

The Old Norse-Icelandic Legend of Saints Mary Magdalen and Martha

by

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For my daughter, Astrid:  
my greatest accomplishment.

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**THE OLD NORSE-ICELANDIC LEGEND OF SAINTS MARY MAGDALEN AND MARTHA**

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This dissertation presents a new edition of the Old Norse-Icelandic legend of Saints Mary Magdalen and Martha, extant in the late medieval Icelandic manuscripts NoRA 79 fragm. (ca. 1350), AM 233a fol. (ca. 1350-1375), AM 235 fol. (ca. 1400), Stock. Perg. 2 fol. (ca. 1425-1445), and AM 764 4to (ca. 1376-1386). The edition is preceded by an introduction comprising four chapters, which detail the origins and developments of the legends and cults of Mary Magdalen and Martha in the West, and in Scandinavia and Iceland in particular. The introductory chapters also provide codicological, paleographic, and orthographic descriptions of the manuscripts preserving the legend. They moreover present a discussion of noteworthy literary features and an examination of the legend's Latin sources, which range from the Vulgate to works of the Church Fathers to Vincent de Beauvais' encyclopedic work, *Speculum historiale*.

An analysis of the Old Norse-Icelandic text as compared to the various Latin sources reveals that the five manuscripts of the legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha constitute an original compilation, preserved in NoRA 79 fragm., and three redactions derived at one or more removes from this exemplar. These comprise: (a) a redaction represented by AM 235 fol. and Stock. Perg. 2 fol., *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu I*; (b) a redaction represented by AM 233a fol., *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu II*; and (c) a redaction represented by AM 764 4to, *Af Mǫrtu*. The surviving text of the original compilation in NoRA 79 fragm. and the three redactions are edited separately following the introductory chapters.

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## CHAPTER 1

### THE LEGENDS OF SAINTS MARY MAGDALEN AND MARTHA

A familiar account in the Christian New Testament is that of the sisters from Bethany, Mary and Martha, who took Jesus into their home as an honored guest and whose brother, Lazarus, Jesus raised from the dead. Although the only canonical accounts of Mary and Martha of Bethany are in Luke and John, in the centuries following the death of Jesus until the present day these sisters' names came to be identified with much more than what is recorded in the gospels. Mary of Bethany was eventually conflated with Mary Magdalen, the follower of Jesus who was possessed by seven devils and was the first witness of the resurrection, as well as the unnamed sinner in Luke. She was portrayed as a repentant prostitute who, in some accounts, traveled to Ephesus after the resurrection, and in others, converted the heathens in Marseilles before retreating to the woods to spend her remaining years as an ascetic. Martha, by extension, became the sister of this composite Mary Magdalen. She, too, journeyed to Marseilles and then to Tarascon, where she conquered a dragon and worked various miracles before her death. This chapter details the origins and developments of the legends of Mary Magdalen and Martha, beginning with the biblical sources and ending with the apocryphal legends that defined these two holy women during the Middle Ages, in order to provide context for a discussion of the sister saints' legends and cults in the medieval North.

#### The Sisters in Biblical Tradition

##### *Martha*

“Martha” is derived from the Aramaic *mārtā* or *mārtā'*, meaning “lady” or “mistress” (D’Angelo 2001a: 114). The name occurs only three times in the gospels, and is used to refer to

just one woman: the sister of Mary and Lazarus. Martha makes her first and best-known biblical appearance in Luke 10:38-42, where she and Mary act as hostesses to Jesus and his companions. The evangelist relates that during the visit, Mary “sat at the Lord’s feet and listened to what he was saying” whereas “Martha was distracted by her many tasks” (10:39-40).<sup>1</sup> Martha, frustrated with her sister for failing to do her fair share of the housework, says to Jesus, “Lord, do you not care that my sister has left me to do all the work by myself? Tell her then to help me” (10:40). Susan Haskins (1993) points out that Martha’s criticism of her sister was not unfounded: “According to Jewish custom, a woman’s role was to serve: it is therefore the younger sister’s duty to assist” (18). But rather than support Martha’s position, Jesus defends Mary: “Martha, Martha, you are worried and distracted by many things; there is need of only one thing. Mary has chosen the better part, which will not be taken away from her” (Luke 10:41-42). No mention is made of Martha in either the Gospel of Mark or the Gospel of Matthew, but John 11:1-12:8 tells that Martha was living in the village of Bethany with her siblings Mary and Lazarus and that the sisters and brother had a special relationship with Jesus: “Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus” (John 11:5). It is then related that Lazarus had fallen ill and died, prompting Jesus, who had earlier received a message from the sisters, to come to Bethany. After speaking to Martha and Mary, Jesus goes to Lazarus’ tomb and raises him from the dead (John 11:45). In the next chapter, John describes the feast at Bethany, where Martha serves her guests and is once again preoccupied with her chores, while Mary anoints Jesus’ feet with fragrant oils and dries them with her hair. Matthew 26:6-13 and Mark 14:3-9 also detail the anointing, but report that it took place at the house of Simon the Leper. No woman resembling Martha is present in these accounts.

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<sup>1</sup> All biblical translations in this chapter are from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (2007).



Martha is portrayed in much the same way by Luke and John, as active, pragmatic, and outspoken. In the Gospel of Luke, she takes charge of household duties and meal preparations, and is contrasted with her sister, Mary, whom Martha rebukes in front of her guests for not helping her with these tasks. In the Gospel of John, Martha's practical nature manifests itself when, after Jesus comes to resurrect Lazarus, she reproaches him for not coming sooner, noting that her brother's body will have started to decay (D. Peters 1994: 150).<sup>2</sup> But in the same scene, a more theologically-minded side of Martha emerges when she and Jesus engage in a discussion regarding the resurrection of the dead (John 11:21-27). This leads her to declare that she believes Jesus to be the Son of God, "he who is coming into the world" (John 11:27)—a confession of faith that Diane E. Peters (1994) points out is analogous to Peter's recognition of Christ as Savior in Matthew 16:16 (149). It is most certainly the consistency of Martha's character and her portrayal as practical and active that made it so easy for both early and medieval biblical commentators to allegorize her as the ideal representative of the active life, seen in contrast to the contemplative life, whose representative was the composite Mary Magdalen.

## *Mary*

### 1. Mary of Bethany

Nowhere in the gospels does Martha appear without her sister, Mary of Bethany.<sup>3</sup> Mary, whose name is derived from the Hebrew *Miriam* or *Miriamme* (Limberis 2001: 116), is perhaps best remembered for her role in the previously cited passage from Luke 10:38-42, where she is compared favorably to her more practically-inclined sister, Martha. While Martha busies about,

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<sup>2</sup> The majority of my information on the development of the legend of Martha of Bethany comes from works by Diane E. Peters, who has done some of the most extensive research on the subject in English.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Rose D'Angelo (2001a) sheds light on an interesting theory on the relationship between Mary and Martha which suggests that they were not sisters, but companions of a different sort: "The title "sister," which applies to Martha as well as Mary, may indicate kin, erotic partners, and Christians in general, as well as specific roles in the mission. Here sisterhood may represent not blood relationship, but a shared commitment to the mission and perhaps to each other, hinting at a prehistory of women's same-sex commitments" (115-116).

assuming the role of hostess to Jesus and his companions, Mary sits at Jesus' feet and listens to his teachings, thereby choosing "the better part" (Luke 10:42). Luke's use of the phrase "at his feet" in his description of Mary's actions during Jesus' visit to Bethany has been interpreted as a reference to a disciple learning from a teacher. In fact, the phrase is comparable to Acts 22:3, in which Paul claims that he was educated "at the feet of" Gamaliel, a famous teacher (D'Angelo 2001b: 119). It has also been noted that "[t]his enigmatic account affirms the importance of listening to Jesus and at the same time the account shows Jesus' openness to and acceptance of women among his followers" (Soards 2007: 118).

As mentioned above, John 11:1-12:8 gives an account of how Jesus came to Bethany in order to raise Lazarus from the dead. In the first part of John 11, Mary is absent, staying at home and grieving over Lazarus while Martha and Jesus discuss theological matters. It is only after Martha summons her sister that Mary enters the scene, weeping, and says to Jesus, "Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died" (11:32). She does not appear again until the description of the feast at Bethany in John 12:1-8, where she occupies a more prominent role. Mary Rose D'Angelo (2001b) elaborates: "Mary's only speech repeats Martha's reproachful greeting word for word (11:31; compare v. 21); she disappears from the story after speaking. In 12:1-8, Mary takes center stage; Martha is introduced to the scene as one having 'served' (*diēkonei*) and Lazarus as one of the guests" (119). At the feast, Mary anoints Jesus' feet. This scene resembles two other stories in the Bible: Luke 7:36-50 (see below) and Mark 14:1-11, which recounts an anointing at Bethany near the time of Passover, when an unnamed female prophet anoints Jesus on his head and designates him the messiah. In much the same way as Mark, John sets his anointing story in Bethany, near the time of Passover and Jesus' death. Mary anoints Jesus, using pure and fragrant nard that is said to be worth three hundred denarii (John 12:3-5). She is criticized, particularly by Judas Iscariot, for using such expensive ointment, but Jesus

defends her (John 12:7-8; compare to Mark 14:8-9). After anointing Jesus' feet, Mary wipes them with her hair, a gesture that foreshadows Jesus' later actions when he washes and wipes his disciples' feet (see John 13:1). Mary's act of anointing Christ's feet is interesting, as it is an intimate task normally designated to a special disciple or a wife (D'Angelo 2001b: 120). John's account also recalls the image of the female lover in the Old Testament Song of Solomon, who carries nard and presents it to the king: "While the king was on his couch, my nard gave forth its fragrance" (Song of Solomon 1:12). D'Angelo (2001b) argues that "The reference [to the Song of Solomon] adds the messianic overtones of kingly anointing, while retaining and intensifying the erotic charge. Thus Mary's gesture identifies her as disciple, perhaps *diakonos*, and as friend of Jesus, but possibly also as a prophetic figure designating the messianic king" (120).

## 2. Luke's sinner

In the late sixth century, Mary of Bethany was conflated with two other biblical women—the unnamed sinner in Luke and Mary Magdalen. The first of these, commonly referred to as Luke's sinner, arrives uninvited to a feast and washes Jesus' feet with her tears, dries them with her hair, and anoints and kisses them. In Luke, Jesus' feet are anointed at a feast at the home of Simon, who in this account is designated "the Pharisee" (Luke 7:36) instead of "the Leper" (Mark 14:3). The woman who anoints Jesus' feet is identified as a sinner, and her gesture, which involves standing behind Jesus, washing his feet with her tears, wiping them dry with her hair, kissing them, and then anointing them is one that indicates penitence (Luke 7:37-38). Simon the Pharisee silently disapproves of the woman's gesture and asks himself why Jesus would let a sinner touch him (Luke 7:39). Jesus seems to sense Simon's disapproval, which prompts him to relate the parable of the two debtors (Luke 7:40-42). Afterwards, Jesus asks Simon whom the creditor loved more of the debtors, and Simon answers correctly, saying that the creditor surely

loved the one who cancelled the greater debt (Luke 7:43). Jesus compares the sinful woman to this debtor, noting that because of her great love, her sins are forgiven (Luke 7:44-49). He finally dismisses the unnamed sinner, saying “Your faith has saved you; go in peace” (Luke 7:50). The Greek *hamartolos* (ἁμαρτωλός, meaning “sinner”) is the word applied to this unnamed woman. Although the nature of her sins is ambiguous, it was later assumed that they were sexually-based (Haskins 1993: 16).<sup>4</sup>

### 3. Mary Magdalen

Undoubtedly the most famous and arguably the most important of the three female characters that came to form the composite Mary Magdalen was the Magdalen herself, the follower of Jesus and the first witness to his resurrection. Jansen (2001) notes that “[a]ll told, the four Gospels contain just twelve references to this woman, only one of which is independent of the passion and resurrection narratives” (21). This independent account is in Luke 8:23 and is an important one, as it later helped formulate the argument that Mary Magdalen and Luke’s unnamed sinner were the same person. In this episode, Jesus casts seven demons out of “Mary who is called Magdalen,” after which point she becomes his faithful disciple (Jansen 2001: 22).

Luke writes:

Soon afterwards he went on through cities and villages, proclaiming and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God. The twelve were with him, as well as some women who had been cured of evil spirits and infirmities: Mary, called Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out, and Joanna, the wife of Herod’s steward Chuz, and Susanna, and many others, who provided for them out of their resources (Luke 8:1-3).

In his account of the crucifixion, Mark also tells that Mary Magdalen was one of the women who ministered to Jesus during his time in Galilee. The evangelist reports: “There were also women looking on from a distance; among them were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James

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<sup>4</sup> Haskins (1993) remarks that if her sins were sexual, a different word would be used to describe her, namely πόρνη, which can be translated into English as “harlot” (16).

the younger and of Joses, and Salome. These used to follow him and provided for him when he was in Galilee; and there were many other women who had come up with him to Jerusalem” (Mark 15:40-41). Mary Magdalen’s prominent place among Jesus’ female followers in these passages and elsewhere has also been noted. According to Carolyn Osiek (2001), whenever Mary Magdalen is mentioned as part of a group of women, her name is first. The only exception is John 19:25, where Jesus’ female family members are listed before the Magdalen. This suggests that she was an important figure, both in the time of Christ and during the first few centuries of Christianity (121).

Outside of the Lukan passage recounting how Jesus drove seven demons from Mary Magdalen, all that we know about this woman comes from the various passion and resurrection accounts. The gospel narrators relate her role at the crucifixion (Matthew 27:56, Mark 15:40, and John 19:25), the entombment (Matthew 27:61 and Mark 15:47), and the Easter Sunday scene in which she and Jesus’ other female disciples find him missing from the tomb (Matthew 28:1, Mark 16:1, Luke 24:10, and John, 20:1). With the exception of Luke, all the gospel accounts relate that Mary Magdalen was among the first to hear that Jesus had risen from the dead, from the angel(s) and Jesus himself.

The Gospel of Mark, which has been shown to be the oldest gospel account (Matera 2003: 183), relates that at the passion, Mary Magdalen watches “from a distance” with “Mary the mother of James the younger and of Joses, and Solome” (Mark 15:40). Afterwards, Joseph of Arimathea brings Jesus’ body to a tomb, and “Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses saw where the body was laid” (Mark 15:47). The Magdalen comes to the tomb on Easter morning, and she and the other women prepare to anoint Jesus’ body. When they arrive, an angel tells them that Jesus of Nazareth was risen. The women are instructed to “tell his disciples and Peter that he is going ahead of you to Galilee” (Mark 16:7). They flee the tomb, but are too afraid

to tell anyone what they saw. The longer ending of Mark, which is thought to have been written and appended to the gospel sometime in the second century, relates that Mary Magdalen, “from whom [Jesus] had cast out seven demons” (Mark 16:9) was the first witness to the resurrection (Horsley 2007: 91; Jansen 2001: 22). She tells Jesus’ disciples what she saw, but they do not believe her. Matthew’s account tells almost exactly the same story, with minor variations. For example, the Magdalen witnesses the passion with many other women, not just Salome and Mary the mother of James and Joses. Also, the woman who accompanies Mary Magdalen to the tomb is simply “the other Mary” (Matthew 27:61). In both Mark’s and Matthew’s accounts, Mary Magdalen encounters the risen Christ after seeing the angel, and is instructed to tell the disciples of the event. Luke’s passion and resurrection accounts, on the other hand, do not name Mary Magdalen until 24:10, when she and a group of women encounter the angels at the tomb and then tell the apostles what they saw. The major deviation in Luke’s account is that he does not relate that Mary Magdalen was the first to see the risen Christ. Instead, Luke tells that Jesus first revealed himself to two disciples traveling to Emmaus.

The Gospel of John, which postdates the synoptic gospels by at least a decade, gives perhaps the most interesting account of Mary Magdalen’s role in the resurrection (Brown and Moloney 2003: 909). Jansen (2001) remarks that John’s account “...differs not so much in content from Mark and Matthew’s accounts, but rather in its emphasis on Mary Magdalen’s encounter with the risen Christ. It is the most extended treatment of Mary Magdalen in any of the four Gospels” (23). Unlike the synoptic accounts, John does not show Mary Magdalen viewing the events of the passion from a distance, but instead places her at the cross with the Virgin Mary, Mary the wife of Clopas, and the disciple “whom he loved” (John 19:25-26). Jesus’ body is taken to the sepulchre, and “[e]arly on the first day of the week, while it was still dark, Mary Magdalene comes to the tomb and sees that the stone has been removed from the tomb” (John 20:1). She

then runs and tells Simon Peter and the “other disciple” that Jesus’ body was taken from the sepulchre. All three return to find the tomb empty, confirming Mary Magdalen’s report. The two apostles leave the scene, but the Magdalen remains, weeping. She then notices two angels sitting where Jesus’ body had been. The angels ask her why she is weeping, and she replies, “They have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid him” (John 20:13). After she says this, she turns around and sees a man she assumes to be the gardener, but who is in fact Jesus himself. Jesus asks Mary Magdalen why she is weeping and for whom she is looking. She responds by saying: “Sir, if you have carried him away, tell me where you have laid him, and I will take him away” (John 20:15). Jesus responds to the Magdalen by calling out her name (“Mary!” [John 20:16]). Mary in turn recognizes Jesus and calls him “Rabbouni,” the Hebrew word for master or teacher (Jansen 2001: 23). She reaches out to touch her Lord, but he tells her that she may not lay her hands on him: “Do not hold on to me, because I have not yet ascended to the Father” (John 20:17). Jesus instructs Mary Magdalen to go and tell his disciples of his resurrection, giving her specific instructions: “[Go] to my brothers and say to them, ‘I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God’” (John 20:17). The Magdalen does as Jesus asks, telling the disciples “I have seen the Lord” (20:18). Haskins (1993) remarks that it is “...here, in the Gospel of John, that Mary Magdalen appears as one of the several women of faith, and unequivocally as the first witness of the Empty Tomb and of the Risen Christ, the cornerstone of Christian belief; the first recipient of an apostolic commission, she becomes not only the herald of the “New Life,” but also the first apostle” (8).

### The Sisters in the Gnostic Gospels

By the mid-second century, the canonical Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were well established. But there were other alternative gospels in circulation around the same

time, namely those written and authorized by Gnostic Christians (Jansen 2001: 24).<sup>5</sup> The majority of the extant Gnostic texts are in the so-called Nag Hammadi Library, a fourth-century Coptic collection discovered in Egypt in 1945-1946 by an Arab peasant (Pagels 1989: xiii). Haskins (1993) writes,

By the beginning of the third century, Gnostic belief and orthodox Christianity were so enmeshed that large Gnostic Christian sects flourished all over the Roman Empire. The Gnostic desired to transcend all the evils of the world of humanity, and this he [the Gnostic] achieved through true knowledge, intelligible, and thus accessible, only to a select few, who were called “spirituals.” This *gnosis* was essentially mystical, concerning the nature of God and human existence, and the divine realm of being; it was revealed to initiates through secret writings and inner enlightenment (32).

Women often played a significant role in the Gnostic gospels as the ones who received *gnosis*, and Mary Magdalen and Martha were no exceptions. In fact, the biblical commentator Origen (ca. 185-254) highlights Martha’s role in his discussion of Gnostic sects in *Contra Celsum*, a major third-century work in which Origen refutes the writings of the Greek philosopher Celsus the Platonist.<sup>6</sup> He writes: “Celsus knows also of Marcellians who follow Marcellina, and Harpocratians who follow Salome, and others who follow Miramme [Mary Magdalen], and others who follow Martha” (Chadwick 1953: 312). The Marcellians may not have derived their name from Martha, but they purported to have received their secret knowledge from Martha and Mary Salome (Pagels 1989: 60).

Martha occupies her most prominent role in the Gnostic canon in the *Pistis Sophia*, a text which was probably first written in Greek but is now preserved only in a Coptic translation from the late fourth century (Haskins 1993: 41). The *Pistis Sophia* tells how, before his final ascension, the resurrected Christ returned to spend twelve years teaching his disciples. It is a conversation

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<sup>5</sup> Haskins (1993) defines Gnosticism as “...the collective name given to a variety of religious teachings which both existed before and were very much alive during the early centuries of the Christian era, teachings which emphasized salvation through secret knowledge, or *gnosis*. The name Gnosticism does not, in fact, refer to a particular group of believers, but rather to the various sects whose names derived from those of their founders, such as the Valentinians, Marcionites, or Basilideans; or, as in the case of the Phrygians, their place of origin; or, in that of the Ophites, from their worship of the snake (*ophis* in Greek)” (31-32).

<sup>6</sup> See Marcovich (2001) for an edition. For the work in translation, see Chadwick (1953).



between Jesus, his disciples, and several women, including Mary Salome, the Virgin Mary, Martha, and Mary Magdalen (Haskins 1993: 41). In the *Pistis Sophia*, Martha is portrayed as a humble, repentant sinner and an astute pupil, characteristics usually attributed to Mary Magdalen (through her association with Luke's unnamed sinner) and Mary of Bethany (who sat at the Lord's feet and listened). She interprets the Gnostic teachings and is lauded by Jesus, who tells her "Excellent, well done, Martha, thou blessed one" (Schmidt and MacDermot 1978: 163 and 177).

Martha also briefly appears in *The First Apocalypse of James*, a "revelation dialogue" involving Jesus and James, the Lord's brother (a term clearly meant in a spiritual sense). The Lord advises James: "When you speak these words of this [perception], encourage these [four]: Salome and Mariam [and Martha and Arsinoe ...]" (Parrott and Schoedel 1990: 267). While the context of this dialogue is unclear (due to lacunae in the text), these four were presumably encouraged to interpret Jesus' teachings for James (D. Peters 2008: 85). The same names appear together twice in the *Manichean Psalm Book* (ca. 340). Although not Gnostic text, this significant early apocryphal source records that it was Martha, not Mary Magdalen, who told the disciples the good news of Christ's resurrection. When the disciples do not believe her, Martha sends Mary Magdalen, and when the disciples doubt Mary, Jesus himself goes to them to announce his resurrection (D. Peters 1994: 151). A Coptic version of a second-century text generally known as *Epistula apostolorum* similarly tells that Martha was the first to announce the resurrection to the disciples (D. Peters 2008: 86).

Mary Magdalen, who was still mostly differentiated from Mary of Bethany and Luke's unnamed sinner, also plays a central role in the Gnostic gospels. Although she appears in a wide variety of Gnostic texts, a few feature the Magdalen prominently, namely the *Pistis Sophia*, the *Gospel of Philip*, and the *Gospel of Mary*. In these accounts, she is portrayed as a disciple and

visionary, the recipient of divine revelation, and the chosen one who brings *gnosis* to the other followers of Christ. It is not surprising that the Magdalen has such a key position in Gnostic literature, for as Pagels (1989) remarks, “Gnostic authors often attribute their own traditions to persons who stand *outside* the circle of the Twelve—Paul, Mary Magdalene, and James. Some insist that the Twelve—including Peter—had not received *gnosis* when they first witnessed to Christ’s resurrection” (22). Since in these Gnostic accounts the Magdalen is often contrasted with the figure of Peter, Pagels (1989) argues that she “represents the gnostic bid for leadership in the Christian community that challenged the episcopal authority of Peter’s successors” (14).

The *Pistis Sophia* is probably the longest and most elaborately developed Gnostic reference to Mary Magdalen (Haskins 1993: 41). In this text, she holds a special place because she is the one who, through divine *gnosis*, understands the mysteries of the faith more perfectly than the other apostles (Jansen 2001: 25). She takes on the role of questioner and is the one who elaborates upon Jesus’ words while he gives an account of Pistis Sophia’s fall and redemption (Haskins 1993: 47). She asks thirty-nine of the forty-six questions in the text, which provokes an outburst on Peter’s part. The Magdalen also plays a significant role in the *Gospel of Philip*, “...a compilation of statements pertaining primarily to the meaning and value of sacraments within the context of a Valentinian conception of the human predicament and life after death. [...]There are also a few stories about Jesus; they are similar to those in the early Christian apocryphal Gospels” (Isenberg 1990: 139). The Jesus of the *Gospel of Philip* has a clear preference for the Magdalen, and we are even told that he “[... loved] her more than [all] the disciples [and used to] kiss her [often] on her [...]” (Isenberg 1990: 139, 148). Jansen (2001) remarks that this passage clearly positions Mary Magdalen as Jesus’ favorite disciple, and results in a jealous rivalry among the male apostles (26).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The text includes some seemingly sexual passages (the kisses Jesus gives Mary), but Jansen (2001) argues that “Jesus’ kiss is a gift of grace, of *gnosis* or visionary understanding—bestowed on Mary Magdalen not despite her sex but precisely because of her sex” (26), which is in line with Karen King’s observation (qtd. in Jansen [2001]) that

The *Gospel of Mary* was discovered in the late nineteenth century (King 2003: 3). It is one of the most interesting sources of Mary Magdalen's life during and immediately after the life of Jesus, not least because it was named for her. The text, which was probably produced by an undetermined Gnostic sect in the second century, comprises two parts. In the first, Jesus, who has risen from the dead, instructs his disciples. When he leaves them, they are confused, since they do not understand Jesus' intentions for them. Mary Magdalen comforts the apostles, sharing with them the revelations Jesus gave to her privately. Several male disciples—Peter and Andrew in particular—do not believe that Jesus would have given this special knowledge to a woman, and an argument ensues. The Magdalen is brought to tears, but Levi mediates and the conflict is resolved, and the gospel ends with the apostles embarking upon their various missions (Clark and Richardson 1996: 33-34). According to Pagels (1989), the *Gospel of Mary* depicts Mary Magdalen as the disciple of Jesus who is most favored with visions and divine insight (22). Moreover, Jansen (2001) notes that here, "Mary Magdalen is both a prophet and the moral conscience of the disciples. She exhorts the other apostles to act on the Lord's precepts and reveals a vision in which Christ extols her constancy of faith" (25).

### The Development of the Sisters' Legends

#### *Martha*

There are very few references to Martha in the writings of the Church Fathers, but after Origen presented a homily on Luke 10:38-42 in the third century, the biblical figure Martha of Bethany began to figure prominently into exegetical literature (D. Peters 1994: 152). In his homily, Origen allegorizes Martha and her sister Mary of Bethany as representatives of the active and contemplative lives respectively, an identification which held until the seventeenth century

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"Prophecy is sometimes understood as a penetration of the body by a spirit, and thus sometimes conceived and expressed in sexual terms," in which the male is the penetrator and the female, the penetrated (26-27).

(Constable 1995: 15 and Haskins 1993: 20). D. Peters (1994) comments that it was “Origen’s homily [that] became a model for others after him who interpreted the scene. Martha symbolized action, the Synagogue and the Old Testament laws, and the Jews, while Mary symbolized contemplation, the Christian church and the new ‘spiritual law,’ and the Christian—the active/contemplative dichotomy was most influential” (52).<sup>8</sup> Among those who wrote about the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* dichotomy were John Cassian (ca. 365-435) and Augustine of Hippo (ca. 354-430). Both clearly favored Mary’s role and saw it as preferable to Martha’s. Augustine, however, believed Martha’s activity should not be condemned, as it represents life within this world, whereas Mary’s actions foreshadow life in the world to come (D. Peters 1996: 98-99). Ambrose of Milan (ca. 339-397) saw the two lives as complementary and intimately connected, and Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604) agreed with Augustine’s view that although the contemplative life was preferable, the active life was a necessary counterpart to a life of contemplation. He argued that the ideal state was one that incorporated both lives (D. Peters 1996: 100-101). The focus on her role as representative of the active life dominated the Church Fathers’ writing on Martha of Bethany, with the possible exception of a sermon attributed to the fourth-century bishop Ambrose of Milan, *De Salomone*, in which Martha is identified with the woman in Matthew 9:20, Mark 5:25 and Luke 8:43 who was healed of a blood issue. However, the sermon, and as such the identification of Martha with hemorrhissa, is probably medieval (D. Peters 2008: 120-121).

Brief entries in various medieval martyrologies, the earliest of which date from the late sixth century, suggest that Martha’s feast day was celebrated on January 19. The first of these references is to a feast of Mary and Martha on January 19 in a manuscript of the *Hieronymian martyrologium*, produced at Auxerre in 595. D. Peters (1994) argues that this designation “...was

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<sup>8</sup> For more on this topic, see Constable (1995: 14-16).

probably attributable to a copyist's error—the result of confusion between the names of the early Persian martyrs Marius and his wife Martha and those of Mary (Maria) and Martha of Bethany” (153). Other martyrologies and calendars, such as *Martyrologium venerabilis Bedae* (ca. 720) and *Martyrologium Usuardi* (ninth century), list the feast day of Martha and her brother, Lazarus, as December 17 (Giles 1843: 166 and *PL* 142 col. 810-812). The ninth-century *Martyrologium Adonis* even records the feast day of Martha as October 17, while Lazarus' is held on December 18 (*PL* 123: col. 379 and 418). The modern church calendar, however, has Martha's feast day on July 29.

D. Peters (1994) explains the shift to this date:

The custom of commemorating Martha's death on July 29 likely arose sometime between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries. By the twelfth century it was generally accepted that Lazarus and Mary Magdalene had travelled to Provence after the ascension of Christ. The inhabitants of Tarascon in Provence concluded that Martha probably accompanied her siblings, although no other town had “laid claim” to her relics. A search was undertaken in Tarascon, which already possessed a church dedicated to a St. Martha, and in 1187, the body of “Martha of Bethany” was discovered. It was after this time that Martha's cult began to flourish (153).

Two of the surviving versions of the life of Martha, namely the *Vita Pseudo-Marcilia* and the *Vita Beatae Mariae Magdalенаe*, list July 29 as the date of her death, and these legends date from time period when it became customary to celebrate Martha's feast day on July 29 (D. Peters 1994: 153).<sup>9</sup>

In the Middle Ages, Martha of Bethany walked in the shadow of her sister, Mary Magdalen, who, according to Luke, had chosen the better part (Bekker-Nielsen 1966: 471). As such, it is difficult to trace the development of the medieval cult of Martha. However, several sources indicate that a body of legend surrounding Martha of Bethany was in circulation during the Middle Ages. These comprise four major extant Latin documents, which probably date from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, around the time when the details of Martha's apocryphal life were well established. The earliest is the *Vita auct. Pseudo-Marcilia, interprete Pseudo-Syntycha*,

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<sup>9</sup> For the legends mentioned above, see Brunet (1910), Mycoff (1989), and Peters (1990).

a twelfth-century text attributed to Marcilia, Martha's handmaid.<sup>10</sup> Marcilia supposedly composed the text in Hebrew after Martha's death, and it was then translated into Latin by Syntex (D. Peters 1997: 460; 1994: 156).<sup>11</sup> The author of the *De vita Beatae Mariae Magdalенаe et sororis ejus Sanctae Martha*, who purports himself to be the late eighth- and early ninth-century German archbishop and theologian Rabanus Maurus, was probably instead a Cistercian living during the mid-twelfth century. This author likely drew from the *Vita auct. Pseudo-Marcilia*, *interprete Pseudo-Syntyche*, as did Vincent of Beauvais, a French Dominican, in the various chapters dedicated to Martha in his *Speculum historiale* (Haskins 1993: 154). But without a doubt the most concise as well as the most influential of the accounts of Martha's life in the Middle Ages is the one in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, the immensely popular and widely translated compilation of saints' lives dated to ca. 1260 (Granger Ryan 1993a: xiii-xiv).

Out of these four Latin legends of Martha, three seem to be closely related, namely the *Vita Pseudo-Marcilia* and the lives compiled by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Legenda aurea* and Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*. The fourth text, *De vita Beatae Mariae Magdalенаe*, most likely shared common sources with the three more closely related Latin legends, but this version differs in several ways (see below). Not all of these *vitae* were well known. In fact, it is unlikely that *De vita Beatae Mariae Magdalенаe* was used except in monastic life (D. Peters 1994: 158-159). It is probable that the Pseudo-Marcilia version of Martha's legend also had monastic origins, though not much is known of the text's history. The first mention of this legend is in the *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum*, a late fifteenth-century collection of saints' lives compiled by Boninus Mombritius, an Italian philologist and humanist. Vincent of Beauvais'

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<sup>10</sup> For a study of this text, see Peters (1996: 441-460). For an edition, see Peters (2008: 194-212).

<sup>11</sup> According to the legends of Mary and Martha that were originated in Provence, "Marcilia (Marcella, Martilla) was the woman who cried out to Jesus from the crowd "Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that you sucked" (Luke 11:27). From the twelfth century, St. Marcella's tomb was among those venerated in the basilica of the town of Saint-Maximin in Provence. A Sythex (Syntyche) is named in Philippians 4:2 as one of Paul's fellow workers for Christ" (Peters 1994: 156, n. 24).

monumental *Speculum maius*, completed in 1244 and dedicated to Louis IX of France, contained *Speculum historiale*, which gave a summary of world history from the earth's creation to 1250. Out of the three thousand eight hundred chapters that comprise this massive work, nine hundred are devoted to saints' lives, one of which is a composite legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha (D. Peters 1994: 156-159). While this account was undoubtedly better known than *De vita Beatae Mariae Magdalenae* and the *Vita Pseudo-Marcilia*, its influence pales in comparison to that of the *Legenda aurea*.

Jacobus de Voragine's life of Martha of Bethany begins with an account of Martha's family background. Jacobus writes that Martha was of royal lineage. Her father's name was Syrus, and he was a governor of Syria and other maritime lands. She inherited her wealth from her mother, Eucharis. Martha's bequest included three towns: Magdala, Bethany, and parts of Jerusalem. Jacobus is careful to note that Martha never had a husband or was intimate with any man. She "waited on the Lord and wanted her sister to do likewise, because, as she saw it, the whole world would not be enough to serve so great a guest" (Granger Ryan 1993b: 23).<sup>12</sup> Next are events taking place after Christ's ascension, "when the dispersion of the disciples occurred" (Granger Ryan 1993b: 23).<sup>13</sup> Martha was put on a rudderless boat along with her sister Mary Magdalen, her brother Lazarus, and "blessed Maximinus," who baptized the sisters and many others. The group drifted ashore at Marseilles. They went to the region surrounding Aix and evangelized the nation, and "Martha spoke eloquently and was gracious to all" (Granger Ryan 1993b: 23).<sup>14</sup>

Jacobus then relates that a ferocious dragon was living in a nearby forest between Arles and Avignon. It was "half animal and half fish, larger than an ox, longer than a horse, with teeth

<sup>12</sup> "Ministrabat autem domino nobilis hospita et sororem pariter ministrare volebat, quia videbatur sibi, quod ad serviendum tanto hospiti non sufficeret etiam totus mundus" (Graesse 1969a: 444).

<sup>13</sup> "...cum facta esset dispersio discipulorum" (Graesse 1969a: 444).

<sup>14</sup> "Erat autem beata Martha valde facunda et omnibus gratiosa" (Graesse 1969a: 444).

as sharp as horns and a pair of bucklers on either side of his body. This beast lurked in the river, killing all those who tried to sail by and sinking their vessels” (Granger Ryan 1993b: 23-24).<sup>15</sup> The dragon came from Galatia in Asia, and was the offspring of Leviathan, a ferocious water-serpent, and Onachus, an animal from Galatia “which shoots its dung like darts at pursuers within the space of an acre: whatever this touches is burned up as by fire” (Granger Ryan 1993b: 24).<sup>16</sup> The locals summoned Martha to help them deal with the dragon, which she subdued with holy water and a cross, allowing the region’s inhabitants to kill it with stones and lances. The place where the event occurred was subsequently named Tarascon, since the beast was called Tarasconus. Martha was granted permission from Maximinus and her sister, Mary Magdalen to remain in Tarascon, where she lived an austere life of prayer and fasting. She also performed various miracles, including reviving a young boy who drowned when trying to swim across a river in order to hear her preach. Jacobus relates that Martha, according to Ambrose, is the same woman as the one cured of a blood sickness.

During the last year of her life, Jesus revealed himself to Martha and informed her of the time of her death. A week before she died, Martha “heard the angelic choirs bearing her sister’s soul to heaven” (Granger Ryan 1993b: 24).<sup>17</sup> When Martha sensed that her own death was imminent, she instructed her companions to keep watch outside her chambers. Her guards fell asleep, and a strong gust of wind blew out all the lamps in her room. A group of evil spirits surrounded Martha and taunted her until her sister, Mary Magdalen, came carrying a torch and relit the candles, and Christ appeared, welcoming Martha into his heavenly home. When she was

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<sup>15</sup> “...medius animal, medius piscis, grossior bove, longio equo, habens dentes ut spata, acutos ut cornua, binis parmis ex utraque parte munitus, qui latens in flumine omnes transeuntes perimebat et naves submergebat” (Graesse 1969a: 444).

<sup>16</sup> “...quod in sectatores suos per spatium jugeris stercus suum velut spiculum dirigit et quidquid tetigerit, velut ignis exurit” (Graesse 1969a: 444). Peters (1994) writes that “Pliny described this remarkable animal in his *Natural History*, Book VIII, 15:40. It was a bull like-creature, noted for its ability to produce massive quantities of dung so pungent that it scorched pursuers like fire” (157, n. 30).

<sup>17</sup> “...angelicos choros sororis suae in coelum animam deferente audivit...” (Graesse 1969a: 445).



about to die, Martha had her companions take her outside “so that she might see the heavens, and asked that she be laid down upon ashes and a cross be held before her eyes” (Granger Ryan 1993b: 25).<sup>18</sup> She then asked that the passion in Luke’s gospel be read to her, and her spirit left her body after the words “Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.” Her funeral was conducted by the Lord himself as well as Bishop Fronto of Périgueux, who had been miraculously transported to Tarascon for this purpose.<sup>19</sup> Jacobus writes that many miracles took place at Martha’s tomb, including the baptism of Clovis, king of the Franks. He closes by noting that Marcilia, Martha’s handmaid, wrote the life of Martha before she “went to Slavonia and preached the Gospel of God there and, ten years after Martha’s death, fell asleep in the Lord” (Granger Ryan 1993b: 26).<sup>20</sup>

The three other major extant Latin versions—the legend found in Vincent of Beauvais’ *Speculum historiale*, the *Pseudo Marcilia* legend, and *De vita Beatae Mariae Magdlenae et sororis eius Sanctae Marthae*—tell more or less the same story, though each has its own distinctive character.

D. Peters (1997) writes:

The shortest of the four, the *Legenda aurea*, was written for inclusion in a collection of saints’ lives probably designed for popular distribution. It provides only a brief summary of the basic “facts” of Martha’s life. The Martha chapters of Vincent of Beauvais’ *Speculum historiale* include some additional commentary, but again are essentially “factual” descriptions of the saints’ background and activities. These are interspersed in the text among chapters describing the lives of other saints, in particular Mary Magdalene. The lengthy *Vita Beatae Mariae Magdalenae et sororis eius Sanctae Marthae* is in many respects a “story-tellers” version which reflects the author’s concern with embellishing the basic outlines of the legends of the saints from Bethany with additional narrative detail. The *Life* by Pseudo-Marcilia is the most interesting from a theological perspective. The author

<sup>18</sup> “...ut coelum posset videre, jussitque se in terra super cinerem poni et signum crucis coram se teneri...” (Graesse 1969a: 446).

<sup>19</sup> According to Peters (1994), “[t]his reference to the miraculous appearance of a saint at her funeral may have been grafted into the Martha legend as a result of confusion between St. Martha and the fourth century St. Martin of Tours. The account of the latter’s funeral, as recorded by Gregory of Tours in the first book of the *Miracles of St. Martin*, is very similar to that of Martha, with St. Ambrose of Milan officiating rather than St. Fronto. After Martha’s burial, numerous miracles took place at her tomb, including the healing of Clovis, king of the Franks. Again, the Martha/Clovis connection may have resulted from confusion between Martha and Martin. The latter was adopted by the Merovingians as their patron saint following Clovis conquest of Aquitaine in 507, and Gregory of Tours notes in his *History of the Franks* that it was Martin to whom Clovis paid allegiance” (158).

<sup>20</sup> Martilla “...postmodum in Slavoniam pergens et ibi evangelium Dei praedicans post decimum annum a dormitione Marthae in pace quievit” (Graesse 1969a: 447).

is concerned not only with preserving the biographical details of Martha's life but with commenting upon her significance (448-449).

Aside from the differing styles, intended audience, and foci of the four legends, they otherwise vary in relatively minor ways, for example in the extent to which they reference Martha's activities in the New Testament. Some versions include more miracles than others. For example, the *Pseudo-Marcilia* legend, *De vita beatae Mariae Magdalenae et sororis ejus Marthae*, and the *Speculum historiale* account relate how Martha turned water into wine at a banquet, while the *Legenda aurea* neglects to mention this miracle entirely. Also, both the *Speculum historiale* and the *Pseudo-Marcilia* legend include the association of Mary and Martha with the contemplative life and the active life respectively. In addition, the author of the *Pseudo-Marcilia* account also makes the unusual assertion that Martha should be seen as an archetype of the Christian church (D. Peters 1994: 157). Still, some elements seem to have been central to the medieval legend of Martha. For example, all four Latin versions include an account of the dispersal of Christ's disciples to various nations after the resurrection. Each tells the story of how Mary Magdalen, Martha, Lazarus, and many others were driven out of Palestine and washed ashore at Marseilles, where they proceeded to convert the local heathens to Christianity. Also common to all four versions is the dragon episode, which was obviously a popular component of the legend (D. Peters 1994: 157). There are various other fundamental plot elements common to each of the four extant Latin Martha legends, including the resurrection of the young boy who had drowned in the river, the episode that occurred the night before Martha's death, and the miraculous out-of-body transportation of Bishop Fronto to Tarascon for Martha's funeral preparations.<sup>21</sup>

Boninus Mombritius records an alternative ending to the medieval Martha legend (*BHL* 5547). Mombritius describes how the bishops came to Tarascon and dedicated Martha's church. A

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<sup>21</sup> For more on the relationship among the various Latin Martha legends, including a detailed comparison of the texts, see D. Peters (1990: 40-72).

banquet was held following the dedication, where water was turned into wine. Martha was then given a message through Maximinus that Mary Magdalen would come and visit her, which in the other versions she does on the night before Martha's death. After this comes what D. Peters (1997) describes as "...a garbled passage in which a number of bishops, along with many others, are described as having come together near the city of Aries in the cemetery of a church built by the bishop of Aries, St. Trophimus" (448). Here, Christ himself appears to the bishops and instructs them, and after his departure, the bishops build an altar to go in the place where the Savior had stood and where Trophimus, an Ephesian who was said to have accompanied the apostle Paul during his journey to Macedonia and Greece (Acts 20:4 and 21:29), was later buried. But both the source of this variant ending, and its significance, are unclear (D. Peters 1997: 448).

The cult of Martha of Bethany flourished throughout the southern regions of France, especially in Tarascon. She was also quite popular in southern Germany and northern Italy, and between 1200 and 1500, a number of churches, hospitals, guilds, and women's cloisters were founded in her name. In addition, several religious orders and communities adopted Martha as their patron, including the Humiliati, the Franciscans, the Compagnia della Morte, and the Dominicans (D. Peters 2008: 20). Her cult was active mainly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but gradually began to decline. The church can perhaps be blamed for the fall of Martha's cult. Southern France—where the cult was based—was rife with heresy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the Albigensians (a branch of the Cathars) were active in southern France during the height of Martha's popularity.<sup>22</sup> Like the apocryphal Martha, the Albigensians adhered to what D. Peters (2008) describes as "a moral doctrine of extreme austerity" (21). As a result, followers of Martha may have been associated with the heretical sect, which was successively condemned by church councils from the late twelfth century onwards (D.

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<sup>22</sup> For more on the Albigensian heresy in Southern France, see Sumption (1987).

Peters 2008: 20-21). Pope Innocent III (fl. 1198-1216) launched a crusade against the Alibensians, and in 1233, Pope Gregory IX eliminated them through the Dominican Inquisition (D. Peters 1994: 162). Another explanation for the cult's dissolution is its central focus on a woman, Martha, who in many ways actually resembles a bishop. Even though she is not explicitly called the bishop of Tarascon, D. Peters (1994) notes:

...a number of factors suggest that she may have functioned in this capacity: her home was dedicated as a basilica; a confrontation between a saint and a monster, such as that recorded of Martha, seems to have been almost a prerequisite for the bishops of Gaul; her attributes of the aspergillum and holy water were items traditionally associated with male priests or bishops and the rite of exorcism; and finally Martha's legends suggest that she was the only female saint of early Gaul who assumed responsibility for the spiritual care of a settlement (162).

Regardless of what the specific reasons were, it is clear that Martha's cult dissolved after the thirteenth century. After the sixteenth century and the Reformation, all non-biblical references to Martha of Bethany were discredited, and theological discussions returned to the Mary and Martha dichotomy that originated in Luke 10 (D. Peters 1994: 162).

### *Mary Magdalen*

Because of her immense popularity, especially in the Middle Ages, much more is known about the early and medieval cults of Mary Magdalen than those of Martha of Bethany. One of the first references to the Magdalen in early biblical commentary is by Bishop Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170-ca. 235) in his exposition on the Canticle of Canticles (more commonly known as the Song of Solomon), an allegory attributed to Solomon and his beloved bride (Haskins 1993: 60).<sup>23</sup> Haskins (1993) writes that “[t]o Hippolytus, the Bride, or Shulamite, as she sought the Bridegroom, was Mary Magdalen, the myrrhophore, seeking Christ in the garden to anoint him. Hippolytus oddly names her Martha and Mary, but it is clear from the context that he is referring

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<sup>23</sup> Both Haskins (1993) and Katherine Ludwig Jansen (1998 and 2001) have done extensive work on the development of the cult and legend of Mary Magdalen, and as such I draw heavily upon their work in this overview.

to the figure of Mary Magdalen” (60). It is unclear why Hippolytus places Martha in these scenes, but he obviously saw Martha and Mary as symbolizing the Synagogue and the Jewish faith and the church of Christ and Christianity respectively. In Hippolytus’ commentary are the first acknowledgement of Mary Magdalen’s role in announcing the resurrection and the first instance of the title which would in the medieval period be commonly associated with Mary Magdalen: apostle to the apostles (*apostolorum apostola*). Hippolytus also established the notion that the Magdalen was the Bride of Christ and the symbol of the church, titles that eventually became more commonly associated with Christ’s mother, the Virgin Mary (Haskins 1993: 61-62, 64).

Aside from Hippolytus’ commentary on the Song of Solomon, there are very few other third-century references to Mary Magdalen in Christian texts. But as Haskins (1993) notes, “[f]rom the fourth century... Mary Magdalen, Luke’s sinner and Mary of Bethany became the objects of close scrutiny by orthodox writers” (88). One of the most influential of these was Origen, who, as noted above, identified Mary Magdalen and Martha with the contemplative and active lives respectively. Although Origen made the greatest impact of eastern writers in his interpretation of Mary Magdalen, he was certainly not the only one to write about her. Others, such as Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), Proclus (d. ca. 446), and Gregory of Antioch (d. 593), praised Mary Magdalen for her role in the passion and resurrection narratives. They saw the Magdalen’s Easter role as a reason to honor women, who were otherwise eternally cursed due to Eve’s sin. One of the most interesting early eastern interpretations comes from Syria, where Haskins (1993) notes that “...an extraordinary phenomenon evolved in which in the typology of the Church the figure of the Virgin Mary was conflated with that of Mary Magdalen in the scene of the resurrection, in a deliberate and systematic ‘superimposition’ of the Marys, which reflected the confusion over the Marys in the Gospels in which the early Church found itself” (89). Jansen

(2001) relates that in the apostle Bartholomew's *Book of the Resurrection of Christ*, the Virgin Mary announces the news of her son's resurrection. Moreover, Ephrem of Syria conflates the two Marys in his hymns. The confusion of Christ's mother with his most devout female follower, Mary Magdalen, did not happen in the West, and instead arose from an eastern (specifically Syrian) devotion to the Virgin Mary (30).

In the West, Augustine drew upon Hippolytus' link between Mary Magdalen and Eve, arguing the former as a counterweight to the latter. Just as woman brought about the fall of humanity, so was humanity restored through womankind, both by the virgin who brought Christ into the world and by the woman who announced his resurrection from the dead. This "salvific symmetry," as Jansen (2001) calls it—*per feminam mors, per feminam vita*—was a common theme of Latin patristics. Mary Magdalen represented the new Eve, since she helped to bring salvation into the world through the announcement of Christ's resurrection (31). But the main focus of early western commentators was the relationship between Mary Magdalen, Mary of Bethany, and Luke's sinner, who were often confused with one another. As Haskins (1993) notes, "[s]ome had identified Mary Magdalen with Luke's sinner, others with Mary of Bethany; still others identified the latter two with each other, but not with Mary Magdalen. And there were those like Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome who were unable to decide" (93). As such, the Magdalen was sometimes a sinner, other times the first witness to the resurrection, and sometimes both (Jansen 2001: 32).

When Gregory the Great gave his homily on the Gospel of Luke at San Clemente in Rome on September 21, 591, Mary Magdalen's identity was decided, and a new Mary Magdalen was established for western Christianity (Jansen 2001: 32). Gregory declares:

She whom Luke calls the sinful woman, whom John calls Mary we believe to be the Mary from whom seven devils were ejected according to Mark. And what did these seven devils signify, if not all the vices? [...] It is clear, brothers, that the woman previously used the

unguent to perfume her flesh in forbidden acts. What she therefore displayed more scandalously, she was now offering to God in a more praiseworthy manner. She had coveted with earthly eyes, but now through penitence these are consumed with tears. She displayed her hair to set off her face, but now her hair dries her tears. She had spoken proud things with her mouth, but in kissing the Lord's feet, she now planted her mouth on the Redeemer's feet. For every delight, therefore, she had had in herself, she now immolated herself. She turned the mass of her crimes to virtues, in order to serve God entirely in penance, for as much as she had wrongly held God in contempt (Haskins 1993: 93).<sup>24</sup>

In these sentences, Gregory the Great authoritatively unites the identities of three separate women in the Gospels into one composite Mary Magdalen: the unnamed female sinner in Luke 7:37-50, Mary of Bethany of John 11:1-45 and 12:1-8, and Mary Magdalen, out of whom Jesus drove seven demons (Mark 16:9) (Jansen 1998: 60). Jansen (2001) describes the result of this conflation: "By appropriating the identity of Luke's sinner, Gregory the Great's Magdalen inherited a sinful past; by assuming the character of Mary of Bethany, the Magdalen acquired siblings (Martha and Lazarus) and became associated with the contemplative life" (33).

There is, however, the question of why Gregory united these three women. One explanation is textual proximity in Luke. "Mary called Magdalen" makes her first appearance in Luke 8, which immediately follows the narrative of the sinful woman who converts at Christ's feet at the end of Luke 7. Another possibility is the fishing village of Magdala's reputation for "depravity and godlessness" (Jansen 2001: 33). This idea contributed to the notion that Mary Magdalen was also sinful, making a link between her and Luke's unnamed sinful woman a logical one. A third explanation is that John's Mary of Bethany resembles Luke's anonymous sinner, since both of these women anointed Christ at a banquet and dried Christ's feet with their hair.

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<sup>24</sup> "Hanc vero quam Lucas peccatricem mulierem, Joannes Mariam nominat, illam esse Mariam credimus de qua Marcus septem daemona ejecta fuisse testatur. Et quid per septem daemona, nisi universa vitia designantur?...Liquet, fratres, quod illicitis actibus prius mulier intenta unguentum sibi pro odore suae carnis adhibuit. Quod ergo sibi turpiter exhibuerat, hoc jam Deo laudabiliter offerebat. Oculis terrena concupierat, sed hos jam per poenitentiam conterens flebat. Capillos ad compositionem vultus exhibuerat, sed jam capillis lacrymas tergebat. Ore superba dixerat, sed pedes Domini osculans, hoc in Redemptoris sui vestigia figebat. Quot ergo in se habuit oblectamenta, tot de se invenit holocausta. Convertit ad virtutum numerum criminum, ut totum serviret Deo in poenitentia, quidquid ex se Deum contempserat in culpa" (PL 76, cols. 1238-1240).

The fourth and final possible reason has to do with Mary Magdalen's seven demons, which were interpreted as the seven deadly sins. This linked Mary Magdalen and Luke's unnamed sinner and also made for a plausible interpretation of Mary Magdalen's sins as sexual. Through this connection in particular, the faithful disciple of Christ became a repentant prostitute (Jansen 2001: 34). Thus, the questions regarding the identity of Mary Magdalen that had been present since the third century were now clearly answered, and would not be seriously challenged for nearly fourteen hundred years (Jansen 2001: 34; Haskins 1993: 93).

Shortly after Mary Magdalen's identity was settled, legends surrounding the composite saint began circulating in both the East and in the West. The eastern legends tie the Magdalen to the city of Ephesus (Malvern 1975: 74). In his *De gloria martyrum*, the sixth-century bishop and historian Gregory of Tours writes that Mary Magdalen was buried in Ephesus, and that her tomb was located next to the Cave of the Seven Sleepers (D. Peters 1994: 154).<sup>25</sup> Modestus, a patriarch of Jerusalem (630-634), explains how the Magdalen came to Ephesus in the first place. He records that after the death of Jesus' mother Mary Magdalen traveled to Ephesus to join the apostle John (Foss 1979: 33). He also relates that Mary Magdalen ended her life there as a martyr (Haskins 1993: 104). Modestus and Gregory of Tours are not the only writers who suggested that Mary Magdalen went to Ephesus, and Modestus was not the only one to tell us that she went to Ephesus with John the Apostle. D. Peters (1994) posits that "[t]hese accounts of her arrival may have originated in the Acts of John, a second or third century apocryphal work which was widely copied in subsequent centuries, and of which only fragments are extant today" (154). Additionally, Leo VI, a Byzantine emperor, was said to have translated the supposed relics of the Magdalen from Ephesus to Constantinople sometime in the latter half of the ninth century (D. Peters 1994: 154). The Ephesus legend is the origin of the Magdalen's feast day, July 22, which is first

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<sup>25</sup> See Von Dam (1998).



recorded in the West in Bede's martyrology from ca. 720 (Malvern 1975: 74; Giles 1843: 97). The source for this date, which is found in all eastern liturgical books that came afterwards, is argued to have been an early Greek or Byzantine calendar (Bekker-Nielsen 1966: 406; Haskins 1993: 105-106).

The July 22 feast day in Bede's martyrology is the first evidence of Mary Magdalen's cult in the West. Prayers for her feast appear already in the ninth century, but there is no evidence of a complete mass dedicated to her until the eleventh or twelfth centuries, which is around the same time that offices are found in her honor (Jansen 2001: 35). As early as the tenth century, physical signs of the Magdalen's cult began to appear in the West. A church in Exeter, England claimed to have a relic of Mary Magdalen, and Halberstadt, Germany possessed an altar dedicated to the saint (Jansen 2001: 35). But Victor Saxer (1959) writes that was not until the eleventh century—a time of “Magdalenian fermentation”—that signs of Magdalenian devotion started to appear *en masse* (1089; Jansen 2001: 35). The most important and influential sign of devotion to the Magdalen was the implementation of her cult at Abbey Church of Vézelay in Burgundy during the tenure of Abbot Geoffrey, a Cluniac monk. Mary Magdalen became Vézelay's patron on April 27, 1050, and shortly after this the abbey started to claim possession of her relics. This claim to the Magdalen's relics was recognized in 1058 in a papal bull from Pope Stephen IX, who also confirmed her as sole patron of the abbey (Haskins 1993: 111). After this official recognition, Vézelay's popularity increased immensely and it became an important and flourishing pilgrimage site, so well known and influential that Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) preached there in 1146, and Louis IX of France (1214-1270) visited there four times (Jansen 2001: 35-36).

The first known western *vita* of Mary Magdalen is known as the *vita eremitica* (BHL 5453-56), which originated in the south of Italy in the ninth century. It was written by a Cassianite monk, who incorporates the *vita* of Mary of Egypt, a famous ascetic and female

sinner-saint, into the biography of the Magdalen (Jansen 2001: 37).<sup>26</sup> The *vita eremitica* tells how Mary Magdalen spent her remaining years alone in the wilderness, where she eventually died (Haskins 1993: 117).<sup>27</sup> The legend spread rapidly throughout Europe. It was especially prominent in monastic circles, where it was read either during meals or at the night office. It took on various forms and existed in different versions throughout Italy, the German Empire, and England, but it did not reach France until the late eleventh century (Haskins 1993: 117). The Middle English *Speculum Sacerdotale* account of the life of Mary Magdalen from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century exemplifies this type of *vita*, and also demonstrates the legend's use within the ecclesiastical realm, as the work was meant as an instructional manual for priests (Reames 2003: 55, 103-110).

The next legendary account of Mary Magdalen is the so-called *vita evangelica*, a homily from the late ninth or early tenth century that was at one point attributed to Odo of Cluny (*BHL* 5439 [*Sermo Odonis ab. Cluiac*]).<sup>28</sup> Though not a piece of hagiographic literature *per se*, the *vita* is an important work in that it is the first real attempt to incorporate all of the various gospel passages relating to the life of Mary Magdalen—including the scriptural passages relating to the Magdalen, Mary of Bethany, and Luke's unnamed sinful woman—into one sequential narrative (Jansen 2001: 38). Odo's sermon, which was frequently used in the liturgy on Mary Magdalen's

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<sup>26</sup> Jansen (2001) also writes that “[t]he conflation with Mary of Egypt’s biography is significant: Mary of Egypt had been a prostitute before her penitential conversion” (38).

<sup>27</sup> “The *vita eremitica* was thought in the Middle Ages to have been written by Josephus Flavius. One version has been printed in Jean Misrahi, “A Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae (*BHL* 5456) in an Eleventh-Century Manuscript,” *Speculum* 18 (1943): 335-39. The other three (5453-55) are transcribed in J.E. Cross, “Mary Magdalen in the *Old English Martyrology*: The Earliest Extant ‘Narrat Josephus’ Variant of Her Legend,” *Speculum* 53 (1978): 16-25. An interpolated version has been printed more recently in Guy Lobrichon, “Le dossier magdalénien aux XIe-XIIe siècle,” *MEFRM* 104/1 (1992): 177-80” (Jansen 2001: 37, n. 62).

<sup>28</sup> “See V. Saxer, “Un manuscrit dédémbré du sermon d’Eudes de Cluny sur Ste. Marie-Madeleine,” *Scriptorium* 8 (1954): 119-23, and Dominique Iogna-Prat, “‘Bienheureuse polysémie.’ La Madeleine du *Sermo in veneratione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* attribué à Odon de Cluny (Xe siècle),” in *Marie Madeleine*, ed. Duperray, 21-31, and an expanded version, “La Madeleine du *Sermo in veneratione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* attribué à Odon de Cluny,” in *MEFRM* 104/1 (1992): 37-70” (Jansen 2001: 38, n. 65). See also *PL* 133: cols. 713-721.

feast day of July 22, relates the Magdalen's life up to Christ's ascension, but does not include any information on her acts after this event (Reames 2003: 51).

Mary Magdalen's *vita* was expanded in the eleventh century to explain the presence of her relics in Burgundy (Jansen 2001: 38).<sup>29</sup> A story was formulated about how a monk named Badilus was sent to Provence in 749 to save the Magdalen's relics from destruction at the hands of Saracen invaders. Badilus arrived at the saint's resting place to find the area destroyed, but the relics completely unharmed. After Mary Magdalen appeared to him in a vision giving her divine approval, the monk brought her remains back to Vézelay (Jansen 2001: 38; Malvern 1975: 79). There was still, however, the question of how Mary Magdalen's relics came to Provence in the first place. The answer to this question came in the *vita apostolica* (BHL 5443-49) (Jansen 2001: 38, n. 67).<sup>30</sup> This *vita* relates how after Jesus' death and resurrection, the Magdalen and other early Christians were persecuted and sent out of Palestine in an oarless and ruderless boat. They drifted ashore at Marseilles and evangelized the region's inhabitants. It was not long until the *vita apostolica* and the *vita eremitica* fused together into the so-called *vita apostolico-eremitica*, which recounts how after evangelizing the Gauls, the Magdalen retired to the woods and lived the final years of her life as a contemplative ascetic. She then died in the church of Saint-Maximin in Provence (the same church from whence the Burgundian monk Badilus was said to have stolen the Magdalen's body 700 years later). This legend, therefore, supports Vézelay's claim to Mary Magdalen's relics (Jansen 2001: 38-39).<sup>31</sup> In the twelfth century, the story of the prince of Marseilles was added to this *vita*. This addition focuses on the conversion of the prince and his princess to Christianity, the child they were given as a reward from the Magdalen for their

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<sup>29</sup> See the *Translatio posterior* (BHL 5491) and Lobrichon (1992: 169-177).

<sup>30</sup> For an edition of this *vita*, see Lobrichon (1992: 164-169).

<sup>31</sup> The *vitae apostolico-eremitica* is listed under BHL 5443-48. Jansen (2001) writes "Saxer has gathered the Vézelay documents in a volume entitled, *Le dossier vézelien de Marie-Madeleine. Invention et translation des reliques en 1265-1267. Contribution à l'histoire du culte de la sainte à l'apogée du Moyen Âge (Subsidia hagiographica, n. 57)* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1975)" (39, n. 67).

conversion and hospitality towards the exiled followers of Christ, and their miraculous pilgrimage to and return from Rome. Brief accounts of Martha and Lazarus, Mary Magdalen's siblings who reportedly came with her to Gaul and participated in the evangelization of the region, as well as various miracle stories, were further additions to the *vita apostolico-eremitica*. The sections on Mary Magdalen in such Latin works as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* (BHL 5498), Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (BHL 5501), and Boninus Mombritius' *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum* (BHL 5501) are examples of this fully developed Provençal legend of Mary Magdalen.

Vézelay's claim to the Magdalen's relics attracted pilgrims to Burgundy, brought in revenue, provided a powerful protector for Burgundy, and ultimately forged a link between Vézelay and apostolic Christianity (Jansen 2001: 39-40). The relics were formally translated on April 24, 1267, in a celebration that Louis IX of France attended. He was particularly fond of the Magdalen, and gladly gave his support to the monks in their claim to her remains (Haskins 1993: 122-123). Numerous miracles were accounted for in the region. Mary Magdalen was associated with cures of various kinds, the emancipation of prisoners (most of whom were unfairly imprisoned), assistance to women in matters of childbirth and fertility, and the resurrection of the dead. All of these Provençal miracles were appended to the Magdalen's medieval *vita* (Jansen 2001: 40). However, Vézelay was not to enjoy the prestigious honor of being the keepers of Mary Magdalen's relics for long. In 1279, Angevin prince Charles of Salerno, who likely learned of the Magdalen's legend through popular devotional literature (like the *Legenda aurea*) and subsequent sermons, miraculously discovered her remains in the Saint-Maximin church in Provence, completely undermining Vézelay's claim to the relics of their patroness. His discovery seemed to be legitimate, considering how he discovered a wax-wrapped document bearing the words "Here lies the body of the blessed Mary Magdalen" during the exhumation of her body (Haskins 1993:

128). On May 5 he translated the supposed relics of the Magdalen. The saint's head was placed in a gem-studded golden reliquary, and her body was put into a separate but equally grand vessel (Jansen 2001: 41-42). While there is no doubt that Charles' piety and devotion to Mary Magdalen was real, this was probably not the only reason he set out to rediscover Mary Magdalen's relics in Provence. As Saxer (1959) inquisitively remarks, "[o]n aimerait savoir où le prince avait puisé cette dévotion" (235).<sup>32</sup> It is more likely that Charles felt the need for a patron saint to protect and legitimate the newly established house of Anjou, and this discovery associated the Angevin empire with a the saintly protector. Jansen (2001) ponders, "[w]ho better for a new and ambitious dynasty to ally itself with than an intimate of the Lord who had brought Christianity to the heart of the Angevin empire and whose remains (and therefore intercessory powers) still resided there?" (43).

By 1315 the Dominicans at Saint-Maximin, who supported Charles of Salerno's claim to Mary Magdalen's relics since he had made them the caretakers of her shrine at Saint-Maximin in 1295, had produced the *Book of Miracles of Saint Mary Magdalen*. This book documented all of the miracles that had taken place through the saint in her sanctuary at Provence. Later, the Dominicans at Saint-Maximin, who wished to publicize the roots of their royal lineage in Provence, created a new story of how Charles discovered the Magdalen's relics. This version tells that on July 22, 1279, the feast day of Mary Magdalen, Charles was taken as a prisoner of war and turned to his patron saint for mercy. It relates how, after she appeared to him in a vision, Mary Magdalen freed the prince from his cell and miraculously transported him to Narbonne. In return for the favor she had shown him, the Magdalen ordered the prince to find and recover her relics, which were not at Vézelay, but instead Saint-Maximin. She then told him some signs by which he should recognize her relics, including an ancient label, a piece of flesh on her skull where Christ

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<sup>32</sup> "It would be nice to know what had inspired the prince's devotion" (Haskins 1993: 128).

had touched her, and a green shoot growing out of her tongue. Mary Magdalen told the prince to make this discovery known in order to increase devotion to her at her shrine in Provence. She moreover instructed him to build a church in her honor and a convent where the Order of Preachers should be installed. Dominican friars were to be appointed to take care of her shrine, since they would follow in her footsteps as apostles of Christ. Finally, Mary Magdalen said the translation of her relics should be celebrated annually and that an office should be established for the feast of the *translatio*. Through the establishment of this story, the Provençal Dominicans created a version of the Magdalen whose miraculous deeds overshadowed those at Vézelay, and established themselves as divinely sanctioned apostles of Christendom (Jansen 2001: 43-45).

Undeniably the most popular account of the life of Mary Magdalen, and one which could be aptly characterized as a fully developed *vita apostolico-eremitica* with later additions and all, is in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (ca. 1260). The text gives an account of Mary's noble family background. Her father was Syrus, and her mother, Eucharica. Her siblings were Lazarus and Martha, with whom she owned Magdalum, Bethany, and part of Jerusalem. Whereas Martha was virtuous and practical and Lazarus devoted himself to military matters, Mary Magdalen "gave herself totally to the pleasures of the flesh" (Granger Ryan 1993a 375).<sup>33</sup> She repented of her sins at the house of Simon the Leper, where she washed Jesus' feet with her tears and dried them with her hair before anointing them with her precious ointment. Although Simon disapproved of this action, Jesus approved and forgave her sins. Jesus showed further favor on the Magdalen when he cast seven demons from her, cured Martha of a blood sickness, and raised Lazarus from the dead. Jacobus also notes how Jesus told Mary that she chose the best part when she sat at his feet and

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<sup>33</sup> "...Magdalena deliciis corporis se totam exponeret..." (Graesse 1969b: 408).

“listened to his word,” and tells us that he loved her so much that it was her to whom he first appeared, “making her an apostle to the apostles” (Granger Ryan 1993a: 376).<sup>34</sup>

After Jesus’ passion and ascension, the Magdalen, along with Martha, Lazarus, Maximinus, and many others, were driven out of Palestine on a rudderless ship. They eventually washed ashore at Marseilles, where Mary Magdalen preached the word of God to the locals and to the prince and princess of the region. She subsequently appeared to the princess during the night, imploring her to give food and other provisions to the followers of Christ. She eventually revealed herself to the prince as well, and succeeded in convincing the couple to heed her request. The prince and princess then decided to travel to Rome to verify the Magdalen’s teachings. Before they left, Mary Magdalen promised them a son, and the couple conceived. The princess went into labor during the voyage and died in childbirth, and she and her newborn son were deposited on a hilly shore that the crew had spotted. The unhappy prince continued on to Rome, where he was instructed in the faith by Peter. On his journey home, the prince and his crew came across the place where they had left his wife and son, only to find the two very much alive, thanks to the good graces of Mary Magdalen. Upon their return to Marseilles, the family received baptism, destroyed the heathen temples, built churches to Christ, and elected Lazarus bishop of the city. They then went to Aix, evangelized the city, and made Maximinus its bishop (Granger Ryan 1993a: 377-380).

After these events, Mary Magdalen retired to the wilderness, “wishing to devote herself to heavenly contemplation” (Granger Ryan 1993: 380).<sup>35</sup> She remained there for thirty years, surviving only on the nourishment from the angels who carried her to the heavens seven times a day. Mary Magdalen’s solitary life remained unknown to anyone until a priest, who had built a cell several miles from her grotto, saw her being transported to heaven. Without revealing herself,

<sup>34</sup> “...domini verbum audivit ... apostolorum apostolam fecit” (Graesse 1969b: 409).

<sup>35</sup> “...supernae contemplationis avida asperrimum eremum petiit” (Graesse 1969b: 413).

the Magdalen told him who she was and what she had been doing for the past thirty years. She then told the priest that, since she would soon be departing from the earthly world, he should go to Bishop Maximinus and tell him that in a year, she would appear in his church with her angels. The priest did as the Magdalen asked, and the events unfolded as she had told him. After finding her at the church with her angels, Maximinus gave Mary Magdalen the body and blood of Christ, and she then lay down before the altar and commended her spirit to Christ (Granger Ryan 1993: 380-381). Various miracles are then recounted, and the legends telling that Mary Magdalen had been engaged to John the Evangelist are briefly mentioned, although as Jacobus writes, “[t]hese tales are considered false and frivolous” (Granger Ryan 1993a: 381).<sup>36</sup>

Mary Magdalen’s immense popularity in the Middle Ages is undeniable. Haskins notes that her name was listed before all the virgin saints (with the exception of the Virgin Mary) in the litany of saints, and because of her role as *apostolorum apostola*, the creed was said during her mass, a unique honor usually designated for important church festivals. Mary Magdalen was the only female saint aside from the Virgin for whom this was done. Her feast day of July 22 was also ranked among the year’s greatest feasts from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, and punishments would result if it were not properly observed. She became the patron of gardeners, and because of the ointment she was often portrayed with she was attractive to ointment-mixers, scent-makers and apothecaries. From her life prior to her conversion, when she adorned herself with costly apparel, she was the protector of glove-makers, coiffeurs, shoemakers, seamstresses, whittawers and wool weavers. In Bologna she was the patron of drapers, and she was made the guardian of various hospitals, leprosaria, refuges for repentant prostitutes, and prisoners. In Oxford and in Cambridge, colleges were named after the Magdalen, and her name became popular as a name for daughters starting in the eleventh century (Haskins 1993: 131-132). Anselm

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<sup>36</sup> “Haec autem falsa et frivola reputantur...” (Graesse 1969b: 416).



of Canterbury wrote that with Mary Magdalen as intercessor, "...it will not be difficult for you to attain whatever you wish from your dear and beloved master and friend" (qtd. in Haskins 1993: 132). Medieval preachers promoted the contemplative aspect of the saint as a mirror for nuns dedicated to a life of contemplation, and by the mid-twelfth century throughout much of Europe as well as the Latin Middle East, various convents of Benedictine, Premonstraterian, and Cistercian nuns were founded under the Magdalen's patronage. Jansen (2001) points out that "[i]n that century, England led the way with six foundations at Davington (Kent), Kynewaldgraves (Yorkshire), Bristol (Gloucestershire), Swardsley (Northamptonshire), Wintney (Hampshire), and Ickleton (Cambridgeshire)" (119). Other convents dedicated to Mary Magdalen were founded throughout Europe and the Holy Land in France, the Low Countries, Bohemia, and the German Empire in the same century. By the thirteenth century, the country with by far the largest number of cloistered communities of women under the spiritual patronage of the Magdalen was in Italy, with Benedictine and Cistercian convents in such major cities as Urbana, Verona, and Florence (Jansen 2001: 120-121).

Many medieval holy women, nuns and otherwise, were influenced by the Magdalen's role as *apostolorum apostola*. As Jansen relates, Christine de Pisan was inspired by her role as herald of the resurrection in the Gospels and used it in her defense of women's speech (Jansen 2001: 270). Catherine of Siena was impressed by her miraculous fasting as emphasized in the *vita eremitica*. She also considered her a spiritual mother of sorts and was particularly attracted to the image of Mary Magdalen under the cross (Haskins 1993: 187-188). Various other women imitated the Magdalen's "para-mystical levitation" (Jansen 2001: 282). The mystical and somewhat fantastical elements of the apocryphal life of Mary Magdalen were quite popular, and "[e]ven though her relics were believed to be at Saint-Maximin, La Sainte-Baume, the grotto where she reputedly spent the last thirty-three years of her life in penance and mystical contemplation, became an

important Provençal pilgrimage destination” (Jansen 2001: 283). Other women, such as Margaret of Cortona, saw themselves as “new” or “second” Magdalens, while others, such as Margery Kempe, saw the Magdalen both as a sister and as a competitor for Christ’s love (Haskins 1993: 184-186). While it is clear that women most closely imitated the legendary aspects of Mary Magdalen, men also venerated the saint, particularly in her apostolic role. Jansen (2001) gives an example:

Three years after the countess of Eu commissioned a *vita* of Mary Magdalen, William Wayflete, bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England under Henry VI, founded a great institution of teaching in learning in the name of his patron saint, Mary Magdalen, the “glorious apostoless.” That institution, founded in 1448, was first called Magdalene Hall; ten years later it became Magdalene College, Oxford (282).

The apostolic aspect of Mary Magdalen was particularly popular, and was used to attract pilgrims who had journeyed to Burgundy to come to Saint-Maximin or La Saint-Baume (Jansen 2001: 272).

While Mary Magdalen’s apostolic role was a popular aspect of her legendary persona, it was also a problematic one. The medieval church tended to discourage preaching by women and laypeople, which heretical sects such as the Lollards, the Waldensians, and the Cathars, all promoted. The issue was hotly debated, and hagiographic legends in which women blatantly play the role of preacher, such as the apocryphal legend of Mary Magdalen, came under heavy scrutiny due to their appropriation by heretical sects (Reames 2003: 53). Beverly Kienzle (1998) discusses the reliance of the Waldensians especially upon Mary Magdalen’s example, which served to justify preaching by women (106). The Lollards also relied upon the model of the Magdalen as *apostolorum apostola*. Jansen (2001) quotes Walter Brut, a Lollard, who in his trial maintained women’s authority to preach based on the example of Mary Magdalene: “It is confirmed, for we read that blessed Mary Magdalen preached publicly in Marcilia and in the area around about,

which thorough her preaching she converted to Christ. Because of this she is called the ‘Apostle of the Apostles’” (273).

Despite the controversy surrounding the apostolic aspect of her legend, the composite Mary Magdalen remained wildly popular in the late Middle Ages, much more so than her “sister,” Martha of Bethany. Sherry Reames (2003) comments on the saint’s widely applicable nature:

For the late-medieval Mary Magdalen was an exceptionally multi-faceted saint, who served many different functions for different segments of the population. She was the archetypal sinner who repented and was redeemed, supplying a powerful illustration of God’s forgiveness and an example of reform that was potentially relevant to every Christian, although it could be narrowed to provide lessons for female sinners or sexual sinners in particular (52-53).

The possibility that a sinner might be redeemed and equally dear to God as, for example, the Virgin Mary or the chaste, infallible, and ever-holy martyrs and saints explains the extreme popularity of Mary Magdalen, who by the Middle Ages had undergone the immense transformation from repentant follower of Jesus to the sister of Martha and Lazarus who evangelized an entire nation. Hers was an edifying image with which many Christians could identify and from which many gleaned hope in the possibility of redemption (Haskins 1993: 133).

## CHAPTER 2

### SAINTS MARY MAGDALEN AND MARTHA IN THE NORTH

The cults and legends of Mary Magdalen and Martha were far-reaching throughout western Christendom during the Middle Ages. The cult of Mary Magdalen was particularly widespread in medieval Europe, and various versions of her legend are found in the vernacular. Martha's cult was less influential than the Magdalen's and primarily localized in southern France, but her legend, too, existed in the vernacular and spread to the Nordic countries. Through an examination of church calendars, dedications, inventories, artistic depictions, prayer books, liturgical sources, and hagiographical material, this chapter examines the cults and legends of Mary Magdalen and Martha in Scandinavia, and in Iceland in particular.

#### The Cults and Legends in Scandinavia

##### *Martha*

##### 1. Denmark

Evidence from medieval Scandinavian sources, although scarce, points to the existence of a cult of Martha in the North. In Denmark, the area of Scandinavian where her cult appears to have been strongest, a chapel in Lund cathedral was dedicated to Martha (attested March 9, 1358).<sup>37</sup> The cathedral, which is said to have contained her relics ("ett stort ben," Pegelow 2006: 186), also had an altar dedicated to the saint, which is mentioned in a charter from January 29, 1333.<sup>38</sup> It is clear that Martha's feast was recognized in Denmark, but since her official feast day of July 29 fell on that of St. Olav, it is recorded in Scandinavian calendars under either July 26, 27, or 28, or even

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<sup>37</sup> "Jtem capelle beate Marthe in choro aquilonari, predicte cantorie annexe, calicem argenteum, quem habet" [Also the chapel of St. Martha in the aforementioned northern choir, attached to the office of the cantor, which has a silver chalice] (Weibull 1901: 122). Translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.

<sup>38</sup> "Cum igitur altare beate Marthe in choro aquilonari ecclesie nostre Lundensis" [...therefore with the altar of the blessed Martha in the northern sanctuary of our church of Lund] (*DD* 2.11, nr. 10).

October 17 (Gad 1966: 471; Lithberg 1939: 106). The *Missale Lundense* (1513), for example, lists her feast as July 27 and celebrates it with nine *lectiones* (Gjerløw 1963: 134 and 145). An office for Martha is listed in the Slesvig and Odense breviaries, which contain excerpts about her mission in Provence and her defeat of the dragon in Tarascon. The breviaries from Lund and Roskilde refer to this episode as well (Gad 1996: 471). Martha's feast is not included in the *Necrologium Lundense* (ca. 1120), nor is it in the litanies of saints in the *Pontificale Lundense* (UUB C 441 [ca. 1400]), the *Pontificale Roscildense* (early sixteenth century), or the *Manuale Curatorum secundum usum ecclesie Roskildensis* (early sixteenth century). The fact that her feast was not a major one in medieval Denmark is shown by its general absence from the charters. Documents written on any of her various feast days (see Chapter 1) contain references to more prominent saints, such as Mary Magdalen (July 22), St. Olav (July 29), or Luke the Evangelist (October 18). The name Martha (later Marthe) appears in Denmark as early as the twelfth century in the *Necrologium Lundense*, where a nun from Lund named Martha is listed under the date August 25 ("Martha soror nostra") (Kroman 1960: fol. 155r). The name was not especially common in medieval Denmark, and in the fifteenth century it merged with Merte, a variant of the name Margareta (*DGP* I.2: 908-999, 924).

Martha appears sporadically in medieval Danish prayer books and books of hours. One short prayer to Martha is preserved in *Visdoms spejl* (AM 782 4to [1523]) and in *Ingeborg Predbjørnsdatters tidebog* (sixteenth century).<sup>39</sup> It is preceded by a prayer to Mary Magdalen, and is followed by prayers to Lazarus and Marcilia, "*sancta martha møø*" (St. Martha's handmaiden) (*MDB* IV: 140-141). About a dozen other prayers mention Martha and focus on her role as hostess to the Lord. Such is the case in *Visdoms spejl* and AM 784 4to (ca. 1500), which include

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<sup>39</sup> "Martha hynes søster ho sem hyme erer, hwn gywer goth herber, lyffs nøtorfftelygh neringh oc godh byeringh, hwn hwsedhe ihesum. Pater noster, aue maria" [Martha, her sister, she who cherishes her, she gives good hospitality, life's necessary sustenance and good accommodation, she was hostess to Jesus. Our Father, Ave Maria] (*MDB* IV: 140).

several prayers mentioning Martha's hospitality. *Else Holgersdatters tidebog* (GkS 1613 4to, [early sixteenth century]) preserves a prayer detailing Jesus' visit to Martha's home in Bethany ("...til bethaniam / i marte hus ..."), where Mary Magdalen anointed his head and feet and where he predicted his imminent torture and death (*MDB IV*: 37-38). Other prayers describe the Magdalen's presence at the resurrection of her brother, Lazarus, such as those in *Marine Jespersdatters bønnebog* (AM 421 12mo [early sixteenth century])<sup>40</sup> and Thott 152 8vo (sixteenth century).<sup>41</sup>

Artistic works from medieval Denmark occasionally portray Martha. In a fresco from ca. 1175-1200 in Jørlunde church in Northern Zealand, Martha is shown alongside Mary Magdalen at the resurrection of Lazarus. Mary Magdalen and Martha are turning left towards Jesus and greeting him (Saxtorph 1967: 85-86). Martha is also depicted in the company of her sister in a mural at Kongens Lyngby church in Northern Zealand, whose frescoes date from ca. 1475-1500. The scene is the crucifixion, and in addition to Mary Magdalen, Martha is accompanied by the Virgin Mary and John (Saxtorph 1967: 89-90). A third artistic representation of Martha is in a ca. 1500 mural at Ågerup church in Northern Zealand, where Martha is again at the cross with Mary Magdalen, John, and the Virgin Mary (Saxtorph 1967: 153-156). Martha's presence at the crucifixion is also shown in the early sixteenth-century murals at Torum church in Western Jutland (Saxtorph 1997: 210). Finally, an embroidered pillowcase from Sperstrup Manor in Jørlunde Parish in North Zealand has an illustration of Jesus at the house of Mary and Martha. The scene, which portrays Mary at Jesus' feet and Martha standing behind him, is encircled by

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<sup>40</sup> "O sødhe herre ihesu christe, Ieg arme wssle syndighe creatur bedher teg ytmghelighe ffor then store glædhe thw giordhe Marie magdalene och martha tha thw oppresthe theyyss brodher lazarum" [O sweet Lord Jesus, I, a poor, wretched, sinful creature pray to you humbly for the great joy you gave to Mary Magdalen and Martha when you resurrected their brother Lazarus] (*MDB IV*, no. 976a, p. 225).

<sup>41</sup> The prayer begins: "O gode ihesu / loff væræ tek / som op restæ lazarus aff dødæ / oc gladh giorde hans søstræ / mairiia magdalena oc marta oc for alle thine guddoms Iertegen / som tw giordæ" [O good Jesus, praise be to you who raised up Lazarus from the dead, and made glad his sisters Mary Magdalen and Martha, and for all your divine miracles that you do] (*MDB IV*: 329).

the famous passage from Luke 10:42: “Maria udvalde den gode part som icke skal tages fra hende” (National Museum of Denmark, Inv. 10553). No surviving church bells from medieval Denmark contain Martha’s name or relief.

## 2. Sweden and Finland

Bengt Ingmar Kilström (1966) remarks that Martha was relatively unknown in Sweden and Finland during the Middle Ages (471). While this is true in terms of literature, prayers, and artistic depictions, her feast day is listed relatively often in late medieval Swedish and Finnish calendars. It is generally designated a *simplex* in Sweden, and as in Denmark it is celebrated either on July 26 or 27 rather than July 29. The July 27 feast day was evidently observed in the dioceses of Strängnäs, Västerås, and Skara, as indicated by its listings in the calendar for Strängnäs (Upp. C. 92 [mid-fourteenth century]), and in the *Breviarium Arosiense* (1513) and the *Breviarium Scarense* (1498) (Granlund 1963: 122, 121-122; Johansson 1956: 166; Schmid 1932: 101). The diocese of Uppsala has Martha’s feast day as July 26, as indicated in the *Kalendarium registri Upsalensis* (ca. 1344) (Schmid 1945: 119, 124). According to the *Missale Upsalense* (1513), it should be celebrated with three *lectiones* (Granlund 1963: 111, 125-126). In Finland, Martha’s feast day is predominantly July 27, as in the *Kalendarium Dominicanum diocesis Aboensis* (from the late thirteenth or the very beginning of the fourteenth century), the *Kalendarium Vesilahdi* (ca. 1500), and the *Kalendarium Kangsala* (ca. 1505), all of which designate it as a three *lectiones* feast (Malin 1925: 80-81, 123, 125, 162-163). Martha’s other feast day, October 17, is found once, in the Linköping breviaries (ca. 1300) (Granlund 1963: 111, 125-126). Interestingly, the Gotlandic runic calendar (1328) lists Martha’s feast day as October 15, which may have been a result of confusion with her translation day in Tournai, October 16 (elsewhere it is October 17). Another possibility is a misinterpretation of Mauri, a reference to the fifty soldiers of Mauri, martyrs in Cologne

under Diocletianus (Lithberg 1939: 11). The charters contain several references to Martha, which designate her as the representative of the *vita activa*. In a letter from the convent at Vadstena (written 1417), for example, the nuns defend their inclination towards spiritual rather than physical work, using the merits of Mary Magdalen's *vita contemplativa* in contrast to Martha's less desirable *vita activa* to reinforce their argument: "...bonum quidem est sollicitari cum Martha sed optimum sedere ad pedes Ihesu cum Maria" (DS 2311).<sup>42</sup> The personal name Marta appears in Finland in 1439, and in Sweden as early as the late fourteenth century (Otterbjörk 1964: 181). The first occurrence is in a 1376 document issued by one "Frv Marta Knvts dottr" (DS 9362). In Sweden, Marta is used as a short form of Martina (Otterbjörk 1964: 181).

In medieval Swedish prayer books, Martha is mentioned only in passing and in connection with Mary Magdalen. No individual prayers to Martha are preserved. Martha also appears very infrequently in art from medieval Sweden and Finland, and when she does, it is generally in scenes depicting all three of the siblings from Bethany. A baptismal font in Viklau church in Gotland (ca. 1140), for example, depicts Martha and Mary Magdalen mourning their brother Lazarus. In a later scene, the sisters display the clothing of their resurrected brother (Kilström 1966: 471). In liturgical sources from medieval Sweden, Martha's name occurs relatively frequently. The *Graduale Arosiense*, for example, contains a rhyming allelujah verse, which is part of the office of Martha.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the *Missale Upsalense* has a liturgical reading for Martha, and the *Manuale Upsalense* (UUB C 424 [mid-fourteenth century]) includes the reading from the Gospel of John where Martha acknowledges Jesus as the son of God (Lindberg 1924: 267; Collijn 1918: 96). Finally, *Helgeandshusmissalet* (ca. 1460) includes brief instructions for Martha's office (Frithz 1976: 397).

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<sup>42</sup> It is good to worry with Martha, but better to sit at the feet of Jesus with Mary.

<sup>43</sup> The verse reads: "Martha prudens hospita / nostri saluatoris / pro nobis sollicita / sis in cunctis horis" [Martha, prudent hostess / of our savior / be concerned for us / in all hours] (Lindberg 1924: 277).



Martha appears several times in the so-called *S. Maria-Magdalena sagan* in the *Old Swedish Legendary*, a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century composition based primarily on Jacobus de Voragine's enormously popular *Legenda aurea*. As in Jacobus's version of the legend of Mary Magdalen, Martha is first mentioned in the account of the Magdalen's family background. The author describes the characteristics of each sibling, along with what was bequeathed to each of them by their parents:

The waro thry samsyskene. lazarus Riddare. Ok maria ok marta ok skiptu swo (sino) fadherne / at lazarus fik agha. dighran del jnnan ierusalem. Ok maria. magdullum borgh. som hon fik aff nampn magdalene / ok (martha) bethaniam. Ok tha lazarus war mæst til howa: Ok maria fölgdhe mæst likams mak. tha styrdhe martha med ærum bæggia thera god. med sino swo at lazarus hiot rikt. Riddaraskap med hænnan forseo ok gaf rika almoso fatikom Ok hiot dighran del warom herra kost ok hans apostolis ok discipulis. ok kallas for thy wars herra hærbærghis hustru ok saldu alt sit goz sidhan war herra war farin til himna Ok fingur wærdhit apostolis at fōdha med fatikt folk cristit (Stephens 1847: 263).<sup>44</sup>

Martha is shortly thereafter identified with the woman Jesus cured of a "blood sickness" ("...gaf hænnan syster marthe bōthar af blodh(esot) som hænnan war til mens" [Stephens 1847: 265]),<sup>45</sup> and appears next in connection with the scene in which she, Mary Magdalen, Lazarus, Maximinus, and her servant Marcilia are driven away from Jerusalem on a rudderless boat, which drifts ashore in Marseilles (Stephens 1847: 266). As in *Legenda aurea*, these are the only three instances in which Martha is mentioned. This is in stark contrast to the Old Norse-Icelandic legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha, where Martha's story is given just as much emphasis as her the Magdalen's. Unlike the *Legenda aurea*, the *Old Swedish Legendary* contains no independent legend of Martha.

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<sup>44</sup> There were three siblings: Lazarus the knight and Mary and Martha, and it happened with their inheritance that Lazarus received a great part of Jerusalem, and Mary received the city of Magdallum, from which she received her name Magdalen, and Martha received Bethany. Lazarus focused mostly on the military, and Mary followed the desires of her body, so Martha nobly managed both of their parts along with her own so that Lazarus became powerful. She provided for knights and gave alms to the poor, and gave a good deal of her provisions to the Lord and his apostles and disciples. She is therefore called the Lord's hostess and sold all of her goods when the Lord ascended to heaven, and gave the proceeds to the apostles to feed the poor.

<sup>45</sup> ... healed her sister Martha of a blood sickness, from which she had suffered.

There are only five recorded images of Martha in medieval Sweden, and none in Finland. The first is from Ål church in Dalarna, in a painting on an altarpiece from the 1480s. The second is at Fresta church in Uppland, where a late fifteenth-century altarpiece painting shows Martha with two of her usual attributes: a soup ladle and a cooking pot. A third is a painting of Mary Magdalen, Martha, Lazarus, and Bishop Maximinus on a boat en route to Provence, which is found on the Mary Magdalen altarpiece from Härad church in Södermanland (beginning of the sixteenth century). A fourth, which shows the three siblings upon arrival in Marseilles, is a 1480s fresco from Tuna church in Uppland (Pegelow 2006: 157, 182, 186, 311). Finally, on a ca. 1140 baptismal font by Hegwaldr Posthumus, Martha is portrayed with Mary Magdalen at the grave of their brother, Lazarus (Kilström 1966: 471).

### 3. Norway

Evidence for the cult of Martha in Norway is even scarcer than in the other Scandinavian countries. Her October 17 feast day is listed in the *Missale Nidrosiense* (1519), which says it should be celebrated with three *lectiones* and a *sequentia* (Gjerløw 1963a: 103 and 1963b: 145). The breviaries from Lund and Roskilde allude to Martha's mission in Provence, and the three *lectiones* for Martha's October 17 feast day in the *Breviarium Nidrosiense* contain the story of her burial in Tarascon (Bekker-Nielsen 1966: 472; Kerbriant and Bienayse 1964: yy.iiij). The *Manuale Norvegicum* has several biblical references mentioning Martha, including the scene in John 11 where she acknowledges the resurrection of the dead and recognizes Jesus as the son of God, and the episode in Luke 10:38-42 where Jesus visits the house of Mary and Martha (Fæhn 1962: 42, 133-134).<sup>46</sup> In the charters, Martha is named in a May 30, 1257 letter from Pope Alexander IV to patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, instructing them to accept requests for forgiveness from

<sup>46</sup> The *Manuale Norvegicum* is preserved in Thott 110 8vo, NkS 32 8vo, and NkS 133f 4to, whose contents date from ca. 1200 to the mid-fifteenth century (Fæhn 1962: xi-xvi).

men who had accused preachers and mendicants of laziness and attacked their right to preach and hear confession. In the context of this discussion, the pope refers to Martha and contrasts her with Mary as a representative of the *vita activa*.<sup>47</sup> This, however, is the only instance where Martha appears in the diplomas. There are no examples of the use of Martha as a personal name in the Norwegian charters.

### *Mary Magdalen*

#### 1. Denmark

Mary Magdalen was immensely popular in the Nordic region. Evidence for her cult in Denmark is found as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century. The calendar in *Necrologium Lundense* (ca. 1120) records Mary Magdalen's feast day, July 22 (Kroman 1960: fol. 150v),<sup>48</sup> and documents from the thirteenth century until the end of the Middle Ages indicate that her cult was widespread in Denmark (Gad 1966: 407). Her feast is mentioned in a charter from July 22, 1126 (*DD* 1.2: no. 48), and starting in 1282 her name is found regularly in charters written on and around her feast day (*DD* 2.3: no. 44). The Magdalen also appears frequently in liturgical material from medieval Denmark. In the *Pontificale Lundense*, Mary Magdalen is listed in the litany of saints (Strömberg 1955: 21, 108, 156). The *Pontificale Roskildense* and the *Manuale Curatorum secundum usum ecclesiae Roskildensis* also include Mary Magdalen in their litanies (Strömberg 1955: 28, 199, 305; Friesen 1898: 28). Furthermore, the offices for July 22 in the preserved medieval breviaries from Odense and Slesvig contain excerpts from the life of Mary Magdalen that tell not

<sup>47</sup> "Unde et dominus, ministrante et operante Marta Marie audientiam attentionem et studium circa verbum ipsius precipue commendavit" [Whence the Lord, with Martha ministering and serving, commended Mary's listening, attentiveness, and eagerness for listening to His word] (*DN* IX: 47-50).

<sup>48</sup> This is contrary to what is noted by Ellen Jørgensen (1909): "...Lundenekrologiets Kalender fra det 12te Aarhundrede nævner St. Nicolaus, men ikke Georg, Catharina, Margaretha, Barbara eller Maria Magdalena" [...The calendar in *Necrologium Lundense* from the 12<sup>th</sup> century names St. Nicholas, but not George, Catherine, Margaret, Barbara or Mary Magdalen] (15) and Gad (1966): "Kalenderen i *Necrologium Lundense* (ca. 1120) har endnu ikke M.M.s dag 22/7..." [The calendar in *Necrologium Lundense* (ca. 1120) still does not include Mary Magdalen's day of 22 July...] (407).

only of her hermitage in the wilderness, but also the circumstances surrounding her death. The breviaries from Roskilde and Lund have selections from Mary Magdalen's *vita* for her feast day, but they are much more concise than those found in the Odense and Slesvig breviaries (Gad 1966: 407).

A note under Mary Magdalen's feast day in *Necrologium Lundense* relates that in 1126, an altar in the archbishopric of Lund was dedicated to a variety of saints, including the Magdalen, and that the church contained her relics:

Ipso die. anno incarnationis domini. M. c. xxvi. indictione. iiii. dedicatum est altare sinistrum in cripta. a uenarabili Ascero Lundensi archiepiscopo. in honorem sancti Iohannis apostoli. et euangelistę. et sancti Iacobi maioris. sanctorum martirum Gereonis. et Georgii. sanctorum confessorum. Martini episcopi. Nicholai archiepiscopi. et sanctę Marię Magdaleneę. quorum omnium reliquię in eodem continentur (Kroman 1960: fol. 150v).

Another altar dedication is mentioned in a Latin document from Hostrup church in South Jutland (National Museum of Denmark, inv. 20950), which tells that on September 29, 1477, Bishop Henrik of Slesvig personally dedicated the high altar of the church to Mary Magdalen, as well as the Virgin Mary, St. Laurentius, and St. Andreas (Liebgott 1981: 106, 204). An altar was dedicated to Mary Magdalen in Vor Frue Kirke in Copenhagen, and was used for display during the church's celebration of relics (*DK I*: 35). Among those on exhibit were various relics of the Magdalen, including unspecified relics in a glass reliquary also preserving relics of Apollonia, Ursula, Barbara, Dorothy, and Margaret of Antioch. Pieces of her clothing were in the so-called new Mary Magdalen figurine, unspecified relics were in the new Trinity figurine and "[e]t betydeligt stykke relikvie af hende" [a significant relic piece of her] was in the so-called old Mary Magdalen figurine (Liebgott 1981: 118-128). Roskilde cathedral, too, possessed relics of the saint. King Eric of Pomerania (1381/2-1459) reportedly gave the hand of Mary Magdalen to the cathedral as a gift. The relic was kept in the high altar (Gad 1971: 196; *DK III*: 374; Uldall 1906:

196). In addition, Mary Magdalen was the patron of various churches and other religious establishments in Denmark, including Dueholm monastery on Jutland (Gad 1971: 196). Several churches are named for her, including St. Marie Magdalene church in the diocese of Ribe (her patronage of this church is attested in a charter from September 7 1355 [DD 3.4: nr. 319]). The Magdalen also seems to have had special significance for the mendicant orders in medieval Denmark. She was patron for the Slesvig Sortebrødre (Benedictine monks) and perhaps also for the Dominicans in Lund. Her feast is named in the Dominican letters of indulgence as a day on which indulgences could be obtained, and she is praised in a martyrology for the Franciscans in Nysted (Jørgensen 1909: 29; Gad 1966: 407). Starting around 1500, Mary Magdalen's name appears as a personal name in Denmark in a variety of forms, including Madelen, Malene, and Lene (DGPI.2: 875; Gad 1971: 196).

