RHYME and REASON

Reading the Bible in the vernacular: A closer look on the translation strategies used in Bible-translations in Old Norse and Middle Dutch.

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Abstract

This thesis compares Stjórn I and de Rijmbijbel, two medieval vernacular translations of the Bible mediated through Historia Scholastica. Rita Copeland has studied medieval translation strategies and come to the conclusion that appropriation was a much used medieval method when translating Latin texts into vernacular languages. Stjórn I and de Rijmbijbel are at a first glance very different from each other, and also written in two different environments; one close to the medieval European centre of learning, one in the periphery of Europe. The comparison aimed to uncover which translation strategies the respective writers used, and if these strategies differed.

A closer study of the chapters Genesis 1 and 2 shows that the two texts has surprisingly many similarities, and when compared to their source-text Historia Scholastica and a medieval English translation of the same source, the similarities are even more obvious. Both use the same translation strategies and both seem to use appropriation, adapting the material to their respective audiences. A study of the prologues of Stjórn I and de Rijmbijbel, together with their respective strategies, language and treatment of the material, makes a tentative hypothesis on their intended audience possible. Stjórn I seems, as is said in its prologue, to have been written primarily with a male audience, probably at the king’s court, in mind. De Rijmbijbel seems primarily to have been written for an educated secular mainly female audience.
My thanks

Nothing is created in a vacuum. I am eternally grateful to my supervisor, Professor Karl Gunnar Johansson, for all his support, his enormous patience, his sharp brain and sharp tongue.

Also to my father, Torstein Renaa, for proof-reading and suggestions, and my mother Bjørg-Helene Renaa, for regularly dragging me out from my workplace to do other things.

And last, but certainly not least, my wife, Cynthia Renaa, for never-ending support throughout the whole process. I promise to return the favour.

Likewise no text is ever truly finished, and I therefore borrow some words from van Maerlant, written some 540 years ago and still just as relevant:

nu soldi sonder vorsten Gode met mi bidden mede dat hi mi dor dese warede die hic dichte van siere weet vergheue dat hic mi besmet hebbe in luweghelen saken, ‘now you shall, without delay, help me beg God that He, because I write the truth, knows to forgive me for having meddled in these things’.
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Reading the Bible in the vernacular: A closer look on translation strategies used in Bible-translations in Old Norse and Middle Dutch.

In the following, a comparison will be made between two different vernacular translations of Genesis. One is the prose-translation from Latin into Old Norse, known as the Stjórn. The second is the rhymed adaptation into Middle Dutch made by Jacob van Maerlant, known as De Rijmbijbel. Both translations make extensive use of the Historia Scholastica by Petrus Comestor, and both compilers also refer him as their source. A comparison will be made between the two, in an attempt to identify the strategies used by the translators in adapting the text into their respective languages. This will be used to try to throw a light on the process of making bible-material available to lay people. A study of translating strategies could give information not only about educational and intellectual preferences in the milieu surrounding the translators, but also of the intended audience and of the intended use of the translations.

Part one – Forming the Questions

Introduction

Gregory the Great formulated a much used metaphor about the Bible, in which he states that the Bible was like a stream, both broad and deep. It was shallow enough for the lamb to go wading in but deep enough for the elephant to swim in.¹ To make use of his metaphor, the medieval elephants (the educated) could go swimming to their hearts fulfilment in the available Latin texts, but the lambs, that is the lay people, had to rely on translations into their vernacular language to be able to even dip their little hooves. Translations, on the other hand, are always tricky. The subject of translations has been much theorized on from the time the educated elite of Ancient Rome started to translate Greek texts for the edification of their non-Greek-speaking fellow Romans. How should a word, a phrase or a passage be translated? Should the translation be verbatim, that is, each translated word faithfully following the same word in the source-text, or should the essence of the text be translated, to render the text the comparable, yet different, beauty in the target language as it had in the source-text?²

In every translation, even the shortest and seemingly easiest ones, choices must be made. To make a tiny example: every language has its own multi-layered words and expressions, and when more than one interpretation is possible, which one does the translator choose to use in his target-language and what motivates this choice? How are the innuendos, ambiguities, or

for that matter, verbal jokes, to be transferred to the translation? These are important issues because the choices made by the translators will influence the understanding of their readers. Vernacular readers cannot know that the text originally hold different interpretational options and they will have to accept, unquestioned, the choices made for them by the translators. Likewise a passage that in the source-text holds one clear message, could, maybe unintentionally, in the target-language become a multi-layered one.

As any translation affects all future readings of the translated text, at least until a new translation is made, the choices of translation strategies can be used to steer the intended audience and to form their experience of the text. In a text with a certain authority this influence can be stretched to embrace even the future thoughts and actions of the intended audience. In her book *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, Rita Copeland studies the concept of translation through the medieval translations of ancient Roman writers into vernacular European languages. She sketches the history of translation and translation theory from the time of Cicero through the Middle Ages. Among other things, she states that “Moreover, in the Middle ages, as in Roman antiquity, translation was a vehicle for expressing or playing out large questions of cultural difference.”³ She also states⁴ that medieval translation seems to have been made with the intention of not only translating the source-text, but to emulate it and displace it,⁵ showing the translators grasp of his subject. The term Copeland uses for this process is *appropriation*. However, the text was not changed solely to show the prowess and penmanship of the translator, but also to fit the translation into the targeted society. Presumably this would make it easier to find readers/listeners for the translated work, and, if it was a didactic piece, to get compliance. Through strategic choices during translation the text was changed from being a foreign object into working as an identifying text, ready to take its place in the group-consciousness of a given vernacular audience in a given language-region. A tool in this aim was the use of hermeneutics: the source-text was translated and explained upon, the explanation and commentaries becoming a part of the translation.

Then, seen that, as Toury expresses it in his book *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond*, “a translation is a fact of whatever target sector it is found to be a fact of”, one could wonder which effect it has on a translation if it is made in what could be considered to be a central part of Western Europe, i.e. what today is known as the Netherlands, or in what by many still

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today is considered to have been the very periphery of Christendom, *ultima orbis provintia*, in this case in what today is known as Norway. Would there be a difference in approach and strategies? Jensen describes it in his article *Martyrs, Total War, and Heavenly Horses: Scandinavia as Centre and Periphery in the Expansion of Medieval Christendom*, that it is possible that the picture of Scandinavia as a backward and primitive area, is a result not as much from reports from medieval sources but from “an understanding of European history that developed in the second half of the nineteenth century”. It would seem that this nineteenth century interpretation could be in need of modification. There seem to have been areas where features were “surprisingly contemporaneous” in central parts of Europe, mainly France and Germany, and in Scandinavia.

**A Bible is a Bible is a Bible?**

The medieval view on the Bible differs quite a lot from our contemporary view, and this is also to be seen in the translation-practises. Complete Bible translations were extremely rare anywhere. Usually only the historical books, i.e. the texts from the Old Testament which holds historical information, were translated and circulated. The New Testament was represented by separate *Evangelaria* that told the life of Jesus through the four gospels.

Many medieval vernacular Bible translations were based on the history-bible of Petrus Comestor, the *Historia Scolastica*, written in Latin presumably in Paris between 1169 and 1175. Comestor based his work on several sources. The *Vulgate*, the Bible translation made by Jerome between ca 390 and 405 AD, and the *Antiquitates Judaicae* of Flavius Josephus, written around 94 AD, are considered to be his two main-sources.

**The source-material for the thesis**

The first translation of Bible material in Old Norse is much discussed upon. Ian Kirby considers it not only possible, but plausible, that Old Norse translations of the gospels, or at least parts of them, existed as early as in the beginning of the 12th century, and maybe even in the missionary period. According to him, translations of the Old Testament were in existence at least at the end of the 12th century. The earliest translation still existing however is the one known as *Stjørn*. Consisting of what modern scholars consider to be four parts, called *Stjørn I,*

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7 Jensen, p 91.
8 Jensen, p 92.
Stjórn II, Stjórn III and Stjórn IV respectively, they are thought to have been written somewhere between the late 12th (Kirby, sic) and early 14th century. The writers are unknown but subject to considerable scholarly discussion.

Jacob van Maerlant (ca 1230 – 1295) finished his Bible translation on rhyme in March 1271 according to himself. As it consists solely of rhyme, the translation is known as De Rijmbijbel. This is a history-bible based on the Historia Scholastica by Petrus Comestor and De Bello Judaico by Flavius Josephus. It consists of roughly 35 000 verse-lines and is the first translation of the Bible history into Middle Dutch. For a century, it even is the only known translation. De Rijmbijbel was later used as one of the sources for the next translation into Middle Dutch, known as de Heernse Bijbel.  

Subject

Following the hypothesis of Rita Copeland on translation theories in the Middle Ages, the following main-question were formulated:

Which strategies for translation can be identified in the Old Norse translation of the Bible, now known to us as Stjórn I, possibly made by someone close to the court of Håkon V and, if this is correct, compiled sometime between 1299 and 1319, and which strategies are found in the Middle Dutch translation known as De Rijmbijbel by Jacob van Maerlant, presumably finished in March 1271?

Questions considered:

• Can a closer reading of the prologues give information about the thoughts of the writers/translators on the subjects of their translations and their intended audience?
• Were the same strategies used in both languages, or do they differ?
• Can anything be deduced from the similarities or differences?
• What, if anything, do the strategies used suggest to us about the intended use of the vernacular translations, as for example their intended audience and the intention with the translations?

Method

This thesis aims to be a descriptive translations study, with a comparative perspective. In the study I have tried to establish the relationship between the assumed source-text, Historia Scholastica, and the two target-texts, Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel, respectively. All three texts

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11 The Heernse Bijbel consists of the Old Testament, was translated between 1360 and 1385 and attributed to Petrus Naghel. www.kartuizer.herne.be

were transcribed and analysed, and then compared against each other. This comparison aimed to let the two texts high-light each others choices of strategies. The two target-texts were contextualized, mainly through a closer study of the prologues in combination with a study of the existing research on the subject of the writers, the languages and the poetics of the period and respective part of the world.

Both *Stjòrn* and *de Rijmbijbel* claims to be translations. De author of *de Rijmbijbel* specifically describes in his prologue that his aim is to make a translation of *Historia Scholastica*. *Stjòrn I* is, according to its prologue, a translation of *heilagra manna blomstr*, ‘the flower of the holy men’, and Comestor is one of the holy men intended. Holy would here mainly be used to indicate authority, and a wisdom accepted by the Church. *Historia Scholastica* is mentioned by the compiler as one of the main sources. Also Astås among others has identified the main source of *Stjòrn I* to be the *Historia Scholastica*.13

Because of this, the structure and the form of *Historia Scholastica* were used as the underlying structure in the present study. This made a comparison possible, even if the target-texts in no way conform to the word-by-word translations we today use as the most popular translation-method. The two target-texts were separated into passages corresponding to the sections of *Historia Scholastica*. In this process a loose translation was made of the two target-texts into contemporary English. This translation focused on the source languages, with the structure of the sentences kept as close as possible to their originals, and alternative solutions indicated. The aim was to make the analysis and the reasoning around the translations easier to follow for the reader. A cross-reading was done with the target-texts and the comparable passages in the *Historia Scolastica*. As a point of reference, a third medieval translation of the *Historia Scholastica* was used, an Old English translation of *Historia Scolastica* known as *The Historye of the Patria*arks. *The Historye of the Patria*arks, showing a third way of adapting and translating, made the alternative strategies of translation even clearer. This helped to identify the textual choices made by van Maerlant in *de Rijmbijbel*, and by the unknown writer of *Stjòrn I*, through among other things showing which choices they could have made, but didn’t. A close reading of the texts made a comparison of the different choices possible, and from this, a comparison of translation strategies. Both van Maerlant and the compiler of *Stjòrn I* explained, added and subtracted material, but not always in the same passages or to the same extent.

The study was confined to the Book of Genesis, chapter 1 and 2.

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Medieval Theories on Translation

Translations appear from the very beginning of written material, as can be seen in the archaeological findings of 4500 year old clay tablets inscribed with a vocabulary in both Sumerian and Eblaite.\textsuperscript{14} Theories on translation have probably been discussed just as long. The Romans leave us the first traces of such discussions, and these immediately touch upon the core problem: How to translate when two languages seldom have the exact same vocabulary, not to mention the same grammatical possibilities? These questions arose from the bilingual world of the upper Roman classes, where Greek (seen as the superior language) and Latin texts were translated into each other. As Greek was considered to be a richer and more developed language, the aim for the translator according to Cicero was to make Latin into “a fitting linguistic instrument for the transmission of Greek philosophical texts and thoughts”. Cicero was himself a translator but stated that he translated “not as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and the forms, or so as one might say, the ‘figures’ of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing, I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language”.\textsuperscript{15}

The Romans, being “the first known people in European West to exploit another language in order to achieve mastery of their own”\textsuperscript{16} developed a complex translation theory\textsuperscript{17} with several branches. One of these was translation used within grammatical studies, where translation was a form of commentary. Quintilian formulates that students should “…give its meanings in different language, and finally proceed to a freer paraphrase in which they will be permitted now to abridge and now to embellish the original, so far as this may be done without losing the poet’s meaning”.\textsuperscript{18} Another branch was seen in the rhetorical studies, where translation was seen as an imitation. These two seem incessantly to intertwine, finally both landing firmly within grasp of the rhetorical school and translation became seen ultimately as hermeneutics: As Copeland describes it: “the art of interpretation, or hermeneutics, may be seen as a function of practical wisdom, for the interpretation of discourse is not simply a mastery of rules, but a judicious response to the contingent or changing circumstances which can determine different responses to that discourse”.\textsuperscript{19} Anyone ever confronted with a machine-aided translation, the most crude, but also quite possibly the

\textsuperscript{15} Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation, p 33.
\textsuperscript{16} Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation, p 11.
\textsuperscript{17} Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation, p 10.
\textsuperscript{18} Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation, p 23.
\textsuperscript{19} Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation, p 19.
most commonly used, being the ‘Google translator’, will agree with the need of “functional wisdom” within an interpretation!

Roman commentaries on translation exists foremost in versions from the fourth through the sixth century CE, and are assumed to mirror practices used much earlier, from the time of Cicero at least. 20 Copeland writes that “They offer an indication of an early connection between paraphrase and literary exegesis”, 21 and this connection was something that would influence medieval theological practises on translations deeply. The academic tradition in the Latin-oriented medieval society leaned towards enarratio. Instead of mere copying of a text, the text was, just as Quintilian suggests for the advanced students, abbreviated and embellished and changed into something sometimes quite different. It could change the text in both style, structure and meaning. 22 Vernacular medieval texts are modelled upon this Latin tradition of translation.

Literal translation was not only intricate because of differences in the structure of languages, but also because an imitation, that is a direct copy, was seen as inferior to a remade text. A remade text could for example have been “modernized” (as Cicero advised Brutus to do, to take the speeches of Cato the elder and “modernize” it to revitalize it!) and thus made more usable for the present generation. The conventions of secular literary theory was applied directly to sacred texts, as can be seen in the bible commentaries made by among others Pierre Abelard and Gilbert de Poitiers. 23 The conventions and categories used in ancient Rome were reused in European medieval academic circles. The academic thoughts on translation as an art of commentary would presumably also have had an impact on translations made into the vernaculars Old Norse and Middle-Dutch. The translators would have faced several challenges in their works, not only how much to paraphrase but also the linguistic challenges and maybe the rivalry that comes into working 24 when translating a “superior” language (i.e. Latin) into an “inferior” language.

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20 Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation, p 22.
21 Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation, p 22.
22 Copeland, Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation, p 87.
A Short Historiography

The source-texts

Stjórn

*Stjórn* is the earliest existing translation of the bible in Old Norse. It has been identified as to be based on the *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor. Reidar Astás has edited the text of *Stjórn* based on the existing manuscripts, foremost the AM 227 fol. and the AM 226 fol.\(^\text{25}\) His edition was published in 2009 in a two-bind edition as vol. 8 in a series of Old Norse texts published in the name of Riksarkivet, The National Archives. The manuscript AM 227, named after the manuscript collector Árni Magnússon (1663 – 1730), was, according to Magnússon, part of the belongings of the church in Skálholt. Skálholt was in the Middle Ages the main church in the southern of the two bishoprics on Iceland. Magnússon acquired the manuscript in 1699 and donated it after his death, together with other manuscripts, to a foundation at the University of Copenhagen. The AM 226 was acquired by Magnússon in 1708 from an Icelandic official, Brynjólfur þórðarson, and is supposed to have been written ca 1360 at the Augustine convent at Helgafell on Iceland, to which it belonged until the Reformation in 1560. After the Reformation the manuscript was kept safe by the family of Gísli þórðarson for several generations, until it reached the collection of Magnússon. This manuscript too is in the collection at the University of Copenhagen.

De Rijmbijbel

For the text of *de Rijmbijbel* the edition of Maurits Gyssling was used, from the series *Corpus van Middelnederlandse teksten*. Jacob van Maerlant finished his translation of the historic parts of the Bible, in his own words based on the *Historia Scholastica*, on 25th of March in 1271.\(^\text{26}\) His translation is as mentioned rhymed, and it became very popular. There are 15 existing manuscripts, ranging from plain to exquisite, and coming from different regions of the Medieval Low Countries. They have been dated from the late 13\(^{th}\) to the early 15\(^{th}\) century. Considered to be one of the two most uncorrupted versions of *de Rijmbijbel*, the oldest manuscript of *de Rijmbijbel*, the KB Brussels MS. 15001, was used as the base for the so-called *editie Gyssling*, published in 1983.\(^\text{27}\) (The other of the two manuscripts considered to be among the most true to the original is the UB Leiden BPL 14C). One of the most beautiful versions is by the way the manuscript today resting in Museum Merrianno-Westreenianum in Den Haag, the 10 B 21. Both can be found on-line, both as reproduction


and as a diplomatic version. The version of the Gyssling-edition is found at the Digital Library of Dutch Texts, the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren, usually abbreviated DBNL.

**Historia Scholastica**

The *Historia Scholastica* was written with the aim of being a student’s guide to the historical books of the Old Testament. Its author was the then chancellor of Notre Dame, Petrus Comestor. The name Comestor is a nick-name with an uncertain origin: meaning “the one who devours” it is among other explanations held to describe the writers appetite for reading, the meaning then widened to “the one who devours books”. Petrus Comestor was born and bred in Champagne and it is assumed that he was educated at the cathedral school of Troyes, in the second quarter of the 12th century. He became dean of the same school, St. Troyes, somewhere around 1145, suggesting that men saw a great potential in him from early on. He then moved on to Paris to study and later, to teach there. Here too his potential was appreciated, and he was made chancellor of Notre Dame somewhere around 1164, keeping this assignment to his death in 1178. As teacher (and former student!) he must have seen the need of making the Bible more approachable to the learners. By 1173 Comestor had finished a summary of the histories told in Genesis, with commentaries. Points considered by Comestor to be extra important or more difficult to understand, were by him commented on with added extra information and explanations gathered from his own readings. His sources encompassed both Jewish and Pagan writers, and Christian writers from the Church Fathers and through to scholars modern in the 12th century. The commentaries more than the summaries, seem to have made this work such a success. Comestor really showed his ability to devour and digest material in using such a multitude of sources in his commentarial material.

His work was named *Historia Scholastica*, and in the year 1215 it was officially approved as an accepted text by the pope Innocentius III at the Fourth Lateran Council. It became an extremely popular book, and from 1250 it was part of the curriculum in both Paris and Oxford theological studies. It stayed in the curriculum for several centuries, and its popularity is to be seen in the amount of surviving manuscripts (there are ca 800 manuscripts existing from between late 12th to early 16th century – 25 of them from the 12th century alone, when the book was newly written and not even yet approved of by the highest of church-authority) and it was printed in Latin for the first time in 1473. There are nine known existing incunabula editions. Further it was printed at least another eleven times between 1500 and 1729.

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28 geheugenvannederland.nl  
There are several medieval translations made into different European vernacular languages. The French, the Dutch, the Germans, and the Norwegians all made their own translations of this work.

In the series Early European Books: printed sources to 1700 the Historia Scholastica is available as digital reproduction at the University library of Oslo University. This edition is also published as a book. I have, however, used the printed edition which Mayumi Taguchi used in his edition of The Historye of the Patriark, which is taken from the Historia Scholastica edition of Emanule Navarrus in 1699 and later reprinted in 1855, from the PL 198, cols. 1053 – 1142, but with new punctuation. According to Taguchi this is a closer match to most medieval translations than the newer edition of Agneta Sylwan (from 2000), and it also contains some “additions” missing in the Sylwan edition.30

Secondary literature

The English medieval version The Historye of the Patriarks was edited by Mayumi Taguchi in 2010, and contains the Old English translation and the corresponding passages from the Historia Scholastica (and also from the Bible Historiale in Medieval French, by Guyard Desmoulins). Taguchi edited The Historye of the Patriarks from the manuscript Cambridge, St. John’s College MS G 31. This is by the way the only known existing copy of the text of The Historye of the Patriarks. This copy was presumably written somewhere in the middle of the 15th century.31 It was donated to the St. John College already in the 17th century. The Historye of the Patriarks is still today the only translation of the Historia Scholastica into the English language.32 It has been of interest both to use as a parallel and invaluable in a comparison to show what other choices could have been made in the translations and adaptations.

There is a lot of secondary literature on the two main translations used as source texts. Reidar Astås has written extensively on Stjörn,33 as has Ian Kirby.34 Frits van Oostrom has written on van Maerlant as a writer,35 but more to the point over De Rijmbijbel.36

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31 Taguchi, Mayumi, The Historye of the Patriarchs, p.xiv.
32 Taguchi, Mayumi, The Historye of the Patriarchs, p.xi.
Theoretical framework

When we come to the theoretical framework, Rita Copeland has written extensively about translation theory in the Middle Ages in her book *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*, and although she bases her book on the study of vernacular translations of Roman authors from the antiquity, her hypothesis on medieval translations seems to be applicable to the sacred texts as well. Of particular interest are her thoughts on translations as a means of appropriation, the process of changing a text from something foreign into becoming part of the repertoire in the translator’s language-region. Her examination of the changes in the function of rhetoric is also very interesting, in showing possible ideological forces behind medieval translation and compilation.

Alastair Minnis has studied the medieval theory of the concept of authorship, and the scholastic practices of medieval Latin and vernacular works. He has studied the practices of writing of prologues, and, curving back to the genre-question, he presents among other things the medieval written (by Boccaccio, no less!) confirmation that “Apparently the end of poetry is not incompatible with the superior end of theology”.  

Gideon Toury has written *Descriptive Translation Studies – and beyond*. He emphasizes, among other things, the need to focus on context in translation studies, as “translation is thus as good as initiated by the target culture”,  

which supports Copeland’s thoughts on appropriation being central in vernacular translations. He also suggests that translation-analysis could be made through choosing “coupled pairs”, where he states that “any source-text entity…may in principle turn out to have represented a translationally relevant segment” and that “there is no need for a replacing entity to be identical”.  

On the topic of genres, Orlanda S.H. Lie has written on the medieval debate on verse versus prose ‘What is Truth? The Verse-Prose Debate in Medieval Dutch Literature’.  

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38 Toury, *Descriptive Translations Studies*, p 22.  
39 Toury, *Descriptive Translations Studies*, p 104.  
Hier vindic rime dachcortinghe: A discussion of two different genres

At a glance one sees that the two translations obviously are made in two different genres: *Stjórn I* was written in prose, and *de Rijmbijble* was written as rhymed verse. A discussion on the topic of genres is necessary, as it also could shine a light on the chosen strategies of translations as well as on the intended use of the translations. Why was the respective media chosen? What was the presumed effect of the respective translations?

*De Rijmbijble* became the vernacular translation of the Bible mainly in use in the Netherlands until the translation of the *Heerense bijble* came, a hundred years later. *De Rijmbijble* was however not the first rhymed translation in the same language-region. The older known rhymed version is the *Rijnlandse Rijmbijbel* or, what is maybe a more proper name, *De Middelfrankische Rijmbijbel*. It exists in four different finds of fragments, and is thought to have been written in the language-region where Old Dutch and Old High German both claim roots. The fragments were written in different dialects, and one theory is that the original was written before 1160 in the *Abdij van Verden*, an Imperial Abbey within the Lower Rhenish–Westphalian Circle. Both German and Dutch philologers and historians are laying claim to the text, but the fragments show at any rate that the idea that biblical material could be translated and transformed into rhymes was not new in the language-region.

The prose-translation of *Stjórn* on the other hand, was in use until the Reformation. To my knowledge no rhymed versions are known of Old Norse biblical translations, only prose-versions. One could ask why this consistent choice of prose, in a culture were verse, in the form of Skaldic art, had had such an important standing. The shadow of the (Skaldic) use of alliteration is by the way to be seen through *Stjórn I*.

In his prologue, van Maerlant states *his* reason to present the text in a rhymed version:

*hier vindic rime dachcortinghe*  
*ende daer toe ware leeringhe*  
*der noten gheliict dese ystorie*  
*dat meerct wel in huwe memorie*

‘In this I find that rhyme amuses (literally: makes the day shorter!) and it also has true teachings, that are better remembered’ – or, it can be read as an imperative: ‘remember this well!’

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41 http://www.handschriftencensus.de/4846
There are some studies made into the question of different genres and their presumed effect. Orlanda Lie has studied the historical development in medieval literary forms to search for a reason behind choices of form, verse contra prose, in the article *What is Truth? The Verse-Prose Debate in Medieval Dutch Literature*. Having analysed a number of poetical writings dating from the 13th century through to the 15th century, her tentative hypothesis is that the Dutch and the French language-spheres differed in their view on the use of verse in this period. First, we follow Lie as she quotes the researcher in Dutch medieval literature, Evert van den Berg. He considers that “versification of Flemish romances and their affinity with the tradition of oral epics are indication that the process of literarification (the gradual development from a society with a predominantly oral culture into a society with a written culture) took place at a slower pace in Flanders than in Brabant”.42 43 The fact that van den Berg here writes about romances notwithstanding, the proposed affinity between written verse and oral performances of a text is known.

Reworking biblical material into verse-form was not a novelty in Latin – the *Aurora* or *Biblica versificata*, as an example, was written by Peter Riga – then Canon of Reims – somewhere between 1170 and 1200, and could have been known to Van Maerlant at least by reputation. Verse-form continued to be used also in the French language-sphere, the discussion of truth aside, as is shown in the *Bible de Macé de la Charité*, written by a parish priest, Macé de la Charité, between 1283 and 1300 and based on the *Aurora*.44

As late as in the 15th century an anonymous Dutch translator and writer retold Christ’s passion in medieval Dutch (Middle Dutch) in verse and he advised the part of his audience that could not read, that they should memorize the text on the sufferings of Christ as if it was the text of a popular song and carry it with them in their hearts.45 Slowly, however, prose grew to be the preferred form in the Dutch language-sphere as well. Lie suggests, from the studies of other scholars, several cultural and social changes behind this development, such as the change of audience, from “an aristocratic audience (listening to romances) to a public of educated burghers who mastered the art of reading”.46 This particular argument, originating with the German scholar Köhler, could be said to have some issues. Setting a listening aristocratic audience against a reading educated class of burghers does not entirely explain the shift to prose, as the burghers presumably was just as familiar to verse-form as was the aristocracy.

43 Lie, ‘What is Truth?’, p 64.
45 Lie, ‘What is Truth?’, p 58.
46 Lie, ‘What is Truth?’, p 36.
Lie quotes Schnell, that suggests that the rivalry between vernacular oral poets and written Latin prose was the reason behind the growing despire for verse. However, the fall of verse and the rise of prose were most likely due to several cooperating forces. This change seems to have happened earlier in the French language-sphere. There verse became viewed as synonymous to lies, while prose writings became synonymous with truthfulness, already in the beginning of the 13th century. In Middle Dutch writings the first mention of verse as false opposed to prose as truthful, is found in the 14th century, in the prologue of *Livre de Sidrac*, completed in 1318, some 45 years after the completion of Van Maerlant’s *De Rijmbijbel*.

In Middle Dutch, verse-form continued to be the preferred form through the 13th and 14th century. Here too, the demands of evidence of accuracy and truthfulness in a text were central, but the evidence for truthfulness was considered to lay in the sources used for the translated works, and not in the chosen form of the work. Both religious literature and scientific material was thus translated into vernacular verse. So, to return to the findings of Lie, medieval French writers were adamant that truth lay in prose texts, while texts written in verse was to be considered as false. The Dutch translators and writers were just as adamant that their audience should listen to and read the truthful texts they themselves had made, as opposed to some texts written by competing writers not considered serious enough. The truth lay in the sources used, and sometimes in the material itself but, as mentioned, not in the form of the presented material. Quite the opposite, because verse was considered a great medium both because it enhanced an illiterate’s ability to remember the text, and also because it was pleasing to the ear. People will want to listen to this story again and again, van Maerlant writes in his prologue.

The anonymous writer of *Stjórn I* does not mention his choice of form in the prologue. He does however mention that his work is meant to give education *eigi mikil ūtingan*, “without much pain”/”without forcing”. This is probably to be interpreted as that it is meant to be entertaining to listen to. The writer also expresses that the text is made to be read out aloud and that it is translated for the benefit of wise individuals not able to read and understand Latin. Astås finds, already in his early extensive studies of *Stjórn I*, that the main material seems to be adapted for a listening audience, among other through being written in paragraphs suitable for loud reading. Here then, the prose form is definitely not chosen to accommodate for silent readers, as was earlier discussed. Had the writer been influenced by the discussions in the French language-sphere? It is well known that the Norwegian church was strongly connected with France, as its priests, or at least its highest dignitaries, were educated in

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47 Lie: ‘What is Truth?’: “Minstrels, narrators of love-stories, and authors of animal tales are denounced as liars and impostors», p 39.
48 Astås, Redar. En kompilator i arbeid, p152.
France for hundreds of years.\textsuperscript{49,50} It could be presumed that this French-inspired higher education included an introduction to the academic way of thought in the French language-sphere, perhaps to the point of adopting what seems to have been the educated view of the French scholars of the period, namely that writings in versified form were false, while prose writings were truthful. The suitable form for an educated audience and a serious topic would then naturally be prose. This already being obvious, there would be no need for a discussion, or even a mention, of the choice of literary form.

\textit{Historia Scholastica, Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel. Introduction to the main work.}

Working with three texts simultaneously is a challenge, not to mention finding a comprehensible manner of presenting the findings. Reading a thesis built on three separate texts in three different languages can also be quite time-consuming. To make the access to the texts and the findings as easy as possible, the texts are here presented several times in different manners. The reader will first find the texts of \textit{Historia Scholastica, Stjórn I} and \textit{de Rijmbijbel} from the prologue to the end of Genesis chapter 2, in their original languages. The structure of the text used in \textit{Historia Scholastica} is ordered as a prologue, followed by chapter I to XX in Roman numbers, with a short title informing the reader of the topic of each chapter. This same structure, and the chapter headings, has here been used to compare the corresponding texts from \textit{Stjórn I} and \textit{de Rijmbijbel} with the chapters of the source-text. The three texts, in their original languages, are grouped together under the main headings from \textit{Historia Scholastica}.

The section, \textit{“Historia Scholastica, Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel: Comparisons”}, is mainly meant to give the especially interested an easy access to the texts, to compare them with my interpretation and analysis, which follows in the following section. Also, the most cursory glance through the pages will show how the volume of the material differs in the texts. At two occasions the text of \textit{Stjórn I} is slightly rearranged, partly placed under other headings, or partly left out as it ventured out in a totally different direction. This is described in the chapter: \textit{“Historia Scholastica, Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel: Analysis”} The numbers within parenthesis are the page numbers from the editions of the full-text mentioned in the bibliography, or, with \textit{de Rijmbijbel}, the number of the verse-line in the edition. The full text of each work can be found in the appendix, to give the reader access to the full text without first finding a well-stocked library.


Then follows the main part of the thesis, “Historia Scholastica, Stjörn and de Rijmbijbel: Analysis” This chapter is ordered in the same way, following the headings of Historia Scholastica, with its short title and the Roman numbers I-XX. To make the analysis easier to follow, the different texts has been “lightly translated” into English, using a source-language friendly strategy. This is not necessarily reader-friendly. To make it more readable, it has been adorned with punctuation. The texts of Stjörn I and de Rijmbijbel are here compared to Historia Scholastica and to each other and, to give extra perspective, with the text of The Historye of the Patriarks. Every section begins with the translated texts, followed by an analysis from a comparative perspective. In the Discussion finally, a short recapitulation is given of the findings in the main body of the works, i.e. the text, here presented under the corresponding chapter-headings of the Roman numbers I – XX.

Most readers will probably find it more interesting to continue directly to the following chapter, on page 63, but I pray, leaf through the tri-lingual section and see the words dance.
Historia Scholastica, Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel: Comparisons.

The prologue

Historia Scholastica


Sacram scripturam habet pro coenaculo in qua sic suos inebriat ut sobrios reddat, unde: Ambulavimus in domo Dei cum consense, in sacra scriptura id ipsum sapientes. Secundum hanc dicitur paterfamilias…

Stjórn

(p3) þersa bok let snara hakon konungr hinn koronoda or latinu er heiter heilagra manna blomstr. prologus.

Sa er háátttr ok vani keisaralegs valldz ok konungs gardz slekt at hafva þrenn einkannlegha ok heimolegh hede Rijmbijbel ergi er þat huæsir er hann sitr upp áá raad edr stefnur ok sæmer lögh ok rëttendi manna í milli. Annat er þat sem hann etr í ok veiter sinum monnum veizlur. hid þríðia hans hede Rijmbijbel ergi er þat sem hann hefer ser til heimollegra nááda ok hann sefr í. Upp áá þenna haatt hefver vááR konungr sáá sem stiornar medr síalfs hans ualldi / uindum ok veralldar sio þenna heim fýr er þat hede Rijmbijbel ergi í huæsir er hann / hefver sin raad ok rædur ok skipar máállum manna. huær er aller luter skipaz epter hans valldi ok vilia af þessu kallaz hann sem hann er uar herra hvaðan er dauð seger í sálminum váárs herra er iðrðin ok ðll hennar fylling. Aund ok hiarta hvers sem eins rettláátz mannz hefuer / hann sèér sua sem til nááda hu| uss ok heimollegar huilldar. þuiat miktil lystvgleiki er honum at uera setlega at vera setlega medr svnum /mannanna sua sem skrifat er af huerre samueru ok setri huilld er hann /kallaz brúdagumí heilagha skrift ok røksamligha ritningh hefer hann ser til þeirar hallar ok heimoleghs hede Rijmbijbel ergis sem hann veiter í. i huæri er hann giorer sina menn þa leidis álóda at þar af skapaz þeir hofsamer huær af er sua segiz in sallerinu. Medr samþýkki gongum ver iguðs husi. þat er sua ynder standa at iheilagri ritingu skildum ver aller hinn sama lut medr einu samþýkki af huæri grein er hann kallaz husbondi. þetta sama hede Rijmbijbel ergi heilugh guds ritningh hefuer þrennar greiner edr háálfur. þat er grunduðill. vegg / ok þekiu. Sagan sialf
er grunduðlr þersa himollega guðs huss ok hede Rijmbibbel ergis. Su skýringh af heilagri skript som seger huit huert verkit í sogguni hefer at merkía er hinn hæri veggrinn. Enn su þyðingh er í þekian sem oss skýrer þann skilningh af þeim giðrðum ok verkum er sagan hefer í sér sem oss er til kennisdoms huit er oss hefer frá uerið sagt.

Nu sua sem váár uirduligr herra hakon noregs konungr hinn koronaði sun Magnusar konungs let snara þa bók upp í norenú sem heiter heilagrá manna blomstr þeim skýnsómum monnum til skemtanar sem æigi skilia eðr vnder | | staða látínu huer er gengr ok seger af ser huerium heilagum monnum á á þeira háttum ok messu dógum upp á á þann háttu uilldi hann ok at þeim goðum monnum mætti ýfer sialfs hans bordi af þersari guðs holl ok hede Rijmbibbel ergi þat er af heilagri skript medr nokkuRi skemtanar vissv kvnnikt uerda sua þo at hinvm visarum metti æigi mikil þuingan i vera af huerium stormerkium eðr til fellum sunnu daghar ok adrer þeir tímar eru halldner sem eigi eru ððrum heilagum monnum einkannlega sungit enn sialfum guði. Uill han sua í sialfs sins hede Rijmbibbel ergi þui sem hann veiter i sinum beztum monnum liosliga lesaz lááta fyrer ðllum goðum monnum af þui guðs husi. þat er af heilagri ritningu medr hueri er sialf hann sedr sætlega alla sina menn. Enn sáá sem norénadí kennandi sinn fatékðóm ok vanfærí tok þetta verk meíR upp á á sik af bodskap ok forsögn fýR sagðz uirduligrs herra enn þat er hann uissí sik æigi þar til miok vlíkan ok vanferan huar fyrer er hann bidr at aller goðer menn sé honum værkunnigher vm alla þa lutí sem hann hefer í þessari giðrð uvidrkuæmíligha saght eðr framm. Býriaz þessor giord ok hefz af sognum guðds hallar grund uelli. þat er (p5) af ritningarennar upphafi ok ónduerdirí genesi epter þui sem timanum til heýrur nokkurum lutum þar medr aðföðrum bokum sua sem af scolastika historia ok af speculum Hýstoriale epter sialfs hans forsögn saman lesnum ok til logðum.

**de Rijmbibel**

Vader soene helech gheest
Enich god sonder beghin
Ghef mj hulpe ende wleest
Ende gratie in mijn sijn
(5) Dat hic vinde moghe word
Scone ende rime goed
Daer hic bi moghe bringhen vord
dat leget in minen moet
Marie moeder der genaden
(10) Moeder der ontfarmechest
Ghi hebt den meneghen beraden
Ghetroest van sire serecheit
help mi vrouwe met vre bede
dat hic ghewinne den eleghen gheest
(15) die mi cracht ende moghented
...
(60) die vissche int water visierde
die erde vercierde metten dieren
En de met cruden van manieren
ende oe hi tachterst maecte den mensche
doe hi hem alle die wensche
(65) adde ghemaect die hem bedursten
Maer nu sulde sonder vorsten
Gode met mi bidden mede
dat hi mi dor dese warede
die hic dichte van siere weet
(70) vergheue dat hic mi besmet
hebbe in lueghelijken saken
die mi die lichteit dede maken
vander herten ende van den sinne
Ende die weerelike dinghe

(75) Ende hi die nideghe verdue
die altoes versch siin ende nue
Ende talre stont daer toe gherust
dat hem te begripene lust
Min ghedichte ende mine word
(80) Ghi nideghe merct ende hord
Ghi ne sult mi niet ghedeeren connen
al te spade hebdis begonnen
hets dompeit dat ghi vertert
hu nijt dinct mi dat niemene deert
(85) dan hu seluen in huen siin
Ghi hebt die meer suareit der in
Ghi siit te magher ende te bleker
tui si di voer den oghen smeker
ende bachten valsch als uerrader
(90) Met judase moet ghiss alle gader
hebt hu den nijt hic wille dichten
dende mi der mede verlichten
dor min segghen dor min castien
Sone suldeis niet vertien
(95) dies wille ghaen an min beghin
Nu god verclare minen siin
Merct hic wille ghis seker siit
dits beghin van alre tiit
The main body of the works.

HISTORIA LIBRI GENESIS.

I. De creatione empyrei et quatuor elementorum


Stjörn

(p13) her seger af þui huersu almattigr guð skapadi himin ok iord ok huersu lucifer braut medr sinu drambi ok ofund i moti gyði sialfum ok huersu guð drottinn heidræi þa engglana sem honum snerruz til stafastligs ok ðuennigs kêrleiks i himinrikis ðyrd medr sialfum ser utan enda

I Upphafí skapadi guð himinrikí huat er medr sinum englum ok himneskum kroftum var þegar i stad fjölt suo sem fyrst ok fremzt milli allra þeira luta sem hann skapadi. ok ðordina þat er at skilia sambandit ok usamid efni til fiogurra hofutskepna ellds ok loptz vatnz ok iarðar suo sem frío ok vnderstóðu til alla likamligra ok sýniligra luta. Var himinrikí þa þegar allt skipat ok skréytt/ af utóluligum fiólda heilagra engla ok anarra himneskra ok výniligra /krapta sem kirkjunnar kennífedr ok heilugh skript seger ok medr anda-legum skýringum eru skiliandi þo at þa luti sem aðra uerdí medr þess háåttar orðum ok óðrum háåttum millum váár
líkamlegra ok dauðlegra manna skilianlega at gíora ok í frasagner fera. Skýrur rinthuerer er þa í fýrstu voru sua skapader ok vordan sik at þeir hóðu fullkomit ok frialst sialfræði at snuaz at einu sinni huart er þeir uíludu til elsku vidr/ almátkan guð edr æigi. Enn æigi optarr sem andleg natattura utan likams/ er til. Þeir voru þa ok enn æigi fullkomlega sæler fyrir þann skýlilt at þeir/ uoru uuitandi sitt epertkomanda çyentýr. Eigi hóðu þeir þa enn full-/ kominn kiaerleik til guðs ok elskadu þeir hann af sialfrí natturnunni (p14) ýfer alla framm af þeim gírðnar elskhuga er þeir glóðduz með sialfum honum vm frammm allt annat af sialfs hans aþýnd. Enn meðr vinattu kier- leik elskadu þeir sik mest þuiat þeir uíludu sialfum ser bezt. Nu sem lucifer einn af hinni fremztu engla skipan skryðdr ok prýddr umframm adra þa hugleidde hann ok uirði fegrð ok forprisan sinnar váítturu ok diupsetta uítr ser veitta hóf hann sik suu háátt meðr sinu of drambí at hann uílldi iafnaz ok viððlikaz sialfan guð. ok fyrer þa sök skildi hann sik í fra sannleikinum þegar í hridinni ok þar meðr í brottr af ðllum sætleik ok eýlifri sælu sua at þar af fekk hann meðr ðllum engan þef edr kenning. Enn hann fell suu háátt æigi at eins af þeirri sælu sem hann hafði þegið vtan ok þar meðr af þeire sem guð mundi honum gefít hafa ef hann hefdi villat honum lýðinn vera at hann várð ðllum veslare ok lægri fyrer sinn øde Rijmbíbel þilegan skada ok glæp þviat hann misgiordi vtan noðkurs annars a eggian edr freistni. Ok sem hann fell dro hann meðr ser mikinn fíoðda engla þeira sem honum sampaþktuz ok sinnadu.

**de Rijmbíbel**

God die maecte int beghin
100 Den hemel ende oec mede der in
Alle die inghelike nature
Desen hemel heet die scripture
Empireus in rechter name
daer die inghele hare beghin in namen
105 ende hi maecte die erde mede
Wi verstaen al hier ter stede
daer die lettere die erde noemnt
dat met hare materien compt
al dat bi der erden leuet
110 ende al die dinc die soe vte gheuett
Ende weder in hare kert
dies weest oec wijs ende gheeleert
die materie van allen dieren
van allen cruden van manieren
115 van boemen. van adams vlesche mede
brochte soe voer hare daer ter stede
Maer niet ne maketse god noch toe
hier namaels meact hise ende hoert hoe
die viere elemente. water. vier.
Erde, lucht, de waren hier
Ghemaect al daer men die erde noemnt
nu merct oe die redene compt
Werelt ende tiit siin even out
dus sprect die wareit onse behout
125 van nieute maecte god int beghin
den emel ende die jnghele der in
Ende die andre elemente mede
die erde was van hare scoenede
Nochtto deelloes na der nature
130 dies heetse jdel die scrypture

II. De primaria mundi confusione

(6) *Terra autem erat inanis et vacua*, id est machina mundialis adhuc erat inutilis et
infructuosa et vacua ornatu suo. *Et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi*. Eamdem machinam
quam terram dixerat, abyssum vocat pro sui confusione et obscuritate. Unde et Graecus eam
chaos dixit. Quia vero dictum est: tenebrae erant, quidam dogmatizaverunt tenebras suiissse
aeternas: quae jam, scilicet cum mundus fueret, erant. Alii irridentes Deum veteris testamenti,
dicunt eum prius creasse tenebras quam lucem, sed tenebrae nihil aliud sunt quam lucis
absentia. Obscuritas autem quaedam aedam a Deo creatum est et dicta tenebrae, unde et in
catalogo creatuarum dictum est: *Benedicte, lux et tenebrae, Domino!* Et Spiritus Domini, id
est Spiritus Sanctus Dominus vel Domini voluntas, *ferebatur super aquas*. Sicut voluntas
artificis habentis praec oculis omnem materiam domus faciendae illam fertur, dum quid de quo
facturus est disponit. Praedictam machinam aquas vocat, quasi ductilem materiam ad
operandum ex ea. Ideo vero sic variantur ejus nomina, ne, si unius elementi nomine tantum
censeretur, illi magis putaretur accomoda. Hebraeus habet pro super ferebatur, incubabat, vel
Syra lingua, fovebat, sicut avis ova. In quo etiam omne cum regimine nascentis mundi notatur
initium. Hunc locum male intellexit Plato dictum hoc putans de anima mundi. Sed dictum est
de Spiritu sancto creante, de quo legitur: *Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur.*

*Stjórn*

*Genesis 2a* Jörðin var þa auð ok avaxtarlaus ok utan alla prýði. *Af scolastica historia.* þat er
sua mikit at segja at fyr्र sagt heimsins smiði sua skapat var vsýniligt aytt ok vsamið epte þui
sem augustinus seger i sinni fýrnfndri bok þar til er gud skipadi òllum lutum eiginlegar
mýnder huerium sem einum i sinum stodum ok stettum. *Af genesi 2bc* Ok voru mýrkr af
loptzins skugga ok vskiðrleik alla uegna vm iðrðina enn guds heilagr andi flutti ok ýfer vótnin
af scolastica hystoria þat er ýfer fyrer sagt heimsins smíði eðr efní meðr sialfs sins uilia ok fyrer hugsan til epterfaranda skapanar fyrer sagt heimsins smíði eðr efní kallar bokin fyrer þann skyld stundum íørð. annan tíma unde diúp ok stundum vótn at þat sýniz þa fleirum til heýra sem þat er ægigi at eins meðr einnar höfut skepnu nafní nefint fyrer þui uar þat þa þegar kallat himinn ok íørð. at himinn ok íørð wrðu sköpuduz þar af fyrer þa sök uar íörðin sögð usýnîligh ok usamîð ok myrký ýfer under diúpid at hon var þa utan alla epterfaranð formeran ok hon hefði þa enn meðr engarri mynd megat sééin eðr handlat verða þo at nókkuR maðr hefði þa til þess uerit at hafa prouat þat. fyrer þui var þat sama smíði vatníð nefint at þat var þeim auduelldlekt ok epterláátsamt sem af þui skapaði epterfarandi luti. ok fyrer þa grein aðra at aller þeir luter sem áa iarðriki fðaz huart sem þat eru helldr kuíkendí. vaxandi vîð eðr groandi grós ok þiliker luter þa taka aller af vökunni ok af vatnínu nêring ok sina formeran.

de Rijmbibel

(131) Ende met dempstereden bedect
die scrifture die vertrect
dat die eleghe gheest ons heren
dats gods wille dus salment keerên
die wart up water ghedraghen
dies wœrds mach ons wel behaghen
daer wart betekent ende bediet
dat dopsel dat men nu pliet

III. De opere primae dici

(8) Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux. Id est vede Rijmbibel um genuit in quo erat ut fieret kux, id est tam facile ut si quis diceret vede Rijmbibel o. (Sicut Vede Rijmbibel um est Fileus, ita dicere est gignere et gigni.) Lucem vocat quamdam nubem lucidam illuminatem superiores mundi partes, claritate tamen tenui ut fieri solet dilucilo. Et hoc admodum solis circumagittata, praesentia sui superius hemisphaerium et inferius vicissim illuminat…Per fiat, praesentia vel praescientia lucis in Deo intelligitur priusquam fieret, per fecta est, essentia ejusdem in actu, scilicet cum prodiit ad esse. Et vivit Deus lucem, quod esset bona, id est quae placuerat in praesentia, vel praescientia, ut fieret. placuit in essentia ut maneret. Vel tropice vidit, id est videre fecit. Et divisit lucem, ac tenebras. Hic incipit dispositio. Et tamen aliquid dicit de creatione, quasi cum luce tenebras creavit, id est umbram ex objectione corporum luci, et creatas divisit locorum distanta et qualitate ut scilicet nunquam simul sed semper e regioe diversa hemisphaeria vicissim sibi vindicarent. Intelligitur etiam hic angelorum facta divisio: stantes lux, cadentes tenebrae dicti sunt. Et apellavit lucem diem, a dia Graeco quod
est claritas, sicut lux dicitur quia luit, id est purgat tenebras. Tenebras dixit noctem a nocendo, quia nocet oculis ne videant: sicut tenebrae, quia tenent oculos, ne videant. Sicut tamen dies exortum est a dia Graeco, ita nox a nyctim. Et factum est vespere et post factum est *mane* et sic completus est *dies unus*, naturalis. Primo enim cum coelo et terra lux est create, qua paulatim occidente factum est vespere primae diei usualis, et, eadem migrante sub terras et ad ortum veniente, factum est mane, id est terminata est nox, et inchoacit dies secunda. Itaque praecedente luce diei et sequente nocte terminata extitit dies unus. Lux ipsa divisas partes ostendebat, sed non dividebat.

