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ECHOES OF EDEN'S END

Adams óður *as a Poetic Hymn and Its Source in* Konungs skuggsjá

1. Introduction*

This article provides an edition of the previously unedited medieval Icelandic poem *Adams óður* and demonstrates that it is a poetic rendition of the Christian story of the Fall of Man found in the thirteenth-century prose text *Konungs skuggsjá* (hereafter *Ksk*).[1] In addition to tracing the poem's source, I will show that the poem was sung as a hymn.[2] *Adams óður* (hereafter *Aó*) is an anonymous poem that retells what happened in the Garden of Eden that led to Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise. The poem is preserved in three late sixteenth-century parchment manuscripts, one early printed text, and two later paper copies. The three parchment manuscripts, AM 622 4to (A), AM 713 4to (B), and AM 720 b 4to (C), are all housed at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík. A is dated to 1549 and is missing the end of the poem, while B is dated to *c.* 1540–1560 and is missing the beginning and ending of the poem. C, dated to *c*. 1600, preserves the poem in its entirety and is used as the base text for the edition below. The poem was first printed

* I would like to thank the following colleagues for their discussions and suggestions for improvement concerning various aspects of this article and edition: Natasha Bradley, Margaret Cormack, Jonas Koesling, Roberto Pagani, Beeke Stegmann, and Liam Waters.

1 The earliest attestation of *Ksk* is in a thirteenth-century Norwegian manuscript, while Icelandic attestations are only extant from the sixteenth century and later. I will refrain from speculating on the mode of transmission because there remains a possibility of transmission from both Norwegian or Icelandic manuscripts. Given the number of lost medieval manuscripts, it would be a futile endeavour to speculate on the matter based only on extant copies.

2 The poem was certainly sung as a hymn in early post-reformation Iceland, but it is more difficult to say how far back this practice goes.

in Guðbrandur's *Vísnabók* (V), published in 1612.[3] It is not known which source was used for the poem printed in V. There are two later paper copies; the first, ÍBR 74 8vo, dated to 1852 is a copy of V, while the second, MS 992 fol. held in Trinity College, Dublin, is an eighteenth-century copy of A. The three parchment manuscripts preserve thirty-four verses, while V preserves one additional verse near the end, bringing its total to thirty-five. The poem must be medieval, not least because its earliest attestation is fragmentary and is dated to *c*. 1540–1560, but also because its early modern attestations usually contain a reference to its age, or that it was a Catholic poem. For example, V states in its subtitle, *Afgamalt kvæði um mannsins sköpun og fall* (A very old poem about humanity's creation and fall).[4] At the same time, it must be later than *Ksk* (*c*. thirteenth century), its source.

Parchment Manuscripts Used in the Edition

AM 622 4to (A), known as *Helgubók* (also *Hólmsbók*), is a parchment manuscript written by Gísli Jónsson (1515–1587), who later served as Lutheran bishop of Skálholt from 1558 until his death.[5] The manuscript is believed to have been completed in 1549 and is divided into three parts. The first part contains Psalms, most of which include musical notation; the second part contains Catholic religious poems (*helgikvæði*); and the third part features five additional poems, *Gimsteinn*, *Maríuvísur*, *Michaelsflokkur*, *Nikulásdrápa*, and *Maríublóm*. *Aó* appears in the second section, beginning on the lower half of 45r. The poem is untitled in the manuscript, but its beginning is marked by a prominent capital A. It ends abruptly at the bottom of 46v at verse 27, suggesting that the text originally continued on the following leaf. The ending of *Aó* is missing, as is the beginning of the next poem, *Elli kvæði*, implying the loss of at least one leaf. There is a stub of a leaf at that location, although it is unclear whether this represents the remains of a cut leaf or a singleton bound into the quire. The note given in the copy of this manuscript (E, see below) shows that this leaf was already

3 *Vísnabók* could be translated as 'book of verse'. The most recent edited version of the *Vísnabók* is Jón Torfason and Kristján Eiríksson, eds., *Vísnabók Guðbrands* (Reykjavík: Bókmenntafræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2020).

4 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

5 A more detailed account of AM 622 4to's scribe and its contents can be found in Guðrún Nordal, "Á mörkum tveggja tíma: Kaþólskt kvæðahandrit með hendi siðbótarmanns, Gísla biskups Jónssonar," *Gripla* 16 (2005): 209–228.

missing in the eighteenth century. In A's current form, a note slip (marked as "i") is bound in front of the leaf on which *Aó* begins, between 44v and 45r. The insert carries a note in Árni Magnússon's hand, which reads: "vid*e* visnabok p. 193. þen*n*an*n* Adams od hefi eg uppskrifadan ur 8vo*rum* Exemplaribus, *ok* ka*n* so þetta þ*ar* vid ad confererast" (See *Vísnabók* page 193. This *Adams óður* I copied from 8vo exemplars [i.e. manuscripts], and this can therefore be compared to it.)

Much less is known about AM 713 4to (B) and AM 720 b 4to (C). B (*c.* 1540–1560) is written on parchment in one hand, which is the same hand as in AM 604 4to a–h, also known as *Staðarhólsbók*. In front of B, several paper leaves were inserted into the binding. On them is writing in Árni Magnússon's hand, including, among others, a table of contents (marked "a"), which includes an entry for *Aó* on the verso: "+10. Carmen de lapsu Adami & Evæ; et restitutione generis humani in*cipit* Bryniar sig med systrum siǫ (er part*ur* ur Adams od sem stend*ur* i Visnabok)" (A song/poem about the Fall of Adam and Eve and the redemption of the human race. Incipit: *Bryniar sig med systrum siǫ* (is a part of *Adams óður* found in *Vísnabók*)). Árni's use of the Latin *carmen* to describe the poem is noteworthy, as it may suggest that he understood the poem to be sung. In early Latin usage, *carmen* frequently denoted religious chants and later became the standard word for 'song', while simultaneously retaining the meaning of 'poem, verse' more broadly.[6] The beginning and ending of the poem are missing in this manuscript. The text begins on 20r with a capital B, for the beginning of verse 10, *Brynjar*. Despite the absence of the initial verses, the use of a large capital consistent with other section openings in the manuscript suggests that the scribe intended to begin the poem at this point. There is no title indicating the name of the poem. It ends at verse 32, line 224, where the next poem follows immediately, indicating that the ending was likely deliberate. The manuscript as a whole preserves a range of religious poetry, including *Lilja*; several poetic saints' lives; and various prayers and hymns to the Virgin.

AM 720 b 4to (*c.* 1600) is also written on parchment in a single, unidentified hand. Formerly part of a larger compilation known as *Hólsbók*, it includes a table of contents bound into the volume in Árni Magnússon's

6 Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 292–293.

hand. Unlike the other two manuscripts, however, Árni provides no commentary on the poem, noting only the title, "8. Adams odur." The poem begins in the middle of 10v with the title *.adams odur.*, followed by a large three-line space for a decorative capital A (for *Allra*), which was never drawn in.[7] The poem ends on 11v, just before *Kross grátur*.

Paper Copies and Cataloguing Challenges

In the attempts to locate the poem, two errors appear. Firstly, the manuscript SÁM 48 contains a poem that is titled *Adamsóður eður Sethskvæði* (124r), but the poem itself is *Sethskvæði*.[8] Secondly, the editors of the most recent *Vísnabók* state that the poem appears in ÍB 84 8vo, but this is incorrect.[9] This erroneous claim is the result of a print error in *Om digtningen på Island* (1888), in which Jón Þorkelsson states that the poem is found in "IBfél. D. á Ísl. 84. 8vo."[10] The editors of the most recent *Vísnabók* must have used this as a source, assuming that Jón referred to ÍB 84 8vo. However, Jón is using an older reference system: IBfél refers to the Íslenska Bókmenntafélag, and the "á Ísl." means it is the Icelandic branch (as opposed to the Danish branch), indicating the modern call number would be ÍBR, now held at the National Library in Reykjavík (*Landsbókasafn)*. However, even with the correction of ÍB to ÍBR, *Aó* is not found in ÍBR 84 8vo. A manual search through the printed catalogue for manuscripts held at Landsbókasafn reveals that *Aó* is found in ÍBR 74 8vo (hereafter D).[11] Jón Þorkelsson thus incorrectly prints 84 instead of 74, an error which is subsequently inherited in later references until this decade. This paper manuscript was written/copied by Jón Bjarnason

7 None of the spaces for capitals were filled in in the entire manuscript.

8 Housed in Reykjavík at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum. The combination of the two titles by the manuscript's scribe is interesting. While both *Adams óður* and *Seths kvæði* are about the Fall of Man, their topic material varies widely – *Adams óður* focusing on what happens inside Paradise, and *Seths kvæði* focusing on what happens after Adam and Eve's expulsion. For more information on *Seths kvæði*, see Tiffany Nicole White, "The 'Quest of Seth' in Old Icelandic Literature. *Sethskvæði* and Its Antecedents," *Gripla* 33 (2022): 329–362.

9 Jón Torfason and Kristján Eiríksson, *Vísnabók Guðbrands*, 469. ÍB 84 8vo is a rather short manuscript (14 leaves) written by Ólafur Eyjólfsson in 1830. The pamphlet of sorts is titled "Álfheimur eður Undirheimar."

10 Jón Þorkelsson, *Om digtningen på Island i det 15. og 16. århundrede* (Copenhagen: Andr. Fred. Høst & Søns Forlag, 1888), 99.

11 Páll Eggert Ólason, ed., *Skrá um Handritasöfn Landsbókasafnsins*, Vol. 3 (Reykjavík: Ríkisprentsmiðjan Gutenberg, 1935), 240.

(1791–1861) in 1852 and includes a variety of religious poetry, including *Lilja*, *Gimsteinn*, and *Veronikukvæði*. The *Aó* portion appears to be a copy of V. Despite its introduction of minor spelling variations, D still closely replicates V and thus will not be included in the edition below.

