

Interplay between texts in *Snorra Edda* manuscripts

An attempt to apply a new analytical approach to
medieval codices



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Summary

Snorra Edda belongs to the most famous works of medieval Icelandic literature. The main purpose of this thesis is to analyze five medieval manuscripts produced during the fourteenth century transmitting the whole *Snorra Edda* or only *Skáldskaparmál*. All these manuscripts contain various texts in addition to different redactions of Snorri's work. The sources provide evidence that *Snorra Edda* functioned in various contexts, which all differed significantly from the way it is usually presented in the modern editions and translations.

This thesis intends to analyse the manuscripts from a synchronic perspective and the focus will be on the editorial approach and logic behind each compilation. Nevertheless, the diachronic or stemmatic perspective will provide the access to the following analysis. It will supply the foundation for the understanding of the individual characteristics of the texts transmitted in more than one codex. I will mainly focus on the major changes within different redactions. All this information gained through the diachronic perspective and the focus on the transmission process of the works will be further applied to the analysis of the codices from the synchronic perspective.

In the main part of this thesis the effects of the earlier mentioned changes will be in focus. These distinctive features of different texts within individual compilations will be contrasted with each other. The constellation of texts and their function within this specific constellation will be analyzed. I will apply the concept of the 'abstract redactor' in order to gain a better understanding of the editorial tendencies behind each compilation without neglecting the dynamics of transmission. This thesis presents a model for approaching medieval manuscripts by combining the diachronic and synchronic perspectives.

Foreword

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Mikael Males for his guidance and support during the whole process. Your knowledge has always been inspiring and your wise advice, your patience and capacity for kindness helped me to complete my work.

My parents deserve a big thank you for the understanding of my interest in an obscure subject, which brought me away from them, and for their support on all sides of my life.

It is hard to find words to express my gratitude to you, Kusma. You have encouraged me to take this journey and have always reminded me how important it is and how lucky I am to be able to take the risk and live the life of my dreams. My daughter, Elina, who had to move to Norway with me and had to put up with seeing so little of her mom during the last hard period – my heart belongs to you.

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1 Introduction

Snorra Edda belongs to the most famous works of medieval Icelandic literature, along with sagas and poetry. It is a poetological work – a textbook in skaldic diction, whose compilation is traditionally dated to the years c. 1221–1225 (Clunies Ross 2005: 157; Snorri died in 1241). *Snorra Edda* is remarkable in many respects. In contrast to the predominantly anonymous medieval Icelandic literature, it is ascribed to the well-known author Snorri Sturluson, an influential political and intellectual actor of the last part of the Commonwealth period in Iceland. Unlike the majority of medieval Icelandic works, which bear editorial names, the title *Edda*, whose meaning can not be conclusively determined, has belonged to the work from the Middle Ages (Faulkes 1977a: 32-9). The authority of Snorri and his *Edda* is evidenced through the amply transmitted references to both the author and the work in other medieval texts,¹ which indicate its significance for the medieval Icelandic literary culture. The popularity of the work is further evidenced through its lively history of transmission. Six medieval manuscripts produced during the fourteenth century containing all or part of *Snorra Edda* are extant, as well as younger copies of other medieval exemplars that have not survived (Nordal 2001: 44). Based on the extant sources, we may conclude that *Snorra Edda* played a significant role in the learned discourse in the fourteenth century, and it continues to attract scholarly attention.

In light of the above, the understanding of the form and content of *Snorra Edda* is often taken for granted. In modern times, it is understood as a work consisting of four parts: *Prologue*, *Gylfaginning*, *Skáldskaparmál* and *Háttatal*.² One of the oldest *Snorra Edda* manuscripts, **U**, supplies the most specific and the most detailed internal evidence for the content of the work, its name, and its author. The initial heading provides following information:

Bók þessi heitir Edda. Hana hefir saman setta Snorri Sturluson eptir þeim hætti sem hér er skipat. Er fyrst frá ásum ok Ymi, þar næst skáldskapar mál ok heiti margra hluta. Síðast Háttatal er Snorri hefir ort um Hákon konung ok Skúla hertuga.

¹ F.ex. in poems *Lilja*, *Guðmundar drápa byskups*, *Guðmundar drápa*; Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises, discussed, for instance, by Johansson (2009), Males (2020: 279-295). *Third Grammatical Treatise*.

² Modern editions and translations (f.ex. Finnur Jónsson 1931 (ed.); Faulkes 1987 (transl.); Faulkes (ed.) 1982, 1991, 1998).

‘This book is called Edda. Snorri Sturluson has compiled it in the manner in which it is arranged here. First it is about Æsir and Ymir, next *Skáldskaparmál* (‘poetic diction’) and (poetical) names of many things. Finally *Háttatal* (‘enumeration of verse forms’) which Snorri has composed about King Hákon and Duke Skúli’ (U 2012: 6-7).

The work is described here as consisting of three parts. The first part is dedicated to the mythological topics, Æsir and Ymir, and is generally associated with *Gylfaginning*. The section on poetic diction and *heiti* is followed by *Háttatal*. There has been a heated debate about Snorri’s authorship of the *Prologue*, but the textual evidence supports its position within the original work (Clunies Ross 2005: 174).

Snorra Edda appears in this pure form only in a rather late manuscript **T** (*Codex Trajectinus*) from ca. 1600, which is based on a lost medieval exemplar similar to **R** (Clunies Ross 2005: 151, 161). All medieval *Snorra Edda* manuscripts produced during the fourteenth century transmit either the full version of the work or only *Skáldskaparmál*, always surrounded and often also interrupted by additional material. This general observation of the sources leads to the conclusion that Snorri’s work has reached the fourteenth century audience in a form that differs significantly from the one reflected in the most modern editions and translations, which attempt to approximate the archetype (albeit mostly through the ‘best text’ approach common in Old Norse philology, rather than through Lachmannian reconstruction). The work that met its audience was the individual codex containing a compilation of various texts including all or parts of *Snorra Edda*. The manuscripts indicate an approach to the material, which differs significantly from that of modern philology: not reconstructive, but pragmatic. Apparently, the perception of the work, its form and content, and its function within the codex vary. The text was altered and adapted to the intended purpose, while preserving or reconstructing its original form was of minor importance. In my opinion, the manuscripts themselves provide the clues to the ways and reasons for these variations.

Even though the work *Snorra Edda* and the question about its original form have attracted much scholarly attention, the manuscripts transmitting it have seldom received appropriate examination from a synchronic perspective, which might contribute to a better understanding of their internal logic.³ In the following thesis I will analyze five medieval

³ In recent time several scholars have analyzed the manuscripts from the synchronic perspective: Krömmelbein 1992, Johansson 1997, Guðrun Nordal 2001, Males 2013, 2020.

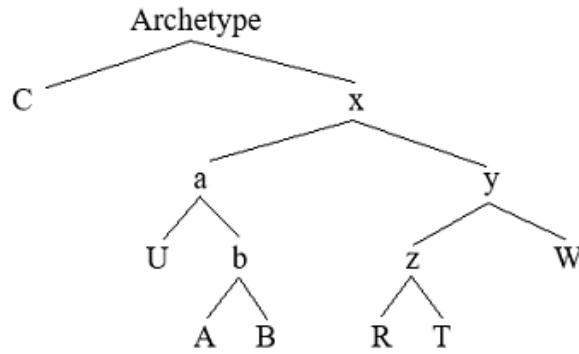
manuscripts from the fourteenth century – **R, U, A, B, W**, containing different redactions of *Snorra Edda* along with other material. It is my hypothesis that each codex has been intentionally produced in its individual form. All texts in their respective redactions and in their exact order have been deliberately included in the compilation following a specific logic guiding all these choices, with the proviso that the redactor's choice was limited by what material was available to him. In my opinion, the analysis of the intertextual relationships supported and preceded by the examination of the variations in the individual redactions of the texts can give insights into the rationale behind each compilation. I do not necessary assume that the redactors had planned everything before they started. It is rather my hypothesis that they had an overall plan, and I believe that my analysis of the coherence and synergy of different texts will bear this out. Some adaptation along the way cannot be excluded though and is perhaps likely, for instance regarding how much poetry was included at the end of many codices.

Each codex has further something to add to our understanding of the fourteenth century reception of *Snorra Edda*. In order to gain a fuller picture of the medieval transmission and reception of the work it is crucial to examine all preserved medieval manuscripts.

1.1 Research Background

The question of the stemmatic relationship between different redactions of *Snorra Edda* transmitted in the main manuscripts has been addressed by several scholars, often pursuing the main goal to decide which manuscript transmits the most original version of the work.⁴ The most recent and best argued update on the relation between the main versions of the work has been proposed by Haukur Þorgeirsson (2017) and is illustrated by the following stemma.

⁴ For an overview of this previous research, see Heimir Pálsson. *Tertium vero datur*, 2-6.



(Haukur Þorgeirsson 2017: 58)

The new or material philological approach focuses on the manuscripts “as cultural achievements in their own right, regardless of their position in a stemma” (Haugen 2010: 40). In my opinion, a stemma can be an asset even from a manuscript perspective. If one leaves aside the attempt to reconstruct the archetype or even the original, the stemma can provide valuable information about the relationship between individual versions and a better understanding of the sources of each redaction. It creates the foundation for the analysis of the individual traits detected in the particular texts and their subsequent evolution. Such an approach will allow me to draw some conclusions about the individual features, which have either been changed or retained, in order to get a better understanding of the specific characteristic of each redaction. In contrast to the old philological attempt to remove the effects of changes to reach the archetype, the focus on the manuscripts means that the focus is moved to the understanding of the effects of changes. The concept of change, however, remains equally important.

Regarding the relationships between the two versions of the *Second Grammatical Treatise* (2GT), it is generally accepted that the version transmitted in **U** is closer to the original than the version in **W** (Raschellà 1982: 17-20).

The relation between the three versions of the *Third Grammatical Treatise* (3GT) is difficult to determine because two of them contain large omissions. Wills has shown that the relationship between three versions varies in different parts of the text (Wills 2001: 55-6). Based on the close examination of the text of the first part of the treatise, Wills suggests a closer relationship between **A** and **B**, while he ascribes **W** to a different branch, which brings the transmission of 3GT into line with the transmission of *Skáldskaparmál* (Wills 2001: 56).

In recent time, several scholars have pointed out the importance of the analysis of the full codices and of the intertextual relationship in them for the fuller understanding of the texts and of the compilation as a whole.

Thomas Krömmelbein emphasizes the value of each compilation as evidence of the medieval reception of *Snorra Edda*, which was adapted to the presumptive wishes of its audience (Krömmelbein 1992: 116, 125). He stresses the fact that the work has always been transmitted in the encompassing material and defines each one of these compilations as the macroform of *Snorra Edda*, which must be analyzed as a ‘literary individual’ (Krömmelbein 1992: 116). Krömmelbein’s approach to gain a better understanding of each codex and to grasp its possible intention mainly consists of two parts. He suggests the analysis of the succession of the texts, which might reveal an ordering principle and intentionality behind the compilation. He further stresses the importance of the examination of all texts on an equal basis (Krömmelbein 1992: 116).

In his article, Krömmelbein applies his method to *Codex Upsaliensis*. In accordance with the opinion earlier formulated by Braunmüller (1983), he underlines the meaningful connection between 2GT and *Háttatal*, where the first treatise supplies the theoretical basis for the second one (Krömmelbein 1992: 117). Three inserted lists – *Skáldtal*, *Ættartala Sturlunga*, and *Lögsögumannatal*, reveal a strong interest in the Sturlung family. Krömmelbein emphasizes the focus of the lists on Snorri and defines the codex as an “apotheosis of Snorri” (Krömmelbein 1992: 121-3).

Karl G. Johansson’s PhD thesis (1997) is dedicated to another *Snorra Edda* manuscript – *Codex Wormianus*. He supplies an overview of all the texts in the compilation and their respective functions in their context. Johansson identifies the redactor’s main interest in collecting the knowledge about poetry and *grammatica* (Johansson 1997: 57, 248) and his approach to connect all the texts to a unified whole (Johansson 1997: 44f, 231). In a later article, he provides further indications of this editorial approach, evidenced by the introductory prose narrative to the poem *Rígsþula*. According to Johansson, the main purpose of this introduction, which is ascribed to the redactor of the codex, is to connect the poem to the earlier transmitted *Snorra Edda* and to provide continuity to the whole compilation (Johansson 1998: 68-9).

Guðrún Nordal (2001) supplies the fullest analysis of the medieval manuscript tradition of *Snorra Edda* up to date. She provides an overview of the arrangement of all codices and of all

the texts transmitted in them. Based on the evidence provided by the manuscript tradition, Nordal emphasizes the strong connection between *Snorra Edda*, skaldic poetry, and the study of *grammatica*. Four of the six *Snorra Edda* manuscripts contain grammatical treatises (**W**, **U**, **A**, **B**), and again four of them contain skaldic or eddic poems (**R**, **W**, **A**, **B**).

Through the general observation of the additional material, mainly the poems and the lists, Nordal defines three groups, which reflect influences of different backgrounds and/or different intended audiences for the manuscripts: 1. Danish and Orcadian material; 2. Icelandic material; 3. Religious material (Nordal 2001: 70-1).

Guðrún Nordal emphasizes the fact that all six *Snorra Edda* manuscripts transmit an independent version of *Skáldskaparmál*, which is the only part of the work that which is transmitted independently (Nordal 2001: 43). The treatise was subjected to several revisions, which reflected changing attitudes to it (Nordal 2001: 43-4). Through the examination of gold narratives in the different redactions of *Skáldskaparmál*, Nordal illustrates different stages in the composition of the work (Nordal 2001: 320-7).

In his recent book *The Poetic Genesis of Old Icelandic Literature*, Mikael Males analyses the complex relationship between European Latin and national vernacular literature during c. 1150-1350. *Snorra Edda* serves as an illustration of the specific theoretical approach that was typical for the literary production of that time. The analytical methods were borrowed from monastic learning and then adapted on the indigenous object of study (Males 2020: 2)

Males further provides an examination of Icelandic grammatical literature from the viewpoint of Snorri's *Edda*. He emphasizes the similarity in the structure evidenced in *Snorra Edda* and in *Skáldskaparmál* within it as well as in the grammatical manuscripts, where theory and description are provided in the first part and are appended by an inventory of poetry, synonyms, and metre (Males 2020: 110). Males further analyzes *Codex Wormianus* as a source to the interest in Snorri's *Edda* in monastic milieu, focusing on its redactor's reception of the work (Males 2020: 279-90).

1.2 Sources

There are six fourteenth-century *Snorra Edda* manuscripts with independent textual value. The fragmentary state of C (AM 748 II 4to, c. 1400) would not allow for any thorough investigation of the character of the compilation. I will therefore exclude it from my following analysis of the manuscript tradition during the fourteenth century and focus on the five other witnesses – R, U, A, B, W.

As has been stressed earlier, all these manuscripts contain different redactions of Snorri's work together with various additional material. The arrangement of material in each codex, which according to my hypothesis follows the overall plan of their compilers, holds a valuable key to the particular rationale behind each compilation. The content and the composition of the manuscripts is fundamental for the respective intertextual relationships.

The following overview aims to supply a basic understanding of the individual manuscripts. It provides first insights into the character of the individual compilations and indicates the texts transmitted in more than one *Snorra Edda* manuscript.

Codex Regius (GKS 2367 4to, R: 1300-25) is by far the most famous manuscript transmitting *Snorra Edda*. It is one of the oldest manuscripts containing the work. It preserves the full version of Snorri's *Edda*, while *Skáldskaparmál* is appended by a set of *Pulur*, which are treated as an integral part of the work. The codex concludes with two skaldic poems:

Jómsvíkingadrápa and *Málsháttakvæði*.

Codex Upsaliensis (DG 11 4to, U: 1300-25) is the oldest extant *Snorra Edda* manuscript. It provides the fullest paratextual evidence about the name, author, and the form of the work. It preserves all three parts of *Snorra Edda* together with its *Prologue*. Additionally, it contains three lists – *Skáldatal*, *Ættartala Sturlunga*, and *Loðsögumannatal*, inserted between the individual redactions of *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál*. Further, 2GT and the list of names of the metre forms separate *Háttatal* from the rest of Snorri's work.

The manuscript AM 748 Ib 4to (A: c. 1300-25) belongs to the oldest extant *Snorra Edda* manuscripts. It preserves *Skáldskaparmál* as the only part of *Snorra Edda*. It further contains the final section of the *Fifth Grammatical Treatise* (5GT), 3GT, a treatise called *Litla Skálda*, a set of *Pulur*, and the poem *Íslendingadrápa*, attributed to the otherwise unknown Haukr Valdísarson in its title.

The manuscript AM 757a 4to (**B**: c. 1400) is the youngest manuscript under consideration. It is closely related to **A** and reveals similar arrangement of the material. It also preserves *Skáldskaparmál* exclusively, preceded by 3GT and *Litla Skálda* and appended by a set of *Pulur*. The codex concludes with religious skaldic poems: *Heilags anda vísur*, *Leiðarvísan*, *Líknarbraut*, *Harmsól*, *Mariúdrápa*, and *Gyðingsvísur*.

Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol., **W**: c. 1350) is the largest *Snorra Edda* manuscript. It contains all parts of Snorri's *Edda*, while *Háttatal* is separated from the rest of the work by other grammatical texts. The codex transmits four grammatical treatises (1GT, 2GT, 3GT, 4GT) with an individual Prologue. The final part of the manuscript contains the eddic poem *Rígsþula* and a strongly revised version of the second part of *Skáldskaparmál*, *Ókend heiti*. It further contains some later stanzas on Mary written in a fifteenth-century hand.

1.3 Theory and Method

The often disregarded fact that Snorri's work has always been transmitted in the encompassing material is the starting point for my investigation. In order to gain a better understanding of the individual context of each redaction of *Snorra Edda* it is crucial to get an overview of the arrangement of the material in each codex and to identify what kinds of other texts are transmitted in them. The overview will also focus on the material aspects of the manuscripts, such as rubrications. The composition of the manuscript yields the most tangible evidence about the relationship between different texts and provides excellent access to the following analysis of this relationship. Therefore, an overview of the arrangement of each codex will be presented in the first chapter.

It is noteworthy that some texts appear in more than one *Snorra Edda* manuscript. Thus, the codices provide evidence for the reception and transmission of several works. The comparison between different versions of particular works based on the stemmatic evidence can provide valuable insights in the individual characteristic of each redaction. The second chapter will deal with the works transmitted in more than one *Snorra Edda* manuscript and will be dedicated to the presentation of the individual redactions with the focus on the major changes.

Some works are transmitted only in one version and are contained in a single *Snorra Edda* manuscript. Unlike multiply attested works, where both the text-internal changes as well as

differences or similarities in the constellation of texts can be contrasted with each other, the unique texts can only be discussed as the integral part of the individual compilation.

The main part of my thesis will be dedicated to the analysis of the intertextual relationship in each codex. The focus will be on the redactor's and consequently on the compilation's focal points and his approach to the material. I will address the question if there is a logic behind each compilation and what methods were applied by the redactor to make the texts useful for the intended purpose. Distinctive features of the individual texts will be contrasted with each other. I will further analyze the function of the individual texts within the overall structure of each codex.

The analysis of the five manuscripts will provide a better understanding of the context of transmission and reception of *Snorra Edda* during the fourteenth century.

At this point I would like to clarify the terminology used in my analysis. The term 'work' is used in a rather abstract and broad sense here, meaning the idea of the text. It corresponds with Bo A. Wendt's definition of the text work as "en abstrakt textuell storhet som av (en given grupp av) textbrukarna (vid en given tid eller i ett givet sammanhang) mer eller mindre samstämmigt uppfattas som en och densamma varje gång den tar form" (Wendt 2006: 258). It includes all redactions of this work, both extant and lost, with the focus on the understanding of its essence by the fourteenth century audience. The term 'text' refers to the actual text contained in the manuscript and corresponds with Bo A. Wendt's definition of the text witness as "en specifik uppenbarelseform av ett textverk, en variant av texten där text skall fattas i snäv språklig mening" (Wendt 2006: 258). The text can be defined as an individual version of particular work. Wendt's further subdivision into text witness and text carrier is unnecessary for the present analysis, since the distinction between textual, graphical and codicological aspects is self-evident. Furthermore, his distinction might cause confusion, since Wendt uses 'carrier' for what would normally be called 'witness' and 'witness' for 'version' or 'recension'.

In my analysis I will not make a distinction between the functions of the redactor and scribe in the production of the manuscripts, and will ascribe all the major variations under investigation to the redactor. I will not treat scribal errors, and in cases where these two positions – redactor and scribe – were held by different people and some of the major alterations have actually been caused by the scribe, he must be defined as functioning in the position of redactor. It is further not crucial for my analysis to decide if the redactor of the actual manuscript on hand

is responsible for the particular feature of the text. The ‘redactor’ is defined here in a broader sense and is understood as the sum of the redactors and scribes, who produced the present redaction of the text, copied it, and finally included it in the analyzed manuscript. The ‘abstract redactor’ approach will allow me to address the editorial tendency in each compilation and to collect the expressions of a single tendency under a single entity.

I chose to define each codex as a compilation to underline the intentionality behind the inclusion of the individual texts in them. It has often been suggested that some texts may have been included in the manuscripts to fill empty space on the valuable parchment without having any connection to other material (Wessén 1940: 7; FJ 1931: v; S. Nordal 1931: 13). My main hypothesis contradicts this perspective. Even if the inclusion of some texts may not have been intended from the beginning, and only the blank pages caused the inclusion of some additional material, the choice of that material still corresponded with the overall plan behind the whole compilation. This hypothesis will be tested through a consideration of the coherence of the material in the manuscripts, especially towards their end.

The level of the interrelation between texts and their combination into a unity within individual manuscripts vary, which would allow us to draw a distinction between collection and compilation, where compilation is defined as “a representation of a new text-work, created from the combination of other text-works” (Johansson 2018: 125), and the collection is understood as consisting of “text-witnesses to individual text-works gathered either over time by one or more individuals or written by a scribe or a number of scribes with an initial plan” (Johansson 2018: 125). The initial plan and the interrelation between texts are fundamental for both concepts (Johansson 2018: 125, 132). Unlike scholars like Wessén and Sigurður Nordal, I presume the former state of intertextual relationship in each codex. My analysis will focus on the relationships between texts and will allow me to specify them for each codex.

Unlike earlier scholars, who have mainly worked in Lachmann’s tradition, my focus is not on the top of the stemma. Unlike many scholars of material philology, I still take the reconstructive work done within stemmatics into account, but with a focus on the bottom of the stemma – the manuscript level. I believe that this makes it possible to avoid becoming too descriptive and too little analytical, and that it opens as broad an access as possible to the work of medieval redactors. I am aware that the conclusions about the contributions of individual redactors are the result of reconstruction, just as the attempt to create the original text of the

author, since it is not possible to know exactly how much was inherited from the exemplar and how much was altered by each generation of scribes. The ‘redactor’ is therefore defined here to some extent as an abstract entity, which may contain elements from more than one individual contributor. I will attempt to distinguish generations when possible, but each manuscript is the result of a line of transmission from the author to the scribe of the manuscript, and each step in that transmission not only contributes to the final outcome, but also creates parameters within which later generations were forced to work. If we do not address an editorial tendency because we are not sure exactly in which generation to place it, then we miss out on a valuable opportunity to analyze the intellectual dynamics behind each preserved manuscript. Many stemmatic scholars have taken an interest in transmission, and many material philologists have taken some stemmatic considerations into account. The potential synergy of the two is rarely treated explicitly, however, and the relationship between them remains somewhat ambivalent and sometimes tense. In this thesis, I hope to point to a possible way forward, by pointing out that a focus on the bottom of the stemma does not invalidate the importance of understanding the dynamics of previous transmission. On the contrary, some concept of that transmission is necessary in order to understand how a text has changed and the significance of those changes.

2 Manuscripts

Codex Regius (GKS 2367 4to, R: 1300-25) belongs to the oldest extant *Snorra Edda* manuscripts and contains the version of the work that has attracted most scholarly attention. It preserves all parts of *Snorra Edda* uninterrupted by other material, while the *Pulur* are treated as an integral part of the work in this compilation. The codex concludes with two poems from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century – *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málsháttakvæði*.

The first folio is missing, which results in an acephalous *Prologue*. The whole manuscript is written in one hand, and the composition of the codex and the structure of the quires indicate that all parts belong to the original design and form a unified whole (Nordal 2001: 46f).

Codex Upsaliensis (DG 11 4to, U: 1300-25) is probably the oldest extant *Snorra Edda* manuscript. The first folio of the first quire was left blank. The text in the last quire ends on the recto side of the last folio. The start and the end of the codex have always been protected and nothing is missing within the compilation, apart from the three badly damaged folios in the fourth quire (U 2012: xxxi).

The text starts on fol. 2r with the famous initial heading ascribing the authorship or at least the compilation of the work with the title *Edda* to Snorri Sturluson and presenting the content of this work. The *Prologue* starts in the fourth line and is introduced with a four-line initial written with green ink. Individual sections within the *Prologue* are indicated with headings written with red ink.

Gylfaginning is introduced with a longer individual heading on fol. 3r¹⁹ – *hér hefr Gylfa ginning frá því er Gylfi sótti heim Alfǫðr í Ásgarð með fjǫlkyngi ok frá villu ása ok frá spurningu Gylfa* ‘here begins the befooling of Gylfi, about how Gylfi paid a visit to Allfather in Ásgarðr with magic and about the Æsir’s heresy and about Gylfi’s questioning’ (U 2012: 10-1). The so-called second scene of *Gylfaginning*, containing sections that belong to *Skáldskaparmál* in other redactions, starts on fol. 19r¹² and ends on fol. 22v²⁰, leaving the rest of the page blank.

