

# The unreadable poem of Arinbjörn, preservation, meter, and a restored text

Þorgeir Sigurðsson

Dissertation towards the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2019



**UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND**  
**SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES**

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FACULTY OF ICELANDIC AND  
COMPARATIVE CULTURAL STUDIES

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## Abstract

Keywords: Multispectral images, Egill Skallagrímsson, textual preservation, skaldic poetry, *kviðuháttir*, Old Norse syllables, alliteration.

ARINBJARNARKVIÐA is an Old Norse poem in the *kviðuháttir* meter. It is composed in praise of Arinbjörn Þórisson, a friend of the skald Egill Skallagrímsson. The only source of the poem, except for a few citations in scholarly work, is page 99v in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Möðruvallabók. This page is now mostly unreadable, but old transcripts of it exist.

In this thesis, I present a new transcript of page 99v, and I publish a restored text of the poem. The general belief among scholars has been that only the beginning of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA is preserved. It is also commonly assumed that the meter is of little help, for instance, in detecting corrupt lines and for clarifying the meaning of the text. I address these and other issues using new multispectral images of page 99v and by a revision of the metrical theories for *kviðuháttir*. My thesis is that the poem is relatively well preserved, compared to, for instance, SONATORREK, another poem by Egill and that its meter is very regular. I produce many new results on the preservation and the meter of the poem, and I make use of them in restoring the text on page 99v. These results provide strong arguments for the authenticity of the poem.



## Ágrip

Lykilorð: Fjölrófsmyndir, Egill Skallagrímsson, textavarðveisla, dróttkvæði, kviðuháttur, atkvæði í norrænu, stuðlun.

ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (AR) er gamalt norrænt kvæði sem er ort undir kviðuhætti. Kvæðið er lofgjörð um Arinbjörn Þórisson, vin Egils Skallagrímssonar. Fyrir utan nokkrar tilvitnanir í Eddu er það hvergi varðveitt nema á blaðsíðu 99v í Möðruvallabók og í afritum hennar. Blaðsíða 99v er nú að mestu ólæsileg með berum augum. Hún var skrifuð með annarri hendi en aðrar blaðsíður í Möðruvallabók.

Í þessari ritgerð birti ég nýtt afrit af blaðsíðu 99v og gef út texta kvæðisins með samræmdri stafsetningu og með nýjum skýringum. Almennt hefur verið talið að aðeins upphaf kvæðisins sé varðveitt. Einnig er almennt talið að háttur kvæðisins gagnist lítið, t.d. við að finna afbakaðar línur eða til að skýra textann. Ég tekst á við þessi og önnur álitamál með nýjum fjölrásamyndum af síðu 99v og með endurskoðun á kenningum um formið kviðuhátt. Tilgáta mín er sú að kvæðið sé mun betur varðveitt en talið hefur verið. Meðal kviðuháttarkvæða eru YNGLINGATAL og ARINBJARNARKVIÐA best varðveittu kvæðin fyrir árið 1000. Ég kemst að mörgum nýjum niðurstöðum um varðveislu og hátt kvæðisins sem ég nýti mér við túlkun þess og við endurgerð textans. Ég færi fram sterk málfræðileg og bragfræðileg rök fyrir því að kvæðið sé frá tíundu öld og eftir Egil Skallagrímsson.



## Samantekt

Titill: Hin ólæsilega Arinbjarnarkviða, varðveisla, bragform og endurgerður texti.

ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (AR) Ritgerðin skiptist í þrjá hluta. Þeir eru: I Textavarðveisla, II Bragfræði og III Endurgerður texti. Hlutar I og II styðja við útgáfuna í III. hluta, en þeir eru báðir sjálfstæðir hlutar ritgerðarinnar þar sem komist er að áhugaverðum niðurstöðum. Eftirfarandi er nánari lýsing á efni einstakra hluta.

### I Textavarðveisla

Í fyrsta kafla af fjórum rek ég útgáfusögu ARINBJARNARKVIÐU og leita að þeim heimildum sem fyrri útgefendur höfðu um efni hennar. Ég kemst að þeirri niðurstöðu að aðeins sé til eitt beint afrit af blaðsíðu 99v. Þetta afrit var líklega skrifað 1686–1688 og er í safni pappírshandrita í ÍB 169 4to. Öll pappírshandrit og prentaðar útgáfur byggja beint eða óbeint á þessu afriti. Ég slæ því föstu að leggja beri ÍB 169 4to til grundvallar við endurgerð textans á blaðsíðu 99v, ásamt nýjum lestri í Möðruvallabók. Í kafla 2 rannsaka ég rithöndina á blaðsíðu 99v en það hefur ekki verið hægt með góðu móti áður. Stafsetning ritarans er óvenjuleg og áhugaverð fyrir málfræðinga. Ég leiði að því sterkar líkur að ritarinn sé Einar Hafliðason, helsti embættismaður Hólabiskupsdæmis á 14. öld. Í þriðja kafla er fjallað um hvort ARINBJARNARKVIÐA hafi öll verið skrifuð á síðu 99v og þar rökstyð ég að óþarft sé að gera ráð fyrir öðru en að allt kvæðið hafi verið skrifað á síðuna. Í fjórða kafla er greinargerð um tilvitnanir í kvæðið í Edduritum og um afstöðu manna á þrettánda öld til kvæðisins.

### II Bragfræði

Í öðrum hluta ritgerðarinnar lýsi ég núverandi stöðu rannsókna á bragformi ARINBJARNARKVIÐU og þeim greiningaraðferðum sem ég nota. Ég byggi á kenningum Kristjáns Árnasonar (1991) á hrynjandi í norrænum kveðskap sem



taka tillit til athugana W. A. Craigie (1900) sem gagnrýndi með góðum rökum aðferðir sem enn eru notaðar. Ég tek einnig tillit til braglýsinga hjá Kari Ellen Gade (1995) og Robert D. Fulk (2016) sem byggja á greiningu Eduard Sievers (1893). ARINBJARNARKVIÐA er ort undir kviðuhætti sem hefur til skiptis braglínur með þremur og fjórum bragstöðum. Línur með fjórum bragstöðum (síðlínur) eru jafnan taldar vera með sömu hrynjandi og línur í fornyrðislagi. Ég fjalla fyrst um þær og sýni að þær hafa annaðhvort áhersluris í næstsíðasta eða þarnæstsíðasta atkvæði Einnig sýni ég að ARINBJARNARKVIÐA leyfir aðeins þrjú áherslulaus sérhljóð /a, i, u/ í hnigum í trókaískum línum og að þetta var einkenni á kviðuhætti fyrir árið 1000. Oddalínur (forlínur) með þremur atkvæðum í kviðuhætti hafa sérstaka hrynjandi. Oftast er gert ráð fyrir að línurnar séu eins og línur með fjórum bragstöðum, að slepptu einu áherslulausu atkvæði. Þessu til viðbótar sýni ég að bæði megi nota létt og þung atkvæði í risum. Þetta leiðir til einfaldrar lýsingar á hættinum, sem ARINBJARNARKVIÐA fylgir vel.

### III Endurgerður texti

Í þriðja huta ritgerðarinnar er grundvöllur lagður að nýrri útgáfu á texta ARINBJARNARKVIÐU. Fyrst lýsi ég þeim ritstjórnarreglum sem ég nota. Meðal annars reyni ég ekki að endurgera málstig 10. aldar nema þar sem hátturinn krefst þess. Ég leitast við að gefa sem raunsannasta mynd af texta kvæðisins eins og hann er varðveittur á blaðsíðu 99v og ég ræði mörg álitamál í athugasemdum og orðskýringum við kvæðið. Við útgáfuna hef ég gagn af textanum í ÍB 169 4to, af nýjum lestri með fjölrásarmyndum og af bragreglum kviðuháttar.

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I dedicate this thesis to my grandfather Benedikt Gíslason frá Hofteigi.



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## Some editorial symbols and conventions

<b>M</b>	Abbreviations for manuscripts are bolded.
99va21	99v is the verso side of leaf number 99 (99r is the recto side), a is the left column, b is the right column, 21 is the manuscript line number, counted from the top.
ARINBJARNARKVIÐA	Names of poems are written in small capitals, also when the names are abbreviated as in AR.
AR 2.1	The first number 2 is the stanza number and the second is the line number 1. Stanza numbers are always as in Finnur Jónsson's 1912–1915 edition of skaldic poetry.
Emk <b>hraðkvæðr</b> <i>heiðpróaðr</i>	Alliteration is denoted by a bolded letter. Words in italics are not in English. They are usually in Old Norse and have a normalized spelling.
'no one'	Words within single quotation marks are usually English translations. Texts within double marks are quotations.
'hoddfindr'	In the normalized text, text in single quotation marks is as written on page 99v (or/and in <b>169</b> )
<heiþoradr>	Text in pointed brackets is with a non-standard spelling.
<heiþoradr>	Italics in a semi-diplomatic reading, denote an abbreviation.
<heiþorad[r]>	An uncertain text is within square brackets.
<hroall[z..]>	Dots within square brackets denote spaces for characters. In facsimiles, these spaces are empty.
*eyrum	An asterisk denotes a conjecture. Conjectures are corrections that cannot be validated as readings from page 99v or with metrical and linguistic arguments.
*engr	The part of the word that is conjectural is in italics.
ˆ	The tittle, usually an er/ir-abbreviation, but also used for -r after a consonant on page 99v.
˘	The ra/va-abbreviation
3	The r-rotunda, same sign is also used to abbreviate <i>með</i> .
Vara <del>þat</del> tunglskin	Text that may for some reason be deleted
(við) því tók	Inserted words in the normalized text are in parenthesis,
<kina (knia)>	Variants in the semi-diplomatic text of <b>169</b> are within parenthesis.

## List of abbreviations

### Manuscripts:

- 146** AM 146 fol: 88v–90r in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík.
- 169** ÍB 169 4to: 17r–18v in Landsbókasafn, Reykjavík.
- 28** AM Accessoria 28: 496–501 in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík.
- 420b** AM 420 b 4to *Lögmannsannáll* ‘Lawman’s annals’ in SÁM, Reykjavík, see Storm 1888.
- A** AM 748 I b 4to in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík.
- B** AM 757 a 4to in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík.
- BL** BL Add 11175: 116–118 in British Library, London.
- M** Möðruvallabók, AM 132 fol in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar (SÁM), Reykjavík.
- R** Codex Regius of Snorra-Edda, GKS 2367 4to in SÁM, Reykjavík.
- T** Codex Trajectinus. Ms. 1374 in Utrecht University Library.
- U** Codex Upsaliensis. DG 11 in Uppsala University Library, see Heimir Páls-son 2013.
- W** Codex Wormianus, AM 242 fol in Det Arnamagnæanske Institute, Copenhagen, see Johansson 1997.
- XIII** TT XIII 4to: 275–279. A lost transcript of AR with remains in AM 554 f 4to: 1 in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík.

### Editors:

- BE** Bjarni Einarsson, editor of the 2003 edition of AR.
- FJ** Finnur Jónsson, editor of the 1886–1888 edition of AR.
- GM** Guðmundur Magnússon, editor of the 1809 edition of AR.
- GV** Guðbrandur Vigfússon, editor of AR in 1883, together with F. York Powell.

### Poems:

- AR** ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (AR) by Egill Skallagrímsson, preserved in **M**.
- GLÆ** GLÆLOGNSKVIÐA, a poem in *kviðuhátt* meter from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, see Townend 2012.
- HÁL** HÁLEYGJATAL, a *kviðuhátt* poem from the end of 10<sup>th</sup> century, see R. Poole 2012.
- HKV** HÁKONARKVIÐA, a *kviðuhátt* poem by Sturla Þórðarson, see Gade 2009b
- MS** MERLÍNUSSPÁ I (contains seven stanzas in the *kviðuhátt* meter).

- NKT NÓREGS KONUNGATAL, a *kviðuhátt*r poem from the end of 12<sup>th</sup> century, see Gade 2009c
- ST SONATORREK, a *kviðuhátt*r poem by Egill from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, see Jón Helgason 1962: 29–38.
- VB VÍKARSBÁLKR (contains eight stanzas in the *kviðuhátt*r meter).
- YT YNGLINGATAL, a *kviðuhátt*r poem from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, see Marold 2012.

**Handbooks:**

- ÁBM The etymological dictionary of Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1998.
- ONP The Old Norse prose dictionary at [www.onp.ku.dk](http://www.onp.ku.dk)

**Miscellaneous:**

- 3GT Third Grammatical Treatise, preserved in **A**, **B**, and **W**, see B. M. Ólsen 1884. 3GT has five anonymous stanzas in *kviðuhátt*r (see FJ 1912–1915 BI: 597).
- 99v Page 99v in **M** containing AR.
- MSI Multispectral image (see Chapter 11).
- SE Snorra-Edda, preserved in **R**, **T**, **U**, and **W**, see Faulkes 1998, 2005 & 2007,



## Introduction and the three strands of this thesis

ARINBJARNARKVIÐA ‘the poem of Arinbjörn,’ is a skaldic poem, attributed to Egill Skallagrímsson in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Modern editors insert it into the 13<sup>th</sup>-century *Egils saga*. A 14<sup>th</sup>-century vellum codex, Möðruvallabók (**M**) is the only medieval source of the poem, except for a few quotations in scholarly work on poetry (see Chapter 4). Möðruvallabók is one of the greatest treasures in the Arnamagnæan collection of Icelandic manuscripts and page 99v may be its most interesting single page (see more on **M** in Section 3.2). The hand that wrote the poem on page 99v appears nowhere else in **M**. This page is now faded and largely illegible. New multispectral images, made for this study (see Chapter 11), do, however, provide a readable text for most of the page and they add significant details to the text. In this thesis, I present a new diplomatic reading from these images together with a reanalysis of previous work on the poem and its meter. I aim at a greatly improved understanding of the poem, its language, and the meter.

The term skald refers to poets, many of whom composed at the courts of Scandinavian rulers during the Viking Age and High Middle Ages. Skaldic poetry forms one of two main genres of Old Norse poetry, the other being the anonymous Eddic poetry. Fragments exist from a large number of skaldic poems. *Heimskringla* and other sagas of kings cited them as historical evidence, validated by their recitation in front of rulers. Scholarly works in the 13<sup>th</sup> century also cited many prestigious poems, including AR, as linguistic or poetic evidence, but no medieval compilation of skaldic poetry exists. Jón Helgason (1958: 14) said in his acclaimed book *Handritaspjall* (Manuscript Tales) that it was as if no-one thought of writing these poems down while they were still remembered. Another possibility is that they were written down but not copied, or cared for after sagas of kings and skalds had harvested their content. ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (AR) is among the few exceptions. AR fills page 99v in the large vellum codex, Möðruvallabók (**M**), and comes after the saga of Egill Skallagrímsson. No record exists on the origin of the **M** codex or its whereabouts until the year 1628 in a place named Möðruvellir, probably in a house belonging to the former monastery of that name in northern Iceland (see Section 3.2 and Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson 1994). **M** contains many *lausavísur* (loose or freestanding stanzas), and stanzas from poems interspersed in its collection of eleven sagas of Icelanders, but AR stands alone. AR begins at the top of a page with the word *emk* ‘I am’ written with a red *E*-initial. Page 99v is the last

page in a quire, and it has received more wear and tear than most pages in **M**. The page is now too damaged to be read by ordinary means even from photographs taken under UV-illumination. When the page was first transcribed in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the lower half of its second column of text was already illegible.

*Egils saga* mentions the poem and tells the story of Egill's journey to York, England. ARINBJARNARKVIÐA was likely a source of information for that story. In AR, Egill Skallagrímsson praises his friend Arinbjörn (modern Icelandic spelling: Arinbjörn) for saving him from the wrath of King Eiríkr at his court in York, which would have been near the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. According to *Egils saga*, Egill Skallagrímsson composed a poem about his friend Arinbjörn, and the poem on page 99v seems to be that poem. No name was attached to it in medieval sources. The name ARINBJARNARKVIÐA is a modern designation that only means Arinbjörn's poem. The following is the (normalized) saga-text in Möðruvallabók that mentions the poem (see *Egils saga*: 154–155) (I do not include variants from other manuscripts):

Hákon konungr Aðalsteinsfóstri réð fyrir Nóregi langa stund, en inn efra hlut ævi hans þá kómu synir Eiríks til Nóregs ok deildu til ríkis í Nóregi við Hákon konung, ok áttu þeir orrostur saman ok hafði Hákon jafnan sigr. Ina síðarstu orrostu áttu þeir á Hǫrðalandi í Stord á Fitjum; þar fekk Hákon konungr sigr ok þar með banasár. Eptir þat tóku þeir konungdóm í Nóregi Eiríkssynir.

Arinbjörn hersir var með Haraldi Eiríkssyni ok gerðisk ráðgjafi hans ok hafði af honum veizlur stórliga miklar; var hann forstjóri fyrir liði ok landvörn. Arinbjörn var hermaðr mikill ok sigrsæll; hann hafði at veizlum Fjarðafylki.

Egill Skalla-Grímsson spurði þessi tíðendi, ok konungaskipti var orðit í Nóregi, ok þat með at Arinbjörn var þá kominn í Nóreg til búa sinna ok hann var þá í virðing mikilli. Þá orti Egill kvæði um Arinbjörn, ok er þetta upphaf at:

The following is the saga-text of **M** in the elevated translation style of W. C. Green (1893: 174–175):

King Hacon, Athelstan's foster-son, long ruled over Norway; but in the latter part of his life Eric's sons came to Norway and strove with him for the kingdom; and they had battles together, wherein Hacon

ever won the victory. The last battle was fought in Hordaland, on Stord-island, at Fitjar: there king Hacon won the victory, but also got his death-wound. After that Eric's sons took the kingdom in Norway.

Lord Arinbjorn was with Harold Eric's son, and was made his counsellor, and had of him great honours. He was commander of his forces and defender of the land. A great warrior was Arinbjorn, and a victorious. He was governor of the Firth folk. Egil Skallagrimsson heard these tidings of the change of kings in Norway, and therewith how Arinbjorn had returned to his estates in Norway, and was there in great honour. Then Egil composed a poem about Arinbjorn, whereof this is the beginning:

Despite this text, the beginning of a poem does not follow, only an open space sufficient for one stanza in the meter of *kviðuhátt*. Other manuscripts of the saga of Egill do not supply any stanza either and make no room for it. In **M**, however, a poem is written after the saga's end (on page 99v) in the meter of *kviðuhátt* that appears to be this poem on Arinbjorn.

The authenticity of many of the *lausavísur* in *Egils saga* has been doubted by Finnur Jónsson and other scholars, often for good reasons. There are some who also doubt the authenticity of ARINBJARNARKVIDA (see Jónas Kristjánsson 2006 for a discussion on the authenticity of Egill's poetry). With this thesis, I provide strong arguments in favor of the poem's authenticity, by showing that the poem fits well into the timeline of linguistic changes and changes in the *kviðuhátt* meter.

AR is an important source of historical information, but it is also a rare source of information on pre-literary Old Norse. The Third Grammatical Treatise cited the poem in a discussion on word accents in *kviðuhátt* (see Subsection 4.2.1), and due to the regularity of the *kviðuhátt* meter, the poem gives information on the pronunciation of 10<sup>th</sup>-century filler words (see Section 5.3 and Section 6.2). AR is, additionally, a literary masterpiece. With a new reading, it becomes clearer how carefully planned the composition is, containing one continuous thought that moves smoothly from one scene to another. It blurs the line between a saga and a poem by using a relatively uncomplicated style, within the limits of a strict metrical rhythm, by being a narrative and by being self-contained, not assuming that the audience knows the subject matter beforehand. In the poem, the audience witnesses the recitation of another preserved poem HÖFUÐLAUSN for which AR may serve as an introduction. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 187) said: "The poem of praise about Arinbjorn is badly preserved in the only manuscript which contains it



(Möðruvallabók), but appears to have been a magnificent poem in noble language and elevated style.” As shown in this thesis, it still is.

This thesis is in three parts. Part I deals with the textual preservation of AR, Part II is on the meter of the poem, and Part III contains the restored text of AR with numerous notes. The first two parts of this work do not simply form an over-sized introduction to a new edition; they contain many independent results, some of which are important for the normalized text of the poem, but others for their own sake.

Part I, containing Chapters 1–4 begins with a study on the paper copies of page 99v, where I reveal that only one 17<sup>th</sup>-century transcript in ÍB 169 4to is of any importance for the text of AR. In Chapter 2, I discuss many distinctive features of the orthography on page 99v. I show that the hand is very similar to the hand of a well-known scribe, Einarr Haflíðason which is both helpful for reading page 99v and an important result in the research of manuscript writers. I also show that AR was probably copied from an older manuscript. In Chapter 3, I discuss and refute an old claim that the poem was only partly written on page 99v and in Chapter 4, I present and discuss quotations to the poem, which I claim are of less importance than generally assumed.

Part II comprising Chapters 5–7 begins with an introduction of the *kviðuhátt* meter, its corpus of poetry, and research issues. The corpus of *kviðuhátt* poetry before the year 1000 is small, and AR is a significant part of it. In Chapters 6 and 7, the even- and odd-numbered lines of the poem are discussed separately. These chapters produce both general results on *kviðuhátt* and specific results for AR. My revision of the theories on the *kviðuhátt* meter was necessary because current theories allow rhythmic types that are demonstrably forbidden in the poem, including trochaic lines with prepositions in dips while excluding other lines, such as lines with anacruses as in AR 4.2 *und Ýgis hjálmi* that were probably allowed.

Part III, Chapters 8–10, contains a restoration of the text of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA using a normalized orthography appropriate for page 99v, but not attempting to restore 10<sup>th</sup> century Old Norse. Under normal circumstances, such reconstructed texts are based on readable manuscripts, but for AR, no such text exists. One of my conclusions in Part I is that current editions of AR, rely for a greater part than previously realized on the ingenuity of their editors. This is hard to avoid, as a large number of subjective decisions have to be taken when publishing a text like that of AR. Because this thesis focuses on the recovery of the text, rather than on the final text itself, I have

refrained from calling the text an edition. I have rather wished to expose the options that are available to editors of the poem.

The text on page 99v is not only faded, but the hand and its orthography are different from what is found elsewhere in **M**. The study of the orthography in Chapter 2 is fundamental to solving many issues with the text. The text on page 99v is hard to read from the multispectral images (MSI-s). The images that I use in Chapter 11 are partly images of soot and dirt that the now faded ink has kept away from the vellum underneath it. This dirt has helped to make the text recoverable on the MSI-s. In some places the images are good, but in other places, they are not. It should be intuitively clear that a text derived from a combination of soot and ink has some uncertainties attached to it. The text can, fortunately, be compared to a transcript from the 17<sup>th</sup> century that I discuss in the first part of this thesis. The scribe that wrote this manuscript encountered many of the same problems in reading page 99v that still present themselves on the MSI-s and the study in Chapter 2 helps in some cases to interpret his text.

The meter of the poem appears to be very strict, and it gives information that supplements the new as well as older readings. The restored text that I finally produce has uncertainties in many places, and the quality of the text may seem poorer than that of current editions. I maintain, however, that the text is better and more reliable. I will show that when previous editors claimed that they could read most of page 99v, they relied on, but only indirectly, the aforementioned 17<sup>th</sup>-century transcript. In Chapter 11 in Figure 11-7 is a picture of page 99v as it appears in normal light. As seen from that picture, it is not an exaggeration that its text is unreadable. In Figure 11-8 is a picture taken under illumination of ultraviolet (UV) light by Arne Mann Nielsen at the Arnamagnæan institute in Copenhagen 1971. This picture has not enabled any improvements of the normalized text of AR (see Bjarni Einarsson et al. 2001: xxx and Jón Helgason 1958: 104 on the use of UV light for reading AR).



## Part I Textual Preservation



## 1 Paper copies and the publication history of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA

My objective in this chapter is to reveal the sources that earlier editors had for the text of AR. First, I list the main editions of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA, beginning with the first printed edition from 1809. After that, I review all paper copies of the poem that are older than 1809 and I discuss how these copies are related and which ones were used in the first edition of AR. My main conclusion is simple: All editions of the poem previous to the present one are based on a single reading of page 99v in **M** found in the paper codex ÍB 169 4to. This includes the editions by Finnur Jónsson, but some of the most convincing arguments for that statement do, however, not appear until in Chapter 2 where I review the orthography of the 99v scribe.

The saga of Egill Skallagrímsson *Egils saga, sive Egilli Skallagrimii vita* was printed in 1809 in Copenhagen with a Latin translation and a Latin commentary. Guðmundur Magnússon, the editor of the saga, included ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in the saga (1809: 648–685). This was the first printing of the poem but not of the saga. Guðmundur died in 1798, and Grímur Thorkelin (1752–1829) finished his work. Guðmundur credited Reverend Gunnar Pálsson (1714–1791) with many of the corrections and explanations of the poetry in the saga, including ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (see Bjarni Einarsson 2010: 8). The Arnamagnæan Commission in Copenhagen was the publisher.<sup>1</sup>

The 1809 edition of the saga was re-published in Reykjavík by Einar Þórðarson in 1856 under the name: *Sagan af Agli Skallagrimssyni* (The saga of Egill Skallagrímsson). This publication is often referred to as the Reykjavík edition. Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 270–278) wrote a new commentary to AR in Icelandic that replaced the Latin commentary written by Guðmundur Magnússon. Jón was a teacher at the Latin school in Reykjavík and later its headmaster (*Íslenzkar æviskrár* III: 313). He introduced some improvements to the normalized text.

In 1883, Guðbrandur Vigfússon edited and published, in Oxford, a compilation of Old Norse poetry, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, which included a new edition of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (GV and F. Y. Powell 1883 Vol. I: 271–

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<sup>1</sup> The Commission was set up in 1772 as a governing body for the Arnamagnæan Foundation, the collection of manuscripts and printed books that Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) bequeathed, along with his private estate, to the University of Copenhagen (Finnur Jónsson 1930: 222–223).

275 with notes 538–540). Guðbrandur based it on his reading (see p. 380) two decades earlier in Copenhagen (see Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1861: 126–127). In the meantime, however, Guðbrandur had lost nearly half of his diplomatic reading, and consequently, his diplomatic version of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA contains only half of the readable part of the poem. Guðbrandur also included his attempt at reading the lower half of the second column (inner column, column b) (see Chapter 3). Despite having lost much of his reading, Guðbrandur said that its results were embodied in his normalized version of the poem (GV 1883: 380).

Finnur Jónsson published a new edition of the saga of Egill in 1886–1888 for the Arnamagnæan Commission, *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar tilligemed Egils störra kvæði* (The saga of Egill Skallagrímsson, together with Egill's longer poems) and based it on his new reading of Möðruvallabók. With it, he published a new edition of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA, a diplomatic and a reconstructed version (FJ 1886–1888: 347–349 and 357–361). Finnur included both versions in his comprehensive compilation of skaldic poetry published in 1912–1915 (FJ 1912–1915 AI: 43–48 and BI: 38–41).

Sigurður Nordal (1933: 258–267) used Finnur's text of AR in his influential edition of the saga of Egill, *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, but rejected almost all his metrical corrections. This publication was the first to appear in a saga-series (*Íslensk fornrit* editions) published by *Hið íslenska fornritafélag* (The Old Icelandic Text Society). Sigurður Nordal wrote some notes and comments on the poem. Sigurður did not append the poem to the saga as Finnur had done. He followed the Copenhagen and Reykjavík editions and placed it inside the saga text.

Bjarni Einarsson undertook the most recent scholarly edition of the poem. It was published in two books. In *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* (2001: 187–190) (with a diplomatic text of AR) and *Egils saga* (2003: 155–162) (with a normalized text of AR). Bjarni gave an account in English of the manuscripts of the saga of Egill and its publication history (2003: ix–xii). Bjarni died in the year 2000 before the work was complete and Michael Chesnutt made the final arrangements for an edition in 2001 on behalf of the Arnamagnæan Commission in Copenhagen.<sup>2</sup> Chesnutt edited the chapter on ARINBJARNARKVIÐA because Bjarni had not left it in final form (see Bjarni Einarsson et al. 2001: xxxix, note 16). Bjarni and Chesnutt included Finnur Jónsson's diplomatic

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<sup>2</sup> Bjarni Einarsson, and before him Jón Helgason who died in 1986, worked on this edition of *Egils saga* for nearly half a century, see Jón Helgason 1956 and BE et al. 2001: xxii–xxiv).

text of AR with some corrections by Jón Helgason (see the end of sections number 1.6, 2.1 and 2.9).

Anthony Faulkes and Vésteinn Ólason finalized Bjarni Einarsson's posthumous edition of *Egils saga* (2003), containing ARINBJARNARKVIÐA with a normalized spelling and an English translation. Bjarni followed in the footsteps of Sigurður Nordal with his reconstructed text of the poem, but he removed even more of Finnur Jónsson's corrections (Bjarni Einarsson 2003: 155–162). The 2003 edition by Bjarni is the edition that I refer to by default for the text of AR and the text of *Egils saga* in *Möðruvallabók*. This edition did not include two proposed corrections by Jón Helgason that would have affected the restored text in line AR 17.1 *Þat allsheri* and in line AR 19.8 *veklinga tps* (BE 2003: 160, see comments on these lines in this edition in Chapter 9).

ARINBJARNARKVIÐA has appeared in numerous reader editions, intended for study or leisure. Recent publications have followed the text of Sigurður Nordal (1933: 258–267) rather than that of Finnur. I mention only one of these editions, *Kvæðakver Egils Skallagrímssonar* (Book of Egill Skallagrímsson's poetry) edited by Jónas Kristjánsson 1964. Jónas used Modern Icelandic orthography with minimal deviations to serve the meter, such as writing the ending *-r* after consonants instead of the modern *-ur* ending.

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: xxxi) was not being modest when he said that the result of his reading of page 99v was for the greatest part only to confirm the accuracy of previous readings. By comparing the text of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in the 2003 edition of Bjarni Einarsson to the text of the Reykjavík 1856 edition, it is easy to verify that little progress, if any, was made that with certainty can be attributed to any new or improved reading of page 99v. True, the normalized text in Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888) is not the same as the text in the 1856 edition, but all the amendments it contains had earlier been publically proposed, either by Finnur himself in his doctoral thesis (1884) or by others, on linguistic or metrical grounds, not on the grounds of a new reading of page 99v. I account for these and other amendments in notes to the restored text in Chapter 10. Finnur indicated that his text was uncertain for some words and these words are within square brackets in the BE et al. 2001 edition. The remaining text of that edition (BE et al. 2001: 187–190) that is not within square brackets has more than fifty reading errors that can be seen by comparing it with the multispectral images in Chapter 11 of this thesis (or my diplomatic text in Chapter 9). Numerous examples are also mentioned later in this chapter and the next one. This means that Finnur Jónsson



must have relied heavily on earlier non-diplomatic readings and it is, therefore, a task of priority to reveal the relationship between the transcripts that exist of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA and to determine which of these constitute the best textual sources.

Table 1-1 lists all known transcripts of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA made before 1809. Conspicuously absent is any text in Árni Magnússon's hand or with his comments. This absence is of note because Árni understood the value of medieval skaldic poetry and showed much interest in it (Finnur Jónsson 1930: 134–135). Árni collected skaldic poetry in AM 761 a–b 4to with variants and corrections to many stanzas. In his collection, he included Egill's HÖFUÐLAUSN and SONATORREK and quotations from ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in The Third Grammatical Treatise (see Chapter 4), but he included nothing from the prime source of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in **M**. Bjarni Einarsson et al. (2001: xl–xli) noted this oddity, but he did not comment on it. In the following I discuss each entry in the table below, beginning with AM 146 fol, which earlier editors believed was the oldest extant transcript of page 99v.

**Table 1-1 All known transcripts of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in M from before 1809**

<i>Manuscript's shelfmark &amp; pages</i>	<i>Abbreviated name</i>	<i>Probably copied from:</i>	<i>Date of copying</i>
ÍB 169 4to: 17r–18v	<b>169</b>	<b>99v</b>	1684–1688
Torfæi Num XIII 4to: 275–279	<b>XIII</b>	<b>169</b>	1687–1688
AM 146 fol: 88v–90r	<b>146</b>	<b>XIII</b>	1690–1697
BL Add 11175: 116–118	<b>BL</b>	<b>169</b>	before 1784
AM Accessoria 28: 496–501	<b>28</b>	<b>BL</b>	before 1784

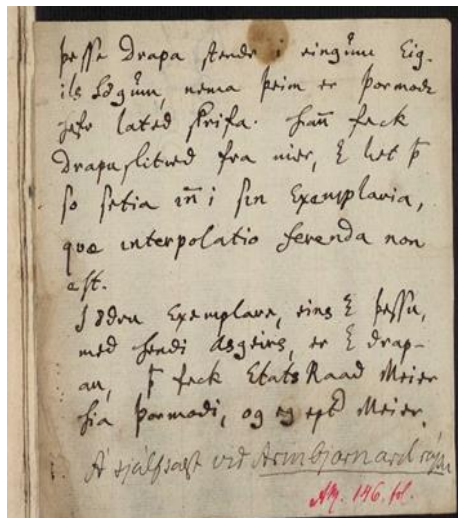
Manuscripts exist with copies of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bjarni Einarsson (2010: 15) lists four of these in the National and University Library of Iceland: Lbs 747 fol, ÍB 91 8vo, ÍB 371 8vo and ÍBR 35 4to. I add the following three: Lbs 1116 4to, ÍB 381 8vo and ÍB 539 8vo. The text is, in all cases, that of the printed 1809 edition.

### 1.1 AM 146 fol: 88v–90r (146)

AM 146 fol (**146**) is a paper manuscript in Árni Magnússon's collection that contains the saga of Egill. It was written by Ásgeir Jónsson (d. 1707) for Þormóður Torfason (Tormod Torfæus) (1636–1719), an Icelandic historian who was appointed a royal antiquarian in 1667 (Már Jónsson 2012: 35) and lived and worked for most of his life on the island Karmøy in Norway. Ásgeir

Jónsson was hired as secretary to Þormóður and moved from Copenhagen to Norway in 1688 (*Íslenzkar æviskrár* I: 91–92).

AM 146 fol contains a copy of *Egils saga* that is mostly based on AM 460 4to (Bjarni Einarsson 2010: 8), a copy from **M** made by Eyjólfur Björnsson (Chesnutt 2010: 159). Ásgeir Jónsson wrote **146** in Norway. Már Jónsson (2009: 285) dated it to 1690–1697. ARINBJARNARKVIÐA was inserted into the saga on pages 88v–90r. Page 90r is blank except for some lines at the top (as is the last page of the poem in **XIII**, see Fig. 1.2–2). The poem contains an unusually large number of variants, which are written with the same spelling and imitate the letterforms on page 99v in **M**. Future readers were thus assisted in guessing what the correct reading and meaning might be. Ásgeir wrote each long-line separately. He marked the first long-line of each new stanza with an indentation, as was his custom when writing poetry in AM 146 fol.



**Figure 1.1-1** A note by Árni Magnússon in **146** where he says Þormóður received ‘the shreds of the poem’ (*drápuslitrið*) from himself.

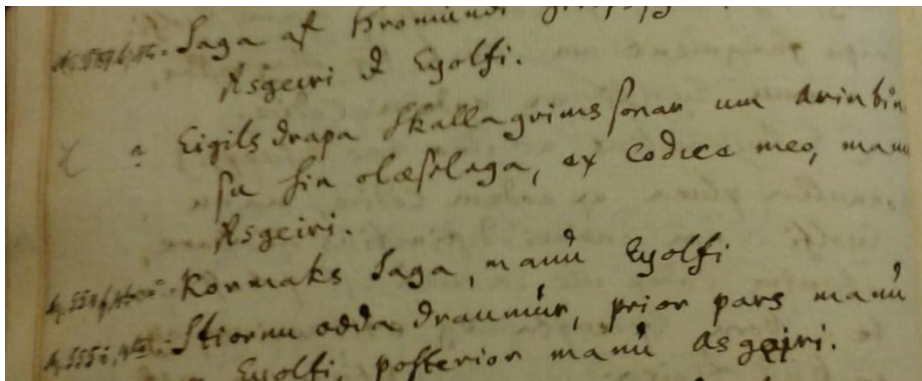
A note from Árni Magnússon accompanying **146**, discusses ARINBJARNARKVIÐA, see Figure 1.1-1. There Árni says Þormóður ‘got the shreds of the poem from me’ (“hann feck drápuslitred fra mior”). He thus implied that he did not think highly of the transcript that Þormóður had received. Árni also seems to say in Latin, something to the effect, that Þormóður should not have inserted the poem (“*quae interpolatio ferenda non est*,” see Figure 1.1–1). Árni adds that the poem was also in another copy of the saga of Egill, prepared by

Þormóður, which had come into his possession. This saga manuscript is now lost. Árni wrote some notes in the margins of **146**, but he did not comment on or correct any of the text of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA.

AM 146 fol was formerly part of a codex (Torfæi Num XI fol) that Árni acquired after the death of Þormóður in 1719 (the codex is reported on by Árni in AM 435 b 4to). Beeke Stegmann (2016: 322–347) lists this codex among more than 100 paper codices that Árni took apart. Another such codex is the subject of the next section.

## 1.2 Torfæi Num XIII 4to: 275–279 (XIII)

A paper codex number thirteen in quarto format was one of many paper codices that Árni Magnússon acquired after the death of Þormóður Torfason. I refer to it as Torfæi Num XIII 4to. Only parts of it still exist. It contained copies of various medieval documents, among them a copy of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA, now lost. The codex had pagination, with ARINBJARNARKVIÐA on pages 275–279. I refer to this transcript of the poem as **XIII**.

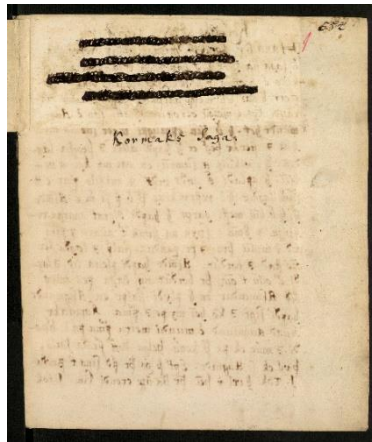


**Figure 1.2-1** Table of contents in AM 435 b 4to. Árni refers to AR as the unreadable poem (*sú hin ólæsilega*) and says it came from his codex, in the hand of Ásgeir. The next item is Kormákr's saga in Eyjólfur's hand.

The content of codex Torfæi Num XIII 4to is known because Árni wrote a table of contents for it in AM 435 b 4to before he took the codex apart and created separate documents out of it (see Figure 1.2-1). Kálund (1909: 65–91) printed AM 435 b 4to, and the content items are listed by Stegmann (2016: 337). Árni threw away those documents that he considered to be worthless, for instance, copies of poor quality made from manuscripts that he owned. One of the documents he kept was the saga of Kormákr copied by Eyjólfur

Björnsson, which is now in AM 554 f 4to. It appears to be an accurate copy of the text of the saga in **M**. Miraculously; it also contains the last four long-lines of the lost copy of AR (**XIII**). The lines have been scribbled over by Árni and are illegible. Nevertheless, the poem is seen to have had an unusual negative indentation (hanging paragraphs) for stanza division, the same as does **169** but not **146**, and it is possible to see that the copy ended with the same line as the poem in **146**.

Torfæi Num XIII 4to was written alternatively by two scribes, Eyjólfur Björnsson (1666–1746) and Ásgeir Jónsson (d. 1707) (according to Árni in AM 435 b 4to, see Figure 1.2-1). This means that **XIII** was written in 1687–1688 when the scribes were both in Copenhagen studying at the university (Ásgeir was there in 1686–1688, Eyjólfur in 1687–1689). They were among the first scribes that Árni Magnússon recruited for copying manuscripts. Eyjólfur Björnsson came to Copenhagen in 1687 with plans of becoming a scribe and assistant to Þormóður but excessive drinking (*óregla*) altered those plans and he returned to Iceland in 1689 (*Íslenzkar æviskrár* I: 451–452). The original idea may have been that Eyjólfur would transcribe texts for Þormóður into Torfæi Num XIII 4to, but Ásgeir Jónsson was called upon during intervals when Eyjólfur was indisposed. Eventually, Þormóður hired Ásgeir and not Eyjólfur as his assistant in 1688.



**Figure 1.2-2** Title page of Kormákr's saga in AM 554 f 4to, originally this was page number 279 in Torfæi Num XIII 4to. The negative indentation (from **169**) marks the beginning of Stanza 22: *Hinn er fégrimmr*. Kormáks saga starts on the opposite side and has shared a leaf with the poem.

Ásgeir's hand is on AR in XIII, according to Árni in AM 435 b 4to (see Árni's table of content in Figure 1.2-1). This may, however, be incorrect because the text of AR is only a few pages and Eyjólfur wrote much longer texts before and after it. So despite Árni's words, it is not certain that Ásgeir (rather than Eyjólfur) wrote AR in XIII that he would later copy into 146.

Árni (in his table of content in AM 435 b 4to) says AR in XIII is copied from his codex (*ex codice meo*). In the next section, I claim that it was copied from ÍB 169 4to that was copied from Möðruvallabók. AR in XIII and 169 are likely to have been copied in Copenhagen at about the same time, which may explain Árni's statement.

Kormákr's saga was followed in Torfæi Num XIII 4to by Stjörnu-Odda draumr (Star-Oddi dream), now preserved in AM 555 i 4to. Eyjólfur wrote the first half of this text but Ásgeir the second half. Ásgeir wrote the following four works alone, according to Árni in AM 435 b 4to. Only two of these are preserved, Herverar saga ok Heiðreks konungs and Hálf's saga ok Hálf'srekka. The following points explain why all four works were probably written in Norway. Herverar saga ok Heiðreks konungs is now preserved in AM 359 a 4to. It came immediately after Stjörnu-Odda draumr in codex Torfæi Num XIII 4to. Már Jónsson (2009: 285, 294) dated the writing of Herverar saga ok Heiðreks konungs to 1690–1697 and related it to GKS 2845 4to, a parchment manuscript that Þormóður had with him in Norway. Már also dated AM 1008 3 4to (Hálf's saga ok Hálf'srekka) to 1690–1697, the other preserved manuscript in this part of Torfæi Num XIII 4to. It thus seems likely that Ásgeir brought XIII to Norway in 1688, and this is how Þormóður received *drápuslitrið* 'the shreds of the poem' from Árni.

### 1.3 ÍB 169 4to: 17r–18v (169)

ÍB 169 4to is a paper codex (presently in the National and University Library of Iceland). It is a compilation of manuscripts, mostly short copies of medieval texts prepared in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The codex contains various types of documents that have little in common, but all of them may have gone through the hands of Guðmundur Jónsson (1763–1836), a priest at Staðastaður after 1797. For that reason, and because the last and probably youngest document was written by him (see below), I find it likely that he or someone close to him compiled the codex.

AR is on pages 17r–18v, preceded by a copy of SONATORREK, perhaps written by the same hand. Both poems are written on pages with watermarks that are likely to be from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2014a: 132 note 14), but they do not share a leaf. The first part of the codex,

coming before ARINBJARNARKVIÐA and SONATORREK, is a copy of the Eddic poem HYN DLULJÓÐ from Flateyjarbók, dated to 1771, followed by a Latin translation of the poem by Bishop Hannes Finnsson (1739–1796) written in his hand. The remainder of the codex contains copies from two sagas (Vatnsdæla and Grettis saga) and a chapter in an unknown hand on matters relevant to priests in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This chapter has a sermon by Guðmundur Einarsson (1568–1647) who was a priest at Staðastaður on Snæfellsnes, one of the richest benefices in Iceland. It also has two essays on sorcery, one by Guðmundur Einarsson. The final part of **169** is a guide on how to make vessels to measure the volume of fluids by Guðmundur Jónsson (1763–1836). Guðmundur Jónsson published an essay on this subject in *Ármann á Alþingi*, a short-lived journal, published yearly from 1829 to 1832 (*Íslenzkar æviskrár* II: 163–164). This document could thus be from the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Guðmundur Jónsson became a scribe for Bishop Hannes Finnsson after his graduation from the school at Skálholt in 1781. A king's order in 1797 granted him the benefice of Staðastaður. His employer, Bishop Hannes Finnsson, is known to have had copies of AR and ST in his possession (see next section). The bishop had strong ties to the manuscript collection of Árni Magnússon. When a student, his father (Bishop Finnur Jónsson) worked for Árni, and Bishop Hannes was elected the first secretary of the Arnamagnæan Commission after its establishment in 1772.

ÍB 169 4to came into the possession of the Copenhagen branch of the Icelandic literary society (Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag) in 1862, together with some other documents donated by Guðmundur Thorgrimsen (1821–1895), a Danish-Icelandic merchant. These were among numerous documents that the society received after its president Jón Sigurðsson (1811–1879) issued a public call for them in 1854 (Sigurður L. Jónasson 1869: iv). Sigurður L. Jónasson (1869: 71–72) lists the content of ÍB 169 4to in a catalog of the manuscripts belonging to the society. He says the codex contains the poem SONATORREK, written around 1740, and ARINBJARNAR DRÁPA, written at about the same time (at the time, the word *drápa* was taken to mean a skaldic poem). I have no explanation as to why Sigurður thought these transcripts of SONATORREK and ARINBJARNARKVIÐA were written around 1740. It is, however, likely that this information came from the donor and was believed to be true.

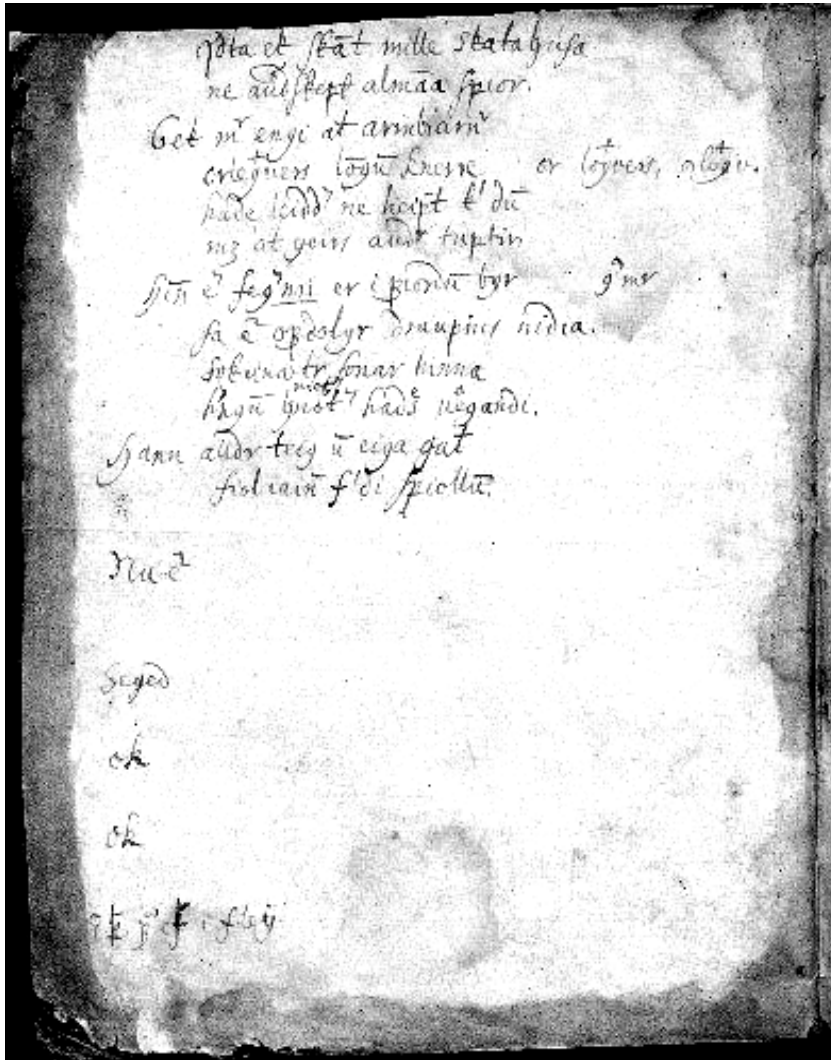
**169** has two half-stanzas from AR, not found in **146**, which fill three lines on page 99v in **M**. Michael Chesnutt and Bjarni Einarsson thought **146** was the oldest transcript of page 99v, but speculating how it might be related to **169** Chesnutt wrote the following (2010: 160):

The text of *Arinbjarnarkviða* in ÍB 169 is closely related to that in AM 146 fol., a copy of *Egils saga* written by Ásgeir Jónsson after he had left Denmark to work for the historian Torfæus. We have Árni Magnússon's word for it that the poem in AM 146 was borrowed from a transcript he had sent to Torfæus. Had the latter contained the last three lines that Finnur Jónsson was able to read on f. 99v in M, and that are also transmitted in ÍB 169, we should expect Ásgeir Jónsson to have included them, but he did not. Two explanations seem possible: (a) these lines had not been read under Árni Magnússon's auspices, and ÍB 169 is an independent copy of the original in M—perhaps revising Ásgeir's text in AM 146, in which case it must postdate the transfer of Torfæus's manuscripts to Denmark after his death in 1719; (b) they had indeed been read, but Árni found the text doubtful and suppressed it in the copy he sent to Norway—in which case ÍB 169 may be a sister text of AM 146 or even, if early enough, its source. A more thorough treatment of this problem is clearly needed.

Michael Chesnutt (2010: 160)

Chesnutt's reasoning is sound and his second explanation can be shown to be correct. ÍB 169 4to contains a direct transcript of 99v (as discussed shortly), and **XIII** must be a copy of **169** that Árni Magnússon had his scribes prepare and that ended up in Norway as part of codex Torfæi Num XIII 4to. The text of **XIII** 4to breaks off where the poem ends in **146**.

Chesnutt did not note that **169** contains the beginning of five stanzas after Stanza 23 (see Figure 1.3-1). The large initials at the beginning of stanzas in **M** were easier to read than any other text on the page. The **169** scribe used these initials to help him locate the stanza divisions on page 99v which helped him locate the alliteration and the beginning of long-lines and to read the stanzas. This methodology is probably the reason for his use of negative indentation (hanging paragraphs) because he probably began by writing the initials, standing alone in a line (as they still are for the last five stanzas) and he did not want them to stand in mid-air. The scribe managed to get the stanza structure right in all cases except for Stanza 8 where he erroneously took <f> to alliterate (see the stanza in Chapter 9). For Stanza 23 he could only read half the stanza, and for the following stanzas, he could only read the first word or words.



**Figure 1.3-1** The end of AR in **169** (ÍB 169 4to: 18r). Each stanza consists of four long-lines. The first line has a negative indentation (a hanging paragraph) which is very unusual. Stanza 23 has only two long-lines (two are missing). For stanzas number 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28 only the first words are given.

**169** and **146** are closely related, containing mostly the same variants, written the same way, whereas both **169** and **XIII** use negative indentation for stanza separation which is a very distinctive feature and different from **146**. The content of **169** and **146** is almost the same. The largest deviation is in line AR 17.1 where **146** has the metrically flawed: *Þat alls heri* while **169** has: *Þat allr herr* as does page 99v (as seen on the MSIs). Page 99v has a dittography in its



first line, a repetition of *hilmi at*, which is written in **169** but omitted in **146**. This makes it clear that **169** is not derived from **146**. The initial letters of the five stanzas at the end of the poem in **169** provide a good argument for **169** having been copied directly from the page 99v (see Figure 1.3-1 and Table 3.1-1). This information is partly gibberish, and few would guess that these scribbles belong to the poem (no-one has done so in recent centuries). Some scribes at the time might have known that they were attempts at reading a practically illegible manuscript page and could have copied this information *as is* (into **169**), but that is unlikely. Copying of questionable material was not favored by Árne Magnússon as discussed by Chesnutt (2010). **XIII** is the only known manuscript that might have been a sister manuscript of **169**. I find it likely that this manuscript is the *drápuslitríð* and also that Chesnutt is correct that Árne found the final part of **169** doubtful, and ordered it not to be copied.

All copies of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA have peculiarities that must have originated in **169**, such as the negative stanza indentation in **XIII** and **BL** and the word *baug* in **146** and **28** (in Stanza 14, see discussion in Section 1.6). It is, therefore, possible to state with some confidence that all the known paper copies of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in **28**, **BL**, **146** and **XIII** were derived from **169** that again was a direct copy of **M**.

**169** has a heading: <Drapa Eigils Skallagrimssonar er hann orte um Arinbjörn hersir. Ex Membrana Magnæi> ‘Egill Skallagímsson’s poem that he composed on Arinbjörn hersir.’ *Ex membrana Magnæi* seems to mean ‘from Magnússon’s parchment.’ It is natural to understand this to be a reference to **M** and Árne Magnússon (Arnas Magnæus), but another possibility exists. **M** was transported to Copenhagen in 1684 from Iceland and given to Thomas Bartholin II by its owner Björn Magnússon (see Section 3.2 and Bjarni Einarsson et al. 2001: xxvi). Björn could also be called Magnæus and *membrana magnæi* could be Björn’s parchment codex. Árne Magnússon started his university study in Copenhagen in 1683. Before his graduation in 1685, he had become an assistant to Bartholin II, a newly appointed royal antiquarian (Finnur Jónsson 1930: 10). **M** did not, however, become Árne’s private property until after Bartholin’s premature death in 1690 but **169** must have been written earlier because it was copied into Torfæi num XIII 4to in the years 1687–1688 (see the previous section). It is possible that some scribe hired by Árne believed that **M** belonged to Árne, but, as I stated earlier, *membrana Magnæi*, could also be Björn’s manuscript. In either case I find it likely that **169** was written in Copenhagen, rather than earlier in Iceland (before 1684), mainly for the reason that otherwise it would be odd that Árne’s scribe (Ásgeir or Eyjólfur) who copied **169** into **XIII** in 1687–1688 did not add any new variants, with the **M** codex at hand. After his graduation in 1685, Árne went to

Iceland and came back in 1686 (Már Jónsson 2012: 63–65). For that reason, I find it likely that **169** was written in 1686–1688.

#### 1.4 BL Add 11175: 116–118 (BL)

ARINBJARNARKVIÐA and SONATORREK were copied from ÍB 169 4to into a document that is now in the British Library under the shelfmark BL Add 11175: 116–118. It was one of the documents sold to the library by Finnur Magnússon (1781–1847), listed on p. 37 in B.M. Add. 11.251, a catalog (written in 1830) of documents from Finnur Magnússon. Bishop Hannes Finnsson was Finnur's maternal uncle and prepared him for study at the University of Copenhagen (*Íslenzkar æviskrár* II: 13). Finnur Magnússon may have inherited this document from him.

**BL** is derived from **169** as seen from the following. Both manuscripts have the distinctive negative indentation for stanza divisions. **BL** has a note from **169** on the meaning of the word *yřanda* in Stanza 6, copied verbatim (this note is not in **146**). The text: Ex membrana Magnæi (from Magnússon's membrane) is in both manuscripts, but it has brackets of a special type in **BL** as shown in Figure 1.4-1. **BL** follows **169** in many details and includes its variants, but it is not accurate. It does, for instance, replace all instances of <e> in endings with <i> (see Section 2.4 on <e> in endings).

The last part of **BL** seems to be missing because it ends abruptly in the middle of Stanza 20 at the end of a page. Fortunately, a copy of **BL** exists that shows that it ended with the same lines as **169** (see next section). This copy also shows that **BL** existed in 1784 when Finnur Magnússon was three years old, meaning that Finnur Magnússon could not have written it.

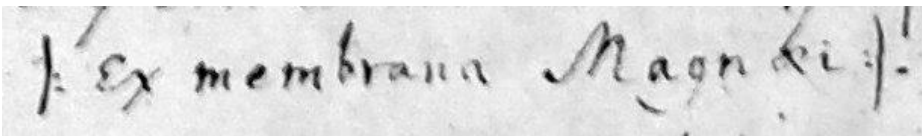


Figure 1.4-1 **BL** has this text in its title: *Ex membrana Magnæi*.

SONATORREK is probably also copied from ÍB 169 4to into **BL**, but these poems are not accompanied by anything else from ÍB 169 4to. The content of ÍB 169 4to had probably not been assembled into a codex when **BL** was written.

## 1.5 AM Accessoria 28: 496–501 (28)

Jón Egilsson (1714–1784) wrote AM accessoria 28 (28). It is a large paper codex containing sagas of Icelanders. Jón included ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in *Egils saga* and copied it from **BL**. This is seen from two improvisations in **BL** that Jón copied into **28**. In line AR 4.4, **BL** has *at láði sat* instead of *at landi sat* and in AR 6.3 it has *hyrungs* instead of *hængs*. A title page states that Jón wrote the codex. Jón was a teacher at the school at Hólar (1741–1768) (*Íslenzkar æviskrár* III: 91). A note says that the codex was given to Finnur Jónsson in 1897 by Páll Briem (1856–1904). The many variants in **BL** (from **169**) are given in **28** with the same letterforms and spelling as in **BL**. The end of **BL** is missing (see 1.2.4), but its copy **28** shows that **BL** had the same stanzas as did **169**.

## 1.6 The 1809 edition

Bjarni Einarsson wrote an article on the 1809 edition of *Egils saga*, published posthumously in 2010, where he identified the sources from which the editor, Guðmundur Magnússon, supplied passages of *Egils saga* that were either illegible in or missing from *Möðruvallabók*, as well as the text of Egill's three long poems. Bjarni introduced the transcript of SONATORREK and ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in ÍB 169 4to and said it was used together with **146** in preparing the text of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in the 1809 edition. According to Bjarni, it belonged to Bishop Hannes Finnsson. Bjarni deduced this from notes in the 1809 edition that Guðmundur Magnússon wrote on the two poems where he tells of a document in possession of Bishop Hannes Finnsson that he had borrowed and contained these two poems. It is, however, not certain that this was **169**. It is more likely to have been **BL**.

Bjarni also drew attention to the transcript of the poem in AM Accessoria 28, written by Jón Egilsson (see the previous section), and wondered how it might be connected to the other paper transcripts. He wrote:

Det er nærliggende at tro, at Access. 28 for så vidt angår Arinbjarnarkviða er af samme oprindelse som udgaven af 1809. Det vil sige, at teksten fra Hannes Finnssons håndskrift på den ene eller den anden måde må være kommet i Jón Egilssons besiddelse den gang han skrev Access. 28.

Bjarni Einarsson (2010: 14).

It seems likely that Access. 28 regarding Arinbjarnarkviða is of the same origin as the 1809 edition, which means that the text from the manuscript belonging to Bishop Hannes Finnsson came in one way or another into the hands of Jón Egilsson when he wrote Access. 28.

Bjarni was probably right in assuming that Jón Egilsson used the same text that was used for the 1809 edition, but this was likely **BL** and not **169**.

Bjarni Einarsson compared the text of SONATORREK in the 1809 edition with that of ÍB 169 4to and noted two discrepancies:

Teksten er en tro kopi af digtet som det står i Ketilsbøger, AM 462 og 453 4to, men to rettelser stemmer overens med Árni Magnússons tekst i AM 761 a-b 4to: (1) i str. 4, linje 6, *kaugla* for *þaugla* og (2) i str. 17, linje 1, *þekt* for *þokt*. Guðmundur Magnússon har i det første tilfælde fulgt biskoppens håndskrift, dog således at han uden kommentar korrigerer stofens umulige sidste ord i forlæggene, *ridr*, til det utvivlsomt rigtige *nidr* (“Af fletium nidr”, s. 613; Árni Magnússon har derimod beholdt *ridur* [!]). I det andet tilfælde er Guðmundur Magnússon halsstarrig og trykker “þokt”, og er tillige uagtsom nok til at påstå i en fodnote: “Ita omnes Libri” (‘således alle håndskrifter’; s. 633).

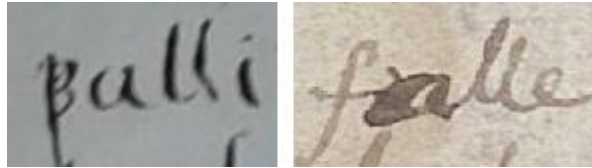
Bjarni Einarsson (2010: 11)

‘The text is a faithful copy of the poem as it stands in Ketill’s books, AM 462 and 453 4to, but two corrections have been made as in the text of Árni Magnússon in AM 761 a-b 4to: (1) in stanza 4, line 6, *kaugla* for *þaugla* and (2) in stanza 17, line 1, *þekt* for *þokt*. Guðmundur Magnússon has in the first instance followed the bishop’s manuscript with the expectation that he corrects without a comment the impossible last word of the stanza in the exemplars, *ridr*, into the doubtlessly correct word *nidr* (“Af fletium nidr,” page 613; Árni Magnússon has, on the other hand, kept *ridur* [!]). In the second instance Guðmundur Magnússon is obstinate and prints “þokt” and is also inattentive enough to write in a footnote: “Ita omnes Libri” (‘thus all the manuscripts’; p. 633).’

The books of Ketill are the only source of the poem SONATORREK from a mostly lost parchment codex. The SONATORREK-text in ÍB 169 4to must derive from them. Inaccurate copying of **169** into **BL** can partly explain the

above observations. The word ‘riðr’ from Ketill’s books resembles ‘niðr’ in **BL** rather than ‘riðr,’ while it is ‘riðr’ in **169** (as stated by Bjarni), and it is also possible to read the word ‘þekt’ as ‘þokt’ in **BL** (even if the other reading is more natural), while it can only be ‘þekt’ in **169**. This indicates that the 1809 edition used **BL** rather than **169** for the text of *SONATORREK* and it is likely that the same applies to *ARINBJARNARKVIÐA*.

Guðmundur Magnússon used AM 146 fol and what he refers to as the bishop’s manuscript as his sources for the text of *ARINBJARNARKVIÐA*. He credited Reverend Gunnar Pálsson with some conjectures (BE 2010: 8), such as replacing *falli* with *fulli* in AR 13.4. Although this seems to be an obvious error, copyists did not correct it. The word was read as <falle> in **169** and copied as <falli> in **146** (through **XIII**) as well as in **BL** and its copy **28**. Guðmundur claimed that the correct reading was in the Bishop’s manuscript (the I manuscript): “Falli, E. sine sensu commodo. Fulli, I. quod et conjecerat G. Pauli.” (GM 1809: 665). I take this to be a mistake by Guðmundur. With wishful thinking, it is possible to read *fulli* in **BL**, but a more natural reading is *falli* (as copied by Jón Egilsson into **28**). See Figure 1.6-1:



**Figure 1.6-1** <falli> in **BL** on left and in **169** on right. The **BL** scribe replaced the *-e* ending with *-i* and put in an older type of <f>. The **169** scribe seems not to have been sure of the vowel.

The word *maka* in line AR 6.3 is written <má> in **169** and **146** (and on page 99v) but in **BL** it is written <m̄a>. The latter is easily read as *maka* while <m̄a> is rather *mák* or *mák*. Guðmundur says that **146** had <m̄a>, but he preferred the reading of ‘I’ (he printed *maka*) which was presumably <m̄a> as in **BL**.

If, as seems likely, Bishop Hannes Finnsson lent **BL** to Guðmundur Magnússon to edit *ARINBJARNARKVIÐA*, he (or perhaps Guðmundur) may mistakenly have thought **BL** was the original and **169** a younger copy. **BL** may have been copied from **169** around the year 1740. It is a neater document than **169**, and its appearance may have seemed more trustworthy.

Guðmundur had access to **M**, and he said several times that it had the same text as his paper copies, but he seems not to have read anything new in

the codex. The reading of the two words *bragar* and *bratt* in Stanza 14 appears to be an exception. In his notes to the poem, Guðmundur Magnússon (1809: 667) says he read these words directly from page 99v. Both Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Finnur Jónsson managed to read *bratt* (as seen from their editions). **169** has *baug* (as does **146**), but its copy in **BL** has some muddled text (see Figure 1.6-2) that Jón Egilsson, who copied it into **28**, understood to be *baug* with an <au> ligature (as written in **169**). What can be seen on page 99v from the multispectral images looks indeed like the impossible word *baug* and not like *bratt*. The word may, however, have an abbreviation for *-ra* in the ascender of <b> (as used for the word *bráa* in Stanza 5) and it could end with a <t>. Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 348) read <b> followed by <r-rotunda> in the beginning of the word.

When preparing the printing of the 1809 edition, Grímur Thorkelin was also working on his famous BEOWULF edition. His two transcripts of that poem have become invaluable. He was responsible for a 16-page preface to the 1809 edition that mostly deals with the manuscripts used. Grímur was probably re-

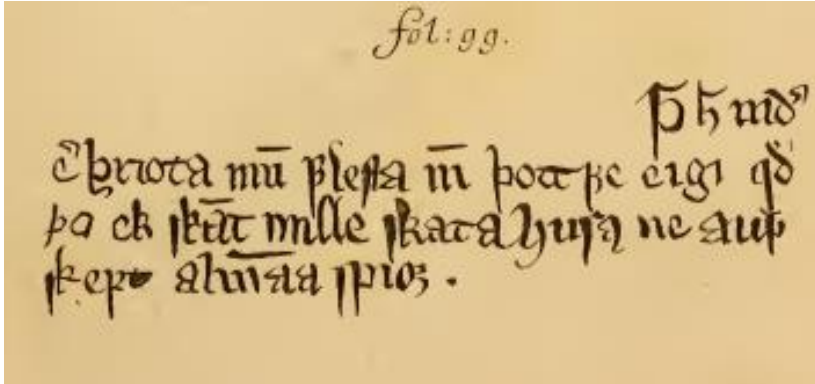


**Figure 1.6-2** The word <baug> in **M** and **BL**. I propose this is <ḫau,τ> where a <ra> abbreviation is in the ascender of <b> and the first <τ> is below the baseline, creating the illusion of a <g>.

sponsible for adding what appear to be very accurate facsimiles with samples from different hands that wrote manuscripts used in the 1809 edition. Bjarni Einarsson (2010: 7) did not realize the significance of the pictures in the 1809 edition, noting that it “afsluttet med tre plancher med skriftprøver udført i en slags karolingisk minuskel” (‘ends with three plates with writing samples made in a kind of Carolingian minuscule’). One of these writing samples is Stanza 20 in ARINBJARNARKVIÐA. It is made with photographic accuracy as can be seen from multispectral images of the page (in Chapter 11). It shows that, despite complaints by Guðmundur Magnússon in 1809 about the illegibility of page 99v, the page was in a better condition in his time than it is now.

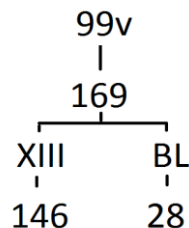
With the facsimile in Figure 1.6-3, the 1809 edition provided an excellent direct reading from page 99v. Finnur Jónsson could have used it to avoid four spelling errors in his diplomatic reading (he wrote <ḿñ> for <ḿ>, <eige> for <eigi>, <ḡd> for <qd> and <ḑ> for capital <Ḑ> at the beginning

of the stanza). Jón Helgason was able to correct all of these errors except the use of the capital (see BE et al. 2001: 189–190), presumably with the help of UV-illumination. The word *viðr* (at the end of the first line in Figure 1.6-3) is written with a tittle (an <er> abbreviation) for the *-r* ending. Jón Helgason corrected Finnur and wrote the word *viðr* as <vidir>, but Finnur had replaced the tittle with an <ur> abbreviation. I discuss this further in Section 2.1.



**Figure 1.6-3** Stanza 20. Lines **M** 99vb11-b14. An accurate artist's rendering in 1809 of a text that is no longer visible to the unaided eye. I note the use of a two-compartmental <a> except in <ka> (that looks like <pa>) at the beginning of line three (see Section 2.6). Compare with Figure 2-1.

The following is a likely stemma of the manuscripts that I have discussed. The 1809 edition made use of **146** and either **169** or, more likely, its copy **BL**. Of greatest importance is that it made very little direct use of page 99v in **M**. Its main or only source for the text of *ARINBJARNARKVIÐA* was **169**. **XIII** must have been very similar to **169** (because of how similar **169** and **146** are), but it lacked three manuscript lines (99v b19-b21).



**Figure 1.6-4** A stemma of known transcripts of *AR* before its 1809 printing. **XIII** is lost except for four lines that survive in *AM* 554 f 4to. The end was lost from **BL** after it was copied into **28**.

## 1.7 Conclusions on the sources of AR in previous publications

ÍB 169 4to contains the oldest known transcript of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA from page 99v. It was probably made in Copenhagen, soon after Möðruvallabók arrived from Iceland in 1684. It was surely written in or before 1688, for in 1687–1688 it was copied into a paper codex that Árni Magnússon prepared for his compatriot, the royal historian Þormóður Torfason.

Árni Magnússon seems to have seen the effort in **169** at reading 99v as a failure. This can be deduced from his reference to ARINBJARNARKVIÐA as the unreadable poem (see Figure 1.2-1) and to a transcript of it (in **XIII**) as the shreds of a poem (*drápuslitrið*) (see Figure 1.1-1). His hand has not written or commented on any of the preserved transcripts of the poem on page 99v, and he included nothing from it in his collections of skaldic poetry in AM 761 a–b 4to. Árni’s reservations about **169** may be explained by observing that it contains several passages that are incomprehensible and a large number of variants. Even if **169** is probably the sole source of all later transcripts and published versions of the poem, the poem has accumulated sensible interpretations and corrections that make it appear in recent editions to be much better preserved than it must have seemed in Árni’s time. Page 99v has a very unusual orthography that may have caused some of the variant readings in **169**, as I discuss in the next chapter. This unusual orthography may also have reduced Árni’s confidence in **169**.

Finnur Jónsson based his edition of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA on his reading of **M**, the transcript in AM 146 fol, and previous publications. Finnur surely correctly read some of the text on page 99v, a clear example being his reading of *mér* <mier> ‘me,’ where **169** has <mer> in line b1 (first line of the second column). However, his errors are so numerous that his diplomatic reading cannot be relied on in cases where the text is not clear on the MSIs. His normalized text of the poem from page 99v did not contain anything that had not been published earlier, and doubt can be cast on whether he could read some of the conjectures that had earlier been proposed on linguistic and metrical grounds, for instance, *ávarðr* in place of *ávarði* in Stanza 19. I conclude that a new edition of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA should only be based on **169** and a new reading from the multispectral images. The next chapter provides additional justifications for this, where I note that Finnur did not notice many of the peculiarities of the 99v hand.

In an article from 2013, I noted that **169** was older than **146** and in another article (Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2014a) I showed that remains exist of a



transcript (**XIII**) that Árni Magnússon sent to Þormóður. I maintained that **146** was a copy of that transcript (*drápuslitið*) which again was a copy of **169**. Here I claim further that **169** is the only source of the poem in all its printed editions. In 2014, I was not aware of **BL**, which is a copy of **169** that was probably used by the editors of the 1809 edition of *ARINBJARNARKVIÐA*. I note that Chesnutt did not include variants from **169** in the diplomatic text of *AR* in Bjarni Einarsson's et al. 2001 edition: 187–190. This means that the present study is the first to publish and make direct use of **169**.

