

SCRIPTA ISLANDICA

ISLÄNDSKA SÄLLSKAPETS

ÅRSBOK 68/2017

REDIGERAD AV

LASSE MÅRTENSSON OCH VETURLIÐI ÓSKARSSON

under medverkan av

Pernille Hermann (Århus)

Else Mundal (Bergen)

Guðrún Nordal (Reykjavík)

Heimir Pálsson (Uppsala)

Henrik Williams (Uppsala)

UPPSALA, SWEDEN

Publicerad med stöd från Vetenskapsrådet.

© 2017 respektive författare (CC BY)

ISSN 0582-3234

EISSN 2001-9416

Sättning: Ord och sats Marco Bianchi

urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-336099

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-336099>

Innehåll

LARS-ERIK EDLUND, Ingegerd Fries (1921–2016). Minnesord	5
ADALHEIÐUR GUÐMUNDSDÓTTIR, Some Heroic Motifs in Icelandic Art	11
DANIEL SÄVBORG, Blot-Sven: En källundersökning	51
DECLAN TAGGART, All the Mountains Shake: Seismic and Volcanic Imagery in the Old Norse Literature of Þórr	99
ELÍN BÁRA MAGNÚSDÓTTIR, Forfatterintrusjon i <i>Grettis saga</i> og paralleller i Sturlas verker	123
HAUKUR ÞORGEIRSSON & TERESA DRÖFN NJARÐVÍK, The Last Eddas on Vellum	153
HEIMIR PÁLSSON, Reflections on the Creation of Snorri Sturluson's Prose Edda	189
MAGNUS KÄLLSTRÖM, <i>Monumenta lapidum aliquot runicorum:</i> Om runstensbilagan i Verelius' <i>Gothrici & Rolfi Westrogothiae</i> <i>Regum Historia</i> (1664)	233
MATTEO TARSI, Creating a Norm for the Vernacular: Some Critical Notes on Icelandic and Italian in the Middle Ages	253
OLOF SUNDQVIST, Blod och <i>blót</i> : Blodets betydelse och funktion vid fornskandinaviska offerriter	275
SVEINN YNGVI EGILSSON, Kan man skriva pastoral poesi så nära Nordpolen? Arkadiska skildringar i isländska dikter från arton- hundratalet	309
TOMMY KUUSELA, ”Þá mælti Míms hǫfuð”: Jätten Mimer som kunskapsförmedlare i fornnordisk tradition	331

Recensioner

LARS LÖNNROTH, Rec. av <i>A Handbook to Eddic Poetry: Myths and Legends of Early Scandinavia</i> , red. Carolyne Larrington, Judy Quinn & Brittany Schorn	361
LARS-ERIK EDLUND, Rec. av <i>Islänningasagorna. Samtliga släktsagor och fyrtionio tåtar</i> . Red. Kristinn Jóhannesson, Gunnar D. Hansson & Karl G. Johansson	369

ADALHEIÐUR GUÐMUNSDÓTTIR, Rev. of Agneta Ney. <i>Bland ormar och drakar: Hjaltemyt och manligt ideal i berättartraditioner om Sigurd Fafnesbane</i>	377
---	-----

Isländska sällskapet

AGNETA NEY & MARCO BIANCHI, Berättelse om verksamheten under 2016	387
--	-----

Författarna i denna årgång	389
----------------------------------	-----

The Last Eddas on Vellum

HAUKUR ÞORGEIRSSON & TERESA DRÖFN NJARÐVÍK

1. Introduction

In modern times the most highly prized works of Old Norse literature include the Prose Edda and the Poetic Edda.¹ Newcomers to medieval culture are sometimes surprised to discover the modest appearance of the manuscripts which have transmitted those works to us. To take two examples, the Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda (GKS 2365 4to) and the Codex Regius of the Prose Edda (GKS 2367 4to) are utilitarian books with small margins and, at most, lightly decorated initials. At the time when those books were written the genres of writing felt to merit ornate and expensive books were principally legal codices, religious literature and royal sagas.

This state of affairs changed in the seventeenth century as humanist scholars came to treasure the Eddas among the most unique and valuable texts of Old Icelandic literature. It is, thus, fitting that the last two vellum manuscripts of the Eddas were also the most sumptuous. These manuscripts are the object of this study.

In the mid-seventeenth-century a splendid vellum manuscript of Eddic poetry was made for Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605–1675) of Skálholt. This manuscript perished in the fire of 1728 but some descriptions of it survive. It contained the poems of the Codex Regius supplemented with several similar poems from other sources. This was the beginning of an editorial tradition that continues to this day.

¹ We are grateful to Einar G. Pétursson, Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir and Margrét Eggertsdóttir as well as to the reviewers and editors of *Scripta Islandica* for many valuable comments and suggestions.

Þorgeirsson, Haukur & Njarðvík, Teresa Dröfn. 2017.
The Last Eddas on Vellum.
Scripta Islandica 68: 153–188.

© Haukur Þorgeirsson & Teresa Dröfn Njarðvík (CC BY)
<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-336111>

Another mid-seventeenth-century vellum manuscript is referred to as Codex Sparfvenfeldianus (S), preserved in Sweden since the seventeenth century. It contains the Prose Edda. The text is principally derived from the Codex Regius of the Prose Edda (RS) but some use is made of other manuscripts, especially at the beginning where RS is defective. As we demonstrate below, S is of some textual value where RS has since suffered damage.

Previous scholars have believed it likely that S was written for Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason (1597–1656) of Hólar but as it turns out the arguments for this are not strong. We suggest instead that it was made for Bishop Brynjólfur and is in some sense a sister manuscript to the lost codex of Eddic poetry. As in the case of the lost Poetic Edda manuscript, the editorial conception of the Prose Edda reflected in S is essentially the same as that of latter-day scholars.

2. The lost vellum copy of the Poetic Edda

Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) was an avid collector of manuscripts of the Eddas. In the early eighteenth century, he wrote down a list of “a great many Sæmundar-Eddas” (“Sæmundar Eddur geysesmargar”; AM 749 4to, h) which were in his possession. As near as we can tell every single one was destroyed in the fire of 1728. Árni’s list has 14 paper manuscripts including one in the hand of Bishop Brynjólfur and one in the hand of Árni himself. But it also mentions one vellum manuscript in quarto format in the hand of Jón in Oddgeirshólar. Although this manuscript has not come down to us we happen to know a number of facts about it.

2.1 Surviving descriptions of the manuscript

In a list of the manuscripts of Þormóður Torfason compiled by Árni Magnússon in Stangeland in 1712 this book is listed among manuscripts in quarto:

Sæmundur’s Edda on vellum, written in the hand of Jón Jónsson from Oddgeirshólar and widely corrected in the margins in Mag. Brynjólfur’s own hand. This vellum manuscript is not worth much, it is widely miswritten and not very accurate throughout. Besides that it is to begin with derived from the Codex Regius. Mag. Brynjólfur gave this exemplar to Monsr. Þormóður.

(“Sæmundar Edda a pergament, ritud með hendi Jons Jons sonar i Oddgeirs holum og vida in marginibus corrigerud með eigen hendi Mag. Bryniólfs. Er sögd Membrana eigi mikils verd, vida mis skrifud og per totum parum accuratè. Er annars i fyrstu ex membranâ (Regiâ). Mag. Bryniólfr gaf Monsr. Pormode þetta exemplar.”; AM 435 b 4to, p. 44.)

Árni’s statement that the manuscript is “to begin with” derived from the Codex Regius must mean that it contained some material after the beginning which was derived from other sources. The complaints about the inaccuracy of the manuscript must be seen in the context of Árni’s exacting standards. The manuscript need not have been exceptionally inaccurate by the standards of its time.

As luck would have it, we have a letter, sent in 1663, from Bishop Brynjólfur to Þormóður Torfason in which Brynjólfur describes this manuscript. Like Árni Magnússon decades later, Brynjólfur demonstrates his concern with the inaccuracy of the transcript:

On the exemplar of Edda which you took abroad from me last year to His Majesty what I have to say to you is that even though His Majesty has received another exemplar which is more beautiful and in a better state yet twenty of those are not worth as much as the single old exemplar which you took abroad because it has the authority of antiquity and is correctly spelled and written. I believe it is the only one left in the world of the old exemplars. All the others which exist are derived from it as is also the beautiful one which you mention.² I had the late Jón in Oddgeirshólar write it. But all of them are much less correct and more inaccurate than the old one and are not to be compared with it. This I would like His Majesty to know so that the old one is not thrown away, because another correct one can never be obtained when it is gone. All the new ones should and must be emended from it.

(“Uñ exempl(ar) Eddu, sem þier fra mier uthøfdud j fyrra til Majest., er ydur það ad skrifa, ad þo til hanns Ma. hafi borest annad exemplar fegra og ásiáligra, þá eru þau tuttugu þó ecki verd vid eitt það gamla exemplar, hvort þier ut høfdud, því það hefur autoritat(em) antiqvitat(is) og er rett stafad og skrifad. Meina eg það alleina eitt til vera j heimenum af þeim gömlu exemplaribus, hin øll eru effter því skrifud sem til eru, og lika þetta fagra, hvors þier getid, það liet eg Jón heitinn j Oddgeirsho[l]um skrifa, enn øll eru þau miklu reyngre og orettare enn það gamla, og komast ecki j kvist vid það. Þad villda eg Ma. feingi ad vita, so því gamla sie ecki j burt kastad, því alldrei fæst annad afftur rett þá það er burt, øll þau nyu verda og eiga effter því ad emenderast.” Jón Helgason 1942: 161.)

² The relevant letter from Þormóður to Brynjólfur has not come down to us.