*Sfjórn*

*af genesi.* 3 OK *Þa sagði guþ sua. Verði lios. ok (p 19)*Þa þegar i stað uard lios 4 ok sialfr hann sáþ at liosð var gott ok skildi hann *þat ibrott fra mýrkrínun 5a ok gaf þuí naðn at þat skýldi heita dagr enn mýrkrunum at heita nátt. af scolastica hýstoria.* Sem þessi skilnaðr giordiz milli lioss ok mýrkrinsins vard æigi siðr meðr guðs bodi af glæp ok tilskýldlan luciferi ok hans fýljgara englana skilnaðr þuiat fyrer liosssin nefnd merkiaz þeir englar sem stoðu ok stadfestuþt í guds áást ok elshhuga. enn fyrer mýrkrin merkiz fiandinn ok þeir sem meðr honum fellu. Voru þeir aller keýrðer brott suer allt niðr til hrluitis enn suer i þat þoku fulla lopt milli himsins ok iarþar sem æigi er sua ofarlega at þeir hafi õkkurn fagnat edr gledi af liosínun. æigi ok miðk nedarlega sua ad þeir megi suoa meicka freistni ok margan ufagnat oss giðra sem þeira vili er til ok þo fýlger þeim efenslega sin heluitis pína huar sem þeir eru. *af genesi* Ok sua vard aptann ok morginn þéði samt einn naatturulegr dagr. af scolastica hýstoria. þat eru váár tuav dægr þuiat í fýrstu er gud skapadi himin ok iðrð skapadi hann ok liosit sem sagt var. Nu sem þat settiz ok minnkadiz ѱ seint ok seint þa vard þadan af fýrsta dags aptann ok morgin epter vaarum vana ok þi sama lioso vmliðanda iþrðina ok sidan upp rennandi vaed morginn. af augustino FýR nefnder vull manichei kallandi þat at dagrinn hefði af aptninum hafiz skildz Æigi at sua sem liosið var kallat dagr enn mýrkrín náátt heýrdi deginum til. enn aptaninn vard epter þat sama verk sua sem liðnum ok lýktadum sialfum deginum enn fyrer þa skýnsemþ at nááttin heýrdi sinum degi til. þa segiz einn | dagr ódrun viss hafa lýktaz ok vm lidit vtan að líðinna nááttinni sua sem morginn vard. teliaz sua sidan meðr sama hætti aðrer (p20) dagarnar frá morní til annars morgíns. leidð sua naattin ok lýktadiz. enn annaR dagr býriæðiz.

*de Rijmbijbel*

Doe maecte god met sinen worde
(140) dat lecht alse hict bescriuen hoerde
dwoerd gods dats die soene
die ons verloeste dats die goene
die vlesch in marien ontfine
dat lecht her die sonne up ghinc
(145) was een suerc claer ende scone
Gheliic der dagheraet anden trone
der sonnen onghelic van lechte
al dus bescriuen ons gods knechte
doe sach got dat lecht was goet

(150) Ende versciet daer metter spoet
dat lecht van der deemsterhede
al hier verstaaen wi teser stede
dat lucifer ende sine scare
versceden worden openbare

(155) Omme hare ouerdeghe sonden
van den jnghelen die wlstonden
diere staende bleuen heet die boec dlecht
Ende diere vielen na al recht
Moghen wel heeten demsterede

(160) daer noemde god dus le'e'st men mede
dat lecht bi namen ende hiet dach
die tiit daer deemsterede ane lach
hiet onse here nacht bi namen
Ende dit was alse wi vernamen

(165) Een sondach ende dalreste dach
die ter weerelt oint ghelach

IV. De opere secundae dici

(10) Secunda die disposit Deus superiora mundi sensibilis. EMPYREUM enim coelum quam
cito factum est, statim dispositum est et ornatum, id est sanctis angelis repletum. Fecit ergo es
die Deus firmamentum in medio aquarum, id est quamdam exteriorem mundi superficiem ex
aquis congelatis, ad instar crystalli consolidatam, et perlucidam, intra se caetera sensibila
continentem ad imaginem testae, qua in ovo est, et in eo fixa sunt sidera. Et dicitur
firmamentum, non tamtum propter sui soliditatem sed quia terminus est aquarum quae super
ipsum sunt, firmus et intransgressibilis. Dicitur etiam coelum, quia celat, id est tegit omnia
invisibilia. Et cum legitur firmamentum coeli, endiadis est, id est firmamentumquod est
coeulum, ut cum dicitur creatura salis. Unde et pro sui concameratione graece dicitur uranon, id
est palatum. Vel dicitur coelum quasi casa elios, quia sol sub ipso positus ipsum illustrat.
Hanc tamen circumvolutam concamerationem philosophus summitatem ignis intellexit. Cum
enim ignis non habet quo ascendat, circumvolvitur ut in elibano patet; ita et circa mundi
exteriora ignis volvitur. Et hoc est sidereum vel aetherum coelum...
Deus autem unitas est et sectionem et discordiam detestatur. Possumus tamen dicere quia opus tertiae diei quasi adhuc est de opere secunae diei, quod post patebit. Unde non commendatur nisi in tertia die, quasi post sui consummationem.

**Stjórn**

(p20)fra þúi er gud skapadi á þördum degi festingar himín ok sundr skipting a vötnum hafandi í ser alla luti.

A þördum degi skipaði gud hinum hæstum þessa heims haalfum. þuia himinrikí var þegar í stað skipat. skreytt ok fyllt af heilagum englum er þar uar skapat sem fyrR var sagt. Giördi hann þa festingar himin háfundin innan í séð þal þu luti sem ver þofum ðøkkura skilning edr vissu af ok skildi meðr honum í sundr þill þau vōtn sem hann vildi at her veri eptir í veroldönní Háhin sem yfer honum eru suu strengðum ok þröngðum sem kristallus edr hinn hardaztigler iss til at iafna vtan þat at þau megu litt edr ekki þrááðna af ðøkkurum elldzhita 6 ok sagði suu. af geneesi. Verði festingar himinn milli vatnanna ok skili þau I sundr sin imilli. af scolastica historia. 7a Giördi gud þa festingar himinn af vatzens þofuskepu suu sterkliga samantengðan ok strengðan at hann hefer í ser aller himinfastar stiornur ok þuilkaz skýran af sialfum ser sem kristallus suu huelfðan til litils lutar at iafna sem þöllott eggskurn ok greinduí suu meðr honum I sundr þau vōtn sem vnder honum voru fra þeim sem yfer hem eru. þa skapadi hann vnder festingarhiminsins nafni adra himnana enn sialft himinrikí. Enn fyrer hueria sok er gud uilldi at vōtnin veri ýfer festingarhiminnum þa er þat sialfum honum kunnikt eptir þuui sem seger commestor þo at ðøkkurer menn hafí þa ætlan áá at i suma staði komi þada regn á sumar tíma. Augustinus segher at hulik vont er þar eru ok meðr huerium (p 21) þeitt þau eru þar þa efum meðr engum moti at þau eru þar. þuia meíri er røksemð þessarar ritningar seger hann enn allr gloggleiki ok skoðan mannligs skilnings ok huguiz er til. genesis 7c ok þegar varð suu. 8a gaf þa gud honum það namn at hann heiti himinn. af scolastica hystoria þuia himinn hefer í þessum stað allt eitt at þýða ok hulning fyrer þa sók at hann hýr ljokir fyreror sissi alla vsýniliga luthi. af geneesi 8b ok suu varð aptann ok mmorginn meðr fyrri grein anaRe dagr. scolastica hystoria Hebresker menn at engillinn varð a þessum degi fiandi ok draga þat ægí sizt til demis þar vm þo at þessu dags verk se gott sem allra þeira anaRa er gud giördi. þa er þo allt at eins ægí her af þessum þat einkanlega lesit at gud sáá at þat var gott. huerium er þeir sýnaz zamþýkkiaaz sem áá máánadaga ueniaz messur at sýngia englum suu sem til lofs þeim sem stajfestuz i guds þionostu enn heilager kennefdr hallda annat helldr fyrer sannara at þat se meíR suu ok fyrer þi leidiz hann allan á skilnat ok sundrþýkt. enn tuitalan greiniz fyrst vt af einingunni ok fyrer þann skýlld takaz aðrar þótlur iheilagri ritningu meðr meíri uirkt ok metare merkingu. Ma þat ok vel audsýnaf af várars herra orðum at engilinn hafí áá hinum fyrsta degi fællit þar sem sialfr hann talar suu af honum milli annassa luta i ions gudþzialli at hann var allt fra vþphaði manndrapare ok hann stoð engan tíma ne stadífestiz (p 22)i sannelkinum. enn af þúi at suu má segjaz at hins þríðia dags urerk
V. De opere tertiae dici

intelligendum est sed de potentia, quasi potens sit germinare. Produxit enim de terra hede Rijmbijbel am virentem et facientem semen et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum secundum genera sua. Patet quia non per moras temporum ut modo produxit plantas suas terra, sed statim in maturitate viridi, in qua et hede Rijmbijbel ae seminibus, et ade Rijmbijbel ores pomis onustae sunt. Notandum quod dictum est: virentem. Quidam dicunt mundum in vere factum, quia vior illius temporis est et fructificatio. Alii, quia legunt: lignum faciens fructum, et additum: hede Rijmbijbel am habentem semen, factum dictum in Augusto sub leone. Sed in Martion factum dogmatizat ecclesia...

Stjórn

fra þui er guð let iordina birtaz ok friofaz ok skapadi sioenn ok iorðina. Scolastica historia.

A þríðia degi let guð þau vótin sem vnder festingarhimínnum voru safnaz i einn stað ok iordina birtaz skipadi hann suu fiorumn fýR sogdum hóftsvkepnum huerri medr sinni spera innan festingarhimínsins epter þui sem sialfra þeira þýkt ok þunleiki er til. ellðinn eftzan nest festingar himínnum þuiat hann er lettaztr af huerium er truiz at safíl himintunglin hafi gióR verit. loptid er þat i sinum efra part skieri i ser. enn i hinum medra hefer þat margu rughan af vindum ok vétum þokum ok reidar þrumum sniofum ok ellofingum ok óðrum þeim lutum til komandi sem ver hófum fulla raun af. þar þest vatnidd huert er hann safnadi i vnderdiupþ dreifandi þadan af sua sem af einu modurkýni òll veralldarennar vótin vm leyñilegar veralldarennar ráazer okumferðer henni til friohanar ok manninum til nýtsemdar Neðsta skapadi hann iorðina ok innzta í õllum þeim þuiat hon er þungaz iafni vettandi hana sem medr einni váág ok setiandi i midjan heimsins punkt medr õllum sinvm ýfer uettis þunga. moldru ok allzkýns maalma kýni. grioti ok gimsteinum medr õllum annars hááttar steinvm ok sem hann býriadi þessa dags uerk sagði hann sua. genesis 9c Safniz saman i einn stað vótin þau sem vnder himínnum eru at þuRlendi megi sýnaz. (p 23)ok þegar i stað vard sua. Af Augustino. Suu skildz ok i sundr skiptiz þa i þær mynder sem nÝv sean ver þat hið višynliga efni heimsins sem sundum var kallat auð íor ok vsamit. annan tima myrks ok vnderdiup ella vatn ýfer huert er guds andi fluttiz medr fýRi grein. sva at iorðin formerat af þi sama efni birtiz ausvyniliga i sinum stað epter þi sem nu sýnz þat er ok er beði sallt ok sét. Maatti þat vel vera at þau vótin sem medr nókkurri þoku dogguan huldu ok vm foru allt þat rvm ok viðættu sem i loptinu er sua sem medr smaregni eðr ’singu fengi verið í litlum stað hia þi sem aadr sidan er þeim var sua sterklíga saman strengt. 10ab kalladí hann þa þurlendit iorð enn allt saman vatnanna megin kalladí hann hauf. ok sua sem vatnanna verk var fýllt ok fram komit seger myþes at 10c sua var gott ok vel gort ok lagði þar til iamframm annat verk medr þersu 11 ok saðgí sua. af R giní Groi iorðin ok friofiz medr blomganda gras geranda sitt sáád ok medr epli berandi trio ok allzkýns allðin við. giðrandi allan sín avóxt epter þui kýni sem þat er vorðit sík til huers saad er í sialfu ser skal á iorðunní vera ok þetta vard allt sua. 12a-c at
iðrðin bar þegar grænt gras meðr hinn bezta bloma ok sáað beranda meðr sínv kýni ok epli berandi trío gerandi fagran avoxt ok huert sem eitt hafandi meðr ser sílfs sínv sááð meðr sinni eiginni mýnd. Af scolastica hýstoria. Eigi leiddi iðrðin þa ok sua seint ok álongum tínum frammi sínar planitaner sem nu.helldr var òll þersi hennar fegrd ok frýgð þegar i stad meðr sinum eiginlegum blom ok auexti.Ok þo at nøkkurer menn hafi þrætt vm ok á greint hvart helldr hefer uerit heimrinn skapaðr áá váár tíma. þuiat þa blomgaz ok avaxtaz flester luter edr a haustar tíma i augusto manadí (p24) af fyrer farandi ordum at iðrðin bar frammi epli berandi treo giorandi fagran avoxt ok gras hafanda sitt sááð. þa helldr heilug kirkia þat städ- fastlega fyrer satt i sinvm kenningum ok leridomí at hann hafi áá vaarit i marcio manadí skapaðr verit. A þeima degi planta guð ok iardneska paradís þat land er sua heiter ok liggr til austrættar af þeiri heimsins haalfu er asia heiter. mýcklu hera enn nøkkut annat land aa váru býggiligu iardríki ok þi mátto noa flóð huergi namunda þui ganga ok fylldi þat þegar meðr ðllumlýstugleik ok vnatsemð vpprennandi edar medr fógr- un framfliotandi vþnrum meðr iardrennis þerelegum blomstrum ok allz hááttar þeim triom sem full voru af frýgð ok fógrum auexti. Nu sua gort sem var 12d sa guð at þetta var allt saman goð skepna 13 ok sua varð aptann ok marginn ok lýktadiz hinn þrði dagr.

de Rijmbijbel

Den derdendaghe leese wi van gode
(190) dat hi met sinen ghebode
dwater uersaemde in een couent
dat es onder tfirmandt
dat hare die droeheit openbaerde
die droeheit noemde god doe harde
(195) Ende des waters versaminghen
daer sii alle te samene ghinghen
dat hiet hi bi namen zee
Ende daer naer so maecte hi mee
God besach dat het was goet
(200) Ende hi seide metter spoet
hic wille di gheuen cruut
Ende hare grenenit comme vt.
daer af cornen moeghe saet
Ende datter gehboemte up staet
(205) dat appelle draghe na siere maniere
Ende vrucht oec meneghertiere
al dat hi seide was wî daen
Want siin wille moeste wlgae
VI. De opere quartae dici

(14) Quarto die quae disposuerat coepit ornare rebus illis, quae infra universum mundum congruis motibus agerentur. Plantae enim, quia terrae haerent, ad dispositionem terrae quasi magis spectant, et sicut dispositionem sic et ornatum a superioribus inchoavit. Fecit enim eadem die luminaria, solem et lunam et stellas. Et dicitur sol, quia solus lucet, id est nullum cum eo. Luna luminum una, id est prima ut una dierum, vel una Sabbatorum dicitur. Sol et luna dicuntur magna luminaria in duobus et ex duobus, id est non solum pro quantitate luminis sed et corporis, et non tantum comparatione stellarum sed et secundum se, quia sol dicitur octies major terra...et luna etiam major terra dicitur. Lunam et stellas voluit illuminare noctem, ne nox sine lumine nesciret, ut operantes in nocte ut nautae et viatores solatium luminis haberent. Sunt etiam quaedam aviculae, quae lucem solis ferre non possunt, et fere nocte pascuntur. (Maxime hae aves in desertis Aethiopiae arenosis ubi modicus impulsus veti inventa itinerantium vestigia complanat.) Nec superfluit sol, licet nubes lucida vicem ejus ageret, quia illa tenuem et insufficientem lucem habebat, et forte non nisi superiorem illuminabat, sicut nec stella modo. De illa autem nube lucida supradicta traditur modo quod vel redierit in materiam, unde facta fuerat, ut stella quae apparuit magis et columba in qua visus est Spiritus sanctus, vel quod semoer solem comitatur, vel quod de ea factum est corpus solare. Nec tantum ad decorem, et ad usum luminis ea voluit esse, sed etiam ut essent in signa, et tempora et dies et annos, ut scilicet signa sint serenitatis et tempestatis, vel ut ex ipsis fient signa dupdecim majora et quindecim minora. Plura his quae dicuntur signa vel sidera, tum quia magna diligentia signavit, vel consideravit ea antiquitas, tum quia adhuc signant et considerant ea homines ad dissertationem temporum...

Sjórn

(p24) afiorda degi skapadi guð sol ok ðonvnr himintungl. af speculo historiale.

A fiordar prýddi guð ok prisulega skreýtt himín ok þa luti meðr himneskum liosum sem aadr hafði hann gort. einkannlega fýrst hinar efztu heimsins háálfur skapandi þa þill himintungl huert er iordina skýldli birta þeði vm nêtr ok vm daga huert epter sinum heðti ok greína alla tíma huart meðr margfalldri sinni nêringu 14 ok sagdi sua Genesis Uerdí lýsandi stiórnur i festingar himinum at þær greini í sundr ser huart dag ok náatt at þær se til taakna ok tíma dagha ok áára 15 at lýsi i festingar himinum. ok birti iordina ok þegar varð�ua.

scolastica hýstória Eigi at eins guð þessi lýsandi lios sem ver koþlum himintungl verða verólldinni til fegðar ok liossins nýtsemðar nema (p 25) ok þar meðr til tákna eðr marka at af þeim megi merkiaz huart er helldr eru skir vedr eðr v skir blid eðr hriðer. ella til þess at af þui skýldli verða þau xij. táákn er. ver koþlum stiórnur mörk sem zodiacus hefer í sér ok at greína tíma þat er vaar ok sumar haust ok vetr ok þar meðr þa sem ver koþlum solstödu tíma a vetr ok sumar ok iafn nêttis tíma a haust ok váár ok at greína daga vikur ok manadi áár ok
alder.  

**de genesi 16** Guð giorði ok tuau stór himíntungl híd meira. þat er solina til þess at þat skýldi medr sinni birti deginum lýsa. híd minna þat er tunglit at þat lýsti nááttinni. Stiømnr giorði hann þar medr 17a ok setti þær allar i festingar himínum vtan æigi þer vij. meðr solu ok tungli sem planete heita þær reika ok leíka lausar i loptín ok ganga i gegn fýR sögðum festingar himní at þer medr sinn gang tempri hans velltting ok mvnturnan. setti hann þær 17b fyrer þa sok þar at þær skýldi medr þi liosi sem þær hefdí af solinni birta alla verolldina ok giora grein milli lioss ok mýrkr. scolastica | hystoria. Eigi let guð fyrer þann einn skýld beði tungli ok stiørnur birta nááttína at hon skýldi æigi medr òllu fegrðar laus vera suá sem þa væri ef hon hefdí medr òllu ekki lios ok birti utan ok til þess æigi siðr at þeer menn sem á á nattar tímanum starfaði skýldi þar af hialp ok huggan hafa suá sem skiparar ok adrar farandi menn ok einkannlega iblalandz eýdi morkum edr sandhøfum þar sem litill vindzblær sletter ok hýlr þa vegv sem aadr hafa farner urerit. ýsíðor. þeir eru sumer fuglar sem æigi megu þola at sía solrennar lios suá sem noctua er allr er eín ok noctiorax huerr er fyrer þa sok heiter nocta at hann flýgr vm netr ok sét engan tíma vm daga þuïat þegar i stað sñíofaz hans sýn sem dagrín biritz. hann er eingi i þeiri eý creta heiter. ok þo at hann se þangat fluttur af oðrum stöðum þa deýr hann þegar leid sem hann (p26) kemr þar. Sa fgl sem strix heiter er ok náatt fugl medr fleirum oðrum ok fedaz þeir flester mók aa nattinni. Eigi var solin ok þuí siðr nauzunligh ok þarflig at þat híd biarta ský giorði ok fýllíd hennar emþetti sem verolldina birti þuïat sama ský hafði litid lios ok læmegít ok lýsti letlega hueri edr litid vtan hina hestu luti sem nu lýsa stiørnur. scolastica historia. Eru ýmissar getur ok ßlænir á á huat at þuí skýi hafi vordít annat huart at þat hafi aprtr horfit i þat sama efni sem þat var ááðr skapat af suá sem su stiarna er austvegs konungum vitradiz. ella at þat fari ok fýlgi iafnan medr solinni. ella þat at solrennar likamr se af þi sama giorr. Sua finnzk ok skrifat at solin var giorr a morgin tíma ok í austri. enn tunglit at aptni suá sem tilkomandi náátt ok í austri. Enn þo vilja nokkurser segia at þau væri beði samt skóput a morgin tíma. sol í austri enn tungl í vestri ok þann tíma sem solin settiz hýruí tunglit at tilkomandi náátt til austrs. heilagr augustinus sýniz hinni fýrrí greininni samþýkkia i fýR nefndri sinni bok ýfer genesim. her seger ok suá milli þeira sem maluglega ok kauislega kalla suá sem epter frettandi huilíkt tunglit var skapat í fýrþtv. huart helldr þilikt sem þa er prim er saker þess at þa ðtti suá at telia edr fullt ok fiortan nááttta fyrer þann skýlild at þat hefdí þáa aattv skadat at hafa urerit at hann sinnar huarígum ne samþýkker i alla stádi. helldr enger þar í milli hann seg- iandi berlega medh fullkommum orskurd at huart sem þeir kalla i þann punkt verit hafa sem prim er edr fullt Sua sem.xiij.nááttta at guð giorði þatalgort. de genesi.18c Ok sialfr hann sáá at þetta var eín ein goð (p 27)skepna. 19 varð suá aptann ok morginn ok lýktadiz hinn fiorði dagr.

**de Rijmbijbel**

Den vierdendaghe macte der ane
(210) Onse here sonne ende mane
Ende die sterren die hi ghesent
Ende gheseeft heft int firmament
verre beneden sterren staen
Sonne ende mane sonder waen
(215) Ende alle die plane'e'ten mede
derde heft de nederste stede
van al den sterren. ende als hic wane
Ende alse men leesende vint de mane
es de minste van den sterren
(220) die ons lichten noch van verren
die vroede liedeg segghen al bloet
die sonne achtwaruen alse groet
als die erde es al gheheel
Ende die mane es meerre een deel
(225) dan die erde dus eist bescreuen
Mane ende sterren siin ghegheuen
dat sii dien naect maken clare
want hi anders te leelies ware
Ende omme dat die nachts in watere pinen
(230) Ende die oec wandelen in wostinen
daer bi souden ghetroest weesen
Ende alre meest oec alse wi leesen
van libien int groete sant
daer een clene wint alte hant
(235) die weghe verwait soe dat se man
altoes neghen bekennen can
Ne daden die sterren men ne vonde
Niemene diere gheghaen in conde
Noch men ne vonde nemmermee
(240) Niemene die voere in de zee
Oec leesmen dat men voghele vint
die vander sonnen niet en tuint
Die clareit ghedoghen connen
Nachts moetsi vlieghen ende ronnen
(245) Ende hem bi den sterren voeden
dat suldi mede wel ghevroeden
dat niet alleene dor die sconeeede
Noch allene dort leecht mede
Sonne. sterre. ende mane.
(250) Sijn gheseeft. maer om te verstane
Scone weder ende quae't der bi
Ende om dat die minste des vroet sii
dat si sceden dach ende nacht
Weke ende maent ende dees jaers cracht
VII. De opere quintae dici


Creavit Deus, id est plasmavit, cete grandia. Cete generis neutri est indeclinabile. Declinatur, tamen cetus, ceti, Et omnem animam viventem atque motabilem, quam produxerat aquae. Motabiles autem dicuntur animae piscium et avium respectu animae hominis. Illae enim movenntur de esse ad non esse, ista non, quia perpetua est, vel quia forsam animas non habent, sed tamen spiritus vegetativos quia cum ipsis animabus exstinguitur...ipsum animal vocavit animam, id est vivens. Unde, et Graeci dividunt animalia per zoa et psycheia: zoa id est viventia, bruta, sed psycheia animata, a psyche quod est anima rationalis. Sed etiam dicitur creatum motabile, quod creatum est sic ut moveretur de vita ad mortem, quod non homo qui creatus est, ut non moreretur si vellet. Illo vera creata sunt vel ut in esum cedant aliis vel senio deficiant. His benedixit Deus: *Crescite et multiplicamini.*
Stjórn

(p27) fra þui er guð skapaði fiska ok fugla á fimta deghi. Scolastica historia ok speculum historiale.

A fimta degi-prýddi guð lóptid meðr flugandi fuglum ok vatnþi medr suimandum fískum takandi af vatninu efni til þersa huarsþueggia þuiat vatnits snýð lissetlega til lopzens sua sem þat þyinn. Lóptit snýð ok á somuleið auðuellagda til vatnznis sua sem þat þyknar. augustinus. Skulu þeir aller skýnsamer menn sem þessor orð ok atkuþði göra nókkura rÝring edr efað semð þat uel mega uita at hiner uisaztu menn þeir sem þers hattar lutu skoða ok skýnþa vanduirklega taka þetta hið voku mickla ok þoku fulla lópt meðr vötnunum sem fuglarner flugia i. þuiat lóptid þrongoþi sua ok þýknar af þeim veþum ok andargust sem upp leggr af öllu saman Þródunni ok af vatninu at þat þoler harda vel fuglanna flug. þaraf verðr sem mikil dogggfoil um neþr íafn vel at heidskirum vedrum at grasið er alváatt at þeiri þemu dogg einni saman vm morgininn epter þi sem ver megum sillafer sia. Sua finnz ok skrifat í hinum skiluisaztum bókum ok roksamlegum riþi sem ver megum sialfer sia. Sua finnz ok skriþat i hinum skiluisaztum bókum ok roksamlegum ritn, íungum at þat fiall sem olimpus heiker ok stendr i þeirí hafþu grecie sem heiter macedonía se sua ýfer uettis háatt at áþ þess efztem heðum verði huarki ský ne vindr fýr þann skýlfd at þat er öllu úþetl lóptinu þeirsv hera íhverir er fuglarner flugia ok fyrer þa þok segiz at þar þlugi æjíð nókkurÝ fvgl. En þeira vard þu vist ok kunntk gort at þeir þemenn sem til þess völdudz ok vönudz áár frá áári at fara vpp a ofan vert þat (p28)sama fiall saker nókkura fornþerþing sinna. æjíþi veit ek huerra helldz þegar hinn heilagi augustinus. þa skrifadu þeir nókkura merkilega luti vppi þar a moldinni edr duptinu huera er þeir fundu meðr öllu vskadda annat áári epter sem þeir þar komu. matti þat meðr engu moti vera sem huerr skýnsamr madr ma skilía utan þar kiemí huarki vindr neyeta. Enn af þi at þar var lóptid micklu þunnara enn þeir mëtti þat standaz saker eings andar gustz moti vana sinum ok naturv þa baru upp þannig meðr sér vaata suoppu ok logdu vdr nasar áá siałfum ser at þáðan af þeki þeir þykka lópt ok likara sinni nátturu. Sogðu þeir sik æjíþi einn fugl þar síeþ hafa. Eigi þegar sia hin skiluislega ok hin truanligzta skriþat v skýnsamliga at þuí edr urettlega æjíþi at eins fískau ok þunnur kuikendi sem vótnunum flýtiaz. utan ok íafn vel þar meðr fliugandi fugla af vótnunum feþ hafa. fyrer þa grein at þeir megu uel ok fagrlega vm þetta lóptid fluiga sem af iardarennar ok hafþins vokum ok úþetum riss ok þykknar. genesis.20 Guð sagaþi þa sua. leidh vótn vt af ser skriþdanda liþ anda kuikenda ok fliuganda fugla kýn vnder festingar himínunum vpp ýfer Þródina. scolastica hystoria. fýri þann skýlfd eru fískarner her kallaðer skridkuikendi at þann tíma er þeir lengia sik suimandem akafílagaz. flýtiaz þeir þo at lelttargarr ýfer sin bristó a orði villtiz miðr hinn vissi plaot þann tíma sem hann kom níðr a egíta land ok las þar bekr moþi at fluganda fugla kýn leiðdís upp ýfer íorð-inu hugði hann at moþyes heðþi þann skilning áá haft at fliugandi fugalr (p 29) veþi lóptzens skráÙt ok þýdþi ateÝins niðri vdr íorðina, enn goðer englar ok illir veri himu efra lóptinu til skrautz ok fegrðar enn þat er ekki sua. þuiat goðer englar eru i himinríki sem fýþr var sagt. enn iller voru ibrott keyrðer ok rekner i þetta hið þoku fulla lópt sialfum ser til eylifrar pinu enn ekki til nókkurs skrautz edr þryði. Genesis.21 Ok þa skapaði guð stora huæli ok annan lífanda ok hrsrilligan físku kýns anda huat er vótnin hoþuf geþ ít af ser meðr sinum eiginlegum ýþndum ok fliugandi fugla huern epter sinu kýni. Guð sáþ a þetta var ein goð skepna 22 ok blezadí bedþi fískum ok fuglum sua segíandi Vaxí þeir ok fjoþgiz ok fýllit
siofarens vothn ok fiołgiz fuglarner ægli siðr ýver alla iordina. 23 varð sua aptann ok morginn ok lýktadiz hinn fíntí dagr.

**de Rijmbijbel**

Des.v. daghes versierde god ons here
wende lucht. met groeter ere
Der lucht gaf hi dat vlieghen conde
(270) Ende dat suemmende ghinc ten gronde
vissche en voghele dat es waer
Maecte hi beede van watre daer
God maecte alle dinc die roet
Clene ende groet diet water voet
(275) Ende wat so gaet oec ende vlieghet
bedi mesdoet hi ende lieghet
die seghet dat sij iet maken conden
die quade gheeste dane sonden
doe seinde hise ende benedide
(280) Om dat hi wilde dat siin wille diide

**VIII. De opere sextae dici**

causis: propter hominis punitionem, correctionem, instructionem. Punitur enim homo cum laeditur his vel cum timet laedi, quia timor maxima poena est. Corrigitur his, cum scit ista sibi accidisse pro peccato suo. Instruitur admirando opera Dei, magis admirans opera formicarum quam onera camelorum, vel cum videt haec minima sibi posse nocere, recordatur fragilitatis suae et humiliatur. Sed diceret quis quod quaedam animalia laedunt alia,

(20) quae nec inde puniuntur vel corriguntur vel instruuntur, sed ex his et in his instruitur homo. Per exemplum etiam ad hoc creatu sunt, ut aliis sint in esum. Sed si iterum dicitur quod etiam in mortuos homines saeviunt, sed et in his instruitur homo, ne aliquod genus mortis horrescat, quia per quoscunque transeat meatus, nec capillus de capite ejus peribit. Ad hunc modum solet quaeri de herbis et aëribus infructuosis, si etiam in illis diebus orta sint, cum scriptura non memoret nisi herbas seminales et aëribus fructiferas quae modo sunt. Potest dici quia quae modo infructosa sunt, ante peccatum fecerunt fructum aliquem, post peccatum potius nascuntur homini ad laborem quam ad utilitatem. Vel homini propter et post peccatum orta sunt, quia vero piscibus, et avibus dictum est: Crescite et multiplicamini, etiam de his intelligendum est, licet non sit dictum. Haec est enim communis causa creationis eorum.
ýfer siofar fiskvm ok himinsins fuglum. ferféttum kui kendum ok ðoll iardríkinu ok þar meðr ðôlu þui skríðu kui kendin sem nokkura lífs reñing hefer í veroldinni. Skapandi gud mannen eptor sialfs sins mýnd ok likneskiu. skapandi hann þeði karlman ok kuennmann ok þo sidaR konuna sem ofaR meiR man heýræs meg. Scolastica Hystória. Af þrennum greinum maa einkannlega merkiaz mannzens tign ok virðing. þat er híð fyrsta æ sigi at eins varð hann isinu kyni sem fyr sagþer luter. helldr ok iamm uel þar meðr at hann er guðs likneskiu fyrer þui at hann gaf honum einum skyneðemdar skilning af ðollum veralldar kui kendum. Er likneskiu heil-agrar þrennings meðr þrifalldri mýnd ok skilning mannzens ðond ok hugskot. þat er til minnis til skyneðemdar skilningar ok till uilia eðr elskhuga þuiat þeser .i. i. luter eru ein ueran ok eitt lif meðr huerium (p 31) sem einum manni sua sem .i. i. personur eru í guðs þrenningu. fader ok sonr ok heilagr andi ok þar allar erv þo einn guð. þat er annat at hann var skapadR meðr stadhfestare fyrre hugsan þuiat í ððrum sinum verkum bauð guð að eins ok wrðu þeir luter. Enn í þersu sogðu guds personur fader ok sonr ok heilagr andi sua fyrer hugsanði ok stadhfestandi sin a milli. Giðrum ver maninn. þat er híð þríði mannzens tign ok forprisan at hannvar skapadR herra ok sua sem konurgr allra annaRa iardneskra kui kenda ok at hau skýldu honum til fðu ok kleðnaðar ok til erfísís letta ok víðr hialpar síðan er hann hafði misgort. þuiat þyrer sýndina gaf guð þeði manninum ok ððrum kui kendum iardrennar a vøxtu til fðu fyrer þui at iðrðin leidði þa engan lut u frean ut af ser eðr skepvnni skaðsamlegan. Enn persararar drottanar misti hann af sýndarrennar til skýldan þeði þyfer hinum stærstum kui kendum ok hinum smærstum. ýfer hinum stæstum sem leonum. til þers at hann viti ok uíðr kenniz at hann hefer latið sitt valld ok drottanar ýfer þeim. Enn ýfer hinum smestum sem fuglumum til þess at hann skili ok vnderstandi þar af þuersu vammeininn ok herfligir hann er þar af vordinn ýfer medal kui kendum hefer hann enn uallld sér til huganar. ok at hann viti þadan af at hann hafði sua fyrer sýndina ýfer ððrum sem þessum. speculum hystoriæ. Meðr þessi hinni fyrstu ok hinni fremztu fýR sagaþri heilagrar þrenningar likneskiu sem manzsins hugskoti er. í huerr í hann samlikiz guði meðr heilagrum englum berr madrinok guðs likingh. einkannlega .iv. lutvm hin fýrsta er su drottanar röksemd ok (p32) valld sem í fyrstunni var honum veitt. þuiat sua sem guð er allra luta drottinn ok herra himneska ok iardneskra ok iardneskra ok þeira sem í helueti eru. A þa leidd var madrinn sem drottnari ok herra ýfer skipadR æ sigi at eins fýR sogðum kui kendum utan ok þar meðr allri þessa heims verallar bygð sem var sagt. Annat er upphafsins röksemd þuiat áþ þann háttat sem guð er vpphaf allra luta fyrer sina skapan. sua er adam allramanna upphaf ok fýrstr fyrer getnaðares skyld. þat híð þríðia at sua sem nokkuerar luter eru samkueimalger milli guðs ok annaRa luta. sua kemr ok mart saman meðr manninum ok ððrum verallldlegum lutum ok þadan af kallaz hann minni heimr. þat híð fiorda at sua sem guð er allra luta endalýkt. sua er madrinn sidaztr epter naatturuð skipan- enne. þuiat hann var seinaz skapadR þo at hann verí allra iardneskr luta fýrstr ok fremztr epter skyneðemdar skipan. þat er hit fimta at sua sem guð er huerútna allr meðr sinna almáat í hinum meira heimi. sua er aundin í sinum. minna heimi. þat er í ðollum likamsins limum meðr
huerium sem eínun sem veralldligum manni. Mádrinn medr sinni skýnsemð er ægið þa leidís skapadr lútr ok niðlreit sem skýnlaus kuikendi. er hanslíkams vöxtur rettr forme radr vpp til himnisins sua sem sialfán hann aminnandi at hann hafi á þann haatt sin hug skotz augu ok skilningar vit til himneskrá luta sem hans likamleg augu ok skilningar vit ok a siona veit vpp til himnisins. hann var ok þa litlu sund sem hann stoð í meíneyðis stett ok skyslíði þuenlega verit hafva | vtan alla piniliga angist ef hann hefði ægið misgort. þuiat honum skyslíði huarki hungr ne þorstiægi kulði ne hiti ægi erfídí ne nökkur haattar krankleikí angrat hafa. Eigi hefði hann ok þurflikam dauðann at ottaz þuiat lifðanís (p33) likamnum skyslíði hann flutzi hafa til eýlifrar dýðrar. ægi hefði hann ok þurf klednath at hafa ok þo hefði hann þar af enga skammfylldí fengit þuiat engan kendi hann þa uera sinn leýndalim helldr enn hof- udit hendr é fetr. Mádrinn hefði þa getinn uerit vtan alla sýnd ok sui uirðu enn þeðdr utan allra sutar ok sáarléiks. ok epter þat er gud haðfíi sua skapat þau blezði hann þeim ok sagði sua. Genesis. Uaxit þit ok foðlgiz ok fyllit iórðina ok stiornit henni. drottnit ok siofarins fiskum. himninsins fuglum ok ðollum þeim kuikendum sem ræraz á iardríki. scolastica hýstärke, þar sem gud sagði sua vaxit þðok foðlgiz huat er ægið mëtti verða vtan þeira samblanda þa skapadí hann hiu- skap milli karlmannz ok konu huar af er þeir villu menn eru af sinni sogn aprtr settur ok suvirðer sem þat sogðu at sambud milli karlmanz ok konu metti allldregen uerða utan sýnd ok sálu háása Augustínus. Voru þeir menn ok er þers spurdú huersu mádrann haðfíi nokkut valld ýfer fiskum eðr fuglum dýrum ok ðorum dauðlímku kuikendum. medr þui at versiam mennina af morgum dýrum verða dreipna ok marga þa fuglal oss meí giora sem ver uilldím feginsamlégsa forðaz ella giarnsamlígha gripa ok faam þat ægið gört þui helldr. huersu þokum ver at þui valld ýfer þuilíkum lutum. Meðr fyrstu grein maa þeim þui uel suara at þeir villaz mikillégha þar sem þer hугleíða manznins stett huersev (p34) hann fordémdiz medr dauðleik þessa lífanda lífs epter sýndina. þýndi sua ok misti þers algórleiks sem hann var til skapadr. guds líkneshí. Nu af manznens fördeiningar stetter efler ok orkar sua miðklu at hann stýri ok stiorni sua morgum kuikendum ok þeirnu manznins busmalínn er medr enn fleirum ðorum. ok þo at hann megi saker likamnsins breykskleiks af morgum dýrum dreipin verða sua máá hann af engum kosti þeim tamðr uerða sua morg ok mikils hættar dýr sem hannnems huat er af hans ríki þa hugsanda þi sem honum endr nýúduum ok frialsaðum ok af sialfum gudi fyer fyer heitíð. J aðra deilld erv þoll ðunnur kuikendi manznins vnder lagíteægi fyer likamnsins skyslíld vtan helldr fyrrer þa skýnsemd og skilning sam ver hofvm ok þau hafer ægið þo at likaminn vááR se þæ íamuel sua uordinn sik at hann sýni þat a sialfum ser at ver sem betri enn þunnur kuikendi ok fyer þa grein gudi líker. þuiat manznins likamr at eins er rettr skapadr ok uppreistr til himins sem fýR var sagt. genesis.29 Ok enn taladí gud til þeira. Se herna at ek gaf ykkr huert sem eitt gras beranda sitt sááð ok annan eiginlegan a voxý ýfer alla iordína ok þoll þau trio sem i sialfum ser hafa saað ok frio sins eigins kýns at þesser luter se ykkr til fédís ok vidríflís 30 ok ðollum iardrænnar kuikendum ðollum himninsins fuglum ægí siðr ok þar medr ðollum þeim iardneskum lutum sem ræraz mega ok lifðanís andi er medr at (p35) þau megi þar af feðaz Ok þetta varð
allt sem hann baut. 31 Sa guð alla þa luti sem hann hafði gort ok voru hardla godar. varð suæ aptann ok morginn ok lýktadiz hinn setti dagr.

de Rijmbijbel

Den sesten daghe versierde god
De erde ende hiet na siin ghebod
dat soe beesten brochte voerd
hi wiste wel merct ende hoert
(285) dat de mensche vallen soude
maer doer sine dueghet so woude
hi den mensche beesten gheuen
Ommte te verlichtene dat suare leeuuen
beesten merct dit wordelike saen
(290) het si om dat sii ons bi staen
Nv vraegt men of die goedertiere
God. maecte di felle diere
Ende de gheuerinde voer adaems sonden
die redene hebbic al vonden
(295) dat alle diere sonder waen
Ghemaect waren onderdan
den mensche te sine emmermeere
adde hi gheoert na onsen here
Maer na de mesdaet alst wel sciint
(300) word sii fel ende gheueniint
Ende staende na siine scade
Oec mede om siine mesdade
Segghen ons di eleghe lude
dat die boeme ende die crude
(305) die nu wassen vruchte loes
dat ele siine cracht verloes
van der mesdaet van adame
Sonne ende mane van groeter scame
Sterren ende diere steene
(310) Ne behilden nemmeer alleene
van hare cracht dan zeeuende deel
te voeren adden sii se al gheel.
IX. De creatione hominis


Stjórni

(p30) 26 sagði hann sua til sínseta sunar ok heilags anda. Gerum ver manninn epter váári liking ok likneskju at hann se stornari ýfer siofar fiskvm ok himínsins fuglum. ferfættum kuikendum ok òllv iarðríkinu ok þar medr òllu þui skrið kuikendi sem nokkura lífs þæring hefer i veroldinni. 27 Skapadí guð mannenn epter sialfs sínns mynd ok likneskju. skapadí hann þeði karlman ok kuenmann ok þo sidaR konuna sem ofaR miR man heýraz mega. Scolastica hystoria. Af þrennum greinum máá einkannlega merkiaz mannens tígn ok virðing. þat er hið fyrsta at æigi at eins varð hann isinu kýni sem fyr r sagþer luter. helldr ok iamm uel þar medr at hann er guðs likneska fyrer þui at hann gaf honum einum skýnsemðar skilning af õllum veralladar kuikendv. Er likneskja heilagrar þrenningar medr þrifaldldr mynd ok skilling manznens þond ok hugskot. þat er til minnis til skýnsemðar skilningar ok til uilia edr elshuga þuiat þeser.iij.luter eru ein ueran ok eitt líf medr huëriyum (p 31) sem einum manni sua sem .iij. personur eru i guðs þrenningu. faðer ok sonr ok heilagr andi ok þar allar eru þo einn guð. þat er annat at hann var skapadí medr städfestre fyrer hugsan þuiat i õdrium sinum verkum bað guð að eins ok wrdu þeir luter. Enn í þersu sogðu guðs personur faðer ok sonr ok heilagr
andi sua fyrer hugsandi ok stadfestandi sin a milli. Görum ver maninn. þat er hið þridi
mannzens tign ok forprisan at hannvar skapadhr herra ok sua sem konungr allra annaRa
iardneskra kúikenda ok at þau skýldu honum til þeðu ok klednaðar ok til erfiðis letta ok viðr
hialpar síðan er hann hafði misgort. þuiaf  fyrer síndina gaf guð þeði manninum ok óðrum
kuikendum iardnennar a þóxtu til þeðu fyrer þu í at iðrinn leiddi þa engan lut u þrean ut af ser
edr skepnvnn skadsamleghan. Þenn þersarar drotnarar misti hann af sýndarenann til skýldan
þeði þýfer hinum stærstum kuikendum ok hinum smærstum. þýfer hinum stæstum sem leonum.
til þers at hann viti ok uðr kenniz at hann hefer latið sitt valld ok drottnan þýfer þeim. Þenn
þýfer hinum smestum sem fluðnum til þess at hann skili ok vnderstandi þar af huersu
vanmeginn ok herfliðgur þar er þar af vordinn þýfer medal kuikendum hefer hann enn ualld sér
til hugganar. ok at hann viti þadan af at hann hafði sua fyrer síndina þýfer óðrum sem þessum.

speculum hystoriae. Meðr þessi hinni fyrstu ok hinni fremztu fýr sagaði heilagrar
þrenningar likneskju sem manzins hugskotí er. í huerri er hann samlikiz guði meðr heilagum
englum berr maðrinn ok guðs lík-ingh. einkannlega. i.v. lutvm hin fyrsta er su drottinanar
röksemð ok (p32) valld sem í fyrstunni var honum veitt. þuiaf sua sem guð er allra luta
drottinn ok herra himneskr ok iardneskra ok þeira sem í helueti eru. A þa leid
var maðrinn sem drotnari ok herra þýfer skipadr æigi at eins fýr sogðum kuikendum utan ok
þar meðr allri þessa heims veralldar býgð sem var sagt. Annat er upphafsins röksemð þuiaf áá
þann háatt sem guð er vþphaf allra luta fyrer sina skapan. sua er adam allramanna upphaf ok
fyrstr fyrer getnadarens skýlfd. þat hið þridia at sua sem nokkuener luter eru samkuemiliger
milli guðs ok annaRa luta. sua kemr ok mart saman meðr maðrinnum ok óðrum verallldleggum
lutum ok þadan af kallaz hann minni heimr. þat hið fiorða at sua sem guð er allra luta
endalýkt. sua er maðrinn sidaztr epter naatturv skípanenne. þuiaf hann var seínaz skapadhr þo
at hann veri allra iardneskra luta fýrstr ok fremztr epter skýnsemðrar skipan. þat er hit fímta at
sua sem guð er huerúttna allr meðr sinn almáátt í hinum meira heimi. sua er auðinn í sinum.
minna heimi. þat er í þllum likamsins limum meðr huerium sem einum sem verallldligum
manni. Maðrinn meðr sinni skýnsemð er æigi þa leidis skapadr lútr ok niðrleitr sem skýnlaus
kuikendi. er hanslikams vóxtrettr forme raddr vþp til himinsins sua sem sivalfan hann
aminndandi at hann hafði á þann haatt sin hug skotz augu ok skilningar vit til himneskra luta
sem hans likamleg augu ok skilningar vit ok a siona veit vþp til himinsins. hann var ok þa lítlu
stund sem hann stoð í meinleyþis stett ok skýldi þuenlega verit hafva vtan alla pínliga angist
ef hann hefði æigi misgort. þuiat honum skýldi huarki hungr ne þorsti.æigi kulði ne hiti æigi
erfíði ne nökkur haatrar krænkleikir angrat hafa. Eigi hefði hann ok þurfí likams dauðann at
ottaz þuiaf lifandis (p33) likamnum skýldi hann flutz hafa til eýlfírrar dýrðar. æigi hefði hann
ok þurfí klednat at hafa ok þo hefði hann þar af enga skammfýlling fengiþuiaf engan kendi
hann þa uera sinn leýndalim helldr enn hofúðið hendr þet. Maðrinn hefði þa getinn uerit vtan
alla sýnd ok sui uirðu enn þeðdr utan allra sutar ok sáárleiks.
De sprac God de make wi den man
Nu merct ende verstaet hier an
(315) tote wien seide hi maken wie
der persone so siin drie
de drioudecheit spreect ghemeene
dits den mensche ene here niet cleene
dattene god makede met voerrade
(320) al maecti met siire ghenade
al de andre creaturen
hine sprac niet van hare naturen
alse hi tote des menschen dede
Nochtan was hi ghemaket mede
(325) Na der zielen des gods ghebelde
dit was den mensche groete welde
Na den lichame wildit horen
heit hiis vele te voren
want hi es van meester werden
(330) den besten staet dat oeft ter erden
Ende den mensche te hemele waert
Jn drien saken openbaert
God des menschen weerdechede
dat hi niet alleene mede
(335) Ghemaect was omme hertsche welde
Maer na der zielen gods ghebelde
Dander es als ic erst seide
datter god sinen raet toe leide
Ende seide maken wi den man
(340) de derde waerdecheit der an
dats dat hi ghemaect was alse here
van allen dieren met groeter ere
dat sine voeden na den sonden
Ende cleden souden tallen stonden
(345) Ende helpen sinen ade Rijmbijbel eit draghen
vor de mesdaet hoer ic ghewaghen
Gaf god den mensche ende den dieren
vrucht tetene van manieren
want derde brochte niet dan goet
(350) Mensche marc of du bes vroet
du heues verloren in den meesten
dine herscap in den besten
an draken ende an liebarde
an tigren ende an lumarde
dit was groete waerdechede
an die minste hef stu mede
Ghewelt verloren om diin lieghen
dats an messien ende an vlieghen
an die middelste hefstu ghwout
(360) om dat tu marken sout
dattu here alteoes wars bleuen
der beesten atstu niet begheuen
tgebod dat di god gheboet
dus vielstu in groeter noet

X. De institutione conjugii

(24) Et benedixit eis Deus sic: Crescite et multiplicamini... De homine vero, ut de caeteris
dixerat, non dixit: Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum, quia in proximo sciebat lapsurum, vel quia
nondum homo perfectus erat donec ex eo fieret mulier. Unde et post legitur: Non est bonum
hominem esse solum.

