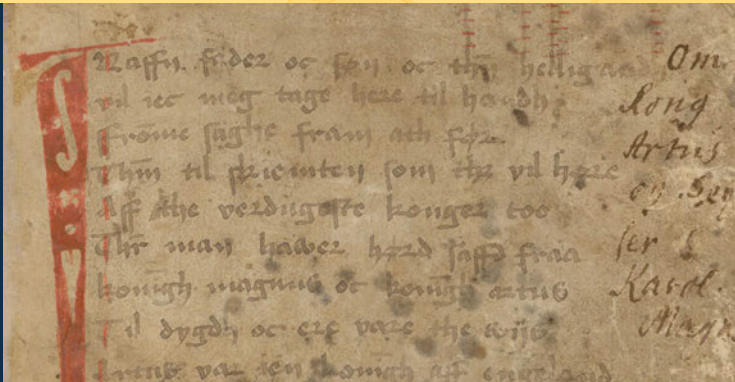


Massimiliano Bampi / Anna Katharina Richter (Hrsg. / eds.)

Die dänischen *Eufemiaviser* und die Rezeption höfischer Kultur im spätmittelalterlichen Dänemark

The Eufemiaviser and the Reception of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Denmark



BEITRÄGE ZUR NORDISCHEN PHILOGIE

narr/f
ranck
e atte
mpto

Die dänischen *Eufemiaviser* und die Rezeption höfischer Kultur im
spätmittelalterlichen Dänemark /
The Eufemiaviser and the Reception of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Denmark

Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie

Herausgegeben von der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft
für Skandinavische Studien

Redaktion:

Jürg Glauser (Basel/Zürich), Klaus Müller-Wille (Zürich),
Anna Katharina Richter (Zürich), Lena Rohrbach (Basel/Zürich),
Lukas Rösli (Berlin), Thomas Seiler (Bø)

Begutachtung:

Die Bände der Reihe werden einem (Double blind-)Peer-Review Verfahren
unterzogen.

Ausführliche Angaben zu den Mitgliedern der Redaktion sowie zu deren
Aufgaben und Funktionen und zur Manuskriptbegutachtung finden sich auf
der Homepage der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Skandinavische Studien
(<http://www.sagw.ch/sgss>).

Band 68 · 2021

Massimiliano Bampi / Anna Katharina Richter (Hrsg. / eds.)


Die dänischen *Eufemiaviser* und die
Rezeption höfischer Kultur im
spätmittelalterlichen Dänemark


*The Eufemiaviser and the Reception of
Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Denmark*

Umschlagabbildung: Manuskript Codex Holmiensis K 47 (Königliche Bibliothek Stockholm), *Ivan løveridder* (Ivan der Löwenritter), 1r (Prolog). Abdruck mit freundlicher Genehmigung von Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, Kopenhagen.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Prof. Dr. ass. Massimiliano Bampi
Università Ca'Foscari Venezia
Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Culturali Comparati
Dorsoduro 1405
30123 Venedig
Italien
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8378-0190>

Dr. Anna Katharina Richter
Universität Zürich
Deutsches Seminar
Abteilung für Skandinavistik
Schönberggasse 9
8001 Zürich
Schweiz
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7165-7320>

DOI <https://doi.org/10.24053/9783772057502>

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Schweizerischen Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften.

© 2021 · Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH + Co. KG
Dischingerweg 5 · D-72070 Tübingen

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

Internet: www.narr.de
eMail: info@narr.de

CPI books GmbH, Leck

ISSN 1661-2086
ISBN 978-3-7720-8750-9 (Print)
ISBN 978-3-7720-5750-2 (ePDF)
ISBN 978-3-7720-0145-1 (ePub)



Inhalt / Table of Contents

<i>Massimiliano Bampi (Venedig) / Anna Katharina Richter (Zürich)</i> <i>Eufemiavisor – Eufemiaviser. Zur höfischen Literatur in Dänemark zwischen Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Einführung und Forschungsübersicht</i>	7
<i>Jürg Glauser (Basel / Zürich)</i> K 47: Eine spätmittelalterliche dänische Handschrift im Kontext	15
<i>Jonatan Pettersson (Stockholm)</i> <i>Flores og Blanseflor – Romance in East Scandinavia and the Introduction of Printed Book Culture in Denmark</i>	57
<i>Fulvio Ferrari (Trento)</i> The Danish Translations of the <i>Eufemiavisor</i> and the Literary Polysystem of Medieval Scandinavia	89
<i>Massimiliano Bampi (Venice)</i> Some Philological Observations on the Old Danish <i>Ivan løveridder</i> and its Old Swedish Source Text	99
<i>Karl G. Johansson (Oslo)</i> A Middle Norwegian <i>Herr Ivan</i> – In Search of a Language	115
<i>Anne Mette Hansen (København)</i> Fragmenter af en dansk ridderroman på vers. <i>Persenober og Konstantianobis</i> i København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 151 b 8vo	131
<i>Louise Faymonville (Stockholm)</i> <i>Hertug Frederik af Normandi</i> and <i>Hertig Fredrik af Normandie</i> – the Same, only Different	141
<i>Elena Brandenburg (Köln)</i> <i>Karl Magnus' Krønike</i> im Kontext der nordischen Karlsepik	157
<i>Regina Jucknies (Cologne)</i> Courtly Colours. Colour Terms in Old Danish, with a Side Glance at Old West Norse and Middle High German	177
<i>Simon Skovgaard Boeck (København)</i> Der er en verden uden for Bern. Stednavne og spatiale referencer i K 47	199

Abstract & Keywords	209
Autorinnen und Autoren / List of Contributors	213
Register / Index	215

Eufemiavisor – Eufemiavisor

Zur höfischen Literatur in Dänemark zwischen Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Einführung und Forschungsübersicht

Massimiliano Bampi (Venedig)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8378-0190>

Anna Katharina Richter (Zürich)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7165-7320>

Die im vorliegenden Band versammelten Beiträge sind größtenteils aus Vorträgen im Rahmen der internationalen Konferenz *The Eufemiavisor and the Reception of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Denmark* hervorgegangen. Im Zentrum der Tagung, die von den Herausgebern dieses Bandes organisiert wurde und vom 13.–14. September 2018 am Deutschen Seminar der Universität Zürich stattfand, stand die eingehende Beschäftigung mit unterschiedlichen Aspekten der Textüberlieferung der spätmittelalterlichen *Eufemiavisor* (Eufemia-Gedichte) in Dänemark. Hierbei handelt es sich um drei mittelalterliche höfische Versromane, die – benannt nach der Auftraggeberin, der ursprünglich aus Norddeutschland stammenden norwegischen Königin Eufemia (1280–1312) – in komplexen Transmissionsprozessen mit verschiedenen Übersetzungsvorlagen und Bearbeitungsstufen zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts zunächst ins Altschwedische und später, vermutlich in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts ins Mitteldänische übersetzt wurden:¹ *Ivan løveridder* (Ivan der Löwenritter, welcher auf *Yvain ou le Chevalier au lion* von Chrétien de Troyes zurückgeht), *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* (Herzog Friedrich aus der Normandie) und *Flores og Blanseflor* (Flores und Blanzeflor). Während es in der altschwedischen Tradierung mehrere handschriftliche Textzeugnisse der drei *Eufemiavisor* gibt, sind die dänischen Varianten nur in einer einzigen Sammelhandschrift überliefert (Codex Holmiensis K 47, Königliche Bibliothek Stockholm, im Folgenden: K 47). Zusammen mit drei weiteren Erzähltexten, die thematisch mit den *Eufemiavisor* korrelieren (*Persenober og Konstantianobis* [Persenober und Konstantianobis]; *Den kyske dronning* [Die keusche Königin] und *Dværgekongen Laurin* [Der Zwergenkönig Laurin]), stellen sie ein einzigartiges Zeugnis kontinentaler höfischer Erzählkunst in der dänischen Literatur des ausgehenden Spätmittelalters und der beginnenden frühen Neuzeit dar. Gerade diese Position macht sie so interessant für eine intensivere Auseinandersetzung mit den Vorlagen und mit

1 Im Folgenden wird in den deutschsprachigen Beiträgen die Bezeichnung ‚Mitteldänisch‘ verwendet, in den dänischen ‚gammeldansk‘ und in den englischsprachigen Beiträgen ‚Old Danish‘, da diese jeweiligen Bezeichnungen üblicherweise sowohl für die einzelnen Texte (z. B. *Ivan løveridder* als ‚Old Danish *Ivan*‘) als auch für diese kultur- und literaturgeschichtliche Epoche in Dänemark (ca. 1100 bis 1515) insgesamt verwendet werden. Die Herausgeber bedanken sich bei Simon Skovgaard Boeck, Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab Kopenhagen, für diesen Hinweis.

ihrem literarischen, kulturellen und historischen Umfeld. Auch aus der historischen Sicht auf die Renaissance des Rittertums im spätmittelalterlichen Dänemark, wie sie sich in der Architektur und in Repräsentationsformen höfischer Kultur, der sog. ‚Ritterrestauration‘, manifestieren, bieten diese Texte eine wichtige literarische Perspektive.

Im Unterschied zu den altschwedischen *Eufemiavisor*, denen 2012 eine internationale Tagung in Stockholm gewidmet war (vgl. Ferm u.a. (Hg.) 2015), sind die dänischen Textvarianten in der skandinavistischen Forschung bisher nur marginal behandelt worden, und erst in jüngerer Zeit kommt ihnen vermehrte Aufmerksamkeit zu. Von der früheren Forschung sind insbesondere einige Beiträge zu nennen, die auf verschiedene Weise eine maßgebliche Rolle bei der Entwicklung unserer Kenntnisse dieser Werke und deren Verständnis gespielt haben.

In Jürg Glausers (1986) Artikel zur höfisch-ritterlichen Epik im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Dänemark werden die *Eufemiaviser* und ihre kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung im Rahmen der Untersuchung der Sammelhandschrift K 47 besprochen. Wenngleich die Betrachtung hauptsächlich auf *Den kyske dronning* fokussiert, werden alle drei Versromane als Teil eines intertextuellen Dialogs diskutiert, der auf den thematischen Gemeinsamkeiten der in dieser Handschrift versammelten Texte gründet.

Pil Dahlerups Überlegungen (1998) zum höfischen Roman stellen die bisher ausführlichste Auseinandersetzung mit den gesamten *Eufemiaviser* im Rahmen der höfischen Kultur dar. Die strukturellen und stilistischen Hauptmerkmale der Texte als Übersetzungen werden in knapper Form dargestellt, außerdem wird das vielschichtige Sinnpotential der *Eufemiaviser* hervorgehoben, insbesondere bezüglich ihrer ideologischen und mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Tragweite. Dahlerup stellt die dänischen *Eufemiaviser* nicht nur in den Kontext der (spät)mittelalterlichen höfischen Literatur in Dänemark, sondern betrachtet sie immer auch vor dem Hintergrund der kontinentaleuropäischen Tradition, insbesondere dem Einfluss der französischen und der deutschsprachigen Literatur.