The first list, *Skáldatal* (fols. 23r-25r), differs in its layout from the rest of the codex. The poets’ names are listed in three columns, the names of their aristocrat patrons are written vertically on the left margins. The two other lists – *Ættartala Sturlunga* (fol. 25v¹⁻¹⁹) and *Lǫgsoðgumannatal* (fols. 25v²⁰-26r¹²) return to the usual layout. There is no heading for the section containing the lists, and they do not have any individual headings. The last page contains

the famous drawing depicting three kings in their thrones sitting one above the other and a person standing in front of them.

This folio is more worn than all the other folios in the codex including the following fol. 27. On the basis of this evidence there has been made an assumption that the codex consists of two booklets, first of which had functioned independently for some time before the second one was written by the same scribe (Bäckvall 2013: 26f; U 2012: lxxiv-lxxv).

The version of *Skáldskaparmál* starts on the first line of the fourth quire and bears the following heading – *hér hefr skáldskapar mál ok heiti margra hluta* ‘here begins Skáldskaparmál and terms for many things’ (U 2012: 124-5). It concludes in the seventh quire on fol. 45r¹⁶ and is appended by three skaldic stanzas and the title for the *Second Grammatical Treatise* (fols. 45v-47v¹⁹) at the bottom of the page – *hér segir af setningu háttalykilsins* (U 2012: 250) ‘here follows an account of the arrangement of the metrical key’ (Nordal 2001: 51).

Háttatal (48v-56r¹⁰) is introduced with the heading *Háttatal, er Snorri Sturluson orti um Hákon konung ok Skúla hertuga* ‘Háttatal, which Snorri Sturluson composed about King Hákon and Duke Skúli’ (U 2012: 262-3). It is also preceded by the list of names of the 36 metre forms accompanied by the beginnings of the first lines contained on the recto side of fol. 48.

The composition of the manuscript shows that all sections were written in sequence. The codex is written in one hand.

The manuscript A (AM 748 Ib 4to, c. 1300-25) is one of the oldest extant *Snorra Edda* manuscripts. It was earlier bound together with another manuscript, AM 748 Ia 4to, which contains mythological eddic poems. The manuscripts were divided into two parts in 1996. It is not possible to ascertain on the basis of paleographical or textual evidence whether the two manuscripts originally were parts of a single codex. They have the same format and appear to be written in the same, or at least in a contemporary hand, even though the script in the first part tends to be larger than in the second, and consequently the number of the lines per page is less in the first part than in the second (Wessén 1945: 14, Björn M. Ólsen 1884: xlix-l).

The first folio of A preserves on the first eight lines the final part of the otherwise unknown 5GT. The ninth line starts with the first words of 3GT introduced by a two-line initial written in red ink and followed by the rubric *at greina hlið* ‘to distinguish sound’. Two folios (originally a bifolio making up fols. 3 and 8) of the first quire are missing now, which results in two lacunae in the text of 3GT.

On fol. 8v⁶⁻⁸ there is the famous colophon written with red ink: *Hær ær lykt þeim lvt bokar ær Ólafr Þórðarson hæfir samansett ok vpphefr skaldskaparmal ok kænningar æptir því sæm fyri fyndit var i kvæðvm höfvtyskallda ok Snori hæfir siban samanfæra latit* (SnE II: 427-428) ‘Here ends the part of the book that Óláfr Þórðarson has compiled and [the section on] poetic diction and kennings begins, according to what has been found in the poetry of the main poets, and the gathering of which was later commissioned by Snorri’ (Males 2020: 131).

Litla Skálda, a short treatise on kennings, starts on fol. 8v⁹ with a two-line initial. It does not have an individual heading. It continues on the second quire, which is completely preserved. On fol. 9v²³ there is a rubric: *fra fenris ulfi*. The section on *Fenrisúlfr* starts in line 24 with a two-line initial, and its last two words are written at the end of the line 34. Line 34 begins with a two-line initial and contains the first words of *Skáldskaparmál* chapter 45: *Sva ær sagt at konvngr sa ær næfndr* (SnE II: 432) ‘so it is said that this king was called’, followed by a rubric *fra holga konvngi* ‘about king Hǫlgi’.

Skáldskaparmál concludes in the third quire on fol. 17r¹⁹. The *Pulur* are introduced by a large green three-line initial in line 20 and a heading in the previous line *hær ærv ritvð hæiti sækonvnga* ‘here are written *heiti* for the sea kings’ (SnE II: 468). The poem *Íslendingadrápa* concludes the codex. It starts on fol. 21r¹² with the only black initial in the manuscript. The end of the poem is missing.

The manuscript is written in one hand and the composition of the manuscript reveals that the preserved sections were entered in sequence. The manuscript is now defective, the beginning and the end are missing, and there are several lacunae.

The manuscript **B** (AM 757 a 4to, c. 1400) is the youngest manuscript under consideration. It is in very poor condition, which is mainly caused by the fact that it is a palimpsest, with original text underneath almost impossible to read (Björn M. Ólsen 1884: lv). It is very dark, and the script is very tiny (approximately 50 lines per page). There are several holes in the parchment as well as several lacunae (Wills 2001: 45).

The first part of the codex contains the same texts as **A** and reveals similar arrangement. It starts on fol. 1r with the beginning of 3GT. The text bears no title and there is a gap for a two-line initial, which has not been inserted. On fol. 3r⁵ it is followed without any interval by *Litla Skálda*. The heading is written in the middle of line 5: *her byriaz kænningar skaldskapar* (SnE II: 511) ‘here commence the kennings in poetry’ (Nordal 2001: 65). The initial of the same size

is missing. The section on *Fenrisúlfr* (fol. 3v¹⁸) is treated as an integral part of *Litla Skálda*. *Skáldskaparmál* (fol. 3v²⁵) is introduced with a heading *kenningar gullz*. *Pulur* (f. 8r l. 3) contain individual headings for particular subject. The first quire lacks folio six, which results in a lacuna in the text of *Skáldskaparmál*. The *Pulur* are written on the last two folios of the first quire. The last folio is joined with the first folio of the quire. Therefore, it is likely that the end of the *Pulur* was originally written in another quire.

The remaining three quires contain religious poetry and are incomplete. The second quire now comprises only two folios, the third and the fourth quire contain only one folio each. These last quires transmit several religious poems. The beginning of each poem is indicated by a gap for a two-line initial at the beginning of a new line, none of which was inserted.

The codex is written in one hand and the size of the folios is similar, even though it varies throughout the vellum. Therefore, it is likely to suppose that all quires have always belonged together even though it is also possible to suggest that the quires were bound together at a later stage.

Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol., **W**: c. 1350) is the largest *Snorra Edda* manuscript. It starts on the verso side of the first folio and introduces the long version of the *Prologue* to *Snorra Edda* with a large decorated initial. On fol. 4v²⁰ space for a 4-line initial is left empty, which indicates the beginning of *Gylfaginning*. On fol. 20v¹, another large decorated initial introduces *Skáldskaparmál*. On fol. 27v, only the first four lines are written and contain the end of a longer quotation from *Pórsdrápa*. The rest of the page is left blank. No text is missing compared with the redaction in **R**. The text resumes on the next folio. Between fols. 30-31 six paper folios were inserted in the seventeenth century. The text of *Skáldskaparmál* resumes on fol. 31. The individual redaction of *Skáldskaparmál* in **W** does not contain chapters 39-43 and concludes with chapter 53 on fol. 35v, which indicates the last chapter on kennings.

The codex comprises the four grammatical treatises (1GT, 2GT, 3GT, 4GT) and a unique Prologue to them, which together with the first three parts of *Snorra Edda* build an unbroken whole.⁵ The prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises starts on fol. 36r¹ and occupies the whole page. 1GT follows on the next page (fols. 36v-39v). 2GT starts on fol. 40r and continues in the next quire (fol. 41v⁷) followed without any interval by the 3GT introduced with a decorated three-line initial. 3GT concludes in the next quire (fol. 50r¹⁷) and is followed without

⁵ They occupy seven quires of the manuscript, the texts were written in sequence.

any interval by the 4GT (fol. 50r¹⁸), which is introduced by a gap for a two-line initial – a common layout feature used for the introduction of the new chapters within the treatise (3GT). 4GT ends on the recto side of the last folio (fol. 54^r), the verso side is left blank. Johansson has pointed out that this quire originally contained seven folios as well as the previous one (Johansson 1997: 26). Nine paper folios were inserted at this place in the codex in the seventeenth century.

The next quire is only fragmentarily preserved, the first and the last folios containing the beginning and the end of *Háttatal* are missing. The following quire is defective too. It only comprises one single folio containing the only transmitted version of the eddic poem *Rígsþula* introduced by a large decorated initial. It was sewn together with paper folios and builds a separate quire. The codex concludes with an individual redaction of *Ókend heiti* enlarged by the quotations of the thirteenth-fourteenth century verse transmitted on the last two folios.

On the basis of orthographic analysis applied on the graphemic variation Johansson has shown in his PhD thesis that *Háttatal*, the eddic poem *Rígsþula* and the version of *Ókend heiti*, which are comprised in the last three quires, were originally part of the compilation (Johansson 1997: 255).

The whole manuscript is written in one hand. This hand was brought in connection with a group of other manuscripts and scribes, and the scriptorium at the monastery at Þingeyrar appears to be a possible place of production of *Codex Wormianus* (Johansson 1997: 13-5, 247-8).

3 Multiply attested works

3.1 Prologue

Three medieval manuscripts preserve all four parts of *Snorra Edda*, which constitute the canonical form of the work. The *Prologue* to *Snorra Edda*, as the introductory part of the work, occupies a significant position in regards to the interpretation of *Gylfaginning* in the first place and of the remaining parts of the work.

This section bears no title in any of the manuscripts. The first folio in **R** is lost, so the beginning of the *Prologue* is missing. The missing introductory text can be supplied from some seventeenth-century manuscripts copied from **R** when it was complete (Faulkes 1982: xxxii). The text starts with the passage listing the descendants of Þórr and Sif.

W transmits an expanded version of the *Prologue*, with two longer and one shorter addition. Since the text in **W** usually does not reveal significant deviations from the text in **R** (and **T**),⁶ these additional sections, which can be ascribed to the redactor of codex become even more important for the understanding of his attitude toward the material and the logic behind the compilation. The text in **U** is shorter than in other manuscripts and reflects the condensed style typical for the narrative passages found also in the other parts in that version of the work.⁷

The *Prologue* starts its narration with the creation of the world and the first humans. It continues then with Noah's flood and the new settlement of the world. The majority of mankind again turned aside from the obedience to God and even forgot his name. But even though they lost the spiritual wisdom, God granted them earthly understanding so that they could understand all earthly things. They gave names to all things in order to be able to relate to them and to keep them in memory. And since nations became distinct and languages branched, this superstition has changed in many ways.

The first addition in **W** deals with the story of the Tower of Babel and the rise of idolatry. The version in **W** reveals some deviations from the canonical version of the story. It names Zoroaster as the one who initiated the construction of the tower, and who proclaimed himself king after the construction of the tower had been hindered through the division of tongues. *Af*

⁶ Except some chapter omissions in *Skáldskaparmál*.

⁷ Sävborg 2013. More on that style later in the chapters on *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál*.

honum hofz skurðgoða uilla ok sem hann uar blotaðr uar hann kallaðr baal. þann kollum uer bel ‘He was the origin of the error of idolatry, and when they sacrificed to him they called him Baal. We call him Bel’ (Males 2020: 306-307). The error of idolatry arose from Zoroaster, together with the sacrifice to various things. Through the division of tongues his names have multiplied.⁸ Everyone forgot the Creator, except the ones who spoke Hebrew language. The multiplicity of languages is strongly associated with the error of polytheism, while the one true language, namely Hebrew, is considered to be able to lead to the one God and the truth itself (Males 2020: 285-286).

The text of the shorter version resumes after that addition and the narration turns to the division of the world in three parts: Africa, Europe and Asia, and focuses on the most outstanding place in the world – Troy, which in **U** is identified with Rome.

The second addition in **W** contains the story of Saturnus, whom people in Europe considered to be god. Through his extraordinary skills he became a king and divided his realm between his three sons: Jupiter received Heaven, Neptunus Earth, and Plutus Hell. The *Prologue* identifies Jupiter with Þórr. Jupiter conquered earth, dethroned and castrated his father Saturnus, and proclaimed himself to be god. Saturnus had to flee to Italy and became a cultural hero there. Finally, he changed his name to Njörðr in order to hide himself from his son. The story then lists the descendants of Jupiter and narrates a shorter and less glorious version of Óðinn’s migration. In that version he is not motivated to his journey through a foreseen glory in the Northern realm but is simply driven away by Pompey.

Finally, the text of the short version resumes and narrates the story of Þórr, the son of king Munon or Mennon and the daughter of king Priam, Troan. First, he killed his foster father and conquered his land Thracia that is also called *Þrúðheimr*. This story is omitted in **U**. Afterwards, he married a prophetess Sibyl, also called Sif, and the long list of their descendants reaches the one called Óðinn. After receiving a prophetic insight that he would become the most outstanding person in the North, Óðinn left Turkey, accompanied by a large following. The prophecy as the reason for the emigration is omitted in **U**. On their journey to the North, people

⁸ A similar idea is contained in *Gylfaginning*, where Óðinn’s different names are explained by the need of each nation to adapt his name to their individual language after the languages branched: *En þó er þér þat skjótast at segja at flest heiti hafa verit gefin af þeim atburð at svá margar sem eru greinir tungnanna í veröldunni, þá þykkjask allar þjóðir þurfa at breyta nafni hans til sinnar tungu til ákalls ok bæna fyrir sjálfum sér* (Faulkes 1982: 22). This passage in addition to *Stjórn* may have inspired the **W** redactor.

from Asia extended their rule over the Northerners who considered them to be godlike, and eventually adopted their language. Only smaller vestiges of the language spoken before the Asian invasion are preserved in old place names.

The last short section unique to **W** states that Óðinn changed his name to Njǫrðr when he settled Sigtún. Faulkes interpreted this rather peculiar statement as an attempt by the redactor to reconcile different traditions, which depict Freyr as the son of Njǫrðr or as the son of Óðinn, and again some others describe Njǫrðr as the first king of the Swedes, while in other Óðinn is described as the leader of the migration to Scandinavia (Faulkes 1977b: 189). On the textual level one can interpret this short passage in analogy with the second addition and as a continuation of it as an attempt of Óðinn to hide his identity from his enemy.

Many parallels can be found between three additional stories. Wellendorf has demonstrated in his analysis that the stories in **W** deviate at some points from their canonical versions. He has further pointed out that exactly these deviations allow the author to line them up as three versions of one and the same story to convey his main message to the reader, namely that of the repetition of the history (Wellendorf 2013: 156, 166-167). The short version of the *Prologue* reveals sympathetic attitude towards the following pagan material defined as an incomplete but not as an absolutely false knowledge gained by people limited by their earthly understanding.

By contrast, the inclusion of three new passages in **W** imbues the *Prologue* with an entirely different atmosphere. The additional stories change the reading of the entire *Prologue* and influence the understanding of the interrelationship between the *Prologue* and the rest of the work as well (Wellendorf 2013: 155). The long version deals more explicitly with the rise of belief in false gods. The short version of the *Prologue* states the outstanding characteristics of the Asians as the only reason for their identification with the gods, and the taking over of the rulership over the countries as a peaceful process. Both Zoroaster and Saturnus let themselves be worshipped as gods, and by analogy, the misconception of Óðinn and the Asians as gods is implicitly condemned (Wellendorf 2013: 163). The protagonists of all three stories are motivated by their greed and pride and they conquer new lands, which in the two of three cases leads to the disappearance of the pre-existing language (Zoroaster and Óðinn) (Wellendorf 2013: 160-3).

The multiplicity of languages is strongly associated with falsehood in this redaction. By the emphasis on the connection between the division of tongues and the rise of idolatry and by

the analogy of the three stories, this version of the *Prologue* reveals a rather condemning attitude towards the immigrants from Asia and consequently towards the following mythological material.

3.2 *Gylfaginning*

The second part of *Snorra Edda – Gylfaginning*, is an account of Norse mythology. It contains a collection of mythological stories bound together by a frame story dealing with the Swedish king Gylfi, who travels to Ásgarðr in order to discover the origin of the extraordinary skills of the Æsir. There he meets three representatives of the foreigners, who provide him with knowledge about the pagan gods, until they are unable to supply him any further information. Finally, these historical Æsir deliberately identify themselves with the mythological Æsir.

The name *Gylfaginning* is only transmitted in the introductory rubric to that part of the treatise in **U**: *hér hefr Gylfa ginning frá því er Gylfi sótti heim Alfǫðr í Ásgarð með fjölkyngi ok frá villu ása ok frá spurningu Gylfa* ‘here begins the befooling of Gylfi, about how Gylfi paid a visit to Allfather in Ásgarðr with magic and about the Æsir’s heresy and about Gylfi’s questioning’ (U 2012: 10-11).

Gylfaginning is transmitted in two versions – one in **U** and one in **RTW**. The differences between these two versions are mostly of a stylistic nature. The content and the order of the chapters is mostly identical, but the **U**-version is shorter and seems to be more compressed.

In his analysis of the distinctive styles of the narrative prose typical for **U** and **RTW** respectively Daniel Sävborg has convincingly shown that the condensed and fact-oriented style in **U** is a secondary phenomenon and that this version is a reworking of a text close to **RTW** (Sävborg 2013: 247-8, 263-5). He points out that the two versions have their own distinctive style, one distinctive style in **U** and another in **RTW**.

The distinctive style of **RTW** consists of a rather broad narrative technique, a fondness for concrete details, a lot of factually irrelevant information and digressions which only serve the purpose of a graphic and vivid narrative, a tendency to elaborate narration about each step of the story, and a tendency to develop single motifs into small scenes or narratives. The distinctive style of **U** is characterized by a condensed style, a tendency to

mention only those facts that are important for the plot or the purpose of explaining kennings etc., and a panoramic narrative technique that rather gives a survey of the main events (Sävborg 2013: 264).

There are some sections where **RTW** and **U** are close to each other. These sections bear witness of the shape of the common source. All these episodes have exclusively the distinctive style of **RTW** – never the distinctive style of **U** (Sävborg 2013: 264-5).

Further, Sävborg has shown that the sections with similar and different text respectively create a pattern of five larger blocks. This fact leads him to conclude that at least two redactors with two different working methods are responsible for the revised text. One, who copied the text close to the exemplar and the other, who revised it considerably (Sävborg 2013: 263-5). **U** is written in one hand, and it is thus presumably a copy of the manuscript where the revision took place (Sävborg 2013: 261).

There are several discrepancies between the two main versions. In the following analysis, I will only focus on the major differences, which reflect changing attitude to the material and are significant for the understanding of the editorial work.

The first chapter deals with the bargain between the Swedish king Gylfi and Gefjun, a woman from the race of Æsir. Gefjun draws away a large part of Gylfi's territory. The whole story can be seen as an etiological explanation of the origin of the Danish island of Zealand, but can also be interpreted in the context of the political relationship between Denmark and Sweden (Clunies Ross 1978: 162). The chapter is transmitted in **R** and **W**, but not in **U**.

The redaction in **U** in this case probably reveals the original state, while **W** bears witness to the process of the insertion of this chapter in the **RTW**-version of *Gylfaginning*. Chapter 1 starts with the introduction of king Gylfi both in **R** and **W** – *Gylfi konvngr reð þar londvm, er nu heitir Svíþioð* (FJ 1931: 8) 'king Gylfi was ruler in what is now called Sweden' (Faulkes 1987: 7). Chapter 2 in **W** introduces him again, which is rather odd in connection with the first chapter – *Gylfi er maðr nefdr* 'Gylfi was called a man'. **W** here probably preserves the redaction of the archetype before the insertion of the first chapter (FJ 1931: xix; Haukur Þorgeirsson 2017: 61). The first chapter was fully integrated in the text in **R**. The beginning of chapter 2 was adapted and functioned perfectly as the continuation of chapter 1 – *Gylfi konungr var maðr vitr ok fjölkunnigr* (Faulkes 1982: 7) 'King Gylfi was clever and skilled in magic' (Faulkes 1987: 7).

The first chapter contains the only skaldic stanza in *dróttkvætt* by Bragi, while the following and actual *Gylfaginning* contains exclusively verses in eddic metre.⁹

The **RTW** version makes a point of the Norse poetry as the original language or poetic art brought by the immigrants from Asia, while **U** simply disregards this topic. The introductory phrase to the stanza *Grímnismál* 44 reads in **R** and **W**: *Svá er hér sagt í orðum sjálfra Ásanna* (Faulkes 1982: 34) ‘Thus it says here in the words of the Æsir themselves’ (Faulkes 1987: 41). In **U** it has an impersonal: *Ok enn segir* ‘And further it says’ (U 2012: 60-1). This fundamental idea is transmitted in the *Prologue* and becomes highly relevant for Óláfr Þórðarson in his 3GT, where he elaborates on it and establishes his working method on it.

The final section of the proper *Gylfaginning* in **R** and **W** is longer than in **U**. It is again more descriptive in **RW**, while in **U** it is more fact oriented. Further, it contains references to Troy in **RW**, which are not contained in **U**. It is generally accepted that these references were interpolated in Snorri’s text at a later point, while they probably were intended to function as a link to the *Prologue* (FJ 1931: xx).

3.3 *Skáldskaparmál*

The next part of *Snorra Edda*, *Skáldskaparmál*, is dedicated to the poetic language – kennings and *heiti*, illustrated by various quotations from the poems of the main skalds, *hofuðskáld*. It is preserved in varying forms in all five manuscripts. It is the only part of *Snorra Edda* that sometimes functions independently from the rest of the work in the preserved manuscripts. The treatise was apparently not regarded as fixed but was subjected to several revisions, which reflected changing attitude to the material. It was included in different contexts and supposedly served different purposes.

The treatise contains prose narratives supplying additional information about the origin of some kennings, both mythological and legendary. The narrative is arranged in a dialogue form. The frame story depicts Ægir visiting Ásgarðr and participating in a drinking feast together with the Æsir. Bragi relates several mythological stories to him, amongst them the one describing how

⁹ With exception of the only skaldic couplet in eddic metre in chapter 2.

Óðinn got in possession of poetic mead. The discussion then turns to various aspects of poetic language.

The purpose of *Skáldskaparmál* is clearly stated in the following passage, which interrupts the previous dialogue. The portion unique to **RW** is set in bold, while the alternative ending of this passage in **U** is given in the footnote.

En þetta er nú at segja ungum skáldum þeim er girnask at nema mál skáldskapar ok heyja sér orðfjólða með fornum heitum eða girnask þeir at kunna skilja þat er hult er kveðit: þá skili hann þessa bók til fróðleiks ok skemtunar. En ekki er at gleyma eða ósanna svá þessar sögur at taka ór skáldskapinum for[nar ke]nningar þær er höfuðskáld hafa sér líka látit. En eigi skulu kristnir menn trúá¹⁰ á heidín goð ok eigi á sannynði þessar sagnar annan veg en svá sem hér finnsk í upphafi bókar er sagt er frá atburðum þeim er mannfólkit viltisk frá rétttri trú,¹¹ ok þá næst frá Tyrkjum, hvernig Asiamenn þeir er Æsir eru kallaðir fólsoðu frásagnir þær frá þeim tíðindum er gerðusk í Troju til þess at landfólkit skyldi trúá þá guð vera¹² (Faulkes 1998: 5).

But these things have now to be told to young poets who desire to learn the language of poetry and to furnish themselves with a wide vocabulary using traditional terms; or else they desire to be able to understand what is expressed obscurely. Then let such a one take this book as scholarly inquiry and entertainment. But these stories are not to be consigned to oblivion or demonstrated to be false, so as to deprive poetry of ancient kennings which major poets have been happy to use. Yet Christian people must not believe **in heathen gods, nor in the truth of this account in any other way than that in which it is presented at the beginning of this book, where it is told what happened when mankind went astray from the true faith, and after that about the Turks, how the people of Asia, known as Æsir, distorted the accounts of the events that took place in Troy so that the people of the country would believe that they were gods** (Faulkes 1987: 64-5).

¹⁰ *né á sannast at svá hafí verit* ‘[Yet Christian people are not to believe] or be convinced that it has been thus’ (U 2012: 90-1).

¹¹ Reference to the *Prologue*.

¹² Reference to *Gylfaginning* and its final section.

This passage not only formulates the didactic purpose of the work, but it also provides a structure to the whole work by linking this section to the ideas of the *Prologue* and *Gylfaginning*. It stresses the importance of the heritage of the major poets, whose authority in matters of poetic language legitimizes dealing with mythological material. It also provides a logical connection to the following section treating the analogy between classical and Norse mythology.

As has been shown in the previous chapter, **U** does not contain references to Troy in *Gylfaginning*. As has been stated there, the main purpose of the insertion of this reference in **RW** was probably to link this part of *Snorra Edda* to its *Prologue*. In the text of *Eptirmáli* here, I again suggest the same tendency. The version in **R** and **W** links it to the previous parts and functions perfectly as the introduction to the following chapter, not contained in **U**. Since the insertion of the references to Troy in the final section of *Gylfaginning* and in the next chapter is seen as a later interpolation (FJ 1931: xx), it is logical to suggest that the text of *Eptirmáli* was changed in the archetype of **RTW** as the result of the same tendency to connect all parts of the work through this common idea. **U** basically provides the essential information about the purpose of the work and the guideline for Christian students for dealing with pagan material, which is the primary function of this passage.

