

ANTHONY FAULKES

THE GENEALOGIES AND  
REGNAL LISTS IN A MANUSCRIPT  
IN RESEN'S LIBRARY

It has long been known that parts of the genealogies in the prologue to *Snorra Edda* and corresponding parts of the various versions of *langfeðgatal* are derived from Old English genealogies.<sup>1</sup> The closest parallels are in the lists in Cotton Tiberius B v, foll. 22–3, probably written at Christ Church Canterbury in the second quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> But what has not until recently been recognised is that there is a link between the prologue to *Snorra Edda* and the Old English sources in a compilation of genealogical and regnal lists in AM 1 e β II fol., 85v–91r.<sup>3</sup> This is a copy made by Árni Magnússon of three pages of a vellum manuscript that had belonged to the Danish scholar P. H. Resen (1625–88) and was destroyed in the fire in Copenhagen in 1728.<sup>4</sup> The lists in Resen's manuscript were evidently written just after the middle of the thirteenth century, and so could not themselves have been known to Snorri Sturluson (d. 1241), but it is likely that a very similar but rather earlier compilation was.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See E. Sievers, 'Sceaf in den nordischen Genealogien', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* XVI, 1892, pp. 361–3; K. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXXIX, 1953, p. 290, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* II, ed. T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell, London 1843, pp. 169–73. See also D. N. Dumville, 'The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5, ed. P. Clemoes, Cambridge 1976, pp. 23–50; but not all the lists in Tiberius B v that are relevant to Icelandic sources are printed there.

<sup>3</sup> My attention was drawn to this manuscript by Stefán Karlsson, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, who is planning an edition of all the material in Resen's manuscript that survives in copies.

<sup>4</sup> Árni's heading reads 'Exscriptum trium paginarum antiquissimi libri pergamini in folio in Bibliotheca P: Resenii'. Resen's manuscript is described in his catalogue, *Petri Johannis Resenii Bibliotheca Regiæ Academiæ Hafniensi donata*, Hafniæ 1685, p. 371; see also *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A–B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, Kbh. 1909, p. 118. The genealogies are item 9. See also *Islandske Annaler*, ed. G. Storm, Christiania 1888, pp. ii–vii.

<sup>5</sup> See *Guðmundar sögur biskups* I, ed. Stefán Karlsson, Kbh, Editiones

The three pages in Resen's manuscript contained eleven lists, some of which are genealogies, some lists of kings, and some a rather ambiguous combination of the two. On the first page there was first a list containing eleven of Óðinn's ancestors beginning with 'Sescef', together with three lines of descent from Óðinn through two sons, 'Beldeg' and 'Veggdegg', down to the historical kings of Wessex, Kent, and Deira,<sup>6</sup> and a list of the kings of England from Ælfred to Henry III with the lengths of their reigns (lacking in the case of the last king). On the second page there were genealogical lists of the Skjöldungar, Ynglingar, and Haleygjarlar and Hlaðajarlar, all with Óðinn at the head, down to Knútr ríki, Haraldr hárfagri and his sons, and Hákon Eiríksson. On the third page there were genealogies from Ragnarr loðbrók that became lists of the rulers of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden down to the middle of the thirteenth century.

All five lists on the first page of the compilation in Resen's manuscript correspond closely to lists in Tiberius B v, and the first four to precisely the lists in that manuscript in which there is material corresponding to the genealogies in the prologue to *Snorra Edda*. They are however separated from each other in the English manuscript by other material not included in Resen's manuscript. Why just these lists were selected is not clear, but obviously the selection was made by the compiler of the original Icelandic version of the tables in Resen's manuscript rather than by the author of the prologue, who simply used everything in the compilation that came to him that he found relevant to his purposes.

The first two lists in Resen's manuscript, containing the ancestors of Óðinn from Sescef onwards and his descendants through Beldeg to the kings of Wessex, correspond to a single list in Tiberius B v under the heading 'Haec sunt genealogiae regum Occidentalium Saxonum'; but the genealogy in the English manuscript runs in the opposite direction, beginning with the kings of Wessex and ending with their remote ancestors. Resen's manuscript had the following note on Ingeld:

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Arnarnagaeanae B 6 (not yet published), introduction, section 1.3. There are other copies of the lists that were in Resen's MS in DG 36 and AM 1 f fol., but Árni's is by far the most careful, and indicates not only every doubtful reading but also the actual arrangement of the material on the pages of his exemplar.

