

Universal history in fourteenth-century Iceland

Studies in AM 764 4to

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is a philological examination of the first part of the manuscript AM 764 4to, written in Northern Iceland in the latter half of the fourteenth-century.

The first part of the dissertation deals with paleographical and orthographical features of the codex which reveal that the book was in all likelihood produced in a scriptorium in Skagafjörður c. 1376-1386. An overview is given of previous scholarship concerning the manuscript and its content.

The main section is devoted to discussion of the content of folios 1-23 of the codex. It is argued that instead of being a haphazard collection of unrelated texts, the first half of the book was conceived as a whole, and that the aim of the scribes was to produce a survey of the history of the world organised into *aetates mundi*. The sources for the different passages in this history are clarified and the scribes' treatment of these sources is viewed against parallel Old Norse works. Special attention is devoted to Bible translations.

The third section begins with an overview of the development of universal history in the Middle Ages which subsequently serves as a basis for discussion of the place AM 764 4to has within this tradition, with regard to Latin works as well as vernacular ones. It is argued that the book was written for the nunnery at Reynistaður in Skagafjörður and may have served as a schoolbook.

The last part of the thesis contains a diplomatic transcription of the text of folios 1-23v4.

PREFACE

To what extent did the rise of saga literature of Iceland depend on foreign influence and learning? This issue has long divided scholars in the field of Icelandic studies and been a source of fruitful debate and, occasionally, some less illuminating diatribe. As an undergraduate at the University of Iceland I was struck by how relatively little research had been done into many of the texts that constitute the corpus of foreign learning translated into Icelandic in the Middle Ages. It seemed to me that knowing which works were studied and translated in Iceland in this period was a prerequisite for any pronouncement on the ideas which could have influenced the writers who committed vernacular literature to vellum.

The vast fields of medieval learning opened up to me during the year I followed the MA-programme in Medieval studies at the University of Toronto, Canada, and the basis I acquired there has proven invaluable. After I returned to Iceland I developed an interest in compilations and the principles governing their make-up. This was partly influenced by trends within the so-called 'new philology' which seeks to place the context of texts in context, so to speak, by looking at how texts are grouped together in manuscripts and what that says about the purpose and uses of the books. It was in fact in a philology class with Ólafur Halldórsson that I first heard of AM 764 4to. When I later, under the guidance of Sverrir Tómasson, started searching for an interesting compilation which could serve as subject for a PhD thesis, 764 again came to my mind. It soon showed itself to be an ideal project — it had never been edited as a whole, it seemed to be a complicated, even a slightly ridiculous miscellany and it was filled with all sorts of material which doubtless was mostly foreign in origin.

When I moved to London in 1993 to take up a post at University College, it seemed wise to move the project as well and write it as a PhD thesis in Scandinavian Studies at the University of London. I was singularly fortunate in that Peter Foote was willing to supervise my work. We soon agreed that a study of the whole manuscript would be too large a task for a thesis and decided that I would edit and comment upon the first half which constitutes a chronicle divided up into eight ages. The result is the current work which falls into four parts. The first part is centred on the paleographical and orthographical features of the manuscript and also gives an overview of earlier scholarship concerning 764. The second part constitutes the bulk of the thesis and examines the various texts which make up the chronicle. The third part aims at placing the chronicle in 764 in context with regard to European works of a similar kind and earlier vernacular attempts at world history, and showing the purpose the book is likely to have served. Finally, a transcription of the text of the chronicle follows as an appendix.

The research for this thesis was mainly carried out in four institutes/libraries: University College London, The Warburg Institute, London, Det arnamagnæanske institut, Copenhagen and Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík. I am greatly indebted to many people at these institutions and beyond. In Copenhagen I would like to thank Matthew James Driscoll and Jonna Louis-Jensen as well as the other members of staff at AMI and Jón Eiríksson librarian at the Royal Library Copenhagen. The staff of the Arnamagnæan Dictionary have similarly been generous with their advice and expertise and I would like to thank, in particular, Þorbjörg Helgadóttir and Veturliði Óskarsson (now at Uppsala University). Dom Rainer Berndt (Frankfurt) and Dom P.M. Bogaert (Louvain) kindly responded to my queries on medieval exegesis and I am grateful to Gunnar Harðarson (Reykjavík) for directing me to these scholars. Már Jónsson (Reykjavík) helped with issues concerning Árni Magnússon and Stefán Karlsson (Reykjavík) answered many a question on paleographic matters. I am also grateful to Ray Page and Gill Cannell, librarian, both at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for their assistance. In London I had the good fortune of participating in the medieval postgraduate seminar at UCL, organised by Richard Perkins, and the Old Norse reading group, Orðhenglar, where I had the opportunity to present my work and

received constructive criticism and much help from, in particular, David Ashurst, Alison Finlay, Richard North and Orri Vésteinsson. Gunnþórunn Guðmundsdóttir took me walking when relief was called for.

The first grant for this project came many years ago from Minningarsjóður Jóns Jóhannessonar. Since 1993 I have thrice received a stipend from Den arnamagnæanske Kommission, enabling me to spend a month or two, each time, in Copenhagen, working with AM 764 4to. The UCL Graduate School and the Department of Scandinavian Studies jointly funded the purchase of photographs of the manuscript. The department also granted me sabbatical leave in the spring of 1997 and a travel grant from the Dean's Fund paid my fare to Reykjavík and Copenhagen on three occasions.

The work on the thesis was carried out alongside my other duties, first as Halldór Laxness lecturer in Icelandic language and literature in the Department of Scandinavian Studies, University College London, and then, for the past months, as a member of the staff at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, Reykjavík. I should like to thank my colleagues for their patience and support, in particular Michael Barnes who was Head of Department during most of my time in London, and Vésteinn Ólason, director of Stofnun Árna Magnússonar. Special thanks are also due to two other colleagues at the SÁM, Ólafur Halldórsson who first drew my attention to AM 764 4to and later read through a version of the first section of the thesis; and Sverrir Tómasson, who has taken active interest in my work ever since I began my graduate studies. My greatest debt is to my supervisor, Peter Foote. If the work on 764 sometimes seemed like a journey through a labyrinth, it was comforting to be guided by one who at least pretended to know the way out. I have profited immensely from his learning, and the thesis from his editorial pencil. The blunders that remain are, needless to say, my own.

My family has been a constant and vital source of encouragement and I thank them all, but especially my mother, Sigrún Árnadóttir, — she taught me to read.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	3
<i>Table of contents</i>	6
<i>A note on spelling and reference practices</i>	9
<i>Abbreviations</i>	10
I. The manuscript	11
1. <i>Description and history</i>	11
2. <i>Paleography and orthography</i>	16
2.1. The scribes	16
2.2. Features common to all hands — diagnostic features	17
2.3. Individual hands.....	25
2.3.1. Hand A.....	25
2.3.2. Hand B	29
2.3.3. Hand C.....	31
2.3.4. Hand D.....	32
2.3.5. Hand E	34
2.3.6. Hand F	40
2.3.7. Hand G.....	43
2.3.8. Hand H.....	46
2.3.9. Hand I	49
2.3.10. Hand J.....	51
3. <i>When and where written?</i>	53
4. <i>Earlier scholarship on AM 764 4to</i>	58
II. The world chronicle	63
1. <i>Aetates mundi</i>	63
2. <i>Totius orbis brevis descriptio</i>	69
3. <i>Aetates I-III: Genesis garnished</i>	74

3.1. Genesis and the encyclopedic tradition	74
3.2. The sources.....	79
3.2.1. Isidore and Comestor	79
3.2.2. Honorius Augustodunensis	80
3.3. The exegetical text	84
3.3.1. The Trinity.....	84
3.3.2. Predestination.....	85
3.3.3. Primus dies	85
3.3.4. Lucifer	87
3.3.5. The planets	87
3.3.6. The soul: Gregory's Dialogues.	89
3.3.7. The first man.	90
3.3.8. Cosmology	93
3.3.9. The Birth of Seth; embryology.....	93
3.3.10. Cain and Abel.....	94
3.3.11. Encyclopedic glosses in the <i>secunda aetas</i>	95
4. <i>Aetates I-V: Chapters from the Old Testament</i>	97
4.1. Introduction	97
4.2. Fragmentary OT texts in 764 and their relationship with <i>Stjórn</i>	98
4.2.1. Bible translation or not?	98
4.2.2. The compilation <i>Stjórn</i>	98
4.2.3. <i>Stjórn</i> III and 764	103
4.2.4. 764 and the evidence for a lost <i>Stjórn</i> III-type Pentateuch.....	104
4.2.5. The Prophets.....	111
4.3. The Book of Daniel	114
4.3.1. Daniel material in 764.....	114
4.3.2. The reception of Daniel in the Middle Ages.....	115
4.3.3. The translation of Dn 5 in 764	119
4.3.4. The context and purpose of the Daniel material in 764	122
4.4. The Book of Judith.....	126
4.4.1. The origins of the Vulgate text and its reception in medieval times	126
4.4.2. Literary characteristics of the Book of Judith.....	128
4.4.3. The translation: characteristics and date	130
4.4.4. The appeal of the translation	139
4.5. The principles and purpose of the selection of Bible passages in 764.....	142
5. <i>Aetas V: Secular histories</i>	144
5.1. Introduction	144
5.2. Alexander the Great.....	148
5.3. Christ's genealogy and Jewish dynasties	154
5.4. Troy and <i>Breta sögur</i>	159
5.5. <i>Rómverja saga</i>	164
5.6. Concluding remarks	167

6. <i>Aetas VI: Anni Domini</i>	169
6.1. Vita Christi: The New Testament and Apocrypha.....	169
6.1.1. The Gospels.....	169
6.1.2. The embellishment of the Gospels.....	173
6.1.3. De infantia salvatoris.....	176
6.1.4. The Letter of Lentulus.....	180
6.2. Miracles of St Martha.....	183
6.3. The Vision of Elisabeth of Schönau.....	184
7. <i>Aetas VI: After Christ</i>	189
7.1. The apostles.....	189
7.2. Revenge upon the Jews: <i>De bello Judaico</i>	193
7.3. Popes and Emperors.....	194
7.3.1. <i>Chronica Martini</i>	194
7.3.2. Gregory the Great.....	196
7.3.3. Prisciani regula.....	199
7.3.4. Agulandus.....	200
7.3.5. Emperor Constantine and Queen Helena.....	200
7.4. Holy men.....	203
7.4.1. Lists and fragments of saints' lives.....	203
7.4.2. <i>Vitae patrum</i>	204
8. <i>Aetates VII-VIII: In fine seculorum</i>	206
8.1. Hell, Purgatory and Refrigerium Sanctorum.....	206
8.2. Antichrist and Last Judgment.....	212
8.2.1. Hugo Ripelin's <i>Compendium Theologicae Veritatis</i> ...	212
8.2.2. Antichrist.....	213
8.2.3. The end of the world – and of a chronicle.....	214
III. Universal history	218
1. <i>The writing of universal history in the Middle Ages</i>	218
1.1. The genre.....	218
1.2. The development of the medieval world chronicle.....	221
2. <i>Universal history in Iceland</i>	228
2.1. The origins of universal history in Iceland.....	228
2.2. 764 and the tradition of universal history.....	230
2.3. The purpose and audience of AM 764 4to.....	233
Appendices	
I. <i>The content of AM 764 4to</i>	239
II. <i>AM 764 4to ff. 1-23v4: Transcript</i>	242
Bibliography	306

A note on spelling and reference practices

A transcript of the text of the chronicle in AM 764 4to is provided in Appendix II with abbreviations silently expanded. In cases where a word is indicated by its first letter only, followed by a dot, the expansion is shown in brackets. In the main bulk of the thesis quotations from the text are normalised. The normalisation takes some notice of the orthography of the scribes. No distinction is, for instance, made in the quotations between the phonemes /*ϥ*/ and /*ϥ*/ – both are rendered as ö. Spellings in –ft have been adopted instead of –pt and the middle voice ending is z. Endings for the article (n.), past part. and 2nd pers. pl. of verbs are in –t. Punctuation and diacritical marks have been added. When parallel texts are compared, attention is drawn to similar wording by the use of italics but dissimilarities are given in bold. (The reader should be aware that unavoidable complications in the printing of Old Icelandic characters result in those appearing bold and italicised.)

References to editions and studies are given in footnotes, except for a few frequently cited editions where abbreviations are used. The footnotes are numbered consecutively within each of the four main sections of the thesis. A full reference is given the first time a title appears within a section, thereafter the work is referred to by author's surname (full name in the case of Icelandic authors) and short title. Icelandic authors are listed under their first names in the bibliography.

ABBREVIATIONS

(For bibliographical details cf. pp. 306-316.)

AÍ	Alfræði íslenzk
AMKat	Kålund. Katalog over den arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling
ANF	Arkiv för nordisk filologi
ANOH	Aarbøger/Annaler for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographia Latina
AS	Acta Sanctorum
BiblArn	Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCN	Corpus Codicum Norvegicorum Medii Aevi
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum Series Apocrypha
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DI	Diplomatarium Islandicum
DMA	Dictionary of the Middle Ages
DTC	Dictionnaire de théologie catholique
EdArn	Editiones Arnamagnæanæ
EETS	Early English Text Society
EIMF	Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile.
Etym.	Isidorus Hispalensis. Etymologiarivm sive originvm libri xx.
Håndskrift- fortegnelser	Arne Magnussons i AM 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte Håndskriftfortegnelser
HMS	Heilagra Manna Sögur
IM	Honorius Augustodunensis. Imago mundi
IO	Íslandske Originaldiplomer
ÍM	Íslensk miðaldahandrit
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
KBKat	Kålund. Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i det Store kongelige bibliotek.
KLNM	Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder
LdM	Lexikon des Mittelalters
LfThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae historica
PL	Patrologia Latina
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
STUAGNL	Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur

I. THE MANUSCRIPT

1. Description and history

The quarto which bears the number 764 in the Arnamagnæan collection is a vellum manuscript, now consisting of 43 full-sized leaves and 5 smaller leaves, some mere slips. Two small leaves, once appended to ff. 11 and 15, seem to have been lost and there are five lacunae in the latter half of the codex. Exactly how many leaves have been lost there is impossible to determine, not least because the manuscript is not made up of regular gatherings. As the diagram opposite shows, ff. 1+16 and 2+15 hold together the first part of the manuscript, inside them are smaller quires, in or between which four small slips have been inserted as ff. 2bis, 3bis, 4bis and 9bis. Folios 18+31, 19+30 and 20+29 are the backbone of the second large gathering which has, in addition to normal bifolia, five full-sized single leaves¹ and one smaller (18bis). The remainder of the codex is made up of three bifolia and six singletons. To these are to be added two leaves catalogued as fragment *m* in AM 162 fol. which belong in the lacuna after f. 40.² (These two leaves are not enough to fill the lacuna.) Just as it is impossible to know how many leaves the manuscript originally contained, the lacunae make it difficult to assess whether the existing leaves, as now bound, are in the original order. The foliation numbers are in a nineteenth-century hand.

¹ Fol. 17 has been sewn to the 18+31 bifolium.

² Ólafur Halldórsson (ed.) *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta .III.* (EdArn A3.) København (in spe).

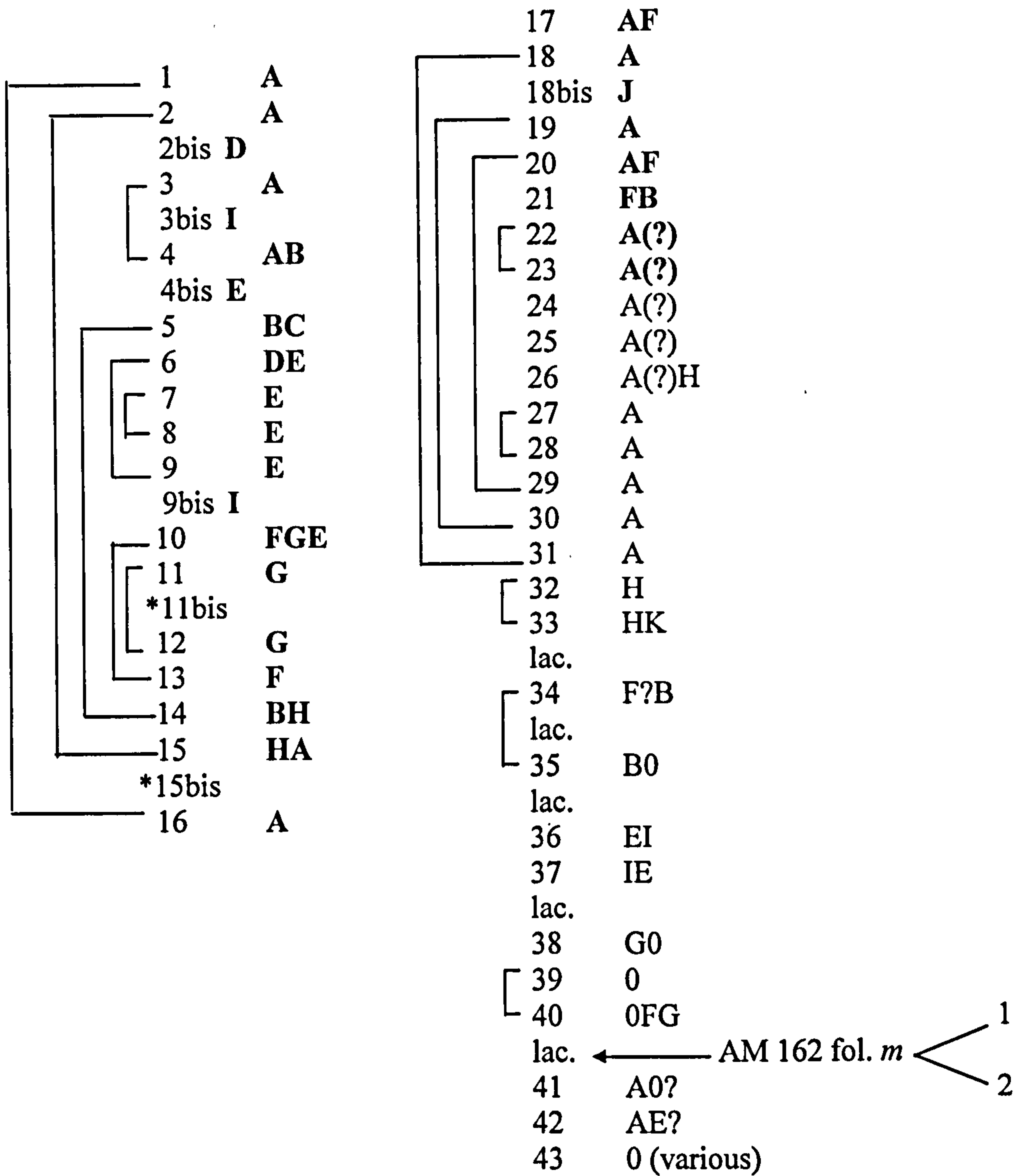


Fig. 1 — The gatherings. The capital letters denote the various hands, those responsible for the chronicle on ff. 1-23 are given in bold. Unidentified hands in the second half of the codex are referred to with '0'.

In his catalogue of the Arnamagnæan collection Kålund gives the format of the codex as 26.6 x 17 cm which is too generous — the largest leaves are no more than 26 x 16.5 cm and some of the single leaves which have been added to the quires are considerably smaller, not to mention the slips. Many of the leaves are damaged — with slits, blots and stains. They were, indeed, not all perfect in the first place. There are, for example, some original holes in the manuscript, see ff. 29 and 35, the corner of f. 25 was cut off before writing and a slit in f. 28 has been sewn together, perhaps before writing. Folios 36v-37 and 42v32-43r are palimpsests.

The text is written across the page and the number of lines on each full page varies from 36 to 48, although 41 lines is most common. Initials are in red, green-blue or grey-white (former yellow?) ink, rubrics in red or grey-white.

The manuscript is accompanied by a short list of its contents (on two folios), drawn up by Árni Magnússon and four slips with Árni's notes. At the end of the list Árni touches on the history of the manuscript: 'Mig minner eg hafa feinged þetta frá Bæ [= Gaulverjabær in Flói, Árnessýsla], mun, öefad, hafa tilheyrt Skalholltz kirkiu, og slædst frá Skalhollte til Bæjar, epter andlat Mag: Bryniolfs'.³ Subsequent notes reveal that Árni did not acquire the 43 leaves of the manuscript all at once. He says he acquired f. 38 separately but believes it to have come originally from Skálholt.⁴ Árni also records that ff. 39-43 came to him inside a codex of annals from Skálholt⁵ and that two further leaves came from the Rev. Daði Halldórsson in Steinsholt, but Daði's daughter had acquired them from Gaulverjabær.⁶ Which two is not immediately clear. Someone (Jón Sigurðsson perhaps) has added the conjecture '37-38?' to Árni's note, but in the light of the other notes (cf. above) it is not likely that Árni was here referring to f. 38. A closer look at Árni's list of contents provides the solution. In the list, the sixth age of the world is not followed by the seventh and the eighth, as one

³ *Håndskriftfortegnelser*, 40-41.

⁴ 'α] Bladed sem það æfintyr er á [i.e. about Jón biskup Halldórsson], hefe eg feinged sier j lage ...' (cf. *Håndskriftfortegnelser*, 40). On another note slip: (recto) 'fra Skalhollte mun þetta vera i fyrstu. (α)' (verso) 'α] ecki stendr það annars i neinu afhendingar registre, se það kynne'.

⁵ *Håndskriftfortegnelser*, 40.

⁶ This information is found on a note-slip not printed in *Håndskriftfortegnelser*: 'Þess[e] 2. blöd eru komin til dottur S' Dada I Steinshollte fra Gaulveria bæ i Flöa, enn eg feck þau hiä Sr Dada. J Bæ er eckert meira þar af. inqvisivi. S' Halldor Torfason seiger mier, ad þesse blöd hafi flækst þar (i Bæ) i rugle, og veit eckert vidara þar af, hverki hvadan þau sieu, nie hvernig hattad hafi vered. hafe og eckert vidara þar af, eda veit sig nockurn tima haft hafa.'

would expect, but with the Life of St Malcus (now ff. 27-28). This, in turn, is followed by f. 38 (*Ævintýri af Jóni biskupi Halldórssyni*) and the five leaves which Árni had acquired from Skálholt. Árni acknowledges in his notes that he has probably not put these in their correct place within the codex.⁷ To the St Malcus entry Árni adds 'desunt ultima' which indicates that he had not noticed that the conclusion to the *vita* is found on f. 29. It is likely, therefore, that he had acquired these two leaves, ff. 27-28, separately and that they are the ones he refers to in his note about Rev. Daði and his daughter.

Árni transcribed the text on ff. 1-3r16 as well as the annals on ff. 41-43. The former transcript is on ff. 17-28 in AM 765 4to in the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen, probably written sometime after 1720.⁸ The latter has the number 423 4to, written around 1700 according to Kålund.⁹ There are other eighteenth-century transcripts of texts from the manuscript extant. The ms. Ny kgl. Sml. 360 4to in the Royal Library in Copenhagen is a copy of Árni's transcript mentioned above (AM 765 4to), written by Halldór Jakobsson (1735-1810), who studied law in Copenhagen 1753-56 and later became *sýslumaður*.¹⁰ The Royal Library also holds a transcript of the geographical description on f. 1r-1v29 made from 764 itself. It bears the catalogue number Ny kgl. Sml. 361 4to and was written in the second half of the eighteenth century by Guðmundur Helgason Ísfold (1732-82).¹¹ The copy was probably made for the Danish historian P.F. Suhm who has written a note on the title page. Jón Marteinsson transcribed at least two sections of the manuscript. His copy of the annals on ff. 41-43 is preserved with 764 in the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen and a transcript of two further leaves (probably 39-40) is preserved in Det Deichmanske biblioteket, Oslo.¹²

⁷ *Håndskriftfortegnelser*, 40

⁸ Már Jónsson, *viva voce*.

⁹ *AMKat I*, 628.

¹⁰ *KBKat*, 172. On Halldór see Páll Eggert Ólason. *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstímum til ársloka 1940 II*. Reykjavík 1949, 257.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹² DB 111 fol. Cf. Jónas Kristjánsson. *Skrá um íslenzk handrit í Noregi*. [A typescript. Handritastofnun Íslands.] Reykjavík 1967, 6. It is not absolutely clear in the description which two leaves in 764 are copied in this manuscript. It is a paper manuscript, owned by Langebek who made use of it in his *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum II*. cf. Jón Helgason. 'Fra Langebeks auktionskatalog.' *Opuscula V* (BiblArn XXI). København 1975, 196.

In the nineteenth century Jón Sigurðsson made a detailed description of the manuscript's contents which now accompanies the codex, and he may well have been responsible for numbering the folios.

The first 23 leaves of the manuscript contain a Christian history of the world, arranged on the principle of *aetates mundi* and interspersed with additional material of encyclopedic nature. The latter half of the codex is made up of saints' lives (including those of Remigius, Malcus and Ursula), miracles and exempla, many from *Vitae patrum*, together with material about English and Norwegian kings, genealogies and annals (see Appendix I).

2. Paleography and orthography

2.1. The scribes

The manuscript is written in several hands. To assert exactly how many, one would have to undertake an edition of the entire codex, a task which lies outside the scope of this thesis. It is nevertheless necessary for my present purpose to arrive at some conclusions, however tentative, about the number of scribes, particularly in the first half of the manuscript. Folios 1-23r are written, it seems, in seven main hands (A-B, D-H). Some of these have also written large sections in the remainder of the manuscript. Three scribes (C, I, J) have written slips or small sections and there are additional hands in the last part of the codex, on f. 33v and particularly in the annal-fragment on ff. 41-43¹³. One hand is clearly much younger than the others, the one on 33v, which probably dates from around 1500.¹⁴ As can be seen in Fig. 1, one or two scribes are usually responsible, it seems, for each bifolium. (This is at least true for the first gathering, ff. 1-16.) The bifolia have then been arranged so that their content should come in chronological order, resulting in very large gatherings and an unusual arrangement of bifolia within a gathering. Such a make-up strongly suggests that the book was produced in a scriptorium where several scribes were able to work closely together and ensure some sort of coherence in the final outcome.

It therefore need come as no surprise to find that a number of the scribes display very similar orthographic practice which makes it at times difficult to tell the hands apart. This is especially true of hands A, B and F which may indeed turn out to be not three, but four or five hands. In the following analysis, Ockham's razor has been applied, and the text assigned to as few hands as was deemed feasible. The most important common features of the hands are outlined below, as well as some peculiarities of individual scribes which may prove significant in determining the date and provenance of the manuscript. This is then followed by a somewhat more detailed description of each hand, beginning in each case with vowels and followed by consonants in alphabetical order. It should be stressed that this treatment of individual hands is not exhaustive.

¹³ Cf. Gustav Storm (ed.). *Islandske annaler indtil 1578 udgivne for det Norske historiske kildeskriptfond*. Christiania 1888, xviii-xx.

¹⁴ *AMKat II*, 185.

2.2. Features common to all hands — diagnostic features.

Caroline a is used by all scribes except C and I who write a two-storey a. In the case of hand A (and to a lesser extent F) the caroline a may sometimes resemble the two-storey type where the upper half is almost closed.¹⁵ A also seems to write cursive *a* occasionally (cf. ‘langbarda’ 1v22, ‘faudur’ 1v33). All hands make occasional use of *ǣ* for á, most often in the case of the prep. á.

There are instances of an unmutated medial vowel in trisyllabic forms in passages written by A, F and J. These are mostly pres. part. pl. (e.g. ‘komandum’ 18bisv28, ‘gloanndum’ 22r31).

There is no sign of the general change *vá* > *vó* (vo). The absence of any evidence of this change points to a date before the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁶ Pret. plur. of *vera*, is written out ‘voru’/’uoru’ (e.g. 4bisr10, 5r7, 5v28, 6r4, 6v31) but ‘varu’ is indicated at least once (6v32). Pret. plur. of *koma* is *komu* (e.g. 6r7).

The diphthongisation of e before ng (and nk) is generally reflected in the spelling (‘eing-’), a change which increasingly characterises manuscripts from the fourteenth century onwards.¹⁷ For pret. plur. of *ganga* and *fá* other spellings occur as well: the common older spelling ‘gengu’ (e.g. 6v3 E, 21r7 F), but also ‘fiengu’ (17r12 A, 6r38 D) which presumably reflects *féngu*, by analogy with the pronunciation of the sing. *fékk*.¹⁸

¹⁵ Cf. Hreinn Benediktsson. *Early Icelandic script as illustrated in vernacular texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*. Reykjavík 1965, 45.

¹⁶ Cf. Stefán Karlsson. ‘Uppruni og ferill Helgastaðabókar.’ *Helgastaðabók. Nikulás saga Perg. 4to Nr. 16 Konungsbókhlöðu í Stokkhólmi*. (ÍM II.) Reykjavík 1982, 55.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 56.

The following forms of the pron. *engi* occur:

	M	F	N
nom. sg.	<i>eingi</i> e.g. 3r11	<i>eingi</i> e.g. 8v29	<i>ecki</i> e.g. 1r34 <i>einki</i> 15r37 (H) ¹⁹
gen. sg.	<i>einkis</i> 13v13 <i>eingis</i> 23r23		
acc. sg.	<i>öngan</i> e.g. 1v31 <i>öngvan</i> 14v15 (H)	<i>önga</i> 21r2, 23r18	
dat. sg.	<i>öngum</i> e.g. 13v25 <i>eingum</i> 14v24		<i>öngu</i> e.g. 1v38
nom. pl.	<i>öngir</i> 23r32		

There is no indication of the change *ve* > *vö* in e.g. *kveld*.

é is often written *ie*, particularly, it seems, in the pronouns *mér*, *þér*, *sér* and in pret. of the reduplicative verbs *fá*, *falla*, *halda*, *hanga*, *heita*, *láta*, *ráða*. The spelling is not common in charters before 1400 although scattered instances are found in late 14th century charters²⁰ and even earlier manuscripts.²¹

The use of a diacritic accent is restricted to the letter *i* except in the case of Hand H. The other scribes use the accent not to distinguish between long and short *i* it seems, but rather to distinguish the *i* from surrounding letters. The frequency varies somewhat between the hands, thus F seems to use the accent almost exclusively when the *i* is accompanied by *n* or *m* and is therefore difficult to make out without the accent, whereas A, for instance, applies it more liberally.

The writing of *j* for *i* as the last letter of numerals is common to all scribes. Some, but not all, make further use of *j* for *i* initially and for the prep. *í*.

Adjectives and adverbs are always in *-lig(-)*.

The fem. pron. is always abbreviated *h°* or written out 'hon' — no instances of 'hun' were found.

¹⁹ A Norwegian form; cf. Adolf Noreen. *Altnordische Grammatik I. Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik unter Berücksichtigung des Urnordischen*. (5. Aufl.) Tübingen 1970, 323.

²⁰ Cf. Stefán Karlsson. 'Uppruni og ferill', 56.

²¹ Björn Karel Þórólfsson. *Um íslenzkar orðmyndir á 14. og 15. öld og breytingar þeirra úr forn málinu*. Reykjavík 1925, xiv.

The preposition *ór* is everywhere written 'or'. Three scribes (A, E and F) use both o and u as the privative prefix, others use one or the other (see below).

Several of the scribes write 'nuckur' for the pronoun *nökkurr*, albeit with a varying degree of consistency. A seems to be consistent, E, F and G less so. B, H and I write 'nockur'/'nokkur' exclusively — the word does not occur in the case of C, D and J. The form 'nuckur' is an important tell-tale feature since it has been found in several other manuscripts from the fourteenth century, AM 573 4to, AM 657c 4to and AM 596 4to, all thought to stem from Northwestern Iceland.²²

All scribes write y^3 ²³ and all, except C, are wont to place a dot over it, not systematically however, except perhaps for J. A and C usually draw a short horizontal stroke through the tail, and so do, to a lesser extent, D, E and F. The stroke is rarely or not seen in the case of B, G and H.

æ is ligatured cursive *a + e* by all the scribes except C who uses *a+e*. The letter is used for both older *œ* and older *æ*.

C and I usually write *e* for *æ* (I sometimes with a superscript dot) and the practice crops up sporadically elsewhere (hands A, B, and H). Instances of *ę* have only been noted in the case of A (see below).

Scribe E sometimes writes *iæ* for *æ* following *v* and *b* (see below), a characteristic noted in a number of fourteenth-century manuscripts and charters. (One instance of this spelling was noted with H 'uiæntir' (32v35) and A's spelling *v`i`engi* (15v17) may be an isolated reflection of the same practice.) As Janez Orešnik has pointed out, this spelling probably reflects the diphthongisation of *æ*, a sound change which eventually proved abortive. It is found, predominantly, in manuscripts and charters from Northern Iceland and, to a lesser degree, in manuscripts from the Breiðafjörður area. The sound-

²²Cf. Jonna Louis-Jensen (ed.). *Trójumanna saga*. (EdArn A8.) Copenhagen 1963, xxxii; Stefán Karlsson (ed.). *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops. Fragments of eight manuscripts*. (EIMF VII.) Copenhagen 1967, 26; M. J. Driscoll (ed.). *Sigurðar saga þogla*. Reykjavík 1992, xxxvi-xxxvii. See also Hreinn Benediktsson. 'Óákv. forn. nokkur, nokkuð.' *Íslensk tunga* 3 (1961), 7-38.

²³ Cf. Harald Spehr. *Der Ursprung der isländischen Schrift und ihre Weiterbildung bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Halle 1929, 52-53.

change seems, therefore, to have been confined to Northern and Western Iceland, although scarcity of written documents from other parts of the country means that one should be careful in drawing far-reaching conclusions from this evidence.²⁴

The symbol for ö (older *ϥ* and *ø*) is o or au. A and F use the two more or less interchangeably, the others seem to prefer o to au. The fact that in the case of D, E and H au mostly occurs before ng may be taken as evidence for the diphthongisation of the sound, a reflection of the scribes' pronunciation.²⁵ Only one instance of *ϥ* has been noted ('*dǫgum*' 14r9 hand B) and other forms (*ø*, *ð*) have not been found.

All scribes write standard diphthongs — au (ligatured a+v is prominent in the case of B), ei and ey.

B, E, and H commonly write e as well as i in unstressed syllables. e occurs sporadically in the cases of the other scribes although A, for instance, hardly seems to use it at all. o for u is altogether rarer except in the case of C where it is the preferred letter.

The occurrence of the svarabhakti vowel is virtually unknown. It has been found only once written out: '*ludurb læstri*' (3v26, hand A) and indicated in the abbreviated forms '*austurriki*' (1r11, hand A) '*eilifur*' (2r21, hand A), '*set<t>ur*' (8r25, hand E) and '*vetur*' (14r18, hand B). '*vestur*' (1v23) is doubtful.

Most of the scribes write ascenders in a similar way: they are either straight, in which case there may be a slight angle to the left where the stroke was begun (especially hands A, D, H and J), or with a right-hand loop. The right hand loop is rare with hands D and J. At the other end of the scale are A and B who make frequent use of it. An exception to all this is Hand E. In its case the ascenders are sometimes straight, but usually with a loop either to the left or to the right.

²⁴ Janez Orešnik. 'An Old Icelandic dialect feature: iæ for æ.' *Gripla V* (1982), 183-196. Cf. also Stefán Karlsson. *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 24; *idem*. 'Uppruni og ferill', 61.

²⁵ Stefán Karlsson. *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 24. As Stefán points out (p. 26) -eing and -aung are often found in the latter half of AM 573 4to, a manuscript associated with 764.

There are sporadic instances of the loss of medial sound in clusters of three in all the main hands except D.

All the main scribes write ck for kk exclusively except F who also indicates cc (see below) and I who writes kk.

All scribes write d for ð, as had become the custom in the latter half of the fourteenth century.²⁶ Only C seems to embellish the letter but the other scribes frequently give the ascender a marked curl to the right. All scribes, except apparently I and J, use þ occasionally for ð.

Final d or t in past part. endings, 2. pers. plur. verb forms and the suffixed article is written in accordance with the rule that when the stem is in t, d is used, but where the stem is in d, t is used. Aberrations have been noted in hand H.

f is made with a 2-like (D, H, J) or a 3-like figure (A, B, C, F, G, I) clinging to the stave. E uses both forms.

A and F use roman f in words of Latin origin.

ft spellings are strongly preferred to pt throughout, an indicator of late 14th century date.²⁷

g is made of two closed circles except in the case of scribes C and E who write a more angular g with an open tail.

gh for spirant g in intervocalic and final positions crops up sporadically in all the main hands except F.

All the hands show signs of h with an elongated second stave. In some cases, most notably in I, it ends in a long perpendicular curve to the left, a feature also

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Ólafur Halldórsson. 'Úr sögu skinnbóka'. *Skírnir* CXXXVII (1963), 84.

²⁷ Stefán Karlsson, 'Uppruni og ferill', 70.

found in charters attributed to Brynjólfur Bjarnarson of Akrar in Skagafjörður of whom more will be said below.²⁸

The loss of h in initial hl, hn and hr is almost unknown. It has been detected in the case of hands A ('lutum' 23r9), B ('rapan' 14r24) and H ('luti' 15r18).

k is made either with a 2-like figure (A, C, G) or a 3-like figure (B, E, F, I). D, H and J seem to use both, the second stroke of the 2-like figure frequently curves to the left making it look more like 3 than 2.

All scribes except C, D and E show some evidence of the weakening of k>g in final position. In the case of B, F, H and J the change is confined to some instances of the adverb *mjök*. In G and A in particular, the change has spread to the pronouns *ek*, *mik*, *þik*, *sik*, although by no means consistently. The sound-change reflected in such spellings gradually spread through Iceland in the fourteenth century. Scribes C, D and E are clearly more resistant to the change than the others.

The rule that single l is written before older ð but ll before d otherwise is faithfully observed by all scribes²⁹ and ll is normally written before t.

Hands D, E, I and J distinguish themselves from the rest in their treatment of m and n where the last minim is elongated. This is the rule in E and J but occurs more sporadically in D and I. This feature is also found in several charters written in Skagafjörður in the last three decades of the fourteenth century and linked to the family of Akrar³⁰ and it is frequent in manuscripts associated with the same scribal school, for instance in Stock. Perg. 4to nr. 19.³¹

²⁸ Stefán Karlsson. 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar. Excursus: Bókagerð bænda.' *Opuscula IV*. (BiblArn XXX.) København 1970, 127.

²⁹ Cf. Jakob Benediktsson. 'Um tvenns konar framburð á ld í íslenzku.' *Íslenzk tunga* 2 (1960), 32-50.

³⁰ Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Úr sögu skinnbóka', 101; Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', 126-129.

³¹ Peter Foote (ed.). *A Saga of St Peter the Apostle. Perg. 4:o nr 19 in The Royal Library, Stockholm*. (EIMF XIX.) Copenhagen 1990, 26.

All scribes display a great fondness for -nnd- spellings. Scattered examples of this practice are found in charters, and it seems to have become increasingly frequent in the fifteenth century.³²

q occurs only in Latin words except in the case of hand E where qu is written for kv initially. This may be a reflection of an older original³³ although there are grounds for believing that this was indeed the habit of this scribe (see below).

D, E, I and J write a longshafted r which is rare in manuscripts after 1350.³⁴

The scribes, all bar one, make r rotunda with a 2-like figure. Only J uses the tailed 3-like form exclusively, but B seems to use both forms. All scribes, except F, have been noted writing r rotunda following a (and u and y), a feature also found in AM 573 4to and some other manuscripts produced by the same scribal school,³⁵ which points towards a date in the latter half of the fourteenth century.³⁶

Tall *f* is generally much preferred to round s by all the scribes except A. The *f* is found both sitting on the line and descending below it in the cases of A, B and J. Elsewhere the letter seems to be on the line except in the *ft* ligature where it tends to drop below the line. All scribes ligature *f* and t as a rule.

The form of the round s is simple in the case of D and G (except for the capital S) but it is common for the other scribes to extend the lower tip upwards and to the right thereby closing the letter and sometimes drawing the stroke through it. This is especially true of A, who in addition often adds a left curl to the lower half of the letter (see below). Only A uses round s for ss and he/she is also known to combine tall *f* and round s, e.g. in *rifs* 16v4.

The majority of the hands abbreviate *hans* and *þess-* with a ligatured *f*. The exceptions here are A, C, F and G, where *þess-* is normally abbreviated

³² Stefán Karlsson, 'Uppruni og ferill', 69.

³³ Cf. Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic script*, 34.

³⁴ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 47.

³⁵ Jonna Louis-Jensen. 'Et forlæg til Flateyjarbók? Fragmenterne AM 325 IV β og XI,3 4to.' *Opuscula* IV. (BiblArn XXX.) København 1970, 153; Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Úr sögu skinnbóka', 84.

³⁶ Cf. Stefán Karlsson, 'Uppruni og ferill', 70-71.

using an er-curl. In A, C and F, but not in G, the -an- in *hans* is indicated by a stroke through the h which is then followed by *s/f*.

x is always x³ without a bar.³⁷

z is written with a bar by all hands except D and E.

The middle voice ending is invariably z.

All the main hands regularly denote consonant gemination by a superscript dot, except A which does not seem to use it, at least not before ff. 22-23 — a fact which might indeed suggest that those were written by a different scribe. A usually writes double consonants out, but ligatures do occur (mainly pp) and he/she frequently uses a macron to indicate a second m or n.

Scribes D, E, I and J do not, or very rarely, use the nota for ok. The others do, but to a varying degree. They write the nota with a bar like they write z.

The superscript tittle is used for -er-, and for -ir in unstressed syllables. Its shape is usually simple and does not vary much from hand to hand except in the case of B, D, F and G. These scribes use a double tittle of sorts, which at times almost resembles a cursive n or an m (cf. e.g. 10v4). G uses this form of the tittle consistently, B, D and F much less so (but cf. e.g. 'gerir' 5r26, 'unndir' 6r15 and 'ver' 13r22). All scribes use the tittle to denote -ær- as well as -er-/-ir and it is also used to denote -r- in pres. forms of the verb *vera*.

Superscript r stands for -ar-. Only scribe A seems to use it occasionally to denote r only (e.g. 'ar' 18r11).

In all the main hands the abbreviation sign for -ur ('2') looks like the number 8, flipped so it lies horizontally above the word (∞).³⁸ Hand E uses the upright version of the 2-like symbol as well (e.g. 'nockur' 7r6).

The Latin abbreviation for con- occurs in Latin words (e.g. 'consules' 13r13 hand F) and in the word *kona* (e.g. 2v26 hand A, 13r26 hand F).

The abbreviation for *þúsund(ir)*, a superscript macron similar to a nasal stroke, cf. e.g. xv (2r14), is known from other Northwestern manuscripts, e.g. AM 573 4to, AM 61 fol. and AM 226 fol.³⁹

³⁷ Cf. Spehr, *Der Ursprung*, 128.

2.3. Individual hands

2.3.1. Hand A

Hand A wrote ff. 1r-4v32 (except probably 1v6-12 and except 2bis and 3bis), 15v-17r25, 17v15-20v (except 18bis, a few words at 18r14 and ll. 26-29 on 20v), probably most of 22-25 and 27-31 and sections on ff. 41-42. The main paleographic characteristic of the hand is a peculiar s. It is a round s, often with a hook added to the lower half of the letter, curling left (see e.g. 3v39). This scribe also writes a distinctive ornate y, with a hook on the tail, to the right. There is usually a horizontal stroke through the tail and a dot above the letter.

No distinction is made between long and short vowels with the exception of á which is frequently written *aa*, especially in the word *á* (whether noun or preposition), see e.g. 1r35, 1v11, 1v22, but also medially (e.g. ‘huaarumtueggia’ 1v35, ‘*la*tinu *ma*als’ 2v19, ‘*sa*atmals’ 3r2, ‘*ta*almadi’ 3r10).

e is generally diphthongised before ng as evidenced by spelling such as ‘leingd’ (1r19) and ‘eingla’ (2r2) but cf. ‘penga’ (3r36).

An isolated instance of a diphthong before g was noted in ‘meygh<a>’ (22r35).

æ for e was noted in ‘hægat’ (19v2) and ‘glædi’ (22r38).

é is written e and sometimes ie, particularly in pret. of the reduplicating verbs *falla*, *fá*, *láta* and *ráða* (whereas *halda* and *heita* are usually in -e-), and refl. pron. *sér* (e.g. 2v20, but cf. ‘ser’ 3r7 and ‘serhuerra’ 1v36). ie also occurs in e.g. ‘riett’ (1r19), ‘hiegoma’ (3v21) and ‘nie’ (4r34).

i/í and the semivowel are usually written i (but cf. e.g. j for í on 2v25 and in several places on f. 19v).

The privative prefix is u (‘ubrigdiligr’ 1r17, ‘utaldar’ 4r27) and, less frequently o (‘obygd’ 1v27, ‘osyniliga’ 1v38).

u/ú and the semivowel v are usually written u. v occurs sporadically, in initial and medial position (e.g. ‘vestr’ 1r38, ‘augvstini’ 1v8, ‘sva’ 1v29, ‘var’ 2r25), but has not been noted finally except in numbers. Analogical v is written in the past part. of the verb *verða*, ‘uorþinn’ (2r4). The spelling ‘sydrs’ for *suðrs*

³⁸ Cf. Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, 91.

occurs at 1v21, a peculiarity also found in AM 53 fol. and AM 54 fol. manuscripts which are probably both from Skagafjörður.⁴⁰

y and i, both long and short, are generally kept distinct but y has been unrounded in 'firir' (17r20 but cf. 'fyrir' 2r15), 'ifir' (1r20) and i has also replaced y in the subjunctive forms of the verb *skulu*, written out 'skilldi' (e.g. 4v9).⁴¹ The adjective *mikill* is with i (the mutated form 'myklu' occurs at 31v3). y is written for i in 'fylkyngar' (16v36), a case of dittography no doubt.

æ is sporadically written e ('sekia' 15v25, 'hreraz' 15v28, 'reningia' 17r13) or e ('farselligt' 16v32, 'nemi' 19r20, 'feding' 19r41).

ö is written o or, less frequently, au. There does not seem to be any pattern in their distribution — both can be found in the same words (e.g. 'indialond' 1r12, 'laund' 1r12, 'Aurkin' 2v30, 'orkinni' 2v31, 'baulua' 3r18, 'bolua' 3r18, 'snoru' 3v12, 'snauruz' 3v14).

Forms and derivatives of the verb *gera*, older *gøra*, are spelt 'gior-' when written out (e.g. 'giorpi' 2r5, 'giordi' 2r6 etc.), but abbreviated either with a superscript o ('gort' 3r3, 4r12) or with the er-tittle ('geranndi' 4r36). Prep. *gegnum* (older *gøgnum*) is so written (16v26).

The pret. of *snúa* is in ö (e.g. 'snoriz' 4v14).

The diphthongs au, ei, ey are usually so spelt. An exception was noted in 'lofkyrtlum' for *laufkyrtlum* (2r36), where o (ö) stands for au, in a reversal of the practice of writing ö as au (cf. above). Forms of the verb *geyma* are usually written 'giomdi' or 'giaumdi' (e.g. 'giauma' 4r3, 'giomdi' 4r10, 'giaumdiz' 4r11; 'geymdiz' on 1v8 might be scribe B) which could reflect the pronunciation of the scribe.

In unstressed syllables i and u are the norm. o is found in forms of the verb *vera* (e.g. 'ero' 2r16 but cf. 'erv' 2r6, 'uoru' 2v2) and occasionally elsewhere, e.g. 'idronar' (4v6). Unmutated forms occur sporadically, e.g. 'fagnadum' (2v3), 'signadu' (16r9), 'domarum' (18r15), 'gloanndum' (22r21).

c occurs in foreign words (e.g. 'dictadi' 4r10) and names but is not used for k.

³⁹ Louis-Jensen (ed.), *Trójumanna saga*, xxxiii.

⁴⁰ Ólafur Halldórsson, *viva voce*.

⁴¹ Cf. Björn Karel Þórólfsson, *Um íslenzkar orðmyndir*, xvi.

þ occurs occasionally for ð (d) (e.g. 'midiarþar' 1r37, 'smidapi' 1v12, 4r33, 'iorþ' 2r6, 2r8, 'apra' 2v9, 'smidapr' 3r10, 'meþ' 3v36, 16v25, 'guþs' 4r2, 'sogþu' 4v8, 'ferdagapan' 15v9, 'daupra' 16r7, 'heþan' 16v38, 'naupsyn' 18r1) and d (= ð) is written for þ in the word *alþýða* ('aldyþu' 16r16, 'aldydu' 16v32).

d is normally written for older t in final position in cases which do not fall under the d-t rule (cf. p. 21), but t occurs sporadically (e.g. 'bannat' 2r34).

The free-standing n. nom./acc. sg. article is in d. Prep. *við* is abbreviated using a superscript d but *at* and *huat* are usually abbreviated with a superscript t. Pron. *þat* is spelt 'þad' when written out (1v11). A reverse spelling is indicated in 'vefnat' (2v18).

The prep. 'between' has been noted as 'midil' (3r2, 15v12) whereas 'milli' seems to be the more usual form (e.g. 1v22). ð is assimilated in 'traulla' (16v25) and d is lost in e.g. 'elligu' (4r28 for *eldligu*), 'bunnir' (17r17 for *bundnir*), and 'ueralligum' (18v7 for *veraldligum*).

f is insular f but roman f occurs in foreign names and place-names, e.g. 'affricam' (1r35).

Spellings in ft are common ('eftir' 2r26 et passim, 'aftr' 3r23 etc.) but not universal (cf. e.g. 'lopti' 3r8, 'kiapta' 4r18, 'graptrar' 15v39). The change f>b following l or r, a Northwestern feature reflecting pronunciation,⁴² is evidenced by spellings such as 'kolbr' (1r19), 'ulballda' (3r28) and 'þarblauss' (22r37). The practice of writing m or mn for fn crops up sporadically (cf. 'iamn' 4r34, 'iammargar' 2r15), presumably again a reflection of pronunciation.

gh is occasionally written for spirant g both intervocalically (e.g. 'dagha' 2v6) and finally (e.g. 'noregh' 1v26, 'þigh' 4r28)

The spelling reflects the palatalisation of g and k before æ (e.g. 'skiærleiki' 1r17, 'giæzku' 4v11) and before ö in 'giordi' (2r6) and 'giaumdi' (4r10) and similar forms.

Initial h is missing in the neuter form of the free-standing article (e.g. 'id' 1v39, 16v30 but cf. 'hinn' 1v31). h is retained in 'austrhalfu' (1r15). One instance of l for hl was noted ('lutum' 23r9).

There are some signs of the weakening of final k, e.g. 'eg' (3r33, but cf. 'ek' 3r17, 3v9), 'þig' (3r17 et passim), 'miog' (3r27). *ok* is so spelt when

written out (19v3). Spellings such as 'ligt' (1r9 for *líkt*) and 'fatægt' (23r32) are reverse spellings which reflect the unvoicing of g before t.

pp is written as a ligature. p is simplified in 'kipti' (3v37). f has replaced p for the spirant in 'glæfs' (3v30).

q is written in foreign words only (e.g. 'quatuor' 3r10, 'aquilinensis' 17v28).

r rotunda is regularly written following the round letters, b, d, g, o, p, þ, but also occasionally following a.

ʀ occurs, with superscript i, as the abbreviation of *riki* (e.g. 1v26) and for the capital in e.g. 'ʀoboas' (4v10).

rs is sometimes assimilated to ss (and the ss simplified) before t (e.g. 'fyst' 1v37, 'posta' 3v35).

Both tall *f* and round *s* are used. The former is more frequent at the beginning of the manuscript whereas round *s* is almost exclusively used in many of the later sections written by this scribe (e.g. in the list of popes on f. 19). It is also here that *ss* can be found written so (e.g. 'huass' 15v15, 'messo' 15v30, 'ymissar' 16r9, 'kross' 17r22) or with the combination *fs* (e.g. 'rifs' 16v4, 'krofsfeltr' 16v19)

Pron. *þessi* is usually abbreviated using the er-curl, followed by either *f* (e.g. 4r8) or *s* (more frequent in latter sections, cf. e.g. 15v). Gen. of pron. *hann* is similarly abbreviated by a stroke through the h, followed by *f* (e.g. 3r22) or *s* (e.g. 4v21), although an *h+f* ligature is quite frequent at the beginning of the manuscript (cf. e.g. 2r29).

On t in endings see above.

z occurs in genitive sg. of nouns, pronouns and adjectives following ll, lð/lld, nn, nd, rð and t, with or without the inclusion of the dentals (e. g. 'mannz' 3v29, 'lofzins' 1r17, 'suerdz' 15v14, 'hollz' 16r15, 'kriz' 17r6)

Derivatives in ð, t + sk/sl are spelt zk/zl (cf. 'uizku' 1r6, 'giæzku' 4v11, 'fehirlum' 4v21). z is also written in the words 'ruza' (1v25) and 'bleza' (e.g. 3r33) and in foreign names (e.g. 'boez' 4r14).

Superlatives in -st are usually so spelt following a vowel (e.g. 'fyftu' 1r2, 'næftu' 2v6) but with *zt* otherwise (e.g. 'fremzti' 3r19, 'yngzti' 4r17,

⁴² Oskar Bandle. *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblía. Orthographie und Lauteformen.* (BiblArn

'yztum' 4r35). The exception 'nedsta' was noted (2r8). Superlatives in -ast are in *zt* ('siduztu' 3v36, 'fridaztr' 4r22,), but final *z* was noted in *norduz* (1v28).

2.3.2. Hand B

Hand B wrote 4v32-5v20, 14r1-37, 21v25-41, 35, probably ll. 6-12 on 1v and sections on f. 34, as well as a couple of lines here and there, for instance on f. 40v (23-24). This hand differs from the others in that it makes use of the *av* ligature. *v* for *u/v* also seems more frequent here than elsewhere in the manuscript.

No distinction is made between long and short vowels except that *á* is occasionally written *aa* (e.g. 'h~~aa~~r' 5r10).

é is variously written *e* or *ie*, the same word may show the two different spellings (cf. e.g. 'nie' 5r10, 'ne' 5r30).

i/i and the semivowel *j* are usually all written *i* although *j* occurs occasionally for the preposition *í* on f. 21v (cf. l. 26).

The privative prefix has not been noted.

For *u/ú* and *v u* is most common on f. 5r but the scribe seems to switch gradually to *v* as his preferred letter, so that on f. 14r *u* occurs only sporadically.

i and *y* are kept distinct for the most part, but cf. 'synum' 14r24. *yfir* is written with a *y* whereas *firir* is so spelt when written out (e.g. 5r12). Pret. of *skulu* is similarly spelt with *i* when written out (5r6). The adj. *mikill* is occasionally spelt with *y* in contracted forms, regardless of the sound in the following syllable (e.g. 'myklagardi' 21v34 but cf. 'mikladi' 5v9).

e for *æ* was noted in 'hesti' (5v6).

ö is usually written *o*, sometimes *au* or *av* (ligatured), and one instance of *ø* has been noted ('døgvum' 14r9). Older *ø* in the verb *gøra* appears as *ey* ('geyrdu' 5r24) or *io* ('giordiz' 21v35) when written out, but is usually abbreviated, using the *er*-curl. Prep. *gegnum* (older *gøgnum*) has not been noted.

The spelling 'gesadi' (5r8) for *geisadi* is presumably a mistake.

In endings *i* and *e* occur interchangeably (cf. e.g. 'hluti' 5r36, 'hlute' 5r37), whereas *o* instead of *u* is rare (but cf. 'mino' 5v4).

Apart from the ck spelling, c has been noted only in the verb *lykta* ('lyctaz' 14r21, 'lyctadri' 35r24).

þ occurs sporadically for ð, e.g. 'dyrþ' (5v7, 5v11), 'gubligri' (14r26), 'orþum' (14r28).

The scribe writes d, rather than t, in endings ('lesid' 5r27, 'lifid' 5r32 etc.). He/she likewise writes 'ad', 'vid' and 'med'. The form 'medr' also occurs (5r13). The pron. *þat* has not been found written out.

d is lost e.g. in 'hollgan' (14r27) and 'bunnum' (5r7).

g before n is retained in 'gnógliga' (14r13).

Spirant g is normally written g but gh has been noted once in 'dagh' (14r13).

Initial h has been lost in 'rapan' (14r23) but is retained elsewhere.

The spelling reflects the palatalisation of k before æ (e.g. 'kiæmi' 14r10) but not before e (e.g. 'kerum' 5v17, cf. also 'geck' 5r31 — the combination gæ/giæ has not been found).

Final k is weakened in 'miog' (5r24 et passim).

Double m has been noted in 'framm' (21v39).

r rotunda is written following the round letters b, d, g, o, and þ, but also following a, u and y.

ʀ has been noted once (14r25) as part of the abbreviation of *rikis*.

Tall *f* is used almost exclusively. Round s only occurs in association with abbreviation marks and, occasionally, in initial position. Double s is written *ff* finally (e.g. '*ueldiff*' 5r12).

z occurs in the genitive of nouns/pronouns, after n, ll(d/t) and t(n) (*ofnz* 5r8, *manz* 5r19, *einvallz* 14r1, *allz*, 14r18, 14r30, *uazfall* 21v27), in foreign names and in the word *uizka* (5r34 et passim). The superlative in -st is so written following vowels (e.g. 'næst' 5r9, 'mest' 5r20, 'hæst' 14r18). Other forms have not been noted.

2.3.3. Hand C

Hand C is found only on 21 lines on f. 5v (ll. 20-41). It is somewhat coarser than the other hands and characterised by broad strokes and angular letters. The scribe makes relatively little use of abbreviations and is not consistent in their

application. Conj. *ok*, for instance, is abbreviated four times but written out in full five times. Pron. *þat* is not abbreviated at all.

No distinction is made between long and short vowels, except that prep. *á* is once written *α*.

The free-standing article is in e- ('ena' l. 36, 'eno' 40)

é is universally written ie.

i and y are kept distinct.

i occasionally has an accent. Prep. *í* is twice written j (ll. 21, 24).

Both 'god' (l. 32) and 'gvd' (l. 22) occur. The verb *munu* occurs once and is written 'monv' (l. 23).

The vowel u is usually written v but u occurs in 'darius' (l. 20), 'voru' (l. 28), 'fyrum' (l. 28) and (probably) 'furd god' (l.32).

æ is written e ('hetti' l. 21, 'frendi' l. 25). The plural pronoun is 'vær' when written out in full, but the er-curl is used in abbreviating it (l. 23).

ϥ occurs in the foreign names 'bæϥl' (l. 22) and 'bæli' (l. 31) but whether it stands for any phonological distinction seems doubtful.

ö for older ϥ is written au ('kaustodo' l. 24) or, more commonly, o ('grof' l. 21, 'tolodo' l. 21, 'grondodo' l. 25, 'odro' l. 29). Older ø in various forms of the verb *gøra* is written io ('giord' l. 28, 'giort' l. 32, 'giorr' l. 36), but when abbreviated the tittle is used (l. 35).

In endings i is normal but e occurs in 'borgarennar' (l. 39).

Conversely, o is more common in endings than u/v ('tolodo' l. 21, 'kaustodo' l. 24, 'grondodo' l. 25, 'odro' l. 29, 'miklo' l. 29, 'sterkosto' l. 36, 'turnonom' l. 39, 'sino' l. 40, 'eno' l. 40, vs. 'selldu' l. 22, 'tignudum' l. 23).

The scribe is wont to double consonants in both medial and final positions ('settia' l. 21, 'drapp' l. 21, 'dreckann' l. 22, 'blott' l. 31, 'blottadr' l. 31).

c is written in foreign names and for k following s ('surd god' l. 32).

For d/ð two letterforms are used, one plain, the other with a right hand curl at the top of the ascender, a stroke also used to embellish b, k and þ. The scribe does not use the different forms to distinguish between d and ð, both forms are used for either phoneme. The plain form is generally preferred in initial position.

The palatalisation of g before ö is reflected in the spelling (cf. e.g. 'giord' l. 28).

ok is written so when the nota is not used (cf. above). Pronouns (acc.) *bik* and *sik* are likewise written with k.

Final m is omitted in the 1.pers. pl. of the verb *munu* (l. 23)

Tall *f* is used exclusively.

Original final t is retained in pronouns and particles (e.g. 'at' l. 21, 'pat' l. 25).

z is written after nd in final positions (*medialandz* l. 34). Superlatives are in st ('sterkosto' l. 36, 'mestr' l. 39).

2.3.4. Hand D

Hand D wrote 2bisv and 6r. This scribe does not use the nota to abbreviate conj. *ok*. He/she uses the flipped ur-curl, but the right half of it is not closed, which makes it look more like the Greek letter α.

In general, no distinction is made between long and short vowels. However, the prep. *á* is most often written *aa* and the name *Aron/Áron* is twice spelt '*aaron*', once '*aron*'. *á* occurs once ('án' 6r8).

é is written variously e (e.g. 'ne' 6r14, 'ser' 6r16, 'fe' 6r20, 'herodum' 6r22, 'ste' 6r28, 'brefum' 6r30, 'ver' 6r32, 2bis v7, 'het' 2bis v6) or ie (e.g. 'fiell' 6r2, 'lietu' 6r12, 'sier' 6r12, 'pier' 6r35).

The diphthongisation of e before ng is evidenced in the pret. form of the verb *fá*, 'feingi' (6r41) but which is also written 'fiengu' (6r38). The pret. of *ganga* occurs only once, abbreviated 'ggu' (expanded in the transcript *geingu*).

i/í are invariably written i as is the semi-vowel j.

The privative prefix *ó-* is written o ('otali' 6r17).

u/ú and the semi-vowel v are written either u or v — no pattern is discernible in the distribution.

y has a superscript dot and a simple slender descender, usually marked with a horizontal stroke.

i and y are kept distinct. Prep. *yfir* is so spelt (6r25, 6r37, the -ir abbreviated), *fyrir* only occurs abbreviated as does pret. subj. of *skulu*. y is written before u in forms of the adj. *mikill* ('myklu' 6r5, 'mycklum' 6r32).

ö is written o except in 'gaungu lids' (6r16) and 'pipna saung' (6r38) which probably reflects the diphthongisation of ö before ng. Unstressed ö is preserved in 'herodum' (6r22). Forms of the verb *gera* are abbreviated using the er/ir-curl. Prep. *gegnum* (older *gøgnum*) does not occur.

ey is written in 'eyrenndreka' (6r3) and 'eyrendiss' (6r7).

In endings i and u are preferred to e and o. Occurrences of the latter are seen in 'mælte' (6r13), 'hveite' (6r18), 'otte' (6r36), 'fjolmenne' (2bisv2), 'matte' (2bisv5), 'hafe' (2bisv9) 'ero' (6r22), 'mæltó' (6r31).

c is used in foreign names and occasionally for k in final position (e.g. 'oc' 6r9, 6r22, 6r33, 2bisv2, 2bisv7; 'toc' 2bisv3).

ð is normally written d but þ occurs in 'hofpingia' (6r13, 6r15), 'bodorþi' (6r14), 'siþan' (6r36, 2bisv6, 2bisv8), 'eyþa' (6r40).

The palatalisation of g before æ can be seen in the spelling of 'giædi' (6r18) and 'agiætvtv' (6r23).

m is doubled in 'framm' (6r6) and 'ammbatt' (2bisv10) but has been shortened in 'skamt' (2bisv12).

The r is long-shafted.

r rotunda is usually written after b, d, g, h, o, and þ, and frequently after a as well.

The scribe prefers to use the tall *f* but round s does occur, particularly in initial position (e.g. 'sneypu' 6r9, 'sik', 6r12, 'sudr' 6r22, 'skotid' 2bisv4). rs is not assimilated to ss in 'forfe' (6r26).

t (or th) is preferred to d in final position (apart from the t-d rule) and sometimes shows reverse spelling, e.g. 'hunndrat' (6r16), 'hernath' (6r29). Pron. *þat* was not found written out. The word *at* is usually written 'ath' (e.g. 2bisr3, 6r4, 6r11) but instances of 'at' can be found (6r9, 6r37). The article, pronouns and adjectives ending in t are not found unabbreviated.

z occurs in 'unz' (6r6), and in the gen. sing. of nouns after (n)d, ll or (s)t, with or without the dentals (e.g. 'blalanz' 6r7, 'allz' 6r18, 'briostz' 6r39).

Superlatives in -st are so spelt (e.g. 'næst' 6r12). Superlatives in -ast are in z or zt ('þyckuaz' 6r21, 'agiætvztu' 6r23, 'sterkuztv' 6r26, 'mattkuztu' 6r36).

2.3.5. Hand E

Hand E wrote 6v-9v, 10v38-11r2, 36r1-13, 37v, 42v33-43r23, 4bis and a few words in l. 18r14. This hand resembles hand D in many ways, both make f with a 2-like figure clinging to the stave (although E also uses the other 3-like form) and a long-shafted r. Neither scribe is fond of the nota — D does not use it at all and in the case of E it only appears superscript on 6v. There are differences, however. The g is one of the marked characteristics of hand E, its perpendicular curves sharply to the left, creating an angle, whereas D writes a rounded, 'closed' g. Unlike D, E prefers the 2-like abbreviation symbol for ur although the flipped variant has been noted a couple of times (e.g. 'konur' 6v16). Hand E also abbreviates ull with a stroke through the ll (e.g. 'gull' 8r24) — an abbreviation not noted in the other hands. Orthographically, hand E distinguishes itself from the others by writing ui/vi before æn which in all likelihood reflects the pronunciation of the scribe (cf. pp. 19-20 and below). Words in væn- do not occur in the text written by hand D so the two hands cannot be compared in this respect. Hand E also displays a particular morphological characteristic, only adopted by one other scribe (G): the weak form of the prepositive article, cf. e.g. 'alla hinu mætkuztv' (6v1), 'hinu hæstu fioll' (6v11), 'hinu ebresku konu' (8v7).⁴³ One instance of prep. *of* was noted (6v12) — the scribe writes *um* everywhere else — probably an influence of the exemplar⁴⁴ (cf. also p. 136).

Some attempt is made to distinguish between a and á. á is written in 'andláti' (9r39). The prep. *á* is often written *æ* when not joined to the following word. In addition, the ligature occurs sporadically in various positions, e.g. 'æeggiun' (6v21), 'mætkuztu' (6v1), 'ræd' (7r41), 'hæarklædi' (7v35), 'blæland' (4bisr5), 'sæ' (7v4), 'fæ' (8v1).

Both 'nattuerd' (7r28) and 'nottverd' (8v7) occur.

⁴³ Cf. Björn Karel Þórólfsson, *Um íslenzkar orðmyndir*, 52.

æ for e is written in 'sættud' (7v24) and 'klærkr' (36r9) but other instances of this norwegianism have not been noted.

The diphthongisation of e before ng is commonly reflected in the spelling ('eingi' 7r14, 7v4, 7v21, 9r24, 'geingnar' 9r15) but is not universal (cf. 'gengu' 6v3).

é is written variously e or ie. ie is more common but e is preferred following h and m (cf. 'mer'/'þier' 8r28, 'het' 8v7, 'her' 9r20). Pret. of the reduplicating verbs *falla*, *fá*, *hanga*, *halda*, *heita* is normally in ie (e.g. 'fiell' 9r3, 'fieck' 8r10, 'fiengu' 9r30, 'hieck' 8v23, 'hiellt' 9r38, 'hielldu' 9r36, 'hiez' 8v21).

No distinction is made between i and í, both of which are generally written i. Prep. *í* is often written j and j is also found for initial i in 'jndiam' (4b15r5), 'jnn' (8r23), and 'jncipiente' (9r34). The semi-vowel j is most often written i but j frequently occurs initially, and quite consistently in names of foreign origin, cf. e.g. 'jardar' (6v15), 'jarla' (6v25), 'judith' (e.g. 7v17, 8r9, 8v1, 9r5, but cf. 'iudidar' 8v9 and 'iudith' 9r16, 9r30), 'jatte' (8v35), 'jacob' (9r4), 'judas' (9v9), 'jarnsmidr' (9v18). The name of the holy city is spelt variously 'ierusalem' (e.g. 6v9) and 'hierusalem' (e.g. 6v13).

The privative prefix is written o (e.g. 'ofridi' 6v28, 'osamvirdiligri' 8r9, 'ouine' 6v21, 'ovinum' 7v29), or, more commonly, u/v ('ubyria' 9v37, 'usigr' 7r8, 'utalligr' 9r29, 'utoluligr' 6v33, 'vuine' 6v41, 'uuinar' 8r3, 'vuinum' 8v42)

'nuckur' and 'nockur' appear side by side (cf. 7r5-6).

u and ú are both written u, except in some instances of the word *úvinr* where v is used (cf. examples above). Furthermore, v for u has been noted once initially ('vpp' 7v7) and finally in the verbs *settu* (7v25) and *mæltu* (9v31, 9v34). The prep. *um* is occasionally abbreviated by a macron over v (e.g. 8v3). v is most often written u but v occurs sometimes in initial position, frequently in connection with abbreviations (*vid*, *ver-*, *vár-* etc.).

y and i are kept distinct except for the poss. pron. dat. *sinum* which is three times spelt with y (7v18, 8v36, 9v33). *yfir* is usually so spelt (but cf 'jfir' 7r35, 'ifir' 9v10). *firir* has been noted once written out (4b15r9) but is

⁴⁴ *of* was gradually superseded by *um* in the course of the thirteenth century, cf. Peter Foote. 'Notes on the prepositions of and um(b) in Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian prose.' *Studia Islandica* 14. Reykjavík 1955, 41-83.

abbreviated everywhere else. The scribe writes *tysvar* (8v35). The adjective *mikill* is normally spelt with y in syncopated forms regardless of the following vowel ('myckla' 9r19, 'myckli' 4bis2, 'myc(k)lu' 4bisr2, 6v12, 9v6, 9v15, 'myclum' 9r13; but cf. 'mikla' 8r8, 'mikladi' 8v39, 'miklum' 9r12), but with i where the disyllabic stem is preserved ('mikid' 8v16, 'mikill' 6v2 et passim, 'mikilli' 6v14, 'mikilleik' 9v10, 'mikilhæf' 4bisr4, 'mikinn' 7v8). y is the spelling in 'byscupa' (18r14) and 'erkibyskups' (37v15).

iæ is frequently written for æ following v ('uiænst' 7v12, 'auruiænna' 8r32, 'uiænleik' 8r37, 'uiænta' 8v31) and in one instance following b ('biæn' 36r2), in all likelihood a reflection of the scribe's pronunciation (see above). The fact that æ but not iæ is written in 'uægdir' (8v40) suggests that the nasal consonant following the æ determines the spelling.

The 1.pers.plur. pronoun is *vær* when written out in full (4bisr12) but is almost always abbreviated, using the tittle. The isolated spelling 'græddi' (8v5) for *greiddi* is presumably a scribal lapse.

ö is variously written o and au and no regular pattern is immediately discernible in the distribution of these (cf. e.g. 'gofgudu' 7v29, 'gaufgudu' 7r1; 'orum' 7v42, 'aur' 7r39). However, o is more common by far, and au is mainly encountered before ng (e.g. 'saung' 6v4, 'ualslaungu' 7r18, 'aunguit' 9r3, but cf. 'gongu' 7r32, 'þronguing' 8v40, 'ongvm' 36r10) which renders it likely that the orthography reflects a diphthongisation of ö before ng. Older ø in *gegnum* is written variously e (7r15) and o (e.g. 9r3). Forms of the verb *gera* (older *gøra*) are in -er- when written out ('Gerid' 7v33, 'Gerdu' 8r2), except the past part. which is in -io- ('giorr' 4bisr9, 'algiorr' 36v11). The er-tittle is used in abbreviations (e.g. 'þa mun drottin gera med þier algeruann hlut' 8r29).

ö>u was noted in 'heilug' (7v30) and 'herud' (9r26 but cf. 'herod' 6v16, 7r33).

ey is written in 'reyckiunni' (8v25). One instance of e for ei was noted ('enum' 9r26).

In endings both e and i are common, but u seems to have replaced o almost everywhere except occasionally in forms of the verb *vera* and pret. of *mæla* (cf. e.g. 'erod' 6v18, 'ero' 6v26, 'mællto' 7r9).

c is written in foreign names. It also occurs sometimes finally for k (e.g. ‘ec’ 7v38, ‘oc’ 4bis9, 6v9, 7r24, 7v4, 8r5, 8v13, 9r11, 9v23, ‘mioc’ 7v21, ‘sic’ 4bis4, 6v24, 7v19, 8r5, ‘toc’ 6v8, 8r6, 9r18, ‘pic’ 8r31) and, more sporadically, in medial position where it is sometimes coupled with k (‘luctu’ 6v24, ‘blicnar’ 7r16, ‘hertecknir’ 7v6 cf. ‘herteknir’ 7r6, 7v29, ‘speckt’ 8r37, ‘mecktud’ 8v37).

ð is normally written d but þ is common following r (e.g. ‘iorþ’ 4bis8, ‘iarþrikiss’ 7r16, ‘dyrþ’ 9r31, ‘reyrþi’ 8r6, ‘fegrþ’ 8r9, ‘orþ’ 9v5 ‘fiorþa’ 9v21 ‘heyrþi’ 9v27) and crops up sporadically elsewhere, in particular between vowels (e.g. ‘Sipan’ 6v1, ‘eyþa’ 6v6, ‘aþr’ 6v13, ‘eþa’ 6v16, ‘guþs’ 7v8, ‘gyþingar’ 6v9, ‘yþrar’ 6v18, ‘hofþingium’ 7v1, ‘fæþa’ 9v24). Furthermore, þ is regularly written in the last syllable of polysyllabic words where d/ð has already occurred, cf. ‘smidaþr’ (4bis8), ‘idruþuz’ (7r2), ‘bodaþir’ (7r26), ‘daþa’ (7r26), ‘uardhalþz’ (7r40), ‘anndaþiz’ (9r39), ‘unndruþuz’ (8r11), ‘grandaða’ (8r27), ‘skunnduþu’ (9r13) and ‘blonnduþu’ (9v6).

Only insular f occurs, but it is of two kinds, made with a 2- or a 3-like figure. The former variant is the more frequent and it is sometimes hard to distinguish it from p (cf. e.g. ‘steypþ’ 4bis9 and ‘oftnefnda’ 4bis10). It is worth bearing this in mind while nevertheless noting that pt-spellings seem to occur a few times (e.g. ‘krapti’ 6v19, ‘krapte’ 8r2, ‘krapt’ 7r3, 8v21, ‘lypte’ 9r17) although spellings in ft are the rule. In ‘appne’ (7r29) the t has been assimilated in the cluster. fn appears occasionally as m (‘iammikit’ 4bis7) or mn (‘samna’ 9r33), reflecting pronunciation.

gh occurs several times for spirant g, both finally (e.g. ‘skadsamligh’ 4bis1, ‘lanzlegh’ 4bis7, ‘dagh’ 7v2) and intervocalic (e.g. ‘bardagha’ 6v19, ‘megha’ 7r10, ‘akafligha’ 8r11, ‘sagha’ 37v15).

The orthography reflects the palatalisation of g and k before æ but not before e.

Initial h is used in forms of the article (but cf. ‘id’ 6v36) and h is preserved in ‘austrhalfuna’ (6v27).

There is no indication of the weakening of final c/k to g in pronouns, adverbs etc. A reverse spelling occurs in ‘quiþuk’ (= kviðug 9v24).

Single m has been noted in ‘fim’ (7v12) and ‘fimta’ (9v19, 9v22) but cf. ‘fimmta’ (9v23, 9v30). The doubling of m is indicated in ‘frammm’ (7r32, 7v24, but cf. fram 8v38).

n is, as a rule, doubled before d, and nn has also been noted before g (e.g. 'gydinnga' 8v24). The spellings 'enn'(7v2 for *en*), 'sinn' (7r28, 9r6 for *sín*), 'fiollinn' (6v13) and 'suefnhuss' (9r13) were noted. They might be inadvertent although such spellings do occur in fourteenth century manuscripts and charters.⁴⁵ Single n for nn occurs primarily in genitives of noun before z (e.g. manzoldrum 7r5, ranzsakið 7v32).

pp is indicated by a superscript dot in 'opp' (9r22).

qu is normally written for kv initially (e.g. 'quenna' 7v19, 'quaul' 8v40, but cf. 'kualdir' 7v7) whereas ku occurs medially (e.g. 'aftrkuamu' 8v29, 'tuikuangadr' 9v26). q appears otherwise only in Latin words. The conservative use of qu for kv might be put down to influence from the original — the Book of Judith makes up most of what E writes. But since qu also occurs in the few lines E writes on ff. 10v-11r, which in all likelihood is a text formulated by the scribe himself/herself designed to point the reader to a slip with further information on the Trojan wars, it seems reasonable to suggest that this was indeed a habit with the scribe who in that respect differs markedly from his/her co-writers.

r is long-shafted, but the length of the stave varies somewhat. Superscript r is the common minuscule r.

r rotunda is used after the round letters b, d, g, p and þ, after a and y and occasionally after h (e.g. 'hrellt' 7v27, 'hrædiz' 8r26) and n ('rennr' 7r37, 9r6). It occurs sporadically after u in abbreviated forms of *várr* (e.g. 'uarra' 8r12) and *hverr* (e.g. 'huerr' 9r6).

rl is always so spelt. The spelling 'fyst' has been noted (e.g. 6v30, 9v22) but cf. 'fyrst' (9v1).

Tall *f* is preferred to round s. The latter is mostly written in association with abbreviation marks or letters, cf. 'sina' (e.g. 6v11, 6v14), 'sua' (e.g. 6v37, 7r34) 'ser' (e.g. 7r32, 7r33), 'sier' (e.g. 6v34, 7r35), 's(agði)/s(uaradi)' (e.g. 8r29), 'sino' (9r8), and in proper names (cf. e.g. 'simon' 9v9, 'salathiel' 9v15). In addition it is written initially in 'senndi' (6v12), 'sua' (6v20), 'sin*f*' (6v23), 'sins' (7r2, 7r4), 'syndi' (7r5), 'spadir' (7r13), 'sinum' (7r14), 'sanna' (7r16), 'synir' (7r39), 'sonar' (7v14), 'saurlififf' (8r8), 'son' (9v24) 'spamadr' (9v29,

⁴⁵ Stefán Karlsson, 'Uppruni og ferill', 69.

9v32). It was noted finally in 'lyds' (6v23) and 'oss' (7v10). Long s is written *ſſ* elsewhere. A small capital s is written in *dags* (9r42), presumably in order to match the rest of the enlarged word, making it a fitting conclusion.

The scribe writes d in endings, except where the d/t rule applies. The prepositions *með* and *við* are in d when written out (e.g. 6v21, 6v33). The dual pronouns *vit/þit* do not occur. The scribe writes *þat* in full (8r21). The spelling *ath* is common, but *at* occurs quite a few times (e.g. 6v6).

The freestanding n. nom./acc. sg. article is in d (e.g. 'id' 6v36) but when suffixed follows the d/t rule (cf. 'landit' 6v32, 'hofudit' 9r18, but 'fiállid' 7r18). A final t is also written in 'hunndrat' (4bis9).

z occurs in genitive sg. of nouns, pronouns and adjectives following ll, lð/lld, nn, nd and t, with or without the inclusion of the dentals (e.g. 'lanzlegh' 4bis7, 'brioz' 6v5, 'egiptalanz' 6v34, 'fiállz' 6v39, 'manzoll drum' 7r5 'allz' 7r16, 'uatzfall' 7r37, 'uardhalþz' 7r40, 'uardhallz' 8v27, 'tialzins' 8v19, 'krafz' 8v40). It has also been noted in the gen. sg. of *hlið* ('hlidz' 8r11, 'borgarhliz' 8v29, but cf. 'hlids' 8v27). In addition z is written after n in 'ranzsakid' (7v32) and 'unz' (7v33).

Derivatives in ð, t + sk/sl are spelt zk/zl (cf. 'illzku' 7r5 'uizku' 8r38, 'fehirzlor' 8r41, 'fæzlu' 8r42, 'lidueizlu' 9v13). z is always written in forms of the verb *bleza*. It is also written, as would be expected, in foreign names and place-names.

The middle voice ending is in z but the double spellings 'safnastz' (6v29), 'reiknastzt' (9v41) have been noted.

The superlative form of adjectives whose stem ends in a vowel is in st (cf. 'hæstu' e.g. 6v11, 'næst' e.g. 6v17) This is also the case with *fy(r)st* and *mest* (e.g. 6v30, 8r40). The superlative is in zt elsewhere (e.g. 'efztum' 7v18, 'agiætazta' 7v21, 'beztr' 8r32, 'sterkaztr' 8r32), except in forms with -ast suffix and no inflectional ending, where only z is written ('sterkuz' 4bisv6, 'fridaz' 4bisv7, 'mattkuz' 9v19). The spelling 'uiænst' (7v19) is an exception.

þ is sometimes retained in suffixed *þú* (e.g. 'lempu' 8r1) but appears elsewhere as ð/d or t (e.g. 'muntu' 7r7, 'littu' 7r24, 7v39, 'fardu' 7v33, 'gerdu' 8r2). On þ medially see above.

2.3.6. Hand F

Hand F wrote 10r, 13, 17r26-17v14, ll. 26-29 on 20v, 21r-21v25, ll. 22-43 on 40r and probably sections on ff. 34-35. It is a regular hand, more gothic in appearance than most of the other ones. The use of capital letters at the beginning of sentences seems rather more frequent here than elsewhere.

Almost no attempt is made to distinguish between a and á. On ff. 17 and 21 there are, however, a few instances of *aa* for á ('*hæar*' 17v3, '*mæali*' 17v7 '*mæa*' 21r5, '*æ*' 21r17) and á occurs in '*mál*' at 13v18.

An unmutated a occurs in '*heitandum*' (13r36), '*lifandum*' (21r26) and '*hall*' (21v9) — such forms started to appear in the fourteenth century.⁴⁶

The diphthongisation of e before ng/nk is commonly but not universally reflected in the spelling (e.g. '*eingill*' 10r7, '*eingi*' 13r11, '*leingr*' 13r13, but cf. '*gengu*' 21r7).

æ for e is written in '*mærki*' (21v23). The spelling '*lisid*' (17r28) for *lesið* is presumably a mistake.

The free-standing article has been noted twice in e-, '*enne*' 10r29, '*enir*' 13r14, but is otherwise in hi-.

é is commonly written e but ie occurs in pret. forms of some reduplicative verbs (cf. '*fiell*' 10r11, '*fiecc*' 10r13, '*liet*' 13v28,) and a few other words (e.g. '*lied*' 13v8, '*riett*' 17v4, '*nie*' 21r3).

i/í and the semi-vowel j are generally written i. Prep. *í* is occasionally written j (cf. e.g. 10r20) and j also occurs following i in genitives of Latin names (e.g. '*darij*' 10r18, '*iulij*' 13r31) as well as in numbers.

The privative prefix is o (e.g. '*osamþyckiss*' 13v11) or u ('*uuingan*' 13r34, '*uunir*' 21r24, '*uflyanndi*' 21v18).

u does duty, in general, for both u/ú and the semi-vowel v, but v occurs a few times, particularly in various abbreviated forms of the verb *vera* ('*voro*' 10r11, '*var*' 10r11, 10r13, cf. also e.g. '*vm*' 10r6, 13r41). Analogical v/u is written in the pret. of the verb *verða*, cf. '*uurdu*' (10r10).

Pron. *nokkur* is usually written '*nuckur*' or even '*nuckor*' (21v17), but instances of '*nockur*' have been noted (e.g. 13r14).

⁴⁶ Björn Karel Þórólfsson, *Um íslenzkar orðmyndir*, 20.

y and i are kept distinct. *yfir* is most often so written but 'ifir' has been noted (10r35, 21r7). *firir* is so spelt when written out (10r36). The adjective *mikill* is spelt with i, except in contracted forms with an ending in u ('myklu' 13r31, 13v32, 'myclu' 13v35, 'myclum' 21v23).

ö is written o or au but not in any regular fashion. Fol. 10r has o exclusively, o is more common at the beginning of f. 13 but au gradually becomes more frequent, used exclusively in the word *aulldungar* (13r11 et passim). Apart from this it is difficult to point to any pattern in the distribution of these letters since they frequently appear in the same words (cf. e.g. 'lond' 13r17 'godlaund' 40r27, 'kaulludu' 13r9, 'kolludu' 13r12, 'onguan' 13v15 'aungan' 13v15).

Older ø is written e in *gegnum* (13v23). In the verb *gera* (older *gøra*) -er- is indicated in ind. and subj., but the past part. sing. is written out 'giorr' (13r4). Pret. of *snúa* is in e (cf. 'sneruz' 10r29).

In endings e and o are rare. The latter is written in 3. pers. pl. of the verb *vera*, and in a few other instances (e.g. 'sino' 13v3, 'þago' 21r8). e occurs only sporadically, e.g. 'enne' (10r29), 'mællte' (10r41).

The suffix -indi/-endi has the latter form, e.g. 'típendi' (13v24) and 'erenndi' (10r28).

The doubling of consonants (p, t) is indicated by a superscript dot but erratically since there are plenty of examples where the dot is missing. The scribe seems to indicate ll before t by placing a dot over the t, e.g. 'hell^t' (13v21), 'sell^t' (13v29).

c is written in foreign words and names, e.g. 'Consules' (13r16, but cf. 'konsules' 13r18), 'dictatores' (13r22), 'dictadi' (21r19), 'escobar' (10r14), 'abbacuc' (10r25), 'cirus' (10r14 et passim). It has also been noted in 'folcs' (10r31) and 'brac' (21r27). The Latin abbreviation *con* is used a few times (e.g. 13r15, 13r26, 21v4). On cc and ck for kk see below.

þ occurs sporadically for ð, especially in the words *dauði/dauðr* (10r26, 10r34, 10r37, 10r38, 21r26) but also in 'eþa' (13v9), 'típendi' (13v24 but cf. 'tídennda' 21v17), 'sípan' (13v27 but 'sídán' everywhere else), 'ap' (13v38), 'meþal' (17r36), 'dyrþ' (17v13), 'anndapiz' (17r30, 21r12), 'smidapi' (21r16), 'uernduþu' (21r28).

The past part. endings are normally in d when written out (except when the d-t rule applies and in the isolated instance of 'uerit' 13r30) but are abbreviated with a superscript d or t. The peculiar spellings 'skrifatdi' (17r31) and 'kristnada' (21v18) are presumably inadvertent. Similarly, the suffixed article is in d, with superscript d/t used in abbreviations. A reverse spelling has been noted in 'stirdnut' (13v29). The word *at* is spelt variously 'ad' (e.g. 10r16) and 'at' (e.g. 10r28) when written out; *þat* is written out 'þad' (e.g. 10r41). *þangad* is likewise written with d (13r34). Prep. *við* is written out 'uid' (13r18) and abbreviated with a superscript d, *með* has the form 'med' (e.g. 13v18) or 'medr' (13r34) when written out.

f is insular except occasionally in foreign words ('affrica' 13v32, 'benefactorem' 21r29) where roman f is used.

fn is usually so spelt (e.g. 'iafnan' 13v26), but m is indicated once in 'iamfnir' (13v30), probably a pronunciation influence.

Initial g is retained in 'gnognt' (sic! 13r38).

The spelling reflects the palatalisation of g/k before æ: e.g. 'agiæti' (13r19), 'kiæmi' (13v31).

Initial h is retained in 'halfum' (17r31).

There is no sign of the weakening of final k to g in pronouns etc. except in the word *mjök* which is spelt variously 'miok' (e.g. 13r18) and 'miog' (e.g. 10r15). *ok* is so spelt when written out (13v32).

ck for kk is the rule but double c (c with a superscript dot) is indicated in e.g. 'fiecc' (10r13) and 'drecca' (13v26) and 'samþycckia' (13v40). c/k is simplified in clusters, e.g. 'drektu' (13r37), 'fracland(i)' (13v11, 21r21). Single k is written for double in 'drak' (21r3).

Single m is written or indicated in 'ofskamt' (13r20), 'fim' (10r17, 13v10).

r rotunda is written after the round letters, b, d, g, o and þ, but has not been noted, as is the case with some of the other hands, following a, h or y.

ʀ occurs as an abbreviation for *riki*, with a superscript i (e.g. 13v39, 40r28).

rl is always so spelt. rs is assimilated to ss (and the ss simplified) before t ('fyst' 10r16 et passim, 'uestu' 21r16) and sk ('romueskum' 13v32). In the word *orrosta* rr is always written or indicated (cf. e.g. 10r11, 13r2).

Tall *f* is preferred to round *s*, the latter occurring only sporadically in connection with abbreviations or initially. For *ss* in dem. pron. *þessi rf* is usually indicated (abbreviated variously *þerf* or *þerf* although a *þ+f* ligature also occurs. Gen. of pron. *hann* is frequently written out *hanf*, but otherwise abbreviated with an *h+f* ligature.

z occurs in the genitive of nouns, pronouns and adjectives with stems ending in *ll*, *lð/lld*, *nn*, *nd* and *t*, never with expression of the preceding dentals (e.g. ‘gull`z`ins’ 13r37, ‘upphallz’ 17r34, ‘fullz’ 10r22, ‘manz’ 13r27, ‘lanz’ 10r4, ‘graz’, ‘prez’ 21r1). *z* also occurs in ‘syrlenzkr’ (17r29).

Adjectives with superlative in *-st* are so spelt following vowels (e.g. ‘mest’ 13r17, ‘hæsti’ 17v14). Elsewhere superlatives, whether in *-st* or *-ast*, are spelt *zt* (e.g. ‘æztir’ 10r30 et passim, ‘leingzt’ 13r29, ‘nytsamligzti’ 20v27) except for a couple of instances in *z* (‘sidaz’ 17v31, ‘siduz’ 21v13) and one in *st* (‘gofgastr’ 10r38).

2.3.7. Hand G

Hand G wrote 10v-12v (except ll. 10v38-11r2), 38r-38v24 and 40v (except ll. 23-24). This is a practised hand and similar to F in many respects. However, scribe G uses a different abbreviation mark for *er* — a tittle akin to cursive *n* or *m*, made of two or, more frequently, three minims. G also writes a simpler *y*, the tail usually does not curve to the right and it is not marked with a horizontal stroke. The scribe seems somewhat careless, frequently leaving out letters, marks or whole words.

The weak declension of the article appears a couple of times (e.g. f.acc.sg. ‘hinu nyu troeam’ 11r10).

No distinction is made between long and short vowels except that *á* is occasionally written *aa* (e.g. ‘maa’ 10v11, ‘aar’ 11r1, ‘haat’ 11v8, ‘aa’ 12r9).

The diphthongisation of *e* before *ng/nk* is usually reflected in the spelling (e.g. ‘leingr’ 10v10, ‘eingland’ 11r12, ‘geingum’ 40r29).

é is commonly written *e* but *ie* also occurs frequently. It is written in pret. of the reduplicate verbs *falla*, *fá*, *láta* and *ráða* (e.g. ‘fiellu’ 10v32, ‘fieck’ 11v19, ‘liet’ 11v3 ‘ried’ 10v16 but cf. ‘red’ e.g. 10v34) and occasionally elsewhere (e.g. ‘uielte’ 11r35).

i/í is usually written i, sometimes with a diacritical mark to distinguish it from the surrounding letters. j occurs for the preposition *í* (e.g. 11r15, 11r33) and for capital I at the beginning of sentences. The semi-vowel j is so written initially in personal names, but everywhere else i is used (e.g. ‘iork’ 11v40, ‘giarna’ 11v21).

u generally does duty for both u/ú and v. v has been noted in the abbreviated form of *um* (e.g. 10v13), and at the beginning of a sentence, serving as capital (11v26). w has been noted once in the abbreviated form of *vér* (40v29). Analogical v is written in the pret. of the verb *verða* (‘uurdu’ 12v40).

The privative prefix is u (e.g. ‘uuart’ 12r10, ‘usampycki’ 12r23, ‘ulíkr’ 12v19). Pron. *nokkur* occurs both with o and u in the first syllable (e.g. ‘nockors’ 12v2, ‘nuckuru’ 12v16).

The scribe occasionally puts a dot over the y, but a stroke through the tail is rare (‘nyu’ 11r12). A clear distinction is made between i/í and y/ý. Forms of the adj. *mikill* are spelt with i except once in ‘myclu’ (10v18 cf. ‘miklu’ 10v15). *yfir* is abbreviated ‘yfir’, *fyrir* ‘firir’ and, less frequently, ‘firir’ (e.g. 10v16, 38r26).

ö is commonly written o but au occurs sporadically (cf. e.g. ‘rau<n>gu’ 10v5, ‘auxl’ 11v11, ‘faudur’ 12v31). Forms and derivatives of the verb *gera* are abbreviated, using the er-curl. Prep. *gegnum* has not been noted.

For the negative adverbs *ei/eigi* an abbreviation is normally used — e with a superscript i — but ‘ei’ is written out once (11v23).

In endings, i and u are preferred to e and o. o is found in forms of the verb *vera* (cf. ‘ero’ e.g. 10v12, 11r11; 3. pers. pret. pl. *voro* is usually abbreviated with a superscript o). e crops up sporadically in final position (cf. e.g. ‘uielte’ 11r35, ‘ueste’ 11v2, ‘brennde’ 11v2). ir endings are almost always abbreviated, using the er/ir curl.

c is written in foreign names but rarely otherwise (but cf. ‘myclu’ 10v18).

d is lost in ‘anliti’ (11v23).

ð is usually written d but þ is used as a variant, especially in words with more than one ð/d (e.g. ‘smidaþr’ 10v15, ‘daupr’ 10v17, ‘daupa’ 11v33, ‘andaþan’ 12r2). þ is furthermore used occasionally between two vowels (cf.

'opin' 10v31, 'oponiel' 10v31, 'gybinga' e.g. 11r15, 'siþan' e.g. 11r37) and in few other cases (cf. 'orþinn' 11v25, 'ap̄r' 12v9, 'hofþingiar' 12v19),

gh for spirant g has been noted once only ('dagha' 11r19).

Final k has been weakened in e.g. 'sig' (11v7), 'miog' (11v10) but cf. 'ek' (11v24). Conj. *ok* has not been found written out.

There is no sign of the palatalisation of g/k before e (except possibly in the place-name 'gietulia' 40v28) but k is shown as palatalised before æ (cf. 'kiæmiz' 12r28, 'kiænugardr' 40v10).

The free-standing article was noted once without initial h ('id' 10v27) but is elsewhere in hi- (e.g. 'hin' 10v14).

The scribe writes single l before t to begin with but then seems to abandon this in favour of ll.

Single m is written in 'grimt' (12v13) and 'skom' (11v23).

r is of two types, ordinary and long-shafted. The former is used solely at first with the latter becoming more frequent from f. 11v onwards.

r rotunda is used after the round letters b, d, g, o, þ but it also occurs after a, y and u.

rl is universally so spelt. rs is usually shown assimilated, written s ('ueste' 11v2, 'uesti' 11v36, 'fyst' 10v4 but cf. 'fyrst' 10v16).

Tall *f* is preferred to round s — the latter occurs only a few times initially (e.g. 'synir' 10v6, 'samuel' 11r14, 'sidan' 11r37, 'ser' 12r10). ss is written *rf* in 'þerf' at 11r13, elsewhere *þess-* is abbreviated using the er-curl (e.g. 'þerfi' 11v13), sometimes followed by an additional r (e.g. 'þer:f' 11v3).

In endings t is usual (except where the t-d rule applies) but not universal (e.g. 'minkat' 10v12, 'skrifat' 10v15, 'tekit' 11r6, 'komit' 38r7, but cf. 'uerid' 11v37, 12r9, 'mikid' 12r20). *þat* is in d when written out (10v5), 'ad' and 'at' seem to be used indifferently (cf. e.g. 10v7-8). Prep. *við* is written out 'uid', and a superscript d is used for its abbreviation. The freestanding n. nom./acc. sg. article is in d (cf. 'id' 10v27) but in t when suffixed (except where the t-d rule applies).

t has been lost in the cluster -stk- in 'syskin' (10v10).

z occurs in foreign names and in *unz*. It also occurs in gen. sing. of nouns following n(d), t ('manz' 10v12, 'lanz' 11r7, 'landz' 12v2, 'skazgilldu' 12r33). Superlatives in -st are so spelt following a vowel or after r ('mest' 11r5,

‘fystr’ 11r9, ‘ueste’ 11v2, ‘fegrst’ 11v20, ‘næsts’ 12v6). Otherwise superlatives seem to be spelt with *zt* (‘ellzti’ 11v14, ‘uinsælazti’ 11r37) except ‘kiorligast’ (11v15).

2.3.8. Hand H

Hand H wrote 14r37-15r, 26v29-40, 32-33r, 38v24-42. It is characterised by an insular *f* made with a 2-like figure whose top is usually detached from the top of the stave. The *y* is simple, normally without embellishments. Furthermore, this scribe writes ‘nockur’ consistently and distinguishes more clearly than the others between long and short vowels, particularly in the case of *a/á*.

á is often written *a* but *á* does occur a few times (e.g. ‘uáttar’ 14v5, ‘Vár’ 14v7, ‘brát’ 14v26, ‘árla’ 32r8, ‘ádr’ 32r9, ‘vág’ 32v19). Ligatured *æ* is quite frequent, especially for the preposition *á* (e.g. 14v4, 15r4, 15r9, 32v2, 32v19).

Diphthongisation of *e* to *ei* before *ng/nk* is universal.

é is commonly written *ie*, but spellings in *e* have been noted (cf. ‘ne’ 15r16, ‘herueru’ 15r34).

No clear distinction is made between *i* and *í*. These, and the semivowel *j*, are usually written *i*, with or without a diacritical mark. *j* occurs frequently for the preposition *í*, it is sometimes used initially in names (e.g. ‘joseph’ 14v14, 14v18, 14v25, 14v28, but cf. ‘ioseph’ 14v3, 14v6) and occurs at least twice in final position (‘himnj’ 15r19, ‘uatnj’ 15r26).

The scribe very occasionally distinguishes, it seems, between *o* and *ó* (cf. ‘hóf’ 14v23).

The privative prefix is *u* (e.g. ‘uuis’ 15r11, ‘uhe<y>riligr’ 32v15).

Both *u/ú* and *v* are written either *u* or *v*, but not according to any apparent rule; both letters appear initially, medially and finally although *u* seems more frequent.

i and *y* are, for the most part, kept distinct. *firir* and *yfir* are so spelt when written out (15r33, 32r16) The adj. *mikill* is spelt with *i* (‘miklar’ 14v20, ‘mikill’ 32v2) except sometimes in contracted forms where *y* is written regardless of the vowel in the following syllable (‘mykla’ 15r21, 32v29, ‘myclu’ 32v18).

e for æ was noted in e.g. 'sekiandi' (15r12), 'ueri' (15r37) and superscript e was noted signifying re for ræ ('frenda' 15r23). The spelling 'ævæntyr' (14v16) is possibly a scribal error.

iæ for æ occurs in 'uiæntir' (32v35).

