnum skal ok
festa sum <kaþa>.556 Skipta menn aignum, þa lysin a þingi skipti sinu, so et beþir
sein557 viþr. Þa en nequar mistror þaim, þa ranzsaki i sama ari. Þa en ai vinna558
skyldir menn kaupit aign af þaim sum selia þarf, þa kaupin quislarmenn eþa etarmenn
ið miþ samu skyn sum <sett>559 ír. En aign kaupis aldri utan etar. Þa en þair menn
hafa aign sum ai ír í ett, gutniskir eþa <ogutniskir>560 ok þorfu selia, þa selin þaim
sum liauta aigu, en þair efla. Efla ai þair, þa kaupin hunderismenn i sama hunderi sum aign liggr i. Huer sum þitta briautr, <byti>\(^{561}\) xii markr landi. Þa en fierrar mæþ kaupir þan nesti, þa skal afraþ fram setia a hunderis þingi, þi sum aign liggr i, ok hinum laglika til segia sum utan þings ier, fyr enn afraþ fram seti, firi hans soknamannum sum afraþ a taka. Sel maþr aign sina, þa takin afraþ beþi quindi ok kerldi pet sum <liauta> \(^{a562}\) ok ai þair \(^{144}\) sum noyta miþ hanum. En aign kaupin þau niþiar eþa quislarmenn. Vilia ai þair, þa iru quindismenn nerari þan utanmenn. En sel maþr aign sina ok kaupir andra miþ sama verði\(^{563}\) til maks sır, þar gangr ai afraþ\(^{564}\) af. Iorþ í ok aldri afraþalæus\(^{565}\) utan þi at ains et allir lyþir selin eþa han verði at vereldi guldin eþa mark laigí\(^{566}\) at haimfylgi <a malaþingi>\(^{567}\) utlutfat eþa at þiaufgildi guldin. Iru bryþr flairin eþa bryþlingar, \(^{568}\) ok hafa skipt eþa aþrir skyldir menn ok selia ymsir aign sina, þa taki engin þaira afraþ af aþrum utan þan sum þaim ier nestr ok haldr senni aign.

43 Sitr mæþr i hers handum

Sitr mandr i hers handum ok gieldr firi sik iorþ eþa aign sina, þa ier niþi nestr aþr loysa, en hann vil, ok fe\(^{569}\) firi gieldr sipan hinn haim kumbr. Sitr bondasun i hers handum, eþa oformagi, þa ma engin hann dyrari aþer loysa þan at iii markum silfs, utan þi at ains et umbuþ sei til, faþurs\(^{570}\) eþa frenda; ok hafi þriþiungs at avagst slikt sama fe sum hann galt. En vitorþ far hann ai frammar þan til iii\(^{571}\) marka silfs en þa takr askilia.\(^{572}\) En hinn sum lutna\(^{573}\) haþr aign\(^{574}\) ok ai ir oformagi, hann gieri\(^{575}\) sielfr mal\(^{576}\) firiir sir so sum hann viþr ma kuma. Þet standr sum hann sielfr gierir. Þaun iru lag landa milli et utlendingr loysi aldri dyrari mann gutniskan þan at iii markum silfs, utan hann haþi umbuþ faþurs eþa frenda, ok taki þriþiungs avagst eptir fe sinu. Þa en broþir far miþ fe oskiptu ok [451]kumbr i hers hendr,\(^{577}\) þa loysin bryþr hann ok miþ fe oskiptu. Þa en hann far miþ fe skiptu, þa loysi sik sielfr. Bryþr aigu broþur af hers handum loysa emþpan oskipt í þaira millan.
Pa en nequat gagn biers ainum til handa frammar þan andrum eða verðr fyndr aupaðin, þa aigu allir hafa emíðan oskipt ir. Þa en bryðr veria aign oskipta ok drepr ann þaira mann, þa varðar sinum verkum huer.\textsuperscript{579} Þann bytir sum drap.

\textit{44 Af gutniks mans syni}

Engin gutniksks manz sun far skipt af feðr sinum af aigur,\textsuperscript{581} þoygi\textsuperscript{582} et hann baðis, utan þi at ains et faðir vili eða giptis mið faðurs rað ok vilia. Þa en hann skipta vill, þa taki upp hafuþlут senn af oyrum at reknung, en faðir þa hafi bol sett oskipt ok gieði 

\textit{syni} þaim landzaðaígur af ok hafuþlут senn, ok <raði>\textsuperscript{583} sielfr firi\textsuperscript{584} sir fara huert hann vil. \textsuperscript{585}Pa en þair hafa bol flairin, þa fari sun a nequat þaira ok at reknung en hann\textsuperscript{586} vill \textsuperscript{587}so frammarla sum faðir skynias aí oraðamaðr. Þa en ogutnikr maðr hafi syni ogipta eða gipta, þa fain aldri skipt af <feðr>\textsuperscript{588} sinum utan faðir <skynis>\textsuperscript{589} oraðamaðr.

[29] \textit{45 Af gieldum}

Huer sum gield <gierir>\textsuperscript{590} oraðlika, þa firigieri sinum lut ok aí maira. En engin gieldi gield eptir hann dauðan frammar en hans kustr vindr at.

[46][30] \textit{46 Af veðium}

Hafr þu\textsuperscript{591} veð takit af manni firi sant gieldeti,\textsuperscript{592} þa stemni hanum til kirkiur eða til þings ok loysi atr at laga frestmum, eða virðin soknamenn eða þingsmenn.

[31] \textit{47 Af þingum}

Þitta ir ok sempt sik et þing all skal byria halda firi miðjan dag. Raðmenn skulu retta a hunderis þingum. Huer sum ai kumbr af þaim firi miðjan dag, þa byti <þria>\textsuperscript{593} oyra þingi. Þa en engin þaira ier <kumin>\textsuperscript{594} um miðjan dag, þa varin sakír at iii markum við þan sum fyr bier mal upp ok aþrum þríð viðr moga. En domar dymins ai lengr ok aþir lyptins ai lengr en sol setr. Huer sum þitta briautr byti þingi eptir þy sum þing ier haut\textsuperscript{595} til. Sakar engar ma siettungr sykia hoyrin þan til iii\textsuperscript{596} marka, en þriþiungr til
siex marka ok land alt til tolf marka. Iru stefnur um aignir, þa vari lagfeldr þann sum ai kumbr at sama tima sum þing al halda.

[32] 48 Af fearkrafi

Kan fearkrafi verða manna millan, þa far engin hoygri lag af andrum þan til siex manna, en þaim kann askilia. En um aignadailu til xviii manna, en daila ir til mark 532 gulz, so ok þau et maira sei. Þa en þaim skil a, þa skulu þet virþa hunðeris ræþmenn utan aþ <en> 597 daila 47 sei til mark 532 gulz ok taki nu <fyrstu> stemnu 598 um manasta frest af þairi. Þa en hann vil atr segia, þa segi atr fri half 599 manaþ [frest ok flyti um half manaþ frest aþra] 600 fram til þriþi. Þa en daila ir minni en til 601 mark 532 gulz, þa skal taka vi manna stemnu fyrstu um halvan manaþ. Þa en hann will atr segia, þa segi atr fri siau nata 602 frest ok flyti um siau nata frest aþra fram til þriþi. En stefnur ma ai lengr flytia utan beggia vilia.

[32a] 49 Af manna kaupi 603

[48a] [33] 50 Kaupir þu uxa 604

Kaupir þu uxa, þa royn hann um þria daga. Lastir fylgia hanum <tuair>. 164 Ann en hann ai dragr, annar en hann briaður.

Kaupir þu ko, 605 pa royn hans um þry mielkmal. Lastir fylgia henni <tuair>. 164 An[n] en han sparkas so et ai ma mulka, annar en han mielkstulin ier.

[34] 51 Kaupir þu hest 606

Kaupir þu hest, þa royn hann um þria daga ok laþ atr miþ lasti en þu nequan findr. <Lastir> 607 fylgia hesti 608 þrir. Þann ir ann en hann starblindr ier, annar en hann bitz, þriþi en hann <frembru> 609 fotum sparkas. Þa en þu hann lengr hafr, þa takr ai sali viþr, <þau et> 610 lastir fylgin, utan hann sielfr vili.
[35] 52 Af hesti

Takr þu hest manz i baitu eða annanstep, oloyfis hinum sum a, ok riþr miþ eða akr miþ, þa byt iii markr malsalganda ok aþrar iii moga, en þu verþr sandr at et þu <a baki> vest ok fa e alt hailt atr. Takr þu hest manz viþr garþ bundnan ok <laifir> engin atr, þa byt ok þriar markr malsalganda ok aþrar þriar-moga, utan þi at ains et þu mistakit <hafr> ok annan <querran> laift. Þa en þu mistakit hafr, þa byt vii ertaugar ok kum hanum hailum hainm atr firi þriþia dygr.

[49] [36] 53 Af skipa gezlu

En um skipa gezlu iru lag þaun. Kaup skip. þet sum þretan iru rangr i ok þrir bitar, þi varþar mandr at strandu uti. En byrþing skal reka ginum stukk eða rif eða ginum bul viþr hus þet sum þiauþ sufa i. Las al at vara ok lykil þan sum husfroyia bieri eða husbondi. Rekendr sein ai lengrin þan þrir stelkir ok þiarþi hamar. Vægi <stelkr> huer tuar markr eða <rekki> um þriar rangr. Ok af sia, þa varþar ai. Hittir mandr myndrikiu varþalausa at strandu uti, þa aigi þann sir at attu sum a hittir, en hinn ir huergi so ner et hann op hans hoyrir, en hann þrysuar hafr ypt. <Batr> ir ekki yr varnaþi, aigi huer sum vill. Þa en mandr takr manz bat at staþum ok far miþ, þa bytir hann so sum hann riþi hesti manz.

[37] 54 Af ranzsakan

Kuma menn manni til garz ok baiþas et ranzsaki, þa ma engin andrum ranzsaka[e] synia. Vil hann granna sina viþr hafa, þa all båþa þaira en ai vill manni oskiel biauþa. Nemni sinn mann huar in at ganga. Lausgyrr skal inn at ganga ok kapulaus siþan ranzsaka skal. Þa en mandr syniar aþrum ranzsakan, þa iru ohailig dur hans ok far enga bot firir, þau et ai hittis fuli inni. Þa en inni hittis nequat þes sum men iefa um, þa skal at fangum spyria. Gangr hann viþr þegar ok <segr> fang sin, þa al laiþznum fylgia ok royna fang hans. Fullas hanum skiel
tuar ertaugar firi þing huert. Þaun naut eþa rus sum nytia ma, þa nyti mþ soknamanna kennu. Ok fari ai til Visbyar mþ, utan riþi til þin[g]s meþ, eþa [55]laiþi, ok leggi af safþul ok bindi so fierri et motstukka magi sia miþ allum <upphaizlusoyþum>. 671

[46] 64 Af [a]merki 672

5 Huer sum amerki gierir [a] annars fileþi utan þet sei kaupt eþa at haimfylgi gieft ok verþr þar sandr at, þa byti iii markr.

[47] 65 Af akrum

Hafa flouri menn akra saman ok vilia sumir liggia lata ok sumir sa, þa riþin þair sum maïra aigu ok segin til firi Mariumessu i fastu huart þair heldr vilia, liggia lata eþa sa.

10 En skiptas landboar um, þa hafi vi penninga firi laupsland þan sum bort far af þaim sum þar kumbr a, firi akra þa sum hann ai far sa. Ok rymin þair um hoyslet, huer firi aþrum, so margra lassa rum sum bol gieldr at markum.

[48] 66 Af rofnakrum 673

Huer bondi sum <seþir> 674 hafr, þa loyfi 675 laupsland til rofnakrs 673 um huert ar. En seþalaust fulk sum hus hafr, þa hafi halþs laupsland til rofnakrs 673 ok þan lati oyk 676 til sum aign 677 a. Huer sum ai haldr þitta, þa vari sakr iii oyrum viþr sokn. 678 En huilik sokn sum ai ryktar þitta, þa vari sak at iii markum en a þing kumbr.

[49] 67 Af <hafreki> 679

Hittir mandr hafrek a landi, 680 þa hafi attunda penning huern af fynd. Hittir hann 681 a fluti 680 uti ok [56]þarf viþr skips ok ara eþa hittir hann a hafs 680 butni ok þarf viþr krok ok kexi, 682 þa hafi þriþiung af fynd 683 sinni. þa en hann hittir yr lanzsyn, þa hafi halft af þi 684 sum hann hitti.
[50] 68 Af eldi
Kan so illa at bieras et skaði skin af þaim eldi sum gieris\textsuperscript{685} i skursteinum eða i
eldhusum ok fliaugr í annan garð at skaða, þa byti iii markr, en skaði ir til iii marka.
Þa en flairi garðar fa skaða, þa litin allir viðr þar íi markr.

[51] 69 Af bierueldi
Þa en skaði skin\textsuperscript{686} af bierueldi, þa byti halfu vereldi sinu, þan sum bier. Þa en a\textsuperscript{687}
oformaga skin\textsuperscript{686} slikt, þa gieldi þan sum visar.

[52] 70 Af broagierþ\textsuperscript{688}
Þet ir ok semp sik\textsuperscript{689} et broa skal um huert ar í allum soknum. Huilkin sokn sum ai
broar, þa byti iii markr þingi.

[53] 71 Af skuti
Þet ir ok <semp sik>\textsuperscript{690} en skut þarf skiauta til landz þarfa, þa skal skiauta at\textsuperscript{691}
markatali beði af aign ok af oyrum, ok ai af garrum gerseum.

[57] 72 Af varþi
Varþ al sitia\textsuperscript{692} huer sum ier tiugu ara ok haldi vapnum uppi ok allum skylдум\textsuperscript{693} ok
gieldi varþpenninga í paskaviku.

[55] 73 Af husum ok husþiaþum
Huer sum setr hus niðr utan <sokninna>\textsuperscript{694} luf, þa vari sakr at iii markum viðr sokn
ok rymi hus upp í sama ari. Huer sum takr husþiaþ utan sokninna\textsuperscript{695} luf, þa vari sakr
at iii oyrum.

[56] 74 Af byrslufulki
Alt byrslufulk\textsuperscript{696} sum a bondans brauþi\textsuperscript{697} ier, gangr þet bort ohelgan dag af garði
oloyfis sins husbonda, þa\textsuperscript{698} laifi atr ertaug um dag huern\textsuperscript{699} af sinni laigu ok fulli
dagsverk\textsuperscript{700} atr.
**[56a] 75 Af seþalausu fulki**

Alt seþalaust fulk i soknum, þa hafi engti ginmelí et þet ai skuli byrgia seþ mish bondum. Ok hafi siex penninga af laupslandi firi korn, ok <fem> penninga firi rug ok hagra, ok fyþi sik sielt. Ok segi bondi til mish skiellum. Huer sum þar ginmelí þa vari sakr at oyrum iii.

**[57] 76 Af ikornum**

Huer sum far at ikornum firi Simonismessu Jude ok eptir Mariummessu i fastu byti iii markr. En fari engin innan staurs utan luf aiganda.

**[58][59] 77 Af herum**

Fari engin at herum miþ gildri eptir Mariummessu i fastu eþa firi <Simonismessu> Jude utan hann heti víþr iii markum.

**[59] 78 Af skafli**


Briauta oformagar, þa bytin halfu minna.

**[60] 79 Af messufalli**

Þet ir ok gamal retr et varþa messufall um surnudag eþa annan helgan dag, þa skal prestr byta proasti iii markr, ok aþrar þiar markr sokninni. Þa en messufall kan varþa um fridag eþa annan messudag þan sum niu lekkior lesas eþa hafas, þa byti prestr xii oyra proasti ok <ætra tolfr> sokninni.

**[61] 80 Af duflí**

Dufl ier aftakit. Huer sum duflar, þa vari sakr at þrim oyrum víþr sokn. Vil ai sokn sykia, þa byti sokn iii markr þingi.

Petir ok semp sik et þet iru lag sum hier ir skrifat i. Þet skulu allir menn halda. Þa en nequarar atbyrþir kunnar þar verþa sum ai hittas hier i, þa skulu þar
slitas mîp domera tali ok [þair]\textsuperscript{726} þet sueria et þet sein ret guta lag, ok sîpan skrifas hier i.\textsuperscript{727}

\[62\] \textit{Hitta}\textsuperscript{710} ier þet sum nylast var takit um loyski

\textit{Ier loyski maira en lofi hyll, þet bytis at mark silfs. Ier huart har af, þa bytis at <tuaim>\textsuperscript{164} markum silfs.}

\[63\] \textbf{82 Um skoga}

Huar sum haggr i manz skogum, innan staurs eþa utan, ok akr til, byti þriar markr penninga ok gieri hailt atr. Huer sum rifr manz garþ so et aka ma ginum, þa byti iii markr penninga.

Huer sum far oloyfis yfir manz aigur, byti iii oyra. Rifr mann\textsuperscript{729} gluggu a garþi manz, byti samulund.\textsuperscript{730}

Um \textsuperscript{[60]}festuaigur allar,\textsuperscript{731} þa\textsuperscript{732} loysins eþa virþins i sama <lyktryggum>\textsuperscript{733} eþa festins þar sum þar kunnar ieru. Huer sum firigier\textsuperscript{734} þriggia marka laigi at þranglausu, hafi firigart sinum halsi ok kuna hans kirkjurumi sinu\textsuperscript{735} ok standi atr i stapli.\textsuperscript{736}

\textit{Magum ok vagnklum skenkis ai maira en þry minni ok engti kar maira en half skal gangi i at mestu. Ok huer sum þaim misfirmir, byti tuibyt ok tolf markr landi.}\textsuperscript{738}

\[739\] \textbf{[61]} \textbf{35 Af quinna ret}

Um quinna ret ier ok <semp sik>\textsuperscript{740} et nautabo skulu taka til femta banz, rus ok lamb so sum þar þet i garþ <flyttu>.\textsuperscript{741} \textit{All gylvning ier aftakin, utan tassala. Gyltan kupar skal brenna, hur sum hann hittis. <Gullab>\textsuperscript{742} ok silkisband, annur þan slungin, iru all\textsuperscript{743} aftakin. Gylt kar ok belti gamul ier luftat at hafa, <slikt>\textsuperscript{744} sum þet ier, ok engun\textsuperscript{745} til auka. Tuar markr gulz skal haimfylgi vara, ok ai maira ok ai ma maira giefa ok ai maira baiþas. Bladragning ier all aftakin ok pell, ok ma ai\textsuperscript{746} gipta garþa millan utan meþ huitum lereptum. Skarlþp ieru ok aftakin.\textsuperscript{747} Engin ma skarlþp kaupa, huarki nyt eþa gamalt, ok engin ma þet meþ giptu giefa garþa millan utan hafa quert i garþi.

\textit{Silfrband ok kurtibonaþr ier ok aftakin.}
Burgan vihr byamenn ier ok firiðvin. Kaupi engin maira en hann þegar gieldr eptir.

Huar sum nequar\textsuperscript{749} af þissum bríautr, byti tolf markr landi.
ADDITIONS

1. (B: Chapter 4, Note 127. Cf. Pipping 1901, 9-11; CIG, 104: Additamenta 1, 2.)

[7a] En siban framleydis alt þet som þar af kumbr,750 beþi a quindi ok a <kerlidi>,751
[8] þa fylgir e gutnisku kyni, utan þi at ains at han taki i verra ok níþri so byþr sina, þa
ier ok hans retr slikr som bonda ella bondabarna. Þa en <prestrson>752 olerþr hittir753
sakar at giera ella man at vega, þa siir han sielfr vþr sakum emþan han lifr, huat
som han <ier innan>754 lands ellar755 utan.

Hittir maþr sakir giera lerþr756 ella olerþr, þa byti engin frammar, þa en hans kustr
vindr at.757 Þa en han døyri758 ok liautr hin lerþi sakar, þa biaþi han bot þegar, fyrí þy
at ai ma prestr vþr sakum sia, en hin sei oskemdr at taka þegar, en han vil, meþ þy
at ai ier hinum ret lerþan man at vega, ella illan vilia vþr han at hafa. Þa en han vill ai
bot at taka, þa skal biera a þing fyrí alla lyþi. Taki þar en han vil, ellar raþin allir lyþir
fyrí bot, en sei maþr osakr. Þa en han <hemnat eyger so bþbit>,759 þa byti han man
at fullu vereldi, ok allum landom xl markr.

Þa en tuair760 bryþr liauta sakar, annar lerþr ok annar olerþr, ok vil hin lerþi byta, en
olerþi vil ai, þa leggi hin lerþi fram hafuþlut sen taka i hendr som allir landar til nemna,
ok hafi helg siban, en hin sie vþr sakum som ai vildi bot biaþa. Þa en vereldi verþr
bþit, þa bytir huar sen hafuþluta.

[19] Þa en hin lerþi liautr761 at sakum sia, som ai ma hemna, þa skal han bot þegar
taka som i bþi ier. Þa en han ai vil bot taka, utan vil heldr hemna, þa skal hin
biera762 a þing fyrí alla lyþi. Taki en þar en han vil, ellar raþin þeir fyrir fe, ok maþr sei
osakr. Þa en han vil ai lerþum manni bot i bþi hafa, þa skal han ganga a þing fyrí
alla lyþi ok kera þar sitt763 mal segiandis, et iak ier lerþr maþr, ok til guz pianistu
vigþr; iak ma ai <i>764 haggom standa, ella i oristu; bot vildi iak taka en i bþi vari, en
skam vildi iak nauþugr þula. Þa skulu landar asia, noþþa ok man til hanum at byta
iemvel som han var noþþr andrum at byta, fyrí þy so et <huatki ma>765 prestr at sia
sakum, ella vþr sia sakum utan kristindombr verþr spiltir.
2. (B: Chapter 17, Note 306. Cf. Pipping 1901, 23; CIG, 107: Additamentum 3.)

[21a] Naut. 766 ok rus ok suin þa varðar mæðr ai maira fyrir, þan þet sielft ier vert, en þet ier manni at skaða. Þa en osoybr ier ok verþr mæðr varþar at fyrri kirkjudurum ok fyrri soknamannah, ok gier sipan męp <ogoymslu>, 767 þa byti halfu maira þan <sak ir> 768 verb>. 769 Þa en minni lastir varþa þan soþir ier [22v]verþr, þa byti halfu minna. Hundr ier at fiarþa; hanum varþar e um alt til halfs vereldis, en han skaða gier, aigi þan som vil. Hunss bit, þa byti tanna spur huart, at tuaim oyrum til fiugura. Þa en han sar gier ella limalyti, þa bytir at halflum mestu botum. Þet skal krefia ok ai hemna, lagryþia til, som andra gelda.

3. (B: Chapter 19, Note 350. Cf. Pipping 1901, 27; CIG, 39 note 50.)


4. (B: Chapter 19, Note 359. Cf. Pipping 1901, 28; CIG, 41 note 63.)

[26a] En oyr verþr lyt þa bytir mark silfs. 772 Leggbain ella armleggr bytis at tuaim markum silfs en sunder ier slagit. Slar þu manni tendr yr hafpi, þa bytir þu fremstu tendr tua uppi ok tua níþri at mark silfs. Ok sipan <huarm> 773 at ii markum penninga męp bitum ok allu.

5. (B: Chapter 20, Note 370. Cf. Pipping 1901, 28; CIG, 43 note 79.)

[27a] 20 Af loyski

Ier loyski maira þan lofi hyl, þet bytis at mark silfs. Ier huart har af þa bytis at ii markum silfs. 774 Ier torfa manni haggin, ier byt at mark silfs. Skegg mans bytis so som annur hardrag. 775
6. \( (B: \text{Chapter 33, Notes 480, 737. Cf. Pipping 1901, 40; CIG, 60 note 41.}) \)

\[ \text{Magum}^{776} \text{ ok vagníklum skenks ás mairra en þry minni ok enkta þeirra styra þan half skal gangi í at mestu. Ok huar som þaim misfimir, bytí tuibyt ok xii markr landi.}^{777} \]

7. \( (B: \text{Chapter 49, Note 603. Cf. Pipping 1901, 51-52; CIG, 108: Additamentum 4.}) \)

\[ \text{[47a]} \text{ [32a]} \text{ 49 Af manna kaupi} \]

Kaupir\(^{778} \) þu mans man í garþ þen, þa royn han um vi daga en a siauanda geld þu verþ ella ater laþþ en þir ai at gies. Þa en hin vil ai ater taka som seldi, utan vil þik viþr halda meþ formala, en þu hafa skuldir ok [ai]\(^{779} \) atr laþþa, huat som þir at gatis ver ella betr; þa en þu hafþ skiel skielum gin, þet et þu skuldir atr laþþa at frestum, en þir ai at gatis, þa hafþ þu vitorþ som atr \(<\text{laþþer}>^{780} \) ok lagum fylgir. Þa en þu hafþ man lengr, ok viltu síþan atr laþþa, síþan frest ier utilþîn, ok kallas þu hafa þan formala gart, þa hafþ hin vitorþ som at lagum seldi: gelt þa verþ hinum, ok haf þet þu fikt. En síþan skal sali varþa fyrþ prim lastum: brutfalli, ok beþroytu, varþar om ny ok nîðan, þa en frán beyni verkur, þa varþar til atmelos ok síþan fyrþ brígrsl allan alder. Þa en han verþr brígrþ í heldi, þa huti þu sala þen ok laþþ hanum a hand; gieri han þa man þir heimulan, ella fai atr þir verþ so mikot som þu hanum fyrþ gaft. Þa en idir \([48]\) skil um, hin kallas mîþ mala hafa selt, en þu \(<\text{kallas}>^{781} \) meþ fastu kaupi hafa kaupt, þa hafþ ok þan vitorþ som meþ fastu kaupir, ok lagum fylgir.\(^{782} \)

8. \( (B: \text{Chapter 55, Note 637. Cf. Pipping 1901, 55-57; CIG, 109: Additamentum 5.}) \)

\[ \text{Stiel þrell mans}^{783} \text{ oyrí ella oyrí minna, þa bytí huar drotin fyrí han iii oyrá, en hin kumbr sielfr up þþpti som þþptí a.}^{511} \text{þa en þþpti ier maira þan <oyrír>,}^{784} \text{ þa hafi e hau fyrstí set atr, ok þrigildi síþan so mikot som þar til biers som þþptí var. Stiela flairin þrelar an oyrí, þa bytí huar drotin þrigildi fyrí sin þrell,}^{785} \text{ en han ai kumbr sielfr þþpti} \]
up. Þa en þiauflaþr íer ai aldr til, þa skal vita þan som þiaufnaþin misti huru mikil han var, ok þau þi at ains et hus ella las vari til brutit. Þa en ai ier undir lasi takit, ok huaski ier til brutit hun ella hell, þa taki han þrelin ok fresti han, ok leggi engin viþrflag fram. Kumi bainhailum\textsuperscript{786} ok brusthalum at rdotin til handa, ok byti als enkti fyrir, þau en han enga sagu af hafi. Þa en agriþr ier engin til, utan <vensl>\textsuperscript{787} ain, þa skal leggja fram viþrflag ofresta mans. <Kumi>\textsuperscript{788} ok hailum at r ok byti vi oyra fyrri baug-band […]\textsuperscript{789} vi oyra. I <naþp>\textsuperscript{790}segr naþugr, þet han ai valdr. Far maþr meþ agriþi til gars, ok kennir þreli mans þypt, þa skal drotin ranzsaka lata ok sielfr þrell sin binda, ok ai fyrri standa; þa þarf ai þrigildi gelda. Þa en maþr vill ai sielfr þrell sin binda, ella ranzsaka lata, ok hittis þau þar <fuli>\textsuperscript{791} inni, þa geldi han þrigildi hinum som þyptit atti, [som]\textsuperscript{792} han haþr þa upkumít. Ier þiaufnaþr so mikil et ai vindr þrigildi fyrri guldit, þa skal hin hafa þrelin som þyptit atti. Ai ma han ok maira firiþtiela þan sielfum siri. Kumbr annar up þypti, ok takr þiauf ok bindr, ok ai han som þypti atti, þa skal han hafa fundalaun,\textsuperscript{793} attunda lut af beþi [52] af þiaufi ok alagi. Ier þrel a laupstigi, ok ier lyst eþtir at kirkiu, ella a þingi, þa ier þan muslegumåþr. Ok bytir engin þrigildi fyrri þan som siel mat at siir, utan sett skal huar atr hafa, en til ier. Þa en ietit <ier>,\textsuperscript{794} þa fullar þet engin fyrri muslegumam. Þa en þrell verþr atr fangin, þa loys han atr fyrri ii oyra a landi, ok fyrri iii oyra en han a fluta kumbr, ok fyrri half mark en yr landssyn kumbr. Þan\textsuperscript{795} skal man atr loysa, som skipit atti, utan þi at ains at <lagrekit>\textsuperscript{796} vari.

Þa en han haþr handum kumit a gripi nequara, þa skal gripi atr loysa som þrelin atti.

Þa en skip var lagrekit ella undir lasi takit, þa loysi þan skipit atr som þrelin atti, ok so gripi alla som han handum a quam ok þoygi frammar þan til iii marka. Þa en han bort laupr a skipi varþalausu, ella a hafi niþr sinkir, so et hin mistir þrel sen som atti, þa geldi þan þrell som skipit atti.

Verþr nequar maþr bundin agripsiþaus, þa skulu þet skuþa þrir raþmen, ok hoyra hans orþ, huat han ier skylðr ella oskyldr. Þeir iii raþmenn skulu vara af hunderi
sama, ella sama sietungi. Ðeir skulu vitna òet som ðeir hoyra [huat] han ier skyldr ella oskyldr. So ok en agripa ier.

9. (B: Chapter 81, Notes 721, 748. Cf. Pipping 1901, 64; CIG, 112: Additamentum 6.)

81 Af burgan viðr byamen

798 [59a] Burgan viðr byaman ier ok fribubin. Kaupi engin maira en han orkar betala. Allar festuaigur skulu hafa frest um þry aar til gelda som mairin ieru en mark silfs. Þa ma ai oyra virþa, en hin ai vill, utan aigu, ok hafi þau han frest um þry aar.
Endnotes

1 B: Amended from 3.
2 B: rethi.
3 B: mans helgh.
4 B: alla manna fridi.
5 B: Tinghs fridi.
6 B: heim fridi.
7 B: lutuar sakir. Schlyter (CIG, 3 note 12) corrects this to lutnar.
8 B: werildi.
9 A: has –di (singular as opposed to plural ending) inserted by a later hand.
10 GU, 1. A: osoyom, amended from osoyum; B: osoyom.
11 GU, 1. A: cuna; B: Ber madr’ Kuno. The apostrophe in B: is clearly misplaced.
12 B: sara farom.
13 GLGS, 1 note 8. A: Af manni vir inti turn tak; B: Aff inteckt. Cf. CIG, 4 note 22. Hadorph, on the first (unnumbered) page of the contents, reads vir intakti Barn.
14 GLGS, Ordbok, 43. A: hor carllum; B: Aff hori.
16 B: Ward’r kuna schemd a wegom.
17 B: Aff wagnickla ferdir.
18 B: Aff Gutnisch kuno.
21 B: bregdan.
22 CIG, 5. B: gangu. Cf. 87/1 where A: has gagn.
24 B: yxna kaupi.
25 B: Aff hesta kaupi.
26 B: Rid’r tu annan mans hest.
27 B: Gezlu.
28 B: Ransakan.
29 B: Rethi.
30 B: oqwedins ord.
31 B: sma filedi omercht.
32 B: Aff rofu akrom. Pipping (GLGS, 2 note 1) suggests rofnakrum; 92/13-15 and endnote 673.
33 A: broagerb; B: Aff Broan.
34 A: byrgslufulkli; B: Byrslu folcki.
35 B: harum.
36 B: messo fallom.
37 Table of contents in A: omits these, although the chapters themselves appear. Chapter 64 has been placed according to the table of contents, preceding Chapter 25.
38 B: Note these three numberings do not agree with the table of contents at the end of the manuscript.
39 B: Hier Byrias Gutha Lagh.
40 B: uppoff.
41 B: ath.
42 B: neytha.
43 Could possibly be read as iacta. See Hadorph, 1. B: iatta.
44 CIG, 7. A: aann; B: a an.
45 B: Alzwaldugan.
46 B: rette.
47 GU, 2 and Noreen 1892-1894, 36 read bygbru. A: bygdu, elsewhere bygbru(s); B: bygdu.
48 B: huar.
49 B: Eptir.
50 B: som Gudi syr tekkelighet, och war sy mest tarff Bade till liif och siell.
51 B: Thitta, i.e. from þissa rather than þann.
52 B: alas.
53 B: pann; B: tha En. Cf. endnotes 441, and A: 50 v. Peel 1999, 14/27.
54 A: haan hafi barni; B: haan hafdi barne.
B: kirkium men.

6 B: haffu fyri secht maal scriptat, bieri henne, i.e. basically a difference in word order.

7 B: eighir tar a saka. This would appear to be an error.

8 The clause Tha en han dular oc kumb' mal up fyri tinghu menn is in the margin in B: with sochn being deleted before tinghu. This is not noted by Pipping as derived from manuscript Bx, and he reads tingnu menn. Neither of these forms appears to be correct.

9 B: th'm.

GU, 60 suggests witir. B: berychtado.

11 B: man.

12 B: sochn, en sochnin wind'r sicht.


14 A: haan at san; B: haan ath sannu.

15 B: ward'than en sidhan ath sannu.

16 B: M with a tilde above, which may be expanded as mark't or markum, depending on the context.

17 B: land alt.

18 Seems to have been altered from liggr. GLGS, 4 note 2. B: leggr.

19 B: heyynir for heyymir.

20 GU, 2. A: hen; B: en.

21 B: than. This, or alternatively tan are the forms used subsequently in all cases for þau. See Commentary.

22 B: Gangha oc hinir ath'r mals.

23 B: sagdu.

24 GU, 2. A: moðr; B: mod'r.

25 GLGS, 45; GU, 2. A: caldr; B: kallar.

26 B: hafu haan taar. Pipping (1901a, 6) has hafn' haan taar. The 3rd person singular present subjunctive, haffu, could have been intended. There is no other instance of hafn.

27 GU, 2. A: ambatu; B: ambatn. Schlyter (CIG, 10) rejects ambætnu (Hadorph, 2).

28 Thus four times in A: *leggr does not occur; B: leggr.

29 GLGS, 4 note 8; GU, 3. A: vintir; B: wintra.

30 B: sidhan mal.

31 GLGS, 4 note 9; GU, 3 has inntr. A: intir; B: wti.

32 A: han; B: han. Masculine clearly intended. Pipping and Schlyter consider han to be an occasional variant of hann. Cf. endnotes 274 and 443.

33 GLGS, 5 note 1; GU, 3 has waita. A: veita; B: weyta.

34 GU, 3 has wib'r. A: vib'r; B: wid'r.

35 B: hwat som wid'r tarfar aria ella sidla. It is possible that the form tarfar has arisen by haplology from the following aria.

36 Pipping 1901a, 94. A: reida; B: reydda.

37 GU, 3. A: þifr, although there could be both a stroke and an amendment; B: tidh'r, elsewhere also tid'r.

38 GLGS, 5 note 5; GU, 3. A: sognia; B: sochna men.

39 GLGS, 5 note 6. GU, 3 has laigulendingr. A: laiguleningar; B: leygu lenningh'r.

40 B: burt.

41 B: o guldinne fram yr kyrckiu.

42 B: fyri than en.

43 B: at meyra maki th'n han fyrra hafdi.


45 B: siinnast.

46 B: sidan.

47 GU, 3. A: sielf; B: sieluer.

48 GLGS, 6 note 2. A: þhann; B: han. Hadorph, 3 reads þaim.

49 GLGS, 6 note 3. A: kirkimanna; B: kyrkiomanna.

50 B: prest'r si, i.e. nominative plus subjunctive of vera for genitive and possessive pronoun.


52 B: annar kyrkio man.

53 B: engh, but an amendment makes the reading rather unclear; cf. Pipping 1901a, 8 note 1.

54 B: annars, i.e. genitive masculine singular for dative feminine.

55 B: seda tont quarra leyffua.

56 GU, 3. A: eþa umbla; B: och humbla.
B: thinn. Schlyter (CIG, 13 note 58) suggests this is an error for theym.

CIG, 13. A: syþir; B: sykir.

B: aff tak'r.

GU, 3. A: sitir; B: sitir.

11 GU, 4; Söderberg 1879, 27. A: blotir iru; B: bloot ier.

12 Söderberg 1879, 27. A: mier; B: mikit. GU, 4 has imer.

The lack of a dot over the i explains why CIG, 14 has buþni. B: forbudit. GU, 4 note 1 suggests firi-buþnar.

13 CIG, 14. A: þaim; B: thaim. Probably an error in the original behind both A: and B:.

14 A: haita a; B: heyta.

GU, 4 suggests haiþin, but see GLGS, 7 note 2. B: heydin.

15 CIG, 14 reads A: as having avi. B: forbudit.

16 The text has been normalized to giera and biera.

17 GU, 4. A: filligin; B: fylgin.

18 See Addition 1, which also includes the following sentence.

19 A: leþr; B: lerd'r. Cf. Commentary and endnote 136.

20 B: Thet, i.e. personal for demonstrative pronoun.

21 A: giera, B: giera. At 63/4 (97/8), conversely, A: has giera, B: giera. Cf. the relationship biera: biera. The text has been normalized to giera and biera.

22 B: naqwar. This could be an instance of the tendency in B: for endings to be dropped or shortened, but there are no other comparable instances of the accusative singular feminine.

23 B: drykky sinom, i.e. masculine or plural for feminine. Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 11) suggests drykki, but y is used frequently for i in B:.

24 B: witna. As Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 17) suggests, this is an error. See endnote 558.

25 B: wers.

26 B: och prestbamom.

27 A: Jiaim; B: thaim. Probably an error in the original behind both A: and B:.

28 B: heytar.

GU, 4 suggests haiþin, but see GLGS, 7 note 2. B: heydin.

29 B: þa; B: thaim. GLGS, Ordbok, 9 suggests thauþn for the B: reading, where thaim is usual for þaun, but does not refer to the A: reading.

30 GU, 4. A: fulgin; B: fylgin.

31 See Addition 1, which also includes the following sentence.

32 A: leþr; B: lerd'r. Cf. Commentary and endnote 136.

33 B: Thet, i.e. personal for demonstrative pronoun.

34 A: giera, B: giera. At 63/4 (97/8), conversely, A: has giera, B: giera. Cf. the relationship biera: biera. The text has been normalized to giera and biera.

35 B: naqwar. This could be an instance of the tendency in B: for endings to be dropped or shortened, but there are no other comparable instances of the accusative singular feminine.

36 B: drykky sinom, i.e. masculine or plural for feminine. Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 11) suggests drykki, but y is used frequently for i in B:.

37 B: witna. As Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 17) suggests, this is an error. See endnote 558.

38 B: wers.

39 B: och prestbamom.


41 B: wers.

42 B: Jiaim; B: thaim. GLGS, Ordbok, 9 suggests thauþn for the B: reading, where thaim is usual for þaun, but does not refer to the A: reading.

43 GU, 4. A: filligin; B: fylgin.

44 See Addition 1, which also includes the following sentence.

45 A: leþr; B: lerd'r. Cf. Commentary and endnote 136.

46 B: Thet, i.e. personal for demonstrative pronoun.

47 A: giera, B: giera. At 63/4 (97/8), conversely, A: has giera, B: giera. Cf. the relationship biera: biera. The text has been normalized to giera and biera.

48 B: naqwar. This could be an instance of the tendency in B: for endings to be dropped or shortened, but there are no other comparable instances of the accusative singular feminine.

49 B: drykky sinom, i.e. masculine or plural for feminine. Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 11) suggests drykki, but y is used frequently for i in B:.

50 B: witna. As Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 17) suggests, this is an error. See endnote 558.

51 B: wers.

52 B: och prestbamom.

53 A: Jiaim; B: thaim. GLGS, Ordbok, 9 suggests thauþn for the B: reading, where thaim is usual for þaun, but does not refer to the A: reading.

54 GU, 4. A: filligin; B: fylgin.

55 See Addition 1, which also includes the following sentence.

56 A: leþr; B: lerd'r. Cf. Commentary and endnote 136.

57 B: Thet, i.e. personal for demonstrative pronoun.

58 A: giera, B: giera. At 63/4 (97/8), conversely, A: has giera, B: giera. Cf. the relationship biera: biera. The text has been normalized to giera and biera.

59 B: naqwar. This could be an instance of the tendency in B: for endings to be dropped or shortened, but there are no other comparable instances of the accusative singular feminine.

60 B: drykky sinom, i.e. masculine or plural for feminine. Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 11) suggests drykki, but y is used frequently for i in B:.

61 B: witna. As Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 17) suggests, this is an error. See endnote 558.

62 B: wers.

63 B: och prestbamom.

64 A: Jiaim; B: thaim. GLGS, Ordbok, 9 suggests thauþn for the B: reading, where thaim is usual for þaun, but does not refer to the A: reading.

65 GU, 4. A: filligin; B: fylgin.

66 See Addition 1, which also includes the following sentence.

67 A: leþr; B: lerd'r. Cf. Commentary and endnote 136.

68 B: Thet, i.e. personal for demonstrative pronoun.

69 A: giera, B: giera. At 63/4 (97/8), conversely, A: has giera, B: giera. Cf. the relationship biera: biera. The text has been normalized to giera and biera.

70 B: naqwar. This could be an instance of the tendency in B: for endings to be dropped or shortened, but there are no other comparable instances of the accusative singular feminine.

71 B: drykky sinom, i.e. masculine or plural for feminine. Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 11) suggests drykki, but y is used frequently for i in B:.

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73 B: wers.

74 B: och prestbamom.

75 A: Jiaim; B: thaim. GLGS, Ordbok, 9 suggests thauþn for the B: reading, where thaim is usual for þaun, but does not refer to the A: reading.

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77 See Addition 1, which also includes the following sentence.

78 A: leþr; B: lerd'r. Cf. Commentary and endnote 136.

79 B: Thet, i.e. personal for demonstrative pronoun.

80 A: giera, B: giera. At 63/4 (97/8), conversely, A: has giera, B: giera. Cf. the relationship biera: biera. The text has been normalized to giera and biera.

81 B: naqwar. This could be an instance of the tendency in B: for endings to be dropped or shortened, but there are no other comparable instances of the accusative singular feminine.

82 B: drykky sinom, i.e. masculine or plural for feminine. Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 11) suggests drykki, but y is used frequently for i in B:.

83 B: witna. As Schlyter (CIG, 14 note 17) suggests, this is an error. See endnote 558.

84 B: wers.
161 B: barnalaus, i.e. nominative for accusative.

162 Cf. GU, 60.

163 CIG, 19. A: ἰπιοῦγρ or ἰπιοῦγρ; B: triuig')r.

164 GLGS, 11 note 11. A: tueir, tueim; B: tueir, tueim.


166 B: mans helgh; mans helg.

167 B: fiugurtan.

168 GU, 5. A: gangdahar; B: gangdagar.

169 B: byter thu, i.e. 2nd person indicative for imperative.

170 B: Rycker thu man, i.e. accusative for dative.

171 GLGS, 12 note 4. A: nefha; B: nefftia.

172 B: hur winita. The t in hurvinta in A: is simply clarified by a later hand; the original scribe has already added it above the line.

173 CIG, 20. A: cumbir; B: kumb'r. GLGS, 12 note 9 considers the abbreviation mark in A: to be an addition by Bilefeld. Cf. endnote 87.

174 B: ward'r, i.e. 3rd person singular past indicative for subjunctive.

175 B: pastir.

176 B: Bans maal.

177 CIG, 21. A: vengin; B: wegin.

178 B: præstegardi.

179 B: fangin; B: wegin.

180 B: smieri.

181 B: kuma land sak. Schlyter (CIG, 21 note 49) notes the omission of ai in B: as an error.

182 B: that liggia wid'r vi m(ark'r).

183 B: skiating thu man, i.e. accusative for dative.

184 B: ella med stanghu slaar i kirkrogardi.

185 B: III with thirar in the margin; cf. endnotes 151 and 189.

186 B: tha. Note the reverse substitution at endnotes 175 and 179.

187 B: III with thirum in the margin; cf. endnotes 151 and 187.

188 B: allia.

189 B: ier, i.e. 3rd singular present indicative for plural.

190 GU, 6. A: fripr; B: frid'r.

191 B: manni helg.

192 B: Biscops.

193 GU, 6. A: laupar; B: laup'r.

194 GU, 6. A: mîpsuuumar; B: midsommar.

195 CIG, 22 note 6 omits as an error, as does Pipping, GLGS, 14 note 1.

196 B: a.

197 B: a och aff.

198 CIG, 22. A: Depr; B: Drepp'r.

199 B: bytir thu, i.e. 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.

200 CIG, 23. A: butr; B: Byt.

201 B: haffu.

202 B: fore spiella androm huaski.

203 Schlyter (CIG, 23 note 20) suggests a possible reading lagrec; B: lag ryt.

204 B: wiurd annan, i.e. 3rd singular present subjunctive for plural and masculine for neuter. The latter does not, however, agree with bo.

205 GU, 7. A: soyi); B: soydi.

206 B: ortan soydi.

207 B: Tings fridi and equivalents (tinghs frid'r, tings frid) subsequently.

208 B: Tha. See endnotes 175 and 188.

209 GU, 7. A: vaitr; B: weitr; weitir.

210 B: tha bytr thu, i.e. 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.

211 GU, 7. A: vaitr; B: weitr; weitir.

212 B: tha bytr thu, i.e. 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.

213 B: wardr, i.e. 3rd person singular present indicative for subjunctive.

214 B: Tha ier sidan hwariom manni hein fridir.

215 GU, 7. A: veitr; B: weitr.
217 B: byt'r thu, i.e. 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.
218 B: byt'r thu, i.e. 2nd singular present indicative for 2nd person imperative.
219 B: tak'r han sak fyrí heim frid.
221 GU, 7. A: hittr; B: hitter.
222 B: xl with fiauratighi in the margin.
223 B: kirkior teirir.
224 B: i helgh.
225 GU, 7. A: hittr; B: hitter.
227 B: ella tingsstedi ella atlingabo, but with al oc in the margin and oc above the line respectively.
228 B: than, according to Schlyter (CIG, 25 note 8), but it could be read as thar.
229 B: iem well i præsta gardi.
230 B: langht.
231 GU, 7. A: annat vegscogs; B: annan wegh til schogs.
232 B: far loyfi.
233 A hole in the vellum obscures part of this word.
234 B: Haffin, i.e. 3rd plural present subjunctive for singular.
235 B: oc so wid' r han. Schlyter (CIG, 26 notes 15 and 16) read this as originally oc sii wid'r annar.
236 GLGS, 16. A: pascar pa; B: pascar. In A: _DM is in the margin.
237 B: han tha drogh than han tha wandedana. This is possibly the result of a misreading of the A- text.
238 Changed from symar. The scribe has also added dir in the margin as confirmation.
239 B: at'r, perhaps influenced by the other instances of at'r in the passage.
240 B: sinnar.
241 B: thau. This is the only instance of this spelling in B.; all other instances being tan or than. Cf.
endnote 71.
242 B: och halfft liggi qwart, i.e. neuter for feminine.
243 CIG, 27. A: gufnisr; B: gutnisch'r.
244 B: bellir.
245 B: latti e atmeli at millan. This is rejected by Pipping (1904, 3) as an error.
246 B: tysar.
248 B: tegan, according to Schlyter (CIG, 28 note 47), but it could be read as tegar.
249 B: wgangur.
250 B: oschemd'r.
252 B: skielom. See also endnote 705.
253 Corrected by scribe from þrysur buþu. B: tysar.
254 B: warin atmeli at millan, i.e. 3rd plural preterite subjunctive for singular.
255 CIG, 28. A: byta; B: Biada.
256 GLGS, 17 note 10. A: frestr; B: frestr.
257 B: wt reyda.
258 B: gangir, altered from gangi by a later hand.
259 B: Aff lutuar sak'r; lutuar (sakir).
260 B: han.
261 B: wm atmeli.
262 B: oc Biera.
264 B: haffuí, i.e. singular for plural 3rd present subjunctive.
265 GLGS, 18 note 6. A: hheldr, through a double correction. B: huat som held'r.
266 CIG, 30. A: sum sum sum through multiple correction; B: som.
267 GU, 9. A: gu[s]miskir; B: gutnisk'r.
268 B: bellir.
269 B: wegls. GU, 9 note 4 suggests wegslar.
270 GU, 9. A: o gutnischir; B: ogutnisker.
271 B: en.
272 B: bella.
273 GLGS, 19 note 2. A: en; B: at.
274 CIG, 31. A: han; B: han ey. Masculine (and negative) clearly intended. Cf. endnotes 82 and 443 for han as a variant of hann.

275 B: witni, i.e. from vitna rather than vita. Both verbs make sense in the context.

276 B: aff sami. The form sami would appear to be an error in B:, since it is the nominative form.

277 CIG, 31. A: bytis; B: Byt'r. Cf. on the other hand endnote 369 where A: also has bytis and B: byter.

278 B: bytas, i.e. plural for singular 3rd present passive.

279 CIG, 31. A: bytis; B: Byt'r. Cf on the other hand endnote 369 where A: also has bytis and B: byter.

280 CIG, 31. A: bytis; B: Byt'r.

281 GLGS, Ordbok, 35. A: hann; B: haan. The feminine form is clearly correct from the context.


283 GLGS, 19 note 9. A: banda; B: Bandu.

284 B: en ogutnischs mans femm(ark'r)sylffs. Cf. the opposite substitution in endnote 333.

285 CIG, 32. A: bytis; B: Byt'r. The form sami would appear to be an error in B:, since it is the nominative form.


287 B: hanom, i.e. dative for accusative.

288 GU, 10. A: noytgat; B: neygat (read noygat).

289 B: schal man.

290 B: varj)ri. A: wardi.

291 A: bierir; B: Bier. A: has bier six times. Note the relationships bierir : biera = gierir : giera.

292 B: schal man.

293 B: a.


295 B: mannerar.

296 B: gaff ella bak weg.

297 B: a.

298 GU, 10. A: vijmum; B: witnom.

299 3 0 0 CIG, 35. A: scircscutafri, or possibly simply an indication of a transposition by the scribe; B: schirschutadi.

300 B: berd.

301 CIG, 35. A: ber; B: berd.

302 B: war, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.

303 B: wint'r bams.

304 CIG, 35. A: scircscutafri, or possibly simply an indication of a transposition by the scribe; B: schirschutadi.

305 B: wint'r bams.

306 CIG, 34. There is a fault in the vellum between by and tir. B: Byt'r than.

307 B: huer; (B: hwart, deleted as noted previously). Cf. endnotes 155, 338 and 749.

308 See Addition 2.

309 B: halfit, i.e. accusative for dative.

310 GU, 10. A: vijmum; B: witnom.

311 CIG, 35. A: scircscutafri, or possibly simply an indication of a transposition by the scribe; B: schirschutadi.

312 B: war, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.

313 B: wint'r barns.


315 GU, 11. A: haru; B: teiri.

316 CIG, 35. A: varj>rlaust. Note that varjarlaust and varjalaust are regarded by Pipping as alternatives.

317 B: barnit, i.e. definite for indefinite.

318 B: barn, i.e. accusative for dative.

319 B: kumpnar.

320 B: Aff sara farom.

321 B: diupt.

322 B: hwaru, i.e. dative for accusative, although the u hook might be a scribal error.

323 B: meira, i.e. neuter for feminine. This seems to be an error.

324 GLGS, 23 note 1 notes that this is almost obliterated. Schlyter (CIG, 36 note 6) suggests it has been excised.

325 Bilefeld has altered C to K in A:. B: kastar.
A u-hook inserted over the n has been partly erased. B: hwaru.

GLGS, 23 note 4. A: Vardir maşir Berşir ...slegh after alteration by a later hand.

B: nasar.

CIG, 37. A: verba; B: wer, tha.

Hadorph, 16 has licvan.

B: uppit.

A: bytir, but with the i inserted above the line; B: byt' r. CIG, 37: bytr.

B: ta byt' r at ii M(arkum) pen(ninga), i.e. dative following at. The abbreviations are expanded by Schlyter (CIG, 37 note 21).

B: runnin. This is presumably an error.

B: synis. This form could be present indicative or subjunctive. In A: the i in sis has been altered and so the word may have originally been siis, the subjunctive.

Cf. Commentary and endnote 716.

B: fiugura. Both fygura and fiugura occur in A., although not in B.; possibly simply as an orthographic variant. See endnotes 365, 377 and 378.

A: huer; B: huart.

GU, 11. A: huuga; B: hauga.

B: hwar, i.e. masculine for neuter, probably in error, since bain is neuter.

GU, 11. A: Fingir; B: Fing' r.

GLGS, 24 note 7. A: fengir at; B: fengrat.

See Commentary.

GU, 12. A: epa a; B: ella.

B: ier Byt at xii M(arkum).

B: werias, i.e. passive or middle voice for active.

GU, 12. A: lestr; B: lest' r.

GLGS, 25 note 5. B: Alt.


See Addition 3.

B: a hand, i.e. accusative for dative.

B: Eyd fyri. Schlyter (CIG, 40 note 54) considers this to be an error.

B: slegi, i.e. accusative plural for dative in error.

GU, 12. A: hanna; B: hana.

B: ta Byti ii M(ark' r) S(ilffs).


GU, 60. A: dyrir.


B: man, i.e. accusative for dative.


B: hand, i.e. accusative for dative, but in that case anni is incorrect and should be eyna.

B: man, i.e. accusative for dative.

B: haffuir, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.

B: fiugura, changed from fiura. The scribe clearly intended fiugura, forgetting to delete the a.

B: haffuer, i.e. 2nd person singular indicative for the imperative.

B: ier, i.e. singular for plural.

GU, 13. A: fingir; B: fing' r.


The clause Tha en loyski ier so mikit at lofa ma a leggia, tha iru ii m. pen. appears in the margin in B. See Addition 5 for differences in B; in the following clauses. Although Pipping assumes that this clause derives from manuscript Bx, it is marked Nota defectum and may instead be a correction to an omission by Bilefeld. Cf. endnotes 403 and 585.


B: kalla.

B: oc broker.

B: byti, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.

B: fiugra.

B: byti, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.

The y is above an undeleted i. B: fiugura.

B: fiugura.
GLGS, 28 note 6. A: fara far; B: sara far. CIG, 45 reads A: as sara far.

310 B: engin, i.e. nominative in error for dative.


312 The paragraph indicated in endnote 403 appears here in A:, evidently misplaced, but in the correct place in B; where it is, however, inserted in the margin.

313 CIG, 46. A: takis (affected by noybas); B: taki.

314 B: schiauti, i.e. dative singular of *schiaui (n.) for feminine dative singular of schiaupa.


316 GU, 14. A: fyþ yr; B: fydur.


318 B: so.


322 GLGS, 30 note 1 proposes dytr. A: dydir; B: dytr.


324 B: errfilitia.

325 B: innan.

326 B: lut, i.e. accusative singular for plural.

327 B: ier, i.e. 3rd person singular for 3rd person plural. This seems to be an error following baþi, but is not indicated as such by Schlyter.

328 B: liauta, i.e. 3rd person plural indicative for 3rd person singular subjunctive. This assumes kerldi and quindi to be plural.

329 B: gang, possibly an error not noted by Schlyter.

330 CIG, 47. A: fystrir; B: systrir.

331 B: ogeptar, could possibly be read as ogiptar.

332 CIG, 48. A: sapur; B: sadur.

333 This paragraph should be here, as indicated by the reading of B:, where it appears in the margin. It might be a correction to an omission by Bilefeld himself, rather than a reading from another manuscript, since it is marked: Nota defectum. In A: it appears at the point indicated by endnote 382.

334 CIG, 45; GLGS, 29 note 1 suggests the alternative senn. A: sum.

335 B: takin, i.e. 3rd person plural subjunctive for 3rd person singular.

336 GU, 14. A: hann i hafþi; B: thar i haffdu.

337 B: war a.

338 B: garthir. This is in the margin at its proper place, but Pipping is uncertain of his own reading after the h and it could be garthin.

339 B: rugar.

340 B: korn, possibly in error.

341 B: hwaru, i.e. dative for accusative. Since um only takes the latter, however, the u hook might be an error.

342 GLGS, 30 note 11. A: fyglir; B: fylgdi.

343 GLGS, 31 note 1. A: henni; B: haan i. CIG, 48: haan i.

344 B: ta, more usually taar.

345 B: gangit, i.e. active past participle for passive.


347 B: has the words Hogsl oc id in the margin at this point, as a side heading, clearly written before the insertion referred to in endnote 416.

348 B: liur. This is presumably an error.

349 GU, 15. A: sitir; B: sithr.

350 B: standi, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.


352 B: wegi. An error not noted by Schlyter.

353 GLGS, 32 note 4; CIG, 50. A: bryþium, possibly corrected; B: brydrom.

354 B: gutnisk, i.e. accusative neuter plural for singular.

355 GLGS, 32 note 6. A: þegar mp skri; B: tegan med schriuan.

356 GU, 15. A: gufniscar; B: gutniskar.
The form in A is the neuter plural nominative. This is rendered elsewhere in B by than.

The form thaim is usually the dative plural, Jjaim or Jjeim in A.

The form falling.

The form leguttu. Schlyter has not noted this probable error for leguitu.

GU, 16. A: einloyptri; B: einlOptri.

CIG, 54. A: gutniskr; B: ogutnisch'r.

B: mesta. The ending –a is common for the genitive plural feminine in A: and B:; cf. endnote 489.

CIG, 58. A: Schiautir; B: schiaut'r. The indication of the second i in A: is from a later hand.

B: knibor.

GLGS, 37 note 1. A: lyndir; B: loyndir. The o above the line in A: is by a later hand.

GLGS, Ordbok, 35. A: hann; B: haan.

B: ankal.

GLGS, 37 note 4. A: haitr; B: heitir altered from heit'r.

B: til.

B: unnar; in the margin a: thula vel J>ula. Sàve (GU, xxxii) suggests correction to the plural unna. The note on the manuscript is a further indication that the scribe of B: was working from at least two originals.

B: byt, i.e. 2nd person imperative for indicative. Note the reverse difference at endnotes 169, 201, 212, 213, 217, 218, 615.

B: Aff wagnikla ferdir.

GU, 19. A: drigs; B: dricks. GLGS, 37 note 8 suggests drics.

GU, 19. A: af tachnir; B: aff tachnar.

B: drossiat oc gierda mannorn.

B: øøl biers.

See Addition 6 and Chapter 63 of A., last paragraph.

Schlyter (CIG, 60 note 43) considers A: reading might be fran. B: fram.

B: includes here the first nine sentences of the chapter of quinna ret from 95/17-24.

GLGS, 38 note 3. The scribe of A: has originally written ier and apparently commenced a correction to huer. He has then inserted the latter in the margin.

B: sliti hwar sum the (= the) till ier.

B: Initial letter of Reikldedi enlarged and in red, indicating a new sub-section.

B: smera.

B: sempt sik.

B: hand. An error not noted by Schlyter.

B: sina nesta. It is possible that nesta is intended to be dative singular following mip, influenced by the initial omission of the word svid; and the fact that the dative singular, as well as the genitive plural, of frendi would be frenda. The form sina is, however, incorrect for dative masculine singular.

GU, 19. A: huergi oratlica; B: hwargin oradlika.

B: En om oguthnisch folck in red, indicating a new sub-section.

GU, 19. A: gangir; B: gang'r.

B: nest, i.e. neuter for masculine.

This chapter is placed correctly here, following B: and the table of contents in A. In A: it appears following Chapter 63; cf. GLGS, 60 and 95/15 and endnote 738.

A: at vita at; B: witna. The form of the adjective *ygin suggests the accusative following the preposition a rather than dative following at.

B: tafast eig'r oc upni. The form tafast is neuter (cf. 83/19) and upni appears to be dative in error for accusative upna.

B: haffuer.

B: talaut.

GU, 30. A: laifha; B: leifhua.

B: gierjri, i.e. 3rd person singular present subjunctive of giera ('make') for 3rd person singular present subjunctive of gierja ('fence in'), perhaps because the scribe misunderstood gierja as the 3rd person singular preterite of giera and thought that it was an error.

B: lad.

B: han.

A: brigzlem; B: bregdan.

A: ligs vitni; B: lichs vitni.

GLGS, 38 note 9. A: trobr; B: trodr.

B: haff fallar.

B: ortat vitni full. The first word is probably an error, and full must also be an error for fult.

A: fysti; B: fyrsta. Probably an error for ofysti.

B: dugi, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.

Pipping 1904, 6.

P: bierin.

B: eigu eynga fasta. Schlyter (CIG, 62 note 10) corrects this to eigu eyga fasta.


B: witnom, i.e. dative plural of vitni for 3rd person present subjunctive of vitna.

B: nerar, i.e. adjective for adverb.

B: eyg'r.

The words oc skogr… luti are inserted in the margin, according to Schlyter (CIG, 62 note 15) by a sixteenth century hand.

B: taki, i.e. subjunctive for indicative.


B: myrom, i.e. plural for singular.

B: haffuir, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.


B: ransaka. Save (GU, 20) suggests rnanfsak(a).
Guta lag

524 GLGS, 40 note 1. A: merki um; B: merkiom.
525 B: ta gard’r, i.e. nominative for dative, probably in error.
526 B: han.
527 B: a garda. The first a has been inserted later by the scribe and the form garda may be an error for gard a.
528 B: fleirin eyga with ella hafa in the margin, possibly an alternative reading.
529 B: ella eygir in the margin. This should possibly be the 3rd person singular present subjunctive, eygi to match haffui.
530 CIG, 63. A: gajjr; B: gard.
531 B: manni.
532 The word (half)mark is here assumed to be an undeclined form. See Commentary.
533 GLGS, 41 note 1. A: setr; B: set’r. Alternatively, settir.
534 B: cyn. This seems to be an error in B:.
535 B: forward’r, with alias werri in the margin.
536 GLGS, 41 note 2 rejects the correction in CIG, 65 to osoyj).
537 B: eyn.
538 This seems to be an error in B:.
539 B: forward’r, with alias werri in the margin.
540 GLGS, 41 note 2 rejects the correction in CIG, 65 to osoyj).
541 B: tan.
542 B: byt’r ey utan at gard’r.
543 B: ier, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
544 B: fyrsta in the margin.
546 B: olyofis.
547 GU, 21. A: viii; B: viii.
548 A: ertau. B: ertaug’r. CIG, 66 has ertair. Pipping (GLGS, 42) reads this as an abbreviation. See Commentary.
549 GLGS, 42 note 5 suggests that this should be xiii, but this is rejected by Wessén (SL IV, 277-278).
550 B: ier, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
551 B: e medan.
552 B: ier, i.e. 3rd person singular present indicative for plural.
553 GU, 21. A: sandir; B: sand’r.
554 B: wit, possibly indicative, without final r, for subjunctive.
555 CIG, 67. A: liggia; B: liggi a.
556 CIG, 67. A: epi; B: ella.
557 CIG, 67. A: faup; B: saud.
558 B: seg, i.e. indicative without final r, for subjunctive.
559 GLGS, Ordbok, 79. A: þrengr; B: þrengir.
560 CIG, 68. A: caupta; B: kaupa.
561 B: ieru, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
562 B: witna. This seems to be an error in B.: cf. CIG, 68 note 8 and endnote 122.
563 GU, 22. A: sett; B: seght. Schlyter and Pipping (1901a, 125) follow the B: reading.
564 CIG, 68 A: ogugnischir; B: ogutnisch’r.
565 GU, 22. A: buti; B: Byti.
566 GLGS, 43 note 5. A: kerldi sum þet liautas a; B: kerldi som liauta agha. Cf. 86/1.
567 B: werd, i.e. accusative instead of the dative normally following mp.
568 B: affrad, i.e. the accusative rather than the nominative, possibly in error.
569 B: affrad laus.
570 B: markleygi.
571 CIG, 69. A: amala þingi; B: a mala tingi.
572 B: bryllingiar.
573 A: fe fe, both inserted above the line; B: fe.
574 B: fadur.
575 B: triggia.
576 B: at schilia.
577 B: lutua. There is a definite u-hook, but this may be an error.
578 According to Schlyter (CIG, 70 note 43), A: could read aigu. B: eigu.
579 B: gier, i.e. indicative for subjunctive.
580 B: mala. This may be an error, using accusative singular of mali, m. rather than mal1, n.
581 B: hendi, i.e. dative singular rather than accusative plural.
582 B: (in the margin) farer Bonde y kiobfar. Lib. 1., cap, 12.utorum., a reference to JL.
583 B: wardar hwart sinom werkom.
The remainder of this section (Tha en thair hafa... orada mader.) appears in the margin in B: All but the final sentence might be a correction of an omission by Bilefeld, rather than a reading from another manuscript, since it is marked: Nota defectum and part of the wording is included in the main body of the text.

This reading is probably an error.

The remainder of this sentence (so frammarla sum fadir schynias ai orada mad' r.) appears in the body of the text in B:, as well as in the margin.

This text must be understood, by comparison with line 88/11. It is missing from both A: and B:. Cf. SL 4, 282 note 5.

B: minna tan til.

B: vii. nata. This supports Säve's argument (GU, xxvi) rejecting siaunata as one word; cf. Schlyter (CIG, 74) siaunata.

See Addition 7.

B: Aff yxna kaupi.

B: Kaupir thu ko in red, indicating a new sub-section.

B: Aff hesta kaupi.

B: CIG, 274. A: laistir; B: lastir.

B: hanom.

CIG, 75. A: fembru; B: frebro.

A: baut; B: tan at. CIG, 75 suggests tau at, missing a u-hook, but tan or than are used throughout B: for pau, tan at for pau et on three other occasions.

B: Rid'r tu annan mans hest.

CIG, 75. A: abaki; B: a baki.


B: engan.

B: byt'r, i.e. 2nd person indicative for imperative.


GU, 25. A: Bat; B: Batir.

Nasal stroke missing. B: Ransakan.

B: man oschiel giera.

B: has lausgyrtir scal innat ganga in the margin.

B: ransakan.

B: fyli, in the margin al: fuli. See also Commentary.

B: thz = thet, i.e. accusative rather than genitive.

Originally segr, altered by a later hand to segrir; B: seg'r.

B: leysnom.

B: Tha, in red, possibly to indicate the start of a new sub-section.
B: fyrrada.
B: bars.

GLGS, 50 note 2. A: þar til et; B: tar til, en.
B: ræti.


CIG, 79. A: þinfyra; B: ting fyra.

CIS XIII, 742 suggests þa.

See Addition 8.

B: Aff Oquedins ord. The accusative frequently follows aff in B:.
B: En kuno ta ieru.

A: fordeþskieþ; B: fordenschep’r.

CIG, 79. A: sclicum; B: slikom.

CIG, 79. A: j)infyra; B: ting fyra.

CIG, 80. A: þrim; B: trim.


CIG, 80. A: aþingi; B: a tingi.

GU, 26. A: asannat; B: ey sannad. Alternatively a sannat, GLGS, 70; ai sannat at, CIG, 80.

GU, 26. A: syma; B: symi.

GLGS, 53 note 7. The first i is trimmed away.

B: tinga. Genitive plural for singular; clearly an error.

A: kaennis; B: kennis.


CIG, 80 gives socnar menn, but GLGS, 53 note 9 rejects this amendment as unnecessary.

B: merchit ella o merchitir.

B: fyri.

B: haffui. Schlyter considers this to be an error, Pipping does not comment.

B: hafft.

B: heptalaun. Cf. endnote 655 and Commentary.

A: launs; B: laun. Cf. endnote 655 and Commentary.

B: Aff kliptom weduri.

A: Symonismessu; B: Simonis messo.

B: loyst.

B: sielffuins, possibly altered from an earlier reading. Schlyter (CIG, 82 note 42) marks this as an error.

Part of the o is trimmed away as oc russen is in the margin. B: Naut oc Rus. Nominative or accusative for dative in error.

B: a.

GLGS, 54 note 6. A: þins; B: tings.

B: fierri mot stucka at magi sia. This gives the translation so far from the assembly poles that one may see. This seems to make equal, if not better, sense.

GLGS, 55 note 1. CIG, 83 suggests upp hailzlu-. A: upp hailzlu--; B: vp heislu--.

A: merki. B: amerki, which is clearly correct.

B: Rofu Akrom; rofu ak’rs; rofu ack’rs. Pipping suggests these readings as alternatives in A:.

Schlyter (CIG, 84 notes 16 and 19) considers rofnakrum, etc. are errors for rofnia akrum, etc. This change seems unnecessary.

GU, 27. A: seþr; B: sed.

B: haffi.

B: oykin.

B: ak’r.

B: sak’r, wid’r sochn at iii oyrom.

GLGS, 55 note 3. A: afreki; B: haffreki.

GLGS, 55 note 4. Could be alandi, afluti, but ahafs is marked to indicate a word break. B: a landi, a fluta, the latter amended, in error, from fluti.

B: mad’r.
682 GLGS, 56 note 2 rejects kroks ok kexis (GU, 28). B: krok oc kexi. Cf. ok þau þarf lekisschep wiþr,
71/23.
683 B: fund. Cf. fundar laun and endnote 793.
684 B: ðth = thet, i.e. the accusative. There is no instance in A: of af taking the accusative, although it
occurs frequently in B.
685 B: giers.
686 B: scher.
687 The omission by B: of af is an error.
688 B: Aff Broan.
689 B: semt sick.
690 A: sempski; B: sempt sick.
691 B: aff.
692 Amended from setia.
693 B: schuldom.
694 CIG, 86. A: socsninna; B: sochninna.
695 B: sochninar.
696 A: ful[k]; C: folk.
697 A: br[i]aupi; B: Briaudi.
698 B: tan.
699 B: um hwarin dagh.
700 CIG, 87 has huerk. A: [h]uerk; B: werck.
701 CIG, 87. A: fem fem; B: v.
702 B: Rygh.
703 B: siefflur. This is an error, since the subject is fullk (n.).
704 B: bondin.
705 B: schieflom. See also endnote 252.
706 B: at iii oyrom wid’r bondan.
707 B: harum.
708 B: harom.
709 A: Symonismessu; B: Simonis messu.
710 CIG, 88 has bitta (B: Thitta), which GLGS, 58 note 3 rejects as an unnecessary emendation.
711 B: semt.
712 B: Mariomessu, i.e. accusative for genitive following til.
713 GU, 29. B: som.
714 B: messo fallom.
715 B: Sondag.
716 Cf. Commentary and endnote 336.
717 GU, xxxii, 29. A: aprar; B: adrar.
718 GU, 29. A: bolf, amended from a previous reading; B: xii.
719 B: sochn.
720 B: Duffii.
721 See Addition 9.
722 The remainder of this chapter constitutes the end of B, where it follows the chapter Vm schoga. The
words Teth ier oc sempt sik: At are in red, with an enlarged initial T, indicating the start of a new sub-
section.
723 B: sempt.
724 B: ieru, i.e. 3rd plural present indicative for singular.
725 B: at.
726 GU, 30. GLGS, 59 note 1 accepts the suggestion. B: oc thet.
727 B: ends here with the words Exaratum A° 1587. 14 calend: Junii, per Dauidem Bilefeld Ecclesiatis
Balingboesenem ac praepositum Borealis TERTIANÆ. iuxta Tenorem Beteris Exemplaris Anno
MCD.LXX scropti: - followed by five pages containing the table of contents.
728 The following appears in Chapter 20 of B.; cf. 98/24-25.
730 B: byti iii oyra.
731 B: has the preceding words in red, indicating a new sub-section.
732 B: tar. Bilefeld has possibly read this as the nsp of þann. Pipping has not noted this instance.
733 GLGS, 60 note 1. A: littryggum; B: lyctryggom. Hadorph, 44 gives lyctryggum.
734 A: has elsewhere firigerir or firigierir; B: fyri gier.
B: kirckiu stedi sinom.

In B: the closing words (94/24-95/2) follow here, together with details of Bilefeld's copy; cf. endnote 727.

B: See Addition 6. This clause belongs in the chapter Af bryllaupum; cf. endnote 480.

A: has the chapter af farweghum manz here. Cf. 82/12-20 and endnote 494.

The first nine sentences of this chapter form the start of Chapter 35 in B; cf. 82/1-4 and endnote 482.

A: oc sempsic; B: thz (= thet) sempt sik.

GU, 31. A (according to GLGS, 61 note 3): flyctu; B: flytto.

CIG, 93 amends to nequat, but cf. endnotes 305 and 155.

B: komb'r. GLGS, 7 has kombir. CIG, 104 has komber; see Commentary.

CIG, 104. B: keldi, amended from keldr.

CIG, 105. B: prest som. This is an error.

GU, 36. B: hitter.

CIG, 105. B: er ier innu.

GLGS, 8. CIG, 105 and GU, 36 give eller. B: ell'r.

A: lejr.

The preceding sentence also appears in A. In B: at has been altered to aat.

See Commentary.

GLGS, 8 note 8. B: hempn at eyger so budit. Schlyter (CIG, 105 note 9) suggests hempnar tha so ier budit. See Commentary.

B: tweir. See endnote 164.

B: liauter altered from liut'r.


B: slit, perhaps a scribal error.

GU, 36. B: y.

B: hwat tima. Schlyter (CIG, 107 note 12) has et prester ei ma at sia. It is worth commenting that the form pst'r used here is one of a number of spellings of prestr in the B-text: prester, prestrir, prestrir, prest'r and prestr' being others.

The first letter of Naut is in red, possibly indicating a new sub-section, although earlier in the manuscript the initial letters of some paragraphs are indiscriminately in red.


B: tweim. See endnote 164.

The sentence Tha en limalastir fylgia, da byt'r ii m. sylffs appears in the margin of B:

The clause legbain ella armlegg'r bytis at twaim m. silffs en sunder ier slaghit. appears in the margin of B:

GLGS, Ordbok, 39. B: hwaru.

The sentence ler torfa manni haggin, ier byt at m. sylffs appears in the margin of B:

The majority of these statutes occur at A: 41; cf. 95/4-5.

The first letter of Magum is enlarged and in red, indicating a new sub-section.

This statute occurs in A: at the end of Chapter 63.

GU, 37, CIG, 108 reads Kauper. B: Kaup'r.

CIG, 108.

GU, 37. laidir; CIG, 108 (incorrectly) leyder; B: leyd'r.

GU, 37. B: kalas.

CIG, 109, incorrectly: fylger.

These first three words in red to indicate a new sub-section.

GU, xxi. B: oyri.

Cf. Commentary on 70/16 and endnote 294.

GU, 38. B: wesl, i.e. nasal stroke omitted. Cf. 62/20 and endnotes 288, 621.

Something is missing here. See Commentary.

CIG, 110 note 25, alternatively naugan for naudgan. B: naug’r.

GLGS, Ordbok, 26. B: fylí. See also Commentary to 89/23.

GU, 38.


GU, 38. B: er.

Schlyter (CIG, 111 note 27) considers that this initially read theim.

GLGS, Ordbok, 64. B: lagrekat.

CIG, 112 note 29.

The start of this chapter occurs at A: 42 v; cf. 96/1-2 and endnote 748.
Here begins firstly.

Concerning children

Concerning tithes

If you rent a field or meadow

Concerning sacrifice

Concerning priests and priests' children

Concerning holy days

Concerning monks' property

Concerning personal rights

Concerning universal sanctity

Concerning springtime sanctity

Concerning assembly sanctity

Concerning homestead sanctity

Concerning manslaughter

Concerning the offering of compensation for a man

Concerning inherited cases

Concerning men's wergilds

Concerning wergilds in connection with the peace circle

Concerning unruly animals

Concerning battered women

Concerning wounds

Concerning bald patches

If you damage another's clothes

Concerning open wounds

If a man blocks another's path

If slaves fight

Concerning all inheritance

If the male line is broken

Concerning women's inheritance

Concerning illegitimate children

Concerning men discovered in the act of illicit intercourse

Concerning adulterers

Concerning rape

Concerning assaults on women

Concerning weddings

Concerning funeral feasts

Concerning women's rights

Concerning fine woollen cloth

Concerning riding clothes

Concerning Gotlandic women

Concerning non-Gotlandic women
Concerning the watch
Concerning houses and household servants
Concerning harvesters
Concerning those who have no arable land
Concerning squirrels
Concerning hares
Concerning tree fruits
Concerning failure to read mass
Concerning gambling
Concerning woods and all land taken in pledge
Concerning women's rights
Here begins the law of the Gotlanders and it says firstly this

This is the first beginning of our law: that we should reject heathen ways and accept Christianity and all believe in one almighty God, and all pray to him that he grant us good harvests and peace, victory and health. And that we should uphold our Christianity and our proper faith and the province in which we live and that we should each day do, in our deeds and desires, those things that are to the honour of God and which most benefit us, both in body and soul.

Concerning children

It is now the next thing that each child born in our province should be raised by us and not thrown out. Every woman should know her own bed in which she is to lie in labour. She should call on two women to be witnesses with her, the midwife and a neighbour, to witness that the child was stillborn, and that she had no hand in its death.

If a free woman is found guilty of having killed a child, then she is fined three marks as soon as it comes before the parishioners, unless she has previously confessed her crime, and the priest bears full witness to it. Then she must complete her penance, and no one has a right to claim compensation. If she denies the case, and it comes before the assembly members, then if she is found innocent, she shall receive three marks from those who charged her, and an oath of rehabilitation from six men. If she is found guilty, she must pay three marks to the parish, if the parish can demand it. If the case comes before the assembly members, she pays three marks to the assembly, and another three marks to the rural dean, if she is found guilty. If the case comes before the general assembly, and if she is then found guilty, she incurs a fine of twelve marks to the general assembly. If she has no money to pay, then she must go into exile and every man is to be fined three marks who shelters or houses her, or
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gives her food. If she will not take an oath, she is nevertheless considered condemned in the case.

If those who have accused her abandon the case, and refuse to put down money, one should deem her to have no case to answer and clear her of the charge. The accusers should, however, confirm her honour by oath and remove the slander, which they laid on her. If she admits that she was the mother, and says that the child was stillborn, then they do not need to put down any money, if they disbelieve her, and if she did not have any female witnesses with her when she was in labour.

If such a case is brought against someone's female slave, no one lays any higher fine against her than six øre in coin. If she is found guilty, then her master is fined six øre in coin on her behalf and six years are added after her time of slavery is complete.

[3] Concerning tithes

The next thing is that everyone shall have services and pay tithes, where he has had a church built, and to which his farm was allocated from the outset. The priest must carry out all Christian office for him, whether he may demand them early or late. Thus all men are in agreement that every man should pay his tithe before the Feast of the Annunciation, both the part to the priest and the part to the church. Each man must pay his tithes by the stook. Thus no one is able to say that the tithe has not been threshed when Annunciation comes. And after Annunciation, the priest is to make a declaration for three Sundays, and lock the church door on the fourth Sunday and withhold services from the parishioners until such time as all the tithes are fully paid. And a three-mark fine is incurred by each man who was not willing to pay his tithe previously. All should be obliged to prosecute this and all should be party to it. The parishioners should be entitled to a third, the church a third and the priest a third. If a tenant goes from one parish to another with the tithe unpaid, then he is liable to three
marks to the priest, the church and the parishioners, and still to bring back his tithe, though it is late.

If someone wants to build himself a church for greater convenience than he had previously, he must do it from the remaining nine parts. And the church shall receive its tithe and the priest his, until the new one is consecrated. But afterwards, he is to pay the tithe where he most recently built the church. He may not later return to the previous church, if he has made another new one. And he may not go from the previous church to the new one later than the day on which the bishop consecrated it. If disagreements arise between them in the first or the second year, then he shall himself declare with an oath, and with two parishioners, whom his opponents wish to nominate, that he was involved in the church-building and the consecration, and in all things as other parishioners. When three years have passed or more than three, then he shall have both parishioners’ witness that he was with them in the church-building and the priest’s own witness that he had ever since paid him the tithe as every other parishioner.

If a man rents a field or a meadow from another parish, and there are no houses on it, he is to leave the corn-tithe in the place where the field was allocated, but take home hay or hops with him, and give tithes from them to the priest whom he visits for services, and from whom he receives all Christian offices. If there are houses there, he is to leave everything behind. The priest is to have tithes from it, who is at the church there, similarly the church has its portion, as the priest his.

[4] 3 Concerning sacrifice

It is now the next thing that sacrifice is strictly forbidden to all men, and all those old customs, which belong to paganism. No one may call upon either groves or howes or heathen gods, nor upon holy places or ancient sites. If someone is found guilty of
this and it is proved against him, and confirmed with witnesses that he has invoked something of this sort with his food or drink, which does not follow Christian practice, then he is to be fined three marks to the parishioners, if they win the case. All should also be obliged to prosecute this and all should take a share in it: priest and church and parishioners. If suspicion falls on him, then he is to defend himself with a six-man oath. If the parishioners do not win the case and it comes before the assembly members, then he must defend himself again with a six-man oath, or pay a fine of three marks to the assembly. If it comes before the general assembly, then he pays a fine of twelve marks to the authorities, if he does not win with the defence of a twelve-man oath.

[5] 4 Concerning priests and priests' wives, and their children

It is now the next thing that priests and the wives of priests and their ordained children are equal in the matter of assault and manslaughter and in all respects to the children of farmers, but the lay children, they follow the family of their mother.

[208a] If a man, whether ordained or not, commits a crime no one shall be fined more on behalf of another, than his {i.e. the wrongdoer's} resources can cover.

[6] 5 Concerning holy days

This is now the next thing that all those days that the bishops have declared holy, and which all men have accepted, should be considered sacred by men. No one must do other work on Sundays, or other holy days, but attend holy office, or hear God's service, and have permission to ride round his farm after mass has been sung, or the holy office has finished. No one may have more on his wagon on a Sunday than a lispound weight following a pair of oxen, or half that following a horse. If he has more, one may confiscate his load until he has paid six öre, and in addition he is to pay six öre for Sabbath-breaking, unless an emergency arose and the priest was asked.
Then the latter may ascertain what is necessary and give permission that he may travel in his parish, so that he is not blamed or accused about it. If he wants to travel further, then he must always seek permission from the priest who has control of the church parish {i.e. that he wishes to pass through}, if he wants to be unchallenged about it.

One has permission to travel or ride to the marketplace with prepared food, cheese and butter, and all dairy produce, fish, fowl, or those beasts that one is to sell on the market square, with baked bread, but not with flour or barley, and not with other wares, without risking both the load and six öre. Half the fine goes to the one who apprehends him, and half to the priest and parishioners of the place where he was when he was apprehended with the goods. If a man rides and carries a burden {on the horse}, one may not blame him or impose a fine on him for it, if he is sitting {on the horse} himself. If the draught horse is in a train, or he is leading him with a pack, that pack may legally be seized, if it is more than half a lispound, and in addition a six-øre fine for Sabbath-breaking is incurred. If a free man or free woman is found doing work on a Sunday or other holy day, then all the work is to be seized, which is found in their hands, and they are in addition to be fined six öre for Sabbath-breaking. Half of this is to go to the man who apprehended them, and half to the priest and church and parishioners. If a male or female slave is caught working on a holy day, their master is fined three öre for them, and they are to have their time of slavery extended by three years.

[7] 6 Concerning monks' property

The next thing is that if someone is found guilty of felling in a wood belonging to monks, or knocking down boundary fences, or harming them, or their property, then he is to be excommunicated and pay a fine twice as much as that between farmers. And he is to pay the fine before the first assembly next following. If he waits for the
assembly, he is to pay a fine of three marks to the general assembly, and he is still to pay the fine to them as laid down in the law, although it is later.

If a man who is childless gives himself to the monastery, he retains authority over his property; he may neither sell nor transfer it during his lifetime. When he dies, one third remains with the monastery, but two thirds revert to his kinsmen. If he has children, he has command over his personal share. If any layman wishes to leave property to the monastery or to a church, then he may give a tenth of his property in land, but no more, unless his kinsmen permit it.

Concerning personal rights

The next thing is that an individual’s right to peace and security is in force on all those days designated ‘holy days’, from the time of sunset on the eve of the day until dawn on the third day. Fourteen days at Christmas are days of peace and security, seven weeks in Lent, and all Holy Week, three Rogation days and all Whit week. If you kill a man during these periods of peace and security, the fine is three marks. If you wound a man, the fine is twelve öre. If you strike a man with a staff, or an axe hammer, the fine is six öre. If you manhandle someone, or push him, or take him by the hair, or punch him with your fist, the fine is three öre, if it is done in anger. If a slave is involved, the fine does not exceed three öre, if he is made to bleed. The fine is always to be paid where the deed was done, and not where the perpetrator lives. The priest shall withhold holy offices, and close the church door, to all those who have broken the sanctity of God, for excommunication always follows Sabbath-breaking. The ban shall subsequently be lifted immediately he pays the fine stipulated, and the parishioners consider it advisable. All are obliged to bring the action for the fines, and all should take a share in them. Parishioners are to have one third of the fines, the church another, and the priest a third, provided that fines are not payable to the
general assembly. But fines to the general assembly are not payable for Sabbath-breaking, unless a man is killed inside a church, in which case there is a fine of forty marks, or in a churchyard, in which case there is a fine of twelve marks. This fine is paid to the general assembly. The rural dean has three marks of this for pronouncing excommunication.