## 2 The paleography and orthography of page 99v

Reading page 99v is a challenge because the page is faded, but also because the paleography and the orthography are unusual. This caused some of the errors in the **169** transcript as I shall demonstrate.

In this chapter, I study the features of the 99v hand. I do this to gain a better understanding of the faded text on page 99v and of the all-important **169** transcript. I also use this study to show that Finnur and Guðbrandur did not note many of these features, such as the Norwegianisms, the use of accent marks, and the use of *punctus elevatus* for stanza separation, which supports my conclusion in the first Chapter that the quality of their readings was poor.

I aim at finding a scribal context for the 99v hand by searching for hands with similar features. I have chosen to use the following set of fourteen hands from the 14<sup>th</sup> century for comparison:

1. The main hand that wrote *Möðruvallabók*; Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen (2000) has published a detailed analysis of the paleography and orthography of this hand.
2. Ten hands in the encyclopedic manuscript AM 764 4to. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2000) studied these hands in her doctoral thesis. They exhibit a variety of orthographic features.
3. Two hands in another encyclopedic manuscript AM 194 8vo. Kristian Kålund (1908–1918) studied these. One of the scribes dated the manuscript to 1387. It includes a text that Einarr Hafliðason translated from Latin in 1381 (see below).
4. The hand in AM 350 fol. Jón Helgason (1926) analyzed the orthography of this hand. AM 350 fol is a large law-codex, that is dated to 1363.

I add observations from various manuscripts, but I mostly limit my scope to samples, edited by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2007) in *Sýnisbók íslenskrar skriftar* (Book of samples of Icelandic script). The samples include page 9v from AM 420 b 4to written by Einarr Hafliðason, a high ranking church official that I frequently mention. I have also looked for orthographic features in *Íslandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450* (Original Icelandic legal documents until 1450), published in 1963 by Stefán Karlsson (ed.) in two volumes with diplomatic texts and photographs.

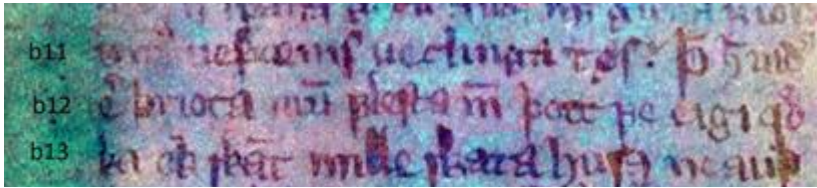
This inquiry will show that it is likely that Einarr Hafliðason (1307–1393) wrote the poem on page 99v as a young man. Einarr belonged to a small group of clerics who, following an ecclesiastical reform of the late 13<sup>th</sup> century (*Staðamál*), gained access to large farms (*staðir*) as benefices, and derived from them wealth and power (see Sigurdson 2011 on the development of a shared identity of this group). Einarr lived to serve five bishops at Hólar, the northern bishopric of Iceland, throughout seventy years (Sigurdson 2011: 150). Einarr wrote the already mentioned AM 420 b 4to (**420b** for short) *Lögmannsannáll* (Annals of a lawman). **420b** is the oldest preserved autograph in Iceland, excluding legal documents (charters).

Einarr wrote six extant dated legal documents in *Íslandske Originaldiplomer indtil 1450* (Stefán Karlsson ed. 1963). They are numbered: 15, 24, 26, 27, 39, 58, and date from years 1341, 1352, 1353 (January), 1353 (April), 1369, and 1380 respectively. Supposedly, Einarr wrote the last of these documents when he was nearly 73 years old. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2007: 60) doubts its authenticity for that reason.

Einarr wrote a biography of his teacher and friend, Bishop Lárentius, covering the period 1267–1331 (Árni Björnsson ed. 1969). He also translated a contemporary miracle story *Atburður á Finnmörk* (An incident in Finmark) from Latin in 1381 for two friars at the monastery at Möðruvellir (Kålund 1908–1918: 57–59). Einarr traveled to the papal see in Avignon in France 1345–1346. The date of Einarr’s travel is known because he recorded it and some other details from his life in his annals.

Einarr Hafliðason used two scribal hands in **420b**, a very cursive hand and a book-hand that he normally used in headings and for major tidings, such as on the founding of monasteries or deaths of kings and saints. The cursive hand has characteristics of *Cursiva Antiquior* as described by Albert Derolez (2003: 133) (a long <s> extended below the baseline, loops at the right of ascenders, a two-compartmental <a>). As elsewhere in Europe, it was a common documentary script in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century, but not used for books in Scandinavia until the fourteenth century. Einarr used this cursive hand in all his documents and for most of **420b**. His book-hand in **420b** has characteristics of *textualis*, the commonly used gothic script in books, used by the main hand of **M**. The book-hand has letters that are not interconnected, a long <s> that does not go below the line and ascenders without loops. Both Einarr’s document-hand and the book-hand have an <f> and <a> with two compartments. The script used on page 99v is a blend of these two types of hands as they appear in Einarr’s **420b** annals. I refer to Stanza 20 in Figure 2-1 for a demonstration. In the stanza, all the long <s>-s extend below the line,

but most of the ascenders are loop-free. The first <l> and the <k> in <milli skata> are, however, with loops that have been filled with ink, deliberately or inadvertently (see also Section 2.12 on *textualis* and *cursiva*).



**Figure 2-1** MSI from lines b11–b14 on page 99v. The <r> in *þrjóta* (in line b12) is of a cursive type (it looks like a <v>). The <k> in *skata* (b13) has a loop. A transcript of these lines in in Chapter 9, Stanza 20.

## 2.1 The svarabhakti vowel denoted by the tittle

In Old Norse, at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a svarabhakti vowel appeared in all *-r* endings that followed a consonant, both in inflectional endings as in *hestr* ‘horse.NOM’ and in word-stems as in *akr* ‘acre.’ The svarabhakti vowel appeared in *-r* endings in Norway in dated documents before the year 1300 and was written as *-er* or *-ar* (see Jón Þorkelsson 1863: 14). This ending became *-ur* in modern Icelandic and was never written in full as *-er* or *-ar*. In Norway, the inflectional *-r* endings eventually disappeared in most dialects, but *-r* endings in word-stems became *-er* (as in *åker*).

A very distinctive feature of the 99v hand is its use of the tittle for the ending *-r* after consonants while it also uses the tittle for the ending *-ir*. The tittle <ˆ> was an abbreviation for <er> in Latin and Old Norse. It could also be used to truncate words or part of words. De Leeuw van Weenen (2000: 111) lists its uses by the main scribe in *Möðruvallabók*. Its most frequent use was to abbreviate <er> (15 494 times). It was only used three times for an *-r* ending after a consonant, once in *alfr* <alfˆ> ‘elf’ and twice in *hrappr* <hrappˆ> ‘villain.’ These three instances on the approximately 400 pages of **M** are probably spelling errors.

De Leeuw van Weenen studied only the main hand in **M**. The hand that wrote page 99v used the tittle at least six times for an *-r* ending after a consonant:

*allvaldr* <allualðˆ> in a11, *hefr* <hefˆ> in b5, *Njorðr* <niorðˆ> in b6, *viðr* <viðˆ> in b11, *leiddr* <leiððˆ> in b16 and *dolgr* <dolǫgˆ> in b18.

The multispectral images show these tittles clearly (see Chapter 11 and see *viðr* <við<sup>ʀ</sup>> in b11 and *leiddr* <leiðð<sup>ʀ</sup>> in Figure 2.1-2). The 99v scribe also used the tittle as was normal in **M**, for instance, to write words with *-ir* endings. He once spelled the *-ir* ending in full in *tuftir* ‘house-foundations.’ This use of the tittle created ambiguities in Old Norse and Icelandic, and it confused those who have tried to read page 99v. In his transcription, the **169** scribe sometimes used a form for the tittle that would normally be understood as an <ur> abbreviation. For instance, when he wrote the word *gnægir* ‘gives’ in line AR 17.4, see Figure 2.1-1.

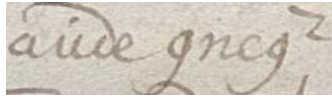


Figure 2.1-1 *auði gnægir* <auðe gneḡ<sup>2</sup>>

This word is copied as <gneḡ> *gnægur* ‘sufficient’ into **146** (see BE et al. 2001: 189). There are no <ur> abbreviations on page 99v, and I always take abbreviations that look like <ur> abbreviations in **169** to be tittles. On page 99v they are tittles. In Norway, where reduced vowels (restricted vowels) in endings with /i/ and /u/ eventually merged in most dialects, it might have seemed reasonable to use the same abbreviation for <ir> and <ur>, but it was never appropriate in Iceland.

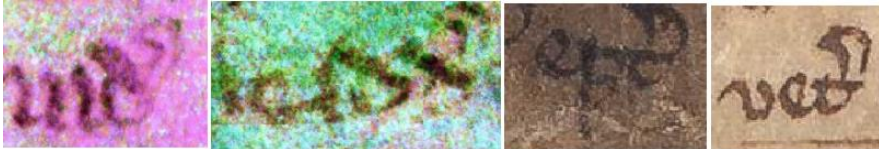
Finnur Jónsson transcribed a large number of poems for the publication of his comprehensive *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* (The Norse-Icelandic skaldic poetry) (see Section 5.1). It seems that he never came across the use of the tittle for the prospective *-ur* ending, according to the following:

I A er der taget hensyn til de mange unge håndskrifteres alder og opløsningen af forkortelser indrettet derefter (dette gælder også I. bind). Et 2 over linjen, der vel betegner den senere udtale ur, er gengivet som r (kursiveret.)

Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915 AII: vi)

Note is taken of the many young manuscripts in A, and the abbreviations are expanded accordingly (this also applies to the 1st volume). A 2 above the line, which likely denotes the later pronunciation ur, is reproduced as r (in italics).

Finnur did not see any titles used for  $-(u)r$  endings in his reading of page 99v. In his 1886–1888 edition of *Egils saga*, he wrote some of them with an <ur> abbreviation (ʒ over the baseline), that he later gave as <r> in italics in *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* (as explained by him above).



**Figure 2.1-2** The words *viðr* in b11 and *leiddr* in b16 on page 99v and *eftir* in b21 and *vetr* in a11 from page 9v in **420b** on the right. All are with the tittle.

Occasionally a tittle was used for an  $-ur$  ending (or for <r> after a consonant) in other manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Iceland but these cases are so rare that they can be ignored. For AM 350 fol, Jón Helgason (1926: 55) says that “Tegnet for ‘er’ må noen ganger oppløses til r” ‘the sign for ‘er’ must a few times be expanded as ‘r’), but this was exceptional, and the normal usage of the tittle for an  $-ir$  ending in AM 350 fol was not seriously disturbed.

In Guðvarður’s *Sýnisbók íslenskrar skriftar* (2007: 60), only one hand seems to use the tittle frequently for  $-r$  after a consonant. This is the hand of Einarr Hafliðason. The following are examples that are all in the a-column of page 9v in AM 420 b 4to. All of these words have  $-ur$  in modern Icelandic:

*aptr* ‘again’ in 9va2, *Bótólfr* ‘proper name’ in 9va9, *vetr* ‘winter’ in 9va11, *Ormr* ‘proper name’ in 9va22 and 9va39, *Guthormr* ‘proper name’ in 9va24, *Arngrímr* ‘proper name’ in 9va36, *settr* ‘put’ in 9va36. See Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2007: 60).

Einarr also used this orthography in his dated documents, but not as frequently. Most documents have one or two examples of the tittle for an  $-r$  ending after a consonant, documents number 26 and 58 have none. The latter is the document he supposedly wrote in his old age. Einarr also used the tittle for  $-ir$  endings.

Words with an original  $-ur$  ending in Old Norse are not frequent, and there are no such words in AR. In **420b**, Einarr wrote them either in full with <ur> or with the <ur> abbreviation (ʒ above the baseline), for instance *dóttur* <ðoztʒ> in line 9vb14.

Both Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2007: 60) and Gustav Storm (1888: 273–274) expanded the tittle after consonants in Einarr’s **420b** by <r>

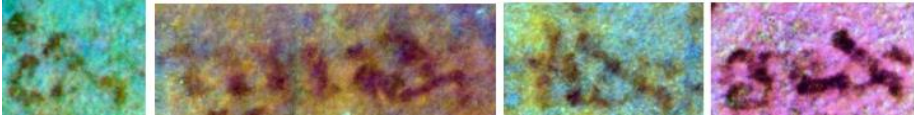
in italics when it stood for an *-(u)r* ending but as <ir> in italics when it stood for an *-ir* ending. They would presumably also have done this for the tittle on page 99v. Stefán Karlsson did the same in his transcription of Einarr's documents. I follow their practice even if I also find the practice of Michal Chesnutt sensible. In his diplomatic text of AR (BE et al. 2001: 187–190), Chesnutt included some corrections by Jón Helgason to the reading of FJ. Among these are the three words *hefr*, *viðr*, and *leiddr*, that Jón Helgason read correctly with a tittle and Chesnutt published as <hefir>, <vidir> and <leiddir> (BE et al. 2001: 189–190).

Einarr Hafliðason normally wrote *-rr* endings with an <r> plus a tittle, for instance, in his name <einar<sup>ʳ</sup>>. He also abbreviated words that ended in *-rir* with the tittle. <þor<sup>ʳ</sup>> could thus both stand for the names *Þórr* and *Þórir*. Page 99v has a word that the 169 scribe read as <styr<sup>ʳ</sup>> and all editors have understood to be *stýrir*. Following Einarr's example, it is however possible and metrically better to read this word as *styrr* 'battle' (see notes on Stanza 4).

## 2.2 The relative meaning of <;>

Another distinctive feature of the 99v hand is its use of the same sign for an r-rotunda as for the abbreviation <;> used to abbreviate the preposition *með* <m;;> 'with.'

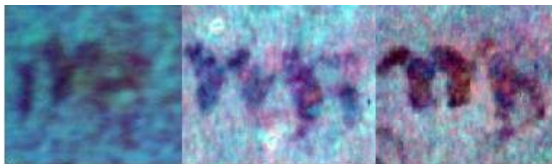
The r-rotunda usually has the shape of the Arabic numeral <2> and is attached to the preceding letter. The 99v scribe used r-rotundas only after <o>, <d> and <b> (letters with a rounded 'back') as was typical at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Harald Spehr 1929: 124–126). Seven instances of r-rotunda after <o> are visible on the multispectral images, nine are seen after <d>, but only one after <b>. The 99v scribe only used r-rotunda after <d> when the <d<sub>2</sub>> was word-final. Thus, he wrote the words *dró*, *drótni* and *draupni* with ordinary minuscule letters <dr>. The shape of the word-final r-rotunda after <d> was, moreover, not like a <2> but rather like a <c> with a descender. Four words having these unusual r-rotundas are seen in Figure 2.2-1



**Figure 2.2-1** The words *endr* <endʒ> in a8, *muðr* <mudʒ> in a23, *verðr* <uerdʒ> in a35 and *geðr* <gedʒ> in b3.

At the end of the first two of the four words (*endr* and *muðr*), Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 347–349) read r-rotunda but for the other two (*verðr* and *geðr*), he erroneously read a normal <r>. The shape of these r-rotundas confused the **169** scribe, and it caused some of his mistakes. He read <heiþroade> for *heiþróaðr* in AR 10.7 and he read <avardi> for *ávarðr* in AR 19.5. He probably read <hodfinda> for *hoddfindr* in AR 10.3 and he read <gede> in AR 16.5 for *-geðr* but he added two variants <godr> and the correct <gedr> (the **169** scribe never wrote r-rotunda).

The r-rotunda type in Figure 2.2-1 looks like another sign that is also used on page 99v. This is the <;> (dot and comma). It was commonly used in Old Norse texts following an <m> to denote the preposition *með* ‘with.’ Three examples of an <m;> *með* from page 99v are in Figure 2.2-2. FJ read the <;> in all instances as <z>.



**Figure 2.2-2** <m;> in lines 99va7, 99vb10 and 99vb16.

The abbreviated <m;> is usually expanded as <med>, but this preposition was commonly written *meðr* <medr> in *the* 14<sup>th</sup> century (perhaps this is a Norwegianism). It is, for example, what Einarr Hafliðason wrote when he did not abbreviate with <m;> (as in document 24, line 8 and document 27, line 9).

The <;> sign in Old Norse was probably ‘reverse-engineered’ from its use in Latin for writing the conjunction *sed* ‘but’ (see Spehr 1929: 141–142). In Icelandic manuscripts *sed* can be found as <s;> in several manuscripts, for instance, in AM 623 4to 21r23 (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007: 48). Old Norse manuscripts did not use the same sign to abbreviate *með* <m;> as for the r-rotunda. In some hands, there is a resemblance between the two, but on



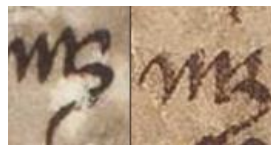
page 99v they seem to look identical. This is, however, not quite certain because the images are not fully clear.

The <;> sign in Latin had a relative meaning. It was expanded differently depending on the letters that came before it, as I shall explain. Such use of <;> was not made by Old Norse scribes, except by Einarr Hafliðason, as I will show, but first I report on its use in **M**. The main scribe in **M** used the <;> sign 2061 times (de Leeuw van Weenen 2000: 46–47). He used it only for writing *með* <m;>. Below I give an example of how he wrote this sign (on the right), and beside it how Einarr Hafliðason wrote it with his book-hand (in **420b**). In both instances the <;> appears to be a dot and a comma (or *punctus flexus*):



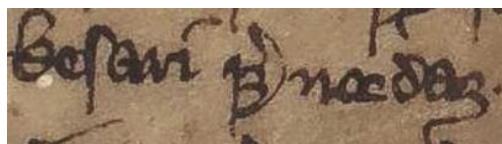
**Figure 2.2-3** *með* <m;> as written on page **420b** 10ra38 (on the left) and in **M** 74va13 (on the right).

It seems that the <;> sign changed appearance when Einarr wrote it in his cursive script in **420b**, but it is still recognizable as a dot and a comma connected (drawn without lifting the pen, which is the hallmark of the faster cursive writing). The resulting glyph could take different forms. Below are two examples for the cursive hand in **420b** that demonstrate how varied the script was.



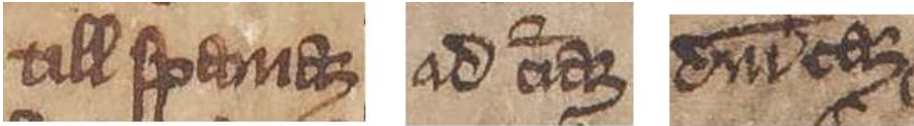
**Figure 2.2-4** <m;> as written in lines **420b** 4ra12 and **420b** 9va14.

Most interestingly, the <;> sign appears in an Old Norse text by Einarr Hafliðason in line **420b** 3va31, where it stands for <n>, see Figure 2.2-5:



**Figure 2.2-5** *kesari fir norðan* ‘Cæsar in the north’ in line **420b** 3va31.

In Latin, the <;> was expanded as <m> when following any of the three vowels <a, e, u>. Einarr used this expansion several times in Latin words and phrases that he inserted into his Old Norse text in **420b**. In all instances, the preceding vowel was <a>. The reason Einarr did not use <;> after the vowels <e> and <u> may be that it was convenient to place a nasal stroke on them instead but not on the two-compartmental <a> that he used. The two-compartmental <a> was significantly taller than <e> and <u> in the type of script that Einarr used (see Derolez 2003: 134).



**Figure 2.2-6** *till spaniam* ‘to Spain’ in line **420b** 5vb43, *ad curiam* ‘by court’ in line 420b 9ra4 and *dominicam* ‘of master.FEM.ACC’ in line **420b** 8va9.

Contemporary Latin made use of the <;> sign for several purposes. In addition to its use for *-ed* after <s> and as a nasal mark after some vowels, it could be used for *-us* after <b> in the very common Latin ending *-bus*. There are many examples of <b;> for *-bus* in two dated documents concerning Iceland that Stefán Karlsson (1963) included in his edition as documents number 1 and 2, both of which were written in Latin in Bergen in 1280.

It is possible that the <;> after <d> was meant to designate the new *-ur* ending on page 99v (besides the tittle). This idea gets support from legal document number 7 (Stefán Karlsson 1963) written in the name of Bishop Auðunn Þorbergsson in 1315. This document uses two types of r-rotunda, a normal type and a type that looks like <;>. The <;> type is only used word-finally after <d> in *Jǫrundr* (line 3), *formaðr* (line 12), and *eftirkomendr* (line 13). The name *Jǫrundr* is, for instance, written <io2und;> while the words *góðra*, *hundrað*, *hindra* have a normal r-rotunda.

Page 99v seems to use a normal r-rotunda (that looks like <2>), at least in some cases (see Figure 2.8-2). It is often difficult to determine the type, and in the diplomatic (facsimile) text in Chapter 9, I use the glyph <3> for any r-rotunda. I also use it after <m>. In the semi-diplomatic text, I always write it as <r>, except after <m>, i.e., the preposition *mæð* where I expand it as *ed*, as is traditional.

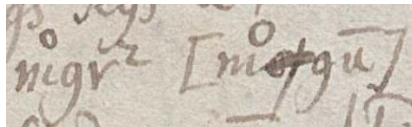
Einarr Hafliðason knew the relative meaning of <;> in Latin and he used it in **420b** to abbreviate a nasal after a vowel. He used it to produce *-ed* after an <m>, but he did not write it after a <d> (like the 99v scribe). Another difference between **420b** and page 99v is that **420b** uses r-rotunda after <y>.

The 99v scribe wrote an ordinary <r> after <y> (four words are legible with <yr> and two with <eyr>). The reason may be that **420b** is younger than page 99v.

The first document that Stefán Karlsson assigns to Einarr is number 15 from 1341, the year when Einarr became 34 years old. At that time, Einarr may recently have started writing r-rotunda after <y>. Stefán Karlsson (2002: 837) says that the use of r-rotunda after <y> began around the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Einarr sometimes wrote an ordinary <r> after <y>. In document 15 he wrote *tilheyrrir* in line 5 without r-rotunda, and the same applies to *dýrleik* in letter 27, line 13 and *heyra* in letter 58, line 2. Instances with <yrr> that he wrote without r-rotunda (and with two r-s) are in document 15 in *fyrnefndir* in line 11, *fyrri* in line 24, and *fyr* in line 27. This may reflect his older writing practice.

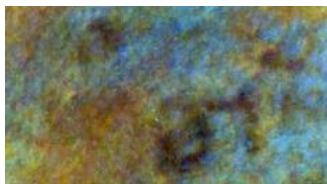
### 2.3 The tittle for -ar and -m in endings

Line AR 10.2 is as follows: *mǫrgum betri* ‘better than many.’ The word *mǫrgum* has a variant in **169**. The **169** scribe began by writing a tittle over <r>, but then he thought better of it, and he wrote a more sensible word, see Figure 2.3-1 (the tittle resembles an <ur> abbreviation):



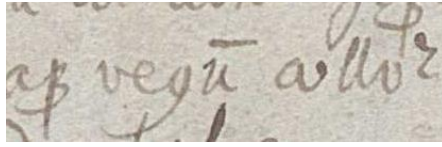
**Figure 2.3-1** <mǫr̥> and variant <mǫrgū>.

This word is only partly visible on the MSIs, but the <u> looks indeed like a <v> or <r> (as it often does on page 99v). It is difficult to state anything conclusive about the nasal stroke on page 99v, but it may be written with a tittle, See Figure 2.3-2:



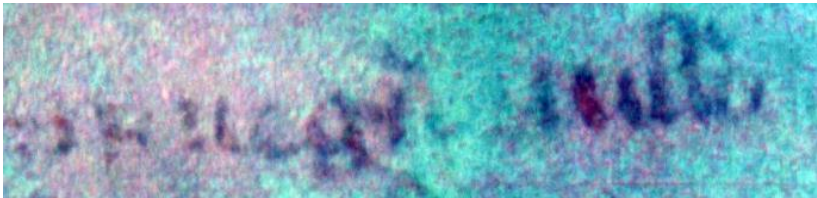
**Figure 2.3-2** <morgum> in line a27

The normalized text of line AR 18.6 is as follows: *af vegum ɔllum* ‘of all roads.’ The word *ɔllum* is written with tittle after <u> in **169**, see Figure 2.3-3:



**Figure 2.3-3** AR 18.6 *Af vegum ɔllum*. The line ends with the tittle.

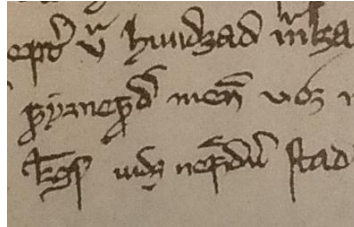
This time the **169** scribe gave no variant, and his reading may be correct. It is possible that more <um> endings in the **M**-text of AR were written with the tittle, but the MSIs are not clear enough to confirm that. Most of them have something like a large <c> above a <u> that may be interpreted as a back-and-forth nasal stroke (see such a nasal stroke in Figure 2.3-5), but they could also be part of a tittle. It is primarily the text in **169** that indicates that some nasal strokes could be read as tittles (see, however, the tittle-like nasal stroke in <azūgu> in Figure 2.12-5). Figure 2.3-4 shows how line AR 18.6 appears on page 99v. The nasal strokes for both *vegum* and *ɔllum* look similar:



**Figure 2.3-4** <af uegum aullum> in line b8.

According to Harald Spehr (1929: 139 note 10), a document written in Trondheim in 1225 has a special sign that was both used as the tittle for <er> and as a nasal stroke. A photograph of this document reveals that it is possible to see this special sign when used for <m> or <n> as a variation of an ordinary nasal stroke. The sign does not appear solely on -um endings (See *Corpus Codicum Norvegiarum* Vol II page 33).

I am aware of only one Icelandic manuscript that unmistakably uses a tittle-like abbreviation sign for both <er> and <m> or <n>. This exception is document number 12 in the often-mentioned 1963 edition by Stefán Karlsson. It was written in 1339 in Skagafjörður, northern Iceland, see Figure 2.3-5:

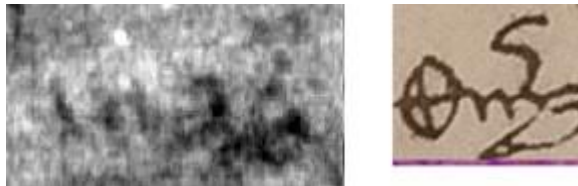


**Figure 2.3-5** In top line: *eptir var hundrað marka*. In the next line: *fyrirnefndir menn vor* and the third line: *konungs víðr nefndum stað*. The tittle is in *eptir*, *fyrirnefndir* and *nefndum*. <menn> has a back-and-forth nasal stroke.

In document 12, the tittle is used for <m> in the word *nefndum* (see Figure 2.3-5) and in two additional words *Reykjum* and *vorum* (not in the figure). The tittle is thus only used for the <m> in inflectional *-um* endings. In document 12 there are no *-um* endings without the tittle.

Document 12 does not have any example of a tittle used to denote a prospective *-ur* ending, and it has no example of an abbreviated *með* (or *meðr*).

Document 12 uses the <ar> abbreviation in words *var* ‘was’ and *marka* ‘marks.GEN.’ However, where <ar> appears in endings, it uses a tittle. This happens in the word *prestar* ‘priests’ and the proper name *Einari* ‘Einarr.DAT’ and *Einars* ‘Einarr.GEN.’ The genitive ending *-s* seems in one instance to be denoted by a tittle (at the end of line 6 in document 12).



**Figure 2.3-6** On the left is *magar* in line 99va40 in the green component of Figure 9-6. On the right is *Einarr* <Ein̥> written in document 12 (line 1).

Page 99v may also have one example of the *-ar* ending denoted by the tittle, in line 99va40 where *magar* ‘son.GEN’ seems to be written <mag̊> and this is how the **169** scribe read it, see Figure 2.3-6. This was copied into **146** (through **XIII**) (see BE et al. 2001: 189). It may have been a correct reading (according

to Figure 2.3-6) even if Finnur Jónsson read <magar>. There could be more instances on page 99v with the *-ar* ending denoted by the tittle that the **169** scribe did not note and are difficult to read now.

It is certain that the scribe of document 12 used a tittle for both *-ar* and *-ir* endings and for <m> in *-um* endings and it seems likely (based on the text in **169**) that the 99v scribe also did this in some instances. He certainly used a tittle for both *-ir* endings and for prospective *-ur* endings (as discussed in Section 2.1). This use of a tittle does not serve well the writing of classical Old Norse or its daughter language Icelandic. In most everyday texts the correct inflectional ending may be guessed at, but this is not as easy for old poetry, especially on a faded page where inflectional endings written ambiguously are a huge disservice to the reader.

For document 12, it may be guessed why the tittle was used for inflectional endings. The document describes the allocation of money in Iceland as a consequence of a court decision made in Bergen, Norway. The document was written in Iceland, but it is preserved in Bergen. It is likely that it was originally written with the intention of sending it to Norway. Those who wrote it might have been aware of vowel reductions in endings and disappearances of inflectional endings in other Old Norse dialects, and they might have made a conscious decision to write the endings ambiguously. Stefán Karlsson did not discuss the abnormal orthography of document 12, and he did not guess who wrote it. I note that very few documents are preserved from this period (the letter is the twelfth document in the chronological order of documents in Stefán's edition). Many more documents with similar spelling may once have existed.

I said earlier that only document 12 uses the tittle for both <er> and nasal abbreviations. I also noted that it uses the tittle to abbreviate <ar>. Document 12 has a Norwegian connection, and so does document 7, which I mentioned in the previous section because of its use of <;> after <d>. This document was written in the year 1315 in the name of Bishop Auðunn Þorbergsson. Auðunn was born in Norway where he was a high official for both the church and the crown before becoming a bishop at Hólar in Iceland. His document has four examples of the tittle used as an <ar> abbreviation. All are in endings (in *aðrar*, line 8 and *heilagrar*, lines 3, 11, and 12). Perhaps these features are due to a Norwegian influence.

Árni Magnússon may have been present when the **169** transcript was made. It was probably possible for Árni at the time to confirm the usage of the tittle on page 99v for <m> and <ar>. He certainly allowed it to be passed on into the **XIII** transcript because it surfaces in **146** in *magar Þóris* and *vegum*

*llum* (the tittle-ending in the latter instance is not noted in the BE et al. 2001 edition). This ambiguous orthography may have contributed to Áрни's epithet for the poem, *hin ólæsilega* (the unreadable one) (see the caption to Figure 1.2-1).

## 2.4 Vowels <e> and <i> in endings

According to the First Grammarian as interpreted by Hreinn Benediktsson (1972: 115–165), Old Norse before c. 1150 had nine long oral vowels, nine long nasal vowels, and three diphthongs. It also had nine short vowels, and three vowels that Hreinn called “unstressed vowels,” they are represented by <i>, <a> and <u> in the standard Old Norse orthography. The term “unstressed” can be confusing in metrical discussions because syllables that are designated as unstressed (metrically weak or in dips) in classical analysis often have vowels that are not “unstressed vowels.” To avoid the confusion that this brings, I call the vowels that belong to the restricted set of these three vowels, *restricted vowels*. The restricted vowels are primarily used in inflectional endings and always in some type of endings. One may therefore also refer to them as ending vowels. Restricted vowels never occur in monosyllables, including prepositions, see also Section 5.2.

The restricted vowels of Old Norse were consistently written with the letters <e>, <o> and <a> in the oldest 12<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts, but before the 14<sup>th</sup> century, scribes had mostly replaced <e> and <o> with <i> and <u>. It is a commonly accepted theory, first proposed by Jóhannes L. L. Jóhannsson (1924: 20) and later by Einar Haugen (1949) and Hreinn Benediktsson (1962) that this was due to a shift in the pronunciation of the short stressed vowels in the 13<sup>th</sup> century that did not affect the long vowels or the restricted vowels. Jóhannes introduced this idea long before the other two, but it is best known through Hreinn's work. Eventually, this shift led to the changes above in the spelling of the restricted vowels because they were associated with their short counterparts that had changed while the restricted vowels had retained their quality. The spelling of the restricted vowels in most 14<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts was thus with <i> and <u> as in the standard spelling of Old Norse. The frequency of <e> in endings would, however, increase with time and Stefán Karlsson says that after 1400, <e> and <i> were used interchangeably, although some scribes used one letter more frequently than the other (Stefán Karlsson 2000: 55). In some dialects in Norway, the use of <u> vs. <o> and <i> vs. <e> was conditioned by the preceding vowel. This is referred to as vowel harmony, of which there are no examples in Icelandic manuscripts. The vowel harmony requires <i> in endings after <i, í, y, ý, u, ú> and after <ei,

au, ey> while <e> is used in other endings, for example <opet> for *opit* ‘open’ but <inni> for *inni* ‘inside’ (Kristoffersen and Torp 2016: 128–129). No other regular exchange of <i> and <e> has been reported for the restricted /i/ (or the restricted /u/).

The main scribe of **M** predominantly used <i> in endings rather than <e> (Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen 2000: 71). For page 99v, the following table shows the situation:

Table 2.4-1 The distribution of <e> and <i> in endings on page 99v.

Words with <e> in final syllable	Words with <i> in final syllable
<i>hilm</i> <e> (3), <i>þjóðlyg</i> <e>, <i>skaup</i> <e>, <i>reið</i> <e>, <i>hjal</i> <e>, <i>land</i> <e>, <i>ennimán</i> <e>, <i>drótt</i> <e>, <i>þótt</i> <e> (2), <i>mið</i> <e>, <i>gull</i> <e>, <i>ráð</i> <e>, <i>garð</i> <e>, <i>skeið</i> <e>, <i>full</i> <e>, <i>heitrof</i> <e>, <i>auð</i> <e>, - <i>afl</i> <e>, - <i>baðm</i> <e>, <i>botn</i> <e>, <i>mill</i> <e>, <i>knerr</i> <e>, <i>háð</i> <e>	<i>op</i> <i>n-, <i>æð</i> <i>, <i>ýg</i> <i>s, <i>enn</i> <i>máne, <i>æg</i> <i>geislum, <i>hilm</i> <i>s (2), <i>betr</i> <i>, <i>heit</i> <i>n, <i>Ar</i> <i>nbjörn, <i>heit</i> <i>nn, <i>mátt</i> <i>gs, - <i>lokr</i> <i>, <i>Ðór</i> <i>s, <i>birk</i> <i>sótta, <i>eig</i> <i>, <i>eng</i> <i>, <i>ar</i> <i>nbjarnar, <i>tupt</i> <i>r, <i>draupn</i> <i>.

Here I use my reading of page 99v that is presented in Chapter 9. I have left out some words where it was difficult to determine if they had <e> or <i>. Some of the words in the table may be incorrectly read (due to the condition of the page). The overall picture is, however, clear: The 99v scribe used <e> only in the final position of a word (word-finally). Word-internally, he always used <i> and exceptionally also word-finally, or in 8 out of 34 instances according to the table.

The table above offers the possibility to compare the quality of the readings by the **169** scribe and by Finnur Jónsson in 1886–1888 (published 1886–1888: 347–349, also in FJ 1912–15 and BE 2001). The representation of the vowels in the final syllable (in both columns) is always the same as in **169** except for the word *reiði* ‘anger.’ The **169** reading, therefore, appears to be excellent. On the other hand, Finnur’s reading in 1886–1888 has the following errors, it has *ýgis* and *Ðóris* with an <e> instead of an <i>, and it has the wrong end-vowel in *æði*, *enni-*, *betri*, *-lokri*, *eigi*, and *engi*. Finnur read <e> rather than the correct <i> in all instances. It thus seems that Finnur consistently ‘read’ <e> at the end of a word (which in most cases was correct).

The orthographic feature in question has not been noted and studied before. It seems to be rare, but a large study would be needed to determine



exactly how rare it is. None of the 14 hands that I listed at the beginning of this chapter have this feature (none of them use an <e> in endings more frequently than an <i> as did the 99v scribe). In the manuscript samples edited by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2007), I have found the following three hands that use it:

- 1) The hand on page 27r in NKS 1824 b 4to, dated to c. 1400–1425, (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007: 74), the text is from *Völsunga saga*,
- 2) The hand on page 48r in SKB Isl perg 5 fol (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007: 56–57 in a saga of Saint Jón Ögmundarson, first bishop of Hólar, from c. 1361–1365.
- 3) The hand of Einarr Hafliðason on page 9v in AM 420 b 4to, dated to c. 1361–1391.

The table below is based on the transcript by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2007: 60) of page 9v in **420b** (I have as in the previous table normalized the spelling except for the restricted vowel).

Table 2.4-2 The distribution of <e> and <i> in endings in columns 9va-b of 420b.

Words with <e> in ending-syllables	Words with <i> in ending-syllables
<i>skyl&lt;e&gt;, sakeyr&lt;e&gt;, hafð&lt;e&gt;, góðs&lt;e&gt;, stað&lt;e&gt;, skipað&lt;e&gt;, sumr&lt;e&gt;, Pál&lt;e&gt;, byskup&lt;e&gt;, hirðstjór&lt;e&gt;, drukknað&lt;e&gt;, metnað&lt;e&gt;, Skall&lt;e&gt;, viss&lt;e&gt;, eig&lt;e&gt;, Árn&lt;e&gt;, lifð&lt;e&gt;, Hvalfirð&lt;e&gt;, Þorlák&lt;e&gt;, hafði&lt;e&gt;, kastað&lt;e&gt;, spennt&lt;e&gt;, góðs&lt;e&gt;, búnað&lt;e&gt;, ábót&lt;e&gt;, ár&lt;e&gt;, Ísland&lt;e&gt;, kost&lt;e&gt;, Niðarós&lt;e&gt;, Sigurð&lt;e&gt;, Frankarík&lt;e&gt;, tíðend&lt;e&gt;, Niðarós&lt;e&gt;, þrið&lt;e&gt;toyr, eing&lt;e&gt;, hafð&lt;e&gt;, Ísland&lt;e&gt;, mót&lt;e&gt;, Orm&lt;e&gt;, byskup&lt;e&gt;, skip&lt;e&gt;, Hvalfirð&lt;e&gt;, fjölpð&lt;e&gt;, Árn&lt;e&gt;, váð&lt;e&gt;, Páfagarð&lt;e&gt;, ætlað&lt;e&gt;.</i>	<i>boð&lt;i&gt;t-, Ket&lt;i&gt;ll, Ver&lt;i&gt;, Eg&lt;i&gt;ll, harð&lt;i&gt;r, Hvalfirð&lt;i&gt;, Rós&lt;i&gt;n, týnd&lt;i&gt;sk, all&lt;i&gt;r, land&lt;i&gt;, haust&lt;i&gt;t, jǫrv&lt;i&gt;, stað&lt;i&gt;t, harð&lt;i&gt;r, fólk&lt;i&gt;t, þótt&lt;i&gt;sk, báð&lt;i&gt;r, mik&lt;i&gt;l, andað&lt;i&gt;sk, safnað&lt;i&gt;sk.</i>

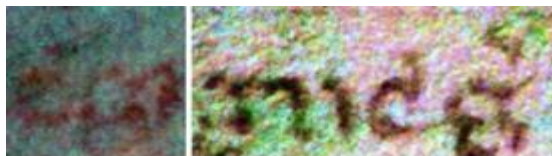
As seen from the table, Einarr used <e> frequently in endings in **420b** but only when it was word-final. This pattern is also found in all his dated documents. This appears to be a rather rare feature, but it is not unique to Einarr as seen from two manuscripts that I mentioned earlier (NKS 1824 b 4to and SKB Isl perg 5 fol).

The <i>/<e> pattern in Einarr's writing does not necessarily reflect any change in the pronunciation of the restricted syllables. Einarr and the 99v scribe may only have made a different association between an ending vowel and a stem vowel from what was common. They could have associated the end syllable *-e* with a monosyllable like *kné* 'knee,' while they associated the end syllable *-in* with a monosyllable like *vin* 'friend.' According to Jóhannes, Haugen, and Hreinn, the vowels in *vin* and *kné* had a quality similar to the restricted /i/.

## 2.5 The letter <ê>

The use of non-restricted vowels on page 99v seems not to deviate from what was common for Icelandic scribes in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, except for the vowel /æ/. Old Norse had the phonemes /æ/ and /œ/ that merged in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to Stefán Karlsson (2000: 48), the letter <ê> appeared sometime after the two phonemes merged. It is not common in extant writings from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Most scribes preferred the letter <æ> for the new phoneme.

Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915 AI: 43–48) recorded nine instances of the letter <æ> on page 99v. The **169** scribe did not record any <æ>. Where the letter used for the phoneme /æ/ may be discerned on the MSIs, it looks like an <e>. Two of these seem to have a hook on top <ê> in the words *ægi* and *gnægir* (see Figure 2.5-1). Finnur Jónsson read the first word (*ægi*) in Figure 2.5-1, with <e> and the second (*gnægir*) with <æ>. The **169** scribe read the first word with <ó> and the second with <e>. The **169** scribe did not write a hook on top of any <e>.



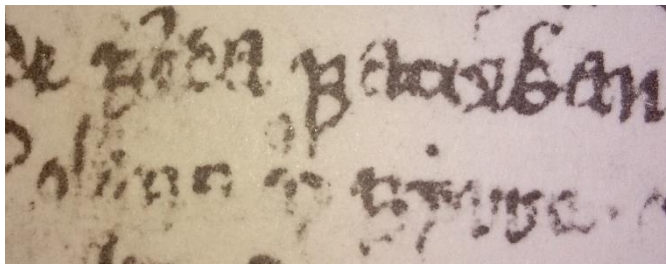
**Figure 2.5-1** *ægi* 'aw' 99va15 in AR 5.8 and *gnægir* 'gives' 99vb5 (in <gnêg> the title is for an <ir>).

One of the 14 scribes that I listed in the introduction to this chapter used <ê> for /æ/. This was one of the two scribes in AM 194 8vo edited by Kålund (1908–1918). This scribe wrote most of the text, he gave his name, place and date of writing in 1387. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2007: 66–67) gives a sample of his writing.

Another example of a hand that used <ê> for /æ/ is the second hand of AM 227 fol, with Bible translations from c. 1350 (see AM 227 fol: 71v in Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007: 52–53). Guðvarður lists some other manuscripts in the same hand.

Einarr Hafliðason used <ê> for /æ/ in his **420b** annals but only in its first part, for entries until c. 1340. For later years he only used <æ>. Einarr sometimes placed no hook on top of his <e>-s. In two of his six dated documents an <ê> can be found, but only once in each of them (line 23 *fæða* ‘feed’ in document 15 and line 2 *lækjar* ‘brook’s’ in document 27). He normally used <æ> for the /æ/ in his extant legal documents.

In document 15 (line 5), Einarr used <e> in *mætti* ‘might.’ In document number 39 from 1369, he often used <æ> for the /e/ phoneme, for instance in lines 1–3, in *sendir* ‘sends,’ *sem* ‘as,’ and *stefnu* ‘meeting.’ It seems that that the short phoneme /e/ and the long phoneme /æ/ made up a pair in document 39, and both could be denoted by the same letter. Using the same letter was common for pairs of long and short phonemes of similar quality like /a/ and /á/. New pairs may have been formed in the wake of the shift in the quality of the short vowels (discussed in the previous section) that may also



**Figure 2.5-2** From line 23 and 24 in document 15. Line 23 has <fêða fatækan>. Line 24 has <olafs messo fyrre>. /æ/ is both written as <ê> and <æ> and *fyrri* is written without r-rotunda. <olafs messo> is faded.

have been followed by diphthongization of the long vowels as discussed by Aðalsteinn Hákonarson (2016). It is as if Einarr used <ê> inadvertently in documents 15 and 27. Because of this and because he only used <ê> in the

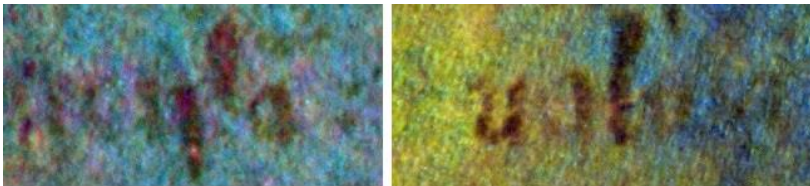
first part of **420b**, it seems that he used <ê> early in his life, but he may have replaced it with <æ> before c. 1340.

In dated documents (charters) from the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Stefán's edition, I have found instances of <ê> in documents number 15 (1341), 27 (1353), 29 (1357), App. 6 (1364), 60 (1380), 64 (1685), 104 (1397). There may be some more. I have already mentioned the first two of these documents, which were written by Einarr (number 15 and 27).

The use of <ê> and <e> for /æ/ seems never to have been common, and this practice was one of the factors that made page 99v hard to read in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It may, for instance, be one of the reasons why the **169** scribe did not immediately recognize the word *vinsæld* 'popularity' in Stanza 18, written <uīseld>.

## 2.6 Use of one- and two-compartmental <a>

The hand that wrote 99v used a two-compartmental <a> (a glyph that has two bowls). There are three instances on the page, where the use of a one-compartmental <a> may be suspected. I first mention the <ka> at the beginning of line 99vb13 in the word *kveðka* seen in Thorkelin's image in Figure 1.6-3 where it appears to have a one-compartmental <a>. In the multispectral image in Figure 2-1 (in the introduction to Chapter 2) it seems, however, that this <a> could be two-compartmental.



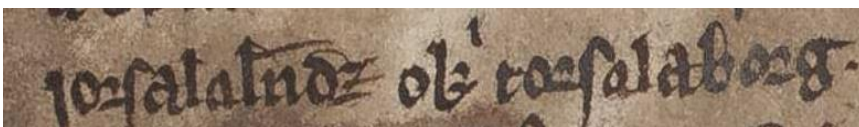
**Figure 2.6-1** On the left appears to be *geislan* <geislā :> or <geislō :> in line 99va16 and on the right is *vǫljúgr*<ualuǫ́> or <uoluǫ́> in 99va35.

In line 99va16 stands a word that the **169** scribe wrote as *geislan* <geislā> 'radiation,' but he gave *geislum* <geislō> as a variant. *Geislan* is not attested in Old Norse texts but could be derived from the verb *geisla* 'radiate.' It might also stand for be the accusative case of *geislinn* 'the ray,' with a suffixed definite article *-inn*, which I note was never used in *kviðuhátt* (but is written by the 99v scribe in *eyrun* of Stanza 16). An objection to the variant <geislō> is that page 99v contains no other example of <o> in an inflectional ending (with a restricted vowel). Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 347) read <geislum> with <u>, but his reading was incorrect as shown by Figure 2.6-1. In Section 2.11,

I argue that the poem on page 99v was copied from an older manuscript. This manuscript could have used <o> in inflectional endings, which may have influenced the spelling of this word. I use *geislum* as the normalized text of this word (as is traditional).

In line 99va35 there is a word that the **169** scribe read as *váljúgr* <vali-ugir> but the <a> in this word appears to be a one-compartmental <a> or an <o> rather than a two-compartmental <a>. The spelling of *á* following a *v* turned into *ó* (or *o*) in the 14<sup>th</sup> century but not in Einarr's writing (this is my observation from AM 420 b 4to). Sigurður Nordal (1933: 262–263) proposed that the word *váljúgr* was a spelling error for *vánljúgr* with a missing nasal stroke (see notes on Stanza 13 in Chapter 10). *Ván* turned into *vón* already in the twelfth century (see dated examples from c. 1200 in ONP) so a missing stroke could have been over an <o>. The word itself could also have lost an <n> (compare *línreft* -> *léreft*, see ÁBM: 557). There are at any rate too many uncertainties with this word to take it as evidence for a one-compartmental <a>. I use the traditional *váljúgr* in the normalized text of Stanza 13.

In his oldest dated document (number 15, from 1341, see Figur 2.5-2), Einarr Hafliðason seems only to have used a two-compartmental glyph for the letter <a>. This document is admittedly very faded, so this is not fully certain (see for instance <olafs> in Figure 2.5-2). In documents number 24 and 26, Einarr used a one-compartmental <a> but only exceptionally. In documents 27 and 39, the frequency of the two types is comparable. In document 58 (from 1380 in his old age) he used only, or almost only, a one-compartmental glyph. Documents 26 and 27, both written in 1353, are very different in this respect. In document 26 there are hardly any one-compartmental glyphs, but they are in the majority in document 27. If the dating is correct, it is as if Einarr took a conscious decision in that year to start using one-compartmental <a>. In **420b** the frequency of the one-compartmental glyph is low in the first part, but in the last part it is comparable to that of the two-compartmental glyph. This and Einarr's change from using <æ> for /æ/ instead of <ê> seems to show that **420b** was not written all at once and it is at least in two parts. The text in figure 2.6-2 demonstrates the randomness in Einarr's use of different types of <a>.

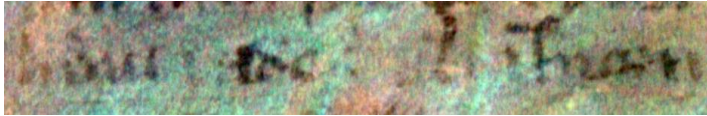


**Figure 2.6-2** The text reads: *Jórsalalands ok í Jórsalaborg* 'Land of Jerusalem and into Jerusalem city.' From line 420b 10ra16.

## 2.7 Use of the letter <R>

The use of <R> (a small capital letter) rather than an ordinary <r> at the beginning of a word was a feature of some hands in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Einarr Hafliðason used this feature in **420b** and his documents (except the last one, number 58 that was perhaps not written by him). Einarr also wrote <R> as the second letter of a word, if the first letter was an initial (see below on *Arinbjörn*).

The **169** scribe and Finnur Jónsson did not report on any use of <R> on page 99v. It would be expected in four lines, in 1) AR 11.1 *Arinbjörn* ‘proper name’ where the <A> is an initial because it begins a stanza, and in three other words that begin with <r> in 2) AR 3.3 *ríks konungs*, 3) AR 3.4 *reiði fengna*, and 4) AR 10.8 *hverju ráði*. It so happens that all of the letters in question have faded away, while the neighboring text is readable on the MSIs. This is hardly a remarkable coincidence but most likely because of the practice by Finnur Jónsson and previous readers of **M** to drip water on letters and passages that were strange or difficult to read. The faded character may well have been an <R>, which would have been an oddity in **M**. Two out of four instances where the <r> or <R> has become invisible are in Figure 2.7-1:



**Figure 2.7-1** <húu [R]ade A[R]ibiozn> in line 99va29. Every letter is discernible except the [R]-s in *ráði* and *Arin-*.

The two remaining instances are in AR 3.3–3.4 *ríks konungs/reiði fengna*. More remains of the former <R>. I display it in the following Figure 2.7-2 together with two <R>-s from page 9v in **420b** (both a cursive version in line 9va3, *ráðsmadr* and a book hand version from line 9vb37, *reið*). The shape of the initial letter in *ríks* looks similar to the shape the <R> usually had in Einarr’s hand.



**Figure 2.7-2** <Ríks> in 99va8 in Mvb, <Radsmadr> in the cursive script in 420b 9va3 and <Reid> in 420b 9vb37 in Einar’s book-hand.

Many scribes wrote a similar <R> and followed a similar practice in its use. The discussion in this section only shows that the use of <R> on page 99v does not exclude Einarr from being the 99v scribe.

## 2.8 Norwegianisms

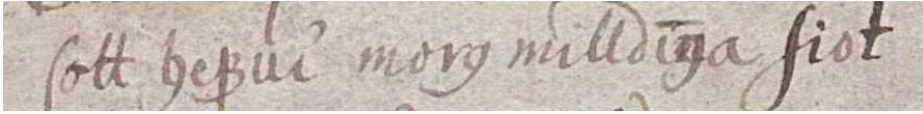
Einarr Hafliðason used Norwegianisms extensively. Stefán Karlsson (1978) describes Norwegianisms (*Norvagismer*) as Norwegian features in Icelandic manuscripts from 1200–1400 that did not reflect Old Norse as spoken in Iceland. Stefán discusses the practice of deleting <h> in words that begin with <hr> or <hl> as an example of a very common Norwegianism. Einarr Hafliðason did this frequently. This is not done on page 99v. The reason may be that it would have harmed the alliteration or because the scribe followed his exemplar. The **A** scribe of the Third Grammatical Treatise (see Section 4.2) is an example of a scribe who sometimes deleted an initial <h>, but he kept all the <h>-s in ÍSLENDINGADRÁPA (see FJ 1912–1915 AI: 556–560) where most of them alliterate.

Another common Norwegianism, discussed by Stefán, is writing trisyllabic words without u-umlauts. Einarr Hafliðason did this sometimes, such as in **420b** in words *støllurum* ‘masters’ <stallarum> (*Icelandic Annals*: 259) and *ǫnduðust* ‘died’ <anduduzst> (*Icelandic Annals*: 261). A clear example of such a Norwegianism on page 99v is in the word *skrǫkberǫndum* that is written as <skraukberandum> in AR 2.2 (99va5). The **169** scribe read this correctly with <andum> while both GV and FJ read <aundum>. The words *ljóðfrǫmuðr* (99va11) and *margfrǫmuðr* (99va32) are written without umlauts on page 99v (in both instances with an <ar> abbreviation, confirmed by **169**). They are agent nouns made from the verb *frama*. In the normalized text, I write these words with an *-uðr* ending (as is traditional) and with umlauts as appropriate.

Einarr Hafliðason wrote some disyllabic words without u-umlauts, and this may have been done on page 99v in the word *hjørvi* ‘sword.DAT’ in line AR 4.8. It is impossible to read this word now on page 99v, but the **169** scribe read <hianrvi> (where the *n* may be written over an *r*) with the variant <hiarni>. These words make little sense, but <hiarui> for *hjørvi* (the <v> is the umlaut agent) could explain why the **169** scribe wrote them. *Hjørvi* is a rare word, but the similar noun *fjørvi* ‘life.DAT’ appears as <fiarui> in a Norwegian law text from c. 1250 (see *fjør* in ONP), which makes the conjecture *hjørvi* plausible (it was copied as <hiaurui> with a variant <hiarni> in **146** and used by BE 2003: 2010).

The practice of using <gh> and <fu> for /g/ and /f/ word internally may be attributed to Norwegian influence, such as in the word *saga* written

<sagha> and *hafa* written <hafua>. Einarr wrote <fu> and <gh> often and page 99v may have one example of a <fu>-writing. What follows is the text of lines AR 2.5–2.6 *sótt hefi ek morg mildinga siot* ‘I have visited many abodes of kings’ as written in ÍB 169 4to:



**Figure 2.8-1** <sott hefu['] morg mildinga siot> in lines 5–6 of Stanza 2 in AR, from ÍB 169 4to.

Here, the scribe of **169** follows the text in **M** in details, for instance by using the same type of <f> and similar <h> and <s>. The most difficult word to read in **M** is <hefu[']>. It has become fully illegible (while neighboring words can be read). From the context, the meaning is clear, something like *hefi ek* ‘I have’ was meant and that is what both FJ and GV printed as their readings. The abbreviation sign that the **169** scribe saw (and copied), may be a superscript <c>, with which <ek> would normally be abbreviated (see Figure 2.8-2).



**Figure 2.8-2** <morg> *morg* ‘many’ in lin 99va6. The word has a clear r-rotunda <2> of the traditional type and prior to the word stands something that is possibly a superscript <c>.

I conclude that page 99v had Norwegianisms as could be expected from a 14<sup>th</sup>-century text.

## 2.9 Punctuation

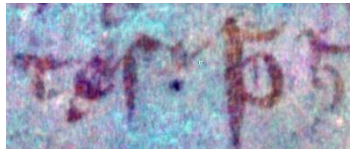
The only punctuation signs that de Leeuw van Weenen (2000: 47) found on the 200 leaves of **M** were the period and the hyphen. The hyphen occurs only infrequently at the beginning or end of lines. Page 99v adds the *nunctus elevatus* <:;>, which the scribe used to separate stanzas. This punctuation sign was probably well known, even if it is not common in Icelandic manuscripts.



It was, for instance, used in line 21 of page 10r of GKS 2365 4to (Codex Regius of Eddic poems from c. 1270) (Guðvarður M. Gunnlaugsson 2007: 36), and it is used several times on page 71v in AM 227 fol to mark the beginning of a direct speech. I also mentioned this manuscript and this page earlier because it was written by a hand that used <ê> for /æ/ (Guðvarður M. Gunnlaugsson 2007: 52). AM 227 is a biblical text, which is fitting, as regular use of punctuation marks spread with Latin Bibles in medieval Europe.

The *punctus elevatus* may be seen as a space saving device that came in addition to writing initials (see Section 2.10) at the beginning of stanzas. Without these features, open spaces would be needed for separation. As mentioned above, Finnur Jónsson did not note the *punctus elevatus*, nor did he note that all stanzas had initials at their beginning.

The sign <:r> looks like <r> (an abbreviation for an *-ar* over a dot <.>). This confused Jón Helgason who read <tǫs:> as <tǫsar> in AR 19.8 *veklinga* ‘*tǫs.*’ This was printed in the BE et al. 2001 edition with a note: *med forbehold* ‘with caution’ (Bjarni Einarsson et al. 2001: 189 and Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2013: 18) See Figure 2.9-1:



**Figure 2.9-1** <tǫs: þ h>. End of Stanza 19 and beginning of Stanza 20. The *punctus elevatus* may look like an <ar> abbreviation above a dot.

From Finnur Jónsson’s diplomatic reading of page 99v (in his 1886–1888 editions), it might be inferred that the 99v scribe did not divide the poem regularly into stanzas of eight lines each (see next section). The MSIs show, however, that he did that and in a very space-efficient manner by the use of initials, *punctus elevatus* and when opportune, by writing the beginning of a stanza in the margin.

## 2.10 Initials, capitals, minuscules

A few words must be said on initials on page 99v. By the word *initial*, I mean a letter that stands initially in a sentence and can be distinguished from lower case letter (minuscules). Most letters exist both as minuscules (lower case letters) and as capitals. Names are not capitalized on page 99v. Capitals only appear in initials, with the exceptions that four words probably have a small

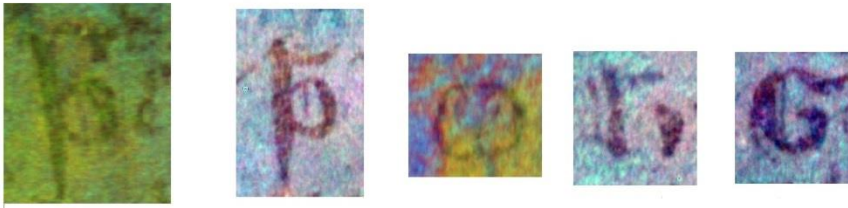
capital <R> (see Section 2.7) and one word has a small capital <N> to denote <nn> in the word *þrenn* in Stanza 15 (see Section 2.13).

Page 99 begins with a large red initial of a type called uncial with an extra vertical stroke <Œ> and flourish in a different color (see a picture and a discussion of its significance in Section 3.5). This initial and other initials on page 99v stand at the beginning of stanzas. In some cases, they do not have a capital form, but they are larger than the following letters. In the facsimile transcription in Chapter 9, I denote them by using glyphs for large minuscule letters. In the semi-diplomatic text, I denote them with capitals. Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 347–349) did not write initials with capitals if they used a minuscule form, which gives the impression that a stanza division is lacking.

The first word of a sentence on page 99v does not have a capital unless it begins a stanza. The stanzas begin with the following initials (the numbers in parenthesis show how often each initial appears): *A* (1), *E* (2), *G* (1), *H* (4), *M* (1), *N* (3), *O* (3), *S* (2), *Þ* (9), *V* (2). For the initials *A*, *G*, and *S* the 99v scribe used large capital letters. *O* and *Þ* do not have a capital letter-form, but they are extra large when they begin a stanza. For *V*, the scribe used the same form as for the minuscule <v> with a pronounced left arm (extended to the left). *H* occurs once as a capital letter <H> but three times as an enlarged minuscule <h>. *N* appears once as a capital <N> but twice as an enlarged minuscule <n>. *E* is twice an initial, in both cases in the form of a large uncial <Œ>. Once at the beginning of Stanza 18 (*En Hróalds*) and once at the beginning of the poem, as I noted already. *M* is written as a large uncial <Ŧ> at the beginning of Stanza 13 (*Munk vinþjófr*). The 169 scribe replicated <Ŧ> in his transcript, but he did not replicate any uncial <e>, small capital <R>, or small capital <N>. No other transcriber (FJ, GV) did this either, but both **BL** and **146** copied the uncial <Ŧ> in stanza 18 from **169**.

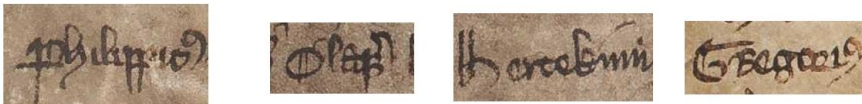
Van Weenen (2000: 30–34) describes in detail chapter initials in **M**. They are also of the uncial type for *E* and of a special curved type for *M*, and for *N* and *H* they are either an enlarged version of <n> and <h> or capital <N> and <H>. Thus, the stanza initials on page 99v seem to be from the same recipe as the chapter initials in **M** regarding the use of uncials and enlarged minuscules.

The 99v scribe occasionally wrote a vertical stroke into his initials, or on their sides. It is a detail in his writing that has not been noted before and is easy to miss. Figure 2.10-1 shows five initials that have an extra vertical stroke. For the first two, the stroke seems to be in a different color. This makes it harder to ascertain that the strokes are part of the initial, but it reminds of the poem *NOREGS KONUNGATAL* in *Flateyjarbók* (GKS 1005 fol 144va-144vb) where stanza separation is achieved by initials that all have a red vertical stroke.



**Figure 2.10-1** Five initials with vertical strokes on page 99v: *P* in a11, *P* in b11, *O* in a32, *H* in b9 and *G* in b14.

Writing vertical strokes in initials was a common practice in the cursive script of document-writers in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In Figure 2.11-2 are examples of how Einarr Hafliðason wrote four initials in **420b**.



**Figure 2.10-2** Initials with vertical strokes in **420b**: *P* in 3ra57, *O* in 5ra21, *H* in 5ra38, *G* in 5va15 (*Phlippicus*, *Olaf*, *Hertekinn*, *Gregorius*).

I do not find anything odd or remarkable about the use of initials on page 99v, except perhaps the great emphasis the 99v scribe seems to have put on separating eight lines stanzas using initials and other means.

## 2.11 <þ>, <ð>, and accents

The use of <þ> vs. <ð>, <ð> vs. <d>, and of the use of accent marks varies among scribes in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This is an account on their use by the 99v scribe. From what can be seen of the text, the usage is not atypical and could be as by Einarr Hafliðason.

First I discuss the use of the grapheme <þ>. Scribes in the 14<sup>th</sup> century did not normally use <þ> for the voiced allophone of /þ/ denoted by ð in the standard orthography. I only mention that Andrea de Leeuw van Weenen (2000: 109) found only two instances of <þ> written for ð in all of Möðruvallahók. Occasional usage of <þ> was, however, common in some other manuscripts.

I have not noted any use of <þ> for ð by Einarr Hafliðason, and the scribe of 99v did not normally use <þ> either, as can be seen from how he wrote the word *audskept*. In this word, the scribe has probably inadvertently written <þ> and then corrected it by writing <d> in the same space, see Figure 2.10-1:

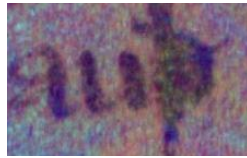


Figure 2.11-1 <aud> or <aup> in line b13.

In some instances, it seems that the 99v scribe was influenced by, or he was imitating, a text that he was copying. In Section 2.6, I suggested that the scribe wrote the word *geislum* with an <o> because this letter was in his exemplar. The overwriting seen in Figure 2.11-1 (line b13) suggests even more strongly that the 99v scribe copied another manuscript. This manuscript would have used <þ> word-internally. The scribe may have kept the <þ> in the <má[<sub>1</sub>]þ> in Stanza 6, and in *aðra* (at the end of line a27) where it was convenient to write the <ra> abbreviation in the ascender of <þ>. Page 99v does not have any other examples of <þ> written for /ð/.

Now I turn my attention to the use of <ð> (*eth* or a <d> with a stroke). Because of the condition of page 99v, it is difficult to ascertain if the 99v scribe used a <d> with a stroke or not. The 169 scribe wrote <d> where the normalized orthography has ð in all cases except in the following four words: *hraðkvæðr* ‘fast at reciting’ in line a1 (only the second /ð/), *vilkvæðr* ‘favorable at reciting’ in line a5, *hofuðlausn* ‘head ransom’ in line a23, and *kveðka* ‘I say not’ in lines b12-b13. From the MSI-s it seems that the 169 scribe could be right, but it is not certain. Three of these four words have a <qd> on page 99v. The stroke is in all four cases in abbreviated words and may rather designate an abbreviation than the voiced allophone of /þ/. In Stanza 9, I transcribe the word *hróðgs* <hðgí> with an <ð> and in Stanza 18, I also see an <ð> in ‘aud[s i]ð.’ Even if I believe that these transcriptions are

more likely to be correct than to be wrong, they are not a conclusive evidence for the use of <ð> by the 99v scribe (see *vilkvæðr* in Figure 2.11-2).

The shape of <d> is among the paleographic features that are similar in the hand of Einarr Hafliðason and the 99v scribe. In **420b** and his documents, Einarr occasionally draws a stroke in his <d>-s (a line out of the ascender). These strokes usually occur, but not always, where the normal orthography has ð. Einarr is not consistent in his use of strokes, and they are rare. On page 9v in **420b**, Einarr occasionally draws a stroke in his <d>-s in the left column, but only once in the right column (see a transcript by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007: 63).



Figure 2.11-2 <vilqð[3]> in a5, <birkif> in b3, and <níoð> in b6.

It is quite certain that the 99v scribes used accent marks on some <i>-s even if the **169** did not copy them and no other transcriber seems to have noted them either. The accent mark, like the dot on the modern <i>, helps distinguish the dotless *i* <i> from the minims of other letters. Three words with accents marks from page 99v are in Figure 2.11-2. I note that the word *birkis* ‘of birch’ in the figure is written with a textualis type of <b>, <r>, and <k> (see next section). The ascender of the <b> has a leftward slant which makes the <b> resemble a <v>.

Einarr often wrote strokes over his <i>-s. This was common in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2000: 18) says nine out of the ten hands she studied used diacritic accents on <i>-s with varying frequency.

## 2.12 Textualis and cursiva in 420b and on page 99v

In the introduction to this chapter, I said that the 99v scribe used a blend of the *textualis* and the *cursiva* script types and that Einarr Hafliðason also used both script types in 420b. In this section, I give some substance to this claim. I begin, however, by noting that Einarr and the 99v scribe used the same type

of <y>. It is seen in Figure 2.12-1 and in Figure 2.12-2. It is not a common type.

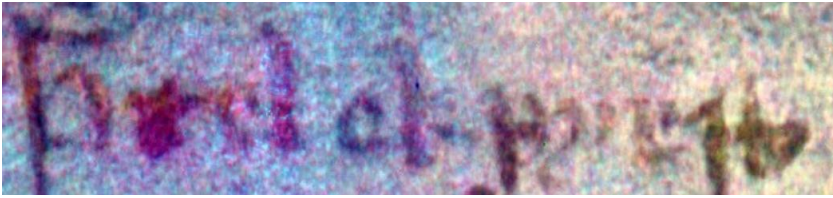


Figure 2.12-1 <þ tel ek fyrst> in line 99vb1.

Figure 2.12-2 from 420b has two types of <k>. One is in Einarrr's *textualis* hand, but the other is in his cursive hand. The *textualis* type appears in Figure 2.12-1, but a type that is more like the cursive type is for instance in Figure 2.12-3.

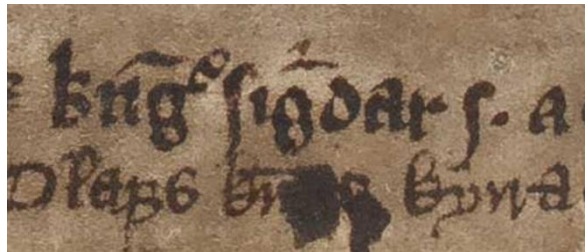
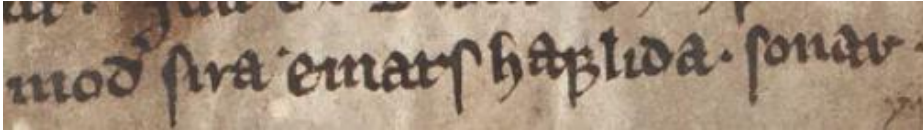


Figure 2.12-2 From 420b 4vb43 <konungs sigurdar sonar a>. In the lower line is written in *cursiva* <Olafs kon... kyrra>.



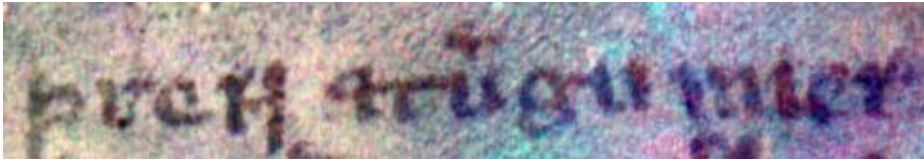
Figure 2.12-3 skata <skata> in M 99v b13

In Figure 2.12-4, two types of <r> appear in 420b. One is an ordinary looking *textualis* type in <sira einars>, but the other is the cursive type (that looks like <v>) in <sonar>.



**Figure 2.12-4** From 420b 10ra10 <mod<sup>s</sup>sira einars hafliða. sonar.>.

Figure 2.12-5 from 99v has the same two types of <r> (as we see in Figure 2.12-4). The type that looks like <v> is in <þrenn> but an ordinary *textualis* type is in <mier>.



**Figure 2.12-5** From 99vb1 <þrenn á tungu mér <þreN azūgu mier>.

The difference between the two script types in 420b is more marked than it is on page 99v. This is possibly because the 420b scribe was trying to keep them separate and to use them for subjects of different importance, while the 99v scribe may have been trying to give his cursive script a textual flavor.

### 2.13 The exemplar of the 99v scribe

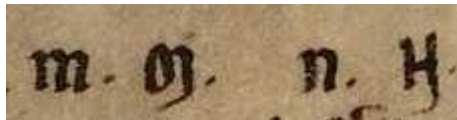
I have in the previous sections noted two anomalies that could be explained by assuming that the 99v scribe copied a manuscript with an older orthography that he sometimes followed, willingly or by mistake. Now, I mention them again, and I add two more:

- 1) The 99v scribe did not use <o> in restricted syllables, but the word *geislum* in Stanza 6 seems to have an <o> that could stem from his exemplar.
- 2) The 99v scribe did not use the letter <þ> word-internally, but he wrote <d> and <þ> into the same space in the word *auðskeft* in Stanza 20. This seems to be because he inadvertently copied a <þ> from his exemplar, which he then tried to correct.