Much of the evidence for Mary Magdalen's popularity in Denmark comes from medieval prayer books and books of hours, preserved in manuscripts from around 1500. Altogether there are no fewer than fifty prayers which are either for or include reference to the Magdalen. The prayers dwell on her repentance and great love for Jesus (Gad 1971: 196).<sup>49</sup> One prayer, included in *Visdoms spejl*, refers to the Magdalen as a noble mirror of penance (“...ædelig spegell thyl ræth penitenciam ...”) and elaborates on her repentance, both at Christ's feet and, later, in the wilderness, where she spent her remaining years (*MDB III*: 418). This prayer also mentions the Magdalen's apostolic role post-ascension, demonstrating that the *vita apostolico-eremitica* had made its way to medieval Denmark.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> One prayer in AM 75 8vo (ca. 1500) reads “... Sancta maria magdalena, mild frwe, uthwold aff gudh til reenligheed, thine mange syndher ære thig forladhen, Forty ath thu elskede megheet gudh ... .” [... Saint Mary Magdalen, gentle lady, chosen by God for cleanliness, your many sins were forgiven, because you loved God very much ...] (*MDB III*: 8-9).

<sup>50</sup> “...Thw vost ligh y thith leffneth meth appostlene, Thw predickede och lerd then hellige christelige thro lige ved appostlene. Then tyd thw haffde predicketh och lærd y lang thyd, saa haffwer tw ænth thyt lyff y eth hellick leffneth, och englene hafwer opførth thyn siæl y hemerige” [... You were similar in your way of life to the apostles, you

The prayers for Holy Thursday and Good Friday, most of which are in *Visdoms spejl*, focus on Mary Magdalen. They highlight her role before and during the crucifixion, where “... *iomfru maria holth om hanss hoffwet oc magdalena om hans føder ...*” (*MDB III: 321*),<sup>51</sup> as well as her presence at Christ’s tomb, where she anoints his body. Her presence alongside the Virgin at the crucifixion is noted elsewhere in medieval Danish literature, such as the *Mariaklagen* (fourteenth century) (Brøndum-Nielsen and Rohmann 1929: 19).<sup>52</sup> Aside from her repentance, the dominant theme in the Magdalen prayers is her role at the resurrection on Easter Morning. Still, Gad (1966) notes that “... nogle af bønnerne følger her den apokryfe tradition, at Jesus viste sig for sin moder først ...” (407).<sup>53</sup>

A service for the Magdalen, *Maria Magdalenas tider*, is preserved in AM 75 8vo (ca. 1500) and AM 72 8vo (fifteenth century). It contains psalms, canticles and hymns for the seven hours of prayer, and focuses mainly on Mary Magdalen’s repentance: “Looft wor thik gud fader oc søn [oc] then helgeandh, hwilken maria magdalenæ rynseth aff last, giff os for henne bøn at wi sænckes i ræth wis menske skare. Amen” (*MDB III: 46*).<sup>54</sup> The service also highlights Mary Magdalen’s role as the first witness of the resurrection, and details her time in the wilderness, where she was visited by angels seven times a day: “O maria magdalena, *christus* hafuer tig riggør med synnerligh priuilegi oc noddhe, thu glætis *meth* ænglis sangh vii tidher om daghen til monyfoldh gledhe” (*MDB III: 51*).<sup>55</sup> The service mentions how, when sitting at Christ’s feet at Bethany, Mary Magdalen chose the better part that would not be taken from her (“*Maria vtwolde*

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preached and taught the holy Christian faith like the apostles. That time you had preached and taught for a long time, then you ended your life in a holy way, and the angels had carried your soul into heaven] (*MDB III: 418*).

<sup>51</sup> ... the Virgin Mary held onto his head and the Magdalen onto his feet ...

<sup>52</sup> A similar scene is in SKB A 31.

<sup>53</sup> ... some of the prayers follow the apocryphal tradition, that Jesus appeared to his mother first .... For more on this tradition, see Chapter 1.

<sup>54</sup> Praise be to God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who cleansed Mary Magdalen of her sins, give to us for her prayer that we are put into the true way of the host of men.

<sup>55</sup> O Mary Magdalen, Christ has enriched you with a visible privilege and grace, you rejoice with the choir of angels seven times a day in great happiness.

then beste deel, then thær ikkæ thages fra henne” [*MDB* III: 55]), and concludes with a celebration of her place in heaven.

There are numerous medieval Danish artistic representations of Mary Magdalen. She is frequently depicted with her jar of precious ointment, as in Ballerup church in Northern Zealand (ca. 1430), Bregninge church in Northwest Zealand (ca. 1450), Stillinge church in Southwest Zealand (ca. 1500), Tågerup church on Lolland (ca. 1425), and Tingsted church on Falster (ca. 1480) (Saxtorph 1967: 70, 117-121, 168-169, 225-226 and 1997: 161-162; Broby-Johansen 1948: 100). In the church at Skive in Western Jutland (1522), one mural shows her with her jar of ointment, and in another with the Virgin Mary and the apostles (Saxtorph 1997: 207). The depiction of the Magdalen with her ointment jar is generally coupled with biblical scenes, as in the frescoes in Gerlev church in Southwest Zealand (ca. 1425), where she is shown alongside the Virgin Mary at the cross (Saxtorph 1967: 163-165). In Tved church in Djursland (ca. 1530), she kneels before the cross, and in Ejsing church in Western Jutland (ca. 1525), she anoints Jesus’ feet under the table at Lazarus’ house (Saxtorph 1967: 312-313, 274-275). In the murals at Ågerup church in Northwest Zealand (ca. 1500), she has her ointment jar, and in another mural at the same church she is stepping on a dragon (Saxtorph 1967: 153). Niels M. Saxtorph (1966) suggests that in the latter, the Magdalen adopted an attribute of Margaret of Antioch (a slain dragon) (408), but it is also possible that it was from her sister, Martha, who reportedly defeated a dragon at Tarascon. The Magdalen appears with some regularity in the company of the Virgin Mary and sometimes Martha. As noted above, the murals at Jørlunde church (ca. 1175-1200) have Mary Magdalen with Martha at Lazarus’ resurrection, and one of the frescoes in Kongens Lyngby church in Northern Zealand (ca. 1475-1500) shows her at the crucifixion alongside the Virgin Mary, John, and Martha (Saxtorph 1967: 85-86, 89-91). On a fifteenth-century chasuble from Århus cathedral, donated by Bishop Jens Iversen Lange and probably made in North Germany,

Mary Magdalen is shown kneeling and clinging to the foot of the cross (Michelsen and de Fine Licht 1972: 519-520). The legend in which the Virgin Mary, not Mary Magdalen, meets the resurrected Christ is shown in several artistic representations in medieval Denmark, including the churches at Førslev in Southern Zealand (ca. 1350) and Tilst in Eastern Jutland (ca. 1500) (Saxtorph 1966: 408). Other frescoes, such as those in the churches of Ejising in Western Jutland (ca. 1525), Jetsmark in Vendsyssel (1474), Estruplund on Djursland (1542), and Kongens Lyngby, stay true to the biblical story in which the Magdalen meets the resurrected Christ (Saxtorph 1967: 274-275, 296-297 and 1997: 187). This is also the case on the altarpiece from Boeslund church in Zealand (made in North Germany, ca. 1425), where Mary Magdalen meets Christ as the gardener (National Museum of Denmark, Inv. D10277). According to Saxtorph (1997), scenes where Jesus appears to the Magdalen on Easter morning are often displayed alongside depictions of Daniel in the lion's den (30). An embroidered figure of the Magdalen from St. Knud's church in Bornholm is also preserved, along with figures of four apostles (Paul, Peter, John, Andrew) and three female saints (Barbara, Catherine of Alexandria, and Dorothy). On the embroidery, which is from ca. 1500, Mary Magdalen is shown with her most common attribute: an ointment jar. The figure of the saint was most likely arranged on a blue episcopal cope opposite Dorothy (National Museum of Denmark, Inv. MML). Finally, the Magdalen's name appears inscribed on church bells, the most prominent being the Mary Magdalen bell from 1462, in St. Nicholas church in Burg (Femern). However, there is no relief of the saint on this bell. In contrast, the Trelleborg (Skåne) bell, "Magdalena" (from 1501), contains two reliefs of the Magdalen, both of which depict her with a jar of ointment (Uldall 1906: 190-191, 110).



## 2. Sweden and Finland

There is considerable evidence for the veneration of Mary Magdalen in medieval Sweden and Finland. In Sweden, the earliest reference to her feast day of July 22 is in *Kalendarium missalis Vallentunensis* (ca. 1198), and it continues to be recorded throughout the Middle Ages. In the *Breviarium Lincopense* (1493), for example, it is listed as a *duplex*, and the *Vadstena calendarium*, preserved in Vadstena nun Birgitta Andersdotter's prayer book from the beginning of the sixteenth century, also lists the Magdalen's feast. Moreover, the Gotlandic runic calendar (1328) marks it in red, designating it as a major feast day (Schmid 1945: 119; K. Peters 1950a: 9, 1950b: 9; Lithberg 1939: 8 and 59). The importance of Mary Magdalen's feast in the medieval Swedish church year is further indicated by its being listed as a *duplex* in all of the dioceses except Uppsala, where it is a *semiduplex* (Kilström 1966: 408). It also appears regularly in calendars from medieval Finland starting around the fourteenth century, and is even listed as a *totum duplex* in the *Kalendarium Dominicanum diocesis Aboensis* from around 1400. Otherwise, it generally appears as a *duplex* in Finland (as in Åland), except in the *Kalendarium Dominicanum diocesis Aboensis* (late thirteenth-early fourteenth century), where it is a *semiduplex* (Malin 1925: 80-81, 162-163; Häggman 1992: 36-37). Letters of indulgence from medieval Sweden also refer to the Magdalen and her feast day. On August 3, 1381, for example, bishop Nils of Linköping gave indulgences for those who visited Jönköping church on the feast days of several saints, including Mary Magdalen, and in 1289 Bishop Brynolf of Skara did the same at Vreta monastery (Pira 1952: 72-73, 143).

There are also numerous dedications to Mary Magdalen, particularly from medieval Sweden. She had her own choirs in the churches at Vadstena and Kalmar and at Strängnäs cathedral. In the church at Kalmar she had her own chapel with an altar, donated in 1407 by a knight named Abraham Brodersson (Pira 1952: 143). In Stockholm, King Magnus Eriksson

established a Maria Magdalena chapel shortly after 1347 (Frithz 1976: 160-161). Chapels in Uppsala cathedral, Riddarholm church in Stockholm, Kräcklinge church in Närke, and Brämhult church in Västergötland, and Åbo cathedral in Finland were also dedicated to the saint, and there was a funeral chapel named for her in the place where Mary Magdalen church in Stockholm now stands. Uppsala cathedral, Västerås monastery, Kraft church in Lund, Arboga parish in Västmanland, and St. Katarina church in Visby on Gotland each had an altar dedicated to the Magdalen. In addition, her relics were supposedly preserved at Uppsala cathedral, Grötlingbo church in Gotland, St. Katarina church in Visby on Gotland, and Gumlösa church in Scania. Many churches had Mary Magdalen as their patron, including Dannemora and Älvkarleby in Uppland, Floda in Södermanland, Arboga and Kungs-Barkarö in Västmanland, and possibly Edshult in Småland (Pegelow 2006: 181). Church dedications to the Magdalen are also recorded in the churches at Rusko, Sottunga, and at Föglö, which boasted having a bone fragment of the saint in a relic cross (Häggman 1992: 36). The first recorded use of the name Magdalena in Sweden is in 1455, and the Swedish forms of the name include Malin and Malena, as well as Magda and Lena (Otterbjörk 1964: 178).

Mary Magdalen appears regularly in liturgical material from medieval Sweden and Finland. For example, *Manuale Upsalense* lists “Sancta maria magdalene” in its litany of saints, and readings for the Magdalen’s feast day are included in the *Ordinarius Lincopensis* (ca. 1400) (Collijn 1918: xxxi, 9; Helander 1957: 377-378). *Helgeandshusmissalet* contains instructions for her office, and Åland has two vesper prayers for her: one to be read on eve of her feast day, and one for the feast itself (Frithz 1976: 395-396; Häggman 1992: 36-37). *Manuale Lincopense* (ca. 1525) lists Mary Magdalen in its litany of saints, as do *Hemsjömanualen* (late fourteenth/early fifteenth century), the Linköping breviaries (1493), and the Finnish *Manuale Aboense* (ca. 1552) (Freisen 1904: 74, 189, 248; Johansson 1950: 196; K. Peters 1950b: 155). The Linköping breviaries

furthermore contain a service for the Magdalen's feast, which includes hymns and readings based on biblical stories (K. Peters 1954: 708-713).

Prayers to Mary Magdalen are extant in several medieval Swedish prayer books, although there are not as many as in Denmark. The longest prayer is preserved in several prayer books, all from around 1500, including the early sixteenth-century prayer book of a Vadstena nun, *Christina Hansdotters (Brask) bönbok* (SKB A 38) (Geete 1907-1909: 429-430). A shorter prayer in AM 422 12mo (fourteenth century) describes how Mary Magdalen kissed Christ's feet, washed them with her tears, dried them with her hair, and anointed them with her precious ointment (Geete 1907-1909: 245). One Swedish prayer book—*Ingegärd Ambjörnsdotters bönbok* (SKB A 43)—includes a prayer that distinguishes Mary Magdalen from the sinful woman in Luke who anointed Jesus' feet at the house of Simon the Pharisee. It makes reference to the “syndogha qwinnan” (sinful woman) who kissed Jesus' feet, and shortly thereafter relates that Jesus drove seven demons from the Magdalen (“...frä[l]ste mariam magdalenam aff siw diäffwlskap”). However, no connection is made between the two women who, as noted in Chapter 1, were conflated during the Middle Ages (Geete 1907-1909: 163). Other prayers, such as the one in AM 422 12mo, focus on the Magdalen's presence at the resurrection (Geete 1907-1909: 46-47).

Mary Magdalen figures prominently in the *Old Swedish Legendary*. In *Sagan om St. Barnabas*, she is designated *apostolorum apostola*, and *Den Heliga Elizabeth af Ungern* refers to her encounter with Jesus at the house of Simon the Pharisee. Her feast day is also mentioned in *Sagan om Sankt Apollinaris*, *Sanct Laurentius-sagan*, and *Sancta Margareta-sagan* (Stephens 1847: 295, 826, 328, 424, 544). In addition, the legendary contains an independent saga of Mary Magdalen, which is a full-fledged Provençal *vita apostolico-eremitica*. The Old Swedish legend begins with a description of the Magdalen and her sinful nature, followed by her repentance at the house of Simon the Pharisee. Next is her role at the crucifixion and resurrection, which she

was the first to witness: “... that apostoli hem foro / hon war ok wærdhugh sea ensamin han først ater liua som ensamin stodh (ater nær) død(h)um)” (Stephens 1847: 265).<sup>56</sup> The text then relates her journey to Marseilles and the evangelization of Provence, and concludes with a description of her remaining years spent as a hermit in the wilderness, where she was lifted up to heaven seven times a day “swa at hon hørðhe søthan ængla sangh. ok himna glædhi” (Stephens 1847: 271).<sup>57</sup> As in *Legenda aurea*, these episodes are followed by accounts of the Magdalen’s death, the translation of her relics, and the various miracles she performed. A main focus of the legend is the episode involving Mary Magdalen and the duke and duchess of Marseilles—a section that is drastically condensed in the Old Norse-Icelandic *Mǫrtu saga og Mariu Magðalenu* (see Chapter 4). Along with the near absence of Martha in *S. Maria-Magdalen sagan*, this is one of the most significant differences between Old Norse-Icelandic and Old Swedish legends.

Mary Magdalen makes several appearances in *Sialinna thrøst*, a Swedish work preserved in the Vadstena manuscript SKB A 108 (ca. 1430-1450). The work is translated from a Low German redaction of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*, *Der große Seelentrost* (mid-fourteenth century), which is augmented with material from the Vulgate, Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*, and a number of Latin and native Swedish works. A central part of the work is an exposition on the ten commandments through biblical legends, miracle stories, and accounts of a more secular nature (Ronge 1970: 307-309). Although the work does not contain a separate legend of the saint, the Magdalen’s name appears several times, twice in connection to biblical episodes. In the exposition on the second commandment, the scene in which Mary Magdalen anoints the Lord with her precious ointment is briefly related, specifically as it relates to Judas’s negative reaction to this act and his eventual betrayal of Jesus (Henning 1954: 66). Furthermore, the

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<sup>56</sup> ... when the apostles left, she remained and was worthy to be the only one to see him first alive, she who alone stood near after his death.

<sup>57</sup> ... so that she heard the sweet angels’ song and heavenly joy.

exposition on the third commandment briefly tells how Jesus wept upon seeing the Magdalen's sorrow over her brother Lazarus' death (Henning 1954: 135-136). The same exposition mentions Mary Magdalen's feast day in a miracle story. A certain man plowed the field on the Magdalen's feast, and as punishment, lightning struck the field and burned him severely. He was cured only when he visited her church and vowed to never again work on a holy day (Henning 1954: 103-104). The Danish translation of the work, *Siæla trøst*, does not cover the expositions on the second and third commandments.<sup>58</sup>

There are numerous artistic depictions of Mary Magdalen from medieval Sweden and Finland. In Sweden alone, she is represented on over one hundred images on frescoes, altarpieces, sculptures, and textiles (Häggman 1992: 43).<sup>59</sup> She is most frequently shown with her jar of ointment. An example from Sweden is the stately painting of Mary Magdalen with her ointment jar on a fresco from Kumlinge church from the end of fifteenth or beginning of sixteenth century. In this depiction, her hair (which is typically depicted as long and flowing) is wrapped in a turban. She is also shown with her ointment jar in frescoes at the Finnish churches of Nykyrko, Letala, Bjärnä, and Tövsala, and in the churches at Bjärnä and Tövsala, she wears a turban (Häggman 1992: 44-45). An image in Almunge church in Uppland, whose murals date from the late fifteenth century, depicts the feast scene at the house of Simon the Pharisee and shows the Magdalen (as the unnamed sinner in Luke) washing Jesus' feet and drying them with her hair (Nilsén 1986: 18, 331). In addition, several glass panes in Gotland from the mid-thirteenth century show Mary Magdalen anointing Jesus' feet (Kilström 1966: 408). This motif, which is not found in Norway and Denmark, is also in frescoes from the Finnish churches Lojo (1514-1522) and Hattula (early sixteenth century). In Åbo cathedral, an early fifteenth-century fresco portrays the Magdalen kneeling before the Savior (Häggman 1992: 45-46). She is also shown regularly at the crucifixion

<sup>58</sup> *Siæla trøst* survives in only two fragments, from ca. 1425 (SKB A 109 and UUB C 529) (Wolf 2000: 62).

<sup>59</sup> An exhaustive list of the medieval Swedish depictions of Mary Magdalen can be found in Pegelow (2006: 309-310).

and resurrection. For example, she is depicted at the scene of the crucifixion on an ash sculpture from the church in Gräsö in Uppland (1475-1500). A common motif is Mary Magdalen at the foot of the cross, and is on a fresco from Hyby church in Skåne (1510) and in embroideries on chausubles from Råneå church in Norrbotten (late fifteenth century), Frötuna church in Uppland (early sixteenth century), Skå church in Uppland (ca. 1500), Tensta church in Uppland (ca. 1450), Uppsala cathedral (ca. 1480), and Åkerby church in Uppland (late fifteenth century). She is featured on sculptures showing Christ being taken down from the cross, as in Torpa church in Södermanland (fifteenth century) and in Bro church in Uppland (ca. 1520). Paintings and frescoes portraying the mourning of Christ also show the Magdalen, as is the case in the fifteenth-century fresco and altarpiece paintings in Torpa church in Södermanland, and the 1437 mural in Tensta church in Uppland (Pegelow 2006: 309-310).

The resurrection scene where Jesus reveals himself to the Magdalen as the gardener at the tomb is common in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Swedish church murals. It is found, for example, in Sala Västmanland and the churches of Biskopskulla, Rasbo, Estuna, Gryta, Tegelsmora, and Viksta, all of which are in Uppland. This motif is also common in early sixteenth-century art from Finland, for example in the churches of Hattula and Lojo (Nilsén 1986: 18-22, 366; Häggman 1992: 46). Embroideries from medieval Sweden also portray this event, and more specifically, the “noli me tangere” scene, which was the inspiration for embroideries on a chausuble from the church of Stigsjö in Ångermanland (early fifteenth century), a tapestry from Fodgö church in Södermanland (ca. 1475), and episcopal copes from Marstrand church in Bohuslän (early sixteenth century), Skå church in Uppland (ca. 1325-1350), and Värmdö church in Uppland (ca. 1500). The motif is moreover featured on several sculptures, as in Västra Ed church in Småland (1526), Häverö church in Uppland (1500-1525). It also appears in the church of Möklinta in Västmanland, and once on a baptismal font at Selånger church in

Medelpad (thirteenth century) (Pegelow 2006: 309-310). In resurrection scenes, Mary Magdalen is often shown in the company of the two other Marys: Mary of Clopas and Mary the mother of James and John. Images of these three Marys are in the churches at Norrsunda in Uppland, Fornåsa in Östergötland, and Lyllkyrka in Uppland, whose paintings date from the beginning of the fourteenth century (Nilsén 1986: 117-118; Nisbeth 1966: 44, 100-101).

An early sixteenth-century altarpiece from Härads church in Södermanland is particularly noteworthy due to its detailed portrayal of both the biblical and apocryphal lives of Mary Magdalen. She stands in the middle of the altarpiece with her ointment jar, and the wings display four paintings based on four scenes of the saint's life. The first shows her anointing Jesus' feet at the house of Simon the Pharisee, and the second has her meeting the resurrected Christ. The third depicts the Magdalen handing over her worldly goods to the apostles, and the fourth (as mentioned above) shows her, along with Martha, Lazarus, and Bishop Maximinus, on a boat to Marseilles (Pegelow 2006: 182). The Provençal legend of Mary Magdalen is represented more fully on a ca. 1400 altarpiece in the Franciscan church of St. Peter in Ystad. This altarpiece contains eight images from the life of Mary Magdalen. Two are scenes from the gospels. The first shows her at the house of Simon the Pharisee, and the second illustrates the scene in which she meets the risen Christ as the gardener, and has the words "noli me tangere" written underneath. Four motifs depict the Magdalen's time in Marseilles in the wilderness in Provence. One of the paintings shows her preaching to the city's inhabitants (Trotzig 1984: 175-178), a motif that tended to be downplayed or excluded entirely from the Magdalen legend in England and on the continent to discourage preaching by laypeople or women. Perhaps the most interesting image shows the Magdalen riding a horse. According to Aina Trotzig (1984), this scene corresponds to a cycle inspired by the late fifteenth-century mystery play known as "the worldly life of St. Mary Magdalene." However, the altarpiece precedes the first appearance of this

motif by a century (178-179). Mary Magdalen's *vita eremitica* and, more specifically, her journey to heaven, were frequently portrayed in medieval Swedish art, and especially by Albertus Pictor and his school. The earliest such representation is in Floda church in Södermanland, from the 1470s. Afterwards, artistic depictions of the Magdalen's ascetic existence appear in churches at Yttergran and Almunge in Uppsala, and in Täby in Uppland. In these, she is shown naked with long hair covering her body, and is floating in the air with three angels. A similar illustration is found on a copper stick from ca. 1450, and the motif appears in sixteenth-century paintings in Svärdsjö church in Dalarna. A depiction of the *vita eremitica* is not found in artistic representations of the saint from medieval Finland (Kilström 1966: 409; Pegelow 2006: 310).

### 3. Norway

Mary Magdalen's feast day of July 22 appears with some frequency in texts from medieval Norway. Stock. Perg. 28 4to, a Norwegian lawbook written in the early fourteenth century, contains a calendar from the Prémontréan monastery of St. Olav in the Tønsverb diocese of Oslo. The calendar lists the feast of Mary Magdalen, along with incipits of the antiphon of the octave of Mary Magdalen (Gjerløw 1968: 83). The *Kalendarium Munkalivense*, a mid-fifteenth-century calendar for the Brigittine convent in Munkaliv (near Bergen), also lists the Magdalen's feast under July 22 (Collijn 1926: 82 and 87). Moreover, it is included in the calendar in *Kristina Håkonsdatters psalterium* (GkS 1606 4to, thirteenth century), and in the calendars of various Norwegian lawbooks from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including OUB 317 4to (ca. 1300) and Stock. Perg. 30 4to (fourteenth century). Instructions for the Magdalen's feast day are detailed in several legal works dating from the reign of Magnus Håkonsson the Lawmender (1263-1280). The New Gulathing Christian Law (1267) designates it a *treøresdag*, which requires those who work on that day to pay three ører to the bishop ("enn ef menn vinna a þæim dagum þa



skal bæta firir þat .iij. aurvm biskupi”). The New Borgarthing Christian Law (1268), which lists “Mariu messo daghr Magdalene” among those feast days on which it is not necessary to fast (“Nu ero þæir daghar adrir er æighi er nonhælgr firir ne fasta”), also indicates it as a *treðresdag* (“En æf madr vinnr a þæimma doghum bæti byscupi .iij. aura”). Finally, variant readings of Archbishop Jon Raude’s Ecclesiastical Code (1273) list Mary Magdalen’s feast day as one that requires fasting. If a person works on this day, he or she must pay one and a half *ører* (rather than three) to the bishop (“En ef nokor vinnr a þessom dagum. bæte haluan annan oyri byskupi”) (Gjerløw 1963: 100; Rindal and Berg 1983: 16-18; Keyser and Munch 1848: 298, 317, 358-359).

The *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesie* includes an office for Mary Magdalen (*Jn natali beate marie magdalene*) for July 22. Lilli Gjerløw (1979) points out that this is the so-called English office, found in England in both secular and monastic form. In the use of Nidaros, it is in secular form. The hymn for vespers, *Magno salutis gaudio*, is found with musical notation in fragments of a thirteenth-century antiphoner for Nidaros Cathedral (179-182, 231-232). The *Ordo* also has “Maria Magdalena” in two *responsoria* and one *versus* to a *responsoria* (Gjerløw 1968: 239-240, 368). The Magdalen’s office is moreover included in *Breviarium Nidrosiense* from 1519, one of the first books to be printed in Norway. Here, her feast is graded a *semiduplex*, and her name is listed in the litany (Kerbriant and Bienayse 1964: h.v., v-vij; Gjerløw 1979: 218). In addition, the *Manuale Norvegicum* has the Magdalen in its litany of saints, and in all but one manuscript preserving it (i.e. Thott 110 8vo) she is first among those female saints whose names are invoked (aside from the Virgin Mary). The *Manuale* also contains instructions for the feast of Mary Magdalen and readings from various biblical passages where Mary Magdalen is mentioned, including Jesus’ visit to the house of Mary and Martha in the Gospel of Luke and the scene of the crucifixion in the Gospel of John (Fæhn 1962: 29, 133-134, 164, 166).

Mary Magdalen's feast appears regularly in Norwegian charters from the beginning of the fourteenth century. The first occurrence is on July 22, 1304, in a document relating an order issued by King Håkon Magnusson for the people of Kampen. The end of the letter reads: "... in festo beate Marie Magdalene, anno domini mo. ccco. quarto, anno vero regni nostri quinto" (*DN V: 44*).<sup>60</sup> She is named in letters of indulgence starting in the early fourteenth century and continuing throughout the Middle Ages. The first such letter of indulgence (of those preserved in the diplomas) is from Archbishop Eilif Kortin of Nidaros (d. 1332) and was written in May or September of 1318 for Rein Convent, giving it the authority to distribute forty-day indulgences on select feast days, including that of Mary Magdalen (*DN I: 136-137*). Her feast is also named in a letter of indulgence written on October 9, 1374, in which Archbishop Thronod of Nidaros offers a forty-day indulgence to sinners who visit and give alms to St. Laurentius church in Tunsberg on certain feasts (*DN I: 324*). In addition, the Magdalen's name—which began to be used in Norway in the fourteenth century in the form Magdalena—is found in several charters as a personal name (Kvaran 2002: 15; Kvaran and Sigurður Jónsson 1991: 395; Lind 1905-1915: 752). The earliest example is from October 17, 1356, in a reference to a woman named Magdhalena, who is said to be the wife of Arnald bakara of Oslo (*DN XI: 46-47*). The saint's name also appears in a document written on June 9, 1405 in Oslo regarding a dispute regarding a house in Oslo between two people, Vidar Reidarson and Magdalena Johannesdatter, who may be the same Magdhalena as in the 1356 charter (*DN IV: 548-549*; Lind 1905-1915: 752). Another document, written on October 4, 1491 in Bergen, names one "ffru Magdalena Axels søsther" (*DN VI: 646*). Magdalena occurs quite regularly as a personal name in Norway after 1500 (Lind 1905-1915: 752).

Mary Magdalen is mentioned once in the *Old Norwegian Homily Book* (ca. 1200), in a sermon on Christ's resurrection. The text reads:

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<sup>60</sup> ... on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, on the year of the Lord 1304, on the fifth actual year of our king.

Maria Magdalena *ok* aðrar naofnor hennar tvær foro með ilmaondum smyrslum til grafar drotens *ok* vildu smyria licam *hans*. En þær como snemma þessa dags til grafar at upprunninni solo. *ok* sáu þær ængil guðs sitia til hægri handar er þær como til grafarennar. *ok* ráddosc þær. En engillen mælti við þær. Eigi scolu þér ráðasc. Þvi at þér læitið *Iesum* ens crossfesta. eigi er hann her. upp reis *hann*. Fare þér *oc* sæigið lære-svæinum *hans ok* Petro at *hann* man cuma fyrir yðr í Galileam. þar muno þer *hann* sia sem *hann* sagðe yðr. Þenna at-burð upp-risu *Crist* sagðe Marcus í guðspialle (Indrebø 1931: 82).<sup>61</sup>

The author then expounds upon the passage with biblical exegesis and explains what each part of the selection from the Gospel of Mark signifies. The Magdalen does not appear elsewhere in this work, even though she is included in various homilies in the *Old Icelandic Homily Book*, which shares eleven homilies with its Norwegian counterpart (see below).

The surviving artistic representations of the Magdalen in Norway are generally from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. She is portrayed both in paintings and sculptures and, as in depictions from Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, she is most often with her jar of ointment. This image of her is found on sculptures on altarpieces in the churches of Ringsaker in Hedmark and Austevoll in Hordaland (E.S. Engelstad 1936: 187, pls. 156, 170). On the shutter door at Røldal church in Hordaland is a sixteenth-century depiction of the Magdalen holding a book, with St. Olav on the door opposite her. Her image is found on the left shutter door on an altarpiece in Norddal church in Møre (ca. 1510-1520), which portrays the crucifixion (E.S. Engelstad 1936: 187, 233, 249-250, pls. 115 and 90). There are sculptures of the Magdalen in the churches of Kinn in Sogn and Fjordane (ca. 1500-1525), Sandøy in Troms (ca. 1500-1525), Karlsøy in Troms (ca. 1520), and in the altarpieces in the churches of Grong in North Trøndelag (ca. 1450-1475) and Hillsøy in Troms (late fifteenth century) (E.S. Engelstad 1936: 187, 242-243, 266-267, 302-303, 309-311, pls. 174, 173, 147, 198, 188-189). Perhaps the most beautiful artistic representation of the

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<sup>61</sup> Mary Magdalen and her two namesakes went with fragrant ointment to the Lord's burial place and wanted to anoint his body. And they came early on this day to the burial site at the rising of the sun and they saw God's angel sitting to the right when they came to the burial site, and they became afraid. But the angel then spoke to them. Do not be afraid, because you are seeking the crucified Jesus. He is not here; he has risen. Go and tell his disciples and Peter that he will come before you in Galilea. There you will see him, as he told you. This event, the resurrection of Christ, Mark related in his Gospel.

Magdalen from medieval Norway is the one on the right shutter door of an altarpiece in Trondenes church in Troms (ca. 1500). Below St. Peter is an image of Mary Magdalen, adorned in fine clothing and with long and flowing hair. She is opening her jar of ointment, which bears the inscription SANTE MARIA (E.S. Engelstad 1936: 187, 297, pl. 82). Mary Magdalen also appears on textiles. She is shown on a chasuble dated to the end of the fifteenth century from an unknown church, where she clings to the foot of the cross alongside Jesus, Mary, and John (H. Engelstad 1941: 128-129). In Hof church in Toten, the Magdalen's name is inscribed on an altar border from the fifteenth century. The inscription reads "S fransiscus Nicodemuss S iohannes Maria O dulcis Ihesu S maria magdalena Joseps Cecilia" (H. Engelstad 1941: 144).

### The Cults and Legends in Iceland

The cult of Mary Magdalen enjoyed considerable popularity in medieval Iceland. This is evidenced primarily by church dedications (*máldagar*), which record a number of dedications to the saint. The Magdalen is reported to have been the patron of a chapel at Reykir in Fljót (Cormack 1994: 215). Her patronage is attested in 1401 in the will of Margrét Þorvaldsdóttir from Gnúpr in Gnúpsdal, who wished to support the maintenance of Mary Magdalen's chapel at Reykir.<sup>62</sup> This is, however, the first and only reference to this chapel in the charters, so it is unclear when it was established. Mary Magdalen was co-patron of six other Icelandic churches, though the majority of dedications that include her name seem to be no older than 1200 (Cormack 1994: 130). The first church to list the Magdalen as a co-patron was Fell in Kollafjörður in 1286.<sup>63</sup> The second dedication, at Hvammur in Hvammsveitt, is mentioned in the 1308 and 1397

<sup>62</sup> "...mariv minne magdalene ok hennar bænhusi ath reykium i flokadal þvi til vpphelldis" [... my Mary Magdalen and maintenance of her chapel at Reykir in Flokadal] (*DI III*: 671).

<sup>63</sup> "Kirckia vnder felli j kollafirdi er helgud med gudi mariu drottinnjngu: jone: postula: olaue kongi marie magdalene..." [The church at Fell in Kollafjörður is dedicated with God to the Virgin Mary, John the Evangelist, King Óláfr, and Mary Magdalen...] (*DI II*: 258).

inventories of that church.<sup>64</sup> Mary Magdalen is co-patron at Meðalfell, along with John the Apostle, King Olaf, and Þorlákr (attested 1397).<sup>65</sup> She appears with the same saints, as well as St. Michael, as co-patron of Grunnavík (attested 1397).<sup>66</sup> In a 1200 inventory from Þerney, she is named as a co-patron with a number of other saints. Among these is Þorlákr, with whom the Magdalen is frequently paired, presumably since her feast was celebrated only two days after his *translatio* (July 20) (Cormack 1994: 159).<sup>67</sup> The dedication at Þerney is moreover attested in a inventory from 1269,<sup>68</sup> but the 1397 inventory for the church only lists the Virgin Mary and Þorlákr as its patrons (*DI IV*: 113). This could be due to the fact that these were considered to be the church's primary patron saints, or simply because by this point the church only had two patrons. The sixth and final dedication is at Skarð in Skarðsströnd, where Mary Magdalen is listed among her co-patrons the Virgin Mary, Peter, and All Saints in an inventory from 1401.<sup>69</sup> Her name does not appear in the earlier inventories for Skarð in Skarðsströnd from 1258 or 1274, which leads Margaret Cormack (1994) to hypothesize that "... the patrons changed as a result of one of the [church's] consecrations" (220, n. 66) Martha, on the other hand, never appears in the inventories as a patron or co-patron of a church.

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<sup>64</sup>"Kirkian j hvamme er helgud gudi allzvalldannda oc sælli gudz modur marie. johanne baptista. petri oc johanne postulum. olafi konungi oc þorlaci biskupi. marie magdalene oc ollum gudz helgum monnum" [The church in Hvammur is dedicated to God's almighty power and to the blessed Lord's mother Mary, John the Baptist, Peter and John the Apostle, King Óláfr, Bishop Þorlákr, Mary Magdalen, and all God's holy men and women] (*DI III*: 8 and *DI IV*: 159).

<sup>65</sup> "A Meðalfelli j Kjos er kirkia vijgd med Gudi Mariæ drottningu og hinumm heilaga krossi. Joni postula. Olafi kongi. þollaki biskupe oc Mariu Magdalen" [The church at Meðalfell in Kjós is dedicated with God, Queen Mary, and the Holy Cross to John the Apostle, King Óláfr, Bishop Þorlákr, and Mary Magdalen] (*DI IV*: 115).

<sup>66</sup> "Mariukirkia j Grunnavijk. Michaelis. Johannis Baptistæ. Olavi. Thorlaci oc Mariæ Magdalenæ ..." [The Church of Mary in Grunnavík. Michael. John the Baptist. Óláfr. Þorlákr and Mary Magdalen...] (*DI IV*: 138).

<sup>67</sup> "Mariv er kirkia helgvð j þern eyio. jacobo postvla. nicholao ok Thorlaco, marie magdalene ok Agnete" [The church in Þerney is dedicated to Mary, Jacob the Apostle, Nicholas, Þorlákr, Mary Magdalen, and Agnes] (*DI I*: 413).

<sup>68</sup> "Mariu er kirkia helgvð j Þerney: jacobo postula: nicholao og Thorlaco. marie magdalene" [The church in Þerney is dedicated to Maria, the Apostle Jacob, Nicholas, Þorlákr, and Mary Magdalen] (*DI II*: 64).

<sup>69</sup>"Mariv kirkia ath skardi a skards strond er helgut oc uigd gudi als vandada. jvngfru sancte marie guds modvr oc hinum blezada petro postola. marie magdalene oc ollum gudz heilaugum monnum" [Mary's Church at Skarð in Skarðsströnd is elaborately dedicated and consecrated to God, St. Mary, the virgin mother of God, and the blessed Apostle Peter, Mary Magdalen, and all God's holy people] (*DI III*: 655).

Mary Magdalen's feast day is listed in a number of medieval Icelandic calendars. It appears in the calendar in the fragment Stock. Perg. 36 4to V (mid-fifteenth century), where it is a minor *duplex*.<sup>70</sup> Her July 22 feast is also included in the calendars in AM 249d fol. (ca. 1300) (Kålund 1888: 227),<sup>71</sup> AM 249e fol. (ca. 1300-1400) (ONP 1989: 439; Gjerløw 1980: 103, 122-124, 126),<sup>72</sup> AM 249f fol. (early thirteenth century) (Kålund 1888: 228; Gjerløw 1980: 110, 122-124, 126),<sup>73</sup> AM 249m fol., (late fourteenth century) (Gjerløw 1980: 117-118, 122-124),<sup>74</sup> AM 249o fol. (ca. 1300) (Kålund 1888: 231), and AM 249p fol. (thirteenth century) (Kålund 1888: 231, Gjerløw 1980: 95-96, 122-124).<sup>75</sup> AM 249c fol. (ca. 1300), a liturgical calendar which runs parallel with a *cisiojanus* (rhymed calendar), lists the Magdalen under July 21 and in the *cisiojanus* for July (ONP 1989: 439; Kålund 1888: 226-227):<sup>76</sup>

<sup>70</sup> "*Hic sunt minora dupplica. in cathedra petri. Gregorij. ambrosij. Marci ewangeliste. barnebe apostoli. Celebracio pauli. divisio apostolorum. Festum marie magdalene. Translacio olavi. Ad vincula petri. Augustini Magni. Jeronimi presbiteri. Festum reliquiarum. luce ewangeliste. Pass[io sancte Katari]ne*" [These are the minor *duplex* feast days. The chair of Peter. Gregory. Ambrosius. Mark the Evangelist. Barnabas the Apostle. The mass celebration of Paul. The division of the apostles. The feast of Mary Magdalen. The translation of Óláfr. At the imprisonment of Peter. Augustine the Great. Jerome the presbyter. The feast of the relics. Luke the Evangelist. The passion of St. Katherine] (Magnús Már Lárusson 1963: 108-109).

<sup>71</sup> According to Gjerløw (1980), AM 249d fol. "... originally belonged with the psaltar C [AM Access. 7d Psalter VII]. A note by Árni Magnússon, attached to it, says that he had received it as a gift from Mag. Björn Þorleifsson (bishop of Hólar 1697-1710) in 1703, prefixed to a Psalterium Latinum, and that it might have come from (the church of) Skinnastaðir ... This psaltar was dated c. 1360-1370 by Árni Magnússon. ... This date may be too early" (p. 105).

<sup>72</sup> Gjerløw (1980) notes that this calendar was "... originally prefixed to the psalter B [AM Access. 7d. Psalter II; Lbs. fragm. 60], [and] has attached to it a note by Árni Magnússon: 'Frá Eyri i Skutilsfirde. Framan vid altare slitur'" (103).

<sup>73</sup> Gjerløw (1980) writes that this calendar was "... written by the same scribe (except for one leaf), was formerly prefixed to F [AM Access. 7d. Psalter XI from the first quarter of the fourteenth century]. The provenance of this calendar is known; a note attached to it by Árni Magnússon says that it came from the church of Vallanes (S. Múl., diocese of Skálholt), and that it was bound together with a psalter: 'Fra Vallaness kirkiu | var i spiólldum | og Ψalltari aptanvid.' Among the numerous additions to this calendar is the dedication by Bishop Oddgeir of the church of Vallanes to St. John the Baptist on St. Alexis' day, 17 July, 1367 [...] The calendar consists of three bifolia, ff. 1-6, and a separate leaf, f. 7. F. 1r is blank, f. 1v-6v contains the months January-November. F. 7 with the mont of December on the recto, and a pascal table on the verso, possibly a replacement of a lost leaf, is written in a later hand, with Arabic numerals for the days from 14 to 31 December" (110).

<sup>74</sup> Attached to this calendar, which only contains the months April-December, is a note by Árni Magnússon which reads: "þetta mun vera fra Eyri i Skutilsfirde." Gjerløw believes that this manuscript "...may possibly have belonged with MS s [AM 209 8vo]" (p. 101). Wolf (2000) notes that this manuscript "...contains, in the lower margin of each month, the same *cisiojanus* as AM 249c fol. with some Icelandic additions" (65, n. 85).

<sup>75</sup> Jonna Louis-Jensen has identified AM 249p fol. as belonging to AM 241a fol. Psalter (Gjerløw 1980: 101).

<sup>76</sup> Regarding this manuscript, Gjerløw (1980) remarks, "Árni Magnússon's note attached to it says that it was prefixed to a 'mutilo Ψalterior Latino ä Skardi ä Skardzströnd', which he received as a gift in 1708. As pointed out by J. Þorkelsson ... the calendar was, however, a late-comer to Skarð. An analysis of the obits, entered c. 1400, points to the great family of Oddi and its ramifications" (125).

Jul suit pro martini tho seli fra benedicti  
 Di suit a *postque* mar prax mar a crist iacob dor pan ol ab ger (Odenius 1959: 96).

AM 249k fol. (ca. 1475-1525) also includes the Magdalen's feast as July 21 (ONP 1989: 439).<sup>77</sup>

The same manuscript preserves a prayer to Mary Magdalen in the margins under the month of March, which appears to have been taken from the suffrages of the saints section in a Latin book of hours:

Largíre nobís clementíssime pater quo sicut beata maria magdalena *dominum nostrum* ihesum *christum* super *omnia* diligendo *suorum* optínuít ueniam pecca minum ita nobís *apud misericordiam tuam cempiternam* ímpetret *beatitudinem: per dominum nostrum* ihesum *christum* filium tuam.<sup>78</sup>

The foreign calendars AM 249b fol. (ca. 1300)<sup>79</sup> and AM 249h fol. (ca. 1160-1189),<sup>80</sup> as well as the post-Reformation calendar AM 249i fol. (ca. 1600) (ONP 1989: 439; Kálund 1888: 229),<sup>81</sup> list the Magdalen's feast day. Moreover, the late sixteenth-century calendar AM 249g fol. has "magd" in the *cisiojanus* for July, though the saint's name is not written out in full in the calendar (Kálund 1888: 229).<sup>82</sup> Martha's feast of July 29 is listed only in AM 249a fol. (thirteenth century), a calendar of English origin, which also has the Magdalen's feast day (Wormald 1966: 176-180).<sup>83</sup>

The exclusion of Marths from the medieval Icelandic calendars is perhaps best explained by the

<sup>77</sup> This manuscript is fragmentary, and only covers the months February-October.

<sup>78</sup> Grant to us, most merciful Father, that as the blessed Mary Magdalen received pardon for her sins through loving our Lord Jesus Christ above all other things, that she might obtain a blessing by your everlasting mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ, your son.

<sup>79</sup> The primary source of AM 249b fol. was a German martyrological calendar, which was chiefly based on Martyrology of Usuard (Gjerløw 1980: 205). The original provenance of the calendar, however, is still in doubt (Wolf 2000: 67, n. 91).

<sup>80</sup> According to Magnús Már Lárusson (1963), this calendar is south German (106).

<sup>81</sup> Árni Magnússon has written on a note attached to the manuscript: "Þetta er Calendarium þad sem stod framavid Grallaranu er eg feck af Ragneidi Markusdottur i Storadal, qvem alibi descripsi & postea discerpsi."

<sup>82</sup> Kálund (1888) writes that "Kalendariet er muligvis udført af eller for en søn af den skálholtske biskop Gísli Jónsson, Árni Gíslason, om hvem en notits med navns underskrift findes under 20. july (fra år 1585)" (229).

<sup>83</sup> According to Wormald (1966), the calendar was attached to a sixteenth century English psaltar that came from England and was in the possession of the Church of Skálholt (174).

fact that the feast day of St. Olav, a Holy Day of Obligation in the Icelandic church, fell on the same day.<sup>84</sup>

Mary Magdalen's July 22 feast day appears with some frequency in legal texts. In *Grágás*, it is not designated as a Holy Day of Obligation, but rather is named among the *leyfis dagar* ("days of relaxed observance" [Cormack 1994: 16]):

Pessir eru leyfis dagar. Sebastiani. Vincencij. blasij. agathe. *Johannis ante portam latinam*. Barnabe. Viti. *Johannis et Pauli. Commemoracio Pauli. vij. fratrum. Marie Magdalene. Aduincla Petri. Inuencio stephani. sexti. Ypoliti. Octaua Marie. Augustini. Decollacio Johannis baptiste. Mauricij. Cosme et Damiani. Remigij. Dionisij. Gereonis. Luce. virginum. Seuerini. Briccij. Theodori. Barbare. Leyfi er tuimællt at hafa Barbaro Messo ef ægi stendr aa föstu degi* (Finsen 1974: 36).<sup>85</sup>

The 1552 Alþing resolution regarding the *helgidagahald* ("the holding of holy days"), written by the wealthy lawman Eggert Hannesson (d. 1584), also mentions the Magdalen's feast day, along with that of St. Laurence:

Enn allar postulamessur a huerium degi uikunnar sem þær eru. Mariu Magdalienu dagur oc Laurentij dagur færirst a næsta eptirfarandi sunnudag. enn halldist ecki adra daga. nema þar sem ad fornu eru soknarkirkiur oc sierhuerium þar helgat þo falsklega hafi uerid. þa ma ad þeirri soknarkirkiu halldast sa messudagur a huerium sem fellur j uikunni og heiti þa kirkiudagur (*DI XII: 443*).<sup>86</sup>

Martha's feast day does not appear in legal texts, which, as mentioned above, is probably because she shared a feast with St. Olav.

References to the Magdalen and her feast appear regularly in medieval Icelandic charters, particularly those from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The earliest charters comprise the

<sup>84</sup> Cormack (1994) writes that the feast of Mary Magdalen and Martha occurs frequently in Icelandic calendars (40). It seems, however, that Cormack misread the January 19 feast day of Marius and his wife, Martha ("Marii & Marthe") as being that of Mary and Martha.

<sup>85</sup> These are the days on which it is permitted to work. Sebastian, Vincent, Blaise, Agatha, St. John before the gate, Barnabas, Vitus, John and Paul, the Commemoration of Paul, the Seven brothers, Mary Magdalen, the Chains of St. Peter, the Invention of St. Stephen, Sixtus, Hippolytus, the Octave [of the Assumption] of the Virgin Mary, Augustine, the Decollation of John the Baptist, Maurice, Cosmas and Damianas, Remigius, Dionysius, Gereon, Luke, the [11,000] Virgins, Severinus, Briccius, Theodore, Barbara. If St. Barbara's day is not on a Friday, it is permitted to have two meals.

<sup>86</sup> And all of the masses of the apostles on each day of the week as they are. The feast day of Mary Magdalen and the feast day of Laurentius should be moved to the following Sunday, but not held on other days, except there where previously were parish churches and every one there have been still falsely dedicated. Then the feast days may at that parish church be held on the days of the week on which they fall and might be called then church days.



orders of Bishop Magnús Gizurarson (1216-1237) for Kirkjusiða, which indicate that the creed should be sung on Mary Magdalen's mass (and in one case, her assumption) (*DI I*: 435, 438, 440, 443, 446, 449, 452, 454, 455, 458, 461). Her feast is frequently used to date letters, as in the letter of resolution written at Skarð in 1479 by Ólöf Loptsdóttir, regarding the cohabitation of her daughter, Solveig, and Páll Jónsson (*DI VI*: 182). Similarly, the Magdalen's feast is named in a letter written on July 22, 1504 at Skálholt by Bishop Stefán Jónsson (1491-1518) pertaining to the account of the church at Hagi at Barðastrand (*DI VII*: 718-719). In addition, the letter of indulgence written on May 7, 1446 by Bishop Godswin (Goðsvin) Comhaer (1437-1447) of Skálholt promises absolution for those who visit and donate to the monastery in Hoeneppe in Holland on certain feast days, including Mary Magdalen's (*DI IV* 679-681). A church ordinance for the Icelandic people commissioned by the Danish King Christian III (r. 1534-1559) on September 2, 1537 includes instructions for the feast of Mary Magdalen. She is mentioned in one charter pertaining to holy days, and in another under King Christian III's decree that "[p]ostulamessur skulu opinberliga af predikunarstolnum bodadar vera og med sancte marie magdalene. og sancte laurentij messo vppa næsta epterfylgianda sunnudag færðar vera. A mariv magdalenu dag ma vel syngiazt Sequentian Laus tibi christe" (*DI X*, p. 138, 271).<sup>87</sup>

The Magdalen is also named in a number of testaments, indicating personal devotion to the saint. The July 8, 1531 letter of testament of Inga Jónsdóttir, wife of lawman Teitr Þorleifsson, reads, "j fyrstu grein at ec gef mic og mina sal synduga under skiol og uerndarskaut almectugs guds. og arnadaord hans blezsad(r)ar modur Marie og sancte iohannis baptiste þar med sancte peturs postula Marie magdalene sancte aunnu sancte dorothea sancte olafi kongi.

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<sup>87</sup> The masses of the apostles should be openly preached from the pulpit, and the masses of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Laurentius should be moved to the following Sunday. On the day of Mary Magdalen the sequence *laus tibi christi* should be well sung.

þorlaki biskupe” (*DI IX*: 591).<sup>88</sup> In his own letter of testament, written on July 3 of the same year, Teitr commends his “synduga sal” (sinful soul) to the Magdalen, among other saints (*DI IX*: 586). The *Heitbréf Eyfirðinga* (vow letter of Eyjafjörður), written on March 11, 1477 by the people of the Eyjafjörður region, shows a localized devotion to the saint. The area had recently been devastated by volcanic eruptions, and the citizens of Eyjafjörður—who believed this disaster to be divine punishment—swore solemn vows to a variety of saints, including Mary Magdalen. In this instance, she is listed first among “Gudz heilagra meya” (God’s holy maidens) (*DI VI*: 105).

The Magdalen’s repentance is mentioned as an *exemplum* in an interdict written on November 29, 1538 by Bishop Ögmundur Pálsson of Skálholt (1521-1540): “Maria Magdalena syndgádest á móte gude. enn er hun sorgade og gret sinar synder. feck hun aflausn allra sinna synða. og er nu hin ædsta Gudz brudur. Af þessara dæmum ber oss syndugum monnum ad semia vort framferde” (*DI X*: 390-391).<sup>89</sup> A similarly worded reference appears in a letter of admonition written by Bishop Ögmundur in the same year (*DI X*: 394). Liturgical readings pertaining to the Magdalen are included in the *Old Icelandic Missal* in AM 98 I 8vo (ca. 1200) (Gjerløw 1980: 33, 36). In addition, one of the Latin fragments in AM Access. 7b (thirteenth century), “... probably the oldest extant Icelandic antiphoner written according to the use of the Nidaros Ordinary,” contains parts of the saint’s office, from Reponsoria 1 (*Gloriosa es*) to Antiphoner 8 (Sollempnitatem Magdalene) (Gjerløw 1980: 112; 1979: 255). Yet another Latin fragment in AM Access. 7b (fourteenth century) contains a *graduale* with two sequences for Mary Magdalen: *Laus tibi christe qui es* and *Mane prima sabbati* (Andersen 2008: 26; Eggen 1968: lxiv-lxv, 205-208, 208-210, MS q). The saint is also named in the *prologi* of the *Suscipe*-prayers (beginnings of the

<sup>88</sup> In the first point I put myself and my sinful soul under the shelter and neverending bosom of Almighty God and the intercession of his blessed mother Mary and Saint John the Baptist with Saint Peter the Apostle, Mary Magdalen, Saint Anne, Saint Dorothy, Saint King Óláfr, and Bishop Þorlákr.

<sup>89</sup> Mary Magdalen sinned against God, but she repented and cried for her sins. She received absolution for all of her sins, and is now the most exalted of God’s brides. From this example it is our duty as sinful people to change our behavior.

psalter) preserved in AM 241a fol. and AM 209 8vo (Gjerløw 1980: 134-137, MSS A, s, t).

Martha, on the other hand, does not appear in the surviving liturgy from medieval Iceland, nor do Icelandic charters make reference to her feast day.

The extant church inventories (*máldagar*) reveal that while several medieval Icelandic churches had artistic representations of Mary, none contained an image of Martha. An inventory from 1394 by Bishop Pétur Nikulásson of Hólar (1391-1411) indicates that Skútustaðir had “mariu lijknesi magdalenæ” (an image of Mary Magdalen). In addition, the church of Hólar in Eyjafjörður had a tablet (*paxblad*) depicting the Magdalen (“paxblad. Maria Magdalena ä bladi”), and Ríp in Hegranes possessed an image of the saint (*DI III*: 526, 529, 557). The *paxblad* at Hólar is attested once more in 1429 (“a bladæ marie likneski Magdalene”) (*DI IV*: 378), and yet again in 1461 (“paxblad oc annat blad. oc er a skrifad maria magdalena.”) (*DI V*: 309). A 1397 inventory from Oddi records that the church had “Jons likneski postula og Mariu magdalene” (*DI IV*: 75), which is also documented in the inventory from 1488 (*DI VI*: 630). Moreover, a 1397 inventory for Hvammur records that an image of Mary Magdalen costing no less than ten *aurar* was to be purchased in Norway (“kantarakapa sæmilig oc Mariæ lykneski Magdalene. þat sem ey kostadi minna enn x aura j Noreigi”) (*DI IV*: 160; Cormack 1994: 130). The inventory of Skarð at Skarðsströnd from 1397 lists the Magdalen’s image (“Peturs lykneski. Jacobi et Mariæ Magdalenæ”) (*DI IV*: 158). Svalbarð at Svalbarðsströnd also reportedly had an image of Mary Magdalen (maria magdalena likneski) (*DI V*: 299-300), and in a 1540 inventory it is recorded that the church possessed “Magdalenu skript” (a drawing of the Magdalen) (*DI X*: 557, 559). Borg at Mýrar contained an image of the saint (attested 1512: “likneske mariv magdalene”) as did Þingeyrar monastery (attested 1525: “marie magdalene likneski”) (*DI VIII*: 378; *DI IX*: 313). Cormack (1994) remarks that the ages of the images from Borg, Þykkvabær, and Oddi cannot be determined, and the images recorded at the see of Hólar (Hólar, Ríp, and Skútustaðir) “...are the

only evidence for interest in her in that diocese, [and] were all obtained after 1318; those at Skarð and Hvammur appear to be from the second half of the fourteenth century” (130). However, an altar from the diocese of Hólar, attested in 1396, has the Magdalen’s name and image alongside that of St. Olav on the jamb on the women’s side of the church (*DI* III: 611). Mary Magdalen is shown in several manuscript illuminations, either in the company of the other two Marys at Jesus’ tomb (as in AM 241a p. 29) or with Martha and Lazarus (as in AM 233a fol. 19v). *Íslenzka teiknibókin* has the saint with Jesus and the Marys at the scene of the resurrection (Björn Th. Björnsson 1954: 152), and a chasuble from Skálholt cathedral shows Mary Magdalen clinging to the foot of the cross (National Museum of Denmark, plate nr. 5d42). The Magdalen has moreover been identified on an altarpiece from Hólar cathedral church, which was likely made in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century. On the main part of the alterpiece, she is gripping the foot of the cross, and on the left wing she is alongside Jesus in the “noli me tangere” scene (*KÍ* 6: 189-193). It is also possible that she is one of the women depicted at the resurrection scene on the mid-fifteenth century English-made alabaster altarpiece from Möðruvallakirkja in Eyjafjörður (*KÍ* 10: 266). Martha’s image, on the other hand, only appears in the AM 233a fol. illumination, in which she and Mary stand alongside their deceased brother, Lazarus.

The inventories contain several references to legends of Mary Magdalen and/or Martha. The 1525 inventory from Hólar at Hjaltadalur lists “mariu magdalena saga” (*DI* IX: 299). Saurbær in Laufás also possessed a saga of Mary Magdalen, according to a church inventory from 1525: “jtem ceciliu saga. mariu saga magdalena...” (*DI* IX: 329). These two inventories may be referring to the extant composite legend or a separate, now lost Old Norse-Icelandic saga of Mary Magdalen—perhaps the one Árni Magnússon inventoried as “Mariu Saga Magdalenæ” (Kálund

1909: 16).<sup>90</sup> A 1461 *máldagi* from Möðruvallaklaustur records that the monastery owned the composite Old Norse-Icelandic legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha (“Marie magdalene oc marte”) among its “norrænv bækur” (*DIV*: 288-289). The personal name Marta does not appear in Iceland until late in the eighteenth century, and Magdalena does not occur until the nineteenth century (Kvaran and Sigurður Jónsson 1991: 395, 407; Kvaran 2002: 17).

The translation of Mary Magdalen’s relics is mentioned in both *Laurentius saga* and two Icelandic annals (*IV* and *VII*). The entry in *Annal IV* reads:

Svnn daginn eptir páschavikv .viiij. kl. maij. var lagðr i scrin heilagr dómr Marie Magdalene. ok þá bóttiz jarlinvm af Peters. hann var nvminn allr oðrvm megin. ok mátti eigi mēla meir an hálfvm mvnni. hann var bróðir Lovis Frakkakonungs ok Karls konungs. Þetta var i Bvrgvndi. i stað þeim er heitir Virdilai. id est in Virdiliaco (Storm 1888: 136-137).

This entry gives the correct location of the translation of Mary Magdalen’s relics, but the two other texts mentioning the translation of the saint’s relics in 1267 (*Laurentius saga* and *Annal VII*) give a different location (Storm 1888: 258).<sup>91</sup> Einarr Hafliðason, the author of both of these works, clearly confused the episode in question with the discovery of the Magdalen’s relics in Saint Maximin in Provence, which, as discussed in Chapter 1, took place in 1279 under the supervision of the Angevin prince, Charles of Salerno (Cormack 1994: 130-131).

Mary Magdalen is referred to in the Icelandic miscellany AM 624 4to (ca. 1500 [*ONP* 1989: 457]), which contains a number of legends (*afintýri*), translated primarily from Vincent de

<sup>90</sup> The manuscript containing this legend also appears to have preserved *Pislar saga* (Lat. *Nicodæmi gesta salvatoris [de passione Christi]*), *De Cruce Christi Relatio*, and *Niðrstinginga saga* (Kålund 1909: 16).

<sup>91</sup> *Annal VII*, which also refers to the year 1267 the deaths of the young prince Óláfr and Archbishop Hákon, as well as the crusades of King Karl of Apulia and his brother King Hlödver of France, reads, “Þa birtizst Maria Magdalena ok logd j skrin ad sanctum Maximinum” [Then Mary Magdalen appeared and was placed in a shrine at St. Maximin] (Storm 1888: 258). The same phrase is included in *Laurentius saga byskups* in reference to the year in which Laurentius was born: “Pat gerðist þá tíðenda í oðrum löndum á þeim misserum, sem Laurentius var fæddr, at þá andaðist Hákon erkibyskup í Niðarósi ok junkæri Óláfr. Karl konungr at Púli var krossaðr til Jórsala ok Hlödver Frakkakonungr, bróðir hans. Þa birtist Mária Magdalena ok lögð í skrin ad sanctum Maximinum” [These events happened in other lands in that year, when Laurentius was born, that Archbishop Hákon of Niðaróss and young prince Óláfr died. King Karl at Apulia and his brother, King Hlödver of France, took the cross as crusaders to Jerusalem. Then Mary Magdalen appeared and was laid in a shrine at St. Maximin] (Árni Björnsson 1969: 6).

Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, and Wilhelm of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*. One of these legends tells of a woman who fasted on the vigil of the mass of Mary Magdalen and was thereafter visited in a dream by the saint, who told the woman that she would not be pardoned unless she confessed and was absolved her sins (Gering 1882-1883: 118).<sup>92</sup> Hugo Gering (1882-1883) points out that a similar story, in which the Magdalen appears to a chaplain of Flanders named Stephanus, appears in the miracle section of the legend of Mary Magdalen in *Legenda aurea* (94). In addition, *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*, supposedly translated in the first part of the thirteenth century by King Håkon the Young of Norway, contains two references to the saint. The first likens the Magdalen, who fell at the feet of the Lord to beg for forgiveness, to the repentant sinner Pelagia, who in the same way fell at the feet of Bishop Nonnus (Rindal 1981: 78). The second tells how the newly converted Nachor retired to the desert, where he was baptized after washing a hermit priest's feet with his tears of repentance. His act is compared to that of Mary Magdalen, who in a similar manner washed the feet of the Lord (Rindal 1981: 136).

The Icelandic translations of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* and homilies refer several times to Mary Magdalen, and once to Martha. The first mention of the composite Magdalen (that is to say, Mary Magdalen, Mary of Bethany, and the unnamed sinner in Luke) is in AM 677 4to (ca. 1200-1225 [ONP 1989: 461]). The text, which is a translation of Gregory's thirty-third homily on Luke 7:36-50, tells of Mary Magdalen at the house of Simon the Pharisee, where Jesus relates the parable of the two debtors (Þorvaldur Björnsson 1878: 79-85). The next is a homily on

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<sup>92</sup> “Þat var ein kona er fastaði við brað ok vatn fyrir Maríu móður Magdalena, er henni vitraðiz í svefni svá segjandi til hennar, at hon skyldi engan pardun taka fyrir sína föstu fyrr en hon væri leyst af þeim syndum ok skriptut af þeim er hon hafði lengi í legit: ‘þvíat þín fasta líkar hvárki guði né mér svá lengi sem þú geymir þær hjá þér.’ Síðan for hon ok skriptaðiz ok svá hjálpaðiz hon” [There was a certain woman who fasted on bread and water for Lady Mary Magdalen, who appeared to her in her sleep saying thus to her, that she would not be pardoned through fasting before she confessed and was released from those sins she had long carried with her, “because your fasting is pleasing to neither me nor God as long as you keep them with you” Then she went and confessed and then she helped her] (Gering 1882-1883: 118).

Martha and Mary in the above-mentioned miscellany AM 624 4to. It focuses on the scene in Luke 10 where Jesus visits Bethany and Mary sits and listens at Jesus' feet (thus choosing the "upplitningar líf," the contemplative life) while Martha busies herself with domestic tasks (thus choosing the "sýslo líf," the active life) (Þorvaldur Björnsson 1878: 154-158). The text in the homily, which concentrates on the merits of the contemplative life versus those of the active life, is based on at least two sources. One is a translation of *Homilia de sanctis* nr. 48, and the other can be best compared to the Venerable Bede's fifty-seventh homily (Kirby 1980: 72). Mary Magdalen is also referred to in AM 655 XXI 4to (c. 1200-1250 [ONP 1989: 459]), in a short description of the scene in which she anoints Jesus' feet ("En maria helti dýrligom smýrflom yfer hæfuþ iheſv. ok varþ ilmr goþr í hufino") (Þorvaldur Björnsson 1878: 172). Other biblical episodes pertaining to the Magdalen are mentioned in one of the earliest Old Norse-Icelandic texts, the *Old Icelandic Homily Book* (ca. 1200). Her name occurs regularly in those homilies pertaining to the crucifixion and resurrection, and several focus specifically on the Magdalen's repentance. The sermon entitled *Resurrectio Domini*, which contains a condensed version of Gregory the Great's twenty-fifth homily, tells how Mary Magdalen and the other two female friends of the Lord came to the place where he was buried (de Leeuw van Weenen 1993: 10).<sup>93</sup> The same sermon relates that Christ revealed himself first to Mary Magdalen when she was crying at his tomb and instructed her to announce the news of his resurrection to his disciples,<sup>94</sup> and later explains that through Christ's crucifixion Mary Magdalen and all sinners now live.<sup>95</sup> The text then describes the

<sup>93</sup> "es maría magdalene oc aþrar .ij. ástfrénkonor drottens quþmo til leiþes hans" (Wisén 1872: 72).

<sup>94</sup> "Fyrst sýndesc hann marie magdalene. þa er hon stóþ gratande yþer leiþe hans. oc syrgþe þui er hon matte eige fina hann. þa nefnde hann hana a nafn. oc þaþan af kende hon hann. oc mælte. Góþe lærefaþer. En hann mélte. Farþu til brøþra mine. oc seg þeim at ec stig up til fæþor míns oc fæþor yþvars. til guþs míns oc guþs yþvars. Síþan com maria oc sagþe læresveinom at ec sa dróttin. oc slíct mælte hann við mik" (Wisén, 1872: 72)

<sup>95</sup> "Aþþui liver maría magdalena oc aþþui réttomsc verhverndag til lífs fra synþom. at drotten vár geck synþa lauss til píslar várrar" (Wisén 1872: 76)

Magdalen's sins and her burning love for the Lord.<sup>96</sup> Another sermon, the *Purificatio S. Maria* (based on Ambrosius Autpertus *Sermo de lectione evangelica in Purificatione S. Marie* and the Venerable Bede's homily 1.18), relates that the Lord first revealed himself to Mary Magdalen, since, according to Gregory the Great, she served the drink of life, as opposed to the drink of death (Eve's apple) to the world (de Leeuw van Weenen 1993: 11).<sup>97</sup> The next reference to the Magdalen in the *Old Icelandic Homily Book* is in the story of the passion (based mainly on the Gospel of John), where the saint is said to have been present at the cross with the Virgin Mary and Mary Cleophas (de Leeuw van Weenen 1993: 13).<sup>98</sup> She also features in several sagas of the apostles, namely *Pétrs saga postola I* and *Jóns saga postola I*, as well as *Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jakobs*, which entertains the possibility that Mary Magdalen was John the Evangelist's jilted bride at Cana (Unger 1874: 544).

One of the sagas of the apostles, *Pétrs saga postola I*, refers to Martha as a representative of the "veralldligt" (worldly) life, as opposed to Mary, who represents the "upplitningarlif" (contemplative life) (Unger 1874: 18). *Guðmundar saga Arasonar D*, written in 1345 by Abbot Árnrímr Brandsson, mentions that Bishop Fronto was miraculously transported to Tarascon to perform funeral services for Martha. The scene is from the section of the saga relating the cures and miracles performed by Guðmundr. Guðmundr is compared to Bishop Fronto, since both had appeared in two places at the same time to perform miracles:

[H]var er víðara lesit svá lofsamligt efni en með Ambrosio Mediolanensi ok Frontone Petragoriensi: þeir sátu báðir heima skryddir sofandi fyrir altari, hvorr at sínum byskupsstóli, en vóru í sama púntkt báðir með guðs boði sènr í fjarlægjum stöðum, at veita grafted þjónustu guðs ástvinum: Ambrosius í Turs at sæma signaðan Martinum, en Fronto í þeim stað, er Tharaskonum heitir, at veita líksöng sælli Marthe, várs herra

<sup>96</sup> "Ef neqver hever týnt hreinlife fyr licams munop. líte hann a mario magdalena es i guþs ástar elde brende af sér likams synþer. hvorvetna sette almáttegr guþ fyr augo øss" (Wisén 1872: 77).

<sup>97</sup> "guþ vitraþesc fyrst epter pining sína marío magdaleno. sicut gregorius sagþe. af þui byrlaþe maría magdalena lífsdryck heimenom ollom. at efa bylaþe dauþadryc þllu mankyne. þa es hon át eple í paradíso þat es hene vas eige lofat" (Wisén 1872: 85).

<sup>98</sup> "En hia crosse iesu stoþo móþer iesu. oc systor moþer hans maría cleophe. oc maria magdaléna" (Wisén 1872: 174-175).



húsfrú. Þessum tveimr samlagast síra Guðmundr í sagðri gjöf, ok at heillri sæmd svá frægra guðs vina má þat sýnast hær fremra, at gera tveimr í sama tíma hjálp ok heilsu sinna þröngvinga, þá er sjúkr reis ór rekkju, en sótrr af fjánda frjálstaðist (Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1878: 27).<sup>99</sup>

Towards the end of the same saga, Arngrímr compares a woman who faithfully served Bishop Guðmundr Arason to Martha. He describes the preparations she made for the arrival of her bishop and the rewards she received through her faithful service to the minister of God:

Húsfrú þessi virðir ei langt hvat kostrinn þolir, til þess at ölmusur herra Guðmundar hafi sínar nauðsynjar: lætr fara sömu leið naut ok sauði, svá at dagliga stendr hún at matgera sem önnur Martha. Ok einn dag, sem herra Guðmundr hefir lykt morgintíðum, gengr hann með fylgð sinni fyrir þat hús, er hans vinkona stendr í starfi. Biskup nemr stað fyrir dyrunum ok segir: hvat er nú, sæti mín, mun ei líða kvikfénu, ef svá lætr lengi? – Hún svarar: annat elskar ek meirr en kvikfé, en þat er yður þökk ok vinátta, þvíat hvat er mik kostar, vil ek henni halda. Herra biskup talar: fullt verðskyldar þú mína vináttu, en gefa má guð minn, at þú hafir eigi færra kvikfé í vár en þeir, er nú þykkjast sitja með fullum kostum. Svá gekk út sem guðs maðr sagði, þvíat hún hafði heykost hinn bezta en fátt at fóðra, ok því seldi hún hey til beggja handa þeim er heylausir vóru, sakir þess, at vetrartími var mjög harðr næst eftirkomandi; fèkk húsfrúin með þessum hætti fullbýli á sína jörð. Hún hafði í svá mikilli virðing verðleika herra Guðmundar, at í þá sæing, sem hann vandist at sofa þá er hann gisti hana, bar hún kranka menn, ok skipaðist æ jafnan til létts á nökkvern veg. Svá ok fyrir þann stein, er biskupinn hafði vígt henni, urðu margar heilsuþætr; hann gekk ok víða yfir landeign hennar, ok því segja menn, at sú jörð standi úbrigðlig með hamingju (Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1878: 145-146).<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Where is more widely read such a praiseworthy story than of Ambrosius Mediolanensis and Fronto Petragoriensis? They both sat at home, adorned and sleeping before the altar, each at his episcopal see, and were both at the same point with God's bidding sent to distant places to grant burial services to God's beloved friends, Ambrosius in Turs to attend to the blessing of Martin, and Fronto into that place which is named Tarascon, to grant funeral services to holy Martha, our Lord's housemistress. These two are united with the Reverend Guðmundr in this gift. And for the full honor of such famous friends of God it must further be shown here further that two at the same time were given help and healing from their distress, when the sick rose out of the bed and the possessed were freed from the devil.

<sup>100</sup> This housemistress did not consider for long whether the provisions might last. So that Lord Guðmundr might have what he needed for almsgiving, she had cattle and sheep brought in, and stood daily preparing food like a second Martha. And one day when Lord Guðmundr had finished matins, he went with his followers to the house where his female friend stood at work. The bishop stopped in front of the door and said, 'What is this now, my dear, will the livestock last if this goes on long?' She answered: 'I love one thing more than livestock, and that is your thanks and friendship, because whatever it costs me, I will maintain it.' The lord bishop spoke, 'You fully deserve my friendship, and may my God grant that you do not have fewer livestock this spring than those who now seem to have enough provisions.' So it happened as the man of God said, that she had the best stores of hay but few to feed. She therefore gave hay to all those who were without it, because the following winter was exceptionally harsh. For this reason the housemistress received full provisions for her farm. She received so much honor and merit from Lord Guðmundr that when she brought the sick into the bed he was accustomed to sleeping in when he visited her, they were always healed in some way. There were also many healings because of the stone where the bishop had blessed her. He also walked widely over her grounds, and therefore people say that the earth there will always stand with fortune."

Notably, the housemistress is not praised for passively listening to Guðmundr preach the word of God. She is instead lauded for faithfully and selflessly serving him and his followers and is rewarded manifold for her service. In other words, she is rewarded for taking on the part of Martha, not that of Mary who, as Ásdís Egilsdóttir (1996: 105-106) points out, is mentioned in the first part of the saga, when a woman tearfully repents of her sins in classic Mary Magdalen fashion. The text relates that “...hún kemr fyrir sira Guðmund með geysiligum gráti beiskrar iðranar; segist af hjarta gjöra sinn viðskilnað við sagða glæpi, ok biðr sik undir ásjón sira Guðmundar, lík þeirri, er [í] húsi Simonis kraup að fótum várs drottins Jesú Christi, þváandi löstuna í lækjum táranna, fylgjandi honum allt til pínu krossins; svá fylgdi þessi kona síðan allar stundir sira Guðmundi, þegar úfriðr skildi þau eigi” (Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1878: 16).<sup>101</sup>

The late medieval Old Norse-Icelandic legend of St. Lazarus in Stock. Perg. 3 fol. (*Reykjahólabók*) also contains excerpts from the life of Martha. The work, which was compiled by Björn Þorleifsson of Reykjahólar in the early sixteenth century, was based on now-lost Low German legends, which probably served as the sources of such later German works as *Passionael* and *Der Heiligen Leben* (Kalinke 1996: 76-77). *Lazarus saga* incorporates detail about both Martha and Mary Magdalen, particularly in the accounts of Lazarus’ resurrection, where Martha acknowledges the resurrection of the dead and recognizes Jesus as the son of God.<sup>102</sup> The persecution and eventual dispersment of Christ’s followers after the ascension gives specific

<sup>101</sup> ...she came before the Reverend Guðmundr with tremendous weeping of bitter repentance, and said from the heart that she repented of her crimes. She prayed before the Reverend Guðmundr, just like the woman who knelt at the feet of our Lord Jesus Christ in the house of Simon, washing her sins away in a stream of tears and accompanying him all the way to his crucifixion. In the same way, this woman followed the Reverend Guðmundr at all times, when discord did not separate them.

<sup>102</sup> “þa sagde Marttha. drottenn minn. þat veit eg vel at hann mvn vpp standa aa seinaztha deige sem aller adrer. þa sagde Jhesvs eg er vpp bæde lifj og vpprisa. og hverr sem trver aa mig. þo at hann sie davdr. þa lifer hann. og aller þeir sem trver aa mig mvn ecki deyia at eylifu. helldr mvn saa vpprisa af ollvm sinvm synndvm. og trver þv þessv Marttha. hvn svarar. jaa fyrir vijst drottenn. Og eg trve þvi sannlega at þv ertt Cristvr sonvr gvdz sem nv ert komen j heimen” [Then Martha said, “My Lord, I know well that he will rise on the final day, as will all others.” Then Jesus said, “I am both life and the resurrection, and whoever believes in me, although he may be dead, will live. And all those who believe in me will never die, but rather will be resurrected of all their sins. Do you believe this, Martha?” She answers, “Yes, certainly Lord. And I believe this truly that you are Christ, the son of God who has come into the world”] (Loth 1969: 170).

attention to Lazarus, Martha, and Mary Magdalen, and the role played by the siblings in converting the inhabitants of Marseilles. Interestingly, two references within *Lazarus saga* suggest that Björn had intended to include a separate saga of Mary Magdalen and Martha in his legendary. The first is in the introduction: “...tvær dætvir hiet avnnvr Marttha. en avnnvr Maria er nefnnizt Magdalena. som seirna meir j bokinne mvn sagt verda af badvm þessvm systvm. og mvn eg hier fyrst fra hverfa en thaka þar til sem j fyrstvnne var byriad...” (Loth 1969: 167).<sup>103</sup> The second is in his description of the evangelization of Marseilles:

og þo einkannlega Mariv Magdalenv, sem greinezt j hennar jstoria sialfrar. og samaleidis af systvr hennar sancte Marttha j hennar historia. sem seinna meir j bokine mvn greinth verda. Af þeim stormerckivm nockvrvum er drottenn liet verda fyrir þeirra verdleik og arnadar ordz er þær þagv af gvde (Loth 1969: 175).<sup>104</sup>

According to Kalinke (1996), the first reference was probably a direct translation from Björn’s source, but the second implies that Björn had actually intended to incorporate the legend(s) of Mary Magdalen and Martha into his legendary. It is possible that he indeed produced the legend(s) of Mary Magdalen and Martha and incorporated them in a different legendary, which contained sagas of the apostles. But this work survives only in fragments, and those remaining leave no indication as to whether the legend(s) ever existed (Kalinke 1996: 109).

There are several extant poetic accounts of Mary Magdalen, and a few make reference to Martha. The sixteenth-century manuscript AM 713 4to contains two independent poems about the Magdalen. The first and shorter of the two, entitled *Vísur af Máriu Magdalene I*, is a praise poem to the saint, which focuses primarily on her repentance. Of the twenty-one stanzas, one (stanza 10) is dedicated to Martha, and one (stanza 11) is for Lazarus. The stanza for Martha

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<sup>103</sup> ... two daughters, the first is named Martha, the second Mary who is called Magdalen, “and later in the book more will be told about both sisters, but I shall leave this for now and pick up at the point where the story started...” (Kalinke 1996: 109).

<sup>104</sup> “...but especially Mary Magdalen, as is told in her own legend, and similarly about her sister St. Martha in her legend. More will be told later in the book about the great wonders the Lord permitted to happen on account of their worthiness and the intercessory power they were granted by God” (Kalinke 1996: 109).

highlights her role as the Lord's hostess (Jón Helgason 1938: 387). The second, *Visur af Máriu Magdalene II*, follows the first praise poem for the Magdalen in AM 713 4to. It is an alliterative legendary poem ending with a prayer of contrition, and appears to be based on the prose *Mortu saga og Máriu Magðalenu* (Bekker-Nielsen 1966: 410). However, the episodes in the body of the poem (verses 3-50) are ordered in a peculiar fashion, which Jón Helgason (1938) has attributed to its origins in oral tradition (389-391). The main part of the poem can be divided into six parts. Verses 3-12 introduce the three siblings Martha, Lazarus, and Mary Magdalen. They describe Mary's sinful life and the curing of Martha. Verses 13-15 give an account of the miracles pertaining to Martha in Tarascon, where she conquered a dragon, established a church, turned water into wine, and brought a drowned boy back to life. Verses 16-23 return to the New Testament accounts and combine two separate biblical scenes: one at the house of Simon the Pharisee where the Magdalen washes Jesus' feet with her tears, dries them with her hair, and anoints him with precious ointment; and the other at the feast at the home of Simon the Leper, where Judas rebukes the Magdalen for her use of expensive ointment and Jesus defends her actions. Verses 24-36 describe the miracles performed by Mary Magdalen after Christ's resurrection. Verses 37-41 relate the resurrection of Lazarus. Finally, verses 42-50 describe the miraculous deaths of Mary Magdalen and Martha (Jón Helgason 1938: 390).

Several other poems make reference to Mary Magdalen. *Heilagra meyja drápa* (*Drápa* about Holy Maidens), a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century composition in *hrynhent* meter preserved in AM 713 4to and AM 721 4to (both from the beginning of the fifteenth century) dedicates three strophes (11-13) to Mary Magdalen. The part of the poem dealing with the Magdalen is situated in a section describing the holy Marys, i.e. Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalen, Mary the wife of Alphaeus, Mary the wife of Zebedee, and Mary of Egypt. Aside from a reference to the *vita*

*eremitica*, strophes 11-13 concentrate on biblical scenes, and as such there appears to be no direct connection between the stanzas and the Old Norse-Icelandic prose legend:

Kvinna var með heiti hennar  
henni kær og drottni skærum;  
mildliga skal sú Mária kallaz;  
Magðaléna jafnan sagðiz.

Fyrst var þessi full af löstum;  
fann hun Krist í vænu ranni;  
gjörði hann hana með einu orði  
alprúðastan gimstein brúða.

Jésús Kristus upp nam rísa  
einn og þrennr og birtiz henni;  
postulum sagði hun prýðimestum  
prúða sýn, er fegnir trúðu.

Eyðimerkur sótti síðan  
sára nauð um þrjátígi ára;  
hvern dag sá hun með hjálparaugum  
himna dýrð, er guð várr skýrði.

Hennar önd í sælu sanna  
sannur leiddi hjálpari manna;  
páskadag með sætum sigri  
sæta guðs fekk virðing mæta.

Magðaléna meiri frægðir  
Mária þiggr af drottni várum  
nær og fírr en neinn megi skýra;  
nafn hennar sie blessað jafnan (Wolf 2007: 898-899).<sup>105</sup>

In addition, Mary Magdalen features in the *Drápa af Mariugrát* (*Drápa* about the Lament of Mary), which is preserved in AM 713 4to following the *Vísur af Mária Magdalene II*. Strophes 12 and 34 detail the Magdalen's presence at the crucifixion alongside the Virgin Mary and the sisters

<sup>105</sup> "There was a woman with her name, dear to her and to the bright Lord; graciously she shall be called Mary; she always named herself Magdalene. First she was full of vices; she found Christ in a beautiful house; with one word he made her the finest gem among women. Jesus Christ rose up single and threefold and revealed himself to her; she related the beautiful sight to the most magnificent Apostles, who, glad, believed [it]. Then she sought out the deserts for painful trial for thirty years; every day she saw with eyes of help the glory of the heavens, which our God displayed. The true helper of men [=God (=Christ)] led her soul to true bliss; on Easter Day the woman of God [HOLY WOMAN = Mary Magdalen] got precious honour with a sweet victory. Mary Magdalene receives more fame from our Lord near and far than anyone could explain; may her name always be blessed" (Wolf 2007: 898-899).

of the Virgin (Gade 2007: 768, 783). A final poem referring to Mary Magdalen is Gamli kanóki's *Harmsól* ("Sun of Sorrow" [twelfth century] in AM 757a 4to [ca. 1400]), a praise poem for Christ and a sermon in verse form. The *slæmr* (strophes 46-65) of *Harmsól* "...further illustrates the benefits of penitence by recounting the *exempla* of three sinners to whom God responded with mercy: King David (sts 48-9), Peter (sts 50-1) and Mary Magdalene (st. 52)" (Clunies Ross 2007: 71). By washing Christ's feet with her tears, the Magdalen was released of her sins (Clunies Ross 2007: 71).

The only surviving Old Norse-Icelandic prose legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha is the composite *Mǫrtu saga og Mariu Magdalenu*, a vernacular *vita apostolico-eremitica* based on a variety of biblical and Latin exegetical sources. The saga begins with a detailed introduction to Martha. The introduction, as detailed below in Chapter 4, is based on Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. Martha's numerous virtues are praised. Her celibacy is especially emphasized, which would have been particularly attractive to women in religious orders. Martha had a brother, Lazarus, and a sister, Mary called Magdalen. Contrary to what is written later in the text, the first chapter tells that after the dispersement of Christ's disciples, Martha travelled to Greece, where she preached the word of God. Next is a brief introduction to Mary Magdalen, who is presented in stark contrast to her sister. It is said of the Magdalen that she lived a life of lust. Martha, on the other hand, was the wiser, the more faithful, and the more generous of the two sisters. She was especially famous for her hospitality and domestic abilities, and is described as the most energetic and hospitable woman in charge of her own household. Her fame in hospitality is epitomized in her reception of Jesus into her home at Bethany, and for her service Jesus came more often and more gladly to her home as a guest than to any other place.

The various biblical stories involving the two sisters of Bethany are summarized, including the feast at the home of Simon the Pharisee, Christ's visit to Bethany, the raising of

Lazarus from the dead, and Martha's recognition of Jesus as Savior and Son of God. Next is an account of the resurrection, where Mary Magdalen was the first to see the risen Christ. After this event, the Magdalen, Martha, and many of Christ's other disciples were persecuted and exiled. The sisters, along with Bishop Maximinus and other followers of Christ, were put on a ship that drifted to Marseilles in Provence, where Mary Magdalen preached the word of God and converted not only the citizens, but also the duke of Marseilles and his wife. Martha traveled to Tarascon, where she conquered a dragon, resurrected a boy who had drowned, and, after establishing a church, lived a life of austerity. Mary Magdalen spent the last thirty years of her life as a hermit in the wilderness, where she was fed only heavenly food and carried up into heaven by angels seven times a day until her death. Martha died shortly after her sister, who visited Martha shortly before her own death. After her passing, Martha's companions, Marcilia, Syntex, and Epaphras, went into Slavonia and preached the word of God. Marcilia (Martha's handmaiden) lived for ten years after the death of Martha and wrote her *vita* in Hebrew, which Syntex translated into Latin. The text then details how Bishop Maximinus, who accompanied the sisters to Marseilles, performed funeral services for Mary Magdalen. Next is an account the consecration of the church at St. Maximin and the events leading up to the Magdalen's translation. The legend concludes with an account of the various miracles performed for by Mary Magdalen. These include three men who were freed from imprisonment, a pregnant woman who the Magdalen saved from a shipwreck, a deformed young woman named Alleburgis who was cured by Mary Magdalen, and a blind man whose sight the Magdalen restored.

One may presume that the Old Norse-Icelandic legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha, like other Icelandic saints' lives, was read on the feast days of one or both of the saints, and that laypeople and men and women in religious orders would have heard it within this context. Cormack (1994) reminds us that "readings from saints' legends on their feast days were probably

the primary, if not the sole, source of information about them” (32).<sup>106</sup> While there are no records detailing the readership or reception of *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*, the provenance and codicology of its manuscripts and the literary features of the saga provide some clues as to its use from the time of its composition in the Middle Ages until the acquisition of its manuscripts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the subsequent chapters detail.

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<sup>106</sup> Cormack (1994) also points to the example of *Michaels saga*, written by Bergr Sökkason, Abbott of Munkaþverá 1325-ca. 1350 (32). The prologue of this saga states that it should be read on the feast day of St. Michael: “I nafni grædara varss herra Jesu Kristi byriaz her litill bæklingr heilags Michaelis hofuðengils, til þess eina skrifaðr ok samansetttr, at hann iafnlega lesiz æ messuðagh Michaelis kirkiusoknar monnum til skemtunar, einkanlega i þeim stöðum sem hann er kirkiudrotten yfir, at því öllu sætari verðr hans minning i rettlatra manna hugrenning, sem firir þessa litlu ritning verðr ollum kunnari hans agæta virðing” [“In the name of our savior Lord Jesus Christ, here begins a little booklet of S. Michael the Archangel, written and composed for the sole purpose that it always be read on Michael’s feast-day for the enjoyment of the parishioners, especially in those places where he is patron, so that his remembrance will become all the sweeter in the thoughts of righteous men, the better known his great excellence becomes to everyone by means of this little work”] (Unger 1877: 2: 676; Cormack 1994: 32).



### CHAPTER 3

#### *MORTU SAGA OK MARÍU MAGÐALENU: THE TEXTUAL TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL ICELAND*

The Old Norse-Icelandic composite legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha is extant in five late medieval Icelandic manuscripts: NoRA 79 fragm. (ca. 1350), AM 233 fol. (ca. 1350-1375), AM 235 fol. (ca. 1400), Stock. Perg. 2 fol. (ca. 1425-1445), and AM 764 4to (ca. 1376-1386). This chapter provides codicological, paleographic, and orthographic descriptions of these manuscripts, with a focus on the text of *Mortu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*.

#### Copenhagen, The Arnamagnæan Collection AM 233a fol.

AM 233a fol., a parchment manuscript dated to ca. 1300-1400,<sup>107</sup> consists of twenty-nine leaves measuring approximately 40x32 cm. The double-columned leaves each contain forty-seven lines. The manuscript is fragmentary. Fols. 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, and 14 are severely damaged and have been cut apart in various ways. The most significant damage is on fol. 4, which exists now in fourteen small horizontal strips. Most of the other damaged leaves are quite dark and show signs of heavy use. Fol. 9 is cut on both sides, and the leaf appears to have been folded several times over. Two hands are responsible for AM 233a fol: Hand I for fols. 1-12 and 28-29, and Hand II fols. 15-17.<sup>108</sup> Fols. 13-14 are from a separate manuscript (Ólafur Halldórsson 1966: 30-31).<sup>109</sup> Hand I is that of *Skarðsbók Jónsbókar* (AM 350 fol., ca. 1363), and Hand II (fols. 15-17) is identical to Hand I of *Codex Scardensis* (*Skarðsbók postulasagna*, ca. 1360) (Ólafur Halldórsson 1966: 10; Slay 1960: 10). Fol. 14 seems to have been written by the same hand as AM 240 fol. fragm. III,

<sup>107</sup> Fols. 1va-12vb and 28r(28ra)-29vb have been dated to ca. 1350-1360; fols. 13ra-14rb have been dated to ca. 1300-1400; and fols. 15va-27vb have been dated to ca. 1350-1375 (ONP 1989: 436).

<sup>108</sup> C.R. Unger (1871) had previously argued that one hand writes fols. 1v-12v, whereas another writes fols. 15-29, which are from a different manuscript (XXII).

<sup>109</sup> Unger (1871) believed that fols. 13-14 were by a different hand, namely the one responsible for AM 240 fol fragm. III and VII, and that these fragments "...sikkert have hørt til 233 Folio, og falde ind i de store Lacuner i denne Codex" (XXVII).

and fol. 13 possibly came from the same manuscript as AM 240 fol. fragm. VII, but is written by a different hand (Ólafur Halldórsson 1966: 30-31). In its present state, the codex contains ten hagiographic or otherwise religious texts: *Jóns saga baptista* (fols. 1v-5r; ed. Unger 1874: 7<sup>12</sup>, 849-850<sup>19</sup>, 850<sup>20</sup>-852 var., 873-885 var., 925-931 var.); *Mariu saga* (fols. 5r-14; ed. Unger 1871: 243-249, 266-268, 275-276, 291-297, 302-306, 306-314 var., 314-317 var., 325-331 var., 444-449<sup>14</sup>, 521-527, 533-34, 554-55, 598-99, 676<sup>20</sup>-677<sup>14</sup>, 678<sup>17</sup>-679<sup>11-12</sup>, 714-715 var., 726-727 var., 1160-1161); *Saga af Fídes, Spes ok Karítas* (15v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 369-372<sup>15</sup> and Wolf 2011: 56-58); *Katrínar saga* (fols. 16r-19r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 400-421); *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu* (fols. 19<sup>v</sup>-25; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 550-553, 513-522 var., 527-535 var., 539-550 var.); *Agnesar saga* (fol. 26; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 22); *Agotu saga* (fols. 26-27r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 7-13); *Margrétar saga* (fols. 27r-27v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 477 lower text, 474-476 var.); *Niðrstigningar saga* (fol. 28; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 14-17); and *Inventio Crucis* (fol. 29; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 301-308 var). All of the texts in the codex are fragmentary except for *Agotu saga*, and there are clearly lacunae between *Saga af Fídes, Spes ok Karítas* and *Katrínar saga*, *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu* and *Agnesar saga*, and *Margrétar saga* and *Niðrstigningar saga* respectively. *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu* ends abruptly during the *miracula* section of the legend. Based primarily on its relationship to *Skarðsbók Jónsbókar* and *Codex Scardensis*, Ólafur Halldórsson (1966) argues that AM 233a fol. was written at the Augustinian monastery at Helgafell (est. 1184) (41). However, it is not possible to establish whether the manuscript was written for the monastery or an outside party (Wolf 2003: xlix).

Árni Magnússon's notes concerning AM 233a fol. comprise both slips and notes written on the manuscript itself. These give insight into the manuscript's contents, as well as where, when, and from whom Árni acquired parts of the codex. A note written in Árni's hand on the bottom margin of fol. 3 indicates that he received the leaf from Magnús Jónsson ("fra magnuse Jonssyne"). Ólafur Halldórsson has identified him as Magnús Jónsson from Leirá (1679-1702),

schoolmaster at Skálholt, who probably also sent fols. 15-19 and 24-27 to Árni ca. 1700, along with a letter enumerating the contents of the leaves. Fol. 4 came to Árni from Sigurður Sigurðsson in 1722, as indicated by a slip pasted onto the leaf. Árni's marginal notes relate that he received fol. 6 "fra Joni Jons syni i Kross holti," fol. 10 "fra *Sira* Þorde Jonssyne [i] 1707" (that being Þórður Jónsson, priest at Staðarstað, brother of Magnús Jónsson from Leirá), and fol. 13 "fra Sigurde Sigurdsyne ä Firde 1707." A slip glued to fol. 20r records Árni's acquisition of fols. 20-23: "þesse 4. blöd hefe eg feinged 1704. fra *Sira* Olafi Stephanssyne, enn *hamn* seigest hafa funded þau i druslum ä Mödruvöllum i Eyjafirde (nimirum Björns Magnussonar). Hin sem utanum liggia, hefi eg feinged *annars* stadar." Ólafur Halldórsson identifies the men referred to in the note as Björn Magnússon of Munkþverá and his son-in-law, Ólafur Stefánsson in Vallanes (ca. 1658-1741), whose former colleague, Þorsteinn Ketilsson of Hrafnagill in Eyjafjörður (ca. 1658-1741), owned fols. 20-23: "her hefr vpp ok seghir fra þeim hef þui hverss<u> fannst kross drottinns vars Jhesu kristi ok ~~hest~~ fra þeim vfridi er romveriar giordu kristnum folki vm alla verolld. fra profastinum *Sira* Þorsteine Ketels syne 1727." Þorsteinn may have received the leaves from Ólafur in Vallanes. It is not known how, when, or from where Árni Magnússon acquired fol. 5 or fols. 1-2, 7-8, or 11-12 (Ólafur Halldórsson 1966: 33-34). However, it is clear from Árni's notes that a good portion of the manuscript had been in Eyjafjörður, so it is possible that the leaves that are unaccounted for also came to him from this region.

The majority of marginalia in AM 233a fol. are cross references or pen trials and doodles, and the bulk of it is illegible. Several phrases are of a religious nature, which is not surprising considering the contents of the codex and the fact that it originated and may have been used at the monastery at Helgafell. For example, the beginning of *Syngi guði sata dýrð*, a translation of the fourteenth-century Christmas hymn *Resonet in laudibus* printed in Guðbrandur's Þorláksson's psalm book from 1589, is written on fol. 1r: "Syngid Gud sæla dy[r]d sj[on] [og] q[ll] kri[st]n[i]

h[jǫrd]”<sup>110</sup> Another pious utterance appears on fol. 14r, and reads: “In nomine patris *et* filiis *et* spiritu(s) sancti amen aue maria.” A formulaic expression by a seventeenth-century hand is on fol. 22v “þeim goðum monnum sem þetta bref sia edr heyra sendi [eg] þ [...],” and a short little ditty of a non-religious nature is on the right margin of fol. 5r: “vegsemd heydur virding dird og volldug þack[a]r giord þr [e]nning frjdi fliott sie skird fleira enn gras er a jord.” Two drawings of animals appear on fol. 15r, and one seems to be an elephant. There is also a clear instance of note-taking on fol. 21v in *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*. The reader, who seems to have been interested in Mary Magdalen’s ointment jar and the ingredients of her precious ointment, has written “Alabastrum” “Nardus” and “Nardus pisticus” in the left margin.

