Dating of AM 162 B fol, a fragment of Brennu-Njáls saga

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# Indhold

Gottskálk Jensson, Alex Speed Kjeldsen & Beeke Stegmann:
A Fragment of Norwegian Royal Charters from ca. 1205.
A Diplomatic Edition and Analysis  1

Povl Skårup:
Beregninger over AM 580 4to og Holm perg 7 4to  53

Ingvi Brügger Budal:
A Translation and Its Continuation.
The Use of the Present Participle in *Eliss saga ok Rósamundar*  63

Maria Teresa Ramandi:
Reassessing *Agnesar saga*. The Evidence of AM 238 11 fol  91

Stephen Pelle:
An Unedited Sermon from the Eve of the Icelandic Reformation  113

Philip Lavender:
Saxo in Iceland Again. *Vermundar þáttur og Upsa*  149

Sheryl McDonald Werronen & Katarzyna Anna Kapitan:
An Edition of *Ambrósius saga og Rósamunda* Based on BLAdd 24 969  179

Katarzyna Anna Kapitan:
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of *Brennu-Njáls saga*  217

Benyttede og citerede håndskrifter  245

Navneregister  249
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of Brennu-Njáls saga

Katarzyna Anna Kapitan

The manuscript fragment AM 162 B α fol in the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies in Reykjavík contains text from Brennu-Njáls saga, the longest and most popular Íslendingasaga. The fragment belongs to a collection of ten fragments of Brennu-Njáls saga under the common shelf mark AM 162 B fol. The proposed datings of AM 162 B α fol vary from the fourteenth (Skúli Þórdarson Thorlacius 1809: xxiii; Jón Þorkelsson 1889: 676, 773) to the fifteenth century (Kálund 1889: 117), with the latter generally being accepted in the literature.¹ Surprisingly, no argumentation based on philological analysis to confirm this dating has yet been presented. Therefore, the present article aims to establish the fragment’s date of writing, based on the analysis of linguistic and paleographic features.

¹ The latter dating can be found in Finnur Jónsson’s (1908) and Einar Ól. Sveinsson’s (1954) editions of the saga.
The article is divided into three main parts. The first part describes the physical features of the manuscript. The second part analyses the paleographic features. The final part discusses the orthographic and phonological features. These parts are followed by a section devoted to the relative dating of the manuscript and the conclusions. The article is accompanied by a diplomatic edition of the fragment’s text, which has not previously been published in its entirety, although Konráð Gíslason (1875) and Einar Ól. Sveinsson (1954) included selected readings of AM 162 B α fol in the variant apparatus to their editions of the saga.

**Physical description**

This section describes briefly the main physical features of the fragment, such as the manuscript’s size, layout and marginalia.

AM 162 B α fol is a parchment manuscript fragment in quarto format. It consists of two conjoint leaves; the size of leaf 1 is 197 mm × 142 mm and of leaf 2 195 mm × 147 mm. The bottom corner of leaf 2 has been trimmed and a rectangle of parchment of ca. 8 mm × 19 mm cut off, as shown in Figure 1. The support is in rather good condition, even though it is dark and slightly damaged owing to use, making the text illegible in several places on leaves 1r and 2v. Given the clearly visible folding lines on the leaves, the fragment must have been used for bookbinding or as a book cover.

The fragment’s written area covers around 60% of the surface. Each leaf contains a block of text of ca. 150 mm × 115 mm, organized in one column. Leaf 1r contains 25 lines of text, leaves 1v and 2r both have 24 lines, and 2v has 26 lines. Pricking marks are clearly visible and arranged at regular intervals of ca. 5 mm. No signs of ruling are evident, and the scribe did not follow the lines that the pricking would suggest.

This bifolio must have been the innermost in its gathering, as the text preserved on 1v and 2v is continuous and corresponds to lines 7:65–9:20 in Konráð Gíslason’s (1875) edition of the saga. There are two empty spaces for initials to indicate chapter division, both two lines tall: the first one at the beginning of chapter 8 (1v:4–5, Figure 6) and the second one at the beginning of chapter 9 (2v:11–12, Figure 1). If the fragment originally belonged to a codex
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of Brennu-Njáls saga

Figure 1: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 162 B α fol. Partly illegible leaf 2v, folding lines clearly visible, a rectangle of parchment cut off. 
Photo: handrit.org
which contained exclusively *Brennu-Njáls saga* this codex would have comprised ca. 195 leaves, and the fragment would belong to its second quire.²

There are two sets of marginal notes in AM 162 B α fol, one of them written presumably close to the date of the manuscript’s writing,³ the other more recent scholarly marginalia.⁴ Additionally, the fragment has been foliated in red ink in the top right corners of leaves 1r and 2r.

² The estimation is based on the comparison of AM 162 B α fol with the normalized text of Reykjabók (AM 468 4to, Sveinn Yngvi Egilsson 2003). To estimate the position of AM 162 B α fol in the hypothetical manuscript (which I will designate Xα), the size of the lacuna has been estimated at ca. 23,600 characters with spaces, which corresponds to ca. 17.2 pages with the size and layout of AM 162 B α fol (8.5 leaves). If the hypothetical manuscript Xα had a “typical” quire structure (i.e. was built exclusively from conjoint leaves), the fragment AM 162 B α fol would have come in the second quire, or leaves 12r–13v, assuming that four bifolia made up one quire: 1 (1 + 8, 2 + 7, 3 + 6, 4 + 5); 11 (9 + 16, 10 + 15, 11 + 14, 12 + 13). The text of *Brennu-Njáls saga* would then have begun on leaf 3v and continued throughout the next 17 pages (until 11v), to reach the text of AM 162 B α fol on leaf 12r. But if the first quire contained three conjoint leaves instead of four: i (1 + 6, 2 + 4, 3 + 4); ii (7 + 14, 8 + 13, 9 + 12, 10 + 11) then fragment AM 162 B α fol would have come on leaves 10r–11v in the second quire. In this case, the text of the saga would have had to begin on leaf 1v. This scenario seems possible, as there are examples of medieval manuscripts whose texts start on the verso side of the first leaf, for example, the manuscript Skafinskinna (GKS 2868 4to). These calculations are, however, purely hypothetical and there are two reasons to be wary. Firstly, because they are based on the text of Reykjabók, which is from a different sub-branch of the stemma to AM 162 B α fol (which along with AM 162 B β fol forms a separate subgroup within the X-branch). Secondly, the fragment might have come from a loose quire which was never part of any codex.