3) The writing of *eyrun* in line three of Stanza 16 (in line 99vb2), could be explained by an incorrect expansion of <eyrū> in the exemplar of the 99v scribe, see notes on Stanza 16.

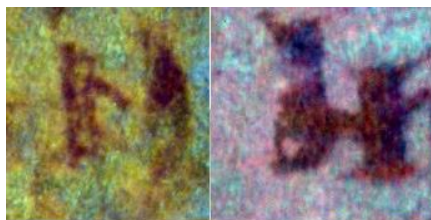
4) The small capital <N>, seen in Figure 2.12-4, does not look like the capital <N> that the 99v scribe wrote at the beginning of Stanza 14. With its horizontal bar, it looks more like the <H> that he used in Stanza 23.

I need to explain point 4). The practice of denoting geminates with small capitals stems from the First Grammatical Treatise from the middle of the twelfth century. The capital forms of the letters <n> and <m> that the treatise presented for this orthography are in Figure 2.13-1.



**Figure 2.13-1** The minuscule and capital form of the letters <n> and <m> as presented in the 1GT in W 44v15.

The First Grammarian did not include a capital (or a majuscule) form of <h> in his treatise. Many Icelandic manuscripts use the “H”-type of <N> for capitals at the beginning of sentences and instead of geminates. I would not find anything odd about the capital <N> in Figure 2.12-5, if it was not because of the way in which the 99v scribe wrote the *N* in Figure 2.13-2. In manuscripts that I have consulted, the <N> that is used for a geminate consonant looks like the <N> that is used at the beginning of sentences, but this is not the case on page 99v. I, therefore, find it likely that the 99v scribe copied one of them from his exemplar.



**Figure 2.13-2** The initial *N* in 99va37 in Stanza 14 and *H* in 99vb17 in Stanza 23 (the *N* initial has a stroke below the middle bar, see Figure 2.10-2).



Points 1-4 seem to show that the 99v scribe copied AR from an older manuscript (not from memory) and this manuscript could have been quite old.

## 2.14 Conclusions on the scribe

Einarr Hafliðason is likely to be the 99v scribe for two sets of reasons, paleographic and orthographic. It has been noted earlier that Einarr used two types of scripts. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (2010) says of **420b**: “Lögmansannáll is remarkable because the scribe alternates between *textualis* and *cursiva*, sometimes many times on each page.” A mix of *textualis* and *Cursiva Antiquior* also appears on page 99v. I demonstrated this with some examples in Section 2.12. The hand on page 99v and the hand of Einarr look similar, and few if any other scribes mixed the two script types.

The orthographic reasons are the following:

- 1 Einarr and the 99v scribe are perhaps unique among 14<sup>th</sup>-century scribes for frequently using the tittle for prospective *-ur* endings (see Section 2.1).
- 2 Einarr and the 99v scribe are among very few Old Norse scribes that gave a relative meaning to <;> in endings (see Section 2.2).
- 3 Einarr and the 99v scribe are among very few 14<sup>th</sup>-century scribes that commonly used <e> in endings but only allowed it to be word-final (see Section 2.4).
- 4 Einarr and the 99v scribe are among very few scribes that used <e> and <é> for /æ/ (see Section 2.5).
- 5 Einarr and the 99v scribe are among the scribes that used a small capital version of <R> word initially (see Section 2.7) and an accent mark on <1> (see Section 2.11).

The following arguments are in opposition:

- 1 The 99v scribe did not use r-rotunda after <y> as did Einarr (see the end of Section 2.2).
- 2 Einarr did not use the tittle for <m> in *-um* endings or for *-ar* endings as may be done on page 99v (see Section 2.3).

The counter-arguments indicate that if Einarr wrote page 99v, he did so at a young age before he wrote his first extant dated document in 1341 (the year when he became 34 years old). His hand changed during his lifetime. He used two-compartmental <a>-s predominantly before 1353 (see Section 2.6) and he probably started using <æ> instead of <ê> before he wrote his document number 15 in 1341 (see Section 2.5). At that time, the use of r-rotunda after <y> had only just begun (see the end of Section 2.2) and it is reasonable to assume that Einarr did not use this feature when he began writing.

Some scribes in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century seem to have experimented with the use of abbreviation marks for denoting both the emerging vowel in *-ur* endings and vowels in endings as witnessed by documents number 7 and 12 (see Section 2.3). This seems, however, not to have led to any lasting effects for hands later in the century. Document 12 is written in the year 1339. It does not have the same hand as page 99v, but both appear to have instances of a similar unusual tittle-use (for *-ar* and for *m* in *-um* endings). It may seem that a group of scribes, possibly with a connection to Hólar, wished to accommodate Norwegian dialects with more than the use of an occasional Norwegianism. Einarr's use of the tittle for the emerging svarabhakti vowel may be seen as such accommodation, and as a young man, he may have gone further in this regard. I note that if Einarr is the 99v scribe, the writing date of Möðruvallabók is in the early part of the range given by Stefán Karlsson (1330–1370, see ONP).

The early date for the writing of 99v that I suggest here may explain the quality of the text on page 99v in comparison to the more corrupt text of SONATORREK. The number of metrical errors indicates the corruption level. There are, for example, some lines without alliteration in ST (corrected by conjectures in editions), while there is only one such error on page 99v. ST exists only in two almost identical 17<sup>th</sup>-century transcripts where one may be a copy of the other. These transcripts (in the so-called books of Ketill) are known to be copied from a vellum manuscript of *Egils saga* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century that again is known to be a copy from another vellum manuscript of the saga from c. 1400 (Jón Helgason 1962: 30). ST cannot be traced further back. On the other hand, AR on page 99v may be from 1330–1340 and copied from an older unknown text that could be from the time of Sturla Þórðarson, author of HKV or even older, when scribes could have known the poem and had a good understanding of older principles of the *kviðuháttr* meter.



### 3 The assumption of a missing part

Only a part of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA may have been written on page 99v. Here, I discuss whether this needs to be true.

Most scholars assume, following Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1861: 126–127), that AR was a panegyric (a praise poem), with an introduction and a sequence of praise items. Following AR 16.1 *Þat tel ek fyrst* ‘that I recite first,’ scholars have seen a long account on Arinbjörn’s generosity, and they have assumed that other praise items are missing. The implication is that these were too long to fit on the page and they must have been written on a lost page or not written at all.<sup>3</sup>

The general presumption is that AR is a late and unplanned addition to page 99v (see Section 3.5). This presumption has strengthened the idea of a missing part because it made it unsurprising that the poem did not fit the page.

Because the end of the poem is illegible on page 99v, it is hard to prove or disprove whether AR ended on the page. A good scientific method is, however, only to assume the existence of a missing part, if the more restrictive alternative has been excluded or at least shown to be unlikely for good reasons. The lacunae on page 99v cover about a quarter of the page. The main question I address in this chapter is whether it is possible that the content of the lacunae made AR a finished work which would make the idea of a significant missing part unnecessary. The content of the lacunae can of course not be deduced with any certainty, but plausibility is sufficient for my present argumentation.

The lacunae are mostly the same for **169** and the multispectral images. The main lacuna is in column b. It begins in its middle, with the second half of Stanza 23, and extends down the page. I refer to this lacuna as *the void*. Two smaller lacunae are also on the page. The beginning of Stanza 8 is missing in **169**, and it is illegible on the MSIs. Fortunately, one manuscript of Snorra-Edda cites it. I discuss this stanza in Chapter 4. Stanza 12 is another stanza

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<sup>3</sup> Sigurjón P. Ísaksson (1994: 112) points out that a stanza beginning *Var ek árvakr* (BE 2001: 162), preserved in the Third Grammatical Treatise, and long assumed to be the last stanza of the poem, does not fit on page 99v. He notes that this is an argument for a missing part. I discuss this stanza in the next chapter in Section 4.2.2.

that is only partially readable. The text for the stanza is too corrupt for current editions to be able to give a coherent meaning, which is unfortunate as this stanza seems to reveal something of importance and it is relevant to a discussion on whether AR is a panegyric or if its better characterized as a narrative poem.

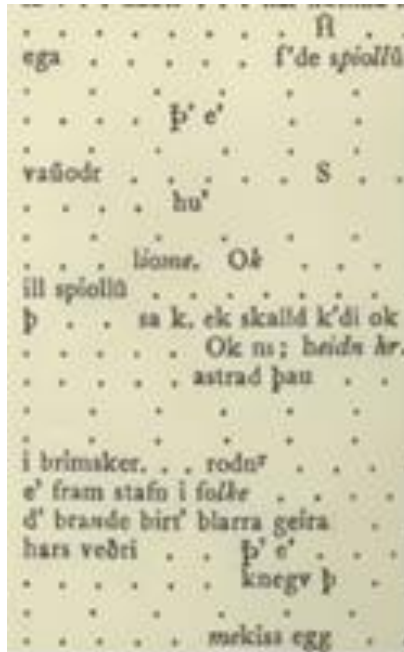
My thesis is that information from various sources make it possible to conjecture what the content of the lacunae might be. These sources include:

- 1) Guðbrandur Vigfússon published words and phrases in the void in 1883.
- 2) The **169** scribe recorded the beginning of several stanzas in the void (see Figure 1.3-1).
- 3) Some words and phrases are legible on the MSIs.
- 4) The Third Grammatical Treatise contains a stanza by Egill that Guðbrandur located on page 99v in 1861 as stanza number 24.
- 5) It is likely that the introduction of AR in Egils saga contains information from the poem.

In Section 3.1, I use items number 1, 2, and 3 to determine the number of stanzas on page 99v. They seem to be 31. In Section 3.2, I discuss stanza number 31 that is shorter than the other stanzas and may not be a stanza at all but rather an unmetrical epilogue. In Section 3.3 I discuss the content of stanzas number 23–30, and in Section 3.4. I discuss the content of Stanza 12. In Section 3.5, I discuss the structure of *Möðruvallabók*, and how it is of relevance to the issue regarding the missing part.

### 3.1 The number of stanzas and their first words

The **169** scribe could, for most of the poem, see the initials at the beginning of each stanza, and he copied them, even though he could read nothing more (see Figure 1.3-1). For that reason and with the help of the reading of Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Powell (1883: 380) (see Figure 3.1-1), it is possible to locate the beginning of all stanzas on the MSIs (Figure 12-5).



**Figure 3.1-1** Letters, words and phrases read by GV (1883: 380) in 99vb20-41. Letters in italics are uncertain. An apostrophe is a generic sign for any abbreviation.

As seen in Table 3.1-1, for the location of all stanzas in the void, at least two witnesses exist, except for the last stanza (number 31 in my version of AR). The initial for this stanza is, however, fairly clear as seen in Figure 11-5. Because the locations of the stanza initials are known, it is possible to put all the textual remains under a correct stanza number. I have done this in Chapter 9.

**Table 3.1-1 Beginnings of stanzas number 24 to 31. See Figure 3.1-1 (Guðbrandur), Figure 1.3-1 (169), and Figure 11-5 (MSI).**

<i>Stanza: Location</i>	<i>Guðbrandur</i>	<i>ÍB 169 4to:18r</i>	<i>MSI (PS)</i>
24: b23	þ' e'	Nu er	þ
25: b25	S	Seged	S
26: b28	O[k]	Ok	Ok
27: b31	Ok m ; h[eidn hr]	Ok	Ok [rum] brjost
28: b33	-	Ek fra e[f] i fley	... [ef] ifle[y]
29: b35	...e' fram stafn i f[olke]		þ [e] f'm stafn
30: b38	þ' e'		þ
31: b40			þar e

The space taken by each stanza on page 99v is two to three manuscript lines, as seen from the table (the average is about 2.7). Stanza 31 (the final stanza) in lines b40-b41 is an exception (the page has 41 lines). This stanza cannot possibly be of the same length as the other stanzas, or it and the poem were, indeed, continued on a lost leaf. I discuss this stanza in the next section.

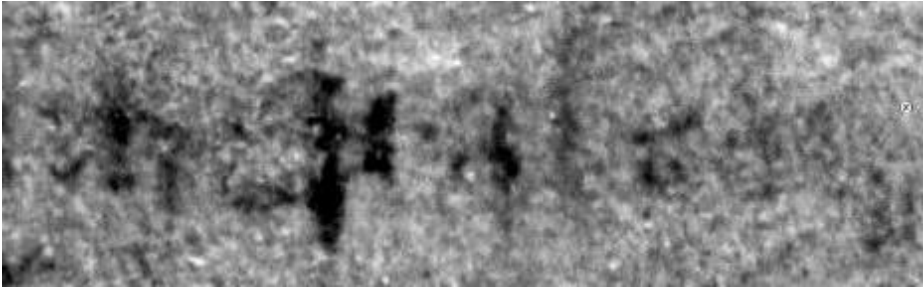
### 3.2 The short Stanza 31 and an intentional erasure

The final stanza on page 99v appears to be much shorter than other stanzas on the page, about half their length. It is not justifiable to ignore the initial in line b40, assuming that Stanza 30 goes on to the end, because that would make Stanza 30 abnormally long.

The textual remains indicate that the last two lines have some metrical irregularities. There is some text visible for these lines in Figure 11-5, but it is difficult to put it into the *kviðuháttur* format (see the textual remains in Chapter 9). Very few poems exist for comparison, but I note that irregular endings seem not to be rare. *EIRÍKSMÁL* (on Eiríkr Bloodaxe) ends with a stanza that is the shortest in the extant poem and has a direct speech by Eiríkr himself (*Konungar ro fimm* 'There are five kings' FJ 1912–1915: BI 166). *HÖFUÐLAUSN* by Egill has twenty stanzas, plus four lines that appear to be well-wishings or a spell, but their meaning is not fully clear. The first line of this spell is in the imperative mode *Njóti bauga* '(you should) enjoy gold' (FJ 1912–1915: BI 33). Finnur Jónsson concluded that this text was: "*Uforståeligt og uden tvivl en yngre tildigtning.*" 'Incomprehensible and without doubt a younger addition.' *HÖFUÐLAUSN* is preserved in several manuscripts, and they all have this addition, which thus seems to belong to the poem.

In the last line of page 99v, Guðbrandur read *mækis egg* 'blade of a sword' (see Figure 3.1-1). His reading can be confirmed on the MSI-s. This phrase can be used in battle kennings, but it also appears in oaths. Blades are

to stay sharp for the upholder of an oath. In the line above, at the end of stanza 30, I read *mæli glaðr* ‘speak gladly,’ see Figure 3.2-1 which may indicate that Egill will address his audience in Stanza 31.



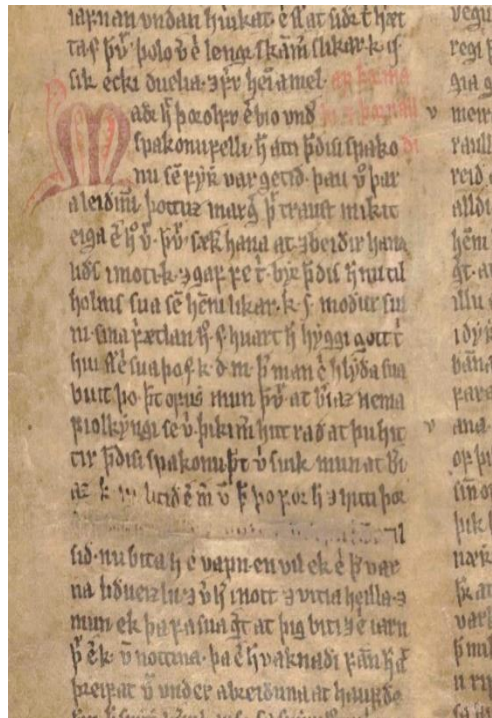
**Figure 3.2-1** <meli glaðr>. The r-rotunda is as discussed in Section 2.2.

There are only two possibilities regarding the end of AR on page 99v. Either it ends in an irregular manner (because there is no room for a Stanza 31 of full size), or it does not end on page 99v. It is plausible (because how other poems end), that an irregular ending would consist of some kind of wishes or a spell, which would for this poem include *mækis egg* ‘sword’s blade’ and likely reflect a pagan worldview. This warrants some thoughts on the condition of page 99v.

It is more than plausible that the lower part of column b on page 99v was intentionally erased. This is because its condition of this part is much worse than the condition of other parts of the page and because how abruptly the readability disappears in-between the two columns of the page (this is especially clear on Figure 11-8). The boundary of readability lies between the two columns for lines b20-b41. Such a clear boundary is not likely to result from normal wear.

One may guess that someone found the content offensive and wished to remove it. Leafing through **M** in search for parallels one does not find many obvious examples of erasures. Only two have caught my attention. The first is a total erasure of page 18v, and the second is a line on page 127v in the saga of Kormákr. This saga has an account of a duel that Kormákr planned to fight against an opponent that he suspected would use magic to blunt his sword. For that reason, Kormákr made an appointment with a sorceress. Someone has erased a line where Kormákr asked for her help (*bað hana liðs*), as can be seen from page 127v (see Figure 3.2-1):





**Figure 3.2-1** An erased line on page 127v in Mvb.

The erased text is of significance in the saga because the saga depicts Kormákr as being very hostile to magicians and a reluctant user of magic. The text was unreadable when Eyjólfur Björnsson copied the saga for Árni Magnússon into AM 554 f 4to in 1686–1688 (see Section 1.2) (Eyjólfur indicated on page 23r that text was missing). The content is, however, known from an earlier transcript (or transcripts).<sup>4</sup>

The earliest known owner of *Möðruvallabók* is Magnús Björnsson (1595–1662). He wrote his name into the book, on page 18v, together with a

<sup>4</sup> Editors of the saga have not identified the earliest transcript, but it must be from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (because no transcripts exist from **M** in earlier centuries). Theodor Möbius (1886: 79) lists paper copies of the saga and concludes: “Die wesentliche Übereinstimmung von DFHLR in den Worten: ‘ok það hana liðs, hon mælti nu komtu’ erweist, dass die betreff. Zeile in A ausradiert wurde, nachdem die Membrana bereits abgeschrieben” ‘The essential agreement of DFHLR in words: ‘ok það hana liðs, hon mælti nu komtu’ shows that the affected line in A was erased after the parchment (was) already copied.’

date (3rd of May 1628) and the name of a building (*stóra baðstofan* ‘large living room’) at Möðruvellir. In an article on Magnús Björnsson and Möðruvallabók, Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson (1994: 130) made it likely that this is a reference to one of seven buildings of the monastery in Hörgárdal, northern Iceland called *stórabaðstofan* ‘large living room’ in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. All text has been scraped from page 18v. Sigurjón (1994: 127) thinks it is possible that Magnús Björnsson scraped the page before writing his name on it. The page is on the outside of a quire, and it may have been faded already. Magnús and his family became rich from managing former Catholic Church properties that the Danish king confiscated following the violent introduction of Lutheranism around the year 1550.

Magnús started the Icelandic age of witch hunts in 1625 by accusing a man of witchcraft and having him burned at the stake. Sufficient proof of guilt was that the man possessed leaves with runic symbols (Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson 1994: 139). The witch hunts lasted until 1690 after 20 men and one woman had been burned alive. Magnús’ son, Björn Magnússon (c. 1623–1697) inherited Möðruvallabók. Björn acquired the position of his father of managing former church properties. He was sued in 1684 for official misconduct and lost this position but regained it after traveling to Copenhagen in 1684, where he stayed until 1685 (*Íslenzkar æviskrár* I: 235). From Iceland, he brought Möðruvallabók and gave it to Thomas Bartholin II in the hope of assistance in arguing his case before the Danish crown (Jón Helgason 1958: 61–62). I already mentioned in the last paragraph of Section 1.3 that *membrana Magnæi* in **169** may refer to Björn Magnússon’s codex.

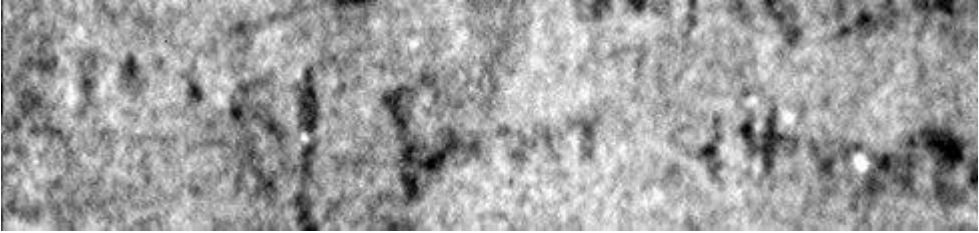
### 3.3 Stanzas 23–30 and Egils saga

In the previous section, I suggested that stanza 31 was not a normal *kviðuháttir* stanza and it had some strange content that might have caused it to be erased. Stanzas 23–30 would also have been erased. *Kviðuháttir* poems are likely to have mythical references (see Section 5.1), and perhaps these stanzas also contained some offending material, or perhaps the erasure was not very accurate, and their only fault was being near the end of the poem. I now discuss what their content might have been.

According to *Egils saga*, Egill Skallagrímsson composed a poem about his friend Arinbjörn after he learned that Haraldr Graycloak, son of Eiríkr Bloodaxe and foster son of Arinbjörn, had become king of Norway following the battle of Fitjar in year 961 where King Hákon died (see the introduction and *Egils saga* 154–155). King Hákon was King Eiríkr’s youngest brother, who ousted him from Norway. The extant text of the poem does not tell of this

news. It is, however, plausible that AR is not mentioned earlier because the void (the last part of AR) mentioned them. The line AR 22.2 *es í Fjörðum býr* ‘who lives in the Fjords’ places Arinbjörn in Norway, while he was earlier in York and it seems likely (and required by a self-contained poem) that AR explained this relocation of its main character. Stanza 22, seems to mark a new chapter in the poem (see notes and Sigurður Nordal 1933: 267) and Stanza 24, preserved in the Third Grammatical Treatise, and discussed in the next chapter, could fit in a new part of the poem, centering on recent news.

Some textual remains in the void support the idea that the poem told of Haraldr Graycloak and the battle of Fitjar. I read the words *Eiríks syni ástráð* for ‘son of Eiríkr a loving advice’ in Stanza 27 which likely refers to Haraldr Graycloak (see Figure 3.3-1). I note how similar *syni* is to the same word written in Stanza 12 (a33 in Figure 11-6).



**Figure 3.3-1** *Eiríks syni ástráð* <eiríkʃ syni aʃʃtrað>. A detail of Stanza 27 in line 99vb32, based on Figure 11-5.

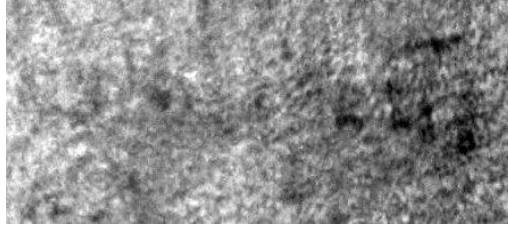
Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Powell (1883: 380) also read *ástráð* ‘advice of love’ in the same location (see Figure 3.1-1). They could also read the following *þau* ‘these.’ I only see the first letter <þ> (see Stanza 27 in Chapter 9). This text appears to be in the middle of Stanza 27 as follows:

Ar 27.4-27.5	Eiríks syni,	‘for Eiríkr’s son’
	ástráð þau	‘the loving counsel’

*Egils saga*: 155 may echo these words where it says: “Arinbjörn hersir var með Haraldi Eiríkssyni ok gerðisk ráðgjafi hans” ‘Lord Arinbjorn was with Harold Eric’s son, and was made his counselor’ (see Introduction).

Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Powell (1883: 380) and I see a reference to a battle where we read at the end of Stanza 29 <hars vedri> *Háars vedri* ‘weather of Óðinn (battle).’ This text stands at the beginning of line number

99vb38. A preposition controlling the dative case seems to be lacking (such as *í Háars veðri* ‘in battle’ or *úr Háars veðri* ‘from battle’), and it should stand at the end of line 99vb37 (see Figure 3.3-2).



**Figure 3.3-2** End of line 99vb37. Only <kū> is faintly readable.

From the figure, I read <kuni>. The text could be *Hákon í Háars veðri* because *h-* must alliterate and the name Hákon could be written <hakū>. There is some text legible in the last half of Stanza 29 (see Chapter 9). The last two lines are:

Ar 29.5-29.8	...*Hákon	‘...Hákon’
	í Háars veðri	‘in Óðinn’s weather’

‘Óðinn’s weather’ is a standard battle kenning. The context is not clear, but Hákon’s final battle is a likely subject. It would be a fitting subject for a penultimate stanza of a poem that was composed shortly after the battle of Fitjar.

If nothing from AR were preserved, it would have been natural to presume that the poem celebrated the ascent to power of King Haraldr Graycloak and Arinbjörn, which is the event in the saga that seems to prompt a discussion of the poem. For comparison, the death of Gunnar, Egill’s son, from fever is mentioned immediately before the first stanza of SONATORREK in *Egils saga*: 146. This is because ST mentions his death (ST 20.2).

### 3.4 Stanza 12 and the narrative poem

The following is the semi-diplomatic text of Stanza 12 as provided by the transcript in ÍB 169 4to (**169**). I use the same line divisions as the **169** scribe. The dots are as in **169**. The word *son* ‘son’ has a tittle that in **169** can stand for an *-ir* or an *-r* ending, and also exceptionally for an *-ar* ending (see Section 2.3).

Ok . . . . . stulle let  
margframadr minna dada  
syni . . . gd soñ halfdanar  
a iat vare óttar skade

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 348) read the following:

Ok . . . . . let  
margframadr minna dada  
sem [en] . ad . . . halfdanar  
[at i vær]e ættar [skade]

In Stanza 12, editors have tried to see some verification of the story of Egill's slaying King Eiríkr's son (see notes on Stanza 12), but I see an argument for what type of poem AR is.

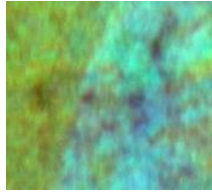
Even if Ar contains praise for Arinbjörn, it is not a typical panegyric. The poet does not ask an audience for silence, and it does not address the leader<sup>5</sup> that it praises and it seems not to presume that the audience knows the subject or the main characters beforehand. HÖFUÐLAUSN, for comparison, addresses the king, asks for silence and praises Eiríkr for his performance in a battle without explaining which battle it refers to, it gives few names, and the context is hard to understand for posterity that does not have the information that the poet presumes its audience has.

A narrative poem tells a story; the English BEOWULF is an example. AR seems to obey the principles that are found in prose narratives. As in a saga, the main characters are introduced as if the audience does not know them already. The name of Arinbjörn's father (Þórir) is given, and he is said to be the descendant of Hróaldr. He is in York at the beginning of the poem, but he lives in the Fjords (Fjörðum) in a later part. My interpretation of Stanza 12 fits the idea that the poem has a narrative character rather than being purely panegyric because it seems to give the name of the paternal grandfather (*sonar-syni*) of Eiríkr (*Hálfðanar*) and to place Eiríkr in England. Without this information on Eiríkr, it would not be certain that he was King Eiríkr Bloodaxe, and it has indeed been claimed that he was not (see Section 4.3).

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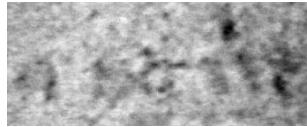
<sup>5</sup> Stanza 14 seems to assume that the poem travels itself among men. See the stanza in Chapter 9 and a discussion in Chapter 10.

From the MSI-s, I can slightly improve **169**'s readings. Below we see how *sonar* is written on page 99v. The abbreviation sign looks more like an <ar> abbreviation or a <va/ja/ra> (˜) abbreviation than a tittle (the tittle would look like a *c* with a cedilla). See figure:



**Figure 3.4-1** MSI picture of *sonar* <ʃonʳ> in line 99va33

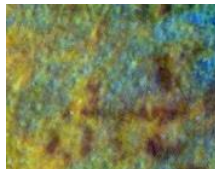
Additionally, I can replace the reading of 'a iat vare' with *á Játvarðs* 'on Edward's.' See figure:



**Figure 3.4-2** A MSI of *á Játvarðs* <a iatúʒ> in lina 99va33.

Egils saga mentions King Edward (the elder) (BE 2003: 71) and the genitive form *Játvarðs* is also spelled <iatúʒ> in **M**.

It is understandable that the **169** scribe read the <a> in *áttar* 'of family' as the vowel <o> with a hook rather than a two-compartmental <a>, see figure 3.4-3. The <a> seems to be distorted, the upper part could be a hook, and the lower part could be an <o> but hardly an <e> which would give the reading *ættar*. I note that the <at> in *áttar* and *at* in line 99va2, look very similar.



**Figure 3.4-3** MSI picture of *áttar* <att>

The reading of the word *skaði* in **169** must be wrong for metrical reasons. The word must have a long vowel and since the meaning *á Játvarðs áttar skaði* is

likely ‘in England,’ the word is likely to be a word that poets could use for land, like *skeið*. Egill uses *skeið* in a kenning for the sea in stanza 24, in *má-skeið* ‘land of the gull.’

If AR is not a typical skaldic panegyric, one need not look for structural or compositional characteristics of such a text, but if it rather resembles a narrative poem, the requirement rises that the poem should be self-contained and understandable outside of a Norwegian royal court. Even if I cannot fully decipher Stanza 12, I think it is likely that its primary function was to supply information required by a self-contained story while it probably repeated what was already stated in the previous stanza 11, that it was Arinbjörn who saved Egill from the king’s wrath.

### 3.5 The initial and the blank page

Michael Chesnutt (2010) argues that *Möðruvallabók* was planned to be in three parts, with *Njáls saga* as part number one, *Egils saga* as part number two, and the remaining nine sagas in the third part. It is easy to see a division between part one and part two. This is because they have empty pages between them, and, as noted by Sigurjón P. Ísaksson (1994: 111), the first part usually has 42 manuscript lines on each page, while *Egils saga* and the following sagas have 41 manuscript lines. Chesnutt (2010: 152) argues that *Egils saga* was meant to stand alone. He says:

*Egils saga* occupies five whole quires, with the very first and very last pages deliberately left unused; the intention must have been that the blank pages should protect the text inside, and the priority assigned to this arrangement appears from the fact that the scribe has abbreviated the end of the saga in order to finish on the penultimate page.

Michael Chesnutt (2010: 152)

Chesnutt refers to the 2001 edition of *Egils saga* page xii where he and Bjarni Einarsson argue convincingly that the text was abbreviated, in order to ensure that the saga ended on page 99r. Chesnutt says that the intention must have been that page 99v would be blank, presumably, to become the outer side of a small codex. This need not be true. Another possibility is that the main scribe of *Möðruvallabók* wished to make room for AR.

The main scribe knew how to estimate the length of stanzas. He left spaces open in *Egils saga* for many stanzas to be filled in by someone else (see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2018). The scribe knew that ARINBJARNARKVIÐA was in

*kviðuhátt* meter and he knew how much space one stanza in *kviðuhátt* meter needed, as seen for the spaces he left open for the first stanzas of SONATORREK and ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (on page 95r). With each stanza taking two and a half lines and knowing that the poem had 30 stanzas, he could estimate that one page would suffice, using an efficient scheme for stanza separation (see Section 2.9). I note that the **M** scribe left open spaces for five stanzas related to the York episode in *Egils saga* (stanzas number 33, 34, 35, and 36 in editions of *Egils saga*, see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2018), a space for a stanza between stanzas number 33 and 34 is empty). These stanzas are on the same subject as AR (Egill's visit to York).

Chesnutt and others, who assume page 99v was planned to be blank, have not discussed the initial on top of page 99v. It looks like a typical chapter initial in **M**, with a flourish, and in two colors. In the figure below are samples of red e-initials from nearby pages. The shape of the initial and the waterfall flourish of the 99v initial are clearer in Figure 11.2.



**Figure 3.5-1** Red e-initials on pages 89v, 90r, 92v, 93r, 94r, 99v, and 104v.

The hand that wrote AR on page 99v left an open space for an initial. This suggests that AR was written before **M** was illuminated. The initial is not followed by the typical chapter heading in *Egils saga* in **M** or the typical rubric of a saga initial, but I note that *Finnboga saga* on the next page is not accompanied either by a rubric.



It is likely that page 99v was intentionally kept blank, either to give suitable space to AR, or to make Egils saga detachable with empty outer pages (as suggested by Chesnutt). The first alternative is easier to accommodate with the presence of the initial on top of page 99v and makes it likely that all of AR was recorded.

### 3.6 Conclusions on the missing part

I have in this chapter sought to demonstrate that it is possible to make plausible guesses about the content of the lacunae on page 99v. This content included a reasonable ending; there would thus be no need to assume a missing part for AR. Even if some of my reasoning may be contested, I believe I have shown that it is possible to do without a lost part, and for that reason alone its existence should not be assumed. The scientific reason for this is that one should always opt for the more restrictive option when two are available (this is implied in what is referred to as Occam's razor). If this leads to problems, one will be justified in introducing the idea of a lost part again for a better reason than given by Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1861: 126–127). Guðbrandur argued that there was not enough room for praise items on page 99v. His arguments depend on assumptions that are very uncertain, on the length and number of praise items. Moreover, in Section 3.4 I pointed out that AR appeared in many respects to be more of a story-telling poem or a narrative poem than a typical *dróttkvætt* praise poem (panegyric).

If my conclusions in Chapter 2 is accepted on Einarr Hafliðason being the scribe of page 99v, my thesis in Section 3.5 becomes more likely, that the writing of AR on page 99v was planned, in which case, a single page would likely have been of an appropriate length for it.

My conclusion for this chapter is that there is no compelling reason to assume that a substantial part is missing from AR outside of page 99v; assuming such a missing part is, furthermore, not a useful hypothesis in search for new knowledge.

## 4 ARINBJARNARKVIÐA in 13<sup>th</sup>-century sources

Our primary medieval source of AR is page 99v in **M**, but additionally some quotations exist in poetic treatises from the 13<sup>th</sup> century that I review and discuss in this chapter.

Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) and his nephew Óláfr Þórðarson (c. 1210–1259), cited and discussed Egill Skallagrímsson's poetry. They both cited AR. These citations are a second source for some of the legible text on page 99v and the only source for some of the illegible text. Óláfr gave some information on the meter of AR. He used the name *kviðuháttir* for the meter, and he gave Stanza 15 from AR as an example.

Questions that I discuss in this chapter include the following:

- 1 Should precedence be given to the text of AR on page 99v or to the Eddic manuscripts when both are available? I argue that the Eddic manuscripts are not clearly better and this can thus be up to the editor.
- 2 Do the treatises contain text from a possibly missing part discussed in Chapter 3? I argue that there is no need to assume that they do.
- 3 Did Óláfr describe a significant rhythmic feature of *kviðuháttir*? I argue that it is possible that he described the exceptional rhythm in the odd lines that I describe in Chapter 7, but only by interpreting his words in a way that is not traditional.
- 4 What do Óláfr's comments tell us about the stanzaic structure of *kviðuháttir*? I argue that he may have noted that *kviðuháttir* stanzas are generally not divisible in two syntactically independent parts (except for YT), but he possibly only noted this for one particular stanza.

I begin by reviewing stanzas and words that Snorra-Edda quotes from AR. Next, I review the quotations from AR in the Third Grammatical Treatise. I divide this review into four subsections because the treatise has much material of various kinds. I devote the third section to the question: Why did Heimskringla not quote AR? In this context, I also discuss historical sources

on Eiríkr Bloodaxe. I argue that 13<sup>th</sup>-century scholars admired AR for its artistic qualities, but that they did not trust it as a historical source of information.

#### 4.1 Snorra-Edda and ARINBJARNARKVIÐA

Snorri Sturluson, the Icelandic historian, skald, and politician, wrote Snorra-Edda sometime around the year 1220. *Heimskringla* with sagas of Norse kings is also his work, and he may have written the Saga of Egill. The certainty regarding his authorship is greatest with Snorra-Edda (see the arguments for this presented by Anthony Faulkes 2005: xiii).

Snorra-Edda (SE) consists of several parts. In *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál*, Snorri explains skaldic dictions including the use of *kennings*, a type of circumlocution for a noun, often in the form of a compound with a determinant that alters the meaning of some base word with general meaning (for instance sea-horse for ship, a hawk-land for an arm, and Óðins drink for poetry). Snorri's account includes stories on which the circumlocutions are frequently based (for instance on *Draupnir* and *Són* in notes to Stanza 22 in Chapter 10). In *Skáldskaparmál* (poetic language) Snorri gives a large number of examples of kennings and poetic words, using quotations from authoritative skalds of the past. Snorra-Edda also contains HÁTTATAL (meter-count) which is a poem by Snorri himself that provides more than a hundred examples of different Old Norse meters or variants thereof. Each example is usually in the form of an eight-line stanza that is divisible into two halves (helmings). Both halves usually have the defining features of the meter.

Snorri's original no longer exists, and its oldest copies are nearly a century younger. A recent article by Haukur Þorgeirsson (2017) discusses how the copies might be related (a stemmatic analysis). Only two of its four principal copies contain quotations from AR. These are the Codex Regius (**R**) and Codex Wormianus (**W**). Using paleographic and orthographic evidence, they have been dated to the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Editors of Snorra-Edda usually choose Codex Regius (GKS 2367 4to) as a basis following the lead of Rasmus C. Rask in 1818. In *Skáldskaparmál*, Snorri has only two quotations from Egill's *lausavísur*, but he is more generous concerning Egill's poems. He has four quotations from stanzas in HÖFUÐLAUSN, two from SONATORREK and one from ARINBJARNARKVIÐA. Snorri quotes lines AR 17.5–17.8 in a discussion where Freyr is said to be a god of good season and generosity (*árguð ok féggjafa*) (Faulkes 1998: 18). A semi-diplomatic text of this version in **R** is given in Chapter 9 below. **W** (Codex Wormianus AM 242 fol 48, 8) also quotes AR 17.5–17.8 with only minor orthographic differences, included in Chapter 9. The normalized text is as follows, prepared by myself:

AR 17.5–17.8 in SE (**R** & **W**) Þvít grjótbjörn  
 um gæddan hefr  
 Freyr ok Njörðr  
 at féar afli

This text from Snorra-Edda deviates from the text on page 99v by exchanging the conjunction *en* ‘but’ for *þvít* ‘because’ and the adjective *gnægðan* ‘plentiful’ for *gæddan* with nearly the same meaning. These words are not clear improvements compared to the text in **M**. The singular form of the verb *hefr* ‘has’ is linguistically interesting because the subject (the gods Freyr and Njörðr) appears to require a plural. This has been taken to mean that Freyr and Njörðr formed a single deity (Donald J. Ward 1970: 407 and a reference there). Marius Nygaard (1905: 70) gives some rules for the number agreement in Old Norse. Among them is that a verb that stands prior to a composite third person subject like Freyr and Njörðr, only takes note of the nearest noun for its number agreement. It is of greater importance, however, that similar structures as in Stanza 17 occur in other *kviðuháttir* poems. I show this in notes on Stanza 17 in Chapter 10. See also notes on *grjótbjörn*.

**W** (AM 242 fol 169, 15) cites the first half of Stanza 8 in ARINBJARNARKVIÐA, see diplomatic text in Chapter 9. This is very fortunate because the beginning of the stanza is now illegible on page 99v and the **169** scribe could not read it. The normalized text prepared by myself is as follows:

AR 8.1–8.4 in SE (**W**) Við því tók  
 enn tíru- fylgðu  
 sökkm sámleit  
 síðra brúna

Here I assume that *tíru* and *sökk* belong together in *tíru-sökk*. The first two lines are illegible on page 99v. The text above in Snorra-Edda (**W**) has the adjective *sámleit* ‘dark-looking’ instead of the text on page 99v (**M**) *svartleit* of nearly the same meaning and metrically equivalent.

This quotation is not in any other manuscript of SE. **W** has an additional part that is not in **R**, and this stanza is in that part. Faulkes (1998: xl) refers to this part as the section on *ókend heiti*. It includes a quotation to a *lausavísa* by Snorri Sturluson (on the same page, number 169 in AM 242 fol).

Because Snorri did not quote himself in *Skáldskaparmál*, it is not likely that he wrote this additional part in Snorra-Edda.

Snorra-Edda lists and explains many unusual poetic words. I note that the following words seem only to appear in AR and SE. This indicates that Snorri (or subsequent scribes) knew more of the poem than the quotations show, which is not surprising. The words in question are obviously rare, and their appearance in Snorra-Edda helps with their understanding.

These words are *kníar* ‘men’ (in AR 11.3) and *gløggvingr* ‘miser’ (in AR 1.4). *kníar* appears in a *þula* (an alliterating list of words) in **R** and related manuscripts (FJ 1912–1915 AI: 660). *gløggvingr* appears in *Skáldskaparmál* (Faulkes 1998: 105). The word *sifr* ‘brother (in law)’ (in AR 18.5) appears in that part of **W** that I mentioned earlier (*ókend heiti*, in line 2 on the same page as Stanza 8, see notes on stanza 8).

The adjective *ørverðr* (in AR 13.4 *hróðrs ørverðr*) seems not to appear anywhere except in stanza number 100 of HÁTTATAL where Snorri used the same phrase *hróðrs ørverðr* (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 88). It seems likely that Snorri knew the words *kníar*, *gløggvingr*, and *ørverðr* from AR and it also seems likely that *sifr* entered **W** from Stanza 18.

Editions of AR have used the variants *gæddan* and *sámleit* from Snorra-Edda (instead of *gnægðan* and *svartleit* on page 99v, but they have not used *þvít* (instead of *en* on page 99v) even if it would give an acceptable meaning. There is no obvious advantage in using the variants from Snorra-Edda. If the text on page 99v is believed to be much younger than the Eddic manuscripts, the Eddic variants might be assumed to be closer to the original, but I have argued that they are of about the same age. Editors may have a free choice regarding the variants used, but it seems preferable that a simple principle is employed, such as always giving precedence to the Snorra-Edda manuscripts or always to page 99v. In Chapter 9, I always opt for page 99v.

## 4.2 The Third Grammatical Treatise and ARINBJARNARKVIÐA

Óláfr Þórðarson, Snorri’s nephew, wrote The Third Grammatical Treatise (3GT) (edited by Björn M. Ólsen 1884 and Finnur Jónsson 1927). The treatise is in two parts. In the first part, Óláfr introduced concepts of grammar, mostly from *Institutiones Grammaticae* by Priscian (Priscianus Caesariensis c. AD 500), but also from other sources. In the second part, Óláfr used a book by Donatus (Aelius Donatus c. AD 350) on rhetoric with a list of poetic techniques that Óláfr demonstrated using Old Norse examples. I refer to the edition of Björn M. Ólsen (1884) for information on the Latin sources of the treatise and to

Kristján Árnason (2016) for a recent discussion on its mixture of native and Classical learning.

Óláfr included in the second part three stanzas by Egill Skallagrímsson in *kviðuhátt*. A fourth quotation from an anonymous long-line in *kviðuhátt* may also be by Egill. I discuss each of these in separate subsections.

#### 4.2.1 A stanza from the legible part

Óláfr Þórðarson began his second part of the 3GT by quoting Stanza 15 in AR. He said that it was in the meter of *kviðuhátt*, that it was by Egill, and that it had lines with three syllables. This is the only time that he names a meter and describes it. The manuscripts of 3GT are the oldest to contain the name *kviðuhátt*.

I give the diplomatic text of the three main manuscripts (**A**, **B** and **W**) in Chapter 9. Because they have a number of variants, it is not straightforward to normalize the text. The following is how Finnur Jónsson (1927: 41) printed the stanza:

AR 15.1–15.8 in 3GT (**W**, **A**, & **B**)

Erumz auðskæf	‘For me they are easily planed’
ómunlokri	‘with a voice plane’
magar Þóris	‘of Þórir’s son’
mærðar efni	‘praise matters’
vinar míns	‘of my friend’
þvíat valið liggja	‘because chosen lie’
tven ok þren	‘two and three’
á tungu mér.	‘on my tongue’

*Erumk* is the middle voice form (mediopassive) to be expected before 1200 (see Adolf Noreen 1923: 269–370 and Kjartan G. Ottósson 1992). *Erumz* is a younger form. Page 99v has *Erumk* and so have both **W** and **B**.

*Auðskæf* is usually normalized to *auðskæf* (with /œ/), and this how Finnur Jónsson (1912–15 BI: 40) wrote it. Page 99v has <auðskef>, and so does **A** <auðskéf>, while **B** and **W** have <auðskepô> and <auðskiaefð>, see notes in Chapter 10.

**W** has *valig* in line 6, but **B** and **A** have *valið* (written with a <t> for older <ð>), the word is unreadable on page 99v, but **169** has <valey>. The word <valey> in **169** is odd because the 99v scribe did not use <e> in endings

unless they were word-final (see Section 2.4). It is hard to explain it otherwise than by the **169** scribe having known the stanza from **W** or copies of it. Björn M. Ólsen (1884: 163) suggested that the *-lig* ending in **W** was a mistake in copying and caused by the *lig-* in the following *liggja*.

The 99v scribe wrote *nú* ‘now’ at the beginning of the stanza. This may not lead to an inferior text (see notes on Stanza 15), and the other variants from page 99v do not seem inferior either.

Óláfr used this stanza to demonstrate a poetic license *barbarismus*, involving the removal of a letter. He said:

Hér er af tekinn hinn síðarsti stafr í þessum tveim nofnum, tven ok þren, fyrir feigrðar sakir, þvíat þá þykkir betr hljóða þessar samstofur í kviðu-hætti, at þær hafi umbeygiliga hljóðs-grein heldr en hvassa, er iii. eru samstofur í vísu-orði, ok má því kalla, at hér verði barbarismus í hljóðsgreina-skipti.

Finnur Jónsson (1927: 42) (hyphens as written by Finnur)

‘Here the last letter is removed from these two nouns, twos (*tven*) and threes (*þren*), for the sake of beauty, because it is thought to sound better in *kviðuháttr*, if these syllables have the circumflex accent rather than an acute one, in those lines that have three syllables and one may thus state that this is a barbarismus in the change of accents.’

Óláfr (FJ 1927: 42–43), like Donatus, also discussed and gave an example of the reverse operation of adding a letter. Óláfr did this with a stanza where *mega* ‘may’ was replaced by *megja* ‘may.’ The objective stated by Óláfr was to create a heavy (long) syllable as required by the rhythm (*kveðandi*).

In the more than one hundred citations in the 3GT, it is always clear why Óláfr quotes a stanza. When he demonstrates a poetic license, the stanza in question has some unusual feature to accommodate the meter, for instance, the word *hrammastan* appears as *rammastan* to enable an alliteration with <r>, or *megja* appears for *mega* to serve the rhythmic type, as I noted above. In the case of Stanza AR 15, scholars have not seen anything wrong with line AR 15.7 *tvinn ok þrenn* that required it to be replaced by AR 15 *tven ok þren*. They have therefore tacitly assumed that the stanza and its meter did not have anything to do with the license that Óláfr demonstrated. All of them have assumed that Óláfr only included the stanza because it contained (as in prose, not metrically relevant) two strange words (*tvén*, *þrén*, *tvín*, *þrín*, *tvæn*, *þræn*,

or other variants), that he did not recognize and are not attested anywhere (Björn M. Ólsen 1884, Finnur Jónsson 1927, Myrvoll and Skomedal 2010, Kristján Árnason 1993, and Jón Axel Harðarson 2017).

Assuming that the stanza and its meter were the subjects of Óláfr's discussion, several interesting things can be observed. For one thing, Óláfr gives the name of the meter and tells us that the trisyllabic odd numbered lines of *kviðuhátt* differ rhythmically from the even ones in some way. Secondly, his remarks about *hljóðsgreinir*, saying that the words with the circumflex accent (*umbeygilig hljóðs grein*) are considered to be better suited than words with the acute one in trisyllabic lines, show that he was conscious of metrical and linguistic rhythm, and was trying to apply classical learning regarding prosody to the native material. Thirdly he seems to be saying that by subtracting a letter from the word *tvenn* (or *þrenn*) it becomes metrically equivalent to *tven* (or *þren*). The former word has a heavy syllable while the latter has a light one according to traditional scansion of Old Norse poetry. In Chapter 7, I treat the rhythmic peculiarities of the trisyllabic lines in some detail, showing that the *kviðuhátt* meter indeed seems to treat equally metrical positions having light and heavy syllables. It thus seems that Óláfr was trying to describe a prosodic property in the language and its metrical function. I suggest that this prosodic entity may have been an accent in Old Norse that would be attached to (or attracted by) stress words (basically nominals). Moreover such accented words with heavy syllables created a rhythmic distinction in Old Norse meters, except in odd-numbered lines of *kviðuhátt*. (See Ladd 2008 for a theory of linguistic accents and Kristján Árnason and Haukur Þorgeirsson 2017 on a possible relation to Scandinavian word accent).

#### 4.2.2 A stanza not on page 99v

Óláfr Þórðarson quoted a stanza that he said was by Egill, and Guðmundur Magnússon included in his 1809 edition of AR as the last stanza (number 25 in his and current editions). All later editors have followed his example, but I argue that this stanza does not belong to the poem. The stanza is preserved in **W** and **A** in the context of the 3GT and is otherwise unknown. The normalized text by FJ (1927: 82) is below:

Stanza by Egill in 3GT (**W**, & **A**)

Var ek árvakr	‘I was up early’
bar ek orð saman	‘I gathered words together’
með málþjóns	‘with speech-servant’s’
morginverkum,	‘morning tasks’



hlóð ek lofkost	‘I raised a pile of praise’
þann er lengi stendr	‘that will long stand’
óbrotgjarn	‘unbreakable’
í bragar túni.	‘in the field of poetry’

According to Óláfr, this stanza demonstrates what Donatus calls periphrasis. Donatus explains it as circumlocution (Latin *cirmulocutio*) which Óláfr translates literally as *umkringingar-mál* ‘speaking around,’ a figure that involves an indirect way of expressing things. He said it was used as flourish or to make something easier to state (“til þess at orðtak sé mælligra”). In his edition of the 3GT, Finnur Jónsson (1927: 82) comments on this text and says that it was the former that was meant even if it does not fit well (*eksemplet går på den første art. Svarer dog ikke godt til Donat*).

Egill (if he is the author) says in his stanza that he woke up early and among his morning tasks was the composition of a long-lasting piece of poetry. He describes it as an unbreakable pile of praise. Sigurður Nordal (1933: 267–268) sees a reference to this pile in Stanza AR 14 where Egill seems to describe his composition as something steep (*bratt* in previous publications of AR). The reading <bratt> in Stanza 14 is doubtful (see Figure 1.6-2 and notes on Stanza 14 in Chapter 10), and for that reason, the reference seen by Sigurður does not make it any likelier that the stanza belongs to AR.

I believe that it is easier to see the stanza as referring to the poem HÖFUÐLAUSN than ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (see also Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2013: 30–31). Egill composed HÖFUÐLAUSN during the night before his planned execution, according to *Egils saga* (BE 2003: 104–105). In which case, it is fitting to call this stanza a circumlocution. HÖFUÐLAUSN and AR are not in agreement with *Egils saga* on why Egill composed HÖFUÐLAUSN, but the story that he did so during a night in York to save his life may have been told later, even by Egill himself in his old age.

There is no room for the stanza *Var ek árvarkr* on page 99v, and no stanza begins with the letter <v>. It would need to be from a lost leaf or an omitted part of AR. However, the stanza does not need to belong to any poem. *Egils saga* has an example of a *lausavísa* by Egill in the *kviðuháttir* meter (*Erumka leitt ...*, BE 2003: 113, *lv* number 25) in the York episode of *Egils saga* and this could be another *lausavísa* on the same subject. I do not see any reason why it should be included in AR (in a recent article I propose a way for this stanza to be incorporated into *Egils saga*, see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2018).

### 4.2.3 A stanza from the illegible part

Stanza 24 of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (BE 2003: 162) also comes from the 3GT. Óláfr ascribes it to Egill, and he used it, among others, to demonstrate how a common expression was made noble in poetry. The expression is *at kasta á glæ* ‘to throw into the sea’ (to waste). This expression appears in old texts, for instance in **M** in *Finnboga saga ramma* (see *glær* in ONP). Óláfr says on the content of Stanza 24: *Hann kallar slíkt sem á sjó væri kastat fénu* ‘he says it is as if the money was thrown into a sea’ (FJ 1927: 87).

Óláfr quotes the stanza twice and says it also exemplifies how nouns and adjectives could follow one another (except for the preposition *á* lines 3–7 contain only nouns and adjectives, FJ 1927: 72). Guðmundur Magnússon inserted this stanza as number 13 in his Copenhagen edition of 1809, where it stayed in the Reykjavik edition of 1856. Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1883: 540) said he was able to “identify it in the blurred column” and in his 1883 edition of AR, he placed it after Stanza 23 (as Stanza 24) where it has stayed in all later editions even though no-one has been able to verify Guðbrandur’s readings. The diplomatic text is in Chapter 9, but the following is its normalized text from the edition of Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 162).<sup>6</sup>

#### 3GT (**W**, & **A**) AR 24.1–24.8

Þat er órétt,	‘It is unjust’
ef orpit hefir	‘if has thrown
á mäskeið	‘onto seas’
mörgu gagni,	‘many assistances’
ramriðin	‘heavily ridden’
Rökkva stóði	‘by a stud of sea-king’s horses’
vellvönuðr	‘wealth-diminisher’
því er veitti mér.	‘that which he granted me’

Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 162) gave the following translation: “It is unjust if the many favours this generous man has granted me have been wasted.” *Vönuðr*

<sup>6</sup> Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 162) writes *hefir* ‘has’ instead of *hefr* in the second line in defiance of the syllable count (no metrical type can accommodate it). In Stanza 17, Bjarni writes the same verb as *hefr* (page 160). Presumably, Bjarni followed available manuscripts in both instances.

is an agent noun made from the verb *vana* ‘reduce.’ Such agent nouns are used several times in AR. Their regular use was a part of the skaldic language. The word *gagn* ‘favor’ in the stanza above was used earlier in Stanza 13. The noun *máskeið* means the land (course) of the sea-gull (*már*) and stands for ‘sea.’ The sea is heavily ridden by sea-horses (ships). The word *skeið* ‘course or track’ may also have been used earlier in Stanza 12 for England as the course of King Játvarðr’s (Edward’s) lineage (in Stanza 12, the word *skeið* is a conjecture, see Section 3.4). There need no be anything suspicious about Egill recycling words. He uses *-frömuðr* twice in lines AR 4.3 and AR 12.3, and also the phrase *skata hús* ‘a man’s house’ in lines AR 7.3 and AR 20.6. *Full* ‘cup’ appears in AR 6.5 and AR 16.4. Additionally, the word *hlust* appears both in Stanza 6 and Stanza 9. These repetitions are internal references in the poem that clarify the meaning and use of these words.

What Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1883: 380) could read from this stanza is seen in Figure 3.1-1 (in Section 3.1). Guðbrandur thought he could see the first words of the stanza *Þat er* ‘it is’ (in an abbreviated form) and the word *þönuðr* ‘diminisher.’ These readings could be correct, but I have neither been able to reject nor confirm them nor find anything else that matches the stanza on the page. I do, however, note that the stanza is not divisible into two halves (helmings) which places it in the company of long *kviðuháttir* poems because no *lausavísa* or a stanza in a short poem has this feature in the *kviðuháttir* corpus (this is my own observation of the *kviðuháttir* poetry listed in Section 5.1). Since Egill hardly composed two poems in *kviðuháttir* on Arinbjörn and because of Guðbrandur’s readings, I assume this stanza belongs to AR.

The non-divisibility of stanzas, into two syntactically separated four-line halves, is a specific feature of *kviðuháttir* (except for YT) (discussed by Gade 2005, that Óláfr may have noted (see Marold 2012: 3 and Åkerlund 1939: 40-45, 200 on the four-line units in YT). Óláfr comments on Stanza 24: *Hér gengr eitt mál um alla vísu* ‘Here is one subject matter throughout the stanza’ (FJ 1927: 72). This comment could, however, mean only that Óláfr noted this feature for this stanza alone and not for the meter in general. In any case, his comment is far from giving a good description of stanza divisions in *kviðuháttir* as compared to other meters.

#### 4.2.4 Hiatus words in the 3GT

In a discussion on epithets, the 3GT has the following text that bears a resemblance to lines 11.7–11.8 in AR, as noted by R. Rask (1818b: 329) and discussed by Björn M. Ólsen (1884: 108 & 225). Óláfr did not give the name of the poet. Below is the text as given by FJ (1912–1915 BI: 597):

Í **h**erskó            ‘in a war-torn’  
**h**ilmis ríki           ‘kingdom’

The text in AR 11.7–11.8 is:

í **h**erskás           ‘in a warring’  
**h**ilmis garði       ‘king’s yard’

These lines also resemble two lines in NKT 5.3–5.4 (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 575)

á **h**erskó           ‘on a war-torn’  
**H**ringaríki       ‘Hringaríki’

The text in the 3GT is not from AR unless it is distorted (in which case it is impossible to know for sure). It contains the hiatus word *herskó*, which in Egill’s time would have had three syllables and be *herskóu*. The same word, *herskó*, is found in NKT (from c. 1190). The lines above in NKT and in the 3GT would thus have been unmetrical in Egill’s time. For contraction of hiatus words, I refer to Noreen 1923: 115–117 and on the use of this feature to date skaldic poetry, I refer to Klaus Johan Myrvoll (2014: 309–328).

AR has the following line with the hiatus word *bráa* that is written in a contracted form on page 99v (see text in Chapter 9 for Stanza 5 and notes), while the meter requires it to have two syllables (the line must have four syllables):

AR 5.4 **E**iríks bráa       ‘Eiríkr’s eyes’

As I discuss in Subsection 6.3.2 and Section 6.6, the meter (in all likelihood) requires uncontracted hiatus words in the following lines (for them to be of the C2 type rather than the C1 type), but they are contracted on page 99v (*fjár* for *féar* and *Hárs* for *Háars*).

AR 17.8 at **f**éar afli       ‘with power of wealth’  
AR 29.8 í **H**áars veðri   ‘in battle’

Not all hiatus words were historically contracted. This depended in large part on which vowels were involved. Hiatus words that have /áa/, /óu/, and /éa/–

are among those that Myrvoll (2014: 313–328) found most useful in dating argument for skaldic poetry (including *kviðuhátt*). He found that words with hiatus were used before c. 1150 but their contracted forms dominated the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to the three words I mentioned above, AR has the hiatus words *hæings* in line AR 6.3, *trúa* in line AR 10.6, *-þróaðr* in line AR 10.7, *knía* in line AR 11.3, and *Hróalds* in line AR 18.1. These words are not contracted on page 99v except for the word *hæings*. This is in line with Myrvoll's (2014: 313–314) conclusions on which words were contracted.

### 4.3 AR as a historical source versus a piece of art

The quotations that I discussed in the previous sections indicate that 13<sup>th</sup>-century scholars highly appreciated AR for its poetic value. They did, however, never quote it as historical evidence. There may be several reasons for this. I suggest that one of them was that AR was not a typical skaldic praise poem, recited before a king and a court, and thus it lacked the desired vetting that Snorri described in his introduction to *Heimskringla* (see notes on Stanza 1).

To get some tangible arguments for the above, I compare AR and GLÆLOGNSKVIÐA. GLÆ is in the *kviðuhátt* meter like AR. It was composed less than a century later in 1032 (see Section 5.1 on the corpus of *kviðuhátt* poetry). The situation regarding its use in poetic treatises and *Heimskringla* is the reverse of that with AR. GLÆ is only known from its quotation in kings' sagas, among them *Heimskringla*, but *Snorra-Edda* and other treatises on poetics contain nothing from it. Only ten stanzas remain from the poem, but in Stanza 8 and 9, the poet addresses the king for whom it was composed (King Sveinn Knútsson). Even if GLÆ appears not to be a typical praise poem, this gives the poem the verification by a king and a court, that Snorri appreciated. GLÆ is composed when Christianity was recently introduced, and it has been noted that for some period after that, the poetic language became poorer because the poets avoided pagan kennings (see more details in Mikael Males 2017). GLÆ has some traditional kennings (such as 'breaker of rings' for a generous man), but from what can be seen from the extant poem, its rhetoric and kennings are plain and uninformative, while the opposite is true for AR.

Another reason for why AR was not quoted or referred to in any saga except *Egils saga*, could be an understandable skepticism about King Eiríkr in York. I discuss this further in the following. Scholars in the 13<sup>th</sup> century may already have realized that the chronology in *Egils saga* did not fit the information they had on the reign of English and Norwegian kings (on the problematic chronology of *Egils saga*, see Sigurður Nordal's preface in his 1933

edition of Egils saga). Einarr Hafliðason in his annals in **420b** did not mention Eiríkr's kingdom in York, but he mentioned his short reign as a Norwegian king. None of the extant *Icelandic annals* mention Eiríkr Bloodaxe in England.

Modern historians have noted that contemporary Anglo-Saxon sources do not mention King Haraldr Fairhair and his sons, with the possible exception of Eiríkr Bloodaxe. Already in 1693, the royal historian Þormóður Torfason (Torfæus) said in a letter to Árni Magnússon that he believed *Egils saga* was unreliable. He wondered why Anglo-Saxon scribes did not mention Haraldr Fairhair, Hákon Aðalsteinsfóstri or Eiríkr Bloodaxe and he asked Árni if he had any information on this. Þormóður also said that he did not believe that the “Ircus” that the English dated to the year 948 was Eiríkr Bloodaxe (Kålund 1916: 178). Thirteenth-century scholars, assuming similar dates for reigns of kings as Þormóður, might have agreed that this was too late for Eiríkr.

Contemporary sources have only a few, but reliable, references to King Eiríkr of York in the middle of the tenth century, but he is not definitely identifiable as Eiríkr Bloodaxe. The sources are the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, Life of St Cathroe (Alan Orr Anderson 1922) and a coin with the legend ERIC REX (exhibition number E. 5081 in the British Library). Only the twelfth century E manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles says that Eiríkr, whom the Northumbrians accepted as king in 952, was a son of a Haraldr (“Her Norðhymbre fordri fan Anlaf cyning 7 underfengon Yric Haroldes sunu” Irvine 2004: 55). There was more than one king with the name Haraldr at the time (e.g., Haraldr Bluetooth) and Clare Downham (2004 and 2007: 115–120) argues that King Eiríkr of York was not Eiríkr Bloodaxe, son of King Haraldr Fairhair. Downham maintains that no skaldic poetry, explicitly connects Eiríkr Bloodaxe and King Eiríkr of York and they were probably two different men. Stanza 12 and its content (stating that King Eiríkr in England was a grandson of Halfdan) is obviously of importance for this discussion (see Section 3.4).

Comparing AR, Egils saga and contemporary sources, the poem is never found to have anachronisms while Egils saga often does. AR was most likely among the sources of *Egils saga*. The saga is likely to contain much of the information that AR had on Egill and Arinbjörn. It seems to make good use of the available data. Egill's hood plays a role in the poem (Egill put on a hood of courage in Stanza 3), and it also appears in the saga (Egill has a long hat over his helmet in *Egils saga* 2003: 102). The saga does not directly contradict AR, but it has many details that are not in the poem. The saga gives Arinbjörn the title *hersir*, but the poem probably only says that Arinbjörn was an offspring of *hersar*. The poem states that Arinbjörn lived in the Fjords

(*Firðir*) and the saga makes the Fjords his fief. The poem seems to mention the lineage of King Játvarðr (Edward the Elder, see Section 3.4) the father of King Aðalsteinn. The saga assumes Aðalsteinn is the English king at the time and Egill visits him in the saga while in all likelihood, it was one of his brothers who reigned at the time. No magic drew Egill to England as in the saga, and from the beginning of AR where Egill introduces himself as a poet that had received the wrath of a king, it is natural to presume that it was his poetry that had infuriated the king and not Egill's killing of his son as the saga reports. Queen Gunnhildr plays a large role in the saga, but the poem does not mention her, and Eiríkr in England had a British wife (presumably Cumbrian or Scottish) according to a contemporary source (Life of St Cathroe, see Anderson 1922: 441). Egill had prepared his poem HÖFUÐLAUSN beforehand, according to the poem itself, but the saga author puts in a more exciting version of how and when it was composed.

*Egils saga* contains information on the battle of Fitjar and Arinbjörn being with King Haraldr Graycloak as an adviser. This information was probably in the part of AR that is now illegible (see Section 3.3), but *Egils saga* contains little additional information on Arinbjörn except what the saga seems to deduce from Egill's *lausavísur*. *Egils saga* contains four *lausavísur* related to the York episode (see Section 3.5) and two stanzas on the subject of Arinbjörn's generosity (stanzas number 43 and 51 in *Egils saga* 2003. On the basis of missing praise items in AR, Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1861) estimated that only half of AR was preserved, but *Egils saga* does not seem rich in information on Arinbjörn from a lost part of AR.

As a historical reference material, AR was shunned, but as a piece of art, it was admired, as seen from HÁKONARKVIÐA by Sturla Þórðarson which borrows many of its words and ideas. Because of this admiration it was quoted and discussed by Sturla's brother Óláfr and their uncle Snorri, and because Icelanders continued to be interested in old poetry in the following centuries, they copied the writings of these men. The oldest copies of Snorra-Edda and the 3GT are from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. These copies (**R**, **U**, and **W**) bear witness to a general appreciation in Iceland of the poetic art, not confined to the Sturlung family. This appreciation may explain the copying of AR into **M**.

#### 4.4 Conclusions on the sources of AR other than page 99v

Several citations to AR exist, but they are confined to 13<sup>th</sup>-century treatises on poetry. These citations provide a text from AR that is equivalent in length to three stanzas. They come both from the legible and the illegible part of

page 99v. No citation exists that must come from a part that was not recorded on page 99v.

The citations in the works on grammar and poetics are valuable, but in comparison to page 99v, they are of less importance as textual evidence than might be expected. Most of the variants in the legible part are unimportant, and the text from the illegible part (Stanza 24) provides little help with the context in the large lacuna at the end of the poem. The **W** manuscript of Snorra-Edda has the beginning of Stanza 8, illegible on page 99v, but this beginning has the word <tíru> in line two, of uncertain meaning, and the line appears to be unmetrical (with anacrusis).

The poetic treatises contain much information on the Old Norse poetic language. This includes the meaning of some rare words in AR. This information is helpful, but one should be aware that the authors may only have known some of them from AR (such as the word *kníar* in Stanza 11) and they may have deduced their meaning from the context.

The Third Grammatical Treatise contains a discussion on the *kviðuhátt* meter that is valuable because poems were still composed in the meter when it was written. This discussion may have touched upon two distinctive features of *kviðuhátt*, its stanza structure (not dividing stanzas into halves) and in some detail an abnormal rhythm in the odd-numbered lines. Currently, however, there is no consensus among scholars on how to interpret this discussion.





## Part II The Poetic Form



## 5 The *kviðuhátt* meter

With this chapter, I begin a discussion of the metrical properties of ARINBJARNARKVIÐA. It has a practical purpose; to help reconstruct the text of the poem, but some of my observations may hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the meter itself.

The meter of AR, *kviðuhátt*, has three metrical positions in its odd-numbered lines (odd lines) and four in its even lines. Alliteration links the even and odd lines. For the even lines the metrical types (according to Sievers' five type system) are generally assumed to be the same as in lines of *fornyrðislag*, and so are the types in the odd lines with a final unstressed syllable lacking or removed, by what is referred to as catalexis.

Thus, *kviðuhátt* may be characterized as a variant of *fornyrðislag*, which is an Eddic meter that has relatives in other Old-Germanic languages. It does, however, have its own specific features that have recently been discussed in an article by Kari Ellen Gade (2005) 'The Syntax of Old Norse *Kviðuhátt* Meter' in which Gade lists metrical types for the odd lines of *kviðuhátt* and discusses the syntactic features of the meter. I frequently refer to her article, her description of *kviðuhátt* in the Skaldic Poetry Project (Gade 2012: lx), and her editions of *kviðuhátt* poems (Gade 2009b and 2009c). I will concentrate on rhythm and alliteration, leaving out of the scope a discussion of the syntactic properties of *kviðuhátt*. These latter properties are relevant to the stanzaic structure of *kviðuhátt* poems that I also leave out of the discussion.<sup>7</sup> I take 'Eddic meters,' an overview by Robert D. Fulk (2016), to be a fair description of traditional and current thinking on the meter of *fornyrðislag*. Gade and Fulk use the same method for metrical scansion and a similar notational system for describing metrical types, derived from the work of Eduard Sievers (1893). Klaus Johan Myrvoll (2014: 169–171) brings new insights into Gade's treatment of the meter. He exemplifies how *kviðuhátt* poetry can be put into the context of other Old Norse meters with even lines as in regular *fornyrðislag* and odd lines as specified by Gade (2005). Gade includes alliteration in her metrical types (using a double accent for syllables that alliterate).

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<sup>7</sup> I have earlier discussed syntactic features and the stanza structure for *dróttkvætt* (see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2016a and 2016b). It certainly is a promising field of investigation for *kviðuhátt* as well, but I left it out of this thesis because of the room it requires. What remains may be called a metrical analysis of lines (verses) in a classical sense.

Fulk and Myrvoll, on the other hand, specify metrical types without marking the location of the alliteration (see Section 6.5 on alliteration in even lines of *kviðuhátt*). In addition to Gade (2005), Myrvoll (2014) and Fulk (2016), I discuss contributions by other scholars, including Seiichi Suzuki (2014), Kristján Árnason (1991), William A. Craigie (1900), and Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888).

Accordingly, in the following chapters, I seek to analyze the metrical structure of the even-numbered lines (even lines) and the odd-numbered lines (odd lines) of AR. I discuss the even and the odd lines separately. I wish to demonstrate that tenth-century *kviðuhátt* was a regular meter and that AR adheres well to it. This is a prerequisite for metrical characteristics to be of help in recovering the text of the poem. For my task, I need both a description of the meter and an analysis of how the extant text of AR fits it.

In his *Háttatal* of Snorra-Edda, Snorri Sturluson gives a short description of many meters and metrical variants. Among these are meters derived from other meters by catalexis where a final syllable has been deleted from a trochee. For *kviðuhátt*, Snorri did not supply a description, even if he placed a stanza in *kviðuhátt* very prominently at the end of his HÁTTATAL-poem. Óláfr Þórðarson, his nephew, gave an interesting but incomplete description of *kviðuhátt* in his 3GT as I discussed in Section 4.2.1.

Our primary source of information on the *kviðuhátt* meter is the corpus of *kviðuhátt* poetry. I present this corpus in the first section (5.1) of this chapter. In the following section, I present the metrical concepts that I use, some of which are new in the analysis of *kviðuhátt*. With these, I describe some characteristics of the *kviðuhátt* meter that scholars have not noted before. Among them is that syllables in dips of trochaic lines of AR (and other *kviðuhátt* poems before the year 1000, in both odd and even lines) must always be from a set of what I call **restricted syllables**, having only one of three vowel qualities, traditionally called unstressed vowels. The difference between these syllables and other syllables is thus metrically relevant, at least in the oldest part of the corpus. Two other syllable types (which may be referred to jointly as **full syllables**) are well known to be metrically relevant, i.e., light and heavy syllables. I discuss further the linguistic and metrical typology in Section 5.2 where I also introduce Craigie’s law and explain why it calls for a revision of Sievers’ system of metrical types.