We know from other sources that Brynjólfur struggled with the accuracy of his copyists. In a note on the copy of *Íslendingabók* in AM 113 b fol. Árni Magnússon compares its accuracy with that of the transcript in AM 113 a fol. and suggests that Bishop Brynjólfur had the second copy made because he was unhappy with the accuracy of the first. He then adds:

there are also accounts that this happened with *Sæmundar-Edda*, that Mag. Brynjólfur is said to have had written twice before he was satisfied with the copy

(“álíka og sagner eru, að til síe geinged um *Sæmundar Eddu*, sem Mag. Bryniolfur skal hafa lated tvisvar skrifa aðr enn honum líkade skriften”; AM 113 b fol.)

In any case it is clear from Brynjólfur’s letter to Þormóður and from the marginal corrections which Árni mentions in the lost manuscript that he was concerned about the accuracy of the book. We may, then, ask why he entrusted this job to Jón in Oddgeirshólar rather than a more experienced scribe. Normally, Brynjólfur’s go-to man for the copying of medieval manuscripts was Jón Erlendsson (d. 1672).³ We know of no other manuscript written by Jón in Oddgeirshólar. What was so special about this *Edda* manuscript that it required his attention? It was presumably that this manuscript was on vellum and intended to be visually appealing. Brynjólfur would have wanted a scribe capable of an exceptionally attractive hand and decorations. Jón in Oddgeirshólar presumably had the skills required. One source describes him as “a poet, a painter and a good scribe – a versatile craftsman” (“skaald maalare og góður skrifare, lista madr á alt”; Ólafur Snóksdalín 1985: 654).

The church at Skálholt had an axe named *Remigýgja* (the name has many variants), which had been donated by Jón in Oddgeirshólar. According to Jón Ólafsson this axe was “modelled on *Skarpheðinn*’s axe at the suggestion of Magister Brynjólfur” (“gerðri eftir öxi *Skarpheðins* að forlagi Magister Brynjólfs”; Matthías Þórðarson 1915: 39). The axe is now lost, believed to have perished with Grímur Thorkelín’s collection in 1807, though a drawing of it survives. *Skarpheðinn*’s mighty axe *Rimmugýgr* is mentioned several times in *Njáls saga*. The effort by Jón and Brynjólfur to recreate it may be analogous to their effort to recreate *Sæmundr*’s *Edda*.

³ Árni’s list of *Eddas* in AM 749 4to, h includes two in the hand of Jón Erlendsson and one in the hand of Bishop Brynjólfur himself.

Some further information about the lost codex is found in Árni Magnússon's work on the life of Sæmundr the wise:

It is now time to investigate what has been written about the very ancient Icelandic book popularly known as Sæmundur's Edda, which long lingered in obscurity until Brynjólfur Sveinsson, who became bishop of Skálholt in 1639, brought it out of hiding during the early years of his holding that office. ... When he was eagerly searching out ancient sources, among other things a certain very ancient vellum manuscript containing Icelandic poems came into his possession. To make them easier to read, he had the poems written out on new vellum and when they had been transcribed he wrote in front with his own hand the title *The Edda of Sæmundr the Wise*.⁴ This more recent codex was later given as a gift from Brynjólfur to the famous antiquarian Þormóður Torfason, now royal historian in Norway, and he still keeps it in his collection along with various other old documents.

(“His autem proxime inspicienda veniunt, quæ de antiquissimo libro Islandico, vulgo Edda Sæmundi in literas relata sunt, quæ longo tempore in obscuro jacentem Brynolfus Svenonius, diocesi Scalholtensi in Islandia anno 1639 præfectus, primis officii sui annis è latebris eruit ... Cum enim antiqua monumenta magno studio conquiret ... inter alia membranâ quandam antiquissimam carmina Islandica continentem nactus est, quæ, ut lectioni commodius inserviret, in recenti membranâ exarari fecit, ac ita transcriptis titulum Eddæ Sæmundi multiscii propriâ manu præfixit. Hanc membranam recentiorum Brynolfi dono postea obtinuit vir magna antiquitatum scientia clarus Thormodus Torfæus regius hodie in Norvegia historiographus, qui eam in musæo suo inter plura antiqua documenta etiamnum asservat.” Finnur Jónsson 1930: II 93–94; Icelandic translation in Gottskálk Jensson 2008: 147–148.)

The context here is that Icelandic scholars had surmised, before the Codex Regius of the Eddic Poems came to light, that Snorri's Edda was based on a previous Edda compiled by Sæmundr (Einar G. Pétursson 1998: I 49–50; Ólafur Halldórsson 1978: 225–227). One of Árni's aims in his essay is to show the weak foundations of this idea. He goes on to refer to the compilation of Sæmundr's Edda out of multiple sources:

Many other poems besides, which the vellum manuscript [i.e. the Codex Regius] does not include, are found in paper copies, some of them copied into it from manuscripts which are still extant, some from originals which today are unknown. And thus this corpus, stitched together out of various manuscripts, is generally called Sæmundr's Edda as indeed Brynjólfur Sveinsson held, who, as noted above, prefixed that title to the first copy.

⁴ It is not clear whether Brynjólfur wrote this title in Latin or Icelandic.

(“Multæ præterea odæ, quas membrana non habet, in chartaceis exemplaribus inveniuntur, partim ex aliis codicibus etiamnum extantibus eò translatae, partim vero ex ignotis hodie originalibus descriptæ. Atque ita ê variis codicibus consarcinatum corpus Edda Sæmundi vulgo dicitur: fide scilicet Brynolfi Svenoni, qvi titulum illum primo, ut antedictum est, apographo præfixit”; Finnur Jónsson 1930: II 94; Icelandic translation in Gottskálk Jensson 2008: 148.)

By the creation of the lost vellum manuscript we might say that Brynjólfur reified his conception of a Sæmundr’s Edda, including the poems of the Codex Regius as well as similar poems found in other sources.

2.2 Reconstruction based on surviving copies

In seventeenth-century Iceland it was often the case that once an attractive copy had been made of a medieval manuscript, subsequent copyists interested in the text would use the copy rather than the original. Brynjólfur’s letter to Þormóður quoted above implies that this might have been the case here. Transcribers would have found the sumptuous new codex more readable and more complete than the Codex Regius and might have been inclined to copy the former rather than the latter.

While most of the earliest copies of the Poetic Edda were lost in 1728 we do have a few seventeenth-century survivors and they are worth some study. The survivors consist of the following four manuscripts and copies derived from them:

- **St. papp. 15 8vo (St).** This manuscript was brought to Sweden in 1681. It is the most complete manuscript of the Poetic Edda surviving from the seventeenth century. It begins with *Sólarljóð* and *Hrafnagaldur Óðins*, followed by the mythological poems of the Codex Regius, then *Vegtamskviða*, then the heroic poems of the Codex Regius, then *Fjolsvinnsmál*, *Hyndluljóð*, *Grógaldur* and *Grottasöngur*. A number of manuscripts are descended from St, including the seventeenth-century manuscripts St. papp. 34 fol., St. papp. 11 4to, St. papp. 46 4to and NKS 1870 4to (Lassen 2011: 30–34). In Annette Lassen’s study of the transmission of *Hrafnagaldur Óðins*, St is of independent value. This is also the case in Peter Robinson’s study of the transmission of *Svipdagsmál* (O’Hara and Robinson 1993: 56).
- **Lbs 1562 4to** – Late seventeenth century. The earliest part of this manuscript was written by Ásgeir Jónsson (c. 1657–1707) and consists of three fragments. The first fragment contains *Sólarljóð* and

Hrafnagaldur Óðins, the second fragment has *Vegtamskviða*, the third fragment has *Atlamál*. According to Giovanni Verri the writing suggests that the fragments are no later than 1688–1689 (Verri 2011: 234). In Annette Lassen’s study of *Hrafnagaldur*, 1562 is of independent value and has a large number of descendants (Lassen 2011: 35–64). A later part of the manuscript has a register of this older part made while it was still complete.

- **Rask 21 a (Ra)** – Late seventeenth century. This manuscript contains mythological poems in the following order: *Völuspá*, *Hávamál*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grímnismál*, *Skírnismál*, *Hárbarðsljóð*, *Hymiskviða*, *Lokasenna*, *Prymskviða*, *Vegtamskviða*, *Alvíssmál*, *Grottasöngur*, *Grógaldur*, *Fjölsvinnsmál*, *Hyndluljóð*.
- **AM 738 4to (O)** – ca. 1680. This is the famous *Oblong Edda* with its mythological illustrations. It contains exactly the same sequence of poems as Rask 21 a. In Robinson’s study of *Svipdagismál*, 738 and 21 are sister manuscripts, each having textual value and a number of descendants.

When the four manuscripts above are compared it quickly becomes apparent that they are all descended from the same inaccurate copy of the Codex Regius. Unfortunately no text from the Codex Regius survives in all four manuscripts but the following examples from *Vafþrúðnismál* suffice to show that St, Ra and O are related:

Vafþrúðnismál 1.5 qveþ ec R] tel ek St Ra; ek tel O

Vafþrúðnismál 2.3 goða R] –St Ra O

Vafþrúðnismál 6.6 ef R] hvert St; hvort Ra O

The following examples from *Atlamál* suffice to show that St and 1562 are related:

Atlamál 6.1 Com þa R] –St 1562

Atlamál 8.2 allz R] kavns St 1562

Atlamál 12.8 iþ R] meþ St 1562

Each manuscript also has readings not shared by the others, demonstrating that none is descended from any of the others:

Atlamál 4.7 lima R 1562] Luna St

Atlamál 10.6 reþ R 1562] reþi St

Atlamál 32.5 vétkað R] vet ek St; veit ek 1562

Atlamál 66.2 qvistom R] kvistom St; kvistan 1562

Vegtamskviða 3.5 angurs] angur 738

Vafþrúðnismál 4.3 sér R] –O

Vafþrúðnismál 8.1 ec R] –Ra

There are many secondary readings in Ra and O which are not shared by St, e.g.:

Vafþrúðnismál 7.4 þv] nu Ra O

Vafþrúðnismál 7.6 snotrari] snotrann Ra O

It also appears that St and 1562 have errors not shared by Ra and O. The only text where this can be demonstrated is *Vegtamskviða*, the single poem shared by all four manuscripts. The text is short but still there are two instances of a common error in St and 1562:

Vegtamskviða 8.5 þa A Ra O] þar St 1562

Vegtamskviða 10.1 þat A; þaþ Ra O] –St 1562

At some point before 1728, Árni Magnússon made a new and much more accurate transcription of the Codex Regius (Einar G. Pétursson 1992: 30; 2007: 148–150). Many subsequent Eddic collections are derived from Árni's transcript. But there are still some eighteenth-century manuscripts derived from the same transcript as the seventeenth-century manuscripts, most importantly the following manuscript:

- **NKS 1867 4to** – written in 1760 by reverend Ólafur Brynjólfsson. This manuscript contains both Eddic poems and the Prose Edda as well as some associated analytical material. It is best known for its mythological illustrations. It is the ancestor to SÁM 66 and ÍB 299 4to, both of which also have mythological illustrations.