ö is commonly written o but au occurs sometimes, usually, it seems, before nd or ng (e.g. 'faung' 14v18, 'aund' 15r3, 'saungleikum' 15r12, 'aunduegis' 15r32) which might be taken as evidence for the diphthongisation of the sound before ng. Adj. fem. sg. *heilug* is so spelt (15r7).

e for older ø is indicated in forms and derivatives of the verb *gøra* (e.g. 'gervuu' (sic) 14v12, 'gerd' 32r4). Pret. of the reduplicating verb *snúa* is in -e- ('snere' 15r26).

In unstressed syllables e is common, whereas o rarely occurs (it has been noted in 'ero' 15r18, 'myrkri<n>o' 14v21 and 'ombona' 32v12).

c occurs finally for k in conj. *ok*. The word is usually abbreviated, using the nota, but is sometimes written out (often to fill the line it seems, e.g. 14v11, 14v28), most often with c although the spelling *ok* has also been noted on f. 32 (e.g. 32r32, 32r36, 32r39).

þ has been noted for ð medially in 'daupi' (14v1), 'daupvm' (15r1, but cf. 'daudir' 15r3) and 'dyrþar' (14v2), and finally in 'leituduþ' (15r18).

d has been lost in 'hollganar' (for *holldganar* 15r34). Adv. *miðil* has that form (15r14) or 'millim' (15r15).

No firm principle can be detected in the way d or t is written in verb endings, prepositions etc., apart from the d-t/t-d rule which by and large is adhered to. The past part. and 2. pers. pl. of verbs are sometimes in d ('sprungid' 14v13, 'borid' 15r7, 'ausid' 15r31) but more frequently, it seems, in t ('snuit' 14v31, 'komit' 14v32, 'uitat' 15r22, 'fyllit' 15r30, 'berit' 15r32, 'skrifat' 15r36). The word *at* is usually so spelt but the spelling 'ad' has been noted (e.g. 14v1, 14v19, 14v31); *þat* and *hvat* are so spelt when written out. prep. *við* is in d whereas the dual pronoun *þit* occurs both as 'þid' (15r17) and 'þit' (15r18). The free standing article is in d ('id' 15r33), but in t when suffixed (uatnit 15r31).

fn is written m medially in 'iamfram' (32r17).

gh occurs sporadically for spirant g, either intervocalic or finally (e.g. 'uegh' 15r13, 'dagligha' 32r2).

Spellings like 'fagiætt' (14v15) and 'kiærer' (14v25) point to the palatalisation of g and k before æ but there is no sign of it before e.

Initial h is missing in 'luti' (15r18 but cf. 'hlut' 21r26).

There is no sign of the weakening of final k to g in pronouns, adverbs etc. except in the word *mjök* which is spelt variously 'miog' (e.g. 14v7) and 'miok' (33r17).

r rotunda is written following the round letters, b, d, g, o, p and þ, and after a, h, u and y as well.

ʀ has been noted in 'ʀegina' (32r11) and 'thesaurʀ' (32v4).

rl is always so spelt. r is assimilated to ss (and the ss simplified) in num./adv. *fyrsti* (14r37 et passim).

Tall *f* is generally preferred to round s. The latter occurs not infrequently, however, initially and associated with abbreviation marks or letters. Long s is spelt with *ff* (e.g. 'uiff' 14v31).

z occurs in genitive sg. of nouns, pronouns and adjectives following ll, lð/lld, nn, nd and t, with or without the inclusion of the preceding dentals (e.g. 'mannz' 14v1, 'uallz' 14v8, 'landz' 15r2), in forms of the verb *bleza* (14r40, 15r31), in 'girzku' (14r38) and nouns as a derivative of ð/d/t + s (e.g. 'ueizlune' 15r29, 'illzku' 15r9, 'fehirzlu' 32v10, 'goz' 32v11).

The superlative of adjectives is in st following vowel + r ('fyst' e.g. 15r32), otherwise in zt ('bezta' 15r33).

2.3.9. Hand I

Hand I wrote 3bisv, 9bisr, 36r14-36v15, 36v20-37r. This scribe is somewhat inconsistent in his/her orthography (cf. e.g. use of g and k) and also displays features not or rarely seen elsewhere in the manuscript, e.g. ch-spellings for k and unorthodox use of y. The h is one of the marked characteristics of this scribe, made with a long second stave which goes below the line and is then drawn in a sharp curve to the left and downwards. There is hardly any use made of the nota, found only once (9bisr6).

á is occasionally spelt with *aa* (e.g. 'aar' 3bisv6, 'aa' 36r22) and a double a seems to be indicated by a superscript dot in 'ua[·]arar' (36v6) and 'gaatum' (36v22). Otherwise no distinction is made between long and short vowels.

e or ei before ng seem not to occur.

é is commonly written ie (e.g. 'hier' 36r16, 'hiet' 36v9, 'sier' 37r10).

i/í and the semivowel are usually written i but there are sporadic instances of j, especially for the prep. *í* (e.g. 36r28).

Pron. *nokkur* is so spelt ('nokkur' 36r20, 'nokkura' 37r14).

u does duty for both u and v. The privative prefix has not been found.

y for i is written in 'styrkyngar' (36v32), possibly a dittography. The by-form 'byrtiz' was noted (36r23, cf. 'birtaz' 36r31).

e for æ occurs frequently, sometimes with a superscript dot (e.g. 'b[·]ekr' 36r14, 'l[·]erdi' 36r27, 'gred<d>i' 36v36, 'sel' 9bisr4, 's[·]ellar' 36r28, 'selum' 36v24 but cf. 'sæll' 36v23). Pron. *vær* is so spelt when written out ('uær' 36v22). Forms of the verb *gera* are in er ('gerandi' 37r5). Prep. *gegnum* has not been noted.

For ö, au is more frequent than o. Pret. of the verb *snúa* is in ö ('snaure' 36v34).

e for ei was noted in 'stenarnir' (36r18).

In endings, e is at least as common as i (e.g. 'fader' 36r16, 'seger' 36v5, 'hefer' 36v10, 'sender' 36v24) and o has been noted as well ('komo' 36v30) although u is more usual.

c is used in Latin words and it occurs frequently for k in final position (e.g. 'oc' 3bisv4, 'toc' 36r15, 'pic' 36r17 but cf. 'ek' 'pik' 36r24) and ch is used for k medially in 'stormerchiliga' (36r17).

No instances of þ for ð have been noted. On d finally see below.

f is made with a 3-like figure whose tail is often drawn to the left across the stave, ending in a loop.

g is retained initially in 'gnog' (3bisv4)

There is evidence of the weakening of final k > g in e.g. 'miog' (36r15), 'eg', 'pig', 'mig' (36r24), but cf. e.g. 'pic' (36r17), 'ek' (36r24). k for g is indicated in konunks (9bisr5) and written out in 'gullikt' (37r11). These reverse



spellings reflect the unvoicing of g before s and t. Long k is written kk ('nokkura' 37r14).

The last minim of m and n is occasionally elongated (cf. e.g. 'med' 36v29, 'þann' 36v30)..

pp is written as a ligature.

qu is written for kv initially (e.g. 'quediunni' 36r21, 'quedia' 36r27). q occurs also in Latin words (e.g. 'sequenciam' 36v10).

r is long-shafted. κ was noted initially in 'reis' (36v32) and 'reglu' (37r17). r rotunda is written after round letters but also after a and y.

r is assimilated in 'huesdagliga' (36r26), 'fystu' (36v2) 'fysta' (36v4).

Tall *f* is used exclusively except for capital S. Long s is written *ff* or as *f* with a superscript dot (e.g. 'off' 36v22).

t is preferred to d in endings (cf. e.g. 'skotit' 3bisv5, 'skrifat' 36v20, 'berit' 36v29, 'dictat' 36v6 but cf. 'dictad' 36v5). Pron. *þat* is so spelt when written out (e.g. 36r14), *hvæt* is likewise in t ('huat' 37r12) but *at* is usually in d (e.g. 36r14, but cf. 'at' 36r17). d/ð has been assimilated in 'leittogi' (36r15) and an intrusive t was noted in 'stlik' (3bisv3).

z occurs in genitive nouns: 'bordz' (3bisv2), ellz' (36v35).

The following superlative forms were noted — 'fystu' (36v2), 'fysta' (36v4), 'næst' (36v3) 'fremz' (36v30).

2.3.10. Hand J

Hand J wrote 18bis. The orthography is much like that of E but the ductus is rather different. J is the only scribe who writes r rotunda consistently with a 3-like figure and also makes more use of κ than the others.

Ligatured *aa* is occasionally written for á (e.g. r1, v4). Otherwise no distinction is made between long and short vowels.

The diphthongisation of e before ng is reflected in the spelling (e.g. 'eingi' r9) but is not universal (cf. 'gengu' v1).

é is usually written e. ie occurs in pret. of reduplicative verbs *fá* ('fieck' r6) and *falla* ('fiell' r24).

j is frequently written for prep. í and for i and the semi-vowel initially (e.g. 'jnnan' r2, 'jardueginn' r4, 'januario' r17, but cf. 'iamsitt' r5).

Pron. *nokkurr* does not occur.

The privative prefix is u ('ugiolld' r7, 'upolligr' r15, 'ubæriligan' r26, 'udæmi' r26, 'ulikr' v15). A single instance of o- can be seen in 'odæmi' (r19).

u does duty for both u/ú and v, except once in 'ver' (v19).

y and i are kept distinct. *yfir* is spelt with i- (r17). Forms of adj. *mikill* are similarly spelt with i (e.g. 'micklum' r4, 'mikinn' r7).

ö is usually written o, twice au ('auruar' r20, 'saunginn' v12).

An unmutated a occurs in 'komandum' (v29). o is preserved medially in 'olmosu' (v16). Adj. *heilug* is so spelt (r6).

i and u are generally written in unstressed syllables (but cf. 'herder' v5).

c is written in Latin words and for k in 'oc' (r2 et passim) and 'sic' (r16).

þ is not used for ð.

d is preferred to t in endings (except for the d-t rule). at is spelt variously with d or t (e.g. 'at' r3, 'ad' r6). The freestanding n. nom./acc. sg. article is in -d ('id' v27).

fn is spelt m in 'iamsitt' (r5).

u is written for f in 'pauans' (r28 but cf. 'pafann' v16).

gh occurs finally for spirant g in 'uegh' (r9).

There is evidence of the weakening of final k in 'miog' (r22 but cf. 'miok' r5, v15)

The palatalisation of k before æ is reflected in 'skiærr' (v8).

Single m is written in 'dimadiz' (r16).

q occurs in Latin words only.

r is long-shafted r.

r rotunda is written after a, b, d, g, h, o, u, y, þ.

ʀ is found initially in 'ʀegina' (v10), 'ʀogamus' (v12), 'ʀoma' (v14), 'ʀanglæti' (v26), but also finally in 'meiʀ' (v21). It does not occur representing rr.

Tall *f* is preferred to round s. The latter is only found as a part of abbreviations. Double s is written *ff* (e.g. *riff* r13). s is commonly doubled in final position (e.g. 'h`v`eitiss' r8, *tiberiss* r8, *riss* r13).

z is written in gen. forms 'pislaruatz' (r32) and 'uitordz' (v30) and in 'blezud' (v7, ms. 'blelezud').

Adjectives with superlatives in -st are so spelt (all the examples are of stems in vowels — ‘fystr’ r22, mest’ v4, næst’ v14). Superlatives in -ast are written z when no ending follows (‘siduz’ v12) but zt before an ending (‘siduztum’ r1).

þúsund has the form ‘þushunndrat’ (r8).

3. When and where written?

As will have become evident from the various remarks concerning paleographic and orthographic features of the different hands, they can all be dated to the fourteenth century, as indeed Kålund had observed.⁴⁷ Much speaks for a Northwestern provenance (Skagafjörður/Húnavatnssýslur) of the manuscript. Among the significant features in respect of the dating is the fact that the general change *vá* > *vó* (*vo*) has not yet taken hold in the orthography of these scribes. *vó* for older *vá* is rarely found in charters before 1380⁴⁸ and the total absence of this feature in 764 suggests that the manuscript was written well before 1400. Furthermore, there is hardly any evidence for the diphthongisation of *e* before *gi/gj*, another change which gradually spread in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁴⁹ The svarabhakti vowel is rarely written in 764 and there is little if any evidence of the doubling of *n* in final position. Longshafted *r*, used by D, E, I and J, is rare in manuscripts written after 1350.⁵⁰ These features speak against a late date. On the other hand the orthography reflects the diphthongisation of *e* to *ei*, and to a certain extent that of *ö* to *au*, before *ng*.⁵¹ The weakening of final *k* > *g* and final *t* > *d* is similarly attested in some of the hands. All the hands show some evidence of the spelling *ie* for *é*; in some cases it is quite extensive, suggesting a date in the latter half of the fourteenth century.⁵² The absence of *ð* and limited use of the accent as well as the preponderance of *ft*-spellings also speak for a later date.

Scribal differences must be taken into account. Scribes D and E seem to be relatively conservative, they employ the long-shafted *r* and the weakening of final *k* > *g* is less in evidence here than elsewhere in the manuscript. The same is true of scribe H who in addition uses the accent to distinguish between long and short vowels. These scribes may have been older than the others and may have learnt to write around or before the middle of the century. But on the

⁴⁷ *AmKat II*, 184.

⁴⁸ Stefán Karlsson, 'Uppruni og ferill', 55.

⁴⁹ Björn Karel Þórólfsson, *Um íslenzkar orðmyndir*, xii-xii.

⁵⁰ Stefán Karlsson (ed.), *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 47.

⁵¹ Examples of these begin to appear in the fourteenth century, cf. Björn Karel Þórólfsson, *Um íslenzkar orðmyndir*, xii; Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik I*, 96.

⁵² Björn Karel Þórólfsson, *Um íslenzkar orðmyndir*, xiv; Stefán Karlsson (ed.), *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 27-28.

whole the paleographic/orthographic evidence does not allow a more precise dating than ca. 1350-1390.

The content of the manuscript offers additional information which may be used to narrow this down somewhat. Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen suggested 1360-70 as a likely date for the manuscript,⁵³ presumably on the basis of the annals on ff. 41-43 which break off at the year 1372 but display a change of hand after 1362 from which point several scribes seem to have taken turns in writing the entries. That part, furthermore, is written on a palimpsest. All this may indicate that the entries following 1362 were added later. At least one of the hands in question, the one which writes the entries for 1364-68, can however be identified in other parts of the manuscript (cf. hand E above, nr. 7 in Storm's list⁵⁴) and as Ólafur Halldórsson has pointed out, it is unlikely that entries for 1362-72 were entered one by one over a long period, although one cannot exclude the possibility that some were added after the main part of the manuscript had been completed.⁵⁵ (It should also be borne in mind that the annals could have been longer, since it is impossible to determine whether any leaves following f. 43 have been lost.) Ólafur mentions that the entry for 1371 concerning King Óláfr Hákonarson (1370-87) was clearly written after he reached seven years of age, that is 1377 at the earliest.⁵⁶ In short: the manuscript had not been completed at that time; it was probably begun not long before, although its production might well have been spread over some period. The middle of the 1370s therefore is the likeliest *terminus post quem*, but work on the codex might have started earlier.

In his article 'Rímbeclusmiður', which mainly concerns AM 731 4to, a seventeenth-century miscellany written by Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá, Ólafur Halldórsson provided a plausible *terminus ante quem* for 764 by showing that material in 731 was in all likelihood copied from a fourteenth-century manuscript which in turn depended on 764. The intermediary manuscript was written in either 1376 or 1386, depending on the interpretation of chronological reckoning found in the book — the latter date seems more likely if it is true that

⁵³ Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen. 'A Debate of the Body and Soul in Old Norse Literature.' *Mediaeval Studies XXI* (1959), 275.

⁵⁴ Storm (ed.). *Íslandske Annaler*, xviii.

⁵⁵ Ólafur Halldórsson. 'Rímbeclusmiður.' *Opuscula II,2*. (BiblAm XXV,2.) København 1977, 39.

764 was begun in the latter half of the 1370s.⁵⁷ Ólafur has furthermore argued that Brynjólfur Bjarnarson from Akrar in Skagafjörður wrote parts of 764 and that most of the manuscript had been completed before he died in 1381.⁵⁸ Brynjólfur's name is the last in one of the genealogies in AM 162 fol. m which originally belonged with 764, and he is apparently the youngest person to be included in these. Brynjólfur had close ties with Reynistaður — he was a steward for the convent for some time before December 1380.⁵⁹ A close comparison of the hands in 764 with two charters believed to be in Brynjólfur's hand⁶⁰ reveals, however, that Brynjólfur cannot be one of the scribes responsible for 764 so 1386 remains the closest conjecture for the *terminus ante quem*.

Some of the hands in 764, nevertheless, display some of the same features that characterise the writing of Brynjólfur and his son Benedikt (most notably hands E and I), and it is reasonable to believe that 764 belongs to the same scribal school, a school which produced quite a number of manuscripts and documents in the last third of the 14th century. Because of the charters attributed to Brynjólfur of Akrar and his son Benedikt, these scribes are sometimes referred to as the school of Akrar, although Reynistaður has also been suggested as the centre of this scribal activity.⁶¹ The fullest account of the school is found in Peter Foote's *Introduction* to his facsimile edition of Stock. Perg. 4to nr. 19.⁶² Foote lists 11 manuscripts and fragments written (in part at least) by the same scribe.⁶³ Stefán Karlsson has pointed to nine deeds from the last three decades of the fourteenth century which show resemblance to these

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 32-49

⁵⁸ Ólafur Halldórsson. 'Úr sögu skinnbóka.' *Skírnir* CXXXVII (1963), 99; Idem (ed.) *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta.III.* (EdArn A 3.) København (in spe). On Brynjólfur Bjarnarson and his alleged association with AM 764 see also: Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', 120-140.

⁵⁹ Foote (ed.). *A Saga of St Peter*, 57-58, cf. *DI III* 334, 358.

⁶⁰ IO nos. 54 and 55; cf. Stefán Karlsson (ed.). *Íslandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450. Tekst.* (EdArn A 7). København 1963, xxxviii-ix. Stefán thought it likely at the time that Brynjólfur's hand was to be found in 764 but later retracted that opinion; cf. Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', 127 n. 26.

⁶¹ Cf. Lars Lönnroth. 'Tesen om de två kulturerna. Kritiska studier i den isländska sagaskrivningens sociala förutsättningar.' *Scripta islandica* 15 (1964), 71-72, and Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', 131-140.

⁶² Foote (ed.), *A Saga of St Peter*, 11-65.

⁶³ The so-called 19 group thus comprises: Stock. Perg. 4to nr. 19, AM 122b fol. (Reykjarfjarðarbók), AM 62 fol., AM 344 fol., AM 48 8vo, AM 651 I 4to, AM 385 I 4to/AM 651 II 4to, AM 385 II 4to, AM 658 I and II 4to. cf. Foote (ed.), *A Saga of St Peter*, 38-49.

manuscripts, all bar one written in Skagafjörður.⁶⁴ Two of these are the ones mentioned above, written by Brynjólfur Bjarnarson; three are written by his son Benedikt.⁶⁵ It has further been shown that hand I in AM 573 4to (Trójumanna saga/Breta sögur), which also wrote Stock. Perg. 8vo nr. 10 IX, as well as the hand in the fragments AM 325 IV β and XI,3 4to belong to the same school.⁶⁶

Stefán Karlsson has pointed to the fact that the ‘writing on [the] first 45 folios of 573 closely resembles the script found in certain parts of AM 764 4to ... and there are also some orthographic similarities between the two books, e.g. þ for ð, iæ for æ, and the pron[o]un nukkur (nvckur)’.⁶⁷ Stefán does not specify which hand he is referring to but the hand in question is probably G (cf. p. 161).

As was argued in chapter I.2.1. the division of the hands and the make-up of the manuscript render it almost certain that the codex was produced in a place where several scribes worked closely together, a scriptorium of some sort. Some orthographic features point firmly towards Northwestern Iceland (cf. pp. 19-20), the link with 573 and the similarities with the Akrar-charters indicate that our scribes were ‘Skagfirðingar’, and the content of 764, learned lore and lives of holy men and — perhaps more significantly — women, strongly suggests that Reynistaður was the place for which the book was intended.⁶⁸ (For a fuller discussion of the purpose and audience of the manuscript see ch. III.2.3.) And if it was intended for the nunnery, it is easiest to assume that it was written there as well.

Peter Foote has examined the evidence for Reynistaður as the home of the scribal school linked to the men of Akrar. One of the charters associated with the school (IO 49) was written and sealed at Reynistaður in 1377, attesting to a purchase by Brynjólfur Bjarnarson of the farm Mánaskál in Austur-

Three of these books were copies of Péturs saga. a strong indicator that the books were made to order.

⁶⁴ IO nos. 49, 54, 55, 60, 69, 83, 91, 94, 100.

⁶⁵ IO nos. 69, 83 and 94, cf. Stefán Karlsson (ed.), *Íslandske originaldiplomer. Tekst*, xxxvii.

⁶⁶ Louis-Jensen, ‘Et forlæg til Flateyjarbók?’, 152-155; Stefán Karlsson, ‘Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar’, 127, n.26. In addition, AM 596 4to and 657c 4to share the rare form *nuckur* and are probably from the same area although they have not been linked directly with the Akrar/Reynistaður school. Cf. Driscoll (ed.), *Sigurðar saga þogla*, xxxvi-xxxix.

⁶⁷ Stefán Karlsson, *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 26

⁶⁸ Both Storm (*Íslandske annaler*, xx) and Hans Bekker-Nielsen (‘Et brudstykke af en legende i et islandsk haandskrift. Hvem er W i AM 764, 4to?’ *Maal og minne* (1963), 105) are of the opinion that the book was produced in a religious house. Storm argued for Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur, Eyjafjörður, on the basis of the lists of abbots and abbesses — the one for Möðruvellir is more up to date than those for Munkaþverá and Reynistaður.

Húnavatnssýsla. This was in all likelihood during Brynjólfur's stewardship at the convent. As Foote points out, the scribe of this charter must have been either 'a member of the convent's staff or someone in the entourage of the principals'.⁶⁹ Although Foote subsequently records that only one of the charters from before 1420 associated with Reynistaður 'suggests that the writer probably belonged to the same school as the men of Akrar and the scribe or scribes of IO nr 49 and the Stock. 19 group of manuscripts', he concludes that Reynistaður cannot be dismissed as the home of the scriptorium which produced these books. There were certainly literate people at Reynistaður — Foote estimates that there may have been roughly a dozen sisters there at the time, two priests and two deacons and a number of 'próventufólk', some of whom were probably literate.⁷⁰ The convent owned books⁷¹ and children, both boys and girls, were educated there,⁷² 'not necessarily under any ultimate obligation to take orders'.⁷³ Reynistaður is therefore likely to have fostered many of the scribes who were active in Skagafjörður in the fourteenth century (as Foote mentions, the Plague of 1402-1404 seems to have put an abrupt end to this flourishing book-production⁷⁴); some of them must have continued to write within the walls of the convent, as clergymen or sisters, others will have gone off to pursue a secular career.⁷⁵ Many of the books associated with these scribes contain ecclesiastical literature — saints' lives and canon law — and are likely to have been produced by scribes at the convent for its own use or for other ecclesiastical establishments. AM 764 4to is predominantly made up of such material and it must be considered likely that it was indeed written at Reynistaður rather than by a group of scribes assembled at any of the larger farms in Skagafjörður.

⁶⁹ Foote (ed.). *A Saga of St Peter*, 58.

⁷⁰ A charter from 1380 attests a contract made with the convent by Rev. Jón Bjarnarson whereby he and his sister are secured bread and board at Reynistaður. *DI III*, 354.

⁷¹ There is no mention of books in fourteenth-century records concerning Reynistaður but there is a record of a book donation by a certain Úlfhildr Ketilsdóttir in 1443 (*DI IV*, 636-637; cf. also Anna Sigurðardóttir. *Allt hafði annan róm áður í páfadóm. Nunnuklaustrin tvö á Íslandi á miðöldum og brot úr kristnisögu*. (Úr veröld kvenna III.) Reykjavík 1988, 132-34) An inventory from 1525 lists 37 books (*DI IX* 320-322).

⁷² *DI III*, 752; *DI IV* 642-22. Cf. also Anna Sigurðardóttir, *Allt hafði annan róm*, 114-115; Foote (ed.), *A Saga of St Peter*, 59.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁷⁵ Cf. Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', 132-33.

4. Earlier scholarship on AM 764 4to.

Kristian Kålund had plans for an edition of AM 764 4to (as *Alfræði íslenzk IV?*)⁷⁶ but those plans never came to fruition. Some sections of the manuscript had, however, already been printed by Kålund's time.⁷⁷ The earliest mention of 764 in a printed book is probably Árne Magnússon's reference, in his 'Vita Sæmundi multiscii' (published as an introduction to the Edda), to a remark in 764 on Adam's height (2r26), where 764 cites Sæmundur fróði Sigfússon as the authority, a claim which Árne discredits.⁷⁸ It was the geographical material in 764 that held the greatest interest for earlier scholars and editors. Werlauff printed variants from 764 in his *Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Ævi*.⁷⁹ Both geographical texts were included by Carl Christian Rafn and his collaborators in *Antiquités Russes*⁸⁰ and he refers to the manuscript again in *Antiquitates Americanae*.⁸¹ 764 was one of the manuscripts C.R. Unger made use of in his edition of *Heilagra manna sögur*, where 764 provides the text of Malcus saga (ff. 27r-30r4) and Remigius saga (ff. 23v5-25r14).⁸² Although 764 also contains several exempla from Vitae patrum Unger did not use that text in the edition. Hugo Gering printed two passages from 764 in his *Íslendzk æventyri*, the first one about Emperor Tiburtius (f. 32r28-32v23), the second an exemplum of Jón biskup Halldórsson (ff. 38v24-39r3),⁸³ and the material on Bede which is found on f. 36r6-19 was published in *Analecta Norroena* by Th. Möbius⁸⁴ and later included by Guðbrandur Vigfússon in his edition of selected sagas.⁸⁵ The annals

⁷⁶ Kristian Kålund (ed.) *Alfræði íslenzk III. Landalýsingar m.fl.* (STUAGNL 45.) København 1917-18, i.

⁷⁷ *AMKat II*, 185.

⁷⁸ *Edda rhytmica seu antiquior, vulgo Sæmundina dicta I.* Hafniæ 1787, xxvii, n. 87. Cf. also *DI I*, 503 n. and E.O.G. Turville-Petre. *Origins of Icelandic literature.* (2nd ed.) Oxford 1967, 86.

⁷⁹ *Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Ævi ex Monumentis Islandicis.* Ed. by E.C. Werlauff. Hauniæ 1821, 6; 9-54.

⁸⁰ *Antiquités russes d'après les monuments historiques des Islandais et des anciens Scandinaves II.* Ed. by C.C. Rafn et al. Copenhague 1852, 443-448.

⁸¹ *Antiquitates Americanæ sive Scriptores Septentrionales Rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America. Samling af de i Nordens Oldskrifter indeholdende Efterretninger om de gamle Nordboers Opdagelsesreiser til Amerika fra det 10de til det 14de Aarhundrede.* Ed. by C.C. Rafn et al. Hafniæ 1837, 279.

⁸² *HMS I* 437-46; *II* 222-27, cf. also *I*, xiii.

⁸³ *Íslendzk æventyri. Isländische Legenden, Novellen und Märchen I.* Ed. by Hugo Gering. Halle 1882, 24-26; 84-86.

⁸⁴ *Analecta Norroena.* Ed. by Th. Möbius. Leipzig 1877, 208.

⁸⁵ *Icelandic sagas and other historical documents relating to the settlements and descents of the Northmen on the British Isles. Vol. II. Hakonar saga and a fragment of Magnus saga with*

on ff. 41-43 were edited by Gustav Storm in *Íslandske Annaler* under the heading 'Annalbrudstykkje fra Skalholt'.⁸⁶

In recent decades several passages from 764 have made their way into print and scholars are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of the manuscript for the history of learning and letters in medieval Iceland. Studies which refer to paleographic and orthographic characteristics of the manuscript and its connection to the Akrrar school have already been mentioned. In one of them, Ólafur Halldórsson edited three short passages from 764.⁸⁷ What follows is an overview of other works from this century where extracts from 764 are discussed or edited, or both.

Jón Helgason edited the genealogies on 1r-2r of AM 162 fol. m in his *Byskupa sögur*.⁸⁸ The geographical texts (or sections from them) have appeared in three works concerned with historical geography and topology: O. Pritsak's *The Origin of Rus'*,⁸⁹ E. Melnikova's *Drevne skandinavskije geograficheskiye sochinenija*⁹⁰ and R. Simek's *Altnordische Kosmographie*⁹¹. Simek also prints the cosmological passage on f. 2r37-2v2.⁹² That passage had earlier been edited (as variants) and discussed by Peter Springborg in his article on the reception of Honorius Augustodunensis' *Imago mundi* in the North.⁹³ Springborg gives a brief overview of the world chronicle in 764 and, in addition to the passage mentioned above, discusses the references to *Imago mundi* on f. 3r4 and 3r25-29.⁹⁴ In his monograph, *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, Ian J. Kirby treats the same cosmological passage from *Imago mundi*, as well as the Genesis material

appendices. Ed. by Guðbrandur Vigfússon. (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi scriptores. Rolls ser. 88.) London 1887, 433-434.

⁸⁶ *Íslandske Annaler indtil 1578 udgivne for det Norske historiske kildeskriftfond*. Ed. by Gustav Storm. Christiania 1888, 216-219.

⁸⁷ Ólafur Halldórsson. 'Rímbeglusmiður.' *Opuscula* II, 2. (BiblArn XXV,2). København 1977, 32-49.

⁸⁸ *Byskupa sögur I*. Ed. by Jón Helgason. (EdArn A13,1.) København 1938, 7-12.

⁸⁹ Omeljan Pritsak. *The origin of Rus'*. Vol. 1: *Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas*. Cambridge, Mass. 1981, 529-545.

⁹⁰ E. A. Melnikova. *Drevne skandinavskije geograficheskiye sochinenija*. Moskva 1986, 86-87, 94-95.

⁹¹ Rudolf Simek. *Altnordische Kosmographie. Studien und Quellen zu Weltbild und Weltbeschreibung in Norwegen und Island vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1990, 436-438; 445-446

⁹² *Ibid.*, 397. Simek's transcripts are unreliable.

⁹³ Peter Springborg. 'Weltbild mit Löwe. Die *Imago mundi* von Honorius Augustodunensis in der altwestnordischen Textüberlieferung.' *Cultura classica e cultura germanica settentrionale. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Università di Macerata, 2-4 maggio 1985*. Roma 1988, 167-219 cf. 177-179.

on f. 2r29-36, and discusses the relationship of those passages with the fragment AM 238 fol. XIX.⁹⁵ The remaining biblical material in 764 has hitherto hardly received any attention from scholars. Kirby mentions the manuscript in a footnote in his *Bible Quotations* regretting ‘that more of AM 764 qto is not yet available in print, for it is likely to contain a considerable amount of biblical material’.⁹⁶ The situation will be marginally improved with the appearance, in *Gripla XI* (2000), of the Book of Judith (ff. 5v34-9r41), edited by the current author, who has also published a paper outlining in general the biblical material contained in 764.⁹⁷

Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen edited the 764 version of Un samedí par nuit (f. 30r5-30v4) in *Medieval Studies* 1959⁹⁸ and Elisabeth of Schönau’s vision (f. 16r17-16v17) in *Opuscula* 1961.⁹⁹ Bekker-Nielsen showed, in another article, that the miracles on f. 34 are parts of a *vita cum miraculis* of St Walpurgis/Walburga.¹⁰⁰ The text of these has now been edited by Kirsten Wolf and is due for publication in the near future. Jonna Louis-Jensen discussed the passage on Emperor Tiburtius (f. 32r28-32v23) in an article in *Opuscula* 1975, where she prints the text with variants from 764¹⁰¹ — the different texts of this story had earlier been discussed by Alfred Jakobsen.¹⁰² Matthias Tveitane devoted some attention to 764 in his study of *Vitae patrum* and printed the text of the exemplum on ff. 38r35-38v23.¹⁰³ The current author wrote an article on the description of the coming of Antichrist and Judgment day in 764 (ff. 22r1-17

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 186-190

⁹⁵ Ian J. Kirby. *Bible Translation in Old Norse*. Genève 1986, 70-71.

⁹⁶ Ian J. Kirby. *Biblical Quotation in Old Icelandic-Norwegian Religious Literature. Volume II: Introduction*. Reykjavík 1980, 87n.

⁹⁷ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir. ‘Opbyggelige historier fra Reynistaður. Bibelmateriale i AM 764 4to.’ *Renæssancen i nordisk middelalder*. Ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Preben Meulengracht Sørensen. Oslo 2000 (in spe).

⁹⁸ Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen, ‘A Debate of the Body and Soul’, 272-289.

⁹⁹ Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen. ‘Elisabeth of Schönau’s Visions in an Old Icelandic Manuscript, AM 764 4º.’ *Opuscula* II,1. (BiblArn XXV,1.) København 1961, 93-96. The same authors also discuss this text in the article ‘An Old Norse Translation of the “Transitus Mariae”’. *Mediaeval Studies XXIII* (1961), 326-327. Cf. also Stefán Karlsson (ed.), *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, 36-38.

¹⁰⁰ Bekker-Nielsen. ‘Et brudstykke’, 102-105. Bekker-Nielsen is almost unique among scholars in that he acknowledges the importance of AM 764 as a whole, calling it ‘et monument over ægte monastisk flid og lærdom’ (p. 105).

¹⁰¹ Jonna Louis-Jensen. ‘Nogle ævintýri.’ *Opuscula* V (BiblArn XXXI). København 1975, 263-277.

¹⁰² Alfred Jakobsen. ‘Noen tillegg til «Islendzk æventyri».’ *Maal og minne* (1960), 27-47.

¹⁰³ Matthias Tveitane. *Den lærde stil. Oversetterprosa i den norrøne versjonen av Vitæ Patrum*. (Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen. Humanistisk Serie 1967 No. 2.) Bergen/Oslo 1968, 20-21.

and 22v23-23v4) and its sources in *Opuscula* 1996.¹⁰⁴ Stefán Karlsson has clarified the sources and composition of the Icelandic version of *Inventio crucis*, printing examples of the extant texts, among them a short passage from 764 (f. 20r7-12).¹⁰⁵ Stefán also mentions 764 in two articles on encyclopedic texts: one on a manuscript written in the 1620's by Björn Jónsson at Skarðsá (AM 186 III 8vo),¹⁰⁶ the other on *Membrana Reseniana* 6, another Icelandic miscellany containing *inter alia* a list of popes which might be affiliated with that in 764.¹⁰⁷

The biological/physiognomic information found on f. 2r23-28 was discussed in relation with *Fóstbræðra saga*'s 'klausur' by Jónas Kristjánsson who points to parallels in other Icelandic manuscripts as well as in foreign works.¹⁰⁸ Jónas also mentions the legend of Romulus and Remus (f. 13r1-8) which is at the beginning of a version of an *Accessus ad Lucanum* (ff. 13r-14r22) edited by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir as an appendix to her article on *Rómverja saga* in *Saga-Book* 1996.¹⁰⁹ Jakob Benediktsson had earlier discussed the 764 version in the introduction to his facsimile edition of *Rómverja saga* and printed the first half of the text¹¹⁰ and Dietrich Hofmann printed variants from 764 in his article on the subject.¹¹¹ Stephanie Würth treats the same material, together with the passages from *Breta sögur* and the brief summary of *Trójumanna saga*, in her monograph on the Northern version of these works.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir. 'Dómsdagslýsing í AM 764 4to.' *Opuscula* X. (BiblArn XL) København 1996, 186-193.

¹⁰⁵ Stefán Karlsson. 'Inventio Crucis, cap. 1, og Veraldar saga.' *Opuscula* II,2 (BiblArn XXV,2). København 1977, 116-133.

¹⁰⁶ Stefán Karlsson. 'Fróðleiksgreinar frá tólftu öld.' *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar 30. júní 1969*. Ed. by Jakob Benediktsson et al. Reykjavík 1969, 328-349, cf. 335.

¹⁰⁷ Stefán Karlsson. 'Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar.' *Sturlustefna. Ráðstefna haldin á sjö alda ártíð Sturlu Þórðarsonar sagnaritara 1984*. Ed. by Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir and Jónas Kristjánsson. Reykjavík 1988, 37-60. cf. 37.

¹⁰⁸ Jónas Kristjánsson. *Um Fóstbræðrasögu*. Reykjavík 1972, 240-246. Lars Lönnroth mentioned AM 764 briefly in his article on physiognomy in Old Norse literature: 'Kroppen som själens spegel — ett motiv i de isländska sagorna.' *Lychnos. Lärdomshistoriska samfundets årsbok* (1963-64), 35 n4.

¹⁰⁹ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir. 'On the sources and composition of *Rómverja saga*.' *Saga-Book* XXIV (1996), 203-220.

¹¹⁰ Jakob Benediktsson (ed.) *Catilina and Jugurtha by Sallust and Pharsalia by Lucan in Old Norse: Rómverjasaga 595 a-b 4to.* (EIMF XIII.) Copenhagen 1980, 20-22.

¹¹¹ Dietrich Hofmann. 'Accessus ad Lucanum: Zur Neubestimmung des Verhältnisses zwischen *Rómverja saga* und *Veraldar saga*.' *Sagnaskemmtun. Studies in Honour of Hermann Pálsson*. Ed. by Rudolf Simek et al. Wien 1986, 121-151.

¹¹² Stephanie Würth. *Der "Antikenroman" in der isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Eine Untersuchung zur Übersetzung und Rezeption lateinischer Literatur im Norden.* (Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 26.) Basel und Frankfurt/M. 1998, 177-180.

Gabriel Turville-Petre wrote an article on the *Somniale Danielis* in 764 with the text and a translation¹¹³ and he included the material on Bede, published earlier by Möbius and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, in his survey of legends and stories about England and English saints in Iceland.¹¹⁴ A brief overview of all the material concerning saints in 764 can be found in Margaret Cormack's *The Saints in Iceland*.¹¹⁵ Christine Fell re-examined the Bede fragments as well as the passages concerning Cuthbert (f. 36r1-5) and Walburga (f. 34) in a paper on Anglo-Saxon saints in Old Norse sources, where she refers to AM 764, rather uncharitably, as an 'absurd ragbag of material'.¹¹⁶

Despite such a scornful remark scholars continue to be led to AM 764 4to as an unusually rich source of diverse material which has bearing upon many different aspects of intellectual life in Iceland in the later Middle Ages. The codex is equally, if not more, important as an example of an extraordinary compilatory work, generously displaying, in Hans Bekker-Nielsen's words, 'den levende interesse for omverdenen, der præger den norrøne lærdoms- og opbyggelseslitteratur'.¹¹⁷ It is the aim of the present study to clarify the make-up of the first half of this important codex and shed some light on its origins and purpose. It may indeed transpire that AM 764 4to is less absurd than edifying, more a schoolbag than a ragbag.

¹¹³ E.O.G. Turville-Petre. 'An Icelandic version of the *Somniale Danielis*.' *Nordica et Anglica: Studies in honor of Stefán Einarsson*. Ed. by Allan H. Orrick. The Hague 1968, 19-36.

¹¹⁴ G. Turville-Petre. 'Legends of England in Icelandic Manuscripts'. *The Anglo-Saxons. Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*. Ed. by Peter Clemons. London 1959, 104-121.

¹¹⁵ Margaret Cormack. *The Saints in Iceland. Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400*. (Subsidia Hagiographica 78.) Bruxelles 1994, 35.

¹¹⁶ Christine Fell. 'Anglo-Saxon saints in Old Norse sources and vice versa.' *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress. Århus 24-31 August 1977*. Ed. by Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote and Olaf Olsen. Odense 1981, 99.

¹¹⁷ Bekker-Nielsen. 'Et brudstykke', 105.

II. THE WORLD CHRONICLE

1. Aetates mundi

The material on the first 22 leaves of the manuscript is organised according to the medieval concept of *aetates mundi*, where the history of the world, from the Creation, is divided up into six ages. It was St Augustine's formulation of this idea which was to become the most important one in the Middle Ages although he is by no means the first writer, not even the first Christian writer, to divide history up into ages. World ages were an important concept within Judaism and one encounters them in the works of early Church Fathers, including Origen, Jerome and Ambrose.¹ (From early on, parallels were also drawn between the Ages of the World and the Ages of Man.²) These age-schemes were based on interpretations of passages of the Bible — the four kingdoms in the Book of Daniel (2.31-35, 7.2-14), for instance, inspired a fourfold division (cf. also pp. 123-124) and the parable of the workers in the vineyard (Mt. 20.1-6) gave rise to a five-part scheme.³ But the Augustinian scheme, with its exposition of six ages (or, in fact, eight) became the favoured model. It was incorporated into Isidore's

¹ On *aetates mundi* before Augustine cf. Roderich Schmidt. 'Aetates mundi. Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte.' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955-56), 305-306; cf. also Max Förster. 'Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen.' *Neusprachliche Studien. Festgabe Karl Luick. Die Neueren Sprachen* 6. Beiheft. Marburg 1925, 183-187; Bodo Gatz. *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*. Hildesheim 1967, 104-113; Hildegard Tristram. *Six aetates mundi. Die Weltzeitalter bei den Angelsachsen und den Iren*. Heidelberg 1985, 19-22.

² Cf. J.A. Burrow. *The Ages of Man*. Oxford 1986.

³ Förster, *Die Weltzeitalter*, 184-85; Schmidt, 'Aetates mundi', 289, 301-303.

Etymologiae (V.38-39) and later found its way into other influential works, for example the writings of Bede and Honorius Augustodunensis.

It is in his commentary on Genesis, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, that Augustine gives the fullest account of the *aetates mundi*, but the concept crops up elsewhere in his writings, perhaps most famously towards the end of *De civitate Dei* (lib. XXII). Augustine draws a parallel between Genesis and the course of the world. As the Creation took six days, so the world will pass through six ages before reaching the seventh age, the sabbath. According to Augustine the first age extends from Adam to Noah, the second from Noah to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, the fourth from David until the Exile in Babylonia, the fifth from the Exile to the birth of Christ, and the sixth age extends from Christ's birth *usque in finem saeculi* — until the end of this world.⁴ The seventh age presented a problem. There were chiliastic ideas, popular among Christians, about an earthly sabbath after the second coming of Christ, a 1000-year reign before the Last Judgment. These ideas were influenced by Judaism and strengthened by numerological speculations which allotted each age 1000 years, resulting in a scheme of 7 x 1000 years of earthly history before the eternal heavenly kingdom.⁵ Augustine was keen to counter such millenarianism. For him the seventh age was therefore not the time of bodily resurrection but a period of rest for the souls of the righteous, it was *civitas Dei peregrinans*, and it also signified the life of the Church.⁶ The seventh age of the Augustinian scheme could be seen, and indeed Bede formulates it thus, as running parallel to the six ages — Abel's soul was the first to enter it.⁷ The eighth age was beyond time, in a sense — it was to come after the Last Judgment and represented the eternal life of the blessed in Heaven. It was the age of resurrection, the eighth day which equalled the first day of a new beginning.⁸

⁴ *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, lib. I. PL 34, 190-193..

⁵ Schmidt, 'Aetates mundi', 293-296. The 7000 years were the result of a combination of the week of Genesis and the words of the Psalter (89.4): *Quoniam mille anni ante oculos tuos tamque dies hesternae, quae praeteriit, et custodia in nocte*. Cf. also Norman Cohn *The Pursuit of the Millennium. Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. Rev. ed. London 1993, 19-36.

⁶ Schmidt, 'Aetates mundi', 295-297; Auguste Luneau. *L'Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Eglise. La doctrine des ages du monde*. Paris 1964, 321-326.

⁷ *Chronica maiora*. in Beda Venerabilis. *Opera Pars VI. Opera didascalica 2*. Ed. by Ch. W. Jones. (CCSL 123B.) Turnhout 1977, 536-537.

⁸ Luneau, *L'Histoire du salut*. 326.

When Isidore and, later, Bede took up the Augustinian framework of the six ages to use in their works, they incorporated into it a calculation of the years in each age. Augustine had referred to the genealogies given in Gn 5 and 10 and Mt 1 for his chronology, giving 10 generations from Adam to Noah, the same for the next age but for the third, fourth and fifth 14 each.⁹ Isidore based his reckoning upon the Septuagint but Bede gives both the Septuagint numbers and a chronology derived from the Vulgate (which he refers to as the Hebrew chronology).¹⁰ For example:

Prima est ergo mundi huius aetas ab Adam usque ad Noe, continens annos iuxta Hebraicam Veritatem mille DCLVI, iuxta LXX interpretes IICCXLII, generationes iuxta utramque editionem numero X.¹¹

If one compares the two schemes this is what emerges:

	Isidore	Bede
I.	2242	1656
II.	942	292
III.	940/941	942
IV:	485	473
V:	587	589
I-V:	5197	3952

The *aetates mundi* became a commonplace in historical works in the Middle Ages, be they annals, chronicles or other sorts of *historiae*, and they are also found in works belonging to other genres, such as homilies and poetry.¹² This holds true for Old Norse literature as well — *aetates mundi*, called ‘heimsaldrar’ in Icelandic, occur in homilies and Saints Lives but first and foremost in works of (Christian) historical nature.¹³ Two such texts are of particular interest here, since they are representative of the type of chronicles to which the text on leaves 1-23 in 764 seems to belong. These are *Veraldar saga*,

⁹ *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I, 24. PL34, 192.

¹⁰ Tristram, *Six aetates*, 24-27.

¹¹ Bede, *Opera* VI,2, 463.

¹² On the *aetates mundi* within different genres see Tristram, *Six aetates*, 61-179.

¹³ Jakob Benediktsson. ‘Verdensaldrer.’ *KLNM* 19, 651-53. Jakob mentions both the Icelandic and Norwegian Homily Book, *Mariu saga*, *Stjórn*, *Elucidarius*, *Postola sögur*, *Hauksbók* and *Veraldar saga*. Cf. also Régis Boyer. ‘Les ages de la vie dans la Scandinavie ancienne.’ *Les ages de la vie au moyen age. Actes du colloque du Département d’Etudes Médiévales de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne et de l’Université Friedrich-Wilhelm de Bonn Provins, 16-17 mars 1990*. Ed. by Henri Dubois and Michel Zink. Paris 1992, 7-21, esp. 14-16.

thought to have been composed in the twelfth century, and the so-called *Heimsaldrar* in the manuscript AM 194 8vo.¹⁴ A short account of ‘heimsaldrar’ is also found in AM 415 4to¹⁵ and it is not inconceivable that passages of a similar kind could lurk in other less well studied manuscripts. *Veraldar saga* and *Heimsaldrar* both conform with the Augustinian scheme of *aetates mundi* (Adam-Noah-Abraham-David-Babylon-Christ) and the calculation they offer for the number of years is closest to that of Isidore. 764, on the other hand, has a different scheme and such varying arrangements were not uncommon among medieval writers. Despite the predominance of the Augustinian scheme, other traditions of *aetates mundi* divisions survived alongside it, or perhaps influenced it. The sequence of ages employed by the scribes of 764 is as follows: Adam-Noah-Abraham-Moses-David-Christ. The scribes state at the beginning, in a true Augustinian fashion, that there are six ages in this world (‘sex eru greindir í bókum alldrar þessa heims’ 1v30), but they depart from the Augustinian tradition when they put Moses at the beginning of the fourth age and make the fifth start with David. Moses is the odd one out here, but he played a part in other world age schemes. Roderich Schmidt traces the inclusion of Moses back to three-part schemes which originated in Judaism.¹⁶ It is, however, with Origen’s interpretation of the parable of the workers in the vineyard that a sequence similar to the one in 764 starts to emerge. For Origen the five intervals in the day (marked by the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 9th and 11th hours) represented both the ages of man and the ages of the world which were marked by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Christ respectively. But Origen’s interpretation still leaves us with five ages instead of six, and although we may have found the roots, it is difficult to trace the development which ultimately produced the 764-sequence. This sequence is however by no means unique to 764. It is also found in three late eleventh-century Anglo-saxon manuscripts¹⁷ and it is the basis for the division of world history in the Low-German *Sachsenspiegel*, compiled by Eike von Repgow in 1220-1235. Max Förster explains the sequence thus: ‘...diese neue

¹⁴ Almost all of the manuscript is published in *AÍ I*.

¹⁵ *AÍ III*, 52-54.

¹⁶ Schmidt, ‘Aetates mundi’, 299. The three-part division is found in Old Norse literature, for instance in the Norwegian homily book, cf. *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok*. Ed. by Gustav Indrebø. Oslo 1931, 43.

¹⁷ Stowe MS 960 (Inventory of Hyde Abbey), Cott. MS Caligula A. XV, Arundel 60, cf. Förster, *Die Weltzeitalter*, 190-191.

Reihe [ist] wahrscheinlich so zu beurteilen, daß die alte fünfgliedrigen Origeneische Weltalterreiche ... durch Einfügung des David aus der Vulgata-Reihe ebenfalls auf sechs Glieder gestreckt worden ist'.¹⁸ Hildegard Tristram classifies it as a sub-type of what she calls 'Augustinisch-Isidorisches Schema'¹⁹ but does not offer an explanation as to how this type evolved out of that scheme. Schmidt, on the other hand, argues for the explanation that a sequence with Moses and David developed earlier out of the Origen-sequence and survived independently from the Augustinian tradition. He outlines several medieval variations on the Origen-sequence and points to a fragment in Old Slavonic with a text by Hippolyte of Rome which preserves a sequence identical to the one in 764.²⁰

It is well-nigh impossible to determine, with regard to 764, which of these theories is nearest to the truth. 764 is the only Icelandic source, known to me, which employs this type of sequence. It was most likely derived, ultimately, from a foreign source which has yet to be discovered.

When it comes to the number of years given for each age, 764 again differs from *Veraldar saga* and 194 8vo. But the numbers in 764 are highly suspect and may have been incorrectly copied. As they stand, the numbers seem to be an inaccurate mixture of the two systems (Isidore's and Bede's). The first age is said to contain 1600 years which is near to Bede's reckoning. The next two ages (942 and 940 years respectively) fit in with Isidore. For the fourth age the scribe gives the curious number 657 and the fifth age is said to contain 1060 years. The total of years up to Christ's birth is said to be 5199 which is close enough to Isidore's 5197. This numerical inaccuracy is evident elsewhere in the manuscript, for instance in the passage on the stars and their orbits (see below p. 87). One has to give it to the scribe, however, that the numbers for the *aetates mundi* in 764 do add up correctly, the sum is indeed 5199. The explanation for the strange numbers given for the fourth and fifth age could be that the scribe was trying to compensate for the error that arises when Bede's reckoning is used for the first age in an otherwise Isidorian scheme. The scribe may have inflated

¹⁸ Förster, *Die Weltzeitalter*, 190.

¹⁹ Tristram, *Six aetates*, 35, 42-43.

²⁰ Schmidt, 'Aetates mundi', 302-308.

the fourth and fifth age (either or both) in order to regain those 642 years lost in the first age.

This confusion about the exact duration of each age is not in any way an impediment to the function of the *aetates mundi* as an organising principle. As will become clear in the chapters to follow, the scribes of 764 brought together a lot of heterogenous material. The *aetates mundi* serve as a historical framework within which the scribes manage to hold all the diverse fragments and pieces together.

2. Totius orbis brevis descriptio

Before setting off on a journey through the six ages of world history, the compilers present the reader with a brief description of the world (1r-1v29). Similar descriptions are found in several other Icelandic manuscripts but the one in 764 is among the longest of them.²¹ They belong to a tradition which can be traced back to Isidore and beyond that to Pliny's *Natural History*, but it has proved difficult to determine the exact source for the Icelandic passages.

The description in 764 divides the world up into three parts, as was traditional in medieval world descriptions, and it seems to be an amalgamation of mainly two texts. The description of Asia corresponds almost verbatim with the beginning of chapter 4 in *Nikolaus saga erkibyskups*, written by Bergr Sokkason.²² The description of Africa is confused and contains incorrect information as well as repetitions, which suggests that the scribe was trying to merge two (or more) sources. The passage on Europe, on the other hand, is paralleled in a fragment dated to c. 1300, AM 736 4to I,²³ and in AM 194 8vo, the manuscript mentioned above in connection with *Heimsaldrar* (cf. pp 65-66). In addition, the 764 text contains two interpolations. The first one is a passage on the mythological creature the phoenix (1r19-31). That passage is also found in 194 where it is followed by another phoenix-legend not included in 764, i.e. the account of how the bird is reborn out of its ashes. The second interpolation in 764 (1r33-38) describes the four rivers that flow from Paradise, a passage which has its basis in Gn 2.10-14.

In his book, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, Rudolf Simek collated these texts and discussed their relationship.²⁴ In his argumentation he presupposes that there existed a prototype of the Icelandic world description which the different versions found in manuscripts ultimately went back to. He assumes that the text in 736/194 is closest to that original description but thinks it possible that the original description had a fuller beginning than 736/194, reflected in

²¹ For an overview of these descriptions see Rudolf Simek. *Altnordische Kosmographie. Studien und Quellen zu Weltbild und Weltbeschreibung in Norwegen und Island vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1990, 143-211.

²² *HMS* II, 55.

²³ Printed in Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 429-432.

²⁴ Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 155-185.

764/*Nikolaus saga*. Simek consequently rejects the idea that the 764 scribe might have used a copy of *Nikolaus saga* as a source for the first part of the description, and prefers to think that 764 and *Nikolaus saga* are both dependent on the same source which could have been the proto-description or, as Simek seems to think more plausible, an expanded version of the proto-description. In order to account for the phoenix-text in 764 Simek then supposes that there was a further intermediate link between the source for *Nikolaus saga* and 764.²⁵

Although Simek convincingly analyses the components that make up the world description in 764 his theory about its sources seems dubious. It must be borne in mind that world descriptions were ubiquitous in medieval schoolbooks and encyclopedias and they are by no means rare in Old Norse literature either, as the text examples Simek has collected demonstrate. It thus seems unnecessary to suppose that all the extant texts are derived from the same proto-source. The fact that 764 and 194 share the passage on the phoenix, as well as the description of Europe (and other material as will be discussed in later chapters), strongly suggests that they shared a source which included all that information. As for the material in 764 which has no counterpart in 194 we must remind ourselves that the description in 764 is clearly composite: Simek has for instance shown how the inclusion of the two Mauritanias in the description of Africa (1v6-7) renders the mention of 'iij blálönd' in l. 1v13 redundant. The 764 scribe is therefore likely to have had at least two sources to hand. The second source might have been a work also used by Bergr Sokkason, but the possibility that the 764 scribe made use of Bergr's *Nikolaus saga* itself, rather than its source, should not be excluded. We do not know enough about the sources Bergr Sokkason used for his *Nikolaus saga*.²⁶ The chapter in question is held to be an addition to Bergr's Latin text.²⁷ Bergr cites, in his work, *inter alia* St Gregory, St Augustine and Isidore but, as Sverrir Tómasson has pointed out, he may have had only an indirect access to these Latin authors.²⁸ There are, however, grounds to believe that Bergr translated material directly from Latin, for instance from Isidore, and

²⁵ *Ibid.* 331-337.

²⁶ But cf. Ole Widding. 'Kilderne til den norrøne Nicolaus saga.' *Opuscula* II.1. (BiblAm XXV.1.) København 1961, 17-26. esp. 22-26.

²⁷ C.R. Unger (ed.) *HMS* I, xvi.

²⁸ Sverrir Tómasson. 'Íslenskar Nikulás sögur.' *Helgastaðabók. Nikulás saga Perg. 4to Nr. 16 Konungsbókhöðu í Stokkhólmi.* (ÍM II.) Reykjavík 1982, 31.

incorporated it into his *Nikolaus saga*.²⁹ The chapter on Asia in the saga is an abridged version of chapter xx in book XIV of Isidore's *Etymologiae* and it seems reasonable to suppose that Bergr did translate the text himself, rather than copy it from some Icelandic encyclopedic tractate.

As shown elsewhere, the scribes of 764 also acquired their 'encyclopedic' texts from books which the modern reader would not classify as encyclopedias. The passages on Antichrist and the Last Judgment, for instance, (cf. pp. 212-217), were most likely taken from *Tveggja postola saga Jóns og Jakobs*. Elsewhere in the manuscript we find material from other legendary sources, for instance *Marthe saga ok Marie Magdalenu* and there is an exemplum taken from *Nikolaus saga* on f. 31. The scribes will have had no qualms about copying the fourth chapter of *Nikolaus saga*. Their reason for doing so might have been that the world description they had to hand was less full when it came to information about Asia. It is significant here that the scribe of 764 makes one change in the text which he otherwise follows closely. Where the *Nikolaus saga* text mentions two 'Indias' ('Asia maior hefir morg storlond ok hofudborgir i ser: þar er India hvartveggi ...') the 764 scribe changes it to three. This may be because he/she knew better — because the other source stated that there were indeed three 'Indíalönd'.

As to the relationship between 764 and 736/194 it is important to bear in mind that these manuscripts probably had a slightly different purpose and their compilers therefore followed different editorial policies which affected the way they copied their material (this is less obvious in the case of 736 since it is only a fragment). Or to put it this way: discrepancies between the versions may to a certain extent be explained by the scribes' editorial principles. The description of Paradise in 194 and 764 can be taken as an example.

It is worth noting of the description in 764 that Paradise seems here to be synonymous with the garden of Eden, the description is restricted to that Old Testament notion. It is a starting point for history rather than the dwelling-place of the blessed. The idea of Paradise as a heavenly abode comes with the New Testament and that idea was the more significant for Christians in the Middle Ages although the images and notions of the Old Testament remained

²⁹ Jakob Benediktsson. 'Stjórn og Nikulás saga.' *Gripla* VI (1984), 7-11.

compelling.³⁰ If one compares the text in 764 with that in 194 one discovers that the latter text retains allusions to the New Testament. In it Adam and the tree of knowledge are mentioned but then the scribe goes on to describe how there is perennial day in Paradise, no hatred and no hunger, and angels who sing to amuse the inhabitants. The inhabitants are ‘salur godra manna ok una þar til doma-dags, sidan er gud lauk upp, þa er hann leiddi þangat ðnd þiofs þess, er lif sitt lét *α* crossinum.’³¹ This information has its equivalent for instance in Isidore, but it is not to be found in 764. The explanation for that has to be sought in the organising principles of the compilers. The crucifixion belongs to the sixth age of the world and cannot be included here if the compilers are to maintain a strict *ordo temporum*. This was presumably no concern of the 194 scribe since his compilation was of a different sort.

At the end of the discussion of Paradise the scribe mentions the four rivers which flow from it and this leads on to a description of countries and places to complete the description of the three continents that make up the earth. The areas around the Mediterranean are described, first Asia minor, then Africa, and finally the scribe turns to Europe, works his way north, mentions Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Finnmörk and Bjarmaland. He then writes: ‘Af Bjarmalandi ganga lönd óbyggð af norðr ætt unz Grænland tekr við. Suðr frá Grænlandi liggr Helluland, þá Markland; þaðan er eigi langt til Vínlanz. Ísland er ey mikil. Hon er norðuz í kristni svá at menn viti’(1v27-29).

The Middle Ages inherited from the Greeks a picture of the ‘whole world’ as a circle, and it is with the Greeks that one finds the beginnings of geographical narrative, which flourished in medieval times, in which it was possible to lead the reader around the perimeter of the earth.³² The medieval ‘world-tours’, visual or verbal, ‘offered their audience a pleasingly synoptic view of the earth’s circuit, embellished with curious details of its most exotic phenomena’.³³ Such a verbal ‘world-tour’ seems to be the aim of the scribe of 764. The purpose of his brief description of the world is to orientate his audience in the world, so that they can put the historical events that follow in a geographical context. But it is interesting that, apart from the passage on

³⁰ Daniel Callam. ‘Paradise, Western concept of.’ *DMA* 9, 395-398.

³¹ *AÍ* I, 4

³² James S. Romm. *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*. Princeton 1992. 26-31.

Paradise, his description does not contain a lot of 'curious details of exotic phenomena'. It is very much 'down to earth' (in more than one sense). The scribe does mention exotic regions, such as the uninhabited lands north of Norway and the lands he claims lie south of Greenland. But unlike the authors of some other descriptions of these regions³⁴ our scribe seems to be not in the least interested in mirabilia.

Another important geographical concept of Greek origins is the *oikoumene*, the 'inhabited earth' or the 'known world'. It can be defined, in the words of James Romm, 'as a region made coherent by the intercommunication of its inhabitants'.³⁵ Beyond the *oikoumene* was 'another world, mysterious regions inhabited by monstrous races and fantastic animals.'³⁶ As can be deduced from our scribe's choice of words when describing Iceland ('Ísland er ey mikil ... norðuz í kristni) the *oikoumene* he is concerned with is the Christian world. Christianity defines the borders of the *oikoumene* to the north. The scribe has mentioned areas which lie outside those borders but he does not take great interest in them; they need not concern him or the audience of his book. He traverses these regions, metaphorically speaking, but his description ends at home, within the ecumenical boundaries of the Church. And so it is that, despite the fact that the boundaries of the *orbis terrae* had widened considerably since Roman times, our scribe still finds himself/herself sitting on the remote edge of the *oikoumene* — in Ultima Thule.³⁷

³³ *Ibid.*, 31.

³⁴ Cf. e.g. *Historia Norvegiae*, (*Monumenta historica Norvegiæ*. Ed. by Gustav Storm. Kristiania 1880, 76-80) and *Konungs skuggsjá* (*Udvalgte afsnit af Konungs skuggsjá*. Ed. by Jón Helgason. København 1966, 16-29).

³⁵ Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, 37.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 82--83; 121-125. The borders of the *oikoumene* were also sometimes thought of as *alius orbis*.

³⁷ On the significance of Ultima Thule see Romm, *The Edges of the Earth*, 156-158.

3. Aetates I-III: Genesis garnished

3.1. Genesis and the encyclopedic tradition

The first three ages fall within the narrative of Genesis, and the Bible, not surprisingly, provides the thread which holds the text in 764 together. But it is on these pages also, that one encounters the greater part of the strictly encyclopedic material, i.e. texts of a scientific nature, contained in the codex. This is not a coincidence. A brief study of the development of Genesis commentaries reveals that the scribes of 764 work within a well-established tradition which can be traced back to the beginnings of Biblical exegesis.

Genesis, the first book of the Bible, naturally forms an introduction of sorts to the whole work and therefore quickly acquired great significance for Bible studies, and indeed for elementary Christian education. It was in Genesis one was to seek answers to questions about the beginning of the world and the origins of man, indeed the origins of history.³⁸ It introduced the student to the major themes of Christianity and it became one of the most extensively commentated books of the Bible. It thus served as the basis for the exposition of crucial theological problems concerning Creation, Sin, the existence of Evil, and God's Grace.³⁹ A fundamental issue, for instance, and one which runs through all commentaries from the Greek Fathers onwards, was how to reconcile the statement that God had created all things simultaneously with the account of the six-day creation. Related to this problem was another, no less important: Was the world made immediately or through the medium of a preexisting material, *materia informata*?⁴⁰ These questions are echoed in the treatise in AM 764 as we shall see (pp. 85-87).

In the Western Church, a rich tradition of commentary on Genesis developed, where the hexaëmeron took pride of place, and to which many of the

³⁸ C. Spicq. *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au Moyen Age*. (Bibliothèque Thomiste XXVI.) Paris 1944, 58. Judith McClure. 'Bede's Notes on Genesis and the training of the Anglo-Saxon Clergy.' *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in memory of Beryl Smalley*. Ed. by K. Walsh and D. Wood. Oxford 1985, 26. Anne Holtmark. *Studier i Snorres mytologi*. (Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. Ny Serie. No. 4.) Oslo 1964, 27.

³⁹ J. Scharbert. 'Genesis.' *LfThK* 3, 670-71; E. Mangenot. 'Hexaméron.' *DTC* 6, 2325-2354.

⁴⁰ Robert E. McNally. *The Bible in the early Middle Ages*. Westminster, Md. 1959, 64.

most illustrious thinkers and scholars contributed. Among them were St. Ambrose (*Hexaëmeron*, PL 14), St. Jerome (*Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, CCSL 72), St. Augustine (*De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim* CSEL 28; *De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos* PL 34), Isidore of Seville (*Quaestiones in vetus testamentum, Quaestiones in Genesim*, PL 83), Bede (*Libri quatuor in principium Genesis*, CCSL 118A) and Rabanus Maurus (*Commentariorum in Genesim libri quatuor*, PL 107).⁴¹ Most subsequent commentaries depended on these works for much of their material, including the *Glossa ordinaria*, which can be described as the standard Bible reference work of the twelfth century. Much uncertainty surrounds the compilation and authorship of the *Glossa ordinaria* but Beryl Smalley has argued that the gloss on Genesis may have been compiled by Gilbert of Auxerre, who was a pupil of Anselm of Laon, also known as Gilbertus Universalis.⁴²

In all these commentaries, knowledge about the physical world, about natural phenomena and historical geography, is incorporated into the commentary in order to illuminate the reader's perception of Creation and orientate him in the geography of the lands where the events described in the Scriptures took place. This tradition can be traced back to the School of Alexandria (2.-3. c. AD), the first organised group of Christian thinkers. The Alexandrian fathers owed much to Judaism, in particular to Philo Judaeus, who in turn was imbued by Platonism. It was through the influence of Philo that the Alexandrians, in particular Origen, insisted on using secular knowledge and philosophy to throw light on the Scriptures. The seven liberal arts were seen as the necessary education for understanding the Bible. The Alexandrians, moreover, laid the foundations of allegorical exegesis based on the theory of the three- or fourfold sense of the Scriptures. In time, largely through the efforts of the Cappadocian fathers, secular learning became a tool to aid the exposition of, principally, the allegorical sense, but it also served to illuminate the historical,

⁴¹ For an overview of commentaries on Genesis cf. Johannes Zahlten. *Creatio mundi. Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart 1979, 86-101.

⁴² Beryl Smalley. 'Glossa ordinaria.' *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 13, 452-457; Beryl Smalley. 'Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128-34), and the Problem of the "Glossa Ordinaria"'. *RTh* 7 (1935), 235-262.

literal sense.⁴³ The inclusion of encyclopedic material in tractates on Genesis is therefore bound up, from the earliest age, with the theory of the three or four senses of Scripture — it served to prop up the literal sense on which the allegorical and moral interpretations were built. Consequently, one finds in these works information on diverse subjects, e.g. geography and astronomy, on herbs, beasts and stones, on human physiology and the nature of angels. Genesis became, for the Middle Ages, ‘the textbook of external nature’.⁴⁴

Bede’s commentary may serve as an example. It stands conveniently in the middle, so to speak, between the Fathers on whom he relied heavily (especially Augustine) and the beginnings of the development of the Gloss. In his dedicatory letter to Bishop Acca Bede discusses the extensive commentaries of his predecessors, but then reveals that his aim is to produce a simpler work (and more accessible presumably) for the needs of the feeble.⁴⁵ Despite this aim, Bede does not at all cut down the encyclopedic material, which indicates that he felt such learning was vital for the edification of ordinary mortals. Not only was it vital, it was a logical starting point, as it were, because nature, God’s creation, was ‘a book of doctrine lying open to read’.⁴⁶ Through the study of nature one is brought to appreciation of Creation and God’s grace. Quite fittingly, Bede seems to have pursued his studies not only through books for, as C.W. Jones has remarked, some sections in the commentary bear witness to his own observations of nature in his native England.⁴⁷ Most of the information, however, still comes from the works of ancient writers. Among the subjects Bede treats are the *aetates mundi* (I.ii, 1093-1224), the four elements (I.i, 89-106), heaven and the firmament (I.i, 247 ff.); the stars and the planets and in that context, chronology (I.i, 480-548), geography (e.g. I.ii,10-14), animals, plus, of course, etymology (e.g. I.ii,23).

As is well known, Bede was very influential amongst later writers and many subsequent encyclopedic works rely on his books, not only the Genesis

⁴³ Cf. Beryl Smalley. *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. (2nd ed.) Oxford 1952, 1-13; Zahlten, *Creatio mundi*, 90-91; Charles W. Jones. ‘Some Introductory Remarks on Bede’s Commentary on Genesis.’ *Sacris erudiri. Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* 19 (1969-1970), 120; Mangenot, ‘Hexaméron’, 2336.

⁴⁴ Jones, ‘Some Remarks’, 118.

⁴⁵ Beda Venerabilis. *Opera Pars II. Opera exegetica I*. Ed. Charles W. Jones. (CCSL 118A) Turnhout 1967, 1. Cf. also Jones’ Introduction, vi-vii.

⁴⁶ Jones. ‘Some Remarks’, 117.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 120.

commentary but also, and more importantly, works like *De temporum ratione* and *De natura rerum*, but both these works were known in Iceland from early on (cf. p. 223 and 228).

Although commentary on Genesis was a well established part of the exegetical tradition from the beginning, the twelfth century witnesses what can be called an explosion in hexaëmeral writings.⁴⁸ As Johannes Zahlten points out, the explanation for this lies partly in the increased interest in the natural sciences, following the rediscovery of the works of Aristotle and other Greek and Arabic writers.⁴⁹ Employing the new logic, scholars now started to seek understanding of the laws of nature independently of its Creator. The influx of classical learning in the twelfth century thus brought about a change in the relationship between theology and the natural sciences although it should be stressed that the latter continued to be seen as an ancillary subject. The renewed interest in the created world manifested itself not only in the numerous commentaries on the hexaemeron but also in the prolific output of cosmological works by twelfth-century scholars. Among them were some which came to be known in Iceland in one form or another: Honorius Augustodunensis' *Imago mundi*, and Guillaume de Conches' *Philosophia mundi*.

Another reason for this wealth of works on the Creation produced in the twelfth century is to be sought in the development of the schools. The authors of these works were usually also masters in the schools and some of the works display in their form the new interest in a more scientific, organised, approach to the subject, an approach characteristic also of the *Glossa ordinaria*. A substantial number of hexaëmeral works in the twelfth century are ascribed to French scholars, chiefly those teaching in Chartres and Paris, but scholars from other countries, most notably perhaps Germany and England, also played their part in the dissemination of hexaëmeral knowledge.

What this brief summary must suggest, is that the scribes of 764 had a wide array of models on which to base their treatment of the Creation and the created world. To construct their book the way they did was a most natural

⁴⁸ The tables which Zahlten appends to his book show this quite clearly, cf. *Creatio mundi*, 230-237.

⁴⁹ Zahlten, *Creatio mundi*, 96-101. Cf. also Christian Hünemörder. 'Antike und Mittelalterliche Enzyklopädien und die Popularisierung naturkundlichen Wissens.' *Sudhoffs Archiv. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 65 (1981), 339-365.

choice for a learned person in the Middle Ages, whether he or she was in religious orders or was an educated layman. The text in 764 is not a commentary on Scripture, it does not begin each section with a quotation from the Bible followed by an exposition. But it does follow the main events of Genesis, in the right order, occasionally quoting verbatim from the Bible, in other instances (and more frequently) paraphrasing the Bible text. And the Bible material is augmented with extraneous material, mostly encyclopedic, and in that sense 764 represents the continuation of a tradition which extends, as we have seen, back to Origen.

The Bible material in 764 will be discussed in the next chapter. We will now turn to the main sources which lie behind the encyclopedic material the scribes brought into their treatment of Genesis, after which the text of the encyclopedic passages will follow, accompanied by commentary.

3.2. The sources.

Medieval encyclopedias present a difficult task for the source-hunter. Much of the information collected in such works was commonplace in the Middle Ages and copied in one work after another for several hundred years. Even when scribes state their sources, the difficulties are by no means over. They may be copying from a work which relies on the given source but not from the source itself or they may be falsely attributing the passage to a particular source. Further, one should always bear in mind that although a passage seems to come genuinely from a certain work the scribes need not have had the complete work before them: they may have come across the passage in a *florilegium* or a similar book.

3.2.1. Isidore and Comestor.

The sources mentioned by the scribes of 764 are all works which are familiar to a student of medieval intellectual history: Gregory's *Dialogues*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, *Historia scholastica* by Petrus Comestor and Honorius Augustodunensis' *Imago mundi* (Jerome is also mentioned, e.g. 3r12, but without a reference to a specific work). All four works were well known in Iceland in the Middle Ages. Gregory's *Dialogues* will be discussed below (pp. 89-90). A medieval booklist from Skálholt lists a copy of both Comestor and Isidore and the latter also features in the inventories at Hólar 1396, Viðey 1397 and Möðruvellir 1461.⁵⁰ Isidore is frequently cited in Icelandic sources and a substantial part of the encyclopedic material which has survived in Icelandic manuscripts can be traced back to the *Etymologiae* albeit sometimes through intermediaries. This is true, for instance, of passages in Hauksbók⁵¹ and of geographical information incorporated into *Nikolaus saga*.⁵²

Historia scholastica was written in the third quarter of the twelfth century and quickly became popular, also in Scandinavia. It is one of the sources for *Stjórn* I and *Stjórn* III as well as for several lives of apostles and saints.

⁵⁰ *DI* III, 611-614, *DI* IV, 110-111; *DI* V, 288. The list from Skálholt is not dated but it is at least from before 1588 and probably considerably older, cf. Kristján Eldjárn and Hörður Ágústsson. *Skálholt. Skróði og áhöld*. Reykjavík 1992, 292-293. Cf. also Eiríkur Þormóðsson. 'Bókaeign Möðruvallaklausturs.' *Mímir* 12 (1968), 18-20 and Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 227.

⁵¹ Cf. Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 175-176, 237-249.

⁵² Cf. Jakob Benediktsson. 'Stjórn og Nikulás saga', 7-11.

Substantial parts of *Gyðinga saga* are derived from *Historia Scholastica*⁵³ and fragments of Comestor's work are also found separately. These facts have led to speculation about a possible translation of the work or part of it.⁵⁴

Although both Isidore and Comestor seem to have contributed to the 764 text in more than one instance, the single most substantial source for the encyclopedic material in the manuscript seems to be a twelfth-century work by Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*. Not only does most of the cosmology derive from this work but so also do passages on the reign of secular rulers which we encounter later on in the manuscript (cf. pp. 154-158). There are also echoes of two other works by Honorius in 764, *Elucidarius* and *Speculum ecclesiae*. A brief sketch of the author and his output seems, therefore, to be in order here.

3.2.2.. Honorius Augustodunensis

Honorius Augustodunensis has in the past proved a rather elusive figure in the history of medieval learning, but thanks to the scholarship of Valerie J. Flint, our picture of him has recently become somewhat clearer.⁵⁵ Honorius was probably born around 1070, perhaps into a family of the minor nobility of Savoy and the Alps. He could thus have been a kinsman of St Anselm (1033-1109), Archbishop of Canterbury (from 1093), which might explain why he went to England as a young man to pursue a career as a canon, teacher and writer, first at Canterbury, but later it seems at other English ecclesiastical establishments as well. He certainly had ties with Worcester and Rochester, and possibly with Winchester and Lincoln. It is in this period (ca. 1094-1110) that he wrote or started to write those works which are of chief concern in relation to 764: *Elucidarius*, *Imago mundi* and *Speculum ecclesiae*. At or after St Anselm's death in 1109 Honorius seems to have left England for Regensburg where he became, according to Flint's research, a canon at the *alte Kapelle* where he produced most of his completed works. Flint reckons he then 'left the *alte Kapelle* for Lambach, or, just conceivably, St James of Regensburg, perhaps in about the years 1133/4'.⁵⁶

⁵³ Kirsten Wolf (ed.). *Gyðinga saga*. Reykjavík 1995, lxxxviii-xcvii.

⁵⁴ Ian J. Kirby *Biblical Quotation in Old Icelandic-Norwegian Religious Literature. II*. Reykjavík 1980, 12-13.

⁵⁵ For the outline of Honorius' career and works I rely heavily on Valerie I. J. Flint's monograph *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg*. (Authors of the Middle Ages 6. Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West.) Aldershot 1995.

⁵⁶ Flint, *Honorius*, 34.

Honorius thus became a monk-inclusus late in his life, and died at his monastery some years later, around 1140.

Honorius was the author of some 30 works, many of which enjoyed wide circulation in Western Europe throughout the Middle Ages.⁵⁷ Their popularity is undoubtedly partly due to the pedagogical nature of much of Honorius' work. He seems to have been an excellent teacher who in his writings brought together and organised material from many different sources. A survey of the sources he used for *Imago mundi* reveals that they are indeed numerous, and Honorius' great achievement is to present all this knowledge in an orderly fashion and with great lucidity.⁵⁸

Several of Honorius' works were certainly known in Iceland. It is interesting that they are among the books most closely associated with Honorius' stay in England: *Elucidarius*, *Gemma animae*, *Speculum ecclesiae* and *Imago mundi*.⁵⁹ The *Elucidarius* was translated into Old Norse sometime during the twelfth century.⁶⁰ As Flint remarks, it is 'arguably the most revealing and important of all of Honorius's writings'⁶¹ and it was widely read. It is divided into three books and written in a dialogue where the Master instructs the Disciple in the fundamentals of Christian religion, according to the teaching of the Latin Church. It relies heavily on the teaching of St Anselm and thus is thought to have sprung from his circle in Canterbury.

Speculum ecclesiae and *Gemma animae* are both liturgical works. The former contains a collection of sermons for the whole liturgical year, whereas *Gemma animae* supplies explanations of the liturgy — the Mass, the canonical hours and the Divine Office (*Opus Dei*). Both works were probably begun in England and, when finished, soon found their way back there. Honorius is likely to have sent copies of them himself to his friends, as he did with the first recension of the *Imago mundi* in 1110.⁶² The works of Honorius seem to have been particularly well received in the diocese of Lincoln. Many of the early

⁵⁷ Cf. Valerie I.J. Flint. 'The place and purpose of the works of Honorius Augustodunensis.' *Revue Bénédictine* 87 (1977), 97-127.

⁵⁸ Cf. Valerie I. J. Flint. 'Honorius Augustodunensis *Imago mundi*.' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire au Moyen Age*. 57 (1982), 13-18 (henceforth cited as '*Imago mundi*').

⁵⁹ Flint, *Honorius*, 6-13; '*Imago mundi*', 8-13

⁶⁰ Jón Helgason (ed.) *The Arna-Magnæan Manuscript 674a, 4to. Elucidarius*. (Manuscripta Islandica 4.) Copenhagen 1957, vi.

⁶¹ Flint, *Honorius*, 35.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 16, 22.

copies of *Imago mundi* come from there as well as two twelfth-century copies of the *Gemma animae*.⁶³ The town of Lincoln played a part in the history of the Icelandic church. At least one of the bishops of Skálholt received some education there, namely Þorlákur Þórhallsson who spent six years (1153-59) at schools abroad, first in Paris then in Lincoln.⁶⁴ Another future bishop, Þorlákr's nephew Páll Jónsson, also studied in England, perhaps at Lincoln.⁶⁵ It is quite possible that these relations could partly explain the readiness with which the works of Honorius were received in Iceland.

An exemplum from *Speculum ecclesiae* was translated into Icelandic sometime before the middle of the fourteenth century.⁶⁶ and the *Speculum* is one of the sources for the Bible compilation *Stjórn*.⁶⁷ It has been argued that a homily in the Icelandic Homily book is based on *Gemma animae*⁶⁸ and there is material from that same work in the Norwegian homily book⁶⁹ and in a section of *Stjórn* I.⁷⁰ A fourteenth-century inventory lists *Gemma animae* amongst the books of the Augustinian house in Viðey.⁷¹

Imago mundi crops up in several Icelandic and Norwegian sources apart from AM 764 4to. The work seems to have been one of the sources for *Historia Norvegiae*.⁷² It was used in computistical treatises and geographical descriptions and found its way into Biblical compilations, both *Stjórn* III⁷³ and the fragment of Genesis *cum* cosmology, represented by AM 238 XIX fol. and 764 4to of which more will be said later (cf. pp. 93, 106-109). Quotations from *Imago*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁴ *Byskupa sögur*. 2. Ed. by Jón Helgason. (EdArn A13,2.) København 1978, 183. Cf. also Magnús Stefánsson. 'Kirkjuvald eflist.' *Saga Íslands II*. Ed. by Sigurður Línal. Reykjavík 1975, 96; Sverrir Tómasson. *Formálar íslenskra sagnaritara á miðöldum. Rannsókn bókmenntahefðar*. Reykjavík 1988, 22-23.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Byskupa sögur* 2, 409.

⁶⁶ Cf. Einar G. Pétursson. 'Einn atburður og leiðsla um ódáinsakur.' *Gripla* IV (1980), 138-165.

⁶⁷ Ian J. Kirby. *Bible Translation in Old Norse*. Genève 1986, 61.

⁶⁸ Karel Vrátný. 'Enthält das Stockholmer Homilienbuch durchweg Übersetzungen?' *ANF* 32 (1916), 31-49.

⁶⁹ Oddmund Hjelde. *Norsk preken i det 12. århundre. Studier i Gammel norsk homiliebook*. [Dissertation. Typescript.] Oslo 1990, 405.

⁷⁰ Kirby, *Biblical quotation* II, 84-85.

⁷¹ *DI* IV, 110-111.

⁷² Cf. Asgaut Steinnes. 'Ikring Historia Norvegiæ.' (Norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift* 34 (1946-48), 17-32. Eilif Skard. *Maalet i Historia Norvegiae*. (Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II: Hist.-Filos. Klasse No. 5.) Oslo 1930, 78et passim The chief importance is attached to a couple of sentences in a passage on volcanoes which seem to come from IM I.41, cf. *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ*, 95-96.

⁷³ Gustav Storm. 'De norsk-islandske bibeloversættelser fra 13de og 14de Aarhundrede og Biskop Brandr Jónsson.' *ANF* 3 (1886), 249.

mundi are found in *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, *Kirjalax saga*, *Eiríks saga víðförla* and *Fóstbræðra saga*.⁷⁴ Anne Holtsmark suggested that *Imago mundi* was translated into Old Norse in the twelfth century but did not offer any supportive arguments.⁷⁵ As was said above, translated passages of the work certainly survive in several Icelandic/Norwegian books, but there is no conclusive evidence to show that a whole translation was ever produced. That of course does not diminish the possibility that *Imago mundi*, in its entirety, was known and used in Iceland, and Margaret Clunies Ross has argued that Honorius' work could have served as a model for Snorri Sturluson in the composition of his *Edda*.⁷⁶

Imago mundi is a cosmology in three books, written, as were Honorius' other cosmological works (*Neocosmum* or *Hexaemeron* and *Clavis Physicae*), in an effort 'to explain the meaning of the first four chapters of the Book of Genesis and to understand the place of man in God's creation'.⁷⁷ According to Flint, Honorius produced his first recension in 1110 but subsequently seems to have revised the work three times, in 1123, 1133 and 1139.⁷⁸ In the first book Honorius treats the universe, the geography of the world, the elements and the heavenly bodies. The second book is a computistical treatise and the third treats of historical time, as it were, in a brief survey through the six ages of the history of mankind, until the reign of Henry V of the Holy Roman Empire (1106-1125). The work was originally aimed at priests, to aid them in preaching and teaching, but soon became popular among the laity as an accessible cosmology which could well serve encyclopedic purposes.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ On the reception of *Imago mundi* in Old Norse literature cf. Peter Springborg. 'Weltbild mit Löwe. Die *Imago mundi* von Honorius Augustodunensis in der altwestnordischen Textüberlieferung.' *Cultura classica e cultura germanica settentrionale. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Università di Macerata, 2-4 maggio 1985*. Roma 1988, 167-219.

⁷⁵ Holtsmark, *Studier i Snorres mytologi*, 35; *idem*. 'Elementene.' *KLNM* 3, 593-595.

⁷⁶ Margaret Clunies Ross. *Skáldskaparmál. Snorri Sturluson's ars poetica and medieval theories of language*. Odense 1987, 155-167.

⁷⁷ Flint. *Honorius*, 46.

⁷⁸ Flint, 'Imago mundi', 41.

⁷⁹ Flint, *Honorius*, 46-47, 62-63.

3.3. The exegetical text

The hexaëmeron in 764 is characterised by the fact that its Biblical skeleton, the account of the Creation itself, is very brief. Another characteristic is that the treatise seems to centre on divine beings on the one hand and man on the other. Animals, for instance, receive scant attention. The structure of the hexaëmeral section may be described as follows:

- 0 The Trinity (1v31-37)
- 1a Creation - Day 1 (1v37-38)
- 1b “Primus dies seculi” (1v38-39)
- 2a Creation - Day 2 (2r1-2;5)
- 2b Lucifer (2r2-5)
- 3 Creation - Day 3 (2r5-6)
- 4a Creation - Day 4 (2r6)
- 4b The planets and their spheres (2r6-19)
- 5a Creation - Day 5 (2r19-20)
- 5b From Gregory’s Dialogues: Hierarchy of souls (2r20-23)
- 6a Creation - Day 6 (2r23)
- 6b The first man - biology etc. (2r23-28)
- 6c The Fall (2r29-36)
- 7 Creation - Day 7 (2r36-37)
- 8 Cosmology (2r37-2v2)
- 9 (Birth of Seth -) biology/embryology (2v2-9)
- 10 The first generations of mankind (2v9-20)

3.3.1. The Trinity

Hæsti guð úsýniligr verandi fyrir allar veraldir, einn í þrenning ok þrennr í eining, þat er föður eiginligt at vera, af öngum getinn, eigi skapaðr, eigi getinn. Sonr er samjafn ok sameilífligr feðr í allri dýrð, af honum eigi vorðinn eigi skapaðr heldr óumræðiliga getinn. Heilagr andi er af feðr ok syni framfarandi af hvárumtveggja. (1v31-35)

This text echoes the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed which states that the Son is begotten, not made and also contains the *filioque*, that is, the doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.⁸⁰

3.3.2. Predestination

Svá er lesit sannliga at áðr en heimrinn var gjörr vissi þessi völdugr guð tölu ok nöfn sérhverra sinna manna. (1v35-37)

Elucidarius mentions that the number of the heavenly hosts was fixed:

Til hallar sinnar sette hann uisa tolu valra riþara þa er nauþsvn vas at fylla oc eige lofat við at auka. Enn þessa tolu valþe hann af monnom oc englom oc greinnde .i .x. sueiter .ix engla en x.nda manna.⁸¹

3.3.3. Primus dies

Hann skapaði fyrst í upphafi himin ok jörð ok alla hluti sýniliga ok ósýniliga af öngu fyrirliggjanda efni. Þat var drottins dag. Sá dagr kallaz á latínu primus dies seculo, þat er it þriðja g. í marcio⁸², þat er iij náttum fyrir benedictusmessu á föstu. Síðan greindi hann skapaða hluti á öðrum v dögum. (1v37-2r1)

As mentioned above, one of the controversies running through almost all commentaries on Genesis is that surrounding the question whether God created all things simultaneously or whether the Bible's account of a six-day creation should be taken literally. Linked to this problem is the question of whether the world was created out of pre-existing matter, to which 764 gives a negative answer.

The majority of the Alexandrian thinkers, including Clement and Origen, maintained that the creation should be understood as simultaneous, and the Biblical division into six days was entirely symbolic. The Syrian fathers generally took the opposite view, arguing that the creation had taken place progressively through six days, each of 24 hours. The Cappadocian fathers occupied the middle ground proposing the theory that on the first day elementary matter was created, which was subsequently organised during six days as recorded in the Bible. The Cappadocian fathers were, as mentioned earlier, noteworthy for their use of secular learning in exegesis. St Basil, who greatly influenced St Ambrose, drew upon practically all the scientific knowledge

⁸⁰ Cf. J.N.D. Kelly. *Early Christian Creeds*. (3rd ed.) Harlow 1972, 358.

⁸¹ *Elucidarius in Old Norse Translation*. Ed. by Evelyn Scherabon Firchow and Kaaren Grimstad. Reykjavík 1989, 25-26.

⁸² G is a Sunday-letter and refers to the third Sunday in March, cf. *AI* II, clxxvi.

available to him in his treatment of the hexaëmeron.⁸³ This elementary material was subsequently sometimes interpreted as being the four elements, water, fire, earth and air, thus mixing Genesis with the age-old Greek cosmogonical theories.

It was St Augustine's interpretation of Genesis which was to become the most influential in the West. He insisted, against the Neoplatonists, that the world had been created *ex nihilo* and by all three persons of the Trinity. Regarding the hexaëmeron he took no definite stand with the Alexandrians and against the Syrians nor vice versa. He maintained that creation had happened in an instant and so the six days spoken of in Genesis could not be interpreted literally. But he did not think that the world had emerged, fully created, the way we know it, in an instant, but that all things in the world existed from the beginning (i.e. from the creation), potentially. The opening sentence of Genesis: *In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram* should therefore be taken to mean that everything in the world was implicit in this elementary matter, *materia informis*, described there as heaven and earth. The account in Genesis then tells of how things in the world were realised, and again the six days should not be taken literally, as six days of 24 hours, but symbolically and in the context of the six ages of the world.⁸⁴

The majority of subsequent commentators followed Augustine's line. Among the exceptions is Bede who adopted a stand closer to the Cappadocian fathers, arguing that the elementary matter had been created before the first day and then organised during the six (24 hour) days. The time before the six days of Creation was indefinite.⁸⁵ Bede's views influenced many writers in the later Middle Ages, including Honorius Augustodunensis and the school of St Victor. Our scribe, on the other hand, seems to be untouched by any un-Augustinian views, maintaining that heaven and earth, and all things visible and invisible, were created on the first day 'af öngu fyrirliggjanda efni'. The last words may indeed echo Comestor who states in the first chapter of his *Historia scholastica*

⁸³ Mangenot, 'Hexaméron', 2336.

⁸⁴ E. Portalié. 'Augustin (Saint).' *DTC*. I(2), 2349-2351; Julien Ries. 'La création, l'homme et l'histoire du salut dans le De Genesi contra Manichaeos de Saint Augustin.' "*De Genesi contra Manichaeos.*" "*De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus*" di Agostino d'Ippona. Ed. by Gilles Pelland et al. Palermo 1992, 63-97, esp. 70-77.

⁸⁵ Mangenot, 'Hexaméron', 2338-2339.

that 'Moyses vero solum Deum aeternum prophetavit, et sine praejacenti materia mundum creatum'.⁸⁶

3.3.4. Lucifer

Á öðrum degi viku gjörði hann ix engla fylki. Einn af öllum englum skapaði hann fríðara öllum öðrum. Sá hét Lucifer. Ok skjótliga sem hann var skapaðr fyllidiz hann drambsemdar ok þóttiz vera líkr guði. Því var hann steyttr niðr til helvítis, vorðinn fjandi af engli ok allir þeir er honum samþykktu urðu fjandr af englum. Þá gjörði hann ok festingar himin. (2r1-5)

The theory of the nine hosts of angels and the fate of the first angel, Satahel or Lucifer, was known to Icelanders through Honorius' *Elucidarius* where considerable room is devoted to angelic lore.⁸⁷ The Scriptural basis for the fallen angels is Gn 6.1-4 where it is described how the sons of God (which was taken to refer to angels) fell through intercourse with the daughters of men. Early Christianity 'shifted the fall of the evil angels back from Gen. 6:1-4 ... to an earlier stage so that it anticipated and was correlated with the human fall from paradise ... and the angelic sin came to be reckoned as envy or pride rather than lust.'⁸⁸ The fall of Lucifer is also treated in *Veraldar saga* and in *Stjórn* but neither text offers clear parallels to 764.⁸⁹

3.3.5. The planets

Hinn fjórða dag gjörði hann sól, tungl, ... stjörnur. Þær eru allar fastar ok hafa öngan gang undanteknum vij planetis. Þeim setti hann þann gang sem síðan hefir halldiz. Luna heitir fyrsta planeta, hon er skipuð í neðsta lofti við jörð in primo caelo. Hon gengr sinn hring á xx ok ix dögum ok viij stundum. Önnur planeta heitir Mercurius. Hon er í öðru lofti. Hon gengr sinn hring c ok xxx ok ix daga. Þriðja heitir Venus. Hon er í þriðja lofti. Hon gerir sinn hring cc xl ok viij daga. Fjórða planeta heitir sól. Hon er í fjórða lofti. Hon gerir sinn hring ccc ok lx ok v daga ok vj stundir. Fimta planeta heitir Mars. Hon er í v^a lofti. Hon gerir sinn hring ij ár. Jupiter heitir hin vi^a. Hon er í sétta lofti. Hon gerir sinn hring á xij árum. Sjöunda heitir Saturnus í vij^a lofti. Hon gerir sinn hring á xxx ára. Af jörðu til tungls eru xv (þúsund) mílna ok dc xx ok v. Frá tungli til Mercurium vij (þúsund) mílna dccc ok xij. Af Mercurio til Venerem jafnmargar sem fyrir. Af Venere til sólar xx (þúsund) mílna cccc ok xxx ok iiij mílur. Af sólu til Martem eru xv (þúsund) mílna dc xxv. Af Marte til Iovem vi (þúsund) dccc ok xij. Af Iove til Saturnum jafnmargar sem fyrir. Af Saturno til festingar himins xx. ok iiij (þúsund) cccc xx ok vi mílur. Af jörðu til festingar himins eru

⁸⁶ PL 198, 1056.

⁸⁷ *Elucidarius*, 28-39.

⁸⁸ William S. Babcock. 'Angels.' *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*. Ed. by Everett Ferguson. New York 1990, 40. Cf. also Jeffrey Burton Russell. *Satan. The Early Christian Tradition*. Ithaca 1981, 80-81 and 92-93.

⁸⁹ *Veraldar saga*. Ed. by Jakob Benediktsson. (STUAGNL 61.) København 1944, 3-4; *Stjorn. Gammelnorsk bibelhistorie fra verdens skabelse til det babyloniske fangenskab*. Ed. by C.R. Unger. Christiania 1862, 7-8.

mflur samantaldar c (þúsund) ix (þúsund) ccc lxxv ok þó at stjörnur sýniz ganga ór austri í vestr á ij dægum snúaz loftin með stjörnunum. (2r6-19)

.Accounts like this one were common in medieval books of computistical/cosmological nature⁹⁰ and similar information is indeed found in other Icelandic manuscripts.⁹¹ The passage in 764 can be said to fall into two parts. On the one hand there is information about how long it takes each planet to traverse its sphere, and on the other hand the distance between the planets is stated. A parallel to the first part is found in a passage written in a fourteenth-century hand in the composite manuscript GKS 1812 4to.⁹² *Imago mundi* contains the same information under the heading *De cyclis planetarum* (II.87) but without numbering the spheres. 1812 and 764 are not in complete agreement: 1812 gives numbers for the orbit of the planets more accurately than does 764, compared to the Latin text, but that is insignificant since Roman numerals were frequently corrupted when copied.⁹³ Conversely, 764 shows traces of Latin where 1812 has only Icelandic (cf. *luna, in primo coelo*) which could possibly mean that 764 was closer to the ultimate source.

It would seem fruitless to try to link 1812 and 764 on the basis of such feeble evidence were it not for the fact that the passage in 1812 is related to two fifteenth-century manuscripts in the Arnamagnæan collection, the fragment 238 XIX 4to and the codex 685d 4to.⁹⁴ These two manuscripts are also connected to 764 since they both contain a cosmological passage related to the one on ff. 2r37-2v2 in 764 (cf. below p. 93), and 238 furthermore contains a biblical passage

⁹⁰ Cf. Flint, 'Imago mundi', 112 n. 87.

⁹¹ AM 238 XIX, AM 685d and GKS 1812 will be considered below. In addition to those manuscripts material of this kind is incorporated into the so-called Rím I (*AÍ* II, 60-62) where the Greek names of the planets are given. The oldest MS of Rím I, a part of GKS 1812 4to, is thought to be from late twelfth century (1187 according to N. Beckman, *AÍ* II, lxxx). N. Beckman believes the most important sources to have been Bede, Isidore, Honorius and Helpricus. (cf. *AÍ* II, xxix-xxx). Finally there is a map of sorts in AM 736 III which contains identical information about the spheres of the planets.

⁹² Cf. *AÍ* II, 246-247.

⁹³ There is one interesting exception. The source which 1812 was copied from seems to have given the time of Mars' circumference as 12 years which the scribe has attempted to change to the correct number, two (cf. *AÍ* II, 247, n.2 — the passage is copied twice in 1812 and the error remains in the other place).

⁹⁴ These texts (1812, 238 and 685d) introduce the idea of the seven spheres thus: 'Sið eru kollut lopt i bokum, þau er himin tungl hverfi um.' (*AÍ* II, 246). 238 and 685d only mention two of the seven 'planets', i.e. the moon and the sun, but place them correctly in first and fourth sphere. 1812 and 764 have all seven spheres. Peter Springborg has advanced the hypothesis that 238 and 685 derive from the same manuscript for which 1812 was a source, cf. 'Weltbild mit Löwe', 182. This hypothesis does not explain how 764 would fit in.

linked to 764 (cf. pp. 106-107). All four texts, however, seem to be composite, and it is therefore difficult to come to any firm conclusions about their relationship.

The second part of the planet-passage in 764 does not seem to have a parallel in any of the texts printed by Kålund and Beckman in *AÍ* II. It corresponds, on the other hand, quite closely with a passage in *Imago mundi*.

764

Frá tungli til Mercurium vij
(þúsund) mílna dccc ok xij. Af
Mercurio til Venerem jafnmargar
sem fyrir. Af Venere til sólar xx
(þúsund) mílna cccc ok xxx ok iiij
mílur. Af sólu til Martem eru xv
(þúsund) mílna dc xxv. Af Marte til
Iovem vi (þúsund) dccc ok xij. Af
Iove til Saturnum jafnmargar sem
fyrir. Af Saturno til festingar himins
xx ok iiij (þúsund) cccc xx ok vi
mílur. Af jörðu til festingar himins
eru mílur samantaldar c (þúsund)
ix (þúsund) ccc lxxv (2r14-18)

Imago mundi

A luna ad Mercurium VII.dccc.xii.
milliaria et semisse. Inde ad
Venerem tantum. Inde ad solem
XXII. .cccc.xxxvi. milliaria et
semisse. A sole ad Martem
XV.dc.xxv. milliaria. Inde ad
Iovem .VII.dccc.xii. milliaria et
semisse. Inde ad Saturnum tantum.
Inde ad firmamentum
.XXIII.cccc.xxxvii. milliaria. Sunt
itaque a terra usque ad celum
.CVIII. .ccc.lxxv. milliaria. (I.88)

To the last sentence the scribe has added a phrase which does not follow in the Latin text: 'ok þó at stjörnur sýniz ganga ór austri í vestr á ij dægum snúaz loftin með stjörnunum'. A similar phrase is found in the aforementioned AM 238 XIX 4to and AM 685d where the source probably is IM I.73 (*De planetis*).⁹⁵

238

Því sýniz sem sól ok tungl fari
jafnan, ok stjörnur, ór austri ok í
vestr (1r10-11)

685d

ok þviat loptin snuazt um iordina,
þa synizt, sem sol ok tungl ok
stiornur fari ur austri i vestur (AÍ
III, 75)

764 is closer to 685d than to 238 here. The cosmological section at the end of the hexaëmeron in 764 corresponds with the text immediately preceding this sentence in both manuscripts .