All churches in the province are equally sacred, if a man is killed inside them. Three churchyards, however, are considered in law to be the most sanctified. In these a fugitive should have protection both in the rectory and in the churchyard. There is a fine of forty marks if a fugitive is killed in this sanctuary. But of all other fines, those that are smaller, and those that are not payable to the general assembly, the parishioners are always due one third, and the church a second part, and the priest another part. If you strike a man in a church with a staff or an axe hammer, or wound him in a churchyard, the fine for this is six marks. If you punch a man with your fist in a church or push a man or take him by the hair, or strike him in a churchyard with a staff, or with an axe hammer, the fine is three marks. If you punch a man with your fist in a churchyard, or push a man, or take a man by the hair, the fine is twelve öre for Sabbath-breaking. The one who has desecrated the church shall always be liable for the re-consecration, and cleanse that which he has made unclean by a payment of three marks.

[9] **Concerning the universal sanctity**

Now there are, moreover, two other periods of peace and security, which principally exist in order that one should observe an individual’s right to protection. In these cases there is no excommunication and no fine to the bishop, unless the deed was done on a holy day. This is the universal sanctity. It runs from fourteen nights after Easter and five nights after Midsummer and lasts for ten nights and ten days in each
case; it both starts and ends at sunrise. If you kill a man during these periods of peace
and security, the fine to the general assembly is always as great a wergild as he whom
you killed is worth. No peace circle will protect you before you have paid the fine. If
you wound a man or strike him during these periods of peace and security, the fine is
three marks. During these periods of peace and security no one may destroy another’s
house or boundary fence, without being liable for a fine of three marks.

[10] Concerning the springtime sanctity

Now there is then, in addition, the springtime sanctity. It runs from a fortnight
before the general sowing time, and lasts until a fortnight thereafter. During that
period of peace and security no one may seize from another either horse or ox in
payment of debt (since a farmer needs both these every day on his fields) without
being liable for a fine of three marks. If a debt is {outstanding} between men and it is
legally claimed, the one is to claim from the other his house, cattle or possessions, and
not his working beasts, which he needs at the time.

[11] Concerning the assembly sanctity

Next there is still men’s assembly sanctity. The assembly men must prosecute the
action for {breaking} the assembly sanctity. If you take a man by the hair, or punch
him with your fist, at the assembly, the fine is three marks for breaking the assembly
sanctity and in addition a legal fine {i.e. for the assault}. If you strike a man with a
staff, or an axe hammer, or cause a man injury, the fine is three marks. If you kill a
man, or maim him, the fine is [212]six marks, unless the man was killed in revenge. A
criminal may not rely on the assembly sanctity, unless a universal sanctity is in force.

[12] Concerning the homestead sanctity

Next there is still the sanctity of the homestead for all men. If you kill a man at
home on his farm, or maim him, the fine is twelve marks to the general assembly, and
another twelve to him, and wergild in addition. If you strike a man with a staff or an axe hammer, or cause him injury, the fine is three marks to him, and three more to the community, and in addition the legal fine. If a householder is struck at home on his farm, or more people, only the one who is valued most highly takes the fine for an attack in the home, but no others. All should, however, receive legal fines.

[13] 12 Concerning manslaughter

The next thing is that, if the misfortune should occur through the devil’s agency that a man should happen to kill another, his father, son and brother shall flee with him. If none of these exist, then his nearest kinsmen should flee with him for forty days to a church that all men have taken as a sanctuary, that is Fardhem and Tingstäde and Atlingabo. There they shall have safety and sanctuary, both in the rectory and in the churchyard. And when that time has expired, he must ride to the place where he wants to draw up his peace circle, and draw it around three farms, and so far into the wood from the three homesteads that it lies equidistant from the other homesteads, which lie on the other side of the wood, if he has permission from those who own the property. The circle may not be drawn around a place of assembly or a marketplace, nor around more than one church, the one in which he took refuge. Then he has sanctuary within his circle, and someone else may negotiate compensation {on his behalf}. And he is always to draw it during the period of peace and security that is next after Easter, but until that time the peace circle, which he drew up when he first put himself in danger, shall protect him. That is called the testified safety circle. Any peace circle, which remains for a year, no one may dispute when a year has expired. But a man has then freedom to remain in his circle or go abroad on a pilgrimage to a shrine, to atone for his sins. He shall have eight days respite to take to his ship, and then travel in peace on his pilgrimage. And when
he comes back, he also has eight days to travel back to his circle in peace. If a man commits a crime {i.e. a killing} in his own home parish, he must flee from there, and draw his circle somewhere else, where neither mother nor daughter nor [213]sister {of the victim} live. Meanwhile he must take himself to another church, since they must not both visit the same church. Half the tithe is to go to the church he visits for services and half remains with the church to which his farm was allocated. If a man commits a crime at the homestead that he himself lives in, then he is to flee immediately from there and draw a peace circle elsewhere, if he wants peace and security, since they may not both live in the same farm. If a non-Gotlandic man kills another non-Gotlandic man, then he is to draw a circle in the same way as a Gotlander, if he lives on his own farm in Gotland.

13 Concerning the offering of compensation for a man

He is to offer compensation for the man, if he can afford it, when the year is past, and always leave a year between, and offer three times in three years. And the other is a man without dishonour if he accepts it the first time it was offered. If he does not wish to accept it the first time nor at the second, then he is to take it the third time, when three years have passed. If he will not accept it then, then they must be taken to the assembly, before all the people. He may still accept there, if he wishes. If he does not wish to, then all the people take counsel over {distribution of} the money, but he {i.e. the defendant} is then free from guilt. If the plaintiff says that the period had not expired, but the defendant who is offering the wergild says that it was, then the one who says that it had expired has the right to substantiate this, with the {supporting} evidence of three men who were at home with him at the farm and offered compensation three times in three years. And he is to confirm it with a twelve-man oath that there was always a year’s grace allowed between each. If a man does not
wish to offer wergild and all the time limits have expired, the authorities shall deem him to be an outlaw, and liable to discharge the wergild on a specified day after a period of a month, and liable for six marks of silver to the plaintiff and another six to the authorities. The same fine applies to him who does not keep within his peace circle. There is no appeal against this: that not all the fine should be extracted.

[14] 14 Concerning inherited cases

But concerning claims for {wergild} compensation inherited from father or brother or kinsmen, all shall negotiate compensation until such time as they are able to offer wergild. But the plaintiff can accept immediately, if he wishes, and not be dishonoured. If he does not wish to accept so quickly, then they must offer it three times before the same time the following year, and then take it to the assembly before all the people. He may [still], if he wishes, take the offer there, or else the whole assembly decides the sum of money, but they {i.e. the kinsmen} then become blameless.

[214] If two or more conspire together and kill one man, then they must all have the same peace circle until one of them admits to the killing.

A kinsman may take revenge, if he wishes, on behalf of a minor. All those who will inherit a portion with {him} and wish to do so {may} take revenge on behalf of a minor. Then it is avenged {lawfully} if any one of them takes revenge for him, whether male or female. That revenge is valid, just as if he himself took revenge. They shall also take the wergild, if the inheritor is young, when it has come to the time that the defendant who is involved in the case can make an offer of money, and free himself from it.
If a Gotlander kills a non-Gotlander and can afford to offer wergild, then he neither has to flee nor draw a peace circle. If a non-Gotlander kills a Gotlander, then he is not protected by a peace circle, unless he can afford to offer wergild.

If a minor causes the death of another, the fine is twelve marks of silver.

If a pregnant woman is killed and her child also dies and men can confirm with an oath that the child was alive in her womb, then her husband is to swear to it, if he is alive. If he is [not] alive, then the one most closely-related to her shall bear witness with three landowning Gotlanders from the same parish, and in addition so many as to make up twelve men, all of equal birth to her. Then the fine for the unborn child is twelve marks of silver, but for the woman a full wergild.

[15] **Concerning men’s wergild**

Further, there are now men’s wergilds. A Gotlandic man is to be compensated with a wergild of three marks in gold, if he is killed. All other men are to be compensated with ten marks of silver, except that a slave’s wergild is to be paid at four and a half marks in coin. If a Gotlandic man marries a non-Gotlandic wife, her full wergild compensation is to be paid for her, but the children follow their father’s family in the matter of compensation. If a non-Gotlandic man marries a Gotlandic woman, each keeps their own level of wergild compensation and the children follow their father’s family in the matter of compensation.

[16] **Concerning wergild within the peace circle**

The wergild for a Gotlandic man within the peace circle is twelve marks of silver; that of a non-Gotlandic man is five marks of silver, and that of a slave is six öre in coin.
All are equal in the matter of fines, until maiming occurs. If maiming occurs, then the hand or foot of a non-Gotlandic man is to be paid for with ten marks in coin, and similarly all other disfigurements, which are paid for with wergild.

If someone’s slave kills a Gotlandic man, then the master is to take the killer bound to the claimant’s farm within forty days, and in addition nine marks of silver. If the killer is not available, then he is to pay twelve marks of silver and no more. If a slave kills a non-Gotlandic man, then his master is to pay two marks of silver for him and lead the slave bound to the claimant’s farm within forty days. If the killer is not available, then he is to pay a fine of five marks of silver. And in all cases he is to swear him a six-man oath that he neither advised nor caused the deed.

If the master cannot swear this oath, then he is to pay the full wergild, both for a Gotlandic and a non-Gotlandic man. If a slave kills a slave, the master cannot be compelled to give the killer in compensation, if he offers four and a half marks in coin.

But a slave who has worked through his time of slavery is to embrace his freedom at the church door with the witness of the parishioners and then the slave is himself responsible for his actions.

[17] Concerning unruly animals

A five-year-old entire ox also carries a liability for compensation of twelve marks of silver on the farmer owing him, if he causes the death of a man. A horse must be tied up, when one comes to visit a farmer, between the fourth pair of fence supports from the entrance pillars, and four paces from the man’s door. Then he is responsible for nothing except for the near fore (if he kicks out), and his teeth, if he bites. If you travel to a farm or to a storehouse, tie the horse to the gable end or the back wall, then you will not be responsible for more than stated above. A
branded boar is the third, if he is over three years old and entire. A dog is the fourth.

One is always responsible for everything, if he causes damage, whoever owns him.

For these four dumb animals everyone is answerable on their own farm to the sum of twelve marks of silver {if they cause a death}.

5 If a dumb animal is the cause of the death of a man of lesser value than a Gotlander, then two thirds of his wergild is written off, but one third is paid by the owner of the beast. It is called ‘wergild subject to claim’ if a dumb animal causes the death of a man or maims him in the limb. One shall demand the wergild and not take revenge, lay a legal claim to it like other debts. If a dumb animal causes a man a wound or maims him, then two thirds of the compensation is written off, but a third is paid by [216] the owner of the beast, apart from a dog bite; then each tooth-mark, up to four, is paid with two öre.16

[18] 18 If a man strikes a woman

If a man strikes a woman so that her unborn child is miscarried, and it was alive in her womb, then the fine is half a wergild. If she accuses someone, but he denies it, then she is to prove it against him with three witnesses, those before whom she declared herself on the third day after she was struck, or those who were present, and furthermore landowing men, and the {supporting} evidence of two women that the child was stillborn after she had been struck. And herself bear witness to it, with a six-person oath, that it had been alive.

A woman must take care of her child at every feast, put it in its cradle and have it by her, or have it in her lap, or lay it on the bed and lie down herself. In that way every woman shall provide care for her child for three winters. If any man causes the death by misadventure of the child during this period of care, he is to pay the full wergild. If a woman lays the child on the floor or in a chair unsupervised, or lays it on the bed,
again unsupervised, then no compensation is to be paid for the child come what may.

If a woman goes with a child into a bed in which drunken men are already lying and the child is smothered in the throng or by the bedclothes, then no compensation is to be paid for that child, even though the woman herself lay down.

5 [19] **Concerning wounds**

If a man wounds another, with one wound or several, a thumb-nail’s breadth deep, then he is to pay half a mark for each thumb-nail’s breadth, both in depth and in length, up to eight marks, and half less if it is not a thumb-nail’s breadth deep, but still needs medical treatment. The man who received the wound shall get the witness of two magistrates in the same hundred and one district judge from the same sixth and himself swear with six men, with their {i.e. the judges’ supporting} evidence but not their oath, if the fine is more than three marks. If the fine is three marks or less, then it is a three-man oath. If he has more than one wound, then he may swear as he rather wishes, against one man or several, but to the same compensation. All wounds that have penetrated the abdominal or breast cavity, are compensated with a mark of silver. If one man wounds another with a knife, he is to pay two marks of silver. If a man throws a stone or some other object at another and he is wounded as a result, he is to pay three marks. If a man is wounded with a blow, which does not cause blood to be spilt, so that the blow is visible, the compensation is half a mark \[217\] for each blow up to four but with the same witness as for a {open} wound. If a man is wounded through his nose or lip, the compensation is two marks in coin and then for the facial defect if it has healed over. If it is open so that it cannot heal, then the highest compensation is paid in full. But for an ear, the compensation is halved. If one can see a scar or facial defect on the opposite side of the road and a hat or hood does not hide it between beard and brow, the compensation is half a mark of silver. If it can be seen
right across the assembly, then the fine is a mark of silver and wound compensation in addition. A split scalp is paid for with one mark in coin. If the skull is visible, then the fine is two marks in coin. If the skull is indented or cracked, then it is a mark of silver. If the membrane is visible, the fine is two marks of silver.

For each bone, which rings in the bowl, there is a fine of a mark in coin for each up to four bones. Each larger bone splinter, which can carry an ell-long thread over a five ell-high beam, is subject to a fine of two marks in coin for each of up to four bones. Each finger, which is cut off, is subject to compensation of four marks in coin. A thumb is fined at two marks of silver. If a finger is so stiffened that it has no holding power, then the fine is the same as if it were lost. If a man is damaged in one hand, but can still hold a sword or a sickle but cannot lift the weapon, then the fine is two marks of silver. If a man is incapacitated so that he cannot walk or run, then the fine is two marks of silver. If he is damaged in the sinew of the heel or neck, then the fine is also two marks of silver. Each toe is fined at two marks in coin, if it is lost. If a hand or a foot is lost or an eye is out there is a fine of six marks of silver for each of them. If a man assaults another and cuts off both of his hands, or both of his feet, or pokes out both of his eyes, and the man still survives afterwards, the payment is twelve marks of silver for each. If a man has his nose cut off so that he cannot keep back his mucus or snot, the fine is also twelve marks of silver. If a man’s tongue is pulled out of his head and cut off, so that he cannot talk with it, then that also incurs a fine of twelve marks of silver. If a man is damaged in his genitals, so that he cannot father a child, then the fine is six marks of silver for each testicle. If both are damaged, then the fine is twelve marks of silver. If the [whole] penis is cut off, so that the man cannot satisfy a call of nature other than sitting like a woman, then the fine is eighteen marks of silver.
Each rib is to be fined at two marks, up to four ribs. Cutting off or splitting a smaller bone in the hand or foot is fined at a mark in coin. If a larger bone is broken in either foot or hand, the fine is a mark of silver, if it heals without defect. If disability ensues, the fine is two marks of silver. If a man has a visible blow on the hand, and says that he has lost the use of it, then he is to prove this with the same witnesses as for a wound. If there is no visible blow, then the defendant has the right to substantiate his denial. It is the least deformity in the hand, if one cannot tolerate heat or cold as previously. That is fined at a mark in coin and it is to be verified by self-witness.

If the hearing is struck out of a man’s head with a visible blow so that he can neither hear a dog on its leash nor a cockerel on its perch, nor a man when he calls at the door, the fine for that is twelve marks of silver and he is to prove this himself with a six-man oath and with the same witnesses as for a wound. If a man’s hearing is damaged in one ear so that he does not hear with it, if he covers the other, then the fine is six marks of silver. If a man’s ear is cut off, the fine is one mark of silver. But if the ear is damaged, then the fine is two marks in coin. If you strike a man’s teeth from his head, then you pay a fine for each tooth according to its worth: the two upper front teeth are fined at two marks in coin each, the two next to them at one mark in coin each, and then each at a mark in coin including molars and all. But the lower teeth are all valued at a half less from first to last.

If you take a man by the hair with one hand, you are fined two öre. If you use both hands, you are fined half a mark. If you shake a man, you are fined two öre. If you push a man you are fined two öre. If you throw ale in a man’s eyes you are fined eight örtugar for the insult. If you kick a man you are fined two öre. If you punch someone with your fist, you are fined two öre. If you admit to one blow then he has the right to
substantiate an accusation of four blows. If you do not confess, then you have the right to substantiate your denial as the defendant. If you strike a man with a staff the fine is half a mark for each blow up to two marks. A man is not fined more from his property for a blow, which does not cause blood to be spilt, unless disability ensues.

That is the law of the Gotlanders.

20 Concerning bald patches

A man's beard is subject to the same fines as other hair pulling. For a bald patch on which one can put a finger the fine is eight örtugar. If you can put two fingers in it, the fine is half a mark. If there is place for the thumb as a third, the fine is one mark in coin. If the bald patch is so large that the flat of the hand can be put on it, then the fine is two marks in coin. 

If all the hair is pulled off, the fine is one mark of silver, but one does not pay more even if each hair is pulled out. If a piece of scalp and hair is cut from a man's head the fine is one mark of silver.

21 If you tear apart someone's clothing

If you tear apart a man's clothing, the fine for outer garments is one öre. The kirtle is two öre, undergarments eight örtugar, and all the man's clothes are to be repaired and as good as they were before. Undergarments are a man's vest and shirt, trousers and hat. All cost the same, whichever is torn. If the skin is involved and a wound is caused, you are fined both for the wound and the clothing.

22 Concerning open wounds and closed wounds

A man is to be answerable for open wounds for a year and a day. If a man is wounded with a blow, which does not cause blood to be spilt, and lies in the same bed and does not get up in the interim, but still has full use of his senses, then he is to take the witness of four landowning men and three district judges from the same sixth and as many more as to make up twelve. If he does not have full use of his senses, then his heir has the right of substantiation of the case, with the same {supporting} evidence.
But if he gets up in the interim, the defendant has the right of substantiation of his denial.

23 If someone blocks another’s way

If a man blocks another’s way, grasps a horseman’s bridle, or takes a pedestrian by the shoulders and turns him from his path, then he is fined eight örtugar for the insult. But if he does violence to him and forces him to go further with him {in the opposite direction}, then he is to pay him three marks for the violence and another three marks to the community.

24 If slaves fight

If someone’s slave fights with a free man, then if he {i.e. the slave} always receives two blows to one {against the other}, then it is considered even between them. If the slave gets more blows than two against one, then each blow up to four is fined at two öre. If the free man gets more blows than one against two, then each blow to him up to four is fined at half a mark. If the slave gets a jerking or a shaking or a pushing, then the fines to him are always half those to the free man. If it comes to wounds, then the fines are the same as to a free man, up to three marks and no more. No one pays fines for insults to a slave and similarly a slave does not pay fines for insult to anyone.

[20] 25 Concerning all inheritances

If there are minors, who are young, after their father’s death, and also sons who are grown men, then the eldest must not part from the youngest, although need may arise, before he is of age. They are all to have enjoyment of everything undivided until he is fifteen years of age. Then he is to take his scrip and his scales and each have responsibility for himself, if they no longer wish to be together. If need arises, so that they have to part with land to buy food before they are all of age, an equal amount shall be taken in pledge from each, the eldest as well as the youngest, and [not] sell it
outright. Should someone take the young minor as a ward, however, whether a male or a female, and feed him until he is of age, then he {i.e. the minor} keeps his portion, although the others are forced to part with their land to buy food. If a father marries his son off and the son dies and leaves behind daughters, they shall remain in their grandfather’s care and await their portion. If the head of the family dies and there are no surviving sons, the daughters and sons’ daughters divide the inheritance according to their numbers. If the man has other sons, the {deceased} son’s daughters inherit their father’s portion between them. In the same way inheritance is passed from the father’s mother if she lives longer than her son. If an heiress has inherited land, then the one inherits from the other however many generations there might be, whether male or female, while her descendants exist. When the line has run out and has included two male descendants but not a third, then the inheritance reverts to the farm from which it first came. If it has included a third and all three follow each other, then it remains with the farm to which it has come, even if the line has died out. If an heiress has inherited her portion and leaves no sons, then the next of kin inherits. If both are equally close, a man and a woman, then the man inherits and not the woman.

26 If the male line is broken

If there are no sons on the farm, then the daughter inherits her maternal inheritance and her father’s maternal inheritance after her father. If her paternal aunts survive, married or single, then they take {a share in} her father’s maternal inheritance. If some are unmarried, they take an eighth of the monetary value of the paternal inheritance {of their niece} after debts have been paid.

23 If there are no sons in the farm, then the kinsmen each inherit their per capita share with the daughters to the fourth generation. If the relationship is more remote, then they take an eighth part after debts are paid and the women’s portions are discharged.
A woman, however, takes as much from the farm as she has put in, if it is written down in the first year. If it is not written down, then the farm has the right of substantiation of its case.

If there is no male heir and a widow remains at the farm, then she is to have, as keep at the farm for a year, a bushel of rye and another bushel of barley each month, if she does not die or marry away. But as to the property that she brought to the farm, she takes out of the farm that which she brought to it. If a woman marries into several farms and has children in several, then children {in one} inherit their maternal inheritance {the same} as children {in another}, both land and movables. And brothers receive for their full sisters, whether they are married or unmarried. If a woman is married out of the farm with a dowry and has no male heir, then it {i.e. the dowry} reverts to the farm from which she married. If there are no male heirs to the farm then the next of kin inherits, whether male or female, but in the case of a woman no further than the fourth generation. If they are both of equal degree, however, the man inherits. It is also the law that a woman inherits consolation and provision from her husband. If she stays for a longer time on the farm with her sons and her sons die, leaving no male heir after them, before eight years have elapsed, she takes a mark in coin for each year while her sons lived. And if she marries again while her sons are still alive, she is to receive consolation and provision and no more. A widow who is childless is to have board and lodging, if she wishes, in the same farm into which she married. If she does not want this, she is to have half a mark in coin for each year up to sixteen years and receive it as the years go by.

27 Concerning women's inheritance

But in the case of female inheritance, a daughter or daughter's children inherit. If there are none of these, then the sister or sister's children inherit. If there are none of
these, then the father’s sister or father’s sister’s children inherit. If there are none of these, then the next blood relatives down to the fourth generation inherit, but no further. If there are none of these, the female inheritance remains in the farm estate with the kinsmen. If there are no male heirs and it has passed to the female line, whether it is through a brother or a sister, and they are both equal in blood relationship, then they both inherit. Should both father and son be burned alive in the same house, or both drown in the same ship, or both fall in the same battle, then sisters are considered equal to daughters. If more than one son survives a man and the family grows from all of them, but {it happens that} one dies without sons, then all {the others} are equally near in inheritance down to the fourth generation. Anyone who sells his ancestral home and disposes of everything within the farmstead will be separated from inheriting with the kinsmen and brothers and will be assigned the wergild of a non-Gotlander. But his sons will remain within the line of inheritance and the legal rights of their kinsmen, if they obtain land again worth three marks in rent.

28 Concerning illegitimate children

No illegitimate son can obtain the right to inheritance unless it is the case that both his father and mother are trueborn Gotlanders, and he confirms it with what is written in a genealogical table, to the effect that three successive female ancestors are trueborn Gotlanders. Then the son of the third in line can inherit with the kinsmen. If a Gotlandic man begets an illegitimate child with a Gotlandic woman and he has no {legitimate} male heir and he is survived by illegitimate children, sons and daughters, then they divide their paternal movables according to their number with the legitimate daughters, [222]if there are any. If there are none, then they divide their father’s movables amongst each other according to their number. But if a Gotlandic man
begets illegitimate sons with a non-Gotlandic woman, then he must support them until they are of age. If they do not wish to remain with their father any longer, then he is to give three marks in coin to each of them and battle weapons and bedclothes, bedcover and under-blanket and pillow and fifteen ells of broadcloth for walking-clothes. If he has illegitimate daughters, then he must support them until they are eighteen years of age; he has the right to give them in marriage if someone requests it. But if they remain unmarried and no longer wish to remain with their father when eighteen years have passed, then he must give a mark of silver to each, and bed- and walking clothes and a cow according to his means. The rights of illegitimate children must always be administered with the witness or corroboration of the parishioners.

If a Gotlandic man begets an illegitimate daughter with a non-Gotlandic woman and if someone is charged with violation of that illegitimate daughter, then he (i.e. the violator) is to give her as consolation four marks in coin, whether he [is] Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic. If a man is found in flagrante delicto with this daughter, then he must redeem his hand or foot with three marks of silver. If a Gotlandic woman gets an illegitimate daughter with a non-Gotlandic man, then she has the same rights as have just been laid out.

[20a] 29 Concerning the discovery of illicit intercourse

If a man is discovered in flagrante delicto with an unmarried Gotlandic woman, then he may be placed in the stocks and be captive for three nights and send word to his kinsmen. They are then to redeem his hand or his foot with six marks of silver or {the wronged party can} have it cut off if he {i.e. the miscreant} cannot afford to redeem it. If he is not discovered in flagrante delicto with her, but if a child is born to him and the woman says that the child is his, but he denies it, then he is to take two resident men from the same parish as the woman was in when the child was
conceived and swear, with a six-man oath, that they never heard word or rumour of the matter before the child was born. Then the right to substantiate his denial is in his favour, if he enlists two resident men. If he fails and does not get the right to substantiate his denial, then the woman has the right to substantiate her accusation with six men, all of equal birth with her, that he is father to the child. And he is then to adopt the child and take responsibility for the mother, if he is willing. If he does not wish to or cannot, then he is to give her full consolation if she is a Gotlander. If a Gotlandic man is discovered in flagrante delicto with a non-Gotlandic woman, then she is to have three marks from him but only if he is discovered in flagrante delicto where her bed and home are. If a non-Gotlandic man is discovered in flagrante delicto with a Gotlandic woman, then he is to pay the same fine as a trueborn Gotlander. If he is not discovered in the act but nevertheless begets a child with her, he is to give her eight marks in consolation and bring up the child himself. If the woman says the child is his but he denies it, then he is to defend himself with the same {supporting} evidence as a Gotlander. But the child is to be raised by those who have the right to collect the consolation, father or brother, if she is unmarried. If a non-Gotlandic man begets a child with a non-Gotlandic woman, then he also is to give her consolation of three marks and raise his child. If he is discovered in flagrante delicto with her, then he is also to give her three marks, even if there is no child.

[21] 30 If a man commits adultery

If a man commits adultery, he pays three marks to the assembly and six marks to the complainant. If a man commits double adultery[ whether a priest or] a layman, then he pays twelve marks to the authorities and another twelve marks to the complainant. If a married man commits adultery with an unmarried woman, he is to pay her consolation. If a lawfully married woman commits adultery with an unmarried man,
he is not to pay her consolation. If a man is discovered *in flagrante delicto* with another man’s wife, priest or layman, then he is liable for forty marks or his life *and the complainant decides, however, which he would prefer, the money or his life.* If a man seduces another man’s daughter or one of his wards into betrothal without the authority of her father or kinsmen, then he must pay forty marks to the complainant; of this the authorities take twelve marks. If a man takes a woman or maid {in marriage} by force or violence, without the authority of her father or kinsmen, then those who prosecute her case shall decide between his neck or wergild, if the woman is Gotlandic; of this the authorities take twelve marks. If the woman is not Gotlandic, then those who prosecute her case shall decide between his neck and ten marks of silver; of this the authorities take twelve marks {in coin}.

[22] 31 If a woman is dishonoured on the road

If a woman is dishonoured in a wood or elsewhere and forced into sexual intercourse, she must pursue the man with a shout, if she does not want to endure the shame, and follow him to where he goes. If someone hears her cry, [224] he must provide her with full and complete evidence, as if he had been present and was an eyewitness. If no one hears her cry, she must declare her case before witnesses immediately on the first day, in the place where she comes to habitation and say the name of the man. She can also benefit from their evidence, if their witness is valid. If she delays and does not make an accusation, then it is best to remain silent about it. The defendant has the right to substantiate his denial. If a man is found guilty of such an offence and there is evidence for the woman, then he is fined twelve marks of silver for a Gotlandic woman but for a non-Gotlandic woman five marks of silver and for a slave woman six öre in coin. If the case involves a lawfully married woman, Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic, then he forfeits his life or redeems himself with as much...
wergild as the woman is worth. If the woman does not know the man, but declares her case before witnesses on the first day after she has come to habitation, and then claims to have known the man when a longer time has passed, he can then defend himself with a twelve-man oath if she is not pregnant. If she is pregnant and it happened at the time that she declared her rape before witnesses, she has the right to substantiate her accusation with a twelve-man oath and the witnesses before whom she declared her case. If a man’s slave commits such a crime with a Gotlandic woman, it does not suffice that the master pays his wergild penalty, unless she would rather accept the wergild than his life.

[23] **32 Concerning attacks on women**

But concerning attacks on women, the law is as follows. If you strike the headdress or wimple from a woman’s head so that it is not caused by accident and her head is half-bared, then you pay a mark in coin; if it is completely bared, you pay two marks in coin. She has the right to substantiate her accusation with the witnesses who saw it, to say whether her head was completely bared or half. An unfree woman, however, receives payment for blows, and no more. If you pull the buckle or clasp from a woman, you pay eight örtugar. If you pull both away, you pay half a mark. If it falls to the ground, then the fine is a mark. If you pull the laces from a woman, the fine is half a mark for each to the maximum fine. And you must give everything back to her. She is to confirm herself when all has been returned. If you push a woman so that her garments fly out of place, compared to how they were previously, the fine is eight örtugar. If they fly halfway up the shin, the fine is half a mark. If they fly up so high that one can see the kneecap, the fine is a mark in coin. If they fly up so high that one can see both loins and private parts, the fine is two marks. If you seize a woman by the wrist, you pay half a mark, if she wants to lay a complaint. If you seize her by
the elbow, you pay eight örtugar. If you seize her by the shoulders, you pay five örtugar. If you seize her by the breast, you pay an öre. If you grasp her by the ankle, you pay half a mark. If you grasp her between the knee and calf, you pay eight örtugar. If you grasp her above the knee, you pay five örtugar. If you grasp her still higher up, that is an indecent grasp and it is called a madman’s grasp; no cash compensation is payable for it; most will endure it when it has gone that far. If this happens to a non-Gotlandic woman, you pay her half the amount for all attacks compared to a Gotlandic woman, if she is a free and freeborn woman.

[24] 33 Concerning weddings

Concerning the procession of wagon-travellers, no more than two shall travel in each wagon; but the ride of the relatives is abolished. The nuptial mass is to be sung where the bridegroom is and the wedding breakfast is to be held. The bridegroom shall send three men to his bride and the chief bridal attendant shall wait where the nuptial mass is to be sung and the wedding breakfast held. And the wedding feast shall be held with drinking for two days with all the {invited} people and gifts are to be given by everyone who wants to according to their inclination. But contributions by the guests to the wedding feast have been abolished. On the third day they {i.e. the bridal couple} have the right to invite the wedding hosts and the masters of the feast and their closest kinsmen to stay. As many toasts as the householder wants shall be drunk prior to the toast to the Virgin Mary. But after the toast to the Virgin Mary, then everyone has permission to leave and further ale is not brought in. Everyone who breaks this rule must pay twelve marks to the authorities. And whoever comes uninvited to a wedding or feast is to pay three öre in coin.
34 Concerning funeral feasts

All funeral feasts are abolished. But those who wish to may give clothes and footwear to the parishioners in memory of the deceased.

35 Concerning women's rights

All fine woollen cloth and wall coverings of black cloth that exist are to be used, but no more are to be added to them once they are worn out, neither second-hand nor new.

Saddlecloths and riding cushions are not to be divided into smaller than quarters.

36 Concerning Gotlandic women

This is also stipulated concerning Gotlandic women: that each brother shall take responsibility for his sister's wedding. If he does not wish to do that, he must give her an eighth portion of his property to support herself under the supervision of his closest kinsmen and parishioners, so that she does not use her possession ill advisedly.

But concerning non-Gotlanders, then the stipulation is that two sisters should inherit the same as a brother. If the inheritance falls between siblings or the children of siblings, they divide it like their paternal inheritance or their maternal inheritance. If it goes to more distant relatives, then those who are closest in blood inherit.

37 Concerning travellers' pathways

But this is the law concerning travellers' pathways: if a man owns land which nowhere borders a right of way, he shall have the right himself to cross {another's} open ground where the latter has a right of way. If he owns land bordering a right of way, that is open ground, he has no right of crossing over another's open ground. But if he has enclosed land, he has rights over another's open ground. If men wish to create grazing enclosures from grazing land by a road, they must leave a path {between the fences} fifteen paces in width. In that way they may protect their
enclosure, but not otherwise. If a man creates an enclosure across another’s right of way, then he must create a gap for him and he is to have passage as before. If he fences across a path that is another man’s lawful right of way, the one who owns the fence is to create the gap, but the one who owns the right of way is responsible for {the security of} the gap.

[25] **38 Concerning disputes over woodland**

If two men dispute about a wood, then one shall bring two types of evidence: the evidence of neighbours and evidence as to work. That one collected firewood in springtime, or cut fencing wood and laid it on stumps, or cut off branches and gathered them together and let them dry *there* until autumn, is sufficient evidence of work. He has the right to substantiate his case who has the stronger neighbours’ evidence that work was done in the area. One of those who owns most shall present his oath first. If he does not wish to swear an oath, then his witness will not benefit either party. But concerning cultivated land one must also have two types of evidence: the evidence of {distant} kin and evidence as to work for three years. Those who own the neighbouring land shall provide the evidence as to work. If one owning neighbouring property disputes this, those shall bear witness, who own the property next nearest. Kin witness is not borne by anyone nearer related than the fourth generation.

If cultivated land and woodland and marshland meet, then {the settlement containing} the *cultivated* land takes two thirds and {that containing} the woodland and marshland a third {of the unclaimed land}. Woodland and marshland then take half each of infertile land where they meet between stump and tufts of sedge. And neither may *witness* concerning the other, not woodland with marshland and not marshland with woodland.
No man may give another leave to fell in shared woodland, or cut down fen sedge on shared marshland without being liable for a fine of three marks to [227] the injured party and another three to the community. No man may presume to work in another man’s woodland or marshland without that which he travels with being legally taken from him, building material and draught animal. But if he says that the other has seized it illegally, he is to prove it with an eyewitness. Whoever gets an injury in a wood or other property, and if he wishes to suspect someone of something, then no one can decline another the right to conduct a search and inspection without a fine.

Anyone who damages boundary land inside or outside the enclosure is liable to a fine of three marks to the injured party and another three to the community. No man shall also presume to enclose shared property without being liable to three marks to the injured party and another three to the community. Everyone is responsible for the enclosure that he has fenced in; the one who owns the land bounding a road for the fence along the road. But the one that does not own land bounding a road is responsible for fences between fields or meadows. Everyone is to redress the damage caused by the fence for which he is responsible. If several own or keep a fence in a bad state, then all pay damages who do not have a lawfully acceptable fence. No one gets damages for his injury unless he himself keeps or owns a lawfully acceptable fence. No one may demonstrate damage on another’s bad fence unless he himself has a good one.

[26] 39 Concerning shared fences

If someone asks another for a shared fence, then he must tell him with a neighbour or parishioner as witness. And the parishioners shall decide each share within a week. You then take your share yourself with the neighbours as witness, if the other party does not wish to be present, and erect a fence in the place you are given your share.
And the other party then has a year's grace from the day of division. If {his} farm animals later get in, take them indoors and do not release them before the other pays for the damage and deposits half a mark towards the fence. He is to have the fence made good within a fortnight and then redeem his pledge. If he does not do this within a fortnight, then he loses his half mark and you take another half mark as pledge until the work is done. He must continue to pay for the damage as long as the fence is not made good. For 'good fences make good neighbours'.

Whoever takes a creature indoors is to answer for the creature until he has informed the one who owns it with the witness of neighbours. If he then does not wish to redeem the creature, then he must himself bear the damage if the creature is worse, or indeed dead. When all have been lawfully informed, the one who has the bad fencing is answerable for the damage. If someone has an unruly animal and it breaks in through a lawfully acceptable fence, one must inform him with neighbours as witness and bid him tether his beast. If it subsequently does damage, then one must take the creature into the house, and he who owns the creature is to pay for the damage. If an ox breaks a fully tied fence, even if it is not lawfully acceptable, then you pay for the damage. If he jumps over it, you do not pay unless the fence is lawfully acceptable. An ox is lawfully tethered if it has a horn hobble around its hind foot and its horn. No fence is lawfully acceptable unless it is bound with two bands and is two and a half ells in height to the upper band, but this nevertheless applies to those creatures that jump over, and not to swine or those creatures that crawl underneath. Each must take care of geese and pigs themselves, provided that the {neighbour's} fence is lawfully acceptable.
40 Whoever cuts wood illegally

If a man cuts down wood illegally in enclosed woodland and travels there {to collect it}, then he is liable to three marks to the injured party and another three to the community. But if he carries it home from the wood, then he is liable to a fine of eight örtugar and complete restitution. If the wagon axel or other driving equipment breaks on the road, then a man may without penalty cut wood on another’s land if he does not himself own land so near that he can see yoke and wagon, or draught horse and cart.

If you tear up another man’s fence so that you break the upper tie, then you pay half a mark. But if you tear up a further fence section the fine is {a further} eight örtugar. If you tear up a third, the fine is {a further} four örtugar. If you tear a wide enough gap to drive through, then you are liable to a fine of two marks and no more. And you are to make good his fence again, equally good and long as it was before, and be responsible for any damage during the time it was down.

If you take a man’s firewood or fencing wood or timber in his woodland, the fine is six öre. If the other has driven it to the road, then the fine is three marks, if one does not leave one’s own behind. And you are to give the other all his own back, as good and as much, if you are found guilty of the crime. He is to confirm himself by oath when all has been returned.

[27] 41 Concerning wells

A well is the responsibility of the one on whose farm it is, unless a wheel or trapdoor covers it; then the one who goes away leaving it open is responsible. If you dig a well in your meadow or on another part of your land, you are to make the path and track equally good away from it as to it or you are responsible for a man’s beast if it suffers injury.
Concerning land purchase

No one may sell land unless pressing need arises. Then he is to inform those kin most closely related and the parishioners and the family members, and they are to test the need. But whoever gives money for land without this test, they have forfeited their money and are to pay a fine of twelve marks to the authorities and another twelve to the close-related kin, who are invalidating the agreement. But property is never legally purchased without the discretion of the assembly members, and the kinsman's portion shall be offered for a year. With the same witnesses shall one pledge as purchase. If men divide property, they are to declare the division to the assembly, with both present. If someone disbelieves them, they are to investigate in the same year. When the close-related kin cannot purchase the property from the one who is forced to sell, then kinsmen from another branch of the family are to buy it, or {more distant} family members, with the same test as laid out above. But land may never be bought out of the family. If men, Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic, who are not in the same family, have land {in common} and are forced to sell, they are to sell to those who should inherit, if they are able. If they are not able, then the land must be bought by the men of the hundred in which the property lies. Whoever infringes against this, pays a fine of twelve marks to the authorities. When a man more distant than the nearest buys it, one must submit a kinsman's portion to the hundred assembly in which the land lies and, before one submits the portion, lawfully inform the one who is to take up the kinsman's portion, and who is outside the assembly area, in the presence of his own parishioners. If someone sells his land, then the kinsman's portion is to be taken up both by men and women who would inherit, but not those who share the use of the land with him. But {close} kinsmen, or men from another branch of the family are to buy the land. If they do not wish to, then the female
members are nearer than men outside the family. If, however, a man sells his land and buys other land of the same value to his benefit, then the kinsman’s portion is not extracted. Land is {otherwise} never free of a kinsman’s portion unless everyone makes a sale, or it is forfeited as wergild, or land bringing a mark in rent as a dowry is promised at the betrothal meeting, or it is forfeited as a fine for theft. If there are a number of brothers or brothers’ children and they have divided their inheritance, or other close-related kin, and several sell their land, then none of them takes a kinsman’s portion from the other, apart from the one most closely-related who retains his land.

43 If someone is taken hostage

If someone is taken hostage and he ransoms himself with his land or property, then his kinsman is nearest to redeem it, if he wishes, and pay the money for it once the other comes home. If a farmer’s son is captive, or a minor, no one may ransom him for more than three marks in [230]silver, unless authority exists from his father or kinsmen; and he is to receive {from them} a third for himself in addition to the sum he put down, in the same currency. But he does not have the right to more than three marks of silver if there is a dispute about it. But he who has inherited land and is not a minor is to take up his own case as best he may. What he does himself, stands. It is the law between countries that a foreigner never ransoms a Gotlander dearer than three marks of silver, unless he has the authority of his father or kinsmen, and he is to take a third in addition, in the same currency he has put down. If a brother travels abroad with undivided property and falls captive, then his brother is to ransom him {with money} from the undivided property. If he travels with divided goods then he is to ransom himself. A brother must ransom another from captivity as long as the property has not been divided between them.
If some profit falls to one {brother} more than to the other, or some find is made on
his portion, then all should have a share, while {their property} is undivided. If
brothers possess undivided property and one of them kills a man, then each is
answerable for his actions: the one who killed pays the fine.

44 Concerning the sons of Gotlanders

No son of a Gotlandic father may have his property portion from his father, although
he ask for it, unless his father is willing or he marries with his father's counsel and
consent. If he wants to make division, then he takes his personal share in money after
the drawing up of accounts, but his father is then to keep his farm undivided and he is
to give his son the land rent from it, as well as his personal share in money; and the
son is himself to have the authority to go where he wishes. If they have several farms,
then the son is to go to one of them at the drawing up of accounts, if he wishes, so
long as the father does not prove to be unreasonable. If a non-Gotlandic man has
married or unmarried sons, they are never to get a division of property from their
father, unless the father proves to be unreasonable.

[29] 45 Concerning debts

Whoever gets into debt ill advisedly forfeits his portion and no more. And no one is
to pay out a debt after his death more than his own means can bear.

[30] 46 Concerning surety

If you take surety from a man for a true debt, then you are to summon him to the
church or the assembly, and he is to redeem it at the legal time, otherwise the
parishioners or the men of the assembly will make a valuation.

[231] [31] 47 Concerning assemblies

This is also agreed: that all assemblies shall commence before midday. Magistrates
shall judge at the hundred assemblies. Whichever of them does not arrive by midday
pays three öre to the assembly. If none of them has arrived by midday, they are liable to three marks to the first one to bring a case forward and another three to the community. But judgements may not be judged longer and oaths not taken later than sunset. Whoever infringes this pays a fine according to the level of the assembly. The sixth assembly may not impose a fine of more than three marks, and the riding assembly up to six marks and the general assembly up to twelve marks. If the cases concern ownership, then any one is lawfully dismissed who does not come at the same time that the assembly is held.

[32] 48 Concerning a money claim

If a claim for money arises between men, then neither gets a higher oath from the other than from six men if disagreement arises between them. But {it may be} from up to eighteen men in respect of land disputes, if there is disagreement relating to {land to the value of} as much as a mark in gold, and similarly although more is involved. If they disagree {about the value involved}, then the hundred’s magistrates shall decide without an oath, if the disagreement concerns a mark in gold, and he {i.e. the plaintiff} is now to take the initial summons with a month’s grace from then. If he {i.e. the defendant} wishes to postpone this, he must postpone it within the first fortnight’s [period and move it by another fortnight’s period] forward to the third. When disputes concern {land to the value of} less than a mark in gold, then a six-man summons shall be taken out initially for a fortnight. If he {i.e. the defendant} wishes to postpone this, then he is to postpone it before a week is up, and move it by another week forward to the third. But summonses may not be moved by more without the agreement of both parties.
Concerning the purchase of slaves

If you buy an ox, then try him for three days. Two faults may be found with him {to warrant his return}. One is if he does not pull, the other if he breaks out.

If you buy a cow, then test her for three milkings. Two faults may be found with her. One is if she kicks so that she cannot be milked, the other if she is lacking in milk.

If you buy a horse, then try him for three days and lead him back with the fault if you find one. Three faults may be found with a horse. One is if he is moonblind, the second is if he bites, the third if he kicks out with his forefeet. If you have him for longer, then the vendor is not to take him back, although faults are found, unless he himself wishes.

Concerning horses

If you take a man's horse at pasture or elsewhere, without leave of him who owns it, and ride it or drive it, then you pay three marks to the complainant and another three to the community, if you are found guilty of being on the horse's back, and always return everything undamaged. If you take a man's horse tied to a fence and do not leave one behind, you also pay three marks to the complainant and another three to the community, unless you have made a mistake and left another one behind. If you have made a mistake, then you pay eight ortugar and bring him back home unharmed before the third day.

Concerning the care of ships

And concerning the care of ships, the law is as follows: merchant ships, those that have thirteen ribs in them and three crossbeams, these are to be cared for out on the
beach. But a cargo vessel shall be fastened through a bollard or rib or through a plank to a house in which people are sleeping. There must be a padlock and a key, which the housewife or farmer carries. The chain is to be no more than three links in length and the fourth shall be an iron crosspiece. Each link shall weigh two marks or stretch over three ribs. And one is not responsible for the action of the sea. If someone finds an unattended small vessel out on the shore, then the one who has found it takes possession of it, if the other {i.e. the owner} is not so near that he hears his shout, if he has shouted three times. A boat is not to be without supervision, otherwise whoever wishes may take it. If someone takes a man’s boat, which is at the landing-place, and takes it out, then he is to pay a fine as if he had ridden another man’s horse.

[37] **Concerning house searches**

If men come to a man’s farm and ask to search the house, then no one else can forbid the search. If he wishes to have his neighbours present, then they must wait for them, if they do not wish to do him an injustice. Each is to nominate a man to go inside. They are to go in loosely girded and coatless to perform the search. If someone denies another a search, then his door is not protected, and he receives no recompense {if someone forces their way in}, even if no stolen goods are found inside. If something is found inside of that which they have a suspicion about, they are to enquire about its acquisition. If he confesses at once and explains his acquisition, the warrant for ownership must be traced {to the assignor} and his acquisition tested. If he gets full corroboration from the person to whom he first referred {as assignor}, then he is innocent in the case. If he acquired the goods from another and did not know that they were acquired [illicitly] then, if the one to whom he has traced the goods {i.e. the assignor} takes responsibility, he himself is then free of suspicion. If the other denies it, then he has to take evidence from those who were there {at the
purchase or receipt}. This evidence will condemn him {i.e. the assignor} if he cannot lawfully defend himself. If someone carries stolen goods to a man’s farm and house, which has a lock, and means in that way to betray him, then he is to forfeit everything that he carried in. And then he is to pay wergild to him, as much as he to whom he took the goods is worth, and in addition three marks to the assembly. But if he did this to a Gotlandic man, then he pays a fine of twelve marks to the authorities.

[38] 55 Concerning the law of thieves

And concerning the law of thieves the legislation is this: whoever steals two öre or less than two öre, pays a six-öre fine for petty larceny. If he steals between two öre and a mark of silver, he will be taken before the assembly and marked and be committed to pay {the victim’s} wergild. If he steals again after he has been marked, although it be less, then he shall be hanged. If he steals as much as a mark of silver or more, then he shall also hang.34

[235a] [39] 56 Concerning insults

There are four insults relating to a man: thief and murderer, violent robber and murdering arsonist. And of a woman there are five: thief and murderer, adultery and witchcraft and murdering arsonist. When someone is subjected to such insults, then he is to travel to the farm of the one who has spoken the insult and lawfully summon him to the church and request that he take back the words, which were spoken in the heat of the moment, in a quarrel, or in drunkenness. If he denies it, he is to swear with three men before parishioners that he never said those words. If he cannot substantiate the oath, then he pays a fine of three öre and restores the man’s honour with a three-man oath in church. If a man abuses another with such insults before the whole parish or at the assembly or at a summons and does not get their veracity proved, then he pays a fine to the other of three marks and restores his honour with a six-man oath at
the assembly. This {type of case} shall be prosecuted at the lawful time in respect of women as well as men.

[40] **57 Concerning small unbranded livestock**

If unbranded small livestock come to someone, then he is to take it to church and to one assembly. If it is not recognised, then he is to let it be valued and take an assembly fee in respect of it and the parishioners shall divide what is over.

[41] **58 Concerning swine**

If swine larger than piglets come to someone, branded or unbranded, he is to take them to two assemblies and the third time to the riding assembly, and receive an örtug for each assembly. If it is not recognised, then the parishioners shall value it and he takes an assembly fee from it, and the parishioners divide what is over.

[42] **59 Concerning tame sheep**

If tame sheep come to someone, he is to take them to two assemblies and the third time to the riding assembly and declare them for three years and claim a fee such as has previously been the custom for the riding. But any offspring shall go to the one who has fed them.

[43] **60 Concerning entire unshorn rams**

If an unshorn entire ram comes to someone, he takes an örtug in redemption fine {from the owner}. If he is not identified, then he takes a fee as for other sheep.

[44] **61 Concerning entire shorn rams**

If a shorn entire ram gets loose after the feast of St Simon and St Jude, up to the time that it is usual to release them, then he has rendered himself forfeit by wandering. But one shall nevertheless offer him back to the one who released him with his parishioners as witness. If he does not wish to redeem him, then the one who
captured him can have him, and put his brand on him, with his own parishioners as witness.

[45] 62 Concerning nanny- and billy goats

One must declare billy-goats and nanny-goats for two years, then they shall be redeemed: a nanny for six pence for each assembly and a billy for an örtug.

[45a] 63 Concerning cattle and draught horses

Cattle and horses must be declared at two assemblies and the third time at a riding assembly for three years. If not identified at the first assembly, they must be valued and then declared, and the finder is to have two örtugar for each assembly. Those cattle or horses that can be worked, they may be with the knowledge of the parishioners. But one is not to travel to Visby with them, but ride with them to the assembly, or lead them, and remove their saddle and tie them up so far away that one can see the assembly-site poles, with all the animals that are to be declared.

[237] [46] 64 Concerning [re-]brands

Whoever puts a brand [on] another’s creature without having bought it or received it as dowry and is found guilty, he is fined three marks.

[47] 65 Concerning fields

If several men own a field between them and some wish to let it lie fallow and some to sow it, the ones who own more of it have the say and are to declare, before the feast of the Annunciation {March 25th}, which they would prefer to do, allow it to lie fallow or sow it. If the tenants exchange farms, the one who moves away receives six pence for each bushel-land from the one who comes in, for those fields that he may not sow. And at haymaking time they are to make room, each for the other, space for as many hay loads as the farmland is worth in marks.
Concerning turnip fields

Every farmer who has arable land is to leave a bushel-land for turnips every year. But those who have no arable land, but have a house, must have half a bushel-land for turnips, and the one who owns the land is to put it to the yoke. Everyone who does not adhere to this is liable to a fine of three öre to the parish. And every parish, which does not enforce this, is liable to a fine of three marks when it comes before the assembly.

Concerning shipwrecks

If a man finds jetsam on land, then he is to retain every eighth penny of the find. If he finds flotsam at sea and it needs boat and oars {to salvage it}, or he finds it on the seabed and it needs boat hook and grapnel, then he retains a third of his find. If he finds it out of sight of land, then he retains a half of what he has found.

Concerning fire

If the misfortune occurs that injury results from a fire, which is laid in the hearth or in the kitchen, and flies to another farm and does damage, the fine is three marks, if the damage is up to three marks. If several farms are damaged, then they must all be satisfied with those three marks.

Concerning carried fire

When injury results from carried fire, then the one who carried the fire pays half his own wergild. When this results from the actions of a minor, then the one who sent him pays.

Concerning road repair

It is also agreed that roads shall be made good every year in all parishes. Every parish, which does not make good its roads, pays a fine of three marks to the assembly.
Concerning tax

It is also agreed, if one must collect taxes for the requirements of the province, then they should be collected according to the value in marks, both from property and money and not of manufactured valuables.

Concerning the watch

Everyone who is twenty years old shall sit watch and he shall provide himself with a weapon, and answer for all expenses, and pay the watch-money in Holy Week.

Concerning houses and household servants

Anyone who raises a house without the permission of the parish is liable to a fine of three marks to the parish and is to pull it down the same year. Anyone who takes in household members, without the permission of the parish, is liable to a fine of three öre.

Concerning harvesters

Each harvester, who is in the pay of the farmer and who goes away from the farm on a working day without the permission of his employer, is to pay back an örtug for each day of his hire and complete the day’s work.

Concerning those who have no arable land

Each person that has no arable land in the parish has no excuse for not harvesting seed for the farmer. And they are to receive six pence for each bushel-land of corn and five pence for rye and oats, and they feed themselves. And the farmer instructs them with the right of law. Each one who refuses to work is liable to a fine of three öre.

Concerning squirrels

Anyone who catches a squirrel before the feast of St Simon and St Jude {28th October} and after the feast of the Annunciation {25th March} pays a fine of three
marks. And no one is to catch a squirrel within an enclosure without the owner's leave.

[239] [58] 77 Concerning hares

No one is to catch hares with a gin after the feast of the Annunciation or before the feast of St Simon and St Jude without risking a fine of three marks.

[59] 78 Concerning tree-fruit

This is also agreed that all tree-fruit shall be protected until the feast of the Birthday of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8th September). Whoever infringes this pays three öre to the parishioners. Of this the one [who] brings the action takes half. If a minor infringes this, the fine is less by a half.

[60] 79 Concerning failure to say mass

It is also an ancient law that for every failure to say mass on a Sunday or other Saint's day, the priest is liable to a fine of three marks to the rural dean, and another three marks to the parish. If the failure to say mass should be on Friday or other feast day on which nine lessons should be read or held, then the priest is liable to twelve öre to the dean and another twelve to the parish.

[61] 80 Concerning gambling

Gambling is prohibited. Whoever gambles is liable to a fine of three öre to the parish. If the parish does not wish to prosecute, then the parish is liable to a fine of three marks to the assembly.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{38}It is also agreed that it is the law, which is written here. All men should abide by this. If some occurrence should take place, which is not to be found herein, \textit{then} it must be decided by the majority of judges, and [they] are to swear that these are proper laws of the Gotlanders, and then they are to be written down here.
Here is what was most recently taken concerning bald patches

If the bald patch is more than the flat of the hand will cover, then the liability is a mark of silver. If every hair is gone, then the liability is two marks of silver.

Concerning woodland

Whoever cuts wood in another man's woodland, within an enclosure or without, and travels there, is liable to three marks in coin and makes full restitution. Whoever pulls down another's fence in order to pass through it, is liable to three marks in coin. Whoever passes illegally over another's property, is liable to three öre. If someone tears an opening in another's fence, he is liable to the same.

Concerning all land held in pledge: (it is laid down that) it is to be redeemed or taken in payment (of the debt) in the same expiry period, or be pledged again then. Whoever misappropriates land valued at three marks rent, without coercion, has forfeited his neck and his wife her place in church and she must stand at the back, in the belfry.

To in-laws and wagon-riders no more than three toasts are to be drunk, and no vessel larger than at the most a half bowl goes in it. And whoever abuses this, is liable to a double fine and twelve marks to the authorities.

Concerning women's rights

Concerning the rights of women it is also agreed that they should take cattle up to five pair, draught horses and sheep as many as they brought to the farm (at their wedding). All gilding is abolished except on buckles. Gilded copper shall be melted down where it is found. Golden headdresses and satin ribbons, other than plaited laces, are all abolished. Old gilded vessels and belts are permissible, such as are there, but (one is) not to add to them (i.e. by purchasing more). The dowry shall be two marks in gold, and no more: no more may be given and no more requested. Wall coverings of blue cloth are abolished and wedding canopies, and nothing may be given between farms except in white linen. Fine woollen cloth is also abolished. No one may buy fine woollen cloth, neither new nor old, and no one may at the time of the marriage exchange it between farms, but keep it at the original farm.
Silver bands and underskirt decorations are also abolished.

Buying on credit from town-dwellers is also forbidden. No one is to buy more than he can afford to pay for. Whoever infringes any of this is liable to a fine of twelve marks to the authorities.
ADDITIONS

1. (B: Chapter 4, Note 13. Cf. Pipping 1901, 9-11; CIG, 104: Additamenta 1, 2.)

And then furthermore all the subsequent generations, both female and male,

they are always treated as Gotlandic families, unless he marries beneath him and so

debases his birth {i.e. by marrying a slave}; and his rights are also the same as

farmers or the children of farmers. If the lay son of a priest commits a crime or

commits manslaughter, he must defend the claim for compensation himself while he

lives, whether he is at home or abroad.

If a man commits a crime, whether ordained or not, no one shall be fined more on

another’s behalf, than his {i.e. the wrongdoer’s} resources can cover. If he {i.e. the

wrongdoer} dies and an ordained man inherits the claim for {wergild} compensation

after him, he is to offer compensation immediately, since no priest may negotiate

compensation in a case, and the other may accept this at once without shame, if he

wishes, since it is not right for him to kill an ordained man, or to bear him ill-will. If he

does not wish to accept compensation, {the priest} must take the claim to the general

assembly, where the other may accept it if he wishes; otherwise all the people decide

on the compensation, but he {i.e. the priest} shall then be free of guilt. If he {i.e. the

claimant} should take revenge when it {i.e. compensation} has been offered, he is to

pay the full wergild, and forty marks to the general assembly.

If two brothers inherit a claim for compensation, the one ordained and the other not,

and the ordained brother wants to pay compensation, and the other does not, then

the ordained brother is to leave his personal share with a surety man, whom the
general assembly shall nominate, and then be protected, and the other, who did not

wish to pay compensation, shall defend the claim. If wergild is offered, then each is to

pay his personal share.

If an ordained man, who may not take revenge, inherits a claim for {i.e. to receive}

compensation, he must accept compensation immediately, when it is offered. If he
does not want to accept compensation, but prefers to take revenge, then the other
{i.e. the defendant} must take it before all the people at the general assembly. There
he can still accept it if he wishes, otherwise they {i.e. the assembly members} shall
be responsible for the payment, and the {accused} man shall be guiltless. If he does
not want to offer the ordained man compensation, then the latter is to go before all
the people at the general assembly and there plead his case, saying, 'I am a priest,
and ordained to the service of God; I may not take part in blows or battle; I will take
compensation if it is offered, but I will not be put to shame.' Then the people of the
general assembly shall study {the case}, and compel the man to offer him
compensation, just as he {i.e. the priest} would be forced to pay compensation to
others, since a priest can neither demand compensation, nor answer a demand for
compensation, without Christianity falling into disrepute.

2. (B: Chapter 17, Note 16. Cf. Pipping 1901, 23; CIG, 107: Additamentum 3.)

In respect of cattle and draught horses and swine, a man shall not be liable for
more than the animal is worth, if it causes injury to someone. If it is an unruly animal
and someone {i.e. the owner} has been informed of this in front of the church door
and before the parishioners, and it then does {damage} through carelessness, then
the fine is twice as much as the case is worth. If the damage is less than the creature
is worth, then the fine is half as much. Dogs are the fourth creatures: one is always
answerable for him for everything, if he does damage, up to half a wergild, whoever
owns him. For a dog's bite, one pays a fine for each tooth-mark up to four, two öre
each. If he causes a wound or maiming, then the fine is half the maximum fine. One
must demand the fine and not take revenge, lay a legal claim to it like other debts.

3. (B: Chapter 19, Note 18. Cf. Pipping 1901, 27; CIG, 39 note 50.)

Cutting off or splitting a smaller bone in the hand or foot is fined at two marks in
coin. Each rib is to be fined at two marks in coin, if it is broken. If disability ensues,
the fine is two marks of silver. As many blows as are visible are each fined at half a mark in coin.

4. (B: Chapter 19, Note 20. Cf. Pipping 1901, 28; CIG, 41 note 63.)

5. **[218b]** But if an ear is damaged, then the fine is a mark of silver. A shinbone or a forearm is fined at two marks of silver if it is broken. If you strike the teeth out of a man’s head then you are fined for the two upper and lower front teeth at a mark of silver. And then each is fined at two marks in coin, including molars and all.

10. (B: Chapter 20, Note 21. Cf. Pipping 1901, 28; CIG, 43 note 79.)

**[218c]** **20 Concerning bald patches**

If the bald patch is more than the flat of the hand can cover, the fine is one mark of silver. If every hair is gone the fine is two marks of silver. If a man’s scalp is cut, the fine is one mark of silver. A man’s beard incurs fines as for other hair pulling.

15. (B: Chapter 33, Notes 27, 39, 42. Cf. Pipping 1901, 40; CIG, 60 note 41.)

**[225a]** To in-laws and wagon-riders no more than three toasts are to be drunk, and none of them larger than half a bowl goes into at the most. And whoever abuses this, is to pay a double fine and twelve marks to the authorities.


**[231a] [32a]** **49 Concerning the purchase of slaves**

If you buy someone’s slave on your farm, then test him for six days and on the seventh pay his purchase price or lead him back if he does not satisfy you. If the one who sold him will not take him back, but wants to hold you to the agreement that you should have him and [not] lead him back, whether he satisfy you less or more, and if you have a counter-claim that you were permitted to lead him back within a period of
grace, if he did not satisfy you, then you, who lead him back and follow the law, have the right to substantiate your accusation. If you have the man longer, and want to lead him back later, after the period of grace has expired, and you say that you have made this agreement, then he (i.e. the vendor) has the right to substantiate his case who made the legal sale: you must pay him, and keep what you bought. But the vendor must subsequently answer for three faults: epilepsy, and bed-wetting, for which he is responsible for a waxing and waning, and if his leg hurts, for which he is responsible for a year, and then for an ownership claim for all time. If he is claimed while in your possession, you call to the vendor and lead him (i.e. the slave) to him; he is then to defend your right to the man, or give you back as much as you previously paid for him. If there is a dispute between you, he saying that he made the sale under conditions, you saying that you bought with a firm purchase, then he has the right to substantiate his case that buys with a firm purchase, and follows the law.

8. (B: Chapter 55, Note 34. Cf. Pipping 1901, 55-57; CIG, 109: Additamentum 5.)

If a man’s slave steals an öre or less, then each owner pays a fine for him of three öre, if the owner of the stolen goods discovers the goods himself. If the stolen goods are worth more than an öre, then he is always to get his property back, then a fine three times as much as the value of the goods. If several slaves steal one öre, then each master pays a threefold fine for his slave, if he does not discover the goods himself. If not all the stolen goods remain, then the one who has lost the goods must testify how much there was, but still only when house or lock was broken into. If it was not taken from somewhere locked, and neither bar nor bolt is broken, then he (i.e. the injured party) is to take the slave and torture him, and not pay any compensation. He is to bring him back to his master whole in bone and breathing and not pay any money for him, even if he gets no admission from him. If there is no material evidence, but simply suspicion, then a deposit must be put down before the
slave is tortured. He is to bring him back uninjured and pay a fine of six öre for the wristbands\(^4\)\(^5\) [if he does not confess. If he confesses, and there is no material evidence, then he still pays a fine for the wristbands of] six öre. In need someone forced says things he has not done. If someone goes with evidence to a farm, and charges the man’s (i.e. farmer’s) slave with theft, then the master shall permit a house search and shall himself bind the slave, and not stand in the way; then he is not liable to the triple fine. If the man does not wish to bind his slave himself, or permit a house search, and the stolen goods are nevertheless found in the house, then he is to pay a triple fine to the owner of the stolen goods [that] he has now discovered. If the goods are so valuable that he cannot afford to pay a triple fine, then the one who owns the stolen goods shall take the slave. He (i.e. the owner) cannot forfeit through theft more than his (i.e. the slave’s) whole worth. If someone else, and not the one who owns the goods, discovers the stolen goods, and takes the thief and binds him, he is to have a reward, an eighth of the value, both of the thief and the fine. If the slave is on the run, and has been proclaimed at the church, or at the assembly, then he is a fugitive. And no one pays a triple fine for anyone who steals food for themselves, but each shall have their own back, if it remains. If it has been eaten, then no one makes amends for the fugitive. If a slave is recaptured, redeem him again for two öre, if he is on [Got]land, and for three öre if he has got to a boat, and for half a mark if he has come out of the sight of land. The one who owns the ship is to redeem the slave, unless it was lawfully secured. If he has seized anything, then the slave’s owner is to return the things he has taken. If the ship was lawfully secured, or locked up, then the one owning the slave redeems the ship, and similarly all the things that he seized, but not more than to the sum of three marks. If he flees in a ship, which was not protected, or drowns in the sea, so that the owner of the slave loses him, then the one who owns the ship is to pay for the slave.
If a man is bound in the absence of material evidence, then three magistrates are to investigate, and hear his statement, whether he is guilty or innocent. These three magistrates should come from the same hundred, or the same sixth {as he does}. They shall witness what they hear, [whether] he is guilty or innocent. And the same thing applies if there is material evidence.

9. (B: Chapter 81, Notes 37, 43. Cf. Pipping 1901, 64; CIG, 112: Additamentum 6.)

81 Concerning purchase on credit from town-dwellers

Purchase on credit from town-dwellers is also forbidden. No one is to buy more than he can afford to pay for. All property taken in pledge should have a period of grace of three years for debts more than a mark of silver {to be paid}. One is not to give the value in money, if the other does not wish, but in land, and he is still to have a period of grace of three years.
Endnotes

1 B: rights.
2 B: wounding
3 B: discovery in the act of [illicit intercourse].
4 B: adultery.
5 B: If a woman is dishonoured on the road.
6 B: Concerning the wagon-riders' journey.
7 B: This covers the following two entries.
8 B: If you ride another man's horse.
9 B: Concerning roads.
10 Table of contents in A: omits these.
11 B: Note these three numberings do not agree with the table of contents at the end of the manuscript.
12 B: and priest's children.
13 See Addition 1, which includes the following sentence.
14 B: rights.
15 Literally 'to the saints'.
16 See Addition 2.
17 B: Concerning wounding.
18 See Addition 3.
19 B: two marks of silver.
20 See Addition 4.
21 See Addition 5 for differences in the following clauses in B:
22 The paragraph indicated in endnote 23 appears here in A; evidently misplaced, but in the correct place in B, where it is, however, inserted in the margin.
23 This paragraph should be here, as indicated by the reading of B, where it appears in the margin. In A: it appears at the point indicated by endnote 22.
24 B: Concerning adultery.
25 A: had no title for this chapter originally, simply an enlarged initial letter. Concerning the shaming of women has been inserted in the margin.
26 B: Concerning the wagon-riders' journey.
27 See Addition 6 and Chapter 63 of A: last paragraph.
28 B: includes here the first nine sentences of the chapter af quinna ret from 95/17-24.
29 The chapter af farvegum manz, which in A: appears after Chapter 63, Um Schoga, should appear here, following B: and the table of contents in A: Cf. also CIG, 61, note 56.
30 See Addition 7.
31 B: Concerning the purchase of oxen.
32 B: Concerning the purchase of horses.
33 B: If you ride another man's horse. A: has hesti in the singular, but this does not translate as colloquial English.
34 See Addition 8.
35 B: re-branding, which is clearly correct.
36 B: Concerning roads.
37 See Addition 9.
38 The final sentences in this chapter constitute the end of B. They follow the chapter Vm schoga.
39 B: See Addition 6. This clause belongs in the chapter Af bryllaupum; cf. endnote 27.
40 A: has the chapter Af farveghum manz here.
41 See Endnote 28. Concerning the two last paragraphs, see following endnotes.
42 See Addition 6.
43 See Addition 9.
44 This sentence also appears in A.
45 Something is missing here. Cf. CIG, 110, note 24. The text in brackets is suggested by Wessên, SL IV, 284, note 10.
46 The start of this chapter occurs in A; see page 96/1-2.
COMMENTARY

The chapter numbers in this commentary are those used for the text of B 64 in the present edition. They correspond largely to those used by Wessén in SL IV and earlier editors. Chapter breaks occurring only in the B-text are not noted here for the sake of simplicity. Note that Gutnish is used throughout of the medieval language of Gotland whereas Gotlandic dialect is used of the modern dialect(s) as recorded by the brothers Säve, Herbert Gustavson and others. Quotations from medieval sources are in italics rather than within quotation marks.

Table of contents

The table of contents in B 64 originally lacked numbering, although numbers have been inserted by a later hand, beginning with Af barnum as Chapter 1. Schlyter (CIG, ii and 3 note 2) considers these numbers to be from the fifteenth century, but it seems more likely, as Pipping (GLGS, 1 note 1) suggests, that they are in Bilefeld’s hand, as are other notes and numbers in the same manuscript. Jacobsen (GGD, 21 note 1) suggests that the table of contents is older than the edition of GL represented by the A-text. She reasons that (1) more chapters are listed and they are more logically arranged; (2) the chapter concerning the purchase of slaves is listed; (3) the chapter concerning paths is in its original place and (4) the three later chapters and Guta saga are not listed.

The numbers have, to a greater extent, been erased from B 64 and a numbering system starting with the opening chapter has been adopted by most editors, although they all differ in minor respects. The chapter numbers adopted for this edition are shown in square brackets in Times New Roman in both the table of contents and the text.

The body of the text of B 64 lacks contemporary chapter numbers but a sixteenth-century hand, probably Bilefeld’s, has inserted them in the margin. The headings in
the table of contents not represented by separate chapters in the text are indicated by suffixed letters in the numbering system. The chapter (Afarvegum manz) that appears out of sequence in the text with respect to the table of contents has been put in its proper place in this edition. Chapters in B 64 regarded as later additions and not listed in the table of contents have been given chapter numbers continuing the sequence established.

The table of contents in AM 54 4° appears at the end of the manuscript and is numbered. These numbers match those in the body of the text, apart from the first three chapters. Even where the content corresponds between the A- and B-texts, chapter divisions are not always the same. These differences have been shown in the text and translation. The chapter numbers (and additional chapter headings) in the B-text are shown in Arial in the table of contents and the text.

58/1. The heading of the table of contents in AM 54 4° is in Danish and probably does not represent a heading from Bilefeld’s original.

58/19. Concerning the scribal amendment, see GLGS, 1 notes 4 and 5.

58/43. In B 64 this chapter has been omitted either by the scribe or the writer of his original and appears following the later chapter Um skoga. In AM 54 4°, this chapter appears in its proper place and this has been followed in the present edition.

Chapter 1: Hier byrias lag guta ok segia so at fyrstum

60/2. The expression fyrist upphaf appears to be tautological.

60/2-3. An account of the acceptance of Christianity and the influence of St Olaf is to be found in Peel’s edition of Guta saga (GS, xxxvi-xlvi, 8-10).

hann par bipia. The A-text had hial preceding par. Wessén (SL IV, 244 note 2),
rightly saying that \textit{par} adds nothing to the sense, suggests that the reading should be \textit{hann hjalpar bipia}. He considers that \textit{hial} has only been half erased and that the scribe of the \textit{A}-text has misread \textit{p} in his original for \textit{b}. The Danish translation \textit{daGL} has \textit{hielper} at this point, which Wessén argues must have come from the translator's original. On the subject of the breaking vowel (\textit{ia} as opposed to the more usual \textit{ie}), Wessén refers to Pipping (1901b, 47-48 and \textit{GLGS, xiv}), which both support the occurrence of the former and in particular in the opening section of \textit{GL}.

60/4. The phrase \textit{ar ok fripr}, 'good harvest and peace', was a standard expression, which originated in the worship of Njarð and Freyr. It combined concepts of material and spiritual well-being and similar phrases are found in \textit{GL}, \textit{1 (NGL 1, 1)} and in \textit{SdmL Mb 36} (cf. Wessén 1924, 178-181).

60/5. The word \textit{land} has a number of different senses, but here 'province' seems to be a reasonable translation. It is clearly Gotland as an administrative area that is referred to and it offers proof that the writer was a resident, writing for islanders. Modern Swedish \textit{land} in the sense 'country, realm' is rendered by \textit{riki}.

60/5 and endnote 47. On the form \textit{bygdu} (rather than \textit{bygbu}), cf. Larsson 1891, 102, 109-110, 113; Ottelin 1900, 1904, 69, 74-75, 80-81; Noreen 1904, §§257.1.b, 258 note 2; Olson 1904, 97, 103-104; Noreen 1970, §246 note 2.

Chapter 2: Af barnum

60/8. A child was considered to be a possession of his father, who thus had the right to dispose of it, and exposure of children (especially females) seems to have been common practice from the earliest times. Lis Jacobsen suggests, however, that child exposure was regarded as shameful in Scandinavian countries even before the advent of Christianity (see \textit{GGD, 23-24 note 4}). Banning the practice was one of
the first changes in the law after the introduction of Christianity, but GL is the only Swedish-related provincial law to mention it explicitly. Jacobsen (GGD, 23 note 1) does not think that one can infer from the inclusion of this provision that parts of GL originated as early as the conversion. She considers that these customs took a considerable time to suppress and that an explicit prohibition could have been as relevant in the thirteenth century. In DL Kkb 6 there is an implicit assumption that deformed children might be disposed of and this is also reflected in some Norwegian laws (cf. BorgL I 3 (NGL 1, 339)). Swedish provincial laws that incorporate provisions forbidding any form of infanticide are ÖgL Kkb 26 and DL Kkb 12.

60/9. Beckman (1920, 13) suggests that seng should be changed to sengfar, and cites EidsL I §§1, 3 (NGL 1, 375): Sina sæng for skal huaer kona uita and Um sengfor kono. He interprets this as referring to the date of confinement and a need to make preparations, and suggests that the passage in GL was an inaccurate borrowing from Norwegian law. This certainly makes more sense than Schlyter’s interpretation (CIG, 8 note b) that a woman should ‘know her own bed’, with the implication that she should give birth there and not elsewhere, in secret. Beckman refers to tyGL to support his proposal, but admits that it appears that the amendment was made by the translator, while the original Gutnish text he was following had seng only. Jacobsen and Wessén in their notes have followed Schlyter. Both interpretations have attractions, but Schlyter’s seems to match the context of the following provisions more closely.

60/10. The exact function of a gripkuna is not unambiguous; she was possibly a slave or a house servant, responsible for spinning hemp and washing (cf. Note to 61/5). The B-text has an obvious misreading, gripkunu. In Norwegian laws a gridkona is
a free woman without her own home, who has right of residence in another’s home (presumably in return for work done) and sometimes to designate a witness, in company with a gridmadr (cf. Gull 255 (NGL 1, 83-84); Bjark 132 (NGL 1, 327-328)). In respect of the context in GL, one can compare Borg L I 3 (NGL 1, 340): Gridkonor oc grankonor skulu vera uið sengfor huerrar kono til barn er fóðt. In the Danish and German translations of GL, words corresponding to midwife are used (iordemoder and he bemuter respectively) (see SL IV, 245 note 3). Axel Kock (1918, 361-363) suggests that the person referred to should be a freeborn woman living on the premises, as opposed to a neighbour (grankuna) living nearby, but outside the family. The translators of GL would probably not have known the word (which occurs nowhere else in East Norse). Kock conjectures that gridkuna acquired the sense ‘midwife’ by association with the Gutnish verb graipa, ‘provide help during childbirth’. In Frost L II 10 (NGL 1, 134) the term grid is used, amongst other things, of the peace and security enjoyed during certain times of the year. Jacobsen (GGD, 24 note 2) states that grið is found in Old Danish, but not gridkone.

The grankuna was a female neighbour. In Borg L I 3 and III 1 (NGL 1, 340, 363-364) there are provisions similar to those in GL relating to childbirth and the necessity for witnesses that a child was safely suckling before they left. Neighbours as witnesses of each other’s veracity were frequently important in the legal process.

The two female witnesses together were both expert witnesses and witnesses as to fact. They had to be present at the birth and be knowledgeable in the matter of childbirth so that their evidence was reliable if anything went wrong with the delivery. Females were often specifically excluded from bearing witness, so this
instance, which is the only one recorded in Swedish-related provincial laws, indicates a possible relationship between GL and the laws of Norway.

60/12. The expression *at þi san et* (B-text *ath thy san at*) was a common Scandinavian expression meaning ‘found unquestionably guilty of’. On the change of sense of *sannr* from ‘truth’ to ‘guilt’ in this context, see Jacobsen (GGD, 24 note 4 and references). Modern Swedish retains the meaning ‘truth’ in *sanning*.

Three marks in coin seems to have been a usual fine for church law transgressions. Elsewhere in GL *penningar* is used to classify a mark as ‘in coin’ rather than by weight, usually of silver. If no qualification is given, as here, a mark in coin is usually intended, an exception being at 70/15. A mark of silver seems to have been equivalent to four marks in coin. This assumption is based on the fines for loss of and damage to an ear respectively (73/18-19). The former is valued at one mark of silver and the latter at two marks in coin. The inference is that the latter was worth half of the former, since in most cases partial damage carries a compensation of one half of total loss (cf. GGD, 25 note 1; Wennström 1940, 239, 259-260; 287; SL IV, 245 note 4, 254 note 2 to Chapter 12). On the other hand a coining from Gotland in 1211 gave a norm of 4½ marks *penningar* to one mark of silver and King Hans of Denmark in his statute of 1492 suggests that there were 2½ marks in coin to a mark of silver (cf. Hauberg 1891, 9-10; CIG, 227). A mark in coin was presumably originally a silver coin with a weight of one mark, but a gradual debasement of the coinage occurred during and after the Viking period. The oldest evidence of difference between a *mark silfr* and a *mark penningar* is in ÄVgL Md 1 §3 where the phrase *hete prer ok æru tuar* gives a relationship of 1:1½. The monetary system of GL is summarized in Appendix C.

60/13. The words *kirkiumenn* and *soknamenn* seem to have been used
interchangeably. Jacobsen (GGD, 25 note 2) points out that this is also the case in 
SkL 70 (CISk I 69), SkKkL A 3 (CISk III A 3) and Eriks SjLl Text 1 II §76, Text 2 
IV §25.

The verb *skripta* carries the sense both of confessing and of submitting to 
punishment meted out by the church. It is related to English ‘shrive’, but that verb 
also refers to a priest’s function as confessor and in giving of penance and 
absolution.

60/15. Jacobsen (GGD, 26 note 4) assumes that the *pingsmenn* referred to here are the 
members of the local assembly, that is, all the mature men in the *hunderi*. This was 
the next level of jurisdiction above the parish, but the reference at 60/18 would 
suggest that the riding assembly was intended here as well, and that the case passed 
directly there from the parish.

The word *skir*, here meaning ‘found innocent’, is found as an element in Swedish 
*skärtorsdag* (Maundy Thursday). On this day, according to early Catholic rite, 
sinners who had undergone a course of penance during Lent were granted 
remission of their sins.

60/16 and endnote 60. The form *vitr* is supported by Kock (1882, 1886, 253), 
Rydqvist (1850-1883, 1, 220) and Tamm (1892, 28).

60/16. A *symdaraipr* was an oath sworn by a group of people who had insulted 
another’s honour by accusing them of a crime. The concept occurs again in 
Chapter 39 (90/22). An analysis of the various types of oath sworn, and witnesses 
required appears as Appendix E.

Jacobsen (GGD, 26 note 7) points out that the six men (or women) swearing the 
oath were not witnesses as to fact, but character witnesses as to the trustworthiness 
of the one of their number who was the principal in the case (see Notes to 62/5-6,
70/12-13, 71/23-24). In this instance the principal was the one who had accused a woman of infanticide and who was now retracting and apologising.

60/17. A sokn was an area within which inhabitants had the right and duty to attend church services and receive ministrations from the priest attached to the church involved. Parishioners were on their part obliged to pay tithes and other dues to the church and priest in that parish. Not all of Gotland’s ninety-seven parishes had their own priest, and how many churches were built on private initiative is unknown. Chapter 3 (61/22-23) mentions church building for the convenience of the lay people, and one can assume that there was at least some private input. Despite the fact that the term soknaping or the equivalent is not used in provincial laws, the concept is at least as old as those laws. It appears, however, that Gotland was the only province in which parishioners had judicial duties. Here the parish was able to pass judgements in a number of cases, including infanticide (Chapter 2), personal attack (Chapters 6, 8), fruit picking (Chapter 59), gambling (Chapter 61), unlawful house building or employment (Chapter 55). Road maintenance (Chapter 52) and oaths in respect of cases of dishonour (Chapter 39) were also parish matters. See Introduction, pp. 8, 28, 35.

Wessén (SL IV, 246 note 9) points out that the three-mark fine is a repetition of that recorded in 60/12, not in addition to it. The precise implication of the phrase en Sokn vindr sykt does not appear to have been considered by other editors. Since the main clause is a repetition, it probably refers back to the situation in which ‘no one has a right to compensation’, that is the woman had confessed. In that case the parish (and presumably everyone else) lost their ability to demand a fine. Wessén also suggests that this fine was divided between priest, church and parishioners.

60/18. These pingsmenn must be the same as those referred to at 60/15, unless there is
some text missing from all surviving manuscripts. Wesson (SL IV, 246 note 10) assumes that the riding assembly is referred to here, since the rural dean or archdeacon (Latin præpositus), of whom there was one for each riding, is also mentioned. The riding assembly received three marks and the dean another three, in addition to the three that went to the parish. Similar additional fines, if a case were referred to a higher authority, are laid down in Chapters 4 and 7.

60/19. The fine for infanticide went to the rural dean rather than to the bishop, as did the excommunication fine for killing in a church (65/8) and that paid by a priest for failure in his duties (94/18, 20). Bishops are only mentioned in GL in relation to church consecration and the designation of church feasts, although excommunication for killing on a feast day is referred to indirectly as biskup sak (65/22). This suggests that rural deans performed at least some of the bishop’s duties in Gotland for practical reasons.

The phrase allir lybir is one of several used for (members of) the general assembly (Gutnal ping). Another phrase, landar allir, is used in the following clause, allir menn occurs in the following chapter (61/11) and elsewhere, whereas in Chapter 31 (88/1) the phrase used is land alt. Twelve marks appears to have been a common level of fine to the general assembly. Normally it seems to have been the severity of a case that determined whether it was heard first by the parish, the local (hunderti), the riding (pripiung) or the general assemblies, but in this instance, there seems to have been an escalating appeals procedure.

60/20. Allocation of fines to the countrymen of the wrongdoer (landar allir) as compensation for the inconvenience caused by bringing a case is mentioned on a number of occasions in GL and also in mainland provincial laws and in the national law (cf. ÓgL Db 1, 2; ÁVgL Md 5; MELL Tjb 4). In these latter fines were
allocated to the crown, whereas in semi-independent Gotland the money was presumably used by the community.

The most frequent meaning of *fæ* in Scandinavian laws was 'property in general' and this seems to be the case in the laws of Iceland and Norway, the early Danish laws, *AVgL* and *GL* (see Ruthström 2002, 73-75). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 27 note 3) observes that the word, although used of money and other property, was never used specifically of livestock in *GL*, although it seems to have been on occasion in Danish and Norwegian laws. Ruthström (185-187), however, argues that the accepted etymology of *fæ* as deriving from a word for sheep is incorrect and that it derives from one meaning ‘money’ or ‘property’. There are a number of instances in *GL* where *fe* is used unambiguously to refer to ‘property in general’, such as in the laws of inheritance (e. g. 86/23), and a number where it must be assumed that liquid assets are intended (as in this instance and elsewhere where fines and ransom are specified in terms of marks or other currency). There is also one instance in which there is an explicit distinction between *fe* as a designation for liquid assets and *aign* as a designation of ‘real estate’ in relation to disputes about property (88/4-5). See Ruthström (2002, 65-70, 85-90, and 240).

60/21. Although a woman who could not pay the fine imposed was forced into exile, and could not be fed or harboured, it does not seem that she was to be treated as an outlaw. There is, for instance, no mention of her being open to being killed (cf. Hasselberg 1953, 253).

60/22-23. As Wessen (*SL* IV, 246 note 13) points out, it is neither clear how an accused woman could defend herself against a charge of infanticide, nor how the charge was to be proved. In some cases, an oath would possibly not have been sufficient.
60/22. Schlyter (CIG, xii and 9 note 57) notes the B-text reading than (or tan) for hau as a recurring error; it is so consistent that Pipping (1901a, 79) thinks that it may have resulted from a lack of distinction between u and n in Bilefeld's original.

60/24-61/1. The accusers had presumably to put down a deposit, equivalent to the compensation due to a woman wrongly accused, before they could pursue their case, unless the woman concerned had no witnesses. If they did not wish to do this, they had to declare her innocent. Much stress is put on this: it is repeated three times in different wording.

61/1 and endnote 74. On the forms mopr and mopir, cf. Hirt 1892, 212; Kock 1892, 383-384; Noreen 1892, 179; 1904, §438.1b.

