

Angelica: From Norwegian Mountains to the English Trifle

Ove Fosså

‘What is that green stuff?’ No one recognized the pieces of candied angelica on a cake I made earlier this year. When told that it was *kvann*, most got a puzzled look on their face. Angelica is not found in Norwegian kitchens today, candied angelica has never been much used here. You are more likely to bite into a piece of angelica if you are having trifle in England. Elizabeth David admitted to its being one of her favourite flavourings¹, though Jane Grigson urged you to ‘try and avoid the brassy effect of angelica and glacé cherries’.² So where did the green stuff come from? Some would say Niort, France, and not be entirely wrong, but that is only part of the story.

Angelica archangelica L. is a stout plant that starts out with a rosette of large (30-70 cm in length), compound leaves with a hollow, tubular leaf stalk. In its first year or two (occasionally more) it will accumulate nutrients in its thick taproot, then it will flower, set seeds, and die. The green, occasionally purplish, flower stem may grow to a height of 2 m or more. The small, greenish flowers are set in spherical umbels, 10-15 cm or more across. When bruised, the whole plant has a strong aromatic scent.

Its relative the wild angelica, *Angelica sylvestris* L., can be mistaken for the real thing. It is not the wild form of the cultivated angelica, but a different species. It can be distinguished by the flattened inflorescence. The central rays of its umbels are shorter than the lateral ones, whereas the umbel rays of true angelica are all more or less the same length. Wild angelica *A. sylvestris* has little scent.

True angelica is usually subdivided into the two subspecies *A. archangelica* subsp. *archangelica* and *A. archangelica* subsp. *litoralis* (Fr.) Thell. To know one from the other is not easy, even the specialists do not fully agree. Subsp. *litoralis* is native along the seashores of Scandinavia. It has a harsher taste and is generally considered inedible. The best distinguishing feature is the seeds, smaller (5-6 mm) and with rounded ribs in subsp. *litoralis*, longer (7-8 mm) and with keeled ribs in subsp. *archangelica*.³ All the forms of angelica discussed in this paper are generally recognized as belonging to subsp. *archangelica*. When necessary, I will use ‘angelica in the wild’ for *A. archangelica* subsp. *archangelica* growing in the wild, to avoid confusion with ‘wild angelica’ *A. sylvestris*.

A number of synonyms, no longer valid scientific names have been used for the edible angelica. The most common of these are *Angelica officinalis* Moench, *A. sativa* Mill., *Archangelica officinalis* Hoffm., *Archangelica norvegica* Rupr.⁴

Angelica is native in Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Greenland, the Faeroes, Finland,

Russia, and eastern parts of continental Europe. It has become naturalized in countries to the south and west of its natural range. It grows in moist places up in the mountains and in mountain valleys, towards the north of its range also in the lowlands.⁵

The oldest written sources to the use of angelica are the Icelandic sagas, and Old Norse lawbooks. In the saga of the sworn brothers (*Fóstbraðra Saga*) we hear about Thorgeir and Thormod going up into the mountains to gather angelica. They found a grassy ledge, later to be known as Thorgeir's Ledge, with a number of large angelicas. Thormod carried the bundle up to the top, while Thorgeir remained behind. Suddenly Thorgeir lost his footing, but grabbed hold of an angelica stem, close to the ground, to avoid falling off the ledge onto the rocks far below. Thormod wondered what took him so long and called out to ask if he had found enough yet. 'I reckon', Thorgeir calmly replied, 'I'll have enough once I've uprooted this piece I'm holding.' Thormod then went down to the ledge again and saved Thorgeir.⁶

Two great angelicas with a small angelica (*hvannarkálfr*) between them is the solution to one of the riddles told by Odin to the king in the saga of king Heidrek.⁷