<sup>6</sup> These three lists, and the three lists on the second page, actually lacked the name Óðinn at the top, but Árni explains that the tops of the pages seemed to have been cut away, and that at the top of the second page there were traces of the name Óðinn remaining. He also notes that the initial letters of many names in the lists, which were in red, were hardly legible.

Ingeld broðer vestr Saxa k(onungs). hann var k(onungr) xxxvi. hann let gora mustari i Glestinga bvri. siðan foro þeir bader til Rvms oc ǫnduðuz þar. þessi ero nofn langfeðga þeira.

This corresponds to Tiberius B v:

Ingeld wæs Ines broðor Westseaxna cyninges. ond he heold rice .vii. ond xxx wintra. ond he getimbrade þæt beorhte mynster æt Glæstingabyrig. ond æfter þam fyrde to sancte Petres. ond þær his feorh asealde. ond on sibbe gerest. ond hi begen broðra waeron Cenredes suna.<sup>7</sup>

The last five words in the note in the Icelandic version incidentally show that the list there is derived from one which had the names in the same order as Tiberius B v.

Resen's manuscript also had a note of explanation about Óðinn at the end of its first list which is not in the English manuscript and was obviously added by the Icelandic compiler (see below), but otherwise the lists in the two manuscripts correspond very closely. But the Icelandic version began with Sescef (though Árni notes that there may have been something lacking before the beginning of the extant text), while the Old English list does not end with Scef. It continues:

. . . Bedwig. Sceafig. Se Scef waes Noés sunu. ond he wæs innan þære earce geboren. Noe wæs Lameches sunu. Lameh Maþusalemys. Maðusalem wæs Enoches. Enoh. Lared. Malalehel. Caino. Enos. et Adam. primus homo. et pater omnium qui est Christus.

It has long been recognised that the sentence beginning 'Se Scef' was the origin of the name Seskef in Icelandic genealogies, and the compiler of the Icelandic version of these lists must have used an English manuscript that had this continuation; but the continuation was obviously unknown to the compiler of the prologue to *Snorra Edda*, who might otherwise not have been inspired to concoct his extension of the genealogy back from Seskef to Priam, which resulted in versions of the Icelandic *langfeðgatal* taking so much longer a route back to Adam than the Anglo-Saxon genealogies (in which Scef was presumably identified with the Biblical Shem).

The third and fourth lists in Resen's manuscript, which give two lines of descent from Óðinn through Veggdegg, also correspond to two lists in Tiberius B v. The fourth list relates to kings of Deira, and appears under

<sup>7</sup> Compare the Anglo-Saxon chronicle s.a. 688.

the following heading in Tiberius B v: ‘Haec sunt genealogie per partes Brittanie regum regnantium per diversa loca Norðhymbrorum’. It is the first list in the collection of royal genealogies in this manuscript, and the heading applies to some of the following lists too. The third list in Resen’s manuscript relates to kings of Kent (though it has no separate heading in Tiberius B v). In the Old English manuscript it comes after the genealogy of kings of Deira, and separated from it by eight other lists that were not in Resen’s manuscript; and before the genealogy of the kings of Wessex, and separated from it by two other lists that were not in Resen’s manuscript. As with the West-Saxon genealogy, the names in both these lists in the Old English manuscript are in the opposite order to the lists in Resen’s manuscript, and begin with the most recent kings and end with their ancestors, but otherwise they correspond closely. All three genealogies also appear in the early twelfth-century *Textus Roffensis*, but Resen’s manuscript was more closely related to Tiberius B v.<sup>8</sup>