61/5 and endnote 77. Pipping (1904, 4) remarks that neither Söderberg (1879, 5 note) nor Noreen (1904, §399 note 1) have taken account of Hadorph's correct reading of the B 64 manuscript as ambatuu (Gothlandz-Laghen, 2). He considers that what Schlyter (CIG, 10) has read as a hook (resulting in his reading ambætnu) is actually a foreign body embedded in the vellum and that there is no trace of any æ here or elsewhere in the manuscript (cf. Rydqvist 1850-1883, II, 242). An ambatn (Old West Norse ambát) was a female slave, who did indoor work on a farm, varying from driving the mill to washing and spinning hemp (cf. Note to 60/10). Despite their low status, there is evidence that they were given time off after childbirth (ÄVgL Gb 6 §3).

61/6. All but two instances of oyrir in GL refer to coin, either explicitly as here, or by implication. It was, however, a measurement of weight going back to the Early Iron Age, the Old West Norse equivalent being eyrir, plural aurar, related to Latin aureus. The standard weight given for an öre was 26.8 grams, very close to the Roman ounce (Latin uncia) of 27.29 grams and also closely equivalent to an
imperial ounce of 28.35 grams (see Jansson 1936, 12). The equivalence of eight öre to one mark (whether in coin or weight) was universal in Scandinavia (cf. Notes to 93/12-13, 101/8).

61/7. The word mali means 'a fixed period of time'. As Jacobsen (GGD, 28 note 6) remarks, the fact that slavery was not for life indicates that the system was in the process of dissolving at the time GL was written down (cf. SL IV, 260-261 note 11). The arrangement seems to have been unique to Gotland, as opposed to the rest of Scandinavia (cf. Nevéus 1974, 65-67). The relationship between levels of fine paid by the slave master and the number of extra years added to the slave's term suggest that slavery, in at least some cases, was a means for a defaulter to pay off a debt.

Chapter 3: Af tiunt

The date when tithes were first introduced to mainland Sweden is unknown, but it seems probable that the tithe in Gotland was organized independently, possibly at an early stage, since the rules there were different. Exhortations to pay tithes issued in the bulls of 1171-1172 indicate that tithe payment was not at that date fully established in Sweden, but tithes were certainly being paid in Gotland by 1217 (Introduction, pp. 7-8). Jacobsen (GGD, 29 note 1) refers to this chapter as 'af forholdsvis sen Oprindelse', and suggests that it could postdate the introduction of tithes themselves.

61/9. The word tipir meaning religious services echoes the Latin horæ canonicae, 'canonical hours'. The monastic services were Matins, Lauds, Prime, Ters, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline; the non-monastic services differed slightly in detail, and were originally said privately by the parish priest; the laity only attended mass. A priest's obligation to say holy office is mentioned in several provincial laws, e.g.
OgL Kkb 5, which records his duty to sing *ottu sanger* (matins and lauds), mass, *aptunsanger* (vespers) and all *tipir*.

61/10. The word *bol* meant originally simply ‘a property on which someone lived’. It later came to mean a farm of a certain size, valued at twenty-four marks of silver and taxed at twenty-four ortugar (cf. *GGD*, 29 note 3; Notes to 77/18 and 86/9-10).

61/11 and endnote 83. The form of the diphthong (more usually written *ei*) in *vaita* and elsewhere is a feature of Gutnish referred to by Pipping in his editions and commentaries on *Guta lag* (see Pipping 1901a, 93-95).

61/11. The two main sacraments represented by the phrase *arla epa sipla* were Holy Communion and Extreme Unction.

61/13. In Götaland, Skåne and Gotland (barley) sheaves were assembled into conical stooks (*röker* or *raukr*), one of a number of methods of stacking the harvest, perhaps after preliminary drying on racks (cf. *DL Bb* 22 §1). The number of sheaves in each stook varied; figures of thirty-two and forty are recorded, but in the beginning of the last century a *rauk*, in certain parts of Gotland at least, consisted of thirty sheaves. Every tenth stook was to be paid in tithe, counted while it was still standing, but threshed before it was delivered. This was done during winter and the time limit set of the Feast of the Annunciation (25th March) was thus a reasonable one since by then all the grain should have been processed (cf. *SL IV*, 246-247 note 4). The loft above the west porch in Garde church is fitted for use as a tithe barn and the large towers characteristic of many churches in Gotland and Öland were also used for this purpose. For example, in Etelhem church, a hoist mechanism in an opening in the west face of the tower, enabled grain to be raised to the first floor. In Alskog and Lye churches there are partitions, clearly medieval in origin, on the first floor of the tower, designed for grain storage. The fixing and
payment of farm rents by Lady Day is clearly a remnant of this practice. Jacobsen (GGD, 29 note 6) suggests that the method of reckoning the tithe recorded here, which continued in Denmark until tenancy reforms, was very unfavourable to the farmer, but does not suggest why she thinks that this is the case.

61/14-16. A lesser punishment, called interdictum locale, involving exclusion from church sacraments, except baptism and extreme unction, seems to have been more frequently applied than full excommunication. From the context, this punishment was clearly temporary and was discharged after appropriate payments were made (cf. Note to 65/2-3).

61/18 and endnote 88. On the form sognamenn in the A-text, cf. Söderwall 1870, 56; Noreen 1904, §337.3.

Wessén (SL IV, 247 note 6) observes here that it is fines (rather than tithes) that are referred to in the threefold division.

61/19. A laigulennigr was someone who rented land. The word does not occur in Swedish or Danish sources, but is known from Norwegian and Icelandic sources (cf. Old West Norse leiglendingr). The sense is the same as landboi, ‘someone living on or using another’s land on payment of a lease’. Wessén (SL IV 247 note 7) considers that the word is derived from the combination leigu-land, ‘land put out to lease’, following the pattern hvítváðungr m., ‘child in white christening clothes’, derived from hvítaváðir f. pl., ‘white clothes, christening clothes’ (cf. Wessén 1932, 83-88). It is significant that the concept of legal moving days (fardagar), when a tenancy expired, does not occur in GL.

61/20. According to Jacobsen (GGD, 30 note 2) and Wessén (SL IV, 247 note 8) one mark of the fine went to each of the priest, church and parishioners.

61/22-62/7. From the content of this paragraph it seems that the building of private
chapels, equivalent to Old Norwegian *hægindiskirkjur*, was not wholly extinguished in Gotland, although it is not mentioned in Swedish provincial laws. The principle was that churches should be independent and self-supporting. Where new churches were built, 'for greater convenience', they seem to have been funded initially by a group of farmers and adopted in the sense that tithes were paid to them; they still had to be consecrated by the bishop. Only those who contributed to the building of a church could transfer their tithe duty to this new church and parish. As Wessén notes, there does not seem to have been an obligation on builders to apply first to the bishop (or the king) for permission, as was the case on the Swedish mainland (cf. *UL* Kkb 1 §1; *YVgL* Kkb 2; *ÖgL* Kkb 1-2). This is less surprising in view of the fact that the bishop was not readily available for such consultation and also that he was not party to the division of tithes. It could also be that by the time the law was written, parish boundaries were finalized (cf. *SL* I, *ÖgL*, 21 note 1, 34 note 4; *SL* IV, 247 note 13 and references).

62/2. The disagreements referred to would have been between the parishioner and the priest in his original parish who was claiming tithe payments.

62/5-6. The witness borne by parishioners in the case was witness as to fact and that borne by the priest was almost in the category of expert witness. Witness as to the truthfulness of a plaintiff or defendant, but not as to fact was more frequent and there was also official witness to an act, for reference in the future (cf. Notes to 60/16, 70/12-13, 71/23-24).

62/9. As well as the barley tithe, there was a tithe of hay and hops. No mention is made of a tithe of livestock. It is worth noting that rye is not specifically mentioned in this context. Hops were used for flavouring ale and were the subject of tithes in other provincial laws (cf. *UL* Kkb 7 §5).
Chapter 4: Af blotan

62/14 and endnote 111. On the correction *blotir to blot*, see Rydqvist (1850-1883, II, 97 note, 113). The reference to sacrifice (*blot*) is unspecific, but seems to be an allusion to animal sacrifice followed by a pagan feast (62/17). There is no mention of human sacrifice in *GL*, although it is described in *Guta saga* (see *GS*, xxxii-xxxiii, 4/18-19 and notes).


62/15. Legends and customs involving a *haugr*, ‘howe, cairn’, occur frequently in Old Norse literature. The practices referred to here can be compared to those in the first chapter of the *U* redaction of *Hervarar saga ok Heidreks*, which may refer to the public worship of heathen gods (cf. *Heidrek’s saga*, 66-67).

62/16 and endnote 116. With reference to the form *hapin*, *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 64 line 3) has *hapit* and Noreen (1904, §124.1 note 3) records the shortening of the expected *ai* to *a* in certain instances.

The context in which *vi* is used (as one of five objects of the verb *haita*) suggests that it might mean something more concrete and specific than simply a ‘holy place’, but no assumptions can be made from any archaeological finds (cf. Olsen 1965, 77-78, 84, 278-282). A summary of the theories surrounding the relationship between *vi* and the town name Visby is to be found in Christine Peel’s edition of *Guta saga* (*GS*, xlii-xlili, 43-45).

Prohibition of sacrifice, witchcraft and other heathen practices is laid down in *UL Kkb* 1, in *Gull* 29 (*NGL* 1, 18) and in *GulKrR* 3 (*NGL* 2, 307-308). It is forbidden in *EidsL* I §24 (*NGL* 1, 383) to have a *stafr* in one’s house and another version of
that law occurs in *Gull* Supplement (*NGL* 2, 495-496), referring to a *skaldstong*, a pole raised as a totem. Kock (1912, 205-206 note) records that Lithuanian and Latvian have similar words to *stafr* meaning ‘pillar’, or ‘image’. Sacrifice to a raised stone is described in *Kristnisaga*, Chapter 2. Whilst there are several instances of a *stafr* being forbidden by post-Christian laws, with the assumption that these were objects of worship, whether or not they were actually engraved with heathen images, the *stafgarpr* seems to have been a uniquely Gotlandic phenomenon. A full study of *stafgarpr* has been made by Olsson (1976; 1992) and a short résumé of his conclusions appears in *GS*, 28-29 note to 4/18.

62/18. The expression *sakr at* means here ‘is liable to a fine of’ and as Jacobsen (*GGD*, 32 note 3) observes *sak* is used in general in provincial laws to mean a fine, rather than a legal case (cf. its use in Modern Swedish) for which the word used is *mal*.

62/20. Although the translation ‘suspicion’ for *venzl* is not questioned, Hald (1975, 56-58) concludes that rather than deriving from Old Swedish *veena*, ‘suspect’, it is the Gutnish form of a derivative of the verb *venda*, with a related meaning.

62/22. Cases such as this, in which a defendant’s provision of oaths was alone sufficient defence against a charge, still occurred when it was more usual to have an independent *edgārdsmann*, who swore an oath as to the truthfulness of one of the parties (cf. *SdmL* Mb 5 §1; *UL* Mb 25 §1; *VmL* Mb 21 §1; Note to 68/10).

Chapter 5: *Af prestum ok prestkunum, ok þaira barnum*

63/1. The reference to the wives and children of priests, and its implications for the dating of *GL* are touched upon in the Introduction, pp. 46-47. The omission of the majority of the relevant provisions from the *A*-text (although they are referred to in the chapter title and in the opening paragraph) suggests a date for the original of
this manuscript later than for the original of the B-text. It could indicate (GGD, 32-33 note 4) that such children were not regarded as legitimate by the time that the former was written. Wessén (SL IV, 249 note 1) observes that tyGL and daGL follow the A-text.

63/3. Wessén (SL IV, 207, 249 note 2) initially translates at allum lutum as ‘i alla delar’, but then explains this as referring to ‘andra våldsgärningar’. It seems unnecessarily to narrow the scope of the equality with farmer’s families by limiting the sense in this way. A similar provision occurs in AVgL Md 5 §5.

63/3 and endnote 126. The form fulgin, instead of fylgin, is considered by Söderberg (1879, 5 note 1) to have been an orthographical peculiarity. Cf., however, Noreen 1904, §553.2 note 2 and Note to 89/23.


63/4-5. byti engin frammar firi annan, þan hans kustr vindr at. This provision, which occurs in both the A-text and the B-text, seems to be out of context. Its content may be compared to that of the provision in the edsöreslag (cf. Introduction, p. 46): that no one was to be fined for the crime of another (cf. ÖgL Eb 9). Wessén (SL IV, 249 note 9) links this with the provision at 97/17-18, that when compensation was offered, everyone was to pay his or her personal share. The B-text omits the phrase firi annan, which supports Wessén’s suggestion.

The word kustr is used in GL for both movable and immovable (82/8) property. Whilst it was a term that, in the time of the provincial laws, was in the process of being replaced in Danish and mainland Swedish by eghn and cognates, the reverse seems to have occurred in Gotland. Ruthström (2002, 97-98, 173-174) explains this by pointing to the relative timings of links to the See of Linköping (and the
Archbishop of Lund) and to Uppsala and the Swedish crown. Svealand retained *koster* longer than Götaland and Denmark, so having imported *eghn/aign* from the latter two areas during the conversion process, Gotland then appears to have imported *koster* or *kustr* during the political process. Alternatively, the two words might simply have been borrowed independently as functional terms.

Chapter 6: Af helgum dagum

63/8. Wessén (SL IV, 250 note 1) draws attention to the fact that the agreement of the population was to some extent sought in setting feast days.

63/9. The clause *tipir at hafa eha guz pianistu at lyha* is another instance of parallelism, which occurs quite frequently in *GL* (cf. SL IV, 250 note 2).

63/11. Schlyter and Pipping interpret *punz punji*, ‘weight of a pound’, here as a *lispund*, but Jacobsen (GGD, 36 note 3) suggests that no such assumption can be made (cf. CIG, 287; GLGS, Ordbok). The *lispund* was a Baltic unit of weight, the Livonian pound. (Livonia extended roughly over modern Latvia and Estonia.) Although its actual weight varied from time to time and region to region, a *lispund* was usually between 6 and 9.5 kg, as opposed to a *skål pund* of 0.4154 kg (cf. Jansson 1936, 17-18, 23-24). This is a relatively moderate weight to be drawn by two oxen, even on a Sunday and Schlyter queries whether twenty of these units are intended. A *skeppund*, used for cargoes, was equal to 24 (later 20) *lispund* and there were twelve of these to a (ship) load (see Jansson 1936, 23, 36). The *pund* was also a unit of capacity rather than weight, equivalent to 8 *spann* of 72 litres (12 *spann* in northern Sweden where the latter was smaller) and thus 16 *laupr* (cf. Jansson 1936, 17-18, 26-28; Note to 76/18). There were again twelve of these *pund* to a load, and it is possible that the weight of goods of that capacity was intended, although this seems less likely. *DS* II, 54-55, no. 970 (9/8/1288) refers to a
gotenense pondus, which might indicate that a special pund was prevalent in Gotland. The lispund is recorded as a Scottish unit of weight, which was adopted in Orkney and Shetland for grain, malt and butter, varying from 12 to 30 pounds (5.44 to 13.60 kg) (cf. SND s. v. lispund).

The word oykr was apparently originally an adjective meaning ‘capable of being hitched to’, later developing into the noun for a pair of oxen (see Bugge 1877-1878, 274-275). Cf. Notes to 85/2 and 92/15.

63/12. It seems that the miscreant had to pay six øre to redeem his confiscated load and a further six for his crime, although as Wessen (SL IV, 250 notes 3 and 4) points out there is a certain ambiguity. See 63/23-25 and 63/25-64/2 for similar penalties.

63/13. Provisions relating to Sabbath-breaking (helgisbrut) varied considerably between the Scandinavian provincial laws. In Norwegian law, twenty-one feast days were subject to a six-øre fine if broken. In YVgL Kkb 52 the feast days especially mentioned number about twenty-four in all, in addition to all Sundays. The fine for breaking these was eight örtugar unless one presented a defence with a twelve-man oath. Exceptions were that one could transport hay and grain after the middle of the afternoon. ÖgL Kkb 22 has slightly different provisions, and more circumstantial descriptions of the times when holy periods started and ended. The penalty for striking anyone during these times was three marks (to the bishop) or again a defence with a twelve-man oath. ÖgL Kkb 23 records specific days that were subject to exceptional fines of forty marks if one struck or killed someone on the way to particular feasts. UL Kkb 16 (VmL Kkb 24) gives various exceptions, e.g. fishing was allowed on feast days that did not fall on Sundays in the season, and spring and autumn work could be done after mass on such days. SdmL Kkb 17
allowed work up to sundown on the afternoon of the eve of certain feast days
during sowing and harvest seasons (otherwise the fine was three öre), but working
on a feast day itself incurred a fine of three marks. All these fines fell to the bishop.
*GL* seems to represent a more liberal (and possibly older) situation in which
laymen had a right to suggest which days were to be included, and were allowed
more latitude in what could be done. Cf. *Gull* 10, 15-18 (*NGL* 1, 7-8, 9-11), where
there are similar dispensations.


63/14 and endnote 138. On metathesis of *kn* to *ηk* in *kirkiusonk* in the *A*-text, cf.
Noreen 1904, §337.3.

63/16 and endnote 140. Although Pipping accepts Säve's emendation, the form
*soknninnar* with a double *n* following the *k* is recorded elsewhere (cf. Brate 1887,
73; M. Olsen 1906, 10). Loss of the final *d* in *val* occurs also in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*,
68 line 19) (see Noreen 1904, §340.2.a).

63/17. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 36 note 4) and Schlyter (*CIG*, 270) translate *kaupung* as 'by'
rather than 'handelsplads', but these are rejected by Wessén (*SL* IV, 251 note 6 to
Chapter 6), following Björkander (1898, 36 note 1). The word *kaupungr* for
'marketplace' is older than in the sense 'town' (*UL* Mb 8 pr). The only town in
Gotland was Visby, but there were certainly more marketplaces, some possibly
having a temporary existence. Under Magnus Ladulás, trade became concentrated
in the town, although remote areas were permitted greater freedom. Conflict
between the inhabitants of Visby and the farmers of rural Gotland, which
culminated in 1288 with the building of Visby town wall, was possibly occasioned
by this freedom (cf. Introduction, pp. 10-11). In *GL kaupung* more closely relates
to a *marked*, a local market for produce and barter.
The goods that one was permitted to take to market on a Sunday were those that were perishable, or which had been prepared in some way.

63/18. The torg was the area where the market was actually held, the ‘market square’.

63/19. Barley (korn) was the most common bread grain and was also used for malting. Gotland must sometimes have been short of grain because in 1276 Magnus Ladulås (PRF I,1) gave Gotlanders the right to import grain from Sweden except in years when there was a general export ban.

63/21. Säve (GU, 5 note 1) prefers par, ‘where’ to pair.

63/24 and endnote 147. On the loss of g between two weak palatal vowels as in A-text pear for pegar, cf. Noreen 1904, §311 note 3 and 1890, 373.

64/4. firi paun pria oyra. Pipping (1904, 12-13) defends the A-text reading against an emendation to paim by Schlyter (CIG, 18) and argues that the preposition firi in all parallel instances in GL governs the accusative. Although paim is the accusative plural of pann in Guta saga, and in this instance in the B-text, it is very rarely used in this way in GL (cf. GU, xxxii). The B-text has tria written in the left-hand margin, and fyri thaim in the right-hand margin. Schlyter (CIG, 18) considers the first to be an indication of what was present in Bilefeld’s original, rather than an addition and the second could be the same, as there is no insertion mark.

Chapter 7: Af munka aigum

64/7. The provision here is one of a number relating to cutting timber (cf. 83/10-15; 84/23-85/2; 85/7-9; 95/7-8).


64/9. liggr hanum vihr bann. Jacobsen (GGD, 38 note 1) points out that liggia vihr originally referred only to fines and meant ‘be subject to (a fine)’. Here the sense
has been extended to excommunication as a punishment in respect of stealing or damaging monastery property.

Excommunication (bann) was not a punishment laid down in the earliest provincial laws, although it was later applied alongside other punishments. Fines to the bishop were the more common punishment for breaking church law. Elsewhere in GL the word bann is only used where the interdictum locale appears to be intended (cf. Notes to 65/2-3).

halfu mairi. Literally ‘half more’, but the actual sense was ‘twice as much’, the ‘half’ referring to the relation of the initial amount to the final amount (cf. 98/4).

64/11. Delay in paying the fine did not result in an additional penalty. See 61/21 in relation to tithes.

64/12. The strong noun aign is the one most commonly used in the A-text, although not in the B-text, for ‘property in the form of land’. The weak feminine aiga is used occasionally, whereas land and iorpb do not occur with this meaning (cf. Note to 83/14). Ruthström (2002, 77, 96, 97-98) provides evidence that aign was in the process of being replaced by kustr in the sense of possessions in general, as opposed to land (cf. Note to 63/4-5).

64/13 and endnote 162. The A-text has lifr three times, *lifr never (cf. Tamm 1892, 28).

64/14. Pipping (1901a, 91-95) analyses the forms of the cardinal number two in various Gutnish texts. He comes to the conclusion that the normal diphthong in the A-text should be ai; i.e. tuair rather than tueir, and tuaim rather than tueim. Relevant changes have been made throughout this edition (cf. Note to 73/16).

64/14-15. Wessén (SL IV, 251 note 7 to Chapter 7) examines the significance of the inheritance arrangements following the death of a man who has entered a
monastery in adult years. If he divided his property with his sons, taking one per capita portion for himself, it is possible that on his death the whole of that could have been inherited by the monastery. This would seem to imply that a man with one son could give a half, and one with two sons one third of his property to the religious house. Wessén considers the former, at least, unlikely and that in that case the limit of one third still applied. Jacobsen, however, translates *pa valdi hafublut sinum* as 'da raade de over deres Lod', referring to the children. This gives no hint as to the division of the personal share of their father.

64/15. Wessén (SL IV, 250 note 21) defines *hafublut* as 'så stor del av ett arv, som uppkom, om det delades i lika delar efter huvuden (per capita)'. The same word is used in Chapters 4 (*B*-text only), 20 and 28, all in relation to inheritance (cf. Iuul 1941, 103, 106; Note to 76/13-14).

64/16. Jacobsen (GGD, 38) incorrectly gives 'en TredjedeT for tiunda lut, obviously influenced by the previous paragraph. Wessén notes that Pope Gregory IX in a letter dated 23/1/1230 (DS I, 258, no. 257) confirmed a previously prescribed limit on donations to a religious house of one tenth of one's liquid assets. UL Kkb 14 and SdmL Kkb 11 have similar limits, but ØgL Kkb 24, ÄVgL Åb 9, YVgL Åb 13 and SkL 38 (CISK I 37) differ (cf. SL IV, 252 note 8 to Chapter 7 and references). Note that the *A*-text here, and here only, clarifies the property referred to by specifying *iordbign* (see Ruthström 2002, 97).

Chapter 8: Af mannhelg

64/19. The concept of *mannhelg* is closely linked with that of *fribr*. The origins of the laws on 'peace' or 'truce' are not absolutely clear. It is possible that they developed from the periods during cult festivals when no one took up arms (cf. Tacitus 1914, 51) and were later connected with markets and trade. They might, on
the other hand, have originated in the twelfth century under the influence of Pope
Nicholas Breakspear. The word *mannhelg* occurs almost exclusively in law texts.
It referred to the ‘human rights’ (a translation suggested in conversation by Helle
Degnbol at Copenhagen University) of free men and women (but not slaves) under
law. That is, the protection a citizen had for the personal rights of life, liberty and
honour, particularly during periods when there was an enhanced respect for these
rights (cf. Grønbech 1955, 2: 104-108). Mainland provincial laws have similar
provisions (cf. UL Kkb 17 pr, 22 §1; SdmL Kkb 18 pr). Temporary loss of these
rights, but short of actual outlawry, could be occasioned by certain infringements
(cf. FrostL IV 7, (NGL 1, 159-160); MLLL IV 11, (NGL 2, 56-58)).

64/20. As Jacobsen (GGD, 38 note 7) points out, Holy days lasted for two nights and
a day. Reckoning such days from sunset on the eve of the feast seems to have its
origin in Jewish practice, when the Sabbath started at sunset on Friday. It was
customary, in any event, to count days from one evening to the next.

64/21. Easter week is the week following Easter Sunday. According to Säve (GU,
xxii) *paskar* lacks a singular in medieval Scandinavian languages and the form
following the preposition *eptir* indicates that the word is feminine rather than, as in
mainland provincial laws, masculine.

64/21 and endnote 168. *Gangdagar* were Rogation days, on which penitential
processions were held carrying crosses, icons and censors around the community,
and prayers were said. The three principal Rogation days were the Monday,
Tuesday and Wednesday following the fifth Sunday after Easter, that is the days
leading up to Ascension Day. These were called *síðari gangdagar* in Old West
Norse, as opposed to *gangdagher litli* or *fyrri*, the feast of St Mark on 25th April
(cf. GulL 18 (NGL 1, 10)). On the form *gangdahar* in the A-text, compare the 1328
manuscript of the runic calendar, which has the form *gangdhar* (cf. Lithberg and Wessén 1939, 5 note 1; Bugge 1878, 57 note; Wimmer 1887a, 257 note 2). In Ole Worm’s *Fasti Danici* the usual spelling is *dahr*, although *kangdar* occurs in error in his second edition (1643, 131).

64/22. Although Schlyter (*CIG*, 264) thinks that *helgudagavika* is an error for *pingizdaga vika*, Wimmer (1887b, 63-64 note 3) points out that it was a specific Gotlandic dialect word for Whitsun, which also appears, albeit in a corrupt form, in the runic calendars (Lithberg and Wessén 1939, 15 note 20). Thomsen (1870, 135) draws parallels with Finnish-Lappish *heluntai* f., ‘Pentecost’, Swedish-Lappish *helutagh*, noting that *hela* f. was a pre-Christian Finnish festival.

The three mark fine, and subsequent ones in this chapter, were clearly additional to the normal wergild or other compensation payable.

64/24 and endnote 171. Lind (1881, 24 and note 2) suggests tentatively that *neftia* in the *A*-text for *nefa* might have been a corruption of an earlier form *hnefa*, giving alliteration.

The proviso that the action was done in anger (*i raipi*) rather than accidentally seems to have applied only to cases in which no weapon was involved.

64/25. The limit here on the compensation for injuring a slave contrasts with the provision in *GulL* 215 (*NGL* 1, 73) where a slave is to have board and lodging while wounded, be given leech treatment and his master is to have compensation for loss of labour. See also 75/9-11, where in certain cases a slave is paid half compensation and in other cases his compensation is limited.

64/25-65/01. The provision stated here is a general one and the reason for it becomes clear when one reads that the parishioners, church and priest of the injured party all shared the fines paid; (cf. Note to 65/4-5).
65/2-3. The bann referred to here is most probably an interdictum locale, as defined at 61/14-16. The provisions also seem to allow certain latitude and to permit the excommunication to be revoked as soon as the fine outstanding was paid to the satisfaction of the parishioners. This appears to be another example of the relative independence of parish priest in Gotland, since a fine was paid to him for the ban, rather than to the bishop (cf. SL IV, 252 notes 8 and 9 to Chapter 8). It is not clear if e fylgir bann helgisbruti refers only to violence during periods of church feasts recorded in this chapter, or if it also covers other forms of Sabbath-breaking listed in Chapter 6.

65/4-5. Division of fines in this threefold way was unique to Gotland. Wessén (SL IV, 252 note 10) refers to further examples in Chapters 3 and 4.

65/7. There are five occasions on which a fine of forty marks in coin is referred to in GL, apart from as wergild for a non-Gotlander. In three cases (1-3 below) the fine was payable to the general assembly (presumably in addition to the applicable wergild) and in the remaining two to the complainants: (1) for killing in a church as recorded here; (2) for killing a fugitive in sanctuary (65/11); (3) for killing a priest who had already offered compensation (97/14); (4) for discovered adultery with a married woman (79/15); (5) for forcing an unmarried girl into marriage without her parent or guardian’s consent (79/18). There are two opposing theories relating to the origin of the forty-mark fine: Wennström (1931, 86-88; 1940, 294-300) and Schwerin (1941, 484) suggest that it was a later introduction, which came into being as a result of devaluation and the increased severity of fines, whereas Hjärne (1929, 102 note 4; 1947, 17, 18-21) and Hafström (1949, 190) contend that it was an old Swedish fine connected with the ledung (Gutnish laipinger). In defence of the latter theory can be mentioned that this level of fine occurs in
Article 1 of the old Russian law Pravda Russkaia (MRL, 26), which, it has been suggested, was subject to early Swedish influence. In any event, the forty-mark system eventually replaced the three-mark system in Swedish law (cf. ÖgL Db 1; UL Mb 9 §2; VStL I 9 pr, §1). Hasselberg (1953, 217-218) also considers the forty-mark system to be foreign to the Gotlandic system of justice (cf. Björling 1893, 113; Note to 66/13-14). Wessen (SL IV, 253 note 11) agrees that in the case of GL this level of fine was almost certainly imported from the Swedish mainland, where it was the standard wergild. In a similar situation in the following chapter (65/25-66/1) the extra fine to be paid to the assembly was the wergild value of the man killed. The question then arises whether these provisions have been inserted (or revised) at a later date than the first written edition of GL. The fact that one reference (3) occurs in a passage occurring only in the B-text (with its presumed earlier origin) would seem to argue against this supposition, in that particular case at least, although the B-text as it is preserved may itself have been subject to later influences. What links all instances of the forty-mark fine is the fact that an alternative punishment was explicitly, in case (4), or might originally have been, death, bearing in mind the severity of the crime and the element of betrayal involved (cf. Note to 79/14-16). A gradual move from capital punishment and revenge killing could have been accompanied by the importation of levels of fine from the mainland.

65/8. For the most serious crime in a church, killing, the rural dean rather than the priest received the excommunication fine.


65/9. Wessen (SL IV, 253 notes 12 and 14) considers the first sentence of this paragraph to belong to the preceding paragraph, but this does not seem to be a
necessary amendment. The opening sentence seems simply to be an introduction to what immediately follows (an excursus relating to the killing of sanctuary seekers in sanctuary churches). The three churchyards are those of the parish churches of Fardhem (*Farbaim*), Tingstäde (*Pingstebi*) and Atlingbo (*Atlingabo*), referred to in Chapter 13. The Old Swedish *kirkiugarper* denoted both the area immediately surrounding the church and the fence that enclosed it. The area was used both for burials and as a place for preaching, marriages, meetings and trials.

65/10. The *prestgarpr* was the holding, the glebe, from which a priest fed himself (and his family). In some Swedish provincial laws the extent of it is defined in detail. In *GL* it was included within the compass of the sanctuary provided at the three sanctuary churches, in addition to the churchyard. The dimensions of several rectory grounds in Gotland have been preserved in parish records; some had an imposing entrance arch. Although *garpr* was originally a word for an enclosing fence, then the area enclosed (as here and at 67/6), it came to include all the buildings within a farm’s fence. Both residential and working buildings lay within the enclosure. These might have included buildings for several families, but in Gotland and mainland provinces, farms were isolated and not situated in villages.

65/11 and endnote 181. The *A*-text reading given by Pipping is *fangin*, ‘captured’, but as the word has been almost obliterated other readings are possible. Schlyter (*CIG*, 21 note 43) gives *vengin*. The *B*-text reads *vegin*, ‘killed’, which Jacobsen (*GGD*, 40 note 2) points out must be the original reading, both from the context and from the fact that the German and Danish translations both have expressions meaning ‘killed’.

65/12-13. The distribution of fines seems to be a repetition of the earlier provision at 65/4-5, as an introduction to additional punishments for assaults in churches and
churchyards (cf. *SL* IV, 252 note 10).

Chapter 9: Af aldra manna friði

65/22 and endnote 194. The form *biskup* where one would expect the genitive occurs in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 68 line 10). Schlyter (*CIG*, 22) emends this to *biscups*, but cf. Noreen 1904, §383.2.c.γ.

65/24. Söderberg (1879, 5) rejects *mipssuumar* as an error, since the vowel is short in Old West Norse.

65/25. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 41 note 1) notes that periods of universal sanctity run from morning to morning in contrast to the sanctity in force on holy days described in the previous chapter. That they had no association with the church is clear from the fact that penalties laid down in the previous chapter did not apply. Wessén (*SL* IV, 253 notes 1 and 2 to Chapter 9) suggests that these two periods of sanctity might have coincided with general assemblies, although the wording at 66/16-17 indicates that there was also a separate assembly sanctity. The timing of the first period, a fortnight after Easter, would have placed it at the time of the new moon, when small local assemblies might have been held. The timing of the second period of peace, five days after midsummer, places it immediately after the final day for sailing on the levy (*laipingr*), 29th June (see *GS*, 59 note to 14/8). Several interpretations might be placed on this timing: (1) that it would have provided ten days of protection for the families of those taking part in the levy from opportunists who had not been called up; (2) that if the levy did not get called out at the end of June, or no favourable wind came, the provision would offer protection from armed men who had become frustrated with waiting and might have been looking for trouble; (3) that any killing or assault done while the levy was out would inconvenience and endanger the province proportionally more than
at other times. It seems unlikely, despite Wessén’s suggestion, that the general assembly would have been timed to coincide with the departure of the levy fleet. In *KrLL* Rb 8 it states that one of the assembly times must be between Walpurgis Night (30th April) and Midsummer Day.

66/1. The word *vereldi*, ‘wergild’, does not occur elsewhere in Scandinavian legal sources, but it is related to *wärold*, in *HL*, with the same sense. There are equivalents in other West Germanic languages and the first element of the word is related to Old West Norse *vær*, ‘man’. The second element is related to Old West Norse *giald*, Old Swedish *giald*, ‘payment’. Wessén (*SL IV*, 250 note 20) suggests that both *vereldi* and *wärold* were loan words from a West Germanic language. The usual word in Swedish provincial laws is *manbörter* (*ÄVgL*) and cognates, whereas Old West Norse has *vigsbætr*. It was a means by which a wronged family could obtain satisfaction from wrongdoers without resorting to a blood feud. Swedish provincial laws demonstrate how the latter was gradually replaced by a system of compensation. Levels of wergild are defined in Chapters 14 and 15. On the forty-mark fine, see Note to 65/7.

66/2-4. The additional provision relating to the destruction of property seems particularly to suggest that protection of the vulnerable was intended. This would apply both to times when people were absent at a local assembly and when their able-bodied men were away on the levy.

Chapter 10: Af varfrifri

66/6. The *varfrifri* might have had Christian origins. The ‘general sowing time’ in Gotland was St Urban’s day on 25th May (Lithberg and Wessén 1939, 62), so the springtime sanctity lasted from 11th May until 8th June. It coincided with the period during which men might be making ready for the levy, but before the first
departure date (see GS, 59 note to 14/8). Similar arguments apply to those suggested in Note to 65/25 concerning its purpose. Other provincial laws have periods of sanctity in spring: \( \text{OgL Bb 22, UL Rb 14, VmL Rb 24, SdmL Rb 11, HL Rb 14.} \)

66/8. The word *bondi*, meaning both ‘husband’ and ‘farmer’ is the only one in GL used of a group of free farmers, apart from *landboi* (cf. Note to 92/10). *Bondar* owned their land and made up the majority of the population of Gotland outside Visby during the thirteenth century.

66/9. The word *gield* is commonly used in provincial laws meaning a legal debt or contractual obligation between two parties. The party who was owed the goods could lay a legal claim (he could *lagrypia*), but the debtor also had protection (cf. *Amira* 1882-1895, I, 32-39).

66/10. A distinction is drawn here between stock kept for food (*soypir*) and those for draught (*ortasoypir*). The latter were not included in the property valuation for the purposes of settling a debt, since their confiscation would affect the ability of a farmer to run his business. Both oxen and horses were used for draught in Gotland.

Chapter 11: Af þingfrið

66/12. The *þingfriðr* was directly related to (heathen) cult and market and was ancient in origin. Assembly sanctity as described here applied at the place of the assembly and for its duration. Increased compensation for personal injury during an assembly is otherwise mentioned in *Grágás* I §56, *LEI* 1, 99 and the severity of breaking the sanctity is stressed in *ÅVgL Urb* §1 (cf. Almquist 1942, 61-62). A three-mark fine, in addition to the usual compensation, applied to insults offered at the assembly (Chapter 39).

66/13-14. *laga bytr*. These were the ‘legal fines’ for an offence, apart from the
additional fine for breaking the peace. According to Hemmer (1928, 67 and note 1, 74 and note 7, 247-249), GL shows a transitional stage in which movement from a system of wholly private compensation to one including community fines was starting to take place. There were still no fines to the crown. Fines were in marks of gold, of silver (¼ mark of gold) or in coin (¼ mark of silver). The original pattern of fines clearly had a three-mark basis and the occasional forty-mark fine lay outside the usual system (cf. Note to 65/7). Hasselberg (1953, 217 note 47) dismisses assumptions made by Wilda (1960, 445-446) and Amira (1882-1895, I, 372-373) that community fines were imposed in all cases where the fine was three marks or more, even if it was not stated explicitly. Delin (1926, 258-259) takes a similar view. German medieval laws seem to have included fines to the community either separately imposed, or as part of the total fine (see Hasselberg 1953, 218-226).

66/16-17. The exclusion of revenge killing, hemnd, from this provision demonstrates that the substitution of compensation for blood revenge was not complete by this time (cf. Note to Chapter 13; KL s. v. Hamnd).

The final provision implies that certain assemblies were held during the periods of universal sanctity referred to in Chapter 9. These would possibly have been held after Easter, rather than after midsummer (cf. Notes to 65/25 and 66/6).

Chapter 12: Af haimfrið

66/19. The concept of haim(a)fríðr seems to have originated in pre-Christian times and to have been connected with a homeowner’s ‘high-seat’. An attack on a man in his own home was deemed to be a niedingr-crime in Norway, punishable by outlawry and loss of all property (cf. GulL 178 (NGL 1, 66)). Such crimes were considered to be particularly shameful and could not be atoned for by
compensation to the victim. It was apparently regarded much less seriously in Gotland and mainland Sweden.

66/20-21. The householder received additional compensation for an attack in his home, while the remaining members of the household had to be content with their normal compensation (66/23-24) (see GGD, 42 note 6). The total fine payable for an attack on a Gotlandic man in his own home was ninety-six marks in coin (three marks of gold), plus twelve marks (to him) plus twelve marks (to the general assembly). This gives a total of 120 marks in coin, which was three times the usual Swedish wergild of forty marks. This triple fine was usual in Swedish provincial laws in such cases (cf. UL Mb 12 §1; SdmL Mb 27 pr; VmL Mb 11 §1). The equivalent for a non-Gotlandic free man was forty marks plus twelve marks plus twelve marks, giving a total of sixty-four marks in coin. Hemmer (1945, 235) suggests that community fines payable for injury to the householder were a later addition to the laga bytr payable to all injured parties. As Wessén (SL IV, 254 note 2 to Chapter 12) observes, similar additional fines were payable in cases of double adultery (Chapter 21) and selling land without going through the required procedures (Chapter 28). See also Björling (1893, 112-113) and Hemmer (1928, 74 and note 6).

66/22. In GL, Schlyter translates mogi as ‘hela (gotländska) folket’, and it seems always to be used in a similar context to the general assembly, otherwise called land (alt) or ping firi alla lyphi. Hasselberg (1953, 217 note 48) agrees with Holmbäck (SL IV, xciii note 1), however, that it referred only to members of the relevant assembly. The translation ‘community’ has been chosen to distinguish this usage. Neither alping nor Gutnal ping is used in GL.
Pipping (GLGS, 15 note 3) interprets the correction as replacing the first minim of the m with c, not an i, leaving the second and third minims to form n. Haimsokn covers only harm caused in a person’s house or its immediate neighbourhood (in GL and AVG Md 9 the house only), the crime thus being a specific form of attack on a person’s haimfripr. In the laws of Västergötland, anyone attacked in his or her own home could, without fear of penalty, kill the attacker in self-defence. The extent to which the original intent of the perpetrator had to be criminal in this instance is uncertain. In ÖgL Eb 1 §1-4, 6 there has to be criminal intent for the crime to come under the edsöreslagsstiftning; if there were no intent, the milder provincial law applied (cf. Introduction, p. 46). Self-defence killing or wounding applied more widely in ÖgL than in AVG. The crime was originally considered to have been a group crime, but in some provincial laws it was extended to include an attack by one person.

Chapter 13: Af mandrapi

In the Early Middle Ages drap, ‘killing’, was seen not just as a crime against the person killed, but also as dishonour against the family of that person, one that could only be countered by blood revenge. Immediate right of revenge continued until there was a formal reconciliation, which formed the basis for attempts to replace personal revenge with a legal process. The concept of drap originated in circumstances of battle, but later expanded to include all situations resulting in the admitted death of another and incorporated special rules relating to involuntary killing and conspiracy. In GulL 156 (NGL 1, 61) and the oldest section of this chapter of GL, only two possible choices exist for the family of a victim: revenge or compensation. Norwegian provincial laws put a much heavier stress than
Swedish laws on revenge, which could be taken for a considerable number of crimes (cf. GulL 152, 171 (NGL 1, 60-61, 65); FrostL prologue 8 (NGL 1, 123)). In GL there is clearly an attempt to steer the wronged party away from taking revenge and towards a judicial solution. In this way it differs markedly from SkL 85-121 (CISK I 84-118) (see SL IV, 66-69). A number of scholars, principally Wilda (1960, 495) and Amira (1922, 27, 30), suggest that anyone committing a murder or other crime punishable by death automatically made himself an outlaw and thus unprotected from being killed himself. This view has been disputed by, for instance, Hemmer (1928, 39-45) who sees a clear distinction in later laws between crimes resulting in outlawry, which could be rescinded, and orbotæ mal (Old Swedish), indefensible crimes for which compensation could not be paid (cf. Wennström 1936, 274). The concept of charging a dead man with a crime that rendered the killing justified and thus not subject to compensation (obyttr) does not occur in GL (but see Note to 71/16-18) and was no longer in force by the time of MELL and MESTL (see Wallén 1958, 246-249). To avoid being accused of morp, hidden murder, which was often punishable by death, the killer had to declare the act at the assembly (cf. UL Mb 19 §3). In GL, however, the term morpingi is only used in the provision relating to insults, and in AVgL the word does not occur at all.

See Wessén (SL IV, 254-256 and references) for a summary; also Hasselberg (1953, 270-274); Note to 69/17.

67/3. A number of Swedish provincial laws, although not GL, gave the right to the relatives of a murdered man to charge a number of people in connection with the killing (cf. AVgL Md 1 §1, 3 §2 and notes). It is possible that this arrangement was a means of dividing responsibility in the same way as the responsibility of paying fines was shared between family members (cf. YVgL Db 8, where it is relationship
with the killer, rather than presence at the crime, that is the deciding factor). In *GL*
this law might be reflected in the fact that, when a man who had committed a
killing drew up his *banda*, he was to take his nearest available male relatives with
him. From this one could infer that they might be considered to be at risk of
accusation as well.

(*GU*, xvii) and Noreen 1904, §454 note 2. Säve (*GU*, 7) accepts the reading *pairir*,
but this occurs nowhere in the *A*-text. Pipping (1904, 14) points out that, contrary
to Noreen's suggestion, *til* does not normally govern the dative in the *A*-text (see
*GLGS*, 40 note 3).

67/5 and endnote 226. Pipping (1901a, 94) argues (on the basis of the other instances
of the diphthong) that the form *Farþaim* is preferable to *Farþeim* as the more
correct reading. Söderberg (1879, 36) points out that this should be *Farþhaim*, but
that *h* was dropped when it was the initial letter of the second part of a
combination, as well as elsewhere in initial position.

*Farþaim ok Þingsteþi ok Atlingabo*. Farþaim (now Fardhem) lies in the southern
riding, Þingsteþi (now Tingstede) in the northern and Atlingabo in the middle
riding. They were centrally situated in each third and therefore convenient places
of asylum. The churches at Atlingabo and Farþaim are mentioned in *Guta saga*
(*GLGS*, 66 lines 18-19) as respectively the second and third parish churches to be
built in Gotland. Þingsteþi is not referred to in this context, either as a place or a
parish. Wessén (*SL* IV, 256 note 2) thinks that the forty days for which a killer had
to take refuge constituted the period of time during which blood revenge could be
taken and that the case was subsequently subject to legal process. Chapter 16
(70/5) has a similar provision concerning killing by a slave. The concept of a holy
place as a refuge for criminals was at least as old as Graeco-Roman culture and is mentioned in the Pentateuch (cf. Exodus 21 v. 13; Num. 35 vv. 6-8, 11-15; Deut. 4 vv. 41-43, 19 vv.2-4; Olsen 1965, 64-65). Mosaic asylum laws applied only to manslaughter (killing ‘at unawares’ of someone not previously an enemy, as clearly intended in this context) and not to premeditated killing. Medieval asylum rights were linked to church law, but their origin might have been predated the introduction of Christianity. The resemblance between provisions in GL and the later VStL might be as a result of a common concept, rather than a direct influence, but GL was certainly the most advanced of the laws of Götaland (cf. VStL I 36 §2; Wennström 1946, 188; Hasselberg 1953, 277). While a wrongdoer was in a prescribed holy place, he was under the protection of the church until it was decided whether he was to be handed over for lay justice or be dealt with by the church authorities.

67/6. Jacobsen (GGD, 43 note 5) considers helg ok heli to be an example of the parallelism common in the A-text, the phrase as a whole meaning ‘a place of sanctuary’. Since the B-text, which it has been argued represents an earlier stage, omits the second half of the phrase, this seems a reasonable assumption. On the other hand, the B-text has parallel expressions not found in the A-text at 83/21, 22 (cf. Notes to 72/13, 94/19). The word helg originally meant ‘that which brought luck’, but the normal sense of the related Gutnish adjective hailigr is ‘sacred, protected’. It is possible, considering the concept pinghelgi in Old West Norse, that helgi originally had religious connotations. De Vries (1957, I, §240-242) notes that heil means ‘whole’ and that heilagr and helgi are related concepts.

67/6-14. The singular provisions in GL relating to peace circles may find echoes on the Swedish mainland. There is evidence from a tenth-century runic inscription
that certain places in Östergötland had rights of asylum (cf. Holmbäck 1919, 10-11; Delin 1926, 258-264; Norden 1931, 346-349; von Friesen 1933, 152-153). The procedures for drawing up a peace circle and the area that it could cover are not entirely clear in GL, but the boundary presumably lay equidistant between each of the farms included and those bordering them, in the uncultivated land between.

67/9 and endnote 231. The sense of the expression annanveg skogs is made clearer in the B-text (annan wegh til schogs), ‘on the other side of the wood’. Säve’s suggestion (GU, xxv), that vegs acts as an adverb (or preposition) even without the til, has been taken up silently by Pipping (GLGS, Ordbok) (cf. Schwartz 1875, 28-29).

67/9. The clause en hann loyfi far af haimporp pry refers to the preceding clause: ok dragi um haimporp pry. That is, a killer had to obtain permission from farm owners to include their land in his circle at all, rather than just in respect of its precise limits.

67/10. Jacobsen again translates kaupung as by, ‘town’, but it seems likely that ‘marketplace’ was intended (cf. Note to 63/17). The intention behind the prohibition against including an assembly site, marketplace or more than one church in a peace circle was to avoid the possibility of the killer and the family of the victim meeting. Cf. the provision in SkL 97 (CISk I 96).

67/11-12. The fripr sum nestr ier eptir paskar was that referred to in Chapter 9 (66/6).

67/13. The vatubanda was a provisional ‘legally witnessed or testified safety circle’, later replaced by a more permanent one drawn up during the general period of peace following Easter. Of the provincial laws, this word occurs only in GL. Schlyter (CISG, 695) thinks that vatu- must be the genitive of vatan f., ‘water’, since this form appears in other combinations, but he does not suggest what its meaning
might be here. Wessen (SL IV, 256-257 note 9) agrees with Kock (1918, 364-368) in finding this derivation unlikely. Kock suggests a relationship with Norwegian vätta, 'take notice of; suffice', giving vatubanda as 'a circle of safety that one took notice of', or which 'sufficed for the time being'. Wessen thinks that a more likely root is a Gutnish vatta or vata f. with a meaning related to Old Swedish vat, vatt f., 'the twelve men collectively swearing an oath; the oath itself' or vatter, vætti m., 'one of the twelve witness; the witness statement itself'. Cf. vattum minum and vattum sinum in ĀVgL Md 1 §2, 3 pr; Gb 7 and YVgL Kkb 3; Tjb 1. The vatubanda was therefore a 'witnessed safety-circle' since the provisional circle would presumably have been confirmed by witnesses, pending the declaration at an assembly of an official peace circle, although this is not specifically stated. Amira (1913, 238) draws parallels between GL's vatubanda and Icelandic fjörbaugsgardr, lesser outlawry, and there are certain similarities between the provisions. In the case of the latter, a miscreant had three years in which to arrange a passage abroad from Iceland, during which time he was confined to an area that offered a certain protection, provided he abided by certain rules (cf. Grágás 1 §§51-53, LEI 1, 92-95). In GL, however, a killer was not truly outlawed while he was in the peace circle, but was given three years in which to offer compensation and close the case. Only if he refused, or left the peace circle, was he outlawed.

67/14. The word atmeli meaning a period of a year does not occur elsewhere in the provincial laws. Schlyter (CISG, 51) thinks that it is possibly a contraction of ater mali, 'the return of the time', referring to the time elapsing between the same season one year and the next. The concept is similar to that in iemlangi (cf. Note to 68/20).

67/15. In 1171 Pope Alexander III issued a bull to the Swedish church prescribing
penance of a pilgrimage to Rome for patricide, amongst other crimes, but the pilgrimage suggested here seems to have been of a more general nature. From about the end of the seventh century, a pilgrimage was often prescribed as penance by a shriving priest for a grave crime, particularly a killing.

67/17-21. A killer must not attend the same church as the family of his victim, for obvious reasons. Wessén (SL IV, 257 note 11) queries whether the mother, daughter and sister mentioned are those of the killer or the victim, but it seems more likely that they are the latter, since the killer is elsewhere enjoined to take his family with him.

67/24-68/2. The non-Gotlandic man referred to is most likely Swedish, rather than German (cf. GGD, 45 note 1; Introduction, pp. 28, 30-31). Wessén (SL IV, 257 note 13) considers that this provision belongs more logically after that in the following chapter at 69/4-5.

68/4. *en hann orkar*. Wessén (SL IV, 257 note 16) rightly points out that there is no indication of what action was taken if a killer could not afford to pay compensation. It is probable that the killer was permanently subject to blood revenge in this case, but judging by the situation regarding a slave woman committing infanticide, exile seems to be another likely option (60/20-22). The circumstance where he did not wish to pay is covered at the end of the chapter (68/12-16). The *B*-text variant, *bella*, was current as the verb *bál*la in, e.g. the dialect of Jämtland, at least in the early part of the last century (cf. *ÍO* s. v. *bella*²). Pipping (1904, 3) argues that *ai* here means ‘always, each time’, rather than ‘not’. Schlyter (*CIG*, 27 and note 41) reads the word as *a*, but concedes it could read *ai*.

68/5. The statement that a person accepting the first offer of compensation is *os kemdr*, ‘without shame’, is evidence that there had previously been a certain stigma
attached to immediate acceptance and that blood money was still a doubtful form of compensation. In VSIL I 36 §2 a similar phrase, *ane laster unde ane scande*, is used and the initial procedures involved are the same, although those subsequent are much simplified (cf. Hasselberg 1953, 274, 276-278). In other provincial laws, the killer has to swear an oath of parity (Swedish *likställighet*). Although in principle the provision of compensation took away the right of revenge, it seems that it was still possible for a wronged party to take revenge: in the laws of Götaland as an alternative to compensation, and in the laws of Svealand provided he paid the king’s and province’s part of the compensation himself.

68/8. The phrase *pa rapin allir lybir firi fe* is not unambiguous. Jacobsen (GGD, 45 note 5) translates: ‘da skal Tingfolket træffe Bestemmelse om Bodens Fordeling’. Schlyter (CIG, 28) and Wessén (SL IV 213) both translate: ‘råde allt folket över boten’, without further comment. In Addition 1 (97/12-13), relating to priests, there is a similar phrase, which Schlyter expands as ‘D. ä. folket tage boten’. It seems likely that the same provisions applied in the present case and that the fine rejected by the claimant was nonetheless collected and distributed by agreement.

68/9. *mandr osakr*. Delin (1926, 261-262 note 1) interprets the law in such a way that a killer always had the right to pay the community for his crime with wergild. He considers this to result in the strange concept that the community valued each of its members only at their wergild price, and that any killing could be compensated for simply by a standard payment. He thinks that this was unlikely to have been acceptable to the relatives of a victim and that the right to revenge must still have been retained. On the other hand, wergild must have been a significant deterrent to the farmers of Gotland, amongst whom there were probably none sufficiently rich and powerful for the sum to be inconsequential. Wessén (SL IV, 257 note 19)
comments that the three year movement restriction placed on a killer was also a form of punishment. He also thinks that Delin has missed the point that in all probability the provisions concerning circles of safety applied only to accidental killings or manslaughter, and not to premeditated murder.

68/10. The *vitorp* was the 'right of proof', especially the right to bring forward witnesses to prove one's case, whether as plaintiff or defendant. It was regarded thus, rather than as a 'duty' and only one of the parties had this right (see *GGD*, 45 note 8). If a case was more or less clear, the plaintiff had the right of proof, whereas in other cases it was the defendant. The defendant was found guilty if either the plaintiff brought sufficient witness or the defendant failed to do so. By the time most of the Scandinavian provincial laws came into being, this one-sidedness had disappeared. The system, known later as the *edgärdsed*, had led to criminals escaping justice by gathering like-minded witnesses. A papal letter of 1218 from Honorius III to the Archbishop of Lund (*DS* I, no. 176 ) refers to this situation as a 'pestilence that militates against all justice' (cf. *SL* I, xxv-xxxii). In *ÖgL* there is early evidence of oaths being taken by both opposing sides. Gradually, proof through means of a *nämnd*, 'body of nominees', replaced the *edgärdsed*, but it was several centuries before this was universal and there were a number of intermediate stages (cf. Note to 62/22). In *GL*, although the old system was clearly still current, *vitorp* had also come to mean 'right' in a more general way, for example the right to return an unsatisfactory slave (99/12).


68/12-16. This is the only place in *GL* where being outlawed (*friplaus*) is mentioned as a punishment, although banishment is prescribed for an infanticide who cannot
pay her fine. A killer who failed to offer compensation within three years was given a month to pay the full wergild for the victim and, in addition, a further half wergild (twelve marks of silver), divided between the claimant and the community. The same additional penalty applied to anyone breaking the terms of his or her restriction of movement. There was no appeal against these fines and if they were not paid the outlawed person was more or less ostracised from society; revenge taken against him could not in turn be avenged by his relatives. It was, in fact, a means of putting a stop to family feuds and the purpose was to encourage the wrongdoer to offer compensation. GL does, however, still seem to recognise the right to self-judgement in certain ‘inherited’ cases (69/1-5).

68/14. Hasselberg (1953, 252-253 note 26) questions the generally accepted translation of *utretta* here as ‘claim, demand’, or ‘exempt’ (76/15). The verb is not known from Old Swedish law texts, or in the sense given by Schlyter elsewhere in Old Swedish. The Middle Low German verb *urrichten*, which occurs in the equivalent passage in *tyGL*, does not have either of these senses, but rather means ‘pay, discharge’. The B-text reading *wt reyda* suggests a connection to Old Swedish *repa*, which has the same meaning. Hasselberg suggests that this offers a more acceptable grammatical construction in which the verb *dyma* governs all three elements of the judgement, rather than the first and third only. It also follows the general rule in GL that wergild could not be demanded, but had to be offered. This suggestion has been followed in the present translation, although the alternatives appear in the Glossary.

Although the mark was a weight of silver (or gold), the means of paying was more frequently in other goods: homespun, cattle or other property up to the required value. It is difficult to be certain of the value of these in precious metal at any
particular time. In Ógðl (Db 16 §2; 21) ninety-six ells of ordinary homespun are equivalent to a mark of silver whereas in Grágás (I §78, LEI 1, 126) six ells of marketable homespun, new and unused, are equivalent to an ounce or öre (¼ mark). This implies either that Icelandic homespun was twice as good, or the mark half the value of the Swedish equivalent. The öre equivalent of homespun with russet stripes, clearly of better quality, was only five ells. Elsewhere (Grágás II §246, LEI 2, 207) two skins of old tomcats were worth one öre, six shorn wether skins were worth an öre, and so on. The concept of marketable means of payment is also laid down here. For a cow to satisfy the requirements it had, amongst other things, to be between three and ten years of age, capable of bearing a calf, in milk, horned and free from defects. Jacobsen (GGD, 25 note 1) thinks that these and similar conditions, although not stated in GL, would have been current throughout Scandinavia.

Chapter 14: Af lutnum sakum

As Jacobsen (GGD, 46 note 4) remarks this chapter refers specifically to cases in which wergild was due to be paid and where the killer died before the claim had been fulfilled. In this case the relatives (presumably those who fled to sanctuary with him) inherited the obligation to pay compensation, which was probably already being negotiated on his behalf (67/11). Responsibility both to pay and demand compensation was inherited (cf. Yvgl Add 11 §4, 17-18). As is frequently the case in GL, information is limited and the full process involved is not clear. In fact only the first and third paragraphs refer to this situation. The remaining paragraphs belong either with the previous chapter or refer to particular instances of killing (see SL IV, 258 note 1).
seems to be that relatives of the killer should not be forced to pay more in compensation than they could afford. Furthermore, they were to be given time to accumulate the money required. Again, the relatives of the victim could accept what was offered without shame. The fact that this is stressed on several occasions implies that it was not the customary attitude at the time.

68/20. *iemlangi*. Three offers were to be made within a year and a day (until the day was the same length as the one on which the first offer was made). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 46 note 7) observes that there is a similar expression (*dagh oc iamling*) in *JL* I §9. This provision differs from that in Chapter 13 (68/4-5) where the killer was given three years to make his three offers of compensation.

68/23-24. This paragraph presents a difficulty, noted by Jacobsen and Wessen, in connection with the sense of the word *bani*, usually ‘killer’. Delin (1926, 267) suggests that the word here means ‘dråp’, giving a translation ‘until someone admits to the killing’. Schlyter (*CIG*, 29-30) originally translates the clause as ‘till dess att en (af dem) emottager dråparen’, which is the translation used by Jacobsen (*GGD*, 47). He concedes that this translation is obscure and refers in his glossary to Hadorph’s translation (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, 11), which broadly agrees with that of Delin. In his list of emendations Schlyter (*CIG*, 379) suggests the alternative reading, *bana sak*, and in his volume of glossary concordance he gives the translation ‘... en emottager anklagelse för dråpet’, a sense which seems also to occur in *SkL* (see *CISG* s. v. *bani*). In English the clause may be translated as ‘until one (of them) confesses to being the killer’. This is admittedly a different construction, but it retains the usual sense of *bani*. Elsewhere in *GL* there are several instances in which the literal translation of *bani* as ‘killer’ would result in clumsy English and an alternative has been used. It is worth noting in connection
with this provision that no mention is made of extra compensation for killing (or wounding, 72/2) by a group of people. This principle, common from Germanic law, distinguishes GL from Swedish provincial laws and from VStL. The difference is so marked that Westman (1902/1905, 50-51) thinks that GL must represent a different legal system in which the family as a whole was not held responsible for an act by one of its members (cf. Delin 1926, 291-294; Gædeken 1934, 105-107; Hasselberg 1953, 198-199; SL I, UL, 120-121 note 43; SL II, DL, 42-43 note 32; SL III, SdmL, 194 note 155; SL V, AVgL, 44 note 47, YVgL, 266 note 22).

69/1. The first sentence of this paragraph does not appear in the A-text, tyGL, or daGL.

A study by Bugge (1877-1878, 267-269) of the etymology and origin of oformagi concludes that Schlyter's interpretation of ofor- as a negative particle is incorrect and that the initial o is long, and was originally the negative particle ó. He argues that the root is a lost Swedish word *formaga with a sense equivalent to German vermögen. He explains the Swedish form ö(f)vermage, normally 'presumptuous', as the result of an assumed derivation from ö(f)ver, which was not in fact the case.

According to most Swedish laws, the age of majority was fifteen years (cf. YVgL Add 7 §29; ÖgL Eb 15 §1, Vb 15 §3; UL Kkb 19 §2, Mb 2 pr, Jb 4 §5; SdmL Mb 18 pr; BjR 14 §20; GL 20 pr; MELL Jb 8, Eb 32, Db (II) 13, Sb (I) 17 pr; MESgL Db (II) 10, Sb (I) 19; KrLL Jb 8 §1). On the other hand, in SdmL Kkb 11 pr, it seems that children over the age of twelve, but who had not received their inheritance, were treated differently in some respects from those who were younger. Minors (and in certain circumstances women) had considerable protection from the full force of the law in many cases: they could not be outlawed or hanged and were subject to lower fines in cases of theft (cf. KL s. v.
Myndighedsalder; Úmagi). See also Note to 75/17.

69/1-3. Schlyter (CIG, 30 note f) interprets this passage as ‘om de som, jämte övermage, taga sådant arf, hvorom här är fråga, vilja hämnas å hans vägnar ...’. Wessén (SL IV, 258 note 9), following Delin (1926, 264), offers the interpretation ‘om någon av dem som, jämte omyndig närmaste arvinge, ha att taga del i arvet, vill hämnas på hans vägnar ...’. There seems to be little material difference between the two interpretations, although Wessén remarks upon it. This passage, together with Addition 1 (97), stresses the right to revenge more than is done elsewhere in GL (cf. Note to Chapter 13).

69/1-5. Jacobsen (GGD, 47 note 5) cites these sentences as an example of the more expansive style of later provisions in contrast to the earlier, terser style.

69/4-5. The relatives of a minor who was claiming compensation had to pursue his portion of the wergild, as well as their own, once the killer was able to pay the claim (i.e. after a year had passed) (see GGD, 47 note 6).

69/6-7. As Wessén (SL IV, 259 note 12) points out, this must refer to a non-Gotlander having property in Gotland of sufficient value to pay the wergild.

69/9. Killing by a minor was valued at a half of the standard wergild, the same as for death caused by a dumb animal (Chapter 17). Contrast this with damage by fire (Chapter 51) where payment was made by the responsible adult, presumably at the full price.

69/11. Säve (GU, xxiv) argues for a short consonant in quikr as opposed to the double consonant in Schlyter’s glossary. The expression quikt i quiipi was the standard one for ‘alive in the womb’.

69/12. nerkumnastr. Pipping (GLGS, 19 note 4) proposes that this passage shows that the expression kneum kumin in SmL 13 §8 (CIS VI, 109 note 53; SL V, 431) is
correct and does not need emending (cf. Schwartz 1878, 84).

69/14. A pregnant woman was valued at 1½ standard wergilds. It is implicit that a Gotlandic woman is referred to here.

Chapter 15: Af vereldi manna

69/16-18. As in several other provincial laws (AVgL Äb 22, JL I III §12) one mark of gold is equivalent to eight marks of silver in GL. This is not stated explicitly, but may be inferred from parallels between 69/16-18, 69/23-24 and 80/8-11, where it is clear that twelve marks of silver are equivalent to 1½ marks of gold (half the wergild of a Gotlander). Here marks of gold, of silver and in coin are mentioned in the same context and this is the first instance of the qualification markr penninga, clearly inserted to avoid confusion, since even 4½ marks in silver would be less than the wergild of a non-Gotlander.

69/17. The phrase at daupum drepin implies that the verb drepa might not mean ‘kill’ in every instance. The noun döpsdrap, ‘killing’, occurs in UL Mb 2 §1, SdmL Mb 2 §1, VmL Mb 2 §1, Tjb 15, HL Kgb 10, Mb 10, BjR 14 §16 (CIS VI, 123 note 6) and MELL Rb 21 §2. Hellquist (1980) notes that the original sense of the verb in other Germanic languages was ‘hit, strike, come up against’. He suggests that the uniquely Scandinavian meaning ‘kill’ developed from the original sense either directly, or via a form with a now lost prefix. Schlyter (CISG s. v. Dræpa) gives ‘strike’ as the first meaning and cites this instance in GL and those in SdmL and VmL. The Danish translation (daGL) reads slagin tiil dødz here.

The lower level of wergild for non-Gotlanders should be considered alongside the principle stated in AVgL Tjb 12 §2: ðylík lagh ok ræt, sum utlænskir mæn göra os, ðylíkan vilium vir hæm görae. Gotlanders could not therefore expect their own higher levels of wergild in Sweden.
There seems to be an ambiguity over the wergild to be paid for a non-Gotlandic woman married to a Gotlandic man. The expression *at vereldi sinu* most probably refers to the ten silver marks she would have been worth if unmarried, but the addition of *fullu*, which occurs only in the *A*-text, could mean that three marks of gold is intended, under the assumption that marriage had given the woman the status of a Gotlander. The principle that the male partner in a marriage could raise the status of his wife, but not vice versa, is common. On the other hand, the fact that a Gotlandic woman married a non-Gotlander did not prejudice her own status, although her children were treated as non-Gotlandic. The equal rating of men and women so far as compensation is concerned corresponds to concepts of gender equality elsewhere in Scandinavia, although these did not extend as far as laws of inheritance (cf. *SL* IV, 259 notes 3 and 4).

Chapter 16: Af banduvereldi

The wergild payable for a man killed within his peace circle was, for both Gotlander and non-Gotlander, half that normally payable. For a slave, only six *őre* in coin was payable. This was one sixth of the normal wergild payable (4½ marks in coin, i.e. 36 *őre*). In respect of the element *banda* in *banduvereldi* Pipping (*GLGS, Ordbok*, 9) refers to Old West Norse *vébònd* n. pl., ‘ropes surrounding the assembly or court’. Details of how the assembly area was set up and the fines for trespass within it are listed in *Gull* 91 (*NGL* 1, 44-45). The fines were: three marks to the king, twelve *őre* to a jarl, six to a baron, three to a *hauldr* (landowner of a class slightly higher than that of a freeman), 1½ to a freeman, one to the son of a freedman and to a freedman (cf. *FrostL* I 2 (*NGL* 1, 127-128); *MLLL* III, 2 (*NGL* 2, 34-35)).

Jacobsen (*GGD*, 49 note 4) remarks that this clause is obscure. The wergild
payment was frequently used as a unit of fine; half the standard wergild was a common level. She finds Schlyter's interpretation (that compensation was to be ten marks in coin for all occasions on which full wergild would normally have been paid) unsatisfactory, as the last phrase would then be misleading. Wessén agrees with this objection and notes that the rubric *Af banduverelde* only refers to the first paragraph of the chapter. He thinks that the next paragraph refers to maiming (*lastr* or *lestr*) in general and that the purpose was to state that in all cases where compensation was based on a proportion of the wergild for a Gotlander, the same proportion applied for a non-Gotlander (he cites one quarter for a hand as an example). He points out that it is not clear what action was taken in cases where the fine in relation to a Gotlander was two marks or less of silver, i.e. one twelfth or less of the wergild. If maiming did not occur all (*allir*) were treated equally. The paragraph should form the end of Chapter 19 (cf. 72/22-73/6; *SL* IV, 260 note 4; Hasselberg 1953, 218 and references).

70/4 and endnote 286; 70/7 and endnote 288. The form *budnan* in the B-text is explained as a misreading by Bilefeld (see Pipping 1901a, 79 note 1). On the form *butnan* in the A-text, cf. Bugge 1878, 57.

70/5, 7. Säve (*GU*, 10 note 1) suggests *netr* as an alternative to *nata*, referring to Chapter 13 (67/4), and the preposition *firi* certainly takes the accusative in this sense. The construction using the genitive of *nat* could be 'forty of nights', but other prepositional phrases do not use this construction. Läffler (1878, 287) remarks upon a number of similar examples in *GL* and *GS*.

70/5-6, 6-8. If the slave in question had been killed or had fled then half the wergild was to be paid, both for a Gotlander and a non-Gotlander. This provision places a value on the slave himself of three marks of silver (twelve marks in coin), since
nine or two marks of silver respectively were to be paid if he could be handed over. This valuation must be compared with the wergild for a slave of 4½ marks in coin, only three eighths of that amount.

70/8. The oath was obviously to be taken in both the stated cases.

70/10, 13. On the spelling *prell*, as opposed to *prel*, for the nominative and accusative in a number of sources, cf. Kock 1882, 1886, 414-415; Brate 1887, 74; Siljestrand 1890-1893, 1, 38; Noreen 1904, §38.1 note 1. They consider that if the consonant was not etymologically long, then the preceding vowel usually was. Siljestrand, however, suggests that these forms might be coincidental. See also 70/16 (*all*), 99/23 (*prell* in the B-text).

70/12-13. This paragraph is not directly relevant to the chapter rubric. It makes clear that a slave usually had a limited period of slavery, after which he was publicly granted his freedom. The witness borne by the parishioners in this case was for use in the future (i.e. that the slave had been freed on such a date) rather than in connection with a past event or a person's truthfulness. The witnesses were acting in a more or less official capacity (cf. Notes to 60/16, 62/5-6, and 71/23-24).

Chapter 17: Af osoybum

The prefix *o-* in *osoypr*, literally 'a bad creature', is not the usual negation, but pejorative, as in Swedish *otyg*, 'witchcraft, nuisance' (cf. Note to 90/20). For related provisions, albeit less detailed, see *SkL* 102, 105 (*CISk* 1 100, 103).

70/15. The word *fastr* in the sense 'entire, not castrated' is still used in Gotland (see *GO* s. v. *fast*). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 50 note 7) notes that, at the time she wrote, the word was used with this meaning in Jutland. The normal Old Swedish word for castrated is *snopr*, from a verb meaning originally 'insult'.

70/16. On the double consonant in *all* (third person singular present indicative of
The word *staurgulf* originally seems to have denoted the central space between the rows of supporting columns of a hall, as opposed to the aisles between these columns and the walls of a building. The word could also be used to denote the space between two of the columns, making room for a place to sit or a bed, the best being the ‘high seat’ (Old West Norse *stafgólfr*) (cf. *KL* s. v. *Skål*). In *GL* the meaning is either the space between a pair of uprights in a fence, or else the pair of uprights themselves (cf. *CIG*, 33, 66; *GGD*, 50 note 9, 85 note 4; *SL IV*, 261 note 3 to Chapter 17). The former sense is still current in Gotland, with various dialect forms (see *GO* s. v. *stór*). Wennström (1936, 357-361) argues that in the context of *GL* the sense must be ‘the space between a pair of uprights’. A horse, certainly, would not be tied up to a pair of uprights, but rather to a horizontal rail between them (70/16). In provisions relating to damage to fences *staurgulf* denotes a section of fencing between uprights (85/4).

70/17. Wessen (SL IV, 261 note 3 to Chapter 17) suggests that *øk flugur stig* could be an error for *øpa flugur stig*, making the inference that the average distance between the uprights in a fence was about a stride (one metre) and if no such fence existed, four strides would give the same safety margin. This would certainly be a reasonable practical assumption and would merely be another example of parallelisms common in *GL*. The distance between supports in a lawful fence in *FrostL* XIII 21 (*NGL* 1, 246) is three ells, about 1.5 metres.

70/17 and endnote 296. The form *fiuggur* that appears in the *A*-text is considered by Noreen (1904, §483 note 1) to be a scribal error for a neuter accusative *fiugur*, a form that occurs in the nominative elsewhere.
70/17-18. Horses were and are handled mainly from their left (or near) side. The
owner was thus only responsible for his horse’s reactions to the normal actions of
tacking up and mounting when performed by others.

70/18. The word *kleti* for food store occurs only here in Scandinavian sources. Säve
(GU, xxx-xxx) considers it most likely to have been introduced to Gutnish by
Swedes resident in Estonia. He assumes that they borrowed the word, not from the
Finnish-speaking Estonians, but from Lithuanian or Latvian speakers and cites the
forms *klèti* in Lithuanian and *klèts* in Latvian, meaning ‘grain store’. The word
might, however, be an error for *klefi*, for which there is an Old West Norse
equivalent with a similar sense. Säve also cites several other words recorded
amongst the nineteenth-century Swedish speakers in Estonia that have similarities
with Gotlandic dialect ones.

70/19 and endnote 298. The form *galff* in the B-text is considered by Pipping to be an
example of metathesis (cf. Noreen 1904, §337.1).

70/23-24. Although half the wergild was paid for a Gotlander killed by an animal
(70/15 and 70/22), as if the creature were a minor, only one third was paid for a
non-Gotlander (i.e. 3½ rather than five marks of silver). This discrepancy seems
unusual in that the proportion of wergild payable for injury to a non-Gotlander was
commonly the same as for a Gotlander (cf. Note to 70/1-3). In respect of wounds
and maiming by animals, the proportion seems to have been the same for both
classes, however, at one third of the ordinary rate (cf. 71/2).

70/24 and endnote 300. Pipping (GLGS, Ordbok, 37 note 1) suggests that the form
*hiin* occurs by influence from the singular possessive pronoun, and it seems certain
that the vowel was, in fact, short (cf. Söderberg 1879, 5).

70/25. Compensation demanded for death or injury that was to be pursued as a normal
debt and could not justify revenge was called *krafarvereldi*. Wessén (*SL IV*, 261 note 10) points out that the word is used both for killing and for maiming, implying that a proportion of the wergild was paid for injury (cf. Note to 70/1-3).

71/1. The word *gieldeti* appears only in *GL* and seems to refer to the responsibility for a debt (see Liden 1911, 273-277).

71/3 and endnote 305. The word *spur*, ‘mark’, is neuter hence *huert* would be expected. Cf., however, the *A*-text’s *Huaiifi bain huer* (*72/15* and endnote 338).

Chapter 18: Ber maþr kuna

The title strictly refers only to the first part of the chapter, and then only to pregnant women who lose their children as a result. The content of the second half is, however, related in that it deals with the proper care of small children.

71/7. Half the standard wergild seems to have been the usual amount payable for an unborn child (cf. *60/20*, *69/13-14*). The amount would possibly have varied depending on whether the father was a Gotlander or not, although this is not stated. What is also not specifically stated is the level of wergild for a minor (under fifteen), although it seems that the full fine was paid from the time that they were born (*71/15*). Minors committing crimes, however, sometimes paid half the normal fine (cf. *69/9*, *94/15*).

71/8. This is the first use in the text of *vitni* without qualification referring to a personal witness as opposed to an abstract concept. Witnesses might, but did not need to be, eyewitnesses. In this case they were named as those who were to be called by a woman immediately after she had been the victim of an attack, in order to declare that she was telling the truth.

The verb *skirskuta* (Old West Norse *skírskota*, ‘appeal’, here literally *skuta*, ‘wipe away’ plus *skir*, ‘clean’) is used reflexively in *GL* in the context of either a plaintiff
or defendant calling witnesses, as opposed to an earlier usage in the context of a defendant attempting to prove innocence (cf. *GGD*, 52 note 7; *SL IV*, 262 note 4 to Chapter 18 and references, 272 note 2 to Chapter 22). The verb was common in Scandinavian laws (cf. *ÖgL* Eb 26; *SL I*, *ÖgL*, 51 note 39; *SdmL* Kgb 6 pr; *SL III*, *SdmL*, 58 note 28). It is also used in *GulL* 37, 40, 266 (*NGL* 1, 22-24, 24, 86-88) with the preposition *undir* to indicate the formal calling of witnesses.

71/9-11. This is the second occasion in *GL* on which two female witnesses are mentioned. As the evidence they were to give was in respect of a miscarriage, it seems likely that they were the same witnesses that the woman would have called to witness a birth (cf. Note to 60/10). It is also significant that the expression *þiaupja aipr* rather than *manna aipr* is used of the six witnesses confirming the woman’s statement that the child was alive before the attack. This seems to imply that some at least of those witnesses could be female. These six oath takers were clearly neither the same as the two witnesses referred to at 71/08, nor the two female witnesses. A similar distinction is drawn in the case of a woman falling pregnant to a rapist (see 80/14-16).

71/14. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 53 note 4) takes *vabi* as meaning a deliberate act, but with unforeseen consequences, rather than an unintentional, accidental one, and the full compensation payable justifies this assumption. Swedish provincial laws clearly differentiate between *vådaverk* and *viljaverk*: the latter were acts of deliberate malice and the former more or less unintentional, although culpable. There is no mention of the former in *GL*, although reduced fines for killing by a minor (69/9) or a dumb animal (70/15; 70/22; 70/23-24) might be considered to reflect a view of these acts as accidental. Amira (1882-1895, I, 711) regards the lack of provisions for accidental acts as evidence that *GL* as preserved is incomplete (cf. Introduction,
pp. 25-29).

71/14 and endnote 315. *i pairi*. Noreen (1904, §454 note 2) thinks that *pairu* in the *A*-text instead of the expected dative singular feminine form is an example of attraction to the following *gezlu*, similar to instances in which the dative form appears after *til* instead of the expected genitive.

71/15. *pa bytir hann vereldi fullu*. It appears from this that the half wergild was only applicable in certain cases and that if the child itself were subject to (albeit unintentional) violence it would be apportioned full compensation, provided that the mother had taken all necessary precautions.

71/16-18. The concept of a dead person as *obytrr*, not subject to compensation, usually applied in cases in which they could be said to have committed a crime warranting their death (cf. Note to Chapter 13). In this instance, however, it is the mother who forfeits her right to a claim through her own negligence.

Chapter 19: Af sarum

Apart from the section on inheritance, this is the most complex section of *GL*. There are a certain number of inconsistencies, which are noted below, but otherwise *GL* is notable for the variety of levels of compensation and the absence of an explicit concept of Old Swedish *full sar* or *fullsæri*, i.e. a major wound requiring treatment and subject to full compensation. This concept appears in several Swedish provincial laws as well as in *VStL* and in Norwegian laws (cf. *AVgL* Sb 1; *Gull* 195 (*NGL* 1, 69-70)). There is, however, an implicit equivalent in *GL*, see following Note. Appendix D tabulates the various fines exacted for different acts of wounding.

71/21-23. The measurement of a *mundr*, a thumb's width or notional inch (2.54 cm), for the depth of a 'full wound' is used in *VStL* I 13 §1. It is not absolutely clear
how the calculation of compensation was made, but evidently two dimensions (depth and length) of each wound were taken into account and compensation paid in respect of the total, up to a maximum of eight marks in coin for sixteen mundr (or more) of wound at least a nail’s breadth in depth. If the depth was less than a nail’s breadth, but treatment was still needed, the maximum fine was four marks (cf. GGD, 54 note 2; SL IV, 262 note 2; Hasselberg 1953, 285-286). An analysis of fines that would have been payable based on the sum, as opposed to the product, of the two dimensions makes it seem more likely that the former would have been used. Using this formula only the very largest and deepest wounds would lie outside the eight-mark range and these would probably have resulted in permanent disability or been fatal, in which case other compensation provisions would apply. Eight marks in coin (two marks of silver) were equivalent to one twelfth of the wergild for a Gotlander. This was also the fine for any knife wound and for injuries resulting in four bone fragments of a certain size having to be removed (see Notes to 72/3, 72/15-16).

71/22. halfu minna. Literally ‘half less’, simply a half (see also 72/8-9, 81/10, 94/15, 98/5).

71/23-24. The choice of witnesses on this occasion, i.e. two rapmenn and a lanzdomeri, suggests that they were official witnesses of a legal process (cf. Notes to 60/16, 62/5-6, 70/12-13).

71/24. The hunderi (equivalent to hundaren in Svealand or härad in Götaland) were entities for legal, defence and military activities, but Guta saga, where the levy is described, does not use the word and GL uses it only in respect of the hunderis ping as a legal entity. The term rapmabr for a local judge at a hunderis ping is unique to Gotland (cf. GGD, 91 note 7; 87/20-21; 100/25-101/1). The structure of
the legislature and judiciary is further described in the Introduction, pp. 31-35.

71/25. As Wessén (SL IV, 262 notes 3 and 4) indicates, officials were only asked to bear witness to the nature and extent of the wound itself. The perpetrator was charged by the injured party and his peers.

72/2. The number of assailants did not affect the compensation payable, which depended on the wounds themselves (cf. Note to 68/23-24).

72/3. The maximum fine was always payable for knife-wounds. Several Swedish provincial laws prescribe increased fines for knife injuries (cf. SL IV, 262 note 7). Presumably the extent of the wound was in this case irrelevant, as in the case of a wound involving internal organs (hulseri).

72/4. The fine for throwing a stone at someone and wounding them was three marks in coin, equivalent to a wound of about six mundr. It is worth noting that Jacobsen (GGD, 54 §5) has ‘Kniv’ here in error for ‘Sten’.

72/5. Schlyter (CIG, 278 s. v. lukahagg) suggests that the first element is the same as Old West Norse lika, the flat of the hand. In that case the meaning would be a slap, but this hardly seems to apply to the provision at 74/5. The provision is missing from tyGL and daGL (cf. SL IV, 262 note 9).

72/7 and endnote 330. The word litvan, ‘facial injury’, is known only from GL. Although Rydqvist (1850-1883, V, 243-244, VI, 272), following Hadorph (Gothlandz-Laghen, 16), has suggested likvan, ‘bodily disfigurement’, Tamm (1883-1884, 311) in his review of Rydqvist’s work considers that the form in the A-text can stand and that it refers to facial disfigurement, the element lit occurring in several words relating to the face. Wessén takes the first element as litr m., ‘colour, appearance’, and the second element as a noun derived from Old West Norse adjective vanr, ‘lacking’. The extra compensation to be paid for such
disfigurement is laid down at the end of the provision. If no healing took place, the full two marks of silver was paid for a nose or lip and half that for an ear.

72/9-10. The criteria given here for judging the severity of a facial disfigurement: whether it could be seen across the road or across the assembly and whether it could be masked by a hat or hood are similar to those in several Swedish provincial laws, the Old Danish laws and VStL (cf. VmL Mb 21 §1; SdmL Mb 5 pr; SkL 95 (CISk I 94); JL1 III §29; VStL I 15 §§6-7).

72/10-11. The clause ok þau sara bytr, indicating that compensation for the initial wound was additional, applies to both the preceding provisions (cf. VStL I 15 §§6-7; SdmL Mb 5 pr).

72/13 and endnote 336. Schlyter (CIG, 379; CISG, 274) considers himin to be a scribal error, corrected by the scribe to eþa hinna, but Pipping (GLGS, 24 note 2) and Wessén (SL IV, 263 note 14) argue that the two expressions supplement each other. Cf. the parallelisms noted by Pipping at GLGS, 58 line 17 (94/19) and 68 line 5 (in Guta saga), which are also taken by Schlyter (CISG, 415 and 273) to be scribal amendments, and the Note to 67/6. There are further examples from B-text at 83/21, 22. Noreen (1970, §266 note 5) argues that himin is in fact not unexpected as an earlier form of hinna, based on other assimilations (cf. Lidén 1896, 107-111).

72/14. sum i skalu skieldr. This singular method of measuring the size of a bone fragment seems to have been common in Scandinavia and also occurs in the Frisian laws (see SL IV, 263 note 15). Similar regulations appear in ÖgL Vb 19, Eriks SjL1 Text 1 II §39, GulL 185 (NGL 1, 67-68) and FrostL IV 49 (NGL 1, 172). These last two read respectively: Eyri firi bein hvert er ör leysir, ef skellr i skalom and er bein leysir or sári mans, þó at alllitit se oc skellr á skilldi, þá scal
eyrer uppi. Larson (1935, 139 and note 11) translates the first as 'an öre for every [bit of] bone that has to be removed if the silver rings in the scales' and interprets this as meaning that the 'money is ready for payment'. This, however, seems to be a misunderstanding, since the word 'silver' does not appear in the original text. Similarly, in *FrostL*, Larson (1935, 277 and note 11) translates *oc skellr á skilldi* as 'and [the coins] rattle on the shield' with a footnote that this means that 'the money is ready for payment'. Again, this does not seem to be the correct interpretation. Both instances seem to refer to the bones themselves rattling in a receptacle as a measure of their size.

72/15 and endnote 338. The neuter *huert* would appear to be the correct form but cf. also *tanna spur huer* in the A-text (71/3).

The form *eln* is recorded on a standard (half) ell measure found at the church at Stånga, a parish in the south-east of Gotland: *hitta ier ret gota eln*. This contradicts Schlyter's view that the nominative singular form was *elin* (see *CIG*, 250; *GU*, xxii and 59 no. 204). The length of an ell varied from time to time and place to place, but the ell at Stånga is circa 55.36 cm. Two further ell measures from the same part of Gotland, at Havdhem and at Hemse Church, are similar in length, but there is evidence of a shorter ell (52.1 cm) in use in the twelfth century (see Jansson 1936, 44). In 1863 the last recorded Swedish ell measured 59.38 cm (circa 23½ inches). In England an ell was 114.3 cm (45 inches), approximately double that measurement.