3.3.6. The soul: Gregory's Dialogues.

Fimta dag skapaði hann öll kvikvendi þau er lífs anda eru. Þrjá lífliga anda skapaði guð eftir orðum Gregorii. Fyrsta þann er eigi er holdi huldr ok er eilífur. ok þat ero einglar. Þann annan er holdi er huldr ok er eilífr ok deyr aldri.

⁹⁵ Cf. Springborg, 'Weltbild mit Löwe', 180-181.

Þat er manna allra. Þriðja anda skapaði hann þann er holdi er huldr. Sá deyr með holdi. Þat er allra kvikvenda þeira er lífliga önd hafa. (2r19-23)

This passage comes from the Icelandic translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, fourth book:

Þrenna lifs anda skapaði gvp: .i. þann es eigi er holde hul[þr], þat ero englar; en annan þann es holde es hulþr oc deyr með holde, þat ero oscvnsamlig cvc[qvendi]; en þann en .iii. es holde es hulþr oc eigi devr með holde, þat ero menn. (*HMS I*, 235)

The translation is preserved in a defective state in several manuscripts, the oldest of which dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. The work must have been known in Iceland earlier because there is a reference to it in *Veraldar saga*.⁹⁶ There are further references to the fourth book of the *Dialogues* later in 764. Gregory is quoted on f. 22r34-36 on the subject of infernal fire (cf. p. 208), and there is on f. 22v14-20 a reference to the question of bodily resurrection (cf. p. 211). 764 also preserves, on f. 31r5-18, an exemplum from chapter 27 of the *Dialogues*, a text which is paralleled in the translation fragments.⁹⁷

3.3.7. The first man.

Á hinum sétta degi formeraði hann fyrsta mann af fjórum höfuðskepnum: lofti, eldi, jörðu, vatni. Þann mann kallaði hann Adam, svá sem takandi sérhvern staf í hans nafni af fjórum höfuðættum. Hann var skapaðr í Ebron. Þessi maðr hinn fyrsti var lx at hæð eftir sögn Sæmundar. Hann var skapaðr eftir líkneskju sjálfs guðs at líkams formi, hafandi cc xl ok viij bein en ccc ok lx æða. Svá segiz at af hjartanu gangi út vizka en mál af lunga, reiði af galli, hlátr af milti, en líkams fýsn af lifrinni. (2r23-28)

Several themes come together in this short passage. The first one, that Adam was made from the four elements, illustrates the idea of man as microcosm and is common in medieval sources. It is for instance found in Isidore's *Etymologiae* (xi.i.16). In some texts the idea is more elaborate and Adam is said to have been made from seven or eight different substances. Such a passage is preserved in Latin in AM 194 8vo and in Icelandic in AM 624 4to, a fifteenth-century manuscript, where the formulation is thus:

L[ærisveinn] s[pyr]: „Af hve maugum hlutum var likamur Aadams gior?”
M[agister] s[varar]: Af vii hlutum, af iordu ok af sio, holld er af iordo, enn blod af sio, augo ero af soolo, enn af vinde andardratr, af himenskepnum hugskot manz, bædi gott ok illt, af steinum ero bein, ok sæla manz af helgum anda. siaundi hlutr er af liosi heims ... (*ÁÍ III*, 40)

⁹⁶ *Veraldar saga*, 64.

⁹⁷ *HMS I*, 243.

Similar treatment of this theme is ubiquitous in medieval sources, both Latin and vernacular.⁹⁸

The explanation of Adam's name is similarly well attested in medieval sources, but must have originated in a Greek tradition.⁹⁹ It is an anagram based on the Greek words ανατολη (south), δυσις (west), αρκτος (north) and μεσεμβρια (east). Its earliest instance seems to be in the apocryphal Slavonic Book of Enoch but 'its currency in the west was assured by its acceptance in Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium*'.¹⁰⁰ It is included by Honorius in his *Elucidarius* and was given the following formulation in the Icelandic translation:

Discipulus Huapan toc adam nafn. Magister Af. iiii. ottom heims þat es austr oc uestr norþr oc supr. Enn at griksco male callasc anatole disis artos mesembria þat es sem griplor hende til nafns adams.¹⁰¹

The 764 scribe omits the Greek words, thereby obscuring the basis of the anagram.

The information that Adam was created in Hebron is found in *Imago mundi*, as is the statement that after his death he was buried in Calvary and later transferred to Hebron. That information is also reproduced in 764 and could well have come directly from *Imago mundi*:

764

Adam lifði <dcccc> ok xxx ára.
Hann var grafinn in loco Calvarie
ok eftir tíma var hann fluttr í
Ebron. (2v11-12)

Imago mundi

Ipse [i.e. Adam] vero post
.dcccc.xxx. annos in Ierusalem
obiit, in loco Calvarie sepultus,
aliquamdiu requieuit, deinde in
Hebron translatus, in terram de qua
assumptus est rediit. (III.1.)

Elucidarius likewise mentions that Adam was made in Hebron but goes on to say that he died and was buried there as well.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Cf. James E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill (eds.). *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus*. Toronto 1982, 67-70; Max Förster. 'Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung. Ein lateinisches Fragment des s.g. slawischen Henoch.' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 11 (1908), 483-512. As Förster mentions (p. 493 n.2) reverse application of this theme can be seen in *Grímnismál* (st. 40) and *Vafþrúðnismál* (st. 21) where the world is made out of the flesh, blood and bones of the giant Ymir. Snorri Sturluson includes this in his *Gylfaginning*, cf. Snorri Sturluson. *Edda. Prologue and Gylfaginning*. Ed. by Anthony Faulkes. London 1988, 11-12.

⁹⁹ Förster, 'Adams Erschaffung', 477-482, 517-522.

¹⁰⁰ Cross and Hill (eds.), *The Prose Solomon*, 67. Cf. *PL* 35, 1465 and 1473.

¹⁰¹ *Elucidarius*, 43.

¹⁰² *Elucidarius*, 45

The reference to Sæmundr led Gabriel Turville-Petre to suggest that the history of the Kings of Norway he argues Sæmundr probably wrote, might have begun 'with the creation of the world and of the first man, just as Florence of Worcester's English chronicle did'.¹⁰³ Turville-Petre also points to the following reference in a computistical treatise in AM 624 4to: 'I upphafi heims sagdi Sæmundur prestur at sol nyskopud rynne upp i austri midiu, en tungl fullt *æ* aptnne.'¹⁰⁴ Stefán Karlsson has suggested that references of this kind might allude to a genealogy of the Skjöldungar and the Oddaverjar which traces the line back to Adam and was attributed to Sæmundr by Jón Sigurðsson.¹⁰⁵ Leaving aside the question of authority behind the claim that Adam was sixty [álnir (?)] one should remark that the idea that Adam was of extraordinary height is common in medieval sources.¹⁰⁶ When Eve is introduced (2r30) it is similarly stated that she was fifty [álnir].

That Adam was made in God's image is of course scriptural (Gn 1.27) but to this the 764 scribe adds the number of bones and veins in the human body as well as a sentence containing physiognomical lore. These additions have their parallels in several Icelandic texts, *Fóstbræðra saga* among them. As Jónas Kristjánsson has shown, the closest Latin parallel to the text, 764 is a thirteenth-century didactic poem which is thought to stem from the medical school in Salerno. The poem is variously named *Regimen sanitatis* or *Flos medicinae* and seems to have been known, and quoted, in Iceland and Norway in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁷ In lines 1242-1243 of the poem wisdom, speech, wrath, laughter and love (or lust) are linked to the same five organs as in 764:

Cor sapit, pulmo loquitur, fel commovet iram,
Splen ridere facit, cogit amare jecor.¹⁰⁸

Of the texts collated by Jónas it is only 764 and the so-called *Syrpa*, a manuscript written in the sixteenth-century by Gottskálk Jónsson in Glaumbær (BL Add

¹⁰³ E.O.G. Turville-Petre. *Origins of Icelandic Literature*. (2nd ed.) Oxford 1967, 86-87.

¹⁰⁴ *AÍ* II, 91.

¹⁰⁵ Stefán Karlsson. 'Fróðleiksgreinar frá tólftu öld.' *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar 30. júní 1969*. Ed. by Jakob Benediktsson et al. Reykjavík 1969, 340-347.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Cross and Hill (eds.), *Prose Solomon*, 72.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Lars Lönnroth. 'Kroppen som själens spegel — ett motiv i de isländska sagorna.' *Lychnos* 1963-1964, 35-37; 51-53.

¹⁰⁸ Jónas Kristjánsson. *Um Fóstbræðrasögu*. Reykjavík 1972, 241-246.

11.242),¹⁰⁹ which offer a close parallel to *Regimen sanitatis*. Gottskálk's *Syrpa* also contains the information on Adam and Eve's height.

3.3.8. Cosmology

Svá segir *Imago mundi* at heimrinn sé vaxinn sem egg; ok svá sem skurn er um egg svá er eldrinn umhverfum heiminn; ok svá sem albumen, þat köllum vér skjall, er næst skurninu, svá er loft næst eldi; ok svá sem it hvíta eggs er næst albumen, svá eru vötn næst lofti; svá sem it rauða er í egg, svá er jörð lukt í þessum höfuðskepnum. Jörð er úhrærilig en vötn, loft ok eldr, þat snýz jafnan um jörðina. (2r37-2v2)

As was mentioned above, this section has a parallel in AM 238 XIX and AM 685d 4to and all three texts clearly represent the same translation of a Latin source. Peter Springborg has shown that this passage is hardly a pure *Imago mundi* text despite the attribution, and that *Philosophia mundi* by Guillaume de Conches offers a closer parallel, although the Icelandic does not follow that source perfectly either.¹¹⁰ Guillaume's work is found with *Imago mundi* in some manuscripts¹¹¹ and if that was the case with the manuscript from which the Icelanders ultimately derived their text, that might explain the reference to *Imago mundi* here.

It seems likely that the cosmological passages in 764, 1812, 238 and 685d all derived, at least in part, from a single vernacular source which was largely based on *Imago mundi* but with some additions. The fact that in 238 and 764 this cosmology is connected to a translation of parts of Genesis (cf. pp. 106-107) suggests that cosmology became a part of a hexaëmeral tradition in Iceland, although it is impossible to say whether the hexaëmeron and cosmology were already thus linked in the Latin source which was the vehicle for the import of these ideas to Iceland.

3.3.9. The Birth of Seth; embryology.

Þá er Adam ok Eva voru af sett Paradisi fagnaðum fæddiz þeim son sá er Seth er nefndr. Hann var fyrstr getinn með munúð af karlmanni ok konu, með þeim hætti sem bækr vísa til, at losti karlmannzins liggi í hans lendum en í nafla konunnar. Ok er þeira beggja sáð samblandaz með konunni er þat ásýndar vj daga næstu svá

¹⁰⁹ On Gottskálk's *syrpa* cf. Jón Helgason. 'Íslenzk handrit í British Museum.' *Ritgerðakorn og ræðustúfar*. Kaupmannahöfn 1959, 115-117.

¹¹⁰ Springborg, 'Weltbild mit Löwe', 177-180. Cf. Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 75-81.

¹¹¹ Flint, 'Imago mundi', 19-35.

sem mjólk, ok þaðan ix dögum liðnum verðr þat blóð, ok at enn xij dögum liðnum styrkiz, ok þaðan xx dögum liðnum er mannzins líkneskja algjör. Svá segir ok Ysodorus Etimologiarum at sveinbarnit verði af frjóvi konunnar, en meybarnit af sáði karlmannzins. (2v2-9)

Isidore is the likeliest source for the statement that man's lust resides in his loins but in the navel in the case of woman:: 'Lumbi ob libidinis lasciviam dicti, quia in viris causa corporeae voluptatis in ipsis est, sicut in umbilico feminis' (*Etym.* XI.i.98). The last sentence in the Icelandic passage is similarly correctly attributed to Isidore: 'Ex paterno autem semine puellas nasci et ex materno pueros' (*Etym.* XI.i.145). The rest of is not, however, found in *Etymologiae* but parallels to that part are found in two other Icelandic manuscripts, in one of which it is similarly ascribed to Isidore:

AM 194 8vo

Sva segir meistari Ysodorus, at mynd mannlígs líkama í modur kvidi formerizst *aa* 45 daga, ok se *aa* hinum fyrstum 6 síðan getnadrinn varð miukligrar myndar, en þaðan af *aa* 9 dögum snyz í blóð, þa *aa* 7 dögum verðr bóllótt holld ok augu, en þa *aa* 16 dögum verðr þar madr allr, þa *aa* 7 dögum vaxa hár ok negl. (*AÍ* I, 55)

AM 461 12mo (16th c.)

Svo segier (sic) helgar ritningar, at semiz mynd mannlígs líkama í modur kvidi *aa* halfum fimtátigi dag*aa*, se hina fystu vi daga, fra því er getnadrinn varð, sem mkplk (miolk), síðan *aa* ix dögum snyzt í blóð, þa næst *aa* xii dögum hleypur saman ok festiz ok verður bollótt holld ok augu, þaðan fra *aa* xvii do... (*AÍ* III, 111)

3.3.10. Cain and Abel

Tvá sonu gátu þau aðra, Abel ok Kain. Hann drap Abel meðr asnakjálka fyrir sakir öfundar er guð þektiz fórn Abels. (2v9-10)

The story of Cain and Abel is scriptural (Gn 4.1-8) but the 764 scribe includes a detail not found in the Vulgate: Cain's murder-weapon. The habit of depicting Cain's weapon as a jawbone of an ass seems to have originated in Insular (Hiberno-Saxon) iconography and then spread to the continent. The image is common in medieval English Bible illustrations and Cain's jawbone is referred to in vernacular literature.¹¹² It has been suggested that the tradition arose through association with the history of Samson, so that illustrations of Samson killing the Philistines with a jawbone could have served as a model for a similar

¹¹² Oliver F. Emerson. 'Legends of Cain, especially in Old and Middle English.' *PMLA* 21 (1906), 853-855. Cf. also *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus*. Ed. by James E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill. Toronto 1982, 30 [no. 36] with commentary p. 101.

depiction of Cain murdering his brother. Alternatively, pictures showing Cain wielding a coulter or a similar tool might have been interpreted with reference to Samson and his jawbone, confusing the two weapons.¹¹³

3.3.11..Encyclopedic glosses in the secunda aetas.

A few encyclopedic comments crop up in the second age as well as in the first. On reading about Noah and the Flood we learn of the size and the dimensions of the Ark ('ccc álna löng ok l álna breið, xxx álna undir þakit' 2v23) and the names of the wives of Noah and his sons: Poarpa, Katafloa, Parphia, Fliva (2v26-27). This information could in both cases be derived from Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, which is the source mentioned by the scribes (2v25).¹¹⁴

On 3r4 *Imago mundi* is cited as the source for the information that kings are descended from Sem, knights from Japheth and slaves from Cham. *Imago mundi* does indeed include this information in III.1 as well as giving the age of Sem and his descendants in the second age. This is paralleled in 764 (3r4-7).

The next event described in 764 is the building of the Tower of Babel and the division of the languages. The central figure in this story is Nimrod (Nefrod in 764), whom 764 describes as a giant who was the first to proclaim himself king and who, in his pride, set about erecting the tower Babel í Babilonia: 'Hann smíðuðu lxx risa ok ij. Þeir ætluðu at smíða hann allt upp til himinsins.'(3r8-9). The Bible tells how Nimrod, the son of Chus, increased in power and became king, first in Babylonia. He is neither a giant nor is he associated with Babel in the Scriptures, but because of his association with Babylon commentators came to attribute the building of the Tower of Babel to him.¹¹⁵ That Nimrod was considered to be a giant hinges on the Septuagint use of the word γίγας in Gn 10.8 where the Vulgate reads: *ipse* (i.e. Nemrod) *coepit esse potens in terra*. The Septuagint translation managed to influence Nimrod's reputation in a negative way, despite the less ambiguous wording of the Vulgate.¹¹⁶ The builders of the

¹¹³ George Henderson. 'Cain's Jaw-bone.' *JWCI* 24 (1961), 108-114. Cf. also A.A. Barb. 'Cain's murder-weapon and Samson's jawbone of an ass.' *JWCI* 35 (1972), 386-389 where the weapon is explained with reference to primitive sickles made from jawbones.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *PL* 198, 1082-1084. Cf. Francis Lee Utley. 'The one hundred and three names of Noah's wife.' *Speculum* 16 (1941), 426-452; *The Prose Solomon*, 84-87.

¹¹⁵ Arno Borst. *Der Turmbau von Babel* I. Stuttgart 1957, 117-118. Cf. the *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* 113, 113

¹¹⁶ Borst, *Der Turmbau* I, 142.

tower thus became giants as well, and their number, 72, is determined by the number of languages which were said to be spoken after Babel. 764 goes against Honorius and earlier chroniclers where it claims that Nimrod pioneered idolatry and made a likeness of his father (3r13-14). The claim is due to a confusion between Nimrod and Ninus, his descendant.¹¹⁷

The analysis of the sources in the foregoing sections is not exhaustive. The commentary has neither been as extensive as might be possible nor has all the exegetical material used by the scribes been commentated. (There is for instance a reference on f. 2b1r9 to a gloss 'super epistolam [sic] Pauli ad Romanos' which I have not managed to trace.) The commentary offered should nevertheless give some insights into the structure and content of the Genesis-based narrative the 764 scribes put together to illustrate the history of the first three aetates. We will now turn to the backbone of that narrative: the Bible.

¹¹⁷ Cf. IM III.2. Honorius mentions Ninus' association with idolatry but the information that he made a likeness of his father Bel is found in Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, 1090, and repeated in 764 on f. 10v16-17.

4. Aetates I-V: Chapters from the Old Testament

4.1. Introduction

The biblical material in the first age of the world is much interspersed with extraneous material, mostly encyclopaedic, as we have seen. The situation is different in the ages that follow: Bible material here constitutes the backbone of the historical account and this is held together chronologically by references to genealogies which are also ultimately derived from Scripture. From f. 3 onwards little is found of encyclopaedic material in the strictest sense and although the odd reference to *Imago mundi* or other sources crops up, these are mostly of a (pseudo)historical nature. The account of events is usually sketchy and it is often difficult to ascertain whether the text is based directly on the Bible or on a universal history in the style of *Historia scholastica*. There are nevertheless some passages which are quite a close rendering of the Vulgate. The pattern which emerges is one which is repeated in a similar way throughout the first half of the manuscript. The scribes seem to use a method which alternates relatively accurate translation, albeit sometimes slightly abbreviated, with short passages (perhaps only a couple of sentences) of summary nature: chunks from the Bible, often dramatic events or exempla, like the curse suffered by the people of Azedod, or the judgement of Solomon, are joined together by 'bridges' which are sometimes pedigrees or information about the reign of kings or judges, sometimes extremely economic accounts of previous and/or relevant events. An exception to this pattern are the translations from the Book of Daniel and of the Book of Judith, which will be treated in separate chapters. We turn first to the more fragmentary Old Testament pieces which are scattered throughout the first five *aetates*.

4.2. Fragmentary OT texts in 764 and their relationship with Stjórn

4.2.1. Bible translation or not?

As already mentioned, it is not always possible to determine whether the biblical material in 764 stems directly from the Bible or not. This is particularly true of the 'bridges', where the genealogies, for instance, may have been worked out from the Bible although it is more likely, given the evidence elsewhere in the manuscript of the use of a chronological/encyclopaedic work, that they were taken from such a source. It is however possible to maintain that the biblical material in 764 is not the result of direct translation from the Latin but rather a reworking of an existing Icelandic translation. This is because the text in 764 corresponds with sections from Stjórn III which is a Bible translation interpolated with additional (exegetical) material. The inclusion of some of these additions in 764, together with verbal correspondences, shows that the scribes depended on a copy of Stjórn III for their Bible text. Table 1 lists the biblical material in 764 and its parallels.

4.2.2. The compilation *Stjórn*

The compilation known as *Stjórn* is not a homogeneous work but one made up of three parts which are different in nature and of different age.¹¹⁸ The basic material comes from the historical books of the Old Testament but it is sometimes expanded with commentary and exegesis. It is the extent of these additions which, along with stylistic differences, primarily distinguishes the parts from each other.

¹¹⁸ Most of what will be said here about *Stjórn* is based on two sources, chapter 3 of Kirby's *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, and an introduction to a facsimile edition of AM 227 fol. by Jakob Benediktsson (cited as 'Inngangur'). The latter exists only in typescript since plans for the edition have been abandoned. For an overview of *Stjórn* scholarship see also Reidar Astås. *Et bibelverk fra middelalderen. Studier i Stjórn I-II*. Oslo 1987.

	Contents	Icelandic parallels	Latin source	Remarks
2r23-36	Adam and Eve	(AM 238 fol. XIX 1v7-25)	Gn 2.22; 2.15-17; 3.1-6, 23; 6.7	
2v9-10	Cain and Abel		Gn 4.-8	
2v15-19	Cain's descendants		Gn 4.17-22	Cf. IM III.1
2v21-3r3	Noah and the Flood		Gn 6.8-15; 7.6-20, 8.18; 9.13; 6.6	
3r7-11	The tower of Babel		Gn 11.4-9	Cf. IM I.14
3r15-20 + 2b1sr	Abraham	Veraldar saga 15.8-16.6	Gn 12.2-3; 26.4	
3r20-23	Sodom and Gomorra	(AM 238 fol. XIX 2r7-22)	Gn 19.15, 24-26	
3r25-26	Esau and Jacob		Gn 25.24-25	
3r27-29	Job		IM III.8 Iob 1.2-3	
3r29-35	Jacob — the wrestling		Gn 32.24-31	
3r35-38	Joseph		Gn 37.26-28; 41.1-32	
3v3-19	Moses and the Exodus	Stock. Perg. fol. 12 IV 1v(9-17), 22-28	Ex 2.1-10,21; 3.3.1-12; 4.1-17 7.1-12.30; 14.21-23; 20.1-17	The Ten commandments are inaccurately rendered in 764
3v24-27	Joshua	Stj III 349.9-11; (355.3; 360.7-11; 369.27-29)	Ios 3.17; 6.20; 10.13	
3v28-31	A young man's wife killed in Gabaon	Stj III 384.20-32	Speculum Ecclesiae (PL 172, 837)	
3v31-32	Abimelech kills his brothers and is killed in turn by a woman	Stj III 398.34-399.1, 402.14-16	Idc 9.5, 53	
3v32-38	Samson and Delilah	Stj III 414.25-36; 417.22-25; (419.3-22).	Idc 15.16-18; 16.29-30	
3v38-39	Eli	Stj III 419.26-28		
4r1-8	The Ark of the Covenant captured by the men of Azedod	Stj III (434.1-25); 435.24-436.24	I Sm 4.10-11; 5.1-7	Cf. Hauksbók pp. 160-161 (a version derived from Ælfric's sermon De Falsis Diis)
4r8-12	Samuel	Stj III 427.21; 429.25-27; (431.11; 432.17-18)	I Sm 1.2; 2.1	
4r15-20	Saul and David	(Stj III 440.17-23; 441.28-33; 458.19-23; 461.17-18; 466.18; 493.11-28)	I Sm 8.4; 9.1-2; 16.1; 17.4; 18.7; 30.1-4	The closest parallel in Stjórn is a chapter heading in A: 'Er Dauid konungr reif kiapta a oarga dyri' (458 n.7)
4r24-31	David pleads with God to stop the killing of the Jews	Stj III 545.21-26; 546.11-12,29-547.6	II Sm 24.16-17	

Table 1. Bible material in 764 4to and its parallels in other vernacular sources. Genealogies are excluded. Where the account in 764 is so severely summarised that it is difficult to see any verbal correspondences, the Icelandic parallel is given in brackets.

	Contents	Icelandic parallels	Latin source	Remarks
4r35-4v5	Judgement of Solomon	Stj III 558.24-559.21	III Rg 3.16-28	
4v5-10	Solomon's penitence	Stj III 577.26-31	III Rg 11.1-4 Ambrose?	
4v13-14	King Manasseh	(Stj III 647.23-24, 647.34-648.5)	Josephus?	Manasseh is said to be the nephew of Isaiah
4v18-26	The Temple of Solomon raided by Nebuchadnezzar	Stj III 652.23-37;(653.23-25), 29-35; 654.1-2	IV Rg 25.1, 8-20	
4v26-5v25	Daniel		Dn 14.30-41; 3.1-2, 6, 16-20, 47-52; 4.28-30; 5; 14.27-31	
5v33-9r41	Judith		Liber Iudith	
9v25-29	Elkanah and Anna	Stj III 427.10-11, 18-20; (429.6-8, 22-26)	I Sm 1.1-2, 20; 1.28-2.1	
9v29-30	Samuel	(Stj III 443.29, 460.14)	I Sm 10.1;	
9v30-32	Nathan and King David	(Stj III 515.33-516.27)	II Sm 12.110	
9v32-40	Habakkuk		Dn 14.32-38	
10r5-9	Isaiah in the days of King Hezekiah	(Stj III 640.35-641.13; 642.27-645.7)	IV Rg 18.13-17; 19.1-17	
10r9-13	Jeremiah and King Josiah	(Stj III 651.20-29)	IV Rg 23.29-30 Ier 1.1-3	
10r13-14	Ezekiel		Ez 1.1-3	
10r14-15	Daniel		Dn 1.1-6	
10r15-24	The transmigration; the Temple rebuilt		I Esr 1.1-2; 2	
10r25-29	Jonah		Ion 1.1-3,2.1, 3.1-6;	Cf. Jerome, Commentaria in Jonam (PL 25, 1118)
10r31-33	Samuel	(Stj III 443.29; 459.11-460.17)	I Sm 10.1; 16.1-13	
10r33-37	Elijah	(Stj. III 589.21-591.2; 593.17-594.20; 608.5-36)	III Rg 17.1-18.1; 18.27-46; 2.1-11	
10r37-38	Elisha	(Stj III 613.8-615.14; 634.21-28)	IV Rg 4.1-38; 13.20-21	
10r38-41	Malachi			
10v34-35	King Sisera killed by Jael	(Stj III 388.3-22)	Idc 4.21	

Table 1. Bible material in 764 4to and its parallels in other vernacular sources. Genealogies are excluded. Where the account in 764 is so severely summarised that it is difficult to see any verbal correspondences, the Icelandic parallel is given in brackets.

Stjórn I consists of Genesis and the first 18 chapters of Exodus. As Ian Kirby has pointed out 'this material is in essence not so much a translation of the Bible as a compilation based on it, in which the Bible story is augmented with considerable elaboration and commentary and also with some entirely extraneous material'.¹¹⁹ This sets Stjórn I apart from the other parts, especially from Stjórn II which is a close translation of the Vulgate, with some omissions and summarising, but virtually free of extraneous matter. Stjórn II takes up where Stjórn I leaves off in Exodus and extends to the end of Deuteronomy.

Stjórn III starts with Joshua and goes to the end of Kings. The Bible text is here amplified with exegetic material though to a much lesser extent than in Stjórn I. Stjórn I and III also differ in that the compiler of Stjórn I as a rule names the source for his interpolations, while in Stjórn III references to authorities are rare. It is significant for the present discussion, however, that Stjórn III twice mentions Honorius' *Imago mundi* and also contains further unacknowledged references to the work. These references serve, as Peter Springborg has shown, 'die historische Dimension in der biblischen Erzählung von Stjórn III hervorzuheben',¹²⁰ and are mostly concerned with chronological and numerical information (typically concerning the reign of rulers).

There are three principal manuscripts of *Stjórn*, AM 226, 227 and 228 fol., named A, B and C respectively in Unger's edition. Only 226 contains all three parts of *Stjórn*, but the Stjórn II part is clearly a later addition to the manuscript, written in the fifteenth century, probably its latter half.¹²¹ 227 contains Stjórn I and III, 228 only III. 226 contains a text of the beginning of Stjórn III (Joshua) different from that in the other manuscripts: it is not based directly on the Vulgate but is a fairly close rendering of chapters from *Historia scholastica*.¹²² Apart from Stjórn II in 226, all the manuscripts were written in the fourteenth century, 228 in its first half, 227 about 1350 or a little later,¹²³ 226 probably in the decade 1360-70.¹²⁴ In addition to these medieval manuscripts AM 617 4to, a sixteenth-century

¹¹⁹ Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 52.

¹²⁰ Springborg, 'Weltbild mit Löwe', 175.

¹²¹ Jakob Benediktsson, 'Inngangur', 27.

¹²² Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 105; Christine E. Fell. 'The Old Norse version of the Book of Joshua.' *Proceedings of the First International Saga Conference 1971*. Ed. by Peter Foote et al. London 1973, 118-119.

¹²³ Cf. Jakob Benediktsson, 'Inngangur', 26-27.

¹²⁴ Stefán Karlsson (ed.). *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops. Fragments of eight manuscripts*. (EIMF VII.) Copenhagen 1967, 21.

codex, has been shown to have independent value¹²⁵ and other later manuscripts might prove of importance once a critical edition of *Stjórn* is undertaken.

Stjórn I was put together under the auspices of King Hákon Magnússon (1299-1319), possibly towards the end of his reign¹²⁶ and is in all likelihood the youngest of the three parts. Opinions differ as to the age of Stjórn II but its style and vocabulary suggest a dating to the first half of the thirteenth century, if not earlier.¹²⁷ Since, as Ian Kirby has pointed out, 'there is obviously no natural unit smaller than the Pentateuch which omits Genesis and the first part of Exodus',¹²⁸ it is natural to assume that Stjórn II originally included the whole Pentateuch, and scholars seem to agree that Stjórn II probably represents the earliest Norse Bible translation.¹²⁹ Ian Kirby is furthermore of the opinion that Stjórn III was based on an earlier translation which may have been Stjórn II. He points out that the Bible text in Stjórn III is considerably rewritten and that that renders it unlikely that the compiler was translating the text first hand.¹³⁰ Kirby's view is strengthened by a comment which appears towards the end of *Stjórn* where there is a reference to the man who translated it ('sa er savgunni hefir snvið til sinnar tvngv af latinu').¹³¹ The comment is most probably an integral part of Stjórn III since it appears in all the principal manuscripts, and must therefore be taken as strong evidence for Kirby's theory that Stjórn III was indeed based on an earlier translation, although it is difficult to prove that that translation was an extended Stjórn II.

Stjórn III shows affinities with *Konungs skuggsjá*, which has led scholars to date it to a similar time, although it has proved difficult to determine which work is the older. Both are likely to have been composed around or a little after 1250.¹³²

¹²⁵ Jakob Benediktsson. 'Et overset håndskrift af Stjórn.' *Festskrift til Finn Hødnebo* 19. desember 1989. Ed. by Bjørn Eithun et al. Oslo 1989, 38-45.

¹²⁶ Jakob Benediktsson, 'Inngangur', 34.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 36-38; Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 57-58. Gustav Storm thought Stjórn II was younger, i.e. from the latter half of the fourteenth century, cf. 'De norsk-islandske bibeloversættelser', 244-256.

¹²⁸ Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 58.

¹²⁹ Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 60; Jakob Benediktsson, 'Inngangur', 37; Reidar Astås. 'Nytt lys over Stjórn II.' *ANF* 104 (1989), 49.

¹³⁰ Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 60-61.

¹³¹ *Stjorn*, 564.15-16, cf. Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 62-63.

¹³² Jakob Benediktsson, 'Inngangur', 41-42; Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 64-65. Cf. Gustav Storm. 'Om Tidsforholdet mellem Kongespeilet og Stjórn samt Barlaams og Josafats Saga.' *ANF* 3 (1886), 83-88; Dietrich Hofmann. 'Die Königsspiegel-Zitate der Stjórn.' *Skandinavistik* 3/1 (1973), 1-40; Sverre Bagge. 'Forholdet mellom Kongespeilet og Stjórn.' *ANF* 89 (1974), 163-

4.2.3. Stjórn III and 764

A comparison between AM 764 and *Stjórn* reveals, as mentioned above, that the scribes of 764 copied their Bible text from a manuscript of Stjórn III. This is evident from verbal similarities and from the fact that the scribes included passages which do not stem from the Vulgate but are interpolations in Stjórn III. The clearest examples of this are a chapter taken from Honorius' *Speculum ecclesiae* (3v28-31), a passage on King Solomon for which the compiler of Stjórn III claims the authority of Ambrose (4v5-10), and the story of King Manasseh who was put in a copper ox (4v13-14). Kirby drew attention to a comment on f. 4r27 which refers to God's angel standing *between heaven and earth*. The remark is not a part of the story as it stands in the second Book of Samuel (II Sm 24.16-17); it is found in the Book of Chronicles (I Par 21.16) but was introduced into the passage from II Sm by the compiler of Stjórn III.¹³³ One could also mention additions like the derogatory term 'púta' which is applied to Delilah in one of the *Stjórn* manuscripts (A, cf. 417, n. 11) and in 764 (3v35) but has no basis in the Vulgate, and the comment on Eli, shared by *Stjórn* (419.28) and 764 (3v38-39), which states that he was 'linr ok eigi stjórnsamr'.

A critical edition of *Stjórn* is not yet available and it is therefore not possible to come to definite conclusions about the relationship between 764 and individual manuscripts containing Stjórn III without undertaking a thorough investigation of them all — a task which lies outside the scope of the present work. It will have to suffice to say that 764 seems, in general, to be closest to B, i.e. AM 227 fol. It does not however, seem to descend directly from that codex. There are instances where 764 agrees with C (AM 228 fol.), the oldest manuscript, against B (cf. e.g. p. 436.15 'scripi' C, 'skript' A, B and 617, cf. 'skripi' 764 4r6) and in at least one case 764 has a variant (an error most likely) in common with 617, against all the principal manuscripts (p. 414.35 'fyrsti', 'þusti' 764 3v34). This variant is shared, as far as can be made out, by the manuscript

202; cf. also Odd Einar Haugen. 'Om tidsforholdet mellem Stjórn og Barlaams og Josaphats saga.' *Maal og minne* 1983, 18-28.

¹³³ Cf. Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 60.

AM 335 4to which is dated to about 1400 and contains a chapter on Samson but no other biblical stories.¹³⁴

4.2.4. 764 and the evidence for a lost Stjórn III-type Pentateuch

Since Stjórn III only contains Joshua to and including Kings while the Bible material in 764 includes passages from Genesis and Exodus as well, it follows that there are Bible passages in 764 where we lack a corresponding Stjórn III text. The question obviously arises whether these passages might throw some new light on speculations about lost Norse Bible texts.

Ian Kirby follows Gustav Storm in arguing that a Stjórn III type translation of the whole Pentateuch existed and he also supposes that, later, Stjórn I made use of this translation.¹³⁵ If all the Bible material in 764 comes from a translation like Stjórn III and if that translation was also the basis for Stjórn I, one would expect to find a fair degree of correspondence between 764 and the Stjórn I text. A comparison of the two texts is not without difficulties as is obvious given their very different nature: the former is generally sketchy while Stjórn I often contains a fairly accurate translation of the Vulgate plus a wealth of extraneous material. In attempting such comparison it seems sensible to choose a passage where 764 has a relatively full text. The following could be representative.

764

Svá bar til at Jacob var einn saman staddr. Þá kom þar maðr ok glímdi við hann. Ok er hann mátti eigi Jacob yfir stíga tók hann aflsinar lærs hans ok þegar hrörnaði afl í fætinum. Þá mælti hinn komni maðr. Lát mik lausan því at nú er dagr upp kominn. Jacob s(varaði) ok þóttiz vita at þat var guðs engill: Eigi mun ek þik lausan láta nema þú blezir mér. Engillinn s(purði): Hvat heitir þú. Jacob heiti ek. Engillinn mælti: Með öllu eigi máttu Jacob

Stjórn

... þa uar hann einn samt eptir aa aarbackanum, ok étlaðiz at bidiaz fyrir. ok þar bar sua til at hann tok fang meðr einn engil sua sem uid einn huern mann. allt til þers er morgintimi var. Ok sem hann fann þat, at hann fekk eigi yfirunnit Jacob. þa tok hann i brott eina sin or hans læri. ok þegar i stad uar sem hann uisnadi. Hann taladi þa til Jacobs. Gef mik lidugan. þi at nu rennr dagsbrun upp. Hann suaradi. Eigi læt ek þer laust utan þu blezir mik. Huert er þitt nafn. sagdi hinn sem meðr hann talaði. Hann svaradi. Jacob. Meðr engu moti man þitt nafn hedan ifra uera kallat Jacob. helldr ma þat

Vulgata

Remansit solus et ecce vir luctabatur cum eo usque mane qui cum videret quod eum superare non posset tetigit nervum femoris eius et statim emarcuit dixitque ad eum dimitte me iam enim ascendit aurora respondit non dimittam te nisi benedixeris mihi ait ergo quod nomen est tibi respondit Iacob at ille nequaquam inquit Iacob appellabitur nomen tuum sed Israhel quoniam si contra Deum fortis fuisti quanto magis contra

¹³⁴ In addition to the Samson chapter the manuscript contains *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, *Gibbons saga* and various exempla and 'ævintýri'. The page with the Samson material is not easily legible.

¹³⁵ Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 63-64; 55-56

<p>764 heita, helldr Israel því at þú vart styrkr mót guði. Þá blezaði engillinn hann ok er þeir skilduz gekk Jacob haltr. (3r30-35)</p>	<p>Stjórn rettligarr kallaz Jsrael. fyrir þann skyld at ef þu hefðir nockurn styrkleik i moti gudi. hversu miklu framarri mantu þa mennina sigra ok yfiruinna. ... Blezadi hann þa Jacob i þeim sama stad. ... Gekk hann þa halltr. (184.14-185.6)</p>	<p>Vulgata homines praevaleris ... et benedixit ei in eodem loco ... ipse vero claudicabat pede (Gn 32.24-31)</p>
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The two Icelandic versions have very little in common beyond what can be explained with reference to the Latin. The vocabulary is not the same (cf. 'glímdi við'/ 'tók fang meðr', 'yfirstíga'/ 'yfirvinna', 'hrörna'/ 'visna') and even the simplest of sentences are rendered in different ways, such as the Latin *quod nomen est tibi* which produces on the one hand: 'Hvat heitir þú', on the other: 'Hvert er þitt nafn'. The Icelandic versions share one feature however: both inform the reader that the stranger is an angel, but that interpretation was commonplace in medieval exegesis.¹³⁶

On the basis of this evidence one might suggest that if Stjórn I is based on a previous translation of the Pentateuch it was not the same as the one used by the scribes of 764. One can, however, find other examples where the picture does not seem quite so clear-cut:

<p>764 Ok er Moyses fór brott af Egipta landi laust hann vendinum á it rauða haf, en þat brast sundr í miðju. Gengu þeir þurrum fótum yfir hafit, en Pharao fór eftir þeim. Druknaði hann þar ok allr hans herr með hestum ok kerrum. Þá orti Moyses Cantemus. Hann gjörði guði tjaldbúð á eyðimörk (3v16-19)</p>	<p>Stjórn <i>Moyses laust þa uendinum nidraa hafit. sem guð hafði bodit honum. ok þegar i stad brast siorrinn af þeim hinum stora ok sterka blásanda uindi. sem þar kom meðr guds uilia. ok sundr skiptiz (286.30-33) Eptir þat gengu allir Israels synir þurrum fotum rett um mitt hafit. (287.7-8) þa for allr konungsins herr ok riddarar medr sinum kerrum hestum ok allri herneskiu fastafari fram eptir þeim i midia hafsgeilina. (13-15) sumladiz konungrinn ok sopaðiz medr aullum sinum kerrum riddarum ok hestum ... at þar drucknadi huert manzbarn. (30-32) Eptir þersa ... iartegn ... dictadi Moyses ... Cantemus domino. (288.21-23)</i></p>	<p>Vulgata cumque extendisset Moses manum super mare abstulit illud Dominus flante vento vehementi et urente tota nocte et vertit in siccum divisaque est aqua et ingressi sunt filii Israhel per medium maris sicci erat enim aqua quasi murus a dextra eorum et leva ersequentisque Aegyptii ingressi sunt post eos omnis equitatus Pharaonis currus eius et equites per medium maris (Ex 14.21-23) reversaeque sunt aquae et operuerunt currus et equites cuncti exercitus Pharaonis (Ex 14.28) nunc cecinit Moses et filii Israhel carmen hoc Domino et dixerunt Cantemus Domino (Ex 15.1)</p>
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Although 764 and Stjórn I have a somewhat dissimilar text some words and phrases are identical and those correspondences are not readily explained by

referring to the Latin.¹³⁷ With this in mind one might consider the possibility that the texts in Stjórn I and 764 go back ultimately to the same translation (of a Stjórn III type) and that the compiler of Stjórn I did not depend solely on the older translation he had to hand, but translated some of the Vulgate afresh, which could account for the divergent versions of Jacob's wrestling cited above. Alternatively, the differences in the two texts might be explained by supposing the copy of *Historia Scholastica* that the Stjórn I compiler used, contained extensive quotations from the Vulgate which the compiler sometimes chose to translate rather than using the existing translation he (or she) had to hand.

But there is more to the argument about the existence of a Stjórn III Pentateuch. Gustav Storm drew attention to two fragments, one with a Genesis-text the other with a passage from Exodus, which he claimed have the same characteristics as the Stjórn III translation.¹³⁸

The Genesis fragment is AM 238 XIX fol (c. 1500), mentioned earlier because of the cosmological passage on 2r37-2v2 (cf. p. 93) which 764 and 238 have in common and where there is close verbal correspondence between the two manuscripts. 764 also has a version of sorts of the Genesis text but here it is very hard to see any similarities between the two manuscripts. The text in 238 is much closer to the Vulgate — the 764 text seems to be a free rendering of the story of the Fall. It is inserted into the account of the sixth day of creation, before the Sabbath, and the cosmological passage is then copied immediately following the Sabbath. In 238 the cosmology also follows on from the hexaëmeron, but the story of the Fall is kept where it belongs according to the Vulgate, i.e. after the hexaëmeron proper has been covered and consequently also after the cosmological section.¹³⁹ Given the summary nature of the text in 764 it is not surprising that verbal correspondences are minimal between the two texts. They do nevertheless have one rare word in common — 'laufkyrtlar', which is not recorded elsewhere except in Guðbrandsbiblía. It refers to the garments Adam and Eve made out of fig leaves (cf. *consuerunt folia ficus et fecerunt sibi perizomata*,

¹³⁶ Cf. e.g. Isidore. *Questiones in Veterum testamentum*, PL 83, 266.

¹³⁷ It is especially the beginning with the use of the verb 'bresta' which seems significant; the phrase 'þurram fótum' where the Latin only has *sicci* is, on the other hand, well attested, cf. David McDougall. 'Pétr gekk þurram fótum.' *Fótarkefli rist Peter Foote 28.v.99*. Ed. by Alison Finlay et al. London 1999, 18-20.

¹³⁸ Storm, 'De norsk-islandske bibeloversættelser', 248.

¹³⁹ fol. 1v8-27. Cf. Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 136-137.

Gn 3.7). The 764 scribes again rearrange the text at this point for they postpone any mention of Adam and Eve's clothing until describing how God expelled them from Paradise. Regardless of that difference, the fact that 238 and 764 share the word 'laufkyrtlar' seems to indicate that the biblical material in both manuscripts, as well as the cosmological passage, came from the same source.

It seems, therefore, that both manuscripts used a copy which had a Bible text mixed with cosmological material but that the scribes of 764 reworked the Bible text considerably and rearranged the order of the narrative elements. They also introduced extraneous material into the biblical narrative, such as the information that Satan turned himself into a serpent with a woman's face, a detail popularised by Comestor, which is also included in the account found in *Stjórn I* albeit with a different wording.¹⁴⁰

The other Old Testament fragment, Stock. Perg. fol. 12 IV, contains a translation of Exodus 4.19-7.15. 764 treats the same events in 3v10-13 — only three lines. It is of course difficult to decide on the basis of such scant material whether the two texts stem from the same translation, but some information may be gleaned from the comparison and it may also be relevant to the question of the biblical source for *Stjórn I*:

764

Ok er Moyses kom á Egíptaland sagði hann Pharaoni konungi vilja guðs en hann vildi eigi gera frjálsan guðs lýð. Þá kastaði Aaron niðr vendinum en hann varð at ormi. Þá sendi Pharao eftir galdramönnum sínum ok bað þá sjá þetta undr. Þeir snöru sínum vöndum í höggorma, þá svalg höggormr Aarons alla þeira dreka (3v10-13)

Stock. Perg. fol. 12 IV

og er þeir komu fyrer konung toc áron uond upp og kastadi nidur fyrer fætr konungi og hirdmonnum hans og vard *uðndrenn* þegar ad orme. Enn er pharao konungr sa þetta undur er ordit var þa senndi hann epter spekingum sinum og galldra monnum og er þeir komu a konungs fund og þeir sau huar hoggormar moysis hrocktust. þa kuodu þeir galldra yfer uondum sinum og kaustudu þeim nidur a golf fyrer konung og syndist konungi og hans monnum sem þeir uennder yrði ad *höggormum* og er menn litu a þetta vndur syndist monnum sem *höggormr* Aron gleypti alla vondu þeira galldra manna. (1v22-28)

¹⁴⁰ 'þa kom hann til konunnar i þeim einum *höggormi* sem hann hafdi meyjar aaseonu. eptir þi sem Beda prestr segir' *Stjórn*, 34.36-38. cf. *Historia Scholastica: Elegi etiam quoddam genus serpentis, ut ait Beda, virgineum vultum habens*. PL 198, 1072. The idea of the virginal serpent seems to have originated with Comestor rather than with Bede, cf. Henry Ansgar Kelly. 'The metamorphoses of the Eden serpent during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.' *Viator* 2 (1971), 301-327, esp. 308-309.

Stjórn

Þeir bróðr gengu fyrir Pharaonem. sem gud hafði þeim bodit. Tok Aaron *uðndinn*. ok þegar leid sem hann kastaði honum fram fyrir konunginn ok hans þionostumenn. þá uerdr hann at eitrorði. Enn sem Pharao saa undr þetta. let hann kalla sér spekinga sina ok galdramenn. Toku þeir sér eigi sidr *uðndu*. ok sem þeir komu fyrir konunginn. þá kuadu þeir ok sogdu yfir þeim egiptzkan galldr. ok þá medr adra þá leynilegha fiolkyngi sem þeir kunnu. *Kðstudu* sidan allir fram huerr sinum uendi. snoruz þeir allir eigi sidr i eitrorða myndir. Enn þo uann sá sem Aaron heyrdi til sua yfir hina. at hann sualg ok gleypti alla þa. (267.14-23)

Vulgata

ingressi itaque Moses et Aaron ad Pharaonem fecerunt sicut praeceperat Dominus tullitque Aaron virgam coram Pharao et servis eius quae versa est in colubrum vocavit autem Pharao sapientes et maleficos et fecerunt etiam ipsi per incantationes aegyptias et arcana quaedam similiter proieceruntque singuli virgas suas quae versae sunt in dracones sed devoravit virga Aaron virgas eorum (Ex 7.10-12)

As Kirby has pointed out, there are certain similarities between Stjórn I and the Stock. Perg. 12 text, also in phrases which have no parallel in the Vulgate.¹⁴¹ One of his examples is the wording ‘undr þetta’ in the text above, which is also found in 764. 764 is clearly closer to Stock. Perg. 12 than the *Stjórn* text is. Although its text is briefer, the wording is similar, both texts have ‘kastaði niðr’ (cf. Stjórn I ‘kastaði fram fyrir’), ‘hann varð at ormi’ (Stjórn I ‘þá verðr hann at eitrorði’); ‘sendi eftir galdra mönnum’ (Stjórn I ‘lét kalla sér ... galdramenn’). It is only in the last sentence in 764 that significant variants are found: the verb ‘svelgja’ instead of ‘gleypta’ and the noun ‘drekar’ where Stock. Perg. 12 has ‘vöndu’. In the first case 764 and Stock. Perg. 12 may simply represent different abridgements of an original where the meaning of *devoravit* was rendered by two verbs, ‘svalg ok gleypti’, both preserved in Stjórn I. In the latter example 764 seems to echo *dracones* of the Vulgate but Stock. Perg. 12 follows the original more closely, rendering *virgas eorum* faithfully.

Despite these seemingly close similarities between 764 and Stock. Perg. 12, they might nevertheless be explained by the fact that both texts adhere fairly closely to the wording of the Vulgate, were it not for the phrase ‘sjá þetta undr / sá þetta undr’ which both texts have in common with Stjórn I. If one postulates that 764 and Stock. Perg. 12 go back to the same translation one would have to suppose that Stjórn I also depended on it. The evidence is not conclusive, but if it is taken together with the examples cited above, it seems most reasonable to suppose, as Kirby does, that 764, 238 and Stock. Perg. fol. 12 IV, are all

dependent, ultimately, on the same translation, and that the compiler of Stjórn I also made some use of a text of that kind.¹⁴² In addition, the Stjórn I compiler seems to have translated some Bible passages himself, either directly from the Vulgate or from *Historia scholastica*, as he was adding exegetical glosses to his text.

The nature of the shared translation is harder to determine. As was mentioned above, the exemplar which the 764 and 238 scribes had to hand seems to have been interspersed with encyclopaedic passages and there are also traces of extraneous material in Stock. Perg. 12.¹⁴³ This led Kirby to suppose that the translation which was the source for all these texts was of a Stjórn III-type, which is entirely plausible.¹⁴⁴ He argued, further, that behind that text was another of a Stjórn II-type, and explained the relationship between Stock. Perg. 12 and Stjórn I by supposing that both ultimately went back to a Stjórn II-type translation. There is no real evidence for this assumption and if one takes the view that Stjórn I was only partly based on an existing translation, it becomes redundant.

It is perhaps also significant in this context that 764 does not contain any passages which are derived from that part of the Pentateuch which is represented by Stjórn II. The only material in 764 which belongs to that part of the Bible are the ten commandments. These are not entirely pentateuchal since the first four commandments take the following form: 'trúa á guð ... sverja eigi hégóma við guðs nafn ... elska guð af öllu hjarta ... elska náunginn sem sjálfan sig' and the two last ones are omitted (cf. 3v20-23). The commandments as they stand in *Stjórn* (300.34-301.19) are a faithful rendering of Ex 20.2-17. They are also found in AM 194 8vo and in AM 310 4to but no two versions are entirely compatible and none of them has a formulation similar to that in 764.¹⁴⁵ The 764-scribe may well have added the commandments from memory since they are likely to have been a part of elementary education — that he or she did not keep them apart from the New Testament dictates of *caritas* (Mc 12.30-31) could be a result of an association of the two within the catechism where the Ten

¹⁴¹ Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 71-72 and 150.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 55-56.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

commandments only gradually acquired a significant independent status. That development reached Norway around 1350 whereupon ‘„Guds 10 budord” blir ... gjenstand for undervisning og omtales som almindelig kjendte af hver mand’.¹⁴⁶ The scribe who wrote the commandments in 764 may have been of the ‘old school’, educated before this change of emphasis took hold in Iceland. The adaptation of the *caritas*-dictates to the decalogue may have been influenced by the formulation in Romans 13.8-9 where several of the commandments are firmly linked to the precept of loving one’s neighbour. Examples of a similar treatment of the decalogue are found in Old English and Old Frisian sources.¹⁴⁷

There is therefore no evidence in 764 of a text which covered the whole of the Pentateuch although the scribes clearly had some sort of text of Genesis and Exodus 1-18. It must be considered a possibility that the Bible translation called Stjórn III contained only those parts of the Pentateuch together with the existing Joshua-Kings part. That would be in keeping with the narrative-oriented editorial practice which is predominant in 764 but also clearly detectable in Stjórn III as Christine Fell has shown.¹⁴⁸ The rest of the Pentateuch, after Ex 18, largely concerns the establishment of Jewish law and customs which might not have been of much interest to the Icelanders. They therefore continued the story of Moses and the Exodus with the account of Joshua, his successor, and his triumphs in Israel. Stjórn I, which was probably partly based on an existing Stjórn III translation, almost certainly never extended beyond Ex 18 and the reasons for that are made more understandable if Stjórn III never did so either. What follows is that Stjórn II stands alone and was probably produced and transmitted independently of the Stjórn III/I version, as indeed the manuscript tradition suggests.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *Al* I, 34; *Fire og fyrretyve for en stor Deel forhen utrykte Prøver af oldnordisk Sprog og Literatur*. Ed. by Konráð Gíslason. København 1860, 437; Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 152-153.

¹⁴⁶ A. Chr. Bang. *Den norske kirkes historie*. Kristiania 1912, 213.

¹⁴⁷ There is a parallel to the formulation in 764 in a Frisian law-code from the second half of the thirteenth century where the second commandment reads ‘minne thinne eunkristena like thi selwm’, cf. W.B. Lockwood. ‘Vernacular scriptures in Germany and the Low Countries before 1500.’ *The Cambridge History of the Bible II. The West From the Fathers to the Reformation*. Ed. by G.W.H. Lampe. Cambridge 1969, 416. For the OE parallels cf. Cross and Hill (eds.). *The Prose Solomon*, 108-110.

¹⁴⁸ Fell, ‘Old Norse Version’, 120-132.

4.2.5. The Prophets

The remainder of the biblical material is focused on the prophets, and significant events in the history of the Jews, such as the transmigration from Babylon, are linked to their flourishing, as is also the practice in *Imago mundi* for instance (e.g. III.17). The 764 text is mostly very brief and it is not easy to see whether it comes from a Bible text or simply from some sort of a list or chronicle.

The Books of the prophets often circulated separately in the Middle Ages. Part-Bibles, containing in one volume the major and/or minor prophets, or a smaller selection, were common.¹⁴⁹ The question therefore arises whether the account of the prophets in 764 could have been based on such a collection of biblical texts. That does not seem, at least on the face of it, the likeliest explanation of the prophet-material in 764. No traces of an Icelandic translation of such a work have survived although a vellum codex containing the prophets in Icelandic is listed among old books belonging to the cathedral at Skálholt in 1644.¹⁵⁰ It is unlikely that the scribes who worked on 764 used a Latin part-Bible directly, since evidence from the rest of the manuscript indicates that they did not normally translate anything afresh but relied on existing translations.

Given the brevity of the references to the prophets another possible explanation for this material might be that the scribes had access to some sort of catalogue of prophets. This is an attractive hypothesis since the manuscript includes other catalogues, of the apostles, of popes, patriarchs and emperors, and the scribes were thus obviously fond of lists of all types. There are, however, some things which indicate that the compilation of the catalogue of prophets was the scribes' own work. They seem to have augmented their list of prophets partly by repeating material which they had already included, such as the episode about Habakkuk and Daniel and the story of Samuel's conception and birth. They also include within their definition of prophets both those who appear as characters in the historical books of the Old Testament, and those who give their names to separate books. The scribes show that they are well aware of the reason for the

¹⁴⁹ Richard Marsden. 'The Old Testament in Late Anglo-Saxon England: preliminary observations on the textual evidence.' *The Early Medieval Bible: Its production, decoration and use*. Ed. by Richard Gameson. Cambridge 1994, 104. Cf. also *idem*. *The text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge 1995, 236-237.

¹⁵⁰ Þjsks. Bps. A, VII, 2, s. 53. An inventory of Viðey in 1397 lists '12 prophetae minores' (DI IV, 110) and there were two 'libri prophetarum' at Hólar in 1569, one apparently with commentary (DI XV, 217).

terms ‘major’ and ‘minor’ when applied to the prophets for they state that ‘fyrir þá sök eru þeir hinir meiri spámenn kallaðir at þeir hafa fleiri ok meiri bækr gert en xij aðrir þeir er hinir minni spámenn kallaz’.¹⁵¹ The major prophets are all included, but although the scribes list all the minor prophets they only elaborate on Jonah, Habakkuk and Malachi, possibly because they did not have any material to hand concerning the others. The situation was different in the case of Nathan, Elijah and Elisha, because there the scribes were presumably able to draw on their copy of Stjórn III, and the passages on Isaiah and Jeremiah also fall within the scope of the Books of Kings but are not derived from the eponymous books. The brief information on Ezechiel is on the other hand consistent with the opening of the book that goes under his name but the reference is so general that it need not have come directly from the Bible. The same may be said of a brief passage on the transmigration from Babylon, which could have come from an encyclopaedic work rather than from the Book of Ezra since the passage has no obvious verbal correspondences with the latter. *Veraldar saga* treats the same events equally briefly, but, again, without any verbal parallels to 764.¹⁵²

The information on Malachi and Jonah in 764 is without parallels in native sources and it is not a simple Bible reference because it is glossed: Malachi’s name is said to mean ‘engill drottins, at þeim [gyðingum] þóttu svá mæt orð hans vera sem þá at engill guðs mælti þat er hann kvað upp’;¹⁵³ and in the passage on Jonah Jerome is cited as authority for the identification of Jonah with the young man resuscitated by Elisha.¹⁵⁴ Jerome is also referred to on f. 3r12 and these references may have the same source, which might have been a Stjórn III-type text, dependent on *Historia scholastica* which makes frequent references to Jerome. But there may equally well be a different explanation for these references and they need not be connected in this way; Jerome was after all *auctoritas* and frequently cited.

¹⁵¹ 10r2-3. The division into major and minor prophets goes back to St Augustine, cf. A. Legner. ‘Prophet(en)’. *LfThK* 8, 798.

¹⁵² *Veraldar saga*, 39.15-40.10.

¹⁵³ 10r410-41. Cf. *Malachias interpretatur angelus Domini, id est nuntius. Quidquid enim loquebatur quasi a Domino essent mandata, ita credebantur; et inde ita eius nomen Septuaginta transtulerunt dicentes (Malach. I.1): ‘Adsumptio verbi Domini super Israel in manu angeli eius.’* Isidore, *Etym.* VII.viii.22 and cf. Jerome, *Commentaria in Malachiam* PL 25, 1541.

¹⁵⁴ 10r25-26. Cf. Jerome, *Commentaria in Jonam* PL 25, 1118.

It seems that firm conclusions regarding the prophet catalogue in 764 will elude us. The scribes were clearly relying on a source which was augmented with some exegetical material. Whether this source was a glossed Bible text, similar perhaps to *Stjórn III*, or a text of a more encyclopaedic nature which listed some (or all) of the prophets and explained their identity and names, it is not possible to determine.

That the prophets carry such emphasis in 764 may be explained partly by the predilection the scribes show for dynasties of all sorts, as mentioned above. This fondness for tracing the sequence of leaders must be viewed in connection with the overall preoccupation with chronological order within the scheme of the *aetates*. That the prophets are deemed to merit such attention also has theological reasons in that they serve as prefigurations of Christ.¹⁵⁵ The Lord reveals himself to the prophets, or perhaps rather reveals himself to mankind through them, for as the creed states the Holy Spirit 'spoke through the prophets'.¹⁵⁶ The prophets were perceived as God's mouthpieces, as is clear from the comment on Malachi cited above. In the history of the world therefore, the stories of prophets may be seen as a preparation for the story of him who is greater than all, Jesus Christ.

¹⁵⁵ Legner, 'Prophet(en)', 802.

¹⁵⁶ This is the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed which was in use from 451 onwards, cf. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 296-298.

4.3. The Book of Daniel

4.3.1. Daniel material in AM 764

At the end of Kings IV the Jews have been exiled to Babylon by the great king Nebuchadnezzar. Here Stjórn ends but in AM 764 this episode is followed by stories from the Book of Daniel (Dn) which are set in the times of Nebuchadnezzar and where he is one of the characters (4v26-5v25).

The Daniel material in 764 seems to have started at the wrong end, as it were, because there is on f. 4v a partly erased account, based on the deuteronomical chapter 14 of Dn in the Vulgate, of how Daniel was thrown into a den of lions at the instigation of the priests of Bel, and how the prophet Habacuc was carried from Judea by an angel to feed him. This chapter in the Vulgate borrows the motif of the lions' den from chapter 6 of the book where Daniel spends one night with the lions as opposed to seven days in the story of Bel's priests.

In 764 the brief narrative about Daniel and Habacuc is followed by a few lines (4v36-38) mentioning other evil deeds perpetrated by Nebuchadnezzar until he repented 'með þeim hætti sem nú skal heyraz' (4v38). What then follows (5r1-16) is a heavily abridged version of Dn 3-4, which serves as an account of Nebuchadnezzar's repentance, and a more or less complete text of Dn 5 which tells the famous story of Nebuchadnezzar's son Belshazzar (Balthasar) who saw a hand write on the wall of his dining hall words that spelt his doom (5r16-5v20). The rest of the book is then omitted except for a brief account of the events which followed Daniel's exposure of the priests in the stories of Bel and the dragon and led to his confinement in the lions' den. This is the same incident which the text on 4v relates, but here there is no mention of Habacuc. This is not the whole story, however, as regards 764, for the tale of Habacuc's journey through the air to bring Daniel food is retold on f. 9v32-40 in a section about the prophets of Israel, among them Habacuc.¹⁵⁷

An attempt may have been made to erase the passage on 4v when the book was put together and when it was realised that not only did it preempt

¹⁵⁷ The episode is also incorporated into Gregory's Dialogues and can be read in the Icelandic version, cf. *HMS I*, 216.

events which were told later and there in the right order, but that it included the Habacuc anecdote which was duplicated in the account of the prophets.

It has been pointed out that the book of Daniel is unique among the Scriptures in that it consists of independent episodes rather than a continuous narrative.¹⁵⁸ It is therefore not particularly surprising that only some of these episodes should be included in 764. The Book of Daniel falls into two parts, the first containing narratives in the third person, the second consisting of four visions or apocalypses told by Daniel himself.¹⁵⁹ In addition the Vulgate version contains three stories which are regarded as apocryphal by Jews and Protestants but deuterocanonical within the Roman Catholic church. (There is also a deuterocanonical interpolation in Dn 3 of the Vulgate, the Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the three young men.) These episodes, about Susanna and Bel and the dragon, are more akin to the stories in the first part of the book, for they are proper tales. It is only this sort of material which is included in 764 — the visions are left out altogether. It probably indicates a preference on behalf of the scribes/compilers for texts with a strong narrative streak.

4.3.2. The reception of Daniel in the Middle Ages

The Book of Daniel was well known in the Middle Ages. It entered the liturgy of the Church in early times where, in addition to *lectiones*, parts of the deuterocanonical prayer of the three youths in the furnace (*Benedictus es Domine* (Dn 3.52-56) and *Benedicite* (Dn 3.57-88)) were used as antiphons, typically at lauds, and as hymns with Mass, particularly on the Saturday of Ember Days.¹⁶⁰ The text in 764 attests this where it states that the youths ‘sungu ... guði lof dictandi psalminn Benedicite’ (5r10-11). Apart from its uses in the liturgy the book served as an inspiration for a great variety of literary works, from homilies to religious drama, from exempla to epic.¹⁶¹ This varied reception was perhaps partly due to the heterogeneity of the book itself. Despite the

¹⁵⁸ Alexander A. Di Lella and Louis F. Hartman (eds.). *The Book of Daniel*. (The Anchor Bible 23.) New York 1978, 9.

¹⁵⁹ Ad. Lenglet has argued that the way the episodes in the first part are organised creates structural parallels within the book, cf. Ad. Lenglet. ‘La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7.’ *Biblica* 53 (1972), 169-190.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. F. Cabrol. ‘Benedicite et Benedictus es Domine (canticum).’ *DACL* 2, 660-664.

¹⁶¹ Cf. J.-A. George. ‘Repentance and retribution: The use of the Book of Daniel in Old and Middle English texts.’ *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 77/3 (1995), 177-178.

apparently diverse uses to which the book was put, one can nevertheless discern three themes which seem above all to have exercised influence on medieval audiences and ensured the popularity of the work in the Middle Ages.

Ever since Jerome wrote his influential commentary on the book,¹⁶² the visions of Daniel were seen to prefigure events leading up to the Last Judgement, and the coming of Antichrist in particular.¹⁶³ The Book of Daniel thus became an important element in eschatological lore. AM 764 even bears witness to this since, in the passage on the Last Judgment on ff. 22v23-23v4, there is a reference to the three youths in the fiery furnace (Dn 3.19-21). Because the Book of Daniel was thus so closely associated with the end of the world, it, or parts of it, became a more or less fixed element in the universal histories of the Middle Ages. Thus Icelandic works which aim to sketch Christian history through the six ages usually refer to some of Daniel's exploits. The most substantial treatment is found in *Veraldar saga* which emphasises Daniel's prophetic qualities and includes a passage on his ordeal in the lions' den and that of the youths in the fiery furnace.¹⁶⁴ The accounts of the 'heimsaldrar', *aetates mundi*, found in AM 194 8vo¹⁶⁵ and AM 415 4to¹⁶⁶ refer to Daniel much more briefly, but he is obviously one of the signposts of history as is also witnessed by his inclusion in a cosmological-historical question and answer sequence found in AM 624 4to.¹⁶⁷

Another theme from the Book of Daniel which especially captivated medieval minds was the fate of the kings Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. That the book could be read as an admonition to rulers against pride was not lost on medieval commentators¹⁶⁸ and it gave rise to literature in other genres which emphasised this aspect of the stories. Thus the Old English poem *Daniel* 'deals

¹⁶² *Commentariorum in Daniele libri III(IV) in Hieronymus presbyter. Opera Pars I. Opera exegetica 5.* Ed. by F. Glorie. (CCSL 75A.) Turnhout 1964. Cf. David Wells. 'The Medieval Nebuchadnezzar. The exegetical tradition of Daniel IV and its significance for the Yvain romances and for German vernacular literature.' *Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 16 (1982), 398.

¹⁶³ Mark A. Zier. 'The Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel: Antecedents to Andrew of St. Victor.' *RTh* 58 (1991), 47.

¹⁶⁴ *Veraldar saga*, 35-39.

¹⁶⁵ *AI* I, 52

¹⁶⁶ *AI* III, 53.

¹⁶⁷ *AI* III, 39. Daniel is also mentioned along with the Virgin, Susanna, David, Moses, Peter and Paul, in a prayer against illness found in AM 461 12mo, cf. *AI* III, 114.

¹⁶⁸ Zier mentions that Hrabanus Maurus recommended his commentary on Daniel to King Louis I, 'The Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel', 61.

specifically with the pride and humbling of Nebuchadnezzar¹⁶⁹, devoting less attention to Daniel's prophetic abilities. Graham D. Caie has argued that the central theme of the poem is 'the danger of *superbia*, the origin of all sins'¹⁷⁰, as manifested in the stories of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. There are echoes from the Book of Daniel in other literature about kings — one can only assume that the parallels thus drawn added an apocalyptic resonance to the narrative. *Visio Karoli magni* from the 860s tells of a vision experienced by Charlemagne, parallel to the story of the handwriting on the wall, which purportedly foretold his downfall.¹⁷¹ Nebuchadnezzar's famous dream where he sees an image of gold, silver, brass and iron (Dn 2.31-35) served as a model for King Ólafr Haraldsson's dream as recounted in the Icelandic *Rauðúlfs þátr*, written in the first half of the 13th century.¹⁷² It has also been suggested that the story of king Nebuchadnezzar's pride and humiliation may have reverberated in the minds of the Icelandic audience of *Hrafnkels saga*, leading them to draw parallels between the fate of the two men.¹⁷³ Whether that was the case will of course remain an hypothesis but the discovery of a translation of parts of the biblical story in 764 at least makes it unnecessary to suppose that only those who could read Latin were capable of making the connection.¹⁷⁴

The tale of Nebuchadnezzar's dream enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages and Daniel's interpretation of it as signifying four successive kingdoms was to become a standard feature of histories as well as a bone of contention among historians for centuries.¹⁷⁵ The interest in dreams and their significance was the third element that ensured the Book of Daniel its favourable reception in the Middle Ages. There is a testament to that interest in a passage in Bergr Sokkason's *Nikulás saga* which discusses the nature of dreams and quotes

¹⁶⁹ Antonina Harbus. 'Nebuchadnezzar's dreams in the Old English *Daniel*.' *English Studies* 75 (1994), 489.

¹⁷⁰ Graham D. Caie. 'The Old English *Daniel*: A warning against pride. *English Studies* 59 (1978), 1.

¹⁷¹ Zier, 'The Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel', 55 n. 36.

¹⁷² Anthony Faulkes. *Rauðúlfs þátr. A study*. (Studia Islandica 25.) Reykjavík 1966, 12-29.

¹⁷³ Theodore M. Andersson. 'Ethics and Politics in Hrafnkels saga.' *Scandinavian Studies* 60 (1988), 293-309, esp. 296-301.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 301.

¹⁷⁵ David Flusser. 'The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel.' *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), 160. On the controversy surrounding the identity of the four kingdoms see H.H. Rowley. *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel. A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories*. Cardiff 1959.

Daniel's words to the king.¹⁷⁶ In addition, Daniel's great reputation as a dream interpreter spawned popular collections of dream lore, which were often ascribed to him and commonly known as the *Somniale Danielis*. The work probably originated in the Greek-speaking world but circulated in the West in many versions, Latin and vernacular, and became one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages. It eventually found its way to Iceland and it so happens that an Icelandic version is preserved in AM 764, although it is not contemporary with the rest of the manuscript but rather written ca. 1500 on the verso side of f. 33. The text is almost certainly derived from a copy of a longer version but it is impossible to determine when the *Somniale Danielis* was brought to Iceland; it may have been as early as the twelfth century, but it could easily have been later.¹⁷⁷

The Book of Daniel has left other traces in Icelandic medieval literature,¹⁷⁸ but apart from *Rauðúlfs þáttr* the most significant use of Daniel material is in a homily in *Hauksbók*, a compilation from the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁹ The homily touches on the story of the youths in the fiery furnace (Dn 3), then goes on to treat more fully the story of Daniel's dealings with king Darius and his spell in the lions' den (Dn 6), and finally recounts the deuterocanonical stories of Bel and the dragon (Dn 14). The narrative is not based on the Vulgate however. As has been shown, first by J.C. Pope and later more fully by Arnold Taylor, the entire homily is a translation of Ælfric's Old English sermon *De Falsis Diis*.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ HMS II, 86-87. Daniel and his prophetic abilities are furthermore referred to in *Antonius saga* (HMS I, 80, 110) and *Mauritius saga* (HMS I, 649). Cf. also n. 176.

¹⁷⁷ E.O.G. Turville-Petre. 'An Icelandic version of the *Somniale Danielis*.' *Nordica et Anglica. Studies in Honor of Stefán Einarsson*. Ed. by Allan H. Orrick. The Hague 1968, 19-36. On the dating of the text and its relationship with other edited versions cf. 23-27.

¹⁷⁸ There are quotations translated from Daniel in a couple of homilies as well as in *Barlaams saga ok Jósafats*, *Jakobs saga postola* and *Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jakobs*, cf. Kirby. *Bible Quotation I*, 111-112.

¹⁷⁹ *Hauksbók*. Ed. by C.R. Unger. København 1892-96. The homily, entitled 'Um þat hvaðan ótrú hófst' is on pp. 156-165 and is in that part of this composite work which bears the ms. no. AM 544 4to.

¹⁸⁰ Arnold Taylor. 'Hauksbok and Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*.' *Leeds Studies in English. New Series* 3 (1969), 101-109, cf. J.C. Pope. *Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection II*. (EETS 260.) London 1968, 669-670.

4.3.3. The translation of Dn 5 in 764

There is no direct connection between the *Hauksbók* text and the Daniel text found in AM 764. The latter is clearly based on the Vulgate, but only 5r16-5v20 (Dn 5) can be said to be a direct translation — the other parts are scarcely more than brief summaries of events. The 764 text of Dn 5 differs from the previous biblical passages in 764, which derive from Stjórn III, in that it is hardly at all augmented with extraneous material or comments. The translator (or the scribe) has on one occasion made a significant rearrangement. The words which the hand writes on the wall, and their meaning in Latin, are in 764 inserted into the narrative at the point when the hand appears (5r20-23) whereas in the Vulgate this information is withheld until Daniel explains the message to the king at the end of his speech (Dn 5.25-28). Apart from this change we find in the 764 text only some minor rearrangements and abbreviations, mostly at the beginning and end of the chapter, and inaccuracies or mistranslations are rare. A few words have been accidentally omitted in copying on one occasion: ‘ok fyrir þá mekt ok miklan er guð gaf honum óttaðiz hann ok hræddiz [allr lýðr]’ (5v7-8; *et propter magnificentiam quam dederat ei universi populi tribus et linguae tremebant et metuebant eum* (Dn 5.19)), and the translator or the scribes have added ‘um vij ár’ to the description of Nebuchadnezzar’s madness (5v12). That information is taken from Dn 4.28: *et septem tempora mutabuntur super te*. There are also some minor substitutions, such as the one at 5v37 where *cui rex posuit nomen Balthasar* (Dn 5.12) is supplanted with ‘er konungr kastaði í dýragröf’, presumably because that event was more firmly associated with Daniel in the audience’s mind than the name-change.

Although the translation can thus be said to be faithful on the whole, it is not always eloquent. It gives the impression of being an odd combination of awkward near-verbatim translation and a freer, more idiomatic rendering. The style is not heavily latinate although Latin influence may be detected in the syntax and choice of word forms. As an example one might take the use of the interrogative pronoun ‘hverr’ as relative pronoun (as well as a possible misreading of *praefatus*) in this clumsy rendering: ‘Nú sem Daníel var inn leiddr fyrir konung hverjum inn leiddum sagði konungrinn.’ (5r37-38; *igitur introductus est Danihel coram rege ad quem praefatus rex ait* (Dn 5.13)). There is also an instance of the use of ‘at’ as a relative conjunction in the sentence

‘hverr sem sá er at lesit fær þetta letr’ (5r27; the first four words clearly echoing the *quicumque* of the Latin). Both these relative constructions seem to be characteristic of comparatively late works, i.e. from the late thirteenth or fourteenth century.¹⁸¹ The present participles of the Vulgate are occasionally retained (‘ritandi’ 5r20 for *scribentes* Dn 5.5; ‘heilsandi’ 5r32 for *proloquens* Dn 5.10). Present participles and latinized uses of the past participle (e.g. as a rendering of abl. abs.) are proportionally more frequent in the summarised account of Dn 3-4, for example: ‘bjóðandi’ 5r2; ‘ofn brennanda’ (5r4; *fornacem ignis ardentis* (Dn 3.6)); ‘segjandi’ (5r11-12); ‘voru kastaðir í þvílíkan ofns bruna’ (5r8; *missi sunt in medium fornacis ignis ardentis* (Dn 3.21)); ‘at bundnum höndum ok fótum’ (5r7; *ligatis pedibus* (Dn 3.20)). Not all these participial constructions can be traced to the Vulgate and hence may be taken to reflect the taste or style of the scribe who is summarising.

One of the more obvious characteristics of the style is the frequent placing of pronominal possessives before nouns:

En síðan hann hóf upp *sitt* hjarta ok digra drambsemi þá var hann niðr settr af *sínum* veldisstóli ok ríki ok brott borin *hans* dýrð, ok af *sínum* eignum út rekinn. Ok hjarta skógdýra var honum gefit ok meðr elgum ok skógdýrum var *hans* bygð um vij ár. Gras át hann sem uxi ok *hans* líkami var vökvaðr döggr himinsins þar til er hann kenndiz við at hinn hæsti guð hefir vald yfir ríki manna . (5v9-14)

Word-order of this kind is not prominent in earlier (twelfth- and thirteenth-century) Norse prose where the possessives, being usually placed after the nouns, carry light emphasis. Reversing the position changes the rhythm of the sentence and gives the possessives added emphasis, delaying the main word in the construction, the noun.¹⁸² This characteristic can be seen in various works from the late thirteenth and the fourteenth century — it is very pronounced in *Þiðreks saga*, for instance, and is also a feature of many fourteenth-century romances. It seems to have gained currency in the course of the fourteenth

¹⁸¹ Cf. Marius Nygaard. ‘Den lærde stil i den norrøne prosa.’ *Sproglig-historiske studier tilegnede Professor C.R. Unger*. Kristiania 1896, 165; *idem. Norrøn syntax*. Oslo 1906, § 267 b); Jónas Kristjánsson. ‘Learned style or saga style?’ *Speculum norroenum. Norse studies in memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre*. Ed. by Ursula Dronke et al. Odense 1981, 282; Johan Fritzner. *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog* I. 4th ed. Oslo 1973, 83-4.

¹⁸² Cf. Nygaard. *Norrøn syntax*, § 348 anm. 2.

century, probably through Low German influence by way of Danish and Swedish.¹⁸³

There are two instances of the practice of rendering a Latin word with two alliterative Icelandic ones: 'digra drambsemi' (5v10) for *superbiam* (Dn 5.20) and 'mekt ok miklan' (5v7-8) for *magnificentiam* (Dn 5.19). The latter is also found in Stjórn I (242⁸) and might have been the customary gloss for the Latin word. A similar tendency to amplify the text by using two words or phrases instead of one is manifested in the sentence: 'skelfdu hann mjök hugrenningar hans ok hræddan gerðu svá mjök at losnuðu samfestingar hans lenda...' (5r23-24; *cogitationes eius perturbabant eum et conpages enim eius solvebantur* (Dn 5.6)). The word 'samfestingar' for Lat. *conpages* is paralleled in Stjórn II (307²⁰) — probably a regular school-gloss.

The vocabulary does not present many surprises. The word 'dróttnari' deserves mentioning, however. It occurs once only ('mót guði dróttnara himins' 5v16) and is not attested elsewhere except in Stjórn I (20¹⁶), in a gloss taken from *Speculum historiale*. The verb 'dróttna', on the other hand, is well known and occurs predominantly in religious prose as a translation for Lat. *dominare*.¹⁸⁴ The word 'dróttnari' seems to be derived from the verb — in the same way as for example 'skapari' and the rare 'ljósberari' are formed, that is by adding the suffix '-ari' to the stem of the verb. These formations are parallel to, but later than, formations like 'dómari' or 'skipari' where the noun is derived from another noun ('dómr', 'skip').¹⁸⁵ The suffix was originally a Germanic loan from Latin *-arius*, but its use in Norwegian/Icelandic may have been strengthened through Low German influence — there are certainly numerous instances of loan-words ending in '-ari' in fourteenth and fifteenth century charters.¹⁸⁶

There are not many vestiges of Latin in the vocabulary except that the Latin interpretation of the words *mane*, *thecel*, *fares* is left untranslated (5r21-

¹⁸³ Elias Wessén. *Svensk språkhistoria III. Grundlinjer till en historisk syntax*. 2nd ed. Lund 1965, § 73.

¹⁸⁴ The ONP has two examples of 'dróttna' for *impero* (VP and Alex.) and one for *conforto* (Gyð.)

¹⁸⁵ Allan Karker. 'Orddannelse.' *KLNM* 12, 639.

¹⁸⁶ E.g. 'bréfberari', 'forverari', 'framjåtari', 'fylgjari', 'réttari', Cf. Veturliði Óskarsson. *Låneord i islandske diplomer fra det 15. århundrede. Specialopgave i nordisk filologi, B-del. Magisterkonferens i Nordisk Filologi, Københavns Universitet*. Copenhagen 1991, 60-61. [Typescript.] On Low-German influence on Icelandic see also Veturliði Óskarsson. 'Om låneord og fremmed påvirkning på ældre islandsk sprog.' *Scripta Islandica* 49 (1998), 3-20.

23). Otherwise, the translator refrained from peppering his translation with Latin words. As an example one could mention the Latin word *onager* (Dn 5.21), wild ass, which is found untranslated in the Icelandic *Physiologus*,¹⁸⁷ but which is here translated as ‘elgr’ (5v17). The habit of associating the elk with the *onager* seems to have originated in Southern France around 1300 but it quickly caught on in Scandinavia and is common in late medieval Swedish sources.¹⁸⁸ This usage of the word ‘elgr’ in Daniel firmly suggests that the translation is a fourteenth-century work, a dating which tallies with the other linguistic and stylistic evidence discussed earlier.

4.3.4. The context and purpose of the Daniel material in 764

The fact that Dn 5 is included in its entirety imperfectly copied from a faithful translation suggests that the Daniel-material in 764 was not written from memory. The scribes selected passages from the text to include in their miscellany, and the story of Belshazzar and the handwriting on the wall found greatest favour with them. One can but guess why the other passages are given such short shrift and some not included at all. The first chapter of Daniel does little more than set the scene for later events, except that it tells the story of how Daniel and his companions avoid eating unkosher food. It may have been omitted because it meant little to an Icelandic audience. The only item which is salvaged from this chapter is the detail about the aliases Daniel and his companions were given at the court of Nebuchadnezzar. This information is inserted into the story of the golden image and the youths in the furnace (5r4-5). Chapter 2 in Daniel tells of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream of the composite statue. This is omitted altogether by the 764 scribes. One could be forgiven for thinking that was because they knew it was already incorporated into *Rauðúlfs þáttr*, but of course there is no way of knowing.

Chapters 3 and 4, about the worship of the golden image and Nebuchadnezzar’s madness, are the first Daniel stories told in 764 if one excludes the partly erased account of Habacuc’s visit to the lions’ den. The introduction to these two stories about Nebuchadnezzar is also partly erased, but it seems to emphasise the penitential element in his fate: ‘.... nokkut af

¹⁸⁷ Verner Dahlerup. ‘Physiologus i to islandske bearbejdelser.’ *ANOH* 1889, 266.

Nabogodonosor konungi er hann lét gera lík[neskju] [f]yrsta manns ok margt illt lét hann gera allt þar [til] iðran með þeim hætti sem nú skal heyraz' (4v36-38). This is then followed by a prayer beginning with 'Christus'. It cannot be said for certain what the fragmentary Latin contained, but it appears to arise from Nebuchadnezzar's restoration and his 'hymn' acknowledging God's greatness (Dn 4.31-34). Given this assumption, and bearing in mind the theme of repentance associated with Nebuchadnezzar's changed state, the Latin could have been a reiteration of the accepted doctrine that 'den fullkomliga ångern var tillfyllest för uppnående av syndernes förlåtelse, redan före mottagandet av avlösningen'.¹⁸⁹ The little that can be read — *In quavis hora suscipit absque mora* (4v39 'at whatever hour [a man] undertakes (?) without delay') — would not be at odds with this interpretation: contrition, which is the first and insofar sufficient step to repentance, satisfaction and restoration, can be experienced at any time up to the last moment of life. After relating, on the subsequent page of the manuscript, the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness the scribe ends his treatment of this king with the statement that he 'bráz alldri guði síðan' (5r15-16), indicating that through his repentance he had been completely and permanently restored. This theme of contrition is paralleled earlier in the manuscript in the emphasis which is put on Solomon's madness, caused by 'the love of women', and his subsequent repentance (4v5-10) which, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, marks the end of the king's story in 764. Attention has recently been drawn to the penitential elements of the Old English Daniel¹⁹⁰ and although that theme is not as pronounced in the Daniel-text in 764 it seems that not only the perils of pride but also the importance of repentance was a concern of the Icelandic scribes and presumably their audience.

As is well documented the succession of the kingdoms as portrayed in Daniel 2 and 7 is not historically accurate.¹⁹¹ It is clear from Dn 2 that the first kingdom is the Babylonian one but the others are not named in the chapter nor are they specified in Daniel's vision of the beasts representing four monarchies in chapter 7. In chapter 8, on the other hand a ram and a billygoat are said to symbolise the kingdoms of the Medes, the Persians and the Greeks. By bringing

¹⁸⁸ John Bernström. 'Ásnor.' *KLNM* 20, 460-461.

¹⁸⁹ Jarl Gallén. 'Botsakrament.' *KLNM* 2, 182.

¹⁹⁰ George. 'Repentance and retribution', 178-184.

ch. 8 to bear on the two other accounts of the kingdoms, exegetes came up with a succession of the Babylonian (Chaldean), the Medean, the Persian and the Greek monarchies. This was not, however, historically accurate since no Median kingdom existed between the Babylonian and Persian empires. The passages in Daniel rested upon oriental traditions about four world-monarchies to be followed by a fifth. Christians came to interpret Dn 2 and 7 as a prophecy of the coming of Christ and the establishment of the Church, the fifth and greatest empire. The adoption of the theory of successive world-empires was not, however, peculiar to Judeo-Christian traditions. It was also known to the Greeks and the Romans who saw the Assyrian kingdom as the first empire, followed by the Medes, the Persians and the Macedonians/Greeks before the rise of the Roman empire.¹⁹² This sequence of succession was passed on, with varying degrees of variation, into the works of Church Fathers and other exegetical and historical works of the Middle Ages.¹⁹³ A version of the Roman scheme is found on f. 9v19-22 in 764 and has a parallel in *Veraldar saga* (cf. p. 153). In it the Medes have been replaced by the Babylonians (Chaldeans), which may be an attempt to reconcile the succession based on Daniel with the Roman model.

Keeping track of dynasties in kingdoms far away in time and space could evidently prove tricky. Matters are not helped by confusing information, such as when Darius is said, in the Book of Daniel, to be a Mede — yet he succeeds the king of Babylonia and appears to have been in turn succeeded by Cyrus the Persian. The scribes of 764 do not seem too put out by this inconsistency and the sequence of kings is the thread which runs through their presentation of the Daniel material. Despite severe abridgements and the selectiveness with which sections of the book Daniel are copied in the manuscript, the lineage of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius, Cyrus and Cambyses/Nebuchadnezzar is maintained. One suspects the editor(s) turned for help to a vernacular work like *Veraldar saga* or a Latin source like *Imago mundi*, although complete reconciliation of the biblical narrative with the information found there was beyond them. *Veraldar saga* has several wordings in common with 764:

¹⁹¹ Di Lella and Hartman (eds.), *The Book of Daniel*, 29-42.

¹⁹² Joseph Ward Swain. 'The theory of the four monarchies. Opposition history under the Roman empire.' *Classical Philology* 25 (1940), 1-12.

Eptir Darivm var Cyrus frendi hans yfirkonvng. Cyrus var konvnga baztr þo var han heiðin. At hans lofi forv Gyþingar uptr til Iorsalalandz. Jesvs het kenimaðr gofugr er hofþingi var i förini. þeir tokv síþan vp at bæta Salomons mvstari er brent hafdi verit. gerþo þeir þat vp með sama vexti en skravti mina en fyr hafði verit. þeir varo at kirkivgerð þeirre .xl. ok .vii. vetr af því at þeir vrpv at veriaz þiodvm þeim er talma vildo verk þeirra. þa styrdv byskvpar Gydinga folki langa efi síþan þeir komv aptr or Babilon. Eptir Cirvm var Cambises s(onr) hans konvngr i Babilon <hann liet giora Babilon> ina nyio a Egíptalandi ok er hann stvndum kalladr Nabogodunosor. A hans daggom var Holofernvs hertvgi hans vegin. honvm banadi Iudid heilog ekkia. (39-40)

Eftir þat var Cyrus konungr, frændi hans. Hann leyfði heimferð Gyðingalyð eftir lxx ára til Gyðingalands. Síðan tóku þeir at smíða upp Salomons mustari. Gjørðu þeir þat vexti 000. Þeir voru at kirkjugjørð þessari xl ok vi vetr. Eftir Syrum var Cambises son hans er öðru nafni hét Nabogodinosor. Hann ríkti í miklu borg Níníven á Sýrlandi. (5v25-30)

Imago mundi lists the Babylonian and Persian kings of the fifth age thus:

Regnum Babyloniorum. (...)

Quinta aetate apud Babylonios regnavit Nabuchodonosor .xliiii. annis. Sibilla septima Cumana claruit et Ezechiel. Evilmerodach filius Nabuchodonosor regnavit annis .xviii. Daniel et .iii. pueri claruerunt. Egesar huius filius regnavit annis .xl. Septem sapientes claruerunt. Zamosodach regnavit mensibus .viii. Abacuc propheta. Baltasar regnavit annis .xvii. Hunc Cyrus occidit, et Babilonem destruxit. (III.22)

Regnum Persarum.

Cyrus Persarum primus regnavit cum Dario annis .xxx. Hic laxavit captivitatem. Hunc regina Amazonum occidit. Sibilla .viii. claruit. Cambises qui et Nabuchodonosor filius Ciri regnavit annis .viii. Huius tempore fuit Iudith. (III.23)

The scribes of 764 follow the tradition reflected in the text of *Imago mundi* and of *Veraldar saga* in giving Cambyses the alias Nebuchadnezzar and assigning the story of Judith to his reign.¹⁹⁴ But whereas in *Imago mundi* and *Veraldar saga* Judith is only mentioned in passing, the scribes of 764 included in their manuscript a translation of the entire Book of Judith.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 18-21; Rowley, *Darius the Mede*, 74-75; M.-D. Chenu. 'Theology and the new awareness of history.' *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century. Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*. Toronto 1997, 179.

¹⁹⁴ The same information is also found in Bede's *Chronica maiora* 153, cf. *Opera*. VI, 2, 484.

4.4. The Book of Judith

4.4.1. The origins of the Vulgate text and its reception in medieval times

Folios 5v34-6r contain an Icelandic translation of the deuterocanonical Book of Judith, not found elsewhere. This section of the chronicle distinguishes itself from the rest in that it contains a relatively full text — not a heavily abridged version of the Latin — and thus seems to constitute a deviation from the editorial principles adhered to in the rest of the chronicle. A fortunate thing indeed, given that this is the only preserved text of the translation.

The Icelandic version is clearly a translation of the Vulgate text, which differs markedly from both Old Latin versions and the Septuagint. Much uncertainty surrounds the original language of the Book of Judith but the Septuagint version is thought to be a translation from Hebrew.¹⁹⁵ The Old Latin versions, in turn, are based on the Septuagint.¹⁹⁶ An even greater controversy surrounds the origins of the Vulgate text, which is the work of Jerome, accompanied by his preface. It is neither a translation of the Greek text nor, it seems, of a Hebrew one. Jerome himself claims to have used an Aramaic (Chaldean) text for his translation and comparative analysis appears to confirm this.¹⁹⁷ There are, however, numerous correspondences between the Vulgate and the Old Latin versions which have been explained variously as a case of the Vulgate contaminating the Old Latin, which only exists in relatively late manuscripts,¹⁹⁸ or by supposing that Jerome used an Old Latin text as well as the Aramaic text for his translation.¹⁹⁹ The matter is further obscured by the fact that Jerome's method in translating the text was most likely characterised by paraphrase rather than a word-for-word rendering. The Vulgate version omits many passages contained in the Septuagint and Old Latin texts but there are also some additions which are not found in other extant versions.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Carey A. Moore (ed.) *Judith*. (The Anchor Bible 40.) New York 1985, 66. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert. 'Judith.' *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XIX, 246.

¹⁹⁶ Edwin Edgar Voigt. *The Latin Versions of Judith*. Leipzig 1925, 13-14; Bogaert. 'Judith', 246.

¹⁹⁷ Voigt, *The Latin Versions*, 52-54.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 42-44, 50-52.

¹⁹⁹ A.M. Dubarle. 'Judith: Formes et sens des diverses traditions.' *Analecta Biblica* 24 (1966), 44; Bogaert. 'Judith', 247.

²⁰⁰ Moore (ed.). *Judith*, 99-100.

The Book of Judith has had a strong appeal throughout the ages, judging from the numerous versions that exist of the story and the many works of art it has inspired — from renaissance sculptures to playing cards.²⁰¹ Although it was excluded from the Hebrew canon it remained popular among Jews — several Hebrew texts exist as well as numerous medieval midrashim (or expositions) of the story.²⁰² It had a mixed reception among Christian Church Fathers, some accepted it as canonical, others did not. The Eastern Fathers seem to have been more sceptical in this respect, and generally they denied the book canonical status. In the West, on the other hand, it was recognised as part of the canon by the majority of Church leaders, for instance Hilary of Poitiers, St Augustine and Pope Innocent I,²⁰³ and praised by those, in particular, who like Judith chose and/or advocated celibacy (St Ambrose is a case in point).²⁰⁴

The inclusion of the book of Judith in the Vulgate ensured its reception in the West. Judith became a symbol of the fighting Church, Christ's bride, in the fight against Satan and she also came to represent the Virgin crushing the head of the serpent. The biblical text spawned Judith literature of other genres — Judith poems or fragments of poems have survived in Middle High German and in Old English.²⁰⁵ The Old English Judith, which dates from before 1000, has often been interpreted as a patriotic exhortation to the English facing the invasion of Danish Vikings. This reading is supported by Ælfric's comment on the Book of Judith in a Letter to Sigeward.²⁰⁶ Ælfric also wrote a homily on Judith where the emphasis is not so much on the heroine as a model patriot but rather as an example of chastity. Ian Pringle has argued that Judith, in both Ælfric's homily and in the poem, is 'an example of monastic virtue',²⁰⁷ the qualities attributed to her in both works are chastity, hope and faith. Pringle also points out that 'the possibility that the extant manuscript of the poem was

²⁰¹ Judith has been the Queen of Hearts in the French deck since the fourteenth century, cf. Toni Craven. *Artistry and Faith in the Book of Judith*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 70. Chico, California 1983, 1 n.2. On the depiction of Judith in art cf. Nira Stone. 'Judith and Holofernes: Some observations on the development of the scene in art.' *No One Spoke Ill of Her': Essays on Judith*. Ed. by James C. VanderKam. Atlanta 1992, 73-93.

²⁰² Moore (ed.), *Judith*, 103.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 90

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Edna Purdie. *The Story of Judith in German and English Literature*. Paris 1927, 1-22. W.B. Lockwood, 'Vernacular Scriptures', 426.

²⁰⁶ *The Old English Version of The Heptateuch, Aelfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*. Ed. by S.J. Crawford. (EETS OS 160.) London 1922, 48.

intended for a monastic library suggests that it was considered relevant to a monastic audience, just as Ælfric's homily on Judith was certainly addressed to a nun'.²⁰⁸

4.4.2. Literary characteristics of the Book of Judith

The story of Judith does indeed seem a fitting read for nuns. The heroine is a widow who after the death of her husband devotes herself to chastity and piety. She is rich and beautiful but also a model of modesty and well liked by everyone. She commands such respect in her village that the priests of the people show deference to her and, what is more, she goes on to outwit the enemy and commit deeds of undisputed bravery. This combination of virtue and independence that so characterises Judith is likely to have gone down well with abbesses and their subjects.

In addition to the qualities of its heroine the Book of Judith makes a very entertaining read. This has long been recognised by scholars²⁰⁹ although the full merits of the text and the ingenious structure of the narrative have been brought more firmly to light in recent studies. Because Judith herself only enters the story in its eighth chapter, the first seven chapters have often been regarded as peripheral and redundant, the work thus perceived as lacking in balance.²¹⁰ Such arguments were refuted by Toni Craven in her compositional study of the work which is based on the Septuagint text. She argues that the first half of the story serves as a necessary preparation for the events which unfold in the second half and also creates a powerful contrast to it, both in terms of structure and theme.²¹¹ In Part I the figure of King Nebuchadnezzar (and Holofernes by proxy) dominates the action and nothing seems to be able to stem the aggression of the Assyrians, whereas in Part II it is Judith who is the catalyst for events and the ultimate reversal of fortunes. As Craven points out, repetitions and symmetries are the building blocks of the story and she lists four types of these. Firstly,

²⁰⁷ Ian Pringle. 'Judith: The Homily and the Poem.' *Traditio* 31 (1975), 83-97.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 92. Cf. also Kenneth Sisam. *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*. Oxford 1953, 67 n.2 and 96.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Craven. *Artistry and Faith*, 6 n.20.

²¹⁰ An example of such interpretation is found in A.E. Cowley's 'The Book of Judith' in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament I*. Ed. by R.H. Charles. Oxford 1913, 242-267. Cf. Craven. *Artistry and Faith*, 3 nn. 9-10, 8 and 56-58.

²¹¹ Craven. *Artistry and Faith*, 47-59, esp. 58-59.

‘expressed identities’, e.g. the fact that both halves end with the enemy in distress, the Jews in the first half, the Assyrians in the second. Secondly, ‘expressed antitheses’, e.g. both the Jews and the Assyrians are filled with fear which is described in identical ways but the grounds for this fear are direct opposites: the Jews fear Holofernes alive but fear descends upon the Assyrians when they learn of his death. The third type Craven refers to as ‘implied antitheses’, e.g. sexual opposites, Judith vs. Holofernes, and the opposition between Nebuchadnezzar who claims divinity for himself and Yahweh, the true God. These qualities of the Greek version do not hinge so much on the vocabulary or on grammatical or stylistic devices, but rather on characterisation and the unfolding of events, and they are therefore preserved to a large extent in the Vulgate, and consequently in the Icelandic translation. The fourth type of symmetry identified by Craven, the so-called ‘artificial identities’, fare worse in translation since they consist of ‘subtle grammatical or functional correspondences between parallel passages in the respective halves of the story’.²¹²

According to Craven, the two halves of the story are structured in an identical way, based on a three-part chiasmic pattern (A-B-C-B-A).²¹³ The most significant parallel between the two parts is the movement of characters between the two camps (element C), and this parallel well illustrates the identities and antitheses that characterise the whole story. In Part I it is Achior (a non-Jewish man) who is cast out by Holofernes and involuntarily crosses over into Bethulia. In Part II Judith (a Jewish woman) willingly makes the opposite journey from Bethulia to the Assyrian camp. The symmetry between the two parts is broken by the core event of the whole story: Judith’s killing of Holofernes, which has no counterpart in Achior’s actions.²¹⁴

Another marked characteristic of the Greek narrative, according to scholars, is the use of irony, and irony on a multiple level. It has even been claimed that this is the key to the whole story.²¹⁵ The valour of the Assyrian

²¹² *Ibid.*, 55.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 60-64.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

²¹⁵ Lois Alonso-Schökel. ‘Narrative Structures in the Book of Judith.’ *Protocol of the Eleventh Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies*. Berkeley 1975, 8-11. Fredrik J. Heinemann makes similar claims for the OE Judith. “‘Judith’ 236-91a: a mock heroic approach-to-battle type scene’ *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 71 (1970), 83-96.

army and its general, Holofernes, and the authority of the Jewish priests is repeatedly undermined by verbal puns and comic juxtapositions to underpin the ultimate irony — that the invincible Holofernes falls by the hand of the woman he intended should fall for him. Again, some of the more subtle points are lost, or at least not as pronounced, in Jerome’s translation but the more general aspects of the irony cannot have been lost on the audiences of the Vulgate text or of the Icelandic version.