NKS 1867 4to turns out to have all the errors common to St, Ra, O and 1562. But it has none of the errors specific to St and 1562 nor those specific to Ra and O. It, thus, constitutes a third independent branch. We can draw up a stemma (fig. 1).

This investigation reveals that all extant seventeenth-century manuscripts of the Poetic Edda as well as a number of later manuscripts are descended from the same original copy of the Codex Regius. It seems likely that this original copy, the *X of the stemma, is the vellum manuscript of Jón in Oddgeirshólar. What did this manuscript contain?

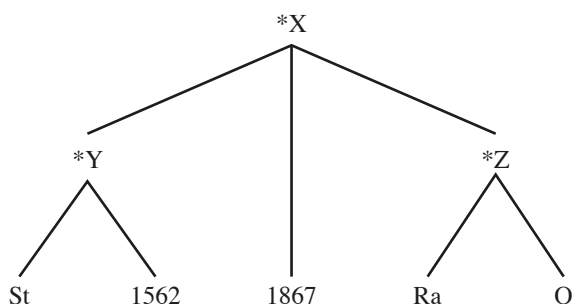


Fig. 1. A stemma of St, 1562, 1867, Ra and O.

In O there is a list of *þættir Sæmundar-Eddu* which appears to reflect the contents of *X. The list is as follows:

- Þessar eru þættir Sæmunþar Eddu
- 1 Væluspa tuefólþ
 - 2 Havamál
 - 3 Runatals þattur
 - 4 Vafdrufnis mál
 - 5 Grymnes mál
 - 6 Skyrnis fœr
 - 7 Harbarþs liof
 - 8 Hymes kuiþa
 - 9 Egis drekka
 - 10 Loka glepsa
 - 11 Hamarþ heymt
 - 12 Vegtams kvyþa
 - 13 Alvis mál
 - 14 Væluþar kuyþa
 - 15 Helga kuiþa Hundinz bana
 - 16 Helga kuyþa Hattingia skaða
 - 17 Helga kuyþa Hunþ. b œnnur fra Volsungum
 - 18 Synfiœtla lok
 - 19 Grypis spa Sigurþar kuyþa Favnis B
 - 20 Sygurþar kuyþa œnnur
 - 21 Sygurþar kuyþa þriþia
 - 22 Brinhyllþar Buþla dottur
 - 23 Gœþrunar kuiþa Giukadottur
 - 24 Brynhyllþar kuyþa œnnur
 - 25 Oddrunar gratur
 - 26 Atla mal in grœnlenþsku

- 27 Hamþis mál
- 28 Grottasœngur
- 29 Gröugalþur
- 30 Fiælsvyns mál
- 31 Hynþlu Liop

(AM 738 4to, 78r)

These are the poems of the Codex Regius in the order of that manuscript, except that *Alvíssmál* and *Völundarkviða* have switched places, presumably on the theory that *Völundarkviða* fits better with the heroic poems than the mythological poems. Items 12 and 28–31 are from other sources.

The *Z manuscripts contain items 1–13 and 28–31 while the absence of items 14–27 (the heroic poems) is indicated by the words “Hier er margt vndann fellt” between *Alvíssmál* and *Grottasœngr* (AM 738 4to, 71v).

Both the *Y manuscripts began with *Sólarljóð* and *Hrafnagaldur*, but otherwise seem to have contained the same poems as in the list above with some differences in the order.

NKS 1867 4to has a *Registur yfer kviþlijnga Sæmundar Eddu* which lists items 1–14 above as its items 1–14. The poems after that are in a different order from the list in O, some of the heroic poems are omitted and *Sólarljóð* (but not *Hrafnagaldur*) is added.

The most complete witness to the archetypal copy of the Codex Regius is St. One of the most interesting aspects of its text is the way in which it handles the great lacuna between *Sigrdrífumál* and the fragment referred to by modern scholars as *Brot af Sigurðarkviðu*. This lacuna is bridged by a lengthy prose extract from *Völsunga saga*, containing four stanzas. The text after the great lacuna picks up again in the Codex Regius with the last three lines of a stanza:

[...] saka vnit,
er þv frœcnan uill
fiorvi nēma.

(GKS 2365 4to, 33r)

This stanza is skillfully reconstructed in our seventeenth-century redaction:

Hvi ertu Brynhildur
Buþla dottir
bólvi blandinn
ok bana räþum

hvat hefur Sigurdur
til saka unnit
er þu froknann vill
fiqrvi nema.

(St, 84v–85r)

2.3 Sources of the lost manuscript

The resources used in the composition of the seventeenth-century Sæmundar-Edda are considerable. It has texts derived from six known vellum manuscripts as well as from sources unknown to us. Apart from the **Codex Regius of the Eddic Poems (GKS 2365 4to)** the sources are as follows:

- **Hauksbók (AM 544 4to)** – This was used for the text of “Væluspa tuefþǫlp” (*The Double Vǫluspá*). The text is double in the sense that it is based on two manuscripts, the Codex Regius and Hauksbók.
- **The Codex Regius of the Prose Edda (GKS 2367 4to)** – This is the source of *Grottasǫngr*.
- **Flateyjarbók (GKS 1005 fol.)** – This is the source of *Hyndluljóð*.
- **AM 748 I a 4to** – This is the ultimate source of *Vegtamskviða (Baldrs draumar)* though the seventeenth-century redaction had a longer version of the poem (see Frog 2010: 247–248).
- **NKS 1824 b 4to** – This is the source of the *Vǫlsunga saga* extract used to fill the great lacuna.
- **Unknown sources** – We do not know the sources of *Grógaldr* and *Fjölsvinnsmál* but they are definitely lost now. The archetype of the stemma presented by O’Hara and Robinson (1993: 56) seems to be our *X.

2.4 Brynjólfur’s further efforts to collect poems

Apart from the vellum Edda, there is no doubt that a number of Eddic collections on paper were made under Brynjólfur’s auspices and his efforts to collect Eddic poems seem to have continued. Árni’s list of Eddic manuscripts mentions a copy in Brynjólfur’s own hand as well as two copies by Jón Erlendsson. Some of these copies probably contained *Sólarljóð* and *Hrafnagaldur* and perhaps further additional poems.

After the fire of 1728, Árni wrote letters to Iceland, trying to reacquire

some of the lost material. In a letter to Jón Halldórsson in 1729 he mentions Bishop Brynjólfur's poems:

to transcribe the other poems, if he has them, which were not in the Sæmundar-Edda which he got from me but in those which Mag. Brynjólfur commissioned. These poems are namely *Getspeki Heiðreks konungs*, *Hrafnagaldur Óðins*, *Gróugaldur* etc. ... It would be apparent to anyone who had Mag. Brynjólfur's exemplars that he had had some more old documents of this sort – and had them transcribed – than we now have.

(“uppskrifa hinar odas, ef hann hefur, sem ecke voru i þeirre Sæm(undar) E(du) sem eg honum liede, helldur þeim sem Mag. Bryniolfur hefur skrifa læted. Odæ eru nefnel(ega) getspeke Heidr(eks) kongs. Hrafnag(alldur) Odins. Grougaldur etc. ... Þeim sem hefde Exemplaria Mag. Bryniolfs, honum være synelegt, ad hann hefde haft einhver fleire þvilik forn Document og uppskrifa læted, enn nü vær hòfum.” Jón Margeirsson 1975: 147.)

Árni ties the bishop to *Hrafnagaldur* in particular:

I had (which burned) a letter from the late reverend Ólafur (our schoolmaster) concerning one of those poems (I think *Hrafnagaldur Óðins*) that Mag. Brynjólfur had had that poem transcribed from an old and dirty single leaf, and I think it said that it was defective at the end, and the same might be true for other lost things. It is all as if in a fog because the documents are gone.

(“Eg hafde (sem brann) bref Sal. Sra Olafs (Skolameistara ockar) ahrærande eina af þessum odis (mig minnir Hrafnag. Odins) ad Mag. Brýniolfur hafe þá qvidu uppskrifa læted epter gòmlu saurugu einstaka blade, og minnir mig þar stæde, ad þar aptan vid hefde vantad, og eins kynne um fleira geingid vera. Þetta verdur so sem allt i þoku, þvi documentenn eru burtu.” Jón Margeirsson 1975: 147.)

Árni himself stresses that his memories are hazy so this information should be used with some caution. But it certainly seems possible that Bishop Brynjólfur included *Hrafnagaldur* in some of his Edda manuscripts. He may well have been responsible for the *Y of the stemma, which expanded the collection to include *Sólarljóð* and *Hrafnagaldur*.