Stjórn

(p33) ok epter þat er guð hafði sua skapat þau blezaði hann þeim ok sagði sua. Genesis. Uaxit
þit ok fólgliz ok fýllit ðǫrdina ok stornit henni. drottnit ok siофarins fískum. himninsins
fuglum ok ðllum þeim kuikendum sem rørar á iardríki. scolastica hýstoria. þar sem guð sagði
sua vaxit þíðok fíolgiz huat er æigi metti verða vtan þeira samblandan þa skapadi hann
hiuskap milli karlmanzz ok konu huar af er þeir villu menn eru af sinni sogn aptr setter ok
suivirðer sem þat sogðu at sambuð milli karlmanz ok konu metti alldregen uerða utan sýnd ok
sáðu hááska

de Rijmbijbel

(365) God benedide den man
ende seide deese woert der an
wasset ende wert menech vout
dit woert dat men ghescreuen hout
Gaet jeghein die buggheren die spraken
(370) valscheлиke in haren traken
dat huwelie te gherestonde
Ne mach weesen sonder sonde
die daet waent hem weert suauer pardoen
God en hiet noint sonde doen
XI. De quiete sabbati et sanctificatione

Igitur perfecti sunt coeli et terra. Conclusio est hic operum, quia creati, dispositi, ornati, igitur perfecti…Complevit Deus die septimo opus suum quod fecerat…si complere est finale quidpiam operis facere, quomodo verum est quod sequitur: Requivit Deus die septimo etc. Verum est quod diem septimum fecit et ipsum etiam benedixit et post requievit. Vel complevit, id est completum ostendit, cum nihil novum in eo fecerit, et tunc requievit ab operum generibus novis. Nihil enim post fecit, cujus tunc non fecisset materiam ut corporum vel similitudinem ut animarum. Non enim quasi fessus dicitur quievisse, sed quia cessavit, sicut in Isaia dicitur quod seraphim requiem non habebant dicentia sanctus sanctus, id es non cessabant. Vel requievit ab opere vel in operibus, id est non eget operibus suis, et est dictum quasi negative. Vel requievit ab opere in semet ipso, id est a mutabilitate operum ejus immutabilis appatuit, nam stabilis manens dat cuncta moveri. Quod autem dicitur ab omni opere, quod patrarat, innuit esse opus quod nondum fecerat a quo nondum quiescit. Tria enim opera fecerat: creavit, disposuit et ornavit. Quartum opus propagationis non desinit operari. Quintum faciet, et praecinget se, et transiens ministrabit, ubi praecipue erit requies. Et benedixit diei septimo, id est sanctificavit eum, id est sanctum et celebrem eum esse voluit. Sember enim ab aliquibus nationibus ante legem etiam dicitur Sabbatum fuisse observatum. Hujus observantioam in lege etiam dixit sanctificationem, ibi: Memento ut diem Sabbati sanctifices…
þat er á hinum .vij. heims alldrínun þeim er engan hefuer aptaninn věnti huerr sem einn gödr madr sier at þui eylifrar dyrdar epter hardla göd .vij. pada verk. þat er epter .vij. dagha vmldna ok skili sua huat er þat hefuer at þyða er guð huilldiz a hinum .vij. degi af þollum sinum verkum.þuiat sialfr hann vinnr alla l þa goda luti medr oss sem ver giorum. ok af þui er þat rettlegha sagt at hann huiliz. þuiat epter þoll þessi verk man hann þersum medr sialfum ser efenlegha huilld veita. de genesi. 3 Blezadi guð þa ok helgadi hinn .vij. daghinn. þat er sua at skilia at hann skapadi at sa dagr ùrri haleitr ok heilagr halldinn þuiat òa honum lette hann af þoll verki sinu þi sem hann hafði þa skapat. scolastica hystoria. þat sem seger at guð huilldiz á hinum .vij. degi af ollu verki sem hann hafði fyllt ok framit. þa têêz ok syniz þat verkit sem hann hafði þa enn æigi gort af hueriv er hann lietter enn æigi eðr hiliz. þriu fyRsqoð verk hafði hann þa gort. skapat skipat ok skreytt. hit fiorða hans verk letter alldregin af sua lengi sem hann lætr mannkynit aukaz skapandi ok samtengandi huers sem eins sâál sinum eiginleghum likam. hit fimta man hann fremia annars heims synandi þa þollum godum mon num sialfs sins asionu sem þionandi madr sedandi þa ok semandi efenlegha meðr sialfum ser i himinriki.

de Rijmbijbel

(375) God sach al dat hi adde ghemaect al waest goet ende wel gheraect Uulmaect es nu hemel ende erde Ende al hare sierheit met groeter werde Des .vi. daghes verwldi mede (380) al werc daer hi neerenst toe dede Ende ruste up den .vij. dach Niet dat hem eneghe pine verwach Maer dat hi siin maken liet Jn sulken ne market niet (385) hine maect noch alle daghe vele dincs dins ghene saghe Maer hine maecte niet hier na Sine materie die ne was daer Ghemaect of hare ghelike (390) an adame was sekerlike die materie van aldên lieden dit willic an siin vlesch bedieden van sinen vlessche esset al dat es ende was ende commen sal (395) Ende mensche voerme heuet ontfaan van der zielen suldi verstaen dat daer ghene ziele af cam Maer wie so vlesch van hem nam
XII. De creatione animae protoplasti

(26) Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae…Ad carnem enim spectat quod dicitur: Formavit hominem de limo terrae. Ad animam cum dicitur, inspiravit etc., Totum enim hominem animavit, sed faciem tanquam digniorem, quia sensuum capacem, solam nominavit. Eamdem autem animam etiam spiraculum vitae vocat, quia per eam homo spirat et vivit. Et post dicit: Animam viventem in se, id est in perpetuitate vitae viventem, non mortabilem, ut animam pecudis…

Stjórn

(p47) Genesis. at guð drottinn formeráði mannzens likam af iardárennar leiri sem fyR var saght ok bles lífs anda af engu efni skapaðan ihans asionu ok þar meðr allan líkamenn. ok sua euard maðrinn til lifandi sálar ok skynsemdarskilningar scolastica hystoria. Her hið fyrsta sinn kallar bokin guð drottin edr herra. þuiat hann hafði sér þa þionustu mann. þenna stað skildi plato vrettlega segíandi guð hafa skapat audina at (p48) eins. enn engla gort hafa líkamann. Suá má þat ok æugi standa ne fyrer satt hallda sem sumer segia at þöndin se giór af guðlegri ueran ok under stóðu. þuiat þa màatti hun edr madrinn meðr engv moti misgiór. 
Madrenn var ok skapadr arosknum alldri ok fullkomnum dauđlegr ok udaudligr. Puiat at hann màåtti deyia ef hann skyllðaði til þers sem raun berrar åkok hann màttverit hafa udaudligr sem fyR var sagt. Fra sellifis paradis ok huersu almattigr guð skipaði hennar blom strum.

de Rijmbijbel

God maectene als hier voren steet
(425) van der herden van den lime
Na den vlesche eist dat ic riime
Ende die ziele maecti van niete
weet veel dat hi achter liete
de wareit die niet ghelouieden dies
(430) de lettre spreect dat hi in blies
hem den leuenliken gheest
dat bediet recht alre meest
dat hi die ziele sende in vat
plato dolde in deeser stat
(435) die edelste clerck van ogher name
die seide dat ten lachame
die inghele maecten ende god den gheest
dat segghen sulke hebbe ic ghevreest
dat de ziele ware meede
(440) ghemaect vander goddeliichede
ware dat waer sone mochte dan
Niet ghene sonde doen de man
Niechtemeer dan onse here
Noch oec steruen nemmermeere
(445) DE man was ghemaect vander moude
dat merct. recht in manlierk oude
welkommen in crachte in wìre jueghet
wl maect van leeden in sulker dueghet
wilde hi tghebot gods niet begheuen
(450) dat hi mochte eweelike leuen
vede Rijmbijbel rake hiit oec doer eneghe noet
Dat hire omme smaken soude de doet
Duus was hem wìll ghegheuen
Weder hi steruen wilde ofte leeuuen
XIII. De paradiso et lignis ejus

Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradisum voluptatis a principio... Unde alia translatio habet: paradisum in Eden ad orientem. Eden hebraice, latine deliciae interpretatur. Ergo idem est paradisum voluptatis quod paradisum in Eden, id est in deliciis... Producxitque Deus in paradiso de humano diversa ligna, quibus delectaretur homo vedendo et sustentaretur edendo. Producxit quidem, id est procul in altum duxt. Vel produxit, id est pro homine duxit. In medio quorum tanquam digniora posuit lignum vitae et lignum scientiae boni et mali... Stjórn

(p48) Sællifis paradis hafði gud plantat fra upphaði. þat er á hinum þridia degi þa er hann bauð at iorðin skylldi lbirtaz ok friofaz sem fyR uar saght ihueria er hann flutti ok setti manninn er hann hafði skapat åt þeim velle her åt vaarre byggilegur ìørðu sem campus damascenus heiter. þenna stað let hann auðgaz ok alskipadan verða meðr allzkyns ynnileghum uïði ok allðin treom þeim sem þedi voru manninnum lystilegha fôgr at sia upp åt set a bergia. milli huerra er hann skipadi þeim tueim treom imiðtri paradis sem agiçtaz voru af õll- um þeim er annat het lifs tre af þeire natturnu er þat hafði meðr ser. þuïat sá á maðr sem optsinnis çti af þui màátti æigi deyia likams dauða. æigi siukleik elle edr nøkkurskyns angist fàá. Enn annat uizkv tre millem göðs ok íllz. þuïat fyR enn maðrenn átt þar af kunni hann fyrer þann skylld enga grein á illu at hann hafði þat æigi áårð profat. þuïat annat epterléti köllum ver gött.scholastica hystoria. kenthaði adam þo þegar þersa fyR sagda ílla lutí af sinni vitru meðr nøkkurur moti í sialfis sins samuizku enn æigi meðr nøkkurí raun edr profan upp åt þann háttat sem gödr lekner þann tíma sem hann heill ok under stendr annars (p49)mannz krankeik ok sáá hin sami lêkner skír hann þo allt eins gîorr meíR þann tíma sem hann hefer hinna sama krankeik a sialfum setet. þuïat da er þredi at hann skír ok kenner at sua sem sa smasueinn sem hann er vírðulega ok fagrulegha upp þéddr veit æigi driugum skyn a illu. ella mekiz u hlyðni rettlegha fyrer illt enn hlyðni fyrer gött þuïat sua sem hann hafði etid af þi sama tre,þa uissi hann huersu mikit gött hlyðnín máåtti ok huersu mikit illt vhlyðnén stetti.

de Rijmbijbel

(455) God die milde es ende wiis
die maecte dat paradyss
ten derden daghe doe hi vt
Comen dede borne ende cruut
al daer die weertl es an beghin
(460) dat es ten oesten no meer no min
al daer heuet hiit gheseet
het bescriuet die helhege weet
dat et es die scoenste stede
die es onder den emel mede
(465) beede bi berghen ende bi landen
vte onser wanderinghen ghestanden
Jof so gheuest metter zee
dat man ne ghewonne nemmermee
Noch ne gheen came in de stede
(470) Met neghere bendechede
het was toter manen oech
Bedi bleeft vander loeuien droech
Jnt paradys sette onse here god
alt hout want het was siin ghebod
(475) dat scone was ende smaken soechte
omme dat den man ghenoeghen mochte
bede de smake ende dat up sien
jn die middewarde van dien
setti hi des leeuens hout
(480) dat heuet die cracht ende die ghwout
die de vruucht et soe mach hem gheuen
ghesonde ende langhe leeuen
Oec segghen sulke boeke meer
dat hi mach leuen emmermeer
(485) bedi sette hi oec der binnen
den boem die goet ende quaet leert kinnen
dat heuet bedi de name ontfaen
Om dat doe adaem adde mesdaen
daer an dat hi maecte tquade
(490) ende van den goeden vel in scade

XIV. De fonte paradisi et quatuor fluminibus ejus

Et fons vel fluvius egrediebatur; ad irrigandum paradisum, id est ligna paradisi...Qui fons dividitur in quator flumina. Unus dictus est Phison...hic circumit terram Hevilath, id est Indiam, et trahit aureas arenas. Alius dictus est Gehon vel Gihon vel Igion qui et Nilus...hic circumit Aethiopiam. Alii dup primis nominibus vocantur Tigris et Euphrates...Hic vadit contra Assyrios...Euphrates frugifer vel fructuosus de quo per quas transiret regiones, quasi notum, tacuit Moyses, quia est in Chaldaea...

Stjórn

(p 49) genesis. 10 Ein harða fógr upp sprettu ødr ødr brunnr gekk vt ok flaut af þersum
hinum ynniligzta stad paradis at ðøggúa til friouanar ok auaxtar ðíll hennar tre ok þersi sama
uppspretta skiptiz þaðan ok isundr greindiz i fiorar hinar sterstu hófut áár er menn hafa sogur af. 11 heiter ein phison ok õðru nafni ganges af gangaro indialandz konungi. þuiat hon kemr þar framm ok fellr vm þat sama land. 12 finnz þar ok fez betra gull enn i õðrum londum ok ein hinn dyrasti steinn onichinus.hun skiptiz ok medr ymisleghum litum sua sem hon er i ymissum londum edr stóðum þuiat i õðrum stæð er hon skier enn i õðrum ruglat ok blandin. J annan stæð er hon litil enn i annan stæð mikil ok dreifiz uیدa. J õðrum stæð ken er hon kólld. enn i audrum heit. Enn phison aa bresku. er flockr upp inoröðnu. þiat hon fylliz ok aukaz af þeim x. aam sem ÿsem falla i hana. 13 Aunnur heitir gyon er fellr bæði um blåland ok egipta land. Ok heitir hon þar nilus. Genesis. Capitolium 14a Hin þridia heitir tigris er fellr um austan uert þat land. er mesopotamia heitir. ok allt moti þi landi er assiria heitir. Scholastica hystoria. Capitolium Tigris heiter eitt hit skiotazta dyr. Er þersi aa fyrir þann skylld af sinum stridum straumí. ok fliotum fors faullum kallað tigris. Genesis Capitolium 14b Hin fiorða er eufrates. er fellr um uestan urða mesopotamiam ok allt i kalldeam huaðan er Abraham er kyniadr. Scholastica hystoria. Capitolium þessar iiij. áár flota ok framm renna af einni upp sprettu sem sagt uar. ok skiliaz þa fyrrst enn sidan koma saman nockurar af þeim. skiliaz þa enn anna tima þuiat þær uikia ok uenda sinni råás optliga nidr iórðina koma sidan upp i einum ok ymsum stóðum ok londum. þpañ af er þat at eigi hafa allir eina fra sögn huar þeira uppspretta er iuarri bygggligi uerollu. Sua segiz af sumum monnum. at ganges komi upp æigi fjarri fialli þi sem caucasus heitir. Enn nilus næri þi mikla fialli sem athlans heiter. Enn tigris ok eufrates af armenia. Genesis. Eptir þat flutti gud mannin i brott af þeim stæð. sem hann hafði skapað hann. ok setti hann ìphann enn ynniliga stæð paradis. at hann skylldi þar uera ok uinna. eigi nockurs kyns erfídi helldr ser til lysstiligrar näringerar. ok hann skylldi hennar geymati uera enn gud beggia þeira. Capitolium augustinus. Su uinna uar hardla lofðamlig.en eigi erfídis saum þuiat manzins á stund-an ok uinna i huilld ok kyrreleik þers sæla lífs sem ÿnguan bídur dauðann. er at geyma þat ok hirða sem hann helldr upp åá.

de Rijmbijbel
de fonjetja daer ic er af liet
die dor dat paradys al vliet
Gaf al den boemen saeps ghenoech
[ende al der plaetchen int gheuoech]
(495) die deelt haer daer in vieren riuieren
de namen salic u visieren
fisons. ende ganges eet die eene
die lopet endi duere alleene
men vint gout in hare sant
(500) tdbeste dat es in enech lant
Gion of nilus comnt ghelopen
dor dat lant van ethyopen
al dus eet dendre riuiere
tygris de derde. eufrates. dits vier
dat si lopen hare verde
Ende springhen vte eere andre stad
die boeke bescriuen ons dat

XV. De praecepto et prohibitione edulii

(28) *Tulit ergo Deus hominem* de loco formationis suae in paradisum scilicet terrestrem *ut operaretur* ibi, non tamen laborando ex necessitate sed delectando et recreando, et sic Deus *custodiret illum*, scilicet hominem. Vek utrumque refertur ad hominem, ut scilicet homo custodiret paradisum et operaretur, ut dictum est…*Praeceptique et dicens* ets. Ut homo sciret se esse sub Domino, praeceptum accepit a Domino. Omnis autem jussio est in duobus, in praeceptione et prohibitione, et ideo utroque usus est Dominus. Praecepit: *Ex omni ligno paradisi comede*. Prohibuit: *De ligno scientiae boni et mali ne comedas*. Et datum est viro mandatum, ut per virum etiam transiret ad mulierem. Vel forte est praecoccupatio, quia facta muliere utrique simul datum est. Subdit autem poenam, si contemneret: *Quacunque die comederis, morte morieris*, scilicet animae et necessitatem mortis habebis…

*Stjórn*


*de Rijmbijbel*

God droech den mensche van der erde
(510) dat hine adde ghemaect werde
jnt paradys om dat hi woude
dat hi der in werken soude
Niet der in pinen dor de noet
Maer ghenoechte hebben groet
(515) Ende dattene god soude wachten mede
Ende zee. man die eleghe stede
Gods ghebot hem wildit weeten
van alre vrucht soe soutu eeten
Sonder die es an den boem
(520) Die goets ende quaets leert neemen goem
vp wat daghe dat dur af eets
Sprac got hic wille dat tud weets
Dan soutu daer naer steruelic wesen

XVI. De impositione nominum animantium principaliter et mulieris formatione

Dixit quoque Deus: Non est bonum hominem solem esse: faciamus ei adjutorium ad procreandos liberos quod sit simile illi. Similia enim de similibus naturaliter nascuntur. Sed ne videretur Adae superflua mulieris formatio, putanti sibi in animantibus esse simile, ideo adduxit Deus ad Adam omnia terrae animantia et aeris…ut imponeret homo eis nomina, in quo scirent eum sibi praeesse et sciret Adam nullum ex eis simile sibi. Et imposuit eis nomina Adam lingua Hebraea, quae sola fuit ab initio. Quod inde perpenditur, quia nomina quae leguntur usque ad divisionem linguarum Hebraea sunt…

Stjórn

(50) Eigi er manninum gott edr gledilight at hann sèè ein saman. gerum honum fulltingiara sealfum honum likan. 19 Nu sem guð drottinn hafði skapat ok formerat òll iardnesk kuikendi ok þar meðr fiska ok fugla. þa let hann aull þau koma fyrr adam. ok at (51)hann skylldi sea ok segia huersu hann uilldi huert þeira heita þiat þat er huers kuikendis nauð allt til þersa dags sam adam gaf þi talandi upp aa ebreska tungu þuiait hon ein uar fra upphafi allt til tugna skiptis. Fyrir tuenna sōk let guð aull kuikendi fyrir aadam koma, at hann giði þeim ìnòfn. þa adra at þañan af mætti þau uita hann uera sinn formann ok stjornara. Enn þa adra at hann sèi þat uissuligha. at þers haatar kuikenda uar sealfum honummm likt. ok honum uar fyrrir þa sók konan naudsynligh.

de Rijmbijbel

Doe seide god te ant na deesen
(525) dat de mensche weesen moet
alleene dan nees niet goet
make wi hem oec bedi
hulpe die hem ghelieic siiEnde met dien so brochte god
(530) voer adame na siin ghebod
alle voghele metten dieren
van lichte van lande van riuieren
Ende al dat men vint in der zee
Ommme tue saken ende nemmee
(535) dat hise noumen soude daer
Ende hi weeten soude voer waer
dat siin gheliic na den lechame
No der sielen daer niet ne came
daer gaf hem doe adaem de ionghe
(540) name na ebreusche tonghe
die deerste was van allen spraken
doe deede god na deesen saken

XVII. De somno Adae et formatione mulieris de costa ejus

(p30) Cumque obdormisset tuit Dominus unam de costis ejus, carnim scilicet et os
et aedificavit ministerio angelorum illam in mulierem, de carne carnim de osse ossa faciens,
et statuit eam ante Adam. Qui ait: Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea...

Stjórn

(p51) þaa let gud þilikt sem suefn ok enn helldr nockurs konar umegin fälla aa adam. ok I þersu sama umegni. truiz at hann hafi andliga leiddr uerit. ok upp numinn til himinrikiss. hirðar. þiat sidan er hann uaknaði. uar hann fullkominn. ok sua framr spaa maðr. at hann spaði fyrir samband iHistoria Scholasticau xpristi. ok heilagrar kirkiu. ok þat hit mikla floð er uarð aa dógum noe. ok þar meðr eigisdir him efzta dom. er fyrir elldinn skal uerða. ok sagði alla þersa lutu sinum sunum. 21b Ok sem han uar skapadr tok guð brott af honum eitt hans rif. ok sua mikit kiöt sem þii til heyrði. enn let kiöt koma i stað rífsins. 22a ok skapadi konuna fyrir englanna þeonostu af þi sama rífi. Gorandi hennar likam af kiötinu enn beinin af sealfu rífinu. 22b let hana sidan koma fyrir adam 23ab ok þa sagði hann sua. þetta bein er nu af minum beinum. ok þetta kiöt er af minum likam til tekít. Scholastica historia. Af þersu hinu litla orði .nu. fengu iúðar mikla uillu ok uantrú. er adam sagði sua. þetta bein er nu af minum beinum. þiat segia at hann gerði nu adra konu. ok taka adams ord sem sua hafi hann talat. Hin fyrri konan uar gor medr mer. af molldu ok leiri. Enn þessi er nu gör af sealfs mins. likama. Hegoma þeirok liuga margar ættar tölur fra .ij. hans husfriyum. Enn þeira uilla ok hegomi audsynuz af sialfum texta genesis. þar sem iafnan talar einfalldeliga af einni hans husfru.

de Rijmbíbel

Eenen slaep comen in adame
al heuet die dine slapens name
(545) het was al onmachte van sinne
daer wi gheloeven dat hi jnne
die emelsche bliscepe vernam
want dat eersten doe hi bequam
profetiseerde hi segghen clerke
(550) van ihesus ende van der elegher kerke
Ende voerseide der loeuien ganc
Ende doemesdach te voeren lanc
dat hi met brande soude comen
dit seidi siinen kindren somen
(555) yn deesen slope te deeser stede
Nam god eene rebbe ende vlesch der meede
Ende maectere af .j. wiif alleene
vlesch van vlesche been van beene

XVIII. De nominibus mulieris

Et imposuit Adam uxori suae nomen tanquam dominus ejus et ait: Haec vocabitur virago, id est a viro acta, et est sumptum nomen a viri nomine, ut materia de materia sumpta fuerat…Imposuit ei et aliud nomen, Eva scilicet post peccatum quod sonat vita, eo quod futura esset mater omnium viventium…

Stjórn

(p52) Gaf Adam henni þa nafn sua sem hennar herra. 23c ok sagdi sua. Þessa skal kerlingh heita. þiat han er af karlmanninum komin. uard þetta fyrir þa sok hennar eiginlight nafn.

de Rijmbijbel

Ende setteese voer adame
(560) dat hi hare gheuen soude name
hi sprac dit vlesch ende dit been
es van den minen ende al een
virago sal mense noemen
dat luut van manne comen
(565) aldus hiet soe voer de sonden
maer daer naer in corten stonden
doe soe de sonde adde ghedaen
so hiet hise. eua. saen
dat woert mach men dus bedieden
(570) dat soe was moeder al der lieden
alst kint ter weerelt comet vt
So es des enapelins eerste luut
.a. ende des meiskins .e.
dit ne faeiliert nemmermee

XVIX. De prophetia Adae …

(p30) *Et erunt duo in carne una*, id est unientur ambo in uno carnali opera, vel erunt duo in carne una, pueri gignendi. Non enim ex sanguine uno sed ex sanguinibus concreatur parvuli caro. Vel licet sint duo personaliter, erunt tamen in conjugio una caro, in aliis duo, quia neuter habet potestatem suae carnis.

*Stjórn*

(p52) Ok þegar eptir spááði hannsua segianði 24 fyrrir þenna skylld at hon er sua til komin. man margr madr fyrrir lata sinn fôður ok moður ok samþegiaþ sinni husfru. sem einum part af sealfum ser. ok manu þau ij.ura medr einn likam. af þi at af samblandingh beggja þeira blodd byrias barnit;. Ok huarki þeira hefir medr ollu eitt saman ualld yfir sealfs sins likam.

*de Rijmbijbel*

(575) doe adaem dwijf adde ghenant profeterde hi alte ant Ommme dat soe es van minen liue sal de man volghen siinen wiue moeder ende vader begheuen (580) Ende daer naer so es bescreuen jn eenen vlesch sulsi tue weesen huwelic voerseide hi na desen doe euæ ende adaem waren ghemaect waren si bedegader naect

XX. De statu innocentiae eorum ante peccatum

(p30) *Erat autem uterque nudus, nec erubescebant…*

*Stjórn*

(p52) Huartueggia þeira adams ok hans husfru voru medr ollu navckuit utan alla skammfylling. sem fyrr uar sagt. Hugdu þau fyrir þau sauk ònguan hlut aà ser hylia þurfa. at
kendu aungua þa girnd eir freistni medr ser sem þau þyrfti at staudua. sua sem uer skamm
fyllumz eigi huerr sem ser oss aa oss hòfuð ok fòtr.

_de Rijmbijbel_

doe eua ende adaem waren ghemaect
waren si bedegader naect
(585) Ende sine scaemden hem niet
Maerct dat men dit an kindren siet
sine scamen hem niet eer entujnt
Eer hare nature sonden kint
dus waest van euen ende van adame
(590) dat sii waren sonder scame
Historia Scholastica, Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel: Analysis

The prologues

Stjórn Prologue

This book was translated on the initiative of the crowned king, Hakon, from Latin; it is called The Flower of Holy Men. Prologue.

As is the habit and expected from the power of emperors and in the (family of) royal house(s), they have three distinct and separated houses. The first of the king’s houses is that where he sits to give judgement or conferences, and keeps law/justice between men. The second is the one where he eats and feasts his men. The third of his houses is that which he has for his own private peace and where he sleeps. In this way our King/Lord that rules with his own power over the winds and the worlds, this earth as that house wherein he holds his council and converses and keeps justice between men. Where all things are arranged according to his power and will. Because of this he is called what he is, our lord, as David says in the psalms: The earth and everything on it belongs to our Lord. Spirit and heart as every righteous man has, that is as the peaceful house and private hideout. So that it gives him much pleasure to be/behave properly together with his men as is written. From this conversion and private abode it is, that he who is called bridegroom in the holy writ and trustworthy writings, he uses as halls and private guesthouses to feast in, where he is giving such mild guidance that from this they are made to be more gentle as is told in the Psalter. In the same way/in a corresponding way is the house of God. That is to be understood thus: In the holy writ all the same things are separated in the same way, from which he is called master. The same guesthouse, being the holy writ of God, has three parts or sections, that is: foundation, walls and roof. The story itself is the foundation of this Gods own house and guesthouse. The explanation of the holy writ, that tells us what to notice in every one of the works in the story, is these walls. And the interpretation is the roof, that enlightens us on the interpretation of the works and deeds that the story holds, that are teachings to us, which has been told us.

Now that our worldly lord, Hakon, king of Norway, the crowned, son of king Magnus, has had this book, that is named The Flower of the Holy Men, translated into Old Norse, as entertainment for wise men that can not grasp or understand Latin, it is valid and tells about the holy men and their ways and of mass-days. In this way he wanted that the good men be filled, at his own tables, from the thesaurus/ riches of the hall and guesthouse of God, that is of the holy writ with some entertaining, (to) get true knowledge from this wise explanation without it being much pain/compulsion. From which sacraments or suitable Sundays and other of the offices/ times that is held, that is the property of other holy men, especially sung for God himself. He will then let this be read openly in his own guesthouses where he feasts
his best men, in front of all god men from this house of God. That is from the holy writ, with which he soon wil make all his men courteous.

And as the one translating this in Old Norse (“Old Norsifying it”), knowing the poverty and ineptitude, this work adapted more into itself on the decree and request from the before mentioned worldly lord, as he well knew that here was much inequality and ineptitude, he asks that all good men to forgiving in all the things that he (the compiler) has said (here) in this (that is) unsuitably.

This work has its origin and its foundation from the before mentioned hall of God. That is, from the story itself and not from it explanations or interpretation but is rather having the same foundations. That is, the beginning of the writing, belonging to the first, Genesis, and later things that happened, thereby some things (which) belongs to other books as from Scolastica Historia and Speculum Historiale from his own request both for reading and enlightenment (/regulation).

**de Rijmbijbel Prologue**

Father, Son and Holy Spirit, one God without beginning, give me help and fulfilment and grace in my mind that I may find the words, beautiful and good rhymes that I may bring forth what is in my passion. Mary mother of grace, you have given many (people) advice, comforted by your serenity. Help me Lady with peaceful prayer, that I achieve the elevated spirit that gives me power/energy and ability, which help me the most. Then I am not afraid to produce pretty rhymes of the talented I have wanted to translate into Diets /vernacular. I want to translate Scholastica in the vernacular from Latin. Lady, you must now busy yourself with being my comfort in my pain. Notice, what you here shall read, how it will be useful. Here men will find no faults or lies, no deceit of wrong words. But pretty rhymes and true wwords, how the time has come forth/ how time has developed since the beginning from the world and to the time when it happened that Jesus Christ, who accepted humanity/took on humanity (on himself), rose to heaven. I find rhymes to be entertaining and also true teaching. The nuts that on the outside are bitter and have hard shells, are like this story, remember that well. Men can barely get through with their teeth to get to the sweetness on the inside. The bitterness from this talented (work)/ spirit, is the wisest and greatest. From the length (of it) men could hardly understand it, this is the bitterness from the husk. The hardness of the shell is that no one, bad as it is, may understand what the words did, the sweetness comes from that people understands it correctly and to love it. And to know the truth well, and that the words taste so good to him because it is about the truth, so that he gladly listens to it. Because this can never give a loss. Listen here how God created the world, lit the firmament with stars, decorated the air with birds, set the fish in the water, decorated the earth with the animals and with herbs from (different) species. And how he finally made the human, when he had made him
everything he could wish for. But first now you shall pray together with me to God, through
the truth of his knowledge that I turn to poetry, forgives me that I have meddled in such
things, that made me make light of it for the hearts and minds and worldly things.

And to the mean persons that always again and again and at every moment is prepared to
criticise my words. You mean people, hear and notice, you cannot stop me. You have begun
far too late, it is stupidity that drives you. Your evil I think, harms no one but yourself in your
mind. You have a heavy mind, you look thinner and paler, because the one that serves fro the
eyes and betrays behind ones back, with this evil you are together with Judas (a pair with
Judas). If you have the jealousy (that) I would write poetry and enlighten me with your critic
and through punishing me, then you shall not be able to delay it. Because of this I start. May
God clear my mind. Notice, I want you to really know/see, this is the beginning of all time.

Analysis

The writer of Stjórn does not seem to doubt his mission, or that he has chosen the right
medium, prose, in which to inform his audience. He shortly and to the point informs us that
this book was translated on the wish of the honoured king Hakon “the crowned”. The causa is
thus at first sight only the will of the king, but this will come to change further down the
prologue where the king is compared to God – or rather, God presented as King. The writer
informs us that the text was translated from Latin from the book known as heilagra manna
blomstr, ‘the flower of the holy men’. This also seems to work as a short auctoritas, as the
work the originally would be written by a holy, presumably wise, man. Later in the prologue
comes another claim, when we are informed that the crowned King, son of the late King
Magnus, has had the translation made. Beside showing the genetic line of the king (a true
king, son of a king) this is maybe to be interpreted as that the son continued the wish of his
father, which was known to have been a religious man, seeking education on these matters. It
could be that the double indication functions as a sort of extra auctoritas. The importance of
the work is shown through the fact that not one but two kings stand behind its translation.

The writer also informs us that the translation is made skynsom munnum til skemtanar, ‘for
the entertainment of wise and reasonable men’, and the writer continues, that are not able to
understand Latin. An important point seems to be made here: a man could be both wise and
reasonable even though he lacked the ability to understand Latin.

Then follows what seems to be the reason given for the importance of the work, the utilitas, or
everyday use. Following the Historia Scholastica closely, the audience is informed of a
parallel existing between the King’s court and the Heaven of God. Just as it is the custom that
the King has three different houses, for different uses, our God above too has different spaces.
In the Royal court, men will expect a house where the King is holding court, keeping the
peace between his people and serving judgement in conflicts. There will also be a house where the King eats and feasts his men, a guesthouse. The King will then have a third house, and this is a protected house where he can be alone with his thoughts, where he can find rest and where he can sleep. The courthouse where the King keeps peace is to be compared with this world that we see, here everything is to be ruled and taken care of according to the King’s will. The title of King is now given to God above, giving the same honorific to both the earthly king and the heavenly at the same time, presumably stroking the earthly royal ego. Anyway, this is the reason why God is called Lord, as David tells us in the Psalms, because he says “The earth and everything on it belongs to the Lord”.

The third and private house at the king’s court is comparable to the inner life of every man, where he has his emotions as in a private and protected secret room. But the second royal room, is the room where the king veiter sinum monum veizlur, the guesthouse where he holds feasts for his men. This room is comparable to the Holy Bible. There the King, the heavenly one, gives his men the mild and loving guidance that results in that the men are more able to become temperate and mild, as is said in the psalms of David.

The holy number of the trinity is echoed in the description of heilaghi guðs ritningu, which is the house of feasts a.k.a. the Holy Scripture. This house of God is, as mentioned, compared to the guesthouse-building at the Kings court, and as this house has its foundation, walls and roof, so has the Holy Bible. The storyline itself is the foundation. The interpretation, telling readers what it is that is important to observe in every part in this story, is the walls. And the explanation of the interpretation, giving insight in the works described in the storyline, is the roof. This part of the prologue is a very close translation of the short prologue of the Historia Scholastica.

As God rules above, the king rules below. This seems to be the underlying meaning when the kings are introduced as the agents behind the translation, for the education of wise men without knowledge of Latin. The king’s men will be introduced to information about the mass and the sacraments in a way that will be entertaining, so that the instruction will not be experienced as painful but appreciated. Here we seem to encounter the idea of vernacular instructions of the Holy bible as infotainment. Through having the translation read out aloud at court, the king shall influence his good men to think and to consider, and the king will in return make of his men a courteous people.

The writer continues with a passage that states that he who has translated this, sáá sem norenæi, ‘as being the one who Norsified it’, knows how bad it was, the poverty and wretchedness (of his work? of the Norwegian language? Of his own Norwegian? Or actually of the mores of the country?), but this work has been adapted with extra information, as the above mentioned honourable lord (the king, thus) seems to know that there are differences in
the educational level (of his men). The king also seems to expect that every good man staying at court shall wish to be educated on the matters mentioned in this work. Here the listeners get both another utilitas, the use of the work is to edify; as well as an important motivation to keep listening, because it is the mark of a wise man and, just as important, the wish of the king. The writer gives some of his sources, the first he mentions apart from the Bible is the Historia Scholastica.

Nothing from the prologue of Historia Scholastica is translated or even in the slightest reused in de Rijmbijbel. Van Maerlant has written an impressive prologue, but he has clearly not seen anything useful in the prologue of Comestor. Much of his prologue consists of prayer, first a humble prayer to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, enich god sonder begin, ‘one and only God without beginning’, that He may grant him help, support and perseverance and the grace to find the right words and the proper (pure!) rhymes to present what he has to say. He then asks of Mary the merciful that she helps him to find the right mood, as she is known to be the one who gives advice and comfort to the masses. The bard needs to find an inner source of power, an eleghen geest, ‘the talent and equilibrium’ to present the text in vraie rime, ‘beautiful rhymes’, as he translates this text into dietsche, ‘the vernacular’. The writer goes on to inform the reader or listener that it is (Historia) Scholastica that he wishes to ontbinden, translate from Latin. The word ontbinden directly translated means something like “unbind”, make loose, here from the bonds of another language.

He directs himself directly to Mary, mother of Christ, and asks her vrouwe, nu moeti hu bewinden troest te sine in mjne pine, ‘Lady, you must make it your work to comfort me in my pain’. This could be a subtle reminder of their common ground. He too, as she once was with Christ, is in the pains of labour. Mary was giving birth to Christ; in the medieval period by the way often referred to not only as the son of God, but as the Word of God; while van Maerlant is “giving birth” to mundane words, i.e. the new text we are here reading.

Seeking the support from Heavenly agents for his undertakings not only shows an appropriate humility in the writer, but also seems to indicate that the causa; that the real reason behind the work-to-be-presented, is God and His will.51

The writer then turns directly to his readers. “Note, the one who is going to read this, how useful this will be. Here men will find no faults and no lies or fantasies. Here will be found beautiful rhymes and the truth about how time has unrolled from the beginning of the world and to the moment when Jesus Christ climbed up to heaven after having lived as a man”. Thereby van Maerlant has already given a short summary to what will come.

51 Compare, for example, what Minnis says about Ulrich of Strassburg in Medieval theory of authorship, p.162, “that the efficient cause of his Liber de summo bono was the Holy Spirit who speaks in us”.

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He next states why he has chosen to write the text in a rhymed version: *hier vindic rime
dachcorthinge/ende daer toe ware leeringhe/der noten gheliict dese ystorie/dat meerct wel in
dewe memorie,* ‘I find rhymes to be a pleasure, entertaining (“making the day shorter”’. This is
by the way a direct parallel to the Old Norse word *skemtanar* that the compiler of *Stjórn* uses,
which also could mean *tidtroyte,* “making the time shorter”) and at the same time it is true
learning, as well as this story, keep that in your memory’ (or it could be interpreted as “it will
be well kept in your memory”) This texts can be like nuts with a thick and bitter shell, so hard
that men can hardly get their teeth through them, van Maerlant continues: they give a bitter
taste and make for long chewing but inside is the sweetness of wisdom. In his work, however,
the listeners will come easily to the kernel of this sweet truth and will come to love and
remember the story. This will be a text that people will wish to listen to (again and again) and
they will never lose anything in listening to it. This part not only excuses and explains why
van Maerlant has used a rhymed form to the translation of *Historia Scholastica*; it also
describes the *utilitas* – the continual use of the work. In modern day we would probably call
what van Maerlant (and the compiler of *Stjórn*) wished to create *infotainment.* A difficult
subject is brought into your mind under your guard because you actually had pleasure in
reading it/listening to it/seeing it.

Van Maerlant then lays out an itinerary. This, he writes, is what you as reader will find: Hear
how God created the world, filled the firmament with stars and beautified the skies with the
birds, the fish in the waters, the earth with animals and herbs. And last, how He made
mankind after having given them all that they could wish for.

But first, van Maerlant continues, you, the reader, must *sonder vursten Gode met mi bidden
mede dat hi mi dor dese warede die hic dichte van siere weet vergheue dat hic mi besmet
hebbe in luegheliken saken,* ”without delay help me beg God that He, because I write the
truth, knows to forgive me for having meddled in these things”. We as readers are made a
living part of his translation, taking part in the work ourselves through our intervention on the
writer’s part between him and God. The writer also seems to predict that he will be criticized
for his choice of medium and translation “they criticize my work again and again”. He asks
God to destroy (!) these malignant people, and he speaks directly to his enemies, whom he
compares to Judas with their backstabbing. Their hatred will not hurt him, the writer, only the
critics themselves –see, they are getting paler and thinner!
Thoughts on the Prologues.

In this thesis I have chosen to accept the prologues as expressions of the intentions of the writers regarding the original works Stjörn I and de Rijmbijble. I have chosen not to enter into the discussion of the authenticity of the prologues, or their function in copied material. Instead I have regarded the prologues as expressions meant to influence the first intended audience’s reception of the text.

While the prologue of de Rijmbijble could be interpreted as humble and excusing, the writer asking the forgiveness of God for meddling with such an important matter as the Holy Bible, there is no meekness or humility to notice in the prologue of Stjörn I. Was humility really an expected trait in an academic prologue to any studies, let alone sacred material, or does it suggest a less academic approach? We know from mainland Europe that the humble approach was still used in the late 14th century, so there is no reason to think that it had “gone out of fashion” in the span of thirty of so years that lies between the writing of de Rijmbijble and Stjörn I. On the other hand, the writer of The Historye of the Patriarks, not to mention Comestor himself, has also left all humility out of the prologue. Can this be a question of cultural adaptation? Van Maerlant wrote for a continental audience and had been the tutor and chaplain at the small court of the count of Voorne, even if he is thought to have left this position at the time he was writing de Rijmbijble, to live in Damme in Flanders. Could it be that the formula of expression differed between the courtly cultures of Voorne and Flanders and the courtly culture of Norway? From the tacit, rather self-assured way the writer of Stjörn I express himself it could seem that he was in no great need of heavenly support – or at least that any such need was not to be expressed publicly.

Both writers seem to aim at making the Holy Bible not only understandable but digestible and entertaining for lay people, even if it is possible that their respective idea on intended lay audience was very different. A pleasurable way of learning is however explicitly mentioned by both. But while van Maerlant possibly aims at a wider audience, the writer of Stjörn aims specifically at the king’s good men. This was presumably an exclusive group. Not only are these men to be educated for the good of themselves, but they are to be formed by this education into more courtly men, developing temperance, for the good of their king. Besides showing great expectations in the effect of his work, this could be taken to indicate that both courtliness and temperance were in short supply at the receiving court at the time. That the compiler of Stjörn writes that he has translated “The flower of holy men” indicates that his main source may have been some sort of an anthology, a florilegium. A curious fact is that in the Dutch of today, the word most used for an anthology is “bloemlezing” – the reading of flowers.

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52 van Oostrom, Frits. Maerlants wereld, p 137.
Analysis of the main body of the translations

I. De creatione empyrei et quatuor elementorum

Stjórn

Here it is told how God almighty created heaven and earth and how Lucifer opposed with his arrogance and jealousy against God himself, and how God the Lord honoured the angels who turned to him in unchanging and eternal love in heavenly glory that is without end.

In the beginning God created heaven with all its angels, and it was immediately filled with the heavenly power, principally between all the things he created, and earth, that is to say mixed and disordered material for earthly main-creations; fire and air, water and earth as the seed and underlay for all bodily and visible things. Heaven was immediately created and decorated with countless crowds of holy angels and other heavenly and invisible powers that the church fathers and the holy writ tells about and explains with spiritual interpretations.

So that the things from long ago was with such words and in other manners made understandable between our bodily and mortal men, and made into stories. Explaining writings are the ones, which is primarily created and made in such a manner that they are perfectly fitted to (give) salvation, and turn a soul to peace so (that) there is no mind which would not turn to love and hold God almighty. But not often the spiritual nature is (there) in the same degree as the body. They were then too not yet perfected souls because they did not know their following fate/adventure. They then (afterwards) needed nothing except a perfect love of God and they loved him naturally above all other desire, they forthwith glowed with (love of?) himself and/but foremost from his presence. And with friendly love they loved (him) the most so that they wanted to be best (most good).

Now that Lucifer, one of the foremost angels, created, decorated and ornated before (the) others; that made him imagine (that) his beauty and being the foremost (was) his nature/fate and (with) wily wisdom he turned and acted in such a manner with his vainness that he wanted to be equal to or better than God himself. Because of this he separated himself from truth/reality at once in the same moment, and with this, in offence of all decency and eternal souls, so that from this he got no taste or knowledge of. And he fell in such a manner that he could demand the souls that had served him but not the ones too that God may have give to him if he had wanted to be obedient to him, so that he became all over/ inn every way smaller and lower because of his irreparable damage and fault, because he sinned from no other incitement than temptation. And as he fell he dragged a great manifold of angels with him, the ones which agreed with him and sinned themselves.
de Rijmbijbel

God made in the beginning the heaven, and with this too all the angels. The scripture names the heaven “Empyrius” as its correct name. That is where the angels began their existence, and he also made the earth. By the word earth, in the writings, all of us here understand that with the earth comes everything that lives on the earth, and everything that grows from her and that returns to her. This is too, and this is (most) wisely taught, (that) the material of all animals, all sorts of herbs, from trees and also the flesh of Adam, was brought forth there on the place. But didn’t God also make, he did afterwards and listen how: The four elements, water, fire, earth, air, they were here already made, on what men calls the earth. Notice the reason why, the world and the time is equally old, this truth tells us our saviour/ the holiness.

From nothing God made in the beginning the heaven and the angels in it. And the other elements too. The earth was from nature not to be divided from its beauty, therefore the scripture calls it priceless.

Analysis

Comestor is here concerned with the matter from which God created the heaven and earth, he created it with Verbum, the Word; and how Plato, Aristoteles and Epicurus all had stated the origin of the world incorrectly, because they claimed that matter, or atoms, were part of the beginning (and not the Word of God). He is also concerned with the aspect of eternity, that God, his world and the angels are eternal, and gives a short abstract of what is to come; the creation in six days, in three different strands of work; creation, ordering and adorning.

The writer of Stjörn chooses to inform us of the beginning of heaven, not earth, in a more practical way: that God created heaven and filled it with heavenly creatures and earth, as yet just the four elements in their respective pairs: fire and air, water and earth. The compiler of Stjörn then introduces the literature of the church fathers and the holy script itself, explaining the properties of religious books aimed to enlighten and elevate the souls of men. He goes on to inform us in more detail on the angels, beginning with Lucifer and his fall from grace.

The chapter continues for another three pages, not translated here, with information on the good angels and the names of some of them; Michael, Gabriel and Raphael. About Michael we are also informed about his four main tasks: he is a fighter of dragons (i.e. the enemy himself, the devil); the helper of the people of God: the collector of good souls; and the prepositus and leader of the heavenly paradise. According to the notations of Astás, this is taken from the Speculi Maioris of Vincent de Beauvais.

Van Maerlant too states that God first made the heaven and all the angels, and the ground-material that later became earth and every living thing on it: the four elements. He echoes
Comestor in telling his audience that the world and the time are equally old, but does not mention the aspect of eternity. He also informs us that the correct name of the heaven is, according to the bible, “Empyrius”, and that God made it all – heaven, angels, the elements beginning and therefore named priceless, may be seen as an etymological pun, as the word used for priceless, *edel*, is spelled *ijdel*, giving the clue for its intended pronunciation. The word is then *not* pronounced “eeedel” as it would be today, but as “ei-deel”, which means “not-divide”. Categorizing words etymologically after how their sound corresponded with traits in what they symbolized, was a usual medieval technique.\(^{53}\)

Both translators have mainly ignored the other information Comestor gives us, and none of them introduces the philosophers – Plato, Aristoteles or Epicurus – at all. One reason for this could be that they knew (or suspected) that their audience would need too much explanation to be able to use information on how these three thought about the beginning of time and how this was all wrong, seen from the fact that the true beginning was the Word. Actually neither the compiler of *Stjörn* nor van Maerlant introduces the Word at all. Was the thought of the beginning of everything in the form of a mere word, thought to be too complicated to be of practical use for their respective audiences? The creation of the angels and the four elements are present in both translations, though they have not gotten this from Comestor on this point. Astás indicates Augustinus and Vincent de Beauvais as the sources of these parts of *Stjörn*. The dramatic fall of Lucifer, and the position of Michael as fighter and leader seems to be highlighted by the compiler of *Stjörn*. Maybe the intended audience of *Stjörn* was thought to need these dramatic happenings as a further incitement to listen to the work, and more than anything, to accept the “spiritual interpretations” of the church fathers? It is good for the soul, we learn, it turns the soul to God – and gives salvation. Possibly the audience of van Maerlant was considered to already acknowledged this, because they are instead informed that the earth, and every living thing on it, is made from the same material. As a comparison, *The Historye of the Patriarks* does give a clear and concise information on the three philosophers and how they were wrong: they all thought that materia already existed, from the beginning, and that God used *materia* to create the heaven and earth. As we know, this is wrong and it all began with that God, in his three persons, said one word. How one word could result in two things (heaven and earth) is also explained.

\(^{53}\) Stoffers, Manuel, *De middeleeuwse ideënswereld*, p 323.
II. De primaria mundi confusione

Stjórn

Genesis 2a The earth was desolate and bare without any decoration. From scolastica historia. That is to say as before mentioned that the work made on the world was invisible, desolate, after what Augustinus says in his before mentioned book. Thereto God created for all things a special form, every one (of them) in their own place and rank. From genesi 2bc And it was dark from airily shadows and uncleanliness everywhere around the world, and the holy spirit of God also floated over the waters. From scolastica hystoria That is (what is), as said before above, the worlds finished work or material with/from his own will, and because of the thoughts of the following creations the finished work of the world or materials is for that reason called earth. Other times (it is called) abyss and sometimes waters, it is that it seems to belong to more (parts/properties) so that there is not only one name given to the main creation, because that was then immediately called heaven and earth. That the heaven and earth were created from this. For this reason the earth was said to be invisible and unordered/chaotic, and darkness (was) over the abyss, that she was then without all following forming, and she had then also no perceivable form and could not be touched/ felt if it had been any man there to try to do this. The same finished work (was) called water, because that it was without resistance and pliable, as (was) from this subsequently created things, and on the other hand/ on the other side that all the things that are fed/born in the earthly kingdom, every one, is it creatures, growing forest or growing grass and such things, all take from moisture and from water (their) nutrition and their forming.

de Rijmbijbel

And covered in darkness. The scripture tells that the Holy spirit of our Lord, which men shall understand as the will of God, this was carried on the water. These words may please us, because they mean and tell us about (in the future) the baptism men now use/pledge one self to.

Analysis

The compiler of Stjórn states that the earth was bare and desolate, but with form – it is not formless. It was just not touchable or visible, even if, the compiler ads in a leap of thought, there had been any man present to try to see or touch it. Airily shadows cover it, and uncleanliness. The first creation also has several names. Water, though pliable, is central as everything on earth thrives on or in it. (These comments could come from Comestor’s short discussion on the fact that the spirit of God floated over just one element, water, and that in other languages the spirit floated over other things, but in the notations in this edition of Stjórn, made by Astás, it is indicated that Augustinus is the source). The Spirit of God is
actually left hanging over the waters. Comestor’s comparison with a craftsman building a house is not used, but the compiler of Stjórn does state that all material was already in existence. He dwells on this, that the materia/materials of the world, as the start of all following creation, already was in place; and on the understanding that as he saw it, the world was created but still not really created, as the real creation happens on the first day of creation. His solution is, as we have seen, formidable: it was already created but still invisible and untouchable. He does not translate what Comestor wrote on the discussion among scholars of the darkness was already there before the beginning of time, and that what God did was to create light.

Van Maerlant is very short and to the point here, just telling us that in the darkness, the spirit of God was “carried on the water”. But he does inform us that the Holy Spirit is to be understood as God’s will, just as Comestor says. Van Maerlant then casts his net of imagination forward, and describes this moment of the Spirit floating over the water as the premonition or promise of the baptism of men, yet to come but present in the everyday life of his audience. Van Maerlant thus succeeds in placing the first beginnings of the world in his present day, with the connection between the Spirit of God and baptism. He does not linger upon the early forms of the earth or lack thereof, does not mention that there is a discussion on whether darkness is eternal and already existed when God created the light, and does not enter into the question of the existence of materials, or use the comparison with a craftsman. The Historye of the Patriarks on the other hand follows Historia Scholastica closely here, using both the discussion on the early existence of darkness, and a comparison with the materials of a carpenter.

III. De opere primae dici

Stjórn

From genesi.3 And God said thus: Be light. And immediately it was light there. 4 and he saw himself that the light was good and he separated that (and broke it) from the darkness. 5a and then gave the name that it should be called day and the dark be called night. From scolastica hystoria. As the light and darkness was separated was both sides on the command of God and from the fault and blame of Lucifer and his following of angels separated, so that for light is to be understood and noticed the angels that stood by and where affirmed in the presence and love of God, and for darkness the enemy is noticed/ meant and the ones that fell with him. They were all driven away, some entirely down into hell and some to the mist-filled air between heaven and earth but not so high that they have some pleasure and joy from the light.
but also not so low that they may do much temptation and much calamities to us as their will is and thus everlasting hellish pain follows them wherever they are.

