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AN OLD NORSE HOMILY AND TWO HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS FROM AM 624 4^{to}

1. Introduction

IN AN ARTICLE published in this journal in 2013, I identified and discussed a Latin source for an Old Norse homily for the Feast of the Annunciation, the beginning of which survives in the fragmentary Icelandic manuscript AM 655 XXVII 4^{to} (ca. 1300).¹ The portion of the text surviving in this manuscript, I demonstrated, is based on the twenty-second of the *Sermones festivales* written by the Victorine author Absalon of Springiersbach (d. ca. 1200). While the 2013 article was in the proof stage, I discovered that a complete text of the same Old Norse homily survives in AM 624 4^{to} (ca. 1500). In the present article, I provide an edition of the Annunciation homily from AM 624 4^{to}, along with two other fragments of homiletic material in the manuscript that have not hitherto been published or studied.

2. Manuscript and scribes

Kålund's initial description of AM 624 4^{to} has been refined and corrected in recent decades by several scholars who have edited or discussed texts from the manuscript, most importantly Mattias Tveitane, Einar G. Pétursson, and Peter Cahill.² Another detailed description would therefore be

1 Stephen Pelle, "Twelfth-Century Sources for Old Norse Homilies: New Evidence from AM 655 XXVII 4^{to}," *Gripla* 24 (2013): 45–75, esp. 58–70. The contents of the manuscript have been edited by Hallgrímur J. Ámundason, "AM 655 XXVII 4^{to}: Útgáfa, stafagerð, stafsetning" (B.A. thesis, University of Iceland, 1994).

2 Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske håndskriftsamling*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1894), 37–39 (item 1612); "En norrøn versjon av *Visio Pauli*," ed. Mattias Tveitane, *Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen: Humanistisk serie* 1964, no. 3, 5–7; *Miðaldaævintýri þýdd úr ensku*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson, Rit 11 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á

redundant. Cahill's summary is sufficient for our purposes: "[AM 624 4to] is a small quarto volume of approximately 11 x 15 cm., consisting of 340 pages³ written in altogether seven different hands. The contents are varied, but mostly of a scientific or religious nature."⁴ Judging from these works (broadly classifiable as liturgical, computistical, homiletic, meditative, and moralistic⁵), AM 624 4to seems to have been intended as a kind of ecclesiastical handbook.

Three homilies from the manuscript have been edited:⁶ the youngest surviving version of the Stave Church Homily (fols. 19r–24r);⁷ an Easter homily based on Gregory's *Homilia 21 in Evangelia* (fols. 119v–122r);⁸ and an Assumption homily, part of which has recently been shown to depend on a Latin homily by Ralph d'Escures, a twelfth-century Norman archbishop of Canterbury (fols. 122r–126r).⁹ A series of seven texts on the theological significance of each day of the week found on fols. 8v–19r has been classified as a homily or group of homilies by Kålund and Hall.¹⁰ The tone of these texts is certainly homiletic, and a great deal of interesting material can be found in them,¹¹ but the liturgical circumstances in which

Íslandi, 1976), xiii–xvi; *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Peter Cahill, Rit 25 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1983), xxi–xxix. In addition, see now Kristen Wolf, "A Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins in Icelandic Translation," *Gripla* 25 (2014): 166–68, which also discusses the possible history of the manuscript in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

- 3 Following the practice of recent scholars who have written on the manuscript, I use folio numbers rather than page numbers in the present article.
- 4 *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxi.
- 5 For a list of contents see Kålund, *Katalog*, 37–39, but note that Kålund mistakenly conflated the Old Norse translations of the *Visio Tnugdali* and *Visio Pauli* (*Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxi, n. 17).
- 6 In addition to the following references, see Thomas N. Hall, "Old Norse-Icelandic Sermons," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, vols. 81–83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 702–703.
- 7 *Messuskýringar: liturgisk symbolik frá den norsk-islandske kyrkja i millomalderen*, ed. Oluf Kolsrud (Oslo: Dybwad, 1952), 85–107.
- 8 *Leifar fornra kristinna fræða íslenzkra*, ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson (Copenhagen: Hagerup, 1878), 151–54. See Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "Den gammelnorske paaskeprædiken og Gregor den store," *Maal og Minne* (1960): 99–104.
- 9 *Leifar*, ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson, 154–58. On the homily's partial source, see Aidan Conti, "The Old Norse Afterlife of Ralph d'Escures's *Homilia de assumptione Mariae*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 107 (2008): 215–38.
- 10 Kålund, *Katalog*, 38; Hall, "Old Norse-Icelandic Sermons," 703.
- 11 The Friday text, for instance, contains an example of the apocryphal 'Adam octipartite' motif, which describes the creation of Adam from eight elements: "... af atta hlvtum er

such works might be delivered aloud are unclear, and more research needs to be done on this collection before we can conclude that it was really meant to be preached. The Old Norse Annunciation homily and the two homiletic fragments edited below survive, respectively, on fols. 118r–119v, 24r–24v, and 25r–27r. The loss of two leaves after fol. 24v makes it impossible to be certain whether the two fragments originally belonged to the same homily or to two separate homilies, but the difference in the texts' subject matter (discussed following the edition below) points to the latter possibility.

