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‘[...]f Sueins .k.’: *Glælognskviða* and Its Contexts

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Þórarinn loftunga’s *Glælognskviða* (Sea-Calm Poem) was first performed in the early 1030s, some time between its subject, Óláfr Haraldsson’s, translation on 3 August 1031 and its addressee, Sveinn Álfifuson’s, hasty departure from Norway in 1034/5 (Magerøy, 1948: 43-4). Its nine verses are recorded in manuscripts of Snorri’s *Óláfs saga helga* (cf. Louis-Jensen, 1997, on these manuscripts and their interrelationships), where v. 1 is introduced as follows: *Þess getr Þórarinn loftunga í kvæði því, er hann orti um Svein Álfifuson, er kallat er Glælognskviða* (“Þórarinn loftunga tells of this in the poem which he composed for/about Sveinn Álfifuson, which is called *Glælognskviða*”).

This passage occurs near the top of fol. 1v of AM 47 fol, *Eirspennill*, written in Iceland in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Although parts of the leaf are missing, the rubric is still partly visible: [...]f Sueins .k. This is the only medieval manuscript to preserve this wording. With missing letters supplied from the Kringla transcript (AM 35 fol, c. 1675-1700), it reads [*Uppha*]f Sueins konungs (“beginning [of the saga] of King Sveinn”). In this branch of the transmission, then, *Óláfs saga helga* is interrupted by a saga of the Dane Sveinn Álfifuson, son of Knútr inn ríki and much-disliked ruler of Norway 1030-1034/5. The majority of *Óláfs saga helga* manuscripts do not go so far. There Sveinn’s name often receives a large decorated initial, as it does here, but the key word *Upphaf* is absent, relegating Sveinn from saga protagonist to a blip in the royal line from Óláfr Haraldsson to his son Magnús Ólafsson. But the unfortunate Sveinn not only ruled Norway under the shadow of his sainted predecessor; his only named skald composed a poem that is, although *um Svein Álfifuson*, about St Óláfr.

This context goes some way towards explaining Þórarinn’s surprising choice of the meter *kviðuhátt* (disputed; perhaps ‘poem’s meter’) for *Glælognskviða*. *Kviðuhátt*, a catalectic variant of *fornyrðislag*, is the meter of 14% of the lines in the encomiastic corpus.¹ And it was the skaldic medium of choice for praising one’s addressee by means of a poem about other people altogether, usually dead ones.² As Kari Gade has shown (2005), the metrical and syntactical constraints imposed by the brevity of this meter’s odd lines gave *kviðuhátt* verses their characteristic shape, that of a concatenated series of subordinate clauses with copious nominal variation.

¹ I am grateful to Tarrin Wills for this information.

² *Erfikvæði* in *dróttkvætt* address the immediate descendants, usually the sons or brothers, of the dead man. The usual explanation for Þórarinn’s choice of *kviðuhátt* is that its simplicity made the poem comprehensible to his young, English-speaking patron (Lindow, 2008: 112; Townend, 2005: 257).