From genesi And so it was evening and morning, both together (making/constituting) a natural day. From scolastica lýsoria. That it was two days, so that first as God created heaven and earth, he also made the light, as before is said. Now as that went down and decreased gradually then came from this (point) the evening of the first day and the following morning as we expects, and the same light going around the earth and then rising up in the morning. From augustino The before mentioned errant men/ heretics, called Manichean, say that the day had been ended by the evening, not that as the light was called day and the dark night, belonging to the day, and the evening, according the same work, (completed and) ended the day and because of this teaching the night belongs to its day. That means that a day is not over/ended until the night is passed and it has become morning (again). In the same manner days are counted from one morning to the morning the other/next day. So the night was (completed and) ended, and the second day began.

de Rijmbijbel

Then God with his word made the light as I have heard described. The word of God, which is the Son who redeemed us, that is the one that begot flesh in Mary. The light before the sun rose was a sky, clear and beautiful as the dawn on the firmament differing in light from the power of the sun, as the men of God tells us. Then God saw that the light was good and quickly separated that light from the darkness. Here on this place we understand that Lucifer and his crowd were obviously separated because of their unforgivable sins, from the angels that persevered. The ones that kept standing (by God), the book calls the light and the ones that fell, and rightly, could well be called darkness. Then God called, as men reads, the light by name and called it day. The time when darkness lay, our Lord called by the name of night. And this was as we have observed, a Sunday and the first day ever to smile upon the world.

Analysis

The compiler of Stjörn quotes Genesis, and then goes directly on to the separation of the angels, connecting the good ones to light and Lucifer and his followers to the night and darkness. He describes how the followers of Lucifer are driven away, some the whole way to hell, but some, not so evil, is placed in the grey and misty regions of heaven, to low to have any pleasure of the light. This seems to be taken from a later chapter of Historia Scholastica. He then translates Comestor in the description of how light dwindles and comes back, creating a new day, and then goes on to discuss when the beginning and the end of each day is. Here he agrees with Comestor: a natural day is from the morning, through the day and following evening and night, ending with the coming light of the following day. Not, he says,
quoting Augustinus, as the heretics, the Manicheans, thought; that the day ends with the evening and that the following night belongs to the coming day. This is presented as a known truth and actually informs us how the days of the intended audience, their time and culture, was counted. Considering that as there was no clocks to count midnight from, as we have today, this seems entirely logical as beginning a day from 00.00 as we are doing, was hardly feasible.

On his description of the first day of creation, van Maerlant, at last, introduces the Word of God. This Word made it light. Was van Maerlant perhaps one of the persons (mentioned by Comestor as being totally wrong!) that thought that the darkness was eternal and already existed, and that God only created light in an already eternally existing darkness? That could maybe explain why he did not use the discussion on this topic from the text of Comestor. Van Maerlant seems to have found that the information of the Word was more fitting here, at the beginning of the first day, maybe because this is when we see that there are results coming from the words (or Word) of God. Again he connects the early days of creation to the life of Christ, and Christ, van Maerlant tells us, is the Word of God made flesh. This was of course a widely spread image in the medieval period, mirrored in both literature and pictures, among others with pictures of baby Jesus sleeping in a crib made of an open book. That van Maerlant repeats the image here makes it all the more plausible that the birthing of the Word Christ was what van Maerlant had in mind when he, in his prologue, reached out to Mary, mother of Christ, for support in his own pain.

Van Maerlant also describes the light that God now made, before the sun has been made, just as Comestor did. Probably because this could make you wonder: there was light but no sun yet? It was however a light like the sky at dawn. This, men can relate to. Van Maerlant too tells us about the sorting of angels, as does Comestor, and about how they are connected to light and darkness according to if they stood by God or fell from grace. Van Maerlant informs us that the first day was a Sunday – which is natural as the day of rest is the Jewish Sabbath on Saturday. Both translators are true to the main core of the first day, the creating, separating and the naming of light and darkness, and seems to agree that the day came first, continuing into the night. None of them translates what Comestor writes on the names of day and night, taken from the Greek words. The translator of The Historye of the Patriarks, as a comparison, tells us that God willed light to be made (through the Word) because he wanted “all things to be perfect and pleasant. (None of “our” writers seems to have considered the reason why God would create light – and darkness – in the first place!) The translator of The Historye of the Patriarks also declares that evening was created first, and then day came out of the night, while Comestor writes that God introduces the light gradually, letting the first day unfold into the evening and first night.
IV. De opere secundae dici

Stjórn

From when God created the fixtures of heaven on the second day and separated the waters. The second day God created the fixtures of this world-half, so that heaven was immediately in place, created, decorated and filled with holy angels who there were created as said earlier. Then he made the firmament, says the people who has explored this and have some knowledge thereof, and with this he separated all the water that he wanted to stay in this world from that which was over him (/the firmament), it is so strong and compact as crystal or the hardest smooth ice that does not get minder or melt from any heat from fire 6 and he said this From genesi. Let there be a firmament between the waters and let this separate the waters from each other From scolastica historia. 7a God made the firmament in the main form of a tub/barrel so strongly put together and fastened that it has all the fixed stars and just a clarity in itself as crystal so it curves a little, comparable to a rounded eggshell, and separates so with this the water that was under him from that which was above him. Then he made under the firmament other heavens bearing the same name, and Heaven (the heavenly kingdom) itself. And why God wanted water to stay above the firmament only he knows, from what Comestor says, so that some men has imagined that sometimes rains comes from there. Augustinus says that whatever the water is exactly; and in which manner it is there, doubt in no way that it is there. So that the authority of the Bible (/this, what is written) is greater than all the intelligence and investigations of human interpretations and thought. genesis 7c and quickly it became so 8a God then gave him the name of heaven. From scolastica hýstoria So that heaven in this also means cover, because it covers and conceals for us all the invisible things. From genesi 8b and then on this subject it was evening and morning the second day. scolastica hýstoria Hebrew men says that the angels on this day became enemies even though this gives no place (sitting) for judgement of this so that the work of this day is (as) good as the one God did on the other days. Then there is that in any way none of these specially reads that God saw that it was good. Which they seem to agree in who teaches (/are used to?) to sing masses in praise for the angels on Mondays, they who were affirmed in the service of God. And the holy teacher holds the second to be truer and because of that it leads all into separation and disagreement. Still (it is/was/became) a double (/split into two) case from what was one, and because of this the before mentioned languages /eloquent speakers accepted it (as having) more care (/study) and valuable interpretation /function. May it too be obvious from the words of our Lord that the angels has fallen on the first day, as he himself says, there where he himself speaks of this between other things in the gospel of John, that he was a murderer from the beginning and he was at no time affirmed in the truth. It must be said that his work of the third day are grown out of the work of the
second day as later must be seen/obvious. Then this (the second day) is not praised as (the) others, before on the third day, when it is ended and completed.

de Rijmbijbel

The second day it is known that God made the firmament. In the middle of the water he made a clearly formed shape like a bowl, firm and hard as crystal. It is known that the stars are set in this firmament. It is named firmament because it holds everything firmly together. And it also holds the waters above it with strength so it does not fall down. Why it (the water) is there at all, I can only say, that no one knows but God our Lord. Without that such people say in their teachings that the dew comes from this. He has named this the firmament says the book, the heaven by this name, because it, all seen together, already stood as a heaven over the world, water, fire, mountain and valley.

Analysis

The compiler of Stjórn follows Comestor in his description on the fixtures and the firmament, describing the firmament as being hard as ice and not melting from any heat. Just as Comestor he likens the form of the firmament to an egg, a rounded eggshell to be more precise, and its material is compared to crystal. But he also has another description and likens it to a tub or barrel, one that is very well put together. He mentions that God created other heavens, all with the same name, and the Heavenly kingdom itself. Skilfully braiding Augustinus, Genesis and Historia Scholastica together, he concludes that one does not know why God wanted water to be held above the firmament, if that maybe was, as men says, to have for to use as rain. Anyway, the compiler writes, the Bible has more authority than all the intelligence and investigations of humans (so whatever the reason, there would be one, a good one, one gathers). This seems to have been a necessary comment in his surroundings, as he opens the question especially, and then uses different sources to answer it, and does so with authority. He ignores the dip by Comestor into Greek words for heaven, but makes a strange comment: þuiaþ himinn hefer í þessum stað allt eitt at þýða ok hulning fyrer þa sok at hann hýr ok hirder fyrer oss alla vsýniliga luthi, ‘that heaven in this also means cover, because it covers and conceals for us all the invisible things’, which does not seem to make any sense etymological in Old Norse. He also ignores the turning of the world, and goes instead on to the discussion on why this day is not seen as as good as the other days. In this he quotes Comestor from later in the Historia Scholastica, on the subject of Hebrew men. They think that the angels became enemies on this second day, and that this was the reason why the work that day was not seen as equally good as on the other days. This, the compiler says, they seem to agree to, who sings masses to the angels on Mondays (and here we see, without that it is explicitly said, that he too agrees on that the work on the creation was started on the Sunday). But the compiler explicitly agrees with Comestor, and writes that the Lord himself tells us
that the angels fell on the first day, and not on the second. In consequence the reason why the second day was not praised before on the third day is, that this is when all the work on it was completed.

*De Rijmbijbel* too follows Comestor closely on the description of the firmament, but equals it to a bowl instead of an egg, firm and hard as crystal. He also explains the word firmament after the etymological practices of the time; it is called *firmament* because it is holding *firmly*. He sidesteps a discussion on the question of why God wished to have water above us by saying that this, as he has said before, only God knows. This actually seems to come down to the message in what Augustinus says but without the mentioning of human explorations. Some men, van Maerlant continues, say that dew comes from this (the water held above the firmament). The Middle Dutch word *dau* could in extension be used for moisture, thus it might be that it could cover rain as well. Van Maerlant then picks up on Comestors etymological discussion on the word heaven, but in Middle Dutch – it is called *hemel* because it already *gehemelt* (spans) the world.

Both translators follow what seems to be the main-thread by Comestor: the existence, form and properties of the firmament. Both makes a deviation into the question as to why God would have wanted to have water held above us by the firmament in the first place. None of the translators goes into the description of the firmament as an oven, reflecting sunlight, something which is translated in *The Historye of the Patriarks* in detail, while *The Historye of the Patriarks* on the other hand, makes no mention of why God would want waters above us, or mentions the withholding of blessings this day. Van Maerlant too ignores that the second day is not seen as as good as the others. The compiler of *Stjörn* seems to find this so important that he tells us of the idea of Hebrew scholars, thereby introducing more possible explanations for why the second day is different from the others.

**V. De opere tertiae dici**

*Sjörn*

*From this, that God let earth be born and thrive, and made the sea and the earth.*

Scolastica historia.

On the third day, God let the water that was under the firmament be gathered together in one place and the earth appear. Then he made four earlier mentioned main figures each with its sphere in the firmament after how it suited from how they were thick or thin. The sun (*eldinn*) was fastened to the firmament because this is the lightest/easiest. It is believed that the heavenly bodies/planets has been in a group/has been grouped together. The air is in its upper
part clear and in the lower part it has a lot of roughness from winds and moist mist and thunder, snow and lightning and other of these things that belongs there and that we have full experience of. Then (thereafter) the water where it is gathered drifting in the abyss, from this point it comes, as from a mother-source, to all the waters in the world via secret rivers/tunnels, and surrounds the world to the thriving and benefit of men.

At the bottom, he created the earth inmost of all of them, because she is the heaviest of them (weigh heaviest of them, measured against the others) as if (measured) on scales, and in the middle of earth setting a midpoint with all its extremely heavy soil and all sorts of ore. Granite and gemstones and all other kind of stones and as he began the work of this day he said thus: \textit{genesis 9c} Let all the water that is under the heavens be gathered in one place, so that dry land may be seen. And immediately this was done/ was so. \textit{From augustino}. So he separated and divided the seas in that pattern/manner as we now have, (with) this the invisible work of the materials of the earth that sometimes is called void earth and irregular, at other times darkness and abyss, over which the spirit of God floated in the earlier section. So as the earth is formed from the same materials, showing clearly in this case as it is now seen, and is both salt and sweet.

It may be that this water, that was veiled in some moist mist and which surrounded all the room and open space that is in the air, as with drizzle and light snow, captures in a small way that which on the other side (of the firmament?) is bond so strongly together. \textit{10ab} He called the dry land earth and the big gathering of water he called sea. And when the /work on the water/ watery work was finished /filled and had appeared/, Moses says that \textit{10c} this was good and well done and at the same time God added other work to this, \textit{11} and said he thus: \textit{From genesi} Let the earth grow and thrive with flowering grass, making its seed, and with fruit-bearing trees and all kinds of fruit thereby, making all its growth in the manner of its own, each with its own seed, shall be on the earth. And everything became so \textit{12a-c} that the earth immediately grew green grass with the best flowers and carrying seed of its own kind, and fruit-bearing trees with great harvest, each one having their own seeds in their own pattern/form. \textit{From scolastica história}. The earth did not bring forth its planting so slowly and time-consuming as now. Rather all her beauty and grace immediately was in place with its real (full) flowers and growth. It is also so that some men has discussed and explained upon when the world was created, as to our time(-measuring) So it is that flowering and growth from most things has (its) harvest time in the month of August from the earlier that the earth brought forth fruit-bearing trees with great harvest and grass with its seed. The very holy church has affirmed in its knowledge and teachings that it was created in the month of March. The same day God too planted the earthly paradise, the land that is called this, and which lies eastward (in the eastern part) of the half of the world that is named Asia. Here more than in any other land there is inhabitable land and for that reason the flood of Noah in
any case passed close by. And (he/God) filled it immediately with all kinds of desirable and
graceful fountains and with beautiful flowing waters, with earthly berries (and) flowers, and
every sort of the trees which was full of delight and pretty growth. Now that this was done
12d God say that this was all well created. 13 and then it became evening and morning and
the third day ended.

*de Rijmbijbel*

The third day we read about God that he with his commandments gathered the water that was
under the firmament in a reservoir/ gathered the waters. This revealed dryness. This dryness
God then named earth. And the gathering of water where all the water was together, he called
sea. Thereafter God experienced that it was good and said directly: I wish to give you (the
earth) herbs, and let her greenness appear, so that from this seed/grain may come. And I wish
trees to stand there, bearing apples (/fruit) each in their own manner. And fruit (/harvest) of
many kinds. Because his will must be done.

**Analysis**

The compiler of *Stjórn* describes how four “main figures” are made and fastened on their
place, here on the third day. In this he describes the creation of the elements, and how the fire,
maybe equalled to the sun, is fastened to the firmament because it is the lightest. Then air is
described, clear at its top-layer and rough and moist from thunder, snow and lightening, in its
lower part. The water comes next, gathered in some depth (an abyss, the mother-source of all
water, feeding rivers and the likes via secret tunnels) and for the thriving and benefit of men.
It would seem that he writes for an audience well versed in using the oceans for beneficiary
purposes, and for which the four elements were familiar enough to be interesting. The
earth/the element of earth, being the heaviest, is created “at the bottom”, inmost, of all the
elements. The hidden treasures of the earth, such as ore and gems, granite and other useful
types of stones are mentioned. The different aspects of the globe we know as earth are
mentioned, quoting Augustinus: it has hidden materials, darkness and abyss (the same
mentioned earlier, which God floated over, the writer adds) and is both salt and sweet. The
compiler of *Stjórn* is open to the idea, that the water that the firmament holds, may well be
what we see in drizzle, snow and other moisture on earth, and this he uses here (and not as
van Maerlant, with the creation of the firmament on the second day). For the creation of grass
and trees he quotes *Historia Scholastica*, embellishing it a little in telling that it did not grow
so slowly and time-consuming as contemporary crops, but sprung out immediately. He also
follows Comestor in the discussion of when this happened, compared to contemporary time.
The fruits mirror harvest time, August. But everything sprung up immediately, and the spring
is the beginning of all green, and the Church, is according to its teachings, created in the
spring, in the month of March. The creation of earthly paradise on this the third day is
mentioned, and first after this creational work the chapter is concluded with the words of Genesis.

_De Rijmbijbel_ is here, on the other hand, very much to the point. It relates only the bare facts of the gathering of the waters and the appearance of dry land, and how both was named by God, but adds an etymological item: why the earth got its name. *Earth* is called *aarde* in the Dutch from today, and often *eerde* or *(a)arde* in Middle Dutch texts, but as in other languages some dialects introduce an extra *h* in front of words and here this is made use of. Van Maerlant spells *aarde* as *harde*, equalling it to the word *hard*, thus explaining, without more words necessary, its name. “This dryness God then named *harde*.” Comestor too is, by the way, adding etymological explanations in his description of the third day, but then in Latin, of course. The herbs and trees created by God bear fruit/harvest of their own kind, van Maerlant continues, because his (Gods) will must be done. The importance of that the trees brings forth their fruit to be obedient to God, is also found in _The Historye of the Patriarks_, and this writer too, gives only the short facts of the third day, but also again adds that this was done because God wanted things to be perfect, profitable and pleasant.

**VI. De opere quartae dici**

_**Stjórn**_

**On the fourth day God created the sun and other celestial bodies.** From _speculo historiale._

On the fourth day God adorned and wonderfully decorated the heaven and all that with heavenly lights that he had made especially (before). (He) began with the upper half of the world making all the celestial bodies that was to (should) give the earth light, both night and day each after its own manner and clarify all times each with the manifold of their nutrition.

14 and (God) said thus: *Genesis* Let it be shining stars fastened to the firmament that they will clarify and separate each day and night, that they are signs, separating hours, days and years.

15 Let it be light on the firmament and let it light the earth, and immediately it was. *scolastica hystoria* Not only that God (lets) these shining lights that we names planets /celestial bodies be to beautification and usefulness to the world, but moreover as signs or marks, so that from them may be seen what is (if it is to be) clear weather or unclear (bad), nice weather or stormy. Or that from these (the stars) should be the 12 signs that we call star signs, that especially (has the assignment) to separate time, that is spring and summer, autumn and winter, and with them that what which we call solstice in winter and summer and the time of the equinox autumn and spring and also to separate days, weeks and months, years and age. *De genesi* 16 God also did another work, (he) made two big celestial bodies. That is the sun
that should, with its brightness, light the days. The moon is the planet that lights the nights. Moreover he made stars 17a and fixed them in the firmament, except the 7, with the sun, celestial bodies that are called planets. They wander and moves freely in the air and moves against the before mentioned heavenly firmament, there governed by its rounding and turning. He placed them there 17b for the reason that it, with the light that it has (that comes from) the sun, should light the whole world and separate light and darkness. scolastica história. Not only did God let both moon and stars especially lighten the nights so that it should not totally lack in beauty, as it would have if it was without light and lightness but also no less so that the men that are dying in the hours of the night should have help and comfort, and so too sailors and other travelling men and especially in Africa, in desolated land or sand-deserts where small winds erase and covers the roads were others have travelled. ýsidorus. There are some birds that doe not tolerate the daylight well. Noctua is one and also nocticorax. The reason it is called noctua is that it flies at nights and is not seen at any time during the days because as the day breaks his eyesight at once deteriorates. He is only on the island called Crete. And it is so that if he leaves there to other places, then he dies at once as he arrives there (to the other place). The bird that is called strix is also a night bird, together with several others, and most of them eats much (/mainly) at night.

Just as the sun was necessary and useful because its work made the sky bright and it filled its office as the light of the world, but also the same sky had little light and weak and no or little pleasure without the highest thing that now are shining stars. scolastica historia. There are different thoughts and opinions as to how the sky changes, one is that it returns/turns back (to what it was/changes?) to what it looked like/ was made as, as the star that visited the kings from the east. Or if that moves and follows the sun or if the body of the sun is made of the same. So it is also written that the sun was made in the morning and in the east, and the moon in the evening of the following night and in the east. But some people will say that they were both created in the morning the sun in the east and the moon in the west and that the time that the sun set, the moon vaults (up) the following night from the east. The holy Augustinus agrees with the first explanation in his earlier mentioned book about Genesis. It is also discussed between the ones that are called talkative and striding, asking about how the moon was first created, either as new moon, or the argument is of it was full or fourteen nights. That is because that it would then not have been decreased at that moment. None of the groups agree on all levels. Rather they walk among themselves talking flowering with total conviction, each of their (own) position, is it new moon or full moon, as well as (or) the fourteen nights, that God perfected. De genesi.18c And he saw for himself that it was well created. 19 It became evening and morning and the fourth day ended.
The fourth day our Lord made the sun and the moon and the stars that he sent and set in the firmament. Far beyond the stars the sun and the moon stays without fault. And all the planets too. The earth is on the lowest place seen from all the stars. And if men reads he finds that the moon is the smallest of the stars, still lighting us from far away.

The wise men say openly that the sun is eight times as big as the whole earth and the moon is just a part (of the size) of the earth, so it is described. The moon and the stars are given to lighten up the night because otherwise it (the night) would be ugly. And because the ones (sailing) troubled on the waters and the ones wandering in the desert, should be comforted by this. and most of all we are reading of Libya in the big sand, where a small/insignificant wind can blow (the sand) over the roads so that they are nowhere to be seen. Without the stars showing men how to find the way, no one could travel there. Nor would men ever find someone to travel the sea. Men too reads, that one can find birds that almost cannot stand the light from the sun. They must fly and seek food in the night and eat under the stars. Then you will have been informed that not alone because of its beauty or its light the sun, the stars and the moon are set in their place, but to give information on fine weather and also bad weather, because they separate day and night, weeks and months and the power of the years, spring, summer, autumn and winter. The ones who does not have a sliver of stupidity stinging in their minds can learn much from this. Understand the ones who can notice this that the sun was made in the east to rise (from there) as well. The evening after, not long after that she had set, God made the moon rise. And her light was good, this the masters correctly prove.

Analysis

The compiler of Stjórn uses Comestor in that God adorned and decorated the heaven with the heavenly lights – he had already paved the way for these creations in the previous day, when he described the making and placing of the elements. He then lays the ground for much of this chapter with mentioning the manifold of their neringhu, meaning ‘nutrition’, but also ‘their use’ or ‘what you can gain from them’ (maybe a concept akin to the “profitable” of the writer of The Historye of the Patriarks?). Quoting Genesis he tells of the creation of the stars and shows the use of them for men in separating day and night, time, days and years. The writer then quotes Comestor on their other uses, as to indicate clear or bad weather (or even stormy weather) to come, and making up the twelve star signs, especially assigned to separate time, spring, summer, autumn and winter, but also showing spring and autumnal equinox and the two solstices. They separate time in days, weeks, months, years and ages.

Returning to Genesis, the compiler tells of the creation of the sun and moon, and other planets, seven altogether (the sun and moon was traditionally counted as planets in medieval
society). These are not fixed to the firmament like the stars, but wanders freely in the air under the firmament, turning according to its rounded form. The writer of Stjörn also quotes Comestor on the use of moon and stars for beautifying the night and for helping sailors and travellers. But he adds to this list the task of helping and comforting men who are dying at night. The travellers in Africa are also especially mentioned, in desolated land or sandy desserts, where even small winds erase the roads made by other travellers.

He then quotes Isidorus de Sevilla from his Etymologiae, on the matter of birds. Here the writer of Stjörn of course also goes into the meaning of words, as that the noctua is called thus because it flies at night. We get some insight in the lives of this bird, its eye-sight deteriorates during day and it is only found on the island of Crete. If it ever leaves Crete, it dies the very moment that it arrives somewhere else! The strix is another bird mentioned, and as the strix-family is the family of owls, these must surely have been well known to Scandinavians under their Old Norse name, ugla, but this connection (strix – ugla) is not made in the text.

The compiler of Stjörn then opens a can of worms, in the form of a rather rambling discussion on the universe and, primarily, of the creation of the moon. Quoting Historia Scholastica in a later chapter, he writes that there are different opinions on how it comes that the sky changes. Does it turn back to how it originally looked as the star that guided the kings from the east did? Does it follow the sun? The sun, he writes, was made in the morning in the east and the moon was made in the evening also in the east. But, some say that both were created in the morning, the sun in the east and the moon in the west, to await nightfall. Augustinus, we are told, supports the first theory. Also, quarrelsome men are discussing how the moon was made, was it full or new? They never agree, each using their arguments with full conviction on their own position. Offering no suggestion for a correct view but leaving it at that, he ends the chapter with the final quote of the day from Genesis.

Van Maerlant too explains that God on the fourth day made the sun, the moon and the stars, and placed them in the firmament, claiming that the sun and moon, together with the other planets (their number is not mentioned), was higher placed than the stars. De Rijmbijbel takes the discussion from Historia Scholastica on the size of the planets, namely the sun, the moon and the earth. But while Comestor says that the sun is eight times the size of the earth and the moon and the earth is even in size, van Maerlant describes the sun as eight times the size of the earth but the moon just a part of the size of the earth. We then learn from van Maerlant of the purpose of the stars: To lighten up the night together with the moon to beautify the night, and to comfort and lead sailors, and travellers wandering in the desserts, the big sands, of Libya. There even insignificant winds can blow the sand so it covers up the roads, leaving men to navigate the dessert by the stars. Comestor is followed quite closely here, except that Comestor also specifies the comfort of the passengers of the sailing vessels, and that the
night-living birds are mostly in Ethiopia. In the same geographic place, groups of travellers need the stars to navigate through the sands.

The night-living birds are mentioned by van Maerlant too, these birds cannot stand the sun. They fly and seek food in the night under the stars. Van Maerlant ignores the more theological parts of Historia Scholastica, of the Holy spirit taking its place in the dove and in the star of the Magi, and instead continues with the practical uses of the stars and other heavenly objects, foretelling weather and separating the time into day and night, weeks, months and years, in spring, summer, autumn and winter. He does not touch upon the star signs or divination at all, and does no enter into any discussions on how the moon was created. The sun, he tells us, was created in the east, where it also rose, and the moon was made to rise as the sun set the following evening. No alternatives are suggested. Both the compiler of Sjórn and van Maerlant picks parts of the text of Comestor, developing other and different points each in their own directions. The help given to travellers in the deserts is interestingly enough mentioned by both our authors, even if none of them places it in Ethiopia as does Comestor. The compiler of Sjórn places it in Africa, while van Maerlant is more specific, naming Libya. The Historye of the Patriarks shortly retells the making of sun, moon and stars to separate time and help creatures labouring by night, foremost sailors and birds.

VII. De opere quintae dici

Sjórn

From that God created fish and birds on the fifth day. Scolastica historia and speculum historiale.

On the fifth day God decorated the air with flying birds and the water with swimming fish, choosing ability from the water to each one so that in (the) water they quickly (and) easily move as if it where thin (permeable) as air. In air too (they) move quickly and with suitable ease as if it thickens. augustinus. If these the most wise/educated men, who’s words this renders, should create any confusion or doubt, is it appropriate to know well that these the wisest of men, in their manner, looks into these things and explores this work meticulously with much vigil. The mist is thronged with water that the birds are flying in. So that the air is thronged and filled with the moistures and winds coming up as fog from all the earth and from the waters that very well suffers the flight of birds. From there comes such a great fall of dew at night even with clear weather that the grass is drenched only with this the same dew on the morning after, as everyone can see for themselves. It is also written in the most credible books and in /holy writings/ the holy scripture that there is the/a mountain that is called Olympus and stands on the Greek peninsula named Macedonia, and it is so enormous big that it from
that reason knows nor skies nor wind. Because the air where the birds fly in, there is so full of water, and for that reason say men, no birds fly there. And it is so wisely and knowledgeable arranged, that the men that are chosen for this used to, year by year, climb to the top of the same mountain to bring their offerings. I do not know exactly where, says the holy Augustinus. Then they wrote some strange things up there in the earth or dust where they all were found unharmed the year after they came (to be written) there. May that in no way happen/ this can in no way happen, as every knowledgeable man knows, (if it is not so that) there does not come nor wind nor rain. And because the air was much thinner than they liked, and (because) the situation with no gust of wind is against their way and their nature, so they withstood (it) in this way: with these wet mushrooms that they lay by their own noses, that is because these holds in thicker air that is more to their nature. They say they had not seen one bird there. So then says the most credible and believable writings sensibly that because it is (otherwise) unfair that not only fish and other creatures are floating in water but also (in the same manner/at the same time) flying birds has permanent seat/ a fast hold on water, from the reason that they may both/also beautifully fly in the air (as well as) because of that which rises and thickens from the earth and from the oceans humidity and moisture.  

**genesis 20** God then said: let the waters fill up with crawling creatures and the sort of birds fly under the fixed heaven above the earth.  

**scolastica hystoria.** The fish is here called crawling creatures because they are swimming lengthwise in rapid moves and too, that they easily move on their breast(stomach). These words confused the wise Plato very much, the time that he came down to Egypt and there read in the books of Moses that flying birds were led out over the earth he taught that Moses had then differed/understood/meant that flying birds only were the decoration and pride down by (/close) to the earth, and that good angels and bad had their home in the upper sky for decoration and beauty but that is not so. Because good angels are in heaven as before is said. And bad (angels) were chased away and roam (hidden) in the misty air, being themselves in eternal suffering and not the decoration or pride of anything.  

**Genesis.21** God also created big whales and other living creatures, and other similar sorts of fish what the waters should yield as its own gift, and flying birds all of its own kind. God saw that this was well created and blessed both the fish and the birds in this way, saying: Grow and multiply and fill the waters of the seafarer and multiply the birds themselves then over the whole earth. It then was evening and morning and the fifth day ended.

**de Rijmbijbel**

The fifth day God decorated growth and sky with great honour. The sky he gave what could fly. And what could swim went to the ground. Fish and birds, that is true, he made both as being from/ belonging to the waters there. God made everything on root, small and big, that is fed by water. And whatever walks and or flies, the one that says that he could make this, he
both lies and does wrong. This bad spirit gives sin. Then he blessed them because he wanted them to do his will.

**Analysis**

The compiler of *Stjörn* follows Comestor in that God decorated air and water. Comestor underlines how easily water and air flows, the one into the other, and the writer of *Stjörn* develops this, into that the ability of water was chosen to each of the main-species fish and birds, making them move easily in water, as if that was thin as air, and move easily in air as if they were carried by (the thickened substance of) water. With the help of Augustinus he explains this more in detail, assuring his audience that this is thoroughly investigated by the wisest of men. The air, mist, is filled with water, making it possible for the birds to fly, while in fact they are moving through water, just as fish, but in the sky. This water rises as fog from the earth, and this same water is the reason that the grass is drenched with dew in the mornings, even though the night has been clear. That is with no rain to account for the moisture. This everyone can see for themselves. Also, the compiler tells us, there is a mountain called Olympus in Macedonia, a Greek peninsula. This mountain is so high that it “knows neither skies nor wind” and because of this there is so little moisture up there that no birds can fly. The air is too thin, not thickened with moisture as it normally is. On a yearly basis men are chosen to bring offerings up to the mountain, and they survive their climb through breathing through water-drenched mushrooms, that helps thicken the air they breathe. These men have reported never to have seen birds fly there. Thus water is the natural habitat, seating, for both fish and birds, the latter (as said) flying on the moisture rising from the earth. Nothing of this is mentioned by Comestor. Via a quote from Genesis the compiler of *Stjörn* then moves back to *Historia Scholastica*, and tells us that fish is called *skridkuikendi*, reptiles, because they move sidewise quickly on their breasts. Comestor does however not mention that they move on their breasts but instead that they do not use legs. Following Comestor closely, the compiler tells about the confusion of Plato, coming to Egypt, reading the books of Moses. He then thought that Moses had meant that birds was for the adornment of the earth and that the air was filled and decorated with both good angels and bad (the compiler of *Stjörn* does not use the word “demons”, as Comestor does). But that is not so. The good angels are in heaven and bad angels were driven away, roaming hidden in misty air, being in eternal suffering and not a decoration for anything. It is obvious that we are not to think otherwise! It is a strange concept to us today that demons too should roam layers of the air, but Comestor describes this too, and he is the direct source here, so it must have been “common knowledge” in scholarly circles at the time.

Going back to Genesis, the compiler tells us about how God created big whales and other similar living creatures and flying birds, and how he told the fish to multiply and “fill the waters of the seafarer” (the birds to multiply and spread out over the earth). Again we are
shown both the blessing of God and the use of his creation at the same time. Dare we think that the seafarers’ waters were known to as well as important to the audience?

*De Rijmbijbel* shortly informs us that God decorated the ground and the skies, with birds given to the sky and fish to the ground level, the water. But both belong to the water, in fact, it would seem that everything is connected through the water or their need of water, because we are told that everything with a root feeds on water. No one can make these creatures (except God), and it is a sin to claim it. This seems a strange thing to write. Why would anyone claim to be able to create a fish or a bird? Strange is also the comment that God blessed them because he wished them to do his will, and not the other way around, that he blessed them because they already did his will. There is no mention here of “be fruitful and multiply” or of Plato, Moses or what is in the sky apart from birds. Also, none of the writers uses or adapts any of the thoughts which Comestor has, on how a living thing can have motion but not an eternal soul. It is possible that this was considered too difficult a material for the audience, as it seems to have been one of the great theological questions of the period.

As a comparison, *The Historye of the Patriarks* too has a very short entry, but it adds that God made fish in the water and birds belonging to the earth (and not the sky!) because the water and earth was “not yet fully arranged to the pleasure of mankind”.

**VIII. De opere sextae dici**

*Stjórn*

**From when God created leaf and grass and decorated the earth with all kinds of flowers and creatures.**

On the sixth day God (did the last decoration) decorated the earth at last. As the (one of) before mentioned four main forms (i.e. the elements) that are heaviest and lowest, all laid (out) in the world-half of the Lord, that is (under) Heaven. He had already filled the air and the waters with beautiful creatures and decorations. On this day he then created on the earth three sorts of creatures. One is livestock, that (is) what we call dairy cattle. Another is the reptiles. The third is four legged creatures like wild animals. Because God already knew that man would/could fall in sin, he created livestock for him to eat and to help and support him in his subsequent travails. Because *jumentum* means in Old Norse something like a helping creature. At the same day he also created the man to settle on this worldly earth that he had perfected and decorated beautifully, making him of two natures. The body of earthly soil, binding together in him the breath of life no other material than only his own almighty creating/creation. And as he began the work and creation of this day 24 he said this: *Genesis*
Let the earth bring forth and give out from it living life with its species, cattle, reptiles and four legged creatures, each with each own form/sort, and immediately it was so. 25 Thus God made all earthly reptiles each after its own kind. And as God the Father saw that this was well created 26 he said this to his own son and holy spirit: Let us make man after our likeness and image so that he governs over the fishes of the sea and the birds of heaven, four legged creatures and the whole of the earthly kingdom and with this all the reptiles that has life in the world. 27 Then God created man after his own likeness and image. He created both man and woman and the woman last as men will hear more about. Scolastica hystoria. Form three things may be noticed the special rank and honour/worth. This is the first, he was not only made of his own kind as the earlier mentioned creatures, but rather also in the likeness of God, which gave him an intellectual/a mental difference from all the earthly creatures. It is the image of the holy trinity with threefold form that makes a difference/ differs between the spirit and mind of man.

That is the mind, the sensible insight and for will and/as well as love, because these three parts are one being and one life/body as one man, just as three persons/BEINGS are in the trinity of God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and where all though are one God. The second is that he was made with premeditation, so that his other works God ordered once to be and they were. But in this (case) the three personalities of God, father, son and Holy Spirit spoke, so that it was premeditated and affirmed between them: Let us make the man. The third of (the signs of) the rank/regard and primacy of man is that he was made lord and king over other earthly creatures and that they should give him food and clothes and lighten his travail and help him after he had sinned. So that before the sin, God gave both man and other creatures, the growth of the earth for food because the earth then had no unfriendly things or something was made malicious. And this lordship he lost because of the sin, both over the biggest creatures and the smallest. Over the biggest, as the lions, so that he knows and recognizes that he has lost his power and lordship over them. And over the smallest like the birds so that he discerns and understands how helpless and wretched he is become because of it (the sin). Over the medium big creatures he still has power, as a comfort, and that he shall know this from it that he had the same power of the others before the sin. Speculum hystoriale. Together with these first and foremost before mentioned image of the holy trinity that the soul of man is, in which manner he is comparable to God together with holy angels, man too bears the image of God in .iv. (four) special ways/matters. The first is the lordship, wisdom and power that first was given to him. So that in the way God is the king and lord over heaven and earth and the ones that are in hell. In the same way man was king and lord over the creation, not only he before mentioned creatures but also all the land in the world as before is said. The second is respect for the origin, so that in the same manner that God is the origin/originator of everything because he has created it, is Adam the origin for all men, the first for the generations (for the reason of offspring). The third is, that just as some parts connects God and other things, so
comes much together with man and other worldly things, and therefore it is called micro
cosmos. The fourth is that as God is the end/exit of everything so man is created last of the
creation, he was created last because he was the first and foremost of all earthly
creation/things, created after consideration. The fifth is that as God with his omnipotence is
everywhere in macro cosmos, so is the spirit in his micro cosmos. That is in all the parts of the
body in one and all of earthly men. Man with his sense/insight is not made as the senseless
creatures, facing down (to earth). The proper form of his body is straight upp in the direction
of the heaven as if in itself reminding him that he has in this way his minds eye and senses to
heavenly matters just as his bodily eyes and senses can look up to the heaven/sky. He was
also that short time when he was innocent, without any pain and fear, and would have been
for ever if he had not sinned. So that he would not have felt hunger or thirst, nor cold nor heat
nor fear nor hard work or had any sort of sickness or sorrows. And he had not needed to fear
bodily death because he would have a living body for everlasting glory. He had not needed to
have clothes and had not had a feeling of shame, no more over his genitals than over his hands
and feet. Man had been bred without any sin and so born without sorrow or pain. After that
God created this he blessed them and said thus: Genesis. (May it/this) Grow and multiply and
fill the earth and govern it. Be lord over the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky and all the
other creatures that moves in the earthly kingdom. scolastica hystoria. Where God said “let
them grow and multiply”, (what is that) this cannot be without their union, so then he made
marriage between men and women. Therefore they are foolish, the men that from their
statements punishes and reproaches and says that intercourse between man and wife never
may be without sin and danger for the soul. Augustinus. There are men that asks how man
could have any power over the fish or birds, four legged animals and other creatures that must
die (mortal creatures), as we see many men be killed of many animals and many of the birds
are doing us damage, that we would happily escape from or gladly seize and nevertheless we
cannot. How could we take from this power over such things. In the first case, may they well
thus answer that they are greatly confused if they heed the standing of man in/as to he was
condemned to die from this living life after the sin. He then destroyed and lost the perfection
in which he was created, the image of God.

Now from the condemnation of man: (he has) the support, strength and can work so much
because he rules and controls so (very) many creatures. Cattle is one of them and many more
and even though he may, because of the frailness of his body, be killed by many of them, he
may also effortlessly domesticate many kinds of animals as he domesticates what is in his
kingdom/land, then thinking on that, which once long ago was newly made (new works) (or
nysidr= Christendom!) and gave us salvation, and on God himself for keeping his promises.
For the second part, all other creatures subject to man. Not because of the body but rather
because of the mind and sense that we have. And it has it so that our bodies are or have
become (made) so that it is to see on it that we are better than (the bodies of) other creatures
and because of that like God. Because the body of man is created straight, and upright towards the heavens as mentioned before. **Genesis 29** And then God spoke to them: See here/ this here that I gave you every grass bearing its seed and other special growth all over the earth and all of the trees, carrying their own seed in themselves and thrive in its own kind that all these things are for you for food and sustainment **30** and all earthly creatures, all birds of the heavens as well as (there by) all the earthly things that can move and has living breath, they may eat from this. And this was everything as he ordered. **31** God saw all the things that he had done and it had become very good. It was evening and morning and the sixth day ended.

**De Rijmbijbel**

The sixth day God decorated the earth and commanded that beasts/creatures where brought forth. He knew, know this without doubt, that mankind should fall but from his goodness he wanted man to have the animals to lighten their difficult lives. “Beesten”, note that this literally says that they are here to support us. Now men ask if the good God made the dangerous animals and gave them for the sins of Adam. I have found the reason already. All animals without exception were made to be submissive to man forever if he had listened to our Lord. But after the wrongdoing, as is obvious, they became aggressive and hostile and wishing to harm. Also because of the wrongdoing holy men says that the trees and the herbs that are no giving wax-fruit (inedible fruit) lost their potency from the sin of Adam.

**Analysis**

On the sixth day God decorated the earth as the last. The compiler of Sjtórn builds on his earlier laid foundation in his explanation as to why the earth was last to be decorated: it is the heaviest element, therefore it is placed at the bottom, and it is natural that God will come last to the lowest part. It would seem that this is a reasoning taken from a later chapter of Historia Scholastica, according to Astás. The compiler then follows Comestor on what he writes on the creations of the sixth day: God creates three kinds of animals: livestock, (that is domesticized animals), reptiles and wild animals. Because God already knew that man would fall in sin, he created livestock for him to eat and as help and support for him in his subsequent travails, the writer explains, and he even once uses the Latin word for livestock, *jumentum*, explaining that *huitat iumentum er vpp áá norænu at segia sua sem ein hialpadar skepna*, ‘this means in Old Norse something like a helping creature’. The compiler then shows us what will come, in telling that God the same day also created man to settle on this worldly earth that he had perfected and decorated so beautifully, making him of two natures: The body was made of earthly soil, but his “breath of life” from no other material than God’s own “almighty creation”.

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Quoting Genesis the compiler of Stjórn goes from the creation of cattle, reptiles and beasts directly on to the creation of man, not giving this a section of its own as Comestor choose to do, and the same goes for his thoughts on the creation of marriage. Both are embedded in the sixth day of creation. Here I have chosen to sort these parts under the headings corresponding to the Historia Scholastica.

Quoting Augustinus, the compiler of Stjórn then addresses another question: How can we say that man holds any power over fish or birds, four legged animals and other mortal creatures, when we see so many men being killed by animals, and that much damage is done by birds? And we cannot escape these things. How could we from this interpret that we have any power at all? It seems plausible, that the writer here primarily reflects on everyday situations, with livestock and horses and other domesticated animals (even today, as an example, the cow is said to statistically be one of the most dangerous animals in Norway, resulting in both damage and death to humans!) whose interaction with humans results in death. The damage done by birds also seems to have a possibly rural connection, maybe the writer is alluding to damage done to crops or newly sown fields? Well, he answers himself, it is confusing, but man has lost his original status due to his sin. And on the condemnation of man: he has the support and the strength, and can do much because he rules and controls so many creatures. Cattle is one of them, and there are many more. And even though he may, because of his frailness, be killed by many of them, he may also effortlessly domesticate many kinds of animals just as he domesticates what is in his kingdom. And also, all other creatures are subject to man because of the mind and sense that we have. Besides, our bodies are better than the bodies of other creatures, created straight and upright, and because of this also like God. In this way the compiler seems to give not only comfort, but a reminder as to what his audience has to be thankful for, and where their superiority lies. He could here easily have used the three reasons Comestor gives for the difficulties man face from beasts: that it is meant as punishment, admonition or instruction, but he chooses not to. In his confirmed pattern he ends the section of the sixth day with directly quoting Genesis.

Van Maerlant tells us that God decorated the earth and commanded creatures to be “brought forth”. God knew that mankind would fall, but from his goodness he wanted man to have the animals to make life easier, to support them in their future difficulties. This follows Comestor closely. Van Maerlant continues that beesten merct dit wordelike saen het si om dat sii ons bi staen, ‘the name given to them, beesten, literally says that they are here to support us’. The word beesten is pronounced very near to the word bijstaan, which means to support. He then gives the reason why God, being good, made the dangerous animals. It was because of the sin of Adam. Before his sin all animals were, without exception, made to be submissive to man, and they would have stayed so forever if only man had listened to our Lord. The sin is also the reason that we have fruit inedible for man, just as Comestor writes. None of the translators
goes into the three kinds of reptilians or the six kinds of insects that Comestor describes. The fate of mankind seems to be considered more interesting by both the compiler of *Stjórn* and Jacob van Maerlant. Neither of the writers here uses the thoughts of Comestor on the reason for the difficulties man faces with the beasts: that they are meant as punishment, admonitions or instruction.

Van Maerlant regularly uses etymological explanations, in Middle Dutch, but this section is one of the few where the compiler of *Stjórn* does that – and he then uses a Latin word, explaining it in Old Norse. Comparing with *The Historye of the Patriarks*, its text also follows Comestor when describing that God created animals as a help for man, knowing that the sin would occur. This writer adds that man because of sin was expelled from paradise. He tells his readers that together with useful, helping animals, God also created other harmful creatures, worms, to hurt and persecute man. The writer then adds that they were harmless before the sin but got new assignments after the sin, and following Comestor closely, the writer of *The Historye of the Patriarks* tells which insects were made before the sin and which were made afterwards (the last being the ones “taking their food from corrupt matter”). Still following Comestor the writer tells about the unfruitful trees, and even quotes Comestor in what the Lord says to man: *Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi terra*, ‘thorns and thistles will grow from your land’.

**IX. De creatione hominis**

*Stjórn*

(Excerpt from the sixth day of creation) 26 he said this to his own son and Holy Spirit: Let us make man after our likeness and image so that he governs over the fishes of the sea and the birds of heaven, four legged creatures and the whole of the earthly kingdom and with this all the reptiles that has life in the world. 27 Then God created man after his own likeness and image. He created both man and woman and the woman last as men will hear more about. Scolastica hýstoria. Form three things may be noticed the special rank and honour/worth. This is the first, he was not only made of his own kind as the earlier mentioned creatures, but rather also in the likeness of God, which gave him an intellectual/a mental difference from all the earthly creatures. It is the image of the holy trinity with threefold form that makes a difference/ differs between the spirit and mind of man.

That is the mind, the sensible insight, and for will and/as well as love, because these three parts are one being and one life/body as one man, just as three persons/beings are in the trinity of God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and where all though are one God. The second is that he was made with premeditation, so that his other works God ordered once to be and they were.
But in this (case) the three personalities of God, father, son and Holy Spirit spoke, so that it was premeditated and affirmed between them: Let us make man. The third of (the signs of) the rank/regard and primacy of man is that he was made lord and king over other earthly creatures and that they should give him food and clothes and lighten his travail and help him after he had sinned. So that before the sin, God gave both man and other creatures, the growth of the earth for food because the earth then had no unfriendly things or something was made malicious. And this lordship he lost because of the sin, both over the biggest creatures and the smallest. Over the biggest, as the lions, so that he knows and recognizes that he has lost his power and lordship over them. And over the smallest like the birds so that he discerns and understands how helpless and wretched he is become because of it (the sin). Over the medium big creatures he still has power, as a comfort, and that he shall know this from it that he had the same power of the others before the sin. *speculum hystoriale*. Together with these first and foremost before mentioned image of the holy trinity that the soul of man is, in which manner he is comparable to God together with holy angels, man too bears the image of God in iv. (four) special ways/matters. The first is the lordship, wisdom and power that first was given to him. So that in the way God is the king and lord over heaven and earth and the ones that are in hell. In the same way man was king and lord over the creation, not only he before mentioned creatures but also all the land in the world as before is said. The second is respect for the origin, so that in the same manner that God is the origin/originator of everything because he has created it, is Adam the origin for all men, the first for the generations (for the reason of offspring). The third is, that just as some parts connects God and other things, so comes much together with man and other worldly things, and therefore it is called micro cosmos. The fourth is that as God is the end/exit of everything so man is created last of the creation, he was created last because he was the first and foremost of all earthly creation/things, created after consideration. The fifth is that as God with his omnipotence is everywhere in macro cosmos, so is the spirit in his micro cosmos. That is in all the parts of the body in one and all of earthly men. Man with his sense/insight is not made as the senseless creatures, facing down (to earth). The proper form of his body is straight up in the direction of the heaven as if in itself reminding him that he has in this way his mind’s eye and senses to heavenly matters just as his bodily eyes and senses can look up to the heaven/sky. He was also that short time when he was innocent, without any pain and fear, and would have been for ever if he had not sinned. So that he would not have felt hunger or thirst, neither cold nor heat, nor fear, nor hard work, or had any sort of sickness or sorrows. And he had not needed to fear bodily death because he would have a living body for everlasting glory. He had not needed to have clothes and had not had a feeling of shame, no more over his genitals than over his hands and feet. Man had been bred without any sin and so born without sorrow or pain.
Then God say, let us make man. Notice and understand from this: To whom was he speaking and why did he say let US make? The personality is in itself three. The trinity speaks together. This is the one great Lord of man. It is no small matter that God made man with premeditation. Even if he out of his grace made all the other creatures, he did not speak of their nature as he did to mankind. Furthermore he was made with a soul after the image of God. This is the great wealth of man. Regarding the body, if you want to know, he has many benefits because he is become a master (of them). The animals usually stand on the ground and man stretch towards heaven. In three things God shows the worth of men; that he was not only made for the earthly pleasures (/riches) but in the soul in the image of God. The second is as I first said, that God planned this and said “Let us make man”. The third proof of privilege is that he is made as honourable master of all the animals, so they should provide him with food after his sin, and cloth him at all times, and help him bear his labour. Before the sin I hear alluded that God gave man and animals fruit of different sorts to eat because the earth gave nothing but good things. Man, notice if you are wise: you have mainly lost your rule over the animals; over dragons and over lions, over tigers and over leopards. This was a great privilege. According the smallest (creatures) you have because of your lie lost power over small birds (/tits) and over flies so that you will notice good that you would have remained the master over the creatures if you had not disobeyed the command that God commanded you. Thus you fell in greater distress.

Analysis

The compiler of Stjórn, as mentioned, obviously felt that this section was part of the sixth day of creation. While van Maerlant kept closer to the pattern of Comestor, the compiler of Stjórn seems to have felt confident enough to consider his own pattern as more suitable. By writing how God the Father said to his own Son and to the Holy Spirit:”Let us make man after our likeness …”, he has already explained why God say “Let us make”, in mentioning to whom he spoke. We learn that God created man and woman after his own likeness and image, but that he created the woman last. Going forth to the explanations from De creatione hominis in Historia Scholastica he follows them closely with slight additions, and presents the three signs that man has a special rank in the creation of God: He was made in the likeness of God, having inside of himself a sort of mirroring trinity: Intellect, insight and spirit/will/love. His soul is not actually mentioned. Further, man was made with premeditation, because God speaks to himself: Let us make…and obviously agrees with himself, because man is being made. Therefore man is not only premeditated but also affirmed between the three parts of the trinity, and this affirmation is explicitly mentioned in Stjórn. Thirdly, man is by God made
lord over all earthly creatures. Other creatures are made to help him, as mentioned, in the
difficult life after he has sinned.