³ The traces of older marginal notes can be found in the right margin of leaf 1r (next to the lines 15–23), and in the left margin of leaf 2v (next to the lines 2–3). Even though the notes were scratched off making them mostly illegible, it is possible to read some characters. The orientation of the text is along the vertical axis, when the fragment is turned ninety degrees counter-clockwise. The first character, by the line 15, might be a capital “H”; then comes a portion of text that is completely illegible, with green stains over it, and at the end of the note the characters “a ḥat ḥız” or “a ḥat ḥız” can be read. The looped ascenders and the shape of “a” are similar to the letter forms used throughout the fragment, which might suggest a medieval hand.

⁴ The scholarly marginalia predate, or are contemporary to the translation of the saga into Latin from 1809, where AM 162 B α fol is referenced as fragment b, which corresponds to the marginal notes in the top margin of leaf 2r: “Niala”, “Fragm. membr. b”. The note on the bottom margin of 1r refers to the content of the fragment: “α.) Nials s. c. 7–9”, similarly in the bottom margin of 2r: “(Nials s. c. 8–9)”. In the top margin of 2r in the right-hand-corner note
Paleographic Analysis

This section gives a brief overview of selected paleographic features of the manuscript, including the script type, common abbreviations and decorations.

AM 162 B α fol is written in one hand throughout, not yet identified in other manuscripts. The script is a formal deviation of cursiva antiquior (a subtype of gothic cursive). This formal deviation was employed mainly in manuscript books, and it can be distinguished from the traditional cursiva antiquior by its “textualization”. Derolez (2003: 128–29) describes textualization as the practice of introducing a greater formality into an informal cursive script, with the intention of employing this script type for books. One of the main components of this change is, for instance, a reduction in the number of ligatures. The letters that were originally linked became separated, although they would often touch each other. The letters often preserved the form they had in the ligature, which resulted in multiple forms of the same letter. The textualization of script is manifested in AM 162 B α fol by, inter alia, the elaborate ductus which various characters exhibit.

Cursive script reached Iceland in the first half of the fourteenth century; it can be found in charters as early as 1330, for example in AM dipl isl fasc 1 4 from 5 July 1330 (Stefán Karlsson 1963a: 6; 1963: 10). However, cursive script does not appear in manuscript books before the last decades of the fourteenth century, for example in AM 194 8vo, dated to 1387, and Flateyjarbók (GKS 1005 fol), dated to 1387–1394 (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007: 66–69). Cursive script can be found in manuscript books in the vernacular well until the sixteenth century, for example in AM 604 4to, dated to ca. 1550 (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson 2007: 98–99; 2008: 91; Craigie 1938).

The scribe is consistent in his use of alphabetic signs throughout the fragment, exclusively using the two-story “a” and the tall “f” extending below the baseline (as for example in the word svaradi on Figure 2). The two-lobe insular “f” dominates, but in a few cases the lobes seem to be not fully closed (Figure 3b).

“fol 1” can be read, but the numeral was crossed over. In the top margin of 1r there are faded characters “x” or “α”, and “8”.
Figure 2: The shapes of the letter “a” and the tall “s” in the word svaraði.

(a)  (b)  (c)

Figure 3: The shapes of the letter “f”.

Both the “f” and the “þ” are constructed with broad vertical strokes throughout the fragment (Figures 4b and 4a). The ascenders of the tall letters “b”, “h”, “k”, “l” and “þ” are always looped, but they are not written with one smooth stroke, but are rather constructed with two or more separate strokes (Figure 4).

The letter “ż” is used exclusively after the letters “o”, “ð”, “y”, and “g”. Yet, there are two exceptions to this general practice: in “bruttu” (1v:5) “r” was used after the rounded letter “b”, while in “bezzt” (2r:8) “ż” is used instead of “r”, which appears frequently after “e”. In one example, “faguzt” (2v:12), the “ż” is used after “u”, while elsewhere the regular “r” usually appears.

The text of the manuscript is extensively abbreviated. The conjunction ok appears exclusively in the abbreviated form, represented by the Tironian note. The Tironian note appears in two main forms: one is with the lower part curving upwards to the right “ľ” (Figure 5c) and another with a straight lower part, which resembles the letter “z” with a slash (Figure 5a). In some cases there is a curve or lobe attached to the character on its left-hand side, as represented in Figure 5b. The “ż”-shaped Tironian note evolved into the crossed form “ľ” in the second half of the fourteenth century: it can be found for example in Skardøsbók (AM 350 fol), dated to 1363, and Flateyjarbók (GKS 1005 fol), dated to 1387–1394 (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965: 91).
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of *Brennu-Njáls saga*

Additionally, other traditional abbreviation symbols appear: for example, the nasal stroke representing “n” or “m”, the superscript “’” for “ra”, the superscript “’” for “er”/“ir”, the linear brevigraph “’” for “rum” and the superscript “’” attached to the letter “h” (“h’”) to abbreviate the name Hǫskuldr. Also, superscript letters appear to be substituted for combinations of letters; when a superscript letter is a consonant (C), it usually stands for one of the combinations eC, iC, or aC, but when it is a vowel, it stands for that same vowel in combination with a consonant, for example, “uid” (1v:1), “til” (1r:4), “uoru” (2r:20).