Immediately before the collection of royal genealogies in Tiberius B v there is a list of kings of Wessex (not a genealogy) with the lengths of their reigns which is similar to the fifth list in Resen’s manuscript, though it begins right back at Cerdic and extends no further than Æþelred, and some of the figures are rather different. There is a similar regnal table in *Textus Roffensis*, foll. 7v–8, which extends from Ine to Æþelred, but again Resen’s manuscript was closer to Tiberius B v. But there are other versions of this regnal table that in a number of cases correspond more closely to Resen’s manuscript in the lengths of reigns than either of these. One is a fragment of a continuation of the so-called preface to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle in Cotton Tiberius A iii, fol. 178 (this was originally part of Tiberius A vi, manuscript B of the chronicle).<sup>9</sup> The list in this manuscript begins with Cerdic and breaks off in the middle of a line at Edward the Martyr (other versions of this preface extend no further than the reign of Ælfred). Another is in the Hyde Register, where it begins

<sup>8</sup> See *Textus Roffensis* I, ed. P. Sawyer, Copenh. 1957 (Early English manuscripts in facsimile 7), foll. 102–4. Variations of some of these lists appear in many Anglo-Saxon sources (e.g. Cotton Vespasian B vi, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 183, the first chapter of Asser’s *Life of Ælfred*, the *Anglo-Saxon chronicle* s.a. 855; see Sisam’s article cited above, note 1), but the Icelandic compilation is most closely related to Tiberius B v.

<sup>9</sup> See *Two of the Saxon chronicles parallel*, ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, I, Oxford 1892, p. 4 and p. 5, note 5; B. Dickens, *The genealogical preface to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle* (Occasional papers number II printed for the Department of Anglo-Saxon), Cambridge 1952.

with Ine and goes down to Cnut.<sup>10</sup> Neither of these manuscripts contains the genealogical lists corresponding to the rest of the material on the first page of Resen's manuscript. The English source of this first page must therefore have contained a compilation similar to that in Tiberius B v, but with the regnal table in a form more closely related to Tiberius A iii and the Hyde Register, and extended down to Henry III. After Æþelred the list in Resen's manuscript gave only the number of years of each reign (or months if less than a year), while for the earlier reigns the lengths are often given in three units (years, months, and weeks or days) both in the Icelandic compilation and in the English versions, though Tiberius B v is the least detailed. Even so it is likely that the extension was made by an English scribe rather than by the Icelandic translator, and the continuation must have been made (or at least finished) during the reign of Henry III (1216–1272), and is likely to have reached Iceland after 1216. There is in fact another regnal list in the Hyde Register, giving the kings of Wessex and England from Cynegils to Henry V.<sup>11</sup> The lengths of reigns here too are expressed only in years, and there is only partial correspondence with the Icelandic list.

The list of Óðinn's ancestors and the beginnings of the three lines of descent from Óðinn on the first of the three pages in Resen's manuscript are incorporated in the genealogy in the prologue to Snorra Edda, and the names there correspond very closely with those in Árni's copy of that page.<sup>12</sup> Even some of his hesitation over the readings in his exemplar are reflected in the variants in manuscripts of the prologue. Thus Árni notes that 'Godulf' was apparently written with the ending *-r* and an *i* written above it, but that the *r* had subsequently been erased. In the prologue, the Codex Regius, the Utrecht manuscript, and the Uppsala manuscript have Guðolfr, but Codex Wormianus has Guðolf. Árni was uncertain whether the son of 'Vitrgisl' was Vitta or Pitta, and the first letter is similarly unclear in the Codex Regius, while Codex Wormianus spells the name with *P* and the Utrecht manuscript with *V* (the name is lacking in the Uppsala manuscript).

<sup>10</sup> *Liber Vitæ: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, Hampshire Record Society, London 1892, pp. 94–6

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 12–14.

<sup>12</sup> *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Kbh. 1931, pp. 4/24–6/2. All references to the text of *Snorra Edda* below are to this edition unless otherwise specified.

There were some discrepancies between the lists in Resen's manuscript and the prologue to *Snorra Edda*. The prologue makes Sigarr son of Vitrgils and brother of Vitta instead of son of Veggdegg and brother of Vitrgils, thus displacing the divergence of the two lines of descent by one generation. This seems to be just a mistake, and it is probably only coincidence that the Utrecht manuscript is slightly closer to the original at this point, for it is still not correct, since it makes Vitrgils, Vitta, and Sigarr all brothers, and sons of Veggdegg.