4.4.3. The translation: characteristics and date

The Icelandic Judith is on the whole a faithful rendering of the Latin text in which the translator combines word-for-word translation with paraphrase. It is clear that the text in 764 is a copy — seven lines are repeated where a new scribe (E) takes over at the top of f. 6v. As mentioned earlier, the scribes do not seem to feel any urge to cut the text although there are exceptions to this, mainly of two kinds. The scribes, or indeed perhaps rather the translator, sometimes trim the text of what might be viewed as superfluous information. This is usually on a small scale as when it is described how the Assyrians bound Achior, the leader of the Ammonites, to a tree. The Icelandic text merely reads: ‘ok bundu Achior jarl við tré mikit með reipum’ (7r18-19) whereas the Vulgate has *ligaverunt Achior ad arborem manibus et pedibus et sic vinctum de restibus dimiserunt eum* (Iud 6.9). The translator (or the scribe) is similarly liable to cut corners when it comes to geographical descriptions (and they sometimes plainly get it wrong, which perhaps is no wonder²¹⁶), and leave out some of the details concerning time that are found in the Latin text. An example of this is found on 6v:

764
Nú fer Holofernes með her sinn allt til
Ydumeoz á jörð Gabaa ok tók borgir
þeirra. Áðr vann hann allt Apamiam
(6v7-8)

Vulgata
pertransiens autem Syriam Subal et
omnem Apamiam omnemque
Mesopotamiam venit ad Idumeos in
terra Gabaa accepitque civitates
eorum et sedit ibi per triginta dies in
quibus diebus adunari praecepit
universum exercitum virtutis suae
(Iud 3.14-15)

²¹⁶ The geographical and historical facts in Judith are not accurate. Moore has suggested, following Charles C. Torrey, that this inaccuracy was intended, that it is one aspect of the irony of the work, cf. *Judith*, 79.

There is another example in the following lines, where the translator simplifies the text and makes it clear that it was in Babylon that the Jews were captives:

764

En fyrir nukkurum mannsöldrum
hurfu þeir af götu þeiri er guð sýndi
þeim ok urðu þá herteknir austr í
Babylon
(7r5-6)

Vulgata

nam et ante hos annos cum
recessissent a via quam dederat illis
Deus ut ambularent in eam
**exterminati sunt proeliis multis
nationibus et plurimi eorum captivi
abducti sunt in terram non suam
nuper autem reversi ad Deum suum
ex dispersione qua dispersi fuerant
adunati sunt et ascenderunt
montana haec omnia et iterum
possident Hierusalem ubi sunt
sancta eorum**
(Iud 5.22-23)

And, a little later, the Icelandic text conveys the sense but does not use the emphatic phrase of the Latin:

764

En er Egipta konungr sótti eftir þeim
með her sinn þá féllu vötnin yfir
höfuð honum ok her hans. Drukknuðu
þeir allir.
(6v37-38)

Vulgata

in quo loco dum innumerabilis
exercitus Aegyptiorum eos
persequeretur ita aquis coopertus est
ut non remaneret **vel unus qui factum
posteris nuntiaret**
(Iud 5.13)

Similarly, the translator clearly does not think Achior's assurance that he is telling nothing but the truth worth retaining:

764

Ef þú herra lætr þér sóma at hlýða
minni frásögn mun ek segja þér
frásögn frá lýð þessum er á fjallinu
safnaz.
(6v28-29)

Vulgata

si digneris audire domine meus dicam
veritatem in conspectu tuo de
populo isto qui in montanis habitat et
**non egredietur verbum falsum ex
ore meo**
(Iud 5.5)

(This is in fact an example of how the Icelandic text prunes away details which serve to enhance the irony of the story. By emphasising the fact that Achior is telling the truth attention is drawn to the irony that Holofernes does not believe him and punishes him for his sound advice, but is later taken in by Judith's lies, a fatal error which ultimately leads to defeat for the Assyrians.)

A more substantial abridgement occurs in speeches. The translator (or in this case quite possibly the scribe) apparently had little patience with lengthy

monologues and so shortened speeches, prayers and hymns, even those of the heroine herself. The Icelandic text usually retains the beginning of these but leaves off at the earliest opportunity in order to continue telling the story proper, as it were. A good example of this is Judith's speech before the priests of the Jews where the Vulgate verses 8.20-27 are left out of the translation altogether, and further cuts may be seen at Vulg. 9.16-19, 11.12-16 and 16.2-21. This tendency to cut down or to summarise material which is not strictly relevant to the plot is well known from other Icelandic translations; it has for example been discussed in relation to *Stjórn* II,²¹⁷ the Book of Joshua (B-version) in *Stjórn* III,²¹⁸ and *Gyðinga saga*²¹⁹, all dated to the thirteenth century.

In terms of omission and abridgment the translator of Judith thus seems to work in the same vein as translators of the late twelfth and thirteenth century. When it comes to amplification and supplementation of the Vulgate text, the translator is restrained compared with the editors of the younger parts of *Stjórn* and of *Gyðinga saga*, not to mention some translators and copyists at work in the fourteenth century who greatly expanded and ornamented their exempla.²²⁰ The Judith translator does not introduce any substantial piece of extraneous material or commentary; he or she occasionally adds a sentence, or part of a sentence, by way of explanation but this is more often than not the result of a rearrangement of the syntax undertaken to achieve an idiomatic translation.

764

Hann sendi þá sína menn ok eyrendreka til allra landa þeira er eigi voru undir hans ríki, fyrst at herja þaðan til Damasco ok Libano, til Karmelo ok Cedar ok í Galilea ok allt á hinu miklu heiði Esdrelon. Hann sendi þá ok til Samarita héraðs ok fram um Jordan allt til Jerusalem ok þaðan um alla jörð Jesse unz þeir komu allt til Blálands fjalla. Hann sendi þá þess eyrendis at biðja þessar þjóðir allar þjóna Nabogodonor konungi (6r3-8)

Vulgata

et misit ad omnes qui habitabant in Cilicia et Damasco et Libano et ad gentes quae sunt in Carmelo et Cedar et inhabitantes Galileam in campo magno Hesdaelon et ad omnes qui erant in Samaria et trans flumen Iordanem usque Hierusalem et omnem terram Iesse quousque perveniatur ad montes Aethiopiae ad hos omnes misit nuntios Nabuchodonosor rex Assyriorum (Iud 1.7-10)

In the third example quoted above (6v37-38), the translator has amplified the text slightly with an alliterative addition: 'yfir höfuð honum ok her hans'.

²¹⁷ Kirby, *Bible Translation*, 56; Astås, 'Nyt lys over *Stjórn* II', 63.

²¹⁸ Fell, 'The Old Norse version', 121.

²¹⁹ Wolf (ed.). *Gyðinga saga*, cv-cx.

Such alliteration occurs sporadically in the text but it is neither as marked a feature of the translation as in some other Old Norse translations²²¹ nor does it usually substitute one word in the Latin by two alliterative ones, although the odd example may be found (cf. e.g. ‘milldr ok miskunnsamr’ (7v9) for *pius* (Iud 7.20)). Alliteration occurs more usually as a verbatim albeit stylised translation of the original:

<p>764 þótt þessi lýðr hefði hvárki skjöld né skeyti eða sverð (6v41-7r1)</p>	<p>Vulgata ubicumque ingressi sunt sine arcu et sagitta et absque scuta et gladio (Iud 5.16)</p>
<p>Eigi er þvílík kona á landinu at vænleik ok list ok vizku ok orðfæri (8r37-38)</p>	<p>non est talis mulier super terram in aspectu in pulchritudine et in sensu verborum (Iud 11.19)</p>

As mentioned above, the translation is a faithful one, often rendering the Latin word for word. This does not mean, however, that the style is heavily latinate. Judith shows many of the features which scholars have associated with translations from the twelfth and early to middle thirteenth century and which they have referred to as saga-style, emphasising the similarities it bears to the style of many of the sagas.²²² The style of the early translations has thus been described as relatively untainted by Latin syntax and constructions — the translators render Latin constructions using native idioms with the result that the style of translations in many cases does not differ markedly from the style of the indigenous literature.²²³ In Judith examples of this may be seen in the way characters are introduced:

<p>764 Arfaxat er nefndr Medialands konungr er undir sik hafði lagt margar þjóðir (5v34-35)</p>	<p>Vulgata Arfaxat itaque rex Medorum subiugaverat multas gentes imperio suo (Iud 1.1.)</p>
<p>Í þann tíma var ekkja sú í Beþulia er Judith er nefnd, dóttir Merari ... Maðr hennar hét Manases (7v 14-16)</p>	<p>Et factum est cum audisset haec Iudith vidua quae erat filia Merari ... et vir eius fuit Manasses (Iud 8.1-2)</p>

²²⁰ Astås, *Et bibelverk fra middelalderen*, 98-99.

²²¹ Gyðinga saga is a case in point, cf. Wolf. *Gyðinga saga*, cxxxi-cxxxii; and this is also prominent in *Stjórn III*. Cf. also Eyvind Fjeld Halvorsen. ‘Lærd og folkelig stil — Island og Norge.’ *KLNM* 11, 119; *Idem*. ‘Høvísk stil.’ *KLNM* 7, 315-318.

²²² Halvorsen. ‘Lærd og folkelig stil’, 122; Jónas Kristjánsson. ‘Learned style or saga style?’, 260-292. For an overview of the debate see Þorleifur Hauksson and Þórir Óskarsson. *Íslensk stílfræði*. Reykjavík 1994, 171-174.

²²³ Jónas Kristjánsson, ‘Learned style or saga style?’, 290-291.

The syntax is paratactic rather than hypotactic and the translator frequently breaks long Latin sentences up into several shorter ones, turns present participles into indicative forms and renders absolute ablatives by (temporal) clauses:

764

Þá þyngdiz Egiptalands konungr við þá ok þjáði þá til at elta leir ok tígl ok at smíða sér borgir. Þeir kölluðu þá á guð sinn. En þá laust himna guð Egiptalands lýð margs kyns undrum ok ráku þeir þá þenna lýð í brott. Þá léttu af þegar undrin. En þá vildu Egiptar þegar taka þá ok þrælka. En er þeir flýðu þá lauk himna guð upp it rauða haf ok stóðu vötnin á tvær hendr svá sem veggir ok gekk þessi lýðr þurum fótum um djúp sjóvar.
(6v33-37)

Vulgata

cumque gravaret eos rex Aegypti atque in aedificationibus urbium suarum in luto et latere subjuigasset eos clamaverunt ad Deum suum et percussit totam terram Aegypti plagis variis cumque eiecissent eos a se Aegyptii et cessasset plaga ab eis et iterum eos vellent capere et ad suum servitium revocare fugientibus his Deus caeli mare aperuit ita ut hinc inde auae quasi murus solidarentur et isti pede sicco fundum maris perambulando transirent
(Iud 5.9-12)

Eftir þat gengu þeir á brott en Judith fór í bænarhús sitt ok skryddiz hárlæði ok jósu ösku yfir höfuð sér ok féll til jarðar ok kallaði til dróttins ok mælti svá: Dróttinn guð föður míns Simeons er honum gaft sverð at berjaz í móti útlendum þjóðum er saurguðu ok sneyddu meyjar ok konur
(7v 34-37)

quibus abscedentibus Iudith ingressa est oratorium suum et induens se cilicio posuit cinerem super caput suum et prosternens se Domino clamavit ad Dominum dicens Domine Deus patris mei Symeon qui dedisti illi gladium in defensione alienigenarum qui violatores extiterunt in coinquinatione sua et denudaverunt femur virginis in confusionem
(Iud 9.1-2)

Present participles are retained on one occasion, in one of Judith's speeches:

764

Lifir dróttinn því at mik varðveitti engill hans bæði héðanfarandi ok fráverandi ok higat aftr hverfandi ... heldr kallaði hann mik án saurgan til yðvarr fagnandi í sigri hans (8v33-34)

Vulgata

vivit autem ipse Dominus quoniam custodivit me angelus eius et hinc euntem et ibi commorantem et inde huc revertentem ... sed sine pollutione peccati revocavit me vobis gaudentem in victoria sua (Iud 13.20)

The Icelandic syntax is characterised by clauses in which an infinitive or a past participle is 'delayed', i.e. appears at the end of the sentence, after the object or a prepositional phrase, with the articles (prepositions, adverbs) often appearing immediately before the verb. This type of syntactical construction is common in Icelandic right up to the nineteenth century, but its distribution has not been investigated thoroughly.²²⁴ This type of word order is conditioned — it is only seen in clauses with a compound verb phrase where the main verb is in

²²⁴ Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson. 'Breytileg orðaröð í sagnlið.' *Íslenskt mál* 16-17 (1994-95), 27-66.

the infinitive or the past participle but the auxiliary verb in the indicative or subjunctive.²²⁵ The translator of Judith seems to prefer this ‘delayed-verb’ construction in clauses of this kind, and this device lends the style of the translation a certain rhythm, as the following passages illustrate:

at hann ætlaði þessi lönd undir sik at leggja ok létu þeir sér þat vel líka. Því næst kallaði Nabogodonosor konungr til sín Holofernem höfðingja riddarasveitar sinnar ok mælti við hann: Þú skalt fara til allra vestrlanda ok hefna þeim er eigi vilja hlýða mínu boðorði ok veldi ok skal auga þitt né eigi einu ríki vægja ok hverja borg skaltu undir mitt ríki oka. (6r11-15)

ok mun guð þeira selja þá í hönd þér ok muntu þá undir þik leggja. En ef eigi er guð þeira reiðr þeim þá megu vér eigi á mót þeim standa því at guð þeirra mun hlífa þeim ok munu vér fá úsigr (7r7-8)

en skamt frá borginni voru brunnar þeir er Holoferni menn sá at gyðingar mundu sér frá vatn taka leyniliga. Þá gengu til Holoferni synir Ammon ok Moab ok mæltu: Synir Israels treystaz eigi ör eða spjóti heldr verja þá fjöll ok virki en þó máttu þá bardagalaust yfir stíga. Settu varðhaldsmenn til brunna þessara er þeir hafa sér vatn ór tekið ok máttu þá svá vápnlaust drepa ok mun þér þá brátt upp gefin borgin. (7r38-41)

The rather unusual construction ‘né eigi einu’ in the first of these examples is paralleled in *Stjórn* III (‘eigi né einn’ 454²⁴; ‘eigi né eins staðar’ 618¹⁶), though not in the B-manuscript (227 fol.).

A few examples of a historic present may be found, where the translator switches between the present and past tenses, all in the latter part of the story:

764

Judith fékk í hendr eskimey sinni beril víns ok viðsmjörsker ok steypar ertr ok brauð ok ost. Síðan ganga þær til borgarhlíðs ok finna þar Oziam ok svá presta borgarinnar. Ok er þeir sá hana fékk þeim ótta ok undruðuz ákafliga fegurð hennar (8r 9-12)

Síðan tók hon hjúp hans hinn dýra en velti bolnum ór rekkjunni á jörð. Eftir þat gengr hon út ok seldi höfuðit ambátt sinni ok bað hana láta í skreppu sína (8v24-26)

En er þat sá Gyðingar at heiðingar flýðu sækja þeir eftir með herópi ok lúðrablæstri (9r24-25)

Vulgata

inposuit itaque abrae suae ascopam vini et vas olei et pulenta et palatas et panes et caseum et profecta est cumque venisset ad portas civitatis invenerunt expectantem Oziam et presbyteros civitatis qui cum vidissent eam stupentes mirati sunt nimis pulchritudinem eius (Iud 10.5-7)

et abstulit conopeum eius a columnis et evolvit corpus eius truncum et post pusillum exivit et tradidit caput Holofernus ancillae suae et iussit ut mitteret illud in peram suam (Iud 13.10-11)

videntes itaque filii Israhel fugientes illos descenderunt clangentes tubis et ululantes post ipsos (Iud 15.3)

²²⁵ *Ibid.* 31-33.

This is not nearly as marked a feature in Judith as in, for instance, *Gyðinga saga* and *Alexanders saga*, where over half the verbs are in the present tense.²²⁶ Judith seems closer to *Stjórn* (III) in this respect.²²⁷

Scholars have attempted to ascertain the stylistic significance of the word 'einn', used as an indefinite article. Such usage is not in evidence here; the word appears only twice in Judith, once (9r19) as a straightforward translation of *una*, and once following a noun, 'kofa einn leyniligan' (7v17). The word is much more prominent in many of the thirteenth-century translations. As Peter Hallberg has pointed out, it is doubtful whether high frequency of the word in a text is a proof of its relatively late date — Hallberg himself prefers to interpret it as a characteristic of the translator.²²⁸ Bearing that in mind, one could still argue with some caution that the absence of this usage speaks for an early dating rather than a late one. 'einn' does occur sporadically in early texts where it appears variously before or after the noun it accompanies. The word is more frequent in younger texts and it stands there, as a rule, before the noun.

The use of the conjunction 'unz' is on the other hand rare in texts after 1300.²²⁹ The word occurs four times in Judith (6r6, 6r26, 7v33, 8v4) which indicates that the translation is a thirteenth-century work rather than a later one. A similar indication is given by the occurrence of the preposition 'of' (6v10) which was gradually superseded by *um* in the course of the thirteenth century.²³⁰

The vocabulary is interesting in many respects. A good deal of it is recognisable from other translations, both of religious texts but also of romances and other texts of chivalric nature (*Alexanders saga*, *Karlamagnús saga*). It is perhaps not surprising that the vocabulary in Judith seems to show the greatest affinity to *Stjórn*. This is partly, of course, due to the similar nature of the originals (all are books of the Bible), but often the translators of these works also seem to have resorted to the same verbal solutions and they frequently show preference for the same words. An example of this might be the word

²²⁶ Peter Hallberg. 'Några språkdrag i Alexanders saga och Gyðinga saga — med en utblick på Stjórn.' *Sjötíu ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni*. Ed. by Einar G. Pétursson and Jónas Kristjánsson. Reykjavík 1977, 237-238.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 245-246.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 239

²²⁹ Stefán Karlsson, *viva voce*.

²³⁰ Cf. Peter Foote. 'Notes on the prepositions of and um(b) in Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian prose.' *Studia Islandica* 14. Reykjavík 1955, 41-83

‘fulltingjari’ (7r23 for *defensor*). *Stjórn* and 764 contain various examples of the related words ‘fulltingja’ (764:7v38 for *subvenio*) and ‘fulltingr’/‘fullting(i)’ (764:7r30, 7v13, 7v23, 8v31 for *auxilium, adiutorium*) and these are also found in the *Icelandic Homily Book* whereas ‘fulltingjari’ does not occur in early homilies.²³¹ The ONP has 12 examples of ‘fulltingjari’, half of them from *Stjórn* where it is used to translate the words *adiutor/adiutorium* (5) and *auxiliator* (1).²³² Other verbs frequent in *Stjórn* and used extensively by the Judith translator are ‘fyrirláta’ (usually for *(de)relinquo*) and ‘treystaz’ (for *confido* or *praesum*, usually in the pres.part. form), but both are also common in older religious prose, e.g. the *Icelandic Homily Book*.²³³

The verb ‘fórnfæra’ (intrans.) occurs towards the end of the text (9r35). It occurs frequently in works of religious nature and there are many examples in *Stjórn* where both the form ‘fórnfæra / fórnfæra e-t’ and the older ‘færa fórn’ and ‘færa (e-t) í fórn’ occur. Judith also contains the example ‘færa fórnir’ (6v22) as well as ‘gaf í fórn’ (9r36). ‘fórnfæra (e-t)’ is believed to be the younger expression since, according to the ONP, it is not found in older texts such as the oldest homilies and *Stjórn II* only has ‘færa (i) fórn’.

The verb ‘knosa’ (8r1) occurs here for the Latin *contero*. Jakob Benediktsson has pointed out that ‘knosa’ seems to be peculiar to early translations, the *Icelandic Homily Book*, *Stjórn II* and a few other thirteenth-century works.²³⁴ Jakob also draws attention to the translation ‘sé hérna’ for *ecce* which is rendered ‘sé hér’ in Judith (9r20). Judith, however, shows no examples of the other supposedly old characteristics listed by Jakob; for instance neither a suffixed 1st pers. pronoun nor past participle forms like ‘valiðr’.²³⁵ The expression ‘krjúpa undir skegg e-m’ (7v4) has parallels in *Trójumanna saga* (O) and in *Vatnsdæla saga* where the verb is ‘skriða’ rather than ‘krjúpa’.

²³¹ Cf. Ludvig Larsson. *Ordförrådet i de äldsta isländska handskrifterna*. Lund 1891, 98.

²³² The other examples in the ONP are from *Mariu saga*, *Karlamagnús saga* and *Vitae patrum*. It is conceivable that ‘fulltingjari’ was used as the general word for ‘helper’ (*adiutor, auxiliator*) whereas ‘hjálpari’ was reserved for *salvator*, cf. Larsson. *Ordförrådet*, 148. ‘hjálpari’ occurs in later texts in the more general meaning, e.g. in *Barl.*, *Mich.* and *Flat.*, cf. Fritzner, *Ordbog I*, 828.

²³³ Cf. Larsson. *Ordförrådet*, 102, 333.

²³⁴ Jakob Benediktsson. ‘Fáein orð um *Stjórn II*’. *Sagnaþing helgað Jónasi Kristjánssyni sjötugum*. Ed. by Gísli Sigurðsson et al. Reykjavík 1994, 449-454. Apart from the *Homily Book* and *Stjórn II* (4 exx.) the ONP has examples from saints lives (*María.*, *Michael*, *Jón ok Jakob*), exempla (*VP*, *Ævintýri*) and the two *Ólafs sagas* (*ÓH/Hkr.*; *ÓTFlat*)

²³⁵ Jakob Benediktsson. ‘Fáein orð um *Stjórn II*’, 450-451.

Much of the rather unusual vocabulary in Judith consists of terms for exotic goods, jewellery or clothes, words occurring in translations of other works which are set in the Mediterranean world. The word ‘eyrnagull’ (8r7), for instance, occurs in all three parts of *Stjórn* and in *Alexanders saga*; ‘hjúpr’ (8r24 for *conopeum*) is used in *Karlamagnús saga* and *Elís saga* but also crops up in *Heimskringla*, *Hulda* and *Sverris saga*; ‘berill’ (8r10 for *ascopa*) is used in *Stjórn* (III) and *Antonius saga* for *uter* and occurs once in the Reykjarfjarðarbók of *Sturlunga saga*; ‘steypar (or ‘steyttar’) ertr’ (8r10 for *pulentas*) are found in *Mariú saga hinnar egipsku* and *Bervers saga*. When faced with the fashion-vocabulary in Judith the translator seems to have been happy to lift a word or two directly out of the Latin text — he does not, for instance, translate *sandalia* (8r6). The word is not found elsewhere in Old Norse prose texts but crops up in inventories, presumably denoting liturgical shoes.²³⁶ The word *smaragdus* (8r25) seems to be a more widely used loanword — it is found in *Stjórn* I and in various romances. On one occasion Judith has an Icelandic word for a phenomenon which other translators were content to call by its Latin name. The word ‘lemandi’ (6r21) for *locusta* is extremely rare. It is not used in *Stjórn* where *locusta* is retained (e.g. p. 326) but it is found in AM 310 4to (dated to 1250-1275) in a passage on the Egyptian plagues and it has been added as a sort of interlinear gloss to a passage in Hauksbók.²³⁷ ‘eskimær’ (8r10, 8v18, 9r40) is another rare indigenous word, not found elsewhere except in the prose introduction to *Grímnismál* where it is used of Fulla, Frigg’s maid.²³⁸

What is clear from this brief examination of the style and vocabulary of Judith is that the translator was keen to render the text in idiomatic Icelandic, using native terms wherever possible. The translation is virtually free of commentary and other extraneous material — there is no trace of material from Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* or other commentaries which were known in Iceland, nor does the translator draw on other books of the Bible in order to amplify the narrative. This puts the text on a par with *Stjórn* II but distinguishes it from *Stjórn* I and *Stjórn* III as well as *Gyðinga saga*. Considerations of style

²³⁶ *DI* III, 288, 612.

²³⁷ Kristian Kålund. ‘Ordet “lemæn” i oldlitteraturen.’ *ANF* 25 (1909), 302-303.

²³⁸ *Norræn fornkvæði*. Ed. by Sophus Bugge. Christiania 1876, 76.

again set Judith clearly apart from *Stjórn* I which is far more latinate. *Stjórn* III²³⁹ and *Gyðinga saga* also seem to make more use of stylistic traits, such as alliteration and the use of 'einn' as an indefinite article, practices hardly seen in Judith, whereas *Stjórn* II is closer to Judith in these respects. Some aspects of the vocabulary also seem to point to a special affinity between *Stjórn* II and Judith although word-forms in Judith do not seem as old as some found in *Stjórn* II and it should by no means be overlooked that there are also similarities in vocabulary between Judith and the other parts of *Stjórn*.

Dating texts on the basis of style is a precarious undertaking and much of the evidence presented above is inevitably negative, but it seems safe to assume that the Judith-text in 764 derives from a translation done at least hundred years earlier, i.e. sometime in the thirteenth century, and that it belongs to the period which produced most of the other Old Testament translations which we know, that is the two older parts of *Stjórn* and *Gyðinga saga*.

4.4.4. The appeal of the translation

We do not know who was responsible for the translation. Whoever it was knew his or her Latin reasonably well and, if words like 'eskimær' are anything to go by, was quite familiar with indigenous literary language too. But why should this book of the Bible have been chosen by the translator rather than some of the others and why did the scribes choose to fill three precious folios in their book with the story of Judith nearly unabridged? The answer lies partly in the fact that Nebuchadnezzar, Holofernes and Judith had won themselves a secure place in universal histories. No account of the *quinta aetas* would be complete without them. But the reason the whole book is included in 764 must surely be that it is an excellent story and appealed to the compilers and their prospective audience. One is reminded of Gabriel Turville-Petre's remark when discussing early religious Icelandic prose, that 'in literature of this kind tales were told of Christ, the Apostles, and later saints less because they were edifying than because they were adventurous and entertaining.'²⁴⁰ Although the book of Judith was probably included in 764 at least partly for the purposes of edification, its literary qualities must have added to its appeal. Some scholars have advanced the view that the

²³⁹ Cf. Hallberg. 'Några språkdrag', 246.

book of Judith has perhaps more things in common with a folktale than it has with much of the historical literature of the Old Testament — it is a neat tale of a hero/heroine on a rescue mission.²⁴¹ There are not too many characters, and the tale is structured around sets of parallels and opposites as discussed earlier. Against Holofernes and his servant, Bagao the eunuch, stand Judith and her maid. Achior the Ammonite serves as a sort of involuntary catalyst in the story.²⁴² The interaction between the primary opposites Judith and Holofernes then builds up to the crowning moment, the very picturesque murder. In the aftermath the roles of the Israelites and the Assyrians are reversed.

The story owes its success in no small measure to its protagonist. Judith is a very complex heroine: she is regularly presented as a saint, yet she behaves in a most unsaintly manner, lying to, seducing and killing Holofernes. She is a beautiful and a rich woman — yet the story tells us that she is not envied. ‘Engi maðr mælti til hennar illt orð’ it says in the text (7v21). Although she is beautiful and rich she chooses to lead a secluded life, wear a sackcloth and observe a regime of fasting and praying. But despite being a recluse and a woman she is able to summon the elders of the community and give them a dressing-down. She accomplishes, through her faith, wisdom and beauty and with God’s help, what the Jewish leaders are incapable of: saving her people from destruction. Her story is in that respect similar to the tale of David and Goliath, another popular Old Testament legend, but Judith’s victory over Holofernes is furthermore charged with sexual desire — inviting interpretations which see it as an ‘exemplification of the perennial battle of the sexes’.²⁴³

It is not very hard to imagine the appeal this story may have had for the nuns and novices at Reynistaður, if they were indeed the intended readers of 764. The manuscript contains a number of texts (stories and miracles) about women saints: Martha, Ursula, Walburga, the Norwegian Sunnifa, the Virgin Mary (cf.

²⁴⁰ Turville-Petre. *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, 125.

²⁴¹ Cf. Moore (ed.), *Judith*, 72-73 and Mary P. Coote’s and Alan Dundes’s responses to Alonso-Schökel’s paper in *Protocol of the Eleventh Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies*. Berkeley 1975, 21-29.

²⁴² On Achior’s role in the story see Adolfo D. Roitman. ‘Achior in the Book of Judith: His role and significance.’ *No One Spoke Ill of Her’: Essays on Judith*. Ed. by James C. VanderKam. Atlanta 1992, 31-45.

²⁴³ Dundes. ‘Comment.’ *Protocol of the Eleventh Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies*. Berkeley 1975, 28. Amy Jill Levine discusses gender roles in Judith in ‘Sacrifice and

Appendix D). In terms of space devoted to her, Judith takes pride of place along with the Virgin. The Virgin is, in this manuscript, as indeed in biblical literature in general, mostly silent. She appears in the apocryphal stories about the infancy of Jesus and in a series of miracles. Compared to her Judith comes across as a woman of flesh and blood. She accomplishes her deed with her own hands, admittedly with the help of God, but the slaying of Holofernes is not depicted as a miracle; it is a heroic action taken by a mortal woman. Judith's thoughts are revealed through her speeches and her prayers, and the attention given to the details of her daily life, her clothes, her food, also serves to bring her closer to lesser mortals. For the nuns it will also have mattered not a little that here was a woman who was her own mistress, and last but not least a woman who commanded respect for her chastity and for her courage.

salvation: Otherness and Domestication in the Book of Judith.' *No One Spoke Ill of Her': Essays on Judith*. Ed. by James C. VanderKam. Atlanta 1992, 17-30.

4.5. The principles and purpose of the selection of Bible passages in 764

The context of the biblical stories contained in 764 suggests that they were not intended for liturgical uses or for private devotion.²⁴⁴ It is the historical dimension which is of prime importance in the manuscript and the purpose of the text is didactic. The history is the history of salvation and the characters of the Bible are held up as examples, good and bad. It is therefore revealing to study which stories from the Bible are chosen for inclusion, for the scribes were committed to brevity and had to be very selective.

It is not surprising to find Adam and Eve, Noah and the Flood, Abraham, Moses and David included in the selection, for these are the characters which mark the beginning of each age of the world. But there are other instances, especially in the fifth age, where it is perhaps not immediately clear which principles govern the highly selective choice of material. One criterion clearly involved the prophets, as was mentioned above (cf. p. 113), but it is also evident that the scribes made an effort to include women in their text. This is manifested in the choice of stories where women are often among the principal characters, as well as in the way details about women are retained, or in some cases added, in stories which do not primarily focus on women. As examples of the latter one might take the fact that the wives of Noah, Sem, Cham and Japhet are all named in the story of the Flood although their names are not found in the Vulgate. Wives are mentioned as a rule in 764, even in the briefest of passages, and it is also noteworthy that in the passage on Jacob his sisters Leah and Rachel are mentioned, as is the fact that Rachel was infertile.

A glance through the list of Bible contents in 764 on pp. 90-100 reveals many stories where women play a vital part: Adam and Eve; Sodom and Gomorra (Lot's wife); the killing of the woman in Gabaon which sparked the war of the tribes of Israel; the killing of Abimelech by an unnamed woman; Samson and Delilah; Anna, the infertile wife of Elkanah who was blessed with a child, Samuel; the judgement of Solomon; Solomon's downfall through his

²⁴⁴ Jean Leclercq suggests that, on the Continent, the majority of Bible translations from Latin consisted of the Psalms and/or other texts intended for private devotion. Translations of the Pentateuch made from the Hebrew bear witness, on the other hand, to an interest in the history of

liaison with foreign women; the story of Judith and the killing of General Sisera (named king in 764) by a woman called Jael. Some of these women are models of virtue, others show themselves to be corruptible and/or corruptive. Some of them bring about the downfall of kings (or in the case of Jael and Judith, his deputy), a good deed when the king is evil like Abimelech, a regrettable one when the king is Solomon.

These stories of kings, prophets and women could serve as illustrations of virtues and vices.²⁴⁵ The prophets are, as we have seen, examples of virtue and bearers of divine wisdom whereas the kings and the women make up a more mixed party. Some of them fall prey to cardinal sins, above all pride, lust and avarice (Belshazzar, Solomon and Delilah spring to mind). In other cases the characters exemplify Christian virtues: wisdom (Solomon, Judith), strength (Samson), courage (Judith, Jael, Abimelech's killer), chastity (Judith) and faith (Judith, Anna).

The edifying power of these Bible stories lies therefore not only in their historical significance but also in their exemplary value for the Christian: 'La connaissance du passé devait, plutôt qu'être une exposition ou une explication des faits, servir de leçon (*admonitio*) ...'.²⁴⁶ When selecting 'lessons' for girls it would seem natural to include stories of heroes and miscreants of their own sex so that they might more easily identify themselves with characters of virtue and similarly shirk from unacceptable (female) behaviour. The selection of biblical passages in 764, with its gallery of female characters, reflects the audience for which they were in all likelihood intended: novices, women and girls, at the convent of Reynistaður.

the Jews. Cf. Jean Leclercq. 'Traduction de la Bible et spiritualité médiévale.' *The Bible and medieval culture*. Ed. by W. Lourdaux et al. Louvain 1979, 263-277.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Leclercq, 'Traduction de la Bible', 273.

²⁴⁶ Paolo Brezzi. 'Chroniques universelles du Moyen Age et histoire du salut.' *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe: Actes du colloque par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*. Ed. by Jean-Philippe Genet. Paris 1991, 236.

5. Aetas V: Secular histories

5.1. Introduction

Folios 9v-14r²⁷ are taken up by diverse historical material, most of which may for convenience sake be labelled *secular histories*. Historical accounts of this kind are a staple element in universal histories of the Middle Ages where chroniclers incorporated accounts of secular kingdoms in their overall scheme of salvation history. These histories could be seen as an account of the progression of mankind towards salvation; the secular kingdoms and rulers of the past served as an example for the present, whether their fate was a happy or a grim one.²⁴⁷

Although universal histories are so called because they lay claims to being universal both in terms of time and space, in reality their accounts are inevitably limited geographically. Through the first ages of the world the emphasis lies, predictably enough, on the Mediterranean area. That the history of the Jews was always included is self-evident — the Jews represented, up until the Incarnation, *civitas Dei*, a role later taken over by the Church (with the result that the Jews disappear from the chronicles). In addition, the chroniclers often included the reigns they believed to represent the kingdoms in the Book of Daniel (cf. above pp. 123-125). But the horizon of the chronicles usually narrows (and shifts) the closer the chroniclers get to their own times. German writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for instance, tend to end their chronicles solely with an account of the Holy Roman Empire. The secular historical material included in works of this kind is of course dependent on the sources available to the compiler, but it is also bounded by his horizon and shaped by his intention. The lack of real universality

was therefore not always felt as a defect by the medieval universal chroniclers themselves, who, rather consciously, tried to follow a straight line in history from the beginning (the creation or Christ's incarnation) to their present time, a line along the history of the main kingdoms, particularly the Roman Empire (and the Church), thus revealing a certain sense of continuity, but without any special interest in any history off that line.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Paolo Brezzi. 'Chroniques universelles', 236-238.

²⁴⁸ Hans-Werner Goetz. 'On the universality of universal history.' *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du colloque par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*. Ed. by Jean-Philippe Genet. Paris 1991, 260.

The inclusion of secular histories in 764 is subject to the same circumstances: the scribes followed a conscious plan, an established tradition, but they were also likely to be interested in material concerning regions geographically close to them and they were of course restricted in their choice by the texts available to them.

On f. 9v the scribes take up where they left off on 4v before digressing into the tales of Daniel and Judith, and in the following pages they attempt to sketch the reigns of the most significant rulers and prophets before the birth of Christ. They begin with Alexander the Great and end with an account of the establishment of the Roman state and its history down to the reign of Octavian Augustus, mentioning on the way the four great kingdoms which were seen as precursors of the fifth and greatest, the Roman empire, and including a treatment of the kings of Britain. Their concern is partly to trace the origins of nations, which leads them back in time to the sons of Adam and the nations which are said to have descended from them. In order to include all this information the scribes must thus occasionally diverge from chronological order, which is nevertheless clearly one of the organisational principles they follow, and, as is to be expected, they also had to draw their material from disparate sources. A good deal comes from the Bible but the longest passages are taken from *Breta sögur* and *Rómverja saga* or one of its antecedents. Those passages have already been the subject of some scrutiny by scholars and consequently some of what will be said about them below is based on previous studies, and those by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir and Stefanie Würth in particular. Apart from *Breta sögur*, passages parallel to sections of *Rómverja saga* and brief sketches of Alexander the Great and the Trojan wars, the thread of the narrative runs through Jewish dynasties. These are not always treated in chronological order: first come the Maccabees, then the ancestors of Jesus Christ, and there then follows an account of the main prophets before the dynasties of Judah and Israel are listed. Some of this material is directly dependent on the Bible. The biblical material was discussed in the previous chapter with the exception of material related to 1 Maccabees which will be considered here in relation to *Gyðinga saga*. The information on 10v-11v, where the scribes jump back to the sons of Adam in order to trace the Jewish dynasties, will also be discussed in the present chapter, for although it contains

some biblical material the Bible is not its principal source and its main purpose seems to be to outline the origins of various peoples, as is appropriate in a survey of secular histories.

The transmission of *Gyðinga saga*, *Rómverja saga*, *Trójumanna saga*, *Alexanders saga* and *Breta sögur* (sometimes referred to as pseudo-historical works) in Iceland reveals that they were seen to belong together, to be of the same genre. This is manifested in remarks contained in these works where the author/translator of one saga may allude to another and in the way editors augment one saga with loans from another.²⁴⁹ It is also borne out by the fact that these stories are preserved together in manuscripts. AM 226 fol. is a case in point. It contains all three parts of *Stjórn* followed by *Rómverja saga*, *Alexanders saga* and *Gyðinga saga*, all in an abbreviated form. The abbreviations and other editorial adjustments to the texts serve, as Stefanie Würth has shown, to forge these sometimes disparate elements into a whole, creating a work which aims to sketch the history of the world from the Creation until the time of Christ. Together the texts form 'eine "zeitlose" historische Darstellung, wodurch der lineare und ungebrochene Verlauf der Geschichte deutlich wird'.²⁵⁰ As Würth points out, the number of copies that AM 226 generated shows that this amalgamation was successful and highly popular.²⁵¹

Another fourteenth-century manuscript which displays similar emphasis on history in a broad sense, albeit with an encyclopedic tendency, is *Hauksbók*, compiled at the beginning of the century for lawman Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334) and written in part by Haukr himself. *Hauksbók* contains a mixture of indigenous texts and translated material, historical, cosmological and didactic. Among these texts we find *Trójumanna saga*, followed by *Breta sögur*. Icelandic scribes evidently associated the one work with the other early on, for they are found together not only in *Hauksbók* but also in AM 573 4to, the other main manuscript containing *Breta sögur*, and both sagas were almost certainly contained in 573's sister manuscript, *Ormsbók*, now lost.²⁵² Whereas in 573 and

²⁴⁹ Cf. Stefanie Würth. *Der „Antikenroman“ in der isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Eine Untersuchung zur Übersetzung und Rezeption lateinischer Literatur im Norden.* (Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 26.) Basel und Frankfurt am Main 1998, 185.

²⁵⁰ Würth, *Der Antikenroman*, 143. Cf. also Sverrir Tómasson. 'Þýdd sagnarit og gervisagnfræði.' *Íslensk bókmenntasaga* I. Ed. by Vésteinn Ólason. Reykjavík 1992, 414.

²⁵¹ Würth, *Der Antikenroman*, 148.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 154.

Ormsbók the two sagas are coupled with chivalric romances, indicating that the scribes/audiences associated them with the romance genre, Haukr incorporates them in order to create a continuous history from the Trojan war onwards:

In der Hauksbók bilden die Trójumanna saga und die Breta sögur einen zusammenhängenden geschichtlichen Überblick von König Priamus in Troja — oder sogar von Saturn und Jupiter/Thor — bis zum englischen König Æthelstan/Aðalsteinn, dem Ziehvater des norwegischen Königs Hákon Haraldsson. Da die Hauksbók auch eine Fassung der Landnámabók enthält, mit Genealogien, die bis in Hauks eigene Zeit weitergeführt werden, liefert diese Handschrift eine geschichtliche Darstellung von den frühesten Vorfahren in Troja, wobei Haukr an die Genealogie der Snorra Edda anknüpfen konnte, bis zur zeitgenössischen isländischen und norwegischen Geschichte.²⁵³

Haukr put his editorial mark on the texts he chose and his version is characterised by abridgements which aim at highlighting the historical elements of the narrative but reducing stylistic elaborations and information not strictly relevant to the chain of events. As in the case of AM 226 the texts are selected for a particular purpose and modified to suit that aim.

The scribes of 764 have a purpose like Haukr's: to give an outline of history where historical facts generally take precedence over mythological elements or romance material. On the other hand 764 differs from Hauksbók or 226 in that the scribes are at this point only concerned with the fifth age of the world, the age which ends with Christ's birth. Hence they select only those chapters from the pseudo-histories which can be fitted into that time-slot.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 168.

5.2. Alexander the Great

The information on Alexander the Great (9v1-8) is brief but contains what might be said to be the main points of his life: the name of his father and his teacher, the beginnings of his reign and his military campaigns, the fact that out of pride he almost went where only Christ was supposed to conquer, i.e. to Hell, and finally his death and the division of his empire among his twelve successors. The beginning is clearly based on 1Mcc but it does not correspond with the wording in *Gyðinga saga*, which has a much freer text. It should however be remembered that the beginning of *Gyðinga saga* is only preserved in the shorter (younger) redaction in AM 226 where it follows immediately after *Alexanders saga*, so the beginning is likely to have been modified (cf. the remark ‘sem fyrr var ritat’²⁵⁴). There are sketchy references to the Maccabees later in 764 (11r31-11v4) and these refer in part to that section of *Gyðinga saga* which is based on *Historia scholastica*,²⁵⁵ but exact verbal correspondences are equally elusive there (cf. pp. 156-158). Owing to the fragmentary nature of the Maccabæan material in 764 it is difficult to determine whether the beginning of the Alexander passage is based on a version (unabridged) of *Gyðinga saga*, or directly on the Vulgate — or perhaps an entirely different source. In addition to echoes from *Gyðinga saga* (1Mcc) the Alexander passage also shows clear correspondences with the account given of Alexander in *Veraldar saga*:

764

Alexander hinn ríki var son *Philippi Macedo*. Hans meistare hét Aristoteles. Hann ríkti fyrst allra konunga í Grecia án nokkuru skattgjaldi. Hann drap *Darium konung Persarum ok Medorum* ok er svá at kveðit í bókum at hann hafði lagt undir sik mjök svá allan heim með herskildi. Starfaði hann í þeim hernaði nær xij vetrum. Hann lagði ok á háls sér undirgefnum konungum ok var hann dreginn af þeim í kerru um borgir. Hann hafði þá við orð at herja til helvítis. Ok er hann var kominn með hermenn sína í Babilon

Veraldar saga

Eptir Cambises helz Babilonis ríki til þess er Alexander in mikli Grikia konvngur felldi Darivm konvng ok eignadiz allt ríki hans. Alexander kannadi alla sydrhalfo heims ok bardiz við marga konvnga ok hafði iamnan sigr. *hann lagdi ok <a>hals konvngom ok ok let þa draga kerrv vndir ser vm borgir*. Alexander var yfirkonvngur .xii. vetr. hann drac eit til bana í Babilon. hann let gera hofvdborg þa a Egiptalandi er Alexandria hetir. Alexander skipti ríki sínu með .xii. monnum ok varo þeir allir

Vulgate

Et factum est postquam percussit Alexander *Philippi Macedo qui primus regnavit in Graecia* egressus de terra *Cetthim Darium regem Persarum et Medorum* constituit proelia multa et omnium obtinuit munitiones et interfecit reges terrae et pertransiit usque ad fines terrae et accepit spolia multitudinis gentium et siluit terra in conspectu eius (1Mcc 1.1-3)

²⁵⁴ *Gyðinga saga*. Ed. by Kirsten Wolf. Reykjavík 1995, 3.

²⁵⁵ Cf. Wolf (ed.). *Gyðinga saga*, xciv.

764	Veraldar saga	Vulgate
hina miklu leiddiz mönnum	konvngar eptir hann. þá þan hefz	
hans mjök þvílíkt starf. Því	Grikiá ríki þar til er Rómveria	
blönduðu þeir drykk hans með	ríki hófz. Eptir Alexander var	
eitri. Varð þat hans bani. Hann	<i>Tholomevs konvngr a</i>	
gaf xij mönnum ríki sitt ok gerði	<i>Egiptalandi ok þadan af het</i>	
þá konunga. <i>Tholomeus hét</i>	<i>huerr sem ein konvngr</i>	
<i>konungr á Egiptalandi ok þadan</i>	<i>Tholomevs odrv nafni a</i>	
<i>af hét hverr sem einn Tholomeus</i>	Egiptalandi sva sem fyrr meirr	
<i>öðru nafni (9v1-8)</i>	het Pharao. (40.15-41.11)	

764 thus shows correspondences with the Vulgate on the one hand and with *Veraldar saga* on the other. The Vulgate material is of a general nature and it is not likely that the compilers of 764 introduced a fresh translation of passages from 1Mcc into a text based on *Veraldar saga*. The Vulgate text must rather have been already augmented with additional information on Alexander in the source the scribes were copying and that source would have been related to *Veraldar saga*. How the Alexander material these works share was introduced into Iceland is difficult to determine. It could have been a biblical commentary since information on Alexander played a relevant part in the exegesis of the Books of the Maccabees,²⁵⁶ but it is more likely that it was already part of a chronicle. A parallel to the statement in 764 and *Veraldar saga* that Ptolemeus gave his name to successive kings is for instance found in *Imago mundi* (III.24).

The information in AM 764 which is found neither in 1Mcc nor in *Veraldar saga* can for the most part be explained by reference to *Alexanders saga*, Abbot Brandr Jónsson's (d. 1264) translation of Gautier de Châtillon's *Alexandreis*. Aristotle figures prominently in the saga as Alexander's teacher²⁵⁷ and it must also seem likely that the wording 'er svá at kveðit í bókum at hann hafi lagt undir sik mjök svá allan heim með herskildi' (9v2-3) alludes, at least in part, to *Alexanders saga* and its detailed descriptions of Alexander's conquests. The statement that Alexander was the first king in Greece who did not pay any tribute is made neither in *Veraldar saga* nor *Gyðinga saga*, but *Alexanders saga* begins with a story of how incensed Alexander became, while still a boy, when King Darius' men came 'scatt at heimta af Philippo konunge. þann er hverr eptir

²⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. Hrabanus Maurus' *Commentarium in libros Machabæorum*, PL 109, 1127-1131. On Alexander in medieval commentary on the Maccabees cf. George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*. Ed. by D.J.A. Ross. Cambridge 1956, 121-125.

²⁵⁷ Cf. *Alexanders saga*. *Íslandsk oversættelse ved Brandr Jónsson*. Ed. by Finnur Jónsson. København 1925, 2-13. Alexander's letter to Aristotle on the wonders of India also exists in a later Icelandic translation and is printed as an appendix to the edition (pp. 156-166).

annan Serklandz konunga hafði vanr verit iafnan aðr at taka af Girkia konunge.’²⁵⁸ When Alexander becomes king himself he takes his army to challenge Darius — the reader may infer that Alexander certainly did not offer to pay tribute to the Persian king.

Similarly, the words ‘Hann hafði þá við orð at herja til helvítis’ (9v5) become understandable in the light of *Alexanders saga*. Towards the end of the saga it is told how Alexander, after conquering Asia, has come ‘nalega ... til heimsenda’. There he proclaims the world to be too small for his ambition:

Giarna villda ec at guðen reiddeiz mer eigi þott ec *męla* þat er mer byr íscapi. heimr þesse er allz of þrongr. oc oflítill einom lavarðe. oc þat er upp at kveða er ec hefe raðet fire mer. at íannan heiminn scal heria þa er ec hefi þenna undir mec lagt allan.²⁵⁹

This statement by Alexander is followed in the saga by an allegorical interpolation where Nature personified, dismayed at Alexander’s pride, travels to Hell where she urges the Lord of Darkness to find a way to stop Alexander from conquering Paradise and possibly thereafter Hell. The Lord of Darkness agrees that Alexander’s conquest must be forestalled, but he says he knows that another man will be born on Earth, ‘vndarligar getinn oc vndarligar borenn en ec mega scilia. Þesse man briota þessa ena sterkv borg, oc eyða vart riki með einv tre þvi er of mikill timi man fylgia’.²⁶⁰ This is obviously a reference to the coming of Christ and the harrowing of Hell. The hosts of Darkness then hatch a plan to kill Alexander by poison and choose as their agent his vassal Antipater of whom they say that ‘[Alexander] vill enn hava hann íherferðum með ser. en *honom leiðez sa starfe*. þviat hann tecr at elldaz’.²⁶¹ It seems likely that the scribes of 764 found here the basis for their claim that Alexander was killed by his men because they were tired of warfare: ‘leiddiz mönnum hans mjök þvílíkt starf’ (9v6).

Veraldar saga mentions Alexander’s death by poisoning but does not state explicitly that it was due to treachery. Such information is found, on the other hand, in *Gyðinga saga* where it is mentioned not once but twice,²⁶² and goes back to the Greek Alexander romance, the so-called Pseudo-Callisthenes,

²⁵⁸ *Alexanders saga*, 2.

²⁵⁹ *Alexanders saga*, 144

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 147. I am grateful to David Ashurst for drawing my attention to this passage.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

²⁶² ‘hann var suikinn af sinum monnum’ *Gyðinga saga*, 3; ‘Enn hann var þa suikinn med eitri af sinum monnum i babilon’, *ibid.* 42.

which states that several of Alexander's men plotted against him with the help of his servant, Iullos, who administered the poison.²⁶³ George Cary remarks in his book on medieval conceptions of Alexander that the idea that Alexander's premature death was due to 'treachery assisted by drunkenness was generally brought forward by writers upon kingship, concerned with the threat of treachery, the need for continence in all things, and the troubles that surround a king'.²⁶⁴ That this element of the story was of interest to Icelandic chroniclers need not be surprising given the rich native tradition of literature on kings and kingship, and the attention devoted to the circumstances of Alexander's death in *Alexanders saga*.

Alexanders saga cannot, on the other hand, be the source for the statement, which 764 shares with *Veraldar saga*, that Alexander was driven around in a chariot by the kings he had subjugated. The Pseudo-Callisthenes does not seem to contain anything similar except that it tells of how Alexander's grieving followers put his body upon a wagon and marched from Babylon to bury him in Alexandria.²⁶⁵ The Pseudo-Callisthenes became the source for many Latin works on Alexander, of which Quintus Curtius's *Historia Alexandri magni* was the most influential.²⁶⁶ Curtius describes how Alexander punishes King Betis of Gaza by having him shackled to a chariot drawn by horses, but there is no mention of Alexander as a passenger.²⁶⁷ The Icelandic remark on the chariot-ride may have its origins in Curtius's account, but it is not clear how the story came to be so elaborate, painting a picture of Alexander humiliating more than one of his vassals by having them drawing his chariot. Opinions were certainly divided from the earliest times on Alexander's merits, and his pride was the cause for much unfavourable portrayal.²⁶⁸ It may be simply that the Icelander originally responsible for the introduction of this information, or his source, saw the chariot-ride as characteristic of Alexander's pride. But it is also conceivable

²⁶³ *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien. Der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift I.* Ed. by Helmut van Thiel. (Text zur Forschung 13.) Darmstadt 1974, 160-162.

²⁶⁴ Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 104-105.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 164-166.

²⁶⁶ On the Greek text and its derivatives in the Middle Ages cf. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 9-12; 24-61; Thiel, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien. Der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift I.* (Text zur Forschung 13.) Darmstadt 1974, xxxvi-xli.

²⁶⁷ 'Per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt, religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi, gloriante rege ...' Quintus Curtius Rufus. *Historiarum Alexandri magni Macedonis libri qui supersunt.* Ed. by Edmund Hedicke. Leipzig 1908, IV. vi. 29.

that this portrayal was influenced by other stories of unpopular rulers riding in a chariot.²⁶⁹

1Mcc provides the material for the next few lines, which relate, in a very cursory manner, the campaigns of the Maccabees. The 764 text is inaccurate here, the name of Eleazarus, one of the brothers, has for instance changed to Timotheus, possibly through confusion with Judas Maccabæus' adversary of the same name (cf. 1Mcc 5.6-7). The text, perhaps predictably, corresponds in places with *Gyðinga saga's* account of these same events, but 764 is occasionally closer to the Vulgate Latin than the text of the saga:

764	Gyðinga saga	Vulgata 1Mcc
Litlum tíma síðarr fædduz Machabæi synir Mathathie er svá hétu: Judas, Johannes, Jonathas, Thimoteus ok Simon. Voru þeir allir hinir mestu hermenn en þó var Judas langt yfir aðra at styrk.	J þenna tíma birtir sik ok upp riss. sa madr er het Mathathias jonsson ... Hann atti v. sonu alla <i>agięta</i> . Einn het Jon. ok kalladr Gaze. Annarr simon thasi. þridi iudas Machabus. Fiordi Eleazar abiron. Fimti jonathas assus. (14.5-10)	In diebus illis surrexit Mathathi-as filius Ioannis ... et habebat filios quinque Ioannem qui cognominabatur Gadis et Simonem, qui cognominabatur Thasi: et Iudam, qui vocabatur Machabæus: et Eleazarum, qui cognominabatur Abaron: et Ionathan, qui cognominabatur Apphus (2.1-5)
Er svá lesit af honum at hann væri risi at mikilleik en at grimmeik sem it óarga dýr.	Hann var ogurligr vndir herklædum. <i>mikill sem risi. grimmligr sem leo.</i> (20.6-7)	Et induit se lorica[m] sicut gigas, ... Similis factus est leoni in operibus suis, Et sicut catulus leonis rugiens in venatione. (3.3-4)
Hann drap Apollonium hershöfðingja er stríddi á Israels fólk ok tók sverð hans ok barðiz með því alla sína daga.	Þenna tíma var sa madr i samaría. er apollonius het. hann samnar lidi. ok ferr ímoti iude. ok ætlar at sigra hann. Enn er Judas verðr þess var, ferr hann imot honum. ok verdr þar harðr bardagi. ok lykr sua. at iudas drepr sialfr apollonium med sinum hondum ok feck af honum þat suerd er hann bar i huerri orrosto sidan (20.12-21.4)	Et congregavit Apollonius gentes, et a Samaria virtutem multam et magnam <i>ad bellandum contra Israel</i> . Et cognovit Iudas, et exiit obviam illi: et percussit, et occidit illum: et ceciderunt vulnerati multi, et reliqui fugerunt, et accepit spolia eorum: <i>et gladium Apollonii abstulit Iudas, et erat pugnans in eo omnibus diebus</i>
Jonathas hertugi bróðir Jude sendi þrjár þúsunndir hermanna til liðveizlu við Demetrium konung. Féllu í þeim bardaga c þúsunda af þeira móttöðu mönnum. Var sá sigr mest kenndr Jonathe. (9v8-14)	Jonathas sendir kongi iij. kappa med miklum her ... ok drepa af þeim þann dag c. (þúsunnda) manna. ok frelsa kong undan dauda. ok fengu of fiar. ok verda ebrei storum <i>agiętir</i> af þessu (84.13-85.2)	Et misit ei [Demetrii] Ionathas <i>tria millia virorum</i> fortium Antiochiam ... et occiderunt in illa die centum millia hominum ... et glorificati sunt Iudaei in conspectu regis, et in conspectu omnium qui erant in regno eius (11.44-51)

The similarities between 764 and the Vulgate text and the disagreement between 764 and *Gyðinga saga* mean that *Gyðinga saga* can hardly be the source for the

²⁶⁸ Cf. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, e.g. 80-95; 135-142

²⁶⁹ Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (Act IV.3) provides a later example of the use of this theme in literature, cf. *The complete works of Christopher Marlowe*. I. Ed. by Fredson Bowers. Cambridge 1973, 200.

text in 764 here, at least not the only source. It is well established that *Gyðinga saga* contains additions to 1Mcc drawn from unidentified sources and this is especially true of the first chapter of the saga.²⁷⁰ The relationship between 764 and *Gyðinga saga* might therefore be explained by assuming that both drew upon the same or a similar source, a historical work of some sort, based (in part) on the Bible. Such a source has already been suggested for the passage concerning *Veraldar saga* (cf. above, p. 149). 764 contains two other passages which are related to *Veraldar saga*. The first one concerns Abraham and is added to 764 on slip 2b1sr, the second one lists the four world monarchies and is found on f. 9v19-22, i.e. shortly after the passage on Alexander. These two passages correspond almost verbatim to the text in *Veraldar saga* (cf. 15.8-16.6 and 43.10-16), and they thus create closer parallels than the Alexander passage does where the *Veraldar saga* material seems to be only one of several elements in the 764 text. As mentioned above, it is not likely that the 764 scribes created their own pastiche by translating the Vulgate afresh and augmenting it with commentary from vernacular sources. A more plausible explanation would be that they used a text which had parallels to *Veraldar saga* as we know it, but which contained other material as well. That material might possibly have been of use to the author of *Gyðinga saga*. It must be stressed, however, that the whole issue concerning the relationship between all these texts remains highly conjectural. And there is more to the question of the source for 764's account of Jewish history, as we shall see in the next section.

²⁷⁰ Wolf (ed.), *Gyðinga saga*, xcii-xcv.

5.3. Christ's genealogy and Jewish dynasties

A red rubric in line 9v14 reads: 'Hér hefr ættartölu eftir herleiðing hinu miklu til guðs sonar' and after f. 9 a slip has been inserted with additional information on the kinship between the Virgin Mary and Joseph; they were third cousins. The genealogy picks up where it was last left (4v16) and brings it down to Christ, stating in the case of each man where he stands in relation to Abraham (cf. e.g. 'Salathiel var hinn ix^{us} ok xx^{us} af Abrahame' (9v15-16)). Christ's lineage is of course found at the beginning of St Matthew's Gospel as well as in Luke (3.23-38) and the scribes could well have worked out the genealogy from Scripture, but they could equally well have copied it from a chronicle which listed the generations from Abraham to Christ. The fact that the ordinal numbers have a Latin form (ending in -us) could possibly be seen as evidence for the latter explanation.

After the passage on the four monarchies on f. 9v19-22 the story of the Jews continues with an account of the prophets. Folios 9v24-10r42 are taken up by biblical material already discussed, which is organised around an account of significant prophets of the Jews (cf. pp. 111-113). We will now turn to f. 10v and an account of the origins of various states and of Jewish rulers down to the Incarnation.

The backbone of this account is a text which 764 has in common with AM 194 8vo. These two manuscripts were written at about the same time and the correspondences between them reveal that they share a common source. The beginning of the account is as follows:

764

Nú er sem hverfi aftr til sonar Adams Kains. Hann kallaz rækr ok rekinn fyrir þann glæp er hann drap Abel bróður sinn sem fyrr segir. Þá var hann xxx. Kain fór unz hann kom á Indíaland. Þar nam hann stað ok gerði þar borg. Þá kallaði hann Enos. Gaf hann borginni nafn sonar síns ok gaf sér konungs nafn. Sú var borg fyrst gerr í heimi. Kain er sagt at fyrst tók fyrir ofríkis sakar ok annan veg at röngu þat er aðrir áttu. At honum námu margir þeir er annarra eigu tóku ok hurfu af því honum til handa ok gerðu af því borg með honum.

Lamek drap Kain. Synir Lameks <voru>

194

*Abel son Adams var xxx, þa er Kain brodir hans va hann, þat var nær þi, er nu stendr borg su, er Damascus heitir, þat hefir vig verith fyrst i heimi. Kain Adams son var rekinn fra ddrum monnum eptir vig Abels brodur sins, sem gud baud, ok for hann þar til er hann kom aa Indíaland, þar nam hann stad, ok gerdi þar borg ok gaf henne nafn sonar sins ok kalladi hana Enos, su var borg ger fyrst i heimi. Kain gaf ser konungs nafn ok girtiz fyrstr allra manna til þessa heims metorda. Kain tok fyrstr allra manna fyrir ofríkis sakir at raungu þat, er adrir menn attu, ok þottiz hann af þi *** ath gera, ath hann mætti ohreddr um sik kvera. Ath honum namu margir þeir, er annara eign toko, ok hurfu fyrir þi honum til handa ok gerdu borg med honum. (AÍ I 46⁹⁻²⁴) Hans son het Lamech ... hann var bani Kains frenda sins. Iohel hét hans son, hann fann fyrstr manna tialld-*

764

Ioel, Iubal ok Tubal.

Þat er sagt at þeir skrifuðu íþróttir sínar á marmara steinum ok á elltum leiri þeim er eld mætti standaz. Ætluðu þeir at marmarinn skyldi kenna íþróttirnar ef af sævargangi færiz mestr hluti mankindar en ef eldr eyddi skyldi nema af leirinum lengr, hann mætti eldinn standaz en eigi marmarinn. Þau systkin fóruz í Nóa flóði. (10v1-10)

194

buda gerd. *Annar son hans het Iubál, sa fann musica[n]idrott. Hinn þridi son hans het Tubal. hann fann at smida iarn ok [eir?] Systir þeira het Noema, hon fann ath gera vefi. Þat er sagt, ath þeir bræðr [skrifu]du* idrottir sínar aa marmara steinum ok ellteknu leiri þi, er elld matti standaz, ok etl[u]d[u], at marmarin skyldi kenna monnum idrottirnar, þeim er sidar voro i heimum, ef af siofar gangi eda vat[n]a fêriz mestr hluti manna, sem fyri var spad, enn ef elldr eyddi heims bygdinni, þa skyldi nema af leirinu, þviat leirrinn matti standaz elldin enn eigi vatnit, en marmarinn stodz vatnit en eigi e[ll]dinn. Þau syskin foruzt ðll i Noa flodi. (AÍ I, 47¹⁴⁻³⁰)*
* Kålund suggests 'reyndu' here but 'skrifudu' seems more plausible.

This information belongs to the first age. The use of the phrase 'sem fyrr segir' indicates that the scribe is well aware that he/she is repeating information offered earlier in the manuscript. He/she shows some attempt at curbing the text to avoid excessive repetition, the information about the trades Ioel, Iubal and Tubal introduced is omitted and their sister Noema is for instance left out altogether, which makes the sentence 'Þau systkin fóruz í Nóa flóði' a *non sequitur*. In addition the scribe shows the abridging tendency which is evident almost throughout the manuscript. He/she shortens the text wherever possible, skips a word or two, and so contracts sentences, or omits whole sentences if doing so does not disrupt the sequence of rulers.

764 traces the rulers of the Jews initially down to the time when the Trojan war is said to have taken place. When it comes to the era of the judges the two manuscripts diverge. 194 does not name all the judges; it refers to Samson and mentions that Samuel was 'efstr eptir domendur'²⁷¹, but then goes on to name the main protagonists of the Trojan war. 764 on the other hand follows the sequence of rulers down to Akialon, giving the reign of each in years and touching upon the war between the tribes of Israel, and then goes on to tell of the Trojan wars (cf. p. 159). The two manuscripts come together again with David, Solomon and Rehoboam (11r16-17) who in 194 belong to the fourth age of the world since that manuscript adheres to the more conventional Isidorian scheme of *aetates mundi* (cf. above p. 66). The manuscripts are then in some sort of agreement until the end of the fourth age according to the scheme followed in 194. At that point 764 continues with a list of the kings of Israel until the

Babylonian captivity and then onwards to the time of Herod, whereas 194 moves to the Babylonian, Persian and Egyptian kings, ending with the Romans.²⁷²

The skeleton for the account of various reigns is found already in Isidore's *Etymologies* (V.xxxix), but there is additional information in the Icelandic text of a kind which makes Honorius Augustodunensis' *Imago mundi* a closer parallel. Both 194 and 764 for instance list the prophets who lived during the reign of Ozias.²⁷³ Their names are found neither in Isidore nor in Bede's *Chronica maiora* but Honorius includes them (IM III.17).²⁷⁴ Material of this sort was of course ubiquitous in chronological and historical works of the Middle Ages but since *Imago mundi* was well known in Iceland (cf. pp. 82-83) and is mentioned moreover on f. 3r4 of 764 it is highly likely that that work was indeed the main source of these regnal lists in the two manuscripts. The fact that they diverge may even provide an additional argument in favour of *Imago mundi* as a source. *Imago mundi* divides its account of the reigns up into sections, not only according to *aetates* but with subdivisions in which an attempt is made to treat the various dynasties separately within each age. This sets *Imago mundi* apart from the accounts of Isidore and Bede. If the scribes of 194 and 764 were using an Icelandic translation of the *Imago mundi*, it becomes more readily understandable that they should go off in two different directions, as it were, in the fifth age. They choose the information which suits their purpose. The scribe of 194 was writing a shorter work and wanted at this point to cover other reigns as well as the Jewish dynasty. The scribes of 764 were concerned with tracing the rulers of the Jews down to the time of Christ, before turning to tales of the British and the Romans.

Before continuing the discussion of the relationship between 194 and 764 it is necessary to turn to a part of the regnal list in 764 which cannot be traced to *Imago mundi*. The treatment in 764 of the history of the Jews after the exile, i.e. 11r31-11v4, has a slightly different character from that of the preceding list. Starting with Judas Maccabæus, the scribe stops giving the years of each reign but at the same time the information on each king (or leader) is not quite as brief

²⁷¹ *Af* I, 50.

²⁷² *Af* I, 52-53.

²⁷³ Cf. 764: 11r19-20 and *Af* I, 51.24-25.

²⁷⁴ One could also mention the information included in 764 on the Jewish civil war (10v31-34) which is paralleled in IM III.7, but not mentioned by Isidore or Bede.

as before. *Imago mundi* offers no parallels here and *Veraldar saga* says that ‘[s]iþan sonarsynir Mathathie avndvduz þa hofdv Gydingar þa eina hofdingia er fat er i bokvm fra sagt’.²⁷⁵ The history of these rulers, from Mathathias to Herod is on the other hand covered in parts I-II of *Gyðinga saga*, chs. 3-30. The text in 764 is so brief that comparison with the text of *Gyðinga saga* hardly sheds any light on the relationship between the two. One can take 764’s description of Herod’s reign (11v2-4) as an example:

Hann var hinn versti konungr. Hann brenndi Gyðinga bækr til þess at eyða svá lögum guðs. Hann lét drepa ij. sonu sína ok konu sína ok á hans dögum var guð borinn.

Gyðinga saga says of Herod’s book-burning: ‘Herodes let ok brenna allt ættar tal gyðinga at æigi syniz hans ætt súuirdlig hia þeim.’²⁷⁶ The two texts are dissimilar in wording but the information they have in common is significant since it is not found in *Historia scholastica*, the main source for Part II of *Gyðinga saga*.²⁷⁷ The sketch in 764 thus seems to be based on information extracted from a composite account of the history of the Jews. The textual evidence does not offer proofs for the assumption that that account was *Gyðinga saga* as we know it. It has already been suggested that the scribes of 764 and the author of *Gyðinga saga* may have made use of the same source. But because of the cursory nature of the text in 764 it cannot be ruled out that the 764 scribes used a version of *Gyðinga saga* to supplement their main source, the source 764 probably shares with *Veraldar saga* and 194, which in all likelihood contained no information about the Jewish rulers after Mathathias’ grandsons.

As was discussed in chapter II.2, 194 and 764 also share material on Paradise and the Phoenix. It is most natural to suppose that that text came from the same source as the regnal lists. That source is likely to have been an Icelandic account of the *aetates mundi*, based on *Imago mundi*, but augmented with additional material. To avoid having to postulate more than one source of that kind for 764 it is simplest to suppose that a single source lies behind 194, 764 and *Veraldar saga*. That supposition seems to be strengthened by the fact that 194 and *Veraldar saga* begin with an identical paragraph on Moses as the first

²⁷⁵ *Veraldar saga*, 32.18-44.1

²⁷⁶ *Gyðinga saga*, 148.8-9

²⁷⁷ cf. Wolf (ed.), *Gyðinga saga*, xcvi.

recorder of history: 'Moyses het guds vinr fordum i Gydinga landi, sa er fyrstr hof þa [þrifnadar] syslo ath rita helgar *bękr* um guds stormerki' etc.²⁷⁸

In his article on several seventeenth-century computistical manuscripts written by Björn Jónsson at Skarðsá, Stefán Karlsson discusses the biblical genealogies in *Veraldar saga*, 194 and 764. He points out, that judging by language and vocabulary, the text in 194, which Stefán refers to as *Heimsaldrar*, seems to be considerably older than the manuscript.²⁷⁹ Stefán thinks that *Heimsaldrar* might have been written in the first half of the twelfth century and that Ari Þorgilsson could have been responsible for the work.²⁸⁰ While Ari's authorship must remain doubtful, the texts we have in 194 and in 764 may well have their origins in the twelfth century although the evidence is of course not conclusive. The question of the antecedents of 764 will be re-examined in chapter III.2.1.

²⁷⁸ *Veraldar saga*, 3.1-3, cf. *ÁÍ*, 3,1-3.

²⁷⁹ Stefán Karlsson. 'Fróðleiksgreinar frá tólftu öld', 334.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 347-349.

5.4. Troy and *Breta sögur*

The passage on the Trojan war is extremely short, only 12 lines. It is introduced by scribe G on f. 10v37 where he/she writes ‘Í þann tíma var setið um Troeam af Grikkjum’. Scribe G continues on f. 11r2 and writes a few lines which correspond closely to a text in Hauksbók:

764

Þar féllu af Grikkja liði sjö þúsundir hins átta tigar hins níunda hundraðs, en af Troea liði féllu sex þúsundir hins níunda tigar hins sjöunda hundraðs. Fyrir Grikkja liði réð mest Agamenon ok Menalaus, en fyrir Troeo liði réð Príamus ok synir hans Ector ok Alexander. Hann hafði tekit brott Helenu konu Menalai. (11r2-6)

Hauksbók

Þar fellu af Girkia liði .vij. þushundrað hins átta tigar hins niunda hundraðs. En af Troea manna liði .vi. þushundrað hins niunda tigar hins .vij. hundraðs. fyrir Girkia liði reð mest Agamenon. oc Menalaus konungr. En fyrir Troea liði reð Priamus oc synir hans Ector oc Alexander. hann hafðe tekit Eleno a brott kono Menalaus konungs. (155⁴⁻⁹)

The numbers of the casualties on each side correspond exactly in these two texts but differ from the numbers given in *Trójumanna saga*,²⁸¹ so this information can hardly be derived directly from the saga. The numbers in 764 and Hauksbók are identical, on the other hand, with those found in *Imago mundi* (III.7). It is not likely that scribe G copied Hauksbók itself since there is no evidence that Hauksbók was used as a source elsewhere in 764 despite the fact that both manuscripts contain versions of the same stories (e.g. Daniel, cf. p. 118). The above passage in Hauksbók is incorporated in a description of the world, augmenting the information on Troy. As Peter Springborg has shown, *Imago mundi* was among the sources for that world description,²⁸² so it is reasonable to assume that the passage on the Trojan wars found its way into 764 as well as into Hauksbók from an Icelandic translation of *Imago mundi*.

It seems that scribe G was content with a mere reference to the Trojan war and did not intend to include a lengthy passage on the subject. But here a fellow scribe, E, stepped in, for lines 10v38-11r2 are written in a different hand and tell of the origins of the war:

en efni ok tilganga þessa stóra stríðs er þeir höfðu sín í milli var þessi at systir Priami konungs hafði verit hertekin af Grikkjum ok þaðan af villdu þeir bræðr hefna þeirar svívirðu. Tók Alexander Helenam húsfrú Menelai er allra kvenna

²⁸¹ Cf. *Trójumanna saga*. Ed. by Jonna Louis-Jensen. (EdArn A8.) Copenhagen 1963, 214.

²⁸² Peter Springborg, ‘Weltbild mit Löwe’, 191-193.

hefir verit fríðuz ok flutti í Frigia land. Börðuz þeir eigi um meira efni mörg ár út ok fengu mannatjón mikit. Les hér næst blaðit er skrifat er af Troeo borg.

Whether E was asked to produce a few lines to complement the sketchy account provided by G, or whether he/she decided to revise what G had written, it is evident that E wanted to give readers a fuller picture and thus referred them to a separate folio which presumably contained a more detailed account of the events in Troy. The folio which is referred to is now lost and we do not even know whether it ever became a part of 764 but it would in all likelihood have contained a text from *Trójumanna saga*. That work is an Icelandic version of Darius Phrygius' *De excidio Troiae* augmented with material from other sources, including *Ilias Latina*, Vergil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses*. It is preserved in two main redactions, α , which is based predominantly on the Darius Phrygius text and believed to be close to the original translation of it, and β , into which a lot of material from *Ilias Latina* is incorporated as well as material from Vergil, Ovid and Theodulus.²⁸³ It is the β -redaction which is found in 573, where it is followed by *Breta sögur*. It is worth noting in this context that hand G in 764 seems to be the same hand that wrote the first part of *Breta sögur* (ff. 24-45v) in 573.²⁸⁴ (573 and 764 are linked in other ways as will be discussed below in relation to *Breta sögur*.) A shortened version of β is found in Hauksbók where the beginning of *Breta sögur* is separated by only two folios from the end of *Trójumanna saga*.

A similar progression occurs in 764 where the short passage on the Trojan war leads immediately into *Breta sögur* through Eneas who fled to Rome:

Margir flýðu brott eftir þat at borgin [i.e. Troy] varð unnin. Einn af þeim var Eneas. Hann kom til Ítalía lands ok varð þar konungr. Hann drap elding til bana. Hann drap áðr Turnum. Eneas gat þann son er Askanius hét. Hans son var Silvius, hans son Brutus. Hann bygði fyrstr þat land er þá var kallað Alkrion. Þar reisti hann mikla borg er hann kallaði hinu nýju Troeam. Þá var skipt um nöfn við hann ok kallaðr Britto en landit Britannia ok þaðan ero Bretar komnir. (11r6-11)

Breta sögur is an Icelandic translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* with some additions from other sources. It is dated to the thirteenth century and preserved whole, or relatively whole, in two manuscripts

²⁸³ Jonna Louis-Jensen (ed.). *Trójumanna saga. The Dares Phrygius Version*. (EdAm A9.) Copenhagen 1981, xi-xix.

²⁸⁴ In addition to *Trójumanna saga* β and *Breta sögur* (the longer version) the manuscript contains the beginning of *Valvens þátr*.

only, Hauksbók and the defective AM 573 4to.²⁸⁵ As mentioned above, *Breta sögur* are preceded by *Trójumanna saga* in both manuscripts. The history of Troy was very popular in medieval Europe not least, as Stefanie Würth points out, because of the tradition of tracing royal dynasties to the Trojans.²⁸⁶ That this was also practised in Iceland is evidenced by the prologue to Snorra Edda,²⁸⁷ and the transmission of *Breta sögur* can be seen as a manifestation of the same tendency, where the foundation of the British dynasty is linked to the aftermath of the Trojan wars.

The text in 764 is clearly closely related to that in 573, which represents the longer version of *Breta sögur*, while Hauksbók has a somewhat condensed text. Stefanie Würth has pointed out that 764 and 573 share the error of writing 'Alkrion' in the passage quoted above, where Hauksbók has (more correctly) 'Albíó'. There are many other instances where 764 and 573 correspond closely but Hauksbók has a slightly different wording, and Würth argues in her study that the affinity between 764 and 573 is so great that the former might be a direct copy of the latter.²⁸⁸ The fact that the same scribe (G) had a hand in copying the text in both manuscripts renders that proposition even more plausible. It is eminently likely that the two manuscripts were produced in the same scriptorium, and they could either have been copied from the same manuscript which contained the 'Alkrion' error, or 573 could have been used as the direct source for 764, as Würth suggests.

764 does not contain a text corresponding to the entire *Breta sögur*. On ff. 11v5-12v41 it traces the lineage of British rulers from Brutus to Kambellinus in whose time Christ was said to have been born. Sections on some later rulers are found on f. 38r but all the material at the beginning of *Breta sögur*, which describes events in Italy based on the *Aeneid*, is omitted. The text in 764 begins with material taken from ch. 6, which is where Geoffrey's *Historia* becomes the source for the Icelandic text.

Most of the British kings are treated only in the briefest fashion in 764 although longer anecdotes are occasionally included, e.g. Korienus' fight with

²⁸⁵ *Breta sögur* have not been adequately edited. Jón Sigurðsson printed the Hauksbók text with variants from AM 573 4to in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1848, 103-215; 1849, 1-145. Unger's edition of Hauksbók (Christiania 1892-96) has no variant apparatus.

²⁸⁶ Würth, *Der Antikenroman*, 38.

²⁸⁷ Snorri Sturluson. *Edda. Prologue and Gylfaginning*, 4-5.

the giant Gogmagog, Menpricius' death by wolves and Bladud's failed attempt at flying. The text of *Breta sögur* in 764 thus shows the same characteristics as are evident in some of the material taken from *Stjórn*: more substantial passages are linked together by 'bridges' which often do no more than link characters together in a chronological order. The abridgement is on the whole quite drastic. The main emphasis seems to be on tracing the genealogy through the line of kings, and references to Jewish history contained in Geoffrey's text are on the whole retained. Minor characters are usually omitted, e.g. younger brothers who do not ascend to the throne, and only the sketchiest account is given of the achievements of the monarchs — the scribes record cities which are founded but not always their exact location. As an example of all this one could take the following passage on Ebracus (Ebrutus), Brutus the younger and his son Leil:

764

þá tók ríki Ebrutus son hans. Hann reisti þá borg er hann kallaði af sínu nafni Ebracam. Sú borg heitir nú Jork. Þar er nú erkistóll. Hann lét gera vígi þat á Skotlandi er Meya kastali var kallaðr. Ebrutus átti xx konur ok með xx sonu ok xx dætr. Brútus hét einn son Ebruti. Hann tók ríki eftir föður sinn andaðan ok réð xij vetr ok er engi saga frá honum en bræðr hans unnu Saxland undir sik ok réðu þar fyrir síðan. Son Bruti tók ríki eftir er hét Leil. Hann lét gera borg ok kallaði af nafni sínu Kierleil. Þann tíma réð Solomon hinn spaki Jórsala landi. (11v39-12r4)

Breta sögur (AM 573 4to)

tók Ebrutus son hans ríki eftir hann ok hafðiz brátt mikið at. Tók fyrst at skipa ríki sitt ættbornum einum mönnum en er hann hafði ríki sitt skipað eftir vilja, þá minntiz hann hversu frændr hans höfðu herjað í Gallía, ok látið þar sína frændr ok ástmenn en komiz nauðugliga í brott. Þóttiz hann þess skylldr at hefna. Fór hann þá með her sinn í Gallíam ok átti þar margar orrostur, vann borgir, braut kastala en felldi fjölda ríkissmanna. Hann tók mikið herfang í gulli ok silfri ok kom aftr til Bretlands með ágætum sigri ok ógrynni fjár. En er hann kom aftr þá vildi hann enn nokkuð að hafaz þat er hans nafni mætti lengi uppi vera. Lét hann þá borg gera ok kalla af nafni sínu Ebrucam. Sú borg heitir nú Jork. Þar er nú erkistóll ok annar nálíga ágætaztr staðr á Englandi. Hann lét reisa aðrar borgir margar, stórar ok sterkar ok hann lét gera vígi þat á Skotlandi er Meyakastali er kallaðr. Ebrutus átti xx konur ok xx sonu ok xx dætr. Þessir eru nefndir synir hans: Brutus [followed by 11 names] en eigi eru aðrir nefndir. Þessar eru dætr hans nefndar: [10 names ending with] Galaek, hon var allra meya fegurst, þeirra er á Bretlandi voru ok bezt at sér gerr. Ebrutus sendi dætr sínar allar suðr um fjall í Ítalía ríki til Silvium föður Albani er þá hafði þar ríki. Bað hann Silvium sjá þar fyrir þeirra kosti þat er sýna þætti til framkvæmdar er þær giftuz innanlands. Silvius gifti þær allar ríkum mönnum af Tróju ætt. Þær höfðu stórar eignir ok mikið vald. Ebrutus sendi sonu sína til Saxlands at vinna þar ok setti Assarikum hertuga yfir ok forsjámann, með fulltingi Silvij Albani gátu þeir unnið undir sik allt Saxland ok réðu þar fyrir, leituðu sér þaðan annarra landkosta. Brutus var heima með feðr sínum meðan þeir lifðu báðir. Ebrutus dó þá er hann var mjög við alldr ok hann hafði ríki haft einum vetri miðr en xxx. Brutus lét vel búa gröft hans at fornum síð. Tók hann þá ráð ok ríki eftir föður sinn ok réð xii vetr ok er engi saga einkanliga frá honum gjör. Son hans tók ríki eftir hann er hét Leil. Hann lét gera nálíga á norðanverðri Brittannia svá sem þá var kallað borg ok kallaði af nafni sínu Kierleil. Í þann tíma réð Solomon hinn spaki fyrir Jórsalalandi, ok þá var reist af grundvelli templum domini, þat musteri er fyrst var gert í heiminum almáttkum guði til lofs ok dýrðar, ok þá kom in spaka drottning af austrveg á fund Solomonis at heyra ok skynja hans speki frá annarra manna. (31v6-32r1)

²⁸⁸ Würth, *Der Antikenroman*, 180.

The passage shows well how heavily the scribe has abridged the text. Only the barest outlines of the story are preserved: the names of kings and places and the chronological link to the Jewish dynasty (Solomon).

5.5. Rómverja saga

Rómverja saga is an Icelandic version of Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and *Catilinae coniuratio* and Lucan's *Pharsalia* with additional material drawn from other Latin sources. It is preserved in two redactions, an older and now imperfect version represented by the manuscript AM 595 a-b 4to (c. 1325-1350) and a younger abridged version found in the *Stjórn* manuscript AM 226 fol. and copies thereof, as well as in a sixteenth-century manuscript, Perg. 4to nr 24 in the Royal Library, Stockholm.²⁸⁹ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir has provided a convenient synopsis of the make up of *Rómverja saga*:²⁹⁰

1. A translation of the *Jugurtha*, though with omission of Sallust's introduction, chs 1,1-4,9.
2. A bridging passage, giving a brief account of Jugurtha's death, followed by a longer section on Marius and Sulla and the war between them, ending with a brief enumeration of the outstanding men of the next generation, Pompey, Caesar, Crassus and Cato.
3. A translation of the *Catiline*, again with omission of Sallust's introduction, chs 1,1-4,5, and also of his long lament over Rome's moral decline, chs 5,9-13,5.
4. A prelude to the *Pharsalia*, on the forms of Roman government from the foundation of the city down to the struggle between Pompey and Caesar, in effect a very summary account of Roman history within those limits.
5. An abridged prose translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*.
6. A conclusion to the *Pharsalia* on the aftermath of the battle, Caesar's death, Octavian's victories over Mark Antony, Octavian's reign as Augustus, and finally the birth of Christ.

The text in AM 764 corresponds to parts 4 and 6 of this synopsis and does not, therefore, represent anything of the Sallust or Lucan translations. In all likelihood the material in these passages ultimately came from a so-called *accessus ad Lucanum*, an introductory guide to Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Such a work 'would typically include a section called *summa historiae*, a basic sketch of Roman history intended to give a student the background he needed to understand the events described in the *Pharsalia*'.²⁹¹ The *accessus* which the Icelanders used must, in Þorbjörg Helgadóttir's view, have contained a *summa* which started with the foundation of Rome and extended as far as Octavian's reign.

²⁸⁹ Jakob Benediktsson (ed.). *Catilina and Jugurtha by Sallust and Pharsalia by Lucan in Old Norse: Rómverja saga. AM 595a-b 4to.* (EIMF XIII.) Copenhagen 1980, 7. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir. 'On the sources and composition of Rómverja saga.' *Saga-Book XXIV* (1996), 203. The only full edition of the saga is still Rudolf Meissner's *Rómverjasaga*. Palaestra 83. Berlin 1910.

²⁹⁰ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, 'On the sources', 203-204.

In his facsimile edition of AM 595 Jakob Benediktsson drew attention to the text in 764 and the fact that it had significance for the textual transmission of *Rómverja saga* and for the relationship between the saga and *Veraldar saga*. Jakob showed that the text of 764 was very close to that of 595 where the two could be compared, so much so that they might even be sister manuscripts. On the question of *Veraldar saga*'s relation to *Rómverja saga* he came to the conclusion that the author of the latter had used *Veraldar saga* as a source.²⁹² In that case the correspondences between *Veraldar saga* and 764 can be explained by pointing to *Rómverja saga* as the intermediary.

Dietrich Hofmann re-examined the issue a few years later, collating most of the instances where *Veraldar saga* agrees with *Rómverja saga* and 764, and came to the opposite conclusion regarding the relationship between these texts. He proposed *Rómverja saga* as the source not only for 764 but for *Veraldar saga* as well.²⁹³

Finally Þorbjörg Helgadóttir advanced a third theory, one which takes into account the different purposes these three works served and the different aims of their editors. She suggests that a translation of an *accessus ad Lucanum* with a *summa historiae* was made in Iceland before *Veraldar saga* was composed, i.e. in the twelfth century, and that this translation was used independently by the author of *Veraldar saga* and the compiler of *Rómverja saga*, who both modified the text to suit their different purposes. The same translation was then used, later, to provide the necessary material on the history of Rome in AM 764, where the scribes characteristically abridged the text by omitting some sentences and paragraphs but otherwise left the text more or less intact.²⁹⁴ To support her theory Þorbjörg produces evidence to show that *Veraldar saga* and 764 made independent use of the *summa*, i.e. independent of *Rómverja saga*.²⁹⁵ This seems most convincing in the case of *Veraldar saga*. It is more difficult to determine whether the 764 scribes were working directly from a

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 210. Cf. Dietrich Hofmann. 'Accessus ad Lucanum: Zur Neubestimmung des Verhältnisses zwischen Rómverja saga und Veraldar saga.' *Sagnaskemmtun. Studies in Honour of Hermann Pálsson*. Ed. by Rudolf Simek et al. Wien 1986, 136.

²⁹² Jakob Benediktsson (ed.), *Catilina and Jugurtha*, 19, 21.

²⁹³ Hofmann, 'Accessus ad Lucanum', 129-149.

²⁹⁴ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, 'On the sources', 211.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 212. Þorbjörg kindly lent me a chapter of her thesis on *Rómverja saga* (*Rómverja saga — Kildestudier*; under preparation) where she has collated all the relevant passages in *Rómverja saga*, 764 and *Veraldar saga* against the Latin sources.

translation of an *accessus* or whether their exemplar was a manuscript of *Rómverja saga*. The difficulty is caused by the abridged nature of the text in 764 and also by the defective state of AM 595 which excludes extensive collation.

As revealed above, 764 contains correspondences with *Veraldar saga* outside the material which is traditionally associated with *Rómverja saga*. These are a passage on Abraham, some phrases in a passage on Alexander and a brief statement about the greatest kingdoms of the world. Given the verbal similarities between 764 and *Veraldar saga*, especially in the passage on Abraham, it is perhaps strange that 764 does not appear to have more material in common with *Veraldar saga*, despite the fact that the two works inevitably cover much of the same ground. If the scribes of 764 had a copy of *Veraldar saga* to hand one would have expected them to make more use of it. It is therefore tempting to explain these correspondences by supposing the information the two works share was introduced into 764 not from *Veraldar saga* itself but from another source, which could then have been a common source for both works. If we follow Hofman, in supposing that *Rómverja saga* was the source for both 764 and *Veraldar saga* it would then seem natural to assume that *Rómverja saga* originally included information on Alexander and Ptolemy and the four kingdoms and even on Abraham. The beginning of the saga is lost in the older version and the younger version may not reflect the original beginning accurately since *Rómverja saga* is there incorporated into a compilation which includes *Gyðinga saga* and *Alexanders saga* as well, thus perhaps rendering sketchy information on the pre-Roman kingdoms redundant. It does not however seem likely that *Rómverja saga* was ever that grand in scope. It is also important to note that the correspondences between 764 and *Veraldar saga* in the material on the Roman rulers are much vaguer than in the other instances. There are no exact verbal correspondences of the kind the passage on Abraham offers. It therefore seems safer to explain the relationship between *Veraldar saga* and 764 by supposing the scribes of the latter made use of two sources. One of them supplied material for the passages closely related to *Veraldar saga*, and was possibly the source for 194 8vo as well. The second source must then have been a work devoted to the history of the Roman rulers, either *Rómverja saga* itself, as suggested by both Jakob Benediktsson and Hofmann, or a *summa* of the kind Þorbjörg Helgadóttir postulates.

5.6. Concluding remarks

At the end of the *Rómverja saga* material the scribes have managed to bring the diverse strands of history down to the Incarnation and from there onwards the perspective is firmly Christian. What the material included in the fifth age shows, is that the scribes were fully aware of the historiographic tradition of universal histories. Works of that kind had been put together earlier in Iceland and it may be expected that Isidore's *Etymologiae* with its sketchy account of the *aetates mundi* and chronographical works such as Bede's *De temporum ratione*, which included a chronicle with references to secular rulers, had long been known and used in the country.

The sources the 764-scribes used seem to be numerous and the relationship between 764 and some of the other works mentioned in this chapter is far from clear although it seems that Honorius' *Imago mundi* looms large in the background. It is on the whole unlikely that the scribes responsible for 764 relied directly on Latin sources — all their material seems to come from indigenous sources which in turn made use of Latin works. It seems the scribes used *Breta sögur*, a work dealing with Roman history, another covering the history of the Jews, and some source for universal history which included material from *Imago mundi*. This last source probably also provided material for *Veraldar saga* and AM 194 8vo, two Icelandic works which, like 764, attempt a sketch of universal history. What emerges from the comparison of these three works is that in each case the scribes modify their sources to suit their purpose; they do not copy their material slavishly but omit, augment or rearrange it according to their needs. Since the aim of the 764-scribes seems to be not simply to produce a handbook with basic facts but a rather fuller account of world history, they collect chapters and stories from translated works where the history of certain peoples is treated more fully. They do not, however, shirk from drastically modifying these texts. In her study Stefanie Würth discusses the significant role encyclopedic works play in the transmission of the pseudo-historical works in Iceland and stresses how the emphasis there is firmly on *brevitas*.²⁹⁶ 764 is a good example of this transmission since it does contain

²⁹⁶ Würth, *Der Antikenroman*, 182.

sizeable chunks from the pseudo-historical works but significantly reworked. The scribes only include what will fit into their chronological frame and they furthermore shorten all the texts they include, some of them quite severely as the example from *Breta sögur* shows. So despite digressing, as it were, into longer narratives about kings and rulers, the 764-scribes clearly aim for brevity and they always keep one eye on the chronology, with the result that their account of the history until the time of Christ stands somewhere between *Veraldar saga* and the 'heimsaldrar' in AM 194 8vo on the one hand, and the firmly narrative-oriented compilation which makes up AM 226 fol. on the other.

6. Aetas VI: Anni Domini

6.1. Vita Christi: The New Testament and Apocrypha

The account of the life, passion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, which takes up ff. 14r27-16r11, is constructed in a manner not unlike the passage on the hexaëmeron. The Bible, this time the Gospels, provides the frame of the narrative — the basic facts as it were — but these are then expanded with apocryphal anecdotes and other information which the scribes deemed relevant. The most substantial of these are passages which come originally from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (De infantia salvatoris) and two miracles of St Martha.

6.1.1. The Gospels

The references to the Gospels are scattered and brief. They tell of the annunciation, Jesus' birth and childhood, his baptism and the temptation in the wilderness; some of his miracles are recounted and finally the passion. An overview of this material is given in Table 2 (p. 173). This material is not taken from any one of the Gospels; there are passages from or references to all four of them. In general the references are not direct translations of the Vulgate but variously paraphrased. It is noteworthy that none of the parables is included. This is in keeping with the tendency seen throughout the chronicle to put the main emphasis on events and to avoid speeches and allegories.

The fact that all four Gospels are represented in the text might be taken as an indication that the scribes made use of a Gospel harmony, rather than a full set of all the Gospels. Furthermore, the story about Jesus in the temple at the age of twelve (Lc 2.42-51) is incorrectly attributed to St Matthew (15r9-10), which indicates that it was not derived directly from a text of Luke. The composition of Gospel harmonies began already in the first century AD and continued until well after the Reformation. The most influential of these harmonies was doubtless the *Diatessaron* attributed to Tatian, compiled in Syriac in the mid-second century and based on the four canonical gospels as well as some extra-canonical

material.²⁹⁷ The aim of the *Diatessaron* and other Gospel harmonies seems to have been above all to produce a comprehensive treatment of the life of Christ, with the result that

dans les parties communes, un texte, plus explicite ou plus satisfaisant au point de vue du compilateur, était choisi de préférence aux trois autres, qui étaient, par la même, simplement éliminés. Quant aux parties propres à chaque évangéliste, elles étaient rapprochées et réunis de façon à former un récit unique et continu.²⁹⁸

The *Diatessaron* was widely disseminated and translated into numerous languages. The oldest manuscript of a Gospel harmony in Latin is the Codex Fuldensis, a sixth-century manuscript copied at the order of bishop Victor of Capua from an exemplum now lost. Codex Fuldensis, however, does not represent the most original *Diatessaron* text in Latin since it is 'vulgatised', i.e. its readings have been adjusted to the Vulgate text of the Gospels. The manuscript evidence shows that another unvulgatised *Diatessaron* must have existed, and that that text predates the Codex Fuldensis.²⁹⁹ The Latin *Diatessaron* became one of the sources for the Old Saxon poem *Heliand*, composed in the first half of the ninth century,³⁰⁰ and it also gave rise to numerous vernacular gospel harmonies. Of these the Middle Dutch examples have received the fullest attention from scholars, most notably the Liège Harmony which was compiled in the late thirteenth century.³⁰¹

It has been suggested that an Old Norse version of the *Diatessaron* existed, and that readings in Old Norse homilies can be traced to such a source. Andrea van Arkel-De Leeuw van Weenen and Gilles Quispel published a preliminary note to that effect in 1978. One of the examples they cited is a variant of Mt 2.16: 'þa sende hann men i bepleem. oc lét drepa alla tvæ. vetra. sveina oc yngre'.³⁰² Arkel-De Leeuw van Weenen and Quispel pointed out that the Vulgate here reads *occidit omnes pueros*, but numerous Western witnesses of the *Diatessaron* 'read or presuppose: "*iussit occidi omnes pueros*".³⁰³ The

²⁹⁷ William L. Petersen. *Tatian's Diatessaron. Its creation, dissemination, significance and history in scholarship*. Leiden 1994, 1-3.

²⁹⁸ Henri Leclercq. 'Diatessaron.' *DACL* 4, 749.

²⁹⁹ Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 86, 149.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 105-106.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 144-145, 171-173.

³⁰² *Homiliu-bók. Isländska Homilier efter en handskrift från tolfte århundradet*. Ed. by Theodor Wisén. Lund 1872, 183.9-10.

³⁰³ Andrea van Arkel-De Leeuw van Weenen and Gilles Quispel. 'The *Diatessaron* in Iceland and Norway.' *Vigiliae Christianae* 32 (1978), 214.

Vulgate in fact reads *mittens occidit omnes pueros* and it does not seem necessary to explain the rendering in the Icelandic Homily Book with reference to Diatessaron influence. On the other hand this same phrase also appears in 764 and the wording there might in fact provide a better parallel to the *Diatessaron* since it reads ‘at hann *býðr* drepa öll sveinbörn yngri en tvævetr ...’ (14v33).

Arkel-De Leeuw van Weenen and Quispel suggested that the Old Norse *Diatessaron* readings were not derived from the vulgatised Codex Fuldensis tradition but from the more original Latin *Diatessaron*. It is regrettable that they have not yet published a fuller account of their findings. In the absence of a detailed study of all Gospel material in Old Norse it is impossible to ascertain the validity of their proposition, nor can one fully assess the status of 764 within the Old Norse Gospel tradition. Such an undertaking, however, lies outside the scope of the present work. It will have to suffice to say that a comparison of the Gospel material in 764 with quotations in other Old Norse text does not reveal any striking similarities. That renders it less likely, albeit not inconceivable, that the text in 764 and the Gospel quotations found in e.g. the oldest homilies were drawn from the same vernacular source.

To illustrate this one might take as an example the story of the wedding at Cana (Io 2.1-11). It is one of two extensive Gospel passages included in 764 and it is also incorporated into one of the homilies in the Icelandic Homily Book. The 764 text is abbreviated compared to the Vulgate and clauses and sentences which are retained in the homily are left out, but it occasionally renders individual words more accurately than the homily text does, cf. for example ‘kallaðr’ (l. 5) for *vocatus est* and ‘tákn’ (l. 27) for *signum*. It is noteworthy that the 764 text accentuates the role of the Virgin Mary, almost giving her the credit for the miracle (cf. underlining in the text). 764 also says explicitly that Jesus blessed the water whereas the Vulgate and the homily leave the inference to the audience.

764

En á öðru ári sneri hann vatni í vín í Kana Galilee at brúðkaupi því at hann var til þeirar samkundu kallaðr ok hans móðir ok allir hans lærisveinar. Þar varð 000000 veizlu-fall ef Guðs móðir hefði eigi

IslHom

...brúþcaúp var gorr í galilea a beó þeim es chána heiter oc vas þar móþer iesu. oc vas boþet þangat iesu oc læresveinom eius. En es vín þraút at samcundo. þa mælte móþer iesu við iesum. Eige hafa þeir vín. Jesus svarape. hvat er meþ mér oc þér cona.