I am working on the premises that AR is a very old poem that may contain remains of some old linguistic structures, such as reflections of weakly stressed Old Germanic prefixes in the form of filler words. This is the theme

of section three (5.3). Interestingly, the filler words can, like the phonologically restricted inflectional endings, occupy the dips in trochaic lines mentioned above while prepositions cannot.

In Section 5.4, I discuss further the traditional methods used for analyzing Old Norse poetry. An important purpose of this discussion is to introduce and discuss the meaning of the concept of *Nichtverschleifung* (also known as suspended resolution). Contrary to what the name implies, it need not be related to the concept *Verschleifung* (resolution). It may be seen as a poetic license of using a light syllable where the meter (the metrical type in the traditional analysis) normally requires a heavy syllable. A *Nichtverschleifung* occurs regularly in the odd lines of *kviðuháttir*, and for these, it is therefore not an exceptional license. As I discuss, others have noted this anomaly in the odd lines before (Sievers, Finnur Jónsson, Gade, Myrvoll), and they have used different methods to describe it. I am, however, the first to notice that this anomaly is a consequence of there being no metrical difference in the function of positions containing light and heavy syllable structures in the odd lines of *kviðuháttir*. However, a distinction between positions having a restricted and a full syllable is made in the odd lines as in the even lines of *kviðuháttir*.

### 5.1 The *kviðuháttir* corpus

The corpus of *kviðuháttir* poetry is relatively small. The skalds seldom used the *kviðuháttir* meter in poems that they presented before kings and their courts. Finnur Jónsson (1892: 39–44) thought that both *kviðuháttir* and *fornyrðislag* had been considered to be too simple for that purpose in comparison to the more elaborate *dróttkvætt* meter. Also, very few *lausavísur* (freestanding stanzas) use the *kviðuháttir* meter. Kari Ellen Gade (2012: lx) notices this and says “the meter must have lent itself better to longer, sequential compositions rather than to single, eight-line stanzas.”

It may be a coincidence, but most *kviðuháttir* poems endorsed a leader’s divine mandate to rule. Thus YNGLINGATAL gave the Norwegian-Swedish royal family (the Ynglings) an ancient mythical origin. HÁLEYGJATAL gave Earl Hákon, who ousted the Ynglings from Norway, an ancestry from Óðinn, through Óðinn’s copulation with a giantess, Skaði. NÓREGS KONUNGATAL gave the Icelandic family of Oddaverjar (who fostered Snorri Sturluson) a royal genealogy through a continuation of YNGLINGATAL. GLÆLOGNSKVIÐA recognized the sainthood of King Óláfr Haraldsson shortly after his death. HÁKONARKVIÐA by Sturla Þórðarson has references to divine forces and tells of King Hákon’s coronation by the Pope’s emissary. The Eddic *fornyrðislag* was mostly used for poems about old gods, and ancient heroes.

*Kviðuhátttr*'s likeness to *fornyrðislag* may have enhanced a mythical message in these poems. The closest Eddic counterpart to the above *kviðuhátttr* poems is probably RÍGSÞULA. It is only partially preserved, but it seems to give the Danish royal family (the Skjöldungs) an ancient divine origin.

Finnur Jónsson (1858–1934) published the entire corpus of extant skaldic poetry in *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning* in the years 1912–1915. This edition is in two parts, A and B, the former gives the text of the manuscripts, and the latter has a normalized text and a Danish translation. It contains all known poetry in the *kviðuhátttr* meter except for one half-stanza, 'Fragment by Sturla Þórðarson' (Jón Helgason 1966: 178–179). The stanza numbers and line numbers used by Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915) are my defaults when referring to *kviðuhátttr* poetry, even when I use more recent editions.

The following table lists the extant *kviðuhátttr* corpus. Only fragments remain from some of the poems. The dating of each work is as given by Finnur Jónsson, except for GEIRVIÐARFLOKKR which I moved to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (from the 13<sup>th</sup>) when its author, the astronomer Stjörnu-Oddi was alive. Stjörnu-Oddi is said to have recited the five stanzas of his poem in a dream. Generally, Finnur takes an attribution of poetry to a named skald at its face value, but he gave a group of dream-poems (*drömmever*s) the same date in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century date (see Finnur Jónsson 1920 II: 184–187). The total number of long-lines in the corpus is around 1150. I use the term long-line for an odd line plus an even line (as is traditional). The number of long-lines is a better measure of a poem's length than the number of stanzas due to their variable length. For comparison, the Anglo Saxon BEOWULF has 3180 long-lines.

Table 5.1-1 The *kviðuhátttr* corpus.

Date	Work	# Stanzas	# Long-lines
800–900	YNGLINGATAL (YT)	37	182
936	<i>Lausavísa</i> 25 by Egill	1	4
960	SONATORREK (ST)	around 25	around 96
962	ARINBJARNARKVIÐA (AR)	around 24	around 96
before 978	<i>Lausavísur</i> 10 & 11 by Gísli Súrsson	2	8
c. 985	HÁLEYGJATAL (HÁL) by Eyvindr skáldaspillir	16	50

975–1000	<i>Lausavísa</i> 1 by Vémundr Hrólfsson	1	2
Before 1031 if authentic	ÆVIKVIÐA by Grettir	7	28
1032	GLÆLOGNSKVIÐA (GLÆ) by Þórarinn loftunga	10	38
Early 12 <sup>th</sup> century	GEIRVIÐARFLOKKR by Stjörnu-Oddi	5	20
c. 1145	HÁTTALYKILL	2	4
1152	<i>Lausavísur</i> 4 & 5 by Oddi litli	2	8
1100–1200	Fragment of a poem by Þorvaldr blönduskáld	1	2
c. 1190	NÓREGS KONUNGATAL (NKT)	83	332
before 1218	EPILOGUE (in MERLÍNUSSPÁ I, stanzas 62–68)	7	28
1222–1223	HÁTTATAL 102	1	4
13 <sup>th</sup> century	INTERPOLATION ( <i>tillæg</i> in VÍKARSBÁLKR after stanza 16)	8	32
No date	Anonymous stanzas in the 3GT	5	8
No date	Fragment by ‘Þjóðólfr’ in the 3GT	1	2
13 <sup>th</sup> century	Fragment by Sturla Þórðarson	1	2
1263–1264	HÁKONARKVIÐA (HKV) by Sturla Þórðarson	42	168
14 <sup>th</sup> century	HALLMUNDARKVIÐA and <i>lausavísur</i> by Hallmundr	9	36

All the poems in the table are listed under the *kviðuháttir* meter by Finnur Jónsson (1892: 44) in his metrical handbook *Stutt íslensk bragfræði* (‘a brief description of Icelandic meters’). Finnur did not list the epilogue in MERLÍNUSSPÁ or the interpolation in VÍKARSBÁLKR. I refer to these by the names EPILOGUE and INTERPOLATION. The EPILOGUE consists of seven eight line *kviðuháttir* stanzas at the end of MERLÍNUSSPÁ I (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 22–



24). The main text of that poem is a translation in *fornyrðislag* (684 long-lines) of *Prophetiae Merlini* by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Gade (2012: Ix), in her list of *kviðuhátt* poems, includes this EPILOGUE but not what I refer to as INTERPOLATION, which are the eight *kviðuhátt* stanzas that Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915 BII: 349–350) believed to be interpolated into VÍKARSBÁLKR (after stanza number 16). VÍKARSBÁLKR tells of Starkaðr and his adventures among men and gods. It is in *fornyrðislag*, but some odd lines have three syllables. These lines are, however, not regularly placed, except in this INTERPOLATION. By being a part of a poem in *fornyrðislag*, the INTERPOLATION, and the EPILOGUE support the notion that *kviðuhátt* is a variant of *fornyrðislag*. VÍKARSBÁLKR, ÆVIKVIÐA, and HALLMUNDARKVIÐA are all allegedly recited by heroes, lamenting their tragic lives. In SONATORREK, Egill as an old man laments the loss of two of his sons. These *kviðuhátt* poems (SONATORREK, ÆVIKVIÐA, HALLMUNDARKVIÐA, INTERPOLATION in VÍKARSBÁLKR) have a counterpart among Eddic *fornyrðislag* poems (for instance, ODDRÚNARGRÁTR, HELREIÐ BRYNHILDAR). While characters in *dróttkvætt* poems are humans, characters in Eddic poems are usually gods or legendary heroes. Characters in *kviðuhátt* poems are humans, but the likeness of *kviðuhátt* to *fornyrðislag* may help elevate them to a higher mythical status.

Most of the poems in Table 5.1-1 are poorly preserved. More than 75% of the corpus is in only five poems: YNGLINGATAL, ARINBJARNARKVIÐA, SONATORREK, NÓREGS KONUNGATAL, and HÁKONARKVIÐA. The longest of these, NKT, is only preserved in one manuscript (Flateyjarbók) which is notorious for its inaccurate transcription of poetry. Repeated copying has severely damaged ST (see the last paragraph of Section 2.14). Only fragments exist from HKV, and together with much of the younger *kviðuhátt* poetry, it may be suspected of being an academic exercise rather than a part of a living tradition. Claus Krag (2009) doubts the authenticity of YT and maintains that it cannot be older than from the twelfth century. See a recent overview of the dating issue by Edith Marold (2012a: 3), who concludes that a convincing case has not been made against the authenticity of YNGLINGATAL as a ninth-century creation.

The *kviðuhátt* corpus appears to be metrically very homogeneous despite its poor preservation, which is very fortunate and compensates to some degree for its small size. All *kviðuhátt* poems are very regular, for instance, regarding syllable numbers. This also applies to those poems that are not skaldic (meaning that they were not composed by a named skald and recited before a chieftain), for instance, GEIRVIÐARFLOKKR, and INTERPOLATION.

The skalds knew and used the *kviðuháttir* meter for a very long time, from the 9<sup>th</sup> until the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and during this period, some changes took place. These changes help establish a relative timeline for the poetry. The changes affected the use of hiatus words (already discussed in Subsection 4.2.4), the use of filler words (discussed in Section 5.3), the use of prepositions in metrical lines with trochaic rhythm (see Section 6.2 and Section 7.2), and the use of the D<sup>-</sup> metrical type (see Subsection 7.4.5).

## 5.2 Syllable weight and Craigie's law

Leading authorities Kari Ellen Gade (1995: 29–34) and Kristján Árnason (2011: 12), agree that Old Norse poetry distinguished heavy and light syllables. They also agree on which syllables are heavy and which are light. They disagree, however, on the premises for this distinction. Gade follows Hans Kuhn (1983: 53–55) and provides a simple method for determining syllable weight in Old Norse: A light syllable has two morae while a heavy syllable has three morae. The mora-numbers are the sum of morae for the vowel and the consonants up to the next vowel. A short vowel has one mora and so does a consonant, while long vowels (vowels with accent marks), diphthongs and geminates have two morae. The first syllable in *bíta* 'bite' thus has three morae and is heavy while the initial syllable in *hafa* 'have' and *búa* 'prepare' have two morae and are light.

I use Gade's scheme for determining syllable weight in this thesis, with the following addition that I presume most metrical experts will find reasonable: Word and morpheme boundaries may or may not be respected when counting morae. The word *hal-s* 'man.GEN' can thus be either a heavy or a light monosyllable, while the word *hals* 'neck' can only be heavy (I always use a hyphen to designate a morpheme boundary). The monosyllables *bú* 'farm' and *vit* 'intelligence,' have two morae and are light, but if a word follows that begins with a consonant, the word boundary can be ignored, and the syllable made heavy by what I and others refer to as cohesion.<sup>8</sup>

The above gives a morphemic character to the syllable concept. I use the hyphen frequently, because of the role that word and morpheme boundaries play in distinguishing light and heavy syllables. It does not, however, signal a syllable boundary. I find it remarkable how much use Old Norse poetry

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<sup>8</sup> See cohesion applied in Section 6.5 and the discussion of Myrvoll (2014: 49–51) with references to William A. Craigie (1900: 370), Kristján Árnason (1980: 133) and Kari Ellen Gade (1995: 68).

makes of word and morpheme boundaries to create rhythmical options and options in rhyme,<sup>9</sup> but I will not speculate why.

Kristján Árnason described Old Norse syllables in his handbook ‘The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese’ (CWN stands for Common West Nordic):

... the quantity system of Old Icelandic (and by implication CWN) distinguished heavy and light syllables. Relating quantity to segmental structure, the light syllables had short vowels as their nuclei and were followed by no more than one consonant, whereas the heavy ones were of two types, containing *either* long vowels followed by one or more consonant *or* a short vowel followed by two *or* more consonants (including geminates), as shown in (2.1):

(2.1)	Light	Heavy
	<i>sat</i> [sat] ‘sat’	<i>sát</i> [sa:t] ‘a place to sit’
		<i>sand</i> [sand] ‘sand’

The clearest evidence for the quantity distinction comes from Old Icelandic poetry. For one thing, light syllables cannot form an ictus on their own in skaldic metres like the *dróttkvætt*. Thus the initial syllables of forms like *boðit* ‘invited’ and *staðar* ‘place-GEN.SG’ were unable to fill the last strong position in a *dróttkvætt* line.

Kristján Árnason (2011: 12) (Italics as in the original).

Kristján and other linguists use the dot to mark syllable boundaries, and the syllabification is onset maximalistic, syllabifying *skipi* ‘ship.DAT’ as *ski.pi* and *skip* ‘ship.NOM’ as *ski.p* where the last consonant is said to be extrametrical. Kristján counts two morae in a heavy syllable while, as we have seen, Gade counts three, and he counts one mora where she counts two. For relating *hendings* (syllable-rhyme) to alliteration in *dróttkvætt*, the location of the syllable boundary may be relevant (see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2001 and Kristján

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<sup>9</sup> As an example in *dróttkvætt*: *val-r* ‘falcon.NOM’ rhymes against *hal-s* ‘man.GEN’ but *val-r* does not rhyme against *hals* ‘neck.NOM,’ while *hal-s* ‘man.GEN’ and *hals* ‘neck’ rhyme. For examples with references see Haukur Þorgeirsson (2013: 86–88).

Árnason 2007), but because no poetic rule in *kviðuháttir* seems to require information on the location of a syllable boundary, I do not use the dot in this thesis.

Another disagreement between Gade and Kristján is whether the first vowel in a word like *búa* is short or not, although they agree that the syllable is light. The length of the vowel in such a syllable is not relevant for any poetic rule that I am aware of, and I need not resolve this issue for that reason. The difference between light and heavy syllables is, however, of importance in Old Norse poetry. The odd numbered lines in *kviðuháttir* seem to be exceptional in this regard, as I discuss in Chapter 7.

The fourth position of metrical lines in *dróttkvætt* and *kviðuháttir* makes an interesting distinction in the weight of syllables, as first noted by the Scottish linguist William A. Craigie (1867–1957). Craigie (1900) demonstrated that Sievers' five-type system (1893) did not correctly capture a restriction on the fourth position of metrical lines in skaldic Old Norse meters, including *kviðuháttir*. He wrote:

We have seen that in the case of monosyllables there was a clear distinction of quantity only in the case of nouns (and adjectives) and that these were sharply divided into two classes, viz.

Long.	Short.
<i>bein, blóð, drótt, etc.</i>	<i>sæ-r, gný-r, mey, etc.</i>
<i>land, skjöldr, sverð, etc.</i>	<i>gram-r, ben, sök, etc.</i>

The first of these classes had normally full stress, the second (including such pronouns as *mik, mér, þat, því,* etc.) were ordinarily much less emphasized. The former class was thus the natural one from which to select words for stressed positions in the line, ... Under no circumstances could they be correctly put in the fourth place, as this gave the line a heavy ending instead of a light one; on the other hand words of the second class were constantly employed in this position

Craigie (1900: 370)

Thus, according to Craigie above, heavy monosyllables (long in his terminology) that were nominals (nouns and adjectives) could not stand in the fourth position of a metrical line (the last position in even lines of *kviðuháttir*). In *dróttkvætt*, this applies to the fourth position in both the odd and even lines,

which is the antepenultimate one in the line. This requirement is now known as Craigie’s law. Craigie noted that the inflectional endings *-r* and *-s* could be ignored when determining the weight (length-class) of a monosyllable. I attribute this to the morpheme boundary.

Craigie’s law has entered the discussion of the syllabification of Old Norse (see, for example, Klaus Johan Myrvoll 2014: 49–51), but most importantly it raises problems in the use of the Sievers five type system. According to this commonly used system, monosyllables in the fourth position in the B1 and E type of lines discussed in Chapter 6 should have a heavy stressed syllable (denoted by  $\acute{}$ ). Craigie’s law forbids nominals that are heavy monosyllables, but these Sievers-types forbid light monosyllables. Thus the Sievers-types and Craigie’s law directly conflict with each other. The poetic evidence is on Craigie’s side.

As I noted above, the Sievers’ system prescribed that metrical types that ended with a monosyllable (the B1 and E type) should only have a heavy syllable with a lift  $\acute{}$  (the acute accent denotes this lift). The monosyllable should, therefore, be trimoraic (using Gade’s terminology). It is, however, easily verified that the fourth position admits bimoraic monosyllables like *kné* ‘knee’ or *skut* ‘ship’s stern.’ Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 433–436 and 1892: 16) dealt with these by allowing what he called shortenings (*forkortelser* or *styttingar*). These transformations or licenses allowed positions specified for heavy syllables to accept light syllables (I discuss Finnur’s approach in the final paragraph of Section 5.4 and Section 6.5). Fulk uses a phonological solution, stating (Fulk 2016: 253) that a monosyllable *søk* ‘crime’ is light, but because such light monosyllables can carry a full lift at the end of a line (which requires a heavy syllable), he says: “it is as if the final word boundary acts as another consonant.”

Craigie’s law, on the other hand, states that not only are bimoraic words like *kné* and *skut* allowed but trimoraic nominals like *bein* ‘bone’ and *blóð* ‘blood’ are forbidden. With Craigie’s law in play, it does not suffice to add a virtual consonant at the end of lines in meters like *fornyrðislag* and *kviðuhátt*, and there is no easy way to modify Sievers’ five-type system to bring it in line with Craigie’s law. What scholars have usually done is to ignore the law or add it as an *ad hoc* rule (especially when dealing with skaldic meters).

Kristján Árnason (1991), sided with Craigie in an attempt to simplify the Sievers system in his handbook ‘The Rhythms of Dróttkvætt and other Old Icelandic Metres,’ which has its main focus *dróttkvætt*. K. E. Gade (1995), on the other hand, continued the use of the Sievers five-type system in her

‘The Structure of Old Norse *Dróttkvætt* Poetry.’ Kristján attempted to define and use only three rhythmic types. He left out a notation for secondary stress, foot boundaries and placement of alliteration and only made a distinction between metrically strong and weak positions. He assumed, as did Sievers, that each four-positional line had two strong positions. For that reason and by assuming that the fourth position was always weak, he could account for all possibilities with only three rhythmic types of metrical lines. One has a trochaic rhythm **svsv** (where an **s** is a strong position, and **v** is a weak position), another with two strong line-initial syllables **ssvv** and the third with an initial dip **vssv**. Three *dróttkvætt* examples that he took are the following (I separate the last trochee by a hyphen) (Kristján Árnason 1991: 124–125):

Undrask <b>o</b> glis landa	<b>svsv-sv</b>
<b>u</b> ngr stillir sá milli	<b>ssvv-sv</b>
ok <b>v</b> alkøstu <b>v</b> estan	<b>vssv-sv</b>

A measure of the applicability of Kristján’s three-type system is whether it suffices when describing some metrical features. I have found a classification using only three types of rhythm sufficiently detailed to account for rules for placement of verbs in *dróttkvætt* lines (see the VR-rule in Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2016a). For late medieval rhythmic types in *rímur*, beginning in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Haukur Þorgeirsson (2013: 126) concluded that the three-type system proposed by Kristján was a good fit.

By using the concepts of weak (**v**) and strong positions (**s**), it is possible to apply Kristján’s three-type system in such a way as to accommodate Craigie’s law, both for *dróttkvætt* and *kviðuháttir*. Requiring the fourth position to be weak achieves this. I call the relation between these metrical entities (strong and weak) versus the linguistic syllable-types **metrical mapping**. This relation is made to fit the poetic evidence, including Craigie’s law. I discuss this mapping again in Section 5.4 and in more detail in Section 6.1.

For describing the final cadence in *dróttkvætt*, the notation used by Kristján for strong and weak positions is, however, not adequate. For this cadence and for other uses in *kviðuháttir*, I have found it necessary to add the third strength level for positions with restricted vowels (see Section 6.2, cf. Section 2.4). I denote this strength level by **x** (a minuscule **x**), and positions mapped as such can only be filled by restricted syllables. Such syllables are usually inflectional endings, and they always have one of the three restricted

(unstressed) vowels <a, i, u>. An example is the second syllable in *skipi* ‘ship.DAT.’

The standard Old Norse orthography is regular and phonological enough for determining the weight of syllables. Long vowels (V:) are the diphthongs (*ei, ey, au*), the ligatures (*æ, œ*) and the accented vowels (*á, é, í, ó, ú, ý, ô*). Short vowels (V) are the non-accented vowels (*a, e, i, o, u, y, ø, ϕ*). Three ending vowels are traditionally called unstressed vowels (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972: 147–148). The standard orthography represents them by the same letters that are used to denote short vowels (*i, u, a*). This is not accurate because they come from a repertoire of only three vowels (see discussion in Section 2.4 on the orthography of page 99v that uses both <i> and <e> for the same restricted vowel). It is, however, in most cases an unambiguous notation for the following reasons: In most cases the restricted vowel is word-final *-i, -a, -u*, while a short vowel is never word-final. In other instances the restricted vowel is usually in an easily recognized inflectional ending such as *-ar, -ir, -is, -um*. I always assume that a word-final nonaccented vowel is restricted, also if it adds an inflectional consonant. Thus I assume that *enni* ‘forehead’ has a restricted syllable *-i*, also in its genitive case *ennis*. The same applies to *hilmi*.ACC-DAT, *hilmir*.NOM, *hilmis*.GEN ‘king.’

Formatives or derivational endings that are regularly used to form or derive words from other words seem often, but not always, to have restricted vowels. The *-ing* ending, for instance, never had a restricted vowel while the *-inn* ending that is often used to produce past verbal participles usually or always appears to have a restricted vowel. I discuss the *-inn* ending again in Subsection 7.4.5.

I list the linguistic syllable types in Table 5.2-1 below. I use a middle dot ‘·’ to denote a linguistically restricted syllable. I have not indicated any syllable boundaries.

**Table 5.2-1 Syllable types in Old Norse, significant in metrical scansion.**

<i>Weight</i>	<i>Vowels (V) and consonants (C) in a word</i>
Heavy syllable (–)	V:C and VC: or VC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub>
Light syllable (˘)	V: or VC
Restricted syllable (·)	V (restricted or reduced <i, a, u>)

Classical metrical analysis agrees that the difference between light and heavy syllables is of significance for the metrical scansion and it uses the same

notation for the syllables that I do, (-) and (˘). In the traditional analysis, these two types of syllables can have metrical strength or stress (lift) denoted by an acute sign (´) or (˘) or secondary lift or stress, denoted by a grave accent (˘) or (˘). (x) is used to denote a syllable of either type without any metrical stress (not in lift or half-lift).

The word (metrical) *rhythm* refers in this thesis to the pattern made by a sequence of positions with different strength in a poetic line. I do not use stress (denoted by accent marks) in my metrical analysis, and I note that the unstressed syllables in the Sievers metrical notation are not equivalent to the linguistically restricted syllables that I use. Instead of stress, in my analysis, come the strength levels that I have already mentioned (**s**, **v**, and **x**). The strong level (**s**) corresponds approximately to an accented heavy syllable (´) in the Sievers notation. I do not allow a light syllable in a strong position, while heavy syllables are frequently in weak positions. My approach is not very different from the traditional one used for instance by Finnur Jónsson, but it is an improvement since it enables me to state metrical rules that better fit metrical lines of *kviðuháttir* than previous accounts. I will demonstrate this for lines in AR with a trochaic rhythm and for lines where Craigie’s law applies.

### 5.3 The lost prefixes

The 12<sup>th</sup>-century Old Norse, as preserved in written sources, was without weakly stressed prefixes that existed in many forms in the Older Germanic languages and are still common in Modern German. Old Norse poems also do not contain these prefixes, but they often have in their place a word, written as *um* or *of*. Hans Kuhn (1929) referred to it as the filler word (German *Füllwort*). The filler word appears sporadically in some 12<sup>th</sup>-century texts, and it still exists in some frozen phrases in Modern Icelandic, such as *langt um liðið* ‘long since passed’ where a phonological form, corresponding to the preposition *um* ‘about,’ is used as a ‘filler.’

Even if 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship was clear about the origin of the filler word, detailed studies on its use and its history were not published until the year 1929 by Hans Kuhn in his doctoral thesis *Das Füllwort of-um im Altwestnordischen* (The filler word *of-um* in Old-West-Nordic). Shortly after, Ingerid Dal (1930a) published her doctoral thesis *Ursprung und Verwendung der altnordischen "Expletivpartikel" of, um* (Origin and use of the Old Nordic “expletive-particle” of, um).

Klaus Johan Myrvoll (2014: 293ff) gives an overview of the use of the filler word, based on Kuhn’s and Dal’s work. He concludes with Kuhn that the prefixes in the form of filler words were no longer a feature of the prose



language in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. They had, however, continued their existence in fixed phrases in archaic prose and in the poetic language (in YT and younger poetry) serving the Old Norse meters as a filling for metrical dips (thus the name filler word, *Füllwort*).

Kuhn and Dal had different ideas on why *um-of* replaced many different prefixes. Hallfrid Christiansen (1960: 380) contrasted these ideas in her article: *De germanske uaksentuerte prefikser i nordisk* (The Germanic unstressed prefixes in Nordic). The following is from her English summary:

The explanation by Hans Kuhn (1929) of the peculiar development in Old Norse is based on the assumption that the prefixes *of* and *um* have ousted all other prefixes and replaced them by pure substitution. Professor Ingerid Dal (1930), on the other hand, considers that all unstressed prefixes in the syncope period were reduced to a barely audible ‘Vordruck’, a *schwa*-vowel, which in writing was expressed by *of* or *um* before initial labial sounds.

But neither of these theories can be correct.

The use of *of/um* is a sandhi-phenomenon. These particles never open a sentence, nor a strophe, nor the 2nd part of a compound. There can be no doubt that the particles, as late as in our oldest preserved writings, had a certain function and were felt to be closely connected with a following verb or noun. But the tie between the particle and the word to which it belongs is gradually loosened, and the particles are used as expletive syllables to comply with the rhythmical exigencies of the metre – even before words which cannot otherwise be shown to take a prefix.

Hallfrid Christiansen (1960: 380)

YT and Egill’s poetry are the main sources for the use of the filler word in *kviðuhátt*. I use examples from ARINBJARNARKVIÐA to demonstrate the use of the filler word.

In AR, the filler word occurs three times before a past participle:

AR 3.8 <b>heim</b> um sóttan	‘sought home (visited)’
AR 9.8 um <b>heitin</b> var	‘was promised’
AR 17.6 um <b>gæddan</b> hefr	‘has supplied’

AR has two examples of a filler word preceding an infinitive.

AR 6.2 um **bera** þorða ‘dared to carry’

AR 23.2 um **eiga** gat ‘got to own’

The filler word stands three times before a finite verb (text is as in BE 2003: 155–162). The verb is in a subordinated clause in all cases:

AR 11.1–11.2 Arinbjörn er oss **einn** um hóf ‘A. who alone us lifted’

AR 13.7–13.8 nema ek þess **gagns** **gjöld** um vinnak ‘unless I repay  
those favors’

AR 16.2 er **flestr** um veit ‘as everyone knows’

Filler words before nouns are rare and it is often difficult to determine if they correspond to former prefixes or not. AR has the following two instances (see notes on them in Chapter 10, under their stanzas):

AR 2.8 **grepps** um æði ‘man’s behavior’

AR 22.3 sá er of **dolgr** ‘he who is an enemy (see notes on Stanza 22)’

In Section 6.2, I show that the filler words and inflectional endings could fill metrical positions that could not be filled by prepositions. This applies to the oldest *kviðuháttir* poetry (before the year 1000), which is also the poetry that has most of the filler words. This indicates that at the time of composition, the filler words had the same type of syllables as the inflectional endings.

In Table 5.4-1, I give the number of filler words of each type that I have found in the whole *kviðuháttir* corpus.<sup>10</sup> It is in all cases before a verbal form, except twice in AR and once in ST where it is before a noun.

<sup>10</sup> YT 1.8, 3.6, 5.12, 6.4, 6.8, 7.12, 8.4, 9.6, 11.8, 12.2, 12.4, 13.4, 14.2, 14.3, 14.8, 15.4, 16.12, 18.4, 20.8, 21.4, 22.4, 25.4, 26.12, 28.8, 32.8, 34.8, 35.4, 36.4, 37.8. Egill *lausavísa* 25.2. AR 2.8, 3.8, 6.2, 9.8, 11.2, 13.8, 16.2, 17.6, 22.3, 23.2. ST 5.4, 6.2, 6.8, 7.2, 8.2, 11.8, 12.8, 18.4, 21.2, 22.8, 23.6, 24.2. HÁL 10.8, 12.5. GLÆ 9.5. ÆVIKVIÐA 1.8. GEIRVIÐARFLOKKR 1.5. INTERPOLATION 1.8. HKV 5.4, 12.8, 16.8.

Table 5.4-1 Placement of *of-um* in the *kviðuháttir* corpus.

Century	Poem	<i>Um-of before a past participle or infinitive</i>	<i>Um-of before finite verbs</i>	<i>Um-of before a nominal</i>
9 <sup>th</sup>	YNGLINGATAL	13 / 14	2	0
10 <sup>th</sup>	Egill <i>lv.</i> 25	0	1	0
	SONATORREK	1/2	8	1
	ARINBJ.KVIÐA	3/2	3	2
	HÁLEYGJATAL	2/0	0	0
11 <sup>th</sup>	GLÆLOGNSKV	0	1	0
	ÆVIKV (Grettir)	0	1	0
12 <sup>th</sup>	GEIRVIÐARFLOKKR	1/0	0	0
13 <sup>th</sup>	INTERPOLATION in VB	1/0	0	0
	HÁKONARKVIÐA	3/0	0	0

Scholars have used the frequency of the filler word as a criterion for the dating of Old Norse poetry. Hans Kuhn (1929: 84) counted the number of filler words in skaldic poetry that Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915) had arranged chronologically and found that its frequency of occurrence dwindled with time. Bjarne Fidjestøl (1999: 207–230) applies this method more systematically to Eddic and skaldic poetry, and Christopher D. Sapp (2000: 85–98) applies it specifically to *kviðuháttir*. Klaus Johan Myrvoll (2014: 293–308) has more details on the frequency of the filler word in different meters, and for different poets. The correlation between the presumed date and the frequency of the filler word is impressive as seen in Table 5.4.1. Myrvoll (2014: 308) calculated a correlation coefficient of 0.94 for the *kviðuháttir* poems (YT, ST, AR, HÁL, ÆVIKVIÐA/HALLMUNDARKVIÐA, GLÆ, NKT, HKV). For his *dróttkvætt* corpus, he calculated a coefficient of 0.74, which is also a good correlation. This correlation provides an argument in favor of the authenticity of the *kviðuháttir* poems.

#### 5.4 Traditional analyses – State of the art

A feature of all Old-Germanic poetry is the use of alliteration to bind together line-pairs (creating long-lines). The word-onsets that alliterated were similar in all Germanic meters (on Old Norse alliteration, see, e.g., Ragnar Ingi Aðalsteinsson 2014, Kristján Árnason 1991: 5–8, and 2007). Max Rieger (1876) examined the interplay between alliteration, word classes, and word order in

his *Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst*. An overview of his results is given by Gade (1995: 36–38), and they may be assumed to apply to both Old Norse and West Germanic poetry.

Rules for metrical strength in the Anglo Saxon BEOWULF and Old Norse poetry are usually taken to be similar. I will not give a detailed comparison, but I provide the following quotation to a recent Ph.D. thesis by Nicolay Yakovlev to exemplify a mainstream approach in analyzing BEOWULF, using the terms strong and weak metrical positions similar to the approach that I use in this thesis.

(17) Strong metrical positions are formed by (the long syllables or resolved sequences of) roots, suffixes and stressed prefixes of open-class words, excluding finite lexical verbs; strong metrical positions are also formed by (the initial – except for an unstressed prefix – long syllable or resolved sequences of) any other word displaced from its normal syntactic position and/or standing verse-finally.

(18) Weak metrical positions are formed by (the syllables of) inflections, unstressed prefixes, finite lexical verbs, and closed-class words

Nicolay Yakovlev (2008: 75)

What Yakovlev describes above is close to what I call the traditional interpretation of metrical mapping from syllable types to metrical strength, discussed further in Section 6.1 (in the next chapter) and which applies to most Old Norse poetry. However, I note that although strong metrical positions normally require a long (heavy) syllable, the odd lines of *kviðuháttir* are an exception as I argue in Section 7.1.

For the structure of all Old Germanic alliterative poetry, Eduard Sievers (1893) created a unified model with his five-type system. As I have already discussed, Sievers introduced a notational system that distinguishes heavy and light syllables (- and ~) that could each have stress or secondary stress. He also had a notation for what he called an unstressed syllable (x), including, but not corresponding directly to the restricted syllables in Old Norse. Sievers included a metrical foot demarcation (|) that often coincided with word boundaries, and he allowed two syllables to occupy a single metrical position under given conditions in what he called a *Verschleifung* (plural *-fungen*).

It is clear from the above that Sievers makes a distinction between metrical positions and linguistic material filling these positions. His notation

does not, however, keep the metrical and linguistic denotations separate. As an example, the notation  $\acute{}$  is a denotation for a linguistically heavy syllable with metrical stress (lift), the notation  $\grave{}$  denotes a light syllable with secondary stress (half-lift) and  $\grave{}$  is a heavy syllable with stress (lift) and alliteration. With this notation, it is difficult to account for Craigie’s law as I discussed earlier (see on metrical mapping Section 5.2).

The permissible structures according to Sievers’ model, assuming two main stresses, have been seen as variants (subtypes) of one of five archetypes (main types), labeled by the first five letters of the alphabet (A type, B type, C type, D type, and E type), with subtypes, indicated by Arabic numbers, like A3. The following are eleven common types for *fornyrðislag* in even lines listed by Fulk (2016: 256–258). Fulk does not indicate the position of the alliteration by using a double accent mark ( $\acute{\acute{}}$ ). See note on double alliteration in Section 6.5. The sign ( $\acute{\acute{}}$  denotes resolution, see below):

A1	$\acute{}$ x   $\acute{}$ x	A2k	$\acute{}$ $\grave{}$   $\acute{}$ x	B1	x $\acute{}$   x $\acute{}$
C1	x $\acute{}$   $\acute{}$ x	C2	x $\acute{\acute{}}$   $\acute{}$ x	C3	x $\acute{}$   $\acute{}$ x
D1	$\acute{}$   $\acute{}$ $\grave{}$ x	D2	$\acute{}$   $\acute{}$ $\grave{}$ x	D3	$\acute{}$   $\acute{}$ $\grave{}$ x
D4	$\acute{}$   $\acute{}$ x $\grave{}$	E	$\acute{}$ $\grave{}$ x   $\acute{}$		

Some of these types have a light syllable in a lift (i.e., they have a light syllable with an accent mark). This occurs in the types A2k, C3, D2, and D3. In all cases, these syllables are preceded by a lift (or a half-lift). Light syllables in a lift are otherwise forbidden. Myrvoll (2014: 167) noted that this principle was violated in the odd lines, see below. In the approach that I use, light syllables are always forbidden in lifts in the even lines, while they are allowed in any lift in the odd lines.

The A2k type and the D2 type are not distinguishable, except by reference to word boundaries (foot boundaries denoted by ‘|’). The same applies to the E type versus the D4 types. Because the D4-type does not appear in AR and because AR has only one line of the D2 type, this is a marginal issue in analyzing AR. My approach groups together A2k and D2 lines, E and D4 lines, but otherwise it produces the same groups as above. I discuss the D1 type (*shivering lines*) in Section 7.4.5.

Finnur Jónsson (1892) embraced the Sievers system for use in Old Norse and introduced it in his metrical handbook *Stutt íslenzk bragfræði*. In this book, he writes that he was forced to publish it because the use of Sievers’ metrical types had met with resistance among Icelanders. Finnur mentions the

work of Guðbrandur Vigfússon, who had published a chapter entitled: ‘On the Old Northern and Teutonic Metre’ in his *Corpus poeticum boreale* (see GV and F. Y. Powell Vol. I 1883: 432–458). Guðbrandur was very critical of applying strict syllable counting to *fornyrðislag*. According to Finnur (1892: 11), Guðbrandur’s work is without any value as it is based on invalid premises (“er samin eptir alröngum meginreglum og því alsendis ónýt”).

To ensure a correct syllable count and proper rhythm, Sievers incorporated what he and Hans Kuhn (1983: 67–70) called *Verschleifungen*, which allows two syllables to fill one metrical position (see Section 6.1). I refer to a *Verschleifung* in a lift as resolution. The use of this feature is more restricted in Old Norse poetry than it is in its West Germanic counterparts. Craigie’s law, discussed in Section 4.2, is another feature that appears to make Old Norse rhythm and the W-Germanic rhythm different. I also mention the following third difference observed by Seiichi Suzuki 2014 (he also made this point in Suzuki 2008):

Through statistical and comparative investigation of Old Germanic alliterative verse, we will show that *fornyrðislag* has a marked preference for the trochaic cadence lift + drop ( / x), in sharp contrast to its West Germanic cognates as epitomized in *Beowulf* and *Heliand*

Seiichi Suzuki (2014: 309)

In Chapter 6, I call these trochaic types ‘lines with a strong penult,’ and I will show that the remaining group of lines has a strong antepenult; they all obey Craigie’s law in the *kviðuháttir* corpus, and the strong penult or the strong antepenult are without *Verschleifungen*. This means that only the first of two lifts (or strong positions) in *kviðuháttir* lines can be resolved.

Anacrusis refers to extrametrical syllables at the beginning of lines. Anacrusis is at times helpful in fitting lines into the five type model of Sievers, but it is traditionally assumed to be absent in Old Norse poetry. It is certainly not used in regular Old Norse *dróttkvætt*, but according to Seiichi Suzuki, it was present in *fornyrðislag* which prompted Haukur Þorgeirsson (2012b) to review the lines in question and claim that most of them could be re-analyzed to be without anacrusis. Even if Haukur’s conclusion is that anacrusis cannot be regarded as a metrical principle in Old Norse verse, Suzuki’s observation stands that some examples exist in *fornyrðislag* that are hard to analyze without it. Such examples are confined to lines with trochaic rhythm according to R. D. Fulk (2016: 258). According to Sievers, the even (quadrisyllabic) lines of *kviðuháttir* have the same metrical types as lines in *fornyrðislag*, but he noted

(1879: 293) that some lines in Egill's poetry were hard to classify without resorting to anacrusis. He wrote:

Wir werden deshalb wo[h]l als besondere eigenheit der Egilschen dichtung die neigung zu gelegentlicher *auftakt*-bildung in den geradzahligen zeilen anzuerkennen haben.

Sievers (1879: 293)

'We will therefore probably have to recognize as a special property of Egill's poetry a tendency for an occasional upbeat in the even-numbered lines.'

Some of the lines that Sievers gave as examples of anacrusis in *kviðuhátt* may be defective, but the following three lines seem hard to account for without allowing for occasional anacrusis in Egill's poems (text as by Sievers: 1879: 293):

ST 21.2 við geira dróttinn,

ST 24.6 með góðan vilja

AR 8.2 en tíru fylgðu.

A *lausavísa* (number 25 in FJ 1912–1915 BI: 48) by Egill (BE 2003: 113) has the line *af hilmi at þiggja*, and in Chapter 6 I will add AR 4.2 *und ýgis hjálmi* and AR 13.4 *at Viðris fulli* to this list. These six lines have a trochaic rhythm (type A1), and they are thus of the type in which anacrusis is exceptionally found in *fornyrðislag* as I stated earlier.

Hardly any examples of anacrusis occur in *kviðuhátt* poetry by other skalds, except in HÁKONARKVIÐA which has two such examples, one of which is probably copied verbatim from AR 4.2 *und ýgis hjálmi* (see Subsection 6.3.5) (HKV appears to be modeled on AR).

Sievers (1879: 292) observed that in odd-numbered lines (odd lines) of *kviðuhátt*, *Verschleifungen* appeared not to be carried out as expected. He used the term *Nichtverschleifungen* for this phenomenon, and he may have been the first among modern scholars to note this as a property of *kviðuhátt*. He counted 50 such cases versus only 18 where two syllables were contracted into one (with *Verschleifungen*). The first syllable in the following line demonstrates a *Nichtverschleifung*:

## AR 1.5 opinspjallr ‘outspoken’

Here the first syllable is light but is expected to be heavy. The first two syllables cannot be contracted in a *Verschleifung*, because this would leave the line with only two metrical positions.

*Nichtverschleifung* has also been called a ‘suspension of resolution.’ It always involves a light syllable appearing where a heavy syllable is expected. I use this concept, but I do not see a need to relate it structurally to a *Verschleifung* (or resolution) even if the name implies this, and it was the understanding of Sievers. This could be a metrical license that also occurs in *dróttkvætt* and *hrynhent*. In Kristján Árnason’s three-type system, it could be used to account for a metrical type that is labeled C3 in Sievers’ five-type system. An example of the C3 type is the following line (BE 2003: 103):

Egill *lausavísa* 24.7      viðr ofrhuga yfrinn (BE 2003: 103)  
‘with a daring mind’

According to the three-type system of Kristján Árnason (1991), the rhythm in this line could be seen as **vssv-sx** with a light syllable in a strong position in the second last trochee (*-huga*) that normally requires a heavy syllable.

Myrvoll (2014: 167) sees it as a general principle that a lift can only have a light syllable if it follows another lift (as in the C3 type and as I noted above for Fulk’s types). In the odd lines of *kviðuháttir*, however, he noted that a light syllable could also be in the first of two lifts and he calls that a license. He justifies this license by it being easier to recognize the structure of the line with three instead of four metrical positions (“Med berre tri posisjonar i verset der tvo av deim var tyngde, var det minimal sjanse for at ein skulde taka i mist av strukturen, og difor kunde ein tillata desse licensane”). I mention this insight of Myrvoll again in the beginning of Chapter 7.

A *Nichtverschleifung* (or a metrical license that allows weak syllables in lifts) is commonly assumed in the second last trochee in the octosyllabic *hrynhent* meter as in (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 308):

Arnórr HRYNHENDA 9.2 siklingr ýtti flota miklum ‘the king sent a great fleet’

The rhythm is **svsvsv-sx**, with a *Nichtverschleifung* for the first syllable of *flota* ‘fleet.’ Lines of this type are frequent in *hrynhent*. The trochaic rhythm is the



predominant rhythm of *hrynhent*, and a *Nichtverschleifung* allows the metrical description to be simplified by making this line purely trochaic. Myrvoll (2014: 166) discusses this feature of *hrynhent*, but he does not treat it as a metrical license. He only states that the second last metrical foot can both be  $\acute{x}$  and  $\acute{\text{c}}x$ .

*Nichtverschleifungen* (suspensions of resolution) have been used to describe the meter of BEOWULF (under given conditions, see, e.g., Nicolay Yakovlev 2008: 57), and as an exceptional feature, this metrical license is probably not unique in Old Norse poetry. As a regular feature for all lifts in a metrical line as it is in the odd lines of Old Norse *kviðuháttr* (see Chapter 7), the use of *Nichtverschleifungen* would, however, seem to be unique.

The frequent occurrence of *Nichtverschleifung* (suspension of resolution) as a special rule in odd lines of *kviðuháttr* can be dealt with in two ways. One is to let a poetic license allow light syllable in any rhythmic lift. The other is to specify a large number of metrical types. The latter was the approach preferred by Kari Ellen Gade (2005: 160). For most of the patterns that can occur, a Sievers-type metrical label exists, except for lines with alliteration in positions with a light syllable. Gade specified two new rhythmic types for this eventuality with the label ‘other.’ Gade includes in her list some forms with double alliteration, but she does not assign different labels to them, except for the A1 vs. the A2 type. I let forms with double alliteration be equivalent to forms with single alliteration. Her types for the odd lines are the following ( $\acute{x}$  is a heavy syllable in a lift and with alliteration,  $\acute{\text{c}}$  is a light syllable in a lift and with alliteration):

A1	$\acute{x}   \acute{x}$	A2	$\acute{x}   \acute{\text{c}}$	A3	$\acute{x}   \acute{x}$
C1	$x \acute{\text{c}}   \acute{\text{c}}$	C3	$x \acute{\text{c}}   \acute{\text{c}}$	D1	$\acute{\text{c}}   \acute{\text{c}} \acute{\text{c}}$
D2	$\acute{\text{c}}   \acute{\text{c}} \acute{\text{c}}$	D3	$\acute{\text{c}}   \acute{\text{c}} \acute{\text{c}}$	Other	$x \acute{\text{c}} \acute{\text{c}}$
Other	$\acute{\text{c}} x \acute{\text{c}}$				

Myrvoll (2014: 167) listed eight metrical types for the odd lines. He did not use alliteration to distinguish between the A1, A2 and A3 types like Gade did, but he added an A21 type ( $\acute{\text{c}} \acute{\text{c}} | \acute{\text{c}}$ ), and he did not include the D3 type ( $\acute{\text{c}} | \acute{\text{c}} \acute{\text{c}}$ ).

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 433–436) dealt with the *Nichtverschleifungen* in the odd lines through the use of his *styttingar* or *forkortelser*, ‘shortenings.’ These shortenings allowed positions, specified by the Sievers types to contain only heavy syllables, to contain light syllables (see this described in Section 7.6). He also applied this to the even lines where it is less appropriate,

and this principle also does not suffice to accommodate Craige’s law as I already discussed in Section 5.2.

I take the following line as an example of how Finnur dealt with the monosyllables subjected to Craige’s law:

AR 4.6 við **stirðan** hug

According to Finnur (1886–1888: 435), this line is of type B with the rhythm  $x \acute{=} | x \acute{=}$ . The last position should, therefore, be metrically strong and have a heavy syllable, whereas *hug* is light according to his criteria. Thus Finnur accounts for this type of example with a metrical license called shortening, while Fulk (2016) resorts to linguistic means, seeing a word like a *hug* as a heavy monosyllable when it is at the end of a line. According to Craige, however, this position is not strong in the first place.

### 5.5 The use of metrical types to edit poetry

Even if scholars disagree on many issues regarding Old Norse meters, it would be wrong to conclude that a metrical theory is not useful when editing poetry. For instance, no-one will deny that regular meters like *kviðuháttir* and *dróttkvætt* have only a limited number of metrical types. In chapters number 6 and 7, I group all lines in AR into metrical groups, comparable to those used by Finnur Jónsson for AR in his 1886–1888 edition of *Egils saga*. I label the groups according to Fulk 2016 and provide both the metrical denotation of Sievers and my own with a system of strong, weak and restricted syllabic positions. To detect outliers and metrical errors, I believe this approach produces results that most scholars would agree on.



## 6 The rhythmic types in even lines of *kviðuhátt*

In this chapter, I investigate the rhythm of the even-numbered lines (even lines) of AR. The even lines have four metrical positions like regular lines of *fornyrðislag* and I assume, as is traditional, that they have the same basic rhythm. The method that I use is conventional; I determine the rhythm of each line, and I classify the lines according to their type of rhythm. To describe the rhythm, I use metrical strength levels (**s**, **v**, **x**) that I relate to the linguistic syllable types (-, ∘, ·) through a metrical mapping that I describe in the following section. I achieve all of the following with this description:

- 1) I fully accommodate Craigie's law,
- 2) I never have to allow light syllables (∘) in lifts (**s**),
- 3) I separate lines into the same rhythmic groups that are traditionally assumed for *fornyrðislag*, and I can consequently use the same labels for these groups as used for the Sievers rhythmic types.

I discuss alliteration separately in Section 6.5. In Section 6.6, I compare my results to those of Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 433–434), who also grouped lines in AR into rhythmic groups. I summarize my results in Section 6.7, and I discuss the usefulness of the current approach. I give a summary for both the even and odd lines at the end of Chapter 7.

### 6.1 Number of positions, metrical mapping, and stress-words

Scholars must deduce information on the rhythm of old poems from the linguistic text, consisting of lines, each with a sequence of syllables following the patterns of the poetic form. As stated in Section 5.2, I see linguistic syllables as being what I call heavy, light, or restricted, and they occur in different parts of speech (in words of different word-classes, and different part of words). The most basic distinction is between full and restricted syllables. The full syllables, which may receive some linguistic stress, are either heavy or light (long or short). I use (-) to denote a linguistically long or heavy syllable, (∘) for a light full syllable and (·) (middle dot) for a syllable with a restricted vowel. The restricted syllables are without stress (denoted by accent marks in the traditional notation), while the reverse is not true: Syllables without stress are

not necessarily restricted. Monosyllabic finite verbs are for instance frequently both without stress and a restricted syllable.

The meter *kviðuháttir* has, as we have seen, a fixed number of metrical positions, three in odd lines and four in even lines. An example of a long-line (couplet or verse) in AR is the following:

AR 7.1–2      Né hamfagrt    ‘Nor outwardly pretty’  
                   hǫlðum þótti    ‘men thought’

Often, there are more syllables in a line than there are available positions. Unless the line is corrupt, the number of syllables can be adjusted to the number of metrical positions by operations that have traditionally been called *bragarmál*, *vowel elision*, or *Verschleifung*. These concepts are well known, and I can refer to any handbook on their meaning and use, even if more often than not it is not very precise. I only give a short description of each term, as I understand them.

***Bragarmál*** ‘poem’s language’ is mentioned by Snorri in *Snorra-Edda* (Faulkes 2007: 8, 102) and said to be a poetic license. It involves the deletion of the vowel of an enclitic form, such as a personal pronoun that is appended to a verb (*ek* > *-k*) (Snorri used the example *varðak*). The first word of AR on page 99v is an example of *bragarmál*, *emk* (*em ek*, sometimes written *em’k*) for ‘I am.’ *Bragarmál* also refers to the reduction of the relative particle *es* to *-s* and the verb *es* ‘is’ to *-s*. The cliticization *þat es* > *þats* is reminiscent of the English contraction *that is* > *that’s*. Page 99v has the younger *er* for *es*, and it has no example of cliticization with *er* (or older *es*).

**Vowel elision** occurs when a vowel shares a rhythmic dip with another vowel in hiatus, and one is deleted.<sup>11</sup> An example is in the second line of the poem in AR 1.2 *hilmí at mæra*, which has four positions, but five syllables, one of which can be elided to give something like *hilm’at mæra*. I mention the rhythm of this particular line in the next section.

***Verschleifung*** is, as we have seen, a term used by Sievers and Kuhn for a light syllable plus another syllable that together fill one metrical position. The syllables are usually in a disyllabic word (for instance *meðal* ‘between’). I do not take it for a metrical error if the syllables are in two words (for instance

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<sup>11</sup> The first vowel is normally elided in modern Icelandic. According to Gade (2012: li–liv) it is the second that is elided in Old Norse.

*sjau ok* ‘seven and’) but I assume that some restrictions apply. One is that the first syllable must stay light when any word- or morpheme-boundary is removed between the two syllables. Thus *sjau með* ‘seven with’ cannot fill one metrical position.<sup>12</sup> If the position in question has a rhythmic lift (is a strong position), I state that it is resolved in a process called resolution. Thus the following line (AR 20.6) has two *Verschleifungen*: *meðal skata húsa*. Here the sequence of syllables is  $\sim \cdot \sim \cdot - \cdot$  (six syllables) which in my notation fill four metrical positions **v’s’sx** (see the last paragraph of this section for the meaning of **v**’, **s**’, and **x**’). Two syllables in a *Verschleifung* can support lifts and alliteration, and thus have the same function as one heavy syllable. I use the term a **heavy syllable structure** to denote either two syllables in a *Verschleifung* or a heavy syllable (intrinsically or through cohesion, see below).

With four positions and three syllable types, it is theoretically possible to specify 81 different rhythmic types for even lines of *kviðuháttir*. To organize these types and to create a smaller set of archetypes, it is necessary to create some notation or shorthand for the metrical patterns that occur. Sievers used, as I have mentioned, five different syllable designations in his metrical scansions:  $\acute{}$ ,  $\grave{}$ ,  $\grave{}$ ,  $\grave{}$ , and  $\times$  (for either  $\sim$  or  $-$  without accents), mixing three types or degrees of accents (acute, grave and none) with two syllable types, all seen as relevant for the analysis of the metrical patterns. I find it desirable to keep metrical features (denoting things like lifts and dips) separate from the linguistic syllable types and to use as few designations as possible.

I use three names (designations) for metrical positions in *kviðuháttir* while Kristján Árnason (1991) uses two (strong and weak) in his description of the rhythm of *dróttkvætt* as discussed in 5.2. I let a **strong position (s)** be a position that can only hold a heavy syllable. I let a **weak position (v)** be a position that can hold any syllable, and I let a **restricted position (x)** (minuscule **x**) stand for a position that can only hold a restricted syllable. Table 6.1-1 displays this nomenclature. In this chapter, I show that this approach reveals some interesting properties of the *kviðuháttir* meter that are not captured by Sievers’ notation. At the same time, however, it creates rhythmic types that correspond to the rhythmic types in the Sievers system (A1, C1, C2, C3, and so forth). Thus a door is kept open to older research that usually refers to the Sievers types, and its results can be used, such as on frequencies of rhythmic types.

Table 6.1-1 describes the principles of **metrical mapping** in even lines. For even lines, strong positions corresponding to lifts are reserved for

<sup>12</sup> Another restriction might be on the use of two words in a lift.

heavy syllables, whereas in the odd lines, discussed in Chapter 7, I relax this requirement. Some might argue that there was no need to introduce (**x**) as a special type of weak metrical position, different from (**v**). This strength level is, however, very useful, as I demonstrate in the next section.

**Table 6.1-1** Syllable weight and strength – A mapping of metrical strength and linguistic weight.

<i>Metrical strength of a position</i>	<i>Linguistic syllable types that can occupy a given position</i>		
Strong ( <b>s</b> )	heavy (-)		
Weak ( <b>v</b> )	heavy (-)	light (-)	restricted (·)
Restricted ( <b>x</b> )			restricted (·)

The metrical mapping in Table 6.1-1 considers linguistic units smaller than the word, i.e., syllable types and their composition, but another linguistic level to consider in this context is that of words and word-classes, and their syntactic or semantic properties. It has long been noted that nominals (nouns, adjectives, and infinite verbal forms) behave differently from finite verbs, modal adverbs, pronouns and prepositions in that the former have a greater tendency to form lifts and to take part in alliteration than the latter (cf. the hierarchy of stress presented by Gade 1995: 37–38). Fulk (2016: 253) uses the term **stress-word** for words of high semantic content, and I will adopt this as part of my terminology. These words belong to open word-classes that are likely to carry phrasal accents under normal conditions. Stress-words are of great importance to the metrical discussion. Fulk says that they always bear stress on the initial syllable (indicated by one of the two accent marks used by the traditional Sievers notation).

Although I will use the term stress-word, I never refer to stress (represented by accent marks), except when discussing the Sievers types. The term stress is thus not part of my model for metrical analysis; instead, I use the term metrical strength, and the two terms are not synonyms. In my analysis the metrical strength level of the initial syllable of stress-words is always as follows: If the syllable is heavy (long), the position is strong (**s**), but if the syllable is light, the position is weak (**v**), except in *Verschleifungen*. Thus a monosyllable that is a noun or an adjective is either in a weak (**v**) metrical position (e.g., *hug* ‘mind’) or in a strong (**s**) position (e.g., *hǫnd* ‘hand’). A heavy syllable that is not in a stress-word can be in a weak position, and the same applies to a heavy syllable in a stress-word that is not word-initial.

The features of stress-words and metrical mapping can automatically account for Craigie’s law. To demonstrate this, I take the two following lines as examples:

AR 4.6 við **stirðan** hug ‘with firm mind’

AR 15.8 á **tungu** mér ‘on my tongue’

These lines are of a rhythmic type that Sievers labels as B1 and prescribes to end in:  $\prec$  (a heavy syllable in a lift). The first line ends in a stress-word *hug* ‘mind,’ with a light syllable. (In the final paragraphs of Section 5.4, I discuss the different ways in which Fulk and Finnur Jónsson dealt with this mismatch.) By prescribing that B1 lines end with a weak (**v**) position, Craigie’s law (see Section 5.2) is fulfilled, because this forces the last monosyllable to be light unless it is not in a stress-word (as applies to the pronoun *mér* ‘me’ in the second line).

The location of stress-words and their syllable-weight usually gives enough information to assign strength levels to positions in a given line. Words that are not nominals can at times function as stress-words (presumably by some sort of phrasal accent), especially if they stand at the beginning of lines (for instance the adverb *upp* ‘up’ in Yt 16.12 *upp of halda* ‘hold up’). The meter frequently ignores word boundaries, which can make a light syllable heavy by adding a consonant from the beginning of the following word. This is referred to as **cohesion**. Morpheme boundaries can, on the other hand, be employed to exclude a consonant from the mora count to make a syllable light that would otherwise be heavy. This often involves the inflectional endings *-r* and *-s*. The word *gjafstól* ‘gift stool’ has, for instance, a light plus a heavy syllable if morpheme boundaries are respected ( $\sim -$ ) but it has two heavy syllables if they are not ( $- -$ ).

I use an apostrophe to denote two syllables in a metrical position. I use **s’** to denote a strong position with two syllables, I use **v’** to denote a weak position with two syllables, and **x’** to denote a restricted position with two syllables. All of these can stand for *bragarmál*, vowel elision, or a *Verschleifung*. Kristján Árnason (1991: 126–130) and Fulk (2016: 154) use the term **resolution** for a *Verschleifung* in a lift (**s’**). In this thesis, I adopt this terminology. I note that resolution refers to **s’** only and the same applies to its synonym a **resolved position**.



## 6.2 Dips in Trochaic even lines – The usefulness of restricted x

In trochaic lines, rhythmic strength alternates between lifts and dips (lift-dip-lift-dip), and this type of rhythm is by far the most common pattern in the even lines of AR. Including three lines with anacruses, the poem has 42 such lines, out of some 96 lines of the poem as a whole. (Myrvoll 2014: 173 counts 41 trochaic lines in the even lines of AR). In this section, I will show that it does not suffice, in the *kviðuháttir* meter of AR, to describe this rhythm with the notation **svsv**, or with the notation used by Sievers  $\acute{x} | \acute{x}$  (A1 type) where the x stands for either a light ( $\sim$ ) or heavy ( $-$ ) syllable without stress. I discuss this rhythmic pattern before I introduce other rhythmic types. With this discussion, I demonstrate the usefulness of the restricted position **x** for specifying rhythm in *kviðuháttir*.

*Dróttkvætt* lines have six metrical positions, and they end in a trochee (for instance, *landa* in *Undrask ǫglis landa* see Section 5.2). Edwin Jessen (1863: 285–287) was the first to notice that the penultimate position in *dróttkvætt* lines always has a heavy syllable (see Finnur Jónsson 1892: 9–10). I and others consequently assume that the penult in *dróttkvætt* is always metrically strong and should be denoted by **s**. However, denoting the *dróttkvætt* cadence by **-sv** does not account for the well-known fact that there can never be a word boundary between the last two syllables. The last syllable must be in an ending, in other words, it must be a restricted syllable ( $\cdot$ ), using only one of the three restricted vowels <i, u, a>. Exceptions hardly exist (see Kuhn 1983: 124–126). This final syllable is in most cases an inflectional ending, containing one consonant as a maximum (e.g., *ir*, *-ar*, *-um*); some word-formational suffixes never occur in the last position. The ending *-ing* is an example (see Helgi Skúli Kjartansson 2011: 10). So instead of **sv**, the cadence in question is accurately denoted by **sx**, where **x** represents a restricted position that can only hold a restricted syllable. The cadence is usually a disyllabic word, but it can be part of a trisyllabic word (as pointed out by Craigie 1900: 360–362). An example is *-fagra* in Gunnlaugr *lausavísa* 10.2 *Armdags en litfagra* FJ 1912–1915 BI: 187). Line final **sx**-trochees also occur in *kviðuháttir* as I will now discuss.

In the even lines of *kviðuháttir*, a trochaic line typically has two trochees with two heavy syllables followed by inflectional endings, which means that both dips are restricted, as in:

YT 28.2            allri þjóðu            sxsx            ‘all men’

In YNGLINGATAL almost all even lines with trochaic rhythm are of this type, a total of 56 lines<sup>13</sup> (Myrvoll 2014: 173 also counts 56 trochaic lines in YT). The following six lines are the only exceptions in that they do not have an ending with a restricted syllable (**x**) in the first dip (Marold 2012a: 9–58 with stanza and line numbers from FJ 1912–1915 BI: 7–14):

YT 7.6	<b>Ulfs</b> ok Narfa	sxsx	‘of Ulf and Narfi’
YT 8.8	<b>Spørr</b> at hefna	sxsx	‘Spørr to avenge’
YT 13.4	<b>vígs</b> of hvetja	sxsx	‘battle encourage’
YT 15.4	<b>Aun</b> of standa	sxsx	‘Aunn stand’
YT 16.12	<b>upp</b> of halda	sxsx	‘hold up’
YT 20.2	<b>Vøtts</b> ok Fasta	sxsx	‘of Vøttr and Fasti’

However, these lines have interesting features that repeatedly appear in such lines that at first might seem to be exceptional in *kviðuháttir*. These are the following:

- 1) Three of the lines have the filler word *um-of* in a position where a restricted syllable is expected.
- 2) One line has the infinitive marker *at* ‘to’ in place of a restricted syllable.
- 3) Two lines have the conjunction *ok* ‘and’ in place of a restricted syllable.

The situation with the anonymous NÓREGS KONUNGATAL (from c. 1190) is very different. Out of some 150 trochaic even lines, 50, i.e., one line in three, have a conjunction, a preposition, a determiner or the infinitive marker instead of an inflectional ending in a dip (the poem has no filler words). I give the following three examples (Kari Ellen Gade 2009c: 761–806 with stanza numbers from Finnur Jónsson 1912–1915 BI: 575–590):

NKT 24.2	<b>alls</b> at landi	svsx	‘total at land’
NKT 32.2	<b>land</b> með hringum	svsx	‘land with swords’

<sup>13</sup> YT 1.6, 2.2, 2.4, 3.2, 3.8, 4.2, 4.4, 4.6, 5.4, 5.10, 7.6, 7.8, 7.10, 8.2, 8.8, 9.8, 10.10, 11.10, 12.6, 13.4, 14.6, 14.10, 15.4, 15.6, 15.8, 16.10, 16.12, 17.4, 17.6, 18.2, 19.6, 20.2, 20.6, 21.8, 22.2, 22.6, 23.2, 23.8, 24.6, 25.10, 26.6, 26.10, 27.6, 28.2, 28.6, 29.6, 30.4, 30.6, 30.12, 31.4, 32.4, 32.12, 35.6, 36.8, 37.6, 37.10.

NKT 34.2      **h**ilmi á móti      sv'sx      'king against'

Sturla Þórðarson is likely to have been conservative in his compositions (see Jón Helgason 1970 for a discussion of another conservative poet in the 13<sup>th</sup> century resisting language changes). Sturla, for instance, used the filler word three times. In his *HÁKONARKVIÐA* (from c. 1263) he seems to avoid placing any monosyllable in a dip in a trochaic line, but he nevertheless has the following six lines with monosyllables that clearly show that they were allowed in his trochaic even lines (Kari Ellen Gade 2009b: 699–727 with stanza numbers from Finnur Jónsson 1912–1915 BII: 118–126):

HKV 12.6	<b>a</b> ustr á Láku	svsx	'east on Láka'
HKV 14.4	<b>h</b> endr at reipum	svsx	'hands to ropes'
HKV 15.2	<b>a</b> ustr með landi	svsx	'east along land'
HKV 23.8	<b>s</b> leit á lopti	svsx	'tore in air'
HKV 39.8	<b>h</b> vert við annat	svsx	'each with another'
HKV 41.2	<b>ö</b> ll at líta	svsx	'all to see'

In line HKV 41.2, the monosyllable is the infinitive marker while in the remaining lines it is a preposition. The rhythm in all these lines is nevertheless trochaic, but the prepositions have light (but not restricted) syllables that were in earlier times forbidden in trochaic lines of *kviðuhátt* as seen from the following.

Egill's AR (from the 10<sup>th</sup> century) is in the same group as *YNGLINGATAL* regarding syllables in trochaic dips. It does not have any prepositions in such dips. It has 42 lines with trochaic rhythm in even lines, all of which have restricted syllables in both dips (see Subsection 6.3.1). The following lines may appear to be exceptions (Bjarni Einarsson 2003: 155–159):

AR 1.2	<b>h</b> ilmi at mæra	sx'sx	'king to praise'
AR 2.8	<b>g</b> repps um æði	sxxs	'man's behavior'
AR 3.8	<b>h</b> eim um sóttan	sxxs	'home visited'
AR 5.2	<b>t</b> ryggt at líta	sxxs	'safe to look'
AR 13.8	<b>g</b> jöld um vinnak	sxxs	'payment make'

In line AR 1.2, two syllables fill one position by vowel elision. In *YNGLINGATAL*, the filler word *um-of* appears in the trochaic dips and so does the infinitive marker. I suggest that this is because the filler words and the infinitive marker formed restricted syllables like inflectional endings, which makes all trochaic lines in AR fit the same pattern.

SONATORREK (ST) has about the same number of trochaic lines as AR. All of them have restricted syllables in both dips except the following nine (Bjarni Einarsson 2003: 146–154 printed *um* and *of* in these lines, but here both *um* and *of* represent the filler word, as seen in Bjarni’s glossary BE (2003: 252, 277):

ST 1.2	<b>t</b> ungu at hrœra	sx’sx	‘tongue to move’
ST 5.4	<b>f</b> yrst um telja	sxsx	‘first tell’
ST 8.2	<b>s</b> verði of rækak	sx’sx	‘by sword I avenged’
ST 10.4	<b>f</b> rænda at telja	sx’sx	‘of kinsmen to tell’
ST 11.8	<b>h</b> endr of tœki	sxsx	‘hands would take’
ST 12.8	<b>m</b> est um studdi	sxsx	‘most supported’
ST 18.4	<b>s</b> átt um haldi	sxsx	‘a truce keep’
ST 23.6	<b>m</b> ér um fengnar	sxsx	‘to me given’
ST 24.2	<b>ú</b> lfs of bági	sxsx	‘enemy of wolf’

Six of the lines above have the filler word, and two lines have the infinitive marker. One line (ST 24.2) may have the conjunction *ok* rather than the filler word *um-of* in a restricted position. Snorra-Edda quotes this line. All its manuscripts except **U** have the conjunction *ok* and so do the books of Ketill (Jón Helgason 1962: 33–38). The infinitive marker *at* is in both cases in a position that has two syllables. The same applies to AR 1.2 *hilmí at mæra*. These lines have the rhythm **sx’sx** by elision. It seems to be common for the infinitive marker to share a position with an inflectional ending, but it is rare for the filler word. Line ST 8.2 *sverði of rækak* is an exception. Such lines may have been common, but most often the filler words were probably dropped in positions like these where the meter did not require them (they only survived as fillers for the meter) while the infinitive markers survived because they were linguistically needed.

Although HÁLEYGJATAL is slightly younger than Egill’s poems, it is also from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Only nine lines with trochaic rhythm are preserved from this poem, eight of which have inflectional endings in both dips, and one has the filler word in the first dip (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 61 and Russell Poole 2012: 206):

HÁL 10.8	<b>v</b> ágr of blandinn	sxsx	‘sea mixed’
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This line has a past participle, with the suffix *-inn*, in a restricted position which would suggest that *-inn* has a restricted vowel.

It is well known that resolution (a *Verschleifung* in a lift) of the **s** in the last trochee (**-sx**) in *dróttkvætt* does not occur (the ending **-s'x** never occurs), but I notice that this applies to both trochees in trochaic lines in 9<sup>th</sup>- and 10<sup>th</sup>-century *kviðuhátt*r poems (YT, ST, AR, and HÁL). Instances of such resolution do, however, appear in NÓREGS KONUNGATAL (Kari Ellen Gade 2009c: 761–806 with stanza numbers from Finnur Jónsson 1912–1915 BI: 580–590):

NKT 32.6	<b>H</b> aralds ins grenska	s'vsx	'H. of Grenland'
NKT 41.6	<b>Þ</b> aðan af greiða	s'vsx	'henceforth tell'
NKT 55.4	<b>S</b> igurðr fyr ríki	s'vsx	'Sigurðr for state'
NKT 56.4	<b>l</b> agit í kistu	s'vsx	'laid in coffin'
NKT 64.8	<b>b</b> úinn at liggja	s'vsx	'ready to rest'

The younger HÁKONARKVIÐA does not have any similar examples, perhaps due to Sturla Þórðarson's loyalty to an older tradition.

Some conclusions from the above seem to be apparent. In YNGLINGATAL, presumed to be the oldest *kviðuhátt*r poem, the only trochaic rhythm allowed in even lines is **sxsx**, with *Verschleifungen* forbidden in both lifts. The same applies to AR and ST. The only syllable sequence permissible was (– · – ·), and full but light syllables (◌) were thus totally forbidden in even lines with trochaic rhythm. It can also be deduced that the vowel color (quality) of the filler word *um-of* was probably restricted, and most likely this applied to the infinitive marker *at* 'to' as well. Ingerid Dal (1930a, 1930b) proposed that filler words were former prefixes with a reduced vowel (see Section 5.3) and because the infinitive marker may also be seen as a prefix (it can never stand anywhere except before an infinitive), it is plausible that it also had a reduced vowel. (Although originally it was a preposition, it would have been grammaticalized as a prefix at an early stage). In later Icelandic, the infinitive marker *at* and the preposition *at* have the same pronunciation /að/, but in Norway, they have developed separately with the infinitive marker losing its *t*, which indicates a lower rhythmic prominence. It seems reasonable to conclude that both the filler word and the infinitive marker were attached to the following verbal form (the following word is a noun in only one instance) in the 10<sup>th</sup> century because restricted syllables do not appear as independent monosyllables. Phonologically the restricted syllable would have been able to attach itself to the preceding word as well, and I note that the above does not need to mean that verbs had fixed (lexical) prefixes in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. A discussion of a possible syntactic function of the filler word is outside the scope of this thesis.