MS 992 fol. housed in Trinity College, Dublin (E), also contains a later copy of *Aó*.[12] The manuscript is written on paper in a single cursive hand and dated to the eighteenth century. The scribe is unknown. E contains only religious poetry, comprising *Lilja*, *Elli kvæði*, *Píslar grátur*, *Gimsteinn*, *Maríu vísur*, and *Michaels flokkur*. *Aó* appears on page 100 and ends abruptly with verse 27 on page 106. After the last verse, there is a note in an unknown hand, "her fattes 1. blad i Membrana" (here one leaf of parchment is missing). This note, the fact that *Aó* ends at the same place as A, and that there is little variation between A and E, indicates the scribe is copying A; this manuscript will thus also not be included in the edition below.

Purpose and Use

The final two lines of the first verse indicate the presence of a refrain after the first six lines, suggesting that the poem was intended to be sung. In A and C (as B is missing the beginning), the first stanza consists of six lines, followed by two lines containing a refrain: *allt mitt traust er under þeim / med ordi skapadi þenann heim*. In subsequent stanzas, a shortened cue appears to prompt repetition of the refrain. This varies in form, ranging from a simple *A:* to partial quotations such as *Allt mitt traust*, the most common being simply *Allt*. In both A and C, these reminders are inconsistently applied, and sometimes omitted, while B is completely absent of reminders, preserving only the full refrain tagged on to the final verse.[13] In A, a Gothic capital "C" (presumably for the Latin *Capitulum*) is occasionally used as an abbreviated cue for the refrain (Figure 1).[14]

12 I would like to thank Aisling Lockhart of the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library at Trinity College, Dublin, for providing me with images of MS 992 for research purposes.

13 Additionally, verse 29 lacks any reminder in B, C, and V (A is missing this part of the poem).

14 This practice is found throughout the manuscript. It is likely a symbol used for the Latin *Capitulum* (the basis of our modern word 'chapter'), used in the Middle Ages to mark a new section or paragraph. This use of C eventually turned into the modern pilcrow, or paragraph sign, ¶.

Figure 1: 46r in AM 622 4to. Gothic capital C used as a reminder for the refrain.

The first modern reprint of V reproduces the original 1612 text faithfully.[15] This version shows a similar practice of fully writing out the refrain only after the first verse, followed by partial cues or omissions. By contrast, the most recent edited reprint of V includes the refrain after every verse, undoubtedly an endeavour to produce a version representing exactly how the hymn would have been sung. The edition below follows the 1612 text as reproduced by Sigurður Nordal.

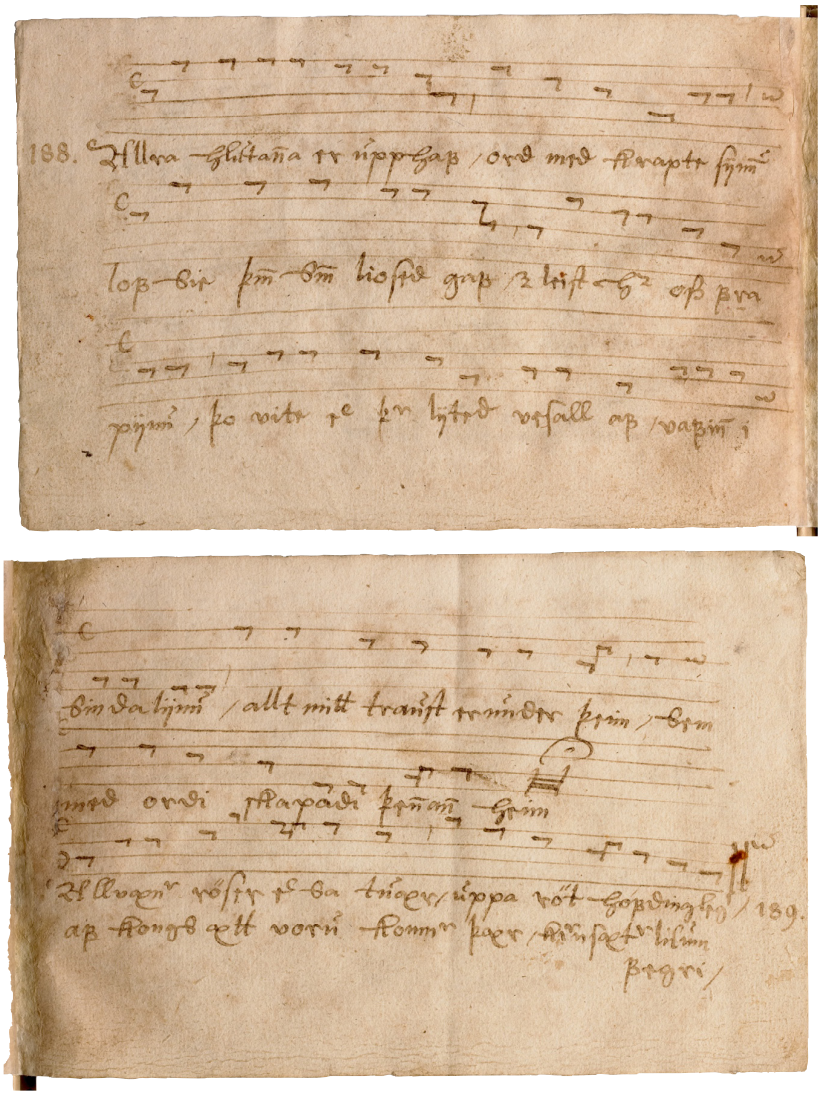
Beyond the refrain markers in the manuscripts, external evidence also supports that the poem was sung as a hymn.[16] An adjacent poem in V, *Eitt kuæde af siø daudlegum Syndum* (A Poem on the Seven Deadly Sins), has the subtitle, *Ton sem Adams Oodur* ([to be sung to] the same tune as *Adams óður*).[17] This indicates not only that *Aó* was sung, but that its tune was familiar enough to serve as a template for other hymns. Further confirmation is found in the manuscript Rask 98 (*c.* 1660–1670), also called *Melodía*, which preserves 223 songs in musical notation and has been associated with the Skálholt Latin School.[18] *Aó* is not named in the manuscript, but appears marked as song number 188 (63v–64r) (Figures 2a and 2b).

15 Sigurður Nordal, ed., *Bishop Guðbrand's Vísnabók, 1612*, Monumenta Typographica Islandica, V (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1937).

16 Jón Þorkelsson also suggests more generally that Catholic religious poems could have been used as hymns: "Jeg har ovenfor fremsat den mening, at nogle af de religiöse digte i katholsk tid er blevne brugte som salmer, eftersom flere af dem er af den beskaffenhed at de godt kunde lade sig synge" (I have suggested above that some of the religious poems in Catholic times were used as hymns, since several of them are of such a nature that they could well be sung). Jón Þorkelsson, *Om digtningen på Island i det 15. og 16. århundrede*, 99.

17 Sigurður Nordal, *Bishop Guðbrand's Vísnabók, 1612*, 223.

18 The manuscript is housed in Copenhagen at the Arnamagnæan Samling. Árni Heimir Ingólfsson, *Tónlist liðinna alda. Íslensk handrit 1100-1800* (Reykjavík: Crymogea, 2019), 103. Árni Heimir also provides a more detailed overview of Rask 98 and its contents, beginning on p. 103.



Figures 2a and 2b: 63v and 64r of Rask 98. Reproduced with permission.

The first verse of the poem is reproduced in full as a model for how each verse in the poem should be sung:

> Allra hlutan*n*a er upphaf / ord med krapte synu*m* / lof sie þ*ei*m s*e*m liosid gaf / *o*k leist h*efur* oß fra pijnu*m* / þo vite e*c* þ*a*r lijted vesall af / vafin*n* i sinda lijnu*m* / allt mitt traust er under þeim / sem med ordi skapadi þen*n*an*n* heim.
>
> (The beginning of all things / is the Word with its power / praise be to him who gave the light / and has delivered us from torments / though I, wretched, know little of it / wrapped in the chords of sin, / all my trust is in Him / who with the Word created this world.)

The text is identical to that of V, making it highly likely that the text in Rask 98 was copied from the printed edition. The text beneath the musical notation is divided into verses with slashes ("/"), indicating an acknowledgement of its poetic structure. The first verse of *Aó*, as preserved in *Melodía,* was edited by Bjarni Þorsteinsson in his *Íslenzk þjóðlög*, alongside other hymns from the same manuscript.[19]

Having established the poem's performance as a hymn, we now turn to a summary of its narrative content, which reveals the theological richness embedded in its verses.

Summary of the Poem

Aó opens with a brief invocation and praise of Christ (verse 1), before transitioning in verse 2 to the narrative of the Fall, beginning with the creation and fall of Lucifer and the angels. The poem goes on to describe Adam's creation out of four elemental parts and the subsequent creation of Eve from Adam's rib. God places the couple in Paradise and commands them not to eat from the tree. Motivated by jealousy, the Devil plots to deceive Eve by speaking to her through the body of a snake, for he believes Eve to be easier to convince than Adam. The Devil arms himself with the seven deadly sins before slyly asking Eve if God has forbidden them from anything. She responds that they are prohibited from eating of the tree under penalty of death. The Devil then tells Eve that, on the contrary, by eating the apple they will gain knowledge and eternal life. Eve hesitates, fearing death. She suggests that the snake eat of the apple first; if he does not die, she will then eat of it. The snake recalls that he is already condemned and

19 Bjarni Þorsteinsson, ed., *Íslenzk þjóðlög* (Copenhagen: S. L. Møller, 1906), 299–300.

thus cannot be harmed further, then takes a bite of the apple. When Eve sees that he is unharmed, she is convinced and eats, calling to Adam to do the same. Adam is eventually convinced and eats the apple. The snake then disappears, and both Adam and Eve become aware of their nakedness. They hide themselves on account of their shame, and God calls out for them asking where they are. Adam blames Eve, and Eve blames the snake, while at the same time blaming God for creating the snake. This angers God and he banishes them from Paradise, giving them two garments of skin[20] to wear and condemning Eve to suffer in childbirth. The couple are cursed to till the earth, specifically in Hebron, and all their descendants are made to bear the burden of their sin. The final verses (30–34), as well as the additional verse found in V, provide a solution to Adam and Eve's sin through the Virgin birth and the Crucifixion of Christ. Verse 31 specifically recounts the Harrowing of Hell,[21] and the poem concludes with a reminder of God's mercy.