Several personal names occur in the marginalia of AM 233a fol. They are mostly signatures, presumably of people who were the manuscript’s owners. Those that are discernable and not in Árni Magnússon’s hand comprise “Jon Jons ... sendt Þorarni Ano 94” (fol. 2v), “ingiBjorg s....” (written by a child on fol. 3r), “Jon Olafsson a þessa bok” (fol. 15r, seventeenth century), “Margret Olafs dotter” (fol. 15r, ca. 1600), “Eyulfur” (fol. 15r, name uncertain), “arne” og “arne þors[teins] son [m]ed e[igen] hende” (fol. 18r, seventeenth century), “...len Jons dotter” (fol. 22v, seventeenth century), and “sueinn gunarsson a bokina þessa” (fol. 25v, seventeenth century).<sup>111</sup> It also looks as though a name was written on the top margin of fol. 4v, though only the first three letters (“þor”) now remain. It is not clear who these people were. This is particularly the case with Jón Jónsson (fol. 2v) and Jón Ólafsson (fol. 15r), given the sheer number of men with these names living in North Iceland during the seventeenth century. Others, such as [...]len Jónsdóttir (probably Elen [Elín], given both the time period in which the name was written and the amount of space available for missing letters<sup>112</sup>) and Sveinn Gunnarsson, cannot

<sup>110</sup> See Páll Eggert Ólason (1924: 72-73, 223).

<sup>111</sup> The names were all transcribed and dated by Ólafur Halldórsson (1966: 34).

<sup>112</sup> See Kvaran and Sigurður Jónsson (1991: 201).

be identified.<sup>113</sup> Árni Þorsteinsson is possibly the person of that name who was a student at Hólar and who lived from ca. 1640-1664, or the farmer and student at Skálholt Árni Þorsteinsson who lived at Bólstaðarhlíð until his death in 1768 (*ÍÆ* I: 77). A potential candidate for the Margrét Ólafsdóttir on fol. 15r is Margrét Ólafsdóttir Loptssonar (d. 1499), a woman of substantial means who was married to Bjarni Ólason of Hvassafell (in Eyjafjörður) (*DI* V: 200-201, 362, and 610-612; *DI* IV: 366, 640-641; *DI* VI (438-439). Another possibility is Margrét Ólafsdóttir of Dalir, who wrote a testimony on April 18, 1541 regarding Haukadalsá channel and the size of the hayfield at Jörfi (*DI* X: 612). Since the marginalia have been dated to ca. 1600, these two Margrét Ólafsdóttirs may be too early.

The colors used in the manuscript are red, dark red, green, blue, white, and black. Chapter headings, which appear to be by the main scribe, are always in red. Capitals at the beginning of lines are in black and are more elaborate when written in the margin. Large initials at the beginning of new chapters, unless illuminated, tend to be written in either red or dark red, often with green shading and/or decoration (typically foliage) in or around the letter. Notable exceptions are on fol. 3r, where light red decoration is used outside of a dark red initial, on fol. 10r, where white shading is used outside of a dark red initial, on fol. 28r, where blue has been used to decorate around the red initial, and on fol. 29r, where a light red initial is filled in with blue shading. On fol. 14r (which came from a separate manuscript), the large initial “P”, which appears at the beginning of a new chapter, is black. The codex also contains several well-preserved illuminations, the largest of which is the drawing on fol. 1r, immediately preceding *Jóns saga baptista*. The folio-sized illustration depicts a crowned male figure holding the Agnus Dei. To his left is a woman, and to his right, a man. All three have haloes. At the feet of the main figure is a

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<sup>113</sup> There is no record of a woman whose name ended in –len, –lin, –lín and whose father was Jón, and the only Sveinn Gunnarsson listed in the *Æviskrár* is one who lived several generations after Árni Magnússon acquired the manuscript (1858-1937) (*ÍÆ* IV: 358).

small man dressed in a monk's attire. The main figure of the picture was thought to be John the Baptist, since he is traditionally depicted with the emblem of the Agnus Dei. However, the depiction in AM 233a fol. differs considerably from the conventional representations of the saint (Halldór Hermansson 1935: 30). Moreover, the central figure in the image is shown with a cross nimbus with three crowns, an attribute belonging solely to the members of the Trinity. Halldór Hermansson (1935) argues:

It seems as if the arrangement of this picture was based upon those of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist on each side of the Cross. Thus Christ is here placed between St. John the Baptist and, I presume, the Virgin. The weeping youth who sits at the feet of Christ is doubtless the artist himself; or, it might possibly be the man for whom the book was written, since either of those two were in that fashion introduced in medieval illuminations (30).

In addition to this folio-sized frontpiece, the codex contains five illuminated initials: (1) fol. 1v, initial A, a drawing of St. John the Baptist (in red, dark red, green, blue, and black); (2) fol. 5r, initial D, showing the Virgin Mary and child, as well as her parents, Joachim and Anne (in red, dark red, white, and black); (3) fol. 15v, initial P, depicting Fides, Spes, and Caritas standing with Emperor Hadrian and the executioner (in red, dark red, green, blue, black); (4) fol. 19v, initial A, where Mary and Martha stand on either side of their deceased brother Lazarus (in red, dark red, green, and blue); and (5) fol. 26, initial K, depicting St. Agatha, who is shown touching the pincers that are holding her severed breasts (in red, dark red, green, and blue). The decorated and illuminated initials, as well as the chapter headings, are fairly consistent in style throughout the codex, and, with the obvious exception of fols. 13-14, are probably the work of one person. It has been observed that the illuminations in AM 233a fol. are very similar to those in *Skarðsbók* (AM 350 fol.) (Ólafur Halldórsson 1966: 32).

*Paleography*

The *a* is the so-called two-storey *a* (a). The upper storey is a closed loop (e.g. *af* [19vb 1]).

*b* is written with a looped ascender (e.g. *bætti* [20va 5]). The loop tends to be smaller when followed by a superscript abbreviation (e.g. *berr* [20vb 1]).

*d* is the round or insular *d*. The ascender tends to loop back onto itself (ð), e.g. *dauða* (21vb 20). ð is also in evidence, and only occurs word-medially (e.g. *talði* [21va 29]).

The upper loop of *e* is sometimes closed (e.g. *gekk* [21rb 11]), but is more often slightly open (e.g. *efni* [22ra 16]) or closed only by a hairline stroke (e.g. *engu* [23ra 7]).

Only insular *f* is in evidence. It consists of a vertical stroke with a figure 3 attached to the descender on the right (ƿ). The lower stroke of the 3 tends to cross the descender (e.g. *ef* [21rb 4]), sometimes in an exaggerated fashion (e.g. *fleiri* [23vb 20]). Less frequently, the lower stroke stops at the descender (e.g. *hafa* [20ra 5]).

*g* consists of an *o* on its upper part, and a closed-looped tail (g) (e.g. *lagðan* [21vb 22]). Quite often, only a hairline stroke connects the tail and the upper loop, as in *gud* (22rb 29). Small capital *g* (G) is used in abbreviations, most often for *gud/guds/gudi* (e.g. *guds* [23vb 5]) but also to denote the geminate (e.g. *tuegia* [20vb 32])

The ascender of *h* is looped, and the leg extends below the line and curls to the left (h, e.g. *hafdi* [25vb 9] and *hardleik* [22rb 7]).

*i* and *j* are never dotted, and occasionally have accents, which seems to be graphic markers rather than indicators of length (see below).

*k* has a closed upper loop (k). Its leg rests on the guideline (e.g. *komning* [25ra 18]), or just slightly below (e.g. *skyniadi* [19vb 47]). Usually, the ascender is looped (e.g. *likamin* [22rb 3] and *kolludu* [23vb 4]), except if followed by a superscript abbreviation mark, in which case it tends to be straight (e.g. *ker* [21va 2] and *fekk* [22rb 17]).

*l* is a straight vertical stroke. There are three types: one with a straight ascender (e.g. *smyrsla* [21va 2]), one with a looped ascender (e.g. *bloð* [21vb 1]), and one with a hook at the top of the ascender (e.g. *helli* [23vb 6]). The *l* with the looped ascender is most common.

The right-hand minims of *m* and *n* do not extend below the guideline, except sometimes when the letter is in word-final position (e.g. *Auícnon* [22vb 30]).

There are three types of *r*: minuscule *r*, *r* rotunda, and a small capital *r*. The vertical stroke of minuscule *r* always sits on the line (e.g. *risu* [22va 12]). *r* rotunda is shaped like a 2 (z), and occurs after *b*, *d*, *ð*, *g*, *m*, *o*, *p*, *u*, *y*, *þ*, and *ó*. It is in complementary distribution with minuscule *r* after *d*, *ð*, *o*, *p*, *þ*, and *ó*, with the exception of three instances after *o* (*Petrogoricz* [22va 31]), *p* (*þryda* [20va 42]), and *þ* (*þrim* [23vb 7]). *r* rotunda and minuscule *r* are equally common after *g*, and *r* rotunda is more common than minuscule *r* after *b* and *y*. *r* rotunda only occurs once after *u* (*ueitzlur*, 19va 31), where minuscule *r* is more common. Similarly, *r* rotunda is only found after *m* in the abbreviation for *smyrsl*; otherwise, the minuscule *r* follows *m*. Small capital *r* (R) occurs regularly, most frequently in abbreviations (e.g. *ofríki*, 24vb 36), proper names (e.g. *remigíj*, 24vb 23), and word-finally (e.g. *fer*, 25ra 31).

There are two types of *s*, round or capital *s* (s) and long or cursive *s* (f). Both always sit on the line. Small capital *s* commonly occurs in abbreviations, especially *suo* (e.g. 20rb 46) and *hans* (20va 3). In addition, round *s* is sporadically found in other words (e.g. *anars* [20ra 7], *eíns* [23va 15] and *segir* [21vb 18]). When not accompanied by an abbreviation mark, long *s* is most common.

The vertical of *t* does not extend above the crossbar (τ) except in the *s + t* ligature.

The left diagonal stroke of *v* often has a loop in initial position (e.g. *varð* [25ra 3]).

*x*, which occurs primarily in Roman numerals and the abbreviations of *Kristr* (see below), extends below the guideline. It does not have a crossbar.



*y* is a *v* with the descender extending from the second diagonal of the *v* and veering to the right at the bottom. It is always dotted (e.g. *leyniliga* [23va 13]).

*z* rests on the guideline. Half of the time, it is barred (e.g. *blezads* [22va 42]), and the other half, it is not (e.g. *allz* [23ra 21]).

*þ* occurs with a looped ascender (e.g. *þítt* [24va 17]), but more commonly with a straight, non-looped ascender (e.g. *þess* [24vb 4]).

Of ligatures, *a + a*, *a + e*, *a + f*, *a + n*, *a + r*, *a + v*, *p + p*, *s + k*, *s + t*, and *t + t* are in evidence. In the *a + a* ligature, the upper storeys are closed (ǰ). The *a* in the *a + e* ligature does not have an upper storey (ǣ). *a + f* occurs several times as a ligature of the two-storey *a* + insular *f* (ǣf, e.g. *hafði* [19va 20]). *a + n* (ǰ) is found in a number of examples, e.g. *karlman* (19va 8) and *man* (20va 22). *a + r* (ǰ) is less common, occurring in only three instances (*þessara* [20vb 32], *þessarar* [21rb 23], and *anara* [25rb 11]). The *v* in the *a + v* ligature is rounded at the bottom (ǰ). In the *p + p* ligature, the upper loops are joined (pp) In the *s + t* ligature, the *s* is long and the ascender of *t* extends beyond the guideline (ft, e.g. *historijs* [19vb 2]). The *s + k* ligature is a long *s* with the upper and lower legs of a *k* (k̄, e.g. *skamt* [22va 48] and *breyskleik* [20va 7]). In the *t + t* ligature, both ascenders stop at the cross-bar (tt, e.g. *betthaniam* [21ra 4])

Capital letters are most frequently used in word-initial position to denote a new sentence, or are used for personal names or place names. The following capital letters are found (with the exception of chapter headings and ornamental letters used to begin a chapter): *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *H*, *I*, *J*, *K*, *L*, *M*, *N*, *O*, *P*, *R*, *S*, *T*, *V*, *Þ*. Large minuscule *a* (ǰ) is far more common than large majuscule *A*, the latter of which tends to be reserved for ornamentation at the start of chapters (as in *A* [20vb 21]). Round *E* (€) is more common than Roman capital *E* (e.g. *Eptir* [21ra 27]), but round *M* (Ω) and Roman capital *M* are evenly distributed, and can be either small or large. Small

capital *n* most frequently denotes the geminate (e.g. *han* [20vb 26]). Once, it is found word initially (*nardo* [20ra 31]).

### Abbreviations

Superscript *a* (which is always the one-storey *a* as a superscript) occurs often and stands for *ia* (e.g. *maria* [21vb 15]), *ra* (e.g. *fra* [20vb 40]), *uo* (e.g. *suo* [20rb 46]), *anna* (e.g. *manna* [20rb 10]), *aka* (e.g. *taka* [20ra 31]), *va* (e.g. *løfsongva* [23va 25]), *inna* (e.g. *sinna* [19va 23]), *aga* (e.g. *daga* [24va 10]), *afa* (e.g. *hafa* [24va 33]), *iddara* (e.g. *κiddara* [19va 28]), *angelista* (e.g. *ewangelista* [20va 13]) and *ea* in the Latin *mea* (24vb 8).

Superscript *c* is used for *ik*, and is most commonly used to abbreviate forms of *mikill* (e.g. *mikilli* [22vb 4] and *mikil* [24vb 29]). It also occurs once in *þik* (22ra 32) and twice in *mik* (20va 18 and 36).

Superscript *d*, which is the insular *ð*, stands predominantly for *ad* (e.g. *signada* [24ra 28] and *lifnadi* [23ra 40]), but is also found twice for *uð* (*guð* [19va 39] and *auð* [22vb 21]) and twice for *ud* (*vðknudu* [24rb 6] and *skipudu* [25rb 6]).

Superscript *e* is used for *re* (e.g. *frettu* [24rb 31]), *ve* (e.g. *kuenmanz* [21rb 39]), *ra* (e.g. *hrædiligan* [24ra 45]), and *uæ* (e.g. *kuæmi* [20vb 30]). Once, it is written above *ew* and abbreviates *ewangeliste* (22va 4).

The *er* abbreviation ( <sup>˘</sup> ) stands for *er* (e.g. *herbergi* [19va 36]), *ir* (e.g. *syndir* [20ra 28]), *ær* (e.g. *væri* [20vb 8]), and *r* (e.g. *er* [21ra 14]).

Superscript *i* is undotted and used for *ri* (as in *kristz* [20va 11]), *ir* (e.g. *virðing* [24ra 26]), *ið* (e.g. *við* [24ra 45]), *il* (e.g. *til* [20va 5]), *ui* (e.g. *þui* [19va 13]) *igi* (e.g. *eigi* [19va 17]), *iki* (e.g. *κiki* [20ra 40]), *afdi* (e.g. *hafdi* [21vb 41]), *inni* (e.g. *sinni* [24va 28]), twice for *anni* (*manni* [20ra 13 and

25va 34]), and once for both *afi* (as in *hafi* [19va 7]) and *ins* (as in *sins* [19va 21]). It is also used above insular *f* in the abbreviation for *fyrir* (e.g. 24ra 5), which is never written in full.

Superscript *m* stands for *um* (e.g. *hinum* [22va 24]), *am* (e.g. *likama* [19va 21]), *inum* (e.g. *sinum* [19va 34]), *onum* (e.g. *honum* [25va 25]), and *onnum* (e.g. *monnum* [24rb 17]).

Superscript *n* stands for *an* (e.g. *vottandi* [25va 18]).

Superscript *o* is used for *ro* (e.g. *drottins* [23ra 38]), *ru* (e.g. *eru* [23vb 39]), *un* (e.g. *hun* [22rb 20]), and *ró* (e.g. *grófinni* [22ra 44]). It is also used with *m* to abbreviate *modur* (e.g. 22rb 27), above *v* to abbreviate *voru* (e.g. 22va 1), above *t* to abbreviate *toko* (e.g. 25vb 44) and *tok* (e.g. 22rb 25), and above insular *f* to abbreviate *fóro* (e.g. 24vb 38). It once stands for *ofu* (*myrkuastofu* [22va 16]).

Superscript *r* represents *ar* (e.g. *vard* [25vb 9]) and *or* (e.g. *vors* [25ra 41]). It is also used above *m* to abbreviate *maðr* (e.g. 21ra 26).

The *ra*-abbreviation stands for *ra* (e.g. *systra* [20vb 22]). Like superscript *a*, the *ra*-abbreviation, it is used above *ew* for *ewangelista* (e.g. 21va 21). It occurs most frequently with a bar ( ¯ ), but also sometimes without one ( ~ ).

Superscript *t*, whose ascender stops at the crossbar (τ), is used for *at* (e.g. *þangat* [22vb 1]), *att* (e.g. *almattigs* [25ra 19]), *et* (e.g. *bet* [25ra 8]), *it* (e.g. *skipit* [25vb 1]), and *ut* (e.g. *smidut* [23vb 46]). Twice, it stands for *ra* in the Latin word *libra* (21va 11 and 21vb 9). Once, it stands for *ad* in *fagnada* (21vb 7).

Superscript *v* represents *ru* (e.g. *husfru* [24va 17]), *unu* (in *munu* [e.g. 25ra 37]), once *un* (*fundi* [19va 23]), and once *iu* (*rekkiunni* [24rb 11]).

Superscript *z* is used for *az*, *iz*, *uz*, *uzt* and *anz*, and occurs in the genitive (e.g. *manz* [19vb 24] and *kvenmanz* [20rb 39]), the superlative (e.g. *sterkazti* [23rb 16], *giarnazti* [23rb 31], and

*postoliguztu* [24vb 38], and *hialpsamliguzt* [25ra 31]), or the reflexive form of the verb (e.g. *foruitnaz* [23vb 3] and *sagbiz* [21ra 1]).

The *ur*-abbreviation is a superscript *r* rotunda ( ° ) and stands for *ur* (e.g. *modur* [20va 12]) and *r* (e.g. *aptr* [21vb 12]). The ∞-abbreviation mark is also in evidence, and stands for *r* (e.g. *cipr* 21rb 43), *ur* (e.g. *smurdi* [20rb 30]), and *yr* (e.g. *smyria* [21vb 7]).

The *us*-abbreviation ( ° ) is used for *us* (e.g. *Augustinus* [21vb 12]). It also abbreviates *guðs* when written above *a* (e.g. 22ra 36).

The *rum*-abbreviation (e.g. *odrum* [22ra 14]) resembles a 4 (Ϸ), and its horizontal stroke rests on the guideline.

A figure 3-like symbol (z) attached to the right minim of *m* abbreviates *með*.

The Tironian nota is a barred *z* (z̄).

The nasal stroke proper abbreviates *m* (e.g. *galileam* [21vb 41]), *n* (e.g. *en* [22ra 3]), *an* (e.g. *hans* [24vb 17]), *ann* (e.g. *hann* [24vb 23]), *anne* (e.g. *Johannem* [21vb 46]) *en* (e.g. *henni* [22ra 28]), *enn* (e.g. *hennar* [22ra 34]), *in* (e.g. *tekinn* [23vb 40]), *ing* (e.g. *kenningar* [24rb 24]) and *onnu* (in *monnum* [e.g. 24ra 41]).

Abbreviation by suspension is common in the main text (i.e. outside of chapter headings). The following examples are in evidence: *.m.* = *m(alti)* (e.g. 20ra 30 and 21rb 5), *magð.* = *magð(alene)* (e.g. 22rb 14 and 25ra 16), *magð̄(alena)* (e.g. 20vb 17 and 22rb 20), or *magð̄(alenam)* (24rb 11) *.s.* = *s(egir)* (e.g. 22rb 36 and 22va 5) or *s(agði)* (20va 45), *.e.* = *e(ða)* (e.g. 19vb 22 and 20vb 46) or *e(igi)* (22ra 2), *.h.* = *h(eitir)* (e.g. 19va 9 and 22vb 37), and *.d.* = *d(ags)* (e.g. 23vb 23 and 23vb 46) or *d(egi)* (23vb 23).

A number of commonly used words are abbreviated by a horizontal stroke ( ¯ ) or a curl ( ~ ), such as *þeira* (e.g. 25rb 12), *þuiat* (e.g. 20ra 2), *þess* (e.g. 20ra 21), and *domine* (24rb 43).

*Jesús* is abbreviated *iĥc* (e.g. 19vb 2, 20vb 24, and 22ra 27) in the nominative, *iĥm* (e.g. 19vb 46 and 24va 14) in the accusative, *i<sup>v</sup>* (e.g. 19va 32 and 21rb 33) and *iĥu* (e.g. 19vb 11 and 24ra 31) in the dative, and *iĥu* (e.g. 21va 22 and 25ra 33), *i<sup>v</sup>* (22rb 47), and *i<sup>c</sup>* (22ra 41) in the genitive.

The abbreviations of *kristr* are as follows: nominative: *xpc* (23rb 27) and *x<sup>c</sup>* (24va 16 and 24va 38); accusative: *xpm* (24rb 14); dative: *x<sup>o</sup>* (19va 32) and *x<sup>i</sup>* (e.g. 24ra 31 and 25ra 41); and genitive: *k<sup>i</sup>stz* (e.g. 21rb 44 and 23va 2), *x<sup>i</sup>* (e.g. 23ra 38 and 24rb 40), *x<sup>o</sup>* (24ra 31 and 25ra 33), *xpi* (22va 1), *x<sup>z</sup>* (23rb 10), and *xp̄z* (23rb 39).

## Orthography

### Vowels

Short *a* is written *a* and, less frequently, *á* (e.g. *máriam* [19vb 23]). Long *a* is written *á*, *aa*, *áá*, and *áá*. The vowel in the old combination *-vá* has become *vo*, e.g. *suo* (25vb 46), *tuo* (22vb 38), *vorum* (25va 12), *uorr* (20va 17), and *vors* (22ra 38). The noun *nátt/nótt* is written six times as *nótt* (21vb 32 [two occurrences], 21vb 33, 21vb 34, 23rb 3, and 25ra 38), and four times as *nátt* (22ra 42, 22va 47, 22va 48, and 24ra 40).

Short *e* is written *e*. There is one example of the diphthongization of *e* before *ng* (*eingi*|-*nligum* [23va 14]). Long *é* is typically written *e* and, less frequently, *é* (e.g. *réttu* [25ra 43]). The spelling *ie* for *é* occurs several times as *ie* (e.g. *sier* [20vb 44]), and once as *ié* (*siénu* [25vb 29]). There is no evidence of the change of *ve* > *vö*. The only instance of *kveld/kvöld* is *kuelld* (21vb 12).

Both short and long *i* are written *i*, *í*, *j*, and *í* (e.g. *þrír* [23rb 42], *minning* [23rb 43], *sinum* [21rb 13], *kirkiunnj* [24va 30], *j* [22rb 21], *í* [24vb 13], and *historíjs* [19vb 2]). The accent is a graphic marker, and does not necessarily denote length. Consonantal *i* (*j*) is written *i*, *í*, *j*, and *í* (*giarna* [23rb 12], *iarni* [25rb 35], *jafnan* [23rb 3] and *juða* [21ra 35]). There is no confusion between *i* and *y*. The cluster *ja/ía* is usually written *ia* and, less frequently, *ía* (e.g. *þría* [19va 25]) and *ja* (e.g.

*jafnan* [23vb 41]). It is also found *ea* in the verbs *sjá* and *forsjá* (e.g. *sea* [20ra 2], *forsea* [22va 26]).

The endings *-liga/-lega*, *-ligr/-legr* have *i* (e.g. *hiartaligan* [22rb 7], *gudliga* [22vb 4], *Dasamligr* [24va 36], and *drottínligrar* [22ra 45]).

Short and long *o* are written *o* and *ó* (e.g. *sofnat* [22ra 41], *spóttadi* [22rb 9], *þora* [22rb 31], and *fóro* [22ra 6]). The negative prefix is *ó* (e.g. *oleyfdar* [19vb 43] and *óúitzku* [20va 7]). The preposition *ór* is always written *or* (e.g. 25va 36).

Short and long *u* are written *u* or *v* (e.g. *stundir* [20vb 45], *vpprisu* [22va 11], *nu* [21ra 15], and *vt* [21ra 33]). Consonantal *u* (*v*) is written *u* and *v* (e.g. *ueitti* [19va 29] and *vard* [19va 36]). *w* only occurs in the loan word *ewangelista/ewangeliorum* (e.g. 19vb 2).

The *i*-umlaut of *á* (which has merged with the *i*-umlaut of *ó* [æ]) is *æ* (e.g. *sælli* [25vb 13] and *fæddum* [25vb 13]), *ɛ* (e.g. *nɛsta* [25vb 12] and *dɛmi* [22va 41-42]), and once *á* (e.g. *bákr* [25rb 27]). In one instance, there is a “backwards” fronting of *a* to *æ* when followed by *i* in a loanword: *kæistellum* (25vb 31).

The *u*-umlaut of *a* is written *ø* (e.g. *höfðu* [21ra 4]), *ø* (e.g. *øllum* [22va 38]), *o* (e.g. *ollum* [24ra 25]), *ø* (e.g. *søgu* [21rb 24]), *au/v* (e.g. *haund* [23rb 37], and *au/v* (e.g. *avr(ð)um* [22va 31]).

On the pronoun *nökkur*, see below.

The verb *gjöra* is written as *giora* (e.g. 20rb 16). It is found less frequently as *gora* (e.g. *gora* [23ra 20]). When it is abbreviated, it has the *er*-tittle (e.g. *giora* [67vb 40]).

In unstressed final syllables, *i* is the rule for front vowels, except in chapter headings (as in *enne* [23ra 27]), and in oblique cases of foreign proper names (as in *marie magðalene* [22rb 40] and *abrahe* [25ra 44]). For the back vowel, *u* is typical, but *o* is not at all uncommon (e.g. *lögðo* [25rb 9], *olmosor* [21va 15], *sao* [25rb 37], *þionosto* [25va 19], etc.).

The svarabhakti vowel is not in evidence.

Regarding diphthongs, *ei* is written *ei* (e.g. *heill* [20ra 7]) and *eí* (e.g. *lærisueinum* [20vb 17]). *ey* is written *ey* (e.g. *leyndi* [22ra 40] and *reyna* [22vb 16]) and *au* is written *au* (e.g. *augunum* [19vb 38]), *av* (e.g. *tavmalagi* [19va 21-22]), and *av* (e.g. *davda* [20vb 46]).

### Consonants

Except for the geminate *k* (written *kk* and, less commonly, *ck*) *c* only occurs in foreign words and proper names (e.g. *Marcus* [20ra 43], *peccatum* [20ra 47], *sancte* [20va 29], *viciliacum* [25va 41]).

The voiced dental spirant is *ð* and *d* (e.g. *ordum* [19va 4] and *auðig* [19va 12]), and in three instances, *th* (*seth* [22rb 2], *sieth* [23vb 14 and 22]). *d* is most common. *Magdalena* is more frequently written almost twice as often with *ð* than it is with *d*. Older *þ* is sporadically found in word-medial or word-final position (e.g. *gyþingum* [20rb 19] and *gupþ* [20rb 25]). There is no evidence of *d* for *t* in final position. The preposition *við* is written as such. *viðr* is not in evidence, except in the compound word *viðrkvæmliga* (67rb 4).

*f* before *t* is usually written *p*, as in *eptir* (19vb 7), *optar* (20rb 29), *graptar* (21vb 20), and *aptr* (22va 6). The cluster *fn* is usually written *fn* (e.g. *iafnan* [21rb 7], *efni* [21rb 35], and *sofnat* [22ra 41]), but it occurs four times as *mn* in the verb *safna* (e.g. *sómnuduz* [23ra 39]).

There is evidence of the palatalization of *g* when followed by *æ* (*giatzlu* [22rb 28] and *ágiatum* [19vb 25]). The palatalization of *g* after a vowel before *i* is also in evidence (e.g. *deghi* [21va 15] and *elskulighi* [24va 16]), although non-palatalized *g* is more common. *g* is also found written *gh* after *n* (*flutningh* [22vb 25]), between *n* and a vowel (*pengha* [19vb 9]), between vowels (as in *heiloghu* [23ra 28-29] and following a vowel at the end of a word (e.g. *heilugh* [22vb 28]).

The noun *jarteign/jartein* is written only with the *g*, and with *e* rather than *ei* (e.g. *jartegnum* [22va 34]). The adjective *gnógr/nógr* is written without the initial *g* (e.g. *nogum* [19va 27]).

*h* is preserved before *-l* in six instances (*hlotit* [20va 40], *hlidi* [23rb 11], *hlyddi* [23rb 25], *hliodum* [23va 27], *hlifandi* [24ra 39], and *hlyti* [25vb 46]), but more commonly it is not (e.g. *lutum* [19vb 36] and *lifandi* [21vb 11]). In contrast, *h* is always written before *-r* and *-n*, with the following exceptions: *neigðu* (21vb 36), *reisandi* (22rb 28), *reinsa* (20va 41-42), *rygð* (20vb 13 and 21vb 20), *Reistr* (22vb 35), *Rærit* (21rb 2), *rærðum* (21rb 5), and *rærðan* (21vb 28).

*k* is written *k* and, as noted above, takes the place of *c* in some foreign names. Geminate *k* is written *ck* or *kk* (e.g. *nóckurri* [23rb 10] and *ekki* [23rb 18]), but the latter is much more common. There are no examples of final *k > g*.

The rule that *ll* is written before original *d* but that it is written *l* before the older *-ð* is followed (e.g. *elldi* [24ra 7], *vlfallda* [23ra 44], *talða* [20ra 25], and *fiolða* [25rb 34]). *l* is doubled before *z* in all but one instance (i.e. *elz* [22vb 25]), but it is only twice written double before *t* (e.g. *velli* [23ra 5] and *hellit* [24va 30]). There is no evidence of the assimilation of *rl > ll*.

*m* is written *m*, or indicated by a nasal stroke or a dot. Whether or not it is written out seems to have been a special consideration. Length is indicated by the nasal stroke (e.g. *sem* [24vb 2] and *bótum* [24vb 35]) or in a handful of examples by superscript dot (e.g. *grimmazti* [22vb 44]). It is never written out doubled.

*n* is represented by *n*, or by a nasal stroke. As with *m*, whether the scribe chose to write the letter out seems to have been determined by space. Length is indicated by the nasal stroke (e.g. *annmarkanna* [19vb 26-27]), and less frequently by doubling (*hann* [22ra 23]).



There is usually a distinction between the adverb *enn* (e.g. 23rb 6 and 21va 43) and the conjunction *en* (e.g. 21rb 1 and 21rb 22), although sometimes the latter is written *enn* (e.g. 21rb 41).

Geminate *p* is indicated by the geminate, which is represented by doubling (*upp* [21ra 10]), and less frequently, with a superscript dot (e.g. *upprisu* [21ra 13]).

Geminate *r* is indicated by a dot (as in *vorr* [20ra 6]), and once, by doubling (*storr* [25ra 27]). It is most frequently shown by an abbreviation mark followed by a written *r* (e.g. *huerr* [25va 23] and *herra* [25ra 41]).

*s* is written *s* or *z*. Geminate *s* is shown by doubling (e.g. *kross* [23ra 17]). The masculine singular genitive *s* is written *s* or, less frequently, *z* (e.g. *kristz* [21rb 44]).

*t* is written *th* in some foreign place names and personal names (e.g. *bethanía* [19va 13], *mathei* [21vb 3], *marthe* [24vb 19], *sinthex* [24vb 37], and *leuiathan* [22vb 42]). Long *t* is indicated by doubling (e.g. *drottins* [23ra 17]), as well as by a superscript dot (e.g. *ueitti* [22rb 39]), although this is slightly less common.

*z* tends to occur word-medially (e.g. *kærazti* [24ra 47] and *blezandar* [24va 28]) and word-finally as the masculine singular genitive *s* (see above). It also occurs twice in the second person present singular verb ending (*bezt* [24va 17] and *lezt* [20ra 24]). The medio-passive ending is *-z* (e.g. *hugdiz* [22ra 14] and *syndiz* [22vb 7]). The superlative ending is indicated by a superscript *z* (e.g. *røksamazta* [19va 33] and *tignazta* [20va 40]) or *-zt* (e.g. *bezta* [20vb 2] and *efztu* [21ra 13]). Once, it is written out *-st* (*dyrst* [21va 7]).

### Miscellaneous

The free definite article is written with initial *b-*. The attached definite article is always written with *-i*.

The fem. sing. pers. pron. *hon* is always written *hun* (e.g. 25vb 7).

The 1st person present indicative of *vera* is twice *em* [20vb 45 and 21ra 15] and three times *er* [20vb 20, 21ra 15, and 24rb 22].

*m* is usually retained in the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. plur. of verbs (as in *sem ver* [21vb 2]), but is sometimes omitted (as in *munu ver* [25ra 37]).

The relative particle is either *sem* or *er*. They are evenly distributed.

The third person feminine pronoun is *hon* (see above).

The conjunction *eða/eðr* is written *eða* (e.g. 22vb 41). *eðr* does not occur.

The preposition *á* is written *á*, *aa*, *áá*, and *ǎ*. *aa* is most common for the preposition (e.g. 24rb 2).

The preposition *fyrir* is always abbreviated (see above).

The noun *byskup* only occurs in abbreviated form.

The following forms of *nokkurr/nokkurr* are in evidence: masc. nom. sing. *nockurr* (20vb 44) and *nockurr* (25va 7); masc. acc. sing. *nokkurn* (19va 26) and *nockurn* (19va 8 and 20va 26); masc. dat. sing. *nockurum* (25ra 2); masc. nom. pl. *nokkurir* (20ra 30); masc. acc. pl. *nockura* (24ra 10); fem. nom. sg. *nockur* (23vb 5); fem. dat. sing. *nockurri* (25va 38) and *nockurri* (23rb 10); fem. nom. pl. *nokkurar* (20ra 41) and *nockur* (25rb 16); neut. nom. sing. *nokkut* (19vb 14); neut. acc. sing. *nokkut* (20ra 12), *nockut* (25va 1 and 24vb 35), and *nockut* (24vb 36); and neut. gen. sing. *nokkurs* (23va 17 and 24vb 36).

*Marta* is always spelled with *h*. It is declined as follows: nom.: *martha* (e.g. 19va 32); acc.: *martham* (e.g. 20vb 16); dat.: *marthe* (e.g. 24ra 16, chapter heading), *martham* (e.g. 22vb 28, chapter heading), and *martha* (e.g. 19va 46); and gen.: *martham* (19va 40, chapter heading) and *marthe* (e.g. 20vb 14).

*María* is declined as follows: nom.: *maria* (e.g. 23va 9); acc.: *mariam* (e.g. 24rb 11); dat.: *mario* (e.g. 20va 12), and *marie* (e.g. 20va 13); and gen.: *marie* (e.g. 23va 9), *mariam* (e.g. 25va 24), and *mario* (e.g. 22vb 14). *Magdalena* is spelled both with *d* and *ð*. It is declined as follows: nom.: *magðalena* (e.g. 22vb 16); acc.: *magdalenam* (25vb 30); dat.: *magðalene* (e.g. 22rb 40); and gen.: *magdalenam* (e.g. 25va 24).

### Copenhagen, The Arnamagnæan Collection AM 235 fol.

AM 235 fol., another collection of saints' lives, is the only manuscript to preserve the legend in its entirety. The codex, which consists of eight complete gatherings, has been dated to ca. 1400 (ONP 1989: 436; Foote 2003a: 94-95). It has sixty-eight double-columned leaves measuring 29x19.5 cm, and each column typically has between thirty-five and thirty-nine lines. It contains the legends of twenty-one male and female saints, which are arranged in calendar order according to the lectionary. These comprise the lives of *Hallvarðs saga* (1r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 396<sup>17-27</sup>), *Jóns saga baptista* (1r-2v; corresponds to Unger (ed.) 1874: 842<sup>19</sup>-848<sup>33</sup>), *Sebastianus saga* (3r-4v; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 228-231<sup>34</sup>, 232<sup>6</sup>-235), and *Agnesar saga* (4v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 15-16 var.), *Mariu saga egyptzku* (fols. 5-6<sup>v</sup>; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 487-495 var.), *Magnúss saga Eyjajarls* (fols. 6v-10v; ed. Gudbr. Vigfusson 1887: 281-298.), *Jóns saga helga* (fols. 10v-12; corresponds to Foote [ed.] 2003b: 175-198<sup>23</sup>), *Pétr's saga postula* (fols. 13-17v; ed. Unger 1874: 181-200 lower text or var.), *Margrétar saga* (fols. 17v-19r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 474-481.), *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu* (fols. 19r-30r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 513-553 var.), *Ólafs saga hins helga* (30r-36v; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 159-183), *Saga af Fides, Spes ok Karítas* (fols. 36v-38v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 369-376 var.), *Lárentíuss saga erkidjákns* (fols. 38v-41; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 422-432 var.), *Saga várrar frúar* (fols. 41r-42v; corresponds to Unger [ed.] 1871: 49<sup>26</sup>-51<sup>27</sup>, 396<sup>2</sup>-400<sup>11</sup>, 400<sup>16</sup>-401<sup>8</sup>), *Ágústínusar saga* (fols. 42v-49r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 122-149), *Máritíuss saga* (fols. 49r-52v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 643-656), *Díónýsiuss*

*saga* (fols. 52v-55r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 312-322), *Flagellatio crucis* (fols. 55v-56r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 308-311 var.), *Theódórs saga* (56r-57r; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 310-314), *Marteins saga biskups* (fols. 57v-66v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 575-607), and *Cecíliu saga* (fols. 66v-68; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 279<sup>20</sup>-287<sup>1</sup>, 276-279<sup>20</sup> var.) (Kålund 1888: 196-197). Agnete Loth (1975) has demonstrated that the fragment AM 921 V 4to, which contains the end of *Nikolaus saga* and the beginning of *Lucíu saga*, belonged to AM 235 fol., and so the legends of Nicholas and Lucy should be added to the saints' lives preserved in the codex, making the total number twenty-three and bringing the liturgical year close to its end (221-235). It was long thought that fols. 1-4 of AM 235 fol. belonged to a separate manuscript, but this was dismissed by Loth (1975) as "næppe ... rigtigt" [hardly correct] (116, n. 2). Foote (2003a) accepts Loth's conclusion and identifies the scribe of these first four leaves as the one who wrote fols. 5-13vb 12 and 14-19rb 21, the so-called Hand A of the codex. He suggests that fols. 1-2 and 3-4 respectively belonged to now-lost gatherings, which contained lives of other saints present in the comparable legendaries Stock. perg. 2 fol. and AM 234 fol. but missing from AM 235 fol. He concludes that at least four gatherings are completely lost from the legendary, which originally contained a minimum of one hundred and twelve leaves (77-79; Loth 1975: 118).

Árni Magnússon's notes link the manuscript to the episcopal see at Skálholt and its vicinity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although fols. 1-4 were obtained from a separate location. In his manuscript inventory (preserved in AM 435 4to), Árni claims that AM 235 fol. had been at Skálholt:

Af Maria Ægyptiacâ hinne bersyndugu, nockud lited aptanaf. Magnuss Saga Eyia Jarls. Jons Saga Hóla biskups. vantar mikid aptan vid. Petrs Saga postula, vantar framan vid. Margretu meyar Saga. af Martha og Magdalena. Miracula nonnulla S. Olavi, *ex illius vita desumta*. af Fides Spe og Charitate. S. Laurentii Píslarvottz Saga. Mariu meyar Saga, stutt. Augustini Saga (eins og su sem stendr i næst fyrirfraranda codice). Mauritii Saga. Pals Saga postula, stutt. Flagellatio crucis in Berytho. S Theodori Saga. Martini Saga Turonensis. Ceciliu meyar Saga, vantar vid endann. Þar inne er og de Tiburtio et

Valeriano. Bokin er i litlu folio, bandlauss. hefur fyrrum vered eign Skálholltz kirkiu, ut puto (Kålund 1909: 7).

Elsewhere in his inventory, in a list of manuscripts which “standa i Skálholltz stadar afhendingu til Mag. Þordar Thorlakssonar 1674,” Árni has written next to number eight (“Fragmenta af Helgra manna sögum”): “Þetta er óefad það bandlausa volumen i litlu folio, hvar á eru Aptan af sögu um Zo<sup>w</sup>s” (Kålund 1909: 48-49).<sup>114</sup> There are also several marginalia which point to the manuscript’s provenance in and around Skálholt.<sup>115</sup> Marginalia on fol. 64v show that the codex at one point belonged to Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson of Skálholt: “mier er sagt ad Brinjolfur Biskub eigi þessa bok en ecki JTS a T st” (JTS refers to Jón Torfason, who was priest of Torfastaðir from 1646 to 1656). The first four leaves can also be connected to Skálholt. A sixteenth-century pen-trial on the bottom margin of fol. 3v reads: “Ver broder avgmvd med gvsd gvds nad byskup i skalhollte giorvm godvm munnum kvnigt.” The person referred to in this note is Bishop Ögmundur Pálsson, who was elected bishop of Skálholt in 1519 (Loth 1975: 116-117). In addition, Árni Magnússon writes on the bottom of fol. 3r: “fra Sr Þorleife Arnasyne ä Kalfafelle 1711.” As Loth (1975) points out, Þorleifur Árnason (1630-1713) was a priest in Kálfafell in Fljótshverfi from 1659-1707, but before that he was Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson’s scribe for four years. It is therefore possible that fols. 3-4 were at Skálholt with Þorleifur before his move to Kálfafell in 1659 (Loth 1975: 117). Fols. 1-4 are of comparable age as the sixty-four leaves which follow, and it is not improbable that they came from Skálholt (Foote 2003a: 81). The codex was likely the product of a scriptorium at the bishopric. The apparent original ordering of the legends according to the liturgical year indicates that it was intended for ecclesiastical rather than private use. There are no marginalia from before the sixteenth century, which suggests that the codex was housed in a cloister prior to the Reformation (Foote 2003a: 79-81).

<sup>114</sup> This is a reference to *Mariu saga egipzku* (Loth 1984: 233 n.2).

<sup>115</sup> For a list of all marginalia relevant to AM 235 fol.’s provenance, see Foote (2003: 79-80).

The codex is written by three scribes and rubricated by a fourth—all of whom were probably from Skálholt. Hand A writes fols. 1-4, 5-13vb 12 (the first two words) and 14-19rb 21. Hand B picks up where A leaves off on fol. 13vb 12, and writes until fol. 13vb. Hand C is clearly the main scribe, and writes from the start of *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* (fol. 19rv 22) until the end of the volume, including the texts from fragment AM 921 V 4to that Loth demonstrated originally belonged to AM 235 fol. Chapter titles are uniform throughout the codex. They are generally modest and plain, and show very little variation (Foote 2003a: 82). Column length varies depending on the hand. Hands A and B write columns ranging between thirty-five and thirty-nine lines. Hand C has between thirty-five and thirty-nine lines on fols. 20-68, with a noticeable increase in space economy as the codex progresses. The 921 V fragment has forty-one lines per column. The codex is defective in many places, and the main scribe has what Foote (2003a) calls an “individual waywardness” (89). In general, as the manuscript progresses, so do the number of mistakes made by Hand C, particularly in words written out in full. Common mistakes include skipping or writing too many letters (e.g. *thharaskonum* for *tharaskonum* or *vitandanda* for *vitanda*), or transporting two letters within a word (e.g. *vreda* for *verda* or *elfa* for *efla*) (Unger 1877: 1: vii). In addition, the orthography of Hand C varies widely (see below). Foote (2003a) describes Hand C as a less disciplined and more innovative scribe than the others in AM 235 fol., and notes that he “...had an ear, as his spellings reflecting assimilation show, but not much of an eye” (94).

AM 235 fol. contains a wide variety of other marginalia, some related to its provenance and others not. There are various examples of pen-trials (most of which are indistinct) and doodles, as on fols. 19r and 36r, where music clefs are drawn, and fols. 42v and 43r, where someone has practiced drawing large initials. Several religious invocations are found in the left margin of fol. 44v, and on the bottom margin fol. 51r, there is what seems to be a pen-trial for an

inventory for Villingaholt parish (“willinga holltz kirkiusokn”), which is not far from Skálholt. In another instance, a weather report is recorded in the margins (fol. 41v): “anno 1648 var mikill vándur þann 9. 10. 11 a júlís a vtn sidu.” Finally, the marginalia contain what are likely children’s pen-trials. These occur throughout the manuscript, and consist mainly of alphabet practice, as on on fols. 39v-40r. Other pen-trials which seem to have been made by a child (or someone learning how to write) are of a more religious nature, such as the beginning of the Lord’s prayer on 15r: “fader vors hver ertv a himne” and “gud f,” perhaps the beginning of another prayer or invocation, is written on the bottom margin of fol. 24r. One note (on fol. 8v) gives concrete evidence that the manuscript was used for learning purposes: “olafur lærer amick.” That the manuscript could have been used for learning is not surprising, given its provenance and likely origin at the bishopric of Skálholt, which was Iceland’s first official school.

One piece of marginalia, an embroidery pattern, adds particularly interesting insight into the use of AM 235 fol. in post-Reformation Iceland.<sup>116</sup> It is found in the bottom margin of fol. 20v, which contains the Old Norse-Icelandic legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha, and the grid occupies most of the bottom margin of the leaf. The pattern appears to be for *gamli íslenski krosssaumurinn* (long-legged cross stitch), a common method for needlework during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Iceland, and was probably meant for wool thread on linen fabric (Elsa E. Guðjónsson 1977: 135-36). It does not contain any sort of design, but rather large black ornamented letters, which read “ION A MIG” (Jón owns me). Fol. 52v, which contains the end of the saga of Saint Maurice and the beginning of the saga of Saint Dionysius, also shows an embroidery grid in the bottom left margin. It is blank and significantly smaller than the one on fol. 20v, and moreover the lines on the grid are uneven, indicating either an unfinished work or a botched attempt, perhaps of the first pattern. The pattern on fol. 20v can be most closely

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<sup>116</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the embroidery pattern in AM 235 fol., see my article on the subject (2011b).

compared to an Icelandic altar frontal of unknown provenance from the late Middle Ages (Þjms. 2371), which similarly uses long-legged cross stitch for the lettering on the work, “ave maria.” Elsa E. Guðjónsson (1994), arguably the authority on Icelandic needlework, briefly mentions the existence of the pattern on fol. 20v of AM 235 fol, and in a footnote dates it to the seventeenth century, but does not comment further on its significance (11, 17 n. 6).

Several men with the name “Jón” appear in the marginalia of AM 235 fol., most of whom can be connected to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Skálholt and its vicinity. The first is Jón Sigurðsson, whose name is recorded on fol. 7r. Considering the style of the hand, this could be Jón Sigurðsson (ca. 1588-1640), a priest who was a master at the school of Skálholt from 1610-12 (ÍÆ III: 258). The second is Jón Þorsteinsson (ca. 1570-1668), parson at Torfastaðir from 1601-07 and at Holt under Eyjafjöll 1631-67, whose name is in the margins of fol. 23v (ÍÆ III: 320-21). A third is Jón Torfason (d. 1656), who was priest of Torfastaðir from 1646 until his death (ÍÆ III: 293), and who is referred to in the above-mentioned marginalia of fol. 64v. Other marginalia in the codex can be connected to Jón Torfason. A childish hand writes “siera jon tor torfason a þessa skræd skrøð” [Sr. Jón Torfason wrote on this tattered old book] on fol. 29r, and on fol. 68r “sjer<a> ion a þessv skrædu” [Sr. Jón owns this tattered old book]. “Jon Torvason þikist eiga” [Jón Torfason is thought to own (this)] is written on fol. 66r. A final Jón in the marginalia is Jón Gíslason on fol. 22r. This may be the Jón Gíslason (d. 1698) who served with Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson in 1645, and was parson Miðdalur 1647-96 (ÍÆ III: 115), or it could be the Jón Gíslason (ca. 1659-1707) who was at school in Skálholt and lived at Torfastaðir from 1691 (ÍÆ III: 115-16). The seventeenth-century embroidery pattern on AM 235 fol. could conceivably refer to any of these men, or even another whose name does not appear elsewhere in the marginalia of the codex.

The pattern may have been used by a Margrét Þorsteinsdóttir, who on fol. 38v records her name in a shaky hand: “margret þorstíns dotir hefir klorat.” Foote (2003a) identifies the



author of this marginalia as Margrét Þorsteinsdóttir (ca. 1638-1706), the daughter of Þorsteinn Jónsson, who was appointed parson at Torfastaðir in 1626, although he lived at Bræðratunga. She was also the granddaughter of Jón Þorsteinsson, who held Torfastaðir from 1601-07, and whose name (as mentioned above) appears in the marginalia of AM 235 fol. on fol. 23v (80). It should also be noted that Margrét was the mother of Jón Víðalin, bishop of Skálholt 1698-1720. As a young girl growing up at Torfastaðir, she certainly would have had occasion to write on AM 235 fol., which, as noted above, was housed at the parish during the seventeenth century. The marginalia could well be an instance of a young girl learning how to write, much like the Guðrún of AM 429 12mo (ca. 1500) who is referred to in the note: “þetta er bok Gudrunar ad leika sier ad þui hun rifnar ei þo ostillt sie med fared” [this is Guðrún’s book to play with, because it doesn’t rip even though it is handled roughly] (Carlé 1985: 43-44; Driscoll 2004: 14-15). Elsewhere in the codex is what appears to be a writing lesson, and then scribbles by what appears to be a child learning to write, perhaps the same Guðrún (Driscoll 2004: 15). The script of the marginalia is uncharacteristic of the time period in which Margrét lived. Indeed, it appears as though Margrét imitates the script of the manuscript itself, using it as a textbook of sorts, and copying distinct characteristics of the script from the time period AM 235 fol. was written (ca. 1400), such as the two-storey *a*, the double-looped insular *f*, the long *s* that extends beyond the guideline, the *k* with a looped ascender and a closed bottom loop, and the round *d* (Stefán Karlsson 2002: 836-888). Since the embroidery pattern has been dated to Margrét’s lifetime, it is certainly possible that she used the pattern. It is therefore tempting to speculate that Margrét not only used AM 235 fol. to learn how to read and write, but also how to do needlework. Margrét was the daughter of the parson at Torfastaðir, and therefore a woman of gentle birth who was without a doubt educated in the *kvenlegar listir* (womanly arts) at a young age, as was the custom for women of her status in medieval and early modern Iceland. One imagines that she would have required access to

needleworking patterns in order to learn and practice this valuable womanly skill. She may have used the pattern in AM 235 fol. for educational exercises, much as young women from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England embroidered on samplers in order to learn techniques and demonstrate skills in needlecraft.<sup>117</sup> However, there is no way to say with certainty whether this was the case, but Margrét's childish pen-trial elsewhere in AM 235 fol. provides the only real lead on the identity of the user of this peculiar pattern.

The colors used in AM 235 fol. are red, blue, black, and a brownish shade, which presumably used to be red. Initials are red, and the shade of the color ranges from a bright red (as on fols. 9v and 36v) to the faded brown hue (as on fols. 7v and 46r). There are also three examples of what are now quite faded blue initials, namely on fols. 24v, 38v, and 44v; the second of these is decorated with red. Once, on fol. 31r, an initial is drawn in black. The initials tend to be quite simple in style, but there are a variety of instances in which they are decorated with foliage and other ornamental strokes. These are on fols. 17v, 19r, 28v, 30r, 41r, 52v, 55r, 56r, and 66v (brownish initials with red foliage, the most common decoration); fols. 32r, 42v, and 57v (red initials with brownish foliage); fol. 30v (a brownish initial *P* with red ornamentation inside the bow); fol. 42v (a red *S* with black and light brown ornamentation inside). Perhaps the most elaborate initial is on fol. 49r, which has a now a brownish *A* with red foliage and black and light red ornamentation. The only initial with any sort of figure drawn within it is on fol. 42v, where a rudimentary drawing of a man's face (perhaps St. Augustine) is found between the two legs of a brown initial *h* with red foliage. Chapter headings are always written in red. Capitals at the beginnings of lines are written in ink, and are more elaborate when written outside of the line (as on fols. 5r and 9v).

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<sup>117</sup> For more on samplers from early modern England, see Rozsika Parker (1989), esp. Chapter 5.

### *Paleography*

*a* is the two-storey *a*. The top storey is always closed (a).

The vertical ascender of *b* is looped (e.g. *burðar* [20ra 12] and *bar* [21rb 9]).

*d* is always the round or insular *d*. The ascender tends to curl at the top (ð), e.g. *guddómi* (22rb 17) and *daudra* (23va 7). Round *d* without the curl (ð) is in evidence, but it is rare (e.g. *helldr* [23ra 3] and *dágr* [23va 1]).

The lower part of *e* is always open (e).

*f* is the insular *f*, and consists of a figure 3 attached to the right side of a vertical stroke (ƿ). The bottom stroke of the 3 tends to extend well beyond the descender (e.g. *flockar* [20ra 1] and *fyłgi* [21vb 2]).

The letter *g* consists of an *o* and what Foote (2003a) describes as a “triangular lower element” (83). This type of lower part, which is closed, is most common, but it is sporadically round and has an open bottom half as the text covered by *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* progresses (e.g. *eiginligum* [25rb 17] and *gyrdil* [25va 9]). This gradual move towards a round and open-bottomed *g* consistent with the pattern noted by Foote (2003a), namely that by fol. 35 (which comes after this saga), the *g* with the triangular bottom is largely abandoned (83).

The ascender of *h* is looped (e.g. *hlyðin* [19rb 27] and *heilsu* [20ra 3]).

*i* and *j* are never dotted, and occasionally have accents, which seems to be graphic markers rather than indicators of length (see below). Foote (2003a) remarks that the descender of *j* has a looped bottom, which comes midway up the stave (e.g. *j* [26va 5] and *jartegnum* [28vb 18]) (83).

*k* has a closed upper loop (k). Its leg usually rests on the guideline (e.g. *geck* [20va 4] and *siuknad* [21vb 5]), but sometimes extends slightly below (e.g. *þik* [19vb 35]). The second type is more common later in the manuscript (Foote 2003a: 83). Usually, the ascender is looped (e.g. *tok*

[21vb 4] and *þoku* [24ra 1]), but in several instances the ascender is unlooped (e.g. *ek* [22ra 22] and *likþrar* [22va 23]).

*l* has a looped ascender (e.g. *lata* [24rb 5], *mikill* [25ra 5], and *helldr* [27rb 2]).

The right-hand minims of *m* and *n* rest on the guideline (e.g. *smidat* [28ra 3], *nockr* [29ra 6], *tima* [30ra 4], and *ovína* [30ra 11]).

There are three types of *r*: minuscule *r*, *r* rotunda, and a small capital *r*. The shaft of minuscule *r* at times sits on the guideline, although later in the manuscript (starting on fol. 40) it is sporadically and randomly carried below the line (Foote 2003a: 83). *r* rotunda is shaped like a 2 (2), and occurs after *a*, *b*, *d* (minuscule and majuscule), *ð*, *g*, *h*, *o*, *ó*, *p*, *u*, *v*, *y*, *þ*, *ð*, and *ϕ*. It is in complementary distribution with minuscule *r* after *b*, *ð*, *o*, *ó*, *þ*, *ϕ*, and *ô*. It always occurs after *p*, *d*, and *v* in all but one instance (*verpr* [25ra 27]), *brædrum* [24ra 6], and *vrðv* [29vb 15]). Similarly, minuscule *r* is only found once after *y* (*heyra* [25va 28]), due to the scribe attempting to correct *yr* from another letter (which appears to have been *v*). *r* rotunda is more common after *g*, *h*, but minuscule *r* occurs more frequently after *u*. Small capital *r* (ᚱ) occurs regularly, most frequently in abbreviations (e.g. *himinrikis* [27ra 28]) and to denote the geminate (see below). It is occasionally dotted (ᚱ̇).

There are two types of *s*, round or capital *s* (s) and long or cursive *s* (ſ). Round *s* sits on the line. At first, long *s* rests on the guideline, but starting on fol. 21v, it extends below the line (Foote 2003a: 83). Small capital *s* commonly occurs in abbreviations (e.g. *suo* [26rb 36] and *ser* [26vb 13]). In addition, round *s* is sometimes found word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally (e.g. *kurteis* [19ra 29], *huersu* [20ra 26], and *syskinum* [19vb 14]) and in some personal names (e.g. *simonis* [19va 19] and *Ambrosius* [19vb 10]). However, long *s* is far more common (Foote 2003a: 83).

The vertical of *t* does not extend above the crossbar (τ) except in the *s* + *t* ligature.

Foote (2003a) remarks that when in initial position, *v* “...often has the slanted ⟨b⟩-like form of charter hands” (83).

*x*, which occurs primarily in Roman numerals and the abbreviations of *Kriſtr* (see below), extends below the guideline (e.g. *vaxit* [22vb 18] and *veſ* [22vb 25]). It does not have a crossbar.

*y* is a *v* with the descender extending from the second diagonal of the *v* and veering to the right at the bottom. It is always dotted. As Foote (2003a) points out, this *y* is *y*<sup>5</sup> (83).

*z* has the shape of a figure 7 attached at its midsection to a horizontal stroke. The horizontal stroke rests on the guideline, but the stave of the figure 7 extends below (e.g. *hirdzlur* [23ra 4]). It is sometimes unbarred (e.g. *lazarus* [19va 8]), but almost twice as often it is barred (e.g. *gerdizt* [30ra 19]).

*þ* occurs with a looped ascender (e.g. *þungir* [21rb 5]), even if accompanied by an abbreviation mark (e.g. *þessi*, [23rb 36]).

Of ligatures, *a + a*, *a + e*, *g + ð*, *p + p*, *s + t*, and *t + t* are in evidence. In the *a + a* ligature, the upper storeys are closed (ǣ). The *a* in the *a + e* ligature does not have an upper storey (æ), and may or may not have a diacritical accent or a hook. The *v* in the *a + v* ligature is rounded at the bottom (a). The *g + ð* ligature (ǧ) occurs in four instances (*begði* [20vb 30], *segði* [23vb 10], *egði* [24vb 14], and *hneigði* [29ra 18]). In the *p + p* ligature, the upper loops are joined (pp). In the *s + t* ligature, the *s* is long and the ascender of *t* extends beyond the guideline (ft). In the *t + t* ligature, both ascenders stop at the cross-bar (tt).

Capital letters are most frequently used in word-initial position to denote a new sentence, or for personal names or place names. The following capital letters are found (with the exception of chapter headings and ornamental letters used to begin a chapter): *A*, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *H*, *I*, *J*, *K*, *L*, *M*, *N*, *O*, *P*, *R*, *S*, *T*, *V*, and *Þ*. Large minuscule *a* (λ) is far more common than large majuscule *A*, the latter of which tends to be reserved for ornamentation at the start of chapters, except in

two instances (*Adrir* [23ra 14] *Audgadi* [27vb 35]). Roman capital *E* is more common than Round *E* (€). Capital *f* occurs only once and is a large insular *F* (*Fadir* [19rb 34]). Capital *H* occurs most frequently as the large minuscule (*h*) (e.g. *Huartt* [21vb 31] and *Heyrð* [25vb 21]). Capital *I* only occurs once (*EIN* [28rb 9]). *K* is a large minuscule *k*. Round *M* (Ω) is more common than Roman capital *M*, and whereas the latter occurs only as a large majuscule, the former can be either large (e.g. *Margir* [22ra 8]) or small (e.g. *minn* [22ra 12]). Roman capital *N*, which can be either large (e.g. *Narðu* [22vb 15]) or small (see below), is more common than large minuscule *N* (*n*), which only occurs three times (*Nu* [27ra 27], *EIN* [28rb 9], and *Nockuru* [29va 30]). Capital *t* is, like the minuscule, flat-topped (Ɱ) (e.g. *Tholosam* [24va 18]).

### Abbreviations

Superscript *a* (which is always the two-storey *a* as a superscript) stands for *au* (*þau* [24vb 32]), *ia* (e.g. *vitia* [26vb 25]), *na* (*bannadi* [26rb 10]), *ra* (e.g. *allra* [19va 30]), *afa* (*bafa* [27va 31, etc.]), *aka* (in *taka* [30ra 14, etc.]), *ama* (in *sama* [29ra 33]), *ana* (*bana* [27ra 13]), *ann* (*mannligri* [23va 4] and *mannfioldða* [25ra 33]). Above small capital *s*, it abbreviates *sina* (e.g. 24rb 3).

Superscript *c* is used for *ak* (*makligar* [26vb 11]), *ek* (*fek* [22ra 36] and *gek* [29va 7]), *ik* (e.g. *mikklv* [20vb 19] and *þik* [25vb 22]), and once for *ec* (*peccatum* [20vb 5]). It is also used in abbreviations for *Jesús* and *kristr* (see below).

Superscript *d*, which is the insular *ð*, stands for *ed* (*med* [25rb 29, etc.]), *id* (e.g. *vid* [20rb 17]), *ud* (e.g. *gud* [21ra 26]), and *iad* (*vitiað* [29va 29]).

Superscript *e* is used for *re* (e.g. *trefr* [19vb 31]), *ræ* (e.g. *frægri* [19va 22]), *anne* (*manne* [29rb 2]), *enne* (*henne* [26va 16 and 27va 8]), *arie* (*marie* [28va 27 and 29va 8]), and *ne* (*audicione* [27vb 13]).

The *er* abbreviation ( <sup>˘</sup> ) stands for *er* (e.g. *ferdum* [19rb 28]), as well as *r* (*er* [19va 8, etc.]) and *ir* (e.g. *girnzr* [20ra 33]).

Superscript *i* is undotted and used for *ig* (*eigi* [23vb 19]), *ik* (e.g. *miklum* [23rb 28]), *il* (e.g. *til* [21ra 6]), *ir* (e.g. *syndir* [20vb 13]), *ni* (e.g. *salamonis* [20vb 24]), *ri* (e.g. *siolfri* [23rb 18]), *ti* (*matti* [24rv 22]) *ui* (e.g. *hui* [21va 4]), *afi* (in *hafi* [24ra 13]), *afdi* (in *hafdi* [24rb 20]), *iki* (*riki* [19rb 34]), *igi* (in *eigi* [19va 20]), *igri* (*gratligri* [29rb 19]), *iddar* (*riiddarin* [30ra 8]), and *iddari* (*riiddari* [29va 28, etc.]).

Superscript *m* stands for *ud* (e.g. *hofud* [22vb 28]), *um* (e.g. *siolfum* [24ra 21]), *inum* (e.g. *sinum* [24va 11]), *onum* (*honum* [26vb 7]), *atum* (*peccatum* [20vb 5]), and *onnum* (*monnum* [24va 27]).

Superscript *n* stands for *n* (e.g. *en* [23vb 34]), *an* (e.g. *konan* [29va 4]), *en* (e.g. *penninga* [23ra 10]), *in* (e.g. *opinberliga* [20vb 15]), *un* (e.g. *attunghr* [26ra 28]), *on* (e.g. *hond* [25vb 20]), *na* (*bannadi* [26rb 10]), *nin* (*mining* [27vb 14]), *iun* (*rekiunni* [27ra 22]), and *adan* (*badan* [26rb 31]).

Superscript *o* is used for *or* (e.g. *huor* [23va 2]), *oru* (e.g. *foru* [23va 15]), *un* (*hun* [19vb 29, etc.]), *ro* (e.g. *profan* [21rb 17-18]), *vo* (e.g. *kvomu* [25vb 26]), *oku* (*toku* [29va 31]), *ofdu* (*hofdu* [27vb 8]), and *esso* (*messo* [24ra 33, etc.]). Once, it is used mark the ordinal number (*.xvi.to* [25vb 31]). Once, it is used for *inu* (*sinu* [28ra 18]), and once it abbreviates *ru* (in *kastrum* [29ra 33]), although superscript *v* more commonly abbreviates these clusters.

Superscript *r* represents *r* (e.g. *arf* [19va 21]), *ar* (e.g. *martha* [19rb 22]), *er* (e.g. *hverr* [20vb 25]), *ir* (e.g. *illgirnd* [21ra 29]), *or* (e.g. *hvor* [21rb 32]), *ra* (e.g. *frammar* [21va 18]), *ri* (*vpprisit* [26va 34]), *ara* (*paradisar* [24rb 35]), *ari* (*maria* [24vb 7]), *mariam* [29ra 26 and 30ra 28], and *marie* [29vb 20 and 30ra 3]), *arr* (in *varr* [20rb 19]), *aðr* (*maðr* [20rb 12, etc.]), and *arar* (*svarar* [20rb 35, etc.]).

However, the *er*-abbreviation is far more common for *er* and *ir*, and the *ra*-abbreviation (see below) occurs much more frequently for *ra*. In addition, superscript *i* is the most common for *ri*.

The *ra*-abbreviation stands for *ra* (as in *systra* [20vb 22]), *ia* (e.g. *þiggia* [21rb 29]), *au* (e.g. *brauð* [21rb 33]), *ari* (*marie* [23vb 12, etc.]), *aria* (e.g. *maria* [23ra 33] and *mariam* [e.g. 23vb 11]), and *ian* (e.g. *bidiani* [29va 7]). Above round *s*, it stands for *suo* (e.g.), and above *m*, it stands for *manna* (20ra 24, etc.). In one instance each, it is used for *ar* (in *fara* [23rb 28]), *iu* (in *þekiu* [21rb 31]), *oria* (*memoria* [27vb 12]), *ea* (*mea* [27vb 13]), *at* (*vata* [29rb 32]), *ema* (*nema* [29rb 20]), *ad* (*ǣtladi* [29va 8]), *ann* (*manni* [29va 15]), and *ma* (*roma* [28va 24]). It occurs both with ( ¨ ) and without a bar on top ( ~ ). The two forms are in virtually equal distribution, with the latter being only slightly more common.

Superscript *t*, whose ascender stops at the crossbar ( ¸ ), is used for *at* (e.g. *lifat* [19va 16]), *et* (e.g. *het* [26vb 8]), *it* (e.g. *kropit* [20rb 19]), and, once each, *id* (*vid* [23ra 16]), *mit* (*komit* [22ra 8]) and *igt* (*kunnigt* [28vb 25]). Once (*hofut* [27va 5]), it stands for *ut*.

Superscript *v* represents *iu* (*veniu* [26ra 32 and 29va 6-7]), *ru* (e.g. *trua* [20ra 7]), *inu* (e.g. *sinu* [20rb 2]), *un* (e.g. *mun* [21vb 14]), *unu* (in *munu* [23ra 20, etc.]), and, in one instance each, *ry* (*tortryghd* [24ra 9]), *ofdu* (*hofdu* [27vb 8]), and *um* (*nabóndum* [29vb 6]).

Superscript *z* is used for *az* (e.g. *synaz* [20vb 32]), *iz* (e.g. *skiptiz* [23rb 36]), *uz* (e.g. *snaurpuzstu* [26ra 6-7]), *iaz* (e.g. *leggiaz* [25vb 6]), *urz* (*nockurz* [26ra 11]), *annz* (*mannz* [21ra 14]), once for *enz* (*menzku* [28ra 1]), and once for *nnz* (*mannz* [20ra 12]).

The *ur*-abbreviation is a superscript *r* rotunda ( ¨ ) and stands for *r* (e.g. *kunnr* [19rb 34]), *ur* (e.g. *þurkar* [19vb 14-15]), *yr* (e.g. *fyr* [28va 11]), and *yrir* (in *fyrir* [e.g. 19vb 2]).

The *us*-abbreviation ( ¨ ) is used for *us* (e.g. *hus* [19va 31]) and *uds* (in *guds* [e.g. 19vb 3]). Above *gs*, it stands for *gregorius* (20ra 19).

The *rum*-abbreviation occurs once (*ewangeliorum* [19vb 18-19]). It resembles a 4 (ʒ) with a zigzag descender, and its horizontal stroke rests on the guideline.

A figure 3-like symbol (ʒ) stands for *ed* in *med* (19va 3, etc.) and once in *medan* (27va 4).



The Tironian nota is a barred  $z$  ( $\bar{z}$ ).

The nasal stroke proper, which varies widely in length, abbreviates  $m$  (e.g. *sem* [20rb 24]),  $n$  (e.g. *andi* [20vb 8]), *an* (e.g. *halldanði* [27ra 11]), *en* (e.g. *hennar* [20vb 13]), *on* (e.g. *vinkono* [29rb 11]), *un* (e.g. *mundu* [26vb 8]), *mn* (*komnir* [24vb 14 and 25vb 28]), *nn* (e.g. *spamaðrinn* [19vb 7]) *ann* (e.g. *johannis* [20ra 12]), *enn* (e.g. *menn* [19va 25]), *onu* (*honum* [19vb 21]), *onnu* (*monnum* [20ra 27]), *ans* (*hans* [20rb 19]), and *unninu* (*munnum* [20rb 3]).

The following abbreviations by suspension are in evidence:  $d = d(ag)$  (27va 2) and  $d(aga)$  (26vb 16);  $e = e(da)$  (20ra 11); *greg.* = *greg(orius)* (23va 29); *magð.* = *magð(alena)* (24vb 12, 26ra 34, and 29va 20), *magð(alenam)* (24ra 18 and 29ra 11), and *magð(alene)* (24vb 7, 24vb 20, 26vb 17, and 29rb 28); *magd.* = *magd(alena)* (29vb 7), *magd(alenam)* (29ra 26, 29va 13, 29va 34, 29vb 24), and *magd(alene)* (28vb 33, 29rb 4, 29rb 30, 29vb 20, 29vb 30, 30ra 3, 30ra 16); and *magða.* = *magða(lena)* (29va 27).

A number of commonly used words are abbreviated by a horizontal stroke (  $\bar{\quad}$  ) or a curl (  $\sim$  ), such as *þessi* (e.g. 19va 3), *þeir* (e.g. 19vb 1), *þat* (e.g. 19va 7), *skal* (e.g. 20rb 25), and *melti* (e.g. 19vb 30).

*Jesús* is abbreviated  $i\bar{h}c$  (e.g.),  $i\bar{H}c$  (e.g. 21vb 9 and 22va 9), and  $i^c$  (e.g. 27va 27 and 29vb 21) in the nominative,  $i\bar{h}m$  (e.g. 22rb 7 and 23va 33) and  $i\bar{H}^m$  (23va 7) in the accusative,  $i\bar{h}u$  (e.g. 21va 32 and 28rb 26) and  $i\bar{H}u$  (e.g. 21vb 7 and 22va 30) in the dative, and  $i\bar{h}u$  (e.g. 25va 2 and 27rb 18),  $i^v$  (e.g. 20vb 29 and 25va 23),  $i\bar{h}c$  (X 24), and  $i^c$  (29vb 12) in the genitive.

The abbreviations of *kristr* are as follows: nominative:  $x^r$  (e.g. 25vb 10 and 27va 6),  $\bar{x}$  (29vb 21); accusative:  $x^c$  (27ra 25); dative:  $x^o$  (26vb 26 and 28rb 26); genitive:  $k^i sti$  (28ra 28) and  $x^i$  (e.g. 25va 2 and 25vb 22).

## Orthography<sup>118</sup>

### Vowels

Both short and long *a* are written *a* (e.g. *sa* [28vb 20] and *nafni* [28va 5]), *á* (e.g. *ságdi* [19vb 32] and *láti* [29ra 23]), *aa* (e.g. *aallir* [21ra 35] and *aastsemd* [19rb 25]), and *áá* (e.g. *sauráá* [28va 5] and *sáá* [22rb 21]) (Foote 2003a: 89). *áá* is most common for the preposition *á*. The old combination *-vá* has become *-vo* (e.g. *suo* [22va 36], *tuø* [23va 4], and *vorum* [19va 30]). The noun *nátt/nott* is written with *o* (*nott* [e.g. 21vb 33]), with three exceptions (*natt* [23vb 31 and 25rb 28] and *nattstad* [24vb 2]).

Short and long *e* are represented by *e* (e.g. *penningum* [19va 11] and *ne* [19rb 33]), *é*, (e.g. *hnéfa* [21rb 27] and *lét* [20vb 7]), *ɛ* (e.g. *męstu* [21va 3] and *będit* [22ra 14]), *ě* (e.g. *pěningum* [19va 23] and *sęgir* [19vb 8]), *æ* (e.g. *ærn* [20rb 16] and *æda* [20ra 21]), *é* (e.g. *várdr* [21vb 16] and *magdaléna* [23rb 22-23]), and *ei* (e.g. *leit* [20ra 28] and *tueiggia* [20rb 20]). *e* is frequently written *ei* before *ng* (e.g. *eingil* [23rb 31] and *leingi* [27va 22]) and in the pronoun *vér*, *vé* > *væ* (e.g. *vár* [20va 26, 23rb 1] and *vér* [28ra 21]) (Foote 2003a: 90). There is no evidence of the change of *ve* > *vö* (e.g. *kvelldítt* [73va 24]).

Short and long *i* are written *i* (e.g. *lister* [19rb 27] and *skirlif* [19rb 31]), *í* (e.g. *tigín* [19va 10] and *víta* [20rb 12]). *j* is used for short *i* (e.g. *jðran* [20ra 16]), and is most common for the preposition *í*. *í* occurs in Roman numerals and word-finally in *Ambrosíj* (19vb 26), *janvaríj* (25vb 32), and *remigíj* (27vb 28). The diacritical accent in *í* and *í* does not necessarily denote length, but is used instead as a graphic marker. Short and long *y* are written *y* (e.g. *systir* [21va 9] and *fyrir* [21va 17]). There is evidence of confusion between *i* and *y* in *þicki* (19vb 35). Consonantal *i* (*j*) is written *i* (e.g. *þiod* [28va 7]), *í* (e.g. *þría* [19va 21]), and *j* (e.g. *johanne* [21rb 2]). The cluster *ja/ia* is written. The suffixes *-ligr* / *-legr*, *-liga* / *-lega* are written with both *i* and *e* (e.g. *naliga* [28va 9] and

<sup>118</sup> Here and in the following I rely on Foote (2000: 89-94).

*leynilega* [26vb 5]). Foote (2003a) remarks that the scribe writes both vowels in these suffixes “indifferently” (92).

Short and long *o* are written *o* (e.g. *þottiz* [26vb 7] and *moti* [26vb 7]) and *ó* (e.g. *gótt* [23ra 19] and *fór* [20va 29]). The negative prefix is both *o* and *u* (e.g. *ovinir* [30ra 7] and *uuitanði* [23ra 27]), with the former being more common than the latter. The preposition *ór* is almost always written *vr* (e.g. 27ra 27 and 27vb 8), with one exception (*ur* [26va 14]).

Short and long *u* are written *u* (e.g. *kurteis* [19rb 29] and *su* [19va 8]), *v* (e.g. *vpp* [19va 4]) and *hvsvm* [19vb 6], and, on several occasions, *y* (e.g. *þusyndir* [25va 20]) (Foote 2003a: 90). Twice, *ú* is written for short *u* (*flútti* [19va 2] and *stúndir* [21vb 35]). Consonantal *u* (*v*) is written *u* (e.g. *uetrum* [25va 5]) and *v* (*hēfuęsk* [19rb 28]).

The *i*-umlaut of *á* (which has, of course, merged with the *i*-umlaut of *ó* [œ]) is represented by *e* (e.g. *benahaldi* [29rb 27]), *é* (e.g. *bétti* [20vb 18]), *ě* (e.g. *hětti* [20rb 24]), *ę* (e.g. *bęnvm* [24vb 4]), *ě* (e.g. *brędrum* [30ra 18]), *æ* (e.g. *fatækum* [23ra 1]), *á* (e.g. *bátti* [23rb 19]). Hand C’s tendency to occasionally write *ó* for the *i*-umlaut of *á* is not in evidence in the text covered by *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* (Foote 2003a: 89).

The *u*-umlaut of *a* is written *ó* (e.g. *mǫrgum* [27rb 33]), *ø* (e.g. *vøktu* [27va 25]), *u* (e.g. *kulluð* [19va 8-9]), *au* (e.g. *gaufugligar* [19va 28]), *av* (e.g. *davgði* [20vb 27]), *av* (e.g. *ambavnir* [21va 24]), *o* (e.g. *grof* [22ra 8]), and *ó* (e.g. *góngu* [20va 26]). An unshifted form is found once, in *all* (27rb 8). The pronoun *nökkur* is written with *o* (e.g. *nockrs* [25ra 17] *nockut* [28ra 8]). A characteristic feature of Hand C is his spelling of *siolf*, which is often found alongside *sialf* forms throughout the text, e.g. *siolf* (19va 27) and *sialfr* (21ra 26) (Foote 2003a: 89).

The verb *gjöra* is abbreviated with the *er* tittle (e.g. *gera* [25rb 16]). When written out, it has *io* (e.g. *gior* [19vb 13] and *giorzk* [29vb 16]) and, once, *ið* (*giðrð* [21ra 6]).

In unstressed final syllables, *i* and *u* are the rule. However, *e* and *o* sometimes occur (e.g. *henne* [23vb 6] and *miklo* [21rb 30]).

A number of back spellings acknowledge the svarabhakti vowel before final *r* (e.g. *nockr* [19va 22] and *milr* [28ra 1-2]) (Foote 2003a: 90).

Regarding diphthongs, *ei* is written *ei* (e.g. *heitir* [19rb 35]) and *eí* (e.g. *breín* [25rb 8]), *ey* is written *ey* (e.g. *oleyfdum* [20ra 30]), and *au* is written *au*, *av*, *a*, *áu*, and *áv* (e.g. *dauda* [21vb 27], *bavd* [22va 6], *þav* [24vb 13], *dáudir* [23rb 34], and *þáv* [24vb 17]).

### Consonants

*c* appears in foreign words (e.g. *comestor* [19vb 18] and *avicon* [25ra 6]), as well as in the geminate of *k* and in place of *k* (see below).

*d* is written both *d* (e.g. *veitandi* [21va 34] and *dryk* [21va 5]), *ð* (e.g. *ðavda* [21va 29] and *bónða* [24ra 26]), and *dh* (e.g. *tiundh* [23ra 10] and *vitándh* [23vb 36]). The voiced dental spirant is written *d* (e.g. *fórdum* [24ra 28] and *dauda* [24ra 31]), *ð* (*bannaða* [24ra 26] and *bodaði* [24r 27]), *dh* (e.g. *hygdhi* [22va 32] and *verdh* [23ra 11]), and, word-finally, *th* (e.g. *verith* [24ra 2] and *hundrath* [22rb 11-12]).

*f* before *t* is usually *p* (e.g. *optliga* [19va 14] and *eptir* [25vb 31]), with three exceptions (*aftr* [24vb 27, 25vb 17, and 26ra 36]). The cluster *fn* is usually written *fn* (e.g. *nefnð* [19va 20] and *iafnan* [22rb 32]), but is found twice as *mn*: *somnuduz* (25va 3) and *samnadi`r`* (27ra 10). There is no evidence of the occasional *pn* cluster noted by Foote (2000: 91).

There is no evidence of the palatalization of *g* when followed by *æ*. Palatalization of *g* after a vowel before *i* is, however, in evidence in forms of *gior*-. *g* is commonly spelled *gh* between vowels (e.g. *fimtighi* [20rb 32] and *daghinn* [22va 14]), word-finally (e.g. *heilogh* [24ra 22-23] and *nalagh* [24va 12-13]), before the voiced dental spirant (e.g. *laghdan* [23rb 24] and *hneighdu* [23va

5]), after and before *n* (e.g. *peninngha* [20rb 32] and *saghnir* [24ra 29]), and in rare instances, for *gg* (e.g. *armlegghi* [22vb 1] and *tortryghd* [24ra 9]). Initial *g* is almost always retained in *gnóg-* and its derivatives, with only two exceptions (*nóga* [19vb 29] and *nogligar* [28va 22]) (Foote 2003a: 90).

*h* is retained before *-l*, *-n*, and *-r* (e.g. *blotid* [21va 2], *hneyckt* [20vb 28], and *hreinsadi* [21ra 7]), with two exceptions: *lutir* (22va 17) and *luti* (26vb 13).

*k* is written *k* (e.g. *kyni* [19rb 23] and *slika* [21rb 30]), *c* (e.g. *ráac* [20vb 13] and *lvcti* [21rb 26]), and *ch* (*erchibyskup* [19vb 10] and *pascha* [22va 19]). Geminate *k* is written *ck* (e.g. *dryckt* [19va 17] and *geck* [20va 7]) and, much less frequently, *kk* (e.g. *hlekkingar* [20va 26] and *þakkir* [28rb 3]).

Final *k > g* is noted once in the third person accusative pronoun *sig* (e.g. 23rb 7), which usually has *k*.

There is generally a distinction between *lld* and *ld* (from the older *lð*), but not always (e.g. *helldr* [26rb 29] and *fiolda* [28vb 18], but *vildi* [29ra 24] and *fiollda* [28rb 30]) (Foote 2003a: 90).

*m* is written *m*, or is represented by a nasal stroke (e.g. *ranglatum* [29rb 2] and *ollum* [29ra 19]). Whether or not it is written out seems to have been a matter of graphic convenience. In only two instances is it written out doubled (*sammiáð* [19va 20] and *throfimmus* [25vb 27]).

*n* is written *n* or is indicated by a nasal stroke (e.g. *ein* [26ra 26] and *liksaungh* [27va 12]). Final *n* tends to be written out, except in geminate *nn* (e.g. *sinn* [26ra 36]). There is no distinction between the adverb *en* and the preposition *enn*.

Long *p* is represented by doubling (e.g. *vpprisu* [29vb 21]) or twice by a superscript dot (*vpp* [22ra 24 and 25]).

Geminate *r* is written out once (*hárrí* [20va 6]), and is indicated once by a dot (*hera* [20va 27]). Usually, it is represented by small capital *ʀ* (e.g. *fʀ* [21ra 1] and *hera* [21va 7]), or is indicated by an abbreviation representing a vowel + *r* (e.g. *huerr* [20va 18] and *berr* [21va 12]).

*s* is written *s*, but sometimes *z*, especially in the genitive singular of masculine and neuter nouns (*kristz* [22vb 6] and *landz* [25ra 20]). Geminate *s* is indicated by doubling (e.g. *missa* [23ra 9] and *lauss* [23ra 11]) or by abbreviation (e.g. *þessu* [22ra 34] and *þessi* [22va 15]). The superlative usually has *st* (e.g. *grimasti* [25ra 23-24] and *visasta* [19va 27]).

*t* is written *t* (e.g. *matti* [22vb 35] and *lata* [28ra 28]) and *th* (e.g. *biorthu* [24va 31] and *matthi* [25ra 18]). Long *t* is shown by doubling (e.g. *flutti* [26vb 27] and *natturu* [25ra 27]). The lenition of *t > d* is common in the preposition and particle *ath* (e.g. 23vb 2 and 28va 8), in the freestanding or suffixed neuter article (e.g. *hárid* [20ra 33] and *hid* [24vb 16]), and in the supine (e.g. *gétid* [24vb 21] and *latid* [28va 27]). After a stem ending in *ð*, *t* is the preferred ending (e.g. *bodit* [26rb 32] and *vordit* [27vb 4]). In addition, *t* is typical in the second person plural verb forms (e.g. *erut* [21vb 34]), but not in nouns ending in *að* as elsewhere in text by Hand C (Foote 2003a: 91-92).

In addition to being used word-finally for *s* in the masculine and neuter singular genitive, *z* occurs regularly in the medio-passive ending, which is *-z* or *-zt* (e.g. *kenniz* [21ra 14] and *veittizt* [20ra 3]), or, less frequently, *-st* (e.g. *sampinist* [20rb 17] and *andast* [29vb 10]) and *-zk* (e.g. *giorzk* [29vb 16]). *z* is used in the superlative in *rauksamazta* (28va 18) *efzsta* (22ra 23).

### Miscellaneous

The free-standing definite article has *h-*.

The 1st person present indicative of *vera* is *em* (*ek em* [21vb 3 and 21vb 34]).

*m* is retained in the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. plur. of verbs (e.g. *tokvm ver* [24ra 31] and *sámm véþr* [28ra 21]), except in *góngru ver* (20va 26).

Foote (2003a) writes that although the second person singular *villt* is typical, *vill* also occurs (e.g. 22ra 18). He also points to the isolated example of the second person singular *tokzt* (27ra 31) (93).

The relative particle is either *sem* or *er*. The latter occurs twice as often as the former.

The third person feminine pronoun is *hun*, with the exception of *hón* (20vb 12) (Foote 2003a: 92).

The conjunction *eða/eðr* is written *eda* (e.g. 21vb 13 and 24rb 10).

The preposition *fyrir* is written out as such (e.g. 23ra 15 and 30ra 8).

The following forms of *nokkurr/nokkurr* are in evidence: masc. nom. sing.: *nockr* (e.g. 21vb 31); masc. acc. sing.: *nockr* (19va 21) and *nockrn* (19rb 33 and 21rb 20); masc. dat. sing.: *nockrum* (28ra 24); masc. nom. pl.: *nokkrir* (20va 17) and *Nokrir* (29vb 14); masc. acc. pl.: *nockra* (26vb 2); fem. nom. sing.: *nockrr* (26rb 13); fem. acc. sing.: *nokura* (26ra 13); fem. dat. sing.: *nockrri* (25va 24) and *nockri* (29rb 6); fem. nom. pl.: *nockrar* (20va 31) and *nockr* (28va 31); neut. nom. sing.: *nockud* (29va 29); neut. acc. sing.: *nockut* (20ra 21 and 28ra 8), *nockvt* (20rb 27), *nockud* (25va 16), and *nokut* (28vb 34); and neut. gen. sing.: *nockrs* (25ra 17) and *nockrz* (26ra 11). *nockrr* (19vb 35) appears to have been an error, since the form should be neut. nom. sing.

*Maria* is declined as follows: nom.: *maria* (e.g. 19va 8); acc.: *mariam* (e.g. 20ra 13); dat.: *marie* (e.g. 28ra 31); and gen.: *marie* (e.g. 26rb 1) and *mariu* (25rb 27).

*Magdalena* is written with both *ð* and, more frequently, *d*. It is declined as follows: nom.: *magdalena/magðalena* (e.g. 19va 8); acc.: *magdalenam/magðalenam* (e.g. 30ra 24); dat.: *magdalene/magðalene* (e.g. 28ra 31); and gen.: *magdalene/magðalene* (e.g. 28rb 6).

*Martha* has *h* in all but one instance (*martam* [26vb 27]). It is declined as follows: nom.: *martha* (e.g. 19rb 22); acc.: *martham* (e.g. 21va 30); dat.: (e.g. 25rb 25); and gen.: *marthe* (e.g. 27ra 3).

Stockholm, The Royal Library Perg. 2 fol.

Stock. Perg. 2 fol., which contains twenty-six whole or fragmentary texts, is the largest and most comprehensive of the medieval Icelandic legendaries (Wolf 2000: 79). Foote (1962) dates the codex to the period ca. 1425-1445 based on his identification of Hand II with Ormur Loftsson (d. ca. 1446) (11). Jón Eggertsson acquired Stock. Perg. 2 fol. in Iceland in 1682 and brought it to Stockholm in 1683, along with the other manuscripts he obtained on behalf of the Swedish Antikvitetskollegium. Jón describes the manuscript (for which he paid seventeen *riksdaler*) as “Eet Gammel M:S: paa Kalfskind, som dend witberömte Mand Olafvur Thone hafuer skrefuet” and lists the contents of the codex (Klemming 1880-82: 36; Foote 1962: 7). The legendary now consists of eighty-six double-columned leaves and measures 30x23.5 cm (Carlé 1985: 39-40; Gödel 1897-1900: 8). However, it is thought that originally there were one hundred and ten or one hundred and twelve leaves (Wolf 2000: 77). There are typically forty-three lines per column, though with several exceptions.<sup>119</sup> The codex is bound in sturdy wooden boards, and there remain thirteen gatherings (or parts thereof) (Foote 1962: 7). Several of the vellum leaves were clearly misshapen or had holes or slits before the scribes began writing on them, and most of the other leaves are stained, torn, cracked, and even trimmed. Stock. Perg. 2 fol. is written in three hands. fols. 1-18, 19rb, 19vb, 20rb-23ra, 23rb 19 (tekr)-27v, and 28va 6-34 are written by Hand I. Hand II (Ormur Loftsson) is responsible for fols. 19ra, 19va, 20ra, 23rb 1-19, 28r-va 5, 35-63va 19, 63va 29-64ra 37, 64rb-74ra 27, and 74rb-86. Fols. 63va 19 (munu)-28 (lutvm), 64ra 37 (ek hefi)-43, and 74ra 27 (ok þeir mætti)-43 are the work of Hand III. Hand II is also found on AM 238 fol. VIII, which preserves the end of *Sebastianus saga* (1vb31-32), the beginning of *Hallvarðs saga* (fol. 1vb31-42), and a section of *Jóns saga baptista I* (fol. 2). All three hands are generally consistent and conservative in terms of orthography (Foote 1962: 14-15).

<sup>119</sup> According to Foote (1962), the exceptions are “...40: fol. 2r (Hand I); 41: fol. 69r (Hand II); 42: fols. IV, 24ra, 34r (Hand I), 48v, 49rb, 51r, 58v, 68v, 69v, 70, 71v, 72r (hand II)” (14-15).



The legends in Stock. Perg. 2 fol. are those of St. Thomas Becket (fol. 1-2r; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 315-320), St. Martin (fol. 2r-9v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 607-642), St. Nicholas (fol. 9v-13v; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 21-41), St. Ambrose (fol. 13v-18; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 28-51), St. Denys (fol. 19-20v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 312-322), St. Silvester (fol. 20v-29v; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 245-280), St. Gregory the Great (fol. 29v-34; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 377-395), St. Augustine (fol. 35-40v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 142<sup>15</sup>-143<sup>4</sup>, 143<sup>22</sup>-144<sup>14</sup>, 146<sup>5-28</sup>, 122-149 var.), St. Blaise (fol. 40v-43r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 264<sup>9</sup>-265<sup>29</sup>, 256-269 var.), St. Stephen (fol. 43v-49r; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 287-309), St. Laurence of Rome (fol. 49r-51v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 422-432), St. Vincent (fol. 51v-52; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 321-326), St. Benedict (fol. 53-57r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 158-179), St. Paul of Thebes (fol. 57r-59; ed. Unger 1877: 2: 183-192), St. Maurus (fol. 60-63; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 659-675), Sts. Mary of Egypt (fol. 64-66; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 482-495), Sts. Mary Magdalen and Martha (fol. 67-74r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 550<sup>24</sup>-553<sup>13</sup>, 513-522 var., 527-535 var., 539-550 var.), St. Catherine of Alexandria (fol. 74r-78r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 400-401<sup>24</sup>, 401-421 var.), St. Barbara (fol. 78r-79r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 153-157 and Wolf 2000: 134-142), St. Lucy (fol. 79v-80r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 433-436), St. Cecilia (fol. 80r-82v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 276-279<sup>20</sup>, 289<sup>10</sup>-297), St. Agatha (fol. 82v-84r; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 1-6), St. Agnes (fol. 84r-84v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 15-19<sup>18</sup>), Sts. Fides, Spes, Caritas (fol. 85-85v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 372<sup>23</sup>-376 and Wolf 2011: 51<sup>12</sup>-55), Flagellatio crucis (fol. 85v-86v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 308-311), and St. Maurice (fol. 86v-86v; ed. Unger 1877: 1: 644-645 var.). The text of *Mortu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*, which is in Hand II, is incomplete. The saga title is unreadable, and there are two lacunae, between fols. 68v and 69r and between fols. 70v and 71r (Carlé 1985: 39-40; Gödel 1987-1900: 8). Unlike AM 235 fol., Stock. Perg. 2 fol. does not appear to have been arranged according to the church calendar, but rather the status of the saints. The first sagas in the codex are of three archbishops, which are followed by the sagas of bishops, archdeacons and deacons, abbots and hermits, and female saints. After the legends are two religious narratives

(Carlé 1985: 40-41). The codex is therefore organized in a hierarchical manner similar to the litany for Holy Saturday and the *Missale Romanum* (Wolf 2009: 260).

There is a wide variety of marginalia in Stock. Perg. 2 fol.<sup>120</sup> Based on evidence from personal names recorded in the margins, Foote (1962) argues that during the third or fourth decades of the fifteenth century Stock. Perg. 2 fol. was at Staðarhóll, which Ormur Loptsson owned, although his primary residence was at Víðidalstunga from ca. 1435-1436 to ca. 1445-1446. It appears that after Ormur's death, the codex passed either from his widow, Solveig Þorleifsdóttir, or from their son, Loptur Ormsson (d. ca. 1476), to Guðni Jónsson Ásgeirssonar, Loptur's second cousin, since it is known that there were close connections between Guðni's and Ormur's families (12-14). The provenance of the codex between ca. 1500 and 1682, when Jón Eggertsson obtained it on behalf of the Swedish Antikvitetskollegium, is unknown, but Foote (1962) supposes it remained in northwest Iceland. Indeed, Jón Eggertsson had family connections in the area, and it is known that he sent his men to the northwest regions of Dalsýsla, Barðastrandarsýsla, and Ísafjarðarsýsla, the first two of which he himself visited. Moreover, it is known that Jón obtained Stock. Papp. 4 4to from Magnús Jónsson of Vigur and Stock papp. 16 4to from Magnús Björnsson, who was probably from Bessastaðir in Strandarsýsla (12-14).

Illuminated initials occur throughout the codex, with the exception of fols. 57v and the top of 73ra. Saga- and chapter-titles appear throughout, with the exceptions of fols. 57v, 58r, 67r, and the bottom of 79rb. Capitals at the beginnings of lines are written in ink, and are more elaborate when written outside of the line. Titles are red, except on fol. 43va ("af pilato ia(rli)" [black with red]), fol. 60ra ("Her hefr vpp sogu mauri abbatis" [black]), and the initial H in of the saga titles on the bottom of fols. 63vb and 66vb, which is blue rather than red. Foote reckons that the illuminations are the work of one man. The illuminator uses red (both light red and a red-

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<sup>120</sup> For an exhaustive list of legible marginalia, see Foote (1962: 9-11).

brown, which has faded to a greyish color), blue, yellow, and, rarely, white. Foote (1962) remarks, “[o]ften the colours alternate in such a way that the body of the first initial on a given folio will be in one colour and the ornament in another, while in the next initial on the same or facing leaf the same colours will be used the other way round” (8). There are several instances of human figures drawn in the margins, one being in the margin of fol. 73r (at the end of *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*). This is a long-robed figure with long hair and a beard, whose hand is raised in a blessing position. Foote (1962) reckons this is either the abbot Heydo or the monk Baldilo (8), but it seems more likely that it is the latter since he plays a more prominent role than the former in the accompanying text (he transports the Magdalen’s relics).

### *Paleography*

*a* is the two-storey *a*. The top storey is closed (a). The back of the *a* occasionally descends slightly below the guideline (as in *skilia* [68vb 3]) (Wolf 2000: 80). On fol. 71ra 19-21, a rare form of the *a* appears (e.g. *sa* [71ra 21]), which Foote (1962) calls a “high *a*” (17). The letter, which is rather enlarged, does not appear to have been intended as a capital.

*b* always has a looped ascender, as in *brædrum* (69va 18).

*d* is always the round or insular *d*. The ascender tends to loop back onto itself (ð), as in *daudanum* (74rb 1). ð is not in evidence.

The lower part of *e* is always open (e).

The insular *f* is in predominant. The letter consists of a figure 3 attached to the right side of a vertical stroke (ƿ). The bottom stroke of the 3 can stop at the vertical stroke (as in *fedr* [74ra 5]) or extend beyond it (as in *af*[73rb 5]) (Wolf 2000: 81). Sometimes, though, tall *f* is found. Foote (1962) notes that this form typically occurs in last place in Stock. Perg. 2 fol. (17), but this is

not the case in the leaves preserving *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*. However, it does occur sporadically elsewhere (e.g. *hafdi* [71ra 9] and *framm* [72vb 24]) (1962: 17).

The letter *g* consists of an *o* and a bottom loop, which may or may not be closed (compare *sigra* [70va 13] and *guds* [73rb 2]).

The ascender of *h* is looped. The leg extends below the guideline (*h*), and often has a curl at the end (e.g. *hafdi* [69ra 17] and *heidina* [70rb 1]).