It is further possible to suggest an abbreviation in the alternative ending in **U**, which would conform with **U**'s tendency to cut out unnecessary information. The use of the words *trúa* and the root *sann-* seem more natural in **R**. There is a meaningful distinction between belief in the gods and in the truth of the stories, whereas in 'believe or become convinced', the second element is superfluous – but makes sense as an echo of the text that has been abbreviated. It is not possible to reconstruct the reading of *Eptirmáli* in the archetype, and further not possible to deduce how much text has been abbreviated in **U** or added in **RTW**. It is still reasonable to suggest that at least the last reference to the *Æsir* narrating the stories about Troy in order to convince the native people that they were gods can only have been added together with the addition of the final section of *Gylfaginning* in the archetype of **RTW**. These additions would conform with the overall tendency to connect all parts of the work together through this common idea.

Now I will give a detailed overview of the relevant divergences between individual redactions with reference to their stemmatic relation. There is much evidence to suggest that the

five individual redactions of *Skáldskaparmál* are basically representative of two main versions of the work, the so-called **RT(W)/U**-versions. The variations between the versions are of different nature, and there are divergences between all redactions of the work.

W omits chapters 39-43 dealing with the otter-payment, the whole story about Sigurðr, Niflungar, and Fróði's meal. In addition, the accompanying stanzas from *Fáfnismál*, *Ragnarsdrápa*, and *Grottasöngur* are omitted. The first portion of *Skáldskaparmál* ends with chapter 53, which indicates the end of the section on kennings. The last two folios of the manuscript, which are comprised in a separate quire, preserve fragments of a revised redaction of the *ókend heiti* enlarged by quotations of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century verse. It contains a reference to *Rígsþula* and some quotations of Snorri.

The fundamental difference between the **U**- and the **RTW**-version lies in the structure. The redactor of the **U**-version moved four mythological stories, those about the origin of the mead of poetry, the battle between Þórr and Hrungrnir, the kidnapping of Iðunn, and Þórr's visit to Geirrðargarðar, from their original places within *Skáldskaparmál* to the end of *Gylfaginning*. In addition, all the narratives dealing with the gold myth and a chapter dealing with the battle of Heðinn and Högni are moved to the end of *Skáldskaparmál*. In **RTW** these narratives are spread across the whole text and explain the relevant kennings in the quoted stanzas.

Chapters 40-42 dealing with Sigurðr and Niflungar are omitted. The long quotations from *Þórsdrápa*, *Haustlög*, *Ragnarsdrápa* and *Grottasöngur* are not present in **U**,¹³ and many other quotations of single stanzas are omitted. The chapter treating the analogy between the history of Troy and Norse mythology is not contained in **U** as has already been discussed earlier.

Daniel Sävborg has shown that the ordering principle in **U** is the result of the reworking process of a version similar to **RTW** (Sävborg 2009). The first indication is the introductory sentence of the story about Þórr and Hrungrnir: *Nú skal segja af hverju þær kenningar eru er áðr eru dómi sögð*. 'Now shall be told the origin of the kennings of which examples have earlier been given (U 2012: 90-91). **RTW** makes a similar statement, which works perfectly there because it follows a sequence of quotations containing kennings for different gods, also for Þórr (Faulkes 1998: 20). In contrast to **RTW**, absolutely no examples of any kennings have been given in **U**, since this section has been moved to the end of *Gylfaginning*, while all quotations are contained in the second part of *Skáldskaparmál*, after the break (Sävborg 2009: 840-1). This

¹³ It seems likely that the long poems have been added in the **RTW** rather than cut out in **U** (FJ 1931: xxi-xxiii).

inconsistency gives insight into the redaction of the exemplar. The scribe has transferred the whole section from its original place within the treatise to a different place, which caused this discrepancy.

The group of narratives gathered at the end of *Skáldskaparmál* also bears witness to the editorial interference behind this version. Chapter 60 *Kent gullit*, which is transmitted in its original place in *Skáldskaparmál*, contains several verses illustrating the use of different kennings for gold listed in its introductory passage. Chapter 99 *Frá kenningu gulls*, which is included in the final section of *Skáldskaparmál*, quotes the same first verse as Chapter 66 and then ends abruptly. The second quotation as well as its introduction have no connection to their context. The comparison with the version in **R** supplies the explanation for this. The same chapter dealing with kennings for gold is transmitted there between the two longer narratives dealing with gold, which were transferred to the final section in **U**. While copying these two narratives the scribe accidentally started copying the section, which was included between them in his exemplar, but suddenly realized that he already had it on its proper place in the middle of *Skáldskaparmál* and continued with copying the second long narrative (Sävborg 2009: 841-2).

The famous introductory heading in **U** lists the content of the first part of the work as follows – *er fyrst frá ásum ok Ymi* ‘first it is about Æsir and Ymir’, which is commonly associated with the canonical version of *Gylfaginning* (FJ 1931: xl). The version in **U** gathers the mythological stories, that is stories with Æsir as protagonists and giants as their antagonists, in its initial part by moving them from their original place within *Skáldskaparmál*. By doing so the editor makes a clearer distinction between the part of the work containing the account of Norse mythology and the following part dealing with poetic language.

One group of mythological narratives are not moved to *Gylfaginning*, however, but are rather gathered in the final part of *Skáldskaparmál*: namely, those that are bound together by the common topic of gold. This section also includes one heroic story, which is relevant for the kennings for battle and weapons. Both the kennings for gold and weapons are widely used for the circumlocution of men, especially kings. This fact may bear relevance for their position within this redaction of *Skáldskaparmál* and within the codex.

The manuscripts **A** and **B** contain separate redactions of *Skáldskaparmál*, and they are closely related (Faulkes 1998: xlv). The text begins in both manuscripts with chapter 45, but **B** reintroduces some earlier chapters, which are omitted in **A** (Faulkes 1998: xlv-xlvi). The

omission of the first 44 chapters in the archetype seems to be motivated by a focus on the poetic examples, rather than on prose narrative. Until chapter 45 narrative prose takes a prominent position within the treatise (Males 2020: 131-2). Based on the common archetype **A** and **B** have developed in different directions. **A** has further deepened this trend and removed the narrative about Hálfðan, which is transmitted in **B**. **B** has reintroduced earlier chapters, but not the narratives in them (Males 2020: 131-2).

Three manuscripts, **R**, **A**, **B**, treat *þulur* as an integral part of *Skáldskaparmál*. The *þulur* are versified lists of poetic terms (*heiti*) for the major subjects of skaldic verse (Clunies Ross 1987: 81). In **R** there are thirty-five *þulur*, which consist of 106 stanzas and enumerate some 1500 *heiti* (Gurevich 2017: 649). The catalogue does not have any title, and no rubrics are used to introduce the particular subjects. The *þulur* in **A** reveal certain minor changes in the order of the subject matter as compared to the version in **R**. **A** further contains twenty-four additional lists comprising sixty-eight stanzas and 1083 *heiti* (Gurevich 2017: 649). The subject of the list is almost consistently introduced by a heading. **B** transmits the *þulur* in an extended redaction similar to that found in **A**. The end is missing.

The *þulur* are composed in *fornyrðislag* metre. The possible purpose of such catalogues may have been to serve as reference list for poets. These lists were possibly compiled to preserve poetic vocabulary and for the training of the young poets (Gurevich 2017: 652). The *þulur* contain many words not actually found in poetry or other sources. Therefore, their purpose as reference lists for poets is not certain (Faulkes 1998: xvii). Many *heiti* appear in several lists and can be applied for several referents, which appears to make them less suitable for poetic composition (Gurevich 2017: 654). Gurevich has further emphasized the encyclopedic dimension of the *þulur* and assumed that they are intended to give a full account of the world (Gurevich 2017:653). But the lists must apparently have been used as poetic dictionaries, since some of the *heiti* not found in the old poems but listed in the *þulur* appear in the poetry from the 14th century (Gurevich 2017: 654).

3.4 *Háttatal*

Háttatal is a praise-poem for King Hákon Hákonarson and Duke Skúli Bárðarson, and at the same time it is a treatise on poetics illustrating various verse forms. Individual stanzas in the poem present distinctive versions of metre and are accompanied by commentary. The poem is divided into three sections (*kvæði*). The first section, stanzas 1-30, focuses on King Hákon; the second section, stanzas 31-66, deals with duke Skúli, stanza 67 treats both men; the third section, stanzas 68-95, is also mainly dedicated to Skúli, stanzas 96-102 focus on both patrons (Faulkes 1991: ix). The work is contained in three of the *Snorra Edda* manuscripts studied here (**R**, **U**, and **W**). Each version reveals similar arrangement but comprises different numbers of stanzas as well as further discrepancies.

In **U**, a list of names of the first thirty-six verse-forms accompanied by the opening lines precedes the heading to the poem written with red ink. This heading ascribes the poem to Snorri: *Háttatal, er Snorri Sturluson orti um Hákon konung ok Skúla hertuga* ‘Háttatal, which Snorri Sturluson composed about King Hákon and Duke Skúli’ (U 2012: 262-263). It mainly repeats the wording of the introductory heading in **U**. The text starts with a green three-line initial. The scribe uses rubrications in order to structure the text. The text ends after stanza 56, probably due to a defective exemplar (U 2012: lxxxvi-lxxxvii).

In **R**, the treatise is introduced by a large decorated four-line initial. Most stanzas are introduced by an introductory phrase containing the name of the verse-form. **R** contains 102 stanzas, but stanza 38 is entered at the end of the treatise and does not have any explanatory section. *Háttatal* in **W** occupies an entire quire, but the first and the last folios containing the beginning and the end of the treatise are lost. Therefore, only stanzas 7-86 are extant in this version.

Háttatal starts in accordance with the common style of the Latin treatises on grammar in a dialogic form. It lists three modes of poetics: precept, licence, and prohibition (*sytning*, *leyfi*, *fyrirboðning*). Further, it treats the distinctions in the arrangement of metre: distinction in meaning and distinction in sound (*málsgrein*, *hljóðsgrein*). Finally, it defines *hendingar* as the arrangement of distinctions of sound.

The first stanza illustrates the basic *dróttkvætt*, while this form is defined as the foundation of all verse forms. In the following sections, different ways of changing the meaning

by keeping the form are presented: by using kennings (periphrastic descriptions), *styðja* (support),¹⁴ extended kennings, literal kennings (*sannkenning*), or by composing with metaphor (*yrkja at nýgjörvingum*). The text in **W** starts with the explanatory section discussing stanza six, which exemplifies the use of metaphor (monstrosity (*nykrat*)).

The next section is dedicated to the discussion of the twelve licences. The ninth licence is noteworthy because it contains one of the rare examples of prohibitive grammar within what Males calls the ‘nativizing’ grammatical corpus (Males 2020: 175) – *at reka til ennar fimmtu kenningar, en ór ættum ef lengra er rekit, en þó at þat finnist í fornskálda verkum, þá látum vér nú þat ónýtt* ‘to extend [a kenning] to a fifth determinant, but it is out of proportion if it is extended further, and even if it is found in the works of ancient poets, we consider it now unacceptable’ (U 2012: 272-273).

The treatise continues with different examples for the variations on the *dróttkvætt* metre. A short section on verse forms of ancient poets contains five stanzas. These stanzas illustrate metrical inconsistencies, which can be found in the verse of the famous old scalds.¹⁵ This section ends with an intriguing statement - *Víða er þat í fornskálda verka er í einni vísu eru ýmsir hættir eða háttaföll, ok má eigi yrkja eptir því, þó at þat þykki eigi spilla í fornkvæðum* (Faulkes 1991: 26) ‘It often happens in the work of early poets that there are several variations or metrical inconsistencies in a single stanza, and this ought not to be imitated though it is not considered a fault in early poems’ (Faulkes 1987: 200). It is another rare example of prohibitive grammar.

The names of the metre forms are often omitted in **W** and **U**, while **R** inconsistently uses introductory phrases containing the names. Several explanatory sections in all versions refer to the previously discussed verse forms by name. But since these names were omitted in the first place, it is difficult to decide if the references were comprehensible. The register in **U** containing the names for the first 36 metre forms may have been included as auxiliary material but was probably based on a different exemplar than the actual *Háttatal* text in **U** (Mårtensson 2009: 140, 144).

¹⁴ Literal epithet.

¹⁵ Only three stanzas in **U**, all three verse forms being ascribed to Ragnarr.

3.5 *Litla Skálda*

Litla Skálda is a short treatise on kennings in prose containing 3 ½ stanzas. It is transmitted in **A** and **B**, and both versions reveal only minor discrepancies. The treatise lists kenning types for the most common referents in skaldic poetry and orders them according to the subject matter. The treatise has no introduction and starts directly with the kennings for poetry, which can be called ship of dwarfs, giants and Óðinn, as well as their finding and drink. The text does not supply any narrative explanation for these mythological descriptions. The following referents seem to have been picked up through an associative ordering process: ship and drink, dwarfs and giants occurred in the description of the first kenning, and stones were mentioned in the connection with dwarfs (Solvin 2015: 14-5).

After this listing of different kenning types, the treatise defines the basic principle for composition of kennings: *Ekki skal kenna þat er sitt nafn hefir sjálfs, en kenna alt þat, er annars nafni er nefnt en sínu* (FJ 1931: 255) ‘One should not define that which has its own name, but define everything that is called by another name than its own’ (Males 2020: 137). After this explanation, the listing of different kenning types resumes, while the ordering principle seems to be associative all through the text.

In the next step, two stanzas from the poem *Grímnismál* (40-41) are cited, which describe the creation of the world out of Ymir’s body parts. This quotation serves as evidence and explanation for the poetical descriptions of earth, sea, Miðgarðr, and clouds with Ymir’s body parts. The treatise itself provides the reasoning for this quotation: *Þat ær rett at kalla iqrð hold ymis ænn sæ bloð hans ænn hæim miðgarð brár hans ænn sky hæila hans* (SnE II: 431) ‘it is right to describe Earth with Ymir’s head, sea with his blood, and the world, Miðgarðr, with his eyelashes, and the clouds with his brains’.

It is followed by a short passage dealing with the millstone *Grótti*, which has been stolen by the sea king *Mýsingr*, who ground salt until his ship sank in the sea. This narrative supplies an etiological explanation for why the sea is salty. Earlier in the treatise king Fróði, Menja and Fenja have already been mentioned in the context of the gold kennings. Here in the section dealing with the natural phenomena the whole story is briefly narrated.

In this section two different ways explaining the origin of the kennings are applied – poetic quotation and narrative in prose. It is worth mentioning that the mythological material is

exemplified by verse but the legendary material by a short passage in prose. No stanzas exemplify the actual use of the listed kennings.

The section on *Fenrisúlfr* follows without any break in **B**, and is introduced with a heading *fra fenris ulfi* ‘about wolf Fenrir’ and a two-line initial in **A**. It mainly enumerates names of places and objects connected to the binding of Fenrir. This section also contains a quotation, this time from an unknown poem consisting of three *fornyrðislag* couplets and one *ljóðaháttr* long line.

3.6 *Third Grammatical Treatise*

3GT (c. 1250) was composed by Óláfr Þórðarson (d. 1259): a cleric, teacher, poet, and nephew of Snorri Sturluson. The most specific attribution of authorship to Óláfr is transmitted in **A** (c. 1300), one of the oldest *Snorra Edda* manuscripts, and there is no reason to doubt it.¹⁶

3GT consists of two parts, termed by modern scholars *Málfræðinnar grundvöllr* ‘The Foundation of Grammar’ and *Málskrúðsfræði* ‘Science of the Ornaments of Speech’ (Clunies Ross 2005: 187). Neither of these titles is found in any medieval manuscript, and the work itself, like all the other grammatical treatises, does not have any title. Two *Snorra Edda* manuscripts, **A** and **W**, contain the full version of 3GT. The third manuscript, **B**, contains a revised version of the treatise consisting only of the first part and concluding with the chapter on barbarisms.

The first part of 3GT is an adaptation of books I and II of Priscian’s *Institutiones Grammaticae*, and probably Ælfric’s *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*. It is dedicated to the topics of sounds, letters, particularly runes, syllables, and words. It is a summary of the theoretical basis for the study of grammar. The second part is a translation of Donatus’ *Ars Maior* book III (*Barbarismus*), dealing with figures and tropes, and with the examples all replaced by skaldic poetry (Males 2020: 178, Wills 2001: 2).

I will first provide a synopsis of the work presenting the topics of individual chapters. Thereafter I will discuss indications of editorial work behind individual redaction.

3GT in **W** is transmitted between 2GT and the *Fourth Grammatical Treatise* (4GT), none of which has any title. The text is completely preserved. The text in **A** has two lacunae

¹⁶ Two references to Óláfr as the author of 3GT in 4GT (chs 9, 11) and a reference by the author to ‘his lord Valdimarr’ also support this (Males 2020: 178).

corresponding to the amount of text that might be contained on two folios. It follows the final part of 5GT and is introduced by the heading *at greina hlioð* ‘to distinguish sound’, which refers to the content of the first chapter of the treatise. Further headings are used in **A** for the introduction of new chapters. **B** contains a revised version of 3GT, which lacks any rubrications.

The treatise begins in all three manuscripts with the definition of sound (*hlioð*). First, it makes a distinction between sounds produced by spiritual things and physical sounds produced either by living or non-living things. It proceeds then to the special kind of sound arising from living things, namely the voice (*rødd*), and describes the physical production of it. Further, it distinguishes ‘writeable’ (*ritanlig rødd*) and ‘non-writeable’ voice (*oritanlig rødd*), while it subdivides the former again into two categories – significative and non-significative (*merkilig/vmerkilig*).

The second chapter starts with the definition of the letter (*stafr*). **A** again is the only manuscript that transmits the heading *fra staða skipti ok tíma* ‘the division and length of letters’. The chapter treats the relationship between letter and voice and describes three dimensions of syllables (*samstøfvr*): height as in accent (*lioðsgrein*), breadth as in aspiration (*andi*), and length as in quantity (*timi*).

The third chapter begins with the listing of the three accidents of the letters: name (*nafn*), shape (*figvr*), power or value (*vællidi/mátt*), and describes the relationship between the first and the last characteristic. The letters under consideration are runes. Óláfr refers to Priscian on several places and emphasizes similarities between the Norse alphabet and both Greek and Hebrew. All descriptions of the Norse runes are omitted in **B**.

The next chapter continues with the accidents of letters, namely with shape and value. It is not divided as a new chapter in **B**, and it again omits all references to runes there. In **A** the chapter bears the title *vm tilfelli staffs* ‘the characteristics of the letter’ (Wills 2001: 88-9), but the first lacuna in the text of the treatise begins in the middle of the description of diphthongs (one folio is missing). The chapter in **A** and **W** contains the pangram composed by King Valdemar.

The following chapter is transmitted in **W** and **B** and deals with syllables and their accidents. It contains more references to Norse poetry than other chapters. It treats *hendingar* and discusses the accidents of a syllable according to their relevance to the traditional poetry. It also points out the insignificance of some distinctions, as for example the characteristic time, for

Norse poetic art (Wills 2001: 92-5). Óláfr describes *aðalhending* and *skothending* and inserts two couplets illustrating rhyme: a latin poem and a *runhenda* by Snorri.

The last chapter of the first part of 3GT deals with the word (*sogn*) and lists eight parts of speech together with their characteristics. The text of **A** resumes with the final words of the description of nouns and continues in accordance with other versions.

The first chapter of *Málskúðsfræði* has the title *kenningar donati* ‘the teachings of Donatus’ in **A**. It refers to the books of Donatus and justifies the necessity of the study of both the vices and virtues of speech in order to speak and compose in a proper way. The chapter is omitted in **B**, but in other manuscripts, it indicates the change of the topic of the treatise and contains Óláfr’s fundamental theoretical position, which legitimizes his working method, namely the substitution of Latin examples by skaldic poetry.

Jþæssi bok ma gerla skilia, at qll ær æin listin | skalld skapr sa, ær romverskir spækingar
namv iathænis borg a griklandi ok | snerv siþan i latinv mal, ok sa lioða háttr æða
skalldskapr, ær oðinn ok aðrir asia | menn flvttv norðr higat i norðr halfv heimsins, ok
kendv monnum a sina tvngv | þæsskonar list, sva sæm þeir hqfðv skipat ok nvmit isialfv
asia landi, þar sæm mæst | var frægð ok rikdomr ok froðlæikr veralldarinnar (Ólsen 1884:
60).

In this book it may be clearly understood that the art of poetry which the Roman sages learnt in Athens in Greece and then transferred into the Latin language is the same art as the verse form of songs or poetry which Óðinn and other men of Asia brought hither northwards into the northern hemisphere; and they taught men this type of art in their own language, just as they had organised and learnt it in Asia itself, where beauty and power and knowledge were the greatest in the world (Clunies Ross 2005: 190).

Óláfr here claims that the Latin poetic art, which has been created as the translation of the original Greek art learnt by the Romans in Athens, is the same art as the traditional Norse poetry, which Óðinn transported directly from Asia. In this sense he implies the superiority of skaldic poetry to Latin poetry. The first one is a directly descendant from the original art, the second merely a translation of that original art.

The following chapter deals with *barbarisms*, faults in speech and style. It provides first the historical and etymological explanation of the term. According to it, the term *barbari* was used to describe all other nations, except Romans and Greeks, because of their long beards and

dirty clothes. Young men from other nations studied Latin in Rom. They translated it then in their own languages and spoiled it. Therefore, the faults in speech received the name *barbarisms*. This explanation of the term is omitted in **B**. The text in **B** ends with this chapter.

The next chapter in **A** and **W** treats *solecisms*, faults in congruity of speech or construction. The chapter dealing with faults of *metaplasmus*, deviation from grammatical norms for metrical reasons, is not separated in **W**. The following two chapters treat *schema lexeos*, poetic embellishments, and tropes and metaphor. The last chapter in **W** is subdivided in two parts. **A** has the second lacuna here. All this material is omitted in **B**.

In general one can say that runic material, the euhemeristic explanation of the origin of skaldic poetry, and the second part of 3GT dealing with figures and tropes adjusted to skaldic poetry and quoting a lot of verse are omitted in **B**, except the chapter on *barbarisms*.¹⁷

Based on the observations of the usual practice of formatting the text in **B**, Tarrin Wills has shown that the omissions of the sections on runes in that version were intentionally made by the scribe of the manuscript during the process of copying the exemplar containing the missing parts (Wills 2001: 50-1). The main feature for visual indication of chapter division in **B** is a gap for a capital at the beginning of a new line. In cases where the previous chapter concludes in the same line, the scribe writes the final words at the end of the line and leaves a gap between them and the text of a new chapter. This practice requires on the scribe's part the awareness of the chapter division in order to plan the layout. The point where chapter three ends and chapter four begins is significant for the understanding of the editorial practice. The final line of chapter three begins on the left margin (fol. 1v²⁵) and occupies just a part of the line. Chapter four starts on a new line (fol. 1v²⁶) and continues onto the previous line. The text then continues two lines below (fol. 1v²⁷). This indicates that the scribe was not aware of the chapter division when he wrote the final line of chapter three, which is understandable, since in all other versions a long section on runes follows this sentence. This implies that the exemplar also contained the section on runes and that the scribe was editing it out as he went along (Wills 2001: 50-1).

¹⁷ For the full list of omissions in **B** see Ólsen (1884: lvi), Wills (2001: 47).

3.7 Second Grammatical Treatise

The so called *Second Grammatical Treatise* (2GT) is transmitted in two *Snorra Edda* manuscripts, **U** and **W**. It is an anonymous work, which has been most recently dated to the years 1270-1300 (Raschellà 1982: 130). It does not bear any title in **W** and follows the *First Grammatical Treatise* (1GT) there. In **U**, there is a chapter heading in red ink, which is now almost illegible but must be read as follows: *hér segir af setningo háttalykilsins* (U 2012: 250) 'here follows an account of the arrangement of the metrical key' (Nordal 2001: 51).

2GT deals with orthography. The main text transmitted in both versions starts with the distinction between sound (*hljóð*), voice (*rødd*), and discourse (*mál*). It turns then to the description of the features required of the mouth in order to produce speech, and defines the mouth itself as the playing-field of the words (*leikvöllr orðanna*), on which those letters are raised, which make up all the language – *A þeim leikuelli eru reister þeir stafer er allt maal giora* (Raschellà 1982: 29). In the next step, the treatise presents all letters with a particular emphasis on the position, which they can take within a word in relation to other letters. The description supplies the name of the particular letter and discusses its ability to produce full words and a piece of discourse.

2GT uses following terminology: *málstafir* (consonants), *hljóðstafir* (vowels), *límingar* ((vowel) ligatures), *lausaklofar* ((vowel) digraph/ diphthong), *skiptingr* (variable- *i*). The last term points out the special character of the letter *i*, which can function within a syllable as a vowel if it has a position between two consonants, or as a consonant if it is followed by a vowel. The author further suggests the use of graphical distinction between the long and the short vowels in order to minimize the ambiguity – *optliga skipta orðaleiðingar öllu máli, hvárt hinn sami hljóðstafr er leiddr seint eða skjótt* 'often the (different) pronunciation of words changes (the sense of) the whole discourse, (according to) whether the same vowel is pronounced slowly or quickly' (Raschellà 1982: 66-7). The treatise proposes the use of small capital letters for the geminate, but accepts the option of writing of double consonants. The term *undirstafir* (sub-letters) is used for the consonants *ð*, *z*, *x*, because of their characteristic to come only after a vowel in each syllable. In **W**, also the term *høfuðstafir* (main letters) is used for the consonants in the first ring: *þ*, *y*, *h*, *q*, which can only stay before other letters.

The **U**-version mentions the *tittles* in one short sentence, which basically states that they are written in the same way as in other writing systems. In **W**-version this sentence functions as an introduction to the second addition. From that point the two texts go in completely different directions.

Now I will give an overview of the differences between the two versions of the 2GT. The **U**-version contains two figures, which are omitted in **W**, but seem to be original (Raschellà 1982: 17). The circular figure is omitted in **W**, but the following discussion is transmitted in both versions. The rectangular figure as well as its respective description are excluded from the **W**-version, but must have inspired its redactor to compose the long passage concluding the treatise in the codex.