The saga of King Olav Tryggvasson contains the best-known piece of old angelica lore. One spring day as King Olav was walking in the streets, he met a man with a bundle of angelica stems, remarkably large for the season. The king took a large stem in his hand, and went back to the house. Queen Thyre was weeping as the king entered. He presented the stem to the queen, who rejected it, saying that she was used to finer gifts. The story, as told by Snorri Sturluson, is thought to show their loveless marriage, by Snorri's use of the fertility symbol angelica. It was recognized as a symbol of fertility, possibly due to the great power with which this massive plant appears early in the spring.⁸ At Voss, wedding processions on horseback were common till around 1880. The riders at the front of the procession all carried angelicas, the largest one was in the hands of the bride.⁹

Some of the first sources of information about gardening in Norway can be found in the old laws, for example the Gulathing's law, written in the 11th century AD. The paragraphs on tenant farming (*landleiebolken*) defined the rights of a tenant farmer to take his angelica plants with him. The theft paragraphs (*tjuebolken*) set penalties for entering another man's garden, and stealing from it. If a man was caught with stolen angelica, he was deemed without legal rights, and could be punished as the owner of the garden saw fit. The oldest law texts knew only two kinds of gardens, namely angelica and leek¹⁰ gardens. As the laws evolved, kale gardens were added to the law texts, then gardens for apples, turnips, peas and fava beans, until finally including 'all that can be enclosed by fences and walls'.¹¹

Similar paragraphs on stealing from gardens do not appear in Swedish law till much later, and angelica is not mentioned.¹² The Icelandic lawbook *Grágás* does not mention angelica gardens; on the other hand it sets penalties for gathering angelica on another man's land.¹³ Several 14th to 16th century Icelandic diplomata are ease-

ments giving rights to gather angelica on another man's land.¹⁴

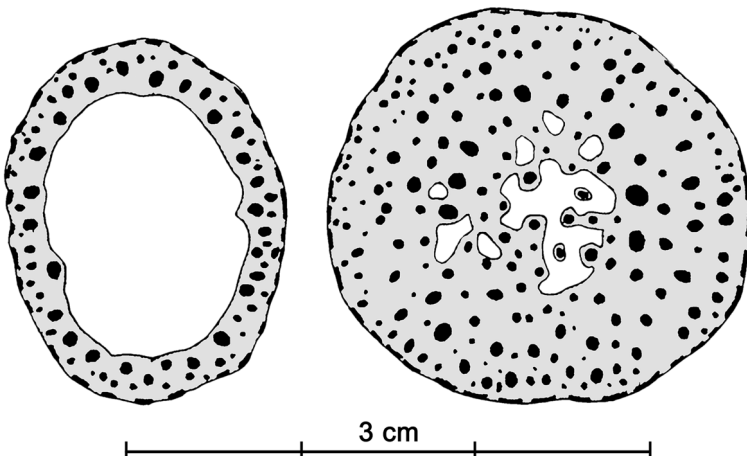
In the Scandinavian languages¹⁵, angelica is known by a form of its Norse name: like *hvönn* in Icelandic, *hvonnn* in Faeroese, *kvann* in Norwegian, *kvan* in Danish, *kvanne* in Swedish. Greenland Inuit is not a Scandinavian language, but got the name *kuannit* on loan along with the plant from Norse settlers. That name even came in handy when *kuanniusat* (rhubarb) appeared in Greenland many centuries later.

The name *angelica* is used both in English and Italian, *angélica* in Spanish, *angélique* in French, *Engelwurz* in German, *engelwortel* in Dutch, and *väinönputki* in Finnish.

The western Scandinavian languages have a number of words for angelica, or related to it, indicating that angelica and its use is, or at one time has been very important in the area. Old Norse has *hvönn* and *hvanne* for the plant, *hvannnjóli* for the flower stem, *hvannkalfr* (lit. angelica calf) is a small plant sprouting from the root of an older one, after-growth, and *hvannagarðr* is an angelica garden. *Hvannjólattrumbu* is a tubular piece of stem. Most of these words in a modernized form are used in Norwegian: *kvann*, *kvannjol*, *kvannkalv*, *kvanngard*. The name *kvann* in Norwegian does not include wild angelica (*A. sylvestris*), which is known as *sløke*.