Vulgata

et die tertio nuptiae factae sunt in Cana Galilaeae et erat mater Iesu ibi vocatus est autem ibi et Iesus et discipuli eius ad nuptias et deficiente vino dicit mater Iesu ad eum vinum non habent et dicit ei Iesus **quid mihi et tibi est mulier** nondum venit hora mea

764

frammi staði. Hon talaði við son sinn á þessa leið: Son minn, þrýtr vín at veizlunni. Hann svarar: **Hvat kemr þat til mín eða þín?** Ok enn talar hann: Fyllit vj steinker af vatni. Svá var gert sem hann bað. Hann blezaði vatnit ok talaði síðan til þjónustumanna: Ausit upp nú ok berit fyrst öndvegismanni. Ok er hann kenndi sagði hann svá: **Þér geymdut allt hér til it bezta vín.** Þetta tákn framði skaparinn fyrst fyrir manna augum (15r26-33)

IslHom

Eige er en comen stund mín. þa mælte móþer iesu við reifu meN. Georeþ er þat er iesus býþr yþr. En vatnker séx stóþo þar þau es í lógo málskiólor tuevar eþa þrevar. Jesus mælte við reifu meN. Fylleþ er steinkeren vats. En þeir fylldo þa. Þa mælte iesus. Auseþ er up nu oc feóreþ arkitriclino. Oc þeir feórþo. **Öndvegess** maþr bergþe vatne þui es at víni var orþet oc vissi eige unde comet var. reifu meN visso es vatn *hæfþo* upp auset. þa callaþe öndvegess maþr á brúþguma oc mælte við hann. Hver *anara* gefr fyrst gott vín en síþan et *vera* þa es meN ero drvcner. **En þu hirþder gor uinum allt til þessa.** þessa iartein georþe iesus fyrsta í augliti *læresveína sina*. oc *sýnde* þeim dýrþ sína oc trúþo a hann læresveinar hans. (187.28-188.7)

Vulgata

dicit mater eius ministris quodcumque dixerit vobis facite erant autem ibi lapideae hydriae sex positae secundum purificationem Iudaeorum capientes singulae metretas binas vel ternas dicit eis Iesus implete hydrias aqua et impleverunt eas usque ad summum et dicit eis Iesus haurite nunc et ferte architriclino et tulerunt ut autem gustavit architriclinus aquam vinum factam et non sciebat unde esset ministri autem sciebant qui haurierant aquam vocat sponsum architriclinus et dicit ei omnis homo primum bonum vinum ponit et cum inebriati fuerint tunc id quod deterius est **tu servasti bonum vinum usque adhuc** hoc fecit initium signorum Iesus in Cana Galilaeae et manifestavit gloriam suam et crediderunt in eum discipuli eius (2.1-11)

As can be seen there are numerous disagreements between the two Icelandic texts apart from the fact that the 764 is much abridged. The phrase *quid mihi et tibi est* is rendered 'hvat er með mér ok þér' in the homily but 'hvat kemr þat til mín ok þín' in 764, and the remark of the governor of the feast is also dissimilar in the two texts. Individual words are translated differently, e.g. 'mælti' vs. 'talaði' for *dixerit*, 'berit' vs. 'færit' for *ferre*, 'reiðumenn' vs. 'þjónostumenn' for *ministri*, 'kenndi' vs. 'bergði' for *gustavit*. The word 'öndvegismaðr' for *architriclinus* might strike one as significant but the same translation is found in *Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jakobs*³⁰⁴ and could well have been a school-gloss. All in all there is not a lot that speaks for a common vernacular source of these two texts. That does not, however, preclude the possibility that the text in 764 was derived from a Gospel harmony, but whether that is the case cannot be determined until studies into the reception of the *Diatessaron* in Iceland have advanced further.

³⁰⁴ *Postola sögur. Legendariske fortællinger om apostlernes liv deres kamp for kristendommens udbredelse samt deres martyrdød.* Ed. by C.R. Unger. Christiania 1874, 544.19.

	NT material in 764	Vulgate
14r27-29	The annunciation	Lc 1.28
14r34-37	The adoration of the magi	Mt 2.1-11
14v3-4	The flight to Egypt	Mt 2.13
14v31-34	The killing of the innocents	Mt 2.16
15r1-7	Joseph takes Jesus and Mary to Nazareth	Mt 2.19-23
15r10-19	Jesus in the Temple	Lc 2.42-51
15r23-25	Jesus baptised and tempted	Mt 3.13-15; 4.1-11; Mk 1.9; 12-13; Lc 3.21; 4.1-13
15r26-33	The wedding at Cana	Jh 2.1-11
15r37-15v1	John the Baptist incarcerated and beheaded	Mk 6.17-18
15v1-3	Jesus acquires 12 apostles and 72 disciples	Mt 10.1-4; Lc 6.13; 10.1
15v3	Jesus heals the blind, deaf and dumb	(Mk 7.32-35; 8.22-25; Lc 7.22;)
15v3-5	Jesus feeds five/four thousand	Jh 6.1-14; Lk 9.12-17)
15v5-8	Moses and Elijah appear to Jesus and the apostles	Mt 17.1-4
15v8-10	Three examples of resuscitation	(Lc 8.40-56; Mk 5.21-43; Jh 11.17-45)
16r5-8	The crucifixion	Mt 27.45; 51-2; Lc 23.44
16r9-10	The assumption	Lc 24.51-52; Act 1.9-10
16r10-11	The Pentecost	Act 2.4
16r11-12	Seven deacons chosen	Act 6.5
16r12-13	St Stephen stoned	Act 7.58
16r13-14	James beheaded and Peter incarcerated	Act 12.1-4

Table 2. New Testament material in AM 764 4to.

6.1.2. The embellishment of the Gospels

The Gospel material in 764 is augmented with a few substantial anecdotes as well as some minor additions of encyclopedic nature. We shall turn first to the latter. As we have come to expect from the compilers of 764 the text betrays a visible interest in chronology, as the beginning of the Gospel account shows:

... Gabríel höfuðengill heilsaði frú sanctam Mariam þvílíkum orðum: Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. Þá varð hon getandi at Guðs syni. Þá var hon xiiij ára gömul. Þat var á vi^{ta} degi viku. Ok þaðan liðnum ix mánuðum fæddiz lausnari allz heims um miðnætisskeið fyrir drottinsdag. Þá var hinn x^{di} vetr í sólaröld en ij. í tunglöld. Þá var tungl xiiij náttu. Þá ríkti Augustus keisari. Undir hann var allr heimr skattgildr. Þat var á xl^{da} ok ij ári ríkis hans en frá því er Rómaborg reistiz dcc ok l ok ij ár. Á viij^{ta} degi frá fæðingu sinni tók hann umskurðarskír. (14r27-34)

Similar information is contained in the computistical treatise named Rím I by Kristian Kálund where the information on Mary's age³⁰⁵ is found as well as calculations concerning Christ's birthday according to Bede and Jerome.³⁰⁶ There are discrepancies in the numbers between 764 and the main manuscripts of Rím I. The numbers in 764 correspond most closely to those in AM 731 4to which, as we have seen, is related to 764 (cf. p. 53). References to the church calendar continue throughout the New Testament stories; the temptation in the wilderness for instance is said to have taken place one night after St Valentine's Day (15r25-26) and Mary's resurrection allegedly took place two nights after the Feast of St Matthew (16r15-16).

The story of the annunciation and the nativity is told in but few words and the Magi receive ample attention by comparison. St Matthew's Gospel, the biblical source of the story of the 'wise men', does not yield much information about them apart from mentioning that they came from the east, followed a star and brought gifts to the newborn infant: gold, frankincense and myrrh. Neither their number nor their names are given. These, and other details, were gradually added to the tradition as the Magi took their place among popular saints of the Middle Ages.³⁰⁷ 764 states that they were three and came from Arabia with a splendid retinue; it mentions that they 'kunnu vel stjörnuíþrótt' (14r35-36), gives their names in three languages and finally says that 'þeira blezaðir líkamir eru með guðs vilja komnir svá langt norðr í hálfuna at þeir liggja í Kolni' (14r39-40), where they are miraculously preserved.

The earliest mention of the names of the Magi is in a chronicle commonly known as *Excerpta latina barbari* and dated to the seventh or the eighth century. The chronicle gives the names as Bithisarea, Melchior and Gathaspa.³⁰⁸ These names reappear in varying forms in later works, frequently as Balthasar, Melchior and Caspar/Jasper. They were coupled with sets of Hebrew and Greek names in the *Liber de numeris*, compiled 'by an unknown Irish writer some time

³⁰⁵ Mary's age when she bore Christ is given in the Pseudo-Matthew Gospel, VIII.1, cf. *Libri de nativitate Mariae*. Vol I. Ed. by Jan Gijssels and Rita Beyers. (CCSA 9.) Turnhout 1997.

³⁰⁶ *AÍ* II, 43-44.

³⁰⁷ On the importance of the Magi in patristic and medieval theology see Robert E. McNally. 'The Three holy kings in early Irish Latin writing.' *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten II*. Ed. by Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann. Münster 1970, 667-668.

³⁰⁸ H. Leclercq. 'Mages.' *DACL* 10, 1061.

after the middle of the eighth century in south-east Germany'.³⁰⁹ The Hebrew names of the Magi were, according to this source, Malgaloth, Galgaloth and Saracim and the Greek ones Damascus, Epuleus and Serenus.³¹⁰ These names in various forms later found their way into popular works, among them *Historia scholastica*: 'Nomina trium magorum haec sunt: Hebraice Appellus, Amerus, Damasius; Graece Galgalat, Magalath, Sarachim; Latine Baltassar, Gaspar, Melchior.'³¹¹ It is most likely that the names were introduced into Icelandic sources through the *Historia scholastica* or a similar work.

According to the chronicle by Robert of Torigny (d. 1186) the relics of the Magi were discovered in a chapel near Milan in 1158 and six years later transferred to Cologne by Archbishop Reinhold who was also Emperor Frederick's chancellor.³¹² The wording 'eru ... komnir svá langt norðr í hálfuna' in 764 implies that the scribes were aware of this transfer. The event is recorded in *Konungs annáll* under the entry for 1162: 'Rainaldus erchibyskvp af Colni flvtti likhami Ávstrvegskonvnga af Mediolanoborg i Colni.'³¹³ Cologne was a well-known station on the way to Rome and it is entirely plausible that the news of the translation of the relics was brought to Iceland by pilgrims. The event is also described in the late medieval legendary *Reykjahólabók*, compiled by Björn Þorleifsson in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The last part (chs. 16-20) of this text, 'Helgir þrír kongar', relates how the bodies of the Magi were brought to Constantinople by Queen Helena but later (in 1163) offered to Emperor Henry by Aczo, a Milanese nobleman, through the mediation of Archbishop Reinhold. The relics were then brought to Cologne and laid to rest, according to the story, in the temple of St Peter.³¹⁴

The account of the killing of the innocents is augmented with a note on the number of the infants killed: 'Tölu þessarra sveina kunnu vér eigi greina, en sú tala er stendr í níunda responsorio er svá heitir: centum xl iiii milia, heyrir víst eigi til tölu barnanna heldr er hon sett in Apocalipsi Iohannis fyrir stórmerkis

³⁰⁹ McNally, 'The Three holy kings', 670.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 671.

³¹¹ *PL* 198, 1542.

³¹² Leclercq, 'Mages', 1063-1064.

³¹³ *Islandske annaler indtil 1578 udgivne for det Norske historiske kildeskriptfond*. Ed. by Gustav Storm. Christiania 1888, 116.

³¹⁴ *Reykjahólabók. Islandske helgenlegender I*. Ed. by Agnethe Loth. (EdArn A15.) København 1969, 22-32.

krapt' (14v34-37). 'Níunda responsorio' refers to the Feast of the Holy Innocents (*ad vesperam*), where the number 140 is given.³¹⁵

'Herodes fékk skjóta hefnd svá at hann dó vesælliga eftir því sem kristninni er vel kunnigt at hann vall möðkum' (14v37-38). The scribe is no doubt correct in claiming that Christians were well aware of Herod's fate and the details of it may well have been common knowledge in Iceland in the later Middle Ages. Herod's drawn-out death is described in *Gyðinga saga* and similar information is found in *Historia scholastica*.³¹⁶ *Gyðinga saga* and 764 also share the scriptural story of the incarceration and beheading of John the Baptist by Herod Antipas.³¹⁷ The wording is similar in the two texts and a Latin source of this information in *Gyðinga saga* has not been identified.³¹⁸ This again suggests that 764 and *Gyðinga saga* may have relied on the same vernacular source.

6.1.3. De infantia salvatoris.

The scribes provide unusually detailed information on the source of the two anecdotes they incorporate into the story of the flight to Egypt: 'Þat verk er kallaz Til Egiptalands vátar sú bók er heitir De infancia salvatoris' (14v5). The work in question is an apocryphal account of Jesus' infancy, the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, frequently known as *Nativitas sanctae Mariae* and (*Liber*) *de infantia salvatoris*. It is a Latin work, partly based on the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, but also including passages from the Bible as well as material from unknown sources. It was composed sometime between the sixth century and the late eighth century, most probably in the first half of the seventh century.³¹⁹ Its author had access to some accounts of Jesus' infancy which included miracles allegedly performed by the boy Jesus on the way from Judea to Egypt. The bulk of the *Pseudo-Matthew Gospel*, however, concerns the conception, birth and childhood of the Virgin Mary and the work became increasingly popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as veneration of the

³¹⁵ *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae (Orðubók)*. Ed. by Lilli Gjerløw. (Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi II.) Oslo 1968, 161.

³¹⁶ *Gyðinga saga*, 154-161, cf. especially 156.5.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.1-4.

³¹⁸ Wolf (ed.), *Gyðinga saga*, xcvi-xcix.

³¹⁹ Jan Gijssels (ed.). *Libri de nativitate Mariae*. Vol. I. (CCSA 9.) Turnhout 1997, 67. Cf. also J.K. Elliott. *The Apocryphal New Testament. A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*. Oxford 1993, 84-86.

Virgin gained ground. The apocryphal stories of Mary and Jesus acquired a place in the history of salvation and were integrated into historical works. The *Pseudo-Matthew Gospel* was thus ensured a wide dissemination.³²⁰ The text was for instance used by Godfrey of Viterbo in his universal chronicle, compiled between 1185 and 1190, and it is interesting that Godfrey's choice of material concerning the life of Christ is very similar to that in 764. Like the compilers of 764 Godfrey places these apocryphal stories in their New Testament context which precedes a treatment of Roman emperors.³²¹

764 contains only three chapters from the *Pseudo-Matthew Gospel*. All are stories of miracles performed by the infant Jesus on the way to Egypt. They are not found in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* or the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*. The chapters are not in the original order in 764 and the text is very free compared to the Latin of the original. It is very likely therefore that it has passed through an intermediary (more than one). A little later in the manuscript we find papal and imperial lists from the chronicle of Martin of Troppau (cf. pp. 194-195). Martin included the same three stories from the *Pseudo-Matthew Gospel* in his chronicle, and in the same order, so the chronicle must be considered the likeliest source for the Icelandic version found in 764. The Icelandic version is considerably fuller than the chronicle-text but the additional material does not seem to stem from the *Pseudo-Matthew Gospel* itself. It is rather the result of the translator's endeavour to stage the events portrayed, adding a dimension of everyday life to the stories.

The first story records how a palm tree yields both food and drink at Jesus' command.

764

... svá sem þau fram komu Maria ok Joseph mjök farmóð undir þann við er palma heitir, taka þau hvíld at þeim svari þar um eina stund. Vár frú Guðsmóðir var þá mjök mædd af löngum veg, kennir hungurs en vistir voru grunnar ok því tekr piltrinn til at neyta síns valds at móður hans hungri eigi ok vísar hendinni upp at eikinni svá sem í þat mark at hon skal lægja sína hæð ok veita liðugan þann ávöxt sem til mannfæðu var á henni vaxinn. Hon hlýðir í stað skaparans boði ok leggr fram koll allt til jarðar. Er þá hægt at lesa þau epli sem til fýsti. Ok at því gervu reisiz hon upp ok réttiz í fyrri náttúru. Undir þeim pálmviði segir sama bók at brunnr hafi upp sprungit með smátt vatn ór

Chronica Martini

Legitur tamen in libro de infancia Salvatoris, quod Ihesu fugiente in Egyptum, cum sub una palma recubuissent, beata virgine matre pueri fame laborante, ad preceptum pueri se palma usque circa terram inclinavit et post collectionem fructus ipsius ad pristinum statum palma se erexit. Et etiam sicente Ioseph ibidem ex precepto pueri Ihesu arida terra fontem produxit.

³²⁰ Rita Beyers. 'Introduction générale aux deux textes édités.' *Libri de nativitate Mariae. Vol. I.* Ed. by Jan Gijssels and Rita Beyers. (CCSA 9.) Turnhout 1997, 25-34.

³²¹ Cf. *ibid.* 26-27.

jörðunni fyrir boðskap hins unga Jesu fyrir bæn Joseph ok nauðsyn þeira farlengðar, því at í þess háttar vegum er þat vatn mjök fágætt at bæði sé mönnum dygt ok fararskjótum. (14v5-15)

Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium³²²

Factum est autem post haec in die tertia profectionis suae ut Maria solis nimio fatigaretur in heremo, et uidens arborem palmae sub umbra eius aliquantulum uellet quiescere. Et festinans Ioseph perduxit eam ad palmam et descendere eam fecit de iumento. Cumque resedisset Maria, respiciens ad comam palmae, uidit eam repletam pomis, et ait: O si possit fieri ut ex istis fructibus palmae perciperem. Et ait Ioseph ad eam: Miror te haec dicere, cum uideas tantam altitudinem palmae huius. Tu quidem de palmae fructibus cogitas. Ego autem de aqua cogito quae nobis iam defecit in utribus, et non habemus unde replere eos aut nos ipsos refocillare.

Tunc infantulus Iesus sedens in sinu matris suae uirginis exclamauit ad palmam et dixit: Flectere, arbor, et de fructibus tuis refice matrem meam. Statim autem ad uocem eius inclinavit palma cacumen suum usque ad plantas Mariae, et colligentes ex ea fructus quos habebat omnes refecti sunt. Postea uero quam collecta sunt omnia poma eius, inclinata manebat, exspectans ut eius imperio surgeret cuius imperio fuerat inclinata. Tunc Iesus dixit ad eam: Erige te, palma, et confortare et esto consors arborum mearum quae sunt in paradiso patris mei. Aperi autem ex radicibus tuis fontes occultantes, et fluant ex eis aquae in satietatem. Et statim erecta est palma, et coeperunt per radices eius fontes aquarum egredi limpidi et frigidi et dulcissimi. Videntes autem fluentes fontes aquarum gauisi sunt gaudio magno et potati una cum iumentis et hominibus gratias agentes deo. (XX.1-2)

The text of the *Chronica Martini* is but a skeleton of the original story whereas the Icelandic translator has tried to put some meat on the bones. Neither text reproduces the direct speech of the original, and the second part of the story, about the well that springs up from under the roots of the tree putting an end to Joseph's worries, is reduced to a summary where it is mentioned that Jesus performed the miracle at Joseph's wish. The Icelandic text then adds a note about the difficulties of obtaining water 'í þess háttar vegum'.

The remaining two anecdotes show how not only plants but also ferocious animals obey the infant Jesus:

764

Nú skal segja annat ævintýr er til bar í ferð þeira. Sem enn líðr lengra veginum koma þau fram eitt kveld fyrir helli nokkurn. Stendr nú nátt at ok er því mál at taka þar gisting. Flytr Joseph fōng þeira inn í hellismunnann ok ætlar þar um at búaz sakir skjóls við hólufall sem þar er gjarnt á náttartíma í þeim löndum. Ok sem hann fæz í starfinu heyra þau signuð María hark ok hvæsingar miklar inn í myrkrít svá at þau óttaz bæði ok því næst skriða fram höggormar

Chronica Martini

Legitur etiam ibidem quod, cum in eodem itinere in ore cuiusdam spelunce hospitati fuissent, ex eadem spelunca duo inmanissimi drachones sunt egressi, ad quorum contuitum dum beata virgo et Ioseph nimio terrore concuterentur, ad preceptum pueri Ihesu drachones cum omni mansuetudine inclinatis capitibus deserta

Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium

Cumque peruenissent ad speluncam quandam ut quasi sub ea refrigarent, descendit Maria de iumento et sedit et habebat Iesum in gremio. Erant autem tres pueri et cum Maria una puella iter agentes. Et ecce subito egressi sunt de spelunca dracones multi, quos uidentes pueri exclamauerunt. Tunc dominus cum esset nondum bimulus excussit se et stans in pedibus stetit ante eos. Illi autem dracones adorauerunt eum et cum adorassent eum abierunt. ... Ipse autem dominus Iesus Christus infantulus deambulabat cum eis ut

³²² The text is text A (upper text) in Gijssel's edition, pp. 449-465.

764
tveir af sinni bygð ok vilja undan láta gestum þessum. En er þeir nálgaz vára frú bendir Jesus með hendi sinni at þeir skuli kunna sín hóf ok fara með engum ofstopa. Þeir gera svá, lægja höfuðit ok lúðra brott til eyðimerkr. Er þá náttbólít frjálst ok óttalaust. (14v16-24)

Chronica Martini
pecierunt

Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium
nullum grauarent. Sed Maria et Ioseph dicebant inter se: Melius est ut nos interficiant isti dracones quam infantem laedant. Quibus Iesus ait: Nolite me considerare quia infantulus sum; ego enim semper uir perfectus fui et sum, et necesse est ut omnia genera ferarum mansuescere faciam. (XVIII.1-2)

In this story *Chronica Martini* simplifies the scenery, omitting as it does the three servants and the maidservant who accompanied the holy family according to the Pseudo-Matthew text. The serpents are now only two but most fierce, and Mary and Joseph are terrified by them. But at the indication of the infant Jesus the serpents acknowledge him and disappear into the desert. The Icelandic text contains essentially the same information but it describes the whole event more vividly, setting the scene carefully. We learn that night is about to fall and that Joseph is busy moving all the luggage into the grotto and preparing a bed inside where the holy family is shielded from frosty dew 'sem þar er gjarnt á náttartíma í þeim löndum' (a comment similar to the one about the water in the first story). Then the serpents emerge, and the Icelandic text lets them be heard before they are seen, thus enhancing the dramatic effect of the scene. The climax of the story, the miracle itself, is also enhanced in the Icelandic version which interprets Jesus' command to the serpents in a delightful way, and the image of the humbled serpents as they 'lægja höfuðit ok lúðra brott til eyðimerkr' provides a fitting conclusion to the story. The Icelandic text then adds an afterthought: 'Er þá náttbólít frjálst ok óttalaust'.

The third anecdote is reduced to one sentence in the chronicle but is expanded in the Icelandic to a version which bears but little resemblance to the original Latin text, although the core image of the story, wild beasts accompanying the holy family, is preserved.

Chronica Martini

et quod etiam unus leo in ipso itinere adueniens usque in Egyptum ipsis obsequiosus fuit

764
Sem þau fara þaðan ok enn líða dagar kærir Joseph nokkut lágliga at farangr þeira þyrfti létta því at eykrinn dregz ok mæðiz bæði af grasleysi ok þorsta. Ok svá brátt gengr einn

Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium
Similiter autem et leones et pardi adorabant et comitabantur eum in deserto quocumque ibat Maria cum Ioseph, atque antecedeabant eos ostendentes uiam et obsequium

764

leo af eyðimörkinni fram á veginn fyrir þau. Hann gefr sik blíðan, breið<i>r bak ok báðar síður ef þau vilja nokkurn létta af honum þiggja. Joseph er þess búinn ok setr upp á þann sterka karlinn hvat er hann hafði til. Fylgir hann þeim síðan nótt ok dag alla leið fram í Egiptaland svá mjúkr ok meinlaus sem einn sauðr. (16v24-30)

Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium

exhibentes, inclinantes capita sua immani cum reuerentia seruitium caudis adulantibus exhibebant ...

Ambulabant ergo simul leones et asini et boues et sagmarii qui eis portabant necessaria, et simul ubi mansio facta esset ad pabulum accedebant. Erant etiam mansueti arietes qui simul de Iudaea exierant et sequebantur, qui et ipsi inter lupos ambulabant sine formidine. Non timebat ullus ullum, et nullus a nullo laedebatur in aliquo ... (XIX.1-2)

The main focus of the Latin text is on the miraculous coexistence of feral animals with other beasts and humans, whereas the Icelandic text betrays more mundane interests. It is poor Joseph who has practical worries which are solved by a miracle.

These anecdotes reflect the appeal stories of the holy family had for medieval audiences. The Gospels did not have much to offer when it came to Jesus' childhood and the everyday life of his family. Scribes and compilers made up for this lack by supplementing the narrative of the Gospels with apocryphal stories which, to judge from 764, were often treated quite freely.

6.1.4. The Letter of Lentulus

Included in the sixth age in 764, albeit not with the Gospel material, is another apocryphal text, describing Jesus' appearance. It seems appropriate to treat that fragment at this point although it means jumping momentarily ahead. The text is placed at the beginning of the papal list which starts at f. 17r34. It is a translation of a Latin text which originated in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and is often referred to as the Letter of Lentulus, since some of its versions are in the form of a letter 'purporting to have been written by a Roman official, Lentulus, at the time of Tiberius Caesar'.³²³ It is the most detailed medieval description of Christ's physical appearance and was widely disseminated. Ernst von Dobschütz examined the various versions of the text and came to the conclusion that those versions which ascribed the text to Lentulus were not in fact the most original ones but were the result of revision during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The original description, he reckoned, was the one

³²³ Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 542.

which cites 'the books of Roman Annals' as its source and found its way into the preface to the *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony.³²⁴ Dobschütz printed this version as his a-text and it is this version which the text in 764 resembles most closely.

Ian McDougall collected and presented examples of Icelandic descriptions of Christ in his PhD dissertation and found several examples of 'letter'-versions in post-medieval manuscripts.³²⁵ But he was also able to point to two manuscripts with texts which correspond to the more original version although he was not aware of the text in 764. The manuscripts which McDougall mentions are AM 81 8vo and AM 124 8vo, both from the seventeenth century.³²⁶ On the basis of the evidence offered by these manuscripts McDougall suggested that the oldest version of the Lentulus letter could 'have been known in Iceland during the early part of the fifteenth century'.³²⁷ The text in 81 and 124 is clearly related to the one in 764 so we are now able to push the date for the appearance of the Lentulus text in Icelandic back several decades.

The text in 764 seems to contain several readings which are more original than those found in 81/124. It has some phrases corresponding to the Latin original which have been eliminated in the later texts. It also agrees with the Latin in the phrase that states that Christ cried a few times but never laughed. The later Icelandic texts claim that Christ cried exactly five times. They do not include this information in its original place but tag it on at the end of the text with a list of the five occasions when Christ allegedly shed tears. Nothing similar is found in the Latin versions cited by Dobschütz.

764 agrees with 81/124 in some other variations on the Latin, mainly in what it says about Christ's hair and his nose and mouth. The Latin simply states that there was nothing at all wrong with his nose and mouth whereas the Icelandic texts describe the nose as straight with appropriate nostrils and mentions that the mouth was maidenlike, 'meyligr'. The remark may simply be a free rendering of the Latin *impueris* as McDougall suggests. McDougall offers

³²⁴ Ernst von Dobschütz. *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*. Leipzig 1899, 326-330.

³²⁵ Ian Cameron McDougall. *Codex Lindesianus: An Old Icelandic Miscellany*. [PhD diss. University College London. 1983], 630-633.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 633 *et passim* Cf. also Mariane Overgaard. 'AM 124 8vo: En islandsk schwank-samling.' *Opuscula VII* (BiblArn XXXIV.) København 1979, 268-317, esp. 304.

³²⁷ McDougall, *Codex Lindesianus*, 635.

two explanations for the inclusion of the remark, not paralleled in the Latin versions, that Christ's hair was never touched by a razor. He suggests on the one hand that the information may be an echo of Nicephorus Callistus' description of Christ, or that the detail was drawn 'through association with the preceding reference to the fashion of the "Nazarenes"...', from Moses' recitation of the law of the Nazarite in Numbers 6:2-5'.³²⁸ It is of course also possible that these details are derived from a version of the Latin Lentulus letter not printed by Dobschütz.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

6.2. Miracles of St Martha.

After the mention of Jesus' resuscitation of Lazarus with a reference to *Speculum ecclesiae* (PL 172, 917) the scribes inserted two miracles of St Martha, based on Vincentius' *Speculum historiale*.³²⁹ A parallel text is found in *Marthe saga ok Marie Magdalene* and it is well-nigh certain that the 764 scribe copied his text from a manuscript of that saga. That is evident from the way he or she introduces the second anecdote, copying first the words 'í þenna tíma bar til' (15v29) directly from the saga before changing them to 'þat bar til' upon realising that 'þenna' lacked an antecedent. The saga is preserved in three manuscripts, AM 233 a fol., Stock. Perg. fol. 2, and AM 235 fol. Unger used the first one as the main text for his edition in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, but the text in 764 seems closer to the other two judging by the variants printed by Unger.³³⁰ They are both dated to the last quarter of the fourteenth century and thus contemporaneous with 764. 764 follows the text of the saga closely to begin with, describing the dragon Taraskonus in detail. The middle of the story, where the menace of the dragon is elaborated upon, is then omitted and the thread picked up again when Martha arrives to fetter the beast. The second anecdote, about Bishop Fronto's vision, is similarly abridged: the vision itself follows the text of the saga quite closely but when the story turns to the fruitless attempts that were made to wake the bishop, 764 skips the text of 10 lines in Unger's edition and states merely that 'þá var byskup vakinn af klerkum' (15r36). The rest of the story is then heavily abbreviated.

The miracle with the dragon was the most prominent of St Martha legends and widely depicted in art.³³¹ There is no record of a church dedicated to St Martha in Iceland nor have images of her been noted. Owing to the role she plays in Scripture as a hostess to Christ (a privilege emphasised in 764, cf. 15v10-11) she was primarily the patron of servants, washerwomen and innkeepers. That she should appeal to women in general is readily understandable, and if 764 was intended for the convent at Reynistaðr the miracles may have been meant to inspire novices.

³²⁹ Cf. Peter Foote (ed.). *Lives of Saints. Perg. Fol. Nr. 2 in the Royal Library, Stockholm.* (EIMF IV.) Copenhagen 1962, 25.

³³⁰ Cf. *HMS I*, 533-535; 542-544.

6.3. The Vision of Elisabeth of Schönau

Following almost immediately on from Bishop Fronto's vision is another vision, that of Elisabeth of Schönau (1129?-1165; the scribe of 764 incorrectly identifies her with Elisabeth of Hungary 1207-1231). Elisabeth's vision was widely propagated, mainly because of the significance it had for Mariology. It was therefore included in compilations like *Speculum historiale* and *Legenda Aurea*.³³² The story seems to have been no less popular in medieval Iceland for a version of it is found in *Mariu saga*³³³ and Arngrímur Brandsson also incorporated it into his account of the life of Bishop Guðmundr 'the good', the so-called *Guðmundar saga D.*³³⁴ The saga was composed sometime between 1343 and Arngrímur's death in 1361 or 1362.³³⁵ The version in *Mariu saga* seems to be derived from the account of the vision found in *Speculum historiale*.³³⁶ That text is somewhat abbreviated compared with the Latin version printed by Le Fèvre in *Liber trium virorum et trium spiritualium virginum*.³³⁷ There is for instance no mention there of Christ descending towards the Virgin and accompanying her into heaven, nor does Elisabeth mention the reason for her asking the Virgin about the ascension as she does in the longer text (*quia de hoc dubie in libris patrum scriptum invenitur*).

The version found in *Guðmundar saga D* and in 764 (16r14-16v17) on the other hand clearly goes back to the more original Latin text. This was noted by Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen who edited the passage from 764 and mentioned that, although the text in 764 is an abbreviated version of the vision, it 'has occasional readings which are superior to those of the manuscripts of the

³³¹ Germaine Maillet. *Sainte Marthe*. Paris 1932, 48-60.

³³² Cf. BHL 5355.

³³³ *Mariu saga. Legender om Jomfru Maria og hendes jærtegn*. Ed. by C.R. Unger. Christiania 1871, 915-917.

³³⁴ *Biskupa sögur gefnar út af hinu íslenska bókmentafélagi*. II. Kaupmannahöfn 1878, 151-154. Cf. Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen. 'An Old Norse Translation of the "Transitus Mariae".' *Medieval Studies* 23 (1961), 326-327.

³³⁵ Stefán Karlsson. 'Guðmundar sögur biskups: Authorial viewpoints and methods.' *The sixth international saga conference. Workshop papers II*. København 1985, 999-1002.

³³⁶ Vincentius Bellovacencis. *Speculum maius. Tomus IV. Speculum historiale*. Douai 1624, Lib. VII, cap. 80.

³³⁷ *Liber trium virorum et trium spiritualium virginum*. Ed. by Jacques Le Fèvre. Paris 1513, fol. 138v-139r.

Guðmundar saga, as may be seen from a comparison with the Latin original'.³³⁸

They offered one example of such reading:

it is recorded here [i.e. in 764] that Mary died on August 15 ... and that her body was caught up to heaven forty days afterwards (i.e. September 23, ix kal. Octobris), whereas all the manuscripts of the *Guðmundar saga* write Septembris instead of Octobris.³³⁹

The reading *kal. Septembris* is also found in *Speculum historiale*. That work is referred to by Arngrímr the author of *Guðmundar saga D*, for instance in his commentary following the vision. Since *Speculum historiale* cannot be the main source of the vision-text in *Guðmundar saga D*, according to Widding and Bekker-Nielsen, the story of Elisabeth and her vision must have reached Iceland through other channels as well. The saga offers its own account of the text's provenance, according to which Bishop Guðmundr had asked a Norwegian brother in Christ to inform him if he received 'sanna vissu af upprisum birtingu várrar frú'.³⁴⁰ Guðmundr then gets a letter from the cleric containing the vision of Elisabeth. Arngrímr presents the letter from the Norwegian cleric as *bona fide* and it is clear from his words that he does not attribute the text of the vision itself to *Speculum historiale*, although he refers to it in his commentary. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the error in *Guðmundar saga D* is due to influence from *Speculum historiale* but that the vision itself had a different source, a source which 764 shares with the saga.

There are six vellum manuscripts of *Guðmundar saga D* extant, but only one of them, Stock. Perg. fol. 5, is complete. Of these AM 219 fol. has been found to preserve the best text. A fragment of a seventh vellum codex exists, and two paper manuscripts from the seventeenth century (AM 397 4to and 398 4to) have been shown to be copies of an eighth, a manuscript from c. 1400 which was probably lost in the fire in Copenhagen in 1728. That lost codex was in all likelihood descended from 219.³⁴¹ In the edition of *Guðmundar saga D*, which is being prepared by Stefán Karlsson and Aðalsteinn Eyþórsson, AM 219 fol.

³³⁸ Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen. 'Elisabeth of Schönau's Visions in an Old Icelandic Manuscript, AM 764, 4°.' *Opuscula* II.1 (BiblArn XXV.1.) København 1961, 94.

³³⁹ Widding and Bekker-Nielsen, 'An Old Norse Translation', 327. *Mariu saga* has kal. Octobris, cf. 917.4.

³⁴⁰ *Biskupa sögur gefnar út af hinu íslenska bókmentafélagi* I. Kaupmannahöfn 1858, 150.33.

³⁴¹ Stefán Karlsson. 'Um handrit að Guðmundar sögu bróður Arngríms.' *Opuscula* I. (BiblArn XX.) København 1960, 189.

provides the main text but 397 is used where 219 is defective. That turns out to be the case with Elisabeth's vision.

The vision as told in *Guðmundar saga* and 764 has been somewhat adapted. In the Latin text it follows another work attributed to Elisabeth called *Liber Viarum Dei*, which she claims was dictated to her by an angel who visited her frequently. That same angel plays a part in the vision of the assumption and since the Icelandic text omits everything that precedes the vision, both Elisabeth and the angel need an introduction of sorts. The saga solves the matter thus:

Þá er liðit var frá hingatburð várs herra, Jesú Kristi, þúsund hundrað fimmtigir ok tvau ár, á dögum postuligs herra Evgenii páfa *secundi* var ein nunna, Elisabeth at nafni, í því klaustri er Skonogia heitir ok liggr undir Treveris borg á Saxlandi. Yfir þeim lifnaði var sú abbadís er Hildilín heitir, vel geymandi þat er hon hafði til stjórnar tekit af guðs hálfu. Fyrnefnd systir Elisabeth hafði ellifu ára gömul í klaustr gengit og lifði svá dýrðliga sem allsvaldandi guð ok hans blessaða móðir virðusk bæði vitni um bera því at þann tíma sem þessi nunna hafði lifat í klaustri önnur ellifu ár, hafandi tvá vetr um tvítugt, auðgaði guð hana svá óvirðanligri huggan at heilög guðsmóðir Mária birtisk henni optliga, talandi með hana ýmissar greinir ok skynsemðir heilagra ritninga. Hér með birtisk henni enn optligar einn guðs engill, sá er vandisk at læra hana af einkanligri speki. Kenndi hon þenna engil jafnan inn sama til sín komanda sem sannan vin ok kæran féлага. Ok er hon blómgaðisk með þvílíkum gjöfum, stundar hon því frammar at líka guði sem bezt í öllum hlutum, geymandi sitt lítillæti með góðum verkum.

Ok þat gerisk, sem hon skilr at vár frú, guðs móðir Mária, virðisk hennar optligar at vitja, at hon segir leyniliga einum andaligum feðr sínum þar í klaustranum, hverr henni gefr þat ráð at spyrja nøkkurs dróttningina þá er hon birtisk henni næsta sinni. Systirin segisk þess vilja spyrja sem inn gamli maðr vill henni ráð til gefa.

Hann segir: „Þat bið ek, dóttir mín, at þú spyrir hana hvárt hon hafi af dauða risit ok lifi nú með guði bæði með önd ok líkama.”³⁴²

The introduction in 764 is much shorter but nevertheless evidently depends on a text similar to that of the saga (the confusion about Elisabeth's identity is presumably the scribe's blunder):

Elisabeth dóttir konungs af Ungaria gekk í klaustr xi vetra gömul. Lifði hon stórum heilagliga ok er hon hafði lifat í klaustri xi ár birtiz henni guðs móðir ofliga, talandi með henni ýmissar greinir heilagra ritninga. Hér með birtiz henni einn guðs engill, sá <er> vandiz til hana at læra af guðligri speki. Kenndi hon þenna engil æ hinn sama til sín komanda sem sannan vin ok kæran féлага. Ok er hon blómgaz þvílíkum gjöfum stundar hon því frammar at líka guði sem bezt í öllum hlutum, geymandi satt lítillæti með góðum verkum. Ok þat geriz síðan hon skilr at Mária guðs móðir virðiz hennar optliga at vitja, hvat hon segir leyniliga sínum andaligum feðr þar í klaustrinu hver henni gefur þat ráð at spyrja drotningina nukkurs þá hon birtiz henni næsta sinn. Hon segiz þess vilja spyrja sem hinn gamli maðr vill henni ráð til gefa. Þess bið ek dóttir mín at þú spyrir hana hvárt hon hafi af dauða risit ok lifi nú með guði með önd ok líkama. (16r17-22)

³⁴² The text is that prepared by Stefán and Aðalsteinn for Íslenzk fornrit. I am grateful to them for making it available to me. Cf. *Biskupa sögur* II, 151.

Guðmundar saga and 764 thus turn the story into a third person narrative whereas the original purports to be Elisabeth's own narration. The first person narrative is preserved in *Speculum historiale* and consequently in *Mariú saga*. After the introduction the *Guðmundar saga*/764 version follows the Latin version closely but the text in 764 is considerably shorter since it breaks off at 16v17 after the angel has told Elisabeth on which day Mary was resurrected.³⁴³ *Guðmundar saga* D contains the whole story.

The text in 764 agrees on the whole well with the text of the saga. 764 readings moreover usually agree with 397 against variants in Stock. Perg. 5 although there are instances of 764 agreeing with the latter against 397, as in the following example:

<p>764 Í þeiri vitran sýndi guð þér hversu sancta María var upp numin bæði með önd ok líkam (16v12-13)</p>	<p>Guðmundar saga D Sú vitran* er guð veitti þér, birtir** þat auðsýniliga hversu vár drottning, sancta Mária, var uppnumin til himinríkis bæði samt með önd ok líkama * í þessi vitran – Stock. Perg. 5 ** birtiz – Stock. Perg. 5</p>	<p>Liber trium virorum Ostensum est tibi in hac visione, quomodo tam carne quam spiritu domina nostra in coelum assumpta est.</p>
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The rendering in 764 and Stock. Perg 5 of the beginning of the sentence seems closer to the original than 397. The example also shows the tendency in 764 to shorten the text. The scribe has here left out the words 'til himinríkis' which are almost certainly original in the Icelandic, translating the *in coelum* of the Latin. This tendency to abbreviate lands the scribe in difficulties towards the end of the vision in 764 where he/she shortens the text so drastically that the utterances of the angel and Elisabeth get mixed up (16v14-17.)

The text in 764 is thus not identical with any of the extant *Guðmundar saga* texts and should be taken into account when editing the work, since it may retain original readings which have been modified in manuscripts of the saga. It is however more often the case that 764 agrees with the saga in its embellishments of the text. Whether the Latin original used by the Icelandic translator contained a more elaborate text than the one printed by Le Fèvre or whether the augmentation was the translator's (or a copyist's) own doing cannot be determined. The interim conclusion about the relationship between the 764 text and that of *Guðmundar saga* D must remain this: Arngrímr and the scribe of

³⁴³ Cf. *Biskupa sögur* I, 153.18; *Liber trium virorum* 139r.8.

764 made use of a similar text of the Elisabeth vision which had been furnished with an introduction and expanded somewhat, compared with the printed Latin version. Arngrímur then seems to have embellished the text further, which is entirely consistent with his stylistic preferences.³⁴⁴

The possible significance of this text for a house of nuns like that at Reynistaðr would be twofold. First, Elisabeth's vision must have appealed to women who were Benedictine nuns like her. Second, the assumption of the Virgin was an important theological issue and had attracted some controversy. This is illustrated in the story which centres on the desire on the part of Elisabeth and the monk whom she confides in to know with certainty whether the Virgin was assumed into heaven, and more particularly, whether she was resurrected in both body and spirit. The assumption of the BVM did not become a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church until 1950,³⁴⁵ but the feast of the assumption has been celebrated in some regions since the sixth century.³⁴⁶ The wide dissemination of the vision of Elisabeth of Schönau and similar anecdotes testifies to the importance of the event in the hearts and minds of people, but it is also evidence of changing views towards the assumption. Until the beginning of the twelfth century the belief of Mary's *bodily* assumption had been opposed by authoritative writers of the Western Church, but as Marian devotion gained ground, so advocates of the bodily assumption increased in number.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Stefán Karlsson, 'Guðmundar sögur biskups', 1002-1003.

³⁴⁵ Hilda Graef. *Mary: A history of doctrine and devotion*. 2nd ed. London 1985, II 146-148.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Graef, *Mary*, I 133-134, 142-143.

³⁴⁷ Graef, *Mary*, I 233, 236, 240-250, 273, 278, 296. Cf. also Kari Børresen. 'Birgittas teologi: eksemplarisk intensjon, uanvendelig innhold.' *Birgitta, hendes værk og hendes klostre i Norden*. Ed. by Tore Nyberg. Odense 1991, 48-50.

7. Aetas VI: After Christ

7.1. The apostles.

After the passion of Christ the story follows the apostles as well as Mary. The scribes include four items from Acts: Pentecost, the names of the seven deacons consecrated by the apostles, the fate of Stephen protomartyr and finally the beheading of James the Great and the incarceration of Peter (cf. Table 3, p. 191). Pentecost is of obvious significance but the rest of the material included bears witness to the emphasis the compilers put on names and lists of names. After naming the deacons and describing the fate of Stephen, James and Peter the scribes turn to the assumption of St Mary, but return to the apostles on f. 16v17. The information there centres on the death of each apostle. Lists of the same kind are known from other Icelandic sources, namely Stock. Perg. fol. 5 and AM 660 4to, and were edited by Peter Foote.³⁴⁸ These ‘postolatöl’ are modelled on Latin lists of the apostles found in martyrologies and miscellanies, where ‘there is much variety in the quantity and detail of the information offered’ as Foote points out, though the core remains the same.³⁴⁹ This is equally true of the three Icelandic texts. 660 presents the shortest text and Stock Perg. 5 the longest. No two texts appear on the surface to have the same selection of names — although on closer inspection the selection in 764 turns out to match that of Stock. Perg. 5 — and the order in which they are presented is not the same.

The order of the apostles on f. 16v17-27 in 764 is as follows: Peter, Paul, Andrew, James the Lesser, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, Simon, Judas (Thaddaeus) and Matthias. It would appear that the sons of Zebedee have been left out altogether. But that is not the whole story because their respective deaths are in fact described elsewhere in the chronicle. James’ death at the hands of Herod is scriptural and mentioned in the brief fragment from Acts on f. 16r13-14, where it is specified that James was beheaded, a detailed not included in the Vulgate. John was immersed in hot oil under Emperor Domitian so the scribes of 764 entered this piece of information at the correct place in their list of emperors

³⁴⁸ Peter Foote. ‘Postulatal.’ *Minjar og menntir. Afmælisrit helgað Kristjáni Eldjárni 6. desember 1976*. Ed. by Guðni Kolbeinsson. Reykjavík 1976, 152-173.

(19v31-32). The comment about John is not included in the *Chronica Martini* which is the source for the imperial list so it was almost certainly the scribes' own idea to enter it there. (It is admittedly curious that they did not do the same with Peter and Bartholomew who are both associated with Roman emperors in the 'postolatal' in 764.) It is thus likely that the list of apostles which the scribes of 764 copied contained the sons of Zebedee but that James was dropped because his death had already been recorded and John was moved so as to join his tormentor. An alternative hypothesis may nevertheless be advanced. Since 764 elsewhere contains material from *Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jakobs* it is conceivable that the 'postolatal' also derived from a manuscript of that saga and that John and James were left out because their deaths were inevitably treated more fully elsewhere in the saga. The existing manuscripts of *TvpJJ*, however, do not give an account of the death of the apostles,³⁵⁰ so this explanation for the exclusion of John and James in 764 must be considered less attractive than the one offered above.

For the sake of comparison John and James have been added to the 764 'postulatal' proper in the summary in Table 3. The texts of 660 and Stock Perg. 5 was printed by Foote. The text of Stock. Perg. 5 is considerably fuller than either that of 660 and 764 and will not be reproduced in full here, nor will all the analogues identified by Foote be recounted.

The order is the same, as can be seen, in 660 and 764 except that 660 does not include Mathias at the end. Stock. Perg. 5 does, but there Thomas is shifted from no. 9 to no. 12.³⁵¹ The accompanying text mentions that he was 'á

³⁴⁹ Foote, 'Postulatal', 156.

³⁵⁰ Only a brief list is given, cf. *Postola sögur* 545.5-546.3.

³⁵¹ On the variations in order cf. Foote, 'Postulatal', 156-158. The apostles were also addressed in private prayer as is witnessed by the manuscript AM 241 a fol. where the order is the same as in 764 except that Bartholomew and Thomas are reversed. Cf. *Liturgica Islandica I. Text*. Ed. by Lilli Gjerløw. (BiblArn XXXV.) Copenhagen 1980, 187. In that source James Z. precedes John but we cannot know whether that was the case in the text the scribes of 764 were copying.

764	660	Stock Perg 5
En eftir uppstigning guðs xxx árum ok vij voru þeir pínir Petrus ok Paulus. Var hann hálshöggvinn en Petrus krossfestur í Rómaborg af Nerone keisara.	Petrus ok Paulus voru pínir j Romaborg. var Petrus krossfestur. en Paulus hoggvinn	Petrus ok Paulus ... voru pínir j Roma borg. undir valldi Nereoni keisara. Petrus var krossfestur ... Paulus var hogginn utan borgar áá hinum sama degi ...
Andreas krossfestur í Akara í Grikklandi af Egea jarli.	Andreas brodir Petri var ok krossfestur j borg þeiri er Patras heitir a Achialandi.	Andres postoli uar krossfestur j borg þeire er Pátrás heitir. hon stendr aa Bolgara lande. þar er Eingils nes. heitir. hann uar pindr undir uallde Egéé jarls ...
(Hann [Domicianus] lét setja Jón postola í ketil vellanda viðsmjör.)	Johannes ewangelista var vpp nvminn a Asialandi j Effeso borg.	Jon postoli ok gudzspialla madr var upp numinn medr himnesku liose ut j Asia landi. j borg þeire er Effessus heitir... hitt var fyr er hann var settr j uið smior uellanda. j Romaborg at Raaði Domitiani keisara ...
(nukkuru síðar var Jacobus bróðir Johannis hálshöggvinn móti páskum en Petrus settr í myrkvastofu af sama Herode litlu síðar)	Jacobus brodir Johannis var hoggvinn j Galilea j ríki Herodes hins þridia.	Jacobus postoli. brodir Jons postola ... var hogginn j Galilea heradi. undir valldi Herodis konungs.
Jacobus yngri var byskup xxx ára at Jórsölum. Hann var grýttur en síðar sleginn í höfuð með þvátara barvífl.	Jacobus annar brodir drottins vars hann var lostinn med vífl. j Jorsolum. a kirkiu þa er hann taldi tru fyrir folki.	Jacobus postoli er brodir drottins er kalladr. hann var lostinn med valkara sticku j hofud. eða baruífl. af gydingi einum j Jorsala borg. þa er postolinn stoð. yfir uindskeið musterissins. ok bodadi þatann nafn drottins Jesus Christus
Á sama degi var Philippus krossfestur í Asia ok bundinn á krossinn. Þá hafði hann lxxx ok vij ár. ij dætr hans helgar voru grafnar á sína hönd honum hvár.	Philippus a Tídialandi var grioti bardr a krossi ok vpp nvminn.	Philippus postoli uar krossfestur. ok barðr grioti. af heidnum monnum j borg þeire. er Jerapoli heitir. hon stendr ut j Frigialandi. þar uar hann grafinn med rettu licki ok postoligre dyrð.
Bartholomeus fleginn kvíkr af Astrige konungi á Indialandi ok síðaz hálshögginn ok fluttr eftir tíma í Beneventum en þaðan fluttiz hann af Ottone keisara ok færði helgan dóm postulans til eyar þeirar er liggr nærr Rómaborg ok geymiz þar.	Bartholomeus var pindr flegin hvdin med hnifi ok hoggvinn sidan a envyzsta Indialandi	Bartholomeus postoli. hann var aa hinu yzta India landi. ... hann uar pindr at bodi Astriges konungs. hann uar kuíkr fleginn. enn síðann uar hann hoGinn. fyrir guðs sakir
Á næsta Indialandi var Tomas laginn í gegnum með sverði af byskupi sólarhofs.	Thomas var hoggvinn a avdrv India landi med sverdi.	Matheus ... var j borg þeire er Naddaber heitir aa Blaalandi ... hann uar pindr undir ualldi Hartacus konungs. ok uar med sverði stangaðr aa baki ...
Matheus var laginn í gegnum á bak með sverði á Blálandi af Hirtaco	Matheus a Ethiopialandi i borg Nadaber hann var pindr ok hoggvinn	Simun ok Judas ... voru aa Serk landi ... þeir voru pínir af blot byskupum. þeim er faur gerðu at þeim. eptir aaeggian ok fortalum þeira hinna fiolkyngu Zaroess ok AArphaxaath
Simon ok Judas voru lagðir í gegnum með kesju á Persialandi.	Simon ok Jvdas vorv bardir med kylfvum a Kaldealandi. en færdir sidan j Babilonem	Thomas postoli uar aa hinu næsta India landi ... þat uarð efz vm þenna postola guðs. at blotbyskup einn gerdi for at postolanum j solar hofi. ok lagdi postolann <i>jgðgnum</i> med sverdi ...
Mathias var pindr í Judea, fyrst grýttur en síðan drepinn með exi.		Mathias ... var lutadr j stað Judas Skarioth. en hann for med pislar dyrð heðann af heimum ...

hinu næsta India landi'. Since Bartholomew is said to have preached 'á inu yzta India landi' it would seem natural for the clause about Thomas to follow immediately, the way it does in 764.³⁵² The order in 764 therefore seems to be more original.

Much of the information on each apostle in 764 has its counterpart in the other manuscripts, especially Stock. Perg. 5. There are some interesting divergences however. The first one occurs in the entry on Andrew where both 660 and Stock. Perg. 5 mention that the apostle was crucified in the city of Patras. 660 states that this place is in 'Achia land' whereas Stock Perg. 5 gives the Norse name for Achia, Engilsnes, and says that it is in 'Bolgara land'. Although 764 incorrectly has 'Akara' instead of 'Akaia', the scribe has added 'í Grikklandi' in the margin and thus provides a more accurate placement of the province which is on the Peloponnesus.³⁵³

764 says about James the Lesser that he was first stoned and then hit with a fuller's bat. The stoning has no parallel in the other manuscripts nor in the legend, but *Chronica Martini* mentions under the entry on emperor Nero that James '*primo a Iudeis lapidatur, post pertica fullonis excerebratus occubuit*'.³⁵⁴ The scribes of 764 may have modified their copy to include this information.

The entry on Philip contains a detail, typical of 764 and its interest in holy women, where it is mentioned that his two daughters, 'helgar', were buried with him. A parallel is found in *Philippus saga*:

Þar voru í borginni dótr postolans tvær, helgar nunnur ok dyrligar, ok hafði hvartveggja þeira mikla meyasveit með ser, þær er guði þionuðu í sífellu. En er postolinn var sva gamall at hann hafði siau vetr ens niunda tigar, þa kalladi hann til sin klerka ok kennimenn ok byskupa þar nálægra borga, ok sagði þeim skammar mundu eptir lífstundir sinar, en bað þa gæta vandliga guðs boðorða ok sinna kenninga. Segia sva helgar bœkr, at þa kœmi þar heiðnir menn með ofriði miklum ok *hõndluðu* postolann ok dœmdu hann þegar til líflatz, ok var hann síðan krossfestr, ok gryttu þeir hann síðan a krossinum, ... Ok þa er dótr hans onduðuz, þa voru þær hia *honum grafnar, a sina hõnd hvar*.³⁵⁵

The text in *Philippus saga* I represents one of two divergent accounts of the apostle's death. According to the other tradition which is followed in *Philippus*

³⁵² Cf. also Foote, 'Postulatal, 166-167.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 159-160.

³⁵⁴ Martinus Oppaviensis. *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*. Ed. by Ludwig Weiland. *MGH SS* 22. Hannover 1872, 445.1-2.

³⁵⁵ *Postola sögur*, 737.14-27

saga II he died naturally.³⁵⁶ His daughters, and their burial at his side, are mentioned in both accounts.³⁵⁷ The statement in 764 that Philip was tied to the cross may be a simple error ('bundinn' possibly a misreading for 'barinn' cf. 'barðr grioti'?) or it could have come about through a confusion with Andrew about whom 'sources ... generally emphasize that he was tied to his cross'.³⁵⁸ The beginning of the sentence, 'Á sama degi', is probably a straightforward addition.

The three Icelandic texts give very dissimilar accounts of the fate of Simon and Judas Thaddeus. Stock. Perg. 5 adheres to the tradition found in the Latin *passio* of those two saints which describes how they chose martyrdom when set upon by priests and their mob in a temple.³⁵⁹ The claim in 764 that Simon and Judas were killed with a lance does not seem to be paralleled in the best known martyrologies.³⁶⁰

764 is the only text of the three which specifies how Mathias was killed. Legends about Mathias were later in developing than those of the other apostles and the information that he was stoned and then beheaded is found in a late source, the so-called Mathias-legend from Trier.³⁶¹

7.2. Revenge upon the Jews: De bello Judaico

After cataloguing the ordeals suffered by the apostles the story turns to what the text terms 'ódæmilig hefnd yfir gyðingum' on account of their murder of Jesus. The narrative is here made up of sections from Book 6 of Josephus' *De bello Judaico* and records events that happened shortly before Jerusalem fell to the Romans in AD 70. There are ominous portents: an unusually bright star is seen above the city, a cow bears a lamb, a door in the temple bursts open, battle hosts are seen in the sky etc. (16v28-17r4 cf. BJ 6.V.iii). And there is also a horrid story which illustrates the famine that raged within the city: A woman takes her

³⁵⁶ Cf. Foote, 'Postulatal', 163-164

³⁵⁷ Cf. *Postola sögur*,. 741.27-37.

³⁵⁸ Foote, 'Postulatal', 159.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Richard Adelbert Lipsius. *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*. Braunschweig 1883-90, III.168.

³⁶⁰ E.g. *Le martyrologie d'Adon*. Ed. by Jacques Dubois and Geneviève Renaud. Paris 1984; *Le martyrologie d'Usuard*. Ed. by Jacques Dubois. Bruxelles 1965; Rabanus Maurus. *Martyrologium*. Ed. by John McCulloch. (CCCM 44.) Turnhout 1979.

own baby, cooks and eats it (17r10-15 cf. BJ 6.III.iv). 764 finally gives a brief account of the fate of the Jews once the city had fallen and refers to Josephus 'sagnamaðr' (17r15-21 cf. BJ 6.IX.ii-iii).

De bello Judaico was translated into Latin already in the fourth century. Two versions exist, a relatively free rendering labelled Hegesippus and a more accurate version ascribed to Rufinus Aquilensis.³⁶² The text in 764 is but a series of fragments of course. It nevertheless follows the original quite closely in the first part where the omens are described.³⁶³ The story of the cannibalistic woman is much shortened,³⁶⁴ and so is the last section where the numbers of those killed and enslaved are somewhat confused.³⁶⁵

Little is known about the reception of Josephus in Iceland. Parts I-II of *Gyðinga saga* contain material found in the *Antiquitates Judaicae* and *De bello Judaico*, but it is in some cases doubtful whether it was derived directly from a Latin translation of Josephus or through an intermediary like *Historia scholastica*.³⁶⁶ *Historia scholastica* cannot be the source for the *De bello Judaico* material in 764 since Petrus Comestor only goes down to the time of Nero. The question whether the *De bello Judaico* passages in 764 were introduced in Iceland through another compendium, or whether a more extensive Icelandic translation of Josephus existed in the fourteenth century, cannot for the present be answered.

7.3. Popes and Emperors

7 3.1. Chronica Martini

Ff. 17v15-20v8 are taken up by a papal list down to Clement IV followed by a list of emperors from Julius Caesar to Frederick II. These lists are derived from a work by the Dominican Martin of Troppau, *Chronicon pontificum et*

³⁶¹ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, III.264-266.

³⁶² *LdM V*, 634-635.

³⁶³ Cf. Flavius Josephus. *De bello Judaico libri septem*. Ed. by Edward Cardwell. Oxford 1837. Vol. I, 343-345.

³⁶⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 336-337.

³⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 354-355.

³⁶⁶ Wolf (ed.), *Gyðinga saga*, xc-xcvi.

imperatorum.³⁶⁷ The chronicle was put together sometime after the death of Pope Clement IV, 29 November 1270, but before Gregory X was elected pope on 1 September 1271. There are three versions extant of the work, one of them (C) characterised by the addition to the list of subsequent popes, down to John XXI.³⁶⁸ The list in 764 ends with Clement IV and thus clearly goes back to one of the two older versions (A and B). Version A has the shortest text and 764 seems to be derived from the B-version into which short anecdotes about the popes are interpolated. Some of this interpolated material is found in 764 despite the radical abridgement of the original which otherwise characterises the text. In addition to interpolations which are original in the B-version, 764 contains a few insertions which have a different source. The longest of these are an anecdote about Pope Gregory the Great on f. 18 bis and a few stanzas against Pope Innocent III and his enforcement of the rule of celibacy (19v3-15). These will be treated below.

Papal and imperial lists are known in other Icelandic manuscripts but have not been the subject of much research. An exception to that rule are lists of emperors, popes, patriarchs and abbots which formed parts of the so-called *Membrana Reseniana 6*, a thirteenth-century miscellany which was lost in the fire of 1728 in Copenhagen. A copy of the lists and some other material in the manuscript was made in 1640 and is now preserved in Uppsala (DG 36). Stefán Karlsson has shown that the lists in *Membr. Res. 6* (with the exception of the patriarchs) belong to a Montecassian tradition.³⁶⁹ They thus have a different source from the ones in 764 and as is to be expected the two texts differ considerably.

The *Chronica Martini* became a popular work and widely used. It provided a source for writers of other chronicles already in the thirteenth century and the fourteenth century saw its translation into German, Italian, French³⁷⁰ — and Icelandic. A more precise date for the Icelandic translation can hardly be

³⁶⁷ Martinus Oppaviensis. *Chronicon*, 377-475. I am grateful to Stefán Karlsson for having identified this source.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 383-384.

³⁶⁹ Stefán Karlsson. 'Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar.' *Sturlustefna. Ráðstefna haldin á sjö alda ártíð Sturlu Þórðarsonar sagnaritara 1984*. Ed. by Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir and Jónas Kristjánsson. Reykjavík 1988, 37-42.

³⁷⁰ Ludwig Weiland (ed.). *Martini Oppaviensis chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*. MGH SS 22. Hannover 1872, 394-395.

given. It was mentioned above that the Icelandic text goes back to a version which had not been expanded with the names of Clement IV's successors. That in itself does not necessarily indicate that the chronicle came to Iceland early on. It is however perhaps a bit peculiar that the scribe who copied the lists in 764 does not seem to have had any knowledge of popes after Clement's death, for he/she writes: 'hér gefu vér upp fyrst páfatal því at vér höfum eigi framar fundit in scriptis. En þá er vér finnum héðan af skulu skrifaz síðar í annálnum' (19v18-20).

7.3.2. Gregory the Great

The text on Pope Gregory is written on a slip which is inserted after f. 18. The hand on this slip (J) does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript. The text first describes a flood in the Tiber which happened in the days of Pope Pelagius. It then contains a miracle of St Gregory which is supposed to have occurred in the days of his successor, Pope Sabinian.

The story of the flood in the Tiber seems to have been well known in the Middle Ages and found its way into various chronicles. The *Chronica Martini* includes it in its entry on Pope Pelagius for he died of the plague which accompanied the disaster. The text in 764 is considerably amplified compared with the chronicle and seems to rely on a different version of the story. The amplifications are stylistic but also contain extra material since in 764 St Gregory is brought into the story and a Marian miracle involving him is attached at the end. The story of the flood is treated in *Gregorius saga* in Stock. Perg. fol. 2 which provides a much closer parallel to 764 than the *Chronica Martini* does.³⁷¹ The progression of the story is much the same in 764 and Stock. Perg. 2, but verbal differences are considerable. According to Peter Foote, the Stock. Perg. 2 version of *Gregorius saga* is 'a conflation of excerpts, often much abridged, from the *Vita Gregorii* auct. Johanne diacono, BHL 3641 ... and the version BHL 3640 of the earlier life by Paul the Deacon'.³⁷² Parts of the material are common to both texts. The text in 764 contains a significant addition to the text as it

³⁷¹ Cf. *HMS I*, 387.1-389.24. There exist fragments of another text of *Gregorius saga*, but they do not include the passages in question, cf. *The Life of St. Gregory and his Dialogues. Fragments of an Icelandic manuscript from the 13th century*. Ed. by Hreinn Benediktsson. (EdArn B4). Copenhagen 1963, 51-52.

³⁷² Foote (ed.), *Lives of Saints*, 22-23.

appears in Stock. Perg. 2, namely a description of the litany which Pope Gregory is said to have instigated. and which came to be celebrated annually as the Greater or Roman Rogation (Gangdagr hinn eini, 25 April).³⁷³ The ultimate source for that passage is Gregory of Tours' *Decem libri historiarum*, but the information was included in the *vita* by John the Deacon.³⁷⁴ It is not found in the *vita* by Paul. There does not, on the other hand, appear to be any material in 764 which is included by Paul but not by John.

As was mentioned above the text in 764 differs considerably from that in Stock. Perg. 2. The vocabulary is not the same nor is the style similar; 764 seems more elaborate. This is illustrated by the following example:

764

Hér fylgði þat, sem hon brauz annan veg út af borginni ok leitaði sjóvar, at hon skolar í brott ór jarðar holum mikinn fjölða höggorma ok þar með einn dreka svá mikinn at vexti sem einn stokkr væri. Þetta allt samt flytr hon ok fleygir út í sjó. En þann tíma sem hafbáran ríss í móti kastar hon þessu upp á sanda tveim megum með árósinum. Var þá eigi langt áðr sólarhiti steikti þau herfiligu hræ. Gekk þar af forvindis svá ópolligr snykr at þat var dauðligt hverju lífi. Loftið dimmaðiz ok sýndi sik með beiskri hrygð... (18b19-17)

Gregorius saga

Þa flaut fioldi *höggorma* eptir aanni ofan, þa er skolat hafdi ur urdum her ok hvar, ok þar var dreki einn sva mikill, sem ass digr væri; þat fylgdi allt aarvextinum i sio. En er ormarner kvomu i sioenn, þa do þeir allir þar. Sidan giðrði aa hafvidri, ok rak þa alla aa land. En er þeir funudu, þa giðrði þar af odaunan mikit. Þa kom sott mikil i Romaborg, ok feingu menn bradan dauda, þeir er forvindis urdu. (HMS I 387.4-11)

The last sentence in 764 is paralleled in BHL 3641: *totum aerem corruperunt*.³⁷⁵

The fragment AM 238 fol. X contains a text from *Gregorius saga* on f. 2v. It was edited by Kirsten Wolf who argued that the text was not related to Stock. Perg. 2. She suggested that it was rather an independent translation of the *vita* by John the Deacon since 238 contains none of the additions from Paul's *vita* which are included in Stock. Perg. 2.³⁷⁶ 238 is dated to the fourteenth century, possibly its first half. Little is known of its history except that Árni Magnússon obtained it in 1721 from the then schoolmaster at Hólar.³⁷⁷ It is thus plausible that a translation was made of the *Vita Gregorii auct. Johanne diacono* in the early fourteenth century and that it circulated in Skagafjörður where it came to be used as a source for the addition to the papal list in 764. It should also be noted

³⁷³ Peter Jeffrey. 'Litany.' *DMA* 7, 592.

³⁷⁴ AS Martii XII, 143F.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 142F.

³⁷⁶ Kirsten Wolf. 'A Fragment of a Gregorius saga in AM 238 fol. X.' *Opuscula* IX. (BiblArn XXXIX.) København 1991, 100-107.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

that the scribe (or the translator) seems to have a tendency to amplify the text slightly to increase its effect. The sentence, 'Var þá eigi langt áðr sólarhiti steikti þau herfiligu hræ' (18bisr14-15), does not, for instance, have a direct parallel in the Latin text (*sed suffocatae bestiae inter salsos maris turbidissimi fluctus sine mora in littore deciderunt suaque putredine*).

The Marian miracle, which in 764 is incorporated into the story of the litany, is not found in *Gregorius saga* (nor in the Latin *vitae*). It survives however in two collections of Marian miracles, the so called S and D collections.³⁷⁸ The text in 764 is shortened so it is hard to tell which of the two versions it resembles more closely.

The scribe responsible for f. 18bis in 764 seems to have taken the *Chronica Martini* as a cue, as it were, for including a shortened version of the Tiber-story taken from a life of St Gregory, adding the Marian miracle to it in an abbreviated form. He or she then concludes with the remark that 'í þessa minning er nú hefir verið lesin er haldinn gagndagr hinn eini' (18bisv13-14), followed by a reference to the papal list ('Varð þessi oftnefndr Gregorius páfi í Roma sem catalogus segir' 18bisv14)).

The miracle which follows, where St Gregory visits his successor from beyond the grave and does away with him, is included in the *Chronica Martini* under the entry on Sabinian but does not have a parallel in the Latin lives of St Gregory or in the Icelandic *Gregorius saga*. The text in 764 is amplified compared with the chronicle which relates the story thus:

Hic cum beato Gregorio pape post mortem derogaret et maxime ipsius liberalitati, et propter hoc egenis manum adiutricem subtraheret, sanctus Gregorius ipsum ter per visum pro culpa redarguens et quarto, cum se corrigere nollet, in capite percussit, quo tactu etiam evigilans vexatus in capite expiravit. (422.26-29)

The Icelandic text dramatises the story, introducing paupers who prompt a direct speech from Sabinian: 'Þó at Gregorius spennti upp kirkjunnar fé sér til frægðar ok fæddi allan lýð til heimligrar dýrðar, er hvártveggja at eigi megum vér ok eigi viljum vér svá gera sem margan tíma hefir hann.' (18bisv17-19). The text also adds descriptive adjectives here and there, describing Sabinian as 'steinligr í sínu brjósti' (18bisv23) and Gregorius appearing to him for the fourth time 'með ógn

³⁷⁸ Ole Widding. 'Norrøne Marialegender på europæisk baggrund.' *Opuscula X*. (BiblArn XL.) København 1996, 19, 33. The two versions of the miracle are printed in *Mariu saga*, 224-225 and 1172-1173.

ok mikilli reiði' (18bisv27-28). It also introduces a citation from Psalms (18bisv26). It is of course conceivable that scribe J had access to another source containing this story, just as he/she had for the Tiber story. Assuming that was not the case and bearing in mind the slight amplifications of the Tiber story, one is led to the conclusion that scribe J followed an editorial practice which somewhat contravened that of his/her fellow scribes, namely amplifying, rather than shortening, the texts.

7.3.3. Prisciani regula

F. 19v6-15 contains some stanzas in Latin against Pope Innocent III. They read something like this (the scribe is not orthodox in his use of Latin abbreviations):

Prisciani regula penitus cassator
Sacerdos per hic et hoc iam non declinatur
Sed per hoc solummodo nunc articulatur
Cum per nostrum presulem hoc admoveatur.

Ita quidam presbyter cœpit allegare
Peccat criminaliter qui vult separare
Quod Deus coniunxerat feminam amare
Vero dignum duximus omnes appellare.

Nunc Innocentius immo nocens vere
Quicquid sancto docuit verbo vult delere
Et quod olim iuvenis voluit habere
Modo sanctus pontifex studet prohibere.

O quam dolor anxius o quam dampnum grave
Nobis est dimittere quod est tam suave
O romane pontifex statuisti prave
Ne in tanto crimine moriaris cave.

Paulus cœlos raptus est ad superiores
Ubi multas didicit res secretiores
Tandem ad nos veniens instruendo mores
Suas in quid habeat quilibet uxores.

This is a version of a well-known satirical poem directed against Pope Innocent and his efforts to enforce celibacy among the clergy.³⁷⁹ Innocent fought vigorously against concubinage and Scandinavian dioceses did not escape his stern admonitions. He wrote to the archbishops Anders Sunesen of Lund and Olaf Lambatunga of Uppsala urging them to uproot the practice in their provinces, but

³⁷⁹ Cf. Hans Walther. *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum*. Göttingen 1959, no. 14734. On the poem in the context of parodies of synods and councils cf. Paul Lehmann. *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*. München 1922, 164 and Joseph Szövérfy. *Weltliche Dichtungen des lateinischen Mittelalters I*. Berlin 1970, 74.

without much success.³⁸⁰ The enforcement of the rule of celibacy seems to have been greatly resented (and resisted) by the clergy as indeed the poem attests.

7.3.4. Agulandus

There are some minor insertions into the list of emperors as well as in the list of popes. Most of them are connected to Emperor Constantine (cf. below), and the fate of John the apostle under Domitian has already been mentioned (p. 190). St James crops up in a passage on Charlemagne (20r33-36), where it is told that the apostle appeared to the emperor and urged him to liberate his land from the heathens. It is then stated that he did so and killed the king Agulandus and his son in that crusade before erecting a church in Compostella. This information is derived from a text known as the *Saga af Agulando*, one of the elements that make up the composite *Karlamagnús saga*,³⁸¹ but the chronology has suffered somewhat. *Karlamagnús saga* makes it clear that Charlemagne first purged North Spain of Saracens and rebuilt the church in Compostella before King Agulandus waged war on Spain and was killed by the emperor's men.³⁸² The *saga af Agulando* was not only incorporated into *Karlamagnús saga* but also provided material for *Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jakobs*.³⁸³ The note in 764 is very brief, but it states that Charlemagne himself 'drap... Agulandum konung ok son hans Agulando' (20r35). That is closer to *TvpJJ* which says: 'Þat vattar virðuligr herra Turpin erkibyskup, at Karlamagnus konungr felldi Agulandum i Hyspania'.³⁸⁴ Since the saga is in all likelihood the source for the description of Judgment Day found in 764 (cf. pp. 214-217), it is reasonable to assume that the information about Charlemagne's vision is of the same provenance.

7.3.5. Emperor Constantine and Queen Helena

³⁸⁰ Cf. Georg Denzler. *Das Papsttum und der Amtszölibat I. Die Zeit bis zur Reformation*. (Päpste und Papsttum 5.1.) Stuttgart 1973, 96.

³⁸¹ Peter G. Foote. *The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle in Iceland: A contribution to the study of the Karlamagnús saga*. London 1959, 1-9.

³⁸² *Karlamagnus saga ok kappa hans. Fortællinger om Keiser Karl Magnus og hans jævniger*. Ed. by C.R. Unger. Christiania 1860, 126-370.

³⁸³ Foote, 'The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle', 9-11, cf. *Postola sögur*, 667-680.

³⁸⁴ *Postola sögur*, 675.5-6, cf. *Karlamagnus saga*, 369.

Emperor Constantine was a key figure in universal histories, since with his conversion the secular and ecclesiastical histories became entwined.³⁸⁵ There are in all three short passages in 764 which tell of the emperor and his mother, i.e. 20r7-12, 20v8-12, 21v3-25. These come from two sources, it seems. Lines 3-17 on f. 21v have a parallel in the life of St Silvester but the remaining material is derived from the legend of the Cross tree, *Inventio Crucis*. Stefán Karlsson has examined the Icelandic texts and fragments of the legend and shown that apart from the Latin legend, the Icelandic version printed by Unger³⁸⁶ made use of a world chronicle (apparently Bede's *Chronica maiora*) and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.³⁸⁷ It is the first chapter of the Icelandic version, a sort of historical introduction to the legend proper, which depends on the two latter sources, and on f. 20r7-12 764 has corresponding information, but much shortened. It is clear from the inclusion of the information that the version which the scribes of 764 used must have been expanded in the same way as the version printed by Unger. Whether it was precisely the same version as that contained in AM 238 XI fol. and AM 233 a fol., from which Unger obtained his text, is more doubtful. Apart from material from ch. 1, 764 contains a parallel to ch. 2 (21v17-15) and a brief summary of the events described in chs. 3-6 (20v8-12). Chapter 2 describes Constantine's vision of the Cross and the text in 764 differs considerably from that of 238:

764

Nukkurum tíma síðar varð þat til tíðenda á dögum þessa Constantini hins kristnaða keisara at óflýandi heiðingja herr safnaðiz saman at beriaz við Romanos við ána Danubium. Konungrinn var mjök ótta sleginn við þvílíka sögn. Þá kom at honum bjart maðr í svefni ok sagði til hans: Eigi skaltu óttaz Constantine, líttu upp í himininn ok sjá. Ok er hann leit upp sá hann krossmark Christs göfugligt, harðla bjart. Ok þessi orð voru yfir skrifuð: Með þessu marki muntu sigr fá. Síðan gerði konungrinn líking þvílíks tákns ok bar það sama með sér til bardaga mót heiðingjum svá sem fyrir sigrmerki. Þá sló ótta miklum á heiðingja ok flýði hverr

Inventio crucis

A því are er liðit var fra burð Cristz .cc. vetra oc .xxx. oc þrir vetr, þat var a vi^{ta}. are rikis Constantini, þa com fiolði vikinga liðs ad Danubium þeirar ár, oc voro bunir at ganga a Romveria riki. En er Constantinus spurði þat, þa for hann i moti með her sinn. En er hann sa, hverso mikit lið vikingar hþfðo, þa ægði honum at beriaz við þa. Oc a einni nott syndiz honum maðr biarttr yfirliz oc mællti við hann: «Constantine, hirð æigi þu at ottaz, líttu upp i himenenn.» Oc se, þa leit hann upp til himens oc sa crossmarc Cristz a himne sva biart sem elldr væri; þar sa hann oc rituð þessi orð yfir: I þesso marki mantu sigr vega. Þa let Constantinus gera crossmarc af gulli i

³⁸⁵ Cf. M.-D. Chenu. 'Theology and the new awareness of history.' *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century. Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*. Toronto 1997, 188-189.

³⁸⁶ *HMS I*, 301-308.

³⁸⁷ Stefán Karlsson. 'Inventio Crucis, cap. 1, og Veraldar saga.' *Opuscula II.2*. (BiblArn XXV.2.) København 1977, 116-128.

sem mátti. Féllu á þeim degi margar þúsundir manna af heiðingjum. Gaf keisariinn þá margföld lof guði fyrir þvílíkan sigr. (21v17-25)

liking þess cross, er hann sa a himne, oc þann hafði hann fyrir merki oc let bera fyrir liði sino a mot vikingom. Þa varð orrosta mikil, oc logðu vikingar a flótta um strandir arennar, oc fell af þeim mikill fiolði liðs. Enn keisar vá agætan sigr i crapti ens helga cross. (HMS I 303.2-16)

It must be considered a possibility that there existed two separate versions of the legend, both expanded with historical material. The legend of the Cross tree was a popular one and for instance found its way into a homily in the Norwegian homily book, in a version unlike those in 764 and 238/233.³⁸⁸

It is now time to turn to the Constantine passage in 764 which is derived from the life of St Silvester. It describes how three thousand infants were brought to Rome to be killed, so that the emperor could be cured of his leprosy by bathing in their blood. As was the case with the Cross tree legend, the Icelandic texts, i.e. 764 and the parallel passage in *Silvesters saga*,³⁸⁹ differ considerably from each other, so they can hardly be derived from the same translation of the Latin source.³⁹⁰ The text in 764 does not include Constantine's speech, which he makes after he realises that the children are about to be sacrificed for him, but simply states: 'hafði hann þar mörg skynsamlig orð um' (21v12-13). The beginning of the story is on the other hand reasonably fully translated but with vocabulary at times different from that in *Silvesters saga*.³⁹¹ The saga contains the whole story, with the speech only a little shortened, and sticks closer to the Latin. In an article on the relationship between the Icelandic *Inventio crucis* and *Veraldar saga* Stefán Karlsson suggested that *Silvesters saga* was among the sources shared by the two works.³⁹² The evidence, however, is scant and it seems that the reception of the legends of St Silvester and emperor Constantine in Iceland is more multi-faceted than Stefán allowed for.

³⁸⁸ *Gamal norsk homiliebook*, 102-103.

³⁸⁹ *HMS II*, 249-251.

³⁹⁰ For the Latin text cf. *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum II*. Ed. by Boninus Mombritius. Paris 1910, cclxxx-cclxxxi (510-511).

³⁹¹ Cf. e.g. 'hofbyskupar' vs. 'blótmenn' for *pontifices capitolii*; 'farkostr' vs. 'fararskjóti' for *vehiculum*.

³⁹² Stefán Karlsson, 'Inventio crucis', 126-128.

7.4. Holy men

7.4.1. Lists and fragments from saints' lives

On 20v12-21v3 and 21v32-41 we find information and anecdotes on some of the Church's illustrious men, among them the four doctors (Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and Gregory), Origen, Benedict and Alcuin. The material on these pages seems to come from disparate sources. Some of it reads as if it might have come from some list or lists, as for instance at the beginning:

‘Þá er liðit var frá holdgan várs herra Jesu Christi cccc vetra voro þessir samtíða uppi: Martinus í Turon, Jeronimus at Jórsöllum, Ambrosius í Mielansborg, Augustinus hinn mikli í Affrika, Severinus í Kolni á Saxlandi, Patricius byskup er kristnaði Skotland ... , Pacomius, ... Origenes, Basilius, Gregorius Nisenus, Gregorius Nazarenus (20v12-18).

The four doctors are given a characteristic each (‘Jeronimus ... hinn iðnazti ... Ambrosius ... hinn röksamligzti ... Augustinus ... hinn djúpazti ... Gregorius ... hinn nytsamligzti’ 20v18-27), likewise reminiscent of lists.

Much of the additional information and the anecdotes seem, on the other hand, to come from saints' lives and collections of exempla. *Augustinus saga* is thus clearly the source on which the scribes based their account of Augustine and Ambrose (20v18-25, cf. *HMS* I, 132.28-30, 135-136, 148.17-22) and towards the end of f. 21v we find references to the life of St Catherine (cf. *HMS* I 421.13-20). *Martinus saga*, is similarly a likely source for the information on the fate of Arius (21r16-18), since a parallel passage is found in a version of the saga preserved in Stock. Perg. fol. nr. 2 (cf. *HMS* I, 609.31-35). A life of St Martin might also have produced the names of St Martin, St Severin (the author of Martin's *vita*) and possibly Bishop Patricius (he is said to have been Martin's nephew). The scribe cites *Martinus saga* as the authority for some (or all?) of the information on Origen (21r5), but nothing equivalent is found in the three versions of the saga printed by Unger. And neither do these versions tell anything of Alcuin who became abbot of the monastery at Tours as is mentioned in 764. The scribe recounts a vision Alcuin is supposed to have experienced while a monk at the house where the brethren wore gold-embroidered clothes and had meat at every meal (cf. 20v31-34). Despite the lack of analogous passages in the preserved versions of *Martinus saga*, it is most likely that all the information linked to St Martin and Tours in 764 came from the same source, possibly an

expanded version of the vita by Sulpicius. It should be noted here that there exists a fragment from the beginning of the fourteenth century containing matter on St Martin not represented elsewhere in the Icelandic lives of the saint.³⁹³ *Martinus saga* is among the books listed in the 1525 inventory for Reynistaður.³⁹⁴ It may have been a fuller version of the saga than that represented by the extant manuscripts.

7.4.2. Vitae patrum

The inventory also lists a copy of *Vitae patrum*. Two of the anecdotes in this part of 764 are derived from the collection of exempla commonly known by that name. The title is somewhat misleading in that it is used to denote the *Vitae patrum* 'proper' i.e. Tyrannius Rufinus' *Historia eremitica* (or *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*), stories about the Desert fathers, as well as the more heterogenous collection *Verba seniorum*. The latter contains mostly anecdotes of monks and clerics and is thought to be somewhat later than Rufinus' collection which is dated to c. 400.³⁹⁵ Stories in these collections are often attributed to St Jerome since he was commonly thought to have been responsible for Rufinus' work. The two anecdotes in question (on ff. 21r32-39 and 21r39-21v3) come from the *Verba seniorum* and are both introduced with the formula 'Svá segir Jeronimus'.³⁹⁶ The stories are printed by Unger from AM 225 fol., a codex from c. 1400. That text corresponds closely with 764. 764 includes, later in the manuscript, twelve stories (one of them the same as that on f. 21r32-39 but copied by another scribe) from *Verba seniorum* (cf. Appendix I). Matthias Tveitane has discussed the relationship between 764 and other manuscripts containing Norse versions of *Verba seniorum* and suggested that 764 represented a more original version than that preserved in 225 since the text in 225 seems to have been reworked.³⁹⁷ The matter merits further consideration which will not be undertaken here. It will suffice to mention that when comparing the texts one should take into account the tendency to abbreviate, so characteristic of the 764 scribes. Further, Tveitane does not seem to have taken all the *Verba seniorum*

³⁹³ AM 655 4to XXXI, cf. Foote (ed.), *Lives of Saints*, 20.

³⁹⁴ *DI IX*, 321.

³⁹⁵ Matthias Tveitane. *Den lærde stil. Oversetterprosa i den norrøne versjonen av Vitæ Patrum*. (Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen. Humanistisk serie no. 2 1967). Bergen 1968, 8-9.

³⁹⁶ The source of the third anecdote, immediately preceding these two, has not been found.

anecdotes found in 764 into account. Many of them correspond closely with the text printed by Unger, but some (e.g. the one on f. 37r) seem to be derived from a different version.

Exempla of this kind were popular in the Middle Ages, especially of course among nuns and monks. These stories were for instance used for reading aloud at table and *Vitae patrum* is even mentioned in the Rule of St Benedict as an appropriate read.³⁹⁸ The wealth of such material in 764 suggests that such readings were one of the purposes the book was intended for.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 18,

³⁹⁸ Cf. *The Rule of St. Benedict. The Abingdon Copy*. Ed. by John Chamberlin. (Toronto medieval Latin texts.) Toronto 1982, 51.

8. Aetates VII-VIII: In fine seculorum

8.1. Hell, Purgatory and Refrigerium Sanctorum

At the top of f. 22 it is announced that, after sketching briefly what has happened in the sixth age, it is now time to turn to events which will signal the end of that age. What follows is a brief account of the coming of the Antichrist (22r3-17). Its immediate source is chapters 50-54 of *Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jakobs*. Since the account of Judgement Day in 764 (22v22-23v4) is of the same provenance, both passages will be discussed together below (pp. 212-217).

At the end of the account of the Antichrist the text refers to what in the *Glossa ordinaria* and subsequently was termed *refrigerium sanctorum*.³⁹⁹ It is stated that after the fall of Antichrist 45 days will be granted ‘góðum mönnum ... til náða en röngum til yfirbótar’. No one knows, it says, how long it will be thereafter until Judgment Day and the end of the world.⁴⁰⁰ This information comes from a work by Hugo Ripelin of Strasboug, *Compendium Theologicae Veritatis* (Book 7 ch. 14, on Hugo and his work cf. p. 212), but the origins of the idea of *refrigerium sanctorum* lie with St Jerome. In his commentary on Daniel he interpreted Dn 12.11: *et posita fuerit abominatio in desolatione dies mille ducenti nonaginta*, as referring to the reign of the Antichrist, lasting three and a half years (cf. 764: ‘hálftr iiiij^a ár’ 22r14). The text in Daniel continues with: *beatus qui expectat et pervenit ad dies mille trecentos triginta quinque*, and by subtracting 1290 from 1335, Jerome was left with 45 days between the end of the reign of Antichrist and the Last Judgment. This period was a time of peace but its purpose, according to Jerome, was to test the faith of believers.⁴⁰¹ Specifying how many days would pass before the coming of Christ could be seen as contravening other scriptural passages which stated that men could not know the exact time of the Lord’s coming. Bede, who took up Jerome’s interpretation, attempted a reconciliation by implying that the 45 days should not be taken

³⁹⁹ Robert E. Lerner. ‘Refreshment of the saints: The time after Antichrist as a station for earthly progress in medieval thought.’ *Traditio* 23 (1976), 109. Cf. also Jacques Le Goff. *La naissance du Purgatoire*. Paris 1981, 70-74.

⁴⁰⁰ A similar information is found in *Elucidarius* where the days of repentance are said to be 40 and that no one knows when Judgment Day will come, cf. *Elucidarius*, 129.11-14.

⁴⁰¹ Lerner, ‘Refreshment’, 101-102.

literally. His example was followed by Haimo of Auxerre who solved the problem by supposing that after the 45 days there would be another period of unknown duration. It is Haimo's formulation which Hugo adopts in *CTV* and Haimo also seems to be responsible for the idea that the 45 days were 'granted to the elect who had wavered during Antichrist's persecutions so that they could then do penance and be saved'.⁴⁰² Whether they would be similarly occupied during the indefinite period up to the Last Judgment is not made clear, neither in *CTV* nor in 764.

As was discussed in chapter II.1, the 764 scribes follow an *aetates*-scheme which presupposes that the souls of the dead exist in the seventh age which runs concurrent with the first six ones. Men enter this age at the hour of death and the dwelling-place of each is determined by his deeds in his earthly life. It was undisputed in the Middle Ages that after the Last Judgment the saved would dwell in heaven and the damned would burn in Hell, for all eternity. Less certainty surrounded the fate of the souls between death and the Last Judgment. They were thought to await the Judgment in different dwelling-places and knowledge of those could only be mediated to the living through visions and visitations.

764 mentions three regions of the underworld:

Í helvíti eru iij staðir greindir frá öðrum. Hinn harðazti kallaz puteus inferni vel abbyssus. Þat er pyttir eða djúp helvítis. Annar staðir kallaz purgatorium. Þat þýðir hreinsunar staðir. iij segiz limbus inferni. Þat er svá sem belti eða lista er gengr umhverfum. Í þeim stað hvílduz allra réttlátra manna sálur þeira sem fædduz í upphafi heims allt til þíningar Krists. Þá leiddi hann þær allar á brott með sér er hann dæmdi þess verðar. Þær andir sem þröngdar eru af stærrum syndum eru leiddar til kvala helvítis sem lesit er í bókum (22r21-26).⁴⁰³

As Jacques Le Goff has demonstrated, the idea of purgatory as a *place* did not emerge until towards the end of the twelfth century. Before that Augustinian ideas had prevailed, which held that after death the entirely good went directly to heaven and the entirely evil to hell. In between were one or two groups of souls (for Augustine the not entirely good and not entirely evil) which had to be purged

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, 106.

⁴⁰³ *Páls saga postola* II includes similar information, cf. *Postola sögur*, 269.24-270.2, 282.36-283.10.

but the location of the purgation was not fixed.⁴⁰⁴ By the end of the twelfth century the landscape of the other world had become more clearly defined. There were now three regions: heaven, hell and purgatory. In addition there were two limbos, *limbus patrum* and *limbus infantium*, which were successors of sorts to the notion of the Bosom of Abraham, a place where the souls of the righteous, who lived before the time of Christ, were to rest. The *limbus patrum* was presumably empty after Christ's passion since that was believed to be the place Christ descended into to free the souls of the patriarchs. The *limbus infantium* presumably still admitted unbaptised children, but it did not have the same status as the other three dwelling-places since it was for infants who had not sinned themselves but were only tainted by original sin.⁴⁰⁵ 764 only mentions one limbo, and seems to refer to the *limbus patrum*. It is nevertheless curious that it is termed *limbus inferni*. This may simply be analogous to the term *puteus inferni* (22r22) for the abyss of hell. Alternatively, *inferni* might be an error for *infantium* in which case the ultimate source for this information would have included both limbos. This is highly speculative however. Whatever the origins of the term they used, the scribes of 764 did not concern themselves further with the limbo but proceeded to describe the three other places and the souls which dwell there. According to them both inferno and purgatory are within the boundaries of hell ('helviti') with fire in both places. The scribes quote Gregory the Great to explain how it is that the heat of the fire is felt in different degrees in purgatory and in inferno (according to the sinfulness of the souls suffering it), a reference to the fourth book of the *Dialogues*.⁴⁰⁶

The idea of purging by fire rested on the doctrine of sin, where a distinction was made between mortal sins and lesser sins which came to be termed *venial*. The souls tainted by venial sins were the material for purgatory, and the doctrine of venial sins became the substance on which the whole edifice of suffrage was built. For the punishment of lesser sinners could be mitigated through the intervention of the living, with the help of intercessors. The doctrine of venial sins had its scriptural basis in John's First Epistle but it was first

⁴⁰⁴ Le Goff, *La naissance*, 181-182. Cf. also Alan E. Bernstein. *The Formation of Hell. Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*. London 1993, 323-324.

⁴⁰⁵ Le Goff, *La naissance*, 299.

outlined by Tertullian. The idea was developed more fully by St Augustine and Gregory the Great although the term 'venial' did not come to be applied until the twelfth century.⁴⁰⁷ St Gregory's treatment of the subject in *Moralia in Job* but primarily in the fourth book of the *Dialogues* was to become very influential and the examples of venial sins which are given in 764 are clearly drawn from the latter source:

Sed tamen, ut praedixi, hoc de parvis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est, sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, immoderatus risus, vel peccatum curae rei familiaris, quae vix sine culpa vel ab ipsis agitur, qui culpam qualiter declinare debeant sciunt; aut in non gravibus rebus error ignorantiae, quae cuncta etiam post mortem gravant, si adhuc in hac vita positae minime fuerint relaxata (77, 396)

764 seems to have turned the Latin around slightly or followed a text in which the adjectives were already muddled, for the examples listed there are 'þarflaus hlátr, óstilliligr málshátr eða heimlig gleði eða þat annat er varla má forðaz' (22r37-38). 'þarflaus' corresponds with *otiosus* and 'óstilliligr' with *immoderatus*. (An echo of Gregory's *immoderatus risus* is also found in the *Icelandic Homily Book* where the homilist talks of death: 'Liþen er óstiltr hlátr oc leícr'.⁴⁰⁸)

764 owes a greater debt to St Gregory than merely these quotations. When faced with the problem of how to describe the horrors and delights of the other worlds in his *Dialogues*, Gregory resorted to storytelling. He described the purgation of sins (which he believed would happen in the place where they were committed) through a series of *exempla*. This way of conveying the agonies awaiting sinners set the pattern for descriptions of the other world throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁰⁹ The scribes of 764 follow this tradition and choose three visionary *exempla* to illustrate the horrors of hell, the suffering in purgatory and the heavenly bliss. But their choice of stories nevertheless departs from the line taken by Gregory. For whereas Gregory described the other world as seen through the eyes of men, usually monks or clerics, the main characters in the miracles included in 764 are women. This is in line with the development of visionary literature. Early examples of the genre centred around men as

⁴⁰⁶ *nam sicut in hoc mundo sub uno sole multi consistunt, nec tamen eiusdem solis ardorem aequaliter sentiunt, quia alios plus aestuat, atque alios minus.* Gregorius Magnus *Dialogi libri IV*. Ed. by Umberto Moricca. (Fonti per la storia d'Italia.) Roma 1924, 303.

⁴⁰⁷ Le Goff, *La naissance*, 293.

⁴⁰⁸ *Homiliu-bók*, 49.14.

⁴⁰⁹ Le Goff, *La naissance*, 124-128. Cf. also Herbert Vorgrimler. *Geschichte der Hölle*. München 1993, 136-137.

visionaries but visions experienced by women became gradually more frequent and from the thirteenth century onwards the majority of visions were attributed to women.⁴¹⁰

The first story (22r26-32) tells of a woman who indulged in carnal sins so that her soul was committed to hell upon death. Her daughter is visited in sleep by a handsome man who leads her through a valley of horror and disgust. There the daughter sees her mother being immersed in a fiery pit and sucked by serpents.

The purpose of some of the stories included by Gregory in his Dialogues was to emphasise the importance of suffrage, i.e. intercession by the living for the dead.⁴¹¹ The next tale in 764 (22r41-22v6) has the same aim and it is preceded by a note on the ways in which the living can free souls in purgatory from suffering:

iiij hlutir eru þeir er lærifeðr segja at andir frelsi af þínu: messur, ölmusugerðir, föstur, bænr heilagra ok eigi síðr þeira er í þessi veröld eru, sem vitni berr þessi hlutr er fylgir (22r39-41)

These means of suffrage were common knowledge for every Christian in the Middle Ages. St Augustine advocated a trilogy of suffrage, masses, prayers and alms,⁴¹² but fasts were also regularly included, e.g. by Bede.⁴¹³ The Icelandic *Speculum penitentis* (15th c.) lists the following suffrages for venial sins:

aull sacramenta og allar helgar vigslvr og blezaner og einkanliga biskups blezan. fyrir vaz vigslv. fyrir bæna halld faustur og aulmausv gerdir. et per signa humilitatis et devocionis ...⁴¹⁴

The story used in 764 to illustrate the usefulness of suffrage is a Marian miracle which is also included in the so called B-collection of Marian miracles found in three manuscripts (AM 232 fol., 234 fol. and 633 4to).⁴¹⁵ The text in 764 follows the text printed by Unger closely, but leaves off before the end.⁴¹⁶ The miracle was obviously chosen by the 764 scribes because it describes delivery from

⁴¹⁰ Peter Dinzelbacher. *Visionen und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart 1981, 226-228.

⁴¹¹ Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, 315-320. Cf. Le Goff, *La naissance*, 126-127.

⁴¹² Cf. Le Goff, *La naissance*, 113.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* 141.

⁴¹⁴ Knud-Erik Holme Pedersen og Jonna Louis-Jensen. 'Speculum penitentis.' *Opuscula VIII*. (BiblArn XXXVIII.) København 1985, 222.

⁴¹⁵ The miracle is number 33 in the collection, cf. Ole Widding. 'Norrøne Marialegender på europæisk baggrund.' *Opuscula X*. (BiblArn XL.) København 1996, 13.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. *Mariu saga*, 120-121. The text in 764 ends on 121.11.

purgatory. It does not however, except indirectly, illustrate the efficacy of prayers, despite what is promised in the introduction to the story in 764 (cf. the citation above). The last part of the story in its full form stresses the importance of confession. The scribes of 764 may have left that part out so that the miracle would better fit their purpose of illustrating the role of intercessors in delivering souls from torment.

The third exemplum in 764 (22v7-14) describes the fate of a righteous soul. It is stated at the beginning that books tell of many places where the souls of the righteous rest until Judgment Day. The story then tells of a labourer ('akrkarl') who despite his frailty worked the field and kept his own counsel. After he dies his daughter is visited by a boy 'með eldligri ásjónu' (22v9) who takes her to Elysian fields where she sees many thousand men, shining in countenance, her father among them. She asks her father to allow her to stay there with him but he says that cannot be for some time. Following on from the story the scribes refer briefly to the beginning of ch. 25 of the fourth book of Gregory's *Dialogues* which is an answer to Peter's question whether the souls of the righteous are admitted into heaven before the resurrection. (The text has no counterpart in the preserved fragments of the Icelandic translation (cf. p. 90) but corresponds to parts of chs. XXV-XXVI in the Latin text.)

764

En Gregorius segir svá í fjórðu bók Dialogorum at þat sé eigi trúanda af öllum réttlátra manna öndum því at hann segir at þá vantaði nukkut á algjört réttlæti ok munu þó þá hvílaz í góðum stað framan til hins mikla dóms. En þeira andir, segir Gregorius, er með öllu eru algervar ganga skjótt eftir sitt andlát í dýrð himinríkis þar sem sjálfr Guð er fyrir, sannandi þetta með sannleiksins orðum er svá segja í guðspjallinu: Ubicunque fuerit corpus illuc congregabuntur aquile [Lc 17.37]. (22v16-20)

Greg. Dial.

Gregorius. Hoc neque de omnibus iustis fateri possumus, neque de omnibus negare. Nam sunt quorundam iustorum animae, quae a caelesti regno quibusdam adhuc mansionibus differuntur; in quo dilationis damno quid aliud innuitur, nisi quod de perfecta iustitia aliquid minus habuerunt? Et tamen luce clarius constat quia perfectorum iustorum animae, mox ut huius carnis claustra exeunt, in caelestibus sedibus recipiuntur: quod et ipsa per se Veritas adtestatur, dicens: «ubicunque fuerit corpus, illuc congregabuntur aquilae». quia, ubi ipse Redemptor est corpore, illuc procul dubio colleguntur et animae iustorum.⁴¹⁷

With that the scribes have managed to give an account of the three places into which the souls of the dying are received (not counting the limbo which, as mentioned above, was of little consequence to the audience of these texts). They

have described hell, purgatory and the heavenly place where rest the souls of the righteous and of those who are freed from purgatory. They have also outlined the 'conditions for entry and exit' that apply in each place. The seventh age has thus been accounted for insofar as that is possible and the final chapter of the chronicle can begin.

8.2. Antichrist and Last Judgment

8.2.1. Hugo Ripelin's *Compendium Theologicae Veritatis*

It was mentioned above that the passages in 764 on the coming of Antichrist (22r1-17) and the Last Judgment (22v22-23v4) are derived from *Tveggja postola saga Jóns og Jakobs (TvpJJ)*, chapters 50-54 and 56.⁴¹⁸ The main source for these chapters of the saga is a theological manual, *Compendium Theologicae Veritatis (CTV)* compiled around 1260 by the Dominican writer Hugo Ripelin of Strassburg, but often incorrectly attributed to Albertus Magnus.⁴¹⁹

Hugo's *Compendium* was a popular work in the Middle Ages and played a considerable role in disseminating lore about Antichrist and the end of the world.⁴²⁰ It seems to have been well known in medieval Iceland, as Ian McDougall has shown. Works with similar titles appear in inventories for the monasteries at Viðey and Þingeyrar, but more conclusive evidence for the popularity of Hugo's work in Iceland is provided by 'the many instances in which Icelandic authors cite passages from *CTV* in translation'.⁴²¹ In addition to *TvpJJ* the work has been shown to be the main source for the *Speculum penitentis*, as well as providing material for the prologue to *Mariu saga II*, the theological manual preserved in AM 672 4to and other fifteenth-century manuscripts, and the physiognomic treatise in Codex Lindesianus (late 15th c.)