The decorative long ascenders in the top lines of each leaf, as can be seen in

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*For a more detailed discussion of Old Norse-Icelandic abbreviations see Driscoll (2009) and Hreinn Benediktsson (1965).*
Figure 6, are a characteristic feature of AM 162 B α fol, which might serve as evidence for the date of writing. They resemble the decorative long ascenders in the charter AM dipl isl fasc ix 34, written in cursiva antiquior in Hjarðarholt in Laxárdalr on 12 May 1434 (Stefán Karlsson 1963a: 198; 1963: 318). This distinguishing feature also appears in other fifteenth-century charters, for example in AM dipl isl fasc viii 17, dated to 1427 (Stefán Karlsson 1963a: 166; 1963: 264), and AM dipl isl fasc ix 21, dated to 1432 (Stefán Karlsson 1963a: 189; 1963: 302). Nevertheless, decorations on the long ascenders of tall letters are not an invention of the fifteenth century, as might be assumed from the dating of the charters mentioned above; a variety of decorations can be found in, for example, Scandinavian and English manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Given the script type and selected paleographic features, the manuscript was probably written in the late fourteenth century or later.
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of Brennu-Njáls saga

Figure 6: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 162 B α fol. Decorated long ascenders on the top line of leaf 1v.
Photo: handrit.org
Linguistic Analysis

This section focuses on the linguistic analysis of the text preserved in AM 162 B α fol. An overview of selected phonological features is presented, followed by a similar account of orthographic features.

The orthography of AM 162 B α fol suggests that the earliest phonological mergers of Icelandic had already taken place. For example, the merger of the long oral vowels ō and á into the vowel á can be found in the spelling of “tálamal sín” talaumál sín (1v:10–11) acc. neut. pl.⁸

There is no distinction in the orthography between representation of the low back rounded vowel ø and mid front rounded vowel ø, thus the merger of ø + ø > ö had already taken place, for example “råðagord” ráðagörð (1r:24) and “fjörd” fjörð (1r:1). The vowel ò resulting from their merger is presented as “au” and “o”. The scribe’s orthographic practice is to write “o” after “i” and “u”, as for example, in “fjörd” fjörð (1r:1), “górf” gǫrv (2v:17), and “fuo” svo (1v:21), but “au” elsewhere, as in “lauglysing” lauglysing (1v:17).

Also, the merger of the long vowels ø + ø > æ had already taken place, and the stressed vowel is exclusively represented with “æ”, such as in “bædi” bǽði (2r:9) and “fræknatr” frǿknatr (2r:10).

There are no examples that would suggest that the merger of the high front vowels i + y > i, i + ý > i, and ei + ey > ei had already taken place. The spelling follows the orthography of the period before the merger, for example “flyta” flyta (1r:2), “nýum” nýjum (1v:2), “fuðeyfr” suðreyskr (2v:15). There are no reverse spellings to suggest the derounding of y, ý or ey either.¹¹

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⁸On the oldest mergers in Icelandic see Hreinn Benediktsson (2002: 57–59).
⁹The merger ø + ø > ö is dated to the early thirteenth century (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002b: 60–61).
¹⁰According to Stefán Karlsson (2002: 838; 2004: 42), in the early stages of the æ merger the resulting vowel was denoted with the use of various characters that had previously been used for both merging vowels ø and æ. The symbol “æ” started to become the predominant form of representation by the year 1400. The merger of these long vowels probably took place in the middle of the thirteenth century, but was not completed until early in the fourteenth century (Hreinn Benediktsson 2002b: 61; Stefán Karlsson 2004: 11).
¹¹The merger of y, ý and ey into i, i and ei is believed to have started in the fifteenth century and finished in the seventeenth century (Björn K. Pórólfsson 1925: xv–xvii; Guðvarður Mári
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of Brennu-Njáls saga

The fragment contains examples of the diphthongization of vowels both before gi/gj and before ng. The diphthongization of the short e before gi/gj appears for example in “ſeıgía” segja (1r:9) and “alldzeigi” aldregi (iv:3). The diphthongization of the short e before ng appears for example in “leungí” lengi (1r:3), “feingfaum” fengsóm (2v:14), and “eı̄ngí” engi (2v:17). There is also one spelling without a diphthong “gengúu” gengu (iv:11–12). Additionally, there is an interesting example of diphthongization of e before kki in “reykı” rekkju (1r:5). No signs of the diphthongization of a can be found in the fragment, and the scribe is consistent in spellings such as “þangat” þangat (iv:3). No clear judgment can be made regarding the diphthongization of ö. There are two examples: “holmgaunguna” holmgǫnguna (2r:6) and “aunguan” ðngván (iv:6) which cannot be used as evidence of diphthongization, since “au” could be just the graphical representation of the phoneme ð, which seems to be a common practice of the scribe.

Gunnlaugsson 1994: 65–70). The first examples of the orthographic representation of “i” for y can be found as early as the thirteenth century, in words like þykkja or fyrr, but the reasons behind this phenomenon are different and cannot be considered as part of the general derounding of y (Guðvarður Mári Gunnlaugsson 1994: 32–37; Haraldur Bernhardsson 2004: 130). However, some scribes in the sixteenth century maintained the distinction between y and í. The examples of this practice can be found in the orthography of AM 685 a 4to, from ca. 1550, and GKS 1318 4to, from 1550–1575 (Guðvarður Mári Gunnlaugsson 1994: 73–76; Jón Helgason 1960b).