Die *Eufemiaviser* als Repräsentationen des Ritterromans werden auch von Britta Olrik Fredriksen (1999) als Teil einer Darstellung der dänischen Buchkultur im ausgehenden Mittelalter kurz diskutiert. Genauso wie bei Glauser und bei Dahlerup wird hier das Augenmerk zusätzlich auf andere Texte gelenkt, die mit den *Eufemiaviser* sowohl gattungsmäßig als auch ideologisch und thematisch eng verbunden sind. Diese Perspektive lässt die *Eufemiaviser* als Produkt einer breiteren, für ein aristokratisch gesinntes Publikum gedachten Textproduktion erkennen. Hier finden auch andere Handschriften Beachtung, die zusammen mit K 47 die gesamte höfische Literatur in Dänemark im Spätmittelalter aufbewahren: Codex Holmiensis K 4 (im Folgenden: K 4), der eine fragmentarische Version des mitteldänischen *Ivan løveridder* enthält, und Codex Holmiensis Vu 82 (im Folgenden: Vu 82), in dem *Karl Magnus' Krønike* (Chronik Karls des Großen) überliefert ist.

In der neueren Forschung, die sich im Laufe des letzten Jahrzehnts entwickelt hat, stehen die *Eufemiaviser* vor allem als einzelne Werke im Vordergrund. So veröffentlichte Sigurd Kværndrup 2014 die dänische Übersetzung des altschwedischen *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* (Herr Ivan Löwenritter, welcher ebenfalls auf Chrétien's *Yvain* zurückgeht) zusammen mit einer eingehenden Diskussion ihrer Rezeption in Schweden. Der letzte Teil des Bandes enthält einige Denkanstöße zum historischen und ideologischen Zusammenhang, in dem die dänischen Übersetzungen entstanden sein könnten. Von besonderem Interesse ist

Kværndrups Theorie, wonach die Übersetzung der gesamten *Eufemiaviser* im Auftrag der dänischen Königin Margrethe I. durchgeführt worden sei.

Anna Katharina Richter (2018) hat sich mit der Überlieferung der Historie von *Flores og Blanseflor* in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit beschäftigt. In ihrem Artikel untersucht sie einige Besonderheiten der gedruckten Überlieferung des dänischen *Flores*, die als Ausdruck der Retextualisierung im Übergang zum Druck verstanden werden. Massimiliano Bampi (2019) hat zum einen die Handschriftentransmission des *Ivan løveridder* und dessen Verhältnis zum altschwedischen *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* untersucht und zum anderen einige preliminäre Überlegungen zum intertextuellen Dialog innerhalb der Sammelhandschriften K 47 und K 4 angestellt. Zu diesen beiden Handschriften hat auch Regina Jucknies (2015) in einer Studie gearbeitet, die sich mit dem Verständnishorizont des Publikums von K 47 beschäftigt. Am Beispiel der in den Texten figurierenden Edelsteine lassen sich interessante Verbindungen zwischen der enzyklopädisch-medizinischen Tradition und der höfischen Romane aufzeigen, wie sie gemeinsam in K 4 überliefert sind.

Einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur weiteren Beschäftigung mit den *Eufemiaviser* leistet ohne Zweifel die Publikation der diplomatischen Editionen der in K 47 aufgezeichneten Texte, die im Rahmen des Projekts *Studér middelalder på nettet* digital zugänglich sind (<https://dsl.dk/projekter/studer-middelalder-pa-nettet>). Die sorgfältig edierten, vollständig lemmatisierten Texte werden von einer ausführlichen Beschreibung sowohl der Handschriften (<https://tekstnet.dk/manuscripts>) als auch der einzelnen Werke begleitet, die sich als nützliches Instrument für die wissenschaftliche, philologisch fundierte Arbeit an den einzelnen Texten erweist.

Zu diesem Band

Da die *Eufemiaviser* nicht als isoliertes Phänomen, sondern stets im Kontext der spätmittelalterlichen (kontinentaleuropäischen und skandinavischen) höfischen Literatur und Kultur betrachtet werden müssen, sind in den Kontext der Tagung sowie in den vorliegenden Sammelband auch weitere narrative Texte miteinbezogen, wie beispielsweise die dänische *Karl Magnus' Krønike* bzw. ihre zeitlich früher entstandene altschwedische Variante *Karl Magnus* oder ein bisher kaum beachtetes Manuskript von *Persenober oc Konstantianobis* in der Arnamagnäanischen Sammlung in Kopenhagen, welches zur europaweiten Transmission der Erzählung von *Partonopeus de Blois* gehört.

Im Mittelpunkt der Tagung sowie auch des vorliegenden Bandes standen bzw. stehen unterschiedliche Herangehensweisen an die dänischen *Eufemiaviser*, wobei sich die Mehrzahl der Vorträge Fragen der textuellen Überlieferung widmete; vornehmlich wurden Aspekte wie Variation und produktive Veränderungen der *Eufemiaviser* in ihrer zeittiefen Überlieferungsgeschichte diskutiert. Eine wichtige Rolle spielen dabei die unterschiedlichen, komplexen Interferenzen von Manuskriptkultur und frühem Buchdruck – so ist beispielsweise eine der drei *Eufemiaviser* (nur) in Dänemark auch im Druck, sogar bis ins 18. Jahrhundert, überliefert, die anderen beiden existierten jedoch nur in handschriftlicher Form. In der schwedischen Tradierung bestehen aufschlussreiche Überlieferungsverbünde in (adligen) Sammelhandschriften, aber kein Fortleben der Texte in Form von gedruckten Fassungen. Darüber hinaus bieten sprachhistorische Aspekte der Versromane und die Nut-

zung von Datenbanken zur Erforschung der Sprache im renaissancezeitlichen Dänemark verschiedene theoretische Ansätze und neue Verknüpfungsmöglichkeiten. Sie verweisen nicht zuletzt auf die Bedeutung der Mehrsprachigkeit im vormodernen Skandinavien, wo Latein, Hoch- und Niederdeutsch selbstverständlich neben Schwedisch und Dänisch gebraucht wurden. Die Diskussionen im Laufe der Tagung ließen schließlich auch die in den *Eufemiaviser* inszenierten Erscheinungsformen und Funktionen des *Cultural Memory* deutlich werden. Dies ist insbesondere für die dänische Literatur dieser Zeit von Interesse, da es hier insgesamt nur sehr wenige schriftliche Zeugnisse einer höfischen Literatur gibt.

Auch übersetzungswissenschaftliche Perspektiven auf die *Eufemiaviser* nehmen eine wesentliche Rolle in diesem Band ein. Für die vorliegende Publikation entfielen zwei auf der Tagung gehaltene Vorträge, doch dafür konnte ein Beitrag zur Transmission der *Karl Magnus' Krønike* im Kontext der nordischen Karlsepike gewonnen werden, welcher das Textkorpus sinnvoll ergänzt, handelt es sich doch hierbei um eine etwa zeitgleich entstandene Adaption eines kontinentaleuropäischen Erzählstoffes in Skandinavien.

Eine Einführung in die Handschrift K 47, die den zentralen Mittelpunkt der Tagung und die Schnittstelle der gesamten Diskussion präsentierte, bietet der Beitrag von **Jürg Glauser**, welcher zunächst den Überlieferungsverband der sechs Verserzählungen vorstellt und das Manuskript als einen ‚Schnittpunkt der Diskurse‘ in mehrfacher Hinsicht beschreibt, nämlich, wie er selbst formuliert, thematisch, stilistisch, metrisch, literatur-, genre-, medien-, transmissions- und erinnerungshistorisch. Glauser betont auch den internationalen Hintergrund der Texte und die Tatsache, dass die Romane mit dem Knittelvers noch in der Zeit um 1500 bewusst ein älteres metrisches Konzept aufgreifen. Neben der Erläuterung der materiellen Besonderheiten der Handschrift geht Glauser darauf ein, wie rhetorische Strategien und narratologische Termini in Paratexten der Handschrift – etwa Prologen oder Epilogen – verwendet werden und auf diese Weise das Geschriebene und Erzählte metafictional reflektieren. Auch in dieser Hinsicht stehen die Texte in K 47 in Beziehung zueinander. Glauser rundet seine Ausführungen mit einem Ausblick auf die frühneuzeitliche gedruckte Überlieferung von drei der sechs Versromane ab (*Flores og Blanseflor*, *Dværgekongen Laurin*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis*). Dass das gedruckte Buch ebenso wie die Handschrift von Unfestigkeit geprägt ist, bildet einen weiteren Aspekt der frühneuzeitlichen Weiterführung dieser spätmittelalterlichen Erzählungen.

Die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Dänemark und Schweden beleuchtet eingehend der Beitrag von **Jonatan Pettersson**, der zugleich auch den literatur- und kulturhistorischen Hintergrund der Transmission weltlicher Erzähltexte im spätmittelalterlichen Skandinavien reflektiert. Die dänischen *Eufemiaviser* rücken damit in einen größeren Verständnishorizont der skandinavischen Manuskriptüberlieferung von (spät)mittelalterlichen Erzähltexten (zu denen etwa die schwedischen Erzählungen von *Namnlös och Valentin* [Namenlos und Valentin], *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* [Ritter Paris und Jungfrau Vienna] u. a. gehören). Pettersson zeigt, dass von den ‚alten‘, mittelalterlichen Erzähltexten in Dänemark nur wenige Texte, wie etwa *Flores og Blanseflor*, noch nach 1500 gedruckt wurden, während gleichzeitig mit der Einführung des Buchdrucks ein neues Repertoire an Popularität gewann (die Historienbücher, Frühromane/Prosaromane), das ebenfalls häufig aus dem europäischen Mittelalter stammende Erzählstoffe (neben anderen Traditionen) tradierte. Am Beispiel von *Flores og Blanseflor* als eine der drei *Eufemiaviser* erläutert Pettersson,

warum gerade dieser Text mit seinem vielschichtigen narrativen Angebot geeignet war, auch noch nach 1500 als gedrucktes Buch ein neues, nunmehr primär urbanes Lesepublikum zu begeistern.

Einen anderen Schwerpunkt setzt **Fulvio Ferraris** Beitrag: Er beschäftigt sich mit einem übersetzungstheoretischen Zugang zu den *Eufemiaviser* auf der Grundlage der Polysystemtheorie von Itamar Even-Zohar und der sog. ‚Schule von Tel Aviv‘, die die Dynamik und Heterogenität von Kulturen, die im Austausch miteinander stehen, aus kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive analysiert. Ferrari erläutert den Prozess des kulturellen Transfers von Texten vor dem Hintergrund der gesellschaftlichen und (kultur-)historischen Verhältnisse in Dänemark und Schweden im Übergang von Mittelalter zu früher Neuzeit. Der polysystemtheoretische Ansatz erweitert den Blick auf die in diesem Band präsentierten Erzähltexte um eine theoriegeleitete Perspektive, welche kulturwissenschaftliche wie auch historische Aspekte von Übersetzungen literarischer Texte untersucht.

Während damit die ersten drei Beiträge in diesem Band die dänischen *Eufemiaviser* als übersetzte Literaturzeugnisse an der Schwelle zwischen Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit in einem größeren theoretischen und überlieferungshistorischen Kontext betrachten, setzen sich die nun anschließenden Artikel mit einzelnen Narrativen in der Handschrift K 47 auseinander und fokussieren den Blick auf Phänomene spätmittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Textualität und Materialität.