Kålund dated AM 624 4to to the fifteenth century, but the identification by Stefán Karlsson and Mattias Tveitane of one of the main scribal hands as that of Jón Þorvaldsson (d. 1514) allows a more precise dating to the final decades of the fifteenth century or the early years of the sixteenth.¹² Among the texts in AM 624 4to copied by Jón are *Duggals leiðsla*, the *Visio Pauli*,¹³ an astronomical treatise, a *Joca monachorum* dialogue,¹⁴ the

madur skapadur þi i þ og ger af jordu og sío og solu og skyium af vindi og af steinum af helgum annda og líosi heims. Nu skulum ver greina j hug oss aull þau edlí atta. holld er af jordu. enn blod af sío. enn augu af sol þau lysa likamanum. blastur er fer vr manninum heitur og kalldur er af vinni og hræring holldz mannz. enn af steinum bein. af hinum helga annda þui er anndi j manninum" (16r/16–16v/5). The only other known Old Norse example of this motif also occurs in AM 624 4to, in a *Joca monachorum* dialogue later in the manuscript; see James Marchand, "The Old Icelandic *Joca Monachorum*," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 9 (1976): 118–119. On the 'Adam octipartite' tradition, see Grant Macaskill with Eamon Greenwood, "Adam Octipartite/Septipartite," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, vol. 1, ed. Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2013), 3–21 (esp. 17, n. e, where the possible influence of the tradition on the story of Ymir is mentioned).

12 Kålund, *Katalog*, 37; "En norrøn versjon," ed. Tveitane, 6; *Islandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450: Tekst*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, Editiones Arnemagnæanae A, vol. 7 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), xxix–xxiii. See also *Míðaldaævintýri*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson, xiv–xv; *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxii, xxix; Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, "Skriftaboð Þorláks biskups," *Gripla* 5 (1982): 79; Stefán Karlsson, "The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts," *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 25 (1998–2001): 148. On the rarity of being able to identify the scribe of a medieval Icelandic manuscript by name, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, "Manuscripts and Palaeography," in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture, vol. 31 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 252–53.

13 A new edition of this text is currently being prepared by Dario Bullitta.

14 For the treatise and the dialogue, see *Alfræði íslensk: Íslandsk encyklopædisk litteratur*, ed. Kristian Kålund, vol. 3, Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur 45 (Copenhagen: Møller, 1917–18), 27–44. On the dialogue see also Marchand, "The Old Icelandic *Joca Monachorum*."

Easter and Assumption homilies, and the Annunciation homily that is the primary object of this study.¹⁵ Jón Þorvaldsson had family at Móberg in Langidalur, and he is first attested as a priest in a charter from 1474. He resided at the convent of Reynistaðarklaustur from about 1483, held the position of *officialis* at Hólar from at least 1495 to 1498, and was made abbot of Þingeyraklaustur by July 1500, where he remained until his death, probably in May 1514.¹⁶ AM 624 4to was likely written in at least one of these three places. In addition to this manuscript, Jón's hand has been identified in a brief inventory for Þingeyraklaustur found in AM 279 a 4to ("Þingeyrabók"), as well as in four authentic charters (DI VII nos. 178, 231, 339, and 396) and three forged ones (DI III, no. 564 and DI IV, nos. 544 and 600; Stefán Karlsson's nos. 121, 233, and 257).¹⁷

The two homiletic fragments on fols. 24r–27r of AM 624 4to are written in a different hand, the same one responsible for the manuscript's series of texts on the days of the week and for its copy of the Stave Church Homily.

3. Edition

AM 624 4to as a whole struck Árni Magnússon as "illa skrifud."¹⁸ Of the various orthographies of the book's scribes, Jón Þorvaldsson's is particularly unusual, and as a result every editor who has attempted to transcribe a text written by him seems to have settled upon a different method

15 Einar G. Pétursson provides a full account of Jón's contribution to the manuscript (using page numbers rather than folio numbers): "hann hefur skrifað liðlega þriðjung af handritinu, þ. e. bls. 91–140.4; 235–269; 271–274.18; 278.14–281; 282.14–312" (*Miðaldaævintýri*, xiv).

16 DI V, no. 654; VI, no. 443; VII, nos. 178, 284, 314, 363, 405, and 506; VIII, nos. 89, 90, 308, and 421. See *Íslandske originaldiplomer: Tekst*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, xxxi–xxxii; *Miðaldaævintýri*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson, xiv–xv; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnámstímum til ársloka 1940*, vol. 3 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmentafélag, 1950), 325.

17 *Íslandske originaldiplomer: Tekst*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, xxix–xxxiii, 152–53, 300–301, 323–24; *Íslandske originaldiplomer indtil 1450: Faksimiler*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, Editiones Arnemagnæanae: supplementum, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), 95, 188, 201. Summarized in "En norrøn versjon," ed. Tveitane, 6.

18 Árni Magnússon, *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser, med to tilleg*, ed. Kommissionen for det Arnemagnæanske Legat (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1909), 40.

for expanding his abbreviations. The most thorough description of Jón's script and language is that of Peter Cahill, whose system of expansion for the AM 624 4to version of *Duggals leiðsla* forms the basis for my own practice in editing the Annunciation homily.¹⁹ One should note, however, that Cahill occasionally expands Jón's abbreviations of more common words differently than Jón himself sometimes wrote them. For instance, Cahill remarks that the form "thil" (for "til"), which is written out in full only once in *Duggals leiðsla*, "must be an aberration."²⁰ However, "thil," a common spelling in texts from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,²¹ is the only form of the word ever written out in full in the charters Jón forged (6x).²² It also appears in three of the four authentic charters ascribed to Jón (DI VII nos. 178, 231, and 339) and in his text of the Icelandic *Joca monachorum* in AM 624 4to.²³ There thus exists genuine uncertainty as to whether Jón's abbreviation "t" should be expanded to "til" or "thil" in any given instance. In such cases, I have generally opted for the more conventional late Old Norse form, but the reader should be careful not to use expanded abbreviations as clear indicators of Jón's language or spelling preferences.