In Icelandic, *hvönn* can mean any plant of the genus *Angelica*, including *atihvönn* (lit. edible angelica), *erkihvönn* (both are *A. archangelica*), and *geithvönn* (*A. sylvestris*). *Hvannjóli* or *hvannastrokkur* is the flower stalk, and *rótarfall* (lit. root mountain) is a mountain where angelica is growing.

Faeroese has a particularly rich range of words: *hvonnn* is any plant of the genus *Angelica*, including *bakkahvonnn* and *bjargahvonnn* (*A. archangelica* in the wild), *heimahvonnn* (cultivated *A. archangelica*), *sløkjuhvonnn*, *trollahvonnn*, and *sløkja* (*A. sylvestris*). The flower stem is called *hvannjólur* or *hvanneleggur*, the after-growth is *hvannkálvur*, and *hvannagarður* is a garden where *heimahvonnn* is grown. Places where angelica grows profusely in the wild are known as *hvannabóli*, *hvannabökkur*, *hvan-*



Sections through leaf stalks of angelica from the wild (left), and Vossakvann (right), after Fægri 1951.

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nakassi, *hvannaland*, or *hvannrók*. A *hvannatjóf* is someone who commits *hvannastuldur*, steals angelica. Someone who eats too much angelica risks getting *hvannakrep-pingar* or *hvannakrymp*, upset stomach or stomach pains. Another risk is *hvannsár*, an inflammation, usually of the lips or the area around the lips, caused by angelica sap and sunlight.¹⁶ Even the best bits for eating have been named: the lower part of the leaf stalk is the ‘sweet bite’, *sotabiti*, *grand*, *skálkur*, or *goturstykki*. The upper part of the leaf stalk, where it divides into three, is the ‘best bite’, *bestibiti*, or *mua*.

In Sami the young, vegetative plant is *fádnú*, the flowering plant is *boska*. *Boska* is also used in the meaning ‘to gather angelica’. A loan word from Norse *gras*¹⁷ is Sami *rássi*, more specifically *olbmorássi* (human grass), *borranrássi* (edible grass), and *olmoborranrássi*.¹⁸

The ample selection of places and topographic features named after angelica are another indication of the importance of this plant in Scandinavia. Some examples from Iceland are: Hvannadalshnúkur (the highest mountain peak in Iceland at 2,119 m above sea level), Hvanná, Hvannalindar, Hvannadalir, Hvanneyri, Hvannfell, Hvannavellir, Hvannavallagil, Hvannstöð, and Hvannstaðafjallgarður. In the Faeroes we have: Hvannadalsá, Hvannadalur, Hvannafelli, Hvannagjógv, Hvannasund, Hvannasundshagi, Hvannhagi, and Hvannhólmur. Some Norwegian examples are Kvannås, Kvannbekkli, Kvanndal, -dalen, Kvannalsfjellet, -hornet, -nuten, -rabben, -sætra, -vold, Kvangarsnes, Kvannkjosen, Kvannlien, Kvanes, Kvannvik, Kvanna, Kvangrøvann, Kvangrøfjell, Joldalshorn, Jolgrøhorn, Jolgrøvann, Jolhorn, Kvannjolvann, and Kvannjolfjell.¹⁹ These are far from all, one Norwegian atlas alone has over 50 names beginning with *kvann-*.

The first topographical descriptions of Norway do not go in great detail about a single plant or foodstuff. That the use of angelica is mentioned at all must indicate that it was important at the time. It was not one of those plants eaten only during famines, nor was it used primarily for medicine. In fact, many 16th-18th-century writers specifically said that it was eaten as a delicacy. Schønnebøl wrote that angelica was eaten in the summer for pleasure, raw,

just like apples, pears and nuts are eaten in Denmark. It is their fruit. Apart from that, and what God gives the poor from the sea, here is nothing but the skies, water, and stone.²⁰

Strøm described how peasants used to go up in the mountains on Midsummer Day, only to feast on angelica stems. He called this a disappearing tradition, but as late as 1928 it was still common in parts of Northern Norway.²¹ According to Hiorthøy angelica was much sought-after by the peasants, and the stem was eaten ‘like carrots’, it was not as sharp in taste as the root.²²