2.5 Motivation

What is the point of studying the lost manuscripts of Bishop Brynjólfur? For one thing, the fire of 1728 has somewhat obscured the central role Brynjólfur had in collecting Eddic poems and promoting the concept of

a Sæmundar-Edda. The editorial tradition which he started continues to the present day. For another thing, several poems are only preserved in seventeenth-century paper manuscripts. Until now each has been edited independently but studying the manuscript tradition as a whole will bring more clarity to the matter.

However, the initial reason we had for looking into the lost manuscript of Jón in Oddgeirshólar was to compare it with a manuscript which still survives, the Codex Sparfvenfeldianus.

3. The Codex Sparfvenfeldianus

We now move on to a study of the Codex Sparfvenfeldianus (Sth. perg. 3 4to), a seventeenth-century vellum manuscript of the Prose Edda based principally on the Codex Regius of the Prose Edda but also on Laufás-Edda and a copy of the Codex Upsaliensis. The manuscript is known to have been in Denmark in 1646 and was probably written only a few years before that.

3.1 Previous research on S

The Codex Sparfvenfeldianus (S) was studied rather extensively by the Eddic scholars of the nineteenth century. It is instructive to see how their views developed.

The first scholar to publish an analysis of S was Lorenzo Hammarsköld (1811), who devotes a whole article to it in *Iduna*. Hammarsköld speaks highly of the manuscript and correctly points out that it is well-preserved and written in an unusually attractive and legible hand (1811: 94–95).

Hammarsköld dates the manuscript on paleographic grounds as no older than the end of the fourteenth century and no later than the mid-fifteenth century (1811: 109). He believes the double accent marks over the historically long vowels (characteristic of the seventeenth century) have been added later (1811: 96). He also points out that the sequence EXPLICIT MCDLXI. M. H. B. S. S. S. on the last page is written in another ink and, he believes, another hand. This, too, is, in his view, a later addition.

Hammarsköld (1811: 94) is under the impression that the Danish scholar Rasmus Nyerup, arguably the most prominent Edda scholar of the time, is unaware of the existence of S. But this was not so. In 1794, Nyerup pub-

lished *Langebekiana*, an edition of the letters of Jacob Langebek (1710–1775). This included a letter to Langebek from the Swedish scholar Nils Reinhold Brocman (1731–1770) dated April 1, 1768. Here, Brocman briefly notes that he compared the Upsala codex of the Edda with Resen’s edition and with Sparfvenfeldt’s codex (Nyerup 1794: 121).

When Nyerup was in Sweden in 1810, he took the opportunity to examine S and in 1816 he published a brief analysis. Nyerup notes that the manuscript is obviously not older than the seventeenth century and suggests that the reference to the year 1461 is intended to dupe the inexperienced lover of antiquities (“sat for at føre den ukyndige Elsker af Oldsager bag lyset”; Nyerup 1816: 76). By comparing S with Resen’s Edda edition he concludes that S is a copy of the Codex Regius.

All subsequent scholars have agreed with Nyerup’s estimate of the manuscript’s age and about its derivation from the Codex Regius. Despite this, nineteenth-century scholars were to make extensive use of S in their editions. Rask, in his Edda edition of 1818, speaks disparagingly of S, calling it a very recent and unimportant manuscript (“mjög ný og lítt merkilig”; Rask 1818: 9) and noting that it is believed to be derived from the Codex Regius.

Even though Rask had a low opinion of S, the critical apparatus of his edition includes a great many variants from it. Rask does not explain why this is so but some possibilities can be suggested. For one thing, Rask may not have been quite certain that S was in fact derived from the Codex Regius, his wording (“þykir hún helzt löguð eptir Kóngseddu”) leaves some room for doubt. And, to be sure, S is not solely derived from RS. Secondly, the Codex Regius was not available to Rask at the time. Indeed, he believed it to be lost and had not had the opportunity to examine it first hand. What he had was his own copy of a copy of RS made by Ísleifur Einarsson (1765–1836). While Rask regarded Ísleifur’s copy as very accurate (“mjög nákvæma uppskrift”, Rask 1818: 8), it would not have been unreasonable to suspect that S might occasionally have more accurate readings (it did). Thirdly, Rask published his Edda in Stockholm, so S was conveniently available to him while some manuscripts in Copenhagen were not.

In a book from 1824, Otto Lindfors briefly discusses S and cites both Hammarsköld and Rask. Like all subsequent scholars, Lindfors prefers Rask’s views (Lindfors 1824: 94).

The first volume of the three-volume Copenhagen edition of the Edda appeared in 1848. The introduction is sparse and the only thing said about S is: “ex hoc codice membranaceo, anno 1661 (non 1461) scripto, selecta

editionis Raskianæ suscepimus” (p. vii). By this time the Codex Regius itself had been rediscovered and was used as the basis of the edition. There was thus less reason to use S or other texts derived from RS. Nevertheless, the Copenhagen edition follows Rask in generously citing variants from S – as well as from other late secondary manuscripts.

Also in 1848, Adolf Arwidsson published his catalogue of Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Library in Stockholm. Concurring with previous commentators Arwidsson says that 1461 is an error for 1661, interestingly he calls it a copyist error (“ett afskrifningsfel”). Arwidsson is the first scholar to connect S with Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason. In his treatment of St. perg. 12 4to he says: “Denna härleder sig från 17:de århundradet, samt hör till dem, hvilka besörjdes af *Thorlak Skúlason*, och synes vara av samma hand, som *Sparfvenfeldts* kodex af Eddan” (Arwidsson 1848: 23).

The monumental 167 volume *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* has a brief description of S in a section by Emil Rosselet on Icelandic literature. Rosselet refers to the date 1461 as a scribal error for 1661 (“ein offenbarer Schreibfehler statt MDCLXI”; Rosselet 1855: 280).

Ernst Wilken briefly treats S in a work from 1878. He becomes the first scholar to point out that the text in S is derived from U as well as from R (Wilken 1878: 5–6). This is later repeated by Mogk (1879: 479).

A major contribution to the study of S was made by Finnur Jónsson in the third volume of the Copenhagen edition, which appeared in 1887. Finnur points out that the title page has an illustration showing a bishop’s mitre and a bind rune (see fig. 2) which Finnur interprets as M Þ S. Finnur takes this to be an abbreviation for *Magister Þorlákur Skúlason*. He argues that Þorlákur had S made and compares it with AM 128 fol., another seventeenth-century vellum manuscript containing medieval texts. Since Þorlákur died in 1656, a dating of the manuscript to 1661 does not fit with this theory. Instead, Finnur declares that 1461 must be an error for 1641. Finnur makes it clear that he thinks S is a textually worthless manuscript (Finnur Jónsson 1887: xcvi–xcix).

In his catalogue of Icelandic manuscripts in the Royal Library in Stockholm, Vilhelm Gödel repeats Finnur’s theory on the bind rune in S and on the dating to 1641 (1897a: 37–38). Gödel also briefly mentions S in an account of Sparfvenfeldt’s travels (Gödel 1897b: 212).

As the nineteenth century comes to a close, S disappears from the attention of scholars. Having decided in 1887 that the manuscript is worthless, Finnur Jónsson makes no mention of it in his influential 1931 edition of

the Edda. Interest in the manuscript is not revived until with Anthony Faulkes's works of 1977 and 1979.

The scholar who has made the largest contribution to the study of S is Anthony Faulkes. His most important discoveries are that S is referred to in letters between Worm and Stephanus in 1646 and that parts of S were copied onto paper leaves in the Codex Wormianus. Faulkes's work is referred to in more detail in the next section.

The most recent contribution to the study of S was made by Viðar Hreinsson (2016). While still accepting that the bind rune refers to Bishop Þorlákur he attempts to connect the manuscript with Bishop Brynjólfur as well. We discuss Viðar's theories further in the section on the origins of S.

3.2 Early history of S

Codex Sparfvenfeldianus is named after Johan Gabriel Sparfwenfeldt (1655–1727), a Swedish nobleman, diplomat and manuscript collector. Sparfwenfeldt wrote his name and placed his seal on the title page and on the last page he wrote an indication of his ownership, using a conventional Icelandic phrase for this purpose: “Sparwenfeldt er eigandi þessarar bókar med riettu en einge annar”. The hand is his own. It is unusual for a seventeenth-century Scandinavian to write in Icelandic but Sparfwenfeldt was a man of some talent and flair.

By 1705 Sparfwenfeldt had handed S over to Antikvitetsarkivet, along with 38 other manuscripts. In 1780 the manuscript was transferred to the Royal Library in Stockholm, where it has remained since (Faulkes 1979a: 146). It is not clear where, when or from whom Sparfwenfeldt obtained the manuscript. Faulkes suggests his 1682 stay in Copenhagen as the time and place (Faulkes 1979a: 146; see also Gödel 1897b: 211–212; Walde 1918: 94–99) and this does seem likely, but all we know with complete certainty is that he obtained the manuscript before 1705.

The history of S before it came into Sparfwenfeldt's possession is a puzzle. Faulkes discovered that parts of S were copied onto paper leaves in Codex Wormianus, and S seems to be referred to in some letters between Worm and Stephanus in 1646. This needs some further exploration.

There are four letters which come into consideration, one exchange in February and one in September. Faulkes takes all four to refer to the same manuscript. First there is a letter from Worm to Stephanus dated February 7, 1646. The key section is as follows:

I hear you have received Sæmundr's Edda; if the one by Snorri which I gave you some time ago is of no use to you I ask you to return it; there is a friend of mine with an eminent name that has great need for it.

("Eddam Sæmundi accepisse te avdio; si illa Snorronis, qvam tibi olim dedi, nulli sit usui, redde qvæso; est enim amicus magni nominis, qvi summopere eam desiderat." Jakob Benediktsson 1948: 363.)