2. The Contents of *Adams óður* and Its Relation to *Konungs skuggsjá*

Beyond its narrative structure, *Aó* draws heavily on earlier theological writings. Its striking parallels with *Ksk*, in particular, invite a closer comparative analysis. Scholarly engagement with *Aó* remains virtually nonexistent; when the poem is mentioned, it is typically only in passing – either as part of a manuscript description or in reference to its printing in V.[22] Yet

20 For a detailed history of the skin shirts given to Adam and Eve, both in Christian and Old Norse-Icelandic literature, see Tiffany Nicole White, "Defining the Human: Skin, Shapeshifting, and Sin," *Scripta Islandica* 75 (2025): 197–241.

21 This one verse addresses a huge theological problem, namely, what happened to those who had died before the Incarnation (namely, Adam and Eve)? The previous verse discusses the Crucifixion (salvation for those after Christ), and this verse deals with the redemption of Adam and Eve (and thus also those before Christ) through the Harrowing of Hell. This idea was fixed into the liturgy and creed of the Church by the eighth century. For more on this topic, see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), 107.

22 *Íslenzk fornkvæði* contains two poems from AM 622 4to, *Óláfs vísur* and *Kvæði af syndugri konu*, but does not mention any further contents: Jón Helgason, ed., *Íslenzk fornkvæði*, Vol. 4, Editiones Arnamagnæanæ B13 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), XIII–XIV, 11–15. *Íslenzk miðaldakvæði* contains many religious poems, including ones found in AM 622 4to and AM 713 4to, but does not include *Adams óður*: Jón Helgason, ed., *Íslenzk miðaldakvæði*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1938). Jón Þorkelsson mentions the poem briefly,

the poem contains several intriguing elements within its verses that offer valuable insight into the theological and exegetical knowledge available to medieval Icelandic Christians. Many elements in *Aó*'s interpretation of the Fall echo the writings of Augustine of Hippo, Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium*, apocryphal and pseudepigraphal sources, and even Jewish exegetical sources. The poem closely follows the narrative structure of the Creation and Fall as presented in the thirteenth-century *Konungs skuggsjá*, and I would not hesitate to argue that *Aó* is directly based on this source.

Accordingly, my thematic analysis applies to both *Aó* and *Ksk*, especially given the absence of any comparative treatment in previous scholarship.[23] The following sections examine the most significant shared motifs between the two texts, with attention to their historical and theological context. While numerous similarities exist, I will focus on five key themes: the serpent's consumption of the apple; the embodiment of the Devil; the naming conventions applied to the devil figure; Lucifer's jealousy; and the theological notion that humankind was created to replace fallen angels. A more detailed table outlining the textual correlations between the poetry and prose is provided in Appendix I.

The Snake Bites the Apple First

A strikingly unique scene in the poem is when Eve asks the snake to eat of the apple first. Eve is too scared that she will die if she takes a bite, so

noting the first verse and stating that the poem cannot be older than 1500-1525: Jón Þorkelsson, *Om digtningen på Island i det 15. og 16. århundrede*, 98–99. Guðrún Nordal has written extensively on the manuscript AM 622 4to; when *Adams óður* is mentioned, it is often in the context of which poems in the manuscript were printed in *Vísnabók*. Guðrún Nordal, "Á mörkum tveggja tíma: Kaþólskt kvæðahandrit með hendi siðbótarmanns, Gísla biskups Jónssonar"; Guðrún Nordal, "Helgubók--Kvæðasafn á mörkum kaþólsku og lútersku," in *Konan kemur við sögu*, ed. Svanhildur María Gunnarsdóttir and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2016), 131; Guðrún Nordal, "Helgubók," in *Góssið hans Árna. Minningar heimsins í íslenskum handritum*, ed. Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2014), 21–36; Guðrún Nordal, "Handrit, prentaðar bækur og pápísk kvæði á siðskiptaöld," in *Til heiðurs og hugbótar. Greinar um trúarkveðskap fyrri alda*, ed. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir and Anna Guðmundsdóttir, Snorrastofa rit 1 (Reykholt: Rannsóknarstofnun í miðaldafræðum, 2003), 131–143.

23 Sverre Bagge offers short interpretations of themes found in *Ksk* in his Appendix to *The Political Thought of the King's Mirror* (Odense University Press, 1987), including an evaluation of "The Story of the Fall in the King's Mirror" (pp. 225–233), but does not always evaluate the same themes treated here. When I treat themes he has discussed, I expand beyond his analysis.

she suggests that the snake bite first, and if he does not die, then she will take a bite (lines 96–99): *utan ec siae þier eire þad / ef þu vogar at þreyta / ok ef þig skadar um ecki par / eplis mun eg þa neyta* (Unless I see that you are unharmed by it – if you dare to try it – and if it harms you, not even the smallest amount, then I will eat of the apple).[24] The snake (really the Devil) then laments how he cannot fall a second time, for he has been in trouble with God since he was cast out of heaven (lines 101–106): *Ormurinn svarar med illzku mauk / at eplinu giordi vikia / eta ma eg þui vid illzku tauk / i aullu skal eg mig likia / eg er folginn adur i sauk / vid faudur himnanna rijkia* (The snake answers with ill intent, turned towards the apple. 'I may eat it, bound by evil's grip, in all things I shall make myself alike. I have already fallen into guilt against the father of the heavenly kingdom'). The serpent eats of the apple and then gives Eve another one (verse 16, line 110): *at hann eplid og annad gaf* (he [Devil/snake] ate the apple and gave another [to Eve]). Eve then sees that it is 'safe' after the snake is unharmed, and then goes on to offer the apple to Adam. This scene plays out almost exactly in *Ksk*.[25] The same dialogue takes place between Eve and the serpent, wherein she suggests he bite the apple first so she can see whether he dies: *Ek hræðumk, ef ek et, at ek deyja, með því at guð hét mér því. Nú et þú fyrri, svá at ek sjá, ok ef þú deyr eigi, þá mun ek eta…* ('I fear that, if I eat, I shall die, for such is God's threat. Now you eat first while I look on, and if you do not die, I will eat…')[26] The comment by the snake, however, is portrayed as an inner dialogue in *Ksk*: *En andinn sá er leyndisk í orminum, þá svaraði með sjálfum sér: "Ek má vel eta eplit, því at ek em ekki at sekari né dauðligri, þar sem ek er áðr í fullri reiði guðs." En þessi orð heyrði Eva eigi* (Then the spirit that was concealed in the serpent said to himself:

24 All translations of *Aó* are my own.

25 The main difference is that there are four apples involved in the *Ksk* version. The snake bites the first apple, then Eve takes a second apple from the tree and bites it, and then she takes two more apples from the tree, one for her to eat to show Adam it is safe, and one for Adam himself. The poem does not specify the number of apples involved. Anne Holtsmark shows that the number of apples depicted in medieval church paintings also varies widely, and even goes as far as positing that the textual renditions were influenced by church art. Anne Holtsmark, "Kongespeilet og eplene i Edens have," *Viking* 20 (1956): 141–155.

26 Rudolph Keyser, Peter Andreas Munch, and Carl Rikard Unger, eds., *Speculum Regale. Konungs-skuggsjá. Konge-speilet. Et philosophisk-didaktisk skrift, forfattet i Norge mod slutningen af det tolfte aarhundrede* (Christiania: C. C. Werner, 1848), 113–114. Laurence Marcellus Larson, trans., *The King's Mirror* (New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1917), 265.

'I may indeed eat the apple, for it will make me no more guilty or mortal, inasmuch as I am already in the full wrath of God.' But these words the woman did not hear).[27] Sverre Bagge, in his study on *Ksk*, notes that he was unable to find any direct parallels to this story in Christian literature or theology.[28] The snake biting the apple is, of course, found neither in the canonical biblical account nor in *Stjórn I*. There is, however, a very close parallel found in the medieval Jewish Mishnah (a written collection of Jewish oral traditions), specifically, a tale found in the Avot (ethical teachings) edited by Rabbi Nathan.[29]

> And the snake further said to her, 'If it was as to not eating of the tree that you say the Holy One, blessed be he, has laid a commandment on us, lo, I am going to eat of it, but I shall not die. You too may eat of it and you will not die.' [...] So she went and took of the fruit and ate it and gave it to Man and he ate, as it is said, *And the woman saw that the tree was good for eating and an appealing sight.* (Gen. 3:6)[30]

27 Keyser, Munch, and Unger, *Speculum Regale. Konungs-skuggsjá. Konge-speilet*, 112–113; Larson, *The King's Mirror*, 265.

28 Bagge, *The Political Thought of the King's Mirror*, 229.

29 I want to thank Daria Segal for her help with navigating this vast body of literature. The collection was edited and translated into Latin in Francis Taylor, trans., *Tractatus de Patribus Rabbi Nathan Auctore, in Linguam Latinam Translatus* (London: E. Cotes, 1654), and it was most certainly known before 1550. Dating beyond that is impossible and any link in transmission is beyond the scope of the current study. It is, however, well documented that medieval Christians had a deep interest in Hebrew studies and that medieval Icelandic clerics were familiar with and owned pseudepigraphal texts. Those who studied Hebrew were called 'Christian Hebraists' and the most famous centre for this was the Abbey of St Victor (Paris) in the twelfth century. Generally, this interest only grew amongst Christians after the Reformation, when Hebrew texts commenting on the Old Testament were printed and often translated by Christians who were dedicated to a closer study of the Old Testament. For more on this post-medieval development, see Marvin J. Heller, "Christian-Hebraists: The Talmud (Mishnah) in Translation," in *Printing the Talmud : Complete Editions, Tractates, and Other Works and the Associated Presses from the Mid-17th Century through the 18th Century*, Brill's Series in Jewish Studies 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 315–38; for more on the medieval practice, see Beryl Smalley, "Andrew of St. Victor, Abbot of Wigmore: A Twelfth Century Hebraist," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 10 (1938): 358–373.