The diphthongization before gi/gj took place in the beginning of the fourteenth century (Alexander Jóhannesson 1923–1924: 68; Björn K. Pórólfssson 1925: xii, see also recent literature overview in Jón Axel Harðarson 2007: 70–78).

The diphthongization before ng/nk first appears around the year 1300, when some high vowels were lengthened, and others were diphthongized. For example, e was diphthongized to ei, and ð to au, while i was lengthened to ð, y to ý and u to ú (Noreen 1923: 95–96, 110; Alexander Jóhannesson 1923–1924: 68). The most recent overview can be found in Aðalsteinn Hókonarson (2010).

I am currently working on an article elaborating on this matter. The preliminary research results suggest that this spelling might be associated with a number of fourteenth-and fifteenth century manuscripts.

Vowel epenthesis had already taken place at the time of the manuscript’s writing. The epenthetic vowel is attested in the form “fagurt” fagrt (2v:12) and through the reverse spelling of the masc. dat. sing. “fauḍz” fóður (1v:2). However, the rounded “þ” in “fauḍz” might also represent the ur-ending, as it does, for example, in Guðbrandsbiblía, dated to 1584 (Bandle 1956: 156–57). As such, “þ” could also represent endings with epenthetic u in the forms such as “henndþ” hendr (1r:15), “fauḍz eyfkr” sudreyskr (2v:15), or “þefndþ” nefndr (2v:18).¹⁶

In the fragment there are no signs of consonant epenthesis, but the spelling “kalldyþum” karldyrum (1r:12) indicates that rl and ll were already pronounced in the same way, presumably as tl. This spelling, however, could be an effect of assimilation of rl with ll, which is a thirteenth-century feature (Bandle 1973: 45; Kjeldsen 2013: 203).

Additionally the shortening of word-final “rr” > “r” is in evidence, for example, “ber” berr (2r:3), this development also started already in the fourteenth century (Stefán Karlsson 2004: 21; Haraldur Bernhardsson 2013: 193–94).

There are no examples of fricativization of t in word-final position. The orthography of the scribe is very consistent, and all forty examples have the final “t” preserved, as presented below in the complete list of words where dental fricatives appear in word-final position: “þangat” þangat (1v:3), “farit” farit pret. ptc. (1r:24), “þugdit” brugdit (1r:25), “annat” annat (1v:7, 2r:2), “iammucít”

¹⁵The diphthongization of long monophthongs in Icelandic manuscripts appears sporadically as early as the thirteenth century, becomes more common in the second half of the fourteenth century, and becomes prominent in the course of the fifteenth century. Initially, diphthongization is manifested in spellings “ie”/“ie” for the long e (Björn K. Þórólfsen 1925: xiii–xiv; Bandle 1956: 45–46; Haraldur Bernhardsson 2013: 166–69, 415–16).

¹⁶The a-insertion began in the late thirteenth century and at the beginning of the fourteenth century in words with r-ending immediately preceded by a consonant (Haraldur Bernhardsson 2013: 185–89, 415).
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of Brennu-Njáls saga


There are no reverse spellings which could suggest the change either. The lack of evidence of fricativization means that either the fricativization of *t* into *ð* had not taken place at the time of the manuscript’s writing, or that the scribe was basing his spellings on the exemplar without modernizing them. The latter explanation seems more probable, since the use of “*t*” in word-final position is a very archaic feature which could be consistent with early fourteenth-century orthography. Such an early dating does not seem probable when other innovative features of this fragment are considered. However, the orthography of the scribe of AM 162 B α fol seems to be consistent in this aspect – even if the text is short, it is remarkable that there is not a single instance of “*d*” for earlier “*t*” in the fragment.

The fricativization of *k* into *g* in word-final position is attested in the fragment, in examples “*ogie*” *sik* (2v:13) and “*mioq*” *mjǫk* (1v:8), nevertheless archaic forms such as “*ek*” *ek* (2r:2) and “*mioq*” *mjǫk* (1v:4) dominate. The older spelling is attested fifteen times, while the younger spelling appears only two times.¹⁷

¹⁷The fricativization of *t* and *k* in unstressed word-final position appears already in the thirteenth century (Stefán Karlsson 2004: 19; Björn K. Pórólfsson 1925: xxii, xxxii). AM 350 fol, dated not earlier than 1363, preserves the forms with “*t*” appearing alongside with “*ð*” (Jón Helgason 1926: 70), while the orthography of Holm perg 16 4to, dated not earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century, contains forms with “*d*” along with older “*t*” (Stefán Karlsson 1982: 72, 75). According to Jóhannes Jóhannsson (1924: 41–42), some manuscripts preserve the forms with the word-final “*k*” and “*t*” as late as the sixteenth century. Even though occurrences of word-final “*k*” and “*g*” are attested in some sixteenth-century manuscripts, the author of this article could not find examples of sixteenth-century manuscripts which use exclusively word-final “*k*” or “*t*”, while the old and new forms frequently co-occur for example in AM 510 4to, dated to the middle of the sixteenth century, and AM 548 4to, dated to 1543, where the word-final “*t*” can be found alongside the word-final “*d*”; and in the second hand of Kollsþok, dated to the late fifteenth-century, (Ólafur Halldórsson 1968) and AM 510 4to, where “*k*” and “*g*” co-occur. For the discussion of the dating of AM 510 4to see Jón Helgason (1932).
The orthographic change “vá” > “vo” is found in the fragment in forms such as “uotta” vátta (1v:12) and “fuo” svá (1v:23). There is, however, one example which is unclear due to the condition of the support, where the older spelling, “kuänfang” kvánfang (2v:24–25), seems to be represented.¹⁸