YNGLINGATAL has two trochaic lines containing the conjunction *ok* in their first dip (YT 7.6 *Ulfs ok Narfa* and YT 20.2 *Votts ok Fasta*). SONATORREK may also have *ok* in a dip of a trochaic line (ST 24.2). I return to these examples in the next chapter (in Section 7.2) where I review trochaic rhythm **sxs** in odd lines in *kviðuháttir* and continue the discussion on the occupants of trochaic dips with an overview in Table 7.2-1.

### 6.3 Types with a strong penult

We have seen that the penultimate position in a *dróttkvætt* line is always strong, and it is followed by a position that is always restricted. Now I observe, that for even lines of *kviðuháttir* if the penult is strong, the same holds and the line must have an **-sx** ending (having syllables - ·). In this section, I list all even lines in AR that have a strong penult. In the next Section 6.4, I observe that the remaining lines have a strong antepenult and end in either **-svx** or **-sxxv**. I summarize this by the following:

Metrical lines of *dróttkvætt* end in **-sx**

Even lines of *kviðuháttir* end either in **-sx** or else in **-svx** or **-sxxv**.

The following table lists all the types with a strong penult in *kviðuháttir* and shows how often each type occurs in AR. I use the Sievers names (labels) for the types. The labels and Sievers notation for each type are as given by Fulk (2016), except for a type that I call ‘C1 light’ (see Subsection 6.3.4). As we see, there is a great difference in their frequency, and two of the potential types do not occur at all in the poem.

**Table 6.3-1 Rhythmic types that end with a trochee, their names and the number of instances they occur in AR.**

<i>Name of type</i>	<i>My notation</i>	<i>Sievers notation for</i>	<i>Number of in-</i>
	<i>for the rhythm</i>	<i>the rhythm (Fulk</i>	<i>stances in AR</i>
		<i>2016)</i>	
A1	sxx	˘ x   ˘ x	39
C2	vs'sx	x ˘   ˘ x	11
D3	svsx	˘   ˘ ˘ x	2
C1 light	vvsx	x ˘   ˘ x	2
A1 with anacrusis	v-sxx	x    ˘ x   ˘ x	3
C1	vssx	x   ˘ ˘ x	0
D1	sssx	˘   ˘ ˘ x	0

### 6.3.1 The A1 type (sxsx)

We have seen that all trochaic even lines must be of type **sxsx** (A1) in the poetry of Egill and YT (as discussed in Section 6.2), and this **sxsx** rhythm is by far the most common in ARINBJARNARKVIÐA.

The lines are listed in Table 6.3.1-1. I have bolded the alliterating onset (*höfuðstafr* ‘head-stave’). Here, as elsewhere in this chapter, I use my text of the poem in Chapter 9. I refer to notes in Chapter 10 for explanations on deviations from the BE 2003 edition. Conjectures have an asterisk \*. Italics indicate where changes have been made, for instance in *hjǫrvi*, where only the first letters <hia> were read by the **169** scribe (see Stanza 4 in Chapter 9).

**Table 6.3.1-1** Lines of type A1 (sxsx) in AR.

1.2 <b>h</b> ilmi at mæra	2.8 <b>g</b> repps um æði	3.4 <b>r</b> eiði fengna
3.8 <b>h</b> eim um sóttan	4.8 <b>ú</b> rgum * <i>hjǫrvi</i>	5.2 <b>t</b> ryggt at líta
5.6 <b>e</b> nnimáni	5.8 <b>æ</b> gigeislum	6.4 <b>m</b> arkar dróttni
6.8 <b>h</b> lusta munnum	7.2 <b>h</b> öldum þótti	8.4 <b>s</b> íðra brúna
9.4 <b>h</b> lustum gǫfguð	9.6 <b>g</b> ulli betri	10.2 <b>m</b> ǫrgum betri
10.8 <b>h</b> verju ráði	11.8 <b>h</b> ilmis garði	12.4 <b>m</b> inna dáða
12.8 <b>á</b> ttar * <i>skeiði</i>	13.2 <b>v</b> erða heitinn	13.8 <b>g</b> jöld um innak
14.6 <b>m</b> argra sjónir	14.8 <b>h</b> ersa kundar.	15.2 <b>ó</b> munlokri
15.4 <b>m</b> ærðar efni	16.4 * <b>e</b> yrum sækir	16.6 <b>m</b> önnum þótti
16.8 <b>b</b> irkisóttá	17.4 <b>a</b> uði gnægir	18.8 <b>v</b> íðum botni
19.4 <b>h</b> eyrnar spanna	21.4 <b>l</b> ongum knerri	21.8 <b>a</b> uðar toptir
22.4 <b>D</b> raupnis niðja	22.6 <b>S</b> ónar * <i>hvinna</i>	23.4 * <b>f</b> irða spjöllum
24.4 <b>m</b> ǫrgu gagni	24.6 <b>R</b> ǫkkva stóði	29.6 <b>b</b> lára geira

These lines fit the generalization that lines in *kviðuhátt* with trochaic rhythm did not (before c. 1000) have any full but light syllables (~). Most endings above are inflectional ending. The *-inn* ending in the word *heitinn* ‘called,’ is a regularly formed past participle from the verb *heita* ‘to promise, to name.’ Such endings are often found at the end of *dróttkvætt* lines, indicating that they must have had a restricted syllable (as here). The *-inn* ending appears twice at the end of odd lines (in AR 23.3 *fjǫlsáinn* ‘amply sown’ and AR 24.5 *rammriðin* ‘heavily ridden’) where it has been assumed that restricted syllables are forbidden. In Subsection 7.4.5, I discuss this further and show that this may not be the case.

### 6.3.2 The C2 type (vs'sx)

The C2 type is a frequent type in AR and all poetry in *kviðuhátt* and *fornyrðislag* but not in *dróttkvætt*. It has the rhythm **vs'sv** with the first lift resolved (with a *Verschleifung* in a strong position) while the C1 type (which does not occur in AR with a heavy syllable in its first lift) would have a rhythm **vssv** with an unresolved first lift.

Table 6.3.2-1 Lines of type C2 (vs'sx) in AR.

1.6 um <b>j</b> öfurs dǫðum	2.4 um <b>v</b> ini mína	6.2 um <b>b</b> era þorða
7.4 at <b>s</b> kata húsum	10.6 sá er <b>e</b> k trúa knáttak	11.4 frá <b>k</b> onungs fjónum
15.6 því at <b>v</b> alið liggja	17.8 at <b>f</b> éar afli	18.2 á <b>h</b> öfuðbaðmi
18.6 af <b>v</b> egum ǫllum	20.6 meðal <b>s</b> kata húsa	21.2 at <b>A</b> rinbjarnar

### 6.3.3 The D3 type (svsx)

Fulk (2016: 257) denotes the D3 type as ( $\acute{ } \mid \acute{ } \grave{ } x$ ) and says that it is rare in *fornyrðislag*. The rhythm as described by the Sievers notation has a heavy syllable, followed by a foot boundary (|), and then a stressed light syllable followed by a heavy syllable with secondary stress. In my system, such lines should be analyzed as **svsx** which is an ordinary trochaic rhythm in the younger part of the *kviðuhátt* corpus (i.e., not having a restricted syllable in the first dip). Only two lines in AR are candidates for such a type.

Table 6.3.3-1 Lines of type D3 (svsx) in AR.

2.4 <b>s</b> krökberǫndum	22.8 'hads <sup>e</sup> ue <sup>o</sup> gandi'	
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This sort of composition seems not to appear in YNGLINGATAL or SONATORREK. For that reason, it is a dubious type for AR. The second example, AR 22.8 is the last line in 99v that the **169** scribe could read and he gave some variants for it (the superscript <e> and <o>). Almost nothing is visible on the MSIs (see notes in Chapter 10), and the context is unclear. The only readable line potentially filling the D3 type is then AR 2.4. I leave the problem unsolved why this type is so rare and how it should be denoted (the notation **svsx** implies that it is of a trochaic type forbidden in the oldest corpus, as discussed in Section 6.2). See notes on Stanza 2 in Chapter 10 for why line AR 2.4 is an outlier for another reason.



### 6.3.4 The C1 light type (**vvsx**)

I use ‘C1 light’ as a label for a C1 type (**vssx**) that has replaced the first strong position with (in my analysis) a weak position and become **vvsx** (because the syllable in the second position is light). This is a rare type, but the following two lines in AR are without doubt of this type:

Table 6.3.4-1 Lines of type C1 light (**vvsx**) in AR.

10.4 á <b>hlið</b> aðra	20.4 þótt <b>fé</b> eigi	
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Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 435) dealt with these two lines by assuming that they were of a normal type C1, except that the second position had a *forkortelse* ‘shortening,’ a term he used when a position seemed to allow a light syllable to appear where a heavy syllable was expected (see a discussion on *Nichtverschleifung* and suspended resolution in the last paragraphs in Section 5.4).

I have bolded the alliterating words in the examples given in Table 6.3.4-1. The **vvsx** (C1 light) type never appears with a light alliterating syllable in any other *kviðuhátt* poetry. An alliteration of this sort seems to be specific for Egill (see a continuation of this discussion in Section 6.5). The **vvsx** (C1 light) type seems, however, to occur in other poems, in a form where the alliteration is in a syllable which could be made light by using a morpheme boundary to exclude a consonant, as in the line below where I insert the hyphen in *gjafstóli* to indicate a morpheme boundary (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 125 and Gade 2009b: 721–722):

HKV 34.4      á **gjaf**-stóli      **vvsx**      ‘on a gift-stool’

If the morpheme-boundary is respected, the type is C1 light: **vvsx**, but the alliteration is still in a syllable that can be made heavy by ignoring the boundary. It would seem that the rhythm should be assumed to be **vvsx** because the C1 type (**vssx**) does not seem to exist in *kviðuhátt* or at least to be very rare (except in lines that can also be analyzed as having a different rhythm like this one). I discuss this further in Section 6.6 where I note that Finnur Jónsson also noted the absence of the C1 type.

We note that in HKV 34.4 the alliteration is in the second position, on the first nominal (stress-word) in the line, even if the nominal in question is rhythmically weak (**v**). Usually, alliteration is assumed to be only on syllables in lifts, but I claim that the poetic evidence supports rather that it is always in

a heavy syllable, or syllables that can be made heavy by cohesion, or on the first of two syllables in a *Verschleifung*. I discuss this further in Section 6.5.

### 6.3.5 The A1 type with anacrusis

Another rare rhythmic type seems to appear in AR. This is the trochaic type with an anacrusis, **v-sxsx**.

**Table 6.3.5-1** Lines with anacrusis in AR (v-sxsx).

4.2 und ýgis hjalmi	8.2 en tíru fylgðu	13.4 at Viðris fulli
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Extrametrical syllables forming anacrusis were rare in *fornyrðislag*, but they occurred. Sievers noted a relatively high frequency of them in Egill's *kviðuháttir* poetry, and he suggested accepting this as a specific feature of Egill (see Section 5.4). The first line in the table above (AR 4.2 *und ýgishjalmi*) is hard to explain without an anacrusis because it appears in identical form in manuscripts for HÁKONARKVIÐA 17.2. HÁKONARKVIÐA also has *við bauga renni* (HKV 19.4). Kari Ellen Gade (2009b: 710–712, stanza numbers from FJ) corrected the former into *und ýgshjalmi* and the latter into *við baugrenni*, thus creating two examples of the C1 type that was avoided or at least very rare in *kviðuháttir*, **vssv** (see Section 6.6).

## 6.4 Types with a strong antepenult

In this section, I observe that if the antepenult is strong, either the penult or the ultima has a restricted syllable (·). This means that the rhythm of all such lines ends in either **-svx** or **-sxv**). Rhythmic types known as the B1 type (**vsxv**) and the E type (**ssxv**) can consequently only have a restricted syllable in their penult. There are only three serious exceptions to this that I discuss in a footnote to Subsection 6.4.1.

There are consequently only four rhythmic types possible for a line with a strong antepenult. I list them below in Table 6.4-1, together with their Sievers-type notation (Fulk 2016: 256–258). Table 6.4-1 and Table 6.3-1 include all the rhythmic types for *fornyrðislag* that I discussed in Section 5.4, where I also noted that only word-boundaries could distinguish the E vs. the D4 type and the A2k vs. the D2 type.

**Table 6.4-1 Rhythmic types that do not end with a trochee (-sx), their names and the number of instances they occur in AR.**

Name of type	My notation for the rhythm	Sievers notation for the rhythm (Fulk 2016)	Number of instances in AR
B1	vsxv	x ˘   x ˘	23
C3	vsvx	x ˘   ˘ x	5
E or D4	ssxv	˘ ˘ x   ˘ or ˘   ˘ x ˘	4
A2k or D2	ssvx	˘ ˘   ˘ x or ˘   ˘ ˘ x	4

### 6.4.1 The B1 type (vsxv)

Most lines with a strong antepenult are of the rhythmic type B1, which looks like an iambic rhythm.

**Table 6.4.1-1 Lines of type B1 (vsxv) in AR.**

3.6 um <b>ð</b> ökkva skǫr	4.4 at <b>l</b> andi sat	4.6 (við) <b>st</b> irðan hug
7.8 at <b>h</b> ilmi þák	8.6 er <b>m</b> ína bar	8.8 fyrir <b>h</b> ilmis kné
9.2 með <b>t</b> ungu þák	9.8 um <b>h</b> eytin var	11.2 oss <b>e</b> inn um hóf
11.6 er <b>v</b> ættki laug	14.2 hvar er <b>s</b> etja skal	15.8 á <b>t</b> ungu mér
16.2 er <b>f</b> lestr um veit	17.2 at <b>u</b> ndri gefsk	17.6 um <b>g</b> nægðan héfr
18.4 at <b>ǫ</b> lnum *sifs	19.6 með <b>g</b> umna fjǫlð	20.2 er <b>þ</b> rjóta mun
22.2 er í <b>F</b> jörðum býr	23.2 um <b>e</b> iga gat	24.2 ef <b>o</b> rpit héfr
24.8 því er <b>v</b> eitti mér	30.8 ok <b>m</b> æli glaðr	

In the table above, all the monosyllables at the line-ends have a light syllable if they are nominals, as prescribed by Craigie's law, and as expected by the type designation **vsxv**, but not the Sievers designation (see the next paragraph). Apparent exceptions in AR are *fjǫlð* 'multitude' and *glaðr* 'glad,' but these two words have a morpheme boundary and a short stem (*fjǫl-ð* and *glað-r*). Craigie's law is thus respected (see Section 5.2). Fulk (2016: 253) did not count the word formative *-ð* among consonants that could be ignored when determining syllable length (like the inflectional *-r* and *-s*, see Section 5.2), and the current practice in skaldic editions is to replace *fjǫlð* with *fjǫl* in those places where it appears in metrical position number four. I do not think that this is needed; a reference to the morpheme boundary in *fjǫl-ð* suffices

for Craigie’s law to be respected. Myrvoll (2014: 241) reviews the arguments for replacing *fjólð* with *fjól*. One of them is to accommodate Craigie’s law.

The Sievers notation for the B1 type is  $x \acute{z} | x \acute{z}$ , and accordingly, the last positions should hold a heavy syllable. To make it possible for monosyllables like *kné* ‘knee’ or *hug* ‘mind’ to fit into this position, Fulk and many others proclaim such words to be heavy at the end of a line. I am not aware of any basis for this rule, which seems to be at odds with the fact that generally, the last position in *kviðuháttir* is not heavy (this is Craigie’s law). Myrvoll (2014: 279–280) lists only three exceptions in YT 16.6, ST 19.2, and NKT 33.6 (the exceptions are respectively: *rjóðr*, *þokk*, and *menn*). The first two are in an unclear context.

The type specification **vsxv** for the B1 type requires the penult to be restricted, which means that it is an ending or a filler word. An infinitive marker (*at*) is not expected because any infinitive verbal form has two syllables and for a B1 line, only one is available. For AR, as seen from the table, the penult contains a restricted vowel in all cases as it should. In two instances, the vowel is in a filler word:

AR 11.2	oss <b>einn</b> um hóf	‘us (me) alone lifted’
AR 16.2	er <b>flestr</b> um veit	‘as everyone knows’

Both YNGLINGATAL and SONATORREK have B1 lines with filler words in the penultimate position (YT 12.2, YT 14.2, ST 6.2, ST 6.8, and ST 21.2). I have not found any line with *ok* ‘and’ in the penult of a B1 line or any other monosyllable, except in ST (see below). The ending **-sxv** does not allow any light syllables in the penultimate position. YNGLINGATAL has one line that seems to have such a syllable in a word-formational morpheme (YT 30.10 *í Skíringssal*). HÁLEYGJATAL has none. SONATORREK has such syllables in three lines. These lines have a preposition in the penult (ST 13.8, ST 21.6, and ST 22.8). These exceptions in ST could be due to inaccurate copying where an old sentence structure has been abandoned.<sup>14</sup> What makes this likely is that

<sup>14</sup> Being the product of many successive copies, the text of ST is irretrievably distorted, but for these three lines a plausible correction may, nevertheless, be proposed. In all three cases, the preposition stands between a finite verb and a pronoun. In two cases the pronoun is a personal pronoun, which indicates that the lines in question originally had a sentence structure that may be called a preposition with a middle voice (see Þórhallur Eyþórsson 1995). The two lines are ST 21.6 *þann er óx af mér* and ST 22.8

similar lines (with a preposition in the penult) are hard to find in any *kviðuhátt* poetry, also in the youngest part of the corpus. There certainly was a very strong preference for the penult in the B1 type (and the E type) to be restricted in *kviðuhátt* poetry before the year 1000 and probably throughout its existence.

#### 6.4.2 The C3 type (vsvx)

The following lines in AR fall under the rhythmic type C3, which can be seen as a modified C1 type **vssx**, such that a weak position has replaced the second strong position.

Table 6.4.2-1 Lines of type C3 (vsvx) in AR.

1.4 um <b>g</b> loggvinga	1.8 um <b>þ</b> jóðlygi	7.6 við <b>Y</b> ggs miði
13.6 ok <b>h</b> eitrofi	21.6 né <b>h</b> eiptkviðum	

Line AR 1.4 *um gloggvinga* has a heavy penult, and it might, therefore, be an example of a **vssx** (C1) type. The syllable does, however, not need to be strong because it is not the first in a stress-word. Because there are no convincing examples of the C1 type in AR, I do not classify line AR 1.4 as such.

#### 6.4.3 The E or D4 type (ssxv)

The following lines are of rhythmic type **ssxv** in AR.

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*um sleit við mik*. Hans Kuhn (1933: 81) gives the following three examples of this structure. His transformation out of the middle voice is within the parentheses:

Vsp. 50, 2        *hefiz lind fyrir* (= hefir lind fyrir sēr)

Háv. 17, 3        *þylsk hann um ...* (= þylr hann um sik)

106.4f.        *yfir ok undir stöðumk iqtna vegir* (= yfir ok undir mēr stöðu ...).

Similarly, the two lines in ST may be transformed (back) into the middle voice as \*ST 21.6 *þann er óxumk af* and \*ST 22.8 *um sleitumk við*. The third offending sentence is ST 13.7–13.8 *nýsumk hinns ok hygg at því*. It could have been \*ST 13.7–13.8 *nýsumk hinns ok hyggjumk at* (= hygg at mér). Here an exchange of pronouns must also be assumed (*mér* for *því*). See notes on Stanza 15 for an additional example of the restoration of the middle voice in ST.

**Table 6.4.3-1** Lines of type E or D4 (ssxv) in AR

2.6 <b>m</b> ildinga sǫt	6.6 <b>ý</b> randa kom	19.8 <b>v</b> eklinga ‘tǫs’
20.8 <b>a</b> lmanna spjǫr		

All the lines above are of the E type. If, in any of them, the word-boundary was between the first and the second position, they would be of the D4 type (see a discussion of Sievers types in Section 5.4).

The stress-words that stand at the end of the lines above (*sǫt* ‘abode,’ *spjǫr* ‘spear’ and ‘tǫs’ ‘?helper’) have a light syllable as prescribed by Craigie’s law (‘tǫs.’ is an uncertain word, see notes on Stanza 19).

The penult has a restricted syllable in the four lines above, which is in line with my observation that all *kviðuháttir* lines have either a restricted penult or a restricted antepenult. As for the B1 type, it should be possible for the penult in the E/D4 type to contain the *um-of* filler word and possibly the conjunction *ok*. I have not found any instances of such monosyllables, but because of the rarity of the type (in comparison to the B1 type), this is not surprising.

All the lines in Table 6.4.3-1 could be analyzed as **svxv**. I do not do that (and I assume that the rhythm is **ssxv**) because no line seems to exist in the *kviðuháttir* corpus with a light syllable in the second position which would force such analyses. Fulk (2016: 258) notes that in the corpus of *fornyrðislag*, no such E line exists either (having a light syllable in position two). If lines of the rhythmic type **svxv** existed, they would neither have a strong penult, nor a strong antepenult.

#### 6.4.4 The A2k or D2 type (ssvx)

The following four lines are of type **ssvx** in AR and can be classified as A2k or D2 in the Sievers-paradigm.

**Table 6.4.4-1** Lines of type A2k or D2 (ssvx) in AR.

3.2 <b>Y</b> nglings burar	5.4 <b>E</b> iríks bráa	12.6 <b>s</b> onar Halfdanar
27.4 <b>E</b> iríks syni		

The word boundary could be used to subdivide the lines in the table into two groups, one having three lines of type A2k  $\acute{v} \grave{v} | \acute{v} x$  (AR 3.2, AR 5.4, AR 27.4) and another having one line of type D2  $\acute{v} | \acute{v} \grave{v} x$  (AR 12.6). In AR 12.6 *sonar*

*Halfdanar*, the first position is resolved, and the rhythm is **s'svx** (with resolution).

As the label implies, the type A2k is traditionally considered to be a variety of the trochaic A1 type. Because it is rare in comparison to the A1 type, this makes little difference when I compare my percentages of trochaic A1 lines to percentages calculated by other scholars.

All of these lines contain proper names, and I note that the only example of the A2k/D2 type in YNGLINGATAL also has a proper name: YT 26.2 *Jónakrs bura* 'sons of Jónakr.' SONATORREK has only one example, i.e., ST 1.4 *ljóðpundara*. The **ssvx** type seems, therefore, to be rare and perhaps used mostly for proper names (which may have had special stress patterns). The E type (**ssxv**) of the previous subsection was also rather rare. In any case, it seems that two strong positions at the beginning of a line were avoided but not forbidden. The reason may be that the poets felt that the antepenult should be noticeable and an immediately preceding strong position reduced its prominence.

## 6.5 Alliteration in even lines of *kviðuháttr*

As already mentioned, one function of alliteration in *fornyrðislag*, *kviðuháttr*, and *dróttkvætt* is to create long-lines by linking even and odd lines. The two lines that are linked have alliterating syllables. These syllables are word-initial and have equivalent onsets, for instance, an *h-* or a vowel. The location of the alliterating syllable, containing the head stave (*hǫfuðstafr*) in the even lines of *kviðuháttr*, is as follows: For the B and C types (all varieties) the alliteration is always in the second position of the line. For the remaining A, D and E types, it is in the first position. For the even lines of *kviðuháttr*, the alliteration is thus never in the third metrical position. In lines such as AR 20.6 *meðal skata húsa* the head stave, although in the third syllable, is in the second metrical position (the preposition *meðal* must fill one metrical position).

In odd lines of *fornyrðislag*, double alliteration is often assumed to play a role, while such alliteration is not assumed to be present in the even lines of *fornyrðislag* and *kviðuháttr*. Double alliteration is therefore of no help in *kviðuháttr* to distinguish between the A2k type vs. the D2 type and between the E type vs. the D4 type.

In my account of rhythmic types in the previous sections, I did not include line AR 19.2 *um eiga gat*, which is identical to AR 23.2, because AR 19.2 lacks alliteration. This is the only instance in the poem where the alliteration is flawed. For comparison, the following six even lines lack

alliteration in the only source of SONATORREK: ST 2.6, ST 4.6, ST 12.6, ST 14.6, ST 17.6, and ST 22.6 (see FJ 1912–1915 AI: 40–43).

Alliteration in *kviðuháttir* is, as generally in Old Norse poetry, attracted to nominals and heavy syllables. Regarding nominals, I forward the following observation made by Hans Kuhn (1983: 151–156) that stress-words always alliterate at the beginning of a line. This accounts for the fact that lines of the B or the C type seem never to have a nominal in the first metrical position. For other rules on alliteration and nominals, I refer to Gade (1995: 36–38).

For the even lines of *kviðuháttir*, alliteration can always be interpreted as starting a full (nonrestricted) metrical position, filled by a linguistically heavy (trimoraic) material. In addition to heavy syllables, this includes two syllables in a *Verschleifung* and intrinsically light syllables that can be made heavy by cohesion. I refer to this trimoraic material as a heavy syllable structure. This weight requirement probably applies to regular skaldic poetry in general, but the odd lines of *kviðuháttir* are exceptional as I discuss in the next chapter (Section 7.5).

Odd lines in *dróttkvætt* lines of types B1 and E, having alliterating staves in the fourth and fifth position, may appear to be exceptions to the requirement that alliteration should form the onset of a trimoraic linguistic material, but they are not. An example by Hallfreðr Óttarsson is the following (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 158):

Hallfreðr *lv* 3.7 betr unnum **nú** **nýtri** ‘better we love now a good one’

This is an E line with rhythm **ssxv-sv**. The adverb *nú* ‘now’ carries alliteration (matching the onset of *nýtri*). *Nú* is a light monosyllable (bi-moraic), and it stands in a weak Craigie-position (**v**). Here I note that cohesion can lengthen the monosyllable (*nú nýtri* > *núnýtri*) and I maintain further that this applies to all alliterating light monosyllables in position four in *dróttkvætt*. I have counted almost 100 lines with alliteration in position 4 and 5 that were composed before the year 1000 (using the 1912–1915 edition of FJ), and from the following centuries I have counted hundreds of such lines as well without finding any exception, except the following:

Egill *lv*. 24.1 Kominn emk á jó **Íva** ‘I came on the horse of Ívi’



This line, with its vowel-alliteration in the fourth and fifth position, seems to be unique (because the alliterating *jó* cannot be lengthened by cohesion since no consonant follows).

Myrvoll (2014: 50) discusses monosyllables in the fourth position of *dróttkvætt* lines. These can usually become heavy by cohesion. However, he presents the following list to show that this was not always the case (text, italics and bolded words as per Myrvoll):

Torf-E lv 3.4 bitu þengils **son ungan**  
 Eg *Skjalddr* 1.4 hoddsendis **boð enda**  
 Eg lv 24.1 kominn emk á **jó Ívu**  
 Eyv lv 6.8 grams fall á **sæ alla**  
 GSúrs lv 13.3 Eir vórum **þar aura**  
 Eskál *Vell* 22.7 Ullr stóð af **því allri**  
 Sigv *Erlfl* 9.7 Ulfs feðr vas **þat aðra**  
 Snorri *Hátt* 67.7 á aldinn **mar orpit**

The monosyllables above are *son*, *boð*, *jó*, *þar*, *því*, *þat*, and *mar*. They cannot be lengthened (made heavier) by cohesion because all the following words begin with a vowel. Five of the above lines are odd-numbered and require alliteration before the cadence and before either the first position or the fourth position. Only one of them does, however, have alliteration in the fourth and fifth position, namely the exceptional line Egill lv. 24.1 that I have already discussed. It would seem that vowel alliteration was avoided in these circumstances, but the absence of vowel alliteration in B1 and E lines is a consequence and not a cause. To explain this, I take the two following (odd) lines from the Fourth Grammatical Treatise (I have bolded the alliterating staves):

Leygs svelgr en **etr eigi** (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 231)  
 Sveit fylla **ein alla** (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 234)

The former line has vowel alliteration, which is in order because *etr* ‘eats’ is a verbal form with a heavy monosyllable and verbs are unaffected by Craigie’s law. The latter line is also in order because *ein* ‘one’ is a heavy numeral. This line is probably a late composition, made after Craigie’s law had weakened (perhaps in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century).

The facts described above show that, for *dróttkvætt* at least, an alliterating syllable need not be in a fully strong position (since it can occur in the fourth, at least somewhat weak position), but it must be possible to see the position as being filled by linguistically ‘heavy’ material (intrinsically, through *Verschleifung*, or by cohesion). Only Egill seems to disrespect this rule occasionally (as in his *lausavísa* 24, see more examples below).

The interpretation suggested here fits alliteration patterns in the rhythmic type of even lines in *kviðuhátt* that I call C1 light (see Subsection 6.3.4). The rhythm is **vvsx**, and the type has alliteration in the second position. This second position in the C1 light type is always interpretable as having a heavy (trimoraic) syllable, even if it is weak. The following is a line from YNGLINGATAL that demonstrates this:

YT 13.8            of **af**brýði            vvsx            ‘by jealousy’

In the above line, the first syllable of *af-brýði* is heavy if the morpheme boundary is not respected, or light if it is. With regard to alliteration, the second position appears to be heavy but not with regard to the rhythm. This line should not be analyzed as a C1 line having the rhythm **vssx**, because lines that indisputably would have the C1 rhythm seem not to occur in *kviðuhátt* or be very rare (see next section). The line YT 13.8 is not a line that is indisputably of the C1 type because it can, by reference to the morphemic boundary, be of the commonly occurring C1 light type. On the other hand, a line like *\*í sverð-leiki* would be difficult to analyze otherwise, but such lines do not seem to appear in the corpus.

As I discussed in Section 6.3.4, AR has two lines (10.4 *á hlið aðra*, 20.4 *þótt fé eigi*) that disrespect the rule that alliterating syllables must be heavy. These lines are unique in the *kviðuhátt* corpus. This disrespect would be a serious metrical breach by any other poet than Egill for whom it seems to be a signature mark. In addition to the two lines in AR and the *dróttkvætt lausavísa* 24, I note a similar anomaly in Egill’s *lausavísa* 15.3 *í niðerfi Narfa* (BE 2003: 85), which Finnur Jónsson corrected to *í niðjerfi Narfa* (FJ 1912–1915 BI 45). Without Finnur’s *ad hoc* correction, *lausavísa* 15.3 would be of the type C1 light with the same forbidden alliteration as found in AR (in AR 10.4 and AR 20.4).

I have given three results in this section. One is that my notation allows a simple description of the facts on alliteration in *kviðuhátt* and *dróttkvætt*: Alliteration must be in positions where linguistic structures are heavy or can be made heavy, i.e., trimoraic, by cohesion or *Verschleifung*, but these

positions do not need to be fully strong metrically. Another result is that ARINBJARNARKVIÐA has two lines where the alliteration is not in syllables of an appropriate type, but this is not likely to be due to corruption but is more likely due to Egill's special style or eccentricity known from his other poetry. (Another possibility is that special features of the – presumably old – linguistic variety spoken by the author are responsible.) In any case, this suggests that the poem may be correctly attributed to Egill. A third result is that the text that we have of AR has only one breach of the rules of alliteration (in AR 19.2). This may be interpreted to mean that the poem is well preserved, at least in comparison to SONATORREK.

## 6.6 Comparison to Finnur Jónsson 1886–1888 and the C1 type

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 434–436) analyzed the rhythmic types in even lines of AR and ST. His results, regarding which lines are of the same Sievers type are for the most part the same as presented here. I discuss his findings for AR in the following.

The B1 and E types are the ones for which Craigie's law applies. It is interesting to note how Finnur treated them with 'shortenings.' Finnur gave the Sievers notation for his B type as  $x \acute{ } | x \acute{ }$ , and it should consequently have a heavy syllable in the final position. He found that many of his B lines did not have this heavy syllable. He listed them and said they had a shortened syllable (*forkortet stavelse*) (I use my own normalized text): 3.6 *um dökkva skor*, 4.4 *at landi sat*, 4.6 (við) *stirðan hug*, 8.6 *es mína bar*, 9.8 *um heitin var*, 23.2 *um eiga gat*. In my view, all of these lines are normal with the rhythm **vsxv**, to which all B1 lines conform. According to Finnur, the last position was resolved (*oplöst*) in AR 7.6 *við Yggjar miði*. However, this metrical anomaly disappears with my new reading in Chapter 9: *við Yggs miði* (a strong antepenult and rhythm C3 **vsvx**).

The E-type should (like the B-type) have a final syllable that is heavy and accented ( $\acute{ }$ ) in the Sievers system. Finnur listed four E lines and said they all had a shortened final syllable. I list the same E lines in Table 6.4.3-1.

Finnur found most of the metrical lines of AR and ST to be of the A-type, and he included with the A lines two lines of the form  $\acute{ } \grave{ } | \acute{ } x$  (A2k lines), as is customary. These two lines are among those listed in Section 6.4.4 (where I also included a line that FJ did not read from page 99v and a D2 line).

I listed no lines of the C1 type (**vssx**) in Section 6.3 and Finnur also seems to have noticed the absence of such lines in both AR and ST. He referred

to the C1 type as the pure C-type and the C2-type and the C3-type as modifications of it. He said:

C-typen. Ren ( $x \acute{ } | \acute{ } x$ ) findes denne form yderst sjældnen, nl. i **Ar.** 1.<sub>4</sub>; 4.<sub>2</sub>. **St.** 6.<sub>4</sub>; 12.<sub>6</sub> (en tvivlsom linje); 14.<sub>2, 4</sub>; 20.<sub>8</sub>; 22.<sub>2</sub> (en rettelse); 24.<sub>8</sub>. Det synes, som om digteren med flid har søgt så meget som muligt at undgå denne form af linjen. Til gengæld bruger han så meget oftere enten en opløsning af den første betonedede stavelse ... eller en forkortelse af den anden betonedede stavelse ( $x \acute{ } | \acute{ } x$ )

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 435)

‘The C-type ... is very rarely found in its pure form ( $x \acute{ } | \acute{ } x$ ), namely in **Ar.** 1.4; 4.2. **St.** 6.4; 12.6 (a doubtful line); 14.2.4; 20.8; 22.2 (a correction); 24.8. It seems that the poet, with diligence, tried as far as possible to avoid this form of the line. Instead, he uses much more often either a *Verschleifung* of the first stressed syllable ... or a shortening of the second stressed syllable ( $x \acute{ } | \acute{ } x$ )

The examples Finnur gave of the rare C1 type in AR are not good: AR 1.4 of *glogginga* and AR 4.2 *und ýgis hjalmi* (the text is as in his 1912–1915 edition). The first line need not have a strong third syllable (it could be a C3 type), and the latter is corrected from *und ýgis hjalmi*. Finnur listed lines of the C2 type and of the C3 type. These lists are nearly identical to those in Section 6.3.2 and Section 6.4.2, and I do not reproduce them.

I believe that Finnur was right in saying that the C1 type (**vssx**) was avoided, and if it was not forbidden, it was at least very rare in AR and all *kviðuháttur* poetry. He also correctly noted that other C types are frequent, the C2 type (**vs'sx**), and the C3 type (**vsvx**). Finnur discussed two lines that have a rhythm that I call C1 light (**vvsx**), see the previous section and Section 6.3.4. Finnur saw them as modified C1 lines having a shortened second syllable.

Because of the absence of the C1 type, Finnur corrected AR 16.8 *at fjár afli* (**vssx**) to *at féar afli* (**vs'sx**) (he says this explicitly FJ 1886–1888: 435). It would be interesting to investigate whether the C1 type was also absent in the other Old Norse meters, but it would be a digression too large for this thesis. I only mention that Egill composed the poem HQFUÐLAUSN in a very regular meter that may be called skaldic *fornyrðislag* with end-rhyme added.

This poem has only one example of a C1 line (all editions have the same text, the same as in BE 2003: 108):

Egill HÖFUÐLAUSN 8.8 í járnleiki ‘in iron-game (in battle)’

This line appears to be of the rare or forbidden C1 type but the word *járn* ‘iron’ existed in a disyllabic form as *íarn* in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (and probably longer), and the rhythm is thus likely of type C2 (**vs’sx**). The same applies to the line HÁL 3.4 *við járnviðju* (Poole 2012: 199, FJ 1912–1915 BI:60) that would otherwise be the only example of a C1 type in HÁLEYGJATAL (See Jón Axel Harðarson 2011 on the word *járn* in Old Norse).

Finnur found only two lines of type D in even lines of AR. The same lines are discussed in Section 6.3.3 and are of subtype D3. For SONATORREK he only found one line of a D2 type (ST 2.4 *ljóðpundara*). Both I and Finnur find no lines of type D1 that Fulk (2016) denotes by  $\acute{\text{v}} \text{ | } \acute{\text{v}} \text{ } \acute{\text{v}} \text{ x}$  and I would denote by **sssx**. I discuss the D1 type further in Section 7.4.5.

From the absence of the C1 and D1 type, it seems that lines with strong unresolved syllables in both the penult and antepenultimate positions are missing.

## 6.7 Conclusions on the rhythm in the even lines

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 434) counted 33 lines with rhythm A1 in AR and 37 in ST, but he did not list them. If he had, he might have noticed that their dips contained only endings, usually inflectional endings, the filler word *um-of*, and the infinitive marker *at*. He would have known that in younger poems, prepositions were common in these dips. The discovery of this interesting phenomenon seems long overdue. I discuss it further in the next chapter where I show that syllables in dips of trochaic odd lines (of type A1<sup>-</sup>) must also be restricted.

Finnur (1886–1888: 433–436) grouped the lines of AR into the same groups as I have. Finnur further noted that Egill avoided the C1 type, which is also my conclusion for AR and seems to apply to other *kviðuháttir* poems as well. Finnur thus produced interesting results using his Sievers notation, and one may ask whether there is any advantage in using the notation that I have presented. I see three advantages:

- 1) The notation **-v** for the last metrical position in the B1 and E types makes it unnecessary to use shortenings (as Finnur did, see

Section 6.6) or to assume a virtual consonant in-between metrical lines (as Fulk did, see Section 5.4) to account for bimoraic monosyllables in the last position of the B1 and E lines. It also accounts correctly for Craigie's law (that neither Fulk nor Finnur did).

- 2) With the notation that I use, for the three types B1, E, and C1 light, it is possible to maintain that alliteration in skaldic poetry is always at the onset of heavy syllable structures even if the position in question is weak (not strong). I explain this in detail in Section 6.5. Very few exceptions exist, and disproportionately many of them belong to Egill, and for him, they are limited to these weak positions.
- 3) By reviewing which rhythmic types exist and which ones do not, it is possible to conclude the following for AR: Either the penultimate or the antepenultimate position is metrically strong and unresolved, not both. The final position is never strong, which is the essence of Craigie's law. Also, either the ultima or the penult is restricted, meaning that all lines end in **-sx** (not **-ssx** while **-s'sx** is allowed) or alternatively in **-svx** or **-sxv**.

Points 1 and 2 apply to all *kviðuháttir* poetry. Point 3 applies to AR and probably to all *kviðuháttir* poetry before the year 1000, and it was probably always a strong preference.

Point 3 accounts for the observations made by Finnur Jónsson and discussed in Section 6.6 that Egill avoided the C1 type. This type should be avoided because **vssx** would have two unresolved metrical positions in both the penultimate and the antepenultimate position. I note that all C variants that exist fulfill the requirement in point 3, only the prototypical one seems to be excluded (the C1 type). Point 3 is reminiscent of Latin word-accent rules which is both surprising for a Germanic rhythm and interesting. It is, however, not surprising that some simple principle guided the poets on which lines were metrical and which were not. It is hard to believe that they used a large repertoire of metrical types for that purpose.

At the end of Chapter 7, I summarize my results for both even and odd lines, and I remark on their use for reconstructing the text of AR.



## 7 The rhythmic types in odd lines of *kviðuhátt*

The rhythm of the odd-numbered lines of *kviðuhátt* (odd lines) is traditionally assumed to be derived from the rhythm in *fornyrðislag* by a reduction in the number of metrical positions to three instead of four. This reduction, in whichever way it was realized, does not, however, suffice to explain an unusual feature in the odd lines that I discuss in this chapter: In the odd lines, it appears, as noted for instance by Klaus Johan Myrvoll (2014: 167), that light syllables frequently appear in places that would be expected to be reserved for heavy syllables. It is not obvious how this feature is best described.

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 433–436 and 1892: 44) assumed that the rhythm in the odd lines was as in the Sievers A, C, and D types with the last unstressed position deleted, but he allowed modifications to his A, C, and D archetypes with “shortenings” whenever needed (aka *forkortelser*, *Nicht-verschleifungen* or suspended resolution, see Section 5.4). Instead of using shortenings, Kari Ellen Gade (2005: 160) specified ten metrical types in the odd lines, including two types that did not correspond to any rhythmic types in *fornyrðislag*. I listed her types in Section 5.4. Here, I propose a third way of specifying rhythm in the odd lines, which is, however, closely related to Finnur’s and Gade’s approaches.

The metrical mapping, introduced in Chapter 6, made it unnecessary to state Craigie’s law as an *ad hoc* rule in the even lines. To similarly eliminate the need for Finnur’s shortenings in the odd lines, I need to introduce a revision of the principles of metrical mapping, assuming that different conditions prevail in the odd lines from those in the even lines. My main justification for this is that it enables a simple and correct description of which rhythmic types were allowed.

In the even lines, the metrical mapping requires strong positions to have a heavy syllable structure (– or ∼ ·). In the odd lines, the situation is different; a strong position can have a light structure (∼) as well. By removing the weight distinction, as this implies, a pillar for the classification of lines into rhythmic types is no longer present. There are, however, two pillars left. The distinction between restricted and full syllables is intact and forms one pillar, and the distinction between stress-words and other words constitutes another pillar. These two pillars suffice to uphold a distinction between four rhythmic types, as I will discuss. I noted earlier (in Section 5.4) that Myrvoll (2014:



167) speculates that with only three metrical positions, the meter could afford to relax its metrical requirements. The above is in line with his insight.

A manifestation of a different metrical circumstance in the odd lines is that alliteration can occur in positions that do not have a heavy syllable structure. This is abnormal, as I discuss further in Section 7.5. In Section 7.6, I compare my analysis to Finnur Jónsson's analysis of the odd lines (1886–1888: 434–436). In Section 7.7, I summarize the rules for rhythm in both the even and the odd lines and I conclude with remarks on the use of metrical rules for recovering the text of AR.

### 7.1 A modified mapping for the odd lines

One would expect that the metrical mapping introduced in Chapter 6 for the even lines was a stable phenomenon that applied to many meters, let alone one meter, but it seems that a different mapping applied to the odd lines of *kviðuhátt*. This rhythmic condition does not seem to be due to some special historical development in the Old Norse language or poetry, as the odd line rhythm must have co-existed with the more normal mapping in the even lines of *kviðuhátt* for centuries.

In this section, I explain how a modified metrical mapping leads to a compact and accurate description of rhythm in the odd lines. I begin by discussing the trochaic rhythmic type, giving it the label  $A1^-$  as is customary, since superficially, it looks like a catalectic version of the trochaic rhythm **sxsx** (A1). In Egill's time, both the A1 type and the  $A1^-$  type only had dips with restricted positions (**x**), and it might thus seem natural to assume that  $A1^-$  is derived from A1 by some transformational rule like **sxsx** → **sxs**. The superscript minus (<sup>-</sup>) signals that the type has three metrical positions. I use · (middle dot) for a restricted syllable as a linguistic phenomenon, and **x** for a restricted metrical position, as I did earlier in the even lines. The **s** seems, on the other hand, to have a different meaning in the odd variant compared to the even one, as I now explain. I demonstrate this for the trochaic type with three examples from YNGLINGATAL (Edith Marold 2012a: 14–29 with stanza numbers as in FJ 1912–1915 BI 7–10):

- 1) YT 4.3 **sævar** niðr - · - 'sea's descendant'
- 2) YT 5.11 **Svíá** kind ~ · - 'kin of Swedes'
- 3) YT 16.3 **mækis** hlut - · ~ 'sword's part'

The first example has a heavy syllable (-) in position one and position three (in the two lifts), the second variant has a light syllable (˘) in position one, and the third has a light syllable in the third position. Lines with a light syllable in both lifts do not occur in YT.

It is possible to account for the rhythm in the lines above by interpreting the **s** in the notation **sxs** as a strong position that can accommodate both a light and a heavy (full) syllable, but not a restricted one. Finnur Jónsson accounted for all his trochaic lines by specifying an A archetype with heavy syllables in both lifts and then allowing shortenings in the lifts (see Section 7.6). Gade (2005: 160), on the other hand, specified two trochaic rhythmic types. One for 1) *sævar niðr* and another for 2) *Svíá kind*. She also seems to assume that all monosyllables at the end of lines were heavy (therefore she presumably did not need to specify a metrical type for 3) *mækis hlut*.

Now I turn my attention to lines with alliteration in the second metrical position. These are traditionally assumed to have the rhythm of some subtype of the C archetype. The following are the three C-types, specified by Gade (2005: 160) (I leave out a notation for double alliteration):

C1	x =  ˘	YT 18.4 ok <b>s</b> ikling	‘and (the) lordling’
C3	x =  ˘	YT 16.1 Ok <b>s</b> veiðurs	‘and (the) steer’s’
Other	x = ˘	YT 14.1 varð <b>J</b> örundr	‘was Jörundr’

Gade does not subordinate her types under main types, but the C1 type can, nevertheless, be seen as an archetype (main type or the normal type) with two heavy syllables in the two lifts. The two other types would then differ by allowing light syllables in one of the two lifts. I propose that all three types be denoted by the label C<sup>-</sup> and with the denotation **vss**, where **s** can stand for either a light or a heavy syllable (as for the A1<sup>-</sup> type). Lines, where both lifts (strong positions) have a light syllable, are possible according to this principle, but they are rare (because light syllables are rare and two light syllables in a row are very rare). The line ST 21.7 *ok kynvið*, might be classified as such a line (if the morpheme boundary in *kyn-við* is respected).

Next, I discuss the D type of rhythm. Gade (2005: 160) listed three D types with examples from YT, but I believe she missed the following type that appears in YT (Marold 2012: 46):

Other	˘ ˘ ˘	YT 29.3 <b>hræ</b> Óleifs	‘Óleifr’s body’
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I add this new type to her D types in the following:

D1	≡   ˘ ˘	YT 1.7 <b>vágr</b> vindlauss	‘sea windless’
D2	≡   ˘ ˘	YT 2.3 <b>salvǫrðuðr</b>	‘hall-warden’
D3	≡   ˘ ˘	YT 32.11 <b>menglǫtuðr</b>	‘necklace-destroyer’
Other	≡ ˘ ˘ ˘	YT 29.3 <b>hræ Óleifs</b>	‘Óleifr’s body’

The notation **ssv** for the label  $D^-$  produces all the above syllable patterns if light syllables are allowed in strong positions (lifts). It also predicts that some additional patterns exist, and they do. One has a light syllable in both the second and the third position that seems attested by YT 20.7 **vígfrömuð**, and another has a final restricted syllable. Such a line seems to exist in AR 15.3 *magar Þóris* (see a discussion in Subsection 7.4.5).

I have now reviewed three of the four rhythmic types that exist in the odd lines. Their rhythm and their labels are **sxs**  $A1^-$ , **vss**  $C^-$ , and **ssv**  $D^-$ , and I discuss a further type, **vvs**  $A3^-$  in the next section. The modified metrical mapping that I propose for the odd lines, then, allows a strong position to accommodate both a light and a heavy syllable. I present this mapping in Table 7.1-1.

**Table 7.1-1** The relation between syllable types and strength in odd lines. The mapping between metrical and linguistic entities. Light syllables are allowed to form lifts (**s**).

<i>The metrical strength of a position</i>	<i>Linguistic syllable types that can occupy a given position</i>		
Strong ( <b>s</b> )	heavy (–)	light (˘)	
Weak ( <b>v</b> )	heavy (–)	light (˘)	restricted (·)
Restricted ( <b>x</b> )			restricted (·)

The difference between the metrical mapping in even and odd lines can be seen by comparing Table 7.1-1 and Table 6.1-1. As seen from the table, metrical positions in odd lines do not distinguish light and heavy syllables, but restricted syllables continue to be distinct. Stress-words also continue to be of metrical significance. The first syllable of a stress-word in an odd line must be in a strong position (irrespective of weight).

*Verschleifungen* occur in the odd lines and always require the first syllable to be light. Therefore it is not true that the odd lines are insensitive to whether a syllable is light (˘) or heavy (–). What is true, is that the odd lines

make no distinction between positions having a light (˘) or a heavy syllable structures (– or two syllables in a *Verschleifung*). This applies both to the rhythmic types and the alliteration as I discuss in Section 7.5.

In Section 7.3, I discuss *Verschleifungen* in the odd lines, but first, in Section 7.2, I conclude a discussion that I began in Section 6.2 on trochaic dips in *kviðuháttur*.

## 7.2 *Ok* and other occupants of dips in trochaic lines

The  $A1^-$  type, like the untruncated  $A1$  type, seems to require a restricted syllable (˘) in its second position (the dip) as I revealed in the previous section. I now look closer at which entities can occupy this position in the odd lines, showing that they are the same as in the even lines (see Section 6.2), except for the infinitive marker, which is understandable because it requires a disyllabic verbal form to follow.

The odd lines have two types of trochaic lines, the  $A1^-$  type discussed above, and what may be referred to as the  $A3^-$  type, with alliteration in the third position instead of the first position; an example is AR 9.5 *en sú gjǫf*. It can be seen as a catalectic version of the  $A3$  type that is common in odd lines of *fornyrðislag*. Fulk (2016: 256) denotes the  $A3$  type by  $x x | \acute{x}$ , noting that there is no consensus about whether one of the first two syllables carries stress. Gade denotes the  $A3^-$  type in *kviðuháttur* by  $\acute{x} x | \acute{x}$ , but Fulk (2015: 269 fn 4) notes that the stress for the first position seems to be relatively low because it cannot contain a stress-word (see Section 6.5). I note that the second position need not be restricted and it rarely is (see Subsection 7.4.2). The notation **vvs** seems, therefore, to be appropriate for the rhythm.

The rhythm in odd lines that are without stress-words and restricted endings can sometimes be difficult to determine. Pragmatically, I let all lines with alliteration in the third position be of the  $A3^-$  type and all lines with alliteration in the second position be  $C^-$  type (see Section 7.5 on the relation between rhythm and alliteration in the odd lines). In some rare cases, it is hard to decide if a line is of the  $A1^-$  type or of the  $D^-$  type in which case I let the deciding factor be whether the second syllable is restricted. This applies to the line AR 21.1 *Þat hann víðr* ‘that he wins,’ which I classify as  $D^-$ .

YNGLINGATAL has some 45 lines out of 180 odd lines that have the trochaic  $A1^-$  rhythm. Out of these lines, eight have a light syllable occupying a strong position in the first lift (for instance *Svíá kind*, *svalan hest*, *Gymis ljóð*) and one has a light syllable occupying a strong position in the second lift (*mækis hlut*). All of these lines have a restricted vowel in the second position.

The restricted vowels are usually in a word-ending, and there are no monosyllables in this position except in line YT 12.3 (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 9 and Edith Marold 2012a: 28):

YT 14.3	<b>lífs</b> of <b>lattr</b>	sxs	‘of life discouraged’
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The filler word is here before a past participle. The same line occurs in HÁL-EYJATAL 12.5 (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 61–62). These are apparently the only lines with a filler word in a dip of trochaic odd lines of the *kviðuháttir* corpus.

NÓREGS KONUNGATAL, composed c. 1190, has 332 odd lines and a large number of trochaic lines. As discussed for the even lines (in Section 6.2), this poem allows non-restricted syllables in its dips, something which seems to have been forbidden in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The same applies to the odd lines: NKT has the following examples of monosyllables in dips in odd lines (Gade 2009c, stanza numbers as in FJ 1912–1915 BI: 575–590):

NKT 13.7	<b>aptr</b> í land	svs	‘back into land’
NKT 24.3	<b>fimm</b> at eins	svs	‘five at one’s’
NKT 26.7	<b>vestr</b> of haf	svs	‘west over sea’
NKT 33.7	<b>auð</b> , til þess	svs	‘wealth, to that’
NKT 53.3	<b>norðr</b> í grund	svs	‘north into ground’
NKT 66.7	<b>austr</b> í Vík	svs	‘east into Vík’
NKT 73.7	<b>eld</b> né járn	svs	‘fire nor iron’

HÁKONARKVIÐA is younger than NKT, but Sturla Þórðarson seems to have attempted to follow the older tradition. The poem has only the two following monosyllables in its trochaic dips (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 121, 124 and Gade 2009b: 709–710, 719–720):

HKV 16.3	<b>inn</b> í botn	svs	‘into (the) bottom’
HKV 31.5	<b>austr</b> né vestr	svs	‘east nor west’

Returning to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, SONATORREK has around 25 lines with trochaic rhythm (A1<sup>-</sup>). All of these lines have a restricted syllable in the second position. The poem has no monosyllable in this position.

HÁLEYGJATAL has twenty trochaic odd lines (A1<sup>-</sup>).<sup>15</sup> Only one of these has a monosyllable in its dip (*lífs of lattr*) that I mentioned earlier as having a filler word.

GLÆLOGNSKVIÐA from the early 11<sup>th</sup> century has two odd lines with alliteration in the first syllable and a monosyllable in the second. These are (Townend 2012 with stanza number as in FJ 1912–1915 BI: 300–301):

GLÆ 5.7	<b>h</b> ár ok negl	‘hair and nail’
GLÆ 9.7	<b>á</b> r ok frið	‘good season and peace’

ARINBJARNARKVIÐA has 14 trochaic lines (type **sxs** A1<sup>-</sup>), 12 of which have a restricted syllable in a word ending in the second position (see the lines listed in Subsection 7.4.1) while two have the monosyllable *ok* ‘and’:

AR 15.7	<b>t</b> venn ok þrenn	‘two and three’
AR 17.7	<b>F</b> reyr ok Njǫrðr	‘Freyr and Njǫrðr’

Óláfr Þórðarson discussed this line Ar 15.7 *tvenn ok þrenn* in his Third Grammatical Treatise (see Subsection 4.2.1).

Table 7.2-1 shows that monosyllables were kept out of dips in trochaic lines of type **sxs** (A1<sup>-</sup>) and of type **sxsx** (A1) in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. It also shows that most of the early breaches of this rule involve *ok* ‘and.’ The poetry is grouped into centuries (9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup>). The table includes all *kviðuháttir* poetry that has one or more monosyllables in dips in trochaic lines. Thus, some *lausavísur* and fragments are not included. I left out four anonymous *kviðuháttir* stanzas in the 3GT that are impossible to date (one of them has the infinitive marker *at* in a dip). (Here, I denote INTERPOLATION 1-8 as VÍKARSBÁLKR 17-24 and EPILOGUE 1-7 as MERLÍNUSSPÁ 62-68.)

<sup>15</sup> HÁL 1.7, 3.3, 3.7, 4.1, 4.3, 5.3, 6.5, 7.3, 7.7, 8.3, 10.5, 11.3, 11.5, 12.3, 12.5, 13.3, 13.5, 14.3, 16.1, 16.3.

Table 7.2-1 Number of monosyllables in dips in trochaic *kviðuháttir* even and odd lines.<sup>16</sup>

Century	Poem	<i>Um-</i> <i>of</i>	Infinitive marker <i>at</i>	Conjunction <i>ok</i>	Other monosyl- lables
9 <sup>th</sup>	YNGLINGAT. 1–38	4	1	2	0
10 <sup>th</sup>	SONAT. 1–25	7	2	0	0
	ARINBJ.KV. 1–25	3	2	2	0
	HÁLEYGJAT. 1–16	2	0	0	0
11 <sup>th</sup>	ÆVIKV (Gr.) 1–7	1	1	1	1
	GLÆL.KV 1–10	0	0	2	1
12 <sup>th</sup>	GEIRV.FL. 1–5	1	1	2	0
	Oddi litli <i>lv</i> 4–5	0	0	0	1
	NÓR. KON.T. 1–83	0	10	10	36
13 <sup>th</sup>	MERL.SP. 62–68	0	0	2	1
	HÁTTATAL 102	0	0	1	1
	VÍKARSB. 17–24	0	2	0	5
	HÁKONARKV. 1–42	0	1	0	7
14 <sup>th</sup>	HALLM.KV 1–6	0	0	0	2

I already noted that it seems likely that the filler word had a restricted vowel in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and this may also be the case for the infinitive marker *at*.

The conjunction *ok* in the table above always stands between two nominals of related meaning as seen from the following table.

<sup>16</sup> YT 7.5, 8.8, 13.4, 14.3, 15.4, 15.12, 20.2. ST 1.2, 5.4, 8.2, 10.4, 11.8, 12.8, 18.4, 23.6, 24.2. AR 1.2, 2.8, 3.8, 5.2, 13.8, 15.7, 17.7. HÁL 10.8, 12.5. ÆVIKVIÐA 1.4, 1.7, 1.8, 3.4. GLÆ 5.7, 8.4, 9.7. GEIRVIÐARFLOKKR 1.5, 2.7, 3.2, 5.6. Oddi *lausavísa* 5.6. NKT 7.8, 9.6, 11.6, 11.8, 13.7, 14.6, 15.2, 18.4, 19.6, 22.4, 23.4, 24.2, 24.3, 25.4, 26.7, 27.8, 28.4, 30.2, 31.2, 31.6, 32.2, 32.4, 32.6, 33.2, 33.7, 34.2, 34.4, 36.4, 36.8, 37.2, 40.8, 41.6, 43.2, 46.2, 47.2, 49.4, 49.8, 50.4, 51.2, 51.4, 53.3, 54.8, 55.4, 56.4, 57.4, 60.4, 64.8, 65.8, 66.7, 67.2, 67.6, 67.8, 68.2, 70.6, 72.4, 73.7. MERLÍNUSSPÁ 65.7, 66.4, 67.7. HÁTTATAL 102.6. INTERPOLATION 3.2, 3.4, 3.6, 4.2, 5.7, 6.2, 8.2. HKV 12.6, 14.4, 15.2, 16.3, 23.8, 31.5, 39.8, 41.2. HALLMUNDARKVIÐA 1.4, 2.4.

Table 7.2-2 Lines with the conjunction *ok* in dips of trochaic lines in *kviðuhátt*.

Stanza and line numbers as in FJ 1912–1915	Trochaic line with <i>ok</i>	Translation	Reference to text but not to stanza numbers
Yt 7.6	Ulfs ok Narfa	Ulfr and Narfi GEN	Marold (2012a: 19)
Yt 20.2	Vøtts ok Fasta	Vøttr and Fasti GEN	Marold (2012a: 34)
AR 15.7	tvenn ok þrenn	twos and threes NOM	BE (2003: 159)
AR 17.7	Freyr ok Njörðr	Freyr and Njörðr NOM	BE (2003: 160)
ÆVIKVIÐA (Gr.) 1.7	lukt ok læst	closed and locked	FJ (1912–1915 BII: 287)
GLÆ 5.7	hár ok negl	hair and nail NOM	Townend (2012: 870)
GLÆ 9.7	ár ok frið	wealth and peace ACC	Townend (2012: 875)
GEIRVIÐARFL. 2.7	Garp ok Gný	Garp and Gný ACC	FJ (1912–1915 BII: 222)
GEIRVIÐARFL. 5.6	vegs ok landa	honour and lands GEN	FJ (1912–1915 BII: 223)
NKT 11.8	einn ok fjóra	one and four NOM	Gade (2009c: 768–769)
NKT 18.4	jörð ok ríki	land and realm ACC	Gade (2009c: 772)
NKT 23.4	lond ok þegna	lands and subjects ACC	Gade (2009c: 774–775)
NKT 25.4	hørd ok lengi	hard and long NOM	Gade (2009c: 775–776)
NKT 28.4	Sveinn ok Høkon	Sveinn and Håkon NOM	Gade (2009c: 777–778)
NKT 34.4	Kalfr ok Þórir	Kalfr and Þórir NOM	Gade (2009c: 780)
NKT 43.2	Sigurðr ok Ásta	Sigurðr and Ásta NOM	Gade (2009c: 786–787)
NKT 57.4	sonr ok dóttir	son and daughter NOM	Gade (2009c: 793–794)
NKT 60.4	sigrs ok heilsu	victory and health GEN	Gade (2009c: 794–795)
NKT 67.8	landi ok þegnum	land and subjects DAT	Gade (2009c: 798–799)
MERLÍNUSSPÁ 66.4	vegs ok dýrðar	honor and glory GEN	FJ (1912–1915 BII: 23)
MERLÍNUSSPÁ 67.7	døegr ok dag	half-day and day ACC	FJ (1912–1915 BII: 24)
HÁTTATAL 102.3	konungr ok jarl	king and earl NOM	FJ (1912–1915 BII: 88)

I let Tables 7.2-1 and 7.2-2 speak for themselves. They indicate that only restricted syllables were allowed in dips of trochaic lines in the 10<sup>th</sup>-century, and they provide an argument for AR being from that century. They do not tell whether the change in the 11<sup>th</sup> century was a linguistic one or a change in metrical practice, or why, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the conjunction *ok* was allowed in the dips when used in constructions as in Table 7.2-2.

### 7.3 *Verschleifungen* in odd lines

Sievers (1879: 292) counted 18 cases of *Verschleifungen* (i.e., two syllables filling one position) in odd lines of *kviðuhátt* versus 50 of *Nichtverschleifungen* (i.e., light syllables forming lifts). The *Verschleifungen* that he found were probably mostly in weak positions (not in lifts) of the A3<sup>-</sup> and C<sup>-</sup> types. They are numerous (examples are in AR 13.7 *nema ek þess gagns* and AR 15.2 *Nú*



*erumk auðskæf*). With a metrical mapping that equates light and heavy syllables in lifts, the question arises if a *Verschleifung* in a lift (**s'**) was allowed (or called for) in the odd lines. *A priori*, this does not seem likely. For this to be possible, a strong position would need to be able to accommodate a heavy syllable (–), a light syllable (˘), and a light syllable plus a restricted syllable in a *Verschleifung* (˘˘). Nevertheless, this turns out to be the case; an example is in AR 19.5 *goðum ávarðr* that must be of the  $D^-$  type **s'sv**.

*Verschleifungen* in strong positions are not frequent in the even lines of *kviðuháttr*. In AR, they only occur in the two rhythmic types C2 **vs'sx** and D2 **ssvx** (**s'svx**). The C2 type is relatively frequent in even lines in *kviðuháttr* (see Subsection 6.3.2), but a shortened (catalectic)  $C2^-$  **vs's** version does not seem to appear in AR. I have, however, noticed the two following lines elsewhere: (Townend 2012: 871 and FJ 1912–1915 BI: 301, GADE 2009C and FJ 1912–1915 BI: 582):

GLÆ 6.3	of sæing hans	‘over his bed’
NKT 42.7	en Sigurðr sýrr	‘but Sigurðr sýrr’

The D2 type is rare in even lines of *kviðuháttr* as I noted in Subsection 6.4.4. AR has one example of this type with resolution (**s'**) in the first syllable AR 12.6 *sonar Halfdanar s'svx* ‘son of Halfdan.’ Fulk (2016: 257) gives *mogu Heimdalar* ‘son of Heimdal’ from VQLUSPÁ as an example of the D2 type with resolution in *fornyrðislag*. A  $D^-$  version with a *Verschleifung* **s'sv** is not infrequent in *kviðuháttr*, as seen from the following list, where the first of three positions is disyllabic. The stanza numbers are as in FJ 1912–1915 where the text of these lines is the same as in more recent editions, except for ST 6.7 and AR 11.1, where I use a different line division from the one that is printed in current editions, see notes to Stanza 11:

YT 6.7	<b>bana</b> Hóalfrs	‘Hóalfr’s killer’
YT 14.7	<b>bana</b> Goðlaugs	‘Goðlaugr’s killer’
YT 33.7	<b>høfuð</b> heiptækt	‘main fury’
AR 11.1	<b>Arinbjörn</b> er	‘Arinbjörn who’
AR 15.3	<b>magar</b> Þóris	‘son of Þórir’
AR 19.5	<b>goðum</b> ávarðr	‘loved by gods’
ST 6.7	<b>sonarskarð</b> er	‘son’s rift that’
ST 17.3	<b>sonar</b> iðgjöld	‘payment for son’
HÁL 10.3	<b>magar</b> Hallgarðs	‘son of Hallgarðr’

HÁL 10.7	<b>v</b> inar Lóðurs	‘friend of Lóðurr’
NKT 82.7	<b>J</b> óans ættar	‘of Jóan’s family’
3GT 5.1	<b>k</b> onungr <b>k</b> appgjarn	‘ambitious king’

Two of the lines seem to have a restricted syllable in the last position (AR 15.3 and NKT 82.7). My notation **ssv** allows this, but it goes against what Gade (2005: 165) says is inherent in the odd lines due to their catalectic nature. I discuss this further in Subsection 7.4.5

Most of the remaining lines in the *kviðuháttir* corpus that have an extra syllable have a *Verschleifung* in a weak position (**v**’), or they treat the noun *konungr* ‘king’ as if it only had one syllable. At least for the younger poems, this can often be explained by assuming that the word should be *kóngr*. Only a handful of lines seem to be corrupt (perhaps five).

My conclusion for this section is that that ordinary *Verschleifungen* were a feature of the meter in the odd lines. They appear both in weak and strong positions, and they require, as in the even lines, that their first syllable is light.

#### 7.4 Types in odd lines

Finnur Jónsson (1892: 17–18) derived the rhythmic types in the odd lines from the rhythmic types in *fornyrðislag* by deleting a final unstressed syllable. In theory this produced shortened versions of the A, C, and D rhythmic types, but leaves out the B and E types, presumably because they do not have a final unstressed syllable in their non-catalectic form. There seems to be a consensus among scholars (Gade, Myrvoll) that this is correct. Moreover, Gade (2005: 165) says that the catalectic nature of the meter prohibits lines ending in an unstressed inflectional syllable. Presumably this is because an inflectional syllable is not likely to precede the final unstressed syllable that was deleted. It is an empirical fact that odd lines hardly ever end in an inflectional syllable, except for a few examples of such lines for the D<sup>-</sup> type that I discuss in Subsection 7.4.5.

Because of the modified metrical mapping, it is not appropriate to differentiate between variants of the C and D types with different numbers, and I will therefore only use the labels: A1<sup>-</sup>, A3<sup>-</sup>, C<sup>-</sup>, and D<sup>-</sup>. It is easy to see the two types **sxs** (A1<sup>-</sup>), and **vvs** (A3<sup>-</sup>) as derived from their corresponding A1 and A3 types, but I will take it as an empirical fact, rather than a matter of principle, that the correct form for the C<sup>-</sup> type is **vss** and for the D<sup>-</sup> type it is **ssv** (this is what seems best to fit the poetic evidence, see 7.4.5).

In Table 7.4.1, I give my notation and the notation that Gade (2005) used to describe the types. A syllable with double accent mark (≡ or ≋) has alliteration. Gade made a distinction between trochaic lines with single and double alliteration, but I denote them both by A1<sup>-</sup>. I have added to her list, a type that I described in Section 7.1 (for Y<sub>T</sub> 29.3 *hræ Óleifs*). I label it in the same manner that Gade labeled her two extra-Sievers types with “other.”

**Table 7.4-1 Rhythmic types in odd lines of AR**

<i>Name of type (label)</i>	<i>My notation for the rhythm</i>	<i>Number of instances in AR</i>	<i>Finnur’s archetypes (1886–1888)</i>	<i>Gade’s notation for the rhythm (2005)</i>
A1 <sup>-</sup>	sxs	14	≡ x   ≡ (A)	≡ x   ≡ (A1 <sup>-</sup> ) ≡ x   ≡ (A2 <sup>-</sup> ) ≋ x ≋ (other)
A3 <sup>-</sup>	vvs	13		≡ x   ≡ (A3 <sup>-</sup> )
C <sup>-</sup>	vss	43	x   ≡ ≡ (C)	x ≡   ≡ (C1 <sup>-</sup> ) x ≡   ≡ (C3 <sup>-</sup> ) x ≋ ≋ (other)
D <sup>-</sup>	ssv	21	≡   ≡ x (D)	≡   ≡ ≡ (D1 <sup>-</sup> ) ≡   ≡ ≡ (D2 <sup>-</sup> ) ≡   ≋ ≡ (D3 <sup>-</sup> ) ≋ ≋ ≡ (other)

The Sievers types that Gade lists are those that could be expected to be common if my description of possible rhythmic types is correct (as I explain in Section 7.1). The types that my prescription allows, but are missing, have more than one lift with a light syllable (*tven ok þren*, would be such a line, HKV 40.5 *lofanlig* is another). Because the light syllables are few, lines with such a rhythm are rare. Also missing is a D type with a restricted end-syllable that I predict exists, and I discuss in Section 7.4.5.

#### 7.4.1 The A1<sup>-</sup> type (sxs)

The A1<sup>-</sup> type is the catalectic version of the A1 type with rhythm **sxsx**. Both types have a restricted syllable in the second position. AR has the following lines of the A1<sup>-</sup> type:

Table 7.4-1 Lines of type A1<sup>-</sup> (sxs) in AR.

1.5 <b>o</b> pinspjallr	2.3 <b>s</b> kaupi gnægðr	7.7 * <b>h</b> attar staup
8.7 <b>h</b> öfuðlausn	11.3 <b>k</b> nía fremstr	15.5 <b>v</b> inar míns
15.7 <b>t</b> venn ok þrenn	16.7 <b>b</b> jóða björn	17.7 <b>F</b> reyr ok Njörðr
20.3 <b>f</b> lesta menn	21.5 <b>h</b> áði leiddr	22.5 <b>s</b> ökunautr
22.7 <b>h</b> ringum ‘hnotr’	29.5 <b>b</b> randi birtr	

The word *höfuð* (in line AR 8.7) seems to have a restricted vowel /u/, although the /u/ is not in an inflectional ending. The word *höfuð* appears with the diphthong /au/ at the end of a *dróttkvætt* line by Bragi in RAGNARSDRÁPA 13.8 *vallrauf fjögur haufuð* (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 3) where the *-uð* ending also seems to be restricted. This word is probably not exceptional. The second syllable in the name *Egill* is, for instance, likely restricted.

I refer to Chapter 9 for the text. If the conjunction *ok* has a restricted syllable in 15.7 and 17.7, the second position seems to be restricted in all these lines. The first syllable is either light or heavy, but it carries alliteration in all instances. It is never resolved, something which also applies to the first syllable in the A1 type of the even lines (in AR, ST, and YT).

I do not, as does Gade, have a separate rhythmic type for lines with double alliteration as in 16.7 *bjóða björn* ‘tables’ bear.’ Gade (2005: 160) splits the former type (with single alliteration) into two types (a regular one and one with suspended resolution as in AR 1.5 *opinspjallr*).