The hand responsible for the two homiletic fragments on fols. 24r–27r is less problematic, although damage to the manuscript has obscured several words, and it is often difficult to differentiate between the scribe's forms of *u* and *v* and between lowercase letters, capital letters, and small capitals. My expansion of abbreviations in the edition of these fragments follows the practice adopted in Oluf Kolsrud's edition of the AM 624 4to text of the Stave Church Homily, which was written by the same scribe.²⁴

19 *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxii–xxix.

20 *Duggals leiðsla*, ed. Cahill, xxviii.

21 The spelling is especially frequent in *Reykjahólabók* (*Reykjahólabók: Islandske helgenlegender*, ed. Agnete Loth, Editiones Arnarnagnæanae A, vol. 15–16 [Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1969–70]), where examples are so numerous that they need not be cited individually. See also, e.g., DI VII nos. 503, 533, 616; VIII nos. 179, 180, 181; IX nos. 78, 105, 120, *et passim*. On the parallel development of *t* to *th* in other words see Oskar Bandle, *Die Sprache der Guðbrandsbiblíá: Orthographie und Laute, Formen*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagnæana, vol. 17 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956), 167.

22 *Islandske originaldiplomer: Tekst*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, 152, 300–301, 257.

23 *Alfræði islenzk*, ed. Kálund, vol. 3, 40/13.

24 *Messuskýringar*, ed. Kolsrud, 85–107.

Editorial conventions employed below are those described in “Leiðbeiningar um frágang greina” §14, in *Gripla* 10 (1998). A normalized text of the Annunciation homily from AM 655 XXVII 4to and the relevant portion of its Latin source have already been printed in my 2013 article and need not be reprinted here,²⁵ but readings from this earlier witness to the text are occasionally given in the apparatus where they can provide help in interpreting the AM 624 4to version.

Annunciation Homily: AM 624 4to, fols. 118r–119v

[118r] <A>ue maria gratia plena dominuS tecum Þrennar kuediur birtuz j helgum gudspiollum Tala sialfs kristz uit postola |² sina sim(onem) | þrenner |³ uottar upprisu. | Eingels uith mariam. Maria uitt elisabeth. þad syner |⁴ þrenna birtijng guds ok samþycki þa er uard j hijngatburd cristz. þa uard |⁵ fridr a milli guds ok manna. j milli eingla ok manna. Milli sialfra |⁶ manna. þuiat missætti uard milli guds ok manna af epliate euo |⁷ Missætti uard medal eingla ok manna fyrir drottnan diofuls er hann haf|⁸di a monnum efter syndina. Missætti milli gydijs ok heidingians. vard |⁹ j truhallde ok sida. þetta missætti sneriz allt j samþycki fyrir meý ok m|¹⁰odr mariam. Suo sem þad hofz fyrir allra modr ewo. þad syner ofgat ok |¹¹ bakferlat nafnit ewo j quedio eingelsins uit mariam. þuiat n|¹²afn ewo er ofgat med aue. Maria þydz suo sem siofar stiarna. þuiat |¹³ suo sem stiarnan er leidaruijse farmonnum j hafe ok kenner þeim rietta |¹⁴ leid til hafnar. Suo er enn helga mæR Maria oerugg leidvijsun |¹⁵ til himneskrar hafnar ok paradíjsar uistar aullum þeim er uolgaz j bylg|¹⁶ium þessarar ueralldar ok til hennar uilia lwta ok lijta ok hennar dæmum |¹⁷ uilia fylgia þad er riettlætis uegr ok

118r/1 Aue] space left blank for coloured initial A 118r/1–2 I have rearranged the order of some words in the first lines, which are jumbled in the manuscript: <A>ue maria gratia plena dominuS tecum Tala sialfs kristz uit postola |² Þrennar kuediur birtuz j helgum gudspiollum sina sim(onem)...; cf. AM 655 XXVII 4to: Þrennar queðior hittaz ihelgom Guðzpiallom Sialfs cristsc við postola.... 118r/2 sim(onem)] a conjectural expansion (which I owe to Ian McDougall) of the manuscript reading; see M. Nygaard, *Norrøn syntax* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1966), 75. | þrenner uottar upprisu] impossible to fit into the syntax of the sentence and absent from the AM 655 XXVII 4to text; perhaps originally a marginal gloss on the Resurrection appearances of Christ mistakenly incorporated into the text (see Luke 24:13–34) 118r/9 meý] incip. ok (i.e. 7) a. corr. 118r/17 riettlætis uegr] Both this reading and AM 655 XXVII 4to: litillætis | tis | vægr may derive from an original reading rétt litillætis vegr; cf. Absalon's Latin: rectam viam humilitatis (PL 211, col. 132B).

25 Pelle, “Twelfth-Century Sources,” 60–65. For a diplomatic text of the AM 655 XXVII 4to version, see Hallgrímur J. Ámundason, “AM 655 XXVII 4to,” “Útgáfa,” 14–16.