Next we are informed that both man and animals in the beginning ate from the fruit provided
by God; and that there were no dangerous animals or things. After the sin, and the compiler
makes this very clear, man lost his lordship over the biggest and the smallest of the creatures.
As example of the big ones, lions are mentioned, and the loss of power over them is meant to
show man the range of the power that he has lost. Of the smallest creatures, birds are
mentioned, this loss of power is to remind man of his sin and his wretchedness after his fall.
This now, is a deviation from Historia Scholastica where the example of the smallest
creatures is flies. Overall it seems that the compiler of Stjórn, even if he follows Historia
Scholastica quite closely in this section, gives it his own twist.

He chooses not use the thoughts on the gender of the soul, for example. He does however tell
of the creatures man still is in control of, as a comfort to him and to remind him of what he
has lost: Man still has power over the medium sized creatures. Turning to Speculum Historale
as his source, the compiler shows that man bears the image of God in four special ways: As
God is Lord over the universe; man is lord over the earthly creations, including land. Then
too, as God is the origin of everything, Adam is the origin of all men, the first of the
generations (and we must perhaps presume that this is equalled in every man that has begotten
offspring, he is the first of his own line of the generations). Thirdly, as God is connected with
everything in the big picture, cosmos, man is connected in small things, this is called micro
cosmos. The fourth is that just as God is the end of everything, so man is the final creation.
He was created last because he was the foremost of all earthly creation and created after
consideration. It then becomes more difficult to follow. The fifth – out of the four!- is that as
God with his omnipotence is everywhere in macro cosmos, and so is the spirit in his micro
cosmos. And the micro cosmos, we just read, is in all the parts of the body in every one of all
men. This would surely boost the feeling of importance of the audience!

Then too, man is not made as the “senseless creatures” walking on four feet and facing the
earth. Man, in his proper form, stands straight up in the direction of the heaven, and is thus
constantly reminded of his connection to heavenly matters. The short time when he was
innocent he was without any pain and fear, and this could have lasted forever had he not
sinned. Had Adam and Eve just kept away from the forbidden fruit, they, their descendants,
could have lived their lives without hunger or thirst, fear, hard work or any sort of sickness or
sorrows, and had not needed to fear death because they would have lived forever. The
compiler paints a beautiful picture, adding that man had then not needed to have clothes
because he would not have had any feeling of shame, “no more over his genitals than over his
hands and feet”. Returning to Genesis, the writer quotes the blessing of God when he tells the
human, in the first version of the creation, to “Grow and multiply and fill the earth and govern
it. Be lord over the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky and all the other creatures that moves in the earthly kingdom.”

Van Maerlant also explains to his audience why God say “let us make man”, but on a more personal note: “Notice and understand from this: To whom was he speaking and why did he say let us make? The personality is in itself three. The trinity speaks together. This is the one great Lord of man”. He highlights the premeditation in the making of man, telling his audience that this “is no small matter”. Furthermore he follows Comestor and tells that man was made with a soul after the image of God. He does however not enter into the question of the gender of the soul. Instead he goes to the erect position of the body of man as compared to that of animals, a sign of him being chosen by God to be the master of animals. The three things setting men apart is constructed to be how God shows the worth of men, and not their dignity. They are slightly changed. There is an addition to the first one, to show that his soul was made in the image of God, van Maerlant assured that man was not “only made for the earthly pleasures /riches” (but also for an afterlife, one assumes). The second one is premeditation, but this time presented in a simple language: “that God planned this and said ‘Let us make man’”. The third is almost verbatim translated: (man) is made the honourable master of all the animals, so that they should provide him with food after his sin, and cloth him at all times, and help him bear his labour. Also the loss of edible fruit and control over animals is following the text of Historia Scholastica, but with some interesting additions: The small creatures are flies as in the text of Comestor, but also birds as in Stjörn, and these seems actually to be decided into subspecies (“tits”). Among the bigger animals we find a veritable zoo, not only lions but tigers, leopards and dragons, no less. One should imagine that the loss of control of these exotic animals would not have created great fear among the Dutch audience. The moral is made very obvious: “you will notice well that you would have remained the master over the creatures if you had not disobeyed the command that God commanded you”. None of the translators uses the material on the gender of the soul. Both the compiler of Stjörn and van Maerlant has made clear choices as to how God speaks to himself. In Stjörn we read that the Father speaks to the Son and the Holy Ghost. In de Rijmbijbel the explanation is that the Trinity speaks to itself. Comestor however gives two alternatives: One is that it is the Father who says this to the Son and the Holy Spirit, the other that it was the “common voice of the three Divine persons”. Here the translators each have chosen one of the explanations. The writer of The Historye of the Patriarks on the other hand has chosen another way, in using both version and adding yet another alternative to the ones of Comestor, suggesting that it could have been the Son, “second person of the Trinity” that spoke thus to the Father. Otherwise Comestor is closely followed by him, down to the flies as being the smallest creatures, except for the discussion on the soul, this is completely ignored.
X. De institutione conjugii

Stjórn

After that God created this he blessed them and said thus: Genesis. (May it/this) Grow and multiply and fill the earth and govern it. Be lord over the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky and all the other creatures that moves in the earthly kingdom. scolastica hystoria. Where God said “let them grow and multiply”, this cannot be without their union, so then he made marriage between men and women. Therefore they are foolish, the men that from their statements punishes and reproaches and says that intercourse between man and wife never may be without sin and danger for the soul.

De Rijmbijbel

God blessed man and say these words to him: Grow and multiply. This men hold as written. Go against the heretics who spoke falsely in their treatises that marriage never can exist without sin. Who imagines such things will be punished severely. God never tells us to sin.

Analysis

The compiler of Stjórn quotes Comestor on the matter of marriage, and as we have seen he found its proper place to be embedded in the sixth day of creation: Where God said “let them grow and multiply”, they (man and woman) cannot do this without mating, so what God really did here was describing marriage between men and women. The writer then deviates from Comestor, stating that they are foolish, the men that from their statements punishes and reproaches and says that intercourse between man and wife never may be without sin and danger for the soul. So the writer takes a stand for sexual relations within marriage, calling it foolish to think this a sin. Van Maerlant is not so lenient; he seems to feel much stronger about this and encourages his audience to go against the heretics, no less, who says such things. They should be severely punished, not only punished, but severely! God say this to men, that they should multiply, and God does not encourage sin, therefore can this in no way be a sin. That it is wrong to think that even marriage cannot hold sexual relations free of sin, Comestor allegedly discusses in a later chapter in Historia Scholastica, but the fervour of van Maerlant seems to be his own. The writer of The Historye of the Patriarks chooses to ignore the whole matter of marriage.
XI. De quiete sabbati et sanctificatione

Stjórn

Heaven and earth was now completed and all their beauty and decoration God filled in and then he stopped. That is, he thought his work was completed on this the seventh day, and wanted on this seventh day the work that he had done there. He rested on this seventh day from all the work that he had done and promoted /not making something more nor taking away any of/ his before said creation he had done on the same days. That God had created matter for all bodily creatures and also as their souls that he made thereafter, each in its time of making. He had now success and completed the work of this seventh day with all the before-mentioned makings and creations and explanations. What with his creation on the first day the way he made his creation from nothing and with his creation where he separated light and darkness and the making and ordering of the second and third (day) and with decorating on the three last (days). Augustinus The words that Moses says that God rested on the seventh day from his very good work that he had done but not afterwards with spiritual insight and explanations. Notice the benevolence // that he may give us in all our work if we have done them well. So that all our good work is known to him and in his honour, he who calls us to do good works.

(Here follows a long passage ruminating over the seven ages of man compared to the seven ages of the world, according to Astás mainly inspired from Augustinus. It cleverly links back to the seventh day with the following passage:)

This is in this the seven ages of the world. There is no one who has waited/longed for the evening as a good man, saying that there is eternal glory after seven days very good work. That is, after seven days passed, and they then explain what it means that God rested on the seventh day after all his work. So that he himself accomplishes all the good things with us that was done, and from this it is justly said that he rests. Because after all this work he (man) may know for himself eternal rest.

From genesi. 3 God blessed this the seventh day and made it holy. This is to be understood so that he made that this day should be elevated and held holy because on this day he completed all his work, they which he had made until then. scolastica hystoria. This that says that God rested on this the seventh day from all his work that he had completed (and succeeded with). It honours and shows the work that he had done, wherefore it is no less than holy. The three before mentioned work he has done; he created, ordered and decorated. His fourth work never stops as long as he lets mankind multiply; creating and uniting everyone’s soul with its real body. The fifth, he may promote the other world /home / heaven showing all good men his
own face/likeness, serving man, giving nourishment, and also unifying the suitable (the ones with good abilities) with himself in heaven.

**De Rijmbijbel**

God looked at all that he had made. Everything was good and well arranged. Heaven and earth is now completed and all her valuable decoration. The sixth day he completed with this all the work he passionately had done, and rested on the 7th day. Not that he was in any pain (from having worked) but he stopped creating. Not that we sense this, he still every day creates many things no one has seen before but he did not make afterwards matter that was not (already) made or something similar to it. Surely from Adam came the matter from the old people, this I will explain about over his flesh. From his flesh exists everything that is, was and shall be. And men has gotten the form of the soul (formed appropriately to house a soul), you must understand, that no soul came from this. But anyone who got their flesh from him (i.e.Adam) God gave souls alike to Adams. The seventh day when God rested had the name Saturday. And in Hebrew what I could see, the Jews called it Sabbath. God rested there without any pomp. Later men celebrated for many years. So as you have understood from this, Moses tells us that God made heaven and earth and (everything that was there) he blessed it all. This was before it ever rained because a valuable/praiseworthy fountain that came from paradise gave water for a long time everywhere across the world. The paradise means/equals Mary and the fountain Jesus the free that makes everything wet with virtues.

**Analysis**

The text in *Historia Scholastica* explains why God rested – he was not tired but had simply finished all his groundwork, from now nothing new were added but his work continued to develop. He had created, appointed and adorned, and this was finished. Therefore he rested on the seventh day, and therefore we are taught to keep the Sabbath holy. The compiler of *Stjörn* follows Comestor, but gives us more detail, setting the creation mainly on the first day, the ordering on day two and three, and the decoration on the last three days. We also are informed that God made not only the matter for all “bodily creatures”, but also their souls. There is no assurance that God did not rest from exhaustion, it is as if the idea that he should have been tired is not even a possibility. The writer does add however, that just as God rested from his good work, he recognizes and blesses us when we do good work, especially if it is in his honour. It is all known to him.

Here the compiler of *Stjörn* weaves together the seven days of the creation with the seven ages of the world, simultaneously relating them to the seven ages of man. We get a glimpse of expectations in his contemporary society, as to when a boy or a man was considered ready to fulfil his different tasks in the world, but as this is inspired from Augustinus according to
Astás, we are now not going into the full text (The full text is found in appendix II, pp 38-44). The writer then skilfully knits the text back to Genesis with a paragraph on old age, when someone who has done good work can look forward to eternal rest in glory. We are then enlightened via Genesis, that the Sabbath was made holy by God, and curves back to Historia Scholastica, where the compiler of Stjórn closely translates the three works of God (creating, ordering and adorning) that are finished, and the next two that goes on “forever”, namely his fourth work; being, that as all living creatures multiplies, God gives everyone a soul to go with the body (Comestor does not seem to mention that God gives every body, of all living creatures, a soul), and the fifth, being that he shows us how to live as good men, showing us his face, and serving us with nourishment, to then take the suitable among men up to heaven to unite with himself. Comestor does not mention this last part.

Van Maerlant assures us that God did not stop creating because he was made weaker from his hard work, but because he was finished. His creation goes on daily but nothing new comes into the world anymore. Van Maerlant mentions the creation and the decoration but not the “appointing” in itself. He goes into detail to explain how everything (that exists today) was already made, in telling us that all new people are formed from the same matter as Adam, and our bodies are formed in the appropriate form to house a soul, so each new body gets a soul from God (as the compiler of Stjórn mentioned, but not, on this point at least, Comestor), alike to the one he gave to Adam. This day of rest was (of course) a Saturday, and was called Sabbath by the Jews, we learn. God rested on this day without any pomp or circumstance, but later men celebrated. Van Maerlant then places this seventh day of creation in an historical perspective by telling us that all of this happened before it ever rained, when everything still got its water supplied by the fountains of paradise. This paradise really indicates Mary, and the fountain is Jesus, who made everything wet with virtue. Again we see that van Maerlant connects the life of Christ with the creational process. Meanwhile The Historye of the Patriarks has left the pattern set out by Comestor, and is lumping the blessing of Adam and Eve (which, as is mentioned in De prophetia Adae, the writer of The Historye of the Patriarks did not connect to marriage at all) together with the blessing of the seventh day, adding that God rested for all work he had done “not denying but he had more to make thereafter”.

XII. De creatione animae protoplasti

Stjórn

Genesis. That God the king formed the body of the man from earthly clay as was told before, and blew the spirit of life in this way making his face/ his likeness and thereby the whole body and thus man became a living soul and (got) senses/wit. scolastica hystoria. Here for
the first time the book calls God king or lord. Because he had the servant, man. This matter Plato wrongly explained, saying that God has made the fates once and angels has made the body. Then it must also not be understood or taken as true what some people say, that the spirit/soul is made of godly matter or knowledge. Also man was created at an adult age and wholly mortal and immortal. This they, or men, must in no way do wrong. That is that he must die when he was obliged to/guilty, as is clearly proven, even if he was immortal as was said before.

*de Rijmbijbel*

God made him, as it says here before, from the earth, from the mucus. According to the flesh. This, the rhyme demands that I write! And the soul he made from nothing. Know that here the truth is, the one who does not believe this. The text says that he blew in him the living spirit. That is rightly to be understood as that he sent the soul into the body. Plato was wrong on this matter, the noblest writer of a high name/standing. He said that angels made the body and God the spirit. I am afraid that such people will say that the souls were made with godly matter. If this was true then could man not do any sins, no more than our lord, nor could he (man) ever die. The man is made of the dust/earth, notice correctly, in adult age, in perfect powers of the grown youth, well formed in arms and legs. In such a manly power, that if he did not betray the command from God he may live forever. As he broke the command through any reason, this would make that he would taste the death. Thus was to him a will/ a choice given, whether he would die or live.

**Analysis**

Both *Stjòrn* and *de Rijmbijbel* are quoting Plato, and addressing the misconception that angels should have made the bodies of men and God only the spirit – or in the Old Norse version, the word used actually means fate. This is not mentioned at all in *Historia Scholastica* or in *The Historye of the Patriarks* at this point. The crucial point seems to be, that one should on no account think that the spirit of man was made of “godly matter”, as this collides with the ability to sin or do evil, and that man is mortal. God does not sin and not die, and anything made from godly matter would likewise be exempt from these traits.

The Old Norse version also lingers by the use of the word *drottinn*, ‘king’ or ‘lord’. There is a difference in the two stories of creation in the first and second chapter of Genesis, namely that in the second chapter of Genesis, God is given the epithet “the Lord”. One could maybe see the second chapter as a close-up of the sixth day described in chapter 1. The compiler of *Stjòrn* has chosen to highlight the point that God did not get the epithet *lord* earlier than after he had created a servant, man, and thus had a human to “lord it over”.

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De Rijmbijbel on the other hand chooses to highlight the free will of man, which was enabling him to choose whether to obey God's commands and live forever, or to follow his own path and become mortal. Both the compiler of Stjórn I and Van Maerlant also informs us that Adam was created grown, so that he was on the height of his manliness, as a well formed grown youth. This is another point that is not mentioned by Comestor.

The writer of The Historye of the Patriarks seems to have felt that he already had said all that was necessary on the making of Adam earlier, and ignores this chapter.

XIII. De paradiso et lignis ejus

Stjórn

Paradise itself God had planted from the beginning. That was on the third day when he commanded that the earth should be born and thrive as is said before. Wherein he moved and placed the man he had made on the meadows here on our more habitable land that is named Campus Damascus. This place he made rich and full of people with all sorts of sweetness and all the trees that to men are both pleasantly beautiful to look upon and to taste. In between which he made two trees in the middle of paradise, which were the most famous of them all. One of them is the tree of life, of its nature it was in this manner, that the man who ate frequently of it must not own the death of the body, nor sickness nor feel any sort of fear/anxiety. And another (was the) wise tree of good and evil, because before that men ate from this he could for this reason do no evil because he had not tasted it. Because of this we name obedience to be good. scholastica hystoria. At once Adam had tasted this before mentioned evil thing (fruit) of its wisdom, with some restraint in his own conscience, with trial or examination in the way that seems good, then it happened that he wholly understands another man's sickness/weakness and saw the same weakness and in the same way he furthermore understands just as well that it has happened that he has sown the same sickness in himself.

So that it is both that he understands and knows that as the small boy, that when he is raised worldly and prettily, (he) does not know much about (what is) evil. (As he grows) older he notices that disobeying leads to bad things, and obeying leads to good thing. So that when he (Adam) had eaten from this same tree, then he knew how much good obedience will succeed in and how much evil disobedience supports.
de Rijmbijbel

God, that is mild and wise, made the paradise on the third day when he let trees and plants appear there in the beginning of the world. It is in the east, no less. He has put everything there. It is described by the holy law that it is the most beautiful place under the sky both concerning the mountains and concerning the lands. Witnesses to our wanderings /way of life or so bound with the sea that men never again lost it /gave it away. Nor did it come something else instead. With nine blessings it was high as the moon. Furthermore it stayed dry from the flood. In the paradise God our lord set all the wood /the trees because it was his command that it was (to be) beautiful and tasty to give the man pleasure both to taste it and to look at it. In the middle of it all he set the tree of life. This has the power and the ability to give, to the one that ate the fruit, a healthy and long life. Certain books will tell us more too, that man could live forever (after having eaten it). Then he also planted there the tree that teaches to know good and evil. This has gotten the name of both (good and evil) /This also was named thus. Because of when Adam had done wrong (/sinned) in that he had done evil and harmed the good.

Analysis

That paradise itself had been planted by God from the beginning, or rather on the third day when he commanded that the earth should be born, and thrive is verbatim translated. But the compiler of Stjórn also knows that this happened in the proximity of a land that is named Campus Damascus. This is a detail we do not find by Comestor. The two most famous trees, the tree of life and the tree good and evil, are placed by God in the midst of paradise. The tree of life is in Stjórn introduced in a positive way þuía saá madr sem optsinnis ǫti af þui máátti æigi devia likams dauða. æigi siukleik elle edr nökkurskyns angist fáá,’ the man who ate frequently of it must not own the death of the body, nor sickness nor feel any sort of fear/anxiety’. The name of the other tree, the wise tree of good and evil, is explained in a more enigmatic way: Man could not do evil before he had eaten from this tree. It would seem though that the fruit of this tree also gives insight, as Adam after having eaten from it, could sem hann er heill ok under stendr annars mannz krankleik ok saá hinn sami lækner skír hann þo allt at eins gjörr meîr þann tíma sem hann hefer hinn sama krankleik á sialfum ser, ‘wholly understands another man’s sickness/weakness and saw... that it has happened, that he has sown the same sickness in himself’.

The importance of obedience as a means to make good things happening, is mentioned several times. The writer compares the situation of Adam before his sin with the state of a small boy not knowing anything of good or bad, but learning to obey because it “leads to good things”. Adam learnt about good and evil after eating the fruit of knowledge. He also learned about how obedience will lead to good things and that disobedience will support evil. The compiler
is quoting *Historia Scholastica* over the disobedience of Adam, from a later chapter. Obviously it was considered to fit in better here.

Van Maerlant finds it important to describe God as mild and wise. He also tells us that the paradise is in the east, just as Comestor, and gives no detail as to where. He describes the beauty of the paradise in some detail, not only the trees but he adds mountains to, and that it was never touched by the flood. The trees were planted in paradise for beauty and pleasurable taste, to provide man with several pleasures at once. The tree of life is given the most central place and then as an addition, the tree that “teaches good and evil” is planted there too. The reason of the name is that Adam sinned in that he did evil and harmed the good. According to Maerlant then, man does not learn evil from the fruit, but his taking the fruit unlocks evil in the world, harming the goodness. While both *Stjörn I* and *de Rijmbijbel* are giving attention to the planting of paradise, and the when and where of it, *The Historye of the Patriarks* is much more sparing on detail, just stating that God placed Adam into that joyful place, paradise, where trees were brought, fair to look at and sweet to eat, and in the middle, the tree of life and the tree of good and evil. No moral stance or extensive description is used. Neither of the translators has named the paradise as the garden of Eden, or used the etymological description that Comestor gives for the name Eden.

**XIV. De fonte paradisi et quatuor fluminibus ejus**

*Stjörn*

**genesis 10** An especially beautiful water-source or well came up and flowed from this sweetest place, paradise, to water the trees there to make them thrive and grow. This same water-source was split in such a way and into separate parts to the four biggest main-rivers that men have stories about/knows about. **11** One is named Phison and another name is Ganges, coming from Gangari, the kings of the land of India, because she comes there and flows around this same land. **12** There is also better gold to be found there than in other countries, and a precious stone, onichinus. The river is split up and has different colours, so that she is (looking) different in different countries and cities, so that in one city she is clear and in another restless and not to be trusted. In one city she is small and in another big and wide. In another city she will feel cold, and in yet another warm. And Phison in Hebrew means *flokkr* (a group, more specific a group of military men) in Old Norse, because she is filled and swollen with the ten rivers that are flowing into her. **13** Another is named Gion and flows through/around both Africa and Egypt. It is also called the Nile there. *Genesis.* **Capitulum 14a** The third one is named Tigris. It flows along the east part of the land named Mesopotamia in the direction of the land named Assyria. *Scholastica hystoria. Capitulum*
Tiger is the name of a dangerous animal. This river (carries this name) because of its strong currents and wide rapid waterfalls. *Genesis Capitulum* 14b The fourth one is Euphrates. This flows along the east part of Mesopotamia and to Chaldea, where Abraham is spawned.  

**Scholastica hystoria. Capitulum** These 4 rivers flows forth from one source as is said. Some of them is first separated and flows later together again. Then they are separated again and sometimes it happens that they turn and twist their flows into the earth and comes up again in different cities and countries. This makes that no one has all the information (stories) over where their sources are in the inhabited world. So say some men that Ganges comes up in their own mountains called Caucasus. And the Nile from the big mountains called Atlas. And Tigris and Euphrates from Armenia.  

**de Rijmbijbel**  
The fountain that I stopped telling you about (earlier), the one that flowed through the whole of paradise, gave all the trees enough water (and all the plants what they needed). This divides itself there into four rivers. I shall tell you the names. Phisons and Ganges is the name of one that flows and goes through by itself. Men find gold in her sand, the best to be found in any country. Gion or Nilus comes flowing through the land of the Ethiopians; this is thus the second river. Tigris is the third, Euphrates that is the fourth. Frequently they go underground, where they flow quickly long distances, and springs out somewhere else. This is described to us in the book.  

**Analysis**  
*De Rijmbijbel* informs us that the rivers often goes underground to emerge somewhere else (and that rivers can go underground and surface somewhere else is also indicated by the compiler of *Stjörn* in the chapter *De opere secundae dici*), but otherwise we are not told much more than the names of the rivers, that the Nile flows through Ethiopia and that there is good gold to be found in the sands of Phison. *Stjörn* describes Ganges in more detail than *Historia Scholastica*, adding that the name Ganges comes from the name of the kings in India, and that the gold found there is the best known to man. We are also told of precious stones. The gold, as well as the precious stones, is also mentioned by *Historia Scholastica*. But *Stjörn* goes on to tell about the different faces of the river Ganges, how it can be clear (tranquil?) or rough and untrustworthy, small or wide. Also we are given information of the mountains where the rivers come from. Some of this extra information is according to Astås taken from a later chapter of *Historia Scholastica*, but the more detailed information of the faces of the river Ganges almost gives the impression of having acquired it from someone who has travelled there and seen the different faces of the river at first hand. None of the two translators retells what Comestor says over the fruitfulness of Euphrates, that is giving it its name, nor does van Maerlant mention Chaldea. Here the writer of *The Historye of the Patriarks* follows Comestor.
closely as he names and describes the rivers. He also mentions that Euphrates flows around Chaldea, thus at least connecting the two, even if it is without details.

XV. De praecepto et prohibitione edulii

**Stjórn**

And before that he said thus. *Genesis Capitulum* Eat and take nourishment from every tree from the ones that are here in paradise except from the knowledgeable tree between good and evil, (from this) you shall not eat. Because of that the day that you have eaten of this you must die in spirit and become mortal. *Scholastica hystoria. Capitulum* This commandment was given to the man and given from God. And from him (i.e. man) it was given to the woman. Or, it was not told earlier than that both were made.

**de Rijmbijbel**

God dragged the man/human from the earth that he had made him (of), into paradise because he wanted him to work there. Not in pain or from stark necessity but because it would give him great pleasure. And that he should submit to God and see, man, the holy place. The commandment God gave him, if you wish to know, was that you shall eat from all the fruit except the one that is on the tree that teaches men to be aware of good and evil. On the day that you eat from this, say God, I want you to know that then you shall from then on be mortal.

**Analysis**

The compiler of *Stjórn* writes about the question of guilt that *Historia Scholastica* mentions: that the commandment of which fruit to eat, and more especially, of which fruit not to eat, was given when the man was alone in paradise, and that it then was his duty to give it on to the woman when she was made, implying that the man had maybe not been sufficiently good at making this commandment clear to Eve and that he therefore in some measure was to blame for her eating from the forbidden fruit. Just as in *Historia Scholastica*, the compiler of *Stjórn* quickly adds that maybe this was not so, maybe the commandments were given later, to both humans simultaneously. In *Stjórn* we are also told that we must die spiritually. *De Rijmbijbel* only tells us that God has informed man that from the day the forbidden fruit is eaten, man shall be mortal. Van Maerlant does not mention that man may have been the only one to hear this command. The writer of *The Historye of the Patriarks* tells very shortly of God placing Adam (no Eve) in paradise and giving his command not to eat from the tree of life (it is here not the tree of good and evil!) or man shall die. But he adds that *But Adam*
vndrestode not our Lorde so. Here a misunderstanding, and nothing else, seems to have been the reason for the sin of Adam.

XVI. De impositione nominum animantium principaliter et mulieris formatione

*Stjórn*

It is not good or pleasant that he is alone. Let us make him a female helper similar to himself. Now that God had created and formed all earthly animals/living creatures, and also fish and birds, he let them come to Adam so that he should say and tell how he wanted everyone of them to be called. It is so that to this day every living creature bears the name Adam spoke in the Hebrew language so that it was one (name) from the beginning until the languages split up. There were two reasons that God let all living things come before Adam, that he would give them their names. The other (reason) was that in this way they knew him to be their leader and governor. And the other (reason) (was) that he saw for sure that the other animals were unlike to him, and therefore it was necessary for him (to have) a wife/woman.

*de Rijmbijbel*

After this, God say that it is not good for man (the human) to be alone. Let us because of this make him some help that is similar to him. And having said this God brought to Adam at his bidding all the birds with animals from land and rivers and everything men finds in the sea. For two reasons, namely that he should name them there and that he would know truly that there was no one there similar to himself in body or soul. There Adam the young gave them names in the Hebrew language, the first language ever to be spoken.

**Analysis**

In neither translation is there here any mention of the necessity of a woman for the procreation of children, as it is in *Historia Scholastica* (which *The Historye of the Patriarks* also follows). While the *Historia Scholastica* (and *The Historye of the Patriarks*) clearly states the need for Adam to see for himself that no other creature was similar to himself because he would then find the making of a woman necessary and not superfluous, the possibility that Adam would ever consider the making of a female to be superfluous is not mentioned in *de Rijmbijbel*. In *Stjórn*, on the other hand, this is mentioned, but in a positive way: Because he saw that no one was similar to himself, he saw that it was necessary for him to have a woman. There is a difference between seeing the necessity of a woman through watching the animals, and having the need to see the animals so that the making of a woman would not be considered to be unnecessary.
That Adam spoke Hebrew, is mentioned in both translations, but while Stjórn follows the Historia Scholastica (just as The Historye of the Patriarks does, and there the compiler goes further, reminding the audience of the tower of Babylon) and explains that not only is Hebrew the first language, but remains the only language until the languages are split up, de Rijmbijbel just names Hebrew as the first language ever spoken.

**XVII. De somno Adae et formatione mulieris de costa ejus**

**Stjórn**

Then God let something like a sleep, or some sort of senselessness, fall upon Adam. And in this same senselessness it is believed that he has had a spiritual journey and been taken up into heaven. So that when he woke up he was perfect and foretold the connection of Jesus Christ and the holy church and that would be a great flood in the days of Noah and of the last Judgement that will come with fire and all people telling (about) their sins.

And as he were thus God broke one of his ribs away and as much flesh as belonged to it, and let flesh fill up in place of the rib, and (God) made the woman, in the presence of the service of angels, from the same rib. Making her body of the flesh and the bones of the rib itself. Thereafter he let her come before Adam and he then said: This bone now is from my bones and this flesh is taken from my body. In Historia Scholastica it says that: from this small word “now” Jews catches a lot of negativity and unbelieving. Because Adam say this, they say that this now was the second wife of Adam, the first one was made of earth and clay, but “this one now is made from my own body”. They lie and makes up a lot of stories about his other wife. But (if we are) looking at the text of Genesis they clearly lie. There it is always spoken over just one wife.

**de Rijmbijbel**

A sleep came to Adam, well, even if it is named sleep, it was unconsciousness. We believe that he inside his mind experienced the joy of heaven, because the learned scribes say that the first thing he did when he awoke was telling prophecies over Jesus and the holy church and foretold the Flood and that Doomsday would come and bring fire. While he lay there in this sleep, God took a rib and some flesh with it and made from it one single woman, flesh of flesh, bone of bone.

**Analysis**

Both versions try to make the audience understand that this was no natural sleep. Neither Genesis nor Historia Scholastica nor The Historye of the Patriarks makes an issue of whether
it was natural sleep or not, they both mention a deep sleep, and nothing else. The story of what happens to Adam while in sleep is also told both in de Rijmbijbel and in Stjörn, but not in the Historia Scholastica or The Historye of the Patriarks. It seems plausible that both de Rijmbijbel and Stjörn here made use of another, well known, source to fill in this gap. Maybe this had become an important point in the period between the making of Historia Scholastica and the adaptation of the Old Norse and the Middle Dutch versions. One can in such a scenario only assume that this story-line had lost its importance again when The Historye of the Patriarks was written – or that the translator of The Historye of the Patriarks had a more limited range of sources. Stjörn also has a passage over the Jewish theory of Lilith, the first wife of Adam. The compiler seems to feel strongly against this theory and calls it a lie, blaming iudar, the Jews, for making the stories up. Van Maerlant has probably known of the theory too, it would otherwise seem unnecessary to mention j. wiif alleene, ‘one single woman/ just one woman’. This seems like a strange choice of words even if it should be for the sake of a rhyme. He does however not embroider on the subject.

XVIII. De nominibus mulieris

Stjörn

And Adam gave her name as he was her master and said, this shall be named kerling because it is made from karlmanninum. Because of that, this became her real name.

de Rijmbijbel

And he placed her before Adam so he should name her. He spoke: This flesh and this bone is from mine, and she shall be called virago, that word comes from man. So he said before the sin, but shortly after, when he had sinned, he named her Eva, that word may men understand as the mother of all humans. As children comes into the world, the first sound from a boy is A and from a little girl E. This never fails.

Analysis

The reasoning that, taken from a man in materia, her name also should be taken from the name for man, must in the Old Norse version be deduced. The translator has used an (presumably old) Old Norse word, kerling, nowadays often translated with something like ‘crone’, or just ‘old woman’. It can however also mean “wife”, and it is impossible today to be certain of the connotations of the word then, in the society contemporary to the compiler of Stjörn. It is however a word he only uses once, at least in these sections, otherwise usually choosing the word kona for woman, or husfru, for wife. Presumably his choice is made to
repeat the etymological pun from Comestor on *virago* – *viro*, making the comparable connection *kerling* – *karlmann* in Old Norse. The naming of Eva as the mother of all is not used in *Stjórn* at this point, but taken up later, on page 58 in the edition of Astás.

Van Maerlant follows *Historia Scholastica* at first, and he has also not deemed it necessary to explain the Latin word for man, *vir* to his audience. Neither does he explain the name Eva, as being the word for life. Was this supposed to be known by his audience, as rudimentary Latin? At the end of this section, van Maerlant gives a glimpse into childcare, and states that the first sounds of a new-born differs according to their gender. He must have thought that this information would be of interest to his audience. The writer of *The Historye of the Patriarks* tells that Adam named woman *virago*, explaining that this means a creature made of man or taken of (/from) man.

**XIX De prophetia Adae**

*Stjórn*

And directly after this he made a prophesy, saying: For the reason that she is made in this way, many men will leave their father and mother and go live with (have fields together with) their wife, that is a part of himself, and also the two may then be one body. From the mixing of the blood of them both, children are started. And both of them have totally the same power over their own body.

*de Rijmbijbel*

When Adam had named the woman, he already made (her) a prophesy. Because that she is from my upper body, the man shall follow his wife and abandon mother and father. And after this it is described that in one flesh shall the two be. Marriage was what he in this prophesied.

**Analysis**

*Historia Scholastica* uses the Bible verse we now know as Genesis 2:24, to explain how children are made – they (Adam and Eve/ man and woman) shall be two people in one body, working together. This brings forth children: not by the blood of one but by blood of two is the flesh of children made. They (Adam and Eve/man and woman) are allowed to be two persons, but even so they will in marriage be one flesh, otherwise two, because none of them has the power (to create children) of his own flesh. *Stjórn* follows Comestor closely and states that because woman has arrived in this way (from the rib if Adam, sic), a great many men shall leave their fathers and mothers and live with (own fields together with) their wife, as she is a part of himself. The two should be one body, because of this mixing of the blood of both
of them, children are made (“started”). Then the compiler states that hvarki þeira hefir meðr ollu eitt saman valld yfir sealfs sins likam. The word hvarki can mean that either and both of them or that neither of them has power over their own bodies, but as Comestor allows two separate beings in marriage I have chosen for the later possibility, that either of them has (both) their own power over their own body. This should then have been the compilers way of informing that marriage allowed the spouses to be separate persons.

De Rijmbijbel states in a direct speech of Adam that “Because she is of my upper body, the man shall follow his wife and leave his mother and father”, naming the mother first. The continuation is from the view of the storyteller:”thereafter is described how the two should become one flesh. According to this he foretold marriage”. How children are made from that the two are becoming one flesh is not mentioned, nor is there a mention made that children are a result of the union of man and woman and from marriage, as opposed to being the work of one single person. Also no mention is made of any right to remain a separate being in a marriage, or indeed of any right to hold any power of one’s own body. On the other hand, the writer of The Historye of the Patriarks states that none of them, man nor woman, shall have power of their own flesh, but that “either of other have equal power”, and even gives that as the reason why the two shall become one flesh. Adams prophecy is repeated thus, but is not named as a prophecy, nor connected to marriage. Also there is no mention of how children shall come from this union, or even that they can arrive in the union at all.

XX De statu innocentiae

Stjórn

Both of them, Adam and his wife, were naked without any feelings of shame, as was said before. They thought that there was no need/necessity to cover them selves because they felt no carnal lust or temptation that they needed to curb. Just as we are not ashamed for anyone seeing our head and feet.

de Rijmbijbel

When Eve and Adam was made, they were both naked. And they felt no shame. Notice that men can see this in children, they are not ashamed before they are shown and knows the true nature of sin. So it was with Eve and Adam, that (is the reason why) they were without shame.
Analysis

Here too, both the *de Rijmbijbel* and *Stjórn* translate the storyline from Genesis verbatim, and both develop their own reasoning connected to the text. *Stjórn* informs us that Adam and Eve felt no shame for their nakedness, because they did not feel carnal lust or temptation when looking at each other, no more than we (the audience) feel shame as someone sees our feet or heads. From this we can also with some certainty deduce that the Old Norse society had no taboo on shoving heads or naked feet! The feeling of shame is here connected to the ability to think further, to the act that can follow as one is naked, and as a result feel carnal lust. The naked image thus awakens the lust via the imagination of the person looking. Clothes are obviously considered to be useful to “curb” the sexual lust.

*De Rijmbijbel* on the other hand goes on to say that *Maerc dat men dit an kindren siet, sine scamen hem niet eer entujnt Ere hare nature sonden kint*, ‘Note that we can see this in children; they are not ashamed before they are showed, and know, the nature of the sins’. Here nakedness seems to be directly tied to sin, presumably carnal sin. It is to be deduced that young children do not know carnal lust and are therefore oblivious to any shamefulness in nakedness. As they are instructed they come to understand what carnal sin is (presumably before they are old enough to know this sin from first hand experience) and are in this way taught by society to feel shame. Interestingly, in this section van Maerlant consequently names Eve first, even when the rhyme does not demand it.

In *Stjórn*, the explanation does not linger on children or on their moral education, but on direct relation to the rules of adult society. A quick comparison shows that *The Historye of the Patriarks* does not offer any explanations at all. There, the statement of Adam and Eve being *nakyd but nothyngge ashame*, is followed with the story of the envy of Lucifer, bringing downfall to the human race through the serpent.
Discussion

As this study began, some questions were formulated with the aim of looking at two different medieval translations of Historia Scholastica, to learn more about the time and milieu wherein they were made. The main question was as follows:

- Which strategies for translation can be found in the Old Norse translation of the Bible, now known to us as Stjórn I, and which strategies can be found in the Middle Dutch translation known as de Rijmbijbel?

The study was confined to the Book of Genesis, chapter 1 and 2. The following sub-questions were used to further develop the question:

- Does a closer reading of the prologues give information about the thoughts of the writers/translators on subjects as the translation and the intended audience?
- Were the same strategies used in both languages, or do they differ?
- Could anything be deduced from the similarities or differences?
- What, if anything, do the strategies used suggest to us about the intended use of the vernacular translations, as for example their intended audience and the intention with the translations?

**Did a closer reading of the prologues give information about the thoughts of the writers/translators on subjects as the translation and the intended audience?**

The medieval prologue was formalized and based on the antique prologue, known as the “Aristotelian prologues”. It was expected to state among other things the reason for the book that followed (causa), its title, of course (titulus), its usefulness (utilitas) and on what authority it was made. A prologue also told the intended audience what to expect from the work at hand. This can all be found in both of the two vernacular prologues. In the prologue of Stjórn I the writer also explicitly states who his intended audience is: men at the kings court that lacks proficiency in Latin. On the subject of translation he seems to view Old Norse as inferior to Latin. He also explains that he is bringing material from several sources into his work, but does not mention commentary from himself as part of the material. The compiler uses the prologue of Historia Scholastica to explain the connection between the secular world and the sacral heaven, and expands upon this. The aim of his work is stated to be to educate in an amusing way.

In de Rijmbijbel the writer only specifies his audience as far as that it is aimed at people without knowledge of Latin. The writers thoughts on translation is given as that it must be

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54 Minnis, Medieval theory of Authorship, p160-162.
done without distorting the truth of the source material. The aim is to instruct the audience and the source material can, and will, be presented in an amusing way, adapted to be easier to understand and to remember. Here there is also a discussion, almost a defence for, the choice of presentation, in a rhymed version. Both prologues thus give information on intended use and, to a degree, the audience. Both prologues state an intention to make difficult material not only understandable but enjoyable for the intended audience.

**Were the same strategies used in both languages, or do they differ?**

Following the hypothesis of Rita Copeland, it was probable that the popular medieval way of translating; that is translating as a process of commenting, subtracting from, adding to and compiling simultaneously, would be found in a learned vernacular work such as a translation of *Historia Scholastica* would have been. The two translations were, on the other hand, neither of them at the first glance what one would call an average staple-translation, one being rhymed, and the other made in the far North, were we are maybe not used to expect sophistication. However, both translators/compilers used the very method Copeland describes. Both adds, explains, subtracts and comments, and both seem to use this to adapt their material to their own audience, that is, to appropriate the text. The Old Norse version even used the technique lavishly, expanding the material to more than double the original material in bulk, with long spinning reasoning on adjoining topics, cherry-picked not only from the Bible and the *Historia Scholastica* but also from Augustinus, Isodorus de Sevilla and Vincent de Beauvais. The rhymed translation into Middle Dutch also used these same sources, but expanded less upon the text.

The exact date of the writing of *Stjórn I* is unknown, but if the prologue is authentic it would have been somewhere between 1299 and 1319. It is thus written no later than 38 years after *de Rijmbijbel*. It seems that the learned way of showing penmanship, through adapting, expanding upon and appropriating the text, was just as viable in the scholarly circles in the North at that time, as it was in the scholarly circles in the more central part of Europe where van Maerlant was writing.

**Could anything be deduced from the similarities or differences?**

That one version is rhymed, and one is written in prose suggests two different views on both the material and on the act of translation, as we see in the chapter on genres. More to the point here; the difference in genre notwithstanding, there seems to be a greater compliance between *Stjórn* and *de Rijmbijbel* than between any one of the two and *The Historye of the Patriarks*. It

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55 Jensen, ‘Martyrs, Total War, and Heavenly Horses’; “…the majority of historians in Scandinavia agreed that everything came a little late to Scandinavia…” and that medieval sources, in this case Peter of Cluny, writes of “The land of the primitives”, p 89-90.
is possible that Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel were made close enough in time to draw from much
the same sources, a cluster of sources being especially popular in academic circles at that
actual time period in Western and Northern Europe perhaps? Or it could be that the two
writers had other things than just the sources in common. We do not know anything about the
compiler of Stjórn, and very little of Jacob van Maerlant, but it is possible that the education
of the two writers was sufficiently alike to make them use much the same sources. One reason
could be that they were educated within the same system, for example within the same or very
similar religious orders. It is also possible that these two translations were main stream
version of adaptations of Historia Scholastica, and that The Historye of the Patriarks is the
one that is different and unique. To be certain if the similarities are more specifically unique
to these two writers, more vernacular translations of history bibles needs to be studied and
compared with Stjórn I, de Rijmbijbel, and also with The Historye of the Patriarks.

What, if anything, does the strategies used suggest to us about the intended use of the
vernacular translations, as for example their intended audience and the intention with
the translations?

Central in the work of Copeland is what she has coined appropriation, the wilfull act of using
subtraction and adding, and not the least, using hermeneutics, to adapt the text one is
translating with the aim of appropriation; that is, making this text into a text at home in its
new environment. Looking at what the compiler of Stjórn I and what van Maerlant has chosen
to use or to discard from the material of Comestor, their choices gives an indication as to what
was deemed interesting, understandable and/or adequate knowledge for their respective
audiences. Information discarded could give a hint as to what the writers deemed unnecessary
or maybe to complicated knowledge for their audiences. In both texts, for example, Greek
etymology is left out, and most of the Latin too. Both texts mainly ignore references to
philosophers. Both texts also ignore some of the scholarly discussions, such as the gender of
the soul, or how animals can have motion but not a soul. Both texts adds other scholarly
discussions, but it would seem that these are of a more practical sort, for instance whether
sexual relations are sinful within marriage or not. Stjórn I does however add more abstract
discussions, such as whether the moon was full or new at the moment of its creation.

What material the writers added would have been intended to fill in what the writers
considered to be lacuna’s in the text, adding information necessary for their audiences, or
information intended to catch their audiences’ interest. Any parts where details are added to
an existing topic, or concepts are explained in some detail compared to Historia Scholastica,
should point to areas where the audiences were expected to not understand or to
misunderstand without a deeper explanation, or maybe to areas wherein they were expected to
have a special interest. Also foregrounding could point to what the writers thought was of
special interest to their audience, or high-light topics that the writers wanted to impress upon
the audience. Foregrounding could be explained as the way of expressing things so that they draw attention to them selves. As an example, van Maerlant instead of the expected Adam and Eve writes Eve and Adam. It can also be to give unexpected priority to a topic, as when the compiler of Stjórn lets God instruct the fish explicitly to “fill up the seafarers’ waters”.

A short recapitulation of the strategies

I. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel mention the four elements. Neither mentions the Word as the true beginning of the world, nor do they mention that Plato, Aristoteles and Epicurus thought the materia already to exist. The Historye of the Patriarks does mention the Word, and it does mention the three philosophers, but not the four elements.

II. Only Stjórn has the added explanation that the world was created but invisible and untouchable. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel ignore the comparison to the carpenter, but Stjórn at least mentions that the materials were already in existence. De Rijmbijbel uses the point of Comestor that the Holy Spirit is to be understood as Gods will. It also introduces Christology; comparing the Spirit of God floating over water to the baptism. None of the two translates the discussion on whether darkness already existed. The Historye of the Patriarks uses both the comparison of the carpenter and the discussion on the earlier existence of darkness used by Historia Scholastica.

III. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel are true to the main core, the creating, separating and naming of light and darkness, as well as the angels sorted into dark and light, connected to night or day. Stjórn follows the description of the dwindling light and the new day more closely. None of them enters into the etymological explanations from Greek words. In Stjórn, we get an explanation on when the day begins and ends. In de Rijmbijbel, the information of the Word is used here, on the First Day of Creation, with the added information that the Word of God is the Son of God, made flesh in the womb of Mary (a piece of Christology). We also get a description of how the newly created light looked like, when there was no sun yet. The Historye of the Patriarks adds a reason for the creation, that God wanted all things to be perfect and pleasant, and that evening was made first, followed by the day.

IV. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel tells over the form and quality of the firmament, following Comestor. Both expand on the description of the firmament in the form of an eggshell. Stjórn describes it as a barrel, and de Rijmbijbel describes it as a bowl. None of the writers uses the etymological explanations over Greek words for heaven, but in de Rijmbijbel we get an etymological explanation of the word hemel and also the word firmament, related in Middle Dutch (firmament was thus obviously a word integrated in the Middle Dutch vocabulary). In Stjórn we get an added discussion on the possibility that the angels did not
fall until on the second day, Monday, a view with which the writer disagrees. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel add a question as to why God would want to hold water above the firmament. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel conclude that some men say that it is used for rain/dew. None of them translates the description of the firmament as an oven, reflecting sunlight. Van Maerlant ignores that the second day should be less good than the other days, while the compiler of Stjórn seems to find this question so important that he adds the discussion on which day the angels fell, as a new possible explanation. The Historye of the Patriarks follows Comestor in the description of the firmament but also in the comparison to an oven. It ignores completely that the second days should be less good.

V. Stjórn describes not only the bare facts of gathered water and dry land, but also adds the four elements, putting them in their order, and giving a reason for the order. Fire is thus placed first and highest because it is the lightest, and earth ordered last and lowest because it is the heaviest. Both water and earth is described with beneficiary traits, the water “benefits men” and the earth holds ore, gemstones and other things useful to men. Going back to the water held above the firmament, he agrees that this could be the reason for drizzle, snow and other moisture. It seems obvious that this is weather known to his audience. He embellishes on the growth of grass, herbs and trees, stating that they did not grow as slow as they do today, but was fully matured at once. He also quotes Comestor, in comparing this with “our” way of counting time, comparing the mature crops with harvest time and telling that the Church was created in spring (However, no mention is here made as to why the church counts spring as its “birthday”, that is Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descends in the disciples of Christ). De Rijmbijbel is very to the point, only relating the barest of facts, but adding an etymological item in Middle Dutch. We are also given a reason for why herbs and trees bear harvest, it is to be obedient to God. The Historye of the Patriarks also gives the bare facts, adding the reason that this was done as God wanted things to be perfect, profitable and pleasant.

VI. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijbel follows the main core of the creation of sun, moon and stars, and the practical use of the latter in telling time and the weather (Stjórn adds “stormy weather), and for the stars, to be guiding travellers and birds at night. Stjórn adds that they are made for the consoling and helping of men dying at night, to the tasks of moon and stars. Also Stjórn repeats from Comestor that the stars make up twelve star signs, but their use is given as separating time, and telling solstice and equinox, and divination is not mentioned. The stars are fixed in the firmament but the seven planets, sun among them, wanders freely. De Rijmbijbel ignores the star signs but quotes Comestor on the size of the sun, moon and earth. He also mentions the planets but does not tell how many they are. The night-flying birds are mentioned shortly, while Stjórn adds more detail and even names two species (one with an etymological explanation in Latin, and one which must have been well known to the
audience, the strix-family, owls, known as ugla in Old Norse, though this name is not mentioned at all. Both Stjòrn and de Rijmbijbel mentions travellers in the desert sand as being especially in need of the stars for navigation, but the place varies. Stjòrn just mentions Africa, and de Rijmbijbel mentions Libya. Comestor speaks of Ethiopia. Stjòrn has an added discussion on the creation of the moon: quarrelsome men discusses of it was full or new when it was created. Alternatives as to where and when it was created (east or west, in the morning with the sun or in the evening on its own) are given. De Rijmbijbel tells shortly that the moon was made to rise as the sun set, no discussion or alternatives are mentioned. The Historye of the Patriarks shortly tells about the making of sun, moon and stars, and the use of the later for separating time and helping creatures labouring at night, foremost sailors and birds.

VII. Here Stjòrn adapts the words of Comestor, who describes how easily water and air flows, with a detailed explanation on how fish and bird moves, the birds actually swimming in the moisture of the air, so that where the air is thin, that is, not sufficiently packed with moisture, birds cannot fly. An example is given, from a specific geographic location, in Macedonia, Greece. We are also informed that fish are counted as reptiles because of their movement, this information comes from Comestor, but is formulated differently – they are, in Old Norse, moving on their breast, while Comestor states that they are moving without legs. Comestor is closely followed, in an account of Plato misunderstanding “the book of Moses” adding that bad angels are hidden in misty air, eternal suffering and not a decoration for anything. Fish and other greater water-living creatures, the whales are named, are told to multiply and fill the waters of the seafarers’. Comestor is also followed by de Rijmbijbel, in that both birds and fish belongs to water, but without explanation into how, and with the addition that everything on earth is connected through their need of water. Van Maerlant then deviates into telling that only God can make these creatures and that it is a sin to claim otherwise. He also adds that God blessed these creatures because he wanted them to do his will (not because they already did his will, thus). He does not mention that they are ordered to be fruitful and multiply, nor Plato, Moses or demons and angels in the sky. None of the writers translates Comestors thoughts on how living beings can have motion without an eternal soul. The Historye of the Patriarks shortly informs over the creation of fish and birds, adding that both species belongs to the earth and were made by God because he found that water and earth was “not yet fully arranged to the pleasure of mankind”

VIII. The compiler of Stjòrn orders his description of the creation of the world after his own explanatory model (according to Astås found in a later chapter of Historia Scholastica), and in this it is perfectly natural that the earth is decorated last, it is the heaviest and inmost/lowest of the elements. He follows this chapter of Comestor in the three sorts of animals created, reptiles, livestock and wild beasts, even for the second time adding an etymological explanation in Latin, over that jumentum means something like helping animal (beast of
burden is otherwise an often used English translation). God knew that man would fall, as Comestor explains. The compiler of Stjórn has further chosen to embed the creation of man and the creation of marriage here under the heading of the sixth day, thus leaving the structure of Comestor, rearranging it in a way he himself obviously has found more logical. To return to the sixth day of creation, Comestor explains how all animals once were dominated by man, but man has lost this domination, over all but the medium sized animals.