Dental fricatives in non-initial position are denoted with the rounded “ꝺ”, with only one exception, “_gateway oan” sídan (1r:1), where the letter “þ” has been used in the mid-word position. This example might be explained by the aesthetic preferences of the scribe, who used letters with long ascenders in the top lines of each leaf, or due to the following abbreviation mark.¹⁹ Both explanations seem equally probable, but it is worth emphasising that elsewhere sídan is simply spelled with “ð”, also in the abbreviated forms, such as “fídan” (iv:3). The same aesthetic criteria of using the letters with long ascenders in the top lines is attested in “laugberkf” lǫgbergs (1v:1) where “k” is used, as shown in Figure 6, while elsewhere spellings with “g” dominate, for example “laugbergl” (iv:12). The letter “ð” gradually falls out of use in the course of the fourteenth century and is very rarely seen after 1400, therefore the absence of “ð” points towards the end of the fourteenth century or later.²⁰

¹⁸The orthographic change of “vá” to “vo” began in the first half of the fourteenth century. In the older literature, this change was interpreted as a two-step process, a progressive umlaut, when in the mid-fourteenth century vá changed into vó and then not earlier than around 1600 vó into vo (Björn K. Pórolfsson 1925: xi–xii; Jóhannes L. L. Jóhannsson 1924: 35–36). However, in the more recent scholarship, a different explanation has been proposed. As Hreinn Benediktsson (2002: 231–33) discussed, in the fourteenth century the low back long á became a diphthong [au], everywhere except immediately following v, where it remained the low back monophthong [ɔː]. The [ɔː] consequently merged with the old short mid o, which got lowered to [ɔ]. As the diphthongized vowel á retained its old spelling (“á”, “ꜳ”, etc.) the orthographic representation of vá gradually changed to “vo/uo”, which does not necessary mean that a phonological change took place.

¹⁹The use of “þ” to accommodate an abbreviation sign appears, for example, in the thirteenth-century manuscript GKS 2365 4to (Hreinn Benediktsson 1965: 74).

²⁰According to Stefán Karlsson (2002: 835), “þ” in the non-initial position was rather rare from around 1300 onwards, but sporadically appears up to 1400. The rounded “ꝺ” started to replace the letter “ð” in the thirteenth century, becoming dominant in the mid-fourteenth century. Under Norwegian influence, after the year 1400, the letter “ꝺ” barely appears and “d” is used instead. According to Hreinn Benediktsson (1965: 74), in the early stage, in some hands, for
There are not many examples of the middle voice in the fragment, but the scribe is relatively consistent in its orthographic representation, employing “zt” five times, but “z” only once, as presented below in the complete list of occurrences: “beríazt” berjask (2r:4, 2r:11, 2r:24), “bezzt” bersk (2r:8), “fanzt” fannsk (2v:25), “rezt” rézk (2r:5).²¹

Of the seven instances of words where the palatalized g could appear, four of them reflect the palatalization orthographically: “rada gıo日照d” ráðagörð (1r:24), “gıozdu” görđu (1v:1), “gıozdį” görđį (2v:5), and “gıozfį” gorvir (2r:17). The scribe denotes palatalization before ō (< ø + ø), but not before e, as in “geck” gekk (1r:25), “ kemr” kemr (1r:14), and “gengu” gengu (1v:11–12).²²

The linguistic analysis reveals the appearance of archaic forms, such as lack of evidence for the fricativization of t in word-final position and lack of evidence for the diphthongization of é. The analysis also reveals the appearance of relatively young features, such as diphthongization before ng and the orthographic change from “vá” into “vo”. Given the coexistence of the archaic and innovative features, the date of the manuscript’s writing can not be earlier than the last quarter of the fourteenth century. An overview of the selected linguistic and orthographic features used to establish the manuscript’s date of writing is given in Table 1.²³

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²¹ According to Haraldur Bernhardsson, the spelling of the middle voice is especially useful for dating late medieval manuscripts (from the period ca. 1375/1400). The predominant notation for the middle voice in the fourteenth century is “z”, but the spelling “zt” appears sporadically in the first half of the fourteenth century, and becomes more frequent, alongside “st”, in the second half of the fourteenth century. Around the year 1400 “z” is still the predominant form, but in the first quarter of the fifteenth century “zt” starts to dominate (Haraldur Bernhardsson 2013: 410, Kjartan G. Ottósson 1992: 112, 121–24).

²² This practice appears in the fourteenth century when palatalization is denoted orthographically before the vowels æ and ô (< ø) and occasionally e. In the fifteenth century the palatalization appears more often and increasingly before e (Stefán Karlsson 2004: 45; Haraldur Bernhardsson 2013: 417).

²³ The presented analysis is to a great extent based on the 3rd draft of Haraldur Bernhardsson’s (2013) Icelandic. A historical linguistic companion, I would like to express my gratitude to him for sharing this work with me.
Table 1: An overview of the linguistic and orthographic features used for dating.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>AM 162 B α fol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dental fricatives in non-final position</td>
<td>“d” (67) : “þ” (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthographic form of the middle voice ending</td>
<td>“zt” (5) : “z” (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merger ë + ø &gt; æ</td>
<td>in evidence (9 + 3 uncertain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derounding of y into i</td>
<td>no evidence (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongization before gi</td>
<td>in evidence (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongization before ng/nk</td>
<td>diphthong (4) : no diphthong (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthographic change “vå” &gt; “vo”</td>
<td>“vo” (9) : “vä” (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricativization of word-final t</td>
<td>no evidence (40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricativization of word-final k</td>
<td>“k” (15) : “g” (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongization of ê</td>
<td>no evidence (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel epenthesis</td>
<td>“r” (7) : “r” (7) : “ur” (1) : reverse spellings (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consonant epenthesis</td>
<td>no evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalization of g and k</td>
<td>in evidence before ë (4) : no evidence before e (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relative Dating

This section presents a comparative analysis of the orthography of AM 162 B α fol with the orthography of selected medieval manuscripts. In the first part the orthography of AM 162 B α fol is compared to other manuscripts preserving the section of text of Brennu-Njáls saga corresponding to that preserved in AM 162 B α fol. In the second part it is compared to some manuscripts which have an absolute dating and whose grammar has been a subject of an analysis in previous scholarship.