This must refer to a manuscript which Worm owns and Stephanus has borrowed. The Latin verb *do* does not necessarily imply transfer of ownership, any more than the English verb *give*. If Worm had actually made a gift of this manuscript to Stephanus he would surely be more apologetic about asking for it back. Stephanus replies:

I have indeed received the Edda of Sæmundr Sigfússon. . . . I will gladly let you borrow it when God brings us together. I will also return Snorri's Edda when Hans Ravn, schoolmaster at Slagelse School, has returned it; I gave it to him to use last year.

("Eddam Sæmundi Sigfusonii accepisse me verissimum est. . . . Ego tecum lubens communicabo, ubi nos Deus conjunxerit. Eddam Snorronis etiam reddam, qvum reddiderit Scholæ Slaglosianæ Rector Johannes Corvinus, cui priore anno eam utendam dedi." Jakob Benediktsson 1948: 363.)

Again it would be absurd to take *dedi* to mean that Stephanus had presented Ravn with the manuscript as a gift. This must still be Worm's manuscript, and Worm is to get it back. The correspondence between Worm and Stephanus does not make it clear when they met but at that point we assume that Worm got the manuscript of Snorra-Edda he was asking for.

What may have prompted Worm to write his February 7 letter to Stephanus was the arrival of the Frenchman Isaac Lapeyrère in Copenhagen at the beginning of the month (Schepelern 1968: 150). The eminent friend referred to in the letter to Stephanus may be another Frenchman, De la Thuillerie, to whom Worm intended to send a translation of the Edda once his assistant, Stefán Ólafsson, had completed it. In letters written to Lapeyrère and De la Thuillerie in June 1646 Worm expresses his frustration with Stefán's slow progress (Schepelern 1968: 187–189).

Finnur Jónsson took these letters in February to refer to Codex Wormianus (Finnur Jónsson 1887: xlvi). This is unlikely for two reasons. Firstly, it would be surprising to find W being so casually passed around. Worm was well aware of the rarity and value of his manuscript. Secondly, a letter dated to November 9, 1645 indicates that Stefán Ólafsson had

already then been hired to translate W (Schepelern 1968: 136–137). If W had been on loan for such a long time it would be odd for Worm to wait until February to request it back.

Jakob Benediktsson (1948: 522) took these letters to refer to Magnús Ólafsson's Latin translation of the Edda. To be sure, Stefán Ólafsson clearly made use of Magnús's translation in his work so it would be natural for Worm to request it at this point. It is also easier to see why a seventeenth-century manuscript with a text in Latin would be passed around in this manner – certainly a Latin text would have been more accessible to Stephanus and Ravn than an Icelandic one. There is, in fact, a record of Worm sending Stephanus this text – a letter dating to October 28, 1641 (Jakob Benediktsson 1948: 357). Here, however, Worm is planning to send Stephanus a copy of it. If this plan went through there could be little reason for Worm to ask for the text back some years down the line.

To sum up, we do not know what manuscript Worm was requesting back from Stephanus in February 1646. As can be seen from Faulkes's overview (Faulkes 1977: 24–28), it is often difficult to tell what Edda manuscripts they are discussing at any given time.

We now move on to the letters exchanged in September. Stephanus writes to Worm on September 23:

I do not doubt that the hiatus in your Edda has now been filled by the man to whom you recently indicated that you would assign this task. Therefore I ask you to please send my codex back to me with this messenger and at the same time inform me on how far this volume contains anything beyond the normal tales found in all copies of the Edda – whether it has the dreams in another order or if the contents of all of them are the same. I would be especially happy if *Skálda* was added, as it is found in my other codex.

(“*Qvum nullus dubitem, qvin hiatum illum in Eddâ tuâ suppleverit cui hanc operam injuncturum te nuper significasti, peramanter rogo, ut meum Codicem per hunc internuncium, restituas: et simul me edoceas, si quid complectatur volumen istud præter communes Fabulas, qvæ in omnibus Eddæ exemplaribus continentur; num alia serie recenseat somnia ista, an vero eadem omnium est materia et argumentum. Inprimis ex animo lætarer, si Scaldæ adjuncta esset, qvæ in alio Codice meo extat.*” Jakob Benediktsson 1948: 363.)

There is nothing here to indicate that this is the same manuscript which was discussed in February. Indeed, the one in September is definitely owned by Stephanus while the one in February was to all appearances owned by Worm. Worm replies on September 26:

I return your Edda to you with the highest gratitude. It contains both Edda and Skálda and all the things which have to do with them. There is only one story about a certain Sigurðr that is not found in mine. Otherwise they agree step by step, apart from the fact that mine contains a Grammatica and a number of poems, which are lacking in yours.

(“Reddo summa cum gratiarum actione Eddam tuam; continet et Eddam et Scaldam et omnia, qvæ eo spectant. Unica fabula de Sivardo qvodam auctior est mea⁵. Cætera pari passu ambulant, nisi qvod meæ addita sit Grammatica et multæ Cantilenæ, qvæ in tua desiderantur.” Jakob Benediktsson 1948: 364.)

The manuscript discussed in September was taken by Gödel (1892: 14) to be U but as Jakob Benediktsson pointed out, this fails to make sense; the paper leaves in W do not contain text from U. Jakob investigated the paper leaves containing the “fabula de Sivardo”, i.e. *Skáldskaparmál* chapters 48–52 (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 128–34), in W and discovered that the text “derives from a not particularly good copy of Cod. Reg.” (Jakob Benediktsson 1948: 523). Faulkes then discovered that the copy in question was S.

To sum up our findings, what we know is that in September 1646, Stephanus owned S and had lent it to Worm for the purpose of filling in missing sections in W. We do not know if any other preserved letter between Stephanus and Worm refers to S. Faulkes believed the letters in February 1646 did so but we cannot see a strong reason for this supposition. The February letters appear to refer to a manuscript owned by Worm. Faulkes also thought it was possible that S was one of the “bini codices” referred to in a letter from Stephanus to Worm dated March 24, 1642 (Faulkes 1977: 28; Jakob Benediktsson 1948: 359). We take no position on this – the evidence seems insufficient to tell one way or the other.

Stephanus died in 1650 and in 1652 his collection of manuscripts was sold to the Swedish collector Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. De la Gardie donated these manuscripts to Uppsala University in 1669. There is, however, no record of S ever coming into De la Gardie’s possession. It seems likely that Stephanus had sold it before his death. In his final years, Stephanus’ financial situation was difficult and he was forced to sell precious books and manuscripts (Walde 1917: 270–271). Indeed, it is possible that Stephanus asked for S back from Worm in 1646 with the intention of

⁵ Like Faulkes (1979a: 147) and Jakob Benediktsson (1948: 523) we take *mea* to be ablative. Schepelem (1968: 213) takes it to be a nominative form.

selling it. S is certainly an eye-catching manuscript and might have been easy to sell. Be that as it may, we know of no record of S's whereabouts from 1646 and until it was acquired by Sparfwenfeldt, probably in 1682.

3.3 The origin of S

Earlier scholars have connected the manuscript with Þorlákur Skúlason (1597–1656), who was bishop of Hólar from 1628 until his death. The arguments for this attribution are as follows:

1. There is a bishop's mitre depicted on the title page and the manuscript was very likely created in the years when Þorlákur was bishop.
2. New vellum manuscripts were a rarity in the seventeenth century but Þorlákur commissioned three known vellum manuscripts containing Old Icelandic texts. Those are AM 128 fol., containing sagas of Icelanders; Stockholm perg. 12 4to, containing *Árna saga biskups* and AM 379 4to, containing *Hungrvaka* and *Þorláks saga* (Stefán Karlsson 2000: 398–399).
3. The bind rune in S can be read as M Þ S and Finnur Jónsson took this to mean *Magister Þorlákr Skúlason*.

But the case for Þorlákur's involvement is not as strong as it appears. The principal issue is that Þorlákur was not, in fact, a *magister* – he did not complete a master's degree and we have not found a single source which refers to him as *magister*.⁶ Finnur Jónsson's confident claim that the bind rune refers to him appears to be entirely unfounded.

Furthermore, it is true that Þorlákur commissioned three vellum manuscripts but those all contain saga texts and they all seem to be in the hand of one Brynjólfur Jónsson (Stefán Karlsson 2000: 397–399). S is written in another hand and with a different method of decoration. Finally, Þorlákur Skúlason's correspondence with Ole Worm is preserved, encompassing quite a substantial body of text. If Þorlákur had been engaged in an Eddic project of this sort he would surely have mentioned it to Worm – he knew the topic was of great interest to him. This would be doubly true if Worm was, as Faulkes suggests, the recipient of the book. The correspondence between Worm and Þorlákur mentions various gifts exchanged by the two friends, including books, socks, medicine and butter. If Þorlákur had given Worm a sumptuous Edda manuscript we would surely have a record of this.

⁶ Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir pointed this out to us.

If not Þorlákur, then who? The most natural candidate must be Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson. The arguments for his involvement are as follows:

1. There is a bishop's mitre on the title page and the manuscript was very likely created during the time that Brynjólfur was bishop.
2. Vellum manuscripts were a rarity in the seventeenth century but Brynjólfur is known to have commissioned a beautiful vellum manuscript of the Eddic poems.
3. Brynjólfur was the principal Eddic scholar of the time. He acquired the Codex Regius of the Prose Edda, the principal source of S, in 1640 and gave it to king Frederick III of Denmark in 1662.
4. The manuscript was owned by Brynjólfur's friend, Stephanus, in 1646. Brynjólfur gave Stephanus an Edda manuscript (Codex Upsaliensis) in 1639. It would have been natural to follow this up by giving him S, which contains a text more complete in many respects.
5. On the first pages of S there are marginal corrections where the manuscript has been compared with the Codex Regius of the Prose Edda. This concern with philological accuracy was rare in Iceland at the time but would fit well with Bishop Brynjólfur. The lost manuscript written by Jón in Oddgeirshólar had marginal corrections written by Brynjólfur himself. The same might be true for S.