hreinljífis gata. Gratia ^{|18} plena Full af miskun Fylling er *eigi* eins hattar Fylling er su ^{|19} ein er kallaz skaplig. sem þa er hws er fullt ok alskipat af monnum ^{|20} [Nu] þo att þad heiti fullt. þa er þad þo *eigi* suo fullt att *eigi* sie rwm ^{|21} j husíno hia monnum. Med þuiliþko mote uoro guds postolar fuller guds mys^{|22}kunnar. At med þeim uar rwm hia til syndarinnar. þui uar þeim bodit att skaka ^{|23} fotasaur sinn a þa menn er j mot þeim risu j kenniþgum þeira ^{|24} att sinar synder þær er þeir mattu misgera ok *eigi* forðaz fyrir nauisto [118v] saker heimsens skyldi a hina falla. er þeim ueitto motg^{|2}ang ok meingerder. Fylliþg er su onnor. er kallaz jafnlig. sem ^{|3} þa er ker er fullt. e(da) keralld af uatnj. e(da) odrum lege. þad ^{|4} er sem þad kallaz fullt þa. þuiat þar ero oll rwm þa full. þess ^{|5} hattar uard guds myskunnar full sialf maría drottningin uit quedio ^{|6} eingelsens. þuiat þangat til uar rwm med henne til syndar. enn ecki þadan ^{|7} fra. þuiat þangat til matti hun misgera. enn þadan fra matti hun ^{|8} *eigi* misgera þo att hun hefði uiliat. Fylliþg hin þridia kall^{|9}az yfer fallandi. sem þa er mæler er fylldr. e(da) annat jlæt af ^{|10} miolui. e(da) þuiliþko odro suo att yfer fellr a alla uega. þar til at ^{|11} jafna er fylliþg myskunnar su er med gudi er. þuiat su er umfram ^{|12} um alla mæliþg ok endimark. þuiat aller helger menn ok suo aller uier hofum ^{|13} þad eitt gods ok gæfo mattar ok myskunnar er uier hofum af com^{|14}ælldri ok yfer fallandi alla uega hans eiliþfri myskunn. Drótt^{|15}niþngen maria uar sannliga full allrar gæzko edleligrar. þuiat tilkom^{|16}anda helgom anda audladiz hon ein milli allra kuenna þa tijn ^{|17} alla natturunnar. sem hin fyrsta konan ewa hafði j paradiþso adur ^{|18} hon misgerdi uar hon fylld ollom andligum giofum. þuiat helgodom guds syne ^{|19} j hennar kuide matte hun alldre þadan af misgera. sem einge hefer ^{|20} matt huorki adr nie síjdan. Full uar hun ok himneskra gudsgiafa ^{|21} þuiat einge hefer sied. einge hefer bergt. einge hefer kent jafn [119r] algerliga. huersu fagurliþur. huersu dyrdliþur. huersu sætur gud er j alla st^{|2}ade j siþnom almætti. Dominus tecum. drottin faderenn er med þier ^{|3} þuiat þu ert hans brwdr getandi hans son: drottin sonrinn er med þier ^{|4} sa er getaz mun j þiþnum quide. þuiat þu ert hans moder: Drottin ^{|5} heilagur andi er med þier. af þess krafte geriz getnadrinn. þuiat ^{|6} þu ert hans brudr ok unnosta. Benedicta tu in

118r/20 Nu] near inner margin and difficult to read; AM 655 XXVII 4to: Nv 118r/21 þuiliþko mote] corr. from þui mote liþko; cf. AM 655 XXVII 4to: þviliþko mote 118v/6 uar] incip. r- a. corr. 118v/10 uega] A vertical stroke of uncertain significance has been added above the word. 118v/12 hofum] incip. ok (ie. 7) a. corr. 118v/14 eiliþfri] corrected from eiliþfri

mulieribus. Blezud ertu |⁷ æ medal quenna. þuiat bauluonar attquædit þad er ewa hlaut |⁸ af gudi fyrir sinn misuerka ok attfelle. sidan alla hennar ætt uard wte |⁹ byr`g` t ok fyrirdæmt j þessari quadnijngo eingelsins ok sneriz fyrir þenna getnad |¹⁰ guds sonar. boluon ewo j blezan marío. synd j lijkn. hefnd i mý|¹¹skun. þuiat suo sem ewa byrlade daudadryck allre sinne ætt |¹² fyrir sijna ohlydne ok afbrigde. suo færði maría lijfit aullom fyrir |¹³ sitt hreinlijfe ok litelæti ok þad sem tyndiz fyrir konona. þad sama |¹⁴ endrbættiz fyrir konona. Nemum nu goder menn af dæmum drottn|¹⁵ingarinnar mariu oss att litelæta ok lægia bædi fyrir gudi ok monnum. þuiat |¹⁶ þa er hun uar upp hafin fyrir kuedio eingelsins ok getnad gudsonar |¹⁷ yfer alla hluti j tíjgn ok uirdijngo ok sett af gudi drottnijng hi|¹⁸mens ok jardar. þa lægdi hun sig suo. att hun kalladiz ambattar |¹⁹ nafni ok sagdi suo Ecce ancilla dei fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum |²⁰ Ambatt drottins er ek seiger hun. Verde mier efter ordum þíjnum |²¹ hon matti sig eigi meiri lægia enn hun lægdi ok fyrir þetta et |²² haleita litelæti `gat hun` gudson þuiat hun | þuiat | j þui ordino er hun [119v] kallaz ambattin. þa uard hun hafandi. Nu er þui litelætitt upphaf |² ok grunduauallr allra mankosta. suo sem ofmetnadur er upphaf ok |³ grunduauallr allra glæpa. Nu gerdi ofmetnadur enn uersta af enum |⁴ æzsta. dioful af eingli. enn litelæti giordi jna æzsto af enne |⁵ minzsto. drottningo af meyo. Gaungum nu litelætis gauto efter dæ|⁶mum marie drottningar. af jordo til himna. Enn steypomz eigi med diofle j |⁷ heluífte fyrir ofmetnad. draugumz eigi þa dul j serk uorn att uier |⁸ ætlumz j þad tijgnarsæti att komaz med ofmetnadi er enn |⁹ æzsti eingell uar æ braut rekin fyrir ofmetnad hníjgum nu under |¹⁰ þetta traust er æzst er ok orugt ok næst gudi j alla stadi er sialf |¹¹ er drottnijngen Maria. þuiat hun er bædi mattugare ok mýskunn|¹²samare j sijno fulltijnge ok arnon enn huerr annara heilagra |¹³ manna. Bidium nu hana med alhuga att hun kome oss til sættar |¹⁴ uitt gud drottin uorn. iesum christum. suo att fyrir hennar bæen. legge hun oss lijk|¹⁵nardoom æ hinum efzsta deigi ok leide oss sier samlaga j þan |¹⁶ frid ok faugnod er alldri uerdr ender æ Per omnia secula seculorum Amen

119r/8 attfelle] likely a scribal error; see AM 655 XXVII 4to: a fæll 119r/11 ewa byrlade daudadryck] On this idea, perhaps ultimately derived from a homily by Gregory the Great, see David McDougall, "Studies in the Prose Style of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian Homily Books" (Ph.D. diss., University College London, 1983), 518. 119v/14 hun] perhaps an error for hann.