To establish the relative dating of AM 162 B α fol in the context of linguistic variation appearing in the medieval tradition of Brennu-Njáls saga, some of the main orthographic and phonological features of the fragment were compared with the corresponding readings in other medieval manuscripts preserving the corresponding text (ch. 7–9 of Brennu-Njáls saga), as presented in Table 2.²⁴

²⁴It has to be emphasized that this overview does not make any claims regarding the general
Table 2: Linguistic features appearing in the manuscripts which contain the section of text corresponding to that preserved in AM 162 B α fol.

The table presents a comparison of how various manuscripts represent the following features: 1: the vowel ö, 2: the vowel æ, 3: the middle voice, 4: dental fricatives in mid-word position, 5: the word-final k, 6: the orthographic change “vá” > “vo”, 7: e before ng.

The analysed readings of AM 162 B α fol share the most points of similarity with those of Skafinskinna (GKS 2868 4to, dated to ca. 1350–1400), namely four, and Oddabók (AM 466 4to, dated to ca. 1460), namely three. Regarding the orthographic change “vá” to “vo”, AM 162 B α fol represents a mixture of older and younger spellings, while in the corresponding passages Skafinskinna uses exclusively “ua”, and Oddabók uses exclusively “uo”. This might suggest the position of AM 162 B α fol between the two in a relative chronological order. The size of the analysed sample, however, and potential dialectal differences appearing in other manuscripts of Njáls saga pose challenges for making any definite claims regarding the relative chronology.

In order to narrow down the dating of AM 162 B α fol two manuscripts with established absolute dates of writing were employed for a comparative analysis of the orthography: Skarðsbók (AM 350 fol), dated to 1363 (Jón Helgason 1926), and Flateyjarbók (GKS 1005 fol), dated to 1387–1394 (Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir 2004). The results of the comparison are presented in Table 3.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>shelf-mark</th>
<th>ca. date</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AM 162 B β fol</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>æ, e</td>
<td>illeg.</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ua, va</td>
<td>eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GKS 2870 4to</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>o, ö, au, æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>z, ù</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>c, k</td>
<td>ua, va</td>
<td>eing, eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM 468 4to</td>
<td>1300–1325</td>
<td>o, au</td>
<td>æ, q, z, ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ, d</td>
<td>c, k</td>
<td>ua, va</td>
<td>eing, eng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM 133 fol</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>o, ö, æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ṭ, d</td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td>ua, va</td>
<td>eing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GKS 2868 4to</td>
<td>1350–1400</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>æ, q</td>
<td>z, za</td>
<td>ṭ, d</td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>eing, eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM 466 4to</td>
<td>1460</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>z, za</td>
<td>d, dd</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>uo</td>
<td>eing, eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM 162 B α fol</td>
<td></td>
<td>o, au</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>z, za</td>
<td>ṭ, d</td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td>uo, ua</td>
<td>eing, eing, eng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

grammar of the compared manuscripts, since the analysis was based exclusively on the readings corresponding to the text preserved in AM 162 B α fol.
Table 3: Comparison of the orthography of AM 162 B α fol with AM 350 fol and GKS 1005 fol.

As presented in Table 3, the orthography of AM 162 B α fol bears a closer resemblance to the orthography of Flateyjarbók than to that of Skarðsbók. The changes that are registered in the orthography of AM 162 B α fol and Flateyjarbók but not in Skarðsbók are the diphthongization before ng/nk, the orthographic change of “vá” into “vo”, and the fricativization of word-final k. However, AM 162 B α fol has several features which are not seen in either of the other manuscripts, it shows no evidence of the diphthongization of é, the fricativization of word-final t, or the derounding of y into i, thus its orthography is more archaic.²⁵

In order to put the dating of AM 162 B α fol in a broader manuscript context, three other manuscripts which have absolute dates established were consulted: AM 80 b 8vo (dated to 1473), AM 309 4to (part one fols. 1–29 dated to 1498), and AM 43 8vo (dated to 1507). None of these manuscripts has yet been the subject of an in-depth linguistic analysis, which would allow a comparison of the distribution of selected linguistic features with the orthography of AM 162 B α fol. I decided therefore to collect sample data from these manuscripts to find points of comparison with the orthography of AM 162 B α fol and establish a relative dating of the fragment. This was not, however, a systematic study and no claims concerning the orthography of these manuscripts in general can be made. The comparison of random samples from these
Conclusion

Given the aforementioned features, the date of the manuscript’s writing is unlikely to be any earlier than 1375. The orthography of AM 162 B α fol shows a mixture of innovative and archaic features, but the former are bound to carry more weight than the latter, as the archaic features could be attributed to the influence of an exemplar. There are no examples of language change or orthographic evidence that would limit the time of writing to after the year 1400, and when only medieval manuscripts preserving text of Brennu-Njáls saga are considered, the orthography of AM 162 B α fol is chronologically between Skafinskinna (1350–1400) and Oddabók (ca. 1460). In brief, the script, the representation of the middle voice, and the use of “ڑ”, along with the similarities to the orthography of Flateyjarbók (1387–1394), and to the decorated ascenders in AM dipl isl fasc 1x 34 (1434), point to the period between the last decade of the fourteenth century and the first decades of the fifteenth century (ca. 1390–1440) as the manuscript’s date of writing.²⁶