In Stjórn we also reads this reasoning but with the added reflection on how we can say that man holds any power over animals, as so many men are killed by animals and so much damage is done by birds. However, the sin of man is responsible for most, as man lost his original status (and powers) there. The sin is also responsible for inedible fruits. But then comes an interesting reasoning, maybe aimed to show that men even so has a lot of power over their life (and has no reason to feel downtrodden) Man has support and strength and controls a lot of creatures, even if he because of his own frailty is easily killed by them. And mans mind and bodie are better than the creatures. De Rijmbijble follows Comestor in the decoration of the earth and that God knew man would fall, and wanted to give man the animals as support after the sin. Van Maerlant then gives an etymological explanation of the Middle Dutch word for animals, beesten, which can be pronounced close to bijstaan, to support. All animals were friendly to man before his sin, and the sin is the reason that some animals became dangerous as man lost control over them, just as Comestor tells. Neither Stjórn nor de Rijmbijble uses the three reasons Comestor gives for the difficulties man faces from beasts; that they are for punishment, admonition and instruction. Nor do they go into the different kinds of reptiles and insects. Meanwhile The Historye of the Patriarks follows Comestor closely, even repeating a Latin quote (that Comestor uses here but that actually comes from Genesis chapter 3). It also tells of insects and which of them was made for the sin and which ones were made after the sin.

IX. As mentioned, the compiler of Stjórn here deviates from the structure of Comestor and embed the creation of man in the creation of the sixth day. He explains why God say “Let us make man” as he already from the beginning writes that “God said to his own Son and to the Holy Spirit”, a both simple and profound theologically based explanation. Both man and woman are created after the likeness of God, but woman is created last. The compiler follows Comestor closely as he presents three signs that man has a special status in the creation, but with additions. Thus man has inside him a soul mirroring the Trinity, and he is not only premediated but affirmed by the Trinity. He also follows Comestor in that both animals and man initially ate fruit; eating flesh came with the sin. Examples are given as to which animals man cannot longer control and why, just as Comestor does, but deviates in the example of the smallest uncontrollable animals, where birds are used, not flies. The compiler then uses
another source, Speculum Historale, to show how man is the image of God in four different ways. Here, among other things, man as micro cosmos is introduced.

A pretty picture of man before sin is given, and if he had not sinned, he had always been without pain, hard work, hunger or illness. No mention is made of the pains of childbirth, although this seems, from a theological point of view, to have been a natural place to mention that giving birth with pain, was something that came to women after the original sin. The writer mentions however, that men would, if the sin had not occurred, not have needed clothes, as they then would have been no more ashamed of their genitals than over their hands and feet. De Rijmbijble explains to his audience on a personal note why God said “Let us make”. It is the Trinity talking to itself. He very clearly tells how man is made with premeditation, and adds that this “is no small matter”. Following Comestor he tells that man is made with a soul after the image of God. He repeats the three signs marking the special status of man, but adds that man was made “not only for earthly pleasures riches”, presumably meaning that man was also made for an afterlife. The premeditation is presented in very simple words; that “God planned this and said ‘Let us make man’”. The third sign is as good as verbatim translated. Also the sin as responsible for the loss of control in both bigger and smaller animals and for inedible fruit follows Comestor, but the animals are more detailed. Among the examples of the greater animals over which man has lost control, not only lions, tigers and leopards but dragons are mentioned. The smallest animals are represented both with flies, as in Historia Scholastica, but also with birds, as in Stjörn. Neither in Stjörn nor de Rijmbijble the gender of the soul is discussed. Both use different explanations for how the Trinity speaks with itself, both chosen from of the two explanations Comestor gives. The Historye of the Patriarks also introduces a third explanation: Wherfor the blyssyd Sonne, secounde persone of the trinitie, spak(e) vnto the Fadre. Otherwise this writer follows Comestor closely, except that he too ignores the discussion on the gender of the soul.

X. Both Stjörn and de Rijmbijble quotes Comestor in that when God told mankind to multiply, this means that he spoke on marriage. Both then choses to deviate from the text, on this point adding a comment on that some men (presumably religious scholars?!) claims that sexual relations never is without sin, not even within marriage. Comestor seems to cover this in a later chapter, but both Stjörn and de Rijmbijble use it here, together with the command of God to multiply. While the compiler of Stjörn calls this view foolish, van Maerlant seems to feel more strongly about this topic and uses de Rijmbijble to demand severe punishment for anyone claiming that sexual relations within marriage is sinful. He calls them heretics who hold such views, as God commanded men to multiply and God never encourages sin. The Historye of the Patriarks quietly ignores the whole question of marriage.
XI. While Comestor explains in Historia Scholastica that God rested, not because he was tired but because he was finished, Stjørn ignores this as if any such suggestion was unthinkable. Otherwise Stjørn follows Comestor in the three works of God that was now finished (creating, appointing, adorning) but adds more order to the reasoning, arranging day 1 as the work of creation, ordering/appointing on day 2 and 3 and finally, decoration on the last three days. The compiler adds that God rested on the seventh day from his good work, and he recognizes and blesses us when we have done good work. What then follows are several pages where the compiler has added material inspired from Augustinus, weaving together the seven days of creation with the seven ages of the world and with the seventh days of men. He ends with the comparison of a good man in old age, awaiting the eternal rest of the seventh day in heaven. Stjørn then curves back to Comestor, again describing the three works now finished, but adding the works of God that is never finished, namely the giving every new living thing a soul, and showing us how to live as good men, taking the worthy up to him in heaven. De Rijmbijble assures its audience that God did not rest because he was made weaker from his hard work, but because he was finished, even though his work unfolds daily. We are told how everything that exist, comes from matter already existing on the seventh day. Just as the compiler of Stjørn, van Maerlant adds that God gives each new body a soul. He also adds that the seventh day was a Saturday, called “Sabbath” by Hebrew men. God rested this day without pomp and circumstance, but since then men has had this as a day of feast, Van Maerlant then adds some Christology, telling us that this happened before it rained, while everything got water from the fountains of paradise, and that the paradise actually equals Mary mother of Christ and that the fountain is Jesus. The Historye of the Patriarks lumps the blessing of Adam and Eve together with the blessing of the seventh day, adding that even if God rested after his work had been done, there was “not denying but that he had more to make thereafter”, which opens an intriguing theological view which we, however, are not going to pursue here.

XII. Here both Stjørn and de Rijmbijble deviate from Comestor, adding the misconception of Plato, that angels had formed the body and God just the soul of man. Both Stjørn and de Rijmbijble are also adamant that men must not think that the soul is made of “godly matter”, because God cannot sin or die, and anything created of godly matter likewise cannot sin or die, but man clearly can both. Both also inform us that Adam was created as a young grown man, “on the height of his manliness”. Stjørn then adds that this is the first place in the bible where God is called king/lord, and that this is because he now has created a servant, man, over which he can be said to be king. This is not mentioned in de Rijmbijble, where van Maerlant instead adds that man was given free will and therefore had his own choice in whether to obey God and live forever, or be disobedient and become mortal. None of this is mentioned in Historia Scholastica at this point, and The Historye of the Patriarks refers the whole making of Adam in one short sentence, ending with him being placed in paradise.
XIII. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijble follows Comestor in that God had already planted paradise on the third day, but while de Rijmbijble quotes Comestor in that paradise lies in the east but adds a description of its beauty and how it was never touched by the flood. Stjórn adds more detail, saying that paradise lies close to Campus Damascus. Both tell over the planting of trees, beautiful to look at and sweet to eat from, and of how in the middle of paradise, the trees of life, and of good and evil were placed. Stjórn even quotes that this were the most famous of the trees. Stjórn adds that the tree of life had the effect that the man who ate from it regularly, would never be sick or die. Man could not do evil before he had eaten from the tree of good and evil, but having eaten from it, Adam understood “another mans sickness/weekness, and saw that he had sown the same weekness in himself”. Obedience is central in creating good things and Adam is compared to a young boy, learning how obedience leads to good things and disobedience leads to bad things, “supports evil”. This reasoning seems to build on Comestor from a later chapter, but added in this chapter, presumably because it was found to fit better here. De Rijmbijble adds that God is mild and wise. He explains to us that the name of the tree of good and evil, comes from that Adam when he ate from it did evil and harmed the good. Man did not actual learn to do evil from eating the tree but eating the fruit unlocked the evil in the world. Neither Stjórn nor de Rijmbijble mentions the name of Eden or uses the etymology reasoning that Comestor uses when writing about Eden. The Historye of the Patriarks shortly states that Adam was placed in paradise, that the trees were planted, fair to look at and sweet to eat, and in the middle, the tree of life and the tree of good and evil.

XIV. As we come to the fountains of paradise, both Stjórn and de Rijmbijble follow Comestor in the description of the four rivers, with some changes. Stjórn describes Ganges in more detail then Historia Scholastica, adding that its name comes from the names of the kings of India. Comestor is also quoted on the matter of the gold (best known to man in the world) found in the rivers of India, and gemstones. Stjórn however adds more detail on the different “faces” of the river Ganges, and about the rivers where the rivers come from, and that Chaldea is where Abraham was “spawned”. De Rijmbijble tells us that the rivers can go underground and then re-appear somewhere else, but otherwise tells us only the names of the rivers, and that gold can be found in the sands of the river Phison. Neither Stjórn nor de Rijmbijble mentions what Comestor tells over the name of Euphrates, coming from its fertility. The Historye of the Patriarks follows Comestor closely here in naming and describing the rivers and the lands.

XV. While both Stjórn and de Rijmbijble of course quotes the commandment of which trees not to eat from, Stjórn says that as man eats from the tree of good and evil, he shall die in spirit and become mortal, and then continues to quote Comestor in stating that man was alone when this was commanded – or was it given later, to both of them? De Rijmbijble quotes
Comestor in that man was placed in paradise to be there in great pleasure (work, but not from pain or necessity, van Maerlant specifies). On the day man eats from the tree of good and evil, God tells him, he shall become mortal. No mention is made of that Adam maybe was the only one to hear this, and responsible for telling Eve about it later. The Historye of the Patriarks shortly tells that Adam was placed in paradise with the commandment not to eat from the tree of life (and not the tree of good and evil!) but adds that “But Adam did not understand the Lord so”, indicating that a misunderstanding was behind the sin.

XVI. Here Historia Scholastica states the necessity of a woman for the procreation of the species. This is not mentioned in Stjörn or de Rijmbijble. In Stjörn, Adam is showed the animals to name them, just as in Historia Scholastica, but also so that he shall se that it is necessary for him to have a woman, all the animals were “unlike to him”. Another reason is added, that the animals should know that Adam was their “leader and governor”. De Rijmbijble only mentions that God wants to give Adam someone to help him that is similar to him, and the naming of the animals, to give them names, and that he would then see that there were no animal similar to him in soul or body. Not that Adam could have thought the making of a woman unnecessary, or that he really thought about this at all. Also we read nothing about the animals learning that Adam was their governor. Historia Scholastica formulates the ulterior motive of God differently, namely that having named and seen all the animals, Adam would not consider the making of a woman superfluous. Also, both Stjörn and de Rijmbijble inform us that Adam spoke Hebrew when naming the animals, and that this was the first language, just as Historia Scholastica does. Stjörn states that Adam spoke in Hebrew, so that animals had one name only “until the languages split up” (surely meaning the tower of Babel without actually mentioning it). The Historye of the Patriarks follows Historia Scholastica closely, both as to the need of a woman to “bring forth fruit like himself” and the need to show him all other animals so he would not “think the making of a woman idle and unprofitable” (!). Here we are also told that Hebrew was the only language until the tower of Babel.

XVII. Both Stjörn and de Rijmbijble relate how God made Adam sleep, took one of his ribs and made woman from this. But both also add that this sleep was more than a usual sleep, more a sort of unconsciousness. Historia Scholastica only mentions a deep sleep (as does The Historye of the Patriarchs). The story of Adams experience or vision when he lay there in sleep, is also added in both Stjörn and de Rijmbijble, but not in Historia Scholastica nor in The Historye of the Patriarchs. Stjörn also adds a passage on the “Jewish” discussion on the existence of Lilith, feeling strongly against this. It would seem as if van Maerlant knew this story too, as he, a bit unnecessary it could seem, mentions that only one single woman were made out of the rib of Adam.
XVIII. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijble uses some sort of etymological explanation for the name for woman, just as Historia Scholastica, but in Stjórn this is done in the vernacular, while in de Rijmbijble, the word virago is used without more explanation than that “that word comes from man”. De Rijmbijble continues, as does Historia Scholastica, with telling that after the sin Adam named her Eva, “that men may understand as the mother of all humans”, which is not a very clear explanation in vernacular Middle Dutch. Van Maerlant then adds an item he seems to have thought important for his audience; the first sounds a new-born made, according to gender. Boys cries aaaaaaa and girls cries eeeeee we are told. Needlessly to say, this is not used in Historia Scholastica, nor in Stjórn. Stjórn does tell the name of Eve, but first later, on page 58 in the edition of Astås. The Historye of the Patriarks quotes Historia Scholastica, including using the word virago, and that she after the sin was named Eve.

XIX. Stjórn follows Comestor with a slight deviation, stating that “a great many men shall leave their fathers and mothers” for the sake of their wife. The two shall be one body, because the mixing of blood is what starts a child. Just as Comestor, the writer goes on to say that they have power over their own body (Comestor says that they have the right to remain two persons, but in marriage they will be one flesh because they cannot create children on their own). De Rijmbijble relates the prophesy of Adam in direct speech, “Because she is of my body, the man shall follow his wife and leave his mother and father”, thus also foregrounding the mother. There is no mention of how children are made from the two becoming one flesh, and no mention of that one could remain two persons within the marriage or have a say over one’s own body.

XX. Both Stjórn and de Rijmbijble follows Comestor, and both adds a comparison on how Adam and Eve could feel no shame. Stjórn states that as they did not feel carnal lust, they did not need to cover their bodies, feeling no more shame than the audience did when someone saw their head or feet. De Rijmbijble compares their shamelessness to that of young children before they are taught about sin (by society?). Van Maerlant foregrounds Eve, two times writing Eve and Adam.

Summary

The compiler of Stjórn often adds material of a practical nature, often seen from the profitable use of the earth. He does not go to the length of describing the earth as it is made as “profitable”, as does the writer of The Historye of the Patriarks, but he seems to lay priority on topics close to manly occupational uses (ore, valuables, fishing, and so on). Also some additions seem to be intended to show how society is, or should be, organized. There are, for example, many comments on obedience and some on leadership. The writer also seems to have a liking for the dramatic, as when he describes the fall of Lucifer or the different faces of the river Ganges. The insertion of the seven ages of man, weighed against the seven ages of
the world and the seven days of creation, probably echoes the medieval urge to categorize and create order, but it also suggests that the male world was central to the audience. The compiler does not introduce much of the philosophical material of Comestor, and only three times an etymological explanation is used. Only one time an Old Norse word is used for this, the word for woman, come from the word for man, as she was made from man. Often more scholarly discussions in the source material is ignored, but others, seemingly more practical, are added.

In *de Rijmbijbel* the writer seems rather fond of etymology, as he in nearly every section explains a vernacular word from the etymology of the time, which was often based on logic and homonymies between traits of what was described, and the sound of the word for it. Once or twice he enlightens his audience as to a Latin word (*empyrius*, as being the correct name for heaven, and *virago*, for woman) but he does only give etymological explanations for words in the vernacular language. He also does not explain upon the Latin words. Regularly he uses direct speech, even letting Adam turn directly to the audience.

Van Maerlant further often uses Christology, relating things in the process of the creation of the world to the coming of Christ or to every day practices in the contemporary society, such as the baptism. His text otherwise seems to give priority to morality, and to foreground women and children. In his prologue it would seem as if he was comparing him self, as producing or giving birth to a book, to Mary mother of Jesus, giving birth to Jesus. It is not difficult to draw a line of similarity between the writer and *any* woman having given birth. This could indicate that he wanted to engage his audience in his writing. It could be interpreted as lifting women to his creational level, having given birth, just as Mary mother of Christ, and just as him self, the creator of books. Or he could be creating a link where the audience lifted him to their level, one of them, as he too had given birth. Of course both interpretations could be working simultaneously, from separate perspectives, depending on the writer’s and the audience’s regard of them selves versus “the other”. However, this could perhaps have been meant as a subtle linking.

His explanation of the first sounds of little babies is also interesting, suggesting that his audience would have had knowledge of, and an interest in, the very first sounds of new-borns, something that would presumably point to a secular female audience. A secular audience had probably more experience with child-birth, if not personally, then as part of a household. They were presumably also more focused on children than nuns would be. A male audience would probably not be as interested in the reference to new-borns; however this could be stereotyping a medieval male audience!

Also van Maerlant’s foregrounding of mothers, and of Eve before Adam, as she is mentioned together with Adam, is interesting. There is to my knowledge no precedence for using the formula *Eve and Adam* instead of *Adam and Eve* in Dutch bibles. Even if the rhyme could,
maybe, be used as an excuse at one point, it does not explain why he uses the same formula again.

Van Maerlant seems very irritated on persons claiming that sexual relations within marriage is a sin, even demanding strong punishment against such talk. Again, a secular audience is more probable than a religious one. This however, is a topic possibly of interest for both genders.

Both texts have braided geographical information and knowledge of plants and animals into the material, which is not only taken from Historia Scholastica but from Augustinus, Vincent de Beauvais and Isidorus de Sevilla.

**Conclusion**

It seems obvious that neither Stjórın nor de Rijmbïjbel were written for a previously entirely uneducated audience. To make sense of the text one would not only need to have the ability to listen to and to process a text, but also would have needed, and was clearly expected to, some knowledge of the Bible. As an example there is in Stjórın on page 26, where the night and the stars are discussed at some length, a short reference to su stiarna er austrvegs konungum vitradiz, the star that the kings in east were visited by (the same wise kings that would later visit Bethlehem to pay homage to the new-born King). The psalms of David are also mentioned.

In Stjórın I it is possible to recognize strategies used to make the text suitable for public reading, such as being structured in paragraphs of a suitable length. De Rijmbïjble, being rhymed, is already through its form well suited for loud recitations. Copeland describes translation strategies with an eye on literature, but it is obviously that the same strategies could also be used in academic texts. The strategies used in both Stjórın I and de Rijmbïjbel seems to be identical; adding, subtracting, explaining and emphazising (foregrounding), and they also seem to be identical to what Copeland describes as the medieval contemporary way of translating a text with the aim of appropriating it, thus adapting it to the target language.

Even if the translated material is just a fragment of the works here discussed, it is possible to make some observations. Both Stjórın and de Rijmbïjbel adds and subtracts from their source text. Frequently they choose to add information on the same topics. They also often choose the same items to leave out. In fact there are much more similarities between the two texts of Stjórın I and de Rijmbïjbel as to choice of which material to add or to subtract, than it is between any of the two texts and their main source Historia Scholastica, or between any of them and the slightly younger translation of the same main source, The Historye of the Patriarks.
However, it would seem that their material is adapted for two different audiences. Both prologues are long and detailed, giving much the same information, but with interesting differences. The views of the writer on translation and on the intended audience was, to a certain degree, possible to recognize. From the differences in how the texts were adapted, a plausible idea could be formed as to the respective intended audiences.

The compiler of Stjórn tells us in his prologue exactly which audience he has in mind, namely men at the king’s court that does not understand Latin. The compiler’s choice of material is in harmony of his written aim, as it would seem that manly occupations and male development is central. Children, for example, are only mentioned a couple of times, and then as “young boys”. In the prologue of de Rijmbijbel the intended audience is only given as “the ones not able to understand Latin”. In the work itself, however, we repeatedly find the concept of children used as example on moral and biblical material, as when they are used as a picture of man before the sin, or in how new-borns in their first sounds echoes the names of Adam and Eve. The material seems in a lesser degree to be concerned about practical occupational uses. Several times women are foregrounded, as in the expressions mother and father, and Eve and Adam. Also, the writing of the work seems in the prologue at one point to be compared to child-birth. Even though van Maerlant does not specify the gender of his intended audience in his prologue, it does not seem to require a great leap of imagination to propose that his work was actually written with a fairly well educated secular female audience in mind – and probably also their young off-spring. The text seems moral and modest enough to be read aloud for any age-group. The children, at least, would have enjoyed the thought that once, men could control dragons.
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Appendix I  Historia Scholastica

(Prolog)


Historia libri genesis

I. De creatione empyrei et quatuor elementorum


II. De primaria mundi confusione

(p6) Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, id est machina mundialis adhuc erat inutilis et infructuosa et vacua ornatu suo. Et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi. Eamdem machinam

III. De opere primae dici

(p8) Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux. Id est verbum genuit in quo erat ut fieret lux, id est tam facile ut si quis diceret verbo. (Sicut Verbum est Fileus, ita dicere est gignere et gigni.) Lucem vocat quamdam nubem lucidam illuminatem superiores mundi partes, claritate tamen tenui ut fieri solet dilucilo. Et hoc admodum solis circumagitata, praesentia sui superius hemisphaerium et inferius vicissim illuminat... Per fiat, praesentia vel praescientia lucis in Deo intelligitur priusquam fieret, per facta est, essentia ejusdem in actu, scilicet cum prodit ad esse. Et vivit Deus lumem, quod esset bona, id est quae placuerat in praesentia, vel praescientia, ut fieret. Placuit in essentia ut maneret. Vel tropice vidit, id est videre fecit. Et divisit lucem, ac tenebras. Hic incipit dispositio. Et tamen aliquid dicit de creatione, quasi cum luce tenebras creavit, id est umbram ex objectione corporum luci, et creatas divisit locorum distantia et qualitate ut scilicet nunquam simul sed semper et regioe diversa hemisphaerium vicissim sibi vindicarent. Intelligitur etiam hic angelorum facta divisio: stantes lux, cadentes tenebras dicii sunt. Et apellavit lucem diem, a dia Graeco quod est claritas, sicut lux dicitur quia luit, id est purgat tenebras. Tenebras dixit noctem a nocendo, quia nocet oculos ne videant: sicut tenebras, quia tenent oculos, ne videant. Sicut tamen dies exortum est a dia Graeco, ita nox a nyctim. Et factum est vespere et post factum est mane et sic completus est dies unus, naturalis. Primo enim cum coelo et terra lux est create, qua paulatim occidente factum est vespere primae dies usualis, et, eadem migrante sub terras et ad ortum veniente, factum est mane, id est terminata est nox, et inchoacit dies secunda. Itaque praecedente luce dies et sequente nocte terminata exstitit dies unus. Lux ipsa divisas partes ostendebat, sed non dividebat.

IV. De opere secundae dici

(p10) Secunda die disposituit Deus superiora mundi sensibilis. EMPYREUM enim coelum quam cito factum est, statim dispositum est et ornatum, id est sanctis angelis repleatum. Fecit
ergo es die *Deus firmamentum in medio aquarum*, id est quamdam exteriorem mundi superficiem ex aquis congelatis, ad instar crystalli consolidatam, et perlucidam, intra se caetera sensibila continentem ad imaginem testae, qua in ovo est, et in eo fixa sunt sidera. Et dicitur firmamentum, non tamquam propter sua soliditatem sed quia terminus est aquarum quae super ipsum sunt, firmus et intransgressibilis. Dicitur etiam coelum, quia celat, id est tegit omnia invisibilia. Et cum legitur firmamentum coeli, endiades est, id est firmamentum quod est coelum, ut cum dicitur creatura salis. Unde et pro sui concamatione graece dicitur uranon, id est palatium. Vel dicitur coelum quasi casa elios, quia sol sub ipso positus ipsum illustratur. Hanc tamen circumvolvutam concamationem philosophus summitatem ignis intellexit. Cum enim ignis non habet quo ascendat, circumvolvit ut in cibano patet; ita et circa mundi exteriora ignis volvit. Et hoc est sidereum vel aetherum coelum…

Deus autem unitas est et sectionem et discordiam detestatur. Possumus tamen dicere quia opus tertiae diei quasi adhuc est de opere secunae diei, quod post patebit. Unde non commendatur nisi in tertia die, quasi post sui consummationem.

V. De opere tertiae dici


VI. De opere quartae dici

(p14)Quarto die quae disposuerat coepit ornare rebus illis, quae infra universum mundum congruis motibus agerentur. Plantae enim, quia terrae haerent, ad dispositionem terrae quasi
magis spectant, et sicut dispositionem sic et ornatum a superioribus inchoavit. Fecit enim eadem die luminaria, solem et lunam et stellas. Et dicitur sol, quia solus lucet, id est nullum cum eo. Luna luminum una, id est prima ut una dierum, vel una Sabbatorum dicitur. Sol et luna dicuntur *magna luminaria* in duobus et ex duobus, id est non solum pro quantitate luninis sed et corporis, et non tantum comparatione stellarum sed et secundum se, quia sol dicitur octies major terra...et luna etiam major terra dicitur. Lunam et stellas voluit illuminare noctem, ne nox sine lumine nimis esset indecora, ut operantes in noxem ut nautae et viatores solatum luninis haberent. Sunt etiam quaedam aviculae, quae lucem solis ferre non possunt, et fere nocte pascuntur. (Maxime hae aves in desertis Aethiopiae arenosis ubi modicus impulsus veti inventa itinerantium vestigia complanat.) Nec superfluit sol, licet nubes lucida vicem ejus ageret, quia illa tenuem et insufficiem lucem habebat, et forte non nisi superiora illuminabat, sicut nec stella modo. De illa autem nube lucida supraddicta traditur modo quod vel redierit in materiam, unde facta fuerat, ut stella quae apparuit magis et columba in qua visus est Spiritus sanctus, vel quod semoer solem comitatur, vel quod de ea factum est corpus solare. Nec tantum ad decorem, et ad usum luminis ea voluit esse, sed etiam ut essent *in signa, et tempora et dies et annos*, ut scilicet signa sint serenitatis et tempestatis, vel ut ex ipsis fient signa dupdecim majora et quadam signa minora. Plura his quae dicuntur signa vel sidera, tum quia magna diligentia signavit, vel consideravit ea antiquitas, tum quia adhuc signant et considerant ea homines ad disenationem temporum...

**VII. De opere quintae dici**

(p16) Quinta die Deus ornavit aerem et aquam vola tilia dans aeri natalitia aquis, et utraque ex aquis orta sunt. Facilis enim transitus est aquae in aera tenuendo et aeris in aquam spissando. Pisces vocavit ;oyses reptilia, quia impetu quodam totos se rapiunt, ut serpents; non feruntur pedibus, ut ferae. Nota quia ex hoc quod dictum est: creavit volatile coeli super terram, erravit Plato qui descendens in Aegyptum, libo Moysi legit, et putavit Moysen sensisse volatilia esse ornatum aeris tantum circa terram, ornatum vero aeris superioris calodaemones, et cacodaemones. (Cum magis vere daemones dicuntur boni angeli quam mali in suggillationem tamen promissionis eorem, scilicet: *Eritis sicut dii*, datum est eis hoc nomen.) Sed non ita est. Boni enim daemones ut dictum est, sunt in empyreo, mali vero in hunc aerem caliginosum detrusi sunt ad poenam, non ad ejus ornatum. *Deus enim peccantibus angelis non pepercit*. Creavit Deus, id est plasmavit, cete grandia. Cete generis neutri est indeclinabile. Declinatur, tamen cetus, ceti, *Et omnem animam viventem atque motabilem, quam produxerat aquae*. Motabiles autem dicuntur animae piscium et avium respectu animae hominis. Illae enim moventur de esse ad non esse, ista non, quia perpetua est, vel quia forsam animas non habent, sed tamen spiritus vegetativos quia cum ipsis animabus exstinguitur...ipsum animal vocavit animam, id est vivens. Unde, et Graeci dividunt animalia per zoa et psycheia: zoa id est viventia, bruta, sed psycheia animata, a psyche quod est anima rationalis. Sed etiam dicitur
creatum motabile, quod creatum est sic ut moveretur de vita ad mortem, quod non homo qui creatus est, ut non moreretur si vellet. Illo vera creatura sunt vel ut in esum cedant aliis vel senio deficit. His benedixit Deus: Crescite et multiplicamini.

VII. De opere sextae dici


(p20) quae nec inde puniuntur vel corriguntur vel instruuntur, sed ex his et in his instruuntur homo. Per exemplum etiam ad hoc creatura sunt, ut aliis sint in esum. Sed si iterum dicitur quod etiam in mortuus homines saeviunt, sed et in his instruuntur homo, ne aliquod genus mortis horrescat, quia per quoscunque transeat meatus, nec capillus de capite ejus peribit. Ad hunc modum solet quaeque herbis et arboribus instructuosis, si etiam in illis diebus orta sint, cum scriptura non memoret nisi herbas seminales et arbores fructiferas quae modo sunt. Potest dicy quia quae modo infructosa sunt, ante peccatum fecerunt fructum aliquem, post peccatum potius nascentur homini ad laborem quam ad utilitatem. Vel homini propter et post peccatum orta sunt, quia post dictum est homini: Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi. Vel quaeque terris haerent faciunt fructum, id est utilitatem manifestam vel occultam. Quia vero piscibus,
et avibus dictum est: Crescete et multiplicamini, etiam de his intelligendum est, licet non sit dictum. Haec est enim communis causa creationis eorun,

IX. De creatione hominis


X. De institutione conjugii

(p24) Et benedixit eis Deus sic: Crescete et multiplicamini…De homine vero, ut de ccaeteris dixerat, non dixit: Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum, quia in proximo sciebat lapsurum, vel quia nondum homo perfectus erat donec ex eo fieret mulier. Unde et post legitur: Non est bonum hominem esse solum.

XI. De quiete sabbati et sanctificatione

Igitur perfecti sunt coeli et terra. Conclusio est hic operum, quia creati, dispositi, ornati, igitur perfecti…Complevit Deus die septimo opus suum quod fecerat…si complevere est finale quidpiam operis facere, quomodo verum est quad sequitur: Requivit Deus die septimo etc. Verum est quod diem septimum fecit et ipsum etiam benedixit et post requievit. Vel complevit, id est completum ostendit, cum nihil novum in eo fecerit, et tunc requievit ab
operum generibus novis. Nihil enim post fecit, cujus tune non fecisset materiam ut corporum vel similitudinem ut animarum. Non enim quasi fessus dicitur quiescisse, sed quia cessavit, sicut in Isaia dicitur quod seraphim requiem non habeant dicentia sanctus sanctus, id es non cessabant. Vel requievit ab opere vel in operibus, id est non eget operibus suis, et est dictum quasi negative. Vel requievit ab opere in semet ipso, id est a mutabilitate operum ejus immutabilis appatuit, nam stabilis manens dat cuncta moveri. Quod autem dicitur ab omni opere, quod patrarat, innuit esse opus quod nondum fecerat a quo nondum quiescit. Tria enim opera fecerat: creavit, disposit et ornavit. Quartum opus propagationis non desinit operari. Quintum faciet, et praecinget se, et transiens ministrabit, ubi praeipue erit requies. Et benedixit diei septimo, id est sanctificavit eum, id est sanctum et celebrem eum esse voluit. Sember enim ab aliquibus nationibus ante legem etiam dicitur Sabbatum fuisse observatum. Hujus observantioam in lege etiam dicit sanctificationem, ibi: Memento ut diem Sabbati sanctifice...

XII. De creatione animae protoplasti

Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae…Ad carnem enim spectat quod dicitur: Formavit hominem de limo terrae. Ad animam cum dicitur, inspiravit etc., Totum enim hominem animavit, sed faciem sanquam partem digniorem, quia sensuum capacem, solam nominavit. Eamdem autem animam etiam spiraculum vitae vocat, quia per eam Homo spirat et vivit. Et post dicit: Animam viventem in se, id est in perpetuitate vitae viventem, non mortabili, ut animam pecudis…

XIII. De paradiso et lignis ejus

Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradisum voluptatis a principio…Unde alia translatio habet: paradisum in Eden ad orientem. Eden hebraice, latine deliciae interpretatur. Ergo idem est paradisum voluptatis quod paradisum in Eden, id est in deliciis…Produxitque Deus in paradiso de humo diversa ligna, quibus delectaretur homo vedendo et sustentaretur edendo. Produxit quidem, id est procul in altum duxit. Vel produxit, id est pro homine duxit. In medio quorum tanquam digniora posuit lignum vitae et lignum scientiae boni et mali…

XIV. De fonte paradisi et quatuor fluminibus ejus

Et fons vel fluvius egrediabatur; ad irrigandum paradisum, id est ligna paradisi…Qui fons dividitur in quator flumina. Unus dictus est Phisong…hic circumit terram Hevilath, id est Indiam, et trahit aureas arenas. Alius dictus est Gehon vel Gihon vel Igion qui et Nilus…hic circumit Aethiopiam. Allii dup primis nominibus vocantur Tigris et Euphrates…Hic vadit contra Assyrios…Euphrates frugifer vel fructuosus de quo per quas transiret regiones, quasi notum, tacuit Moyses, quia est in Chaldaea…
XV. De praecepto et prohibitione edulii

(p28) *Tulit ergo Deus hominem de loco formationis suae in paradisum scilicet terrestrem ut operaretur* ibi, non tamen laborando ex necessitate sed delectando et recreando, et sic Deus *custodiret illum*, scilicet hominem. Vek utrumque refertur ad hominem, ut scilicet homo custodiret paradisum et operaretur, ut dictum est... *Preacepitque ei dicens* ets. Ut homo sciret se esse sub Domino, praeceptum accepit a Domino. Omnis autem jussio est in duobus, in praeceptione et prohibitione, et ideo utroque usus est Dominus. Praecipit: *Ex omni ligno paradisi comedes*. Prohibuit: *De ligno scientiae boni et mali ne comedases*. Et datum est viro mandatum, ut per virum etiam transiret ad mulierem. Vel forte est praecocupatio, quia facta muliere utrique simul datum est. Subdit autem poenam, si contemneret: *Quacunque die comederes, morte morieris*, scilicet animae et necessitatem mortis habebis...

XVI. De impositione nominum animantium principaliter et mulieris formatione

*Dixit quoque Deus: Non est bonum hominem solem esse: faciamus ei adjutorium ad procreandos liberos quod sit simile illi. Similia enim de similibus naturaliter nascuntur. Sed ne videretur Adae superflua mulieris formatio, putanti sibi in animantibus esse simile, ideo adduxit Deus ad Adam omnia terrae animantia et aeris...ut imponeret homo eis nomina, in quo scirent eum sibi praeesse et sciret Adam nullum ex eis simile sibi. Et imposuit eis nomina Adam lingua Hebraea, quae sola fuit ab initio. Quod inde perpenditur, quia nomina quae leguntur usque ad divisionem linguarum Hebraea sunt...

XVII. De somno Adae et formatione mulieris de costa ejus

*Cumque obdormisset tulit Dominus unam de costis ejus*, carnem scilicet et os (30) et aedificavit ministerio angelorum illam in mulierem, de carne carnem de osse ossa faciens, et statuit eam ante Adam. Qui ait: *Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea...*

XVII. De nominibus mulieris

Et imposuit Adam uxori suae nomen tanquam dominus ejus et ait: *Haec vocabitur virago*, id est a viro acta, et est summptum nomen a viri nomine, ut materia de materia sumpta fuerat...Imposuit ei et aliud nomen, Eva scilicet post peccatum quod sonat vita, eo quod futura esset mater omnium viventium...

XVII. De prophetia Adae ...

*Et erunt duo in carne una*, id est unientur ambo in uno carnali opera, vel erunt duo in carne una, pueri gignendi. Non enim ex sanguine uno sed ex sanguinibus concreatur parvuli caro.
Vel licet sint duo personaliter, erunt tamen in conjugio una caro, in aliis duo, quia neuter habet potestatem suae carnis.

XX. De statu innocentiae eorum ante peccatum

Erat autem uterque nudus, nec erubescebant...
Prolog

þersa bok let snara hakon konungr hinn koronoda or latinu er heiter heilagra manna blomstr. prologus.

Sa er háátttr ok vaní keisaralegs valldz ok konungs gardz slekt at hafva þrenn einkannlega ok heimolegh herbergi. Hid fýrsta konungs herbergi er þat ihueriu er hann sitr upp á á raad eðr stefnur ok sæmer logh ok réttendi manna í milli. Annat er þat sem hann etr í ok veiter sinnum monnum veizlur. hid þríðia hans herbergi er þat sem hann hefer ser til heimollegra nááda ok hann sefr í. Upp á á þenna haatt hefver vááR konungr sáá sem stiornar medr sialfís hans uallldi / uindum ok verallldar sio þenna heím fyrer þat herbergi í hueriu er hann / hefver sin raad ok raður ok skipar máálum manna. huar er allar luter skipaz epter hans valldi ok vilía af þessu kallaz hann sem hann er uʹaʹaʹar herra hvaðan er dauid seger í sálminum váárs herra er iðrðin ok Þil hennar fylling. Aund ok hiarta hvers sem eins rettláátz mannz hefuer / hann sééru sia sem til nááda hu | uss ok heimollegrar huilldar. þuital miktil lýstvgleiki er honum at uera setlega at vera sætlega meðr svnum /mannanna sia sem skrifat er af huerre samueru ok sætri huilld er hann /kallaz brudgumi heilagha skrift ok róksamligha ritningh hefer hann ser til þeirar hallar ok heimollegis herbergis sem hann veiter í. i huerri er hann giorer sina menn þa leidis Ólóða at þar af skapaz þeir hofsamer huar af er suá segiz í sallterinu.

Medr samþýkkí gongum ver iguds husi. þat er suá vnder standa at iheilagri ritningu skildum ver aller hinn sama lut medr einu samþýkkí af huerri greín er hann kallaz husbondí. þetta sama herbergi heilugh guðs ritningh hefuer þrennar greiner eðr háálfur. þat er grunduól. vegg / ok þekiú. Sagan sialf er grunduólR þersa heimollega guðs huss ok herbergis. Su skýringh af heilagri skrift som seger huat huert verkit i sögunni hefer at merkia er hinn hærí veggrinn. Enn su þýdingh er í þekian sem oss skyrer þann skilningh af þeim gíordum ok verkum er sagan hefer í sér sem oss er til kennidoms huat er oss hefer fra ueríd sagt.

Nu suá sem váár uirduligr herra hakon noregs konungr hinn koronadí sun Magnusar konungs let snara þa bók upp í norenu sem heiter heilagra manna blomstr þeim skýnþomum monnum til skemtanar sem
æigi skilia ðr vnder l standa látinu huer er gengr ok seger af ser huerium heilagum monnum á á þeira hátiðum ok messu dógum upp áá þann háátt uilldi hann ok at þeim góðum monnum møtti ýfer sialfs hans bordi af þersari guðds höll ok herbergi þat er af heilagri skript medr nokkuRi skemtanar vissv kvnnikt uerða sua þo at hínvm visarum metti æigi mikil þuingan in vera af huerium stormerkium edr til fellum sunnu daghar ok adrer þeir tímar eru halldner sem eigi eru óðrum heilagum monnum einkannlega sungit enn sialfum guði. Úill han sua i sialfs sins herbergi þui sem hann veiter in sinum beztum monnum liosliga lesaz lááta fyrer ðllum góðum monnum af þui guðs husi. þat er af heilagri ritningu medr hueri er sialfr hann sedr séttlega alla sina menn. Enn sáá sem norænþi kennandi sinn fatékdom ok vanfærí tok þetta verk meiR upp á á sik af bodskap ok forsog fýR sagðz uirðuligs herra enn þat er hann uissi sik æigi þar til miok vlíkan ok vanferan huar fyrer er hann bídr at aller göðer menn sè honum værkunnigh verðíat alla þuti sem hann hefer í þessari giorð uvidrkuæmliligha saðht edr fram. Býriaz þessor giorð ok hefz af sögðum guðds hallar grund uelli. þat er

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af ritningarennar upphafi ok þonduerðri genesi epter þui sem timanum til heýrer nokkurum lutum þar medr afoðrum bokum sua sem af scolastika historia ok af speculum Hýstoriale epter sialfs hans forsog sammenn lesnum ok til logðum.

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her býriaz upp su bok er Biblea er kallat. capitulum

Almaattígr guð. uerandi satt lios huerr er liosíð elskar ok giorer alla lutí medr liosi býriandi rettlægta ok vel viðrkuæmlîgta heimsins skapan ok smið af liosínu. A fýrsta degi sua sem sagt er að hann skapaði himín ok íørd. þat er efni ok sua sem frío til himins ok iarðar ok þar medr allra likamligræ luta 3b sua segandi. verði lios ok þegar istad várð liosit ok dat sama lios medr sinni birti ok vmferð giorði þria naatturulígha dagha þar til er son ok ònnur himín tungl voru skapat á himum fiorda deghi. Eigi skulum ver þann skilning edr hugleidingh áa hafa fýR sögðum guðs orðagreinum ok atkuaðem óðrum þeim einkannlega sem ritningin tér ok greiner í fýrstim sialfs hans sex dagha uerkum at þau hafi liamligh
sua sem stundlgt ok timalight tal ok orða tiltøki. verið. epter þui sem
hinn heilaghi augustinus byskup seger iþeiri fýstu bok sem hann hefer
moti þeim villv monnum gort sem manichei voru kallaðer ýfer genesim.
ok enn fleirum þeim lutum sem þar eru greinder. þuiat eighi kom sialf
spekin almaattigs guðs. seger hann. þat er eingetinn guðs son ihsuc
xpistuc takandi til þess váárn vstýrkleik upp áá sinn signaða guddóm
saftandi sonum hierusalem. dat er rettruaðum ok vel fridsómum
kristnum monnum under sialfís sins ualld ok verndar skaut upp áá þann
háátt sen hønan safnar sinvm vngvm under sina vøngi at ver skýlddim
iafnan born ok smasueinar i

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skýnsemðinni ok váárum skilningi vera vtan helldr til þess at ver séém i
illzkó ok af giordinni einni saman sma þorum liker enn iskýnsemð ok
skilningum letti ver af þeim at likaiz. Ok ef ver kunnun nókkvra þa
guðlígu luti at lesa hvart sem þat er helldr hvart sem þat er helldr i þessari
edr anna’Ri bok sem vaarum hugskotz // augum verði miðk mýrker ok
fiarlaager af huerium er einer okadrer ýmislíger or skurder megi vel
gióraz ok wt gefaz at heilli ok halldinni varað kristiligrí tru. þa kastim
ver ok fellim váárm skilning til einskis af öllum þeim annars helldr enn
annars medr oforsialigrí sannan edr frammeýpiligu fýlgi til þers at ver
fallim æigi ferlíia uerndandi þann ór skurðinn medr u skýnsemð sem ver
hofum áádr ýfrít skiotlega sint ok sannat æigi su sem urskurd guðligra
ritninga vtan helldr váárm orskurð sialfra ef suða kann lettlega til bera at
þess í plær í váárm skilningi edr orskurð vilia uikia. Er þat ok
vissulig váán at þeir menn sem fáakkunnigr eru til bekkinnar fai æigí
skilit þau orð morg myrøk ok diupsett sem moÝses hefer sett í sina bok
genesism ok enn fleiria adrar sinar bækri þar sem fýRnefrd Augustinus
segiz margfallda orskurði af þeim út hafa gefit i fýR nefndri sinni bok
sem sýnaz má æidi diarfliga edr miðk huat skeÝjtliga nókkurn einn af
þeim í morgum stóðum sannlegztan. domandi at hann gióri æigi annars
mannz skýringu edr orskurði nókkut preiuícium til þess at hverr sem einn
taki þann

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helldz ok veli sem hann vil ok honum verdr vidrtekiliztr epter sinni skilningu ok skýnsem-dar manére. Enn þar sem madr kemr ægiatanum skilningi til þa veiti hann gudligri skript heidr ok sæmd enn otta sialfr-vm sér. Her til kemr þat sem nefndr augustinus byskup seger at sua sem almattugr gud fáder allra luta skapari sagdi. Verði lios ok enn litlu síðar at ssialfr hann kallaði liosð dagð enn mykri nátt. ok enn þar með fleiri sialfís hans orð þannur í heimsins skipan. þa taladi hann ægiatan upp á áð ebreku. gírku eðr lááttinu nökkurá adrá likamlega eðr verallldlega tungu. helldr taladi hann þat allt meðr þui sama vsundrskiptiliga orði ok sameginliga eý lifv sialfum ser. sem hinn heilagi Jon postoli seger af isinu gudzpialalli at i vpphafí var orð. ok fyrer þat sama orðurdu aller lutur. Nu þar sem aller luter vurðu fyrer guds skýllok ò þetta samaguðs orð. þa er auð sýnt at liosíð varð ok fyrer þetta sama orð. þat er fyrer eingetinn guds son. þetta sama orð var ok upphaf íhuerið ok fyrer huat er guð skapadi allan heimin. þat er himinríki ok himinn meðr ðili þui sem hann | | hefer innan sák ok þar meðr allt iardriki. Ef hann hefði meðr þúlíkum orðum talat sem ver tölum. meðr huerri tunganñi taladi hann at þvi þar sem ein’gin var þa enn skipat eðr til huers þurtí þa enn þess hááttar vmlíðandi lioðan eðr mááls grein þar se ægiatan beid þa enn nökk- urs likamlangs heýrn eðr eýru til at heýra þar upp á á. einn ok skiegR skilningr vtan alla ruglan ok hareýsti tungnanna ýmísleik er meðr guði feðr er sua sem tal ok tunga. Enn þar sem sua er til orðz tekít at hann | | kallaði liosð dagð er sua skíliandi at hann let kallaz þuiat alla luti skipaði hann sua ok greíndi at dagarner ok aðr lúter mááttv sýnaz ok p10

eptr þui nófr taka sem hans speki hafði meðr eylifrí ok gudligri fórsþio skipat ok fyrer sied. Eru þesser luter fyrer þann skýlld her skriffaðer at þeir menn heýrandi frasagner af persari eðr oðrum guds ritningum sem minnr eru til bekrinnar visir variz ok vidr siai at þeir viki ægiatan eðr vendi ofmiðk nökkurum þeim lutum einkannlega guds orðum eðr gjordum isinum hiortum ok enn síðr meðr nökkurum of diarlígum domum eðr orskurðum til likamlits ok uerallldlis skilnings sem kirkivnna kenni- feuðr ok heilugh seger at meðr andleghum skýringum eru skíliandi þó at þa luti sem adra verði meðr þess hááttar orðum ok ðournum atvik- um.milli váár likamlegra ok dauðliga manna skilaliangha at giora ok i fra sagner færa. Skýrner rítingin heimsins gjord greinandi guds verð á á .vi.dugum hinum fyrstum meðr þrennum hááttum sem síðar man sagt
verða. þat er meðr skapan skipan ok skýringu. þuiaf ifyrrstu sem hann skapadí engilega natturu skapadí hann ok þar meðr þessa heims efní ok allra likamligra luta utan sundr skipting ok eptar farandi formeran. I annan stað skipadí hann ok sundr skipti sinni skapan. I þrídia stað skreytti hann sina skepnu giorandi serhueria þessa lutí á huern þann dagð sem síðaR segir. Skrifadí hinn heilagi moyses ampadcí ok hertugi ýfer israelis folki fullr af heilags anda gipt. þessa fraðogn í fyrrstu a þrídia heims allðri síðaR enn þessi guds skipan vard. Ënn suð sem honum var bodið af gudi vandasamligt embetti ok vkunnikt. at hann skýlldi vera höfðingi ok domari ýfer israelis folki þui sem bedi var vísidlátt ok sæmd-

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ar laust fyrrer þui aðallt israelis folk var þann tíma í aanað ok þraeldomi. Ëða tuk moyses at leída at huga huersu hann metti þvi síðlausfa folki fáa stornat til godra síða ok fyrrer þann | | skýlld at hann haðði huarkí verið fyrrer beitr vanda máá edr nokkurkornar freistní. þa beiddiz hann þess af gudi at hann síndi honum ðill þau dæmi ok atburði sem verið höfðu frá upphaði ok þar til ok vildi hann opinberlega sýna israelis folki ðill þau dæmi ok atburði sem verið höfðu frá upphaði ok þar til ok vildi hann opinberlega sýna israelis folki ðill þau dæmi at þeir meðtí þadan af audullega nema viðsýnd illra atburða enn draga ser til nýtsemðar ðill þau gøð dæmi sem veríð höfðu | ok höfðu allor atburðr fallit í tion saker athuga leyðis allt til þeirrar stundar. Ënn eptar gudlegri forsogn tok moyses at rita ok íbækr at setía alla þa luti sem guð síndi honum at æigi yrdi þeir optarí fyrrertynder ef menn vildi þa þadan j fra varðueita ok ser í nýt þéra. Huaðan af er þat merkianda at þrenn eru spaleiks anda kyn eptar þui sem víða finnz í heilgum ritningum. þetta er eitt sem haðði heilagr moyses at kunna suða sannlega. fra segia þeim stortíðend-um er mörgum mannzölldrum wrðu fyR enn sáa var fédur er fra er sagt sem hann hefði innúrðiliga þann sied ok heýrt ok þo vtan alla vissu af mannlígrí til úsán huat er einginn maðr fær gort utan af einkanligri heilagsanda gipt ok spadóms giöf. þat er annat at segia sannliga fyrrer þa uordna luti sem lónu síðaR koma framn sva sem giordu ýsaýas ok ieremias ok margv aðrur guds spamenn af sialfs hans hegat burð ok

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pinu ok íamvel af hans hinni síðaztu hegat kuamu í verolldina er hann kemr at dema huern eptar sinni til skýlldan. þat er híð þrídia spaleiks

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anda kyn sem hafdi hinn heilagi pall postoli ok enn fleiri guðs áástu-iner. Hann vissi þa er hann predikadi sid dags inni í nøkkuru lophusí huat er uti för framm um þann unga mann eutfichum sua at eingi madr. sagði honum sem fell sua háátt niðr af þui sama husi til iarðar at hann lamþiz þegar ok do þar af. Nu af þeiri heilags anda. spadoms giorf einkannlega sem fyrst uar greind giórði moýses v. bekr af huerium er hin fyrsta heiter genesis ok fyrer þui sua at hon hefer e ser heimsins upphaf ok veralldarennar giórð ok getnat. Byriar hann í þeiri somu bok sina frasogn af heimsins skipan meðr þeíma háátt ok meðr þuilikum ordím vpp af í vaart at segia sem her fylger.