⁴¹⁷ Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, 263,

⁴¹⁸ *Postola sögur*, 614-626.

⁴¹⁹ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir. 'Dómsdagslýsing í AM 764 4to.' *Opuscula X.* (BiblAm XL.) København 1996, 186-193.

⁴²⁰ Georg Steer. 'Hugo Ripelin von Strassburg' *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters Verfasserlexikon* 4, 252-266.

⁴²¹ Ian McDougall. 'Latin sources of the Old Icelandic *Speculum Penitentis*.' *Opuscula X.* (BiblAm XL.) København 1996, 141.

and other younger manuscripts.⁴²² *TvpJJ* has been dated to around 1300 which means that *CTV* must have reached Iceland not long after Hugo compiled it.

The chapters on Antichrist and the Last Judgement in *TvpJJ* are based on chapters vii-x, xii-xv, xx, xxvi, xxviii and xxxi of Book VII of *CTV*, *De ultimis temporibus*,⁴²³ but the author of the saga has also drawn material from other sources. The Apocalypse of St John is one of them, some material may have come from a commentary on the Apocalypse and there is also a passage which stems from Isidore's *Etymologies*.⁴²⁴ The *TvpJJ* is thus clearly a composite work and its author remoulded his material to suit his purposes. He does not include the chapters from *CTV* in extenso but chooses paragraphs, sometimes rearranges them and then incorporates them into the saga where they can fit. That 764 is based on the *TvpJJ* rather than on a translation of *CTV* also used by the author of the saga is evidenced by the inclusion in 764 of material which does not come from *CTV* but is part of the saga.⁴²⁵

8.2.2. Antichrist

The account of Antichrist in 764 (22r1-17) is a heavily abridged version of the text in *TvpJJ*, hardly more than a précis. 764 traces only the barest outline of the rise and reign of Antichrist: his birth in Babylon; his arrival in Jerusalem where he proclaims himself as the son of God and where the Jews build a new temple for him; the arrival of Enoch and Elijah who preach against him and are killed and assumed into heaven; the death of Antichrist on the Mount of Olives. Brief though this treatment is, it nevertheless contains all the main points of the lore of Antichrist as it came to be known in the Middle Ages. It was Adso of Montier-en-Der (c. 910-992) who composed the most influential treatise on the Antichrist and it was on this that many later authors, including Hugo Ripelin, relied. It is in the form of a letter to Queen Gerberga and follows the life of Antichrist from

⁴²² *Ibid.* 140 and 144-146.

⁴²³ Albertus Magnus. *Opera omnia*. Vol. 34. Ed. by S.C.A. Borgnet. Paris 1895, 237-261.

⁴²⁴ Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'Dómsdagslýsing', 187.

⁴²⁵ The best example of this is the passage on the corporeal gifts, cf. pp. 216-217. One can also mention modifications like the one on 22r7 where 764 reads: 'smíðandi upp þat mustari er niðr var brotit fyrir þeira glæpi af Tito ok föður hans'. *CTV* only mentions Romans and so does *TvpJJ* but there reference is made to events related earlier in the saga: 'uppreisandi þat musteri, er forðum brutu þeir niðr meðr sinum glæpum, en romveriar eyddu ok at velli lögðu með svörtum kolum ok ausku, sem fyrr var greint i þessi sögu'. (*Postola sögur*, 614.18-21).

conception to death.⁴²⁶ (It already contains all the information offered in 764 except the assumption of Enoch and Elijah.⁴²⁷) Antichrist, who proclaims himself to be Christ, provided a parallel and a contrast to the true Christ, and his life imitates the life of the Saviour. This is also reflected in the form of Adso's treatise which resembles the structure of saints' lives, thereby creating a sort of *vita Antichristi*.⁴²⁸ By giving it such a well-known form Adso ensured the popularity and influence of his treatise. Hugo Ripelin's *CTV* was one of the popular sources through which the lore of Antichrist was disseminated.⁴²⁹ He devoted chapters 7-14 of Book 7 to the subject. Thus it appears that the outline of the life of Antichrist which the scribes of 764 included in their chronicle had passed through only two intermediary sources: from Adso to Hugo, from Hugo to *TvpJJ*, the source for 764. The scribes, true to form, stripped the text of the saga of all redundant material, ending up with the naked facts, as it were, about Antichrist.

8.2.3. The end of the world — and of a chronicle

The passage on Judgment Day and the end of the world (22v22-23v4) is based on chapter 56 of *TvpJJ* and was much less abbreviated by the 764 scribes than the chapters on Antichrist. The passage in 764 begins with a short prologue introducing the chapter from the saga. It begins with a reference to St Matthew's description of the Son of Man coming with power and great glory, sending his angels with a great blast of the trumpet (Mt 22.30-31). It is then told how all souls will assume their bodies and come to the Judgment.⁴³⁰ God will arrive with nine hosts of angels, with patriarchs, prophets, apostles and saints.⁴³¹ The scribes then cite the *Dies irae*: 'Sá dagr kallaz dagr reiði, dagr kvalar ok eymdar, dagr myrkrar ok þoku, dagr lúðrs ok kallz. Sá dagr mun mjök vera beiskr ok grimmr öllum úmilldum' (22v27-29). All these notions were commonplace in Christian

⁴²⁶ Adso Dervensis. *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*. Ed. by D. Verhelst. CCCM 45. Turnhout 1976, 20-30.

⁴²⁷ That is taken from *CTV*. The assumption of Enoch and Elias was also well known through the Gospel of Nicodemus, cf. *Niðrstignings saga*, *HMS* II, 16.

⁴²⁸ Cf. Richard Kenneth Emmerson. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature*. Manchester 1981, 76-77.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.* 77-79.

⁴³⁰ Cf. *Elucidarius*, 130.5-9.

⁴³¹ Cf. *Elucidarius*, 132.6-7: D: Hverer skolo dæma. M: Postolar oc pinðer oc munkar oc meyar.

eschatology and 764 may here be compared to *Elucidarius* although there is no direct link between the two texts.

TvpJJ provides the text for the remainder of the passage. The text of the saga is mainly based on chapters xv, xx, and xxxi of Book 7 of *CTV*, but a few paragraphs seem to be taken from chapters xxvi and xxviii. The first part of the text in *TvpJJ* describes the cleansing of the world through fire while the second part deals with the joys of heavenly existence.

The idea of fire as an agent of purging and rejuvenation has a long history in Western thought.⁴³² It is illustrated in the myth of the phoenix which is reborn out of its own ashes and which in Christian exegesis came to signify the Christ or the Christian soul. This is for instance evident in the Icelandic version of *Physiologus*:

Fenix markar drotten vörn i eþle sino þvi, es hann brenner sik ok lifgar. Sva tok iesus christus sialfræpe pisl a licamma sinn ok reis vpp a .iii. dege oc fek ollom fulselo ...⁴³³

For Christians the pronouncements of Paul in 1Cor 3.13-15⁴³⁴ became the basis on which the medieval idea of purgatory rested and with time fire became the enduring image of the trial that awaited the souls.⁴³⁵ The text in *TvpJJ* describes how the doomsday fire fulfills a fourfold role: it punishes evil men, it purges good men of sins, it destroys the flesh of men and beasts, and cleanses the elements. This reflects theories of fire that developed in the thirteenth century, and are evident for instance in Guillaume de Auvergne's treatise *De universo*. Guillaume differentiates between ordinary (earthly) fire, fire that consumes, perpetual fire (hellfire) which burns without consuming and purgatorial fire which consumes only sins.⁴³⁶ The text in *TvpJJ* also seems to portray fire as the most fundamental of the elements since it is through fire that the other elements are reformed. St Augustine linked fire to God himself⁴³⁷ and even though that

⁴³² Cf. Carl-Martin Edsmann. *Ignis divinus. Le feu comme moyen de rajeunissement et d'immortalité: contes, légendes, mythes et rites*. Lund 1949,

⁴³³ Werner Dahlerup. 'Physiologus', 256.

⁴³⁴ *uniuscuiusque opus manifestum erit dies enim declarabit quia in igne revelabitur et uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit si cuius opus manserit quod supraedificavit mercedem accipiet si cuius opus areserit detrimentum patietur ipse autem salvus erit sic tamen quasi per ignem.*

⁴³⁵ Le Goff, *La naissance*, 181-207.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 328-330.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

idea is nowhere stated in *TvpJJ* it might nevertheless underlie the hierarchy of the elements.

The second part, about the heavenly bliss, dwells predominantly on the spiritual and corporeal gifts which the blessed receive in heaven. The author of *TvpJJ* here supplements the *CTV* text with another source which is not readily identifiable. The *CTV* records that the gifts are seven in all, three spiritual (*dots animae*) and four corporeal (*dots corporis*).⁴³⁸ In *TvpJJ* however, the corporeal gifts are said to be seven and although the spiritual gifts are not numbered, six are described, twice the number given in *CTV*. The doctrine about the gifts had its roots in the bridal-mystique where Christ was seen as the bridegroom and the Church (and by extension all Christians) his bride. The gifts were seen as parallel to gifts bestowed on the bride by the groom upon their union.⁴³⁹ The doctrine seems to have originated in the late twelfth century and the first author to link three spiritual gifts with four corporeal ones was in all likelihood Stephen Langton.⁴⁴⁰ The doctrine grew, at least partly, out of ideas attributed to Anselm of Canterbury who allegedly taught that in heaven fourteen 'blessings' (*beatudines*) would be conferred on the righteous, seven corporeal and seven spiritual.⁴⁴¹ The main exposition of these ideas is found in a work by one of Anselm's disciples, Eadmer,⁴⁴² but they also influenced another of his students, Honorius Augustodunensis. He refers in his *Elucidarius* to the fourteen attributes as *gloriae*, rendered 'dýrðir' in the Icelandic translation of that work.⁴⁴³ The Icelandic *Elucidarius* lists the *gloriae corporalis* as 'fegrð', 'fróleikr', 'styrkt', 'frelsi', 'sællífi', 'heilsa' and 'ódauðleikr', corresponding to *pulchritudo*, *velocitas*, *fortitudo*, *libertas*, *voluptas*, *sanitas* and *immortalitas*. The *gloriae animae* are 'speki', 'vinátta', 'samþykki', 'veldi', 'vegr', 'öruggleikr' and 'fögnuðr', corresponding to *sapientia*, *amicitia*, *concordia*, *potestas*, *honor*, *securitas* and *gaudium*.⁴⁴⁴ Eadmer's treatise agrees with Honorius' list except that his chapter on *sanitas* is given the heading *De impassibilitate*.⁴⁴⁵ *TvpJJ* and

⁴³⁸ Albertus Magnus, *Opera*, 253-258.

⁴³⁹ Nikolaus Wicki. *Die Lehre von der himmlischen Seligkeit in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik von Petrus Lombardus bis Thomas von Aquin*. Freiburg 1954, 209-212 and 220.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 202-203.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 203-205.

⁴⁴² *Eadmeri monachi Liber de beatudine coelestis patriae*. PL 159, 587-606.

⁴⁴³ *Elucidarius*, 142.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 142-143.

⁴⁴⁵ PL 159, 591.

764 state that ‘likaminn mun ... verða bjart, óþínanligr, gagnfæriligr, skjótr, sterkr, heill ok langlíf’.⁴⁴⁶ *CTV* lists the four *dotes corporis* as *claritas*, *impassibilitas*, *subtilitas* and *agilitas*⁴⁴⁷ which correspond to the first four attributes in *TvpJJ*. *TvpJJ* therefore seems to combine the two lists, adding *fortitudo*, *sanitas* and *immortalitas* to the four gifts in *CTV*. The spiritual gifts seem to be six in *TvpJJ* as was mentioned above, although the matter is slightly complicated by the way each gift tends to be described in two words: ‘speki ok vizka’, ‘ást ok vinátta’, ‘samþykki’, ‘sæmd ok virðing’, ‘náðir ok gleði’ and ‘friðr’. *CTV* gives the three *dotes animae* as *cognitio*, *dilectio* and *comprehensio*.⁴⁴⁸ *TvpJJ* seems to have taken the first two on board, which correspond more or less with the first two in *Elucidarius*, and then added *concordia*, *honor*, *gaudium* and *securitas*, leaving out *potestas* (as well as *comprehensio*).

The author of *TvpJJ* seems therefore, to have had a source which provided the Anselmian list of *beatudines*. The differences in vocabulary seem to exclude *Elucidarius* as that source. The doctrine of the gifts was a popular one in the late Middle Ages and often included in *summae* of various kinds, so it may prove hard to pinpoint the exact source for the amalgamation in *TvpJJ*.

The chronicle ends, fittingly, by proclaiming that the heavenly bliss enjoyed by the souls of the righteous shall have no end: ‘Skulu góðir menn lifa með guði feðr ok hans helgum mönnum æ ok æ utan enda.’ (23v3-4).

⁴⁴⁶ *Postola sögur*, 625.6-8.

⁴⁴⁷ Albertus Magnus, *Opera*, 256-258.

⁴⁴⁸ Albertus Magnus, *Opera*, 254-255.

III. UNIVERSAL HISTORY

1. The writing of universal history in the Middle Ages.

1.1. The genre.

It will have become evident in previous chapters that AM 764 4to should not be described as a haphazard collection of diverse material. On the contrary, its compilers worked in at least a semi-systematic way towards their goal of tracing the history of the world from its beginning in the Creation until the Last Judgment. The concept that lies behind the compilation of 764 was by no means the innovation of the Icelandic scribes — it had been in use for a millennium and produced numerous works that provide parallels to the world chronicle found in 764.

It is common to all these works that in them history is presented as a linear succession of events while at the same time an attempt is made to cover the history of diverse peoples and reigns. This endeavour is usually underpinned by the use of genealogies and the concept of *aetates mundi*. The history told in these works is the history of salvation, the history of mankind is in other words synonymous with salvation history. Although the question of medieval historical genres has been much debated in recent decades,¹ there is a general consensus that these works should be grouped under the label *universal histories*. Hans-Werner Goetz defines the genre thus:

¹ For a review of the problem see Franz-Josef Schmale. *Funktion und Formen mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreibung*. Darmstadt 1985, 103-125 (Chapter IX, Historiographische genera) and Bernard Guenée. 'Histoires, annales, chroniques. Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Age.' *Annales* 28 (1973), 997-1016.

Its theme is universal history as a whole, from the beginning of the world (the creation) or at least the incarnation of Christ until the times of its author ... and sometimes ... even beyond, thus containing either the six (or seven) ages of the world or just the sixth age. It is characterized by its context within the history of salvation, manifested in the divine background, the division into ages (aetates) and kingdoms (regna), typological comparisons, a linear conception of history as a limited period and a search for the position of the author's present age in the divine concept of salvation. As historiography, it is marked by its chronographical nature and, in spite of mixed and transitional forms, in most cases contains history of the past rather than of the present.²

A.-D. van den Brincken divided the genre further into three different types of works: *series temporum*, *mare historiarum* and *imago mundi*.³ The first type represents a firm adherence to the chronological order, to the succession of eras and reigns from the beginning to the time of writing. The second type is characterised by a fuller narrative; the works belonging to this sub-genre are more elaborate and attempt a more thorough treatment of historical events, elucidating the causes and consequences of actions and events and giving evaluations of people and their actions. The style of these works tends to be more elaborate than that of the *series temporum* which is often simple and paratactic. The third type is however the one which most drastically embraces the principle of brevity. Works of this kind are encyclopedic in nature, sometimes hardly more than lists, and they are often inserted into longer works in order to give a brief overview of world history. Although this subdivision of the genre is helpful when it comes to gauging the purpose and function of the different works, it must be stressed that individual works may display characteristics drawn from all three subtypes (cf. the reference to 'mixed and transitional forms' in the quotation from Goetz above). One should therefore not think of the three types as closed categories but rather as different trends within the writing of universal history in the Middle Ages.

The universal chronicle is an essentially Christian genre (although a similar development can be seen within Islamic historiography) and its foundation is the Bible. At the core of it lies the Incarnation and Christ's passion around which all other events are organised, in a linear chronology. It is the

² Hans-Werner Goetz. 'On the universality of universal history.' *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1er avril 1989*. Ed. by Jean-Philippe Genet. Paris 1991, 247-248.

³ Karl Heinrich Krüger. *Die Universalchroniken*. (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 16.) Turnhout 1976, 21-23.

history of the revelation, it shows God's guiding hand at work in the history of mankind. One of its main characteristics, however, is the way it seeks to combine sacred and secular history *sub specie salvationis*. That was already the aim of the work which marks the beginning of Latin world chronicles, Eusebius' history in the form which Jerome gave it.

The content of the chronicles is therefore by no means restricted to biblical events and characters but room is given to a wide array of secular information, much of it bound up with the curriculum of the *septem artes liberales*. The strive to link the secular to the sacred meant that placing secular events within the scripturally based chronology was essential, and one will therefore often find in these works references to political events such as the foundations of cities and states, or cultural information such as notes on the origins of trades and disciplines, or on poets and writers. Universal chronicles may, as a result, contain a wealth of material not directly pertaining to sacred history nor even to church history.

The structural elements of universal chronicles are closely connected to the preoccupation with maintaining an *ordo temporum*. The chronicles are therefore organised through the use of serial principles. The use of *aetates mundi* has already been discussed (cf. pp. 63-65) and so has the theory of the four monarchies (pp. 123-124). These organising features are a staple element in medieval world chronicles, as are genealogies and lists of many kinds. Isidore was the first to use the *aetates* in a world chronicle. They are a prominent feature of his *Chronica maiora*; and he secured the four monarchies a place within the tradition of universal history with his commentary on the Book of Daniel. Some writers, Otto of Freising for instance, based their work on an exposition of the idea of two cities or two states, Christian (represented by Jerusalem) and pagan (represented by Babylon). Dualism of a similar kind also shows itself in typological parallels which are drawn in many universal histories. The most basic of these organisational principles, however, were genealogies and similar lists. The genealogies of the Bible served as the basis for chronological calculations; by studying them scholars arrived at fixed numbers for the years contained in each *aetas*. Biblical genealogies were matched with lists of secular rulers — a practice started by Eusebius and of which the third book of Honorius' *Imago mundi* is a good example — and if the succession of rulers was unclear writers

were sometimes forced to tidy the lists up a bit, as we saw in the case of Nebuchadnezzar who was also named Cambises (cf. p. 125). For accounts of post-biblical times lists played no lesser part as is witnessed by papal lists which formed the backbone of the Church's history together with lists of ecumenical councils. On the secular side were lists of emperors and other rulers.

In order to place 764 within the tradition of universal histories it will suffice to mention only a few works which illustrate the development of the genre in medieval Europe.⁴

1.2. The development of the medieval world chronicle.

The origins of the medieval universal chronicle lie in late Antiquity where the first example of a Christian world chronicle may be said to be the *Chronographiae* by Sextus Julius Africanus (d. after 240), which traces the history from Adam until the year 217.⁵ Sextus' work was among the sources used by Eusebius of Caesarea (263-339) in his *Χρονικὸι κανονες*. Eusebius' work is no longer extant in its original Greek version and it became known to medieval audiences in the form given to it by St Jerome.⁶ That work, although sometimes referred to as Jerome's chronicle, was not his original composition but an expanded version of the chronicle by Eusebius. Eusebius made Abraham his chronological centre so to speak, and worked out the dynasties of secular rulers by reference to the years of Abraham. In Jerome's version (compiled c. 380) the chronicle extends from the birth of Abraham to AD 378. It was immensely influential so that one might say it became the foundation on which all later Latin chronicles were built. As was mentioned above, Eusebius and Jerome 'established the precedent of combining sacred history with "the chronology of every age, the kings of all nations ..."'.⁷ Jerome calculated the number of years for each era from Adam to Christ, based on the Septuagint, and his chronology

⁴ The following account is largely dependent on Anna-Dorothee v. den Brincken's pioneering study *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising*. Düsseldorf 1957.

⁵ G. Wirth. 'Chronik'. *LdM* 2, 1955.

⁶ *Hieronymus, Die Chronik des Hieronymi Chronicon. Eusebius Werke* 6. Ed. by Rudolf Helm. GCS 21. Leipzig 1956.

⁷ Eva Matthews Sanford. 'Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages.' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5 (1944), 25. Cf. also Guenée, 'Histoires', 1000.

was to remain the dominant one until Bede. Jerome's work belongs to the first category of world chronicles: it is a *series temporum*, brief in style and paratactic.

One of the most popular historical works in the Middle Ages was Orosius' *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem* (AD 417/418).⁸ The aim of the work is to illustrate how Christianity, or God's plan for the salvation of mankind, will inevitably conquer the world. In Orosius' world this happens through the unity of Christianity with the Roman empire, and secular history therefore lies at the centre of his work. Written shortly after Alaric had taken Rome, the work seeks to reconfirm the primacy of Rome as the seat of both secular and ecclesiastical power. Orosius may thus be said to have paved the way for more secular oriented chronicles. He also set an example by beginning his chronicle with a short geographical description of the known world, a practice followed by many medieval chroniclers, including the scribes of 764.

Isidore of Seville compiled two universal histories, *Chronica maiora* (AD 615)⁹ and *Chronica minora* (AD 627), based on the former and incorporated into the *Etymologies* (V.xxxix). In his introduction to the *Chronica maiora*, Isidore places himself as a successor to Sextus Julius Africanus, Eusebius and Jerome.¹⁰ These authors constitute his main sources, along with the Bible, but he also relied on other writers, e.g. Augustine, Pliny, Rufinus and Josephus, although he does not seem to have known Orosius.¹¹ As was already mentioned, Isidore became the first author to use the *aetates mundi* scheme as an organisational element in his history and he also distinguishes himself from his predecessors by beginning his chronicles with the hexaëmeron, whereas earlier histories had begun with Adam. After the fall of the Western empire, Isidore continues the line of Roman emperors with the Byzantine rulers, a practice also seen in 764.

The next landmark in the development of universal chronicles are the works of Bede — perhaps the most important chronicler of the Middle Ages. His chronicles were part and parcel of his chronological studies and were incorporated into his handbooks on chronology. Bede pioneered the chronology

⁸ Paulus Orosius. *Historiae adversum paganos*. Ed. by Carl Zangemeister. CSEL 5. Wien 1882.

⁹ Isidorus Hispalensis. *Chronica maiora*. Ed. by Theodore Mommsen. MGH AA XI. 1894, 391-497.

¹⁰ Isidorus, *Chronica*, 424.

of Dionysius Exiguus, which used the Incarnation as its starting point, with the result that the Incarnation took over from the Passion as the event which defined the chronology of Christian history. (This had the further consequence in the West that world chronicles which began with the birth of Christ started to emerge.) Bede made his mark in Iceland, as elsewhere in the West — the oldest Icelandic Easter table which has survived, dated to the first half of the twelfth century, is based on Bede's chronology, and the earliest Icelandic historians, Ari fróði and Sæmundur fróði, likewise seem to have based their chronology on Bede.¹²

After Jerome, Bede exerted the greatest influence on later chroniclers and his works enjoyed an almost canonical status for more than three centuries. Like Isidore, he wrote two chronicles, but began by writing a *chronica minora* followed by *chronica maiora*. The first is a small compendium of world history, the second an expanded version with deeper theological thinking. Both chronicles were but parts of larger works, the shorter one was incorporated into *De temporibus* (AD 703), the longer one makes up the last part of *De temporum ratione* (AD 725).¹³

Like Isidore, Bede eschews the framework of the four world monarchies, but builds his history on the *aetates mundi*, together with lists which for instance trace the succession of emperors to date. In his *Chronica maiora*, salvation history based on the Old Testament takes precedence during the first four ages. The fifth age is based on Jerome to a large extent and this part is considerably fuller than in the smaller chronicle, but the time after Christ is nevertheless given more space than pre-Christian ages. In that part, the sixth age, Church history is central and Bede records disputes over doctrine as well as other events. Following on from the chronicle proper is a short eschatological treatise where Bede treats the coming of Antichrist and the Last Judgment and describes the seventh and eighth ages of the world.

Bede's sources were numerous. In addition to the Vulgate and the *Vetus Latina* he used the chronicles by Jerome, Orosius and Isidore together with

¹¹ Isidoreus, *Chronica*, 394-395; Brincken, *Studien*, 93.

¹² Ólafía Einarsdóttir. *Studier i kronologisk metode i tidlig islandsk historieskrivning*. (Bibliotheca historica Lundensis XIII). 1964, 104-105, 142.

¹³ Beda Venerabilis. *Opera VI. Opera didascalica 2*. Ed. by Ch. W. Jones. (CCSL 123B.) Turnhout 1977.

numerous other works of a similar sort. He apparently set great store by the *Liber pontificalis* and he used secular works, Josephus's *Antiquitates*, *Contra Apionem* and *Bellum Judaicum* amongst them, as well as sacred commentaries and saints' lives.¹⁴

De temporum ratione 'very quickly became the standard definition and textbook for the study of computus'.¹⁵ As a result of the propagation of the work Bede became the dominating influence on universal history writing until the twelfth century. Not only was he the main source for many chronicles but his chronology was the received one. Universal history thus became part and parcel of chronology, an element in the study of how time passes. The emphasis was therefore necessarily on recording past history, and contemporary events insofar as they were included were viewed in the mirror of the past. Chronographical works, wide in scope, predictably exerted a more extensive influence on the medieval public than individual works which treated more narrowly defined topics or were limited in time and space. World chronicles were widely disseminated, copied, abbreviated, expanded and brought up to date.¹⁶

With time however, and with the increase of literacy and the development of the schools and other institutions within the intellectual sphere, historiography became more diversified. Bede's hegemony receded towards the end of the eleventh century, Jerome resumed his place at the forefront and his chronology won over Bede's. Local history was given more space in the histories as chroniclers became increasingly interested in their own age, but at the same time they, at least those writing in the Holy Roman Empire, saw their own epoch (ravaged by the Investiture contest) as a succession to the Roman Empire and hence interest was renewed in Rome and its predecessors. The theory of the four monarchies now becomes ubiquitous. Compilers were not satisfied with the brief treatment secular rulers were given by Isidore and Bede. They turned increasingly to Jerome and Orosius, but also to literature which specifically dealt with classical heroes and events, with the result that Alexander the Great, for instance, began to receive much fuller attention and his popularity was greatly

¹⁴ Brincken, *Studien*, 112-113.

¹⁵ Ch. W. Jones (ed.) *Bedae Venerabilis opera VI. . Opera didascalica 2.* (CCSL 123B.) Turnhout 1977, 241.

¹⁶ Schmale, *Funktion und Formen*, 148-150.

enhanced.¹⁷ The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed a string of ambitious world chronicles where secular history is given considerable room although salvation history continues to serve as the backbone. Amongst these are the chronicles by Frutolf of Michelsberg (AD 1101; reworked by Ekkehardt), Sigebert of Gembloux (AD 1111), and Hugo of Fleury (AD 1109/1110). The sources these writers use are numerous but they select their material with discernment. The diminishing Bedean influence is evident in the fact that the works are more inclined to narrative, and chronology is relegated to a sub-role.¹⁸ All three betray an interest in faraway countries. This last characteristic is significant inasmuch as these three works were all written only a few years after the launch of the first crusade.

The twelfth century saw dramatic changes in the political and intellectual milieu of Europe and these necessarily influenced the way history was written, not least universal history. First, the known world, the *oikumene*, was expanding. With the crusades, western Europeans were brought into direct contact and conflict with regions which had long been no more than names in books. The geographical picture was therefore vastly changed and called for adjustments: a knowledge of the geography and history of regions outside the Holy Roman Empire gave a broader meaning to the term 'universal'. But not only was the 'outer', geographical world changing. Important changes also occurred in the world of learning. Education was developing fast with the establishment of cathedral schools and universities. The twelfth and thirteenth century witnessed the influx of classical learning on a far greater scale than before with the rediscovery of Aristotle and other authors. The disciplines expanded (I have already mentioned the explosion in commentaries on Genesis which came as a result of increased interest in the natural sciences, cf. p. 77) and it thus became an increasingly demanding task to produce books which would give an adequate overview of the known world. Such works needed to be ever larger in scope, as Vincentius' *Speculum maius* testifies. One might therefore be justified in saying that in some ways the universal chronicle was absorbed by the encyclopedias. On the other hand, the needs of the schools and their pupils called for a briefer

¹⁷ Cf. A.B. Mulder-Bakker. 'Alexander der Grosse in der Weltchronik von Frutolf von Michelsberg.' *Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages*. Ed. by W.J. Aerts, Jos. M. M. Hermans, Elizabeth Visser. Nijmegen 1978, 108-141.

treatment of the history of the world, for works of a more propaedeutical nature. Works which were tailored towards these needs displayed a more superficial treatment of the history, as is seen in works like Honorius' *Imago mundi*.¹⁹ But universal chronicles were not only expanded or condensed to suit the needs of new readers, material not belonging to universal history proper was often introduced, thereby pushing out the limits of the genre. Some compilers expanded their works with extensive passages on contemporary and/or local history, other chronicles came close to being collections of exempla.²⁰ That is for instance true of a sub-genre, the so-called *Chronicae Martinianae*, modelled on the chronicle by Martin of Troppau and popular with the new orders, Dominicans and Franciscans.²¹ In the later Middle Ages the distinctions between the different genres therefore seem to become even more blurred. This is related to the fact that, as a result of the development in education whereby the laity became more literate, historiography became more diverse, as mentioned above. Rather than aiming to tell the history of mankind and the greatest secular powers, such as kings and emperors, people increasingly wrote works directed at a special, limited group, local history flourished and vernacular languages became an accepted medium for historical writing alongside Latin.²² By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries world chronicles in the vernacular start to appear, first in verse, later also in prose.²³

The development of universal history writing in the later Middle Ages has not been adequately studied. As is evident from what has been said above, the spectrum of works which could fall under the category is wide and the diversity increases as the Middle Ages wear on. With that and with the increasing number of works, which in turn become potential sources for other works, the focus of research unavoidably shifts more towards the role of the compiler and to

¹⁸ Brincken, *Studien*, 195.

¹⁹ Some of these books use illustration extensively, cf. for instance a richly illuminated manuscript in the Corpus Christi College library, Cambridge, CCCC 83 fol. (13th c.), where biblical history together with lists of popes and emperors is shown largely through pictures.

²⁰ K. Schnith. 'Chronik — Allgemeine Fragestellung und Überblick über die mittelalterliche Chronistik' *LdM* 2, 1959.

²¹ *Idem*, 'Martins-Chroniken.' *LdM* 6, 349-350.

²² Schmale, *Funktion und Formen*, 152-153.

²³ As an example of vernacular world chronicles one might mention a recently edited 15th c. Scottish universal chronicle, *The Sex Workdays and Agis*. Ed. by L.A.J.R. Houwen. Groningen 1990. On the genesis of the metrical chronicles cf. Sven-Bertil Jansson. *Medeltidens*

the purpose he meant his work to serve. Bernard Guenée has argued²⁴ that in compilations from the thirteenth century one can perceive a development towards a more catholic taste on the part of compilers in their selection of material (which agrees well with what was said above about renewed interest in secular rulers, for instance), and also an emerging distinction between author and compiler. The art of excerpting the works of earlier authors and making a new work out of them seems to become a more clearly defined activity, where the virtue of the compiler lies in conciseness and in the quality of judgment he shows in choosing his material. The reader is not left in any doubt as to the nature of the work he has in his hands. It is made clear in the title and/or in the prologue that it is a compilation and with time compilers even begin to divulge their names to their readers, which indicates that their profession has reached a more elevated status. It is worth bearing these developments in mind when it comes to assessing the achievement of the compilers of 764.

rimkrönikor. Studier i funktion, stoff, form. (Studia litterarum Upsaliensia 8.) Nyköping 1971, although he leaves universal chronicles out of his main discussion.

²⁴ Bernard Guenée. 'L'historien et la compilation au XIII^e siècle.' *Journal des savants* (1985), 119-135.

2. Universal history in Iceland.

2.1. The origins of universal history in Iceland.

It has already been mentioned (p.223) that the chronology of Bede was the one adopted by the earliest known historians in Iceland and his chronographical works were undoubtedly known in some form to educated Icelanders from the eleventh century onwards. The works of Honorius Augustodunensis were also introduced into Iceland early on, as were Isidore's *Etymologies*. The Latin tradition of composing a chronicle of main events through the *aetates mundi* thus became known to Icelandic writers through the works of Isidore, Bede and Honorius, and Icelanders seem to have attempted a vernacular version of 'heimsaldrar', or 'aldartala' early on — the writing of universal history thus belongs to the earliest attempts at historical writing in Iceland.²⁵ Two works of the kind, still extant, can be dated to the twelfth century, one with certainty, namely *Veraldar saga*. For the other the evidence is circumstantial, but Stefán Karlsson has argued convincingly that the *Heimsaldrar* preserved in AM 194 8vo were originally committed to vellum sometime during the period 1121-1139.²⁶

Veraldar saga and *Heimsaldrar* thus stand as examples of an early phase of universal history writing in Iceland. Both these works are relatively brief and would be classified as *series temporum* in A.-D. van den Brincken's scheme. *Heimsaldrar* is the shorter of two. The story of the Jewish people naturally dominates the narrative but place is nevertheless found for other Mediterranean peoples and rulers, e.g. the Trojans, the Romans and the Egyptians. The account effectively comes to an end with the fifth age, for nothing is related of events in the sixth age. As was discussed in chapter II.5.3. (p.156), it is plausible that the *Heimsaldrar*, in the version we know it, was in part ultimately based on Honorius' *Imago mundi*.

²⁵ Cf. Sverrir Tómasson. 'Heimsaldrar og annálar.' *Íslensk bókmenntasaga* I. Ed. by Vésteinn Ólason. Reykjavík 1992, 402-410. On Ari Þorgilsson's European models cf. also Ólafía Einarsdóttir, *Studier*, 19-36.

²⁶ Stefán Karlsson. 'Fróðleiksgreinar frá tólftu öld.' *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar 30. júní 1969*. Reykjavík 1969, 347-349.

Veraldar saga is significantly longer than *Heimsaldrar*. It exists in two versions, A and B. A differs from B in that it omits allegorical glosses on the first five *aetates* which Jakob Benediktsson, who edited the work, believes to have been part of the original version. *Veraldar saga* brings history down to the times of Frederic II Barbarossa, making the year of the emperor's death, 1190, a plausible *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the work.²⁷ It includes, in the fifth age, material on Troy, Aeneas and the beginnings of the Roman empire. In the sixth age, the story follows the emperors, from Augustus and Tiberius to the fall of the Western Roman state, whereafter the thread runs through the Carolingians and the emperors of the Holy Roman empire. Much attention is devoted to significant events in the history of the Church.

There are four medieval manuscripts or fragments of *Veraldar saga* extant, the oldest dated to c. 1200, as well as several younger copies. Jakob Benediktsson suggested that the work might be a translation of a Latin source, a world chronicle based on Bede and Isidore to which an account of the history of the Holy Roman empire had been added.²⁸ But Jakob further conceded that *Veraldar saga's* author must have treated his source (or sources) quite freely, modifying the text when he thought necessary, adding information and modifying the formulation.²⁹ Given that it has so far proved impossible to point to a specific source for *Veraldar saga*, the view that it was an original compilation by an Icelander has been gaining ground.³⁰ As discussed in chapter II.5.2. (p. 153), it is likely that for some of his information the author of *Veraldar saga* depended on the same source as 764.

As will have become evident in previous chapters, the relationship between 764 and these earlier works, as well as other fragments mentioned in chapters II.5.2.-II.5.3., is a tangled one and there is little hope of solving the riddle once and for all. But it seems reasonable to conclude that the earliest phase of universal history writing in Iceland saw the composition of other works comparable to *Veraldar saga* and *Heimsaldrar* (insofar as this piece can be counted representative of early Icelandic learning). It is equally plausible to think that it was chiefly Honorius' *Imago mundi* which lay behind such composition,

²⁷ Jakob Benediktsson (ed.). *Veraldar saga*. STUAGNL 61. København 1944, liii.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, lii.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, liii.

though without implying that he was ever the sole authority the Icelandic authors turned to, and that such a twelfth-century compilation, perhaps more than one, ultimately served as a source for 764.

The seeds of the chronicle in 764 had thus already been sown in the twelfth century. This is true in terms of content as well as form. Some of the material which ultimately found its way into 764 was already available to those who were compiling *Heimsaldrar* and *Veraldar saga*. And the frame to which the scribes of 764 adhere seems to be more or less in place in *Veraldar saga* with its progression from the history of the Mediterranean area to the kings and emperors north of the Alps, and its slant towards Church history.

The influence of universal history can be detected in other Icelandic works which would hardly be classified as world chronicles. In chapter II.5.1. it was discussed how compilers in the thirteenth and above all the fourteenth century endeavoured to bring together works that would illustrate the course of history from the Creation to the time of Christ. AM 226 fol. and Hauksbók were there taken as examples of such compilations. (That enterprise is mirrored in compilations of indigenous material, where the content is different but the method, whereby several (long) texts are linked together to forge a continuous history, is similar. One can here point to the *Sturlunga saga* compilation as an example or the large works covering the reigns of Norwegian kings: *Morkinskinna*, *Fagrskinna* and *Heimskringla*.) AM 764 4to, with its wealth of disparate material and firm commitment to an *aetates*-based chronology, is a different kind of work. It is to its place in the development of universal history, in Iceland and generally, that we must now turn.

2.2. 764 and the tradition of universal history.

Scribe A begins fol. 1r with the following words:

Í upphafi þessa litla annála bæklings skulu vér skrifa nukkut lítit af heimskringlunni ok af þeim löndum er í henni standa ok eigi síðr höfuðborgum, hversu þær hafa í fyrstu smíðaz til þess at ljósara verði lesanda manni eða tilhlýðanda þeira atburða eða tíðenda er vorðit hafa frá því er guð skapaði veröldina ok vér höfum fundit í bókum skilríkum eða annálum fyrri manna ok svá hefr (1r1-5).

³⁰ Cf. Sverrir Tómasson, 'Heimsaldrar og annálar', 404-405.

This preface is brief but nevertheless says something about the view the scribes had of their work. They call it 'lítill annála bæklingr' which must be taken as an instance of affected modesty given the size and scope of the book. The use of the term 'annálar' indicates a preoccupation with chronological treatment of past events and implies that the scribes viewed their work as a *series temporum*. They intend to tell of events which have occurred since God created the world, so it is clear that their history begins with the Creation and that it is a Christian history. The scribe also states explicitly that this is not an original work but depends on books and annals compiled by previous generations. Their account of the history of the world is preceded by a passage on the *orbis terrae*, regions and towns, for the benefit of the reader or the listener.

The preface thus contains allusions to the nature of the work, its scope, its orientation, its sources and compilation, and its audience. These elements merit a closer inspection.

Although the words 'lítill annála bæklingr' indicate a short work resembling a work of the *series temporum* subtype, it is clear that neither is AM 764 a 'bæklingr' nor is its content adequately described by the word 'annálar'. The second half of the manuscript contains a lot of material which is not brought under any chronological headings, and even though one were to take the words 'annála bæklingr' to refer only to the first half — the chronicle — that part still contains passages and chapters which are far longer than any entry in annals. If we were to use A.-D. van den Brincken's subcategories to describe 764, we would thus have to say that the chronicle partakes of two categories, namely the *series temporum* and the *mare historiarum*. For the scribes show themselves to be most concerned with keeping track of the chronology with the tools available to them: calculations of the years within each *aetas*, genealogies and other lists etc. But their work also contains parts where stories of certain events are told in full, e.g. Judith's killing of Holofernes, the Triumvirate and the fate of Julius Caesar, the story of St Martha and the dragon. The last example just mentioned further reveals that legendary material, miracles and exempla were also seen to merit inclusion. With all the necessary reservations, that may be said to be a characteristic of a late medieval universal chronicle (cf. pp. 225-226) and we can

point to *Veraldar saga*, where no miracles or legends are found, for contrasting comparison.

The scope of the work is thus broad in terms of genres. The same is true of its chronological scope which extends from the earliest beginnings before Adam and to the thirteenth century. There the sources apparently run dry and the scribes dare not, it seems, add anything unvouched for by other (earlier) writers. The scribes also shy away from commenting upon the material they are copying and they make no attempt at linking the events they are recording with contemporary events in their own environment, which is a practice often seen in universal chronicles. They do not, it seems, see it as part of their task to record Icelandic history or make any allusions to domestic events. The geographical scope depends, like the historiographical one, on the sources, as is inevitable. Because the main source for medieval history in the chronicle is the *Chronica Martini*, the events recorded are those related to the popes and emperors listed there. 764 is thus linked to German chronicle writing, as is *Veraldar saga* albeit through a different source. (It is interesting that works written by Dominicans are among the most important sources for 764. There is Martin of Troppau's chronicle, already mentioned, and *Compendium theologicae veritatis* by Hugo Ripelin of Strassburg which turned out to be the ultimate source for most of the matter in the eighth age in 764.) Honorius Augustodunensis is thought to have spent the last part of his life on German soil, at or near Regensburg, but he probably wrote *Imago mundi*, the work which provided some of the material in 764, while in England. In the present context it is convenient to see Honorius as a bridge between English and German traditions of learning for 764 contains a lot of material which originated in England. The most extensive passage of that kind in the chronicle is of course the chapters from *Breta sögur*, but passages on Bede and on English saints later in the manuscript also reveal a connection with English hagiography.

The different regions of medieval Europe were of course united by the over-arching hegemony of the Roman church. The orientation of the chronicle in 764 is never in doubt — it is a Christian world history, as is made clear by scribe A in the preface. In compiling it the scribes followed the rich tradition of medieval universal chronicles, but drew on material made available to them

through the relations established between the Icelandic church and ecclesiastical institutions in neighbouring countries.³¹

When scribe A writes that he/she and his/her collaborators are relating events which they have found in books and annals 'fyrrri manna' the reference is to works by his/her fellow countrymen. This is of course not evident from the formulation, but the investigation of 764's sources which has been carried out as a part of this thesis strongly suggests that little or nothing of the material included in the manuscript was translated directly for the book. The fact that the scribes make no bones about the debt they owe to previous writers may, if we believe Bernard Guenée's analysis of the development of compilation in the thirteenth century, be seen as another characteristic of late medieval chronicles. The wording of the scribe could be taken to indicate that compilation from already existing sources was seen as an activity separate from original writing. This is not to say that people in the Middle Ages could not tell whether they were writing their own text or copying someone else's, but rather that the act of compiling books from existing sources had become so widespread or common as to be regarded as a special kind of book production.

That kind of production presupposes a wealth of existing material. And a wealth of material puts the onus on the compiler when it comes to choosing what to include. The choice must necessarily be affected by the prospective audience of the book. Scribe A referred to readers and listeners in his/her preface and we shall now, lastly, sum up what can be concluded about the purpose and audience of 764.

2.3. The purpose and audience of AM 764 4to

As discussed in chapter I.3. of this thesis there is convincing paleographical and orthographical evidence for assigning 764 to a scribal school active in Skagafjörður in the latter half of the fourteenth century and associated with the farm Akrar and the convent at Reynistaður. The fact that the manuscript contains predominantly religious texts of various kinds, e.g. bible passages, saints' lives, miracles, exempla from *Vitae patrum*, seems to speak in favour of making

³¹ Cf. Sverrir Tómasson. *Formálar íslenskra sagnaritara á miðöldum Rannsókn bókmennatahefðar*. Reykjavík 1988, 18-19.

Reynistaður the place where 764 was compiled. The scribes needed access to quite a number of books, it seems, and the convent certainly possessed at least a modest library. The oldest document with detailed information about the books at Reynistaður is an inventory from 1525. Among the works listed there we find 'biblia. ... vitas patrum ... niculaus saga og gudmundar saga ... ij bækur med jarteignum af mariu og kallamagnus saga',³² which might all have been used by the 764 scribes although they clearly had other works to draw on as well.

In excerpting the books available to them and giving the compilation its form the scribes are likely to have been directed by the intended purpose of the book. If indeed the book was produced for the nunnery at Reynistaður, what specifically was the aim in its compilation? We can turn the question around and ask whether nuns needed a special kind of book.

There are medieval books specifically made for women, among them the *Speculum virginum*, a work aimed at nuns or novices.³³ As religious houses for women multiplied in number in the later Middle Ages, not least in Northern Europe, book production flourished in many convents.³⁴ The increasing number of women who took the veil also provided a milieu for the development of literary genres or types of books specifically aimed at their group, such as the *Speculum virginum*.³⁵ The work was probably compiled in the middle of the twelfth century³⁶ and is preserved in over fifty manuscripts, some of which contain the work translated into a vernacular language — there is for instance a Swedish translation extant, made in the fifteenth century at the Birgittine house at Vadstena.³⁷ The work comprises twelve books and is in the form of a long dialogue between the priest Peregrinus and the nun Theodora, *virgo Christi*. It contains discussion of the various aspects of virginity, chastity and life under a religious rule. After discussing the virginal state as the perfect *imitatio Christi*

³² *DI IX*, 321.

³³ *Speculum virginum*. Ed. by Jutta Seyfarth. (CCCM 5.) Turnhout 1990.

³⁴ Joan M. Ferrante. 'The education of women in the Middle Ages in theory, fact and fantasy.' *Beyond their sex. Learned women of the European past*. Ed. by Patricia H. Labalme. New York 1980, 15-16. Cf. also Herbert Grundmann. *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik*. Berlin 1935, 170-198; Edith Ennen. *Frauen im Mittelalter*. München 1984, 110-123.

³⁵ Jutta Seyfarth (ed.). *Speculum virginum*. (CCCM 5.) Turnhout 1990, 17-18.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 32-37.

and the importance of renouncing the world and taking the veil, the dialogue turns to virtues and vices. Chastity and humility are praised but the virgin is warned against pride. To illustrate the virtues women from the history of mankind are presented (Book IV), among them the Old Testament heroes Judith and Jael.³⁸ The most important role model for virgins, however, is the Virgin Mary herself and she is accordingly given ample room in the book. The *Speculum virginum* also contains a section on the hexaëmeron and the six ages of the world (Book VIII) which is intended to show how the spirit gradually conquers over the flesh — how the virtues gain ground as mankind progresses through history. Book IX is characterised by numerology and there the seven spiritual gifts are recounted as well as several other phenomena grouped in sevens (e.g. the main events in Christ's life, the cardinal virtues). The work ends with an exposition of the Pater noster.³⁹ This crude description cannot be the basis for an extensive comparison between *Speculum virginum* and 764, but a couple of significant features should be pointed out.

First, it is important to note that the two works are very different in form. The *Speculum virginum* is in the well-known form of a dialogue between a master (Peregrinus) and a pupil (Theodora) and the diverse material in the book is united by its theme: virginity as the means to exalt the spirit so that it may be unified with God. 764 nowhere uses the dialogue form and its main theme is not spirituality or life in a convent. It is a universal history whose unifying element is chronology as ordered within the *aetates*.

It is on the other hand noteworthy that both works contain material and references of a similar kind. The hexaëmeron and the six ages of the world are obvious links but since they are ubiquitous in medieval literature this detracts somewhat from the significance of the parallel. The seven spiritual gifts are likewise common, but it is a theme associated with spirituality and may thus be counted especially suited to people of religious orders. But the most valuable

³⁷ Matthäus Bernard. *Speculum virginum. Geistigkeit und Seelenleben der Frau im Hochmittelalter*. Köln 1955, 6-13; Anne Holtsmark. 'Didaktisk litteratur.' *KLNM* 3, 73.

³⁸ *Speculum virginum*, 105. Judith and Jael are praised for their humility as well as their courage and so are a string of secular women, e.g. Semiramis and Helena, Constantine's mother, both included in 764.

³⁹ An overview of the content and structure of the work is given in Bernard, *Speculum virginum*, 20-21 and Einar Már Jónsson. *Le miroir. Naissance d'un genre littéraire*. Paris 1995, 176-181.

parallel between the two works is the way historical characters, mostly women, are presented to the reader as models — in the *Speculum virginum* this is done explicitly, in 764 implicitly (cf. pp. 142-143). It has been argued that from the twelfth century onwards the imitation of saints took on increased importance in the spirituality of men and women vowed to conventual life. Writers of the time ‘voice explicit theories of the impact of one person on another as a shaping by or adoption of patterns that affect the outer as well as the inner person’.⁴⁰ Women and men of the past became examples to follow or shirk from, and every man or woman was himself/herself a model to others. The essence of religious life was of course the imitation of Christ and the apostles, but increasing diversification of religious orders meant there were many models on offer. It seems only natural that when seeking models who could inspire (young) nuns to imitate Christ, the author of the *Speculum virginum* and the compilers of 764 should choose female heroes of the past.

There seems thus to be some case for arguing that AM 764 4to is indeed a ‘women’s book’ — that were it the product of a monastery the choice of material would probably have been somewhat different. As the stories of women were meant to edify and to influence the every day conduct of the readers and listeners, the book might have been used for reading out, for instance at table. The first half of 764, can however, hardly be described as a story-book, and some sections do not seem ideal for the purpose of reading out aloud (e.g. the list of popes). It is, after all, a universal history and although model-women are presented there, that does not seem to be the sole object of the exercise.

The sheer amount of material included in the manuscript and the almost relentless emphasis on *brevitas* leads one to suspect that this was a work not principally intended for edifying entertainment, but rather for the schoolroom where a lot of disparate things had to be taken on board and committed to memory. The pedagogy of listing things is evident in many places — one could mention the plagues in Egypt (3v13-16), the Commandments (3v19-23), the books attributed to Moses (3v24) and to Solomon (4r32-33), the major and the minor prophets (10r1-3, 24-25), the apostles (16v18-27) and so on and so forth. There is also an emphasis on linking characters in the history to place-names,

⁴⁰ Caroline Walker Bynum. ‘Did the twelfth century discover the individual?’ *Jesus as Mother*.

truly intertwining geography and history as indeed scribe A proclaims in his/her short preface. It has been mentioned frequently on these pages that the compilers of 764 set great store by chronology. This is evident not only in their endeavour to maintain *ordo temporum*, but also in the way precise dates of events are given by referring to the liturgical year. It is for instance recorded that Christ resisted the temptation in the desert ‘.i. nótt eftir festum Valentini martyris’ (15r25-26) and that the Creation took place three nights before the feast of St Benedict (1v37-39). There are thus numerous references to chronography although the book does not contain ‘rím’. There is also, here and there, information concerning hymns and other liturgical texts. The evangelists are all named (17r26-32), but it is also recorded e.g. that Isaiah was the author of the canticles *Confitebor* and *Domine audivi* (4v15), Habacuc composed *Audite coeli quae loquar* (9v32), St Ambrose and St Augustine the *Te Deum* (20v25-26) and Athanasius *Quicumque vult* (21r19). All these bits and pieces have their place in the formal education of a Christian.

Children were sent to Reynistaður for educational purposes, as was mentioned in chapter I.3. (p. 56). It is likely that they were taught, at least partly, by some of the nuns. Little is known about the education of Icelandic nuns but the literature is not entirely without references to learned women. *Jóns saga helga* (B-version) tells of a woman, Ingunn jungfrú, at the school at Hólar: she was no less learned in ‘bóklitir’ than her male fellow students — ‘kenndi hon mörgum grammaticam’.⁴¹ Although the schools at Hólar and Skálholt were probably the most august institutions of learning in the country, priests were also educated in the monasteries and nunneries, where their schooling is likely to have encompassed the trivium and something of the quadrivium, albeit to a varying degree of thoroughness. To cover the curriculum the teachers and pupils needed texts of diverse kinds.

We do not have a clear picture of the books and texts used in the teaching. The grammars of Donatus and Priscianus were undoubtedly part of the elementary curriculum and inventories from Icelandic monasteries list Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, *Grecismus* by Eberhard of Béthune and *Doctrinale* by Alexander de Villa-Dei to name but a few. Honorius’ *Elucidarius*, Pope Gregory’s

Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages. Berkeley 1982, 97.

Dialogues and Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* were translated early on and some of the works of St Augustine were undoubtedly known and used.⁴² This is by no means an exhaustive list of the books mentioned in charters, but although we possess the titles of some of the works which made up the libraries of these institutions it is difficult to determine which of them were used for teaching and at what level. In the words of Niels Haastrup:

Det kan ikke uden videre fastslås, hvilke skolebøger man har brugt i de middelalderlige skoler; og langt mindre kan det med sikkerhed siges, hvilke skolebøger der var centralt placeret på de forskellige niveauer, og hvilke der blot tjente som sekundært lærestof.

But he continues:

De håndskrifter der bærer tydeligst skolepræg, er ofte blandingshåndskrifter med en lang række excerpter og notater, oftest af uidentificerede forfattere, utvivlsomt nedskrevet efter diktat fra lærere (ofte ældre disciple) og således overleveret i generationer.⁴³

This is indeed reminiscent of 764. The compilation of the chronicle in 764 was a teamwork, sometimes slightly chaotic, but nevertheless organised. It was in all likelihood an original compilation as can be seen from the additions and changes the scribes made in its make-up as they went along (cf. the repetition of the story of Habacuc, the slips inserted here and there to add information about events already covered, etc.). It does not seem to have been written down to dictation; many sections are clearly copied from other manuscripts. But it is very likely that the aim was to collect most of the material at hand which could be used in the schooling of nuns and clerics. The fact that the work is in many ways rough around the edges might suggest that this book was a draft, a first attempt at an ambitious compilation which was meant to cover the history of the world from its origins and possibly right up to the times of the scribes. Such may have been the intention of the compilers at Reynistaður — whether that was the case and whether such plans ever came to fruition, we will never know. We only possess the work as it appears in AM 764 4to which is in itself a worthy monument to the ambition and diligence of these unknown scribes in Skagafjörður.

⁴¹ *Biskupa sögur gefnar út af hinu íslenska bókmentafélagi*. I. Kaupmannahöfn 1858, 241.

⁴² Sverrir Tómasson, *Formálar*, 29-33. Cf. also Anne Holtsmark, 'Didaktisk litteratur', 71-73 and Gunnar Harðarson (ed.) *Þrjár þýðingar lærðar frá miðöldum*. Reykjavík 1989, 7-19.

⁴³ Niels Haastrup. 'Skolebøger.' *KLNM* 15, 642.

APPENDIX I

The content of AM 764 4to

The aim of this list is to give an idea of the content of the manuscript as a whole. The material in Part I is not listed in detail but references are given to chapters in the thesis where more elaborate lists of the content can be found. For the material in Part II references are made to editions of passages and parallel texts.

Part I

1r1-1v29	Description of the world
1v30-2v20	Prima aetas: The hexaëmeron; Adam-Lamech (cf. p. 84)
2v20-3r15	Secunda aetas: Noah and the Flood; the Tower of Babel
3r15-3v3	Tertia aetas: Abraham-Amram (cf. p. 99)
3v3-4r20	Quarta aetas: Moses-Saul (cf. p. 99)
4r20-14r27	Quinta aetas: David-Augustus (cf. p. 100)
4v26-5v25	Daniel
5v33-9r41	Judith
9v1-8	Alexander the Great
9v8-14	The Maccabees
9v22-10r41	Prophets
10v37-11r12	The Trojan war
11v4-12v41	Breta sögur
13r1-14r19	Rómverja saga
14r27-21v41	Sexta aetas: Christ-Antichrist
14v5-30	De infantia Salvatoris
14r27-16r14	The Gospels (cf. p. 173)
15v11-16r5	St Martha
16r14-16v17	The vision of Elisabeth of Schönau
16v17-27	Postulatal (cf. p. 191)
16v27-17r21	De bello Judaico
17r32-17v14	The Letter of Lentulus
17v15-20v8	Chronica Martini
18bis	Gregory the Great
20r7-12/20v8-12	Inventio crucis
20v12-21r20	Church Fathers and other holy men
21r20-21v3	Vitae patrum
21v3-25	Emperor Constantine
22r1-17	Antichrist
22r18-22v21	Septima aetas: Hell, purgatory and refrigerium sanctorum — three exempla
22v22-23v4	Octava aetas: Judgment Day and celestial bliss

Part II

Ex = exemplum

Mar. = Mariu saga

Mir = miraculum

Par = parallel text

VP = Vitae patrum

- 23v5-25r14 Remigius saga (Ed. HMS II, 222-227.)
25r14-25v25 VP (Par.HMS II, 625.35-628.7)
26v29-38 BVM Mir. *Inc.* Einn góðr Guðs maðr fann fyr áblástr heilags anda
27r1-30r4 Saga heilags Malci (Ed. HMS I, 437-446.)
30r5-30v6 Un samedi par nuit (Ed. Widding and Bekker-Nielsen. 'A Debate of the Body and Soul', 280-289.)
30v7-31r VP (Par. HMS II, 662-4.)
31r4-17 GregDial (Par. HMS I, 243.)
31r18-28 VP *Inc.* Nukkur einsetu maðr sá um dag hvar einn riddari reið ok skjal<d>sveinn hans
31r28-32 VP (Par. HMS II, 630.24-31.)
31r32-31v2 Ex. *Inc.* Sá var einn riddari eigandi vel penga haldandi ríkuligt borð dagliga
31v2-13 Cirus king of Persia changes Eufrates' course; death of St Nicholas
31v14-24 St Ursula
31v24-30 Ex. *Inc.* Í þeim kastala er Emaus heitir fæddiz á nukkurum tíma einn smásveinn algjörri at allri skipan upp til nafla en upp þaðan voru ij.
31v30-37 Nikolaus saga (Par. HMS II, 83.13-23.)
31v37-41 GregDial (Par. HMS I, 245.15-30)
32r1-27 BVM Mir. (Par. Mar. 1048-49, cf. also 764 26v29-38)
32r28-32v24 Ex. (Par. *Islendzk æventyri* I, 24-26.)
32v24-33r29 Ex. *Inc.* Í Italia landi stendr sú kirkja er Trajectis heitir. Vóx <par> upp einn ungr madr er Heinrekr hét
33r30-40 BVM Mir. (Par. Mar. 815-816.)
33v Somniale Danielis (Ed. Turville-Petre, 'An Icelandic version of the Somniale Danielis,' 19-36.)

lacuna

- 34r1-24 St Walburga. Mir. beg. def. *Expl.* margfaldar þakkir hæsta guðs konungs er einn gerir dásamliga hluti á himni ok á jörðu
34r25-33 St Walburga. Mir. *Inc.* Í þeim stað er heitir Thile
34r34-34v8 St Walburga. Mir. *Inc.* Enn var annar maðr lítt haldinn í því þorpi er Wisibadun kallaz
34v9-34v20 St Walburga. Mir. *Inc.* Í hálfum Gallie ok Equitannie
34v21-36 St Walburga. Mir. *Inc.* Í ánni Rín stendr ein lítil ey
34v37- St Walburga. Mir. *Inc.* Í því þorpi er heitir Santuovic. End def.

lacuna

- 35r1-16 St Sunniva. Mir. beg. def. *Expl.* þeim sama sé lof ok dýrð, sæmd ok virðing um allar aldri veralda.
35r17-35v24 VP (Par. HMS II, 655.3-656.34.)
35v25-31 VP (Par. HMS II, 656.35-657.6.)
35v32-38 VP (Par. HMS II, 657.7-20.)
35v39-41 VP (Par. HMS II, 657.21-32.)

lacuna

- 36r1-5 St Cuthbert (cf. BHL 2021 (ch. 38-39))
36r6-19 Venerable Bede (Ed. Turville-Petre. 'Legends of England in Icelandic Manuscripts', 107.)
36r20-27) BVM Mir. *Inc.* Nokkur siðsamr klerkr var í hálfum Borgundie
36r28-32 BVM: Mir. *Inc.* Svá finnz skrifat í miraculis sællar Marie
36v1-23 The writings of Church fathers
36v24-34 St Peter. *Inc.* Enencius ok Valerius byskupar fóru norðr um fjall
36v34-38 St Peter. *Inc.* Petrus sendi ok Martialem
37r1-18 VP. *Inc.* Nokkur heilagr faðir byggjandi í eyðimörk var upp gripinn in exstasism. (cf. HMS II, 608.6-609.6, but that is a different text)
37v St Edward the Confessor (Par. 'Saga Játvarðar konúngs hins helga,' *ANOH* 1852, 14-16)

lacuna

- 38r1-34 English rulers, beg. def. (seems to be a much abridged version of *Breta sögur* cf. *ANOH* 1849, 134-144.)
38r35-38v23 VP. (Ed. Tveitane. *Den lærde stil*, 20-21.)
38v24-39r2 Bishop Jón Halldórsson (*Islendzk æventyri*, 84)
39r3-40r21 Chapters from Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar (Ed. *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* III, 67-71)
40r21-41 Upphaf allra frásagna (Par. FMS XI, 412-414.)
40v1-41 World description (Ed. Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 445-446.)

lacuna

162 fol. m

1r-2r Genologies (Ed. *Byskupa sögur* I, 7-12)

2v Brot um fornan átrúnað (VP) (Par. *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* II 1852, 635-636.)

- 41r43v35 Annals (Ed. *Islandske Annaler*, 216-229).

APPENDIX II

AM 764 4to ff. 1-23v: Transcript

1r

- Hand A [J upphafi] þerfa litla annala bæklings skulo uer skriþa nuckud litid aþ heimf kr
[inglunni ok] aþ þeim lonndum er ihenni stannða ok eigi fid: hoþudborgum huerfo þær haþa iþyftv
3 [sm]idaz til þerf at liofara uerdi lefanða manni e(da) til hlyðannda þera atburða e(da) tid
[en]ða er uordit haþa þra þui er gud skapadi uerolldina ok uer hoþum þunndit ibokum skil
[ri]kum e(da) annalum þyri manna ok sua heþr || ar er fund: skipt i þra hluti heitir
6 [R]aukfamlig skipan þomrar uizku heþir sua ok held: at uidermi heimf bygþarinn
einn þriðjung: afia. ij. europa. iij. aþfrica. Afia þriðjung: geing: aþ solar upp
raf sua sem þuert takanndi auftan aþ heimf kringlunni. en. europa ok aþþrika
9 ganga ueftan amoti fund: skiptir til nord<r> þra þullu auftri en þui ligt sem afia gangi
þuert auftan þirir enndimork affrice. afia heþir naþn tekid aþ konu nuckuri er iþo:
[n]um tímum hellt austurríki hon ligg: itueim hlutum heitir onnur afia meiri en on
12 nur afia minni. Afia meiri heþir þerfi laund isier. þriu indialond partiam. affir
[i]lam. mediam. perfidaland. mesopotaniam. arabia. fyrland. samaria. io:sala land. er ft
end: imidium heimi. iudea. þar nær. egipta. land armenia capadocia ok morg
15 aunnur ríki. J austrhalþu meiri aþiv er sa stad: er paradifus heitir hann er þullr
med ollu kyni blomganda uidar ihonum er lipf tre þar kemr eigi kuldi ne oþrhiti held:
stend: þar ubrigdilig: loþzins skærleiki. þerfi paradif er eigi ahimni ok eigi aio:du hon er
18 [xl] þadma hæri en noa þlod geck. hon stend: imidiu lopti paradifus segiz
[io]þn abreidd ok leingd þar er eigi holl ne dalr. þar er huert tre riett sem kolb: þar er sa
[þugl] er þenix heitir hann er mikill uexti ok þag: þenix er sua sem drottinn iþir ollvm
[þ]uglum hann laugar sig i lipf þunni ok þlyg: upp þadan ok sez atre þui er hæft er ipara
21 [d]jiso igeðn solu. hann gloar sem gull. augu hans skina sem k[ri]stalluf blod:audir ero
[han]s þætr hann þlyg: o: paradiso aegipta land ok er þar xv uikur samfast. þar koma til
24 [hans] allzkyns þuglar sua sem hann se allra þera konung: ok syngia umhuerþum hann huerr aþin
a lund ok er lanzmenn heyra þat þa þara þer huadanæþa til hans ok mæla sua kom heill
þenix higat til lannz þu gloar sem gull rautt al<l>ra þugla konung: ertu. þer gera þ
27 ogl o: uaxi ok marka eþir honum sem þer megu likaz ok vita naþn hans allir þoglar
[þa]lla til þota honum med rauddu. raud raund ligg: abaki honum sem gull. þenix
[þer] aþtr iparadifum þa er xv uikur ero þra lidnar allir þoglar þylgia honum brott sumir þl
30 [i]uga þirir oþan en sumir þirir nedan ok ahuara tueggiu hlid. en þa er þer eigu eigi lein
g[ra] kuæmt þa þerr huerr aþtr til sinf lannz en þenix heim iparadifum þar spætr
ok upp þunnr haardla mikill dogguandi allan skoginn en skiptiz fidan iþio:ar
33 sto: ar heitir ein þhison hon þellr um io:d eu<i>lat þar þinz þat gull er eeki þinz

- pat [er] ecki er skiaerra þar hittaz ok þei: natturu steinar bidellium ok onichiluf. aunnur
 a h(eitir) gyon hon þellr um bland ok oll þerf enndimork hon skillr asiam ok affricam ok hon
 þellr umhuerþif egiptaland. þridia a h(eitir) tigrif hon þellr um siriam. þio:da a h(eitir) eupra
 [te]þ þær þalla badar imidiarþar fio hon þellr igeignum babilon hina miklu
 ok kemr ifio skamt þra anthiokia. veþr ihapid lig<g>: hin minni asia. gyrdir at
 henni fio: ollummegin utan til auþrættar. sunnan at geing: fio: er kallaz mare
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- [e]lgipcium nordan at geng: fio:er `h(eitir)´ euxinum en ueftan proponenticlis. Asia minni h
 eþir ifier þuilikar halþur bittiniam. frigiam. galaciam. lidiam. cariam. pamphiriam [lam]
 ariam. liciam. þar stend: mirrea borg. iasia stend: ok effeluf borg ok patera cili[cia]
 antiochia nichomedia borg stend: ibittinia. Affrica kallaz annar þridiu
 ng: iardar iþeim hlut er serkland id mikla. `þat er all 000tt ok k[all]dea land´ scitia þat er nv fviþiod hin mik
 la. pentapolis. tripolis. bizancia. kartagina. nvmidia. mavitania. [in]g
 itan ok annad mauitania. þar vt unndan eigi langt stend: eyin fardini
 a þar geymdiz heilag: dom: augvstini byskups nærr .cc. ok lxxx a:a þa: til er
 lidb:annð: konung: longoba:do:um liet sækia med sinum legatif ok þlytia heim
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- 27 a lannz aþ biarmalandi ganga lond obygd aþ nord: ætt unz grænland tekr uid sud: þra grænland<i> ligg: hellu land þa markland padan er eigi langt til unlannz ifland er ey mikil hon er nor[d] uz ikriftni fva at menn ulti || til almenniligar upp:ifu hinn viij byriaz a hinum mikla de
- 30 Sex ero greindir ibokum aldrar þerfa heimf. hinn vij er eigi iþerfu lipi hellð: iodu þramar gi ok he`pr` ongan ennda. sua hepr hinn þyfta heimf alld: iguds naþni þyrfti [li(eimsalldr)]
- 33 Hæsti gud ufynilig: uerandi þirir allar ueralldir einn iþrenning ok þrennr ieiningo þad er þaudur eiginligt at uera aþ ongun getinn eigi skapad: eigi getinn. sonr er sam iapn ok sameilþlig: þed: iallri dyrþ. aþ honum eigi uordinn eigi skapad: hellð: oumræðiliga
- 36 getinn. heilag: anndi er aþ þed: ok syni þramparandi aþ huarumtueggia.² sua er lefid fannliga at aþ: en heimrinn uar gio:r. uiffi þerfi uolldug: gub tolu ok noþn fer huer ra sinna manna. hann skapadi þyft i upphafi himin ok io:d ok alla hluti fyniliga ok osyniliga aþ ongu þirir liggjanda eþni þad uar d:ottinn dagh fa d(agr) kallaz ala
- 39 tinu primus dief seculi þad er id þridia .g. imarcio þad er iij nattum þirir benedictusmessu a
- 2r þauftu sidan greindi hann skapada hluti a odum .v. dogum. A oþrum degi uiku gio: di hann ix eingla þylki. einn aþ ollum einglum skapadi hann þridara ollum odum fa het
- 3 lucifer ok skiotliga sem hann uar skapad: þyldiz hann d:ambsemmdar ok þottiz vera likr gubi þvi var hann st<e>ytrr nid: til heluitif uorbinn þianndi aþ eingli ok allir þer: er honum samþyc ktu urdu þiand: aþ einglum þa gio:þi hann ok þestingar himin. hinn þridia d(ag) si
- 6 o ok io:þ meþ uotnum. hinn þio:da d(ag) gio:di hann sol tungl `þa stod sol <i>auftri tungl <i>ueftri` stio:nur þær erv allar þ aftar ok hafa ongan gang undan teknum vij planetif þeim fetti hann þann gang sem fid an heþir halldiz. luna h(eitir) þyfta planeta hon er skipud inedsta lopti uid io:þ in primo
- 9 caelo hon geng: sinn hring a. xx. ok ix dogum ok viij stundum. onnur planeta h(eitir) mercurius hon er i opu lopti hon geng: sinn hring .c. ok xxx ok ix. daga. þridia h(eitir) uenus hon er iþridia lopti hon gerir sinn hring .cc. xl ok viij. d(aga) þio:da. pl(aneta) h(eitir) sol hon er iþio:da lopti hon gerir sinn hring .ccc. ok lx. ok v. d(aga) ok vj stunddir. þimta. pl(aneta) h(eitir) marf hon er iv.* lopti hon gerir sinn hring ij ar. Jupiter h(eitir) hinn vj^a hon er ifetta lopti hon gerir sinn hring a .xij arum sionda h(eitir) saturnus ivij.* l(opti) hon gerir sinn hring a .xxx. `ara` Aþ io:du til tunglf eru xv (þusundir) milna ok dc.xx. ok v. þra tungli til mercu rium vij (þusundir) milna dccc. ok xij aþ mercurio til uenerem iammargar sem þyrir. aþ uenere til solar .xx. (þusundir) m(ilna) dccc. ok xxx ok iij milur. Aþ solu til martem ero xv (þusundir). m(ilna) dc.xxv. aþ marte til iouem .vi (þusundir). dccc ok xij. Aþ ioue til saturnum iammargar sem þyrir. Aþ saturno til þestingar h(imins) xx (þusundir) ok iij (þusundir) .cccc.xx ok vi. m(ilur). Aþ io:þu til þestingar himinf ero milur samantaldar .c. (þusundir) ix (þusundir) .ccc. lxxv. ok þo at stio: nur fyniz ganga o: auftri iueftr a ij dægum snuaz loptin med stio:nunum. þimta d(ag) skapadi

- 21 hann oll kuikuendi þau er. liþf annda ero þria liþliga annda skapadi gud eþ<tir> oꝝdum gregorij
þyfta þann er eigi er holldi huld; ok er eilipur `0000 ok 000000 þat ero einglar´. þann annan er holldi er huld; ok er eilipr ok
deyrr alldri `þad er manna allra´. þridia annda skapadi hann þann er holldi er huld; fa deyrr meþr holldi þad er all
- 24 ra kuikuenda þeia er liþliga onnd hapa. A hinum setta d(egi) þormeradi hann þyfta mann aþ. þ
ioꝝum hoþudskæpnum. lopti. elldi. ioþbu. uatni. þann mann kalladi hann adam suaþem takanndi
ferhuern itaþ ihans naþni aþ þioꝝum hoþud ættum. hann uar skapad; ieb:on þerfi madr hinn þyfti var
lx at hæd eþtir fogn fæmundar hann var skapad; eþtir liknefskiu fialþs guds at likamf þormi ha
þanndi .cc.xl ok viij bein. en .ccc ok lx æþa sua segiz `at´ aþ hiartanu gangi ut uizka en
mael aþ lunga.³ reidi aþ galli.⁴ hlatr aþ millti. en likamf þyfin aþ liþrinni
- 27 ok at adam foþanda tok gud riþ aþ hans hægi fidu ok gioꝝdi þar aþ konu hana kalladi
hann euam hon uar .l. at hæþ þau setti gud bædi iparadifum ok leyþdi at þau æti auoxþ þeir
30 ra tria<a> er þeim likadi en bannadi at þau æti aþ þui tre er stod imidi; paradifo ok hann kalladi
liþs tre þa kom til epu þiandinn ihoggo:mf liki aþtr en i þremra hlut syndiz hann hapa
33 meyligt annlit hann taldadi⁵ at hon mundi eta aþ þui tre er gud bannadi ok mundi hon þa uita gott
ok illt. ok hon sua bleckt at bannat epli ok gaþ sidan adami Gud reiddiz þeim ok rak
þau b:ott aþ þeim þaga stad þau hoþdu þar uerid eigi leing; en sex stundir þa klæ
36 dduz þau loþkyrtlum. A fiauanda d(egi) huilidiz guþ aþ ollu uerki fa kallaz sabbatin þat
er huilldar d(agr) Sua segir ymago mundi at heiminn se uaxinn sem egg ok sua sem skum er um egg
sua er elldrin umhuerþum heiminn ok sua sem albumen þat kollum ver skiall er næst skuminu sua er lo
39 pt næst elldi.⁶ ok sua sem id huita eggs er næst albumen sua ero uotn næst lopti
- 2v sua sem id rauda er ieggi sua er ioþ lukt iperfum hoþudskæpnum. Joꝝd er uhrærilig
en uotn lopt ok elldr þat snyz iapnan um ioꝝdina. Þa er adam ok eua uoꝝu aþ
- 3 fett paradifi þagnadum þæddiz þeim son fa er seth er neþnd; hann uar þyftir getinn med
munud aþ karlmanni ok konu. meþ þeim hætti sem bækr uifa til at lofti karlmannzinþ
- 6 liggi ihans lenndum en inaþla konunnar ok er þeia beggia fað samblandaz med kon
unni er þat asyndar vj. dagha næftu sua sem miolk ok þadan ix. d(ogum) lidnum uerd; þat blod
ok at enn xij d(ogum) lidnum styrkiz. ok þadan xx. d(ogum) lidnum er mannzinþ liknefskia algioꝝr sua
fegir ok yfodoꝝus ethimologiarum at fueinbarnid uerdi aþ þrioui konunnar. en meþbarnid
9 aþ fadi karlmannzinþ. tua sonu gatu þau aþra abel ok kain hann drap abel med;
afna kialka þirir fakir opunndar er gud þektiz þom abelf þedgin hans syttu hann .c. ara tiræt
sua segiz at þau hapi att fidan xxx. sona ok iamargar dætr. Adam liþdi <dcccc> ok xxx ara
12 hann uar graþinn inloco caluarie ok eþtir tima uar hann þluttr ieb:on. seth son adamf liþdi .dccc

c. ara ok xij. hanf son: enof l(iþdi) dccc. ok v. ar. hanf son: kainan .dcccc. ok x. ar. hanf son: malaleel .dcccc. ok lx ok ix
 ar. hanf son: iared. hanf son: enok er upp uar numinn til himna ok skal koma med elia ok beriaz moti a
 15 ntichristo ok þar palla þa matufale .m. hanf son: uar lamek hann l(iþdi) dcc. lxx vij. ar. hanf synir uoro þeir noe ok
 iubal er þystr þann hlíodþæra iþrott þridi h(et) ioel er þystr þann hufa smid þio:di h(et)
 18 tubalkam hann þann þystr manna at blafa rauda ok allan malm syftir þeira `h(et)´ noema er
 þystr þann ueþnat ymilligs hattar enok er upp uar numinn sem þystr. segir uar hinn vijdi
 aþ adam hann þann þystr allra manna bokstapa setning latinu malf. eber þadan ero ebrei
 21 þad þydir eb:eskr her lyktaz hinn þyfti heimf alld: haþanndi ifier .m. `ok´ dc. ara. *annar h(eim)fa(lldr)*
 HEr heþz annar heimf alld: a noa lameks f´ syni hann einn þann gub rietlatan þa þyll
 diz io:þin aþ mikilli ill<z>ku mannanna huadanap gub reiddiz hann mælti þa uid noa
 24 gerdu ok aþ liettum triam hon skal uera .ccc.alna long ok .l.alna breid .xxx.alna unndir þakid
 bika hana utan ok innan. sex alnar e(da) ix. þætr þat er iammikid þær heita geometrie alnar. auln hu[ar]
 er halþr annar þotr sua segir. j isto:ia scolaftica. þa uar noe .dc. uetra er hann geck i o:kina con
 a hanf het poarpa þri: synir hanf kam. sem. iaþed gengu io:kina cona kamf h(et) kataploa. kona sem parph00
 27 ia cona iaþed þliua. þat uar x° kal(endas) mai þat er iij nattum þirir gagndagh hinn eina. eigi uoro þilkar io:
 kinni ok eigi þoglar þei: er þliota auatni en oll onnur kuikenndi tuenn. þa þlæddi fíoinn
 en lukuz upp himinraupar ok rigndi xl. d(aga) ok natta ísam geck þa þlodit xv. alna[r u]
 30 pp aþ hæftum þiollum do þa allt man<n>kyn iheiminum utan þersir viij menn Aurkin þlaut
 a fionum uel xij manudu. gud byrgdi fialþr dyrr a o:kinni

33 Cristalluf Gluggz

Menn atta ok þuglar

36 Mannhæg kuikende Uifta rum Mannhætt kuikende

39 Sagina eda faurum

3r
 noe geck o: o:kinni ij nattum þirir tueggia postola messo a uarid þa mælti gud uid noa boga minn
 mun ek fetia ifkyum sua sem mark fatmalf midil min ok þin ok iardar þad kallaz regnbogi
 3 sua segiz ok at gub hafi þerfi o:ð talad. id:ar mig at ek heþi gort man<n>inn noe l(iþdi) allz dccc`c´ ok l. ara
 sua f(egir) ymago mundi at þra sem se komnir konungar en aþ iaþed riddarar. en þra kam þ:ælar sem l(iþdi) dc. uetra

6 hanf son arþaxath l(iþdi) ccc. ok xxx ok viij ar. hanf son kainan l(iþdi) cccc lx. ok atta ar. hanf son sale l(iþdi) cccc xxx ok iiij ar
 heber l(iþdi) cccc. lx ok iiij ar. þalek .cc. xxx ok viij ar. ragau l(iþdi) cc ok xxx ok ix ar. seruth l(iþdi) cc .xxx. nachoꝝ
 c ok xl. ok atta ar. thare cc. ok v. ar. Neþrod h(et) einn rifi hann gap ser þystr manna konungs naþn hann uar xxx a
 9 lna har hann þyllðiz þerf oþmetnadar upp at gera stopulinn babel ibabilonia hann smidupu lxx
 rifa ok ij þei: ætludu at smida hann allt upp til himinfinf ok er hann uar smidap: sua at hann uar at hæd
 quatuo: milia passuum .ij. passuf gera þadm. þa leit gud driþ þei: ok talmadi smidina sua at þa uard tu
 12 ngna skipti taladi þa eingi þei: hinni somu tungu ero æ. sidan lxx ok ij tungur þa
 lamðiz stopul smidin sua f(egir) ieronimus prestr at ein tunga gangi um ij þyftu heimfalldra til abrahamf `ok uar þat eb:efka`
 en sidan haþa þær d:eiþz um allan heim. neþrod rifi gio:di þystr manna skurgod ok gio:
 15 di þat eþtir þaudur finum Zo:oaftir konung: rikti nær þerfum tima hann þann þyft þiolkyngi hann drap ninuf
 her lykta<z> annar heimf allð: haþanndi .dcccc. xl ok ij ar þi:di heimsalldr || mælti uid hann mi
 þRidi h(eims) allð: heþz æ abraham syni thare hanf kona h(et) þyft fara en sidan fara gud
 kinn mann man ek þig gera ok kyn þitt man margþallda sem stio:nur himinf bleza man ek þeim er
 18 þig bleza en baulua þeim er þig bolua. abraham atti ij fonu ismael⁸ ok yfac guþ baud at
 þa heþiz umskurdar skim med þeim hætti at med huoffum steinknipi skuli aþ snidaz hinn þremzi
 þatr getnadar limf allra karlmanna hiehlz fa sid: um næstu iiij heimf alldra.

2bisv

Hand D neþnd: abraham var iþyftu hoþdingi æ lanndi þvi er kaldea heitir. þei: voru
 3 þrir bræd: abraham oc aran ok natho: ok er þiolmenne mikid komit þra
 þeim ollum l þann tima toc alþydan ath blota skurdgodum. oc þyrir þvi ath
 abraham oc aron bræd: villdu eigi blota þa var þeim badum skotid ielld brenn
 6 annda. en elldrinn matte ecki gera ath abraham þyrir sakir helgi hanf oc verdleika
 en aron liet þar lip fitt ok atti eþtir einn son er loth het. Siban baud gud
 abrahame at þara aþ þoþtrlanndi sino oc þra þrænndum oc bad hann leita lanz þeff er ver kollum
 io:fala lannd. abraham þo: sidan med loth brodur syni finum ok bygdi io:fala lannd
 9 Sva segir glofa super epistolam pauli ath romanos. ath cetura haþe heitid þridla abra
 he. en agar kallaz haþa verit ambatt hon uar modir ismaelif sona: abrahe

3r

Hand A nær þerfum tima⁹
 21 rigndi elldi ok brennuþsteini iþir sodomitaf borgir þui þar þydduz karlmenn sin imilli ok þar aþ
 fuccu þei: nid: þuiat þar þunnduz eigi .x. menn riettlatir. loth brodur son abrahame ok dætr hanf. ij
 þrelladi gud. en hufþrv loth leit aþtr ok uard hon at fallt steini. A þerfum tima uar melchifede

24 c er bædi uar konung; ok kennimadr hanf þadir er eigi uitad;

2bisv

12 Hand D Þessi melkifedeðch hefir ríkt í þeim kalfala er salem heitir oc þvi er hann kallad; konungr salem fa stad; er skamt þra iordan¹⁰ þar ero mo:g uottn oc þar ueitti iohannef baptista þolkinu skirn

3r

24 Hand A abraham obbiit. do. þa er hann uar .c. uetra lxxx ok

v. yfac atti þa konu er rebecca h(et) hon þæddi ij sueina ieinum burd er lua hetu

efau hann uar lodinn sem saud; ok iacob hann þæddiz með þeim hætti at hann hellt um il brodur sinf

27 yfac [o(biit)] c. ok lxxx uetra sonar son efau uar iob er miog uar þreiftad; ymago mundi f(egir) at hann uæri

fidan konungr xxx ara hann atti vij sonu ok iij dætur. vij þufunndir sauda. og iij þusundir ulballda

cccc. yxna ok lua morg afna þetta uar hanf eign. iacob atti ij syfr liam ok rakel hon `var` ubyria iacob

30 atti xij sonu. sua bar til at iacob uar einn saman stadd; þa kom þar madr ok glimdi uid hann ok er hann matti eigi

iacob ipir stiga tok hann aþsinar lærf hanf ok þegar hromadi aþl ipætinum þa mælti hinn komni

madr lat mig laufan þuiat nu er dag; upp kominn. iacob f(uaradi) ok þottiz uita at þat uar gupf eingill eigi

33 mun eg þig laufan lata nema þu blezir mer. eingillinn f(purdi) huat h(eitir) þu. iacob h(eiti) eg e(ingillinn) m(ælti) með ol

lu eigi mattu iacob h(eita) held; ifrael þuiat þu uart styrkr mott gudi. þa blezadi eingillinn hann

ok er þei: skilduz geck iacob halltr. `obiit cxi` son hanf h(et) iofep hann uar selld; aþ bæðum sinum þirir xxx.

36 penga þa uar hann xvj. ara en þritug; er hann ried drauma pharaonif. ok með; sinni radspeki

flaukti hann vij ara hallæri egipta lanz þ<ad>anaþ var hann kallad; gædari heimf¹¹ hanf hus þrv h(et) afe

nek. nær þerfum tima smidadz troeamanna borg. Cartago borg uar smidut aþ cradone.¹²

39 helyaf telbintef lua segiz at hann haþi þyft reift mann aþ dauda leui

3v

het einn aþ xij sonum¹³ iacobs. hanf. son uar gerson. hanf son caht. hanf merari. hanf. son. amram hann uar hinn viij aþ a

braham hopudþed; husþrv hanf h(et) ioabeth þeia synir uoro þei moyfes ok aron kennimadr. her lyktaz hinn

3 þridi heimf alld; haþandi ifier dcccc. ok xl. ara þioidi h(eimsalldr) || ieinn bikadan stock þuiat pharao

Þioidi heimf alld; heþz amoyfi syni amramf. ok er hann uar iij manada gamall uar hann latinn koma

konung; baud tortima ollum sueinbomum. honum gaþ naþn. dottir pharaonif er hon þann hann þliotann

6 da ipolli aarinnar kendi hon at hann uar aþ eþesku kyni. hon gaþ honum naþn at hann skuli moyfes he

ita þuiat moyf þydir uatn. ok er hann uar þullrofkinn at alldri þieck hann þeiar konu er seþora h(et) gud m(ælti)

9 uid hann at hann skuli þrelfa lyd hanf að ualldi pharaonif en hann mælti mot. þa f(agdi) gud aaron brodir þinn þkal
 þara med þer ok þirir þann uonnd er þu helld: a man ek fla egiptaland med morgum byfnum sua at þad
 anaþ man pharao geþa upp lyd minn. ok er moyfes kom aegipta land fagdi hann pharaoni konungi uil
 12 ia guds en hann uilddi eigi gera þrialfan gudf lyd þa kalfadi aaron nid: uenndinum en hann uard at o:mi
 þa fenndi þarao eptir galldra monnum finum ok þad þa fia þetta unnd: þei: fno:u finum uondum ihoggor
 ma þa fualg hoggormr aarons alla þeiza deka. þa lauft gud egiptum med þuilikum byfnum. þyf
 15 ta at oll uotn fnauruz iblod. annat bolna fott .iij^{ia}. my. sua at þylldi nafar ok augu. iij^{ia}. fto:ar
 þlugur. v^{ia}. þall iþenadi þeiza. vj^{ia}. þrofkarr iuotnum þei: er þeim spilltu. vij^{da}. hagn vij^{ia}. þei: fmaþoglar er
 atu grafrot akra. niunnda myrkr. x^{da}. topuduz allir þrumburdir. ok er moyfes þor brott að egiþ
 18 ta landi laust hann uenndinum aid rauda haþ. en þat braft funnd: imidiu. geingu þei: þurum þotum iþir
 haþid. en pharao þor eptir þeim d:uknadi hann þar ok allr hanf herr med heftum ok kerrum. þa o:ti moy
 fes cantemus. hann gio:di gudi tialldbud aeydimork. Nær þeim tima fualg io:ðin dathan ok
 21 abiron liþandi. Gud gaþ honum .x. laga bodo:ð. fkrifud afþioldum med fialþf hanf þingri. þyfsta uar
 trva agud. annat fueria eigi hiegoma uid gudf napn. iij^{ia}. elfka gud að ollu hiarta. iij^a. elfka
 nauunginn fem fialþan fig. v^{ia}. at hallda þuat dagh. vj^{ia}. at uegfama þaudur ok modur. vij^{da}. þor
 24 daz manndrap. viij^{ia}. horaz eigi. ix^{da}. stela eigi. x^{da}. bera eigi liuguini. hann gio:di .v. bækr er fua heita ge
 nefif. leuiticus. numeris. deutromius. exodus. obbiit moyfes þa hann haþdi .c. ok xx. ara. eptir hann uar io
 fue fkipad: hertogi iþir lydinn. hann leiddi ifraelf lyd med fier agydinga. land. med morgum iarteinum
 27 þei: geingu þurum þotum iþir io:ðan. iericho borg hraþadi nid: þirir ludurb læftri gydinga. þirir hann
 ftod ok folin um heilan dagh þa er hann uann borgina gabaon. o(biit) c. ok x. ara. að iosue allt til faulf
 uoro iudices fettir þat `eru `domar¹⁴ iþir gydinga lyd. sua bar til iborg gabaon at foþnuduz faman æs
 30 ku menn ok toku unga mannz konu ok þraungdu henni til faurliþif sua at þei: gengu at henni daud:
 ok til minningar þuiliks glæþs fskiptu `hoþdingia þeiffa ftadar [000einn] `þei: hennar likam i xij partef fenndanndi ser huern hlut xij ættum
 ifraelf lydf. Gedeon atti .lxx fona ok um þram þann er abimelek h(et) hann drap fina alla bræd:
 33 aeinum degi honum uard þat at bana at kona þelldi kuernftein ihopud honum || afna kialka þ
 Manue h(et) þadir famfonf hin fsterka hann heþir uerid fsterkaztr manna fkapad: hann drap .m. manna med einum
 a þyftri hann miog. hann hrærdi einn iagfl iafna kialkanum ok þuftri þar o: uatn ok flockti sua
 36 hanf þoftra en hann uar ad: kominn at þrotum að mædi. hann uar fuikinn ok blindad: að einni putu
 er dalila h(et) ok at fiduztu banadi hann mmmmm^{um} manna meþ þeim hætti at hann þelldi oþan aða
 hollina med þeim atbu:ð at hann kipti o: ftad þeim ftolpa er henni hieilt upp ok liet hann `fua´ liþ fitt
 39 hann uar domari .xx. ara. eiy kennimadr uar domari iþir gydingum .xl ara ok er fagt at hann uæri linr ok
 eigi ftio:nfamr. synir hanf ok gydinga lyd: attu bardaga uid philiftim þiellu þar að gyþingum

xxx (þusunnda) en hertekin ok drottinþ af heidingium ok þluttu hana iborgina azotum ok fettu imustari
gups fins dagonif. vm morgunin eþtir komu preftar dagonif til hoþfins ok saa hann liggia aio:du ok
3 aþ brotid hoþud ok hennd: sua at huartueggia laa utan gatta. ok þirir þerfa fok giauma .æ. sidan al
lir blotmenn ok heidingiar iazoto at stiga alldri a þreþskiold þa er þei: ganga iblothus dago
6 niþ. þa kom reidi drottinþ iþir azotos med þeim hætti at þei: þunudu nedan. en bæir ok borgir fuckv
nid: ok aktrar imidiu heradi. en þar þædduz myff ok mein kuikuenndi. þei: þoldu morg skripi i
azoto ok fkom til bana. ok er þei: fa fig ftangada med þuiliku aþelli mæltu þei: med fier alldri skal
9 ok þerfi leing: meþ off uera þuat gud gerir mikil byfn a off. hely o(biit) niræd: ok viij ara. samu
el uar næst eþtir hely domari fon helkana ok aunnu hon uar ubyria aþ: hon gat samuelem þa
dictadi hon canntican exultavit. neþnd: samuel uar spamadr ok giomdi fattmaþf ok hina helgu er
i giaumdz himna miolid ok uonndrin ok logmaals spiolldin hann giaumdi ok þat helga kennimannz klædi er
12 aþbot kallaz ok aaron þyft kennimadr bar ok sua uar gort at smar hliodbiollur hengu nid: aþ ollum megum
Nv huerþr aþtr til ættar tolu `iac`obs¹⁵ patriarcha iudaf uar einn aþ hanf sonum xij. hanf son uar þaref. hanf. fon esrom
hanf fon aram. hanf fon aminadab. hanf fon. naþon. hanf fon falmon. hanf fon booz. hanf fon obeth. hanf fon ieffe er odu napni h(et)
15 ysai. hann uar hinn xii^{di} aþ abraham Ok er her uar komid beiddu hoþdingiar gydinga at hann skilldi skipa þeim
konung en guþ baud samuele at hann skyli taka til konungs saul fon scis hann uar bardaga madr mikill ok hoþdi h
æri en þlestir menn adir med honum uoro ihird synir yfai viij^a dauid h(et) hinn yngzti hann drap goliath risa er
18 [uar] vjalna haer ok loþa hann uar styrkr at aþli sua at hann reþþ kipta hins oarga dyrf ok kiænn ioro
ftum sua at þetta uar hliodat med streingleikum saul þelldi .m^d. en dauid .x.m^d. saul þiell ibardaga
ok fon hanf ionathaf her lyktaz hinn þio:di heimf alld: hapandi .dc.l. ok vij ara. *þi/mi h(eimfalld:)]* || ikol d(ottur) sauls
21 fimti h(eims) alld: heþz a d(au)id syni ieffe saul uar þystr konung: en þar næst dauid hann uar ok spamadr hann atti mi
atti hann ok þleiri husþreyur iamþram abfalon h(et) fon hanf. hann heþir uerid allra manna þridaztr. annar h(et) so
lomon hann heþir uerid allra manna uitraztr. hanf modir uar berfabee ed uriaf haþdi att. marga ada: fo
24 nu atti dauid. sua bar til adogum dauidf konungs at gydinga lyd: reitti en<n> drottin þirir morg tilþelli þa
baud gud dauid at telia gydinga lyd ok reþsa þeim er þerf uoro uerdir en dauid fenndi ioabb hertoga en þor
eigi fialþr sem gud baud þa senndi d[rot]tinn dæp iallt rikid um iij daga ok do eigi þerra en lxx (þusunda)
27 karlmanna en utaldar konur ok bom. þa fa dau[is] eingil gudf standa milli himinf ok iardar iþir einum gardi
ok drap þolkid med elligu suerdi dauid k(onungr) rietti þa halsinn unndir suerdit ok m(ælti) þers bid eg þigh
drott`i`nn minn at þetta sverd snuiz mer ahalf ok reidi drottinþ minf sediz held: a mer ok
30 minu kyni en þolk gudf se nu þleira hogguid þirir minar sakir ok er gud heyrði hanf sua miuka
bæn liet gud aþ at dæpa þolkid. dauid l(iþdi) lxx ara g:oþ hanf þinz tom allt til þerfa dags. solom
on tok kongdom eþtir þaudur sinn hann uar hinn .vj. ok xx^{di}. aþ noa en hinn xv^{di} aþ abraham hann gordi
33 iij bækr er sua heita ecclesiafief. cantica cantico:um. liber sapientie. hann smidapi þyft[r] gudi
muftari sua at huarki ad: nie sidan heþir þuilikt uerid reift iam agiætt. konungar uida um heim

ok drotning saba af yztum endimorkum heimf komu at heyra speki persa konungs.