Massimiliano Bampi setzt die philologischen Besonderheiten von *Ivan løveridder*, der mitteldänischen Bearbeitung von Chrétien de Troyes *Yvain*, in Beziehung zur altschwedischen Vorlage, *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* (eine der drei altschwedischen *Eufemiavisor*). Die dänische Variante ist in zwei Fassungen überliefert, einerseits in der Handschrift K 47, die auch im Mittelpunkt der Tagung stand, sowie andererseits im Manuskript K 4, welches auf die zweite Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts datiert werden kann. Für diese Periode verortet Bampi die Produktion, Adaption und Rezeption des Textes in den engen sozialen, dynastischen und politischen Beziehungen zwischen Dänemark und Schweden – insbesondere im Adel.

Auch **Karl G. Johansson** beschäftigt sich in seinem Beitrag mit der Erzählung von *Ivan løveridder*, und zwar mit einem bisher nur wenig untersuchten Manuskript aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts, Ms. E 8822 (früher Ms. Skokloster 156), das neben zahlreichen religiösen Texten auch eine Variante von *Herr Ivan* enthält, die im sog. *birgittinnorsk* (Birgittinornorwegisch) verfasst ist und die Johansson mit derjenigen in K 4 (siehe Massimiliano Bampis Beitrag) vergleicht. Sein Artikel fokussiert nicht nur die sprachlichen und kodikologischen Besonderheiten dieser Textvariante, sondern auch die Entwicklung der Literarizität im spätmittelalterlichen Skandinavien und den Status von Schriftlichkeit und Verschriftlichung von Texten in dieser Epoche.

Anne Mette Hansen präsentiert in ihrem Artikel ein dänisches Manuskript aus der Arnamagnäanischen Sammlung: AM 151 b 8vo in Kopenhagen, welches auf die Zeit um 1600 zu datieren ist und eine fragmentarische Fassung der Erzählung von *Persenober og Konstantianobis* enthält. Sie setzt dieses Fragment in Beziehung zur handschriftlichen Version in K 47 sowie zu den drei erhaltenen dänischen Drucken – Kopenhagen 1572; o. O. (vermutlich Norddeutschland), o. J. (wohl etwas jünger als 1572); Kopenhagen 1700. Dabei kann sie relevante Verbindungen des kleinen Fragments, das nur 126 zusammenhängende

Verszeilen der Erzählung enthält, zum Druck von 1572 aufzeigen und erweitert damit die frühneuzeitliche dänische Transmissionsgeschichte des *Persenober* um ein in der Forschung bisher kaum beachtetes Textzeugnis.

Ähnlich wie Johansson und Bampi widmet sich **Louise Faymonville** in ihrem Beitrag einem Text, welcher sowohl in den schwedischen *Eufemiavisor* als auch in deren dänischer Bearbeitung enthalten ist, nämlich *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* resp. schwedisch *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*. Die kodikologische Ausgangslage der beiden Traditionen unterscheidet sich beträchtlich – während es sechs verschiedene spätmittelalterliche Manuskripte der altschwedischen Variante gibt, ist der Text nur in einer einzigen Handschrift im Mitteldänischen (K 47) überliefert. Wie Faymonville zeigt, ist die Anordnung der Texte innerhalb der Handschrift und damit ihre Rezeption kontextabhängig. Dieser Kontext ist in K 47 eindeutig ein höfischer und (in Anbetracht der textuellen Veränderungen im Gegensatz zur schwedischen Vorlage) zugleich ein auf ein möglicherweise weibliches Publikum ausgerichteter (und/oder von einer weiblichen Schreiberin verfasst), während der schwedische *Hertig Fredrik* als Teil von thematisch weniger kongruenten Sammelhandschriften einen sehr viel offeneren Rezeptionshorizont aufweist.

Betrachtet man das offensichtlich große Interesse der dänischen Adelschicht im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert an höfischen Stoffen, also gerade in der Umbruchszeit zwischen Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, zwischen Handschrift und Buchdruck, ist es auffällig, dass – wie **Elena Brandenburg** in ihrem Artikel ausführt – andere Texte zwar in einem höfischen Kontext gelesen und rezipiert wurden, selbst jedoch kaum von höfischen Sujets erzählen. Dies trifft etwa auf die dänische *Karl Magnus' Krønike* zu, welche in der um 1480 entstandenen Handschrift Vu 82 überliefert ist. Aus dem 16. Jahrhundert sind zwei dänische Drucke der *Karl Magnus' Krønike* belegt (1509, 1534). Dieser Text ist also ähnlich wie *Flores og Blanseflor* aus den *Eufemiavisor* einer derjenigen, die in Dänemark sowohl in Handschriften als auch in Frühdrucken tradiert sind. Brandenburg präsentiert den dänischen Text vor dem Hintergrund der Transmission der altnordischen *Karlsmagnus saga* (Saga von Karl dem Großen) sowie des altschwedischen *Karl Magnus* (von ca. 1400). Im Gegensatz zu diesen beiden Texten ist die dänische Adaption, wie Brandenburg ausführt, historiographisch geprägt und betont religiös ausgerichtet.

Regina Jucknies diskutiert in ihrem Beitrag die Terminologie ‚höfischer Farben‘ im mitteldänischen Vokabular der sechs Versromane im Manuskript K 47. Nach einer knappen Forschungsübersicht, die auch Ergebnisse der *Colour Studies* in den Nachbarphilologien (Altwestnordisch, Mittelhochdeutsch) einschließt, bietet der Artikel eine Frequenzanalyse der am häufigsten gebrauchten Farben in ihrem jeweiligen narrativen Kontext. Jucknies zeigt dabei auf, inwiefern die Art und Weise, wie über Farben in den mitteldänischen Erzähltexten gesprochen wird, auch den Konzepten von Farben in theologischen oder religiösen Texten entsprechen. Farben werden bewusst eingesetzt, um bestimmte Erzählmomente zu verstärken und zu ‚illuminieren‘ – im Gegensatz zur zeitgenössischen medizinischen oder auch ökonomischen Literatur des mittel- und nordeuropäischen Spätmittelalters, wo die Farbterminologie noch eine ganz andere Rolle spielt.

Den Abschluss des vorliegenden Bandes stellt **Simon Skovgaard Boecks** Beitrag dar, welcher die Ortsnamen und spatialen Referenzen resp. Denotate in den Texten der Handschrift K 47 analysiert. Ein Teilprojekt des an der Universität Uppsala angesiedelten

interdisziplinären Infrastruktur-Forschungsprojekts *Norse World: The Norse perception of the world: A mapping and analysis of foreign place names in medieval Swedish and Danish texts* (<https://www.uu.se/en/research/infrastructure/norseworld/project>) bildet den Hintergrund der Untersuchung. Der Artikel beleuchtet die Bedeutung des erzählten Raumes in den Texten von K 47 und die im Projekt ausgebauten Möglichkeiten, Belege für einen realen oder fiktiven Ortsnamen in unterschiedlichen schwedischen und dänischen Texten des nordischen Spätmittelalters ausmachen und kontextuell ‚verorten‘ zu können, was für die Betrachtung sprachwissenschaftlicher, (literatur-)historischer, philologischer wie auch kartographischer Aspekte dieser Epoche gleichermaßen aufschlussreich ist.

Danksagung

Die Tagung *The Eufemiavisor and the Reception of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Denmark* wurde großzügig finanziell unterstützt durch den Schweizerischen Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung (SNF) und die Schweizerische Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften (SAGW) sowie durch das Deutsche Seminar der Universität Zürich und die Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Skandinavische Studien (SGSS). Der Redaktion der Reihe *Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie* und dem Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, Tübingen, danken wir für die freundliche Aufnahme unserer Tagungspublikation als Jahresgabe in diese Reihe. Die Drucklegung dieses Bandes wurde ermöglicht durch die Zulassung als Jahresgabe der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Skandinavische Studien und durch einen großzügigen Beitrag der Schweizerischen Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften. Allen diesen Institutionen gebührt daher unser ausdrücklicher Dank. Schließlich bedanken wir uns auch bei Bond West, MA (Oxford), für die Durchsicht einiger der englischsprachigen Beiträge.

Venedig und Zürich, im Juli 2021

Massimiliano Bampi
Anna Katharina Richter

Literaturhinweise zu den *Eufemiaviser* / *Eufemiavisor*

Digitalisierte Fassung der Handschrift Codex Holmiensis K 47 (Königliche Bibliothek Stockholm)
<https://tekstnet.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47>
 (abgerufen am 2.7.2021)

Ivan løveridder
<https://tekstnet.dk/ivan-loeveridder/metadata>
 (abgerufen am 2.7.2021)

Hertug Frederik af Normandi
<https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/metadata>
 (abgerufen am 2.7.2021)

Flores og Blanseflor
<https://tekstnet.dk/flores-og-blanseflor/metadata>
 (abgerufen am 2.7.2021)

Bampi, Massimiliano (2019). „Yvain i dansk språkdråkt: hövsk litteratur i det senmedeltida Danmark“. In: Boeck, Simon Skovgaard/Vrieland, Seán (Hg.). *A Copenhagen Miscellany. Studies in East Norse Philology*. Kopenhagen und Odense: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund und Syddansk Universitetsforlag, Bd. 3, S. 215–234.

Dahlerup, Pil (1998). *Dansk Litteratur. Middelalder*. Bd. 1: *Religiøs litteratur*. Kopenhagen: Gyldendal.
Eufemiavisorna (2018). Textredigering, kommentarer och ordförklaringar av Henrik Williams. Introduction av Bo Ralph (Svenska Akademiens klassiker). Stockholm: Atlantis.

Ferm, Olle u. a. (Hg.) (2015). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.

Fredriksen, Britta Olrik (1999). „Ridderromaner“. In: Petersen, Erik (Hg.). *Levende ord & lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark*. Kopenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek und Mosgård Museum, S. 48–49.

Glauser, Jürg (1986). „Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit“. In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (Hg.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 15). Basel und Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, S. 191–207.

Jucknies, Regina (2015). „Through an Old Danish Lens? Precious Stones in the Late Medieval Danish Reception of Courtly Literature“. In: Ferm, Olle u. a. (Hg.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, S. 162–173.

Kværndrup, Sigurd (2014). *Den nordiske løveridder. En ridderromance af Chrétien de Troyes*. Bearbejdet, med noter, indledning og efterskrift af Sigurd Kværndrup. Kopenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag.

Richter, Anna Katharina (2018). „Zur Überlieferung der Historie von *Flores oc Blantseflor* in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit“. In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36:1, S. 38–53.

K 47: Eine spätmittelalterliche dänische Handschrift im Kontext

Jürg Glauser (Basel / Zürich)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8956-0412>

Abstract: The present essay analyses the Danish manuscript Codex Holmensis K 47 (Royal Library, Stockholm), written around 1500. The codex consists of six medieval verse epics which belong to the genre of romance. Three of them – *Ivan the Lion Knight*, *Duke Frederick of Normandy*, and *Flores and Blanzefflor* – are Danish versions of the Old Swedish *Eufemiavisor*, written in the early fourteenth century and usually attributed to the Norwegian queen Eufemia. Of the remaining three – *The Dwarf King Laurin*, *Persenober and Konstantianobis*, and *The Chaste Queen* –, the first two are translations, while no foreign-language model can be found for *The Chaste Queen*. Part I describes the narratives in their literary and medial contexts; Part II deals with K 47 as a material object and focusses on specific phenomena of the manuscript such as its narratological terminologies, prologues and epilogues; Part III investigates the post-medieval transmission of the three narratives in K 47 which were printed in popular editions from the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries, *Flores*, *Persenober*, and *Laurin*; here the focus is on the print transmission of *Flores and Blanzefflor* (1504–1745).