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| her seger af þui huersu almattigr guð skapadi himin ok iord ok huersu lucifer braut meðr sinu drambi ok ofund í moti gyði sialfum ok huersu guð drotchinn heirðadi þa eng | | glana sem honum sneruz til staðfastlígs ok þuenligs kierleiks í himinrikís dýrd meðr sialfum ser utan enda |

I Upphaði skapadi guð himinrikí huat er meðr sinum englum ok himneskum kroptum var þegar í stad fyllt sua sem fyrst ok fremzt milli allra þeíra luta sem hann skapaði. ok iordína þat er at skilia samblandit ok usamid efni til fiogurra hófutskepna ellds ok loptz vatnz ok iarðar sua sem frio ok vnderstódu til allra likamligra ok sýniligra luta. Var himinrikí þa þegar allt skipat ok skreytt/ af utöligum fiólda heilagra engla ok anarra himneskra ok vsýniligra /krapta sem kirkurnar kennisfedr ok heilugh skript seger ok meðr anda-/legum skýringum eru skiliandi þo at þa luti sem adra uerði meðr þess / hááttar ordum ok ødrum hááttum millum váár likamlega ok dauðlegra manna skilianlega at giora ok i frasagner fera. Skýrer ritnuerer er þa í fyrstu voru sua skapader ok vordner sik at þeir hofðu fullkomit ok frialst sialfræði a snuaz at einu sinni huart er þeir uilllu til eslku vidr almátkan guð eðr æigi. Enn æigi optarr sem andleg nattura utan likams er til. þeir voru þa ok enn æigi fullkomlega seler fyrer þann skýlld at þeir uoru uuitandi sitt epterkomanda quatýr. Eigi hofðu þeir þa enn fullkominn kierleik til guðs ok elskaðu þeir hann af sialfri natturunní
ýfer alla fram af þeim girndar elskhuga er þeir glóduz með sialfum honum vm fram allt annat af sialfís hans asynð. Enn meðr vinattu kier-leik elskaðu þeir sik mest þuiat þeir uilldu sialfum ser bezt. Nu sem lucifer einn af hinni fremztu engla skipan skryðdr ok prýðdr umframmda þa hugleidde hann ok uirdi fegrd ok forprisan sinnar nátturru ok diupsetta uitra ser veitta höf hann sik suá háátt meðr sinu of drambí at hann uillldi iafnæz ok viðrlikaiz sialfán gud. ok fyrer þa sok skildi hann sik I fra sannleiðinum þegar í hriðinni ok þar meðr í brøtt af þollum setteik ok eylifri sælu suá at þar af fekk hann meðr ðollu engan þef edr kenning. Enn hann fell suá háátt æigi at eins af þeiri sælu sem hann hafði þegið vtan ok þar meðr af þeire sem guð mundi honum gefít hafu ef hann hefði villat honum lýðinn vera at hann varð þollum veslare ok lægri fyrer sinn þørðílega skaða ok glæp þviat hann misgjordi vtan nokkurs annars a eggían edr freistni. Ok sem hann fell dro hann meðr ser mikinn fúdla engla þeira sem honum samþykztu ok sinnadu sialf krafí isinum glæp ok viðgu vtan alla freistni nema at eins af sinni eginlingrí ðofund ok ofbelldi þuiat þesser glóduz suá af sinni mekt ok valldi sem sialfer þeir væri ok veitti sér þann hinn hestta fagnat ok heidr sem þeir hofðu ok fyrer þui steýptuz þeir nídr til sinna eginlígra stda brott af sameiginlígru allra þeira sælu ok fagnádi sem i godu stdafest-uz hafandi fullt ofvemtnadur frammfreði í stda hínns haleitazta eyeilfeiks. hegoma slægðer fyrer honum viðsuligztu sannleik á skilnadar stderan ok á á stunan fyrer usundrskiptileghan kiþerleik ok i ofbelldis fuller ok ðofundar siuker lýgner ok lasta samer ok i þollumlutum miðk slæger

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stírðer ok stdafester í sinni illzku. hardla lýstuger ok iafnan meín at giora. Nu suá sem þessser snæruz i fra skaparanum i sinni ðofund ok stdafestuz i illu þa snæruz adrer englarner meðr hans fulltingi til stdafastlegs ok øfenlegs kierleiks vidr sialfan hann. ok upp i í fra þui stdafesti guð þessa igodu ubrigdiliga gleðandi þa ok sémandi meðr sialfum ser sem honum santengduz litillátatlega fyllandi þa meðr sinum andalegum áástgjofum epter þi sem huerr sem einn fyrer sinn áástarhita var verdur ok uðrþekiligr ok greinandi þa meðr ýmislegum gradum ok stetum isueiter ok fýlki epter ýmissare giafanna tígn ok virðing. Aller þeir ok sem af sialfum guði sendaz til nokkurs. þa gioriz þat manñinum til hialpar ok heilsugiafar fyrer sialfra þeira uerdleik ok þa iafnskipti-
leggir í náttúru ok elsikhuga sem millum mannzins er ok engilsins ok til þess at mædrinn víðrænniz sína tign ok virðing. Sumur af þeim eru prouincíales fyrer þann skylld at þeir eru medr einkannlegre dispensera- einum ok ýmislegum þioðum til verndar ueitter ok skipaðer. Aðrar af þeim eru personalegher fyrer þa sok at þeir eru sierhuerium sáálm settur til verndar ok vardueizlu. Madrenn hefuer tuifallda meinandi skaðsemð epter sýndina fengid þat er sýndarennar kueyking innan meþr sialfum ser ok fiandars freistni fyrer sik. fyrer þi sáá guð medr sinni signað miskvnn suar fyrer at hann setti honum tuifallda gæzlru ok geýmslu þat er sialfs sins miskunn moti sýndarennar kveykingu. enn geýmslu eng- illinn moti pukanum ok hans áeggjan. Miskunnsamr ok almattigr gurd věitti mannínun þrenna vrðdu ok geýmara af hinni súmv naatturv til tekna motí þrennum hans vuínun suar sem hann var íþers vtlegd brott Ifra sialfs hans asionu fyrer tilskylldan skýfdr ok rekinn þat er goðan gæzlru engil moti fiandanum pinu váárs herra likama moti horvndínun. Enn motí heimínun ok veraldligum girndum heilagra manna þener ok p 16

þeira epter dêmi sem af heimínun eru til eylifs ríks háleitlega vpp hafðar. þesser guðu englar saálnanna geýmarar ok heilager hírdar stunda oss medr harda mikill vmyþgisu tendrandi medr oss goðar ok guðlegar hugrenningar enn hinar í brott rekandi sem dêim eru gagnstæd- legar hugatsamlega ok godðúsíliga milli farandi guðs ok váár þann tíma sem þeir flytia truligha ok dyggiliga váárar ídranar suter ok þar meðr alla váára goða luti til almattígs guðs ord. ok. uerk ok iafnvel hugrenningar. þa glediaz þeir ok giors guði þakkerfyrer þann skylld at þeir elsa sina samborgar menn ok samfagna þeim styrandi þeim ok stýrkandi. lifandi ok lerandi vernandi þa ok í óllum lutum forsiu ueitandi. þeir gírnaz ok harda giarna váára tilquamu þuiaþ þeir bída úentandi af oss ok uáRi til kuamu mani leidrettaz ok aptr þeiz þat skarð ok skadí sem áa varð sialfra þeira borg in níðr falli luciferi ok hans fylgiara huar fyrer er þeir eru meðr mikillí sketan ok gleði þo at usýni lega hia oss þann tíma sem ver sýngium sémilega ok biðumz fyrer rðkilega ok stoða iafnuel oss þondvðum huat er þeir megu stetta. þeir flytia ok godra manna sáálu in paradísum meðr fiorfældri gtein epter þi sem ritningin seger. Su er ein at þeir flytþa þers iafnan ok eggia til göðs huar fyrer er þeir gióraz makliger þagat at koma. I annan stað eggia þeir salurnar á sialfum and- láz tímanum at gírnaz vpp áa paradísur fagnat ok tendra þer suar frammar-
lega þar til at þær skiliaz giarnsamlega vidr likaminn at niðr lagðri þeiri naaturulegre áástvok aluðru sem þer høfðu vidr hann haft ok lagit lang-an tima. I þridu deild reka þeir v reína anda i bôtt fra þeim þann tíma sem þer fara fram af likaminum til þess at þeir megi saalunum enga tåálman edr hindran þa giór. Meðr fiorðu grein fleýtia þeir iafnuel sýni-

legha nókkúRa forprisaðra heilagra manna saalur til himinrikis epter andlátíð sua sem ønd heilags martini ok hins sæla benedicti. Eigi fer gôdr engill sied af sialfó sins naaturur andarennar hugrenningar einar saman sua lengi sem hon lifer i likaminum hvaðan af er hann understendr æigi ne skilr mannzens innri lutí utan af nókkúRí likamsins giorð edr athôf. ella af krafti þess lýsanda spegils sem hann birtiz af. Eigi fer | ok fíanndinn þershåátar hugrenningar skilit edr séð Englarner taka ok nófn af sínum erendum ok embëtti huern tíma sem þeir eru til mannanna sender. suu Michael. Gabriel. Raphael. hinum heilaga michaele eru fiorer luter kender okeinkanlega eignad. þat er eitt at hann berst motí drekanum. þat er í gegn sialfum fíanduman. Annat er þat er hann kemr til hialpa ok fulltinia guds folki. Þt er hið þridia at hann fleýr gôdra manna saalur til hinnar himnesku paradisar. I fiordá stað er hann prepositus paradisar forstíori. þat er þeirar heilagrar kristní sem her strider nu fyrer guds skylld í uerolddinní. suu sem hann í fyrst-unní fyrer vaars herra píning uar forstíori sinagoge. Nu þa at þeir se til nókkurs gudlígs embëttis sender. þa sia þeir allt at eins iafnlegha guds fêðr ásionu ok iafnan girnaz þeir hana at sia. ok þo at andlig skepna meði takaz edr skiliaz vnder staðarens grein edr endimarki medr þuí at hon se suu nókkkurum stað at hon se æigi iððrum ok hon líði or ððrum ok i annan stað þa giorer hon ðo æigi medr sinni tilkuamu nêring edr nauere grein. þuiat æigi þrýngði marge andar edr minnkaði suu rûm allt at eins þo at þeir kiemi utþöluliger í einn stað aller samt ok i senn at þar

metti fyrer hann skylld þa feri menn ok aðrer likamlíger luter vera enn áðr ok væri þo einginn þeira andanna annaR í ððrum vtan helldr mundu þeir aller greiniliga vera skilder huerr uðr annan ok í fra ððrum sin imilli. þuiat andarner eier saman fýlla engan stað medr likamligum mikilleik huersu mickler edr margar sem þeir eru vtan helldr medr heilögum ok
haleitum kraftr **Genesis 2a** Jörðin var þa auð ok avaxtarlaus ok utan alla prýði. **Af scolastica historia.** þat er sua mikit at segia at fyrir sagt heimsins smíði suða suka skapat var vísyniltat autt ok vsamidi epte þui sem augmentus seger i sinni fyrnafndri bok þar til er guð skipadí ýllum lutum eiginlegar mynder huerium sem einum i sinum stodum ok stettum. **Af genesi 2be** Ok voru mýrkr af loptzíns skugga ok vskiþrlek alla uegna vm íórðina enn guds heilagr andi flutti ok þýfer vötnin **af scolastica hýstoria** þat er ýfer fyrer sagt heimsins smíði edr efní medr sialfs sins uilia ok fyrer hugsan til epterfaranda skapanar fyrer sagt heimsins smíði edr efní kallar bokin fyrer þann skýld stundum íórð. annan tíma unde diúp ok stundum vötn at þat sýniz þa fleirum til heýra sem þat er æigi at eins medr | | einnar hófut skednu | nafni nefnt fyrer þui uar þat þa þegar kallat himinn ok íórð. at himinn ok íórð wrdu skópuðuz þar af fyrer þa sók uar íórðin sógð usýnilih ok usamið ok mýrkr ýfer under diúpð at þon var þa utan alla epterfarand formeran ok hon hefði þa enn medr engarri mynd megat sééin edr handlat verða þo at nokkuR madr hefði þa til þess uerit at hafa próuat þat. fyrer þui var þat sama smíði vatnð nefnt at dat var þeim audueldlekt ok epterlááatsamt sem af þui skapatí epterfarandi luti. ok fyrer þa grein aðra at aller þeir luter sem á á iardriki fðaz huart sem þat eru helldr kuikendi. vaxandi viðr edr groandi groð or þilikir luter þa taka aller af vókunni ok af vatnínu nýring ok sina formeran. **af genesi.3** OK þa sagði guþ suá. Verdi lios. ok p 19

þa þegar í stad urð lios 4 ok sialfr hann sá á at liosid var gott ok skildi hann þat ibrott fra myrkrínu 5a ok gaf þui nafn at þat skýldi heita dagr enn myrkrunu at heita nátt. **af scolastica hýstoria.** Sem þessi skilnadr gjördís milli lioss ok myrkrsins varð æigi siðr medr guds bôði af glæp ok tilskýldan luciferi ok hans fylgiara englana skilnadr þuiat fyrer liossins nefnd merkiz þeir englar sem stoðu ok stáðfestuzt í guds áást ok elskhuga. enn fyrer myrkrin merkiz fíandinn ok þeir sem medr honum fellu. Voru þeir aller keýndr brott sumer allt niðr til hrluitis enn sumer i þat þoku fulla lopt milli himsins ok iarþar sem æigi er suða ofarlega at þeir hafi nokkurn fagnat edr gliði af liosínu. æigi ok miðk nedarlæga suá ad þeir megi suá mickla freistní ok margan ufagnat oss góra sem þeira vili er til ok þo fylger þeim efenlega sin hluitis pína huar sem þeir eru. **af genesi** Ok suá varð aptann ok morginn þeði samt einu naatturulegr dagr. **af scolastica hýstoria.** þat eru váár tuav dagr þuiat í fýrstu er
guð skapadi himin ok iðrð skapadi hann ok liosið sem sagt var. Nu sem þat settiz ok minkadiz þeint ok seint þa vard þadan af fyrsta dags apt-ann ok morginn epter vaarum vana ok þi sama lioso vmlidiðanda iðrðina ok sidan upp rennandi vaeð morginn. af augustino FyR nefinder villu menn manicheí kallandi þat at dagrin hæfði af aptninum hafiz skildu æigi at sau sem liosid var kallat dagr enn myrkriinn náatt heyrði degi num til. enn aptaninn vard epter þat sama verk sau sem lidnum ok lyktadum sialfum degi num enn fyrer þa skýnsemð at náattin heýrdi sinum degi til. þa segiz einn │ dagr þðrun viss hafa lyktaz ok vm lidit vtan ad │ lidinni náättinni sau sem morginn vard. teliaz sau sidan medr sama hætti adrer

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dagarner frá morní til annars morgíns. leid sau naattin ok lyktadiz. enn annaR dagr býriadiz. fra þui er guð skapadi á ððrum degi festingar himín ok sundr skipting a vøtnum hafandi i ser alla lusti.

A ððrum degi skipadi guð hinum hæstum þessa heims haalfum. þuvat himinrikí var þegar i stad skipat. skreytt ok fýllt af heil-agum englum er þar uar skapat sem fýR var sagt. Giðrdi hann þa festingar himin hafandi innan í séér alla þa lusti sem ver høfum nokkur skilning edr vissu af ok skildi medr honum í sundr ðll þau vøtn sem hann villði at her veri epter í verolldinni fra hinum sem ýfer honum eru sau strengðum ok þrøngdum sem kristallus edr hinn hardazti glér iss til at iafna vtan þat at þau megu litt edr ekki brááðna af nokkurum elldzhita 6 ok sagði sau. af genesi. Verdi festingar himinn milli vatnanna ok skili þau I sundr þin imilli. af scolastica historia. 7a Giðrdi guð þa festingar himinn af vatzins høfutskepnusu sterkliga samantengðan ok strengðan at hann hefer í ser aller himinfastar stiornur ok þuillikaz skírðan af sialfum ser sem kristallus sa huelfðan til litils lutar at iafna sem bollott eggskurn ok greindí sau medr honum I sundr þav vøtn sem vnder honum voru fra þeim sem ýfer hem eru. þa skapadi hann vnder festingarhímínsins nafni adra himnana enn sialft himinrikí. Enn fyrer hueria sók er guð uillldi at vøtnin veri ýfer festingarhímínninum þa er þat sialfum honum kunnikt epter þuii sem seger commestor þo at nökkrur menn hafi þa ætlan áá at i suma stádi komí þadan regn á sumar tím. Augustinus segher at huilík vønt er þar eru ok medr huerium

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hættir þau eru þar þa efum meðr engum motí at þau eru þar. þuiat meíri er röksemd þessarar ritningar seger hann enn allr glöggleiki ok skoðan mannligs skilnings ok huguiæ er til. **genesis 7c** ok þegar varð 8a saf þa guð honum það namn at hann heti himinn. **af scolastica hýstoria** þuiat himinn hefer í þessum stað allt eitt at þýða ok hulning fyrer þa sók at hann hýl r ok hirdar fyrer oss alla vsýliniga luthi. **af genesis 8b** ok saug varð aptann ok mmorginn meðr fýrrí grein annaRa dagr. **scolastica hýstoria** Hebresker menn | | at engill | inn varð a þessum degi þiandi ok draga þat æigi sizt til demís þar vm þo at þessa dags verk se gott sem allra þeira annaRa er guð giordi. þa er þo allt at eins æigi her af þessum þat einkannlega lesit at guð sáa at þat var gott. huerium er þeir sýnaz samþýkkiazz sem á á má ánadaga ueniaz messur at sýngia englum sau sem til lofs þeim sem stafdrestuz í guds þionostu enn heilager kennifédr hallda annat hellur fyrer sannara at þat se meíR sau ok fyrer þi leidiz hann allan á skilnat ok sundrþýkt. enn tuitalan greiniz fýrst vt af eingunnni ok fyrer þann skýldd takaz aðrar þölur heilagri ritningu meðr meíri uirk at metare merkingu. Ma þat ok vel audsýnay af váárs herra orðum at engillinn hafi á á hinum fýrsta degi fallit þar sem sialfr hann talar sau af honum milli annassa luta i ions guðþzialli at hann var allt frá vpphafl manndrapare ok hann stoð engan tima ne stadfestiz p 22

í sannleikinum. enn af þui at sau má segiaz at hins þríðja dags uerkgreiniz vt at annars dags uerkgu sem sidaR má sýnay. þa lofaz þat æigi sau sem ðnnur fýR enn á þríðja degi sau sem þat er fulullegha lýktat ok algort. **fra þui er guð let iordina birtaz ok friofaz ok skapadi sioenn ok iðrdina. Scolastica historia.**

A þríðja degi let guð þau vøtn sem vnder festingarhimninum voru safnaz i einn stað ok iordina birtaz skipadi hann sau fiorum fýR sogðum høftvskepnum huerri meðr sinni spera innan festingarhiminsins epter þui sem sialfra þeira þýkt ok þunleiki er til. elldinn efztan nest festingar himinum þuiat hann er lettastr af huerium er truiz at sialfr himintunglin hafi gjoR verit. loptid er þat i sinum efra part skiert i ser. enn i hinum nedra hefer þat margu ruglan af vindum ok vêtum þokum ok reidar þrumum sniofum ok elldingum ok ðrumum þeim lutum til komandi sem ver høfum fulla raun af. þar nêst vatnid huert er hann safnádi i vnderdiupð dreifandi þaðan af sau sem af einu modurkýni þll veralldarennar vøtn vm leýnilegar veralldarennar
rááser okumferder henni til friofanar ok manninum til nýtsemðar Nedsta skapadi hann iðrðina ok innta í òllum þeim þuiat hon er þungaz iafn vetandi hana sem medr einni váåg | | ok setiandi i midían heimsins punkt medr òllum sinv | ýfer uettis þunga. molldu ok allzkýns maalma kýni. grioti ok gimsteinum medr òllum annars hááttar steinvm ok sem hann býriði Þessa dags uerk sagði hann sua. genesis 9c Saffniz saman í einn stað vótn þau sem vnder himninum eru at þuRlendi megi sínaz.

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ok þegar í stað varð sua. Af augustino. Sua skildiz ok i sundr skiptiz þa í þær mónder sem nv seam ver þat hið vísýniliga efni heimsins sem stundum var kallat auð íor ok vsamit. annan tíma mýrks ok vnderdiup ella vatn ýfer huert er guds andí fluttiz medr fýRí grein. sva at iðrðin formerat af þí sama efni birtiz audsýniliga í sinum stað epter þi sem nu sýniz þat er ok er beði sallt ok sætt. Maatti þat vel vera at þau vótn sem medr nokkurri þoku dógguan huldu ok vm foru allt þat rvm ok viðættu sem i loptinu er sau sem medr smaregni edr ’singu fengi verið í litlum stað hia þi sem aadr síðan er þeim var sua sterkliga saman strengt. 10ab kallaði hann þa þur lendit iðrð enn allt saman vatnanna megin kallaði hann hauf. ok sau sem vatnanna verk var fýllt ok framm komit seger moýses at 10c sua var gott ok vel gor ok lagði þar til iamframm annat verk meðr þersu 11 ok sagði sau. af genesi Groi iðrðin ok frioðiz medr blomganda gras geranda sitt sáád ok medr epli berandi trío ok allzkýns allðin vid. giór-andi allan sin avóxt epter þui kýni sem þat er vorðit sik til huers sauð er í sialfú ser skal á iðrðunní vera ok þetta varð allt sau. 12a-c at iðrðin bar þegar grænt gras medr hinn bezta bloma ok sááð beranda medr sínv kýni ok epli berandi trío gerandi fagran avóxt ok huert sem eitt hafandi medr ser sialfs sín sááð medr sinni eiginni mynd. Af scolastica hýstoria. Eigi leiddi iðrðin þa ok sau seint ok álôngum tínum framm sinar plantaner sem nu.hellldr var òll þersi hennar fegrð ok frýgd þegar í stað meðr sinum eignleghum blom ok auexti.Ok þo at nokkurer menn haﬁ þrátt vm ok á greint hvart hellldr hefer urerit heimrinn skapaðr á á váár tíma. þuiat þa blomgaz ok avaxtaz flester luter edr a haustar tíma í augusto manaði

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af fyrer farandi orðum at iðrðin bar framm epli berandi treo giorandi fagran avóxt ok gras hafanda sitt sááð. þa hellldr heilug kirkia þat stað-
fastlega fyrer satt í sinvm kenningum ok lerídomí at hann hafi áa vaarit í marcio manadi skapadr verit. A þeina degi plantadi guð ok iardneska paradis þat land er suá heiter ok liggr til austr l ættar af þeiri heimsins haalfu er asia heiter.mycklu hera enn nókkut annat land aa váru byggillega iardriki ok þi mátti noa floð huergi namunda þui ganga ok fylldi þat þegar meðr òllumlýstugléik ok vnatemed vpprenndandi edar meðr fógrum framfliotandi votnum meðr iardrennar þerelegum blomstrum ok allz háåttar þeim triom sem full voru af frýgd ok fógrum auexti. Nu sua got sem var 12d sa guð at þetta var allt saman god skeyna 13 ok suá varð aptann ok morginn ok lýktadiz hinn þriði dagr. afiorda degi skapadi guð sol ok ðonnur himíntunl.of speculo historiale.

A fiorda degi prýddi guð ok prisulega skreytti himín ok þa luti meðr himneskum liosum sem aadr haði hann got. einkannlega fyrst hinar efztu heimsins haálfur skapandi þa ðll himíntunl huert er iordina skýlildi birta þegi vm nêtr ok vm daga huart epter sinum hêtti ok greína alla tíma huar’ t’ meðr margfalldír sinni nêringu 14 ok sagdî suá Genesis Uerði þysandi stjórnur i festingar himínum at þær greíni i sundr ser huart dag ok náått at þær se til taakna ok tíma dagha ok áára 15 at lísi i festingar himínum. ok birti iordina ok þegar varð suá. scolastica hýstoría Eigi at eins guð þessi þysandi lios sem ver köll- um himíntunl verða verölldinni til fegrðar ok liossins nýtsemðar nema

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ok þar meðr til tááknna eðr marka at af þeim megii merkiazi huart er helldr eru skir vedr eðr v skir blîð eðr hrider. ella til þess at af þui skýlildi verða þau xîj. táákn er. ver köllum stjórnur mörk sem zodiacus hefer i séér ok at greína tíma þat er vaar ok sumar haust ok vetr ok þar meðr þa sem ver köllum solstóðu tíma a vetr ok sumar ok iafn nêtis tíma a haust ok vááar ok at greína dagr ok vikur ok manadi áár ok allder. de genesi 16 Guð giordi ok tuau stór himíntunl hid meira. þat er solina til þess at þat skýlildi meðr sinni birti deginum lísa. hid minna þat er tunglit at þat lýsti nááttinni. Stiornur giordi hann þar meðr 17a ok setti þær allar i festingar himínum vtan æigi þer .vij. meðr solu ok tungli sem planete heita þær reika ok leika lausar i loptínu ok ganga i gegn fýŘ sógðum festingar himní at þer meðr sind gang tempri hans velltíng ok vmturn- an. setti hann þær 17b fyrer þa sök þar at þær skýlildi meðr þi liosí sem þær hefdí af solinni l birta alla verölldina ok giora greín milli lioss ok
mýrkr. **scolastica | hýstoria.** Eigi let guð fyrer þann einn skýlld bedi tungl ok stíðrur birta náttína at hon skýlldi æigi medr òllu fægrdar laus vera sua sem þa væri ef hon hefði medr òllu ekki lios ok birti utan ok til þess æigi síðr at þeir menn sem á átt nattar tímanum starfaði skýlldi þar af hialp ok huggan hafa sua sem skiparar ok aðrer farandi menn ok einkannlega iblanlandz eýði morkum eðr sandhöfum þar sem litill vindzblær sletter ok hýlr þa vegv sem aðr hafa farner úerit. **ýsidorus.** þeir eru sumer fuglar sem æigi megu þola at sia solrennar lios sua sem noctua er allr er einn ok nocticorax huer er fyrer þa sók heiter noctua at hann flygr vm netr ok sèzt engan tíma vm daga þuiat þegar i städ slioðaz hans sýn sem dagrin birtiz. hann er éingi í þeiri eý creta heiter. ok þo at hann se þangat fluttar af öðrum stöðum þa deýr hann þegar leid sem hann

kemr þar. Sa fugl sem strix heiter er ok náátt fugl medr fleirum öðrum ok feðaz þeir flester miók aa nattinni. Eigi var solin ok þui síðr nauzunligh ok þarflig at þat híd biarta ský giorði ok fýlldi hennar embætti sem verolldina birti þuiat sama ský hafði lítid lios ok læmegít ok lýsti letlega hugeri eðr lítið vtan hina hêstu luti sem nu lýsa stíðrur. **scolastica historia.** Eru ýmissar getur ok ètlanir á á huat af þui ský hafi vordit annat huart at þat hafi aptr horfít i þat sama efní sem þat var áááðr skapar af sua sem sa stiarna er austrvegs konungum vitrâdiz. ella at þat fari ok fýlgi iafnán meðr solinni. ella þat at solrennar likamr se af þi sama giorr. Sua finnz ok skrifat at solin var giorr a morgín tíma ok í austri. enn tungliti at aptní sua sem tilkomandi náátt ok í austri. 

Enn þo vilia nokkurer segia at þau væri bedi samt skoput a morgín tíma. sol i austri enn tungl í vestri ok þann tíma sem solin settíz hýrui tungliti at tilkomandi náátt til austrs. heilagr augustinus sýniz hinni fýrri greinninni samþýkkia í fýr nefndri sinni bók ýfer genesim. her seger ok sua milli þeira sem maluglega ok kauislega kallz sua sem epter frettandi huilikt tungliti var skapat í fýrstv. huart helldr þílikt sem þa er þrim er saker þess at þa þettí sua at telia eðr fullt ok fiortan nááttta fyrer þann skýlld at þat hefði þáá aatt vskadt at hafa uerit at hann sinnar huarigum ne samþýkkir í alla stáði. helldr gengr þar í milli hann segiandi berlega medr fullkomnum orskurð at huart sem þeir kalla í þann punt verit hafa sem þrim | | er eðr fullt Sua sem.xiii.nááttta at guð giorði þat | algort. **de genesi.18c** Ok siaflr hann sáá at þetta var einn ein goð
skepnar. 19 vart sua aptann ok morginn ok lýktadiz hinn fiorði dagr. fra þu er guð skapadí firka ok fugla á fimta deghi. Scolastica historia okspeculum historiale.

A fimta degi prýdri guð loptið medr flíugandi fuglum ok vatnið medr suimandum fískum takandi af vatninnu efni til þersa huarsþueggja þuiat vatnit snýz liettlega til løpzens sua sem þat þýnniz. loptið snýz ok á sömuleið auðuleglega til vatnzens sua sem þat þýknar. **augustinus.** Skulu þeir aller skýnsamer menn sem þess-or ord ok atkuði giðra nokkura rëring edr efad semd þat uel mega uita at hiner uisaztu menn þeir sem þers hattar luti skoða ok skýn-ia vandúirklega taka þetta hið víku mickla ok þoku fulla lopt meðr vótnunum sem fugarner flíuga i. þuiat loptið þrönguiz sua ok þýknar af þeim vëtum ok andargust sem upp leggr af ðollu saman iðrðunní ok af vatninnu at þat þöler barda vel fuglanna flug. þarað verðr sua mikil doggfofl um neðr íafn vel at heiðskirum veðrum at grasid er alváátt af þeiri sömu dogg eiri saman vm morginni epter þi sem ver meguum sialfer sia. Sua finnz ok skrifat i hinum skiluisaztum bokum ok roksamlegum rint,íngum at þat fiall sem olimpus heiter ok stendr i þeiri haalfu grecie sem heiter macedónia se sua ýfer uettis háátt at áá þess efztum heðum verði huarki ský ne vindr fyr þann skylld at þat er ðollu uétu loptinnu þersv hera íhveriv er fuglarner flíuga ok fyrer þa sok segiz at þar flíugi æigi nokkuð fvgl. Enn þersa vart sua vist ok kunnikt gort at þeir menn sem til þess vôlþuz ok vonduz áár fra áári at fara vpp a ofan vert þat

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sama fiall saker nokkura fornféring sinna. æigi veit ek huerra helldz seger hinn heilagi augustinus. þa skrifafu þeir nokkura merkilega luti vppi þar a moldinni edr duptinu hueria er þeir fundu medr ðollu vskadda annat áárit epter sem þeir þar komu. matti þat medr engu moti vera sem huerr skýnsamr madr ma skilia utan þar kiemi huarki vindr nýveta. Enn af þi at þar var loptið micklu þunnara enn þeir metti þat standaz saker eingis andar gustz moti vana sinum ok naturv þa baru upp þannig meðr sér vaata suöppu ok logðu viðr nasar áá sialfum ser at þaðan af teki þeir þýkkara lopt ok likara sinni nåtturu. Sogðu þeir | siki æigi einn fugl þar sied hafa. Eigi seger sia hín skiluislegzta ok hín truan-ligzta skript v skýnsamliga at þui edr urettlega æigi at eins fiska ok ònnur
kuikendi sem vōtn unum flýtiax, utan ok iafn vel þar meðr flugandi fugla af vōnumum fez haфа. ýfrer þa grein at þeir megu uel ok fagr-legha vm þetta loptid flíuga sem af iarðarennar ok hafþins vōkum ok uþtum riss ok þýkknar. genesis.20 Guð sagði þa sau. leði vōtnin vt af ser skráunda lifs anda kuikenda ok fluganda fugla kýn vnder festing-ar h´mninum vpp ýfer iðrðina. scolastica hýstoria. fýri þann skyld eru fískarner her kallader skrídukuikandí at þann tímã er þeir lengia sik suimandi sem aksafligaz. flýtiax þeir þo at lettlegarr ýfer sin briost a ordi viltiz mök hinn visi plaat þann tímã sem hann kom niðr a egipta land ok las þar bekr moýsi at fluganda fugla kýn leiddiz upp ýfer iðrðina hugði hann at moýses hefði þann skilning áá haft at flugandi fuglar

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veri loptzens skráut ok próði ateins niðr viðr iðrðina, enn góðer engl-ar ok illir veri himu efra loptinu til skrautz ok fégrðar enn þat er ekki sua. þuiat góðer englar eru í himinríkí sem fýR var sagt. enn iller voru ibrott keýrder ok rekner í þetta hið þoku fulla lopt sialfum ser til eylfrar pinu enn ekki til nókkurs skrautz edr próði. Genesis.21 Ok þa skapadí guð stora huali ok annan lifanda ok hræriligan físka kýns anda huat er vötnin höðfu gefið ut af ser meðr sinum eigínlegum myndum ok flugandi fugla huern epter sinu kýni. Guð sáá at þetta var ein góð skepna 22 ok blezadí bedí fískum ok fuglum sua segiandí Vaxi þer ok fólgiz ok fýllit siofarens vōtn ok fólgiz fuglarnær æigi síðr ýver alla iðrðina. 23 vard sau aptann ok morginn ok líktadí hinn fimtí dagr. fra þi er guð skapadí lauf ok gras ok sk্র্য্ডি iðrðina medr allzkonar blomstrum ok kuikendum.

A hinum setta degi próðdí guð iðrðina seinaz sau sem þa eina af fýR nefndum florum høfskepnum sem þungaz er ok læg
liggr øllum hinum hærrum heimsins haalfvm. þat er hímínum. loptinu ok þar medr vatnín fýrri fágrlegra skipaðum ok skýrduð ím. Skapadí hann áá | | a þeima deghi vpp á iðrðina þreinn kuikenda kýn eitt er alídyr þat er ver köllum bu smala. annat skrídukuikandi. þridía ønnur ferfétt kuikendí sem villi dýr ok fýrre þa sök at guð uíssi þat fýrer at madrænn mundi sýndalegah falla þa skapadí hann bued honum til feðu ok vidröhlapar epter komana erfidi. þuiat íumentum er vpp áá no-rænu at segia sau sem ein hialpadar skepna. A þann sama dagh skapadí hann ok æigi síðr maninn til at býggia þessa heims verolld sau
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sem hann hafði hana algort ok fagrlega prýdda giorandi hann af tu-
eim nátturum. likamann af iardarennar molldu satengiandi honum
skýnsamlegan lífs ánda af engu efni vtan at eins af sialfs hans efméttí
skapadán. Ok enn sem hann býriði þersa dags verk ok skapan 24 sagði
hann suá. **Genesis** Leidi iordin framm ok gefi vt af ser lifanda anda medr
sinnu kýni busmala. skrídkuikendi ok ferfítt kuikendi hvert sem eitt
medr sinum eiginlegum mýndum. varð ok þegar í stað suá 25 at guð
giþrði þil iardarennar skrídkuikendi epter sinu eignu kýni. Ok sem
guð fáder sá at þetta var enn ein guð skepna 26 sagði hann suá til
sins seta sunar ok heilags anda. Gerum ver manninn epter váári lík-
ing ok likneskiu at hann se stiornari ýfer siofar fískvm ok hinínsins
fuglum. ferfíttum kuikendum ok òllv iardríkinu ok þar medr òllu þui
skríd kuikendi sem nokkura lífs réring hefer í veroldinni. 27 Skapaði
guð mannenn epter sialfs sins mýnd ok likneskiu. skapaði hann bëði
karlman ok kuenmann ok þo síðaR konuna sem ofaR meiR man heýrazu
mega. **Scolastica hýstoria.** Af þrennum greínum máá einkannlega
merkiazi mannzens tign ok virðing. þat er híd fýrsta at æigi at eins
vard hann isinu kýni sem fyrr sagþer luter. hellldr ok iamm uel þar
medr at hann er guðs likneskíu fýri at hann gaf honum einum
skýnsemðar skilning af õllum veralldar kuikendum. Er likneskií heil-
agrar þrenningar medr þrífalldri mýnd ok skilning mannzens önd ok
hugskot. þat er til minnis til skýnsemðar skilningar ok til uilia edr
elsk=þuga þuiat þeser .iij. luter eru ein ueran ok eitt líf meðr huerium

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sem einum manni suá sem .iij. personur eru i guðs þrenningu. fáder
ok sonr ok heilagr andí ok þar allar erv þo einn guð. þat er annat at
hann var skapaðr meðr staðfæstre fýri hugsan þuiat í ððrum sinum
verkum bað guð ad eins ok wrðu þeer luter. Enn í þersu sógdu guðs
personur fáder ok sonr ok heilagr andí suá fýri hugandsi ok staðfæstandi
sin a milli. Giþr um ver manninn. þat er híd þríði | | mannzens tign ok
forprisan at hannvar skapaðr herra ok suá sem konungr allra annaRa
iardneskra kuikenda ok at þau skýlðu honum til feðu ok klednaðar
ok til erfíðis letta ok viðr hialpar sídan er hann hafði misgort. þuiat
fýri sýndina gaf guð bëði manninum ok ððrum kuikendum iarðreinnar
a voxtu til feðu fýri þui at íorðin | | leiddi þa engan lut u frean ut af ser
edr skepnvnni skadsamlegan. Enn þersararar drotnarar misti hann af
sýndarennar til skýldan bêði ýfer hinum stærstum kuikendum ok hinum smærstum. ýfer hinum stæstum sem leonum. til þers at hann víti ok uîdr kenniz at hann hefer laítid sitt valld ok drottnan ýfer þeim. Enn ýfer hinum smestum sem fuglunum til þess at hann skili ok vnderstandi þar af huersu vanmeginn ok herfilgr hann er þar af vordinn ýfer medal kuikendum hefer hann enn ualld sér til hugganar. ok at hann víti þaðan af at hann hafði sua fyrer síðinda ýfer ǫðrum sem þessum. **speculum hystoriale.** Medr þessi hinni fýrstu ok hinni fremztu±fýR sagðri healagrar þrenningar liknesktu ± sem manzins hugskotí er. i huerrí er hann samlikiz guði medr heilagum englum berr madrinn ok guds líkingh. einkannlega i.v. lutvm hin fýrsta er su drottnanar rðksemd ok

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valld sem i fýrstunni var honum veitt. þuiat sua sem guð er allra luta drottnin ok herra himneskra ok iarðneskra ok ðeira sem i helueti eru. A þa leid var madrinn sem drottnari ok herra ýfer skipadr æigi at eins fýR sogðum kuikendum utan ok þar medr allri þessa heims veralldar býgd sem var sagt. Annat er upphafsins rðksemd þuiat áá þann háatt sem guð er vpphað allra luta fyrer sina skapan. sua er adam allramanna upphaf ok fýrstr fyrer getnadarins skýld. þat hið þridia at sua sem nökkuverer luter eru samkuemiliger milli guðs ok annaRa luta. sua kemr ok mart saman medr mannininum ok oðrum verallidlegum lutum ok þaðan af kallaz hann minni heimr. þat hið fjorda at sua sem guð er allra luta endalýkt. sua er madrinn sidaztr epter naatturv skipan‒enne. þuiat hann var seinaz skapaðr þo at hann verí allra iarðneskra luta fýrstr ok fremztr epter skýnsemdar skipan. þat er hit fimta at sua sem guð er huerútina allr medr sinn almáátt í hinum meíra heimi. sua er aundin í sinum. minna heimi. þat er í öllum likamsins limum medr huerium sem einum sem verallidligum manni. Madrinn medr sinni skýnsemd er æigi þa leidis skapaðr lútr ok nídrleitr sem skýnlaus kuikendí. er hanslikams vóxtr rettr forme | raðr vpp til himnisins sua sem sialfan hann aminndi at hann haft á þann haatt± sin hug skotz augu ok skilningar vit til ± himneskra luta sem hans likamleg augu ok skilningar vit ok a siona veit vpp til himinsins. hann var ok þa lítlu stund sem hann stoð í meínleysís stett ok skýldi þuenlega verit hafva | vtan alla piniliga angist ef hann hefði æigi misgort. þuiat honum skýldi huarki hungr ne þorstáiæigi kuldí ne hití aigi erfýði ne nökkur haattar kranleikí
anrat hafa. Eigi hefði hann ok þurft líkams dauðann at ottaz þuiat lifandis

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líkannum skýlldi hann flút hafa til ýlfirar dýrðar. æigi hefði hann ok þurft klednat at hafa ok þo hefði hann þar af enga skammfylling fengit þuiat engan kendi hann þa uera sinn leyndalim helldr enn hof-udit hendr þeit. Maðrinn hefði þa getinn urerit vtan alla sýnd ok sui uirdu enn þeddr utan allra sutar ok sáárleiks. ok epter þat er guð hafði sua skapat þau blezði hann þeim ok sagði sua. Genesis. Uax-it þit ok fíólgiz ok fýllit iðrinda ok stiornit henni. drottnit ok síoﬁarins fiskum. hínningins fuglum ok þollum þeim kuikendum sem ræraz á iarðriki. scolastica hýstoria. þar sem guð sagði sua vaxit þúðok fíólgiz huat er æigi meðti verða vtan þeira samblandan þa skapði hann húskap milli karlmanz ok konu huar af er þeir villu menn eru af sinni sogn aprt settur ok suirvirðer sem þat sogðu at sambú milli karlmanz ok konu meðti alldregen uerða utan sýnd ok sáál hálagsa Augustinus. Voru þeir menn ok er þers spurðu huersu maðrein hafði nokkut valld ýfer fiskum eðr fuglum dýrum ok þ dýrum dauðligum kuikendum. meðr þui at ver þam mennina af morgum dýrum verða dreppna ok marga þa fugla oss mein giora sem ver uilðim feginsamlega forðaz ella gíarnsamlígha gripa ok faam þat æigi gort þui helldr. huersu þokum ver at þui valld ýfer þuílikum lutum. Medr fýrstu grein maa þeim þui uel suara at þeir villaz mikillega þar sem þeir hugleiða manznins stett huersv p34

hann fordæmdiz meðr dauðleik þessa lifanda lífs epter sýndina. týndi sua ok misti þers algjörleiks sem hann var til skapadr. guðs líknesku. Nu af manznens fördemningar stettur eftir ok orkar sua micklu at hann stýri ok stiorni sua morgum kuikendum sem busmalinn er meðr enn fleirum þ dýrum. ok þo at hann megi saker likamsins breyskleiks af morgum dýrum dreppin verða sua máá hann af engum kosti þeim tamðr uerða sua morg ok mikils hættar dýr | þ sem hanntems huat er af hans riki þa húsanda þi sem honum endr nýiðum ok frialsaðum ok af sialfum guði fyrer heitid. J æðra deilld erv þl þunnur kuikendi manninum vnder lagtægi fyrer likamsims skýlld vtan helldr fyrer þa | skýnsemd og skilning sam ver hófvm ok þau hafa æigi þo at likam-inn vááR se þÞ iamuel sua uordinn sik at hann sýni þat a sialfum ser
at ver sem betri enn önnur kuikendi ok fyrer þa grein gudi liker. þuiat manznins likamr at eins er rettr skapadr ok uppreistr til himins sem fýR var sagt. **Genesis 29** Ok enn taladí guð til þeíra. Se herna at ek gaf ýkkur huert sem eitt gras beranda sitt sááð ok annan eigenlegan a voxt ýfer alla iord÷na ok ðll ðau trio sem i sialfum ser hafa saad ok ðrio sins eigns kýns at þess er luter se ýkkur til fëdis ok þiddrífis 30 ok ðllum iardar- ennar kuikendum ðllum himinsins fuglum æigi sídr ok þar meðr ðllum þeim iardneskum lutum sem þræz mega ok lifandis andi er meðr at

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þau megi þar af fedaz Ok þetta varð allt sem hann baud. 31 Sa guð alla þa luti sem hann hafði gort ok voru hardla goðer. varð sua aptann ok morginn ok lýktadiz hinn setti dagr. **Augustinus.** þeir menn sem þess spýrja fyrer hueria grein er guð giorði sucu morg kuikendi huart sem þau erv helldr i só edr landi sem manninum eru þui sídr nauzýnlig edr nýt-samlig at morg af þeim eru honum helldr rediligh ok miök skaðsamlig. þa skilia þat æigi ne understanda huersu aller luter eru skaparanum fager ok fegiliger þeim sem alla þa hefer ok nýter til at drotna ok stiorna þar meðr allri sinni skepnu huerri er hann drottnar meðr hinu haliteztza lögmaali. Ef sua berr til at einn v uitr maðr gengr inn í nökкур kenn mannz húús forhags edr smiþu þar sem hann flýtr framm sina orku þa séér hann þar morg þau tol ok þeki sem hann veit eigi til huers skolo edr fyrer huern skýlld þau eru gior ok hýggr þau v nýt ok til einskis hæf ef hann er miök v uitr maðr. Einkannlega ok ef hann er miök uforsiall edr hefer fallit í einnhuern ofn edr hefer sért sik meðr nökkurv huóssu iarni þi sem hia smiðnum hefer legit sua sem hann höndlar þat v uar-lega þa ætlar hann ok hýggr marga luti þar liggandi miök meinsamlega ok skaðsamlega vera huerra nauzun ok nýtsemr er smiðrinn veit harda vel. ok fyrer þi spottar hann ok daarár hins v uizku ok gefr sér ekki vetta vm hans v uitrleik ok uivdrkemiligh ord fremiandi sina idn ok orkufasta farí │ │ sua sem hann hefuer aadr ætlat ok þo eru marger menn sua v uitrir ok heimsker at þa luti sem þeir vita æigi meðr manninum eins hueria

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smið til huers þeir eru hefer edr nýter. þora þeir æigi at lasta. helldr trua þeir þa. nauzunlega ok til │ nökkuða nýtsemða giorfða vera þegar sem þeir sia þa.enn þeir þora marga þa luti at líta ok lasta i þessari uerolldu huerrar skapari ok veitari almáttigr guð er sem þeir vita æigi fyrer huern
skylld skapaðer eru. vilia þeir sau i uerkum ok smððelum almattígs hof-
udsmíðs ok hans hagleiks tolum sýnaz þat vita sem þeir vita medr engu
mot’. Ek iatar ok vel uíðr gengr seger hinn mickli augustínus at ek veit
æigi fyrer huern skyllð myss ok maðkar flugur ok froskar eru skap-
ader. ok þo sér ek allt at eins ðll kuikendi ísínu kýni. fógr vera æigi síðr
þo at morg af þeim sýniz saker sýnda váára oss vera þeði meinsóm ok
motståðlíg. æigi hugleíder ek suða edr ser nókkurs kuikendis likam edr
limu seger hann at ek finni þar æigi máátéeð ok meîlingar. skilrikis töl-
ur ok skipaner til sempilígs sama ok samþykta einingar saman koma.æigi
føR ek ok skilið huadan af þesser aller lutur munu til koma utan af þeiri
hinni hêstu meîlingu. skipan ok þolu sem i sialfre v skiptiligri ok eýlifre
gúds tign ok sémð erv ok saman standa af huerium er þat er hardla
vidrkuðmílkkt ok sannlega skrifat at hann skipar alla luti medr uuag
ok þolu máter ok meîlingu. oll veralldar kuikendi eru manninum anat
huart nýtsamlíg ella skieð ok skadsamleg. ella í þrídia stað huarki með
ne í motí. Af nýtsamlígum þarf æigi at spýria ne segia fyrer huern sæk
þau voru skapat ok skadsamlígum lutum pinumz ver ok fremívmsg edr
reîðumz til þess at ver of elskim æigi ne ðýsumz of miðk upp á þetta

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liðanda líf sem morgum haaskasamlígum lutum er laðit ok under gef-it.
helldr elskum ver ok gírnuzm upp á annat lífit þat sem micklu er betra
þar sem hinn hesti fríðr ok vrugg farseld er. kaupum þat líf ok
verðskyldlum medr milldleiks uerkum. Maðrinn pinaz ok miðk þa er
hann verðr meiddr edr meðr nókkuru moti skaddr af þeim edr ottaz at
verða meiddr.þuiat otti ok rezla er hardla mikil pína huar af er hann máá
hialpsamlega hírtaz sau sem hann ser þersa luti fyrer saker sýnda sinna
sér til hafa fállit. þar af máá hann ok mikklega læraz sau at ottaz ok undraz
gúðs verkt ok sem hann er ok hugleíder hina minztu luti ser meiga meín
| | gera þa endr minniz hann sins breykleiks hvar af er hann metti ok ðtti
einkannlega at legiaz ok lítiltaz.vurðv þau fyrer þessa þrenna grein
manninum skadsamleg epter sýndina ok þar af pinadiz hann. hírtiz ok
lerðiz þar sem þau voru miðk hóguer skapat í fyrstu fyrer sýndina.
Mørg | af þeim verða ok ðdrum at skáda huer er ekki pinaz þa leídis
þar af sem maðrenn ok æigi hírtaz þau ne læraz af þessum demum ma
maðrinn ens æigi síðr læri d’m fáa ef hann hugsar sik vm. NokkúR af
þeim er sau skapat at þau skulo ðdrum kuikendum vera til fødv ok
vidr lifis. Enn til huers at ver grafimz epter greinum at þeim kuikendum
sem huarkí eru meðr oss ne motí seger augustinus. Mislikar þer þat madr at þau stoda þer ekkí ne stetta þa laat þer þat lika at þau meina þer ekkí vetta. scolastica hystoria. Af hinum minnztum kuikendum þeim sem af dauðra kuikenda likamum eðr váánzlegum uokum dalegum ok dýgdar lausum groðum erv vón at fædaz hefar umrêða uerit manna i millí huart þau rýnni þa þegar upp sua sem õnnur kvíkendi. enn þar til er su orlausn gefin at þau sem æigi fædaz af nokkuri spellan eðr skad semð

vurð þa þegar. enn þau sem af einum ok ððrum spellaðum lutum fædaz runnu af þeim sôum upp epter sýndina.Þers máó ok einn huerr lettlaga spyría fýrer hueria skýllð er guð gaf manninum fezlu fýrer sýndina til vîðrîlis þar sem hann var þa odaudligr. enn þat var fýrer þa søkt at sá odaudleikr vae meðr fêðu nêrandi sem hann uar meðr skapaðr. ok æigi þar vm meðr þeim hettí sem hin er vkomin er huerr er engarrar fêðu þarf eðr þers haattar nêringar. þuiat i hinum fyRa maatti madrann þat at deyía æigi. Enn ihinum sidaRx má hann æigi deyía. her vîðrîkiz.vij. daga uerk almattigs guds üidr uij. alldra heimsins. capitulum.