vit letr til ríkis áttunda mánaða en þá kom til hant óðind
 ing kunnz kgl þóðr hís at h skyllde fara síðan inór ríka við ríki þer
 til þarada er inór yar z hapa þar in; kgl nafn yr noi; Síðan þor fua in
 danmákar z hapa þíðan lúð mál þor með hím harallb; j z mart anaxa in ri
 kta þes geer þoar in lofninga i kvæðe þer h oxu um sve al; þer kallat er glalogns kunda þ ua
 dullast hve danur goðo dýoua þ; in; dovgli; þar yar þarll fyrst at up hapa z hór in er hím
 þygdre anax dænge aubdu ber; Síðan þor so inór z in; hím alþra mod h z þ h þar kgl te
 kus a hino lofþgi h v þa kom in vstan i vikuna er oxia ya stikastom z Olaf kgl þer
 svei letr ei þerðm þyr en h kom u haustid nosd; i brand h h þ þar til kgl tekun tem i ad
 ro staddom; Sv kgl hapa þe ny loy in um marga hlute z v þ ept þ letr tem loy u danmá
 en sum mycklo þekkar; Engi máð; skylldi af ló þara nema in; kgl leyr en of þara þa
 þell vnd kgl eigur híf en hór er mañ yarri skylldi hapa þar yarri þer lausum eyri þ
 máð; yarð i utlegð z tagnæd ar þ hím þa eignæd kgl ar þ þan at solum skyllde hór þon
 þi þa kgl máli máltz ar arm huerio z lar af vira þverrom þ v kallat ymar taddi z þ
 an simoel z hufþvira h v rýgnar to þ var lín oxer sva um kít ar þerit þengi um mesta
 þing z lengsta; Þonds þ skyllde ar goza þus þvæll er kgl vildi hapa at þustþum smou
 þo in skyllde goza en lúð þer in z goza þ hór er v uer gamali yr z þ ept hómloz eiga hór
 in er a þar þer skylldi gualba kgl þu þvæð huadum sem h ror en þ ero v þskar; Skip hór
 er þarri af ló þer skylldi lada kgl rum um þver skip máð; hím er til illde þerri k
 yldo danþar in hapa sva mikil meoð moe at ein þ þeina yim skylldi rinda x noð in
 þam; En er þer laga teining yar þur þ alþyð þa toku in þes at reisa hugi sva up in
 er z goðo kúr sva in mill þ mto þ sva er z hór þ vit i moþerom við olaf kgl taku þ nu
 in þærð vmatv z lag af kuydgu þes er þ þarðoz við olaf kgl z þellur h þ þe þðy
 heud þeðe z reuar þer en in hapa þ anað z þraekkan z þ in; þoz glæpi z uðengskap; En
 þ v ei gov til moþmæðis þa þa allir at uþeþiliga yar um ráðoz þaroz in þo e tva þ til at
 goza up teut moþ; Svei kgl þar þ meit til at meit hór þv gullada kunnz þi sono sva eð
 a aðia naþrænde z þ in; at þa uat eþgi þer þoz in til upreistaz; Þvæ hór þ in amæð
 til svei kgl makt z kenðo in maþ þ al þ þo all þ er in moþ skapi þoz er þa yader þan
Ver þan hór þu ræða **var rana gete** meit af maorgu in in til Olafs kgl **o h**
 ar maorgu in in þi ló at Olaf er uari máð; þan heðlage ok iartognur mar
 gar yar in ar heðgi h hór þa maorg a heer til Olaf kgl um þa luti er in þom skip
 ta máli þengi maorg in af þer a þer þer þer sva heilþv þer en sum þar þeina eða
 aða luti er noðsyn þoz til þer

Olaf kgl
 þar rana goð

Manuscript AM 47 fol., 1v (© The Arnarnagnæan Collection, Copenhagen.
 Photograph: Suzanne Reitz)

Along with (and to some extent determined by) this catenulate structure go commonalities in subject-matter and diction that arguably originate in a particular performance setting and social context, namely, the aristocratic funeral: so much so, I would suggest, that we are justified in seeing this poetry as a key medium of funeral memoria.³

Þjóðólfr of Hvin's ninth-century composition *Ynglingatal* (*Yt*) provided the template, as far as we can tell. Its final verse reveals that it was composed for Rognvaldr heiðumhæri, but it is *about* 28 notoriously deceased rulers, whose relationship to Rognvaldr is unclear. The *Háleygjatal* (*Hál*) of Eyvindr skáldaspillir ('skalds' despoiler'), composed in the late tenth century for Hákon jarl Sigurðarson, reckons its patron's lineage back to Óðinn and Skaði and takes the *kviðuháttr* memorial in the genealogical direction implied, but nowhere stated, in *Ynglingatal*. This pattern of imitating and outdoing, seen also in Eyvindr's *Hákonarmál* vis-à-vis the anonymous *Eiríksmál*, is likely to be the origin of Eyvindr's wry nickname. Finally Egill Skalla-Grímsson, in his *Sonatorrek* (*St*) and *Poem for Arinbjörn* (*Arbj*), gives the form a characteristic spin, praising his sons and his friend Arinbjörn in poems that are primarily about the poet himself and his quotidian and mythic adversaries. These are the only *kviðuháttr* poems that pre-date *Glælognskviða*, but it continued to be a viable medium for praise poetry, with Sturla Þórðarson's *Hákonarkviða* (c. 1270) a fascinating late composition in the meter.