Keywords: Arthurian literature, chivalric literature, Codex Holmiensis K 47, Danish literature, late medieval, *Den kyske dronning*, *Eufemiavisor/Eufemiavisor*, *Floire et Blanchefleur*, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, *Laurin*, manuscript transmission, mediality, *Partonopeus de Blois*, print transmission, Queen Eufemia, text transmission, translation, *Yvain ou le Chevalier au lion*

I Die Handschrift als Schnittpunkt der Diskurse

Die vermutlich in Jütland entstandene Handschrift Cod. Holm. K 47 von etwa 1500 ist die herausragendste dänische Sammlung sogenannter *Eufemiavisor* und anderer spätmittelalterlicher Vertreter von „romantisk Digtning“ (Brandt 1869), „höfisch-ritterlich[er] Epik“ (Glauser 1986), „Versroma[nen]“ (Richter 2017) oder „ridderromaner“ (Akhøj Nielsen online).¹ Da kaum vergleichbare Manuskripte existieren, basiert unser Wissen über die

1 Im Folgenden wird für die altschwedischen Fassungen der vermutlich für die deutschstämmige norwegische Königin Eufemia (geb. um 1280 – Königin 1299 – gest. 1312) verfassten drei Versromane Herr *Ivan lejonriddaren*, *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie*, *Flores och Blanzefflor* die Form *Eufemiavisor*, für

weltliche Literatur in Dänemark am Übergang vom Spätmittelalter zur frühen Neuzeit zu wesentlichen Teilen auf dieser Handschrift K 47.² Es handelt sich bei diesem Kodex um einen Überlieferungsverbund der folgenden sechs Verserzählungen:

1 *Ivan løveridder* (**Ivan der Löwenritter**), 6345 Zeilen, 1r-111v³

Die erste und weitaus längste Erzählung des Kodex, *Ivan løveridder*, ist Teil der Artus-Tradition. Die schwedische Adaptation ist im Text auf 1303 datiert und wird allgemein als älteste der drei *Eufemiavisor* angesehen; die Erzählung ist in vier schwedischen (1430–1450 bis Beginn 16. Jahrhundert) und zwei dänischen Handschriften überliefert. Der in zwei Varianten bezeugte dänische Text beruht auf der altschwedischen *Eufemiavisa Herr Ivan lejonriddaren*, die u. a. auf eine altnorwegische Prosaversion (*Ívens saga/Ívents saga*, ca. 1250, 16 bewahrte norwegische und isländische Handschriften ab ca. 1400 bis 19. Jahrhundert) von Chrétiens de Troyes altfranzösischer Verserzählung *Yvain ou le Chevalier au lion* (ca. 1180–1190), zurückgeht. Neben der Handschrift K 47 (in den Ausgaben der *Eufemiavisor/Eufemiaviser* F) ist der dänische Text von *Ivan løveridder* in einer weiteren Handschrift, Cod. Holm. K 4 (in den Ausgaben E), bewahrt. E ist rund 1000 Zeilen kürzer als F und wurde wahrscheinlich ca. 1480–1485 in Seeland geschrieben. Weder der schwedische *Herr Ivan* noch der dänische *Ivan løveridder* fanden Eingang in die frühneuzeitliche Drucküberlieferung.⁴

2 *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* (**Herzog Friedrich aus der Normandie**), 2359 Zeilen, Bll. 112r-153r

Die dänische Verserzählung *Hertug Frederik* ist lediglich in K 47 überliefert. Sie gehört ebenfalls zu den drei *Eufemiaviser* und hat ihre Grundlage im altschwedischen *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie*. Diese wird auf der Grundlage der Eigendatierung in den Handschriften allgemein zwischen *Herr Ivan* und *Flores och Blanzeflor* auf 1308 datiert. Die sechs bewahrten schwedischen Handschriften stammen aus dem Zeitraum von ca. 1430 bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Daneben finden sich keinerlei weitere Überlieferungszeugen. Eine direkte Vorlage des altschwedischen Textes ist nicht erhalten, obwohl es gewisse Anzeichen für eine deutsche Verserzählung gibt, von der aber keinerlei Handschriftenbelege existieren.⁵

die mitteldänischen Varianten *Ivan løveridder*, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, *Flores og Blanseflor* die Form *Eufemiaviser* verwendet.

- 2 Zu den *Eufemiavisor* und *Eufemia*, nach der die drei Texte benannt sind, findet sich eine sehr umfangreiche Literatur (vgl. neuere Darstellungen bei Dahlerup 1998; Layher 2010; Bandlien 2012; Ferm u. a. 2015); zur Handschrift K 47 vgl. Akhøj Nielsen (online). Eine gute Übersicht über sämtliche Handschriften der *Eufemiavisor* bietet Andersson (2014).
- 3 Die Bezeichnungen aller sechs Texte in K 47 sind neueren Datums und haben nur teilweise Entsprechungen in der Handschrift; dasselbe gilt für die schwedischen *Eufemiavisor*.
- 4 Brandt ediert beide Varianten (I, 1869: 1–204 [F]; II, 1870: 131–288 [E]). Vgl. zudem Noreen (1930–1933: X–XVI); Akhøj Nielsen (online). Zu den beiden dänischen Varianten von *Ivan løveridder* vgl. u. a. Brandt (II, 1870: III–IV), der E auf ein halbes Jahrhundert älter als F datiert. Die aktuellste umfassende Analyse zum schwedischen *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* und seinen Quellen stammt von Lodén (2012); vgl. auch Rikhardssdottrir (2012); Lodén (2014); Sullivan (2015). Edition der Saga: Blaisdell (1979).
- 5 Text bei Brandt (I, 1869: 205–284); Noreen (1927); Akhøj Nielsen (online). Die jüngste und über weite Strecken erstmalige gründliche Auseinandersetzung mit dem schwedischen *Hertig Fredrik* im Hinblick auf den hypothetischen deutschen Text ist Bambeck (2009). Die Arbeit interessiert sich aus germanistischer Perspektive primär für die Erschließung des Inhalts der „vollständig

3 *Dværgekongen Laurin* (Der Zwergenkönig Laurin), 882 Zeilen, Bll. 153v-169r

Dværgekongen Laurin ist mit nur 882 Zeilen der kürzeste Text in der Handschrift. Die Erzählung hat keine Entsprechungen in der schwedischen Literatur. Sie unterscheidet sich genremäßig von den anderen Texten in K 47, indem sie dem deutschen Heldensagen-Kreis um Dietrich, genauer der sogenannten aventiurehaften Dietrichepik zuzuordnen ist. Ihr liegt als Quelle eine Handschrift aus der mitteldeutschen *Laurin*-Gruppe zugrunde, wobei unklar ist, ob es ein zusätzliches niederdeutsches Zwischenglied zwischen dem mitteldeutschen und dem dänischen *Laurin* gab; ein solches kann jedoch nicht mit dem erhaltenen, niederdeutschen *Lorin* (Druck Hamburg: Joachim Löw, um 1565) identisch sein (vgl. Dahlberg 1950; Hoffmann 1974; Heinze 1999). Entsprechend der Textgruppe der aventiure- oder märchenhaften Dietrichtexte weist der *Laurin* stark zauberhaft-übernatürliche Elemente auf, wie sie sich auch in *Hertug Frederik* und *Persenober og Konstantianobis* vorfinden. In diesen Texten treibt eine Faszination für übernatürliche Zustände (Unsichtbarkeit, Feenhaftigkeit usw.) und Objekte (Ringe, Tarnkappen) immer wieder die Handlung voran. Es sind insgesamt 15 dänische *Laurin*-Drucke von 1588 bis ca. 1800 erhalten. Die in zwei Versionen (Version A: drei Aufzeichnungen ab ca. 1800; Version B: eine Aufzeichnung B von 1904) überlieferte färöische Ballade *Larvin dvørgakongur*, CCF 212, ist vermutlich eine Bearbeitung eines dieser aus dem 18. Jahrhundert stammenden dänischen Drucke. Auch andere Texte in K 47, wie beispielsweise *Den kyske dronning* weisen enge thematische und mediale Parallelen mit nordischen Balladen auf. Zudem existiert ein isländischer Zyklus von *Rímur af Laurín dverg* von Salomón Björnsson (1757–1834).⁶

4 *Persenober og Konstantianobis* (Persenober und Konstantianobis), 1590 Zeilen, Bll. 169v-196r

Auch für *Persenober og Konstantianobis* ist keine schwedische Entsprechung vorhanden. Die Erzählung hat ansonsten einen ähnlichen Überlieferungs- und Transmissionsverlauf wie *Flores og Blanseflor*: Sie geht auf die französische Verserzählung *Partonopeus de Blois* (spätes 12. Jahrhundert) zurück, die vermutlich im 13. Jahrhundert in Norwegen oder in Island übersetzt wurde (*Partalopa saga*, 32 Handschriften, frühes 15. bis spätes 19. Jahrhundert). Diese altnordische Fassung bildet zusammen mit einer englischen und einer spanischen Bearbeitung eine Gruppe, während Konrads von Würzburg bekannte mittelhochdeutsche Verserzählung *Partonopier und Meliur* sowie niederländische und niederdeutsche Fragmente zu einer anderen, enger mit dem französischen Text verwandten Fassung gehören. Die Eigendatierung des Textes in der Handschrift lautet 1484. Erneut spielt die Unsichtbarkeitsthematik in dieser Feenerzählung, die auf interessante Weise Geschlechterrelationen durchspielt, eine große Rolle. Auf der stofflichen Grundlage der

verlorenen deutschen Vorlage“ (Vorwort) und stellt die bewahrten nordischen Handschriften in den Hintergrund.