3bisv

Hand I Solumon k(onungr) fetti xij hopdingia til þess at annaz honum boð huert ar þra audu
oc allri hanf hird sinn manud hverr þeia en til boðz uar at etla xxx me`i`li fimiliubrau
3 df oc tau ftlik rugar braud .x yxn þeit oc xx haggè in`gna .c. hruta oc umþram f<ok>ga:
hrut oc aunnur ueidi dy: er iapnan uoro gnog oc enn alipuglar Salomonf mustari uar
lj.alna langt oc xxalna breit en xxxalna hatt en fskotit þram af mustarinu uar
6 sua langt fem mustarit uar breit en þat uar xalna breit þat uar vij aar i fmid

4r

Hand A sua bar til

- 36 at .ij. portkonur komu afund solomonis kunnig gerandi sin uandæpi aunnur talar sua
minn herra s(egir) hon uid tuær bygdum eitt herbergi ok ungr: son med huarri ok er ek uar soþanndi
reis hon upp hliodliga ok tok brott minn son lipannda en lagdi sinn son daudan þar
39 eftir [þa] suaradi onnur þu lygr: minn son lipir en þinn son þraungdir þu til bana. Ok er k
- 4v
ongrinn unndirftennd: þeia þrætni bid: hann þaa ser biirt suerd med hueriu hann bad skipta su
nnd: imidiu sueininum at sinn part tæki huar þeia. þa s(agdi) onnur gerid eigi sua latid hana helld: ha
3 þa. þa [tok]` onnur til oðda snidid sunnd: sua at huargi nioti. þa m(ælti) konungrin<n> taki su kona lipa
nda barn sitt at eigi uilldi dæpa lata. þuiat hon gat þat. ok þirir þuilikan dom konungrin<s> loþudu allir hanf
speki. hann uard tæld: af kuenna aft sua syrgiliga at hann tignadi skurgod. Sua segia ebres
6 kar bækr at fakir idonar lieti solomon k(onungr) draga sig .v. sinnum um stræti io:sala borgar
ok þar næft hæpi hann komid med .v. uonndum imustari drottins. þat sama er hann hæpi gera latid ok med
9 þeim uondum baud hann iij. logmonnum at beria sig ok aþhyda en þei: sogdu allir eitt sogbu
sig aldri skilldu leggia henn: a krist drottins. Segiz sidan at hann hæpi siolþr bar
<i>t sig. hann uar konungr: .xl. uetra. roboaf hanf. fon: uar hinn xvj^{di} af abraham. abias hinn xvij^{di}. asa[xv]
iij^{di}. hann uar likr dauid at giæzku. iosapad`h(inn)` .xix^{di}. io:as h(inn) xx^{di}. ozias .ixx^{di}. iaachim ij^{ar} xx^{di}. a[k]az
12 iij^{di}. ok xx^{di}. ezebias iij^{di} ok xx^{di} hann uar god: konungr: uid hans alld: lagdi gud xv. ar hann giordi canntikan ego
dixi. manases hinn. v^{di} ok xx^{di}. hann liet pina. yfaiam spamann modurbrodur sinn ok saga
sunnd: med tresog hann uar setr ieiroxa snoiz hann þa til guds ok braz honum alldri sidan þersi
15 ysaias giordi þa bok er liber ysayaf kallaz ok ij. cantica confitebo: ok domine audiui A
mon. vi^{di} ok xx^{di}. Josias vii^{di} <ok> xx^{di}. jeconias er odu nafni h(et) ioachim uar þa .xv`iij` uetra ok rikti

27 ad þírir hann skíldi leida þíolkunniga menn ok galldra menn. kong: taladi sua til spekinga
 babilonie huerr sem fa er ad lefid þærr þetta letr ok mer gerir líofa þess þyding
 þa skal hann vera skrydd: purpura ok hann skal gullmen hafa æ finum hálfí. ok hann skal vera
 hinn þrídi mestr íminu ríki. þa geingu inn allir spekingar kongfínf ok mattv eigi
 30 lefa letrid ne segia þyding konginum huadanap balltafa: kong: vard miog hryg[gr:]
 ok hanf menn S[ídan] geck d:otning inn þírir kong þírir þad sem ad hapdi boriz ok taladi til
 kongfínf honum sva heilsanndi. kong: lípíd ad eilípu. eigi skelþi þig þínar hug
 33 renningar. ok þín afíona eigi um skíptiz einn madr [e]r íríki þínu sa er heþir ífer.
 annda guds ok adogum þodur þínf þanz med h[onum] uizka ok speki vmþram ad:æ
 menn ok spekinga ok þúi skípadi þadír þínn hann hópdingia yþír adra spekinga ok
 36 [g]alldra menn. kann hann ad rada ok rit sky:æ d[í:]auma ok leysa bunna hluti
 ok birta my:kua hlute þessí madr er daniel er kong: kastadi idyra [groþ] N
 v sem daniel var inn leidd: þírir kong huerium inn leiddvm fagdi konginn. ertv da
 39 níel að herteknum sonum gydinga er þadír minn leiddi hingad að gy[d]
 inga landi. ek hey:i fagt að þier ad þu hapír annda gudanna ok meiri u
 izku ok speki en adrír menn Nv geingu inn þírir mik spekingar ok uisennda [menn]

5v

ad þei: skíldu lefa þetta ritt ok segia mer þyding. ok mega þei: eigi ut sky:æ skílning
 þessa malf. en ek hey:i sua fagt að þier ad þu kunnir ad birta my:kua hluti ok
 3 leysa bunna hluti. Nv eþ þu kann lefa ritid ok þyda. þa skallt[v] vera skrydd:
 purpura ok hafa gulligt men aþinum hálfí. ok þu sk(allt) uera hinn þrídi mestr ími
 no ríki Daniel svaradi æ þenna hat. þínar giapar kong: skolu mer ecki geþ þær
 6 odum. en ek mun lefa þier ritid ok þyding þess. hey:du kong: hinn hefti gud gap. þ
 ed: þinum. Nobogodonofoz. ríki ok megn. dyrþ ok tign. ok þírir þa mekt ok mik
 lan er gud gap honum ottadiz hann ok hæddiz. þa sem hann uilldi drap hann. ok þa sem hann
 9 villdi þínndi hann. ok þa sem hann uilldi míkladi hann. þa sem hann villdi lægdi hann. En sí
 dan hann hóp upp sítt hía:ta ok dígra drambsemi þa var hann nídi: settr að sínum ue
 12 lldíff stoli ok ríki ok brott borin hanf dyrþ ok að sínum eignum ut rekinn ok hía:ta sko
 gdy:æ var honum geþíd ok med: elgum ok skogdy:um var hanf bygd vm víj a:í. graf at hann sem
 vxi ok hanf líkami var uokuad: daugg himínsins þar til er hann kenndiz vid at hinn hæfti
 gud heþir valld yþír ríki manna ok huem sem hann vill setr hann upp yþír þad. En þv balltafa: í
 15 on hanf lægdir eigi þitt hía:ta þar sem þv uíffir alla þa hluti. heldi: hóft þv þik upp
 mot gudi drotnara himíns sua ad þv ok þínir menn husþeyu: ok þræla: d:uckud að þess

18 vm kerum sem gripin voro o: hanf hufi. ok þv kong: lopar ok dy:kar god ymíllig. gullig. síl
 þrlig. eirlig. ía:nlígg. trelig en þv dy:kadir eigi þann gud er þinn annda heþir ífinv
 valldi þirir þa fauk er þessi hlutr. hanndar aþ honum fennð: ok ritadi þetta sem þv fier
 her skíotliga eþtir þessi tidenndi var hann dæpinn aþ kalldæif Hand C Eþtir hann var dariuf konungr
 21 hann liet settia danielem j dyra groþ med þeim hetti. at babilonif. menn. to
 lodo til hanf felldv off danielem er nidr braut gvd vart¹⁶ beþl. ok drapp dre
 ckann er uær tignvdvm ella monv ver drepa¹⁷ þik ok allt þitt hyski. þa
 24 felldi hann þeim danielem. en þeir kaustodo honum j dyra groþ þar `v(oru)´ .vij.
 leones ok grondodo honum ecki. Eþtir þat var cirvf konungr þrendi. hanf. hann
 leyþdi heim þerð gydinga lyd eþ<tir> .lxx. ara til gydinga landz. síd
 27 an tok<v> þeir at smida vpp falomonf mvstari gio:du¹⁸ þeir þat vex
 ti. `000´ þeir voru at kirkiv gio:ð þessari .xl. ok .vi. vetr. Eþtir fyrum. var. cambi
 30 fef son hanf er odro naþni hiet nabogodinofor hann rickt i miklo borg
 niniven a fyrlandi. vm neþnda. borg. er .iij. daga leid. hana smidadi ninus
 konungr son beþi er blott hapa aþ hapiz. hann var blottadr daudr. eþtir honum
 var scurd god giort þat er fumar þiodir kalla baal. en gydingar beelz
 33 eebub 00000000000000 Hier byriaz sagha aþ hinne blezudu
 Arþaxat er neþdr medialandz konungr || *judith heilagri eckiu*
 36 fer uJndir sik hapið [l]agt margar þiodir. ok eþtir þat liet hann gera si
 er ena sterkofto borg ok kalladi hana ekbatanif hon var gio:ð aþ
 steini ok fva sterk at lxx alna vora havir ueggir hennar en .xxx
 39 alna þyckir turna hennar setti hann .c. alna hapa hann liet hlidinn
 borgarennar uppi vera turnonom ok var hann þa mestr konungr latinu iaufr
 uegi aþ sino ríki a eno xij ari rikif hans kom nabogod<on>ofoz k(onungr)
 [aff]irie aþ ninive ok bardiz uid arþaxat aa vidum uelli er

6r

Hand D kallad: er ragau ok ligg: amedal eupraten ok tigrin ok iadapan þat var iriki erioch
 3 konungf ierichorum manna ok þiell þar arphaxath Eþtir þetta ox mikít ríki nabogodonosoz
 ok ox miok oþmetnð: hanf. hann fennði þa fina menn ok eyrenndæka til allra lannda
 þeira er eigi voru unndir hanf ríki. þyft ath heria þadan til damasco ok libano til ka:
 melo ok ceda: ok igalilea ok allt a þinv myklu heidi efdælon hann fennði þa ok
 6 til samarita herads ok þramm um iordan allt til iehrusalem ok þadan vm alla iouð ieffe vnz þei:
 komv allt til blalanz þialla. hann fennði þa þess eyrendiff ath bidia þessa: þiodir alla: þiona

Nabogodonosor konungi. En þeir þoro virðingalausir ætr ok an ollum soma. þa vard konungr akapliga reid:
 ok so: þeir finn stol oc riki at hann skilldi hefna þessum þiodum þessara: sneypu *capitulum 000*
 A hinu xviii ari rikiss N(abogodonosors) k(onungs) affirie kalladi hann til sin alla tignar menn rikiss sinf
 bædi iarla ok radgiapa ok berferki ok sagdi hugfan sina ath hann ættladi þessi
 lonnd unndir sik ath leggja ok lietv þeir sier þat uel lika. Þvi næst kalladi Nab(ogodonosor) konung:
 til sin oloþernem hoppingia riddara sveitar sinnar ok mællte vid hann. þu skalltt para til allra ueftrlannda
 ok hefna þeim er eigi uilia hlyda minv bodo:þi ok uelldi ok skal auga þitt ne eigi einv riki
 uægja ok hueria bo:g skalltv unndir mitt riki oka þa senndi oloþernes til sin iarla ok hop
 pingia affiria ok taldi ser hundrat þufunnda ok .xx. þufunndir gaungu lidf til bardaga buit
 ok liet þat lid para þeir med otali ulþallda klyþiada af uiftum ok odum þia:hlutum. ok med
 þiolda nauta ok sauda ok allz kynf þia: med hueite ok all<z>konar giædi af ollu af
 firia. En hann þor eþtir med hefta lidi ok voro þat xij þufunndir. Gull ok silþr haþdi hann ok mikitt ak
 apliga af konungs þe Sva var her: fa mikill ath allt lannd þotti vognum ok heftvm ok bog
 monnum þakit sem þa er lemennd: þalla þyckuaz aa io:þ. Oc þa er fia her: kom o: affir
 ia herodum til mikilla þialla er heita ange. þau ero til sud: ok til vinftri hannda:
 er þerr acele firia ok cilicia. Þa brenndi oloþernes alla kaftala þeia. hann braut hinv agiæ
 tvztv bo:g melothi ok rænnti alla sonv tha:fis ok alla gydinga er þar bygdu uid
 eydimerkr ok til fud:lannda. En er hann þor yþir evþraten kom hann til mesopotamiam ok braut
 alla: bo:gir hinur sterkuztv allt þra þo:se mambre vnz hann kom til fioua: hann tok ath her
 þangi alla sonv madian ok allt þe þeia en drap alla þa er honum stodu imot þad
 an ste hann nid: aa uollu damasci aa dogum kornskurda: ok brenndi alla akra ok oll alldintre
 ok uingarda baud hann upp ath hoggua ok ottuduz menn þenna hernath aa huert lannd *cap(itulum)*
 Þa senndu menn hoþdingia: bædi kongar ok iarla: med b:þum o: huerre bo:g ok heradi af
 firia ok mesopotamia af sabal ok libia ok cilicia til holopernem ok mællto sua. Lati
 af reidi þin vid off þuiat betra þickir off ath þiona mycklum konungi Nabogodonosor en vera drepnir. Vilium ver
 ipitt ualld geþa borgir uara: oc alla: eignir hiardir vara: naut ok saudi geitþe hefta ok vl
 þallda oc oll audæþi var: ok manf menn. ver ok varir synir uilium geraz ydir menn. kom þu heria ok ne
 yt varra: þionkanar sem þier likar Nu þætt holopernes sva unnit oll lonnd þessi unndir Nobogodonoso:
 k(onung) Sipan ualdi hann alla hina matkuztv konungi til bardaga manna o: ollum bo:gum. En sua mikill otte var
 yþir monnum at konungar ok adir hoþdingia: af hueri bo:g er holopernif þor til þa geingu med liofkerum ok
 ko:onum ho:pum ok þidlum ok pipna faung. En þott þeir gerdi þessa kosta: þa þiengu þeir: þo
 eigi myktan grimmeik bioftz hanf ok braut hann þo nid: bo:gir þeia ok hio upp alldintre þeia
 Nobogodonosor konungr baud ok holoperne ath eyþa ollum godum ok skyllda alla til þess þa er
 hann þeingi unnid ath þeir kalladi ongan annan gud en Nobogodonosor. Nu þætt holopernes

6v

Hand E [sua unnid] oll lond unndir sik `ok` nabogodonor konung. Sipan ualdi hann alla hinu matkuztv hermenn konungi til bardagamanna o: ollum bo:igum En sua mikill otte var ypir monnum ath konungar ok ad:ir ho:pingia: a: a: huerre bo:ig er holopernif por til þa gengu med lioskerum ok ko:onom ho:pum ok þidlum ok pipna saung En þott þeir gerdi þessa kostar þa þiengu þeir þo eigi myctan grimmleik b:ioz hanf ok braut hann þo nid: borgir þeiza ok hio upp alldintre þeiza Nabogodonor baud ok holopeme ath eyþa ollum godum ok skyllða alla til þess þa er hann giæti unnid at þeir: kalla di aungan annan gud en Nabogodonor konung Nu þerr holopernes med her sinn allt til ydumeoz a io:þ gaba: ok toc bo:igir þeiza. ad: uann hann allt apamiam *cap(itulum)* || ok mustare d:rottins sem Þad þragu gyþingar þeir er bygdu gydinga land oc ottuduz at þeir mundu nid: b:iota ierusalem þeir ho:þdu gert um ad:ar borgir. þa fenndu gydingar oþ allt samaria herad ok allt til jericho at allir þærdi eignir sínar upp a hinu hæftu þioll ok gerdi þar uirki um bæi sina. ok saþnadi at sier her ok byg<g>iz til bardaga Eleachim kennimadr senndi breþ um allt gydinga land til hinnar myclu heidar efdraelon ath allir kiæmi til hierusalem aþ: þeir þære a þiollinn Gydingar gerdu sem hann baud Eleachim guds kennimadr bad allan lyd kalla til drottinf med mikilli stadþeste ok litillæta hugi sina ok skrydaz harklædi ok þalla til jardar j muftare drottinf þirir gudf alltare ok bidia gud at þeir yrði eigi herteknir eþa konur þeiza eþa bo:z eda eydd herod þeiza e(da) borgir e(da) saungadir stadir þeiza helgir e(da) þeir Γ i alpír hneyc tir aþ h<e>idnum þiodum Þui næst þor eleachim byskup um allt gyþinga land ok mællte sua uid lydim. Vita lko lu þeir þat at drottinn heyrir bænrir yþrar eþ þeir erod stadþastir j þoltum ok bænum jaugliti d:rottinf Miniz þeir at moysef þionofstu madr gudf er eigi figradi amalek med uapnum bardagha þann er treyftiz krapti sinum ok herlidi lkiollidum sinum oc ridderum ok helsta lidi heldl: figradi hann med helgum bænum. sua munu þeir fagra yþra alla ouine eþ þeir erud stadþastir j ydum bænum þeim er þeir tokud upp. Vid þessa aegg iun hanf gerduz þeir stadþastir jfinum bænum ok þærdu þornir gudi ha:klædum skryddir ok iufu moll du j ho:þud sier ok badu aþ ollu hia:ta til drottins ath hann uitiadi lyds sinf. þa spurdi holopernes ho:þdingi assiria at gydingar biugguft til motstodu ok luctu sic a hinum hæftum þiollum hann þyll diz þa upp mikilla: reidi ok kalladi til sin alla ho:þdingia moab ok jarla amon ok mællti sua Segid mer huer se lyd: sia er sitr a þiollum eþa hueria: ero borgir þeiza eda huerfu mikill er kraþir þeiza e(da) lidf þioldi e(da) huer er konung: þeiza e(da) þirir hui haþna þeir at gera sem alla: þiodir þær er byggia auftrhalþun a er eigi standa moti off med oþridi. þa sua:adi jarl sona ammon er heitir achio: ok mællte Eþ þu heria læ tr þeir foma at hlyda minne þrafogn mun ek segia þeir þrafogn þra lyd⁹ þessum er aþiallinu saþnastz Hann er ky nniad: aþ kalldea ok bygdi þyft j mesopotamia þui at hann uilldi eigi goþga þau god sem þeiza þed: þeir er a kalldea landi uo:u ok þirirlietu þeir oll log sinna þedra en goþgudu himna gud er þeim baud at þara aþyþin ga land ok bygdu þeir j a:an En er hallære kom a landit þa þoro þeir a egipta land ok uaro þar cccc uetra

- 33 ok þiolgadz þa sía lyð: súa at þa var utolulig: her: med ollu. þa þyngdiz egiptalanþ konung:
uid þa ok þiadi þa til at ellta leir ok tigl ok ath smida sier borgir. þei: kolludu þa a gud sinn En þa
36 lauft himna gud egiptalandþ lyð marg[kynf unndrvm ok raku þei: þa þenna lyð j brott þa liettu aþ þe
gar unndrin. en þa uilldu egiptar þegar taka þa ok þrælka Ener þei: þlydu þa lauk himna gud upp id rau
da haþ ok stodu uottnin atuær hennd: sua sem ueggir ok geck þessi lyð: þurrum þotum um diup siovar Ener
39 [egipta konungr fotti eþtir þeim med her sinn þa þiellu uottnin yþir hoþud honum ok her hanf. drvcknudu þei: allir En
[er þessi] lyð: geck o: hinu rauda haþe þa þoro þei: um eydimerkr þiallz þeff er sýna heitir er alldri haþdi ad:
[madr matt] byggia. þa gerdi gub þeira þau uottn fæt þeim til dýckia: er ad: uoro beifk oc þæddi þa þar aþ himna
miolli x]] uetra ok sigradi gub þeira alla þeira vuine þa er uid þa borduz. þott þessi lyð: heþdi huarki skiold
- 7r
- ne skeyti epa suerd ok ecki sigradi þenna lyð eþ hann var hlydinn gudi. en þegar er þei: sa yþir ok gauþgu
du annur gud þa urdu þei: herteknir. Nu idrvþuz þei: ok hurþu þra blotum ok til gudf sins þa gaþ
3 himna gud þeim krapþ til motstodu þa sigrvdu þei: marga konunga kananeum ok ebeum oc þerezeum jetheum
eueum ok amoreum Auallt er þei: misgerdu eigi j auglite gudf sins þa uoro med þeim godir hlutir þuiat gud þeira
6 hatar illzku En þirir nuckurum manzollðum hurþu þei: aþ gotu þeise er gud syndi þeim oc urdu þa
herteknir auþtr j babilon Nu leita þu heria minn eþtir eþ illzka þeira se eþtir nockur j mote uilia guds
ok gongum þa at þeim dia:þliga ok mun gub þeira selia þa j hond þier ok muntu þa unndir þik leggia. en eþ eigi
er gud þeira reid: þeim þa megu ver eigi amot þeim stannda þuiat gud þeira mun hliþa þeim ok munv uer þa ufig: *cap(itulum)*
9 Þa er achio: haþdi þetta mællt reidduz allir hoþdingia: h(oloþerni) ok ætludu ad drepa achio: ok mællto. hvert
er þessi madr er sonu ifraels segir stannda megha a mott Nabogodonosor k(onungi) ok her hanf uapnlausu menn ok an krapþe <ok> kia
nfsku bardag<a> iþrottar ok at akio: uite at akio: uite at hann bleckir off gongum nu þa at þeim aþiollin ok er uer þam tekna hoþ
12 dingia þeira drepum hann þar þa med þeim at alla: þiodir uite ath Nobogodonoso: er gud ja:þar ok eingi er honum ædri
þa er þei: hoþdu þetta mællt þa reiddiz holopernes akapliga ok mællti vid achio:. þu spadir off at gydingar mundu vard
ueittir vera aþ gudi sinum þirir off þa mun ek sýna þier at eingi er gud nema Nabogodonosor þuiat þa er ver drepum gy
15 dinga skalltu med þeim drepinn uera. Oc þa er mitt suerd þerr igeqnum þinar sidur muntu reyna at Nabogodon<o>sor
er konungr allz ia:þrikiff. ok eþ þu hygg: sanna spa þina hui blicnar þu um andlit uid þessi oid min. þa baud holopernes
18 sinum monnum at taka achio: ja:l ok leida til borgar bethuliam ok selia jhennd: gydingum þei: þoro Ener þei: nalguduz
þiallid þa þoro a mot þeim uallaungu steinar ok hurþu senndimenn aþtr ok bunndu achio: ja:l vid tre mikid med re
ipum ok sottu sidan aþunnd heria sinf en sýnir ifraels stigu oþan o: borg betulia ok leystu achio: ok leiddu
iborgina ok settu amedal lydf ok þrettu þirir hueria sok assiria menn settu hann þar bunndinn eþtir A þeim dogum uoro þei: hoþdin
21 gear opidaf son michee aþ kyni simons ok karme er odrv naþne het gothoniel En achio: sagdi þeim al
la hlute þa er hann haþdi mællt vid holopernem ok huerfu þei: ætludu ad drepa hann. þa er þei: sigradi sonu ifraels þirir þat
er hann sagdi gud himinf uera þulltingiaa þeira Ener hann haþdi þetta mællt þa þiell allr lyð: til bænar med grate ok m

24 ælltu drottinn gud himins ok iardar littu æ oþmettnud þeira ok sua²⁰ siabu litillæti var j auglite heilagra manna. oc
 syndu at þu þirir lætr eigi þa er þier treystaz en þu lægr þa er traust hapa j ser ok ifinum krapte Eptir þat gloddu
 þeir achio: ja! ok fogdu. Gud þedra uarra fa er þu bodapir krapr. hann mun lata þik sia dauþa holopernif ok
 27 hanf manna En þa er drottinn uarr geþr²¹ þrælum sinum þetta þrelse se hann þa ok þinn gud at þu snuir þa þrændum þi
 num til hanf sem þier likar. þa er ozial hæði þetta mællt tok hann achio: j hus finn ok gerdi mikinn nattuerd ok kal
 ladi til fin alla presta ok motuduz þeir allir saman at appne þuiat þeir hoþdu þastad um daginn Sidan kall
 30 adi ozias allan lyd til kirkiu j borginne ok badu þeir þar alla nott þulltingis aþ gudi sinum *cap(itulum)* || þufunnda
 A opum degi baud holopernif herinum at stiga upp aþiallid þat er bethulia stennd: æ ok hæði þa c
 gongu lidf ok xx (þusunndir) en hefta lid tuær þusunndir ok xx ok þat lid um þramm er hann hæði ualda ser unga
 33 menn til bardaga buid þoro upp aþiallid oþanuert ok fa þa yþir mo:g herod þadan ser dothaim o: þeim stad æ þial
 linu er kallaz belina ok sua þadan til celmosa stadar er eigi er langt þra esdrelon. ener gydingar fa lidþiolda þe
 nna þa þiellu þeir til iardar ok iusu molldu þþir hoþud sier ok badu at gud israels senndi mikunn sina yþir
 36 lyd sinum Eptir þat toku þeir uapn sin ok settu lid uid oll einftige er til borgarinna: lagu ok uardueittu sic sua
 nætr ok daga en holopernif þerr uida um þiallid ok þinn: brvnn er o: renn: miok mikid uatzþall aþ sud
 rætt til borgarinnar en skamt þra borginne uoro brvna: þeir er h(oloperni) menn fa at gydingar mundu [fier] þra uatn taka leyniliga
 39 þa geingu til h(oloperni) synir ammon ok moab ok mælltu synir israels treystaz eigi aur eda spioti held: ueria
 þa þioll ok uirki en þo mat<t>u þa bardaga laust yþir stiga. settu uardhalþz menn til brvna þessara er þeir hapa
 sier uattn o: tekid ok mattu þa sua uapnlaust drepa ok mun þier þa bratt uppgeþin borgin þetta raad likadi

7v

[uel] holoper[n]e ok ollum hanf hoþþingium ok sette hann c. manna um huern brvnn Ener þadan lidu xx dagar þa uar þro[tid] uattn
 [allt] j borginne sua at þa uar eigi meirr enn dagh at deila. þa soþnuduz saman allir karla: ok konur ungir ok gamlir þirir
 3 oziam ok mællto allir einne roddu Dæme gud mille uarr ok þin þuiat þu gerdir off illt er þu uilldir eigi mæla þrid
 malum vid affiria ok þirir þui selldi gud off j hennd: þier oc þirir þui er eingi sa er off tæi þaer ver kriupum unndir skegg
 6 þier med þosta ok mikille glotun Nu þorum ver allir ok geþum off upp sialþkraþa holoperne þuiat þetra er at ver
 loþum gud hertecknir en deyum aþ hungri konur uara: ok born þess bidium ver jdagh himin ok io:ð ok gud þe
 dra uarra er off heþnir synnda uarra at þegar er vier²² geþum upp borgina h(oloperne) se skammir uarir liþdagar er þier erud kualdir j lo
 ngum þosta. Ener þeir hoþdu þetta mællt uard gratr mikill ok þytr j kirkiu mikinn hluta nætr ok kolludu til guþs
 9 ok mællto Misgert hoþum ver med þedrvm varum rangliga gerdum ver. en med þui at þu ert mild: ok milkunnfam: gud mis
 kunna þu oss at med þinum bardaga heþnir þu ranglætif varf. hird eigi þu at selia þa er þier iatta ihennd:
 vuina þinna þeira er ecki kunna þitt naþn at eigi segi þeir sua huar er nu gud þeira ener þeir mædduz aþ grati ok kalli
 12 þa þognudu þeir. þa reif upp ozial ok mællte veripier stadþastir ihug ok bidium þim daga milkunna: guds ma
 vera at hann taki aþ off reidi sina²³ ok geþe dyþ naþne sino Nu eþ eigi kemr hanf þullting: aþessi stunndu gerum þa sem
 `J` þann tima uar eckia su j beþulia er judiht er neþnd dottir merai sonar ydox s(onar) joseph *capitulum*. || þier mælid

- 15 s(onar) ozie s(onar)elai s(onar)jamno: s(onar)gedeon s(onar)raphain s(onar)achitob s(onar)melchie s(onar)enam s(onar) nazanie s(onar) sal
eon s(onar) ruben. madr henna: het manafes ok var samþor þeira iij vetr ok vij manadi þa tok hann fott ok andapiz j borg
finne bethulia ok uar þar graþinn hia finum ættmonnum. iudith bio þar sidan leingi iborginne ok haþdi fier gera latid einn leynilig
18 an kopa ihinum eþztum husum sinum ok uar þar med þionofstu meyum synum hon haþdi harklaedi um lenndar fer ok þastadi hvem
dag nema þuattdaga ok kirkiudaga ok hatidir gyþinga hon var quenna uænft. madr henna: leiþdi eþtir fic audæpe mi
kil bædi naut ok faudpe ok mansmenn oc allzkynf aud. hon uar hin agiætazta kona iollum gydinga
21 lyd þuiat hon ottadiz gud hardla mioc eingi madr mællti til henna: illt oxd Ener hon heydi fagt at ozias heþdi
heitid at geþa upp borgina eþtir v. daga þa senndi hon eþtir prestum chabri ok karmin ok komv þei: til henna:
hon mællte vid þa. huart heþir ozias samþyckit at geþa upp borgina affiria monnum eþ eigi kemr off þulling: ad: .v. da
24 gar lidi. hui þreiftudu þier sua gudf. eigi eggjudu þier iþessu þramm miþkunn guds held: reidi hanf en sætt
ud gudi tid miþkunna: bragda iætlun yduarre ok fettv þier honum dagh. en þui at gud er þolinmod: mun
hann likna off eþ ver idrvmz þessa ok bidium med tarum. Litillætum ver anndir vara: oc þionum gudi ok mælum
27 med tarum at gud gere vid off miþkunn fina eþtir sinum uilia ok sua sem hrellt er hia:ta uart aþ oþdrambi
uarra vuina sua dy:kimz ver nu aþ varu litillæte þuiat ver þylgdum eigi syndum þedra uarra er þirirlietu guþ sinn
ok goþgudu skurdgod oc urdu herteknir ok drepnir aþ ovinum finum. en ver uitum aungan gud an uarum
30 himna gudi. prefta:nir suo:udu allir hlutir ero þei: sannir er þu segir. bidþu nu þirir off þuiat þu ert heilug
kona ok ottaz gud. iudith f(uaradi) stanndi þid uid borgar hlid þessa natt ok mun ek þara ut ok med mer þionofstumæ:
33 min bidit sua sem þier fogdut at gud liti yþir lyd finn ifrael. Ek uil eigi at þier ranzfakid athoþn m`i`na
unz ek segi yd: Gerid ekki annat en bidit þirir mer til gudf. þa mællti uid hana oziaf hoþdingi gyþinga þardu
iþridi drottinn se med þier iheþnd ouina uarra. eþtir þat geingu þei: abrott en iudith þor ibænar hus sitt ok skryddiz
harklaedi ok iof ofku yþir hoþud fier ok þiell til ia:þar ok kalladi til drottins ok mællte sua D:ottinn gud
36 þed: mins simeonf er honum gaþt suerd at beriaz imote utlennndum þiodum er saurgudu ok sneyddu
meyar ok konur ok gaptu honum at herþangi konur þeira dætr ok allt herþang til skiptiff med þælum þi
num er elskudu þina aft. bid ec þik drottinn þullingþu mer þuiat þu gerdir bædi stoa hluti ok sma sem þv
39 uilldir sialþr ok fettir alla doma iþinne þorsia. Littu herbudir affiria manna sua sem þu liez þier soma at sia
herbudir egipta konungf manna e[ri] runnu eþtir þiodum þinum uapnadir oc treyftuz ridderum finum ok heftali
di ok þiolda bardaga lidf er þu huldir þa my:krvm ok hieilt upp þotum þeira ok þo:uz þei: þa:
42 0000 Oh`e`0 [þeffir] d:ottinn er treyftaz lidf þiolda sinum ridderum ok morgum o:um ok spiotum ok uita`eigi`

8r

at þu ert gud uarr er knofa: bardaga menn þra upphape heims ok drottinn er naþn þitt lempu kraþt þeira med
þinum palle dy:þ þeira þirir kraþte þinum er þirirheita at saurga stadi þina Gerdu sua drottinn at aþ
3 fndiz dramb þins uuinar med sialþs hanf suerdi. geþdu mer stadþesti hugar at ek heþna honum ok ek um snu
a kraþte hanf þuiat minneligt mun uera naþn þitt Ener hon lauk bæn finne þa reif hon upp ok kalladi am

6 batt sína oc bad hana lauga síc ok kaftadi aþ síer hæklaedi ok reid afíc hinne beztu mirru ok
reyþi ha: sítt ok klæddi sík dylígunum klædum ok sette mitr ahöfud síer oc fanndalia aþætr ser ok t' oc'
yþir síc virdiliga skickiu oc síua haþdi hon ey:na gull ok morg þing: gull ok þyðdi síc allre hinne be
zttv þy:di. en gud ueitte henne síua mikla birte þuiat þessi þy:di henna: var eigi gerr til saurlíþíff hellð: at uin<n>a kra
þt þui margþalldadi drottinn þessa þeg:þ ahenne²⁴ síua at hon síyndiz med ofamvirdiligri þeg:d²⁵ þírir allra augum. judi
th þieck jhennd: eskimey síinne beril úns ok uidsmio:l ker ok steyptar ertr ok braud ok oft Sídan ganga þær
til borgar hlídz ok þínna þar oziam ok síua þrefta borgarinnar. ok er þei: sía hana þieck þeim otta ok unndrvþuz akapligha þeg:
d²⁶ henna: oc einkíff spurdu þei: hana. ok líetu hana þara ok mælltv Gud þedra uara geþe þier gíftu ok eþli oll raad hi
a:ta þíns aþ síinum kraþte at íerusalem dy:kiz yþir þier ok síe naþn þitt j tolu heilagra ok ríettlatra. en þei: mæ
lltv allir er víd voro þat uerdi. þat verdi. En judith bad til drottíns ok geck ut o: borgarhlídi ok þíonofstu mæ: henna: med henne
12 ener þær geingu oþan o: þíallínu jdogun þa runnu amot þeim níofnar menn affíria ok toku þær ok mælltu víd judi
th. huadan komtu e(da) huert þerrdu. hon íuaradi. Ek em dottir ebrefkra manna en þírir þui þy:da ek þra þeim at ek uíffa at þei: mundu
15 nu bratt uppgeþaz yd: ok mundu þier þa taka mik at herþange þírir þat er þei: uílldu eigi íalþíir uppgeþaz ok hoþ
nudu at þínna mískunn j ydrv auglite. aþ þessi fok ættlada ek j hug mer ok mællta ek. þara mun ek þírir anndlit ho
18 þdínngíanf holoperní at ek íegia honum leynnda hlute þeíra at hann megi audlaz þa alla síua at eíngi mad:
þalle aþ hanf her Ener þei: hey:du o:þ henna: ok sía síanu henna: ok mælltv síua Vel uardueittir þu hug þínn er þu þa
nnt þuílíkt rad ok þar til hoþdíngia varf. ok þat mattu úita at þa er þu ítennd: þírir hanf auglite mun hann uel til þín ger
21 a ok honum muntu hugþeck uera *ca(pítulum)* || uel ískap þa mællto hanf menn. huerr vm haþne ebrefskan lyd er síua þagra: konur he
24 Nv leíddu þei: hana til budar holoperní ok íogdu honum til ok er hon geck jnn þírir hann ok hann sía hana þa þíell hon honum þegar
þr at ver ískulum þírir þeíra íakír eigi beríaz j mot þeim Ener judith leit holoper(nem) ítíanda j híupe þeim er uar aþ þurpura oc gull
27 oþín<n> ok íet<t>ur bædi ímaragdo ok odrum dylígunum íteinum. þa þíell hon til þota honum ok tígnaði hann. holoperní
mællte víd sína menn at þei: reíte hana upp ok íídan mællte hann verty med glodum hug at eigi hráediz hug:
þínn þui at allðri grandaþa ek þeim manni er þíona uílldi Nobogodonofo: konungi. en eþ lyd: þínn heþdi eigi haþ
nád mer þa heþda ek eigi haþíd íþíot mítt jmot honum Nu íeg mer þírir huera íok þier líkadi til uar
30 at koma ok þra þeim at huerrþa judith s(uaradi) eþ þu þylgír at o:ðum mínum þa mun drottinn gera med þier algeruan hlut þuíat
líþir Nobogodonofo: konungi jaðdar ok líþir kraþr hanf sía er med þier er til þeff at leíðetta hugi allra uílltra manna. þuíat eí
þíona honum menn at eíns þírir þíc hellð: bædi dy: ok akrar ok ollum þíodum mun íagð: ísko:ungíískap: þíns hu
gar ok þu ert beztr ríðdere ok íterkaztr j ríki hanf ok ítíon þín beídz j huert land. ok eigi er auruíænna at þat komi
33 at henndi íem achío: íagði ok þu híez honum. en ríett ínnte hann er hann talði gud uam ítygguan víd sína oui
ne en íynír ííraels úita íc nu haþa míok gert mote íinum gudi mæðaz þei: nu aþ hungri ok hyg<g>íaz deýia
munnv aþ þofíta. þei: neþndu at drepa ímalá íínn ok drecka blóð hanf. En eþ þei: gera þetta gremía þei: gud íínn at
36 íier ok mun hann þa reíðaz þeim. þui þy:da ek þra þeim at gud íenndi mik at íegia þier. þeffi o:ð henna: líkudu uel
holoper<n>e ok hanf monnum ok unndrvþuz ípeckt henna: ok mællti huerr víd annan Eígi er þuílík kona alandínu at uíæn
leík ok líft ok uízku ok o:ðþære || þírir þui at mer þíckír gott þírirheit þítt þa íkal þínn gud uera mínn gud

- 39 Þa mællte holoper(nis) vid hana. vel gerdi gud er hann fenndi þik til uarr ok þu geþr þenna lyd j hend: off ok²⁷
 eþ hann gerir þetta skalltu uera meft metin j holl Nabogodosors konungf ok þitt naþn mun neþnt ahueriu landi
 Sidan baud holopernif hana leida j tialld þat er þirir voro þehirzlr hanf ok bad hana þar vera ok bad 00 [henne]
 42 geþa uift aþ hanf þæzlu En judith s(uaradi) eigi ma ek neyta aþ þeim hlutum þy: en ek [heþi neytt] þei: a:
- 8v
- þæzlu er ek heþe med mer Eþ þat þytr s(agdi) holopernes er þu tokt med þier hui mun vm ver eigi þa þæ þier. judith s(agdi)
 3 Lipir anndi þinn herra herra minn þuiat eigi hæþir at ek gera þat ambatt þin þy: en gud gerir þa alla hlute þirir minar
 hennd: er ek ættlada Nu leiddu þei: hana j þa bud sem hann hæþi bodit. hon bad sier geþa leypa at ganga ut vm
 nætr at bidiaz þirir til drottins ok bad holopernis hana ganga sem hon uilddi ok goþga gud sinn unz lidi þri: da
 6 gar Nu þor hon ut vm nætr jdal hia beth`v lie ok þor ikallt uatn ok bad gud israael at hann gæddi gotv henn
 a: til þrelfingar lyd finum en hon uar um daga itialldi ok tok eigi þæzlu þy: en uid aptan. A þridia degi gerde
 holopernif þagnada: nottverd finum monnum ok mællte vid hinn æzta þion sinn er het vagau þardu ok bid hinu
 9 eb:esku konu sialþkraþa famþyckiaz at byggia med mer þuiat þat er logmal j affiria eþ kona gerir mein
 manne finum at hann late hana eina. þa geck vagau aþunnd iudidar ok mællti. Eigi skalltu þoriþlaz god kona at ga
 nga jnn til herra mins at þu fiert uegfomud aþ honum ok dy:kud iþagnadi med off. judith suaradi. hui muna
 12 ek mæla mot herra minum allt þat er gott er j gudf auglite mun ek gera ok huat sem honum lika: mun þat bezt ver
 a a ollum dogum lipf mins Nu stod hon upp ok bio fik tiguliga ok geck j landtialld holopernif ok ft
 od þirir honum en hia:ta hanf brann igimnd til henna: ok mællte hann sua Sitt her oc dreck ifkemtn þuiat þu þannt miþkunn
 15 aþ uarre giþtu. hon sua:adi D:reka mun ek herra þuiat meire er idagh jhug minum en þy: hafdi uerid aminum
 lip dogum Nu att hon þar ok drack aþ þui er þionofstu menn henna: hoþdu til buid *capitulum* || gum. vm aptanin fid þorv
 Holopernif var glad: miok ok katr uid hana ok drack sua mikid at alldri hæþi hann slikt drvckit a ollum finum do
 18 menn til sueþns ok by:gdj uagau þionofstu`madr` h(olopernis) sueþntialld hanf ok þo: abraut ok uo:io allir menn modir
 aþ uind:yckiu en judith uar ein eþtir hia h(olopernis) ok eskimær henna: en er h(olopernis) laa soþnad: jreckiu sinne akap
 liga drvckinn þa mællte iudith uid þionofstu mey sina at hon stædi vid dy: tialzinf ok uardueitte þau. en iud
 21 ith stod þirir reckiu hanf ok bad med taum ok mællte hliott Sty:ktu`mik` d<:>ottinn gud gydinga ok littu a þessau:
 tid kraþt hannda minna ok sua sem þu hiez þirir at heþia upp ok eþla hierusalem bo:g þina. Lattv mik
 algera þat er ek heþe ættlat ok trvat at þu mundir uerda lata. Ener hon hæþi þetta mællt þa geck hon til ok bra
 24 sverdi hans sialþ þui er hieck astolpanum yþir hoþdi honum ok greip ihæ: honum <ok> mællti. Sty:ktu mik d:ottinn
 gud gydinga aþessi tid. hon hio þa tyfua: a half honum ad: aþ geck hoþudid Sidan tok hon hiup hanf
 hinn dy: a en uelldi bolnum o: reyckiuinne a io:þ Eþtir þat geing: hon ut ok selldi hoþud[sid] ambatt sinne ok
 bad hana lata iskreppu sina Sidan geingu <þær> mille herbuda at uanda finum ok komu þa ecki idal bethulie hell
 27 d: geingu þær þegar til hlids ok mællte judith til uardhallz manna er voro a uegum borgarinna: Lukip upp borgarhlidum þuiat
 gud er med off er gerdi kraþt lyd gydinga. ok er þei: kenndu maal henna: kolludu þei: a prefta borgarinna: ok ra

- 30 nn þa huerr madr til borgarhliz þuiat eingi uon þotte henna: aþrkuamu. þa uoro liof queikt ok flogu menn hring um hana
Hon geck ihinn hæfta stad iborginne ok er allir þognudu mællte Judith Lopidier drottin gud uarn er
eigi þirir lætr þa er uiænta aþ honum pulltingf ok med mer ambatt sinne þylldi miskunn fina þær hann leit
33 hyfki gydinga ok drap hann varm andskota aþessi nott. Sidan tok hon o: fkreppunne hoþud h(olopermis) herþoþingia aff
irie manna ok sua hiup hanf ok mællte. Lipir drottinn þuiat mik uardueitte eingill hanf bædi hedanþarandi ok þraueranndi ok
higat aþtr huerþanndi ok eigi liet drottinn mik ambatt sina saurgaz held: kalladi hann mik an saurgan
36 til yduarr þagnandi ifigri hanf ok aþrkuamu minne ok þreflingu yduarre Nu jatte þier þonum allir þuiat hann er
god: þuiat miskunn hanf er um alldir. En allir loþudu gud ok mælltu uid hana Drottinn blezadi þik ikrapte fy
num er at aungu liet verda ovine uara þirir þik. oziaf mællte uid hana hoþdingi þinghusf gydinga lydf M
39 ecktud ertu dottir um alla: konur þram aþ drotine gudi israelf hinum hæfta. Blezad: er drottinn er fskapadi himin
ok ioþ er þik stykte til ad snida aþ hoþud h(olopermis) þuiat idag mikladi hann naþn þitt at eigi huerþe loþ þitt o: mun
[ne] manna er þei: minnaz krapz drottins ifiþellu þuiat þu uægdir eigi onnd þinne j þronguing ok quaul kynf þins held:
[tiedir] þu off iaughte gudf uarf Ener allir fonnudu þetta uar þangat kallad: achio: jarl ok er hann kom þa mællti
42 Judith uid hann Gud israel er þu bart uitne hann heþndi þin a vuinum finum. hann sneid aþ fialþr hoþud allra
- 9r
- trvlaufra manna a þessi nott med minne henndi. ok at þu reynir at sua er sia her hoþud H(olopermis) er haþnadi j finum
oþmetnadi gudi israels ok þier ognadi bana ok mællti sua þa er lyd: israels uerd: hertekinn skal mino suerdi
3 gegnum graþa þinar fidur Ener achio: fa hoþud holopermis þa þiell hann nid: iaunguit Ener hann raknadi vid þiel
I hon til þota honum ok mællte Blezud fier þu gudi þinum ihuerre tialdbud jacob byggir þuiat huerr þio
d ok huerr þiod er heyir naþn þitt mun loþa gud. þa mællte Judith uid allan lyd. Heyre þier bæd: þeste
6 þier upp hoþud þetta abo:gar uegg til fyniff ok er fol renn: upp taki huer: sem einn uapn finn ok gangi o: borg
inne med gny ok ftingid eigi oþan at þeim held: gerid gnyinn sem mestan. þa munv uardmenn þlyia til hoþingia fins ok
uekia hann til bardaga. en þa er ia:la: þeiza renna til landtialz holopermis munv þei: fia buk hanf liggiannda iblodi sino
9 ok mun þa yþir alla mikill otte koma Ener þier fiaid þa þlyia fækid eþtir þeim o:ggir þuiat drottinn mun þa þella ovine
ydra unndir þætr yd: Ener achio: ia: fa krapf þann er gud gerdi gydingum þa þirir liet hann heidinn fid ok trvdi gudi
ok tok umfurdar fkim Nu þegar idogun þeftu þei: upp hoþud h(olopermis) a borgar uegg Sidan toko þei: uapn fin oc geingv ut
12 o: borginne med miklum gny ok heropi þat fa uardmenn affiria ok runnu til herbuda. Ener heidinn: u:du uarir
uid þieck þeim otta oc fkuundubu allir med þyf myclum til fueþnhusf holopermis ok ættludu at hann fkyldi uakna
15 uid hæyfte þuiat eingi þo:di ad uekia hann e(da) inn ganga Ener þar komu allir hoþingia: affiria manna badu þei: þi
ona hanf. Gangid inn uagau ifueþbudina ok uekid hann þuiat nu ero myfnar geingnar ut o: holum finum ok þo
ra at eggia off til o:osto. þa geck vagau inn ok ftoð þirir þortialldinu ok hugdi at þau iudith mundu foþa bædi
faman en hann heydi ecki til þeiza. þa geck hann til ok lypte þorpallinu ok fa þegar bol holopermis. en fa huergi hoþ
18 udit ok la hann fti:rdnad: aio:þu. Vagau toc þa at æpa med grati ok reiþ aþ fier klædi ok geck ibud er

21 iudith uar uon at sofa ok þann hana eigi þar ok hliop þa ut til lydfins ok mæltte Ein kona ebrešk gerdi myckla
 sneypu Nobogonosor konungi Se her holopernem liggia a iordu en hopud hanf er ibrottu *ca(pitulum)* || þullir ok radagerd
 En er hopdingia: affirie heydu þetta riðu þei: klædi aþ fier allir ok urdu sua hræddir ok þelms
 24 sneriz þra þeim gerdiz þa opp ok gratr ok akaplig ueinun iherlidinu ok þui næft toku þei: þlotta sua skiotan
 at eingi beid fins naungf ok þoðaz en ebreška lyd er þei: sa ok heydu fækia eptir fier ok hlupu
 þa heidingia: þra ollum uapnum ok þiahlutum finum vm heidar ok bye Ener þat sa gydingar at heidingiar þlydu
 fækia þei: eptir med heropi ok ludrablæstri ok þuiat affiria menn hlupu ymfauaga iholur en gydingar þoro jenum
 27 þlocki þei: drapu alla hermenn er þei: mattu þinna Þa senndi oziaf hopdingi gydinga menn iallar borgir ok herud ok
 bad sennda menn eptir þeim affiria monnum ok reka þlottann allt abrott o: herudum gydinga lanz En þei: er eptir voro geingu
 inn jherbudir affiria ok toku þar herþang mikid hardla ok þoru med iborgina En þei: er þlottann hopdu rekid hurþv
 aþtr til bethulie ok sofnudu saman smala þeim er affiria menn hopdu eptir leiþdan ok uar þat utallig: aud: er
 30 gydingar þiengu þar Eleachim byskup kom o: hierusalem med ollum finum prestum at fia iudith Ener hon kom þirir hann loþv
 du hana allir ok mæltv. þu ert dyþ hierusalem at þu elskadir hreinliþe ok tokt eigi mann eptir þinn bonda
 ok þirir þui stykti þic drottinn ok muntu uera loþud at eiliþu. þa suorudu lydir ok fogdu sua þat verdi þat verdi Eptir
 33 þat gerdu gydingar þat raad at safna saman ollu herþangi affiria ok þiengu ridderum þat sem holopernif hapdi hapþ jgulli
 ok filþri ok dyrum gimsteinum þat gapu þei: iudith. Ok tignadi allr lyd: med konum^s ok meyum ok bozum
 jo:gans saung ok ho:puflætte iudith. þenna loþsong syngiandi drotne ok mæltv sua jncipiente do
 36 mino in timpanif. cantate deo in citharif. Eptir þenna fig: kom allr lyd: til hierusalem at þornþæra ok eþna heit sin
 iudith gap iþom gudi hiup þann er holopernif hapdi att ok uapn hanf þa var þar allr lyd: iheilagri skemton ok hie
 39 lldu þagnadar tid þria manudu med iudith iminn<in>g þessa fig: Eptir þat þor huer til finna heimkynna ok uar iudith
 mest metin ibethulia hon hieilt hreinliþe alla sina daga iminning finf fig:f. iudit var j bethulia
 alla æþi sina þra andlāti manafef bonnda fins Aþeim degi var huer: missere hætid halldin iudith lipdi
 .c. ok .v. uetr hon gap þrelle eskimey sinne ad: hon andapiz. hon var graþin hia bonda finum ok gret hana al
 42 Ir lyd: vij. daga. Ok eptir þat var alldri geingid ariki gydinga ok er minning fia halldin j fipellu allt til þessa Dags

9v

Alexander hinn riki uar son philippi macedo hanf meistare het ariftotoles. hann rikti þy:ft
 allra konunga igrecia an nockorv skattgialldi. hann drap darium konung perfarum ok medo:um ok er
 3 s`u`a ath quedit ibokum at hann hafi lagt unndir fik miokfva allan heim med herkilldi. sta:
 þadi hann j þeim hemadi nær xij. uetrvm hann lagdi ock a half ser unndir gefnum konungum ok var hann dreginn aþ þeim j
 kerru um borgir. hann hapdi þa uid oþ ath heria til heluitif ok er hann uar kominn med hermenn sina j babilon hi
 6 na myclu leiddiz monnum hanf miok þuilikt sta:þ þui blondupu þeir dryck hanf med eitri uarp þat hanf ba
 ne hann gap xij monnum riki sit ok gerdi þa konunga. Tholomeuf het konungr a egipta lanndi ok þadan aþ het huerr
 sem einn tholomeus oþrv nafne Litlum tima fidar: þædduz machabæi synir mathathie er sua

- 9 hetv judaf johannes jonathaf thimoteus ok simon voro þeir allir hinir mestv hermenn. en þo var judaf langt íþir adra ath styk er sua lefid af honum ath hann være rife ath mikilleik en ath grimmeik sem íþ oarga dyr. hann drap apollonium herf hópdingia er striddi a ísraelf þolk ok tok suerd hanf ok bardiz med þui alla sina²⁹ daga. Jonathaf hertvgi bʊodir jude fenndi þriar þusunndir hermanna til lidue izlu vid demetrium konung þiellu j þeim bardaga c. þusunnda af þeira motfodu monnum var fa sig: meft kennd: jonathe *Hier heþr ættartolv eþtir herleiding hinu miklv til gudf s(onar)*
- 15 her byriaz ættartala gudf sonar eþtir herleiding hinu myclu salathiel var hinn ix^{us} ok xx^{us} af abrah<ame>e zo:obabel hinn xxx^{us}. Abiud h(inn) xxxi^{us}. Eliachim xxxij^{us}. Azo: xxxiiij^{us}. Sad oc xxxiiij^{us}. Achim xxxv^{us} Eliud xxxvi^{us} Eleazar xxxvij^{us} Mathan xxxviij^{us}. Jacob xxxviiiij^{us}
- 18 Josef h xl^{us} hann uar jarnsmid: hann þafnadi þrv sanctam mariam þui uar hann ættlad: af mo: gum þadir gudf
- 9bisr
- 3 Hand I Gudf modir uar dottir ioachimf hanf þ(adir) uar barþanchera hanf þ(adir) uar pantha hanf þ(adir) leui annar hanf s(on) uar melchi hanf f(on) uar mathan hanf f(on) iacob hanf f(on) ioseph er kallaz m ad: marie fel maria uar hin xl af nathan syni dauid konunkf en jofhep uar hin xx^{us} vi^{us} af salemone konungi bʊodur datanf þui uo: o þau jofiep ok maria gudf modir þio: da manni huart
- 9 9v
- 21 Hand E I hinum þimta heimfalldi: haþa þiogur konungriki matkuz verid ad: romveria riki ho þz Eitt var riki affirio: um j ninieue Annat var riki kalleo: um j babilon þra dogum nobogodonofos konungs id bridia var þerfarum riki þadan þra er ciruf var konungr. grickia riki var id þio: þa sidan alexannder hinn uid þoli uar konungr. hid þimta uar roma riki en hverfv roma riki eþldiz skal fidar: greina en skal þyft skriþa af þpamonnum gudf þeim er verit haþa þþimnta heimfalldri oc þirir spadu gudf higatkuamu. Einn af þeim sagdi sua skylriga ath mæ: munnandi verda quiduk ok mundi þæþa son þann er emmanuel mundi kallaz þat er gud med off *capitulum* || husþrv hanf het anna en onnur þenenna vid henne atte hann .x. Elkana er nepnd: madr sonr ieroboam sonar heliu s(onar) thau s(onar) suph hann var tuikuangad: sonu `en` anna var uby: ia þar til er gud hey: þi bæn hennar ok gaþ henne son fa het. samuel. hann var kiærr gudi. Anna uarþ miok glop vid þetta ok loþadi gud af ollu hiarta þa o: ti hon canti kann Exultauit co: meum; Samuel var spamadr hann smurdi til konungs saul ok littlu fidar: dauid konung eþtir gudf bodi. hann var þyftir spamadr j þimnta heimf alldri eþtir þui sem bækr uifa til Eþtir hann næft uar na

33 tan spamadr hann bar þui mæli dauid konung ath hann heðdi radit bana urie riddera sinum en tekid husþrv hanf ser
 til famlagf. Abbacuk spamadr heþir gert kantican audite celi quae loquar. sua³⁰ bar til æ hanf dogum at þa er
 hann þærdi daguerþ verkmonnum synum þa kom til hanf guds eingill ok bad hann þara senndiþor sina sua til hanf talanndi. ber
 þenna daguerþ æ kaldea land jnbabiloniam til danielem er settr <var> jdyra groþ ok heþir þar verip vij da
 36 ga sua at hann heþir huarki etip ne druckid. þa svarabi abbakuc spamadr. Ecki kann ek at þara þessa senndi
 þerd. þuiat alldri kom ek jbabiloniam ok eigi sa ek dyra groþ þa tok eingillinn skiott til rada hann greip annar
 re henndi jharid ok hoþ hann upp jloþt ok bar hann alla leid jbabiloniam ok setti hann nid: æ dy
 39 ra grauþ þar er þirir uar daniel. þa taladi spamadrinn her er daguerþr daniel er gud senn
 di þier oc er hann haþdi snætt³¹ bar gudf eingill hann aþtr æ sama haatt sem þyrr er sk
 riþat ath hann tok jhuirþil hanf ok sette hann nid: æ gyþinga lanndi. Her næft skulo
 ver segia med stuitv mæli æ þeim spamonnum sem mefthattar reiknaftzt j bokum

10r

Hand F Fioir haþa spamenn bækr gert þei: er hinir me`i ri spamenn ero kalladir þer<f>i ero noþn þei:æ yfaiaf here
 miaf ezekiel ok daniel. þirir þa fok ero þei: hinir meiri spamenn kalladir at þei: haþa þleiri ok
 3 meiri bækr gert en xij adir þei: er hinir minni spamenn kallaz. yfayaf hafdi spadom adogum konunga g
 ydinga lanz þei:æ er sua hetu oziaf. iotam achaz ezekiaf. ok manafef³² er settr var ieiruxan.
 Adogum ezikie konungf kom sennakerib konung: æþ ninie borg hinni miklu agydinga land ok setti
 6 her sinn vm borgina ierusalem ok uilldi vinna hana. en æþ bænum ezekiel ok yfaye er þei: badu gud m
 ifkunnar þirir borginni kom eingill gudf ok drap æþ hermonnum .c.(þusundir) ok halþan niunda tug þufunnda. eþtir þat
 huarþ sennacheribb aþtr ininiue ok litlu fidar drapu hann synir hanf fialþf iblothusi þa er hann blotadi
 9 god fit. jeremiaf tok spadom adogum iosie konungf ok haþdi til þerf er nabogodonofo: uann ie
 rusalem ok herleiddi gydinga lyd sem þyrr segir. uurdu iþe<i>ri herleiding. ezekiel daniel annanias
 azariaf misael er settir voro ibrennanda oþn sem þyrr var skriþat. jofiaf konung: þiell io:oftu. afa konung:
 12 ezekiaf ok iosiaf voro godir konungar komnir æþ dauid en þlestir adir misgerdu iblotfkap. jeremiaf var eþtir
 i ierusalem þa er hon var eydd. en ezekieel þiecc viþdom æþ gudi ok tok spaleikf annda þa er hann var iherleid
 15 ingu hia a þei:ri er escobar heitir Daniel tok spadom ibabilon adogum nabogodonofo: konungs
 en hann uard miog gamall ok var uppi til þerf er þei: uoro konungar dariuf ok cirus ibabilon þei: leyþdu lyd gudf
 aþtrhuarþ til finf lanz o: babilon þat uar aþyfta ari konungdomf ciri ad gydingar hurpu heim agyd
 inga lanz þimtigir þufunnda manna. þa toku þei: ad enndnyia i ierusalem templum domini en heidnar þiodir
 18 ftriddu sua apa at langa stund þor litid fram um mustarif gerdina. A odu ari darij konungf er odu
 napni. het yftapif voro þyldir lxx uetra þra þui er ierusalem var unninn ok lyd: gudf var herleid<dd>: en heremiaf. haþdi
 sagt at lxx uetra mundi lyd: gudf vera janaud herleidingar. en hann leyftiz o: anaud aodu ari
 21 konungf domf darij. þat uar at tolu þernar þusfundir þusunda ok sex hundrud þusunda ok viij (þusundir) manna

24 j þui lidi voro þoryftu menn iefvþ ok zoꝛobabel ok mardocheuf. þa uar end: nyad til þullz mustari gudf
 en mustarid uard algioꝛt avj^{ta} ari hinþ lx^{ta} tigar þra þui er gꝛunduellir þeif voro settir adogum da
 rij konungf. xij ero hinir minni spamenn en þerfi ero noþn þeia. ofeaf. joel. amof. abdiaf. ionaf. m
 27 icheaf. Nau. soþoniaf. abbacuc. aggeuf. zakariaf. malakiaf. sua segir ieronimus p(restr) at
 ionaf spamadr haþi uerid eckiu fon. fa er heliaf reifti aþ daupa þa er hann uar ung: fueinn
 þerfi ionaf var iij daga ok iij nætr ikuidi hualf þirir þa fok at hann gerdi gegn uilia gudf ok
 er hann þor eigi þangad sem hann baud honum. sidan þor hann ininiue ok rak þar erenndi gudf sua at konungrin ok
 30 allr lyd: borgarinnar sneruz til gudf med sannri idran. Fioldi uar þo annara spamanna ienne þornu æþi en eigi
 gerdu þeiz bok sua at þat se uitad. þeiz voro æztir spamenn eþtir moyfen samuel ok heliaf ok elifeuf
 samuel uar kennimadr ok domannði allz gydinga þolcf xij ar hann smurdi faul til konungf at bodi gudf
 33 en er faul uerfnadi þa sendi gud til samuel ok smurdi hann dauid til konungf en hann tok konungdom eþtir faul
 þa er hann uar þallinn ok hellz ihanf kyni konungdom: medan konung:iki uar ypír gydinga. heliaf gerdi
 margar iartegnir hann reifti þyft manna mann aþ daupa ok hann þa þad aþ gudi at eigi rigndi vij ar miþ
 ferir þirir fakir synnda acab er þa uar konung: iþir israelf þolki en þegar kom regn er hann bad þeif. he
 36 liaf smurdi elifeum þoftra finn til spamanz þirir fik en hann uar numinn upþ til himinf iell
 igri kerru ok lipir hann enn. helifeuf reifti ok mann aþ daupa til lipf. en annar kuiknadi
 sa er daup: uar lagd: ileidi hia beinum hanf Malachiaf uar goþgafr spamanna hann var
 39 hefdráf kennimadr logmadr gydinga han<n> uar kallad: aþ gydingum malachiaf en
 þat þydz sem se eingill drottinf at þeim þottv sua mæt oꝛd hanf uera sem
 þa at eingill gudf mællte þad er han<n> kuad upþ [*capitulum*]

10v

Hand G Nu er sem huerþi aþt<r> til sonar adamf kainf hann kallaz rækr ok³³ rekinn þirir þann glæp er hann
 drap abel brodur sinn sem þy: segir þa uar hann xxx. kain þo: unz hann kom aindialand þar
 3 nam hann stad ok gerdi þar borg þa kalladi hann enof gaþ hann borginni naþn sonar finf ok gaþ ser konungs
 naþn fu uar borg þyft ger: iheimi kain er sagt at þyft tok þirir oþrikif fakar ok annan ue
 g ad rau<n>gu þad er ad:ir attu at honum namu margir þeiz er annara eigu toku ok hurþu aþ
 6 þui honum til hannda ok gerdu aþ þui borg med honum lamek drap kain synir lamekf ioel iu
 bal ok tubal þat er sagt ad þeiz: Skrifudu iþrottir sinar amarmara steinum ok a elltum
 9 leiri þeim er elld mætti standaz ætludu þeiz at marmarinn skilldi kenna jþrottimar eþ aþ
 fæuar gangi þæriz meþtr hluti mankinndar en eþ elld: eyddi skilldi nema aþ lei
 rinum leing: hann mætti elldinn standaz en eigi marmarinn þau syfkin þoruz inoa þlodi
 a:phaxaht fon semf noa sonar lipdi ccc ok xxx ok iij a: ma her uel skilia huerfu sk
 12 iott minkat heþir manz alldrana. þra honum ero komnir kalldei. hanf son uar ka`i`nan. hanf

15 son uar sale padan ero india: komnir. hanf s(on) eber aþ honum ero komnir eb:æi vm hanf da
 ga hoþz stopul smid hin mikla. hanf s(on) phalecc a hanf dogum b:a guð stopu
 18 I smid hann uar smidab: imiklu borg babilon med þeim hætti sem þy: er skriþat ok huer
 ia hufþru nini liet smida. þirir þeiri borg ried þyrft bel konung: þadir nini. en
 er bel uar daub: þa lætr hann gera liknefk<i>u eptir honum ok baud monnum ad goþga þad
 a dogum ragau phalehc sonar hoþz riki suiþioda: hinna: myclu. þar ried konung: þa
 21 þyrft er thaneuf`heitir`. uid hann er kennd a su er thaneif heitir. hon skilr affricam ok euro
 pam Seruhc son ragau liþdi cc ok xxx a:a j þann tima bygdiz egipta land þar ried
 þyrft fa konung: er uizuef het. þa nacho: ahanf dogum hoþz riki affirie. þar ried þy
 24 ft egialiuf ok beluf konunga: þa thæe þadir ab:ahamf a hanf dogum hoþz þiolky
 ngi fa het zo:oaþtrif hann uar konung: abactria sua er sagt at hann hlo þy: en hann g:
 et þa er hann uar þædd: Ab:aham son thæe þann þyrft stio:nu iþ:ott hann leiddi guð
 27 brott aþ ualldi kалdeo:um`sem þy: er skriþad` hanf son yfac a hanf dogum bygdiz a:gira riki
 aþ þeim konungi er irakuf het. hanf son jacob er odu naþni het israel Moyfes <uar> kominn aþ
 leui syni iacobf hann leiddi israel þolk yþir id rauda haþ þa uar hann uel attræd: þadan
 30 þo:u þei: aeydimork ok uoro þar xl uetra Her næst skal segia huerir hoþdingia: redu þirir
 gydingum josue uar þyrft eptir moyfen hann sty:di gydingum xx ok uj a: kaleph. liþdi
 c. a:a hann sty:di gydingum J þann tima uoro þei: ikrit saturnuf ok iupiter þa
 kalla menn þo: ok opin. oþoniel ried xl a:a. aloht riet lxxx a:a þa uar bað
 33 agi mikill med fialþum gydingum uoro allir amot beniaminif kyni þiellu aþ
 beniaminif ætt .c. ok halþr þriditug: þufunnda en aþ gydingum xl þufunn
 da. sanga: red .x. a: Delpho:a red xl. a:a þa uar dæpinn fifare konung: med þeim hæ
 36 tti at su kona er iabel hett setti nagla auanga honum ok ut um annan. Ge
 deon red xl. a:a. abimelehc iij ar. Dula xxx ok iij a: Jair xx ok ij a: leydi
 uj a: abefan uij a: akialon .x. a: J þann tima uar setid um troeam aþ grickium
 39 Hand E en eþne ok tilganga þessa sto:a stridf er þeir hoþdu sin imille va:
 þessi at syftir þriami konungs haþdi uerid hertekin aþ grickium ok þadan aþ
 uilldu þeir b:æd: heþna þeirra: suiuirdu tok alexander helen
 am hultþru menelai er allra quenna heþir verid þriduzt ok þlutte

11r

iþrigia lannd boduz þeir eigi vm meira eþne mo:g ar ut ok þiengu
 mannation`mikid` Lef her næst bladið e[r] skriþat er aþ troeo borg³⁴ Hand G þar þiellu aþ
 3 grickia lidi siau þufunndir hinf atta tigar hinf niunnda hundra<d>s .en aþ troea

- lidi þiellu sex þufunndir hin³⁵ tigar hin<s> sfaunda hundra<d>s. þirir grick
ia lidi red mest agamenon ok menalauf. en þirir troeo lidi red priamus ok synir hanf
eccttoꝝ ok alexander. hann haþði tekit brott helenu konu menalai Margir þlydu brot<t>
6 eptir þad ad borgin uard unnin einn aþ þeim uar eneaf hann kom til italia lanz ok uard þar konungꝝ hann drap
ellðinnng til bana hann drap ad: turnum. Eneaf gat þann son <er> alkanius h(et) hanf son uar
9 filuius. hanf son brütuf hann bygdi þystr þad land er þa uar kallad alkrion þar reifti
hann mikla borg er hann kalladi hinu nyu troeam þa uar skript um nopn uid hann ok kal
lad: britto en lanndit brittannia ok þadan ero brætar komnir. þad er nu lunduna borg
12 er hann kalladi nyu troeam en lanndit heitir nu eingland aþast brætlandi Nu skal aþ
tr huerþa til þerf uer hupum þirir litlu þra. Labdon uar domai uiij a: samfon sterki. uar
xx a: d(omari) heli kennemadr xl a:a. a hanf dogum bygdi britto eingland. samuel spamadr x` þa uar 000 mefta:000 uf`
15 ij a: þa uar faul tekinn til konungf yþir gyþinga hann ried xx a: hann þiell jo:osto ok med honum
synir hanf j þeim þiollum er gelboe heita Eptir faul uar dauid son iesse konungꝝ xl uetra þa folo
mon son hanf xl uetra. Roboaf xvij a: abia iij a: Afa xl ok .i. a: a: hanf dogum uar heli
18 af spamadr. jofaphat xxv a: þa uar helifeuf spamadr. jo:am .v. a: a: þa uar helias upp nu
minn. oziaf l ok ij a: um hanf dagha uoro uppi spamenn gudf. yfaiaf. ofee. ioel. amof. abdiaf
ionaf. mikeaf. Joatan rikti xvj a: akaz xvi a: ipann tima reiftiz romaborg ezeki
21 af xxx ok iij a: manafef .l. ok .v. a: amon ij a: jofiaf xxx ok .i. a: þar uar uppi hierimi
af spamadr. jeconiaf iij. manadi. þa uard herleiding hin mikla. Eleachim xi a:
þa ried ciruf konungꝝ babilon hann³⁷ leyþdi heimþerd gyðinga þolki. hieroboaf xx
24 ok ij a: hann ua abiaf konungꝝ; Nabath ij a: ba:fa xx ok iij a: hela ij a: hann ua þræll hanf
fa er zambri het. hann ried vij daga sidan uar hann ueginn. amri ried xij a: achabb x
x ok ij a: okoziaf ij a: hann þiell o: lopt ridi ok do. io:am xi a: hann drap hieu þræll
27 akabf. hieu xx ok viij a: joachaz xvi a: joabb xvi a: jeroboam xl ok .i. a: a: zakariaf vi
manud`u`. hann ua felluf ok riet .i. manud. sidan drap manaen hann. faa ried .x. a: fac`e`tia .ij.
a: hann ua þaceuf hertoge hanf ok ried xx a: hann ua ofiaf ok ried xx a: hann uard hertekinn aþ
30 falmanafaz affiria konungi ok mikill gyþinga þioldi. j þeiri herleidingu uar tobiaf ok þeiri
þedgar³⁹ þa eydduz gyþinga riki unz mathathiaf ok synir hanf risu amot heidnum
þiodum. judaf machabeuf uar son mathathie. hann helt upp morgum foknum uid heid
33 nar þiodir ok haþði fig: aualt þott hann heþði litid lid en ad:ir mikit hann þiell j
fokn þa bardiz hann uid bakidein⁴⁰ h`e` idinn hoþðingia. Eptir hann uar hoþðingi io
nathaf brodir hanf hann uielte triphon hoþðingi sidan uar simon er bædi uar
36 hertogi ok kennimadr hann uar fuikinn aþ tholomeo`magi s[inum]` hann uar brodir þe:ia iudaf ok ionathaf Eptir
hann ried iohannef son: hanf hann uar hinn uinfæla:ti madr. sidan aui:stoboluf. sidan alex

- 39 ander son hanf en eptir hann alexandra kona hanf ij a sidan synir henna: aiftoboluf ok hircanuf þei uoro ofattir bæd: ok uildi huartueggi einn hapa rikit alt sækir hircanuf traufst romueria ok þo: pompeius til med honum ok uar aiftoboluf tekinn en hir canuf ried xxx ok iiij a: þa uoro gydingar skattgilldir unndir romueria sipan var antigon
- 11v hann drap antoniuf romueria hertugi en setti herodes konung ypir gybinga hann uar þyft konung: ypir gydingum þeia manna er ecki uoro þeia: kinndar. hann uar hinn ueste konung: hann bren[n]de gy dinga bækr til þerf at eyda sua logum gudf hann liet dæpa ij fonu fina ok konu fina ok ahanf dogum uar gud bo:inn|| þyft a bretlandi hann hand tok Her hepr ad segia aþ bæta konungum huerir rikt hapa þirir higad bu:dinn Brutus rikti goc `ma`gogg rifa er uar xijalna hæ: ko:ineuf het einn hopdingi aþ troea monnum hann uar iþylgd med b:uto hann bio sig til glimu uid rifann tokuz sidan til ok uar glima þeia þu:du sterklig at sia þei: blefu hæ: ok stigu nid: hæ: ri finn tok ko:ineum sua hæ: at b:otnudu ripin .ij. j hæ:ri sidu enn eitt iuinstri ko:ineo rann miog ifkap er hann uar sua þast tekinn þærdiz hann þa ialla auka aþlf sinf hann hoþ upp rifann a auxl fer ok rann med hann þrama siouar ham:ia nocku:a ok kastadi honum þar aþ oþan. rifinn uar imorgum hlutum er hann kom afæ. þerfi rifu uar sua sterkr at hann reip upp digra eik med rotum. locricius uar son b:uti hinn ellzti hann ried þirir þeim hluta rikiff eptir þodu: sinn er aþ o llum þotti kio:ligast en albanackuf tok þad riki er þa uar kallad albania aþ hanf naþni en sidan skotland. ymber konungr drap albanackum en bæd: hanf locrinus ok kam ber bæd: hanf bo:duz uid ymbu en hann þlydi ut a anna tyndiz ymber ok þioldi hanf manna ok tok ain aþ honum naþn ok sua landit ok uar kallad no:þim braland. lokrinus þieck dottur ko:inæi konungf aþ korbreta landi en hann hæði þo þ ellt hug finn til þeiar meya: er estralldiff het ok allra meya uar þeg:st
- 21 En er ko:ineus þra þerfa at hann uill þerfa mey eiga lipf gia:na. þa þor hann aþun d locrici med æfingi ok akaþa. hann geck ad honum med b:ugdnu suerdi ok ygdu anliti ok mællti. þu ætla: ei medal skom<m> ok hadung uid off ad gera eþ þu
- 24 matt rada. mannttu eigi huerfu ek hepi gert uid þodu: þinn igodri þylgd en nu ætla: þu ad eyda samþo:um uid dottur mina. ad unndri em ek o:þ inn ok auuirdi aþ elli ok manna miffi eþ suabuit skal hlyda. villdi korineus þa rada ad konungi. þa stodu menn imilli. sættuz þei: ok þie<c>k locrinus guendale nam dottur hanf sem ætlad uar. Eptir dauþa ko:enei liet locrinus eina guend

- 30 alenam en tok fer til hufþeyu⁴¹ efralldem. guendalena þor heim til kom
breta lannz litlu fidar: gerdi hon her a hennd: locrino þiell hann þar þa red guendalena
rikinu hon liet dæckia efralldæ ok dottur henna: ieinni a ok er hon hæði
riki radit⁴². x. a: tok madan riki þed: f sinf en hon settiz at komnbretalandi
33 ok red þar. riki allt til dauða dag j þann tima uar famuel spamadr agydinga
landi. þa uar ok uppi omeruf snillingz. madan uar hoguær i riki sino ok er eingi
faga þra honum. þa toku riki synir hanf menpriciuf ok malin. menpricius uar hinn u
36. efti madr þuiat hann þyddiz ka:la en atti þo þrida konu En er hann hæði konung: k
allad: uerid xx uetr þa þor hann um dag alkog ady:aveidar ok uard þrafkila monnum
finum. þa hliop ad honum uarga þ[io]ldi ok riðu hann ifunnd: i þann tima ua:
39 faul konung: ypir gydinga landi. þa tok riki eþutuf son hanf. hann reifti þa borg
er hann kalladi aþ sinu [napni] ebracam fu borg heitir nu io:k þar er nu erki
stoll. hann liet gera uigi þad askotlandi er meya kaftali uar kallad: eþutus
- 12r
atti xx konur ok med xx sonu ok xx dætr. b:utus h(et) einn son ebruti. hann tok riki eptir þodu:
finn andapan ok red xij uetr ok er eingi saga þra honum. en bæd: hanf unnu faxland
3 unndir fig ok redu þar þirir fidan son bruti tok riki eptir er h(et)⁴³ leil hann let gera borg ok kalla
di aþ napni sinu kierleil. þann tima red solomon hinn spaki io:fala landi ly
bnidibraf het son leilf hann tok riki eptir þodu: finn andapan hann uar mikill sko
6 rung: ok ftio:nfa<m>: hann sætti alla þa sem hann gat en rak hina o: lanndi hann liet
gera kantaraby:gi ok margar ad:ar borgir hann uar konung: ix a: ok xx. eptir hann tok riki son hanf er h
et bladud hann uar uitr ok radugz. hann uar miog þio:kunnig: ok kenndi þa iþrott þar
9 a: landi ok namu margir fidan en er hann hæði xx uetr konung: uerid þa liet hann gera
fer þiad:ham ok uilldi þliuga at sia ypir riki sitt ok potti ser þa fid: auuart koma
En er hann uar kominn iþiad:haminn ok <hæði> þlogit um stunnð biladi þiad: haminn datt hann þa
12 nid: ok lamdiz i stycki. bladut uar konung: xx a:. leir het hanf son hann uar gilld: konung:
hann hæði <lagt> unndir sig kombreta land ok skott land. leir atti iij dætr en onga<n> son hann uar
15 konung: xl uetra. hanf erþi uar d:uckit xij manudu. go:deilla dottir leirf rikti eptir hann
v. a: hon uar uinfael aþ sinum unndir monnum. þa toku riki marganus ok konedaguf. do
ttur synir leirf konedagus drap þrænnda sinn ibardaga. red þa konedagus einn
riki iij uetr hin f þio:da tigar. þa uoru agydinga lanndi spamenn yfaiaf ok ofee ok
18 þa uar roma borg reift aþ grunnduelli xi kal(enda) f maij. son konedagi tok riki eptir
hann fa h(et) riuallo. ahanf dogum rigndi blodi iij daga ok iij nætr eptir þat kom mann

21 þall mikid. eptir riualllem tok riki goꝝgriçiuþ ſon hanf. þa hanf ſ(on) filiuþ. þa iago fyl
 tu: ſon gorgorci. þa kinnmaruþ ſon ſiluij. þa goꝝdo⁴⁴ dago eptir hann toko riki ſynir hanf .ij.
 het annar þerue<n> en annar þoꝝueþ hann drap þeruen þoꝝdu: ſinn en eualle mo
 24 dir þei: a drap þoꝝueþ ok þema henna: med ſoxum. þa uar mikid uþamþycki um .v. konunga
 æþi þar til er ſa madr heriadi abꝛetland er dunuallo h(et) hann uar ſ(on) glotenif kornbreta konungþ
 þyft drap hann pinecum en ſidan þelldi hann ibardaga radacum ok ſtatu: ium ſidan
 27 uard hann konung: abꝛetlandi hann liet þyftir allra breta konunga gera ſer koꝝonu aþ gulli
 hann ſetti hopa rett þann at eingi madr ſkilldi ſua illt gert haþa at hann ſkilldi eigi þrid
 haþa eþ hann kiæmiz ahoþa gard. at þeim hætti uoro ſidan ſett kirkiug: id eþ
 30 tir þui ſem nu halldaz hann eyddi ollum ranum ok hernadi. hann hegndi ok ſua hardliga
 þioþum at eingi þoꝝdi ſtuldi at þremia. hann red bꝛetlandi xxx ueþra ſidan
 hann tok koꝝonu. dinouallo atti ij ſonu het annar belinuþ en annar bꝛenniuþ þei:
 33 attu hardan bardaga en modir þei: a ſætti þa Eþtir þat logdu þei: unndir ſik æinnum
 xij manudum þrakland ok oll riki þau er liggia þirir nordan þiall ok ſkazgilldu alla k
 onga þa er þar uoro ad: þirir. þei: heriudu ok allt til roma borga: ok þelldu confuleþ gab
 36 ium ok þerfentum er uoro þyþir roma borg ſkipudu ſidan borgina ſinum monnum. þoꝝ bꝛenniuþ um
 alla italiaþ ok rak ſua mikinn hernad at minnum uar haþt leingi ſiþan. belinuþ þoꝝ
 heim til rikif ſinþ hann liet gera tum þyþir anni temþ ok rikti leingi ſidan. gu: guitt h(et)
 ſon belini. hann heriadi til danmerkr þuiat ſa konung: er þar red þirir uilldi eigi giallda ſkyll
 39 dir ne ſkatta ſem hann haþði iattad belino þ(odur) hanþ gu: guitt þelldi konunginn ok lagdi
 unndir ſig allt land. en er hann ſneri aþr o: [þeþfi herferd] hitti [hann uþarþholomeui konung
 med xxx ſkipa hann bad [þer þrid la[nz ſagðiz haþa] oꝝdit þangat ſæhaþa en

12v

3 ad: landþlotta aþ ſpanlandi ok rekit um haþ innan eigi ſkemr en xvij. manadi hann beid
 di aþ konungi nocku: ſ landz at byggia a. konung: gaþ honum þad land er nu heitir irland gurguit
 uard elli daup: Guitelmuþ tok riki eptir þoꝝdu: ſinn hann ſetti þau log er kollud uoro mar
 ciane log þau uoro diupþettri en þau er ad: uoro þau log uoro þar leingi ſidan hall
 6 din. hann uard ſottþaup: ſifilliuþ het hanþ ſon. hann hellt riki þyft med modu: ſinni ſidar red
 hann riki allt til elli. eptir hann tok konungdom ganaruþ. þar næþt þrillu ſon hanþ er het moꝝuiduþ
 Moꝝuiduþ uar ram: ad aþli ok uuæginþ eþ hann uard reid: einþ berferkr heriadi anordimþra
 land. moꝝuiduþ uard miog reid: þerfum hlut ok þoꝝ þegar imoti med ſinn her tokz med þeim bardagi
 9 ok ecki lang: aþ: moꝝuiduþ þieck ſig: hann uar þa ſua reid: at hann hio med ſino ſuerdi
 til bana huern er þirir hann kom þar til er hann matte eigi þirir mædi. en þa er eptir uoro baud hann at þ

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12 la kuika ok brenna sidan ielldi. þórði sidan eingi madr at beriaz amot honum med
an hann lipði. A opan uerdri æþi hanf uard einn unndarligi hlutr at geck upp o: sio eitt dy:
sua grimt ok illt uidr eignar ad þad reip þad er þirir uard ok eyddi landit þar sem þad⁴⁵ þor en er su þrett
15 kom þirir konung. redz hann imoti dy:inu en er hann kom ad þui fualg þad konunginn sem silung lauk
sua hanf æþi Mo:uidus atti .v. sonu het sa go:bonianus er riki tok eþtir hann. hann uar elskad:
aþ ollum hann liet rydia merki til bygda ok bætti nalega inuckuu huerf manz rettt
18 ilandinu A þa leid stoduadi hann stuldi ok ran sem þair ad:ir ad hann gap þeim gull ok
silþr er þu:þa þotuz ok þirir þad gimtuz annara. Argallo tok riki eþtir brodu: sinn
hann uar honum ulikr iollum hlutum hann uard sua uuinfél at hoppingia: rifu amot
honom ok raku hann aþ riki. en þeir: toku til konungf brodu: hanf er estidunus het hann uar kall
21 ad: elidurus hinn mikli. hann tok brodu: sinn til konungs argallo hann rikti x. uetr sidan hann uar
þa hoguær uid allt þolk. eþtir hann toku þeir: aþr eledurum til konungf uar hann þa enn hoguær sem
þy: þa rifu upp ij brodu: synir hanf uigenius ok peridurus þeir: helldu o:osto uid konung ok uard hann
24 hertekinn ok set<ð>r ilstein ok eþtir uij uetr lidna tok uigenius fott ok andapiz en
eledurus tok riki ipridia finn. hann anddadiz gamall med godum o:ðstir Eþtir þad redu bre
27 ta riki margir konungar þeir: sem eingi er saga þra en þo man ek neþna nuckura konunga eþtir eli
durum uar go:bo:rianus. þa margaritus. euanarus. anualluf. runo. katelluf. ko:iluf
.pourex. kerin. þulgencius. eldud. merianus androgius. uianus eliud. cledarcuf. cloterus.
guguinuis. uiledino. arenail. elaol. redeon. kedarcus. samuil. penifel. þir. kapu
30 ir. kygdelluf. heli. hann uar konung: xl ara hann atti iij sonu .lyd. hann tok konungdom eþtir
þaudur finn. `hann gap lunduna borg naþn ok dro aþ sinu naþni` en eþtir hann kafibellanus brodir hanf. þann tima rikti iulius iroma hann sen
breþ kafibellano at hann gylldi skatt ok iatti sig unndir þe:ia hlydni kafibellanus
33 uilldi þad med ongu moti held: þerr hann til bardaga uid iulium ok med honum vi konungar:
þeir: hittuz uid ana temf ok þie<c>k kafib(ellanus) sig: en iulius þlydi. eþtir ij uetr lidna
36 attu þeir: adia o:osto þlydi þa enn iulius aþr a ualland. þridiu o:osto atti iulius
uid kafib(ellanus) ok fættuz þeir: þa at þui ad kafib(ellanus) skilldi haþa bætland sem ad: en gia
llda romuerium skatt æþinliga. kafib(ellanus) lipði vij uetr sidan. eþtir hann tok riki
tenuancius brodir and:ogij. eþtir hann tok riki kambelinus hann uar þostrad: med
39 augusto keisara iroma borg ok uar honum sua aþþolginn at hann gap honum upp ska
ttana. þa uu:du þau tidenndi [at] gud liet beraz hingad iheim. her hæ
ttir⁴⁶ ættar tolu breta en heþr [at] segia nockra hrid aþ romuerium

13r

Hand F Romuluf ok remuf voro ij konungar. j italia landi ok er sva sagt at þeir: væri synir martif er⁴⁷

274

3 rumveriar kolludu o:rostu gud en ver kollum ty `padan er tyrf d(agr) kallad:´. modir þe:ra h(et) ilia hon var konungf do
 ttir ok ad langpedgum komin þra enea magi priami konungf itroeo borg þe: b:æd: gerdu ro
 maborg. en er borgin var gio:u. uildi huartueggi geþa naþn borginni aþ sinu naþni
 ok gerdiz padan aþ fva mikid missætti at hertogi fa er þabius het d:ap remum med
 6 samþycki ok radi romuli konungf. eþtir þad gaþ hann naþn borginni aþ sinu naþni ok `kallade´⁴⁸ romv
 leam. romuluf setti þyft rimtal ok skipti þa þyft arinu j x manati⁴⁹ ok ka
 9 lladi hinn þyfta manud aþ naþni þaudur finf marcium litlu fidar uar skipad ari
 nu j xij manadi kaulludu þe: hinn þyfta manud ianuarium aþ naþni mikilf ho
 þdingia ok heidinf þe:f er ianuf het skilldi hann vera enndir arfinf en upphaþ annars
 kolludu margir hann finn gud ok trudu ahann. aulldungar settu þau laug at eingi madr skilldi
 12 bera konungf naþn iroma borg en ij menn skilldu vera hoþdingiar yþir romveria her ok kolludu þe: þa
 menn confulef þad bydum ver rædiþf menn þe: skilldu eigi leing: vera iþe:xi tign en eina xij ma
 nudu enir somu nema þirir nockur sto: uerk ok synndiz aulldungunum enn ad kiofa hina fo
 15 mu menn til ok skilldi þad iaþnan gera ahinni somu tid akuedinni at skipa rikinu ok uelia confu
 lef Confulef redu romariki cccc ara tiræd ok iij uetr hinf þimtatigar aþe:xi æpi ox
 roma riki mest ok gerdiz sua mikid ad þe: logdu nalega undir fik oll lond þau er ver kunnum
 18 noþnum ad neþna iuerolldinni ok helt þad miok til þe:f at þe: keptuz uid konfulef at
 huerr skilldi meira agiæti gera en annar afinu ari sua sem rad uar til fett. þar kom lokf at
 þeim þot<t>i oþskamt uerda rikid eþ þe: skipti hoþdingium ahuerium xij manudum þar sem þe: þoro
 herþerdir iþiarlæg riki. þa gapu þe: þad naþn þe:ri tign er þa skilldi mest heita at þe: k
 21 olludu þa dictato:ef þad kollum ver domara⁵⁰ ok skilldi þad vera .v. uetra tign ok vera sua margir
 þe:ir menn fenn sem aulldungarnir uilldu ok skilldu þo vera confulef ij. ahueriu ari sem ad: enn er
 24 þerfi æpi var miog lidin þa uar skipt ollum romueria her iþridiunga ok uar settr sinn ho
 þdingi yþir huerm þridiunginn þe:ir menn er æztir hoþdingiar uoro ad: iroma borg ok uoro þa al
 27 lir geruir dictato:ef. þar var einn sa madr er het marcus ok crassuf odu naþni hann atti conu
 þa er ko:nelia het hon uar dottir þerf manz er marcelluf h(et) ok einn uar aþ hinum æztum
 hoþdingium iromaborg. annar var sa madr er het iulius cefar er iþann tima uar hinn agiæta:z
 30 ti madr iborginni. hinn þridi uar sa er kallad: uar pompeius magnuf ok leingzt haþdi þo
 þerfarra manna allra radit þirir romueria her. hann haþdi vij finnum uerit gio:u consul iroma. hann atti
 iþenna tima konu þa er iulia het. hon uar dottir iulij cefarif ok uar pompeius þo my
 klu ellri en iulius Marcus crassuf uar send: til þe:ra þioda er uo:io iafrica ok
 33 heita parthi ok affirij ok medij þær allar þiodir gengu moti romuerium med
 uuingan. en er marchuf kom þangad med: finn her þa bardiz hann þar margar o:ro
 ftur ok haþdi fig: en um fidir uard hann figrad: ok hanndtekinn aþ parthif sua he

- 36 itandum þíodum ok d`e`ydd: med þeim hætti at þeir steyptu gulli uellanda imunn honum ok mæltu þetta ypir. til gull`z`ínf þýfti þik ennda dæktu nu gullid sua at þu háþir gnognt. lauk nu sua ypir hanf æþi. juliuf þor til faxlanz med lid sit<t> iarin að suauara landi uar mestr motstaudu mad: iulij. hann háþdi lagt u ndir fik mikinn hluta faxlanz ok þrillanz iuliuf hadi þar margar orroftur ok hóþdu ymfir fig: Pompeiuf magnus þor med her finn þýft med skipa lidi vm
- 13v
- 3 gricklanz háþ ok gricklanz eyar ok bardiz þar uid uikinga margar orroftur er þar hóþdu margt illt gert og hóþdu þíolda lidf hann drap þa suma en rak alla að lænum ok að skipum Sidan helt hann lidi sino ut ypir háþ ok bardiz þar uid metridatem konung iponto ok figra di hann. þadan þor hann íspanland ok figradi þar fertorium konung. Eþtir þad þor hann íeirinland ok rabita land ok gydinga land ok uan<n> neþndar þíodir unndir roma riki. hann bardiz iaustr riki uid ij konunga ok xx ok uann þa alla. eþtir þad kom hann til roma borgar ok gengu mot honum aulldungar ok oku honum igullkerru i þo:f hóþ er þei: kolludu kapitolium. þadanáþ var hann kallad: þadir borgarinnar || menn þa er hann háþdi honum lied til þýlgdar en iulius uill Pompeiuf sendi o:d iulio at hann þæri heim til romaborgar eþa senndi honum alla sina di huarki gera uoro þa ok þei: þim uetr uti er iulius atti ad strida. uard þetta uppháþ til ofamþeckiff þeiza maga. sidan þor iulius um allr¹ faxland þracland ok þrilland valland ok eingland ok lagdi þav riki oll unndir fik er voru þírir nordan mundiu þíall. Þa dæmdu aulldungar j roma borg med radi pompæi ad iulius skilldi einkif soma eiga uon þírir þann sig: er hann ynni þadan íþra er hann hlyddi eigi bodo:di þeiza ox þa þiandskap: þeiza imillj. sua segir lucanus at iulius uilldi onguan mann uita fer hærra. en pompæius aun gan fer íaþnan Þa er iuliuf háþdi figrad yspaniam ok yberium þer hann ut yþir háþid eþtir pompæio ok attu þeir ij orosto: var hin fidari íthessalonia landi þíellu þar þlestir kappar pompæi en hann sialþr þlydi ok med honum kato speking: er gert heþir hugsuinnz mal ok med þeim 000 Pompæius þlydi aegipta land ok uænti ser þar þridar en hann uard þar dæþin suikliga med þeim hætti at sþtinniuþ ridderi tholomæi konungf er þa red egipta landi ok er p(ompæius) sa bana finn radinn uaðdi hann motlinum um hóþut ser ok lauk saman augum ok hellt² ad ser ondunni. ok eigi uilldi hann spilla sinni þrægd med ne einu anduarpi. þa uar hann laginn i gegnum med fuerdi en hann þagdi sem faud: ok lauk sua hanf æþi kato var en ilep tini er hann spurdi þau tþbendi ad iuba konung: var figrad: ok pompæiuf var þallinn. þottiz hann þa fia at iuliuf riki mundi ganga yþir alla uerollid. en hann uilldi aungum kosti honum þíona. tok hann þa þad rad ad dæcca eittr med sinum uilia ok do hann med þui. Juliuf kom nu til ho

27 þsinf`er capitolium var kallad´ ok geck inn. siþan uar lokid aþtr dyrum ramliga. þa geingu þeiꝛ bꝛutus ok cassiuf at iulio ok færdu hann .v. farum ok xx med smam handfauxum ok liet hann þar lip fitt ok er likit
 30 stirdnadi var hondin stirdnut ad bæþi þui er honum haþdi fellt³³ uerid ok uar ecki brotid innfiglid. en þa er breþid uar sed uar þad aritad ad hann uar uaꝛad: uid ad þara astepnu na til hoþsinf ok fagt ad honum uar bani radinn eþ hann kiæmi þar. Lik iulij uar sidan bꝛent eþtir romueskum sid ok uapn hanf ok merki. sidan uar askan tekin oll ok buid um dyrliga ok latid koma ier knapp einn mikinn ok uar hann allr a at sia sem gull uæri sa umbuningꝛ uar þæd: upp asteintolpan þann er stendꝛ ato:ginu ok heitir þad petra³⁴
 33 iulij en pilagrimar kalla pettarf nal Systir iulij cefarif het actia ellri m yclu en iuliuþ hennar dottir het octauia ok uar hon modir augulsti uar hann ok aþ þui kallad: octauianuþ augulstuþ. antoniuþ ok augustus boꝛduz uid roma. þar þiellu irciuþ ok pinfa þa uar augustus einn yþir romueria her þar til aþ þe<i>r sættuz þeiꝛ antoniuþ med þeim hætti at þeiꝛ skilldu uera ij hoþdingiar yþir roma riki iapnir at meto:ðum þad uar litla stund ad þeiꝛ mætti þat sambycckia ad uera iamþnir menn skiptu þeiꝛ þa rikinu ok hlaut augustus roma borg ok þad riki er þar uar til skilid. en antoniuþ tok þad riki er liggꝛ

14r

Hand B þiꝛ vtan haþ. vard augustus einvallz konungꝛ yþir ollum heimi ok var þa kallad: aꝛgustus cesar. En þa er aꝛgustus kom aud þeim ollum iromaborg er hann eignadiz a egiptalandi. eþtir dauba anntonij ok cleopatre liet hann brenna ielldi oll skvilda blað romveria. aþ þvi liet hann þad gera ad hann v illdi ad allir romveria: væri þrialsir ahanf dogum ok eingi ætte oðum skulld ad gialda hann g allt aþ sinvm þiahlut hverium manni skulld sina. aꝛgustus bæt<t>i miog romaborg bædi ipvi ad hann liet gera morg hus ok hallir innan borgar þa er mikid skravt var ad. hann liet vel bva oll str æti þa er jromaborg voro. hann liet oþt borgarveggi eþla ok sua vigi vmhuerpum borgina. aꝛgustus mællte ok sua þiꝛ vinvm sinvm. leir borg var roma er ek tok uid riki en sua skiliumz ek uid ad nv er hon marmara borg þra þvi er ok fagt ad hallæri kom sua mikit ahanf dggvm ad þioldi manna do aþ sullti. En aꝛgustus sýndi sua astriki fitt vid borgar menn. ad hann lyfti þvi þiꝛ alþydv eþ eigi kiæmi viþfir ok leidangra: i n<n>an iij natta þeira er næstar voro. villdi hann drecka helld: eitr ok d`e`ya en sia vefolld a þolkinv. en ahanf dogvm vard sa atburd: ad iborginne spratt vpp vidsmioþ brvnn: o: bia: gi einv. einn dagh sua gnogliga. ad huer: madr matti vpp a/sa sua sem villdi ok virdv rom veria: ad ipvi merkti miþkvnnfemi keisaranf. en betr skiliandi`menn` virda ad ipvi merkiz guds miþkunn sv er birtiz ahanf dogum þa er drot<t>inn jhesus christus var borinn iheim þenna. aꝛgustus. heþir verid meþtr stio:nar madr allra romveria konunga iþornvm sid ok hann sette þann þrid vm allan heim er eingi heþir verid flikr hvarki ad: ne sid. aþ hanf naþni heþir hver: sem einn yþir konungꝛ roma velldif

18 kallaz aꝥugustus. ennda er þad hæst tignar naꝥn kallad iheiminvm. aꝥugustus var allz konungꝛ vi vetur
 e(da) vij. hinſ setta tigar. hann vard fottdaꝥ: þa er hann hæꝥdi vij vetr hinſ atta tigar Nær þeſſvm
 tima ſaz ahimninvm iij ſolir en vard oꝛ ein. þyddv vitrir menn ad ſa mundi koma til iardrikiff
 21 er bædi væri þrænnꝛ ok einn. Her lyctaz hinn .v. heimſ allð: hæꝥandi iſer .m. ok lx aꝛa
 en þra upphaꝥi heimſ voro lidnar .v. (þusundir) c. ok xc ok ix a: Nu er her uar komid heimſtodu leit miukr
 24 gud miſkunnaꝛ augum aſina ſkepnu ſamharmanndi ueroldina þirir þaraz ifyꝛgiligri rapan
 hueria þyſtu þedgin ſteyptu yþir ſik ok ſinn attboga ifynum glæꝥ. huar þirir þaꝛ bygðv inngau
 ngu himin rikif þa ſenndi hæſti þadir aꝥ himneſku ſæte ſinn eingetinn ſon til iardrikif ad hia
 lpa mannkyninu ok gera ſer þad ſameilþligt med þeire ſkipan ok gupligri þoꝛſia ſem nu ſkal
 27 SEtti heimſ allð: byriaz aꝛ gudſ ſonar hollgan /setti h(eims)aldꝛ/ || þeſſu næſt ſkyꝛa e(da) birta
 med þeim hætti ad gabriel hoꝥdeingill heiffadi þrv ſanctam mariam þuilikum oꝛþum. aue
 maria gratia plena dominus tecum. þa vard hon getanndi ad gupſ ſyni. þa var hon xiiij aꝛa gomul
 30 þad var a vi * degi uikv. ok þadan lidnvm ix manudum þæddiz lausnari allz heimſ vm midnætt
 iff ſkeid þirir drottinſ d(ag) þa var hinn .x.* vetr ifolaꝛ olld en ij. itungl aꝛld. þa var tungl .x.
 33 iij. natta. þa rikti aꝥugustus keisari vnndir hann var allr heimr ſkattgillð: þad var a xl* ok ij aꝛi
 rikif hanſ. en þra þvi er romaborg reiftiz .dcc ok l. ok ij aꝛ. Aa .viij* degi þra þædingv ſinne tok hann vnnſkur
 dar ſkim Nær þeſſv<m> tima komv austruegs konungar .iij. med þridv þoroneyti vtan aꝥ aꝛabia med þoꝛnum
 36 gulli. reykelſi. mirrv ad ſæma ok heidra. þann er þa var borinn iheiminn. þeiz kunnv uel ſtioꝛnv
 iþrott þeiz ſa komna nya ſtiomv ok biaꝛta ſem loga ahiminin huer: þirir þad þoro allt til þeſſ herberg
 iff er ſueinnin iheſus ok hanſ fæta modir fatv inne Hand H Nopn þeſſaꝛa konunga ero þeſſi aebreſku þyſti ſa
 39 markus annar amethus þridi appuliuf En igirzku ero þeiz ſua galgalath malafath ſirath
 im En atungu heidinna þioda kallaz þyſti geſpaꝛ annar balltafaꝛ. þridi melchioꝛ þ
 e<i>rra blezadir likamir ero med guds uilia komnir ſua langt nordꝛ j halþuna ad þeiz liggia [j] kolni

14v

þad er erkiftoll oc ſtenndꝛ j ſaxlandi Sua er dyꝛligꝛ þirir drottni þeiza dauþi ad þeiz ſigra mannz
 nattvrv oc lig<g>ia med heilu liki þeim til loþſ oc dyꝛþar er þeiz tignvdu med þrænnvm þoꝛnum
 3 Nær[er] þat er tima birtiz eingill drottinſ ioſeþh j ſueþni s`v`a ſegiandi. taktu ſu
 e<i>ninn iheſus oc mariam modur hanſ oc þly a egipta land oc uert þar þangat til ek birtumz þeiz
 6 Pat verk er kallaz til egipta landz uáttar ſu bok er heitir deinqancia ſaluatoꝛif at ſua
 ſem þav þram komv maria oc ioſeþh miog þarmod vnndir þann vid er palma <heitir> taka þau h
 uilld at þeim ſuali þar um eina ſtunnd. Vá: þrv gudſmodir var þa miog mædd aꝥ longum ueg
 kennir hungꝛif en viſtir voro grvnnar oc þui tekr pilltrinn til ad neyta ſins uallz ad moduꝛ
 9 hanſ hungri eigi oc uifaꝛ henndinne upp at eikinne ſua ſem iþat mark at hon ſkal lægia ſina h

12 æd oc ueita lidug[an] þann avoxt sem til mannpæðu var áhenne uaxinn. hon hlyder íftad skap
 ara<n>f bodi oc legg; þram koll allt til iaðar. er þa hægt at lefa þau epli sem til þyfti. oc
 at þvi gervuu reifiz hon upp oc riettiz íþyui natturv. Vndir þeim palmuidi segir sama bo
 k at brunnr hafi upp spungid med smatt uatn o: io:ðunne þirir bodskap hin f un
 15 ga ihesu þirir bæen joseph oc naudsyn þeia þarleingdar. þviat i þess háttar uegum er þat uatn
 miog þagiætt at bædi sie monnum dygt oc þara:skiotum. *capitulum 0000*
 Nv skal segia annad ævænty: er til þar íperð þeia. Sem en lid: leingra ueg[nu]m
 18 koma þau þra[m] eitt kuellð þirir helli nockum. Stennd: nv natt at oc er þvi ma
 al at taka þar gifting. þlytr joseph þaung þeia inn ihellif munnan oc ætla: þar
 um ad buaz sakir skiols uid hielu þall sem þar er gian anattar tima íþeim lonndum
 21 oc sem hann þæz íltaþinv. hey:ia þau signud maria haik oc huæfingar mikla:
 inn imy:krid sua at þau ottaz bædi oc þvi næst skrida þram hoggomar tueir aþ si
 inne bygd oc uilia undan lata gestum þessum. Ener þeir: nalgaz vara þrv benndir ihesus med
 24 henndi finne at þeir: skuli kunna sin hóþ oc þara med eingum opstopa þeir: gera sva
 lægia hoþudit oc ludra brott til eydimerkr er þa nattbolid þrialft oc otta lauft. Sem
 þau þara þadan oc en lida dagar kiærir joseph nockud lágliga at þarang[r] þeia þir
 27 þti lietta þviat eykrinn dregz oc mæðiz bædi aþ grafleyfi oc þosta. Oc sua biát geing:
 einn leo aþ eydimorkinne þram aueginn þirir þau. hann geþr sik blidan breid: bak oc
 badar sidur. eþ þau uilia nockurn lietta aþ honum þiggia. joseph er þess buinn oc
 30 setr upp aþann sterka karlinn huat er hann haþdi til þylgir hann^{ss} þeim sidan nott oc dag
 alla leid þram i egipta land sua miukr oc meinlauf sem einn saud: *capitulum*
 Nv er herodes konung: vard uiff ad neþndir konungar hoþdu heim snuit til sinna her[a]
 33 da oc komit ecki ahanf þunnd eþtir þvi sem hann beiddi þylliz hann bolginnar rei
 di sua þramt at hann byd: dæpa oll sueinþon yngri en tuæuetr þau er voro
 iborg bethleem oc hennar endimorkum. tolu þessara sueina kunnu ver eigi greina en
 36 su tala `er´ stennd: j niunda responsoio er sua heitir. Centum xl iii milia h
 eyrir uift eigi til tolu barnanna held: er hon sett in apocalipfi iohannif þirir sto: merkif
 krapf. herodes þieck skiota heþnd sua at hann do uefælliga eþtir þui
 sem kristninne er uel kunnigt at han<n> uall modkum *Aþ herode hinum <gamlu>*