72/15-16. This stipulation is obscure and may be corrupt. There is no record elsewhere of a similar method of measuring larger bone shards than those in the previous sentence. The German translation, *tyGL*, provides the interpretation that the shards had to be so large that with an ell-long thread attached, they could be
thrown over a five-ell (2.75 metre) high roof beam. Säve (GU, xxx) suggests that
ri, 'pillar' or 'beam', is a loan from Estonian, transmitted to Gotland by the
Swedish population of Estonia's western seaboard and islands. See SL IV, 263 note
16 and references.

72/16-17. Wessen (SL IV, 263 note 17) points out that iii markum penninga equates
to a mark of silver and this is the fine quoted in daGL. In tyGL, which mistakenly
gives one mark in coin as the fine for a finger, it states that a thumb is equal to all
the other fingers, instead of counting it as equivalent to two fingers. If the fingers
of both hands are included, valued at one mark in coin each, the total would be
eight marks in coin, or two marks of silver as in GL. Loss of thumb was thus
valued at one third of a hand, as opposed to a half in the majority of Swedish
provincial laws (cf. AVgL Sb 4; ÖgL Vb 18 pr).

72/19. The verb vega in this context means 'to weigh' with a subsidiary sense of 'to
lift' (see GGD, 56 note 5).

72/20-22. Pipping (1904, 10-12) provides detailed commentary on these lines. The
thrust of his argument is that Schlyter (CIG, 38-39 and notes) has made an error in
saying that the Gutnish for 'toe' is ta (written in error as pa on occasions). Pipping
argues that neither is correct and that tia is the correct form. By a careful
comparison of the A- and B-texts, Pipping shows convincingly that the scribe of
the former has omitted two separate phrases, which are found in the latter (and so
identified in this edition), by skipping from one occurrence of an abbreviation of
marcum to the next. This supposition, supported by Wessen, removes any
objection to the word ok, 'also', in line 21, since the fines concerned are both two
marks of silver (cf. GGD, 56 note 9; SL IV, 263 notes 20 and 22). It also renders
unnecessary Schlyter's change of the preceding pa to ta in the disputed sense 'toe'
and replaces the emendation that gave rise to it. The B-text form, thia follows a practice common in that manuscript of writing th for t as well as for þ. Wessén points out, additionally, that although loss of use of a finger was considered as serious as its being cut off, only one third of the compensation was paid for disablement of a hand or foot as for its complete loss, for which one quarter of a wergild was due (cf. SL IV, 263 notes 20 and 23).

72/20. Säve (GU, xxvii) suggests that the second element of the words gangfempni and runfempni comes from an earlier *fimpni, or preferably *fimni, meaning ‘speed, haste’, the inserted p arising from Gutnish pronunciation. Wadstein (1894-1895, 2-3) defends this view against Söderberg’s objection (1879, 43). Cf. also Noreen 1904, §332. Pipping (GLGS, Ordbok, 28), however, notes that an Old West Norse *fimni is not recorded (cf. Noreen 1970, §266 note 5).

72/21. Jacobsen (GGD, 56 note 8) points out the implied alliteration in pan hels epa (h)nakka and that this could date the phrase to the period prior to the loss of the initial h in the latter, i.e. circa 1100.

72/22-23. The six marks of silver that were payable for loss of hand, foot or eye was one quarter of a wergild, in contrast to the one half that was stipulated in VStL (124 §1, 28 §1, 18). The reduced level has parallels in German regional laws (cf. Brunner 1906-1928, II, 823 note 77; Wilda 1960, 762-763; Hasselberg 1953, 305 note 12 and references; Notes to 70/1-3 and 70/25).

72/23. The sense ‘assault’ for the verb laika, alongside ‘play’, is common in other Scandinavian languages, the most infamous example being Håtunaleken in 1306 when King Birger was imprisoned by his brothers at the estate in Håtuna (cf. GGD, 57 note 1).

72/24. Wessén (SL IV, 263 note 25) points out that the fine for the loss of two hands,
feet or eyes is ambiguous. The issue seems to be whether the fine is twelve marks for the two (i.e. simply twice the fine for one) or twelve marks each, giving the equivalent of a wergild for the loss of both hands, both feet or both eyes in one attack. Wessén thinks that the latter is the more likely, since otherwise there would have been no need to differentiate between this situation and that relating to the loss of one hand, foot or eye.

73/3. The plural of skap n., 'shape', is used for male genitals in Old West Norse and elsewhere in medieval Scandinavia (see GGD, 57 note 4).

73/4. Ólafur Halldórsson (1990, 115, 121-122, 130) notes that in a series of riddles in a sixteenth-century Icelandic manuscript uignyrum, from vignýra n., means 'testicle' and compares this to vigniauri m., 'testicle', in GL. He comments that these are the only instances of this word, but that nýra is recorded by Ivar Aasen in his Norsk ordbog in the sense 'testicle', as is hvitanýra in Faeroese, particularly of rams and bulls. There is a single instance in Icelandic of nýra, in Mábilar rimur, where the sense is obviously testicle.

The fine for the removal of both testicles (i.e. castration) is twelve marks of silver (½ a wergild) and it is only if the penis is cut off that the fine rises to ¾ wergild. For the crime of castration AVgL Sb 4 §6 sets nine marks of silver for the disfigurement and nine for the wound, two wergilds in total, while in YVgL Urb 2 §§7, 16 the act is regarded as a despicable act (nipings værk) and the fine is fifty-four marks of silver or six wergilds. In ÓgL Vb 5, the crime is considered to be the 'most serious' wound (as it is in the laws of Svealand) punishable with a forty-mark fine in coin for the wound and another forty for the disfigurement. This amount is doubled by the addition of forty marks for an unborn son and forty for an unborn daughter, giving a total of 160 marks in coin or four wergilds. The laws
of Svealand fall into two groups: \textit{UL Mb} 30 \textit{pr} and \textit{HL Mb} 15 \textit{pr} give self-judgement, and failure to pay results in the perpetrator losing both hands and helpers one hand as a retaliatory punishment. \textit{SdmL, DL, VmL} follow \textit{ÖgL}, with slight variations. The relatively lenient fine stipulated in \textit{GL} might suggest that this provision belonged to an early form of the law.

73/6. Eighteen marks of silver equate to \(\frac{3}{4}\) of a wergild, a heavy fine (see \textit{SL IV}, 263 note 27 for references to mainland Swedish provincial laws).

73/7 and endnote 349. Pipping’s emendation from \textit{tielgia} to \textit{telgia} follows the B-text (see Addition 3). Noreen (1897, 26; 1904, §231 note) differs, however, and thinks that \textit{tielgia} could be the correct form. He argues that \textit{t(i)elgia} should not be translated as ‘schnitt’, English ‘cut, score’, related to Old West Norse \textit{telgia}, as Schlyter (\textit{CIG}, glossary) and Kock (Lále II, 348) do, but as ‘glied’, English ‘split’, related to Old West Norse \textit{tialga}, ‘branch’. From the context, relating to damage to bones, this seems to be justified. Note that the translation, which refers to a ‘smaller bone’, follows all previous editors, but is not explicit in the text.

73/10. The definition of \textit{onytr} must be related to the use of sword and sickle as defined at 72/19 (see \textit{SL IV}, 264 note 31).

73/11. The right (as well as the obligation) of proof fell to a defendant if there was no visible damage. The phrase \textit{hafi pan vitorp sum vers}, which occurs three times more, was a standard legal expression (see \textit{GGD}, 58 note 4).

73/12-13. Swearing an oath on one’s own behalf was unusual and an exception to the procedure set out at the start of the chapter (see \textit{SL IV}, 264 note 34). It is the only instance of \textit{ainsyri} in \textit{GL} although there are a number of occasions on which only one person has to give witness: a priest supporting a woman’s claim to have been shriven of infanticide (60/13-14), a man stating that he had witnessed a woman’s
cry of 'rape' (80/4), a woman confirming that all the laces on her clothing had been restored (81/1), someone whose property has been stolen confirming how much had been taken (100/1).

73/14-18. Provisions relating to deafness caused by blows do not occur in Swedish provincial laws, but equivalents are to be found in VStL I 15 §§1-4.

73/15 and endnote 354. Pipping (1904, 15) thinks that in hana as elsewhere the scribe has indicated the n twice, once by a nasal stroke over the a, and again by writing it out (cf. Noreen 1904, §503 note 1). He thinks that Schlyter's failure to indicate that he is expanding nasal strokes in his edition has led to unnecessary discussions concerning the form hanna (cf. Noreen 1894, 159 and 1904, §416 note 7).

This is the only reference to fowl in GL. In contrast to geese, they are mentioned infrequently in provincial laws, although a limit of a cockerel and two hens is set in DL Tjb 17.

73/16. The deleted wi preceding the phrase siex manna aipi appears to be an example of the scribe deciding to substitute the word siex, having already written the Roman numeral. In another case (87/21), he has not noticed his error and has not deleted the latter. Pipping (1901a, 95 note 1) argues that the A-text possibly originally had Roman numerals throughout for numbers greater than one and the scribe of B 64, when he was substituting words for these, used his form of the diphthong ai, namely ei, e.g. in tueir. Elsewhere in this manuscript occurrences of ei are rare and occur mostly alongside forms with ai (cf. Note to 64/14).

73/18-23. Further differences in fines laid down between the A- and B-texts are in evidence here. The fine for loss of an ear is two marks of silver in all manuscripts of GL apart from B 64, and for damage to an ear without its loss is one mark in the B-text and in daGL. It is not clear why eye-teeth are singled out for mention, since
the fine for them was the same as for other teeth in the same jaw. It is possible that there was a time when they were valued differently. The B-text, incidentally, lacks the differentiation found in the A-text (and tyGL) with regard to upper and lower teeth. See also Addition 4, 98/18-20.

73/24 and endnote 361. All editors agree on an emendation from harr to har. Similarly, Kock (1882, 1886, 415) thinks that sarr, which occurs in some Old Swedish texts, is an anomalous form, but also refers to Old West Norse adjective sárr.

74/1. The concept of a non-verbal insult (punki) occurs several times in GL, even if the word itself is not used in every instance. Apart from throwing ale in someone’s face, insults included: manhandling a person riding or walking on the highway (75/3), making a minor attack on a man’s beard or hair (74/7-8), damaging a man’s inner clothing (74/15), knocking the clasp of a woman’s clothing to the ground or displacing her clothing slightly (80/23-24, 81/1-2), grasping her elbow or knee (81/5-6, 81/7). The fine was eight ortugar in each case. Carrying off wood from another man’s forest (84/24-85/1), breaking his fence (85/3-4) or taking his horse in error, leaving your own instead (89/6-7) incurred the same penalty, which gives an insight into the importance that was attached to these non-verbal insults (cf. SL IV, 264 note 38). Wennström (1936, 57 notes 66 and 67; 1940, 310-312) compares punki in GL with pokki, which he relates to the Old Swedish verb pykkia, ‘think’ (see CISG s. v. pokka bot, pokki).

Ertaug was the Gutnish equivalent of Old Swedish örtugh (Modern Swedish orton). As a weight it was recorded from Viking times as 1/24 mark or ½ öre. The mark, öre and örtug had the same relationship all over Scandinavia, but the number of pennies (i.e. coin) to an örtug, and thus to a mark was variable over region and
A fine of eight örtugar is common in *GL*, although fines of a half, one, four and five also occur. Eight örtugar were equivalent to ½ mark in weight or coin (see *SL IV*, 264 notes 38 and 44). This is confirmed by the fact that the sum is greater than two öre (¼ mark), (cf. fines for damage to clothing, 74/14) and less than ½ mark (cf. fine for striking off a woman’s buckle, 80/23-24). See Appendix C for further details of the monetary system in Gotland.

74/2-3. It is worth noting that admitting to one blow laid one open to an accusation of up to three further blows and gave the initiative to the plaintiff, whereas if one did not admit to an attack, one had the right to present one’s defence.

74/3 and endnote 365. The form fiaugura for figura in the B-text might not be a true variant, but the result of the scribe forgetting to delete the *a* when amending from fiaura (see *GLGS*, 27 note 1). Cf., however, Noreen 1904, §483 note 1.

74/5. From the context, lukahagg is clearly not a blow with the flat of the hand (cf. Note to 72/5), but presumably any blow that did not draw blood or leave the person disabled (cf. *GGD*, 59 note 6; *SL IV*, 264 note 40).

The words Pet iru lag guta must previously have signalled the end of a major section of the law. The B-text has the singular form of the verb (ier), which seems to be more correct grammatically.

74/6. Säve (*GU*, xxviii) offers a number of etymological suggestions for the origin of loyski, ‘bald patch’. It might be related to a Gotlandic dialect word, loysk(ur), meaning a treeless area in dense woodland, and could derive from the adjective laus, with umlaut to loysa, but this would refer more to loose hair than a resulting bald patch. Jacobsen, however, suggests that it refers to ‘a place where the hair is loose’ (*GGD*, 60 note 1). The detailed compensation relating to hair pulling is reflected only in *VStL* I 15 and not in Swedish provincial laws.
74/7-8 and endnote 369. A correction on the basis of the B-text to *bytis at atta ertaugum* might be justified.

74/7-12. It is possible that the stringent laws against pulling out hair were related to a belief that magic could be wrought using hair (cf. *BorgL* 1 16 (*NGL* 1, 350-351)). Hair and nails were considered to have magic properties as they grew visibly and a bald person was regarded as a possible subject of black magic (cf. de Vries 1957, I, §202 and §239). Note additional references to pulling hair at 64/24, 65/15 and 17, 66/13, 73/24, and 95/4.

74/10-12. See Notes to Addition 5, 98/24-26.

74/14. The *yfirklepi* was a cloak or cape, probably the same as the *gangklepi* referred to at 78/4 and 78/7.

Although Pipping (*GLGS, Ordbok*, 46) translates *kurtil* as ‘kortel, underklädnings’, it more properly referred to a gown worn over a *likvari*, but under any cloak or outer garment, the equivalent of modern ‘indoor clothing’ (cf. Falk 1919, 145).

74/15. Bugge (1877-1878, 267) derives *likvari* from *lik*, ‘body’, and *verja*, ‘to dress’.

The meaning is thus the clothes nearest the body.

74/16. It is not clear whether the author is distinguishing between *serkr* and *skyrta*, or if this is simply a synonymous alliteration. The two garments seem to have been similar, made of sheep wool, but Falk (1919, 141-145) believes that a *serkr* was possibly sleeveless, although longer than a *skyrta*, which had long sleeves. Pipping’s Swedish translations, ‘linne, lintyg’ and ‘skjorta’, ‘vest’ and ‘shirt’ respectively, might be anachronistic, but will serve as a distinction.

74/22. Witnesses were required only to confirm the veracity of the injured man’s story, not to give evidence of his injury.

For an account of the system of judges, see Introduction, pp. 29-30, 33-34.
75/7. Two öre is ¼ mark, which is half the fine for extra blows to the free man in the fight.

75/10-11. It is worth noting that minor wounds to slaves, for example a blow with a stone, attracted the same compensation as to a free man.

75/11-12. A slave could neither give nor receive an insult, the latter because of his lack of status and the former because any adverse comment from such a person would presumably have been regarded as unworthy of consideration.

75/12. The paragraph that appears here in the A-text has been moved to its proper place in Chapter 20 (Chapter 26 in the B-text).

Chapter 20 Af allum lutum

The laws of inheritance in Gotland as recorded in GL are complex and to some extent contradictory. The most thorough analysis of them is to be found in Holmbäck (1919, 219-241), where previous studies by Pipping (1904), Delin (1909) and others are taken into account. The following notes relate to specific aspects in individual provisions.

75/16. Jacobsen (GGD, 63 note 1) suggests that the use of ar instead of vintr here might indicate that this provision is younger than others in the law.

75/17. The phrase skiaupa ok skalar might be a fixed expression for the possessions that a younger son took away from the farm. Schlyter (CIG, 46), referring to Schildener’s German translation ‘Pferd und Schaale’, ‘horse and cup’ (G-L, 211), suggests the noun sciaut n., ‘draught animal’, should be substituted for skiaupa f. Säve (GU, 14) follows Schlyter. Bugge (1877-1878, 269) thinks that the latter is not an error but that the word’s sense has been forgotten and that it was a leather bag for keeping one’s possessions in, comparable to Old West Norse skjóda. The English word scrip has the same sense, but probably a different origin. In this
particular context, Wessen (SL IV, 265 note 2 and references) suggests that the bag could be one in which scale weights were stored. The implication is that when a young man attained his majority, he took charge of weighing out his portion. Although the age of majority appears to have been fifteen here for men, they were not liable to take part in the defence of the province, for which they had been provided with weapons (78/3), until they were twenty years of age (93/15). See also Note to 69/1.

75/18. The verb *selia* is used here to mean 'transfer, make over, entrust' since the context makes it clear that outright sale is not in question.

75/20. In the phrase *nequar taki ungan oformaga til sina* Jacobsen (GGD, 63) interprets *nequar* as referring to one of the heirs, but this does not seem to be a necessary assumption, and makes the following clause ambiguous (referring either to the guardian or the ward), whereas Wessen (SL IV, 266 note 4) argues that it was the minor who retained his full portion. Indeed, it would seem logical that the guardian must have been outside the farm, since his or her action would not otherwise have relieved the situation. Compare this action to that in respect of an illegitimate child by a non-Gotlandic (78/1, 78/4, 79/8) or a Gotlandic woman (79/4, 79/6), where the obligation seems only to be to raise the child and not to 'take it as one's own'.

75/22. Säve (GU, xli) corrects *Giftir* to *Giptir*.

75/23 and endnotes 391, 392 and 393. Pipping (1901a, 129) considers *dytrir* to be the correct form, citing Säve's reading of the Sjonhem stone II (GU, 45 no. 90), which already has the form *systriR*, as well as further instances in *GL* (cf. *NJÆR1*, 27). The document known as *Katarina Gillestadga* (Spegel, 184, lines 27 and 28; 185 line 33; 186 line 3), however, has the nominative plural form *systr*. 
sitia i karls skauti. Literally ‘sit in a man’s lap’. The word karl is used of the head of a family, in this case the paternal grandfather of the girl or girls. The action of taking a child into one’s lap signified adoption or acceptance (especially of an illegitimate child) and the granddaughters would have been treated as daughters of the household, as is clear from inheritance arrangements that immediately follow (cf. GGD, 63 note 6, 64 note 1; SL IV, 266 notes 5 and 6).

Pipping (1904, 16) rejects Schlyter’s sunna dytrir (CIG, 46) in favour of sunadytrir. He thinks that the stroke over the u is simply a scribal error and does not denote a doubling of the following n.

If there were surviving sons (in addition to any who had predeceased their father) then division of the inheritance gave the daughters of each deceased son their father’s notional share between them (see GGD, 64 note 2).

The property referred to here is evidently the property that the deceased woman possessed in her own right.

All translators and commentators agree that this means ‘to whichever branch [i.e. generation] it has come’, that is, ‘however many branches [generations] there might be’.

It is clear that one of these (feminine or neuter singular) participles refers to the male (line) and the other to the female. The taste for elaborate belts with metal clasps, which emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, continued even after the shape of garments had become more fitted and girdles were no longer entirely functional. Around the beginning of the fourteenth century a new type of belt, called in Swedish a ländbält or ländgördel, which fitted lower down (literally around the loins) and was sewn to the garment, was introduced (see KL s. v. Gördel och gördelmakare). It is possible that this latter
type was more commonly used by women, and that the waist-fitting girdle was a male accessory, particularly as it would have been more useful for kilting garments for work. Both lindi and gyrpla have the sense 'belt, girdle', but neither is unambiguously used of female or male dress in medieval sources. Schlyter's view (CISG, 396-397) is that the former was a woman's girdle. He thus interprets lindagyrt as 'female (line)' and tua lindagyrt as 'two male descendants of the female line'. Schlyter's initial premise seems to be supported by examples cited by Söderwall (OSMS I, 531 s. v. linde) who gives three references, all of which contain linde in the sense of a female girdle. The first refers to the legend of St George, in which the dragon is bound with the princess's girdle (MD, 192 ll. 219-222). The second refers to the nuns of St Birgitta sleeping in their kirtles, girdles and coifs (HBU V, 42). The third reference is from Ett fornsvenskt legendarium and again it seems that female clothing is involved (FL I-II, 501 ll. 15-19). Schlyter quotes Ihre (1769 s. v. garland) where he refers to a linda as any belt, especially one worn by a virgin. If this interpretation were followed, the translations 'distaff side' and 'spear side' for lindagyrt and gyrplugyr as respectively would be English equivalents. Pipping (1904, 7-10) offers counter-arguments, in particular that the male line would have been referred to first. He notes that Hadorph's translation (Gothlandz-Laghen, 21), which he suspects influenced Schlyter, is inconsistent in that he translates lindagyrt epa gyrpu- as 'mankön eller qwinkön' while giving 'quinnkön' (sic) for lindagyta a few lines later. Pipping also notes that Fritzner (1891, 531) gives a number of instances in which lindi is used of male clothing and quotes Ihre (1769 s. v. linda), who gives a similar interpretation. A lindaknifr was a knife attached to a belt, probably a single edged dagger. This provides support for the supposition that lindi was a male belt, since a woman would have keys on
her belt rather than a dagger. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 64-65 note 7), however, does not think that Pipping's arguments convincingly counter Schlyter's, since in *GL* the female is three times referred to first; she prefers to maintain the ambiguous reading of the original. Wessén on the other hand (*SL* IV, 266-267 note 12), finds that, since the grammatical form (*tua lindagyrt*ta) of the second reference (76/4) must refer to males, *lindagyrt* in this first reference must also refer to a male. He rejects the possibility that *lindagyrt* could mean 'a (male) descendant of a female heir' in the later reference and argues that the two instances of the word must mean the same. Pipping's interpretation also agrees with the German translation in *tyGL*, where *lindagyrt(a)* is translated *mannes namen* and *gyrplu(gyrt)* as *vrouwen namen* and similarly in *MLBL*, VIII §8 (*NGL* 2, 271) where *lindi* is used of a male garment. In the present translation Pipping's argument has been accepted, although with some reluctance. The equivalents in Old West Norse were *bauggildismaðr*, 'agnatic kinsman' and *nefgildismaðr*, 'cognatic kinsman' (cf. *GulL* 37 (*NGL* 1, 22-24)).

The word *bloz* means direct heirs of the female in question, i.e. the bloodline. The genitive serves in this case as a nominative; cf. Old Swedish *goz*, Modern Swedish *gods*, 'estate; property'. Säve (*GU*, xviii) considers the possibility that *bops-kyn* or *blops-ett* was intended. Relatives not in the direct bloodline were given different designations (cf. Note to 85/22-24).

76/3-6. This provision may be summarized as stating that if there were three male heirs in successive generations, following inheritance from a female, before the direct line ran out, the property in question stayed in the farm where it now resided, following normal inheritance rules, otherwise it reverted to the farm from which it came (cf. *GGD*, 65 note 3; *SL* IV, 267 notes 13-17).
76/6-7. This provision could refer to property not in the form of land (*lutr* as opposed to *aign*), or it could simply refer to a situation in which an heiress leaves no male heirs, in which case *lutr* refers to all forms of inheritance (cf. *CIG*, 47; *SL IV*, 267 note 18). The latter seems more likely, since this situation is not otherwise provided for.

*pan sum blopz ier nestr.* Säve (*GU*, xviii) points out that the dative would be expected here, but see Note to 76/3.

76/9. *Par sum gangs i garpi.* This and similar expressions are taken by Wessén (*SL IV*, 266 note 6) to refer to the end of the male line at a farm. Holmback (1919, 223-227) argues that this expression refers only to lack of surviving sons and that in these circumstances their sons and grandsons were included in the general division of inheritance.

76/11. As Wessén (*SL IV*, 267 note 21) points out, *sett fapurmyprni* must mean their own (and their brother's) maternal inheritance.

76/12. The word *penningr* here means 'coin, currency, that which could be counted' as opposed to other property.

*af fehrni sinu.* This refers to the father of the daughters, that is, the brother of the unmarried aunts.

76/13-16 and endnote 403. Wessén (*SL IV*, 265 note 65) gives two circumstantial explanations for this paragraph appearing at the end of Chapter 19 (75/12, endnote 382), rather than in its proper place here. The more likely, in view of the fact that the B-text has this paragraph in the margin, is that the originals for the A- and B-texts (both assumed to derive from v on the stemma on p. 24) already had this paragraph misplaced. The scribe of the former presumably simply copied what he had in front of him, whereas Bilefeld (or the scribe of his immediate original)
observed the error. He then either decided to show the error in his original by means of a marginal note, or intended to insert the paragraph at the proper place but subsequently forgot to do so and had to insert it in the margin. The paragraph appears in its proper place in *tyGL* and *daGL*.

76/13-14. *nibiar ... a fiarpa mann*. From the context, Holmheck (1919, 223-227) argues, this must refer to kin in the male line. He then considers what the last part of this phrase might mean, and comes to the conclusion that the deceased was included in the generation count, although this was not always the case in Swedish provincial laws. This means that the fourth remove from the deceased father was (1) amongst his ascendants his paternal grandfather; (2) amongst his descendants his great grandsons in the male line and (3) amongst collateral kin his brother’s sons and father’s brothers. These all inherited equally with the deceased’s daughters (see following note) but how this division functioned in practice is not known. Diplomas show that during the thirteenth century farms were divided into small, barely supportable, holdings and occasionally it appears that the smaller of these, if sold, returned to the mother farm. The provision in Chapter 28 (87/7) relating to the division of property seems specifically to be limited to liquid assets.

Concerning the form *burnum* in the *B*-text, Schlyter (*CIG*, 247) argues that this variant reading should be ignored, while Pipping suggests a nominative *burn* or *burin*. In connection with this he refers to Lars Neogard’s collection of papers, *Gautau-Minning*, where *haimburn* is stated to mean ‘host’ or ‘householder’, although the more common form was apparently *haimbud* (*GO* s. v. *hem*). Pipping does not indicate how this suggestion relates to the passage in question, however.

*GO*, based on the research of the brothers Säve, gives *haimburen* as ‘born on the farm’, which suggests that the reference might be to a group of descendents. Valter
Jansson (1935, 7-8, 10-13) in a study of a runic inscription from Bro parish in Gotland, offers evidence from other inscriptions that borna means ‘daughter’ and rejects Schlyter’s dismissal of this reading as incorrect and Pipping’s reference to Neogard as irrelevant. Jansson cites the fact that tyGL has myt den tochteren and the Danish, daGL, medt burne in support of his suggestion and on this basis Wessen (SL IV, 267 note 23) accepts that mip burnum means ‘with the daughters’.

76/14-15. ok quinna lutir iru ut rettadir. Wessen (SL IV, 267 note 25) thinks that this clause was original, although it is missing from the A-text, since it relates to the immediately following provision. A widow’s claim was treated as a debt to the estate, payable before the inheritance was divided (cf. Note to 68/14).

76/15. han. The masculine form hann appears again at 80/12, also corrected by Säve in GU (cf. Pipping 1904, 15). The B-text continues with the plural here: En qwindi takin slict yr gardj sum thar i haffdu. The reference is to the widow of the owner of the farm and to the return of the dowry (haimfylgi) she brought to the marriage.

76/15-16. If a dowry claim was not properly laid out in the year immediately following her husband’s death, the estate had the right to withhold payment, or at least the right of proof if a case were brought (see SL IV, 268 note 27). Iuul (1941, 174-177) suggests that dowry provisions in GL represent an earlier situation than those in mainland provincial laws.

76/16. Säve (GU, 14 note 3) prefers garprin to garpin, or, presumably, the B-text version garthinr.

76/17-18. The widow of a family where the male line had expired received support for just one year, if she did not remarry. It seems to be tacitly assumed that she was free to do this if she wished, as she would have been in Svealand. In Götaland, she would have had to have agreement from her giftoman (the one who received her
bride-price). The provisions here seem to be less generous than those laid out at 77/4-6, but they may have been granted in addition to the latter.

76/18. Corn and other produce were normally measured by capacity rather than weight in the Middle Ages. A laupr was $\frac{1}{4}$ barrel, roughly equivalent to a bushel (circa thirty-six litres). It has the same derivation as Old English léap, 'basket'.

The word laupr for corn measure was apparently unique to Gotland and it is still current (cf. GGD, 105 note 4; GO s. v. *lōp⁴; Gustavson 1940-1942, 1948, 217; 1936, 300-301). The capacity measure normally in use, equivalent to half a barrel, was variously called a skäppa or a spann, depending on the part of Sweden (cf. Aakjær 1936, 211; Jansson 1936, 2, 5, 22). Neither is used in GL, but spannamal and variants are found in Gotlandic dialect.

Rye began, on the evidence of pollen analysis, to be cultivated in Scandinavia in the early Iron Age, but did not become a significant crop until the Viking Age. It was more resistant to drought and less demanding in terms of soil quality, and its good baking qualities caused it to advance over other types of grain in the sixteenth century. The oldest provincial laws all mention rye, it being the only seed crop referred to in ÄVgL (cf. ÄVgL Äb 81; YVgL Äb 33; ÖgL Kkb 2 pr). It also occurs in UL Kkb 7 §5, SdmL Kkb 5 pr; Bb 13 pr, VmL Kkb 6 §4. Rye seems to have been grown as an autumn crop and MELL Jb 29 refers to rye in such a context that winter rye must be intended. In southern Sweden rye seems to have been sown after 14th October (27th by the Gregorian calendar), that is at the start of winter. Rye was also the crop sown on newly cleared land (cf. Note to 92/14).

76/19-20 and endnote 413. han i quam. The reference is to property that the wife brought to a marriage, not to the wife herself. Pipping (GLGS, 31 note 1) expands on Schlyter’s translation (CIG, 48), considering it to be a misreading. Cf. sum par
This provision is obscure, but has presumably to be read in conjunction with the provision at 82/6-8 concerning the protection given to sisters by their brothers before their marriage, and the portion given to them afterwards.

66/22-23. Normally a widow would have a right to her dowry (haimðylgi) and morgongáva (hogs in GL, see Note to 77/1), her bed and best clothes and then that part of the inheritance which fell to her on its division: one third of the liquid assets and land bought during the marriage, up to half the estate. In VStL IV 3 §§4-6, for instance, full property sharing rights existed with a man receiving two thirds or a half of the property on the death of his partner and a woman a half or one third depending on the number of offspring. In GL, however, there seems to have been no such division and, in the case of a widow left childless, her family reclaimed the dowry. This could represent a much older system of inheritance than was in place on the mainland, perhaps regarding the dowry as an advance on the woman's inheritance (see Amira 1882-1895, I, 528-530).

66/23. Säve (GU, 15 note 2) emends gangiz to gangits, partly following the B-text reading gangit.

66/24. Pipping suggests that paigin in the A-text might be a scribal error for poygin (cf. Pipping 1901a, 130-133; GLGS, 31 note 2; Noreen 1904, §91. 3, §92 a).

77/1. hogs ok ip. The word hogs is used later in the text of a sum of money paid in compensation to an unmarried mother by the father of her child (Chapter 20a). Although no level of payment is mentioned in connection with a widow, full hogs for an unmarried mother was eight marks in coin (two marks of silver). The translator of tyGL has related this word to Middle Low German höger, 'higher', but it might have resulted from a loan word: Middle Low German hogen, 'gladden,
comfort, console' (cf. CISG, 279; Amira 1882-1895, I, 521-522; GU, xxvii; GLGS, cxiii; GLGS, Ordbok, 38 s. v. hogsI). This interpretation would suit both situations in which the sum was to be paid: a consolation either for loss of a husband or loss of one's honour. The word hogsI occurs only in GL and seems to be equivalent to the morgongâva paid by a bridegroom to his bride, according to other provincial laws, on the morning after the wedding (the price for her virginity). This latter also reverted to the woman if she were widowed. Säve (GU, xxvii) offers several alternative derivations and relationships for hogsI, including one to Old West Norse hógr, 'friendly, gentle', which he thinks might support a sense equivalent to that of the morgongâva.

The word ip means literally 'occupation, industriousness' and it seems likely that this sum was paid in recognition of the work that a widow had contributed to the farm during her years of marriage, although it might have simply been a provision for her new unsupported state (see SL IV, 268 note 31). Schlyter (CISG, 279 s. v. hogsI) suggests that the phrase might be an example of parallelism and that the two sums were not separate. There do, however, seem to have been distinct payments that were applicable. A widow certainly, according to the following provision, received payment for care of her family for the first eight years after her widowhood, if she did not remarry, and if her sons died leaving no heirs during that time. This has led to speculation that the ip might also have varied and been proportional to the length of the marriage (cf. GLGS, cxii; GGD, 67 note 2; Holmbäck 1919, 221-222).

77/2-3. The presumption is that the widow could, in addition to hogsI ok ip, claim a mark in coin for each year, up to eight, that she remained on the farm supporting her sons or their offspring. It is implied that the sum was taken at the end of the
period, rather than year by year and that, even if any sons survived beyond that
time or left offspring, she would not have been entitled to further money from the
estate, although the wording is ambiguous.

77/4-6. A childless widow received board and lodging (but no payment for care of her
family) for as long as she wished, or ½ mark in coin a year-up to sixteen years,
payable on an annual basis, if she chose not to remain on the farm. The total
amount was the same as that for a widow with children and presumably the latter
also received her board and lodging if she stayed on the farm. These two
provisions seem to be at odds with that at 76/17-18 relating to childless widows
where it is implied that they only received support for a year. It is possible,
however, that both were applicable. Previous editors have not commented upon
this inconsistency.

77/12. ok iru bepin bloz iemner. See Notes to 76/3, 76/6-7.

77/14 and endnote 422. vigi. The reading of the B-text is incorrect (cf. GLGS, 21 note
10; Note to 98/4-5 and endnote 769).

77/14. The provision that sisters are equal to daughters presumes that the son died
before his father in the fire (cf. the provision at 75/22-23), whereas a more modern
conception is that the older person died first, in which case the provisions at 76/10-
11 would have applied.

77/16. The staur appears to have been not just a single pole or stake, but a series of
poles that marked the boundary of the home farm. The enclosed area had certain
rights associated with it, which were important in legal terms, but which were
sometimes equally applicable to land lying outside the boundary (cf. 83/16, 94/8,
95/7).

77/18. Laigi was land yielding a certain rent and the word was originally used in
connection with the rent to be paid by a tenant farmer. The expression *marka laigi* came later to be used in reference to any area of land that would fetch a mark of silver in annual rent, if tenanted, the equivalent of *markland* in *UL* and elsewhere in mainland provincial laws. This usage seems to have continued into the eighteenth century in Gotland. In *UL* Jb 1 rent is stated to be one twenty-fourth of the freehold value of the land. According to this valuation, a *mark laigi* would thus have been land to the freehold value of twenty-four marks of silver or three marks of gold. One mark of gold in terms of freehold land would thus have been equal to \( \frac{1}{3} \) of a *mark laigi*. The basis for land taxation was freehold value, but this could also be expressed in acreage, varying from district to district depending on the fertility of the soil (cf. *SL* III, *SdmL*, 95-96; Note to 86/9-10). Land worth one mark of silver was subject to a rent of one ortug (1/24 mark) and was called an ortugland. Lönnroth (1940, 87-101) summarizes five different theories relating to the origin of the term *markland* and concludes that it was an assessment unit for land (in relation to inheritance), which eventually became a measure of obligation to taxation. Cf. *CISG* s. v. laigi; Styffe 1864, 64-66; Jacobsen (*GGD*, 68 note 8); Thulin 1911, 122; Sandström 1927, 41-42; Ambrosiani 1939, 162-163; Wessén (*SL* IV, 269 note 39 and references); Dovring 1947, 357-358; Note to 86/9-10.

77/19. The prefix *py*- relating to illegitimate children in *GL* was a word for a female servant, female slaves frequently being taken as concubines. The word *pysun* (similarly *pydotir* and *pybarn*) thus originally meant ‘son of a slave woman’, but here it includes the illegitimate son of a free man and woman (cf. Holmbäck 1919, 228-231). The coming of Christianity brought about a differentiation between children born to married and unmarried parents, particularly after the Synod of Skäningen in 1248. Provincial laws other than *GL* imply that a child could only
inherit from its mother, if at all (cf. A VgL Äb 8, YVgL Äb 11-12; ÖgL Äb 4).

77/20. The adjective *apal* is used in two contexts in GL, here meaning ‘true-born’ and in Chapter 25 concerning land meaning ‘cultivated’ as opposed to ‘woodland’. In the present chapter there seem to be two senses: Gotlandic as opposed to non-Gotlandic and legitimate as opposed to illegitimate (77/24).

77/21-22. This provision presupposes that written genealogical tables were common in Gotland, although none survive (cf. SL IV, 269 note 43). They did not come into use elsewhere until later in the Middle Ages, although there are genealogical elements on some runic inscriptions, in diplomas and in literature, e.g. *Erikskrönikan* (ll. 202-231). It is worth noting that it was the female line of an illegitimate son that had to be Gotlandic for him to inherit. This presumably excluded both non-Gotlandic women and slaves (cf. Note to 77/19).

77/22. *pairi pripiu lutu.* Schlyter (CIG, 51 note 60) suggests *pan pripia lut* and Säve (GU, xxv; 15 note 6) the alternative *paira priggia lutu.* Wessén (SL IV, 269 note 45) rejects these and prefers Pipping’s reading, which involves minimum amendment (cf. Pipping 1904, 13).

77/25-78/1, 78/4-5. The responsibility taken by a father for the support of his illegitimate children by non-Gotlandic women, as well as Gotlandic, contrasts with mainland provincial laws in which they were the responsibility of their mother (cf. A VgL Äb 8, YVgL Äb 11-12; ÖgL Äb 4). The laws of Svealand distribute responsibility between the parents (cf. UL Äb 23 §2; 24 pr; HL Äb 14 §2).

78/3. The *fulkvapn* were battle weapons (or equipment) for the levy in defence of the province, as opposed to murder weapons, or weapons used by knights. In HL Rb 14 §2, the *folkvapen* are named as: sword or axe, iron helmet, shield, *brynia* or *musa* (chain mail helmet or hood), bow with three-dozen arrows. These last were
considered (at least potentially) to be murder weapons (cf. *SdmL* Mb 26 §3; *DL* Mb 19; *SL* II, *DL*, 45 notes 61 and 62). Sometimes a spear and club were included, although these are not mentioned in provincial laws and the axe was considered to be the most important weapon of the levy (see Grieg 1943b, 124; Hellsten 1943, 186). The shield was originally round and made from lime wood, but this later proved ineffective and was superseded (see Grieg 1943a, 69). The word *fulkvapn* occurs also in *SkL* 88 (*CISk* I 87), with respect to breaking and entering, and elsewhere in Danish and Swedish provincial laws. Cf. *GGD*, 69 note 7; *SL* IV, 269 note 48; *SL* IV, 72 note 15 and references.

The *falda* was the top covering of a bed, made of skins, but another skin might have been used under the sleeper to cover the straw (cf. Neogard’s collection, *Gautau-Minning*; *SL* IV, 270 note 49).

Mattress fillings were, for example, down, feathers, hair, hay, moss, seaweed, leaves, chaff, according to the social status of the family and what was available. Hay and straw were most common. Säve (*GU*, xxviii) describes beds as having first a straw mattress, then an under sheet (‘underkläde’), then a wool or homespun (‘vadmal’) blanket called the ‘lägita’ or ‘legta’ and lastly a sheet, but this conflicts with alternative suggestions. According to Bugge (1877-1878, 266-267) *legvita* was still current in nineteenth-century Gotland to designate a woollen blanket put on a bed between the under sheet and the top sheet. He thinks that the word derives from elements meaning ‘a white blanket for lying on’. The *sengaklepi* itself was the final blanket or bedcovering, sometimes the sleeper’s cloak. The *vengi* may have been a pillow for the bed, or else a *raipvengi* or saddle cushion.

From the context, *klepi* in this single instance means not ‘garments’, but ‘cloth’. It was fine woollen material (cf. English *(broad)cloth*) in contrast to native
homespun (Swedish *vadmål*), of which there is, curiously, no mention in *GL*, although the term appears in *ÖgL* Bb 9 pr and in *MELL* Jb 9.

78/4-5. The assumption that illegitimate daughters remained at home until they were eighteen years of age implies that this was the age of majority for women (as opposed to fifteen for men, 75/16). There is, however, no other support for this in *GL*. Daughters received an extra mark in coin and a cow instead of weapons, which suggests that the latter were worth at least a mark more than a cow.

78/7-8. The rights of illegitimate children had to be honoured in the presence of the parishioners and with their given witness (cf. *SL IV*, 270 note 51).

78/9. The expression *fallas vipr* meaning ‘be convicted of seduction’ is an extension of its usual sense ‘be found guilty’ (cf. Old West Norse *fallerask*, ‘prove false, fall (of a woman)’).

78/10. The compensation (*hogsl*) given here was four marks in coin (one mark of silver), half of the maximum, whereas eight marks in coin (two marks of silver) were payable to a Gotlandic woman (78/25). Cf. *högl*, *högen* in *tyGL* (*CIG*, 134, 1.24; 136, 1.17); Note to 77/1.

78/11-12. The difference in penalty applicable to intercourse that was not discovered (a fine, in effect, of one mark of silver) from that in which the couple were *innitakin*, ‘caught in the act’ (mutilation or a fine of three marks of silver) is striking. Both these fines were half of what would have been payable for a wholly Gotlandic woman. The mutilation here and in the next chapter, loss of a hand or foot, was not regarded as a mirroring or matching punishment (e.g. loss of the nose for seduction or adultery) nor a retaliatory one (e.g. burning alive for an arsonist) (cf. Brunner 1906-1928, II, 767-768; Hasselberg 1953, 235-242; *KL* s. v. *Speglande straff*). This provision is first in a series relating to sexual misconduct.
and, unusually, mixed relationships are mentioned before wholly Gotlandic ones (see *SL* IV, 270 note 54). As Wessen also points out, it provides a link between the provisions relating to inheritance and those relating to adultery and other sexual misdemeanours. This arrangement is typical of the organic structure of *GL*, with no strict division into sections and with an almost seamless transition from one subject to the next.

78/12-13. It is worth noting that the provisions were the same whether the father of an illegitimate daughter was Gotlandic and her mother non-Gotlandic, or vice-versa.

Chapter 20a: [Af manni innitaknum]

This new chapter in the *B*-text is not signalled in the *A*-text, although the chapter title appears in the table of contents. The complex provisions relating to sexual misconduct in this and the following chapter reflect a little of the gradually changing attitudes to marital fidelity. In older Germanic laws it was only the husband who was considered to be shamed by the behaviour of his wife, and not vice versa. The Christian view that both parties to a marriage were equally responsible was slowly introduced into Scandinavian law, although equality of treatment is not evident in *GL* or in Swedish provincial laws, and in *GL* no fines to the bishop or other church official are mentioned (cf. Brunner 1906-1928, II, 854-855; Wilda 1960, 821-822; Hemmer 1928, 241-342; Hasselberg 1953, 332-333).

78/15. The word *ainloypr*, ‘single’, can be compared with Old Swedish *enlöper* in *SkL* 219 (*CISk* I 208) and Old West Norse *einhleypr* (see *GGD*, 70 note 6). It does not appear to be attested in other Swedish provincial laws.

78/15-16. This is the only instance in *GL* in which loss of liberty, as opposed to life, status or money, is mentioned as a punishment. Stocks were used temporarily to hold a wrongdoer until he/she was redeemed by the family. It was only with the
development of towns that prisons came into being. Originally, it was the duty of
the injured party to keep a wrongdoer at his farm and conduct him to the assembly.
As the very act of detention and binding was a serious infringement of personal
rights, there were carefully constructed rules surrounding this procedure, and the
wrongdoer had to be caught in the act of committing a serious offence (cf. ÓgL Db
2 §1; ÓmL Mb 26 §5). On the other hand, if the injured partly let such a person
escape, they were themselves subject to fines (cf. Hasselberg 1953, 328-329 and
notes 5 and 6; Thomson 1972, 89-90; Note to 100/6-7).
78/16-17. The fine of six marks of silver with which an offender could redeem his
hand or foot was \( \frac{1}{4} \) of a man's wergild, but also the sum payable in compensation
for loss of a hand or foot (see 72/22-23). This sum was presumably paid to the
woman's family (as opposed to the hógsfl paid to her if she became pregnant).
78/20-21. The six men were to swear to the truth of the witness statement by the two
parishioners, that no word had been heard of the man's involvement in the
conception of the child before its birth. They were thus swearing as to the
truthfulness of the accused man himself (see SL IV, 270 note 60).
78/21-22. The accused man was entitled to obtain a six-man oath if he could obtain
two resident parishioners as witnesses. Jacobsen (GGD, 71 note 3) offers the
interpretation that the six men were to include the defendant and the two
parishioners, but Wessén's translation appears more likely.
78/23. Men of equal birth with the woman would in this instance presumably have
been of Gotlandic birth (see SL IV, 270 note 62).
78/24-25. If the man was unmarried as well as the woman, he might be expected to
marry her, but if not he had to pay her full compensation (eight marks in coin) as if
she were his widow.
79/1. The three marks referred to here are most probably three marks in coin, as silver is not specified (see *SL* IV, 271 note 64). This payment is strikingly low in comparison to the sums payable to Gotlandic or (illegitimate) half-Gotlandic women for a discovered seduction (six or three marks of silver respectively). It is possible that three marks of silver was intended, which would have been equal to the amount payable in respect of an illegitimate half-Gotlandic woman (78/11-12). The sum is, however, the same as that payable by a non-Gotlandic man in similar circumstances, again with no reference to silver or coin (cf. Note to 79/2-6, 6-9).

79/2. Schlyter’s punctuation, with a semicolon after *innitakin*, does not seem to be correct. The meaning appears to be that the non-Gotlandic woman must be a resident and not a camp-follower or a prostitute. Cf. *GGD*, 71 note 8; *SL* IV, 271 note 65.

79/2-6, 6-9. Compensation rules depended on the status of the woman in the case, and not on that of the man. If the woman were Gotlandic, her ‘consolation’ was eight marks in coin (two marks of silver), which was one twelfth of her wergild (twenty-four marks of silver). If she were non-Gotlandic, it was three marks in coin, which was just a little less than one twelfth of her wergild of forty marks in coin (see *SL* IV, 271 note 71).

79/4. Since the fine payable in all these cases depended on the status of the woman involved, and a Gotlandic woman is again under consideration here, one can infer from the expression *hogsλ atta markar* here that *fult hogsλ* (78/25) payable for undiscovered intercourse resulting in pregnancy was also eight marks in coin.

79/6-7 and endnote 448. Säve (*GU*, 16) and Pipping (*GLGS*, 34 note 4) prefer the reading of the *B*-text and replace *ogipt* with *ogiptr*, reading *han* as an error (or an alternative) for *hann* (nominative singular masculine). Both *tyGL* and *daGL* follow
the reading of the A-text and Schlyter (CIG, 54), Jacobsen (GGD, 72 note 2) and Wessén (SL IV, 271 note 69) consider that there is no need to make a change. The sense is quite clear without any amendment: if the woman was unmarried her father or, if he were dead, her brother was to take charge of the compensation and raise her child, but if she were married, then her husband presumably did so. Since the B-text has han for the masculine nominative pronoun and haan for the feminine nominative pronoun, it seems possible that an error occurred in the manuscript Bilefeld was using and that this led to his writing ogipter rather than ogipt. It is worth noting that in this case the (Gotlandic) woman was not expected to marry the (non-Gotlandic) man.

79/7 and endnote 449. The B-text reading ogutnischir is probably correct, although the circumstance of a Gotlandic man having a child with a non-Gotlandic woman is not previously referred to either. Both tyGL and daGL have this same reading.

Chapter 21: Gierir mandr hor

This chapter continues the theme of the end of the previous one, covering provisions relating to cases in which one or more of the parties was married, or in which seduction or violence were involved. It is significant that the chapter title refers specifically to the male partner, and that no punishment is suggested for an erring wife. This is in contrast to some mainland provincial laws. In AVgL Gb 5 she has to leave home in her everyday clothes and in YVgL Gb 5 and 6 she is shamed in her banishment from the house by having her clothes cut if caught in the act, but otherwise must leave in her everyday clothes. The woman also forfeited her morgongava and everything she received at her marriage. Adultery was usually the sole reason for divorce, although there is an exception in OgL Kkb 27, where incompatibility seems to have been permissible as a reason. In SdmL Gb 4 and
A woman catching her husband in adultery, in her marriage bed, could maim her rival or tear her clothes and in UL and VmL (Ab 6 §1) she has the right to kill her rival. There is no mention in GL of any similar punishments.

The Swedish provincial laws with the sole exception of GL have provisions forbidding sexual relations with kin closer than the fifth degree (cf. AVgL Gb 8, YVgL Kkb 52 and Urb 3, ÖgL Kkb 15 pr). There could be two reasons for this: GL totally lacks a section relating to church law, and/or the law was codified during the period preceding the Lateran Council of 1215, when the fourth degree limit was imposed, relaxing a previous limit of the sixth degree. This uncertainty could have led to the exclusion of any related statutes.

79/11. The first provision of this section refers, by a process of elimination, to a married man committing adultery with an unmarried woman, or an unmarried man with a married woman but not caught in the act by her husband. The total amount payable was only nine marks in coin, of which six went to the family of the woman or her husband.

79/12. Despite Jacobsen’s doubts (GGD, 72 note 3), it is clear that yfirhor means ‘double adultery’ and this is confirmed by the reading in tyGL, which is zwevald obirspil also das sy beide echte lute synt. This concept came into being with the introduction of Christianity and more equal responsibility for faithfulness between partners (cf. UL Äb 6). The existence of married priests is implied by the phrase ledir ella olerdir in the B-text, which all editors consider should be applied as an emendation to the A-text, by comparison with tyGL and daGL and with 79/15 (cf. CIG, 54; GLGS, 34 note 6; SL IV, 271 note 2). The wronged party, malsaigandi, was always the husband of the woman in the case. If the woman’s seducer was a married man, rather than a single man, the husband received double the
compensation and the community received four times that amount. Whether different recipients were intended by the use of the word *land* as opposed to *ping* is unclear. The punishment for discovered adultery was different (see Note to 79/14-16).

79/13-14. The compensation paid by a married man to an unmarried woman (in addition to that to her family) seems to have been the same as if an unmarried man fathered a child with an unmarried woman, that is *hogsli*, presumably dependent upon the status of the woman (eight marks or three marks). This is the sole instance of the word *hogsli* used in a circumstance in which no child is involved, and perhaps compensated for the man’s inability to marry his victim. If the situation were reversed, nothing was payable to the woman, who was considered to be the miscreant in this case, just to her husband (79/11). This is one of the few instances of gender inequality in respect of compensation in *GL*.

79/14-16. No differentiation between the treatment of a married and an unmarried man is made for discovered adultery with a married woman. Community fines do not seem to have been paid in such cases. The right of a cuckolded husband, who catches his wife in the act of adultery, to kill the male offender occurs in several mainland provincial laws (cf. *ÖgL* Eb 26, Vb 30). In earlier laws, it was not necessary for the pair to be caught in the act (cf. *ÄVgL* Md 11; *YVgL* Db 22). In the provincial laws of Svealand, but not of Götaland, the woman could also be killed, but suitable proof had to be taken to the assembly (cf. *VmL* Åb 6). Wessén (*SL IV*, 271 note 5) thinks that the option of the wrongdoer redeeming his life for forty marks (the wergild of a non-Gotlander) was borrowed from mainland laws and the sum involved seems to support this suggestion. The clause giving the husband the right to choose between the punishments occurs only in the *A*-text, but this might
be presumed to have been the case.

The death sentence is only mentioned in *GL* in connection with five specific types of action: (1) for discovered adultery with a married woman as detailed here; (2) for abducting an unmarried girl without her parent or guardian’s consent (79/19, 21); (3) for rape (80/10, 17); (4) for theft of property over a certain value, or second theft (90/13); (5) for misappropriation or abuse of land of a certain value (95/13). The punishment is unconditional only in cases (4) and (5), otherwise the wronged party can choose compensation instead. Loss of one’s neck, presumably decapitation, was the punishment for cases (2) and (5), and a shameful death by hanging is specifically mentioned for theft, but not otherwise. Medieval German laws showed a gradual increase in use of the death penalty from about the middle of the thirteenth century, together with a greater variety of means of execution. Swedish provincial laws as well as *VStL* show a similar trend (see Hasselberg 1953, 226-231). *GL* thus exhibits an older pattern of punishment, although a move from direct revenge for crimes of honour is reflected in its provisions (cf. Note to 65/7). A number of theories have been proposed concerning the relationship between the death penalty and sacrifice. Mogk (1909, 642-643) concludes that Germanic sacrifice was a cult act, not a punishment, while Amira (1922, 57-64) argues that there was a link between sacrifice and the death penalty, supported by the observation that offences punishable by death were sacrilegious or shameful in some way. Wennström (1936, 505-507) and Rehfeldt (1942, 164-166) reject this suggestion and Ström (1942, 277-278) thinks that superstitions that surrounded the act of killing, even judicial killing, led to the development of rituals that made such a death appear to be voluntary and self-inflicted. Strömbäck (1942, 67-69), after a study of new evidence, thinks that there might have been a connection in some
cases between sacrifice and punishment. Cf. Hemmer 1928, 55-57; 1960, 188-189 and Notes to 79/18-20; 80/8-11, 16-18; 90/13; 95/12-13.

79/16-18. The implication in this and the following provision is that the agreement of father and close kin was necessary for a daughter to enter into a lawful marriage. Luring a girl into betrothal, although not as serious as abduction and forced marriage, was regarded as a crime. Wessén (SL IV, 271 note 6) thinks that this provision was borrowed from ÖgL Gb 6 §1, where the fine was 13½ marks to the händ. The word festa in the sense of ‘betrothal’ is not used elsewhere in GL, nor are there any specific provisions relating to procedures for entering into marriage. This is in marked contrast to the provincial laws of the mainland, where there are detailed provisions concerning payments to be made by the various parties. Hildebrand (1879-1953, I, 90-100) summarises these procedures and implications of marriage for the extended family (dynasty, clan or tribe) in Swedish provincial laws.

79/18-20. Abduction, without the finesse of seduction, was usually regarded as a serious crime, not a normal precursor to marriage and the punishment was frequently outlawry (cf. UL, VmL, and HL Äb 1 pr). The penalty imposed in GL for abduction of a Gotlandic woman was either the life or the wergild of the offender, i.e. twenty-four marks of silver (three marks of gold) if the man were Gotlandic, otherwise ten marks of silver. The principle was usually, however, that the wergild of the victim applied, as in the following clause: if the woman were non-Gotlandic, the sum was ten marks of silver (her wergild), whatever the status of the man (cf. Delin 1926, 268 note 1). The sum payable to the general assembly from each fine was twelve marks, presumably in coin, although this is not explicit (cf. Delin 1926, 269 note 2). The abduction of a Gotlandic woman by a Gotlandic man was thus
compensated much more generously than the three other possible cases. For other instances of compensation to some extent depending upon the status of the perpetrator of the crime, see Chapters 22 (80/16-18), 38 (90/12-13), 51 (93/6) and 59 (94/15). Whether the general assembly received anything if the family of the woman chose the abductor’s life is not recorded. The form of execution was probably beheading, but GL does not state this (cf. Note to 79/14-16).

79/19. The word ran generally meant ‘(open) robbery’, less despicable than piaufnadpr, ‘(secret) theft’, in Swedish provincial laws, but this meaning does not occur in GL. The implication here is the same as in ÖgL Äb 8, where taka kunu rane means ‘force a woman to sexual intercourse’, although other forms of violence, vald, are included in the crime.

Chapter 22: [Af quinna skam]

This chapter has no rubric in the A-text, although it appears in the table of contents. Most editors number it Chapter 22, although Jacobsen (GGD, 73) numbers it 21a and subsequent chapters 22 onwards. The content of this and the following chapter should be compared with provisions in ÖgL Eb 3 pr; UL Kgb 6; VStL I 43-47.

80/2. The noun symni occurs only in GL. It is related to the verb sufa, ‘sleep’, but here means specifically forced intercourse (cf. GU, xxix; GGD, 73 note 5). GL is the earliest of the Swedish provincial laws to recognize rape as a separate crime before the instigation of edsöreslag; cf. YVgL Ub 1 §7, which is not found in AVgL Ub and SL IV, 272 note 10. In mainland provincial laws, the expression taka kunu mæp vald implies not only rape but also the forcible abduction of a woman, particularly one about to be married to another (cf. 79/18-19; AVgL Gb 3; YVgL Gb 2). GulL 199 (NGL 1, 71) specifies an even higher fine for rape (forty marks) or outlawry plus a double wergild to the woman.
80/2-3. It was important that a woman proclaim her attack publicly at the first possible opportunity, if she was to receive compensation. A shout was a common legal device, often associated with counteracting witchcraft (cf. ÖgL Eb 3 pr; UL Kgb 6; SdmL Kgb 6 pr; VmL Kgb 3 pr; HL Kgb 3 pr; MELL Eb 14 pr; MES\textit{S}L Eb 11 pr; \textit{Eriks SjL} Text 1 II §20; Holm\text{"a}ck 1920, 13-14). The use of a shout with legal effect is also evident in Chapter 36 (89/15) in connection with an abandoned boat and, as a means of witness, is considered by some researchers to be a feature of early Germanic law. Hammerich (1941, 70-79) postulates, however, that it might have come about as a result of church law in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, referring to Deut. 22 vv. 25-27, although he considers Saxon law a more likely influence (see Westman 1944, 52-56).

80/6, 12. Jacobsen (\textit{GGD}, 74 note 1) remarks that the word \textit{by} occurs only here in \textit{GL} and that it means a farmstead or other inhabited place rather than a town. \textit{Byamapr} (96/1, 101/5), on the other hand, means ‘town-dweller’, more specifically an inhabitant of Visby.

80/5-7. If there was no witness to her shouting, the victim had to declare her attack before witnesses and name the attacker at the nearest habitation within twenty-four hours. She could then use the inhabitants as witnesses to the truth of her claim (that she had declared the attack). If she delayed, it was advisable to keep silent as the accused then had the right of defence.

80/8-11. The penalty for rape was half of her wergild for a free woman (the amount depending on whether she was Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic) and one sixth of her wergild for a slave. In each case, this was the same amount as would have been payable for killing a woman within her circle of safety. If the woman was married, the man could be killed (presumably by her husband, although this is not explicit);
alternatively he could pay her full wergild. Slave women are excluded from this provision since they could not be lawfully married. The wording seems to imply that the offender could offer to pay compensation in return for his life, whereas in the previous chapter it is the family of the victim who had the choice (cf. Delin 1926, 268 note 1).

The words ofrels (kuna) and ambatn are each used twice to describe a slave woman, but, although frelsr is used a number of times, ofrels is never used of a man as an alternative to prel.

80/12 and endnote 456. This is one of a number of instances in which the use by the B-text of the feminine nominative pronoun haan assists in reading the A-text; others are at 69/19, 71/8, 76/19-20, 81/5 (cf. Pipping 1904, 15). See also Note to 76/15.

80/16-18. This clause is ambiguous in that it is not clear whose wergild was involved. Jacobsen (GGD, 75 note 2) assumes that it was the woman’s wergild, whereas Wessen (SL IV, 272 note 9 to Chapter 22) assumes that it was the slave’s. The masculine form of the personal pronoun is used in both the A-text and the B-text. If it were the slave’s wergild, the amount would be 4½ marks in coin, which would seem to be derisory. Earlier in the chapter the compensation relates to the status of the woman. One can compare this provision to another in which a slave’s master made payment: three öre for a theft of up to an öre, three times the value plus the property for greater amounts (99/23-24). In this case, however, the owner was not responsible for more than the value of his slave (100/12). This value seems to have been set at three marks of silver or twelve marks in coin (cf. 70/5-6, 6-8). In Chapters 21 (79/18-22), 38 (90/12-13), 51 (93/6) and 59 (94/15), penalties also seem to be related to the status of the wrongdoer. Wessén compares these
provisions with those in ÖgL Eb 3 pr and UL Kgb 6, which represent edsöreslag.

Another point of interest is that no mention is made of rape by a slave of a non-Gotlandic woman. This would appear to be an error of omission.

Chapter 23: Um quinna gripi

80/20. A tuppr (Old West Norse toppr m.) was a pointed linen hood worn by married women and a huifr was possibly a headscarf, similar to a wimple, worn underneath this. Schlyter (CISG, 297-298 s. v. Hviver) does not relate this latter word to Old West Norse kveif f., from Old French coif(f)e). He suggests instead a derivation from an Old Swedish verb hviva, ‘weave’. (cf. GGD, 75 note 4; Falk 1919, 93-98; SL IV, 272 note 2 to Chapter 23; Hellquist 1980 s. v. veva³).

80/21-22. In an agreement dated circa 1199 between the governor of Novgorod and the Germans and Gotlanders trading there (STFM I, 106-107), a provision relating to a similar incident set a fine of six old grivna for the insult. The value of a grivna is not clear as there were several kinds (as there were of mark) (cf. MRL, 24-25; SL IV, 272 note 3 to Chapter 23).

80/22. Pipping (GLGS, 36 note 5) accepts Säve’s correction to vitorp. Schlyter (CIG, 306), however, thinks that the A-text reading witorpr um stands here for vitorp þar um.

The clause excepting slave women from compensation for anything but injury, which applies to the whole chapter, is consistent with the statement in Chapter 19 (75/11-12) that slaves can neither insult nor be insulted.

80/23-24. The alliterative phrase nast eþa nestli refers to the two parts of a clasp that fastened a woman’s clothing, the hook and the eye respectively (cf. GGD, 75 note 5; SL IV, 272 note 5 to Chapter 23). In Laxdaela saga, Chapter 75, nist f. is taken to be the fastening of Halldórr’s gown, whereas nist n. was a pin or brooch (cf. ÍF V,
80/24-25. The hook and eye or clasp can hardly be the hann referred to, this must be the cloak to which they are the fastenings.

80/25-81/1. Reference to the maximum fine must be to the maximum fine in this chapter, that is, two marks in coin. The laces presumably fastened a woman’s bodice. The provision that everything must be returned to the woman refers to all the previously mentioned items (see SL IV, 272-273 notes 7 and 8).

81/1-10. The provisions in this part of the chapter fall into two sets. The first set relates to manhandling of a generally boorish nature, with fines rising from eight ortugar (½ mark) to two marks. The second set relates to approaches of a more sexual nature, with fines falling from ½ mark to nothing depending on the intimacy of the area involved, under the assumption that a woman should have registered her protest at the first opportunity, if she was to receive maximum compensation. When a man committed what would today be termed an indecent assault, a woman was held to have agreed to it by implication (see GGD, 76 note 3).

81/4. loyndir. Schlyter (CIG, 58) in accepting the reading lyndir as correct has not observed the later o inserted above the line in the A-text. Pipping (1901a, 88-99) takes issue with Schlyter’s identification of lyndir with Old West Norse leyn d f., ‘pubic area’, although he is supported by Rydqvist (1850-1883, II, 89, III, 122). Noreen (1877, 24, §65.2 and note 1; 1894, 100) thinks that lyndir (if correct) would be cognate with Old West Norse lundir f. pl., ‘the flesh along the back’, rather than lendir f. pl., ‘loins’. This suggestion has been supported by Tamm (1877, 27, 46) and Söderberg (1879, 10). Pipping argues that the more likely explanation is that lyndir is a (corrected) scribal error for loyndir, but with the sense given by Schlyter. The reading of the B-text, tyGL and daGL is loyndir and
these must be given credence, since all three are considered to originate from versions of GL older than that from which the A-text was drawn.

81/5. The verb *kera*, ‘plead (a case)’ is common in early Danish law, but has later been replaced both there and in Swedish law by *klaga*, from German *klagen* (cf. GGD, 35 note 4).

81/8. Bugge (1877-1878, 262-263) rejects the translation in *tyGL* and by Schlyter (CIG, 58) of *handar mair* as ‘en hand länge upp’, and proposes instead that the whole expression means ‘videre, længere bort’, taking *handar* to be related to Old West Norse *handan*, meaning ‘on the other side’ and *handar mair* as a comparative (cf. Noreen 1894, 138; OSMS I, 463 s. v. *handarmer*; Rydqvist 1850-1883, II, 443, 450).

81/9 and endnote 470. The form *haitir* is proposed by Säve and is supported by four occurrences in *Guta saga* (cf. GU, 60-61; GLGS, 63 lines 5 and 7, 65 line 21, 68 line 23).

The lack of any compensation for indecent (*ohaipverpr*) assault, despite the fact that it is called a ‘fool’s grip’, is puzzling. The sequence of fines clearly reflects the notion that a woman should protest at the first opportunity, but in that case one might query why the most invasive assault is described in the way it is.

81/11. The alliterative phrase *frels ok fripvettr* occurs in Swedish provincial laws (e.g. UL Rb 9 §4, SdmL Rb 9 §4, VmL Rb 18 §3). The adjective *frels* and the noun *frelsi*n., ‘freedom’, derive from *fri hals*, someone who did not have the neck ring that denoted a slave. The person concerned might be a freed slave. On the other hand, *fripvetr* meant free-born (cf. ÖgL Åb 24: *fræls ok friþættta*), or ‘known to be free’ (cf. GGD, 76 note 4; SL IV, 273 note 10). The expression in HL Kkb 2 pr in relation to the tax-free state of a church is *fult och frælst force allom wtskyldom*. Cf.
Chapter 24: Af bryllaupum

Only the first section of this chapter strictly refers to weddings, as can be seen from chapter divisions in the B-text and the table of contents in the A-text. The remainder of the chapter (the final one in the section covering family law) contains a miscellany of provisions, a number relating to inheritance. It is possible that at least some of these were later additions.

The concept behind the wedding ceremony described was that a bride was taken from her family home to her new home. There is little detail relating to marriage laws and customs in GL, but there must have been traditions and accepted forms of ceremony (cf. Spegel, 53). Chapter 21 (79/16-18) implies that a woman is only lawfully married if she has the agreement of her father and family, and Chapter 20 (75/22) that a father might arrange a marriage for his son. Only if he had his father’s agreement could he have a share in his inheritance to put into the marriage (87/5-6). Reading the banns was instituted as a necessary precursor to a lawful marriage in 1215 by Pope Innocent III at the fourth Lateran council and imposed in Sweden on 5/4/1216 (cf. DS I, 182-183, no. 156; UL Kkb 15 §2). Banns and church weddings took time to become established, however, and it was only in 1562 following the Tridentine Conference that church weddings became obligatory for a lawful marriage. In Sweden the church law of 1686 was only instituted as a civil obligation in 1734, and in England only with an Act of Parliament in 1753. Thus the omission of any mention of banns does not provide evidence of an early date for GL.

81/13. In contradiction to Schlyter (CIG, 302), Bugge (1877-1878, 272-273) argues that the second element of vagnikil is related to the verb aka, giving instances of
the appearance of an \( l \) in such derivatives and of similar vowel changes. The noun thus refers to ‘wagon-travellers’ who followed the procession of the dowry. This was done with certain ceremony, as elsewhere in northern Europe (see GGD, 77 note 1). Picture stones from Alskog and Grötlingbo (ninth century) and Levide and Ekeby (eleventh century) show the earliest pictorial evidence of a wagon being used to transport people.

\textit{huarum}. The pronoun \textit{huar}, as has been pointed out by Säve (GU, viii), means ‘each of two’. It is rarely confused in older sections of \textit{GL} with \textit{huer}, meaning ‘each of three or more’, although this confusion occurs in later sections of the text. The implication is thus that only two wagons were permitted, with two travellers on each. The \textit{B}-text, however, has \textit{hwariom}, the dative singular of \textit{hwar}, which is the \textit{B}-text form of \textit{huer}. Säve emends to \textit{hwerium} here (cf. Pipping 1904, 5; \textit{SL} IV, 274 note 3).

81/13-14. The custom of having a bride accompanied by male members of her family on horseback in a ‘mågfård’ or ‘magfård’ was an enduring one and is noted by Spegel (53), who interprets the word as derived from \textit{makafård}, and by Neogard in his collection \textit{Gautau-Minning} (cf. Amira 1882-1895, I, 536-539; \textit{GO} s. v. måg, mage).

81/15. Weddings originally took place outside the church and were followed by a nuptial mass, \textit{brupmessa}, in the church. This custom was later forbidden and a church ceremony had to be the centre of the proceedings. Wedding rings, candles, bridal canopies and eventually the bridal crown were all later (re-)introductions, although a \textit{pell} is mentioned at 95/22 and was abolished as part of the sumptuary laws.

Bugge (1877-1878, 260) suggests that the second element of \textit{bryttuga} relates to a
verb meaning to guide or lead. The bride’s representative at a wedding was called
the *brudefører* in West Norse sources. This person was thus the ‘leader of the
bride’. The person who usually dressed and decorated a bride for weddings in
Gotland was the priest’s wife and a bride was only dressed in her bridal clothes
when she arrived at the place where she was to be married (see *SL IV*, 274 note 5).
No other helpers of the bride are mentioned, nor any formal gifts to the bridal
couple. There is no equivalent either of a gift to the sponsor of the bride by the
bridegroom, although it occurs in mainland provincial laws (e.g. *AVgL* and *YVgL*
Gb 2).

81/16-17. Although wedding guests were henceforth forbidden to bring food for the
feast, they were invited to bring voluntary gifts for the couple. These gifts are
unusual in that they seem to have been given without obligation. The custom of
guests bringing an edible contribution (*føring*) to a feast or party is still current in
Gotland and other parts of Scandinavia (cf. Amira 1882-1895, 1, 524-525, 533-534;
*GGD*, 77 note 7).

81/18. The *drotsieti* was the host, the one who led each of the guests to his seat, and
the *gierhamaþr* was the ruler of the feast (cf. John 2 v. 9) who organized events
and arrangements (cf. *GGD*, 78 note 1; *SL IV*, 274 note 8). It appears from *AVgL*
Gb 9 §1 and *YVgL* Gb 9 §2 that one of the duties of the latter was to give the
speech that finalized the marriage. He was called the *kunemädre* in Gotlandic
dialect (Spegel, 53). The word *gierhamaþr* was also used of a spokesman for the
witnesses to other legal proceedings, such as a land purchase and pledging. Later
his function was taken over by the church, just as in the case of land purchase it
was taken over by the civil authorities.

81/19. Säve (*GU*, xli) emends *skenkias* to *skienkias*.
Wessén points out that the high level of fine for breaking the provisions regarding weddings and the fact that payment was not to the parish, but to the province, indicate that this was a later insertion. The drinking of toasts in Sweden was usually associated with guilds and the practice of drinking a toast to the Virgin Mary as the final toast of the wedding feast is unique to GL, although toasts to St Catherine are mentioned in other sources (cf. Stadga, 150; Amira 1882-1895, I, 539; SL IV, 274 note 9).

The word *vaizla means ‘feast’ in this context. It is otherwise unknown in East Norse. In Old West Norse it means ‘payment in kind’, Gutnish gingerp (see GGD, 78 note 3).

Chapter 24a: [Af erfisgierþum]

This new chapter in the B-text is not signalled in the A-text, although the chapter title appears in the table of contents.

The prohibition on funeral feasts might have been to avoid any suspicion of ancestor worship. A suggested donation of clothing and footwear to the innansoknafulk, presumably the poor of the parish, as an alternative would seem to indicate that this was not simply another element of the sumptuary laws.

Lis Jacobsen (GGD, 79 note 1) comments that klepi ok skybi is 'et af de sjældne Exempler paa forsetligt Enderim i Lovsprog’. The noun skybi appears only here and Schlyter suggests it was coined for the sake of a rhyme (see CISG s. v. Skybi).

The B-text has at this point the first nine sentences of Chapter 65, the third of the additional chapters in the A-text.

The coupling of skarlap and bladragning suggests that both words relate to hangings and Jacobsen (GGD, 79 note 3) assumes that both refer to funeral hangings. Old West Norse blår was the colour of mourning, although it seems to
have been used of both ‘black’ and ‘blue’. The latter often referred to fine cloth, since blue was an expensive dye. Falk (1919, 23) suggests that the word is related to Old English *bléo*, ‘colour; dye’, although a connection is usually made with Old English *blaew* (cf. C-V s. v. *blár*). In *Rígsþula*, verse 29, *sídar sílaðor, serc bláfán*, the fine shift must be blue (cf. *Edda*, 284). In *Gull* 223 (*NGL* 1, 75), however, *blaðféldr*, listed as legal tender, must be black sheepskin, not blue (cf. Falk 1919, 23-24, 40).

The practice of decorating the walls for a funeral was common in Scandinavia, but such decorations were also used at weddings, when black would have been inappropriate. It is possible, therefore, that the *skarlap* cloth in fact referred to hangings in red or some other festive colour used at weddings (cf. *GGD*, 79 note 4; *SL* IV, 274 note 13). The cloth called *skarlap* was known from the beginning of the thirteenth century in Scandinavia as a costly imported woollen cloth, which was of various colours: brown, blue, white, although chiefly red. The word derived from Persian *sakirlát*, ‘woollen cloth dyed with carmine’. *Skarlap* was a smooth cloth, of a fine and delicate texture, produced by a complex process. That imported from Lincoln was particularly prized, although it was also produced in Germany and the Netherlands. It was also known as *skarlakan* or *skarlagen*, a corruption of *skarlap* with the element *-lakan* or *-lagen*. Geirmundr, Kjartan and Bolli Bollason in *Laxdœla saga*, Chapters 29, 40 and 63, all wear a *skarlatskýrtil rauðr*, and Bolli’s cloak in Chapter 77 is a *skarlatskápa rauð*, all of which imply that *skarlats-* does not describe the colour but the fabric (cf. Falk 1919, 54-55; *ÍF* V, 79, 118, 187, 225). The prohibition of this cloth and other hangings in *GL* might stem from the time of the conflict between the town of Visby and the countryside (1288) and be symptomatic of the economic problems that this tension caused. These provisions
appear to be later additions, since the $A$- and $B$-texts differ in their disposition of material just here, and the provisions at 95/21-22 are certainly later.

82/4. Saddles were not used by farmers during the period of $GL$. A thick blanket was used for riding, augmented by cushions for a pack animal. The significance of this provision, which is marked as a new sub-section in the $B$-text, but without a rubric, is unclear. Cutting saddlecloths and cushions into parts (whether more or less than four) seems to make little sense and no editor offers any explanation (cf. $GGD$, 79 note 6; $SL$ IV, 275 note 16).

Chapter 24d: [Af gutniskum kunum]

This new chapter in the $B$-text is not signalled in the $A$-text, although the chapter title appears in the table of contents.

82/6. This provision clearly relates to a situation in which the father of a woman has died. If her brother or brothers were not willing to arrange a marriage and a dowry for her, they were obliged to commit one eighth of their land to her. She was to manage the property with advice from her kinsmen and other parishioners. Wessén ($SL$ IV, 275 note 18) compares this to provisions in $JL$ I §8 and $ÖgL$ Gb 4 and to those in Chapter 20 (76/10-12). In the latter an unmarried sister of deceased brothers, without male heirs, inherited one eighth of the property once debts were paid and before any further distribution.

Säve ($GU$, 19) prefers the $B$-text reading sempt sik. The reading in the $B$-text varies between sempt and semt. The $A$-text has sempt only once (cf. 87/20, 93/9, 93/12, 94/13, 94/24, and 95/17).

82/9. Since this provision occurs in all extant manuscripts, the redactions lying behind these texts, including the $A$-text, would appear to have a date no earlier than 1260 (cf. Introduction, pp. 21, 43-44). The beginning of this paragraph is marked in the
Chapter 24f (64): Af farvegum manz

82/12 and endnote 494. This chapter was omitted from its proper place by the scribe of the A-text (or possibly by the scribe of his original) and inserted between the last two of the later chapters (63 and 65 in the present edition) (cf. CIG, 61 note 56; GLGS, 38 note 6). It appears preceding the chapter concerning disputes about woodland in the table of contents in the B-text and in tyGL, but is absent from daGL. All previous editors leave this chapter at the end, whereas Wesson in his translation places it where it belongs. This latter arrangement has been adopted (cf. SL IV, 226, 275 note 1).

82/13-16. A farvegr seems to have been a public right of way across privately owned land that was wide enough for wheeled vehicles.

The word ta means a road or path of any width (see GGD, 82 note 9). A fence bordering a road was thus a tagarpr. If a landowner had no property bordering a road (tafastr), he had the right to cross the land of a neighbour, if that bordered a road (ipin), to gain access to that road. As Wesson (SL IV, 275 note 4) remarks, this is an interesting provision, in that it seems specifically to exclude general access to a neighbour’s property other than in this particular circumstance. This provision runs counter to current Swedish right of access (allemansrätt), which applies to most land, provided that damage cannot result and that private land around a house (e.g. the garden) is not encroached upon. The reason lying behind this stricture in GL could be that farming was intensive and that farmers did not wish too much of their land to be lost to unnecessary footpaths of convenience.

82/14. Schlyter (CIG, 91) translates varst as jord, ‘ground, land’, but Säve (GU, xxix-xxx) thinks that the primary sense relates to an enclosed or fenced-in area, perhaps
from a root *var*, from which Swedish *värn*, ‘defence’ and *värja*, ‘defend’ are derived. The Gotlandic dialect word *vast* has this sense and Säve cites several examples of loss or assimilation of *r* between a short vowel and two consonants.

82/16. The *talaut* was grazing land, outside the farm boundaries, and situated alongside a path or road. It might have some relationship to Old West Norse *takmark*: a boundary or dividing line for (1) private land; (2) land surrounding a church or (3) common land, or alternatively land enclosed by such a boundary. This latter is recorded only once in Swedish provincial laws (cf. *VgL* III 79).

The Gotlandic dialect word *kväiar* means a narrow path, road or track between two boundary fences, often leading to a single farm or property (cf. *GO* s. v. *kväiar*).

The singular form of this word, found in the Gotlandic place-name *Lambskvie*, a farm in Kräklingbo parish, and Old West Norse *kvi*, ‘sheep pen’ appears to have had an independent meaning.

82/17. Fifteen paces (circa fourteen metres) seems a generous width for a ‘narrow path’, but presumably this would have been necessary for the movement of sheep, cattle and timber. Spanish *cañadas reales* were normally 64 metres (70 yards) in width, but these were intended for extremely large numbers of sheep, travelling vast distances, a practice that goes back 8,000 years (see *Daily Telegraph*, 20 November 2003, p. 19). The provision could also be regarded as an active discouragement from fencing in land bordering a right of way. The width of a similar path between two boundary fences, together with a means of calculating it, is specified in *GulL* 90 (*NGL* 1, 43-44) as about 2.75 metres. In *ÄVgL* Jb 12 it is seven ells, that is about 3.85 metres. Both of these are narrower than the width specified in *GL*. It is possible, however, that they were not intended for the movement of stock, but merely for access by foot or on horseback.
82/18. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 112 note 4) interprets *hagi* as ‘indhegnet Græsgang’, but points out that etymologically it was simply an enclosed place.

The *lîp*, ‘gap’, that had to be made would have been closed by an easily manipulated slip-rail (cf. *SL IV*, 275 note 7).

82/19 and endnote 501. Although the *B*-text reading *lad* could be a straightforward scribal error for *laga*, ‘lawful’, Säve (*GU*, xxxi-xxxii) offers an alternative explanation. He suggests that the writer intended *lap-farvegr*, a track to or over a *lap* or *lapr*. Säve takes this latter to be related to Old West Norse *låð* n., ‘grassland, grazing land’ or simply ‘land’. The meaning of *lap-farvegr* could therefore be ‘track through the land’. Since all tracks have to go through some sort of land, a more circumscribed sense: ‘track to grazing land’ perhaps, would seem to be a more likely alternative. The difference between this provision and the immediately preceding one is subtle and not entirely clear. Both relate to fencing placed across another’s right of way and the provision of a gap for access, but in one case an enclosure is mentioned and in the other simply a fence. It is probable, however, that the second provision simply clarifies the responsibilities: the owner of a fence for the provision of a gap, but the owner of a right of way for its security (cf. Note to 83/21).

82/19-20. The owner/user of a right of way was responsible for ensuring that the gap was properly closed in order to shut out stray animals (cf. *Gull* 83 (*NGL* 1, 41)).

Chapter 25: Af skoga brigslum

In general, those with a share in common (*oskiptr*) (wood)land could cut down wood from non-fruit bearing trees irrespective of the size of their holding. Swedish provincial laws have similar provisions in that if someone became dissatisfied with the behaviour of others, they could demand that the land be divided (cf. *YVgL* Fnb
82/22. The form *liksvitni is preferable to *ligsvitni, since it occurs five lines later in the A-text, and in the B-text. The precise sense of the word is disputed, but it clearly refers to evidence equivalent to the evidence of kin provided in cases involving cultivated land as opposed to woodland. Schlyter’s suggestion that it was the evidence of neighbours seems not unreasonable, but he admits that he does not know what the element *lik- means here (cf. CIG, 276; GGD, 80 note 3). The word *ortarvitni is immediately explained in the text as a ‘witness as to work done’, but the only deduction that one can make about *liksvitni is that it involves the testimony of certain persons (cf. SL IV, 276 note 1). Hald (1975, 55-56) suggests an original form *liz-, genitive of *liþ, ‘evidence from a group of people, neighbours’, and that this provides a parallel to the evidence of kin in the following provision.

82/23-24. Three types of forestry crop are mentioned here: *viþr (firewood), *tropur (fencing wood) and *quistir (branches). These are translated by Wessen as ‘ved’, ‘gårdsle’ and ‘grenar’ and are equivalent to the three types of wood listed at 85/7 (viþ manz eþa garz virki eþa timbr).

82/24. Lidén (1892, 94) suggests that Old West Norse *há could mean ‘after grass, grass left over’. If this were the derivation of the first element of *hafall, the whole could mean ‘time of the cutting of the grass left over’, i.e. ‘haymaking time, autumn’, a sense that fits the context. On the meaning of *hafal(l) in relation to the Swedish dialect word *hobal, cf. Otto von Friesen 1902, 227-228. He draws the conclusion that the two are not related, especially if *hafal(l) means ‘autumn’. The B-text has *haff fallar.

82/24-25. Wessen (SL IV, 276 note 2) observes that tyGL offers a translation that is a
misunderstanding of this sentence.

83/2. A translation of *huargum* as ‘either party’ is derived from Wessén’s translation ‘någondera’ (see *SL IV, 276 note 3*). Schlyter’s translation (*CIG, 61*) is ‘aldrig’, but Pipping (1904, 6) takes *huargum* as the dative singular masculine of *huargi*, ‘one or other of two’. Wessén also points out that the expression *An af paim sum mest a* could not refer to the parties in the dispute, but must refer to the one amongst the witnesses who was the greatest landowner. If this witness did not wish to swear, then his evidence was not valid for either of the disputing parties.

83/3. The form *bierint* is compared by Bugge (1878, 57, 147; 1888, 61) to similar forms on runic inscriptions. He considers it to be a variant form of *bierin* and bases this on a reading of the Rök stone where he takes *satint* to be either an error or a similar variant. An alternative view of the inscription is offered by Kock (1898, 247-248), who considers Bugge’s reading of the Rök stone to be incorrect. He suggests that the *t* is part of a preposition *int*, ‘under’, which re-uses the final *in* of *satin*. Noreen (1904, §335 note 3), however, rejects his argument as unacceptable and Rydqvist (1850-1883, II, 616 note 1, IV, 440) remarks that the final *t* here and at 89/6 could be errors.

83/3-4. Jacobsen (*GGD, 81 note 3*) interprets *Brigpr pan sum kringum a* as referring to a situation in which one of the neighbours was involved in the dispute; he would then not have been permitted to give evidence. She infers from this that the clause cannot refer to disputes about cultivated land, since ‘neighbour’ witnesses were not required in such cases. It seems simpler to assume that one of the neighbours asked to provide evidence of work on cultivated land disputed that work had been done.

The next nearest neighbour would then have been approached for his support.

83/6-9. This entire provision is obscure, but Holmbäck (1920, 18-19 and note 4)
offers the following explanation. He firstly assumes that when there was a dispute of this type, it was between settlements, in relation to common woodland or other uncultivated land, rather than between individual landowners. He considers that the latter would have been such a rare occurrence that it would not have been provided for in GL. He further suggests that if, at the point where the two settlements abutted the disputed woodland, their land was of the same type then they would have divided the unclaimed land equally. If one settlement had cultivated land up to the disputed area and the other uncultivated, then the latter took one third of the unclaimed land and the former the remainder, since it would not presumably have exercised all its right to available woodland. Holmback also assumes that the provisions for the settlement of disputes in the first section of this chapter also refer to that between residents in different settlements.