6 Ausgaben der Handschrift: Brandt (II, 1870: 1–31); Jacobsen/Olrik/Paulli (6, 1925: 209–241, Textkritik und Kommentar: 449–491, 496 [452–491: Varianten zum Text von K 47 aus den Ausgaben 1588 und 1599], Bibliographie der Drucke: 514–521 [Ergänzung in 13, 1936: 159–160]); Akhøj Nielsen (online). Vgl. zu Vorlagen und Gattungseinordnung Dahlberg (1950); Hoffmann (1974); Heinze (1999); „Aventiurehafte Dietrichepik“: 146–168; zum dänischen *Laurin*: 155–156); Ott (2012). Edition der färöischen Ballade: Djurhuus (1972). *Larvin dvørgakongur* ist übrigens noch im aktiven färöischen Balladen-Repertoire. Zu den *Rímur*: Finnur Sigmundsson (I, 1966: 325; und II, 1966: 120).

altnordischen Saga wurden im 17. und im 19. Jahrhundert zwei isländische Zyklen *Rímur af Partalópa og Marmoríu* (fünf bzw. eine erhaltene Handschrift) von Þorvaldur Rögnavaldsson und Helga Þórarinsdóttir verfasst.⁷

5 *Den kyske dronning* (Die keusche Königin), 1238 Zeilen, Bll. 196v-218v

Den kyske dronning ist der einzige der sechs Texte in K 47, für die nie eine fremdsprachige Quelle identifiziert oder mehr als in vagen Vermutungen in Erwägung gezogen werden konnte. Die neuere Forschung tendiert, allerdings ohne weitere Abklärungen, dazu, in *Den kyske dronning* den einzigen originalen, dänischen Text der Handschrift zu sehen. Die Erzählung existiert lediglich in dieser einen Handschrift und ist somit auch überlieferungsmäßig ein Solitär. Literatur- und medienhistorisch ist sie jedoch stark vernetzt. Ihr Stoff ist das populäre Thema der zu Unrecht der Untreue angeklagten Königin, die zum Schluss von einem Helden gerettet wird, also ein Plot, der im mittelalterlichen Norden nicht zuletzt in der Karlsdichtung (z.B. *Af frú Ólif og Landrés syni hennar* [Von Frau Ólif und ihrem Sohn Landrés] in der *Karlamagnús saga*) und den frühneuzeitlichen skandinavischen Balladen weit verbreitet ist.⁸

6 *Flores og Blanseflor* (Flores und Blanseflor), 2085 Zeilen, Bll. 219r-255v

Flores og Blanseflor als die letzte Erzählung in K 47 gilt als jüngste *Eufemiavisa*. Der Text gibt als Entstehungszeit der Niederschrift „kurz bevor sie starb“ an; aus Eufemias Todesjahr 1312 schließt die Forschung allgemein auf um 1310. Die handschriftliche Überlieferungssituation von *Flores og Blanseflor* ist im Altschwedischen (fünf Handschriften von ca. 1350–1476) wie im Mitteldänischen vergleichbar der von *Ivan løveridder* und *Hertug Frederik*, jedoch ist der dänische *Flores* als einzige *Eufemiavisa* auch in dänischen Drucken überliefert. Da sich der erste, fragmentarisch erhaltene dänische Druck auf 1504 datieren lässt, liegen Handschrift und früheste Ausgabe zeitlich nicht wesentlich voneinander entfernt. Inwieweit die altschwedische *Eufemiavisa Flores och Blanseflor* und damit die jüngere mitteldänische *Eufemiavise Flores og Blanseflor* hauptsächlich bzw. ausschließlich auf der altnorwegischen *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* (vermutlich zweite Hälfte 13. Jahrhundert) beruhen oder auch andere, etwa eine altfranzösisch-anglonormannische oder sogar eine spanische Vorlage benutzten, ist ungeklärt. Die Erzählung von Floire und Blanchefleur gehörte zu einer der beliebtesten und weitverbreitetsten mittelalterlichen *romances*. Neben knapp 30 norwegischen und isländischen Saga-Handschriften (ca. 1450–um 1900) sind zwei isländische Zyklen von *Rímur af Flóres og Blanseflúr* von Niels Jónsson und Magnús

7 Text bei Brandt (II, 1870: 33–86); Jacobsen/Olrik/Paulli (6, 1925: 149–207); Akhøj Nielsen (online). Edition der Saga: Præstgaard Andersen (1983). Zu den *Rímur*: Finnur Sigmundsson (I, 1966: 378–379; II, 1966: 151–152, 64). Eine ausgezeichnete Darstellung der Transmission der dänischen Erzählung findet sich in Richter (2017) und Richter (2019a).

8 Text bei Brandt (II, 1870: 87–128); Akhøj Nielsen (online). Vgl. Glauser (1986: 195–196), dort Anm. 15 zur Frage der Herkunft bzw. Originalität von *Den kyske dronning*. Zu Motiven in der altnordischen Literatur mit Entsprechungen in *Den kyske dronning* vgl. Boberg (1966: 184–185), K2112: „Woman slandered as adulteress (prostitute). (Usually by unsuccessful suitor).“, K2240: „Traacherous officers and trademen“. Der Plot von *Den kyske dronning* kann zum Märchentyp *Crescentia* (ATU 712) und „The Innocent Slandered Maiden“ (ATU 883A) gezählt werden (vgl. Uther 2004: 386–387, 506–507).

Grímsson aus dem 19. Jahrhundert erhalten (acht Handschriften und ein Druck von 1858 bzw. eine Handschrift).⁹

Die Hälfte der Texte in K 47 sind also dänische Fassungen der drei schwedischen *Eufemiavisor*, womit das – zugegebenermaßen kleine – Gesamtkorpus dieser Gattung vollständig in beiden Sprachen vertreten ist. Interessant an K 47 ist zudem die Tatsache, dass hier die drei dänischen Fassungen der *Eufemiavisor* in einen größeren Kontext vergleichbarer Erzählungen eingebettet sind, die jedoch keine schwedischen Vorlagen oder Entsprechungen haben. Mit Ausnahme von *Laurin*, der thematisch aus der deutschen Dietrich-Epik stammt und damit zur Gattung des Heldenepos zu zählen ist, gehören die Texte in K 47 dem ubiquitären Genre der *romance* an (vgl. Glauser 2020). Mit *Laurin*, *Persenober* und *Flores* enthält K 47 international weitverbreitete Texte, die die Medienschwelle von der Handschrift zum Druck überschritten und bis ins 18. Jahrhundert überliefert wurden. Bemerkenswerterweise wurde aber nur eine der drei *Eufemiavisor* / *Eufemavisor* gedruckt.

Die Handschrift K 47 befindet sich also in mehrfacher Hinsicht an einem Schnittpunkt der Diskurse: thematisch, stilistisch, metrisch, literatur-, genre-, medien-, transmissions-, erinnerungshistorisch. Kodexinterne wie handschriftenübergreifende Intertextualitätsrelationen definieren K 47. Im Kontext der dänischen Literatur etabliert sie erstmals wichtige Gattungstraditionen am Übergang von der Handschriftlichkeit zum Buchdruck und legt, wie spätere Rezeptionstufen der Erzählungen deutlich machen, Grundlagen für die literarische Erinnerung an zentrale Narrative. Was mindestens fünf der sechs ihrer Texte charakterisiert, ist die Tatsache, dass sie nicht nur – aus dem Schwedischen und Deutschen – übersetzt sind, sondern in jeder Hinsicht internationale Phänomene darstellen. Dazu gehört u. a. auch die metrische Form, der Knittelvers, in dem alle Texte abgefasst sind; noch die letzte gedruckte Ausgabe von *Flores og Blanseflor* von 1745 ist „Paa Riim“ (Titelblatt) gehalten. Die Prosaauflösung, die in der deutschen, englischen, französischen, westnordischen und vielen anderen Literaturen ein sehr verbreitetes Transmissionsphänomen ist, ist in den Erzählungen in K 47, aber auch den darauf basierenden Drucken dagegen kein Thema. So werden allein schon durch den Griff zu einem bestimmten metrischen Konzept ältere, mindestens bis um 1300 zurückreichende Traditionen im späten 15. / frühen 16. Jahrhundert aufgegriffen und bis in die Mitte und zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts fortgesetzt und damit eine konservative Konstanz bewahrt. Diese Stabilität des Knittelverses hat ihre Entsprechung in den skandinavischen Balladen.

II Die Handschrift als materielles Phänomen

Der Kodex K 47 weist keinerlei Illustrationen auf. Einige wenige Seiten haben Initialen, die größte darunter ist gleich auf der ersten Seite zu finden, auf der sich das rote I („I Naffn“) beim Beginn von *Herr Ivan* über 19 von 24 Zeilen erstreckt. Zudem sind hier die ersten

9 Text bei Brandt (I, 1869: 285–356); Faksimileausgabe: [*Flores og Blanseflor*] (1910); Jacobsen/Olrik/Pauli (6, 1925: 1–76, Textkritik und Kommentar: 243–388, Varianten aus den Drucken 1591, 1695, 1684, 1695: 324–388, Bibliographie der Drucke: 503–510); Olson (1956); Akhøj Nielsen (online). Vgl. auch Degnbol (2014); Richter (2018/2019); Richter/Glauser (2018/2019); Richter (2019); Lodén/Obry (im Druck). Zu den *Rímur*: Finnur Sigmundsson (I, 1966: 137–138; II, 1966: 103, 107–108).

Buchstaben auf jeder Zeile mit kleinen roten Strichen hervorgehoben (vgl. Abb. 1). Diese Seite stellt jedoch eine Ausnahme dar. Bei den anderen Erzählungen wird der Beginn durch eine kleine Initialie in Zeile 7 (vgl. Abb. 5) oder einen leergelassenen Raum für eine später nicht ausgefüllte Initialie markiert (vgl. Abb. 3 und 6) bzw. ganz unmarkiert gelassen (vgl. Abb. 2 und 4).