Fragment 1: AM 624 4to, fol. 24r–24v

[24r] Moyses gerdi tialdbud til at halda j gersimar ¹⁹ at guds bodordi þær er hafdar at þio²⁰na almattkum gudi. med. þar var aurk su er haldnar voro j la[24v]gabækur gydinga. ok þar var vondur áárons. ok tob²¹lvr moysi. Alt var þat gylt. þar skvlldu avalt ³ stannda hanndþvagar hía dyrum tiall`d`budarinnar. ⁴ þeir voro gerver or skvgsiam kuenna. ok skyllði alldre⁵gi þorna vatn or þeim. ok skýllði þar aller menn ⁶ þva sier adr jN geingí J tialdit. Sia moyses ⁷ spamadur jarteigner gud almatkann. Enn tialdbvd ⁸ hans kirkiv helga. Nv skulum ver at þui hyggia hv⁹at þat komi til vor er nv er sagt. Nv gongvm ver til kir¹⁰kiv sem þeir til tialldz. Nv leítum. ver oss handþva¹¹gavatz at þva oss. adur ver gángim j havll drottins ¹² Nv ma eigi fa ella þat vatn nema ver leítim þess j ¹³ briost oss sialfum. ok bidium oss þess lítílatliga ok ¹⁴ hygium at þui huat yfer oss hafi geingit fra blavt¹⁵v barns beíne alt til þessa dags. Nv ma eingí ¹⁶ madur Sua sæll vera at eigi mvni navckvt afleid¹⁷is geingit hafua. þott þess mvni langt a millí vera ¹⁸ med þeim er fæstztar hafua synder gert e(da) flestar. Nu er ¹⁹ þessa vatz jafnmikil þavrf ollvm af þui at eingí ²⁰ ma gannga j eilif`n`a jorsalaborg nema hann þvai Sik

Fragment 2: AM 624 4to, fols. 25r–27r

[25r] Sua skulum ver lavna gudi favstv sina. at ver skulum fa²sta vel ok grandvarliga at ollv þær fostur allar ³ er ver ervm [s]kýllder til. ok Sua þær er ver leggium sialfer á ⁴ oooooo f[irir] guds sokum. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi freistní ⁵ ooo `hann` l[e]t freísta sín firir vorar saker at ver skulum leita ⁶ at standazt fianda freistní. ok leita vid at bera ro⁷liga firir guds saker. ok þott vor v⁸ or þerdi at freístad. Sua skulum ⁸ ver launa gudi písl sina. ok davda at ver skulum meinlæ⁹ta oss bædi j fostum. ok j vokum ok j bænahall-dí ¹⁰ ok j bindendí matar dryckiar ok klæda. ok allra helzt ¹¹ annmarka. ok gera þat allt firir guds sokum. ok j míníngar pin¹²ínngar hans. Sua skulum

24v/1 *maría aue* written in the upper margin by the same hand as the text 24v/4 *þeir* sic, for *þær*? | *gerver* or *skvgsiam kuenna*] cf. Exodus 38:8 24v/16 *vera*] marked with a cross directing to the marginal clarification *vera*, using the more usual contraction sign 24v/20 *þvai Sik*] The surviving portion of the sermon ends here at the bottom of the page; in the bottom right corner a modern hand has added the note *vantar 2 blöð*. 25r/1 *Sua*] The beginning of the sermon is lost; the surviving text begins here. The scribe has added *aue* in the top margin, and elsewhere throughout the upper margins of the sermon has added *aue* or *aue maría*.