83/6. The words *ok skogr ok myr, pa takin apal iorp tua luti* were evidently omitted by the scribe because consecutive lines in his original began with *oc scogr*. The phrase has been added in the margin, according to Schlyter by a sixteenth-century hand. Säve (GU, 19) emends *luti* to *lutu*, but cf. Pipping 1904, 14.

83/7. The B-text reading *daufi iord* is an acceptable alternative, since the -*i* ending in the adjective *daufi* is usual in the dative singular, and other nouns of feminine declension (e.g. *brup*, *gierp*, *naup*, *sokn*, *tiunt*) have no ending in the dative singular. The -*u* ending was, however, the earlier singular dative ending for *iorp* (see Noreen 1904, §409.3).

83/8. Schlyter (CIG, 62) translates *millan stumbla ok starfurfur* as ‘emellan stubbar och starrtufvor’, which Wessén (SL IV, 276 note 5) interprets as meaning ‘at the boundary between tree-bearing land and marshland’.

83/8-9. Schlyter (CIG, 62) interprets this as meaning that owners of woodland or
marshland could not give evidence as neighbours in matters covered by the immediately preceding provisions. The sense, however, is not clear.

83/10. Woodland and marshland described as oskiptr was that in shared ownership (cf. 83/17). Swedish provincial laws all contain penalties for cutting wood illegally, often with the power of confiscating equipment (cf. AVgL Fns 2; YVgL Fnb 3-10; UL Bb 13-14; ÖgL Bb 29, GL 26 §9; SdmL Bb 15-17; VmL 14; HL Bb 13; MELL Bb 17). For related provisions, see 64/7-11, 84/23-85/2, 85/7-9, and 95/7-8.

The sedge called Cladium mariscus (Gutnish agr) was formerly in common use for roofing in Gotland (cf. HRSH29, 388 note; SL IV, 276 note 7).

83/12. The verb yrkia refers to the type of work just described.

83/13. Pipping (GLGS, Ordbok, 5), following Schlyter (CIG, 62), translates anbol as ‘körredskap’, i.e. ‘driving harness’. Jacobsen (GGD, 82 note 1) questions this interpretation and points to Gotlandic dialect ambul, ‘raw material for woodworking, etc.’. This latter interpretation is also followed by Wessén (SL IV, 276 note 8) and certainly in Gotlandic dialect the usage is widespread (cf. GO s. v. anbol, amble). Hald (1975, 53-55) argues that anbol has the sense ‘building material’, the result of the forestry work, and that this would naturally have been forfeit along with the means of transport (Gutnish faruskiaut). This suggestion is accepted here.

83/14 and endnote 522. Pipping (GLGS, 39 note 6) prefers the plural (vitin) in the A-text to the singular (vitni) in the B-text, since both parties were witnesses to the act. He refers to instances at 68/12, 69/11 and 71/10.

The reliance on an eyewitness, sometimes a professional witness or judge, to provide evidence in property disputes or other cases may have originated in Danish
law (cf. Eriks SjL Text 1 II §68) and was apparently native to Scandinavia. Further examples are to be found in HL Kkb 18, AVgL Jb 16 and UL Bb 17 §4 (cf. Westman 1912a, 208-212; Almquist 1923, 39-40).

**aigur.** The B-text has *agur* corrected later to *aigur*. There appear to be two feminine nouns with the sense ‘property (in the form of land)’. One was the strong noun *aign* (dative singular *aign*, accusative plural *aignir*). The other (as used here and almost throughout in the B-text) was the weak noun *aiga* (dative singular *aigu*, accusative plural *aigur*). This occurrence of the *ai* diphthong in the B-text has been missed by Pipping (see also the following note). Otherwise Pipping (1901a, 75-76) notes various spellings in the manuscript of the B-text for the diphthong corresponding to Old West Norse *ei*. He concludes that *ei* (written *ey*) is the norm there, *ai* occurring mostly in marginal additions; hence *eygu* at 101/8, *festueygur* at 101/7 (normalized in the present edition to *aigu* and *festuaigur*) and *eygnir* at 64/8, endnote 156.

83/17-18. Here, again, the B-text has the *ai* diphthong: *gierda aff o schizophrenia aigu*.

83/19-20. See Note to 82/13-16.

83/20. The person responsible for a fence was fined if damage was caused by lack of proper upkeep to it.

83/21, 22 and endnotes 528 and 529. The extra words *ella hafa* and *ella eygir* appear in the margin in the B-text. They possibly indicate a correction by the scribe, or that the original Bilefeld was using had both words. The scribe of the A-text has dropped the parallelism and used the verb *hafa* in each case (cf. Notes to 67/6, 94/19).

83/21. The *garpr* originally denoted the fencing put in place to protect crops from grazing cattle, but later came to refer to the fenced-in area itself. When crop
rotation was being practiced, various different fencing methods were used. Fences were commonly built of verticals and horizontals, but the halfgierpi, which marked a shared boundary between fields or pasture, consisted of timber palings (Old West Norse skødgarðr, Swedish skidgärdesgård) on top of a low stonewall, called a vast in Gotland. The provincial laws have various rules about the construction of lawful boundary fences. ÓgL Bb14 gives a detailed description of how strong and high a lawful boundary fence should be and how a gate should open inwards and not outwards. HL Bb 5 gives similar rules to those in GL. The stated purpose of a fence in all provincial laws apart from GL, where the purpose seems to be to protect crops from people and animals, was to divide two villages and there were complex rules about responsibility for its upkeep. Cf. also GulL 80, 82-84 (NGL 1, 40-41); FrostL XIII 18-22 (NGL 1, 245-246).

The adjective aumbr is cognate with Swedish öm, ‘sore, sensitive, delicate’, which as Jacobsen (GGD, 83 note 3) remarks is only used of sentient beings.

83/22. The A-text reading gapr may be compared to lepr at 63/4.

The preceding provisions form a bridge to the following chapter.

Chapter 26: Af halfgierpi

Once again the rubric applies only to the first part of the chapter; the remainder contains provisions relating to cutting of wood on someone else’s property.

84/3. Säve (GU, xxvi) queries whether it is necessary to present *siaumetr as one word as Schlyter does, but there seems to be no reason to reject Schlyter’s version in this instance, although Säve’s argument is stronger at 88/11, endnote 602.

The parishioners were to determine where a fence should be placed, i.e. where the boundary between the two properties in question ran.

84/5-8. The defaulting party had a year to fulfil his obligation of fencing, after which
he had to deposit a pledge of ½ mark, as well as paying for any damage, if his animals broke out. This process continued, the deposit being forfeited each fortnight, until the fencing obligation had been fulfilled. The *lutadagr*, ‘division day’, is the equivalent of the *gardskipti* or *gerding* in *Gull* 82 (*NGL* 1, 40-41).

84/8 and endnote 532. Pipping points out that the form *mark* is correct only if the combination *half mark* is undeclined, otherwise the unrecorded genitive form of *mark* should be inserted. As there is no unique abbreviated form for the genitive of *ertaug*, and the presence of a full stop following *marc* does not always indicate an abbreviation, it is not possible from the *A*-text to deduce whether the genitive of *mark* is intended (cf. *GLGS*, 40-41 note 3). For the use of *til* with an apparently undeclined headword, which might be interpreted as an irregular genitive, see Noreen (1904, §399.2.a).

84/9. The expression *garpr ir granna setir*, ‘a fence is a mediator between neighbours’ is translated by Hadorph (*Gothlandz-Laghen*, 30) as ‘laggill hagnat gör godh Gransämia’. The same expression occurs in *Gull* 82 (*NGL* 1, 40-41) and there is a Danish proverb, *Gærde gjør Grander saate* (Mau 1879, I, no. 3342) (cf. *SL* IV, 277 note 6; Pipping 1938, 43).

84/10. There is a new chapter in *tyGL* at this point. This could have been present in the original used by the scribe of *tyGL*, since it follows a proverbial expression, which seems to form a natural break, but there is no similar indication in the other manuscripts of *GL*.

84/12-13. It was the responsibility of a landowner to have a viable fence, once he had been warned (cf. 83/20).

84/13. Like Pipping, Bugge (1877-1878, 267) defends the form *osoyban* as an alternative, neuter word with the same sense as *osoybr*. 
84/13-15. These provisions are an extension of that at 84/5-6, with the addition of payment for other damage done by the animal.

84/17. A hobble (*hornband*), which tied one horn to a back foot was still used for bulls in the early 20th century (see *GGD*, 84 note 3). Cf. the fines for straying animals in Chapters 40-46.

84/19, 85/3. The first instance of *banda* is taken by Schlyter (*CIG*, 242) as genitive plural of *band* n. and the second as accusative plural, but incorrectly written down in the genitive form. Säve (*GU*, xix) points out, however, that in neither of these instances is *banda* to be taken as plural. He argues that they are not from *band*, but from *bandi* m., which exists in Gotlandic dialect with the sole meaning 'osier switch, withy'. The two instances of *banda* would thus be respectively the genitive and accusative singular of *bandi*, of which the dative plural *bandum* occurs at 84/18 (cf. Läffler 1878, 287).

The height of the upper tie of a lawful fence was approximately 1.38 metres.

84/20-21. Different, although unspecified, rules clearly applied to fencing for animals that were liable to crawl under standard fences or dig holes under them. *Suin* was the normal word for domesticated pigs, (*sma*)*gris* being reserved for piglets. Pigs were reared chiefly in richer agricultural areas, but in the medieval period were still relatively small in size and similar to wild pigs in appearance.

84/23-85/1. The meaning here is that if the wood cut was so much that it could not be carried away by hand, the fine was three marks to the owner and three to the community, but if the thief carried it home, the fine was only ½ mark. Presumably he had to make full restitution in either case (cf. *SL* IV, 277 notes 14-17). For related provisions, see 64/7-11, 83/10-15, 85/7-9, and 95/7-8.

85/2. *oyk ok vagn*. The reading of the *A*-text (*oyk vagn*) is taken by Wessén (*SL* IV,
277 note 18) as referring to a wagon drawn by a pair (yoke) of oxen, although his translation is 'ök och vagn', '[yoke of] draught animal[s] and wagon'. This latter is the reading of the B-text, which seems to be more likely in that it balances the smaller rus ok kerru, 'horse and cart' or 'pony and trap', that follows. In CIsk V (5 A 15, 17, 19-20) it suggests that a kerra was half the size of a vagn in terms of load capacity, which may also be inferred from GL Chapter 6 (63/11). In Old Danish laws, ok means 'mare', but there is no evidence that this sense was ever current in Gotland (see GGD, 85 note 3). Cf. also Notes to 63/11 and 92/15.

85/4. Pipping (1904, 4) thinks that Schlyter's reading ertair for ertaugar (CIG, 66), followed by Noreen (1904, §311 note 3), is simply an error, originally made by Hadorph (Gothlandz-Laghen, 31). This reading has been followed by all subsequent editors apart from Säve (GU, 21), who gives ertaugar, but does not comment on this deviation. The B-text has ertaug'r and the A-text erta, followed by a full stop, which Pipping explains could easily appear to be ertair.

iii ertaugar. The emendation of this by Pipping to xiiii, following Schlyter (CIG, 66 note 33) and daGL is rejected by Wessén (SL IV, 277-278 note 20). Wessén cites Hemmer (1928, 188 and notes) who regards the fines as cumulative: ½ mark (twelve ērtugar) for the withy in the first pair of uprights, plus ½ mark (eight ērtugar) for the next pair, plus one sixth of a mark (four ērtugar) for the third pair, totalling one mark (almost certainly in coin). Hemmer suggests that even if the lower of the two ties between a pair of supports were broken, there would have been no additional fine. He also comments on the fact that the (additional) fine reduces with the amount of extra damage. Wessén agrees with this interpretation and refers to Wennström (1936, 355-361; 1940, 78), who suggests, however, that the fines concerned were in marks of silver (see following note).
85/5. The word *lids-meli* or *liss-meli* occurs in Gotlandic dialect with an original sense ‘gap the width of a track’, from the elements *lid*, ‘track’, and *mela*, ‘measure’ (cf. *GU*, xxviii; *GO* s. v. *led*). It is now used of any gap in a fence of unspecified width, not necessarily for a track, but also of a ride in woodland, particularly one offering a vista (cf. Rietz 1862-1955 s. v. *lid* (3); Wennström 1936, 355-357). The later provision (Chapter 63, 95/8), apparently relating to damage to fences in woodland (as opposed to farmland) wide enough for passage, stipulates a fine of three marks in coin, which was greater than the two marks in coin here, but less than two marks of silver. Wessén (*SL* IV, 278 note 21) thinks that the difference merely records an increase in the fine, but Wennström (1936, 358-359) argues that provision here, referring to farmland, must have intended marks of silver. His reason is that fences in farming land would surely have been valued more than those in woodland, although he also questions whether Chapter 63 refers only to woodland fencing. The devaluation of the coinage over time should probably also have been taken into consideration and this might restore the balance between the two instances, even if this earlier provision were in coin (cf. Wennström 1940, 299).

85/7. Three types of wood are listed in increasing size. Firewood (*vipr*) was probably lightweight or short in length, fencing timber (*garz virki*) might have been equivalent to paling, although substantial enough to keep out stock, and timber (*timbr*) was probably more substantial wood for buildings, ships, tools and utensils. Although farm buildings in Gotland were not universally wooden as those on the mainland were, *timbr* would have had other uses on the farm and elsewhere. Cf. Modern Swedish *ved*, *virke* and *timmer* and the three types of forestry work listed at 82/23-24, and for related provisions, see 64/7-11, 83/10-15, 84/23-85/2, and...
85/7-8.

85/8. *en hann ekki laifir sett atr.* This clause refers to the offender in the third person, whereas surrounding clauses are in the second person. As Wessén (SL IV, 278 note 24) suggests, this could simply be a scribal error, perhaps influenced by *hinn* in the previous clause. The implication is that if an offender left his own wood behind, he could have taken another’s in error (see GGD, 86 note 2). A similar assumption is made relating to horse theft (Chapter 35, 89/4-6).

85/9. Wennström (1936, 220 note 70) considers Schlyter and Jacobsen mistaken and that it was the offender who had responsibility for swearing that full restitution had been made, but cf. 81/1, where a woman whose clothing has been disturbed has to declare that everything has been returned to her.

The provisions concerning cutting wood in the final paragraph of this chapter seem to be related to those in Chapter 25 (83/10-15).

Chapter 27: *Af sauði*

85/12. According to Pipping (GLGS, 42 note 10) the *A*-text has *faup*. He states that Schlyter (CIG, 67 note 42) reads this as *saup*, but this does not agree with Schlyter’s actual note as he clearly indicates that the *A*-text has *faup*.

Jacobsen (GGD, 86 note 5) observes the alliteration in *i engium epa aign* and that the whole chapter is very rhythmical and full of alliterations.

85/13. The expression *gangr ok gata* is probably a synonymous alliteration, although the former is used of a narrower path for animals and the latter for a wider track for wheeled vehicles (see GGD, 86 note 6).

The expression *iemgolfr fran sum til* does not, presumably mean that two separate paths had to be made, but perhaps that the path had to be wide enough for two animals or groups of animals to pass.
Chapter 28: Af aignakaupi

85/16. That land could only be sold in time of need was a principle no doubt enforced to prevent the fragmentation of farms (cf. DL Bb 1). It seems as if in Gotland ownership of land still mostly lay in the hands of individual farmers, sometimes larger landowners, but not the crown or the church, during the time of GL.

85/17-19. The principle of *caveat emptor* seems to have applied to land purchase in thirteenth-century Gotland as now. The main loser in any illegal sale was the potential purchaser, who not only lost the land price, but was also subject to a fine.

85/19-20. The assembly had to agree any land purchase, presumably with the support of witnesses in cases of dispute. There are no surviving deeds of transfer of land from Gotland, from which one may infer that they were not customary (see SL IV, 278 note 2).

85/20-21. The masculine noun *afrapr* was a payment made to the nearest kin of the seller of a piece of land if that kinsman were not the purchaser. This recognised his right of pre-emption in the purchase and amounted to an eighth of the purchase price, according to *tyGL* (cf. CIG, 146; SL IV, 278 note 3). This right is only mentioned in GL and *afrap* n. means ‘annual rent’ in mainland provincial laws (see CIGS s. v. *afrap*). If a kinsman did not take up his right within a year, thus approving the sale and confirming that he could not or did not wish to purchase the land, the payment lapsed and the sale was validated by default. Various exceptions are listed at 86/7-8 and 86/9-10. Arrangements for placing land in surety for a loan were the same as for an outright sale. There are further details of these arrangements in Chapter 63.

85/22-24. Three (or possibly four) different types of blood relationship were recognised: *skyldir menn* (close-related kin), *quislarmenn* (relations from another
family branch) and etarmenn (more distant family members, those who ‘belonged’). The terms frendi (also called nipiar) were used of (male) kinsmen in general, with the context, or an adjective, determining how closely-related they were. At 83/4, for instance, it seems that nipiar refers to more distant relatives, whereas at 86/6 more closely related kin are intended. In Gotland, as on the mainland, the concept of land as a birthright to be kept within the family prevailed (cf. AVgL Jb 3; YVgL Jb 5 and 6; ÖgL Jb 3; UL Jb 1, 2 §4). The frendar seem particularly to have been involved in approving marriages (e.g. 79/17, 81/19) and other legal arrangements, such as ransoming captured family members (e.g. 86/22).

A woman passed from one family to another on her marriage and likewise the property she took with her. Any stock, for example, could be re-branded (see 92/5). The provisions in the present chapter should be compared with those in Chapters 20 (77/16-17) and 63 (95/11-13). Although it is specifically stated that land may not be sold outside the family, it seems that in extremis such a sale was legal, but resulted in the seller losing his rights of citizenship (cf. DL (and VmL) Bb1; HL Jb 1; SL IV, 278-279 notes 5 and 6).

85/24 and endnote 559. The A-text has seth (which Säve (GU, 22) normalizes to sett), the nominative singular neuter past participle of setia, ‘set out’ (cf. Hultman 1904, 219). Schlyter (CIG, 68) follows the B-text reading saght (nominative singular neuter past participle of segia, ‘state’) in his translation, as does Pipping in his edition of AM 54 4° (1901a, 47, 125). In GLGL, however, Pipping favours Säve’s reading, although th usually represented single t e.g. hafiplut (64/15).

86/2. As Wessen (SL IV, 279 note 7) states, lack of any relevant kin meant that only a twelve-mark fine to the assembly was applied.

86/7. The phrase pa iru quindismenn nerari pan utanmenn suggests that land sales
could be made outside the family (cf. Note to 85/22-24). The word *utanmaðr* is, however, unique to *GL* and similar words in mainland provincial laws refer to people outside the province (*utlænzker man*) or outside the village (*ut byamaen*), who might still have been members of the family (cf. *VgL* III 87, 117).

86/7-10. The apparent contradiction between the two juxtaposed provisions is explained by the fact that in the first case, land was exchanged value for value, for the convenience of the owners, and no sale occurred that reduced the value of the estate (see *SL* IV, 279 note 11).

86/9-10. The first provision exempting a sale from *afrað* covers a situation in which the whole family sells the estate and the second that in which land must be sold to pay wergild. The fourth exemption allows land to be sold to pay compensation for theft. The third provision, relating to dowry in the form of land specifies land yielding a maximum of one mark in rent (see Note to 77/18). Wessén assumes that the freehold value of a *mark laigi* of land was calculated to be twenty-four marks of silver or three of gold (cf. *SL* IV, 273 note 1, 281 note 2 to Chapter 32). Since three marks of gold was the wergild for a Gotlander, Wessén’s assumption is reasonable in this context and that of 77/18. A comparison should, however, be made with the provision in Chapter 65, which specifies a maximum of two marks of gold for the value of a dowry, although what form it may take is not specified. Wessén (*SL* IV, 279 note 12) states this to be equivalent of two *mark laigi*, but it should, of course, be \( \frac{3}{2} \) *mark laigi* (cf. Note to 95/20-21). Schlyter (*CIG*, 273) observes that in one Gotlandic source from 1527 it appears that a *mark laigi* was equivalent to twelve marks (presumably of silver) in land value, that is, 1½ marks in gold (cf. Note to 88/5-6). It is obvious from these differing opinions that the rental value of a plot of land with a certain freehold value varied considerably with
time and it is not possible to determine an exact equivalence.

According to \textit{AVgL} Jb 1, \textit{haimfylgi} to a daughter was one of five lawful ways of passing property from one person to another. The others were: inheritance, \textit{hemgaef} to a son on his marriage, purchase and by gift. According to \textit{MELL} Jb 1, the five ways were: inheritance, exchange, purchase, gift, and mortgage (provided the mortgage was of long standing). This second list is enshrined in the law of 1734 and is still current in Sweden.

86/10. The \textit{malaping} was a meeting at which a mutual promise of marriage was confirmed, and a dowry agreed, with a ceremonial feast and exchange of gifts. The word is related to Old West Norse \textit{málpings} (‘interview’), but it seems here to have had judicial importance (cf. Amira 1882-1895, I, 80, 266, 278). A dowry could be up to one third or even half of the inheritance of the sons, and was probably no less than one eighth of the total value of the farm, which a daughter would have received if unmarried (82/7) (cf. Amira 1882-1895, I, 528-530). It included stock (95/17-18) as well as household goods, jewellery, precious metals and land (cf. \textit{SL IV}, 273 note 1).

86/14. No differentiation was normally made between combatant and non-combatant hostages. Non-combatants were often sold as slaves in the medieval period, although combatants could be executed. The idea of a hostage as the property of the victor is confirmed by the fact that he or she could be released by payment of a ransom as described here.

Jacobsen (\textit{GGD}, 89 note 2) suggests that the use of \textit{epa} instead of \textit{ok} in the synonymous expression \textit{iorp epa aign} is remarkable, since both mean property in the form of land, as opposed to money or movables. There are, however, further examples of \textit{epa} where \textit{ok} would seem more natural.
86/15-19. The maximum sum that a third party could redeem another’s son for was the same as the value of a slave (cf. ÖgL Gb14 §1). A limit was presumably set because, in addition to the money to pay the ransom, the third party received a third of that sum for himself, making a maximum of four marks in all. It seems that this was a courtesy payment and that if the overall sum, including his third, exceeded three marks of silver the relations could contest it.

86/20-21. What appears to be some sort of international agreement is not referred to elsewhere (cf. SL IV, 279 note 16).

The remainder of this chapter contains provisions relating to inheritance and more properly belongs in Chapter 20. There is a link, however, between the first of these provisions and the immediately preceding ones, which has clearly influenced the existing sequence. Wessen (SL IV, 280 note 25) gives a more detailed explanation of the provisions, which expands upon his translation. Cf. also Kock 1926, 12-31.

87/1. The noun fyndr is considered by Pipping to be feminine, but Noreen (1904, §§407, 408 note 2) suggests that it could be masculine, or even neuter.

87/3. Cf. provisions in SkL 85-86 (CISk I 84-85) and SkL Add II (CISk Add B 5).

87/5. Säve (GU, xix-xx) considers skipt here to be the supine of the verb skipta, ‘divide’, rather than an independent noun as suggested by Schlyter in his glossary, and thus translated by Wessen (SL IV, 279 note 22). Säve points out that this construction with a finite verb in the present tense and a supine is common in GL.

87/6. The implication here seems to be that the marriage of a son, as well as a daughter, had to be with the agreement of the family (cf. Note to 79/16-18).

87/6-7. Division of property on a per capita basis is considered by some to represent an older custom than that exhibited in mainland provincial laws (cf. Iuul 1941, 113-115, 122-124).
87/8. Pipping (GLGS, 46) takes his emendation to *rapi* from Schlyter (CIG, 71), who follows the B-text reading. Kock (1904, 72-73), however, does not think that the A-text reading *rai̇pi* need be changed. He believes that it comes from a verb *rai̇pa* (cf. Old Swedish *repa*), meaning ‘prepare himself’. This would give the clause *rapi* *sielfr firi sir fara huert hann vil* the sense ‘prepare himself to travel where he wishes’. Kock observes that this makes as good sense as ‘have the authority to go where he wishes’.

87/9-12. The remainder of this chapter appears in the margin in the B-text, and is not found in *tyGL*. There do not seem to be any mainland provincial laws that contain the provision set out here. Both *ÖgL* and *UL Åb 8 pr*, however, exhibit a reduced right of sons to demand a division of property (cf. Holmbäck 1919, 64-65; *SL IV*, 280 note 25). On a son’s right to inheritance in advance, see Kock (1926, 12-13). The rights of daughters to dowry are covered in Chapter 24.

87/10. Schlyter (CIG, 71) and Pipping (GLGS, Ordbok, 61) translate *orahamapr* as ‘en obetänksam människa’. Wessén (SL IV, 279 note 24) suggests that the word, as well as meaning a father who makes an unfair division of property, could also mean someone who was foolish (perhaps suffering from dementia) or a bad householder. Jacobsen (GGD, 90 note 5) translates it as ‘urimelig’, which could have either sense. Kock (1926, 16) thinks that the passage means that, if a father was considered to be asking too high a rent (for the farm that the son inhabits), a property division should occur at once (cf. *ÖgL Gb 19*).

87/10-12. For non-Gotlanders, rules were more stringent in that even if they were married they could not force a division of the estate except in the case of their father being ‘unreasonable’, in whatever sense. In both this and the previous provision, the verb *skynias* suggests that outside evidence was required, possibly
from relations or parishioners (cf. GGD, 90 note 6).

Chapter 29: Af gieldum

87/14. A person could become indebted up to the extent of his personal share in his inheritance. His fellow heirs were not liable for any of his debt (cf. GGD, 91 note 1).

87/14-15. Payment for a deceased person’s debts could not exceed his liquid assets (cf. UL Åb 25 pr; GGD, 91 note 2).

Chapter 30: Af veþium

87/17. Jacobsen (GGD, 91 note 6) infers that the one who had taken the surety (veþ) kept what he had taken, but was to pay back to the debtor the difference between the value of the surety and the (outstanding) debt (cf. UL Kmb 7). Cf. the provision in Chapter 63 (95/11-12) and the accompanying note.

The stefn was a summons in a civil case. It is assumed that judgement took place under the leadership and on the advice of one or two legal experts, who obtained unanimous agreement from the rest of the assembly. Later this responsibility passed to special judges. The cases considered were originally only those that affected society in general, while others were decided between the respective families. If agreement was not reached, or was not honoured, a wronged party could resort to ‘self counsel’ (independent judgement).

Chapter 31: Af þingum

87/21. Pipping (1901a, 95 note 1) thinks that the scribe has here inserted þria and then in error also copied íi from his original.

87/23-24. A similar restriction concerning the duration of the assembly occurs in ÕgL Rb 12 pr. Cf. also UL Rb 5 §3.

87/25. A three-mark fine (in coin) to the local community (mogi) is referred to in
Chapters 12 (66/22), 19 (75/4), 25 (83/11, 17, 18), 26 (84/24), 31 (87/23), 35 (89/3, 5), 36 (89/17). In these instances a similar sum was paid to the complainant.

Wessén (SL IV, 281 note 4) assumes that the sixth assembly was referred to in these cases, but also cites further instances of fines at that level where the pripiungr assembly might be intended: Chapters 2 (60/18), 4 (62/22), 11 (66/13), 21 (79/11), 37 (90/7), 48 (92/17), 52 (93/10), 61 (94/23).

The pripiungr is only mentioned at 91/6, 9, 10 and 24 in respect of declaring lost farm animals and no details of fines to the assembly are given there.

88/1. Fines of twelve marks to the general assembly (land) are mentioned a number of times, but despite the limit laid down here, fines of forty marks are stipulated on a number of occasions (cf. Appendix D). The forty-mark fine may well have originated later than the present chapter, under influence from the mainland.

Jacobsen (GGD, 92 note 2) assumes that the limits simply apply to the listed misdemeanours committed at the assembly. This is a possible explanation, although it seems rather narrow.

88/2. Further provisions concerning legal procedures are given in Chapter 8 (65/2-4) and Chapter 32.

Chapter 32: Af fearkrafi

88/4-12. These provisions do not specify which party had the right of proof.

88/5. Jacobsen (GGD, 92 note 5 and line 11) has twelve instead of eighteen for the A-text’s xviii. This is clearly an error on her part.

88/5-6. The phrase mark gulz refers to land worth a mark of gold freehold. Chapters 47, 53 and 65 refer to the same form of land valuation, whereas Chapters 20, 28 and 63 refer to land valued in terms of the rent that it will yield (mark laigi).

88/8. In this instance halfr is not declined (cf. tappi sini half mark (84/7), annarir half
mark (84/8)). Säve (GU, 23), however, prefers halfan.

88/8-9 and endnote 600. The phrase *fram til þriþriu* relates to an assumed *half maþl*
*frest apra*, which is missing from both the A-text and the B-text. The phrase in
square brackets is supplied from *tyGL*, by comparison with the following
provision, which refers to disputes relating to land worth less than a mark of gold.
The implications of these provisions seem to be that if a defendant did not appear
after six or three weeks (depending on the value of the property in dispute) a
plaintiff either took his oath in his absence (if he had the right of proof) or possibly
won his case by default (if the defendant had the right of proof) (cf. *SL* IV, 282
note 5 to Chapter 32). Wessén assumes that in each case a defendant could move
the oath taking twice from the original four or two weeks. It seems more likely,
however, that he could move it once, to give himself half as much time again
(making a total of six weeks or three weeks), provided that he did this within the
first fortnight or week respectively. He would be ‘moving it by a fortnight (or a
week) to the third fortnight (or week)’ from the date of the summons. This
interpretation is adopted by both Schlyter and Jacobsen.

88/10. Wessén interprets this clause as meaning that one summoned the defendant to
take a six-man oath.

Chapter 32a: Af manna kaupi

See Addition 7, 99/6-20.

Chapter 33: Kaupir þu uxa

88/17. In the table of contents in the A-text, but not the B-text, a separate chapter *Af
kauptri ko* is recorded, although there is no equivalent indication in the text. The B-
text has, however, red script for the first three words of the sentence and there is a
new chapter in *tyGL*. 
88/18. If a milking cow was dry, this was regarded as a sign of witchcraft. Witches were supposedly able to steal milk from the cow of a stranger (cf. Heurgren 1925, 297-298; SL IV, 283 note 3 to Chapter 33). In Gull 57 (NGL 1, 29) it specifies that a slave may be returned to the vendor if he sucks cows. Also in Gull 44 (NGL 1, 25) one hidden fault listed in a cow is that it suckles itself. This could be regarded as the same problem, expressed differently, in that one assumes she was then lacking in milk for her owner. DL Bb 31 pr is alone in setting a value on the quarters of a cows udder: one öre for one quarter, two öre for two and the option of returning the cow for faults in three quarters.

Chapter 34: Kaupir þu hest

88/21. The form of blindness termed starblindr usually refers to cataracts, Swedish gråstarr, although the word can be used figuratively to mean ‘purblind’. Cataracts in horses can occur as a result of periodic ophthalmia, which is a well-documented equine disease, probably viral in origin. It was first recorded in the fourth century and called ‘moon-blindness’ because symptoms appear at roughly regular intervals, with periods of remission. The effects are progressively more severe and the horse eventually becomes totally blind in the affected eye. In view of the fact that the periods of remission could last for several months at a time, the three days allowed for detecting the problem seem less than generous (cf. Hayes 1968, 167-168). FrostL X 48 (NGL 1, 228) lists the following faults related to horses: deafness, blindness, being disabled (‘broken down’), permanent lameness, shying or stubbornness. A purchaser had five days within which to return the horse. HL Kmb 3 refers to lameness or noko annær laster.

Chapter 35: Af hesti

The chapter titles in the table of contents in the A-text and in the B-text are more
specific: *Af hestatekt* and *Ridir tu annan mans hest* respectively.

89/4-5. Presumably if one left one’s own horse behind, one could simply have made a mistake. There was still, however, a fine attached to this action (see 89/6-7). Compare this to taking wood from another person (85/8), where there does not seem to have been a fine, if an equal amount were left.

89/6. On the *A*-text form *querrant*, Rydqvist (1850-1883, II, 616 note 1, IV, 440) remarks that the *t* could be an error, as that in *bierint* at 83/3. Pipping (*GLGS*, 48 note 10) thinks that this error has occurred because of the effect of a final *t* in the following word.

89/7. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 96 note 2) assumes that *hanum* refers to the owner of the horse, but *kuma* in the sense ‘bring’ takes the dative, so *hanum* in all probability refers to the horse.

Chapter 36: *Af skipa gezlu*

89/9. The generic term for any vessel in which one put to sea was *skip*, but there were many terms to designate the size and type of vessel. *Kaupskip* was the general term for a merchant ship of a smaller type (thirteen ribs and three benches it states here) (see Hjärne 1929, 103). Trade between Gotland and the Baltic countries had begun by the end of the Viking age but during the eleventh century, trade with Russia was of increasing importance and this continued into the twelfth century. With the rise of the Hanseatic League the focus changed and trade was more directed to the south and west. Gotland had few natural resources but farmers dealt in weapons, ships, horses and provisions, all referred to in a papal letter of 1229. This trade was also recognised in 1285 by Magnus Ladulås. The merchant vessels were principally sail-driven, although they would have had a few oar-benches fore and aft (three in the case of the *kaupskip* described here). They were wide-beamed,
deep-keeled and seaworthy, as opposed to the narrower, faster and more tender ships for the levy (cf. KL s. v. Skibstyper).

89/10. A byrpingr was a cargo vessel covering ships of various sizes, from those used for coastal traffic to larger cargo ships, eventually succeeded by the kogge. Jacobsen (GGD, 96 note 3) remarks that forms of byrpingr are still used in the Baltic of cargo vessels and that in Eriks SjL I Text 1 III §58 the word is used of a small ship for freight, larger than a baat. In MLBL, VI §17 (NGL 2, 250-252) it is stated to be smaller than a knarr and it seems generally to have been a small, broad-beamed coastal vessel. In the tyGL it is glossed as a cargo boat. The word birpakir on inscription G 351 from Visby is interpreted by Snædal (2002, 87-88) as byrping (cf. Brøgger and Sheteling 1950, 284-285; AEW s. v. byrping; KL s. v. Handelssjöfart).

89/11. The expression hus pet sum piaup sufa i, describing the building to which a byrping had to be tied, refers in all probability to the sort of seasonal fishing hut (e.g. the fiskiahus mentioned in HL) found along the coastline in all Scandinavian countries (see Erixon 1955, 132-133).

This, the only reference to a housewife in GL, implies that she was more likely to have the keys than her husband. In UL Äb 3 pr there is reference to a wife having the right til lasæ ok nyklæ as a symbol of her control over the care and protection of the house. This right was claimed for her by her own family, before the marriage act itself and brought with it great responsibility, as much of the wealth of a household would be in the silver and jewels to which she had access.

89/12. Hellquist (1891, 16) suggests that rekendr might come from the verb reka, 'reach', but might alternatively be based on Old English racen-téah, 'chain' (cf. Noreen 1904, §441; 1970, §422 note 2).
89/14. The relative sizes of a *myndrikkia* and a *batr* are obscure, but both were certainly small coastal vessels, probably driven by oar or paddle only. Säve challenges Schlyter’s translation of *myndrikkia* (based on the text of *tyGL*) as ‘mindre skuta’, a small sailing vessel or ferry for cargo. He suggests that a *myndrikkia* might originally have been a small vessel propelled with a single oar by a backward-facing boatman. He further suggests a derivation from Old Swedish *mynda*, ‘row backwards’, and that the second element meant either ‘drive forward’ or ‘rock to and fro’ (describing the mode of propulsion of the vessel). Säve agrees it is logical to assume that the vessel was slightly larger than a boat (*batr*), and not just a punt (flat-bottomed boat), since the sequence of vessels mentioned appears to go from the larger to the smaller. The way in which the provision is phrased, however, is ambiguous: a *batr* could have been valued more highly than a *myndrikkia*. The former should not be left on the shore without supervision, or anyone could claim it, whereas the latter could be left if the owner were within shouting distance, otherwise it could again be taken with impunity. Furthermore, if a *batr* were taken from a landing place or mooring, the theft was treated in the same way as that of a horse, whilst no penalty seems to be attached to the taking of a *myndrikkia* if accepted procedures were followed. Cf. *GU*, xxvii-xxix; *GO* s. v. *mynn-vricka*; *KL* s. v. *Myndrik*. Another word for a small boat was *fluti* (cf. Note to 100/18).

If a vessel was found *varpalaus* it could be treated as a wreck to all intents and purposes in certain cases, and the finder could claim a higher proportion of the value (cf. *BjR* 19 pr).

89/15. On the use of a shout as a legal instrument, see Note to 80/2-3.

Concerning Pipping’s suggested emendation to *batr*, cf. Noreen 1904, §383.1.e.e.
Noreen notes that the -r ending is dropped from the nominative in certain cases, under influence from the accusative form and Pipping thinks that this could be the case here.

89/16. With respect to *stapum*, Pipping (1904, 10) challenges Schlyter's glossary, which takes this as the dative plural of *stapr* or *stepr* m., 'place'. He notes that Bugge (1877-1878, 269) previously suggested that *stapum* was related to Old West Norse *stog* f., (plural *stogvar*), 'landing place'. Since this word is frequently used in the plural, even when only one beach is in question, Bugge's derivation seems to have merit (cf. Söderberg 1879, 9 note 2). Pipping offers another suggestion: in Gothic there is an a-stem noun, possibly neuter, *stap*, meaning 'beach' and to support a possible relationship he refers to Bugge's essay on the inscription from Ethelhem (*NLEI*, 148-158), where Bugge notes a number of correspondences between Gothic and Gutnish vocabularies.

89/16-17. This provision seems to contradict the previous one, unless one assumes that a 'landing place' was always under watch, or was deemed to be so, or that *at stapum* specifically means 'tied up at a mooring', i.e. that the boat was obviously owned by someone who intended to return to it.

For further responsibilities with regard to ships and boats, see Addition 8, 100/17-24.

Chapter 37: Af ranzsakan

89/20. Pipping (*GLGS*, 49), Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97) and Wessén (*SL* IV, 283 note 1 to Chapter 37) take *ranzsaka*, corrected to *ranzsakan* from the B-text reading, as a noun ('house-search for stolen goods'). Schlyter (*CIG*, 288), however, takes it as an infinitive and implies that the correct form is *ransaka*. Säve (*GU*, 25) follows Schlyter, but has *ranmsaka*. The same discrepancy occurs at 89/22, but here all
editors accept the reading of the A-text.

pa all bipa. See Note to 70/16.

89/21-22. Tracing property by means of house-searches has ancient origins (see Westman 1912a, 223-224). The reason for the insistence on the searchers being loosely girded and without coats was to avoid the possibility of evidence being planted. A similar stipulation is made in MLBL, VIII §8 (NGL 2, 271): þeir skulu ganga in linda lausir (cf. ÁVgL Tjb 5 §1; UL Mb 47 §1). Jacobsen (GGD, 97 note 4) suggests that the kapa referred to might have been a hooded cloak. This implies that the searchers were to be easily recognised, as well as unable to conceal evidence (cf. Hammerich 1959, 196-199; Wennström 1936, 148-164). The provisions relating to house-searches varied considerably between different Swedish provincial laws and in MESTL Tjb 2 §1 anyone wishing to search without official permission had to lay down a deposit of forty marks.

89/22. The removal of immunity, effectively haimafripr, from the dwelling of a person who refused a house-search was a serious matter. The doors could be broken down without redress, irrespective of whether stolen goods were found (cf. ÁVgL Tjb 5 pr, 6; YVgL Tjb 30, 34; OgL Vb 32 §4).

89/23. The B-text has fyli at this point, with a note in the margin al: fuli, but fula at 90/4. The same manuscript has fyli unaltered at 100/10, emended in this edition to fuli. Pipping thinks that either the B-text fyli is an error, or that the stem is *fulhian (cf. Noreen 1904, §416.6; GLGS, Ordbok, 26 note 1; Note to 63/3). Söderberg (1879, 17 note 1) relates the word to Old West Norse fóli, 'stolen goods', although Fritzsche (1896, III, 1108) and Vigfusson (C-V s. v. fóli) have the first vowel long. Söderberg suggests possible confusion with Old West Norse fóli m. (alternative to fól n.), 'fool' (cf. Gutnish folagripr), but thinks that both words might ultimately
derive from Old West Norse *fela*, 'hide; conceal'. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97 note 5) compares Danish *fjæle*, 'to hide'. See Note to 100/7-11.

89/25. According to Wessén (*SL* IV, 283 note 5 to Chapter 37) *pa al laibznum fylgia* is a standard Scandinavian legal expression. The meaning is that proof of ownership must be traced from the previous owner to the person now in possession of the goods. Wessén (*SL* IV, 233) inserts the explanatory word 'fängesman', 'assignor', in his translation of this passage. This person was the one who had granted the right in property (of whatever type) to the assignee (in this case the person under suspicion).

90/1. *par sum hann fyrsti til skiautr*. Wessén (*SL* IV, 283 note 6 to Chapter 37) and Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97) call the person to whom the accused refers the 'hemulsman' (Swedish) or 'hjemmelsmand' (Danish). This was the person who had a legal obligation to defend a buyer's right to goods against a challenge and to defend a buyer's innocence if he consequently lost ownership; in many circumstances this would have been the previous owner or keeper. It is not clear from Wessén's notes if he intends this person to be the same as the assignor referred to in note 5, but Jacobsen (*GGD*, 97 note 6) assumes only one person is involved. The circumlocutions of the text make this passage rather obscure, but a translation assuming a single third party, the assignor, from whom the accused person claims he received the property, makes perfect sense.

90/4-5. It appears from the context that the goods planted by the miscreant were assumed to be his own, which he was intending to accuse his neighbour of having stolen, rather than goods he himself had taken and was trying to dispose of.

90/6. The wergild to be paid would be three marks of gold for a Gotlander, or ten marks of silver for a non-Gotlander.
90/7. Pipping (GLGS, xxxvi note 4) thinks that the reading of the A-text here (et) is incorrect and that the B-text reading of en carries the sense ‘if’. He argues that the scribe of the A-text has been misled by the preceding par til into assuming the common phrase par til et and has ignored the requirement for some punctuation following til. A comma in fact appears in the B-text. Schlyter follows the A-text and gives the translation ‘till dess at’. Pipping rejects this and translates the passage as in the present edition. The twelve marks to the general assembly were thus in addition to the three marks payable to the (presumably local) assembly if a Gotlander were the victim of the crime, rather than instead of the three marks. Jacobsen (GGD, 98) follows Pipping, whereas Säve (GU, 25) and Wessen (SL IV, 233 and 284 note 11 to Chapter 37) follow Schlyter, the latter with an acknowledgement of Pipping’s alternative interpretation. Pipping’s version is to be preferred, since it would be unusual to mention a fine relating to a non-Gotlander before that of a Gotlander.

Chapter 38: Af ðiaufa ret

Theft, ðiaufnapr, was secret theft of movables, as opposed to open robbery. Although it is sometimes assumed that in pre-Christian times this crime was regarded as a particularly serious offence against the community at large, alongside murder and rape, and had to be atoned for to the gods with the life of the perpetrator, there is little evidence of this in the provincial laws. Admittedly, the worst crimes were punishable by death, but the limit varied between the provinces: AVgL Md 8 sets the limit at two öre, GL at one mark of silver, the remainder of the laws at ½ mark (two marks in coin). GL, SdmL, UL and HL are the only provincial laws that rely purely on monetary value to judge the severity of a theft, indicating the generalized use of coinage in these areas (cf. Hemmer 1928, 159-164;

90/11. The word *snattanbot* in the sense 'fine for petty larceny' does not occur widely in medieval Scandinavian law (cf. Wennström 1936, 17).

*millan* ... *mark*. With reference to the construction here, where *mark* is undelined, see Note to 84/8 and endnote 532. Cf. *Ävgl* Kgb (*CIS* I, 67 line13) where the phrase *mællir suerikis ok danmark* is found.

90/12 and endnote 635. *pin*[g]fyra. Although Pipping accepts Schlyter’s emendation, cf. Noreen 1904, §281.2.

*ok merkia ok til vereldis dyma*. The thief was to be branded (which was normally done on the cheek), or possibly had his ears cut off, as a visible punishment. Whether *merkia* always signified one or other punishment is a matter for conjecture (cf. Brunner 1906-1928, II, 788; Hemmer 1928, 62 note 9; Carlsson 1934, 102; Wilda 1960, 514-515). A thief also had to pay a fine, which was either three marks of gold or ten of silver. Schlyter’s note (*CIG*, 79 note c) is ambiguous on the subject of how this was determined: ‘D. ä. till lika stor bot, som hade skolat erläggas om han hade blifvit dräpen’. The use of the passive gives no indication of the principal of *han*. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 98 note 8) assumes the sum was determined by whether the person robbed was a Gotlander or not. On the other hand, Wessén (*SL* IV, 284 note 2) assumes that the sum depended on whether the thief was a Gotlander or a non-Gotlander. In view of the fact that the immediately previous mention of wergild related specifically to the status of the wronged person, Jacobsen’s interpretation seems the more likely, although some payments for abduction, rape, fire damage and damage to fruit trees depended on the status of the person inflicting the injury (see Chapters 21 (79/18-20), 22 (80/16-18), 51 (93/6) and 59 (94/15)). Hasselberg (1953, 231) assumes that if a thief could not
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pay the wergild, he lost his life, but there is no direct evidence of this.

90/13. Wennström (1936, 76) points out that GL is the only Swedish-related provincial law to follow the Germanic laws in stipulating hanging for a second theft of whatever value. Hanging, as opposed to beheading, was a shameful death and even female thieves were not hanged (cf. ÖgL Vb 35). Hanging is the only means of execution specified in GL, but there are examples from mainland provincial laws of other forms, for example stoning on a beach (cf. DL Tjb 2 pr; KL s. v. Dödsstraff). A summary of non-monetary punishments appears in Appendix D.

90/14. Schlyter in his glossary (CIG, 310) suggests that pau be emended to pa. Pipping (GLGS, 50 note 7) rejects this and refers to Kock (1895, 126) for corroboration. The meaning is that a thief who took a mark of silver or more was to hang, even if this were his first offence.

The B-text has further provisions relating to theft by slaves, presumably omitted from the A-text for the same reason that provisions regarding the purchase of slaves were omitted. These are in Addition 8 (pp. 99-101).

Chapter 39: Af oqueþinsorþum

The fines for verbal insults in VStL I 53 pr are double those for the most serious bodily injury, whereas here in GL they are equivalent to those of a more minor wound. The punishment was more severe in Iceland: lesser outlawry and a fine of six marks of silver, irrespective of the social standing of the person insulted (cf. Grágás II §237; LEI 2, 195). In Norwegian laws, the fine for a similar offence was three marks for a landowning farmer, and on a sliding scale for other social classes (cf. GuL 98, 178, 196 (NGL 1, 46-47, 66, 70)).

90/16. The insult morpingi refers to a killer who does not admit his or her killing and
attempts to hide the crime, or perhaps accuse another. Here it is equated with the shameful epithets thief (*piaufr*) and highway robber (*rauferi*), which were punishable by death if serious enough, or second offences. The word is not used elsewhere in *GL*, where *bani* is the usual word for a killer.

The term *rauferi* has been translated as 'open robbery', and was not originally considered as shameful as secret theft. It usually (but not always) involved a greater or lesser degree of violence and provincial laws differed in the weight they gave to the two elements of the crime. Over the period covered by the provincial laws, the punishment became more severe and in the national laws *rån* was treated as an *edsöresbrott*, a crime against the king's peace (cf. Introduction, p. 46). It seems that in *GL* it was regarded as equal in severity to secret theft.

The word *kasnavargr* for a murdering arsonist is also found in Swedish provincial laws (cf. *ÖgL* Eb 31 pr; Wennström 1936, 270-274, 301). The table of contents of *VmL* (*CIS V, 80*) has *kaxnavargh*, which prompts Säve (*GU*, xxxi) to speculate whether the first element of the word had its origins in a form *kåx*, ‘landing place, place for boats’, which he takes to be Estonian. If this were the case, he suggests, *kasnavargr* could originally have meant ‘burner of boats’, *vargr* being the perpetrator of a violent action, criminal or outlaw. The connection seems tenuous, however, and Schlyter (*CISG*, 340-341) offers a number of alternatives for the origin of the element *kasna*- amongst which are Latin *casa*, ‘house’, Old Swedish *kasa*, ‘to pile up’, Swedish dialect *kase*, ‘bed warmer’. Wessén (*SL I, ÖgL 51* note 50) offers the explanation that *kase* meant ‘hög av ris, ved, stubbar o.d. att brännas, bål (vårdkase)’, but gives no source for this information. No punishment for the crime itself is given in *GL*, or in *SdmL 34*, where it is also listed as a punishable insult. In Norway, however, actual murderous arson was considered to be an
úbótamál, that is an injury not able to be reconciled by fine, and the perpetrator was called a brennuvargr (cf. Gul 98, 178 (NGL 1, 46-47, 66)).

90/17. Jacobsen (GGD, 102 note 2) rightly points out that hordombr and fordepskepr are abstract nouns and do not refer to the person committing these acts, as do all the remaining nouns. Säve speculates whether the B-text reading fordenschep' r reflects an older fornskapr, comparing it with fyrnska, 'superstition', at 62/14. The word used in Guta saga (GLGS, 64 line 13) to describe Avair Strabain is fiekunnugr, 'skilled in many things', and this word and its equivalents were also used, frequently with a positive connotation, to indicate 'skilled in magic arts', especially in Old West Norse sources. The word fordepskepr and its equivalents were more often used negatively in the sense 'witchcraft, black arts'. In the Christian law provisions, all forms of witchcraft, white or black, were forbidden although sometimes the punishment for the two was different. Both Norwegian and Swedish provincial laws vary in the severity of the punishment to be meted out to witches, including the death penalty. This strict attitude stems from the southern tradition of Christianity and church law. The more moderate punishments laid down are closer to those of the Irish church. GL refers only to fordepskepr as an insult against women, and not to the crime itself.

Insulting a woman by calling her a whore implies that this was considered to be disgraceful behaviour, but as noted earlier (Note to Chapter 21) GL prescribes no punishment for it. On the other hand, accusing a man of such an act does not seem to have been considered an insult, although his life might be forfeit.

90/19. Pipping (GLGS, 52 note 4) rejects Säve's paun (GU, 26) instead of paim, since: (1) melu can take the dative as well as the accusative and (2) paim appears as a form of the accusative plural throughout Guta saga, and on occasion in GL.
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Pipping (1901a, 78-80) notes, however, that Bilefeld in the B-text, frequently confused u and n and on occasion un for im.

90/20. Jacobsen (GGD, 102 note 4) observes that the prefix o- in osinum, literally ‘at a bad time, untimely’, is not the usual negation, but pejorative, as in Swedish otyg, ‘witchcraft, nuisance’ (cf. Note to Chapter 17). It (osinum) seems to be the dative of a noun meaning ‘a bad time’. Insults offered when the speaker was drunk would be treated leniently if they were duly retracted and compensated for.

90/20-22. Once summoned to the church, a person accused of slander must either defend himself or offer restitution, both accompanied by a three-man oath, composed of parishioners. Public apology is demanded for insults in GulL 196 (NGL 1, 70) and VStL 1 53 pr, but is not mentioned in Swedish provincial laws, although shaming punishments are laid down for other crimes. The involvement of a parish in the legal process is also incorporated in Chapter 30, relating to surety.

90/23. The expression sogn all means ‘all the parishioners’ in the same way that land alt means ‘the general assembly’.

90/24 and endnote 650. Pipping (GLGS, 70) thinks that a sannat is a possible alternative reading for the A-text’s asannat. Säve’s alternative suggestion (GU, xxv), following the B-text, has been accepted here. Schlyter (CIG, 80 note 19) suggests a[sannan at.

90/25. siex manna aipi. Immediately before siex, the scribe has deleted vi, which in turn has originally read vii, corrected by a dot under the second i. The scribes of both the A-text and the B-texts, when they transcribed roman numerals as words, not infrequently copied the roman numerals as well, sometimes omitting to delete the latter (cf. Pipping 1901a, 95 note 1).

Wessén (SL IV, 285 notes 4 and 5) compares the fines and procedures in these
provisions with those for breaking the assembly peace (Chapter 11) and to accusations against women (Chapter 2). Cf. SkStR 21-22 for insults in general.

Chapter 40: Af smafilepi

In the table of contents and in the B-text, it is made clear that this chapter refers specifically to unbranded small livestock. The word omerki in the B-text has, however, been added later and may not have been in the manuscript from which Bilefeld made his copy. By elimination, only immature stock is covered by this provision since adult pigs, sheep, goats, cattle and horses are specifically named in later, and different, provisions. Otherwise, sheep, goats and other small livestock were normally included in the concept of smafilepi, Old Swedish söper.

91/2. The assembly intended here must be the sixth assembly, since the riding assembly is mentioned specifically in later chapters where relevant.

91/3, 7, 10, 13, 14 and endnotes 655, 661 and 662. Bugge (1877-1878, 265-266) gives an account of possible forms: -lausn and -launs, concluding that the latter is an appropriate correction for all instances of -laun in the manuscripts of GL. He notes that lausn rather than launs is used in Guta saga (GLGS, 67 line 18), but considers this to be an example of linguistic differences between the two texts. He considers the form laun to be incorrect, the sense not being a reward to the finder, but a fee to secure the release of the animal. Pipping (GLGS, 53 note 8) follows this correction, but notes that daGL offers two different translations: lön for the first and third occurrences and løsen for the last (cf. Läffler 1878, 287-289; GLGS, xlii note 4). Although daGL recognises a difference, the translation appears to be inconsistent. Wessén (SL IV, 285 note 3 to Chapter 40) implies that the pinglaun (of one örtug per visit) was compensation for taking an animal to the assembly if it were unclaimed, and that this was different from the heptalauns, paid by the owner
of a stray animal to redeem it (see Chapter 43). Wessén does not, however, maintain this distinction; he translates ping(s)laun as ‘tingløsen’ and (hepta)launs as ‘løsen’. A translation lón, ‘reward’, appears to be more appropriate for former, in the same way that a fundarlaun (100/14) is the compensation or reward paid to a person who returns a slave and the goods he has stolen. Incidentally, Pipping has not suggested a change to the latter. It is entirely possible that two different words, (ping)laun or (pings)laun (related to Old West Norse laun n. pl., Swedish lön, ‘payment, reward’) and (hepta)launs (related to Old West Norse lausn f. pl., Swedish løsen, ‘fee, ransom’) are involved, and have become confused. This assumption has been followed in the present edition.

91/3. Schlyter’s suggestion that soknar here should read soknar menn is rejected by Pipping (GLGS, 53 note 9) following Kock (1904, 72). Their reasoning is that this latter is written without an r in all cases in GL. Kock takes soknar as a nominative plural of an n-stem noun derived from sokn and meaning ‘parishioners’. In Old West Norse, sóknari or sóknar-madr means a person who has the right to pursue a case (C-V s. v. sóknari; sóknar-madr in the Supplement), but it does not seem to have this sense here.

Chapter 41: Af suinum

In neither this chapter nor in the preceding one is it stated what happened to the animal(s) in question if unclaimed. Presumably the finder kept the animal(s), paying to the parishioners the difference between their valuation and the pinglaun due to him.

91/6. Specific mention of the riding assembly in relation to the third presentation of the beasts in this and the next chapter suggests that the sixth assembly is intended elsewhere in this section.
Chapter 42: Af bolambum

The eventual fate of stray sheep is even less clear in this chapter, similarly what was paid by an owner to a finder, although this can perhaps be assumed to have been an örtug, as in Chapter 43. No mention is made of valuation, only of the ownership of any lambs carried by the ewes. These went to the finder, presumably regardless of whether the sheep itself were claimed. The word bolamb refers to a tame sheep as opposed to the utegångsfår of Gotland, which lived out all year round. These retained several primitive characteristics, such as the mane and genetically inherited extra horns (encouraged by selective breeding) on the tupps or rams. Selective breeding was made possible by the fact that the ewes were frequently kept indoors. It is reasonable to suppose that a bolamb was such a housed ewe or possibly a castrated ram, reared for meat.

Chapter 43: Af fastum veprüi okliptum

Although Jacobsen (GGD, 103 note 3) translates fastr as gildet, ‘gelled, castrated’, it is clear that this is a typographical error, since in her glossary, s. v. fast, she has, correctly, ugildet, ‘ungelled’. The use of the participle (o)klipt in 91/12, 13, 15 and 16 is to some extent ambiguous in the B-text since klipt can itself have the meaning ‘gelled’. The A-text, however, refers in both Chapters 43 and 44 to entire (fastr) rams: unshorn (oklipt) and shorn (klipt) respectively, and this reading seems preferable.

91/13. The word heptalauns (literally ‘tethering ransom’) clearly means a fee paid by a legal owner to redeem his animal, as opposed to a payment (in effect for expenses) to the finder simply for bringing an (unclaimed) creature to the assembly (cf. Note to 91/3; GGD, 103 note 4). Various forms of restraint were employed to prevent straying and it is possible that a fine was imposed because the animal had
been inadequately tethered. Schlyter (CIG, iv) takes heptalauns as an example of
the degradation of the language in that the genitive form has been used instead of
the accusative following firi. Säve (GU, xvii) on the other hand suspects a simple
scribal error, whereas Pipping (GLGS, 53 note 8), following Bugge, thinks that this
is the correct form (cf. Läffler 1878, 287).

91/14 and endnote 662. The form launs instead of laun in this instance has been taken
by earlier commentators (Bugge and Läffler referred to above) to support the
argument that the latter was incorrect in all cases. It seems equally likely that launs
here (referring to a reward payable to the finder) was influenced by heptalauns in
the previous sentence and that two different words are involved. Säve (GU),
following the B-text, uses the form laun in all cases, but as Bilefeld’s is a late copy
the single occurrence of (heptal)launs might have been missed.

Chapter 44: Af fastum veþuri kliptum

Whilst an unshorn ram seems to have been treated similarly to a bolamb, a shorn
ram was not.

91/16. The feast of Saints Simon and Jude is October 28th, so the case imagined is
one of a breeding ram being loose over the winter period.

91/17. The clause til þes tima sum menn hafa vana haft at laust lata must apply to the
phrase eptir Symonismessu Jude and not to the intervening clause. The normal time
for the release of the ram with the ewes was in the early spring, possibly on Lady
Day, the 25th March (cf. Note to 94/7).

91/18-19. In this case it appears that the animal was not taken to the assembly and
valued. The finder neither received expenses nor paid anything to the parishioners.
His reward was simply the ram itself, unless his owner redeemed him (for an
unspecified fee).
Goats do not seem to have been widely kept in Sweden, but they were important elsewhere in Scandinavia. They were clearly not highly valued in Gotland since the price for redeeming a goat was half that of a horse or cow and much less than for a sheep, but in Norway and Denmark they were kept as milk-yielding animals, giving profitable cheese, and for their meat and skins.

91/21-22. so skal atr loysa gait firi siex penninga a huertu pvingi. This provision implies that an owner redeeming his goats paid according to how many assemblies the finder had attended. The previous reference to payments by an owner (Chapter 43) does not mention multiple assembly visits, so it is not possible to infer that this was the rule in all cases. The finder, however, received expenses for each assembly visit, so it seems to be a logical conclusion.

The *penning*r, ‘penny’, was the lowest unit of currency in Scandinavia up to the end of the thirteenth century. It is referred to only here and in Chapters 47, 49 and 56a. The number of pennies per *örtug* and thus per *öre* and mark varied from area to area, although no records exist earlier than the end of the thirteenth century (cf. *GGD*, 25 note 1; Jansson 1936, 65; *KL* s. v. *örtug*). Contemporary sources state that the Gotlandic system was taken over by Riga (cf. the letters of the Bishop of Riga *HRSH29*, 1-14) with an *örtug* divided into twelve pennies. The same system is recorded for Öland, although later the sixteen-penny standard current in Götaland was in use (cf. *DS I*, 456, no. 549 (6/4/1271); *DS I*, 591-593, no. 736 (29/12/1281)). In Svealand, from around 1300 there was a unification of the system: a mark was eight *öre*, each of three *örtugar*, each of eight pennies, giving 192 pennies to a mark (in coin), i.e. half as many as in Götaland. Norway adopted the same system at about this time. Although the consensus amongst scholars
appears to be that there were eight pennies to an örtug in Gotland during the period of GL, other rates have also been proposed and the relationship between the fees for a nanny goat and a billy goat might suggest a rate of twelve pennies to an örtug (see Appendix C).

Chapter 45a: [Af nautum ok russum]

The chapter title occurs in the table of contents, but not in the A-text, although a new chapter occurs in both the B-text and tyGL.

92/2. Ok fari ai til Visbyar mig. This is the only reference to Visby in GL. It is not clear what the implications of this provision. It might be that there was a horse fair at Visby and that the finder of horse or pony was not to take it there for recognition or possible sale, but to the assembly. It could also mean that, whilst they might use the horse on their farm, they were not permitted to use it for travelling longer distances until they had presented it three times at an assembly.

92/2 and endnote 669. On the A-text form pins, Noreen (1904, §281.2) notes that the loss of g in three-consonant combinations, n being pronounced ŋ, occurred sporadically (see Note to 90/12).

92/3 and endnote 670. A motstukkr was one the posts at the centre of the assembly, possibly marking an area with legal significance. Four tingstockar are mentioned in several medieval sources from Skåne (cf. SL IV, SkStR 21 note 22). Stray cattle and ponies were to be tied up within sight of these, but a distance away so that they were not confused with animals belonging to the people attending the assembly. It is possible that the assembly was in a natural hollow and that by having the animals a distance away the men holding them could see the posts over the heads of others at the assembly, or alternatively that potential claimants could see the beasts (cf. GGD, 105 note 1; SL IV, 286 note 2 to Chapter 45a).
Chapter 46: Af merki

92/5. The crime referred to here is that of altering an existing earmark on a sheep or other creature from the one it has to one for a different owner. Such earmarks have been used until relatively recently to distinguish sheep grazing on common land and are still used on the reindeer herds of the Sami. Altering a mark was equal to theft in some provincial laws (cf. *Vml* Mb 26). Obviously, if an animal had been purchased or received in dowry, a change was quite lawful.

Chapter 47: Af akrum

92/10. Jacobsen (*GGD*, 105 note 2) remarks that a *landboi* was someone who leased or rented land, as opposed to owning it freehold. The word *land* was not generally used to describe property (Ruthström 2002, 128) and the original form seems to have been *lanbo*, meaning someone living on leased property (related to the word for ‘loan’). This changed as a result of folk etymology to *landboi*, a word that occurs only here in *GL*. The common Old West Norse equivalent *laigulenningr* occurs at 61/19 (cf. *SkL* 238-239 (*CISk* I 225)). Tenancy conditions were fixed and for a limited period, with an initial payment and often an annual rent. Jacobsen also points out that the only other word for farmer in *GL* is *bondi*. This is in contrast to the several words used for different classes of landowner in Danish and mainland Swedish laws.

The standard area measure for arable land in Gotland appears to have been *laupsland*, the land upon which a bushel (circa 36 litres) of seed corn could be sown. One equivalent, recorded in early fourteenth-century Norway, was ⅛ *markebol* (cf. Steinnes 1936, 142; Note to 76/18).

92/11. Söderberg (1879, 9 note 3) considers *hoyslet* to be a feminine i-stem noun, as opposed to Old West Norse *sláttir*, ‘mowing’, which is masculine u-stem.
Haymaking generally ran from the first weekday after St Peter's day (29th June) and could continue until St Michael's day (29th September). After this, cattle could graze on the meadows, just as they could graze on arable fields after the harvest (cf. *UL* Bb 10; *DL* Bb 8).

92/12. Unlike other instances of *lass*, the reference here is to a specific volume. The standard conversion for a ship's cargo was that a *lass* or *läst* was twelve *skeppund* and the same relationship appears to have been current with the *lispund*. This does not, however, give an absolute volume, since the capacity of a *pund* varied from time to time and place to place (cf. Note to 63/11).

The expression *at markum* refers to the calculated value of the land according to the same principles as those in Chapter 32. Wessén (*SL* IV, 286 note 4 to Chapter 47) uses the word *marktal*, equivalent to Gutnish *markatal* (93/13). The word refers to weighed marks, despite the element *-tal*.

Chapter 48: Af rofnakrum

92/13, 14 and 15. Schlyter (*CIG*, 84 notes 16 and 19) and Säve (*GU*, 27 notes 2 and 4) reject the elision in *rofnakrum* and *rofnakrs*, preferring *rofna-akrum* and *rofna-akrs*. Pipping does not note this suggestion but in the table of contents of the *A*-text (*GLGS*, 2 note 1) takes *rofu-* (which occurs throughout in the *B*-text) as an error for *rofn-*.

92/14. Turnips were introduced to Scandinavia at an unknown date, but by the Middle Ages they were a significant crop and numerous statutes related to their cultivation occur in the provincial laws, except for *VgLL* and *SkL*, the very earliest laws. *UL*, *SdmL*, *DL*, *VmL*, have several less categorical statutes mentioning the cultivation of turnips. *UL* Kkb 7 §5 names turnips as one of the crops on which tithe was to be paid and this occurs also in some Norwegian laws. In *ÖgL* Bb 28 §5 there is a
description of crop rotation on clearings: turnips (for a year), then rye (for two years), the land to be left fallow after three harvests.

92/15. The sepalauts fulk sum hus hafr were crofters, who perhaps only kept livestock (see Chapter 56a). It is not clear from the wording whether the land for the turnips was part of the holding, or extra land provided by the landlord, but he was clearly expected to provide the means of cultivation. The provision given here for care of the poor in a parish seems to be unique to GL.

This is the only case where oykr refers to ploughing in particular, as opposed to draught in general. Yoked oxen did this work in southern Sweden, whereas in the north of the country a horse and chest harness was used. Cf. Notes to 63/11 and 85/2.

Chapter 49: Af hafreki

For all the provisions in this chapter, it must be assumed that (as was the case in respect of stray animals) the remainder of the find was returned to the owner of the property, or to the parish or assembly if no owner was determined. The sliding scale of payments to a finder of jetsam and flotsam reflects the risk involved in recovering the goods, and the likelihood of determining the original owner. Similar provisions are to be found in Swedish provincial laws and in VStL (cf. UL Mb 54 pr; VStL III iii 13; Hasselberg 1953, 117-118).

92/21. The expression yr lanzsyn is rendered in tyGL as us der kenmunge, the same expression as is used in VStL III iii 8 to indicate that a sea voyage has properly started.

Chapter 50: Af eldi

93/2. The word skurstain appears in Gotlandic dialect as kurstain or kustain and is a loan word from Middle Low German scorsten. It meant originally the whole of the
covered hearth and chimney. This sense was current in Danish as late as the early nineteenth century and according to Lis Jacobsen (*GGD*, 106 note 6) survived in Danish dialects a century later. The form of fireplace with a covered chimney arrived in Scandinavia in the Middle Ages and this reference in *GL* is one of the earliest (see *SL* IV, 287 note 1 to Chapter 50).

93/3. The word *eldhus* for 'kitchen' does not occur in Old Swedish, but does occur in Old Danish and Old West Norse. In *JL* *eldhus* is used of the building in which the fireplace was sited (see *GGD*, 106 note 7). In *MELL* Bb 28 if fire broke loose from a *stova*, 'dwelling', *stekara hus*, 'kitchen' or *kolno hus*, 'malt kiln', the farmer was not liable.

Chapter 51: Af bieruedli

93/6. It was previously common to take burning material from one place to another to kindle further fires or ovens, because of the difficulty of starting a fire (see *GGD*, 107 note 1). One might even have to borrow fire from a neighbour, carrying it from one farm to another. Similar provisions occur in *UL* Bb 24 §1, *DL* Bb 45 §4, *VmL* Bb 24 §1, *SdmL* Kkb 2 pr and *SdmL* Bb 18 §7 (cf. *SL* IV, 287 note 1 to Chapter 51).

For further occasions on which compensation to some extent depended upon the status of the perpetrator of a crime, see Chapters 21 (79/18-20), 22 (80/16-18), 38 (90/12-13) and 59 (94/15).

93/6-7. Since the wergild of a minor was the same as that of an adult (Chapter 18, 71/15), the compensation payable by the responsible adult was the same. This is the reverse of the situation at 69/9, relating to killings and 94/15 relating to damage to fruit trees, where compensation is halved if a minor commits the crime.
Chapter 52: Af broagierp

The verb *bro*, 'make a bridge' or 'surface a road', survives in Gotlandic dialect (cf. *GO* s. v. *bro*). Here *bro* is a noun meaning a filling of stones, branches or other material placed annually across a track to make marshy and otherwise inaccessible places passable. The routes concerned were recognised summer roads, as opposed to simple cleared tracks in the forest, and their upkeep was a communal responsibility. Only in later times was the whole track surfaced (cf. *GGD*, 107 note 3; *SL* IV, 287 note 1 to Chapter 52). Most mainland provincial laws (e.g. *ÖgL* Bb 4 and 5) contain statutes concerning roads and road-building or *broagierp*, 'making good a road' (cf. *Yrwing* 1940, 104). One important purpose of these constructions was to provide routes to the parish churches. *ÄVL* Jb 12 and *YVL* Jb 26 mention *markvägar* and *kyrkovägar*, but also (Fnb 32) *quærævægher* and *allmannævægher*, which foreshadow the more detailed statutes of the national law. In Uppland alone seventy-five runic inscriptions commemorate *bro* builders. The three-mark fine extracted for default was presumably paid to the sixth assembly.

Chapter 53: Af skuti

As Jacobsen (*GGD*, 107 note 4) comments, the taxes referred to in this chapter are those funds gathered together from contributions made during time of need. The word survives in the Swedish *förskott*, 'advance', *sammanskott*, 'collection' and *tillskott*, 'contribution', each relating to a contribution in some form (see *SL* IV, 287 note 1 to Chapter 53). The annual tax (*skattr*) to the Swedish crown and the levy tax (*laipingslami*) are described in *Guta saga*, but are not referred to in *GL* (cf. *GS*, xxxiii-xxxvi, xlviii, 32 note to 6/12, 59 note to 14/5).

93/12-13. Despite the fact that the words *markatal* and *tald mark* were used elsewhere in Scandinavia to mean marks counted (i.e. in coin, rather than weighed), it seems
that the Gotlandic tax based on *markatal* was calculated on the gold or silver value of property and liquid assets, rather than on the *penningar* value. This would have had the effect of taking into account any devaluation of the currency in respect of liquid assets. Wessén (*SL* IV, 287 note 2 to Chapter 53) simply refers to the value of the land in marks (as described in Chapter 32) and liquid assets, but by implication intends weighed value, e.g. ounces (*oyrar*) of gold, silver and other goods that could legally be used as currency. The phrase *ai af garrum gersemum* specifically excludes such items, but covers manufactured household chattels. Gradually, (*loðs*)øre came to apply to all movables (see Ruthström 2002, 141-142, 180). Later sumptuary laws (Chapter 65) forbade the purchase of gold and silver items, presumably since this would constitute tax avoidance, since they were non-taxable assets (cf. Notes to 61/6, 101/8).

93/13. The word *gorsomme* in the sense ‘valuables’ was still found in Danish dialect when Lis Jacobsen produced her translation in 1910 (*GGD*, 108 note 1).

Chapter 54: Af varpi

Provisions relating to the watch are to be found in *UL* Kgb 12, *SdmL* Kgb 12 and *HL* Kgb 9. Farmers in coastal areas carried a particular responsibility. The duty of the watch was to light beacons to summon troops in case of an attack. The people sitting watch paid their own expenses, and any fines due, if they failed in their duty. The level of the fine is not given in *GL*, but in *UL* it is forty marks. In *SdmL* and *HL* the fine varies depending on the nature of the failure in duty. The Danish translation (*daGL*) records an increasing level of responsibility with the increase in the age of the person from eighteen to twenty-two years. Another aspect of defence was the *laïpingr*, referred to in *Guta saga* (*GLGS*, 68).

93/15. Although Pipping (*GLGS*, *Ordbok*) defines the *varppenningar* as ‘en årlig
The *skyldir* were usually communal taxes, but it seems more likely that expenses incurred in keeping watch are intended here.

Chapter 55: Af husum ok huspiaupum

The *huspiaup* were people working in the (farm)house itself, perhaps specifically as opposed to those doing outside farm work, referred to in the following chapter.

93/18 and endnote 694. Noreen (1904, §321 note 2) doubts the form *sokninna* without a final *r*, but it occurs once in the *B*-text and twice in the *A*-text, if one ignores the redundant *s* in this instance.

93/19. Wessen (SL IV, 288 note 2 to Chapter 55) observes that the scribe of manuscript *B* 65 (*tyGL*) has here mistaken *(hus)piaup* for *piaufr*, ‘thief’, and inserted a new chapter heading, *Van husdyben*, ‘Concerning house thieves’. This provision probably refers to permanent members of a household, rather than seasonal workers, but the reason for it is obscure. Since those who did not grow their own crops could be pressed into service by any farm for harvesting, it might have been regarded as unethical to subsume people into one’s household, thus making them unavailable for this work.

Chapter 56: Af byrslufulk

93/23. The sum for a day’s hire is set out in the following provision, Chapter 56a. The *byrslufulk* were hired seasonal workers who received daily wages.

Chapter 56a: [Af sepalau su fulki]

This new chapter in the *B*-text (and in *tyGL*) is not signalled in the *A*-text, although the chapter title appears in the table of contents.

94/2. The *sepalau st fulk* were crofters, as described in Chapter 48. They did not
receive daily wages for their work, but an annual payment.

94/3-4. The crofters were supplied with barley, rye and oats. The barley and rye would have been for flour and food and the oats possibly to feed horses and perhaps make porridge and soup (see *KL* s. v. *Havre; Korn; Råg*).

Chapter 57: Af ikornum

94/7. Only the winter pelts (*gråverk*) of squirrels were valued as currency, so the close season coincides with the period when they were in their summer coats (*routhskyn*). The open season was usually from 13th October (28th October in Gotland, 1st November in Uppland) to 14th April (25th March in Västmanland and in Gotland, 2nd February in Södermanland). Forty skins were equivalent in value to one timber. Sources from 1235 mention rights granted to four Gotlandic fur traders to trade toll-free in England for three years, and payments to Gotlandic merchants for these skins are recorded in 1237, 1242, 1244, 1248 and 1250 (cf. *HansUB I*, 270, 283, 322, 359, 333, 395).

Chapter 58: Af herum

94/10-11. Once again the close season for hare trapping was the summer half year. Although a gin is referred to, the usual method for catching hare in the winter was in a snow-pit, loosely covered with brushwood (see *KL* s. v. *Harar; Jakt*). *GL* is the only provincial law that specifies a close season for catching hares, although hares are mentioned in *AVgL* Fnb 7 §1, *YYgL* Utb 15, *ÖgL* Bb 36 §5 in relation to who owned a hare that had been caught.

Chapter 59: Af skafli

The word *ska(f)vel* is used in Gotlandic dialect for fruit from trees, e.g. apples (cf. *GO* s. v. *skavel*). Schlyter (*CISG*, 550) and Jacobsen (*GGD*, 109 note 4) think that edible fruit in general might be meant in this instance. The word *skafl* occurs in *UL*.
in the table of contents against Chapter 49 of Mb and in HL in the chapter heading of Mb 32 referring to one who steals any edible crop (e.g. turnips, peas). In UL Bb 14 §6 and other provincial laws there are fines for felling another person’s fruit trees, with varying levels of fine depending on whether a tree was in fruit or not. The fine in GL for picking fruit before September 8th appears to apply even to the owner of the trees in question, or it might refer to trees on commonly owned land. The date might suggest the type of fruit that was cultivated in Gotland (possibly apples), or the time when the fruit concerned was ripe. Cf. KL s. v. Frugtræer.

94/13. Pipping’s rejection of Säve’s emendation of Hitta to Pitta is based on the occurrence of the former at 95/3, in addition to further examples from runic inscriptions cited by Säve himself: his[ṣ]an (GU, 42 no. 58, 5 no. 125), hin[n]a (GU, 46 no. 126, 48 no. 145, 50 no. 187) and hila, an error for hita (= hitta), (GU. 47 no. 138).

94/15. Further instances of variable penalties depending on the person committing an offence are to be found in Chapters 21 (79/18-20), 22 (80/16-18), 38 (90/12-13) and 51 (93/6).

 Chapter 60: Af messufalli

94/19. A feast of nine lessons in the Catholic church was one on which nine lessons (Bible readings) were included in the service. These services were reserved for the most important feast days, lesser feast days having fewer readings. On the rendering of the Latin ti in leccio (from the Latin lectio), cf. Wimmer 1887b, 45 note. It is usual in Den gotländska runkalendern for the k rune to be used for the k sound and the c rune in the ti combination, so the spelling *lekcio might have been expected. Thus Martialis (17th July) is rendered marcialis (see Lithberg and Wessén 1939, 8).
Schlyter (CIG, 379; CISG, 415) takes *epa hafas* as a scribal correction for *lesas*, rather than a parallelism, but cf. Notes to 67/6, 72/13 and 83/21, 22.

94/20. The fine for omitting to say mass on a Sunday or major feast day was twice that on a Friday or minor feast day.

Chapter 61: Af duflí

94/23. The sixth assembly is presumably intended here as elsewhere. Dicing is forbidden in *MESiL*, which has a separate *Dobblara balker*, and in *MLLL* VIII 28 (*NGL* 2, 165), but there is no equivalent in any of the mainland provincial laws. Wessén (*MESiLNT*, 292) assumes, therefore, that the phenomenon was one encountered in towns rather than in the countryside.

94/24-95/2. The second half of this chapter forms the closing section of the *B*-text. Neither there nor in the *A*-text is there a separate chapter heading, nor is the section listed in the table of contents of either text as an independent chapter. It is this paragraph that seems to suggest that *GL*, as it has been preserved in the two Gutnish texts, was either a living statute book or a justice book, rather than merely a scholarly work.

95/1. Wessén (*SL* IV, 288 note 2 to Chapter 61a) points out that legislation would have taken place at the general assembly.

95/1-2. Wessén compares this passage to the final words of the preface to *VStL*: *unde queme en niye recht dat in dem boke nicht were, dat scolde man richten also id recht, unde scriuen dat in beyde boke*. He also makes the not unreasonable assumption that additions following this paragraph in the *A*-text have been made in just the manner described. In the *B*-text, following the chapter on gambling and preceding these closing words, there are chapters covering purchases on credit (absent from the *A*-text) and misuse of woodland (the first half of Chapter 63 in the
A-text). The remainder of the additions in the A-text have been absorbed (in
appropriate places) into the body of the B-text and the chapter on tracks and paths
appears in its proper place.

Chapter 62: Hitta ier þet sum nylast var takit um loyski

Cf. Chapter 19 (74/9-11), where the fines are half of those stated here.


Chapter 63: Um skoga

The title of this chapter covers only the first provision. The remainder of the
chapter contains a miscellany of provisions.

95/7-8. Cf. provisions in Chapter 26 (84/23-24 and 85/4-5) and for related provisions,
see 64/7-11, 83/10-15 and 85/7-9. The older provision relating to tearing down a
neighbour’s fence limits the fine to two marks, rather than the three stated here. On
the implications of the difference, see Note to 85/5.

95/9. Pipping (GLGS, 59 note 7) rejects Säve’s emendation mandr (GU, 30) for mann,
as this spelling does not otherwise occur in the newer sections of GL and mapr
only twice in Guta saga.

A glugga was an opening, not large enough for passage with a vehicle and possibly
no larger than a window, but perhaps large enough for a person on foot to crawl
through.

95/11. It seems that a pledge was originally a sale with right to purchase back within
three years (as in the B-text of GL, 101/7-8). This gradually changed to a much
shorter period and Chapter 30 (87/17-18) suggests that change: the pledge holder is
instructed to call the pledge giver to the church or assembly to redeem the pledge
on a certain date. If he did not, the pledge should be valued by the parishioners or
men of the assembly, although the creditor would still obviously receive payment.
Wessén (SL IV, 289 note 4 to Addition A) suggests that the verb virpa here means ‘to sell’, rather than ‘to value’. The translation offered in the present edition, ‘to take in payment (of a debt)’, is intended to cover both senses.

Säve (GU, xxviii) suggests that *lyktrygguar or *lyktryggiar, corrected from littryggum by Pipping, is derived from a possible, *lyk(t)-tryggi n. meaning ‘defined period of loan’, from Old West Norse lúka, ‘close, finish’ and tryggia, ‘determine’. Siljestrand (1890-1893, I. 93) notes a noun lyct f. meaning ‘end, end part’.

95/12. firigier. This is the only occurrence of the third person singular present indicative of giera in the younger chapters of GL or Guta saga. In the older chapters, the forms are g(i)erir, but in the B-text the normal form is gier.

95/12-13. Further examples of loss of status or money as a result of a misdemeanour in relation to land occur in Chapter 20 (83/10-11) and Chapter 28 (e.g. 93/8-10). The penalty here seems particularly harsh (hanging or beheading) but the crime was one of theft of land or misappropriation of it in some other way, and in particular a breach of trust, since the miscreant was presumably a steward of the land in question. Although later editors translate firigiera as fòroda, ‘lay waste, devastate’, Schlyter translates it as fòrkingra, which is particularly associated with a breach of contract or duty in respect of the misappropriation of property. This latter seems to be preferable, although the former is also a recognised crime in current law, involving the poisoning of land or animals.

The expression at pranglausu implies that there might be cases in which such an action was permissible. Schlyter assumes that this meant that a sale was forced by straitened circumstances (Swedish trångmål). There is, however, a Swedish legal concept of tvång, ‘coercion’, and might be intended.
Both *kirkiurum* and *kirkiustedr* (in the B-text) refer to an allocated pew. Most preserved early medieval church pews in Sweden are from Gotland. The designation of pews to particular people is not recorded before the end of the fifteenth century on the mainland (see *KL* s. v. *Kirkestole*).

95/14-15. Cf. the provisions in the first section of Chapter 24, where the number of toasts is unlimited.

95/14. There is no record of the size of *en half skal*.

95/15. The form of the object *paim* to the verb *misfirma* is ambiguous, since this form is also regularly used in the later provisions of *GL* and in *Guta saga* for the accusative plural. The B-text (99/4), however, has *teim*, a form that is normal in the dative but rare in the accusative (see Pipping 1901a, 79-80; Note to 90/19).

The exact level of a double fine is not clear. This is the only occasion on which such a fine is specifically referred to and no previous editor has suggested an amount. On various instances of *twibote* in *VStL* and other contemporary laws, including *Bjarkörätten*, cf. Hasselberg 1953, 62-65, 168-172. These, however, refer mainly to acts of violence in church or market, or in a bathhouse or latrine. Wennström (1931, 45-46, 77-80) suggests that the three-mark fine evolved as double an older twelve-öre fine (cf. Björling 1893, 104 note 3; Hemmer 1928, 71; Wilda 1960, 345). It is possible, therefore, that a three-mark fine is intended here.

**Chapter 65: Af quinna ret**

95/17. The word *band* here must mean the same as *oykr* elsewhere, i.e. yoke joining a pair of oxen, and hence, by transference, the actual pair of animals.

95/17-18. Cf. the provisions concerning widows in Chapter 20 (76/15-16). Even if a widow had brought more than ten oxen with her, she could not take more away. She could, however, take as many horses and sheep as she had brought,
presumably even if the actual animals were no longer alive.

95/18. The word *tassal is unknown elsewhere, but must have the sense ‘buckle, clasp’. Schlyter (CISG s. v. tassal) relates it to English tassel. According to CODEE, this comes from Old French tas(s)el. It is first recorded in English in the thirteenth century in the sense ‘clasp, fibula’ and only from the fourteenth century as ‘pendant ornament with a fringe attached’. Schlyter, in the light of the fact that gilding is in question, seems correct in assigning the earlier of these meanings and rejecting Ihre’s translation (1769 s. v. tassal), which follows the later sense. Schlyter also refers to FrostL IX 9 (NGL 1, 210, 211; 282) where gullæð appears alongside assala. He suggests that the latter must mean the same as tassala. Säve (GU, xxix), citing the same reference, suggests further alternatives, including snöre, ‘laces’.

95/19. Pipping’s emendation of gullat to gullap follows Säve, but Noreen (1904, §260.7 and note 7) gives several instances in which final ð was replaced by t. The word gullap describes a circlet for the head, such as was worn both by men and women. Bolli Bollason in Laxdæla saga, Chapter 63, has knýtt gullhlaði um hofuð honom (cf. Falk 1919, 114-115; IF V, 187). Wessen’s translation, ‘guldbräm’, ‘gold edging’, assumes that the adjective slungin applies to this word as well as silkisband, and that fringes with gold thread woven into them are intended (see SL IV, 240). This description seems more likely to apply only to silfrband referred to below.

Jacobsen (GGD, 113 note 3) translates slungin silkisband as ‘Snørelidser’, ‘laces’. These were presumably laces to close a woman’s bodice, and plaited silk would have been the strongest, most durable material available, and therefore valuable. Cf. the reference in Chapter 23 (80/25-81/1) to the fact that the laces had to be
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returned to their owner if they were pulled out. They are in this case called *snopir*, but they were probably the same item.