15r

At daupvm gamla he:ode birtiz annan tima gudf eingill joseph sua segiandi ris
 upp oc tak sueinin ihesum oc modur hanf oc þar heim aio:ð gydinga landz. þviat þeir ero
 3 nu daudir er leitudu at glata aund sueinfins Sidan þor hann þerd sina ⁵⁶ þat kallaz

279

6 æ latin relegatio pueri ex egipto þat er vij^o ydes ianuaríj. oc er hann heyði at archilas
 son herodes mundi ríkia j iudea þvi ottadiz hann at þara þangat. oc þírir guðliga aminn<i>ng jsue
 þne ad hann skilldi byggia jborg nazareth þæddiz þar upp ihefus mariu son ok þar ap var hann kallad:
 ihefus nazarenus. Sua f(egir) heilug ritning at þri: menn haþi borid ihefum. þessir maia drotning. sim
 eon gamli. joseph þostrþadir hanf. maria mæþ bar hann jkuidi finvm. simeon jpadme. jo
 9 seph æ herdum ser sem hann þlut<t>i hann undan ill`z`ku herodes fram til egiptum. Sua bodar math
 <e>uf gudspialla madr at ihefus þor xij uetra med sinne sælle modur ok joseph til iofala borgar
 at mustarif hatid ok þau bædi uðu uuif huar hann uar um tima. en sv var fok til þess ad
 12 fekiandi lyd: aþ ríkinu skilldi ganga med faungleikum bædi til mustarif ok þra var fa fettning:
 upp æ ad ifinvm uegh skilldi huart vera greiniligt ka:la: ok kuendi. oc þírir þessa sok at fæ
 15 I maria ok joseph skildu fin imidil. hugdi huart þe:ra pillinn med oðu uera. oc
 eþtir þriggia daga leit sem var þrv sancta maria þinn: hann sitia ifialþu mustarinvm millim
 spekinga eigi uanbuinn at suara ne spy:ia. segir hon sua til hanf. son hvi syndiz þier sua
 ad gera. Ek oc þadir þinn leitudum þinn harmandi. þa svaradi ihefus. huat er þat er þid le
 18 itudub min. vifv þit eigi þat. at mer by:ia: at gera þa luti er þodu: minf ero
 ahimnj. Han<n> þor þa heim med þeim inathæ:eth oc var þeim hlydinn sem aþvi ma: ma:k
 a at hann fotti uatn til lækia: eþ naudsyn beiddi oc hanf signud modir baud honum
 21 Enn ma sua trvaz sakir hanf mykla litillætif at hann haþi at stadit oc þulling ueit<t>
 þostr þodur finvm joseph þviat þat er uitat at hann kunne vel ia:nfmid *aþ varum <herra>*
 24 Nv þann tima sem uar: her:ra tok skim aþ joni baptista þenda sinvm aþritugf alldie
 greina gudspioll at hann þastadi xl daga oc þreðeað: natta þa hungradi hann sem
 manþ þiandinn þreistadi hanf oc vard ypír stiginn þat er .i. nott eþtir þestvm valent
 27 ini m(artyris) En æ oðu ái snere hann uatnj iuin⁵⁷ j kana galilee at þudkaupe
 þviat hann var til þe:ra: samkundu kallad: oc hanf modir oc allir hanf lærifueinar. þar vax
 30 00000 [ueizlu] þall eþ gudf modir heþdi eigi þrammi stadit. hon taladi uid son
 sinn aþessa leid. son minn þ:yrtr vin ad ueizlune. h(ann) f(uarar) huat kemr þat
 til minn e(da) þinn. oc enn tala: hann. þyllit vj steinker aþ uatni sua uar gert sem
 hann baud. hann blezadi uatnit oc taladi sidan til þionofu manna aufid upp nv
 33 oc berit þyft aunduegif manni. oc er hann kenndi fagdi hann sua. þier geymdu: allt her til
 id bezta uin þetta ta:kn þramdi skapa:inn þyft þírir manna augum
 Lidu hedan sua timar varf drottins hollganar ok herueru ad þe:ri þlutv a<l>
 36 lir med dafemdum oc allzkyns ia:tegnum sua ad hannf ma:tt jo:ði
 oc uerki ma: einki skya Sva þinz skriþat ad anna modir mariu
 ok esmeria modir elifabeth ueri fystr. hon uar modir iohannif baptiste hann b

an[n]jadi ad herodef helldi uid hond fer brodur konu sina er h(et) herodiadis því var hann settr

15v

Hand A imyrkua stopu mot paskum aþ herode ok xij manudum sidar uar hann halshoginn. þa tok
guds son ser til þylgdar xij þa kalladi hann postola ok iodru lagi. lxx ok ij þa kalladi hann sina læ
risueina. tok hann þa at geþa syn blindum en dumbum mal dauþum heym. hann saddi ok
v (þusundir). manna aþ .v. braudhleipum ok ij þiskum. en annan tima þæddi hann .iiij. (þusundir) meþ vij braudhleipum
ok þam smapiskum at utauldum konum ok bornum. nær. þersum tima ste hann upp íþjall tabor. ok med honum
6 ij postolar petrvs iacobus iohannes þa syndiz asiona hans sem skinandi sol en klædi hans bio:tt
sem snio:r. þar komu ok ij spamenn moyses ok elias ok kenndi petrvs þa bada. en haþdi huar
ngi þyrr sied. hann reisti ij menn aþ dauda unga dottur iayri ihusi. eckiu son iborgar
9 hlidi. en lazarus perdagaban kalladi hann aþ groþ. sua segir speculum ecclesie at lazarus uæri biskup x
xx ara. ikip: . sidan systur hanf uoro⁵⁸ ¶ maria magdalena ok marta er audladiz at lada isitt her
bergi sialþan guds son. sa hlutr gio:rdiz þa er sæl marta uar uid ana rodanum einn mi
12 kill dæki uar amidil þeira stada er annar h(et) arelainum en annar auiton skamt þra a þeiri er ro
danus h(eitir) hans hinir þremri hlutir uoro sem aþogli hinir sidari hlutir sem a þiski hann uar dig:ari en ux
i leingri en hestr hoþud haþdi hann sem leo. tenn hans uoro huassar sem suerdz oddar. þax haþdi hann mikid
15 sem hestr huass kamb: geck abaki honum sem bœidauxar egg. hœistr uar ahonum sto:tt ok snart
hann haþdi vj þætr þurduliga sterka klær hans uoro sem abirmi hali hans uar sem aeitr o:mi þat er uippera
u i engi haþdi hann ij langa ok bœida sua at þeir: huldu allan hans likam ok uoro þeir: sua þyckuir ok sty:kir
18 at þirir þeira traustleika lietti hann eigi þirir nie einum hogguapnum nie þluguapnum nie nuckurum
uiguelum sua uar hann sterkr at hann matti med sinu aþli ok grimleik uid iaþnaz e(da) sigra xij bio:nu
e(da) leona þersi dreki uar aþ lannz monnum kallad: thara s'conus. þat hugdu menn at hann mundi getinn uera
21 aþ þeim sio dæka er leuiatan h(eitir) ok i iobs bok er neþnd: ok haþi sa dæki þarid eptir hinu
mikla haþi auftan aþ galacia asie. ok er hann hinn grimazti dæki ok ligg: isio e(da) uotnum
ok haþi þat kuikuenndi er igalacia er ok bonakum h(eitir) blandaz uid sio dækan til þersa getna
24 dar þetta olma dyr bonakum er sua illrar natturu at uerp: uellheitu driti um xxx þadma þ<an>n u
eg sem skeyti þlyg: aþa er þat sekia ok bœennr aþ huar er þirir uerd: . hin blezada marta gek<k>
[o]skialþandi at þersum dæka `þar hann la iskogi adauds mannz hræi´ ok staukti ipir hann uigdu uatni. ok kros<s> d:ottins þar hon med ser
27 sua sem skiolld auruggan moti þersu illþusa dyri. en hann uerd: uid þersi hennar til tæki sua
otta þullr ok umattug: at hann matti o: þeim stad huergi hœraz. ok ecki mein gera. en
hon batt hann med sinum linnda þui næst dirp`d`uz menn uid ok baurdu hann til ban[a i þenna tima] bar⁵⁹
30 `þat bar´ til iborginni petragoricas⁶⁰ þa er pronto byskup saung messo [i] sialþri hoþud kirkiunnj at hann soþna
di iþeim suefni uitradiz honum sialþr gud ok m(æ)lti) minn elskulig: uin þronto eþ þu uilt

- 33 ennda þitt þirir heit þat sem þu hez `hus`prv uarri marthe þar nu skiotliga at ueita henni grauptr ok þylg mer ok er hann hafði þetta mællt þoro þei `a` augabragdi ithara `konum ok geingu i kirkiu marte ok toku at syngia med oðum ipir hennar likam. helldu þei: bækr med sinum eiginligum honndum. þirir syngiandi. en audum an]suarandi badir þei: baru hennar likama ok ileidi logdu þa uar byskup uakinn af klerkum byskup sagdi þa ho ho bæd: minir hui uoktu þier m ig sua skioitt. ek heþi at segia yd: agætæn alburd ihesus christus leiddi mig af þersum stad til likþylgiu sællar marthe sinnar husprv ok nu nu hoþum uid uei]t]t henni graptrar pionostu. hann sagdi ok at þa er þei: geingu brott o: kirkiunni spurdi einn brodir
- 36
- 39
- 16r
- þers stadar sialþan drottinn huerr hann uæri e(da) hu`a`dan⁶¹ hann uæri e(da) huert naþn hann ætti. en hann suaradi honum aungu ok syndi honum opna bok þa hann hafði ihenndi ahenni uar ecki annat skriþat en þetta uers in memo:ia etema erid iusta hospita mea ab auditu⁶² malo non timebid in die nouissimo þat er sua at skilia. j eilipri minning mun uera riettuis husprv min eigi mun hon ottaz uid heym illra hluta ahinum sidazta degi *capi(u lum)* || sua at myrkt uard Pa er ihesus hafði xxx ara ok uel iij. uar hann krosþestr `langa þria d(ag)` af gydingum so:tnadi solin med ollu en steinar bæustu. leidi dauþra opnuðuz kaustudu upp daud:ia manna likaumum. mustaris tialld riþnadi at oþanuerdu allt til nedsta
- 9 .⁶³ ok þadan þra a xlda d(egi) ste hann til himins nær standandi hans signadv modur marie ok asiandum nær .c. manna ok þadan .x. dogum lidnum sendi hann hinn helga annda sinum postolum. siau diakna uigdu postolar guds stephanum. philippum. preto:um. nitanorem .th imoteum. parmenam. nicolaum. er smidadi maumez uillu. anæsta ari eþtir guds s onar pisl uar stephanus g:ytr. ok nuckuru sidar uar iacobus brodir iohannis halshaugguinn m oti paskum. en petrsv settr imyrkuastofu af sama herode litlu sidar. siau arum eþ tir pining guds uar sæl mæ maria uppnumin en þadan a xlda d(egi) tok hon hollz uppisu þat er ij. nattum eþtir matheus messo uar þat langan tima miog uuist þirir aldyþu. en huersu þat uard lio st skal her næst g:eina. elisabeth d(ottir) konungs af ungaria geck i klaustr .xi uetra gomul lipdi hon stoum heilagliga ok er hon hafði lipat i klaustri xi ar birtiz henni guds modir optliga. talandi med henni ymissar g:einir. heilagra ritninga her med birtiz henni einn guds ei<n>gill sa uandiz til hana at læra af gudligri speki kendi hon þenna eingil. æ hinn sama til sin `komanda` sem sannan uin ok kiæran þe laga ok er hon blomgaz þuilikum giopum stundar þu:likum hon þui þramar at lika gudi sem bezt iollum hlu tum giomandi satt litillæti med godum uerkum ok þat geriz sidan hon skilr at maria guds modir. uird iz hennar optliga at uitia. huar hon s(egir) leyniliga sinum anndaligum þed: þar i klaustrinu huerr henni geþur þat raad at spyria d:otningina nuckurs þa hon birtiz henni næsta sinn hon segiz þers hon segiz
- 12
- 15
- 18
- 21
- 24

- 27 þers uilia spyria sem hinn gamli madr uill henni ræd til geþa. þers bid eg dottir min at þu
 spyrir hana huart hon hæþi aþ dauda risid ok lipi nu med gudi. med onndd ok likama. ok næsta tima
 sem sæl maria birtiz e(lisabeth) tala þær med ser hardla kiærliga þat uar in octava affumcionis sancte marie
 medan guds þionosta þluttiz i kirkiunni leid lietr hopgi ipir e(lisabeth) ihuerium hon birtiz h(eilog) mær
 maria e(lisabeth) spyrr hana þa diarþliga sua segiannði drotning min sæta. eþ þat likadi gudi⁶⁴
- 30 uilldim uer giarna uita huart þu heþir at eins ianndanum upp risid ok riki tekid med þinum sy
 ni e(da) reistu aþ daupa bædi meþ onnd ok likama spyrr ek þirir þa sok þersa hlutar þina m
 illdi at mer er sagt at eigi þinniz skriþat ibokum heilagra þeðra aþ þinni upp numning drotningin s(uaradi)
- 33 hennar mali þat sem þu spyrr mattu eigi at sinni uis uerda en þo er þat þirir ætlat at þersi hlutr
 skal þirir þig birtaz ok audsynaz sem þersi syn huerþr brott gerir systirin kunnigt hinum gam
 la þaudur huersu þarid hæþi spurning ok annsuo: meþ drotin(ingunni)⁶⁵ en sa godi brodir legg: þat til
 at nunnan taki upp ei<n>kannligar bænrir guds modur til sæmdar imining þersa þirir heiz ok hall
 di þeim dagliga þar til þram kemr uitranin lid: nu sua heillt ar at þersa lutar þorir nunnan huar
 ki at spyria guds modur mariam nie sinn h`e`imoligan eingil þott þau birtiz henni bædi e
 þtir uana þar til at affumpcio sancte marie stend: nærr a odu ari þa sykiz elisabeth
- 39
- 16v
- 3 sua þramt at hon ligg: miog matþarin ire`c`kiu afialþa hatidina en þann tima sem haleit
 þionofsta geriz aþeim blezada degi lid: ipir hana þungt umegin ok þui næst sierr hon m
 iog þiarrri eina steinþro ip:onni sier hon liggia sem kuenligan likama. alla uega umbergis sto
 du heima menn himin. rikis. biartir guds einglar med skinanda lifi ok litlu sidar rifs þersi cona u
 pp med dyrþ mikilli er aad: la igroþinni luta þa h(enni) einglar þlytiandi haat iloþt upp
 med goþugligri skipan þag<ur>ia hlioda þar til at mot kemr aþ himinrikif kuria þag: ok dyrlig:
 umþram sonu mannanna lifannði guds son med morgum hirdsueitum sinna hirdmanna sa sami drottinn ber: isi
 nni hendi h(eilagan) kros meþ þogru merki er þa skipud agiæt proceffio geck þersi drotning sua inn j
 þagnadinn er aad: hæþdi þirir litlu upp risid aþ groþinni ad hæfti konung: leidir hana meþ ser. sidan
 byrgiz þuilik proceffio brott aþ hennar augum. lid: þa litil stunnð ad: sæl maria birtiz henni synir
 hon blezud henni andlit sitt blitt en talar ecki uid hana. ok sem hon lid: brott kemr sami eingill
 þa talar hon þegar til hans sua segiandi herar min huat merkir su syn er eg sa þirir skomu e(ingillinn) s(uarar) þa. iþei
 ri uitran syndi gud þer huersu sancta maria uar upp numin bædi med onnd ok likam. eþtir þuilika ui
 tran þær hon þulla heilsu. ok asialþan octauu daginn talar `e(nn)` sami eingill til hennar. bid ek
 at þu. segir mer huersu lang: timi leid brott aþ uppnurning uarrar þrv ad: þyllðiz hennar likamlig u
 pp:isa e(ingillinn) suarar. aþann sama d(ag) sem nu dy<r>kaz hennar affumpcio leid hon brot aþ þersu lipi. en axlda d(egi)
 þadan þat er nono kalendas octobris reis hon aþ daupa eþtir þat huarþ eingillinn henni at syn. nærr xiiij a
- 15

- 18 rum eptir pisl chriz skiptuz postular til lannda. en eptir upp stigning guds xxx arum ok uij uoro þei: pindir petrvs ok paulus uar hann halshaugguinn en petrvs krosþestr iroma borg aþ nerone keisara. andreas krosþestr iakara `j g<r>iclandi´ aþ egea jarli jacobus yngui uar byskup xxx ara at iø:solum hann uar g:yttir en sidar sle ginn jhopud med þuattara baruþl. asama degi uar philippus krosþestr iasia ok bunndinn ak<r>osinn þa haþdi hann lxxx ok vij ar. ij dætr hans helgar uoro graþnar asina honnd honum huar. Bartholomeus þlegin kuikr aþ astrige `konungi´ aindialandi ok sidaz halshog<g>inn ok þluttr `eptir tima´ j beneuentum en þadan þluttiz hann aþ oltone
- 24 keisara ok þærði helgan dom postulans til eyar þei:ar er ligg: nærr romabo:g ok g`e`ymiz þar anæsta indialandi uar tomas laginn igeignum meþ suerdi aþ byskupi solar hops matheus uar laghinn igeignum abak meþ suerdi ablalandi aþ hirtaco simon ok iudas uoro lagdir igeignum meþ kesiu a persida landi. mathias uar pind: j iudea þyst g:yttir en sidan dæpinn meþ exi *kapitulum* || u er
- 27 Fiorum tigung uetra eptir pisl guds sonar kom udæmilig heþnd gydingum aþann hat at ein stiarna s kometa h(eitir) uar sien allt ar igeignum iþir ierusalem meþ ogurligu liosi ok horþdi blodþepillinn aborgina þat uard ok id næsta ar viij* d(ag) aprilis þa er mikid þiolmenni uar komid til paska hallz j ierusalem. a ixdu ftunndu nætr uar sua mikid lios sied iþir solomons mustari at þlestir menn ætludu dag liosan ok hellz þat halþa stunnd þotti þat aldydu þarselligt en þræðimenn hugdu þeigdar lios uera a
- 33 þe<i>rii somu paska tid uar ein kuiga til þornar leidd ok þirir allra augum bar hon lamb. vm midnættis sk eid eina nott hud .i. imustarinu aþ eiri ok malmi gior lukt meþ lasum ok læst meþ lokum ok sua þung at traulla mattu xx menn h:æra hana lausa laukz upp sialþkraþi at aungum manni uid komannda þat unnd: uarþ ok sied nær iø:sala þialli syndiz sem uapnadar þylkyngar til bardaga bunar iloptinu meþ umsat a borgina ok þa er ken<n>imenn komu imustarid at þæra þornir heyr du þei: manna mæl aþenna hat þorum brott heþan. en<n> bar sua til at einn madr iþefus at naþni rann um bor gina ok kallar meþ þersum hætti kall aþ austri kall aþ sudri k(all) aþ nord: i k(all)
- 39
- 17r aþ ollum attum iþir ollum monnum ok kall iþir b:udguma ok b:udi ok allan lyd þetta kallar hann bæði nott ok d(ag) þa uar hann tekinn aþ hopðingium ok miog kuald: en hann kallar þui meir sua uar hann kuald: at holldit geck allt aþ beinunum en alldri uarp hann oþi þirir sig ok eigi komu tar aþ hans augum en kalladi æ. id sama at þersu uid logdu ue ierusalem ok uei. þersu næst koma þei: uespasianus ok titus meþ miklum her til iø:sala borgar nærr paska tid gy<d>inga þuiat nu kom su stunnd er þeim uar heþnd hugud þirir sina glæpi þirir pisl kriz ok stephani ok ia cobi huarstueggia ok mathie ok þirir margar aþ:ar uhæþur. þangad haþdi saþnaz mikill þiol di sua at þar uar eigi minni manntala en xxx^m sinna hunnd:ad þusunnda huergi matti þar mat ne uistir uid ued:i haþa huetuetna uar þar at lyktum etid þat er tonn matti aþesta iamuel skuar sem bellti halmr ok gras þornt sua segir josefus at þar uar komin ein goþug husþrv haþanndi

12 med ser einn miog ungan son sinn hon uard þundin að snau tungum þeim er allt gripu með
 rani þat þeir þingunna náð ok er mikid hunngi geck at þersari konu talar hon sua heyr minn son
 þu ert reningia brad eg gat þig ok eftir þat drap hon hann ok steikti ok at halpan ok er hon sier rans
 15 menn talar hon sua etid þetta. þetta er minn <son> er eg snædda. ok er þeir heyrdu sua oskranlig konunn
 ar ox hurpu þeir brott. en þa er borgin uar unnin telr sua iosephus sagna madr at eigi lieti þar þær
 ri menn lipi en xi sinnum .c. þusunnda að: borgin uæri unninn en sidan uoro sumir dyrum beittir
 en með sumum leikid asuerdum ed: spiota oddum en þeir menn er undir geingu uoro bunnir ok sell
 18 dir til egiptalanz ed: annara hierada at hauggua biarg ed: telgia giot til halla gior
 da allir elri menn en xvij uetra. en þeir hinir yngri uoro sellir mansali. en þeir menn allir er sellir
 uoro ero taldir .xc. þusunnda. eftir þat uar borgin oll nid: brotin eftir þui sem sialfr drottin hafdi þirir
 21 sagt. helyas adianus liet upp gera ierusalem ok baud at hon skili elya að hans nafni heita hann
 liet grapa nid: iij krosfa uar einn kross drottins uars ihesu en þeir ij er þiofar uoro apindir en iþeim stad
 er gud uar þind: liet hann setia þ' eyu likneski at huerr guds uina sem þar uilldi bidiaz þirir skili
 24 hann þar sia þreyu en eigi kross mark. siau tigung `ok v' uetra eftir þis kriz andabiz ion postoli austr
 ieppeso þa hafdi hann xc ok ix ar. hans þramperdar dag: a ions messo baptiste asumarid
 27 Hand F þioir ero gudspialla menn. matheus marchus lucas iohannef. matheus. er þyrr het leui samfetti sitt gudspiall með
 ebreskum malshætti in iudea. en marchus. tok sitt gudspiall að þosogn petri postola meistara sins hann uar
 byskup in alexandria ok boldi þar þisslaruæti þirir guds nafn sua er lesid⁶⁶ að honum at hann hyggi aðfer þumalþin
 30 grinn at hann skilldi eigi mega taka byskupliga tign. lucas uar sylenzkr at ætt hann skripadi sitt gudspiall eftir
 þosogn fins meistara þalf postola hann gerdi ok þa bok er kallaz actus apostolorum hann kunni lækniff list hann ann
 33 dabiz ihalþum bittinie þa hann hafdi lxx ok iij ar fins alldis. Johannef skripadi sidaz sitt gudspiall
 a`o þanuerdum dogum fins lipf ok sua hepr in principio erat uerbum et cetera *capitulum de specie saluatoris*
 Her byriaz katalogus summorum pontificum romanozum þat er sua sem paua tala e(da) skipan þuiat her
 36 segir huat huergi þeira hefir logtekid kristinn⁶⁷ dominum til upphallz heþium uer þyft a uaum lauf
 nara ihesu christo er bædi er konungr ok kennimadr. sua þinz skripad iromuefsum annalibus iudeorum ok
 geymaz iroma at gædari mannkynsinn ok uar liupi lauard: ihesus mariu son hafi uerid með
 al madr ahæd rettuaxinn ok uirdulig: at lita hann hafdi dyrligt annlit sua þramt at a litandi
 ok hann sia<a>ndi menn skilldu bædi mega ottaz hann ok elfka. hapandi haar hardla þagt þar at iapna `til`
 39 sem ny upp runnin hnot su er kallaz alatinu auellana nux riettharr ofan at eyzum

17v

en þadan nid: hrauck nockud. þallanda ofan aa axlir með þagurfnunum lok
 kum. Reik hafdi hann eftir midiu hopdi að sid þeirra man<n>a er nazaræi uoru k
 3 alladir en þeir letu all dri snerta knip. haer sitt eda skegg⁶⁸ ennid flætt ann nuckurum

- pleck eda hrucku. byynn gulbunar. augu jbla ok huoff. nep riect med munda
ngligum nafuikum. munn meyligan.kinnr huitar ok j pagr rodi. skegg mikid ok
6 byect ok klupdz littad ahokunni ottannlig: leiz hann iafakan. en blid: ok dafamligr j
pagri aminning. glad: ok hyrr jmalí ok allri raukferd hann gret nuckurum sinnum en hlo
alldri. j ollum likamf burd uar hann uel afik kominn. hennð: med armleggium uou glediligar at
9 fia. hoguærr ok stodugur ok þeckr i ollu uidmæli. eda likamfinf hræringum. sua at
uerdugu matti hann segiaz eptir prophetanf oidum þeim er sua hlíoda speciofus fo:
ma prefiliis hominum diceretur et effet. þerfi ord norænaz sua þrid: ok pagr er hann
12 umfram fonu manna. eigi er þat undarlig[⁹⁹] þuiat þerfi `er` konung: allra konunga ok drottinn d:ottna.
loþ einglanna. dyrþ heilagra. heilfa heimfins buun<n>: milldinnar. fannr madr birti hæ[¹⁰]
ta þedif. hæsti fannleikr. eilipt lip. ihueriu hann lipir ok rikir per feculorum secula ame[n]
15 Hand A Petr postoli hellt sacerdocium iiij ar jausthralfum. en sidan sat hann viij ar. jannthiokia.
synngiandi þar þyft meffu. sidan hellt hann pauadam .v. ar ok xx jroma .vij. manadi ok viij
daga. en axiiij^{da} ari neronif keisara. krunapiz hann með paulo apostolo. linus primus. tufcus at ætt
18 sat xi ar. iij manadi. ok xiiij d(aga) cletus primus romanus at ætt. sat xij ar .i. manad þa tæmdiz paua sætid
xx d(aga) hann uigdi at bodi petri xxv. presta. clemenf. pri<m>us romanus at ætt. sat. ix ar .ij. manadi honum uar drækt j
siouar diup uoro þei: linus ok cletus iamþramm petro en clemenf eptir petrvm. anacletus pri(mus) atheniensis
21 at ætt s(at) ix ar. ij manadi xi d(aga) hann skipadi at ongum klerk skilldi uaxa skegg nie kruna. euar
istus pri(mus) grecus at. ætt. sat. x. ar ok vij m(anadi) ij d(aga) þa tæmdiz sætid xix d(aga) alexander pri(mus) romanus at ætt. sat. vj
ij ar. v manadi ok ij d(aga) þa tæmdiz. p(au)a sætid xxi d(ag) sixtus pri(mus) romanus at ætt. sat. x. ar. iij manadi d(aga) xxi. hann skipadi at
24 iij skilldi syngiaz sanctus ihuerri messo. Thelespous pri(mus) grecus at ætt. sat. xi ar. iij manadi hann. skipati at pasta la
ngapauftu. ok aburdar. degi guds sonar skilldi syngia ij. messur yginus pri(mus) grecus. at ætt. sat. iiij ar. vj manadi vij d(aga)
tæmdiz iij d(aga) hann græindi uigslu palla með þersum hætti. ko:onatus hostiarius lector exo:cifra
27 acolitus subdiaconus. diaconus `leuita` presbyte: anicius pri(mus) romanus at ætt. sat. viij ar iij manadi iij d(aga) tæmdiz sætid
xv d(aga) hann skipadi at klerkar skilldu skapa sier krunur. Pius pri(mus) aquilinsif at ætt. sat ix ar. iiij manadi xxi d(ag) tæm
diz s(ætíð) xiiij d(aga) þersu<m> uar birt ap guds eingli at paska dag: skilldi dyrkaz ad:ottins d(egi) Socher
30 pri(mus) campanus at ætt sat xi ar. iij manadi xxi d(ag) hann skipadi at nunnur skilldu bera uil. Eleuter pri(mus) romanus⁷⁰
at. ætt. sat xv ar. vj manadi ok v d(aga) tæmdiz s(ætíð) vij d(aga) hann kristnadi `lucium` konung ap þætlandi. Victo: pri(mus) affer at ætt
s(at) x. ar. ij manadi x d(aga) tæmdiz s(ætíð) xij d(aga) Zoperinus pri(mus) romanus at ætt. sat ix ar manadi vj. x d(aga) tæmdiz s(ætíð) vj d(aga)
33 hann sk(ipadi) at kirkium<n>ar ker skilldu uera ap gleri ok huerr madr xij uetrvn ellri skilldi taka guds likama
Calixtus pri(mus) romanus at ætt. sat vj. ar. ij manadi x d(aga) ok t(æmdiz) vj d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) þerna jmbudaga axij manubum
Vrbanus pri(mus) romanus. at ætt. sat. xiiij ar. xi manadi xiiij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at kalekar skilldu geraz ap gulli ok silþri a
36 hanf dogum boldi pislaruætti sæl mæz cecilia. pontianus pri(mus) sat annos. v. ij manadi ok ij d(aga) t(æmdiz) x d(aga)
Antherus pri(mus) sat manat i. ok xv d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at byskupar skilldu þram mega ganga ap sinum biskups stolum til annara

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- 39 byskups stola. pabianus pri(mus) romanus at ætt. sat: xiiij ar. vj manadi t(æmdiz) s(ætid) x d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at iapnan skilldi u⁷¹ igiaz krismi askirdag. Cornelius pri(mus) romanus. at. ætt. sat. iij ar. iij manadi x d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at kennimenn skilldu
- 18r
- 3 sueria eid eþ þeir uilldi ok nauþsyn beiddi. lucius pri(mus) romanus at ætt. sat iij ar iij manadi iij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at huerr byskup heþdi iapnan hia sier iij prefta ok iij diakna. stephanus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat iij ar iij manadi xv d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at kennimenn skilldu eigi bera mesfo klædi utan kirkiu. sixtus secundus grecus at ætt. sat iij ar xi manadi hann sk(ipadi) at japnan skilldi meffa syngiaz ipirir altari. dionisius pri(mus) sat iij ar iij manadi vij d(aga) Felix pri(mus) sat iij ar. x manadi xxv d(aga) Euticius pri(mus) tuscus at ætt sat viii ar⁷² x manadi v d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xvj d(aga) Gaius pri(mus) dalmatine at ætt sat xj ar iij manadi xv d(aga) Marcellinus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat vij ar. iij manadi xxi d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xv d(aga) hann uar naudgap: aþ diocleciano at bera reykelsti þirir skurgodum sinum. litlu sidar gioþi hann þagra idran a byskupa þingi saman uoru komnir jeinn stad c ok lxxx. sidan þoldi hann pislar uætti ok þirir baud at honum skilldi groþtr ueitaz þar til at petr postoli uitradiz til pers at hann uæri sæmiliga gæptad: Marcellus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat vj ar xxij d(aga) Eusebius pri(mus) grecus at ætt sat iij ar iij manadi xx d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid vij d(aga) Me^lkiades pri(mus) aþer⁷³ at ætt sat iij ar. vj manadi vij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xiiij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at þaþta eigi d:ottinf daga Siluester pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat xxij ar xi manadi t(æmdiz) sætid xv d(aga) hann ueitti skim hinum mikla constantino ok heinsadi hann aþ likþra Hand E þa geyrdiz byscupa synoduf sua mykill ath⁷⁴ Hand A þar uoro ccc ok xvij byskupar at þeir þirir dæmdu arrium preft ok hans þy^l gara. þersi siluester snauri elenu d:otningu ok xij d[^o] marum ok miklum oðrum þiolda til riettrar trvar þra gyþinga trv. hann uar xxx. ok v.<ti> aþ petro þa uar lidit aþ hollgan guds ok til pers er siluester tok paua dom. ccc ok xvj ar. Marcus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat iij ar viij manadi xx d(aga) lucius. ij.^{us} romanus at ætt. sat iij ar iij manadi vj d(aga) liberiuþ pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat .ij. ar vij manadi t(æmdiz) sætid xxi d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at lauglig hion skilldu saman uigiaz aþ kennimonnnum. Fe lix. ij.^{us} romanus at ætt. sat iij ar vij manadi ij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) eþ byskup er haþd: þirir sauk ok kallad: laugliga til þings skal hann koma. þyrsagd: liberius sat. v. ar. eþtir þelicem þui at lipanda liberio uar skipat: þelix uillu pauu en raku liberium jutlegd Damasus pri(mus) h`if panus at ætt sat xvij ar vij manadi x d(aga) `claruit jo[s]aphat et ba[r]llam` t(æmdiz) sætid xxxi d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at gloria patri skilldi syngiaz mibil psalma. sircus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat xv ar ij manadi xv d(aga) t(æmdiz) xx d(aga) hann atti byskupa þing imiklagardi meþ ccc ok xl byskupa. anastafius pri(mus) roma<n>us at ætt sat iij ar xxvi d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xxij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at eingi klerkr skilldi uigiaz jannars byskups dæmi an o:loþi Jnnocencius pri(mus) albanus at ætt sat xv ar ij manadi xx d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xxij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at eingi skilldi uigiaz til prez eþ hann uæri at nuckurum lim uanad: Zosimus pri(mus) grecus at ætt sat. i. ar vij manadi xxv d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xx d(aga) h(ann) sk(ipadi) at uigia kerti moti paskum Bonifacius pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat iij ar viij manadi iij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid viij d(aga) Celestinus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat viij ar .i manad⁷⁵ ij ix d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xxi d(aga) hann sk(ip) ti messo skilldi syngiaz judica me deus et difceme c(ausam) m(cam) d(e) psalminn. syxtus iij. romanus at
- 30
- (adi) at m

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ætt sat xiiij ar xix d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xxij d(aga) leo pri(mus) tuscus at ætt sat xxi ar manad i. vij ok xx d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xij d(aga) hær uar preistat er hann leit miog þrida konu er hann gaþ henni gudf likama apaska dag sua at uarla þieck hann boið kenndi hann þersa sauk sinni hægri henndi þui tok hann oxi ok hio aþ sier hen dina ok eptir litinn tima gaþz honum hondin þirir guds modur bæn hann sat synodum ca Ilcedonensis. ylarus pri(mus) sardus at ætt sat vi. ar. v manadi x d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid x d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at eingi klerkr skilldi klædaz leikmanna bunati. Simplicius pri(mus) tiburcinus at ætt sat xv ar. vi manadi v i j d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at eingi byskup skilldi sk<i>pa sier eptir sig komanda hirdi Felix iij^{us} romanus at ætt sat viij ar. vj manadi xv d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid v d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at uigia kirkiur aþ byskupi. Gelasiuf pri(mus) aþer⁷⁶] at ætt sat iij ar viij manadi xv d(aga) hann lagdi uid þersi oðd pefacionem uere dignum et iustum est. Anaftasiuf iij^{us} romanus at ætt sat xi ar xi manadi xxiiij d(aga) Symacus pri(mus) sardus at ætt sat xv ar vij manadi xxvij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at [gl]loria inexcellis skilldi syngiaz in þestis sanctoꝝum. hoꝝmisla pri(mus) ca<m>panus at ætt sat ix ar. xvij d(aga)

18v

johannes pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat ij ar iij manadi t(æmdiz) sætid viij d(aga) ahans dogum uard þracland kristid. Felix iij^{us} sabinus at ætt. sat. iij ar ij manadi viij d(aga) bonifatius ij sabinus at ætt sat. ij ar xxvi d(aga) þersir ij gioꝝdu ecki þat er merkianda uæri. Johannes. ij. ^{us} romanus at ætt sat ij ar iij manadi vij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid vij d(aga) hann þirir dæmdi maximianum byskup arrianum. Agapitus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat xi manadi xvij d(aga) Seuerius pri(mus) campanus at ætt sat .i. ar. x manadi uar s ennd: iutlegd ok þar dæpinn. Vigilius pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat xvij ar. vij manadi xxvij d(aga) þa tæ<m>diz paua sæ tid um iij manadi ahans tima uar roma borg tekin aþ gottif en prelst þirir patricium. pelagius pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat iij ar. x manadi xvij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at uillu menn skilldu uera þraungdir aþ ueralligum uauldum Johannes iij^{us} romanus at ætt sat xij ar xi manadi xxiiij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid x manadi hann ennd: bætti kirkiur ok kirkiugarda postolanna benedictus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat iij ar .i manad xvij d(aga) pelagius ij^{us} romanus at ætt sat. x. ar iij manadi xx d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid)

18 bis r

Hand J Sua bar til miog afiduztum dogum pelagij paua at aþ fu er tiberif h(eitir) oc þellr jnnan stadar jrom tok sua ubæriligan uoxt aþ ak

3 aþligum regnum oc þeyvottnum at þann geyfing er hon bar at borginni to k eigi þaruegin jnnan stadar oc hliop hon upp ajaꝝdueginn med sua m

6 icklum unndum ad um hrid geck hon miok iamfitt boꝝgarmurinum her med þoꝝ þat ad hufin heil þærði hon aþlot. þieck heilug kirchia þa: aþ

9 mikinn skada þui at koꝝhloður hennar med ollum kosti þoꝝu þar j ug iolld oc sua margt þufhundrat mæla h`v eitiff tok þa tiberiff at þat

þætt eingi gæint. her þylgdi þat. sem hon brautz annan uegh ut aþ boꝝginni oc leitadi fjoovar at hon skolar j brot o: jaꝝdar

- 12 holum mikinn þioldi hoggoꝛma oc þarmed einn dæka sua mikinn
ad uexti sem einn stockr uære. þetta alltsamt þlytr hon oc þleygir ut
j fio En þann tima sem hapáan riff j moti kasta: hon þessu u
pp afanda tueimmegum med a: ofinum uar þa eigi langt ad: sola: hi
15 ti steikti þau herpiligu hrá geck þar ap þo:uinndis sua upollig: sn
ykr ad þat uar daudligt hueriu lipi. loþtid dimadiz oc synndi sic med
beifkri hrygd oc j manadi januaꝛio sem þessi dumba kom heim i
18 þir romam þyldi sua hráðilig ogn ad menn duttu nid: j dauda
med þui kyni sem spioti uæri lagt j smaparmana. her med þo: þat od
æmi ad menn fa likamligum augum sem logandi aurua: þygi ap loþ
21 tinu j gegnum mennina oc þui uar eingi dratr j daudanum helld: kom
hann sua bratt sem auga bragd en þess er miog greinanda ad þystr al
lra manna jnan bo:gar uard þirir þessu dauda skoti postolig: her: pelagius
24 paui. þiell þa sua nid: þolkid ad margir garda: j borginne uo:u med, ollu
aleyddir. en utan bo:gar eyddi sua tiberis mo:g herud med sinum þo:
uexti ad suart var eþtir oc slik udæmi haþdi eingi madr heyt þyrr k
27 omid haþa. moti þuiliku apelle kalladi til guds med odum lyd
gregoꝛiuf er þa uar erkidiakn pauanf hann skipadi bæna halld
cum vij letanijs. klerkar allir skilldu ganga j kirkiu johannis baptiste. munnkar
30 allir oc klauftra menn j kirkiu johannis oc pauli guds þifla:uatta Nu
nnu: alla: j kirkiu chofme oc damiani. Leikmenn allir i kirkiu mar
celli þifla:uaz. alla: giþtar konur i kirkiu stephani prothom<arty>rif Eckiu:
33 alla: j kirkiu uitalis þatækir menn oc born j kirkiu heilagra: cecilio
- 18 bis v**
- 3 gengu sídan allir samt til mauiu kirkiu cumproceffione. þa baud
fæll gregoꝛiuf ad ut skilldi beraz likneski gudf modur er bokin
fegir ad lukaf euangelista haþi gert. var nu dauda myrkrid
sem mest oc mannþallid akaþaz sua ad æ einne dagstunnd sem þolkid
6 gerdi letaniaf duttu nid: lxxx manna. en fæll G(re)g(orius) herder þolkid þui þra
mar: bid: þa hatt kalla til almattigf guds oc hanf sætu modur. syndi
hon þa oc blezud⁷ fina mildi þui ad ap alianu henna: likneskis
9 stennð: sem solageifli sua skiaꝛt ad myrkrid þlydi brott unndan. her med
þylgir þat ad upp iloþtid iþir skriþinne heyrar himinrikif eingla:

12 fætum roddum syngiandi. þuilikt loþ regina celi letare. `a(lleluia)´ quia quem meruifti
 portare a(llelui)a refurrexit ficut dixit a(lleluia) fæll greg(orius) tekr unndir oc leggꝛ þetta uid
 eingla faunginn. Oꝛa pro nobis dominam rogamus a(llelui)a þau oꝛd ero fiduz
 j ant(iphona) j þessa minning er nu heþir uerid lefin er halldinn gagndagꝛ hinn
 15 eini vard þessi optneþndꝛ greg(orius) þau j roma sem chataloguf segir Næft eþ
 tir hann uard þau sabinianus oc uar miok ulikr gregorio þui ad þa er þatækir menn
 lopudu andaban gregorium en badu þapann geþa fer olmosu en
 hann suaradi med þessum hætti. þo ad gregoriuf fagdi hann spennti upp kirkiu
 18 nna: þe ser til þrægdar oc þæddi allan lyd til heimligra: dyꝛdar er huartu<e>ggia
 at eigi megum ver oc eigi uilium uer sua gera sem margan tima heþir hann sua ta
 lad birtiz heilagꝛ greg(ori)us honum j fueþni þrem sinnum med blidum oꝛdum
 21 ok hialpfamligum aminingum bidꝛ hann uikia finum hag meirr til
 uaakynndar uid hinn þatæka en leggia aþ aleitni uid fik. en sakir þess at
 heria þapinn ua: sua steinligꝛ j sinu bꝛiofti at hann haþnadi ollum
 24 þessum þrim: aminingum hellt sem þyꝛ: sina hond þra allri miskunn
 uid þatæka en stod a umlestrum til gregorium þapa kem: honum maklig skri
 þt þui ad eþtir oꝛdum d(au)ids fetti hann finn munn ihmim upp ok taladi Ra
 27 nglæti med hauada. hvar þirir h(e)ilagr gregorius kem: til hanf id þioꝛda finn nu med
 ogn ok mikilli reidi setr honum þann slag ihopudid sem hanf uar bana
 30 fa: Lipdi hann sua leingi sidan at hann matti segia eþtir komandum monnum
 til uitoꝛdz huadan leiddi hanf bana

18v

Hand A Gregorius pri(mus) læriþadir kristninnar romanus at ætt sat xiiij ar vi manadi x d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid v manadi xv d(aga) hann setti
 12 vij munkliþi hann samset<t>i aspiciens bok ok marga adia merkiliga hluti. fabi ni´anus ij^{us} tu
 fcsus at ætt sat i ar ii manadi ix d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid vi manadi xvj d(aga) bonifacius iij^{us} romanus at ætt sat ix manadi bonifacius iij^{us}.
 marfuf at ætt sat vi. ar. viij manadi xxv d(aga) hann þa aþ þoka cesare at uigia panteon til sæmdar ollum
 15 helgum Deufdedit pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat iij ar. xx d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid .i. manad ok viij d(aga) hann uar son subdiakns
 stephani. honorius pri(mus) kampanus at ætt sat xij ar xi manadi xvij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xvij d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at hallda cate
 dram petri. Seuerinus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat .i. ar. iij manadi xxix d(aga) Johannes iij^{us} dalmatinus at ætt sat .i. ar. ix manadi
 18 xxvij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid .i. manad xiiij d(aga) hann leysti hertekna menn med gozi kirkiunnar. th'e´odus pri(mus) tuf
 çus at ætt sat. vj ar. v manadi Martinus pri(mus) tiburtinus at ætt sat. vj. ar ij manadi xxvj d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid. xvij d(aga) Olimp
 huf hertogi senndi þion sinn til at dæpa hann er hann saung. messo. en en sa uard þegar blindi. Eug
 enius pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat ij ar. ix manadi xxij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid ij manadi xvij d(aga) Vitell' i' uf pri(mus) signenn at ætt sat xiiij

290

21 vi manadi t(æmdiz) sætid. ij manadi xiiij d(aga) hann samsetti romueskan saung ok samhl'i'odapi med sætum oigans
son. Deodatus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat iiij ar. ij manadi vj d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid iiij manadi xv d(aga) hann kysti likbran mann ok uard
ok uarp sa begar heill. bonifacius iv^{us} romanus at ætt sat iiij ar. v manadi vj d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid .i manad hann liet gera þann sta
d er kallaz paradifuf þat er onnur⁷⁸ huila pauanf. Agathuf pri(mus) ficiliensis at ætt sat. ij. ar vj
manadi iij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid. v. ar vij manadi; leo. ij. ^{us} siculus at ætt sat. x manadi xvij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid ij manadi Conon pri(mus)
ix d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid .i manad xvij d(aga) Sergiuf pri(mus) antiochenus at ætt sat xiiij. ar viij manadi xxiiij d(aga) ok t(æmdiz) sætid. i
manad xx d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at iij skilldi syngia agnus dei jhuerri messo. leo tertius romanus at ætt sat. ij ar. ix manadi johannes
v. ^{us} grecus at ætt sat iij ar ij manadi xiiij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid .i manad x d(aga) johannes vj. ^{us} sat ij ar. vi manadi xvij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid
sinius. i. ^{us} romanus at ætt sat xx ar. t(æmdiz) sætid ij manadi Constantinus pri(mus) syrus at ætt sat vij ar. xx d(aga) tæmdiz setid *Giiij manadi s.*
xl d(aga). Gregorius. ij. ^{us} syrus at ætt sat xvj ar. viij manadi xxiiij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid xjji d(aga) hann snori þiod germanorum
til kriz. Gregorius. iij. ^{us} [roman]us at ætt sat. x manadi viij d(aga) Zacarias pri(mus) grecuf at ætt sat x ar iij manadi xv d(aga)
t(æmdiz) sætid xij d(aga) hann giorði munk brodur pippinni konungs Stephanus ij romanus at ætt sat. v. ar xxvij d(aga) *(skipad[ri])*
t(æmdiz) sætid .i manad vi d(aga) Pauluf pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat. x. ar. i manad t(æmdiz) sætid. i. ar. i manad Constantinus ij hann uar;
aþ leikmonnum. sat i. ar. i manad Stephanus iij [s]liculus at ætt sat iij ar v manadi xv d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid viij d(aga) adrian[us]
pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat xxiiij ar v manadi xv d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid. iij d(aga) leo iiij^{us} romanus at ætt sat. xx ar. v manadi xv d(aga) t(æmdiz)
d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at ganga iij daga med litanijf at beidni maurici byskups uienne er hann hafði
heitid þirir hallæri stephanuf iiij^{us} romanus at ætt sat viij manadi pascal pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat vij ar xvij d(aga)
Eugenius ij. <us> romanus at ætt sat. iiij ar ij manadi Valentinuf pri(mus) romanus. at ætt sat xl d(aga) Gregorius
quartus. romanus at ætt. sat xv ar hann ennd;bætti kirkiu heilags marci Sergiuf ij^{us} romanus at ætt [sat]
þriu ar tæmdiz sætid ij manadi xv d(aga) hann uar kallad: of þoxi 000000000000000000000000
000 hann sk(ipadi) at huerr pauu skilldi mutera sitt napn þa hann er tekinn til paua leo v^{us} 000

19r

at ætt sat viij ar. iiij manadi viij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid. ij manadi xv d(aga) benedictus ij. ^{us} romanus at ætt sat ij ar vj manadi x d(aga) t(æmdiz)
v d(aga) Pauluf ij. ^{us} romanus at ætt sat. x. ar. ij manadi t(æmdiz) sætid .i. ar. Stephanus. v. ^{us} romanus at ætt sat iiij ar. Nicho
lauf pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat iij ar iij manadi xx d(aga) hann sk(ipadi) at eptir anndlat paua skilldu cardinales koma j
einn stad ok kiofa sier paua romanum ep sa uæri til. Adrianus ij^{us} romanus at ætt sat v. ar. johannes vij^{us}
romanus at ætt sat. x. ar. ij d(aga) a hans tima komu sarraceni aþ italia ok brenndu kirkiu h(eilags) benedicti. M
arinus pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat .i. ar. v manadi Adrianus ij^{us} romanus at ætt sat. i. ar iiij manadi Stephanus vi^{us} romanus. at ætt
sat vij ar ix d(aga) Formosus pri(mus) sat. v. ar vi manadi bonifacius ij^{us} sat xv d(aga) Stepanus vij<us> sat .i. ar. iij manadi T
heodorus ij<us> sat xx d(aga) johannes. octauf sat ij ar xv d(aga) benedictus ij^{us} romanus at ætt sat iij ar iij manadi leo v
i. ^{us} sat xl d(aga) christofous pri(mus) romanus at ætt sat vij manadi hann uar brott rekinn aþ sinu paua sæti ok uard ep
tir þat merkr sergius iij romanus at ætt sat vij ar viij manadi xvj d(aga) Anastafius ij^{us} sat ij ar. yanndo pri(mus)
romanus at ætt sat vj manadi Johannes ix^{us} romanus at ætt sat xiiij ar ij manadi iii d(aga) Leo vij^{us} romanus at ætt sat vij manadi Stephanus

291

- 12 vij^{us} ix ar .i. manad Johannes. x. ^{us} sat iiij ar. x manadi hann uar son sergij paua. Leo viij. ^{us} sat iiij. ar. vj manadi x d(aga) Step-
anus i x^{us} sat. i manad Martianuf pri(mus) sat iij ar vj manadi xiiij d(aga) agapitus ij. ^{us} sat. x. ar. vij manadi x d(aga) Johannes xi^{us}
sat vij ar. Leo ix. ^{us} sat .i. ar. iiij manadi benedictus. iiiij^{us} sat ij manadi johannes xij^{us} sat vij ar xi manadi benedictus v^{us}
15 sat .i. ar. vi manadi hann uar tekin ap cencio sth`e`pan`v`s syni aiola natt hinu pyftu ok halsh
augguinn. Dompnus pri(mus) sat .i. ar. vj manadi benedictus vj^{us} romanus at aett sat ix ar. vj manadi bonifaciuf
18 vij^{us} sat. i manad johannes xiiij^{us} sat. viij manadi johannes xiiij^{us} sat iij manadi johannes v^{us}x. ^{us} sat x. ar iiij manadi Gægorius
v^{us} saxonuf. at aett sat ij ar. johannes xvj^{us} sat. x manadi Silvester ij. ^{us} sat ij ar ix manadi hann het odu napni
gillbertus secc omagium⁷⁹ hann gap sig piandanum en uid daupa sinn baud hann at aplima fik
21 en bukin iuagn skilldi settia ok þar graþa sem yxnin þirir beitt nemi stadar aan manna pull
tingi en þau namu stadar ieinni kapellu. johannes xvij. ^{us} sat. i manad sergius iiij. ^{us} tufculanus at
aett sat. xi. ar. ix manadi johannes xv^{us}iiij^{us} sat ix ar. benedictus viij. ^{us} at xiiij ar. silvester ij. ^{us} lx d(aga) gregoriuf vi sat
ij ar Clemenf. ij. ^{us} sat ix manadi Damafuf ij. ^{us} sat .i. manad leo x. ^{us} sat. v manadi vj d(aga) Victo: ij alemanniuf⁸⁰
24 sat iij ar ij manadi Stephanus. v^{us} sat ix manadi benedictus ix. ^{us} sat. ix manadi Nicholauf. ij. ^{us} burgunndenfis at aett
sat ij ar. vj manadi alexander ij. ^{us} sat vj ar. vj manadi xxv <daga>. Gægoriuf vij. ^{us} sat xij ar. i manad iiij d(aga) victo: iiij^{<us>} sat
.i. ar. Vþbanus ij. ^{us} sat. ix ar. iiij manadi tæmdiz sætid xvj d(aga) Pascalis ii^{us} sat xvij ar. v manadi hann atti bardaga
27 meþ heinreki konungi uard hertekinn ap þeim hertogi `er mot[el] bardiz´ meþ allri sinni pylgd Gelafuf ij. ^{us} romanus
at aett sat .i. ar Calixtus ij sat. v. ar x manadi xiiij d(aga) hono:ius. ij. ^{us} sat. v. ar. ij manadi iij d(aga) Jnocencius ij tyberinuf
at aett sat xiiij ar vij manadi viij d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid ij d(aga) hann sat þing lateranem in bafilica saluato:if. Celest
30 inuf. ij. ^{<us>} sat. v manadi xiiij d(aga) Luciuf ij. ^{us} bonouienfis at. aett sat. xi manadi xiiij d(aga) Eugenius ij^{us} hisp
anus at aett sat vij. ar. iiij manadi xx d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid ij d(aga) anastafiuf iiij^{us} romanus at aett sat .i. ar iiij manadi xxiiij d(aga) ad
rianus. iiij. ^{<us>} anglicuf at aett sat iiij ar vij manadi Alexander ij. ^{<us>} tufcuf at aett sat xxi ar xi d(aga) t(æmdiz) sætid
33 ix d(aga) hann atti synodum ilateran ok sig:adi iiij þ:ætu menn. Luciuf tertiuf tufcuf at aett
sat. iiij ar. ij manadi xvij d(aga) ahans dogum uar mikid hallæri Vþbanuf. ij. ^{us} lumbarduf at aett sat .i. ar .i.
manad xxv d(aga) ahans dogum uar ierusalem tekin ap farracenif. gregoriuf viij. ^{us} sat. i manad xxvij d(aga)
36 Clemenf ij^{us} romanus at aett sat. iij. ar. ij manadi Celestinuf. ij. ^{us} romanuf at aett sat vj ar viij manadi hann kru
nadi heinrek keifara. Jnocencius tertiuf campanuf at aett sat xvij ar. vij manadi hann
39 atti þing ilater<a>n ok med honum ij patriarkar annarr ap io:faulum en annar ap miklagardi
ok meþ erchibyskupar lxx ok ij. lydbyskupar cccc. xx ok ij abotar meþ prio:um aniunda hund:adi. en
utal annara meistara ok klerka er um allan heim hopdu sott til roma bo:gar
at laugtaka ok samþyckia. hollgan. þeding. guds sonar ok onnur hans stormerki

3 sua ok þat at þa uou solh`v aurlanott` er kriftr uar bo:inn en aionf d(egi) baptiste afumar en þau þoka
 um ij dæg: ahunndiadi uetra tolþædu. þa uar lidip þra hægat burd uars heria .m. cc
 ok xv. ar. heþir þetta þing uerid ip þridia þiolmennaz. neþnd: innocencius gio:di ok
 6 þær laugbækr er heita decretalef jhuerium hann skipadi at prestar skilldu meþ aungu moti
 þa sier eiginkuen<n>a med hiuskapar sambandi. ordinalibus potti miog imoti skapi
 þuilikr bodskap: pauans huadan aþ þei: gera ritin. priciani regula penitus cassator
 9 sacerdos primus hic et hoc iam non declinatur sed per hic solummodo nunc articulatur cum per nostrum presulem hoc ammo
 ueatur. Jta quidam presbyter cepit allegare peccat criminaliter qui uult separare quod deus con iunx
 erat þeminam amare uero dignum duximus omnes appellare. Nunc innocenciuſ immo no
 cens uere quicquid sancto docuit uerbo uult delere et quod olim iuuenis uoluit haber
 e. modo sanctus pontifex studet prohibere O quam dolo: anxius oquam dampnum graue no
 12 bis est dimittere quod est tam suaue o romane pontifex statuisti praeue ne intanto
 crimine moriaris caue Paulus celos raptus est adsuperiores ubi multas di
 dicit res secreciores tandem ad nos ueniens instruendo mores suas in
 15 quid habeat quilibet uxores hono:ius iij^{us} romanus at ætt sat x ar. vij manadi xxij d(aga) Gregoriuf
 ix^{us} campanus at ætt sat xiiij ar hann uar electus gio:ar ann þestum gregorij hins mikla Eugeniuf
 18 iij^{us} sat þa daga. jnocencius iij^{us} sat. xij ar. siluester iij^{us} sat þa d(aga) alexannder iij^{us} vj ar
 j finum þaþa domi. Clemens iij^{us} sat iij ar ix manadi her geþu uer upp þyst paua tal þuiat uerr
 hoþum eigi þramarr þunndit inscriptis. En þa er uer þinum hedan aþ þra skulo skriþaz sid
 ar j annalnum. aþ sælum petro ok til clementem quartum uoru .c.lxxx ok viij paua: at roma su
 21 u. bok er kallaz `ch]ronica` martini segir at unndir þaþanum se .c.ok xx erchibyskupar en. dcc. ok lx ly<d>byskupa. med
 þio:um patriarkis keifara tal || et augustus hann tok riki þio:umtigum ok ij arum þirir
 HER. byriaz keisara tala juliuf hinn þyfti. eþtir hann octouianuf e<r> odu napni h
 24 þæding kriz en anddapi:z iij arum sidar. hann uar jollum hlutum god: keisari. utan hann elskadi
 miog gimd lostase mi. hann. liet. dæpa. ouidium. meistara. j utlegd þirir þa sauk at hann haþdi di
 ctat iij bækr de arte amanndi. þat er at gilia konur. þa tyberius hinn þidi hann uar mikill d: y
 27 ckiu madr. Gaius rikti iij ar. x manadi unndir petro. Nero rikti xiiij ar. unndir. petro. hann drap modur
 sina ok systur ok meistara hann lypti þyft uapnum moti krisnum monnum. Galla uar jiber
 30 nia. en uitellius. jgermania þei: styrdu viij ar roma uelldi þar drap huart annan. Vespa
 sianus rikti ix ar xi manadi a dogum lini. Tytus rikti iij ar. unndir. lino ok cleto. þa Domicianus brodir ty
 ti hann rikti xiiij ar adogum cleti ok clementis hann liet setia jon postola jketil uellanda uidsm
 io:is. Nerua rikti i. ar iij manadi unndir. clemente ok anacleto. hann þirir dæmdi allar skipanir domiciani
 33 traianus rikti atima anacleti ok euaristi xix. ar. adianus rikti atima euaristi ok alexandri ok.
 sixti xxi. ar. antonius rikti atimum zelesphoi ok annara xxij ar ok iij manadi Marcus antonius

- 36 uerus⁸² riktu atima ygini xix. ar. Comodus aurelius cum lucio antonio riktu. a timum socherij ok eleuterij. xiiij ar. helyas pertinax rikti atima eleuterij ok zepherini. xx ar. an tonius karakalla rikti atima. zepherini ok calixti vij. ar. macerinus rikti atima calixti .i. ar alexander rikti atima urbani ok pontiani xiiij. ar. Maximianus rikti atima pontiani ok antheri ok fabiani xvj ar. hann tok riki eptir dioclecianum ok liet dæpa mauricium jarl ok med honum. vj. þusunndir dc. lx ok vj. adogum þersa maximiani ok herculiani uoro pindar xvij þus unndir kristinna manna aeinum manadi. Gordianus rikti atima fabiani vj ar. Philippus rikti a
- 20r
- 3 tima fabiani vij. ar. hann uard þystr keisara kristinn med syni sinum. Decius rikti atima. C ornelij .i. ar hann uar hinn uesti keisari hann liet pina laurentium. Gallus rikti a timum cor nelij. lucij. stephani. ij. ar. iij manadi Valerianus rikti a t(ima) stephani. ok lucij. ij. ar x v d(aga) Claudius rikti a t(ima) euticiani ok gajj .i. ar vj manadi aurelius rikti a t(ima) euticiani ok ga ij. v. ar. [taci]ustus rikti a t(ima) gajj. vj manadi Probus rikti a t(ima) gajj iij ar iij manadi floianus rikti a tima gajj .i. ar xx daga Catus rikti a tima marcelli. ij. ar Dioclecianus rikti a t(ima) ostantini ok li cinij. x ar. Galerius rikti a tima eusebij. ij ar. Constancius. adogum diocleciani hur þu bæt看 unndan romu<er>ium ok eyddiz þar oll kristni þa sendu romueriar cons <t>antium t<i>l> einglanz þa uar þar þirir sa hopdingi er koel het hann uar konungr a einglandi en eptir anndlat koels tok constancius kongdom hann tok dottur hans er helena het med henni gat uid henni son er constantinus h(et) hann uar xxx ara konungr ok baud oþrid krist num monnum hann uard likþar ok tok tru aþ siluestro paua. maxencius uar son diocleciani unndir huerium katerina uar pind. constantinus rikti a t(ima) liberij. xx. ar. julia nus gudnidingr hann drap mercurius. jioinianus rikti a tima þelicis vij manadi valencinianus rikti a t(ima) damasi xi. ar. Valens rikti a tima damasi iij ar. theodosius. hinn mikli tok riki þa er lidit uar þra holgan guds nærr cccc. honum birti gud um almenniliga uppæisu med þeim hætti at vij souendr suapu jeinum helli. ccc. ok. l´x. ok ij. ar. archadius rikti a tima serici xiiij. ar. honorius ok theodosius riktu a tima jnnocencij. xv. ar. theodosius hinn minni rikti a tima bonipacij. xxvij. ar. valencinianus rikti a tima leonis vij. ar. Leo rikti a tima leonis vij. ar. Zeno rikti a tima simplicij. xvij ar. anastafius rikti a tima felicis xxvj ar. justinus rikti a tima homisle ix. ar. justinianus rikti a tima þelicis ok annara xxx ara. justinus rikti a tima johannis. xi ar. tyberius rikti a tima johannis xij ar. Mauricius rikti a tima pelagij ok gregorij. xx. ar. Foca rikti a tima gregorij ok fabiani ix. ar. hann skipadi at roma skilldi uera hæst sæti i heilagri kristni Craclius rikti a tima deodati. xxxi. ar. hann drap kosdœa ok son hans aglerhiminum j einuigi hann liet gera þann glerhimin med þeirri list at þadan dogguadiz ioðd aþ uotnum

27 ok hann kalladi sig konung konunga ok drottinn drotna Constantinus rikti a tima theodoi xx ok viij ar. Constantinus rikti a tima deodati ok annara xvij ar. Justinianus rikti a tima sergij. x. ar. leo rikti a tima hins sama sergij iij. ar. Tyberius r<ikti> a tima johannis vij ar. justinus rikti a tima sisinnij. vj ar. philippus rikti a tima constantini. i. ar. v manadi anastasius rikti a tima gregorij iij ar. theodofius rikti a tima gregorij .i. ar. Leo rikti a tima gregorij. xxv. ar. Conftantinus rikti a tima zacharie. x. ar ij manadi ij d(aga) ahans timum bar sua til at solin þal sina geisla ok uard dauk<k> xiiij daga hugdu margir at þat mundi uera sakir þeira meizla er keisarin boldi. karlamagnus rikti atima leo nis. xij. ar. i manad iij d(aga) þa uar lidip af hollgan guds. dccc. ok ij ar. Nærr þeim tima uitradiz jsueþni iacobus postoli karlamagnusi konungi at hann skildi þrelsa land hans unndan heidinna manna ualldi ok i þeirri herþerd drap hann agulandum konung ok son hans. ok reisti sidan id. dyrligzta mus tari. jn comostella. en ad; hann uard keisari þor hann alangbarda lannf⁸³ at bæn ad;iani. paua ok hertok desiderium konung ok husþrv hans ok þlutti med sier heim iþranz hann uar konung; `ok keisari` xl ok. vj ar. nær. lx^{um} uetra sidar. tok konungdom haralld; harpagri j noregi. lodouicus rikti a tima pascalis. i ar ix manadi Lotarius rikti a tima sergij. ix ar. carolus rikti a tima johannis v. ar. Carolus rikti a tima johannis .i. ar. x manadi Lodouicus rikti a tima christoþo;i vj. ar. berengarius rikti a tima sergij viij ar. hu g[ol] rikti a tima johannis. ok leonis. xx vij⁸⁴ ar. lotarius rikti a tima agapiti ij. ar. berengarius

20v

rikti a tima johannis vj ar. Otto rikti a tima benedicti. vj ar. Otto rikti a tima benedicti ok johannis xxj ar Otto rikti a tima gregorij ok johannis. xij ar. Heinrichus rikti a tima johannis. x. ar. Conradus rikti a tima silues tri. xiiij ar. Heinrichus rikti a tima clementis xi ar. Heinrichus rikti a tima gregorij xvij ar Heinrichus rikti a tima pascalis xv. ar. lotarius rikti a t(ima) innocencij xij ar. Conradus rikti a tima Celestini xv ar. Fridericus rikti a tima ad;iani ok alexandri xxxv. ara. Heinrichus rikti a tima Celestini vij. ar. v manadi Otto rikti a tima jnocencij ok honoij. Fridericus rikti a tima grego; ij. jste anno abincarnacione domini m.° cc.° xx.° Lotarius ij ahans timum. uar solin at sia sem blod ok eþtir þaa daga kom mikid mannþall *capitulum* || hon liet handtaka iudam ok Pa er lidit uar þra hollgan uars herri ihesu christi ccc ok rikti helena d;otnri<n>g naudgadi hann til at segia huar guds krosf uar þolginn en hann groþ xx. þotsþo; j io;ð nid; ok þann þria krossa þa uar boinn guds kros iþir daupan mann ok reis sa þe gar upp. Pa er lidit uar þra hollgan uars herri jesv. christi. cccc uetra uo;u þersir samtida uppi martinus ituron. jeronimus at io;saulum. ambrosius. i mielans borg. augus tinus hinn mikli iapþrika. seuerinus. j kolni asaxlanndi. Patricius byskup er kristnadi skotland hann uar systur son martini het þadir hans tokes. pacomius hann uar aboti honum birtiz guds eingill ok sagdi honum skyrnt med. huerium hætti hallda skilld

18 i. paska halld. oigenes prestr. basilius. Gregorius nisenus. Gregorius naza
 zenus. Jeronimus er einn af iij doctoribus⁸⁵ ok kallad; hinn idnazti. ambrosiuf
 ij. hann segiz hinn rauksa<m>ligzti hann ueitti augustino skimar embætti þa uar augustinus. x
 xx. en theodos<i>us hinn mikli tok rikiss stio:nn. sua þinz skripat. at þa er augustinus pre
 21 tti anndlat antoni munk's taladi hann þersi o:ð mikid er þo um at uprodír menn
 taka hondum himinin en uar med prodleik uarn dæckiumz iheluiti. augusti
 nus hinn iij. hann kallaz hinn diupazti hann heþir skipat kanoka reglu. hann anndadiz þa
 24 hann haþdi lxx ara ok vj ar. hans hiarta giomiz iborg þeiri er uercellis heitir ok þutnar huer
 n tima er su bok er lesin sem hann dictadi detritate. ambrosius. þirir hann snoiz oll
 italia. til rietrar trvar. hann o:ti tedeum med augustino Hand F neþnd: august(inus) gerdi .m. boka ok xxx
 27 gregoriuf hinn iij^{di} docto: hann fegiz hinn nytfamli'gzti hann senndi augustinum abota at kriftna eing
 land ab incarnatione domini .d. hann uar þyft erkibyskup ikannacia ieinglandi ok eþtir tima
 uar þar dunstanus erkibyskup ok lanþrancus ok anselmus. Hand A N<æ>: þersum tima `blomgatiz' albinus er sidan h(et) alquinus af
 30 honum nam karlamagnus vij hoþud listir þersum alquino þal ahenndi karlamagnus mun
 klipi. martini til stio:nar. þþui munkliþi klædduz munkar gullsmeyttum skuam
 ok gullskotnum klædum þeiri: þædduz iapnan med: kiot iþir sitt bord. Einn af.
 33 munkum sa um noitt ij eingla ganga jþeiri: d<o>:rmitorium ok haþa idauda alla munk
 a nema þann einn er synina sa uard þersi opt neþnd: alquinus aboti iþir þui klaustri
 agrimundus konungr persarum þerdadiz jpannoniam ok er hann kom til eins stodu uaz
 36 hitti hann vij smasueina hueria ein þo:tkona haþdi getid j einum burd ok
 haþdi ætlat at to:tima þeim ok er konungin leit þuilikan hlut reid hann nærr ok riet
 ti þram kesiuona er hann bar ihenndi. en einn af smasueinum tok um kesiuona. konun
 39 ginn unndiadi eigi litt sueinsins til tekiu ok sagdi at þersi atburd: mundi m
 ikid haþa at merkia þui tekr hann pilltinn ok heþir med sier. heim isitt riki ok læ
 tr uannduirkliga upp þæda uard hann eþtir tima kong: ilumbardi

21r

Hand F a aunduerdum dogum ieronimi prez uar oigenes prestr at uigflu. þinz sua skripad at hann haþ
 i lipad helgu lipi sem her ma heyra þyft ilæring ok boka gerd hann haþdi onga sæng at
 3 liggia i. ecki bar hann skinnhofur ed: suarta skua. alldri at hann kiot nie d:ak uin. þad er
 fyrgiligt at heyra er nuckurir segia at uilla haþi þunndiz ihanf bokum en fumir feg
 ia at uanndir menn haþi skotid þui ihans bækr sem heyraz ma ifaugv⁸⁶ martini byskups
 6 Pa er lidit uar þra burd uarf heria cccc `ok' xxxv ara kom einn þianndi apunnd iuda uid haþ
 eitt ok fagdiz uera moysef ok baud at leida þa iþir aio:sala land en þeiri: trudu honum ok gen

- 9 gu afio med honum ok tynduz þlestir en þeir toku tru er lipid þago. hundradi ok niu arum eptir þramþerd martini byskups. obbiit benedictus aboti hann fetti xij munklipi ok xij bæd: ihueriu hann er regluþadir suartmunka. þiozum arum þyrr uar skird: klodoneuf hinn þyfti þracka konung: aþ remigio erkibyskupi renf borgar. ann(o) ab incar(nacione) domini dcc xl uar þædd: karlamagnus konungr hann tok riki xxx^{um} uetra fidar en lipdi þadanap xl ok vj uetr hann annðapiz kalendas þebuarij. `ann(o)´ ab incar(nacione) domini
- 12 dccc lxx. rigndi blodi in italia landi ok þa birtiz þad þugla kyn er heitir locufta þad haþdi vi uængi ok vi þætr ok ij tennr steinum hardari þad eyddi mikinn part aþ gallia þar med
- 15 þyldi sua styrk hallæri at nærr þædiung: manþolkfins do. a dogum ieronimj p(rez) uar alexannder erkibyskup in alexandria þa uar þar arriuþ prestr er smidapi uestu uillu er sidan. kallaz arrius uilla dægin aþ hans naþni hann do med þeim hætti at hans oll inn iþli struku nid:
- 18 o: hanf þula buk þa hann ætladi at gera finar naudsyniar. eptir neþndan alexandrum uard byskup athanasiuf hann dictadi cantikan quicumqueuult. sæll nicholauf mirree borgar byskup. obbiit þa er lidit uar þra burd uarf herða ihefu christi dc lxxx ok viij ar [æue(n)tyr] || ia þirir syndugum
- 21 [J] þraclandi er sa stad: `er´ kallaz þarif iþeim stad uar einn canto: hann lagdi þad iuana finn at bid kristnum salum þeim er þar uoro graþtadir iþeim kirkiu gaurdum sem hann geck um dagliga syngiandi god þulliga þfalminn deprofundif sua bar til einn d(ag) þa hann laf neþndan þfalm hlupu at
- 24 honum hans mestu uuinir hann iþaþta þari sækiandi canto: uard miog otta sleginn ok beiddi aþ gudi þulltings ok honum gafz med þeim hætti at ioðin su hann stod a lauk upp finn kuid aþ gudi þulltings ok honum gafz med þeim hætti at ioðin su hann stod a lauk upp finn kuid
- 27 kallandi upp liþandum monnum þeim er þar uouu dauþir graþnir med þeim uerþærnum ok handhoþnum er þeir uouu iþerfi ueroll berandi gerdu mikla styriollð ok uapna þrac hlaupandi a opfoknar menn canto:if sua hart ok snart at þeim syndiz sa koftr beztr at elfka þlotta uerndupu
- 30 þeir sua karlmanliga finn benefacto:em þad er uelgerdar mann eptir þad hurpu þeir med skiot[ri] ra[] aþtr til fina graþtrarstada er þad mikill godgio:ning: at minaz optliga med finum bænum þramlidina manna aþ heiminum þuiat marg: er skiotliga kallad: aþ heiminum æuen[tyri]
- 33 Sua segir ieronimus prestr þa hann kannadi heilagra manna liþ at þar uæri sa madr er appelles h(et) hann uar iarnsmid: nuckum tima nær midnætti sneri þiandinn afig þurduligri þegurd einnar ungrar konu fotti fidan aþunnd guds mannz þar hann uakti at smidiu uer
- 36 ki finu sua sem bidiandi smidar h(eilagr) appelles greip þegar gloanda iarnid o: aþlinum beri hendi ok rak þraman akuepid þerfi nykomnu konu en hon þlydi þegar brot ylannði ok snauktanndi sua at allir bæd: er umhuerþiff bygdu heyrdu hennar
- 39 opp þadan aþ haþdi h(eilagr) appelles aldri tong helld<r> hellt hann gloanda iarni med beri henndi ok sakadi hann ecki æue(n)tyri) || hann þirir umegni ok þiell aþramm reif upp fidan ok g: Nu segir sua ieronimus at einn aboti filuanuf at naþni fat hia bæd:um uard et miog bæd: spurdu hui hann græte sil(uanuf) abo(ti) s(uarar) <ongu> en gret sem ad: þeir skyldupu hann til at

21v

til ad segia sauk graz sins hann s(uarar) þa ek þot<t>umz leidd: til doms ok fa ek marga med uarrum bunadi þar a til kuala en marga ueralldar menn til himna rikiss. her þirir sytir h(eilagr) siluanus. ok uilldi alldri ut ganga

3 aþ sinu herbergi æue(ntyri) lene drottningar hann uar ipyftu grimmr uid kristna menn ok let þa pina

þa er lidity uar aþ guds þæding ccc lx ok viij ar uar keisari constantinus son constancij ok he

med ymifligu kyni kualanna. þa reiddiz gud honum ok lauft hann med hinni puluztu likþra

6 ok er sua stod hanf hag: um tima. radlogdu honum hans hoþ byskupar at hann skyldi laugaz iblodi un

gra barna sua at hann skilldi þadan aþ mega taka likamf heilfu. huat sua gerdiz an hans uito:

9 di. þuiat iij þufunndir ungra barna komu ieinn stad til romam. Ok einn dag er konungrinn geck ut

aþ finni hall heyrandi mikinn grat ok þyt er mæd: gætu fin born konungrinn uar eþtir

þrettandi þirir hueria sok conumar gæti sua sart þa uar honum sagd: allr til gang: þeia

graz þa s(uarar) keifarinn at þat se eigi uel þallid at dæpa einn meinlaufan mann en allra

12 hellz sua mikinn þiolda meinlaufra barna. haþdi hann þar maurg skynsamlig o:d

um ok þau siduz at hann baud þenna kuenna þiolda huerþa heim til sinna heimkynna med

15 giogum þogum ok þridum þarkofti ok sinum bornum. her skioft eþtir komu til hanf ifueþni þe

truf ok pauluf biodanndi honum at hann fenndi eþtir filuestro þaþa. ok hann mundi syna honum med

fannleik huat honum byriadi at gera upp þadan. huat eigi þarþ her at skriþa þuiat þat maþ heyra

18 ok j fogu filuestri þaþa Nuckorum tima sidar uard þat til tidennda adogum þerfa constantini hi

nf kristnadta keisara at uplyanndi heidingia her: saþnadiz saman at beriaz uid romanof uid

ana. danubium konungrin uar miog otta þuilika fogn. þa kom at honum biartr madr

ifueþni ok sagdi til hans eigi skalltu ottaz constantine. littu upp j himinn<i>n ok sia. ok er hann leit

21 upp la hann kroff mark criz gaupugligt hardla biart ok þersi o:d uoro ypír skriþud med þersu mar

ki muntu sig: þa. sidan gerdi konungrin liking þuilikf taknf ok bar þad fama med ser til bardaga

mot heidingium sua sem þirir sig:mærki. þa slo otta myclum aheidingia ok þlydi huerr

24 sem matti þiellu þar aþeim degi margar þusunndir manna aþ heidingium gaþ keifarinn

þa margþaulld loþ gudi þirir þuilikan sig. Hand B danubiuf er sua sto: á er aþ þui

ma merkia ad j hana þalla lx sto: á ok hon þellr jfio j sex stodum hon er stæ

27 rft uazþall `sua´ ad ecki er þuilikt j þerfum þidiungi heimfinf er europa kall

az Sv er mest a iollvm heimi er gangef heitir hon þellr vm afiam

000uf þellr vm egiptaland. þirir svnnan faxland þellr ainm rodan. en rin þellr

30 nærr kolni. Tvav uautn ero a io:sala landi heitir annat jo: en annat da

n þellr sin a o: huaru vattninu ok mætaþ vnndir þialli libano er þa e

ein a sidan ok heitir sv io:dan. [capit(ulum)] || giþta landi. hinn þridi ad io:solvm. þio:

298

33 Fioir ero patriaka stola: einn ianthiocia æ fylandi annar: j alexandria æ e
 di imyklardi æ gricklandi. I neþndri borg alexandria var athanafiuf erki byskup
 æ hanf dogvm. gioðiz arius villa þa var keisari constantinus hinn mykli hann boldi m
 36 ikinn mot gang æ arianif. sua at æ þui ma marka ad hann var. vi. uetr ieinni
 iaðholv hann var byskup xl uetra. hann diktadi þfalminn quicumque uult. jneþndri borg þol
 39 di ok þifflauætte hinn helgazta mæz katerina dottir kofti konungf hon var hals
 hogguin þlaut þramm æ henna: helgu<m> svira þogur miolk. henna: likama toku
 guþf eingla. ok baru iþiallid synay ok goþv þa: med þullri sæmd. æþ
 henna: steinþro þlytr þramm fkiært olevm. Hac oleum syna te glouificant katerina

22r

Hand A Nv heþir uerid sagt med stuttu maali huat gioz heþir j. vj.^{ta} h(eims) allðri ok en skulo uer skriþa huat til
 mun bera j enda neþnz h(eims) allðs ok helgir læriped: haþa sett isinar bækr æþ antichristo
 3 hann mun þæðaz ibabilon hinni myklu aserklandi æþ kyni dan. iþersum dimma stad er annti
 christus þyft getinn midil karlmannz ok konu ok er þat þrio ligg: ikuidi konunnar þa liknes
 kiu blæss uuinrinn ok þyllir med sinum kraþti þæðiz sidan ok kallaz glatanar son hann mun þer
 6 daz agydinga land segiandi gydingum sig uera kript þeim þirir heitinn. þa munu þlyckiaz saman
 gydingar ok þylgia honum smidandi upp þau mustari er niðr uar þrotid þirir þeia: glæpi æþ tito ok
 9 þoður hans. j þet[ta] id nya mustari mun antichristus bera sitt onnduegi segiandi sik uera guds son
 ok mannz. antichristus mun iþyftu koma til io:sala borgar hann mun rikia halþt ar i ierusalem þa munu koma
 senndir æþ gudi enok ok helyas at snua gydingum til retrar trvar þei: munu predica .m.^d dagha
 cc. lx ok vj þat er samanlefid. iij. ar. sem guds son predicatdi. þa bada mun antichristus drepa lata en
 12 eþtir .iij. daga lidna munv þe<i>r upp risa ok uegennd: þeia: munv heyra þuiliika rodd. stigid upp
 hegat til min enok ok helyaf. med bio:tu skyi munv þei: upp stiga til himins. Eþtir þram
 15 þerd þeia til guds mun antichristus rikia xv daga en allz mun hann rikia halþt iij.^a ar. hann mun uera drepinn
 iþialli oliueti sitiandi drambsamr afinum uelldiss stoli nær þeim stad er gud ste upp til himna þa munv
 gepaz godum monnum xl ok v dagar til nada en rongum til yþirbotar. Eingi ueit huersu langt þad
 an er til doms dags ok ennda heims mun þa heilug kri`f`tni igodum þridi huilaz til ennda ueralldar
 18 Aþ vij.^{ta} h(eims) allðri kun<n>um ver þaatt at segia þuiat hann er eigi j þersu lipi held: iodu sem ver gatam || viii h(eims) a(lldr)
 i þyftu ok byriaz adauda stunndu huers mannz þa er sal ok likami gera finn skilnat sua sem uerolldinni
 er uel kunnigt at holldit þerr imiolld ok uerd: at ongu en onndin þerr usyniliga o: þersari uerolld ok
 21 j þann stad er huerr heþir ser til uerkat. j heluiti ero iij stadir gæinndir þra oðum. hinn hardazti kallaz
 puteus inferni uel abyßfuf þat er pyttir e(da) diup heluitis. annar⁸⁷ stad: kallaz purgatoium þat þy
 dir hreinþonar stad: iij segiz limbus inþemi þat er sua sem belti e(da) lista er geing: umhuerþum. j þeim stad huil

24 duz allra rietlatra manna salur þeira sem þædduz i upphafi heims allt til piningar kriz þa leid
 di hann þær allar [a]brot' med ser er hann dæmði þes uerdar þær anddir sem þrongdar ero aþ stærrum syndnum er`o' leid
 dar til kuala heluitis fem lesit er ibokum. Ein syndug kona liþdi eptir þyftum likamans ok er hon do þor
 27 hennar saal ikualar heluitis. hon atti eptir eina dottur hon uar leidd isuefni aþ einum þogum manni
 allt þar til er þau komu at einum dal þullum aþ anddzygd ok oþocka iþersum dal uar einn oþn e(da)
 30 pyttir allr loganndi ok aþ ser senndanndi hæðil`i`gar fyrir hins snarpazta ok þulazta reyks
 j þersum dal ok eymdar stad uar modur hennar sakt allt upp fyrir axlir ok elligir hoggoimar þodmudu ok fugu
 hennar hold ok ho:unnd suartir anddar stodu fyrir henni ok þyftu henni med gloandnum spodum j þenna logan
 33 da fuelg ok er hon sa fina dottur kalladi hon. o. ho min dottir hialptu aumligri modur þinni
 morg onnur dæmi mega heyrar þau er synndugir menn kueliaz ikuol heluitis allir med
 einni ok somu pinu sem her misgerdu med sama hætti. Einn er heluitis elld: eptir o:dum gre
 36 gorii papa ok mun þo meyh<a> misiapnt heitr kennaz syndugum monnum. til likingar at taka er solin
 er þuiat hon skin`eigi` iamheitt um uerolldina þei: allir sem brott lida aþ þersum heimi ok hapa med ser ue
 nialia peccata þat ero liknsamligar synndir sua sem er ydulig: þarblauss hlatr uftillilig: malshattr
 e(da) heimlig glædi e(da) þat annat er uarla ma þordaz þ<a> a iþennan hreinsonar stad sem uer gatum fyrir ok ero
 39 þar sua leingi sem guds milkunn uill uid þa skipa. iij hlutir ero þei: er læriþed: segia at anddir
 þrelsi aþ pinu meffur. olmofugerdir. þofstur bænrir heilagra ok eigi sid: þeia er iþersi uerolld ero sem
 uittni ber: þersi hlutr er þylgir. Sua bar til isialþri roma næsta dag þirir mariu messo fyrir at. i. husþrv
 42 þor þra messo sa hon ganga moti ser þa konu er anddaz hæði xij manadum fyrir en er hon kenndi at

22v

3 þersi kona uar onndut þa hæddiz hon þa sagdi hin daupa hæz eigi þu. husþrvin spurdi þa huerfu
 su henni. uæri hon segir hertil hepi ek uerid imyklum kuolum þirir syndir minar þær er ek hepi geruar ok munat eigi til
 at segia þar uar dalr mikill sem ek uar ok þiolldi manna ok er sa dalr oðummegum sua kalld: at hue
 6 tuetna þryss er þar kemr en oðummegum elld: brenanndi en idag kom þar sæl maria ok ley
 fti mik þadan ok meira manþiolda en her se iroma borg ok leiddi oss iþaga: stadi ok ba
 d oss þar uerda til þers er oss uæri meiri dyrþ ueitt. Margir huildar stadir ero gveindir ibokum
 ihuerium salur rietlatra huilaz til doms dags. Sa uar einn akrkarl er mæddiz imyklu
 9 uanmegni likamans hann uar þaoid: ok rietlatr þegar hann reis o: reckiu starþadi hann akruerk
 þar kom at hann anddapiþ dottir hans liþdi eptir henni birtiz isuefni einn dæing: med elligri afionu
 hann bad hana ganga med ser ok er þau komu aeinn blomgatan uoll ok þagan med allri unatsemð þl`i`ota
 12 nndi med unndarligum ilm ok sætleik skinanda med bioxtu liosi aþeim uelli sa hon margar þusunndir
 biartra manna med mikilli gledi. medr þeim monnum litr hon þed: sinn þryddan allri þegurd hann geck
 þegar mot henni kallaanddi sætliga fina dottur kyfti ok þadmati en hon þyllid aþ myklum þag

300

15 nati bid: þod: sinn at hann loþadi henni þar at uera en hann kuad þat eigi uera mega at sinni. petr dia
 kn spurdi gregorium huart anndir rietlatra munv mega leidaz inn ihiminrikis dyrd ad: þei: taki
 hollz upprisú. en gregor(íus) s(egir) sua i þio:du bok dialogo:um at þat se eigi trvannda aþ ollum rietlatra manna
 18 onndum þuiat hann s(egir) at þa uanntadi nuckud aþ algio:t rietlæti ok munv þo þa huilaz igodum stad
 þraman til hinþ mykla doms en þeia anndir s(egir) gregor(íus) er med ollu ero algervar ganga skiott eþtir sitt ann
 dlat j dyrd himinrikiss þar sem sialþr gud er þiri sannanndi þetta med sannleiksins o:ðum er sua
 21 segia igudspiallinu. vbicunque fuerit corpus illuc congregabuntur aquile. gefum uer her upp at
 skriþa þeira aþ huilld salnanna er mest geing: um vij^{da} heims allð: en nv skulu uer segia
 nuckud litid aþ sidazta allðri ok sua heþr *cap(itulu)m* || la med myklum lud:blæstri þa munu
 24 SVa segir matheus at gud mun koma medr myklum kraþti ok uelldi hann mun sennða sina eng
 saman saþnaz allar þiodir ok taka huerr sinn likama er hann bar ipersu lipi skunnðanndi þram. aa.
 id mykla þing þa mun koma gud sialþr til domsins at ðama uerolldina þar munv koma med honum ix eing
 27 la þylkingar himneskra kraþta þar munv ok nær uera þlockar hoþuðeða ok spamanna ok dyrd p(ostu)lan<n>a ok utolu
 lig tala pislaruatta iattara ok meya þar munv þa ok uera komnir allir lydir miog otta þullir sa dag:
 kallaz d(agr) reidi d(agr) kualar ok eymdar d(agr) mykrks ok þoku d(agr) ludis ok kallz sa d(agr) mun miog uera
 30 beiskr ok grimmr ollum umilldum. ok þa er gud kemr sem ver sogdum til domsins at ðama heiminn þar aþ
 segir david Jgnif ante ipsum precedit. Ellð: þersi mun uera sua mikill at hann m<un> haþa embætti iijj el
 lða þat er at skilia at heluitif ellð: mun pina alla menn hreinsanar ellð: mun brenna synndir aþ
 33 godum monnum. Jarðlig: ellð: mun upp eyða oll kuikuenndi ok likami allra manna þeia er þa sem þa
 liþa sua at þei: munv þa at aukku uerða. Loþlig: ellð: mun hreinsa hoþud skepnur ok ennd:nya
 þiir þenna ellð mun upp brenna asiana jardarinnar sua at þersa heims þigura mun at aungu uerða. þersi el
 36 ld: mun haþa upphaþ midskeids ok ennda þuiat sua skiot mun uerða uppifa likamana ok tilkuama
 domarans til domsins ok þa mun brena allr heimr umhuerþum ennda þui at endapum dominum mun ellðri
 nn þylla ok þullgera uilia ok oskurd domarans. Jte maledicti in ignem eternum þa mun ellðrin iueþ
 39 ia draga ok steypa alla menn iheluiti. Ellð: þersi mun hreinsa iijj hofudskepnur. vattn. loþt ellð
 jo:ð aþ henni mun brenna þungi ok dimma. vattn. þuiat af þui mun brena þrost ok kuldi. loþt þuiat aþ
 þui mun brenna allr myrkleiki. ellð þuiat aþ honum mun hreinfaz aþ ollum meinsomum hlutum
 himinn er hreinn ok þui mun hann ecki hreinsaz heldð: ennd:nyaz þat er at skilia at hann mun aþ lie
 42 ta sinni ras ok umrenningum sua þramt þuiat hann mun kyrr stannda jstad ok stadþastr ok vera

23r

3 biartari en nu. þa mun sol standa iaustri en tungl iuestri þar sem þau uoru jþystu skopud
 sem þyrr segir. mun þa sol uera vij hlutum biartari en nu. þa mun vera eiliþr dag: en eingi
 3 nott þersi end:nyan ok hreinsan mun eigi uera medan syndgir menn ero jheiminum. en þegar eþtir

6 dominn sem syndgir menn ero byrgdir iheluiti mun io:ðin uera sua bio:t ok skiær sem kristal
 lus. loptid m<un> uerda myklu biartara en nu þuiat þa munv eigi uera sky ne uinndar eigi regn ne sn
 io: eigi mykr e(da) þoka eigi hagl e(da) elldingar e(da) reidarþumur. vatn ok elld: mun ok huartueggia h:
 eint þuiat uatn mun uerda h:oint ok gagnsætt en brot mun þalla að þui prost ok kuldi. Elld: mun ok
 9 haþa jsier lios ok birti en þadan að segir d(avi)d. vox domini intercedentif flamamignif; að þer
 sum lutum birtiz at himinn ok jo:ð mun umlida sua sem mynnd e(da) þigura at ueru ok unndirs<t>odu. að al
 Iri⁸⁸ hofud skepnu mun giosamliga brott þat er til meins er ok þyngdar en þat mun allt uaxa sem til
 12 gledi er ok þagnadar ok að þui segiaz allir lutir ennd:nyaz imanzins ennd:nyan sem ri
 tad er. ecce noua facio omnia; þuiat allr hei<m>rinn heinsaz ok ennd:nyaz þa skal god: madr aud
 laz sua mykla dyrþ ok birti at hann mun skina ilikama sem sol er þa er vij hlutum biartari en nv
 15 jsalinni mun hann odlaz at uera einglum likr sem ritad er at kriftr mun ennd:nya `firir´ helgan annda
 likama uars litillætis sammynndan likama sinnar birti mun hann taka þa einkanliga
 18 vij giapir ilikama sua ok likami mun þa uerda biatr ok mannligr: gagnþæriligr: skiotr ok sterkr
 heill ok langliþr hann mun vera. vij hlutum biartari e<n> sol. hann mun uerda opinanligr: sua þott honum uæri
 kaftat i þrennannda heluitis elld þa þeingi hann þar að aunga pinu ne þuna sua sem
 21 þei: saklausir sueinar uoro senndir i þrennannda oþn hann mun uera gagnþæriligr: þuiat dyrligr: likami
 mun jgegnum þara udyrliga likami sua sem gler e(da) tre ok þo at uskoddum huarumtueggia lik
 amanum hann mun uerda skiotr sem segir augustinus ok huert sem onndin uill mun þar þeg<ar> uera li
 24 kaminn. hann mun ok uerda sua sterkr at hann mun þæra bio:g ok þioll. hann mun ok uerda sua uel heill at alldri mun
 hann uerda krankr ne siukr ok eingishattar særð: þott hann se sleginn e(da) hogguinn mun hann eigi sars ken
 nna heldr: en solargeisli. hann mun ok uerda lanngliþr þuiat að þeim se<m> er gud eiligr mun hann sua liþgad:
 ok honum eilipliga samteingd: at hann mun alldri mega deya sua m<un> ok god: madr taka jsalinni
 27 margar giapir hann mun þa sua mykla spekt ok uizku þa er hann sierr sialþan gud sua sem hann er at hann mun
 uita ok skilia allt þat sem þarþ skilia uilia allt þat er gud uill en þat eigi sem hann uill ei. hann mun þa
 ok uita hugrenningar annara eptir þui sem sa uill birta. ast ok uinatu mun hann þa sua mykla
 at hann mun uera elskad: að gudi sem son en að einglum sem brodir. Samþycki mun þar uera sua mikid
 30 at eingi mun gera moti annars uilia mun hann sua glediaz að annars þagnati sem siolþs sins
 sæmd ok uirding mun hann sua mykla haþa að gudi at hann mun uera dyrkadr að guds einglum. gledi ok þrid
 33 mun hann haþa eilipan þuiat þiannð: ok uuinir ero þar ongir. oþunnd ok illzka er þar eingi. þatægt
 harmr ok hrygd er þar eingi heldr: eilip gledi ok skemtan hinn mestti þagnatd: er þar iol
 lum lutum ok að alla uega. godir menn þagna er þei: sia upp yfir sik allzualldannda guds
 ok hans sætu modur þei: þagna er þei: sia nidr unndir sik nyan heim ok hans þyði. þei: þag
 36 na er þei: sia sig uo:ðna sua dyrliga ok þagnatar sæla isal ok likam. þei: þagna er þei:
 sia umhuerþis sik að þelagskap ok samlagi eingla guds ok heilagra manna þar mun þickia heimska

39 uizka solomonis er uar allra manna uitraztr. vanmattr styrkleiki samsonis er uar al
lra manna styrkaztr. liotleiki þegð afsalonis er allra manna uar þridaztr. þatækt ríki
augusti k(eisa)ra er uar manna rikaztr. heilagra manna þognudur er sua mikill at eigi ma mælaz. sua
42 margþald; at eigi mæ teliaz. sua gnog; at eigi mæ eydaz. sua dyrdarþullr at eigi mæ enndaz
er þa huerr þui sælli sem heþir betr lipat ydulig hatid mun þar uera ok sætr eingla saung;

23v

eingi mun þar vera tungna sunnd;hlíodan helld; munv þa allir tala einni tungu. eþtir o;
dum bernardi ok lipanndi gladir ok þagnandi j eilipri dy:þ um uenndaligar ueralldir þuiat þa e[r]
3 lidnar ero þusunnd þusunnda ara er þa iamnærr ennda sem ad; skulo godir menn liþa med
gudi þed; ok hans helgum monnum æ ok æ utan ennda

¹ the word is followed by an *e* with a tittle, but a dot has been placed beneath it to correct the mistake

² there is a reference here to a marginal note which is illegible

³ corrected by the scribe from *lunganu*

⁴ corrected by the scribe from *gallinu*

⁵ uncertain

⁶ corrected by the scribe from *ellidinum*

⁷ there is a slit in the vellum here but this seems to be the correct reading although it is hard to see what the letter is supposed to stand for

⁸ there is a reference here to a marginal note which is illegible

⁹ these words are followed by the letters *ſuk* but dots have been placed beneath them to correct the mistake

¹⁰ corrected by the scribe from *ierusalem*

¹¹ there is a reference here to a marginal note which is illegible

¹² a few words seem to have been erased here

¹³ corrected by the scribe from *sonum xij*

¹⁴ corrected by the scribe from *damarar*

¹⁵ corrected by the scribe from *iobs*

¹⁶ corrected by the scribe from *vart gvd*

¹⁷ ms. *drepa*

¹⁸ ms. *giordi*

¹⁹ corrected by the scribe from *lid*

²⁰ ms. *sina*

²¹ ms. *geþum*

²² ms. *þier*

²³ ms. *sua*

- 24 corrected by the scribe from *ahine*
25 ms. *pegidi*
26 ms. *pegidi*
27 ms. *ok ok*
28 corrected by the scribe from *koronum*
29 ms. *sua*
30 ms. *sina*
31 corrected by the scribe from *senætt*
32 corrected by the scribe from *manafef ok ezekiaf*
33 there is a reference here to a marginal note which is illegible
34 there is a reference here to a slip or a leaf which has been lost
35 corrected by the scribe from *atta*
36 ms. *o?*
37 corrected by the scribe from *henne*
38 ms. *o?*
39 there is a reference here to a slip which has been lost
40 two letters have been erased here
41 ms. *hufpæyu*
42 corrected by the scribe from *radat*
43 there seems to be a superscript o above the letter h
44 corrected by the scribe from *gorda*
45 ms. *par*
46 there seems to be a dot over the first t, indicating *hætttir*
47 ms. *er er*
48 ms. *kallade ok*
49 corrected by the scribe from *stadi*
50 corrected by the scribe from *domera*
51 the scribe places the gemination dot over the t but *allt* must be intended
52 the scribe places the gemination dot over the t but *hellt* must be intended
53 the scribe places the gemination dot over the t but *fellt* must be intended
54 ms. *petia*
55 ms. *hanf*
56 ms. *sua*
57 the scribe seems to have written *iuiini*, and to have added a hairstroke to make the last letter seem to be *n*.
58 ms. *var*
59 *i penna tima* has been erased and the marginal note 'Pat bar' added instead

- 60 corrected by the scribe from *patragoricas*
61 ms. *hau`a`dan*
62 the scribe first wrote *abscondito malo* but added *auditu* above the line
63 several words have been erased here, replaced by a sign (✕) referring to a slip, now lost
64 corrected by the scribe from *gudliga*
65 the abbreviation mark used looks like the er-tittle but dots are placed before and after the word
66 ms. *lefid*
67 ms. *kristnnn*
68 corrected by the scribe from *skegg eda haar fitt*
69 ms. *und`i`arligt*
70 corrected by the scribe from *sat romanus*
71 ms. *ui*
72 *hann* is written in the margin but it is not clear where that should be inserted into the line
73 ms. *aster*
74 a sign has been introduced here, possibly referring to a slip, now lost
75 abbr. as *manadi*
76 ms. *after*
77 ms. *blelezud*
78 ms. *onnnur*
79 John XVII had the name Secco, cf. Hermann Grotefend. *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. 12th ed. Hannover 1982, 124.
80 ms. *almamiuf*
81 corrected by the scribe from *ap hedan*
82 ms. *nerus*
83 ms. *lannz*
84 corrected by the scribe from *vij xx*
85 ms. *doctoribus*
86 corrected by the scribe from *saungv*
87 ms. *annnar*
88 corrected by the scribe from *allra*

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