³² The dating of the manuscripts from this period is rather problematic due to the current state of research. The proposed date, ca. 1390–1440, is based on an assumption that a time span of 50 years should be given while dating an Icelandic manuscript. However, Jón Helgason’s (1955: xii) statement regarding the dating of another broadly dated, fifteenth-century manuscript (GKS 2845 4to), that “[u]ntil Icelandic palaeography and orthography in the 15th century have been investigated more closely, it is difficult to place the manuscript within an exact span of years” still holds true and applies to the case of AM 162 B α fol.
A Note on the Text

The text presented below is based on a diplomatic transcription of the text of the fragment AM 162 B α fol. The orthography of the scribe is retained, but the variant forms of the same characters are standardised, excluding the distinction between “s” and “ſ”, and “r” and “ꝛ”, which are retained. Abbreviations are expanded and marked in italics. Some of the expanded forms are based on the presumed value of the abbreviation rather than the written-out forms of the same word, as there are no written-out forms within the relatively short scope of the fragment. The word-division, punctuation and capitalization are retained, and the line breaks are denoted with a vertical stroke “|” . The parts of the text which are illegible due to damage to the support and fading are represented as zeros within square brackets (when it is possible to approximate the number of missing characters) and as […] (when it is not possible to approximate the number of missing characters) without any supplied text. All partly unclear readings are denoted by underdotted letters. The letters which are omitted by the scribe are supplied and placed within angle brackets.

²⁷The earlier version of this edition can be found in electronic form, with three levels of transcription, in the Medieval Nordic Text Archive (Kapitan 2016). The current edition has been revised and corrected.
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of Brennu-Njáls saga 237

Edition of AM 162 B α fol, ff. 1r–2v

|| fem bezt špan mun hann fara ʃ fiozdu ueftur ok figm ¹² undz med homum ŏk
myn hann flytt̔a alt feit ueftan ³ âat er hann âa [o] ʃ fiozdum ueftur ok uera ʃ
burt leung ⁴[...]f enñ āa er memm rida ŏl þingf ok aller eru ⁵[...]rid[o] þeir ño
rida æltd skafttu rifa ur reykiu ⁶ ok ku[oo]a memm til ferdar med þer faurunauta
þina ⁷[...] til huulu þinari ⁸[...] þer faurunautuþ þiŋr enñ þu skaft nefna uott ⁹[...]
þegia skaft ud hann lag ¹⁰ ñklðn[...]. at Alþiŋ̔if maði ¹¹[...] ok all[o][o][o]að lau̔gm
ðika uotta skafttu hafa fyer ¹² kaldiþum ſidan rid þu â b[ɔ]t ok rid laxar dalf
heði ¹³ ok fuo til holta uozdu heðar ok ſid þar til mun þin mun ¹⁴ leþt̔at til hruta
føardar enn er þu kemm til mun mun ek ¹⁵ fyrrf [oo] malnu ok skafttu aldeizi
þidan koma homum þ hernz̔i ¹⁶ b[o] rido nu heym þif þiŋgi ok uar ruuð heym komin
ok fagnar ¹⁷[...] þon t[oo]e uel mað hans ok uar ſid hann blid þera f[...] go[oo]
þau […] enn er þoradı tok hun fott ¹⁹ ok lagð[oo] […] [o]eftf ʃ fiozdu ok bad hemm
²⁰[...] þiŋgi þio hun ferð fina ²¹ æ b[ɔ] […] foz mød aulũ [o] heym uar fyrrr fagt
ok reð a ²² þiŋg […] leþþu heynar ok fundu ²³ ñaða […] tok [oo] ſid d[oo]ur
þinni ok spurði hana huerð ²⁴u hun hefdi mød þarit rada gozð hans huergi hefi
²⁵ ek af þyggdî þagði hun hun geck einn dag til || lau̔gmork fok þagði skaft úd
rut þetta gozdu mémm ²⁶ at nyum tidindum unrr for heym med føardu þinum ²⁷ ok
kom aldeiziueftur þangat fidað ²⁸ RUTR kom heym ok bza miok ñ bzu ²⁹ er
kona hans uar j bruttu ok uar hann fultur uel hann ²⁶ uar heyma aulũ þau miðer
ok reð õd aunguan mann um ³⁻ fitt mal annat þumar eþter reð rutr til þingf
ok hoskuldr boðer ³¹ hans med homum ok fiolmenstu miog. Enn er hann uar
kommun a al[oo]þing þurði hann at módr guðia uerì a þingi honum uar faj ³¹⁰ at
han õ uar þar æltdu þat memm at þer mundu ta[³¹]la um mal ſin enn þat uar ekkj
einn heyn dag er memm gengi ³¹² til laugbergø nefndi módr fer uotta ok leyfði
føafu ³¹³ k a heynz̔i rutu um fe mal dottur þinnar ok taldi nu tígi ³¹⁴ hunnadra
deyfði hann þa þil þalldu õk ut greizlu ok let ³¹⁵ uirda jff. marka utlagð hann
leyfþi ʃ fiozduŋfj dom ³¹⁶ þann fem faukinn att þ at koma at laugum leyfþi hann