30 Jacob Neusner, *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan. An Analytical Translation and Explanation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 9. This is the most recent critical edition of the A-Text, translated from the Hebrew. A less critical and more elaborate version based on the A- and B-Texts and translated from a German translation into English, can be found

This foundational imagery is expanded and elaborated upon in other forms of Jewish exegetical texts (see footnote 28). Interestingly, Bagge acknowledges that the account in *Ksk* is influenced by Jewish sources elsewhere. He traces the idea that the serpent itself could speak before the Fall to Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale*, which he believes can then be traced to Josephus (*c*. 37–100), the Roman-Jewish historian.[31] Siân Grønlie, likewise, discusses possible borrowings from Jewish midrashim in the retelling of the Fall story, specifically the parable about the four daughters of God.[32] These connections between voice, agency, and external influence set the stage for a closer examination of how the serpent and devil figure are portrayed in the text, a topic on which the following sections will focus.

The Talking Serpent

Concerning the snake-as-Devil or Devil-as-snake trope, both *Aó* and *Ksk* specify that Lucifer goes looking for a snake's body to use or possess in order to speak to Eve. Verse 9 (lines 59–60) of *Aó* states "*Evo skal eg at andinn kvad / orms i liking finna*" (I shall find Eve, declared the spirt, in the form of a serpent). *Ksk* clarifies that Lucifer has no voice and therefore chooses the snake in order to speak; the snake is depicted in the story as having the face of a woman and walking on two feet like a man; but this is not specified in *Aó*.[33]

> "Með því at ek em nú úsýniligr andi, þá má ek eigi sýniliga koma í tal við likamligan mann, nema ek skrýða mína hina ljótligu ásjón með nökkurri likamligri fegrð. Nú mun ek ganga inn í orm þenna, er guð hefir skapaðan með meyligu andliti, ok likastr er mannligri fegrð, ok mun ek tala með hans munni við Evu konu Adams…"

in Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews. Bible Times and Characters from the Creation to Jacob: Reference Edition*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Quadriga, 2020), 186–187.

31 Bagge, *The Political Thought of the King's Mirror*, 226–227.

32 Siân Grønlie, *The Old Testament in Medieval Icelandic Texts: Translation, Exegesis and Storytelling* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2024), 121–123.

33 This was a common belief in the Middle Ages, found in Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and elsewhere. The imagery was known in medieval Iceland, evident in an illumination of a snake with a woman's face twirled around a tree, with Adam and Eve on either side, found on the bottom of 1v in AM 227 fol. (Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum).

> ('Inasmuch as I am now an invisible spirit, I cannot visibly come to have speech with physical man, unless I adorn my ugly countenance with a certain corporeal beauty. I shall therefore enter this serpent which God has created with the face of a maiden and which most resembles man in beauty, and I shall speak with his tongue to Eve, Adam's wife...')[34]

Several medieval theologians posited that it was not the snake itself who tempted Eve but rather the Devil using the snake as a medium with which to tempt her. Henry Ansgar Kelly traces the idea that the snake was possessed and not able to speak itself to Andrew of Saint Victor (d. 1175), who systematically drew on the works of Jewish commentators.[35] But the idea goes back further, and likely was not transmitted directly from Jewish text to Andrew. Augustine, in his *De Genesi ad litteram* (On the Literal Meaning of Genesis) claims that the Devil could only use the snake's body with God's permission.[36] These ideas answers the theological question of whether God's creation (a snake) could tempt and deceive with ill intent, and on a larger scale, whether God created evil.

Ksk is very precise about how it discusses the serpent. It is sometimes called simply "the serpent" (*ormurinn*), but never explicitly Lucifer.[37] Rather, the reader is given a reminder that the serpent is not acting of its own will because it is possessed. For example, when Lucifer initially approaches Eve he has possessed the body of the snake, which is very clearly described in *Ksk*: *En þá er sá hinn illgjarni andi kom til fundar við Evu huldr*

34 Keyser, Munch, and Unger, *Speculum Regale. Konungs-skuggsjá. Konge-speilet*, 112–113; Larson, *The King's Mirror*, 263–264.

35 Henry Ansgar Kelly, "The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent during the Middle Ages and Renaissance," *Viator* 2 (1971): 303.

36 John E. Rotelle, ed., "The Literal Meaning of Genesis," in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century: On Genesis*, trans. Edmund Hill (New York: New York City Press, 2002), 431.

37 In the biblical story of the Fall as found in Genesis, the biblical serpent is in fact never equated with the Devil. James H. Charlesworth, *The Good and Evil Serpent. How a Universal Symbol Became Christianized* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 275–281. Also, "The serpent is not identified as the devil in Genesis or anywhere else in the Old Testament. The word *nāhaš* is the ordinary word for snake, and it is identified as a 'beast of the field' (Gen 3:1, NIV 'wild [animal]')." John H. Walton and J. Harvey Walton, *Demons and Spirits in Biblical Theology: Reading the Biblical Text in Its Cultural and Literary Context* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2019), 132.

með likami þess orms... (And when the evil-minded spirit came to Eve concealed in the body of this serpent...).[38] Similarly, when Lucifer's internal dialogue is expressed, *Ksk* does so by specifying that he, not the snake, is talking to himself: *En andinn sá er leyndisk í orminum, þá svaraði með sjálfum sér...* (Then the spirit that was concealed in the serpent said to himself...).[39] This practice is not carried over into *Aó*; instead, a variety of names are used to refer to the possessor of the snake, although it is not always clear that the snake cannot be equated with its possessor. We will now take a more detailed look at the naming of the figure inhabiting the snake – a complex interplay of terms like Lucifer, Satan, and *andinn*.

The Devil's Names: Lucifer, Satan, andinn

Building on the previously discussed idea that the Devil was simply inhabiting or possessing the snake, this section turns to the terminology used for the snake and its possessor in *Aó* and *Ksk*. The name Lucifer is used to discuss the fallen angel in *Aó* (verse 2, line 11), but *Satan* is the one who is jealous of the first couple and wants them expelled from Paradise (verse 7, line 45). The term *andinn* ('the spirit' or 'angel') is used in verse 9 (lines 49–50) to describe the entity that possesses the serpent, aligning with the terminology used in *Ksk*. However, in verse 16 (line 109) of *Aó*, it is again *Satan* who offers Eve the apple. By contrast, *Ksk* consistently uses only *Lucifer* as the proper name for the devil figure. The use of *Satan* in *Aó* – particularly in verse 31 (line 213), where he appears as the adversary of Christ and ruler of Hell – demonstrates a conflation of multiple theological identities.

The conflation of Lucifer and Satan (as proper names), and Devil/demon as one entity who was simultaneously the fallen angel, ruler of Hell, and adversary of Christ, started to develop early on with the Church Fathers and became more systematic by the twelfth century. The conflation is essentially the result of translation issues, which caused the merging of three originally distinct figures into a unified protagonist, thus joining very separate dialogues into one.[40] The use of Lucifer as a proper name

38 Keyser, Munch, and Unger, 113; Larson, 264.

39 Keyser, Munch, and Unger, 114; Larson, 265.

40 The term *Satan* originates from Hebrew, where it simply means 'adversary'. In the Old Testament, with the exception of the Book of Job, Satan appears infrequently and plays a minor role. In contrast, the New Testament, particularly in the Gospels of Luke and

for the fallen angel developed over a long period but is ultimately tied to a misreading of Isaiah 14:12, wherein Isaiah is mocking the fall of the King of Babylon, using the Hebrew term *hêlēl* (Shining one) to describe the king. The Hebrew term was then translated in the Vulgate using the Latin *lucifer*.[41] Lucifer as a Latin word simply means 'light bringer' or 'morning star' and often refers to the planet Venus.[42] Gregory the Great (d. 604), for example, rarely uses the name Lucifer in his extensive writings on the Devil, for he believes it also to be a name for Christ.[43] The origin of the connection between Lucifer and Satan is murky but already shows popularity within the writings of Tertullian (d. 240).[44] These associations are extra-biblical and often reflect medieval interpretive traditions. For example, *Stjórn I* attributes both mentions of Lucifer as a fallen angel to Peter Comestor's twelfth-century *Historia scholastica,* while also acknowledging *lucifer* as a celestial body.[45] Intriguingly, according to Astås' name index for *Stjórn*, the name Satan does not appear at all within the work. The term *andinn* in *Aó* and *Ksk* corresponds closely to the Greek *daimon*, a spirit figure that evolved over time into the concept of demon, reflecting a long and complex trajectory in the development of Christian demonology.[46]

The use of diverse terminology for the devil figure in *Aó* thus reflects a learned composer familiar with a range of theological sources and traditions concerned with the problem of evil. Similarly, the scribe of *Ksk* was informed

Matthew, an 'accuser' or 'slanderer' appears using the Greek term *diabolos*. This term was later translated into Latin as *diabolus*. The conflation of the Hebrew adversary *satan* with the Greek accuser *diabolos* arose when Alexandrian Jews translating the Hebrew scriptures into Greek rendered *satan* as *diabolos*, thereby linking the figures linguistically despite their distinct meanings. This linguistic evolution has contributed to historical misunderstandings, as the English word 'devil' derives from *diabolus* but carries connotations from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin sources. For a more detailed account of this evolution, see Luther Link, *The Devil: A Mask without a Face* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), 19.

41 Link, *The Devil: A Mask without a Face*, 23.

42 Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 1080.

43 Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*, 97. For more on Jesus as Lucifer, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 164–167.

44 Kelly, *Satan: A Biography*, 179.

45 Mentions of Lucifer as fallen angel are found on pages 19 and 52; the use of lucifer for a star is found on page 313 (all in volume 1). Reidar Astås, ed., *Stjórn. Tekst Etter Håndskriftene*, 2 vols., Norrøne Tekster 8 (Oslo: Riksarkivet, 2009).