*i* and *j* are commonly found with diacritical accents, which seem to serve simply as a graphic marker (e.g. *leidinv* [69rb 1] and *aljafnan* [69rb 41]).

*k* has a looped upper bow and a looped ascender (*k*). The leg of *k* always rests on the guideline (e.g. *skipat* [71ra 14]).

*l* tends to be written with a loop on the ascender.

The right-hand minims of *m* and *n* rest on the guideline, except occasionally when the right-hand minim is in word-final position (e.g. *petrum* [70ra 5] and *wistum* [70ra 10]) (Wolf 2000: 81).

There are three types of *r*: minuscule *r*, *r* rotunda, and small capital *r*. Minuscule *r* resembles a *v*, and the tongue is often detached from the vertical stroke (e.g. *nærði* [70vb 23]). *r* rotunda has a tail, and resembles a figure 3 (*z*). It is used after *a*, *b*, *d*, *ð*, *g*, *o*, *p*, *u*, *v*, *y* (once), *ð*, and *þ*. It is in complementary distribution with minuscule *r* after *b*, *d*, *ð*, *o*, *p*, and *ð*. It is rare after *a* and *p*, *u*, *v*, and *y*, where minuscule *r* is more common. Minuscule *r* and *r* rotunda occur after *g* with practically equal frequency. Small capital *r* (*ŕ*) is typically dotted (as in *fyŕ* [68va 41]) and represents long *r* (see below).

There are two types of *s*, round or capital *s* (*s*) and long or cursive *s* (*ſ*). The former is written with a closed bottom loop, and rests on the guideline (e.g. *sytti* [69rb 2]), whereas the latter extends below the guideline (e.g. *skamt* [70rb 1]). Small capital *s* is most commonly found in

abbreviations, e.g. *ser* (67rb 10) and *suo* (69rb 14). In addition, round *s* is sporadically found in other words, where it typically occurs word-finally e.g. *bods* (67va 11) and *himens* (71va 13) or word-initially (e.g. *stofv* [70ra 5]), *sa* [71ra 21], and *sidarsta* [72ra 10-11]), and in the words *suo* (e.g. 67rb 4) and *sem* (e.g. 67rb 11).

The vertical stroke of *t* stops at the crossbar ( $\tau$ ), except in the ligature of *s + t* (*ft*).

The *þ* has a loop on the left, connecting the top and bottom of the ascender, e.g. *þaut* (71rb 3) and *þetta* (72ra 13).

The left diagonal stroke of *v* is sometimes looped in initial position (e.g. *vindz* [70ra 10] and *verk* [72ra 24]).

*w*, which occurs most commonly in word-initial position, is often looped (e.g. *wers* [72ra 6] and *wit* [72ra 10]).

*x* occurs in Roman numerals (e.g. *xíj* [68vb 22] and *lxx* [70ra 37]), foreign names (e.g. *maximiano* [70ra 36-37] and *sínthex* [71va 27]), and a number of Old Norse-Icelandic words (e.g. *bolsvexti* [67ra 6-7], *vaxa* [70ra 3], and *fax* [70va 2]). It is also common in abbreviations for *kristr* (see below). The left descender extends well below the guideline, and does not have a crossbar ( $\times$ ).

The *y* is a *u* with a descender extending from the right vertical stroke and veering to the left at the bottom (e.g. *gryttu* [70ra 6]). It is not dotted (Wolf 2000: 82).

*z*, which is unbarred, rests on the guideline (e.g. *duolduz* [71rb 19]).

The following ligatures are found: *a + a*, *a + e*, *a + f*, *a + r*, *a + v*, *p + p*, *s + t*, and *t + t*. The *a + a* ligature has closed upper storeys ( $\mathfrak{a}$ ). As Foote (1962) notes, the *a* of  $\mathfrak{a}$  is “headless” (15). *a + f* occurs once as a ligature of the two-storey *a* + insular *f* ( $\mathfrak{af}$ ) at the end of a line with a nasal stroke above it, presumably due to space restrictions (*nafn* [74ra 7]). The *a + r*, which occurs three times (*þar* [72va 37], *þessarar* [73vb 33], and *þessari* [73rb 24]). The *v* in the *a + v* ligature—which only occurs twice (both times in *þav* [70rb 15 and 70rb 30])—is rounded at the bottom ( $\mathfrak{av}$ ). In the *p + p*

ligature, the upper loops are joined (pp, e.g. *vpp* [70rb 5]). In the *s + t* ligature, the *s* is long and the ascender of *t* extends beyond the guideline (ft, e.g. *stor* [70rb 33]). In the *t + t* ligature, both ascenders stop at the cross-bar (α, e.g. *matti* [72rb 33]).

Capital letters are most frequently used in word-initial position to denote a new sentence, or are used for personal names or place names. The following capital letters are in evidence (excluding chapter headings and the ornamental capital letters found at the start of chapters): *A, B, C, D, E, F, G, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T*, and once, *V* (i.e. *Vid* [71rb 16]). Large minuscule *a* (a) is the rule, and large majuscule *A* only occurs as an ornamental letter at the start of a chapter. Roman *E* is most common, with fifty-one occurrences, whereas round *E* (E) occurs in only six instances, once outside the margins (*E`ptir* [71ra 34]). Round *M* (M) and Roman capital *M* both occur in the text, but round *M* (which can be either large or small, e.g. *misgerdi* [68rb 4] and *Mikil* [68va 1]) is more common than Roman capital *M* (e.g. *Martha* [68va 16]), with twenty-six and five occurrences respectively.

Occasionally, the scribe adopts a formal Gothic script in order to quote Latin text: *In memoria eternal erit iusta hospita mea ab audicione mala non timebit in die nouissimo* (72ra 6-8); *Pater in manus tuas commendo* (71va 19-20). Other times, the scribe varies his script in this fashion “just for fun” and with no clear pattern (Foote 1962: 17). In the text covered by *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*, this is the case only in the words *heilaga doma* (72vb 23).

On fol. 74ra, around line 29 and until the end of the column (line 43), the script changes noticeably, in accordance with Hand II’s tendency noted by Foote (1962): “As time goes on, [Hand II] becomes somewhat courser and untidier, writing fewer letters to the line and showing variations in size and neatness that apparently depend to some extent on the state of pen and vellum” (17). The main paleographic variations on fol. 74ra include the *r*-rotunda, which is the shape of a figure 2 (2) rather than the usual figure 3 shape (3) (e.g. *medr* [74ra 28] and *alldri* [74ra

40]). The *a* is one-storeyed here, as opposed to the two-storeyed *a* used elsewhere in the text (e.g. *þat* [74ra 34] and *ath* [74ra 35]). According to Foote (1962), this peculiarity of Hand II is not completely noticeable until fol. 86v, “...with only the rarest exceptions” (e.g. 60va 39, 40 and 80vb 15, 24) (17). However, this section of the manuscript proves otherwise. In addition, several abbreviation marks show variation. First, the Tironian nota, which is elsewhere a *z* with a crossbar (z̄, see below), is now an unbarred *z* (e.g. *ok* [74ra 31 and 42]). Second, the *ra*-abbreviation, which has hitherto been barred on top (see below), is now without a bar (e.g. *gudligrar* [74ra 35]). Finally, the doubling of nasals is now indicated by a bar, rather than the dot used predominantly elsewhere (see below) (e.g. *reidinn* [74ra 35] and *sinn* [74ra 41]).

### *Abbreviations*

Superscript *c* is used for *ik*, primarily in the forms of *mikill* (e.g. *mikinn* [68rb 28] and *mikil* [70vb 28]), but also frequently for the first person singular accusative pronoun *mik* (e.g. 67rb 34 and 71rb 35), twice for the second person singular accusative pronoun *þik* (i.e. 68va 15 and 71rb 30), and once for the third person singular accusative pronoun *sik* (i.e. 72rb 17).

Superscript *d*, which is the insular *ð*, stands for *ud* (e.g. *gud* [74ra 8]), *ed* (e.g. *med* [72vb 43]), and once, *id* (i.e. *leitid* [69ra 29]).

In the main text, superscript *e* is the abbreviation for *re* (e.g. *hreinsadi* [68ra 35] and *manngreínn* [68va 19]). In chapter headings, it is written three times above *m*. In one instance, it is used for *marie* (69vb 28), and in the other two, for *manne* (i.e. 73rb 3 and 17).

The *er*-abbreviation ( <sup>˘</sup> ) stands for *er* (e.g. *wera* [69rb 26], *herra* [69rb 27] and *hver* [71rb 27]). It is also used for *r* (e.g. *ert* [68va 16] and *er* [71va 5]), *ir* (e.g. *biodir* [68va 15], *þackir* [68va 28], and *systir* [71ra 29]), *ær* (e.g. *þær* [68vb 1] and *wæri* [68vb 40]). Finally, it occurs above insular *f* (þ) to abbreviate *fyrir* (e.g. 67rb 5 and 68ra 23), which is never written out in full.

Superscript *i* is undotted and is used for *il* (in *tíl* [e.g. 67ra 28 and 71ra 14]), *ri* (e.g. *fridari* [67va 20] and *sialfri* [67va 24]), and *vi* (e.g. *hvilik* [67va 31] and *þvi* [67vb 38]). Above a small capital *r*, it stands for *riki* (e.g. 72va 42), with *v* it is used for *vid* ( ), and twice above *h*, it abbreviates *hafdi* (i.e. 74ra 12 and 15). Finally, it is found above *e* for the negative adverb *eigi* (e.g. 67ra 22 and 67va 14).

Superscript *m* stands for *vm* (e.g. *vorvm* [67ra 41], *heilogvm* [71va 15], and *tharaskonvm* [71vb 7]). It is also found above *m* for the dative singular *monnvm* (e.g. 68ra 25, 69vb 42, and 72ra 15).

Superscript *n* is used exclusively for *an* (e.g. *engan* [67rb 27], *vtan* [68ra 28], *stridan* [68va 41], *hiartaligan* [69va 22], and *iafnan* [70vb 42]).

Superscript *o* stands for *ór* (in *mðrgum* [73va 16]), *ro* (e.g. *drottí* [68rb 17] and *fronto* [71ra 1]), *rð* [in *grófinn* [69rb 27], *gróf* [69va 41], and *grófu* [73ra 27]), *rv* (in *erv* [e.g. 71rb 11 and 71va 34]), *vn* (in *hvn* [67ra 23 and 73va 8]), and *orv* (e.g. *forv* [68vb 32 and 70va 23] and *vorv* [68ra 9 and 70vb 13]). Once, above small capital *m*, it abbreviates *messó* (71va 41).

Superscript *r* is predominantly used for *ar* (e.g. *martha* [67ra 1], *starf* [68ra 17], *marmara* [68ra 19], and *maria* [73va 12]). Twice, it stands for *or* (in *for* [70ra 42 73va 36]) once for *ær* (e.g. *þær* [72ra 18]), and once for *arar* (in *svarar* [67rb 34]). It is commonly used with *m* for *madr* (in *madr* [e.g. 67ra 30, 72va 12, and 73rb 21]).

The *ra*-abbreviation, which is barred ( ¯ ), is in evidence (e.g. *yngra* [67ra 13], *dægratala* [69ra 23], *grauf* [72ra 1], and *fra* [72rb 15]). It is also used regularly for *ia* (e.g. *hneigia* [67rb 10], *segia* [67vb 1], and *flytia* [71ra 27]). In four examples, it abbreviates *svo* (i.e. 71ra 13, 72va 10, 74a 25, 74ra 26), and once, it is found for *av* (i.e. *pavlo* [72vb 20]).

Superscript *t*, which is flat-topped ( ¸ ), stands for *at* (e.g. *lifat* [67ra 27], *hvat* [68vb 38], and *þangat* [69ra 40]), and *it* (e.g. *mannkynit* [67rb 14], *komit* [68vb 33], and *segit* [69va 18]). In one



instance, it is used for *vt* (i.e. *kóllvt* [67ra 20]), and once at the end of the line, it represents *et* (i.e. *þetta* [74ra 10-11]).

Superscript *v* almost always stands for *rv* (e.g. *trvdi* [68va 4], *petrvm* [69vb 7 and 10], and *husfrv* [72ra 9]), except twice when it is used for *vn* (i.e. *mvn* [67rb 10] and *mvnkk(ifi)* [72vb 13]).

Superscript *z*, which is unbarred, occurs once for third person singular reflexive form of the verb (i.e. *skelfdiz* [71rb 6]).

The *ur*-abbreviation, as in *smvrđi* (68ra 32), *konvrnar* (69va 23), and *systvr* (71rb 23), resembles a superscript figure 2 (²) (Wolf 2000: 83). It also occurs regularly for *r* (e.g. *aptr* [68vb 19], *dagr* [68vb 25], and *grætr* [69rb 23]), and in four instances for *yr* (i.e. *fyrst* [68vb 28], *fyrsta* [67rb 18 and 71vb 19], and *fyrsvm* [69va 14]).

The *us*-abbreviation has the shape of a superscript figure 9 (°) (Wolf 2000: 83). It is used predominantly for *vs* (e.g. *hvsı* [68ra 31], *lazarvs* [68va 41], *petrvs* [69vb 37], and *rodanvs* [70rb 41]), but also four times for *os* (in *þionostv* [67ra 37 and 68va 12, 15, and 29]) and regularly for *vds* (in *gvds* [e.g. 67ra 15, 69va 2, and 69vb 15]).

A figure 3-like symbol (3) attached to the right minim of *m* abbreviates *med* (e.g. 67va 3, 72ra 26, 72rb 5, and 73va 8) and, once, *medan* (e.g. 71va 42). In three instances, a superscript insular *d* is used to abbreviate the preposition (i.e. 72vb 43, 73ra 18, and 73rb 14).

The Tironian nota is shaped like a *z* with a crossbar (z̄), except in 74ra 29-43 (see above). It always rests on the guideline.

The nasal stroke proper is little more than a dot when used to double *m* (e.g. *skammadizt* [67ra 14] and *framm* [72vb 23]) and *n* (e.g. *fann* [67va 24] and *fullkomínni* [73ra 20]) (Wolf 2000: 83). The exceptions to this are in 74ra 29-43, where a long, horizontal bar is found instead (see above), or when the nasal stroke is paired with a vowel (e.g. *hinvm* [67ra 26] and *ganga* [73va 27]) or a consonant to abbreviate *an* (e.g. *hann* [73va 36]), *en* (e.g. *þenna* [73vb 34]), *in* (e.g. *hímin* [69ra

12]), *ann* (e.g. *hann* [72rb 36]), *enn* (e.g. *henne* [73va 7]), *inn* (e.g. *kominn* [67va 2]), *onv* (in *honvm* [e.g. 70va 39]), or *onnv* (in *monnm* [e.g. 69vb 42, 70rb 11, and 70va 29]).

In the main text of the saga (i.e. excluding chapter headings), abbreviation by suspension is rare, the only example being *ṡ = ṡ(anada)* (71ra 18).

A number of commonly used words are abbreviated by horizontal stroke ( ¯ ) or a curl ( ~ ), including *ḡat* (e.g. 67ra 19), *ḡeira* (67rb 22), *ḡessi* (e.g. 67va 32), *ḡviat* (e.g. 68vb 13), *ḡeim* (e.g. 70ra 45) *borg* (e.g. 73ra 29), *byskvps* (e.g. 70rb 36), *eda* (e.g. 72ra 42), *svarar* (68va 16) *svaradi* (68vb 22 and 72ra 4), and *svorvdv* (68vb 21). It is perhaps arguable that the last four are suspensions, but the fact that each is accompanied by a superior curl suggests that they should be classified as standard abbreviations.

*Jesús* is abbreviated *iḥc* in the nominative (e.g. 68va 35 and 70rb 25); *iḥm* in the accusative (e.g. 69ra 31 and 69rb 22); *iḥv* (e.g. 68va 35) or *iḥu* (e.g. 71ra 31) in the dative; and *iḥc* (e.g. 69vb 29 and 73vb 31), *iḥv* (e.g. 67rb 30), or *iḥu* (e.g. 69rb 32) in the genitive.

*Kristr* is abbreviated *xḡc* (71vb 2) and *k<sup>i</sup>str* (71vb 26 and 73vb 40) in the nominative; *k<sup>i</sup>st* (71rb 28) in the accusative; *xḡo* (71ra 31 and 72va 22) and *k<sup>i</sup>stí* (70rb 23) in the dative and *k<sup>i</sup>stz* (e.g. 67ra 13 and 69va 16), *xḡi* (70vb 27 and 71va 17), and *x<sup>i</sup>* (72ra 13) in the genitive.

## Orthography

### Vowels

Short *a* is written *a*. The *aa* in *aat* (71rb 19) is an isolated example, and perhaps is an instance where the scribe initially wrote *aa* for the preposition *á* and then attempted to change it to *at*. Long *a* is written *a* (e.g. *sa* [71rb 13]), *ǣ* (e.g. *ǣ* [70rb 42] and *ǣn* [72rb 31]), and *aa* (e.g. *fastaka* [68va 30]). Once, for the accusative singular feminine form of *á* (river), the scribe writes the *a + a* ligature with double accents, *ǣǣ* (73rb 33). Older *-vá* has become *-vo* (e.g. *svo* [68ra 37 and 39], *tvo*

[68vb 18], and *vor* [70vb 27]). The noun *nátt/nótt* is written twice as *natt* (69va 8 and 70vb 18) and six times as *nott* (69ra 23, 24, 25, 70vb 1, 71rb 1, and 73rb 26).

Short *e* is written *e* (e.g. *elldi* [73ra 6]). Diphthongization of *e* before *ng* is widespread, and can be seen in the examples *eínglanna* (68rb 37), *geíngur* (68vb 23), and *eíngi* (73ra 33). Long *e* is most commonly written *e* (e.g. *segir* [68vb 39] and *mega* [70vb 19]). Hand II's rare tendency to write *ie* for *é* (Foote 1962: 15; Wolf 2000: 84) is exhibited once, in *hiervsalem* (69va 4). According to Foote (1962), *e* becomes *æ* between *v* and *l* and between *v* and *r* (15). There is one example of the former in the text covered by *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu: vigvalvm* (70va 11). There is no evidence of the change of *ve* > *vö* (*kveldit* [73va 24]).

Short *i* is written *i* and *í* (e.g. *slika* [68va 2] and *gípt* [70ra 2]). Long *i* is written *i* (e.g. *hvi* [68va 14]), *í* (e.g. *mín* [68va 14]), and, word-finally, *j* (e.g. *lifdj* [70vb 18] and *hafdj* [70vb 35]). As noted above, the diacritical accent appears to merely be a graphic marker, rather than an indicator of vowel length. Consonantal *i* (*j*) is written *i* (e.g. *þionostv* [71rb 37]), *í* (e.g. *tyía* [74rb 4]), *j* (e.g. *Johanne* [68rb 21]), and *j* (e.g. *judar* [70ra 33]). There is rarely confusion between *i* and *y*, both exceptions being in *þicki* (67rb 33 and 73ra 19). Foote (1962) notes that the *ri* in *prida* (68va 10) was probably a scribal error (15). The cluster *ja/ía* is written *ía* (e.g. *knía* [69va 17] and *híalp* [70rb 11]) and, more frequently, *ia* (e.g. *hiartaligan* [69va 22] and *lifgiafara* [69vb 1]). Twice, it is written *ja* (*jarteignasamlíga* [70rb 26] and *jattudu* [74ra 38]) and in one other instance, *ja* (*aljafnan* [69rb 41]). The endings *-liga/-lega*, *-ligr/-legr* have *i* (e.g. *bokligar* [67ra 5] and *rettliga* [67vb 9]).

Short *o* is written *o* and, occasionally, *ó* (e.g. *vólltinn* [68ra 16], *wór* [67va 37], *bróttum* [72vb 32], and *brótt* [67va 36, 69rb 3, 8 and 40]) (Foote 1962: 15). Long *o* is written *o* (e.g. *fovm* [68va 5], *brodur* [68va 33], and *stor* [70rb 33]). Twice it is written *ó* (*fóvm* [68rb 17] and *glóandi* [69va 32]), and in two instances *ó* (*fóvm* [67va 4 and 69rb 12]). The negative prefix is predominantly *o* (*ostyrktir* [69vb 13] and *obyria* [70rb 17]). In two examples, it is *u* (*ufallda* [70vb 34] and *umanlíga*

[73rb 19]). The preposition *ór* is always written *or* (e.g. 69vb 7 and 71va 33), except in one example, where it is *wr* (72ra 2).

Short and long *are* is written *u* (e.g. *bíugguz* [71va 38] and *þu* [71rb 35]) and, more commonly, *v* (e.g. *fvndv* [71rb 19-20] and *hvn* [70vb 29]). *w* occurs for *u* in six instances (*lazarwm* [68va 35] *wr* [72ra 2], *wm* [71ra 17 and 73ra 1], *wpp* [67vb 8 and 9]). Consonantal *u* (*v*) is written *u* (e.g. *uillt* [71vb 3] and *uirdulig* [73ra 16]) and *w* (*werdleiks* [72ra 19] and *weróndum* [73rb 2]). About ten times more common, however, is *v* (e.g. *vel* [67ra 4] and *vissa* [68ra 18]).

The *i*-umlaut of *á* (which has merged with the *i*-umlaut of *ó* [æ]) is *æ* (e.g. *fætr* [68ra 30] and *mætti* [74ra 29]) and, in two instances, *é* (*grédara* [69va 32-33] and *héstá* [69va 35]). The latter may have been used to save space (Foote 1962: 16). Once, the scribe writes *ø* (*brødrunum* [74ra 25]), but Foote (1962) suggests that this was “...probably lifted from the exemplar” (16).

The *u*-umlaut of *a* is written *ø* (e.g. *höfvt* [67vb 16]), *o* (e.g. *sokvm* [67va 18]), and *av* (e.g. *avdladz* [68rb 38]). On the pronoun *nökkur*, see below.

The verb *gjöra* is written out once as *giora* (67vb 40), twice as *gióra* (67vb 39 and 73ra 8). It is predominantly abbreviated with the *er* abbreviation sign (e.g. *giora* [68ra 15]).

In unstressed final syllables, *i* is more common than *e*, but the latter does occur somewhat frequently in certain instances, e.g. *henni* (*henne* [67rb 5 and 71rb 13]) and in oblique cases of foreign proper and place names (as in *marie magdalene* [73rb 1] and *asie* [70va 16]). For the back vowel, *u* (most often written *v*) is the rule, but *o* also occasionally occurs, e.g. *hiartano* (67va 5), *samkvndo* (67va 14), and *sendo* (68vb 3-4).

The svarabhakti vowel is not in evidence. Foote (1962) points out a “backward” spelling of *Comestr* (69va 19-20) (16). The same spelling is found three times elsewhere in the same word, spelled with two *ms* (67rb 19, 68rb 31, and 68va 22).

Regarding diphthongs, *ei* is written *ei* (e.g. *grein* [67vb 41]) and *eí* (e.g. *hreínsadi* [68ra 35]). *ey* is written *ey* (e.g. *heyrnn* [68ra 41]) and *au* is written *au* (e.g. *daudr* [71ra 2]), *av* (e.g. *avgvm* [68rb 1]), and, twice, *aw* (*þaw* [70rb 15 and 70rb 30]).

### Consonants

*c* appears in the geminate of *k* (see below). Otherwise, *c* occurs only in forms of the verb *prédika* and the noun *prédikan* (e.g. *predicadi* [70rb 6] and *predicanar* [70rb 35]) and once in *miclír* (70vb 13). It is found regularly in foreign words and proper names (e.g. *peccatvm* [67vb 43], *cleophe* [68rb 21], *iacobí* [69ra 10], *Commestor* [69rb 2], etc.) and in abbreviations for *Jesús* and *kristr* (see above).

The voiced dental spirant is *d*. There is no evidence of *ð*. Foote (1962) writes that in weakly stressed endings (i.e. the second person plural of verbs, and the neuter forms of the suffixed article strong adjective, or past participle), *t* is found in final position when the previous syllable ends in *d*. If the previous syllable ends in *t* or other consonants, both *t* and *d* are used word-finally. When the stem of a word ends in a vowel, *t* is used (16). The text covered by the legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha corresponds to this pattern, as illustrated by the following examples: *bodít* (67vb 29), *smidat* (68rb 11), *leitid* (69ra 29), *litit* (69rb 3), *getíd* (70rb 19), *halldítt* (71va 32), and *smídudd* (72vb 41). According to Foote (1962), there is “ample evidence” for the use of *d* for final *t* in weakly stressed words and syllables, and *ath* is frequently used for the preposition and particle *at* (e.g. 70va 8 and 70vb 23) (16). The preposition *við* is written nineteen times as *vít* (e.g. 68vb 42 and 70vb 30), four times as *wít* (68va 29, 72ra 10, 72ra 19, and 73rb 10), three times as *vit* (67ra 9, 67vb 16, and 71rb 6), once as *vid* (71rb 16), once as *víd* (67rb 14), and once as *vidr* (72rb 42 and 74ra 38).

*f* before *t* is regularly written *p* in *eptir* (e.g. 71va 6 and 9), *aptr* (68vb 19 and 72rb 37), and forms of *opt* (e.g. 67ra 25 and 73ra 38) and *kraptr* (e.g. 70va 36 and 73vb 5), etc. (Foote 1962: 16). The cluster *fn* is written *fn* (e.g. *efni* [69rb 19] and *aljafnan* [69rb 41]), except in the verb *samna* (e.g. *sómnodvm* [71ra 24] and *samnat* [71ra 38]) (Foote 1962: 16).

There is no evidence of the palatalization of *g* when followed by *æ*, nor is there sign of the “backward” spelling of *g* after a vowel before *i*. In contrast, *gh* is often written for *g* after *n* (e.g. *lakníngh* [67rb 24] and *virdínggh* [71ra 26]), between *n* and a vowel (e.g. *penínggha* [67vb 5] and *iarteighnmvm* [70ra 32]), between vowels (e.g. *senniligha* [68rb 35-36] and *eighi* [69ra 36]), and following a vowel at the end of a word (e.g. *avdígh* [67ra 16] and *syndvgh* [67vb 1]). The noun *jarteign/jartein* has *ei* and the *g* (i.e. *jarteignasamliga* [70rb 26] and *iarteignvm* [72va 3]), with one exception (i.e. *iarteín* [74ra 14]). The adjective *gnógr/nógr* is written twice with *g* (*gnogra* [67ra 26] and *gnogvm* [67ra 33-34]), and twice without (*nogvm* [67rb 28] and *nogligar* [72vb 14]). The spellings of *gnægdiz* (67rb 27 and 29) and *gnottvm* (70rb 12) should also be noted.

*h* is preserved before *l*, with few exceptions, which are always forms of the word *hlutr*: *lutvm* (67ra 24), *lutvm* (68ra 34), *lut* (68rb 17 and 68va 24), *lutí* (70rb 25 and 72rb 8), *luti* (71ra 10, 71vb 38, and 72va 28), *lutj* (71ra 17), and *lutir* (71rb 11 and 71vb 14). In addition, *h* is always retained before *n* (e.g. *hmeigdv* [69ra 35] and *hneykt* [68ra 22]) and *r* (*hris* [70vb 39] and *hræra* [73ra 32]).

*k* is written *k*, except in the geminate *k*, where it is *ck* (e.g. *nockvt* [67va 9] and *geck* [73va 25]). The sole exception to this rule is *eckki* (72ra 6), which is otherwise written *ecki* (e.g. 68vb 25 and 73rb 41). There are a rare few examples of *k > g*, i.e. *bog* (70ra 5) and in the third person accusative pronoun *sik*, which is most commonly written out *sig/síg* (e.g. 67rb 31, 69ra 27, 70vb 30, and 71va 10).

The rule that *ll* is written before original *d* but that it is written *l* before the older *-ð* is followed (e.g. *milldo* [72vb 19], *gialld* [73ra 10], *fiolda* [73ra 5], *kvaldr* [73rb 20], *skildi* [74ra 14], and *talda* [67vb 18]). There are three exceptions. The first is *mildi* (72va 3-4), where there is a line division after *l* (Foote 1962: 16). A similar example is found in *heldr* (69vb 26-27), where *l* also comes at the end of the line. The final exception is *stuld* (72ra 41). *ll* is always written doubled before *t* and *z*, e.g. *fullt* (67va 3), *willtv* (68vb 21), *alltari* (72ra 42), *fiallz* (67ra 19), *stollz* (72va 13), and *iarllzins* (72vb 22). The assimilation of *rl* > *ll*, although present elsewhere in text written by Hand II (Foote 1962: 16), is not evident in the text covered by *Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*.

*m* is written *m*, or indicated by a nasal stroke. Whether or not it is written out seems to have been a matter of graphic convenience (Wolf 2000: 87). Length is indicated by the nasal stroke which, as noted above, is often little more than a dot (e.g. *grimmleikr* [70ra 11] and *framm* [73ra 25]). In only eight instances is it written out doubled (i.e. *sammædd* [67ra 31], *commestr* [67rb 19, 68rb 31, and 68va 22], *commestor* [67rb 41 and 69rb 2], *grimmazti* [70va 17], and *grimmazta* [73rb 6]).

*n* is represented by *n*, or by a nasal stroke. As with *m*, whether the scribe chose to write the letter out seems to have been determined by space. Length is generally indicated by the nasal stroke (e.g. *finna* [71ra 3]), and in about twenty-five instances by doubling (e.g. *kenna* [68vb 26] and *henne* [71ra 39]). Kirsten Wolf (2000) notes that Hand II lacks consistency with regard to *n* and *nn* (88). This is evident in the following examples: *rekínn* (70ra 34; feminine nominative singular), but *hin* (67rb 1; feminine nominative singular); *bundín* (73ra 42; masculine nominative singular), but *grafínn* (73ra 15; masculine nominative singular); and *idínn* (70rb 31; neuter nominative plural), but *liosín* (71va 5; neuter nominative plural). Final *n* tends to be written out. There is no distinction between the adverb *enn* and the conjunction *en*. Both are written *enn* (e.g.

67va 8 [the adverb] and 67ra 2 [the conjunction]) and, less frequently, *en* (the adverb, e.g. 67rb 9 and 70va 1) and *en* (the conjunction, e.g. 67vb 7 and 70vb 12).

Geminate *p* is indicated by the geminate, which is represented by doubling (e.g. *vpp* [67vb 6] and *vpprisv* [69ra 22]) and, in seven instances, by use of a superscript dot ( $\dot{p}$ , i.e. *vpp* [67ra 16, 68vb 40, 69ra 17, 68rb 36, 69va 38, and 73vb 43] and *vpprisv* [69vb 29]).

Geminate *r* is indicated by a superscript dot in one instance, *annarra* (69vb 40). Otherwise, it is shown by doubling (e.g. *fyrvm* [71vb 29] and *varr* [74ra 22]), or a small capital  $\mathfrak{r}$  is used for the long *r* (e.g. *ber* [67va 42], *annarar* [68va 21], and *fyr* [73va 16]). Most frequently, long *r* is shown by an abbreviation mark followed by a written *r* (e.g. *herra* [67vb 16] and *giðrr* [68va 29]).

*s* is written *s* or *z*. Long *s* is shown by doubling (e.g. *vissi* [68vb 40] and *krossi* [69ra 4]). The masculine singular genitive ending *s* is most frequently written *z* (e.g. *fiallz* [69ra 2] and *valldz* [72va 12]).

*t* is written *t*. *th* is found in the preposition *at* (see above) and in foreign place and personal names (e.g. *martha* [67ra 16], *bethania* [67ra 17], *tharaskonus* [70va 13], and *galathia* [70va 18]). Long *t* is shown by doubling (e.g. *attann* [67ra 10] and *flutti* [67ra 14]).

In addition to the above use for the masculine singular genitive *s*, *z* is common word-medially (e.g. *veizlvr* [67ra 41] and *vtlendzkr* [67rb 10]). The mediopassive ending is *z* or *zt* (e.g. *syndiz* [67va 20], *gefiz* [67vb 20], *gnægdizt* [68rb 29], and *bírt* [69va 26]). The *z* ending is about three times more common. In contrast, the superlative ending is usually *zt* (e.g. *visazta* [67ra 39], *tignazta* [68va 8], and *bezta* [68va 18]), but sometimes *z* or *st* (e.g. *heilaglígaz* [71va 8] and *sidarsta* [72ra 10-11]) (Foote 1962: 16).



### Miscellaneous

The free-standing definite article is most often written with initial *h-* (e.g. *hínum* [73rb 6] and *hína* [68ra 26]). Less frequently, it is written with initial *e-* (e.g. *ennar* [71vb 27] and *ern* [72vb 2]), and once, it has initial *i-* (i.e. *inne* [68va 26]). The attached definite article is written with *i*.

The 1st person present indicative of *vera* is *em* (*ek em* [68vb 25 and 73rb 28]).

*m* is retained in the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. plur. of verbs (e.g. *kollum ver* [70vb 12] and *savm ver* [72rb 15]), except in *gengv ver* (67vb 30-31) and *tokv ver* (69vb 3).

The relative particle is either *sem* or *er*. The latter is more common than the former.

The fem. sing. pers. pron. *hon* is almost always written *hvn* (e.g. 67va 3 and 74rb 1). Five times, it is *hon* (69ra 4, 69rb 10, 69vb 21, 70rb 14, and 71va 31), and thirty five times, *hun* (e.g. 72ra 14 and 73va 30).

The conjunction *eða/eðr* is written *eda* (e.g. 67rb 43 and 70vb 20) and, in five instances, *edr* (69rb 2, 70va 17, 70vb 21, 72va 34, and 74ra 29).

The preposition *á* is written over sixty times as *æ* (e.g. 67rb 10 and 73rb 26), around forty-five times as *a* (e.g. 67va 43 and 70vb 7), and once as *ǎ* (70rb 42).

The preposition *fyrir* is always abbreviated (see above).

The noun *byskup* only occurs in abbreviated form. According to Foote (1962), the word is written out *byskup* only by the hand that supplies the titles in Stock. Perg. 2 fol. (15).

The following forms of *nokkurr/nokkurr* are in evidence: masc. nom. sing.: *nockvr* (68vb 23) and *nockur* (73ra 30); masc. acc. sing.: *nockvrn* (67ra 34) and *nockvrn* (68rb 34); masc. dat. sg.: *nockurum* (72rb 19); masc. nom. pl.: *nockvrir* (67rb 23) and *Nockurir* (73vb 33); fem. acc. sing.: *nockvra* (70rb 10-11); fem. dat. sing.: *nockuři* (73rb 26); fem. nom. pl.: *nockvrar* (67rb 34); neut. nom. sing.: *nockvt* (67rb 33); neut. acc. sing.: *nockvt* (67va 9, 67vb 1, 73ra 22, and 73vb 9); and

neut. gen. sing.: *nockurs* (70va 10). In *nockv* (70vb 42), the final *t* for the neut. nom. sing. is missing.

*Marta* is always spelled with *h*, except once in a chapter heading (*martē* [71ra 14]). It is declined as follows: nom.: *martha* (e.g. 69vb 14); acc.: *martham* (e.g. 68va 33); dat.: *marthe* (e.g. 70rb 33); and gen. *marthe* (e.g. 71rb 1).

*Maria* is declined as follows: nom.: *maria* (e.g. 73ra 14); acc.: *mariam* (e.g. 73ra 35); dat.: *marie* (e.g. 67rb 17); and gen.: *marie* (e.g. 73rb 1), *mariam* (73rb 9), and *mario* (70vb 17).

*Magdalena* is declined as follows: nom.: *magdalena* (e.g. 73ra 14); acc.: *magdalenam* (74ra 2); dat.: *magdalene* (e.g. 69vb 14); and gen.: *magdalenam* (73rb 9) and *magdalene* (e.g. 74ra 42).

#### Norges Riksarkivet fragm. 79

NoRA fragm. 79, an Icelandic parchment manuscript dated to around 1350 (ONP 1989: 489), is the earliest extant witness of the saga. It comprises four fragments of two double-columned folio leaves written in a single hand. The leaves, although worn with dark blotches and tears in several places, are fairly well-preserved. The manuscript preserves pieces of two hagiographic sagas, *Mariu saga* and *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*. *Mariu saga*<sup>121</sup> is found on the two larger fragments which measure ca. 16.5x11.5 cm and 16.3x11.8 cm respectively. The first of these comprises the upper and outermost corner of the leaf, and the text is slightly cut off on the inner edge. There are several holes, and the outer edge is rather ragged. It appears to have been torn or possibly even burned. The second fragment containing *Mariu saga* is from the lower and innermost corner of the leaf, and preserves the inner column and a bit of the outer column. The outer bottom corner shows a diagonal tear. *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*<sup>122</sup> is partially preserved on the two smaller fragments. The first of these is from the right bottom outer edge

<sup>121</sup> The text preserved in these fragments answers to Unger (1871: 1: 357<sup>9</sup>-358<sup>7</sup>, 358<sup>20</sup>-359<sup>6</sup>, and 360<sup>9-21</sup>).

<sup>122</sup> The text preserved in these fragments answers to Unger (1877: 1: 526<sup>16-24</sup>, 526<sup>32-34</sup>, 527<sup>3-10</sup>, and 527<sup>18-20</sup>).

and measures 8.4x10.7 cm, and the other is from the left bottom outer corner and measures 8x11.1 cm. The fragment from the outer edge preserves part of the outer columns on both sides of the leaf, with a total of thirteen partial lines on each side, and the fragment from the bottom corner preserves most of the last three lines of the outer columns (Jónas Kristjánsson 1967: 36).

Like many Old Norse-Icelandic fragments found in Norway during the first half of the nineteenth century, NoRA 79 fragm. used for the binding of Norwegian provincial account books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Eken 1963: xviii). The fragments containing *Mariu saga* were on the provincial account books from Sunnhordaland from 1611, whereas those preserving *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu* were on the provincial account books from Nordhordaland from 1627 (Jónas Kristjánsson 1967: 36). This is recorded on one of the slips accompanying the fragments, which reads “No 79. Mariu saga. 4 brudstykker af en tospaltet fol. av Sundhordland 1611, Nordhordland 1627” and to which a different hand (presumably from the nineteenth century, when the fragments were discovered) has added several details, including that the two small fragments contain *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu* and that the hand is Icelandic. The same later hand also lists cross-references to Unger’s edition of *Mariu saga*. The main hand of this slip is almost certainly that of Ingvald Undset, who compiled a handwritten, unprinted catalogue of the manuscripts at Riksarkivet in 1880-1881. A second slip, which may also have been written by Undset (although the penmanship is somewhat neater), records more details on the fragments’ contents, and the same late hand as on the first slip lists a cross-reference to Unger’s edition of *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*. Marginalia in the fragments consist mostly of the names and dates listed on the first slip, and all seem to have been written by Undset. The only other marginalia, aside from the shelfmark “R.A. No 79” on the top margin of fol. 1va, is the cross-reference “*Mariu saga* 11.86” on the top margin of fol. 1ra. It is possible that these are also by Undset’s hand. There are no illuminations and only part of a decorated initial on fol. 2va.

Based on comparisons with the other extant witnesses of the text, the initial (which would have been used to begin a new chapter) was probably an A.<sup>123</sup> What remains from this initial is the left vertical stroke, which curls up at the bottom and is decorated with foliage. The colors used are red and light green.

The following paleographic and orthographic analysis is limited to the *Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu* fragments.

### *Paleography*

The *a* is the so-called two-storey *a* (a). The upper storey is always closed.

*b* is written with a straight, non-looped ascender.

*c* only occurs once in the text (*cro*00 [2va 13]), and the lower bow extends slightly beyond the upper bow.

Only insular *d* is in evidence. The ascender contains a curve hook to the right at the top (ð, e.g. *drottenn* [2va 4], *beda* [2va 9], *lifanda* [2rb 7], and *gerdi* [2rb 17]). ð is also in evidence. It is shaped exactly like insular *d*, but with a stroke on the ascender. In two instances (*astuðig* [2va 12] and *stoð* [2va 13]) the ascender does not curve at the top.

*e* is like *c*, and the upper bow is always closed.

Only the insular *f* is in evidence (ƿ). The descender is typically straight, but in some cases (*hafa* [2rb 3], *firi*<*r*> [2rb 5], *fætr* [2rb 16]) curves up slightly at the bottom. The upper tongue is not always completely attached to the descender (*for* [2va 4] and *fjrr* [2va 10]). It does not loop.

The upper chamber of *g* is closed, and the bottom consists of an open loop (g), except in *segdi* (2rb 6), and in words where the bottom stroke of *g* connects to the next letter (*mega* [2rb 10] and *seger* [2va 8]).

<sup>123</sup>At the beginning of this chapter, AM 233a fol. has “AT liðinni pisl,” AM 235 fol. “AT lidnum pisl,” and Stock. perg. 2 fol. “Ath lidinni pisl.”

*h* has a straight, non-looped ascender. The leg of *h*, which is not always attached to the ascender (as in *hafa* [2rb 3] and *huarr* [2va 6]), tends to extend slightly beyond the guideline (*h*).

*i* is never dotted, and occasionally it has an accent (see below). *j* is not in evidence.

*k* has a looped upper bow and a straight, non-looped ascender (*k*). The leg of *k* always rests on the guideline.

*l* is a vertical stroke. It is not looped.

The right minim of *m* always rests on the guideline. The same is true for the *n*, with only three exceptions (*þann* [2rb 8], *liðinn* [2rb 10], and *sinn* [2va 17]), where the second *n* in a geminate group extends slightly below the line.

*p* consists of a straight, non-looped descender attached to a bow, which rests on the guideline.

Minuscule *r* is in evidence. Its vertical stroke does not extend below the line. In several instances, however, a vertical stroke appears under *r* (e.g. *huarr* [2va 6] and *maria* [2va 11]), which extends below the guideline. *r* rotunda, which has the 2-shape (ʀ), also occurs, but is found only after *o* (*for* [2va 4] and *borg* [2va 9]). However, minuscule *r* also occurs after *o* (*morgin* [2va<sup>ov3</sup>]). The two are therefore not in complementary distribution.

Only long *s* (*ſ*) is used, with three exceptions where round *s* (*s*) occurs instead (*sem* [2rb 6], *lukas* [2rb 15], and *dags* [2va 7]).

The vertical of *t* does not extend above the crossbar (τ, e.g. *til* [2va 4]), except when it is part of a ligature with another letter (see below).

Both *u* and *v* are in evidence, but *v* is predominant in initial position, where *u* only occurs once (*uera* [2va 8]).

*y* is a *v* with a tail that veers to the right (as in *yðr* [2rb 3]). It is always dotted

*z* occurs once (*fiallz* [2va 10]). It has the shape of a 7, and at the bottom it turns sharply to the right. It does not extend below the line, and is not barred.

*þ* consists of a straight, non-looped ascender attached to a bow, which rests on the guideline. Occasionally, its descender has a slight curl at the bottom (e.g. *þær* [2va 16]).

*ǣ* occurs once (*nær00000l* [2va 12-13]). The hook is almost closed.

The following ligatures are in evidence: *a* with an open upper storey *a + e* (æ, e.g. *embatti* [2rb 11] and *þær* [2va 16]), *a + ñ* (e.g. *hañ* [2rb 13]), long *s + k* (e.g. *skiott* [2rb 8]), long *s + l* (*pisl* [2va 11]), long *s + t* (ft, e.g. *nesta* [2va 3]), and *t + t* (tt, e.g. *drottenn* [2va 4]). When part of a ligature (with the exception of *t + t*), the vertical stroke of *t* extends well above the crossbar.

Of capital letters, *E*, *G*, *M*, *N*, *O*, and *S* are in evidence. Capital letters are most frequently used in word-initial position to denote a new sentence. Capital *E* occurs twice (*Enn* [2va 9] and *E[n]* [2va 10]). It has a rounded back and the upper bow touches the middle horizontal stroke. Capital *G* is a large majuscule with a slight hook at the top (*Guðspialla* [2va 2]). *M* is an uncial *M*, and is used in a personal name (*maria* [2va 11]). *N* is a small majuscule, and is used to denote the geminate (*eN* [2va 16]). Capital *O* does not close entirely at the top and has a vertical line through its center (*Ok* [2rb 13]). *S* is as a small majuscule at the beginning of a new sentence (*sem* [2va 6]).

### Abbreviations

The *er*-abbreviation ( <sup>˘</sup> ) occurs once, and stands for *ir* (*segir* [2rb 13]).

The Tironian nota is shaped like a 7 whose ascender extends below the line (7). In one case, the ascender loops at the bottom ([2va 5]).

A dot above a consonant indicates the geminate (*minn* [2rb<sup>ov8</sup>] and *voltinn* [2va<sup>ned3</sup>]).

Several commonly used words are abbreviated by a horizontal stroke ( ¯ ) or a curl

( $\sim$ ). These comprise *h* with a stroke through the ascender ( $\text{h̄}$ ) for *hann* (2rb 6); *ha* with a curved horizontal stroke through the ascender for *hana* (2rb 6); *iohs* for *iobannis* (2va 13); and *eġ* for *eigi* (2rb 10).

Abbreviation by suspension is not in evidence.

## Orthography

### Vowels

Short and long *a* are written *a* (*bat* [2rb 11] and *hia* [2va 13]). The vowel in the old combination *-vá* is retained, but is not accented (*sva* [2va 2]).

Both short and long *e* are written *e* (*enn* [2rb 13] and *er* [2va 16]). There is no sign of the change *ve* > *vö* (*kvelld* [2va 6]).

Short *i* is written *i* (*mik* [2rb 10]) and sometimes with a diacritical accent (*híns* [2rb 12] and *steiní* [2va 15]), although it appears to be a graphic marker rather than an indicator of vowel length. Long *i* is written *i* (*min* [2rb 5] and *likama* [2rb 5]). *y* has been unrounded in the preposition *firi*(*r*) (2rb 5), but otherwise there is no confusion between *i* and *y*. Consonantal *i* (*j*) is not in evidence in the manuscript. The cluster *ja/ia* is *ea* (*fear* [2rb 13]). The suffix *-ligr* / *-legr*, *-liga* / *-lega* is not in evidence.

Both short and long *o* are written *o* (*borg* [2va 9]; *stoð* [2va 13]). The negative prefix is *ó* (*ovitan*[*dí*] [2rb 12]). The preposition *ór* is not in evidence.

*u* is written *u* (*atburði* [2va 4]). Consonantal *u* (*v*) is written *u* (*huert* [2va 6]), and more commonly, *v*, particularly in initial position (*við* [2rb 10]).

The *i*-umlaut of *a* (which has merged with the *i*-umlaut of *ó* [æ]) is written *e* (*metti* [2va 16]), *é* (*þér* [2rb 3]) and once *ē* (*nēr*00000l [2va 12-13]), but most commonly *æ* (*embætti* [2rb 11] and *fætr* [2rb 16]). The *u*-umlaut of *a* is written *o* (*osno* [2va 5] and 000spioll [2va 5-6]).

The verb *gera/gjöra* is written out with *e* (*gerir* [2rb 11] and *gerdi* [2rb 17]) and, once, *é* ([g]éra [2rb 10]).

In unstressed final syllables, *i* is most common (e.g. *mikli* [2va 8] and *þerði* [2rb 16]), with the following exceptions: *lute* (2va 5), *drottenn* (2va 4), *drottens* (2rb 16). In addition, *e* is the rule in the unstressed final syllable in the third person singular of verbs (e.g. *seger*, [2rb 15, 2va 1, 2va 8, 2va 9, 2va 13] and *greiner* [2va 10]), except in *gerir* (2rb 11). With a total of five occurrences ([k]onu [2rb 1], *konu* [2rb 15], *0000nu* [2rb 17], *000um* [2va 1-2], *honum* [2va 5]), *u* is slightly more common in final unstressed syllables than *o*, which only occurs twice (*osno* [2va 5] *syndogo* [2rb 15]).

There is no sign of the svarabhakti vowel.

The diphthong *ei* is written *ei* (*greiner* [2va 10] and *hneigð* [2rb 17]).

### Consonants

The voiced dental spirant is *ð* and *d* (*yðr* [2rb 3] and *medan* [2rb 7]). *ð* is more common. Magdalena is written *magðalena* (2va 12). There is one example in which the final *-t* in weakly stressed syllables has become *ð* (*annað* [2va 17]). Otherwise, it is always *-t*. *þat* and *at* are so spelled.

*f* before *t* is written *p* (*eþter* [2va 3] and *aptr* [2va 7]).

The cluster *fn* is written *mn* (*iamn<an>* [2rb 2]).

*h* is preserved before *n* (*hneigð* [2rb 17]). The clusters *hl* and *hr* are not in evidence.

*k* is written *k*, except in *cro[s]* (2va 13). There is no indication of the weakening of *k* in final position.

*l* is doubled before *d* (*kvellð* [2va 6]), *t* (*volltinn* [2va 17]), and *z* (*fiallz* [2va 10]). There is no evidence of *l* before the older *ð*.



The geminate *n* is shown by doubling, by a dot over *n*, or by small majuscule *N*, which in one instance has a dot above it (*han* [2va 13]). However, the geminate is not always indicated (*min* [2rb 5]).

Geminate *r* is indicated by doubling (*fyr* [2va 10]).

*s* is written *s*, except in *fi*llz (2va 10). Gemination is indicated by doubling (*0essi* [2rb 15]).

Geminate *t* is indicated by doubling (*drottenn* [2va 4]).

The medio-passive ending is not in evidence in the fragment.

### Miscellaneous

The free definite article is written with initial *h*-. The attached definite article is always written with *-e* (*drottenn* [2va 4]).

The relative particle is *er*.

The third person feminine pronoun is *hon*.

### Copenhagen, The Arnamagnæan Collection AM 764 4to

AM 764 4to is a parchment manuscript from Skagafjörður in Northern Iceland ca. 1376-1386 (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2007: 278 and 2000: 53-57),<sup>124</sup> measuring approximately 26x16.5 cm. The codex contains forty-eight leaves: fols. 1-43, as well as four inserted parchment slips and one octavo leaf. There are typically forty-one lines per leaf, though the number of lines on each individual folio ranges from thirty-six to forty-eight. The manuscript is damaged in many places, and it is clear that the damage was in the manuscript from the beginning. Fols. 29 and 25, for example, have holes, the corner of fol. 25 has been cut, and there is a slit on fol. 28 that has been sewn back together, presumably before text was written (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 13).

<sup>124</sup> Here and in the following I rely heavily on Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir's works (2000 and 2007), as they are the most recent and thorough studies on the codex.

There are five lacunae (after fols. 33, 34, 35, 37, and 40), and some of the leaves had begun to disintegrate when Árni Magnússon acquired them ca. 1700 (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2007: 279). Part of the text on the bottom of fol. 4v is now erased, and the bottom half of fol. 37r and the top half of 37v are both blank. Moreover, two smaller leaves, which were at one point attached to fols. 11 and 15, are now lost (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 11). A variety of hands are responsible for AM 764 4to. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir argues that fols. 1-23r were written in seven main hands (A-B and D-H). Three other scribes (C, I, and J) are responsible for slips and smaller sections, and additional hands are found towards the end of the codex, on fol. 33v and the fragment on fols. 41-43.<sup>125</sup> Each bifolium is generally the work of one or two scribes. Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2000) has demonstrated this to be the case for the first gathering, fols. 1-16, and remarks further that “[t]he bifolia have then been arranged so that their content should come in chronological order, resulting in very large gatherings and an unusual arrangement of bifolia within a gathering. Such a make-up strongly suggests that the book was produced in a scriptorium where several scribes were able to work closely together and ensure some sort of coherence in the final outcome” (16).

The first twenty-three folios of AM 764 4to can be described as a universal chronicle following the framework of *aetates mundi*, an organizational principle used in the works of Augustine, Bede, and Isidore, and Honorius Augustodunensis (all of whom medieval Icelandic scribes would have been familiar with) (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2007: 280, 283). The remainder of the manuscript comprises twenty or so leaves containing saints’ lives, miracle accounts, and *exempla*, which include narratives on several female saints otherwise largely unknown to Iceland, such as Ursula, Sunniva, and Walburga.<sup>126</sup> Extracts from *Mortu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*

<sup>125</sup> For more detail and descriptions of hands, see Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2000 25-51).

<sup>126</sup> For a detailed list, see Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2000: 239-241). For information on scholarship on the material preserved in AM 764 4to, see Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2000: 58-62).

pertaining to the miracles of Martha are found on fols. 15v 9-16r 5, within the *sexta aetas* section of the chronicle. These comprise the story of how Martha overcame the dragon, as well as the section of the legend concerning Bishop Fronto, who was miraculously transported to Tarascon to perform funeral services for Martha.

AM 764 4to belongs to a group of late fourteenth-century manuscripts linked to the family at Akrar in Blönduhlið, and is most likely the product of a scribal school at the Benedictine convent of Reynistaður, to which the family had connections (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2007: 280-281, 297).<sup>127</sup> Because of its likely origins at the convent, AM 764 4to is also referred to as *Reynistaðarbók*. Given the amount of religious literature preserved in the codex, *Reynistaðarbók* was probably not meant for laypeople, but instead for men and especially women in religious orders (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2007: 280). Another indication of readership is the fact that although the scribes were clearly working under editorial constraints (as the stories included in the codex are often drastically abridged), there appears to have been a conscious effort to keep a strong focus on female characters of Old and New Testament narratives. These include Noah's wife, Sarah, Hagar, Rebecca, Leah, Joabeth, Delilah, Judith (whose story is given particular emphasis), the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Martha of Bethany (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2007: 282-289). Women also figure prominently into the *exempla* which make up the latter half of the chronicle, which is also characterized by a focus on liturgical matters (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2007: 292). Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2007) comments:

This concern for liturgical matters reminds us that knowledge of the liturgy was an important element of monastic education, in particular for pupils who had decided to enter a monastery as novices. The picture of the uses of *Reynistaðarbók* could have served gradually becomes clearer. What emerges is a manuscript which attempts to cater to the educational needs of cloistered women. Such books became more frequent as the Middle Ages wore on, as new intellectual and devotional currents spread, and as an increasing number of women took the veil, thus providing a milieu for the development of literary genres or types of books specifically suited for this new audience (297).

<sup>127</sup> See also Ólafur Halldórsson (1963: 83-105) and Stefán Karlsson (1970: 120-140).

The chronicle can be likened to the *Speculum virginum* and Herrad of Hohenberg's *Hortus deliciarum*, works clearly designed for the education of women in religious orders. As such, AM 764 4to not only shows what texts were available in Northern Iceland during the late Middle Ages, but it also "...gives us a rare insight into the formation of nuns in medieval Iceland" (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2007: 297-299).

Árni Magnússon's notes regarding AM 764 4to are all attached to the front of the codex on two folios and four slips, and show that he obtained most of the manuscript from Skálholt. After the list of the manuscript's contents, he writes: "Mig minner eg hafa feingid þetta frá Bæ, mun, öefad, hafa tilheyrt Skalholltz kirkiu, og slædst frá Skalhollte til Bæjar, epter andlat Mag. Bryniolfs." Bæ refers to Gaulverjabær in Flói, Árnessýsla, where Árni acquired other parts of the manuscript (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 13 and 2007: 279). It is clear, however, that Árni did not receive all forty-three leaves at the same time. As an endnote to his list of contents, he writes that he obtained fol. 38 (labelled  $\alpha$ ) separately: "bladed sem það æfintir er á hefi eg feingid sier i lage. Synest ad það mune ei heyra inn þar það liggur." On another slip, he writes that he believes that fol. 38 came from Skálholt: on the recto side, "fra Skalhollte mun þetta vera i fyrstu. ( $\alpha$ )" and on the verso side, " $\alpha$ ] ecki stendr það annars i neinu afhendingar registre, so það kynne." Árni's notes show that several other leaves (fols. 39-43) came to him from Skálholt, where they were kept in a codex containing annals. In his notes this codex is referred to as "Skallholt [or Skallholtz or Skallholts] annal hinu forna," a name given to the annal by a certain "Mag. Bryniolfur." Two additional leaves, which Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (2000) argues are fols. 27-28 (13-14), came to Árni from Daði Halldórsson of Steinsholt, whose daughter had received the leaves from Gaulverjabær: "þess[e] 2. blóð eru komin til dottur Sira Dada i Steins holltu fra Gaulveria bæ i Flöa, en eg feck þau hiä Sira Dada. J Bæ er eckert meira þar af. inqvisivi. Sira Halldor Torfason seiger mier, ad þessa blóð hafi flækst þar (i Bæ) i rugle, og veit eckert vidara þar af, hverki hvadan

þau sieu, nie hvernig hattad hafi vered. hafe og eckert vīdara þar af, eda veit sig nockurn tima haft hafa.”

The marginalia of AM 764 4to give little indication as to its provenance or former owners. They consist mainly of indistinct pen-trials (as on fols. 4b1sr, 9b1sr, 13v, 18r, 22v, 23r, and 28r) and additions to the text by the scribes of the main text (seen throughout the codex). There are several discernable instances of note-taking. An abbreviation for *nota bene* (“NB”) is found in the margins in several instances (as on fols. 18v and 36v), and on fol. 39r there is a reference (in Latin) to a published version of the text preserved on fols. 39r-40r, chapters from *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*: “Fragm. hocce in Langebekki Scriptorus Rerum Danicum Tom. II p. 246 publici juris factum est.” Formulaic expressions also appear. There are a variety of religious invocations (as in “aue marie” [fol. 16r], “aue maria gracia ple<n>” [fol. 18b1sr], “aue m” [fol. 36v], and “uigr herra” [fol. 43r]), and on fol. 18r the beginnings of an epistolary formula (“þeim godum”) is found alongside various other pen-trials. The formula is found in full on fol. 37r: “þeim godum monnum sem þetta bref sia edur heyra sendir sera Jon prestr gudlaugs son lægstur þion ihesv christi. This is the only name preserved in the margins, and it is unclear who this Jón Guðlaugsson was, if this is indeed what is written (the abbreviation for what seems to be *gudlaugs son* is unclear). Considering the manuscript’s provenance at Reynistaður, a potential candidate is Jón Guðlaugsson prestr nyrðra, whose name is included in several letters written by large groups of priests at Hólar in 1522 (once as Sira jon gudlaugsson) (*DI IX*: 89, 96, 109, 114, 119). However, it is uncertain if the person whose hand is found on fol. 37r is this Jón Guðlaugsson.

The colors used in AM 764 4to are black, red, dark red, blue-green, and grey-white (perhaps faded from yellow). Initials are found in all of these colors, though initials in black and dark red are not as common as initials in the other three colors. Scribal guidance as to where these initials should be drawn is typical (an example is “þ” on fol. 8r). The chapter headings are written

in red or grey-white. Generally, it appears the scribes made their own chapter headings, but probably wrote them after the main text, since sometimes the rubrics sometimes extend the space allotted to them. Red chapter headings are used on the first 15 folios, as well as on fols. 32r-43v, whereas white headings are found on fols. 16r-31v. There are no illuminations in *Reynistaðarbók*.

The following paleographic and orthographic analysis is limited to fols. 15v 9-16r 5, which is written by Hand A.<sup>128</sup>

### *Paleography*

The *a* has two-storeys (a). The upper storey is typically open (a, e.g. *magdalena* [15v 10]), but sometimes approaches being completely closed (a, e.g. *aflí* [15v 19]).

*b* typically has a looped ascender, but never when coupled with an abbreviation mark (*byskup* [15v 9] and *borginni* [15v 30]) and never in Latin words (*ab* [16r 3] and *timebid* [16v 4]).

*c* resembles minuscule *t* (compare *ecclesie* [15v 9] and *lietti* [15v 18]). In *speculum* (15v<sup>9</sup>) the upper and lower bows meet.

Only insular *d* is in evidence. The top of the ascender curls to the right (ð), and sometimes loops (*kalladi* [15v 9] and *hafdi* [16r 2]). ð is not in evidence in the text sample.

The upper bow of *e* is always closed.

Only insular *f* is in evidence. It consists of a vertical stroke with a figure 3 attached to the descender on the right (ƿ).

*g* consists of an *o* on its upper part, and a closed-looped tail (g).

The leg of *h* extends below the line and curls to the left (h). The ascender is usually looped, but not when followed by an abbreviation mark (*hann* [15v 18] and *hui* [15v 36]). In the case of *hans* (15v 10), the ascender of *h* curls at the top, but does not loop.

<sup>128</sup> The paleographic and orthographic descriptions of AM 764 4to are done in consultation with Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir's (2000) observations regarding Hand A, with a focus on fols. 15v-16r (17-29).

*i* occasionally has an accent, which is presumably a graphic marker (*mattí* [15v 19]). *j* occurs regularly as the last *i* of a Roman numeral sequence, and has an accent (*ij* [15v 17]).

*k* has a looped upper bow, and a stroke connects the bottom of the ascender to the leg (*ķ*), as in *kalladr* [16r 20]). As with *b* and *h*, the ascender of *k* is generally not looped when coupled with an abbreviation mark (as in *skamt* [15v 12] and *styrkir* [15v 19]). Without an abbreviation mark, the ascender is typically looped.

*l* is a straight vertical stroke. In some cases, it has a loop (*sæl* [15v 11] and *malo* [16r 3]), though a non-looped ascender is more common.

The right-hand minims of *m* and *n* rest on the guideline. The pointing concluding stroke at the bottom of each vertical tend to connect the minims (*annar* [15v 12] and *likama* [15v 35]).

*p* consists of a straight, non-looped descender attached to a bow, which is flat on the bottom (*þ*, e.g. *byskup* [15v 9]). The bow rests on the guideline.

Minuscule *r* is predominant throughout the text. The descender does not extend below the guideline. *r* rotunda, which resembles a 2 (2), occurs after the rounded letters *o*, *p*, *þ*, *d*, *b*, *h*, and *g*. Minuscule *r* is never found after these letters (with the exception of *hræri* [15v 30, lower left margin], where *h* and *r* are separated by a line break), and as such the two are in complementary distribution.

Round *s* (*s*), which has a closed bottom half and in several cases has a curl at the bottom under the guideline (e.g. *sterka* [15v 16] and *skilia* [16r 4]), is used exclusively, except once where the scribe accidentally omitted *s* and wrote long *f* above the line (*ithara* 's 'konum [15v 33]). The exclusive use of round *s* is characteristic of Hand A (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 23).

The vertical of *t* does not extend above the crossbar (*τ*).

*v* is found only in Roman numerals (*vj* [15v 16]) and superscript abbreviations.

*x* is found only in Roman numerals and in the abbreviation of *Kristr*. The bottom of the diagonal stroke which tilts to the right extends below the guideline. It does not have a crossbar.

*y* is a *v* with a tail that veers to the right. The tail always has a horizontal stroke through it, which is characteristic of Hand A (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 19). It is only occasionally dotted (*þyckuir* [15v 17] and *heyrn* [16r 5]).

*z* is always barred (*z*, e.g. *lazarus* [15v 9] and *sidazta* [16r 5]).

*þ* consists of a straight ascender with a flat-bottomed bow (as with *p*). The ascender is typically looped, but not if combined with a superscript abbreviation or a stroke on the ascender. The ascender can still be looped, however, if there is an abbreviation mark on the descender (*þeim* [15v 16]). The bow rests on the guideline.

Of ligatures, *a + e* and *a + a* are in evidence. The first is a one-storey *a + e* (*sællar* [15v 38] and *atti* [16r 1]), and the second is the open two-storey *a + a* (*æ*), which occurs twice for the noun *á* ([15v 12]).

Of capitals, only *S*, *Ð*, and *J* are found. *S* (*Sa* [15r 11]) starts a new sentence, and is the same shape as round minuscule *s*. It occurs once as a small majuscule starting a new sentence (*sua* [15v 9]). The bottom half of the letter extends below the guideline, as there is a small curl underneath the letter. *Ð* (“*Ðat*” [15v 30, lower left margin]) also begins a new sentence, and has a different shape than minuscule *þ*. It has a straight, non-looped ascender, and rather than having the shape of a 2, the bow is round. *J* is found as a small majuscule (*J* [16r 4]) and is used in place of the preposition *í*.

### *Abbreviations*

Superscript *a* (which is always the two-storey *a*) stands for *ua* (*sua* [15v 19]) and *ea* (*mea* [16r 3]).



Superscript *d* represents *id* (*mikid* [15v 14], *uid* [15v 19], *erid* [16r 3], and *tímebid* [16r 4]) and *ud* (*hofud* [15v 14], *guds* [15v 10], and *gud* [15v 31]).

Superscript *e* is used for *re* (*dreki* [15v 20]).

The *er*-abbreviation ( <sup>˘</sup> ) stands for *er* (as in *herbergi* [15v 10-11] and *huert* [16r 1]) is the zigzag tittle. It is also used for *r* (e.g. *er* [15v 10]), *ir* (e.g. *hinir* [15v 13]), *ær* (e.g. *uæri* [16r 1]), and *es* in the abbreviations for *þess* (16r 1), *þessa* (15v 23), *þessi* (15v 27), *þessu* (15v 27), and *þessum* (15v 26). In one instance, *es* in *þessum* is abbreviated with a stroke through the ascender of *þ* (15v 38; see below).

Superscript *i* is undotted and stands for *il* (*til* [e.g. 15v 29]), *igi* (*eigi* [e.g. 16r 5]), *ui* (*hui* [15v 29] and *hui* [15v 36]), *ir* (*dirf'd'uz* [15v 29] and *ifir* [e.g. 15v 26]), *ri* (*leingri* [15v 14] and *skrifat* [16r 3]), and *irir* (*firir* [e.g. 15v 18]).

Superscript *n* represents *n* (*en* [15v 12]).

Superscript *o* is used for *oru* (*uoru* [15v16] and *foru* [15v 33]), *or* (*borginní* [15v 30]), *ro* (*grof* [15v 9] and *brott* [15v39]), and *on* (*hon* [15v 29]).

Superscript *r* stands for *ar* (*uar* [15v 11], *marta* [15v 10], and *suaradi* [16r 2]).

The *ra*-abbreviation ( <sup>˘</sup> ) is in evidence (e.g. *fra* [15v 12] and *grauptr* [15v 32]).

Superscript *t*, whose ascender stops at the cross bar (τ), stands for *t* (as in *at* [16r 4] and *atburd* [15v 37]) and *at* (as in *annat* [16r 2] and *skrifat* [16r 3]).

Superscript *v* is used for *oru* (e.g. *uoru* [15v]) and *ru* (*husfru* [15v and 16r]).

Superscript *z* indicates *az* (e.g. *iafnaz* [15v]) and *annz* (*mannz* [15v, left margin]).

The *ur*-abbreviation is a superscript infinity sign ( <sup>∞</sup> ) and stands for *ur* (*furduliga* and *natturu* [15v]).

The *us*-abbreviation ( <sup>°</sup> ) is used for *us* (*lazarus* [15v 9] and *husfru* [16r 4]).

The *rum*-abbreviation (*odrum* [15v 34] and *audrum* [15v 35]) resembles a 4 ( $\zeta$ ), and its horizontal stroke rests on the guideline.

The Tironian nota is a barred *z* ( $\bar{z}$ ).

The nasal stroke proper is used for *m* (*fremri* [15v 13] and *uotnum* [15v 22]), *n* (*hinn* [15v 22] and *in* [16r 5]), *an* (*lannz* [15v 20] and *hans* [15v 10]), *ann* (*hann* [15v 22]), *ein* (*geingu* [15v 33]), *enn* (*menn* [15v 20], *hennar* [15v 27], and *henni* [16r 2]), *on* (*non* [16r 3]), *onnu* (*monnum* [15v 20]), *onu* (*honum* [15v 31]), *un* (*mundi* [15v 20] and *mun* [16r 4]).

Abbreviation by suspension is fairly common. The following examples are in evidence: *.e.* = *e(da)* (15v 20), *.h.* = *h(et)* (15v 12) and *h(eitir)* (15v 21), and *.m.* = *m(ællti)* (15v 31). In the case of *h(et)*, a stroke is drawn through the ascender of *h*.

A number of commonly used words are abbreviated by a horizontal stroke (  $\bar{\quad}$  ) or a curl (  $\sim$  ), such as  $\bar{p}$  for *p*at (15v 20),  $\bar{p}$  for *p*eim (15v 21), *ecce* with a horizontal stroke above *cc* for *ecclesie* (15v 9), and *hof* with a horizontal stroke above *f* for *hofud* (15v 30). *md* with a curled stroke attached to *d* stands for *med* (15v 19). Latin words are also abbreviated in this fashion. *p* with a horizontal stroke through the descender is the abbreviation *per*, and is found in *uíppera* (15v 16). *speclm* with a curled stroke through the *l* stands for *speculum* (15v 9).

*Jesús* occurs once in the nominative, and is abbreviated *iĥc* (15v 38).

The abbreviations of *kristr* occurs once, in the nominative ( $\mathcal{X}^c$  [15v 37]).

## Orthography

### Vowels

Both short and long *a* are written *a* (*annar* [15v 12] and *sa* [15v12]), except in the case of the noun *á* (15v 12), which is written as an *a* + *a* ligature. The vowel in the old combination *-vá* is retained (*sua* [15v 27]).

Short *e* is written *e* (*helldu* [15v 34]). It is diphthongized before *ng* (*leíngri* [15v 14]). Long *e* is written typically written *e* (*segir* [15v 9]), but also *ie* (*lietti* [15v 18]) and once *ie* (*þier* [15v 36]). Consistent with this scribe's overall pattern in AM 235 fol., *ie* typically occurs for long *e* in the pronouns *mér*, *þér*, and *sér*, as well as in the preterite of reduplicative verbs (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 25). *ie* is also found in the conjunction *né* (*nie* [15v 18]).

Short *i* is written *i* and *í* (*hinn* [15v 22] and *uarrí* [15v 32]). Long *i* is written *i* and *í* (*i* [15v 21] and *sínum* [15v 29]). The accent does not necessarily denote length, but seems to have instead been used to distinguish *i* from other letters (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 18), particularly *m*, *n*, and *u*. Short and long *y* are written *y* (*þyckuir* [15v 17] and *ydr* [15v 37]). *y* has been unrounded in the prepositions *firir* and *ifir* (*firir* [15v 25] and *ifir* [15v 26]), but otherwise there is no confusion between *i* and *y*. Consonantal *i* (*j*) is written *i* and *í* (*skiollid* [15v 27] and *skíotliga* [15v 32]). The name *Job* is also written with *i* (*iobs* [15v 21]). *j* occurs only in Roman numerals, except in two isolated instances (see above). The cluster *ja/ia* is written *ia* (e.g. *sialfan* [16r 1]). The endings *-ligr* / *-legr*, *-liga* / *-lega* have *i* (*furduliga* [15v 16] and *elskuligr* [15v 31]).

Short and long *o* are written *o* (*oddar* [15v 14] and *motí* [15v 27]). The negative prefix is *u* in *umattugr* (15v 28), but seems to be *o* in [*o*]skialfandi (15v 26), though the vowel is almost illegible due to a blotch on the parchment. The preposition *ór* is written *or* (15v 18).

Short and long *u* are written *u* (*buldu* [15v 17] and *hlutir* [15v 13]). *fugl* is written with *o* (*afogli* [15v 13]), a older form typically found in early manuscripts (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 177). Consonantal *u* (*v*) is written *u* (*hogguapnum* [15v 18]), except (as noted above) in Roman numerals (*vj* [15v 16]) and superscript abbreviations, where it represents *u* (*husfru* [16r 4]).

The *i*-umlaut of *á* (which has merged with the *i*-umlaut of *ó* [œ]) is *æ* and, in several instances, *e* (*sekia* [15v 25] and *hreraz* [15v 28]). The practice of writing *iæ* for *æ* after *v* and *b*, a feature found in manuscripts and charters from the fourteenth century (particularly those from

Northern and Western Iceland [Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 19-20; Orešnik 1982: 183-196]), is seen in one instance: *u`i`engi* (15v 17).

The *u*-umlaut of *a* is written *o* (*monnum* [15v 20] and *au* (*auruggan* [15v 27])). They are used practically interchangeably, though *au* is more common word-initially, while *o* is more common word-medially. The pronoun *nökkur* is written with *u* (*nuckurum* [15v 18]).

The verb *gjöra* is abbreviated with the *er*-tittle (*gera* [15v 28]). When written out, it has *o* (*giordiz* [15v 11]).

In unstressed final syllables, *i* and *u* are the rule. *e* and *o* are found only in the unstressed syllables of foreign words (*marTE* [15v 33] and *messo* [15v 30]). An isolated instance of *o* in unstressed position is *þjónustu*, which is spelled *þionostu* 15v 39).

The svarabhakti vowel is not in evidence.

Regarding diphthongs, *ei* is written *ei* (*leidi* [15v 35]) and sometimes *eí* (*breiduxar* [15v 15]). *ey* is written *ey* (*heyrn* [16r 5]) and *au* is written *au* (*traustleika* [15v 18]).

### Consonants

*c* appears in foreign words (*auícon* [15v 12] and *thara`s`conus* [15v 20]), as well as in the geminate of *k* (see below). In some instances, however, *k* takes the place of *c* in foreign words (*ikípr* [15v 10] and *ithara`s`konum* [15v 33]).

*d* is written for *d* and *ð*, except once where *þ* is used for *ð* (*ferdagþan* [15v 9]). *d* for *t* in final position is written out once (*farid* [15r 21]), and *hofud* (15v 14) and *míkid* (15v14) are both abbreviated with a superscript *d*. *d* also occurs word-medially for *t* in the verb *láta* (*lada* [15v 10]). However, the pronoun *þat* is spelled as such, and the article *at* and the pronouns *annat* and *hvat* are all abbreviated with a superscript *t* (e.g. *at* [15v 9], *annat* [16r 2], and *hvat* [15v 25]).

*f* before *t* is once written *f* (*eftir* [15v 21]) and twice *p* (*grauptr* [15v 32] and *graptrar* [15v39]).

The cluster *fn* is written *fn* (*iafnaz* [15v 19]).

There is evidence of the palatalization of *g* when followed by *æ* (*agiætan* [15v 37]) and *ø* (*giordiz* [15v 11]). Palatalization of *g* after a vowel before *i* is not in evidence.

*h* is retained before *-l* and *-r* (*hlutr* [15v 11] and *hreistr* [15v 15]). The cluster *hn* is not in evidence.

*k* is written *k*, and, as noted above, takes the place of *c* in some foreign names. Geminate *k* is always *ck* (*þyckuir* [15v 17] and *ecki* [15v 28]). The geminate is not always indicated (*gek* [15v 25]).

Final *k* > *g* occurs in *míg* (15v 36-37), but not in *ek* (15v 37). The conjunction *ok* is found only as the Tironian nota in the selection, but elsewhere Hand A writes it out *ok* (19v 3) (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 28).

*l* is sometimes doubled before *d* and *t*: *skiolld* (15v 27) and *mællt* (15v 33). However, note *uilt* (15v31) and *huldu* (15v17).

*m* is written *m*, or indicated by a nasal stroke. Final *m* is most frequently represented by the nasal stroke, except in abbreviations (namely *speculum* [15v 9], *monnum* [15v 20] and *honum* [15v 31]) and in *nuckurum* (15v 18), where *m* appears to be used for graphic convenience.

*n* is written *n* or is represented by a nasal stroke. The geminate, which is indicated by a nasal stroke, is typical before *d* (*henndi* [16r 2]), a feature characteristic of all scribes of AM 764 4to (Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2000: 23). Final *n* tends to be written out.

Geminate *p* is shown by doubling in the case of *uíppera* (15v 16).

Geminate *r* occurs only when an *r* is preceded by an abbreviation representing a vowel + *r* (*uarrí* [15v 32] and *huerr* [16r 1]).

*s* is written *s* and *z* (see below). Geminate *s* is indicated by doubling (*huassar* [15v 14]).

*t* is written *th* in foreign words (*thara* 's' conus [15v 20] and *marthe* [15v 33]). *Martha* is more frequently written with *t*.

*z* tends to occur word-finally in the genitive sg. for *nns* and *ds* (*mannz* [15v 26, left margin], *lannz* [15r 20], and *suerdz* [15v 14]), as is characteristic of 14th century orthography. It also occurs word-medially in the superlative (*grimazti* [15v 22] and *sidazta* [16r 5]). The modern adjective *blessaður* is spelled with *z* (*blezada* [15v 25]). The medio-passive ending is *-z* (*hreraz* [15v 28] and *ottaz* [16r 5]).

### Miscellaneous

The free-standing definite article has initial *h-*.

The third person feminine pronoun is *hon* and is always abbreviated *h<sup>o</sup>*.

The relative particle is *er*.

The preposition *á* is written *a*.

*Martha* has *a* in the nominative case (15v 10, 15v 11, 15v 26), and *e* in the oblique cases (15v 32, 15v 33, 15v 38), *Maria Magdalena* only occurs in the nominative (15v 10).

## CHAPTER 4

### THE TRANSMISSION OF *MORTU SAGA OK MARIU MAGÐALENU*

This chapter describes the Latin sources of the Old Norse-Icelandic legend of Saints Mary Magdalen and Martha. It also examines the relationship of the five manuscripts containing the legend (AM 233a fol., AM 235 fol., Stock. Perg. 2 fol., NoRA 79 fragm., and AM 764 4to) to one another and to the Latin source material. Furthermore, it details the redactions represented by these manuscripts: 1) *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu I*; 2) *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu II*; and 3) *Af Mortu*.

#### The Latin Sources

In his 1962 facsimile edition of Stock. Perg. 2 fol., Foote demonstrated that Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* was the primary source of *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*, "...with some abridgment and minor re-ordering" (25). In addition, the compiler of the saga makes use of Gospel narratives as well as a variety of other Latin sources by Peter Comestor, Gregory the Great, Augustine, Honorius Augustodunensis, and Bede. The works consulted, according to Foote (1962), are Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, Gregory the Great's *Homiliarum in Evangelia*, Augustine's *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* and his *Sermo CCXLIV*,<sup>129</sup> Honorius Augustodunensis' sermon for Palm Sunday in *Speculum ecclesiae*, and Bede's *In Marci Evangelium Expositio*. The end of the text, which provides an account of the translation of the Magdalen's relics at Vézelay and her subsequent miracles, is not derived from Vincent of Beauvais, but instead from various separate Latin sources catalogued in *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, i.e. BHL 5481, 5489-90 (with drastic abridgment in the translation account), 5462-3, 5465, 5474-6, and 5482-4 (Foote 1962: 25-26).

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<sup>129</sup> According to Foote (1962), "this can hardly be the immediate source" (25).

In his analysis, Foote did not account for a small but rather important section of the legend, which elaborates upon Mary Magdalen's role as the herald of the resurrection, and designates her as the *apostolorum apostola* ("postoli postolanna"). The compiler relates:

Se her liosan lampa heímsíns ok skínandí gvds gímmsteínn með göfvliqhri bírtí. mariam magdalenam þa er fyrvm var savrvg ok synda fvll enn nv var oll glóandi j astsemd síns grédara ok stadfóst at leíta síns meistara. ok lavsnara ok fyrir þessa stadfestí feck hvn þann forpris af sialfvm honvm at bera hínvm hæstvm hans sendibodvm hit hēsta sendí bod híns hæsta fagnadar. ok vera rett kollvt postoli postolanna af vpprisv síns millda meistara sem marcvs segír. 'M`aria magdalena sagdi postolvvm at hvn sa drottínn vpp risínn (69va 29-39).<sup>130</sup>

It appears that the source for this section of the legend, in addition to the Gospel of Mark's account of the Magdalen's witness to the resurrection (Mark 16:9, "Surgens autem mane, prima sabbati, apparuit primo Mariae Magdalenae, de qua eiecerat septem daemonia" [Fischer 2007: 1604]), is an office of Mary Magdalen, where an antiphon before the *Benedictus* at lauds refers to her as the *apostolorum apostola*: "O mundi lampas et margarita praefulgida, que resurrectionem Christi nuntiando apostolorum apostola fieri meruisti, Maria Magdalena, semper pia exoratrix pro nobis adsis ad Deum, qui te elegit" (Saxer 1959: 378).<sup>131</sup> With the exception of "mariam magdalenam þa er fyrvm var savrvg ok synda fvll enn nv var oll glóandi jastsemd síns grédara ok stadfóst at leíta síns meistara. ok lavsnara" in the Old Norse-Icelandic text and the prayer to the Magdalen at the end of the antiphon, the Old Norse-Icelandic corresponds to the Latin. Specifically, "liosan lampa heímsíns ok skínandí gvds gímmsteínn með göfvliqhri bírtí" answers to "mundi lampas et margarita praefulgida," and "feck hvn þann forpris af sialfvm honvm at bera hínvm hæstvm hans sendibodvm hit hēsta sendí bod híns hæsta fagnadar. ok vera rett kollvt

<sup>130</sup> See here the light of the lamp of the world and God's shining gem with noble brightness, Mary Magdalen, who before was tainted and sinful, but now was glowing with the love of her savior and steadfast to search for her redeemer, and for this steadfastness she received the honor from him to bear highest message of the greatest joy, and was rightly called the apostle to the apostles of the resurrection of the most merciful Lord, as Mark says, Mary Magdalen told the apostles that she saw the resurrected Lord. (All Old Norse-Icelandic quotations are from Stock. Perg. 2 fol., which preserves the best text overall [see below]).

<sup>131</sup> Oh light of the world and splendid pearl, Mary Magdalen, who merited the title of apostle to the apostles through announcing the resurrection of Christ, may you always be for us the pious intercessor to God, who has chosen you.



postoli postolanna af vpprisv síns millda meistara” corresponds roughly to “quae resurrectionem Christi nuntiando apostolorum apostola fieri meruisti.” The causal ablative formulation “nuntiando” could also have inspired “af vpprisv,” i.e. she was rightly called apostolorum apostola *because* she announced the resurrection (to the apostles). The antiphon says that by announcing the resurrection of Christ (to the apostles) the Magdalen earned the honor of being the apostle to the apostles. The logic is the same, but the Latin construction (with the ablative *nuntiando*) is difficult to render into Old Norse-Icelandic, and that may be the reason why the compiler chose to reformulate the syntax and embellish the language.<sup>132</sup>

The sentence that does not correspond to the antiphon, “mariam magdalenam þa er fyrvum var savrvg ok synda fvl enn nv var oll glóandi j astsemd síns grédara ok stadföst at léita síns meistara. ok lavsnara,” finds its closest Latin parallel in Peter Damian’s *Sermo 56*. The sermon, which treats Mark 16:9, also contains a reference to the sinner-turned-resurrection witness Mary Magdalen: “Accedat et illa mulier, quae septem daemoniis, id est universis vitiis cumulata fuit, cui multum amanti, multum dimittitur, quae prima videt Dominum a mortuis resurgentem, apostolorum apostola, dilecta proprie Salvatori” (*PL 144*: col. 820).<sup>133</sup> That the Magdalen was “synda fvl” could perhaps explain why how she was full of “universis vitiis cumulta,” and the notion that she glowed in the love of her Savior (“glóandi j astsemd síns grédara”) reflects the emphasis in the Latin of her great love of the Lord (“cumulata” and “multum amanti”). However, there is no other evidence that Peter Damian was used as a source for *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* or for any other Latin translations or compilations in Old Norse-Icelandic, so it is unlikely that he is the direct source of the phrase.

<sup>132</sup> I am grateful to Gottskálk Jensson of the University of Iceland for his assistance with this part of the chapter.

<sup>133</sup> And then comes that woman [Mary Magdalene], who was full of seven demons, that is to say all of the vices; for whom much was forgiven, because she loved much, and it is she who is first to see the Lord risen from the dead, the apostles' apostle, a woman, the Savior's own beloved.

The following section of text presents a common theme of Latin patristics, which is found first in Augustine of Hippo's *Sermo 232*. As shown in Chapter 1, Augustine proposed that Mary Magdalen, who brought life through her announcement of the resurrection, was the "new" Eve, who had brought about the fall of humanity in the Garden of Eden (Jansen 2001: 31). The Magdalen therefore serves as a counterweight to Eve through her role as *apostolorum apostola*: "Quia per sexum femineum cecidit homo, per sexum femineum reparatus est homo, quia virgo Christum pepererat, femina resurrexisse nuntiabat. Per feminam mors, per feminam vita" (PL 38: col. 1108).<sup>134</sup> The Old Norse-Icelandic text reads:

konan skeínkti j paradiso sínvm bonda. saran davda. fyrir atv hins bannada eplis. enn nv bodadi konan karllmannínvm. hit sanna lif af síalfs drottins grof ok sv er fordvm bar fram ormlíg ord til alldr tila. ollvm héimi. sv bar nv fram sagnir fra vpprísu lífgiafara síns ollvm til eilífs fagnadar. ok af þeirí hendí tokvm ver fordvm davdadryck sem nv tokv ver lífs dryck. fyrir þessa skynsemi syngur heilög kristní a hennar messvdegi. Credo in vnvvm `devm' j messv. sem a hatidvm síalfs grædarans ok marie modvr hans ok postolana. (69va 39-69vb 6)<sup>135</sup>

The wording up to "Credo in vnvvm..." (which appears to be an original addition by the compiler) aligns most closely with the presentation of the concept of *per feminam mors, per feminam vita* as elaborated in Gregory the Great's *Homiliarum in Evangelia*, which reads: "Ecce humani generis culpa ibi absciditur unde processit. Quia enim in paradiso mulier viro propinavit mortem, a sepulcro mulier viris annuntiat vitam; et dicta sui vivificatoris narrat, quae mortiferi serpentis verba narraverat. Ac si humano generi non verbis Dominus, sed rebus dicat: De qua manu vobis

<sup>134</sup> Because through womankind mankind had fallen, mankind was restored through womankind, since a virgin brought forth Christ and a woman announced he had risen from the dead. Through a woman death, through a woman life.

<sup>135</sup> A woman served a painful death to her husband in paradise by eating the forbidden fruit, but now a woman proclaimed to a man the truth of life from the tomb of the Lord himself. And she who before brought forth the serpentine word for the death of all the world, she brings forth now tidings of the resurrection of the universal lifegiver for everlasting joy. Before we took drink of death from those hands, from which we now take the drink of life. For this reason the holy church sings "We believe in one God" on the mass on her feast day, as on the celebrations of the Savior himself and his mother Mary and the apostles.

illatus est potus mortis, de ipsa suscipite poculum vitae” (PL 76, col. 1194)<sup>136</sup> Gregory’s sermon, which is found in the *Old Icelandic Homily Book* and is also the source of other material in the Old Norse-Icelandic compilation, is almost certainly the basis for this part of the text. The final part of this section, which comprises a brief description of Peter and his role as a witness of the resurrection, is loosely based on Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* (PL 198, col. 1698), and on a combination of four canonical gospel accounts of post-resurrection events.<sup>137</sup>

The Latin sources correspond to the text of *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* as follows.

All five witnesses are listed where they correspond to the Latin text:<sup>138</sup>

Content description	Old Norse-Icelandic text	Latin source
Introduction to Martha	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67ra 1-67rb 11 AM 235 fol. 19rb 22-19vb 9 AM 233a fol. 19va 1-19va 40	Vincent de Beauvais, <i>Speculum historiale</i> (hereafter <i>Spec. hist.</i> ) (355)
Brief description of Bethany	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67ra 16-19 AM 235 fol. 19va 3-7 AM 233a fol. 19va 11-15	Bede, <i>In Marci Evangelium Expositio</i> (570); Augustine, <i>In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV</i> (420)
Background of Martha, Mary Magdalen, and Lazarus	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67ra 19-67rb 11 AM 235 fol. 19va 7-19vb 9 AM 233a fol. 19va 15-19va 40	Vincent de Beauvais, <i>Spec. hist.</i> (355)
The story of the hemorrhaging woman	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67rb 12-25 AM 235 fol. 19vb 10-24 AM 233a fol. 19va 42-19vb 6	Peter Comestor, <i>Historia scholastica</i> (hereafter <i>Hist. schol.</i> ) (PL 198, col. 1569)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67rb 25 AM 235 fol. 19vb 25 AM 233a fol. 19vb 6-7	Mark 5:25
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67rb 25-26 AM 235 fol. 19vb 25-26 AM 233a fol. 19vb 7	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1569)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67rb 26-39 AM 235 fol. 19vb 26-20ra 8 AM 233a fol. 19vb 7-19	Mark 5:26, 28-29, 31-32, 34; Luke 8:45-47 <sup>139</sup>

<sup>136</sup> “In paradise a woman was the cause of death for a man; coming from the sepulchre a woman proclaimed life to men. Mary related the words of the one who restored her to life; Eve had related the words of the serpent who brought death. It is as if the Lord was telling the human race, not by words, but by actions, ‘Receive the draught of life from the hand of the one who offered you the drink of death’” (Hurst 1990: 195).

<sup>137</sup> Lucy Collings (1969) established these as the sources of a similar section in the Codex Scardensis version of *Péturs saga* (89-90, 111-112).

<sup>138</sup> The below comparison is based on Foote (1962: 25-26), with a number of additions. For an illustration of the text covered by each manuscript, see below.

<sup>139</sup> Ian Kirby (1986) identifies a harmonizing of the two gospel accounts in this section of the text (158).

The anointing of Jesus at the home of Simon the Pharisee	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69rb 40-43 AM 235 fol. 20ra 9-12 AM 233a fol. 19vb 20-22	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1571)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67rb 23-67va 7 AM 235 fol. 20ra 12-20ra 20 AM 233a fol. 19vb 22-28	Luke 7:36-38
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67va 7-67vb 32 AM 235 fol. 20ra 20-20va 28 AM 233a fol. 19vb 28-20ra 39	Gregory the Great, <i>Homiliarum in Evangelia</i> (PL 76, cols. 1239-1241)
Brief description of Jesus' preaching and his female followers, including Mary Magdalen	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67vb 32-36 AM 235 fol. 20va 28-33 AM 233a fol. 20ra 39-42	Luke 8:1-2
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67vb 36-37 AM 235 fol. 20va 33-35 AM 233a fol. 20ra 42-43	Mark 16:9
The nature of the Magdalen's sins and repentance	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 67vb 37-68rb 32 AM 235 fol. 20va 35-21rb 15 AM 233a fol. 20ra 43-20va 23	Innocent III, <i>Sermo XXIII</i> (PL 217, cols. 557-561).
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 68rb 32-35 AM 235 fol. 21rb 15-19 AM 233a fol. 20va 23-25	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1571)
Jesus' visit to Bethany	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 68rb 36-37 AM 235 fol. 21rb 19-21 AM 233a fol. 20va 26-27	Luke 10:38
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 68rb 37-68va 21 AM 235 fol. 21rb 21-21va 16 AM 233a fol. 20va 27-20vb 5	Vincent de Beauvais, <i>Spec. hist.</i> (355)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 68va 21-25 AM 235 fol. 21va 16-21 AM 233a fol. 20vb 5-8	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1571)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 68va 25-40 AM 235 fol. 21va 21-21vb 3 AM 233a fol. 20vb 9-21	Vincent de Beauvais, <i>Spec. hist.</i> (355-356)
Lazarus' death and resurrection	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 68va 41-68vb 42 AM 235 fol. 21vb 4-22va 13 AM 233a fol. 20vb 22-21rb 20	Augustine, <i>In Iohannis</i> (421-431)
	AM 235 fol. 22va 13-16 AM 233a fol. 21rb 20-22	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1593-1594)
The feast at the home of Simon the Leper and Mary Magdalen's anointing of Jesus	AM 235 fol. 22va 18-31 AM 233a fol. 21rb 24-34	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1597)
	AM 235 fol. 22va 31-35 AM 233a fol. 21rb 34-38	Augustine, <i>In Iohannis</i> (435)
	AM 235 fol. 22va 35-22vb 5 AM 233a fol. 21rb 38-42	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1569)
	AM 235 fol. 22vb 5-9 AM 233a fol. 21rb 42-45	Honorius Augustodunensis, <i>Speculum ecclesiae</i> (PL 172, col. 917)

	AM 235 fol. 22vb 9-23ra 18 AM 233a fol. 21rb 45-21va 35	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1597-1598)
	NoRA 79 fragm. 2rb 1-4 AM 235 fol. 23ra 18-21 AM 233a fol. 21va 36-37	Mark 26:10-11
	NoRA 79 fragm. AM 235 fol. 23ra 21-33 AM 233a fol. 21va 37-21vb 1	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1598-1599)
	NoRA 79 fragm. 2rb 16-18 AM 235 fol. 23ra 33-23rb 9 AM 233a fol. 21vb 1-9	Bede, <i>In Marcvm</i> (605-606)
	NoRA 79 fragm. 2va1-7 AM 235 fol. 23rb 10-14 AM 233a fol. 21vb 10-13	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1597-1598)
	NoRA 79 fragm. 2va 7-10 Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69ra 1-2 AM 235 fol. 23rb 14-16 AM 233a fol. 21vb 13-15	Augustine, <i>In Iohannis</i> (420); Bede, <i>In Marcvm</i> (570)
Mary Magdalen at the crucifixion	NoRA 79 fragm. 2va 11-13 Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69ra 2-7 AM 235 fol. 23rb 16-20 AM 233a fol. 21vb 15-19	John 19:25
Mary Magdalen's witness of the resurrection	NoRA 79 fragm. 2va 15-17 Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69ra 8-69rb 12 AM 235 fol. 23rb 21-23va 29 AM 233a fol. 21vb 20-22ra 8	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1635-1638)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69rb 12-16 AM 235 fol. 23va 29-33 AM 233a fol. 22ra 8-12	Gregory the Great, <i>Hom. in Evan.</i> (PL 76, col. 1189)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69rb 16-19 AM 235 fol. 23va 33-36 AM 233a fol. 22ra 12-15	Augustine, <i>Sermo CCXLIV</i> (PL 38, col. 1147)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69rb 19-29 AM 235 fol. 23vb 1-10 AM 233a fol. 22ra 15-24	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1638)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69rb 29-34 AM 235 fol. 23vb 10-15 AM 233a fol. 22ra 24-28	Innocent III, <i>Sermo XXIII</i> (PL 217, col. 561-562).
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69rb 34-69va 27 AM 235 fol. 23vb 15-24ra 14 AM 233a fol. 22ra 28-22rb 11	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> (PL 198, col. 1638-1639)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69va 27-39 AM 235 fol. 24ra 14-25 AM 233a fol. 22rb 13-20	<i>O mundi lampas</i> (Saxer 1959: 378); Mark 16:9; and Peter Damian <i>Sermo</i> 56 (PL 144, col. 820)

	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69va 39-69vb 3 AM 235 fol. 24ra 25-32 AM 233a fol. 22rb 20-26	Gregory the Great, <i>Hom. in Evan.</i> ( <i>PL</i> 76, col. 1194)
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69va 39-69vb 3 AM 235 fol. 24ra 25-32 AM 233a fol. 22rb 20-26	Peter Comestor, <i>Hist. schol.</i> ( <i>PL</i> 198, col. 1698); John 20:1-11, 21:15-22; Matthew 28:9-10; Luke 24:11-12, Mark 16
Martha's renunciation of her property	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69vb 14-27 AM 235 fol. 24rb 8-22 AM 233a fol. 22rb 35-47	Vincent de Beauvais, <i>Spec. hist.</i> (356)
The gathering of the apostles and disciples post-Resurrection	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 69vb 27-70ra 2 AM 235 fol. 24rb 23-24va 2 AM 233a fol. 22rb 47-22va 13	Acts I, 12-14
The apocryphal legend of Martha and Mary Magdalen	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 70ra 3-72va 25 AM 235 fol. 24va 3-28rb 28 AM 233a fol. 22va 14-25ra 35 AM 764 4to 15v-16r	Vincent de Beauvais, <i>Spec. hist.</i> (356-362)
Brief introduction to translation and miracles sections	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 72va 25-29 AM 235 fol. 28rb 29-32 AM 233a fol. 25ra 36-38	<i>BHL</i> 5481
Translation of Mary Magdalen's relics	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 72va 29-73ra 28 AM 235 fol. 28rb 32-29ra 4 AM 233a fol. 25ra 38-25va 6	<i>BHL</i> 5489-5490
Miracles performed by Mary Magdalen	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 73ra 29-73rb 16 AM 235 fol. 29ra 5-32 AM 233a fol. 25va 7-30	<i>BHL</i> 5462-5463
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 73rb 17-31 AM 235 fol. 29ra 33-29rb 11 AM 233a fol. 25va 30-42	<i>BHL</i> 5465
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 73rb 32-73vb 3 AM 235 fol. 29rb 12-29va 24 AM 233a fol. 25va 43-25vb 36	<i>BHL</i> 5474-5476
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 73vb 4-74ra 4 AM 235 fol. 29va 25-29vb 26 AM 233a fol. 25vb 37-47	<i>BHL</i> 5482
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 74ra 5-16 AM 235 fol. 29vb 27-30ra 3	<i>BHL</i> 5484
	Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 74ra 17-74rb 6 AM 235 fol. 30ra 5-34	<i>BHL</i> 5483

The numerous and complex nature of the Latin sources in the Old Norse-Icelandic legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha raises the question of whether the compilation was natively produced, or was a translation of an already existing, but now lost, Latin compilation. Foote (1962) writes:

It has [...] been impossible to discuss fully whether a composite text has been put together in Iceland or was derived from a composite Latin text, and whether the editor of a recension, in basing his work on an older version, has not also had recourse to the Latin original. In the absence of detailed studies the following notes can thus only attempt to give a bare and provisional classification of the texts, and a preliminary bibliographical guide to the sources, intended, it need hardly be said, for the student of Icelandic texts rather than for the student of hagiography (19).