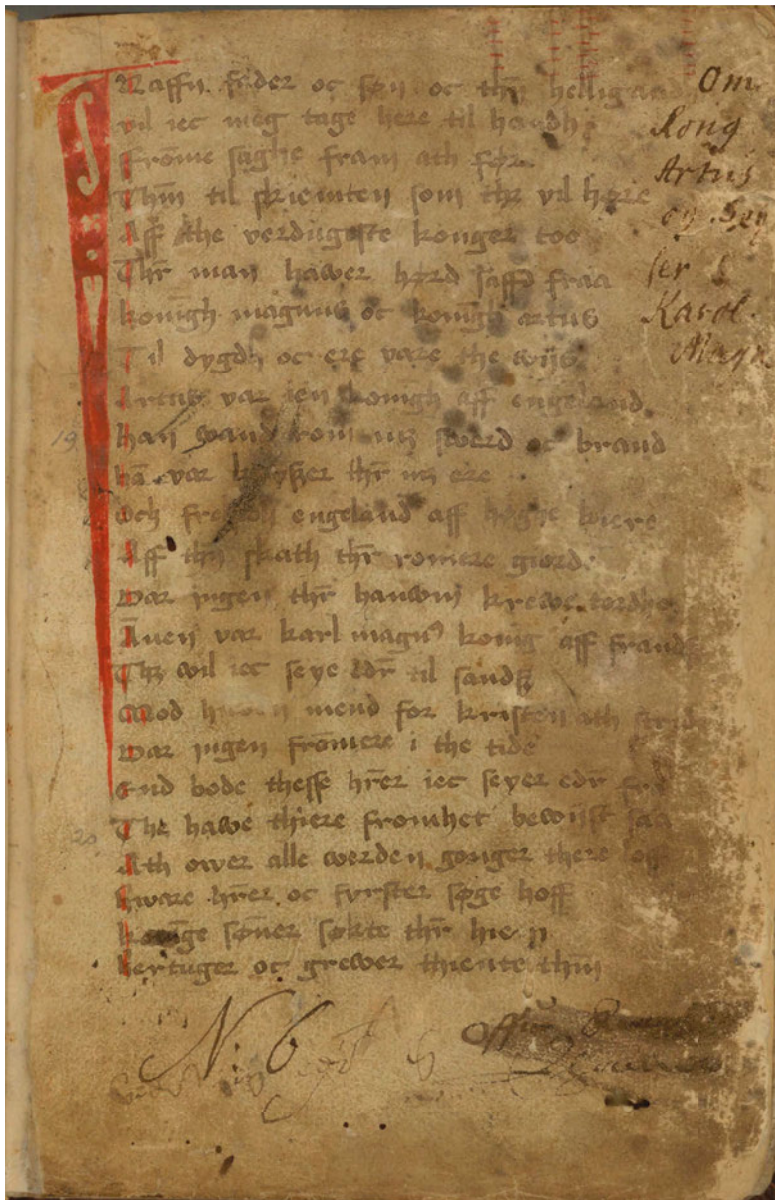


Abb. 1: K 47, 1r, *Ivan løveridder*, Incipit

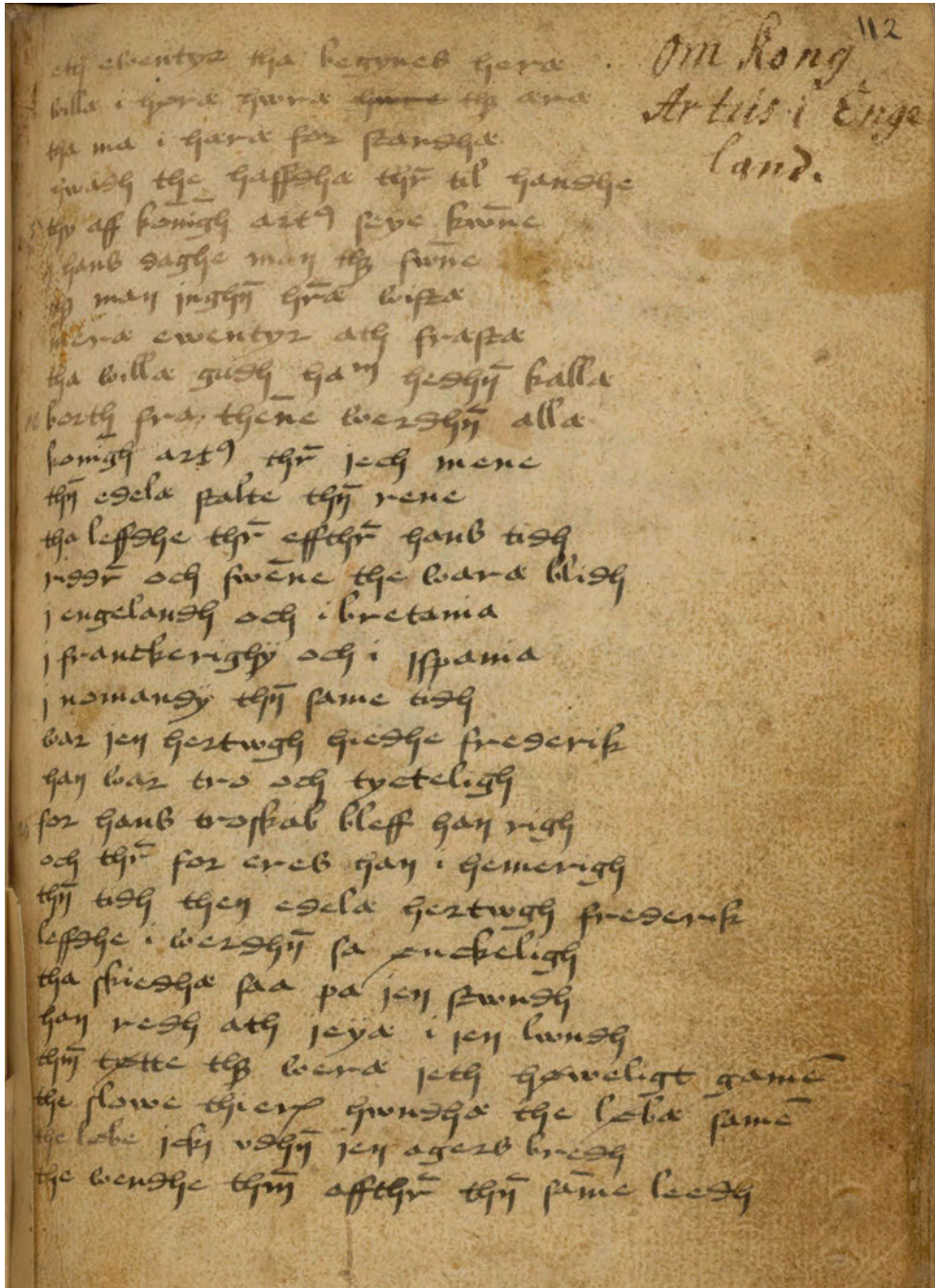


Abb. 2: K 47, 112r, Hertug Frederik af Normandi, Incipit

Open Access Download von elibrary.narr.digital am '15.05.2024' um '13:27' Uhr

Om Thidrit af Bern.
 10 teg lidez spæl acthør jeg atz skribue
 thør may maa toghz m3 for drilue
 om noqr vnder i for dom fuedde
 i quillken may thz lypz atz luedge
 for luez qnā qant fozzels aaz
 fuls mange vnder i luedghz luez
 for a mensq az mygls perke
 lodge blant lege may az sakleske
 hieup som mygls vnder may drilue
 20 quillkes jeg hay cy gera alt skribue
 az bil jeg skribue jet lidez spæl
 ee quem som lypz atz luez til
 i lumbardz thør standt jetz quib
 quillkes may halles bernechub
 nuedgh thz quib jeg sawdge fra
 jeg foz som halles wirana
 thz quib otte ren hōing rig
 perke ggerit af barne gay halles seg
 gay skreff seg jeg qnā aff berne
 30 for gay wilde ofte pride gierne
 gay gaffde az myge hieup m3 sagh thera
 som pridde wilde for fruez aza
 for myghz mans the bar a fra
 thz wilde the wilde thier luff cy spora
 blant thm luez ren mans fuls hieup
 40 gay halles seg luidrit luezlandz
 the wilde az ofte pride
 for myghz mans the bar gay quidde

Abb. 3: K 47, 153v, *Dværgekongen Laurin*, Incipit

Om Jomfru Constancianobis.
 etj eluentyz kul jedy fyve fra
 ee gves som tje kul lyde as
 off jey mechtige kong rig
 may fmer ihi nu mange sligg
 lued jey pas gæde conpancia
 tje laa tje slot ga hodge appa
 tolf konger jedy kul off strolve
 tje matte gam alla statten gibe
 ody skulde gam til tiempz wara
 tje kul jedy fyve for pancy gane
 tje gaffde tje foluz fra
 gaud drang hanc jagen fmer fra
 dog gaffde ga mange dater ody wene
 som war folur ody mytly stuzne
 tje yngeste dater om i kul wede
 conpancianobis mby gloy giedde
 gwy war sa luey tje jomfru rig
 atj jagen tje andra war gme lig
 hode i neme oc sa i konfr
 for alla tje war gloy jet blompr
 tje gude fadr tje for pas
 atj gloy war sa flag tje jomfru gog
 til pite stala los gam gme fra
 atj gloy skulde widsom see ody gtra
 i try az mby gwy tje liera
 nam alle tje konger tje gaffde tje
 tje tje try az for gongen liere
 tje los gam los efter gme fra

Abb. 4: K 47, 169v, Persenober og Konstantianobis, Incipit

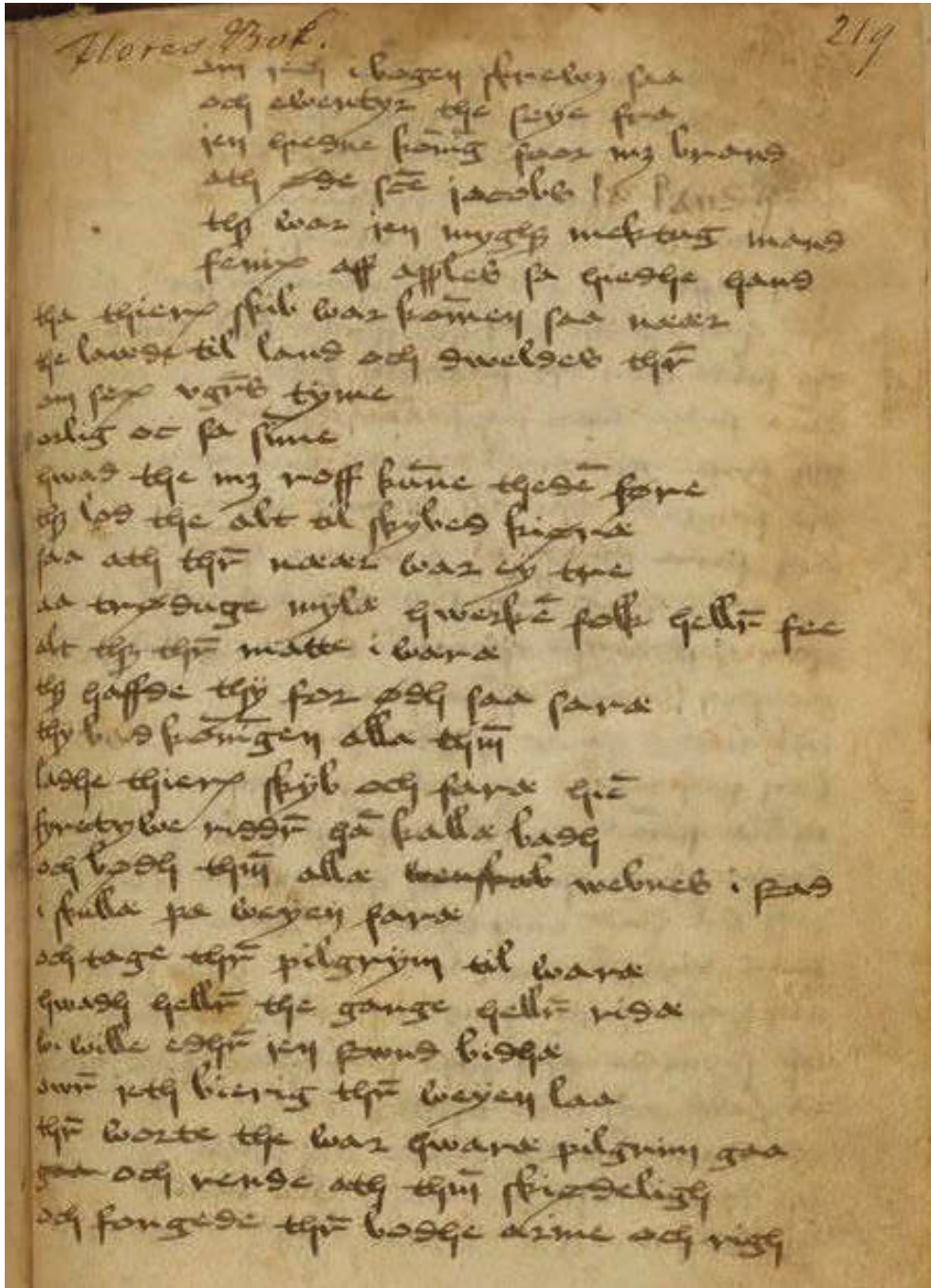


Abb. 6: K 47, 219r, Flores og Blanseflor, Incipit

Open Access Download von elibrary.narr.digital am '15.05.2024' um '13:27' Uhr

tja herte qan forst stuelig och giordig
 som i alle qaler seet och gærdig
 qus qand naffi vil lude
 rep iensy mon qan qiesse
 tyn som lozen sette i ryme
 1230 gud vnde qan roo eluuelig tyme
 roo och glesse for vdeq ende
 gud qan ob sin nade frudde
 och vnde qaz atq lclue paa
 tyn vi ma frygge i qemerigi faa
 eluuelig tyn mz gud atq lward
 liant andra qellige mens i skara
 gud vnde ob tyn glesse alle pame
 tyn til seye lu alla amen