95/20 and endnote 744. Pipping, following Säve and the B-text, emends *slit* to *slikt*.

For a further instance of *slit*, cf., however, Noreen 1904, §510 note 2.

95/20-21. In relation to the value of a *haimfylgi*, see Chapters 20 (76/22), 28 (86/10) and Notes, also Notes to 77/18 and 86/9-10. Wessen’s assumption in his note to Chapter 24 (*SL IV*, 273 note 1) is that the amount of the dowry in this later provision relates to property in movables only.

95/21. The *bladragning* referred to in this instance was no doubt of the same quality and value as that referred to in Chapter 24a (82/2), but would hardly have been black for a wedding, which is the subject here. It is possible that the cloth was scarlet, since this is referred to in the following sentence, or it might have been blue, which was another expensive dye (cf. Note to 82/2).

95/22. The word *pell* derives from Latin *pallium*, ‘cover; mantle’ (not *pellis*, ‘hide, skin’). In Old West Norse, *pell* was any type of expensive cloth, originally specifically satín from China or India, used as a bed-cover or to cover a bier (see Falk 1919, 67-69, 73). In *Laxdæla saga*, Chapter 77, Bolli Bollason is said to *bera nema skarlatsklæði ok pellsklæði*. Einar Ól. Sveinsson remarks that the latter was an expensive silk fabric, often woven with gold (cf. *IF V*, 225 note 1). Here the sense is either a festive altar covering, or a canopy held over the bridal couple at a particular point in a wedding ceremony. This is still done in some Eastern Orthodox churches.

95/22, 24. Linen was one of the currencies in which tithes or fines could be paid (cf. *UL Kkb 6 §5; ÓgL Vb 6 §1*). The prohibition against expensive gifts was presumably intended to prevent the impoverishment of farms through marriage,
and possibly to reduce any chance of dispute when wives were widowed.

95/25. The *silfrband* referred to were most probably decorative ribbons or bindings that had silver thread woven into them. Silver wire had been used in the costliest materials from the time of the Vikings, as witnessed by the Gokstad find, and silver was used in a variety of ways to decorate fabrics. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, new techniques developed, and were imported from Italy and elsewhere.

The *kurtildonaþr* was any decoration on the kirtle or gown.

96/1-2. The normal method of purchase in the medieval period was in currency (coin otherwise). The word *burgan* (related to Old West Norse *borga*, ‘borrow’) had various senses apart from the one here (purchase against a promissory note). It could also mean ‘hostage’ or ‘bail’, as well as a promise of service rather than money. One could avoid arrest for debt by raising a surety (*borgen*) with a *borghans mapar* (Old Icelandic *borganarmaðr*) (cf. *Sdml* Kmb 9 pr; *Vml* Rb 12 §2). No interest appears to have been payable, although this was not forbidden by the church. The prohibition against borrowing from the people of Visby was probably a later addition, motivated by the conflict between them and the farming population outside the town (see Introduction, pp. 10, 44; Addition 9, 101/6-8).

96/2. Schlyter’s emendation of *nequar* to *nequat* is rejected by Pipping (*GLGS*, 61 note 11), following Noreen (1904, §519 note 4). The error *nequan* at 64/8 can be explained by the original having *nequar* there as well, as an alternative to *nequat*.

Addition 1: Aff prestom och prestbarnom

97/3 and endnote 750. Schlyter (*CIG*, 104) consistently transcribes Bilefeld’s svarabhakti symbol (‘) as *e*, but *i* is more common in both the *A*-text and, when it is written out, in the *B*-text, the latter having *e* only if there is an *a* in the preceding
syllable, and then not consistently.

97/4. The phrase *han taki i verra* is possibly corrupt, as Jacobsen (*GGD*, 33 note 4) suggests. The meaning is, however, that a priest by marrying a woman who was not free lost his right to the status of a Gotlander.

97/9. As indicated in the Note to 63/4-5, the preceding sentence in this paragraph, which is also on the *A*-text, is out of context. The *han* who is assumed to have died is the *prestson olerpr* referred to at the end of the previous paragraph (*SL IV*, 249 note 10).

97/9 and endnote 758. On the form *döyr*, Pipping thinks that *öy* is a diphthongisation of long *ö* in a loan word. He thinks that Björkman (1903, 389) starts from an incorrect premise in rejecting this form as an error (cf. Pipping 1901a, 82, 90; 1901b, 62). Cf., however, Noreen 1904, §540.1.

97/10. The fact that it is stated that a claimant (in this case a priest rather than a lay person) can accept compensation without shame makes it clear that immediate acceptance of compensation was regarded as less honourable than taking revenge. Even after the abolition of blood vengeance, protracted negotiations were considered to be desirable before compensation was accepted (see *SL IV*, 249 notes 12 and 14).

97/13 and endnote 759. Pipping explains the whole phrase *Tha en han hempn at eyger so budit* by assuming it to be a mechanical translation from a statute in Medieval Latin: *Si vindicatum habet, (damno) sic praebito, ...* He considers it very likely that a provision relating to priests would first have been formulated in Latin. Wessén (*SL IV*, 250 note 19), on the other hand, thinks that the text is corrupt. Schlyter (*CIG*, 105 note 9) and Säve (*GU*, 36) suggest the emendation *hempnar, pa so ier budit*, ‘takes revenge, when [compensation] is offered’.
97/14. The priest was to be compensated for with his full wergild, despite the fact that the killing was blood vengeance.

97/16. A \textit{taki} was a receiver of a promise (cf. Old West Norse \textit{taka}, ‘bail’ and \textit{tykr}, ‘forfeit’, 63/24). The nearest equivalent to a \textit{taki} as referred to in \textit{GL} would be a Swedish \textit{löftesman}, who went bail for the person concerned to the effect that he would bring witnesses to his innocence. In mainland provincial laws a \textit{taki} is mentioned where a case concerns goods claimed by the plaintiff. He had responsibility for the fulfilment of any oath taken and had to live in the same hundred and be accepted by the parties involved. A farmer could not refuse to take on this responsibility (cf. \textit{AVgL Tjb} 8-12; \textit{YVgL Tjb} 39-44; \textit{ÖgL} Rb 6-8).

97/21. It is not quite clear what procedure was intended by \textit{rāhin þeir fjyrir fe}. Schlyter (\textit{CIG}, 106) offers the translation ‘råde de om godset’, but then adds as a note ‘D. ä. folket tage boten’. The first could mean that assembly members ‘discuss the level of compensation’ or ‘take custody of the compensation’, but the second implies that assembly members received the fine itself. How the money was then distributed is not stated. Cf. the provision at 97/13 (see \textit{SL IV}, 250 notes 17 and 24).

97/23-25. This is the sole instance in \textit{GL} in which direct speech and the first person singular are used. The first person plural is used in the introductory section, (60/3-6) but not otherwise. This passage is similar in style to some of the oldest Swedish provincial laws, so it seems reasonable to assume that it formed part of the earliest edition of \textit{GL}.

97/25. Note that \textit{hanum} is governed not by \textit{til} but by \textit{byta} (cf. \textit{andrum at byta} (97/26)).

97/26 and endnote 765. In offering an emendation of \textit{so et hwat tima prestir} to \textit{so et}
huatki ma prestir Pipping (GLGS, 9 note 2) accepts that the B-text original had huatci ma. Jacobsen (GGD, 35 note 7) explains that Tamm suggested (although without bibliographical reference) that Bilefeld must have misread the c as t and altered the word division to suit this reading. Schlyter (CIG, 107 note 12) and Säve (GU, 36) suggest an alternative et prester ai ma at, dropping the superfluous so and simplifying the phrase. The less radical change proposed by Pipping seems preferable.

Addition 2: Aff osoydom

98/2. Swedish not is used of beef cattle, both on the hoof and at table. The word rus (cf. Old West Norse hross m.) is used here in the B-text where hestr occurs earlier in the chapter, and in the A-text. Whilst it is possible that no significance can be attached to this difference, rus is only used of draught animals and hestr is used in only two cases out of eleven (63/11 and 66/7) in a context that precludes reference to a riding horse. The modern Gotlandic pony, the skogsruss, is descended from animals native to Gotland since the Stone Age. They are small, tough animals that perform well in harness, but are not of traditional riding type. As late as the fifteenth century, horses from Gotland were exported to the Teutonic Order. They, like the horses from Öland, were particularly tough and hardy, since they came from herds that lived out all year.

98/4 and endnote 767. The emendation Säve gives from ogömslu to ogoymslu is justified on the grounds of Old West Norse geymsla f., ‘guardianship’, the change of diphthong from ey to oy being also evident in, for instance, Gutnish hoy, oyrir.

98/4-5 and endnotes 768 and 769. In the expression than sakir wird, as it appears in the B-text, Schlyter (CIG, 107) offers the reading warder for the manuscript’s wird and the translation ‘som varder saker’, ‘who keeps the thing [the animal in
question]. Säve (GU, xxiv), however, opposes this change as too radical and suggests that sakir is a genitive and that wird is a noun with the sense värde, 'worth, value', giving a translation 'än sakens värde', 'than the value of the thing'. Säve expresses doubts in relation to the meaning of sak that this interpretation imposes, and thinks that the context could as easily carry the usual sense '(legal) case'. Wadstein (1894-1895, 14-15) rejects both these interpretations and proposes that sakir be read as sak ir, with no further changes necessary. This gives a translation 'än saken uppskattas till', 'than the case is valued at'. This requires minimum change and also retains the usual sense of sak. Pipping (1901a, 23 note 5) points out that the k and i of sakir are not joined in the manuscript, merely so near to one another that it seems certain that the scribe assumed that one word was intended. The seemingly overriding provision that no-one was to be liable for more than the value of the creature involved cannot have applied in the case of carelessness, otherwise this provision would make no sense.

98/4-5 and endnote 769. Pipping (GLGS, 21 note 10) makes this emendation by comparing this phrase with than thet sielfft ier wert (98/2) and than soydir ier werd'r (98/5) and contrasting with 77/14, endnote 422. Wadstein rejects queries about the form of wird, suggesting that there is no need to assume that wirt would have been the usual form in the B-text had this been intended.

Jacobsen (GGD, 52 note 4) observes that the sentence Pa en minni lastir ... halfu minna is far from clear. It appears to mean that if damage was less than the creature was worth, the owner was liable to half of the actual value of the animal. This might, of course, be less than the value of the case, and can thus hardly apply to cases involving carelessness, which were to be doubly penalized. The structure of the sentence makes it possible that Bylefeld has made a scribal error and omitted
a clause.

98/7-9. The latter part of this paragraph gives an alternative version of fines payable for injuries by dogs to those laid out in the A-text.

Addition 3: Aff sara farom

These provisions offer a slightly different reading from the equivalent ones in the A-text (73/7-9). The following differences are apparent in the level of fines.

98/12. Damage to bones in a hand or foot are valued at two marks in coin instead of one. The provision in the A-text relating to more bones being broken but a full recovery being made does not appear in the B-text. There is however, evidence of a scribal amendment to the latter at this point, and it is possible that Bilefeld originally inserted it from this third manuscript (see Pipping 1901a, 27 note 1).

98/12-13. Each rib is valued at two marks in coin, as in the A-text, but there is no limit set on the number of ribs to be counted for compensation.

98/13-14. The compensation for disability is two marks of silver as in the A-text. The provision is here inserted in the margin, according to Pipping from a lost manuscript other than that of 1470, as touched on in the Introduction, pp. 20-21.

98/14. The provision relating to visible wounds does not occur in this form in the A-text.

Addition 4: Aff sara farom

These provisions offer a slightly different reading from the equivalent ones in the A-text (73/19-23). The following differences are apparent in the level of fines.

98/17. The fine for a damaged ear is two marks in coin in the A-text, rather than a mark of silver, i.e. half as much.

98/17-18. Fines relating to shinbones and forearms do not appear in the A-text. They
appear in the margin of the B-text, which lends support to Pipping's theory that Bilefeld had a third manuscript to hand when he was writing AM 54 4° (see Introduction, pp. 20-21).

98/18-20. Fines for teeth in the A-text are: two marks in coin for each of the two central upper teeth, one mark in coin for each of the eye teeth and one mark for each of the other teeth in the upper jaw. Teeth in the lower jaw were valued at half of this throughout. The B-text does not differentiate between the upper and lower jaw and the fines are twice as much as the A-text specifies for the upper jaw.

Addition 5: Aff loyski

98/24-26. These provisions offer a slightly different reading from the equivalent ones in the A-text (74/7, 9-12), but correspond exactly with Chapter 62, a later addition in the A-text. Exceptionally, the fine for pulling out hair more than the flat of a hand can cover, or all the hair, is doubled in each case. The remaining provisions are repeated unchanged. For the different treatment of these additions in the two manuscripts, see Introduction, pp. 14, 15, 20-21 and SL IV, 264 note 47.

Addition 6: Aff wagnikla ferdir

99/2-4. These provisions correspond exactly to those at the end of the A-text addition, Chapter 63 (95/14-15).

Addition 7: Af manna kaupi

This chapter, although listed in the table of contents in the A-text, following Chapter 32, does not appear in that text. Addition 7 is taken from the B-text, where it appears in the position expected in the A-text. The chapter appears in tyGL and daGL. Schlyter (CIG, viii-ix) thinks that the reason for the omission of this chapter, and sections of the chapter on theft, can be found in an assumption that slavery was no longer current when the A-text manuscript was written. He
considers that slavery was dying out even when GL originated, since the period of
slavery was limited (61/7). Jacobsen (GGD, 93 note 4) observes that the word prel,
'slave', although used elsewhere in GL, does not appear in this chapter. She also
remarks that the chapter was most probably present in the manuscript from which
the scribe of the A-text made his copy. For an analysis of the provisions relating to
slaves in GL, see Nevéus (1974, 54-67).

99/8. Säve (GU, xx) observes that mans (or more correctly manns) is the genitive
singular of the masculine noun mandr or mapr, 'person, man', but also that man is
recorded in Schlyter's glossary (CIG, 280) as a neuter noun, albeit with a question
mark, with the sense 'slave', by analogy with Old West Norse man. Säve argues
that man in the present context is a masculine noun and should be spelled with a
double n, as is manna in the chapter rubric. He uses as his principal argument the
phrases Pa en han verpr brigpr i heldi and gieri han pa man pir heimulan (99/16-
17, 17-18), where the use of the pronoun han of the slave in the first, and heimulan
(accusative singular masculine) in the second, convinces him that Schlyter is
incorrect. Säve considers the fact that the scribe of the B-text rarely uses double
consonants in final position and the use of the expression mans man, as in Old
West Norse, has led to Schlyter's conclusion that man here is neuter. Säve does not
interpret it as 'slave', but simply as a 'man belonging to another'. The translation
'slave' in this particular context does, however, make the meaning clearer.

99/9. Brate and Bugge (1891, 98, 336-337) cite instances of kas, pronounced gass, for
gats (preterit of getas) and kes for gets (third person present indicative) in runic
inscriptions. Bugge and Olsen (NIYR1, 7) consider gies in GL to be an example of
this assimilation (cf. Noreen 1904, §290. 2).

99/12. Wessén (SL IV, 282 note 5 to Chapter 32a) remarks that in Gotland it appeared
to be the one who followed usual legal process who had (the right) to substantiate his claim, rather than the one who deviated from it.

99/15. Jacobsen (GGD, 94 note 5), unlike other editors, is clear about the implications of *bedroyta*, describing it as bed-wetting, whether deliberate or through negligence, which would indeed have rotted the straw in a bed. In *Gull 57* (NGL 1, 29) a slave can be returned if he is incontinent in any way, not just in his bed.

The symptoms of epilepsy or falling sickness (*brutfall*) were described in accounts of miracles as early as 1134 and appear in detail on the gravestone of Abbot Vilhelm in Âebelholt from circa 1205. One description mentions frothing at the mouth, clenching the teeth and the following coma, lasting several hours. The patient was cured by drinking from the holy well at Haraldsted (see *KL* s. v. *Ligfald*). In *Gull 57* (NGL 1, 29) and *FrostL V §41* (NGL 1, 182) it was, as in *GL*, considered to be a fault in a slave for which the seller was responsible for a month.

The Old West Norse word is *stiarva* or *stjarfa*.

The phrase *ny ok nipan*, referring to the waxing and waning of the moon was used in a number of contexts to denote a month, although *manapr* is more usual (cf. *Gull 56, 57* (NGL 1, 29); *ÄVgL* Tjb 19; *YVgL* Tjb 54). The two Swedish instances also are in connection with the detection of faults in a bought slave.

99/16. The nature of the illness represented by the phrase *beyni verkir*, literally ‘he hurts in the bone or leg’ is not clear. Wessén suggests that it was *benröta*, ‘caries’, or something similar. Arthritis is another possibility. The parallel passage in *Gull 57* (NGL 1, 29) specifies *oc við stinga*, ‘a stitch in the side’.

The word *brigsl* has many meanings, but here it clearly means a dispute relating to ownership. The vendor was deemed responsible in perpetuity for the legal ownership of a slave he was selling in *ÄVgL* Tjb 19 and in *Gull 57* (NGL 1, 29-31).
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(cf. SL IV, 282 note 9).

99/17. Schlyter (CIG, 262 s. v. haita) suggests that huti is a scribal error and that the correct form should be heiti or haiti. Pipping (1901a, 87-88) assumes that Schlyter consequently interprets this word as an imperative. He argues against such an interpretation and does not consider that huti needs to be emended. He regards it as the present subjunctive of *hūta, meaning (1) ‘shriek’, or in this instance (2) ‘call to’. This has more in common with Swedish hojta, which has similar senses, than with huta, which has acquired the sense ‘correct someone in a demeaning way’.

99/18. Pipping (GLGS, Ordbok, 42 s. v. ir) remarks that the form idir may be dative or accusative (cf. paim (62/2, 88/5, 88/6) or pa (86/18)).

99/19. The expression mid mala, translated here as ‘under conditions’, seems to imply that the sale was temporary, for a limited period of time; the agreement was effectively a lease. It is not clear whether this provision relates specifically to the immediately preceding one or not, but presumably the argument presented by the vendor was that the purchaser had to return the slave after a stipulated period. Whether the slave was his to sell or not was thus irrelevant, since he would expect eventually to be able to return him or her to the legal owner. Right appeared always to have been on the side of the person who believed that the transaction was a straightforward purchase, and they had the right of proof (cf. Note to 99/12).

99/20. Jacobsen (GGD, 95 note 1) suggests that for pan one should read pu, since all the preceding provision has been in the second person singular, and this does seem to break the pattern in which either pu or hin are used, depending upon who is in the right (cf. 99/12, 99/14).

Addition 8: Aff tiaufa rethi

The contents of this addition occur also in tyGL. The provisions refer to theft by
slaves, which accounts for their omission from the A-text.

99/23-24 and 99/24-25. Wessén (SL IV, 284 note 4) observes that the implication in each of these cases seems to be that if the owner of the slave (rather than the victim) detected his theft and returned the goods, he had nothing further to pay.

99/24 and endnote 784. Schlyter (CIG, 287) takes the nominative form oyri here as evidence that the word had a weak declension and that all the remaining instances of oyri for the dative and accusative are errors for oyra. Säve (GU, xxi), however, takes the opposite view: that oyri here is an error for oyrir and that the noun has a strong declension (cf. Old West Norse eyrir). Since this involves only a single amendment to a late copy, the suggestion has been accepted.

99/25. A *prigildi*, or triple fine, is referred to only in the B-text and not in mainland provincial laws.

100/1. The noun *piaufnapr* is here a synonym for *pypti* (99/24), 'stolen goods'. The noun can also mean the abstract concept of 'theft' itself. At 100/11, either meaning would make sense.

100/3. Jacobsen (GGD, 99 note 4) relates hun to Old Danish hund, ‘door shutter or bar’. In the dialect of Jutland, hund was used of the brake on a wagon and Danish dialect retains hæl in the combination tojre-hæl, ‘tethering stake’. Wadstein (1890-1892, 228-229) translates hun as ‘bom’ and hell as ‘hängsle’. The word hel seems to be cognate with Old West Norse hæll, ‘mooring peg; scythe handle’, but according to Lidén (1892, 89-90) more probably means ‘tränagel varpå dörren vrider sig’. Wessén (SL IV, 284 note 6) takes hun and hell as parts of a door-lock. He assumes that here and in VmL Kkb 5 pr the words refer to the lock mechanism and the bolt itself (see SL II, VmL, 23-24 note 12). Schlyter (CISG s. v. hun, hell) translates the former as ‘takás’ and the latter as ‘tröskel ... sten’ (cf. GO s. v. hun).
An abstract interpretation might be: 'if the house is undamaged from top to bottom', but a more concrete translation seems preferable. The inference drawn from the fact that no part of the door lock was damaged was that no break-in had taken place. Either the owner had failed to secure his property, or his own household people were involved.

The concept of *viprlag*, *veip* or *witae* occurred across the Scandinavian laws. It meant either a forfeit (*pant*) or a deposit in relation to a legal case, so that one could charge a slave on suspicion. Either both parties placed deposits with a *taka* at the beginning of a case, or at the end of a case after judgement had been passed, in which case the judges and the person who had lost the case laid down money with the *taka*. The result of the appeal determined if the appellant or the judges received the deposited money (cf. *KL* s. v. *Veddemål*). In the first instance, the accuser forfeited the money if the case was not proved.

The use of torture to extract a confession where the goods concerned were not under lock and key seems to be exceptionally harsh, but is another example of betrayal of trust being regarded as particularly reprehensible. The assumption is that at least some of the stolen items were found (cf. 100/5) and that there was reason to suspect the slave. Although instances of torture in Scandinavian medieval laws are uncertain, it formed part of Roman law, and there is a suggestion of it in *VStL* I 41 (cf. Munktell 1939, 103-105; Hasselberg 1953, 67 note 1).

The *viprlag* referred to is the six-øre deposit demanded under other circumstances.

100/4. *beinheilom*. The scribe has originally written *Bein heilom*, but this has been altered to *Bain heilom* (cf. Note to 83/14). Jacobsen (*GGD*, 99 note 7) takes this to refer to the slave’s joints, rather than his bones in general.

It is not clear what is meant by *brustheilom*, but it was clearly part of a stock
phrase that has an exact parallel in that used of horses: sound in wind and limb. In other words, the slave had to be in a state in which he could resume his duties.

100/5. In reference to the meaning of agripr, Wessén (SL IV, 284 note 9) questions that offered by Schlyter and Pipping: ‘tjufgods, hvarmed någon blivit befunnen’. He thinks that this might be a possible translation here, but not at 100/7. He suggests a translation meaning in general ‘items left behind by or taken from a suspected thief, which are to be used as evidence’. For the meaning of Old Swedish agriper or agreper, see DL Kkb 9 §3; SL II, DL, 17 note 57.

vensl. A nasal stroke has been accidentally omitted (cf. 62/20). Further omissions occur at 70/7 (cf. 70/4) and 89/20 (cf. 89/22). Cf. Noreen 1904, §317 note 1.

100/6. Kumi ok hailum atr ok byti vi oyra. The first clause of the sentence in the B-text, Kuma oc heilom at r, seems also to be corrupt. If kuma is the infinitive in the sense ‘to come’, referring to the slave, as suggested by Pipping (GLGS, Ordbok, 45) some auxiliary verb should precede or follow it (as skal in the previous sentence). If, however, the sense is ‘to bring’, with the dative object (the slave) understood (as in a parallel passage at 100/4), the verb should surely be in the third person singular subjunctive, as is byti. The text has been emended accordingly in the present edition.

100/6-7. Kumi ok hailum atr ok byti vi oyra fyri baugband ... vi oyra. Schlyter (CIG, 110 note 24), Jacobsen (GGD, 100 note 3) and Wessén (SL IV, 284 note 10) rightly consider that the scribe has been guilty of haplography. Wessén reconstructs the missing text from tyGL and this reconstruction has been incorporated in the present translation in square brackets. The fine for unlawful imprisonment is low here in comparison to that in Swedish mainland provincial laws and in VStL, where it was forty marks, i.e. the equivalent of a wergild. Even a
slave’s wergild of 4½ marks in coin was considerably higher than the six öre offered here (cf. Hasselberg 1953, 326-329 and note 6).

There appears to be no description of baugband, and they may have been no more damaging than a pair of handcuffs with which a thief was restrained for presentation before the assembly (see Wennström 1936, 131). This in itself was considered to be a severe infringement of a person’s rights and so could not be done on mere suspicion (or at least not without payment of a deposit). It is, however, possible that baugband were an instrument of torture or punishment, which would explain why an accuser had to pay for inflicting them upon the slave, even if a confession were extracted. Thieves were sometimes bound with their hands behind their backs, which was considered extremely insulting, or with their hands in front of them, which was less so (cf. KL s. v. Fängelse). Although Åke Ohlmarks (1976, 613) glosses baugband as a strap around the elbows (which, if fastened behind the back, would have been particularly uncomfortable), bauglihr, ‘wrist’, seems to be a more likely connection than *albugi, ‘elbow’. A combination tjuva-band is listed as occurring in Gotlandic dialect, but no meaning or instances cited (cf. GO s. v. band). On the other hand, a båg-band is defined as a tie to fasten an animal in a barn, while baug is found in Gotlandic dialect in senses relating to the training and restraint of oxen and horses (cf. GO s. v. båge, *bög).

100/7. I naup segir nau̯bugir, þet han ey valdir. The implication here is that one could not take a confession extracted under torture as proof of guilt if there was no material evidence to support it (see SL IV, 284 note 11 to Chapter 38).

100/7-11. Further to notes on agripr at 100/5, Wessén (SL IV, 284 note 12) argues that a person who had had his property stolen could clearly not bring the latter when he was conducting a house-search. What must be referred to here is further
material evidence against the slave in question: enough to instigate a search of his master’s farm. If the farm owner refused a search, but one was nonetheless conducted and stolen goods were found, he was liable to a triple fine. There is thus no question of the stolen property having been brought to the scene by the accusers. Receipt of stolen goods (as here by the master of a slave) was treated in some mainland provincial laws as equal with theft itself (cf. AVgL Tjb 4; YVgL Tjb 29; ÖgL Vb 32 §5). The laws of Svealand, however, seem to differentiate between the two (cf. SdmL Tjb 10 §1; VmL Mb 31; 26 §9; HL Mb 31 §4). See also Notes to 89/23, 89/25.

100/11-12. If treble the value of the stolen property exceeded the value of the slave, then the master was not expected to pay this amount, but to relinquish the slave instead.

100/12. This sentence reinforces the meaning of the preceding one. The verb firistiela means ‘forfeit as a result of theft’. Cf. the use of the verb firibiera (90/5).

100/14. One eighth of the value appears to have been a usual reward for finding stolen property (cf. 92/19). No specific mention is made of a portion of the value of the goods themselves being paid, but it is possible that fundarlaun is also intended covers this. The alag referred to was presumably the threefold fine that the owner of a slave had to pay to a victim of theft, since no other fine is mentioned. Elsewhere in Old West Norse álóg usually refers to an extra payment made if a deal settled by a handshake is not honoured.

100/15. The expression muslaghu or muslaghu mapær appears also in ÖgL Bb 34 §1 in relation to an escaped slave and the suggestion by Ihre is that the first element derives from a verb musla meaning ‘hide, abscond’. Schlyter, however, thinks that a simpler derivation from mus and liggja is more likely. Such men were fugitives
and had to lie low as far as they were able to avoid detection, 'as quiet as a mouse' (cf. CISG, xiii and s. v. muslaghu maper). Once the slave was on the run, his master's responsibility for his actions in regard to his survival ceased and no compensation was paid for any theft of food that he might commit.

100/18. a landi. This means 'in Gotland', that is before he had escaped overseas.

a fluta. This does not mean 'afloat' (from flut n., as at 92/20), but 'in a (small) boat' (from fluti m.). Kock (1906-1929, 2, 155) rejects Schlyter's identification with Old West Norse fløtti, 'flight', as incorrect but thinks the word is probably the same as Old Swedish fluti, 'fleet', giving the sense 'on a vessel'. Jacobsen (GGD, 101) has not noticed this differentiation in Pipping's glossary.

100/19. Provisions relating to the lawful securing of vessels of various types are contained in Chapter 36. It is notable that the owner of an unprotected ship was responsible to a slave's owner for his safety, even if the slave were a thief (100/23-24).

100/20. The clause specifying that a slave's owner had to redeem (i.e. pay recompense for) any goods stolen by the slave while he was on the run appears to contradict the clause at 100/15-16, but this latter refers presumably only to food.

100/25. agripslaus. This is translated by Pipping (GLGS, Ordbok, 2) as meaning 'one on whom no stolen goods have been found'. Wessén, on the other hand, takes the view that this has the broader sense of the Swedish utan avtäkt. This means strictly 'in the absence of the right by a property owner to confiscate tools, weapons or stolen goods held by a thief', but 'in the absence of material evidence' is probably a preferable translation (see SL IV, 285 note 22).

100/25-101/2. Jacobsen (GGD, 101 and note 9) assumes that naquar madir in 100/25 refers to a slave and supports this theory by pointing out that this final paragraph is
also missing from the \( A \)-text. On the other hand, Wessén (SL IV, 285 note 24) considers that this paragraph is clearly a continuation of provisions in Chapter 38 relating to free men and that it was inadvertently omitted when the \( A \)-text was constructed. Since no mention of assemblies occurs otherwise in the section on theft by slaves, Wessén’s interpretation seems preferable.

101/2. The action to be taken in the case of material evidence being available was to be the same as if there were none. Schlyter, in line with his interpretation of \textit{agripa}, and with different punctuation, translates this passage thus: ‘De skola vitna det som de höra, om han är skyldig eller oskyldig, så ock om han är funnen med tjufgods’.

Addition 9: Af burgan vilja byamen

101/6. These two provisions coincide with those in the addition to the \( A \)-text, Chapter 65 (96/1). No fine is laid down here, although the fine implied in the \( A \)-text is twelve marks to the general assembly.

The verb \textit{betal}a is a loan word from Low German; in the \( A \)-text, \textit{gielda} is always used.

101/8. This provision relates to the one in the addition to the \( A \)-text (95/11), but expands upon it. Cf. the use of the verb \textit{virpa} in these passages, where it means ‘take in payment (of a debt)’ to those at e.g. 91/3, where it seems to mean ‘place a value on’. As the provision here is a later one, it is possible that the meaning of \textit{virpa} changed over time. The whole expression carries the implication that liquid assets (\textit{oyrar}) and real estate were not interchangeable in respect of debt payment, except by agreement (cf. Notes to 61/6, 93/12-13).
GLOSSARY

All words are listed in the form used in the present edition of the text, except that B-text orthography (as in AM 54 4°) has been retained. Oblique cases and conjugated forms are shown only under the headword, if they would otherwise occur within two lines of it. Translations of words refer principally to their sense in Guta lag, although alternatives are given if they provide support for the interpretation used.

References are to page and line numbers of the text. Except where there are four or fewer instances of the same form, the first instance only of each form is cited, together with any emendations and instances in endnotes. References to words and forms that are the subject of editorial emendations are placed in pointed brackets <>.

Words or letters omitted by the A-text scribe, apparently in error, and supplied from the B-text, by previous editors or by the current editor are placed in square brackets [ ].

Words and short phrases not essential to the meaning, but supplied from the B-text are listed as B-text occurrences.

Where an extended entry is provided in the Commentary and there are a number of occurrences of the word, a cross-reference is made to the relevant line number of the text.

Abbreviations

* form not found in the text of Guta lag.

acc. accusative

\textit{a[s]}: [a[s]m, a[s]f, a[s]n] accusative [singular] [masculine, feminine, neuter]

\textit{ap}: [apm, apf, apn] accusative plural [masculine, etc.]

adj. adjective

adv. adverb(ial)

comp. comparative

conj. conjunction

dat. dative

\textit{d[s]} [d[s]m, d[s]f, d[s]n] dative [singular] [masculine, etc.]

\textit{dp} [dpm, dpf, dpn] dative plural [masculine, etc.]

def. art. definite article

def. demonstrative

f. feminine noun

gen. genitive
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| g[s] [g[s]m, g[s]f, g[s]n] | genitive [singular] [masculine, etc.] |
| gp [gpm, gpf, gpn] | genitive plural [masculine, etc.] |

| i[p] | infinitive [passive] |
| imp. | imperative |
| m. | masculine noun |
| md. | middle voice |
| n. | neuter noun |
| nom. | nominative |

| n[s] [n[s]m, n[s]f, n[s]n] | nominative [singular] [masculine, etc.] |
| np [npm, npf, npn] | nominative plural [masculine, etc.] |

| num. | numeral |
| pers. | personal |
| pl. | plural |
| poss. | possessive |
| pron. | pronoun |
| prp. | preposition |
| ptc. | participle [tense not given as unambiguous] |
| refl. | reflexive |
| rel. | relative |
| sing. | singular |
| sup. | supine |
| superl. | superlative |
| undecl. | undecinable, undeclined |
| v. | verb |

| 2s | 2nd person singular present indicative |
| 3s[p] | 3rd person singular present indicative [passive] |
| 1p | 1st person plural present indicative |
| 2p | 2nd person plural present indicative |
| 3p[p] | 3rd person plural present indicative [passive] |
| subj. 1s | 1st person singular present subjunctive |
| subj. 2s | 2nd person singular present subjunctive |
| subj. 3s[p] | 3rd person singular present subjunctive [passive] |
| subj. 1p | 1st person plural present subjunctive |
| subj. 3p[p] | 3rd person plural present subjunctive [passive] |
pret. 2s 2nd person singular past indicative
pret. 3s[p] 3rd person singular past indicative [passive]
pret. 3p[p] 3rd person plural past indicative [passive]
pret. subj. 3s 3rd person singular past subjunctive
pret. subj. 3p 3rd person plural past subjunctive

a1 prp. with dat. in; at. A. 60/8. <86/10>. <89/3>. <90/23>. 44 further instances. S. 95/9. B. 80/1. 99/8. 5 further instances. 58 note 16. 70 note 295. 76 note 407. 86 note 567. 89 note 612. 90 note 649. 91 note 668.

with acc. into; to; in; against; (on) top of. A. <60/3>. <82/14>. 22 further instances. (Redundant at 62/15 note 115). B. 97/12. 6 further instances. 60 note 44. 65 note 198. 70 note 299. 73 note 351. 80 note 457. 82 note 495.

case uncertain A. 71/22. 71/22. 85/17. 59/43. B. 97/3. 97/3.

a2 adv., i.e. without a headword or as part of a compound verb in the matter; at the place. A. 60/15. <85/11>. <92/4>. 32 further instances (20 separated). B. 97/25. 5 further instances. 85 note 551. 92 note 672. Bx. 74 note 370.

a3 adv. not. A. 90 note 650. [Probably a misspelling of ai.] Cf. ai, e.

a4 see *aiga1.

aar see ann.
adra see annar.
afl prp. with dat. from, away from, out of; of, about, concerning. A. page 58, 34 times. page 59, 37 times. 115 further instances. S. [59/43]. 95/16. 96/2. B. afl 58, 5 times. 59, twice. 68/3. 74/6. 74/19. 77/7. 78/14. 81/23. 82/1. 82/5. 87/4. 87/5. 88/13. 91/23. 94/1. 98/23. 4 further instances. 69 note 276. 79 note 450. 80 note 459. 88 note 604. 88 note 606. 93 note 691.

afl adv., i.e. without a headword or as part of a compound verb from it; concerning the matter. A. 62/7. 25 further instances. S. 95/4. B. 72/25. 91/7. 97/3. 98/24. 100/5. 100/14. 81 note 477. 95 note 747.


*af fyra v. hand over, give. See fyra.


*af haggua v. cut off. See hagg(u)a.

*afhendas v. md. with dat. part with. A. 3spi afhendis 77/16.

*a fran* adv. away from there. *giptas a fran* be deprived of one’s rights as a result of marriage. A. (giptis) *a fran* 76/18.

*afrapalaus* adj. saleable without being subject to *afrapr*. A. *nsf afrapalaus* (B. *affrad laus*) 86/9.

*afra* m. kinsman’s portion, penalty amounting to 1/8 of the sale price of any piece of estate not sold to the next of kin. A. *ns* (B. *affrad’r*) 85/20. 86/8. *as afrap* 86/3.

  4 further instances. See Commentary to 85/20.

*aftakin* *ptc.* abolished, prohibited. See *taka*.

*aftun* m. eve, the day before a saint’s day. A. *as aftun* 64/20.

agha see *aiga*.

*agr* m. fen sedge, Cladium mariscus. A. *as ag* 83/10.

*agrippr* m. stolen goods, found on someone’s person; material evidence (i.e. other than the stolen goods). B. *ns agripir* 100/5. *agriper* 101/2. *gs agrips(laus)* 100/25.

  *ds agripi* 100/7.

*agripslaus* adj. someone on whom stolen goods have not been found; someone against whom there is no material evidence of theft. B. *nsm agripslaus* 100/25.


*ahitta* v. find. See *hitta*.


*aiga* v. own, have (possession); claim, have right (to do something); have duty (to do something); shall (auxiliary use). *aiga sak a* (B. *eyga a saka*) have the right to claim compensation for something. A. *3s a 61/9. 34 further instances. a sak a 60/14. 3p *aigu* 61/17. 21 further instances. subj. *3s aigi* 70/21. 80/15. 89/14. 89/16. *ptc nsn (mals)aigandi* 79/16. *gsm aiganda* 94/8. *dsm (mals)aiganda* 79/11. 4 further instances. *asm aiganda* 84/24. (mals)aiganda 88/15. 83/11. 83/17. 83/18. B. *3s eig(h)ir* 83/22. 99/24. *eyger* 97/13. *eyg’r* 83 note 516. *eygir* 83 note 529. 3p *eyga* 83/21. *agha* 86 note 562. subj. *3s eygi* 98/6. pret. *3s atti* 100/11. 7 further instances. *ptc asm (mals)eyganda* 84/24. See also *aigin*.

(festu)aigur 95/11. B. as eygu 101/8. eigu 83 note 512. 86 note 574. np (festu)
eygur 101/7. dp aigum <87/5>. ap eyg'r 87/5. Cf. aign.

*aigin adj. (one's) own. A. asn aigit 85/8.

aign f. property (in the form of land). [Form not used in the singular in B. Cf. *aiga².]

A. ns 85/19. 85/24. 86/2. 86/3. ds aign 64/12. 5 further instances. (iorp)aign 64/16.
as aign 64/15. 18 further instances. dp aignum 85/21. ap aignir 88/1. B. ap eygnir

*aignadaila f. dispute about land. A. as aignadailu 88/5.

*aignakaup n. land purchase. A. ds aignakaupi 58/58. 85/15.

aignir, aignum see aign.

aigu¹ see *aiga¹.
aigu², aigum, aigur see *aiga².
aina, ains, ainu, ainum see ann and utan þi at ains et.


*ainsyri n. oath sworn by the plaintiff or defendant alone. A. ds ainsyri 73/13.

aïp m. oath. A. ns 72/1. gs aiz 60/22. 83/1. ds aipi 62/3. 15 further instances. as aïp
70/8. 71/25. 88/7. (symdar)aïp 60/16. np aïpir 87/24. dp aïpum 60/25. 69/10. See
Commentary to 60/16.

aka v. travel. A. i 63/15. 63/17. 81/13. 2s akr 89/2. 3s akr 84/23. S. i 95/8. 3s akr
95/7.

akr m. (arable) field (as opposed to pasture or hay meadow, engi); rofu akr (or
92/11. B. gs akr's, ack'r 92 note 673. as ak'r 58/5. 92 note 677.

al see *skulu.
al v. raise, bring up, rear. A. i 60/8. B. ip alas 60 note 52.

*alag n. fine. B. ds alagi 100/14.

*aldr¹ m. time. B. as alder 99/16. See also aldr³.

*aldr² pron. and adj. whole, everything; each; all. A. nsf all 61/16. 62/14. 64/21.
64/21. nsn alt 64/1. [73/5]. 10 further instances. dsm allum 63/18. dsf aldri (B.
alii) 90/23. dsn allu 73/22. 4 further instances. (mep) allu 84/12. asm allan 61/10.
62/10. 78/7. asn alt 62/11. 4 further instances. npm allir 60/3. 23 further instances.
pnf allar 65/9. 4 further instances. npm all 66/24. 4 further instances. gp aldra (B.
occasionally alla) 58/11. 6 further instances. dp allum 60/5. 10 further instances.
apnum all 60/19. 10 further instances. apn all 80/4. 87/20. S. nsf all 95/18. 95/21.
npn all 95/19. apf allar 95/11. B. nsm aldr’r 100/1. nsn alt 97/3. 73 note 348. 95
note 747. gsn als 100/4. dsn allu 98/20. asm allan 99/16. asn alt 89/4. 98/6. 60
note 67. npm allir 60/3. 75/16. 97/12. aldr’r 97/16. npf allar 101/7. dp allom 58/28.
*alsvaldandi.

aldr’r adv. never (again). A. 78/21. 6 further instances.


als¹, alt see *aldr.

*als² adv at all. B. als enkti fe no goods at all. 100/4. Cf. aldr².

*alsvaldandi adj. all-powerful. A. as alzvaldanda (B. alzwaldugan). 60/3.

ambatn f. female slave. A. ns 64/3. ds ambatnu (B. ambatn) <61/5>. See
Commentary to 61/5.

*amerki n. new cattle-brand, which obscures a previous one. A. ds amerki 59/22. as
amerki <92/4>. 92/5. B. as amerki 92 note 672. Cf. aldr¹.
a millum adv. between them. A. a millum 68/12. B. at millan (possibly an error) 68
note 254. Cf. milli².

an see ann.
anbol n. building material. A. nom. 83/13.

andra, andrar, andrir, andru, andrum see annar.

*anduerPa v. with dat. answer for. A. subj. 3s anduerPi 84/10. 84/12.

*anduerPr adj. turned to the front, (from) the beginning, belonging to the start. A.
ds (af) anduerPbu 61/10.

*ankul m. ankle. A. as ankul 81/7. B. as ankal 81 note 469.

ann num. one, a single, the same. A. nsm 66/23. 4 further instances. an [error or
variant] 82/25. 88/18. gsm ains 71/24. gsf annir 67/20. gsn ains 91/2. See also
utan pi at ains et. dsm ainum 74/2. 82/9. 87/1. dsf anni 72/18. 73/24. dsn ainu
67/24. 6 further instances. asm ann <60/3>. 65/13. 65/13. 68/23. 72/2. asf aina
67/10. 68/23. 74/20. asm att 71/21. 75/8. B. nsf eyn 100/5. dsm eynom 58/50. asm
an 99/26. 60 note 44. gsn eyns, see utan pi at ains et. See also *ainloypr, ainsyri.
annanstef adv. somewhere else. A. 67/19. 67/23. 89/2. annan stap 80/2.

annanveg prp. with gen. on the other side of. A. <67/9>.

annar num. and adj. second; other; different. A. nsm 67/11. 88/16. 88/18. 88/21. nsn
anni, annir see ann.

*ar\(^1\) n. year; (good) harvest. A. ds ar 76/16. 85/22. 93/19. as ar 60/4. 5 further instances. np ar 68/7. 77/2. 77/6. 78/6. gp ara 75/16. 77/6. 78/4. 93/15. ap ar 68/5. 4 further instances. B. gp ara 78 note 434. ap ara 101/7. 101/8. See Commentary to 60/4.

*ar\(^2\) f. oar. A. gp ara 92/20.

*arf n. inheritance (left by a deceased person). A. ds arfi 75/24.

*arfi m. heir (particularly one who pursues a legal case). A. ds arui 74/23.

ari see *ar\(^1\).

arrow adv. early. A. 61/11.

*armleggr m. bone of the arm. Bx. armlegg\(r\) 98/17.

asia v. witness, study, investigate. See sia.

askilia v. dispute, be of a differing opinion. See skilia.

*asyn f. inspection; eyewitness. A. ds asyn 83/14. as asyn 83/15.

at\(^1\) prp. with dat. to, against; for; in; about, at, on, with; concerning; as, in respect of, according to. A. 60/1. [72/20]. [72/22]. 142 further instances. S. 95/4. 95/12. 95/15. B. 66/15. 66/19. 72/20. 72/20. 72/22. 93/18. 97/14. 16 further instances. 72 note 333. 72 note 345. 74 note 369. 92 note 678. Bx. 98/17. 98/25.

at\(^2\) adv. or part of an compound verb for this; in this respect. A. 60/19. 16 further instances. B. 97/9. 6 further instances. 84 note 538. 86 note 572. See also utan \(\ddot{p}\i\) at ains et.

at\(^3\) infinitive mark to. A. 60/20. 23 further instances. S. 95/20. B. 67/15. 70/1. 97/6. 7 further instances. 94 note 725.
at bieras v. *md. happen. See biera.

at bipa v. *with gen. wait for [something]. See bipa.


ater, atir see atr.

atmelí n. a period of a year. A. ns atmelí 67/14. 68/4. 68/12. gs atmelís 76/17. 84/5.
atr adv. back, again, afresh, back, left. A. 60/24. 41 further instances. S. 95/8. 95/13.


att see ann.


atta2 num. eight. A. gm 67/16. 67/17. gf 71/22. df 74/15. 85/1. af 74/1. 5 further instances. an 77/2.

atti see *aiga1.

*attundi num. eighth. A. asm attunda 76/12. 76/14. 82/7. 92/19. B. asm attunda 100/14.

*attundi huer num. every eighth. A. asm attunda...huern 92/19.

auga n. eye. A. ns 72/23. dp augum 80/5. ap augun 72/24. 74/1.

auka v. increase, produce offspring. A. 3sp aukas 77/15. 91/11. subj. 3s (til) auki 82/2. S. i (til) auka 95/20.


*aupin ptc trimmed. A. nsf aupin 87/2.

*avaxtr m. increase. A. ds avagst 86/17. as avagst 86/22.

*avita v. accuse. See vita2.

aviti n. fine. A. ns 64/2.

*axl f. shoulder. A. gs axlar 81/6. ap akslar 75/2.

axlar hafuj) n. shoulder blade, shoulder. See hafuj.

axul m. (wagon’s) axel. A. ns 85/1.

aþal undecl. combination element true-born, legitimate, genuine; inherited, claimed; cultivated (of land). A. 77/20. 5 further instances.

apans adv. recently. A. 70/19. B. a tan 70 note 299.

aprha, aprar, aprir, aprum see annar.
bade see bepi.
bainhail adj. having undamaged bone structure or joints, 'sound in limb'. B. dsm beinheilom <100/3>.
bait f. pasture. A. ds baiTu 89/2.
baizl n. bit, bridle. A. as baizl 75/2.
baijas v. md. ask permission, request. A. 3s baijis 78/5. 84/2. 3p baijas 89/19.
subj. 3s baijis 87/5. S. i 95/21.
baka v. bake. A. ptc dsn baka phù 63/19.
bakr m. back. A. ds baki 61/1. 63/23. <89/4>. as bak 61/7. B. ds baki 89 note 612.
bak vegg f. back wall. A. as bak vegg 70/19.
bana see bani.
band n. tie, leash; pair (of beasts). A. ds bandi 73/15. S. gs banz 95/17. See also
banda1 f. circle of peace; a protected area, within which a killer was shielded from
revenge for a certain length of time and under certain conditions. A. ns 66/1. 67/12.
67/13. 69/8. gs bandur 67/17. 69/7. ds bandu 67/11. 67/15. as bandu 67/7. 6
further instances. See also *banduvereldi, *vatubanda. See Commentary to 67/6-
14.
banda2 see bandi2.
bandavereldi see *banduvereldi.
*bandhail adj. having unbroken ties (of a perimeter fence). A. asm bandhailan
84/15.
bandi1 see *band.
*bandi2 m. withy, wicker fencing material. A. gs banda 84/19. as banda 85/3. dp
bandum 84/18. See Commentary to 84/19.
bанда, bandur see banda1.
*banduvereldi n. compensation for one who is killed within his circle of peace. A. ds
banduvereldi <69/22>. np banduvereldi <69/23>. dp banduvereldum <58/19>.
bani m. killer, murderer; sudden death. A. ns 70/5. 70/7. ds bana 68/24. 5 further
instances. as bana 70/4. 70/7. 70/11. See Commentary to 68/23-24.
bann n. excommunication. A. ns 64/9. 65/2. 65/22. gs banz(mall) 65/8. ds banni
65/3. See Commentary to 64/9.

banz see band.

bar see biera.


(faţursystur)barn 77/9. gs barns 71/12. 73/3. ds barni 60/12. 6 further instances. as barn 60/8. 10 further instances. barnit 69/14. np barn 69/19. 69/21. (bondabarn 63/3. (prest)barn 63/2. gp (py)barna 78/7. (syskana)barna 82/10. dp barnum 58/3. 60/7. 63/1. 77/3. ap barn 64/14. 76/20. (py)barn 77/23. 77/23. B. ns barnit 71 note 317. gs barns 71 note 313. ds barne 60 note 54. as barn 71 note 318. gp (bondbarna 97/5. dp (prest)barnom 58/7. 63 note 124. ap (thy)barn 58/31. 77/19.

*barnalaus adj. childless. A. nsf barnalaus 77/4. asm barnalausan 64/12. B. nsm barnalaus 64 note 161.


*batr m. boat. A. ns <89/15>. as bat 89/16. B. ns batir 89 note 620.

*baugband n. band around the wrists, handcuffs. B. ap baugband 100/6. See Commentary to 100/6-7.

*bauglijr m. wrist. A. as bauglijp 81/5.

bapi see bepjur.

bapu see *bipja.

bapum see bepjur.

*bedroyta see *bepryota.

beggia see bėpir.

*bella v. be able to. B. 3s bellir 68 note 244. 69 note 268. 3p bella 69 note 272. Cf. orka.

*belti n. belt. S. ap belti 95/20.

*beras v. md. uncover; expose. A. 3sp beras 80/21. 80/21. pret. 3sp berapis 80/23.


*berias v. md fight. A. 3s bers 75/6. B. 3s bers 58/27. 75/5.

*berykta v. charge. B. pret. 3p berychtado 60 note 60.

*bestr see *gojpr.
**beter** adv. comp. better. B. *bet'r* 99/11.

*bejir* pron. both. (B. *badir*, etc.) A. *nm* 67/20. 6 further instances. *mn bejir* 76/25.

*bejir* v. pay. B. *bade* 97/3. 100/14.

Cf. *bejir*.

*befroyta* f. bed-wetting (literally ‘bed-rot’). B. *ds bedroytu* 99/15.

*beyni* see *bain*.


*bierueldr* m. carried fire. See *eldr*.


*bit* n. bite. A. *ns (hund) bit* 71/3. B. *ns (hunss) bit* 98/7.

*bita* v. bite; cause someone to be struck down (killed) A. *3p bita* 90/3.
*bitas v. md. bite. A. 3s bitz 70/18. 88/21.

*biti¹ m. molar. A. dp bitum 73/22. B. dp bitom 98/20.

*biti² m. beam. A. np bitar 89/9.

biña v. wait, delay; with gen. wait for. A. i 75/23. 89/20. 3s (at) biår 64/10. subj. 3s biği 81/15.

biñia v. beg, request. A. i 60/3. 84/14. 90/19.

*bladragning f. wall covering of blue cloth. A. as bladragning 82/2. S. ns 95/21. See Commentary to 82/2.

blindr adj. blind. See starblindr.


blop n. blood; blood tie, kinsman in the direct blood-line. A. ns 76/3. 76/24. 77/10. gs blo(p)ız 76/3. 76/7. 77/12. ds blopi 82/11. See Commentary to 76/3.

*bloŋgr adj. bloody; giera bloŋgut injure. A. asn bloŋgut 64/25.


*boi m. dweller. See *land boi.


bol² n. equipment. See anbol.

bolamb n. tame sheep. See lamb and Commentary to Chapter 42.

*bolfastr adj. resident, domiciled; landowning. A. gp bolfasta 74/22. dp bolfastum 69/12. 71/9. ap bolfasta 78/19. 78/22.

bonafr m. decoration. See kurtilbonafr.

bondabarn n (peasant) farmer’s child. A. np bondabarn 63/3. B. gp bondabarna 97/5.

bondasun m. farmer’s son. A. ns bondasun 86/15.


bor see boa.

bort adv. away; on (one’s) way. A. 61/19. 92/10. 93/22. B. 100/22. burt 61 note 90.

*borp n. meal (time). See kniborp.

bot f. penalty, fine. A. ns 64/9. 71/25. ds bot 71/2. as bot 68/4. 68/11. 89/23.


*braitþ adj. broad, wide. A. as adverb brat 85/5. apf braitþar 82/17.

*braitþ adj. hasty, sudden. A. as adverb brat 68/20.


bregdan see brigsl.

*bregþa v. dispute, claim (ownership); abuse, reproach. A. 3s bregþr <83/3>. bregþr <90/23>. B. 3s bregdar 83 note 513. 90 note 648. ptc nsm bregdr 99/17.

*bregþas v. md. quarrel about. A. 3p bregþas 82/22.

brenna v. burn, melt down. S. i 95/18.

*bresta v. break, fail. A. 3s brestþ 85/1.

briaudi see *braup.


*briauta v. break, break apart, break up, infringe. A. 2s briautr 85/3. 3s briautr 81/21. 5 further instances. 3p briauta 94/15. sup. brutit 65/2. 65/18. S. 3s briautr 96/2. B. ptc nsn (til) brutit 100/2. 100/3.


*brigþa, Brigþas, Brigþr see *bregþa.

*brinna v. burn. A. 3p brinna 77/13.

broa v. make roads good. A. i 93/9. 3s broar 93/10.


*brok f. trousers. A. as brok 74/16. B. ap broker 74 note 373.

broþir m. brother. A. ns broþir 67/3. 79/6. 82/6. 86/23. ds bryþr 77/12. 82/9. as broþur 68/18. 86/24. np bryþr 76/21. 4 further instances. dp brybrum <77/17>.

B. np bryþr 97/15. broþr 79 note 448. dp brydrom 77 note 423.

*brun f. eyebrow. A. gs brunar 72/10.

*brusthail adj. undamaged in the chest or breathing, ‘sound in wind’. B. dsm brustheilom 100/4. Cf. briaust.

brut n. breaking, violation. See helgisbrut.
*brutfall n. epilepsy. B. ds brutfalli 99/15.

brutit see briauta.

*bruþ f. bride. A. ds bruþ 81/15.

bruþmessa f. nuptial mass. A. ns 81/14. 81/15.

brydir see broþir.


bryllaupa 81/17. dp bryllaupum 81/12. bryþlaupum 58/36.

bryttuga f. chief bridal attendant. A. ns 81/15.

*bryþlingi m. brother’s child, nephew or niece. A. np bryþlingar (B. bryþlingiar)

86/11.

bryþr, bryþrum see broþir.

budi see buþ.

budin, budit see biaþpa.

*bugi m. bow, bend. See *alnbugi.


*bul m. plank. A. as bul 89/10.

bundit, bundnan see binda.

burgan f. loan, purchase on credit against a promissory note. S. ns 96/1. B. ns 101/6.

ds burgan 59/40. 101/5. See Commentary to 96/1-2.

*burin or *burn [form uncertain] householder; daughter of the household. Bx. dat

burnum 76/13.

burit, burnir, burnum see biera.

burt see bort.

*butn m. bottom; (sea-)bed. A. ds (hafs) butni 92/20.

*buþ n. command, summons, bidding; hafa i buþi offer; vera i buþi be offered. A.

ds buþi 70/11. as buþ 78/16. B. ds budi 97/20. 97/22. 97/24. See also *forbuþ,

umbuþ.

buþin, buþit, buþu see biaþpa.

*byamafþr m. town-dweller. S. ap byamenn 96/1. B. as byaman 101/6. ap byamen

59/40. 101/5.

*byggia v. live; settle (down), establish oneself. A. ptc dsn bygþu <60/5>.

byn f. request. A. ns 68/16.

*byr m. farm, habitation. A. gs byar 80/6. 80/12. Cf. *byamafþr and *Visbyr in the Index.
byrd see byrp.

byrgia v. gather in the harvest. A. i 94/2.

byrgslu see byrslu.

byria v. begin. A. i 87/20. 3sp byrias 58/2. 3pp byrias 60/1.

byrlufulk n. workers who help with the harvest. See fulk.


*byrpling m. smaller cargo vessel. A. as byrping 89/10.

byta v. replace, atone for, pay a fine, pay for, redress. A. i 60/20. 64/25. 67/15. 94/18. 2s bytir 73/20. 5 further instances. 3s bytir 64/4. <69/13>. <75/12>. 30 further instances. 3sp bytas 69/16. 4 further instances. subj. 3s byti 60/12. <86/2>. 35 further instances. 3pp bytas 70/3. subj. 3p bytin 94/15. imp. 2s byt 64/22. 44 further instances. ptc. nsm byttr 75/7. nsp byt [72/22]. 73/7. nasn, sup. byt 64/9. <66/2>. [72/20]. 24 further instances. (o)byt 71/16. 71/18. nnpn byt 72/3. S. 3sp bytis 95/4. 95/4. subj. 3s byti 97/5. 5 further instances. ptc asn (tui)byt 95/15. B. i 97/15. 97/15. 97/26. 2s bytir 75/3 (A. 3s). 98/18. 65 note 201. byt'r 66 note 212. 66 note 213. 66 note 217. 66 note 218. 89 note 615. byter 64 note 169. 3s bytir 97/18. 98/8. 98/17. 75 note 381. byt'r 100/15. 69 note 277. 71 note 303. 72 note 332. 72 note 333. byter 74 note 369. 3sp bytis 69/18. 98/12. 5 further instances. subj. 3s byti 97/8. 97/8. 9 further instances. 64 note 150. 73 note 355. 74 note 374. 75 note 376. 86 note 561. 3pp bytas 69 note 278. imp. 2s byt 81 note 473. ptc. nsp byt 72/22. nasn, sup. byt 72/20. 66 note 202. 72 note 345. Bx. 3s byt'r 98/13. 3sp bytis 98/17. ptc. nsn byt 98/25. ptc asn (tui)byt 99/4.

*dagr m. day; 24 hours; specified day. A. gs dags 68/14. ds dag 62/1. 65/23. 81/18. (luta)dagi 84/5. as dag 60/5. 10 further instances. np dagar 64/20. gp daga 67/16. 67/17. dp dagum 58/8. 63/6. ap daga 63/7. 5 further instances. B. ap daga. 99/8. See also *dagsverk(i), *friadagr, *sunnudagr, *messudagr and *gangdagr, helgudagavika in the Index.

*dagsverk(i) n. day's work. A. as dagsverk 93/24. B. as dags wercki 93 note 700. See verk.

daila f. dispute, conflict. A. ns 88/5. 88/7. 88/9. See also *aignadaila

*daufiorn f. infertile land. A. ds daufi iorpu 83/7. B. ds daufi iorp 83 note 519.

dauf adj. dead. A. nsm 84/12. nasn datt 60/10. 61/2. 71/10. asm daupan 75/14.

*diauplaikr m. depth. A. as diauplaik 71/22.


*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diaupr m. depth. A. asn diaupt 71/22. 71/23. B. asn diupt 71 note 321.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*diupt 71 note 321.

*diupt 71 note 321.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*diupt 71 note 321.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*diupt 71 note 321.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.

*diupt m. 71/23.

*dirfas v. md. dare, venture, presume. A. subj. 3s dirfis 83/11. 83/17.
Guta lag

*uppdrykkia.

*dufla v. gamble, play. A. 3s duflar 94/22.

duga v. suffice, benefit. A. i 80/7. subj. 3p dugin 83/1. B. 3p dugi 83 note 509.
*dula v. deny. A. 3s dular 60/15. 71/7. 90/3.

dur n. pl. door. A. nom. 89/23. (felli)dur 85/12. dat. durum 70/17. 73/15.
(kirkiu)durum 61/15. 65/1. 70/12. B. dat. (kyrckio) durom 98/3.

dygr n. a day and a night, 24 hours. A. ds dy gri 64/20. 71/8. as dygr 80/7. 80/12.
  89/7.
*dylia v. deny. A. 3s dyl 90/20.

dyma v. judge. A. i 60/25. 68/13. 90/12. subj. 3pp dymins 87/23.

dyr adj. expensive, dear; vera dyr cost. A. nsm 66/1. <73/20>. 90/6. nsf dyr 80/11.
  ngn (iem)dyr 74/16.


dyrp f. honour. A. ns 60/6.

dytrum see *dotir.

e adv. always, (for) ever; continuously. A. 63/15. 12 further instances. B. 65/12.
*efla v. be able to. A. 3p efla 86/1. 86/1.

eikki adv. not. (B. ey) A. 60/8. 73/17. 85/8. 89/15. Cf. a^2, ai^1, engin.
*eldhus n. kitchen. A. dp eldhusum 93/3.
*eldr m. fire. A. ds eldi 59/26. 93/1. 93/2. (bieru)eldi 59/27. 93/5. 93/6.

e lla conj. or. A. 63/15. [72/20]. [79/12]. B. 58/5. 63/17. 65/7. 65/17. 72/20. 77/13.
  78/8. 83/21. 83/22. 97/5. 20 further instances. 67 note 227 (twice). 72 note 344. 79
ell^1 conj. or. B. ell^r 97/7. Cf. ell^a, e^p^a.
*eln f. ell, about 0.52 metres (20.5 inches) in 12th century Gotland, 0.55 metres (just
  under 22 inches) at the turn of the 14th century, but elsewhere as much as 0.64
elzti see gamal.
emen conj. as long as. A. 85/6. (B. e medan).
emípan, e ... mīpan conj. as long as. A. 76/3. 84/8. 86/25. 87/2. B. emédan 97/6.
*emni n. pl. resources. A. dat. emnum 78/7.
en¹ conj. if. A. 60/17. <88/7>. <90/7>. 90 further instances. B. 69/1. 69/3. 97/10. 16
further instances. 88 note 597. 90 note 632. Bx. 98/18.
en² conj. but, however; and. A. 60/14. 99 further instances. B. 89/9. 97/3. 9 further
instances. Cf. ok.
101/7. Cf. ūn².
en⁴ adv. as part of the conjunctions fyrl, sipan en, ūp en.
nengi n. pasture, hay meadow (as opposed to arable field, akr). A. as nengi (B. engh)
engin pron. and adj. none, no one; no. pron. A. nsf 60/14. 29 further instances. nsf
engun 66/1. 68/16. nsf ekki 77/9. 77/10. dsm engum 75/11. asm engin 89/5. asf
enga 89/23. asn engti 94/2. npf engar 81/9. npn engun (B. engin) 62/8. apf engar
61/3. 87/25. S. nsf 95/23. I95/23. 96/1. nsn engti 95/14. apn engun 95/20. B. nsf
97/8. 5 further instances. nsn enchi 99/3. asm engan 89 note 614. asf enga 100/5.
asn enchi 100/4.
adj. B. apn engin 100/3. 95 note 745. Cf. ekki.
enn f. widow. A. ns 76/17. 77/1. 77/4.
en adv. still, moreover, in addition. A. 65/21. [68/21]. 4 further instances. en 60/19.
6 further instances. B. en 97/21. 68 note 263.
eptir¹ prp. with acc. after. A. 61/14. 27 further instances.
with dat. following, in accordance with, according to. A. 63/11. 7 further instances.
B. 60 note 49.
eptir² adv. after, afterwards, after that. A. 64/10. 66/7. 75/24. 80/3. S. 96/1. B. 100/15.
64 note 153.
*eptir³ adj. late, back. comp. *eptir later, further back. A. dsm eptr 84/17.
*er¹ n. scar. A. as er 72/9.
er² see vera.
errilitytia f. heiress. A. ns 76/1. 76/6. B. ns errfillitia 76 note 394.
erfingi m. heir. A. ns 69/4.
*ertaug f. örtug; unit of weight or value in coin or other currency equal to \( \frac{1}{5} \) öre or 1/24 mark; twelve pennies in coin in Gotland, although eight in Svealand and sixteen in Götaland. A. as ertaug 91/6. 91/13. 91/22. 93/23. dp ertaugum 74/15. 85/1. ap ertaugar (B. ertaug'r) 74/1. <85/4>. 11 further instances. B. dp ertaugom 74 note 369. Cf. mark, *oyrir, *penningr. See Commentary to 74/1.


et conj. that; so that (95/18); after (71/8). (A. occasionally at; B. frequently at or att) A. 60/4. <69/10>. 91 further instances. S. 95/8. 95/17. B. 97/26. 100/11. 100/23. 69 note 273. (thy) at 97/10. 97/11. 97/23. 99/11. Bx. 74 note 370. See also mið by et, utan þi at ains et, þau et, þoygi et, þy. Cf. þet.

*et(t)f. family, clan, dynasty. A. as etar 85/24. ds ett 85/25.

*et(t)armanna skra f. genealogical table. A. ds etarmanna skra 77/21.

*et(t)armaþr m. family member, (more distant) relative. A. np etarmenn 85/23. gp etarmannum 85/17. See Commentary to 85/22-24.

eþa1 conj. or. [Used in pairs or lists as an alternative for ok.] A. 60/21. <85/11>. 189 further instances. S. 95/7. 95/11. 95/11. 95/23. Cf. ella, ellar.

eþa2 adv. otherwise, else. A. 68/21. 87/18.

*fa v. get, acquire, buy; achieve, catch, trap; beget; be allowed; give, leave. A. 3s far 67/9. 28 further instances. 3p fa 77/18. 93/4. subj. 2s fai 85/8. subj. 3s fai 60/9. subj. 3p fain 87/11. imp. 2s fa 81/1. 89/4. pret. 3s fikk 90/1. 91/19. ptc. nsn fangit 90/2. B. subj. 3s fai 99/8. pret. 2s ficht 99/14. ptc. nsm fangin 100/17.

*falda f. bedcover. A. as faldu 78/3. Cf. falling.

fall n. failure, lack. See *brutfall, *forfall, messufall.

falla v. fall; die; be written off; fail in one’s proof. A. i 82/9. 3s faldr <78/22>. 80/24. 3p falla 70/23. 77/14. subj. 3p fallin 71/2. B. 3s fald’r 78 note 444.

*fallas vipr v. md. be convicted of the violation of. A. 3s falz (vipr) 78/9.


*fang n. pl. acquisition; arrival. A. dat. fangum 89/24. acc. fang 89/25. 89/25.

fangin, fangit, far see *fa.

far2 n. danger, risk. See *barnfar, sarafar.

fara v. go (home); travel, leave, cross, pass; have passage, move. A. i 67/15. 4 further instances. fara (haim) 90/18. 2s far 70/18. 3s far 61/19. 7 further instances. subj. 3s fari 67/16. 6 further instances. pret. 3s for 82/18. S. 3s far 95/9. B. i 63/17. 3s
far 100/7.

*farvegr m. (public) carriageway (across private land). See *vegr.

faruskiaut n. draught animal. A. ns 83/13.

*fasta f. lent, fast. A. ds fastu 61/12. 4 further instances.


fabir m. father. A. ns 67/3. 9 further instances. gs faburs 79/17. 4 further instances.

fabur (only in compositions) 76/1. <76/11>. 4 further instances. ds febr 78/2. 78/6. 87/5. <87/11>. as fabur 68/18. 4 further instances. B. gs fadar (myderni) 76 note 402. 86 note 570. Bx. ds fedr' 87 note 588. See also mopir, *myprni, systir.

*fe n. (sum of) money, payment; property in general. A. gs fear, see fearkraf as fe 68/8. 6 further instances. as fe 60/20. <86/15>. 4 further instances. B. ds fe 97/21. as fe 60/24. 69/5. 100/4. See also febytr, filepi, smafilepi and Commentary to 60/20.

fearkraf n. claim for money. A. ns 88/4. ds fearkrafi 59/5. 88/3.


*fella v. condemn; dismiss. A. ptc. nsm (lag)feldr 88/1. nsf feld 60/22.

fellidur n. pl. trapdoor. See dur.


fempni f. ability. See *gangfemni, *runfemni.

femtan num. fifteen. A. gn 75/16. 82/17. af 78/3.


*fengr m. holding power, grip. A. ns <72/18>.


festa v. pledge, hold as security. A. i 75/19. 85/21. S. subj. 3pp festins 95/11.

*festa f. engagement, betrothal. A. gs festur 79/17.

*festuaiga f. land taken or held in pledge, land held as security (for a sum owed). S. ap festuaigur 95/11. B. np festueygur 59/41. 101/7.

felpgar m. pl. father and son. A. nom. 77/13.

*febrni n. paternal (family), paternal inheritance, land inherited by paternal right. A.
gs feðrnis 77/24. 77/25. ds feðrni 69/19. 69/21. 76/12. 82/10. as feðrni 77/16.

*fiandi m. enemy, the devil. A. gs fianda 67/2.


*fiarþungr m. fourth part. A. ap fiarþunga 82/4.

fiauratigi num. forty. A. nf 65/7. 65/11. 79/15. gf 70/5. 70/7. af 67/4.


fierri¹ adv. far away, at a distance. A. 92/3.

*comp. fierrar, fiarrar further away (also used as an adjective with the meaning 'the farther'). A. 86/2. fiarrar 76/14. 82/10. Cf. nerar.

fierri² prp. with acc. far away from. B. 92 note 670.

fikk, fikt see *fa.

*fileþi n. cattle, beast, livestock. A. as fileþi 92/5. Cf. smafileþi.

fingr n. finger. A. ns <72/16>. 72/17. as fingr <74/7>. B. ns fing'r 72 note 341. as fing'r 74 note 368.

*finna v. find. A. 2s findr 88/20.

*firihalda v. with dat. cover over. See halda.

firi[r]¹ prp. with acc. for, instead of, in punishment for, in compensation for, for the sake of, for crime against, against a compensation of; before (in time), prior to; to the notice of. A. 60/12. 47 further instances. B. fyri 69/1. 97/13. 10 further instances. 66 note 219. [71 note 304]. 91 note 658. fyri 63 note 148.

with dat. for, for the sake of, applying to, in front of, before, to the disadvantage of, to the advantage of. A. 61/10. 23 further instances. B. fyri 80/13. 97/9. 6 further instances. 64 note 152. fyri 97/21. fy 87 note 584. fore (spiella) 66 note 204.

See also *verþa firi.

postp. governing a relative pronoun A. 71/8. 80/16.


*firibiera v. with dat. forfeit (something) by carrying (it into someone's property to
implicate them in theft). A. *ptc. nasn, sup. firiburit 90/5. Cf. biera.


*firigiefa v. with dat. forfeit (money) by spending (it on something which is not legally for sale). A. *ptc. nasn, sup. firigiefit 85/18. Cf. giefa.

firigielda v. with acc. pay out (e.g. a ransom). A. i 86/15.


*firistie1a v. forfeit through theft. B. i fyristie1a 100/12. Cf. stie1a.


*fiskr m. fish. A. dp fiskum 63/18.


flaira, flairi, flairin, flairum see *margr.

*fliauga v. fly. A. 3s fliaugr 93/3.

*flut n. surface of the sea (relating to flotsam). A. ds fluti 92/20.

*fluti m. (small) boat. B. as fluta 100/18.


flytia v. direct; move forward; postpone. A. i 88/12. subj. 3s flyti [88/8]. 88/11. S. pret. 3p flyttu <95/18>. B. pret. 3p flytto 95 note 741.

*foli m. idiot, madman. A. gs fola 81/9.

for see fara.

*fordepskepr m. witchcraft. A. ns <90/17>. B. ns fordenshepr'r 90 note 640.

fori see fara.

*formali m. restriction; condition, agreement. B. ds formula 99/10. as formula 99/13.

*forn adj. old; second-hand. A. gsf fornu 61/25. dsf fornu 62/1. an fornt 82/3.

*forskel n. pl. conditions, reasons; full use of one’s senses. A. acc. forskelig 74/21. 74/23.

*forvar>pr adj. sick, damaged, neglected. B. nsm forward’r 84 note 535.

fotr m. foot. A. ns 70/2. 72/22. gs foz 73/8. ds foti 70/17. 73/7. 84/17. as fot 78/11.
Guta lag


**fram** adv. forward, further. A. 69/16. 88/9. 88/11. **fram** (leggi) 60/24. 61/2. (leggir)

**fram** 61/5. **B. fram** 61 note 91. **fram** (biauða) 69/5. (leggir) **fram** 97/16. 100/4.

(leggia) **fram** 100/6.


*framlaiðis* adv. further(more). B. **framleydis** 97/3.

*framliðin* **ptc.** passed away, dead. A. **ptc. asm fram**...liðin 81/25.

**frammarla** adv. Used in the phrase so **frammarla sum.** so long as. A. 87/10.

**frammi** adv. forwards. (standa) **frammi** be offered. A. 85/20.

  comp. **frammar** further forward, further, more. A. 63/4. 11 further instances. B. 58/51. 97/8. 100/22.


Cf. *ut raíþa.*

**fram setia** v. deposit, submit. A. i. 86/3. 3s **fram setr** 84/6. subj. 3s **fram seti** 86/4.

**fran**¹ prp. with dat. from. A. 62/1. 8 further instances.

**fran**² adv. away. A. 85/13. B. 99/16. See also a **fran,** þar **fran.**

*fram ganga* v. pass by. A. **ptc nsn** or sup. **frangangit** 80/13. Cf. *fram ganga,* ganga.

**frankumin** ptc. related. A. (fiarþi) **frankumin** (related in the fourth generation) 83/5.

Cf. *nerkumin,* kuma.


*frelsi* n. freedom. A. **as frels** <70/12>. B. **as frels** 70 note 291.

*frembri* adj. comp. former, the first of two. A. **dsm frembra** 70/17. **dpm frembru** <88/22>. B. **dpm frembro** 88 note 609.


**frendi** m. kinsman. A. **gp frenda** 79/17. 4 further instances. **dpm frendum** 78/16. 81/19.


*fresta* v. torment, torture. B. subj. 3s fresti 100/3. ptc. gsm (o)fresta 100/6.

*friðagr* m. Friday. A. as friðag 94/19.


*friðvetr* adj. freeborn. A. nsf friðvet 81/11.

*froy(i)a* f. wife. See husfroyia.

*fugl* m. bird. A. dp fuglum 63/18.

*ful* adj. guilty, convicted. A. nsf ful 60/17. 60/22. 61/6. Cf. *skir.


füli m. (hidden) stolen goods. A. ns 89/23. as fula 90/4. B. ns <100/10>. <89 note 625>.


fülkvapn n. battle weapon. See *vapn and Commentary to 78/3.

*fulla* v. fulfil, satisfy, compensate fully. A. subj. 3s fulli 93/23. 3p fullas 89/25. B. 3s fullar 100/17.

fund see fyndr.

*fundarlaun* f. reward (for returning a lost item). B. as fund’r laun 100/14.


fylgia v. with dat. follow, go (along) with, accompany, take part, be followed, be found with; obey, be on someone’s side. A. i 75/4. 89/25. 3s fylgir 62/15. 62/18. 65/2. 78/21. 3p fylgia 61/16. 6 further instances. subj. 3p fylgin <63/3>. 69/19. 69/21. 74/5. 88/23. pret. 3s fylgbi <76/19>. B. 2s fylgir 99/12. 3s fylgir 97/4.
fyãg'r 99/20. 3p fyngia 62 note 121. subj. 3p fyngin 63 note 126. pret. 3s fyngdi 76 note 412. Bx. 3p fyngia 98/13.

fyli see fuli.


fyr adv. comp. before, previously. A. (B. occasionally fyrta or fyrri) 60/13. 9 further instances. B. fyrta 78 note 437.

superl. fy(r)sti first, initially. <83/1>. 90/1. fyrst 60/2. fyrstu 88/10. fyrstum 58/2.

B. fyrsti 99/25.


fyr þan conj. before. A. 66/2. 5 further instances.


*fyrning f. guest’s contribution to a meal. A. np fyrringar 81/17.

fyrrnaska f. heathen (old) traditions and customs, superstition. A. ns 62/14.

*fyrri adj. comp. the previous, former. superl. *fyrsti first, initial. A. dsn fyrsta 68/6.

68/6. 76/16. 91/25. asf fyrstu <88/7>. asn fyrsta 62/2. 64/10. 80/5. 80/12. dp

fyrstum 60/1. B. gsm fyrsta 84 note 540. asf fyrstu 88 note 598.

fyrst(i) see fyr.

fyrstu(m) see fyr, *fyrri.

fyra see fyra.

*fyra v. give birth to; support. A. 3s fyþir 91/11. subj. 3s fyþi 78/1. 4 further instances. subj. 3p fyþin 79/6. ptc nsn fyti 60/8. 78/21.

*fyber f. fodder. A. gs fybur <75/18>. 75/22. as fyþu 75/21. B. gs fyður 75 note 386.

fís see giefa.

*gafl m. gable. A. as gafl 70/19. B. as galff 70 note 298.

gagn n. gain. A. ns 87/1. B. ns gangn <58/50>.


gamal adj. old. A. nsm 70/15. 75/16. 94/17. npf gamlar 78/5. S. asn gamalt 95/23.

apn gamul 95/20.

superl. elzti eldest. A. nsm 75/15. gsm elzta 75/19.
Ganga v. go (with a purpose); pass, circulate; enter; run out (of the male line). A. i 60/22. 4 further instances. ip gangas 77/15. 3s gangr 71/17. <82/11>. 5 further instances. 3sp gangs 75/24. 8 further instances. 3p ganga (atr) 60/24. 64/14. subj. 3sp gangis 76/6. subj. 3p (til) gangin 63/13. subj. pret. 3p gingin (…til) 60/10. ptc. asm gangandi 75/2. ptc nsn or sup. gangit 70/20. (firi)gangit 91/16. (fran)gangit 80/13. (ut)gangit 67/6. 68/4. nsn with pass. or refl. ending gangiz 76/23. gangit sik 77/11. npm (fram…) gangnir 62/5. nnp (ut)gangin 68/7. 77/2. 78/6. S. subj. 3s gangi 95/14. B. i 97/22. 3s gang’r 82 note 492. 3sp gangs 58/29. 76/9. subj. 3s gangi 99/4. ptc nsn or sup. gangit 76 note 415. 5 further instances. 

* ganga firir v. forfeit; prevent. A. subj. 3s gangi (firir) 68/16. Cf. ganga.

* ganga viñr v. confess; admit to. A. 2s gangr (viñ>r) 74/2. 74/3. 3s gangr (viñ>r) 61/1. 89/24. Cf. ganga.


* gangkleji n. pl. walking or outdoor clothes. A. gen. gangkleja 78/4. acc. gangkleji 78/7.

* gangr m. walking; pathway; time. A. as (solaupp)gang 65/25. gang 85/13.

gar see giera.

* garlakr adj. prepared, ready. A. dsm garlakum 63/17.

gart see giera.


* gas f. goose. A. gp gasa 84/20.

gatis see *gieta.
*gersemi see *giersemi.

gerþ, gerþa, gerþi alternatives for *gierþ, gierþa, gierþi.


gialdin see gelda.

*giarning f. deed, act. A. dp giarningum 60/5.

*gief f. gift. A. ap giefar 81/16.

giefa v. give, grant; hand out, release. (B. giffua) A. i 61/24. 64/15. (ut)giefa 78/7. 3s giefr (B. geffuir) 60/22. 64/12. 85/17. subj. 3s giefi 62/10. 13 further instances. ptc. nsn, sup. giefit 92/5. (firi)giefit 85/18. S. i 95/21. 95/23. B. pret. 2s gafft 99/18.


gelda v. pay a fine, pay out; be worth. A. i (firi)gelda 86/15. 3s gieldr 86/14. 92/12. subj. 3s gieldi 70/5. 4 further instances. subj. 3p gialdin 83/21. pret. 3s galt 86/18. ptc. nsn, sup. gieldum 71/1. B. gp gelda 100/9. subj. 3s geldi 100/10. 100/24. imp. 2s gelt 99/14. geld 99/8. ptc. dsf (o) guldinne 61 note 91. asn guldit 100/12.

*gieldeti n. fine, debt. A. as gieldeti 87/17. gp gieldeta 71/1. B. as geld deti 87 note 592. See Commentary to 71/1.


*giersemi f. valuable. A. dp gersemmum 93/13.

(erfis)gierpum 58/37. B. dp (erfis)gierpum 81/23. See also *gierpamaþr.

gierþa v. surround, fence in, erect (a fence). A. i 82/16. gerþa (B. gierda) 83/17. 3s gierþir 82/17. 82/19. 84/7. subj. 3s gierþi 82/18. 82/19. imp. 2s gierþ 84/4. 85/5. ptc. nsm (lag)giert 84/16. 84/17. 84/18. 84/21. nsn gert 84/8. (o)gert 84/8. dsm (lag)giertum 84/13. asm (lag)giertan 83/21. 83/22. sup. giert 83/19. 84/6. See garþr1.

*gierþamaþr m. master of the feast, one who leads the arrangements at a wedding; spokesman for the witnesses at a wedding, etc. A. dp gerþamaninn 81/18.

*gierþi n. fenced enclosure for pasture or woodland. A. gp gierþa 82/16. 84/23. See also halfgierþi.

*gieta1 v. be able to, have strength to; pass. please, satisfy. B. 3sp gies 99/9. pret. subj. 3s gatis 99/10. 99/12.

gieta2 v. watch over, look after. A. i 71/20. subj. 3s gieti 84/20.

*gifta see gipta.

gildi n. penalty, fine. See ðiaufgildi, brigildi.

*gildri n. gin. A. ds gildri 94/10.

gikk see ganga.

gin prp. with dat. against. A. 75/6. 4 further instances. B. 99/11. See also *ginmela, ginmeli, agin.

gingu see ganga.

*ginmela v. contradict, deny; refuse. See *mela.

*ginmeli n. denial, excuse. A. as ginmeli 94/2.

ginum1 prp. with acc. through. A. 72/7. 89/10. 89/10.

ginum2 adv. through there. S. 95/8.

gipta1 v. give in marriage; pass. get married. A. i 78/5. 3s giftir 75/22. 3sp giptis 76/18. 76/23. 77/3. 87/6. ptc. nsm gipt 79/13. nsn gipt 76/20. 76/22. 77/5. (o)gipt 79/6. (lag)gipt 79/14. 80/10. asm (o)giptan 79/14. asf (o)gipta 79/13. nsp giptar 76/11. 76/22. 78/5. (o)giptar 76/11. 76/12. 76/22. apm gipta 87/11. (o)gipta 87/11. S. i 95/22. B. ptc. nsm (o)gipter 79 note 448.

*gipta2 f. marriage, wedlock. A. gs giptur 82/7. S. ds giptu 95/23.

*glugga f. hole, opening. S. as gluggu 95/9.

*goymsla f. care. See *ogoymsla.


*grafa v. dig. A. 2s grafra 85/12.

*grankun f. female neighbour. A. as grankunu 60/10.

*granni m. neighbour. A. gp granna 84/2. 4 further instances. ap granna 89/20.

gripr m. grip, hold, grasp. A. ns 81/8. 81/9. dp gripum 58/35. ap gripi 80/19. 80/14.

81/10. B. dp gripom 80 note 459.

*gripri m. valuable, article of value. B. ap gripi 100/20. 100/20. 100/22.

*gris m. pig; (sma)gris piglet. A. np (sma)grisir 91/5. gp grisa 84/20. Cf. galtr, *suin.

*griðkuna f. midwife. A. as griðkunu 60/10.


*gulf n. floor. A. as gulf 71/15. Cf. staurgulf.


*gullaf n. golden ornament for the head. S. np gullaf <95/19>. B. np gullad 95 note 742.

gutniskr adj. Gotlandic. A. nsm <68/1>. <69/6>. <69/18>. 77/22. 7 further instances.

(o)gutniskr 67/24. <69/7>. <79/7>. 4 further instances. nsf gutnisk 78/12. 78/25.


(o)gutniskas 69/23. <70/2>. dsm gutniskum 70/23. dsf gutniskri 78/15. 79/3. 80/9.

81/11. (o)gutniskri 79/1. 80/9. dsn (o)gutnisku <58/42>. asm gutniskan 69/7.

70/4. 70/10. 86/21. (o)gutniskan 68/1. 4 further instances. asf gutniska 69/20.


(o)gutniska dpm 77/17. gutniskum 69/12. dpf gutniskum 58/41. apf gutniskar 82/6. B. nsm gutnish’r 68 note 243. 69 note 280. gutnish’r 69 note 267.

(o)gutnisker 69 note 270. (o)gutnisch’r 79 note 449. gsm gutnisch 59/1. 87/4.

(o)gutnischs 70 note 285. dsf gutnischi 82/5. 58 note 18. (o)gutniski elsewhere.

dsn gutnisku 97/4. npm (o)gutnisch’r 85 note 560. npf gutniskar 77 note 426.

apn gutnisk 77 note 424. dprn (o)gutniscum 58 note 18.