Híninn ok õIrð voru nu algíðr ok ðll þeira fêgrð ok prýði fýllði guð ok lýktadí þat er sua mikit at 2 hann sýndí fullgort vera sitt verk ahhinum siavnda degí ok huillðiz a hinum siaðnda degi af ðllu þui verki sem hann hafði þa got ar framít. æigi suia sem af nokkuRí meðu. helldr af lettandi fyR sagdri sinni skipan ok giôrð a þeim sama degi þuiat guð hafði þa skipat efni til allra liamligra luta ok liking saalna þeira sem hann skapaði sidan hueria a sínnum skapanar tîma. hafði hann nu framíd| | ok algíðr þersi .vij. daga uerk meðr fyR sagdri skapan ok skipan ok skýrningu. Meðr skapan aa hinum fyrsta deghi suia sem hann framði sina skapan af engv efni ok meðr skipan þa er hann skildi liosit frá myrkrinu meðr skipan eðr sundr skiptíngu áá ððrum ok hinvm þriðia. enn meðr skreyting á þprim hinum sidaztum. Augustinus J þeim orðum sem moýses seger at guð hvíllld-iz á | hinum sivaðna degi af þeim sînum harða goðum verkum sem hann hafði gotar, ma ok æigi sidr meðr andlegum skilnînghi ok skýrum

merkiax uáár epter komandi huillld. þa sem hann man oss gefa af ðll-um váárum verkum ef ver hofum þau gôd gotar. þuiat ðll vaar gôd uerk

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er honum at kenna ok eigna sem oss kallar til góðgjörn þinga ok meðr þeim tekr sýner oss sannleikins vegh ok lokkar oss ok ladar til þess at ver gangim hann. gefr oss þar til afl ok orku at ver fyllim þat meðr frammkiemð sem hann býðr oss. Enn þat er inn vörðilegahuglega seger augustínum fyrer hueria skýnemð þessi huilt í veitia a hinum .vij. degi. hann svarar síer sicialfr ok seer.vi.alldra unnu fulla vm allan texta gudligra ritninga suæa sem greinda meðr sinum eigínlegum endimørkum til þers at huilt ín veitia á hinum .vij, ok fyrer þi segher hann þa sömu .vi. alldra hafa mýnd ok merking þessara .vi. dagha á á huerium er guð giordi þa fyrR sagða luti sem skiptin skýrur ok nu var frá sagt. Manndomsins upphaf suæa sem madrinn nok a neýta ok niota þers veralldar liossi i paradiso samvörð vel ok viðrkiemilega hinum fýrsta deghi á huerium er guð giordi liosid þessi alldr má ok æigi sidr suæa takaz sem hin ýngsta barn þæka allrar þessarar veraðlðar. hans lengð var frá adami til noa flods ok

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stadlíegh festing milli þeira vatna hinna nedrí sem hon fluttiz i ok þeira hinna efti sem ofan rigndi at henni. þessi alldr fyrer verðr siki æigi af fléinni. þuiat annaR manszins alldr er sueindomrinn fra þui er hann er vij.I vetra ok til þers hann er xiii. vetra gamall þueiz æigi ne fellr iam giarna meðr nókkurí gleymsku or hans minni sem hinn fyrsti þuiat ver munnun þat sen vorum smá sueinaer. enn neppilegha eðr æigi þat er ver uorum smabor. Tungna skiptíd ok þeira hneykingh ok niðr-an sem gioðr stopulinn bavel var aptann þessa heims alldrí. Eigi gat þessi guds lyð helldr enn hinn fyRí þuiat annaR manszins alldr er æigi moguligr af spring at geta. | Hins þriðia heims alldrí morginn byri-adiz af abraham heferr hann harda viðrkiemilega hinum þriðia mannz alldrínunm fra þi er hann .xxii. vetra ok hann hefuer vii. vetra vm tuitught. þuiat sá sá alldr er vel meginn ok mattur af springh at geta. hann samuirdiz ok harda uel ok viðrkiemilega hinum þriðia degin-um a huerium er iordín var í brott skipt ok frá skila gioðr votnvnum fyrer þann skyllð at á þeina heims alldrí greindiz guðd lyðr ok fraskila gioðríz þeim hinum mickla heidinná þiða hegoma ok vaandu villu fyrer truar-ennar fdr hinn aigita abraham sem þeir í vofðuz meðr margskonar skyrsligum skurdgoða blotvnum suæa sem í hreðilegum ok v stadleigh-um vazens vind bårum. ok enn helldr sem í hreði legum haf baarum ok sterkum brimstormum frialdiz guðs lyðr þa ok fraskildiz upp a þann
sátt þessare þeira vantru sem örðin af vötnunum þann tíma sem hon birtiz ok þuR lendit syndiz. Greindiz hann þa ok þyrsti þa leidis himneska skur guðlegra bóðorda dyrkandi ein saman ok lifanda guð sem su iorð matulegha døggvat sem sidan mundi fagran fykt ok nytسام-legha auòxta heilagra ritningha hoðut fedra ok spamanna gefva megha.

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fyrer þi taladí guð sua til abrahams. Margra þioða fedr skipaði ek þik. þersi allðr vann allt til dagha dauïds.vær hans aptan í syndaleguðum lifnaði saul konungs ok ferlegeum framferðum þers foks sen vnder hans stiorn var. þadan byriadi hins fiorda heims alldrs morgín af hinum frægia konungi dauði. hann er ok likr hinum foirds mannzaðlinnum þeim er sem er frå þi er hann viij. vetr ok .xx. ok framm til þers er hann er fimmurtgr. Nu berr sia roskin leikinn senni lega til allra millum annaRa allðra ok er hann fastligt ok frygðarsamligt sterkt ok stad fastligt skart ok skraut annaRa allðra alldanna ok fyrer þa sök samuirdiz hann heðrs uel ok fagrlega hinum fiorda deghinum a huerivm er himin l tunling voru gior ifestaríngar himinum. Edr huat meghi biartlegarr ok aaudsynilegaR merkia heídr ok birti konunglegs rikis ok þann lyð sem honum er alluel hlyðinn. Enn solarennar fegrd ok forprisan tunglsins birti merker sialfa synagogam. Stiornurnar henna hoðdinga ok alla luti sua grundvallada ok stadfesta i rikis stiorn sem stiornur í festningar himni. Aptann þersa heims alldsa var þa í efti ok syndaleguðum lifnaði hinna sidarri konunga huar fyrer er ebræska manna þioð var hertekin ok íþröldom rekin. Hins fímta alldrsvins morginn vard hin mickla herleiðing í babilone. | var hann æugi vlikr þeim luta manzens alldrs ok efti sem honum þyngiz ok honum hallar af roskinleiknum til ellennar. hann kallaz í bokinni þungleika allðr. hann er fra þui er madrann er fímtugr ok til þess er hann siauraedr ok se þo enn æugi sialfr ellidomrin kominn. À þessum allldri halladiz a þa leið rikissins stiorn ok stadfesta medr gyðinga folki sem madrinn þann tíma sem hann lidr

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af roskinleiknum til ellidomsins. hans lengd var af nefn dum tíma til hegatburðar váaðr herra ihsu xpisti. Samvirdiz hann vel hinum .v. deg-binum a huerium er fiskar ok fuglar voru skapaðer fyrer þann skylld at víðara tokv þa niðr at hafaz millem heidinna þioða sua sem i siofar háaskja ok at hafar uuislega ok ustáfasta tru sem flugandi fuglar renna
ok reika heghat ok þeghat. Voru þar ok uissulega storer hualer. þat erv þeir sterker ok stadfaster menn sem giarnare uildlu ok vel màttv helldr stiorna ser ok oðrum veraldrennar bårum ok bylgium. enn þiona edr í þráeldom leggiaz í þeiri herleidingv. þuiat þeir vurðu medr einkis kyns otta edr rezlu til skurdgoda blotz edr nökkvrrar anarrar villu ok vantru leiddar ok lokkaðar. þat er geymanda at guð blezaði þessum kuikendum ok sagði sua. Vaxit þer ok fiðlgiz ok fyllit siðfarenis vótn. enn fuglarner fiðlgiz yfer iordina þuiat gyðinga þið fríoñadiz ok fiðlg-adiz harða mikit upp fra þeim tímav sem hon dirfðiz milli heðinna þíoda. þess. þessa hins ,vta. alldrsins aptann. var þat hið mickla ok hit margfalliða bynda fang medr gyðinga folki er þeir voru sua blindaðar at þeir kendu æigi vaarm herra íhsun xpiðstim til sin komanda hegat i volldina. Hins setta allðrs morginn byriaz vpp ok hefz af guðzipialltens predicand fyrer lausnara varn íhsun xpiðstim. A þessum hinum. vita. heims allðrinum h landiz storlega mið ok niðr lagðiz þat hið likam-legha ok hið veralldlega iuða riki a huerium er þeir ra musteri var niðr brotið ok þeira fornferingar eyddar ok unytar ok su þið er driugum.

komin at endalykt lifsins epter þui sem rikissins aflí ok orku til heyrrer. A þersum allðri feddizi þo þyr madr seu sem í ellidomi hins gamla mannz sa sem nu lifer andlega. a hinum. vita. deghi uard madrinn til guðs liðkesiu ok likingar ok á þersum hinum .vita. heimsalldri feddiz vár herra likamlega heghat í heim af huerium er spamadrinn seger sua. Madr er hann ok huerr man kenna hann? Ok sua sem á þeim deghi vard beði karlnadr ok konu. medr þeim hætti er áa þersum allðri hIsuc xpiðstuc ok hans kristni. a þeim deghi var madrinn vpp a þann | haatt yfer skap-adr busmolum. höggormum ok himinsins fuglum. sem kristr styrer ok stiornari þeim hugskotum a þersum allðri sem honum geraz hlyðin ok til hans kristni koma ok kriupa huart sem þat er helldr af heðunum þiððum edr gyðinga folki til þers at þeir temiz ok tempriz af sialfum honum edr huat manna þeir eru sem hoguerer giðraz ok honum lydner huart sem þeir hafa fyrer likams fystum of gefnir verit sem busmaler edr hafa þeir í myrkra þoku sua sem villu edr nökkurri vantru vaðfer ok blindaðar uer-id sem eitr ormar edr hafa þeir of metnaðar fuller verit ok frammi giarnar sem flugandi fuglar. Þiðum þess guð at sa veralldarenar timi sem er sua sem aptann þessa heimsalldrs taki oss æigi ne beri áa õara lifdagha þuiat þat er veralldarenar endalykt ok timar antixpisti af huerium er
guð seger. Hyggr þv eðr ǫttlar at mannzens sun muni nokkur ǫtr finna a iardri þann tíma sem hann hefer komit. Epter þenna aptan man morginn koma su a sem sialfr guð man heget koma medr sinni signadri birti. þa muna þeir huilaz af ǫllum sinum verum medr ísnu xpiþo sem alaz af hans epter þemum hafa hardla guðuerk gort þui at epter þuþlik verk er ǫllum godum monnum huilldín uentandi a hinum .uij.

deginum. þat er a hinum .vij. heims alldrinum þeim er engan hefuer aptaninn veþti huerr sem einn guðr madr sier at þui eylifrar dyrdar epter hardla guð .vij. daga verk. þat er epter .vij. daga vmiðna ok skili sua huat er þat hefuer at þyða er guð huilldiz a hinum .vij. degi af ǫllum sinum verkum,þuiat sialfr hann vinnr alla l þa guða luti medr oss sem ver giorum. ok af þui er þat rettlegba sagt at hann huiliz. þuiat epter ðíi þessi verk man hann þersum medr sialfum ser efenleþga huilld veita. **de genesi. 3** Blezadi guð þa ok helgadi hinu .vij. daghinn. þat er su a at skila at hann skapadí at sa dagr uþr haleitr ok heilagr haldðið þuiat áa honum lette hann af ǫllv verkí sinu þi sem hann hafði þa skapat. **scolas-astica hystoria.** þat sem seger at guð huilldiz á hinum .vij. degi af ǫllu verkí sem hann hafði fuþt ok framit. þa þeþz ok syniz þat verkí sem hann hafði þa enn æigi gort af hueriv er hann liettr enn æigi eðr hiliz. þriu fyRsogd verk hafði hann þa gort. skapat skipat ok skreytt. hit fiorða hans verk letter alldregin af suu lengi sem hann léttr mannkynit aukaz skapandi ok samtengandi huers sem eins sáll sinum einílegum likam. hit fimta man hann fremia annars heims synandi þa ǫllum godum mon þum sialfs sins asionu sem þionandi madr sedandi þa ok sémandi efenleþga medr sialfum ser í himinrika her greiner ok skyrer af skapan ok setning heimsins ok mannzens skapan ok sundr greining natturu hans

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Fyrer þa sok at um hrið var saght bedi í senn af skapan karlmannz ok konu huat er þa vard æigi alli í senn ok áa einum tíma þa endr-tekr moyyes medr nokkur moti aptr fyRsagdá luti til þers at hann þui fullegaR til lyktu leidi þat sem hann hefer áadder medr skiþotu ok skómmu maali vid komit ok tekir í fyrstunni suu til ordz **Genesis.** 4 þessor eru giþdr ok getnader himins ok iardar þann tíma sem þau voru skapat a þann sama dagh sem guð giþði himin ok iqrð 5 ok allan

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akrsins blomstr ok grensku ok hans föðr ok fezlu fyR enn þat rynni upp yfer íørðina ok þar medr allt iarðarennar gras fyR enn þat fríoðadiz þuiat guð hafði þa enn æigi nókkurn stað láattid regna yfer alla íørðina. æigi uar þa ok nókkur madr til hana at yrkia eðr uinna. 6 helldr reis einn storr vpp sprettyt brunnr ok vatnzins eðr upp af íørðinni dóggvandi allan hennar a vox ok asynd. Augustinus. seger at sàða madr se þui sïðr ðofundadr eðr lastandi sem þersa luthur fêR sua uel ok vitrlega skilit epter þuisem letrið heyriz lioða at hann fördaz allar guðlastaner ok aðra þa luti sem kristiligri tru eru gagnstadalger. ok at hann se helldr sem einkannlegr ok hardla lofsamlegr skilningar madr hafandi ok hálldan l di. Enn ef þar til er einginn uïdrkiemiligr uegr milldr ne guði makligr at þessar faer framm sagðar luther se ðóru uiss enn medr merkinghum ok skyringhum skilder. þa þofum þann háatt ok hugsan áa sógðum orðum sem sialfr hann hefer medr þess fylltingi gort ok gefit sem oss eggi- ar at bïðja. leita ok knyia. Fyrrum voru .vij. daghar tinder ok talder. enn nu er einn dagr a nefndr ok til tekinn á huerium er guð giordi

himin ok iord all laa akrsins blomgan ok hans fezlu kyn i vpphafi sua sem sagt er at guð skapaði himin ok iord Er þat ok berlega lesit at iarðarennar blomstr ok hennar feðu kyn vœð ahinun þrïðia deghi ok þo skapaði guð æigi ðóru viss himin ok iord. enn aadr hefer sagt verit ahinum fyrsta deghi. I þessum hinum fâam orðum têr fyR nefndr spamar oss ok skyrer medr merkingar skilningar alla skepnuna fyrer andar syndina under nafni himins ok iarðar merkiz oll syniligh sklepna. J nafni dagsins merkiz allr timi þersa lidanda lifs a huerium er æigi at eins vœð himinn ok iord utan þar medr styriz ok stiornaz skipaz ok veitiz ðill synilgh sklepna. Vnder akrsins blomstrí ok hans feðu kyni vill hann at usynilîg sklepna skiliz sua sem ãndin fyrer liðsins blomgan ok sterklei. enn þat sem hann leggr þa til ok seger. fyR enn þat akrsins blomstr vpp rann eðr uardyfer iordina er sua skilianða aadr enn ãnd- in misgîrdi. þuiat þann tima seigis hon vera eðr feðaz iordina yfer sem hon saurgaz af veralldligum girndum ok ferlegum fystrum fyrer þann skylld sagði hann at guð hafði þa enn æigi regna láattid yfer íørðina sem hann segði sua opinberlegaR. Eigi veitti vaaR herra ritninganna skyi- um þa enn leiringar regn til at ðoggua ok endr lifga saalina meðan hon hafði eigi misgort Spa manna bekr ok postlanna ritningar verða morg- um sua myrkr ok v skilianlegar sem þer se medr nókkurum þokum
edr skyflokkum skygðar ok hulðar. Enn þa urða þær uel skiliandum monnum sua sem nýtsamlígh sannleiks skur ef þær eru medr margfaldri ok uitrlegri tractaran taladar ok skynsamlega skyrðar. Enn þersa ritingarennar regns þurfti þöndin æigi aðrar hon misgjördi. Eigi hafði vaar herra þa enn fyrir mannzens skyllld þers sem íþördin kallaz ok

er vaars likama hulning ok sky tekit upp áa sinn signaða guðdom fyrir huat er hann veitti hárðla nóglegha guðzpiallzens skurur ok fyrir huería l sok æigi vtan at einginn madr var saa at íþördina vynn. ýat er sua mikit at segia at maðrinn misgjördí æigi þa ok fyrir þi vor honum eingi nauzuni at skriptarenar skurum ok ritingarennar reðnum sem þeim manni er íþördina vinnr ok efðar at almättigr guð dógguaði fyR nefndan akrins blomstr þann sem æigi hafði þa enn yfer íþördina komit. þat er syndla laus sáál meðr hinni innri ok andalegare sannleinsins edí ok upp sprettu sêðandi meðr sinum innztum leymund lutum fyrer innan í sialfrar hennar skynsemð ok skilningu sem vel maa skilia af þeim vitranum ok visdomi sem adami birtiz fyrer syndina ok sidaR man heyraz.

Af þessari edí edr uppsprettubrunni seger bokin at einn brunnr reis upp af íþördinni ok dógguaði allt iardárennar yfer bragð ok asionu. ok af þeiri íþödu þo sem psalmistinn seger af til sialfs guðs. þu eðt min vaan ok mitt lutskipti alifandi manna íþödu. Epter þessu synningok skyringh synligrar ok usynligrar skepnu ok þar meðr almennileghan guðlegrar þæðar ok vppsprettu uelgjörninginu uíðr sialfs hans usynilegeha skepnu. er til sogunnar aprt huerfanda þok þar til takanda sem frR var fra horfítv. **Genesis.** at guð drottinn formeradi mannzens likam af iardárennar leiri sem fyR var saght ok bles lífs anda af engu efni skapaðan ihans asionu ok þar meðr allan likamenn. ok sua euað maðrinn til lifandi sællar ok skynsemdar skilningar *scolastica hystoria*. Her hið fyrsta sinn kallar bokin guð drottinn edí herra. þuiaat hann hafði sér þa þionustu mann. þenna stað skildi plato vrettlega segiandi guð hafa skapat audina at

eins. enn engla gort hafa likamann. Sua mà þat ok æigi standa ne fyrer satt hallda sem sumer segia at þöndin se gjör af guðlegri ueran ok under stoðu. þuiaat þa mátaði hun edrá maðrinn meðr engv moti misgjöra. Maðrinn vor ok skapaðr arosknum alldri ok fullkommun dauðlegr ok uðauðlegrí.þuiaat at hann mátaði deyia ef hann skyllldadi til þers sem raun berr áa
ok hann màtt verit hafa uduadługr sem fyR var sagt. fra sellifis paradis ok huersu almattigr gud skipadì hennar blom strum.

Sellifís paradis hafði guð plantat frá upphafi. þat er á hinum þríðja degi þa er hann bauð at iðrðin skyllldi lþirtaz ok frioþaz

seml fyR uar saght ihuæria er hann flutti ok setti mannínn er hann hafði skapat þá þeim velle her áa vaarrre byggilegre iörþu sem campus
damascenus heiter. þenna stad let hann auðgaz ok alskipadán verða medr

allzkyns ynnileghum uðið ok allþin teom þeim sem þeði voru
manninnum lystilegha þogr at sia upp áa sæt a berygia. milli huerra er
hann skipadí þeim teim teom imidri paradis sem agiþtaz voru af þoll-

um þeim er annat het lifs tre af þeire natturu er þat hafði medr ser.
þuiat sà þadr sem optsinnís eði af þui màâtti æigi deyia likams dauða.
æigi siukleik elle eðr nokkurzyns angist fàå. Enn annat uizkv tre

millem gods ok illz. þuiat fyR enn maððrenn áatt þar af kunni hann fyrer
þann skyllld enga grein á illu at hann hafði þat æigi áaðr profat. þuiat
annat epterleþti kólum ver gott.scholastica hystoria. kenthaðiði adam þo
þegar þersa fyR saga illa luti af sinni vitru medr nokkurur moti i sialfís
sins samuizku enn æigi medr nokkuði raun eðr profan upp áa þann hàått

sem goðr lekner þann tima sem hann heill ok under stendr annars

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mannz krankleik ok sàå hinn sami lekner skilr hann þo allt eins giørr
meiR þann tima sem hann hefer hinn sama krankleik a sialfum seet.
þuiat da er þeði at hann skilr ok kenner at suá sem sa smasueinn sem
hann er virdulega ok fagrelegha upp fëddbdr veit æigi driguþ skyn a illu.
ella mekiz u hlyðni rettlegha fyrer illt enn hlyðni fyrer gott þuiat suá
seml hann hafði etið af þi sama te.þa uissi hann huersu mikit gott hlyðn-
in màâtti ok huersu mikit illt vhlýðn stett. genesis. 10 Ein harda
fogr upp spretta ødr eðr brunnr gekk vt ok flaut af þersum hinum
ynniligsta stad paradis at dogguva til friouanar ok auaxtar òll hennar
tre ok þersi sama uppspretta skiptiz þaðan ok isundr greindiz i fiorar
hinar sterstu höfut áår er menn hafa sogur af. 11 heiter ein phison ok
øðru nafni ganges af gangaro indialandz konungi. þuiat hon kemr þar
framm ok fëllr vm þat sama land. 12 finnþ þar ok fez betra gull enn i
øðrum londum ok ein hinn dyraste steinn onichinus.hun skiptiz ok
medr ymisleghum litum suá sem hon er i ymíssum londum eðr stødum
þuiat i øðrum stæð er hon skier enn i øðrum ruglat ok blandin. J annan
stæð er hon litil enn i annan stæð mikil ok dreifiz uída. J øðrum stæð
ken er hon köld. enn i audrum heit. Enn phison aa bresku. er flockr upp inorrorðu. þiat hon fylliz ok aukaz af þeim x. aam sem þæm falla i hana. 13 Aunnur heitir gyon er fellr bæði um bláland ok egipta land. Ok heitir hon þar nilus. Genes. Capitulum 14a Hin þridia heitir tigris er fellr um austan uert þat land. er mesopotamia heitir. ok allt moti þi landi er assimir heitir. Scholastica hystoria. Capitulum Tigris heiter eitt hit skiotazta dyr. Er þersi aa fyrir þann skylld af sinum stridum straumi. ok fliotum fòr faullum kallað tigris. Genes Capitulum 14b Hin fiorða er eufrates. er fellr um uestan uerða mesopotamiam ok allt i kalldeam

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huadan er Abraham er kyniaðr. Scholastica hystoria. Capitulum þessar iiij. áarr flita ok framr renna af einni upp sprettu sem sagt uar. ok skiliaz þa fyrst enn sidan koma saman nockurar af þeim. skiliaz þa enn anna tima þuiat þar uikaia ok uenda sinni ræðas optliga nídr iúrdina koma sidan upp i einum ok ymsum stòðum ok londum. þaðan af er þat at eigi hafa allir einina fra sógn huar þeira uppspretta er íuarri byggliðri uerolldu. Sua segiz af sumum monnum. at ganges komi upp æigi ðiarri fialli þi sem caucasus heitir. Enn nilus néri þi mikla fialli sem ahlans heiter. Enn tigris ok eufrates af armenia. Genes. Eptir þat flutti gud mannin i brott af þeim stad. sem hann haði skapað hann. ok setti hann íþann enn ynniliga stað paradis. at hann skylldi þar uera ok unna. eigi nockurs kyns erfíði helldr ser til lystíligrar nærningar. ok hann skylldi hennar geymati uera enn gud beggja þeira. Capitulum augustinus. Su unna uar hardla lofsamlig,enn eigi erfíðiss saum þuiat manzins á stundan ok unna í huilld ok kýrrleik þers sæla lífs sem ðënguan bidr dauðann. er at geyma þat ok hirda sem hann helldr upp áå. Scholastica historia. 16a. Ok þa setti guð honnum eitt boð ord. huadan af er hann skylldi uita sík undir sealfs hans ualldi uera eiga. ok drottnan. Ok aa þessir hatt sem oll uerolldin ok ömnur skepna uar honum hlydin. sua skylldi hann ok skaaranum hlydinn uera. 16b Ok fyrir þi sagði hann suaj. Genes Capitulum Et ok foðz af hueri tre sem einu. þi sem her bidr. i paradis 17 utan af uitzku tre milli gods ok ðlz. skallt þu eigi et. fyrir þann skylld at aa þeim degi sem þu hefir af þi etit mant þu andliga deyja ok dauðligr uerda. Scholastica hystoria. Capitulum Karlmanninum uar þetta boðord gefit. ok sett af guði. Enn fra honum skylldi þat koma til konunnar. ella uar þat eigi fyrri sett ok skipat enn þau uoru bæði skapad. 18 Ok þa sagði Guð. Genes. Capitulum Eigi er mannum gott edr gledilight at
hann sèe ein saman. gerum honum fulltingiara sealfum honum likan. 19
Nu sem gud drottinn hafði skapat ok formerat òll iardnesk kuikendi ok
þar meðr fiska ok fugla. þa let hann aull þau koma fyrir adam. ok at

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hann skyldi sea ok segia huersu hann uildi huert þeira heita látta þiat
þat er huers kuikendis nafn allt til þersa dags sam adam gaf þi talandi
upp aa ebreska tungu þuiat hon ein uar fra upphafí allt til tugna skiptis.
Fyrir tuenna sök let guð aull kuikendi fyrir aadam koma, at hann giþi
þeim lnófn. þa adra at þaþan af mátti þau uita hann uera sinn formann
ok stiornara. Enn þa adra at hann sæi þat uissuligía. at þers haatar
kuikenda uar sealfum honum líkt. ok honum uar fyrir þa sök konan
naudsynligh.Genesis. Capitulum þaa let gud þilikt sem suefn ok enn
helldr nockurs konar umegín falla aa adam. ok I þersu sama umegní.
truíz at hann hafí andliga leiddr uerit. ok upp numinn til himinrikiss.
hirðar. þiat sidan er hann uaknaði. uar hann fullkominn. ok sua framr
spaa madrár. at hann spaadí fyrir samband ihsu xprísti. ok heilagrar
kirkjú. ok þat hit mikla floð er uard aa dógum noe. ok þar meðr eigi
sidr hinn efzta dom. er fyrir elldínn skal uerda. ok sagði alla þersa lutí
sinum sunum. 21b Ok sem han uar skapadr tok guð brott af honum eitt
hans rif. ok sua mikit kiót sem þii til heyrdi. enn let kiót koma í stað
riðsins. 22a ok skapadí konuna fyrir englanna þeonostu af þi sama rífi.
Gorandi hennar likam af kiótnu enn beinín af sealfu rífinu. 22b let hana
sidan koma fyrir adam 23ab ok þa sagði hann sua. þetta bein er nu af
minum beinum. ok þetta kiót er af minum likam til tekít. Scholastica
historia. Af þersu hinu litla orði .nu. fengu iuðar mikla uillu ok uantru.
er adam sagði sua. þetta bein er nu af minum beinum. þiat segia at hann
gerði nu adra konu. ok taka adams ord sem sua hafí hann talat. Hin fyrri
konan uar gor medr mer. af molldu ok leiri. Enn þessi er nu gör af sealfs
mins. likama. Hegoma þeirok liuga margar ættar tólur fra .ij. hans
husfryium. Enn þeira uilla ok hegomi audsýnuz af sialfum texta genesis.
þar sem iafnan talar einfalldeliga af einni hans husfrú.

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Gaf Adam henni þa nafn sua sem hennar herra. 23c ok sagði sua. þessa
skal kerlingh heita. þiat han er af kalmanninum komin. uard þetta fyrir
þa sök hennar eiginlight nafn. Ok þegar eptir spááði hannsua segianði
24 fyrir þenna skyllld at hon er sua til komin. man margr madr fyrir lata
sinn föður ok mödur ok samtegiaz sinni husfru. sem einum part af
sealfum ser. ok manu þau i.j.ura medr einn likam. af þi at af
samblandingh beggia þeira blodd byriaz barnit,. Ok huarki þeira hefir
medr ollu eitt saman ualld yfir sealfs sins likam. 

her segir fra adam ok
euo huersu hóGormr kom til þeira ok eggíadi þau til at briota moti
gud sialfum. Capitulum.

Huartueggia þeira adams ok hans husfru voru medr ollu navekuit utan alla skammfylling.
Appendix III  De Rijmbijbel

Vader soene helech gheest
Enich god sonder beghin
Ghef mj hulpe ende wleest
Ende gratie in mjen sijn
5 Dat hic vinde moghe word
Scone ende rime goed
Daer hic bi moghe bringhen vord
dat leget in minen moet
Marie moeder der genaden
10 Moeder der ontfarmecheit
Ghi hebt den meneghen beraden
Ghettoest van sire serecheit
helpt mi vrouwe met vre bede
dat hic ghewinne den elegehen gheest
15 die mi cracht ende moghentede
verle'e'ne. dat mach mi helpen meest
So bem ic danne onuervaert
vraie rjme te bringhene vord
van ere gesten die ic begard
20 hebbe. te ontbindene jn dietsche word
Scolastica willic ontbinden
Jn dietsche word vten latine
Vrouwe nu moeti hu bewinden
troest te sine in mjne pine.
25 Nv merct die hier an sult le'e'sen
wat nutscepe dat hier an sal wesen
hier ne vint men no fauele no borde
No ghene truffe no faloeerde
Maer vraie rime ende ware woerd
30 hoe dat die tiit es comen voerd
Sint dat die werelt erst begonde
al tote dien dat quam die stonde
dat ihesus xpristus te hemele clam
die onse mensceit ane nam
35 hier vindic rime dachcortinghe
ende daer toe ware leerlinghe
der noten gheliict dese ystorie
dat meerct wel in huwe memorie
die buten bitter heft die slume
40 die scale so art dat mense cume
Metten tanden mach ghewinnen
Maer al die soeteit die es binnen
die bittereit van deser geste
dats dat die vroetste ende die meeste
45 van lancheit dit ghegronden cume

dits de bittereit van der slume
die artheit die leghet an die scale
dats dat niemen al te male
Mach verstaen wat die wort dieden
50 die soeteit der af dats dat den lieden
die recht verstaen ende recht minnen
Ende wareit ende goet bekinnen
dat hem die woert so soete smaken
omme dat sii sin van waren saken
55 dat sise gherne horen leesen
Want daer ne mach ghen verlies an weesen
Hoert hier oe god die weerelt stichte
den troen metten sterren verlichte
die lucht metten voeghelen vercierde
60 die vissche int water visierde
die erde vercierde metten dieren
Ende met cruden van manieren
ende oe hi tachterst maecte den mensche
doe hi hem alle die wensche
65 adde ghemaect die hem bedursten
Maer nu suldi sonder vursten
Gode met mi bidden mede
dat hi mi dor dese warede
die hic dichte van siere weet
70 vergheue dat hic mi besmet
hebbe in luegheliken saken
die mi die lichteit rede maken
vander herten ende van den sinne
Ende die weerele dinghe

75 Ende hi die nideghe verdue
die altoes versch siin ende nue
Ende talre stont daer toe gherust
dat hem te begripene lust
Min ghedichte ende mine word
80 Ghi nideghe merct ende hord
Ghi ne sult mi niet ghedeereen connen
al te spade hebdis begonnen
hets dompeit dat ghi vertert
hu nijt dinct mi dat niemene deert
85 dan hu seluen in huen siin
Ghi hebt die meer suareit der in
Ghi siit te magher ende te bleker
tui si di voer den oghen smeker
ende bacht en valsCH alse uerrader
90 Met judase moet ghiis alle gader
hebt hu den nijt hic wille dichten
ende mi der mede verlichten
dor min segghen dor min castien
Sone suldiis niet vertien
95 dies wille ghaen an min beghin
Nu god verclare minen siin
Meret hic wille ghiis seker siit
dits beghin van alre tiit
God die maecte int beghin
100 Den hemel ende oec mede der in
Alle die inghelike nature
Desen hemel heet die scripture
Empireus in rechter name
daer die inghele hare beghin in namen
105 ende hi maecte die erde mede
Wi verstaen al hier ter stede
daer die lettere die erde noemnt
dat met hare materien compt
al dat bi der erden leuet
110 ende al die dinc die soe vte gheuet
Ende weder in hare kert
dies weest oec wijs ende gheleert
die materie van allen dieren
van allen cruden van manieren
115 van boemen. van adams vlesche mede
brochte soe voer hare daer ter stede
Maer niet ne maketse god noch toe
hier namaels maect hise ende hoert hoe
die viere elemente. water. vier.
120 Erde. lucht. die waren hier
Ghemaect al daer men die erde noemnt
nu meret oe die redene compt
Werelt ende tiit siin euen out
dus sprect die wareit onse behout
125 van nieute maecte god int beghin
den emel ende die jnghele der in
Ende die andre elemente mede
die erde was van hare scoenede
Nochtoe deelloes na der nature
130 dies heetse jdel die scriture
Ende met deemstereden bedect
die scriture die vertrect
dat die eleghe gheest ons heren
dats gods wille dus salment keeren
135 die wart up water ghedraghen
dies woerds mach ons wel behaghen
daer wart betekent ende bediet
dat doepsel dat men nu pliet.
DOe maecte god met sinen worde
140 dat lecht alse hict bescriuen hoerde
dwoerd gods dats die soene
die ons verloeste dats die goene
die vlesch in marien ontfine
dat lecht her die sonne up ghinc
145 was een sucrc claer ende scone
Ghelic der dagheraet anden trone
der sonnen onghelic van lechte
al dus bescriuen ons gods knechte
doe sach got dat lecht was goet
150 Ende versciet daer metter spoet
dat lecht van der deemsterhede
al hier verstaen wi teser stede
dat lucifer ende sine scare
versceden worden openbare
155 Omme hare ouerdeghe sonden
van den jnghelen die wlstonden
diere staende bleuen heet die boec dlecht
Ende diere vielen na al recht
Moghen wel heeten deemsterede
160 daer noemde god dus le'e'st men mede
dat lecht bi namen ende hiet dach
die tiit daer deemsterede ane lach
hiet onse here nacht bi namen
Ende dit was alse wi vernamen
165 Een sondach ende dalreste dach
die ter weerelt oint ghelach

Des ander daghes dus eist bekent
Maecte god dat firmament
Jnt water ter middewarde recht
170 van watere so maecte hi echt
hart ende vast ghelic kerstale
Claer ghescep alse dei scale
Die sterren dit es bekent
Die staen in dit firmament
175 firmament hetet bi namen.
Omme da hem vaste hout te samen
Ende het die watre alsoe hout
Die bouen hem siin met ghewoud
dat sii niet ne commen ne'e'der
180 wat sii daer doen antwordic weeder
dat ne weet niemene dan god ons here
Sonder dat sulc in sine leere
Seghet dat die dau danen coemt
dit firmament heuet hi ghenoemt
185 Spreket die boec hemel bi namen
Omme dat beaect al te samen
Ende verhemelt die weerelt al
Water. vier. berch ende dal.
DEn derdendaghe leese wi van gode
190 dat hi met sinen ghebode
dwater uersaemde in een couent
dat es onder tfirmament
dat hare die droecheit openbaerde
die droecheit noemde god doe harde
195 Ende des waters versaminghen
daer sii alle te samene ghinghen
dat hiet hi bi namen zee
Ende daer naer so maecte hi mee
God besach dat het was goet
200 Ende hi seide metter spoet
hic wille di gheuen cruut
Ende hare groeneit comme vt.
daer af comen moeghe saet
Ende datter gheboemte up staet
205 dat appelle draghe na siere maniere
Ende vrucht oec meneghertiere
al dat hi seide was wl daen
Want siin wille moeste wlgaan

DEen vierdendaghe macte der ane
210 Onse here sonne ende mane
Ende die sterren die hi ghesent
Ende gheseeft heft int firmament
verre beneden sterren staen
Sonne ende mane sonder waen
215 Ende alle die plane'eten mede
derde heft de nederste stede
van al den sterren. ende als hic wane
Ende alse men leesende vint de mane
es de minste van den sterren
220 die ons lichten noch van verren
die vroede liedie seggheen al bloet
die sonne achtwaruen alse groet
alse die erde es al gheheel
Ende die mane es meerre een deel
die ons lichten noch van verren
225 dan die erde dus eist bescreuen
Mane ende sterren siin ghegheuen
dat sii dien naect maken clare
want hi anders te leelie ware
Ende omme dat die nachts in watere pinen
230 Ende die oec wandelen in wostinen
daer bi souden ghetroest weesen
Ende alre meest oec alse wi leesen
235 die weghe verwait soe dat se man
altoes neghen bekennen can
Ne daden die sterren men ne vonde
Niemene diere gheghaen in conde
Noch men ne vonde nemmermee
240Niemen die voere in de zee
Oec leesmen dat men voghele vint
die vander sonnen niet en tuint
Die clareit ghedoghen connen
Nachts moetsi vlieghen ende ronnen
245 Ende hem bi den sterren voeden
dat suldi mede wel ghevdroeden
dat niet alleene dor die sconeede
Noch allene dort leecht mede
Sonne. sterre. ende mane.
250 Sijn ghesheet. maer om te verstane
Scone weder ende quaet der bi
Ende om dat die minste des vroet sii
dat sii sceden dach ende nacht
Weke ende maent ende dees jaers cracht
255 lentin. somer. heerfst. ende winter.
die van dompeiden ghenen splinter
Stekende heeft in sinen siin
die magher vele leeren in
versta wi so merken conne
260 dat ghemaect was die sonne
Jnt oesten tilike te haren up ganghe
des auons der na. dan was niet langhe
doe soe was ten onderen gane
Maeecte god risende de mane
265 Ende soe was wl van haren lechte
dus proeuent mesters al bi rechte

DEs. v. daghès versierde god ons here
wende lucht. met groeter ere
Der lucht gaf hi dat vlieghen conde
270 Ende dat suemmende ghinc ten gronde
vissche en voghele dat es waer
Maeecte hi beede van watre daer
God maecte alle dine die roet
Clene ende groet diet water voet
275 Ende wat so gaet oec ende vlieghet
bedi mesdoet hi ende lieghet
die seghet dat sij iet maken conden
die quade gheeste dane sonden
doe seinde hise ende benedide
280 Om dat hi wilde dat siin wille diide

DEn sesten daghe versierde god
De erde ende hiet na siin ghebod
dat soe beesten brochte voerd
hi wisite wel merct ende hoert
285 dat de mensche vallen soude
maer doer sine dueghet so woude
hi den mensche beesten gheuen
Omme te verlichtene dat suare leeuens
beesten merct dit wordelike saen
290 het si om dat sii ons bi staen
Nv vraegt men of die goedertiere
God. maecte die felle diere
Ende de gheueninde voer adaems sonden
die redene hebbic al vonden
295 dat alle diere sonder waen
Ghemaect waren onderdan
den mensche te sine emmermeere
adde hi gheoert na onsen here
Maer na de mesdaet alst wel sciint
300 word sii fel ende gheueniint
Ende staende na siine scade
Oec mede om siine mesdade
Segghen ons die eleghe lude
dat die boeme ende die crude
305 die nu wassen vruchte loes
dat elc siine cracht verloes
van der mesdaet van adame
Sonne ende mane van groeter scame
Sterren ende diere steene
310 Ne behilden nemmeer alleene
van hare cracht dan zeeuende deel
te voeren adden sii se al gheel.

DOe sprac god make wi den man
Nu merct ende verstaet hier an
315 tote wien seide hi maken wie
der persone so sii drie
de drieuoudecheit spreect ghemeene
dits den mensche ene here niet cleene
dattene god makede met voerrade
320 al maecti met siire ghenade
al de andre creaturen
hine sprac niet van hare naturen
alse hi tot des menschen dede
Nochtan was hi ghemaket mede
325 Na der zielen des gods ghebelde
dit was den mensche groete welde
Na den lichame wildit horen
heft hiis vele te voren
want hi es van meester werden
330 den besten staet dat oeft ter erden
Ende den mensche te hemele waert
Jn drien saken openbaert
God des menschen weerdechede
dat hi niet alleene mede
335 Ghemaect was ommme hertsche welde
Maer na der zielen gods ghebelde
Dander es als ic erst seide
datter god sinen raet toe leide
Ende seide maken wi den man
340 de derde waerdecheit der an
dats dat hi ghemaect was alse here
van allen dieren met groeter ere
dat sine voeden na den sonden
Ende cleden souden tallen stonden
345 Ende helpen sinen arbeid draghen
vor de mesdaet hoer ic ghevaghen
Gaf god den mensche ende den dieren
vruucht tetene van manieren
want derde brochte niet dan goet

350 Mensche marc of du bes vroet
du heues verloren in den meesten
dine herscap in den besten
an draken ende an liebarde
an tigren ende an luparde
355 dit was groete waerdechede
an die mintste hef stu mede
Ghewelt verloren om diin lieghen
dats an messien ende an vlieghen
an die middelste hefstu ghevout
360 om dat tu marken sout
dattu here altoes wars bleuen
der beesten atstu niet begheuen
tgebod dat di god gheboet
dus vielstu in groeter noet
365 God benedide den man
ende seide deese woert der an
wasset ende wert menech vout
dit woert dat men ghescreuen hout
Gaet jeghen die buggheren die spraken
370 valschelike in haren traken
dat huwelie te gherestonde
Ne mach weesen sonder sonde
die daet waent hem weert suaer pardoen
God en hiet noint sonde doen

375 God sach al dat hi adde ghemaect
al waest goet ende wel gheraect
Uulmaect es nu hemel ende erde
Ende al hare sierheit met groeter werde
Des .vi. daghes verwldi mede
380 al werc daer hi neerenst toe dede
Ende ruste up den .vij. dach
Niet dat hem eneghe pine verwach
Maer dat hi siin maken liet
Jn sulken ne market niet
385 hine maect noch alle daghe 
vele dincs dins ghene saghe 
Maer hine maecte niet hier na 
Sine materie die ne was daer 
Ghemaect of hare ghelike 
390 an adame was sekerlike 
die materie van alden liedien 
dit willie an siin vlesch bedieden 
van siden vlessche esset al 
dat es ende was ende commen sal 
395 Ende mensche voerme heuet ontfaaen 
van der zielen suldi verstaen 
dat daer ghene ziele af cam 
Maer wie so vlesch van hem nam 
God gaf hem ziele ghelic adame 
400 de zuende dach die heet die name 
daer god up ruste saterdach 
Ende in ebreus eist also ict sach 
heetent die iueden sabaet 
dats ruste gods daert al ane staet 
405 ende hi benedidene dads waert 
Sint vierdemenne menech jaer 
Duus also ghii hier hebet vernomen 
So eist ons van Moysesse comen 
dat got maecte hemel ende erde 
410 Ende al dat boerde thare werde 
al benediide hiit ende seinde 
dit was eer dat noint reinde 
want eene fontejne van groeten prijse 
die quam uten parodyse 
415 gaf natheit in groeter tiit 
al ommes ende ommes der wheerelt 
tparadys bedieth marien 
de fontejne ihesus den vrien 
die al met duegeden maket nat 
420 hier naer sal hict verclare bat 
wat riijuieren der ute quamen 
Ende oe dat sii heeten bi namen 
hoert van adame dat besceet 

God maectene alse hier voren steet 
425 van der herden van den lime 
Na den vlesche eist dat ic riime 
Ende die ziele maecti van niete
weet weel dat hi achter liete
de wareit die niet gheloueden dies
430 de lettre spreect dat hi in blies
hem den leuenliken gheest
dat bediet recht alre meest
dat hi die ziele sende in vat
plato dolde in deeser stat
die edelste clerck van ogher name
die seide dat ten lachame
die inhele maecten ende god den gheest
dat segghen sulke hebbe ic ghevreest
dat de ziele ware meede
350 ghemaect vander goddeliichede
ware dat waer sone mochte dan
440 GHene sonde doen de man
Niechtemeer dan onse here
Noch oec steruen nemmermeere
DE man was ghemaect vander moude
dat merct. recht in manlicher oude
wlcommen in crachte in wle jueghet
wl maect van leeden in sulker dueghet
wilde hi tgebot gods niet begheuen
445 dat hi mochte eweelike leuen
verbrake hiit oec doer enegh
Dat hire omme smaken soude de doet
Duus was hem wle ghegheuen
Weder hi steruen wilde ofte leeuen
450 God die milde es ende wiis
die maecte dat paradys
ten derden daghe doe hi vt
Comen dede bome ende cruut
al daer die weerelt es an beghin
460 dat es ten oesten no meer no min
al daer heuet hiit gheseet
het bescriuet die heleghe weet
dat et es die scoenste stede
die es onder den emel mede
465 beede bi berghen ende bi landen
vte onser wanderinghen gestanden
Jof so ghueest metter zee
dat man ne ghwonne nemmermeee
Noch ne gheen came in de stede
470 Met neghere bendechede
het was toter manen oech
Bedi bleeft vander loeuien droech
Jnt paradys sette onse here god
alt hout want het was siin ghebod
475 dat scone was ende smaken soechte
omme dat den man ghtoneghen mochte
bede de snake ende dat up sien
jn die middewarde van dien
sette hi des leeuens hout
480 dat heuet die cracht ende die ghouwout
die de vrucht et soe mach hem gheuen
ghesonde ende langhe leueun
Oec segghen sulke boeke meer
dat hi mach leuen emmermeer
485 bedi sette hi oec der binnen
den boem die goet ende quaet leert kinnen
dat heuet bedi de name ontfaen
Om dat doe adaem adde mesdaen
daer an dat hi maecte tquade
490 ende van den goeden vel in scade
de fontejne daer ic er af liet
die dor dat paradys al vliet
Gaf al den boemen saeps ghtoneech
den al der plaetchen int ghouoech
495 die deelt haer daer in vieren riuieren
de namen salic u visieren
fisons. ende ganges eet die eene
die lopet endi duere alleene
men vint gout in hare sant
500 tdbeste dat es in enech lant
Gion of nilus comnt ghtlopen
daer dat lant van ethyopen
al dus eet dandre riuierie
tygris de derde. eufrates. dits viere
505 dicken vallen sie in de erde
dat si lopen hare verde
Ende springhen vte eere Andre stad
die boeke bescriuen ons dat
God droech den mensche van der erde
510 dat hinge adde ghtmaect werde
jnt paradys om dat hi woude
dat hi der in werken soude
Niet der in pinnen dor de noet
Maer ghtonechte hebben groet
515 Ende dattene god soude wachten mede
   Ende zee. man die eleghe stede
Gods ghebot hem wildit weeten
   van alre vruucht soe soutu eeten
Sonder die es an den boem
520 Die goets ende quaets leert neemen goem

vp wat daghe dat dur af eets
Sprac got hic wille dat tud weets
Dan soutu daer naer steruelic wesen
Doe seide god te ant na deesen
525 dat de mensche weesen moet
   alleene dan nees niet goet
make wi hem oec bedi
hulpe die hem gheliic sii
Ende met dien so brochte god
530 voer adame na siin ghebod
   alle voghele metten dieren
   van lichte van lande van riuieren
   Ende al dat men vint in der zee
Omme tue saken ende nemmee
535 dat hise noumen soude daer
   Ende hi weeten soude voer waer
dat siin gheliic na den lechame
No der sielen daer niet ne came
daer gaf hem doe adaeem de ionghe
540 name na ebreusche tonghe
die deerste was van allen spraken
doe deede god na deesen saken
Eenen slaep comen in adame
   al heuet die dine slapens name
545 het was al onmachte van sinne
daer wi gheloeuen dat hi jinne
die emelsche bliscepe vernam
want dat eersten doe hi bequam
profetiseerde hi segghen clerke
550 van ihesus ende van der elegher kerke
   Ende voerseide der loeuuien gane
Ende doemesdach te voeren lanc
dat hi met brande soude comen
dit seidi siinen kindren somen
555 jn deesen slape te deeser stede
   Nam god eene rebbe ende vlesch der meede
Ende maectere af .j. wiif alleene
vlesch van vlesche been van beene
Ende setteese voer adame
560 dat hi hare gheuen soude name
hi sprac dit vlesch ende dit been
es van den minen ende al een
virago sal mense noemen
dat luut van manne comen
565 aldus hiet soe voer de sonden
maer daer naer in corten stonden
doe soe de sonde adde ghedaen
so hiet hise. eua. saen
dat woert mach men dus bedieden
570 dat soe was moeder al der lieden
alst kint ter weerelt comen vt
So es des cnapelins eerste luut
.a. ende des meiskins .e.
dit ne faeiliert nemmermee

575 doe adaem dwijf adde ghenant
profeterde hi alte ant
Ommme dat soe es van minen liue
sal de man volghen siinen wiue
moeder ende vader begheuen
580 Ende daer naer so es bescreuen
jn eenen vlesch sulsi tue weesen
huwelic voerseide hi na desen
doe eua ende adaem waren ghemaect
waren si bedegader naect
585 Ende sine scaemden hem niet
Maerct dat men dit an kindren siet
sine scamen hem niet eer entuint
Eer hare nature sonden kint
dus waest van euen ende van adame
590 dat sii waren sonder scame