Some mentioned that the root was used for medicine, often describing it together with gentian.²³ Friis said that stems and root, both eaten raw, were used as a remedy

against scurvy.²⁴ The poet Henrik Wergeland pointed out the medicinal properties of the root and recommended the stem as a healthy food.²⁵

The dried root was chewed or smoked like tobacco, or used as an addition to real tobacco. Six pipes of forged iron, for smoking angelica root, are in the Heiberg Collections in Sogn, western Norway. The roots were also used in spirits.²⁶

Linnaeus encountered the Sami use of angelica on his travels in Northern Sweden. He described meeting a Sami man with an armfull of angelica stems. The young stems, not yet in flower, were peeled, then eaten as a delicacy, 'like an apple'. On another occasion he said 'like a turnip'. He added that it really tasted well, particularly the upper and softer parts of the stalk, which were the most sought-after.²⁷

Leem wrote about the coastal and mountain Sami in Finnmark, Norway. According to him, angelica was among the foods the Sami ate not to satisfy hunger, but for pleasure, as they had no apples, nuts or other fruits. With great appetite they peeled the stems and ate them raw, occasionally cooked on embers, or boiled in milk. The Sami in Finnmark used to eat a lot of angelica stalks, usually raw. In some coastal districts the stalks were eaten with fish oil, this was considered a particular delicacy. The Sami also used the young inflorescences, still enclosed in the leaf sheaths, chopped them up and boiled them in reindeer milk to a porridge-like substance. This was stuffed in a reindeer stomach for winter supply.²⁸

The account by Eggert Ólafsson and Bjarni Pálsson of their travels in Iceland in the years 1752-1757 contains much information on where angelica grew in Iceland, and how it was used. Angelica grew profusely and at times to such a size that a grown man could put his arm into its cut stem. Sauðlauksdal church had the right to gather as much angelica as could be cut by six men in one day, or by one man in six days. We learn that the stems were eaten raw, sliced, with butter, often as a vegetable or salad with fish. Some ate the roots as a vegetable with stockfish, with milk, cream, or butter. In the south, some had taken up the ancient practise of growing angelica gardens.²⁹

According to Debes angelica was frequently planted both in special gardens and in cemeteries in the Faeroes, but was also common in the wild, in fields and up in the mountains. Again, we learn that the peeled, hollow stems were eaten raw, as a delicacy, like people elsewhere ate fruits. In years of hardship, they even used the roots 'instead of food'. The tradition of communal trips into the mountains to gather angelica, as described from Norway, was also known in the Faeroes until early in the 20th century. Until the end of the 19th century, no household was deemed complete without a decent angelica garden, but even so, they also gathered angelica in the wild from nearby *hvannabøli*.³⁰

We have heard that angelica was eaten as a delicacy, but what does it actually taste like? Clarke traveling in Scandinavia in the summer of 1799 said they often ate the stalks of the plant: 'it reminded us of celery, but had a warmer flavour.'³¹ Its aroma has been likened to that of musk, the taste sweetish, balsamic at first, followed by warmth and bitterness. Grieve compared the flavour of angelica to that of juniper berries.

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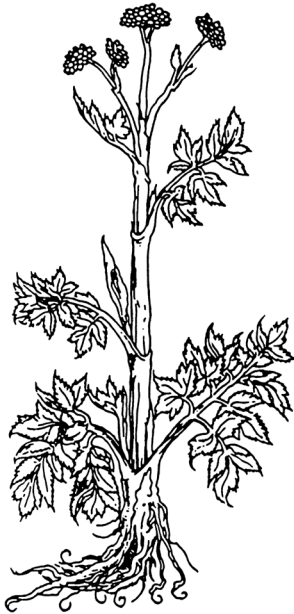
It has variously been regarded as pleasantly fruity, strongly aromatic but somewhat acrid,³² even as a happy mixture of gentian and mint. I tend to agree with Madame de Sévigné who described its taste as indescribable: *Son bon goût ne rappelle en rien dont on se souviene et il ne ressemble à aucun autre goût que le sien.*³³

Since the old lawbooks, nothing was written about angelica gardens in Norway for hundreds of years. Early in the 20th century we learn the first details about the angelica garden and the cultivated plant. The angelica garden was a small enclosure, usually by the south wall of the house. A layer of ashes and charcoal was used to fertilize the plants and keep weeds away. Young plants with three leaves were *skjerd*, or ready to have the outermost (and largest) leaf harvested.