However, no Latin composite text of the complex nature detailed above exists. As noted in Chapter 1, there are only four Latin composite legends of Mary Magdalen and Martha: the *Vita auct. Pseudo-Marcilia, interprete Pseudo-Syntyche* (twelfth century); *De vita Beatae Mariae Magdalenae et sororis ejus Sanctae Martha* (mid-twelfth century); the legend in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* (completed 1244); and the separate legends of Marha and Mary in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (ca. 1260). None of these legends contain anything near the specific blend of content and source use of the Old Norse-Icelandic compilation. Of course, a Latin source of this kind may have existed, and is now lost. Bekker-Nielsen (1975) gives a more plausible solution: the compiler of *Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu* had access to an immediate source containing excerpts by the various authors found in the text (142). This may well have been the case, considering the complex nature of the text's source material, and the practical difficulty that would have certainly resulted from juggling such a large number of Latin *exempla*, which the above graph shows are complexly intermingled. Whether the compiler consulted a number of separate Latin sources, or a now-lost immediate source consisting of extracts from the Latin works detailed above, the work may still be considered a native compilation. Either scenario would have necessitated editorial intervention, to judge which excerpts to include or leave out, or

to abridge or expand upon. Such a compilatory text is by no means unheard of in the Old Norse-Icelandic literary corpus, especially in other saints' lives written around the same time as *Mortu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*.

Saints' lives from the late thirteenth and throughout the fourteenth centuries are generally straightforward translations from a single Latin source. The Icelandic scribe responsible for the saga is a translator, whose task is to transpose as faithfully as possible the Latin text into Old Norse-Icelandic. The result is frequently a text with heavily Latinized grammar and syntactic structure. Translations of this kind include the passions of the martyrs, and lives of the early ascetics, confessors, Church Fathers, and the apostles. In contrast, later saints' lives demonstrate a wide array of Latin and vernacular sources. The so-called "florid style" of later Old Norse-Icelandic saints' lives expanded upon earlier works or compiled new ones. These texts are characterized by ornate diction and rhetorical mannerisms, such as a profusion of adjectives and compound nouns. Other common features are abstracts, alliteration, frequent repetition, and copious additions from both the works of the Church Fathers and other more recent works, such as Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* and the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor (Jónas Kristjánsson 1997: 141-142; Wolf 2002: 1002). This approach is seen in the sagas of the apostles in the *Codex Scardensis*, in the lives of Michael the Archangel and Archbishop Nicholas (works which are both attributed to Abbot Bergr Sökkason of Munkaþverá [d. 1359]), and in the younger *Thómas saga erkibiskups* (Wolf 2002: 1002). And there is evidence that these compilations were produced on Icelandic soil. Simonetta Battista (2005) points to the younger redaction of *Jóns saga baptista* from the thirteenth century, which contains as a kind of introduction a letter from Grímr Holmsteinsson (d. 1298), the translator, to the saga's commissioner, Abbot Runólfr Sigmundarson of the Augustinian monastery at Þykkvabær. The letter reveals that Abbot Runólfr had requested a saga of John the Baptist which included glosses from the works of the Church



Fathers: “þer baðut mik saman lesa or likama heilagra gudspialla lif hins sæla Johannis baptiste ok setia þar yfir tilheyriligar glosur lesnar af undirdiupi omeliarum hins mikla Gregorij, Augustini, Ambrosij ok Jeronimi ok annarra kennifedra” (6).<sup>140</sup>

*Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*, which was probably compiled during the first half of the fourteenth century (see below), is a classic example of the kinds of saints’ lives that were in vogue in medieval Iceland during the time of the saga’s compilation. Like other compilatory legends from this period, this saga’s style is characterized by literary embellishment in the “florid style.” Stylistic devices such as repetition and a profusion of adjectives are evident from the first chapter of the saga, where Martha is described. The source is the *Speculum historiale*, a work already characterized by stylistic elegance, as illustrated by the following example:

Beata igitur Martha genere nobilis orta pago Hierosolymitano oppido Bethanico fuit; cuius vterini fuere Maria & Lazarus. Hæc ab infantia Deum valde dilexit, hebraicis apicibus docta, legis præceptis subdita, corpore venusta, facie decora, eloquijs luculenta, mulieribus operibus conuenienter erudite. Inter omnes matronas pijs moribus excellens, charitate redundans, castitate pollens, viriles contactus omnino vitabat; nusquam legitur hanc aut virum habuisse, aut hominis contubernium subijsse (*Spec. Hist.* 355).<sup>141</sup>

The Old Norse-Icelandic compiler further embellishes upon his already repetitive and adjective-heavy source:

HIN sæla martha var göfvg ath kyni. enn göfgari j trv hvn var þegar a barns alldri briostfastliga tendrvt i astsemd almattigs gvds. vel kvnnandi a lógmæl moysi ok adrar ebreskar bokligar listir. hlyðin var hvn gvds bodordvm hæversk at med ferðvm kurteis j bolsvexti væn at asionv. snioll j mæli kæn vid alla kven mana atgervi. sidprvd fram vm allar adrar frvr astudíg vit alþydv skirlif ath likama. þviat hvorki er lesit ath hvn hafi bonda attann ne neitt samlagh haft vid nóckvrn karllmann (67ra 1-11)<sup>142</sup>

<sup>140</sup> “You asked me to collect from the corpus of the Holy Gospels the life of the blessed John the Baptist and to add the appropriate glosses taken from the depths of the homilies of Gregory the Great, Augustine, Jerome, and other Church Fathers” (Battista 2005: 6).

<sup>141</sup> “St. Martha was born of noble lineage in the village of Bethany, near the city of Jerusalem. Her siblings were Mary and Lazarus. She loved God greatly from her childhood, was highly skilled in Hebrew, and conformed to the precepts of the law. She was physically beautiful and of beautiful character, of considerable eloquence and educated in the works appropriate to women. She was outstanding among all the pious noblewomen for her morals, her abundant charity and her great purity. She avoided all contact with men. Nowhere is it written that she had a husband or that she entered into marriage with a man” (Peters 1990: 152).

<sup>142</sup> Saint Martha was noble in lineage, but more noble in faith. She was immediately from childhood ignited in her heart in the love of Almighty God, well versed in the laws of Moses and in Hebrew. She was obedient to God’s

In addition to the repetition and adjectives present in the Latin, the compiler also makes use of alliteration. This is seen, for example, in “a barns alldri ... astsemd almattigs,” “allar adrar ... astudíg ... alpydv,” and “ne neitt ... nõckvrn.” The above-mentioned section of the legend where Mary Magdalen is named “postoli postlanna” is yet another example of literary embellishment upon the Latin sources, not only because this style was in vogue at the time, but also because certain grammatical features of Latin (such as the ablative) cannot be properly rendered into Icelandic.

*Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* may also be compared to other saints' lives from the same period due to its extensive use of Latin source texts, which are referenced internally and used by the compiler for elaboration, clarification, and emphasis in order to cover as many facets of the lives of Mary Magdalen and Martha as possible. A compilatory legend that is comparable to *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* in this regard is the aforementioned *Codex Scardensis* redaction of *Pétrs saga postula*. In her study of *Codex Scardensis*, Lucy Collings (1969) divides *Pétrs saga* into eight distinct sections, each of which answers to a different source. In some cases, several sources have been combined, due to one source's emphasis of a particular topic in the legend (84). Battista (2005) elaborates:

Sometimes, the sources [of *Pétrs saga postula*] are intermingled: this is because the compiler has selected, from the available texts, the parts which correspond to his aim of providing information about Peter, omitting the material which he considers to be less relevant. At the same time he is concerned with the chronology and the historical setting of the events he records. Therefore he often diverges from his main theme to focus on other characters or to expand a concept with material found in another source (7).

This is precisely the case with the composite legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha, which is characterized by both omission in some sections deemed less important, and amplification through an “intermingling” of several source texts, for those portions of the legend of greater

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commandments, modest in behavior, polite in character, beautiful in appearance, clever in speech, skillful in all womanly abilities, more refined than all other women, loving towards all people, and pure in her body, because nowhere is it written that she had a husband or knew any man.

relevance. As with the Mary Magdalen and Martha legend, the *Pétrs saga* preserved in *Codex Scardensis* could potentially be a translation or, as Battista (2005) puts it, a “re-elaboration” of a now-lost Latin compilation. However, she argues that *Pétrs saga* is far more likely an original text, “...whose final cohesion is achieved through a high degree of redactional intervention, for example, in the form of internal references” (7). For example, although the Icelandic compiler of *Pétrs saga* primarily uses Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*, he also supplements with a number of other encyclopedic and exegetical works. The result is a layered work whose areas of focus or abridgment give insight into the compiler’s textual agenda (Battista 2005: 9-11).

As noted above, the compiler of the Mary Magdalen and Martha legend—who shows a tendency similar to that of the *Codex Scardensis* compiler to make internal references—relies most heavily upon Vincent of Beauvais’ encyclopedic work *Speculum historiale*, which he refers to on a number of occasions. However, he also incorporates additional material from the gospel narratives and various Latin sources in order to elaborate upon or clarify aspects of the legend, presumably those he deems of particular importance. This is especially true of the first half of the saga, which centers on scenes from the Bible, since Vincent of Beauvais’ account contains very little detail on biblical episodes and focuses instead on the lives of Mary Magdalen and Martha post-resurrection. The first example of this is an elaboration on Martha, using the twelfth-century French theologian Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*, which in turn refers to a medieval sermon attributed to fourth-century bishop Ambrose of Milan, *De Salomone*, in which Martha is identified with the woman in Matthew 9:20, Mark 5:25 and Luke 8:43 who was healed of a blood issue (D. Peters 2008: 13, 120-121). In this scene, “Martha” touches Jesus’ clothes and is cured of her illness, which many a doctor had previously been unable to help her overcome. Jesus tells her that she was cured because of her faith: “dottir trva þín hialpadi þer fardu j fridi ok ver

heil sottar” (67rb 39).<sup>143</sup> This is the second chapter of the composite work and serves to elaborate upon the character and background of Martha of Bethany, who was already given a lengthy introduction in the first chapter of the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais.

Another example of the incorporation of biblical exegesis in order to compensate for a lack of emphasis on a Bible scene in *Speculum historiale* is in the author’s description of Mary Magdalen’s conversion at the house of Simon the Pharisee. Here, the saga author draws from the homilies of Gregory the Great to explain how the manner of the Magdalen’s conversion related to the nature of her sins:

þar af segir. hín mikli gregorius þa er ek hvgsar idran maríe likar mer helldr at grata enn nockvt at segía. eða hverr mvn svo íarmlgt hiarta hafa. at eigi mvní tar þessazar syndug`v` konv bleyta til eptir dæmís idranar. Obodit geck hvn inn milli bods manna gret hvn a medal þeira sem med fagnadi snæddv. Segi þer med hversv miklvm harmí sv hitnadi er eigi skammadízt fyrir samkvndo monnum at grata sínar syndir. Savrga leit hvn sig. en þvoandi rann hvn til miskvnnar brvzins. Synt er at konan sv er fyrvum var gefinn fyrir oleyfdvm hlvtvm mvní hafa smyrsl borit a likama sinn fyrir eptir lífis sokvm til þess ath hvn ilmadi wel. Med avgvnvm hafdi hvn gírntz oleyfda hlutí harít hafdi hvn plagat til þess ath hvn syndiz fridari sínvum elskórvum því þo hvn fætr drottins med tarvm enn þerdi med hare ok smurdi með smyrsl. ok þeim mvnnínvum er aðr hafdi hvn syngazt med kysti hvn fætr |-hans-| drottíns Svo margar fornir fann hvn af sialfri ser sem hvn hafdi oleyfdar lystingar j ser. (67va 7-25)<sup>144</sup>

The compiler later draws upon Innocent in order to make a similar argument about how the Magdalen’s repentance corresponds to the manner of her sins and makes references to Solomon:

“...eptir atkvædi híns víska salemonis því at hann segir. Medr þeim hætti skal hann bæta. sem

<sup>143</sup> Daughter, your faith has helped you. Go in peace and be cured of your illness.

<sup>144</sup> Gregory the Great says the following about this: When I think about the repentant Mary, I prefer to cry rather than to say anything. Who might have such an iron heart that he might not remember the tears of this sinful woman, or might not be made soft by the example of her repentance of sins? She went uninvited among the guests and cried among those who feasted joyfully. Tell with every sorrow of the one sitting at the feast who gets angry. She defiled herself, but she ran cleansed to the well of mercy. It is clear, that the woman, who previously gave herself to unpermitted things, will have worn ointment on her body for a life of self-indulgence, in order to smell sweet. With her eyes she desired unpermitted things, and she had used her hair for this, so that she would seem more beautiful to her lovers; therefore she washed the Lord’s feet with her tears, and dried them with her hair, and anointed them with ointment, and with that mouth, which she had previously sinned with, she kissed the Lord’s feet. So many offerings she found from herself, as she had unpermitted desires in herself.

*hann misgiðrir.*<sup>145</sup> The saga compiler's extensive and varied use of his Latin sources for purposes of elaboration is also reflected in his description of Martha and more specifically the scene at Bethany in Luke 10:38-42, in which Martha rebukes Mary for failing to help her serve Jesus. *Speculum historiale* is somewhat scant in its description of this scene. To compensate for the lack of material in Vincent de Beauvais' account, the saga author adds detail and biblical commentary, drawing particularly from Comestor to further emphasize the virtues of Martha's hospitality as equally valid and important in comparison to Mary's part:

commestr segir framarr þat er maria sat fyrir fotvum honum ok heyrði ord hans j því er hún waldi ser þann lut er eigi mvndi af henne tekinn enn eigi fyrir því at hún wæri hæri ath verdleikvum þvíat þadan af waldíz wor herra ath þiggia heimbod af inne sælv marthe j hennar herbergi. (68va 22-27)<sup>146</sup>

After this scene, the compiler draws from Augustine in order to explain why, after Mary and Martha had sent for him to cure Lazarus, Jesus delayed in coming to Bethany: "augustínus segir af þeim malvum þeira ma skilia ath ihesvs war þa eigi j bethania ok fyrir því sendo þær honum ord ath brodir þeira var síukr ath víta ef hann wíldi græda hann til þess ath hann mætti hann af davda reisa" (68vb 2-6).<sup>147</sup> Augustine is referred to throughout the section on the resurrection of Lazarus, supplementing the story as it is related in much shorter form in *Speculum historiale*. This kind of supplement to *Speculum historiale* is also evident in the scene where Mary Magdalen anoints Jesus' feet with her precious ointment at the feast of Simon the Pharisee. The *Speculum historiale* only devotes several lines to Mary's anointing of the Lord, whereas Comestor's *Historia scholastica* provides considerable detail on this famous episode (Wolf 2003: 183).

<sup>145</sup> ...according to the words of Solomon the Wise, because he says: In that way each shall atone, as he sins.

<sup>146</sup> Comestor says further that when Mary sat at his feet and listened to his words, because she chose the better part, which must not be taken from her, but not because she was higher in terms of merit, because from then on the Lord was accustomed to accept invitations to the blessed Martha's home.

<sup>147</sup> Augustine says about this matter that they sent word to him, that their brother was sick, to find out, if he would be willing to heal him so that he could raise him from the dead.

The compiler also shows a tendency to abridge and alter his source material. Sometimes, the abridgments are already present in the Latin texts the compiler was consulting, and rather than add to the saga with biblical material or the works of the Church Fathers, as he does in other sections of the saga, he makes a conscious choice to preserve the omission of certain episodes. For example, the Old Norse-Icelandic legend—like the *Speculum historiale*—moves directly from the resurrection of Lazarus to the feast of Simon the Pharisee, skipping a number of important biblical episodes that are not entirely relevant to the legend of Martha and Mary Magdalen. The Old Norse-Icelandic compiler acknowledges the abridgment, and states that he will not supplement this section of the legend: “enn þeir lutir er iHesus vann fra þessv til þuatdaghs fyrir palmsvinnvdag koma eigi til þessarar sögu” (22va 17-18).<sup>148</sup> In other instances, the compiler himself abridges his sources. Perhaps the most significant abridgment comes in the apocryphal Mary Magdalen section of the Old Norse-Icelandic legend, which was condensed considerably from the *Speculum historiale*. Vincent de Beauvais’ account devotes several lengthy chapters to an episode in which Mary Magdalen grants the duke of Marseilles and his wife a child after their conversion to Christianity. The duke and his pregnant wife undertake a journey to Jerusalem to verify what the Magdalen has been preaching. On their journey, the duke’s wife gives birth to a son but dies in childbirth. The crew leaves behind both the duke’s wife and his newborn son, who is sure not to survive. When traveling back to Marseilles, however, the duke and his crew encounter the hill where they left his newborn son and deceased wife, and by the good graces of Mary Magdalen the boy is found alive and the duke’s wife is miraculously brought back to life. In the Old Norse-Icelandic version of the legend, this entire episode is altered and abbreviated to four short sentences, which read:

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<sup>148</sup> But those things Jesus did from this [the time of Lazarus’ resurrection] until the Saturday before Palm Sunday are not part of this saga. (This quotation is from AM 235 fol., since there is a lacuna here in Stock. Perg. 2 fol.)

Enn því at hertvgínn villdi reyna huort þeir hlutir væri sannir er heilög maría sagdi af kristi for hann til iorsala. ok vítiadí heilagra stada ok vard viss sannynnda vm alla þa luti sem ihesvs gerdí her j heími ok er hann kom aptr fann hann son sinn jarteígnasamlíga fæddan. Nockvrvm tíma sidar tok frvinn sott ok andadíz. enn fyrir bænir marie magdalene lífnadí hvn ok lofdv allir trvandi menn gvds. (70rb 22-27)<sup>149</sup>

This alteration and abbreviation is especially unusual since, as Reames (2003) notes, this aspect of the Magdalen legend “...bears close resemblances to secular romance and would become a favorite part of the vernacular legends of Mary Magdalen” (51). Considering the popularity of the romance genre in late medieval Iceland, this particular episode would have been very well-received. It is also peculiar since none of the sections in the *Speculum historiale* pertaining to Martha seem to have been abbreviated in the Old Norse-Icelandic version of the legend. On the contrary, parts of her story were amplified, particularly in biblical episodes. However, this particular abridgment (as well as the fact that accounts of Martha are left intact) lends support to the argument in Chapter 3 that the saga author wished to emphasize the character of Martha as a model for the Benedictine nuns at Reynistaður, and downplay Mary Magdalen’s more contemplative persona.<sup>150</sup>

### Transmission

The following illustration gives a rough sketch of which parts of the legend the five manuscripts cover:

AM 235 fol.:	-----
AM 233a fol.:	-----
Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:	-----
AM 764 4to:	-----
NoRA 79 fragm.:	-----

<sup>149</sup> But because the duke wanted to test whether those things were true, which the holy Mary had told of Christ, he went to Jerusalem to visit holy places, and became aware of the truth of all of those things which Jesus did here in the world. And when he came back, he found his son miraculously born. Some time later his wife became ill and died. But because of the prayers of holy Mary Magdalen she came back to life, and all believers praised God.

<sup>150</sup> This argument is elaborated upon further in my article on Martha and women’s roles in medieval Iceland (2011a).

Only AM 235 fol. contains the entire legend. In AM 233a fol., there is a lacuna which cuts off the end of the saga. In Stock. Perg. 2 fol., there are two lacunae in the first half of the saga, in the section between Lazarus' resurrection and Christ's ascension and in the section of the legend relating Mary Magdalen's hermitage and death. The selections from AM 764 4to cover only two episodes pertaining to Martha and her time in Tarascon. The text preserved in NoRA 79 fragm., which contains parts of biblical episodes pertaining to Mary Magdalen, shares nothing with AM 764 4to, and only a portion of text with Stock. Perg. 2 fol.

In his 1877 edition of the legend, C.R. Unger bases the bulk of the text on AM 233a fol. (called A) until the text ends (550.24-550.23), with variants from Stock. Perg. 2 fol. (called B) and AM 235 fol. (called C). From p. 550.24 until the end of the saga on p. 553, Unger relied on Stock. Perg. 2 fol., with variants from AM 235 fol., and alternate text from AM 233a fol. in the footnote (550-551). Unger does not include either NoRA 79 fragm. or AM 764 4to in his edition, nor does he discuss the interrelationship among AM 233a fol., AM 235 fol., and Stock. Perg. 2 fol., though as with other legends in his *Heilagra manna sögur*, the A-B-C designation implies a hierarchy of sorts (Wolf 2008: 262). Foote (1962) notes that "...the texts in Stock. 2 and AM 235 fol. are in general so closely related that we may reasonably conclude that both are derived at very few removes from the same earlier collection" (18), but he does not comment directly on the relationship among the three manuscripts used by Unger in his edition of this particular compilation. A close comparison of all five witnesses of *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* is therefore in order, to determine with more precision the complex relationship among not only the three manuscripts used in Unger's edition, but also NoRA 79 fragm. and AM 764 4to.



*Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol.*

There is a close relationship between *Stock. Perg. 2 fol.* (Unger's B manuscript) and *AM 235 fol.* (Unger's C manuscript), and the two present almost identical texts. There are few variant readings, but those that can be compared to the Latin sources of the compilation show that *Stock. Perg. 2 fol.* has the better reading:

**Latin:** quoniam sensu & probitate abundantior & potentior erat, gazis opimis referta. (*Spec. hist.* p. 355)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** þa var martha badvm þeim frægri ath útzku ok dygleik ok gnogvm penningvm avdlek ok stormennzkv ok margri framkvæmd. (69ra 34-37)

**AM 235 fol.:** þa var martha badum þeim frægri at vizkv ok dyggleik ok gnogum pëningum. avrleik ok störmennzku ok margri stormennzku ok framkvæmd (19va 23-25)

**Latin:** impleta prophetia quæ dicit: Quasi colonus venturus est in terram & quasi viator declinans ad manendum. (*Spec. hist.* p. 355)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** kom þa fram þat sem spamadrinn segir 'A' th gvd mun koma a íard ríki sem vtlendzkr ok hneigia ser til herbergis svo sem eín vallari. (69rb 10-11)

**AM 235 fol.:** kom þá fram þat er spamadrinn sęgir at gud mun koma jardríki sem vtlendr ok hneigia sik þtil [*sic.*] huss ok herbergis sem vallari. (19vb 7-9)

**Latin:** Et circumspiciebat videre eam, quæ hoc fecerat. Mulier vero timens (Mark 5:32-33) procidit ante pedes ejus: et ob quam causam tetigerit eum, indicavit coram omni populo: et quemadmodum confestim sanata sit. (Luke 8:47)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Er hann leit vm sig at sía hverr sa værj. vard konan ottafvll ok fell til fota honum segiandi sína hvgsan ok tiltæki ok at hvn vard heil ordín. (67rb 35-38)

**AM 235 fol.:** enn er hann leit vm sik at sía huerr sá væri. vard konan otta full ok fell til fota þeim ok honum. segiandi sína hvgsan ok til teki at hvn vard heil ordin. (20ra 3-6)

**Latin:** Hic, si esset propheta, sciret utique quae et qualis est mulier quae tangit eum, quia peccatrix est. (Gregory the Great, *Homiliarium in Evangelia*)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Ef þessi madr væri spamadr mvndi hann ath skyrv wíta. hverr eda hvilik er kona sía er a honum tekr þviat hvn er syndvgh. (67va 30-32)

**AM 235 fol.:** 'E`f þessi maðr væri spamaðr mundi hann at skyru víta huer eda huilik er kona sía kona er á honum tekr. þuiat hun er syndug. (20rb 12-14)

Moreover, *AM 235 fol.* has a number of textual errors and stylistic problems and scribal overwriting—probably as a result of sloppy copying:

**Latin:** Convertit ad virtutum numerum criminum, ut totum serviret Deo in poenitentia, quidquid ex se Deum contempserat in culpa. (Gregory the Great, *Homilia XXXII*, PL 76, col. 1240D)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Tolv lastanna sneri hvn j tolv mannkostanna at allt þionadi þat gvdi j idranínne sem adr *giordi hann reidan j syndínni*. (67va 25-27)

**AM 235 fol.:** Taulv lastanna. snéri hvn j taulu mannkostanna. at allt þiodani þat gudi i jdrannnni sem adr gerdi hann reidan j syndinni. (20rb 5-8)

**Latin:** Tunc reversi sunt Jerosolymam a monte qui vocatur Oliveti, qui est juxta Jerusalem, sabbati habens iter. (Acts 1:12)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.** *hann segir ath postolar gengv eptir vppstígníng lavsnarans af olíuetí fíallí aptr j iðrsala. borg* (69vb 35-37)

**AM 235 fol.** *hann segirh at guds postolar gengu eptir vppstígnnng lausnarans af oliuétí fialli aptr i iorsala borg* (24rv 29-31)

**Latin:** Cumque neminem inuenissent, qui eos hospitio reciperet, in porticu fani gentis illius terræ lapidibus accubantes, ieiunijs, & orationibus insistentes pernoctaverunt. (*Spec. hist.*, p. 356)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.** *ok þvi at þau fvndo óngvan þann er þeim uilldí veíta neítt herbergí tokv þav ser natt stad j eíno p`or`ti skamt fra blot hvsí heidína manna ok lago a bænvum fastandi alla þa nott.* (70ra 45-70rb 2)

**AM 235 fol.** *þuiat þav fvndu aungan þan er þeim vlli veita neitt herberghi. toku þau ser nattstad i einv porti skamt fra blothusi heidinna manna ok laghu þar á bænvum fastandi alla þa nott.* (24vb 2-5)

**Latin:** Euoluto postea breui spacio, beatus Fronto, Petragoricensis, & sanctus Georgius Velliensis, ille scilicet qui mortuus fuerat, & reuixit [...] ad eiusdem Marthæ præsidium cum accessissent (*Spec. hist.*, p. 359)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.** *sidar kom hín sæli fronto petragoricensis ok heilagr georgius welliacensis sa er daudr hafdi verit ok vpp rísit ath fínna hína sælo martham.* (71ra 1-3)

**AM 235 fol.** *sidar kom hinn sæli fronto petragoricensis. ok heilagr georgius. villiacensis. sa er droaudr hafdi verit ok vpprisit at finna hina sælan martham.* (26vb 32-35)

**Latin:** Vix adhuc verba compleuerat, et equus sanguineas spumas reijciens, plus solito cœpit mansuescere (*Spec. hist.* p. 361)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.** *ok þat veíttiz honvm án dvol þvi at varla hafdi hann heítid stadfest adr hestrín giordíz honvm audmíukr* (72rb 31-33)

**AM 235 fol.** *ok þat veíttizt honum an duol þuiat varla hafdi hann heitid stadfest. adr enn hestrinn gerdizt honum audanukr.* (28ra 34-28rb 1)

Since Stock. Perg. 2 fol. preserves the better text, it cannot be a copy of AM 235 fol. But AM 235 fol. also cannot be a copy of Stock. Perg. 2 fol., both because the latter is younger and since it sometimes has the better readings, as in this example:

- Latin:** et stans retro secus pedes ejus, lacrimis cœpit rigare pedes ejus, et capillis capitis sui tergebat, et osculabatur pedes ejus, et unguento ungebat. (Luke 7:38)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** ok stod a bak hía fótvm iesv ok þo fætr hans med þeim tarvm er idran annmarka gat j híartano enn fram flvgv af avgvnm. ok þerdi med hári sínv ok kysti fætrna med eígnlígvm mvnni. (67va 4-7)
- AM 235 fol.:** ok stod ad baki hia fótum Jhesu ok þo fetr hans med tárurum sinum. er jdran grat annmarka gat ihiartanv enn flaugu fram af agunum. ok þerði med hári sinu ok kysti fetrna med eiginligum munnni. (20ra 16-20)

Moreover, Stock. Perg. 2 fol. has some errors not shared by AM 235 fol.:

- Latin:** Vexabant ergo septem daemonia Mariam Magdalenam, per culpam; quoniam eam septem modis (Innocent III, *Sermo XXIII*, PL 217, col. 559B)
- AM 235 fol.:** Jnnocencius segir suo af henni .víj. diðflar kuoldu hana. þuiat þeir suikv hana med sið hattvm (20va 35-20vb 1)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Jnnocentius segir svo af henne víj diðflar kuoldv hana þvi ath þeir slikv hana med víj hattvm (67vb 37-39)

- Latin:** Deliquit manibus, quia mulier insipiens domum constructam manibus destruit (Innocent III, *Sermo XXIII*, PL 217, col. 560D)
- AM 235 fol.:** Misgerdi hvn med hõndum. þuiat heims kona brat med hõndum smidat herbergi. (21ra 24-25)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Misgerdi hvn med hond þvrat heímiskan bravt med hõnd smidat herbergi (68rb 10-11)

- Latin:** Cucurrerunt ergo illi duo ad monumentum, et non invento corpore, cumque vidissent sudarium capitis (*Hist. schol.*, col. 1638B)
- AM 235 fol.:** þeir runnu þa med henni til leidissins ok fvndu eigi likaman en sa suéita duk þann sem bolrinn var sveipadr med hofud hans. (23va 21-23)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** þeir runnv þa med henne til leidssins ok fvndo eigi likamamann enn sa sveitadvk þann sem sveipad hafdi med werít hófvv hans (69rb 4-6)

Here, both manuscripts show different errors in the same phrase, clearly demonstrating that neither could have been a copy of the other:

- Latin:** De mentis constantia commendatur ex eo quod cum discipuli relicto Christo fugissent, Maria Christum usque ad crucem secuta est. (Innocent III, *Sermo XXIII*, PL 217, col. 561A)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Breyskleiks synd. bætti hvern með styrkleika ok stadfesti a pislartíma kristz. þviat þa er allir lærisveinar flydv fra drotni fylgdi hvern honum allt til þavda (68rb 17-20)

**AM 235 fol.:** Breyskleiks synd bætti hvern með styrkleik ok stadfesti á pislar tíð krizst. þviat þa er allir lærisvæisvinnar flydu fra drotni fylgdi hun honum allt til davda. (21ra 33- 21rb 1)

Because they preserve virtually the same text, and because neither could have been a copy of the other, it seems reasonable to assume that AM 235 fol. and Stock. Perg. 2 fol. are derived from a now-lost common original, most likely at few or no removes. Of the two, Stock. Perg. 2 fol. preserves the better text, since it contains fewer textual errors and shows closer readings to the Latin source texts.

*AM 233a fol.*

AM 233a fol., Unger's A manuscript, shows at times both abridgment and expansion in comparison to Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. as well as to the Latin sources. In these examples, AM 233a fol. displays abridgment and some reordering:

**Latin:** corpore venusta, facie decora, eloquijs luculenta, mulieribus operibus conuenienter erudite. Inter omnes matronas pijs moribus excellens, charitate redundans, castitate pollens (*Spec. hist.*, p. 355)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** kurteis j bolsvexti væn at asionv. snioll j mæli kæn vid alla kven mana atgervi. sidprvd fram vm allar adrær frvr astudíg vit alþydv skirlif ath likama. (67ra 6-11)

**AM 235 fol.:** kurteis j bolsuexti. væn at á sionu. sniöll j mali. kæn vid alla kuen manna at gerfui. sidprud fram vm adrær frur. Astvðig vid alþydu. skirlif at likama. (19rb 29-34)

**AM 233a fol.:** kurteis i bolsuexti. snioll í mali. væn i asionu ok kæn við alla kuen manliga atgervi. sið pruð vm framm adrær frur. astuðig við alþyðu. (19va 5-8)

**Latin:** Ipse vero qui verus amator omnium, immo etiam verus amor est, eam in tantum dilexit, vt magis in eius domo quam alibi declinaret (*Spec. hist.*, p. 355)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** ok at verkkavpi sinnar þionustv elskadi hann hana. þviat hann er elskari allra godra hluta ok sialf astin ok hann tok optligar ok giarnara herbergi j hennar husi helldr en annars stadar. (67rb 6-9)

**AM 235 fol.:** ok at verdkavpi sinar þionustu elskaði hann hana. 'Þ`uiat hann er elskari allra godra hluta ok siolf astin ok hann tok optar ok giarnara herbergi j hennar hvsvm

helldr enn annars stadar. (19vb 4-7)

**AM 233a fol.:** *ok at uerkkaupi sinar þionosto. elskadi hann hana. þuiat hann er elskari allra godra manna ok sialf astin. ok hann tok ok glaðligar herbergi i hennar husi en anarstadar.* (19va 36-38)

**Latin:** Et ecce princeps Synagogae Jairus adoravit eum dicens: Filia mea modo mortua est, id est morti proxima [...] Veniens autem in domum Jairi induxit tantum secum Petrum, Jacobum, et Joannem fratrem ejus, qui quasi secretarii ejus erant, et patrem et matrem puellae. (*Hist. schol.*, col. 1569C)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Hít fyrsta takn af þessum segir Commestr a þa leid in historia evangeliorvm ath þa er drottinn ihesus var bedinn at fara til husa þess þinghus höfðingia er jairus het ath reisa af dauða dottvr hans. (67rb 18-21)

**AM 235 fol.:** hit fysta takn af þessvm segir comestor á þa leid. in hystórijs ewangeliorum. at þa er drottinn ihesus `var' beðinn at fara til husa þess þinghus hofðingia er jairus het. at reisa af dauða dottr hans. (19vb 17-20)

**AM 233a fol.:** hit fyrsta takn af þeim segir commestor a þa leid in hístórijs ewangeliorum. at þa er drottinn ihesus var bedinn at fara til husa þess höfðingia er Jarcus het. at reisa af dauða dottur hans. (19vb 1-3)

**Latin:** Inter duos autem aegros medicus aderat; sed unus aeger in febre integrum sensum tenebat, alter vero in febre carnis et sensum perdiderat mentis. (Gregory the Great, *Homilia XXXIII*, PL 76, col. 1240C)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Enn wór herra sanr læknir er sat milli tveggia siukra manna annars þess er heill var ath víti enn síukr af syndvm (67va 37-39)

**AM 235 fol.:** Enn varr hera sana (l)æknir er sát j milli tueiggia siukra manna. anars þess er heill var at víti. enn siukr af syndinni. (20rb 19-21)

**AM 233a fol.:** En vorr herra er sat j milli tuegia siukra manna. anars þess er heill var at víti en síukr af syndinni. (20ra 6-8)

In the following, AM 233a fol. shows expansion in comparison to the Latin and/or the other manuscripts:

**Latin:** viriles contactus omnino vitabat; nusquam legitur hanc aut virum habuisse, aut hominis contubernium subijisse (*Spec. hist.*, p. 355)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** þuiat hvorki er lesit ath hvn hafi bonda attann ne neitt samlagh haft vid nöckvrn karllmann (69ra 9-11)

**AM 235 fol.:** þuiat hvarki er lesit at hun hafi bonda attan. ne neitt samlag haft vid nockrn karl mann. (19rb 31-34)

**AM 233a fol.:** þat finnz huergi i bokum lesit. at hun hafi bonda áttan ne sam lag við nockurn karlman átt. (19va 7-8)

**Latin:** comperit Dominum & creatorem humani generis in domum venisse Simonis (*Spec. hist.*, p. 355)

**Stock. Perg 2 fol.:** hvn fann vmbot allra annmarka sinna af fvndi vors herra j husi símonis pharisei (69ra 25-31)

**AM 235 fol.:** hun fann vmbot allra annnara annmarka sinna af fvndi varss hera J husi simonis farisei. (19va 13-19)

**AM 233a fol.:** hun fan vmbót allra sinna andmarka af fundi uars herra j husum Simonis pharisei yfuirgyþings. (19va 19-24)

**Latin:** Rogabat autem illum quidam de pharisæis ut manducaret cum illo. Et ingressus domum pharisæi discubuit. Et ecce mulier, quæ erat in civitate peccatrix, ut cognovit quod accubisset in domo pharisæi, attulit alabastrum unguenti (Luke 7:36-37)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Ok er syndvgh kona sv er ver vítvum mariam verit hafa af ordvm iohannis gvdspialla manz wissi ath ihesus var kominn til snæðinghíns geck hun j hvsít med ker þat er fullt var af ágætvm smyrslvm (67rb 43-67va 4)

**AM 235 fol.:** Ok er syndug kona sv er `ver' vitum af ordum johannis gudpiala mannz mariam verit hafa. vissi at ihesus var kominn til snéðings. gek hun j husit med ker þat. er fullt var af ágætum smyrslum. (20ra 12-16)

**AM 233a fol.:** Ok er syndug kona su er ver vitum máriam verit hafa. af orðum hins helga Johannis guþ spialla manz. vissi at ihesus var kominn til snæðingsins. þa gekk hun i husit með ker þat. er fult var af ágiætum smyrslum. (19vb 22-25)

But on some occasions, AM 233a fol. preserves the better reading of the Latin, as in this example:

**Latin:** Beata igitur Martha genere nobilis orta pago Hierosolymitano oppido Bethanico fuit (*Spec. hist.*, p. 355) Ibi ergo Domino constituto, infirmabatur in Bethania Lazarus, quod castellum erat proximum Ierosolymis (Augustine, *In Iohannis*, p. 420). Bethania est uillula siue ciuitas in latere montis oliueti quasi stadiis quindecim ab Hierusalem (Bede, *In Marcvm*, p. 570)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.** þessi fyr nefnd martha var avdígh ath femvnum. enn vpp fædd fimtan stóðvm. fra iorsolvum i bethanía. Augustinus enn mikli kallar þenna stad kastala vera beda prestr segir borg vera setta j hallínvm fiallz þat er oliueti heitir. (67ra 15-19)

**AM 235 fol.** þessi fyr nefnd marta var audig at femvnum. Enn vpp fédd .xii. stadia fra jorsqlum. jbethanía. Augustinus hinn mikli seger þenna stad kastala vera. Bæða prest segir borg vera setta -|setta|- j hallinum fials þat er oliueti heitir. (19va 3-7)

**AM 233a fol.** þessi fyr nefnd martha var audig at fe munum. ok upp fædd .xv. stadia fra iorsolum i þui heraði er bethanía heitir. Hinn mikli Augustinus kallar þenna stað kastala uera. En helgi beda prestr segir uera borg. setta i hallinum. oliueti fiallz. (19va 11-15)

If AM 233a fol. has a close reading of the Latin, it tends to be shared with either AM 235 fol. or Stock. Perg. 2 fol., or both. In a number of instances, all three manuscripts share the same reading, as these examples show:

- Latin:** qui post discipulorum dominicorum dispersionem, Atheniensium civium prædicator fuit fidelissimus. (*Spec. hist.*, p. 355)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Enn eptir þat er iudar rakv kristz lærisveina af sínvm herodvm. for hvn j girkland ok flutti framm gvds erendi með postuligri trv j atthenis borg. (67ra 13-15)
- AM 235 fol.** en eptir þat er juðar raku kristz lærisueina af sínvm heroðum. for hun j grikland ok flúttí framm gvds eyrendi með postoligri trv jathenis borg. (19va 1-3)
- AM 233a fol.** En eptir þat er Judar raku kristz lærisueína af sinum herudum. f'or' hun i grikkland. ok flutti framm gvðs erendi með postoligri tru j athenís borg. (19va 10-11)

- Latin:** Dum languidum sanguinis fluxum siccatur in Martha, dum daemones expellit de Maria, dum corpus redivivi spiritus calore constringit in Lazaro. (*Hist. schol.*, col. 1568C)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** hann þurkar með svmvum blodras sem með marthe. En af svmvum rekr hann diðfla sem af marie suma resir hann af dauda sem lazarum. (67rb 16-18)
- AM 235 fol.** hann þurkar með sumum blod rás sem með marthe. enn af sumum rekr hann diofla sem af márie. suma reisir hann af dauda sem lazarum (19vb 14-17)
- AM 233a fol.** hann þurkar með sumum bloð ras sem með martha. en fra sumum rekr hann diofla sem fra mario. suma reisir hann af dauda sem lazarum. (19va 46-19vb 1)

- Latin:** Et ait Jesus: Quis est, qui me tetigit? (Luke 8:45) Et dicebant ei discipuli sui: Vides turbam comprimentem te, et dicis: Quis me tetigit? (Mark 5:31)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Jhesv(s) mælti þa nockurr snart mik lærrisveinar hans mæltó. hvat er vndarligt þott þer þicki sem nockvt snerti þik þar sem ollv megin þrongva oss flokkar. (67rb 31-34)
- AM 235 fol.** jhesus mælti þa. Nockr snart mik 'L'ærisueinar hans mæltó. Huat er vndarligt. þott þer þicki sem nockrr snerti þik. þar sem aullvm megin þráungar oss flokar. (19vb 33-20ra 1)
- AM 233a fol.** Jhesus mælti þa 'N'okkurr snart mik. lærisueinar hans mæltó. huat er þat undarligt þo at þer þikki sem nokkut snerti þik. þar sem ollum megin þrongua oss flokkar. (19vb 12-15)

AM 233a fol. at times shares the better readings of the Latin with AM 235 fol. More often,

however, the AM 233a fol.'s shared readings are with Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:

- Latin:** Et mulier, quæ erat in profluvio sanguinis annis duodecim (Mark 5:25), Ambrosius in sermone *De Salvatore* dicit hanc fuisse Martham (*Hist. schol.*, col. 1570A). et fuerat multa perpessa a compluribus medicis: et erogaverat omnia sua, nec quidquam profecerat, sed magis deterius habebat (Mark 5:26)
- AM 235 fol.** 'V'ar jþessu lidi ein blod siuk kóna. su er eptir hann segir eptir ordum Ambrosij. martham verit hafa. su er blod fallz sott pindi vm .xij. ár suo at læknar mattu henni enga bott vinnu. þot hun héti þeim at gefa noga penninga ef þeir grædi hana. (19vb 24-29)

**AM 233a fol.** var í þessu liði ein blóðsiuk kona. su er hann segir eptir orðum Ambrosíj. martham uerit hafa su er blóð fallz sótt þíndi vm .víj. ár. suo at læknar mattu henni enga bót vinna. þott hun heti þeim nogha pengha at gefua ef þeir græddi hana. (19vb 6-10)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** var j þessv lidi ein blóðsiuk kona sv er hann segir er fra Ambrosíj orðvm. martham verít hafa sv er blóðfallz sott þindi vm .xii. ár svo at læknar mattv henne engan bot vinna þott hvn heti þeim nogvm peningvm ef þeir hana græddv (67rb 25-28)

**Latin:** albam ex pilis camelorum mitram capiti superponens (*Spec. hist.*, p. 358)

**AM 235 fol.:** huita hufu gerfa af vlfallða hari bar hun á hófði (25va 8-9)

**AM 233a fol.:** huíta hufu gíorua af vlfallda hári. bar hun a hófði ser. (23ra 43-44)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** hufv hafði hvn hvíta gíorfa af ufallda harí a hófði ser (25rb 33-34)

**Latin:** cuius vterini fuere Maria & Lazarus. [...] Maria ipsa est mulier illa, quæ a Magdalo castro nuncupata est Magdalena (*Spec. hist.*, p. 355)

**Stock. Perg 2 fol.** brodir hennar het lazarus. enn systir maria sv er magdalena er kölluð ok nafn tok af kastala þeim er magdalvm het (67ra 19-21)

**AM 233a fol.** brodir hennar het lazarus. en systir maria su er magðalena er kollut. ok nafn tok af kastala þeim er magðalum het (19va 15-16)

**AM 235 fol.** brodir hennar het lazarus enn syster maria su er magðalena er kulluð ok nafn tok af kastala þeim er magðalum heitir (19va 7-9)

**Latin:** Capillos ad compositionem vultus exhibuerat, sed jam capillis lacrymas tergebat. (Gregory the Great, *Homilia XXXIII*, PL 76, col. 1240A)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** hárit hafði hvn plagat til þess ath hvn syndiz frídari sínvm elskórvm því þo hvn fætr drottins með tarvm enn þerdi með hare ok smurdi með smyrslí. (67va 19-22)

**AM 233a fol.:** hárit hafði hun plagat til þess. at hun syndiz fríðari sinum elskurum. því þo hun fætr drottins með tárvm en þerði með hári. ok smurði með smyrslum. (19vb 38-41)

**AM 235 fol.:** hárid hafði hvn plagat til þess at hun syndizt frídari sínvm elskaurum þ(u)í þo hun fetr drottins með tarvm sinum enn þerdi með hári sinu. ok smurdi með smyrslí. (20ra 34-20rb 2)

**Latin:** Hanc visionem sui in Galilaea, prae caeteris Dominus memorat, quia in ea credimus omnes discipulos adfuisse. Exprobrando quibusdam duritiam cordis eorum, eos plenius dicitur certificasse. (*Hist. schol.*, col. 1639B)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** j galileam einkadí drottinn því til at þa trvdi hann alla lærisveína ihesv vít hafa verít. ok þa asakadi hann þa vm `tor' trygd ok vm hiartaligan hardleik (69va 20-22)

**AM 233a fol.:** i galilea einkadi drottinn því til. at hann trudi þa alla lærisueína ihesu við hafa uerit. ok þa asakaði hann þa vm tortrygd ok hiartaligan hardleik. (22rb 5-7)



**AM 235 fol.:** i galileam einkandi drottinn til. at þa trydi hann alla lærisuéina hafa vid verit. ok þa asakadi hann þa vm tortrvghd ok hiartaligan tregha ok hardléck (24ra 7-10)

**Latin:** Dominus autem dedit sanctæ Marthæ super ægros sanitatis gratiam, & diuinæ prædicationis facundiam. (*Spec. hist.*, p. 357)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** enn hann veitti hinni heilögv marthe stor mykla gípt j heilsogiofvm vít síuka menn ok snilld j fram flutning heilagrar predicanar. (70rb 32-35)

**AM 233a fol.:** En hann ueitti hinni heilugu marthe. storligha gípt i heilsu giðfum við síuka menn. ok snilld i fram flutningh heilagrar predikanar. (22vb 24-25)

**AM 235 fol.:** enn hann veiti hinni heilögv martha stor mikla gípt i heilsv giðfvm vid síuka menn ok snild framburðar ok flutningh héilagrar predicanar (24vb 34-25ra 2)

In some instances, AM 233a fol. shows distinct similarities to Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. at different points in the same phrase. This example suggests that there was a close relationship between AM 233a fol. and the exemplar for Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol., which likely also had “sæmd ok sóma,” from which Stock. Perg. 2 fol. derived “somasemd” and AM 235 fol.

“ravksémð”:

**Latin:** Vnde militibus & famulis suis stipendia larga manu distribuebat, conuiuia famosa, in administratione dapum valde perita. (*Spec. hist.*, p. 355)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Riddara ok marga adra þionustv menn helt hvn a sínvm kosti. med mikilli somasemd ok veitti morgvm monnum veizlvr med marghattigri frægd ok var sialf enn visazta at bva tigvligar krasír. (69ra 37-40)

**AM 235 fol.:** Riddara ok adra marga þionustu menn hellt hun asinum kosti med mikilli ravksémð ok veitti morgum monnum véizlur med marghattadri frægd ok var siolf in visasta at bua gaufugligar krasír. (19va 25-29)

**AM 233a fol.** riddara ok marga aþra kurteisa þionosto menn. helt hun a sinum kosti með mikilli sæmd ok sóma. ok ueitti m`or` gum hófþingium storar ueitzlur með marg háttadri frægd. ok var sialf hin uisazta at bua til tíguligar krasír (19va 28-30)

Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that the exemplar for Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. was most likely a sibling of AM 233a fol., and that the first two probably independently derived from the original compilation. Another example that supports this kind of interrelationship is here:

**Latin:** Cogitanti mihi de Mariae poenitentia, flere magis libet quam aliquid dicere. Cujus enim vel saxeum pectus illae hujus peccatricis lacrymae ad exemplum poenitendi non emolliant? (Gregory the Great, *Homilia XXXIII, PL 76, col. 1592*)

- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** þar af segir. hín mikli gregorivs þa er ek hvgsar idran maríe likar mer helldr at grata enn nockvt at segía. eða hvrr mvn svo íarnligt hiarta hafa. at eigi mvní tar þessarar syndug`v` konv bleyta til eptir dæmis idranar. (67va 7-11)
- AM 235 fol.:** þar af segir hinn mykli gregorius þa er ek hugsar jdran mारीe. likar mer helldr at grata helldr enn nockut at segia. æða huer man hafa suo jarnlikt hiarta eða briost. at eigi matti tar þessarar syndugar konu. bléyta til eptir dæmis jdranar. (20ra 20-25)
- AM 233a fol.:** þar af talar suo hinn mikli Gregorius. þa er ek hugsar iðran mारीe. likar mer helldr at grata en nõckut at segia. eða huerr mun hafa suo iarnligt briost. at eigi muni tár þessarar syndugu konu bleytt fa til eptir dæma synda iðranar. (19vb 28-32)

The common exemplar for Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. likely had a similar reading to what is seen in AM 235 fol. This reading from the exemplar for Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. was probably in turn based on the exemplar's exemplar, from which AM 233a fol. also derived. AM 233a fol. then abridged its source, but its sibling and the exemplar for Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. preserved the reading, which Stock. Perg. 2 fol. similarly abridged, but in a way distinct from AM 233a fol.

Especially noteworthy in AM 233a fol. are the final chapters of the legend, which relate miracles performed by Mary Magdalen. Due to the fact that there is a lacuna at the end of AM 233a fol.'s *Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*, only two of the five final miracle chapters of the compilation can be compared to the other witnesses. In the penultimate miracle before the text cuts off, AM 233a fol. abridges and noticeably rewords the Latin source (*BHL* 5476):

- Latin:** Contigit ergo die altera ut vir quidam, oculorum lumine privatus, a municipio cognomento Castellulo ad prædictum veniens monasterium, cum ei ductor ipsius diceret jam se videre ecclesiam ad quam tendebant, exclamavit dicens: (Faillon and Migne 1865: 742)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Eígi er ok med gleyming yfir lidanda þat dyrliga takn er veittíz einvm blíndvm manne. Sa var af þeim stad er kalladr er kastal hann for til klaustrs heilagrar marie magdalene þess sem fyr var nefnt væntandi at hann mvndí þar heilso bot fa ok er leiddtogi hans sagdi honvm at hann sa kirkíuna þa sem þeir skylldv til sækía kalladi hín blíndi madr svo mælandí. (73va 34-41)
- AM 235 fol.:** EǷg(i) er ok med gleymingi yfir lidanda. þat dyrliga takn er vettiz einum blindum manni Sá var af þeim stad er kalladr er castal. hann for til klaustrs sellar marie magdalene. þess sem fyr var nefnt veittandi at hann mundi þar heilsu bot fa.

*ok er leiddogi hans sagdi honum at hann sa kirkiuna. þa sem þeir skylldu til sækia. kallaði hinn blindi maðr suo mēlandi. (29va 14-20)*

**AM 233a fol.:** *EIghi trui ek vm þat lidanda. at ein blindr maðr var af þúi virki er kæistellum heitir. leiddr. til 'nefndz' þess munklifis. En þa er leiddogi hans vóttaði sik sia musterit j klaustranum. kalladi hinn blindi. (25vb 30-33)*

**Latin:** *O sancta Maria Magdalene, si aliquoties contigerit, Domino miserante, me videre toralem tuæ ecclesie! Illico aperti sunt oculi ejus et quod optabat milliario adhuc interjacente consecutus est. (Faillon and Migne 1865: 742)*

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** *heyrdu hín helga maría magdalena uillda ek at sv hamíngía kæmí mer at hendi at ek mætta sía turna kirkíu þínnar enn er hann hafdi þetta mælt þa lukuz skiott vpp augu hans ok feck hann syn sína svo sem hann hafdi med mikillí fysi bedít ok var þa enn eptir milo léíngd leidarínnar (73va41-73vb 3)*

**AM 235 fol.:** *heyrdu hin heilaga maria magð(alena) villda ek at su hamíngía kemi mer at hendi. at ek metta sío turna kirkíu þínnar. enn er hann hafdi þetta mælt þa lukuzt skiott vpp augu hans. ok fek hann syn sína sem hann hafdi med mikilli fysi bedít ok var þa enn eptir milu leíngd leidaringar (29va 20-24)*

**AM 233a fol.:** *heyrðu heilog maria magðalena. huart mun mer audit verða at sia turna þínnar kirkíu. Ok íafn skiott sem hann hafdi þetta mælt. lukuz upp auga hans. ok sa hann þegar suo at mila var millim hans ok staðarins þar sem hann hafdi beðit. (25vb 33-36)*

The same tendency of AM 233a fol. to abridge not only Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol., but also the Latin, is seen in the final miracle before the lacuna in AM 233a fol, whose Latin source is *BHL* 5482.<sup>151</sup> Due to the lacuna at the end of AM 233a fol., the miracle is only partially related.

These two extracts from the miracle serve to illustrate the distinct difference between the Latin, Stock. Perg. 2 fol., and AM 235 fol. on the one hand, and AM 233a fol. on the other:

**Latin:** *Erat quidam miles qui, sicut moris illius terrae gentis est, ipsam Dei dilectricem affectuosissime diligebat et sepulcrum ejus jam aliquando devotissime visitaverat. (Catal. Paris. p. 292)*

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** *þar var riddari sa einn er eptir síð þess landz elskadí hennar heilagleik af óllum hug hann hafdi ok nockvt sínn vítiad med godfysi hennar heilags doms. (73vb 7-10)*

**AM 235 fol.:** *þar var riddari sa einn er eptir síð þess landz elskadi hennar heilagleik af ollum hug. hafdi hann ok nockud sinn vitiad med godfysi hennar. h(eilags) doms. (29va 28-30)*

**AM 233a fol.:** *Einn riddari var sa er vpp sotti til stadar hinar goðu guðs vínkonu með mikilli goðfysi. eptir síð sínar þiodar. (25vb 38-40)*

<sup>151</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi* vol.II, n. 2 (Brussels: 1890), p. 292. (=Catal. Paris.)

- Latin:** Interea beatam Mariam Magdalenae querelis et magnis vocibus interpellare, piis oburgationibus amorem defuncti erga eam commemorari, cur peregrinum suum mori sine confessione ac paenitentia (*Catal. Paris.* p. 292)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Toko eptir þat fulltings at bidia sæla mariam magdalenam med harmandi kveinan ok a at minnaz med env diarfligsta til mæli miskunnarinnar hversu miok þessi enn daudi hafdi hana elskat þa er hann var lifandi ok svo sem þeir vndruduz fyrir hveria sok hun let pilgrim sinn deyaia ãn iatning ok idran synda (73vb 14-20)
- AM 235 fol.:** Toki eptir þat fulltings at bidia. sela mariam magd(alenam) med harmanði kueinan ok a at minnaz med hinu dyrligsta til meli miskunnarinnar. hversu miog þessi enn daudi hafdi hana elskat þa er hann var lifandi. ok suo sem þeir vndradizt. fyrir hueria sok hun let pilgrim sinn deyaia an jatning ok idran synda. (29va 33-29vb 3)
- AM 233a fol.:** Ok millum anara sutfalldra orða. toko menn með mikilli asakan at telia ã sæla mariam magðalenam fyrir astar sakir við hinn frammlidna. fyrir hui hun hefði þolat at pilgrimr hennar hlyti voueifligan dauða suo at hann fengi eigi iatat syndir sinar e(ða) skript tekít. (25vb 44-47)

The extreme way in which AM 233a fol. differentiates itself from the other witnesses in the final sections before the lacuna serves as further evidence that AM 233a fol. should be considered a separate redaction from AM 235 fol. and Stock. Perg. 2 fol, and moreover that it is characterized by a good deal more editorial intervention than these other two, which generally speaking show a greater affinity to the Latin source texts.

#### NoRA 79 fragm.

The small amount of text preserved in NoRA 79 fragm., which is the oldest witness of the compilation, shows a consistently faithful rendering of the Latin sources. It also shows at times similarities to and differences from each of the main manuscripts preserving the text. When its readings are closely related to one of the main manuscripts, that witness too shows a close reading of the Latin. In the first example below, the word order of “likama min” in NoRA 79 fragm. matches the “likama minn” in AM 235 fol., as well as the Latin “corpus meum.” In contrast, AM 233a fol. has “minn likam.” In the second, NoRA 79 fragm. appears to share AM 235 fol.’s “vilia giora,” which corresponds better to the Latin “volet facere” than AM 233a fol.’s “giora uilia”:

**Latin:** hoc fecit, praevenit enim ungere corpus meum in sepulturam (*Hist. schol.*, PL 198, col. 1598)

**NoRA 79 fragm.:** en hon van þetta at 00000 likama min firi⟨r⟩ komandi gr00000ima minn. (2rb 4-6)

**AM 235 fol.:** enn hun vann þetta at smyrja likama minn fyrir komandi graptar tíma minn (23ra 21-22)

**AM 233a fol.:** En hun uan þetta at smyrja minn likam fyrir komanda graptar tíma minn. (21va 37-38)

**Latin:** Sine ut faciat vivo, dum potest, quod volet facere mortuo, sed non poterit. Et forte a Spiritu sancto, licet nesciens, sic praeoccupavit unctionem sepulturae mulier. (*Hist. schol.*, PL 198, col. 1598)

**NoRA 79 fragm.:** þuiat man hon vilia 00000éra við mik liðinn. en mega eigi 00000r embætti er þat er hon gerir at 00000 hins heilaga anda. þo at ovitan00000gi fear gluttran. Ok enn seger hañ. (2rb9-12)

**AM 235 fol.:** þuiat þetta mun hun vilia giora við mik lidinn enn megha eigi Graptar embætti er þat er hun giðrir uid mik at tilvisan heilags anda þot uuitanði. en eigi fiár glvtran. ok enn segir hann (23ra 25-27)

**AM 233a fol.:** þuiat þetta mun hun giora uilia við mik lidinn en mega eigi. Graptar embætti er þat er hun gorir at til uisan heilags anda. þott óúitandi. en eigi fiar gluttran. Ok enn segir hann. (21va 40-43)

Another illustrative example shows the wording in the fragment is more similar to AM 235 fol. than AM 233a fol., specifically with “dags” (which is a closer reading of the Latin) in NoRA 79 fragm. and AM 235 fol. vs. “halldz” in AM 233a fol.:

**Latin:** Jesus ergo ante sex dies Paschae venit in Bethaniam (*Hist. schol.*, PL 198, col. 1597)

**NoRA 79 fragm.:** ok vann adra þa lute se00000pioll vatta ok huarf huert kvellð 00000ka dags iuða aptr i bethaniam (2va 5-7)

**AM 235 fol.:** ok vann adra þa hluti sem gudspioll votta ok huarf huert kueld til pascha daghs iuda aptr i bethaniam (23rb 12-14)

**AM 233a fol.:** ok uann aðra þa luti sem gudspioll uotta. ok huarf huert kuelld aptr til paska halldz. Juða i bethaniam. (21vb 11-13)

In some cases, the three present a nearly identical reading (as far as the fragment shows), as in this example, from the first smaller fragment of NoRA 79 fragm., which like the other two witnesses, introduces Comestor’s text and summarizes it:

**Latin:** Mane autem facto ascendebat Jesus Jerosolymam, et discipuli ejus cum eo. Et cum venisset Bethphage, qui erat viculus sacerdotum, et in latere montis Oliveti, misit duos de discipulis in castellum, quod contra eos erat, id est in Jerusalem, ut

adducerent ei asinam et pullum ejus, qui erant alligati in bivio, et si quis contradiceret, dicerent Dominum his opus habere. (*Hist. schol.*, PL 198, col. 1598)

**NoRA 79 fragm.:** [*sic*]stor seger sva af Guðspialla ma00000um at hinn nesta morgin epter 00000 atburði for drottinn til iorsala00000 ok reið osno. (2rb 18-2va 5)

**AM 235 fol.:** `C'omestor segir suo af gudspialla manna órdum at hinn nérsta morgin eptir þetta athbvrði for drottinn til iorsala borgar ok réið ausnu (23rb 10-12)

**AM 233a fol.:** Commestor segir suo af guðspialla manna orðum. at hinn næsta morgin eptir þessa atburdi for drottinn til iorsalaborgar. ok reið øsnu. (21vb 10-11)

Sometimes, parts of the word order in a section compare better with AM 235 fol., whereas others match AM 233a fol. In this example, both NoRA 79 fragm. and AM 235 fol. have “yðr hafa” and “med ydr hafa” as opposed to AM 233a fol.’s “hafa með yðr,” which corresponds better to the Latin “habetis vobiscum”. However, AM 233a fol. does not have AM 235 fol.’s “med ydr” with the final “000nan hafa”/“iafnan hafa,” which is a better rendering of the Latin “semper habetis.” It is unclear whether or not NoRA 79 fragm. had *með yðr*, due to the lacuna in the text, but given its otherwise close relationship to the Latin, this may be assumed:

**Latin:** estis mulieri opus bonum operata est in me nam semper pauperes habetis vobiscum: me autem non semper habetis. (Matt. 26:10-11)

**NoRA 79 fragm.:** [k]onu þessi. go000 ... 000atekia menn munut þær iamn00000 yðr hafa. en mik munut þær 00000nan hafa. (2rb 1-4)

**AM 235 fol.:** konv þessi gótt verk vann hvn a mer. þuiat fatéka menn mvnnv þer jafnan med ydr hafa enn mik munu þer `eigi` iafnan med ydr hafa (23ra 18-21)

**AM 233a fol.:** konu þessi. gótt uerk uann hun a mér. þuiat fataeka menn. munu þer iafnan hafa með yðr. en mik munut þer eigi iafnan hafa (21va 36-37)

Where they can be compared, Stock. Perg. 2 fol., AM 235 fol., and NoRA 79 fragm. show the closest readings, to one another and/or to the Latin, and are different from AM 233a fol., which in this example (loosely based on the Gospel of John) is the only text to include “*ewangelista*” after “*iohannis*”:

**Latin:** Stabant autem juxta crucem Jesu mater ejus, et soror matris ejus, Maria Cleophæ, et Maria Magdalene (John 19:25)

**NoRA 79 fragm.:** E[n] 0000 at leiði pisl drottens var maria 00000 magðalena honum astuðig ok nēr00000l sem iohannis seger at hon stoð hía cross00000 (2va 10-13)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** enn svo sem at leid pisl drottíns var maría magdalena honvm astvdig ok nær göngvl sem iohannis segir ath hon stod hía krossi (69ra 2-4)

**AM 235 fol.:** Enn suo sem at leid pisl drottinns var maria Magdal(ena) honum astuðig ok

nërgaungul sem iohannis segir at hun stod hia krossi (23rb 16-18)

**AM 233a fol.:** En suo sem a leið pinsl drottins. var maria magdalena honum astudig ok nærr göngul. sem iohannis ewangelista segir. at hun stod hia krossi (21vb 15-17)

Another example illustrates the same trend, and shows not only additions in AM 233a fol., but also variations in vocabulary and word order. Moreover, “harða”/ “hardla”/ “harðla” in NoRA 79 fragm., Stock. Perg. 2 fol., and AM 235 fol. respectively correspond better to the Latin “quippe” than AM 233a fol.’s “hinum”:

**Latin:** Et dicebant ad invicem: Quis revolvat nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti? Et respicientes viderunt revolutum lapidem. Erat quippe magnus valde. (Mark 16:3-4)

**NoRA 79 fragm.:** [sic] steiní harða miklum sem þat byrgði 00000 þær metti innn fara. en þa er þær 100000 annað sinn var hann fra volltinn. (2va 15-17)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** tólódv sín a milli hverr vellta mvndi fra mvnna leidisíns þeim steinni hardla miklum sem. þat byrgdí. svo ath þær mætti innn fara. Enn þa er þær lítv til j annat sinn var hann fra vólltinn. (69ra 13-16)

**AM 235 fol.:** tölódu sín á milli huer vellta mvndi fra munna leiðissins þeim steini harðla miklum sem þat byrgði. suo at þær mætti jnnn fara. Enn þa er þær litu til annat sinn var hann fra volltinn. (23rb 26-29)

**AM 233a fol.:** toluðu sín í milli. huerr uelta mundi steini þeim hinum mikla fra munna leiðissins. suo at þær mætti inn fara. En þa er þær litu til annat sinn var hann fra uoltinn. (21vb 24-26)

In one instance, Stock. Perg. 2 fol. shows a slightly closer affinity to NoRA 79 fragm. than both AM 235 fol. and AM 233a fol.:

**Latin:** Ibi ergo Domino constituto, infirmabatur in Bethania Lazarus, quod castellum erat proximum Ierosolymis (Augustine, *In Iohannis*, p. 420). Bethania est uillula siue ciuitas in latere montis oliueti quasi stadiis quindecim ab Hierusalem (Bede, *In Marcum*, p. 570)

**NoRA 79 fragm.:** 00000tinus hinn mikli seger þat uera k00000 Enn beda seger vera borg setta i h00000 oliueti fiallz sem fyrr greiner. (2va 7-10)

**Stock. Perg.:** [sic] segir þat vera kastala. en beda segir vera borg setta j hallínvm olívetí fiallz sem fyk greínir. (69ra 1-2)

**AM 235 fol.:** Augustinus hinn mikli segir þat kastala vera en beða segir borg vera setta j hallinvm oliueti fials sem fyr greinir. (23rb 14-16)

**AM 233a fol.:** Augustinus hinn mikli segir þat vera kastala. en beda prestr segir uera borg. setta i hallinum olíueti fiallz sem fyr segir. (21vb 13-15)

The surviving text shows that NoRA 79 fragm. is at times more similar to the redaction in AM 235 fol. and Stock. Perg. 2 fol., but on several occasions it preserves a nearly identical reading to

the redaction in AM 233a fol., which tends to vary just slightly and only by way of additions and minor vocabulary changes. And since it is the oldest surviving witness of the legend, and because AM 233a fol., AM 235 fol., Stock. Perg. 2 fol. each present independent variant readings from NoRA 79 fragm., the fragment cannot be a copy of either of these manuscripts. Instead, the three main manuscripts probably all derived from NoRA 79 fragm., AM 235 fol. and Stock. Perg. 2 fol. perhaps at one remove. And considering the ca. 1350 dating of NoRA 79 fragm., a date that places it at the height of the production of “florid style” legends in medieval Iceland (Wolf 2002: 1002), and the fact that it consistently contains the most faithful readings of the Latin (where the text can be compared), it may be assumed that NoRA 79 fragm. was in fact the original Old Norse-Icelandic compilation.

#### *AM 764 4to*

AM 764 4to, a universal history containing extracts of *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* pertaining specifically to Martha, has some things in common with AM 233a fol., AM 235 fol., and Stock. Perg. 2 fol., the three manuscripts with which it shares text. It tells the same version of the parts of the story it preserves, but condenses the material drastically and in some cases deviates in word choice—a characteristic tendency of the universal history, as discussed in the previous chapter. For example, in the second miracle it relates, AM 764 4to omits a scene found in AM 233a fol., AM 235 fol., and Stock. Perg. 2 fol. where Bishop Fronto sends men to retrieve the gilded mass gloves he left in Tarascon during the funeral services he performed for Martha as proof that the Lord transported him there. Also not included in AM 764 4to is the explanatory half of a miracle in which Fronto recalls how when he was in Tarascon, a learned man from the area showed him a book in which was found written on every page a Latin verse testifying to Martha’s sanctity. In the first example below, two sentences in the other manuscripts have been



abbreviated to one in AM 764 4to, and there is some variation in word choice in comparison to the other witnesses. AM 764 4to uses the noun “linda” rather than “girðill” for belt, and when describing how the townspeople beat the dragon to death, has “til bana” rather than “til heilar.” In the second example, AM 764 4to has consolidated the text at the end of the phrase, in effect causing it to show less affinity to the Latin source:

**Latin:** sancta nil morata proprio cingulo cunctis admirantibus eius triumphum, quem cæperat, colligavit: qui protinus ab omni populo lanceis, & lapidibus est obtrutus. (*Spec. hist.* p. 358)

**AM 764 4to:** en hon batt hann med sínum línnda þui næst dirf d'uz menn uid ok baurdu hann til ban[a] (15v 28-29)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** 'E`nn hvn dvaldi all`z' ecki ok batt hann med sínvm eiginlígvn gyrdlí. suo at allir vndrvdvz þeir er a þa þetta horfdv. þui næst dirfdízt lydrínn ok gek allt at drekanvm. ok bardi hann ok stangadi med grióti ok spióti til helíar. (70vb 6-10)

**AM 235 fol.:** en hun dvaldi allz ecki ok batt hann med sinum eiginligum gyrdli suo at allir vndruduz þeir er á þetta horfdu. þui næst dirfdist lydrinn. ok gekk allt at drekanum ok bardi hann ok stangaði med grióti ok spiótum til heiliar (25rb17-20)

**AM 233a fol.:** en hun dualdi allz ekki. ok bátt hann með sínum eiginligum gyrdli. suo at allir vndruduz þeir sem þetta sa. Þui næst dirfdiz lyðrinn. ok gekk alt at drekanum. ok barði hann með grioti. ok stangadi með spiotum til heliar. (23ra21-24)

**Latin:** & signum sanctæ crucis, quam præferabat obijciens, Draconem adeo reddidit inualidum, & stupidum; vt nec valeret procedere, nec sæuitiæ quicquam exercere. (*Spec. hist.* p. 358)

**AM 764 4to:** ok kros drottins bar hon med ser sua sem skiolld auruggan moti þessu illfusa dyri. en hann uerdr uid þessi hennar til tæki sua otta fullr ok umattugr at hann matti or þeim stad huergi hreraz. ok ecki meín gíora. (15v 26-28)

**AM 235 fol.:** ok kross dróttins bar hun med ser suo sem órögan skiold moti þessu env ill fvsu dyri 'E`nn hann varð vid hennar til tæki suo otta fullr ok omattvgr at hann matti hvergi in þeim stad sem hann var þa eki fram fara ok av(n)gan olmleik af ser syna ne néitt mein af ser syna ne neitt mein gera. (25rb 11-16)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** ok kross drottins bar hvn med ser svo sem órvggan skiolld moti þesso enu illfvsu dyri. enn hann vard vít þessi hennar til tæki svo ottafvllr ok omattvgr. ath hann matti or þeim stad sem þa var hann ecki fram fara ok (ðngvan) olmleik af ser syna ne néitt meín gíora (70va 42-70vb 5)

**AM 233a fol.:** ok kross drottins bar hun með ser. suo sem oruggan skiolld moti þessu hínu illfusa dyri. En hann uard við þessi hennar til tæki suo otta fullr at hann matti or þeim stað sem þa var hann ekki framm fara. ok engan olmleik af ser syna. ne néitt `meín' af ser gora. (23ra 16-20)

Although it has a tendency for sentence abbreviation and alteration in word choice, the text AM 764 4to is certainly related to that found in the main witnesses of *Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu*. In this example, the text AM 764 4to shares with all three of the other manuscripts is nearly identical:

**Latin:** dentes vt gladius acutos, comas equinas, dorsum acutum vt dolabrum (*Spec. hist.* p. 358)

**AM 764 4to:** tenn hans uoru huassar sem suerdz oddar. fax hafdi hann mikid sem hestr huass kambr geck a baki honum sem breidauxar egg. (15v 14-15)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Tenn hans vorv hvassar sem sverds oddar fax hafdi hann mikít sem hestr hvass kambr geck eptir baki hans. sem breid óxar egg. (70va 2-5)

**AM 235 fol.:** tenn hans voru huassar sem suerðzodðar. fax hafdi hann mikít sem hestr. huarss kambr gek eptir baki hans. sem breið óxar egg. (25ra 9-11)

**AM 233a fol.:** Ten hans voru huassar sem suerdz oddar Fax hafdi hann mikít sem hestr. huass kampr gekk eptir baki hans sem breid óxar eg. (22vb 33-35)

With some exceptions (like the one noted above), AM 764 4to tends to have closer readings to the Latin than the other witnesses, and when AM 764 4to shares text with the other witnesses, they too show the better readings of the Latin. AM 764 4to shows perhaps the closest affinity to AM 233a fol., which is illustrated in a total of five examples. In this example, although AM 764 4to adds “at þessum dreka ‘þar hann la i skogi a dauds manz hræi’” to abbreviate a subsequent section, the rest of the phrase corresponds most closely to AM 233a fol. and to the Latin. Specifically, neither AM 764 4to nor AM 233a fol. add “fyrst”/“fyst” to the Latin, as Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. do:

**Latin:** tunc hospita Christi nil perterrita proprius accessit, & aspersione sacrate quam secum tulerat, aque, malignam bestiam perfundens (*Spec. hist.* p. 358)

**AM 764 4to:** hín blezada marta gek oskialfandi at þessum dreka ‘þar hann la i skogi a dauds manz hræi` ok staukti ifir hann uigdu uatní. (15v 25-26)

**AM 233a fol.:** En kristz husfru gekk at honum oskialfandi. ok stocti yfir hann uigðu vatni (23ra 15-16)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** enn kristz hvsfrv geck at honvm oskialfandi ok stavkti fyrst yfir hann vigdo vatní (70va 40-41)

**AM 235 fol.:** Enn kristz husfru gek at honum oskialfanði ok stocti fyst yfir hann vigðu vatní. (25rb 9-11)

One of the most striking examples of the affinity between AM 764 4to and AM 233a fol. is here,

where AM 764 4to shares AM 233a fol.'s “e(ða) huadan hann uæri” (which corresponds to the Latin “vel vnde”) whereas the other two do not:

**Latin:** Postquam, inquit, eam sepulchro tradidimus; ab ecclesia iam exeuntes; nos insecutus est, quidam frater eiusdem loci litteratus, & interrogauit Dominum quis esset? vel vnde, vel quo nomine censeretur? (*Spec. hist.* p. 360)

**AM 764 4to:** hann sagdi ok at þa er þeir geingu brott or kirkiunni spurdi einn brodir þess stadar sialfan drottinn huerr hann uæri e(da) hu`a`dan hann uæri e(da) huert nafn hann ætti. (15v 39-16r 1)

**AM 233a fol.:** Hinn sæli fronto sagði bræðrum. þa er hann giordi minning þessarar sælu konu marthe. at þa er þeir höfdu hana j gróf lagit. ok þeir gengu or kirkiunni. spurdi einn bok lærðr brodir þess stadar. sa er okkr fylgdi af kirkiunni. sialfan drottin huerr hann væri e(ða) huadan hann uæri e(ða) huert nafn hann ætti. (24vb 2-6)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** hín sæli fronto sagdi ok brædrvm þa er hann giordi minning þessarar sælo konv marthe. ath þa er þeir höfdu hana j grauf lagit ok þeir gengu vr kirkiunni. spurdi einn boklærdr brodir þess stadar sa er ockr fylgdi. af kirkiunni sialfan drottinn hvern hann væri eda hvert nafn hans ætti. (71vb 41-72ra 4)

**AM 235 fol.:** hinn sæla fronto sagdi ok bredrum þa er hann gerdi minning. hinar sælu marthe þa er þeir hofdu hana i gróf lagit ok þeir gengu vr kirkiunni. spurdi einn boklærdr brodir. þess stadar sa er okr fylgdi af kirkiu. siolfan drotin huerr hann væri. eda huert nafn hann ætti. (27vb 6-10)

AM 764 4to and AM 233a fol. also show a close relationship when quoting Latin text. Here, both have the Latin “audito malo” in the appropriate ablative case, following the preposition “ab”:

**Latin:** In memoria æterna erit iusta hospita mea, ab auditu malo non timebit in die nouissimo (*Spec. hist.* p. 360)

**AM 764 4to:** in memoria eterna erid iusta hospita mea ab|-scondito-| `audito' malo non timebid in die nouissimo (16r 3-4)

**AM 233a fol.:** Jn memoria eterna erit iusta hospita mea ab auditu malo non timebit in die nouissimo. (24vb 8-9)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** In memoria eterna erit iusta hospita mea ab audicione mala non timebit in die nouissimo. (71ra 6-9)

**AM 235 fol.:** Jn memoria eterna erit iusta hospita mea. ab audicione mala non timebit. in die nouissimo. (27vb 12-14)

Sometimes, the common text between AM 764 4to and AM 233a fol. is also shared with Stock.

Perg. 2 fol., as in these examples, where AM 235 fol. either omits words or changes the word order in comparison to the others:

**Latin:** Erat tunc super Rhodanum inter Arelatem & Auenionem ingens draco (*Spec. hist.* p. 358)

**AM 764 4to:** Sa hlutr gíordiz þa er sæl *marta uar uid* ana rodanum einn mikill dreki *uar* a midil þeira stada er annar h(eitir) arela(t)inn en annar auicon skamt fra a þeiri er rodanus h(eitir) (15v 11-13)

**AM 233a fol.:** EJN mikill dreki *var* milli þeira staða. er annar heitir Arelaten. en *anar* Auicon. skamt fra a þeiri er roðanus heitir. (22vb 29-31)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** Einn mikill dreki *var* milli þeira stada er annar heitir arelatenn. enn annar auicon skamt fr`a` a þeiri er rodanus heitir (71rb 37-41)

**AM 235 fol.:** Einn mikill dreki *var* i milli staða þeira er annar heitir arelaten. enn annar avicon skamtt fra a þeiri er rodanus heitir. (25ra 5-7)

**Latin: ---**

**AM 764 4to:** J eilifri minning mun uera riuttuis husfru mín eigi mun hon ottaz uid heyrn illra hluta ahinum sidazta degi (16r 4-5)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** I eilifri minning mvn vera rettvis husfrv mín eigi man hon ottaz wít heyrn illra hluta a hínvm sidarsta degi. (71ra 9-11)

**AM 233a fol.:** `J` eilifri minning mun vera rettuís husfru mín. Eigi mun hun óttaz við heyrn illra luta á hinum sidarsta degi. (24vb 10-11)

**AM 235 fol.:** Eilif mining mun vera réttviss husfru mín. eigi mvn hun ottazt vid heyrn allra hluta a inum sidarsta degi. (27vb 14-16)

AM 764 4to shows an equally, if not slightly closer, affinity to the redaction represented by Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. as it does to the redaction represented by AM 233a fol. Here, AM 764 4to, Stock. Perg. 2 fol., and AM 235 fol. have “*fru uarrí marthe*,” “*husfru vorrí marthe*,” and “*husfru vars*” respectively, which is a better reading of the Latin “*hospitæ nostræ Marthæ*” than AM 233a fol.’s “*minni husfru*”:

**Latin:** apparuit Dominus dicens ei: Dilecte mi Fronto si vis implere, quæ hospitæ nostræ Marthæ pollicitus es, veni festinanter ad eius exequias complendas, & sequere me. (*Spec. hist.* p. 360)

**AM 764 4to:** i þeim suefni útradiz honum sialfr *gud ok* m(ællti) mín elskuligr uín fronto ef þu uilt ennda þitt fyrir heit þat sem þu hez *fru uarrí marthe* far nu skíotliga at ueíta henni *grauptr ok* fylg mer (15v 31-33)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** J þeim sefni vítradiz honvm sialfr drottinn *ihesus kristr.* svo mælandi. Mín <sup>\*</sup>elsku(li)gi vín fronto. Ef þv uillt enda þitt fyrir heit þat sem þu hetz husfru vorrí marthe. þa far nv skyndiliga at veíta *henne* *graptlīga* þionostv *ok* fylg mer. (71vb 1-6)

**AM 235 fol.:** J þeim svefni vitradizt honum siolfr drottinn *Jesus christus suo* mælanði. Minn elskuligi vinn fronto. ef þu villt enda þitt fyrir héit. þat sem hetz *husfru vars marthe*. þa far nv skyndiliga ath veíta *henne* *graptlīga* þionustu. *ok* fylg mer. (27va 5-9)

**AM 233a fol.:** J þeim suefni vitradiz honum sialfr *grædarinn jhesus kristus suo* mælandi.

Minn elskulighi vín fronto Ef þu uill enda þítt fyrir heít. þat sem þu hezt minni hustru marthe þa far nu skyndiliga. at veíta henní graptliga þionosto. ok fylg mer. (24va 15-18)

Similarly, these examples show all three manuscripts having a better reading of the Latin than the redaction represented by AM 233a fol.:

- Latin:** binis pernis vtraque parte muniebatur, vnde nec iaculis, nec vllis, quibus impetebatur armis, cædebatu (*Spec. hist.* p. 358)
- AM 764 4to:** u`i`engi hafdi hann íj langa ok breida sua at þeir huldu allan hans likam ok uoru þeir sua þyckuir ok styrkir at firir þeira traustleika lietti hann eigi firir nie einum hogguapnum nie fluguapnum nie nuckurum uíguelum (15v 17-19)
- AM 235 fol.:** vengi hafdi hann .íj langha ok breiða suo at þeir hvldu allan hans likama ok voru þeir suo sterkir ok þyckir at fyrir þeira traustleik. letti hann eigi fyrir neinum höggvópnum ne flygvópnum ne nockrs skyns vigvælum (25ra14-17)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** vængi hafdi hann tvo langa. ok breida svo at þeir huldv allann hans likama ok vorv þeir svo sterkir ok þyckvir ath fyrir þeira traustleik. letti hann eigi fyrir neínvm hoggvópnum ne flugvopnum ne nockurs kyns vigvælvum. (70va7-11)
- AM 233a fol.:** `V`ængi hafdi hann tuo langa ok breida. suo at þeir huldu allan han likama. ok voru þeir suo sterkir. at fyrir þeira storan sterkleik. letti hann eigi fyrir nokkurs konar högg uópnum ne fluguopnum ne neinum víg uælum. (22vb36-39)

- Latin:** Tantæ ferebatur fortitudinis, vt 12. leones aut totidem vrsos, immanis beluæ crudelitate vel æquaret, vel superaret. (*Spec. hist.* p. 358)
- AM 764 4to:** sua uar hann sterkr at hann mattí med sínu aflí ok grimleik uid íafnaz e(da) sigra xíj biornu e(da) leona (15v 19-20)
- AM 235 fol.:** `Suo` var hann styrkr at hann matthi med sinvm mikla grimleik vid íafnazt. eda sigra xíj biörn v eda leóna. (25ra 18-19)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** svo var hann styrkr at hann matti med sínvm mikla grimleik. vit íafnaz eda sigra .xíj. biörn v eda leona. (70va 11-13)
- AM 233a fol.:** `S`vo var hann styrkr at hann mátti með sínum grimmleik. sigra .xíj. leona. eða biörn v. (22vb 40-41)

- Latin:** Bonachum enim animal Galatiæ gignit regio, quod stercore feruente, & vrente, suos insectatores submouet, quod per spacium iugeris velut spiculum dirigit, & quicquid tetigerit velut incendium perurit. (*Spec. hist.*)
- AM 764 4to:** þetta olma dyr bonakum er sua illrar natturu at uerpr uellheitu driti um xxx fadma þann ueg sem skeyti flygr a þa er þat sekia ok brennr af huat er firir uerdr. (15v 24-25)
- AM 235 fol.:** þat olma dyr bonakvm er suo illar natturu at þat verpr vellheitu driti þui er brenr af huat er fyrir verdr a þessa er þat sekia suo sam wm þriatigi fadma þannig sem skeyti flivghi (25ra 26-29)
- Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** þetta olm`a` dyr bonachvm er svo illrar natturv at þat verpr vell heitv

dríti. þvi er brennr af hvat sem fyrir verdr. æ þat er þat sækia svo sem vm þriatigi fadma þann veg sem skeyti flúgi. (70va 20-24)

**AM 233a fol.:** Þetta olma dyr bónacham er suo illrar natturu. at þat verpr af ser uell heitu dríti. þui er bren(r) af huat sem fyrir uerðr æ þa er þat sækia. suo sem vm .xxx. faðma þannig sem skeyti flygi. (25ra 26-29)

What might therefore be concluded, based on the fact that AM 764 4to shows an almost equal amount of similar readings to the redaction represented by its near-contemporary AM 233a fol. and the redaction represented by the younger Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol., is that AM 764 4to was not derived from any of these manuscripts, but was closely related to them. Considering its close affinity to the Latin, it probably derived independently from the original compilation (NoRA 79 fragm., although the two cannot be compared), in which case it would be a sibling of AM 233a fol. and the exemplar for Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol. However, one variant reading in AM 764 4to indicates another option:

**Latin:** Cui nil ille respondens, ostendit codicem quem manu tenebat apertum, in quo nichil aliud scriptum erat, nisi versiculus iste (*Spec. hist.* p. 360)

**AM 764 4to:** en hann suaradi honum aungu ok syndi honum opna bok þa hann hafdi i henndi a henni uar ecki annat skrifat en þetta uers (16r 1-3)

**Stock. Perg. 2 fol.:** enn hann svaradi honvm ðngv ok syndi honvm opna bog. þa er hann hafdi j hende æ henne var eckki annat ritad <en> þetta wers. (71ra 4-6)

**AM 235 fol.:** Enn hann suarar honum ðngu. ok syndi honum opna bok. þa er hann hafdi i hendi á henne var ecki annat ritat enn þetta vers. (27vb 10-12)

**AM 233a fol.:** En hann suaraði honum ðngu ok syndi honum opna bok þa er hann hafdi i hendi. A henni var ekki anat ritad en þetta vers. (24vb 6-8)

AM 764 4to's "skrifat" is a small but noteworthy difference, which actually shows a closer affinity to the Latin, as the verb is derived from the Latin *scribere*, whereas *rita* is from the Proto-Germanic *\*writōn* (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989: 767 and 862). This raises the possibility that AM 764 4to was independently derived from NoRA 79 fragm. (which then would have also had "skrifat"). In turn, AM 233a fol., AM 235 fol., and Stock. Perg. 2 fol. derived either from a copy of AM 764 4to or one of its siblings, which had changed the original "skrifat" to "ritat," thus explaining why they all had the latter while only AM 764 4to had the former. However, since this

is the only example supporting this type of relationship among the witnesses, it is instead probably the case that AM 764 4to made emendations that made it appear closer to the Latin (either intentionally or unintentionally), in which case AM 764 4to remains a sibling of AM 233a fol. and the exemplar for AM 235 fol. and Stock. Perg. 2 fol.

### Conclusion

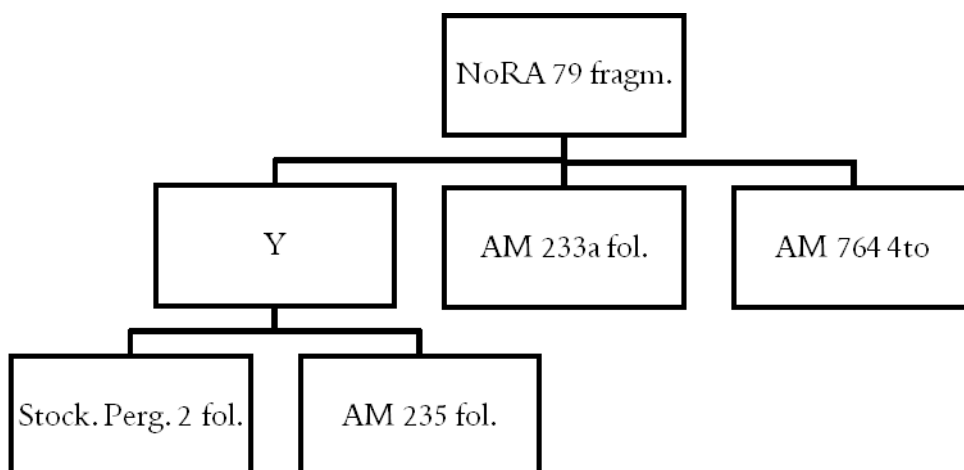
From the above comparison, it is clear that the five manuscripts of the legend of Mary Magdalen and Martha constitute an original (NoRA 79 fragm.) and three redactions: (1) a redaction represented by AM 235 fol., Stock. Perg. 2 fol., *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu I*; (2) a redaction represented by AM 233a fol., *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu II*; and (3) a redaction represented by AM 764 4to, *Af Mǫrtu*.<sup>152</sup>

NoRA 79 fragm. (ca. 1350) is the original compilation. It was written at the height of the so-called “florid style” period, and consistently shows the closest readings of the Latin, where the text can be compared. The two surviving witnesses of *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu I*, Stock. Perg. 2 fol. (ca. 1425-1445) and AM 235 fol. (ca. 1400), are very closely related, and must be derived from the same exemplar, since they contain some common but also some independent textual errors in comparison with one another and NoRA 79 fragm. This exemplar, called Y, is the remove between these manuscripts and NoRA 79 fragm. *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu II* in AM 233a fol. (ca. 1350-1375) frequently preserves a nearly identical reading to NoRA 79 fragm. or varies only slightly by way of additions or minor vocabulary changes. The text in AM 233a fol. also shows a substantial amount of editorial revisions in comparison with Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol., but at the same time displays some distinct similarities to each of these two

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<sup>152</sup> Wolf (2008) independently drew a similar conclusion in her analysis of the transmission of the legend of Saints Faith, Hope, and Charity, which is extant in Stock. Perg. 2 fol., AM 235 fol., AM 429 12mo, and AM 233a fol. (257-278).

manuscripts at different points. This indicates it was directly derived from NoRA 79 fragm., and is a sibling of Y. AM 764 4to (ca. 1376-1386), which preserves *Af Mortu*, often has the same text as Stock. Perg. 2 fol., AM 235 fol., and AM 233a fol., but also shares unique text with each of these manuscripts in differing places. Since it is older than Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol., and contemporaneous with AM 233a fol., AM 764 4to was most likely a sibling of Y and AM 233a fol., and as such is a direct copy of NoRA 79 fragm. The below illustration shows the relationship among the extant witnesses:





## THE TEXTS

### The Present Edition

The following are editions of the fragment of the original compilation (NoRA 79 fragm.) and the three redactions: *Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu I* (Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol.), *Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu II* (AM 233a fol.), and *Af Mǫrtu* (AM 764 4to). The edition of *Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu I* is based as much as possible on Stock. Perg. 2 fol., with variant readings from AM 235 fol. Where there are lacunae in Stock. Perg. 2 fol., the text is based on AM 235 fol. Next is *Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu II*, and then *Af Mǫrtu*. Abbreviations are expanded according to the scribe's normal spelling. Expansions of abbreviations by means of a supralinear letter or symbol or by means of contraction are marked in italics. Expansions of abbreviations by way of suspension are given in parentheses. Words or letters that are now cut off but are assumed to have originally been in the manuscript are placed in square brackets. Matter never present but presumed to have been inadvertently omitted is added in diagonal brackets. Illegible or now missing letters are indicated by 0000; the number of zeroes corresponds approximately to the number of illegible letters, but not possible abbreviations.

*Mǫrtu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu (NoRA 79 fragm.)*

|| 2r || | col. B || 1 | [k]onu þessi. go0000000000000000 | 2 | 0000atekia menn munut þær iamn  
| 3 | 0000 yðr hafa. en mik munut þær | 4 | 0000nan hafa. en hon \* van þetta at | 5 | 0000 likama  
min firi⟨r⟩ komandi gr | 6 | 0000ima mín. sem hann segdi. latit hana | 7 | 0000a við mik lifanda  
medan hon m | 8 | 0000yria likama minn þann er skiott | 9 | 0000afinn verða. þuiat man hon vilia  
| 10 | 0000éra við mik liðinn. en mega eigi | 11 | 0000r embætti er þat er hon gerir at | 12 | 0000  
híns heilaga anda. þo at ovitan | 13 | 0000gi fear gluttran. Ok enn seger han. | 14 |  
00 | 15 | 00 | 16 | 0000essi  
syndogo konu seger lukas. at | 17 | 0000 smurði fætr drottens. ok þerði með | 18 | 0000nu. ok  
gerdi hon þetta hneigð til || 2v || | col. A || 1 | stor seger sva af Guðspialla ma0000 | 3 | um at  
hinn nesta morgin epter 0000 | 4 | atburði for drottenn til iorsala0000 | 5 | ok reið osno. ok vann  
adra þa lute se0000 | 6 | pioll vatta ok \* huarf huert kvelld 0000 | 7 | ka dags iuða apr i bethaniam  
0000 | 8 | tinus hinn mikli seger þat uera k0000 | 9 | Enn beda seger vera borg setta i h0000  
| 10 | oliueti fiallz sem fyrr greiner. E[n] 0000 | 11 | at leiði pisl drottens var maria 0000  
| 12 | magðalena honum astuðig ok nær0000 | 13 | l sem iohannis seger at hon stoð hia cross0000 |  
14 | 00 | 15 | steini harða miklum sem þat byrgði 0000 | 16 | þær  
metti ínn fara. en þa er þær l0000 | 17 | annað sinn var hann fra volltinn.