ver lavna gudi vpprisv hans at ver ^{|13} skulum hallda allar helgar tider vel ok
 mínnazt J ^{|14} þui [|] minningar [|] fagnadar hans ok vpprisu. skulum ver ok vpp
^{|15} rísa fra annmorkum vorum at ver megim til eilífs fagn^{|16}adar vpp rísa
 a domsdegi. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi vpp^{|17}stigning sina. at ver skulum
 firRazt lostu þa er ver ho^{|18}fum vid skilízt. ok leita at semia mankostum
 ley^{|19}nd hasæti j briostum vorum. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi ast^{|20}giof inns
 helg(a) annda at ver skulum vera hogværer [25v] j hvgarfari mivklater j mali
 miskvnnsamer vid <þa> er vor þurfe ^{|2} Sem ver havfum færi á. Sua skulum
 ver lavna gudi þat er hann he^{|3}fer sent postola sina at kenna oss kenningar.
 at ver skulum nv ^{|4} vera hlydner kennímonnum. ok kostgæf[er] at oooooo
^{|5} guds bodord j ollv. Sua skulum ver lavna gudi. laoo er ooo ^{|6} hefer os
 leit at þiona gudi med þui lani hverr Sem til ^{|7} hefer. ok bera roliga firir guds
 saker allar manravner þær er ^{|8} oss koma at hendi. ok er þat eigi okunnigt
 ef ver ví^{|9}lívum eigi dyliast vid hverir þeir hlutir eru er gud v^{|id}ill at ver ^{|10}
 gerim. Eda hverir þeir erv er hann vill at ver siam vid. OSS er ^{|11} firirbodit
 at vinna á monnum saklavSum ok Sua ath ^{|12} hata navnga vora. Oss er firir-
 bodit at stela e(da) Sua ^{|13} at komast at fe annaRa manna med slægd ok med
 rang^{|14}endum. Ver skulum sia vid eidum ravngum ok vid livgvítnum. ok ^{|15}
 ver skulum hepta oss at ollv ordalagi illv ok ony^{|16}tv. Ver skulum eigi drygia
 hordom. ok ecki munvdlifi skulum ^{|17} ver fremia at rongv ok at oheimilv.
 OSS er sky^{|18}lt at varna vid ofate ok vid ofdryckiu ok vid allri ^{|19} gledi ostil-
 líligri. Ofmetnvd ok ofvnd skulum firr^{|20}azt sem mest alla vega. firir þui at
 þadan af [26r] hlytzt allur ofornodr. vid þessvm hlutum ættim ver ^{|2} at varna
 avalt er ver vitum at gudi mislíkar. Enn allra he^{|3}l[zt] o er nv á þessi tid er
 einkum er sett til synda jdrvnr ^{|4} ooo f ooo at ver siam vid ollum ann-
 morkum þeim er at^{|5}ferd vorri megí spíl`l`a. Enn Sua sem oss er skylliga
 bodit ^{|6} at varna vid syndvm á þessi tid. þa er litlv oskylldra ^{|7} at ver eggimzt
 nu a at fremia godgerninga þa er ^{|8} oss komi til synda bota. ok oss færi j
 frid vid gud. þat ^{|9} skulum ver vpphaf hafua at yfer`botum` synda vorra. at
 ver skul^{|10}um idrazt þeirra ok heita þui gudi at leita vid at `lata` af ^{|11} þeim.
 Sidan skulum ver ganga til skriptar vid kennímenn med ^{|12} athuga miklv.
 ok legia a þat hug at ennda þat ^{|13} alt er þeir leggja a hendr oss til synda
 yferbota. ^{|14} A þessi tid er Sua god sysken Sem alt kristid folk ^{|15} standi j
 fylkingv ok j orostv á mot fianndanum ^{|16} til þess at sigra hann j allz kyns

godgerningum. J þessi orostv |¹⁷ vegr sa mestan sigur er mest meinlæter sier. ok flest ger|¹⁸ir gott firir guds saker. A þessa orostv sier kristur sialfur |¹⁹ drottinn vorr ok himnum ofan. ok er víst at hann efler þui m|²⁰eiR hvern sinna manna sem hann sier at hann leitar sialfur meir [26v] vid þvrft sina. a mot fiandanum skulum ver beriazt med go|²dgerningum enn eigi med vopnum líkamligum. Morg erv allz |³ god verk. Enn þo erv þrir hlutir þeir er allra mest ooo |⁴ gv j godgerningum. þat er fasta ok bænahalld [ok o]|⁵mavsvgírní. Fostvnnæ fylgia oll meinlæti þ|⁶av er menn meinlæta sier firir guds saker. j hungre ok j þorsta |⁷ j vokum ok j kulda ok j allri bindendi þeirre er menn bin|⁸dazt mvnnudar sinar. Bænahalldi fylger allt orda|⁹lag gott hvart Sem er bedit firir lifaundum monnum. e(da) er G(ud) |¹⁰ lofadr. e(da) helger menn hans. e(da) mæler madur þat er odrum fæ|¹¹r go`d`lifis. olmosvgírní fylger oll miskvnnsemi |¹² ok vorkunnlæti. fridgírní ok astvd bædi vid gud |¹³ ok vid menn. Til þess godgernings at ver skulum gefa fe |¹⁴ vort þurfamonnum. hefer kristur drottinn Sua mælt at hann læ|¹⁵zt þat allt monv telia seier gefit a domSdegí er |¹⁶ þessa heims er þurfamonnum er gefit firir guds saker. Leítum |¹⁷ nu vid goder menn allz hvgar a þessi tid a`t` bæta ýfer |¹⁸ synder vorar ok at snva aleidís hag vorum. Sua at |¹⁹ ver megim oll a hinum fyrsta paskadegí taka |²⁰ holld ok blod d(rottins) v(ors) til firirgefni(in)gar synda vorra ok til [27r] eilífrar miskvnnar ollvm oss j gæzskv ok j vardvei|²zlv guds almattegs þeiRe er hann firri oss ollv illv |³ Enn gefi oss hvetvetna gott bædi þessa h|⁴eim ok annar; Amen

4. Analysis

While the homily on fols. 118r–119v has no title in the manuscript, its intended function as an Annunciation piece is confirmed both by its content and by the fact that the text of the same homily in AM 655 XXVII 4to is rubricated for that feast.²⁶ As noted above, the AM 655 XXVII 4to version, which is the only other known witness to the homily, ends imperfectly, with about the last third of the text (from AM 624 4to, 119r/8 “ætt”) lost from that manuscript. This final portion of the homily, surviving uniquely in AM 624 4to, does not exhibit any correspondence with Absalon of Springierbach’s *Sermo festivalis* 22, which is the major source for most of the text. Absalon’s work remains illustrative, though,

26 Hallgrímur J. Ámundason, “AM 655 XXVII 4to,” “Útgáfa,” 14.

since a comparison of the Latin sermon with the two versions of the Old Norse homily reveals that AM 624 4to, while not always the superior text,²⁷ occasionally preserves better readings than AM 655 XXVII 4to despite postdating it by about two centuries. For example, the earlier manuscript renders Absalon's description of Mary as "plena ... *naturalium* bonorum" with "fyll ... Gæscko *anðlegrar*."²⁸ While this is not a particularly accurate translation, it does not seriously damage the sense of the passage, and most editors would see no need to emend "anðlegrar" based on its inexact correspondence to "naturalium." In AM 624 4to, however, we find "edleligrar" (118v/15) instead of "anðlegrar." This accords perfectly with the Latin source and must be the original reading, revealing AM 655 XXVII 4to's "anðlegrar" to be a scribal error. Such instances also prove that Jón Þorvaldsson could not have copied the homily from AM 655 XXVII 4to, and we can therefore confidently posit the existence of at least one other copy of the homily, now apparently lost, that served as the exemplar of the AM 624 4to version.