#### 7.4.2 The A3<sup>-</sup> type (vvs)

There is not a consensus among scholars on whether the corresponding A3 type (with four positions) in *fornyrðislag* should be denoted with a lift (**s**) in the first syllable (see Fulk 2016: 256 who denotes the A3 type by x x |  $\acute{x}$ , while Gade 2005: 160 has  $\acute{x}$  |  $\acute{x}$  for her A3<sup>-</sup> type). For *kviðuháttir* before the year 1000, the difference between the A1<sup>-</sup> and the A3<sup>-</sup> types is not due to the alliteration alone (as Gade’s notation implies) because the second position need not be restricted for the A3<sup>-</sup> type and it seldom is (see table below). The second position should, however, not contain a stress-word that would force it to be strong. An exception is in YT 11.9 *fráat maðr áðr* ‘learned no man before’ and I assume a similar exception is in AR 21.1 *Gekk maðr engr* ‘went man no one.’ In these examples, the noun *maðr* ‘man’ seems not to require a rhythmic strength and behaves in that like a pronoun.

Table 7.4.2-1 Lines of type A3<sup>-</sup> (vvs) in AR.

2.5 Sótt hefi ek <b>m</b> örg	3.1 Hafða ek <b>e</b> ndr	3.7 lét ek * <b>h</b> er
8.1 Við því <b>t</b> ók,	8.5 ok sá <b>m</b> uðr	9.5 en sú <b>g</b> jof
10.1 Þar stóð <b>m</b> ér	13.7 nema <del>ek</del> þess <b>g</b> agns	14.1 Nú er þat <b>s</b> ét
16.1 Þat tel ek <b>f</b> yrst	20.5 kveðka <del>ek</del> <b>s</b> kammt	21.1 Gekk maðr * <b>e</b> ngr
22.3 sá er of <b>d</b> olgr		

Some of these lines have or need a *Verschleifung*, *bragarmál* or vowel elision in the first two metrical positions. In line AR 3.7, I have replaced *hersir* ‘ruler’ (Finnur Jónsson’s reading) with *her* (men.ACC) which is closer to the textual remains seen on page 99v. In line 21.1 I have replaced *engi* with *engr*; both changes are metrical improvements.

The third and last position in line AR 3.7 and line AR 9.5 have a light monosyllable in a strong position which is allowed by the modified metrical mapping. Gade (2005: 160) did not design a new C subtype for AR 3.7 and AR 9.5, presumably because she and Fulk assume all monosyllables at the end of a line have a heavy syllable.

### 7.4.3 The C<sup>-</sup> type (vss)

The C<sup>-</sup> type is a very frequent rhythmic type in odd lines of AR. Its frequency is comparable to that of the trochaic lines in the even lines. I denote the type by **vss** rather than **vsv** because the latter would allow a line final inflectional ending (see below).

Table 7.4.3-1 Lines of type C<sup>-</sup> (vss) in AR.

1.1 Emk <b>h</b> raðkvæðr	1.3 en <b>g</b> lapmáll	1.7 en <b>þ</b> agnelskr
2.2 Emk <b>v</b> ilkvæðr	2.7 með <b>g</b> runlauss	3.5 dró ek <b>d</b> jarfhøtt
4.1 Þar er <b>a</b> llvaldr	4.7 í <b>J</b> órvík	5.1 Vara <del>þat</del> <b>t</b> unglskin
5.3 né <b>ó</b> gnlaust	5.5 þá er <b>o</b> rmfránn	5.7 skein <b>a</b> llvalds
6.1 Þó ek <b>b</b> olstrverð	6.5 svát <b>Y</b> ggs full	6.7 at <b>h</b> vers manns
7.1 Né <b>h</b> amfagrt	7.5 þá er <b>u</b> lfgrátt	9.1 Þar es <b>t</b> annfjöld
9.3 sem <b>h</b> lertjöld	11.7 í <b>h</b> erskás	12.7 á <b>J</b> átvarðs
13.1 Munk <b>v</b> inþjófr	13.3 ok <b>v</b> áljúgr	14.5 fyrir <b>m</b> annfjöld
15.1 <del>Nú</del> erumk <b>a</b> uðskæf	16.3 ok <b>a</b> lpjóð	16.5 hvé <b>m</b> ildgeðr
17.1 Þat <b>a</b> llr herr	17.3 hvé hann <b>u</b> rþjóð	17.5 en <b>g</b> rjótbjörn
18.1 En <b>H</b> róalds	18.5 sem <b>v</b> insæld	18.7 á <b>v</b> indkers

19.1 Hann *dragseil	19.3 sem hildingr	20.7 né auðskept
21.3 ór legvers	21.7 með atgeirs	22.1 Hinn er fégrimmr
23.1 Hann aldrt eig	24.1 Þat er órét	24.3 á mäskeið
26.7 sem allvaldr		

The first metrical position must be weak (**v**). Here it is always occupied by words in word-classes that are usual in weak positions (function words). This position has in some instances two syllables in a *Verschleifung*. In AR 22.1, *bragarmál* is needed (hinn es -> hinns).

Positions two and three are in all cases occupied by a disyllabic stress-word (or a disyllabic nominal compound). The first syllable in such words must be strong, regardless of its weight as in AR 18.1 *En Hróalds*. The final syllable is never an inflectional ending. This is as prescribed by myself and Gade (in Table 7.4.1-1). By Gade, by not having any C-type variant that ends in an unstressed position, by myself, by prescribing that the last position is strong which allows full syllables (light or heavy) but not restricted syllables according to Table 7.1-1.

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 357) classified line AR 3.5 *dró ek djarfhott* as of D-type (he printed *drók djarfhott*), but I classify it as a C<sup>-</sup> type with alliteration in the second position.

As I discussed in Section 7.1, Gade (2005: 160) divides the C type into three types C1<sup>-</sup>, C3<sup>-</sup>, and the suspended ‘other.’ AR 18.1 *En Hróalds* is of the suspended type. In Section 7.6, I discuss how Finnur rather than multiplying the number of metrical types used shortenings.

#### 7.4.4 The D<sup>-</sup> type (ssv)

Lines of the D<sup>-</sup> type are fairly common in AR:

Table 7.4.6-1 Lines of type D<sup>-</sup> (ssv) in AR.

3.3 ríks konungs	4.3 ljóðfrømuðr	4.5 styr-konungr
6.3 ‘má[i]þ’ hœings	7.3 skaldfé mitt	8.3 sök svartleit
9.7 *hróðrs konungs	10.3 ‘hoddfindr minn’	10.5 tryggvinn minn
10.7 heiðþróaðr	11.1 Arinbjørn er	11.5 vinn þjóðans
12.3 margfrømuðr	13.5 hróðrs orverðr	14.7 hróðr *máttigs
19.5 goðum ávarðr	19.7 vinn véþorms	20.1 Þat hann viðr
23.3 *fjolsáinn	24.5 rammriðin	24.7 vellvønuðr

The lines AR 11.1 *Arinbjörn er* and AR 19.5 *göðum ávarðr* use resolution in the first metrical position (see Section 7.3). Most of the lines are easily classified as **ssv** (i.e., D types), except AR 20.1, that I could not classify as anything else. Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 433) classified AR 7.3, AR 11.1, and AR 20.1 as trochaic. The line AR 11.1 has traditionally the form AR 11.1 *Arinbjörn* (see notes in Chapter 10).

I note that the five D<sup>-</sup> lines AR 10.3, AR 10.5, AR 10.7, AR 11.1, and AR 11.3 stand in a row. The sixth line AR 11.5 *knía fremstr* ‘foremost of men’ may also have originally been of the D<sup>-</sup> type if Egill used the superlative form *framastr* instead of *fremstr*. This regular use of a rhythmic type may be a rhetorical feature (see notes on *tvenn ok þrenn* in Stanza 15).

The following lines have a light syllable in the second position: AR 3.3, AR 4.3, AR 4.5, AR 9.7, AR 10.7, AR 12.3, AR 20.1, and AR 23.3. Gade labeled them as D3<sup>-</sup> types; she also had a separate D2<sup>-</sup> type for lines with a light final syllable (as in AR 24.5). In Section 7.1, I added one more type to her variants of the D<sup>-</sup> type, with a light first syllable (no example of such a line is in AR) and in the next subsection I add a type with a restricted final syllable (an example is 15.3 *magar Þóris*).

#### 7.4.5 Issues with the D<sup>-</sup> type and dating

Very few unresolved issues remain in this thesis regarding the typology of lines in AR, and they mostly affect lines that are only partly readable. I have not classified three lines in Stanza 12 (AR 12.1, AR 12.2, AR 12.5), two lines in Stanza 14 (AR 14.3 and AR 14.4), and numerous lines in the unreadable part of page 99v. For some lines that are metrically incorrect in current editions, I have proposed corrections or forwarded corrections proposed by others (for instance in AR 3.7 and AR 21.1). In most cases, the text in question is likely to be badly preserved. This is, however, not likely for the line AR 15.3 *magar Þóris* that I discuss specifically in this section. This line is very well attested. It is preserved in all three main manuscripts of the 3GT (**A**, **B** and **W**) in addition to being readable on page 99v. It can be of type D<sup>-</sup> where the first two syllables fill one metrical position (see Section 7.3). This line is, however, unusual for having an ending *-is*, that can be expected to have a restricted vowel. According to Gade (2005: 165), the odd line in *kviðuhátt* should not have such end-syllables, and they are indeed very rare. Even if the ‘i’ in *Þóris* is a stem vowel and not a part of an inflectional ending, this vowel

is certainly restricted in the accusative and dative cases of the word *Þóri*, and the addition of the genitive *-s* ending seems not likely to change that.<sup>17</sup>

The line AR 14.3 *bragar fótum* ‘feet of poetry’ was read as such by the 169 scribe. Because it has four syllables, current editions of AR take it to be an even line (see notes on *bragar fótum* in Chapter 10). However, this line could also have a resolution in its first position and be of the  $D^-$  type, but it has the inflectional ending *-um* that is not supposed to occur in the last position of odd lines.

In Section 7.3, I noted that NÓREGS KONUNGATAL has the line NKT 82.7 *Jóans ættar* ‘of Jóan’s family,’ which has the inflectional ending *-ar*. The three lines that I have discussed are all of the  $D^-$  type, and all have resolution in the first position.

If the  $D^-$  type could end in a restricted syllable, I note that this would allow the past participle ending *-inn* to have a restricted syllable in ST 2.7 *ár borinn*, AR 24.5 *ramriðin*, and AR 23.3: *fjòlsáinn* as it must in AR 13.2 *verða heitinn* (see 6.3.1).

The issue with the  $D^-$  type is whether it should be denoted by **sss** or by **ssv**. The second option would allow the type to have a final syllable that is restricted. I favor this second option, but I do not rule out the first because the evidence is slim.

Among Gade’s  $D^-$ -types for odd lines is a type that she derives from the D1 type which is denoted by  $\sphericalangle \mid \sphericalangle \sphericalangle \times$  in her notation. I believe that lines with three strong syllables in a row, as in this type, do not occur in normal skaldic poetry. This notation would be appropriate for the so-called shivering lines (*skjálfhent*), and the skalds avoided them or used them for special effects, sometimes regularly in the *shivering meter* about which I have written extensively (see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2014b and 2016b). The notation **sss** implies that all lines of the  $D^-$  type were of the shivering type, which I do not want to propose.

It may remain difficult and of marginal value to determine with certainty if the  $D^-$  type allowed restricted syllables. One reason for this is the observation made by Gade (2005: 176) and Myrvoll (2014: 170) that the  $D^-$  type nearly completely disappeared after the year 1000 in the *kviðuháttir* corpus. According to Myrvoll, the percentage of  $D^-$  lines drops to 3% in GLÆ and below 1% in ÆVIKVIÐA, NKT, HKV, and HALLMUNDARKVIÐA. Gade notes that this fact supports YNGLINGATAL’s claim to authenticity. She writes:

<sup>17</sup> ÁBM says the ending *-ir* in *Þórir* may originally have been *-vér*, but I have not found support for this in skaldic poetry.



“This circumstance would seem to have implications for the debate concerning the date ascribed to a poem like *Ynglingatal*.” AR is at the same frequency level for the D<sup>-</sup> type as is YT (19%), according to both Gade and Myrvoll (my percentage is 21%). This provides one more argument in favor of the authenticity of AR, which is one of my two conclusions for this section. My other conclusion is that a case can be made for the denotation **ssv** for the D<sup>-</sup> type which is hard to prove but also hard to reject. This denotation allows 14.3 *bragar fótum* and AR 15.3 *magar Þóris* to be metrical, which I shall assume they are.

### 7.5 Alliteration, typology, and weight neutralization

Alliteration is closely aligned with the metrical typology in the odd lines of *kviðuhátt* and more so than in the even lines where it could only be placed in the first two metrical positions. This makes the four metrical groups very tangible. Thus for the C<sup>-</sup> type (**vss**), the alliteration is always in the second position. For the A3<sup>-</sup> type (**vvs**), it is always in the third position. For both the A1<sup>-</sup> type (**sxs**) and the D<sup>-</sup> type (**ssv**), it is in the first. A distinction can, however, easily be made between these two types because in poetry older than the year 1000 the second syllable is always restricted in the A1<sup>-</sup> type but never in the D<sup>-</sup> type. In younger poetry, where this does not hold, the D<sup>-</sup> type is very rare (see Subsection 7.4.5). It seems logical that without the distinction in trochaic lines between restricted syllables and full syllables, it would become difficult to uphold a distinction between the four rhythmic types just mentioned.

In Section 6.5, I stated that alliteration in the even lines of *kviðuhátt* and all regular skaldic poetry was always in positions that could be seen as holding a heavy (trimoraic) linguistic structure (an intrinsically heavy syllable, a light syllable that could be lengthened through cohesion or two syllables in a *Verschleifung*). This does not hold for the odd lines. In these lines, the alliteration is frequently in a position containing a light syllable that cannot be lengthened (made heavier) by cohesion or share a position with the following syllable in a *Verschleifung*. An example is in AR 1.5 *opinsjallr* ‘outsspoken.’ The metrical types and the alliteration did not distinguish between positions having a heavy structure and a position having a light but full syllable).

But in spite of this lack of significance of the weight distinction for the typology of odd lines (provided by their rhythm and alliteration), I concluded in Section 7.3 that *Verschleifungen* were a feature of these lines, and since *Verschleifungen* refer to weight, requiring that the first syllable participating in it to be light, syllable weight has not been fully neutralized.

## 7.6 Comparison to Finnur Jónsson 1886–1888

Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 434–436) grouped all odd lines in ST and AR under the labels A, C or D, as I also did in the preceding sections. The alliteration helped both me and Finnur classify the lines, and it is not surprising that we are mostly in agreement. The biggest difference is probably due to three lines that I take for lines of type  $D^-$ , but Finnur takes for lines of type  $A1^-$  (see Subsection 7.4.4).

Finnur did not divide the odd A type into  $A1^-$  and  $A3^-$  types, and he placed all lines under one of the three main types A, C, and D. These main types or archetypes had only heavy accented syllables ( $\acute{}$ ) in lifts and unstressed syllables ( $\grave{}$ ). Thus his A archetype was denoted by  $\acute{}$  x |  $\acute{}$ , the C archetype by x  $\acute{}$  |  $\acute{}$ , and the D archetype by  $\acute{}$  |  $\acute{}$  x. (not by the shivering type of line  $\acute{}$  |  $\acute{}$   $\grave{}$ , see 7.4.5). Under each type, Finnur then listed lines with *Verschleifungen* (*oplösninginger*) and lines with shortenings (*forkortelser*). Thus he saw lines with these two features as variants of the archetype. The following are examples of how he used his feature of shortening:

AR 1.5 *opinspjallr* ‘outspoken.’ Finnur said this line had shortening in the first position of an A type of line. It would thus become  $\acute{}$  x |  $\acute{}$ . Gade defined a special ‘other’ type for this syllable pattern.

AR 18.1 *á Hróalds* ‘on Hróaldr’s.’ Finnur said this line had shortening in the second position of a C type of line. It would thus become x  $\acute{}$  |  $\acute{}$ . Gade defined two types with the ‘other’ label. Lines with this syllable pattern were one of ‘other’ types.

ST 24.5 *ok þat geð* ‘and that mind.’ According to Finnur, this line had shortening in the third and last monosyllable of an A type of line. It would thus become  $\acute{}$  x |  $\acute{}$ . Gade would say (I presume) that a line-final monosyllable always had a heavy syllable.

AR 3.3 *ríks konungs* ‘of a mighty king.’ Finnur said this line had shortening in the second position of a D type of line. It would thus become  $\acute{}$  |  $\acute{}$  x. Gade used three different D-types to deal with variations like this one.

Finnur used a *Verschleifung* in the last two positions of AR 17.1 *Þat allsheri* ‘that everyone’ to explain the extra syllable and a shortening of the last syllable in AR 3.7 *létk hersi* to explain the unstressed ending (his C archetype x  $\acute{}$  |  $\acute{}$  has an accented heavy syllable in this position). Both of these lines (AR 17.1

and AR 3.7) are incorrect in the diplomatic reading that Finnur used. His analysis failed to point out that they were metrically abnormal.

We see that Finnur was quite liberal with both his *Verschleifungen* and shortenings. It seems, however, that had Finnur made a distinction between the A1 and A3 types and limited his use of shortenings to light syllables (not used them for restricted syllables) and to using resolution only in first lift of two, his method would have generated the same rhythmic patterns as does mine.

## 7.7 Conclusions for even and odd lines

I have in this chapter, and the previous one, referred to three types of syllables, three different metrical strengths, and a metrical mapping between them, to describe the rhythm in the even and odd lines of *kviðuhátt*. The rhythm and the alliteration in skaldic poetry is generally dependent upon 1) a distinction between light and heavy syllabic structures in metrical positions, 2) a distinction between restricted and full syllables (light or heavy) in metrical positions, and 3) a distinction between stress-words and weaker word classes such as function words. The relationships in points 1) and 2) is what a metrical mapping lays out (as in Table 6.1-1).

For the odd lines of AR and other *kviðuhátt* poetry before the year 1000, I observed that a modified metrical mapping (in Table 7.1-1) did not include the distinction under point number one above, but the two remaining points sufficed to uphold a distinction between four metrical types (A1<sup>-</sup>, A3<sup>-</sup>, C<sup>-</sup>, and D<sup>-</sup>).

For the even lines, I showed that my approach accounted for all the rhythmic types traditionally assumed for AR without a need for a special rule to accommodate Craigie's law. I also made it likely that this applied to other poems before the year 1000. A main advantage of the approach was to reveal that a rule reminiscent of word stress rules in Latin could describe this rhythm. This rule states that either the penult has a strong unresolved metrical position or the antepenult has an unresolved strong metrical position. The ultimate position can never be strong in *kviðuhátt*. I additionally observed that when the penult is strong, the ultimate syllable is restricted and there is a strong preference (perhaps a strict rule) for either the ultimate or penultimate syllable to be restricted in all even lines of *kviðuhátt*.

One consequence of the above, as I noted in Section 6.4, is that the penult of lines of types E and B1 have only restricted syllables (·), most often in inflectional endings but seven times in the filler word *um-of* and never or

at least very rarely in prepositions. Three exceptions occur in ST, which are likely due to corruption.

Another way of expressing the rule of the placement of the heavy unresolved lifts in the even lines is to say that the penult is the normal place for this culmination of the cadence, but that it may be dislocated to the preceding antepenult. This can either be seen as a stylistic variant or due to the compositional needs of the text. The most likely linguistic feature applied here is that of phrasal stress, which is reflected in Craigie's law, which makes a distinction between stress-words and other words.

I noted in this chapter, and the previous one, that 10<sup>th</sup>-century trochaic lines in both even and odd lines, of types A1 and A1<sup>-</sup>, have only restricted syllables in their dips. In addition to allowing inflectional endings, well known to have restricted syllables, the dips allowed the filler word *um-of* and the infinitive marker *at*. The *ok* 'and' conjunction also seems to have been allowed when it connects two semantically related nominals. These results are of interest for both metrical and linguistic reasons.

My approach of specifying rhythm in the odd lines of *kviðuháttir* as four rhythmic types can in some respects be seen as equivalent to the method used by Finnur Jónsson (1886-1888), and that of Kari Ellen Gade (2005). The main advantage of the present approach is that it makes it clearer that the equivalence of light and heavy syllabic structures distinguishes the rhythm of *kviðuháttir* from the rhythm of corresponding forms in *fornyrðislag* and *dróttkvætt* and the rhythm of the even lines. This may potentially be put in context with the description that Óláfr Þórðarson gave of *kviðuháttir* (see 4.2.1), stating that the odd lines preferred certain accentual properties, which is of some interest for the study of word accents and intonation. The strength concept is, as we have seen, a metrical concept that is presumably related to linguistic stress and accents. The mapping of strength to syllable types and word-classes is the only phonological reality that I have given it. It is, however, likely that the different mapping in the odd and even lines corresponds to different modes of recitations for the even and the odd lines. Óláfr's discussion of accentuation and *kviðuháttir* indicates that this may have been the case (see Subsection 4.2.1).

For AR, I have noted two particular metrical features that may be specific for Egill Skallagrímsson. One is the occasional use of anacrusis in both of his *kviðuháttir* poems ST and AR and a *kviðuháttir lausavísa* (see 5.4), and another is disrespect for a rule that alliteration must be in a position containing a heavy syllabic structure (sometimes by resolution or cohesion) in the even lines. Egill seems to disrespect this rule, but only when the position is weak

(two examples in AR and two in *dróttkvætt lausavísur*, see 6.5). These are not conclusive arguments for the authenticity of AR, but they make these metrical irregularities more acceptable. Otherwise, AR seems mostly to adhere strictly to the metrical rules of *kviðuhátt*.

Changes occurred in the use of the *kviðuhátt* meter over its long time of existence. As noted in this thesis, nonrestricted syllables were allowed in the dips of trochaic lines after the year 1000 (see 6.2 and 7.2) and concurrently the  $D^-$  type fell nearly totally out of use as noted by Gade and Myrvoll (see 7.5). These changes and the use of filler words (noted by Kuhn see 5.3 and hiatus words (noted by Myrvoll see 4.2.4) provide strong arguments for AR being from the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

The fact that the metrical rules seem to be rather stringent regarding the number of syllables and their character means that a text that does not conform to the metrical rules is likely to be corrupt. I believe, however, that in reconstructing poorly preserved texts, metrical rules should be used sparingly and with care. It is often possible to correct an unmetrical line in more than one way which makes corrections doubtful. A plausible rule of conduct seems to be that another independent justification must be present before an unmetrical line is corrected to make it metrical. I state as a principle that any proposed correction must conform to the metrical rules.

## Part III The Reconstructed Text



## 8 Reconstructing the poem

In this last part of the thesis, I aim at recovering as much as possible of the original text of AR. The part consists of three chapters; the first is on editorial principles, the second (Chapter 9) contains the recovered text, and the third (Chapter 10) contains notes and comments, arranged by stanzas. I have chosen not to call my recovered text an edition because I have in many instances left open issues that an editor would normally resolve and I have only supplied a rudimentary line-by-line translation of each stanza.

In order to give a truthful representation of the text of AR in an understandable format, I use a standard orthography, and I add and remove as little as possible of what the sources of AR provide, and the meter prescribes. These are partly conflicting objectives, and sometimes more than one possibility may exist. In some instances, I have chosen to use a text that is traditional, even if equally good or better options are available. I discuss such options in the notes. I cannot avoid making some editorial decisions on how to present the text. In the following sections, I explain some of the principles that I have used.

### 8.1 Orthography and conjectures

I follow the example of Bjarni Einarsson (2003: x) in his edition of AR in using what is known as the normalized orthography in *Íslenzk fornrit* (ÍF) editions of the sagas. This orthography is based on the linguistic state of Old Norse around and shortly after the year 1200. This is the earliest period from which a large corpus of Old Norse texts exists. I presume that AR was composed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, while its text on page 99v is from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. By using the normalized ÍF orthography, I seldom have to archaize the text on page 99v. I only do so if the meter requires it. I do, for instance, not replace *laug*, the past tense of the verb *ljúga* ‘lie’ by the older *ló*, because *laug* is metrically in order and is written on page 99v. For my restored text, I often take note of the SONATORREK edition of Jón Helgason (1962). He chose to follow his manuscripts more closely than I do, but his orthography is nevertheless near the normalized ÍF orthography.

Using the normalized orthography means, for instance, the following: The middle voice ending is *-sk*, and the restricted vowels are represented by <a, i, u>. A distinction is made between /œ/ vs. /æ/ and /q/ vs. /o/, but not between /á/ vs. /ǫ/. The form *er* is used for both the verb ‘to be’ and the



relative particle ‘who’ and *var* is used for the past tense of *er*, instead of older *vas* ‘was’.

For the filler word *um-of*, I use the form *um*, as did Jón Helgason (rather than *of*), and as does page 99v. The word form *um* is always the filler word, except in the first three stanzas where Egill uses the preposition *um* five times.

The use of a normalized orthography requires thus some changes to the text of page 99v. In addition to these, other editors and I have made changes for various reasons. Some of these I mark as conjectures, or I show them by a strikethrough font, but others are unmarked. My general principle is that I mark with an asterisk any word that I cannot verify. Sufficient for verification is that I can read the word from my MSI-s of page 99v or failing that from either **169** or the Eddic sources (3GT or Snorra Edda). Sufficiently verified are also changes that are required by the meter and by some other good independent reason (for instance *bráa* for *brá* in Stanza 5). Not sufficient is a claim by previous editors that they could read the text.

I do not propose or accept conjectures unless they provide a plausible correction to a flawed text. In some cases, where a correction is hard to come by, or more than one possibility is likely to be possible, I place an unamended text directly into the normalized text, but within single quotations marks. In the notes, I discuss possible corrections.

## 8.2 The diplomatic texts

I concluded in Chapter 1 that a new edition of AR needs only to be based on my new reading of page 99v in **M** and on the text of AR in ÍB 169 4to. For the illegible part of page 99v, I also base my text on the few words that Guðbrandur Vigfússon could read. Furthermore, I include all available text in Snorra-Edda and the Third Grammatical Treatise (the Eddic sources of the poem, discussed in Chapter 4).

In Chapter 4, I concluded that the variant texts provided by the Eddic sources were not clearly superior to the text of page 99v, and because **169** is a copy of page 99v, I state as an editorial principle that the text of 99v, as read by myself from the MSI-s, takes precedence over other sources. However, where page 99v is unreadable and if other sources are available, I use them.

I give two types of diplomatic readings for both page 99v and **169**, one is a semi-diplomatic text where I reproduce the text with ordinary text-processing characters, but the other is a more accurate transcript (facsimile) using a special font (Palemonas MUF1) with similar letter forms and abbreviations as are used on page 99v. For the text on page 99v, I write the

text line by line as it appears on the page. This makes a comparison to the multispectral images in Chapter 11 easier. The text on page 99v is in two columns that I label <a> and <b>. I refer to manuscript lines by a column label and a manuscript line number, for instance, a23. I insert such references both in the diplomatic text and on the multispectral images in Chapter 11. In the facsimile text, I use the same sign <3> for the r-rotunda as for the dot-comma in the abbreviation of *með* <mʒ>, as explained in Section 2.2. Otherwise, the use of signs is traditional.

For the Eddic manuscripts that contain text from AR, I only give the semi-diplomatic text. For these manuscripts, I believe a more accurate transcript is of less importance than for page 99v.

Text inside square brackets is uncertain. In the more accurate transcript of page 99v, I use empty spaces to denote fully unreadable text or quite often, no text at all. With this, I aim at keeping the visual appearance similar to the MSI-s. In the semi-diplomatic text, I use dots that correspond in number to the approximate number of characters that are missing. At times, the text that I have not placed within square brackets is difficult to read, but I have concluded that it is nevertheless fairly certain compared to text within square brackets. The distinction between these two groups of text is understandably not clear cut. In many instances, there are two MSI-s of the line in question, and one may be clearer. All my readings are from the MSI-s in Chapter 11 with one exception. I read the name *Játvarðr* from Figure 3.4-2 that was prepared from a photograph not in Chapter 12. The images in Chapter 11 are usually the best that I have.

For the accurate transcript of **169**, I imitate the text of the scribe. I retain the line division and hanging indentation. The **169** scribe imitated the 99v text, and for that reason, I use some but not all the same letterforms in transcribing his text (for the **169** text, I do not use dotless *i* <ı> and a flat-topped *t* <τ>). The **169** scribe did not write r-rotunda, and he occasionally used an au-ligature that never appears on page 99v. Those who copied **169** (the BL and the XIII/146 scribes) seem to have thought this au-ligature was of importance because they copied it (rather than writing <au>). I copy it in the facsimile transcript of **169** but not in the semi-diplomatic transcript.

Ordinary parentheses are, as in any ordinary text, used for explanatory purposes or alternatives. Text in italics is not in English and is usually Old Norse with normalized spelling. Text within pointed brackets <> is not normalized. I place English translations of Old Norse words within single quotation marks. Double quotation marks are for true quotations.

The 169 text has many variants. In the semi-diplomatic text, I place them in parenthesis after the word in question, for instance <kina (knia)>. At my instigation, photographs of ÍB 169 4to have been made available at [www.handrit.is](http://www.handrit.is) and should be consulted if questions arise.

### 8.3 Word order and a translation

In the publication of *dróttkvætt* poetry, it is customary, before the text is translated, to arrange the words into what is thought to be a normal word order in prose. Following this rearrangement, a near word-by-word translation is supplied. This is necessary for the convoluted language in *dróttkvætt* stanzas where two sentences are often intertwined and need to be separated. *Kviðuhátt* poems go through this intermediate translation phase in new editions of the Skaldic Project (for instance Yt and Hkv). In *kviðuhátt*, sentences are never interjected into each other and the word order is more natural. A rearrangement of the text is therefore of less value. Instead, I have provided a line-by-line translation. By this, I hope to assist the reader in understanding and appreciating, not only what the poet said, but also how he said it. The order in which information appears in the poem is often relevant, also within stanzas, because the gradual revelation of information is part of Egill's storytelling technique.

In a final edition of the poem, I would, additionally, provide a smoother and easier to understand translation. For the current publication it is of some help that I retell the content of the poem in prose at the end of Chapter 9, and in Chapter 10 I discuss the meaning of many words and sentences.

### 8.4 Clitics, *bragarmál*

As mentioned in Section 6.1, Snorri Sturluson used the term *Bragarmál* 'poetic language' for the metrical license of cliticization *ek* > *-k* and *es* > *-s* to reduce the number of syllables to fit the number of metrical positions (Faulkes 2007: 8). Editors of skaldic poetry have used this license where the meter requires it.

The even lines of *kviðuhátt* have four metrical positions, and the odd lines have three. This is a strict requirement, but it does not mean that the even lines always have four syllables or that the odd lines always have three. Each position can accommodate two syllables in a *Verschleifung*. Two syllables can also occupy one metrical position by a vowel elision. Thus a *kviðuhátt* line that has more syllables than it has metrical position can be in perfect order. For instance line, AR 1.2 *hilmi at mæra* with its five syllables is in order

because one vowel disappears in a normal pronunciation of the line: *hilm'at mæra*. The line AR 15.1 *Nú erumk auðskæf* with its five syllables in three metrical positions is also in order because *Nú erumk* can fill one position, probably via vowel elision and a *Verschleifung* (see notes in Chapter 10 on Stanza 15).

Some editors have opted to use *bragarmál* to reduce the number of syllables to fit the number of metrical positions whenever that was possible, but often that may not be necessary. Contracting *þar es* into *þars* may, for instance, be optional because these words can probably always fill one position via *Verschleifung*.

Page 99v has many examples of the pronoun *ek* where it has been cliticized, as in *emk* ‘I am,’ in AR 1.1 and AR 2.3, in *erumk* ‘is to me’ a middle voice format in AR 15.1. In some cases, there does not seem to be a good reason to cliticize, as, e.g., in AR 13.1 *Munk vinþjófr*, where *Mun ek vinþjófr* would probably have been fine, assuming a *Verschleifung*. I retain all such contractions as they occur on page 99v in my text, but I do not add any new ones. Page 99v has many examples of the pronoun *ek* not being cliticized.

In one instance, an *ek* is extraneous in the sense that it does not easily share a metrical position with another syllable through a *Verschleifung*, *bragarmál*, or a vowel-elision. It is in the following line:

AR 10.6            *sá er ek trúa knáttak* ‘the one that I trusted’

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century the *sá er* would have been *sá es* that could be cliticized to *sás*, and then the following *ek* might be cliticized to give *sásk*. This would create the wordform *sásk* that is identical to the middle voice form of the verb *sjá* ‘see’ with the meaning ‘feared,’ which is unfortunate. Leaving out the *ek* seems to be a better option (used by Finnur). This is possible because it is redundant, *ek* already having been cliticized and added to the finite verb *knáttak*. In my restored text I write this *ek* with a strikethrough font ~~ek~~, to mark that this word is superfluous. I also do this for a redundant *ek* in line AR 13.7 and AR 20.5 (deleted by FJ 1912–1915). The reader will thus see how the lines can become metrical. For AR 13.7 and AR 20.5 a *Verschleifung* is also possible.

Page 99v does not have an instance of a *bragarmál* involving *er* (or its earlier form *es*). It has, however, one instance where it seems to be required:

AR 22.1            *Hinn er fégrimmr* ‘The one is evil to wealth’

The two monosyllables *hinn* ‘the other’ and *er* ‘who’ cannot share one metrical position in a *Veschleifung* because the first syllable is heavy. The two words *hinn er* could have been contracted into *hinns* at an earlier linguistic stage. I leave the line as it is on page 99v, but I mention the extra syllable in a note.

It is possible that clitics and relative particles have been lost in the manuscript transmission. Jón Helgason (1962: 37) restores *er* in ST. 20.5 *þann er ek veit*. Without this restoration, the ‘Verb-second-law’ of word order would be violated (see Hans Kuhn 1933 and Haukur Þorgeirsson 2012a). A similar example exists in AR 20.1 *þat hann viðr*, but since the syntax is not within the scope of this thesis, and because of the uncertainties about the use of *Verschleifungen* that can often be used instead of *bragarmál*, I find it appropriate to leave relative particles as they are in the manuscript and neither delete any *er* (*es*), add nor cliticize.

## 9 The text

### Stanza 1 – Emk hraðkvæðr

#### M page 99v (Figure 11-1):

a1 Emc hrað qð[ʒ] hilme at hilme  
a2 at m[è]ra en glapmall um gle  
a3 ggvíga opíspiallr ū iofurs da  
a4 ðū ē þagn elfkr um þioðlyge · Scau

Emc hrad *qued*[r] hilme at hilme  
at m[è]ra en glapmall um gle  
*ggvinga opinspiallr um iofurs da*  
*dum en þagn elskr um þiodlyge.*

*Emk* ‘am I’ has an initial <Θ> see Sections 2.10 and 3.5. *Scau* is part of Stanza 2.

#### ÍB 169 4to page 17r:

Emc hraðqðr hilme at hilme at mera.  
en glapmall um gleggvinga.  
opíspiallr ū iofurs ðaðū.  
ē þagmelfkr ū þioðlyge.

Emc hrad*quedr* hilme at hilme at mera.  
en glapmall um gleggvinga.  
opinspiallr *um iofurs dadum.*  
*en þagmelskr um þiodlyge.*

The poem has a heading in **169**, see the last paragraph of Section 1.3. The second <d> in <hradqdr> has a stroke in the ascender and looks like an eth <ð>.

#### Normalized text:

Emk hraðkvæðr,  
~~hilmi at~~, hilmi at mæra,  
en glapmáll  
um gloggvinga,  
opinspjallr  
um iofurs dáðum,  
en þagnelskr  
um þjóðlygi.

I am quick  
~~with a king~~, the king to praise,  
but (I am) faulty at speech  
about misers.  
(I am) outspoken  
over feats of a king  
but (I am) silent  
over a great lie

See notes on the dative case of *dáðum* (because of it, I translate the preposition *um* as ‘over’ and not ‘on’), on *þagnelskr*, on the meaning of *þjóðlygi*, and on *hilmi at* in Chapter 10 (under Stanza 1). Line two contains a repetition that is unmetrical. All editors have taken it for a dittography and deleted it without comment (already in **146**).

The poet does not ask for silence as is traditional (for example, in NÓREGS KONUNGATAL and HÖFUÐLAUSN). This first stanza has two opposites in the form of positive statements, each countered by a negative one.

## Stanza 2 – Skaupi gnægðr

### M page 99v (Figure 11-1):

a4 δū ē þagn elfkr um þioðlyge · Scau	Scau
a5 pe gnegð <sup>[z]</sup> íkrau[kb̥]a[n]ðū emc vílqð[3]	pe gnegd[r] skrau[kber]a[n]dum emc vilqued[r]
a6 ū uin[e] mi[n]a fozt [heþui <sup>c</sup> ] m[o]3g millði	um uin[e] mi[n]a sott [hefui ek] m[o]rg milldin
a7 ga fíoz m3 grūlaúf g <sup>[e]</sup> þf ū [é]ði[ ]ha[þ]	ga siot med grunlauss g[re]ps um [é]di [..]

<vílquedr> seems to have an accent mark (see Section 2.11). The word <hefui<sup>c</sup>> is illegible, except for what could be a superscript <c>, an abbreviation for <ek>.

### ÍB 169 4to page 17r

Scaupe gnegð <sup>z</sup> fkrakb̥andū	Scaupe gnegdr skraukberandum
emc vilqðr ū vini mina.	emc vilquedr um vini mina.
fott heþui' morg millðiga fiot	sott hefui[ek] morg milldinga siot
m3 grūlaúft ġps v̄ óði.	med grunlaust greps vm óði.

The **169** scribe occasionally uses a ligature for <au> (as in *skrauk-* and in *-laust*), but 99v does not use an au-ligature anywhere. An apostrophe seems to be written after <hefui>. It may correspond to a <c> superscript on the MSI-s, see Section 2.8.

### Normalized text:

Skaupi gnægðr	(I am) full of wit
skrøkberqndum,	for lie-bearers
emk vilkvæðr	I recite in favor
um vini mína.	of my friends.
Sótt hefui ek mǫrg	I have visited many
mildinga sjot	abodes of kings
með grunlauss	with an unsuspecting
grepps um æði.	man's behavior.

I discuss *skrøkberqndum*, *vilkvæðr*, *grunlauss*, *greppr* and *æði* in the notes.

This stanza adds the third comment on Egill's responses to positive and negative qualities of the men for whom he recited. Because the positive and negative qualities are here in different order, lines 1-2 and 3-4 may have been exchanged. In the latter half of the stanza, Egill says that he pretended to be unsuspecting, presumably in order not to draw ire.

## Stanza 3 – Hafða ek endr

## M page 99v (Figure 11-1):

a7 ga fíot m3 grūlaufí g <sup>[e]</sup> pf ū [è]ðí[ ]h[a]þ]	Ha[f]
a8 ða ek ēð3 yngligí burar [R]íkí kǫf [R]e	da ek endr ynglings burar [r]íks konungs [r]e
a9 íðe þēgna ðro ek ðíarþhauττ um	íðe fengna dro ek ðíarfhautt um
a10 daukǫ fko[3] lez ek [he]r heí ū foztan :	daukqua sko[r] let ek [he]r heim um sotta :

The *r* in *ríks* looks like a small capital <R>, see Section 2.7.

## ÍB 169 4to page 17r

hafa ek ēðr ynglings burar	Hafda ek endr ynglings burar
ríkí kǫs reíði fēgna.	ríks konungs reíði fengna.
ðro ek ðíarfhautt ū daukǫ fkor	dro ek ðíarfhautt um daukqua skor
let ek hífir heí v fottan.	let ek hersir heim vm sotta.

Egill and the 14<sup>th</sup>-century scribe would not have used the young (post-15<sup>th</sup> century) accusative form *hersir* ‘ruler.ACC’ while the **169** scribe did (as seen from his heading, see Stanza 1).

## Normalized text:

Hafða ek endr	I had once,
Ynglings burar,	of an Yngling’s son,
ríks konungs,	of a powerful king,
reiði fengna.	received wrath.
Dró ek ðjarfhott	I pulled a bold hood
um ðokkva skǫr.	over my dark hair.
Lét ek *her	I let an army
heim um sóttan	be visited.

*her* ‘army, large group’ is not a fully certain conjecture, but it is preferable to the reading *hersir* in **169**, see notes.

By introducing himself as a poet reciting for rulers and receiving the wrath of a king, Egill implies that he said something contentious. He reacts by going to York, presumably to make amends. The word *Ynglingr* could mean ‘king’ only, but Stanza 12 makes it clear that the reference is to the Swedish-Norse royal family line of YNGLINGATAL. Describing a king as *ríkr* ‘powerful’ is especially appropriate when the king’s name is *Ei* ‘always’ *ríkr* ‘powerful.’ A pun may be intended.



## Stanza 4 – Þar er allvaldr

M page 99v (Figure 11-1 &amp; Figure 11-2):

a11 þ <sup>r</sup> é allualld <sup>u</sup> ð <sup>u</sup> ð <sup>u</sup> ð <sup>u</sup> ð <sup>u</sup> h[ia]lme liodþ[mað]að <sup>l</sup>	Þar er allualldr und ygis h[ia]lme liodfra[mað]að[r]
a12 at ðe fat ftyr k[gr] ftyrð[ā h]ug i ior	at lande sat styr konun[gr] stird[an h]ug i ior
a13 vik urgū [h]a[r ] Vara þ τ[ū]gl	vik urgum [h.]a[r..]

The initial <Þ> for line number a11 is written in the margin. Stanza 8 (line a22) and Stanza 12 (line a32) also begin in the margin. This only indicates a stanza division. The word <framadadr> is almost illegible; it appears to contain a dittography <ad>. The last word in the stanza is illegible.

ÍB 169 4to page 17r

Þ <sup>r</sup> é allvald <sup>u</sup> ð <sup>u</sup> ð <sup>u</sup> ygrs hialme	Þar er allvaldr und ygrs hialme
liodþ <sup>r</sup> maðað <sup>u</sup> at ðe fat.	liodframadadr at lande sat.
fty <sup>r</sup> k <sup>g</sup> r ftyrðā hug	styrir konungr stirdan hug
i iorvik urgū +hianrvi +hiarni	i iorvik urgum hianrvi (hiarni)

The 169 scribe inadvertently expanded the abbreviations for the first two words but corrected himself. He is in error regarding the spelling of *allvaldr* and *ygis* (*ld* for *lld*, *ygrs* for *ygis*, see the text in **M** above). It is likely that 99v had a Norwegianism <hi-arui> for *hjørvi* that confused the 169 scribe (see Section 2.8). <styr<sup>r</sup>> may be expanded as <styrir> or <styr>, see notes for *styr*.

## Normalized text:

Þar er allvaldr	Where a king
und ygis hjalmi	under a helmet of awe,
ljóðfrømuðr	a promoter of people
at landi sat,	reigned in a land,
styr-konungr	a battle king
(við) stirdan hug	by a firm mind
í Jórvík	in York
úrgum *hjørvi.	(with) a soaked sword.

The line AR 4.2 *und ygis hjalmi* ‘helmet of awe’ has anacrusis. I add the preposition *við* ‘by’ at the beginning of line 6 (as is traditional). See notes on *styr*, \**við* and \**hjørvi*. The (with) in my translation denotes an instrumental or a modal dative of *hjørvi*.

The poet with a hood of courage is about to meet a king with a helmet of fear.

## Stanza 5 – Vara þæt tunglskin

M page 99v (Figure 11-1 &amp; Figure 11-2):

a13 vik urgū [h ja|r ] Vara þ τ[ū]gl  
 a14 fkin trykt at lita ne ognlaufτ ei[ri]kf [þ]  
 a15 þa é o3mþñ enni mane fkeī all[ua]llz égi  
 a16 geiflō: þo ek bolftτ vđ ū bera þo[3]ða má

Vara þat t[un]gl  
 skin trykt at lita ne ognlaust ei[ri]ks [bra]  
 þa er ormfrann enni mane skein all[ua]llz égi  
 geislom:

Eiríkr's name is only partly discernible, but the reading of it is nevertheless reliable. The king's name appears again in Stanza 27. The 99v scribe always used <u> in inflectional endings (not <o>) and <geislom> is thus unusual.

## ÍB 169 4to page 17r

Vara þ tūgl fkin trykt at lita  
 ne ognlaft Eireks v̄.  
 þa é ormfñ ennimane  
 fkein alluallz ôgi geiflan ō

Vara þat tungl skin trykt at lita  
 ne ognlaust Eireks v̄ra.  
 þa er ormfrann ennimane  
 skein alluallz ôgi geislan (-om)

The reading <vra> in the second line is likely to be incorrect for <bra>, see notes. The 169 scribe used several methods to indicate a variant or a correction. In this stanza, he underlined a part of a word <geislan> and gave an alternative reading after it (see Section 2.6).

## Normalized text:

Vara þæt tunglskin  
 tryggt at líta  
 né ógnlaust  
 Eiríkr's bráa,  
 þa er ormfránn  
 ennimáni  
 skein allvalds  
 ægigeislum.

Moonshine was not  
 safe to be seen  
 nor without threat  
 of Eiríkr's eyelashes,  
 as a worm-glittering  
 forehead-moon  
 shone a king's  
 rays of awe.

See notes in Chapter 10 on the deletion of the determiner *þat* from the first line and how it affects the meaning. Moon of Eiríkr's eyelashes is a kenning for eyes, its shine (*skin*) is Eiríkr's glance or look.

Egill moves swiftly from visiting men in a land of a harsh king of York to looking at the eyes of that king whose name he now reveals. The eyes do not signal that all is well.

## Stanza 6 – Þó ek bolstrverð

## M page 99v (Figure 11-1 &amp; Figure 11-2):

a16 geiflō: Þo ek bolftr v̇ð ū bera þo[3]ða mǎ	Þo ek bolstr verd um bera þo[r]ða mǎ
a17 [i]þ h[ø]ngf m̄k <sup>[r]</sup> drotne f <sup>[~]</sup> at [y]ggf þull	[i]þ h[ø]ngs mark[ar] drotne s[ua] at [y]ggs full
a18 yranða kom at [h]úf mañz hlufz[a] m	yranða kom at [h]uers mannz hlust[a] m
a19 ūnū: Ne h[ā]þagrz hauldū þozze fka	unnum:

The 99v scribe may not have understood the text when he wrote <mǎ[i]þ>. He may, therefore, have attempted to copy his exemplar letter-by-letter. This could explain the <þ> rather than an <d> at the end of the word, see Section 2.11 on <þ>.

## ÍB 169 4to page 17r

Þo ek bolftr v̇ð ū bera þorða	Þo ek bolstr verd um bera þorða
mǎ hongs m̄kar drotne	mǎ hongs markar drotne
š at yggfull yranða kom	sua at yggfull yranða kom
at hvs mǎns hlufamūnū	at hvers manns hlustamunnum

The scribe of **169** left out the beginning of line a17. In the margin, he wrote an explanation for the attribute (to *full*) *yranða* (*yr* ‘bow,’ *yranð* ‘side of a bow’= horn, *yrandafull* *Yggs* = *poetry*).

## Normalized text:

Þó ek bolstrverð	I nevertheless, a cushion-meal
um bera þorða	dared bring,
‘mǎ[i]þ’ hœings	a ‘mǎ[i]þ’ (to) fish’s
markar drótni,	wood’s ruler (=sea-king)
svá at Yggs full	so that the mead of Óðinn (poetry)
yranða kom	came foaming
at hvers manns	to each man’s
hlusta munnum.	mouths of hearing.

See notes on *bolstrverð*, ‘mǎ[i]þ’, *Yggsfull* and *yranða*. I presume that during a cushion-meal, a nourishment can be consumed through ears, and not through mouths as during a table-meal.

Even if safety is not assured, Egill feeds the king and his men through their ears with the mead of Óðinn (poetry).

## Stanza 7 – Né hamfagrt

## M page 99v (Figure 11-2 &amp; Figure 11-3):

a19 ünū: Ne h[ā]þagrτ haulðū þozze fka  
 a20 llð[þe] mizz az fkata hufū þa é ulþǧǧττ  
 a21 uið ygǧf miðe hatt ftaup az hil[me] þaa

Ne h[am]fagrt hauldum þotte ska  
 llð[fe] mitt at skata husum þa er ulfgratt  
 uid yggs mide hatt staup at hil[me] þaa

The <f> in <ygǧf> is faint but discernible. A *punctus elevatus* does not follow the stanza, probably because there is little room for it and it is not needed for stanza separation as the next stanza has an initial in the margin. An *-ar* abbreviation may be lost above the word *hatt* ‘hat’ in line a21. The æ that I read could have some addition.

## ÍB 169 4to page 17v:

Ne hāþagrt haldū þotte  
 skaldþe mitt at fkata hufum  
 þa er ulþǧtt við ygǧr miðe  
 hatt ftaup at hilme þæg.

Ne hamfagrt hauldum þotte  
 skaldfe mitt at skata husum  
 þa er ulfgratt við ygǧjar miðe  
 hatt staup at hilme þaæg.

The reading <ygǧjar> for *Yggs.GEN* (Óðinn) is incorrect and unmetrical.

## Normalized text:

Né hamfagrt  
 hǧldum þótti  
 skaldfé mitt  
 at skata húsum,  
 þá es ulfgrát  
 við Yggs miði  
 \*hattar staup  
 at hilmi þák.

Nor pretty of appearance  
 men deemed  
 my poet’s reward  
 at the man’s houses,  
 when a wolf-gray  
 – in exchange for Óðinn’s mead –  
 hat’s beaker  
 at the king, I received.

The following belongs together: when I received a wolf-gray hat’s beaker in exchange for Óðinn’s mead at the king (in his houses).

An *-ar* genitive ending is added to *hatt* for a correct syllable count. See notes on *hattar staup*, at *skata húsum*, and at *hilmi*.

The man (*skati*) in the first half-stanza is the king, as seen from the latter half of the stanza, where the poet receives a reward at *hilmi* ‘at the king’s place’ (not from the king). The reward being a wolf-gray hat’s beaker requires an explanation, which is given in the next stanza (see notes on *staup*).

## Stanza 8 – Við því tók

M page 99v (Figure 11-2 &amp; Figure 11-3):

a22 V[íð a23 bʒuna [ʒ] fá muðʒ [é mi]na þ hofð þ[yr] a24 hilmí[ k]ne: þar é t̃anþiolð mʒ [t̃ūgu]	V[id.....] f[y]gd]u saukk suart leit s[idra] bruna [ok] sa muðr [er mi]na bar hofud f[yr] hilmí[...k]ne:
--	--

The initial *V* is written in the margin and is visible, but not the following words. The <f> in <hofd> may have some mark above it, possibly a tittle (see a note in Chapter 10) and a stroke in the <d> (as in **169**). The word <sidra> is nearly visible. I leave blank space for the illegible ending of *hilmí*.

**W page 169:** <Við því tok enn tiru fylgðu sök k sámléit síðra brúna>. See Section 4.1. No other manuscript of Snorra-Edda has this text, except copies of **W**.

ÍB 169 4to page 17v:

Við      fáʀ fylgðu sauk ʒ at leit s ... brima [bruna at sa maðr é mina bar hofð fra hilmis kne.	Vid      farir fylgdu sauk sua at leit s ... brima (bruna) at sa maðr er mina bar hofud fra hilmis kne.
---	--

The **169** scribe probably thought <f> alliterated in the first long-line. He left an open space in the first line but wrote three dots in the second line for part of a word he could not read. A right square bracket does not follow after the variant <[bruna]>. The word <hofð> has a <d> with a stroke and looks like an eth <ð>.

Normalized text:

Við því tók, en ‘tíru’ fylgðu sök svartleit síðra brúna ok sá muðr, er mína bar *hōfuðlausn fyrir hilmis kné	I received it but along came ‘tíru’ ?jewels black looking of low eyebrows and that mouth that carried my head-ransom before the king’s knee.
---	---

I assume ‘tíru’ and *sökk* belong together in *tíru-sökk* ‘inlaid jewels’ (see notes). The hat-‘staup’ came with inlaid jewels (eyes) of low brows and a mouth.

Egill has still not said (definitely) from whom he received his gift.

## Stanza 9 – Þar er tannfjöld

M page 99v (Figure 11-2 &amp; Figure 11-3):

a24 hilmí[ k]ne: þar é tǎnþiolð mǝ [tūgu]		Þar er tannfiold med [tungu]
a25 [þ]ag fē [hlertio]lld hlufzū gopþguð [ē] fu g		[þ]ag sem [hlertio]lld hlustum gofgud [en] su g
a26 [io]þ gulle betri hðgf kǝf ū h[e]iǝ ū: þ[ar]		[io]f gulle betri hrodgs konungs um h[e]itin uar:

I write *hróð-* with an eth <ð> because its <d> seems to have a stroke away from its ascender. <hlertiollð> is nearly visible, letter by letter.

ÍB 169 4to page 17v:

Þar é tannþiolð mǝ tūgu þaa o.		Þar er tannfiold med tungu þaa o.
fē hlertiollð hlufzū gopþguð		sem hlertiollð hlustum gofgud
ē fu gíof gulle betri		en su gíof gulle betri
hðgs kǝs ū heiti v̄.		hrodgs konungs um heitin var.

The purpose of the <o> and the dot at the end of the first line is unclear.

Normalized text:

Þar er tannfjöld	Where a multitude of teeth
með tungu þák	with a tongue I accepted
sem hlertjöld	as well as hangings for eavesdropping
hlustum gofguð,	adorned with an auditory canal,
en sú gjǫf	but that gift
gulli betri	better than gold
*hróðrs konungs	from the king of praise
um heitin var.	was promised.

See notes on the meaning of *sem*, *hlertjöld*, *gofguð* and on the conjecture in *hróðrs*.

Egill gives more details on his gift. The verb *heita* means both ‘to give a name’ and ‘to promise.’ The context fits the latter meaning and accordingly Egill had received a promise that this gift would be his reward. In this stanza, it is revealed that the promised gift is from the king, and in Stanza 11 it appears that the promise was made by Arinbjörn. In Stanza 13, the verb *heita* is used in the meaning ‘to give a name.’

## Stanza 10 – Þar stóð mér

M page 99v (Figure 11-2 &amp; Figure 11-3):

a26 [iɔ]β gulle beʀri ʰiðgf kɔf ũ h[e]iʀi ú: þ[ar]	Þ[ar]
a27 ftoð m̊ m̊g[ú] [be]t hodβ[in]ðʒ m[i]n̊ a hlið aþ	stod mer morg[um] [be]tri hodf[in]dr m[i]nn a hlið aþ
a28 ʀ[y]ǰ̊ vin miñ fa é ek ʀua knaʀʀag hei	tr[y]gr vin minn sa er ek trua knattag hei
a29 það[ʒ] húiu [ʀ]aðe: A[ʀ]iβioʒn é off eiñ um	þroad[r] hueriu [ʀ]ade:

I do not see abbreviation signs on top of <aþ> at the end of line a27 or over <vin> in line a28.

fB 169 4to page 17v:

Þ ftoð m̊ m̊gr̊ [m̊gū] vaʀ	Þar stod mer morgʀir (morgum) vatir
hodfinda meñ a hlið aþ̃	hodfinda menn a hlið aþra
tryǰ̊ viñ miñ fa er ek trua knattag	trygr vinr minn sa er ek trua knattag
heiþ̃ ade hveriu raðe	heiþro ade hveriu rade

In <vatir>, the **169** scribe mistook <v> for <b>, as in Stanza 5. The **169** scribe gave <morgum> within square brackets (as above) as a variant or a correction to <morgʀir>.

Normalized text:

Þar stóð mér	There stood for me,
morgum betri	better than many,
‘hoddfindr’ minn	my ‘hoddfindr’
á hlið aðra	on one side,
tryggr vinr minn,	my loyal friend
sá er <del>ek</del> trúa knáttak,	that I could trust
*heiðþróaðr,	honor-grown
hverju ráði	in every advice.

See Section 8.4 on the strikethrough ~~ek~~. See notes on *hoddfindr*. *Heiðþróaðr* or *heiðþoraðr* is of uncertain meaning (see notes). The alliteration in line AR 10.4 *á hlið aðra* is unusual but characteristic for Egill (see Section 7.5). The *ek* in line 6 can be removed to correct the syllable number (see Section 8.4).

Egill’s friend appears here for the first time in the poem. Egill does not give his name immediately. He commends him for being 1) ?‘his source of wealth’ (‘hoddfindr’), 2) his loyal friend and for being 3) ?‘honorable.’

## Stanza 11 – Arinbjörn

### M page 99v (Figure 11-3):

a29 það[3] húu [R]aðe: A[R]iBIO3n é off eīn um	A[r]inbiorn er oss einn um
a30 hoþ knia f̄míʒ ʒ̄ kǵf þionū uin̄ þioðāf	hof knia fremstr fra konungs fionum uinr þiodans
a31 é ve[t]k[e] la]ug [i h̄fka]lf̄ [h]il̄mif ga[r]ðe[:]	er ve[t]k[e] la]ug [i herska]ss [h]il̄mis ga[r]de[:]

The name <A[R]iBIO3rn> has an initial because it begins a stanza. The letter following the initial could be a small capital <R> (see Section 2.7). The <um> at the end of line 29 has something above it. In a slightly altered form, part of this stanza may have been cited in the 3GT (see Section 4.2.4).

### ÍB 169 4to page 17v:

ar̄biorn é ofs eīn ū hof	Arinbiorn er oss einn um hof
kina [knia] f̄míʒ ʒ̄ kǵf þionū	kina (knia) fremstr fra konungs fionum
vin̄ þioðans é veckr læg.	vinr þiodans er veckr laug.
i herfkafs hilmif garðe.	i herskass hilmis garde.

Arinbjörn does not have a capital. The **169** scribe gave <knia> written in parentheses as a variant to <kina>. The two words would look nearly identical on page 99v.

### Normalized text:

Arinbjörn	Arinbjörn
er oss einn um hóf,	who alone lifted us,
knía fremstr,	foremost of men
frá konungs fjónum	from hatreds of the king,
vinr þjóðans,	a king's friend
er vættki laug	who lied about nothing
í herskás	in a warring
hilmis garði.	king's yard.

The above uses the traditional line division for the first two lines. In the notes, I propose *Arinbjörn er / oss einn um hóf*. Both possibilities are very unusual, see notes.

Arinbjörn's name is emphasized, being at the head of a stanza and flanked by positive attributes. In the previous Stanza 10, Egill commends Arinbjörn for being: '*hoddfindr minn, tryggr vinr minn, heiðþróaðr* and now he continues with *knía fremstr* 'foremost of men' and *vinr þjóðans* 'a king's friend.' A king's friend that lied about nothing seems to refer to an arrangement Arinbjörn made beforehand with Egill on him receiving his head.



## Stanza 12 – Ok ...

## M page 99v (Figure 11-3, Figure 11-6, &amp; Section 3.3):

a32 O[k fɛ ] fɛ[ ] lɛɛ[ ] mʰgβ <sup>[~]</sup> maðʒ minna	O[k st.] st[.....]let[...]
a33 ðaða fʏni [ ] gð fo[n̥] halβðan̥ a iat úɛ	dada syni [...]gd so[nar] halfðanar a iat uarɛ
a34 aɛɛ̃ f̥k[eɪ]ðe : ʈu[c uin]βioβr ʋ̥ða heɪɾiñ ɛ	attar sk[eɪ]de ɛ

The <O> initial is written in the margin. The beginning of <studle> is discernible, and the letters <let> are clear but one or two letters may follow (see Figure 11-6 and notes). The <ra> abbreviation is not clear in *framaðr*, but because the ending is *-aðr* (not *-uðr*), the word has no u-umlaut (it is not <fromudr>). <a> in <aɛɛ̃> is distorted, or it could be <ò> as read by the 169 scribe. It is not <è>.

## ÍB 169 4to page 17v:

Ok . . . . . f̥tuðle let	Ok[ . . . . . ] studle let
margframadr minna ðaða	margframadr minna dada
fʏni . . . gð fo[n̥] halfðan̥	syni [. . .] gd sonr halfðanar
a iat ʋ̥e óttar f̥kaðe	a iat vare óttar skade

The 169 scribe wrote the six dots in line one where two syllables are missing and the three dots in line 3 where one syllable is probably missing. His reading <vare> is incorrect for <uarz>.

## Normalized text:

Ok [.....]	And ...
st[.....]lét[...]	'st[.....]let[...]
margfr̥omuðr	multiple promoter
minna dáða,	of my deeds
syni [...]gð	son.DAT '[...]'gð'
sonar Hálfðanar	of Hálfðan's son
á Játvarðs	on Edward's
áttar *skeiði.	family's riding path (land)

The number of dots within square brackets gives the estimated number of characters missing (see notes to this stanza). *Játvarðr* 'Edward' was king of England 899–924 and his sons succeeded him. A likely meaning of the stanza is that Arinbjörn removed Eiríkr's anger. This was already stated in the previous stanza, but the details required by a narrative poem are added here (for the poem to be self-contained).

### Stanza 13 – Munk vinþjófr

#### M page 99v (Figure 11-3 & Figure 11-6):

a34 aꝛᵿ f[k[e]i]ðe : M[u[c uin]]þioþr v̇ða heitinn ꝛ  
 a35 u[a]liuḡ at u[ð]f þulle hr[o]ð[3]f eyr úð3 ꝛ  
 a36 heitroþe n[em]a ek þíf gagnf gi[o]llð ū  
 a37 [in]n[a]g Nu é þ feꝛ [huar] é fe[τ]ia fkal

Mu[c uin]þiofr verða heitinn ok  
 u[a]liuḡ at u[ð]f[...]'s fulle hr[o]d[r]s eyr uerdr ok  
 heitrofe n[em]a ek þess gagns gi[o]lld um  
 [in]n[a]g

*Váljúgr* may be written <uoliuḡ> (see Section 2.6). *Punctus elevatus* after the stanza seems to be missing. <gagns> is faintly readable in Figure 11-6.

#### ÍB 169 4to page 17v–18r:

M̄uc vinþioþr v̇ða heitiñ  
 oc ualiuḡ at við' s falle  
 hroðrs eyr úðr oc heitrofe.  
 nema ek þess ~~gialld~~ gagns giollð ū innag

Munc vinþiofr verða heitinn  
 ok ualiuḡ at vidris falle  
 hroðrs eyr uirðr ok heitrofe.  
 nema ek þess gagns giollð um innag

The initial is an uncial <M̄> as on page 99v. The 169 scribe wrote <a> in the word *fulli* <falle> but it seems to be corrected, perhaps from <u>. <i> in *innag* <innag> is smudged and may be corrected. The word *gjöld* was first written with an <a> (see above). The 169 scribe may at first have understood <o> in *gjöld* ‘payments’ to be a one-compartmental <a>.

#### Normalized text:

Munk vinþjófr	I will a false friend
verða heitinn	be called
ok váljúgr	and a disappointer
at Viðris fulli	at Óðinn's cup
hróðrs orverðr	worthy of no praise
ok heitrofi,	and a vow-breaker,
nema <del>ek</del> þess gagns	unless † for that help
gjöld um innak.	I pay dues.

See Section 8.4 on the strikethrough ~~ek~~. Here the verb *heita* has the meaning ‘to give a name, call.’ *At Viðris fulli*, can mean one or all of: in poetry, in the afterlife or in remembrance, see notes.

Egill has not only received a promise; he seems to have made a promise himself.

## Stanza 14 – Nú er þat sét

M page 99v (Figure 11-3 &amp; Figure 11-6):

a37 [ɪn]n[a]g Nu é þ fet [hvar] é fe[ɾ]ia fkal	Nu er þat set [hvar] er se[t]ia skal
a38 [b ǧ] þoo[ɾ ɪ]b̃a[u,ɾ] ítig[ɪ]n̄ [þ] mānþiolð	[b.gar] foo[t..i]braa[u,t] stig[i]nn [f] mannfiold
	margra
a39 íoñ [ħðʒ ma]ɾigf ħf[a kū]ð[a]r[ɾ] Nu éūc	sionir [hrodr ma]tigs hers[a kun]d[a]r[ɾ]

See notes on the word <braa[u,t]>. Sporadic writing of <oo> for ó (as in *fót* in a38) occurred in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (for instance in the writings of Einarr Hafliðason).

ÍB 169 4to page 18r:

Nu é þ fet hvar é fetia fkal	Nu er þat set hvar er setia skal
bog <sup>+</sup> [þeg <sup>+</sup> ] footū baǧftigiñ.	bogit (þegit) footum baugstigin.
f mānfiold m̃ ǧ íoñ	f mannfiold margra sionir
hrodr mectigs ħfa kindar	hrodr mectigs hersa kindar

The superscript plus (+) denotes a <ʰ> that could have been <ʳ> on page 99v. The text of this stanza is unclear in **M**, and it is difficult to improve the reading of **169**. The **169** scribe used the same abbreviation for <ra> and <ar> (this is not unusual, see FJ 1931: 2).

Normalized text:

Nú er þat sét,	Now it is seen,
hvar er setja skal,	wherever (it) shall (be) put
*bragar fótum,	(with) the poem's feet,
‘[ɪ]þa[u,ɾ]’ stiginn,	‘[ɪ]þa[u,ɾ]’ gone
fyrir mannþjöld	before a multitude of men
margra sjónir,	the sights of many
hróðr *máttigs	praise of a mighty
hersa *kundar.	offspring of a <i>hersir</i>

*Hersir* is a title of rank below that of an earl. *Egils saga* gives this title to Arinbjörn and his father, Þórir. The (with) in the translation is for one of several instrumental datives in the poem.

All the conjectures in this stanza are in older editions. They do not conflict with what can be read on page 99v, but they cannot be confirmed. See notes on them and *hvar er*. *Hvars* (hvar er) ‘wherever’ is a conjunction of importance to the meaning of this stanza and the poem.

## Stanza 15 – Nú erumk auðskœf

M page 99v (Figure 11-3, Figure 11-6, & Figure 11-4):

a39	fióñ [h̥ðʒ ma]ʒiɣf̥ h̥í[a k̥ū]ð[a]r[ː] Nu éūc	Nu erumc
a40	[a]uðf̥keɸ om[ū]lokri mag <sup>[ʰ]</sup> ɸ[oʒ]if̥ merðʳ	[a]udskef om[un]lokri mag[ar] ɸ[or]is merðar
a41	eɸn[e ui]n̥ m̥í ɸ̥ az ual[ ] liggia ʒuēn	eɸn[e ui]nar mins ɸui at ual[...] liggia tuenn
b1	ɛ ɸren aʒūgu m̥ier: ɸ̥ ʒel ek ɸyr̥f̥ʒ	ok ɸrenn atungu m̥ier:

The initial is a large minuscule <n>. *Prenn* has a small capital <N> for a geminate.

This stanza is also in the *Third Grammatical Treatise*, manuscripts: **A**, **B**, and **W**.

**A** 3v: <Ærvmz auðskéf | omvn lokri magar ɸoris merðar efni vinar mins ɸviat valit liggia tven ok ɸren atvn | gv mer>

**B** 2r: <Erumk auðskepô [ion]locri magar ɸóris merðar efne vinar míns ɸvit | [va]lít liggia tuén ok ɸrén at[un]ngu mer>

**W** 100: <Erumk | auðskiaefð omun lokrí mágar ɸoris mærdar efni vinar míns ɸvit valig liggia tvenn | ok ɸrenn a tungu mer>

ÍB 169 4to page 18r:

Nu éūc auðf̥keɸ [f̥keɸ] omū lokri	Nu erumc auðskef (-skeg) omun lokri
maḡ ɸoris merðʳ efni	magar ɸoris merðar efni
uiñ mis ɸ̥ at ualeg liggia	uinar mins ɸui at ualeg liggia
tuēn oc ɸren a tungu mer.	tuenn oc ɸren a tungu mer.

The 169 scribe ignored the small capital <N> in *ɸrenn* and wrote <ɸren>.

Normalized text:

<del>Nú</del> erumk auðskœf	<del>Now</del> to me are easily planed
ómunlokri	(with) a voice-plane
magar Þóris	of Þórir's son
mærdar efni	praise matters
vinar míns	of my friend
ɸví at valið liggja	because chosen (they) lie
tvenn ok ɸrenn	two and three
á tungu mér	on my tongue

See notes on *Nú*, *auðskœf*, *magar*, *ɸví at* and *valið*. The (with) denotes an instrumental dative.

The two and three praise matters are likely those listed in Stanzas 10 and 11, see notes.

## Stanza 16 – Þat tel ek fyrst

## M page 99v (Figure 11-4):

b1 τ þren azūgu mīer: þ̄ tel ek þyr̄fz  
 b2 é þlefr̄r ū ueit τ alþiōð eyrun feķ̄ hue mi  
 b3 llðgeðz m̄m þotte biōða biozn birkif̄ oz  
 b4 τa: þ̄ allr h̄r az ūð<sup>ll</sup> geþz hue h̄ urþiōð

Þat tel ek fyrst  
 er flestr *um* ueit *ok* alþiōð eyrun *sekir* hue mi  
 lldgedr *monnum* þotte biōða biorn birkis ot  
 ta:

The word <eyrun> has a suffixed definite article, which *kviðuhátt*r does not use (see notes). <birkis> has an accent mark on the first <ı> (a long stroke up to the right, see Section 2.11).

## ÍB 169 4to page 18r:

þ̄ tel ek fyr̄ft é flefr̄r ū veit  
 τ alþiōð <sup>+</sup>eyrun feķ̄ <sup>+</sup>eyrim  
 hve millð<sup>+</sup>geðe m̄m þotte <sup>+</sup>gōðr̄ gedr̄  
 biōða biorn birki fotta.

Þat tel ek fyrst er flestr *um* veit  
*ok* alþiōð eyrun (eyrim) *sekir*  
 hve milldgede (godr, gedr) *monnum* þotte  
 biōða biorn birki sotta.

The 169 scribe realized that <eyrun> must be wrong and he gave the unhelpful variant <eyrim>, see notes. The unusual writing of r-rotunda in *gedr̄* gave him pause, but he finally came to the correct conclusion (see Section 2.2).

## Normalized text:

Þat tel ek fyrst,	I count first
es flestr <i>um</i> veit	what most people know
ok alþjóð	and the people
* <i>eyrum</i> <i>sækir</i> ,	seek (with) ears,
hvé mildgedr̄	how generous
mōnnum þótti	men found
þjóða björn	the bear of tables
birki-sóttá.	of fevers of birch (= <i>arinn</i> ‘hearthstone’).

*Eyrum* ‘ears.DAT’ is an instrumental dative (meaning: with the ears), see notes. I favor *birki-sóttá* ‘fevers of birch’ over *birkis-óttá* ‘fright of birch’ for fire, see notes.

Arinbjörn’s generosity is the main praise item in AR. Arinbjörn is also noted for his generosity in two *lausavísur* in *Egils saga* (number 43 and 51 in *Egils saga* 2003).