The **W**-redaction includes two additions. The first one is at the beginning of the text and functions as an introduction to the main text of the treatise. The passage presents evidence of human's intellectual and natural ability to understand the nature of things – the truth, by dividing and distinguishing them. It further suggests the most suitable way of using these skills is in praising God. The following treatise discussing the division of sounds and the distinction of letters thus becomes a way of serving God.

The second addition is at the end of the text, and it begins directly after the short sentence mentioning the *tittles*. From that point both versions diverge completely. The **U**-version transmits the rectangular figure and its description. It mainly illustrates the smallest possible combinations (*hendingar*) between one vowel and one consonant, and compares the alphabet with a musical instrument, where vowels can be seen as the strings and consonants as the keys.

The **W**-version contains several passages taken from 1GT. It starts with the etymological definition of *titull*. After a short summary of the previous description of the omitted circle diagram, it contains further passages from 1GT. The so-called *undirstafir* (sub-letters) – *ð, z, x*, are bound to a group in the main part of 2GT because of their common feature to appear in a syllable only after a vowel. In the summary, the following letters are included in this group - *c x z ý*. 1GT deals with a different set of letters in a totally different context – *x, y, z, &, [˜]*. According to the author of 1GT, these letters can actually be omitted from the alphabet (H. Benediktsson 1972: 236-7). 2GT provides paraphrases of the respective chapters in 1GT with the main emphasis on the origin of these letters in Latin and Hebrew. It further quotes a passage dealing with consonants and their individual shape, name, and value. It is a summary of the long

section treating the consonants in 1GT, where these characteristics of the letters were dealt with. 2GT has not treated these topics in the main text.

The final part of the second addition has most probably been inspired by the rectangular figure and its comparison of the alphabet with a hurdy-gurdy (a musical instrument). The scale is potentially able to include all the sounds of the world in it – *nu eru æingi þau læti eða hlið eða radder at æigi muni þat allt finnaz i gamanum* ‘there are no sounds or noises or voices that cannot all be found in the scale’ (Males 2020: 316-7). And if the tongue starts to pronounce words using all these sounds, the language, which will then be spoken, will be Hebrew – the original language, existent before God divided the languages. From the argument of the universal phonology leading back to the universal language, the redactor switches to the universal truth about the one true God (Males 2020: 281-5). The first addition and the final part of the second addition give the treatise a religious imprint which was originally absent (Raschellà 1982: 17).

4 Codex Regius

Codex Regius of *Snorra Edda* contains the most popular and best studied version of the work. It has often served as the main text for the editions and translations of the work and as a point of reference in the discussions treating its canonical form and content (Nordal 2001: 49). It is accepted by most scholars that this redaction represents Snorri's original text better than other extant versions (Johansson 2009: 33). Therefore, the following analysis will focus on the few distinctive aspects of this redaction, which are significant for the specific characteristic of this version of *Snorra Edda* and of **R** as a compilation.

R belongs to the oldest extant *Snorra Edda* manuscripts, together with **U** and **A**. It contains all four parts of the work, while the *Pulur* are treated as an integral part of *Skáldskaparmál*. Two skaldic poems from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century – *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málsháttakvæði* – conclude the codex.

The beginning of the *Prologue* is missing due to a lacuna of one folio. The text starts with the passage listing the descendants of Þórr and Sif. The missing introductory text can be supplied from some seventeenth-century manuscripts copied from **R** when it was complete (Faulkes 1982: xxxii).

R contains the short version of the *Prologue*, as compared to the extended redaction in **W**. It reveals a rather sympathetic attitude to the following mythological material defining it as a limited but not a completely false understanding of the world. Further, it places Norse language and mythology within the framework of the Christian Continental learned tradition. All Scandinavian monarchies are depicted as the offspring of Óðinn, who emigrated from Asia. Óðinn – himself a descendant of the heroes from Troy – becomes a noble ancestor of all royal Scandinavian dynasties. It was a widespread narrative convention in the Middle Ages to set the royal genealogy within a mythic framework and to trace the ancestry of the royal dynasties and of a nation back to the Trojan kings (Cipolla 2012: 78-79; Würth 2005: 165; Nordal 2001: 312).

Gylfaginning provides the account of the Norse mythology. It carries on the main ideas already stressed in the *Prologue*. It underlines the Asian origin of the Norse poetry – *Svá er hér sagt í orðum sjálfra Ásanna* (Faulkes 1982: 34) 'Thus it says here in the words of the Æsir themselves' (Faulkes 1987: 34). Further, it stresses the analogy between the Norse and the Trojan myths. In the last section of *Gylfaginning*, the narrators decide to identify themselves with

the mythological characters from the narration. In the next step, these mythological Æsir from the stories comprised in *Gylfaginning* are further identified with the legendary heroes from Troy:

Þar var þá Þórr kallaðr—ok er sá Ásaþórr hinn gamli, sá er Okuþórr—ok honum eru kend þau stórvirki er Þórr (Ector) gerði í Troju. En þat hyggja menn at Tyrkir hafi sagt frá Ulixes ok hafi þeir hann kallat Loka, þvíat Tyrkir váru hans hinir mestu óvinir (Faulkes 1982: 55).

So someone there was given the name Thor – and this means the ancient Thor of the Æsir, that is Oku-Thor – and to him are attributed the exploits which Thor (Hector) performed in Troy. And it is believed that the Turks told tales about Ulysses and that they gave him the name Loki, for the Turks were especially hostile to him (Faulkes 1987: 57-8).

There is an indication of the interest in the Danish material, which will be more apparent in *Skáldskaparmál*, in the first chapter of *Gylfaginning*, containing the myth dealing with Gefjun and the ploughing up the island of Zealand from Sweden. The Danish semi-legendary past became a popular topic in the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century (Wellendorf 2016: 131). The history of Danish royal house was connected to the Norwegian royal dynasty and to several Icelandic genealogies (Nordal 2001: 310-9). In the fourteenth century, these themes must have belonged to the common mythological and heroic heritage and references to them probably reflect antiquarian interests rather than actual political bias.

The first chapter further contains a quotation of a skaldic stanza by Bragi *inn gamli* functioning as an evidence stanza. It is the only *dróttkvætt* stanza transmitted in *Gylfaginning*. The scene reveals antiquarian interest and functions as the introduction to the following story. It supplies the motivation for Gylfi's journey to Ásgarðr and sets the precedent for his deception by the Æsir.

The stanza by the authoritative poet Bragi from the earliest survived skaldic poem *Ragnarsdrápa*, which supplies the evidence for the first chapter, further contributes to the authority of the following narrative. The first chapter depicts the interaction between king Gylfi and a woman from the race of Æsir and provides evidence for it on the basis of skaldic stanza. The following chapters treat the dialogue between the same king Gylfi, who travells to Ásgarðr in order to discover the origin of the extraordinary abilities of the foreign people, and the Æsir.

The whole story becomes if not completely true then at least possible. Being a true story in this context means to be traditionally inherited and not invented by Snorri – from a religious perspective, the pagan stories would have at least contained elements of falsehood.

As has been shown earlier, both the references to Troy and the first chapter are not contained in **U**, which reveals the original state in these instances. The passage on Troy links *Gylfaginning* to the ideas contained in the *Prologue*. The insertion of the first chapter reveals antiquarian interests, provides authority to the whole following story, and contains a quotation from *Ragnarsdrápa*, which will be also cited later in *Skáldskaparmál*.

The next part of *Snorra Edda, Skáldskaparmál*, is dedicated to poetic language -kennings and *heiti*, illustrated by various verse quotations of the main skalds. The treatise contains prose narratives supplying additional information for the origin of some kennings, both mythological and legendary.

As has been shown earlier, the text of *Eptirmáli* provides continuity to the first two parts of the work and to the *Prologue* by making specific references to them. Further, it functions perfectly as the introduction to the following chapter dealing with the analogy between Northern myths and Trojan history. This chapter provides another connection to *Prologue* and *Gylfaginning*.

The version in **R** supplies the fullest account of the heroic material dealing with *Sigurðr Fáfnisbani*, *Fróði*, *Hjaðningavíg*.¹⁸ Finnur Jónsson suggested that the material has always been an integral part of the text, but some additional passages based on the old *Sigurðarsaga* were later inserted (FJ 1931: xxii). This inserted section concludes with a longer quotation from *Ragnarsdrápa*.

The redaction in **R** also contains the greatest number of prose narratives dealing with gold. Guðrun Nordal has pointed out that the version in **R** reveals a chronological order of the gold narratives, starting with mythological stories and concluding at the time of Óláfr Tryggvason's conversion of Norway (Nordal 2001: 320-1).

One of the most significant features of this redaction of *Skáldskaparmál* is the inclusion of longer quotations of skaldic poems – *Pórsdrápa*, *Haustlǫng* and *Ragnarsdrápa*. **U** contains only references to the respective poems by named skalds, but no quotations. There are references to *Húsdrápa* without quotations both in **U** and **R**. Finnur Jónsson suggested that all longer

¹⁸ In **W** chs. 39-43 are omitted. In **U** shorter abstracts, chs. 40-42 are omitted.

quotations are later interpolations, while Snorri's text contained only references to them as in the case of *Húsdrápa* (FJ 1931: xxi-iii).

Although Finnur Jónsson does not say so, such a scenario is further supported by **R**'s treatment of *Grottasǫngr*, as compared to that of **C**. **C** contains the first stanza of the poem, which is introduced with the phrase – *Þat er sakt at þa kuædi þær hliod þau er kallat er grottasaungr ok er þetta upphaf at* (SnE II: 578) 'It is said that they composed that song, which is called *Grottasǫngr*, and that is the beginning of it'. The beginning of the poem is cited in **C** and the chapter then continues in accordance with **R**. In **R**, the part of the sentence *ok er þetta upphaf at* is omitted as well as the first verse. The prose narrative continues uninterrupted, and the whole poem is instead quoted at the end of the chapter. Apparently, the redactor of **R** had access to the full version of the poem and decided to include it in his text (FJ 1931: xxi-ii).¹⁹ The same approach can be suggested for all other longer quotations. The other long quotations would then have been added at a slightly earlier stage in transmission, since they are also found in **W**, and the same approach was then again applied by someone who had access to *Grottasǫngr* and who may well have been aware of how the other poems had been expanded.

The redactor included additional material that could supplement the original text and perfectly integrated it in the overall structure of his text, providing continuity to it. This is evidenced both by the extended account of legendary material as well as by the inclusion of longer quotations. This editorial approach can be traced in two instances, where a comparison with other versions provides evidence for the development of specific traits. In the case of the insertion of the first chapter of *Gylfaginning* the comparison with **U** and **W** illustrated the evolution of this feature. In the case of the longer quotation of *Grottasǫngr* the comparison with **C** was helpful to detect the approach. This approach also likely explains all other long quotations.

It has further become clear that the inclusion of **T** as a point of reference could have contributed to the analysis and would probably have allowed me to distinguish generations of redactors more precise. My analysis has been evolving gradually, and I might have done some things differently in hindsight. I have attempted to take **T** into account and to make some references to it when possible but could not fully integrate it in the present analysis.

¹⁹ **T** reveals the same structure as **R**, it is thus reasonable to suggest that the editorial change took place in the common archetype of **RT** (FJ 1931: xxii-xxiii).

Nevertheless, the concept of the ‘abstract redactor’ was useful in approaching the editorial tendency in **R**.

Háttatal is completely preserved in **R**. It does not elucidate the redactor’s work in any particular way.

In accordance with the common perception of the additional material in other *Snorra Edda* manuscripts, the inclusion of the last two poems has been perceived as rather accidental: ‘Clearly the scribe wished to utilize the space still remaining. But it is difficult to explain why he should have chosen precisely these two poems’ (Wessén 1940: 7). ‘Hvad der har bevæget skriveren til at medtage disse to digte, er uudgrundeligt’ (FJ 1931: v). Based on these perceptions the poems have rarely been scrutinized in connection with *Snorra Edda*.

Jómsvíkingadrápa is not preserved in complete form. **R** comprises stanzas 1-40. The poem is named and attributed to the Orcadian bishop Bjarni Kolbeinsson (1150-1222) in the prose of *Ólafs saga Trygvasonar en mesta*, where eighteen stanzas from the poem are cited, five of which (sts 41-5) are not contained in **R** (Lethbridge 2012: 954). The metre is *munnvörp*, ‘mouth-throwing’. It is an altered form of *dróttkvætt*, with no *hendingar* in the odd lines and *skothendingar* instead of *aðalhendingar* in the even lines. The poem was composed in the late twelfth century or the early thirteenth century (Lethbridge 2012: 954).

The poem deals with a historical subject. It deals with the semi-legendary band of Danish Vikings, *Jómsvíkingar*, whose community and especially whose battle at *Hjörungavágr* against the Norwegian Earl Hákon of Hlaðir are also dealt with in *Jómsvíkingasaga*. This motif seems to have enjoyed popularity²⁰ alongside the overall interest in the Danish semi-legendary past (Wellendorf 2016: 131).

In the opening stanza Bjarni departs from the standard skaldic tradition and inverts the request for a hearing from the audience. In the next stanza he describes the magic ways on which he did not receive the ability to compose. Here he draws on a well-known inversion topos, which began with Ovid’s *Ars amatoria* and then became widespread (Wellendorf 2016: 139-43). The narrator in the *Jómsvíkingadrápa* further narrates about his unrequited love to a married woman, which causes him grief. Thereafter he turns to a more fitting topic – the recount of the deeds of the great men. But the love motif remains the binding element all through the poem by the interweaving of the speaker’s own pain of love with the love story of his hero, *Vagn*.

²⁰ *Búadrápa*.

Jómsvíkingadrápa is representative of a small corpus of skaldic poems, which were labeled by Bjarne Fidjestøl as *sögukvæði* (1991). The term is transmitted in the poem self, and was defined by Fidjestøl as ‘skaldedikt som har henta emne frá historisk (altså ikkje primært mytisk/episk) fortid, og som ikkje i første rekkje har ein aktualitetsfunksjon knytt til ein viss historisk situasjon’ (Fidjestøl 1991: 64). It is one of the characteristic traits of these poems that they seem to derive from a tradition that differs from the one that is transmitted in the respective sagas (Fidjestøl 1991: 65, 67).

The novelty of the poem is contained in the way it deals with the love motif, which reflects the imported European influences of the courtly love motif (Fidjestøl 1991: 71–2). The Norse translations and adaptations of Old French, Anglo Norman and Latin works came into being in the 13th century. The systematic translation activity is usually set in the context of the court of the Norwegian king Hákon Hákonarsson (reigned 1217–1263). The translations of the European courtly literature were employed as a medium for the adaptation of the chivalric ideology by the Norwegian’s courtly milieu (Glauser 2005: 373, 375).

John Lindow pointed out the narrative elements and the narrative character of the poem (Lindow 1982: 109–114):

What Bjarni managed in his *sögukvæði* is nothing less than the cloaking of an entire linear narrative, replete with detail, internally consistent and comprehensible on its own terms, in the form of a skaldic *drápa* (Lindow 1982: 112). Such was Bjarni’s accomplishment from the point of view of narrative. The total accomplishment was greater, encompassing daring use of irony and skillful interweaving of Bjarni’s own matters of the heart with those of his hero, Vagn. It is a better poem than its apparent lack of popularity during the Middle Ages (recorded as a separate entity in only one manuscript) and more recently among critics would indicate. Perhaps it flouted too many conventions. (Lindow 1982: 112, fn. 75)

Jómsvíkingadrápa reveals a further academic tendency. The metre *munnvǫrp*, which is used throughout the whole poem, is a variation of *dróttkvætt* that can be discerned in a single couplet or even a half-stanza in the early skalds, but was never regularized in the early period (Males 2020: 34). The irregularities typical of early verse were detected and studied by later scholar-poets. The historical topic of the poem suggested an old mode of composition, which Bjarni with his learned approach formulated as a rule (Males 2020: 34–5).

It is not clear if the redactor of **R** was aware of these archaizing traits of the poem. The semi-historical topic of the poem and its form correspond with his antiquarian interests as well as with the tendency to include longer poems and heroic narratives, which has been noticed earlier within different parts of *Snorra Edda*. Of course, this tendency to expand the text with long poems has probably taken place in at least two and perhaps three stages, so it is particularly important to keep the abstract nature of the redactor in mind in this instance – we are in all likelihood dealing with more than one person. The ‘abstract redactor’ approach has the benefit of collecting the expressions of a single tendency under a single entity, however. The real dynamics in this instance may be that a subsequent scribe was aware of the work that had been done at the preceding stage and attempted to follow up. In addition to the potential benefits of the ‘abstract redactor’ perspective, I would also stress here the usefulness of a focus on the compilation, rather than on *Snorra Edda* alone. The addition of longer poems, as for instance *Grottasǫngr*, and the two poems at the end appear to be expressions of the same approach. The analysis of *Snorra Edda* thus elucidates the work on the compilation and vice versa.

Málsháttakvæði or ‘proverb poem’ is only transmitted in **R**. It does not have any title in the manuscript. The poem has never been attributed to Bjarni in the sources but has been ascribed to him on the basis of linguistic similarities (Nordal 2001: 47; Frank 2017: 1213-4, Möbius 1873: 20-4). The poem is dated back in the first quarter of the thirteenth century and its provenance is suggested as Orkney (Frank 2004: 4).

The thirty stanzas of *Málsháttakvæði* mainly contain some 103 versified proverbs (*for orð*) treating various topics. The poem is a *drápa*, the metre is alliterating *runhent* ‘end-rhyme’ (Frank 2017: 1214-5). The love-motif is again used to structure the poem while the speaker’s own unrequited love is juxtaposed with the love story of the hero (Frank 2017: 1213-4). The refrain alludes to King’s Harald hárfagri’s love-sickness. Frank has pointed out that the poem alludes to motifs and expressions found in *Snorra Edda*, often in ironical way, and it also parodies heroic stories (Frank 2004: 11, 20-1). She further emphasizes the achievement of the poem “to enlarge the horizons of skaldic composition so that it might absorb a current European mode, the courtly-love satire with touches of backroom humor” (Frank 2004: 22).

There has been a long living tradition of collecting proverbial wisdom, which can be traced back to the Bible and ancient Egypt and which was carried on until the Renaissance and beyond (Frank 2017: 1214). A collection of aphorisms – the *Disticha Catonis* – was commonly

part of the Latin grammatical curriculum, and this may have contributed to the inclusion of *Málsháttakvæði* in a grammatical manuscript (Males 2020: 107). The poem contains references to the Danish semi-legendary heroes and allusions to mythological stories, which are integral part of the grammatical manuscripts, especially in **R**.

In both poems the love-motif is used to structure the content. This praxis became widely used in *rímur*, narrative rhymed poems, whose origin is set on the first half of the fourteenth century (Frank 2004: 22; Möbius 1873: 21).

In the concluding section I will sum up the editorial methods applied in the codex. I would like to stress again that I do not presuppose one single redactor but rather several generations of redactors sharing the same working tendency.

The redactor, who must have been in possession of several manuscripts containing skaldic poems, *Sigurðarsaga*, and probably *Ynglinga saga*, included longer prose narratives and quotations to supplement the material already contained in *Snorra Edda*. He linked the first two parts of *Snorra Edda* and the *Prologue* through the recurring references to Troy. The revised version of *Eptirmáli* represents a further link to this common idea and provides the structure to the text by referring to the previous parts. The first chapter of *Gylfaginning* is perfectly integrated in the main text and provides authority to the following story.

The antiquarian interest of the redactor may have influenced the choice of the inclusion of the last two poems dealing with semi-historical, legendary, and mythological topics. In addition, their use of love-motif may have corresponded with the contemporary literary taste. The narrative character of *Jómsvíkingadrápa* is another similarity to the *rímur*, which evolved during the fourteenth century. The inclusion of the two last poems probably reflects both the antiquarian interest of the redactor and the contemporary literary models and tastes.

5 Codex Upsaliensis

Codex Upsaliensis (DG 11 4to, U: 1300-25) is the only manuscript that explicitly attributes the authorship (or at least the compilation) of the whole work to Snorri Sturluson and uses the title *Edda* for it.²¹ The famous initial heading of the codex presents further the list of content of that *Edda*: *Bók þessi heitir Edda. Hana hefir saman setta Snorri Sturluson eptir þeim hætti sem hér er skipat. Er fyrst frá ásum ok Ymi, þar næst skáldskapar mál ok heiti margra hluta. Síðast Háttatal er Snorri hefir ort um Hákon konung ok Skúla hertuga.* ‘This book is called *Edda*. Snorri Sturluson has compiled it in the manner in which it is arranged here. First it is about Æsir and Ymir, next *Skáldskaparmál* (‘poetic diction’) and (poetical) names of many things. Finally *Háttatal* (‘enumeration of verse forms’) which Snorri has composed about King Hákon and Duke Skúli’ (U 2012: 6-7).

It is worth noting the formulation *eptir þeim hætti sem hér er skipat* ‘in the manner in which it is arranged here’. Even if it is not possible to conclude this on a very secure basis, it is tempting to suggest that this emphasis reflects the redactor’s reaction to the contemporary tendency to copy individual parts of the work, as evidenced by **A**.

The codex is unique in many respects. It is the oldest extant *Snorra Edda* manuscript, and it transmits all four parts of the work together with additional material, not associated with its canonical form. The redactions of the texts and especially the arrangement of the codex are of great interest.

As has been shown earlier the redaction of the *Prologue* and *Gylfaginning* in **U** mainly corresponds with the redaction in **RTW**. The differences are of stylistic nature supposedly caused by the two distinctive working methods applied by two copyists while producing the exemplar of **U** (Sävborg 2013). The first significant interpolation is the transposition of four mythological narratives from their original places within *Skáldskaparmál* to the final section of *Gylfaginning*. This modification of the text structure generally concurs with the list of content presented in the initial heading: *er fyrst frá ásum ok Ymi* ‘first it is about Æsir and Ymir’. This

²¹ In **A** there is a colophone that incorrectly attributes both treatises on poetic diction – *Litla Skálda* and *Skáldskaparmál* – to Snorri. **B** makes a reference to a different book called *Edda*. All three manuscripts belong to the same branch (Haukur Þorgeirsson 2017: 68).

phrase is generally interpreted as the description of *Gylfaginning*, but can surely be extended to include all the mythological stories.²²

The expanded account of Norse mythology is followed by three lists: *Skáldatal*, the Genealogy of the Sturlungar, and *Lögsögumannatal*. The apparent connection between the manuscript and the Sturlung family displayed by these lists has long been noticed (Nordal 2001: 320). The insertion of the lists in the manuscript has often been described as accidental, and without any bearing on the understanding of the whole work or indeed without any connection to it (Raschellà 1982: 12; Faulkes 1993: 601).²³ In recent times scholars have focused more on the manuscripts as wholes and have analyzed texts within their individual context in each particular codex. In contrast to the earlier scholarly perception, Guðrún Nordal and Krömmelbein claim that there has been a reason for placing the lists in the codex and also exactly at this specific position within it. Guðrún Nordal emphasizes the meaning of *Skáldatal* for the internal logic behind the compilation. It functions as a ‘groundwork for the poets’ testimony’, who are considered to be authorities on matters of language (Nordal 2001: 126; 206-7). Krömmelbein argues that all three lists function as illustrations of Snorri’s achievements: skald at the Norwegian court, member of a powerful family, and a lawspeaker (Krömmelbein 1992: 122).

In contrast to all the other texts within the manuscript, the lists do not have any titles and do not use any rubrications (Males 2020: 118).²⁴ The initial heading of the manuscript listing all the content of *Snorra Edda* does not mention these lists or 2GT. While the first three sections: *Prologue*, *Gylfaginning* and the beginning of *Skáldskaparmál* are rendered unbroken, there is a distinctive break before the lists in the manuscript. The text of the inserted sections of *Skáldskaparmál* ends on folio 22v²⁰ and the rest of the page is left blank. The lists start on the recto side of the next folio.

I will now first give an overview of the content of the lists and will then examine them in their textual context within the manuscript.

²² The division is not exact, some mythological stories are gathered in the final section of *Skáldskaparmál*, but they are bound together by their common thematic focus on gold.

²³ There is ... no reason to ... regard the treatise as an integral part of the Edda, an introduction to Háttatal. It has no more to do with the Edda itself than those lists of skalds and lawspeakers and that genealogy of the Sturlungs which the scribe of the Upsala manuscript found at Reykjaholt and was tempted to include in his copy or adaptation of the Edda (S. Nordal 1931: 13).

²⁴ Males made a point of all additional texts inserted by the redactor in the canonical form of *Snorra Edda*. 2GT has a heading in U but indeed does not contain any rubrications.

The first list, *Skáldatal*, is a catalogue of court poets coupled with their aristocratic patrons. It further comprises five prose sections dealing with famous poets and their achievements, either in skaldic poetry or with its help. The introductory section depicts the legendary hero Starkaðr *inn gamli* as the author of the most ancient poems known by people. It proceeds then to Ragnarr *loðbrók*, his wife Áslaug, and their sons. The actual catalogue starts with Ragnarr *loðbrók* as the first Danish king and with his court poet Bragi Boddason. It proceeds then to Scandinavian kings and earls, and finally to Norwegian chieftains. Some of the earls do not have any poets listed, which supports the conclusion that *Skáldatal* originally functioned as a list of rulers, and that the poets were added subsequently (Nordal 2001: 121). The list records the achievements of prominent Icelandic skalds and puts them in a historical context of the chronology of Scandinavian kings. No poets in the service of Icelandic aristocrats are included in *Skáldatal* (Nordal 2001: 126-129).