46 In the Classical world, statues were thought to be inhabited by a *daimon* or a spirit, which then in the early Christian world, eventually turned into idols being inhabited by demons. This Christian verbiage works well with the idea of possession, in this case, with the serpent.

of a very specific exegetical tradition that placed Lucifer, the fallen angel, as the jealous inciter of the Fall, while also carefully preserving the theological distinction that God's creation, the snake, could only have committed evil acts if it was used as a vessel by another (one who himself chose to sin).

Lucifer's Jealousy

Another well-documented exegesis of the Fall story in early and medieval Christian thought was that Lucifer decided to come to Paradise and inhabit the snake to coerce the first couple due to his jealousy of Adam.[47] This account, which places the fall of angels prior to the creation of Adam, is not found in the canonical Bible but appears widely in extra-biblical sources. The tradition is reflected in both *Aó* and *Ksk*, as well as *Stjórn I*. In *Stjórn I*, the fall of the angels is recounted before the narrative of creation, and when God separates light from darkness, it is interpreted as the moment when good angels were separated from bad angels.[48] A similar idea is found in *Aó* in lines 11–12 of verse 2: *Lucifer sem lydrinn veit / ljossins þessa misti* (Lucifer, as people know, lost his light). This is an interesting play on the name Lucifer (from the Hebrew *hêlēl*, 'light bringing'), who, after his fall, apparently could not live up to his name. This loss of light is echoed in *Ksk*, after the detailed account of the fall of angels, where it is stated, *ok skildisk með því myrkr frá ljósi* (and in this way, darkness was separated from light).[49] The ordering of these events in both texts supports the exegetical interpretation that Lucifer's reason for coming to Paradise was his jealousy of Adam and thus his desire to see him also fall, and that his possession of the serpent presupposes his prior fall from grace.[50] Lucifer's jealousy (told as Satan's jealousy in *Aó*), is described in verse 7 (lines 45–50): *Sathan ofundar sælu þa / er hann sier adam setta / kostgiæfer þann krok at sia / med klokskap sinna pretta / at virding*

47 Russell describes how this scene is also found throughout pseudepigraphal literature, such as the *Vita Adae et Evae* and *The Apocalypse of Moses*. However, in these accounts, the angel Michael orders Lucifer to bow down to Adam, which he refuses to do, thereby creating his fall (thus, here the fall of angels occurs *after* the creation of man). This event then incites Lucifer's jealousy of Adam and results in his 'visit' to Paradise. D.S. Russel, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London: SCM, 1987), 21.

48 Reidar Astås, ed., *Stjórn: Tekst etter håndskriftene*, 1: 13–19. The fall of angels in *Stjórn 1* is more generally discussed in Grønlie, *The Old Testament in Medieval Icelandic Texts*, 144–148.

49 Keyser, Munch, and Unger, *Speculum Regale. Konungs-skuggsjá. Konge-speilet*, 112; Larson, *The King's Mirror*, 263.

50 However, nowhere in the canonical Biblical account of Genesis is the snake said to be the Devil.

þeirre vellti hann fra / ok sem vodasamligast detta (Satan envies the bliss that he sees granted to Adam; he devises that deceitful trap with the cunning of his tricks, so that he might strip him of that honor and cause him to fall in the most terrible way). Lucifer/Satan's *klokskap* (normalised as *klókskapur*, meaning 'wiliness' or 'cunning') is described in great detail in *Ksk*, in a speech he delivers to his fellow fallen angels:

> En eptir þat er guð hafði mann skapaðan, ok hann var skipaðr í sældarlífi í Paradísu, þá mælti Lucifer til sinna félaga: „Þessum mun guð hafa ætlat ríki þat, er hann rak mik ífrá, ef hann gerir eigi misbrigði í gegn hans vilja. En þóat hann skipaði öðrum englum í várt ríki, þá mættim vér þat aldri þola, ef vér féngim nökkut at gört; en þetta er oss ofmikil skömm, at maðr sá er görr var af leiri eða saurgu jarðar dupti, skal vera leiddr í þá eilifa sælu, er vér várum frá reknir. Fyrir því skulum vér jafnan berjask við hvern þeirra, er þannug stundar, ok hefna vars skaða með grimligri heipt á öllum þeim, er vér fám sigrat. Fyrir því skal ek við leita at vinna sigr á hinum fyrsta manni, er guð hefir skapat, at þá megi aðrir mínir félagar vinna sigr á hinum, er síðar koma."[51]
>
> (But when God had made man and had given him a blissful life in Paradise, Lucifer said to his companions: 'It is evidently God's intention to give this one the dominion from which He drove me out, unless he shall act counter to God's will. Even if God should appoint other angels in our stead, we could never allow it, if we could do anything to prevent it; but our disgrace would be too great, if a man formed of clay or the filthy dust of the earth were to enter into the eternal happiness from which we were expelled. Therefore we must fight incessantly against everyone who has such ambitions and revenge our injuries with fierce hatred upon all those whom we can overcome. Now I shall try to gain a victory over the first man that God has created, so that my companions may be able to overcome those who come later.')[52]

51 Keyser, Munch, and Unger, 112.
52 Larson, *The King's Mirror*, 263.

This passage explicitly connects Lucifer's jealousy to a broader theological motif: the idea that Adam and Eve, and by extension humanity, were created to replace Lucifer and the other fallen angels. It is to this theme that the following section now turns.

Humans Created to Replace Fallen Angels

The idea that Lucifer is envious of Adam, thus inciting his desire to make him fall and be expelled from paradise, is connected to a theme which was common in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, that humans were created to replace the fallen angels. According to this tradition, Lucifer's envy comes from his idea that Adam might enjoy the life he previously did, but no longer can. Although Bagge identifies sources for the depiction of Lucifer's envy in *Ksk*,[53] he does not treat the connected theme of the creation of humanity to fill the void left by fallen angels. This exegetical and extra-biblical idea, that angels fell *before* the creation of humans, thus making their creation necessary to replace the said fallen angels, goes back (at least) to Augustine.[54] The most probable line of transmission goes from Augustine, to Gregory the Great (via his *Homilies*), to Anselm, and then to Peter Lombard.[55] The idea was kept alive through its inclusion in Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* (Sentences), which was compulsory reading for students of theology up to the sixteenth century.[56] Given its status as a standard curriculum text, any medieval Icelander studying Latin and theology abroad would have encountered and interacted with this text. In the *Sentences*, Peter Lombard discusses the idea in relation to Augustine's works:

> It is held by some that men shall be restored in proportion to the number of angels who fell, so that the heavenly city may neither

53 For this theme, Bagge cites Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, Petrus Comester's *Historia Scholastica*, and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Naturale*, which also quotes Hugh of St Victor and Ambrose. Bagge, *The Political Thought of the King's Mirror*, 225.

54 Novotný posits that Augustine's ideas could be based on Origen's and/or early versions of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. Vojtěch Novotný, *Cur Homo? A History of the Thesis of Man as a Replacement for Fallen Angels* (Prague: Karolinum, 2014), 22–29. Russell claims, however, the idea was likely solidified in the Middle Ages through the writings of Gregory the Great. Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*, 97.

55 Novotný, *Cur Homo?*, 14.

56 Novotný, *Cur Homo?*, 127.

> be deprived of the number of its citizens, nor rule over a great abundance of them. This appears to be the view of Augustine in his *Enchiridion*, who does not assert that more men will be saved than angels were ruined, but that they will not be fewer. He says: "The heavenly Jerusalem, *our mother*, the city of God, will not be defrauded in the number of her citizens, and perhaps shall even reign over a great abundance. For we do not know the number either of saintly men, or of unclean demons. In the latter's place shall succeed the children of the Catholic mother, who seemed sterile on earth, and they will remain without end of time in that peace from which the others fell. But the number of these citizens, as it now is, or as it was, or as it will be, is in the contemplation of that artificer *who calls [into existence] the things which are not as much as those which are*." See, he plainly says that no fewer men will be saved than angels were ruined, but he does not assert what more will be.[57]

In addition to the quotation in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, the same idea appears, in a more concise form, in Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium*, a text that was translated into Old Norse relatively early. In the translation, the concept is presented through a brief dialogue between Master and Disciple:

> Discipulus: Þvarr tala heilagra viþ fall vandra engla.
> Magister: Þvi vas maþr scapaþr at fyldesc tala heilagra.
>
> Disciple: Did the number of saints decrease with the fall of the bad angels?
> Master: Man was created to make up the number of the elect.[58]

This was clearly a theme that was well known amongst medieval Icelandic clerics, and from somewhat early on in the Icelandic Church, given that the translation of *Elucidarius* can be dated to the early thirteenth cen-

57 Giulio Silano, trans., *Peter Lombard. The Sentences: Book 2, On Creation*. Mediaeval Sources in Translation 43 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 42–43. Emphasis is added by Silano and refers to Romans 4:17 and chapter 29 of Augustine's *Enchiridion*.

58 Evelyn Scherabon Firchow, trans., *The Old Norse Elucidarius: Original Text and Translation* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1992), 14–15.

tury and the creation of *Ksk* to *c.* mid-thirteenth century, with the oldest Icelandic fragment dated to *c.* 1300.[59] The presence of this theme in both translated and native texts not only underscores its theological significance but also attests to the deep integration of the Icelandic Church into wider European intellectual and ecclesiastical networks.

3. Conclusion

Adams óður stands as a compelling witness to the vibrancy and theological sophistication of medieval Icelandic religious poetry and its composers. Though long neglected in scholarship, its close structural and thematic correspondence to the account of the Fall in *Ksk* demonstrates that *Aó* is not an isolated composition but a poetic adaptation of a learned theological tradition, mostly that which is found in *Ksk*. By tracing its textual transmission, situating it within manuscript culture, and identifying its hymnological function, this study has brought to light the depth of both *Ksk*'s and *Aó*'s engagement with Christian exegesis, including ideas drawn from patristic authors, medieval theologians, and Jewish exegetical traditions.