## Stanza 17 – Þat allr herr

## M page 99v (Figure 11-4):

b4 τa: þ allr h̄r at ūð <sup>[l]</sup> gefz hue h̄ urþiðð		Þat allr herr at und[ri] gefz hue hann urþiðð
b5 auðe gnæg̊ ē griot biorn [ū] gn[ē]gdā hef̊		aude gnæg̊ir en griot biorn [um] gn[ē]gdan hefr
b6 þreyr τ níoð̊ at þiarafle[:] E n hroall[z ]		freyr ok niordr at fiarafle[:]

The <z> in <gefz> may possibly be read as <r>. <hef̊> can both be read as *hefir* and *hefr*. <níoð̊> has an accent.

The latter half of this stanza is also preserved in **R** and **W**:

**R** 22r: <Þvit griotbiorn of gæddan hefr freyr z niordr at fiarafli>

**W** 48: <Þvit griotbiorn of gieddan hefr fræyr z niordr at fiar[af][i]>.

## ÍB 169 4to page 18r:

þ allr h̄r at ūð' gefz		Þat allr herr at undri gefz
hue h̄ ur þiðð auðe gnæg̊		hue hann ur þiðð aude gnegir
ē griot biorn v̄ gnegdā hef̊		en griot biorn vm gnegdan hefr
freyr oc niorð̊ at fiarafle,		freyr ok niordr at fiarafle,

## Normalized text:

Þat allr herr	All the people
at undri gefsk,	marvel at the wonder,
hvé hann urþjóð	how he men
auði gnægir,	bestows with riches,
en Grjótbjörn	but stone-bear (=Arinbjörn)
um gnægðan hefr	has been endowed
Freyr ok Njörðr	by Freyr as well as Njörðr
at féar afli.	with wealth's strength.

See notes on *gefsk* (with the middle voice ending *-sk*), *urþjóð*, *en*, *Grjótbjörn*, *gnægðan*, *ok* and *féar*.

Egill says the gods of fertility (Freyr and Njörðr) have given Arinbjörn wealth. The use of singular *hefr* 'has' for both gods (they are the subject in the clause) may seem odd but is normal for nouns joined with *ok* when they come after the verb (see notes).

## Stanza 18 – En Hróalds

## M page 99v (Figure 11-4):

b6 þreyr τ níοζδ̄ at þiaraple[ʔ] En hroall[z ]	En hroall[z..]
b7 haupð ba[ð]me auð[f i]ð gnotτ at a[ln]ū fip	haufud ba[d]me aud[s i]ð gnott at a[ln]um sif
b8 fe ufeld aþ uegū aullū auðk <sup>[ʔ]</sup> f uιδū bo	se uiseld af uegum aullum auindk[er]s uidum bo
b9 tne: h̄ δ <sup>[ʔ]</sup> gfeil ū eiga gat fem hillðigr	tne:

The initial is an uncial <Ε>. Following <hroall[z]> there is room for two characters (denoted by spaces and dots). Nasal strokes on <fe> and <ufeld> are not visible. *Alnum* is probably a Norwegianism for *ϕlnum* ‘forearm.DAT.’ The stanza appears to be without a finite verb.

## ÍB 169 4to page 18r:

En hroallz i <sup>+</sup> haupð <sup>+</sup> baðme <sup>+</sup> +a	En hroallz i (a) haufdit badme
auðs <sup>+</sup> iðgnott at alnū fipia <sup>+</sup> +auðfiðu <sup>+</sup> +fifa	auds idgnott (audsidu) at alnum sifia (sifa)
fe <sup>+</sup> +vinreið aþ vegū aλλv <sup>ʔ</sup> + <u>vinseidr</u> δ <sup>r</sup>	sem vinreid (vinseidr, dar, vinseld)
vinfeld	af vegum aullvm
a vīðks <sup>ʔ</sup> vιδū botne.	a vindkers vidum botne.

The 169 scribe had problems reading the text as seen from his many variants.

## Normalized text:

En Hróalds	But Hróaldr’s
*á hofuðbaðmi	main descendant has
‘auð[f i]ð’ gnótt	‘auð[f i]ð’ a lot
at ϕlnum *sifs,	at forearms of an in-law (his),
sem vinsælð	as well as popularity
af vegum ϕllum	from all roads
á vindkers	on the wind-jar’s
vīðum botni.	wide bottom (=of the world).

The first half of this stanza is difficult to decipher, but it appears to be a continuation of the previous stanza where Arinbjörn received wealth from the gods. See notes and a discussion in Chapter 10. The latter half says he received popularity as well.

## Stanza 19 – Hann \*dragseil

## M page 99v (Figure 11-4):

b9	zne: h̄ δ <sup>l</sup> gfeil ū eiga gat fem hillðigr	Hann d[ra]gseil um eiga gat sem hilldingr
b10	heyrn̄ ípāna godū aúðz m̄z gūna þiolð	heyrnar spanna godum auadr med gumna fiold
b11	uín̄ ueþozmf ueclinga tǫf: þ̄ h̄ uíð	uinr ueþorms ueclinga tǫs:

The sign above <dg> in *dragseil* is unclear (I write an apostrophe for it).

## ÍB 169 4to page 18r:

h̄ dǫgfeil ū eiga gat. δ <sup>r</sup> gf, δ <sup>s</sup> gf, δ <sup>o</sup> gf. etc.	Hann dragseil (dargs, dergs, drogs/dorgs etc)
	um eiga gat
fem hillðigr heyrn̄ ípāna	sem hilldingr heyrnar spanna
godū a v̄ði með gūna fiold	godum a vardi med gumna fiold
viñ̄ ueþorms ueclinga tǫs	vinr ueþorms ueclinga tǫs

The **169** scribe could not see the marking above <dg> and listed some possibilities. He chose *dragseil* that resembles *dragreip* ‘tow-rope,’ an attested word in Old Norse. *Seil* means rope or line.

## Normalized text:

Hann *dragseil	He a tow-line
‘um eiga’ gat	‘um eiga’ got
sem hildingr,	like a king
heyrnar spanna,	of the hearing
godum ávarðr	dear to gods
með gumna fjöld,	together with a multitude of men
vinr véþorms,	a friend of the king (‘protector of sacred places’)
veclinga ‘tǫs.’	‘tǫs’ of weaklings.

The first and second line do not alliterate. The second line appears again in Stanza 23 with the alliteration in order. It is therefore likely that the second line of this stanza is corrupt (see notes for a possible correction).

Probably, this stanza continues from the previous stanza an account on the popularity of Arinbjörn among gods and men and advertises his willingness to serve both the powerful and the weak. See notes in Chapter 10 on *dragseil*, *veclinga*, and ‘tǫs.’ All of which are unique in Old Norse texts.



## Stanza 20 – Þat hann viðr

## M page 99v (Figure 11-4):

b11 uín uēþozmí ueclinga τφí: þ̄ h̄ uíð<sup>̇</sup>  
 b12 é þriota mū þlefza m̄ þozτ þe eigi qð  
 b13 ka ek f̄kāt mille f̄kaza huía ne auþ/ð  
 b14 f̄keþt almāa f̄pioz: Gēk m̄ engi az

Þat hann uidr  
 er þriota mun flesta menn þott fe eigi qued  
 ka ek skamt mille skata husa ne auþ/d  
 skept almána spior:

<d> and <þ> were written in the same space in <aud>, see Section 2.11. The scribe did not use <þ> word-internally, and this is likely a correction after the scribe inadvertently copied a <þ>. A facsimile of this stanza is in the 1809 edition of AR.

## f̄B 169 4to page 18r–18v:

þ̄ h̄ +við<sup>̇</sup> é þriota mun +inð<sup>̇</sup>  
 flesta m̄ þott fe eigi  
 qðka ek f̄kāt mille skata huía  
 ne auðf̄kept almāa f̄pior.

Þat hann vidr (indr) er þriota mun  
 flesta menn þott fe eigi  
 quedka ek skamt mille skata husa  
 ne audskept almána spior.

The letter pairs <ui> , <in>, <ui>, <ni> are hard to tell apart. The 169 scribe noted that the <d> in <aud> was abnormal (because of the overwriting) and he wrote a stroke in its ascender.

## Normalized text:

Þat hann viðr,	That he achieves
er þrjóta mun	which will fail
flesta menn,	for most men,
þótt fé eigi,	even if they have wealth.
kveðka <del>ek</del> skammt	I am not saying (it is) short
*meðal skata húsa	between houses of the man
né auðskept	nor that it is easy to shaft
almanna spjör	everyone's spear.

See Section 8.4 on the strikethrough ~~ek~~. See notes on *meðal*, *skata* and *auðskept* in Chapter 10 and a discussion of the meaning of the stanza.

The man (*skati*) is probably Arinbjörn (see notes). He did not have an easy task. The train of thought continues in the next stanza.

## Stanza 21 – Gekk maðr engr

## M page 99v (Figure 11-4):

b14 fkept almāa fþioʒ; Gek m̄ engi at	Gekk <i>madr</i> engi at
b15 arinbiarn̄ oʒleguerf lōgū knerre	arinbiarnar orleguers longum knerre
b16 haðe leiðð <sup>ð</sup> ne heipt k <sup>l</sup> δū mʒ atgeirf	hade leiddr ne heipt k[ui]dum med at-
b17 auðar tuptir; Hiñ é þeǵmr er ı	geirs audar tuptir;

<kdum> has a faint mark above it that may be a <ui> abbreviation. The <e> in *leg-* is unclear on page 99v, but readable.

## ÍB 169 4to page 18v:

Gek m̄ engi at arinbiarn̄	Gek <i>madr</i> engi at arinbiarnar
<sup>+</sup> orleguers lōgū knerre	orleguers (or logvers, orlvgv.)
or <sup>+</sup> logvers, <sup>+</sup> orlvgv.	longum knerre
haðe leiðð <sup>ð</sup> ne heipt k'dū	hade leiddr ne heipt <i>kvidum</i>
mʒ atgeirs auð <sup>f</sup> tuptir,	med atgeirs audar tuptir,

## Normalized text:

Gekk maðr *engr	No-one left
at Arinbjarnar	at Arinbjörn's (home)
ór legvers	out of the lying place's
lōngum knerri	long ship (=from the long-house)
háði leiddr	led by scorn
né heiptkviðum	or curses
með atgeirs	with a pole-arm's
auðar toptir.	empty sites (wounds or hands).

*legvers* (lying place's=bed's) *knerrir* (ship) is a kenning for a house (see Meisner 1921: 430). The long-house of Arinbjörn was either particularly long, or a “long-house” is a description of the typical house of the time. *Auðar toptir* are house foundations without buildings (see notes). *Auðar atgeirs toptir* is traditionally understood as ‘empty hands.’ See notes for why I favor ‘wounds’ instead.

This stanza seems to continue the previous one. Arinbjörn did not mistreat anyone.

## Stanza 22 – Hinn er fégrimmr

## M page 99v (Figure 11-4):

b17 auðar τυρται: Hīn é þeǵmr er i	Hinn er fegrimmr er i
b18 þιοζδū býr ía é oþ δ[ol]ǵ <sup>ǵ</sup> draupnif níð	fiordum byr sa er of d[ol]gr draupnis níð
b19 ía s[o]k[u]naut[r n]ar h[ui]na h <sup>l</sup> ngum	ía s[o]k[u]naut[r] ...[n]ar h[ui]na h[ri]ngum
b20 h[ g ] h̄ allð[3 τe]g ū	h... [g]

Lines b17 and b18 are the last lines that are fully readable. The filler word is given as <of> in line b18, but elsewhere it is always <um>. See note on *dolgr* in Chapter 10. The 99v scribe seems to use an *er/ir* abbreviation for *-ri* in the words *fégrimmr* and *hringum*.

## ÍB 169 4to page 18v:

hīn é feǵnri er i þiorðū byr ǵ <sup>ǵ</sup> mr	Hinn er fegernri ( <i>grimmr</i> ) er i fiordum byr
ía é oþdolgr draupins nidia.	sa er ofdolgr draupins nidia.
sokunatr íonar hinna	sokunautr sonar hinna
h̄ngū hnot <sup>ǵ</sup> (nío <sup>ǵ</sup> ) hads <sup>e</sup> ue <sup>o</sup> gandi.	hringum hnotr (nío <sup>ǵ</sup> ) hads (hade) vegandi (vogandi).

The 169 scribe was understandably confused by the spelling of the word *grimmr*.

## Normalized text:

Hinn er fégrimmr,	The one is evil to wealth (=generous)
er í Fjörðum býr,	who lives in the Fjords,
sá er of-dolgr	that one (=that person) is an enemy
Draupnis niðja,	of Draupnir's offsprings (=gold)
sokunautr	an adversary
Sónar *hvinnna,	of the thief of Són
hringum 'hnotr,'	?thrower to rings,
'hads <sup>e</sup> ue <sup>o</sup> gandi'	'hads <sup>e</sup> ue <sup>o</sup> gandi'

*Hinn er fégrimmr* has an extra syllable that could be removed by cliticization *hinn er > hinn es > hinns*, see Section 8.4. See notes on the meaning of *hinn er*.

This stanza begins a new line of thought with the verb *býr* 'lives' in the present tense. The background is now in Norway. What happened was probably explained in the void. The stanza has a sequence of kennings for a generous man, with which Egill may have marked a new chapter in the poem (as suggested by Sigurður Nordal 1933: 267), see notes.

## Stanza 23 – Hann aldrteig

M page 99v (Figure 11-4):

b20 h[	g ]	h̄ allð[ʒ ɾeɪ]g ū		Hann alld[r tei]g um
b21 eiga g[az]	þiol	f̄p̄i[o]llū [fem]		eiga g[at] fiol... ...spi[o]llum
b22				[sem] ...
b23		þ		...
				...

The <sem> near the end of line <b21> has not been read earlier, only the <m> is reasonably clear.

ÍB 169 4to page 18v:

hann allðr teig ū eiga gat	Hann alldr teig um eiga gat
fioliaiñ f'ði fpiollū.	fioliainn firdi spiollum.
...	...
...	...

This text in **169** looks similar to what can be seen on the multispectral images. <f'ð> can both be expanded as <frid> and <fird>.

Normalized text:

Hann aldrteig	He an age-field
um eiga gat	got to own
*fjolsáinn	amply seeded
*firða spjollum	with man-losses
...	...
...	...
...	...
...	...

The poet looks back at unruly times.

## Stanza 24 – Þat er órétt

M page 99v (Figure 11-5):

<b>ÞS 2018</b>		<b>GV 1883: 380</b>
b23	þ	b23. . . . þ' e' . . . .
b24	a	b24. . . . . . . . . . . .
b25	u v[...].ð[3]	b25 vaüodr . . . . . S . . . .

The word that GV read as <vaüodr> might possibly be the word *vönuðr* from the stanza *Þat es órétt* in the 3GT. This is the least readable part of page 99v. The initial of stanza number 24 on page 99v in line b23 can either be read as *N* or *Þ*.

The text in the 3GT is as follows:

**W 107** <þat er orett er orpið hefr a | ma skeið morgv gagní ra or riðin rokkva stóði vell vönuðr því er veitti mer>.

**W 110** <Þat er vrett er orpit hefer a maskeið morgv gagní>

**A 6v** <þat ær oræt æf orpit hæfirr | a maskæið mǫrgv gagnv`í` ram riðinn rokkva stóði væll vönuðr því ær veitti mer>

**A 8r** <þat ær orett ef orpit hæfr amaskeið mǫrgv | gagni rammriðinn rokkva stóði vell vanaðr þat er veitti mer>

**ÍB 169 4to page 18v:**

Nu é ... Nu er ...

169 has only the first two words of the stanza

**Normalized text:**

Þat er órétt,	It is unjust
ef orpit hefr	if thrown has
á mäskeið	on paths of the gull (=the seas)
mǫrgu gagni,	many an assistance
rammriðin	heavily ridden
Rökkva stóði,	by the stud of Rökkvi, sea king (=ships)
vellvönuðr,	the wealth diminisher (=generous man)
því er veitti mér.	that which he granted to me.

See Section 4.2.3 for the context in the 3GT and the notes for the context in AR. See notes on *rammriðin* ‘heavily ridden.’

## Stanza 25 – Segið ...

M page 99v (Figure 11-5):

ÞS 2018

b25 u v[...]ð[3]

b26

b27

b28

hú[iū]

[az lo]me Ok

S

GV 1883

b25 vaūodr . . . . . S . . . . .

b26 . . . . . hu'

b27 . . . . .

b28 . . . l[iome]. O[k] . . . . .

The <S> stands almost at the end of the line.

ÍB 169 4to page 18v:

Segeð

...

Seged

...

ÍB 169 4to has the beginning of stanzas number 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28.

Normalized text:

Segið ...

...

hverjum

...

...

...

...

...ljómi

Speak (Segið)

...

whomever

...

...

...

...

...shine

*Ljómi* means 'shine' and can be a noun or a verb.

Egill addresses his audience and asks it to speak. Spreading the word on Arinbjörn or his deeds would be an appropriate message and in accordance with Stanza 14 (to place Arinbjörn's praise before the sights of many).

**Stanza 26 – Ok ...**

**M page 99v (Figure 11-5):**

**ÞS 2018**

b28 [aʀ lɪo]me Ok

b29 [ɪ]ll fɪɔllū hl[ʔr ɛ]

b30 [e]k fk f[e]m alluallðʒ

b31 u[ʔ] Ok [rum] bʒɪosʀ

**GV 1883**

b28 . . . l[iome]. O[k] . . . .

b29 ill spiollū . . . . .

b30 þ . . sa k. ek skalld k'di ok

b31 . . . . . Ok m ; h[eidn hr]. . .

The word *illspjǫllum* ‘bad losses.DAT’ read by GV can be validated, but little of the text in line b30.

**ÍB 169 4to page 18v:**

Ok ...

Ok ...

**Normalized text:**

Ok ...

And ...

illspjǫllum ...

bad damages

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

sem allvaldr

like a king

...

...

*Allvaldr* has occurred twice before in the poem; it comes second to *hilmir* (used four times) as a designation for a king.

## Stanza 27 – Ok ... brjóst

M page 99v (Figure 11-5):

ÞS 2018

b31 u[ː] Ok [rum] bʒiosʒ

b32 [e]ʌ[r]ʌkí fʏn[ʌ] afz[ra]ð þ

b33

[T]

GV 1883

b31 . . . . . Ok m ; h[eidn hr]. . .

b32 . . . . . astrað þau . . . . .

b33 . . . . .

Most of the text by GV in line b31 is within square brackets here and it differs from the MSI-text but there are similarities (by replacing <h> with <b>, replacing <e> by r-rotunda, replacing <o> by <d> and replacing <st> by <n>). The word *ástráð* ‘loving deeds or advice’ can be seen in line b32 on the MSI.

ÍB 169 4to page 18v:

Ok ...

Ok ...

Normalized text:

Ok ... brjóst

And ... breast

...

...

...

...

Eiríks syni

... Eiríkr's son.DATIVE

ástráð þau

those loving advises

...

...

...

...

...

...

Eiríkr's name appears here for the second time in the poem.

Eiríkr's son, presumably King Haraldr Graycloak, the foster-son of Arinbjörn according to *Egils saga* is here mentioned in some amicable context.



## Stanza 28 – ...

M page 99v (Figure 11-5):

ÞS 2018

b33 [T]  
 b34 [eþ] iþle[y] villð[ ] verð[ ]  
 b35 [brim]sk[er] [o]d[d] þ

GV 1883

b33 . . . . .  
 b34 . . . . .  
 b35 i brimsker. . . rodn<sup>r</sup> . . . . .

The initial in line b33 looks like a modern cursive <E> but may rather be a flourished [T]. Two or three illegible letters follow it at the end of the line. The continuation at the beginning of line b34 is easier to read but incomprehensible.

The text by GV in b35 is similar to what can be seen on the MSI.

fB 169 4to page 18v:

Ek þ e[f] i fleý ...

Ek fra ef i fleý ...

e[f] may possibly have a long <s> rather than <f>. The text in **169** is incomprehensible, and it is not easy to make it metrical. This is the last stanza that the **169** scribe attempted to read, but two and a half stanza remain. This text makes little sense, but it looks like the text on page 99v, which strongly suggests that **169** was copied directly from 99v.

Normalized text:

..	..
í fleý ...	in boat ...
...	...
...	...
í brimsker	in surf-skerry
...	...
...	...
...	...

The words *fley* ‘boat’ and *sker* ‘skerry’ imply seafaring. This stanza only spans two lines in **M**, and it is, therefore, the most compact stanza on the page (the average is 2.7 vellum-lines per stanza). The scribe may have been concerned that there would not be enough space left on the page.

## Stanza 29 – Þ... er framstafn

M page 99v (Figure 11-5):

ÞS 2018

b35 [brim]sk[er] [o]d[d] þ

b36 [e] þ'm fzaþn

b37 ð['] b]zað[e] birτ<sup>[l]</sup> blarr[a] g kūi

b38 h[ar]f veð[r] þ

GV 1883

b35 i brimsker. . . rodn<sup>f</sup> . . . . .

b36 e' fram stafn i f[olke] . . . . .

b37 d' bra[n]de birt' blarra geira . . . . .

b38 hars veðri . . . þ' e' . . . . .

The GV 1883 text for this stanza can mostly be confirmed (GV wrote *veðri við* <ð>). Both I and GV use <'> to denote any possible abbreviation sign (when they are unclear). ÍB 169 4to has nothing from stanzas 29, 30, or 31.

## Normalized text:

Þ... es framstafn

... ship's-bow

...

...

...

...

...

...

brandi birtr

... revealed by sword

blára geira

of black spears

...\*Hákon

... ?Hákon

í Háars veðri

in Óðinn's storm (=battle)

*Háars veðr* 'Óðinn's storm' is a traditional battle kenning. *Hákon* is a conjecture, line b37 ends in <kūi>. The end vowel must belong to the next line. This line must have a word that begins with <h> for the alliteration, and the line cannot end with the inflectional ending-*um* for metrical reasons. Hákon could be written as <hakun>. The adjective *blára* 'blue.PL.GEN' became *blarra* in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (see Björn K. Þórólfs-son 1925: xxx). This change is seen elsewhere in *Möðruvallabók* in line M 47va31 with <blaĤa> in *blára brodda* 'blue spikes.GEN.'

This stanza refers to a battle, and it and the previous stanza refer to seafaring. It would be appropriate to end an account on Arinbjörn in Norway with the death of Hákon that cleared the way for Arinbjörn's foster son to kingship.

## Stanza 30 – Þat er ...

M page 99v (Figure 11-5):

ÞS 2018

b38 h[ar]f veð[rɪ] þ

b39 k [n]egu þ sk

b40 [o]m e mǫz [hōð ɛ] meli glaðʒ [fua] þar e

GV 1883

b38 hars veðri . . . þ' e' . . . . .

b39 . . . . . knegv þ . . . . .

b40 . . . . .

The GV 1883 text in lines b38 and b39 can mostly be confirmed, but the <k> in <knegu> may belong to a previous word.

## Normalized text:

Þat er ...

...

...

...

...

...

... manns ...

ok mæli glaðr

It is ...

...

...

...

...

...

... man's

... and speak glad

The stanza is followed by a three letter word that may be the word *svá* 'thus.' That word may emphasize that the following is what Egill spoke, but it cannot be accommodated by the meter.

Egill seems to end the poem with a recitation of some sort. In Stanza 13, Egill indicates that he had earlier sworn an oath that he would break if he did not repay Arinbjörn. The concluding text may be a vow or a spell, not necessarily in *kviðuhátt*.

## Stanza 31 – Þar er ...

M page 99v (Figure 11-5):

ÞS 2018

b40 [o]m e mǫz [hōð ɛ] meli glaðʒ [fua] þar e

b41 ɛ [...a]llð[ʒ] mekiʃf egg

GV 1883

b40 . . . . .

b41. . . . . [me]kiss egg

<mekiss egg> is a correct reading by GV and the text <Þar e> is clear on the multispectral image (Fig. 11-5). At the end of line b40, only 1–2 syllables are missing. There are several possibilities for the word at the beginning of line b41; it resembles *hjaldr* ‘battle.’ I have not found any way to place these textual remains into the *kviðuhátt* format.

**Normalized text:**

Þar er ... ok .. alldr ... mækis egg...

1–4 There is ... and ... edge of a sword ...

Edges of swords were mentioned in oaths (see VǪLUNDARKVIÐA stanza 32, *Eddukvæði*: 153). The idea is that these and other things mentioned will fail a perpetrator (cf. Helgakviða Hundingsbana stanzas 31–33, *Eddukvæði*: 201).

## Content in prose

Egill begins rhetorically by giving three positive statements on how he recited favorably before those he liked with three counter-statements on how he was silent and humorous before those that did not deserve anything more. In the latter half of Stanza 2, he says that he pretended to be unsuspecting at the seats of kings. In Stanza 3 we learn that he had (nevertheless) attracted the wrath of a powerful Yngling king and that he had put on a bold hood and visited some troops (or men). The visit is to York (Stanza 4) where a battle king ruled with a harsh mind. In Stanza 5, Egill meets the unwelcoming stare of the king, and we learn the king's name, Eiríkr. In Stanza 6, Egill feeds the king and his court the mead of poetry, but in Stanza 7 he only received an ugly hat-beaker as a reward. The beaker is revealed in Stanza 8 to come with inlaid gems and a mouth that saved his life. In Stanza 9, it has teeth and a tongue, ears, and hearing. Egill says he was promised this valuable gift from the famous king. In Stanza 10 and Stanza 11, Arinbjörn appears by the side of Egill. Egill gives him rhetorically five items of praise, including keeping his word. These items fill five odd lines that stand in succession with the name of Arinbjörn in the middle. Stanza 12 is partly corrupt but appears to give the Yngling genealogy of Eiríkr (son of a son of Hálfðan), and it seems to mention England (as the land of Játvarðr's family). This stanza probably refers back to the wrath of the Yngling's son in Stanza 3, which defined the conflict of the story-plot. The issue with the king's wrath seems to be resolved with this and the following stanzas. In Stanza 13 Egill says that his honor is at stake if he does not repay Arinbjörn for his assistance and Egill seems himself to have made promises that must be kept. In Stanza 14 Egill says he will send praise that will travel everywhere on its poetic feet and be seen by many. In Stanza 15 he says he has five chosen subjects (two and three) of praise (probably a reference to stanzas 10 and 11) already lying on his tongue that will be easily planed with his voice-plane. In Stanza 16, Egill says the well-known generosity of Arinbjörn comes first. In Stanza 17, all men notice the wonder of how Arinbjörn gives men riches but the gods of good season and fertility have given Arinbjörn the power of wealth. In Stanza 18 Egill says the gods did not only give Arinbjörn riches, but they also gave him popularity the world over. Stanza 19 is partially corrupt, but in all likelihood it expands on the popularity of Arinbjörn, saying that he was famous like a king, dear to gods and men and he served both the high and the low (friend of a king and server of weaklings). Egill calls the king a protector of sacred places (*vé* 'sanctuaries') which is a term that was given to King Hákon I, even if he was a Christian. In Stanzas 20 and 21, Egill says that Arinbjörn achieved something that most men could not, even if they were rich and he continues saying that he did not mean

Arinbjörn had an easy task (an easier task) at pleasing his community. What Arinbjörn achieved seems to be stated in Stanza 21: He did not send anyone away scolded and wounded (or empty-handed). In Stanza 22, the poem refers to some person that lives in the Fjords in West-Norway who is (also) generous, and in Stanza 23 he has lived through an age of man-killings. This person is not said to be Arinbjörn (unless in a now faded text). Stanza 24, if correctly belonging to the poem, states that it would be unjust if all the gifts bestowed on Egill had been wasted. If it was not clear already, it is now clear that the poem is still talking about Arinbjörn. The next stanza begins with the verb *Segið* 'say' in the imperative mood ('You (all) tell (everyone)!') with *hverjum* 'whom' or 'whomever' soon to follow. Egill may here order his audience to spread the word on Arinbjörn (to help the poem travel among men on its poetic feet of Stanza 14). In Stanza 26, the ominous word *illspjöllum* (bad damage) is hard to put in context with *sem allvaldr* (like a king). In Stanza 27, the following phrase appears: *Eiríks syni, ástráð þau* 'for Eiríkr's son, the loving counsel,' which seems to refer to Haraldr Graycloak, the foster son of Arinbjörn. In Stanza 28, ships and seafaring seem to be mentioned, and in Stanza 29 the death of Hákon I in a battle may be the subject. This would be the battle of Fitjar that paved the way for Haraldr Graycloak to the Norse throne. Stanza 30 may be the last stanza of the poem, and seems to end with: *ok mæli gladr* 'and speak gladly.' This indicates that the poem ended by a recitation of some sort (a spell, a vow, a blessing). The following final line of the page has the phrase *mækis egg* 'edge of a sword's blade' a term known from vows. The idea is that the edge would lose its bite if words were not kept.



## 10 Notes to the text

For the restored text of AR in Chapter 9, I have used the metrical theory discussed in the previous chapters. I also used the information on the 99v hand that I discussed in Chapter 2, and I consulted the following works:

Baldur Hafstað (1994), Bjarni Einarsson (2003), Björn M. Ólsen (1884, 1902, and 1903), Ernst Albin Kock (1926–1929), Finnur Jónsson (1884, 1886–1888, and 1912–1915), Gísli Brynjólfsson (1853), Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1861), Guðbrandur Vigfússon and F. Y. Powell (1883), Guðmundur Finnbogason (1925), Guðmundur Magnússon (1809), Helgi Hálfðanarson (1954), Ivar Lindquist (1929), Jón Þorkelsson (1856), Konráð Gíslason (1889: 565) on the word *engr* in AR 21.1, Rasmus Chr. Rask (1818a: 260) on the word HÖFUÐLAUSN in AR 8.7, and Sigurður Nordal (1933).

I cannot discuss all proposals on the text of AR, but I aim at giving credit to all contributions that have influenced the current version of AR. I frequently mention the two Old Norse dictionaries ONP and *Fritzner*, and the etymological dictionary ÁBM.

### Stanza 1 Notes

Emk **h**raðkvæðr, **h**ilmi at, **h**ilmi at mæra,  
en **g**lapmáll um **g**lögginga,  
**o**pinspjallr um **j**öfurs dáðum,  
en **þ**agnelskr um **þ**jóðlygi.

*hilmi at, hilmi at*: This repetition is probably a dittography, but I will consider the possibility that it is not. Dittographies like the present one that involves three syllables should be easy to detect in poetry. They should produce a metrical fault and a meaning that is obscure. For the line in question, a fault is, however, appropriate and the meaning is witty. This could be a coincidence, but if it is not, Egill might have distorted the meter to produce an audible effect. Old Norse poets manifestly did so on occasions with variants of *dróttkvætt* like the shivering lines of *skjálfhent* (see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2014b) and a meter mimicking stammering (*stamhent*, see Faulkes 2007: 21–22).

If the repetition is an intentional part of the poem, it demonstrates someone who is *glapmáll* ‘faulty of speech.’ The phrase *at hilmi* appears later in the poem (in Stanza 7). An appropriate meaning is ‘by the king’ (in his presence or his home). The text: *Emk hraðkvæðr hilmi at hilmi at mæra* can be



translated as ‘I am fast at praising a king when I am with the king.’ This brings to mind what Snorri Sturluson says about skalds in his famous account on the veracity of *dróttkvætt* poems:

En þat er háttr skálda að lofa þann mest, er þá eru þeir fyrir, en engi myndi þat þora at segja sjálfum honum þau verk hans, er allir þeir, er heyrði, vissi, at hégómi væri ok skrök, ok svá sjálfr hann. Þat væri þá háð, en eigi lof

*Heimskringla* I: 5

‘But it is the custom of skalds to praise most the one in their presence, but nobody would dare to tell him of his deeds, that everyone who heard, knew, was to be vanity and lie, including himself. That would be a mockery and not praise’

*um gloggvinga* ‘of misers’: This line provides a plausible case for the rhythmic type C1 (**vssx**) in AR. Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 435) used this line as one of his two examples for the C1 rhythm in AR (see Section 6.6). I classify the rhythmic type as C3 (**vsvx**).

*um jofurs dáðum* ‘over king’s feats.DAT’: The preposition *um* normally means ‘about’ and takes the accusative case except when used in the meaning ‘over’ that must be the meaning here (because of the dative case).

*þagnelskr* ‘silent, who is devoted to silence’: The text on page 99v for this word is: <þagn elskr>. The **169** scribe read it as <þagmelskr> *þagmælskur*. Both words mean ‘silent.’ There is space for the third minim after <þagn>, and it is possible that it has disappeared after the **169** scribe read the text. It is, however, also possible that the **169** scribe chose to interpret the word as the more familiar *þagmælskr*. *Þagnelskr* does not occur elsewhere. Even though *mælskr* ‘eloquent’ is well known in modern Icelandic, it does not have a relative in the Scandinavian languages while *elskr* ‘dear, found of, devoted to’ does. According to ÁBM: 152, the adjective *elskr* is likely derived from the verb *ala* ‘to bring up,’ and the original meaning may be ‘who is brought up or is brought up with something’ (note however that Björvand & Lindeman under headword *elske* argue that this etymology is untenable and give an alternative).

*þjóðlygi* ‘great lie’: Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 155) translated this word as “common treachery” following Björn M. Ólsen (1903: 117–119) who proposed that *þjóð* ‘nation’ formed an opposite to *jofurs* (‘common’ vs. ‘regal’). The first element of the compound, *þjóð-* is used for emphasis in a number of words (meaning ‘great’ or ‘major’) as in *þjóðgóðr* ‘very good’ and *þjóðá* ‘main river’

(see ÁBM: 1182–1183). I translate *þjóðlygi* as ‘a great lie’ which means that the royal vs. common comparison is lost in translation, but it may be in the Old Norse texts on a subconscious level.

## Stanza 2 Notes

**S**kaupi gnægðr **s**krökberǫndum,  
emk **v**ilkvæðr um **v**ini mína.  
Sótt hefi ek **m**ǫrg **m**ildinga sjöt  
með **g**runlauss **g**repps um æði.

A syntactic division is missing between Stanza 1 and Stanza 2, perhaps because the first two long-lines have inadvertently been exchanged in the transmission of the poem (both Stanza 1 and Stanza 2 would have begun with *Emk*). This is one of the syntactic issues that are not addressed in this thesis. If the two long-lines were exchanged, an expression on Egill’s reaction to negative behavior (or character) would follow an expression on his reaction to positive behavior (or character), as occurs twice in the previous stanza.

*skrökberǫndum* ‘lie-bearers.DAT’: This word fills one line. It is the only example in AR of an even line with the D3 rhythmic type (**svsx**). Finnur found no example of this rhythm in SONATORREK (see Section 6.6) and I find no example of it in Yt. The line is therefore dubious. The 169 scribe read the line as *skrökberǫndum* <fkračkbandū> without reservations, but the word is not fully clear on the MSI-s (I read <fkrau[kb̥]a[n]δū>). The line breaks a sequence of even lines that begin with the preposition *um* (*um gloggvinga*, *um jǫfurs dáðum*, *um þjóðlygi*, *skrökberǫndum*, *um vini mína*). It would have been fitting for this line to be *um skrökþvǫndum* ‘over liers.DAT’ (for the *-ǫndum* ending, compare ST 24.8 at *vélǫndum*).

*vilkvæðr um vini mína* ‘speak in favor of my friends’: Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 155) translates “willing to sing the praise of my friends,” which is not accurate. The word *vilkvæðr* does not appear elsewhere but similar words like *vilmæltr* ‘he who speaks in favor (*í vil*) of someone’ make it clear what the meaning is (see also Sigurður Nordal 1933: 258). The word <vílqueðr> is one of three that seems to be written with <qð>, only *kveðka* in lines b12–b13 is fairly clear and seems to be without the <e> superscript over the <q> that one would expect for these words. The 169 scribe wrote all three words with <qð>. <vílqueðr> seems to have an accent mark on the <í>, but it does not stand for a long vowel (see Section 2.11).

*grunlauss* ‘unsuspecting’: The visual difference between the **169** reading *grunlaust* and my reading *grunlauss* is minor. The difference in the translation that Bjarni Einarsson and I give is great, but this is not because of a different reading. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 155) translates lines 7–8 ‘with the integrity of a poet (man).’ FJ and GV also give a similar translation. It is very strained. Both *grunlauss* and *grunlaust* mean ‘unsuspecting’ and this is the meaning BE (2003: 218) gives *grunlauss* in his glossary, but then he adds; *með grunlaust æði* means “with integrity.” The phrase should rather mean ‘with unsuspecting behavior’ and taking it to mean “with integrity” is unwarranted. With the new reading, *grunlauss* is an attribute of *greppr* ‘man’ and not *æði* ‘behavior.’ The phrase to translate becomes *með grunlauss grepps æði* ‘with unsuspecting man’s behavior.’ The alternative is ‘with unsuspecting behavior of a man,’ where a ‘man’ refers most likely to the poet itself, and the meaning is ‘with unsuspecting behavior of myself.’ The difference in meaning is thus also minor.

*greppr* ‘man’: This is one of many skaldic terms for a man. The poets often used it for themselves (instead of using a pronoun). Snorri says (Faulkes 1998: 105): *Skáld heita greppar ok rétt er í skáldskap at kenna svá hvern mann* ‘Poets are called *greppar* and in poetry, any man can correctly be called *greppr*.’ See more on *greppr* in a note on *skata hús* in Stanza 20.

*um æði* ‘behavior’: Hans Kuhn (1983: 124) noted that after c. 1000 the filler word is only attested once before a noun (in ÍSLENDINGADRÁPA 17.5, FJ 1912–1915 BI: 543). Often in manuscripts when an *um* appears before a noun (e.g., twice in Stanza 1) it is a preposition and not a filler word, but BE (2003: 277) identified this *um* as a filler word, probably correctly. It is before the same noun in HÁVAMÁL 4.4 *góðs um æðis* ‘good behavior.GEN’ (*Eddukvæði*: 21). In both instances, the filler word occupies a dip of a trochaic line and in AR (as discussed in Sections 6.2 and 7.2) no preposition was allowed in such dips. This presence of a filler word before a noun provides one of several arguments for AR being a 10<sup>th</sup>-century poem.

### Stanza 3 Notes

Hafða ek **endr** Ynglings burar,  
**ríks** konungs, **reiði** fengna.  
 Dró ek **djarfhött** um **ðökkva** skqr.  
 Lét ek \***her** **heim** um sóttan.

*dró ek djarfhot* ‘I carried a bold hat’: The verb *dró* ‘pulled’ seems to be used in the East- and West-Germanic meaning of German *tragen* ‘to carry, to wear.’ Its meaning is as in VQLUNDARKVIÐA 2.6 *svanfjaðrar dró* (*Eddukvæði*: 146)

‘dressed in feathers of a swan’ (not ‘pulled feathers of a swan’). By putting on a swan-costume (*-ham*), a woman in VǪLUNDARKVIÐA became a swan.

\**her* ‘troops, men’: The arguments for this conjecture are the following. The final *-r* can be seen on the MSI-s. The initial <h> can also partially be seen, and the alliteration demands it. Between the <h> and the <r>, there is room for one letter and an abbreviation may be above it. Finnur Jónsson read <h̄se>, but the word is clear enough on the MSI-s for Finnur’s reading to be rejected. The 169 scribe read <h̄sir>, which must stand for <hersir>. His reading cannot be correct for both linguistic and metrical reasons (the accusative form of *hersir* is *hersir*, and there are no (definite) examples in the *kviðuháttir* corpus of a C-type lines that ends with a restricted syllable). The space between <h> and <r> does not seem to be empty, but it appears to be smudged; <e> could fit into it, but hardly <si>. If the marks above the word stand for an abbreviation sign, it resembles more a *va/ra-* abbreviation than the title. I have chosen *her* as a conjecture because it seems to be the only meaningful possibility. For the context, *her* makes better sense than *hersir*, because it seems premature to mention Arinbjörn this early in the poem and the title *hersir* does not fit a king (Sigurður Nordal 1933: 258–259 suggested that it referred to Eiríkr).

#### Stanza 4 Notes

Þar er allvaldr und ýgis hjalmi  
 ljóðfrömuðr at landi sat,  
 styr-konungr \*við stírðan hug  
 í Jórvík úrgum \*hjørvi.

*und ýgis hjalmi* ‘under a helmet of awe’: This line has an extrametrical anacrusis which is rare in *kviðuháttir* and *fornyrðislag*, but when it occurs, it precedes the trochaic A type (Fulk 2016: 258). Because several other lines with anacrusis exist in Egill’s *kviðuháttir* poetry, I do not find a metrical correction justifiable. The same line occurs in HÁKONARKVIÐA 17.2 (HKV seems to be modeled on AR). It is corrected into *und ýgshjalmi* in the edition of Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915 BII: 121) and also by Gade (2009b: 710). The corrected line is of a type that is rare or forbidden (the C1 rhythmic type, see Section 6.6, see also a discussion on anacrusis in 5.4). Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 347) read <æges> instead of <ygis> in 99va10. However, he did not use his reading in his normalized text (he printed *ýgs*). Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 156) trusted Finnur and printed *ægis*.

*ljóðfrömuðr* ‘promoter of the people’: This word is written <liodþr̄maðað̄> in 169 and what can be read on the MSI-i is liodþr̄[mað]að̄. Thus the word has

an extra syllable in what appears to be a dittography (<að>). **146** removed the dittography. Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1883) read the dittography, but Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888) did not. The word is senseless with the dittography and, there is no doubt about its removal.

*styr-* ‘battle-’: **169** has an abbreviation following this word that presumably is the tittle (it could also be read as the <us> abbreviation). I cannot read it from the MSI-s. Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Powell (1883: 380) and Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 347) thought they could see an abbreviation mark. They understood the word to be *stýrir* ‘rules.’ The conjecture *stýrði* ‘ruled’ for *stýrir* is one of few conjectures proposed by Finnur that were accepted by both Sigurður Nordal (1933) and BE (2003). It was made because of the context. The line, however, has too many syllables. Finnur (1886–1888: 433) thought that the last two syllables could fill one metrical position in a *Verschleifung*, but that is doubtful (See Section 7.6 on Finnur’s liberal use of *Verschleifungen*). I keep the text as on page 99v and ignore the abbreviation read by the **169** scribe. The second half of the stanza does not need to have any finite verb (this feature is allowed in *kviðuhátt*, as alluded to in the 3GT, see Sub-section 4.2.3). *Styr-* is an appropriate attribute for king Eiríkr, *styr* means battle (compare *herskár* ‘warring’ in stanza 11). This attribute was given to several aggressive kings and Vikings. The text <styr̥> read by the **169** scribe does not need to be expanded as <styrir>. It could be <styr>. Einarr Hafliðason normally denoted <rr> by <ṛ> (see end of Section 2.1).

(*við*) ‘by’: Guðmundur Magnússon (1809: 653) inserted the word *við* as a conjecture in his 1809 edition. This insertion is a metrical and a linguistic improvement, but the preposition *með* ‘with’ may also be possible. Both Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Powell (1883: 380) and Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 347) claimed that they could read *við* <ṽ>. The **169** scribe could not read it, and neither can I.

*stirðan hug* ‘firm mind’: The adjective *stirðr* ‘stiff’ has negative connotations in the modern language but it seems to be a positive quality in skaldic poetry, and I translate it therefore as ‘firm’ rather than ‘stiff.’

*úrgum* ‘wet.DAT’: The adjective *úrigr* ‘wet’ normally refers to something wet with water, but in ÓLÁFSDRÁPA 9.4 by Steinn Herdísarson (Gade 2009a: 376, 1912–1915 FJ BI: 381) a battle is called *dynr úrigs malms* ‘din of wet metal’ which must mean ‘din of bloody metal.’

\**hjørvi* ‘sword’: This word is now illegible, but the **169** scribe wrote a word and a variant of it that indicates a Norwegianism for *hjørvi*. See Section 2.8 on *fjørvi* ‘live.DAT’ written as <fiarui> in a Norwegian text.

## Stanza 5 Notes

Vara þat tunglskin tryggt at líta  
 né ógnlaust Eiríks bráa,  
 þá er ormfránn ennimáni  
 skein allvalds ægigeislum.

*Vara tunglskin* ‘was not moonshine’: *Vara þat tunglskin* on page 99v has too many syllables. Finnur Jónsson deleted the word *þat* as was proposed by Sievers (1879: 294). Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 156) and Sigurður Nordal (1933: 259) let the 99v text stand uncorrected. The line has too many syllables unless *þat* is deleted. I would nevertheless not delete the determiner (*þat*) if there was only a metrical reason for doing so. Another reason is, however, that this offers what I believe to be a more sensible interpretation of the stanza. Without it, the adjectives *tryggt* ‘safe’ and *ógnlaust* ‘without threat’ can be taken to be predicates of *tunglskin* ‘moonshine,’ which I suggest they are. They and *tunglskin* would be in the nominative case like the pronominal adjective *öll* ‘all’ in the following long-line in HKV where the expression *at líta* ‘to be seen’ is also used (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 126, Gade 2009b: 725–726):

HKV 41.2–41.2 Svá var Elfr	‘so was Elfr (a river)’
öll at líta	‘all to be seen’

The meaning becomes: *Tunglskin vasa tryggt né ógnlaust at líta* ‘A moonshine was not safe nor threatless to look (to be seen).’ Rather than *þat tunglskin vasa tryggt né ógnlaust at líta ...* ‘That moonshine was not safe nor threatless to look (to look at).’ The latter (with *tunglskin* in the accusative case) is the traditional understanding (BE 2003: 156, FJ (1012–1915 BI: 38).

*bráa* ‘eye-lashes’: Eduard Sievers (1879: 293) proposed this correction for the word <brá> (printed in both the Copenhagen 1809 and Reykjavík 1856 editions of the saga). This conjecture is certainly correct because of the number of syllables and because hiatus words having <áa> were not contracted in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (see Myrvoll 2014: 309–328). Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 347) managed to read <braa> on page 99v, but this is hardly possible. The word is at the end of a manuscript line, and even if the word is not clear on the MSIs in Chapter 11, there does not seem to be enough room for anything more than a *b* with a *-ra* abbreviation in the ascender. **169** has *v* with a *-ra* abbreviation. <b> can look similar to <v> on page 99v, see <v> in *vilkvæðr* and <b> in *birkis* in Figure 2.11-2. In Stanza 10, the **169** scribe also wrote <v> for <b> in *betri*. See more on hiatus words in Section 4.2.4.

*ægigeislum* ‘rays of awe’: The word in **M** could be *-geislan* ‘radiance’ and *-geislum* ‘rays DAT PL’ (see Section 2.6). As is traditional, I have chosen *-geislum* because that word is attested elsewhere in skaldic poetry (*ægigeislum* is used in HÚSDRÁPA 4.3). The word appears to have the restricted vowel <o> (instead of <u>, which is used elsewhere on page 99v).

## Stanza 6 Notes

Þó ek **bolstrverð** um **bera** þorða  
 ‘**mǎ[i]þ**’ hœings **markar** dróttni,  
 svá at **Yggs** full **ýranda** kom  
 at **hvers** manns **hlusta** munnum

*bolstrverð* ‘cushion-meal.ACC’: *bolstr* is a pillow or a bed or seat with cushions. *-verð* has previously been translated as ‘price’ and *bolstrverð* as ‘pillow-price, payment for sleeping in a bed’ (BE 2003: 198 and Björn M. Ólsen 1903: 120–122). This translation was in context with *maka* ‘partner,’ a misreading of the word <mǎ[i]þ>. The misreading in the form <mǎ> entered **BL** as I discussed in Section 1.6 and was printed as <maka> in the 1809 edition. It is certainly incorrect because the word continues in the next line and ends with a <þ>. The word *-verðr* can appropriately be understood as a ‘meal’ (as in *dagverðr* ‘breakfast’). It need not be understood as a kenning. Egill paints a picture of himself delivering his poem under the king’s hostile stare. He may call his recitation a cushion meal enjoyed through the ears with the mead of Óðinn on the menu.

‘mǎ[i]þ’: This is the first of several instances where page 99v has text that appears to make no sense. I have chosen to insert this reading directly into the normalized text and discuss possible replacements in the notes. The cryptic word written <mǎ[i]þ> begins at the end of line a16 and continues in line a17. The **169** scribe did not note this continuation, or he ignored it. FJ and GV did not mention any continuation. The alliteration requires the word to begin with an <m>, and the rhythm requires it to be a monosyllable (or a disyllable that can stand in a resolved position). The last letter seems to be <þ>, which the 99v scribe normally did not use. Earlier editors did not know that the word continued in line with a17 and they trusted the word to be *maka* as printed in the 1809 edition. Ivar Lindquist (1929: 18–19) proposed, however, that it be replaced with *mærð* and he understood *markar hœingr* to be a ‘land-fish’ and stand for a ‘worm’ (a traditional kenning). He further took worm-bed (*bolstr*) to be gold (also a traditional kenning). The meaning of the long-line becomes: ‘I dared bring gold-price praise before the king.’ This interpretation appears

to be too complicated. The word in question could, nevertheless, be *mærd*. The exemplar used by the 99v scribe may have had *mærd* written with a glyph for <æ> in <mærþ> that looked like <a<sup>c</sup>> (it could also have been some vowel with a curl on top). Egill used the word *mærd* several times in his poems, and other skalds knew the word also, but surprisingly, it does not appear in any Old Norse prose except in Snorra-Edda where it is said to mean poetry. The word *mærd* may thus have been unfamiliar to the 99v scribe. *Fritzner*: 462 only knows the word as a name for a fish trap (modern Swedish *mjärde*). The kenning fish-land (*hæings mork*) is standard for the sea, and it was used by the first editors of the poem, GM (1809: 656), and Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 272). The meaning could be: 'I dared bring a cushion-meal, a praise, before the sea king (with the word praise in an apposition).

*hæings* 'fish's': The hiatus word *hæingr* 'salmon' is not disyllabic on page 99v, but the word has usually been written in its older form in editions of AR. The word is also monosyllabic in the 14<sup>th</sup> century manuscript (Flateyjarbók) of NKT 4.7 í *hæings* where it must be disyllabic (to serve the meter).

*Yggs full* 'poetry': The *kenning* Óðinn's (Yggr's) drink is standard for poetry. *Full* is a cup or the content of a drinking vessel.

*ýranda* 'foaming': I use the same translation as previous editors (Bjarni Einarsson 2003: 157). The 169 scribe provided a different and interesting alternative in the margin of his transcript. He took *ýr* for a bow (of yew) and *ý-rand* for horn 'horn.' *Rand* means '-rim' or '-edge.' This assumes that bows familiar to the audience of Egill were composite bows, made of wood and horn. The *ýranda* would be an attribute of *full*, meaning *horna-full* 'content of horns or vessel of horn.' Because I have no information on the use of composite bows in England and Scandinavia in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, I do not use this proposal of the 169 scribe.

## Stanza 7 Notes

Né **ham**fagrt **h**ǫlðum þótti  
**sk**aldfé mitt at **sk**ata húsum,  
þá es **ul**fgrátt við **Y**ggs miði  
\*hattar staup at hilmi þák.

*Hǫlðum* <haulðum> 'men.DAT': The 99v scribe wrote the words *hǫldr*, *fjǫlð* and *sælð* with <ld> but *skald* and *vald* with <lld> as was normal in the 14<sup>th</sup> century after the word-final <lð> had become <ld> (see Jakob Benediktsson 1960). The 169 scribe copied this accurately, except for the word <allualldr> in Stanza 4. FJ also made a mistake in writing <lld> in the word <mannfjöld>



in Stanza 14 (see FJ 1912–1915 AI: 46). The writing <ld> always stands for -lð in the standard orthography with a morpheme boundary before -ð. This is of importance for the discussion on *fjǫlð* in Stanza 19. This spelling shows that Old Norse speakers were aware of (or at least could be aware of) the morpheme boundary in *fjǫl-ð*. Jakob Benediktsson (1960) proposed that this was because of a difference in the pronunciation of <l> in the sequences *ld* (*skald*) vs. *lð* (*sælð*).

*at skata húsum* ‘at houses of a man’: Previous editors have translated this as ‘at the abode of a generous man’ (BE 2003: 157). The noun *skati* ‘man’ is common in skaldic poetry and does not need to refer to a man who is generous (see note on *skata hús* in Stanza 20. The word *skata* must be in genitive singular because the plural would be *skatna*). Because the stanza is a continuation of the previous stanza and subordinated to it, the *skati* in this stanza is naturally taken to be the king in the previous stanza.

*við Yggs miði* ‘in exchange for Óðinn’s mead.DAT’: Previously read by the 169 scribe and FJ as *við Yggjar miði* with too many syllables. Óðinn’s mead is a standard *kenning* for poetry, but Egill in Stanza 6 and Stanza 7 talks of it as a drink (for ear-mouths at a cushion-meal).

\**hattar* ‘hatt.GEN’: Guðbrandur Vigfússon proposed the conjecture *hattar staup* for *hatt staup* (in 169 and the 1809 and 1856 editions). He did not publish a diplomatic reading for this word (he had lost it), but in a note to his restored text, he said that the reading was “Not hatt-staup” (Guðbrandur & Powell 1883: 273 note 28). Finnur Jónsson claimed that he could read: *hattar staup* (with an abbreviation sign for *-ar* over *staup*). This is a reasonable correction because of the meter (a syllable is missing), but the multispectral images (Figures 11–2 and 11–3) do not show the abbreviation sign (it might have faded away and it could have been a tittle). Sievers (1879: 294) had earlier suggested *hatta staup* for metrical reasons, but *hattar staup* is a better conjecture because it is harder for an *-a* ending than an abbreviation to disappear.

*hattar staup* ‘hat’s beaker’: It is clear from the context that Egill received his head in return for his poem, and ‘hat’s beaker’ must thus be a *kenning* for a ‘head.’ This *kenning* does, however, require an explanation and I believe it is given in the following stanza. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 157) translates *hattar staup* as “knob of the hood” which is traditional, but it would have been hard for anyone not to understand *staup* to mean a ‘beaker’ in a context where it comes in exchange for mead that was just being served. I, therefore, suggest that Egill sees his head as a beaker full of poetry, but to ensure that he is understood he describes this beaker in the following stanza. Accordingly, the head that served Óðinn’s mead to the king was Egill’s reward.

*at hilmi* ‘at king.DAT’: BE (2003: 157), FJ (1912–1915 BI: 39) and GV (1883: 273) translate this as ‘from the king.’ It more accurately means at the king’s houses or before him, see *Fritzner* and ONP for similar word-constructions using *at* with dative. Egill only gradually exposes what his fee is and from whom. First, it is an ugly fee in the king’s houses; then it is a wolf-gray hat-beaker and more follows in Stanza 8.

### Stanza 8 Notes

Við því tók, en ‘tíru’ fylgðu  
 sök svartleit síðra brúna  
 ok sá muðr, er mína bar  
 \*høfuðlausn fyrir hilmis kné.

*en*: There does not seem to be enough space for the text *Við því tók en tíru*, even if it was abbreviated as <Vid þ' tok ē t'u> and the initial *V* written in the margin. This suggests that the <en> is superfluous and deleting it would remove the anacrusis, which is desirable. This argument is, however, too weak to be actionable. The <d> in <vid> and the abbreviated <þ'> may partly be visible on the MSI-s.

‘tíru’-*sökk* possibly means ‘shining inlaid jewels’: The word ‘tíru’ is illegible in **M**. It is <tíru> in the **W**-manuscript of Snorra-Edda. The **169** scribe read <far'> in its place, which could be expanded either as <farir> or <farr> but both are unexplainable. ‘tíru’ is of uncertain meaning, and for that reason, I write single quotation marks around it, but it is likely an attribute of *sökk* ‘treasure.’ Björn M. Ólsen (1903: 122) proposed that ‘tíru’ was replaced by *tvau* ‘two,’ which he said was graphically similar, and Sigurður Nordal (1933: 260–261) used this conjecture in his edition of the poem. *tvau sökk* would be ‘two eyes.’ Sigurður understood *sökk* to be the same word as the Anglo-Saxon *sinc* ‘treasure.’ He noted that the text, which accompanies it in **W** says eyes could be referred to as jewels. The word *sökk* seems to appear elsewhere in the meaning treasure in skaldic poetry. Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1998: 1018) speculates that the original meaning was an inlaid (i.e., sunken) jewel or some precious metal. The word *tírr* means ‘honor’, and the modern Icelandic word *tíra* means ‘dim light’ related to German *Zier* ‘ornament.’ It seems possible to arrive at a sensible meaning while retaining the word <tíru> *tíru* by understanding *tíru-sökk* to be shining inlaid jewels of the hat-beaker that Egill received (eyes of his head).

*svartleit* ‘blackish’: This refers to Egill’s eyes. The **W** manuscript of Snorra-Edda has *sámleit* ‘grayish’ (see Section 4.1). I have chosen (see Section 8.2) to use the text on page 99v whenever it is available.

\**höfuðlausn* ‘head ransom’: The name of the poem delivered by Egill. This is a conjecture proposed by Rasmus Christian Rask (1818a: 260) published in his *Anvisning till isländskan eller nordiska fornspråket*. Rask wrote the following in a footnote on the word *Höfuðlausn*: “Detta är min rättelse, som jag hoppas kännare skola gilla. Eigla har *hefd* för *höfd*, hvilket endast tyckes vara en oriktigt läst abbreviatur, som förstör både meningen och versen.” ‘This is my correction, which I hope those knowledgeable will like. Eigla has *hefd* for *höfd*, which only seems to be an incorrectly read abbreviation that distorts both the meaning and the verse.’ With *Eigla*, Rask referred to the 1809 edition. With Rask’s correction, the number of syllables became the correct three in an odd-numbered line and four in an even-numbered line. The **169** scribe read <hoþð> with a stroke in the <d>. The MSI in line 99va:23 seems to have a <hoþd> but a stroke is not certain and above the word may be a tittle, sometimes used as an abbreviation mark for a part of a word. Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 348) read <hoþl> with a tittle above the word. Even if *höfuðlausn* is a very good conjecture, I still mark it with an asterisk, because otherwise, I would be claiming that AR was a source for the word *höfuðlausn*, which it is not.

## Stanza 9 Notes

Þar er **tannfjöld** með **tungu þák**  
 sem **hlertjöld hlustum** gøfðuð,  
 en sú **gjöf gulli** betri  
 \***hróðrs** konungs um **heitin** var.

*sem* ‘like’: Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 348) read this word as *ok* ‘and,’ but the **169** scribe read *sem*, which is the word that seems to be written on page 99v. The *sem* is related to the adjective *samr* ‘same’ in Old Norse. It was used as a comparative particle and only in younger texts as a relative particle (Marius Nygaard 1905: 263). Egill used *sem* as a conjunction but not between clauses (see also notes on stanza 18). Except with *svá in svá sem*, this seems to be typical for the 10<sup>th</sup> century (already in 1032, GLÆ 3.6 has an example of *sem* as a relative particle connecting clause).

*hlertjöld*: This word means hangings for eavesdropping (*hler-* is eavesdropping and *tjöld* are wall hangings or tents). The poet did not have Hamlet or other Shakespearean works in mind (where characters disappear and hide behind curtains), but in an environment of hanging curtains, the idea of listening

behind them must have been obvious. I consider this to be a clever description of the outer ear which hides the inner auditory tract for which Old Norse has the word *hlust*.

*gofguð* ‘adorned’ or ‘endowed’: The adjective *gofugr* ‘noble’ and the verb *gofga* ‘pay respect, venerate’ are related to the verb *gefa* ‘give,’ and the noun *gjof* ‘gift.’ I assume that the verb *gofga* was in Egill’s time closer than it is presently to a more original meaning (and thus implying a gift).

\**hróðrs* ‘praise’s’: I and the **169** scribe read <hrodgs> or <hroðgs> on page 99v. The sequence of consonants <dgs> is unpronounceable but adding a vowel is undesirable because the line has four syllables already, each of which requires a metrical position. Sigurður Nordal (1933: 261) proposed in a note the text *hróðrs* (which involves exchanging the <g> for an r-rotunda), but he did not correct his restored text, presumably because Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 348) saw a <v> written over the <g> in <hrodgs>. Some correction is needed for this word, and I chose Sigurður’s proposal *hróðrs* because it produces a metrically better line than *hróðugs* (first printed by GM 1809: 660).

*um heitin var* ‘was promised’: GM, GV, FJ, and BE (2003: 158) understood *heitin var* as ‘was called.’ This leads to the rather strained ‘that gift was considered better than gold.’ *Um heitin var* can also mean ‘was promised,’ which leads to ‘that gift, better than gold, was promised,’ which I consider being more natural. Egill, certainly, valued his life above any amount of silver or gold.

### Stanza 10 Notes

Þar stóð **mér m**orgum betri  
‘**hoddfindr**’ minn á **hlið** aðra  
**tryggr** vinr minn, sá er ~~ek~~ **trúa** knáttak,  
\***heiðþróaðr**, **hverju** ráði.

‘*hoddfindr minn*’ ?‘my wealth find’: These words were read as <hodfinda menn> by the **169** scribe, and indeed the text in line 99v looks very much like that reading, but it has an extra syllable. *Hodd* is a common skaldic term for wealth. Guðmundur Magnússon (1809: 660) introduced the conjecture *hodd-finnendum* ‘wealth-finders.DAT,’ also with an extra syllable. Finnur Jónsson was able to read <hodd [finn] endum> (FJ 1886–1888: 348 and BE et al. 2001: 188). Sigurður Nordal (1933:261) used *hoddfjondum* ‘wealth enemies.DAT’ that has the correct number of syllables and had previously been proposed by Ivar Lindquist (1929: 20), but a noun phrase in the nominative

case would be preferable in apposition to *tryggr vinr minn* ‘my true friend.’ Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 158) reverted to Finnur’s reading and printed *hoddfinnþndum*. The text in 99v might be <hoddfindr minn> with the characteristic r-rotunda of the 99v scribe after <d> that sometimes confused the 169 scribe (see Section 2.2). This might be the words *hoddfyndr minn* incorrectly spelled using <i> instead of <y>. The adjective *-fyndr* appears several times in ON texts in *auðfyndr*, *einfyndr*, and *torfyndr* (see ONP). Egill used the adjective *torfyndr* ‘someone difficult to find’ in his SONATORREK 15.1 (BE 2003: 151). Scribes in the 14<sup>th</sup> century could make spelling mistakes with <y> as seen from line 10rb5 in AM 420 b 4to where Einarr Haflíðason writes *kista* as <kyrsta>. Einarr was among the first scribes that often failed to write <i> and <y> by the older norm (see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 1994 on the merger of /i/ and /y/ in Iceland). The word ‘hoddfindr’ can hardly be an adjective because of the possessive pronoun *minn* ‘mine’ that follows it. The noun *fyndr* has the meaning ‘find’ (‘what is found,’ not a ‘finder,’ similar to *fundr*, see ONP). The noun *hoddfyndr* would thus mean a ‘wealth find,’ and Egill might be saying that Arinbjörn was his ‘wealth source’ or ‘treasure.’ Even if this interpretation is plausible, I place single quotation marks around ‘hoddfindr’ (the uncorrected text that appears to be on page 99v) to signal the uncertainties with this word.

*heiðþróaðr* ‘?honorable: This word can be read either as <heiþorad[3]> or as <heiþroad[3]>. The final r-rotunda is faded, and the 169 scribe read it as <e>, which would add an extra syllable to the line and is certainly incorrect (see Section 2.2 for why the 169 scribe read <e>). This word must be a positive attribute of Arinbjörn. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 158) used *heiðþróaðr* and translated it as an adjective ‘become illustrious?’ This word could be an adjective made from the past participle *þróaðr* ‘developed, grown’ of the verb *þróa* ‘develop, grow’ and with *heið-* ‘honor-’ as a determinant. The meaning would be something in the direction of ‘honor-grown.’

### Stanza 11 Notes

Arinbjörn er oss einn um hóf,  
 knía fremstr, frá konungs fjónum  
 vinr þjóðans, er vættki laug  
 í herskás hilmis garði.

The first line contains only one nominal, which is exceptional for stanzas in *kviðuhátt* and any Old Norse meter having a regular stanza division.<sup>18</sup> The second line raises questions as well. Sigurður Nordal (1933: 262) said: “2. vísuorð er helzti langt, en erfitt að velja, hverju sleppa skuli” ‘the second line is rather too long, but it is difficult to determine what should be omitted.’ Sigurður apparently did not accept the solution to place the words *er oss* ‘who us’ into one metrical position via *Verschleifung*. I offer the solution to move the relative particle to the first line. The metrical type of the first lines become  $D^-$  **s’sv** instead of  $A1^-$  **sxs**, which is metrical in order (see Section 7.3). This does not involve any correction of the text because the manuscript indicates no line divisions:

AR 11.1–2	Arinbjörn er	s’sv	‘Arinbjörn who’
	oss einn um hóf	vsxv	‘us alone lifted’

The arrangement above is unusual because a line of rhythmic type  $D^-$  is seldom the first line of a stanza and these lines have few parallels. SONATORREK 6.7–6.8 has a similar line-pair (not at the beginning of a stanza), traditionally printed as *sonarskarð / er mér sjár um vann* ‘son’s rift /that the sea did to me’ (BE 2003: 148), where I also believe it is advantageous to relocate the relative particle *er*.

*í herskás hilmis garði*: The last two lines of this stanza may be cited in a distorted form in the 3GT (see Subsection 4.2.4).

## Stanza 12 Notes

Ok [.....] **st**[.....]let[...]  
**m**argfrømuðr **m**inna dáða,  
**s**yni [...]gð sonar Hálfðanar  
 á Játvarðs áttar \*skeiði

‘st[.....]let[...]: For this reading, the **169** scribe wrote <*studli let*>. Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915 BI: 39) printed as a conjecture *stuðill* ‘supporter.NOM.’ Instead of *stuðli* in **169**, presumably, because this word appears to be the subject of a sentence and stand in apposition to *margfrømuðr minna dáða*

<sup>18</sup> Gade (2005: 172–173) discusses the line AR 11.1 *Arinbjörn* and says that the NP *Arinbjörn* obfuscates the metrical boundary (between stanzas) and she uses it as an argument against an eight-line stanza division in *kviðuhátt*.

‘often-promoter of my deeds. The three letters *lét* <let> are visible on page 99v, and could stand for the auxiliary verb *lét* ‘let’ or ‘had something done’ but there seems to be too much space between them and the next word so the word could be longer and for instance be *létti* ‘lightened.’

[...]gð’: The words *þyngð* ‘heaviness, sickness,’ and *stygð* ‘anger’ could fit into this space.

*Játvarðs* ‘Edward.GEN’: *Egils saga* assumes that King Aðalsteinn son of Játvarðr was still alive when Egill visited York, but it is likely that one of his brothers had replaced him. The brothers were all sons of Játvarðr. The author of *Egils saga* probably took for given that Aðalsteinn died at about the same time that Eiríkr was ousted from Norway (this is what *Icelandic annals* report). To make his story plausible, Egill in the saga travels abroad to visit Aðalsteinn, without knowing that Eiríkr had just arrived in England (*Egils saga*: 101). Sigurður Nordal (1933: 262) printed the reading of Finnur Jónsson for the last two lines AR 12.7–12.8 *at í væri / ættar skaði* ‘that in it would be a family’s loss.’ Sigurður said of this text “gæti bent til vígs Rögnvalds Eiríkssonar, en aldrei verður það annað en getgáta.” ‘could refer to the killing of Rögnvaldr, son of Eiríkr, but that will always remain a guess only.’ The line is very likely AR 12.7–12.8 *á Játvarðs / áttar sk[ei]ði* ‘on the riding course (land) of Edward’s family (i.e., in England) (see Section 3.4). Baldur Hafstað (1994: 28) says that Stanza 12 likely referred to the killing of Rögnvaldr (he cites Sigurður Nordal) and this indicated that the poem was not authentic, because otherwise, it would be incomprehensible why *Heimskringla* did not mention this major event. I discuss another of Baldur’s arguments in notes to Stanza 17. His arguments have mainly to do with corrupt lines or with literary motifs, and all of them are difficult to prove or disprove.

\**skeiði* ‘course.DAT’: A racing track for horses often used in *kenning*s for ‘land.’ The vowel is unreadable, and the 169 scribe read *skaði* ‘damage’ which is unmetrical (the first syllable must contain a long vowel or a diphthong). In Stanza 24 the word *skeið* is used in a *kenning* for the ocean as a land of the sea-gull and sea-horses (ships). Egill did not mind using the same words (or related words) twice (for instance *herr* (2), *hús skata* (2), *-frömuðr* (2), *full* (2), *hlust* (2), *auðskeft/auðskæf*, *ýgis/ægis*, *gagn* (2), *gnægðr/gnægir/gnægðan*).

### Stanza 13 Notes

Munk vinþjófr verða heitinn  
ok vóljúgr at Viðris fulli  
hróðrs orverðr ok heitrofi,  
nema ~~ek~~ þess gagns gjöld um innak.

*váljúgr* ‘disappointer’: This word is one of several agent nominals in AR made from verbs (see Baldur Jónsson 1987), but unlike most of them (for instance, *frömuðr*, *voðuðr*), it can be found outside of poetry (see Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 1984). Sigurður Nordal (1933: 262–263) suggested that this adjective (or noun) was an incorrectly spelled *vánljúgr*, literally ‘liar on hope.’ On page 99v, a nasal stroke might be missing over a one-compartmental <a> or the word has an <o> (see Section 2.6). Björn M. Ólsen (1903: 118–119) discusses several instances where a similar noun *vánlygi* ‘disappointment’ appears. However, a revised version of the *Fritzner* dictionary (Fritzner & Hødnebo 1973) has examples of the word *váljúgr* with the appropriate meaning. One example that was cited by Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 414) is the following from *Heilagra manna sögur* II: 668: “Ok er hann hugsar þetta með sér af ollu hiarta, vard honum eigi at valiug.” ‘and as he thinks about this with all his heart, it did not become for him a disappointer.’ A possible explanation for the resemblance of *válygi* and *vánjúgr* could be that *vánljúgr* has lost its <n>, but the vowel retained its nasality (and u-umlaut) and turned into /ó/ in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (this is a regular development), which could explain the spelling on page 99v. The word *léreft* (from *línreft*) exemplifies a word that has lost an <n>.

*Viðris* ‘Óðinn.GEN’: To avoid anacrusis, Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 436) replaced *Viðris* with *Viðurs*, which is another (or related) name for Óðinn. Sigurður Nordal (1933: 262) did not remove Finnur’s correction, but Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 159) did. Occasional anacrusis seems to occur in Egill’s *kviðuhátt* poetry, and I have therefore chosen to retain the word *Viðrir* from page 99v.

*At Viðris fulli* ‘at Óðinn’s cup’: The drink of Óðinn is poetry, but pagan poets also assumed deceased warriors would drink with Óðinn in the afterlife and referred to this drinking in several poems, for instance in *EIRÍKSMÁL* and *KRÁKUMÁL*.