Grønlien pointed out that the cultivated angelica from Voss differed from the wild form. The wild plant is bitter, and has hollow, tubular leaf stalks. The other is sweeter, tastier, and has a fine aroma. Its stalks are almost solid, with a barely noticeable hollow.³⁴ The cultivated variety contains around 50 % more sugar than its wild relative.³⁵ He also found differences in the size and lifespan of the plants, but those characters are more likely to be influenced by the place and method of cultivation, rather than being genetic variations.

The use was different, too. It was the flower stem that was cut from the wild plant and eaten. That is not very economical. You only get one stem from each plant, and the plant will then die without setting seed. Harvesting the leaves of the cultivated plants may actually prolong the life of the plants, as they will need more time to grow

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Angelica. Süd: sein beschreibung im *ersten Teyl des Contra,*
fayren *Beurerbüche/ am. CCC. vnd. viij. blatt.*



Erangelicorum
Angelica archangelica

Angelica after Brunfels 1537 (left) and a more correct drawing from Ingólfur Davidsson (right).

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strong enough to flower and set seed.

Grønlien had found the cultivated variety in only one location and thought that it was doomed. Fægri was just as pessimistic about its future:

Somewhere an old grandma potters about her angelica garden, soon she will be gone, and the angelica will die with her. That is a pity: not only does a very rare plant disappear, but with it a thousand years of Norwegian cultural history.³⁶

Fægri named the cultivated angelica *Vossakvann* and described it as a botanical variety, based on a type specimen from Mestad.³⁷ It is now known as *Angelica archangelica* var. *maiorum* Fægri.

Remains of angelica gardens have been found only on a few farms on the outskirts of Voss.³⁸ Today there is only one of these, Mestad in Teigdalen, which still has a viable population of *Vossakvann*. The old Norse laws tell us that angelica must have been grown in other parts of the country as well, but not where. It must have gone out of use long time ago. From nearby Granvin, Modalen and Gudvangen, old people have remembered having seen angelica gardens, but nothing is left of these.³⁹ The cultivated plants known from other countries do not seem to have any of the characteristics of *Vossakvann*.

To maintain the qualities of the *Vossakvann*, an active selection will be necessary. The variety has been on the brink of extinction for most of the 20th century, but there is hope that it will survive.

Angelica was unknown to the Greeks and Romans and was not mentioned in any of the first herbals. Before the spread of angelica as a medical remedy throughout Europe, *archangelica*, *archangel*, and *herba angelica* were names for plants of the genus *Lamium* (dead-nettles) and some related genera (*Galeopsis*, *Stachys*, *Ballota*). Coelius Sedulius is said to have used the name angelica in the 5th century AD, while the first use of archangelica appears to have been in the Latin grammar of Aelfric c. AD 1000.⁴⁰

Why angelica was unknown in continental Europe, and how it came into use is not known. The most likely theory seems to be that monks learned about the plant in Scandinavia, and brought the knowledge south. We also know that angelica root used to be exported from Norway.⁴¹

Alexander Hispanus, in the 13th century, was probably the first to use the name angelica in its present sense, describing the medical virtues of angelica root.⁴² Another early source is Matthaeus Silvaticus' *Pandectae medicinae* (c. 1300).⁴³

The oldest reference to angelica in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from 1578,⁴⁴ unless you happen to look under *jag*, or under *lungwort*, in which case the *OED* predates itself to 1568⁴⁵, 1565 and 1552.⁴⁶ The first to use the name *Archangelica* for angelica seems to have been Matthias de l'Obel in 1576 in his *Plantarum seu stirpium historia*.⁴⁷