In short, Brynjólfur had the means and the motive to have S made. The fact that it was based principally on the Codex Regius of the Prose Edda in a period when that manuscript was in Brynjólfur's possession certainly speaks strongly for his instigation. This leaves us with the problem of the title page. Is there a way to connect the letters M.H.B.S.S.S. with Bishop Brynjólfur?

Viðar Hreinsson has suggested that this be read as M[eistari] H[erra] B[rynjólfur] S[veins] S[on] S[kálholti] (2016: 522). We would suggest M[agister] rather than M[eistari] but it is certainly true that this sequence of letters includes Brynjólfur's initials and he is sometimes referred to as M.B.S.S. The H, however, is problematic. We have found no instance of the sequence "magister herra" and it seems somewhat unnatural. Perhaps H.B. could stand for *herra biskup* but that leaves the M unsolved; *minn herra biskupinn* does not seem entirely appropriate to the context. The letters S.S.S. could stand for *Superintendens Skálholts stiftis*, a title frequently used by the post-Reformation bishops of Skálholt and often abbreviated in this manner. For comparison, fig. 3 shows Þorlákur Skúlason with a similar design and the letters S H S, standing for *superintendens Hóla*



Fig. 2. The title page of Codex Sparfvenfeldianus. Photo: The National Library of Sweden (Public Domain).

stiftis. Of course this is all speculation unless further evidence is found. But it certainly seems possible that the sequence of six letters in Codex Sparfvenfeldianus refers to Brynjólfur in some way.

The bind rune is no less difficult. Interpreting it as being made out of the runes for M, P and S is certainly natural. But we wonder whether it could also be read as M-B-S with the upper loop of the B rune open in order to double as part of the M rune. To be sure, we have not found another example of such a B rune but the interpretation of bind runes is not always straightforward as is evident from various examples (e.g. Teresa Dröfn Njarðvík 2016: 149–153; Magnús Már Lárusson and Jónas Kristjánsson 1967: 225–288). Unless another example of this bind rune is



Fig. 3. Embroidery of Porlákur Skúlason with his initials T.S. and the letters S H S standing for *superintendent Hóla stiftis*. Photo by courtesy of The National Museum of Iceland.

found we are unlikely to reach a conclusive result. But we provisionally suggest that it is meant to indicate *Magister Brynjólfur Sveinsson*.

If Brynjólfur was the patron, who was the scribe? The only suggestion made so far is by Viðar Hreinsson who states that the hand is similar to that of Jón lærði (1574–1658), who was indeed involved with Bishop Brynjólfur's Eddic research (Viðar Hreinsson 2016: 522–523). Einar Gunnar Pétursson (2017) dismisses this suggestion as based on weak evidence and Viðar concedes that the highly decorated initials are unlike anything known to be by Jón (Viðar Hreinsson 2016: 707).

It was, of course, often the case that one scribe would write the text of a manuscript, leaving spaces for another scribe to complete it with decorated initials. A seventeenth-century example of this is in AM 128 fol., one of Bishop Porlákur's vellum manuscripts. Rectangular spaces were made for initials which were then never actually added. But this

is not the case in the Codex Sparfvenfeldianus – the spaces occupied by the large initials are irregularly shaped. There is every indication that the initials were made as the scribe wrote the text and not saved for later. This suggests that the same person was responsible for both the text and the initials, which seems to be a strike against Jón lærði as the culprit.

We suggest instead, as a working hypothesis, that the artist who decorated the book and wrote the text was the same person as was responsible for Bishop Brynjólfur's *Sæmundar-Edda* and *Njáls saga* inspired axe – Jón in Oddgeirshólar. We have no proof of this and do not claim certainty in the matter. But whoever the scribe was, he had the same set of skills as Jón in Oddgeirshólar and created a book that fits well with what we know about the lost manuscript.

3.4 The text of S

The text of S is principally derived from RS but the goal is clearly not to copy that manuscript as such since some content is added and some is subtracted. Compared to RS, the main omission is of the two poems at the end of the manuscript – *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málsháttakvæði*. There is no trace of these poems in S and no reference to them. The reason for this is clearly that the redactor saw this material as extraneous to the Edda proper.

The main addition is at the beginning. The first leaf of RS had been lost by the time S was made (see Faulkes 1979b for a reconstruction) and the missing text is supplied from Laufás-Edda. In the Laufás-Edda-derived prologue there is an interpolation unique to S (printed in Faulkes 1979a: 148) making a patriotic case for the Edda and its poetry, despite its non-Christian nature.

Faulkes (1979a: 147) has demonstrated that readings deriving from a copy of U are sporadically present in S, especially where U contains words not in RS. This again demonstrates that the goal with S was not to copy RS slavishly but to create a coherent and complete edition of the Edda. The vision behind the project is quite similar to that of latter-day editors, who have also mostly used RS – minus the poems at the end – as the base text and supplemented it with readings from W (from which Laufás-Edda is largely derived), U and other manuscripts.

The editorial strategies employed in S are most apparent in cases where its principal source, RS, was damaged and illegible. This is the subject of the next section.

4. Damage to the Codex Regius of the Prose Edda

The Codex Regius of the Prose Edda was evidently not intended to be an expensive or fancy book. Even at the time of writing, the parchment had many holes in it; a particularly large one is on the present fol. 1. Some leaves were not of full size, in particular ff. 20, 33 and 39 have an irregular shape.

The margins of RS were probably small to begin with and must have been trimmed further at an early date so that the text is very close to the edges of the leaves. At the top of the pages, some text had been lost owing to tears already by the time S was made. More has been lost since then.

The oldest known photograph of RS was published in 1907 and shows f. 28r, a completely legible page with no holes or tears affecting the text (Kålund 1907, plate 4). A complete facsimile edition appeared in 1940 (Wessén 1940). A comparison of the 1907 photograph with the 1940 photograph of the same page shows that some decay at the top of the page has appeared in the interval. A new set of photographs was taken in 1964, showing significant losses in some pages since 1940. Another set was taken in 1983, showing the manuscript disbound. In 1985 the manuscript was sent to Iceland. A set of digital photographs was made in 2003. The manuscript has not decayed significantly since 1964.

The most significant losses to the text of RS are the loss of the first leaf and the loss of the smaller section (around one fourth) of f. 39. But many other leaves have also been damaged; there are tears and holes which have damaged text on ff. 1–6, 9, 11, 14, 18–19, 25, 33, 40–41, 43–45, 47–55. In some cases the damage is minor, affecting only a letter or two. In some cases it is extensive and affects several lines.

In what follows we take a look at the pages in RS that have suffered the greatest amount of damage and we compare the affected text with S. In some cases, RS was less damaged when S was made. In some cases it was already seriously damaged and then it is instructive to see what strategies the scribe of S used to cope with the damage. S has some value in reconstructing lost text – most of the other early copies of RS were destroyed in 1728.

4.1 The missing first leaf

The first leaf of RS, containing the beginning of the Prologue, is missing. This was already the case when S was made since the beginning of the prologue in S is derived from Laufás-Edda. S starts following RS at the start of a sentence in line 4 on f. 1r of that manuscript. This tells us a lot about the purpose of the scribe of S. He no doubt had the rest of the prologue in Laufás-Edda but he switches manuscripts as soon as it becomes reasonably practical to follow RS. He must have seen his mission as basing his text principally on RS but also to deliver a coherent and attractive text. To that end, he omits the first three lines of RS rather than starting in mid-sentence.

4.2 The text of *Þórsdrápa* and *Haustlǫng* on f. 25r

The top of f. 25r in RS has a large tear in it, affecting the text of *Þórsdrápa* stanzas 9–10. The text of *Þórsdrápa* is not found in U or in Laufás-Edda and its text in S is derived purely from RS. As will become clear, the tear in RS was already present when S was copied out but it was significantly smaller than it is now. Another useful source to consult here is Jón Ólafsson's mid-eighteenth-century Edda commentary, AM 429 fol. This monumental four volume work has been underused by later scholars. We will treat each half-stanza separately.

F. 24v of RS ends with the first two lines of stanza 9 and the first two words of the third line. The remainder of the half-stanza is lost in the tear on f. 25. Finnur Jónsson presented the text as follows, supplementing RS with W:

9. a) Vnnz með yta síni
 aflravn var þat skavnar
 a seil [himin siola
 sialflopta kom þialfi]

(Finnur Jónsson 1908–1915 AI: 150; identical with Finnur Jónsson 1931: 108)

Jón Ólafsson reads the first two words of line 3 as <á sol> and indicates that the rest of the half-stanza is lost (AM 429 fol., p. 365).⁷ Jón was unable to read any more in the last two lines, noting “Hæc in Codice Regio præ incuria excisa sunt”. But in the seventeenth century the lines must have been still present since S does have them:

⁷ Jón uses Wormianus as his main text and correctly transcribes these words from that manuscript as <á seil>. This makes his <sol> reading less open to the accusation of preferring a familiar word over an unfamiliar one.

ä söl himin siöla
siälflöfða kom þiaalfe⁸

(S, 50r)

With evidence from two sources in favor of <sol> rather than <seil>, Finnur's reading is suspect. No trace of the word is visible in any extant photograph.

The next half-stanza is very much damaged. Finnur Jónsson published it as follows:

9 b) [að ostali stríðan
stravm hrekk mímis ekkior
stophnisv] for steypir
stríðlvndr með v]avl grípar.

(Finnur Jónsson 1908–1915 A I: 150; identical with Finnur Jónsson 1931: 108)

Finnur's reading of <for steypir> and <avl grípar> is confirmed by the 1940 facsimile. In later photographs the only remaining trace of this half-stanza is the word <grípar>.