*hróðrs orverðr* ‘praise unworthy’: Snorri Sturluson used this phrase in stanza 100 in his *HÁTTATAL* (Faulkes 2007: 39). The adjective *orverðr* is easily understood because *or-* (a negative prefix or for emphasis) and *verðr* ‘worth’ are both common, but only Snorri and Egill seem to have used *orverðr*. Finnur Jónsson read <aur verdr> on page 99v, but the word is clearly <eyr uerdr> as read by the **169** scribe. <au> and <o> were normal for writing *ø*, but sometimes <ey> for *ø* appears in 14<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, an example is in document App. 6 (Stefán Karlsson 1963). This document uses <ê> for /æ/ like page 99v does and it has the word *orindi* ‘message’ written with an <ey> in line 10.



*gjöld um innak* ‘pay dues’: This word is printed as *vinnak* in all previous publications of AR. This is due to the text in **146** and the reading of FJ who read <ūinag>. The text in **169** is <innag> but the <i> is smudged. The scribe may originally have written <vinnag> but wiped out the <v> and partly written <i> over it. The word is copied as <viñag> in **146** but as <innag> in **BL** with a variant <cinnag>. The text is difficult to decipher on the MSI-s. It could be <innag>, where the <a> is hard to read but the <g> is clear. The first three letters <inn> are discernable, but because of the dot-less <i> they could be read as <uin>, and with a nasal stroke, the text could be as in Finnur’s reading <ūin>. An argument for the text <innag> is that the verb *inna* appears several times in the oldest Icelandic lawbook, in one instance together with *gjald* (*Grágás* II: 210): “*oc hann ser eigi þaÑ maÑ er gialld iÑe af hendi*” ‘and he does not see that man who will pay the dues.’

### Stanza 14 Notes

Nú er þat sēt, hvar er setja skal,  
 \*bragar fótum, ‘[u]b̃a[u,t]’ stiginn,  
 fyrir mannfjöld margra sjónir,  
 hróðr \*máttigs hersa \*kundar.

I have marked three words in this stanza with an asterisk to denote them as conjectures. They appear in earlier editions of AR without any reservations. In this edition, however, I mark all words as conjectures that I cannot verify from the MSI-s or the **169** text. Exceptions are corrections that seem very certain and justified by the meter and by some other independent argument such as writing *bráa* for *brá* in AR 5.4.

The poet wants to praise Arinbjörn in a poem. This would be of little worth if no one heard the praise. From Stanza 14 it seems that Egill expected the poem to travel among men before the sights of many. This interpretation of the stanza hinges, in great part, on the conjunction *hvars*.

*hvar er* ‘wherever’: An older form of this conjunction is *hvar es* or *hvars*. Guðmundur Magnússon (1809: 66) printed as a conjecture *hvar ek* ‘where I,’ and so did Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 274). Guðbrandur Vigfússon also printed *hvar ek*. Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915 BI: 40) read *hvar er* but he deleted the *er* in his normalized text. Sigurður Nordal (1933: 263) brought it back, but he said it was meaningless (“þýðingarlaust”) and this seems to be the understanding of Bjarni Einarsson in his translation of the stanza (2003: 159). Nygaard (1896) objected to the notion that *es* could be *particula expletiva*. The use as a

conjunction and the meaning of *hvars* ‘wherever’ is shown by four Eddic poems, listed by *Fritzner*: 303. Beatrice la Farge (1992: 125), in her glossary to the Poetic Edda, gives the meaning of *hvars* (orig. *hvar es = hvar er*) as ‘everywhere.’ This conjunction is not found in Old Norse prose, according to ONP. In Finnur Jónsson’s 1912–1915 skaldic edition, it is used four times in Eddic stanzas in *Hálfs saga* and once in *Qrvar–Odds saga* and in two *dróttkvætt* stanzas from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Hallfróðr Óttarsson vandræðaskáld, ÓLÁFS-DRÁPA, erfidrápa 13, Þjóðólfr Arnórsson, SEXSTEFJA 7). A closer look would likely reveal more stanzas with the conjunction in the form *hvar es* or *hvar er* as in AR 14. With the conjunction *hvars* the meaning of AR 14.2 *hvar er setja skal* becomes ‘wherever (one) shall put.’ The sentence does not have a subject (this is normal for the structure *setja skal*). The one who ‘puts the poem everywhere’ is either implied to be the poet or no one in particular.

\**bragar* ‘poem.GEN’: Guðmundur Magnússon printed this word in his 1809 edition of AR instead of the word <boǵ> with variant <þeǵ> in 169. In notes to the stanza, he says he read AR 14.2–14.3 directly from 99v. From Figure 11–3, the letters <b> and <g> with some space between them can be discerned at the beginning of line a38. The letter <b> could be a <þ>, explaining the variant reading in 169. A correct reading could be <þ̅ ḡ̅> where <ra> and <ar> are abbreviated above the baseline (as read by Finnur Jónsson 1886–1888). I mark this word as a conjecture, even if it is possible that some of the previous editors of AR read it with certainty (GM, GV, or FJ).

\**bragar fótum* ‘feet of a poem’: Eduard Sievers (1879: 293) noted that the lines AR 14.3–14.4 *bragar fótum / bratt stiginn* in the 1809 and 1856 editions did not have the correct number of syllables and he proposed an interchange of lines 3 and 4 (into *bratt stiginn / bragar fótum*). Finnur Jónsson did this and added the filler word *um* at the beginning of the second line to create the C2 rhythmic type (*bratt stiginn / um bragar fótum*). Sigurður Nordal (1933: 263) kept the line-interchange but deleted the filler word (making the second line unmetrical). Björn M. Ólsen (1903: 123) had earlier criticized Finnur for placing a filler word before a noun. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 159) followed the lead of Sigurður Nordal and printed: *bratt stiginn/ bragar fótum*. *Bragar fótum* is unmetrical as an even line (*bragar* cannot carry a lift), but according to my conclusions in Section 7.4.5 it may be in order as an odd line (as a type D<sup>-</sup> s’sv), rhythmically similar to *magar Þóris* in the following stanza. I have therefore removed the conjectural line exchange.

‘[i]þ̅a[u̅.ɾ]’: In spite of the consensus among GM, GV and FJ that the word <baǵ> read by the 169 scribe was an erroneous reading for *bratt* ‘steep,’ it is hard to reconcile *bratt* with what can be seen on page 99v. I put within single

quotation marks the text that seems to be written at the beginning of line AR 14.4. A letter, seems immediately to precede the <b> in “bæg”. This could be a preposition *í* or *á* that would supply the syllable that the line lacks. The stanza seems to be understandable without this text, but from the context and the textual remains it seems to stand for *á braut* or *í braut* ‘away,’ an expression that can appear in many forms (*í braut*, *á brott*, *á brutt*, *á burt*, and without the prepositions *í* or *á*). **M** contains many of these, but none that fits the current reading *brautt* (Van Weenen 2000). It seems that the 99v scribe inserted a <τ> below the baseline after he first wrote the word without it. This extra <τ> may have been in his exemplar, but he found it odd. The expression *í brautt* appears in old manuscripts, among them is a Norwegian lawtext (Gulaþingslög) from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (see ONP) and *á brauttu* <abratto> appears, among other, in the oldest fragment of *Egil saga* in AM 162 A θ fol 4r31 from the same time. *Braut* ‘road’ is the original form and the one that the poet would have had in mind. In Stanza 18, he says Arinbjörn is popular on all roads of the world.

\**máttigs* ‘mighty’: The **169** scribe read <mectigs> while FJ read <matigs>. The text is very unclear in Fig. 12.6, but there seems to be no room for the <c> (and the reading of FJ is thus preferable).

\**kundar* ‘of kin’: Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 274) printed *kundar* for this word and noted that Guðmundur Magnússon had earlier suggested this in the 1809 edition. The words *kind* and *kundr* ‘kin’ have a similar meaning, but one is of feminine gender while the other is masculine. *Kundar* fits the adjective *máttigs*, but *kindar* does not (as noted by Guðmundur Magnússon). Finnur Jónsson (1884: 110) said in his doctoral thesis that *kindar* and *mectics* must be incorrect for *kundar* and *máttigs* and when he published *Egils saga* in 1886–1888, that text was in his diplomatic reading. The MSI-text is unclear and both <kindar> and <kundar> seem possible. In my restored text, I accept Finnur’s readings of *máttigs* and *kundar*, but I mark them as conjectures.

### Stanza 15 Notes

Nú erumk **auðskæf** ómunlokri  
**magar** Þóris **mærðar** efni  
**vinar** míns því at **valið** liggja  
**tvenn** ok þrenn á **tungu** mér.

*Nú* ‘now’: This word at the beginning of the stanza in **M** is routinely deleted in editions of the poem. The stanza is preserved in the 3GT where it is without *Nú*. It may stem from the previous stanza that begins with *Nú*, and it would

thus be a type of dittography. It could, however, also be an intentional repetition, linking Stanza 14 and Stanza 15 on the subject of how to repay Arinbjörn now. *Nú* was kept in the 1809 edition but deleted in the Reykjavík edition by Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 274). Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1883: 274) introduced it again, but Finnur Jónsson deleted it, as did Sigurður Nordal (1933) and BE (2003). The stanza may appear metrically flawed on page 99v because it has three syllables in a weak position of a line of type C<sup>-</sup> (**vss**), but it is not. This is evident from several instances in skaldic poetry where the two words *nú eru* ‘now are’ appear in one metrical position. The process that made this possible may have been in two steps, the first would be vowel elision producing *nerumk* (or *nurumk* involving a vowel shortening as suggested by Myrvoll 2009: 95) and the second an ordinary *Verschleifung*. An analogy may be a line in SONATORREK. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 154) printed the unmetrical line ST 25.1 *Nú er mér torvelt*, ‘now it is to me difficult’ in accordance with the textual sources but Finnur Jónsson, for metrical reasons, restored the middle voice of Old Norse (1886–1888: 436) and in 1912–1915 B1: 37 printed 25.1 *Nú erum torvelt*. I conclude that there is no need to delete *Nú* and it should not be deleted if page 99v is given precedence over other sources.

*erumk* ‘to me it is’: This is a middle voice form (*erumk* or *erum*) to be expected before 1200 according to Noreen (1923: 269–370). The ending *-umz* used by **A** is younger than *-umk*, even though **A** is older than the three other main manuscripts (**B**, **C**, and **M**) (they all have *erumk*).

*auðskæf* ‘easily planed’: **W** has <auðskiæfð>, **B** has <auðskepô> (a misspelling for <auðskepð>) while **A** has <auðskéf>. The stemma for these 3GT manuscripts in Haukur Þorgeirsson (2017) and Tarrin Wills (2001: 52–56) group **A** and **B** together which suggests that the original 3GT text had *-fð* and not *-f*. **M** has, however, *-f* and because I give precedence to the text of page 99v, I use the ending *-f*. For the misspelling <auðskepô> in **B**, I suggest that some copyist was confused by the circumflex accent that Óláfr Þórðarson used to mark some vowels in his discussion of accent marks (see Subsection 4.2.1). It is hard to keep a distinction between all of: <ó, ò, ò, ô, ð>. Interestingly, a similar misspelling of ð may be in sources for ST 19.6 *í jarðar* <í aróar> (Jón Helgason 1962:37).

*magar* ‘son.GEN’: The **169** scribe did not read an *-ar* abbreviation for the ending in this word, and he used a sign that must be interpreted as an *-er/-ir* abbreviation (the tittle). His reading may be correct (see Section 2.3). The **BL** scribe and the **146** scribe used the **169** text uncorrected, but the 1809 publishers printed *magar* (they knew the text from **W**), and FJ (1886–1888: 348) read *magar* <magar> in **M**.

*Þórir* ‘proper name’: See Subsection 7.4.5 for a discussion on the metricality of the line *magar Þóris*.

*því at* ‘because’: The **169** scribe correctly read <þui at> which the **BL** scribe copied correctly, but Ásgeir Jónsson wrote the incomprehensible word <þerar> in **146**. Guðmundur Magnússon (1809: 669) printed *þau er*, and so did Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 274). Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Powell (1883: 274), Björn M. Ólsen (1884: 163) and Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 359) correctly printed *því at* (or *þvít*). All of them knew this text from the 3GT (and so did GM). FJ (1886–1888: 349) gave <þui at> as his reading in **M** (correctly).

*valið* ‘chosen NEUT PL’: The singular form was *valit*, the plural form in the modern language is *valin*. Manuscripts in the 14<sup>th</sup> century did not distinguish between *-t* and *-d* endings, and both could be written as *-t*. The letter written in this word in line 99va41 is illegible. It is hard to understand why the **169** scribe wrote *valeg* and why the **W** scribe wrote *valig* (both *valig* and *valeg* are unattested elsewhere). BMÓ (1884: 163) suggested that the *-lig* ending was caused by the *lig-* in the following *liggja*.

*tvenn ok þrenn* ‘two and three’: It is common in Old Norse poetry to present numbers as a sum of two smaller number, for instance, one and eight for the nine mothers of Heimdallr in HÚSDRÁPA 2. Egill’s 10<sup>th</sup>-century audience and audiences in the following centuries would have understood *tvenn ok þrenn* ‘two and three’ as ‘five.’ In the poem REKSTEFJA, composed in the eleventh or the twelfth century, the poet says in stanza number 10 that King Óláfr Tryggvason Christianized three and two countries (*þrenn kristnaði ok tvenni*, FJ 1912–1915 BI: 527). In a stanza that follows, these five countries are listed. Egill has in Stanzas 10, and 11 placed five praise items, together with Arinbjörn’s name in a row of odd lines (in apposition). They are all nominal phrases in the nominative case. Four of them are in lines of rhythmic type D<sup>-</sup>, the fifth is AR 11.3 *knía fremstr* ‘foremost of men’ of rhythmic type A1<sup>-</sup>, and it could also have been of type D<sup>-</sup> (with a resolution **s’sv**) if Egill used the superlative form *framastr* instead of *fremstr*. Previous editors have understood two and three to stand for some unspecified number, but I am not aware of any arguments for this.

### Stanza 16 Notes

Þat tel ek fyrst, es flestr um veit  
ok alþjóð \*eyrum sækir,  
hvé mildgeðr mǫnnum þótti  
bjóða björn birkisóttu.

\**eyrum* ‘eyrs.DAT’: <eyrun> that is written in 99vb2 has a suffixed definite article and must, therefore, be erroneous (see Noreen 1923: 316–317 on the definite article in Old Norse). Guðmundur Magnússon, in his 1809 edition, corrected the word to *eyrum* and so did Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 275) in the Reykjavík edition and GV (1883: 274) and FJ (1886–1888: 359) but FJ (1912–1915 BI: 40) used *eyru*, and so did Sigurður Nordal (1933: 263) and BE (2003: 159). Both possibilities lead to an understandable text. What seems likely is that the 99v scribe copied <eyrun> from a text that had the word written as <eyrū> and he expanded it incorrectly. He would have noted that the verb *sækir* takes the accusative case and therefore he chose *eyrun*, rather than *eyrum* (dative without an article). The correction proposed by SN and FJ also assumes that *eyru* is in the accusative case, but without an article. <eyrum> is one of many instances of an instrumental (or modal) dative in the poem.

*birki-sótt* ‘sickness (fever) of the birch.GEN’: A *kenning* for fire. This word seems to be written as two words *birkis ótta* on page 99v, but they are close together and may be read as one word. This has, however, little meaning for a poem that was orally transmitted. In reciting the stanza, no difference would be heard in the pronunciation of *birki-sótt* vs. *birkis-ótt*. I prefer the understanding that comes with *birki-sótt* because it seems more logical and because the *kviðuhátt* poems YT and HKV have similar kennings. Fire raises heat and consumes trees as does sickness (fever) to humans. In ST 20.2, Egill says his son died of *sóttar brími* ‘fever’s fire.’ Calling a fire the fright (*ótti*) of trees may be possible, but it is not as appropriate (it could also mean an ax). Sturla Þórðarson used the word *birkisótt* ‘birch-fever’ for fire (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 116), and YT 24 uses the *kenning* *bitsótt hlíðar þangs* ‘biting fever of the forest’ for fire (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 11 and Marold 2012: 38). Egill is likely to have known YT and Sturla is likely to have known both YT and AR.

### Stanza 17 Notes

Þat allr herr at undri gefsk,  
 hvé hann urþjóð auði gnægir,  
 en grjótbjörn um gnægðan hefr  
 Freyr ok Njörðr at féar afli.

*Þat allr herr* ‘That all men’: This text was incorrectly copied from 169 into 146 (through XIII) as “*Þat allz heri*” ‘that everyone.DAT,’ probably to make the line easier to understand. Sigurður Nordal (1933: 264) noted that *allsherjar* ‘everyone.NOM’ did not appear in old poetry and Baldur Hafstað (1994: 28) used this as an argument for AR not being authentic (see also note on *Játvarðs*

in Stanza 12). The text is the same in **M** and **169**. Therefore it provides an argument for **146** being derived from **169** and not vice versa. Jón Helgason (see BE et al. 2001: 189–190) suggested as a new reading AR 17.1 <Þat allz hers> that has the correct number of syllables, but can be rejected by **169** and by a direct reading of Figure 11–4 (see Þorgeir Sigurðsson 2013: 18–19).

*gefsk at* ‘occupies itself with’: *Allr herr gefsk at undri*: All men occupy themselves with wonder. The word-structure *gefa sér at* is reasonably well attested in Old Norse and means ‘to be occupied by’ (an example from the 15<sup>th</sup> century “at kongr gefur sier so mikit at utlendum manni” ‘that the king occupies himself so much with a foreigner’ see ONP). I have normalized the middle voice ending as *-sk* as is customary. The ending *-z* is likely from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but according to Noreen (1923: 369), it could also be from before the year 1200.

*urþjóð* ‘men’: For the word written as *úrþjóð* in line AR 17.3, in the Reykjavík edition, Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 275) wrote *urþjóð* and provided the etymology *ur* < *ver* as in *dogurðr* < *dagverðr* ‘breakfast.’ Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989: 1092) says *ver-* is likely ‘man.’ The word appears as *yrþjóð* in HÁKONARKVIÐA and VELLEKLA. In DARRAÐARLJÓÐ, MERLÍNUSSPÁ, and LOKASENNA the word *verþjóð* is attested. The word form *urþjóð* only appears on page 99v. It is not obvious how the words *verþjóð*, *urþjóð*, and *yrþjóð* are related.

*en* ‘but’: SE (**R**) has *því* ‘because.’ It is possible to use the conjunction *því*, but on the editorial principle to give precedence to 99v, I use *en*.

*gnæðan* ‘endowed’: SE (**R**) has *gæddan* (same meaning), but I use the text on page 99v whenever it is reasonable. Four times, Egill used words derived from *gnógr* ‘sufficient,’ and he did not avoid using the same word twice. The Book of Homilies from c. 1200. (Holm. Perg. 15 4to 59v12–13) uses the expression *gnægja at* in <en þeir gnéogþo hana at ollo goþo> ‘but they endowed her with everything good.’ The expression used in AR is thus known to exist.

*Grjótbjörn* ‘stone bear’ = Arinbjörn: This is probably an example of *ofljóst* ‘punning,’ (because *arinn* ‘fire-place’ can also be called a stone as in modern English ‘hearth-stone’ (see Section 4.1). Russell Poole (2012: 206 note 3) says *Hallgarðr* is the name *Grjótgarðr* by *ofljóst* in HÁLEYGJATAL 10.3. *Hallgarðr* and *grjótbjörn* appear to be similar puns. *Grjót* and *hallr* are both terms for ‘stone.’ Circumlocutions of various kinds, including *ofljóst*, may be especially frequent for proper names (see *Namenkenning* in Meissner 1921: 84–86).

*Freyr ok Njörðr* ‘Freyr and Njörðr’: These are two gods, and thus a plural would be expected in modern usage of the finite verb *hefr* ‘has.’ The singular is, however, normal in old poems (when the verb precedes the subject). Nominals that are connected by the *ok*-conjunction form a syntactic unit. The rules for

the grammatical agreement between this unit and other parts of speech are discussed by Marius Nygaard (1905: 67–81) who finds that it matters for the number agreement if the two connected nominals come after or before the verb. The *kviðuháttir* corpus only has examples of such subjects that stand after the verb: In AR 17.7 *Freyr ok Njörðr*, the word-pair is a subject that takes the verb *hefr* ‘has’ in singular, literally ‘Freyr and Njörðr has ...’; in GLÆ-LOGNSKVIDA 5.7 *hár ok negl* is the subject of the verb *kná* ‘does’ in singular (the infinitive form of the verb is *knega*); in NKT 28.4 *Sveinn ok Hókon* are the subject of the verb *talði* ‘counted’ in singular; in NKT 34.4 *Kalfr ok Þórir* is the subject of the verb *reisti* ‘raised’ in singular; in NKT 43.2 *Sigurðr ok Ásta* are the subject of *gat* ‘begat’ in singular; and finally in NKT 57.4 *sonr ok dóttir* ‘son and daughter’ is a subject of *lifði* ‘lived’ in singular. From this, it is seen that AR 17.6–17.7 *um gnægðan hefr Freyr ok Njörðr* ‘enriched has Freyr and Njörðr’ is in accordance with other similar instances in *kviðuháttir*.

\**féar* ‘money.GEN’: This is one of the few metrical improvements by Finnur Jónsson that Sigurður Nordal (1933: 264) kept in his edition. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 160) removed it. FJ preferred the hiatus word *féar* over *fjár* because otherwise the line would be of rhythmic type C1 that is avoided as FJ (1886–1888: 435) noted correctly.

### Stanza 18 Notes

En Hróalds \**á* *hofuðbaðmi*  
 ‘*auð*[f i]ð’ gnótt at *ϕlnum*\**sifs*,  
 sem *vinsælð* af *vegum* *ϕllum*  
 á *vindkers* *víðum* botni.

Most of the text of the stanza is visible on the MSI-s. Interpreting the text is unproblematic for the second half of the stanza, but the words in the first half do not connect easily. I take the *á* ‘has’ at the beginning of the second line to be a finite verb and *hofuðbaðmi Hróalds* ‘main descendant of Hróaldr’ to be the subject in the nominative case. These assumptions are uncertain (*-baðmi* is not attested). Hróaldr was Arinbjörn’s paternal grandfather. He was also the grandfather of Egill’s wife, Ásgerðr.

*á* ‘has, owns’: The *á* is not readable on the MSI-s, but **169** has *í* and *á* as a variant. This word is traditionally understood to be a preposition.

\**hofuðbaðmi* ‘main descendant’: The word *hofuðbaðmr* with a strong declension means the ‘main descendant’ in a stanza from a poem on King Aðalsteinn



by Egill (BE 2003: 82–83). Here, I presume the existence of the weakly declined *höfuðbaðmi* with the same meaning.

*At ǫlnum* ‘at forearms’: Rich men carried rings of gold on their forearms, and something at forearms is likely wealth. The forearm (*alin*) was also a measure of length and wealth, but this may not have been the case in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

\**sifr* ‘an in-law’: Gísli Brynjólfsson (1853: 107) proposed *álnum sifjar* (in place of *álnum sifja* in GM (1809: 674)). This correction does not produce a metrically correct line. The verb *sifja* is of unclear meaning and is not attested elsewhere. The **169** scribe thought something more followed <sif> (a *-ja* or an *-a*), but the meter does not allow an extra syllable. If the word is a nominal, Craigie’s law only allows an inflectional ending (*-r* or *-s*) to be added. The word *sifr* means brother according to Snorra-Edda (see Section 4.1). ÁBM: 811 relates the word *sifr* to Old Swedish *gupsiver* ‘godfather,’ ‘godson.’ Egill was married to a cousin of Arinbjörn and Egill may call him *sifr* (presumably in this stanza, Egill uses the word instead of a personal pronoun).

‘auð[í]ð gnótt’: The text is traditionally printed as *auðs iðgnótt* and understood as ‘abundance of wealth,’ I do not have a better proposal. BE (2003: 160) printed *auðs iðgnótt* and *sifjar* as proposed by Gísli Brynjólfsson (see above), but he did not try to give a meaning to the first half-stanza. He said it was mostly obscure.

*sem* ‘and’: Egill uses this comparative conjunction several times in AR. It never connects clauses in Egill’s poems (AR, ST, HÖFUÐLAUSN). A nasal stroke for <fe> is not visible on the MSI-s, but I do not mark *sem* as a conjecture because **169** has it. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 160) and Sigurður Nordal (1933: 264) used a conjecture from Guðmundur Finnbogason (1925: 164) and printed the fifth line as *sér vinreið* ‘friends are seen riding.’ Bjarni says: The latter half probably means: “On all roads on earth friends are seen riding (sc. to visit Arinbjörn).”

*á vindkers víðum botni* ‘on the wide bottom of a wind-jar’: This *kenning* for the world was used verbatim by Sturla Þórðarson in HÁKONARKVIÐA 6.7–8 (FJ 1912–1915 BII: 119). The world floats in a sea with winds above, and Egill calls it the bottom of a wide wind-jar.

My tentative interpretation of the first half is: The main descendant of Hróaldr has an abundance of wealth at an in-law’s (his) forearms.

My interpretation of the second half is more certain: As well as popularity from all roads on the bottom of the wide wind-jar (the world).

Popularity and wealth do not always go together, but the stanza seems to make the point that with Arinbjörn this was the case.

## Stanza 19 Notes

Hann \***dragseil** ‘um eiga’ gat  
sem **hildingr**, **heyrnar spanna**,  
**goðum ávarðr** með **gumna fjöld**,  
vinr **véþorms**, **veklinga** ‘tøs.’

\**Dragseil* ‘tow-rope’: *Seil* means ‘band’ or ‘rope.’ *Drag-* is probably from the verb *draga* ‘pull’ or ‘carry.’ This word seems to appear as *dragsel* in the dictionary *Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål* (Olav Ahlbäck 1976). *Dragseil* is also a variant under *drags-ol* in *Svenskt dialektlexikon – Ordbok öfver svenska allmogespråket* (Johan Rietz 1962). The meaning is a tow-rope, for instance, for a sled. The word *dragreip* ‘tow-rope’ appears several times in Old Norse texts and is used for a rope for lifting a sail. Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 349) thought he could read <dg̊seil> and he printed *drógseil* in his normalized text. *heyrnar spanna* ‘ears.GEN’: *Spönn* is a measure of length (one-third of *alin/öln* ‘forearm’), the distance spanned by the thumb and the index finger, *heyrnar spönn* is the domain of hearing that can both refer to the ears themselves or the distance that the hearing spans (or that news travel). A ‘tow-line of the domain of hearing’ could be the means by which the public caught the news on Arinbjörn in Stanza 16. Guðmundur Finnbogason (1925: 165) proposed a similar understanding of the words *heyrnar spanna*. “Arinbjörn sér á dragreip eyrnanna, þ. e. dregur að sér eyru manna” ‘Arinbjörn owns a towline of the ears, i.e., he draws to himself (the attention of) the ears of people.’

‘um eiga gat’: The word *eiga* ‘own’ lacks alliteration and must be wrong. The remaining words in the half-stanza may be arranged thus: *Hann* (he) *dragseil* (towline) *heyrnar* (of hearing) *um gat* (got) *sem hildingr* (like a king). In the previous half-stanza, Arinbjörn is said to be popular everywhere, and in the following half-stanza, he is said to be dear to gods and men, and he serves both the high and the low. Now I take note of how Egill praised king Eiríkr in HQFUÐLAUSN 6.3 by saying: *hann orðstír of gat* ‘he fame got.’ *Orðstír* ‘fame’ means word-preciousness literally. If the ‘tow-line of hearing’ are words that sprung from Arinbjörn’s deeds, some attribute is needed to let them qualify as *orðstír*. The appropriate adjective could be *dýrr* ‘precious.’ The line could have been: *svá dýra gat* ‘so splendid got.’ The meaning would then be: he so splendid a ‘tow-line of hearing’ got like a king. There are probably other possibilities as well, and therefore I do not propose this as a conjecture. I nevertheless believe it is of importance to document that an interpretation of the stanza is possible.

\**ávarðr* ‘loved’: Gísli Brynjólfsson (1853: 107) proposed *goðum ávarðr* ‘loved by gods’ in place of *góðum ávarði* (in the 1809 edition). This is a clear improvement, both regarding meter and content and it was taken up in the Reykjavík 1856 edition by Jón Þorkelsson. Both Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Finnur Jónsson claimed in their editions that they were able to read *ávarðr* on page 99v. The final <r> is written with the <ʒ> -type of r-rotunda (see Section 2.2), but Finnur read a normal <r>.

*ffjöld* ‘crowd’: This is a noun (stress-word) that stands in a weak position where nouns that are heavy monosyllables are not allowed (Craigie’s law). Because this word has a morpheme boundary *ffjöl-ð*, it can be classified as a light monosyllable (see more in Subsection 6.4.1).

*vinr véþormr* ‘friend of *véþormr*’: *Véþormr* means protector of sacred places and is likely a designation for a king. This word is probably both emotionally and politically charged as seen from the following: The skalds gave several comments on their kings and their attitude towards *vé*: *Vqrðr véstalls* ‘guard of a sacred stall’ is a description of an ancient Yngling king in YNGLINGATAL 11.3. *Vé grandar* ‘destroys a sacred place’ is a negative designation that Egill gave King Eiríkr in *lausavísa* 21.8. (BE 2003: 93). *Þyrmt véum* ‘protected sacred places’ is a positive character given to King Hákon the good by Eyvindr skáldaspillir in HÁKONARMÁL 18.3 (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 59). *Vægi-valdr vé* ‘protector of a sacred place’ is Earl Sigurðr in SIGURÐARDRÁPA 6 by Kormákr (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 69–70). This earl was killed by the sons of King Eiríkr, one of whom was Gamli. *Gamla kind, sú* *granda ... véum þorði* ‘The kin of Gamli that ... dared destroy sacred places.’ This is from HÁKONARDRÁPA 1 on Earl Hákon son of Earl Sigurðr by Einarr skálaglamm. Earl Hákon ousted the sons of Eiríkr (*Gamla kind*) from Norway (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 116). *Óhryggva vé byggva* ‘happily inhabit sacred places.’ This is in praise of Earl Hákon in VELLEKLA 16.8 by Einarr skálaglamm (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 120). *Végrimmr* ‘fierce to sacred places.’ This is meant as praise of the missionary King Óláfr Tryggvason in ÓLÁFSDRÁPA 4.4 by Hallfrøðr (FJ 1912–1915 BI: 149) with hostility expressed towards *vé*.

*veklíngr* ‘weakling’: The word *veklíngr* does not appear in any Old Norse or Icelandic source except in AR. The word *veklíng* ‘weakling’ is, however, a modern Swedish/Norwegian word and this is likely the same word.

‘tǫs’ ‘?‘helper’: The spelling and meaning is uncertain. The meter requires a light monosyllable, but the vowel could, nevertheless, be long if the -s is an inflectional ending. The context appears to be: friend of a king and ‘tǫs’ of a weakling, which gives ‘tǫs’ the plausible meaning ‘helper.’ Several attempts have been made at interpreting this word. An obvious possibility is to relate

it to the modern Scandinavian word written *tøs*, *taus* or *tös* with the meaning ‘girl’ or ‘maid.’ This word does, however, not appear in any Old Norse text, and when it first appears in Iceland, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century according to ÁBM: 1031, it has the form *taus*, with a diphthong which does not fit the meter. Ernst Albin Kock (1926–1929: 36ff) proposes that ‘tøs’ was derived from the verb *tæja* ‘to help’ with the genitive inflectional ending *-s*. *Vinr véþorms veklinga tæ-s* would thus form a phrase with the meaning ‘friend of *véþorm* who was a helper of weaklings.’ I do not think a good solution has been found to the issues with ‘tøs.’ In my edition, I indicate this by placing single quotation marks around the text as written on page 99v. Additional contributions to the discussion are by Björn M. Ólsen (1902: 199–200), Guðmundur Finnbogason (1925: 64–65), Baldur Hafstað (1994: 28) and Helgi Hálfðanarson (1954: 51–52). A misreading of a punctuation sign led Jón Helgason (see BE et al. 2001: 189) to suggest a new reading for line AR 19.8 that need not be discussed further (see the end of Section 2.9).

### Stanza 20 Notes

Þat hann viðr, er þrjóta mun  
 flesta menn, þótt fé eigi,  
 kveðka ~~ek~~ skammt \*meðal skata húsa  
 né auðskept almanna spjör.

*Þat hann viðr* ‘that he achieves’: The finite verb *viðr* ‘wins’ stands in the third sentence position and violates, therefore, the V2 law in an independent clause (see Section 8.4 on missing clitics and Haukur Þorgeirsson 2012b and Kristján Árnason 2002 on the V2 law in fornyrðislag). This is one of the syntactic issues not addressed in this thesis.

*meðal* ‘among’: Eduard Sievers (1879: 293) suggested this conjecture for <mille> for a metrical reason (*milli* cannot fill one metrical position in a *Verschleifung*, while *meðal* can). Sigurður Nordal (1933: 265) used *meðal* in his edition, but Bjarni Einarsson wrote *milli* in his 2003 edition of *Egils saga*. A linguistic change justifies a correction. The preposition *milli* would have been *miðli* or *meðal* in Egill’s time. I note that Einarr Hafliðason used *meðal* and *milli* interchangeably in **420b**, as it seems.

*skata húsa* ‘man’s houses’: The words used in Stanza 20 and Stanza 21 seem to be ordinary, but the meaning of the two stanzas is elusive. Bjarni Einarsson (2003: 160–161) and Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915 BI: 41) seem not to put a coherent thought into their translations. They and Guðbrandur Vigfússon use essentially the same translation as follows:

He does that in which most men, though they be wealthy, will fail, for the houses of the magnanimous are far between, and it is not easy to shaft every man's spear [to suit all]: No man ever went from Arinbiorn's house followed by scorn or evil words, or empty-handed.

Guðbrandur Vigfússon & Powell (1883: 275)

Guðbrandur translates *skata* as the magnanimous. From Guðbrandur's notes on page 540, it is clear that he takes *skata* to be plural. All editors have understood *skata* to be plural 'men's' but the plural form would be *skatna*. The plural *-na* ending is an old feature of masculine weakly declined nouns (-an nouns having a short root syllable). In the poetic language, the *-na* commonly appears in genitive endings of nouns denoting men (Noreen 1923: §401.3). An example of this is in the previous stanza in the word *gumna* 'of men' in singular *guma* 'of man.' The words *gumi* and *skati* are common in the skaldic language. It is hard to find any instances of *skata* (or *guma*) as genitive plural, and no instances can be found in the oldest part of the corpus before about 1150 (using computer searches available at [www.skaldic.abdn.ac.uk](http://www.skaldic.abdn.ac.uk)). *Skata* in AR 20.1 as a genitive plural, is an unnecessary anomaly.

In editions of AR, the word *greppr* in Stanza 2 has been translated as a poet, and the word *skati* in Stanza 7 and Stanza 20 has been translated as a generous man. I think this is too presumptuous. It is true that in skaldic poetry *greppr* is commonly used for a poet (usually the author of the poem in question), and *skati* is commonly used for a generous man (usually the patron of the poet). The poets avoided a repeated use of pronouns, and these words seem often to be used in their place. When Egill says in this stanza that it is not a short distance between the houses of a *skati*, I believe the correct interpretation is not that houses are far apart for any rich man, but for some man (that may be rich). This man is likely Arinbjörn.

*auðskæpt* 'easily shafted': This adjective is nearly identical to the adjective *auðskæf*, especially with the form *auðskæfð* (or *auðskefð*) in the 3GT (see notes for Stanza 15). Under the headword *skaft/skapt*, Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon does not believe the noun *skaft* 'shaft' is closely related to the verb *skafa* 'to shave.'

Stanza number 20 and Stanza number 21 seem to belong together. The meaning of the first stanza seems to be as follows (understanding *skati* to be Arinbjörn):

He does that in which most men, though they be wealthy, will fail. I am not saying that his houses are close together (that his territory is small), or that it is easy to shaft every man's spear (to help all):

On its own, this stanza does not seem to make a final point. Its train of thought seems, however, to continue in the next stanza.

### Stanza 21 Notes

Gekk maðr \***en**gr at Arinbjarnar  
 ór Iegvers Iqngum knerri  
 háði leiddr né heiptkviðum  
 með atgeirs **au**ðar toptir.

\**en*gr ‘no-one’: A conjecture suggested by Konráð Gíslason (1889: 565). Finnur did not use it in his early 1886–1888 edition of the poem and rather deleted the word *maðr* (as Sievers 1879: 294 had suggested). In his later edition of the poem, Finnur (1912–1915 BI: 41) preferred Konráð’s conjecture. Sigurður Nordal 1933 and Bjarni Einarsson printed the word as *engi* (same meaning) as written on page 99v, but thus the line is metrically flawed. The line <Gekk maðr engi> cannot be correct because it has too many syllables and because it ends in a restricted syllable (they are forbidden for the types to which this line must belong). Both forms of the word *en*gr/*engi* occur in skaldic poetry, but while ONP has only five examples of *en*gr in prose texts, it has 1590 examples of *engi*. Scribes would be inclined to substitute a more common word for an unfamiliar one as stated by Konráð: “til det hyppigere forekommende og mere bekendte engi.” For the resulting text to be metrically sound, the word *maðr* ‘man’ must not require a strong position as a noun normally would. There are many examples where the word *maðr* ‘man’ must be treated as rhythmically weak in ON poetry, presumably functioning as a pronoun rather than a noun, see Section 7.4.2 and the rhythmically nearly identical YT 11.9 *fráat maðr áðr* ‘learned no man before’ (the rhythm is **v’vs** while it is **vs** for *Gekk maðr en*gr). I mark the correction *engi*> *en*gr as a conjecture (with a \*), even if the arguments for it are strong.

*at Arinbjarnar* ‘at Arinbjörn’s home’: The *at* with a following proper name in the genitive case has the meaning: ‘at Arinbjörn’s something’ and usually refers to a home.

*auðar toptir atgeirs* ‘empty sites of a pole-arm’ (wounds or hands): *Toptir* are sites for houses and sites for eyes in the head (*augatoptir*). This kenning is understood as ‘empty hands’ in previous publications of AR. Bjarni Einarsson

(2003: 161) translates the stanza thus: ‘At Arinbjörn’s house no man left his hall mocked or spurned or empty-handed.’ I find this disagreeable because it is unrealistic that Arinbjörn bestowed gifts upon every man and saying so, borders on being a mockery. I also note that similar kennings for hands are rare (Meisner (1921: 141) and I fail to see a resemblance between hands and hollows of foundations for houses. I, therefore, favor grouping this kenning with kennings for wounds. Wounds are places where weapons have left their mark. Meisner (1921: 202) has five such kennings. The base words are *spor* ‘track’ (three times), *fet* ‘step’ and *gata* ‘path’ with weapons or battle as determinants (for instance *sverðs eggja spor* ‘sword’s blades’ tracks.’

This stanza seems to complement the previous stanza and to explain what it was that Arinbjörn did and rich men normally did not. I find it to be appropriate if that is not to hurt anyone.

He does that in which most men, though they be wealthy, will fail. I am not saying that his houses are close together (that his territory is small) or that it is easy to shaft every man's spear (to suit all): No man ever went from Arinbjörn’s house followed by scorn or evil words, with wounds (more literally: with marks from being poked at).

### Stanza 22 Notes

Hinn er fégrimmr, er í Fjörðum býr,  
sá er of-dolgr Draupnis niðja,  
søkunautr Sónar \*hvinnna,  
hringum ‘hnotr,’ ‘hads<sup>e</sup> ue<sup>o</sup>gandi.’

*Hinn er fégrimmr, er í Fjörðum býr* ‘The one is evil to wealth (=generous) who lives in the Fjords (*Firðir*):’ This expression raises questions. An audience that does not know that Arinbjörn lives in the Fjords might interpret this to be an introduction of a new character into the poem or perhaps a reference to Arinbjörn’s father mentioned in Stanza 15 (*Þórir*). In the following stanzas, Egill may have clarified that he is still discussing Arinbjörn. I also mention the possibility that the text has been interpreted incorrectly. What is perplexing is that we are told what we know (that Arinbjörn is generous) while we are assumed to know what we have not been told (that Arinbjörn lives in the Fjords). Perhaps this was meant to be the other way around, and the meaning was: The one who is generous lives in the Fjords. This could be read from the stanza if different punctuation was used and with the first *er* as the relative particle ‘who’ and the second *er* as the verb ‘to be.’ *Hinn er fégrimmr / er, í*

*Fjörðum býr* ‘the one who generous is, in the Fjords lives.’ I let this proposal stand even if I am not sure if this partitioning of a sentence between lines would be acceptable.

At any rate, it seems clear that the stanza starts a new line of thought with Arinbjörn living in Norway and not in England (*býr* ‘lives’ is in the present tense). Some explanations are therefore called for, and they have likely followed in the part of page 99v that is now unreadable.

*Fjörðum* ‘Fjords.DAT’: A fief in Norway, north of a fief around Sognefjorden in Western Norway. Egill’s family was from the Fjords according to *Egils saga*. It is not a large or a rich part of Norway as might be inferred from *Egils saga*. *of-dolgr* ‘an enemy’: The *of* has been understood to be a filler word (see word registry of BE 2003: 252). On page 99v, it differs from other filler words by being written <of> and not <um>, and it is one of two possible filler words that stand before a noun. Because the spelling <of> may be of some significance, I did not normalize it to *um*. I note that the A3<sup>-</sup> metrical type allows the *of* to have any type of syllable.

*Draupnir*, literally ‘dripper’: A ring of gold that Óðinn had, that dropped eight other rings of gold of equal weight every ninth night (see Gylfaginning in Snorra-Edda, Faulkes 2005: 47).

*Sónar* ‘mead of poetry.GEN’: *Són* is one of the vessels that contain the mead of poetry (according to Skáldskaparmál Snorra-Edda, Faulkes 1998: 3–4). GM (1809: 683) printed <Sona>, and Finnur Jónsson read <sona> but the *-ar* ending can be seen in Chapter 11 (Figure 12–5). GV 1883 (380) could read *-nar* and the **169** scribe read <sonar>.

\**hvinna* ‘thief.GEN’: The reading of this word is not certain. The **169** scribe read *hinna*. FJ read <hvinna>, but I nevertheless mark the word as a conjecture. The nominative singular of this word is *hvin* (neuter or masculine), see ONP.

*søkunautr Sónar hvinna* ‘partner in crime with the thief of the mead of poetry’: Sigurður Nordal 1933: 266) took *søkunautr* to mean adversary and the thief of the mead of poetry to be Baugi who helped Óðinn to steal the mead from the giants. Sigurður proposed that the adversary of Baugi (rings) meant in *ofljóst* a generous man. I do not have a better proposal.

‘*hnotr*’ may stand for a word meaning ‘one who throws’: The **169** scribe wrote first <hnotir> and then <niotir> above *it*. Only the <h> can be read in Figure 11–4, and it could be mistaken for an <n>. <hnotir> is very close to how *hrjótr* would be written, while FJ printed *hættr* in his reconstructed text (but he did not claim to have read it). The agent noun *hrjótr* from the verb *hrjóta*



would be easily understood. *Hringum hrjótr* ‘rings.DAT thrower’ with the *hringum* ‘rings’ in the dative case is, however, not as expected (it is as if *hrjótr* was an adjective). The page is too damaged for anything reliable to be concluded on this word and its context.

‘hads<sup>e</sup> ue<sup>o</sup>gandi’: For *hadds* ‘hair.GEN’ in the 1809 edition, Jón Þorkelsson (1856: 277) wrote, as a conjecture, an easier to understand *kenning* for a generous man: *hoddvegandi* ‘treasure destroyer.’ Guðbrandur Vigfússon could not read this word (he left a blank in his diplomatic text), while Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 349) claimed he could read <hodd uegande>. Nothing is visible on MSIs but the text in **169** <hads> (or <hade vegandi> (or <vogandi>) does not fit well with Finnur’s reading. *hoddvegandi* is still in use (BE 2003: 161). The reading of this line should be considered very uncertain. The rhythmic type D3 for *hoddvegandi* is dubious in *kviðuhátt*, see Subsection 6.3.3)

Sigurður Nordal (1933: 266) suggested that Stanza 22 contained a sequence of kennings for a generous man which marked an end of a chapter on generosity in the poem. This could very well be correct, but I mention the possibility that Egill wished to raise Arinbjörn’s generosity to a mystical level by using kennings that put him in the company of gods.

### Stanza 23 Notes

Hann **aldrteig** um **eiga** gat

\***fjqlsáinn** \***firða** spjollum

...

...

*aldrteig* ‘lifetime.ACC’: *teigr* means a stretch of land and fits well with the adjective *fjqlsáinn* ‘amply sown.’

\**fjqlsáinn* ‘amply sown’: This conjecture was proposed by Björn M. Ólsen (1903: 124) in place of *fjqljáinn* and has been accepted by all publishers of the poem.

\**firða spjollum* ‘losses of men.DAT’: Guðmundur Magnússon (1809: 684) printed <fridi ípjollum>. Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1883: 380) read <f’de> for the first word (see Figure 3.1-1). Finnur Jónsson (1912–1915 BI: 41) printed *of friðar spjollum* which he based on his reading from page 99v. He added the filler word *of* to make the line metrical. The **169** scribe read <f’ð> for the first part of the word, and no-one has read or claimed to read anything different. This reading can be expanded as <frið> or <firð>. The **28** scribe (see Section 1.5) used the last possibility and wrote <firdi spjollum>, but all editors use the first and print *frið-* that leads to an unmetrical line. For that reason, I

propose that the text should be *firða spjllum*. *Firðr* is a known variant of the more common *fyrðr* ‘man’ (see ÁBM: 177). I also noted that for the word ‘hoddfindr’ in Stanza 10 the 99v scribe may not correctly have distinguished <y> and <i>. The word *mannspjall* or *mannspell* ‘man-losses’ appears often and could have the same meaning as *firða spell* ‘men’s-losses.’ It is used twice in *Egils saga*. I need to mark this word as a conjecture with an asterisk because of the *-a* ending. Because the context is unclear, the text and its meaning is uncertain.

### Stanza 24 Notes

Þat er órétt, ef orpit hefr  
 á mäskeið mǫrgu gagni,  
 rammriðin Rǫkkva stóði,  
 vellvǫnuðr, því er veitti mér.

The meaning of this stanza is discussed in the 3GT, see Section 4.2.3.

*rammriðin* ‘heavily ridden’: Finnur Jónsson (1886–1888: 361) normalized this word as *ramriðet* to harmonize it with the neuter gender of *skeið* ‘riding course.’ In his 1912–1915 edition, he preferred *ramriðin*, which is closer to the manuscripts, and he assumed that *skeið* was plural ‘riding courses.’ Other editors have followed Finnur. This gives the text a rather odd meaning; favors are thrown on many seas and sea-horses ride hard on many gull-paths. Finnur’s first proposal may have been better, or a third proposal is needed.

*Rammriðin* is written *ramriðin* in *Egils saga* 2003, presumably because of the spelling in the manuscripts. Finnur (1912–1915 A1: 47) noted that the reading in **W** <ra or riðin> was due to a uncial <ϣ> being read as <or> (Finnur calls it an Anglo-Saxon <ϣ>). The exemplar of the **W** scribe must, therefore, have had <raϣriðin>. I note that in the First Grammatical Treatise, a small capital <M> is presented with a uncial <ϣ>, see Figure 2.12-1. The small capitals were used for geminates, and the word should, therefore, be expanded as <rammriðin>. The **A** manuscript has the word twice, in one instance with *ram-* and the other with *ramm-*. Dictionaries have the stem *ramm-* in the adjective *rammr* ‘strong, intense,’ and the spelling of *rammriðin* with a geminate <mm> is therefore well established.

Guðmundur Magnússon placed this stanza after Stanza 13, which seems logical. In both stanzas (this stanza and Stanza 13), Egill says Arinbjörn must be repaid for his assistance, and in the following, Egill says he will do so with a poem. He goes on to describe qualities of Arinbjörn that would be desirable for a leader. This would be a good repayment to a man involved in

setting up a kingdom with his foster son. Guðbrandur Vigfússon relocated the stanza (see Subsection 4.2.3). In its new location, its purpose can no longer be to spur Egill to compose a poem but rather to motivate others to help realize Egill's plan of spreading the word on Arinbjörn. From the following Stanza 25, almost nothing is preserved except the beginning *segid* 'say' in the imperative and plural ('You (all) tell!'). This word seems very fitting in the context that I have envisaged.

**Stanza 25, Stanza 26, Stanza 27, Stanza 28, Stanza 29, Stanza 30, Stanza 31**

Only short fragments remain from these stanzas, and I have put all notes and comments under each stanza in Chapter 9. In Section 3.3, I discuss what might have been their content.

## 11 The multispectral images and their preparation

This is a thesis in linguistics and not in the natural sciences. The technical preparation of my multispectral images is therefore not in the focus of the thesis. I will, however, describe shortly the techniques that I used. My description should give anyone an idea of how they were produced and give an expert enough information to produce similar images.

The multispectral images that follow in Figures 11-1 to 11-6 are the best images that I have. They were created from pictures taken in two sessions 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of March 2016. All my readings are from the MSI-s in Chapter 11 (this chapter) with one exception. I read the name *Játvarðr* from Figure 3.4-2 that was prepared from a photograph not in Chapter 11. Most of the text is visible in two of the pictures in this chapter, and it may be clearer in one of them.

I have integrated three methods for extracting information into the multispectral images (MSIs) that accompany this thesis. The first is infrared (IR) photography, the second is ultraviolet (UV) fluorescence and the third is the mathematical method of Principal Component Analysis (PCA). I discuss each in turn.

### IR

Infrared pictures of vellums are easy to prepare with an infrared sensitive camera. Infrared radiation is akin to heat radiation and is less harmful than ordinary visual light. Most digital cameras can be made sensitive to infrared light by removing the so-called infrared blocker in front of its photosensors. The photosensors themselves are typically sensitive to infrared radiation up to 1000 nm. Conventional incandescent light emits an abundance of infrared radiation (IR). Separating the IR-radiation from visual light is done by use of an infrared filter that, for instance, allows radiation above 950 nm to pass. The iron-gall ink used in medieval Europe has a brownish appearance, and it is invisible in infrared light. For that reason, infrared pictures of vellum with iron-gall ink only yield pictures of empty pages unless there is more than ink on the vellum.

Icelandic manuscripts have been read in the light from lamps oozing soot in smoky rooms for centuries and have often accumulated soot and dirt, except where the ink has formed protection. Outlying pages of quires collected more dirt than other pages. Page 99v is an example of such a page. Page 69v in Egils saga is another example (see Þorgeir et al. 2013). IR pictures of page

99v reveal letters that appears white on a dark background in some places where no text can normally be read. The text of the upper half of the inner column of page 99v is especially clear on IR-pictures, and some words can be read in the lower half. The text in the outer column (the a-column) is not as clear, perhaps because this part has been handled more often and it has been cleared of soot particles.

### UV

Scholars in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century realized that parchment pages (animal skin pages) give out visible fluorescence radiation when illuminated with light of ultraviolet wavelengths (below 300 nm, the visual range being between about 300–800 nm). Because the ultraviolet (UV) radiation penetrates the parchment to some depth, sub-surface ink was made visible, and this enabled the reading of a large number of documents that were previously illegible. The term UV picture usually refers to a photograph of the visual UV fluorescence. I have used a UV picture (see Figure 11–8) taken by Arne Mann Nielsen in 1971 in this thesis (see Bjarni Einarsson et al. 2001: xxx). It reveals many more details in the outer column than an IR picture does. Excessive doses of UV are harmful to parchments. Cameras (and their films) used in the 1970s were not as light sensitive as today, and the quartz lamps that were used emitted all three types of UV radiation: UVA, UVB, and UVC. Only the least harmful of these (UVA) is needed to produce the luminance. For this thesis, some UV pictures were taken of page 99v but using only UVA radiation (265 nm) of strength less than in sunlight.

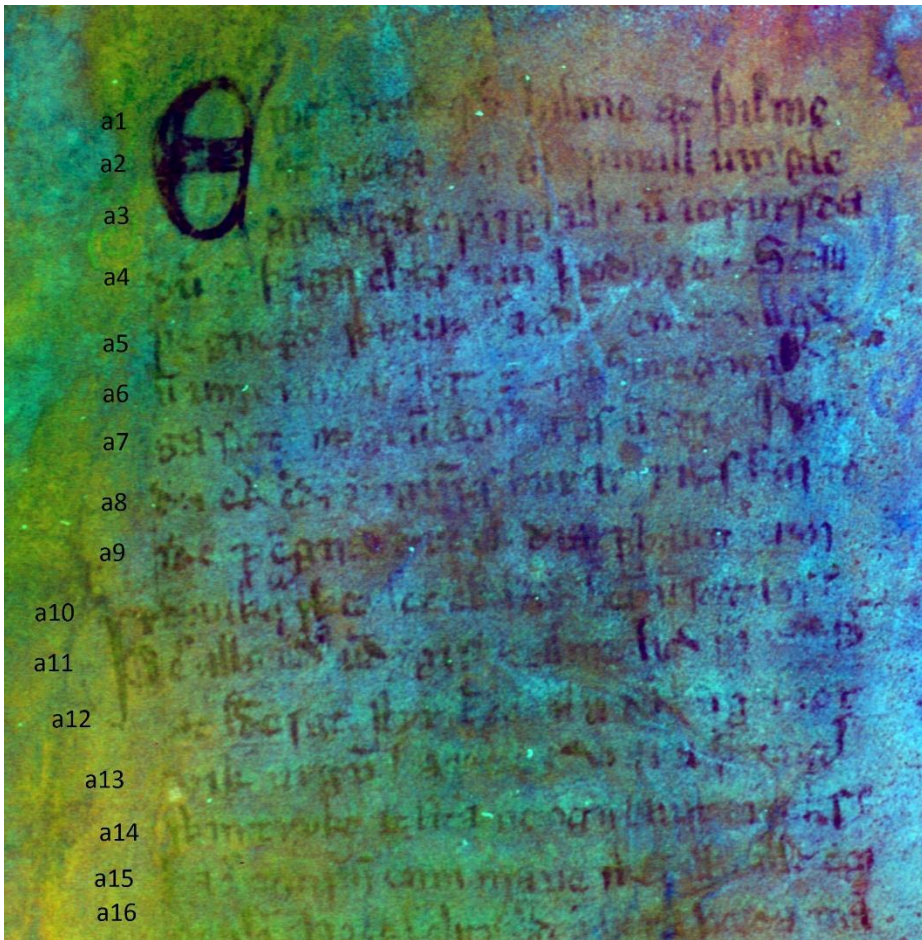
### PCA

Principal Component Analysis (PCA) is a mathematical method. It aims at producing the smallest set of pictures from a larger set of pictures that can produce all the original pictures by addition. Thus if the pictures were all the same, only one picture would be needed, but if one picture had something written on it, two pictures would be produced with the writing on a separate picture. PCA works well with UV fluorescence because the textual image that the small remains of ink reflect is often drowned in the visual image of the skin. By using a camera that is UV-sensitive and by taking a color picture of the light emitted, three similar pictures are obtained (red, blue and green), but while the main image may be that of the skin, the textual image can be extracted from their difference. The method produces surprisingly good results for areas on page 99v where no text seems to be present, either on the IR or the UV pictures.

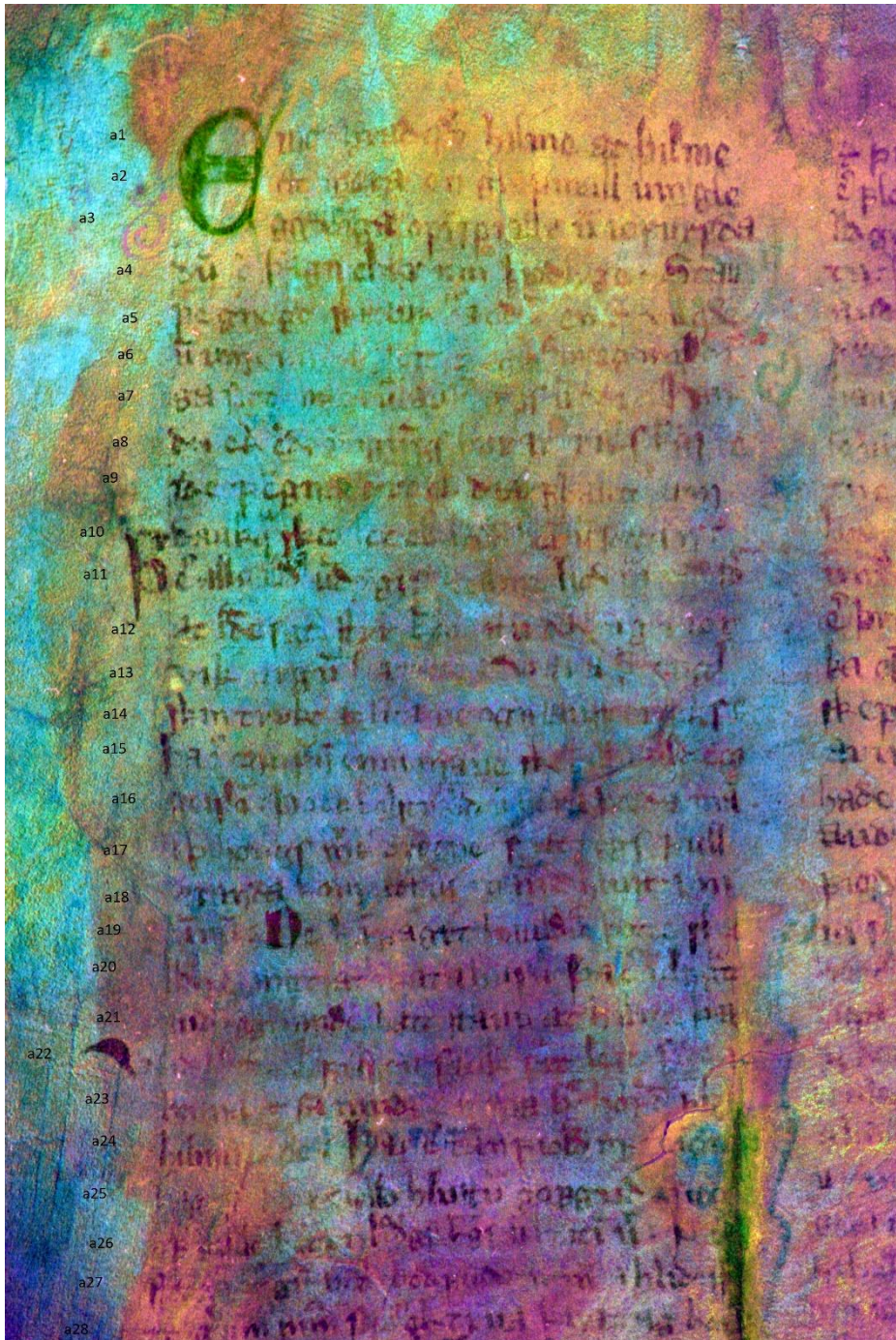
### MSI

I used a Canon Rebel digital camera with UV and IR filters removed for the above-described photography. I placed a 950 nm filter in front of the camera while I took a picture of the vellum illuminated by an incandescent light bulb, then I took another color picture in the illumination of a 265 nm battery torch. I used a remote control to avoid moving the camera. I used ImageJ software freely available (at <http://imagej.net/Fiji/Downloads>) for the PCA processing. I placed the IR picture in the red-channel, the blue component of the UV picture in the blue channel and a PCA picture in the green channel to produce the pictures that follow. Variants of this approach seem to yield pictures of similar quality. Figure 11-5 of the void differs from the rest in that I only used different PGA images in the different channels (the IR image did not help).

11.1 Figure 11-1 M 99va1–a16



11.2 Figure 11-2 M 99va1–a28

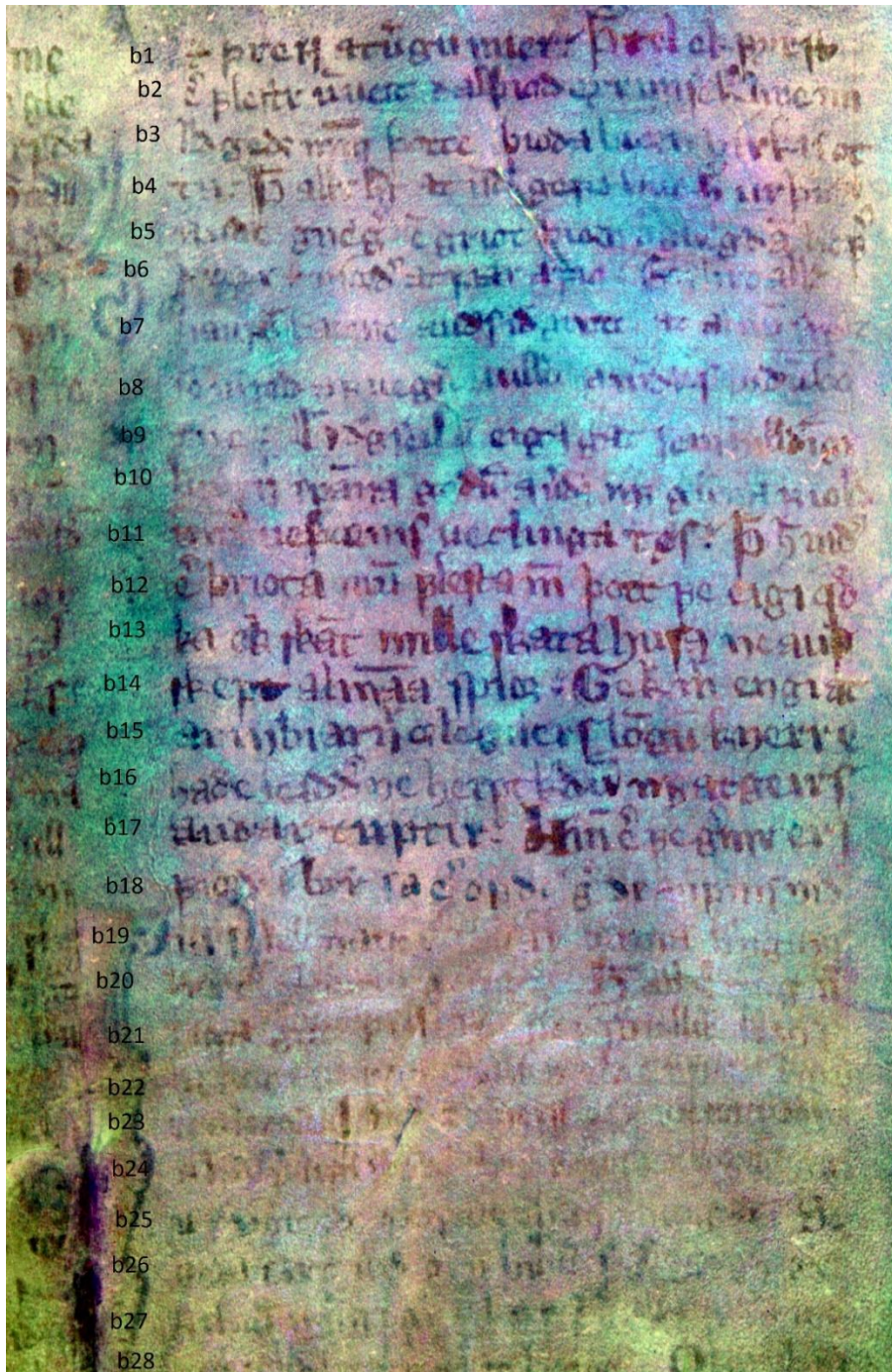




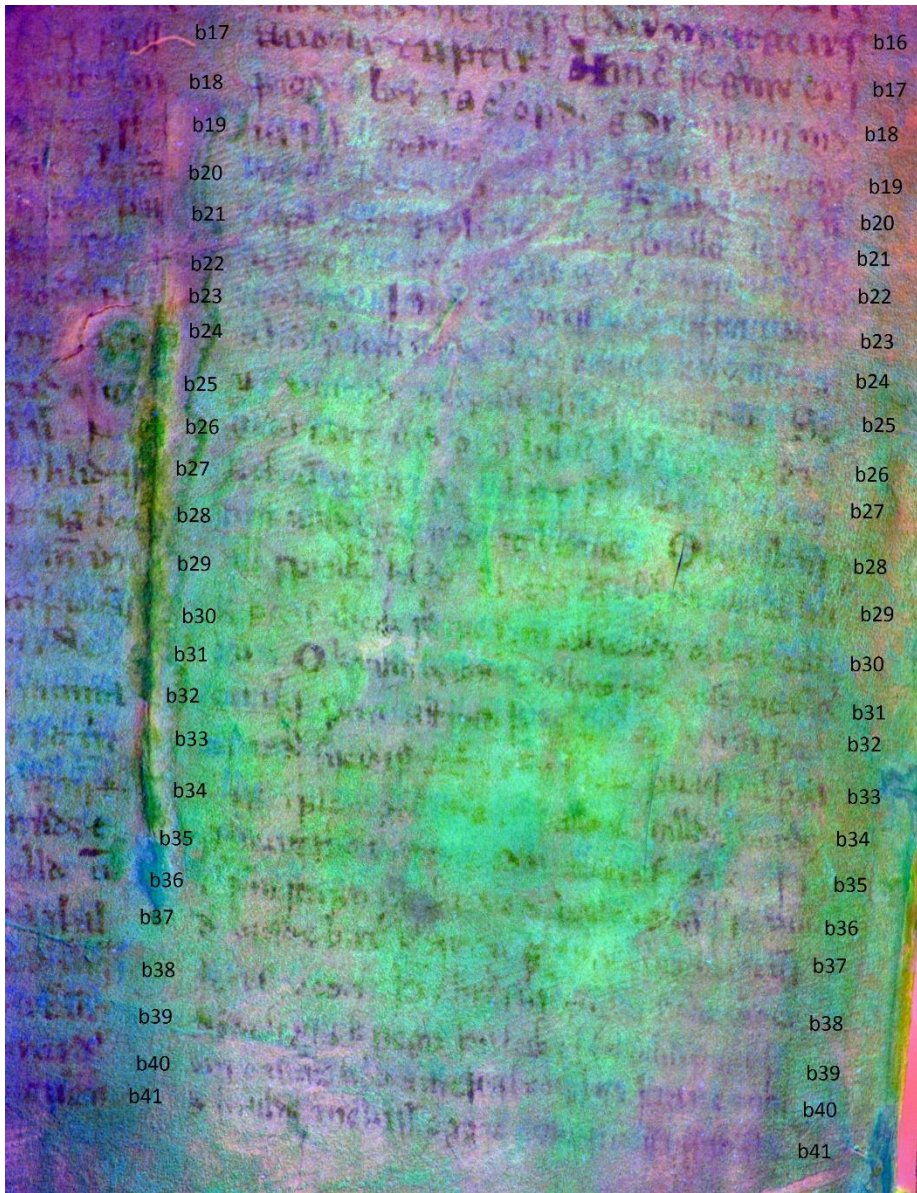
11.3 Figure 11-3 M 99va15–a41



11.4 Figure 11-4 M 99vb1–b28



11.5 Figure 11-5 M 99vb17-b41



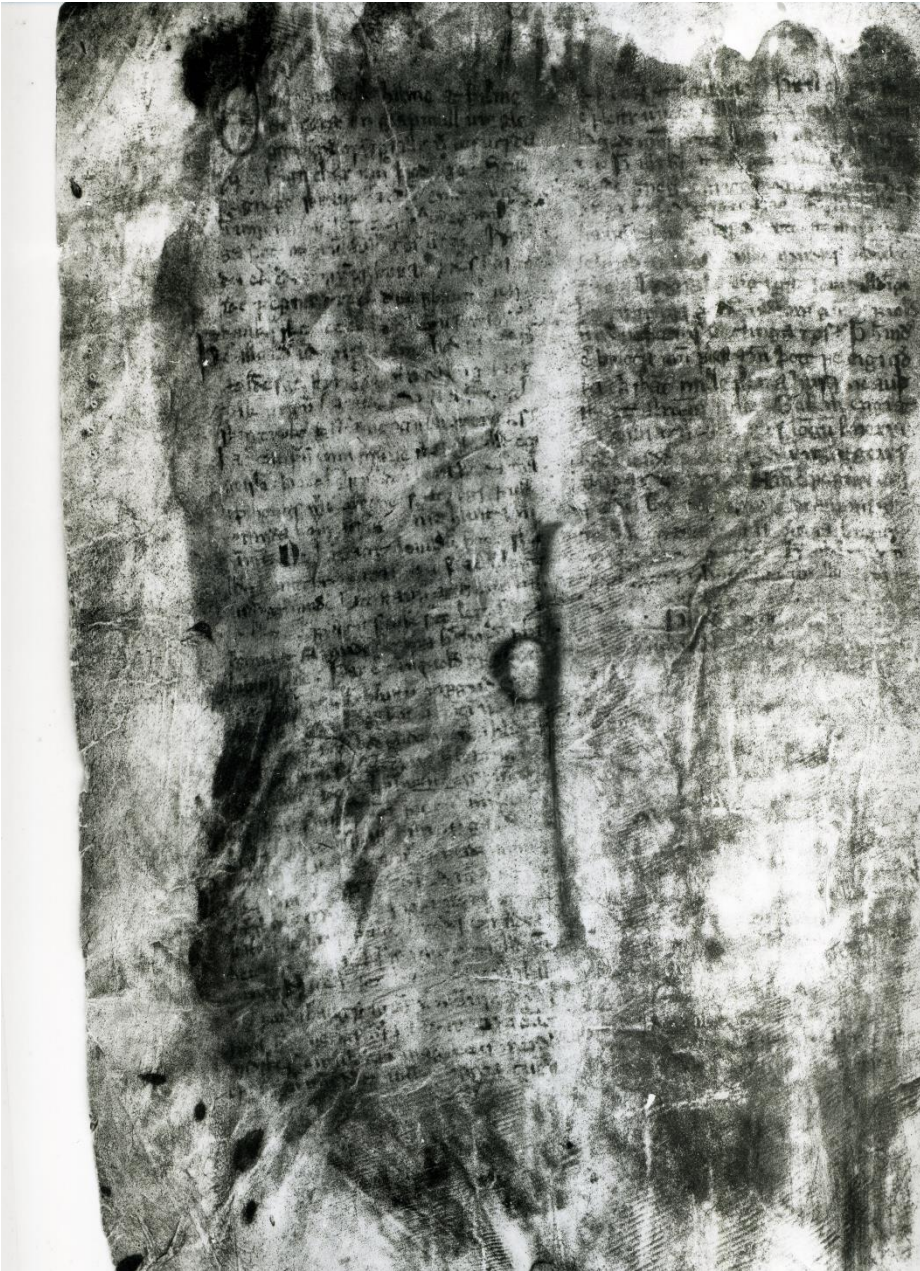
11.6 Figure 11-6 M 99va28–a41



11.7 Figure 11-7 M 99v Normal light



11.8 Figure 11-8 M99v UV light





## 12 Bibliography

A list of manuscripts is under List of abbreviations.

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