Rather than presenting a simplified retelling of Genesis, the poem reveals a complex theological and exegetical landscape shaped by centuries of commentary and interpretation. The integration of themes such as Lucifer's jealousy, the instrumental use of the serpent, and the salvific arc from Fall to Redemption points to a composer deeply immersed in exegetical discourse. At the same time, its poetic form and refrain structure suggest an intended oral and musical dimension, underscoring the role of devotional poetry in shaping religious understanding.

In bringing *Adams óður* into conversation with *Konungs skuggsjá*, this study has highlighted how medieval Icelandic texts engage with continental theological currents while maintaining distinct local expressions. The poem deserves further attention not only as a literary and poetic work but also as a vehicle for theological reflection and instruction in both medieval and post-medieval Iceland.

59 Namely, AM 655 XXVIII b 4to (Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling).

Appendix 1: The Correlation Between *Adams óður* and *Konungs skuggsjá*

Verse in *Adams óður* cf. edition below	**Prose in *Konungs skuggsjá*** cf. Rudolph Keyser, Peter Andreas Munch, and Carl Rikard Unger, eds., *Speculum Regale. Konungs-skuggsjá. Konge-speilet.* (Christiania: C. C. Werner, 1848)
Verse 1	No parallel
Verse 2	p. 111, line 22. (*En þat er upphaf...*) to p. 112, line 17 (*... gagnstaðligir þinni ráðagerð*)
Verse 3	p. 112, line 17 (*En þá er guð...*) to p. 112, line 22 (*...myrkr frá ljósi*)
Verses 4, 5, & 6	No parallels
Verses 7 & 8	p. 112, line 23 (*En eptir þat...*) to p. 112, line 34 (*...er síðar koma*)
Verse 9	p. 112, line 38 (*Því næst mælti...*) to p. 113, line 8 (*...sætt við hann*)
Verse 10	p. 112, like 34 (*því næst skrýddisk...*) to p. 112, line 38 (*...bergisamlig lostasemi*)
Verse 11	p. 113, line 11 (*En þá er...*) to p. 113, line 20 (*...hlutum.*)
Verses 12 & 13	p. 113, line 20 (*En þegar er...*) to p. 113, line 36 (*...hluta ok illra.*)
Verse 14	p. 113, line 36 (*En þá er...*) to p. 114, line 3 (*...sér.*)
Verse 15	p. 114, line 3 (*En andinn sá...*) to p. 114, line 6 (*...eigi.*)
Verse 16	p. 114, line 6 (*þvi næst tók...*) to p. 114, line 9 (*...hafði sagt henni.*); p. 114, line 10 (*en hon kallaði...*) to p. 114, line 11 (*... þessa hluti.*)
Verses 17 & 18	p. 114, line 11 (*En með því...*) to p. 114, line 18 (*...síðr en hon.*)
Verses 19 & 20	p. 114, line 10 (*Því næst...*) to p. 114, line 10 (*...augliti Evu;*); p. 114, line 18 (*Sem þau höfðu...*) to p. 114, line 30 (*...á hverri stundu.*)
Verse 21	p. 115, line 27 (*Því næst kallaði...*) to p. 115, line 35 (*...bannaða ykkr.*“)
Verse 22	p. 115, line 35 (*En þegar er...*) to p. 116, line 5 (*...en miskunnar.*)
Verses 23 & 24	p. 116, line 20 (*Því næst mælti...*) to p. 116, line 25 (*...at göra lögbrot.*“)

Verse 25	p. 116, line 11 (*En þá er guð...*) to p. 116, line 24 (*...var eigi lofat.*“); p. 116, line 31 („*Svá sýnisk mér...*) to p. 117, line 7 (*... uppfæði þeirra.*“)
Verse 26	p. 117, line 21 (*þvi næst gaf...*) to p. 117, line 27 (*...fyrir öndverðu.*“); p. 117, line 5 (*Börn þau er...*) to p. 117, line 7 (*...í uppfæði þeirra.*“)
Verses 27 & 28	p. 116, line 34 (*fyrir þvi skulu...*) to p. 116, line 39 (*...frjálsligrar sælu.*); p. 117, line 14 (*þvi næst mælti...*) to p. 117, line 24 (*... matar á jörðu.*“)
Verses 29 & 30	No parallels
Verse 31	p. 117, line 33 (*Hryggr mun ek...*) to p. 17, line 38 (*...ok sigri týnt.*“)
Verses 32, 33, 34, & the extra verse in V	No parallels

Appendix II: Edition of *Adams óður*

All abbreviations are expanded in *italics*. Minor spelling variations have not been noted as variants, including the following cases: a/ǻ/ia/ja/aa for á; e/ie/je for é; ij for í; o/uu for ó; u/uu for ú; ij for ý; variations between au/o/ö/ǫ/ø; y for i and vice versa; y for u and vice versa; u for v and vice versa; variations between f/u/v; variations between ck/k/kk; ck/k for g; f for p and vice versa; dzt for st; zt for s; -e for -i; variations between -it, -ed, and -id, as well as -inn and -en; eirn for einn; at/ad; edur/eda; alternation between single and double consonants (ex. pp vs. p; nn vs. n) where the difference does not affect grammar; variations between capital and lower case usage.

When there are two (or more) variants which have differences listed above, I have chosen to list the variant with the designated manuscript letter (*A-C, V*) which comes first alphabetically. The following Latin abbreviations are used: *om.* (L. *omittit,* E. omitted); *add.* (L. *addidit,* E. added) to denote a word added *after* the indicated lemma. Editor's comments are presented in *italics* in the footnotes.

Texts:
A: AM 622 4to, 1549
B: AM 713 4to, 1540-1560
C: AM 720 b 4to, 1600 (base text)
V: *Vísnabók,* 1612

[1] [*Missing A Capital*]llra hlutana er upphaf
ord með krapti sijnu*m*
lof sie þe*i*m se*m* liosit gaf
og leyst hefur oss fra pijnu*m*
[5] þo viti eg þar litid vesl*egur* af
vafin*n* i synda linum
allt mitt traust er under þe*i*m
med ordi skapadi þenan*n* heim.

[1] Missing A capital] *3-line A capital with descender into the bottom margin A* [4] leyst hefur oss] leysti oss fra *V* pijnu*m*] pinu *A* [5] viti] vites *A* eg] *om. A* vesl*egur*] vesall *V* [6] linum] linu *A* [8] med] sem med *A, V* þenan*n*] þe*nn*a *A*

[2] Ept*er* skapada eingla sueit
var eirn af þ*ei*m hin*n* fyrsti
lucifer s*e*m lyd*ur*in*n* veit
liossins þ*e*ssa misti.
þvi ofmetnad*ur og* ofundin heit
miog med honu*m* gisti.
Allt mitt traust er und*er* þ*ei*m.
ok oo

[3] Ræser himnan*n*a rak h*an*n sier fra
J rar helvijtis sveita
og svo med h*onu*m alla þä
s*e*m ofmetnad*ar*ins leita.
hver man*n* skylldi hugxa upp á̊
heidran*n* gudi at veita.
Allt:

[4] Af fioru*m* hlutu*m* en*n* fyrsta man*n*
fader himnan*n*a upp vackti
Adam liet gud heita han*n*
s*e*m h*ann* sialfr skapti.
Efa upp af rife h*an*s ran*n*
med rijku*m* guddoms krapti.
Allt mitt traust.

[5] Hionin*n* þ*e*ssi j hædzta valld
himna k*ongur*in*n* setti
ut*an* h*ann* baud þ*ei*m bodorda halld
og bregda ei sijnu*m* rietti.
daligt lä vid daud*an*s gialld
er drottin*n* sialfur setti.
Allt mitt:

---

10 hin*n*] enn *V* 11 lucifer] *only* luci *is visible due to damage A* s*e*m] *unreadable due to damage A* 13 ofundin] *only* ofu *visible due to damage A* 14 miog] of miog *A, V* med] hia *V* 15 Allt mitt traust er und*ir* þ*ei*m] þeim *unreadable due to damage A*; Allt mitt Traust er un. *V* 16 *An unknown symbol appears after ok C*; *line om. A, B, V* 17 himnan*n*a] himna *V* 19 og] *om. A* 22 heidran*n*] hlydni *A* 21 hver] huǫr *V* hygxa] huxa *V* upp] *om. V* 22 heidran*n*] hlydin*n A* 23 Allt:] allt mitt **C** *A*; Allt mitt *V* 24 en*n*] hin*n A* 25 himnan*n*a] himna *V* 27 s*e*m h*ann*] *om. A* sialfr] *likely an archaism from an earlier exemplar C.* 28 upp] ut *V* 30 Allt mitt traust] allt: *A*; Allt mitt *V* 31 vald] ~~ran*n*~~ valld *A* 33 ut*an*] *om. V* þeim] *add.* eirnen *V* 35 gialld] *gialld is written in the margin A* 37 Allt mitt:] allt: *A*

[6] Ban*n*adi Gud þ*ad* skylldi skie
s*e*m skadi var þ*eir*ra barna
at bergia af þvi blomgudu trie
er bar þ*an*n frodleiks kiarna
giorvallt an*n*at gull *og* fie
giordi þ*ei*m einskis varna.
Allt mitt:

[7] Sathan ofundar sælu þa
er h*an*n sier adam setta
kostgiæfer þ*an*n krok at sia
m*e*d klokskap sin*n*a pretta
at virding þ*eir*re vellti h*an*n fra
og s*e*m vodasaml*e*gast detta.
Allt:

[8] Skrafar h*an*n þa s*e*m talizt vid tveir
traudl*e*ga mä eg þ*ad* lijda
at m*adur* sie gior af molldu *og* leir
mega þar sælu bijda
þ*vi* mu*n* e*g* kostgiæfa *og* keppa meir
um koll þ*an*n ofan*n* at rijda.
Allt:

[9] Evo skal eg at andin*n* kvad
orms j liking fin*n*a
h*an*a mun hægra *og* hygg eg þ*ad*
helld*ur* en*n* adam gin*n*a
ef bondan*n* lieti hun beygia af
0 odordu*m* ecki sin*n*a.
Allt:

---

40 blomgudu] blomst*ur*s *A*; blomstur *V* 41 er] sem *V* 42 gull] Goss *V* 44 Allt mitt:] allt: *A*; *om*. *V* 46 er h*an*n sier] er si*er* h*an*n *A*; sem sier hann *V* 47 sia] fa *V* 49 vellti h*an*n] han*n* vellte *V* 50 *ok*] *om*. *V* vodasaml*e*gast] vodaligast *V*; *add*. ad *V* 51 Allt] *om*. *V* 53 traudl*e*ga] trautt *V* eg] *add*. ei *V* 54 m*adur*] Maduren *V* sie gior] skaptur *V* 55 mega] *og* mega *A*; meige *V* þar] þa *A*, *V* 56 þ*vi*... kostgiæfa] eg skal þui kosta *V* 57 þ*ann*] þau *A* 58 Allt:] allt mitt: **C** *A*; *om*. *V* 61 eg] e / *sic in V* 63 beygia] bergia *A*; bregda *V* 64 *Beginning of 11r damaged C.* 0 odordu*m*] *ok* bodordu*m* *A*, *V*

[10] Bryni*ar* sig med systrum siau
svikari allra allda
ooopt *og* reidi hatur *og* spie
hionin*n* munu þe*ss* giallda
70 feinga eg un*n*id fyrstu tvo
j fiotru*m* sk*al* eg þau hallda.
Allt mitt:

[11] Orm*ur*in*n* fra eg evo fan*n*
og gior*er* svo ordu*m* vikia
75 sæl erttu *og* s*vo* þin*n* man*n*
sett j virding slika
sie yck*ur* e*ck*i sett f*yrir* ban*n*
af sælum himna rijkia.
Allt:

[12] Eva svarar *og* seig*er* svo sie
ef san*nl*ega verd*ur* kan*nat*
utan*n* eplid af einu alldin*n* tre
er ockur þver*rl*ega ban*n*at
daudin*n* er vijs ef sk*al* svo skie
85 skiot*ur* en*n* ecki an*n*at.
Allt:

[13] Hefur mier ed san*n*a sagt
af syndu*m* yckar fleira
þa list mier vera hin minsta mackt
90 s*vo* mun yck*ur* þetta eira
þið hafid þa alla heimsins mackt
heid*ur* *og* vijsdom meira.
Allt:

---

66 *B begins here*. siau] VII *V* 67 svikari] suik*ar*in *B*, *V* 68 ooopt] heipt *A*, *V*; oeipt *B* 69 þe*ss*] þe*tt*a *B* 70 feinga] feooo*a* *A*; fieno*o* *B* un*n*id] *add*. hin *V* 71 þau] þeim *V* 72 Allt mitt:] *om*. *B*, *V* 73 eg] *add*. ad *A*, *B*, *V* 74 gior*ir* svo ordu*m*] s*vo* gior*ir* ordu*m* *A*; Ordum gjører so *V* 75 *ok*] *missing due to damage A* 77 e*ck*i] eckert *V* 78 sælum] sæld*um* *B*; Sæmdum *V* 79 Allt:] Allt mitt t*ra*ust: **C** *A*; *om*. *B*; Allt mitt *V* 81 ef] *om*. *B* 82 utan*n*] *om*. *V* 86 Allt:] Allt mitt t*ra*ust: **C** *A*; *om*. *B*; Allt mitt Traust er under þeim *V* 87 hefur] hafir *A*, *V*; *add*. þu *A*, *B*, *V* ed] hid *A*, *B* 88 syndu*m*] syndun*um* *B*; Sæmdum *V* 89 minsta] mesta *B* 90 s*vo*] *og V* mun] megi *B* 91 mackt] ackt *B*; fragt *V* 92 vijsdom] v*ir*di*n*g *B* 93 Allt:] Allt m*itt* *A*; *om*. *B*, *V*

[14] Orad list mier e0 eva kvad
ut af þvi at breyta
ut*an* e*g* siae þi*er* eire þ*ad*
ef þu vog*ar* at þreyta
og ef þig skad*ar* um ecki par
eplis mun eg þa neyta.
Allt:

[15] Ormurin*n* svarar med illzku mauk
at eplinu giordi vikia
eta ma eg þui vid illzku tauk
j aullu sk*al* eg mig likia
eg er folgin*n* ad*ur* i sauk
vid faud*ur* himnan*n*a rijkia.
Allt:

[16] Svo sviksamle*g*a s*e*m sagt er af
sathan giordi at spialla
at h*ann* eplid *og* an*n*ad gaf
efu at hun skylldi falla
gledile*g*a gast h*en*ne ad
og giordi á̋ Adam kalla.
Allt:

[17] Bid*ur* hu*n* h*ann* at bijta upp á̋
og bydzt at ho*nu*m at rietta
Adam ried at ansa þä
ock*ur* er ban*n*at þetta.
dauda hiet mier drottin*n* sia
s*e*m dæm*ir* allt hid rietta.
Allt:

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94 e0] ad *A, B, V* 95 þvi] þ*es*su *B, V* 100 Allt:] *om. B*; Allt mitt *V* 101 illzku] andans *A, B, V* 102 giordi] giører *V*; *add.* at *A, B, V* 103 ma] sk*al V* þui] þin*n A* vid] *om. V* 104 sk*al*] ma *V* 105 folgin*n*] fallen *B, V* 106 himnan*n*a] him*n*a *B, V* 107 Allt:] Allt mitt: **C** *A*; *om. B* 108 af] f*ra B* 110 eplid] eple *B* *og*] enn *V* 111 hun skylldi] skyllde hun *V* 112 gledile*g*a] gledile*g*ana *A, B* 113 giordi] gi*o*rer *B* 114 Allt:] Allt m*itt*: *A, V*; *om. B* 115 hu*n*] *om. B* h*ann*] honum *V* upp ai] uppa *V* 119 sia] sa *B, V* 120 hid] ed *V* 121 Allt:] Allt mitt: **C** *A*; *om. B*

[18] hvert ætlar þu ed Eva kvad
at þig muni eg vilia pretta
þvi eta mattu ecki par
angr giorer mi*er* þetta
Adam tok *og* at j stad
þ*ad* ad ho*nu*m giordi hu*n* rietta.
Allt:

[19] Ept*er* þetta stundl*e*ga starf
bar stora neyd til handa
af augsyn þ*ei*rra orm*u*rin*n* hvarf
en*n* adam leit þau standa
hropl*e*ga nakin*n* so hyliazt þarf
han*n* hugsar nu sin*n* vanda.
Allt:

[20] Fara þau nu *og* fela s*ig* fliott
þvi falsarin*n* hefr þau prettad
nockra lima þau skam*m*azt skiott
skilia ma vel þetta
hrædandizt þa hefndar gnogt
s*e*m hier f*yrer* mun þ*ei*m detta.
Allt:

[21] Drottin*n* spyr hvar Adam er
og þau hionin*n* bædi
ed*ur* fari þid nu at felazt f*yrer* mier
ef feingit hafi þid giædi
þvi braust þu þ*ad* s*e*m baud eg þi*er*
edur ber þu nu meire frædi.
Allt.

---

122 hvert] Huortt *A, B, V* ed] ad *A, B, V* 123 muni] mun *A* 124 þvi eta mattu] eta mattu þui *A, V*; eta mattu fyst þ*vi B* 125 mi*er*] m*ig B* 127 þ*ad*] sem *V* þ*að*...rietta] þ*ad* hu*n* gi*or*di at ho*nu*m rieta *B* 128 Allt:] *om. B* 129 stundl*e*ga] *add.* hid *A*; stundlegt *V* 130 bar] *add.* þ*au B* 131 af] *om. B*; ur *V* þ*ei*rra] *add.* ad *A, V* 132 leit] sa *B* standa] *only* stand *is visible due to damage A* 133 hyliazt] hylia *V* 134 hugsar] hugx*ar A*; huxar *V* nu] um *V* 135 Allt:] *om. A, B*; Allt mitt *V* 136 Fara] F0ra *B* *ok*] at *B, V* 137 þau] *only þ is visible due to damage A*; *written in the margin B* 138 nockra] nackt*ar A, B*; naktra *V* lima] Liman*n*a *V* þau] *om. V* 140 hefndar] hefnda *A, B* gnogt] gnott *V* 141 mun] ma *B* þ*ei*m] þ*au B* 142 Allt:] A*llt A*; *om. B, V* 143 Drottin*n*] 0000ten*n B due to damage* 146 ef] ad *V* giædi] 00æde *B due to damage* 147 braust þu] brauztu *A*; buztu *B* 149 Allt:] A*llt A*; *om. B, V*

[22] Þvi dirfdizt þu at drottin*n* kvad
um daudan*n* ecki at sin*n*a
Adam ried at ansa j stad
s*e*m ei er h*an*s brot at min*n*a
ch*ris*te vill nu ken*n*a þ*ad*
at konu liet hann sig ginna.
Allt:

[23] Fra eg at Evo fretti ad
fader himna rijkia
þvi bodordu*m* hefdi hun brugdit af
bond*ann* giort at svikia
oradit þ*ad* orm*ur*in*n* gaf
eft*er* giord eg vikia.
Allt:

[24] En*n* ordslægi orm*ur*in*n* sa
eva liet skraf af lietta
breytt hefd eg hvorgi bodordu*m* fra
*o*g bondin*n* giortt hid riett<a>
ef skapad hefder þu e*i* skepnu þa
s*e*m skam*m*l*e*ga giordi at pretta.
Allt mitt:

---

[150] Þvi] Þ00 *damaged B* þu] þid nu *V* at] ef *A* [153] sem] *om. V* h*an*s brot] b*r*ot h*an*s *B* at] *inserted above the line B* [156] Allt:] *om. B, V* [157] at] *om. B* [158] himna] himnan*n*a *A* [159] bodordu*m*] Bodorde *V* [160] bond*a*n] *o*g bondan*n A, B, V* [161] oradit] orad *B*; Oraade *V* þ*að*] þui *V*; *add.* sem *B, V* orm*ur*in*n*] or000000. *damaged B* [162] giord] giordi *A*; giorda *B* [163] Allt:] *Allt*: **C** *A*; *om. B* [164] En*n*] Hin*n V* orm*ur*in*n*] *unreadable due to damage B* sa] so *B* [165] eva liet skraf] s*e*m allt liezt skr*a*pa *A, B*; sem allt ried skrafa *V* [166] hefd] hefda *V* hefd eg hvorgi bodordu*m*] *unreadable due to damage B*; bodordu*m*] Bodorde *V* [167] *ok* bondin*n*] nie ad Bonda *V* hid riett] hid rietta *A*; 000 0ietta *damaged B*; ad rietta *V* [168] þu] *om. B, V* ei] e*c*ki *B* [169] at] *om. B*; mig *V* giordi] gi*o*rd0 *damaged B* [170] Allt mitt:] Allt *A*; *om. B, V*

[25] Eg gaf adam ^evo þi*er*^
til yndis *og* godra rada
en*n* nu vilie þid kyndug ken*n*a mi*er*
klokskap yckar rada
þvi verdr at setia harda hi*er*
hegning yck*ur* brada.
A:

[26] Adam far þu ur augsyn mi*er*
og þid hionin*n* bædi
skin*n*kyrtla tvo skicka eg þier
skal þ*ad* yckar klædi
born mun Eva giefa af si*er*
bædi m*ed* sorg og mædi.
Allt.

[27] J daudan*n* fullan*n* dalin*n* Ebron
drottin*n* baud þ*ei*m vikia
f*yrer* logbrot sitt *og* lifsins tion
er lietu þau sig svikia
flæmduzt svo hin fyrstu hion
fra faud*ur* himna rijkia.
Allt.

---

171 *evo þier is written in the margin of C* eg] *unreadable due to damage B* gaf] *noted in the margin A* 172 *ok*] *om. B* rada] næda *V* 173 en*n*] *om. V* 174 yckar] yckra *V* 175 vordr] *r is barely visible C*; h000 *B*; *add.* eg *B, V* 177 A:] Allt m*itt*: *A*; *om. B, V* 178 far þu] fardu *D* augsyn] a00syn *B* 180 tvo] *om. B* skicka] skick *A* 181 skal] sk*u*lu *A, B, V* 182 giefa] geta *A, B*; bera *V* 184 Allt.] *om. B* 185 daudan*n*] dauda *A, B, V* dalin*n*] dal *V* 186 baud þ*ei*m] þeim baud *V* þ*ei*m] þ*au B* 187 log brot] Laga Brot *V* 188 er] ad *V* 189 flæmduzt] flæduzt *A* hin] hi*n*u *B*; enu *V* 190 *A ends after 'himna'* himna] himn*ana B* 191 Allt.] *om. B, V*

[28] Þau bygdu nu se*m* bokin*n* tier
og bar þa neyd til handa
at þe*ir*ra kyn se*m* ^kun*n*^igt er
vard j kvolu*m* *og* stor*um* van*n*da
unzt himna k*ongur*in*n* sialfr sier
at svo mä ecki standa.
Allt:

[29] Allur skadi *og* and*ar* tion
er á̈ Adams kyn ried detta
vill himna k*ongur*in*n* hialp*ar* von
og hugnad veita um þe*t*ta
þvi sendi h*ann* sin*n* sæta son
syndu*m* j b*ur*tt at lietta.

[30] Han*n* liet berazt af Mariu mey
m*e*d myskun*n* heilagx anda
þan*n* pindu á̈ krossi gydinga grey
grædara himins *og* landa
f*yrer* vora skulld h*an*n villde dey
at vier vær*um* e*i* hia fianda.
Allt:

[31] Son*ur* Mariu sigrin*n* van*n*
sath*an* batt *og* meidde
allt helvijti eyddi han*n*
og adam j burttu leiddi
þ*ad* hialpar rad se*m* faderin*n* fan*n*
flockin*n* allan*n* greiddi.
Allt.

---

192 bygdu] biuggu *V* 193 þa] þau *V* neyd] Naud *V* 194 kun*n*igt] *kunn is noted in the margin C* 195 vard] *om. V* stor] sto*r*um *B, V* 196 sialfr] *likely an archaism from an older exemplar C*; bretta *B* 198 Allt:] *om. B, V* 200 er] *om. V* ried] mun *V* Adams...ried] adam nam skiott *B* 202 *og*] *om. V* hugnad] huggan*n B*; huggun *V* 203 sendi] send*ir B* hann] ho*nu*m *B* son] *om. B* 204 syndu*m*] f*ra* syndunu*m B* i] *om. B* at] *om. B* 206 heilagx] heilags *B*; heilax *V* 207 þan*n*] þau *B* 209 vora] vorar *V* skulld] Synder *V* 210 at] so *V* vier] *om. V* vær*um*] *illegible due to damage B* 211 Allt:] *om. B, V* 214 eyddi] ey000 *damaged B* 215 i] *om. B* 217 flockin*n*] flokan *V* 218 Allt] *om. B*; Allt mitt Traust er under þeim *V*

[32] Han*n* for þa upp s*e*m fra er nu sagt
til faud*ur og* heilagx anda
eirn *og* þren*n*r j eingla makt
s*e*m odaudl*e*ga mun standa
man*n*eskiun*n*i hef*ur* lucku lagt
og leyst fra kvolu*m ok* vanda.
Allt.

[33] Hingat kem*ur* m*e*d hvellan*n* rom;
huggari lyds *og* l*a*nda
yfer at seigia þ*a*n*n* ognar dom
s*e*m æfin*n*l*e*ga sk*al* standa
ander skiptast vid eingla blom
en*n* iller j kvaler *og* vanda.
Allt.

* *V includes an extra verse inserted here*:
Þad veite oss enn mæte Mariu Son
Millding Himens *og* Landa
ad hliota mættum vier Heill og von
og hialp hins helga Anda
so drøgunst alldrei j Diǫfla dom
nie Daar hins jlla fianda

[34] Odar smidit Adamz hi*er*
endazt mun fyrst at sin*n*e
lagfæri sa s*e*m betri er
og Gud gief*ur* til min*n*e
bidiandi sieut þi*er* nu *fyrir* mier
svo myskun*n* guds eg fin*n*e.
Allt mitt traust er under þ*ei*m.
med ordi skapadi þen*n*an*n* heim.

---

[219] Han*n*] H0n*n* *B* upp] *om*. *B* er nu] var *V* [220] til...heilagx] *og* fǫd*ur* heilags *B*; til fǫdurs og heilags *V* [221] eirn] greidde ein *B* [222] s*e*m] *om*. *B* [224] *B ends here* [225] Allt] *om*. *V* [227] huggari] Herran *V* lyds] Himens *V* [229] sk*al*] mun *V* [230] blom] hliom *V* [231] kvaler] Kuøl *V* [232] Allt.] *om*. *V* [234] mun fyrst] nu *V* [235] betri er] les *og* sier *V* [236] Gud gief*ur* til] leggie vel j *V* [237] bidiandi sie ut þi*er* nu] bidie aller Bragnar *V* [238] myskun*n*] blessun *V* [240] med] sem med *V*

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SUMMARY

Ecchos of Eden's End: *Adams óður* as a Poetic Hymn and Its Source in *Konungs skuggsjá*

Keywords: biblical studies, Icelandic poetry, the Fall of Man, hymns, demonology, Apocrypha

This article provides an edition of the previously unedited medieval poem *Adams óður* and demonstrates that it is a poetic rendition of the Christian story of the Fall of Man found in the thirteenth-century prose text *Konungs skuggsjá*. In addition to tracing the poem's source, I show that the poem was sung as a hymn. *Adams óður* is an anonymous poem that retells what happened in the Garden of Eden that led to Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise. Several prominent themes that are shared between *Konungs skuggsjá* and *Adams óður* are examined in the article, including the serpent who bites the apple first; the talking serpent; Lucifer, Satan, and *andinn* as names for the Devil; Lucifer's jealousy; and the idea that humans were created to replace fallen angels. Appendix I provides a comparison between the poem and prose, and Appendix II provides an edition of *Adams óður* based on three parchment manuscripts and one early printed source.

ÁGRIP

Bergmál frá aldingarðinum Eden: *Adams óður* sem andlegur kveðskapur og tengsl hans við *Konungs skuggsjá*

Efnisorð: biblíufræði, íslenskur kveðskapur, fall mannsins, sálmar, djöflafræði, apókrýfar bókmenntir

Í þessari grein er birt fræðileg útgáfa á áður óútgefnu miðaldakvæði, *Adams óður*, og sýnt fram á að kvæðið er skáldleg úrvinnsla kristinnar frásagnar um syndafall mannkyns eins og hún birtist í prósaverkinu *Konungs skuggsjá* frá þrettándu öld. Auk þess sem rakið er til hvaða heimilda kvæðið sækir er sýnt fram á að það hafi verið sungið sem sálmur. *Adams óður* er höfundarlaust kvæði sem segir frá atburðum í aldingarðinum Eden sem leiddu til brottreksturs Adams og Evu úr Paradís. Í greininni eru greind nokkur veigamikil þemu sem tengja saman *Konungs skuggsjá* og *Adams óð*, þar á meðal: að ormurinn bíti fyrst í eplið; talandi ormur; nafnanotkun djöfulsins – *Lúsífer, Satan* og *andinn*; öfund Lúsífers; og sú hugmynd að mannkynið hafi verið skapað til að taka sæti hinna föllnu engla. Í viðauka I er að finna samanburð á kvæðinu og prósaefninu, en í viðauka II er birt útgáfa á *Adams óð* byggð á þremur skinnhandritum og einni prentaðri útgáfu.

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