Bragi is the first named court poet in the catalogue. The narrator in the second scene of U's version of *Gylfaginning* is also called Bragi. According to the logic of the narrative, Bragi from this inserted section of *Skáldskaparmál* is a member of the group of historical Æsir, who in the final section of the proper *Gylfaginning* took the roles of the mythological Æsir. By doing so, they became associated with the gods, and Bragi particularly – with the god of poetry. He is the transmitter of the mythological knowledge in the second scene of *Gylfaginning*, and in *Skáldatal* he is connected to the real, historical Scandinavian kings (Danish Ragnarr *loðbrók*, Swedish Eysteinn *beli* and Bjørn at Haugi).

Two English kings are included in the list in U together with their poets Egill Skalla-Grímsson and Gunnlaugr *ormstunga*, two prominent ancestors of the Sturlung family.²⁵ The section on Úlfr *inn óargi*, another ancestor of the Sturlungar, exclusively transmitted in the U version, describes him as a famous Norwegian chieftain and a skilled poet and supplies aristocratic background for this family (Nordal 2001: 54). Snorri Sturluson and Óláfr Þórðarson are listed as the only poets of Skúli jarl, the section not contained in the *Kringla*'s version of *Skáldatal*. They are also the poets of Duke Skúli – the same Skúli with a new title – together with a third member of the Sturlung family – Sturla Þórðarson. *Skáldatal* concludes with the thirteenth century chieftain Gautr of Mel and his poets, Snorri's niece Steinvör Sighvatsdóttir

²⁵ Not included in the *Kringla* version (Nordal 2001: 126-7).

included. The strong emphasis on the poets from the Sturlung family is apparent in the U redaction of *Skáldatal*.

The second list is the Genealogy of the Sturlungar. It starts with Adam, proceeds over the Trojan heroes to Óðinn, then to the Skjöldung kings, and finally concludes with Snorri's nephews (his sister's sons). The earlier mentioned Starkaðr *inn gamli* is also listed in the genealogy, and in that manner, he becomes "the 'founder of skaldic tradition' in the Sturlung family" (Krömmelbein 1992: 122). The Genealogy describes this ancestry according to the current pattern of royal dynasties (Cipolla 2012: 78-79). It was a widespread tradition in the Middle Ages to trace the ancestry of a nation back to Troy (Würth 2005: 165). Further, it creates a link to the central ideas of the *Prologue* treating the migration of the Æsir to the North, establishing the rulership in the Northern countries, and the subsequent adaptation of their language by the Northerners. As a descendant of the noble Trojans, Snorri and consequently his work become embedded in the tradition of Latin learning (Krömmelbein 1992: 122). The Genealogy includes Icelandic legendary heroes combined with Christian and classical forebears and proclaims the Sturlungar as a family, which incorporates both national Icelandic and the learned European tradition.

The third list – the list of Lawspeakers – gives an account of the important historical legal events in Iceland such as the proclamation of the law, the institution of the General Assembly and Christianization, and records the Lawspeakers and the amount of the years that they held their office. The last name in the list is Snorri Sturluson. It has been suggested that one possible impulse to compose the list might have been to commemorate an ancient indigenous tradition that had lost its meaning in the changing society, but still had a token significance (Burrows 2009: 225). The list of lawspeakers associated with significant historical events might have originally functioned as a form of historical accounting (Quinn 2000: 51).

Genealogies seem to have played an important role in Icelandic society, which is evidenced by a vast amount of the transmitted witnesses. 1GT lists genealogies and laws as the first genres, which together with the interpretations of sacred writings and historical works by Ari Þorgilsson had been commissioned to writing in Iceland.²⁶ Genealogy serves as a foundation

²⁶*Nv eptir þeira dæmvm allz ver eryl æinnar tvngv þo at giorz hafí miok onnvr tveggía eða nakkvað bááðar til þeff at hægra verði at rita ok lefa fem nv tíðiz ok a þeffv landi beði lög ok ááttvífi eða þýðingar helgar eða fva þau hín spaklegv fræði er ari þorgilf son hefir a bokr fett af skynsamlegv viti* (H. Benediktsson 1972: 208).

and an organizing principle in Ari's *Islendingabók*, which is also supplemented with the genealogy of the Icelandic bishops and Ari's own lineage, "situating both the author and his patrons in relation to the matter of the book" (Quinn 2000: 47). The Genealogy of the Sturlungar has a similar function in **U**. It supplies a connection between Snorri and his work. As a descendant of the Trojan immigrants and a member of the family, which had brought forth many famous skalds throughout the ages, Snorri had all the authority required to write a textbook for young skalds.

As the previous overview has shown, a number of indications demonstrate that the lists serve an integral function in the compilation. This, like the preceding discussion of the two last poems in **R**, may serve as tests of my hypothesis that additional material has been included in the manuscripts according to the plan of the redactor: If this were not the case, one would not expect that this material would conform so well with the redactor's overall tendency (**R**) or that the material would resonate so well with the compilation as a whole (**U**). I will focus now on their interplay with the other texts within the manuscript and analyze them within the context in which they have functioned as integral parts of this codex.

Ancient poets are referred to as authorities in matters of traditional poetic language in *Eptirmáli*.

En þat er at segja ungum skáldum er girnast at nema skáldskapar mál ok heyja sér orðfjöldu með fornum heitum eða skilja þat er hulit er ort, þá skili hann þessa bók til skemtanar. En ekki er at gleyma eða ósanna þessar frásagnir eða taka ór skáldskapnum fornar kenningar er höfuðskáldin hafa sér líka látit.

'But this must be said to young poets that desire to learn the language of poetry and furnish themselves with a wide vocabulary using traditional terms or understand what is composed obscurely, then let him take this book as entertainment. But these narratives are not to be consigned to oblivion or demonstrated to be false, nor are ancient kennings that major poets have been happy to use to be removed from the poetry.' (U 2012: 90-1).

Skáldatal supplies a list of reliable sources, many of which will be quoted later in *Skáldskaparmál*.²⁷ It also illustrates the continuity of the long-lived poetic tradition in Iceland

²⁷ Heimir Pálsson has calculated that 35 poets of the 62 that are quoted in **U** are listed in *Skáldatal* (U 2012: lxxvi, fn.1).

from its origin in semi-legendary time until the first generation after Snorri. The list contributes to skalds' authority by emphasizing their connection to the kings and the long tradition of composing for the kings. It further highlights their factual authority in historical matters. *Skáldatal* "provides an ideal for poets to aspire to" and depicts skaldic poetry as "a venerable tradition to be maintained and respected" (Westcoat 2019: 84).

Bragi is the first court poet listed in the proper catalogue in *Skáldatal*. He is also the transmitter of mythological knowledge in the second scene of *Gylfaginning*. And it is well attested that skaldic poetry is rooted in the mythological tradition. The transition from the second scene of *Gylfaginning* to *Skáldatal* marks on the one hand the transition from the mythological material presented by the historical Æsir (Hár, Jafnhár and Þriði in the first scene, Bragi in the second scene) to the real historical skalds, whose work will be scrutinized in *Skáldskaparmál*. On the other hand, it marks the connection and inheritance of skaldic poetry in Norse mythology, which was presented in *Gylfaginning*. As a successor of Bragi, Snorri receives the authority both to transmit the mythological knowledge and to teach poetic art.

The Genealogy of the Sturlungar describes this family as descendants of the Trojans that migrated to the North. Snorri and his family members become the bearers of the original language according to the main idea of the *Prologue*. *Lögsgumannatal* illustrates the continuation of a specific Icelandic legal tradition from the pre-Christian time up to Snorri. In my opinion, the inclusion of this list in the manuscript corresponds with the idea proclaimed in the *Eptirmáli* and supported by the sympathetic attitude in the *Prologue*. Old tradition does not deserve to fall into oblivion. It further corresponds with the traditionalist response of *Snorra Edda* itself.

To sum it up, these lists build authority and demonstrate Snorri's inheritance of native tradition and secure his own place within it (Burrows 2009: 226). In this construct the Sturlung family receives a central role as the prominent representative of both poetic and legal indigenous traditions in the first place. And through their lineage in accordance with the European trends, they secure the place of the native tradition within the framework of the learned European tradition.

The second group of narratives gathered at the end of *Skáldskaparmál* has a twofold emphasis: the main topic is gold, with only one exception; it contains heroic stories, with the inclusion of mythological stories focused on the origin of gold (the transition of gold from the

mythological to the heroic sphere is described in the so-called otter-payment section). The shift between the mythological and heroic material is not precise in **U** but is reminiscent of the structure of the Codex Regius of the *Poetic Edda*.

Both the kennings for gold and weapons, whose origin is illustrated in these narratives, are widely used in circumlocutions for men, especially kings. The codex contains *Háttatal*, which is a praise-poem for King Hákon Hákonarson and Duke Skúli Bárðarson. Even though the kennings themselves are treated in their proper places within *Skáldskaparmál*, the explanatory prose narratives are gathered in the final section, which may have been intended as a reference section for the reader of both treatises – *Skáldskaparmál* and *Háttatal*.

The second major interpolation into the canonical form of *Snorra Edda* is found between *Skáldskaparmál* and *Háttatal*, where 2GT is added. The text in **U** starts with a short dialogue similar to that in the introductory part of *Háttatal*. *Hvað er hliðs grein. þrenn hver* (Raschellà 1982: 26) ‘How is sound divided? Into three kinds. What (are they?)’ (Raschellà 1982: 51). And in *Háttatal* – *Hvat eru hættir skáldskaparins? Þrennir. Hverir?* etc. ‘What kinds of verse form are there in the poetry? They are of three kinds. What are they?’ (U 2012: 262-3).

Braunmüller states that the version of 2GT in **U**, which according to him is close to the original, allows an accurate appreciation of the work. He defines it as ‘eine ernstzunehmende und eigenständige linguistische Abhandlung’, which is ‘kein Füllsel oder sonst irgendein (unpassender) Einschub zwischen *Skáldskaparmál* und *Háttatal* (...), sondern vielmehr die theoretische sprachliche Grundlage zum sog. Versartenschlüssel des *Háttatal* bildet’ (Braunmüller 1983: 46). I agree with his perception of **U**, but would like to stress that the version in **W** with its additions and with its individual context should not be disregarded simply as ‘eine stark sinnenstellte spätere Bearbeitung durch einen Geistlichen, der für die darin abgehandelten grammatischen Zusammenhänge so gut wie kein Verständnis hatte’ (Braunmüller 1983: 46). While this somewhat hyperbolic characteristic describes the negative value of the **W**-version for reconstruction of the original treatise, it completely disregards how the changes serve to adapt the text to its new setting. The revised version of 2GT in **W** is highly relevant for the understanding of the main idea of the compilation, as will be discussed later.

Braunmüller defines the function of 2GT within **U** as follows:

Seine Funktion innerhalb der (Uppsalaer) Snorra Edda besteht darin, ein Vorbereitungsartikel zu dem um 1222 n. Chr. entstandenen, sehr komplizierten «Versartenschlüssel» des Háttatals zu bilden. Dieses Grammatikkapitel sollte in die sprachlichen Grundlagen des Silbenbaus als (theoretische) Voraussetzung für die Bildung von Reimen (*hendingar*) und Versen (*hættir*) einführen, was bekanntlich das Hauptthema des Háttatals ist (Braunmüller 1983: 53-54).

I concur with this view and would like to stress that it may not have been the purpose of the original work to supplement *Snorra Edda* in general or *Háttatal* in particular. However, within the compilation, it was purposefully connected to these, as is evident from the rubric. Therefore, it must be also analyzed with reference to *Háttatal*.

Nordal and Krömmelbein have examined the treatise in its manuscript context. Krömmelbein emphasizes the thematic connection between 2GT and *Háttatal*: ‘Whoever understands the structure of syllables – and it is this theoretical-grammatical knowledge which the 2nd GTR is intended to convey – also understands hending formation, one of the topics dealt with in the subsequent *Háttatal* section’ (Krömmelbein 1992: 117). Nordal points out the link between the final section in 2GT illustrating the structure of the syllables by a comparison with an instrument with *lyklar* ‘keys’ and the heading of the treatise *hér segir af setningo háttalykilsins* ‘here follows an account of the arrangement of the metrical key’ (Nordal 2001: 51), which she unlike Finnur Jónsson (1931: xxx) and Raschellà (1982: 8) after him considers to be intentional and not misplaced. She also stresses the connection between the final section of 2GT and the opening discussion of the arrangement of the letters and the internal rhyme in the commentary of *Háttatal*. A combination of this kind between a discussion on orthography and the following account of metre can be found within the Latin grammatical tradition, for example in Bede’s textbook *De arte metrica* (Nordal 2001: 53).

2GT is almost contemporary with the production of U, so it was the most recent grammatical treatise of its time. It is also the most Icelandic treatise. It relies heavily on 1GT but is independent from the Latin grammatical model. It contains a set of orthographic rules and describes the correct writing of contemporary Icelandic, but it does not suggest any changes as for example 1GT. Raschellà describes it as a handbook of orthography, and suggests that it might have been used in schools for the teaching of the first elements of grammar to the students of the

Trivium (Raschellà 1982: 9-10). Within the codex it serves as grammatical introduction to metrics discussed in the following *Háttatal*, a purpose explicitly stated in the heading of the treatise in **U**.

The register over *Háttatal* has a complementary function supplying the first verse line of the first 36 strophes (strophe 35 is missing) of *Háttatal*, accompanied by the name of the particular verse form. It is probably based on a different exemplar than the **U** version of *Háttatal*, since only twelve of the 33 names in the register stand together with their respective strophe in *Háttatal* (Mårtensen 2009: 140, 144). As has been shown earlier, the names of the particular verse forms under consideration are mostly omitted in the **U**-version of *Háttatal*. The commentary passages to the later stanzas often contain references to the earlier stanzas by their verse names. A list of all verse forms treated in *Háttatal* containing their names and the first lines would have made the use of the treatise much easier.

Háttatal seems to have been copied from a different exemplar than the rest of *Snorra Edda* (Males 2020: 117). It may have been added in the transcript from the time after 1250, or even in **U** itself (Mårtensson 2013: 286). *Háttatal* concludes with stanza 56, which is the third stanza in the chapter dealing with the verse forms used by the ancient skalds and illustrating irregularities, which can be found in them. The last named poet in *Háttatal* and consequently in the whole codex is King Ragnarr *loðbrók*. The names of Torf-Einar and Egill for the metre forms presented in stanzas 55 and 56 are omitted in **U**.

The analysis of the arrangement of the codex elucidates the logic of the compilation. The structural changes within the texts as well as the insertion of additional material produce a coherent whole. The redactor created a chronological order in the codex. Starting with the creation of the world, division of the tongues, the loss of knowledge, and the immigration of the *Æsir* depicted in the *Prologue*, the narration proceeds to the mythological (earthly) knowledge depicted in *Gylfaginning*, which is significant for the traditional poetic art. The lists mark the transition from mythological to historical time. The inclusion of the four mythological stories in the first part of the codex strengthens the division between the myths and history.

Bragi receives a prominent position as the transmitter of the mythological knowledge on one hand, and as the actual historical poet and the first skald of the Scandinavian kings on the other. This puts emphasis on the strong connection between skaldic poetry and mythology. Further, the lists provide connection between Snorri and his work. He receives a pedigree, which

provides him with authority both in matters of poetry and mythology, and at the same time places him and his work in the framework of the European learned tradition.

The lists represent a bridge between the two parts of *Snorra Edda – Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál*. *Skáldskaparmál* examines the poetic language on the examples from the works of the famous skalds, who have been partly listed in *Skáldatal* and whose long tradition has been demonstrated by this list. The final part of *Skáldskaparmál* can be seen as a reference chapter both for *Skáldskaparmál* and for the following *Háttatal*. 2GT supplies some further basic grammatical information, upon which the metrics can be studied and which serves as an introduction to *Háttatal*, a treatise dealing with metrical forms. The final section of *Skáldskaparmál* provides background information for the origin of the kennings for gold and weapons, which are often used in circumlocutions for men, and especially kings. The poetic language is not extensively treated in *Háttatal*. Therefore, the reader could have consulted the whole of *Skáldskaparmál*, and especially the last section for a better understanding of particular kennings.

The redactor in U specifically stated his purpose to present Snorri's work in its original form. Nonetheless, his approach differs significantly from the modern philological ideal. Snorri's text was revised and supplemented by additional material. This material had an auxiliary function for the study of Snorri's work, underlined the relevance and prestige of the subject matter and Snorri's authority in these topics, and secured the position of the work and of the indigenous tradition within the framework of the European learned tradition.

6 AM 748 Ia 4to

The first part of the manuscript **A** (AM 748 Ia 4to) contains mythological eddic poems. The second part contains various grammatical texts and versified lists: the end of 5GT, 3GT, *Litla Skálda*, *Skáldskaparmál*, *Þulur*, and *Íslendingadrápa*. The relation between the two parts has not been established with certainty. Therefore, I will focus exclusively on the second part in my following analysis.

5GT deals with virtues and vices. The extant final section contains the descriptions of three figures. The treatise does not seem to make a distinction between the section on virtues and vices, which was a typical organizational structure in the Latin grammatical tradition. The author adapts Latin terminology and substitutes it with vernacular terms, such as *bragarbót* ‘poetic virtue’, and *skarbrott* as its opposite (Males 2020: 188-192).

The treatise operates with basic grammatical terms, as f. ex. *raddarstafir* ‘vowels’, *samhljóðendr* ‘consonants’, and *samstafa* ‘syllable’. The reader is expected to be acquainted with these concepts. It applies poetic examples by named skalds as a mode of explanation and elucidation of the discussed figures.

3GT supplies fundamental grammatical information, before it proceeds to the discussion of different faults in poetic language, figures and tropes illustrated by skaldic verse. In contrast to the substitution praxis in 5GT, the Latin terminology is largely retained in 3GT, especially in the second part. In accordance with 5GT the treatise uses vernacular examples to illustrate the respective figures.

In the first part providing elementary and fundamental concepts for the teaching and study of grammar, indigenous material receives a prominent position. The Norse/runic alphabet (*norrænt stafróf* or *rúnamál*) instead of Latin letters is dealt with extensively in a long section, in which it is compared with the sacred languages Greek and Hebrew.

Stafa nofn ærv .xvi. í danskri tvngv íþa líking sem girkir hq(f)ðv forðvm daga (Ólsen 1884: 40) ‘There are sixteen letter-names in the Norse language, just as the Greeks had in former days.’

ok ær íss stvndvm sætr fyrir æ, þa ær hann er stvnginn, sva sem alæph eða ioth setiaz fyrir .ij. raddarstöfvm i ebresku máli (Ólsen 1884: 42) ‘and íss is sometimes used for e, when it is ‘dotted’, just as aleph or ioth are used for two vowels in the Hebrew language.’

↑ *ær tekit af ebreskvm stöfvm (Ólsen 1884: 42-3) ‘I is taken from hebrew letters.’²⁸*

Óláfr here not only emphasizes similarities between runes and the classical alphabets but also attributes the origin of at least one letter of the runic alphabet to Hebrew, which held the status of the original language (Wills 2001: 126). In the eyes of the author, this presumably provides authority to the runic alphabet and to the Norse language, which partly directly derived from Hebrew, the ultimate language, and in other instances reveals similarities to both sacred languages.

Óláfr relates the theoretical discussion of the first part of the treatise to the specific features of the Norse poetry. The most apparent references are contained in the chapter dealing with the syllable, which is unfortunately lost in the **A** version due to the first lacuna in the text. The two other versions supply following readings:

þessar samstöfuv gera mesta fegrð iskaaldskap, ef æinn raddar stafr er itveim samstöfvm ok hiner fömu epter fetter, sem her. snarpr, garpr, ok köllvm ver þat aðalhending. Enn ef finn raddar stafr er i hvaRÍ samstöfv, enn aller æiner samhliðendr epter sem her. valskr, rōskr. þat kollvm ver skothending. þessar hendingar þikkia þa bezt falla, ef tvær samstöfvr erv i hvaRÍ fögv ok hinn famí fe radar stafr i fyrri samstöfv, ok svafamhliðendr, þeir sem fylgja, enn öll æin en fidaRÍ samstafa sem her: aller snialler, ok erv hendingvm diktvð ritin ilatinv skaldskap sem þetta. Ante chaof virgínm in digeste molif adhvc yle gravida fetu magne prolís. þessar fömv hendingar erv ok fettar inorænv skallskap i þeim hættí er. ver köllvm rvnhendv sem snorri quað Ormf er glatt galla með gymna spialla (Ólsen 1884: 8-9).

Syllables create the most beautiful effect in poetry if the same vowel is in two syllables and the same letters follow it, as here: ‘snarpr’ (sharp), ‘garpr’ (warrior); and we call that full rhyme. But if each syllable has a different vowel, but all the consonants after it are the same — as here: ‘rōskr’ (brave), ‘vaskr’ (manly) — then we call that half-rhyme. These rhymes seem to suit best if there are two syllables in each word and the same vowel is in the first syllable of each word as well as the consonants which follow it, and

²⁸ Translations from Wills 2001: 85.

everything is the same in the second syllable, as here: ‘allir’ (all), ‘snjallir’ (excellent); and these rhymes are widely found in Latin poetry, like this:

Ante chaos jurgium²⁹ indigestae molis adhuc yle gravida fetu magnae prolis.

These same rhymes are also put in Norse verse, in that verse-form which we call *runhenda*, as Snorri said:

Orms er glatt galla með gumna spjalla (Wills 2001: 93).

With these descriptions and especially by leaving out the topics not relevant for skaldic poetry, Óláfr and probably the redactor of the **W** version later emphasize their focus on poetic art: *Enn með því at þesskonar græiner hæyra litt noręnv skaldskap at flestra manna ætlan. þa tala ek þar vm ekki fleira að finni* (Ólsen 1884: 10). ‘But in as much as these kinds of distinction belong little to Norse poetry in most people’s opinion, I will talk no more about it for the present’ (Wills 2001: 94-5). This last statement is transmitted only in **W**.³⁰ It is not contained in **B**, so it is not possible to conclude if it has originally been in **A** or in the authorial version.

Even though it is not possible to reconstruct the exact reading of the lost section in **A**, I think it is safe to conclude on the basis of the evidence transmitted in the two other versions of the work, that it also contained a description of the significance of the understanding of the syllable’s structure for the *dróttkvætt* metre.

The highlighting of the correspondences between the Norse and classical alphabets creates a basis for Óláfr’s fundamental theoretical claim of the originality of the Norse poetic art:

Þþæssi bok ma gerla skilia, at ęll ær æin listin skalld skapr sa, ær romverskir spækingar namv iathænis borg a griklandi ok snerv siþan i latinv mal, ok salioða háttr æða skalldskapr, ær oðinnok aðrir asia menn flvttv norðr higat i norðr halfv heimsins, ok kendv monnum a sina tvngv þæsskonar list, sva sæm þeir hęfðv skipat ok nvmít isialfv asia landi, þar sæm mæst var fręgð ok rikdomr ok froðlæikr veralldarinnar (Ólsen 1884: 60).

In this book it may be clearly understood that the art of poetry which the Roman sages learnt in Athens in Greece and then transferred into the Latin language is the same art as the verse form of songs or poetry which Óðinn and other men of Asia brought hither northwards into the northern hemisphere; and they taught men this type of art in their own language, just as they had organised and learnt it in Asia itself, where beauty and power and knowledge were the greatest in the world (Clunies Ross 2005: 190).

²⁹ Corrected from *virginum* that is actually transmitted in the manuscript.

³⁰ See Wills 2001: 188 (parallel transcriptions of the four (**A**, **W**, **B**, **w**) redactions of the text), 227 (diplomatic transcription of **B**).

Óláfr here presents the ideas known from the *Prologue to Snorra Edda*, which is not contained in this manuscript but was certainly known to the author. The immigrants from Asia brought their language and their poetry to the North, where the native people subsequently took them over. That is the reason for the underlined equivalence between the two languages – Greek and Norse. Both languages are older and more original than Latin, and poetic arts practiced in these languages are older and superior to Latin hexameter, which is mere a translation of Greek poetry.

Óláfr identifies and refers on many occasions to his main sources – Priscian and Donatus, who were both Roman grammarians and to a large extent discussed Latin hexameters. Even though he relies on their works and adapts them to skaldic poetry, he establishes a hierarchy in which their subject matter – Latin poetic art illustrated by hexameters – receives a secondary position compared to his own topic: Norse poetic art exemplified by skaldic verse. Further, with his arguments about sameness, Óláfr legitimizes the replacement of hexameters by skaldic verse in the following sections of the treatise and declares the applicability and the relevance of the same figures for both poetic arts.

The famous colophon makes following statement – *hær ær lykt þeim lvt bokar ær Olafur Þorðarson hæfir samansett ok vpphefr skaldskaparmal ok kænningar æptir því sæm fyri fyndit var i kvæðvm höfvtiskalda ok Snori hæfir siþan samanfæra latit* (SnE 2: 427-428) ‘Here ends the part of the book that Óláfr Þórðarson has compiled and [the section on] poetic diction and kennings begins, according to what has been found in the poetry of the main poets, and the gathering of which was later commissioned by Snorri’ (Males 2020: 131).

This colophon divides the content of the manuscript into two distinctive parts and ascribes them to two named authors, Óláfr Þórðarson and Snorri. Further, it stresses the authority of the main skalds on matters of poetry and declares their works as the fundamental sources for kennings.

Litla Skálda follows the colophon without any individual heading. It is a short treatise on kennings with no quotations of the main skalds and no examples of the actual use of the discussed kennings. It mainly lists the kennings for the most common referents in skaldic poetry. In a few cases it provides the explanation of the origin of the kennings and *heiti* on the basis of some few stanza quotations from eddic poems and a short prose narrative.

Skáldskaparmál is a much more elaborate treatise on kennings. In **A**, an extensively revised version of the text starts with chapter 45. Like *Litla Skálda*, it generally does not supply background information for the origin of the kennings. In contrast to it, it provides examples of the use of these kennings in earlier poetry.