There was no indication in Resen's manuscript, at least at the time Árni made his copy, of where the descendants of Óðinn listed on the first page of the compilation ruled, except that Ingeld in the list of descendants through Beldeg is described as 'broðer vestr Saxa k(onungs)' (the name *Ines* is lacking). The compiler of the prologue to *Snorra Edda* evidently did not know that the line through Beldeg was the genealogy of the kings of Wessex and that those through Veggdegg were the genealogies of the kings of Kent and Deira; when he calls Veggdegg king of East Saxony and Beldeg ruler of Westphalia, he is presumably just guessing.

At the end of the first list in Resen's manuscript, after the name 'Voden', there was the following explanatory note:

Pat kollum ver Óþinn fra honum eru comnar flestar kononga þttr i norðr halfu heimsins. hann var Tyrkia k(onungr) oc flyði fyrir Rvmverium norðr higat.

A similar note, or in some cases part of it, appears in some of the fourteenth-century versions of the Icelandic *langfeðgatal* (see below). The first four words are included in the prologue to *Snorra Edda* (5/3), but the prologue also includes a number of other alternative names that claim to be the Norse equivalents of the English forms in the genealogies, and none of these others were in Resen's manuscript. These associations were presumably made by the compiler of the prologue (perhaps inspired by the note in the genealogical list he was using), who in most cases was probably only indicating what he thought was the corresponding Norse pronunciation of the Old English names, and may not always have intended to imply identity between the persons in these lists and persons in Norse tradition who were known by the corresponding Norse names. Thus there need not be felt to be any contradiction for instance between the appearance of the name Skioldr as equivalent of Skjaldun ('Scealdva' in AM 1 e β fol.; *Snorra Edda* 4/26) and also as one of the sons of Óðinn (*Snorra Edda* 6/9). On the other hand the compiler may well have thought that the names Beldeg and Balldr did represent the same person (*Snorra Edda* 5/20).

The first four words of the note about ‘Voden’ in Resen’s manuscript indicate that the note is largely the work of the Icelandic compiler, and would not have stood in the Old English original; there is indeed nothing corresponding to it in the most closely related Old English genealogical lists. (Perhaps one should not push the meaning of the last word of the note, *higat*, so far as to assume that the note was compiled in some part of continental Scandinavia.) But there are parallels in some Old English sources to the statement ‘fra honum eru comnar flestar kononga ęttir i norđr halfu heimsins’, e.g. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I, 15:

Uoden de cuius stirpe multarum prouinciarum regium originem duxit.

Compare also the *Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, E version, under 449 AD:

Fram þan Wodne awoc eall ure cyne cynn, ond Suđan hymbra eac.

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* I, 5 (cf. also II, 116):

Woden, de quo omnium pene barbararum gentium regium genus lineam trahit.

It is likely that it was partly due to statements such as these in English sources, and the frequency with which Woden appears in Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies generally, that Óðinn was increasingly introduced into Norse genealogies as a precursor of or replacement for the original progenitors such as Skjöldr and Yngvi. Similar general statements also appear in other Icelandic sources, probably again through the influence (ultimately) of English tradition. In the fragment *Upphaf allra frasagna*, which is thought to be derived from the beginning of the lost Skjöldunga saga, there is the statement ‘til Óðins telja margir menn ættir sínar’,<sup>13</sup> and in *Ynglinga saga* ch. 5, Snorri writes:

Hann (i. e. Óðinn) átti marga sonu. Hann eignaðisk ríki víða um Saxland ok setti þar sonu sína til landsgæzlu.<sup>14</sup>

This, however, is presumably a reference to the prologue to *Snorra Edda*, where the details are fuller.

The statement that Óðinn was king of the Turks has no parallel in English tradition, but there are parallels in several Icelandic sources. The first author to connect the Norse gods with the Turks is Ari, who begins his genealogy in *Íslendingabók* with ‘Yngvi Tyrkjakonungr, Njorđr Svíakonungr’.<sup>15</sup> (The

<sup>13</sup> *Danakonunga sögur*, ed. Bjarni Guðnason, Rvík 1982, p. 39.