*Guþ m. God. A. gs guþ 63/9. 65/2. ds guþi 60/6. as guþ 60/3. B. gs guds 97/23.

*guþ n. idol. A. ap guþ 62/16.

gylning/ gilding, especially on clothing. S. ns 95/18.

*gylla v. gild. S. ptc. asm gylt 95/18. apn gylt 95/19.

*gyrþa v. girdle, surround. A. ptc. nsm (laus)gyrtr 89/21. nsn (linda)glyrt 76/3. apm
(linda)gyrta 76/4.

*gyrplā f. woman’s girdle. A. *gyrplū(-gyrt understood) girdled with a gyrplā; female gender, distaff-side; cognate (i.e. through the mother’s side). 76/3.

*gybhā v. make good, certify, acknowledge. A. ptc. asn gyt 77/20.

*haf n. sea. A. gs hafs (butni) 92/20. B. ds haffi 100/23. See also *hafrek.

hafa v. have (also as an auxiliary verb), own; take, receive; hold, retain, keep. A. i 61/9. <63/11>. 23 further instances. 2s hafir 66/2. 87/17. 88/22. <89/6>. 89/6. 3s hafir 60/20. 30 further instances. 3p hafa 63/7. 11 further instances. 3pp hafas 94/19. subj. 3s hafi 60/12. 60 further instances. subj. 3p hafin 68/23. 81/18. imp. 2s haf 74/3. pret. 3s hafpi 61/22. 67/13. 76/15. ptc. nsf hafandi 69/10. 80/14. sup. haf 91/17. hapt (B. haffi) 91/10. npf hafpar 63/10. S. i 95/20. subj. 3s hafi 95/12. B. i haffua 95/24. 97/11. 9 further instances. 2s haffuir 99/11. 99/12. haffur 99/12. haffu 66 note 203. haffuer 74 note 366. 89 note 616. 3s haffuir 99/14. 100/20. 74 note 364. 83 note 521. haffuir 99/19. haffr 100/11. haffuer 82 note 497. haffua 78 note 436. subj. 3s haffu 97/17. 99/24. 100/5. 68 note 264. haffi 101/8. 92 note 675. hafu 61 note 76. subj. 3p haffin 67 note 234. imp. 2s haff 99/14. pret. 3s hafdi 60 note 54. haffdu 76 note 406. ptc. nsf haffandi 80/14.

*haffal f. autumn [meaning uncertain]. A. gs hafallar (B. haff fallar) 82/24.

hafandi ptc. f. pregnant. See hafa.


hafup n. head. A. ns 80/21. ds hafpi 73/2. 4 further instances. as (axlar) hafu 81/6. B. ds haffdi 98/18.

*hafuolutr, *hafuoluti m. personal share. See *lutr, *luti and Commentary to 64/14-15 and 76/13-14.

*hafpatal n. head-count. at hafpatali per capita. A. ds hafpatali 75/24. 77/24. 77/25. See *tal.


hagg(u)ā v. cut down, fell; strike. af hagg(u)ā cut off (a limb). A. i 83/10. (af) hagga 78/17. 3s haggr 64/7. 84/23. haggr (af) 72/24. subj. 3s haggi 85/1. ptc. nsf haggvin 74/11. nsn (af) hagguit (B. haggit) 73/18. S. 3s haggr 95/7. B. 3s haggr 58/46. 84/22. Bx. ptc. nsf haggin 98/25.
*hagi m. grazing land, (enclosed) pasture, enclosure. A. as haga 82/18.

*hagri m. oats. A. as hagra 94/4.

*hail adj. whole, complete, unharmed, undamaged; healed. A. nsn hailt 73/9. dsm hailum 89/7. asm (band)hailan 84/15. asn hailt 74/15. 85/1. 89/4. S. asn hailt 95/8. B. dsm heilom 100/6. (bein)heilom 100/4. (brust)heilom 100/4.

*haildir f. pl. damages. A. acc. haildir 83/22.

*hailigr adj. holy, sacred; protected, in sanctuary; ohailigr working (day); unprotected, with immunity forfeit (of a door to a dwelling). A. dsm helgum 65/22. asm helgan 63/9. 64/1. 64/3. 94/17. (o)helgan 93/22. npm (verk)helgir 64/19. npf (iem)helgar 65/9. npm (o)hailig 89/22. gp helgra (manna) 67/15. dp helgum 58/8. 63/6. apm helga 63/7. 63/7. superl. *helgrastr most sacred, offering most sanctuary. A. npm helgastir 65/10.

hailna v. make whole. A. i 72/8.

*hailsa f. health. A. as hailsu 60/4.

haitzlu see *upphaizlusoyfr.

haim1 n. home. A. ns 79/2. See also hailm a*ri, *haimfylgi, *haimluf, *haimsokn, *haimporp, Farhpaim.


*haima2 v. house, shelter. A. 3s haimir 60/21.

haim(a)fripr m. the sanctity of one's home. See fripr.

*haimfara v. travel home. See fara.

*haimfylgi n. dowry; advance on inheritance. A. ds haimfylgi 76/22. 86/10. 92/5. B. ns heim fylgi 95/21. See Commentary to 76/22-23.

*haimluf n. leave to travel home. A. as haimluf 81/20.

*haimsokn f. fines for aggravated burglary. A. as haimsokn 66/23.

*haimul adj. lawful, legitimate. B. asm heimulan 99/18.


haita v. be called, be named; haita a with acc. call upon. A. i haita (a) <62/15>. 3s haitir <81/9>. B. i heyta (a) 62 note 115.


*haizl f. invocation. A. as haizl 62/17.
*haizla see *upphaizlusoyfr.


*haipna f. heathendom. A. ds haipnu 62/15. as haipnu 60/2.

*haibverfr adj. decent, proper. See *ohaiverfr.

hulda v. with dat. or acc. hold, keep; retain, confiscate; abide by; support, protect;
   hulda firi cover, cover up; hulda uppi nourish, substantiate, fulfil, pay for, provide oneself. A. i 60/4. 6 further instances. hulda (a) 72/19. (uppi)hulda 69/10. 3s huldr 66/1. 6 further instances. huldr (firi) 73/17. subj. 3p haldi (...uppi) 93/15.

halffemti num. indeclinable four and a half. A. 69/18. 70/11.

*halfgierpi n. ‘half-fencing’, shared (boundary) fencing, the division of fencing costs between two neighbours. A. ds halfgierpi 58/45. 84/1. as halfgierpi 84/2.

*half manafr m. half a month, fortnight. A. as half manafr 88/8. [88/9]. See *halfr.

half mark f. indeclinable half a mark. A. (following preposition governing the genitive) 84/8. (following preposition governing the dative) 71/21. 75/8. (as direct object or following preposition governing the accusative) 72/5. 13 further instances. B. halff M. (following preposition governing the dative) 98/14. (as direct object or following preposition governing the accusative) 100/18. See Commentary to 84/8.

*halfr adj. half. A. nsf half 67/21. nsn halft <80/21>. 80/23. gsm halfs 92/15. gsn
   halfs 63/11. dsm halfum 66/6. 84/6. 84/7. dsn halfu 63/24. <73/23>. 8 further instances. asm halfan 66/7. 88/10. asf halfa 63/20. 63/20. 67/21. asn halft 64/2. 4 further instances. S. nsf half 95/14. B. nsf halff 99/4. nsn halfft 67 note 242. 80 note 460. gsn halffs 98/6. dsn halffu 98/4. 98/5. asm halfuan 88 note 599. asn

*halfrpiri pi num. two and a half. A. gsf halfrpiri 84/19.

halp see *hielpa.

*hals m. neck, throat; life (in relation to death sentence). A. ds halsi 79/19. 79/21. S.
   ds halsi 95/13. See Commentary to 79/14-16.

hamar m. hammer; iron cross-piece or butt (of an axe-head). A. ns 89/12. ds (yxar)
   hambri 64/23. 4 further instances.

hand f. hand. A. ns 70/2. 72/22. gs handar 73/8. ds hendi 62/20. 4 further instances.
   as hand 62/17. 4 further instances. gp (til) handa 78/18. 87/1. dp handum 64/1.
   86/14. 86/16. 86/25. ap hendr 72/24. 86/23. B. ds hendi 98/12. 86 note 577. as
hand 99/17. 73 note 351. 73 note 362. gp (till) handa 58/50. 100/4. dp handom 58/49. 86/13. 100/20. 100/22. ap hend’r 97/16.

handalestr m. deformity in or damage to the hand. See *lastr.

handar mair adv. higher up. A. 81/8.

handaverk n. violence. See verk.

*hani m. cockerel. A. as hana <73/15>. B. as hana 73 note 354.

hann m., han f. pers. pron. he, she. A. nm hann 60/3. <62/3>. 219 further instances. 
han [error or variant] 61/9. 69/11. 78/22. nf han 60/9. 69/19>. <71/8>. <76/15>. <76/19>. <80/12>. <81/5>. 50 further instances. haan 60/12. 60/19. gm hans 63/5. 20 further instances. gf hennar 60/10. 9 further instances. dm hanum 61/10. 35 further instances. df henni (B. occasionally henne) 60/14. 22 further instances. am hann 60/3. 18 further instances. af hana 60/16. 14 further instances. S. nm hann 95/19. 96/1. gm hans 95/13. B. nm han 62/23. 69/1. 70/21. 71/6. 74/24. 78/24. 97/4. 39 further instances. 61 note 82. 62 note 98. 66 note 219. 67 note 235. 68 note 251. 68 note 260. 69 note 274. 78 note 443. 79 note 448. 82 note 502. 83 note 526. 90 note 642. nf haan 81/1. 69 note 281. 71 note 309. 76 note 413. 80 note 456. 81 note 468. gm hans 97/5. 97/8. 100/26. dm hanom 97/25. 98/6. 99/17. 99/18. 70 note 289. 88 note 608. hannom 64 note 159. am han 97/11. 99/8. 99/23. 100/3. 100/17. 90 note 645.

har n. strand of hair, hair. A. ns har 74/10. 74/11. acc. har 64/24. 65/15. 65/17. 66/13. <73/24>. S. ns 95/4. B. ns 98/24. acc. har 73 note 361.

*hardrag n. pulling a person’s hair, hair-pulling. A. ap hardrag 74/7. B. np haardrag 98/26.

*hari see *heri.

*harund f. but gender uncertain. flesh, meat. A. as harund 74/17.

hattre m. hat. A. ns 72/9. as hatt 74/16.

*haugr m. grave howe. A. ap hauga 62/15.


superl. hoygstr highest; also courtesy title, equivalent to ‘Lord’. A. nsm 66/23.


comp. hoyrin more highly. A. 87/25.

hei- see hai-.
**hel**\(^1\) *m.* heel. A. *gs hels* 72/21.

**hel**\(^2\) *m.* stopper, bolt. B. *ns hell* 100/3.


**heldr** *adv.* comp. rather. A. 80/17. B. *held'r* 97/20. See also *hua(r)t (sum) heldr, huat sum helzt.*

**helg** *f.* sanctity; protection, peace, safety; sanctuary. A. *ds helg* 65/12. *as helg* 65/2.

5 further instances. B. *as helgh* 97/17. 67 note 224. See also *mannhelg* and Commentary to 67/6.

**helga**\(^1\) *v.* shield, protect, validate. A. *3p helga* 82/17.

**helga**\(^2\), *helgi* see *hailigr.*


**heli** *n.* hiding-place, sanctuary. A. *as heli* 67/6.


**hen** see *pa en.*

**hendas** *v.* occur, happen. See *afhendas.*

**hengia** *v.* hang (on a gallows). A. *i 90/13. 90/14.*

**hennar, henni** see *hann.*

**hepta**\(^1\) *v.* withhold (holy offices). A. *i 61/15. 65/1.*

**hepta**\(^2\) *v.* tether (something to something else), capture. A. *i 78/16. 84/14. ptc. nsm heptr* 84/17.

**heptalauns** *f.* redemption fine (for confiscated animals). See *launs.*


**herbergi** *n.* accommodation, lodgings. A. *as herbergi* 77/4.


**hestatekt** *f.* unlawful use of another's horse. A. *ds hestatekt* 59/10.

**hestr** *m.* horse. A. *ds hesti* 59/9. 4 further instances. *as hest* 66/7. 5 further instances.
B. as hest 59 note 26. 89 note 611. gp hesta 59 note 25. 88 note 606.

*hetra v. risk, jeopardize; endanger. *hetra viþr (with dat.) lose, forfeit. A. subj. 3s heta (viþr) 63/20. 94/11.

hialn n. wheel. A. ns 85/11.

hieldu see *halda.

hier adv. here. A. 58/2. 4 further instances.

hiernskal f. cranium, skull, brain-pan. See skal.

himin m. membrane. A. ns 72/13.

hinn pron., def. art. the other, the one (that, who). A. nsm hin(n) 65/1. <70/24>. 19 further instances. nsf hin 61/24. dsm hinum 84/10. 4 further instances. dsm hinni 62/1. asm hin 75/15. npm hinir 60/24. 62/3. npp hin 63/3. B. nsm hin 97/9. 13 further instances. 70 note 300. dsm hinom 97/11. 99/14. 100/10.


*hitta1 v. discover, find; chance to, happen to; hitta sakir giera commit a crime subject to compensation. A. 3s hittir 63/4. <67/2>. 5 further instances. (a)hittir 89/14. 3sp hittis 89/23. 3pp hittas 94/25. subj. 3sp hittis 89/23. pret. 3s hitti 92/22. S. 3sp hittis 95/19. B. 3s hittir <97/5>. 97/8. hitter 67 note 221. 97 note 753. 3sp hittis 100/10.

hitta2 see þissi.

*hogsl n. 1) consolation, a sum of money that an unmarried woman could demand from the father of her child; maintenance. 2) hogsl (ok ìþ) a widow’s right through marriage to monetary support from the estate. A. as hogsl 78/25. 79/4. 79/6. 79/7. as hogsl ok ìþ 77/1. 77/4. See Commentary to 77/1.

hogsla v. give hogsl (1). A. i 79/13. 79/14. subj. 3s hogsl 78/10. B. subj. 3s hogsl 78 note 435.


hordombr m. adultery. A. ns 90/17.

*horkarl m. adulterer. See *karl,

*horn n. horn. A. ap horn 84/18.

hornband n. tether, horn hobble. A. ns 84/17.


*hoygri, hoy(g)str see haur.

hoyra v. belong. A. 3s hoyrir 73/14. 4 further instances. subj. 3p hoyrpin 78/21. B. i
100/25. 3p hoyra 101/1.

*hoysect f. haymaking. A. as hoyset 92/11.

hoystu see *haur.

huaifibain n. larger bone splinter A. ns 72/15.


asm huarn 73/21. 73/22. B. nsm hwar 58/46. 84/22. 97/18.

huar2 pron. whichever of two. Cf. conj. hua(r)t, hua(r)t (sum heldr).

huar3 see huer.


huarki see huatki.

*hua(r)t (sum heldr)1 conj. whichever, whether. A. huart (B. hwat) heldr 92/9.

huat (B. hwat held'r). 72/2. huat heldr 79/16. huat sum heldr (B. hwat som). 80/22. B. hwat 100/26. [101/1].

*hua(r)t (sum heldr)2 conj. whether. A. huart (B. hwat) sum 61/11. huart (B. huat)

sum heldr 69/3. 76/2. huat heldr 78/10. huat sum 76/21. huat sum heldr 75/20.


huaski conj. neither. B. 100/3. 66 note 204. Cf. huatki.

huat pron. what. A. nom. 71/16. 85/19. acc. huat 63/14. 70/13. See also huar,

*huargi, huatki.

huat sum helzt conj, whatever. A. 71/16. See previous entry.

huatki conj. neither. A. 62/15. 9 further instances. S. huarki 95/23. B. hwatki (ma)


huer pron. and adj. each one; every, each. A. nsm 61/9. 41 further instances. nsf


91/22. asm huern 60/5. 8 further instances. asf hueria 76/2. 80/25. asn huert 60/8.

<71/3>. 9 further instances. S. nsm 95/8. 95/9. 95/12. 95/15. huar 95/7. 96/2. nsn

huart 95/4. B. nsm hwar 98/14. 4 further instances. huar 60 note 48. nsf hwarion

72/22. nsn hwart 72/14. 98/12. 98/24. 87 note 579. huart 72 note 338. dsm hwaru

71 note 322. 72 note 326. 76 note 411. asm hwarn <98/19>. hwarin 93 note 699.

asn hwart 98/7. [71 note 305].

huergi(n) adv. not at all, no, never, in no way (B. hwargin or huerghin). A. 65/6.
huert adv. wherever. A. 87/8.

hufa f. hood. A. ns 72/9.

*hugund f. comfort, relief, ‘call of nature’. A. gp hugunda 73/5.

*hugni see *hyggia.

*huifr m. headdress. A. as huif 80/20.


*huilikr pron. whichever. A. nsf huilik 92/16.

*huirf adj. white. S. dp huitum 95/22.

*hulseri n. wound that has penetrated the abdominal or breast cavity. A. np hulseri 72/3.

*hult n. grove, copse or small wood, most often of deciduous trees. A. ap hult 62/15.


hun m. beam, bar. B. ns 100/3.

hundbit n. dog-bite. See bit.


See Introduction, pp. 34-35.

*hunderismapr m. men from the same hundred or district. See mapr.

hundr m. dog. A. ns 70/20. as hund 73/14. B. ns hunder 98/5. See also bit.


huru adv. how. B. 100/1.

hurvitna adv. everywhere. A. 65/5. B. hurvitna 65 note 172.

hus n. house. A. ds husi 77/13. as hus 84/5. 7 further instances. np hus 62/8. 62/11. dp husum 59/31. 93/17. (eld)husum 93/3. ap hus 66/3. B. ns 100/2.

husbondi m. householder, head of the household; husband. A. ns 66/22. 69/11. 81/19. 89/12. gs husbonda 93/23.

husfroyia f. (house)wife. A. ns 89/11.

*hushpiaup n. person employed in the household, servant. A. as hushpiaup 93/19. dp hurpiaupum 59/31. 93/17.

*huta v. shout (out), declare, summon. B. subj. 2s hutí 99/17.

*hylia v. cover, hide. A. 3s hyl 72/9. S. 3s hyll 95/4. B. 3s hyl 98/24.

*hysa v. accommodate, shelter. A. 3s hysir 60/21.

høgsli see hogsla.
i\(^1\) *prp. with dat.* in, by; on; of, within, during. A. 60/2. 96 further instances. S. 95/7. 95/11. 95/13. B. 58/29. 58/49. 65/7. 76/9. 86/13. 95/24. 97/20. <97/24>. 6 further instances. 86 note 577.

with acc. into; to; by, around. A. 60/20. 37 further instances. S. 95/18. B. 97/16. 99/8. 67 note 224.

governing a preceding relative pronoun in. A. 60/6. <76/20>. 18 further instances. B. 76 note 413.

i\(^2\) *adv.* inside. A. 65/9. 5 further instances. S. 95/15. B. 97/4. 99/4. 76 note 413.

iatta *v.* accept, acknowledge. A. i160/2. B. i 60 note 43.

idir see *ir\(^1\).*

*iefa *v.* doubt, suspect. A. 3p iefa 89/24.


*iemburin *adj.* equal in birth. See biera.

*iemdyr *adj.* just as expensive, subject to equally high fines. See dyr.

iemdyrt *adv.* equally dearly, just as much. See dyr.

*iemgopr *adj.* just as good. See *gopr.*

*iemhailigr *adj.* equally sacred. See *hailigr.*

*iemlangi *m.* the same time the following year. A. gs iemlanga 68/20. 74/20.

*iemlanger *adj.* equally long. See *langr.*

*iemmikil *adj.* just as large, just as much. See *mikil.*

*iemn *adj.* even, equally-placed, quits. A. nsn iemt 75/7. npm iemnir 70/1. Cf. iemt.

iemner *adv.* equally (related, in rights). A. 76/7. 4 further instances.


ier(u) see vara.

*ieta *v.* eat. B. ptc. nsn ietit 100/16.

*ikorni *m.* squirrel. A. dp ikornum 59/34. 94/6. 94/7.

*ildr *adj.* evil. B. asm illan 97/11.

illa *adv.* unfortunately, badly, illicitly. A. 67/2. [90/2]. 93/2. B. 90/2.

*-in *suffixed def. art.* A. nsn (sun)inn 75/22. (garp)in 76/16. (karl)in 75/24. nsf (kuna)n 78/20. gsm (bond)a ns 93/22. gsf (kirkiusokn)innar <63/16>. (sokn)inna <93/18>. 93/19. dsf (sokn)inni 60/17. 94/18. 94/20. asm (garp)in 82/20. (soy)p in

-ingi masculine ending -er. See erfingi, morpingi.


*inna v. complete, finish. A. subj. 3s inni 60/14. ptc. nsm intr <61/7>. <64/5>. B. ptc. nsn int 64 note 153.

innan prp. with gen. inside, within. A. 77/16. 4 further instances. S. 95/7. B. <97/7>.

innan adv. in existence. B. 76 note 395.

*innansoknafulk n. parishioners, particularly the poor of the parish. See fulk.

innat adv. inside. Bx. 89 note 623.


innitakin ptc. discovered in the act (of illicit intercourse), caught in flagrante delicto.

See taka.


iorp f. earth, ground; property. A. ns 83/6. 83/6. 86/8. ds (dauf)iorpu 83/7. as iorpu 75/18. 4 further instances. B. ds (daufi) iord 83 note 519.

iorpaign f. property. See aign.

*ir pers. pron. pl. you. B. dat. or acc. idr 99/18.

iru see vara.

ip f. provision. See hogs and Commentary to 77/1.

*kaldr adj. cold. A. asn kalt 73/12.

*kalla v. call, name; request, call for. A. 3s kallar <61/2>. 68/9. 4 further instances.

3p kalla 67/13. 70/24. B. 2s refl. kallas 99/13. <99/19>. 3s kallar 61 note 75. 3s refl. kallas 99/19. 3p kalla 74 note 372.

*kalfi m. calf (of the leg). A. gs kalva 81/7.

kann see *kunna.

kapulaus adj. without a coat or cloak. A. nsm 89/22.

kar n. vessel, drinking-pot. S. ns 95/14. ap kar 95/19.

*karl m. man, householder, head of the family. A. ns karlin 75/24. gs karls 75/23. 75/25. dp (hor)karlum <58/33>.
kasnavargr m. murdering arsonist. A. ns 90/16. 90/17.

kasta v. throw; ut kasta throw out, expose. A. i (ut) kasta 60/8. 3s kastar 72/4.


kaupskip n. merchant ship (here a small ship with thirteen ribs and three beams). A. ns 89/9.

*kaupungr m. marketplace. A. gs kaupungs 63/17. as kaupng 67/10.

*kenna v. know; charge (someone with something); kenna atr recognise, identify.

A. 3s kennir 71/7. 78/18. 79/5. 80/11. 3sp kennis <91/2>. 91/6. 91/13. 91/25. pret. 3p kendu 60/24. ptc. nsn kient 61/5. sup. kient 80/13. B. 3s kennir 100/8. 3sp kennis 91 note 654.

*kenna f. teaching. A. ds kennu 92/2.

kerja v. lay a complaint, make an accusation, sue; plead a case. A. i 81/5. 3s kerir 80/7. B. i kera 97/23. Cf. sykia.

kerldi n. the male gender. A. ns 76/7. 5 further instances. B. ds kerldi <97/3>. np kerldi 76 note 398.

*kerldismaðr m. man. A. ns kerldis (-maðr understood) 69/3. 75/21.

*kerra f. cart, trap. A. as kerru 85/2.

*ketti m. cradle. A. as kietta 71/12.

kexi n. grapnel. A. as kexi 92/21.

kirkia f. church. A. ns 61/18. 6 further instances. gs kirkiur 64/16. 4 further instances. ds kirkiu 61/9. 6 further instances. as kirkiu 61/13. 5 further instances. np kirkiur 65/9. B. gs kirckior 67 note 223. ds kyrckio 100/15.

kirkiidur n. pl. church door. See dur.

kirkkuðgarðar, kirkkuðgarþ see garþ1.

*kirkkuðgarþ m. graveyard, churchyard. See garþ1.

kirkkuðgerþ f. church-building. See gierþ.

krikiumenn m. pl. parishioners, men of the parish. See maþr.

kirkkur see kirkia.
kirkjurum n. place in church, pew space. See rum.
kirkjusokn f. church parish. See sokn.
*kirkjastr m. church place. See *stepr.
klanda v. complain, prosecute. A. i 63/22. ptc. nsm klandapr 63/15.
*klappa v. cut off. A. sup. klappat 82/23.
*kleti n. storehouse. A. gs kletis 70/18.
*klepi n. clothing, garments; (bed)clothes; (broad)cloth; (outdoor) clothes; (saddle) cloth. A. gs klepis <78/3>. as klepi 74/14. 74/15. 74/18. (yfir)klepi 74/14. np klepi 81/2. (rai)klepi 82/4. gp (gang)klepa 78/4. dp klephem 71/18. (rai)klephem 58/40. ap klepi 81/24. (gang)klepi 78/7. (senga)klepi 78/3. B. as kledi 58/24. 74/13. 78 note 433. See Commentary to 78/3.
*kliaufa v. split. A. sup. klufit 82/23.
*klostr n. cloister, monastery. A. gs klostrs 64/12. 64/15. ds klostri 64/14.
*kniborp n. kneecap. A. ap kniborp (B. knibor) 81/3.
*knifr m. knife. A. ds knifi 72/3.
*korn n. grain, barley. A. gs korns 76/18. ds korni 63/19. as korn 94/3.
kortiunt f. tithe in grain. See tiunt.
kraf n. demand, claim. See fearkraf.
*krafarvereldi n. wergild subject to claim. A. as krafarvereldi 70/25.
*krefia v. demand. A. i <71/1>. B. i kreffuia 71 note 301. 98/8.
kringum; umkring adv. around, approximately. A. kringum 83/3. umkring 82/25.
*krístindombr m. Christianity. A. as kristindom 61/10. 62/11. ds kristindomi 60/4.
B. kristindomb’r 97/27.
*krístna f. Christianity. A. ds krísnu 60/3.
kristnum see kristin.
*krókr m. boat-hook. A. as krok 92/20.
*kufna v. choke, suffocate. A. 3s kufnar 71/18. B. 3s kumpnar 71 note 319.
kuma v. come; include; with dat. bring; viþr kuma be able to. A. i 70/1. 71/17.
(viþr…) kuma 86/20. 3s kumbr 61/14. <65/5>. <65/6>. 19 further instances. 3p
kuma 84/5. 89/19. 91/5. 91/9. pret. 3s quam 76/20. imp. 2s kum 89/7. ptc nsm kumin <87/22>. (fran)kumin 83/5. nsn kumit 69/5. 5 further instances. (o)kumit 76/4. S. ptc. npf kunnar 95/12. B. 3s kumb'r 65 note 173. komb'r 97/3. 100/18. 100/19. subj. 3s kumi 100/4. <100/6>. pret. 3s quam 100/22. ptc. nsm kumin 87 note 594. sup. kumit 100/20. Cf. *nerkumin.

kuma upp v. discover, detect. A. 3s kumbr (upp) 60/13. 5 further instances. B. 3s kumb'r (up) 99/24. 99/26. 100/13. (up)kumit 100/11. Cf. kuma.


*kunna v. may, should. A. 3s kann 67/2. 4 further instances. kan 70/1. 71/17. 88/4. 93/2. 3p kunnu 94/25. B. 3s kan 93/18.

*kupar m. copper. S. as kupar 95/18.

*kurtill m. kirtle, gown. A. as kurtill 74/14.

kurtillbonapr m. kirtle decoration. S. ns 95/25.

kustr m. (financial) means; possession. A. ns 63/5. 76/19. 87/15. ds kust 82/8. as kust 66/10. B. ns 97/8. See Commentary to 63/4-5.


*kyrka see kirkia.

la see liggia.

lad gender uncertain. meaning uncertain. B. 82 note 501.

*lag n. condition, order; place; pl. law, legislation, right, oath, oath-taking. A. ds lagi 81/2. np lag 60/1. 10 further instances. gp laga indeclinable adjective; see following entry. dp lagum 60/2. 4 further instances. ap lag 65/10. 88/4. B. dp lagum 99/12. 99/20. lagom 99/14. Cf. a lag, vijr lag.

laga indeclinable adj. lawful, legal. A. 66/13. <82/19>. 4 further instances.

lagfeldr adj. lawfully dismissed. See *fella.

lagiertr adj. lawfully enclosed, according to the law (of a fence). See gierpa and Commentary to 83/21.
laggiptr adj. lawfully married. See gipta.
lagkauptr adj. lawfully purchased. See kaupa.
laglika adv. lawfully, legally. A. 84/12. 86/4.
*lagr adj. low. See legra.
lagreka v. lawfully secure. See reka.
lagryt>ia v. lay a legal claim (to what is due). A. 71/1. ptc. nsn lagrytt (B. lag ryt) 66/9. B. i lagrydia 98/8.
*laiga f. hire, payment; (land) rent. A. ds laigu 93/23. ap (landz)laigur 87/8.
laigi n. land yielding, or valued at a certain rent. A. ns mark laigi land yielding a mark of silver in rent. 86/10. as briggia marka laigi land yielding three marks of silver in rent. 77/18. S. as briggia marka laigi 95/12. B. ns markleygi 86 note 566. See Commentary to 77/18.
*laigumal n. period of hire (of a slave). B. ns leygu malit 64 note 153.
laika v. trifle with; assault (at manni). A. 3s laikr 72/23.
*laiza f. warrant for ownership, trail from one man to the next in the search for the legal owner of a disputed object. A. dp laiznum (B. leysnom) 89/25.
land n. land; (dry) land; district, province, island, country, realm; people of the island, islanders, population; land (alt) authorities (general assembly in a province, for example). A. ns 68/13. 4 further instances. gs landz(domera) 71/24. landz(syn) 92/21. landz 93/12. landz(laigur) 87/8. ds landi 60/5. 10 further instances. (laups)landi 94/3. as land 60/21. (laups)land 92/10. 92/14. 92/15. gp landa 86/21. S. ds landi 95/15. 96/2. B. gs lands 97/7. lands(syn) 100/18. ds landi 99/4.
100/18. as land 60 note 67. 65 note 183. See also *Gutland.

*landboi m. tenant. A. np landboar 92/10.

*landi m. countrymen; landar (allir) general assembly; landa sak case for the general assembly. A. gp landa 64/11. 4 further instances. ap landa 60/20. 62/23. 66/1. 66/20. B. np landar 97/16. 97/25. dp landom 97/14. See Commentary to 60/20.

*langlaikr m. length. A. as langlaik 71/22.


comp. lengra 76/24. 80/13.

*lanzdomeri m. district judge. See *domeri, land.

*lanzlaiga f. land rent (paid instead of property division). See *laiga, land.


las m. or n. gender uncertain. lock, padlock. A. ns 89/11. 90/5. B. ns laas 100/2. ds lasi 100/2. 100/21.

*llass n. (wagon-)load. A. ds lassi 63/12. 63/20. gp lassa 92/12. See Commentary to 92/12.

lasta v. blame; censure, find fault with, dispute. A. i 67/14.

*lastalaus adj. without defect. A. nsn lastalaust 73/9.


lata v. leave, allow, permit; force, cause, arrange (for); refl. pretend, claim. A. i 91/17. 92/8. 92/9. 3s latr 75/4. latr (til) 74/8. 3s refl. latz 80/12. subj. 3s lati 68/4. 78/17. 91/3. lati (til) 92/15. imp. 2s lat 84/5. ptc. nsn latit 68/12. sup. latit 82/24. B. i 100/8. 100/10.


*launs f. fee, fine, ransom. A. as (hepta)launs 91/13. B. as (hepta)laun 91 note 661. See Commentary to 91/3.

laupa v. run, go; laupa a begin; laupa af end; laupa i catch; incur. A. i 61/25. 3s
laupr 60/20. <65/23>. 4 further instances. 3p laupa 84/19. B. 3s laup’r 100/23. 65 note 195.

*laupr m. bushel, a quarter of a barrel. A. as laup 76/18.

laupsland n. bushel-land, a quarter of an acre. See land and Commentary to 92/10.

*laupstigr m. (on the) run, fugitive. B. ds laupstigi 100/14.

laus adj. loose, free; free from; lacking. A. nsm laus 90/3. 91/16. See also


lausgyrtr adj. loosely girded. See *gyrpa.

laust adv. loose. A. 91/17. See also saklaust.

*laut f. pasture-land. See *talaut.

laut2 see liauta.

*lap see *gullaþ, lad.

lapigs adv. in spring. A. 82/23.

*leggbain n. shin-bone, tibia. B. ns legbain 98/17.

leggia v. lay; leggia a place upon. A. i 60/24. 61/2. (a) leggia 74/9. 3s leggi 61/5. 64/8. 71/15. 71/16. subj. 3s leggi 61/7. 4 further instances. pret. 3s leggi 62/1. pret. 3p legbu 61/1. sup. legt 82/23. B. i 100/6. subj. 3s leggi 97/16. 100/3. Bx. i 74 note 370.

*leggr m. leg. A. as legg 81/2. Cf. *armleggr, *leggbain.

legra adv. comp. lower. A. 73/23.

*legvita f. under blanket, thin piece of woollen cloth, which is laid between the straw and the bedclothes. A. as legvitu 78/3.

*lekkio f. (Bible) reading. A. np lekkior 94/19.

*lekkiskepr m. medical treatment. A. as lekiskep 71/23.

*lend f. loin. A. as lend 81/4.

lendingr m. person belonging to a certain group. See *laigulenningr, *utlendingr.

*lengi adv. for a long time. comp. lengr for a longer time. A. 75/4. 11 further instances. B. leng’r 99/12.

*lerept n. linen. S. dp lereptum 95/22.

(o)lerdi 97/16. dsm lerdum (manni) 97/22. asm lerdn (man) 97/11.

*lesa v. read. A. 3pp. lesas 94/19.


lestr m. damage, fault. See *lastr.

-lei n. shape. See misleti.

-lepi n. creature. See filepi.

*liausta v. strike. A. ptc. nsn lustit 73/14.

liauta v. receive, be given; inherit. A. i 69/1. 86/1. <86/6>. 2s liautr 84/4. 3s liautr 76/2. 7 further instances. 3sp liaut(t)z 76/1. 76/23. subj. 2s liauti 84/3. subj. 3s liauti 76/6. 7 further instances. subj. 3p liautin 75/25. 76/13. 77/12. 82/9. ptc. asf lutna 76/2. 86/19. dp lutnum 58/17. 68/17. apm lutna 76/6. apf lutnar 68/18. B. i 86 note 562. 3s liauth’r 97/9. liauter 97/19. 3p liauta 97/15. 76 note 398. ptc. apf lutuar 58 note 7. 68 note 259 (twice).


*lifa v. live. A. 3s lifr 64/13. 72/14. 76/1. pret. 3p lifru 77/3. ptc. dp lifandum 77/3. B. 3s lifuir 97/6.


*liggia vijr v. with dat. be punished, e.g. hanum liggia bytr vijr he is punished with fines. A. 3s liggr (vijr) <64/9>. 65/22. subj. 3s liggi (vijr) 60/21. 64/2. 68/15. 79/15. 3p liggia (vijr) 64/10. 6 further instances. B. 3s ligg’r (wid’r) 64 note 157. 3p liggia (wid’r) 65/7. 60 note 68.

*ligsvitni or *liksvitni n. evidence of neighbours in disputes about woodland. A. as liksvitni <82/22>. ap liksvitni 82/25. B. as lics witni 82 note 504. Cf. *vitni². See Commentary to 82/22.

-lik a. See laglika, oraflika, oskellika.

-likin a. See huilikin.

*-likr a. See *huilikr, *synlikr.

*likvari m. articles of clothing worn nearest to the body, undergarments. A. as likvara 74/15. 74/16.

limalastr m., limalyti n. maiming, disfigurement, disability. See *lastr, lyti.

*limna v. stay behind, remain. A. 3s limnar 76/17.

*lindi m. man’s belt or girdle. *lindagyrt girdled with a lindi; male gender, spear side; agnate (through the father’s side). See *gyrþa.

lit, litu see lata.

*lita výr v. with acc. content oneself with, be satisfied with. A. subj. 3p litin (výr) 93/4.

littryggum see *lyktrygguar.

*litvan n. facial defect. A. as litvan 72/7. 72/9.

*lizmeli n. a gap (in a fence) wide enough to drive through. A. ns lizmeli 85/5.


*lipr m. joint. See *bauglipr, *lipstarkr.

*lipstarkr adj. stiffened, stiff-jointed, disabled. A. nsn lipstarkt 72/18.

*lipstukkr m. door-post. A. ds lipstukki 70/17.

lofi m. the flat of the hand. A. as lofa 74/9. S. ns 95/4. B. ns 98/24. Bx. as lofa 74 note 370.

*loyfa [form uncertain] v. leave. A. 3s loyfir 77/23. subj. 3s loyfi 92/14.

*loyfi n. permission, leave. A. as loyfi 67/9. Cf. oloyfi(n)s.

*loyndir f. pl. private parts. A. ap l<o>yndir <81/4>. B. ap loyndir 81 note 467.

*-loypr adj. being. See *ainloypr.

loysa v. pay fee or fine; give absolution, redeem. A. i 86/25. (atr) loysa 86/15. 91/18.

91/21. [atr] loysa 86/16. (ut) loysa 84/11. i refl. loysas 69/5. subj. 3s loysi 78/11. 80/11. 86/21. 86/24. loysi (atr) 87/18. subj. 3p loysin 86/23. loysin (undan) 78/16. ptc. asn (undan) loyst 78/17. S. subj. 3p loysins 95/11. B. i (at’r) loysa 100/19. 100/20. subj. 3s loysi (…at’r) 100/21. imp. 2s loys (…at’r) 100/17.


loyst adv. loosely. B. 91 note 665.


lufa v. I. grant, allow, give permission. II. lufa ut promise. A. i 63/14. subj. 3s lufi
83/10. subj. 3p lufin 64/17. ptc nsn lufat (B. luftuat or luffad) 63/17. (ut)lufat 86/10. S. ptc. nsn lufat 95/20.

luka v. shut, enclose. A. i (atr) luka 61/15. 65/2. ptc. asf lukna 82/15.

*lukahagg n. blow that does not cause blood to be spilt, or cause an open wound. A.

as lukahagg 74/5. dp lukahaggum 72/5. 74/21. B. dp luka haggum 74/19.

*lukka v. entice, lure, seduce. A. 3s lukkar 79/16.

-lund adverbial ending. See samulund.

lustit see *liausta.

*lutadagr m. the day upon which partition (of goods) occurs. A. ds lutadagi 84/5.


*lutin see liauta.

*lutr m. part, share, lot (ap luti); inheritance (pl.; acc. lutu); at allum lutum in all respects. A. gs lutar 84/3. ds lut 87/14. (hafu|)lut <64/15>. as lut 61/23. 5 further instances. (hafu|)lut 76/13. 87/7. 87/8. np lutir 64/14. 70/24. 71/2. gp luta 75/23. 77/20. dp lutum 58/28. 6 further instances. ap lutu 69/1. 4 further instances. lutu 83/6. B. ds (hafud) luti 64 note 165. as lutu 65/13. 100/14. 76 note 396. (hafud)luti 97/16. dp lutum 58/30. 77/2. ap luti 77 note 421. Bx. np lutir 76/14. Cf. *luti.

lykil m. key. A. ns 97/11.

*lyktrygguar, *lyktryggiar f. pl. expiry date for a contract concerning mortgaged property. S. dp lyktrygguum <95/11>. B. dp lyctryggiom 95 note 733.

*lypta v. lift, lay aside (an oath). A. subj. 3pp lyptins 87/24.


lyti n. defect, disfigurement, deformity. A. ns (lima)lyti 70/1. 70/1. B. as (lima)lyti 98/8.

-lytia feminine ending equivalent to -ess. See erfilytia.

*lyt(t)r adj. injured, disfigured, damaged. A. nsn lyt 73/19. B. nsn lyt 98/17.

lypa v. hear, listen to; obey. A. i 63/9.


*maga v. be able to; be of age. A. 3s ma 61/13. <78/15>. 42 further instances. subj.
3s magi 92/3. subj. 1p magin 60/4. 60/5. 3p magu 67/20. 67/24. ptc. nsm magandi 75/15. 75/21. npm magandi 75/14. 75/18. 78/1. S. 3s ma 95/8. 4 further instances. B. 1s ma 97/24. 3s ma 69/1. 97/10. 97/19. <97/26>. 100/12. 101/8. 78 note 439.

Bx. 3s ma 74 note 370.

magandi adj. having reached the age of majority. See *maga.


*main n. injury, harm, damage. A. as main 64/8.

mair see meiek.

maira₁, mairi, mairu see *mikil.

maira² adv. more. A. 67/10. 82/2. B. meira 98/2.


mal₁ n. matter, case before the law; language, ability to speak (73/2). A. ns 60/15. 60/18. 60/19. 61/5. gs mals 60/24. 60/25. 73/2. ds mali 60/23. 78/21. 90/1. as mal 60/14. 4 further instances. (banz)mall 65/8. B. as maal 97/23. (bans) maal 65 note 178. See also *aiga₁, malsaigandi.

*mal² n. certain time, point in time. A. ds mali 69/4. ap (mielk)mal 88/17. B. ns 61 note 80. (leygu) malit 64 note 153.

malaþing n. betrothal meeting. A. ds malaþingi <86/10>. B. ds mala(tingi) 86 note 567.

mali m. certain time, during which a slave is to remain in slavery; condition, limitation, reservation. A. ns 61/7. 64/4. as mala 70/12. B. ds mala 99/19. Cf. *formali. See Commentary to 61/7.

malsaigandi m. person injured, wronged party, complainant. See *aiga₁.

*manaþr m. month. A. gs manaþa 68/14. 88/7. ds manaþi 66/6. 84/6. 84/7. as manaþ 66/7. 76/18. 88/8. [88/9]. 88/10.

*mangr adj. many (a), a large number of. B. nkm mangir 98/14. Cf. *margr.

mann, manna, mannun, manz see maþr.

*manndrap n. killing, murder. A. ds mantral 58/15. 67/1.

mannhelg f. personal rights, individual's right to peace and security, i.e. protection from assault, enhanced by increased penalties, which were applicable at certain times and in certain places. A. ns 64/19. ds mannhelg 58/10. 64/18. as mannhelg 65/21. See Commentary to 64/19.

manninerar adv. nearer to the person; to the nearside, the left-hand side (in reference
to a horse; the rider mounts and dismounts to the left). A. 70/18. B. mannerar 70 note 297.

*margr adj. many (a). A. npn marg (B. mang) 81/29. gp margra (B. manga) 92/12. dp margum (B. mangum) 69/13. apm marga 74/23.


mark f. mark with four distinct meanings. I weight: a) of gold, silver or other precious metal b) of other goods, köpmansmark (89/13); II unit of land valuation, markland; III unit of currency value: a) in coin, mark penningar, which was 288 pennies in Gotland, although 192 in Svealand and 388 in Götaland b) in valued items, grain, cloth, etc.; IV metal coin, in the later middle ages. A. ns 70/11. 72/10. 72/12. gs mark 88/5. 4 further instances. ds mark 69/18. 12 further instances. as mark 77/2. 4 further instances. np mark 60/21. 12 further instances. gp marka 70/15. 10 further instances. marka(tali) 93/13. dp markum 61/20. [72/21]. [72/22]. 44 further instances. ap markr 60/12. <65/8>. 89/13. 51 further instances. markar 66/22. 4 further instances. S. ds mark 95/4. np markr 95/20. gp marka 95/12. dp markum 95/5. ap markr 95/7. 95/8. 95/15. 96/2. B. ns mark (M.) 101/7. gs mark 90 note 634. ds mark (M.) 98/19. 98/24. as mark (M.) 98/17. np mark’r (M.) 65/7. gp marka (M). 100/22. dp markum (M). 72/21. 72/22. 98/12. 98/13. 98/19. 98/25. 72 note 333. 72 note 345. ap mark’r (M.) 60/18. 75/4. 79/12. 97/14. 99/4. 69 note 284. 73 note 355. 80 note 463. Bx. ds mark (M). 98/25. np mark’r (M.) 74 note 370. dp markum (M). 98/18. ap mark’r (M.) 98/13. Cf. *ertaug, half mark, *oyrir, *penningr1 and see Commentary to 60/12, 68/14 and 69/16-18.

markatal n. number of marks. See tal.

marklaigi n. land yielding a mark in rent. See laigi.

*matr m. food. A. ds mati 62/17. (mielk)mati 63/18. as mat 60/22. B. as mat 100/16.

*matnapr m. foodstuff. A. ds matnapi <63/17>. B. ds madnadi 63 note 141.

matt, mattin see *maga.

mäbr m. man, person; slave; generation; pron. someone, one (70 note 294). A. ns

*mela v. talk, say. A. 3s (gin)melir 94/5. pret. 3s melti 90/21. ptc. npn melt 90/20. sup. melt 90/19.

men see emen.

menn see mahr.

merkia v. mark (a beast); brand (as a punishment). A. i 90/12. ptc. nsm merkt 90/13. 
nsn (o)merkt 91/2. dsn (o)merkturn 59/15. npn merkt 91/5. (o)merkt 91/5. B. ptc. 
nsn mercht’r 70/19. dsn (o)mercht 91/1. 59 note 31. npm merchtir 91 note 657. 
(o)merchtir 91 note 657. See Commentary to 90/12 and 92/5.
(Mariu)messa 61/14. gs (yfru Mariu)messur 94/13. as (Mariu)messu 61/12. 4 
further instances. (Simonis)messu <91/16>. 94/7. <94/10>. 
*messudagr m. feast day. A. as messudag 94/19. 
*messufall n. failure to hold mass on a day of obligation. A. ds messufalli 59/37. 
mest see *mikil. 
mestu adv. most. A. 65/21. 
meþ allu adv. withal, indeed, even. A. 84/12. 
*miel n. flour. A. ds mieli 63/19. 
*mielkmal n. milking-time. See mal. 
*mielkmatr m. milk food, produce made from milk. See *matr. 
mielkstulin adj. deprived of milk, lacking in milk (of cows). See stiela. 
mik see iek. 
*mikil adj. great, much, large. A. nsn mikit 74/9. dsn miklu 66/1. 80/11. 90/6. asn 
(iem)mikit 85/9. B. nsm 100/11. mikill 100/1. asn mikit 99/18. 99/25. Bx. nsn 
mikit 74 note 370. 
63/24. 73/8. 88/6. dsn maira 87/14. mairu 61/22. asn maira 61/5. 7 further 
B. nsn meira (or meyra) 98/24. 99/3. 99/24. 64 note 158. 71 note 323. dsn meira 
100/12. asn meira 98/4. 101/6. npn meirin 101/7. 
superl. *mestr most, largest, greatest. A. nsf mest 60/6. asn mest 82/25. npf mestu 
72/8. gpf mestu 80/25. S. dsn mestu 95/15. B. gpf mesta 80 note 464. dp mestu 
mikit adv. much, greatly. B. 62 note 112. 
millan1 prp. with gen. between. A. 66/9. 7 further instances. S. 95/22. 95/24. 
millan2 adv. in between, in the interim. A. 74/21. 74/24.
milli\(^1\) prp. *with gen.* between. (B. *millan* or *mellan*) A. 64/9. 77/25. 81/7. 86/21.
milli\(^2\) adv. in between. A. 68/4. B. *at millan* (possibly an error) 68 note 245. Cf. *at millum*.

minna adj. n. or adv. *comp.* less. A. 71/22. 6 further instances. B. 98/5. 99/23.


mir see iek.


*misleti* n. deformity. A. *np misleti* 70/3.

*mista* v. mistake. B. *3s mist‘r* 100/23. *pret.* *3s misti* 100/1.

mistaka v. make a mistake, take (something) through an oversight. See taka.

mistroa v. disbelieve, suspect. See troa.

mip\(^1\) prp. *with dat.* (B. *often with accusative*) with, together with; in accordance with, according to; by; on; of. A. 60/9. 111 further instances. mep 61/19. 17 further instances. S. mep 95/22. 95/23. B. *mid* 99/19. med 65/16. 79/18. 97/10. 6 further instances. Bx. *mid* 76/13.

mip\(^2\) adv. or prp. *without headword.* besides, in addition, similarly. A. 63/21. 8 further instances. mep 92/2.

mip \(\mathrm{by}\) adv. as a result, therefore (literally, ‘with this’). A. 73/17.

mip \(\mathrm{by}\) et conj. because, since; in order that. A. 66/8. mip \(\mathrm{bi}\) et 65/2. mep \(\mathrm{by}\) et 67/24. B. *med thy at* 97/10.

mi\(\phi\)algar\(\)pr m. separating fence, fence between fields or meadows. See gar\(\)pr\(^1\).

mi\(\phi\)an conj. while. A. 64/13. 77/3. 84/8. See also emi\(\phi\)an, emen.

mi\(\phi\)an\(^2\) adv. for the time being, the while. A. 67/20.

*mipr* adj. placed in the middle. mip\(\)rdagr midday. *legr mipr* half-way up the leg. i mipium skogi in the middle of the wood. i mipiu half-way. A. *asm mipian* 81/3. 87/20. 87/21. 87/22. *dsn mipiu* 67/8.

*mipsumer* m. midsummer. A. as *mipsumer* <65/24>. B. as *midsommar* 65 note 196.

*mogi* m. all the people (of Gotland), the community, the common people. A. *ds moga* 66/22. 5 further instances. as *moga* 83/11. 83/17. 83/18. B. as (following wid‘r) *moga* 84/24. 87/23. See Commentary to 66/22.
morðingi m. murderer. A. ns 90/16. 90/17.

*mot n. meeting, assembly, thing. A. as mot 72/10. Cf. þing.

*motstukkr m. assembly-site pole. See *stukkr.

*moy f. young woman. A. as moy 79/18.


mulka v. milk. A. i 88/18.

*mundr m. a (thumb-)nail’s breadth, a notional inch. A. gs mundar 71/21. 71/22. as mund 71/21.

*mungat n. feast (literally ‘tasty morsel’); (home-brewed) ale, beer. A. ds mungati 71/12. as mungat 74/1. Cf. ol.

*munkr m. monk. A. gp munka 58/9. 64/6. dp munkum 64/7.

*muslegumaþr m. slave who is hiding himself, fugitive. B. ns muslegumadér 100/15. as musleguman 100/17.

*myndrikkia f. small vessel (but possibly larger than a *batr). A. as myndrikiu (B. myndrycki). 89/14.


nai adv. no. A. 78/19. 79/5.

naikka v. deny, reject. A. i 60/2. B. i neytha 60 note 42.

*nakki m. (nape of the) neck. A. gs nakka 72/21.

*nann n. name. A. as namn 80/6.

*nas f. nostril; pl. nose. A. as nas 72/7. np nasar 72/25. B. ap nasar 72 note 328.

*nast f. buckle, hook, clasp. A. as nast 80/23.

*nat f. night; pl. 24 hours. A. as nat 74/20. gp nata 70/5. 70/7. 88/11. 88/11. dp natum 65/23. 65/24. ap netr 65/24. 67/4. 78/16. See also *siaunetr.

naugir see *naub.


*nautabo n. cattle. S. acc. nautabo 95/17.
*nau[f. need. B. *ds nau <100/7>.


*nau[pugr adj. forced, unwilling. B. *sm nau[ugr 97/25. 100/7.


*nepi m. fist. A. *ds nefi <64/24>. 65/15. 65/17. 66/13. 74/2. B. *ds neffua 64 note 171.

nemna v. nominate. A. i (til) nemna 62/3. subj. 3s nemni 89/21. B. 3p (til) nemnna 97/16.


ner2 prp. with dat. near to. A. 71/12.


ner4 interrogative when. A. 81/1. 85/9.

*nerkumin adj. (with dat.) closely related. superl. nerkumnastr next of kin. A. *sm 69/12.

nest see ner1.3.

nesta, nesti, nestr, nestu see *ner1.

*nestli m. eye, staple, clasp. A. acc. nestla 80/24.

*netr f. pl. nights. See *siaunetr.

neygat see *noy[ega.

*niauri m. kidney. See vigniauri.

niauta v. with gen. enjoy. at niauta with gen. get the benefit of. A. i 73/5. (at) niauta 73/2. 3s niautr (at) 80/6.
niu num. nine. A. nf 94/19. dm 61/23. af 70/5.

*nipan n. waning (of the moon); underside. B. as nidan 99/15. Cf. *ny.


*nipavitni n. proof, evidence given by a (distant) relative. A. as nipavitni 83/2. 83/4. Cf. *vitni².


*nipra v. degrade. B. subj. 3s nidi 97/4.

*noyta v. consume, enjoy, use. A. 3p noyta 86/6. subj. 3p noytin 75/16.

*noypha v. force, compel; pass. noyphas be forced by need. A. ip noyphas 75/15. 75/18. ptc. nsf noyd 80/2. B. i noyda 97/25. ptc. nsm noyd'r 97/26.

*noyphga v. force, compel. A. ptc. asn noypga <70/10>. B. ptc asn noyda <70 note 290>.

nu adv. now. A. 60/8. 11 further instances.

superl. nylast most recently. S. nylast 95/3.

nussi adv. just now, recently. A. 78/13.


*nykkir m. jerking, shaking. A. as nyk 75/9.

nylast see nu.


nytia v. use. A. i 92/1. subj. 3s nyt 92/1.

*nytr adj. useful. A. asf (o)nyta 73/10.


obrend see brenna.

oburit see biera.

obuµin see biaupa.

ofydum see *fypa¹.
ofomagi m. minor. ns 69/9. 86/16. 86/19. ds ofomaga 93/7. as ofomaga 69/2.
75/20. np ofomagar 75/14. 94/15. B. as ofomaga 69/1. See Commentary to 69/1.
ofrels f. adj. unfree, slave (woman). See frels and Commentary to 80/8-11.
ogert see gierpa.
*ogoymsla f. carelessness. B. ds *ogoymslu <98/4>.
oguldni, o guldinne see gielda.
*ohailigr adj. working (as in ‘working day’); unprotected. See *hailigr.
*ohaipevrpr adj. indecent; dishonourable. A. nsm (weak form) ohaipevri 81/9.
ohelgan see *hailigr.
ok conj. adv. and, also, as well (as); but (used in pairs or lists as an alternative to eλpa).
A. 59/20. [88/8]. 490 further instances. S. 95/7. 21 further instances. B. oc 58/7.
59/41. 62/19. 74/19. 77/2. 85/2. 87/6. 91/7. 91/23. 95/21. 97/3. 63 further instances.
60 note 72. 74 note 373. 76 note 417. 95 note 743. och 62 note 106. 67 note 242.
okliptr see *klippa.
okumit see kuma.
ol n. ale, specifically that offered at weddings, etc. A. ns 81/20. gs (vaizlur) ols 81/22.
olaglika see laglika.
oloyfi(n)s adv. prp. with gen. or dat. without permission (of) A. 84/23. 89/2. 93/23. S.
95/9. B. 58/46. 84/22. 84 note 542.
omerk see merkia.
onyta see *nytr.
*op n. shout. A. ds op 80/3. as op 80/4. 80/5. 89/15. A. ds ropi 80 note 454. See
Commentary to 80/2-3.
oquepinsorp n. word of abuse, slander. See *orp.
oquepinsvitr f. dumb animal. A. ns 70/23. 70/25. 71/1. dp oquepinsvitum 70/21.
or see var.
oraŋamaפר m. unreasonable, irresponsible, thoughtless or rash person. A. ns 87/10.
87/12.
*orista f. hostility, dispute. B. ds oristu 97/24.
*orka v. have the energy to, be able to. A. 3s orkar 68/4. 69/6. 3p orka 68/19. 69/10.

ort\(^1\) see yrka.

*ort\(^2\) f. work. A. ds ort 82/25.

ortarvitni \(n\). evidence of completed work. A. ns 82/24. as ortarvitni 82/23. 83/2. 83/3. Cf. *vitni\(^2\).

*ortasoy\(yr\) \(m\). beast of burden, working beast, draught animal. See soy\(yr\).

*or\(p\) \(n\). word, statement. A. as or\(p\) 78/21. np (oque\(p\)ins)or\(p\) 90/16. dp (oque\(p\)ins)or\(p\)um 59/14. 90/15. 90/18. ap or\(p\) 61/1. 90/19. 90/21. (oque\(p\)ins)or\(p\) 90/23. B. ap ord 100/26. (oque\(p\)ins) ord 59 note 30. 90 note 638. Cf. vitor\(p\).

or\(pu\) see var\(pa\).

os see vir.

osinum \(a d v\). unfortunately, in the heat of the moment. A. 90/20. Cf. *sin\(^1\).

oskellika \(a d v\). unlawfully. A. 83/13.

oskemdr see *skemma.

oskipt, oskiptri, oskiptu, oskiptum see skipta.

*oskel \(n. pl\). injustice, excess. A. acc. oskel 89/21.

oskirt see *skir.

*osoy\(pan\) \(n\). badly-behaved or unruly animal. A. as osoy\(pan\) 84/13.

*osoy\(br\) \(m\). badly-behaved animal. A. dp osoy\(p\)um <58/20>. 70/14. B. ns osoy\(der\) 98/3. Cf. soy\(br\).

ovittr see vita\(^2\).

*oy\(kr\) \(m\). pair, yoke (of draught animals). A. ds oy\(k\) 63/11. as oy\(k\) 85/2. 92/15. B. as oy\(kin\) 92 note 676.

oy\(ra\) \(n. ear\). A. ns 73/18. 73/19. ds oy\(ra\) 73/17. as oy\(ra\) 72/8. B. ns 98/17.

*oy\(rir\) \(m. öre\); unit of weight or value in coin or other currency equal to 1/8 mark or three ört\(ugar\); 36 pennies in coin in Gotland, although 24 in Svealand and 48 in Götaland. oy\(rar\) \(p l\). liquid assets. A. ds oy\(ri\) 74/14. as oy\(ri\) 81/6. np oy\(rar\) 63/25. 65/18. gp oy\(ra\) 63/12. 64/2. 90/11. dp oy\(rum\) 63/20. 13 further instances. ap oy\(ra\) 61/6. 22 further instances. S. ap oy\(ra\) 95/9. B. ns <99/24>. ds oy\(ri\) 99/23. as oy\(ri\) 99/23. 99/26. dp oy\(rom\) 98/7. ap oy\(ra\) 99/23. 5 further instances. 95 note 730. Cf. *ertaug, mark, *penning\(r\)\(^1\). See Commentary to 61/6, 93/12-13, 101/8.

pell \(n\). canopy, which was used at weddings. S. ns 95/22.

*penning\(ar\) \(m. pl\). (in) coin (referring to units of currency, as opposed to weight). A.

*penningr\(^1\) m. penny; unit of weight or value in coin or other currency equal to 1/12 örtug, in Gotland although 1/8 in Svealand and 1/16 in Götaland. A. ap penninga 91/22. 92/10. 94/3. 94/3. Cf. *ertaug, mark, *oyrir. See Commentary to 91/21-22.

*penningr\(^2\) m. (payment in) currency (as opposed to other property). A. as penning 76/12. 92/19. dp penningum 85/18. ap penninga 85/17. (varp)penninga 93/16. Cf. *fe. See Commentary to 76/12.

*pilagrimbr m. pilgrim. A. gs pilagrms 67/16.

prestbarn n. child of a priest. A. np prestbarn 63/2. B. dp prestbarnom 58/7 63 note 124.

prestgar\(\mathbf{p}\) r m. rectory land, glebe. A. ds prestgar\(\mathbf{p}\)i 65/10. 67/6. B. ds præstegardi 65 note 180. præsta gardi 67 note 229. See *gar\(\mathbf{p}\)\(^2\).

prestkuna f. wife of a priest. A. ns 63/2. dp prestkunum 63/1.


*pretsun m. son of a priest. B. ns *preston <97/5>.

proastr m. rural dean. A. ns 65/8. ds proasti <60/19>. 94/18. 94/20. B. ds proasti 60 note 63. See Commentary to 60/19.


quam see kuma.


*quep\(\mathbf{a}\) v. say. A. 3s quepr <78/19>. 79/5. Cf. oque\(\mathbf{p}\)ins- (orp, vitr).

*qui f. road between two fences. A. ap quiar 82/16.

*quikr adj. alive. A. nsn quikt 69/11. 71/6. 71/11.

quindi n. female gender. A. ns 76/7. 5 further instances. B. ds quindi 97/3. np quindi 76 note 398.
quindismaðr m. woman. A. *ns quindismaðr 69/3. 75/20. np quindismenn 76/7.
quinna see kuna.

*quisl f. branch of a family; generation. A. *gs quislar(menn) 85/23. 86/7. as quisl 76/2. See Commentary to 85/22-24.
quislar(menn) m. pl. kinsmen from a(nother) branch of the family. See also maþr.

*quistr m. branch, bough. A. ap quisti 82/24.

*quiþr m. womb. A. *ds quiþi 69/11. 71/6.

raiþ f. ride. A. *ns 81/14.

raþa v. carry (a burden) on horseback. A. 3s raþir (B. reyd'tr) <63/22>. Cf. fram raiþa.

raþi1 n. (driving) equipment. A. *ns 85/1.

*raþi2 f. anger, angry mood. A. *ds raþi 64/24.

raþkleþi n. saddle-cover, saddle-cloth. See kleþi.

raþvengi n. saddle cushion. See vengi.


*ranzsak n. house search; investigation. A. *ds ranzaki 59/12. as ranszak 83/15. B. as ransaka 83 note 523.

ranszaka v. investigate; conduct house search. A. *i 89/22. subj. 3s ranz(s)aki 85/22. 89/19. B. *i ransaka 100/8. 100/10.

*ranzsakan f. house investigation. A. *ds ranzsakan 89/18. as ranzsakan <89/20>.

  89/22. B. *ds ransakan 59 note 28. as ransakan 89 note 621. 89 note 624.

rauferi m. (highway) robber, robber who uses violence. A. *ns 90/16.

*raukr m. stook. A. *ds rauki 61/13.

raþ n. advice; authority; *ir raþ it is advisable. A. nom. 65/3. dat. raþi 67/2. acc. raþ 79/17. 79/19. 82/6. B. acc. rad 87/6. Cf. oraþamaþr.

*rapa v. carry authority, decide; with dat. rule; with acc. interpret. A. *i (firi)raþa 90/5. subj. 3s raþi 79/16. <87/8>. subj. 3p raþin 68/8. 4 further instances. ptc. nsm raþandi 70/9. B. *i (fyrr)rada 90 note 630. subj. 3s radi 87 note 583. subj. 3p radin 97/12. 97/21.

*raplika adv. advisedly. See oraþlika.

raþmaþr m. (local) magistrate, judge at the hunderis þing. See *hunderi, maþr, þing and Commentary to 71/24.
*rek n. wreck. See hafrek.

reka v. drive, force, direct; fasten, secure. A. i 89/10. subj. 3p rekin 85/16. B. ptc nsn (lag)rekit <100/19>. 100/21.

rekendr f. pl. chain. A. nom. 89/12.

*rekkia v. reach, achieve. A. subj. 3s *rekk <89/13>.

*rekn ing f. calculation, drawing up of accounts; account, bill. A. ds rekn ing 87/7. 87/9.

retr v. m. right(s); provision, statute, law. A. ns 94/17. ds ret 59/13. 90/9. as ret 78/7. 78/12. 90/10. S. ds ret [59/43] 95/16. as ret 95/17. B. ns reth'r 97/5. ds ret 58/38. 82/1. rethi 58 note 2. 59 note 29. 90 note 633. riethi 69 note 154.

*retr adj. proper, true, lawful, legal. A. dsf ret 60/5. npt ret 95/1. B. nsn ret 97/11. dsf rette 60 note 46.


*ri f. stake, post, beam. A. as ri 72/15.

rif n. rib; frame. A. as rif 73/7. 89/10. gp rifia 73/7. B. ns riff 98/12.


*rimin adj. (ptc.) cracked. A. nsf rimin 72/12.

*rinda v. push. A. 2s rindr 64/24.

*rindr m. pushing. A. as rind 75/9.

ripa v. ride. A. i 63/9. 2s ripr 89/2. 3s ripr 63/22. subj. 3s ripi 67/6. 89/17. 92/2. ptc. asm ripandi 75/2. B. 2s rid'r 59 note 26. 89 note 611.

*rofakr, *rofu akr m. turnip field. See akr.


*royta f. rot. See *bejroyta.

*rug see *rygr.

*rum n. room, place, space. A. as rum 92/12. S. ds (kirckiu)rumi 95/13.

*runfemni f. ability to run. A. ds *runfemni [72/20]. B. ds runfemni 72/20. See *gangfemni.


*rygr m. rye. A. gs rygar 76/18. as rug 94/4. B. gs rugar 76 note 409. as rygh 94 note 702.

*rykka v. jerk, shake. B. 2s rycker 64 note 170. See *nykkia.

*rykta v. take care of, pursue (a goal), prosecute (a case). A. 3s ryktar 92/17. 3p
rykta 79/19, 79/21.

*ryma v. make space for, accommodate. A. subj. 3p rymin 92/11.

*ryma upp v. get rid of, pull down. A. subj. 3s rymi (upp) 93/19.

*rypta v. tear up, break, invalidate (an agreement). A. 3p rypta 85/19.

*rystr m. shaking. A. as ryst 75/9.

*rypia v. claim. See lagrypia.

sa v. sow, seed (a field). A. i 92/8, 92/9, 92/11.

*saga f. tale, account, admission. B. as sagu 100/5.

sagu see *sia.

sak f. case, aim; crime; fine; obligation, claim for (wergild) compensation. A. ns 64/11. 6 further instances. gs sakar 67/18. ds sak 65/4. 70/22. as sak 60/15. 5 further instances. np sakir 65/12. dp sakum 58/17. 71/15. 69/5. ap sakir 68/18.


*saklaus adj. without penalty. A. asf saklausa 60/25.

saklaust adv. unpunished. A. 85/1.


sali m. vendor. A. ns 88/22. B. ns 99/15. as sala 99/17.

saman adv. together. A. 61/17. 5 further instances.

*sami adj. and pron. same, the same. *slikr sami the same. A. dsm-sama 71/24. 74/22. 77/5. 88/2. dsf samu 69/13. 74/21. 85/24. dsn-sama 67/22. 5 further instances. asm-sama 76/4. 76/23. 78/12. asn-sama 86/18. gp-sama 72/2. dp-sama 73/10. 5 further instances. sama (and occasionally in B.) 72/6. S. dp-sama 95/11.

B. dsm-sama 101/1. dsf-sama 67/18. dsn-sama 101/1. asm-sama 80 note 457. See also samulund.

*samsystir f. full-sister. A. ap samsystir 76/21.

samulund adv. likewise, in the same way. A. 76/1. S. 95/10.

sandr adj. true, real, proven (guilty). A. nsf san 62/16. <85/9>. 4 further instances. nsf san 60/12. 60/19. 60/20. asn sant 87/17. B. nsf sand'r 85 note 549. nsf sannu 60 note 64. 60 note 65.
sank see *sinqua.

*sanna v. certify, prove the truthfulness of a statement. A. ptc. asn sannat <90/24>.

B. ptc. apn sannad 90 note 650.

sar n. wound. A. ns 74/17. ds sari 74/20. as sar 74/17. gp sara 72/6. 73/10. 73/16.

sara (bytr) 72/11. sara(far) <75/10>. dp sarum 58/22. 71/20. 71/23. acc. (s or p)

sar 66/14. 5 further instances. B. ds sari 58/25. 74/19. acc. sar 98/7. gp sara 58
note 12. 71 note 320. 75 note 379.

*sarafar n. wounding. A. acc. sarafar <75/10>. B. dp sara farom 58 note 12. 71
note 320. acc. sara far 75 note 379.

*sarga v. wound. A. 2s sargar 64/22. 65/14. 66/2. 3s sargar 72/3. ptc. nsm sargabfr
72/6.

satin see sitia.

*sat(t)r adj. reconciled, agreed. A. npm satir 61/11.

*saupr m. well, spring. A. ds saupi 58/47. 85/10. 85/11. as saup <85/12>. B. as saud
85 note 553.

*saful m. saddle. A. as saful 92/3.

segia v. say; state, explain; atr segia postpone, excuse, cancel; segia firir relate (to).

A. i 88/8. 88/10. segia (firir) 61/13. (til) segia 84/2. 84/14. 86/4. 3s segr 73/10.
83/13. <89/25>. (til) segr 84/10. subj. 3s segi 80/6. 88/8. 88/10. segi (til) 85/16.
94/4. 3p segia 60/1. 65/3. subj. 3p segin (til) 92/9. ptc. nsm sekt (or sett) 78/13.
(til)segt 84/12. B. 3s seg’r 100/7. 78 note 440. 79 note 447. 89 note 627. seg 85
note 554. pret. 3p sagdu 61 note 73. ptc. indecl. segiandis 97/23. ptc. nsm segd’r
78 note 437. nsn seght 85 note 559; cf. setia.

sei, sein see vara.

*sekia sik v. incur, bring upon oneself a punishment of (at). A. 3s sekr 61/19.

selia v. hand over, part with; sell. A. i 63/19. 7 further instances. 3s sel(l) 77/16. 86/5.
seit 99/19.

*semi sik v. refl. agree, set up an agreed statute. A. ptc. nsm semp(t) sik 82/6.
<93/12>. 4 further instances. S. ptc. nsm semp sik <95/17>. B. ptc. nsm sem(p)t
(sik) 82 note 487. 94 note 723. 95 note 740. semt (sick) 93 note 689. 94 note 711.
semp (sick) 93 note 690.

sen1 conj. after that, then. A. 61/7. 10 further instances. seen 63/10. Cf. sipan.

sen2 see senn.
senda v. send. A. i 78/16. subj. 3s sendi 81/15.

seng f. bed. A. ns 79/2. ds seng 74/21. as seng 60/9. 4 further instances.

sengaklepi n. pl. bedclothes. See klepi.


*seri n. penetrating wound. See hulseri.

*serkr m. (short-sleeved) shift. A. as serk 74/16.

*seti n. chair, stool. A. as seti 71/15.

setia v. establish, raise, set (out), lay down; fram setia submit; sol setr the sun sets.

A. i 78/16. 86/3. (a) setia 74/7. 74/8. 3s setr 64/20. 84/6. 87/24. 93/18. subj. 3s seti 86/4. ptc nsn sett <85/24>; cf. segia. See fram setia.

*set(t)ir m. redeemer, mediator. A. ns setir <84/9>. B. ns set'r 84 note 533.

*sef(f)alaus adj. non-sower, i.e. someone not owning arable fields. A. nsn sefalaust 92/15. 94/2. dsn sepalau 59/33. B. dsn sepalau 94/1. See laus.

sia v. see; asia witness, study, investigate. A. i 72/9. 5 further instances. (a)sia 63/14. 3sp sis 72/12. pret. subj. 3s (a) sagi 80/5. pret. 3p (a) sagu 80/22. B. i (a)sia 97/25.

sia at (sakum) v. appear as the plaintiff (in a murder case). B. i (at) sia 97/19. 97/26.

sia vijir (sakum) v. appear as the defendant (in a murder case); negotiate compensation. A. i (vijir) sia 68/18. subj. 3s sii (vijir) 67/11. B. i (wid'r) sia 97/10. 97/27. 3s siir (wid'r) 97/6. subj. 3s sie (wid'r) 97/17.

*sial f. soul. A. gs sialar 60/6. B. gs siell 60 note 50.

*siar m. lake. A. ds sia 89/13.

siau num. seven. A. nf 64/21. gf 88/11. 88/11.

*siaunetr (or siau netr) f. pl. a week. A. gp siau nata 88/11. 88/11. dp siaunatum 84/3. Cf. Commentary to 84/3.


sielfsvald n. freedom, right, entitlement. See *vald.


siex num. six. A. nm 63/25. nf 65/14. gm 62/21. 9 further instances. gf 88/1. gn 71/10. dm 60/16. 4 further instances. df 68/14. 4 further instances. am 61/6. 6 further instances. af 66/15. 79/11.

siextan num. sixteen. A. gn 77/6.

*sigr m. victory. A. as sigr 60/4.

sik see *sina².

*sikil¹ m. mucus. A. ds sikli 73/1.

*sikil² m. sickle. A. ds sikli 72/19.


Bx. gs silffs 98/18. sylffs 98/14. 98/25. 70 note 287.

*silfrband n. band of silver thread. S. np silfrband 95/25.

silkisband n. satin ribbons. S. np silkisband 95/19.

*sin¹ f. case, situation. See *nauspyn, osinum, *syn³.

sin², sina¹ see *senn.

*sina² pers. pron. refl. gen. himself, herself, itself, themselves; on (his, her, its, their) own (account). A. gen. sina 75/20. 77/25. 84/24. dat sir 60/9. 10 further instances. siir 61/22. 63/16. 70/13. acc. sik 61/19. (as the object of gy) 77/20. 93/12>. 20 further instances. S. acc. sik <95/17>. B. dat. sir 100/13. siir 100/16. acc. sik 95 note 740. sick 93 note 690.

*singua v. sing. A. 3sp sings 81/15. subj. 3sp singis 81/14. ptc. nsf sungin 63/10.

*sinn¹ n. time. A. ds sinni 68/6. 68/6.

sinn², sinnar, sinni see *senn.

*sinqua v. sink, drown. B. 3s sink’r 100/23.
sinu(m) see *senn.
sir see *sina\(^2\).
sit\(\text{ia} v.\) sit; remain, stay; sit\(\text{ia var}\(\text{þ} \) keep watch. A. i 73/21. 93/15. 3s sit\(\text{r} <62/12>\). 63/23. <77/1>. 86/14. 86/15. 3p sit\(\text{ia} 75/23. ptc. nsm siti\(\text{andi} 73/6. B. 3s sit\(\text{r} 58/49. siter 86/13. sit\(\text{hir} 77\) note 419.

sипан\(^1\) adv. then, afterwards, later, subsequently; after, further. A. 60/20. 21 further instances. B. sidan [61/25]. 67/14. 69/16. 78/16. 97/3. 7 further instances. 62 note 96. sidhan 61 note 80. See also e сипан.

sипан\(^2\) conj. since, after, when. A. 67/6. 5 further instances. B. sid(h)an 99/13. Cf. сен.
sипан en conj. after, since. A. 61/25. 90/12.
sипар adj. later. A. 61/21. 62/1. 64/11.
sипла adv. late. A. 61/11.
*sипр m. custom. A. ds сипи 62/18.
sкаfл n. tree-fruit. A. ns 94/13. ds skafl 59/36. 94/12.


скал\(^1\) f. bowl; skull; pl. scales, balance. A. ns (hiern)skal 72/11. 72/12. ds skalu 72/14. dp skalum 75/17. S. ns 95/14.

скал\(^2\) see *skulu.

*скам f. shame, violation; infamy. A. ds скам 58/34. as скам 80/3. 80/14. B. as scham 97/25.

*скап n. pl. genitals. A. dat. skapum 73/3.

*скапр see *скеpr.

*скапт n. stick; penis. A. ds skapti 73/5.

скрапл n. fine woollen cloth; (pl) hangings of fine woollen cloth. A. nom. скрапл 82/2. ds скраплэ 58/39. S. acc. скраплэ 95/22. np скраплэ 95/23. See Commentary to 82/2.

*скарт n. lap. A. ds skautil 75/23.


*скег n. beard. A. as skieg 74/7. B. ns skegh 98/25.

*скеллика adv. lawfully. See oskellika.
*skemma v. disgrace, dishonour; shame, violate. A. ptc. nsm (o)skemd 68/5. 68/19.
    nsf skemd 80/2. B. ptc. nsm (o)schemdr r 97/10. 68 note 250. nsf schemd 80/1. 58 note 16.
*skepr m. quality, characteristic; manner. See *fordepr, *lekisskpr.
*skiaut n. beast, animal. See faruskiaut.
skauta v. push, push together, collect; refer, submit. A. i 93/12. 93/12. 2s skauter 65/15. 73/25. <81/1>. 3s (til) skauter 90/1. B. 2s schiauter 65/17. schiaut'r 81 note 465. skauter 65 note 185.
*skiauti n. pouch, purse, scrip. B. ds schiauti 75 note 384.
*skiaupha f. pouch, purse, scrip; scrotum. A. ds skiauphu 75/17.
skiel n. pl. just cause, proof, witness, evidence, corroboration; condition; (mih)
    skielum lawfully, with the right of law. A. nom. 80/4. 89/25. 90/3. gen. skiela
    80/6. 90/3. dat. skielum 63/24. 90/19. skielum 68/11. 78/8. 83/12. 94/4. acc. skiel
*skieja v. ring. A. 3s skieldr 72/14.
*skiera v. cut. A. subj. 3pp skierins 82/4. ptc. nsf (af)skurin 73/2. npf skurnar (B.
    aff schurnar) 72/25.
skilia v. discern, decide; impers. with acc. or dat. dispute, be in disagreement. A. i
    62/2. (a)skilia 86/19. 88/5. ip skilias 75/15. 3s skil (a) 88/6. subj. 3p skilina 84/3.
    ptc. nsm skildr 77/16. B. i (at) schilia 86 note 572. 3s schil 99/18.
*skina v. be visible, appear; become evident or known, result. A. 3s skin 72/11. 93/2.
skip n. ship. A. ns (kaup)skip 89/9. gs skips 67/16. 92/20. ds skipi 77/13. gp skipa
    100/24.
*skipa v. with dat. divide [Only in A; B uses schipta]. A. subj. 3p skipin 91/3. 91/7.
skipta v. with dat. divide, partition, distribute; skiptas (um) exchange; *oskiptr
    undivided; shared, common. A. i 64/13. 87/6. 3p skipta 85/21. 3pp skiptas 92/10.
    subj. 3p skiptin 75/24. 77/24. 77/25. 82/10. ptc. nsm (o)skipt 86/25. 87/2. dsm
    (o)skiptum 83/10. dsf (o)skiptri (B. (o)schipti). 83/10. 83/17. dsn skiptu 86/24.
    (o)skiptu 75/16. 86/23. 86/24. asf (o)skipta 87/2. asn, sup. skipt 86/11. 87/5.
87/11. (o)skipt 87/7.


*skir adj. clean, pure; released. A. *nsf skir 60/15. *asn skirt 65/18. (o)skirt 65/19.

skira v. with acc. and gen. declare innocent. A. i 60/25.

*skirskuta v. publish, declare (before witnesses); skirskuta sik declare one’s case (before witnesses); skirskuta sik firir declare one’s case before (witnesses). A. 3s skirskutar 80/12. subj. 3s skirskuti 80/5. pret. 3s skirskutapi 80/15. skirskutapi (sik firir) 71/8. 80/16. B. pret. 3s schirschutadi 71 note 310.


skra f. writing, chart. See etarmanna skra.


*skrifan f. writing, document, what is written. A. ds skrifan 77 note 425.

*skripta v. confess (to a priest), do penance, shrive oneself. A. sup. *skriptat 60/13.

*skripta v. crawl, creep. A. 3p skripta 84/20.

skulu v. will; should, ought to; be obliged to, have to; be. A. 3s al 63/18. 11 further instances. all 70/16. 89/20. skal 60/8. 51 further instances. Ip skulum 60/2. 3p ulu 65/21. skulu 60/25. 9 further instances. subj. 3s skuli 68/16. 94/2. S. 3s skal 95/18. 95/21. 3p skulu 95/17. B. 3s schal 97/12. 14 further instances. 70 note 294. 71 note 301. 3p schulu 97/25. 4 further instances. pret. 2s schuldir 99/10. 99/11.

*skura v. score, mark. See *til skura.

*skurstain m. hearth; fireplace. A. dp skurstaumin 93/2.

*skut n. tax. A. ds skuti 59/29. 93/11. acc. skut 93/12.

*skuipa v. investigate. B. i schuda 100/25.

*skyldir f. pl. taxes, (communal) dues, expenses. A. dat. skyldum 93/15. B. dat. schuldum 93 note 693.

*skyldr1 adj. close-related (kin). A. npm skyldir (menn) 85/23. 86/11. dp skyldum (mannum) 85/19.


*skyldr2 adj. guilty, criminal. B. nsm schyld’r 100/26. schuld’r 101/1. (o)schyld’r
100/26. 101/2.

*skyn f. discretion, proof, test. A. ds skyn 85/24.

*skynia v. test, prove; pass. prove to be. A. 3sp skynias 87/10. subj. 3sp skynis 87/11. Bx. subj. 3s schyni 87 note 589.

*skynian f. discretion, supervision, proof. A. ds skynian 82/7. 85/20. as skynian 85/18.

*skyrta f. (long-sleeved) shirt. A. as skyrtu 74/16.

*sleypi n. footware. A. ap sky Spi 81/24.


slegr m. blow. A. ns 75/7. ds sleg 63/2. as sleg 72/6. np slegir 72/5. 73/11. gp slega 74/3. 80/23. dp slegum 73/14. ap slegi 73/10. B. np slegir 98/14.

*sleppa v. release. A. pret. 3s slepti 91/18.

*slet(t) f. threshing. See *hoyslet.

*slikt adj. such, so great, equal (a). A. nsn slikt 61/5. 93/7. dsn sliku 80/8. asm slikan 76/19. asn slikt 76/15. 80/16. 86/17. npn slik 63/2. dp slikum <90/18>. apn slik 90/23. S. asn slikt <95/20>. B. nsm slik’r 97/5. asn slikt 95 note 744. dp slikom 90 note 641.

*slingua v. coil, plait, entwine. S. ptc npn slungin 95/19.

*slippa v. avoid; *slippa laus escape. A. 3s slippr 91/16.

*slita v. wear, use, wear off, wear out, rub; decide. A. ip slitas 95/1. 2s slitr 80/23. <80/24>. 80/25. subj. 3s sliti 82/2. ptc. nsn slitit 82/3. B. 2s slit’r 80 note 462.

smafilepi n. immature livestock; (more usually) sheep and goats. A. ns 91/2. ds smafilepi 59/15. <91/1>. B. as sma filedi 59 note 31.


*smier n. butter. A. ds smieri 63/18.

snattanbot f. fine for petty larceny. A. as snattanbot 90/11.


*snor m. snot. A. ds snori 73/1.

*snop f. cord, string, lace. A. ap snopir 80/25.

so adv. so, thus, just so, as follows, the case; such, just; in such a way (that), in this way; on the understanding, to the effect (that); similarly. A. 60/1. 68 further
instances. S. 95/17. B. (occasionally saa) 67/19. 73/14. 95/8. 97/4. 10 further instances. 67 note 235. so ... so 75 note 388. Bx. 74 note 370. Cf. firi þy so et.


soknamenn m. pl. parishioners. See maþr.

soknar m. pl. parishioners. A. nom. 91/3.

*solf. sun. A. ns or as or ds sol 64/20. 87/27.

*solauppgangr m. sunrise. A. as solauppgang 65/25.

som see sum.

soyþr m. beast (often one bred for consumption). A. ns 84/12. ds soyþi 84/10. 85/13. as soyþ 84/10. 84/11. 84/14. 84/15. soyþin 70/24. 71/3. 84/11. 84/15. np soyþir 84/5. dp soyþum 63/18. 84/19. 84/20. (upphaizlu)soyþum <92/3>. ap soyþi <66/10>. (orta)soyþi 66/10. B. ns soydir 98/5. ap soydi 66 note 207. (ortan)soydi 66 note 208. Cf. osoyþr, osoyþan.

*sparka v. kick. A. 2s sparkar 74/1.

*sparkas v. md. kick out. A. 3s sparkas 88/18. 88/22.

*spilli n. pl. damage, injury. A. dat. spiellum 83/23. 84/8. acc. spiel 83/20. 5 further instances.

spiella v. with acc. destroy, damage, spoil. A. i 66/3.

*spilla v. with dat. destroy, kill; miscarry. A. 3s spillir 83/16. 3sp spillis 71/6. sup.

spilt 60/12. B. ptc. nsm spiltir 97/27.

*sprangr m. splitting See *suarþsprangr.

*spur n. track, trace. A. as spur 71/3. B. as spur 98/7.

spyria v. ask. A. i 89/24. ptc. nsm (at)spyþr 63/14.

*stafgarþr m. ancient site. See Commentary to 62/16 and garþr.

*stain m. stone. A. ds staini 72/4. dp (skur)stainum 93/2.

standa v. stand, continue, be valid. A. i 64/19. 3s standr 67/14. 69/3. 77/11. 86/20. subj. 3s standi 85/20. S. subj. 3s standi 95/13. B. i 97/24. subj. 3s standi 77 note 420. See also staþin.
standa a v. last, exist. A. 3s standr a 65/24. 66/7.

standa firir v. stand in the way, defend oneself. A. subj. 3s standi firir 62/20. ptc.


*stang f. stake. A. ds stangu 64/23. 5 further instances.

*stapul m. belfry. S. ds stapli 95/13.

starblindr adj. suffering from cataracts, purblind, moonblind. A. nsm 88/21.