The omission of the first 44 chapters of the treatise is crucial. Males suggested a possible reasoning behind that editorial choice, which according to him can be ascribed to the archetype of **A** and **B** (Males 2020: 131–2). Chapter 44 is the last chapter with a considerable amount of narrative prose, and it may have functioned as the dividing line. As Males has pointed out, **A** carries on this tendency to dispense with narrative prose and omits the narrative section in chapter 64 (Males 2020: 131).

The heading *fra holga konungi* ‘about king Hǫlgi’ introduces the chapter 45 in this redaction. No separate heading marks the beginning of *Skáldskaparmál*. The manuscript does not make a distinction between the two treatises on kennings and ascribes them both to Snorri.

Chapter 45 is the first chapter of the treatise in this redaction and it is the last chapter containing a myth about gold. It is further the only myth that has its origin in a Norwegian context. According to the etymology presented in this chapter the name of Hálogaland is derived from Hǫlgi (SnE II: 432). It is chronologically connected to Óláfr Tryggvason’s conversion of Norway (Nordal 2001: 320-1). It is also the only narrative with pagan connotation.

The text continues then in accordance with the redaction in **R** and contains chapters 46–52. The beginning of chapter 53 is also transmitted, but the text breaks off after the first line of the first verse quotation and refers to an earlier chapter containing the same verse but not included in this redaction of the text – *Læita capitula fyrr i bokinni* (SnE II: 446). The reference is probably made to the same verse cited in chapter 2, according to the redaction in **R** (verse 5) (Faulkes 1998: xliv).

The first chapter of the section on *Ókend heiti* is introduced with a heading *skáldskapar kenningar* (SnE II: 446). The distinction between the two terms – *kenningar* and *heiti*, used in the headings in the *Skáldskaparmál* version in **A** is not clear.

A is the oldest extant manuscript that puts *Skáldskaparmál* in a completely different context. It does not treat it as an integral part of the work *Snorra Edda* but as a treatise on poetics in its own right, erroneously combined with another treatise on the same topic. Both works, *Litla Skálda* and *Skáldskaparmál* in this redaction, do not reveal any specific interest in the prose

narratives, which supply background information for the origin of the particular kennings and synonyms in the mythological or heroic lore. They both rather function as catalogues, while *Skáldskaparmál* also supplies examples of the actual use of some of the kennings citing the verse by the main skalds.

The twelfth century poem *Íslendingadrápa* is only fragmentarily preserved, and **A** contains the only extant version of it. Both the poem and its author are otherwise unknown. The title *drápa* is transmitted in the manuscript, but it appears to be misleading. Even though only 26 stanzas and two lines of the 27th stanza of the presumably much longer poem are extant, they do not contain any refrain, *stef*. Further, it differs in its subject matter and style from a regular *drápa*, which usually focuses on a single person. Th. Möbius pointed out ‘ihre registerartige Aufzählung von einer ganzen Reihe verschiedener Personen’ and emphasized the similarity between *Íslendingadrápa* and a *þula* in this respect (1874: 21-2). This characteristic of the poem is significant for its position within the codex, where it appears right after the extended redaction of the *Pulur*.

In its present state the poem celebrates 27 Icelandic heroes, most of whom appear in the family sagas, either as protagonists or as secondary characters. It is worth mentioning that the poem reveals several thematical discrepancies as compared to the material transmitted in the sagas, something which can possibly be explained through the existence of several traditions dealing with the same topic (Fidjestøl 1991: 65-6).³¹ The *drápa* also supplies evidence that many more stories existed in oral form dealing both with the main characters of the *Íslendingasögur*, and with other characters who were never treated in written form (J. Kristjánsson 1975: 90). Some of the depicted heroes are also skalds, and a few of them are even cited in *Skáldskaparmál*.

The first part of the manuscript supplies basic knowledge for the teaching and study of grammar (first part of 3GT). The focus clearly lies on the exclusively indigenous material – runes and skaldic verse. The status of the Norse alphabet is defined as equal to that of the Greek alphabet by emphasizing several correspondences between the two alphabets.

The Norse language receives a pedigree identical to the one described in the *Prologue* to *Snorra Edda*, not contained in the codex. There are two striking similarities. First, its origin in Asia and later transportation by Óðinn and the Æsir to the North, where the Northerners adapted

³¹ Major deviations are listed in J. Kristjánsson 1975, p.86.

it. Second, its origin in Hebrew (at least in the case of one rune), comparable with the origin of all languages in the one original language, which existed before the division of tongues.

Further, the relevance of the syllable formation in native poetry is exemplified in two other redactions of the text, **B** and **W**. In **A** there is a lacuna, whose exact reading can not be reconstructed, but whose content can be deduced based on the other versions of the text. This section underlines Óláfr's primary interest in indigenous poetry.

The focus on skaldic poetry influenced and supported by Latin education is apparent in both treatises, 5GT and 3GT. The fragment of 5GT shows the application of Latin concepts to the analysis of skaldic verse. 3GT supplies the theoretical foundation for this method. The statement that both poetic arts, the Latin and the Norse, are basically the same legitimizes the adaptation of Latin grammatical models to skaldic poetry.

The second part of the manuscript is dedicated to the analysis of the exclusively distinctive characteristic of the indigenous poetic language – kennings. While the first part supplied the theoretical and practical basis for the integration of native poetic art in the framework of the European learned tradition, the second part transmits two treatises, which are both associated with Snorri's authority and deal with the kennings found in the works of the main skalds.

The omission or rather disregard of the mythological and heroic material in the present redaction of *Skáldskaparmál* corresponds with its absence in *Litla Skálda*. Neither treatise reveals any specific interest in the origin of the kennings in the indigenous tradition, which has been strongly emphasized in Snorri's work. This attitude correlates with the focus of 3GT, which precedes them in the codex. The emphasis there is put on the sameness of Norse language with the sacred languages and the origin of Norse poetic art in Asia. Skaldic poetry and Norse language, which are the topics under consideration in the whole codex, are studied under this perspective with a pan-European approach.

The poem *Íslendingadrápa* depicts native historical heroes and might have functioned as a catalogue of relevant topics either for sagas or for poetic works.

The whole compilation reveals a strong focus on the Icelandic indigenous tradition – runes, skaldic poetry, history, supported by its stressed equality with the European learned tradition due to the same origin. The redactor neglected the connection between poetic language and indigenous mythology and heroic lore.

If one would analyze the manuscript **A** in connection with its potential first part containing mythological eddic poems, this would probably result in a different perspective on the whole codex and on the function and possible purpose of **A** within it. According to my present knowledge, it has not been proven on a certain basis yet that the two manuscripts originally have been parts of the same codex. Therefore, in my analysis I decided to focus on **A** exclusively and to examine the interplay between texts within this manuscript. In case that the connection between the two manuscripts will be demonstrated, a new examination of the relation between the texts within the full codex will be required. At this point, I can just make some general observations for the possible function of the first part of the codex.

The manuscript AM 748 Ia 4to is fragmentarily preserved. The preserved parts contain seven eddic poems, but the arrangement of the manuscript suggests that it has contained more material (Nordal 2001: 58-9). The foundation of poetic language in mythological tradition is well attested. The first part of the manuscript might have functioned in the same way as *Gylfaginning* in *Snorra Edda*. It supplied background information for and explanations of the origin of kennings and *heiti*, which were discussed later in *Skáldskaparmál* and *Litla Skálda*. It would then further explain the omission of almost all explanatory material from the present redaction of *Skáldskaparmál*. The redactor collected all relevant background information in the first part of the codex in the form of eddic poems. These are all very vague and approximate considerations and a thorough investigation of the individual poems and their relation to the other texts would be required to draw firm conclusions about the actual function of them within the codex.

7 AM 757 a 4to

The manuscript AM 757 a 4to (**B**) is closely related to **A** (Haukur Þorgeirsson 2017: 64). It has rarely been subjected to any thorough examination earlier. Therefore, the present analysis represents the first attempt to get a better understanding of this compilation.

B reveals a similar arrangement of material in the first part of the codex as in **A**. It does not contain 5GT, but begins with 3GT, which is followed by *Litla Skálda* and a section on *Fenrisúlfr*, which is not divided from the rest of *Litla Skálda* here. The individual redaction of *Skáldskaparmál* is appended by *Pulur* in a version similar to that in **A**. The second part of the codex is defective and contains several religious poems: *Heilags anda drápa*, *Leiðarvísan*, *Líknarbraut*, *Harmsól*, *Máriudrápa*, *Gyðingsvísur*.

The redaction of the 3GT in **B** is abridged and is interesting for what it omits. The understanding of the rationale behind the omissions would allow to specify on what this redaction of the treatise puts the main emphasis. As has been shown earlier all runological material was edited out by the scribe. The reference to Plato regarding the stars is not included in **B**. The euhemerist explanation of the origin of skaldic poetry is left out and the second part of the treatise is almost completely omitted. The redaction in **B** contains only the chapter on *barbarismus* but leaves out the explanations of this term. What remains is a treatise supplying the knowledge of the basic concepts for the teaching and study of grammar.

Nevertheless, the theoretical discussion is related to the Norse poetry in this version of the text as well. The significance of the syllable formation is illustrated by the explanation of the *hendingar*. The text further continues with the discussion of rhyme in accordance with the version in **W**, as quoted in the analysis of **A** on pp. 57–8.

Ólsen made a hypothesis that the text in **B** omits material of exclusively national character (Ólsen 1884: lvii). He himself had admitted that the omissions were made rather inconsistently, since some references to the particular features of the Norse poetry remained, as has been shown above (Ólsen 1884: lviii). The text contains some further instances of comparisons between the Norse and Latin languages and a discussion of the Norse poetry found also in the other versions, such as for instance:

en þo þikkir betr sama j norrênu skalldskap at annat huart hafe ablasning

hófutstafir ok suo stuðlar þeirra eða eingi þeirra (SnE II: 506).

Nevertheless, it seems to suit Norse poetry better that either the head-staves and the props (in alliteration) should have aspiration, or neither of them (Wills 2001: 95).

Einge samstafa hefir fleire stafa enn. vi. j latinu male en j norrênu male mega standa .vii.eða .ix. j einne samstôfu sem her spenskr stendzkr. J latinu standa tueir samhliðendr eð flesta fyrir raddarstafe en þrir eftir. en j norênu meigu standa þrir samhliðendrfyrir raddarstaf en .v. eftir. sem skilia ma j þeim nôfnum sem fyrr voru rituð (SnE II: 504).

... no syllable in Latin has more than six letters; but in Norse there cannot be more than eight or nine in one syllable, like ‘spænskr’ (Spanish) or ‘stendzkr’ (from Strönd). In Latin two consonants at most come before a vowel and three after. But in Norse three consonants can come before a vowel and five after, as can be discerned in those words that were previously written (Wills 2001: 93).

I would like to stress at this point that the comparisons between the Latin and the Norse traditions are apparently made without the need to establish their hierarchical relationship, formulated in Ólafr’s famous claim of the origin of the Norse poetic art in Asia and its superiority in comparison with the translated Latin poetry. This suggests that the Asian origin was not relevant or beneficial anymore. This provides the treatise a more rational and practical character without ideological rationale.

Wills suggests that everything that could have had associations with paganism was removed (Plato, runes) (Wills 2001: 48, 52). According to him, runes might have appeared either archaic or pagan to the redactor of **B**, and not suitable in the context of modern Christian poetry contained in the codex (Wills 2001: 51-2).

I would rather suggest practical reasons for all these omissions, which at the same time would perfectly correspond with the tendencies discerned in the other texts in the manuscript, as will be shown later. In my opinion, the omission of the runological material can be explained through its absolute irrelevance to the following discussion of kennings and to the poetry in general.

The omission of the prose narratives providing information about the origin of skaldic poetry and the etymological explanation of the term *barbarismus* is representative for the overall character of the codex. It is rather fact oriented without any affection for history or mythology.

The redactor apparently did not feel the urge to create a glorious past for the Norse alphabet or the Norse language and poetry. He mainly focused on the essential information without justifying his topic. In this he goes further than **A**, even though both are indebted to the same hyparchetype.

The whole second part transmitting a vast amount of skaldic quotations illustrating errors in poetic language, figures and tropes is omitted. Ólafr seems to have been concerned with finding suitable examples of Latin concepts in Norse poetry, and this resulted in a treatise focusing on less relevant aspects of the indigenous poetic art.³² The omission of this whole part in a codex with a very practical approach to skaldic poetry thus appears rather logical.

The redactor probably decided to skip the less relevant topics and to focus on the actual features of the Norse poetic art. This is evidenced by the earlier discussed omissions. Further, it is supported by the content of the retained passages dealing with syllable, hendingar, and alliteration, which are significant for *drottkvætt* metre. Instead of the second part of 3GT, the codex continues with the treatises on kennings – the fundamental feature of the poetic language.

The version of *Litla Skálda* and the section on *Fenrisúlfr* do not reveal any major variations. It is the same redaction as in **A**. The short treatise is rather a catalogue of kennings for the most relevant subjects in poetry with no skaldic verse. The treatise is introduced by a heading *her byriaz kenningar skalldskapar* (SnE II: 511) ‘here commence the kennings in poetry’ (Nordal 2001: 65), which perfectly conforms to its content and can also function as the title for both treatises – *Litla Skálda* and *Skáldskaparmál*.

B contains a substantially revised version of *Skáldskaparmál*. It starts with chapters 45-6 in accordance with the version in **A** and is introduced with a heading *kenningar gullz* ‘kennings for gold’. The heading in **A**, *fra holga konvngi* ‘about king Holgi’, presents the topic of the following chapter without relating it to its significance for poetry. The heading in **B** brings it to the point – the story of Holgi functions in its context within *Skáldskaparmál* not as a heroic narrative but supplies the background information for the application of this material in poetry, namely for the kennings for gold.

Between chapters 46 and 47, **B** includes some earlier chapters from the **W**-branch that are not in **A** (Males 2020:131).³³ It starts with chapter 2 dealing with the kennings for Óðinn, which

³² Clunies Ross/Wellendorf 2014: xviii.

³³ The survey in Faulkes 1998: xlv-xlvi; table: xlix-l. Table in Nordal 2001: 215-21, 224.

is introduced with a heading *enn um kenningar skaldskapar* ‘about the kennings for poetry’. Here again the heading stresses the relevance of the following topic – Óðinn in this case – exclusively in the context of its use for the circumlocution for the poetry itself.

The introductory narrative to chapter 3 refers to the frame story of *Skáldskaparmál* and the conversation between Bragi and Ægir, in which Bragi relates several myths: *her skal segia huersu skalldin hafa kennt skaldskapenn eftir þessum heitum sem skrifut eru j þeirre frasôgn sem bragi skald sagðe êgi* (SnE II: 521) ‘here will be told how the poets have referred to poetry using such terms that were written in that narrative that Bragi skald told Ægir’. This is a paraphrase of the introductory sentence to this chapter, which in all other redactions ends not with the words *sem skrifut eru j þeirre frasôgn sem bragi skald sagðe êgi*, but rather *er aðr erv ritvt* (FJ 1931: 92) ‘as were noted above’. The redaction in **B** does not contain the respective chapter with the frame dialogue. Therefore, the redactor in **B** is more specific here and describes its setting while referring to it.

The narrator in the frame dialogue in *Skáldskaparmál* in **R** and **W** or in the second scene of *Gylfaginning* in **U** is here identified as the poet Bragi. This tendency has been already discerned in the overall structure in **U**, where Bragi as a member of the group of the historical Æsir, who pretended to be the mythological Æsir, becomes identified with the god of poetry, narrates the mythological stories to Ægir in the second scene of *Gylfaginning*, and finally appears as the first court poet in *Skáldatal*. In **U**, this identification is implicit, but here it is stated outright. In another context, this might be taken as a way of making the euhemerist backdrop of *Snorra Edda* more explicit, and this may be a relevant factor, but above all, the shift of emphasis onto the human poet Bragi is in line with the exclusive focus on poetry, at the expense of runes and mythology.

The heading of chapter three – *Enn af þui sama*, refers to the previous chapter heading – kennings for poetry. The following chapters treating kennings for pagan gods and goddesses are transmitted without any verse quotations (chapters 4–22). All the longer prose narratives are omitted too (chapters 17–8).

Chapters 23–31 follow the same order as in **R**. Chapter 31 marks the last chapter before a long section dealing with various myths and legends about gold (chapters 32–45). Almost all these narratives are gathered in the final section of the second part of *Skáldskaparmál* in **U** (chapters 34–6, 38, 44, 43, 45). **B** omits all these chapters 33–45 and contains only chapter 32, in

addition to chapter 45, which is the first chapter of the treatise in this redaction. Chapter 32 is a catalogue of the kennings for gold, the mythological or legendary origin of most of which will be explained in the following chapters omitted here.

Before chapter 32 there is an intriguing passage under the heading *Capitulum*.

Sua segir j bók þeirre sem edda heiter at sa maðr sem êgir het spurðe braga skald meðal annara hluta á huersu marga lunnd êser breytte orðtôkum skaldskaparens eða hversu môrg veri kyn hans (...) (SnE II: 532).

In the book called *Edda*, it is related how the man called Ægir asked the poet Bragi among other things in how many ways Æsir varied the vocabulary of poetry, and how many categories it has.

The scribe refers here to a different book called *Edda* and relates the content of the first chapter of *Skáldskaparmál*. The dialogue between Ægir and Bragi has already been mentioned in the introductory narrative to chapter three. It is worth noting that this dialogue is comprised in the first booklet in **U**, which also contains the name of the book *Edda* as well as the implicit identification of Bragi from the race of Æsir with the actual historical poet Bragi.

While citing the *Eptirmáli* the scribe refers to the content of the first chapter in the aforementioned book. This first chapter can by its subject matter be identified as the *Prologue*.

En eigi skulu kristnir menn trua a heiðin goð. ok eigi a sannindi þuilikra frasagna ôðruuis enn suo sem skrifat finnz j fyrsta capitula greíndrar bokar þar sem segir af skipan himins ok jarðar ok allra hluta er þeim fylgia. þar segir ok af þvi er mannfolkit villtiz sua at j vpphafe heimsbygðarennar kunno faer men deile a sinum skapara ok miclu fleire hluter eru þeir þar greindir sem trulegir eru ok sannlegir (SnE II: 533).

But Christians should not believe in the pagan gods or in the veracity of such tales in any other way than is written in the first chapter of the aforementioned book, there where it describes the creation of heaven and earth and all the things that belong to them. There it also describes how mankind went astray, so that in the beginning of the population of the world few people knew to discern their creator. And very many more things are described there, that are credible and probable.

The passage here lacks the reference to the authority of the major skalds and their use of the ancient kennings, which shall not be removed from poetry. It further provides the guidelines

for the Christian reader how to handle the mythological material, in a way similar to **R** and **W**, by referring to the content of the *Prologue*.³⁴

Chapter 32 follows and is the only section listing kennings for gold. The codex then contains the beginning of chapter 47, which in the **R** version treats the ‘kennings for man and woman as givers of gold and as trees’ (Faulkes 1998). The following text is missing due to a lacuna of one folio. The text resumes in the middle of chapter 61 (terms for the sea). Then follow chapters 62, 58, 64, 60, 65–75. The prose narrative dealing with the King Hálfðan (chapter 64) is transmitted in **B**, while it was cut out in **A** (Males 2020: 131).

The last three quires of the manuscript are only fragmentarily preserved and comprise various religious poems. Skaldic poems with Christian subject-matter do not occur in significant numbers before the middle of the twelfth century (Clunies Ross 2007: xliii). During the twelfth century the basic strategies for designating God and holy people were established, and they continued to be used until the fourteenth century and beyond (Males 2020b: 164). The only type of mythological kennings that remained in widespread use during the eleventh century were the kennings for people and battle (Males 2020b: 154). These traditional models have been gradually adapted to the new Christian context, while the warriors were turned into the agents of peace (Males 2020b: 159-60).³⁵ During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries new kenning types evolved, which again used the names of the pagan gods but in a different way than the traditional ones (Males 2020b: 164).³⁶ Further, European models began to be widely used in the poetry (Males 2020b: 165).

Furthermore, the intellectual developments in the monastic milieu in the fourteenth century and the discourse around *Snorra Edda* are highly relevant for the understanding of the context of the present compilation and the possible reasoning behind the inclusion of the poems. The tensions between religious poets and *Snorra Edda* in the fourteenth century have been treated in detail by Males (2020: 290-96). The poets positioned themselves in relation to *Snorra Edda* confirming its authority in their time. According to *Lilja*, for instance, *Snorra Edda* should not serve as a guide for how to compose religious poetry – similarly *Guðmundarkvæði* and *Guðmundardrápa*. The poets probably did not question its authority for secular poetics but

³⁴ **R** and **W** contain further references to Troy and refer both to *Prologue* and *Gylfaginning*.

³⁵ F. ex. *fríðbragða flýtir* ‘instigator of peace-deeds’, *lítillætis flýtir* ‘instigator of humility’ (Males 2020b: 159).

³⁶ F. ex. new type – *elsku Baldr* ‘Baldr of love’ as compared to the traditional – *sverða Freyr* ‘Freyr of swords’ (Males 2020b: 164).

revolted against its obscurity in the religious poetry. So how should one compose religious poetry? There was no such handbook, like *Snorra Edda* was for secular poetry. So presumably, one had to look to actual religious poems as models.

Heilags anda drápa ‘*Drápa* about the Holy Spirit’ is fragmentarily preserved on fol. 10. The beginning is defective. Fourteen full stanzas and four *helmingar* remain, representing part of the *steffabálkr*. The approximate length of the whole poem has been calculated as 94 stanzas. The metre is *dróttkvætt*. The poem is a prayer of praise to the Holy Spirit (Attwood 2007: 450-1). The title is editorial. The poem is dated to the later thirteenth century on the basis of its subject-matter and the presence of specific rhymes (Attwood 2007: 451).

Leiðarvísan (‘Way-Guidance’) is completely preserved. It is an anonymous *drápa* of forty-five stanzas in *dróttkvætt* metre. The title is transmitted in stanza 44/8. The poem is dated to the second half of the twelfth century (Attwood 2007: 139). It is a versified version of the popular Christian text called the Sunday Letter. It shares many verbal and stylistic similarities with the poem *Harmsól*, which is transmitted later in the same codex (Clunies Ross 2007: xlv).

Líknarbraut ‘The Way of Grace’ is an anonymous *drápa* in *dróttkvætt* metre. It is dated to the late thirteenth century. It celebrates Christ’s Passion and the virtues of the Cross (Tate 2007: 228). The chief models for the poem were *Harmsól* and *Leiðarvísan* (Tate 1978: 32-3). The poet was influenced by the Good Friday liturgy and adapted Latin sources to the rules of skaldic poetry (Clunies Ross 2007: xlv).

Harmsól ‘Sun of Sorrow’ is completely preserved in **B**. It comprises 65 stanzas and is dated to the twelfth century (Attwood 2007: 71). In the marginal note the poem is attributed to a named author Gamli kanóki, a canon of Þykkvabœr monastery, founded in 1168 (Attwood 2007: 70). *Harmsól* ranges widely across Christian history. It is a versified version of the popular Christian text the Sunday Letter. The main didactic purpose of the poem is to bring the audience to repentance of their sins (Clunies Ross 2007: xlv).

Both *Harmsól* and *Leiðarvísan* are representative of a small group of the intimately related *drápur* from the twelfth century within the sub-group of the Christian poetry within the corpus of the later skaldic poetry (two additional poems belong to the group: *Plácítúsdrápa* and *Geisli*) (Attwood 1996: 221).³⁷ Attwood has also pointed out repeated references to *systkin* both

³⁷ Parallels between the poems: Attwood 1996: 226-236 (individual words not attested in other sources; identical kennings not attested in other sources; related kennings for God and heaven; structural parallels).

in *Harmsól* and *Leiðarvísan* (e. g. *Harmsól* 46/5, 62/1–4, 64/1–8; *Leiðarvísan* 2/4, 39/1, 45/1), which may provide evidence for the original context of the works conceived as versified sermons (Attwood 1996: 223).

Máriúdrápa ('Drápa about Mary') is an anonymous poem from the fourteenth century in *dróttkvætt* metre. The poem is fragmentarily preserved and is a hymn of praise to the Virgin Mary. Unlike the majority of fourteenth century Christian skaldic poems, *Máriúdrápa* does not reveal a narrative character. It is rather a versified catalogue of epithets for Mary and prayers for her mediation and mercy (Attwood 2007: 476). Two sources of inspiration can be discerned for this poem: the twelfth century *drápur* discussed earlier for the structure, Latin or Latin-inspired literature for the content (Attwood 2007: 476).

Gyðingsvísur ('Vísur about a Jew') is only fragmentarily preserved on fol. 14. The folio is very badly worn, that is why it has only the first eight stanzas and an additional *helmingr* of the poem could be reconstructed (Attwood 2007: 515). The title is editorial. The poem is dated to the early fourteenth century. The metre is *dróttkvætt*. The poem deals with the topic of moneylending and problematizes Christian-Jewish relationships (Attwood 2007: 515).

The poems can be divided in two common medieval categories of homiletic and hagiographical literature (Clunies Ross 2007: xlv-v). The poems of homiletic or didactic kind are: Gamli kanóki's *Harmsól* 'Sun of Sorrow', and the anonymous *Leiðarvísan* 'Way-Guidance' and *Liknarbraut* 'The Way of Grace'. The hagiographic poems can be further divided into two categories: narrative and non-narrative. The narrative poems are usually closely related to a known prose saint's life. The poem *Gyðingsvísur* ('Vísur about a Jew') is representative for the group of the anonymous narrative poems that deal with the miracles of the Virgin Mary (Clunies Ross 2007: xlvii). Two poems – *Heilags anda drápa* 'Drápa about the Holy Spirit' and *Máriúdrápa* 'Drápa about Mary' – are notable for their rendition of Latin vocabulary and phraseology and their skillful transformation into Old Icelandic kennings (Clunies Ross 2007: xlvii-viii).