<sup>14</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla* I, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Rvík 1941, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, Rvík 1968, p. 27. Ari died in 1148.

parallel passage in *Historia Norvegiæ* has no mention of the Turks.<sup>16</sup> Ari is thought to have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by the account of the origin of the Franks in pseudo-Fredegar, where both Franks and Turks are said to be descended from survivors of Troy.<sup>17</sup> The Turks are there said to have settled on the shores of the Danube in the Thracian area. The idea is further developed in *Heimslýsing* in *Hauksbók*, which may have been compiled in the twelfth century. Here it is the nation rather than the gods and the royal family of the Ynglings that is concerned:

A Tracia bygði fyst Tiras sonr Iafeths Noasonar. fra honum er komen þioð su er Tyrkir heita. þat er oc mioc margra manna mal at þuí er fornar bœkr visa til at af þui lande bygðist Suiþioð. en Noregr af Suiðioð. en Island af Noregi. en Grœnland af Islande.<sup>18</sup>

The ‘fornar bœkr’ referred to here could well be the works of Ari, and in fact the settlement of Sweden by the Turks, of Norway from Sweden, of Iceland from Norway, and of Greenland from Iceland could all be deduced from the extant *Íslendingabók*.<sup>19</sup>

The beginning of *Skjöldunga saga*, according to Arngrímur Jónsson’s account of it, put the origin of the Æsir in Asia, presumably because of the similarity in sound, and specified their original home as Scythia (‘Huilche ssom ligger Norden for palude Moeotide, og de gammel Norshe kallede Su(i)thiod hin Store eller Kolde’).<sup>20</sup> The fragment *Upphaf allra*

<sup>16</sup> *Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ*, ed. G. Storm, Kristiania 1880, p. 97.

<sup>17</sup> *Chronica* II, 6 and III, 2, ed. B. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* II, Hannoverae 1888, pp. 46 and 93; see also Aimoin, *Historia Francorum* I, 2, *Patrologia Latina* CXXXIX, 639. The Turks may have been introduced because of association of their name with the Teucric, though this association cannot be demonstrated in medieval sources. See A. Heusler, *Die Gelehrte Urgeschichte im Altisländischen Schrifttum*, Berlin 1908, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Hauksbók*, ed. E. Jónsson and F. Jónsson, Kbh. 1892–6, p. 155. As far as ‘Tyrkir heita’ is also in AM 764 4to, see *Fornmanna sögur* XI, Kh. 1828, p. 415. The corresponding passages in medieval Latin writings have no mention either of the Turks or of the Scandinavian countries: see Isidore, *Etymologiæ* XIV, 4,6; Honorius of Autun, *De imagine mundi* I, 26; Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo* XII (*Patrologia Latina* LXXXII, 505; CLXXII, 128; CXI, 348); Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* I, 71. The Icelandic writer presumably associated the names Tyrkir and Trakia.

<sup>19</sup> Ed. cit. (note 15 above) pp. 27, 3, 4, and 13.

<sup>20</sup> *Arngrimi Jonae Opera*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, Hafniæ 1950–57, I, 333. The words quoted are probably Arngrímur’s own gloss, but it is apparent from his account that *Skjöldunga saga* contained some reference to the two Swedens.



*frásagna*, which is also thought to be based on the beginning of *Skjoldunga saga*, begins:

Upphaf allra frásagna í norrœnni tungu, þeirra er sannindi fylgja, hófst þá er Tyrkir ok Ásíámenn bygðu norðrit.<sup>21</sup>