*starkr adj. strong, fit. See *lipstarkr.


*staur m. pole, stake; boundary formed by these. A. gs staurs 77/16. 83/16. 94/8. S.

gs staurs 95/7.

*staurgulf n. uprights in a fence, delimiting a section. A. ds staurgulfi 70/16. as staurgulf 85/4. See Commentary to 70/16.

*stap1 n. but gender uncertain. beach, landing place, mooring. A. dp stapum 89/16.

Cf. *staþuar.

stap2 see *steþr.


*stæþr see *steþr.


stefna1, stemna1 v. with dat. sue; summon. A. i 90/19. subj. 2s stemni 87/17. B. i stempna 90 note 64. See Commentary to 87/17.

*stefna2, *stemna2 f. meeting; summons. A. ds stefnu 90/24. as stemnu 88/7. 88/10.

np stefnur 88/1. ap stefnur 88/11. B. as stempno 88 note 598.

stelkr m. stalk; link in a chain. A. ns <89/12>. np stelkir 89/12.

-steþi n. place. See Dingsteþi in the Index.

*steþias v. md. stop. A. 3s steþz 64/13. 76/5.

*steþr m. location, place; (else)where. A. as (annan)steþ 67/19. 67/23. 80/2. 89/2. B.

ds (kirkiu)stedi 95 note 735.


*stig n. step. A. gp stiga 82/17. ap stig 70/17.

*stigr m. track. See *laupstigr.

*stinga v. sting, prick, poke. A. 3s (ut) stingr 72/24.

*stinqua v. fly up, jump, bounce. A. 3p stinha (B. stinka) 81/2. 81/2. 81/3. 81/4.

*stříb n. battle, fight, contest. A. *ds stříp 90/20.
*stukkr m. log, post, bollard; stocks. A. *ds (lîp)stukki 70/17. as stukk 78/16. 89/10.
  ap (mot)stukka 92/3.
*stumbil m. stump. A. *gs stumbla 83/8. acc. stumbla 82/23.
styra see *stor.
*suarþsprangr m. splitting of the scalp. A. as suarþsprang 72/11.
*suela v. loiter, delay. A. 3s suelir 80/7.
sueria v. swear. A. *i 95/1. subj. 3s sueri 71/24. 4 further instances.
*suerþ n. sword. A. *ds suerþi 72/19.
*sufa v. sleep. A. 3p sufa 89/11.
*suiga v. bend down, indent. A. ptc. nsf suigin 72/12.
*suin n. swine, pig. A. np suin 91/5. dp suinum 59/16. 84/20. 91/4. B. ap suin 98/2.
  Cf. galtr, *gris, smagrisir.
sum rel. pron. which, who, that; conj. as, as if. A. 60/6. [94/14]. 271 further instances.
  so ... sum 62/4. 25 further instances. S. 95/3. 9 further instances. so sum 95/17. B.
*sumar m. summer. See *mípsumar.
sun m. son. A. ns 67/3. 4 further instances. (bonda)sun 86/15. (þy)sun 77/20. suninn 75/22. ds syni 87/8. as sun 75/22. np synir 75/14. 4 further instances. dp synum 77/1. ap syni 77/2. 77/23. 87/10. (þy)syni 78/1. B. ns (prest)son <97/5>. ds syni 59/1. 87/4.
*sunadotir f. granddaughter by one’s son. A. np sunadytrir <75/25>. 75/25.
sunder 98/18.
*sunnudagr m. Sunday. A. as sunnudag 63/8. 63/11. 64/1. 94/17. ap sunnudaga 61/15. B. as sonndagh 63 note 131. sonnodagh 63 note 133. sondag 64 note 149. 94 note 715.
sykia v. visit; travel; select; prosecute, bring an action against. A. i 61/17. 6 further


sylffs see *silfr.

*syma v. honour, restore someone’s honour. A. subj. 3s symi 90/22. <90/24>. subj.

3p symin 60/25. B. subj. 3s symi 90 note 651.

*symd f. honour; (oath of) rehabilitation. A. gs symdar(aijp) 60/16.

*symni n. sexual intercourse. A. gs symnis 80/2.


*syn2 adj. visible. A. npsm synir 72/5. 73/11. dpm synum 73/14. apm syna 73/10.

*syn3 f. case, situation. See *naupsyn, osinum, *sin1.

*synas v. md. show. B. 3s synis 72 note 335.

*synd f. sin. A. ap syndir 67/15.

synia v. refuse, decline. A. i 89/20. 3s syniar 89/22. subj. 3s syni 83/15.

syni, synum see *sun.

*synlikr adj. visible, apparent. B. npm synlikir 98/14.

syrgia v. with dat. attend to, effect. A. i 65/18.

*syri n. oath, swearing. See ainsyri.

*syskani n. siblings. A. gp syskana 82/10. syskana(barna) 82/10.

sysla v. do, execute, commit (a crime). A. i 60/5.


*tafastr or *ta fastr adj. situated by a road, bordering a right of way. A. asf tafasta 82/13. 82/14. an tafast 83/19. 83/20. 82 note 496. See Commentary to 82/13-16.

*tagarpr m. fence alongside a road. A. ds tagarpi 83/19. See garpr1.

taka v. with dat. or acc. take, embrace; collect, receive; seize, grasp, take out; taka til sina take as a ward (see Commentary to 75/20). A. i 68/6. 6 further instances. 2s takr 64/24. 16 further instances. 3s takr 62/2. <63/20>. <69/18>. 11 further instances. subj. 3s taki 68/5. <75/15>. 20 further instances including taki (til sina) 75/20. subj. 3p takin 61/1. 4 further instances. imp. 2s tak 84/5. 84/7. ptc. nsm takin 63/21. (inni)takin 78/11. 8 further instances. npsm (af)takin 81/14. ns comm. takin 63/25. 64/4. nsm (af)takit 94/22. dsm (inni)taknum <58/32>. npsm taknir 64/22. 65/10. npsm (af)taknar <81/17>. 81/24. sup. takit 62/11. <67/5>. 83/13.
**Guta lag**

87/17. *(mis)takit 89/6. 89/6. S. i 95/17. ptc. nsm *(af)takin 95/25. nsf *(af)takin 95/18. 95/22. nsn takit 95/3. npn *(af)takin 95/19. 95/23. B. i 97/10. 5 further instances. 3s tak’r 100/13. 62 note 109. 63 note 143. 69 note 279. subj. 3s taki 91/7. 97/4. 97/12. 97/21. 100/3. 75 note 383. 83 note 518. subj. 3p takin 76 note 405. 88 note 598. ptc. nsm *(af)takin 95/17. 95/18. 95/22. nsn takit 80/17. 100/2. 100/21. *(aff) takit 95 note 747. npf *(aff) tachnar 81 note 477. sup. takit 67 note 225.


*ta**ka viPr with dat. receive, accept; adopt, undertake, take upon one; ally oneself to. A. 3s taker *(viPr) 68/24. 88/22. 90/2. subj. 3s taki *(viPr) 75/16. 78/24. (taki understood) *(viPr) 78/24. sup. *(viPr)takit 63/8.

*taki m. person standing surety with whom (bail) money has been deposited, surety man. B. gs taka 97/16.

**tal n.** count, number; voting majority. A. ds tali 95/1. *(hafpa)tali 75/24. 77/24. (marka)tali 93/13.

**talaut f.** land (e.g. grazing land) situated by a road. A. ap talautir 82/16. B. as talaut 82 note 498.

**tandr m.** tooth. A. gp tanna 71/3. dp tannum 70/18. ap tendr 73/20. 73/22. B. gp tanna 98/7. ap tend’r 98/18. 98/19.

*tappa v. with dat. lose. A. subj. 3s tappi 84/7.

*tassal gender uncertain. buckle. S. gp tassala 95/18.

**tekkelikr adj.** fitting, proper. B. nn tekkelighit 60 note 50.

**tekt f.** taking. See hestatekt, *intekt.

**telia v.** say. A. ptc. nsn tel 70/19.

**telgia f.** cut, score, notch, tally; break, split. A. ns <73/7>. B. ns 98/12. 73 note 349.

**tia f.** toe. A. ns [72/22]. B. ns 72/22.

**til1 prp.** to; until; for, as much as. A. with gen. 60/6. 95 further instances. S. 95/17. B. 58/50. 77/6. 98/6. 5 further instances. 67 note 231. **till** 99/16.

governing a preceding relative pronoun A. 87/25.

*with undecl. head-word A. 84/8. 4 further instances.

*with dat. or acc. B. 97/23.

See also par til (et).

**til2 adv.** thereto, to this; in existence. A. 67/3. 17 further instances. S. 95/7. B. 76/11. 97/25. 4 further instances. 81 note 471.
til auka v. add to, acquire new. See auka.

til bieras v. amount to. See biera.

til briauta v. break up. See briauta.

til fyra v. with dat. deliver, give. See fyra.

til ganga see ganga.

til handa postp. with dat. to. See hand.

*til hoyra v. with dat. belong to. See *hoyra.

til lata v. contribute; leave room for. See lata.

til nemna v. select, name. See nemna.

til segia v. with dat. tell, instruct; announce. See segia.

til skiauta v. refer, submit. See skiauta.


til sykia v. visit, travel to. See sykia.

til(l) þes et conj. until. A. 64/20. 70/11. 84/10.

*til þrengia v. be pressing, be necessary. A. 3s til þrengir <63/14>. <85/17>. B. 3s til trengir 85 note 555.

*timbr n. timber. A. as timbr 85/7.

*timi m. (period of) time. A. gs tima 61/16. 91/17. ds tima 80/14. 88/2. B. as tima 80 note 457.


tiugu num. twenty. A. gn 93/15.

*tiundi num. tenth. A. asm tiunda 64/16.


tiunta v. pay tithe. A. i 61/13.


tolf num. twelve. A. nm 65/17. 69/13. 74/23. nf 69/23. gm 62/23. 68/12. 80/15. gf 70/15. 70/22. 88/1. df 69/9. 4 further instances. am 64/23. <94/20>. af 60/20. 10 further instances. S. af 95/15. 96/2.

torfa f. turf; scalp with hair attached. A. ns 74/11. Bx. ns 98/25.

*torg n. (market) square. A. ds torgi 63/18.

*tro f. belief. A. ds tro 60/4.
troa v. believe. A. i 60/3. (mis)troa 61/3. 83/15. 3s (mis)tror 85/22.

troysta v. with dat. trust in. A. i (um) troysta 66/17.

*troþur f. pl. fencing wood. A. acc. troþur <82/23>.

*trygguar, *tryggiar f. pl. agreement, terms. See *lyktrygguar.


*tug n. rope, line, train. A. ds tugi 63/23.


tunga f. tongue. A. ns tupp 80/20.

tyggia see tuair.

*tykr adj. which can be taken, seized, forfeited. A. nsf tyk 63/24. nsn tykt 64/1. 83/12. Cf. *taki.

ufan prp. with acc. on, against. A. 81/8.

ulu see *skulu.


governing a preceding relative pronoun A. 89/24.

um2 adv. of, around. A. 60/14. 10 further instances. B. 99/18. See also troysta (um),

utanum, *venda (um), *vela (um).

umbup n. authority, order. A. ns 86/17. as umbup 86/22.

umkring see kringum.

um troysta = troysta.

*umvela = *vela.

undan adv. away, out. A. 78/11. 78/16. 78/17.

undir1 prp. with acc. under, to. A. 64/14. 76/3. 76/4. 76/5. with dat. under. B. 100/2. 100/21.
undir² adv. underneath. A. 84/20.


superl. *yngsti youngest. gsm yngsta 75/19. asm yngsta 75/15.

ungimaþr m. bridegroom. See ungr.

*unna v. grant, vouchsafe; permit, allow. A. subj. 3s unni 60/3. B. 3s unnar 81 note 472.

upp adv. up; forward. A. 60/13. 7 further instances. upp (haita) 91/21. 91/24. 91/25.


*uppdrykkia f. drunkenness. A. ds uppdrykkia 90/20.

*uppgangr m. rise. A. as (sola) uppgang 65/25.

upphaf n. beginning. A. ns 60/2. B. ns upphoff 60 note 40.

*upphaizlusoyþr m. beast taken to the assembly to determine its rightful owner by proclaiming it found. A. dp upphaizlusoyþum (B. up heislu soydom) <92/3>.

uppheldi n. board and lodging, keep. A. gs uppheldis 82/7. ds uppheldi 76/17.

uppi adv. up, raised up. A. 72/19. 74/21. 74/24. 93/15. B. 98/19. See also *halda.

*ustr m. cheese. A. dp ustrum 63/17.

ut adv. out; over. A. 60/8. 4 further instances. ut ok ut from the first to the last. A. 73/23. See also ganga, giefa, kasta, *lipa, loysa, lufa, *stinga, *utgift, utlendis, utlendingr, utretta.


prp. with acc. without; exempt from. A. 71/25. 9 further instances. See also firir utan.

(theadword in genitive omitted or understood) S. 95/7. B. 97/7.

utan² conj. but; without, unless, apart from. A. 63/9. 25 further instances. S. 95/18.

95/22. B. 95/24. 97/20. 5 further instances. 84 note 538. See also firir utan.

utanmenn m. pl. unrelated persons. See mapr.

utanum adv. outside, round about. A. 83/4.

utan þi (at) ains et, utan þy (at) ains et conj. except in the case of. A. 60/13. <75/19>. <86/9>. <87/6>. 10 further instances. utan þi at ains at 80/17. B. utan thi at eyns at 75/4. 100/19. utan ti at eyns at 75 note 389. utan ty at eins en 69 note 271. Cf. þi at ains et.

uti adv. outside, past. A. 67/14. 4 further instances. B. wti 61 note 81.
**utlendingr** *m.* foreigner (non-Gotlander). A. *ns* 86/21.

**utlendis** *adv.* abroad. A. 67/15.

**utliðin** *adj.* (ptc.) past. B. *nsf* utlidin 99/13.


*utlið* adv. abroad. A. 67/15.

**utlitra** *adj.* (ptc.) past.


**vagli** *m.* perch, roost. A. *ds vagla* 73/15.


*valda* v. with dat. govern, cause, be the cause of. A. *subj.* 3s valdi 64/12. 64/15. *ptc.* nsm valdandi 70/9. *asm (alz)valdanda* 60/3. B. 3s wald’r 100/7. *ptc.* asm (alz)waldugan 60 note 45.


**vani** *m.* custom, habit. A. *as vana* 91/10. 91/17.

*var* poss. pron. our. (B. *nsf* war, etc.) A. *nsf or* 60/6. *dsn orum* 60/4. 60/6. *dsf vari* 60/4. *dsn oru* 60/5. 60/8. *dpn orum* 60/2.

**vara**1, *vera* v. be, continue; mean. *vara til* come into being, be left intact. A. *i* 61/2. 4 further instances. *vera* 63/17. 7 further instances. 3s *ir* 60/2. 122 further instances. *ier* 60/8. <70/2>. [72/20]. [72/20]. [72/22]. [78/10]. 75 further instances. 3p *iru* 61/11. 66 further instances. *ieru* 65/12. *subj.* 3s *sei* 60/6. 25 further instances. *vari*
69/20. 12 further instances. veri 68/19. subj. 3p sein (B. occasionally siin) 68/22. 6 further instances. varin 77/15. 77/17. 87/22. pret. 2s vast 89/4. pret. 3s var 61/1. 15 further instances. pret. 3p varu 61/3. 4 further instances. pret. subj. 3s vari 60/10. 10 further instances. sup. varit 69/5. verit 71/6. S. i 95/21. 3s ier 95/3. 9 further instances. 3p iru 95/19. ieru 95/12. 95/22. pret. 3s var 95/3. B. i wara 100/26. 3s ir <98/4>. ier 72/17. 72/20. 72/20. 72/22. 78/10. 80/14. 97/5. <100/16>. 28 further instances. 62 note 111. 65 note 191. 70 note 285. 74 note 345. 74 note 367. 76 note 397. 84 note 539. 85 note 546. 85 note 548. 95 note 747. 3p ieru 101/7. 85 note 557. 94 note 724. subj. 3s si 97/10. 97/13. 97/21. 62 note 100. sy 60 note 50. sy' 60 note 50. pret. 3s war 97/26. 99/25. 100/2. 100/21. 71 note 312. 76 note 407. 78 note 442. subj. pret. 3s wari 97/24. 100/2. 100/19. subj. pret. 3p varin 68 note 254. Bx. 3s ier 98/18. 98/25. 98/25. 74 note 370. 3p iru 76/14. 74 note 370.

*vara² f. goods, wares. A. ds varu 63/19.

*vara³ v. inform (someone), warn (someone). B. ptc. nsm warad'r 98/3.

*vara firi v. be subject to something. A. 3s firi ir 81/11. Cf. vara¹.

*varfriþr m. spring peace. See friþr.

*vargr m. wolf. See kasnavargr.

*vari m. garment. See *likvari.

*varmbr adj. warm. A. asn varmt 73/12.

*varnaþr m. ward, minor; supervision. A. ds varnaþi 89/16. as varnaþ 79/17.

*varst f. land, ground. A. as varst 82/14. 82/14.

varþa¹ see verþa.

varþa² v. with dat. take care of, be responsible for, concern. A. i 74/20. 83/19. 2s varþar 70/19. 85/13. 3s varþar <70/13>. 70/17. 8 further instances. 3p varþa 65/21. subj. 3s varþi 82/20. 84/8. imp. 2s varþa 85/6. B. i wara 99/15. 67 note 220. 3s wardar 98/2. 98/6. 99/15. 99/16. subj. 3swardi 70 note 292. Cf. virþa.


*varþpenningar m. pl. watch money (an annual tax, paid by all men capable of military service); fines for not keeping proper watch. A. acc. varþpenninga 93/16.


*vatubanda f. testified safety-circle, provisionally drawn boundaries, confirmed by
witnesses, of an area in which a killer can safely stay pending settlement. A. as vatubandu 67/13.

?vaxtr m. growth. See *avaxtr.

*vaþi m. misadventure, accident; injury caused by misadventure or accident; danger.


*vaxtr m. growth. See *avaxtr.


97/11. ptc. nsm wegin 65 note 179. 65 note 181.

*vaxtr m. growth. See *avaxtr.


82/12. ap (far)vegi 82/13. B. ds vegum 80/1. 

58 note 16. as wegh 67 note 231. See also *vegþueri.

*vegþueri m. blocking the way. A. as vegþueru 75/2. B. as vegþueru 58/26. 75/1.

vel adv. well. See iemvel.

*vela v. make arrangements; *vella um conspire together. A. 3p vela (um) 68/23.

*venda v. turn; *venda um force to turn around. A. 3s vendir (um) 75/3.

*vendi n. cushion, pillow. A. as vengi 78/3. np (raip)vengi 82/4.

vensl f. suspicion, unproven guilt. A. ns venzl 62/20. B. ns wensl <100/5>.

*ver f. lip. A. as ver <72/7>. B. as wer 72 note 329.


vera see vara.


verelzmaþr m. layman. A. ns 66/15.

veria v. with acc. protect, defend (especially before the court), possess; with dat. keep back (mucus, etc.); verias with dat. defend oneself against. A. i 73/1. 2sp vers 74/3. 3sp vers 73/11. 74/24. 80/8. 80/13. 3p veria 87/2. subj. 3s veri 79/5. subj. 3sp veris 62/22. ptc. nsm verþr 90/1. asn vert 80/17. B. ip werias 73 note 346. 3sp wers 62 note 123.
verk n. task, deed, work. A. ns 64/1. ds verki 63/25. 64/4. as verk 63/8. (dags)verk 93/24. np (handa)verk 60/11. dp verkum 87/3. Cf. *dagsverk(i), *verkhailigr.

*verkia v. hurt. B. 3s verkir 99/16.

*verkhailigr adj. (day) sacred to rest, on which work is forbidden. See *hailigr.


verri adj. comp. (the) worse (for the experience). A. nsm 84/12.


verpa v. become, be; happen, arise, occur. A. i 88/4. 94/25. 2s verpr 85/9. 89/3. 3s verpr (also uerpr and, at 64/10, varpr) 60/8. 46 further instances. 3p varpa 69/4. 4 further instances. subj. 3s verpi 63/13. 5 further instances. subj. 3p verpin 75/22. B. 3s wardir 80/1. 97/17. 6 further instances. 58 note 16. 65 note 174. 66 note 214. 3p warda 98/5. 98/14. See also *verpa firi.


*verpr adj. of worth. A. nsm (ohaij)verpi 81/9. B. nsm werd'r 98/5. nsf werd <98/5>. nsm wert 98/2.


vep n. pl. pledge, surety; deposit, forfeit. A. dat. ve&mum 59/3. 87/16. acc. veb 84/7. 87/17.


*vi n. holy place. A. ap vi 62/16.

*vig n. battle, conflict. A. ds vigi 77/14.


vigniauri m. testicle. A. ns 73/4.


vika f. week. A. ns (helgudaga)vika 64/22. (paska)vika 64/21. ds (paska)viku 93/16. np vikur 64/21.

vil, vildi see *vilia².

*vili m. will, inclination, agreement. A. ds vilia 60/6. 81/17. 87/6. as vilia 88/12. B. as wilia 97/11.

vilia¹ see *vili.
*vilia* v. wish to, want to; be willing to, be prepared to, mean to. A. 3s vil(l) 60/22. 43 further instances. 3p vilia 60/24. 11 further instances. subj. 3s vili 80/17. 87/6. 88/23. pret. 3s wíldi 61/17. B. 2s wil(tu) 99/13. 3s wil(l) 69/1. 97/10. 13 further instances. pret. 1s wíldi 97/24. 97/25. pret. 3s wíldi 97/17.

*vína* v. do, be able to, be bothered to; vínna at suffice. A. 3s vindr 60/17. 62/23. 88/23. 6 further instances. vindr (at) 63/5. 87/15. 3p vínna 62/19. 62/21. 85/22. subj. 3s vinni 69/8. 70/8. B. 3s wíndr 100/11. 80 note 458. wíndr (aat) 97/9.

vintr see *vitr*.

vir pers. pron. we. A. nom. 60/2. 60/4. 60/5. dat. os 60/4.

*virki* n. (fencing) timber. A. as virki 85/7.

virþa v. value, levy a recompense, seize in payment of debt, make a valuation, distrain. A. i 66/7. 88/6. 91/3. 91/25. subj. 3p virþin 66/9. 87/18. 91/7. S. subj. 3p pass. virþins 95/11. B. i wirða 101/8. subj. 3s wírdi 66 note 206. Cf. varþa*

visa v. with dat. send, command; blame something (dat.) on (a with acc.). A. i visa (a) 83/23. 3s visar 93/7.

vita1 v. know. A. i 60/9. pret. 3s vissi 90/2.

vita2 v. prove, verify, testify, charge, blame; a vita charge, accuse, challenge. A. i 62/3. vita (a) 82/14. 82/15. 82/15. 3s vitr 60/16. subj. 3s viti 68/12. 8 further instances. subj. 3p vitin 83/14. ptc. nsm (a)vitr 63/15. (o)vitr 63/16. B. i 100/1. 3s wit 85 note 550.

vitna v. witness, demonstrate, prove. A. i 83/1. 83/8. subj. 3p vitnin 83/4. B. i 101/1. subj. 3s witni 69 note 275. 83 note 522.

*vitni*1 n. witness. A. dp vitnum <71/8>. 80/15. 80/22. B. dp witnom 71 note 308.


vitniksuna f. female witness (present at a childbirth). See kuna.

vitorþ n. right; hafa vitorþ have the right of substantiation (of a case, accusation, denial). A. ns 78/22. as vitorþ 68/10. <80/22>. 12 further instances. B. as witord 99/12. 99/14. 99/20. 80 note 461.

*vitra* v. prove. A. subj. 3s vitri 77/21.

*vitr* m. winter; year. A. np vintr 62/5. gp vittra (B. wintra) 70/15. ap vintr (B.
wintra, wint’r, winter) <61/7>. 64/4. 83/3. vintra (B. wint’r). 70/20. 71/13.
vipari adv. comp. further, longer. A. 63/15.
*vipr1 m. timber, specifically firewood. A. as vip 82/23. 85/7.
vipr2 prp. with acc. to, towards; with; from. A. 69/20. 67 note 115. 33 further instances. S. 96/1. B. wid’r 59/40. 61/20. 84/24. 87/23. 97/11. 101/5. 101/6. 94 note 706. wid (or wed) 64 note 156. See also *fallas vipr (with acc.), ganga vipr (with dat.), heta vipr (with dat.), kuma vipr, liggia vipr (with dat.), *lita vipr (with acc.), sia vipr (with dat.), taka vipr (with dat.), *porfa vipr (with gen. or acc.).
vipr3 adv. to hand, present, beside, in addition, concerning, in connection. A. 71/7. 9 further instances. B. wid’r 61/3. widir 99/9.
virkluma v. be able to. See kuma.
viprlag n. pl. deposit, compensation, recompense. The name given to a sum of six öre, which had to be offered before one could charge another person’s slave simply on suspicion of theft. B. acc. wid’r lagh 100/3. wider lagh 100/6. Cf. liggia vipr.
*vipr taka v. with dat. or with at and infinitive receive, take over; take upon oneself, adopt, assume. See taka.
*vipr porfa v. need (something), be in need. See *porfa.

yfir1 prp. with acc. over. A. 72/9. 4 further instances. S. 95/9.
yfir2 adv. over; in the matter. (80/7). A. 80/7. 4 further instances.
yfirhor n. double adultery. See hor.
*yfirklepi n. coat, cloak. A. as yfirklepi 74/14.
  superl. *yfrstr uppermost, latest. A. gsm yfrsta (B. yfarsta) 84/19. asm yfrsta 85/3.
*ymis adj. someone (in turn). A. npm ymsir 86/11.
*yngsti see ungr.
*ypa v. call. A. sup. ypt 89/15.
governing a preceding relative pronoun 76/4.

yr adv. out, from. A. 65/13. 84/24.

yrkia v. work; work through; damage. A. i 83/12. subj. 3p yrkin 64/4. sup. ort 70/12.

*yx f. axe. A. gs yxar 64/23. 4 further instances.

yxna see uxi.

pa adv. then, at that time; now; (as an introduction to a resultant clause) so. A. 60/12. [61/23]. <72/7>. [72/20]. <78/15>. 386 further instances. S. 95/4. 95/8. 95/11. B. tha 61/23. 61/24. 70/24. 97/4. 26 further instances. 61 note 94. 66 note 212. 66 note 213. 67 note 237. 72 note 329. 78 note 439. 97 note 759. ta 61/15. 72/20. 87/7. 98/18. 21 further instances. 67 note 237. 72 note 333. thar 65 note 175. taar 61 note 76. Bx. tha 74 note 370. da 98/13. Cf. par.

pa2 see pann1.

pa en conj. when; (but) if. A. <60/9>. 60/12. [60/17]. <60/22>. [72/20]. <78/20>. 158 further instances. pa ... en 67/12. pa enn 69/6. 69/7. B. tha en 58/50. 72/20. 97/5. 26 further instances. 60 note 53. 60 note 70. ta en 99/16. 99/24. 100/5. 78 note 441. (tha) en 60/17. tha (en) 61/25. ta ... than 67 note 237. Bx. tha en 98/13. 74 note 370.

pa fran see pa(r) fran.

*paigin adv. but not. A. 76 note 416. Cf. po(y)gi(n).

paar, paim, pair, paira, pairi, pan1 see pann1.

pan1 see pann1.

pan2 see pa en.

pan3 f. sinew. A. ns 72/21.

pan4 conj. than. A. 61/6. 35 further instances. S. 95/19. B. than (occasionally then or th'n) 58/51. 98/2. 5 further instances. tan 100/12. 100/22. 88 note 601. Cf. en3.

pinn1 pers. (n. and pl.), dem. or rel. pron. it; they; that, that one, such, of this sort; the following; which. A. nsm pann 99/10. 25 further instances. pann 63/20. 13 further instances. nsp pann (B. also taim, thaim) 62/12. <62/15>. 5 further instances. nsn bet 60/8. 48 further instances. gsm bes 61/16. 91/17. gsf pairi 67/4. 77/22. gsn bes 60/25. 4 further instances. dsm paim 60/16. 17 further instances. dsf pairi 65/11. <71/14>. 5 further instances. dsn pi 60/8. 36 further instances (including the expression mib pi (et), utan pi at ains et). by 60/22. 12 further instances. (including the expressions firi by so et, meb by et, utan by at ains et) asm pan.
63/22. 81/5. 87/23. 94/19. **p** **a** **n** **n** 63/16. **a** **s** **f** **p** a **6** **2**/17. 67/10. 78/9. **a** **s** **n** **p** e **t** 60/4. 19 further instances. **n** **p** **m** **p** a **i** r 60/25. [95/1]. 31 further instances. **n** **p** f **p** a **r** (B. **t** a **a** **r**, **t** haa **r**) 65/12. 8 further instances. **p** a **a** r 75/23. **n** **p** **n** **p** a **u** n (B. also **t** a **i** m, **t** haa **m**) <63/2>. 64/1. 22 further instances. **g** **p** **p** a **i** r **a** 63/1. <64/8>. 21 further instances. **d** **p** **p** a **i** m 62/2. <84/20>. 21 further instances. **a** **p** m **p** a 62/9. 8 further instances. **p** a **i** m 78/1. a **p** r 63/1. <64/8>. 21 further instances, n **p** **m** **p** a **i** m 80/2. **a** **s** **n** **p** e **t** 95/3. 95/4. 95/20. 95/15. **n** **s** **m** t **h** a **n** 98/6. 100/19. 100/21. 71 note 303. **t** a **n** 99/20. 100/1. 100/15. 100/24. 84 note 537. 93 note 698. **n** **s** **f** t **h** a **n** 60 note 65. **n** **s** **n** t **t** h **e** 60/20. 63 note 129. **t** h **e** t 97/3. 98/2. 98/24. 82 note 484. 95 note 740. t **e** t **h** 94 note 722. g **s** **f** t **e** i **r** 67 note 223. d **a** **s** **f** t **e** i **r** **i** 80/13. t **e** i **r** 71 note 315. d **a** **n** t **h** i 97/4. 100/2. 100/19. t **h** y 97/9. 97/10. 97/21. a **s** m **t** h **a** **n** 84/3. 100/15. 80 note 457. t **a** n 99/13. 70 note 299. a **s** n t **h** e **t** 95/18. 98/8. t **e** t **h** 82/18. 99/11. 5 further instances. 89 note 626. 90 note 643. 92 note 684. **n** **p** m t **h** a **i** m 97/21. t **e** i **r** 100/26. 101/1. 101/1. **n** **p** f t **a** 76 note 414. 90 note 639. t **a** r 95 note 732. **n** **p** n t **h** a **i** m 63/3. 63 note 125. t **a** m 77 note 430. g **p** t **e** i **r** a 64 note 156. t **e** i **r** a 99/3. d **p** t **h** a **i** m 64 note 152. t **e** i **m** 99/4. t **e** i **m** 84 note 541.

**p** **a** **n** **n** 2 see **p** a **e** n.

**p** a **r** 1 adv. and **c** **o** **n** j. there, in the place (that), at the place where; then, subsequently.

A. 60/3 (considered redundant by Pipping). 60/15. 51 further instances. S. 95/12.

B. **t** haa **r** 58/29. 65/7. 76/9. 97/23. 100/10. 76 note 406. t **a** r 97/3. 97/12. 97/21. 99/25. t **h** a 65 note 188. 66 note 210. Cf. **p** a **1**.

**p** a **r** 2 see **p** a **n** 1.

**p** a **r** 2 f. need. A. n **s** 60/6. g **p** **p** a **r** f 93/12.

**p** a **r** (r) **f** a **r** adv. from thence. A. (B. t **a** r **f** a **r**) 90/2.

**p** a **r** **t** i **l** adv. towards, besides, to this point, thus far. A. 67/12. 69/13. 74/22. 81/10. <90/7>. B. 90 note 632.

**p** a **r** **t** i **l** e **t** **c** **o** **n** j. until. A. 61/23. 9 further instances.

**p** a **r** ... u **m** adv. for that reason. A. 63/15.

**p** a **u** adv. however, nevertheless, still; furthermore, besides, in addition. (B. most frequently t(h)an). A. 60/22. <79/16>. 28 further instances. B. **t** haa **n** 68/13. 100/2. 101/8. 60 note 71. 87 note 582. t **a** n 100/10. t **h** a **u** 67 note 241. Bx. **t** haa **n** 76 note 416. Cf. e **n** **p** a **u**, **p** o **y** gi.

**p** a **u** e **n** **c** **o** **n** j. even if. A. 68/5. B. **t** haa **n** 100/5.
Although, even if, despite the fact that. A. 61/21. 11 further instances. B. than et 68 note 247. tan at 88 note 610.

Guta lag

<88/23>. B. than et 68 note 247. tan at 88 note 610.

Although, even if, despite the fact that. A. 61/21. 11 further instances. B. than et 68 note 247. tan at 88 note 610.

Although, even if, despite the fact that. A. 61/21. 11 further instances. B. than et 68 note 247. tan at 88 note 610.
*þing(s)laun f. thing payment (for bringing a lost animal to the assembly). A. as þingslaun <91/3>. B. as tings laun 91/7. 91 note 655.

þingsmenn m. pl. thing-men. See máþr.

þir see þu.

þissi dem. pron. and adj. this (same). A. nsn þitta 60/2. 63/7. 82/6. 87/20. hitta 94/13. 

*þorfa v. have to. (Used with gen., with viþr and gen., with viþr and acc., or with an infinitive.) *þorfa viþr need (something), be in need. A. 3s þarf 61/2. 4 further instances. (viþr) þarf <61/11>. 66/10. 4 further instances. 3p þorfu 85/25. B. 3s tarff 100/9. (wid’r) tarfar 69/7. 61 notes 84 and 85.

*þorka v. dry. A. ip þorkas 82/24.

*þorp n. farm, piece of land. See *haimþorp.

þøygi et conj. even if. A. 87/5. B. than 87 note 582.


þrang n. crush; pl. need; coercion. A. ds þrangi 71/18. np þrang 85/16.

þranglaus adj. without coercion. S. dsn þranglausu 95/12. See laus.

*þrapr m. thread. A. as þrap 72/15.


*þrengia v. press. See *til þrengia.


*þrigildi n. fines of three times the value of a stolen item. B. as triggildi 99/25. 5 further instances.

þrir num. three. A. nm 62/5. 6 further instances. nf þriar 60/21. 7 further instances. 
nm þry 68/7. gen. þriggia 72/1. 74/22. 75/11. 77/18. <90/22>. dat. þrim 61/20. 20 further instances. am þria 61/15. <87/20>. 11 further instances. af þriar 60/12. 23 further instances. an þry 67/7. 5 further instances. S. nm þry 95/14. gen. þriggia 95/12. af þriar 95/7. B. nm trir 100/25. nm trj 99/3. gen. triggia 86 note 571. 87 note 596. dat. trim 99/15. thrim 65 note 189. am tria 64 note 151. an try 101/7.
101/8.


þríðiungs1 m. riding (third); treding. A. ns 87/25. 91/10. gs þríðungs 91/6. 91/9. 91/24.

þríðiungs2 m. third. A. ns <64/14>. gs þríðungs 86/22. as þríðung 61/18. 9 further instances. B. ns tridiung’re 64 note 163.

þry see þríði.


þu pers. pron. sing. you. A. nom. 64/22. 74 further instances. dat. þir 66/1. B. nom. 


þuer adj. across; yfyr þuer (acc.) on the opposite side of, right across. A. asf þueira 72/9. asn þuert 72/10.

þueri m. block. See *veg þueri.

þufa f. tuft. See *starþufa.

þula v. tolerate, endure. A. i 73/12. 80/3. 3p þula 81/9. B. i tula 97/25.

þumlingr m. thumb. A. ns (B. tumbling’r) 72/17. as þumling 74/8.

þungi m. weight. A. as þunga 63/11.

þunki m. insult, fine for an insult. A. as þunka 74/1. 75/3. 75/11. 75/12.

þy see þann1.


þydotir f. illegitimate daughter. See dotir.

þykki v. impersonal with dat. seem. A. 3s þykki 65/3.

þypt f. theft, robbery. B. as typt 100/8.


þysun m. illegitimate son. See sun.
Roman numerals


100/6. 100/7.

vii num. seven. B. gf 88 note 602.


x num. ten. A. df 79/21.


Page of *Guta lag* from *B 64*, natural size

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Page of *Guta lag* from *AM 54 4°*, natural size

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APPENDIX A: COMPARISON OF MANUSCRIPTS

(i) Manuscript content comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
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<th>AM 54</th>
<th>B 65</th>
<th>AM 55</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Oldest statutes</td>
<td>Chapters 1-47</td>
<td>Chapters 1-65</td>
<td>Chapters 1-59</td>
<td>Chapters 1-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later statutes</td>
<td>Chapters 48-61</td>
<td>Chapters 66-80</td>
<td>Chapters 60-75</td>
<td>Chapters 68-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests' children</td>
<td>No (Chapter 5)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 4)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 5)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rights of betrothed women</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra clauses relating to unruary animals</td>
<td>No (Chapter 17)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 17)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 17)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause concerning bruising</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause concerning partial disability</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause concerning hidden disability</td>
<td>No (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause concerning ale throwing</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause concerning slaves fighting</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 19)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 24)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 20)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause concerning inheritance of childless man</td>
<td>Yes (misplaced in Chapter 19)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 25)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 21)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statutes concerning seduction</td>
<td>Yes (misplaced in Chapter 20)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 29)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 23)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause concerning displacing a woman’s coif</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 23)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 29)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 26)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerning travellers’ pathways</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 64, misplaced from after 24)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 37)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 31)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase of slaves</td>
<td>No (although in Contents)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 49)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 43)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care of ships</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 36)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 53)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 47)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statutes relating to theft by slaves</td>
<td>No (Chapter 38)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 55)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 50)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilded items</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 24</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 35</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 28</td>
<td>Chapters 51, 30, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sale of ale</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch duty</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 54</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 72</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 63</td>
<td>Chapters 53, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting down specific trees</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting down trees in someone's enclosure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking timber</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 26</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 40</td>
<td>Cf. Chapter 36</td>
<td>Chapters 56, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting down a slip rails</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting down doors</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting down posts or supports</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerning taxes</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 53)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 71)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 62)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 61)</td>
<td>Yes (after Chapter 82)</td>
<td>Yes (after Chapter 75)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 75)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Concerning hair pulling</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 62)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 20)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerning woodland</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 63)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 82)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 83)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clause limiting toasts at weddings</td>
<td>Yes (misplaced in Chapter 63)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 82)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 27)</td>
<td>No (Chapter 28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerning women's inheritance</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 65)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 35)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbidding credit</td>
<td>Yes (first clause ends Chapter 65)</td>
<td>Yes (Chapter 81)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes (first clause ends Chapter 81)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where a clause does not appear in a certain manuscript, the chapter containing the related clauses, if any, is shown, otherwise a dash appears in the table.
(ii) *Chapter sequence comparison of the fourteen later statutes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>B 64</th>
<th>AM 54</th>
<th>B 65</th>
<th>AM 55</th>
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<tr>
<td>Af rofnakrum</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af hafreki</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af eldi</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af bierueldi</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
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<td>Af broagierp</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af skuti</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af varþi</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af husum etc.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>64; 65</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af byrslufulki</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>74; 75</td>
<td>66; 67</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af ikornum</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af herum</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af skaflí</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af messufalli</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af duflí</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

Outline of Gotland’s history and related mainland Swedish events

1164 Swedish archbishopric, under that of Lund, founded in Uppsala
   Cistercian monastery of Beata Maria de Gutnalia founded at Roma
1195 Henry of Livonia leads a crusade against Kurland including Gotlanders
1203 Name Wysbu appears in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia
1207 Andreas Suneson, Archbishop of Lund, visits Gotland
1208 Battle of Lena. Sverker defeated and Erik Knutsson assumes Swedish throne
1213 Letter from Pope Innocent III concerning the rural deans in Gotland
1216 Johan Sverkersson king of Sweden
1217 Gotland’s tithe distribution law confirmed by Pope Honorius III
1221 Letter from Andreas Suneson and Bishops Karl and Bengt concerning
   the relationship between Gotland and the See of Linköping
1222 Erik Eriksson king of Sweden
1225 The name Visby appears in a letter from Bengt, Bishop of Linköping
   Records relating to Riga mention ius Gutorum as applying there
1230 Gotland’s tithe law again confirmed by Pope Gregory IX
1248 Birger Magnusson appointed Jarl
   Papal legate Vilhelm of Sabina declares priestly celibacy at Synod of
   Skänninge
1249 Erik Eriksson dies; Birger Jarl governs Sweden
1250 Valdemar Birgersson crowned; Birger Jarl regent
1253 Tithe arrangements again confirmed by Pope Innocent IV
1255 German and English merchants start to take over Gotlandic trade
1260 Law of inheritance makes daughters equal with sons in Sweden
1266 Birger Jarl dies; Valdemar Birgersson rules in his own right
1275 Magnus Birgersson (Ladulås) king; position of jarl replaced by sveahertig
1285 Annual laipingslami tax declared; Gotland effectively under Swedish rule
1288 King Magnus intervenes in civil war between Visby and the farmers
   Visby stadslag put in place
1290 Magnus Birgersson dies
1298 Birger Magnusson king of Sweden
1310 Sweden partitioned; Birger Magnusson assigned Gotland
1313 Taxes in Gotland increased
   Battle of Röcklingebacke; Birger defeated in his attempt to annex Gotland
1318 Birger flees to Gotland, then Denmark
1319 Magnus Eriksson king, but with a minority government
1320 Taxes in Gotland reduced to previous levels
1322 Visby’s privileges confirmed
1332 Magnus Eriksson king in his own right
1335 Slavery abolished under the Statute of Skara
1347 Magnus Erikssons landslag replaces mainland provincial laws
1350 Black Death in Visby
1361 Valdemar IV Atterdag of Denmark invades and conquers Gotland
1398 The Teutonic Order seizes power in Gotland from the Vitalian Brotherhood
1408 The Teutonic Order returns Gotland to Erik of Pommern
1645 Gotland finally returned to Swedish rule at the peace of Brömsebro
APPENDIX C: MONETARY SYSTEM

Units of value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Equivalent</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark (weight)</td>
<td>gold</td>
<td>8 silver marks</td>
<td>e.g. Chapter 15, 69/16-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark (weight)</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td>4 marks in coin</td>
<td>e.g. Chapter 13, 68/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark (counted, Gutnish mark penninga)</td>
<td>coin</td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. Chapter 15, 69/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half mark</td>
<td>usually coin, once silver</td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. Chapter 19, 71/21-22, 72/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Öre (Gutnish oyrir)</td>
<td>usually coin</td>
<td>1/8 mark</td>
<td>e.g. Chapter 2, 61/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Örtug (Gutnish ertaug)</td>
<td>usually coin</td>
<td>1/3 öre (i.e. 1/24 mark)</td>
<td>e.g. Chapter 19, 74/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penny (Gutnish *penningr)</td>
<td>coin</td>
<td>8, 10, 12 or 16 to the örtug</td>
<td>e.g. Chapter 45, 91/22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the relationship between the mark of gold and that of silver, cf. Wessén (SL IV, 259 note 1). There is little doubt that his conclusion is correct. The exact relationship between the silver mark (a unit of weight, also divided into 24 örtugar) and the coined mark (a counted unit) is far from unambiguous and interpretation is not assisted by the following circumstances: (1) the definitions silfr and penningr are often omitted; (2) the manuscripts of GL occasionally give different fines for the same offences (cf. Wennström 1940, 74-75). Jacobsen (GGD, 25 note 1) suggests that the silver mark was 'mere end det dobbelte af en Mark Penge', whereas Wessén (SL IV, 245 note 4) equates a silver mark to four marks in coin and there is certainly internal evidence (73/18-19) to suggest this. It seems to be generally the case that, if a qualification is omitted, a mark in coin is intended (cf. SL IV, 245 note 4), but this assumption must naturally be made with circumspection and there is certainly one instance in which this is not the case (see Appendix D).

The number of pennies to the örtug in Gotland has been given variously as:
Jansson (1936, 12) states that a weighed örtug was 7-9 grams with an öre being 24-27 grams. He also holds (1936, 65) that there were twelve pennies to the örtug in Denmark, Gotland, and Öland and in the rest of the Baltic. Jacobsen (GGD, 25 note 1) states, however, that the number of pennies to the örtug was ten in Denmark, just as in Norway and this is confirmed in Andreas Suneson’s translation of Skånelagen (e.g. SkLÅS 119; CISk II 65). Suggestions that there were twelve pennies to the örtug in Jylland during the medieval period are unsubstantiated. In Svealand there were eight pennies to the örtug, in Götaland (particularly Västergötland) initially 16 (although later 8). It was thus possible that the penning coin was originally considerably smaller in size in some areas and a mark was respectively 288 (Gotland, Öland and possibly Jylland), 240 (Denmark), 192 (Svealand) and 384 (Västergötland) pennies. Rasmusson in KL states that there were four, not three örtugar of twelve penningar to the öre in Gotland, but this is not supported elsewhere. The standard of Svealand gradually took over in Sweden after 1300.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page and line</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Penalty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61/7</td>
<td>If a female slave commits infanticide</td>
<td>Six extra years of bondage (plus a fine paid by her master)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63/12</td>
<td>Carting more than permitted on the Sabbath</td>
<td>Confiscation of the load until redeemed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/4</td>
<td>If work is done on the Sabbath by a slave man or woman</td>
<td>Three extra years of bondage (plus a fine paid by the master)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/9</td>
<td>Damaging or stealing monastic property</td>
<td>Excommunication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/1</td>
<td>Killing or wounding during Church Festivals</td>
<td>Withholding of church offices (excommunication), until fines are paid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68/13</td>
<td>Refusing to offer compensation for a killing within the specified time</td>
<td>Outlawry (and see below for additional fines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/4-5</td>
<td>Killing of a Gotlandic or non-Gotlandic man by a slave</td>
<td>Master to bring slave bound to the farm of the dead man within forty nights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75/6</td>
<td>A slave fighting a free man</td>
<td>Two blows to the slave equate to one and matters are considered even</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77/16-17</td>
<td>Selling the family farm illegally</td>
<td>Loss of one’s shared inheritance with one’s siblings and reduction of one’s wergild to that of a non-Gotlander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78/11-12</td>
<td>Adultery of any man with the illegitimate daughter of a Gotlandic man with a non-Gotlandic woman (or vice versa) when taken <em>in flagrante delicto</em></td>
<td>Loss of a hand or foot (or payment of three marks in silver as stated below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78/15-17</td>
<td>Adultery of a man with an unmarried Gotlandic woman when taken <em>in flagrante delicto</em></td>
<td>Placing in the stocks for three nights, followed by loss of a hand or foot (or payment of six marks in silver by his family)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/15-16</td>
<td>Adultery of a married woman</td>
<td>Life (or 40 marks as chosen by the wronged husband)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/18-22</td>
<td>Carrying off of a woman without her family’s consent</td>
<td>Life, literally 'neck', (or his wergild if she is Gotlandic or ten silver marks otherwise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/10-11</td>
<td>Rape of a married woman, whether Gotlandic or not</td>
<td>Life (or the wergild set on the woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/16-18</td>
<td>Rape of a Gotlandic woman by a slave</td>
<td>Life (unless the woman would prefer to be paid her wergild by the slave’s master)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Offense Description</td>
<td>Punishment Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83/13</td>
<td>Working in another man’s woodland or marsh</td>
<td>Confiscation of the result of his work and his draught animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/12</td>
<td>Stealing more than two öre and up to a mark in silver</td>
<td>Presentation before the assembly and branding (as well as a wergild fine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/13</td>
<td>Recidivist theft, or theft of a mark in silver or more</td>
<td>Hanging [considered a shameful execution]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95/12-13</td>
<td>Laying waste land worth three marks in rent, without cause</td>
<td>Life, literally ‘neck’, for the man and loss of her church pew for his wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-monetary punishments could be summarized as:

1. Hanging
2. Other unspecified method of execution
3. Outlawry
4. Excommunication
5. Loss of inheritance and status
6. Loss of a hand or foot
7. Branding or other disfigurement
8. Placement in the stocks
9. Temporary withdrawal of church offices
10. Increase of period of bondage
11. Confiscation of goods involved in offence
## Monetary penalties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page and line</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>To whom paid (if not clearly the victim or his heirs)</th>
<th>Fine (in coin unless otherwise stated)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60/12</td>
<td>Infanticide by a free woman</td>
<td>Parishioners, returnable if she is found innocent</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60/17, 18</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>(Local or hundred) assembly members, if the case goes further, and the dean</td>
<td>Three marks each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60/20</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>General assembly</td>
<td>Twelve marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60/21</td>
<td>Sheltering a child killer</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61/6</td>
<td>If a slave commits infanticide</td>
<td></td>
<td>Six öre (paid by the master, and see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61/16</td>
<td>Failure to pay tithe on time, or before moving parish</td>
<td>Parishioners, church, priest</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/18</td>
<td>Heathen practices</td>
<td>Parishioners</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/22</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>(Local) assembly</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/23</td>
<td>as above</td>
<td>General assembly</td>
<td>Twelve marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63/12</td>
<td>Over-burdening an animal, or transporting forbidden goods on the Sabbath</td>
<td>Half to the informant and half to the priest and parishioners</td>
<td>Six öre to redeem the load and six öre in fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/2</td>
<td>Working on the Sabbath by free men or women</td>
<td>Half to the informant and half to the parish, priest and church</td>
<td>Six öre in fine and the loss of the work done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/4</td>
<td>Working on the Sabbath by slave men or women</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Three öre in fine to be paid by the master (and see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/9</td>
<td>Damage to or theft from monastery property</td>
<td></td>
<td>Twice the fine payable as that to a farmer (and excommunication as noted above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/10</td>
<td>Damage to or theft from monastery property</td>
<td>General assembly (if it comes that far)</td>
<td>Three marks (above the fine to the cloister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/22</td>
<td>Killing during Church festivals</td>
<td>Parishioners, Church, Priest</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/23</td>
<td>Wounding during Church festival</td>
<td>Parishioners, Church, Priest</td>
<td>Twelve öre (three öre if done by a slave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/23</td>
<td>Striking with a blunt instrument during Church festivals</td>
<td>Parishioners, Church, Priest</td>
<td>Six öre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>Fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/24</td>
<td>Scuffling or punching in anger during Church festivals</td>
<td>Parishioners, Church, Priest</td>
<td>Three öre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/7</td>
<td>Killing in a church</td>
<td>General assembly</td>
<td>40 marks (Ten marks in silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/7</td>
<td>Killing in a churchyard [and it might be assumed wounding in a church]</td>
<td>General assembly</td>
<td>Twelve marks (of which three go to the dean)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/11</td>
<td>Killing a criminal in sanctuary in one of the three sanctuaries, churchyards or rectory grounds</td>
<td>General assembly</td>
<td>40 marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/14</td>
<td>Bruising in church or wounding in a churchyard</td>
<td>Parishioners, Church, Priest</td>
<td>Six marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/16</td>
<td>Scuffling in a church or bruising in a churchyard</td>
<td>Parishioners, Church, Priest</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/17-18</td>
<td>Scuffling or punching in a churchyard</td>
<td>Parishioners, Church, Priest</td>
<td>Twelve öre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/19</td>
<td>Re-consecration after the above</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/1</td>
<td>Killing during the ‘general peace’</td>
<td>General assembly</td>
<td>As much wergild as the man is worth (in addition to the normal payment to the heirs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/2</td>
<td>Wounding or attacking during the general peace</td>
<td>Unspecified (presumably the general assembly)</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/4-3</td>
<td>Destroying property during the general peace</td>
<td>Unspecified (presumably the general assembly)</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/7-9</td>
<td>Taking a man’s horse or ox as surety during the Spring peace</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/13</td>
<td>Taking someone by the hair, or punching them during the assembly</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Three marks (in addition to fines for the crime)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>Fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/14-15</td>
<td>Striking someone with a blunt weapon or causing a wound at the assembly</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/15-16</td>
<td>Killing or maiming a man, except in revenge, at the assembly</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Six marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/20</td>
<td>Killing or maiming a man at his home</td>
<td>General assembly and the victim or his heirs</td>
<td>Twelve marks each (in addition to wergild if death is involved)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66/21-22</td>
<td>Striking someone in their home with a blunt weapon or causing a wound</td>
<td>The community and the victim</td>
<td>Three marks each (in addition to the normal fine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68/14-15</td>
<td>Refusing to offer compensation for a killing within the specified time, or not keeping to his circle of truce</td>
<td>General assembly and the claimant</td>
<td>Six marks in silver each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/9</td>
<td>Killing by a minor</td>
<td></td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver (i.e. half a wergild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/14</td>
<td>Killing a pregnant woman</td>
<td></td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver for the child and full wergild for the woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/16-17</td>
<td>Killing a Gotlander</td>
<td>His or her heirs</td>
<td>Three marks in gold (i.e. 24 marks in silver, 96 marks in coin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/17-18</td>
<td>Killing a non-Gotlander</td>
<td>His or her heirs</td>
<td>Ten marks in silver (i.e. 40 marks in coin, as in Sweden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/18</td>
<td>Killing a slave</td>
<td>[His master, presumably]</td>
<td>Four and a half marks¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/23</td>
<td>Killing a Gotlander in his circle of truce</td>
<td></td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver (half a wergild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/23-24</td>
<td>Killing a non-Gotlander in his circle of truce</td>
<td></td>
<td>Five marks in silver (half a wergild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/24</td>
<td>Killing a slave in his circle of truce</td>
<td>Presumably the victim’s master</td>
<td>Six öre (a sixth of a slave’s wergild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/2</td>
<td>Maiming a non-Gotlander’s hand or foot</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ten marks in coin (¼ wergild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/3</td>
<td>Other maiming</td>
<td></td>
<td>¼ wergild, presumably</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This does not seem to be the same as the value of the slave, which appears to be three marks in silver.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>70/5</th>
<th>Killing of a Gotlandic man by a slave</th>
<th>Nine marks in silver (plus the slave, valued at three marks in silver)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70/6</td>
<td>Killing of a Gotlandic man by a slave who then escapes</td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver (i.e. half the wergild for a Gotlander from the master of the slave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/6-7</td>
<td>Killing of a non-Gotlandic man by a slave</td>
<td>Two marks in silver (plus the slave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/8</td>
<td>Killing of a non-Gotlandic man by a slave who then escapes</td>
<td>Five marks in silver (i.e. half the wergild for a non-Gotlander)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/9-10</td>
<td>In both the above cases, if the master does not get an oath to deny his own involvement</td>
<td>Full wergild for the dead man (24 or ten marks in silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/11</td>
<td>Killing of one slave by another</td>
<td>Presumably the victim’s master’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/15</td>
<td>Killing of a man by an uncastrated ox of five years old or more</td>
<td>Twelve marks [in silver understood], i.e. half his wergild²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/21-22</td>
<td>Killing of a Gotlander by an ox, horse, three year old or older boar or dog</td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/23-24</td>
<td>Killing of a non-Gotlander in the same circumstances</td>
<td>One third of his wergild, i.e.13 ½ marks in coin (3 ½ marks in silver)³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/2</td>
<td>Wounding, etc. by animals</td>
<td>One third of the normal fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/3-4</td>
<td>Dog bites</td>
<td>Two öre per bite, up to four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/6-7</td>
<td>Striking a woman so that she miscarries</td>
<td>Half a wergild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/14-15</td>
<td>Killing a properly supervised child under three by accident at a gathering</td>
<td>Full wergild</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This is one of the few instances in which ‘silver’ is not stated explicitly, but is clearly intended.
² This is quite specifically at odds with the practice for a Gotlander, where half the wergild is offered.
<p>| 71/21-22 | Causing a wound one or more nail-breadths deep | Half a mark for each nail-breadth in length and depth [circa one inch] up to eight |
| 71/22-23 | Causing a wound less than a nail-breadth deep, but needing treatment | A quarter of a mark for each nail-breadth in length |
| 72/3 | Causing a body wound | One mark in silver |
| 72/3 | Stabbing with a knife | Two marks in silver |
| 72/4-5 | Throwing stones or other missiles | Three marks |
| 72/5-6 | Causing a visible wound that does not shed blood | Half a mark for each blow up to four |
| 72/7, 9 | Causing a wound through the nose or lip that heals | Two marks and then for the scar; presumably half that for an ear |
| 72/8, 8-9 | As above, when it does not heal | Maximum price for a wound (i.e. two marks in silver) or one mark for an ear |
| 72/9-11 | Causing a scar on the face between hat and beard | Half a mark in silver or a mark in silver if the scar is very noticeable |
| 72/11-12 | Splitting the scalp | One mark (in coin), or two if the skull is visible |
| 72/12-13 | Cracking the skull | One mark in silver, or two if the membrane is visible |
| 72/14 | Each sizeable fragment of bone chipped off | One mark |
| 72/15-16 | Each larger bone | Two marks each up to four bones |
| 72/16-17 | Each finger lost or badly damaged | Four marks [in coin] |
| 72/17, 20 | Loss of a thumb, or damage to the hand so that it is partially disabled | Two marks in silver (i.e. twice as much) |
| 72/20-21 | Loss of mobility or breaking the heel or neck | Two marks in silver |
| 72/22 | Each toe lost | Two marks |
| 72/22-23 | Loss of hand, foot or eye | Six marks in silver for each (of these different things) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72/24-25</td>
<td>Loss of both hands or both feet or both eyes in a survived attack</td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver for each (of these different pairs of things, disagreeing with SL4, 263, note 25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/1</td>
<td>Loss of the nose</td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/2-3</td>
<td>Loss of the tongue</td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/3-4</td>
<td>Loss a testicle, resulting in infertility</td>
<td>Six marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/4-5</td>
<td>Loss both testicles</td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/5-6</td>
<td>Loss of the penis</td>
<td>Eighteen marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/7</td>
<td>Each broken rib</td>
<td>Two marks each up to four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/7-8</td>
<td>Smaller bones in the hand or foot</td>
<td>One mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/8-9</td>
<td>Larger bones in hand or foot</td>
<td>One mark in silver, or two if disability results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/11-12</td>
<td>An invisible injury resulting in minor disability</td>
<td>One mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/15-16, 18</td>
<td>Injury resulting in deafness</td>
<td>Twelve marks in silver, or six if it is partial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/18-19</td>
<td>Loss of an ear</td>
<td>One mark in silver; two marks in coin if the ear is retained damaged&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/20-23</td>
<td>Loss of teeth</td>
<td>Two marks for each upper front tooth, one for every other tooth in the upper jaw; lower jaw teeth at half this rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/24-25</td>
<td>Hair-pulling</td>
<td>Two öre (&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;⁄&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt; mark) if done with one hand, otherwise half a mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/25, 74/1</td>
<td>Shaking, pushing kicking or punching someone</td>
<td>Two öre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74/1</td>
<td>Throwing ale in someone's eye</td>
<td>Eight ortugar (&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;⁄&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; mark), for the insult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74/4</td>
<td>Striking someone with a staff</td>
<td>Half a mark per blow up to two marks, unless disfigurement results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74/7-10</td>
<td>Creating a bald patch the size of a finger, two fingers, two fingers and a thumb, hand</td>
<td>Eight ortugar, half a mark, a mark, two marks&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>4</sup> A silver mark is thus more than two marks in coin, probably twice as much.

<sup>5</sup> Eight ortugar must thus be less than half a mark and greater than a quarter of a mark. This shows that there were most likely three ortugar to the öre (<sup>1</sup>⁄<sup>4</sup> mark) in Gotland as elsewhere.
<p>| 74/10 | Pulling out all a man’s hair | One mark in silver (^4) |
| 74/11-12 | Removing a man’s scalp | One mark in silver |
| 74/14-15 | Damage to outer clothing, kirtle, undergarments | One öre, two öre, eight ortugar, plus repair to the clothing (^5) |
| 75/3 | Blocking someone’s way, or turning them aside | Eight ortugar (for the insult) |
| 75/4 | Violently forcing a man to abandon his route | The victim and the community | Three marks each |
| 75/7-8 | A slave getting more than two blows for one from a free man | The slave’s master, presumably | Two öre per blow, up to four blows |
| 75/8-9 | A free man getting more than one blow for two from a slave | Half a mark per blow up to four blows |
| 75/10 | Any non-injuring attack on a slave | Half the free man’s compensation |
| 75/10-11 | Any injury to a slave | The same as for a free man up to three marks |
| 78/10 | Seduction by any man of the illegitimate daughter of a Gotlandic man with a non-Gotlandic woman (or vice versa) | Hogsl of four marks |
| 78/11-13 | Any man taken in the act of seduction of the illegitimate daughter of a Gotlandic man with a non-Gotlandic woman (or vice versa) | Three marks in silver (to avert the loss of a hand or foot) |
| 78/17; 79/2-3 | Any man taken in the act of seduction of a single Gotlandic woman | Six marks in silver (to avert the loss of a hand or foot) |
| 78/24-25 | If a Gotlandic man loses a paternity case, when he was not taken in flagrante delicto | Maintaining the mother and child, or full hogsl, if she is Gotlandic |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paragraph</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Penalty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78/25; 79/8-9</td>
<td>Any man taken in the act of seduction of a non-Gotlandic woman in her home</td>
<td>Three marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/3-4</td>
<td>If a non-Gotlandic man is not taken in <em>flagrante delicto</em> with a Gotlandic woman, but has a child with her</td>
<td>Eight marks in <em>hogsli</em> (and brings up the child), if he acknowledges it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/6-7</td>
<td>If a non-Gotlandic man loses a paternity case, when he was not taken in <em>flagrante delicto</em></td>
<td>Full <em>hogsli</em>, if she is Gotlandic, with the child being maintained by her father or brother if she is unmarried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/7-8</td>
<td>If a non-Gotlandic man has a child with a non-Gotlandic woman</td>
<td>Three marks in <em>hogsli</em> (and he is to bring up the child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/11</td>
<td>Adultery (presumably by an unmarried man)</td>
<td>The wronged party and the (local) assembly, Six marks and three marks respectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/12</td>
<td>Double adultery</td>
<td>The wronged party and the general assembly, Twelve marks each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/13-14</td>
<td>Adultery by married man with an unmarried woman, but not vice-versa</td>
<td><em>Hogsli</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/15-16</td>
<td>Adultery by any man taken in <em>flagrante delicto</em> with a married woman</td>
<td>40 marks (or execution, as decided by the cuckolded husband)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/17-18</td>
<td>Luring a woman to marriage without her family’s agreement</td>
<td>Father or guardian and general assembly, 40 marks, of which twelve went to the assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79/18-20</td>
<td>Taking a woman by force without her family’s agreement</td>
<td>Father or guardian and the general assembly, Man’s wergild (ten marks in silver if she was non-Gotlandic), of which twelve went to the assembly (or his neck)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/8-10</td>
<td>Rape of a woman: Gotlandic, non-Gotlandic or slave</td>
<td>Twelve marks, five marks or six <em>öre</em> respectively (cf. the <em>banduvereldi</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/10-11</td>
<td>Rape of a married free woman</td>
<td>Her wergild value (in return for his life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/16-18</td>
<td>Rape by a slave of a Gotlandic woman</td>
<td>Her wergild (from his master) only if the woman allows this instead of the slave’s life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/21-22</td>
<td>(Half) uncovering a woman’s head (of a free woman only)</td>
<td>(One) two marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/23-25</td>
<td>Striking off a clasp or buckle or both, or knocking them to the ground</td>
<td>Eight örtugar or ½ mark or one mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/25-81/1</td>
<td>Pulling off a woman’s lacing</td>
<td>½ mark for each up to the maximum [probably two marks] and the return of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81/1-2</td>
<td>Pushing a woman so that her clothes are displaced</td>
<td>Eight örtugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81/2-4</td>
<td>If clothing is displaced to mid-calf, knee, loins</td>
<td>½ mark, mark, two marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81/5-6; 10-11</td>
<td>Grasping a woman by the wrist; elbow, shoulders, breast</td>
<td>½ mark, eight örtugar, five örtugar, one öre; half this if the woman is not Gotlandic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81/7-8; 10-11</td>
<td>Grasping a woman by the ankle, lower leg, thigh, higher up</td>
<td>½ mark, eight örtugar, five örtugar, no fine, as the woman is held responsible by this time; half this if the woman is not Gotlandic, but freeborn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81/21</td>
<td>Providing more than the stipulated ale at a wedding</td>
<td>The general assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81/21-22</td>
<td>Gate-crashing a wedding or other feast</td>
<td>Three öre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83/10-11</td>
<td>Giving leave for another to cut wood or reeds in unallocated wood or marsh</td>
<td>The wronged party and the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83/16-17</td>
<td>Damaging another person’s property</td>
<td>The wronged party and the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83/17-18</td>
<td>Enclosing unallocated land</td>
<td>The wronged party and the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/6, 7-8</td>
<td>Not having a stock-proof fence, resulting in them breaking through</td>
<td>½ mark (towards the fencing), extracted a second time if the fence is not made good in a fortnight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/14-15</td>
<td>Animal breaking through a legally constructed fence</td>
<td>The damage caused (by the animal’s owner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/15-16</td>
<td>Ox breaking through a fence of any sort</td>
<td>The damage caused (by the ox’s owner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/16-17</td>
<td>Ox jumping over a fence, but only if it is legally constructed</td>
<td>The damage caused (by the ox’s owner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/23</td>
<td>Cutting wood in another’s farm</td>
<td>The wronged party and the community &lt;br&gt;Three marks each and an extra eight örtugar if he takes it home and full restitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85/3-4</td>
<td>Breaking a man’s fence at the top tie, then a second section or a third</td>
<td>½ mark plus eight örtugar plus four örtugar (i.e. one mark in all)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85/5-6</td>
<td>Breaking open a whole fence section</td>
<td>Two marks (and the mending of the fence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85/7, 8</td>
<td>Stealing firewood, fencing or timber</td>
<td>Six öre (three marks if he has driven it to the road) plus full restitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85/18-19</td>
<td>Purchasing land unlawfully</td>
<td>The wronged parties and the general assembly &lt;br&gt;Twelve marks each. The purchaser also lost the price of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86/2</td>
<td>Selling outside the family or parish</td>
<td>The general assembly &lt;br&gt;Twelve marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86/16</td>
<td>Maximum ransom for a farmer’s son, etc.</td>
<td>Three marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87/3</td>
<td>Brothers defending undivided property and a killing occurring</td>
<td>The appropriate fine (by the brother who does the killing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87/21-22</td>
<td>Any ræmpir not attending the assembly in time for midday</td>
<td>The hundred (local) assembly &lt;br&gt;Three öre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87/22-23</td>
<td>If all the ræmenn are absent</td>
<td>The first person bringing an action and the community &lt;br&gt;Three marks each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87/24-88/1</td>
<td>Continuing cases after sunset</td>
<td>The highest fine that the assembly concerned can demand: three, six or twelve marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89/2-3, 4-5</td>
<td>Horse theft</td>
<td>The wronged party and the community &lt;br&gt;Three marks each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Wronged Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89/6-7</td>
<td>Taking the wrong horse by mistake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89/16-17</td>
<td>Taking a boat from its moorings and using it</td>
<td>The wronged party and the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/6-7</td>
<td>Planting stolen goods on another</td>
<td>The wronged party and the (local) assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/11</td>
<td>Theft of two öre or less</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/12</td>
<td>Theft of up to a mark in silver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/22</td>
<td>Specific insults at church level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/23-24</td>
<td>Specific insults repeated at a higher level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92/5-6</td>
<td>Altering a brand on an animal neither bought nor inherited</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92/16</td>
<td>Not planting turnips</td>
<td>The parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92/17</td>
<td>A parish not enforcing turnip-planting</td>
<td>The assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93/3</td>
<td>Causing damage to other farms from your fire</td>
<td>The affected farms (to be divided between them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93/6</td>
<td>Causing damage with fire carried into a man’s farm (to light his fire)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93/9-10</td>
<td>A parish not maintaining roads</td>
<td>The (local) assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93/18</td>
<td>Building a house without permission</td>
<td>The parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93/20</td>
<td>Employing indoor workers without parish permission (presumably during harvest)</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93/22-24</td>
<td>Harvest workers taking unauthorised leave</td>
<td>The farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94/7-8</td>
<td>Hunting squirrels or trapping hares between the Annunciation and the Feast of Simon and Jude</td>
<td>[Presumably the parish]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94/14-15</td>
<td>Harvesting fruit too early</td>
<td>Parishioners, with half to the informant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94/17-18, 19-20</td>
<td>Failure to say mass on Sunday or Feast day; on Fridays or days when the litany is said</td>
<td>The dean and the parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94/22</td>
<td>Gambling</td>
<td>The parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94/23</td>
<td>A parish not prosecuting a gambler</td>
<td>The (local) assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95/4-5</td>
<td>Revised punishment for pulling out hair to the size of a palm or completely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95/7-8</td>
<td>Cutting wood in another’s wood and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95/8</td>
<td>Breaking down another’s fence to pass through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95/9</td>
<td>Trespassing or tearing a gap in another’s fence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95/15</td>
<td>Providing too many drinks at a wedding</td>
<td>The general assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96/2</td>
<td>Buying on credit from town-dwellers</td>
<td>The general assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97/8-9</td>
<td>Case in general</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97/14</td>
<td>If a priest inherits a defence in a murder case and the complainant does not wish to accept compensation</td>
<td>The complainant and the general assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97/17-18</td>
<td>If two brothers, one ordained and the other not, inherit a case and need to compensate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/2-3</td>
<td>Personal injury caused by cattle, horses or pigs</td>
<td>The value of the animal at the most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/4-5</td>
<td>Injury caused by an animal declared at church and to the parish to be a rogue animal</td>
<td>Twice the normal fine for the injury, but half as much if the injury is normally fined at less than the animal’s value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/6</td>
<td>Dog causing damage</td>
<td>Up to half wergild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/7</td>
<td>Dog bites</td>
<td>Two öre a bite up to four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/8</td>
<td>Dog causing wounds or maiming</td>
<td>Half the maximum fine (not revenge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/12-13</td>
<td>Small bones broken in the foot or hand; each rib</td>
<td>Two marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/13</td>
<td>Disability following the above</td>
<td>Two marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/13-14</td>
<td>If so many bones are broken that the damage is obvious</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$ mark per bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/17</td>
<td>If an ear is damaged but not totally cut off</td>
<td>One mark in silver (this was two marks in coin in the A-text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/17-18</td>
<td>If the long bones of the leg or arm are broken</td>
<td>Two marks in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/19-20</td>
<td>If teeth are knocked out</td>
<td>One mark in silver for each of the two central upper or lower teeth, otherwise two marks in coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/24-25</td>
<td>If hair is pulled out leaving a bald patch greater in size than a palm; total hair loss</td>
<td>One mark in silver; two marks in silver(^6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/25</td>
<td>If the scalp is cut</td>
<td>One mark in silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99/4</td>
<td>Providing too much ale for the wedding party</td>
<td>The general assembly: Twelve marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99/23-24</td>
<td>Stealing by a slave: of an öre or less;</td>
<td>Three öre, plus the goods themselves (payable by the master)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^6\) This series makes it seem likely that a mark in silver was worth four times a mark in coin at this period.
99/26-100/1 Stealing by more than one slave: of an öre or less; & Three times the value, plus the goods themselves (payable by the master)

99/25 etc. Stealing by a slave of more than one öre [assumed], but only if the goods were in locked premises Three times the value (up to the value of the slave), plus the goods themselves (payable by the master unless he allows a search)

100/6-7 For taking a slave on suspicion without proof Six öre

100/15 etc. If a thief goes on the run No triple compensation for food stolen, but return of what remains

100/17-18 Redeeming a slave: on land; in a boat; out of sight of land Two öre; three öre; ½ mark

100/19 If a slave escapes in an unlocked boat Compensation is paid by the owner of the boat

100/22 If a slave, in escaping, has stolen goods Three marks maximum from the slave’s owner for the goods stolen

The maximum case a siettungr assembly could hear was for three marks, the pripiungr assembly six marks and the general assembly twelve marks. No limit is given for the local or hundred assembly.
APPENDIX E: OATHS AND WITNESSES REQUIRED

(i) Oaths

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page and line</th>
<th>Circumstances of ‘character’ oaths</th>
<th>Number of oath-takers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60/16</td>
<td>rehabilitation oath (<em>symdarailpr</em>) in respect of innocence of infanticide</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60/25</td>
<td>as above, in the case where prosecution witnesses fail to put up their deposit</td>
<td>not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/21</td>
<td>in respect of a man defending himself if accused of pagan practices</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/22</td>
<td>as above at the local assembly</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/23</td>
<td>as above at the general assembly</td>
<td>Twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68/12</td>
<td>in respect of a man claiming that he has offered compensation three times, with a year between each offer in respect of a manslaughter case; this was an oath in addition to actual witness as to fact (see below)</td>
<td>Twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70/8</td>
<td>in respect of the master of a slave claiming that he had nothing to do with the killing perpetrated by the slave, if the latter is not present to carry the case</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72/1</td>
<td>in respect of a wound compensated at three marks or less</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/16</td>
<td>in respect of a man injured so that he loses his hearing</td>
<td>Six, plus the same factual witness as for a wound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/13</td>
<td>in respect of the defence of a man accused of rape, where the woman initially claims not to have recognised the assailant, but changes her mind</td>
<td>Twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/15</td>
<td>in respect of a woman, who claims rape, being pregnant and giving birth at the appropriate time for it to have been the result of the rape</td>
<td>Twelve, plus(?) witnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85/9</td>
<td>in respect of stolen timber being remedied</td>
<td>Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88/4-5</td>
<td>in respect of a demand for payment in money, where there is disagreement over the sum involved</td>
<td>Six (at the most)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88/5</td>
<td>in respect of a demand for payment in land, where the value involved is a gold mark or greater</td>
<td>Eighteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/21-22</td>
<td>in respect of the defence of a man charged with slander</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/22</td>
<td>in respect of the remedy by a man found guilty of slander at parish level</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/25</td>
<td>as above, but when the case is brought to the local assembly</td>
<td>Six</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ii) Witnesses as to fact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page and line</th>
<th>Circumstances for the witness as to fact; those marked * also swore oaths as to the facts</th>
<th>Number of witnesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60/10</td>
<td>in respect of a woman claiming that her child was stillborn</td>
<td>Two (i.e. three with herself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60/14</td>
<td>in respect of a woman guilty of infanticide having confessed and done penance</td>
<td>One (the shriving priest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/3</td>
<td>in respect of proof that a man has lawfully taken part in the building and consecration of a new church</td>
<td>Three parishioners (including himself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62/5</td>
<td>as above, when three or more years have passed</td>
<td>Two parishioners and the priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68/10-11</td>
<td>in respect of a man claiming that he has offered compensation three times, with a year between each offer in respect of a manslaughter case</td>
<td>Three (who were present when the offers were made)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/12</td>
<td>in respect of a woman killed while pregnant</td>
<td>Husband or closest relative with two more landowners and a further nine of equal birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/8, 10</td>
<td>in respect of a woman who has a miscarriage as a result of being struck</td>
<td>Two landowners and two female witnesses to the miscarriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/10-11*</td>
<td>as above, swearing that the child was alive when she was struck</td>
<td>Herself and five others; note that this says \textit{piaupa} rather than \textit{manna}, indicating, perhaps, that some of the witnesses in this case might be women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/24-25</td>
<td>in respect of a wound compensated at more than three marks – to witness but not to swear an oath</td>
<td>Six, including the injured party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73/12-13</td>
<td>in respect of a hand damaged so that it cannot tolerate hot and cold</td>
<td>Self-witness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74/22-23</td>
<td>in respect of a non-open wound causing the injured person to be bedridden for a year or more</td>
<td>Four landowners and three judges from the same sixth and then others to make up twelve in all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78/7-8</td>
<td>in respect of the rights of illegitimate children</td>
<td>An unspecified number of parishioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78/19-21, 79/5-6</td>
<td>in respect of a man denying a paternity suit, claiming that he had not been named before the child was born</td>
<td>Six (including two landowners from the woman’s parish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78/23-24</td>
<td>as above, in support of the woman, when the case is not found in favour of the man</td>
<td>Six (all of equal birth with her)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Witness Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/4</td>
<td>in respect of a woman being raped, whose shout immediately after the attack is heard</td>
<td>One, the witness to the ‘shout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/6</td>
<td>in respect of a woman being raped, whose shout after the attack is not heard</td>
<td>An unspecified number of witnesses to her complaint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/15-16</td>
<td>in respect of a woman, pregnant as a result of being raped, to confirm the date of her rape</td>
<td>An unspecified number of witnesses to the fact, as in the previous entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/22-23</td>
<td>in respect of attacks upon a woman resulting in whole or partial removal of her headdress according to witness</td>
<td>Unspecified number of eyewitnesses, including herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81/1</td>
<td>in respect of laces being removed as to whether compensation and restitution has been made</td>
<td>The woman herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82/22*</td>
<td>in respect of disputes about woodland; the witness had to swear on oath, or it was invalid</td>
<td>Two: a neighbour and a work witness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83/2</td>
<td>in respect of disputes about cultivated land</td>
<td>Two: a (distant) kin witness and a work witness owning neighbouring land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83/14-15</td>
<td>in respect of the taking of timber from another’s wood, to carry out an inspection</td>
<td>The disputing parties and an eyewitness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85/9*</td>
<td>in respect of the taking of timber from his wood, that he has received restitution</td>
<td>Self, on oath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88/6</td>
<td>in respect of a dispute about the value of property owed, of a mark in gold or more</td>
<td>Unspecified number of rapmenn in the hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88/10</td>
<td>in respect of a dispute about the value of property owed, less than a mark in gold</td>
<td>Six-man jury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90/3</td>
<td>in respect of the receipt of stolen goods, when the knowledge of their having been stolen is denied, and responsibility laid on the supplier</td>
<td>Unspecified number of those who were present when the goods were handed over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100/1-2</td>
<td>in respect of a theft in which the stolen goods are not to hand, how much has been taken</td>
<td>Self-witness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100/26-101/2</td>
<td>in respect of a man caught without the relevant stolen goods in his possession, to witness to what is said</td>
<td>Three rapmenn from the same hundred or sixth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) Official witness for reference in the future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page and line</th>
<th>Circumstances for the official witness</th>
<th>Number of witnesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70/12-13</td>
<td>in respect of a slave who has worked out his bondage time</td>
<td>an unspecified number of parishioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/23-24</td>
<td>in respect of wounds compensated at more than three marks</td>
<td>Two <em>rade-menn</em> and a district judge as witnesses to the valuing of the wound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/2-4</td>
<td>in respect of disputes about party fences</td>
<td>Unspecified number of neighbours or parishioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/10-11, 14</td>
<td>in respect of animals breaking through fences being offered to the owner</td>
<td>Unspecified number of neighbours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85/19-22</td>
<td>in respect of the sale or mortgage of property</td>
<td>Unspecified number of (assembly members as) witnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91/17-19</td>
<td>in respect of a stray ram found before covering time and its being offered for redemption, and re-branded if unclaimed</td>
<td>Unspecified number of parishioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92/1-2</td>
<td>in respect of a stray bullock or pony being found and its being offered for redemption, and being available for use if unclaimed</td>
<td>Unspecified number of parishioners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout for Swedish provincial laws and for the sections (balkar) within them. They are to a great extent those used in the series Svenska landskapslagar (SL), since these are widely used in the literature referenced. Where page numbers are given, they refer to the indicated volumes in the series Corpus iuris sueo-gotorum (CIS). Schlyter's editions of the laws of Magnus Eriksson (CIS X and CIS XI) are abbreviated to MELL and MESTL. The Swedish translations of these laws are referred to as MELLNT and MESTLNT. These two abbreviations are listed in the Bibliography, as are abbreviations the law texts in volumes in the series Norges gamle love indtil 1387 (NGL) and Danmarks gamle Landskabslove (DGL).

*BjR* The town law for Bjärk (CIS VI, 111-134)

*DL (ÄVmL)* The law of Dalarna (older law of Västmanland) (CIS V, 1-66)

*daGL* Danish translation of the law of the Gotlanders (CIS VII, 169-218)

*GL* The law of the Gotlanders (CIS VII, 1-112)

*HL* The law of Hälsingland (CIS VI, 1-93)

*KrLL* Kristoffer's national law (CIS XII)

*MELL* Magnus Eriksson's national law (CIS X)

*MESTL* Magnus Eriksson's town law (CIS XI)

*SdmL* The law of Södermanland (CIS IV)

*CISk I* The law of Skåne (CIS IX, 1-238)

*CISk II* Andreas Suneson's Latin text of the law of Skåne (CIS IX, 239-354)

*CISk III* The church law of Skåne (CIS IX, 355-395)

*CISk V* Miscellaneous additions to the law of Skåne (CIS IX, 435-500)

*SmL* The law of Småland (CIS VI, 95-110)
tyGL German translation of the law of the Gotlanders (CIS VII, 113-168)
UL The law of Uppland (CIS III)
VgL III Lydekinus’ excerpts and notes on the laws of Västergötland (CIS I, 255-281)
VgL IV Notes by the priest of Vidhem and the monk of St John on the laws of Västergötland (CIS I, 283-344)
VgL The laws of Västergötland as a group
VmL The (younger) law of Västmanland (CIS V, 67-239)
VStL The town law of Visby (CIS VIII, 1-182)
YVgL The younger law of Västergötland (CIS I, 77-253, VgL II)
ÄVgL The older law of Västergötland (CIS I, 2-74, VgL I)
ÖgL The law of Östergötland (CIS II)

Add Additions (to YVgL, etc.)
Bb The section concerning building (in SdmL, MELL, etc.)
Db The section concerning community (village) law (in HL, UL)
D The section concerning manslaughter (YVgL, ÖgL, MELL, MESIL)
E The section concerning the King’s oath
Flock, chapter of the law
Fns The first section concerning honour (ÄVgL)
Fnb The second section concerning honour (ÄVgL)
Gb The section concerning matrimony
Jb The section concerning land
Kgb The section concerning the monarchy
Kkb The section concerning church or Christian law
Kmb The section concerning trade
Mb The section concerning personal and property rights (UL, etc.)
Md The section concerning killing (AVgL)
pr principium (first or principal paragraph in each chapter)
Rb The section concerning slaves and outlaws (AVgL, YVgL)
The section concerning the legal process (UL, VMl, MELL, etc.)
Sb The section concerning wounding (AVgL, MELL, MESTL)
Tjb The section concerning theft
Urb The section concerning outlawry cases (AVgL, YVgL)
Utb The section concerning off-farm activities (in YVgL)
Vb Concerning accidental injury (AVgL, YVgL)
The section concerning accidental injury, wounding, adultery, robbery
and theft (ÖgL)
Äb The section concerning inheritance
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Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm B 68 4°. Early 17th century. [Van gamla gullands love 4°].

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CIS V = *Codex iuris Vestmannici, ... Westmanna-lagen* 1841. Ed. C. J. Schlyter.

CIS VI = *Codex iuris Helsingici; Codicis iuris Smalandici pars de re ecclesiastica; et, Juris urbici codex antiquior. Helsinge-lagen; Kristnu-balken af Smålands-lagen; Bjärkö-rätten* 1844. Ed. H. S. Collin and C. J. Schlyter.


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INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Further details of the entries in this Index are discussed in the Commentary. In the text a single variant of each name has been selected and in the Translation the modern Swedish form has been used.

Atlingabo n. Atlingbo, a parish in the middle third of Gotland. A. ns 67/5.

Farham n. Fardhem, a parish in the southern third of Gotland. A. ns <67/5>.

*gangdagr m. procession day, Rogation day. A. np gangdagar <64/21>. B. np gangdagar 64 note 168.

*guti m. Gotlander. A. gp guta 60/1. 74/5. 95/1.


*Gup m. God. A. gs guz 63/9. 65/2. ds gupi 60/6. as gup 60/3. B. gs guds 97/23.

*helgudagar m. pl. Whitsunday, Pentecost. A. gp helgudaga(vika) 64/22.

helgudagavika f. Whitsun week. A. ns 64/22.


Mariumessa f. I. Mariumessa i fastu Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (March 25th). II. *yfра Mariumessa later mass, or feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (Her Birthday, September 8th, not the Assumption, August 15th, which was the ‘earlier’ mass.). See messa.


*Simon (or *Symon), *Judas m. personal names. A. gs Simonis(messu) Jude <91/16>. 94/7. <94/10>. B. gs Simonis (messo) Jude 91 note 664. Simonis
(messo) Judæ 94 note 709.

*Simonismessa Jude f. October 28th. See messa.

*Visbyr m. Visby. A. gs Visyar 92/2.

Pingsteti n. Tingstäde, a parish in the northern third of Gotland. A. ns 67/5.