²⁵ [fagði] The word seems to be written “fagði” where the letter “g” was corrected into “d” creating a ligature “ breathe “, although it is only partly legible.  ⁴ RUTR ] A space was left blank for the initial, but the letter “H” was never inserted. I decided to not supply “H” as the scribe spells Rútr as “Rut”.  ¹⁰ æltdu ] A scribal error and a scribal correction of “g” into “d”.  ¹⁴ hunnadra ] The superscript “r” stands for a single character.
\[\text{\cite{2v} lauglyfing at heyzanda hlodzi at laugbergi enn er \cite{18} þamm hafdi þetta mælt fuaradi rutr meir heumter þu þe|\text{\cite{19}tta mal eda fæker med firar a girnd ok kappi er til \cite{20} heyer rutr dottor þinnar enn med goduilia ok dreing íkap \cite{21} enda mun ek her lata fuoz j moti koma þaut þu \cite{22} hefer eigi feit j hendi þer þat er ek fer med Mæli ek \cite{23} fuo fryrn at þer feu aller heyzandi uottar er hia eru \cite{24} at laugbergi at ek fkoza þer mordr as holm her || a þinginu ok fkal uid ligia mundzmann allr ok || þar legg ek uid annat fe sammucut ok eigi fá huort ||ueggia feit er af audrum ber enn ef þu || uilt eigi beriazt uid mið þa fkal tu af allri fahre|eimtumni þa þagnadi mordr ok retz um uid úini fi|na um holmganguna honum fuaradi jóundz godi || eigi þarftu at ega rad uid off um þetta mal þvi at þu || matt þat uita ef þu bezzt uid rut at þu munt || bæði lata híft ok feit er rutu uel farit . þvi at þann er || mikił af fialfum fer ok manna fraknætr þa kuad mordr ||\text{\cite{23}m þat upp at hann ullidi eigi beriazt uid rut nu uard op mikit || at laugbergi ok ohlodi mikit ok hafdi mordr ina me||\text{\cite{23}fu} fúuirding rida menn nu heim at þingi þer braðr ||| huskuldr \langle ok \rangle rutr ridu uesftr til reykaar daf ok giftu at lundi ||| þar bio þioftolfr fon biarnar gullbera regn ha||\text{\cite{16}}di uerit mikit um dagínn ok uoru menn ozdner uoter miðk uoru ||| þa giotter elldar fát þioftolfr j multim þera bædra |||\text{\cite{18}} fueiraar tueir leku a golfinu þat uoru uészlu füei||\text{\cite{19}}nar þat uoru uészlu fuinar þioftolfr mær eín lek hía |||\text{\cite{20}} þeru þer uoru malger miðk ok ouitrer annar mælt ||| ek fkal þer mordr uera ok ðefna þer af konunní ok finna |||\text{\cite{22} þat til at þ(u) fær ecki fozdít annar fuaradi ek fkal þer rutr ||| uera rek ek þik af allri fuarheimtumni ef þu þozer ||| eigi at beriazt uid miðk þetta mæltu þer nauckrum finnum ||| ok gie[0]ðiðt nu hl[0]ður miðkíll af heima moomun þa rei|ddízt huskuldr ok laufu f\langle 0000 \rangle med íprota þann fem mordr ||| nefnd\langle 00 \rangle enn íprotum kom j an[...] ok fpræck fyrir ||| huskuldr mælti uid fuæmnu ueru uti ok drag e\langle 0 \rangle fpoart at off ||| rutr mælti gack hingat til mln feuæmnenn goidu fuo \langle 0 \rangle rutr dzo \langle 00 \rangle ng3 gull af henndé f\langle 00 \rangle ok gaf þeynum [...] \langle 0 \rangle|\text{\cite{4\text{-}5} farj b\langle 00 \rangle t ok leita a aun[\ldots] fuæmr\langle 00 \rangle fo2 \langle 0 \rangle fidan a þuzzt \langle 0 \rangle mælti þin[\ldots] fkal ek ðid br[0]g[0\text{-}5]da. af þesfu feck rutr gott[\ldots] h|\text{\cite{10}}eimman uesftr ok er nu [...] marðar

\text{\cite{4\text{-}5} fuarheimtumni} | The superscript “r” overlaps with the accent mark of “i”, expanded as “r” because “fuærheimtumni” (2r:23) is also abbreviated with the superscript “r”. Elsewhere the superscript “r” stands for “ur”, as for example in “dottur” (iv:13). |\text{\cite{19} þat—fuinar} | Dittography involving the repetition of “þat uoru uészlú fuinar”, but with a scribal error (sveinar “suinar”).}
Dating of AM 162 B α fol, a Fragment of *Brennu-Njáls saga* 239

|¹¹ ⟨N⟩U e(r) þat til ma[...] hallger[...] |¹² ok er ku[e[...] ok mi[k][o] ∈eðti ok faguxt hā|³³rit ok fuo mikt at hun maðt heylīa sig med hun utor utor³⁴rlynd ok feingfaum ok skaphaurd þioftolfr hēt fo[oo] |¹³ hennar hann uar faudz eyfr at ætt hann utor ørkerkr [...] |¹⁶ uel ok hafdi margann māny utor þept ok þeppan auguðan [...] |¹⁷ þat uar maðt at hann uerd hal[oo] eiŋgi skap[...] |²⁸adz er nefndz þozuallzd hann [...] of[oo]t hān þoŋ |²⁹ þæir medalfellzd f[oo] hann utor [...] |²⁰ ætti ey[oo] þær er bīarn ey[o] heita þæt þiggia u[...] |³²þeir of[oo]rdi þadan hafð[o] hann [...] skreid sem hann þu³⁴rfti þozuallzd utor m[...] teisf ok nauk[oo] |³³ bəd[oo] škap[...] þat uar [oo] hue[...] þæir þed[oo]r[...] |³⁴luðu um med fer huar þoz[...] a leita um kuð²⁶nfang enn þat fanþæ at at þozu[oo]ði þotti [oo] þuþr³⁶gt fullkofta ofuþr [...] b[oo]þa hallgerdar lang

11 ⟨N⟩U A space was left blank for the initial, but the letter “N” was never inserted, I supplied the word-initial “N”. 23 škap[...] Superscript “a” stands for a single character.
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Resumé


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