Abb. 7: K 47, 218v, *Den kyske dronning*, Explicit

255

k nigen af frantskerige munde g vny fad
 sidsen lode tge idelig
 givra hirtiaz ogy flopr swert rigy
 tge lusse tpeira allar i troylywa aaz
 saa atg tge ideligg sameny war
 tpeira konige rigy skuffe tge saa
 mellom tpeira sener too
 tgy ware saa gamle tga
 170 tpeira rigy tgy ey rade maa
 tgy atg skylde tpeira efestab tga
 tpeira tpeira tgy anen fra
 blandzeflor til frlover ind
 florb til mlunde i same sind
 tge lusse tpe sidsen lode
 gud galve tpe sa para rade
 tge lusse sa omnygeligg tpe
 gud sidsen gaffa tpe hiaz
 gay anda tpe luffnes i jordenrige
 180 ogy gaff tpe glede i gemerige
 nu galor i gerd tpe sive fra
 gaira lunda tpe mlunde tpe gaa
 tge anda tpeira luff ogy finge roo
 sa gilor gud alle tge som pa gay tro
 nu galor tpeira sidsen ick igy anda
 gud gay ob sidsen rade sene
 ewfemia dr ngge i tpe time
 lode sette tpeira tpe bo

2075

Abb. 8: K 47, 255r, Flores og Blanseflor, Explicit

Open Access Download von elibrary.narr.digital am '15.05.2024' um '13:27' Uhr

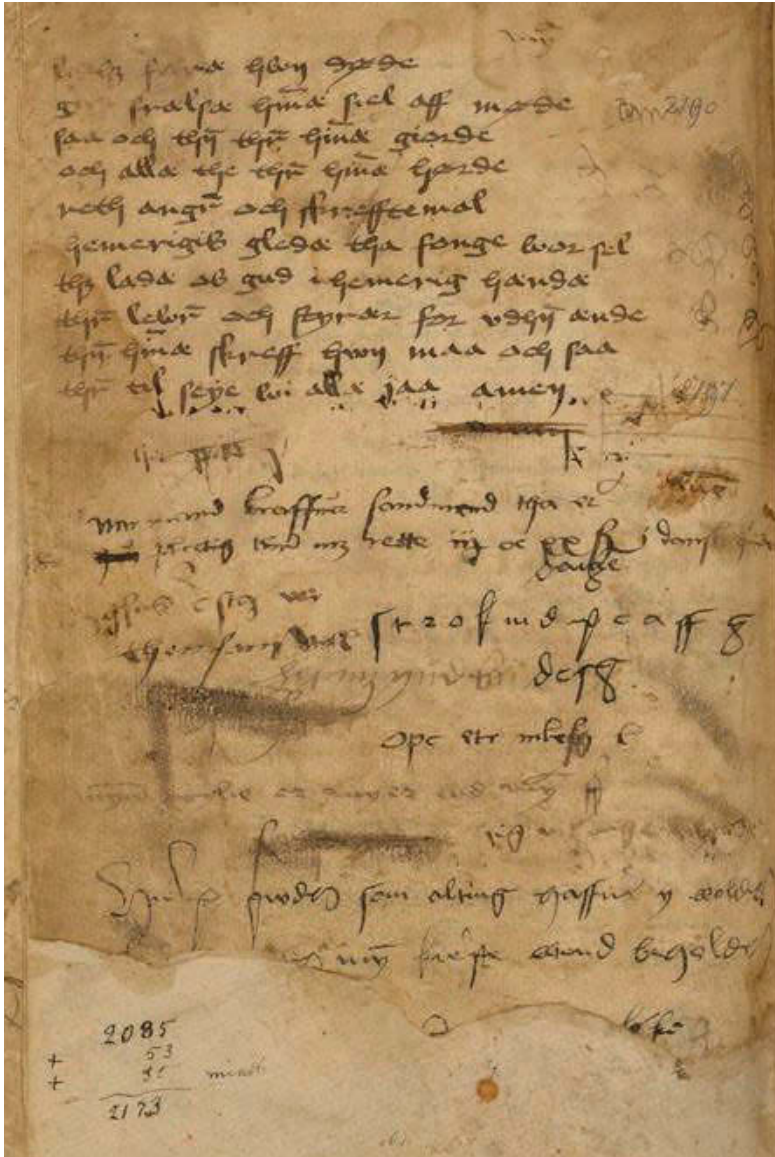


Abb. 9: K 47, 255v, *Flores og Blanseflor*, obere Hälfte: Schluss des Explicit, untere Hälfte: spätere Besitzereinträge

Drucke aus späteren Zeiten stellen die eindeutigsten Belege für die Rezeption der einzelnen Texte dar; auf sie wird unten ausführlicher eingegangen. Daneben finden sich in K 47 aber einige interessante Marginalien, die ebenfalls frühe Spuren der Beschäftigung mit den Erzählungen beinhalten. Eine Hand, die von ca. 1700 stammen dürfte, also rund 200 Jahre jünger als der allgemein angenommene Zeitpunkt der Niederschrift der Handschrift ist, fügte bei fünf der sechs Erzählungen in den Marginalien beim Beginn eines neuen

Textes eine Art von Titeln ein (vgl. Abb. 1–4, 6). Diese später hinzugefügten Titel zeigen deutlich, dass der nachmittelalterliche Leser Gattungszuschreibungen vornahm und drei der betreffenden Erzählungen in die großen und gut bekannten Sagenkreise um Artur, Karl den Großen und Dietrich einordnete, sie also vor dem Hintergrund von Ritter- und Heldenepik sah. Die einschlägigen Überschriften lauten:

Ivan løveridder: „Om kong Artus og Keyser Karolus Magnus“ (Über König Artur und Kaiser Karl den Großen)

Hertug Frederik: „Om Kong Artus i Engeland“ (Über König Artur in England)

Dværgekongen Laurin: „Om Thidrik af Bern“ (Über Dietrich von Bern)

Persenober og Konstantianobis: „Om Jomfrú Constancianobis“ (Über die Jungfrau Konstantianobis)

Den kyske dronning weist keine Überschrift auf.

Flores og Blanseflor: „Flores Bok“ (Das Buch von Flores)

Während die Handschrift ursprünglich ohne Titel und nur mit Initialen zur Gliederung auskam, bestand im frühen 18. Jahrhundert offenbar das Bedürfnis oder die Notwendigkeit, die Narrative einerseits thematisch deutlicher voneinander abzuheben, also den Kodex zu strukturieren, und sie mit groben Inhalts- und Gattungsangaben zu versehen. Indem sie die einzelnen Erzählungen bestimmten Traditionen zuweisen, übernehmen diese paratextuellen Marginalien neben gliedernden somit auch literaturhistorische Funktionen.

„Originale“, also mit dem Text zusammen verfasste Paratexte vom Typ des Incipit oder Explicit, der Prologe oder Epiloge, Kolophone, Vor- oder Nachwörter vermitteln demgegenüber ausgeprägter textinterne Aussagen zu den Intentionalitäten. Vor allem die Prologe und Epiloge weisen in den vorliegenden Texten ein bemerkenswertes Spektrum an relevanten Kriterien wie Terminologie, Transmission, Intertextualität, Performativität, Datierung, Angaben zu den Übersetzungs-, Schreib-, Aufführungsprozessen auf.¹⁰ Einige Beispiele aus K 47 können dies illustrieren.

Der am meisten verwendete narratologische Terminus in Paratexten und allgemein metafiktionalen Selbstbezeichnungen ist „bog“ (Buch). Der Begriff ist weit und kann sowohl das Narrativ, das der Erzähler zu erzählen beginnt oder soeben abgeschlossen hat, wie auch das physische Manuskript als ein materielles Objekt umfassen. Aus diesem Grund kann man ein Buch machen, es in eine bestimmte Form wie etwa Reime setzen, es sehen oder hören, aus ihm vorlesen, ein Buch kann aber auch geschrieben und übersetzt werden: „war thenne bogh giordh til rimæ“ (wurde dieses Buch zu Reimen gemacht), *Ivan løveridder*, V. 6397; „thenne bog, som i hawer hørdh“ (dieses Buch, das ihr gehört habt), *Hertug Frederik*, V. 2401; „förræ æn bogen ær læst til ændhe“ (bevor das Buch zu Ende gelesen ist), *Den kyske dronning*, V. 6; „Thenne bog worte dikt oc giord for snyme“ (dieses Buch wurde vor Kurzem gedichtet und gemacht), *Den kyske dronning*, V. 1221; „then som bogen satte i ryme“ (der, welcher das Buch in Reime setzte), *Den kyske dronning*, V. 1229; „Thenne bogh worte dikt i rym“ (dieses Buch wurde in Reimen gedichtet), *Persenober*, V. 1587; „[S]om jech i bogen skrewet saa“ (wie ich im Buch geschrieben sah), *Flores*, V. 1; „Ewfemia droningh,

10 Zu Theorie und Geschichte dieser selbstreferentiellen Begrifflichkeiten in den deutschen und skandinavischen Literaturen des Mittelalters vgl. u. a. Dicke/Eikermann/Hasebrink (2006); Glauser (2010); Glauser (2014); Glauser (2019); Müller (2020).

thet mowe I tro, / lodh thenne bogh om windhæ saa / aff walske twnge och pa wort mall.“ (Königin Eufemia, das sollt ihr glauben, ließ dieses Buch so wenden [übersetzen] aus der wälschen Zungen und in unsere Sprache), *Ivan løveridder*, V. 6398–6400. Den zweifachen Übersetzungsprozess referiert *Hertug Frederik* besonders ausführlich:

Thenne bog, som i hawer hørdh,
 then hawer kieszer Otte giord
 och wenden aff walskæ i tyskæ maal.
 Gud nade then edlæ fyrstæ hans siel.
 Nw ær hwn wend i staked timæ,
 jen anen tid sat i rymæ
 aff tysk och i danskæ twnge,
 henne maa for staa bode gamlæ och vnge. (*Hertug Frederik*, V. 2401–2408)

Dieses Buch, das ihr gehört habt, das hat Kaiser Otto gemacht und gewendet aus der wälschen Zungen in die deutsche Sprache. Gott sei der Seele des edlen Fürsten gnädig. Nun ist es übersetzt vor kurzer Zeit, ein anderes Mal in Reime gesetzt aus deutscher und in die dänische Zunge, verstehen sollen es sowohl Alte wie Junge.¹¹

Andere relevante narratologische Termini beziehen sich auf Stoffe und Inhalte („sag“, Sache), („ewentyr“, die Entsprechung zum französischen und deutschen *aventure/aventure* als Inbegriff der zentralen Handlung der Ritterdichtung, in den späteren Ausgaben wird „ewentyr“ jedoch allgemein für Erzählung, Geschichte verwendet und unten auch so übersetzt), die metrische Form („dikt“, Gedicht), Gattung („spil“, Spiel): „ffromme saghe fram ath føre“ (tapfere Sachen [Erzählungen über tapfere Taten] vorzutragen), *Ivan løveridder*, V. 3; „[I]eth ewentyr tha begynes heræ“ (eine *aventure*, die beginnt hier), *Hertug Frederik*, V. 1; „[I]eth ewentyr wil jech seye fra“ (eine *aventure* will ich erzählen), *Persenober*, V. 1; „nw hawer thennæ dickt jen ændæ“ (jetzt hat dieses Gedicht ein Ende), *Flores*, V. 2188; „[Ie]th lidhet spel acther jech ath skriwe“ (ein kleines Spiel beabsichtige ich zu schreiben), *Dværgekongen Laurin*, V. 1.