The commonality, and mediality, of these poems goes deeper than this, however. Shared characteristics – also shared by much of the later *kviðuháttr* poetry – include:

1. the poem is about the dead:
 - *Yt* (the kings), *Hál* (Hákon's ancestors), *St* (Egill's parents, brother and sons).⁴
2. it mentions particular landscapes (the place of death and/or burial of the poem's subjects):
 - *Yt*: *á beði Skútu*, v. 3, *við Fýri*, v. 6, *í Limafirði*, v. 12, *at Uppsolum* vv. 13 and 16, *á Vendli*, v. 15, *á Lófundu*, v. 17, etc.; *Hál*: *Straumeyjarnes*, v. 5, *á Fjølum*, v. 7, *á Qglói*, v. 9; *St*: *á nesi*, v. 25; *Arbj*: ?possibly *í Fjórðum*, v. 22.
3. it includes complex, unusual kennings, often involving *ofljóst* on personal names:
 - *Yt*: e.g. *slonguþref verðar Sleipnis* ("flung grasper of the meal of Sleipnir" [HAY > PITCHFORK], v. 8, *mær bróður Býleists* ("maiden of the brother of Býleistr") [= Loki > = Hel (*hel* 'the underworld')], v. 23; *Hál*: e.g. *mogr Hallgarðs* [*hallr* 'stone' = *grjót* 'gravel', *Grjótgarðr* > Hákon Grjótgarðs-

³ Cf. already Wessén, 1915; Ohlmarks, 1944, argues similarly for the *erfíkvæði* genre as a whole; objections to this in Fidejestøl, 1982; cf. also Harris, 2006. For a recent argument for funerary practices as embodied memoria, cf. Williams, 2010.

⁴ Arinbjörn is still alive at the point that *Arbj* is referred to in *Egils saga*, but the prose framing of *Egils saga*'s long poems is not above suspicion.

son], v. 8, *brúðr valtyís* (“bride of the slaughter-god”) [= Óðinn > = *Jorð* (*jorð* ‘land’)], v. 12; *Arbj*: e.g. *björn bjóða ótta birkis* (“bear of the table of the terror of the birch”) [FIRE > HEARTHSTONE (*arinn*), *Arinbjörn*], v. 16.⁵

4. it has a list- or chain-like (catenulate) structure:
 - *Yt* lists 28 kings, the surviving verses of *Hál* seven, and both poems’ names end in *-tal* (‘list’); *St* mentions the deaths of two sons, father, mother and brother, using the verb *telja* (v. 5); *Arbj*, in a self-reflexive moment, observes that *valið liggja / tvén ok þrén / á tungu mér* (‘two or three [ideas] lie chosen on my tongue’), v. 15.
5. it mentions the afterlife (Óðinn; Valhöll) and female psychopomps (*Hel*, *Hildir*, *Rán*):
 - *Hel*: *Yt* 7, 23, 24, *St* 25; *Hildir*: *Hál* 7; *Rán*: *St* 7-8; Óðinn: *Yt* 3, *Hál* 1-2, 6, 8, *St* 21-24, *Arbj* 6-7, 13; *Valhöll*: *Arbj* 14, *St* 10-11.
6. it mentions commemorative monuments of stone or wood:
 - *Yt*: *sá frömuðr *reyrs Høgna vas of horfinn beinum foldar* (“that wielder of the reed of Høgni [WARRIOR] was surrounded by the bones of the earth [STONES]”, v. 19; *Hál*: *náreiðr vingameiðr drúpir á nesi* (“the corpse-bearing swaying tree droops on the headland”), *fjólkunnt Straumeyjarnes merkt steini of hrør fylkis* (“well-known Straumeyjarnes [is] marked by a stone over the ruler’s body”), v. 5; *St*: *mærðar timbr, máli laufgat* (“timbers of praise, adorned with the foliage of speech”), v. 5; *Arbj*: *mærðar efni, auðskæf ómunlokri* (“stuff of fame, easily shaped with the voice-plane”), v. 15, *lofkøst* (“praise-cairn”), v. 25.