This looks very like an attempt to combine the Turkish/Thracian origin in Ari and *Heimslýsing* with the Asian/Scythian variation in the original *Skjoldunga saga*. *Ynglinga saga* similarly locates the Æsir in Asia ‘fyrir austan Tanakvísl’ (east of the Don), but also associates them with Tyrkland.<sup>22</sup> In the prologue to *Snorra Edda* the Æsir come from Troy, which is said to be in Tyrkland near the middle of the world, which is in Asia.<sup>23</sup> The scene has therefore now moved to Asia minor (Jerusalem is in many sources said to be in the middle of the world<sup>24</sup>). *Trójumanna saga*, in which the Trojans are regularly referred to as Tyrkir (presumably through association with the name Teuceri), may have been responsible for this new localisation, but Thrace is still introduced as the realm of Þórr (identified with Þrúðheimr).<sup>25</sup> Echoes of these localisations appear in some Heroic sagas.<sup>26</sup> The mention of the Turks in such a sober document as the collection of genealogies that appeared in Resen’s manuscript must have reinforced the association of the Æsir with them in spite of *Skjoldunga saga*. The description of Óðinn as king of the Turks reappears in some of the later versions of *langfeðgatal*.<sup>27</sup> There was thus a continuing

<sup>21</sup> *Danakonunga sögur*, 39.

<sup>22</sup> *Heimskringla* I, 11, 14, 27.

<sup>23</sup> *Snorra Edda*, 3, 5, 7.

<sup>24</sup> *Leiðarvísir, Alfræði íslenzk* I, ed. K. Kålund, Kbh. 1908, p. 22; AM 764 4to, *Antiquites Russes* II, Copenh. 1852. p. 443.

<sup>25</sup> *Snorra Edda*, 4. The migration in the prologue could in fact be seen as starting from Thrace, since there is no mention of Þórr’s returning to Troy, or of his descendants being kings there. But cf. *Snorra Edda* 5/8, 7/1–3, 16/19–17/3 and note to 16/20.

<sup>26</sup> See *Fornaldar sögur Norðrlanda*, ed. C. C. Rafn, Kbh. 1829–30, I, 391 ff., 411; III, 193, 592. The connection of Æsir and Asia is made explicit in AM 162 m fol. (*Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, Hafniæ 1848–87, II, 636; originally part of AM 764 4to, see Stefán Karlsson, ‘Ættbogi noregskonunga’, *Sjötíu ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni* 20. júlí 1977, Rvík 1977, pp. 677–704).

<sup>27</sup> AM 415 4to, *Alfræði íslenzk* III, ed. K. Kålund, Kbh. 1917–18, p. 58; *Flateyjarbók*, Christiania 1860–68, I, 27; DG 9, *Biskupa sögur* II, Kh. 1878, 418. In *Flateyjarbók* I, 26 (‘Ættartala Haraldz fra Odni’) Óðinn’s grandfather Burri is said to have ruled Tyrkland, and Óðinn is called Ásakonungr.

speculation about origins in the south-east in Icelandic sources from the early twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.

The last statement about Óðinn in Resen's manuscript, that he fled to Scandinavia because of the hostility of the Romans, also appears elsewhere in Icelandic sources. The prologue to *Snorra Edda* is rather vague about the reasons for the migration, saying only that Óðinn's gift of prophecy made him realise that his future lay in the north, and he leaves Tyrkland voluntarily. In *Ynglinga saga* this explanation is combined with that given in Resen's manuscript.<sup>28</sup> In the version of the prologue to *Snorra Edda* in Codex Wormianus, the Romans are also introduced as the reason for the migration, and it is specified that Pompey was their leader.<sup>29</sup> Pompey also appears as an enemy of the Franks in pseudo-Fredegar; according to various Icelandic sources and Saxo Grammaticus, Óðinn's great-grandson Frið-Fróði lived at the time of Christ's birth.<sup>30</sup> This last detail about Óðinn in Resen's manuscript reappears in the version of *langfedgatal* in AM 415 4to.

The regnal list on the first page of Resen's manuscript seems to have been used by Snorri Sturluson in *Heimskringla*. In his *Hákonar saga góða*, Snorri is unusually precise about the length of the reign of king Æþelstan, which he gives as 14 years, 8 weeks, and 3 days.<sup>31</sup> The list in Resen's manuscript gave it as 'xiiii ar vii vicor .iii. daga'. There is a small discrepancy in the number of weeks, but it is clear that Snorri's information is likely to be derived from a version of the compilation in Resen's manuscript rather than from the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, which (s.a. 941) gives the reign as 14 years and 10 weeks. Consequently Snorri's account of the length of Æþelstan's reign can no longer be used as evidence that he had access to a version of the chronicle: it shows only that he knew a regnal list such as was in Resen's manuscript, and moreover perhaps even suggests that his direct knowledge of Anglo-Saxon historiography was limited to the sort of information available in Resen's

<sup>28</sup> *Heimskringla* I, 14. In AM 162 m fol. (see note 26 above) the reason given is the preaching of St John.