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The first edition (1530) of Otto Brunfels' *Herbarum vivae eicones* is known for its excellent and accurate wood engravings. In a 1537 edition published after Brunfels' death, the earliest known illustration of an angelica is added, unfortunately drawn from the artist's fantasy.⁴⁸

Angelica eventually became known as a panacea; it has been used as a remedy for just about every imaginable ailment. Alexander Hispanus recommended that ground angelica root boiled with honey be put on the wound to help against the bite of a rabid dog.⁴⁹ Parkinson wrote that:

Angelica, the garden kinde, is so good an herbe, that there is no part thereof but is of much vse, and all cordiall and preseruatiue from infectious or contagious diseases, whether you will distill the water of the herbe, or preserue or candie the rootes or the greene stalkes, or vse the seede in pouder or in distillations, or decoctions with other things.⁵⁰

Gerard said that:

The roote of garden Angelica is a singular remedie against poison and against the plague, and all infections taken by evill and corrup aire; if you do but take a peece of the roote and holde it in your mouth, it doth most certainly drive away the pestilentiaill aire.⁵¹

If you believe in aphrodisiacs, you may like to try Curnonsky's recipe for *eau archiepiscopale*, with angelica root, in his book *La table et l'amour*.⁵² If you don't, you may prefer to believe Parkinson: 'The dried roote [...] will abate the rage of lust in young persons'.⁵³

'The large and strong plant was known to boost both carnal desire and pugnacity' is the message spread across the page in bold lettering, when a health magazine writes about a new product made from angelica. Not surprisingly, there is no reference for this claim. An Icelandic company is now marketing a tincture from angelica seeds. They do claim, in much smaller letters, that they can document its effect in increasing energy, endurance and general well-being.⁵⁴

Angelica was cultivated in English gardens prior to 1568, but considerable quantities were still being grown near London in the late 19th century, for candying.⁵⁵ Dorothy Hartley gave a recipe for candied angelica, explaining that it was 'mentioned specially as a home-made product up to 1860, as "it can seldom be bought in market"'.⁵⁶

Today, angelica is cultivated on a large scale in several countries, including Germany (30-50 ha), Belgium (16 ha in 1998), Holland, Poland, and France.⁵⁷ Its main uses are in herbal medicine, and in the production of various alcoholic beverages, like vermouth, Bénédictine, Chartreuse, and gin. In France, angelica is culti-

vated for use in confectionery in Niort, and apparently on a lesser scale in Clermont-Ferrand and Apt.⁵⁸ The green stuff with which we started, the candied angelica, may now seem like a mere trifle in the long history of angelica.

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- 1 David p. 63.
- 2 Grigson p. 261.
- 3 Lid (1979) p. 544; Frøberg.
- 4 Hiroe p. 1347.
- 5 Hegi p. 1340-1.
- 6 Viðar Hreinsson (1997) vol II: p. 360-1.
- 7 Hervarar saga og Heiðreks in *Netútgáfan* <<http://www.snerpa.is/net/forn/hervar.htm>> [accessed 20 June 2004].
- 8 Lid (1928) p. 208.
- 9 Grønlien p. 47.
- 10 Possibly sand leek, *Allium scorodoprasum* L., Fægri (1951) p. 6.
- 11 Norges gamle Love: vol. I pp. 38, 241, 253, 326, 331; vol. II pp. 172, 272; vol. IV p. 335.
- 12 Fægri (1951) p. 5-7.