Jón Ólafsson could read nothing in lines 1 and 2 but he could read <hnisv for steypir> in line 3 and his text implies that line 4 was legible and identical in content to the corresponding line in Wormanius, which he transcribed as <stríðlvndr með vql grídar> (AM 439 fol., p. 365).

S skips this half-stanza, presumably because it was already quite damaged. The last two lines must have been largely legible but the scribe of S did not like to give fragmentary text and apparently felt that the half-stanza was damaged beyond his ability to repair. This demonstrates that he had no source for *Þórsdrápa* apart from RS and thus confirms the authentic basis of his reading.

The second damaged stanza has not suffered as much. Finnur could read all but two words from the next half-stanza:

10. a) Ne divp akarn drapv
dolgs vams firvm gl[amma
striðkviðivn]dvm stoðvar
stall við rastar palli

(Finnur Jónsson 1908–1915 A I: 150; identical with Finnur Jónsson 1931: 108)

Jón Ólafsson transcribes the W text as follows:

⁸ The <i> in this word is only represented by a dot.

Ne diup akarn drápu
 dólg vams firum glamma
 strid kvidiundum stodvar
 stall vid rastar falli

(AM 439 fol., p. 365)

Jón cites one variant from R: <stríð-qviðiondum> in line 3 and does not indicate that any part is illegible. The text in S is as follows:

Nie diup ösar drápu
 dölgur vammis fyrer glamme.
 strydkuidiennndum støduar.
 stall vid rastar palle

(S, 50r)

The final half-stanza is again missing two words:

10. b) ogndiarfan hlavt arfi
 eiðs [fiarðar hvg] meira
 skalfa þors ne þialfa
 þrottar stein við otta.

(Finnur Jónsson 1908–1915 A I: 150; identical with Finnur Jónsson 1931: 109)

Jón Ólafsson transcribes the Wormianus text as follows:

Ogn-diarfan hlaut arfi
 eiðs fiarðar hug meira;
 skalfa Þórs ne Þiálfa
 þróttar steinn við ótta

(AM 439 fol., p. 365)

He cites no variants from RS and does not indicate that anything is illegible. The text in S is as follows:

ognn diarfann hlut arfe.
 eidz fiardar hug meire
 skälfa þörs nie þiälfa
 þröttar stein vid ötta

(S, 50r)

When we flip the page we find that the tear on 25v affects the first two stanzas of a long quotation from *Haustlög*. This quotation is skipped entirely in S. Presumably, the scribe was unable to make out the first

stanza or two satisfactorily and felt that it was pointless to include the section without its beginning. Jón Ólafsson, however, consulted RS here and, exceptionally, not only lists variants but provides the entire text. His copy (starting on p. 414) has some value but is beyond the scope of the present article.

4.3 The missing part of f. 39

About nine lines of text are missing from the top of f. 39. No known copies predate this loss. The extant text of f. 39r starts in the middle of a quotation from *Alvíssmál* listing the names of night. In this case, the scribe of S provides a brief introduction (“Hvør eru nætur heite. Sem hier er.”) and fills the missing lines from *Alvíssmál* from another source, most likely a text derived from U (the second line “niöla ij heliu” matches U better than any other manuscript).

The text missing from the beginning of 39v is preserved in Laufás-Edda and in U, as well as in some other manuscripts. Nevertheless, the scribe of S does not appear to have used any source to supplement the defective text in RS. In order to produce a coherent text he must have read through this chapter in RS and discovered from the context that the missing text must have introduced a certain King Hálfðan and his queen. The name of the queen does not occur in the preserved text in RS so the scribe of S invented a name for her. The introduction he provides is as follows:

Konvngvr er nefndur hálfðän er riede fyrer hölm garde hinum rjka. Drottinjnng hans hiet hilldur. (S, 62r)

In the original text, the queen is named Alvig rather than Hildir, and it is her father rather than her husband who ruled over Hólmgarðr.

It is somewhat surprising that the creator of S was unable to acquire the correct text from his other sources. Perhaps neither his copy of U nor his copy of Laufás-Edda included this section. Alternatively, he may have been unable to find the corresponding paragraph in his other sources. RS, U and Laufás-Edda diverge significantly in the ordering of the *Skáldskaparmál* material.

4.4 A damaged stanza on f. 51r

A tear on f. 51r affects stanza 64 of *Háttatal*. In his edition of the corpus of skaldic verse, Finnur Jónsson read the text in RS as follows:

Uafþi litt er virþvm mætti
 vigrækiandi fram at .ækia
 sk.....v.....kvrvm hlack..
f.....roðnvm m..kiv.

(Finnur Jónsson 1908–1915 A II: 69)

Finnur's reading of the isolated <v> and <f> in lines 3–4 is surprising. Finnur was well aware that the text of the other manuscripts did not contain words with these letters in the corresponding places. Apart from the mysterious <v>, his reading of the first three lines corresponds perfectly with what can be seen in the 1940 photograph. In line 4 we can only see faint traces of letters where <roðnvm m..kiv.> is to be expected. In the later photographs <di fram at .ækia sk...kvrvm hlack> has been completely lost but the illegible traces of the fourth line remain to this day.

Another surprise is that when Finnur published his reading of RS in 1931 (16 years after his *Skjaldedigtning* edition), the reading seems to have improved:

Vafþi litt er virþvm mætti
 vigrækiandi fram at sækia
 skerðir ge.....kvrvm Hlack..
roðnvm merkivm

(Finnur Jónsson 1931: 242)

What has happened here? Surely, the manuscript did not contain any more readable text in 1931 than it did in 1915. Nor does it seem likely that Finnur had been able to make out more in 1931 due to more effective methods (such as the water method, Lindholm 2010) since the lacunae here result from text being torn off. Perhaps Finnur had obtained an older transcript which he trusted, but he makes no mention of this.

The text of S indicates that the fourth line was already illegible at that time. In order to complete the stanza, the scribe has composed a new line:

Vafde litt er virðum mætte
 Vijgrækiande framm ad sækia
 skerder Geck ij skwrum hlackar:
 skrymners beitte hordum brijma

(S, ff. 76v–77r)

This demonstrates that the scribe of S understood the *hrynhent* metre well enough to compose in it. Another seventeenth-century source, Hraundals-

Edda, also has the text of this stanza derived from RS. And in this case too the scribe has composed a new fourth line:

Vafid lytt er uirdum mætti
 vijgrækiandi fram ad sækia
 skerder geck ad skürum hlackar
 skialldar grandí ütí handar

(AM 166 a 8vo, 74v)

4.5 A damaged stanza on f. 53r

A tear on the upper corner of f. 53r has damaged a stanza from *Háttatal*. This is especially detrimental since this final part of *Háttatal* is preserved in no other primary manuscript. In *Skjaldedigting* Finnur Jónsson reads the first half of the damaged stanza as follows:

94. gramr
 gvll sçri kraki fram
 efla fragvm haka hialdr
 hl aldr

(Finnur Jónsson 1908–1915 A II: 69)

Finnur notes that <fram> is corrected to <framr> in the manuscript. In his Snorra-Edda edition Finnur offers the same reading except that he no longer gives an initial *hl* in the fourth line (Finnur Jónsson 1931: 251). Jón Ólafsson read the text as follows: <Gramr gull sçri Kraki framar efla fragum haka hialdr> (AM 429 fol., p. 2156). The reading is identical to Finnur's except that Jón reads the <r> after <fram> as a superscript signifying <ar>. The page must have been almost as damaged in the eighteenth century as it is now.

If we use the same line division as Finnur did and indicate the lacunae, the text in S is as follows:

. gramur
 gull sære krake, framur
 efla frægum haka hinn millde
 lofadur alldur

(S, 79v)

Importantly, the scribe of S does not indicate this line division. On the contrary, the comma after <krake> suggests that he supposed a line division

there. The misreading of <hialdr> as <hinn millde> hides the rhyme and further obscures the structure of the stanza. The result is, unusually for S, not a coherent stanza. But this incompleteness suggests that the <lofadur> in line 4 is an honest reading of RS rather than a new composition.

Jón Ólafsson offers this speculative reconstruction of the stanza:

Gramr seri gulli Kraki
gripinn var af eldi Haki
hialldr-frekr var Hálfðan taldr
hann nam lifa mikinn alldr.

(AM 439 fol., p. 2156)

This misunderstands the structure of the stanza and must be quite far off the mark. Interestingly, a much more plausible version of the first two lines (the only ones included) is found in a late seventeenth-century manuscript:

Hrýngum eyði gófulgur gramur,
gulli sadi krak<i> framur

(AM 750 4to, 59v)

The form <eyði> should be understood as *eyddi*; the scribe frequently uses a single <d> in this way. This text is surprisingly credible and would have been difficult for a seventeenth-century scribe to compose – witness the incomplete version in S and the failed reconstruction by Jón Ólafsson, an experienced scholar with extensive knowledge of medieval poetry. The banal first line fits only too well with *Háttatal* where the prince as a destroyer of rings is a constantly recurring theme. All the words already occur in the poem; *hringum* and *eyddi* each occur three times and *göfulgur* twice. The metrical consistency is interesting – both lines begin with three trochees, the first two with a heavy initial syllable and the last with a light initial syllable. This is consistent with the rest of the stanza but this would not have been apparent to a seventeenth-century scribe since by that time the distinction between light and heavy stressed syllables had been lost and *göfulgur* had become trisyllabic (*göfugur*).

The text of *Háttatal* in AM 750 4to is derived from both RS and W – conceivably W was copied before the relevant leaf was lost from it. Further comparison of seventeenth-century Edda manuscripts might throw more light on this question and others like it.