The inclusion of the *drápur* from the twelfth century provided workable models for poetic composition. *Heilags anda drápa* and *Máriúdrápa* are representative for a different but equally practical approach – adaptation of Latin models. The subject matter of all poems is rather general – Christ and Mary. The poems seem to have functioned as an inventory of religious poetry in a general sense, supplying applicable strategies and vocabulary for the composition of

skaldic verse on religious topics. This part of the codex containing a large amount of exclusively religious poems may have been intended as a ‘handbook’ for religious poetry.

The strong focus on and the practical approach to skaldic poetry are apparent in all parts of the present compilation. The first part of the codex transmits information about basic grammatical concepts (3 GT). It has no longer prose narratives supplying historical, ideological, or etiological background information. It further omits the discussion of runes presumably due to its irrelevance for the topic of the codex – skaldic poetry. The theoretical discussion is applied to the Norse poetry without any need for justification of its examination in grammatical context or for the construction of a hierarchical relationship between the two traditions. The second part of the 3GT dealing with figures and tropes and illustrating Latin rhetorical models with the skaldic verse is almost completely omitted. Only the chapter dealing with the actual barbarisms is included in this redaction of the treatise. Two possible reasons can be suggested for this editorial choice, which not necessarily have to contradict each other. The redactor might have considered the second part of the treatise of less relevance for skaldic poetry. He might have considered the first chapter as the essence of the whole part. 3GT provides the basic grammatical information for the following study of poetry.

The codex continues with a short treatise on kennings, which can indeed be defined as a distinctive feature of the stylistic elevation in *dróttkvætt* poetry. The individual redaction of *Skáldskaparmál* reveals a strong focus on poetry as the topic, which is strongly evidenced by the use of headings, and less interest in the background information. Bragi is explicitly defined as a poet and not as a god. Óðinn is included only with the reference to poetry. It mainly corresponds with the tendency already discerned in the redaction of 3GT. The treatise further dispenses with prose narratives and also with verse quotations in the inserted chapters, which supplies it with a form of a catalogue with kennings and terms. The inclusion of these earlier omitted chapters may have been influenced by the contemporary trends in the poetic composition with the revival of the use of the names of pagan gods. They correspond to the overall tendency in **B** to dispense with the prose narratives and to focus on the essential information – kennings in this case. The redactor may have included the additional chapters in order to provide a fuller account of relevant information.

In comparison with other *Snorra Edda* manuscripts, **B** contains a larger collection of poetic examples in the end. The poems provide models for the composition of skaldic verse on

religious topics. The codex becomes in effect both a handbook of secular poetry (*Litla Skálda* and *Skáldskaparmál*) and a collection of models for religious poetry. Thus, **B** illustrates the compromise between old secular and later religious poetics.

8 Codex Wormianus

Codex Wormianus (AM 242 fol., **W**: c. 1350) is the largest *Snorra Edda* manuscript, both in size and content. In addition to all four parts of *Snorra Edda* the codex contains four grammatical treatises (1GT, 2GT, 3GT, 4GT) introduced by a unique Prologue, whose authorship is ascribed to the redactor (Males 2020: 280–1). The treatises have received their editorial names due to their succession in the codex, which was long believed to reflect their relative chronology (Raschellà 1982: 1–2). The manuscript is further the only source for the eddic poem *Rígsþula*. The codex comprises several additions to the individual texts and some unique texts, which can partly be attributed to the redactor and give insights into his editorial work and reveal his main interests (Males 2020: 280–1).

The unique redaction of the *Prologue* with its three additions reveals a rather critical attitude to the following mythological material. The focus is on the connection between the division of tongues and the rise of idolatry. The first insertion contains a version of the story of the Tower of Babel. It depicts Zoroaster as the origin of idolatry and connects the multiplicity of languages with the loss of truth and the rise of polytheism. Hebrew is defined as the original language that existed before the division of tongues already at this early point in the codex. This idea will be continued and stressed on several places within the compilation. The knowledge of the original language is strongly connected with the spiritual wisdom, truth, and the knowledge of the Creator (Males 2020: 286).

The second addition deals with the story of Saturnus, who was also considered to be a god. He had to flee from his son and changed his name to Njorðr. The section ends with a short notice that Óðinn was driven away by Pompey and had to flee. Through the analogy with the additional stories the Asian immigrants' characteristic of the noble foreigners, emphasized in the short version of the *Prologue*, is now contrasted with a more negative view. The whole emigration process also receives a rather condemning character. The protagonists in the inserted sections, Zoroaster and Saturnus, are motivated by their greed and pride, and Saturnus and Óðinn are driven away by an enemy (Wellendorf 2013). In the short version of the *Prologue*, the mythological material is described as the product of limited knowledge, without the guidance of spiritual wisdom, earned through the earthly understanding of the world granted to the mankind by God. In the long version transmitted in **W**, the rise of polytheism is strongly connected with

the increased number of languages, the origin of which is described in the interpolated story of the Tower of Babel.

The redaction of *Gylfaginning* in **W** is closely related to the version in **R** (FJ 1931: xxv; Haukur Þorgeirsson 2017: 61). It contains mythological narratives embedded in the frame dialogue between the Swedish king Gylfi and the three Æsir. The first introductory chapter treating the myth of Gefjon who draws away the island of Zealand is transmitted in **W**. **W** supplies evidence for the fact that this chapter is secondary. Chapter 2 in **W** introduces king Gylfi -*Gylfi er maðr nefdr* ‘Gylfi was called a man’, even though he has already been introduced in the first chapter, not transmitted in **U**. While **W** probably preserves the redaction contained in the common archetype of **RTW**, where the first chapter has first been inserted, the redaction in **R** has adapted it, and treats the second chapter as a continuation of the first (Haukur Þorgeirsson 2017: 61).

Like **R**, **W** also contains the emphasis on the Asian origin of the Norse poetry – *sua er her sagt i orðum sialfra Asanna* (Finnur Jónsson 1924: 31) ‘Thus it says here in the words of the Æsir themselves’ (Faulkes 1987: 34). This statement becomes even more significant in connection with the 3GT also comprised in the codex and the euhemerist explanation of the poetry formulated by Óláfr.

W comprises a revised version of *Skáldskaparmál*, which shows some deviations both in its content and structure. As mentioned above, it does not contain the chapters 39–43 dealing with the transition of the gold from the mythological into the heroic world (otter-payment), with *Sigurðr Fáfnisbani* and the *Niflungar*, as well as with *Fróði’s* meal. This redaction comprises only two heroic stories dealing with gold: one treating Hrólfr kraki and the other king Hǫlgi. The sequence of these stories is the same as in **R**. The most apparent change in the structure of *Skáldskaparmál* can be seen in the division between the first part of the treatise dealing with kennings and the second part, dedicated to *ókend heiti*, which has been revised and moved to the end of the codex.

Nordal has pointed out that the omission of all references to *Sigurðr*, *Ragnarr*, and *Fróði* indicates a decline of interest in the Danish material in the thirteenth century (Nordal 2001: 326).

The unique Prologue to the four grammatical treatises refers both backwards and forwards in the codex. It provides a twofold view of the poetic art: it defines the rules of the old

poets as the foundation of the art, which must not vanish, but puts the main emphasis on the new ways of composition provided by the various scholarly books.

megu þær kenningar a margan vegg bræytaz. epter þi sem nu finna ny skaald ok taka til ok setia reglur epter ymisligum bokum. skal þo æigi at helldr laata þat unytt uera sem fornskaaldin hafa fundit er efni ok grundvöllr er allz skaalldsk[a]par.

These kennings can be varied in many ways according to how the new poets invent, adopt, and establish rules according to various books. Even so, one should not leave that behind which the early poets have invented and which is the substance and foundation of the entire art of poetry (Males 2020: 308–9).

The author provides authority in matters of composition to the new poets and scholars, especially to the clerics. One must obey to the rules defined in the books by the new scholars. Males has pointed out that the author here refers most probably to the relevant parts of 3GT and 4GT (Males 2020: 287).³⁸ The Prologue emphasizes the importance of books in the process of spreading knowledge.

Enn nu sk[al] lysa huersu ny skalld ok fræði menn ok æinkannlega klerkarner uilia lofaz lááta huersu kveða skal ok onyta æigi at helldr þat sem forner menn hafa framit utan þat sem klerklegar bækr banna. þiat þat er natturuligt at men se nu smasmuglarí sem fræði bækrnar dreifaz nu uiðara.

But now we shall learn how the new poets and scholars, and in particular the clerics, allow that one should compose, but we should not forget to avail ourselves of that which men of old have achieved, except what is forbidden in the books of the clerics,³⁹ since it is natural that people are more perceptive, now that scholarly books are spreading more widely (Males 2020: 308–9).

The mythological stories should be interpreted in accordance with the statements made in the *Prologue to Snorra Edda* about the multiplication of errors – *enn æigi skulu menn þessum fra*

³⁸ Sverrir Tómasson offers a different interpretation of the particular references to the new books and to the things forbidden in these new books (Sverrir Tómasson 1993: 233–4, 238). Males discusses these arguments in his article (2013: 53–6), and I concur with his view that it is more reasonable to analyze the references within the codex than to search for the possible referents outside it within the contemporary grammatical tradition (especially since there are no indications that the grammatical trends discussed by Sverrir Tómasson ever reached Iceland).

³⁹ For the relevant discussion of this point see previous footnote. What is forbidden are barbarisms and solecisms (Males 2020: 309, fn. 24).

sognum trua framarr en skynsamlígt er epter þi sem seger i fyrsta lut bokarennar með hveriu [u]illu[r]nar fiolguðuz ‘But one should not believe these tales [of Snorri’s *Edda*] beyond what is prudent, according to what is said in the first part of the book of how the errors were multiplied’ (Males 2020: 308–9). This is a paraphrase of the *Eptirmáli* and the reference is to the connection between the rise of idolatry and the division of tongues contained in the first addition to the *Prologue to Snorra Edda* (Males 2020: 309, fn. 22).

The text further introduces the topics that will be treated in the following treatises. It emphasizes Snorri’s authority – *enn uel ma nyta at hafa epter þeim heiti ok kenningar æigi lengra reknar enn Snorri lofar* ‘but it is good to take from them *heiti* and kennings that are not extended beyond what Snorri allows’ (Males 2020: 312–3). The Prologue contains five references to *Háttatal*, which support its original inclusion in the codex and underline Snorri’s authority (Males 2020: 287–9).

The Prologue provides continuity in the compilation. It connects the first part of the codex (parts of *Snorra Edda* linked together) with the following grammatical treatises. Its function within **W** is similar to that of the *Prologue to Snorra Edda* and *Eptirmáli* within *Snorra Edda*.

1GT continues the codex. It is a treatise on orthography and phonology, whose main goal lays in the production of an appropriate alphabet and a standardized orthography for Icelandic language. According to the author, all languages branched off from one original language – an idea strongly emphasized in the first addition to the *Prologue to Snorra Edda*, and which will be highly important throughout the whole codex. On the example of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the three sacred languages, the author stresses the need of an alphabet for the Icelandic language:

Enn af því at tvngvnr[ar] erv [v]likar hvern annarrri. þær þegar er ór æinni ok hinni somv tvngv hafa gengiðz eða græinz þa þarf vlika stafi í at hafa enn æigi ena somv alla i qlvm. Sem æigi rita grikkir latinv stofvm girzkvna ok æigi latinv men girzkvm stofvm latinv ne enn h[e]lldr [e]brefkir men ebrefkvna hvarkí girzkvm stofvm ne latinv helldr ritar sínvm stofvm hvern þið sína tv[n]gv.

But because languages differ from each other – which previously parted or branched off from one and the same tongue – different letters are needed in each, and not the same in all, just as Greeks do not write Greek with Latin letters, and Latinists (do) not (write) Latin with Greek letters, nor (do) the Hebrews (write) Hebrew with Greek or Latin letters, but each nation writes its language with letters of its own (H. Benediktsson 1972: 206–7).

In two instances the first Grammarian uses skaldic verse as the mode of illustration of the use of a specific word and the specific spelling of another word. The author makes a direct appeal to skald's authority in all matters related to the correct writing – *skald er hofvndar allrar rynní eða máalf greinar sem fmiðir [fmiðar]*⁴⁰ *eða loqmenn laga* ‘the scalds are authorities in all (matters touching the art of) writing or the distinctions (made in) discourse, just as craftsmen (are) [in their craft] or lawyers in the laws’ (H. Benediktsson 1972: 224-7). The poets are depicted as the highest authority in matters of language.

The codex continues with the individual redaction of 2GT, a work also transmitted in **U**. 2GT is generally considered to be an elaboration on 1GT, and in **W** it contains some passages from 1GT. In addition, the text in **W** contains one short introductory passage and one longer passage concluding this redaction of the treatise.

The first section functions as an introduction to the following treatise. It mainly praises man's ability to understand all things by dividing and distinguishing them. The rational spirit that enables people to gain knowledge is given by God and shall be applied in order to serve him – *þa næyti ok nioti þess lans með guði* (Raschellà 1982: 27) ‘So may (one) make use and benefit from this gift with God’. In light of this, the following treatises dealing with the individual letters of the language⁴¹ and rhetorical figures (3GT, 4GT) become God-approved ways of gaining knowledge of the subjects under consideration – language and poetics. This passage does not add any thematically relevant information to the following text, but rather embeds it in the overall structure of the codex with its specific religious flair.

As has been shown earlier, **W** omits the circular figure but contains its textual description and the discussion of the individual letters and their characteristics. The final short comment on the tittles introduces in **W** the section of the text that deviates from the version in **U** that is considered to be more original. **W** contains several passages from 1GT that are rather paraphrases than transcripts. First, it supplies an etymological explanation of the term tittle contained in the 1GT. In the next step it sums up the previously discussed letters' inventory, which leads to further quotations from 1GT caused by a misinterpretation by the redactor. *Þesser eru under stafer. c x z y*. ‘these are the sub-letters’, states there (Raschellà 1982: 43). Earlier in

⁴⁰ The emendation is supported by the logic of analogy between ‘*loqmenn laga*’ and ‘*fmiðir fmiðar*’. The omission is probably caused by a ‘saute du même au même’.

⁴¹ 2GT, 3GT, and 1GT through the stated coherence between all alphabets and the later insertion of text passages from 1GT in 2GT.

the treatise four other letters: ð, z, x, c, have been defined as sub-letters. This passage marks the transition from the summary of 2GT to the additions from 1GT. In 1GT four letters: x, ý, z, z (the abbreviation *ok-et*), are discussed (H. Benediktsson 1972: 236-241).

These letters can be omitted in the Icelandic alphabet according to the First Grammarian, while 2GT defines them in its original discussion of the letters as the ones that can only have final position after a vowel in each syllable. This description contains references to the origin and the use of several letters in Hebrew and Latin.

The last passage adapted from 1GT contains the summary of the chapter on consonants with the discussion of their individual shape, name, and value – characteristics not touched by 2GT at all.

These insertions must have appeared logical to the redactor and presumably served to emphasize the correspondence between the two alphabets presented in both works. They stress the universality underlined in the Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises, where the redactor states that different alphabets do not contradict each other – *hefer huerr sett stafina epter þeirri tungu sem þeir hafa talað. ok þo at þeira verk se saman borín þa bregðr ekki þeira annars reglu* ‘each has established the letters according to the language that they spoke, and even if their works are compared, none of them breaks the rule of another’ (Males 2020: 310–1). Further, the origin of one letter in Hebrew might have tempted the redactor to include this description in 2GT.

The final passage contains redactor’s vision of a universal phonology. The rectangular figure is not contained in **W**, but the description of the musical instrument with nineteen keys and nine notes corresponds to the description in **U**. The alphabet visualized by the two figures comprises all possible sounds,⁴² noises, and voices, which are represented by the letters. The letters for their part are capable of producing all words of any language according to the redactor’s view, thus, also in Hebrew.

Nu uerðr þetta allt saman stafrof kallat. þesser stafer giora allt maal ok hender maalit ymsa sua til at iafna sem horpu strenger giora hliod eða eru læyster luklar i simphoníe eða þa er organ gengr upp ok níðr aptr ok framm um allan gamma þann er með ser hefer nítian lukla ok aatta radder. ok nu koma til motz þeser .v. hríngar stafanna er aaðr uar um rætt. kallaz nu huarer uið aðra stafrof ok gammí ok taka nu hliodstafer þar sin hliod

⁴² Omitted in that redaction of the treatise.

ok raddar stafer rǫdd. maalstafer malit ok samnaz til orðanna sua margra at ekki er þess mælt i heimum at eigi se þesser stafer til hafðer. Nu eru æingi þau læti eða hlið eða radder at æigi muni þat allt finnaz i gamanum (Males 2020: 316)

Now this is all called the alphabet. These letters produce all language and the language treats the various letters as when the strings of a harp produces sounds or when the keys of a hurdy-gurdy are released or when the organ goes up and down, back and forth across the entire scale which has nineteen keys and eight notes. And now these five rings of letters which were previously discussed come to meet [the scale]. Now they call out to each other, the alphabet and the musical scale, and the vowels (*hljóðstafir*) get their sound (*hljóð*) and the vowels (*raddarstafir*) get their voice (*rǫdd*), the consonants (*málstafir*) language (*málit*), and [the letters/sounds] are gathered into words, so many that nothing has been said in this world for which these letters cannot be used. There are no sounds or noises or voices that cannot all be found in the scale (Males 2020: 317)

The *Prologue to Snorra Edda*, the first addition to it in **W**, and 1GT deal with the idea of the original language that existed before the division of tongues. The second addition to 2GT defines this original language explicitly as Hebrew – *enn þat er a ebresku mælt ok stakk hana natturan til þess fyrer þui at hon var fyrst ok gekk þa um allan heim þangat til er guð skipti þeim* ‘and that is said in Hebrew and nature made it [the tongue] do so, because it [Hebrew] was first and was dispersed over all of the world until God divided them [the languages]’ (Males 2020: 316-7). The first addition to the *Prologue* also defined Hebrew as the original language.

The section concludes with some Christian religious deliberations on the words *osanna* and *alleluia*, tying the use of Hebrew to a vision of eternal bliss.

3GT is introduced by a decorated three-line initial. The content is similar to that of other witnesses, no major abbreviations or insertions can be discerned. It starts with the discussion of basic grammatical concepts and relates this initial discussion to the Norse poetic art in the second part of the work. Its interplay with the other texts within the codex provides interesting insights into the editorial work behind the whole compilation.

The Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises announces the presentation of the runic alphabet as the first way of writing and ascribes it to two named persons – Þóroddr and Ari. It also underlines its opposition to the Latin alphabet originally composed by Priscian according to the author of the Prologue:

skal yðr syna hinn fyrsta letrs haatt sua ritinn epter sextan stafa stafrofí i danskri tungu epter þi sem þoroddr runa meistari ok ari prestr hinn froði hafa sett i moti latinu manna stafrofí er meistari priscianus hefer sett.

You will be shown the first way of writing, written down according to the sixteen-letter alphabet of the Danish tongue [=Old Norse], following [the alphabet] that Þoroddr Master of Runes and the priest Ari the Wise have defined against the alphabet of the Latins, which master Priscian has defined (Males 2020: 310-1).

The runes are described in accordance with the version in **A**.⁴³ The number of runes is compared with the number of letters in the earlier Greek. The origin of one rune is ascribed to Hebrew, which was explicitly defined as the original language in the *Prologue* and in the final section of 2GT.

Both Ólafur and the redactor of **W** emphasize the significance of Hebrew. The runic alphabet is defined as the first way of writing in the Prologue. This original Old Norse alphabet partly originated in the ultimate language Hebrew and revealed further similarities with it. The knowledge of the original language is strongly connected with the spiritual wisdom in the codex. The first Icelandic alphabet – the runes – preserved some vestiges of the original language. According to the redactor, all presented alphabets correspond to each other, as has been stated in the Prologue to the Grammatical Treatises and later illustrated through the insertion of some sections from 1GT in 2GT. Thus, all these alphabets also contain vestiges of the original language. They are not only able to produce any words in any language, according to the vision of the universal phonology presented in the second addition to 2GT. They are directly derived from this original language, Hebrew.

The redaction in **W**, in accordance with the other versions, places explicit emphasis on the Norse poetry by applying the theoretical discussion of the syllable's structure to its practical relevance for the *hendingar* in the formation of *dróttkvætt* metre, as quoted in the analysis of **A** on pp. 57-8.

The redaction in **W** further stresses its emphasis on exclusively Norse poetry by explicitly omitting irrelevant topics: *Enn með því at þesskonar græiner hæyra litt noręnv skaldskap at flestra manna ætlan. þa tala ek þar vm ekki fleira að þinni* (Ólsen 1884: 10). 'But in as much as

⁴³ See the analysis of **A** on pp. 56–7.

these kinds of distinction belong little to Norse poetry in most people's opinion, I will talk no more about it for the present' (Wills 2001: 94-5).

W is the only manuscript that transmits both 3GT and the *Prologue to Snorra Edda*. Ólafr's famous claim of the sameness of the Norse and the original Asian poetic art reveals some variations, which show similarities with the ideas transmitted in the additions to the earlier texts (unique formulations not contained in **A** are set in bold, the readings of **A** are in square brackets, the readings of **W** are in square brackets in the translation).

*J þessi bok ma giorla skilia, at qll er æin **maalf** listin [skald skapr sa] fv er romverfker
spekingar namv í athenif borg a grikk landi, ok fnero fiðan ilatinv mal, ok fa hlioða haattr
ok skaald skapar, er oðinn ok aðrer afie menn flvttv norðr hingat, **þa er þeir bygdv** norðr
haalfv hæimfinf, ok kendv monnvm þæsskonar list a fina tvngv, fva sem þeir hqfðv skipat
ok nvmið i fialfv afia landi, þar sem mestv var fegrð ok rikdomr ok froðleikr
veralldarennar (Ólsen 1884: 12).*

In this book it may be clearly understood that the [language] art, which the Roman sages learnt in Athens in Greece and then transferred into the Latin language is the same art as the verse form of songs or poetry which Óðinn and other men of Asia brought hither northwards, [as they settled] into the northern hemisphere; and they taught men this type of art in their own language, just as they had organized and learnt it in Asia itself, where beauty and power and knowledge were the greatest in the world (Clunies Ross 2005: 190).

This passage reveals some discrepancies in comparison with the version in **A**. These variations become highly significant in their specific context within the codex, especially with regard to their interplay with the extended version of the *Prologue to Snorra Edda* and *Gylfaginning*. This passage in **W** does not treat the underlined sameness between the Norse and the original Asian poetic art, as has been the case in **A**. It rather makes three statements, which all correspond with the ideas presented earlier in the different texts within the manuscript and bind them all together. The language spoken by Óðinn and the Asians is defined as poetry, a statement already made in *Gylfaginning*. The process of settlement of the Northern countries by the Asian immigrants is emphasized here, as well as the subsequent adaptation of their language by the indigenous people. This is mainly shared with **A** without the emphasis on the settlement process. These topics have been earlier treated in the *Prologue to Snorra Edda*, which is closest

to this passage in its subject matter. In this redaction, this passage in 3GT is brought closer in line with the *Prologue*. Since the language of the Asians is described as poetry, the art that they taught, and the Northerners adapted is consequently poetry too. The emphasis is made on the broader topic – the language, in accordance with the main interest, which was apparent earlier in the additions to the *Prologue* to *Snorra Edda* and in the second addition to 2GT. But the actual subject under consideration remains the same – poetry. The differences are not great, but certainly congruent with the overall tenor of **W**.

4GT is an anonymous work recently dated to the years 1320-1340 (Clunies Ross/Wellendorf 2014: xiii). The treatise is only extant in **W**, where it follows 3GT without any interval or title. 4GT is based on two sources: the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei (1199) and the *Graecismus* of Evrard of Béthune (a little before 1212) (Clunies Ross 2005: 202).

The structure of the chapters is similar throughout the whole treatise. The name and the definition of each figure is followed by examples, in most cases probably composed for the treatise in order to illustrate the particular point, rather than taken from existing poems (Clunies Ross/Wellendorf 2014: xviii). The chapters usually conclude with explanations containing abundant religious references.

Both 3GT and 4GT use Latin terminology and describe Latin rhetorical figures illustrating them with vernacular examples. As the result, they often focus on phenomena of limited importance for the Norse poetry (Clunies Ross/Wellendorf 2014: xviii). While 3GT contains only 31% anonymous verse and is mostly rooted in the existing vernacular repertoire, contains 4GT 76% anonymous verse, many probably composed by the author himself. This suggests a correspondingly greater departure from the actual tradition (Clunies Ross/Wellendorf 2014: xviii-xix).

4GT refers on three occasions to 3GT and to Ólafr (Clunies Ross/Wellendorf 2014: xviii).⁴⁴ It was written as a continuation of the previous treatise and was probably even conceived as an update of it (Males 2020: 175; Clunies Ross/Wellendorf 2014: xiii). All four treatises, together with the first three parts of *Snorra Edda*, build an unbroken whole in the arrangement of the codex.

W reveals similar treatment of *Háttatal* as a separate text not connected with the rest of *Snorra Edda* as in **U** (Johansson 1997: 59). **U** inserts only 2GT between *Skáldskaparmál* and

⁴⁴ Chapters 9, 11, 12.

Háttatal, **W** has all four grammatical treatises with the unique Prologue. Another similarity between the two manuscripts is that two different exemplars have been used for the first three parts of the work on one hand, and for *Háttatal* on the other (Johansson 1997: 254). *Háttatal* occupies a separate quire in **W**, but the first and the last folios are now lost.