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\* 4 van] vart \* 6 huarf] f *appears to have been corrected from r*

*Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu I (Stock. Perg. 2 fol. and AM 235 fol.)*

|| 67r || | col. A | | 1 | [00000000]

| 1 | HIN sæla martha var gófvgr ath | 2 | kyni. enn gófgari j trv hvn var þegar a barns | 3 | all dri  
bríostfastliga tendrvt i astsemd | 4 | almattigs gvds. vel kvnnandi a lógmal | 5 | moysi ok adrar  
ebreskar bokligar listir. hlydin var | 6 | hvn gvds bodordvm hæversk at med ferdvm kurteis j bol  
| 7 | svexti væn at asionv. snioll j mali kæn vid alla kv | 8 | en mana atgervi. sidprvd fram vm allar  
adrar frvr \* as | 9 | tudíg vit alþydv skirlif ath likama. þviat hvorki er | 10 | lesit ath hvn hafi bonda  
attann ne neitt samlagh | 11 | haft vid nóckvrn karllmann fadir hennar var vida fræ | 12 | gr vm þat  
riki er síria heitir. svo ok vm sioborgir ok naleegar | 13 | bygdir. a hínvm yngra all dri. Enn eptir  
þat er iudar rakv kristz | 14 | lærisveina af sínvm herodvm. for hvn j gírkland ok flutti f | 15 | ramm  
gvds erendi med postoligri trv j atthenis borg. þessi fyr | 16 | nefnd martha var avdígh ath femvnm.  
enn vpp fædd | 17 | fimtan stóðvm. fra iorsolv m i bethanía. Augustinvs enn | 18 | mikli kallar þenna  
stad kastala vera beda prestr segir borg | 19 | vera setta j hallínvm fiallz þat er oliueti heitir. brodir  
hennar | 20 | het lazarus. enn systir maria sv er magdalena er kóllvt | 21 | ok nafn tok af kastala þeim  
er magdalvm het hvn | 22 | var eigi at eins tigin ath kyni helldr ok storavdig ath | 23 | þeim  
penínngvm sem hvn erfdi eptir fedr sinn. þvi vard hvn | 24 | fræg af þeim tveím lvtvm. avdr ok  
ættærni sem þessi | 25 | heimr prisar i meíra lagi en þvi at optlíga fylgir | 26 | eptir lifi svo sem  
forvnavtr avdígleiksíns ok gnogra fiar | 27 | hlvta kennir. hafdi hun a hínvm yngra all dri lifat eptir  
| 28 | lystíngvm likama síns ath slítnv taumalagi skírli | 29 | fiss ok drykt margskonar mvnadlifi þar  
tíl er hvn fann vm | 30 | bot allra annmarka sinna af fvndi vors herra j hvsi símo | 31 | nis pharisei  
þessi fyr nefnd syskín var sammædd enn | 32 | eigi samfedra. ok hofdv eptir mædr sína j arf tekit

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2 j] at 235 5 bokligar] bok 235 \* 8-9 astudíg] *The scribe corrected d from g* 11-12 frægr] kunnr 235  
13 yngra] vnga 235 14 gírkland] grikland 235 17 stóðvm] stadia 235 18 kallar] seger 235  
19 setta] + setta 235 21 het] heitir 235 23 sem] er 235 24 fræg] + stórum fræg 235  
24 sem] setti 235 25-26 optlíga ... lifi] eptir lifi fylgir optlíga 235 26 gnogra] gnog 235  
27 kennir] kunæ 235 27 hínvm] - 235 30 allra] + annnara 235 32 eptir] - 235

| 33 | þria kastala. tvo j bethania hín þridia magdalvm | 34 | ok þar med nockvrn part af sialfri  
 iorsalaborg. þa var mart | 35 | ha badvm þeim frægri ath útzku ok dygleik ok gno | 36 | gym  
 penníngvm avdlek ok stormennzkv ok margri fram | 37 | kvæmd. Riddara ok marga adra þionostv  
 menn helt hvn a | 38 | sínvm kosti. med mikilli somasemd ok veitti morgvm monnvm | 39 | veizlv  
 med marghattigri frægd ok var sialf enn visazta | 40 | at bva tigvligar krasír. þvrat svo visa  
 gvdspiollin til | 41 | at j morgvm stodvm þar sem menn veíttv veizlur vorvm herra | 42 | var martha  
 kollvd af allra hendi til þionostv ok ætl | 43 | adi at sva kost sem hín uisazta hvsfru ok en radsa |  
**col. B** | | 1 | mazta radskona ok hin milldazta modir þvrat hvn | 2 | weítti bædi sínvm heima  
 monnvm ok gestvm. þeim er hennar | 3 | heímkynti sottv nálíga alla þa hlvti sem þeir beid | 4 | dvz  
 vidrkvæmlíga Af því bar svo til at þa er hvn giordi | 5 | slíka hluti fyrir gvds sakir vard henne avdit  
 vm sídir at taka hann | 6 | sialfan j sítt herbergi ok at verkkavpi sinnar þionustv el | 7 | skadi hann  
 hana. þvrat hann er elskari allra godra hluta | 8 | ok sialf astin ok hann tok optligar ok giarnara  
 herbergi j hennar husi | 9 | helldr en annars stadar. kom þa fram þat sem spamadrínn segir  
 | 10 | 'A' th gvð mun koma a íard ríki sem vtlendzkr ok hneigia ser til her | 11 | bergis svo sem ein  
 vallari.

| 11 | \*[00000000000000000000] | 12 | [0000000000]

| 12 | <A>mbriosius erkibyskup af melansborg segir j | 13 | sermone þeim er hann talar af hínvm  
 visa salam | 14 | one teliandi velgiorninga vors herra víd mannkynit | 15 | af þeim taknvm er gior  
 hafa verít a þessvm þrimr syskinvm | 16 | ok kemzt svo til ords hann þvrkar med svmmv blodras

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34 þar] - 235 34 nockvrn] nockr 235 34 sialfri] - 235 36 avdlek] avrlek 235 36 margri] +  
 stormennzku ok 235 37 marga adra] adra marga 235 38 somasemd] ravksémð 235 40 tigvligar]  
 gaufugligar 235 42 af ... þionostv] til þionustu af allra hendi 235 43 at] - 235 43-1 radsamazta]  
 rauksamasta 235 5-6 hann sialfan] þann 235 6 verkkavpi] verdkavpi 235 8 optligar] optar 235  
 8 husi] hvsvm 235 9 sem] er 235 10 vtlendzkr] vtlendr 235 10 ser] sik 235 10-11 herbergis svo]  
 huss ok herbergis 235 \* 11-12 000 ... 000] capitulum 235 \* 12 <A>mbriosius] so 235 15 þessvm] - 235

sem med | 17 | marthe. en af svmmv rekr hann diöfla sem af marie su | 18 | ma resir hann af dauda sem lazarum. Hit fyrsta takn | 19 | af þessum segir Commestr a þa leid in historia evangeliorvm | 20 | ath þa er drottinn ihesus var bedinn at fara til husa þess þinghus | 21 | höfðingia er jairvs het ath reisa af davda dottvr hans. þra | 22 | vngdv honvm miok a vegnum miklir flockar þeira manna | 23 | sem svmir villdv heyra kenning hans svmir þiggia af honvm | 24 | lækningh svmir at vndraz takn hans svmir at finna at fram | 25 | ferdvm hans. var j þessv lidi ein blodsiuk kona sv er hann segir er | 26 | fra Ambrosij ordvm. martham verit hafa sv er blodfallz | 27 | sott pindi vm .xii. ár svo at læknar mattv henne engan bot | 28 | vinna þott hvn heti þeim nogvm peningvm ef þeir hana græddv | 29 | hvn mælti þa med sialfri ser heil mvn ek verda sottar minnar | 30 | þott ek snerta ath eins trefr klæda ihesv enn þa er hvn giordi | 31 | sem hvn sagdí kendi hvn síg þegar alheila. \*Jhesv(s) mælti þa no | 32 | ckurr snart mik lærrisveinar hans mæltu. hvat er vndarligt | 33 | þott þer þicki sem nockvt snerti þik þar sem ollv megin | 34 | þrongva oss flockar. enn ihesus svarar Sennilíga snert mik einnhverr | 35 | þviat ek kenda ath þeim veittizt heilsogiof af mer. Er | 36 | hann leit vm sig at sía hverr sa værj. vard konan ottafvll | 37 | ok fell til fota honvm segiandi sína hvgsan ok tiltæki ok | 38 | at hvn vard heil ordín. Drottinn mælti þa til hennar | 39 | dottir trva þín hialpadi þer fardu j fridi ok ver heil sottar

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19 historia] hystórijs 22 a ... flockar] margir flokar a veginum 235 23 sem] er 235 24 lækning] læring 24-25 svmir ... hans] svmir at frama at framferd hans. sumir at vndrazt takn hans 235 25 sv er] + eptir 235 25-26 er ... ordvm] eptir ordum Ambrosij 235 27 engan] auga 235 28 þeim ... peningvm] + at gefa nōga penninga 235 28 hana græddv] grēdi hana 235 30 klæda] + hans 235 31 hvn] hudi 235 31 Jhesv(s)] so 235 33 ollv] aullvm 235 34 þrongva] þráungar 235 34 snert] snart 235 34 einnhverr] nockut 235 35 Er] enn er 235 37 honum] þeim ok honum 235 39 hialpadi þer] gerdi þik heila 235 39 sottar] + þinnar 235

| 40 | \*[0000000000000000000000]

| 40 | \*⟨H⟩Er næst segir | 41 | commestor þann atburd er drottín var kalladr til | 42 | snædings af phariseo þeim er simon er nefndr en eigi | 43 | greina gvdspioll stvnd eda stad þessa atburd. Ok er || 67v || | col. A | | 1 | syndvgh kona sv er ver vítvum mariam verít hafa af ordvm | 2 | iohannis gvdspíalla manz wissi ath ihesus var kominn til snæd | 3 | ínghíns geck hun j hvsít med ker þat er fullt var af agætvum | 4 | smyrslvm ok stod a bak hía fótvm iesv ok þo færtr hans | 5 | med þeim tarvm er idran annmarka gat j híartano enn fram | 6 | flvgv af avgvnvm. ok þerdi med hari sínv ok kysti færtra | 7 | med eiginlígvm mvnni. þar af segir. hín mikli gregoríus þa | 8 | er ek hvgsar idran maríe likar mer helldr at grata enn | 9 | nockvt at segía. eda hverr mvn svo íarnligt hiarta | 10 | hafa. at eigi mvní tar þessarar syndug`v` konv bleyta til | 11 | eptir dæmís idranar. Obodit geck hvn inn milli bods | 12 | manna gret hvn a medal þeira sem med fagnadi sn | 13 | æddv. Segi þer med hversv míklvm harmí sv hitnadi er | 14 | eigi skammadízt fyrir samkvndo monnvum at grata sínar syndir. Sa | 15 | vrga leit hvn sig. en þvoandi rann hvn til miskvnnar | 16 | brvnzins. Synt er at konan sv er fyrvm var gefinn fyrir | 17 | oleyfdvm hlvtvm mvní hafa smyrsl borit a likama | 18 | sinn fyrir eptir lífis sokvm til þess ath hvn ilmadi wel. Med | 19 | avgvnvm hafdi hvn gírntz oleyfda hlutí harít hafdi | 20 | hvn plagat til þess ath hvn syndiz frídari sínvm elskörvm því | 21 | þo hvn færtr drottíns med tarvm enn þerdi med hare | 22 | ok smurdi med smyrslí. ok þeim mvnnínvm er adr hafdi hvn | 23 | syngazt med kysti hvn færtr |-hans-| drottíns Svo margar | 24 | fornir fann hvn af sialfri ser sem hvn hafdi oleyfdar lysti | 25 | ngar j ser Tolv lastanna sneri hvn j tolv mannkostanna at | 26 | allt þionadi þat gvdi j idranínne sem adr giordi hann reidan j | 27 | syndínní. Enn símon sa er worn herra hafdi inn kallad | 28 | skyníadi hennar athæfi ok fyrir leit hann iesvm. mavgla

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\* 40 000 ... 000] capitulum 235 \* 40 ⟨H⟩Er] so 235 43 atburd] at burðar 235 1-2 mariam ... manz] af ordum iohannis gudspíala manz mariam verít hafa 235 4 bak] baki 235 5 þeim tarvm] tárvm sinum 235 5 idran] + grat 235 5-6 fram flvgv] flaugu fram 235 8 helldr at grata] + helldr 235 9-10 mvn ... hafa] man hafa suo jarnligt hiarta eda briost 235 10 syndug`v`] syndugrar 235 11 inn] - 235 21 tarvm] + sinum 235 23 hvn] - 235 27 hafdi ... kallad] inn kalladi hafd 235

| 29 | *ndi j sínv híarta fyrir þat er hann rak hana eigi fra ser sem hann* | 30 | taladi þessi ord. Ef þessi *madr wæri spamadr mvndi hann ath* | 31 | *skyrv wíta. hverr eda hvílik er kona sia er a honvm tekr* | 32 | *þviat hvn er syndvgh. Gregoriuv segir at þessi madr var drambv* | 33 | *iss ok fyrir leít ena syndvgv konv þviat falsad rettlæti* | 34 | *hafnar ok svivirdir syndvga menn. en satt rettlæti sam* | 35 | *píniz vít þa ok hann mvndi hana hafa med hælvm* | 36 | *j brótt keyrt eda rekít ef hvn hefði at hans fo* | 37 | *tvm kropit. Enn wór herra sanr læknir er sat milli* | 38 | *tveggia siukra manna annars þess er heill var ath víti* | 39 | *enn síukr af syndvm Enn annars þessa phariseí er ta* | 40 | *pad hafði vitinv ok kendi sig eigi siukan svaradi si* | 41 | *alvs hans hvgreníng ok sigradi hann med sialfs hans or* | 42 | *dvm med þeim hætti sem þa er vitstolinn madr ber sial* | 43 | *fr þat reip er hann skal binda med. a þessa leid símon* | **col. B** | | 1 | *sagði hann þer hefi ek nockvt ath segia. hann svarar seg meistari* | 2 | *J`hesvs mælti þa. Tveír skulldv navtar attv fe at lvka einvm* | 3 | *avdgvv manne þeim er vanr war at taka tvefallda leigv* | 4 | *a penníngvm sínv. eptir akuedín tíma. annar attí ath giall* | 5 | *da fim hvndrvt penínga. enn annar fimtígi peníngha* | 6 | *Ð`eir attv eigi fe til at luka skulldína gaf hann þeim vpp allt* | 7 | *werd en hvor hyggr þv símon at frammar elskadi meir* | 8 | *wpp giðfína skulldarinnar. hann svarar. þat trui ek ath sa hafi fra* | 9 | *mar elskad er frammar war wpp gefit ihesvs mælti þa rettliga dæm* | 10 | *dir þv. hann snerízt þa til \*konun<nar> ok taladi svo til simvnar hvort* | 11 | *ser þv konv þessa er mer þionar. Ek geck j hvss þítt ok gaft* | 12 | *þv eigi watn til ath þvegnir wæri fætr mínir. en kona þessi* | 13 | *þo med tarvm sínv. fætr mína ok þerdi med hari sínv þv* | 14 | *kystir mik eigi enn sidan ek geck j hvs þitt. þa let hvn eigi af* | 15 | *ath kyssa fætr mína ok þa er hann hafði `þetta' talt þa mælti* | 16 | *vor herra enn vit símon. þv lez eigi smyría hófvt mítt* | 17 | *med oleo. enn hvn smurdi med smyrslí fætr mína. Enn þa* | 18 | *er hann hafði talda goda hluti*

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31 sia] + kona 235 35-36 hafa ... rekít] med hælvm hafa brutt rēkit ok keyrt 235 37 sanr] sana 235 37 sat] + j 235 39 syndvm] syndinni 235 40 kendi ... eigi] sik kendi eigi 235 41 hans] sins 235 1 seg] + þat 235 2 fe at lvka] lvkafe 235 6 fe] - 235 7 werd] verdit 235 \*konun<nar>] so 235 10 svo] - 235 10 hvort] þo huar 235 13 med ... mína] fetr mína med tárurum sinum 235 15-16 mína ... símon] - 235

ennar syndvgv konv *ok svo* | 19 | illa hlvtí falslíga kristíns phariseí. Sneríz hann til hennar | 20 | *ok*  
*mælti*. fyrir gefiz þer kona margar syndir. Þviat þv elskadir mik | 21 | 'S`em hann segdi fullkomlíga  
brennir þv vpp ryd syndarinar | 22 | Þviat þv hitnar hardla miok af hita astarínnar *ok er hann ha*  
| 23 | fdi þetta mælt. þa tokv nockvrir þeir sem ath bordi saato | 24 | at tala *med ser*. hverr er sia er  
syndir gefr vpp. *ihesus mælti til hennar* | 25 | 'F`ar þv j fridi þviat trva þin giordi þik heila.  
Gregorius sagdi | 26 | ath þa giordi trva hennar hana heila ath hvn efadi eckí | 27 | vm ath hvn mattí  
þat fa sem hvn beiddizt. af þeim | 28 | tok hvn styrkleik trvarínnar sem hvn tok adr af | 29 | von  
heilsvnnar. J fridi var henne bodít at fara ath hvn gengí | 30 | vm sannleiks gøtivr *ok drepir eígi*  
fotvm j ahleckíngar þa gengv | 31 | ver j fridi er wer forum þann veg vors herra \* bodorda sem oss  
| 32 | leidir alldregí vndann hans enda laussrí miskvnn. Eptír | 33 | þat for drottínn þadan vm  
borgir *ok kastala med .xíj lærisveí* | 34 | nvm sínvm predicandi af hímna<sup>kon</sup>ungi. *ok konvr nockvrrar*  
þær | 35 | sem hann hafdi leystar af ohreínvm anda *ok af síuknødvm* | 36 | 'M`illi þeira var maría  
magdalena sv er drottínn rak siav dí | 37 | øfla fra sem marckvs gvdsþialla *maðr segir*. Jnnocentivs  
segir svo af | 38 | henne víj diøflar kuoldv hana þvi ath þeir \* svikv hana *med* | 39 | víj hattvm eígi at  
eíns a þat leidandi ath giøra þat eígi | 40 | sem giora skylldí. helldr *ok at giøra þat sem eígi skylldí*  
*ok* | 41 | er þessi grein halldandi milli peccatvm *ok delictvm* at de | 42 | lictvm verdr j tioní godra  
verka ef *maðr vinnr eígi vinnandi* | 43 | hlvti en peccatvm er ath vínna \* ovinnand(i) hluti. Med ||  
**68r** || | **col. A** | | 1 | þessv hvorvtveggia moti var hvn sek j hiarta. Þviat hvn let eígi | 2 | eptír þvi  
leidaz sem gvds andi skavt j hvg henne. enn sam þy | 3 | kti þvi sem illr andi skavt j hvg henne.  
Delictvm framdi hvn | 4 | med mvnní þviat hvn þagdi yfir sonnvm hlvtvm. Peccatvm fram | 5 | di

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20 elskadir] + miok 235 22 hardla] - 235 22 hita] elldi 23 sem] er 235 24 mælti] + þa 235 25 j  
fridi] + *ok ver heil sottar þinnar* 235 27 þeim] honum 235 30 *ok*] enn 235 \* 31 bodorda] so 235;  
boddrrda Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 34 hímna<sup>kon</sup>ungi] himn`a` ríki 235 \* 38 svikv] so 235; slikv Stock.  
Perg. 2 fol. 42 tioní] tion 235 \* 43 ovinnand(i)] so 235 1 þessv hvorvtveggia] huarvtvegia þessv 235  
2 gvds] goðr 235



hvn *med mvnni þviat* hvn taladi vsanna hlutí. *Delictvm* | 6 | vann hvn j *verki* er hvn felldi nídr goda hlutí. *Peccatum dr* | 7 | ygdi hvn j *verki* þa er hvn van illa hlutí. *Synd hennar* | 8 | *var* mikil mörg *ok* opínber. mikil *þviat* *ihesus* rak *fra* *henne* víj dí | 9 | ófla Mavrg *þvi* at *henne* vorv *margar* *syndir* fyrir gefnar. Opínber *þviat* | 10 | kona hardla *syndvgh* *var* j *borginni*. ollvm let hvn sikh | 11 | vppi *med* visvm tilgang. Eíngan rak hvn vilíande | 12 | *fra ser*. En *þvi* at mikil *var* *synd hennar*. bætti hon *med* miklv | 13 | *hvgar* \* *angri*. *þviat* *synd hennar* *var* mörg. bætti hon *med* *margfóll* | 14 | dv starfi *ok* *erfvidi*. *þviat* *synd hennar* *var* opínber. bætti hon | 15 | *med* *miklvm* *ok* *merkiligvm* kínnroda. *þviat* þessir þrir hlutir | 16 | *giðra* jdran manzíns. Sorg eda angr j hiarta kínn | 17 | rodi j andlíti. *starf* eda *erfidi* j *verki* eptir atkvædi hins | 18 | vissa *salemonis* *þvi* at *hann* *segir*. Medr þeim hætti skal *hann* | 19 | bæta. sem *hann* *misgiðrir*. hín *syndvga* kom þvoandi til | 20 | *miskvnnar* brvndzsíns skelfd *med* miklu *hvgar* *angri* *ok* | 21 | dóggdi drottínliga fætr *med* *tarvm* medr *merkiligvm* | 22 | kínnroda hneykt stod hvn a bak hia *fotvm* *iesv* *ok* | 23 | *kysti* fætr *hans* *ok* *syndiz* fyrir *hans* *avglíte* `med' mikilli *skemd* | 24 | *ok* þo at hon þegdi *med* *mvnni* *kalladi* hvn *med* *hiartanv* | 25 | *eigi* flydi hvn at *synaz* *liot* fyrir *bods* *monnvm*. *þviat* þeir sa | 26 | hína ytri hlutí en *gvd* leít hína *ínnri* hluti at *hvn* | 27 | þættiz *liotari* j *samvítzkunni* fyrir *ínnann* *enn* j *vfrægdinni* | 28 | fyrir *vtan*. *med* *myklv* *starfi* kom hvn *godfvss* *med* *ala* | 29 | *bastrvm* þat er *smyrsla* *ker* af *marmara* *giort*. *smvrði* *hvn* | 30 | fætr *drottínns* *eigi* *vm* *sínn* *helldr* *ok* *optar*. fyrir *hvsí* *símo* | 31 | *nis* *pharisei* *med* *smyrslí* `ok' j *annat* *sínn* j *hvsí* *símonis* | 32 | *leprosi*. *smvrði* hvn *höfvt* *hans* *med* *nardo* *pistiko*. hít *þridia* | 33 | *sínn* þa er hvn *key`p`ti* *smyrsl* *ath* *bera* a *likama* *iesv* | 34 | `J' þessvm *lutvm* er hardla mikit *stormerki* *ok* *díupt* *ok* *tíl* eptir | 35 | *dæma* *draganda*. af *giord* *hiartans* *hreínsadi* hvn *med* | 36 | *tarvm*. af *giord* *mvnnzíns* *hreínsadi* hvn *med* *kos* | 37 | *svm*. af

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6 vann] framdi 235 6 verki] verkum þa 235 7 Synd] syndir 235 8 mikil] - 235 9 Opínber] opínberliga 235 10 borginni] borg einne 235 \* 13 angri] so 235; andri Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 16 manzíns] + þægía 235 16-17 kínnrodi] kínnroda 235 18 segir] + suo 235 18 hann] hverr 235 19 misgiðrir] misgiðra 235 19 syndvga] + kona 235 30 ok] - 235 31 j annat] annat 235 34 mikit ... díupt] díupt sto<sup>r</sup>merki

giord verksíns hreínsadi hvn med smyrslvm ok svo | 38 | sem hvn let lími sína þiona vhréinleik til  
 illzkv | 39 | svo let hvn lími sína þiona rettlæti til heilagle | 40 | iksíns Misgerdi hvn med .v. likams  
 vitvm. Syn ok | 41 | heyrnn ilmíng ok bergíng. ok atekníng. med ollvm | 42 | þessvm vitvm bætti  
 hvn yfir. Misgerdi hvn med avgvm | 43 | bætti hvn med avgvm. þviat kvenn manz saurlífi kenníz |  
**col. B** | | 1 | i avgvm. Bætti hvn med avgvm þviat maria gret hia leí | 2 | di drottíns fyrir astsemdar  
 sakir. Misgerdi hvn med eyrvm | 3 | þviat hvn sneri heyrn sína til skravk sagna. Bætti hvn med  
 | 4 | eyrvm þviat. hvn sat hía fotvm íhesv ok heyrði ord hans Misgerdí | 5 | hvn med navsvm. þviat  
 hvn þefadí syndsamlíga af sætvm | 6 | hlvtvm. Bætti hon med nõsvm þviat hvn smurdi drottínn  
 med | 7 | smyrslí svo ath ilmadi vm allt husít. Misgerdi hvn med mv | 8 | nni. þviat varar pvtvnnar  
 er sem dríupandi seímr. Bætti | 9 | hvn med mvnní. þviat hvn stod a bak hía fotvm íhesv ok kysti  
 | 10 | fætr hans. Misgerdi hvn med hond þviat \* heímskona bravt | 11 | med hönd smidat herbergi  
 þat er at skilía sala sv er sialfr gvd | 12 | giordí ser til herbergís fyrir kemr ser af saurlífi `s` synd.  
 Bætti | 13 | med hönd þviat hun þo fætr íhesv j tarvm ok þerdi med hari si | 14 | nv. Missgerdi hvn  
 med wangeymslv ok fyrir illgirnd fyrir vuítzkv | 15 | ok breyskleyk. Synd ouítzkv bætti hvn med  
 styrkleik ok | 16 | alítning gvdligrar vitzkv. þviat maría valdi ser enn bez | 17 | ta lut ok sat fyrir  
 fótvm íesv drottíni ok heyrði ord hans. Breys | 18 | kleiks synd. bætti hvn med styrkleika ok  
 stadfesti a pis | 19 | lartíma kristz. þviat þa er allir lærisveinar flydv fra drot | 20 | ní fylgdi hvn  
 honvm allt til \* davda ok hvn stod hia krossi hans | 21 | med marie modvr hans ok Johanne  
 ewangelista ok mariu cleophe | 22 | `S`ynd vanngeymslvnnar bætti hvn med merkiligri þionvstv  
 þeiri | 23 | sem af gvdi var löfvd þa er hann mælti svo. hvi ero þer þvngir | 24 | konv þessi. Gott verk  
 wann hvn a mer ok sendi smyrsl þetta | 25 | a likama mín at bva mík til graptar. Syndir illgirndar

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39-40 heilagleiksíns] heilaglaks 235 4 ord] kennðig 235 6-7 med smyrslí] smyrslí 235 10 hond]  
 höndum 235 \* 10 heímskona] so 235; heímiskan Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 11 hönd] höndum 235 11 sala  
 sv] sv sala 235 12 Bætti] + hvn 235 13 hönd] mvnni 235 13 j tarvm] med tárvm sinum 235 15  
 breyskleyk] brekleik 15 styrkleik ok] - 235 18-19 pislartíma kristz] pislar tid krizst 20 davda]  
 so 235; þavda Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 21 mariu] maria 235

| 26 | bætti hvern með embáttí astarinnar Eptir því sem vor herra | 27 | bar henne vítni svo mælandi.  
 margar syndir fyrir gafvzt henne | 28 | þvíat hvern elskadi miok. ok astínn hylr mikínn fiolda syn  
 | 29 | da. ok svo sem fyrvum gnægdiz syndínn med henni þvíat | 30 | hvern var fvll af víj. diöflvm. þat  
 er netívd j mörgvm | 31 | lostvm. svo gnægdízt ok med henne gvds miskvnn. þvíat hvern | 32 | vard af  
 hans astgiöf full (af) kröptvm ok mankostvm svo segir | 33 | Commestr ath svmir meistarar ætli  
 þenna atburd hafa | 34 | giordzt j nazaret enn eigi fæzt provan til þessa af sialfvm gvð  
 | 35 | spiollvnm vm stvnd ok vm stad.

| 35 | fra því er ihesus gisti marthe

| 36 | Ok er ihesus for þadan j iudeamm geck hann j nockvurn kast | 37 | ala. ok tok þa fyr nefnd  
 martha hann j sitt hvs. sennil | 38 | ígha var hvern sæl er hvern avdladiz þann at fæda er fæ | 39 | dir  
 alla veröldína. ok sialfr er bravd eínglanna ok vard ma | 40 | klig at hafa þann at gest er herbergir ok  
 heímir hvern mann þann | 41 | er j heímín kemr þann fæddi hvern er fædir allar skepnvr | 42 | ok  
 lvkti j hvi þann mikla konvng ok herra er heímínn allan lykr j hn | 43 | efa ser. hvern sa ok þann er  
 margir konvngar ok spamenn girntvz at sia || 68v || | col. A | | 1 | ok sav eigi ok heyra ok heyrdv  
 eigi. Mikil tign er at þig | 2 | gia slika vinattv af sialfvm gvds syní ok maklíg miklv lofi | 3 | ok er hvern  
 hafdi hann ínn tekit vndir sína hvs þeckíu. val | 4 | di hvor þeira systra ser þa þionostv. sem hvern  
 trvdi honvm | 5 | mvndo framazt þoknazt. maria sat hía fotvm hans | 6 | ok heyrdi kennínng hans  
 fusari at vera fædd enn at fæda. | 7 | 'E`nn marta annadízt marghattad matvndadar starf ok því at  
 hvern haf | 8 | di hlotít enn tígnazta gest villdi hvern ok stvnda honvm ath | 9 | þiona med hínni hæstv  
 tign ok virdíng hivyln at hreínsa | 10 | ok pryda bva sätínn ok hvilvnrar dryck ok vistir. Svo syndíz

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26 embáttí] eldi 235 27 henne] + siolfr 235 29 fyrvum] fyrir 235 35 fra ... marthe] capitulum  
 235 36 hann] + inn 235 37 sitt hus] hus sitt 235 39 vard] var 235 42 þann] þessa 235 42 allan]  
 - 235 1-2 er at þiggia] tignar þiggia 235 2 sialfvm] - 235 5 mvndo framazt] framazt mundu 235  
 7 at] - 235 8 ok] - 235 9 hínni ... virdíng] honvm hinnv mestu virdínng. ok tign 23 10 ok] + at 235

| 11 | *henne sem eigi mætti allt hyskít ok heíma folkít til vinnazt* | 12 | ath weíta þvilika  
þionostv sem vörvm herra somdí ok þvi | 13 | stod \*hvn fyrir honvm angrs fvll ok mælti til hans.  
Minn herra sag | 14 | di hvn. hvi gefi þer eigi gavn at þvi er systir mín lætr mik ein | 15 | a þionostv  
weíta. fyrir þvi bid ek þik at þv biodir henne mer at fv | 16 | ltíngia. Hann svarar. Martha þv ert  
sorgmod miðk ok berR | 17 | annsemd vm marga hlutí. Enn eítt er navd synnligt. marí | 18 | a.  
waldi ser enn bezta hlut. þann sem eigi mvn af henne tekínn | 19 | wera. Se her agætan herra þann  
er fyrir vtan alla manngreínn will | 20 | híaipa ollvmm ok af ymsvm þiggr ymsar þionostvr ok els  
| 21 | kar ok lofar. Svo lofadi hann annarar þionostv ath hann last | 22 | adi eigi fyrir \*annarí ok mat  
þo at þvi sem commestr segir fr | 23 | amarr þat er maria sat fyrir fotvm honvm ok heyrdi ord hans  
j þvi | 24 | er hvn waldi ser þann lut er eigi mvndi af henne tekínn enn eigi | 25 | fyrir þvi at hvn  
wari hæri ath verdleikvm þviat þadan af waldíz | 26 | wor herra ath þiggia heimbod af ínne sælv  
marthe j hennar | 27 | herbergi. Ma af þvi marka hversv mikla velgernínga ok hver | 28 | sv miklar  
þackir ok ómbvnr hann veitir fyrir þa gestrisní | 29 | er eigi er til heímkravtz giörr ok fyrir  
ólmosvr ok þionostv wít | 30 | faatæka menn ef þat er giort fyrir vtan hrygd ok mavglann ok ep  
| 31 | tir tólvr. ef fram er latít dæmi þessarar konv marthe þar sem | 32 | fyrir hennar wínskap ok  
\*gestrisní reisti hann af davda laza | 33 | rvm brodvr hennar ok elskadi oll þav systkínn martham ok  
ma | 34 | riam magdalenam ok lazarvm.

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11 sem ... hyskít] eigi sem mætti hyskít allt 235 12 sem ... somdí] vorum hera sem hann mvndi  
soma 235 \* 13 hvn] so 235; honvm Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 15-16 fvltingia] + enn 235 20 híaipa ollvmm]  
ollvm hialpa 235 \* 22 annarí] so 235; annadi Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 22 þo at] at þo 235  
25 af waldíz] vandízt 235 26-27 af ... herbergi] i hennar herbergi hinar sælv martha 235 29 giörr]  
giort 235 \* 32 gestrisní] so 235; gestaistni Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 34 magdalenam] - 235

| 34 | maria magdal(ena) kom til ihesvs

| 35 | Fra þeim tíma fylgdi maria magdalena ihesv ok læ | 36 | risveínum hans með fyllkominni ast  
bædi at ónd | 37 | ok líkama. veítandi sínn mykla avd til ath vinnu honum | 38 | ok hans fylgiorvm.  
Fylldi hún þá tvefalldlaga hans bo | 39 | dord. þat er hann svo mælti. Sa er mer þionar fylgi hann  
mer ok þar sem | 40 | ek em mun \* minn þionustv madr vera

| 40 | vppreistr lazarus

| 41 | A einum tíma tok lazarus sa er fyrr var nefndr stridan | 42 | síuknad heíma j bethanía j kastala  
þeira systra | **col. B** | | 1 | hans er þá satv yfir honum sendv þær þá menn at segia iesv nu  
| 2 | sykízt saa er þv elskar. augústínus segir af þeim malvm | 3 | þeira ma skilia ath ihesvs war þa eigi  
j bethania ok fyrir því sen | 4 | do þær honum ord ath brodir þeira var síukr ath víta ef | 5 | hann  
willdi græda hann til þess ath hann mætti hann af dard | 6 | a reisa. eigi willdv þær svo mikils  
dírfast ath mæla sem | 7 | konungrin ok eigi sem hvndrads hófdíngi. biod þv ok mun þe | 8 | gar  
werda. ef han's' trva er lofvd. þviat hann þottiz eigi verdr at | 9 | ihesvs kæmi j hvs hans. helldr  
mælti hann biod þv ok mun sveinn | 10 | mín heill werda. hversv er trva þessara tveggia systra  
lofandi | 11 | er þórf þotti wínnu ath eíns ath segia græðaranvm. nu er | 12 | sa síukr er þv elskar  
sem þær segdi þórf wínnu vm sott han's' | 13 | eínsaman vitand þín. þviat þv giorir eigi bædi  
elskar ok fyrir | 14 | lætr. Enn þa er ihesvs heyrði sendi bodít. þessi síuknadr | 15 | leidir hann eigi til  
davda helldr er hann fyrir gvds dyrd at son gvds | 16 | dyrkízt fyrir hann. af því ath hann hafdi  
heyrt sagdan síuk | 17 | nad lazari var hann j þeim stad sem sendi bodít kom til hans | 18 | tvo daga.  
ath lidnir mættí werda fiorir dagar fra dauda laza | 19 | rí. þa er hann kæmí apr j bethaníam. hann

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34] maria ... ihesvs] capitulum 235 \* 40 minn] so 235; þinn Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 40 vppreistr lazarus]  
- 235 1 sendv þær þa] þær sendu þa 235 5 willdi græda hann] villdi greda hann. enn hann dualdi  
at greda hann 235 6 mikils] + verda eða 235 8 eigi] ei 235 13 vitand] vitandi 235 13-14 bædi ...  
lætr] hver bædi fyrir lætr ok elskar 235 14 bodít] + mælti hann 235 15 davda] bana 235 16 heyrt]  
heyrdan 235 17-18 sem ... daga] íj daga sem sendi bodit kom til hans 235 18 mættí werda] vári 235

mælti þa vīt læris | 20 | veína sina. Ath lidnum þessum tveimr dögum. Forvm enn j ívde | 21 | am.  
þeir svorvdu. fyrir hui willtv þangat fara. þar sem þeir villdv n | 22 | æstvm gryta þik. hann svaradi  
hvort ero xij stvndir dagsíns | 23 | 'E`f nockvr geíngv a dagínn drepr hann eigi fotvm þviat hann  
ser | 24 | lios þessa heíms. Enn ef hann gengr anott drepr hann fotvm | 25 | þviat þa er ecki lios. þat  
ma svo skilía. Ek em dagr enn | 26 | þer ervt tolf stvndir. þvi þvrfi þer eigi mer rad at kenna  
| 27 | ok eigi fordaz med mer ath fara. Eptir þat sagdí hann þeim | 28 | davda lazari fyrst med figvrv.  
Enn þar næst med berum ordvm | 29 | ok sagdízt fagna fyrir þeira hönd. þviat batna mundi trva  
þeira | 30 | ef þeir sæi hann af davda risa fyrir þat er hann hafdi eigi þar verít | 31 | svo sem eigi  
mundi davdínn drotnad hafa þar sem lifit he | 32 | fdi nær verít. Sidan forv þeir j bethaníam ok  
hafdi laz | 33 | arvs þa fiðra daga j gravf legít. margir iudar höfdv komít | 34 | til þeira systra. ath  
hugga þær vm broðvr davdann. ok er mart | 35 | ha heyrði ath ihesvs for þangat a leid. Rann hvn vt  
af st | 36 | adnum a moti honvm. enn maría sat eptir heíma ok er martha | 37 | sa hann mælti hvn.  
mínn herra eigi mundi brodir mínn davdr <vera> ef þv | 38 | hefdir her verít. Enn veit ek at þv þíggr  
af gvdi hvat | 39 | er þv hefir bedít. Augvstínvs segir. eigi mælti martha nv bid ek at | 40 | þv reisir  
vpp broðvr mín þviat hvn vissi eigi at brodir hennar wari | 41 | navdsynlígr at risa af davda þat eítt  
mælti hvn veit | 42 | ek at þv matt ef þv villt. Jhesvs mælti þa vīt hana. vp mvn \* || 22r || | col. A |  
| 18 | risa | 19 | brodir þinn. hun suarar veit ek at hann mvn vpp risa í inni | 20 | efstu vpprisu. sem  
hvn ségdi. af þui em ek vis at | 21 | hann mun þa upp risa er almenningr rís vpp. Jhesus melti þa  
| 22 | ek em vpp risa ok lif. Sem hann melti. þu martha segir vpp | 23 | man brodir \*þinn risa á  
efzsta degi. satt er þat. enn | 24 | þo man sa reisa hann vpp nu þegar er þa mun hann vpp rei  
| 25 | sa þviat ek em vpp risa ok lif. Jhesus melti enn. huer sa er á mik | 26 | trvir. mun þo lifa at  
hann hafi daudv verit ok sa er lifir | 27 | ok trvir á mik mun eigi deya at élifv. þat er suo at sk<i>

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22 svaradi] suarar 235 24 gengr ... fotvm] drepr fotum a nott gengr er hann 235 26 eigi mer]  
mer eigi 235 35 for] var 235 40 þv] þik 235 \* AM 235 fol. begins here \* 23 þinn] minn \* 27 at]  
The scribe has corrected this from a

| 28 | lia. at sa er á mik *trvir*. þott *hann* hafi daudr veri't | 29 | i likama *mun* lifa i ónd. þar til er *hann* lifnar. ok havrvn | 30 | ð hans þat er þa lifnar. *mun* alldregi þadan deya. ok hver | 31 | sa er lifir i likama. ok *trvir* a *mik*. þott *hann* déyi stvn | 32 | dliga. likams dauda. þa *mun* *hann* *eigi* deya at éi | 33 | lifv. fyrir lif andanns ok vdaudleik ok vpp risvnnar | 34 | 'Þar' nest *mel*ti *i*hesus hvart *trvir* þu þessu martha. *hun* suarar. at sk | 35 | yru hera *trv*da ek at þu ert sonr *guds* lifanda. sa er | 36 | komt i þenna héim. sem hvn segdi. þa er ek *fekk* | 37 | *sanna* *trv* *trv*da ek at þv ert vpp risa. *trv*da ek at þv | **col. B** | | 1 | ert lif *trv*da ek at huer sa er á þik *trvir* *mun* lifa | 2 | þott *hann* hafi daudr verit. ok sa er lifir ok *trvir* a þik | 3 | *mun* *eigi* deya at eilifu. Eptir þetta gek martha h | 4 | *eim*. ok sagdi systr sinri at meistari var kominn ok | 5 | kalladi \*hana hvn stod vpp ok gek vt af kasta | 6 | lanvm i þann stad sem systir hennar hafdi skilit | 7 | vid *i*hesum ok *mel*ti vid *hann*. \**eigi* mundi brodir minn daudr <vera> | 8 | *her*ra ef þu hefdir her verit. Jvdar margir ho | 9 | fdu komit þar til þeira systra at hugga þér vm brodr | 10 | sinn. gengu þegar af kastalanum. er þeir sá *mariam* ski | 11 | otliga vt ganga. *Augustinus* segir. Ok bar af þui | 12 | *suo* til at *gud* villði marga *vera* lata vitnis menn. þess er en | 13 | ferdagadi risi vpp. Ok er *i*hesus sa *mariam* grata. ok *suo* iud | 14 | a. þa sem hia stodu Gret *hann* med kalli ok tarfellingh | 15 | 'J'hesus *mel*ti þa. hvar settv þer *hann*. sem *hann* *mel*ti veit ek at *hann* | 16 | er davdr. enn *eigi* hvar *hann* <er> grafinn. \*þetta *mel*ti *hann* af mand | 17 | ómi. þuiat *hann* veit allt med sinvm guddómi. *Maria* *mel*ti | 18 | minn hera kom til ok séa þat er at skilia ok \*kom til ok veit | 19 | miskun. þuiat þa ser *i*hesus er *hann* miskunnar. ok þa \*græt *i*hesus. iv | 20 | dar melto þa nv ma sía at *hann* elskaði þenna mann Sumir | 21 | meltu mundi *eigi* sá er þeim gaf syn er blindr var feddr mega | 22 | þat giðra at sio maðr dæi *eigi*. Enn þat er \*vitanda at þui let | 23 | *i*hesus 'hann' deya mega at *hann* metti *hann* vpp réisa. Duald(i) | 24 | *hann*

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\* 28 hafi] *The scribe appears to have corrected a from n* \* 33 vdaudleik] *The scribe appears to have corrected a from r-rotunda* \* 35 er] ert \* 5 hana] *The scribe has corrected h from k* \* 7 *eigi*] *The first i appears to have been corrected from n* \* 16 þetta] þetti \* 18 kom] komt \* 19 græt] græti \* 22 er] *The scribe has corrected e from v* \* 22 vitanda] vitandanda

it minna at hann metti *giðra* it méira *Jhesus gret þa en* | 25 | *hastófum. ok kom til leidisinnns enn þat*  
*var högit nidr i berg* | 26 | *ok uellt yfir stéini hann melti þa hrærid af stéin(i)nn martha melti*  
 | 27 | þa. *Jlla þefar likit. þuiat nv hefir hann fióra daga i leid* | 28 | *i legit hann melti þa sagda ek þer*  
*⟨eigi⟩ at þv `mundir` sio guds dyrd ef* | 29 | *þu trydir þat er at vpp mundi risa inn fuli ok inn ferda*  
 | 30 | *gadi. ok at fra hrédum steinunnvm melti hann. þackir giðri ek þer* | 31 | *fadir. þuiat þu heyrir*  
*mik. enn ek vissa at þu heyr* | 32 | *dir mik iafnan. ek talada þessa hluti fyrir saker lyds þess* | 33 | *er*  
*hia stendr at þeir trvi þui at þv sendir mik. Ep* | 34 | *tir þat kalladi ihesus mikilli røddu med*  
*tarfellinng. la* | 35 | *zara veni foras kom vt Sem hann segdi gack þv || 22v || col. A | | 1 | af*  
*grofinni er at sonnv er stadr daudra manna ok kom* | 2 | *vt þat er lios er at skyru stadr -[daudra]-*  
*lifandi manna* | 3 | *hann geck þa vt sueipadr vm hendr ok fetr. ok huldr* | 4 | *med sueita duki vm*  
*andlit. Jhesus baud þa læri* | 5 | *sueinum sinvm at leysa hann ok lata brut fara at skilia* | 6 | *eptir*  
*vilia. þeir gerdu sem hann bavd Se her mikinn v* | 7 | *itnis burð gudligrar astar vid mariam. \* maria*  
*gret ok* | 8 | *þa gret jhesus maria grét þat at lazarus brodir hem⟨ar⟩ var eigi li* | 9 | *fs. ihesus gret ok*  
*kallaði hann til lifs. suo sem hann þyldi eigi at* | 10 | *sia mariam sytandi Margir judar þeir sem til*  
*þess* | 11 | *hofdu komit at hugga þær systur vm brodr dau* | 12 | *dann ok á þetta sa trvdu á ihesum.*  
*Sumir foru ok sog`ð`u* | 13 | *taknit farisæis ok var þat verk storum frêgt. comestór* | 14 | *segir at fria*  
*daghinn fyrir passiónem domini. þa er gudspi* | 15 | *allit er lesit vard þessi ath burðr. AA hinvm fysta*  
*de* | 16 | *gi hins fyrsta \* manadar eptir lógmali moysi* | 17 | *enn þeir lutir er ihesus vann fra þessv til*  
*þuatdaghs fyrir* | 18 | *palmsvnnvdag koma eigi til þessarar sögu*

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\* 7 maria] mariam \* 16 manadar] *There is a space between man and adar due to a preexisting hole in the parchment*



| 18 | af ma | 19 | ria mag(dalena)  
 | 19 | A Hinvm setta deggi fyrir \* pascha ef | 20 | talðr er siolfur pascha dagurinn ok \* þuatdagur  
 | 21 | inn fiórum milli settvm dógum. kom ihesus i bethan | 22 | iam ok tok snędingh i husi simonis  
 leprosi hins likþra | 23 | hann hafdi likþrar verit. ok af gudi greðr enn hellt þo hinu | 24 | fyra nafni.  
 suo sem matheus er i \* gudspiali pvblikanus | 25 | kalladr eptir þui sem hann var adr enn hann kom  
 til krists. margir | 26 | af \* judeum þeir sem til paska halsins foru komv fyrir þat i be | 27 | thaniam at  
 þeir villdu séo lazarum er jhesus reisti vpp | 28 | hofdingar kenni manna hugsudu at veita honum  
 bana. þvait | 29 | margir menn trvdu á jhesum fyrir sakir hans enn fyrir lætu enn | 30 | þa kastala  
 menn veitu ihesu snedinngh enn martha þi | 31 | onadi. lazarus sat at matbordi med honum. Af  
 þessu ef | 32 | ni segir Augustinus. at eigi hygðhi menn sionhverfingh vera. þat er hinn | 33 | daudi  
 reis vpp. Var hann einn af vpp sitíundum lifadi | 34 | hann taladi hann snæðði hann. Sannleikr  
 vpprisunnar | 35 | syndizt. enn otrva juða hneycdizt komestor segir | 36 | at galldra menn reisa  
 vpp dauda menn suo at þeir | **col. B** | | 1 | binda i einum armleggi þeira. þau blavd er gall  
 | 2 | drligha. figurr eru á ritadar. þeir ganga ok tala enn | 3 | megha eigi sneda. enn sia vpp risa var  
 profod med | 4 | sönnum lifs mork ok med ló(n)gum tima. eptir komman | 5 | di efidaghi. þuiat su  
 bok er heitir speckulum ecclesie segir | 6 | lazarum hafa biskup verit. j civr eptir dreifingh kristz  
 | 7 | lærisuéina. vm þriatighi vetra ok reisti marga af | 8 | andar dauda. suo sem hann var siolfr  
 reistr af andar dau | 9 | ða. Augustinus segir ok at boðs menn spurdu hann af helvi | 10 | ti. enn  
 hann sagði þeim fra pislá stodum med gnógri grein | 11 | ok þa hofdu helviti fvndit sinn biartara.  
 þott þa | 12 | hefði langan tima leynzt. Maria systir hans tok smur | 13 | la kér. giort af þeim steini  
 er alabastrum. heitir. ok vel | 14 | varduettir \* ospellut smyrsl. þetta smursla ker var fullt | 15 | af

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\* 19 pascha] pasha \* 20 þuatdagur] *The scribe appears to have corrected þ from k* \* 24 gudspiali] *The scribe has corrected a from l* \* 26 judeum] *It appears as though the scribe initially wrote judar, and then attempted to correct the ending to the dative plural –um* \* 14 ospellut] *The scribe appears to have corrected e from y*

nardu. Narðu er eitt *tre med þyckum rotum*. lágt | 16 | at vpp véxti suart at lit. *ok breyskt enn ilmr sem cipre* | 17 | ssus. flur þess erv litil at *verdleik* \* enn mikil at þyckleik | 18 | o(fan)uert treid fyrir dréift *ok er freid vaxit sem ax Smyrsla* | 19 | *giordar menn tempr*a smyrsl af spizum *eda axum ok suo auxum*. þessa | 20 | *tress ok er af spizunvm* dyrst smyrslin. *enn aunur eru litils verd* | 21 | þui segir *anar gudspialla maðr* þetta spiz af smur(s)lum *giort*. *enn annar* | 22 | kallar nardum *pistikum*. þat er oblandinn *medr audrum smur* | 23 | slum *eda ofalsað(r)*. *pistis er trva a grizku mali*. *ok kalla`z`t* | 24 | þui nardus *pisticus* sa er ecki er *falsaðr Sumir segia* at *pisticus* | 25 | taki nafn af stad þeim er þess kyns *nardus vex eda giðrizt smur* | 26 | slit var libra at mali. \* *eda þunga*. hun braut þa þat | 27 | er at skilia at *hun lauk vpp fyr nefnt kær*. *ok st* | 28 | *eypti yfir* \* *hofud honum*. *ok suo smyrði hvn fetr hans*. *enn þerð* | 29 | i *med hári sinu ok ilmadi* smyrslit vm allt *husit*. á þeim | 30 | \* *sama deghi giðrir hera pafinnn qlmosur fatækv*m | 31 | *monnum*. þuiat þeir erv fętr himna *konungs*. *ok ganga á jordin* | 32 | *nri*. þat er þeir er mēta vasi erfidi i *heiminum ok eru l* | 33 | *ęgstir at virdingh i kristz likama*. judas skar | 33 | *iothis einn af xij mautanavtvm ihesv oþokað* | 34 | *izt*. þa *vid hennar þionustu*. *ok melti* Til hvers kemr ta | 35 | *pan smyrsla þessa*. þuiat þat matti seliazt meir enn || 23r || | col. A | | 1 | *ccc hund`r`ut penningha*. *ok vera gefit fataækum monnum* | 2 | 'J' *ohannes ewangelista greinir þat at judas melti þetta eigi fyrir þui at* | 3 | -| at |- *hann hirti vm qlmōsur*. *helldr fyrir þui at hann vard* | 4 | *veitti fe hirdzlor ihesv*. *ok þa hluti sem ofradir voru*. *bar hann* | 5 | *eigi at eins helldr bar hann i brutt*. þuiat hann atti kōnu | 6 | *ok sōnu*. af þeim segir *psalmurinn*. *verdi synir hans faudr la* | 7 | *sir*. *enn* \* *husfreyia hans eckia*. þeim gaf hann þat er hann stal. *su* | 8 | *mir meistarasanna þat at fe hirdinum vāri skipat* | 9 | *tiund af ōllu offri fyrir starf sitt*. *ok þottist hann missa* | 9 | þr`i`atighi penninngha. i ōllv smyrslinv. þuiat *hvndra* | 10 | *peninghar eru tiundh af hverio .c. penninga*. þeira sem hann | 11 | *taldi vera verdh smyrslsins*. *var hann suo dygdar lauss*

\* 17 enn] *The scribe has corrected e from v* \* 26 *eda]* é \* 28 *hofud]* hof<sup>m</sup> \* 30 *sama]* *The scribe has corrected the first a from e* \* 7 *husfreyia]* *huspreyia*

at | 12 | *hann villdi suo* mikit afla á likama meistara sins. | 13 | *sem hann þottizt* missa i smyrslinv. *ok þui* selldi *hann* dro | 14 | *ttin fyrir sǫk rangrar agirni.* þessarar er vpp ránn af þessv | 15 | éfni. Adrir lériseinar. samsonndu jude i þui at | 15 | *lata ser* mislika *hennar til* tēki. *ok þo fyrir vtan* alltt | 16 | *falls.* *ok fyrir* astar sakir *vid* fatēka menn. Jhesus hirti | 17 | þa sidan *vm* þessa ranga þyckiu er þeir lǫgdu á \*þi | 18 | *unustv med* þessum órdum fyrir hui eru þeir þungir konv þessi | 19 | gótt verk vann hvn a mer. þuiat fatēka menn mvnnv þer | 20 | *jafnan med* ydr hafa enn mik munu þer `eigi' iafnan med ydr | 21 | hafa. enn hun vann þetta at smyrja likama minn | 22 | fyrir komandi graptar tíma minn *Sem hann* segdi latid | 23 | *hana þetta giora vid* mik lifanda medan hvn ma at | 24 | smyria likama minn þann sem skiott mun grafinn ver | 25 | da. þuiat þetta mun hun vilia giora vid mik lidinn enn me | 26 | gha eigi \* Graptar embētti er þat er hun giðrir uid mik at tilvi | 27 | san heilags anda þot uuitanði. en eigi fiár glv | 27 | tran. \* ok enn segir hann. ek kann segia ydr. at þetta ver | 28 | k *hennar mvn* sagt verda i *hennar minningh.* huar sem þetta | 29 | *gudspiall mun uera* predicat. *Sem hann* sēgði. eigi mvn þetta *hennar* | 30 | verk þagat. þar sem mitt nafn er predicat. enn eigi vndarli | 31 | gt þott hun leggi fram fyrir mina skyllid s|-l-|myrsl sitt | 32 | þar sem ek mvn skambragz hella vt fyrir *hennar* skyllid bl | 33 | oði minu. Her um segir beda \* prestr maria smyrði eigi at einns | col. B | | 1 | fetr dróttins. heldr ok hófud sem vār namum af *gudspi* | 2 | alli mathei ok marci ok eigi er efanda at af þessi syndug | 3 | hu konu segir <lucas>. at hun smyrði fetur drottins ok þ(e)r | 4 | ði med hári \* sinu ok giorði hun þetta hnégð til fota honum med | 5 | al iðranar tara Enn siþan vpp reistan *lazarum* smyrði hun fetr | 6 | dróttins milli fagnada \* ráttlætis verka. ok þa efadi hvn sik | 7 | ecki til þess at retta sig vpp til þess at smyria hófud hans hit | 8 | fyrra sinn er eigi greint huers \* kyns smyrsl var eda huersu mikit var | 9 | `E`nn hit sidarra sinn er greint. at þat var af nardo ok suo mikit sem libra heitir | 10 | `C`omestor segir suo af *gudspialla manna* órdum at

\* 17-18 [þiunustv] þ<sup>f</sup>iunustv \* 26 Graptar] G<sup>~</sup>raptar \* 27 ok] ek \* 33 prestr] þprestr \* 4 sinu] sinū  
\* 6 ráttlætis] ráltætis \* 8 kyns] *The scribe has corrected k from h*

hinn nérsta mor | 11 | gin eptir þetta athbvrði for drottinn til iorsala borgar | 12 | ok réið ausnu ok  
vann adra þa hluti sem gudspioll vótta | 13 | ok huarf huert kueld til pascha daghs iuda aprt i beth  
| 14 | aniam Augustinus hinn mikli \* || 69r || | col. A | | 1 | segir þat vera kastala. en beda segir vera  
borg setta j hallínum | 2 | olívetí fiallz sem fyr gréinir. enn svo sem at leid pisl dro | 3 | ttíns var  
maría magdalena honvm astvdig ok nær göng | 4 | vl sem iohannis segir ath hon stod hía krossi  
hans med sialfri | 5 | drotning himíns ok iardar ok odrvm þeim er gvdspiallít segir | 6 | ok bætti med  
styrk ok stadfestí nyíar gvds gíafar syn | 7 | dir ens forna breyskleiks.

| 7 | fra marie magdalene

| 8 | Ath lidinni pisl. ok davda grædarans ok hrygd gra | 9 | ptar hans bio maría magdalena med  
odrvn konvm | 10 | maría modur iacobí ok salome smyrsl at smyría | 11 | likama hann j leidi  
lagdan. þær komv þangat hinn | 12 | sidarra hlvt nætr. þa er himin tok at bírtazt j motí | 13 | solo til  
avstrs ok tölödv sín a millí hverr vellta mv | 14 | ndi fra mvnna leidisíns þeim steinrí hardla míklum  
sem. | 15 | þat byrgdí. svo ath þær mætti inn fara. Enn þa er þær | 16 | lítv til j annat sinn var hann  
fra vólltínn. Enn hann var þa fyrir er þær | 17 | komv j fyrstv. þvrat drottinn hafdi ath luktri gróf  
vpp | 18 | risít. þær sa þann gvds éingil sem steininn hafdi h | 19 | rærdann sítia a honvm enn fyrir  
ogn þa er stod af éinglínvm | 20 | fellv vardmenn þeir sem íudar. settv til at gæta grafarínnar j v  
| 21 | megn svo at þeir lagv sem davdir menn enn uissv vítz sins | 22 | ok sa vpprisv drottins ok vorv  
vottar ef þeir villdi satt | 23 | fra segia. A þessi not skíptiz dægratala adr for nott fyrir | 24 | degí.  
enn þadan af skíptiz dægr at midri nott þa er | 25 | wor herra reis vpp. ok er nv sidann hverr nott  
sameigin | 26 | hvorvmtveggia degí. Ok er konornar otta fvllar af þessi | 27 | syn lítv vm sig sa þær

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\* *Stock. Perg. 2 fol. resumes here* 1 vera kastala] kastala vera 235 1 vera borg] borg vera 235 5 er]  
sem 235 6 nyíar] nyrar 235 7 fra ... magdalene] er ihesus uitradiz 235 8 pisl ... grædarans] pisl  
grédans ok dauða 235 12 hlut] hluta 235 16-17 fyrir ... fyrstv] fyrir munnanum j fyrstu er þær  
kómu 235 18 þann] þar 235 19-20 stod ... fellv] af einglinum stoð fellv 235 21 sins] þins 235 28  
þessa] þa 235

tvö eíngla j manligri mynd at | 28 | asionv þær hneígdv þa vít þessa syn andlít sínn til iardar  
 | 29 | Eínglarnir mæltu þa til þeira fyrir hui leítid þer lifanda med | 30 | davdvm. sem þeir segdí fyrir  
 hui leítid þer j gróf er davdra | 31 | manna stadr er íhesvm. þann sem vpp er risínn ok líf er allra  
 | 32 | lífandi manna sem hann sagdi ydr ok nv farít þer at segia | 33 | lærisveínvm hans at hann reís  
 vpp ok mvn fara fyrir ydr j | 34 | galileam. þær míntvz þa at íhesvs hafdi þeim þetta | 35 | sagt. J þa  
 mínning er konvnrar |-þyddv-| hneígdv | 36 | andlít sínn vít syn eínglanna enn kne fellv eighi  
 | 37 | 'H`neígir heilóg kirkia andlít sítt enn knefellr eigi fra | 38 | paskvm fram vm huíta svnnv  
 uíkv. J minning vpp | 39 | risu drottins þær foru þa ath finna lærisueina | 40 | íhesu þangat a leid  
 sem þeir vorv j herbergi enn maria | 41 | \* magdalena fann petrum ok johannem ok sagdi þeim | col.  
**B** | | 1 | drottín tekínn af leidínv ok kvezt eigi víta hvert hann var fær | 2 | dr. Commestor segir ath  
 med henne. syttí afl astarínnar edr el | 3 | la var hvn hræd ok vissi lítit ok trvdi fyrir því íhesvm j  
 brótt tek | 4 | ínn. þar sem hvn fann hann eigi þeir runnv þa med henne til leiddsíns | 5 | ok fvndo  
 eigi \* líkamann enn sa sveítadvk þann sem sveípad | 6 | hafdi med werít hófvv hans skildan fra  
 odrvm dukvm þeim sem | 7 | bolrínn war sveípadr med ok vafdan saman j eínvm stad ok tr | 8 | vdv  
 hann j brótt tekínn sem hvn. hafdi sagt. Eptir forv þeir til | 9 | herbergia síinna. Enn hvn stod eptir  
 vít leídít ok gret. ok þa er | 10 | hvn leít ínn. sa hon hína somv eíngla hía þeiri steínþro | 11 | sem j  
 hafdi legít líkamínn. annan at hófdvm enn annan at | 12 | fótvm. Gregorívs segir af þessv ma |-mál-  
 marka hversv mikít | 13 | afl astarínnar. tendrat hafdi hiarta. þessarar heilógv konv þar | 14 | sem  
 hvn stod eptir hía gravf grædarans. þa er lærisveínar hans | 15 | hvrfv fra ok því þar svo til ath hvn  
 eín sa íhesvm. þa er hvn eín | 16 | var eptir. Avgvstínvs segir. Eigi fínn ek adra sók fyrir hvi maria

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30 þer] er 235 32 at segia] ok segit 34 þa] - 235 37 kirkia] + sik eigi ok 235 38 J] - 235 \* 41  
 magdalena] *The scribe corrected the final a from e* 3 j] á 235 3-4 tekínn] + af leidin`v` þar 235 \* 5  
 líkamann] so 235; líkamamann Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 5-6 sem ... hans] sem bolrinn var sveipadr med  
 hofud hans 235 8 hafdi] hafa 235 8 Eptir] + þat 235 11 annan] annat 235 13 tendrat hafdi  
 hiarta þessarar] hafdi tendrat hiarta þessara 235 14 grædarans] grædans 235 15 eín sa] sa ein  
 235 16 Avgustínus] Avgustí 235 16 fínn] fann 235

| 17 | leít j leiddit. helldr enn þa ath hvn trvdi huorki *ser* ne *odrum* | 18 | vm þat ath *ihesus* væri j brottv *ok* hugdíz þann at *finna er hvn* elsk | 19 | adi. Eínglarnir mæltu þa hvat grætr þv kona svo sem | 20 | þeir bannadí *henne* at *grata*. þa er efní stodv *til þess* at fagna | 21 | hvn *svarar* þeim þa. Brott tokv þeir herra mín *ok* eigi veit ek *hvar* | 22 | þeir settv *hann*. Enn þeir *svorvdu* óngv hvn sneríz þa *ok* sa *ihesvm* | 23 | standa hía *ser. ok* vissi eigi ath *hann wæri hann* mælti þa hvat grætr | 24 | þv maria eda hvat leitir þv. Sem *hann* syndi *henne* at *grata* | 25 | eigi þann *davdann* sem lífdi. ne leíta þann sem stod hia *henne* | 26 | hvn hvgdí at *hann mvndi wera* gæzlu *madr* gardzíns þess | 27 | er gróffinn *var j ok* mælti *til hans*. herra seg *mer* ef þv tokt *hann*. eda | 28 | *hvar* þv settir *hann*. at ek mega taka *hann*. Jhesus mælti þa. *ma* | 29 | *ria* sagdi *hann*. hvn kendi þa *ihesvm*. Jnnocentivus segir kendi | 30 | *ihesus* *mariam ok* þa kendi *maria iesvm*. Fyrvm gret *ihesus* *vm* | 31 | sok *marie*. þa er *hann* sa *hana* *grata* brodvr sínn *davdann ok* reis | 32 | *ti hann* vpp *til lífs*. Nv gret *maría* *vm* sök *ihesu* þa er *hon* | 33 | leidadi *hans* lífanda med *davdvm*. enn *jhesus* þoldi eigi grát | 34 | *hennar ok* syndíz *henne* af *davda* risínn ath *kendvm* *ihesv* kalla | 35 | *di hvn hann* meistara *ok* fell *til* fota *honvm ok* villdi hallda a þeim | 36 | eptir þvi sem hvn *var* von. *jhesus* mælti þa. hírd eigi þv maria | 37 | at taka a *mer*. þv íat ek hefí eigi enn vpp stigít *til* fedr | 38 | míns. ath skilia j hiarta þínv. sem *hann* mælti eigi mvntv | 39 | avdlaz at taka a þeim lífanda med þínvm *hondvm* | 40 | sem þv leítar *davdann. ok* þv trvír brótt tekít lik enn eigi | 41 | son aljafnan fedr. Ok enn mælti *hann til* *hennar* far þv *ok* segh || 69v || | col. A | | 1 | brædrvm mínvm at ek stigh vpp *til* míns fedr. *ok* ydvars fedr | 2 | míns gvds *ok* ydvars gvds. sem *hann* mælti skiott mvnv þer sia *mik* | 3 | *til* hímens stíga. a þessvm tíma hrvfv *grafar* *verðirnir* heím. j | 4 | *hierusalem*. at sögdv *farisæis* sön tidendi at *drottínn* var vpp | 5 | risínn enn þeir keypto storfe at þeim. ath leyna sannyn | 6 | *dvm* *vm* þenna atbvrd. enn reisa lygi þa ath þeir hef | 7 | dí sofnat vokv *mennirnir*. en a þeirí stvndo hefdí læri | 8 | sveínar

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19 svo] - 235 23 wæri] + ath 235 24-25 at grata eigi] eigi at grata 235 27 eda] - 235 1 míns fedr] fédr míns 235 2 mælti] segði 235 3 til ... stíga] stíga til fedrs míns til hímens 235 4 sögdv] sögdum 235

hans stolít likama hans j *bravtv* j *nattmyrkrí* | 9 | 'Þ' *eir* tokv víf fenv *ok* helldo þessu falsí sem þeir höfdu | 10 | samann sett *ok þat* sana allir iudar allt til þessa dags at | 11 | *ihesus* wæri af gröfínni stolínn enn *eigi* vpp risínn.

| 11 | *ihesus* vitradiz | 12 | magda(lene)

Maria magdalena for þa med sannri *trv ok* | 13 | fullkomínni vítand drottínligrar vpprisv *ok* fann ko | 14 | nur þær sem *fyrvm* höfdu hía henne verít vm mörgvíninn | 15 | *ok* sagdi þeim sína syn. þa rynn þær allar samt *med re* | 16 | *ttri trv* a leid til lærisveína kristz. *Jhesus* rann þa j moti þeim | 17 | svo mælandi. heilar se þer. þær *krupo til knía honvm* | 18 | *ok* helldo vm fætr hans. *ihesus* mælti þa. *fari þer ok segit brædrvm* | 19 | mínvm at þeir *fari* j galileam. þar mynn þeir sía mik. Co | 20 | *mestr seger. j galileam eínkadí drottínn þvi til* at þa | 21 | *trvdi hann* alla lærisveína *ihesv* víf hafa verít. *ok* þa asa | 22 | kadi *hann* þa vm 'tor' trygd *ok* vm hiartaligan *hardleik* | 23 | *konvnrar rynn* þa *ok* sögdv xi lærisveínvm sytondv | 24 | síns herra *davda* ath *hann var* vpp risínn. enn þeir hvgdv ath | 25 | þær spottadi þa *ok trvdu eigi*. *Petrus* rann þa til leidissíns | 26 | *ok þat* \*⟨er⟩ *trvanligt* at gvd hafi þa *honvm* bírzt þott þat se *eigi* | 27 | greínt j gvd spiollvnm. Se her milldann *meistara ok* misk | 28 | vnnsaman herra þann er fyrst syndíz þeim er framaz | 29 | vorv sorgfvllír. *marie ok petro*. Se her liosan lampa | 30 | heímsíns *ok skínandi* gvds gímmsteínn med göfvlighri | 31 | bírtí. *mariam magdalenam* þa er *fyrvm* var savrg | 32 | *ok* synda fvll enn nv var oll glóandi j astsemd síns gré | 33 | *dara ok stadföst* at leíta síns *meistara. ok lavsnara ok fyrir* | 34 | þessa stadfestí feck hvn þann forpris af sialfvn *honvm* at | 35 | bera hínvm hæstvm hans sendibodvm hit hesta

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8 j *bravtu*] á *brvtt* 235 10 allir ... dags] alltt til þessa daghs judar 235 11-12 *ihesus* ... magda(lene)] af *maria* mag(dalena) 235 15 þa rynn þær] þær rynn þa 235 17 knía] fóta 235 19 sía mik] *mik* finna 235 20 þvi] - 235 21 lærisveína ... hafa] lærisveína hafa *vid* 235 22 vm ... *hardleik*] *hiartaligan tregha ok hardléck* 235 23 xi] .xíj 235 24 herra *davda*] *dauda herra* 235 25 spottadi] *mvnn*di spotta 235 \* 26 ⟨er⟩] *so* 235 26 gvd hafi þa] þa *hafi* drottinn 235 28 þann er] þann sem 235 30 skínandi] *skinanda* 235 31 savrg] saurgvt 235 32 var] + *hun* 235 33 *meistara. ok*] - 235 35 hans] - 235

sendi | 36 | bod hins hæsta fagnadar. ok vera rett kollvt postoli postola | 37 | nna af vpprisv síns  
 millda meistara sem marcvs segir | 38 | 'M`aria magdalena sagdi postolvm at hvn sa drottinn vpp  
 | 39 | risínn. konan skeínkti j paradiso sínvm bonda. sاران | 40 | davda. fyrir atv hins bannada  
 eplis. enn nv bodadi k | 41 | onan karllmannínvm. hit sanna líf af síalfs drottins gróf | 42 | ok sv er  
 fordvm bar fram ormlíg ord til alldr tila. | col. B | | 1 | ollvm heími. sv bar nv fram \*sagnir fra  
 vpprisv lífgiafara síns | 2 | ollvm til eilífs fagnadar. ok af þeirí hendí tokvm ver fordvm  
 | 3 | davdadryck sem nv tokv ver lífs dryck fyrir þessa skynsemi | 4 | syngur heilög kristní a hennar  
 messvdegí. Credo ín vnv `devm' | 5 | j messv. sem a hatidvm síalfs grædarans ok marie modvr  
 | 6 | hans ok postolana. Se her maklígán meistara ok godan gæzlu mann | 7 | gvdligrar híardar sælan  
 petrvm. þann er síalfr gvd leiddí or | 8 | þoko þvngurar neítíngar til þrennrar íatníngar síns sæta na  
 | 9 | fns. ok syndíz honvm fyrst af postolvm eptir vpprisa sína. því at | 10 | hann vissí petrvm eigi  
 mvndo þora nema hann hefdi hann nefn | 11 | dan med odrvm postolvm j galileam fyrir sik ath  
 koma at lata sia | 12 | síg milli lærisveína. ok at hann mætti af ser marka hverso hann | 13 | ætti  
 ódrvm ostyrktir at vorkynna

| 13 | af marthe capit(ulum)

| 14 | Svo segir specvlvm historíale at hín heilaga martha | 15 | fylldi þat gvds bodord er hann segir  
 svo. Hverr sa er fyrir | 16 | lætr hvs eda herbergí fódvr eda modvr brodvr eda systvr | 17 | hvsfreíu  
 eignir eda akra fyrir mínar sakir mvn hvndrat fallt j | 18 | motí taka ok eignaz eilíft \*líf. avll avdæfi  
 sín skíp | 19 | ti hvn j þria stadí. éinn veitti hvn marie magdalene | 20 | systvr síní. Enn hvn veitti  
 þann til at vinnv vorvm herra | 21 | ok lærisveínvm hans. annann veitti hon lazaro brodvr

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37 millda] milldasta 235 39 skeínkti] skendi fyrum 235 41 hit sanna] sanra hit 235 \* 1 sagnir] g  
 has been corrected by the scribe from long s 1 fra] fram 235 1 síns] - 235 4 kristní] kirkia 235 10  
 hann vissí] vissi at 235 13 capit(ulum)] - 235 15 bodord er] bordord enn 235 17 eda akra] ok  
 akrar 235 \* 18 líf] so 235; líft Stock. Perg. 2 fol.



| 22 | *sínvm. hinn þridia vardveitti hvn sialf fram vm pislar tí* | 23 | *ma ok vpprisv kristz. ok veitti þar af veizlur vorvm herra ok* | 24 | *lærisveínvm hans. Enn eptir vppstígníng hans lagdi hvn þat* | 25 | *sem eptir var fyrir fætr postolum kristz þa er mikill fioldi kristí* | 26 | *nna manna hafdi svo mikít samþyckí sem þeir ættí e* | 27 | *ítt hiarta ok eína ónd. ok engí hefdí neítt eígnlígt hel* | 27 | *ldr var þeim allt sam eígnlígt.*

| 28 | *fra systrvm marie ok marthe*

| 29 | *Ad lidínni dyrdar fullri vpprisv drottíns vars íhesvs kristz* | 30 | *worv þær badar systvr maría ok martha med postolum gvds* | 31 | *ok ódrvm lærisveínvm fram til vppstígníngar hans stadfa* | 32 | *star at bæna halldí ok odrvm godvm verkum til þess er þær þago* | 33 | *med ódrvm gvds wínvmm astgiðf hins helga anda er þat* | 34 | *trvligt at af þeim megi skilaz ord luce þav sem sett erv* | 35 | *j lof vorrar frv. hann segir ath postolar gengv eptir vppstíg* | 36 | *níng lavsnarans af olíuetí fíallí apr j iðrsala. borg* | 37 | *ok stígv upp j eítt lopthvs þar sem petrús hafdi herbergí ok ad* | 38 | *rír postolar. þeir vorv allír stadfastír a bænvmm med konvm ok ma* | 39 | *rie modvr drottíns. ok brædrvm hans er þat trvanda at* | 40 | *þær hafi þar verit j skola skírlífis ok annarra mankosta j.* | 41 | *hofgardi hímneskrar paradisar med hínvm hæstvm rads* | 42 | *monnvmm. hímna konvnngs til vottvm vors drottíns vpprisv hvgr || 70r || | col. A | | 1 | sandi hans lógmál nætr ok daga þar til er þær þago med od* | 2 | *rvmm gvds vínnum gípt ens helga anda.*

| 2 | *vm vfríd íuda vít gvds víni*

| 3 | *Eñ þa er vaxa tok fioldi kristz lærisveína giordv íu* | 4 | *dar ath þeim svo míkínn ofríd ath þeir rako þa af sínvm* | 5 | *herodvm. svma settv þeir j myrkva stofv sem petrum* | 6 | *'S`vma gryttv þeir*

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27 engí] engin 235 28 fra ... marthe] capitulum 235 30 maría ok martha] martha ok maría 235 35 ath] + gvds 235 39 brædrvm] bredra 235 42 til] ok 235 2 vínnum] astvínnum 235 2 vm ... víni] er ofríd toku capitulum 235 5 myrkva stofv] myrkuastofur 235

sem *stephanvm*. Svma halshúggv þeir | 7 | sem *iacobvm*. svma fluttv þeir a skíp *ok sævar* díup at  
 | 8 | *fra teknvm arvm ok austkervm streíngíum ok styrum ok ollwm* | 9 | skípreida wistvm *ok*  
*vatzkervm ok ollvm. þarfendvm.* | 10 | vt sellda olmleik vándz *ok vattnz* at þeir tapadiz *sem*  
 | 11 | skiotazt. En þott *grimmleikr juda land flæmdi þa af* | 12 | sínvm fostr iordvm nalíga alla vors  
 herra víní þa | 13 | *var þo hans almattígs hond þeim nalæg sv er þeim skíp* | 19 | adi j betri stadi.  
 vegsamadí *ok tignadí avdgadi med* | 20 | *breidvm bygðvm. ok bæíum storvm kóstólum ok borgvm*  
*ok envm* | 20 | *friduztvm fiarhlutvm klaustrvm ok kirkíum. nv audgar* | 21 | *hann þa ath eilífv j*  
*hímneskvm fògnodvm. enn þa h* | 22 | *vgdi hann hveríum þeira med sínri fagligri forsía eigín*  
 | 23 | *liggann stad. hann skípadi narbonam paulo. Arelatenn* | 24 | *Theophímo Tholosam. ok*  
*vaskoníam. Satvríno.* | 25 | *Lemonídas marciali. Sanconas ok aqvítonínam Evtrofio.*  
 | 26 | *Cenomannvm ok brittanníam Juliano. Turonvm* | 27 | *katiano. Lugðvnm híreneo.*  
*vesvncionem feruc* | 28 | *io. Arusícam. odrvm eutropio. petragoricas frontoni.* | 29 | *velliacvm*  
*georgio ok alla galliam díonisio ser hveríum* | 30 | *herodvm vorv ser hverír fedr ok formælendr af*  
*gvdi gefnir* | 31 | *þeir sem þav pryddv lífendr med miklvm mannkostvm* | 32 | *ok agætvm*  
*iarteighnm.*

| 32 | vm pisl þeira systra

| 33 | Ath hitnanda þessvm harda stormí er judar giordo o | 34 | *frid guds vínvm. þa var hín sæla*  
*martha rekínn* | 35 | *med odrvm lærisveínvm af sínum herodum ok sui* | 36 | p`t` ollvm audæfvvm.  
 med systur sínri *ok heilògvvm max* | 37 | *ímíano þeim sem éinn var af .lxx ok íj. kristz lærisveínvm.*  
 | 38 | `S`a hafdi fordvm skírdar þær systr at *guds bodi nv* | 39 | *leidi hann þær med biortv dæmí.*

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7 ok] aa 235 8-10 styrum ... vattnz] auskerum ok avllvm þarfendum vtsellda i olmleik vindz ok vags  
 235 11 skiotazt] fliottaz 235 22 fagligri forsía] forsió fahurligri 235 25 Lemonídas] Lemodas  
 235 27-28 Lugðvnm ... ferucio] - 235 31 þav] þeir 235 32 vm ... systra] - 235 34 guds vínvm]  
 krisnvm monnum ok guds vinum 235 38 bodi] + enn 235

blezads lífnadar vm | 40 | hímneskar gøtor heilagra bodorda til eilífs fagnadar | 41 | en er þav voro  
oll a skíp rekinn leiddi vor herrra | 42 | vánd hvassan or sínvm fehírdzlum. þann er for þeira flu  
| 43 | tti j goda hófn hía marsilía borg.

| 43 | fra marie mag(dalene)

| 44 | Þav gengv þa til nalægs bæiar at fyrir latnvm farkos | 45 | ti sínvm. ok þvi at þau fvndo  
ðngvan þann er þeim uill | 46 | dí veíta neítt herbergí tokv þav ser natt stad j eíno p`or` | **col. B** |  
| 1 | ti skamt fra blot hvsi heidína manna ok lago a bæ | 2 | nvm fastandi alla þa nott. en er dagadi  
kom þangat | 3 | sv ranglata þiod er þar bygdí at færa fornir skurd | 4 | godvm sínvm þa stod en  
heilaga maría magdale | 5 | na vpp or flocki heilagra manna med þeckilígo and | 6 | líti ok predicadi  
fyrir þar komnv folkí gvdlíga trv med `svo` mikillí | 7 | snílld at allír vndrvdvz fegrd hennar ok  
ordhegí

| 7 | vm vitran | 8 | hertogans

Þenna tíma red ríkr hertogí fyrir borginni marsilia | 9 | sa er hvsfreyíu attí þeim syndiz heilog maria  
| 10 | magdalena j svefní. bidíandi at þav veítti nock | 11 | vña híaalp heilogvm monnvm þeim sem  
ðreíga vorv þar komnir | 12 | af sínvm eígnligvm gnottvm. hvn ægdi þeim vm sidir | 13 | ogvrligrí  
gvds reidí nema þav giordi hennar uilia. Tveím | 14 | sínvm syndíz hon henni. enn hít þridía sín  
badvm þeim | 15 | ok med reidi þocka ok elldligu andlítí. Enn þav let | 16 | v eptir hennar  
amínníngum. ok fæddu kristz lærisveína | 17 | a sínvm kostí. þessi frv hafdi leíngi obyria verít. en  
| 18 | lítlu sidar. kendi hvn sig fyrir bænar marie magdale | 19 | ne. hafa barn getíd ok er þat var fætt

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43 fra marie magd(dalene)] - 235 45-46 uilldí] vlli 235 1 lago] + þar 235 7-8 vm ... hertogans] -  
235 9 heilog] - 235 10-11 nockvña híaalp] hía'l'per 235 14 henni] þeim 235

vrðv allir þeira | 20 | vinir fegnir þviat langa stvnd höfðv þav saman verit | 21 | ok \*matt(i) eigi  
erfingía geta.

| 21 | fra keisara capitv(lvm)

| 22 | Enn þvi at hertvgínn villdi reyna huort þeir hlu | 23 | tir væri sannir er heilög maría sagði af  
kristí for | 24 | hann til iorsala. ok vítiadí heilagra stada ok vard viss sann | 25 | ynda vm alla þa lutí  
sem ihesus giordí her j heími ok er hann | 26 | kom aptr fann hann son sínn jarteígnasamlíga fæd  
| 27 | dan.

| 27 | vprisa drottníngar

| 27 | Nockvrvm tíma sidar tok frvinn | 28 | sott ok andadíz. enn fyrir bæinir marie magdalene  
| 29 | lífnadí hvn ok lofvðv allir trvandi menn gvds.

| 29 | predícan

| 30 | Eptir þat forv þav j þat herad er aquense heitir þar vorv þav | 31 | idínn at fóstvm ok  
bænahalldí ok snero mörgvvm | 32 | lyd til gvds med predícan ok gvdlígvvm taknvm. enn hann  
| 33 | veítí hínni heilogv marthe stor mykla gípt j he | 34 | ilsogiofvm vít síuka menn ok snilld j  
fram flutníng he | 35 | ilagrar predícanar. ok fyrir kenínngar hins heilaga maxím | 36 | íni byskvps  
ok þeira systra marie ok marthe tok hín mestí | 37 | hlvti manna rettra trv. briotandi skvrdgod ok  
reisandí | 38 | heilaugh kristz musteri

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\* 21 matt(i)] so 235 21 fra keisara] - 235 27 vprisa drottníngar] capitulum 235 29 predícan] af  
heradi aquensi capitulum 235 34 snilld ... flutníng] snilld framburðar ok flutningh 235 35  
kenínngar ... heilaga] heilagar kenningar 235 36 marie ok marthe] marthe ok marie 235  
38 kristz] gvds 235

| 38 | *vm davda drekans*

| 39 | Einn mikill dreki var milli þeira stada er | 38 | annar | 40 | heitir arelatenn. enn annar auícnon skamt fr`a` | 41 | a þeiri er rodanvs heitir hans hinir fremsto hlutir vorv sem | 42 | áfvglí. hín sidarri hlutr hans var sem a fiski. hann var || 70v || | col. A | | 1 | digrari enn vxí lengri en hestr höfod hafdi hann sem | 2 | leo. Tenn hans vorv hvassar sem sverds oddar fax haf | 3 | di hann mikít sem hestr hvass kambr geck eptir ba | 4 | ki hans. sem breid óxar egg. hreistr var aprt a honvm stort | 5 | ok storlíga snarpt. hann hafdi vi fætr fvrðulíga sterka | 6 | klær hans vorv sem a bírní. hali hans var vaxínn a þa lu | 7 | nd sem a þeim éitrormi er vipera heitir. vængi hafdi | 8 | hann tvo langa. ok breida svo at þeir huldv allann hans | 9 | likama ok vorv þeir svo sterkir ok þyckvir ath fyrir þeira tra | 10 | ustleik. lettí hann eigi fyrir neínvm hoggvópnvm ne flug | 11 | vopnvm ne nockurs kyns vigvælvvm. svo var hann st | 12 | yrkr at hann matti med sínvvm mikla grimleik. vit ía | 13 | fnaz eda sigra .xíj. biðrnv eda leona. þessi dreki var | 14 | af landz monnvm kalladr tharaskonvs. þat hvgdv menn ath | 15 | hann mvmndi getínn vera af þeim sio dreka er levithan he | 16 | ítir ok j iobs bok er nefndr. ok hafi sa dreki farít eptir | 17 | hínv mikla hafí avstan af galathie asie ok er hann | 18 | hinn grimmazti dreki. ok liggj j sio edr wotnvm ok ha | 19 | fi þat kykvendi er j galathia elzt ok bonatvm heitir | 20 | \*blandazt vít siodrekan til þessa getnadar. þetta olm`a` | 21 | dyr bonachvm er svo illrar nattvrv at þat verpr vell h | 22 | eítv dríti. því er brennr af hvat sem fyrir verdr. a þat er | 23 | þat sækia svo sem vm þriatigí fadma þann veg sem | 24 | skeyti flíugí. þessi dreki drap marga menn þa er forv vm | 25 | þann skog er hann la j asna ok hesta reíf hann kuika j svndr | 26 | `S`kípvm þeim ok eptir anní er rodanvs heitir forv optlíga | 27 | vellti hann íafnlíga. enn þa er mannfíoldi kom med | 28 | vopnvm at ella hann a skogínvm flydi hann j ana ok

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38 *vm davda drekans*] capitulum 235 39 *þeira stada*] staða þeira 235 42 *hín ... var*] *hinir sidarri voru* 235 6-7 *vaxínn ... lund*] a þa leið *vaxinn* 235 14 *tharaskonvs*] *thaskonus* 235 15 *getínn vera*] *uera getinn* 235 15 *sio*] - 235 15-16 *heitir ok*] *heitir hann er i sío ok* 235 19 j ... *bonatvm*] *galataia elz bland ok bonachum* 235 \* 20 *blandazt*] *so* 235; *blandanzt* Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 22 sem] *er* 235 22 *þat*] *þessa* 235 23 *þann veg*] *þannig* 235 26 *ok*] *er* 235 28 *ella*] *ellta* 235

ley | 29 | ndiz. ok vm sidir þa er herads menn gato med engo mo | 30 | ti fordaz hann ok mattv med  
eíngvm kosti sigra hann | 31 | heyrðv þeir sógd takn þav er gud let ser soma ath | 32 | wíinna. fyrir  
sæla martham ok komv skyndilíga til hennar | 33 | bidiandi lítillatlíga at hvn vítiadi herads. þeira ok  
| 34 | leysti þa vndan þeim skadasamliga dreka er þeim ve | 35 | ítí margskyns vendraði |-dreka-|. at  
heyrðv þeira | 36 | erendi sampíndizt ok samharmadi heilög ma | 37 | rtha. þeira meín ok  
treystandi gvdlígv kraptí for | 38 | hvn ok fann drekan j skogí liggíanda a því manna | 39 | hræi  
sem hann hafdi vpp drepít ok tok þa at snæd | 40 | a sítt her fang. enn kristz hvsfrv geck at honvm  
oskia | 41 | lfandi ok stavkti fyrst yfir hann vigdo vatní því | 42 | sem hvn hafdi med ser haft ok  
kross drottíns bar hvn | **col. B** | | 1 | med ser svo sem órvggan skiolld motí þesso enu illfv | 2 | sa  
dyrí. enn hann vard vít þessi hennar til tæki svo ottaf | 3 | vllr ok omattvgr. ath hann mattí or þeim  
stad sem þa | 4 | var hann ecki fram fara ok \**ðngvan* olmleik af ser syna ne neítt | 5 | meín gíðra  
ok stod sigradr sem savdr sa er ecki \**afl* hefir | 6 | 'E`nn hvn dvaldi all`z` ecki ok batt hann med  
sínvm eígnlígv | 7 | gyrdlí. suo at allír vndrvdvz þeir er a þa þetta horf | 8 | dv. þui næst dírfdízt  
lydrínn ok gek allt at drek | 9 | anvm. ok bardi hann ok stangadi med griotí \**ok* spíotí til he  
| 10 | líar. Eptír þenna atbvrd. tok sa stadr sem drekínn ha | 11 | fdi hidít haft af þeim heítí ok var  
kalladr tharascho | 12 | nvs en adr het hann verlut þat kollvm ver svartan stad þviat þar | 13 | vorv  
myclír ok myrkver skoghar.

| 13 | fra marthe ok heradsmonnvm

| 14 | Eptír þat logdv heradsmenn margar ok miklar bænir at hínri | 15 | heilogv marthe ath hvn  
dveldíz a leíngdar med þeim | 16 | ok vm sidir med samþycki ens heilaga maxímíni ok | 17 | mario

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32 sæla] sælam 235 34 skadasamliga] skaðsamlígam 235 37 meín] meini 235 38-39 manna hræi]  
mannz hreín 235 2 þessi] - 235 3 or] hvergi in 235 3-4 þa var hann] hann var þa 235 \* 4  
*ðngvan*] so 235 5 gíðra] af ser syna ne neítt mein gíora 235 5 ecki afl hefir] ecki er saurgaðr ok  
afl hefir 235 \* 5 afl] f was corrected by the scribe from þ 7 þa] - 235 \* 9 ok] The scribe corrected o  
from p 9 spíotí] spíótum 11 þeim] honum 235 13 fra ... heradsmonnvm] capitu(lum) 235

systvr \*h(e)nnar var hvn þar eptir idín at fostvm ok bæ | 18 | nahalldí ok natt vokvm svo leíngi sem hvn lífdj. | 19 | Enn hverr mvn þat mega med ordvm skyra hversu mörg | 20 | erfidi eda hversv margar þraunguíngr eda hversu margar | 21 | sottir eda hversu margfalldann ofrid. edr hversv mikínn sk | 22 | ort matar eda dryckiar hun þoldi j þeim stad. ok þat er eigi | 23 | wór ath greína. þviat enn fystv víj ar nærði hun helldr | 24 | enn fæddi sínn likama med hnótvm ok grasa rotvm hram ok | 25 | skogar eplvm svo sem hvn matti mínz nyta. Eptir þat var | 26 | fyrir hennar eggíann. ok framkvæmd j þeim stad kirkía giðrr J | 27 | nafní drottíns vors ihesu kristi ok marie modvr hans har | 28 | dla mikil ok tígulig ok þar sömmnudvz saman margir brædr | 29 | ok systv vndir postvligvm lífnadí. þar lífdi hvn yfrid strídlíga | 30 | vít likama sínn a vetrvm klæddi hvn síg med savd | 31 | skínz kyrtlí ok herfilígv mavlí. a svmrvm hafdi | 32 | hvn harklædi næst likama sínvmm enn yfir vtan kyr | 33 | til ok kapo. íafnan geck hvn bervm fotvm. hufv haf | 34 | di hvn hvíta giðrfa af ufallða hari a hófdi ser | 35 | 'K`nvtottan gyrdil brugdín af hrossa hari hafdj | 36 | \*hvn lagdan at midíum kvídi sínvmm svo hardlíga | 37 | at holldít morknadí fyrir ok madkar fellv af þeim | 38 | sarrvm er þadan af giordvzt. Reyckia hennar var svo fal | 39 | lín. at smatt hris eda vínvidar kvistir vorv fyrir halm | 40 | enn harklædis seckr til vndir breidv steínn at hóf | 41 | dí hvorki letti hvn af söngvm ne bæna halldí | 42 | nætr ne daga ok starfadi. þo íafnan nockv(t) \* || 25v || | col. A | | 16 | nytsamligt Gestrisni | 17 | þa sem hun hafdi vanízt i bethaniam. helt hvn suo einkan | 18 | liga at eptir þui sem hun hafdi þar fyrir þaknaz bed | 19 | i guði ok monnum vard hun enn storlíga fregh ok leidði med si | 20 | num loflíghum lífnadí ok heilagri predican margar þusyndir | 21 | manna gudi til handa suo at þeiri freghð ok þui agæti er al | 22 | menningr sa með henn`e` toku þeir kristilíga tru med heilagri tru

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\* 17 h(e)nnar] so 235 18 natt vokvm] natt vöku 235 20 þraunguíngr] þravnginghum 235 22 eda] ok 235 26 eggíann] aeggíann 235 33-34 hufv ... ser] huita hufu gerfa af vfallða hari þar hun á hófdi 235 \* 36 hvn] so 235; hvn Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 42 nætr] nott 235 42 íafnan nockv(t)] nockud íafnan 235 \* AM 235 fol. begins here

| 23 | af *martha*

| 23 | ÞA er hin heilaga *husfrv iesv kristi* | 24 | *martha predikadi gud*⟨s⟩ orð a *nockrri fagr*⟨i⟩

| 25 | eingh. þeiri er la fyrir hlidi *borgarinnar er á vion heitir er aðr* | 26 | er nefnd *vid ana*

*rodðanum ok greddi þar siuka men* | 27 | þa *sem til hennar voru færdir. var einn vngr maðr* *audrum*

*me* | 28 | *ghum arinnar. sa er hana villdi giarna sio ok heyra* | 29 | þuiat *hann sa mikinn fiollda* \*folk

*samankomin. þeim megin* | 30 | \* *arinar sem han* \* *var eigi. Enn þott hann hefði ecki ski* | 31 | p. let

*hann eigi aruoxttin hefta fór sina. helldr kastadi* | 32 | *hann klédum ok tok nokuidr at svima yfir*

*ana. en* | 33 | er *hann kom iafn er badum. þökkum. tok hinn stridi strau* | 34 | *mur arinar med sinv*

*ofvegiu afli. at draga hann i kafit* | 35 | *huat þarf her til langmælis at draga. Margir hliópv ok* | **col.**

**B** | | 1 | *vnu ekki vm þat sem honum væri til fultinghs allan daginn* | 2 | leitadi *lydrinn hans med*

*skipum ok soknum ok fvnðu hann eigi fyrir en* | 3 | *annan dag nęr nóni. nadu þeir likinv ok kaustuð*

| 4 | u þui med mikilli sut fyrir *fetr guds ambattar. Enn hun samhar* | 5 | *madi sut þeira ok bad allan*

*þann lyð sem þar var vid stadr* | 6 | *leggiaz á jorðina til þenar. ok bidia. þess almattkan gud at hann*

| 7 | lęti ser *soma med sinum mikla krapti at gefa aptr sueini þessu* | 8 | m sitt lif ok *lyðrinn hlyddi*

*eptir hennar þodi. lagdiz hon* | 9 | á likit ok *retti hendr sinar suo mælandi. heyrðu drott* | 10 | *inn*

*jhesus kristi er med þinni* \* *heilaghri ok* \* *ovmræðiligri ok* ⟨o⟩*ęttanligri* | 11 | *milldi. reistir af dauða*

*þinn káran vın brodr min* | 12 | 'Þ'v *helldr i þinni hendi. lykla lifs ok dauða. þu kallar* | 13 | *dauða*

*menn til lifs. ok þu bydr dauðanum boð. ok hann* | 14 | *flyr fyrir þinu valldi. heyrðu hinn*

*goðgiarnasti gud mitt* | 15 | *miuklęti. ok lit á þen ambattar þinnar. ok a þenir þeira* | 16 | *sem nv*

*kalla a þitt mikla nafn. ok biod at lifs anði* | 17 | *huerfi aftr j þetta lik til þess at nęruerendr ok*

*uidkomendr* | 18 | *siamndr ok heyrendr snuizt til þin af aullu hiarta. ok lo* | 19 | *fi þin stórtakn af*

*aullum hvg. ok fylgi þik sinn san* | 20 | *nan hialpara. ok er hun hafdi lvcktad þenina reis i hondins*

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\* 18 *hun hafdi þar*] *hun hafdi fyru h°afdi hun þar* \* 29 *folk*] *fols* \* 30 *arinar*] *arin'ar* \* 30 *var*] *bar*

\* 10 *heilaghri*] *heilag'h* \* 10 *ovmræðiligri*] *ovmkæðiligri*



| 21 | *dauða suo. melandi. Heyrð þu inn vngi maðr ris vpp i naf* | 22 | *ni drottins iesv kristi af þeim*  
*dauda sem þik helðr. þa reis* | 23 | *sueinnin vpp heill ok osakaðr ok var skirðr i nafni* | 24 | *heilagrar*  
*þrenningar*

| 24 | *capitulum*

| 24 | *I þenna tíma giorduðt* | 25 | *þrír siðlatir byskupar til þess at finna sęla martham fyrir gudliga*  
| 26 | *aminningh. einghin vissi annars kvomu ok komu þo* | 27 | *allir senn. maximinus aquensis ok*  
*throfimmus arelaten* | 28 | *sis. ok evtropius aurasicensis. ok er þeir voru komnir. bad hun* | 29 | *vigia*  
*kirkiu. þa hina virdlighu er fyrir hennar rauksemd* | 30 | *var vpp smiduð i kristz nafni ok hans*  
*milldu mōdr* | 31 | *marie. enn þeir letu þat eptir henni ok uar su kirkia vigd .xvi.to* | 32 | *kalendas*  
*janvaríj með god fvso guds lofi sem vera atti. Ok* | 33 | *er þat embetti var framit eptir skyldu ok*  
*setninng. gengu* | 34 | *menn a vidrkueligum tíma til snedingh ok um sidr þraut ui* | 35 | *nit. en*  
*gudlig milði sneri at þeim hia \*veronðum uatni j uin*

|| 26r || | col. A | | 1 | *capitulum*

*Eptir skilnad þeira systra marthe* | 2 | *ok marie. predicadi maria magdalena leinge* | 3 | *guds ord.*  
*enn þa er þat kom til eyrna henne at \*pall postole \*baud* | 4 | *at konur þęgdi i kirkiu girntiz hun*  
*einkanligrar at þrau* | 5 | *<n>gva sik med andligu \*vpplitningar lifi ok fyrir gudliga á* | 6 | *miningh.*  
*flydi hun leyniligha j hina snaurpuz* | 7 | *stu eydi mork. Ok var hun þar .xxx. vetra. j þeim stad er*  
*henn* | 8 | *i uar fyrir buinn med \*eingilighum hondum. aullvm monnum* | 9 | *okunnigh. enn saudð at*  
*eins himnerskum nęringum* | 10 | *lofandi gud nętr ok dága med heilugum bęnum an aflatu* | 11 | *þessi*  
*hellir er hun bugdi var vndir rotum fiallz nockrz* | 12 | *þess er storliga braut var ok oslett eighi*

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\* 35 *veronðum*] *The scribe has corrected o from ð* \* 3 *pall*] *The scribe has corrected a from l* \* 3 *baud*] *bd<sup>cc</sup>* \* 5 *vpplitningar*] *vpplitnngar* \* 8 *eingilighum*] *einginlighum*

véitti henni | 13 | huggan nokura vatn ne vidir. ok eigi gren gros j þessum stað | 14 | þuiat guðlig  
 milldi med sinni birti i þrotnan þessara hluta at | 15 | hans vinkona var þar sáudð. eigi jarðligum.  
 helldr himnerskum | 16 | krasum J þessi jarð holu var hvn suo framaliga tignud. at vij | 17 | sinnum  
 á huerium déghi j þann tima sem heil | 18 | ug krisni syngr med reglu .uij. tidir. var hun vpp ha  
 | 19 | fin med eingiligum hondum. j loptid ok heyrði hina | 20 | haleituztu lof \*songva himnerskrar  
 lofsaungva. eigi at | 21 | eins med anðligum helldr ok med likamligum eyrum. med | 22 | þessum  
 inum sētuztum saunghliodum sadda ferdur þer | 23 | sōmu éingla hendr hana aptr i helli sinn. þar  
 \*lofadi | 24 | hun gud an aflatu ok þurpti eigi likamliga vist

| 25 | capitulum

| 25 | Einn sidlatr kenni maðr hafdi ser giort eitt litid hus | 26 | xii staðia vndir þessu fialli vid ein  
 litin brvnn ovitan | 27 | di allra takna þeira sem gud giordi a sinni vinkono. marie magdalene  
 | 28 | \*S`tadium er .c. ok xxv. fadma. ok er þat attunghr milu þessi | 29 | kennimaðr var vanr at  
 ganga j eydi mork i fostu i gang | 30 | ok vera þar med mikilli bindendi ok sifellv guds lofi alla fó  
 | 31 | stuna. ok a einum tima fostvnnnar þar er hann var þar i eydi mor | 32 | kinni eptir sinni  
 veniv. lauk gud upp avgu hans ok sa hann þa med | 33 | huerium hétti guðligir einglar stigv nidr yfir  
 þann stad sem | 34 | hin heilaga maria magð(alena) var ok at þeir fluttu hana sy | 35 | giandi i hed  
 himins. en eptir dagstundar bid fluttu | 36 | þeir lofandi gud hana aftr i sinn stad. Enn þui ath lan  
 | col. B | | 1 | gt var milli þess staðr sem hann var ok hellis. marie matti hann sia ath | 2 | einglarnir  
 fluttu eitt huat enn eigi huat þeir fluttu. hann tok | 3 | þa at bidia gud at honum birtiz sanleikr af  
 þessari | 4 | syn med marghfalldum tarum. Anan dagh eptir at morni skvnd | 5 | aði hann j þann  
 stað sem honum hafdi synin birzt. Ok er hann kom nær | 6 | steinkast fra hellinum. toku fotleggir  
 ok lęrleggir hans at | 7 | skialpa enn briost hans at hreðazt. Enn þa er hann sneri aptr | 8 | matti

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\* 20 songva] söngva \* 23 lofadi] lof<sup>n</sup>di \* 28 'S`tadium] 'S`stadium

hann ganga huert er hann villði. Enn þa er hann snerizt á fram | 9 | voru allir hans limir af settir  
sinum auflvm. suo at vanmegn | 10 | likamans bannadi honum á fram at fara. hann skildi þa at  
| 11 | guds vili bannadi honum. ok talmadi hann at forvitnast þetta st`or` | 12 | merki. Gaf hann  
stad ok at kolludu kriz nafni sagdi hann | 13 | suo ek sei þik fyrir lifanða gud at ef þu ert maðr eða  
nockrr sky | 14 | nsaum sképna su er bygguer i þessum helli attv suarir mer ok sk | 15 | yrir fyrir mer  
allan sannleik þins lifnadar. Ok er hann hafdi íj | 16 | sinnum fram haft þeira séring \*suarar. hin  
heilagha maria. af | 17 | hellinum. ok baud honum nær at ganga. ok sagði sik vera | 18 | þa mariam  
er i gudspialli er fræguzt af fiolda sinna syn | 19 | ða \*eiglinligr. ok siðan greindi hun vt alla  
framsógn | 20 | sinns lifs. ok eptir þat er hun hafdi vt rakit melti hun. þuiat mer | 21 | er þat af gudi  
vitrad at ek mvna braut lida af þessum he | 22 | imi a medal manna bid ek at þv finnr maximum  
| 23 | byskup skioftliga ok segir honum þat er þu hefir seð af minu ef | 24 | ni. Enn af \*invvm fysta  
paska dégi a ottusongs | 25 | tima. skal hann ganga einn saman i bænahus sitt. þat sem | 26 | hann  
hefir ser smidat. ok mun hann þar mik finna. þangat flv | 27 | tta med eíngiligum höndum idna at  
guds lófi

| 27 | capitulum

| 28 | Kenri maðrinn sa éngan man enn heyrði roddina | 29 | þa er taladi. ok hugdi þetta helldr vera  
ein | 30 | gils orð enn mannz. Enn þa er hann spurdi fleiri hluta | 31 | fek hann eingin andsuor  
þadan af. hann f`or`\*þegar at segia max | 32 | iminom byskup ok sagði allt þat sem honum var  
bodit ok hann hafdi | 33 | sed ok heyrte. byskup vard storligha feginn er hann heyrði | 34 | þessi ok  
giordi gudi þakir. a siolfum \*paskadags mörgni | 35 | gek hann i sönghus sitt ok sa seþan mariam  
standa i mid | 36 | ium floki þeira eingla sem hana barv þangat. suo mikit li || 26v || | col. A |

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\* 16 suarar] s<sup>r</sup>uar \* 19 eiglinligr] eigeigligra \* 24 invvm] in<sup>v</sup>vm \* 31 þegar] segar \* 34 paskadags]  
The scribe corrected p from þ

| 1 | <o>mi ok birti skein vm hana at allt husit birtiz af framar enn af | 2 | dagligum liösi. Ok er guds  
maðr nam stadar i hus dyrum sa hann | 3 | eingla þa er þessa hafdi þangat flvtt lida til heimin(s)  
| 4 | en hana standa i millum þeira ok midium floki med ret | 5 | tum höndum j kross at nær .ij. alna  
rum var a medal li | 6 | kama hennar ok iardar. enn þa er ottadizt nær | 7 | at ganga. þa taladi hun til  
hans med biorthv andliti. þuiat | 8 | af \*sifalldrí syn heilagra eingla skein framar enn solar  
| 9 | geislar. ok baud honum blidliga þangat at kalla klerka | 10 | ok kenna menn sem hann giordi  
han gaf henne at þeim hia veron | 11 | dum holld ok blod drottins. en hun \* tok þat med hinri mestv  
| 12 | tara vtthelling ok bad alla þa er hia stodu alhug`lig`a | 13 | bidia fyrir henni. eptir þat lagdiz  
hun aull til jarðar frami fyrir all | 14 | tarinu ok for þa sv en helga aunð ur likama til guds á  
| 15 | siolfum vpp risu deginum. Sumstadar segizt at hun hafdi fra li | 16 | dit .xi kalendas augustus  
manaðr ma þat fyrir þui segiaz at þa eru henne | 17 | tidir gioru(a)r ella fyrir þui at drottins dagrinn  
ma teki`n` | 18 | uera fra \* phasca deginum eda upp risu deginum jafnann er hann | 19 | kemmr at  
hendi eptir þat er hun var salud kendu allir hia | 20 | verendr ilm mikin at \* alla eptir komandi sið  
daga þrautt | 21 | alldregi i þessu bęna husi. hennar likama skipadi hinn heilagi | 22 | maximinus  
byskup smurdan med dyrum smursum i tiguligri | 23 | steinþro ok siða(n) let hans yfir \* hennar sęla  
légi vegliga | 24 | kirkiu med ðasamligum hagleik Grof hennar eda steinþro | 25 | var smidad sem en  
ma sea af huitum marmara ok grafit | 26 | á siolfum stęinunum. huersu hun kom i \* hus simonis ok  
smur | 27 | di med litileti fetr dróttins med dyrligu smursli ok | 28 | skammadizt eigi at grata milli  
bods manna.