5. Conclusions

The efforts made by Bishop Brynjólfur, principally in the 1640s, to collect and disseminate Eddic materials were curiously extensive. It is well known that he managed to acquire multiple relevant manuscripts and ultimately send the most important ones to Denmark. But less attention has been paid to Brynjólfur's efforts to compile and disseminate the two Eddas as he saw them. These efforts were greatly obscured by the fire of 1728 when many manuscripts created under Brynjólfur's auspices were destroyed.

It has not previously been pointed out that all the oldest *Sæmundar-Eddur* are derived from the same archetype and that this archetype must date from the days of Bishop Brynjólfur. The archetype had all the poems of the *Codex Regius* and material from at least six other sources. It is likely that this ambitious manuscript was the splendid vellum manuscript written by Jón in *Oddgeirshólar* which was lost in 1728. If so, the manuscript was created with significant scholarly effort and at a substantial cost. Brynjólfur must have hoped that the manuscript would contribute to the dissemination of the texts of the Eddic poems – an attractive, vellum manuscript imbued with the bishop's authority might be the next best thing to a printed edition. If this was Brynjólfur's hope, it was perhaps realized *too* well. In his letter to Þormóður Torfason in 1663 he is worried that this manuscript is eclipsing the more accurate and authentic *Codex Regius*.

We propose that the *Codex Sparfvenfeldianus* was to be for the Prose Edda what the lost manuscript was for the Poetic Edda – an attractive manuscript with a complete text. Brynjólfur's involvement with S is highly likely but has been obscured by the baseless supposition that the manuscript was created for Bishop Þorlákur.

While Brynjólfur's version of the *Sæmundar-Edda* was extremely influential, the same cannot be said for S, which did not attract copyists and has lingered in obscurity for most of its lifetime. The version of the Prose Edda which was dominant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the *Laufás-Edda* in its printed version by Resen and in various manuscript versions. But Brynjólfur's vision was vindicated in the end. From 1818 on, the dominant version of the Prose Edda has been closely similar to the *Codex Sparfvenfeldianus*.

References

Manuscripts

AM 113 b fol.	AM 738 4to	Lbs 1562 4to
AM 128 fol.	AM 749 4to	NKS 1867 4to
AM 166 a 8vo	AM 750 4to	Rask 21 b
AM 379 4to	GKS 2365 4to	SÁM 66
AM 429 fol.	GKS 2367 4to	Sth. perg. 3 4to
AM 435 b 4to	ÍB 299 4to	Sth. perg. 12 4to

Printed works

- Arwidsson, Adolf Iwar, 1848: *Förteckning öfver Kongl. bibliotekets i Stockholm isländska handskrifter*. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Einar G. Pétursson, 1992: Eddur á 17. öld. Úlfar Bragason (ed.): *Snorrastefna*, 19–34. Reykjavík: Stofnun Sigurðar Nordals.
- Einar G. Pétursson, 1998: *Eddurit Jóns Guðmundssonar lærða*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi.
- Einar G. Pétursson, 2007: Akrabók. *Gripla XVIII*: 133–152.
- Einar G. Pétursson, 2017: Athugasemdir um bók Viðars Hreinssonar, Jón lærði og náttúru náttúrunnar. *Morgunblaðið*, February 17, 2017, p. 25.
- Faulkes, Anthony, 1977: *Edda Islandorum. Völuspá. Hávamál. P. H. Resen's editions of 1665*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
- Faulkes, Anthony, 1979a: *Edda Magnúsar Ólafssonar (Laufás-Edda)*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar.
- Faulkes, Anthony, 1979b: The prologue to Snorra Edda. An attempt at reconstruction. *Gripla III*: 204–213.
- Finnur Jónsson (ed.), 1908–1915: *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning*. A I–II, B I–II. København.
- Finnur Jónsson (ed.), 1930: *Árni Magnússons levned og skrifter I–II*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske boghandel – Nordisk forlag.
- Finnur Jónsson (ed.), 1931: *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*. Copenhagen.
- Frog, 2010: *Baldr and Lemminkäinen*. Doctoral thesis, University College London.
- Gödel, Vilhelm, 1892: *Katalog öfver Upsala universitets biblioteks fornisländska och fornorska handskrifter*. Upsala: Almqvist.
- Gödel, Vilhelm, 1897a: *Katalog öfver Kongl. bibliotekets fornisländska och fornorska handskrifter*. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Gödel, Vilhelm, 1897b: *Fornnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige*. Stockholm: Hæggström.
- Hammarsköld, L., 1816 [1811]: Beskrifning öfver ett Manuscript af den Prosaiska Eddan, som förvaras å Kongl. Bibliotheket i Stockholm, i Nedre Galleriet, Skåpet 29, under N:o 3. *Iduna II*: 94–110.

- Jakob Benediktsson, 1948: *Ole Worm's Correspondence with Icelanders*. Bibliotheca Arnarnagana VII. Copenhagen: Ejnar Mungsgaard.
- Jón Helgason (ed.), 1942: *Úr bréfabókum Brynjólfs biskups Sveinssonar*. Kaupmannahöfn: Hið íslenska fræðafélag.
- Jón Margeirsson (ed.), 1975: Bréf Árna Magnússonar til Íslands 1729 og fleiri skjöl hans í Ríkisskjalasafni Dana. *Opuscula* V: 123–180.
- Kålund, Kr., 1907: *Palæografisk atlas. Oldnorsk-islandske skriftprøver c. 1300–1700*. Copenhagen/Kristiania: Gyldendal/Nordisk forlag.
- Lassen, Annette, 2011: *Hrafnagaldur Óðins (Forspjallsljóð)*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.
- Lindfors, Otto, 1824: *Inledning till isländska litteraturen och dess historia under medeltiden*. Lund.
- Lindholm, J. F., 2010: “Den bekendte vand-metode”. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir and Þórunn Sigurðardóttir (eds.): *Margarítur hristar Margræti Eggertsdóttur fimmtugri 25. nóvember 2010*, 54–56. Reykjavík: Mettusjóður.
- Magnús Már Lárusson & Jónas Kristjánsson, 1967: *Sigilla Islandica II*. Reykjavík: Handritastofnun Íslands.
- Matthías Þórðarson, 1915: Athugasemd um Rimmugýgi. *Árbók Hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 1915: 39–42.
- Mogk, Eugen, 1879: *Untersuchungen über die Gylfaginning*. *PBB* VI: 477–537.
- Nyerup, Rasmus, 1794: *Langebekiana, eller bidrag til den danske Literair-historie uddragne af Jacob Langebeks efterladte Papirer*. Copenhagen.
- Nyerup, Rasmus, 1816: *R. Nyerups Rejser til Stockholm i Aarene 1810 og 1812, eller hans paa disse Rejser holdte Dagbøger, med tilhørende Bilag*. Copenhagen: Schubothé.
- O'Hara, Robert & Peter Robinson, 1993: Computer-assisted methods of stemmatic analysis. Norman Francis Blake and Peter Robinson (eds.): *The Canterbury Tales Project Occasional Papers I*, 53–74. Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication.
- Ólafur Halldórsson, 1978: *Grænland í miðaldaritum*. Reykjavík: Sögufélag.
- Ólafur Snóksdalín, 1985: *Ættatölubók*. I. bindi. Reykjavík: Sögusteinn – bókaforlag.
- Rask, Rasmus Kristján, 1818: *Snorra-Edda ásamt Skáldu og þar með fylgjandi ritgjörðum*. Stockhólmur.
- Rosset, Emil, 1855: Isländische Literatur. *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste von Ersch und Gruber* II 31, 241–314. Leipzig.
- Schepelern, H. D., 1968: *Breve fra og til Ole Worm III*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Stefán Karlsson, 2000: *Stafkrókar*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi.
- Teresa Dröfn Njarðvík, 2016: Stutt yfirlit um innsigli á Íslandi ásamt ritgerðum Jóns Sigurðssonar um innsigli og bómörk. *Árbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 15: 129–173.
- Verri, Giovanni, 2011: Um rithendur Ásgeirs Jónssonar. Nokkrar skriftarfræðilegar athugasemdir. *Gripla* XXII: 229–258.

- Viðar Hreinsson, 2016: *Jón lærði og náttúrur náttúrunnar*. Reykjavík: Lesstofan.
- Walde, O., 1917: Stephani bibliotek och dess historia II. *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* IV: 261–301.
- Walde, O., 1918: Om bokanteckningar som källor och behovet af proveniens-kataloger. *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* V: 75–111.
- Wessén, Elias, 1940: *Codex Regius of the Younger Edda*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Wilken, Ernst, 1878: *Untersuchungen zur Snorra Edda*. Paderborn: Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh.

Summary

The last Edda manuscripts written on vellum were created in the seventeenth century. One was an attractive manuscript of Eddic poetry commissioned by Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson. The manuscript was lost in the fire of 1728 but we attempt to reconstruct its contents. It turns out that all extant early copies of the Eddic Poems are derived from the same lost archetype. This archetype contained an inexact copy of the Codex Regius of the Eddic Poems, supplemented with material from at least six other sources. We argue that this lost archetype is probably identical with Brynjólfur Sveinsson's lost vellum manuscript.

The other vellum manuscript discussed here is the extant Codex Sparfvenfeldianus, an attractive mid-seventeenth-century manuscript of the Prose Edda, based principally on the Codex Regius of the Prose Edda but supplemented with other sources. The manuscript has been linked with Bishop Þorlákur Skúlason but we argue that this connection lacks any firm basis. A connection to Bishop Brynjólfur is much more likely.

The two manuscripts required significant scholarly resources and reflect a sophisticated editorial conception of the Poetic Edda and the Prose Edda. Modern editions of these works have much in common with these seventeenth-century creations.

Keywords: Poetic Edda, Prose Edda, seventeenth-century scholarship, philology

Haukur Þorgeirsson; Teresa Dröfn Njarðvík
Stofnun Árna Magnússonar
Reykjavík, Iceland
haukurth@hi.is; tdn1@hi.is