In my 2013 article, I argued that the Annunciation homily author's use of Absalon's sermon, written in the late twelfth century, suggests that the sources employed by later Old Norse homilists may not be as antiquarian (that is, restricted to early medieval authorities) as has often been assumed.²⁹ While the concluding portion of the homily surviving in AM 624 4to does not depend on Absalon's work, it nevertheless provides further evidence that the Icelandic author was familiar with European homiletic and exegetical developments taking place at least as late as the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. One example is the homilist's assertion (119r/19–119v/1) that Christ was conceived immediately upon Mary's utterance of the words "ecce ancilla Domini" (Luke 1:38). Similar passages are also found in at least two other late medieval Nordic vernacular homilies³⁰

27 For instance, AM 655 XXVII 4to: "hittaz" as a rendering of Absalon's "invenimus" (PL 211, col. 130D) is preferable to AM 624 4to: "birtuz" (118r/2).

28 PL 211, col. 133C–D; Hallgrímur J. Ámundason, "AM 655 XXVII 4to," "Útgáfa," 16. Emphases mine. See Pelle, "Twelfth-Century Sources," 64.

29 Pelle, "Twelfth-Century Sources," 58–69.

30 An unedited Icelandic sermon, pieces of which survive in the early sixteenth-century manuscripts AM 687 c I 4to and AM 667 XVII 4to, expresses the idea in some detail: "Sic ammbatt drottens. verđi mier epter þínvm ordvm. strax þegar hvn hafdi sagt með samþycke þerse orden. þa j samri stundu kom til hennar heilagvr andi og vmskygndi hana. og skapadi. ã einv avgabragdi. likama vors blezada lavsnara. j hennar blezada kvídi" (AM 667 XVII 4to,

and in a Latin Assumption sermon, a fragment of which survives in the Danish/Latin manuscript AM 76 8vo (ca. 1470).³¹ While this opinion is sometimes hinted at obliquely in the writings of earlier medieval authors,³² it comes to be asserted more vigorously and more frequently beginning in the twelfth century, particularly by theologians who, like Absalon, were connected with the Paris schools. In his *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, the mid-twelfth-century Paris liturgist Jean Beleth says the following of Christ's conception: "Et sumendum est initium computationis [i.e., of the years since Christ's incarnation] a conceptione, quando beata Maria dixit: *Ecce ancilla Domini*. Statim enim fuit Christus homo et plenus Spiritu Sancto."³³ The same opinion is found in the fourth book of the *Sententiae* of scholastic theologian and Paris master Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205): "Per verba angeli, et statim quando dixit: *Ecce ancilla Domini*, concepit et non prius. Unde et quod dicit angelus: *Benedictus fructus ventris tui*, referendum est ad futurum."³⁴ The idea appears again in a miscellany of sentences on various topics in the late twelfth-century manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3239 (fol. 7v): "Ecce ancilla domini. finitis his uerbis statim christus indutus est sacco nostre mortalitatis

fol. 1r/18–21). I plan to edit this text in the near future. The idea also appears in a collection of sermons written in Briggittine Middle Norwegian, surviving in Linköping, Stifts- och landsbibliothek, Link. T. 180 (ca. 1450): "Ok sigher *sanctus* bernardus post prolutum verbum Sidhan hon hafðhe thet ordhet sakth Ecce ancilla domini fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum See iak gudz tænistia *quinna* wardhe mik ephthir thinom ordhom Ok gensthan hon hafðhe thet sakth Tha warth sanner gudh ok sanner man j hennes lifwe" (*Svenska medeltids-postillor, delarna 6 och 7*, ed. Bertil Ejder, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet 23, parts 6–7 [Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1974], 131/7–11). I have not been able to identify the citation of Bernard.

- 31 Britta Olrik Frederiksen, "Qve ista que ascendit: Et fragment af en latinsk prædiken i AM 76 8vo," *Opuscula* 13 (2010): 207–17. See esp. 214/33–35 (transcribed from a more complete manuscript of the sermon): "Ecce. ancilla domini etcetera quasi dicens Hunc peregrinum magnum et honestum libenter suscipio. Statim filius conceptus est invtero virginis despiritu sancto verus deus et homo."
- 32 e.g., Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* 18.52: "et ipsa uirgo concipiens dicit: ecce ancilla domini; fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum" (ed. M. Adriaen, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 143A [Turnhout: Brepols, 1979], 949).
- 33 Jean Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis: textus, indices*, ed. Herbert Douteil, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 41A (Turnhout: Brepols 1976), 200.
- 34 *PL* 211, col. 1165C. For a brief account of Peter's life, see F. Courth, "Petrus Pictaviensis, Kanzler," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 6 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1993), col. 1981.

et passibilitatis.”³⁵ Another possible example of the homilist’s debt to twelfth-century sources is the phrase “haleita litelæti” (119r/22), which is reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux’s praise of Mary’s humility at the Annunciation in his fourth homily *Super “Missus est”*: “Quae est haec tam sublimis humilitas?”³⁶