<sup>29</sup> *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, Codex Wormianus*, ed. F. Jónsson, Kbh. 1924, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> See Stefán Karlsson, 'Fróðleiksgreinar frá tólfu öld', *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar*, Rvík 1969, pp. 332, 341–3; *Fredegarii Chronica*, ed. cit. (note 17 above), II, 6 (p. 46); cf. *Liber historiae Francorum*, 2–4, *ibid.* 242–4. Information about Pompey was available to Icelandic authors in *Rómverja sögur, Fire og Fyrrettyve Prøver af Oldnordisk Sprog og Literatur*, ed. K. Gíslason, Kbh. 1860, pp. 160, 194 ff., 330 etc.

<sup>31</sup> *Heimskringla* I, 153.

manuscript. But the fact that a compilation related to that in Resen's manuscript was used both in parts of *Heimskringla* and in the prologue to *Snorra Edda* provides further support for the view that the prologue is also by Snorri Sturluson.

Nearly all the information on the first page of Resen's manuscript was derived from English sources, and the line of ancestors is not taken back further than Sesecef. The names immediately before Sesecef in the Old Icelandic *langfeðgatal* are native ones. Although Árni reports that pages may have been lost before the beginning of the compilation as he found it, it seems likely that the genealogies in it did not go further back than Sesecef, and that they represent a stage in the development of *langfeðgatal* earlier than that reached in the prologue to *Snorra Edda*, where the line begins with Priam, nine generations earlier. The second and third pages of the compilation are concerned exclusively with families of rulers. The genealogies in them were used by Icelanders in tracing their own descent, but in Resen's compilation itself there was no attempt to link the genealogies to Icelandic families, so in this respect too the compilation represents an early stage in the development of genealogy. Other parts of Resen's manuscript have associations with the Sturlung family, and since the genealogies in it seem to have been known to Snorri, there is a possibility that the compilation of genealogies in it was the work of a member of that family or even of Snorri himself (presumably before he compiled his *Edda* and *Heimskringla*).<sup>32</sup> The compilation as a whole is the oldest one of its kind to survive from medieval Iceland (though only recorded in a late copy), and is for instance the earliest record of the genealogy of the Háleygjajarlar, and for the list of *Skjöldungar* might be considered to have equal authority with Arngrímur Jónsson's account of *Skjöldunga saga*. The lists of *Skjöldungar*, *Ynglingar*, and *Háleygjajarlar* on the second page of Resen's compilation were presumably derived from *Skjöldunga saga* (or conceivably from a written genealogy also used by the author of the saga), *Ynglingatal*, and *Háleygjatal*. The list of *Skjöldungar* has some differences from the genealogy in Arngrímur Jónsson's version of *Skjöldunga saga* (some of these reappear in the genealogies of the *Skjöldungar* in *Flateyjarbók* and AM 415 4to), but the variations can mostly be explained as copying errors or misunderstandings of the saga.<sup>33</sup> The

<sup>32</sup> See Bjarni Einarsson, *Litterære forudsætninger for Egils saga*, Rvík 1975, p. 233 and references there.

<sup>33</sup> See Bjarni Guðnason, *Um Skjöldungasögu*, Rvík 1963, pp. 162 ff. In fact in Resen's manuscript, Danr mikilati was named as successor to Olafr litillati but