There is no space here for a full exploration of the links between these features and the archaeological evidence for Viking Age funeral practices, particularly as the latter are highly variable. Key points include, however: the importance of the gravesite as a locus of memory, sometimes over very long periods (cf. e.g. Hållans Stenholm, 2012; Klevnäs, 2016); the associations between stone and the world of the dead (cf. e.g. Kaliff, 1997; Aspeborg, 2005); the fragmentation of bodies in funeral rituals (cf. Lund, 2013), which finds parallels in the fragmentary rhetoric of the kenning, especially in *ofljóst*; the importance of lists (from the runic inscriptions of Rök and Högby to the husbands, daughters, sisters and brothers whose deaths are recalled by the mourners in *Guðrúnarkviða I*; cf. Harris, 2000); and the self-referential rhetoric of the conclusion, in which the skald compares his poetic memorial with the wooden or stone monuments of the gravesite.⁶ Bodies, landscapes and monuments are anchors for memory in these poems.

⁵ *St* lacks *ofljóst*, but the sequence of head-kennings in *St* 19: 6-7, *í jorðu grímu, rýnnis reið* ‘land of the face, chariot of thought’ is reminiscent of *Yt*’s chains of riddling kennings (note, though, the emendation of ms. *í aróar grímu*).

⁶ The saga topos of the audience recording these poems in runes, as in the prose frame of *Sonatorrek* (*Egils saga*, ch. 78), may be a reflex of this feature, cf. Clunies Ross in this volume.

Glælognskviða is the earliest poem to celebrate Óláfr's sanctity (cf. Lindow, 2008). By presenting him as *rex perpetuus Norvegiæ*, able to grant Sveinn rule over Norway (v. 9), it argues that the succession of Sveinn to the throne is legitimate (v. 2). The *kviðuhátt*r tradition provided the skald with a powerful way of making this point. Stating the location of the grave (*í Þrandheimi ... Þars Óleifr áðan byggði ... ok þar varð kykvasettr* ("in Trøndelag, where Óláfr previously dwelt, and there became enshrined alive"), vv. 2-3) and affirming that the deceased has departed to the after-life (*hann hvarf til himinríkis* ("he departed to the heavenly kingdom"), v. 3) emphasizes the old king's departure and the legitimacy of the new one. Even the list motif is vestigially present in *Glælognskviða*, an indication of the abiding force of memorial tradition:

*Þar vas jarl
fyrst at upphafi,
ok hverr maðr,
es honum fylgði,
annarr drengr
þóðrum betri.* (v. 1)

There the jarl [= Haraldr Þorkelsson] was first and foremost, and every man who followed him, each warrior, [was] better than the next.

But Óláfr's sanctity compelled Þórarinn to an innovative re-purposing of the traditional medium of funeral *memoria*. The saintly king needs no psychopomps, but departs to heaven under his own power: *sonr Haralds hafði harðla ráðit sér til himinríkis* ("The son of Haraldr [= Óláfr] had powerfully taken himself to the heavenly kingdom", v. 4). Óláfr's corpse is uncorrupted, whole and beautiful (v. 5), unlike the disarticulated, fragmented dead body of pre-Christian funeral ritual (*koggla hrørs* ("limbs of the corpse"), *St* 4; the *ægir hjarna* ("sea of the brains") of King Aðils mixes with the mud of the grave, *Yt* 16). The repeated deictic *þar* in v. 3 refers to his shrine's place in the middle of Niðaróss (Trondheim), from where his successor Sveinn will *æ ævi sína ... byggðum ráða* ("always rule the settlements throughout his life") (v. 2); earlier *kviðuhátt*r poetry emphasizes instead the peripheral location of its subjects' burial sites, often close to bodies of water. The postmortem activities of the pre-Christian dead among the living could cause anxiety (McKinnell, 2009, and cf. *St* v. 18), but *St* Óláfr is a "mediator" (*sættir*, v. 4) between God and man. The bulk of Þórarinn's poem is taken up with a sensual evocation of the miraculous new media of communication between heaven and earth that Christianity offered the believer – bells that ring by themselves (v. 6), candles (v. 7), *reginnagla máls bóka* ("the sacred nail of the language of books") (v. 9: the referent of this, the poem's only elaborate kenning, is disputed) – and the healing power of the heavenly grace that they mediate, manifest in the bodies of believers:

Þar kœmr herr,
 es heilagr es
 konungr sjalfr,
 krýpr at gangi.
 En beiðendr
 blindir sækja
 þjóðir máls,
 en þaðan heilir. (v. 8)

A host comes there, where the holy king himself is, [and] bows down for access. And people, petitioners for speech [and] the blind, make their way [there], and [go] from there whole.

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