- 13 Schübeler p. 228.
- 14 KLNLM vol IX p. 535.
- 15 The following dictionaries have been used here: *Íslensk orðabók*, ed. by Árni Böðvarsson, 2nd ed. (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1996); *Føroysk orðabók* (Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag, 1998); *Sámi-dáru sátnegirji*, ed. by Brita Kåven and others (Kárásjohka: Davvi Girji, 1995); *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog*, ed. by Johan Fritzner, 2nd rev. ed. (Kristiania: 1886-96; repr. Oslo: 1954); *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog. Rettelser og tillegg*, ed. by Finn Hødnebo (Oslo: 1972); *OED / The Oxford English Dictionary on CD-ROM*, 2. ed., Ver. 3.0 (OUP, 2002).
- 16 The sap increases the photosensitivity of the skin, thus the combined exposure to angelica and sun may lead to a severe case of phytophotodermatitis (Joensen).
- 17 English *grass*, not in the botanical sense, but in the wider, popular sense of *herbage*.
- 18 Fjellström pp. 244, 251; Qvigstad; Lid (1928) p. 205.
- 19 Joensen p. 134; Schübeler p. 229; and other sources.
- 20 Schønnebo p. 199.
- 21 Strøm vol 1 p. 71; vol 2 pp. 128, 500; Lid (1928) p. 206.
- 22 Hiorthøy p. 41; Wille p. 105.
- 23 Beyer p. 63; Ramus p. 19; Pontoppidan vol. 1 p. 185.
- 24 Friis p. 393.
- 25 Wergeland p. 103.
- 26 Pontoppidan vol 1 p. 185; Strøm p. 71; Wille p. 105; Heiberg; Wergeland p. 103.
- 27 Linnaeus pp. 80, 90.
- 28 Leem p. 127; Schübeler p. 225.
- 29 Eggert Ólafsson pp. 158, 429, 431, 459, 943, 939.
- 30 Debes pp. 108-9; Olsson p. 89.
- 31 Clarke vol 10 p. 151.
- 32 Jackson; Grieve p. 38; Stein p. 63; Skelly p. 12.
- 33 Buche p. 31.
- 34 Grønlien p. 48.
- 35 39 % of dry matter, as opposed to 25 % in wild *kvann*, Fægri (1951) p. 12.
- 36 Fægri (1949) p. 167.
- 37 Fægri (1951) p. 17: '*Angelica archangelica* var. *maiorum* nov. var. Differt a forma typica [»*A. archangelica* var. *norvegica* (Rupr.) Rikli] petiolis fere solidis. — In hortibus rusticis prope Voss culta. Typus ex Mestad Teigdaliae in Museo botanico Universitatis Bergensi.'
- 38 Grønlidi (Grønlien p. 47), Mestad in Teigdalen, Markhusteigen in Langedalen/Vossestrand, Gjerald in Bordalen (Fægri 1951), Elje near Evanger, and Tveite in Holbygdi (Øvstedal; Nedkvitne).
- 39 Høeg p. 205.
- 40 Hunt p. 33; Hauberg p. 159; OED, s.v. 'archangel'.
- 41 Czygan p. 347; Beyer p. 63.
- 42 'Angelica est radix optima' etc. The book survives mainly in the Codex D 600. 8°, written c. 1490, now in the Uppsala University library. It was published by Hauberg in 1936 and attributed by him to Henrik Harpestræng (d. 1244). Keil (1983) has shown the author to be Alexander Hispanus.
- 43 Lid (1979) p. 739.
- 44 OED, s.v. 'angelica': 1578 LYTE *Dodoens* 297 The rootes of Angelica are contrarie to all poyson.
- 45 OED, s.v. 'jag': 1568 TURNER *Herbal* iii. 5 Angelica hath leves [...] lyke lovage, but not so far iagged in.
- 46 OED, s.v. 'lungwort': 1552 Elyot *Dict.* s.v. *Angelica*, Of this herbe be two kindes, ... 1565 Cooper *Thesaurus, Angelica*, an hearbe whereof be two kindes, one of the garden called angelica ...
- 47 Lid (1979) p. 739.
- 48 Baumann pp. 66, 115, 135.
- 49 Hauberg p. 113; Keil p. 58.

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- 50 Parkinson p. 470.
- 51 Jackson.
- 52 Curnonsky p. 228.
- 53 Parkinson p. 529.
- 54 Holm.
- 55 Jackson; Thompson p. 145.
- 56 Hartley p. 454.
- 57 Czygan p. 343; Francis p. 56.
- 58 Buche p. 32-3.