beginnings of the three lists on the third page of Resen's compilation may also be derived from *Skjöldunga saga*. The Yngling list has some variants from *Ynglingatal* as reported by Snorri in common with Ari's genealogy in *Íslendingabók* and the corresponding list in *Historia Norvegiæ*.<sup>34</sup> It begins '[Odinn], Niordr i Noatvnm, Yngvi Frevr, Fiolnir', thus replacing Ari's Yngvi by Óðinn and identifying Yngvi and Freyr. It is uncertain how *Ynglingatal* began, though it would be natural to assume that Yngvi was the first name in it. While the prologue to *Snorra Edda* follows *Skjöldunga saga* in making Yngvi son of Óðinn, *Ynglinga saga* follows the genealogy in Resen's manuscript at this point, though Snorri is careful to make Njǫrðr successor to Óðinn, not his son, for this would have conflicted too obviously with mythology (the list in Resen's manuscript was ambiguous on this point). In the version of the prologue to *Snorra Edda* in Codex Wormianus, Njǫrðr is said to be another name for Óðinn, and this is obviously a rather desperate attempt to reconcile the tradition that Freyr was son of Njǫrðr with the one that Yngvi(-Freyr) was son of Óðinn, and the tradition (in *Íslendingabók*) that Njǫrðr was the first king of the Swedes with the one (in *Skjöldunga saga*) that Óðinn led the migration to Scandinavia. At the end of the list of Ynglings, Resen's manuscript had a list of the children of Haraldr hárfagri by his various wives. This corresponds to information in various parts of Snorri's *Haralds saga hárfagra*.<sup>35</sup> The list of Háleygjajarlar in Resen's manuscript was identical with that given by Torfæus in *Historia rerum Norvegicarum* (Hafniæ 1711), I, 146, except that it adds the two names Eiricr and Hacon at the end.<sup>36</sup> If *Háleygjatal* really made Sæmingr son of Yngvi-Freyr, as

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is specifically not stated to be his son. This was misunderstood by later copyists of the lists. In *Flateyjarbók* I, 26–7, the first *Skjöldunga* list (26/35–27/6) corresponds to Resen's manuscript, the first half of the second (27/25–9) to *Skjöldunga saga*, but the second half of the second (27/29–34) again to Resen's manuscript. The genealogy in *Arngrimi Jonae Opera* I, 148–50 is from *Skjöldunga saga* down to 149/9, the rest, including all the branches, corresponds to Resen's manuscript (partly to the lists on the second page, partly to the beginnings of the lists on the third). See *Arngrimi Jonae Opera* IV, 193.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. it has the forms Sveǰpir and Domalldr; and Alreocr comes before Agni. Cf. S. Ellehøj, *Studier over den ældste Norrøne historieskrivning*, Kbh. 1965, pp. 109–128.

<sup>35</sup> *Heimskringla* I, 114, 118–9, 126, 143; see also *Haralds saga gráfeldar*, *ibid.* 199.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Heimskringla* I, 47, footnote. It is probable that Torfæus's list was in fact taken from Resen's manuscript rather than direct from *Háleygjatal*, as it is not certain that more of this poem was known in the seventeenth century than

Snorri states in his prologue to *Heimskringla*, then in this detail too *Ynglinga saga* and the prologue to *Snorra Edda*, which make him son of Óðinn, agree with the list in Resen's manuscript against the poetic source.<sup>37</sup> It would appear that Snorri knew both the genealogies in a compilation similar to that in Resen's manuscript and the sources on which they were based but from which they sometimes differed, and followed now one, now the other.

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survives today. It is apparent from *Historia rerum Norvegarum* I, 146 and 374 that Torfæus knew only Snorri's accounts of the beginning of the poem (*Heimskringla* I, 4 and 21, *Snorra Edda*, 7), not the text itself. But he certainly knew Resen's manuscript, and he reproduces the Skjöldung list from it in *Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ*, Hafniæ 1702, pp. 211–12. The list of Haleygjajarlar in AM 22 a fol. is probably also derived from Resen's manuscript. Both Skjöldung and Yngling lists in it are reproduced by O. Verelius in his edition of *Hervarar saga*, Upsalæ 1672, pp. 39–40, via a manuscript related to AM 1 f fol., foll. 12–18.

<sup>37</sup> *Heimskringla* I, 4 and 21; *Snorra Edda*, 7. In his prologue to his separate *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga* (ed. O. A. Johnsen and Jón Helgason, Oslo 1941, p. 4), Snorri is less definite: 'oc talði hann (Eyvindr Skáldaspillir) langfeðga til Sémings er sagt er at veri Ingunarfrey's son Niarðarsonar'.