The poem *Rígsþula* is only extant in **W**. It is an anonymous poem relating the story of the rise of three social classes – slaves, freemen, and knights – through their common progenitor Rígr (Scher 1963: 400). The prose preface identifies the otherwise unknown Rígr with the god Heimdallr:

Svá segia menn í fornom sǫgom, at einhverr af ásom, sá er Heimdallr hét, fór ferðar sinnar oc fram með síóvarstrǫndo noccorri, kom at einom húsabæ oc nefndiz Rígr. Eptir þeiri sǫgo er qvæði þetta (Neckel/Kuhn 1962: 280).

‘People say that in the ancient tales one of the Æsir, who was called Heimdall, went in his travels along a certain sea-shore; he came to a farmstead and called himself Rígr. About that story this poem was made (Orchard 2011: 241).

This introductory section has been ascribed to the redactor of the codex by Johansson, since he has shown that its main purpose is to provide continuity in the compilation and to connect the poem to *Snorra Edda* contained in the manuscript (Johansson 1998: 68-9). The hand in **W** has been brought in connection with the hand that has inserted the version of *Vǫluspá* in *Hauksbók* (Johansson 1997: 67, 162). Heimdallr is described there as the forefather of all people – *Hlióðs bið ec allar helgar kindar, meiri oc minni, mǫgo Heimdalar* (Neckel/Kuhn 1962: 1) ‘A hearing I ask of all holy offspring, the higher and lower of Heimdall’s brood’ (Orchard 2011: 5). That might have influenced the redactor to identify the otherwise unknown god Rígr with Heimdallr, who has been mentioned earlier in *Gylfaginning*, though not in the function of the progenitor of all people (Johansson 1998: 81). The idea of a single ancestor for different social groups corresponds with the euhemerist description of the origin of the ruling dynasties in the Northern countries from Óðinn contained in the *Prologue* to *Snorra Edda* (Johansson 1981: 81). The introductory passage refers to the old stories, *fornar sǫgur*, as the source for the poem (Johansson 1998: 78).

The motif of a god walking along the seashore and creating new social classes is further reminiscent of the scene from *Gylfaginning* depicting the creation of the first people, Ask and Embla, by Bor's sons – *þá er þeir Bors synir gengu með sævar ströndu, fundu þeir tré tvau, ok tóku upp tréin ok sköpuðu af menn* (Faulkes 1982: 13) ‘as Bor's sons walked along the sea shore, they came across two logs and created people of them’ (Faulkes 1987: 13).

The poem itself, according to Johansson, shall be seen within its context in the compilation as “en samling av heiti eller synonymer för skalder eller lärda män, en *pula*, där skalden eller den poetikintresserade kunde finna ämnen och ord som var passande i de sammanhang där en dikt skulle framföras” (Johansson 1998: 68).

The title *Rígsþula* is transmitted in the unique redaction of *ókennd heiti* contained in the same codex that refers to the poem under that name (Johansson 1998: 73-4). The poem itself does not have any title in the manuscript. Even if this evidence does not allow us to conclude that the title was original, it seems safe to state that the poem was known under that name in the context where the codex was produced (Johansson 1998: 74). In that context the poem was considered to be a *pula* and like other *pulur*, it was probably included in the compilation because of its function as a list of synonyms.

The focus lies mainly on the characteristics of the men of high social status, probably because of the applicability of these terms in the poems for the patrons of skalds. Less space is spent on the terms for people of lower class, which probably could be used in *níð* poetry (Johansson 1998: 76).

The unique redaction of *ókennd heiti* concludes the compilation. It starts in the middle of chapter 65 dealing with the terms for men, continues with chapter 66 containing the *pula* of the terms for men, and a revised chapter 67 treating *viðkenningar*, *sannkenningar* and *fornqfn*. Then it introduces a strongly revised chapter 31 dealing with kennings for man and containing many unique additional quotations. Finally, a revised chapter 69, treating the head and other body parts and containing abundant quotations, concludes the codex. It further contains a reference to *Rígsþula* (Johansson 2009: 25-6). Here again a strong focus on the characteristics (both kennings and heiti) of men is apparent.

In the following section I will give an overview of the redactor's different approaches within the compilation. I will examine both the changes in the various texts and the additions to the individual texts, which reveal redactor's focal points and interests. In the final step I will

contrast the method applied to the various texts within compilation to the one discerned in the Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises, which is also ascribed to the redactor.

As has been shown earlier, the additions to the *Prologue to Snorra Edda* change the character of the text, but what is most important is that they place a strong emphasis on the connection between the original language, explicitly defined as Hebrew, and truth. The *Prologue* lays the groundwork to the following argumentation, which will be relevant for the whole compilation.

In the first addition to 2GT the redactor continues his spiritual argumentation. The rational wisdom given to mankind by God enables humans to attain knowledge and must be used to serve God. The addition conveys a religious character to the grammatical texts dealing with language and poetry, presenting them as God-approved ways of gaining knowledge and serving God.

The insertion of text passages from 1GT illustrates on the one hand the sameness of the alphabets presented in the treatises, as stated in the Prologue, and creates coherence in the larger entity of the compilation. On the other hand, it includes 1GT into the theological framework created by the first addition to 2GT. The inserted passages contain descriptions of the letters, whose origin can be found in Hebrew. Even if they lack actual theoretical relevance for the discussion in 2GT, this pedigree is highly relevant for the redactor's ideology.

The second addition to 2GT presents the redactor's vision of a universal phonology. The universal alphabet, presented earlier in the treatise, is capable of producing words in any language, thus also in Hebrew. The final section emphasizes the connection between the use of Hebrew and eternal bliss. The redactor elaborates here the idea of the relation between Hebrew and spiritual wisdom and God, which has been presented in the first addition to the *Prologue to Snorra Edda*. People received the ability to create an alphabet through God, and by means of this alphabet they will gain knowledge of truth and God.

The Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises is the text with the most apparently discernible redactor's voice, in which he appears in his actual function. He gives a short overview of the previous part of the codex. The redactor further formulates his theoretical approach – the old rules, which are defined as the foundation of the poetic art, must be preserved. The mythological stories must be interpreted in accordance with the descriptions in and additions to the *Prologue to Snorra Edda*. He says that clerics are the authorities regarding new modes of

composition. The discussion of alphabets and their correspondence is related to their applicability to poetic composition. But the final authority regarding the use of *heiti* and kennings is ascribed to Snorri.⁴⁵

The Prologue outlines the structure of the whole compilation. The first three parts of *Snorra Edda* come first as the old rules. 1GT, 2GT and the first part of 3GT provide the alphabets. 3GT and 4GT are the new treatises on poetics by clerics. Snorri's authoritative work *Háttatal* continues the compilation, appended by the lists of synonyms.

The Prologue lacks religious deliberations. It functions rather as a list of content providing some general instructions about the way one should deal with the individual texts within the compilation and addressing the students, who wish to learn the new modes of poetic composition.

While it is clearly redactor's voice in the Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises, all other interpolations function as integral parts of the individual texts. It is there that the redactor presents his vision of the universal phonology supported by his spiritual argumentation, creates harmony among all treatises and integrates all texts into a theological framework.

3GT contains a discussion of runes with some references to Hebrew. It is an original section without any interpolations. But the redactor of **W** created a connection to this section and installed it in his theological framework. The Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises introduces this section and defines runes as the first way of writing. It further stresses the correspondence between all alphabets, so that the similarities and the origin of some runes in Hebrew can be transferred on the other alphabets. The alphabets earlier discussed receive a pedigree corresponding with the spiritual vision of the redactor. The runic alphabet contains vestiges of the Hebrew alphabet; thus, Old Norse is closely related to the original language defined as Hebrew in the first addition to the *Prologue to Snorra Edda* and in the second addition to 2GT.

The redactor binds the famous euhemerist explanation of the origin of Norse poetry stronger together with the *Prologue to Snorra Edda* and *Gylfaginning*, while he incorporates poetics into his spiritual argumentation. He adds the topic of settlement of the Northern countries, which plays an important role in the *Prologue*. Further, he defines poetry as the

⁴⁵ Reference to *Háttatal* (Males 2020: 313, fn.35).

language of the Asian immigrants, an idea known from *Gylfaginning*. The treatises on Norse poetry become grammatical treatises in a full sense – treatises on language.

The introductory section to the poem *Rígsþula* provides continuity in the compilation and connects the poem to *Snorra Edda* contained in the manuscript.

In the additions to the *Prologue* and 2GT the redactor illustrates the relation between the knowledge of the original language and spiritual wisdom and creates the connection between grammatical and theological knowledge. Within this theo-grammatical framework he applies different methods to tie all the texts together by inserting some passages from one text in the other and by emphasizing of and referring to the common ideas. In the Prologue, the redactor provides guidelines for using the codex.

9 Conclusions

The main purpose of this thesis was to analyze five *Snorra Edda* manuscripts from the fourteenth century, while treating them as literary entities and focusing on the work of the individual ‘abstract redactor’. The starting point for my investigation was the evidence provided by the manuscripts themselves – they all transmit either the full version of *Snorra Edda* or only *Skáldskaparmál*, always surrounded and often interrupted by other texts. Thus, the codices were used by the recipients in their individual form, and it is my main hypothesis that they were intentionally produced in their respective form following a specific logic. This hypothesis has been tested, in so far as all texts have been shown to be relevant to their respective compilations and often to follow a logic that is evidenced also in the other compilations under study.

Even though the focus of my analysis was on the manuscripts from a synchronic perspective, the diachronic or stemmatic relationships supplied the necessary foundation for the understanding of the changes within individual redactions of the works, which enabled me to draw some conclusions regarding the effects of these changes. Each manuscript is the result of a line of transmission and the understanding of the dynamics of that transmission is crucial for the understanding of the individual characteristic of each compilation. I have applied the concept of the ‘abstract redactor’ to address the editorial tendency behind each compilation while the distinction between generations was also treated when possible.

A thorough investigation of the interplay between texts has made it possible to detect different editorial approaches sharing one common tendency – an attempt to bind the texts into a coherent whole through different techniques.

Two distinctive tendencies in the history of transmission of *Snorra Edda* are discernable in the medieval manuscripts. **U**, **W**, and **R** contain all four parts of the work, in different redactions and with additional material. The other medieval manuscripts, **A** and **B**, contain only one part of the work – *Skáldskaparmál*. There is no evidence of a separate transmission of other individual parts of the work. This does not necessarily prove their absence in the medieval period, but does not allow any further investigation.

These tendencies seem to have been contemporary. Already the oldest extant manuscripts **U**, **A** and **R**, all dated to the years 1300-1325, are representative of both trends. The manuscripts reflect the different interests of their redactors and were probably produced for different groups

of readers. The texts were adapted to the intended purposes, and preserving the original form of *Snorra Edda* was seldom the focal point. In the following concluding chapter, I will give a survey of the editorial approaches applied to the individual compilations.

The antiquarian character of *Codex Regius* may explain its popularity among scholars through the years. But even this compilation reveals an editorial approach that differs significantly from modern philological ideals. Snorri's work served as the central point and as the basis for the compilation, basically because of its own antiquarian character and its mythological and legendary content. But the text was altered and revised to even increase these characteristics.

Two methods were applied by the composition of the present compilation. The redactor of **R**, who must have been in possession of a solid library, included additional material to supplement the original text. He has not generally inserted new topics but has just increased already existent sections on specific subject matter with further information gained from other sources. This is mostly evident in the section dealing with *Sigurðr Fáfnisbani*, where **R** provides the fullest account of information probably based on the old *Sigurðarsaga* (FJ 1931: xxii).

The same tendency is noticeable in the inclusion of longer quotations of skaldic poems *Pórsdrápa*, *Haustlǫng*, *Ragnarsdrápa*, and *Grottasǫngr*. The comparison with the only other redaction containing a part of the last poem, namely in **C**, provides valuable insight in the development of this trait. In **C**, only the first stanza is cited, while the quotation is incorporated in the prose narrative. In **R**, both the introduction to the quotation and the first stanza are omitted, while the whole poem is cited at the end of the chapter. The redactor of **R**, who must have had the whole poem, which he intended to include in his text, changed the structure of the chapter and cut out the superfluous passage. He has skillfully integrated the additional passage into the main text, which is characteristic of his style and will be again visible in other places.

The same approach has been suggested by all the other long quotations. The redactor copied the poems, which he had in his library, and retained only the references to the poems, which he did not possess.

The inclusion of the first chapter in *Gylfaginning* corresponds with the overall tendency to include additional information on the same topics as in the main text. The story of king Gylfi and Gefjun from the race of Æsir functions perfectly as an introduction to the following story. It is best integrated into the text of **R**, which again illustrates redactor's skillful style.

The second discernable approach in the compilation is the attempt to bind all the text together into a coherent whole. The appearance of the recurring topics – namely the references to the history of Troy contained in the *Prologue*, *Gylfaginning*, and *Skáldskaparmál* – provides continuity to the whole text.

The inclusion of the last two poems – *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málsháttakvæði*, in the compilation corresponds with the overall tendency to include longer poems. The narrative character of *Jómsvíkingadrápa*, its semi-legendary topic and the archaizing metre conform to the antiquarian interest of the redactor. The legendary and mythological allusions in *Málsháttakvæði* correspond with the main focus of the compilation. Both poems apply the love-motif to structure the text. This tendency, typical of the translated European courtly literature, which would later be widely used in the *rímur*, reflects a contemporary literary trend and might have further influenced the redactor to include these two poems in the compilation.

The connection between *Codex Upsaliensis* and the Sturlung family has been noticed by earlier scholars. A thorough examination of the interplay between the texts within the codex reveals that the establishment of this connection had a manifold impact both on the structure and the meaning of the individual texts, and on the positioning of the codex within the native and European tradition.

The inserted lists serve many functions within the codex. They legitimize its topic by depicting the long-lived tradition of skaldic poetry. The connection to the historical kings and earls illustrates this art as potentially lucrative and defines the works of the ancient poets as authoritative both in matters of poetic language and history.

The lists further strengthen Snorri's authority in the subjects treated in his work: mythology and skaldic poetry. And at the same time, they connect individual parts of the work. The Genealogy of the Sturlungar depicts Snorri as a direct descendant of the Trojan immigrants, which defines him as the bearer of the original language and links to the ideas presented in the *Prologue*. *Skáldatal* lists many prominent members of the Sturlung family, who composed for the Scandinavian kings and earls throughout the ages. Snorri, as a member of this family, becomes a bearer of this knowledge and receives the authority to compose the textbook for young skalds.

The role of Bragi in **U** is of great interest. He receives a twofold function – as the transmitter of the mythological knowledge and as the skald connected to the real historical kings,

which on the one hand illustrates the origin of poetic language in mythological stories, and on the other hand connects *Gylfaginning* to *Skáldskaparmál* and *Háttatal*. In addition, since *Skáldatal* depicts Snorri as the successor of Bragi, it implicitly transfers these two functions onto him. Snorri receives the authority to provide an account of Norse mythology (*Gylfaginning*), to compose for kings and earls (*Háttatal*), and in addition, to teach poetic art (*Skáldskaparmál* and *Háttatal*).

The lists depict the Sturlung family in general, and Snorri in particular, as prominent representatives of both the poetic and the legal native tradition. The Genealogy of the Sturlungar secures their place within European learned tradition and incorporates indigenous tradition in this framework.

The redaction of *Skáldskaparmál* functions as a catalogue with quotations for the actual use of kennings. The second group of prose narratives serves as an appendix in this redaction. Based on their thematic focus on gold and battle, which illustrate the origin of kennings often used in poetry for the description of kings, I suggest that this section functions as a reference chapter both for *Skáldskaparmál* and *Háttatal*, which is a praise poem to king and jarl. The following 2GT and the list of verse forms can be seen as auxiliary material for the reader of *Háttatal*. 2GT provides basic information for the understanding of syllable formation, which is significant for the discussion of *hendingar* treated later in *Háttatal*. The heading of 2GT in **U** underlines this connection between the two treatises.

The initial heading in **U** makes a unique statement by emphasizing the correspondence between the arrangement of material in the codex and Snorri's original form of the work. Even if it remains rather speculative, I suggest that this is the **U** redactor's response to the contemporary tendency of transmission of individual parts of the work, as evidenced by **A**.

U treats *Snorra Edda* as an entity, strongly connected to its author. The origin of the native poetic language in the indigenous mythological material is emphasized. The redactor incorporates the native poetic art in the context of the European learned tradition through Snorri, whose lineage is depicted in accordance with the European fashion of Trojan descent. The editorial approach in **A** differs significantly from that detected in **U**. The manuscripts are considered to belong to the same branch, which makes the comparison between them even more intriguing.

A is the oldest extant *Snorra Edda* manuscript that treats *Skáldskaparmál* as an independent treatise and not as an integral part of Snorri's work. It is worth noting that its authorship is still ascribed to Snorri. The main interest of this compilation differs significantly from the previous ones.

The redactor of **A** focuses on the exclusively Icelandic material – runes, skaldic poetry, and history. The inclusion of the native tradition in the framework of the Continental Latin tradition is even more significant in **A** than in **U**, but a totally different approach is applied here. The Latin grammatical models play an important role in the codex.

The first part of the manuscript, containing 5GT and 3GT, provides the basic grammatical information, applies Latin terminology and concepts to the analysis of skaldic poetry, and supplies the fundamental rationale for this approach through the euhemerist explanation of the origin of the Norse poetry in Asia. In **A**, the Norse alphabet, language, and consequently poetry receive the appropriate pedigree, which legitimizes their superiority to their Latin counterparts and justifies the replacement of Latin hexameters by skaldic verse, while claiming the applicability of Latin models to the analysis of skaldic poetry.

The second part of the codex begins with two treatises on kennings, both ascribed to Snorri. *Skáldskaparmál* reveals a tendency to dispense with prose narratives supplying background information for the origin of particular kennings. I would suggest that the omission of the connection between poetic language and indigenous mythological and heroic lore correlates with the underlined sameness between the Greek and Norse poetic art in the first part of the codex: mythological stories that would make the difference obvious are omitted.

Even though the exclusively indigenous material is in focus of this codex, it is studied from a totally different perspective than in **U**. The similarities with the sacred languages as well as the origin of poetry in Asia along with the Greek poetic art create its distinctive background here. 5GT and especially 3GT incorporate Norse poetry in the European grammatical context and provide the necessary foundation for the following study of poetic language treated in *Litla Skálda* and *Skáldskaparmál*.

The inclusion of *Íslendingadrápa* in the codex corresponds with the structure of all manuscripts and *Snorra Edda* itself, where theory is appended by an inventory (Males 2020: 110). It depicts Icelandic historical heroes and functions as the continuation of the *Pulur* (cf. the function of *Rígspula* in **W**).

B has seldom been studied earlier. While I have added to and modified the analysis of previous scholars regarding other, more famous manuscripts, the analysis of **B** is largely new.

B is closely related to **A** and is therefore interesting for the analysis of the development of the individual traits and for the examination of different editorial approaches. The focus of the codex is skaldic poetry, and the redactor reveals a very practical and rational approach to his topic, without displaying an ideological attitude towards the material and without any affection for history or mythology.

The redaction of 3GT provides basic grammatical information and relates it to the Norse poetry, while omitting the discussion of runes as well as all etymological, historical, and euhemerist explanations. It contains only the first chapter of the second part of the treatise dealing with the actual barbarisms, which might have been considered as the essence of the whole part. I suggest that the omission of material is caused through its irrelevance to the actual topic of the codex – skaldic poetry, and that it underlines redactor’s focal point on the essential features of the art without any hierarchical constructs and comparisons to other languages and traditions.

The redactor further continues with the treatises dealing with kennings, which are significant elements of the poetic language. The redaction of *Skáldskaparmál* reveals a practical approach to skaldic poetry through its use of headings. The topics of the respective chapters are related to their application in poetic language. The redactor includes some earlier chapters and makes some references to a different book called *Edda* (presumably *Gylfaginning* in a redaction similar to **U**) and to the dialogue between Ægir and the poet Bragi. Interestingly, **B** explicitly calls Ægir’s interlocutor Bragi *skáld*, showing that this redactor did not envision a god here, and further underlining his pragmatic focus on poetry, not mythology. It is worth noting that Bragi is implicitly described in these two functions – as the transmitter of the mythological knowledge and as the historical court poet, in **U**, which also contains the name of the book – *Edda*.

The version of the *Eptirmáli* omits the reference to the authority of the major skalds and to the importance of ancient kennings for poetry. This mainly corresponds to the tendencies in skaldic poetry in the second half of the fourteenth century, where traditional models of kenning formation either disappeared or were adapted to the Christian context, while new models were developed or translated from the Latin (Males 2020b). The text provides the guideline for Christian reader for dealing with pagan material, in a similar way as in **R** and **W**.

The large collection of Cristian poems in the final part of the codex supplies models and vocabulary for the composition of religious skaldic verse. There was no handbook for religious poetry, like *Snorra Edda* was for secular poetry. The only way to learn the right way of composing Christian skaldic verse was to look to actual religious poems as models. The compilation in **B** illustrates on the one hand the compromise between monastic poets and *Snorra Edda*, and on the other hand supplies a handbook for poetry, both secular and religious.

Codex Wormianus is the largest manuscript under consideration. The redactor of **W** compiled the largest amount of texts and applied two distinctive methods to combine them into a coherent whole and to incorporate them all within the framework of a universal phonology and spiritual wisdom.

The redactor of **W** is most visible in his first and actual function as the compiler of the codex in the Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises. There he provides guidelines for dealing with the compilation. He supplies a short overview of the content of the previous and following parts of the codex, which provides a structure for the whole compilation. He further attributes authority to the old skalds as the inventors of the poetic art, to the clerics – in the new modes of composition – and to Snorri – in the matter of the correct use of kennings and *heiti*. The redactor gives further advice for the correct treatment of the mythological stories, similar to the statements made in *Eptirmáli*. The discussion of alphabets is related to its significance for poetic composition. In the final section of the Prologue, the redactor addresses the students who wish to learn the new modes of poetic composition.

In his first function, the redactor provides practical information for the reader of his codex, which is defined as a textbook for young poets. He explains the relevance of particular topics treated in the texts to the major subject matter of the codex: poetic composition. In addition, he supplies guidelines for the correct interpretation of material by ascribing the authority in specific subject matters to different experts. Mythological material is treated in a similar way as in *Eptirmáli*, which has a similar function in *Snorra Edda* and may have functioned as a model for the redactor of **W** for the composition of the Prologue.

The redactor provides continuity to the compilation by connecting the euhemerist explanation of the origin of the Norse poetic art contained in 3GT and the introductory section to the poem *Rígsþula* to the ideas presented in *Snorra Edda*, namely in the *Prologue* and *Gylfaginning*.

This approach basically corresponds to the one applied within the first two parts of *Snorra Edda* and the *Prologue* discussed earlier in **R**. Like **R**, the redaction of *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál* in **W** also contains the recurrent topic of the Trojan history, while the text of the *Eptirmáli* corresponds with that in **R** and serves the same function as there by providing structure to the work by referring to the previous parts. It is reasonable to assume that this approach has already been applied in the common archetype of **RTW**, while the redactors of **R** and **W** carried it on and developed it.

As has been suggested earlier, the Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises has a similar function within **W** as the *Eptirmáli* within *Snorra Edda*. It provides structure to the whole work, while referring both backwards and forwards, in contrast to *Eptirmáli*, which refers only to the previous parts. Both texts further supply guidelines for dealing with mythological material and the correct way of interpreting it. The Prologue adds additional instructions regarding the poetic material. The redactor in **W** also continues the tendency to bind the texts together through the inclusion of the recurring topics. This is evidenced by the earlier mentioned euhemerist explanation in 3GT and the introductory section to *Rígsþula*, which is linked to the ideas presented in *Snorra Edda*.

The redactor applies a different approach to the individual texts within the compilation creating a theological framework based on his vision of a universal and omnipotent phonology. Through the insertion of the additional passages in the *Prologue* to *Snorra Edda* and in 2GT, he establishes the connection between the original language, explicitly defined as Hebrew, and truth. According to him, the knowledge of the original language leads to spiritual wisdom and to knowledge of God. The first addition to 2GT further defines the following grammatical treatises as God-approved ways of gaining knowledge and serving God. The redactor creates this theological framework and incorporates all texts within it applying different methods.

The Prologue to the Four Grammatical Treatises makes a statement about the correspondence between all alphabets established during the ages and presented in the grammatical treatises (1GT, 2GT, 3GT). Both 1GT and 3GT discuss the origin of some letters or runes in Hebrew. Through the stated correspondence and further through the insertion of the relevant passage from 1GT in 2GT the origin of at least some letters of the Icelandic alphabet is ascribed to Hebrew, the original language.

In the second addition to 2GT the redactor presents his vision of a universal phonology. The universal alphabet is able to produce words in any language, thus also in Hebrew, which leads directly to the knowledge of God.

As the preceding survey has shown, each compilation reveals a tendency to present a coherent collection of texts. The material is arranged in a specific order following the logic of the respective codex. The texts were adapted to their intended purposes and the inclusion of the individual texts correlates with the main logic of each compilation. The analysis of the editorial work behind each compilation revealed different attitudes to the material.

The antiquarian character of **R** is evidenced through the inclusion of the long quotations and prose narratives in Snorri's text as well as through the addition of the last two poems treating mythological and semi-legendary topics. **A** and **U** reveal a common intention to incorporate the indigenous genre of skaldic poetry into the framework of the European learned tradition, while applying different approaches to the material. **W** and **B** illustrate the fourteenth century negotiation between *Snorra Edda* and religious poetry. The redactor in **W** creates theological framework and provides sacred pedigree to Norse language and poetry. The redactor in **B** shows a rational and practical attitude to skaldic poetry and focuses on its essential features, providing models and vocabulary for the composition of religious poetry.

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