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\* 8 sifalldrí] sifalldi \* 11 tok] tak \* 18 phasca] phasta \* 20 alla] The first a was corrected from l \* 23  
hennar] hnr \* 26 hus] h was corrected from k

| 28 | *capitulum*

| 29 | Hjnn sēla maria hafði bodit himum hei | 30 | laga maxímíno byskupi at segia hinni sēlu  
 | 31 | marthe systr sinni at hvn mundi skiott finna hana | 32 | 'E`nn hun endi eigi þat fyrir heit  
 lifandi. helldr lidin. lit`l'u \* || 71r || | col. A | | 1 | sidar kom hín sæli fronto petragorícensís ok  
 heilagr | 2 | georgivs wellíacensis sa er daudr hafdi werít ok vpp | 3 | rísít ath fínna hína sælo  
 martham. þviat þeir vorv badír | 4 | vt reknir af sínvm sætvm fyrir þa sok at borgar menn þeira hof  
 | 5 | dv rækt þeira predícan. Ok er þeir hófdv med henne werít | 6 | nóckvra daga. forv þeir  
 heímleidis ok sættvzt vít sína | 7 | borgar menn fyrir bæna fullting þat er hín heilaga martha haf  
 | 8 | dí til gvds fyrir þeim. Enn adr þeir færí heím taladi hon | 9 | vít sælan frontonum leyníliga ok  
 hafdi radagerdir vít hann | 10 | vm þa luti sem hon uilldí. Eptir þat |-forv-| iatadí hvn fyrir  
 | 11 | honvm þa hluti sem hvn þottízt j moti gudi giort hafva | 12 | ok sagdi honvm sik mvndv skiott  
 lida af likama. en hann | 13 | het henne ath veíta graptlíga þíonostv ef gud villdí svo | 14 | hafa til  
 skipat

| 14 | andlat marte

| 14 | Enn þvi at almattigr gvd | 15 | avmbvnarí allra godra hluta villdi giallda | 16 | hínni sælo  
 marthe maklígar mala giafir fyrir margfallda ve | 17 | lgernínga þar sem hvn þoknadízt honvm wm  
 alla lutj | 18 | Let hann ser soma at segía henne fyrir ath hvn mvndi a xij m(anada) | 19 | fresti lida af  
 þessaři werðlld. En hun tok bradliga | 20 | ridv sott. ok letti su eigi af henne medan hvn lífdí her j  
 heími. \* enn | 21 | er hvn attí. atta daga olífat j likama sínvm. sa hvn aund | 22 | marie magdalene  
 systur sinnar til hímíns borna af hei | 23 | lögvm englum. hun vottadi þessa syn óllum brædrum

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\* Stock. Perg. 2 fol. resumes here 3 sælo] sēlam 235 5 er] - 235 7-8 hafdí ... þeim] hafdi fyrir þeim til  
 guds 235 9 sælan] hinn heilaga 235 11 þa hluti] þat 235 11 j moti] moti 235 14 andlat marte]  
 capitulum 235 16-17 velgernínga] goðgernínga 235 19 bradliga] + eptir þat 235 \* 20 enn] so 235;  
 eñ Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 21 j] her i heimi at 235

| 24 | ok systur. þar saman sòmnoðvm j *guds* nafní. svoo | 25 | mælandí. Samfógnvm. wær aull j drottní *ok giðrum* | 26 | þackir hans dasamlighri *virðingh*. þviat nu let hann ser soma | 27 | ath flytia aund marie systur mínar fyrir þionostu sínna | 28 | heilagra eíngla til fyrir heitínna sæta síns sígnada ríkis | 29 | 'M`ínztv nu ok sagdi hun mín sætazta systir sagdi *hvn* þín`s` | 30 | fagra fyrir heitz þess er þu hetz at vítia mín. þar sem þu | 31 | lifir ath eilífv med sònnum drottní ihesu *kristo*. Ok eigi ble | 32 | kti heilög maria *martham*. þviat fyrir hín atta dag flutt | 33 | ti hvn hana j sanna sælo hímneskrar paradisar. | 34 | 'E`ptir þetta þyngdiz sottar far hennar. svo at *hvn* lag | 35 | díz j reckíu Þui næst eggíadi hun alla brædr *ok sy* | 36 | str ath hallda med stadfesti *kristlíga* tru *ok* skyrdí | 37 | fyrir þeim oll audæfi heilagrar *kirkíu*. þau er hun hafdí | 38 | saman samnat *ok* fal þeim æ hende. hun bad þa at | 39 | allír helldi vökum *ok* bædi fyrir henne allt *tíl framfarar* | 40 | hennar tíma. gudligrar mískunnar. þeir *giordo* *ok* sem hun | 41 | bavd. Eptir þat tok hun likama wors herra med | 42 | híní mestv tarfellíng. hlífandi aund sína med | 43 | þvi sígnada vegnestí *ok* heilogum bænum.

| 43 | *vm* svik fi | 44 | anda

| col. B | | 1 | A mídrí nott fyrir framferdar tíma sællar marthe | 2 | at sofnodvm brædrvm *ok* þeim monnum sem voku | 3 | helldv med kertvm *ok* liosvm. þaut míkíll huírfil vín | 4 | dr vpp vaktr af þeim er aufundar alla dvgandi menn | 5 | illgiarna andskota. j herbergínv svo at sloknodv. | 6 | þ`r`íu storkerti. *ok* új lampar. Enn guds ambatt skelfdiz vit | 7 | þenna motburd. sa *hvn* hrædiligan flokk illgiarnra anda | 8 | fyrir ser. hun tok þa at bidíaz fyrir med þessvm ordvm. mín f | 9 | adir mín *gd* mín kærastí gestr safnadir ero suíka | 10 | rar mínir at suelgía mik mer at motí halldandi rít j

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29 *ok ... hun*] - 235 29 *mín*] + *hin* 235 29 *sagdi hvn*] - 235 30 *hetz*] *hefir heitid* 235 31 *eilífv med sònnum*] *sónv ok eilífu med* 235 39 *vökum*] *uoku* 235 39-40 *framfarar ... tíma*] *fram farar tíma hennar* 235 41 *bavd*] *bad* 235 42 *med*] - 235 43 *heilogum*] *helgum* 235 43 *vm svik fianda*] *capitulum* 235 4 *menn*] + *hinum* 235 5 *andskota*] + *Jllgiarna* 235 6 *storkerti*] *kerti* 235 6 *guds*] *kristz* 235 6 *skelfdiz*] *skelfd* 235 7 *sa*] + *þa* 235 9 *safnadir*] + *ok* 235

| 11 | höndvm ser. þar er æ erv skrifadir þeir lutir sem ek hefi ill | 12 | a giort mællt ok hugsat svo kallandi. Gvd fyrir let hana | 13 | 'S' tridum henne nv ok gripum hana þviat nv er éingí sa er le | 14 | ysí. Gud mín gud min ver mer nær. Gud mín Lít | 15 | a hialp mína. mínztv eigi drottinn a æsko syndir | 16 | ok ouítzkur mínar. Vid þessi hennar ord voknodv þeir | 17 | sem vakat höfdv ok foro j annat hvs at leíta at | 18 | elldí til þess ath tendra liosínn þav sem sloknut | 19 | höfdv ok duolduz at þessv vm stvnd. þviat þeir fv | 20 | ndv eigi elldínn j hínv næsta hvsí ok forv þa j annat hvs | 21 | þat sem fir meir var ef þeir fengi sitt erendí | 22 | enn hvn var þa \* éinsa man a medan ok þa | 23 | sa hun sæla mariam magdalenam systvr sína | 24 | renna ath reckíunni ok hafa log brand j hendí | 25 | af honvm tendradí hvn oll ker ok sloknada lampa | 26 | j herbergínv. Enn er huor þeira heilsadí adra med | 27 | eíginlígu nafní. þa sa hun þann er hver vetna er | 28 | nálægr iafnan. drottín ihesvm krist svo til sín ta | 29 | landa. kom til mín hín kærsta vínkona sv er | 30 | fordvm var mín husfrv. nu man ek færa þik or | 31 | myrkuastofv likama þíns til himínrikis hallar | 32 | attv fagnir þar at eilífv med heilogvm monnvum mí | 33 | nv. eigi sem gestr helldr sem heíma kona heilag | 34 | rar trvar ok samborgarí heilagra manna. med mík | 35 | illi annsemd þionadir þu mer æ iardríki ok tokt mík j | 36 | herbergi þítt ok saddir mík. nu mun ek giallda þer fyrir | 37 | stvndligri þionostv. þa avmbvn er vm gengr allan | 38 | íardligan sælleik at þar sem ek `er` síalfr ser þv med | 39 | mer. þviat þu þionadir mer ok \* fylgdír mer. Enn hugganar | 40 | miskunn þa er ek ueítta þer j heilso giófv þeira | 41 | er þv kendir kenningar mun ek eigi fra þer taka ok | 42 | hvergí mínka helldr margfallda. ok þa er þínnar | 43 | grafar úitia godfuslíga mun ek milldliga he || 71v || | col. A | 1 | yra sakir þínnar astsemdar ok ek mvn framkvæmd ve | 2 | íta rettum bænvum þeira. Enn nu

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13-14 'S' tridum ... leysi] gripum hana nu. stridum henne nu þviat sa er éingi er hana leysi 235 14 nær. Gud mín] + gud mín 235 17 vakat] sofit 235 18 þav] suo 235 20 eigi ... hínv] eigi i 235 20 annat] annan 235 20 þa] - 235 \* 22 éinsa man] *There is a space between these words due to a preexisting hole in the parchment* 23 systvr sína] - 235 25 af ... hvn] er hvn tendradi 235 26 herbergínv] husinu 235 30 man] mvn 235 35 annsemd] astsemd 235 \* 39 fylgdír] so 235; fylgð Stock. Perg. 2 fol.

bid þv lítla stvnd | 3 | þvrat skiott muntv til min koma þvi næst komv þeir | 4 | aptr sem til forv j  
 brott at sækía liosínn þa vndrvduz | 5 | þeir allír þat er liosín voro tendrvt þav er oll vorv slok  
 | 6 | ínn er þeir gengv vr herbergínv. Eptír þat frettv þeir ath | 7 | hui svo hefði til borít. Enn hvn  
 kalladi til sín þa | 8 | af brædrvm sem hun vissi ath heilagligaz lífdi ok | 9 | bírti þeim. alla íarteígn  
 gudligrar vítianar. þar eptír | 10 | let hun færa sik vndír alldín tre þat sem sett war a | 11 | bak  
 musterínv ok dreífa þar vndír síg oskv a iördína | 12 | j kross enn þar a ofan lítlar sædir ok  
 harklædi þat er hvn | 13 | la a iafnliga. horfdi hvn til hímens ok hafði krossm | 14 | ark fyrir augvm  
 ser bidandi sínna dauda stvndar med ful | 15 | lri trv. Ok er allír þeir er hia stodo lagu a heilogvm  
 bænum | 16 | þa let hun lesa til enda passionem wors herra ihesu | 17 | kristi. þa er hun hafði med  
 ser flutta af iørsolv m a e | 18 | breskv rítada ok annat sín let vpp hefia. enn þa | 19 | er svo langt var  
 lesít. Pater ín manus tuas commen | 20 | do spiritvm mevm. þat mælír svo. Fadír j hendr  
 þínar | 21 | fel ek anda mín þa sofnadi hvn sælliga j gvdi | 22 | vij. kalendas íanvaríj hín setta dag  
 viko a hínni nívn | 23 | do tid dags þa er hon var síavtv g at alldre

| 24 | giord vtferd marthe

| 24 | Vt ferd hennar [-felagar-] giordo | 25 | hennar felagar ok forvnavtar med allrí godfysí | 26 | þeir  
 sem adr vorv hennar heíma menn ok verdugír mikillar fr | 27 | ægdar af síno sonnv sidlæti.

Euchobívs ok sínthex ok | 28 | germanvs ok epaphras ok sostenes lærísveínar pals | 29 | postola ok  
 foronavtar trophímí. ok parmenas er einn var | 30 | af víj. hinvm fyrstum díaknvm ok marcilla sv er  
 | 31 | var þionostv kona hínna sælu marthe ok hon haf | 32 | di vndír skírn halldít þessi var sv kona  
 er kalladi | 33 | a vorn herra or míklum mannfiolda svo mælandi | 34 | 'S`æll er sa kuidr er þik bar

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4 til ... brott] i brut foru 235 5 liosín voro] þa voru all login 235 5-6 slokínn] + þa 235 8  
 heilagligaz lífdi] heilagleik hófðu 235 17 af] fra 235 17-18 ebreskv] + tungu 235 19 svo ... var]  
 suo var langt 235 19 tuas] + domine 235 20 hendr þínar] þínar hendr 235 22 dag] + i 235 23 þa]  
 sa 235 24 giord ... marthe] capitulum 235 30 hinvm ... díaknvm] díaknvm fystem 235  
 33 a vorn] til vars 235



ok þav briost *erv ok sæl er þv* | 35 | drakt. þessir allir *med mǫrgum odrvm til komnvm* | 36 | hófdv at  
 heyrðri sott *guds þionostv konv þar vakad* | 37 | íj. daga *yfir henní med kertvm ok odrvm liosum.*  
 enn a dro | 38 | ttíns dagínn *biugguz þeir at veíta henne graptlíga þ* | 39 | ionostv. *svmir gretv sumir*  
 svngu salma.

| 40 | *vm graupt marthe*

| 40 | I þenna tíma bar svo til a hínni þridiu tid dags | 41 | j borgíne petragorica þa er fronto *byskvp*  
 savngh .*mess* | 42 | *ok sat j stoli fyrir alltari medan pistill var lesín j sialfri.* | **col. B** | | 1 | hófdv  
 kirkíunni ath hann sofnadí. J þeim sefní | 2 | vítradiz *honvm sialfr drottínn ihesus kristr.* svo mæ  
 | 3 | landi. *Mínn \* elsku(li)gi vín fronto.* Ef þv uillt end | 4 | a þítt fyrir heit þat sem þu hetz husfru  
 vorrí mar | 5 | the. þa far nv skyndiliga at veíta *henne graptlíga* | 6 | þionostv *ok fylg mer. ok er*  
 hann hafdi þetta talat ko | 7 | mo þeir *med augabragdligri ferd badir j tharaskonvm* | 8 | *ok gengu j*  
 kirkíu hínna *gudligv husfrv ok tokv at syn* | 9 | gia standandí hía *hennar heilaga likama ok vm allan*  
 | 10 | liksǫng helldo þeir heilagar bækr j sínum eígnli | 11 | gvm hondvm fyrir syngiandi enn adrir  
 andzsvaran | 12 | di *ok eptir syngiandi fluttu þessa þionostv ok badir* | 13 | baro þeir heilagan likama  
 sælar marthe *ok i leid* | 14 | lǫgdv. Enn aa medan þessir lutir giordvz geck dia | 15 | kn j petragoríca.  
 at sofnanda *byskvp* þar sem hann sat j | 16 | sínvm *byskupsstolí at lyktudum ollum sǫngum þeim*  
 sem fyrir | 17 | gudspiallít attv af klerkum fram at flytiazt hann | 18 | knudi *byskvp med hendi ok*  
 beiddíz *blezandar enn. byskvp sva* | 19 | f svo fast at hann vaknadi *eigi vít hit fyrsta atak allr*  
 | 20 | lydr vndradi huí hann dvaldi svo léngí folkid | 21 | j kirkíunni *ok hellt eigi fram messvnní. ok*  
 vm sidir geck | 22 | diaknít annat sínn at *byskvp* ok knvdi hann enn hann vak | 23 | nadi vm sidir

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40 *vm ... marthe*] *capitulum* 235 1 kirkíunni] kirkíu 235 \* 3 elsku(li)gi] so 235 4 þu] - 235 4  
 vorrí] vars 235 8 gengu] + innn 235 8-9 syngia] + med audrum 235 14 Enn] - 235 14-15 geck  
 ... petragoríca] j petragorika gek diakn 235 16 sǫngum þeim] þeim songh 235 17 attv] atti 235  
 22 diaknít] diakinn 235

svo sem af sætvm svefní ok mælti ho ho | 24 | brædr mínir huat giordu þer hui voktv þer mik svo  
skiott | 25 | 'D`asamlígr atburdr sa er nu hefir giordz er ydvarri ast | 26 | semd ath segia. Drottinn  
ihesus kristr leiddi mik af þes | 27 | svm stad til likflutningar ennar sælv marthe sinnar | 28 | husfrv  
ok nu hofv vít henne veit graptlíga þionos | 29 | tv svo sem ek het henne fyrrumm en til þess at þer  
| 30 | vítit mik. j þessarar heilagrar kono likferd verit hafa | 31 | sendit nv j tharaskonvm þa menn er  
hingat beri fingr | 32 | gvll mitt. ok messoglofa gullbvna. þa er ek dro | 33 | af mer adr ek lagda likit  
j grauf ok feck ek til | 34 | geymslu sakristi kirkíunnar enn þa er ek geck af kirk | 35 | íunni gaf ek  
eigi gavm ath heimta gullit ne glof | 36 | ana af þeim er ek feck. þa er þer voktvd mik þa | 37 | voro  
þegar menn sendir sem byskvp baud j tharas | 38 | konvm ok provodv þeir alla luti svo vordit hafa  
| 39 | sem hann sagdi. þeir baro heim gvll ok annan gl | 40 | fann. enn annan hellt secretarivs  
kirkíunnar eptir til | 41 | wítnis bvrðar vm þetta daendí hín sæli fronto | 42 | sagdi ok brædrvm þa  
er hann giordi mínning þessarar || 72r || | col. A | | 1 | sælo konv marthe. ath þa er þeir hófdu hana  
j grauf lagit | 2 | ok þeir gengu wr kirkíunni. spurdi einn boklærdr brodir | 3 | þess stadar sa er ockr  
fylgdi. af kirkíunni sialfan drottinn | 4 | hverr hann wæri eda hvert nafn hans ættí. enn hann  
svaradi honvm | 5 | óngv ok syndi honvm opna bog. þa er hann hafdi j hende | 6 | a henne var eckki  
annat ritad \*⟨en⟩ þetta \*wers. In memori | 7 | a eterna erit íusta hospita mea ab audiciónone mala  
| 8 | non tímebít in die nouíssímo. Þat er svo at skilí | 9 | a. I eilífri mínning mvn vera rettvis husfrv  
mín eigi man | 10 | hon ottaz wít heyrn illra hluta a hínvm sidars | 11 | ta degí. ok þa er hann raktí  
bokína. fann hann þetta vers | 12 | ritad a ollvm hennar blóðvm þui ma avdsynt þi | 13 | ckia ath  
martha mun wera husfrv ihesu kristi j eilífri mí | 14 | nning eíngla ok manna. ok eigi mun hun ottazt

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24 hui] fyrir hui 235 28 hofv] hefum 235 28 vít ... veit] vid veitt henna 235 29 fyrrumm] forðum  
235 30 vítit] vitiada 235 30 heilagrar] - 235 37 þegar ... sendir] men sendir þegar 235 38 alla] +  
þessa 235 39 gvll] gullit 235 42-1 þessarar ... konv] hinar sælu 235 1 ath] - 235 4 svaradi] suarar  
235 \* 6 ⟨en⟩] so 235 \* 6 wers] r has been corrected from s 9 I] - 235 10 illra] allra 235 12-13  
þickia] - 235 13 mun wera] var 235 13 ihesu] - 235

at hínvm | 15 | efzta domí af þeiri heyrn er gvd segir illvm monnum þeim | 16 | er makligir eru  
baulvanar. farít baulvadir fra mer j eili | 17 | fan elld et cetera

| 17 | fra heilsv klodovei

| 17 | Ath bírta \* optligh(a) | 18 | takn ok heilsogíafir þar sem yfir síukum monnum giðraz | 19 | wít  
gra`v`ft hennar huiliks werdleiks hun er fyrir gudi nv ok | 20 | fyrvvm ok at ver lukím faa hluti vpp af  
morgvm. þa | 21 | var éinn konvngr. clodoveus ath nafní. hann red bædi fran | 22 | cíá ok thevthonia  
er var fyrstr af þeim til gvds snuínn fyrir | 23 | predican remígíj erkibyskups. af remsborg ok tok  
heilag | 24 | ha skírn. hann hafdi mikínn verk j lendvm svo at læk | 25 | nar \* vnnv honvm óngva bot.  
Enn þui at almennilig fr | 26 | ægd vottadí at hverír sem einír síukír menn þeir sem | 27 | med fullri  
trv wítiodu steín þroar heilagrar marthe ur | 28 | dv heilir for hann þangat ok reyndi sanendi af  
þessi | 29 | frægd af sialfs sins heilso fagnandí ok til þess | 30 | at eigi syndízt hann ópaklatr vít þann  
líufa lavard | 31 | er hann græddí fyrir arnadar ord sínna heilögv husfrv | 32 | 'A`vdgadi hann  
stadinn med konvngligri mikil menzkv ok | 33 | lagdi þangat bæi ok kastala. Svo ok mikít herad. ííj  
| 34 | milor at lengd. ok at breidd skyllði ævínliga þan | 35 | gat til liggia. badv megínn arínnar er  
rodanvs heítir | 36 | þessa giðf lögtok hann ok styrkti med sínv fíngur gu | 37 | líí. þar med lögtok  
hann ok at þessi stadr skyllði fria | 38 | ls wera af ollvm pyndíngum ok leik manna a ló | 39 | gvm  
var ok þessi stadr j svo mikilli verd settr af full | 40 | tíngi síalfs upphefiara allra rettínda ath  
| 41 | hverr sem éinn feck nóckurt víti sa er þessa stadar | 42 | rettar botvm giordi a motí med stuld  
eda raní eda nóç | **col. B** | | 1 | kvrskonar ofriki eda rangyndvm eda rangsæ | 2 | rí suikum eda  
falsara domi. Martilla ok sí | 3 | ntex ok epaphras hínir skírlífuztv ok hínir postolí | 4 | gstv menn

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14 at] á 235 17 fra ... klodovei] – 235 \* 17 optligh(a)] so 235 22 thevthonia] theónia 235 \* 25  
vnnv] so 235; vnnv Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 26 vottadí] - 235 26 einír] - 235 27 wítiodu] vitiadi 235  
29 heilso] + giðf 235 31 heilögv] - 235 35 badv megínn] badum megum 235 39 verd] vernd 235  
2 eda] er 235 3-4 skírlífuztv ... menn] skírlífustu menn ok hínir postolígstu 235

forv j slovoníam ok predícodv þar gvds ere | 5 | ndí med stadfesti godra verka. martilla lífdi .x | 6 | ar  
vpp fra andlati sællar marthe ok rítadi líf | 7 | hennar a ebresko j einni mikillí bok. enn ek sínthex  
| 8 | snera j latíno. let ek þo marga lutí eptir eigi snuna | 9 | Enn euduodius ok germanus ok  
parmenas ok sostenes fo | 10 | strar ok forvnautar sællar marthe þionodv gudi vít hennar  
| 11 | virdulíga grauf svo leíngi sem þeir lífdv. ok vrdv j | 12 | þeim stad sott þíndir i frídi heilagrar  
kristní med | 13 | sællígrí endalykt.

| 13 | miracvlvm marie magd(alene)

| 14 | Hín sæla synda kona skeín ok mǫrgvm tak | 15 | nvm eptir sína \*fra(m) fǫr enn þo savm ver  
segir sa | 16 | er sǫgvna hefir skrífat. éinn prest pal at na | 17 | fní i borgínmi cesar augusta þann er  
eigi villdi fela sík | 18 | vndir bænatraust hennar. helldr a þat ofan trudi hann | 19 | eigi taknum  
hennar a nockurum degi þa er hann steíg a he | 20 | st sínn míukan ok makreidann til þess at fara  
eren | 21 | da sínna. vard sa motburdr at hestrín tok ath | 22 | hlaupa svo fluglíga sem hit skiotazta  
sko | 23 | gar dyr vm grafir ok gǫtvleysí. svo at kenníma | 24 | drínn efadí hvort hann skylldi lata af  
honvm fallaz | 25 | eda eigi a iǫrdína ef hann mætti rada ok medan | 26 | hestrínn for svo med ser þa  
hugleidi hann hversv mar | 27 | ga hlutí illa hann hafdi giort ok mælt moti hínnní | 28 | sællv marie  
magdalene. ok het þa idrandi at | 29 | vidfrægia þadan af hennar takn ef hvn leti ser soma | 30 | at  
hialpa honvm þott hann værí omaklígr j þessv hínv | 31 | mikla vandrædí. ok þat veíttiz honvm án  
dvol því | 32 | at varla hafdi hann heítid stadfest adr hestrín | 33 | giordíz honvm audmíukr suo at  
hann matti honvm uikía | 34 | a hvería leid er hann villdí. hann giorde þa gudi ok sæl | 35 | li marie  
magdalene oætlanlígar þackir enn svo | 36 | hafdi hann langt af leidis ridít at varla gat hann

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6 ar] uetr ok ár 235 7 j] a 235 8 latíno] + ok 235 8 marga ... eptir] eptir marga hluti 235 11  
virdulíga] - 235 12 sott] sottir 235 12 kristní] kristi 235 13 miracvlvm ... magd(alene)] - 235 15  
sína] + sína 235 15 fra(m)] so 235 15 þo] þa 235 16 skrífat] skipat 235 17-18 fela ... hennar]  
sík vndir bæna traust hennar fela 235 25 eda ... mætti] a jordína eða vppi sitia ef hann mætti 235  
27 hlutí illa] illa hluti 235 32 adr] + enn 235 34-35 gudi ok sælli] ok gudi ok sælar 235

| 37 | aptr sott allan daginn þat er hann reid afram at mo | 38 | rni til dagmæla af ædi hestzins  
þenna sam | 39 | ver sidan hía leidi hinnar milldo magdalene | 40 | wottandi med hínvm mesta  
hiarta trega allt þat er hann | 41 | hafdi vít hana mísgert ok segiandi þenna atbvrð med | 42 | mikilli  
vidrkomning ok idran

| 42 | andlat maxím | 43 | ini byskups

|| 72v || | col. A | | 1 | Hin sæli maxímínus byskup ok iatari almattigs gvds | 2 | styrði kristni sínni  
allt til dauda dags styrk | 3 | iandi hana med predikan ok iarteignvm þui er guds mil | 4 | di veitti  
fyrir hans bænið líf dauðvm syn blíndum | 5 | heilso líkþram. rak diofla fra odvm monnum | 6 | ok  
græðing ollvm sottvm. enn þa er sa tímí na | 7 | lgadíz er hann vissi af gudligri vítrann. at hann  
mvm | 8 | di lida or likama. let hann j þeiri somo kirkíu bua | 9 | ser steín þro hia steín þro sællar  
marie var | 10 | hann þar grafir eptir sitt andlat ok er sa stadr j svo mi | 11 | killi virðing. halldín at  
eíngi konvngur ok eíngi hófd | 12 | íngi eda valldz madr sa er þangat gengr at bidía | 13 | ser  
mískvnnar er suo stollz eda stor at eigi leggí | 14 | hann fyrst vopn af ser at nidr kastadrri allri gri  
| 15 | md ok gengi sidan med fullu lítillæti j þat haleit | 16 | a mvsteri ok allri godfysi ok veítaz j  
þeim stad | 17 | fyrir bænið sællar marie magdalene ollvm þeim | 18 | er med fvlri tru bidía ser  
mískunnar slik þarfe | 19 | ndi sem gud ser hueríum manni híaþsamlíguzt | 20 | ef þeim heyrir j  
þessum heími at leysazt. þig | 21 | gía menn þar íafnlíga. bædi andar heilsv ok líkama. | 22 | ath  
veítandi drottni vorvm ihesu kristo konvngi allra | 23 | verallda þeim er med fedr ok helgum anda er  
| 24 | vegr ok valld dyrd ok sæmd vm endalausar alldir | 25 | allda amen

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37 at] fra 235 39 sidan] - 235 40 hiarta] hiartans 235 42 ok idran] - 235 42-43 andlat ... byskups]  
- 235 3 predikan ok iarteignvm] iartegnum ok predican 235 4 dauðvm] + ok 235 5-6 rak ...  
sottvm] haulltum gongu frelsing diðful qdumok greðing ollum sóttum 235 6 tímí] + kom 235 9  
ser steín þro] + eina 235 10 þar grafir] + þar ok grafinn 235 19 manni] - 235 20 heími] heim  
235 22 veítandi] veitanda 235 24 sæmd] ast semd 235

| 25 | *her hefr iarteína* | 26 | *giord marie 'mag'* | 27 | *'dal(ene)'*

| 25 | Þvíat vor lítil | 26 | malsnilld vándz *eigi til* at telia | 27 | mikilleik *ok* fiðlda takna *sællar marie*  
 | 28 | *magdalene munvm ver* faa luti *greína af mór* | 29 | *gvm til trv botar* heyrondvm *monnvm ok*  
*segia fyrst fra* | 30 | *þvi er* likamí *hennar var* fluttr or þeim stad sem *hann* | 31 | *var* fyrst *grafinn. j*  
*þann* stad sem *hvn var* leingi veg | 33 | *sòmv*t af tilskípan *gudligrar* milldí.

| 33 | *fra lodovei* | 34 | *konvngi*

Þann tíma *er* lidít *var fra* pisl vors *herra*edr | 35 | vpprisv *hans .dcc. ok xl. ok íx* ár at rikianda  
 | 36 | *hínvm* milldazta *konvngi Ludouiko ok karolo* sy | 37 | *ni hans var* vida godr *fridr j kristnínni*  
*nema þar* | 38 | sem *saraceni er* agareni heíta med *rettv n* | 39 | afni af *agar* ambatt *þeiri er* sara gaf i  
*fadm a* | 40 | *brahe* bonda síns *ok* gat af *henni ismaelem* | 41 | *þann er* þessi þiod *er fra* komín  
*striddi akristní* | 42 | *na var* þat mest vm *hispaníam ok þar* nalæg *riki* ath | 43 | *þessi* stormr *geck*  
*yfir*

| 43 | *fra* geirardi *'herto'* | 44 | *'ga'*

| 43 | A þessvm tímvm | 44 | hafdi *nalíga* alla *burgundam j* erfd *tekit* | **col. B** | | 1 | *geíraradr* |-keisarí-|  
*hertugí þa er* teíngdum *var* bun | 2 | *dínn vít* þessa fyr *nefnda konga. þessi madr var* enn *tig*  
 | 3 | *nazti* at *burdum ok* *hín diarfazti vndir* vopnvm | 4 | *ok* *hín audgastí* ath *fiarlutvm fru hans* var  
 | 5 | *honvm iðfn* at *kynstærd ok* at *godvm sidum ok* at | 6 | *ollu agæti. en þvi* at þau *attv óngvan*  
*erfíngia* | 7 | *midludu þau sínn* mikla *aud þeim monnvm er* *gvd* ot | 8 | *todvz ok* *olmosum hans med*  
*tigulígv*m *frialsleik* | 9 | *ok* *hugar* *kostum. þar næst skípvdv þav med* *hínv* | 10 | *rauksamazta* *rædí*  
*af* *fyr* *nefndri barnleysis* | 11 | *sòk sialfan* *gud sínn erfíngia ok* *lògdv margar* *eignír* | 12 | *til* *kirkna.*

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25-27 *her ... 'magdal(ene)'*] - 235 26 *mallsnilld*] *malsind* 235 33-34 *fra ... konvngi*] - 235 35 *.dcc. ok*] *.dcc.* 235 38 *sem*] *er* 235 43-44 *fra ... 'hertoga'*] *capitulum* 235 43 *tímvm*] *tíma* 235  
 1 *þa*] *sa* 235

med hínri hæstu godfysi þau letv | 13 | ok \*munkl(ifi) ok margar kirkíur af nyíu uppreisa ok lögdv  
 | 14 | þar til nogligar prouendur af sínv gozi. þeim monnum er | 15 | þar skylldu gvdi þíona j klerka  
 sidum eda reglo | 15 | Nær þeim tíma kom iohannis pavi af roma norðr j galliam | 16 | fyrir bæn  
 fyk nefndra konunga ok hertugans. Ok milli | 17 | annara agæta þeira er hann vann j þessi ferd vigdí  
 hann | 18 | mvsteri þav er geírarðr hertugi hafdi reisa latid | 19 | fyrir hans bæn gudi til sæmdar ok  
 hans milldo modvr ma | 20 | rie ok petro ok pavlo hofðingia postola hans

| 20 | fra helgvm do | 21 | mvm

| 21 | Enn er pauínn huarf \* apr j romam sendi hann | 22 | marga heilaga doma fyrir ast iarllzins til  
 mustera | 23 | þeira sem hann hafdi. wigt ok er nóckur ar lidu fram | 24 | af þrotnanda styrk  
 konunglís walldz vard fracka riki | 25 | fyrir miklum hernadí med sionvm ok uída huar annars  
 stadar | 26 | ok fyrir margfolldum ranvm ok mandrapvm svo at j mór | 27 | gvm stodvm brunnv  
 klaustr ok kirkíur. ok uiceliacvm | 28 | mvnklífi þat sem fyk nefndr geíradvs setti vit a | 29 | þa er  
 chore heitir var med ollv nidr brotít ok at velle | 30 | lagít. Enn þa er af lettí ofridrinn var þat  
 smídat a | 31 | einvm storlīga hafum halsi ok bróttum. j órvggum | 32 | stad fyrir ahlaupvm ok  
 hernadi. af þessvm sama geíradv | 33 | med hínvm mesta kostnadi ok mikilmennzku var þessi  
 | 34 | stadr kalladr víceliacum þviat þar ser ollum megínn | 35 | hímen af klaustranvm fyrir haleiks  
 sakir halsíns | 36 | ok kallaz viceliacvs. suo sem uikvs celiacvs þat er him | 37 | neskr bær eda nalæg  
 hímní ma þat til heyrí | 38 | lígt vera bædi fyrir hímniskan lífnat þeira sem þat | 39 | klaustr halda  
 ok fyrir haleik halsíns var þar | 40 | þa endr smíduð kirkia sællar guds modur mar | 41 | ie ok sælla  
 gvds postola petrs ok pals sem fyrr | 42 | med mǫrgum iarteígunum

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\* 13 munkl(ifi) ... kirkíur] margar kirkur ok munklifi 235 14 sínv ... monnum] þeim monnum af  
 sinu gozi 235 17 þeira] verka 235 20 ok paulo] postola 235 20-21 fra ... domvm] capitulum 235  
 21 apr] so 235; apr' ar Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 22 heilaga] helga 235 24 vard] var 235 28 geíradvs]  
 geírarðr 235 32 ahlaupvm ok hernadi] hernadi ok ahlaupum 235 34 megínn] megum 235  
 42 mǫrgum] + ok miklum 235

| 42 | *fra færíng marie mag* | 43 | *dalene*

|| 73r || | **col. A** | | 1 | \*⟨I⟩ þenna tíma höfdu saracinar mikínn her uti wm. | 2 | hispaniam ok eyddo nær alla aquitanniam ok mikínn | 3 | hlut af prouincia ok j þessum stormi brutu. þeir höfud.

| 4 | borgína aquensem ok erkibyskups stolínn ok ræntv þar ollu | 5 | fe ok toku mikín fiolda folks ath herfangí enn ey | 6 | ddv borgir ok bæi med elldi ok iarnvm. marga karllmenn | 7 | ok konur flugu þeir kuika sem sidr þeira er til at | 8 | giðra vít kristna menn. ok sa ver sidar segir sa er sögu | 9 | na hefir skrifat a þetta hervírki er ver truum vora | 10 | menn hafa þolt sakir sítt synda gialld þa er þau ríki | 11 | bygdv enn hermenn foro heímleidis med sítt herfann | 12 | gh i sítt ríki

| 12 | *fra marie magda(lene)*

| 12 | Ok því ath vida var | 13 | mörgvm kunrikt bædi nær ok fiaři at hín | 14 | sæla maria magdalena hafdi af hinvm heila | 15 | ga maxímíno byskupi grafínn verít j aquensis heradí | 16 | ok þa vorv vardveitt hennar uirdulíg beínn giordi fyr | 17 | nefndr hertugi geírarðr ok heydo abotí. sa er þa | 18 | var skípadr yfir klaustrid j viceliaco. þat rad med sam | 19 | þickí at senda þann mvnk er baldilo er nefndr | 20 | med fullkomíníni godfysi ok fengu forvneyti j borg | 21 | ína. akuensem ath hann flutti heilagan dom sællar | 22 | marie magdalenne eda nockut af hennar límvum | 23 | til þeira j fyr nefndan stad ef gudlíg millde | 24 | villdi styrkía þessa ætlann. huat þarf þat til langmæ | 25 | lis at draga. for hann ok framm kom ok at fundínni ste | 26 | ínþro sællar marie fluttu þeir hennar líkama j uíce | 27 | liacum ok grófu þar med mikilli sæmd ok morgum iarteíg | 28 | nvum þeim sem ver lidvm vm fyrir leti ok fauítzku.

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42-43 *fra ... magdalene*] *capitulum* 235 \* 1 ⟨I⟩] *so* 235 1 *mikínn*] - 235 2 *eyddo*] *eyddi* 235 3 *prouínia*] *provinciam* 235 4 *borgína*] *borga* 235 10 *hafa*] - 235 12 *sítt*] *þitt* 235 12 *fra ... magda(lene)*] *capitulum* 235 14-15 *heilaga ... byskupi*] *helga maximinó* 235 15 *aquensis*] *akuensem* 235 16 *uirdulíg*] *helogu* 235 18 *klaustrid*] *klaustri* 235 24 *þat*] *þa* 235 26 *marie fluttu ... hennar*] *marthe þeir fluttu hennar* 235



| 28 | fra | 29 | riddara einum

| 29 | Sa atburdr *giordíz* vít þessa borg | 30 | er *avern* heitir at riddari nockur *vard* fanginn | 31 | j  
*orosto. ok* settr j svo þungar beior af þeim at hann *mat* | 32 | ti sik hvergi hræra. *ok* at kominni  
hatid drottí | 33 | nliqs burdar þa er eíngi villdi borga \*fyrir hann | 34 | þa vtlavsn sem ahann *var*  
lôgd skaut gvd þvi j | 35 | hans hiarta at æsta \*hína milldv *mariam* ma | 36 | gdalenam at hun  
audladíz þat af vorvm herra at | 37 | svo leysti hun hann af fiðtrum sem hann leysti | 38 | hana af  
syndvm *ok* er hann kalladi opt a hennar sign | 39 | ada nafnn. spruttu íarnín af lærleggíuum hans  
| 40 | 'E`nn þegar er sa sem hann hellt. vissi þenna atburd g | 41 | af hann honvm frelsí at fara hvert  
er hann villdi. Enn | 42 | sa er bundín hafdi verít bar berfætr þav | 43 | iarn sem af honvm spruttv j  
uíceliacvm *ok* vpp | **col. B** | | 1 | heíngdi hia steín þro sællar marie magdalene vot | 2 | tandi ollum  
vít werðndum hversv guds milldi leysti | 3 | hann fyrir arnan sinnar sælo þionostv konv.

| 3 | fra manne einvm

| 4 | Annar *madr* af borg þeiri er bituricas heitir *var ok* streíngdr | 5 | med storvm *ok* þungum  
fiðtrum af hínvm agiarn | 6 | azta *ok* hínvm grímmazta sínvvm ovín hann ægdi honvm pis | 7 | lvm  
*ok* límalatí nema hann gylldí fyrir sik suo mikít fe. *sem* | 8 | hann matti eigi fa *ok* er eíngi villdi  
borga fyrir hann eggíadi eínn | 9 | hverr. hann ath snua sínni von til *mariam* magdalenam | 10 | Ok  
er hann bad hana *ser* miskunnar at æsta wít *almatkan* | 11 | gud. spruttv þegar vm leid íarnín af  
honvm svo at kol | 12 | frín flaug nídr hia hælum haunum. enn allir ottoduz | 13 | þeir er hía stodo.  
hann stod þegar vpp þvrat eingi bannadi | 14 | honvm *ok* bar fiðtra þa er hann hafdi bundín verít

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28-29 fra ... einum] *capitulum* 235 29 þessa] þa 235 31 settr ... þeim] settr af þeim er hann tok. j  
svo þungar beior 235 33 eíngi] eingin 235 \*33 fyrir] so 235; fyrir Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 34 vtlavsn]  
vrlausn 235 35 hína] *The scribe corrected a from s* 38-39 signada nafnn] nafn signada 235 40  
þenna] aþenna 235 1 heíngdi] hneigði 235 1-2 vottandi] vattaundum 235 3 fra ... einvm]  
*capitulum* 235 14 hafdi ... verít] var bundinn 235

med j kla | 15 | vstrid viceliacum ok bad upp heingia j songhusi hia st | 16 | ein þro saellar marie  
vottandi þetta takn

| 16 | enn fra einvm | 17 | manne

| 17 | A þessum sama tíma giordiz þesso likt takn þar sem kas | 18 | trum nautonis heitir. var

lydmadr einn sterkliga fi | 19 | otradr at hondvm ok fotum ok grimliga ok umanliga ok

| 20 | vmilldliga kvaldr til fiarlausnar af einvm rangl | 21 | atum manne. Hin pindi madr het þa med

allri godfy | 22 | si ath hann skyldi vera at eilifv þion hinnar heilög | 23 | v marie magdalene ef hun

audladiz med sin | 24 | vm verdleikvm at guds mildi leysti hann or þessari na | 25 | vd sem hann var

j staddr ok er hann hugsadi þat optliga sa | 26 | hann a nockuri nott fyrir ser standa storliga frida

kono | 27 | þa er honvm baud med blidu andliti vpp at standa hann | 28 | þottiz svara bundinn em

ek svo at ek ma eigi vpp risa | 29 | þvi næst vaknadi hann ok kendi sik lavsan sidan gec | 30 | k

hann j uiceliacum ok giordi godri guds ast vinkonv | 31 | marie þægilar þackir fyrir sina frelsing.

| 31 | fra monnum þeim er vorv | 32 | a ski | 33 | pe

| 32 | Mikill fioldi karlla ok kuenna villdi roa skipi | 33 | ok flytiaz yfir þa á er ligeris heitir ok er

þeir vorv kom | 34 | nir a mitt diup giordi at þeim mikin storm svo ath | 35 | vindr kafdi skipit. allir

þeir sem a þvi skipi vorv | 36 | vrdv svo ottafullir vit von voveifligs dauda | 37 | at þeir gleymdv at

æsta gud ser vndan komv med | 38 | trvar trausti eda bænahaldi ok þa er skipit | 39 | tok ath sökua

tendradi guds mildi hiarta e | 40 | innar konv at kalla med gratligri rodd a vinkonv | 41 | vors

lausnara þott adrir geymdi ecki at hugsa ne | 42 | ma grata dauda sinn. svo mælandi heyrdi enn

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16-17 enn ... manne] capitulum 235 17 likt] likn 235 25 var] + nu 235 31-33 fra ... skipe]  
capitulum 33 þa á] á þa 235 35 þvi] - 235 41 at hugsa] - 235

| 43 | goda ok hín guds kæra maría magdalena bid || 73v || | col. A | | 1 | ek þik fyrir þau hin  
þægiligu tar er þu dagdir med | 2 | drottínliga fætr at fyrir þítt hit agæta ornadar ord | 3 | verda ek  
leyst or þessum lífshaska ok því at hun war | 4 | med barni. het hun ef hun fæddi sveinn at ge | 5 | fa  
hann til mvnks j uiciliacum. won hennar vard eigi ath | 6 | hegoma. þviat iafn skiott sem hun hafdi  
heitit | 7 | vítradíz henne uirdulig kona sv er hõnd sína retti | 8 | til hennar ok med lettu sundi flutti  
hana til landz. svo at hvn | 9 | ein saman þa lifdi fyrir arnadar ord sællar marie m | 10 | agdalene.  
enn allir adrir drvknvdu a næsta are | 11 | at fæddum sveínum ok skírdum færði hun hann almat  
| 12 | kvm gvdí. ok marie magdalene. eptir því sem hvn haf | 13 | di heítid henne adr.

| 13 | capitlvum

| 14 | Maklikt er at votta mínnilígt takn ok opínbert | 13 | þat er gudlig milldi | 15 | giordi fyrir  
verdleika sællar marie magdalene j | 16 | hennar fyr nefndv klaustri at a siandum mórgum  
monnum | 17 | þa er mikít folk karlla ok kvenna kom til hennar virdv | 18 | ligrar grafar at æsta ser  
eírdar j sínum naudsynium | 19 | 'J' þessv lidi kom þangat ein mæer su er modir hennar lei | 20 | ddí.  
Þeirar fingr lagu allir j lofa ahínni hægri hen | 21 | dí. svo at hvn var onyt -|onyt|- til vinnv. kunnig  
var | 22 | konan ok kunnigr stadrinn. hun var af því heradi er a | 23 | lisium heitir. af eign merelli ok  
het hun allebur | 24 | gis. vm kveldit þa er mvnkar söngv aptan söng ep | 25 | tir venio geck hun  
optliga til alltaris bidíandi ser | 26 | miskunnar ok kallandi a nafn sællar marie magd | 27 | alene ok  
vm sidir þa er hun ætladi fra kirkíu at ganga | 28 | míntiz hun vit þat heilaga alltari er j mestri  
virdingh | 29 | var halldit af folkínv. leggíandi þar a bada hne | 30 | fa ok þegar vm leid er hun retti  
sik vpp sa allir þeir | 31 | sem hía stodv med gudligum krapti fingrna ret | 32 | ta ok hõndína heila.  
Enn at senv þesso mikla ta | 33 | kní. lofudv allir gud ok sælo mariam magdale | 34 | nam.

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43 hín] - 235 1 hin] - 235 3 lífshaska] dauda haska 235 9 lifdi] lif 235 11 sveinum] sveinum  
235 13 adr] - 235 18 virdvligrar grafar] grafar virduligrar 235 21 var] + med allu 235  
22 konan] hun konan 235 33 sælo] hinu sælu 235

| 34 | *míracvlvm*

| 34 | *Eígi er ok med gleyming yfir lid | 35 | anda þat dyrliga takn er veittiz einvm blíndvm*

| 36 | *manne. Sa var af þeim stad er kalladr er kastal hann for til | 37 | klaustrs heilagrar marie*

*magdalene þess sem fyr var | 38 | nefnt væntandi at hann mvndi þar heilso bot fa | 39 | ok er*

*leidtogi hans sagdi honvm at hann sa kirkíuna þa | 40 | sem þeir skylldv til sækía kalladi hín blíndi*

*madr | 41 | svo mælandí. heyrdu hín helga maría magd | 42 | alena uillda ek at sv hamíngía kæmí*

*mer at hen | 43 | dí at ek mætta sía turna kirkíu þínnar enn er hann ha | col. B | | 1 | fdi þetta mælt*

*þa lukuz skiott vpp augu hans ok fe | 2 | ck hann syn sína svo sem hann hafdi med mikillí fy | 3 | si*

*bedít ok var þa enn eptir milo léíngd leidarínnar*

| 3 | *mirac(vlvm)*

| 4 | *Med ollv eigi er ok hliodi hylianda dyrdar fullt | 5 | stormerkí dasamlígs kraptz þat er hín helga*

| 6 | *maria magdalena \* <vann> vít einn sín pilagrím j þvi landí | 7 | er aqvítannía heítir þar var*

*riddari sa einn er eptir sid þess | 8 | landz elskadí hennar heilagleik af öllum hug hann hafdí | 9 | ok*

*nockvt sinn vítiad med godfysi hennar heilags do | 10 | ms. Nöckurv sidað þa er hann var j bardaga*

*staddr | 11 | var hann drepínn af sínvm ouínvm frændr hans ok vínir | 12 | tokv lik hans. ok*

*sveipudv dukum sem þar var sidr til | 13 | vm davda menn at bva ok saatv sidan yfir likinv med*

| 14 | *hrygd ok graatí. Toko eptir þat fulltíngs at bidia | 15 | sæla maríam magdalenam med*

*harmandi kveínan | 16 | ok æ at mínna med env diarflígsta til maelí miskunn | 17 | arínnar hverso*

*miok þessi enn daudi hafdi hana elskat | 18 | þa er hann war lífandi ok svo sem þeir vndruduz fyrir*

*hver | 19 | ia sok hun let pilagrím sinn deya á iatníng ok idran | 20 | synda. med miskun guds ok*

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34 *míracvlvm*] - 235 37 *heilagrar*] sellar 235 41 *helga*] *heilaga* 235 2 *svo*] - 235 3 *mirac(vlvm)*] - 235 4 *eigi ... ok*] *er eigi* 5 *helga*] *heilaga* 235 \* 6 *<vann>*] *so* 235 8 *hann hafdí*] *hafdi hann* 235 10 *þa*] - 235 13 *vm ... bva*] *at bva vm* *davda menn* 235

fyrir trv þeira ok bæn ep | 21 | tir lítla stund tok at \*hræraz likamín ens dauda | 22 | 'A`llír þeir sem hia vorv vndrvduzt míðk eptir þat \*settiz | 23 | hann vpp ok bad ath hann skyllði vera leystur af nabo | 24 | ndvm. Sagdi þa at heilog maría magdalena let | 25 | hann endr lífna til þess ath hann mætti skríptaz ok idraz | 26 | synda sinna. þviat þeir höfdv a hennar nafn kallat | 27 | med hreínni trv ok heilagri bæn sagdi ok at hann mvn | 28 | di þegar andaz er hann hefði þionostv tekít eptir | 29 | þat var hann leystur sem hann bad komu þa til hans prestar Skri | 30 | ptadíz hann sidann ok giordi idran fyrir syndir sínar ok | 31 | er hann hafði bergt holldi ok blodi ihesvs kristz leid hann | 32 | annat sín af þessvm heími margir vorv vottar ok sannarar | 33 | menn þessarar iarteignar. Nockurir af þeim komv j uícelía | 34 | cvm ok sógdv þenna atburd fyrir otalligu folkí er þan | 35 | gat hafði sott af ymísligvm londvm eda herodvm svo | 36 | sem hann hafði giordz. A envm fysta paskadegi drot | 37 | tínligrar vpprisv. lysti þessi iarteign fyrir ollum hia verond | 38 | vm byskup af borg þeiri er katvrica heitir. er komínn var j uíce | 39 | liacum heím at sækía helgan dom sællar marie | 40 | magdalene dyrkadiz þa drottínn ihesvs krístr a síní | 41 | vpprisvtid. af tvenre upprisu þeira riddara er fra var | 42 | sagt er hann lífnadi vm stvnd af likamligum dauda | 43 | til þess ath hann hreínsadíz af syndum ok risi vpp af || 74r || | col. A | | 1 | andar dauda. Lofudu allír gud ok sæla mariam. | 2 | magdalenam er fyrir sína verdleika audladiz af | 3 | almatkum gudí suo mikla hialp þeim til handa | 4 | er hana hafði af ollum hug elskat.

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\* 21 hræraz] so 235; hræraz Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 21 likamín] liki 235 22 vndrvduzt] ottoduz 235 22 settiz] so 235; sestiz Stock. Perg. 2 fol. 24 heilog] - 235 27 hreínni ... bæn] heilagre tru ok hreini bæn 235 27-28 mvndi] + þa 235 36 sem] - 235 37 drottínligrar vpprisv] þa er halldin er hatid drottligrar vpprisu 235 37-38 hia verondvm] + lyð 235 38 katvrica] katakuria 235 42 hann] - 235

| 4 | *míracvlym*

| 5 | Sv *enn* agæta *iarteign* er nu man ek segia *veitir* | 6 | ollvm *syndogum monnum mikít traust*  
*sannrar vonar* at | 7 | þeir munu *finna* likn *ok lausn sínna misgerda* er fyrir *nafn* | 8 | sællar *marie*  
*magdalene* bidia *ser* lítillatlíga *gvd* misk | 9 | *unnar*. Einn *madr* sa er *giordi* idran *sínna misverka*  
*ritadi* | 10 | *syndir sínar* a einu *brefi*. eptir þat f'or' *hann* j *uíceliacvm ok fal þet* | 11 | ta *blad vndir*  
*duki* a *alltari sællar marie magdalene ok er* | 12 | *hann hafdi* lokit *bæn sinni* adr *hann snere* heim a  
*leid tok hann brefit* | 13 | 'O'k er *hann leít* a þat sa *hann* at allt *var* af *mad þat sem* a | 14 | *hafdi*  
*verít ritad skildi hann þa* af *opínberligri iarteín* | 15 | at *hann hafdi* likn *audlaz* j *auglíti gvdligrar*  
*milldí fyrir bæn* | 16 | *ok arnadar ord sællar marie magdalene*

| 16 | *míracvlym*

| 17 | Þat *giordiz* a *odrum tíma* at einn *riddari* sa er *æt* | 18 | *tadr var* af *aqvitanía ok þar fæddr* for  
*til vöku* j *více* | 19 | *liacum ok* er *hann ætladi* eptir *lyktada bæn til síns heím* | 20 | *ilis* at *venda*. kom  
*hann* j þann *stad sem ouínir*. *hans* sa | 21 | *to fyrir honvm*. Einn *madr* med *sonum sínvm*. þeira  
*brodur* | 22 | *hafdi riddarinn* adr *drepít*. *Enn er hann vard* varr | 23 | þessa *ofridar hliop hann*  
*skiotlíga* af *bakí mul þeim* er | 24 | *hann hafdi* a *setid* adr *ok setti hann* fyrst j *mot*  
*sverd* | 25 | um *sinna ouína*. *ok* er einn af þeim *brødrunum* *geck svo* | 26 | *diarflíga framm* at *hann*  
*villdi mulinn* j *brautt keyra svo* | 27 | at *riddarinn* *hefdi óngva hlíf* af *honvm ok þeir mætti*  
| 28 | *audvellegha taka til hans medr sinum wopnum* | 29 | *edr þeir mætti hann høndum* taka þa *bar*  
*svo til ath* | 30 | *pilagrimr sællar marie magdalene feck þenna tekít* | 31 | *weittiz honvm ok skiott*

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5 man] *mvn* 235 6 *syndogum monnum*] *monnum syndugum* 235 6 *vonar*] *truar* 235 7 *sínna*] +  
*synda ok* 235 9 *sa er*] - 235 9 *idran*] + *fyrir* 235 13 *allt ... sem a*] af *var* *mæd alt þat sem* af 235  
16 *míracvlym*] - 235 21 *honvm*] - 235 22 *varr*] + *vid* 235 23 *ofridar*] + *menn* 235 23 *bakí mul*]  
*mul baki* 235 24 *a ... adr*] *adr adr setid* 235 24-25 *sverdum*] + *þeira i moti* 235 26 *j*] á 235 27  
*óngva*] *agi* 235 27 *hlíf af honvm*] af *honum hlif* 235 29 *taka þa*] *fa þar* 235

medr gudligri giof suo mikit | 32 | afl ath hann setti broðvr J mot bræðrum ok son a | 33 | mot  
fóður ok hlifdi ser medr þessum skilldi J mo`t´ | 34 | þeíra skotum ok suerdum eptir þat giordiz suo  
medr | 35 | vitian gudligrar milldi ath reidinn sefadiz ok sneriz j | 36 | hogwæri fellu þeir nu aller  
framm a jordína fyrir fætr honvm | 37 | ok badu ser liknar fyrir sina dirf sogdu sik wera seka vít  
| 38 | gvd ok jattudu sik misgert hafa vidr hinu millduztu | 39 | kristz þionostu konu mariam  
magdalenam ok hetv nu | 40 | ath þeir skylldu honvm alldri sidan grand giðra giðrduz þeir  
| 41 | sidan fullkomiliga sattir sinn a milli fyrir miskunn sællar | 42 | maríe magdalene ok foru til  
sinna heímkyнна lofan | 43 | di gud ok hinu hellgu mariam magdalenam. Enn sa | **col. B** | | 1 | er  
hvn hafdi af daudanum leyst ok frelsat giordi henne | 2 | margfalldar þackir svo sem hann hefði  
fyrir hennar milldi | 3 | af helúiti ok síalfum andar daudanvm upp risít La | 4 | ti drottín vorr oss  
tyía bænr sællar marie mag | 5 | dalene sa er med fedr ok helgum anda lifir ok rikir gud | 6 | vm  
allar alldir allða Amenn.

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31-32 medr ... setti] suo mikit afl med gudligri milldi. at sett hann 235 32 mot] moti 235 32 a] i  
235 37 ser] - 235 38 hinu] hina 235 39 nu] - 235 40 sidan grand giðra] grand giðra sidan 235  
43 hinu hellgu] hinum seļu 235

*Mortu saga ok Mariu Magðalenu II (AM 233a fol.)*

|| 19v || | col. A | | 1 | af martha

| 1 | HIN sæla martha var gðfug at kyni. en | 2 | gðfgari at godum sidum ok tru. hun var þegar æ barns allðri ten | 3 | drat af ast semd almattigs guðs hun var uel kunnandi a lðgm | 4 | al moysi. ok adrar ebreskar bok listir. lyðin var hun guðs boð ordum. heuersk | 5 | at með ferdum. kurteis i bolsuexti. snioll í mali. væn i asionu ok | 6 | kæn við alla kuen manliga atgervi. sið þruð vm framman adrar frur. astuðig | 7 | við alþyðu. þat finnz huergi i bokum lesit. at hun hafi bonda áttan | 8 | ne sam lag við nockurn karlman átt. fadir hennar var viðá frægr vm þat land er | 9 | siria h(eitir) suo ok vm sio borgir ok nalæg herut. ok bygdir æ hinum yngra allðri | 10 | En eptir þat er Judar raku kristz lærisueína af sinum herudum. f'or' hun i gríkk | 11 | land. ok flutti framman guðs erendi með postoligrí tru j athenís borg. þessi fyr nefnd | 12 | martha var auðig at fe munum. ok upp fædd .xv. stadia fra iorsolum | 13 | i þui heraði er bethanía heitir. Hinn mikli Augustinus kallar þenna stað | 14 | kastala uera. En helgi beda prestr segir uera borg. setta i hallinum. | 15 | olúeti fiallz. brodir hennar het lazarus. en systir maria su er mag | 16 | ðalena er kollut. ok nafn tok af kastala þeim er magðalum het | 17 | hun var eigi at eins tígin at kyni. helldr var hun ok stor audig at þeim pengum er | 18 | hun erfði eptir feðr sinn. þuiat hun var storum fræg af þeim tueim lutum auð | 19 | ok ætterni er þessi heimr prisar mest. en þuiat optlliga fylgir eptir lífi sua sem | 20 | fóronautr auðileiksins ok gnótt fiarlutana. kenir sæl lífi. hafði | 21 | hun á hinum yngra allðri. lifat eptir lystingum likama sins. at slitnu tav | 22 | ma lagi skirlifis. ok drygði margskonar munut lífi. þar til sem hun fan vmbót | 23 | allra sinna andmarka af fundi uars herra j husum Simonis pharisei yfuir | 24 | gypings. þessi \*systkin voru sammæd en eigi samfedd. ok hófdu arf tekit | 25 | eptir modur sina. þría kastala. j bethanía tuo. ok hinn þridia magða | 26 | lum. ok nokkurn part af sialfri iorsala borg. en þo var martha badum þeim frægri | 27 | at vítzku ok dyggleik ok nogum pengum. audleik

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\* 24 systkin] *The scribe corrected the y from an st ligature*



ok stormennzku ok margri | 28 | frammkvæmð. riddara ok marga aðra kurteisa þionosto menn. helt hun a sinum kosti með | 29 | mikilli sæmd ok sóma. ok ueitti m'or'gum höfþingium storar ueitzlur með | 30 | marg háttadri frægð. ok var sialf hin uisazta at bua til tíguligar krasir | 31 | þuiat suo uisa guþ spiollin til. at i m'or'gum stóðum þar sem menn ueittu ueitzlur | 32 | vórum herra íhesu kristo var martha kollut til þionosto. af allra hendi. þuiat hun ętladi | 33 | suo kost sem hín uisazta husfru. ok hin røksamazta rads kona. ok hin milldaz | 34 | ta moþir. þuiat hun ueitti sinum gestum þeim er hennar heimkynni sóttu. naliga alla þa | 35 | luti er þeir beidduz við kuæmiliga. Af þui bar suo til. at þa er hun giorði slika | 36 | luti fyrir guðs sakir. vard henni auþit vm sidir. at taka sialfan i sítt herbergi. ok at uerk | 37 | kaupi sinar þionosto. elskadi hann hana. þuiat hann er elskari allra godra manna ok sialf | 38 | astin. ok hann tok ok gláðligar herbergi i hennar husi en anarstadar. kom þa þat framm er | 39 | spamaðrin segir at guð mun koma a iarðriki sem utlendzkr. ok | 40 | hneigia sik til herbergis sem vallari.

| 40 | Her hefir so | 41 | ghu þeira mariam ok martham ok lazarus brodur þeira

| 42 | AMBROSÍUS erkibyskup af melans borg segir | 43 | J sinum sermone þeim er hann talar af hinum uisa | 44 | Salomone. teliandi uelgerninga vors herra við mann kynit af þeim | 45 | taknum er hann giorði á þessum .ííj. systkínun. ok komz suo til orðz. | 46 | hann þurkar með sumum bloð ras sem með martha. en fra sumum | 47 | rekr hann diofla sem fra mario. suma reisir hann af dauda sem | **col. B** | | 1 | lazarus. hit fyrsta takn af þeim segir commestor a þa leid in | 2 | hístorijs ewangeliorum. at þa er drottinn íhesus var bedinn at fara til | 3 | husa þess höfðingia er Jarcus het. at reisa af dauda dottur hans. þrongðu | 4 | honum miok a veginum miklir flockar þeira manna. sem sumir villdo | 5 | heyra kenningar hans. sumir þigia af honum lækningh. sumir at undraz | 6 | takn hans sumir at finna at at ferd hans. var i þessu liði ein blodsiuk | 7 | kona. su er hann segir eptir ordum Ambrosij. martham uerit hafa su | 8 | er blod fallz sótt þindi vm .víj. ár. suo at læknar mattu

henni en | 9 | ga bót vinna. þott hun heti þeim nogha pengha at gefua | 10 | ef þeir græddi hana.  
 hun mælti þa með sialfri ser. heil mun ek uerda sot | 11 | tar minar. þott ek snerta at eins trefr  
 klæda ihesu. En þa er hun | 12 | giorði sem hun sagði. kendi hun sik þegar alheila. Jhesus mælti þa  
 | 13 | 'N`okkurr snart mik. lærisueinar hans mæltu. huat er þat undarligt þo at | 14 | þer þikki sem  
 nokkut snerti þik. þar sem ollum megin þrongua oss | 15 | flokkar. En ihesus suarar. Senniliga  
 snart mik einn huerr. þuiat ek kenda at | 16 | þeim veittiz heilsu giof af mer. En er hann sa vm sik.  
 at sia huer | 17 | sa væri. vard konan ótta full. ok fell til fóta honum. segiandi honum sína  
 | 18 | hugsan ok til tæki. ok at hun var heil vordin. Drottinn mælti þa til hennar | 19 | Dottir. trua  
 þín halp þer. far þu í fridi. ok ver heil sottar þinnar.

| 19 | af m | 20 | ariam

| 20 | HÉR næst setr commestor þann atburd er drottinn vor | 21 | kallaði til snæðings af phariseo  
 þeim er Símon er nefndr | 22 | en eigi gréina guþ spioll stund e(ða) stað þessa atburdar. Ok er  
 syndug | 23 | kona su er ver vitum máriam verit hafa. af orðum hins helga Johannis | 24 | guþ  
 spialla manz. vissi at ihesus var kominn til snæðingsins. þa gekk hun | 25 | i husit með ker þat. er  
 fult var af ágiætum smyrslum. ok stoð á | 26 | bak hia fótum ihesu. ok þuó hans fætr með þeim  
 tárur. er iðran ann | 27 | markanna gat i hiartinu. en framm flugu af augunum. ok þerði með  
 | 28 | hári sínu. ok kysti fætrna með sinum eiginligum munni. þar af talar | 29 | suo hinn mikli  
 Gregorius. þa er ek hugsar iðran márie. likar mer | 30 | helldr at grata en nóckut at segia. eða huerr  
 \* mun hafa suo iarnligt | 31 | briost. at eigi muni tár þessarar syndugu konu bleytt fa til eptir  
 | 32 | dæma synda iðranar. Obodit gekk hun inn í milli bods manna. | 33 | gret hun a milli þeira er  
 með fagnadi snæddu. Segit þer með huer | 34 | íum harmi sa hitnar er at snædingum sytir. Saurga  
 leit hun sik | 35 | en þuónði rann hun til miskunnar brunnzins. Synt er at konan | 36 | su er fyrum

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\* 30 mun] *The scribe corrected m from ll by overwriting*

gaf sik upp fyrir oleyfdum lutum. mun smyrsl hafa | 37 | borit a likam sinn fyrir eptir lifis sökum til þess. at hun ilmaði uel | 38 | 'M`eðr augunum hafði hun girnzt oleyfða luti. hárit hafði hun | 39 | plagat til þess. at hun syndiz friðari sinum elskurum. þui þo hun | 40 | fætr drottins með tárur en þerði með hári. ok smurði með smyr | 41 | slum. ok `með' þeim munninum |-kysti.-| er aðr hafði hun syndgaz med. | 42 | kysti hun fætr drottins. Suo margar fornir fann hun af sialfri | 43 | ser. sem hun hafði oleyfdar lystingar i ser. Tølu lastanna sneri hun | 44 | i tolu mann kostanna. at alt þionaði þat guði i iðraninni sem aðr | 45 | giorði hann reiðan i syndinni. en Símon sa er vorn herra hafði inn | 46 | kallat. skyniadi hennar at hæfuí. ok fyrir leít hann jhesum. ok möglaði | 47 | i hiarta sínu fyrir þat er hann rak hana eigi brott fra ser. sem hann taladi þessi orð || 20r || | col. A |

| 1 | 'E`f þessi maðr væri spamaðr. mundi hann at skyru víta huer e(ða) huilik kon`a' | 2 | sea væri. \* eða eigi sem a honum tekr. þuiat hun er syndug. Gregoríus | 3 | segir at þessi maðr var drambs fullr. ok fyrir leít hína syndugu konu. þuiat | 4 | falsat rettlæti hafnar. ok suuirdir synduga menn. En satt rett | 5 | læti sampíniz við þa. Ok hann mundi hana með hælum brott hafa | 6 | rekit. ef hun hefði at hans fótum kropit. En vorr herra er sat | 7 | j milli tuegia siukra manna. anars þess er heill var at víti en síukr af | 8 | syndinni. en anars þess er tapat hafði vitínu. ok sik kendi eigi síukan | 9 | suarar sialfs hans hugrenningh. ok sigraði hann með sialfs hans ordum. | 10 | með þeim hætti sem þa er vít lauss maðr berr sialfr at ser þat reip | 11 | sem hann skal binda með a þessa leid. Símon sagði hann. þer hefir | 12 | ek nokkut at segia. hann suarar. Segit þer meistari. Jhesus mælti. Tueir skull | 13 | dunautar áttu fe at luka einum auðigum manni. er vanr var at | 14 | taka tuífallda leigu af peninghum sinum eptir a kveðnum tíma. ANAR | 15 | átti at luka .d. \* pengha. en ANAR .l. pengha. En þui at þeir hofð | 16 | u eigi til at luka skulldina. gaf hann þeim upp alt féét. En hvarr | 17 | hygg þu at frammar elskadi sinn vpp giafara skulldarinar. hann suaradi. | 18 | 'Þat' trui ek at sa hafui frammar elskat. sem frammar var upp gefuít | 19 | Jhesus suarar þa. Rettliga dæmir þu.

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\* 2 eða] *The scribe corrected e from long s by overwriting* \* 15 pengha] fengha

Hann sneriz þa til konunar. en talaði | 20 | þo til Símonar. hvart ser þu konu þessa er mer þionar.  
 er gekk inn i hus | 21 | þítt. ok gaft þu mer eigi vatn til þess at þuegnir væri fætr mínir. En | 22 | kona  
 þessi þo með tárurum fætr mína. ok þerði með hári sínu. Þu | 23 | kystir mik eigi. En síðan ek gekk i  
 hus þítt. þa let hun eigi af at | 24 | kyssa fætr mína. þu lezt eigi smyria hofut mítt með oleo. en hun  
 | 25 | smurði með smyrslu fætr mína. Ok þa er hann hafði talða | 26 | goða luti hinnar syndugu  
 konu. ok suo illa luti falssamliga | 27 | kristins pharisei. sneriz hann til hennar ok mælti. fyrir gefiz  
 þer kona margar | 28 | syndir. þuiat þu elskadir mik miok. sem hann segdi suo. fullkomliga  
 | 29 | brenir þu upp ryð syndarinar. þuiat þu hitnar hardla miok af elldi | 30 | astarinar. Ok er  
 hann hafði þetta mælt. þa toko nokkurir af þeim er | 31 | at borði satu með honum. at tala með ser.  
 huerr er þessi er syndir gefr | 32 | vpp. Jhesus mælti. þa til hennar. far þu i friði. þuiat |-syn-| trua  
 þin giorði þik | 33 | heila. Gregorius segir at þui giordi trua hennar hana heila. at hun | 34 | efaði  
 ekki vm. at hun mætti þat fa er hun beiddiz. Af | 35 | þeim tok hun styrkleik truarinar. sem hun  
 tok aðr af uón | 36 | heilsunar. J fridi var henni bodit at fara. at hun gengi vm sannleiks | 37 | gótur.  
 en dræpi eigi fótum j a lekkningar. þa fórum ver i fridi er ver | 38 | góngum þann uegh vors herra  
 bodorda. sem oss leidir alldri undan | 39 | hans enda laussi miskum. Eptir þat for drottinn þadan  
 vm borgir ok | 40 | kastala með .xij. lærisueinum sinum. predikandi af hímna ríki | 41 | ok konur  
 nokkurar þær er hann hafdi leyst af ohreinum óndum | 42 | ok af síuknadum. Milli þeira var Maria  
 magdalena. su er drottinn | 43 | rak fra .vij. diðfla sem Marcus sagði ewangelista. Jnnocentius sagði  
 | 44 | suo af henni. Siau diðflar kuoldu hana. þuí at þeir suiku hana | 45 | með .vij. hattum. Eighi at  
 eíns á þat leidandi at giora þat sem giora | 46 | skylldi. helldr ok at giora þat er giora mátti. Ok er  
 þessi grein halldan | 47 | di i milli peccatum ok delictum. at delictum verðr j tión goðra uerka | **col. B**  
 | | 1 | ef maðr vinnr eigi vinnandi luti. en peccatum er at vinna|-n-| ovinnandi | 2 | luti. Meðr þessu  
 huarutuegia moti uar hun sek i hiarta. þuiat hun let `eigi` | 3 | at þui leiðaz sem goðr andi skaut  
 henní i hug. en hun sam | 4 | þykki þui sem illr andi skaut i hug henni. Delictum framdi hun

| 5 | með munni. þuiat hun þagði yfir sǫnnum lutum. peccatum framði | 6 | hun með munni. þuiat hun sagði ok talaði osanna luti. Delictum | 7 | vann hun i verki. þa er hun felldi niðr goða luti. peccatum van | 8 | hun j uerki. þa er hun vann illa luti. Synd hennar var mikil | 9 | ok morg ok opinber. mikil. þuiat ihesus rak .víj. diofla fra henni. m`or`g | 10 | þuiat henni voru margar syndir fyrir gefnar. Opinber. þuiat hun var kona hardla | 11 | \*syndug i borginni. Ollum let hun sik uppi með visum til gang | 12 | Engan rak hun fra ser viliandi. En þuiat mikil var synd hennar | 13 | bætti hun með miklu hugar angri. Ok þui at synd hennar uar | 14 | morg. bætti hun með marg folldu starfuí ok erfidi. En þui at | 15 | synd hennar var opinber. bætti hun með miklum ok merkiligum kinn | 16 | roða. þui at þessir .ííj. lutir giora manzins iðran guði þægja | 17 | sorg e(ða) angr i hiarta. kinnrodi j andliti. starf e(ða) erfuidi i uerki. | 18 | `E`ptir atkuædi hins visa Salomonis þui er hann segir. með | 19 | þeim hætti skal huerr bæta sem hann misgorir. Hín synduga ko | 20 | na kóm þuóndi til miskunnar brunnzins. skelf með miklu hu | 21 | gar angri. ok dǫgdi drottinligha fætr með mikilligum kinn roða. | 22 | hneikt stod hun a bak hia fotum jhesu. ok kysti fætr hans | 23 | ok syndiz fyrir ǫgliti hans með mikilli skemd. Ok þott hun þegði | 24 | með munni. kalladi hun með hiartanu. Eigi flædi hun at sy | 25 | naz liot fyrir boðs monnum. þuiat þeir sa hina ytri luti. en guþ leít | 26 | hina inri luti. ok hun þóttiz liotari j sam útzkunni fyrir innan. | 27 | en j ofrægðinni fyrir utan. Með miklu staruí kom hun með | 28 | Alabastrum. þat er smyrsla ker. af marmara giort. smurði hun | 29 | fætr drottins. eigi vm sinn. helldr optar. fyr i husi símonis ph | 30 | arisei með smyrslu. J annat sinn i husi Simonis leprosi. smurdi hun | 31 | hofut hans með nardo pistico. hit þriðia sinn þa er hun keypti | 32 | smyrsl at bera a likam hans. J þessum lutum er hardla díuþt | 32 | stormerki. ok til eptir dæmis dragandi. Af giord hiartans hréin | 33 | sadi hun með tárur. Af giord munnzins hreinsadi hun | 34 | með kossum. Af giord uerksins hreinsadi hun með smyrslum | 35 | `O`k suo sem hun let lími sína þiona ohreínleik til illzk`v` | 36 | suo let hun lími sína þiona

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\* 11 syndug] *The scribe corrected long s + y from m by overwriting*

rettlæti með litillæti til heí | 37 | lagleiks. Misgerdi hun með fimm líkamsins vítum. syn ok  
 | 38 | heyrn. bergingh. ilmingh ok átekingh. Ok með ollum þessum | 39 | vitum bætti hun yfuir.  
 Misgerdi hun með augum. þuiat kuenmanz | 40 | saurlifui kenniz i augum. bætti hun með augum.  
 þui at | 41 | mária gret hia leidi drottins fyrir ast semdar sakir. misgerdi hun | 42 | með eyrum. þuiat  
 hun sneri heyrn sinni til skrök sagna. bætti | 43 | hun með eyrum. þuiat hun sat hia fótum jhesu. ok  
 heyrði orð hans | 44 | 'M`isgerði hun með nòsum. þuiat hun þefaði synsamliga af | 45 | sætum ilm.  
 bætti hun með nosum. þui at hun smurði drottin | 46 | með smyrslum. suo at þefadi vm alt husit.  
 Misgerdi hun með || 20v || | col. A | | 1 | munni. þuiat varar putunar eru sem drúpanði seímr  
 hunangsins | 2 | 'B`ætti hun með munni. þuiat hun stoð a bak ihesu. ok kysti fætr | 3 | hans.  
 Misgerdi hun með höndum. þuiat þessa heíms kona braut með höndum | 4 | smiðat herbergi. Þat er  
 at skilia su sala. sem sialfr gud giorði | 5 | ser til herbergis. fyrir kemr ser með saurlifis synd. bætti  
 hun með höndum. | 6 | þuiat hun þuó fætr ihesu með tarum sinum. ok þerði með hari síno  
 | 7 | 'M`isgerdi hun með vangeymslu. fyrir illgirnd ok óúitzku ok breyskleik | 8 | Synd ovitzku bætti  
 hun með a lítning gudligrar vitzku. þui at | 9 | mária valdi ser hinn bezta lut ok sat fyrir fotum  
 drotni. ok nam kenn | 10 | ingar hans. Breyskleiks synd bætti hun með styrk ok stadfesti á  
 | 11 | þislar tíma kristz. þuiat þa er allir lærisueinar flydu fra drotni. fy | 12 | lgdi hun honum alt til  
 dauda. ok stod hia krossi hans með mario modur | 13 | hans ok Johannne ewangelista ok marie  
 cleophe. Synd vangemslunar þetti | 14 | hun með merkiligri þionosto. þeir er af guði var lofut. þa  
 er hann mælti | 15 | suo. huí erut þer þungir konu þessi. gott verk uann hun a mer. ok sen | 16 | di  
 smyrsl a líkam minn. at bua mer til graptar. Synd illgirndar | 17 | bætti hun með embætti  
 astarinar. eptir þui sem uorr herra bar henni úitn`e` | 18 | suo mælandi. Margar syndir fyrir gefaz  
 henni. þuiat hun elskadi mik harð | 19 | la miok. ok astin hylr hardla mikinn fiolda synda. Ok suo  
 sem | 20 | fyrum nægðiz með henni syndin þat er netiut morgum syndum. | 21 | ok lóstum. þuiat  
 hun var full af siau dioflum. Suo nægdiz með henni | 22 | gud's miskunn. þuiat hun vard af hans ast

gíøf. full af ollum man | 23 | kostum ok kraptum. Suo segir commestor. at sumir ætli þenna atburd  
| 24 | giorz hafa i nazareth. en eigi fæz profuan til þessa af sialfum guþspioll | 25 | unum vm stund  
ok stað.

| 25 | fra martha

| 26 | Ok er jhesus for þadan i iudeam. gekk hann i nockurn kastala | 27 | tok þa fyr nefnd martha  
hann i sítt herbergi. Senniliga var hun sæl | 28 | er hun odladiz þann at fæða. er fæðir alla verolldina  
ok | 29 | sialfr er braud englanna. ok vard maklig at hafua þann at | 30 | gest. er herbergir ok heimir  
huern mann þann er i heiminn kemr. þan | 31 | fæddi hun er fæðir allar skepnur. ok lukti i husi  
þann hinn | 32 | mikla konung ok herra. er heiminn allan lykr i hnefa ser. hun sa | 33 | ok þann er  
margir konungar ok spa menn girntuz at sia. ok \* sá eigi. ok heyra. ok | 34 | heyrdu eigi. Mikil tign  
er at þiggia slíka vinattu af guðs syni | 35 | ok maklig miklu lofi. Ok er hun hafdi hann inn tekít  
undir | 36 | sína hus þekiu. valdi huor þeira systra ser þa þionosto. sem hun | 37 | hugdi honum  
framaz mundo þoknaz þeira þionosta. Maria sat h | 38 | ia fótum hans. ok heyrði kenning hans.  
fusari at vera fædd hell | 39 | dr en at fæda. En martha annadiz margháttadar matbunadar  
| 40 | starf. Ok þui at hun hafdi hlotit hinn tignazta gest. villdi hun stund`a` | 41 | honum at þiona  
með hæstu tign ok virðing. hybilin at reín | 42 | sa ok pryda. bua sætin ok huilur. drykk ok vistir.  
Suo syndiz | 43 | henni sem eigi mætti alt hyskit ok heima folkít til vinaz at vei`ta` | 44 | þuilika  
þionosto vórum herra sem honum sómdi. Ok þui stoð hun fyrir | 45 | honum angrs full ok mælti til  
hans. Min herra s(agði) hun. þer gefuít eigi | 46 | at þui gaum. er systir mín lætr mik eína þionostu  
uei`ta` | 47 | fyrir þui bid ek þik at þu biodir henni mer at fultingia. en hann suarar | **col. B** |  
| 1 | `M`artha þu ert sorgmoð miok. ok berr and semd fyrir marga luti. en éitt | 2 | er nauðsynligt.  
Maria valdi ser hinn bezta lut þann sem eigi mun | 3 | af henni tekinn uera. See her agætan herra.

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\* 33 sá] *The scribe has corrected ð from ea by overwriting*

þann er fyrir utan alla man | 4 | girni. vill ollum hialpa. ok af ymsum þigia ymsar þionostur. ok  
 elskar | 5 | ok lofar. Suo lofadi hann anarar þionosto. at hann lastaði eigi fyrir annari. | 6 | ok mat  
 þo at þui at commestor segir frammar þat er maria sat hia fó | 7 | tum hans ok heyrði ord hans. j þui  
 er hun valdi ser þann lut er eigi mundi | 8 | verda af henní tekinn. en eigi fyrir þui at hun væri hæri  
 at uerðleikum | 9 | þuiat þadan vandiz uorr herra at þigia heimbod at hinni sælu marthe | 10 | i  
 hennar herberghi. Ma af þui marka huersu mikla uelgerninga. ok huersu | 11 | miklar þackir. ok  
 huersu miklar ðmbunir hann ueitir fyrir þa gest ris | 12 | ní er eigi er til heim skrautz gior. ok fyrir  
 olmusur ok þionosto. við fateka | 13 | menn. ef þat er gort fyrir utan rygð ok möglan ok eptir tølur.  
 ef framm | 14 | er latit dæmi þessarar konu marthe. þar sem fyrir hennar vín skap. ok | 15 | gest  
 risni. reisti af dauda lazarum. brodur hennar. ok elskaði aull | 16 | þau systkin. mariam ok martham  
 ok lazarum. Fra þeim tima fylg | 17 | di maria magð(alena) ihesu ok lærisueinum hans með  
 fullkominni ast. | 18 | bæði at ðnd ok likama. veítandi sinn mikla auð til at uínnu | 19 | honum ok  
 hans fylgiurum. fyllði hun þa fastliga tíu hans bod ord | 20 | þat er suo mælti. sa er mer þionar.  
 fylgi hann mer. ok þar sem ek er. | 21 | mun minn þionosto maðr uera.

| 21 | her seghir fra lazarus

| 22 | A Einum tíma tok lazarus sa er fyr var nefndr stríðan | 23 | síukleik heíma i bethanía i kastala  
 þeira systra hans | 24 | er þa satu yfuir honum. þær sendo þa menn at segia ihesu. Nu er | 25 | sa  
 síukr er þu elskar. Af þeim malum ma skilia. at ihesus var eigi j | 26 | betthanía. Augustinus segir at  
 fyrir þui sendu þær honum orð. at | 27 | brodir þeira var síukr. at uíta ef \*han villdi græða hann. en  
 han | 28 | dualdi at græða til þess at hann mætti af dauda reisa. Eigi uilld`o´ | 29 | þær suo mikill  
 dirfaz at mæla sem konungr regulus. kom þu ok græð | 30 | Ok eigi sem Centurio hundrads  
 hófþingi. bioð þu ok mun þegar | 31 | verða. Ef hans trua er lofut. þuiat hann þottiz eigi uerðr. at

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\* 27 han] *It appears as though the scribe corrected a from e*



ihesus kuæmi i hus hans | 32 | helldr mælti hann. biod þu drottinn. ok mun þegar sueinn minn uerða  
 | 33 | heill. huersu er trua þessara tuegia systra lofandi. er þorf þotti | 34 | vinna at eíns at segia  
 græðaranum. nu er sa siukr sem þu | 35 | elskar sem \*þær segdi. þórf vinnr vm sótt hans vítand  
 þín eín | 36 | saman. þuiat þu giorir eigi bædi. elskar ok fyrir lætr. En þa er ihesus heyrdi sen  
 | 37 | di boðann. mælti hann. Þessi síuknadr leiðir hann eigi til dauda. þat | 38 | er at hallda hann i  
 dauda. helldr er hann fyrir guðs dyrd. at sonr guds | 39 | dyrkiz fyrir hann. Af þui at hann hafdi  
 heyrt sendi bodit vm sagðan | 40 | síukleik lazari. var hann i þeim stad tua dagha. at liðnir mætti  
 | 41 | verða fiorir dagar fra dauda lazari. þa er hann kuæmi aptr j betth | 42 | aníam. hann mælti þa  
 við læri sueína sína. fòrum j iudeam. þeir suorudu | 43 | Fyrir huí viltu þangat fara. þar sem þeir  
 uilldo næstum gryta þik. | 44 | hann suarar. huart eru .xíj. stundir dagsins. Ef nõckurr gengr æ  
 daghinn | 45 | drepr hann eigi fótum. þuiat hann sier lios þessa heíms. þat ma suo skilia. | 46 | Ek  
 em dagr. en þer erut .xíj. stundir. þui þurfuít þer mer eigi rað at | 47 | kenna. e(ða) fordaz með mer  
 at fara. Eptir þat sagði hann þeim daða lazari || **21r** || | **col. A** | | 1 | fyrst með figuru. en þar næst  
 með berum ordum. ok sagþiz fagna fyrir | 2 | þeira hønd. þuiat batna mundi trua þeira ef þeir sæi  
 hann af dauda ri | 3 | sa. fyrir þat er hann hafdi eigi þar uerit. þar sem eigi mundi daudinn drotnat  
 hafa | 4 | ef lifuít hefði nærr uerit. Siþan fóro þeir i betthaníam. ok hafdi la | 5 | zarus þa fiora dagha  
 i gróf legit. margir iuðar hófðu komit | 5 | til þeira systra 'at hugga þær' vm brodur daudan. Ok er  
 martha. heyrdi at Jhesus | 6 | for þangat æ leið. rann hun ut af stadnum í moti honum. en mária  
 | 7 | sat eptir heíma. Ok er martha sa hann. mælti hun. Minn herra. Eigi mundi | 8 | brodir minn  
 dauðr ef þu \*hefdir her uerit. en ueít ek at þu þiggr af | 9 | guði 'alt' þat er þu hefuir bedit.  
 Augustinus segir. Eighi mælti martha. |-reís-| | 10 | Nu bid ek at þu reisir upp brodur minn. þuiat  
 hun uissi eigi at broþur hennar | 11 | væri naudsynligt upp at risa af dauda. þetta eína mælti hun.