The subjects of the two homiletic fragments edited above, which deal with the various ornaments of the Old Testament Tabernacle and with the proper observance of Lent, respectively, are different enough to suggest that they were not part of the same text, and that the two leaves lost between fols. 24v and 25r contained at least the missing conclusion of the first homily and the beginning of the second. Because only the first 250 words or so of the first homiletic fragment now survive, and because the text is not rubricated for any particular occasion, it is difficult to speak with any confidence about its intended purpose. The fragment has some generic similarities to the third book of Bede’s *De tabernaculo*³⁷ and to the second book of Peter of Celle’s *Mosaici tabernaculi mystica et moralis expositio*,³⁸ insofar as all three describe both the historical function and the symbolic significance of the washing basins at the entrance to the Tabernacle, but there are no noteworthy verbal parallels. I would tentatively suggest that this text may have been used for the dedication of a church (or the commemoration of its dedication), and that it was included in AM 624 4to to act as a kind of companion piece to the Stave Church Homily, which it immediately follows in the manuscript, since it seems to attempt to allegorize the Tabernacle of Exodus in a similar manner as the author of the Stave Church Homily allegorizes Solomon’s temple and the Christian church.

The second homiletic fragment is a Lenten piece. This is suggested by the author’s encouragement to refrain from vices “nu ã þessi tíð er einkum er sett til synda jðrvnar” (26r/3), and later confirmed by his concluding exhortation to do penance “Sua at ver megim oll a hinum fyrsta paskadegi taka

35 The manuscript has been digitized and is available online through the *Gallica* project, accessed August 3, 2016, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9081071w/f14.item>.

36 *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, vol. 4 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1966), 55.

37 ed. D. Hurst, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 119A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 136–38.

38 *PL* 202, cols. 1075B–1076C.

holld ok blod d(rottins) v(ors)" (26v/18–20). As the homily is acephalous, it is impossible to be certain which day in Lent it was intended for, but the author's concern with establishing the correct way to observe the season points to an earlier rather than later occasion, probably Ash Wednesday or the first Sunday of Lent. Roughly the first half of the surviving portion of the homily deals with various charitable or penitential acts or practices that we should perform as recompense for the various sufferings Christ endured and the benefits he bestowed (25r/1–25v/8). This theme develops into a rather standard list of sins to avoid and virtues to adopt (25v/8–26r/13), which is followed by a striking portrayal of the season of Lent as a spiritual battlefield, in which all Christians stand arrayed in formation against the devil, while Christ looks on from heaven and provides his people with aid (26r/14–26v/2).³⁹ The strongest weapons in this fight are, as one might expect, identified as fasting, prayer, and almsgiving (26v/2–16). The conclusion, as noted above, is an exhortation to observe Lent properly so as to receive the Eucharist worthily on Easter (26v/16–27r/4). I have been unable to identify a source for this piece, although much of its content is conventional for Lenten homilies.

5. Conclusion

The homiletic texts from AM 624 4to edited here offer us new sources of evidence not only for Icelandic preaching practices at the turn of the sixteenth century, but also (at least in the case of the Annunciation homily) for the transmission and reuse of homilies from much earlier periods. Fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century homiletic manuscripts have suffered severe scholarly neglect in comparison with the earliest Norse homily books, but the evidence of AM 624 4to proves that medieval Icelandic preaching texts of real historical and literary value await rediscovery in these late manuscripts. Whether these homilies are copies of older pieces or original compositions of the late Middle Ages, their survival and use can provide valuable information about the religious culture of Iceland during its last decades as a Catholic country. Such texts must receive the

39 On similar imagery in the Lenten sermons of Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419), see Katherine Lindeman, "Fighting Words: Vengeance, Jews, and Saint Vincent Ferrer in Late-Medieval Valencia," *Speculum* 91 (2016): 701–702.

study they deserve before we can arrive at a comprehensive understanding of medieval Icelandic preaching.⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ An early version of this paper was presented at the 8th Annual Fiske Conference on Medieval Icelandic Studies at Cornell University in June 2013. Ian McDougall and David McDougall contributed many corrections and improvements, as did the reviewers for *Gripla*. I am grateful to Hallgrímur J. Ámundason for providing me with a copy of his thesis, and to the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar in Reykjavík and the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen for providing digital images of AM 624 4to, AM 655 XXVII 4to, AM 667 XVII 4to, and AM 687 c I 4to. Digital images of AM 624 4to are now available on <http://www.handrit.is>.

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Íslensk hómilía frá miðöldum og tvö brot úr hómilíum í AM 624 4to.

Lykilorð: Hómilíur, Jón Þorvaldsson, boðun Maríu, tjaldbúð Móses, Langafasta, útgáfa

Í þessari grein er að finna útgáfur og stuttar greiningar á þremur áður óútgefnum hómilíum sem eru varðveittar í AM 624 4to (u.þ.b. 1500): (1) hómilía um boðun Maríu, sem er að hluta til einnig að finna í AM 655 XXVII 4to (u.þ.b. 1300); (2) brot úr hómilíu um tjaldbúð Móses; (3) brot úr hómilíu um hvernig rétt er að halda Lönguföstu. Hómilían um boðun Maríu var afrituð af Jóni Þorvaldssyni, sem var abóti á Þingeyraklaustri frá árinu 1500 til dauðadags árið 1514. Brotin tvö voru afrituð af öðrum, óþekktum skrifara. Sú gerð hómilíunnar um boðun Maríu sem er að finna í AM 624 4to er mikilvæg vegna þess að þar er hún varðveitt sem ein heild: rúmlega þriðjung hennar vantar í eldra handritinu. Fyrri brotinu gæti hafa verið ætlað að fylgja hinni frægu ‘Stafkirkju-’ hómilíu; hitt var væntanlega ætlað sem texti fyrir Öskudaginn eða fyrsta sunnudag í Lönguföstu.

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