\* 34 þær] *The beginnings of a horizontal stroke appear on the ascender of þ, as though the scribe initially meant to write something else* \* 8 hefdir] hefð\*

veit | 12 | ek at þu matt ef þu uill. Jhesus mælti þa við hana. Vpp mun risa brodir | 13 | þinn. hun  
 suarar. Veit ek at hann mun vpp risa i hinnu efztu upprisu | 14 | 'S`em hun segði. af þui er ek uis.  
 at hann mun vpp risa er almenningr | 15 | riss upp. Jhesus mælti þa. Ek er vpp risa ok lif. sem hann  
 mælti. þu mar | 14 | tha. vpp mun risa. brodur þinn á efzta degi. satt er þat. en þo ma | 15 | sa upp  
 reisa hann nu þegar. er þa mun hann upp reisa. þuiat ek em | 16 | vpp risa ok líf. Enn mælti ihesus.  
 huerr sa er á mik truir. mun þo lífa | 17 | at hann hafi aðr dauðr uerit. Ok sa er lifir ok truir a mik.  
 mun eigi | 18 | deya at eilifu. Þat er suo at skilia. at sa sem á mik truir. þott | 19 | hann hafu dauðr  
 uerit i likam. mun lifa j ond þar til er hann lifnar ok | 20 | horund hans su er þa lifnar. mun alltri  
 deya þadan af. Ok huer | 21 | sa sem lifir i likam ok truir á mik. þo at hann deyi stundligha  
 | 22 | likams dauða. þa mun eigi deya at eilifu fyrir lif andans. ok o | 23 | dauðleiks upprisunar. Þui  
 næst mælti ihesus. huart truir þu þessu martha | 24 | 'A`t skyru herra truda ek. at þu ert sonr guðs sa  
 er komt i þenna heim | 25 | 'S`em hun segði. þa er ek fekk sanna tru. truða ek. at þu ert líf.  
 | 26 | truða ek at huerr sa maðr er a þik truir mun lifa. þott hann hafdi dauðr | 27 | uerit. Ok sa er  
 lifir ok truir a þik. mun eigi deya at eilifu. Eptir þetta | 28 | gekk martha heim. ok sagði systur  
 sinni at meistari var komin ok kalladi | 29 | hana. hun stoð upp. ok gekk ut af kasatlanum i þann  
 stað sem systir | 30 | hennar hafdi skilit við ihesum. ok m(ælti) við hann. Eigi mundi brodir minn  
 dauðr | 31 | vera herra ef þu hefdir her uerit. Judar margir þeir sem þar hófdu komit at | 32 | hugga  
 þær systur vm brodur sinn. gengu þegar af kastalanum er þeir sá | 33 | mariam vt ganga skiotliga.  
 Augustinus segir. Af þui bar ok suo til at | 34 | guð uilldi marga lata uera uitnis menn. at hinn fer  
 dagadi risa upp. | 35 | 'O`k er ihesus sa mariam grata. ok suo juða þa sem hia stoðu. gret hann með  
 | 36 | kalli ok tárelling ok mælti. huar settu þer hann. sem hann mælti. Veit ek | 37 | at hann er  
 dauðr. en eigi huar hann er grafinn. þetta mælti hann af mandominum. | 38 | þuiat hann ueit alt  
 með gud dóminum. Mária mælti. kom ok se. Þat er | 39 | at skilia. kom til ok ueit miskunn. þuiat  
 þa sier ihesus er hann miskunnar | 40 | ok þa gret ihesus. Judar mæltu þa. Nu ma sia huersu hann

elskadi þenna man. | 41 | 'S`umir mæltu. mundi eigi sa er syn gaf þeim er blindr var fæddr me  
 | 42 | ga þat giora. at sea maðr dæi eigi. Enn er þat vítanda at þui let ihesus han | 43 | deya mega. at  
 hann mætti hann vpp reisa. dualdi hann hit minna | 44 | at hann matti giora hit meira. Jhesus gret  
 þa enn há stöfum. ok kom til | **col. B** | | 1 | -|til|- leiðissins. en þat var högguit niðr i berg. ok uelt  
 yfir steini. hann m(ælti) | 2 | þa. |-veltit-| Rærit af steininn. martha mælti þa. Jlla þefar likit  
 | 3 | þuiat nu hefir hann .ííj. dagha í iordu legit. hann mælti þa. Sagða | 4 | ek þer eigi at þu mundir  
 sea dyrd guðs ef þu trydir. þat er at hinn fuli. | 5 | ok hinn ferdagadi mundi upp risa. Ok at fra  
 rærðum steininum m(ælti) hann | 6 | 'Ð`ackir giori ek þer fadir. þuiat þu heyrir mik. En ek uissa at  
 þu heyr | 7 | ðir mik iafnan. Ek talada þessa luti fyrir sakir lyds þess er hia sten | 8 | dr. at þeir trui at  
 þu sendir mik. Eptir þat kallaði jhesus mikilli roddu | 9 | með tarfelling. lazare kom ut. sem hann  
 segði. gakk ut þu \*áf | 10 | gróf. er at sønnu er staðr dauðra manna. ok kom ut. þat er i lios. er  
 | 11 | at sønnu er staðr lifandi manna. hann gekk þa ut sueípaðr vm hendr | 12 | ok fætr. ok huldr  
 með sueíta duki vm andlit. Jhesus bauð þá | 13 | lærisuenum sinum. ok lata brott fara. þat er at  
 skilia. lata fara | 14 | eptir uilia. þeir giorðu sem hann bauð. See her mikinn útnis burd  
 | 15 | gudligrar astar við mariam. Mária gret. ok þa gret ihesus. mária gret | 16 | þa er brodir hennar  
 var eigi lifs. Jhesus gret. ok kallaði \*han til lifs. suo | 17 | sem hann þyldi eigi at sea mariam  
 gratandi. Margir Juðar þeir sem til | 18 | þess hófdu komit at hugga þær systr. ok á þetta takn sa.  
 truðu | 19 | a jhesum. Sumir fóro ok sögðu phariseis yfir gyþingum taknit. ok uarð | 20 | þetta uerk  
 stórum frægt. Commestor segir at fria daginn fyrir passion`em` domini | 21 | þa er guðspiallit er  
 lesit. vard sea atburðr `a` hinum fyrsta \*degi | 22 | hins fyrsta mánadar eptir lóg mali moysi. En  
 þeir lutir er jhesus | 23 | vann fra þessum d(egi) til þuótt d(ags) fyrir palm sunnu dag. koma ekki til  
 þessarar | 24 | sögu

\* 9 áf] *The scribe appears to have corrected áf (written as a ligature) from or* \* 16 han] *The scribe appears to have amended N from a, as though he initially meant to write the abbreviation for hana* \* 21 degi] *The scribe has corrected e from a*

| 24 | af lazarus ok marth(a)  
 | 24 | A hinum setta degi ef taldr | 25 | er sialfr paska dagrín ok laugar dagrín með .íííj. milli  
 | 26 | settum dögum. kóm ihesus j bethaniam. ok tok snæding i husi | 27 | Símonis hins lik þrá.  
 hann hafði lik þrár verit. ok af guði græddr | 28 | en helt þo hínu fyra nafni. suo sem matheus er  
 publicanus kall | 29 | aðr i guþspialli. eptir þuí sem hann var aðr hann kuæmi til kristz. Margir  
 | 30 | af juðum þeir sem til paska halldzins kómu fyrir þat i bethaniam. | 31 | at þeir uilldo sia  
 lazarum er ihesus reisti af dauda. Hóþþíngiar | 32 | kenri mannana hugsudu at veíta honum bana.  
 þuiat margir menn truðu | 33 | fyrir hans sakir a ihesum. en fyrir letu þa. kastala menn ueittu ihesu  
 sneþing | 34 | en martha þionaði. lazarus sat at mat bordi með honum. Af þessu | 35 | efni segir  
 Augustinus. at eigi hygdi menn sionhuerfing uera. þat er hinn | 36 | daudi reis upp. var hann einn  
 af upp sitiandum. lifði hann. taladi | 37 | hann. snæddi hann. Sannleikr upp risunar syndiz. en  
 otruua trua juða | 38 | hneyktiz. Commestor segir at galldra menn reisa upp dauða menn | 39 | suo at  
 þeir \*binda undir armleggi þeim blauð þau er galldrli | 40 | gar fígurur \* eru á. rítadar. þeir ganga ok  
 tala. ok megu eigi snæða | 41 | Enn sia upp risa var profu `t` með \* sannindum. ok ollum lifs mörkum  
 | 42 | ok með löngum tíma eptir komandi æfui daga. þuiat su bok er heí | 43 | tir speculum ecclesie.  
 segir lazarum byskup uerit hafa vt i cipr eptir | 44 | dreifing kristz lærisueína vm .xxx. uetra. ok reist  
 marga af an | 45 | dar dauða. suo sem var sialfr reistr af likams dauða. Augus | 46 | tinus segir in  
 libro de uerbis domini. ok at boðs menn spyrdi hann af | 47 | heluiti. en hann sagdi þeim með  
 glöggri greín. ok þa hófdu heluiti || 21v || | col. A | | 1 | fundit sinn birtara. þott þau hefdi langan  
 tíma leynz. Maria | 2 | systir hans tok smyrsla ker. giort af þeim steíni er alabastrís heítir. ok  
 | 3 | vel uarðueitir ospellut smyrsl. þetta smyrsla ker var fult af nardo | 4 | 'N`ardus er eítt tre með  
 þykkum rótum. lágt at upp uexti. suart at | 5 | lit ok breyskleik. Ofan uert treít ferr dreíft. ok er

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\* 39 binda] *It appears as though the scribe initially wrote u, and then erased the first part to form an i* 40  
 eru] *The scribe appears to have corrected eru from væri* \* 41 sannindum] *The scribe amended u from o*

fræit uaxit | 6 | sem aux. Smyrsla giordar menn temprá smyrsl af spizum ok ðxum ok | 7 | suo af flurum tres þessa. ok eru af spizunum dyrst smyrslín. en *ønur eru* | 8 | lagh ok lítill uerd. þui segir annar guþspialla maðrin þetta smyrsl verit | 9 | hafa af spizum gort. en *anar* kallar *nardum* *pisticum*. þat er oblan | 10 | dat með oðrum smyrslum e(ða) v̄falsadr. sumir segia at *pisticum* taki | 11 | nafn af stad þeim er *nardus uex e(ða) gioriz*. smyrslit var *libra* at ma | 12 | li e(ða) þunga. hun braut þa. þat er at skilia. at hun upp lauk | 13 | fyrir nefnt *ker*. ok steypiti yfir hōfut ihesu. ok suo smurði hun fætr *hans* | 14 | en þerði með hári sínu. ok ilmadi smursli`d` um alt husit. *Æ* þeim sama | 15 | degi gōrir herra pafinn i þessa minningh olmosor fataekum monnum | 16 | þuiat þeir eru fætr himna *konungs*. ok ganga a iordunni. þat er at mæta uósi | 17 | ok erfidi i heiminum. ok eru lægztir at uirðingu i kristz likam. *Juda`s`* | 18 | skarioth einn af tolf mōtunautum jhesu. oþakkadiz við hennar þio | 19 | nostu ok mælti. Til huers kemr tapan smyrsl þessa. þuiat þat matti seliaz | 20 | meir en þrimr hundrudum pengha. ok uerda gefit fataekum monnum. | 21 | `J`ohannis ewangelista greinir. at Judas mælti þetta eigi af þui. at hann hirti vm fataek`a` | 22 | menn. helldr fyrir þui at hann uardueitti fe hirðzlur ihesu. ok þa luti sem | 23 | offraðir voru bar hann eigi at eins. helldr bar hann ok brott ok stal. þuiat hann | 24 | átti *husfreyiu* ok sono. ok fekk þeim. Af þeim sagði dauid i saltaranum | 25 | `V`erði son *hans* foðurlauss. en *husfreyia* *hans* eckia. þeim gaf hann þat sem | 26 | hann stal. Sumir meistarar sanna þat. at fe hirðinum uerí skipat tíund | 27 | af ollu offri\* fyrir starf sitt. ok þottiz hann missa .xxx. pengha. j aullu | 28 | smyrslínu. þuiat penghar eru tíund af hueriu .c. pengha. þeira sem hann | 29 | talði uerd smyrslsins. var hann suo dygdar lauss. at hann uildi suo mikit | 30 | hafa ok afla a likam ihesu. meistara síns. sem hann þottiz missa i-ðfnu- | 31 | smyrslínu. Ok þui selldi hann drottin fyrir sakir rangrar agirni. er upp ri | 32 | sa af þessu efni. Adrir lærisueinar samsinnudu Jude i þui. at þeir | 33 | letu ser mislika hennar til tæki. ok þo fyrir utan alt fals. helldr fyrir | 34 | astar sakir við fataeka menn. Jhesus hirti þa um þessa þykkú

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\* 11 libra] lib<sup>t</sup>    \* 27 fyrir] vp<sup>i</sup>p

ranga | 35 | er þeir hófdu a þíónosto marie. með þessum orðum. Fyrir hui erut þer | 36 | þungir konu þessi. gótt uerk uann hun a mér. þuiat fataeka menn. munu | 37 | þer iafnan hafa með yðr. en mik munut þer eigi iafnan hafa. En hun uan | 38 | þetta at smyria minn likam fyrir komanda graptar tíma minn. sem hann | 39 | segði suo. latit hana giora þetta við\* mik lifanda meðan hun ma at smy | 40 | ria likam minn. þann er skiott mun grafinn uerda. þuiat þetta mun hun | 41 | giora uilia við mik lidinn en mega eigi. Graptar embætti er þat er | 42 | hun gorir at til uisan heilags anda. þott óúitandi. en eigi | 43 | fiar glutran. Ok enn segir hann. Ek kann yðr at segia. at þetta hentar | 44 | uerk mun sagt uera j minningh. huar sem þetta guþspiall er |-lesit-| | 45 | predikat. sem hann segdi. Eigi mun þetta hennar uerk þagat. sem mitt nafn er | 46 | predikat. En eigi er undarligt. þótt hun leggi fram fyrir mína skyll | 47 | smyrsl sítt. þar sem ek mun skammbragdz fyrir hennar skyll hella | **col. B** | | 1 | vt mitt bloð. Her\* með segir beda prestr. Maria smurði eigi at eins | 2 | fætr ihesu drottíns. helldr ok hófut hans. sem ver námum af guðspialli | 3 | mathei ok marci. Ok eigi er efanda at af þessi syndugu konu sagði | 4 | lucas. at hun smurdi fætr drottíns. ok þerdi með hári sinu. ok giorði hun | 5 | þetta hneigð til fóta honum á meðal iðranar tára. En siþan eptir upp | 6 | reistan lazarum brodur hennar. smurði hun fætr drottíns i anat sinn milli | 7 | fagnada rettlætis uerka. Ok þa efadi hun sik ekki til þess at smyria | 8 | hófut hans. hit fyrsta sinn er eigi greint huers kyns smyrsl e(ða) huersu mikil | 9 | voru. En hit þriðia sinn er greint. at þat var af nardo. ok suo mikit sem\* libra heitir | 10 | Commestor segir suo af guðspialla manna orðum. at hinn næsta mor | 11 | gin eptir þessa atburdi for drottinn til iorsalaborgar. ok reið øsnu. ok | 12 | uann aðra þa luti sem gudspioll uóttá. ok huarf huert kuelld apr | 13 | til paska halldz. Juða i bethaniam. Augustinus hinn mikli segir þat | 14 | vera kastala. en beda prestr segir uera borg. setta i hallinum olíue | 15 | ti fiallz sem fyr segir. En suo sem a leið pinsl drottíns. var maria | 16 | magdalena honum astudig ok

\* 39 mik] It appears the scribe has corrected m from l \* 1] með] The presence of nasal stroke indicates scribe was perhaps not sure whether to write með or um \* 9 libra] lib<sup>t</sup>

nærr göngul. sem iohannis ewangelista segir. at hun | 17 | stod hia krossi drottins með sialfri drotningu hímins ok iardar. ok oðrum þeim sem | 18 | gud spiallit segir. ok bætti hun með staðfesti nyrrar guðs giafar synd | 19 | hins forna breyskleiks.

| 19 | fra maria magdalene

| 20 | AT liðinni pisl ok dauða græðarans. ok rygð graptar hans. bio | 21 | Maria magdalena með oðrum konum. mario modur Jacobi | 22 | ok Salome smyrsl at smyria likam ihesu i leidi lagðan. þær fóro ok | 23 | kómu þangat hinn sidara lut nætr. þa er himin tok at birtaz af so | 24 | lu til austrs. ok toluðu sín í milli. huerr uelta mundi steíni þeim hin | 25 | um mikla fra munna leiðissins. suo at þær mætti in fara. En þa | 26 | er þær lítu til annat sinn var hann fra uoltinn. en hann var þa fyrir munnanum | 27 | er þær komu i fyrstu. þuiat drottinn hafði af luktri gróf upp risit. | 28 | Þær sáu þann guðs engil. sem steíninn hafdi rærðan. sitia á honum | 29 | En fyrir þa ógn er af stod englinum. fellu \* uarð menn þeir sem juðar hófðu | 30 | sett til at giæta grafarinar i omegn. suo at þeir lágu sem daudir menn. en uissv | 31 | vítz sins. ok saa upprisú drottins. ok voru uottar ef þeir uilldu satt fra segia | 32 | A þessi nott skiptiz dægra tala. aðr for nótt fyrir degi. En þadan af | 33 | skiptiz at miðri nótt. þa er uarr herra reis upp. ok er nu siðan | 34 | huor nótt sam eiginlig huorum `tuegia' degi. Ok er konurnar ótta fullar | 35 | af þessi syn lítu vm sik. sa þær tua engla í mannligrí mynd | 36 | ok asiónu. þa neigðu þær við þessa syn andlít sín til iardar. Engl | 37 | arnir mæltu þa til þeira. fyrir huí leitit þer lífanda með dauðum. sem | 38 | þeir segði. fyrir huí leitið þer i gróf. er dauðra manna staðr er ihesum þan | 39 | er upp er risinn. ok líf er allra lifandi manna. sem hann sagði yðr. Ok nu | 40 | farit þer til ok siat legit. ok segit lærisueinum hans. at hann reis upp af- | 41 | -dauða- | ok mun fara fyrir yðr í galileam. þær mínntuz þa at ihesus hafði þeim | 42 | þetta sagt. J þa minning. er konurnar hneigdu andlít sín en kne | 43 | fellu eigi við syn englanna. hneigir

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\* 29 uarð] *The scribe has attempted to correct uarð from uið*

heilug kirkia andlit sítt. en kne | 44 | fellr *eigi fra* páskum fram *vm* huíta sunnu uiku J mining upp  
 risu drottins | 45 | 'P`ær fóro þa at finna lærisueína ihesu. þangat sem þeir voru i herbergi. En  
 | 46 | maria magdalena. for at finna Petrum ok Johannem ok sagði þeim drottinn | 47 | tekinn uera af  
 leidinu. ok kveðz eigi uíta huert þeir hófðu fært \*hann. || 22r || | col. A | | 1 | 'C`ommestor segir. at  
 með henni sytti afl astarinar. ella var hun hrædd `ok' uissi | 2 | lítit. ok trudi fyrir þui ihesum brott  
 tekinn. þar sem hun fann han e(igi). þeir | 3 | runnu þa með henni til leidissins. ok fundo eigi  
 likaman hans. en sa suei | 4 | ta duk þann er sueipat var með hófut hans. skildan fra oðrum dukum  
 þeim | 5 | sem bukrin var sueipaðr með ok vafðan i einum stað. ok trudu hann i brott | 6 | tekinn  
 sem hun hafdi sagt. Eptir þat fóro þeir til herbergis síns. en maria | 7 | stod eptir við leiðit ok gret.  
 Ok þa er hun leít inn j þat. þa sa hun | 9 | hina sǫmu |-v-|engla hia þeiri sǫmu steinþro sem  
 likaminn hafði i legít | 8 | annan at hófði. en annan at fótum. Gregorius segir. Af þessu ma  
 | 10 | marka huersu mikít afl astarinar tendrat hafði þessarar konu þar sem hun | 11 | stod eptir  
 hia gróf grædarans. þa er lærisueinar hans hurfu fra. ok þui | 12 | bar suo til at hun ein stoð eptir.  
 þa er hun ein sa ihesum. Augustinus segir | 13 | 'E`igi finn ek aðra sok fyrir huí maria leít inn i  
 leidit. helldr en þa | 14 | at hun trudi huarki ser ne oðrum. vm þat at ihesus uerí i brottu. ok hugdiz  
 | 15 | þann at finna er hun elskadi. Englarnir mæltu þa. huat grætr þu | 16 | kona suo sem þeir  
 bannadi henni at grata. þa er efni uoro til þess at | 17 | fagna. hun suarar þeim þa. brott toko þeir  
 hann. en eigi ueít ek \*huar þeir settu \*hann | 18 | þeir suara þa engu. hun sneriz þa ok sá ihesum  
 standa hia ser. ok uissi | 19 | eigi at hann uerí. hann mælti þa. huat grætr þu maría e(ða) huat leítar  
 þu. sem hann | 20 | syndi henni. at grata eigi þann daudan sem lifdi. ne leíta þan sem | 21 | stoð hia  
 henni. hun hugdi at hann mundi uera giætzlu maðr gardzins þess | 22 | sem grófin var j. ok mælti til

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\*47 hann] *The word is written with a stroke on the ascender of h, and it appears the a has been corrected from n, as though the scribe initially meant to abbreviate the word* \* 10 þessarar] *The scribe has corrected þ from long s* \* 17 huar] *The scribe amended the superscript r from a superscript t* \* 17 hann] *The abbreviation for hann was corrected from the abbreviation for þeir*



hans. herra seg mer ef þu tokt hann. hvar þu settir | 23 | -|settir|- hann at ek mega taka hann.

Jhesus m(ælti) þa. Maria. sagdi han | 24 | hun kendi hann þa jhesum. Jnnocentius segir. kendi ihesus mariam. ok | 25 | þa kendi maria Jhesum. Fyrum gret ihesus vm sok m´arie. þa er hann | 26 | sa hana grata brodur sinn dauðan. ok reisti hann upp til lifs. Nu gret | 27 | 'M´aria vm sok ihesu. þa er hun leitadi hans lifanda með dauðum. En ihesus | 28 | þoldi eigi grat hennar. ok syndiz henni. risinn af dauðanum. At kendum | 29 | ihesu kalladi hun hann meistara. ok fell til fota honum. ok uilldi hallda | 30 | a honum eptir þui sem hun var vón. Jhesus mælti þa. hird eigi þu m´aria | 31 | at taka a mer. þuiat ek hefir eigi enn upp stigit til feðr míns. at skilia | 32 | i hiarta þínu. sem hann mælti. Eigi munt þu oðlaz at taka a þeim lifan | 33 | da 'með' þinum höndum. sem þu leitadir dauðan. ok trudir brott tekít lík. | 34 | en eigi son aliafnan fedr. Ok enn mælti hann til hennar. far þu ok | 35 | seg broður minum. at ek stig vpp til mins fedr ok yðuars fedr. til | 36 | mins guþs ok yðuars guðs. sem hann m(ælti) skiott munu þeir sia mík til himins stig`a`

| 37 | af upprisu drottins

| 36 | A Þessum tíma hurfu grafar | 38 | verðirnir heím j íerusalem. ok sǫgðu phariseis sǫnn tíðindi | 39 | at drottinn var upp risinn. En þeir key`p`tu storfe at þeim. at | 40 | þeir leyndi sannindum af þessum at burð. en reisa lygi þa at þeir | 41 | hefði sofnat voku memminir. En a þeiri stundo hefði lærisueinar ihesu | 42 | stolit likam hans í nátt myrkri. þeir toko við fénu. ok helldu þessu falsi | 43 | sem þeir höfdu saman sett. Ok þat sanna allir Judar alt til þessa | 44 | dags. at ihesus væri af grófinni stolinn. en eigi upp risinn. Maria mag | 45 | ðalena for þa með sanri tru ok fullkominni úitand drottínligrar | 46 | upp risu. ok fann konur þær sem fyrum höfdu hia henni uerit vm | 47 | morgíninn. ok sagdi þeim sína syn. þær runnu þa allar saman | **col. B** | | 1 | með rettri tru a leidis til lærisueína kristz. Jhesus rann þa á | 2 | moti þeim suo mælandi. heilar seth þer. þær krupu þa til | 3 | fóta honum. ok helldo vm fætr hans. Jhesus mælti þa. farit þer ok segit bræ | 4 | ðrum

minum. at þeir fari í galileam. þar munu þeir mik sía. *Commest`or`* | 5 | *segir* at þessa uitran í  
 galilea einkadi drottinn þui til. at hann trudi þa | 6 | alla lærisueína ihesu við hafa uerit. *ok* þa  
 asakaði hann þa vm | 7 | *tortrygð ok hiartaligan hardleik.* konurnar runnu þa *ok* sögdu .xi.  
 | 8 | lærisueinum sytandum hins herra dauða. at hann uar upp risinn | 9 | En þeir hugdu at þær  
 spóttadi þa. *ok* truðu \**eigi*. Petrus | 10 | rann þa til leiðissins. *ok* er þat truanligt. at þa hafi drottinn  
 uitraz | 11 | honum. þott þat se *eigi* í guþ spiollum greint. Se her milldan meistara | 12 | *ok*  
 miskunnsaman herra. þann er fyrst syndiz þeim er framaz voru sorg ful | 13 | *lir*-ar-| marie *ok*  
 petro. See her nu liosan lampa heimsins. *ok* skinan | 14 | da *guds* gimstein. með göfugligri birti.  
 Márie magð(alene) þa er fyr var | 15 | saurug *ok* synda full. en nu var oll glóandi með astsemð síns  
 | 16 | grædara. *ok* staðföst at leita síns lausnara. *ok* fyrir þessa stadfesti fekk | 17 | hun þann forpris  
 af honum. at bera hans sendiboðum hinum hæstum | 18 | hit hæsta sendi boð hins hæsta fagnadar.  
*ok* uera rett kollut | 19 | postoli postolanna. af upp risu \**hins* millda meistara sem *marcus* *segir*.  
 | 20 | 'M`aria magð(alena) sagdi postolum at hun sa drottin upp risinn. Konan skenkti | 21 | *sinum*  
 bonda j paradiso sáran dauða fyrir áto *hins* bannaða eplis | 22 | en boðadi konan *karlmeninum* hit  
 sanna líf. af sialfs drottins gröf | 23 | *ok* su er forðum bar fram m ormlig ord til allr tila øllum  
 heími. su | 24 | bar nu fram sagnir fyrir upp risu síns líf giafara ollum til eilfs fag | 25 | nadar. Ok af  
 þeiri hendi tok ver forðum dauða drykk. sem nu toko ver lífs | 26 | drykk. fyrir þessa skynsemi syng  
 heilug kristní á hennar messu *credo* in | 27 | unum *deum*. sem a hátiðum sialfs græðarans `ok`  
 márie modur `hans` *ok* postolana | 28 | `S`ee her makligan meistara. *ok* goðan giætzlu man  
 guðligrar hiardar. | 29 | sælan Petrum. þann er sialfr gud leiddi or þoku þrennar neitingar | 30 | til  
 þrennar iatningar síns sæta nafns. *ok* syndiz honum fyrst af postolum | 31 | eptir upp risu sína.

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\* 9 *eigi*] The scribe corrected this from the abbreviation for með \* 19 *hins*] s appears to have been  
 corrected from another letter with an accent

þuiat hann uissi petrum eigi mundo þora. \* nema hann | 32 | hefði hann nefndan með öðrum  
postolum. j galilea. fyrir sik at koma at | 33 | lata sea sik milli lærisueína. ok at hann mætti \* á ser  
marka. huersu | 34 | hann ætti öðrum ostyrktir at vorkynna.

| 36 | fra martha

| 35 | SVA segir speculum historiale. at hín heilaga martha fyll | 36 | di þat guðs boðord er hann  
s(egir) suo. huerr sa er fyrir lætr hus e(ða) | 37 | herbergi. foður e(ða) moður. brædr e(ða) systir.  
husfreyiur e(ða) sy | 38 | ni. eignir e(ða) akra fyrir minar sakir. mun hundrat falt j moti taka. ok  
eignaz | 39 | eilift lif. Öll audæfuí sín skipti hun i þria staði. Eín ueitti | 40 | hun marie magðalene  
systur sinni. en hun ueitti þan til at uin`v` | 41 | vórum herra ok lærisueinum hans. Annan ueitti  
hun lazaro. brodur sinum | 42 | hinn þriðia varðueitti hun framm vm pislar tíma kristz ok upp risu  
ok ueitti | 43 | þar af ueítzlur uórum herra ok lærisueinum hans. En eptir uppstigning | 44 | hans.  
lagdi hun þat sem eptir var fyrir petr postola kristz. þa er mikill | 45 | fioldi kristinna manna hafdi  
suo mikit samþykki. sem þeir ætti eitt hiar | 46 | ta ok eina önd. ok engin hafdi ne eitt eiginligt.  
helldr var þeim alt | 47 | sam eiginligt. At liðinni dyrdar fullri upp risu drottíns vors ihesu || 22v ||  
| col. A | | 1 | kristi. voru þær badar systir Maria ok martha með postolum hans ok lærisueinum  
| 2 | framan til upp stigningar hans. stad fastar at bæna halldi. ok öðrum goðger | 3 | ningum til þess  
er þær þágu með öðrum guðs uinum ast giðf hins hel | 4 | ga anda. er þat truanligt at af þeim megi  
skiliaz ord luce ewangeliste | 5 | þau sem sett eru i lof vorar fru. hann s(egir) at guðs postolar gengu  
eptir upp | 6 | stigning lausnarans af olíueti fialli aptr j iorsala borg. ok upp | 7 | stigu j eitt lopt hus.  
þar sem Petrus hafði herbergi. ok adrir postolar guðs | 8 | þeir voru allir stadfastir a bænum með  
kononum ok márie. moþir hans `guðs` | 9 | ok bræðrum hans. Er þat truanda at þær hafui þar verit j

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\* 31 nema] m appears to have been corrected from a \* 33 á] The second a in the ligature was corrected by the scribe from another letter (appears to be r)

skola skirlifi`s´ | 10 | *ok anara mannkosta. j hófgardi hímneskrar paradisi með hínunum hæstum*  
 | 11 | *raðs monnum himna konungs. ok uottum vors drottins vpprisu. hugsandi hans* | 12 | *vpp risu*  
*nætr ok daga. þar til er þær þagu með oðrum hans uinum.* | 13 | *haleita gipt hins helga anda*

| 13 | *capitulum*

| 14 | *EN þa er vaxa tok fiolda kristz lærisueína. giorðu Judar* | 15 | *at þeim suo mikinn ofrid. at*  
*þeir raku þa af sinum heruðum* | 16 | *Suma settu þeir i myrkuastofu. sem Petrum. Suma gryttu þeir*  
 | 17 | *sem Stephanum. Suma hals hiðggu þeir sem Jacobum. Suma se* | 18 | *ttu þeir a skip. ok fluttu*  
*a siofar diup at fra teknum árum. ok* | 19 | *austrkerum. strengium ok styrum ok ollum skip reiða.*  
*vistum ok vatnkerum* | 20 | *vt sellda j olmleik vindar ok vógs. at þeir tapadiz sem skiotaz* | 21 | *En*  
*þott grimmeikr Juða land flæmði af sinum fostr iorðum.* | 22 | *naligha alla vors herra víni. þa var*  
*þo hans almattig hond þeim* | 23 | *nalægh. su er þeim skipadi i betri staði. vegsamadi ok tignadi. ok*  
 | 24 | *auðgaði með breidum bygðum. bæium ok storum kastolum. borgum ok hinum* | 25 | *friðuztum*  
*fiar lutum. klaustrum ok kirkium. Nu auðgar hann þa eilifum* | 26 | *fagnadi. En þa hugði hann*  
*huerium þeira með sinni fagrligri forsea.* | 27 | *eiginligan stad. hann skipadi narbolam paulo.*  
*arelaten th`e`oph* | 28 | *ímo. tholosam ok valskoniam Satrator. lemonidas marciali.* | 29 | *Santonaz*  
*ok Aquitaniam Eutrophio. Cenomannum ok brittanium Julia* | 30 | *no. Turonum kaciano.*  
*lugdunum hirennio. Veluncionem* | 31 | *ferucio. Arusicam avr(ð)um Eutrophio. Petrogoricaz*  
*Prontoni. Ve* | 32 | *lliacum georgio ok \* alla galliam Diónisio. Ser huerium heruðum* | 33 | *voru ser*  
*huerir feðr ok foruerendr af guði gefnir. þeir sem þau pry* | 34 | *ddu með lifendr með miklum*  
*mannkostum ok agætum jartegnum.*

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\* 32 alla] aþta

| 35 | fra martha

AT hít nanda þessum harða stormi | 36 | er Judar giorðu ofrid guðs uinum. þa var hin sæla martha rekin | 37 | með oðrum lærisueinum af sínum heruðum suípt øllum auð | 39 | æfum með systur sinni. ok heilugum maximiano. þeim sem ein var | 40 | af .lxx. ok tueím kristz lærisueinum. sa hafði forðum skirðar | 41 | þær systr at guðs bodi. En nu leiddi hann þær með biortu de | 42 | mi blezads lifnadar. vm himneskar gøtur heilagra boð orða | 43 | til eilífs fagnadar. En þa er þau voru oll a skip kóm(i)n. leiddi | 44 | vorr herra vínd huassan or sínum fehirðzlum. þann er fòr þeira | 45 | flutti j goða hófn hia Marsilio borg. Þau ganga þa til nalæg's | 46 | at fyrir latnum far kosti. ok þuiat þau fundu engan þann er þeim uí | 47 | lldi neítt herbergi. taka þau ser nátt bol j einu porti. skamt | 48 | fra blot husi heiðinna manna. ok lágu þar á bænum fastandi þa nátt | **col. B** | | 1 | alla. En er dagadi. kom þangat su rangláta þioð er þar bygdi. | 2 | at færa fornir skurðgoðum sínum. þa stod hin heilaga mária | 3 | magdalena upp or flokki heilagra manna með þekkiligu andlíti. | 4 | Ok predikadi fyrir þar komnu folki gudliga tru með sinni mikilli snilld | 5 | at allir vndruðuz fegrd hennar ok orðfimi.

| 5 | fra marsilia hertogi

| 6 | I Þann tíma reið fyrir borginni marsila. ríkr hertogi sa er husfreyú átti. | 7 | þeim syndiz heilug maria magdalena i suefní. biðandi at þa | 8 | veitti hialpír helgum monnum. þeim sem þar voru komnir aureigar af sínum | 9 | eiginligum gnottum. hun ægdi þeim vm sidir ógurligri guðs reidi. nema | 10 | þau giorði hennar vilia. Tueím sínum syndiz hun henni. en hít þriðia sinn | 11 | badum þeim. ok með reidi þokka ok elldligu andliti. En þau letu ep | 12 | tír hennar a minningum. ok fæddu kristz lærisueína sínum kosti. Þessi fru | 13 | hafði lengi obyria uerit. en lítlu siðar kendi hun sik fyrir bænir | 14 | mario magð(alene) barn hafa getít. Ok er þat var uitat. urðu þui allir fegnir | 15 | þeira vinir. þuiat langan tíma hófdu þau saman uerit. ok mátt eigi barn | 16 | geta. En

þuiat hertoginn uildi reyna huart þeir lutir uerí sanir er maria | 17 | magðalena hafdi sagt af kristi.  
 for hann til iorsala. at uítia heilaga | 18 | staði. ok vard viss sanninda vm alla þa luti er ihesus giordi  
 her i heimi | 19 | Ok er hann kom aptr. fann hann son sinn jartegnasamligha fæddan  
 | 20 | 'N'okkurum tíma siðar tok fruín sótt ok andaðiz. En fyrir bænir | 21 | sællar marie  
 magðalene lifnadi hun. ok lofudu allir truandi menn guð. | 22 | 'E'ptir þat fóro þau i herat þat er  
 aquense heitir. þar voru þau iðin at fostum | 23 | ok bæna halldi. ok sneru morgum lyd til gud's með  
 predikan ok guþligum tak | 24 | num. En hann ueítta hinni heilugu marthe. storligha gipt i heilsu gi  
 | 25 | ófum við síuka menn. ok snilld i fram flutningh heilagrar predikanar. ok | 26 | fyrir kenningar  
 hins heilaga maxímíni byskups. ok þeira systra marthe ok | 27 | marie. tok hinn mesti lutr manna  
 tru. briotandi skurdgod sín. | 28 | ok reisandi heilugh kristz musteri.

| 28 | af sælle martham

| 29 | EJN mikill dreki var milli þeira staða. er annar heitir | 30 | Arelaten. en anar Auícnon. skamt  
 fra a þeiri er roðanus | 31 | heitir. hans hínir fremztu lutir voru sem a fugli. Hínir sidari | 32 | lutir  
 hans voru sem a fiski. hann var digrari en vxi ok lengri en hestr | 33 | hófut hafdi hann sem leo.  
 Ten hans voru huassar sem suerdz oddar | 34 | Fax hafdi hann mikít sem hestr. huass kampr gekk  
 eptir baki hans | 35 | sem breid óxar eg. Reistr var aptr a honum stort. ok storligha snarpt  
 | 36 | Hann hafdi sex fætr furduligha sterka. klær hans voru sem á birni | 37 | Hali hans var vaxinn  
 a þa lund. sem a þeim eitr ormi er vipera h(eitir) | 38 | 'V'ængi hafdi hann tuo langa ok breida. suo  
 at þeir huldu allan hans | 38 | likama. ok voru þeir suo sterkir. at fyrir þeira storan sterkleik. letti  
 hann eigi fyrir | 39 | nokkurs konar hogg uópnum ne fluguopnum ne neinum víg uælum.  
 | 40 | 'S'vo var hann styrkr at hann mátti með sínum grimmeik. sigra .xíj. leona. | 41 | eða biórnu.  
 þessi dreki var af landz monnum kalladr taraskonus. þat hug | 42 | þu menn. at hann mundi getinn  
 uera af sio dreka þeim er leuíathan heitir | 43 | ok j iobs bok er nefndr. ok hafui sa dreki farit eptir

hínu miklu | 44 | hafuú austan af galathia asíe. Ok er hinn *grimmazti* dreki. er | 45 | liggr i sio e(ða)  
 uótnum. ok hefir þat kuikuendi er j galathia elz. ok bonachum | 46 | heitir. blandaz við sio drekanum  
 til þessa getnadar. Þetta olma dyr bónacham || 23r || | col. A | | 1 | er suo illrar natturu. at þat verpr  
 af ser uell heitu dríti. þui er bren(r) af huat | 2 | sem fyrir \* uerðr a þa er þat sækia. suo sem vm  
 .xxx. faðma þannig sem | 3 | skeyti flygi. Þessi dreki drap marga menn. þa er fóro vm þann skogh  
 | 4 | er hann la j. Asna ok hesta reif hann kuika j sundr. Skipum þeim sem | 5 | \* eptir ánni fóro  
 optliga. vellti hann iafnlaga. En þa er manfioldi | 6 | kom til með uopnum. at elta hann a skognum.  
 flydi hann j ána ok leyn | 7 | diz. ok vm sidir þa er heraðs menn gátu með engu móti fordaz hann.  
 ok | 8 | máttu með engu móti sigra hann. heyrdu þeir sógd takn þau er | 9 | guð let ser sóma at  
 vinna fyrir sælam martham. ok komu skyndiliga | 10 | til hennar. biðianda litillatliga. at hun útiadi  
 heraðs þeira. ok leys | 11 | ti þa vndan þeim \* skaðsamliga dreka. er þeim veitti margs kyns  
 | 12 | vandræði. At heyrdo þeira erendi. sampindiz ok samharmadi hun | 13 | þeira efni. ok  
 treystandi gudligum krapti. for hun ok fann drekanum a sk | 14 | ogi. liggianda a þui manz hræi. sem  
 hann hafdi ny drepit. ok tok þa at | 15 | snæða sítt herfang. En kristz husfru gekk at honum  
 oskialfandi. ok | 16 | stokti yfir hann uígðu vatni. þui sem hun hafdi með ser haft. ok | 17 | kross  
 drottins bar hun með ser. suo sem oruggan skiolld moti þess | 18 | u hínu illfusa dyri. En hann uard  
 við þessi hennar til tæki suo ótta fullr | 19 | at hann matti or þeim stað sem þa var hann ekki framm  
 fara. ok engan olm | 20 | leik af ser syna. ne neitt `meín` af ser gora. ok stod sigradr sem sa sauðr  
 | 21 | er ekki afl hefir. en hun dualdi allz ekki. ok bátt hann með sínum | 22 | eiginligum gyrdli. suo  
 at allir vndruduz þeir sem þetta sa. Þui | 23 | næst dirfdiz lyðrinn. ok gekk alt at drekanum. ok  
 barði hann með grioti. ok | 24 | stangadi með spiotum til heliar. Eptir þenna atburd. tok sa staðr

\* 2 uerðr] *The scribe wrote the -rum abbreviation after ð, which is clearly incorrect* \* 5 eptir] *e appears to have been corrected from k* \* 11 skaðsamliga] *The letters long s + a were amended by the scribe from a*

| 25 | sem drekinn hafði hiði | -tekit- | haft af honum heiti. ok var kalladr tara | 26 | skonus. en aðr  
het hann verlut. þat kollum ver suartan stað. þuiat þar voru | 27 | miklir ok myrkir skógar.

| 27 | af enne selu martham.

| 28 | Eptir þat lögdu herads menn margar ok miklar bænir at hinri heilo | 29 | ghu marthe. at hun  
dueldiz alengdar með þeim. Ok vm sidir | 30 | með samþykki hins heilaga maximíni byskups ok  
marie systur henn | 31 | ar. var hun iðin at bæna halldi. ok vokum ok fostum suo lengi sem  
| 32 | hun lifdi. En huerr mun þat mega með ordum inna. huersu mörg | 33 | erfidi. ok huersu  
margar þrenguingar e(ða) huersu miklar sottir e(ða) huersu margfall | 34 | dan ofrid. eda huersu  
mikinn skort hun þoldi matar ok drykkjar | 35 | j þeim stad. Ok þat er eigi vór at greína. þuiat hín  
fyrstu .viþ. áar. nærði | 36 | hun helldr en fæddi sinn likam með hnotum ok grasa rótum hrám. ok  
| 37 | skogar eplum. suo sem hun mátti minnz lifa við. Eptir þat var fyrir hennar | 38 | eggian ok  
framkuæmd j þeim stad kirkia gior. J nafni vors drottins jhesu kristz | 39 | ok marie modur hans  
hardla mikil ok tiguligh. Ok þar sòmnuðuz saman | 40 | margir brædr ok systur vndir postoligum  
lífnaði. þar lifdi hun yfrit stirdliga | 41 | við sinn likam. A uetrum klæddi hun sik með saud skinnz  
kyrtli ok | 42 | herfuiligum mótli. A sumrum hafði hun hárlædi næst likam sínum | 43 | en yfir  
utan kyrtli ok kapu. Jafnan gekk hun berum fótum. huíta | 44 | hufu giorua af vlfallda hári. bar hun  
æ hófdi ser. knutóttan | 45 | gyrdil brugdinn af hrossa hári. hafði hun lagdan at miðium | 46 | kuidi  
sínum. suo hardliga. at holldit morknadi vndan. ok fellu | 47 | madkar af þeim sárum er þaðan af  
giorðuz. Rekkia hennar var suo fallin at | **col. B** | | 1 | smatt hris e(ða) vinuidar kuistir voru fyrir  
halm. en hárlædis sekkr | 2 | var til undir breidu. ok steinn at hófdi. huarki letti hun af lögum  
| 3 | nótt ne dagh. ok starfadi þo jafnan nytsamligt. gest risni \*þ`a` | 4 | sem hun hafði vanz i  
bethania. helt hun suo éinkanliga | 5 | at eptir þui sem fyrri hafði hun þoknaz bædi guði ok

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\* 3 þ`a`] þ appears to have been amended from insular f



*monnum. varð* | 6 | *hun enn storlīga fræg. ok leiddi með sinum lofligum lifnadi. ok heilagri*  
 | 7 | *predikan. mörg þushundrat manna guði til handa. suo at af þeiri frægð* | 8 | *ok þui ágiæti er*  
*almenningr sa með henní. toko þeir kristiliga tru með heilagri sk* | 9 | *írn*  
  
 | 9 | *fra enne selu martha*  
 | 9 | *ÞA er hín heilagha* | 10 | *husfru jhesus kristz martha predikaði guðs bodord a nóckurri*  
 | 11 | *fagri engh þeiri er la fyrir hlidi borgarinar er Auínion* | 12 | *heítir við ána roddanum. ok*  
*græddi þar síuka menn. þa sem til hennar* | 13 | *voru færdir. var einn vngr maðr oðrum megin*  
*árinar. sa er hana uilldi* | 12 | *giarna sea ok heyra. þuiat hann sa mikinn mann fiolda saman*  
*kominn* | 13 | *þeim megin árinar sem hann var eigi. En þott hann hefði eigi skip.* | 14 | *let hann eigi*  
*fyrir uinaz. ne áar uóxtinn hepta sína ferd. helldr kast* | 15 | *aði hann klædum. ok tok nóckuidr at*  
*suíma yfir ána. En er hann* | 16 | *kom jafn nærr badum böckunum. tok hinn sterkazti stridi*  
*straumr* | 17 | *árinar með sínu ofvægu afli. at draga hann i kaf. huat þarf þat* | 18 | *til langmælis at*  
*draga. margir liopu til. ok unnu ekki at þat* | 19 | *sem honum var til fultíngs. Annan dag leitudu*  
*menn hans með skipum* | 20 | *ok soknum. ok fundo hann eigi fyrr en annan dagh nærri nóni. ná*  
 | 21 | *ðu þeir líkinu. ok kostudu þui með mikilli sorg fyrir fætr guðs am* | 22 | *batt. En hun sam*  
*harmaði sut þeira. ok bað allan þann lyð* | 23 | *er þar var við staddr. at leggiáz a iorðina til bænar.*  
*ok æsta þess al* | 24 | *matkan guð. at hann leti ser sóma með sinum mikla krapti at ge* | 25 | *fa aprt líf*  
*sueíni þessum. Ok er lydrinn hlyddi hennar bodi.* | 26 | *lagðiz hun á likit. ok retti hendr sínar i*  
*kross suo mælandi. Heyr* | 27 | *þu drottinn ihesus kristus. er með þinni heilagri. ok óætlanligri*  
*milldi.* | 28 | *reistir af dauda þinn kæran vín lazarum brodur min. þu helldr* | 29 | *með þinni hendi*  
*lukla lifs ok dauda. þu kallar dauða menn til lif's'* | 30 | *ok þu bydr daudanum bod. ok hann flyr*  
*fyrir þínu valldi.* | 31 | *'H`eyr þu hinn god giarnazti gud mítt míuklæti. ok lít á bæn* | 32 | *ambattar*  
*þinar. ok at bæn annara þeira sem nu kalla á þitt* | 33 | *mikla nafn. ok biod at lifs andi huerfi aprt j*

þetta lík til | 34 | þess at nærr verendr ok til komendr. síáendr ok heyrendr snuíz | 35 | til þín af aullu  
 híarta. ok lofui þín stor takn af oll | 36 | um hug. ok trúí þik sinn sannan hialpara. Ok er hun  
 | 37 | hafdi lyktat bæn sinni. reis hun vpp ok tok i haund | 38 | hins dauda suo mælandi. Heyr þu  
 hinn vngi maðr | 39 | ris upp j nafni drottins ihesus kristz. af þeim dauda. | 40 | sem þik helldr. Þa  
 reis sueinrinn upp heill ok osakaðr | 41 | ok var skirdr i nafni heilagrar þrenningar.

| 42 | fra enne selu martha

| 42 | I Þenna tima giorduz þrír sidlatir | 43 | byskupar til þess at finna hina sæla martham fyrir  
 gudliga á minning | 44 | Engin þeira vissi anars kuomu. ok kómu þo allir sen. Maxi | 45 | mi(n)us  
 Aquensis ok Trophimus. Arelatensis ok Eutrophíus. Aure || 23v || | col. A | | 1 | latensis. Ok er  
 þeir voru komnir. bad hun þa vigia kirkíu þa hi | 2 | na virdulighu. er fyrir hennar róksemd var upp  
 smidut j kristz nafni | 3 | ok hans milldo modur marie. En þeir letu þat eptir henni. ok var su kirkia  
 <vigð> | 4 | xvi. kalendas Januarij. með godfusu guðs lofui sem vera átti | 5 | 'O'k er þat embætti var  
 framít með |-godfusu-| skylldu ok setningh | 6 | gengu menn til snæðings á vidr kuæmiligum tíma.  
 Ok vm sidir. | 7 | þraut vinit. en gudlig milldi sneri at þeim hia uerandum uat | 8 | ni j vín fyrir  
 bænir sínar heilgrar husfru marthe.

| 8 | fra marie ok marthe

| 9 | Eptir skilnat þeira systra marthe ok marie. predikadi maria | 10 | magdalena lengi guðs bod ord.  
 En þa er þat kom til eyrna | 11 | henni. at Pall postoli baud at konur þegdi i kirkíu. girntiz | 12 | hun  
 at þrongua sik með andligu upplítningar liosi. ok fyrir guþliga | 13 | á minningh. flydi hun  
 leyniliga i hina snörpuztu eyðimórk | 14 | ok var hun þar .xxx. uetra j þeim stad. er henni var með  
 eingi|-n-|ligum höndum. | 15 | fyrir buín. |-en-| aullum monnum okunnigt. en saudd at éins  
 hímneskum | 16 | næringum. lofandi guð nætr ok daga með heilögum bænum | 17 | áan afláti. Þessi

hellir er hun bygdi `var' undir rótum fiallz nõkkurs | 18 | þess er storliga var bratt ok oslett. Eigi ueitti henni huggan vatn | 19 | ne uidir. ok eigi græn graus i þessum stad. þuiat guðlig milldi birti j | 20 | þrotnan þessara luta. at hans vinkona var þar saudd. eigi at eins iarð | 21 | liga. helldr himneskum krasum. J þessi iardholu varð hun suo | 22 | framarliga tignut. at siau sinnum a huerium deghi j þan tíma | 23 | sem heilog kristni syngr með rettri reglu .víj. tida halld. var | 24 | hun upp hafin með engiligum hõndum i loptit. ok heyrði hun þa hi | 25 | na haleituztu lofsøngva himneskra fylkinga. eigi at eins með | 26 | andligum. helldr ok með likamligum eyrum. Með þessum hinum sætuztum | 27 | saung hliodum sadda. fluttu þær sömu engla hendr hana | 28 | aptr i helli sinn. þar lofadi hun gud án aflatu. ok þurfti eigi likam | 29 | liga uíst.

| 29 | fra kenni manne enum

EJN sidlatr kenni maðr. hafdi | 30 | ser gort litit hus .xv. stadia vndan þessu fialli. við | 31 | einn litinn brun. ovitandi allra takna. þeira sem guð | 32 | giorði a sinni vin konu márie magðalene. stadium er .c.xx.v. fað | 33 | ma. ok er þat áttungr milu. þessi kenni maðr var uanr at ganga j eyði | 34 | mörk i fostu inn gang. ok vera þar með mikilli bindandi. ok si felldo | 35 | guðs lofi alla fóstuna. Ok a einum tíma fostunar þa er hann var | 36 | þar j eydi mörkinni eptir sinni venú. lauk gud vpp augu hans. ok | 37 | sa hann með huerium hætti guðligir englar stigu nidr yfir þann st | 38 | ad. sem hin heilaga maria magdalena var. ok at þeir fluttu | 39 | hana syngiandi j hæd himíns. En eptir dagstundar bid fluttu þeir | 40 | lofandi gud hana aptr j sinn stad. En þuiat langt var milli þess stadar | 41 | sem hann var j. ok hellir márie. \* matti hann sia at englarnir flut | 42 | tu eítt huert en eigi huat þeir fluttu. hann tok þa at bidia gud | 43 | at honum birtiz sannleikr vm þetta mal með margfólldum tárur | 44 | `A` nnan dag eptir at morni. skundadi hann sinni ferd. J þann stað

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\* 41 matti] amended from mattu by the scribe, who wrote a dot under the second minim of u, indicating erasure

| 45 | sem honum hafði synin birtz. Ok er hann kom nær stein kast | 46 | fra hellinum. toko fót  
 leggir hans ok lær leggir at skialfua en briost | 47 | hans at hræðaz. En þa er hann sneri aptr. mátti  
 hann ganga huert | **col. B** | | 1 | er hann villdi. En þa er hann sneriz á framm. voru allir limir hans  
 af settir | 2 | sinum óflum. suo at vanmegn likamans bannaði honum a fram at | 3 | fara. hann  
 skildi þa at guð vili talmadi hann at foruitnaz þetta stór | 4 | merki. nam hann þa stad. Ok at  
 ækolludu kristz nafni. segir hann suo | 5 | 'E'k særi þik fyrir nafn lifanda guðs at ef þu ert nõckur  
 skynsóm | 6 | skepna su er bygir i þessum helli. at þu suarir mer. ok skyrir fyrir mer allan  
 | 7 | sannleik þíns lifnadar. Ok er hann hafði þrim sinnum frammi haft | 8 | þessa særingh. suarar  
 honum sæl maria af hellinum. ok baud honum nær | 9 | ri at ganga. Ok sagdi sik uera mariam. þa er  
 j guðspialli er fræguz | 10 | af fiolda sinna eiginligra synda. Ok siþan greindi hun vt alla | 11 | fra  
 sögn lifs sins. Ok eptir þat er hun var ut rakin. mælti hun. þuiat | 12 | mer er þat af gudi vítrát. at  
 ek muna bratt liða or þessum heími á | 13 | medal manna. bid ek at þu finnr maximinum byskup  
 skiotligha | 14 | ok segir honum þat er þu hefuir sieth ok heyrnt af mínu efni. En á | 15 | hinum  
 fyrsta paska degi a óttu söngs tíma. skal hann ganga einn j | 16 | bæna hus sitt. þat er hann hefir  
 smidat. ok mun hann mik þar finna. þangat | 17 | flutta með engiligum höndum.

| 17 | her seghir af kenni manni

| 18 | KEnni maðrinn sa engan mann. en hann heyrdi röddina | 19 | þa er taladi. ok hugdi þetta  
 helldr vera engils rödd | 20 | en manz. En þa er hann spurði fleiri luta. fekk hann engin andsuór  
 | 21 | þaðan af. hann for þegar at finna Maximinum byskup. ok sagdi honum alt | 22 | þat er honum  
 var bodit. ok hann hafði sieth ok heyrnt. byskup var storliga fegin | 23 | er hann heyrdi þessa sögu.  
 ok giordi guði þackir. A sialfum paska d(ags) m`or`ni | 24 | gekk hann j söng hus sitt. ok sa sæla  
 máriam. standa j midium flo | 25 | kki þeira engla er hana fluttu þangat. Suo mikill líomi ok birti  
 | 26 | skeín vm hana. at alt husit birtiz af. frammar en af dagligu lio | 27 | si. Ok er guðs maðr nám

stadar j husdurunum. sa hann helga engla | 28 | þa er hana fluttu þa<n>gat. liða til himins. en  
 hana standa j miðium | 29 | flokki þeira með upp rettum höndum i kross. suo at nærr tuegia alna  
 | 30 | rum var a medal likams hennar ok iardar. En þa er hann óttaðiz | 31 | nærr at ganga. þa taladi  
 hun til hans með biortu andliti. þui er af | 32 | si felldri syn heilagra engla. skeín frammar en solar  
 geislar. | 33 | ok bauð honum blidliga. þangat at kalla kenri menn ok klerka sem | 34 | hann giordi.  
 hann gaf henni þa holld ok blod drottins. En hun tok þat með | 35 | hinni mestu tara vt helling. ok  
 bað alla þa er við voru biðia fyrir | 36 | ser alhugliga. Eptir þat lagðiz hun oll til iardar frammi fyrir  
 altarin`v` | 37 | ok for þa su hin helga ónd or likam til gud's a sialfum upprisu | 38 | deginum. Sum  
 stadar segiz at hun hafi fram lidit. ellifta kalendas | 39 | Augusti. ma þat fyrir þui segiaz. at þa eru  
 henni tidir góruar. ella fyrir þui | 40 | at drottins dagrin ma tekinn vera fra paska deginum e(ða)  
 upp risu degi | 41 | num er jafnan kemr at hendi. Eptir þat er hun var salut. kendo al | 42 | lir hia  
 uerendr suo mikinn ilm. at alla .vi. daga eptir komandi | 43 | þraut all dri j þessu bæna husi. hennar  
 likam skipaði hinn helgi Max | 44 | iminus. smurðan með dyrum smyrslum j tíguligri steinþro. ok  
 siþan let | 45 | hann smida yfir hennar sæla likam vegliga kirkíu með dasamligum | 46 | hagleik.  
 Gróf hennar e(ða) stein þro var smidut sem enn ma sia af hui | 47 | tum marmara. ok grafit á  
 sialfum steininum. huersu hun kom i hus símoni`s'. || 24r || | col. A | | 1 | ok smurdi með litillæti  
 fætr drottins með dyrdligu smyrslu ok | 2 | skammadiz eigi at grata milli bods manna.

| 2 | fra mario ok maxímíno

| 3 | En sæla maria hafdi boðit hinum heilaga maximino | 4 | byskupi. at segia hinni sælu marthe  
 systur sinni. at hun mundi | 5 | skiott finna hana. En hun endi eigi þat fyrir heit lifandi. hell | 6 | dr  
 lidin. Litlu siðar kom hinn sæli fronto petragoricensis ok hei | 7 | lagr Georgius celleracensis. sa er  
 daudr hafdi uerit. ok upp ris | 8 | inn at finna sæla martham. þuiat þeir voru badir ut reknir af  
 sinum sætum | 9 | fyrir þa sok at borgar menn þeira hófdu rækt þeira predikan. Ok er þeir

| 10 | hófdu með henni uerit nockura daga. foro þeir heímleidis ok sættuz | 11 | við sina borgar  
menn. fyrir bæna fulting þat er hin heilaga martha hafdi til | 12 | guðs fyrir þeim. En adr þeir færi  
heim. taladi hun leyniliga við sełan | 13 | frontonem. ok hafdi raða giord við hann vm þa luti sem  
hun villdi. | 14 | 'E`ptir þat iatadi hun fyrir honum þa luti. sem hun þottiz móti guði gort hafa.  
| 15 | ok sagdi sik skiott mundo af likam. En hann het henni at ueíta henni | 16 | þionosto. ef gud  
villdi suo hafua til skipat.

| 16 | fra marthe

| 17 | EN þui at gud ómbunari allra goðra luta. villdi giallda | 18 | hinni sælu marthe makligar mala  
giafir fyrir marg háttada uel gior | 19 | ninga þa `þar' sem hun þoknaðiz honum vm alla luti. let  
hann ser | 20 | sóma. at segia henni fyrir. at hun mundi á .xíj. manaða fresti liða | 21 | af þessi  
uerolld. En hun tok bradliga eptir þat ridu sott. ok letti | 22 | su eigi af henni meðan hun lifdi her i  
heími. En er hun átti .vííj. | 23 | daga olifat j likam. sa hun ónd márie magðalene systur | 24 | sinar  
til himins borna af heilógum englum. hun vóttaði þessa | 25 | syn ollum bræðrum ok systur þar  
saman sòmnuðum j guðs lofi suo mælan | 26 | di. Samfögnum við oll i drotni. ok giorum þackir  
hans dásamligri virðing | 27 | þuiat nu let hann ser sóma. at flytia ónd marie systur minar fyrir  
| 28 | þionosto sinna heilagra engla til fyrir heítinna sæta sins signada rikís | 29 | 'M`innz þu nu ok  
sagdi hun mín sæta systir. þíns fagra fyrir heítz. þess er þu | 30 | hetz at vitia mín. þar sem þu lifir  
at eilifu með sønum drotni | 31 | jhesu kristo. Ok eigi blekti heilög maria martham. þuiat fyrir hinn  
átta dag | 32 | flutti hun hana j sanna sælu himneskrar paradisi. Eptir þat þyngdiz | 33 | sottar far  
hennar. suo at hun lagdiz í rekkíu. Þui næst eggjaði hun | 34 | alla brædr ok systur. at hallda með  
stadfesti kristiligha tru. ok skyr | 35 | di fyrir þeim oll auðæfuí. heilagrar kirkiu. þau er hun hafdi  
samnat. | 36 | ok fal þeim a hendi. hun bað þa at allir helldi vöku sínni. | 37 | ok bædi henni alt til  
fram farar tíma hennar gudligrar miskunnar. þeir giorðo | 38 | ok sem hun bað. Eptir þat tok hun

likám uars herra með hinni me's' | 39 | tu tárfeiling. hlifandi ónd sína með þui signaða vegnesti. ok heilogum bęnum

| 40 | fra andlati sellar marthe

| 40 | A Miðia natt fyrir framferdar tíma | 41 | sællar marthe at sofnadum bræðrum. ok þeim

monnum sem vøku | 42 | helldu með kertum ok liosum. þaut mikill huírfil vindr vpp | 43 | vakit af

þeim er ófundar alla dugandi menn. hinum illgiarna and | 44 | skiota j herbergínu. suo at sloknuðu

þríu stor kerti ok þrír lampar. | 45 | En kristz ámbátt skelfðiz við þenna at burd. ok sa þa hrædiligan

| 46 | flokk illgiarnra anda fyrir ser. hun tok þa at biðiaz fyrir með þessum | 47 | ordum. Minn fadir.

minn gud. minn karazti gestr. samnaðir ero | **col. B** | | 1 | suikarar minir. at suelgia mik mer at

móti. halldandi rit j hõndum | 2 | ser. þau er skrifadir eru a þeir lutir. sem ek hefir illa giort. mælt

ok hug | 3 | sat. suo mælandi. Guð fyrir let hana. stríðum henní nu ok gripum hana | 4 | þuiat nu er

engin sa er hana leysi. guð mín. Guð mín ver nærr mer | 5 | guþ mín. guþ mín. lít a hialp mína.

minnz þu eigi drottinn minn á | 6 | æsku syndir minar ok óúitzkur. Við þessi ord vöknudu þeir sem

sofuít | 7 | hõfdu. ok leitaðu i annat hus at elldi til þess at tendra liosin þau | 8 | sem sloknat hõfdu.

ok duolduz at þessu vm stund. þuiat þeir fundo `eigi' | 9 | elldinn i hinu næsta. husi. ok foro þeir i

annat hus þat er fir meir | 10 | var. at þeir fengi sítt erendi. en hun var þa einsaman meðan

| 11 | 'O`k þa sa hun sæla mariam magð(alenu) renna at rekkiunni. ok hafdi lóg | 12 | brand i hendi.

Af honum tendradi hun oll kerti. ok sloknaða lampa | 13 | j herberginu. En er huor þeira heilsadi

aðra með eiginligu nafni | 14 | þa sa hun þann er hueruetna er nalægr drottin jhesum kristum suo

| 15 | til sin talanda. kom til mín hin kera vinkona su er forðum | 16 | var mín husfru. Nu mun ek

færa þik or myrkua stofu likama þin`s' | 17 | til himin ríkis hallar. at þu fagnir þar at eilifu með

heilogum monnum | 18 | minum. eigi sem gestr. helldr sem heima kona heilgrar truar. | 19 | ok

samborgari heilagra manna. með mikilli andsemd. þionadir þu mer. | 20 | her a jarð ríki. ok tokt

mik i þítt herbergi ok saddir mik. Nu mun ek | 21 | giallda þer ómbun fyrir þína þionosto.  
 stundliga. þa er gengr vm all | 22 | an jardligan sætleik. at þar sem ek er sialfr. ser þu með mer.  
 þuiat | 23 | þu þionadir mer ok fylgdir mer. En hugganar miskunn su er ek ueítta | 24 | þer i heilsu  
 giðfum við \* menn þa sem þu kendir kenningar. mun ek | 25 | eigi fra þer taka. ok huergi mínka.  
 helldr margfallda. Ok þa er þinar | 26 | grafar uítia goðfusliga. mun ek milldliga heyra fyrir sakir  
 | 27 | þinar ast semdar. ok ek mun framkuæmð ueíta rettum bænum þeira. | 28 | En nu bið þu litla  
 stund. þuiat skiótt munt þu til min koma | 29 | þui \* næst komo þeir aptr sem til þess fóro brott at  
 sækia liosin | 30 | þa vndruðuz þeir allir. er þa voru øll lógin tendrut. þau er øll | 31 | voru slokin þa  
 er þeir gengu or herbergínu. Eptir þat frettu þeir at huí suo | 32 | hafdi til borit. En hun kalladi til  
 sin þa af bræðrum sem hun | 33 | vissi at heilagligaz lifðu. ok birti fyrir þeim alla jarategn gudligrar  
 | 34 | vitianar. Þar eptir let hun sik færa vndir alldin tre. þat sem var a bak | 35 | musterinu. ok  
 dreifa þar vndir sik. j kross a jorðina ausku. En þar | 36 | á ofan lítlar saðir. ok hárklaði þat er hun  
 la á. dagligha. | 37 | horfði hun til hímins. ok hafdi krossmark fyrir augum ser. biðandi | 38 | suo  
 sinar dauða stundar með fullri tru. Ok er allir þeir er hia sto | 39 | du. lágu á heilógum bænum. þa  
 let hun lesa til enda pas | 40 | sionem dominí nostri jhesu kristi. þa er hun hafdi með \* ser flutta af ior  
 | 41 | solum. a ebresku rítaða. Ok annat sinn let hun vpp hefia | 42 | En þa er |-annat-| suo var  
 langt lesit sem sialfr drottinn sagdi við | 43 | sítt líflát hín siðursto orð. Pater in manus tuas domine  
 com | 44 | mendo spiritum meum. et cetera. Þat þydiz suó. fadir i hendr þinar fel | 45 | ek anda  
 mín. þa sofnaði hun sælligha j guði hin .vííj. | 46 | kalendas Januarij. hinn setta dagh uiku. a hinri  
 .xi. tu´ tið | 47 | dags. er hun var .lxx. uetra at alldri.

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\* 24 menn] *Something has been rubbed out before m, suggesting it was corrected from another letter or word*  
 \* 29 næst] *nærst*  
 \* 40 ser] *The zigzag tittle appears to have been amended by the scribe from something else*



| 47 | *fra utferd sellar martha*

|| 24v || | col. A | | 1 | UT ferð hennar giordu hennar felagar ok fórunautar með allri godfysi  
 | 2 | þeir sem aðr voru hennar heíma menn. ok verðugir mikillar frægðar af sinu | 3 | sonnu litillæti  
 ok sid læti. Euchodeus ok sítex. ok germanus. ok Epa | 4 | pharas ok sostines. lærisueinar Pals  
 postola. ok fóru nautar trophimi | 5 | ok Parminus. er einn var af hinum \*fyrstum diakum. ok  
 marcilla su er var | 6 | þionosto kona hinar sælu Marthe. ok hun hafdi vndir skirn halldit. | 7 | Þessi  
 var su kona er kalladi til uars herra or miklum mannfiolda. | 8 | suo mælandi. Sæll er sa kuiðr er  
 þik bar. ok þau briost er þu | 9 | drakt eru sæl. þessir allir af morgum til komnum hófðu at heyrðri  
 | 10 | sótt. guðs þionosto kono. þar vakit tuo daga yfir henni með kertum ok liosum | 11 | oðrum. En  
 a drottins daginn biðgguz þeir til graptligrar þionosto. sumir | 12 | gretu. sumir sungu salma.

| 12 | *fra fronto byskupi*

| 13 | J Þenna tíma bar suo til a hinni þridíu tíð dags i borginni petragoricas | 14 | þa er fronto  
 byskup sǫng messu ok sat a stoli fyrir altari með þan pistill var | 15 | lesinn i sialfri hofut kirkiu at  
 hann sofnadi. J þeim suefni vitradiz honum | 16 | sialfr grædarinn jhesus kristus suo mælandi.  
 Minn elskulighi vín fronto | 17 | Ef þu uill enda þítt fyrir heit. þat sem þu hezt minni husfru  
 marthe | 18 | þa far nu skyndiliga. at veíta henni graptliga þionosto. ok fylg mer. | 19 | Ok er hann  
 hafdi þetta talat. kómu þeir með auga bragdligri ferd | 20 | badir i taraskonum. ok gengu i kirkíu  
 hinar guðligu fru marthe. ok toko at | 21 | syngia með oðrum. standandi hia hennar heilaga likama.  
 Ok vm | 22 | allan lik sǫng. helldo þeir heilagar bækr j höndum ser fyrir syng | 23 | iandi. en adrir  
 andsuarandi ok eptir syngiandi fluttu þessa þionosto. | 24 | Ok badir báru þeir likam sællar marthe.  
 ok i leiði lǫgdu. AA | 25 | meðan þessir lutir giorduz. gekk diaknit at sofnaðum byskupi í petra  
 | 26 | góricas þar sem hann sat j sinum byskups stoli. at lyktaðum ollum þeim | 27 | sǫngum sem

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\* 5 fyrstum] *It appears as though f was corrected from þ, and y from o*

fyrir guðspjallit átti af klerkum framm at flytiaz. | 28 | 'H`ann knuði byskup með hendi sinni. ok  
 beiddiz blezandar. En byskup suaf | 29 | suo fast. at hann vaknaði ekki við hit fyrsta æ tak. Allr  
 | 30 | lyðr vndradi huí hann dualdi suo lengi folkit i kirkiunnj. ok hellt | 31 | eigi framm messunni.  
 Ok vm sidir gekk diaknit annat sinn at byskupi ok | 32 | knuði hann ok mælti. Vakit herra. þuiat  
 langt hefir liðit vm fra ua | 33 | nalighan tíma. þar sem messan mátti vel sungin hafa verit.  
 | 34 | hefir folkit lengi bedit. ok er at þrotum komit. En hann uaknaði | 35 | vm sidir. suo sem af  
 sætum suefní ok mælti. O ho brædr minir. huat | 36 | giorðut þer mer. fyrir huí uoktut þer mik suo  
 skiótt. Dasamligr at bur | 37 | ðr sa sem nu hefir giorz. er yduari astsemd at segia. Drottinn ihesus  
 | 38 | kristus leiddi mik af þessum stað til lik flutningar hinar sælu marthe sinnar | 39 | husfru. ok  
 nu hofum við veítt henni graptliga þionosto. suo sem ek het | 40 | henni fyrum. En til þess at þer  
 útid mik j þessarar heilögu konu likferð | 41 | verit hafua. sendit nu j taraskonum. þa menn er  
 hingat beri | 42 | fingr gull mítt. ok messu glófa gullbuna. þa er ek dro af | 43 | mer. ok fekk ek til  
 geymslu sacriste kirkiunar. adr ek lagda li | 44 | kit j gróf. En þa er ek gekk af kirkiunni. gaf ek eigi  
 gaum at | 45 | at heímta gullit ok glófana. af þeim er ek fekk. þa er þer | 46 | vóktut mik. þa voru  
 þegar sendir menn sem byskup bað í taraskonum | 47 | ok profudu þeir suo alla luti uorþit sem hann  
 sagði. þeir báru heím | **col. B** | | 1 | gullit ok glófann annan. en annan helt Sacristus kirkiunar eptir  
 til | 2 | vítis burdar vm þetta daíndi. Hinn sæli fronto sagði bræðrum. þa er | 3 | hann giorði  
 minning þessarar sælu konu marthe. at þa er þeir hófdu han | 4 | a j gróf lagit. ok þeir gengu or  
 kirkiunni. spurdi einn bok lærðr brodir þess | 5 | stadar. sa er okkr fylgdi af kirkiunni. sialfan  
 drottin huerr hann verí e(ða) huad | 6 | an hann uerí e(ða) huert nafn hann ætti. En hann suaraði  
 honum óngu ok syn | 7 | di honum opna bok þa er hann hafdi i hendi. A henni var ekki anat ritad  
 | 8 | en þetta vers. In memoria eterna erit iusta hospita mea ab au | 9 | dítu malo non timebit in die  
 nouissimo. þat er suo at skilia. | 10 | 'J' eilifri minning mun vera rettuís husfru min. Eigi mun hun  
 óttaz við | 11 | heyrn illra luta æ hinum sidarsta degi. Ok þa er hann rakti boki | 12 | na. fann hann

þetta sama vers rítat a ollum bløðunum. þuí ma | 13 | auðsynt uera at martha husfru kristz mun vera j eilifri minning engla | 14 | ok manna. ok eigi mun hun ottaz a hinum efzta dómi. af þeiri heyrn er | 15 | sialfr guð sagdi illum monnum. þeim er makligir eru bóluanar. farit | 16 | þer bøluidir fra mer i eilifan elld. þann sem fyrir buinn er dióflinum | 17 | ok hans englum et cetera.

| 17 | fra kledoueus konunghi

| 18 | ÞAt birta optlig takn ok heilsu gíafir þær sem yfuír | 19 | síukum monnum gíoraz optliga við gróf hinar sælu marthe. huiliks | 20 | verdleiks hun er fyrir guði nu ok fyrum. þo at ver lukim fátt upp af | 21 | mórgum. Einn konungr var klodoueus at nafni. hann reð bæði francia | 22 | ok | - norðmar- | theuthonía. ok var fyrstr til guðs snuín af þeim fyrir predikan | 23 | remigíj byskups af reíms borg. ok tok heilaga skírn. hann hafdi mikinn | 24 | verk j lendum. suo at læknar mattu honum enga bot vínna. En þuí at | 25 | almenning|-r-| frægð vóttaði. at huerr sem ein síukr maðr. sa sem fullri | 26 | tru útiaði steínþro heilgrar marthe yrði heill. for hann þangat ok fan | 27 | sannindi af þessum lut ok frægð af sialfs síns heilsu fagnaði. Ok til | 28 | þess at eigi syndiz hann oþakklátr við þann líufa lauarð. er hann græddi fyrir | 29 | arnadar ord sínar heilagrar husfru. auðgaði hann staðinn með konungligri mikil | 30 | mennzku. ok lagdi þangat bæi ok kastala. suo at mikít herat þriar milur | 31 | at lengð ok breidd. skylldo æfinliga þangat til liggia badum megin árinar er | 32 | roddanus heitir. Þessa giðf lög tok hann. ok at þessi staðr skylldi fríals uera | 33 | af ollum pyndíngum. ok leik manna a lögum. var ok þessi staðr j suo mikilli | 34 | vernd settr. af fultingi sialfs vpphefiara. allra rettínda at | 35 | huerr sem einn fekk nóckut víti. sa er þessa stadar rettar bótum gorði | 36 | nóckut á móti. með stuld e(ða) ráni e(ða) nókkurs kyns ofríki e(ða) rangindum | 37 | e(ða) rangsæri. suikum e(ða) falsara dómi. marcilla ok sinthex. ok \*Epa

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\* 37-38 Epapharas] *The scribe initially wrote Epapharas, but attempted to correct the k to an a and then put two dots under it, indicating erasure*

| 38 | pharas hinir skírlifuztu. ok hinir postoliguztu menn fóro j slauoniam. ok | 39 | predikuðu þar guðs erendi með staðfesti goðra uerka. marcilla lifði .x. | 40 | áár. vpp fra andláti sællar marthe. ok ritaði lifs sögu hennar á ebresk`v` | 41 | j einni mikilli bok. En ek Síntex snera j latínu. let ek þo marga | 42 | luti eptir eigi snuna. En Euthodíus ok Germanus. parmenas. ok sostenes | 43 | fostrar ok fóronautar sællar marthe. þionodu guði við hennar virðuliga gróf suo lengi | 44 | sem þeir lifðu. ok vrðu j þeim stad pindir j fríði heilagrar kristní með ágętri | 45 | enda lykt

| 45 | miraculum

| 45 | HJn sæla synda kona skeín | 46 | morgum taknum eptir sína framför. En þo sám ver sagði sa | 47 | er söguna ritaði einn prest pal at nafni i borginni Cesar Augusti || 25r || | col. A | | 1 | sa er eigi villdi fela sik undir bæna trausti hennar. helldr a þat ofan trudi | 2 | hann eigi taknum hennar. A nöckurum degi steig hann a hest sin míukan ok | 3 | mak reiðan til þess at rida erenda sinna. varð sa mótburdr. at hest | 4 | rinn tok at laupa suo flugliga. sem hit skiotazta skogar dyr. vm | 5 | grafir ok götu leysi. suo at kenni maðrinn efaði huart hann skyllði láta | 6 | af honum fallaz a iorðina e(ða) vppi sítia ef hann mætti rida. Ok með | 7 | an hestrin for suo með ser. þa hagleiddi hann huersu marga illa luti hann | 8 | hafdi gort ok mælt j móti hinni sælu marie magdalene. ok het | 9 | þa iðrandi at við frægja þaðan af hennar takn. ef hun leti ser | 10 | soma at hialpa honum. þo at hann væri omakligr i þessu uandrædi. Ok | 11 | þat ueíttiz honum án duol. þuiat uarla hafdi hann heítit staðfest. aðr | 12 | hestrin gioriz honum auðmíukr. suo at hann matti uikia honum a hueria leið | 13 | er hann uilldi. hann giorði þa guði þakkir. ok sælli marie magdalene | 14 | En suo hafði hann langt af leiðis riðit. at uarla gat hann aptr sott | 15 | allan daginn. þat er hann reið a fram fra morni til dagmala af æði \* he | 16 | stzins. þenna sa ver siðan hia leidi marie magð(alene)

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\* 15-16 hestzins] zi appear to have been corrected from another letter, possibly a

vottanda með hinum | 17 | mesta hiartans trega. alt þat er hann hafði við hana misgert. ok segiandi  
| 18 | þenna at burð með mikilli viðr komning ok jðran.

| 18 | fra max<i>minus

| 19 | HJN sæli maximinus byskup ok jatari almattigs guðs styrði kristni sinni alt | 20 | til dauða dags.  
styrkiandi með predikan ok jarategnum. þuiat guðs milldi | 21 | veitti fyrir hans bænir líf daudum. ok  
syn blindum. heilsu lik þram. | 22 | hóltum göngu. frelsing diðful oðum. ok græðingh ollum  
sóttum. En | 23 | þa er sa tími nalgaðiz. er hann uissi af gudligri vitran. at hann mundi | 24 | liða or  
likam. let hann i þeiri sðmu kirkíu. bua ser steín þro hia | 25 | stein þro sællar márie. var hann ok  
þar grafinn eptir sítt andlat. Ok er sã | 26 | staðr i suo mikilli virðing \* halldinn. at enginn konungr  
ok enginn hófðingi e(ða) | 27 | valldz maðr sa er þangat gengr at biðia ser miskunnar er suo \* stoltr  
e(ða) storr. | 28 | at eigi leggi hann fyrst vópn af ser at niðr kastadri grimd. ok gangi siþan | 29 | með  
fullu litillæti j þat haleíta musteri með allri goðfysi. ok ueitaz þar | 30 | i þeim stað fyrir bænir sællar  
marie magð(alene). ollum þeim er með fullri tru | 31 | biðia ser miskunnar. slik þarfíndi sem guð  
ser hueriu(m) hialpsamliguzt ef | 32 | þeim heyrir at leysaz i þessum heími. þiggia menn þar iafnliga  
bæði andar | 33 | heilsu ok likama. at ueítanda drotni jhesu kristo konungi allra verallda þeim | 34 | er  
með feðr ok helgum anda er vegr ok velldi. dyrð ok sæmd vm enda | 35 | lausar alldir allda. amen.

| 35 | fra selli mario magdaleno

| 36 | ÞVI at vór osnilld vinnz eigi til at telia mikileik ok fiol | 37 | ða takna sællar marie  
magð(alene) munu ver fá luti gréina af m`or`gum | 38 | til trubotar heyrandi monnum. ok segia  
fyrst fra þui er likami hennar var | 39 | fluttr or þeim stað sem hann var fyrst grafín. i þann stað  
sem hun var lengi | 40 | vegsðmut. af til skipan guðligrar milldi. J þann tíma er liþit var fra

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\* 26 halldinn] a was corrected from þ with a stroke on its ascender \* 27 stoltr] stollz

| 41 | pisl vors herra jhesu kristi .dcccxl. ok níu ár. at rikianda hínú milldazt`a' | 42 | konungi lodovico ok karolo syni hans. var uíða goðr friðr i kristni guðs nema | 43 | þar sem sáraceni er Agareni heíta með réttu nafni af Agar ám | 44 | bátt þeiri er sára gaf j faðm abrahe bonda sinum. ok gat af henni | 45 | jsmælis þann er þessi þioð var fra kómin. striddi a kristnina. var þat | 46 | mest vm hispaniam. ok þar nalæg ríki. at þessi stormr gekk yfir. A þessum | 47 | tímum hafdi naliga j erfð tekit alla burgundiam Geírarðr hertógi | **col. B** | | 1 | sa er tengðum var bundinn við þessa fyr nefnda konunga. þessi maðr var hín | 2 | tignazti at burðum. ok hinn diarfazti vndir uópnum. ok hinn audgazti | 3 | at fiar lutum. fru hans var jöfn at kynstærd ok godum sidum. | 4 | ok at ollu agiæti. En þuiat þau áttu engan erfingia. miðloðo \*þa | 5 | sinn mikla fiar lut. þeim monnum sem gud óttuduz ok olmosum hans med | 6 | tíguligum frialsleik ok hugar kostum. þar næst skipudu þau með hin`v' | 7 | røksamazta raði. af fyr nefndri barnleysis sok. sialfan guð sinn | 8 | erfingia. ok lögdu margar eignir til kirkna með hinni hæstu goð | 9 | fysi. Þau letu ok margar kirkíur ok munklifú af nyíu reisa. ok lögðu | 10 | þar til nogligar prouentur. af sínu goðsi þeim monnum er þar skylldo gudi | 11 | þiona i klerka síðum e(ða) reglu. Nær þeim tíma kom Johannes pafi j | 11 | galliam. fyrir bæn fyr nefndra konunga ok hertogans. Ok milli anara | 12 | agætra luta þeira er hann giorði j þessi ferd. vigði hann musteri þau er | 13 | Geirardr hertogi hafdi reisa latit fyrir hans bæn. Guði til sæmdar ok hans mill | 14 | duztu moþur marie. ok Petro ok paulo hófdingium postula hans. En er | 15 | pafuinn huarf apr i rómam. sendi hann marga helga dóma fyrir | 16 | ast hertogans til mustera þeira er hann hafdi vígt. Ok er nockur | 17 | ár liðu þaðan framm af þrotnanda styrkleik konungligs ualldz. | 18 | varð frakka ríki fyrir miklum hernadi. með sionum ok uida anarstadar. ok fyrir | 19 | margfolldum ranum ok manndrapum. suo at j mörghum stodum brunu | 20 | klaustr ok kirkíur. ok \*viceliacum munklifi þat sem fyr nefndr Geirardr | 21 | setti við a

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\* 4 þa] It appears as though the scribe initially wrote þv, then attempted to make an a ligature after the fact \* 20 viceliacum] viceliatum

þa er chore heitir. var með ollu nidr brotit. ok at uell | 22 | i lagit. Ok þa er af letti ofriðrinn. var þat smidat á einum háfum | 23 | halsi ok storlīga brottum i öruggum stad fyrir a laupum ok hernadi af | 24 | þessum sama Geirardi með hinum mesta kostnadi ok mikilmennzku. var | 25 | þessi staðr kalladr viciliacus. þuiat þaðan ser ollum megin himin af | 26 | klaustranum fyrir haleiks sakir halsins. ok kallaz Viciliacus. suo sem | 27 | vitus \*ciliacus. þat er hímmeskr bær e(ða) nalægr himni. ma þat til | 28 | heyriligt uera. bædi fyrir himneskan lifnat þeira sem þat klaustr halld`a´ | 29 | ok fyrir haleik halsins. var þar þa endr smidut kirkia sællar guðs modur | 30 | marie ok sælla guðs postola petri ok pauli sem fyr með mörgum ok miklum iartegnum

| 31 | fra saraceni er þeir herivdu

| 31 | I Þenna tima hófdu Saraceni her uti | 32 | vm hispaniam. ok eyddu þeir nærr alla Aquitaniam. ok mikinn lut af | 33 | provincia. Ok i þessum stormi brutu þeir hófut borgína aquensem ok er | 34 | ki byskups stolinn. ok ræntu þar ollu fe. ok toko mikinn fiolða folk`s´ | 35 | at herfangi. en eyddu borgir ok bæi með elldi ok íarni. Marga karla | 36 | ok konur flógu þeir kuika sem siðr er til at gora við kristna menn Ok | 37 | sao ver siðar segir sa er sǫguna hefir skrifat a þetta her uirki er | 38 | ver truum vóra menn þolat hafa i synda gialld þa er þau riki | 39 | bygðu. En her menn fóro heimleiðis með sítt herfang til sinna rikia | 40 | `O`k þuiat mörgum monnum var kunnigt nærr ok fiari. at hin sæla maria | 41 | magð(alene) hafdi af hinum heilaga maxímino byskupi grafin uerit. j | 42 | akuense heraði. ok þar voru varðueítt hennar virðuligu beín. giorði fyr | 43 | nefndr hertogi Geirardus ok heydo abóti. er þa var yfir skipadr klaus | 44 | trid j viciliaco þat rað með samþykki. at senda þann munk er | 45 | balldelo er nefndr með fullkominni goðfysi. ok fengu fóroney | 46 | ti j borgina aquensem. at hann flytti helgan dóm sællar marie || 25v || | col. A | | 1 | magð(alene) e(ða) nǫckut af hennar limum til þeira j fyr nefndan stad. ef | 2 | guðlig milldi villdi styrkia \*þessa|-r-|

\* 27 ciliacus] ciliaius \* 2 þessa|-r-| The scribe corrected þ from f

ætlan. *huat þarf þat til langmælis* | 3 | at draga. for hann ok fram kom. Ok at fundinri stein þro  
sællar ma | 4 | rie flutti hann hennar likam j viceliacum. ok grófu þar með mikilli sæ | 5 | mð. ok  
mörgum taknum sem ver liðum fátt vm sakir leti ok fa úitz | 6 | ku

| 6 | fra riddara einum

| 6 | SA atburðr giorðiz við þa borg er | 7 | avern heitir. at riddari nóckurr varð fannginn j orosto.  
ok settr af | 8 | þeim er hann tok j þungbær iárn. suo at hann matti sik huergi hrær | 9 | a. Ok at  
kominni hatið drotinligns burdar. þa er engi villdi fyrir | 10 | hann borga þa vt lavsn sem fyrir hann  
var lógd. skaut gudlig mill | 11 | di þui i hans briost at æsta hína milldostu magðalene. at hun  
odladiz | 12 | þat af vorum herra. at suo leystiz hann af fiótrum. sem hann leysti | 13 | hana af  
syndum. En er hann kalladi opt a hennar signada nafn | 14 | spruttu jarnín af hans lærleggium. En  
þegar er sa er hann helt uis | 15 | si þenna atburð. gaf hann honum frelsi at fara huert er hann  
villdi. | 16 | En sa sem bundinn var. bar berfætr þau sômu iarn j viceli | 17 | akum. ok vpp hengdi  
hia steinþro sællar mærie magðalene | 18 | vottandi ollum við verondum huersu guðs milldi leysti  
hann fyrir arnan sinar | 19 | sælu þionosto konu.

| 19 | fra enum manne

| 20 | ANar maðr af borg þeiri er bituricas heitir. var ok strengdr | 19 | með stor þungum  
| 21 | fiótrum af hínun agiarnazta sinum ovín. hann ægdi honum píns | 22 | lum ok lima láti. nema  
hann gylldi fyrir sik suo mikít fe sem hann mátti | 23 | eigi fáá. Ok er enginn uilldi borga fyrir  
hann. eggiaði hann einn huerr at | 24 | snua sinni uón til mariam magdalenam. Ok er hann bað  
hana | 25 | ser miskunnar at æsta við almatkan guð. spruttu þegar vm leið af honum | 26 | iárnín.  
suo at kolfrinn flaug niðr hia hælum honum. En allir ott | 27 | uðuz þeir er hia stoðu. hann stoð



þegar vpp. þuiat enginn bannadi | 28 | honum. ok bar fiðtra þa er hann var bundinn með i klaustrið viciliacum | 29 | ok bað upp hengia j saunghusi hia steinþro sancte marie uottan | 30 | di þetta takn

| 30 | miraculum

A þessum sama tima giordiz | 31 | þessu likt takn þar sem Castrum lautonis heitir. var lyð

| 32 | maðr einn sterkliga fiðtradr á hðndum ok fótum. ok grimliga ok | 33 | omannliga ok

omilldliga kvaldr til fiar lausnar. af einum rang | 34 | latum manni. Enn þíndi maðr het þa með afli

allrar goðfysi. at hann | 35 | skylði uera at eilifu þionn hinnar heilögu. mária magðalene. | 36 | ef

hun oðladiz með sínum verdleikum. at guðs milldi leysti hann or | 37 | þessari nauð sem hann var i

staddr. Ok er hann hugsadi þat opt | 38 | liga. sa hann á nockurri nótt standa fyrir ser storliga

fríða kono | 39 | þa er honum bauð með bliðu andlíti upp at standa. hann þottiz | 40 | suara.

Bundinn er ek suo at ek ma eigi upp risa. þui næst uakn | 41 | áði hann. ok kendi sik lausan. Siþan

gekk hann i viciliacum. | 42 | ok giorði godri guðs vínkonu þægiligar þackir fyrir sína frelsing.

| 42 | fra fol | 43 | ki er for askipi

| 43 | MJkill fioldi karla ok kvena. villdo fara á skipi | 44 | ok flytiaz yfir a þa er ligeris heitir. Ok

er þeir voru komnir | 45 | á mitt díupit. giorði at þeim mikinn storm. suo at víndrin | 46 | kafdi

skipit. Allir þeir er a skipi voru urðu suo ótta fullir. |-at-| | 47 | við uón uoueifligs dauda. at þeir

gleymðu at æsta ser | **col. B** | | 1 | guð undan kvamu með truar trausti e(ða) bæna halldi. En þa er

skipit | 2 | tok at sokkva. tendradi guðs milldi hiarta einar konu. at kalla með grát | 3 | ligri roddu á

vínkonu vors lausnara. þott aðrir geymði ekki at |-h-| | 4 | hugsa nema grata dauða sín. suo

mælandi. heyrþu hín goða guðs | 5 | kára mária magdalena. bid ek þik fyrir þau hin þægiligustu tár

er | 6 | þu dógðir með drottinliga fætr. at fyrir þítt hít agiæta arnadar orð | 7 | verða ek leyst or

þessum haska. Ok þuiat hun var með barni. het hun ef | 8 | hun fæddi suein. at gefua hann til

*munklifis viciliaco. vón hennar* | 9 | *vard eigi* at hegóma. þuiat iafn skiott sem hun hafdi heítit.  
 vítra | 10 | *ðiz henní virduligh kona. su er hõnd sína retti* |-yfir-| *til hennar. ok með* | 11 | *lettu sundi*  
 flutti \*han`a` til landz. *suo* at hun lifuir þa einsaman | 12 | *fyrir* arnadar ord *sancte* m´arie  
 magðalene. en allir adrir druknudu. A nęsta | 13 | *ǣri* at fæddum sueinínium ok skirdum. færði hun  
 hann almatkum *guði ok sælli* | 14 | *m´arie magðalene. eptir* sem hun hafdi heitið henni.

| 14 | *miraculum marie magdalene*

| 15 | Makligt er at \*vátta minniligt takn ok opinbert. þat er guðlig | 16 | milldi *giordi* fyrir verdleika  
 sællar m´arie magdalene. I hennar fyr nefn | 17 | du klaustri at ǣ siandum mǫrgum monnum. Mikit  
 folk karla ok kuenna kom | 18 | *til hennar virðuligu grafar. at æsta ser eirdar i sínum nauðsynium. J*  
 þessu liði | 19 | kom þangat ein vng mæx. su er modir hennar leiddi. hennar fíngur lag`v` | 20 | allir i  
 lófa. a hinri hægri hendi. *suo* at hun var með ollu onyt til uinnu | 21 | *kunnig var konan. ok*  
*kunnigr var staðrinn. hun var af þui heradi er Alisium* | 22 | *heitir. af eígn marcelli. ok* het hun  
 Alleburgis. Vm *kvelldit* þa er *munkar* | 23 | sungu aptan sǫng eptir vanda. gekk hun optligha til  
 altári`s` | 24 | *biðiandi ser miskunnar. ok kallandi ǣ náfn sællar marie magdalene* | 25 | Ok vm sidir  
 þa er hun ætladi fra kirkíu at *ganga. mintiz hun við þat* | 26 | *heilaga altari. er j mestri virðing var*  
*halldit af folkínu. leggiandi þar* | 27 | a bada hnefa. Ok þegar vm leid er hun retti sik upp. sa allir  
 | 28 | þeir sem hia stoðu með guðligum krapti retta fíngurna ok hõndina hei | 29 | la. En at siénu  
 þessu mikla takní. lofudu allir gud. ok sæla *mariam* | 30 | *magdalenam*

| 30 | *fra blindum manne*

| 30 | EIghi trui ek vm þat lidanda. at ein | 31 | blindr *maðr var* af þui virki er *kæistellum* heitir.  
 leiddr. *til`nefndz` þess munkli* | 32 | fis. En þa er leiddogi hans vóttaði sik sia musterit j

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\* 11 han`a`] *The scribe corrected the first a from n* \* 15 vátta] *v was corrected by the scribe from b*

klaustranum. | 33 | kalladi hinn blindi. heyrðu heilog maria magðalena. huart mun mer | 34 | audit verða at sia turna þinar kirkíu. Ok iafn skiott sem hann hafdi | 35 | þetta mælt. lukuz upp auga hans. ok sa hann þegar suo at mila var millim | 36 | hans ok staðarins þar sem hann hafdi beðit.

| 36 | fra einum pilagrími

| 37 | MEð ollu er eigi yfir hylianda með þógn þat dasámliga stormerki | 38 | er guðligh milldi fullgerði á einum pilagrími. Einn riddari var sa | 39 | er vpp sotti til stadar hinar goðu guðs vínkonu með mikilli goðfysi. | 40 | eptir sið sinar þiodar. Ok þa fyrir litlu aðr hafdi hann hennar gróf vítiada | 41 | með mikilli astsemd. litlu siðar er hann gekk i orosto. fekk hann bana | 42 | fyrir vópnum sinna ovina. Ok af frændum ok vinum var hann sneípaðr |-eptir-| | 43 | eptir hætti með sueíta duki. ok vakit yfir honum með mikilli hrygd ok grati | 44 | Ok millum anara sutfalldra orða. toko menn með mikilli asakan at te | 45 | lia á sæla mariam magðalenam fyrir astar sakir við hinn frammlidna. fyrir huí hun | 46 | hefdi þolat at pilagrímr hennar hlyti voueifligan dauða suo at | 47 | hann fengi eigi iatat syndir sinar e(ða) skript tekit. Ok þa er þeir hófðu lengi.\*

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\* 47 lengi.] *There is a lacuna in AM 233a fol. here, and as such the final part of the legend is not preserved.*

*Af Mǫrtu (AM 764 4to)*

|| 15v || | 9 | *Sua segir speculum ecclesie at lazarus uæri byskup x* | 10 | xx ara. i kírpr. sidan systir  
*hans uoru maria magdalena ok marta er audladiz at lada i sitt her* | 11 | *bergi sialfan guds son.* Sa  
hlutr gíordiz þa er sæl marta uar uid ana rodanum einn mí | 12 | *kill dreki uar amidil þeira stada er*  
annar h(eitir) arela(t)inn en annar auícon skamt fra a þeirí er ro | 13 | *danus h(eitir) hans hínir*  
*fremri hlutir uoru sem a fogli hinir sidarri hlutir sem a físki hann uar digrari en ux* | 14 | *í leíngri*  
*en hestr hofud hafdi hann sem leo. tenn hans uoru huassar sem suerdz oddar. fax hafdi hann*  
*mikid* | 15 | *sem hestr huass kambr geck a baki honum sem breídauxar egg. hreistr uar ahonum*  
*stort ok snarpt* | 16 | *hann hafdi vj fætr furduliga sterka klær hans uoru sem abirní. hali hans uar*  
*sem a `e`itr ormí þeim er uíppera* | 17 | *u`i`engi hafdi hann íj langa ok breida sua at þeir huldu allan*  
*hans likam ok uoru þeir sua þyckuir ok styrkir* | 18 | *at firir þeira traustleika líetti hann eigi firir nie*  
*eínum hogguapnum nie fluguapnum nie nuckurum* | 19 | *uíguelum sua uar hann sterkr at hann*  
*mattí med sínu aflí ok grimleik uid íafnaz e(da) sigra xíj biornu* | 20 | *e(da) leona þessi dreki uar af*  
*lannz monnum kalladr thara`s`onus. þat hugdu menn at hann mundi getinn uera* | 21 | *af þeim sio*  
*dreka er leuiatan h(eitir) ok i iobs bok er nefnndr ok hafi sa dreki farid eftir hínu.* | 22 | *mikla hafí*  
*austan af galatia asie. ok er hann hinn grimaztí dreki ok liggr i sio e(da) uotnum* | 23 | *ok hafi þat*  
*kuikuenndi er í galatia er ok bonakum h(eitir) blandaz uid sio drekan til þessa getna* | 24 | *dar þetta*  
*olma dyr bonakum er sua illrar natturu at uerpr uellheítu drití um xxx fadma þann u* | 25 | *eg sem*  
*skeyti flygr a þa er þat sekia ok brennr af huat er firir uerdr. hín blezada marta gek*  
| 26 | *oskialfandi at þessum dreka `þar hann la i skogi адаuds manz hræi` ok staukti ifir hann uígdu*  
*uatní. ok kros drottins bar hon med ser* | 27 | *sua sem skiolld auruggan motí þessu illfusa dyrí. en*  
*hann uerdr uid þessi hennar til tæki sua* | 28 | *otta fullr ok umattugr at hann matti or þeim stad*  
*huergi hreraz. ok ecki meín gíora. en* | 29 | *hon batt hann med sínum línnda þui næst dirf`d`uz*  
*menn uid ok baurdu hann til ban[a] 0000000000 bar* | 30 | *t[il] i borginní p|-a-|`e`tragoricas þa er*

fronto byskup saung messo i sialfri hofud kirkiunnij at hann sofna | 31 | dí i þeim suefní útradiz  
honum sialfr *gud ok* m(ællti) mín elskuligr uín fronto ef þu uilt | 32 | ennda þitt firir heit þat sem  
þu hez fru uarrí marthe far nu skíotliga at ueíta henni grauptr | 33 | ok fylg mer ok er hann hafdi  
þetta mællt foru þeir `a` augabragdi í thara`s`konum ok geingu í kirkíu marte | 34 | ok toku at  
syngía med odrum ifir hennar likam. helldu þeir bækr med sínum eiginligum | 35 | honndum. firir  
syngíandi. en audrum ansuarandi badir þeir baru hennar likama ok i leidi logdu | 36 | þa uar byskup  
uakínn af klerkum byskup sagdi þa ho ho brædr mínir hui uoktu þier m | 37 | íg sua skíott. ek hefi  
at segía ydr agíætan atburd *ihesus kristus* leiddi míg af | 38 | þessum stad til líkfylgíu sællar marthe  
sínnar husfru ok nu -| nu |- hofum uid ueí[t]t henni | 39 | graptrar þíonostu. hann sagdi ok at þa er  
þeir geingu brott or kirkiunni spurdi eínn brodir || **16r** || | 1 | þess stadar sialfan drottínn huerr  
hann uæri e(da) \*hu`a`dan hann uæri e(da) huert nafn hann ætti. en hann | 2 | suaradi honum aungu  
ok syndi honum opna bok þa hann hafdi i henndi a henni uar ecki annat | 3 | skrifat en þetta uers  
*in memoria eterna erid íusta hospita mea* ab|-scondíto-| `audito` malo non | 4 | tímebid in die  
nouíssímo þat er sua at skilía. J eilifri mínning mun uera ríettuis husfru mín | 5 | eigi mun hon  
ottaz uid heyrn illra hluta ahínum sidazta degi

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\* 1 hu`a`dan] hau<sup>a</sup>dan

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