Auch diese und andere Termini sind wie „bog“ offen und weit, so dass sich aus ihnen nur mit Mühe eine ansatzweise systematische Typologie medialer und gattungsmäßiger Konzepte und eine schlüssige historische Semantik entwickeln ließe. Die in K 47 verwendeten Begriffe, die natürlich Entsprechungen in der zeitgenössischen Literatur haben, zeigen jedoch ein beachtliches Bewusstsein für mediale Kategorien, welche die literarischen Texte und deren Performativität in semi-oralen Kulturen, Inszenierungen von Schrift wie auch mündliche Konstellationen bestimmen. Die Handschrift K 47, kurz und unambitioniert, wie sie ist, stellt in einem weitgefächerten Spektrum Überlegungen zu so wichtigen Fragen darüber zur Diskussion, wie Erzählungen gemacht sind, wie sie entstehen (können), als stabile Einheiten weiter tradiert werden oder sich in Phasen von manchmal sehr kreativen Prozessen fluiden Neuschreibens ändern.

Mit rhetorischen Topoi wird die Zuverlässigkeit des Narrativs unterstrichen, wenn es beispielsweise heißt, „Thet wil jech seye for sannen hæreæ“ (Das will ich hier für wahr sagen), *Persenober*, V. 10. Oder in einer Art von früher Textkritik wird im Epilog von *Ivan*

11 Alle Übersetzungen ins Deutsche, soweit nicht anders angegeben, vom Autor, J.Gl.

løveridder behauptet, dass der Text nicht geändert und im Verhältnis zur Vorlage weder Auslassungen noch Hinzufügungen vorgenommen worden seien:

nw hawer jech sawdh aff iwan
 alth hwadh jech aff hanum skrewet fand
 och aldiels jnthet lawdh ther til
 ladhe veræ how thet ey tro wil
 jnthet lodh jech ther effther staa
 aff thet jech skrewet for mægh saa (*Ivan løveridder*, V. 6388–6393)

Nun habe ich von Ivan erzählt, alles, was ich über ihn geschrieben fand und gar nichts hinzugefügt. Lasst sein, wer es nicht glauben will. Nichts ließ ich davon stehen [nichts ließ ich aus], von dem, was ich vor mir geschrieben sah.

Der Erzähler des *Dværgekongen Laurin* stellt im Prolog das Offensichtliche fest, „jech kan ey heræ alt skriwe“ (Ich kann hier nicht alles schreiben), *Laurin*, V. 10. Im Epilog sagt er: „Hwad the siden mwn slaa appa, / ther wil jech jnthet seye fra, / pa thenne tid lade thet saa weræ“ (Was sie später trieben, davon will ich nichts erzählen, zu dieser Zeit lasse ich es so sein), *Laurin*, V. 879–881 – eine narratologische Reflexion, die auch aus der isländischen Sagaliteratur bestens bekannt ist.

In *Den kyske dronning* wird, was in diesem Textkorpus eine große Ausnahme darstellt, der Name des Autors oder zumindest dessen, der die Erzählung versifizierte, angegeben. „hwo hans naffn wil wede / jep jensen mon han hiedhæ / then som bogen satte i ryme“ (Wer seinen Namen wissen will, Jep Jensen wird er heißen, der, welcher das Buch in Reime setzte), *Den kyske dronning*, V. 1227–1229. Der Forschung ist es nicht gelungen, hinter diesem Namen eine empirische Person ausfindig zu machen (vgl. Abb. 7).

Der Epilog von *Flores og Blanseflor*, und damit in gewisser Weise der gesamten Handschrift, skizziert die Produktions- und Aufführungssituation und bietet besonders viele einschlägige metafiktionale Elemente (vgl. Abb. 8–9):

Nw hawer thennæ dickt jen ændæ,
 Gud han os sin nadæ sændæ!
 Ewfemia dronnigh i then timæ
 lodh sættæ thennæ bog [a rimæ]
 lidhet føræ hwn døde,
 Gud frælsæ hinnæ siel aff møde.
 saa och then ther hinnæ giorde,
 och allæ the ther hinnæ hørde,
 reth anger och skrefftemal,
 hemerigs gledæ tha fonge wor sel.
 Thet lade os Gud i hemerig hændæ,
 ther lewer och styrær for vden ænde!
 then hinnæ skreff, hwn maa och saa,
 ther til seye wi allæ jaa!

amen! (*Flores og Blanseflor*, V. 2188–2202)

Nun hat dieses Gedicht ein Ende, Gott sende uns seine Gnade! Königin Eufemia, zu jener Zeit ließ setzen dieses Buch [in Reime], kurz bevor sie starb, Gott erlöse ihre Seele von Kummer. Und auch den/die, welche/r es machte, und alle die, die es hörten, gerechte Reue und Beichte, des Himmelreiches Freude erlange unsere Seele. Das lasse Gott uns im Himmelreich erfahren, der lebt und lenkt ohne Ende! Ihr, die es [das Buch] schrieb, ergehe es auch so, dazu sagen wir alle Ja! Amen!

Dieser Epilog ist in den Einzelementen typisch für spätmittelalterliche Texte vom vorliegenden Genre und zugleich außergewöhnlich in seiner Ausführlichkeit. Er markiert einleitend explizit das Ende des Narrativs und introduziert darauf zum ersten Mal in diesem Text die Mäzenin, deren Tod, der kurz nach der Niederschrift der Erzählung erfolgt sein soll, eine ungefähre Datierung ermöglicht (auch wenn diese natürlich debattiert werden kann). Die beiden anderen *Eufemiaviser* übernehmen diese Art der Datierung, wenn auch der dänische *Hertug Frederik* Eufemias Namen nicht erwähnt – im Unterschied zu den schwedischen Handschriften, in denen es heißt, „Hona loth wændæ a theta mall / Eufemiæ drötning [...]“ (Es [dieses Buch] ließ wenden in diese Sprache Königin Eufemia), *Hertig Fredrik*, V. 3287–3288. Zuschreibung an die Mäzenin und Datierung erfolgen in allen drei *Eufemiaviser*-Epilogen nach dem gleichen Muster. Dichter bzw. Übersetzer und vor allem auch die anwesenden und direkt angesprochenen Zuhörenden werden genannt und ihnen wird gedankt. Dass es sich bei der Person, die die Handschrift schrieb, um eine Frau handelte, wird hier in *Flores og Blanseflor* und auch in *Hertug Frederik*, V. 2419 („hwn“, sie), ausdrücklich betont, während *Ivan løveridder*, V. 6406, von einem männlichen Schreiber spricht („hanum“). *Dværgekongen Laurin*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis* und *Den kyske dronning* erwähnen die Funktion des Schreibers bzw. der Schreiberin dagegen nicht. Alle am Zustandekommen der Erzählung und des Buches und den Primärrezipienten werden am Schluss toposhaft in eine als anwesend konzipierte Erzähl- und Hörergemeinschaft integriert. So macht der Epilog am Ende mit aller Deutlichkeit nochmals auf die kommunikativen und performativen Aspekte des Erzählens und Vortragens auf der Grundlage von geschriebenen Texten aufmerksam. Wie sich diese Elemente in den nachmittelalterlichen Drucken entwickelten, soll im Folgenden kurz betrachtet werden.

III Die frühneuzeitliche Drucküberlieferung

Wenn die allgemein akzeptierte Datierung der Handschrift K 47 auf um 1500 zutrifft, und es bestehen kaum Gründe, sie anzuzweifeln, entstand die dänische Sammlung von sechs Erzählungen zu einer Zeit, in der sich das neue Medium des Buchdrucks im Norden gerade etabliert hat. Das erste bekannte und erhaltene, in Dänemark hergestellte Buch ist eine Fassung von Guillaume Caoursins lateinischer Schrift *De obsidione et bello rhodiano*, gedruckt von Johan Snell in Odense 1482 (vgl. Abb. 10–11), also einige wenige Jahre, bevor K 47 geschrieben wurde. Ältester Wiegendruck Dänemarks und prominenteste Anthologie epischer Verserzählungen sind ein weiteres Beispiel für die Simultaneität der Medien Handschrift und Buchdruck. Die Übereinstimmungen der visuellen Merkmale von *De obsidione* und K 47 liegen ebenfalls auf der Hand und zeigen, wie zeittypisch beide Texte als mediale Ereignisse sind. Wie bereits erwähnt, kam die Überlieferungs- und Transmissiongeschichte von drei der sechs Erzählungen in K 47 nach Abschluss des Manuskripts nicht zu einem Ende, sondern wurde im Zeitalter der Reformation, des Barock und der Aufklärung weitergeführt, wobei das handschriftliche

Medium durch den Frühdruck, die Gattung der mittelalterlichen Versepiik durch jene der Frühromane, ‚Volksbücher‘, *folkebøger*, *historiebøger*, *chapbooks* usw. abgelöst wurde. Es ist wie erwähnt bemerkenswert, dass es in Dänemark nie zu umfangreicheren Prosifizierungen der spätmittelalterlichen Textbestände kam, wie dies in Deutschland und anderen Ländern der Fall war. Auch die Drucke hielten an der alten Form der Reimichtung fest.¹²

Ein Überblick über die spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitliche Transmission und Dissemination der drei einschlägigen Texte – *Dværgekongen Laurin*, *Flores og Blanseflor*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis* – ermöglicht es, einige aufschlussreiche Beobachtungen festzuhalten. Sortiert nach dem Datum der ersten Erscheinung, präsentiert sich die chronologische und quantitative Überlieferung der gedruckten Versionen der Texte aus K 47 wie folgt:

Flores og Blanseflor: Acht Drucke 1504–1745 (vgl. Abb. 13–28)

1. Kopenhagen ca. 1504, fragm.
2. Kopenhagen 1509
- *3. Kopenhagen 1542 (nicht erhalten, nur erschlossen)
4. Lübeck 1591
5. Lübeck 1605
6. Kopenhagen 1684
7. Kopenhagen 1695
8. ohne Ort 1745

Persenober og Konstantianobis: Vier Drucke 1560–1700

- *1. Kopenhagen 1560 (nicht erhalten, nur erschlossen)
2. Kopenhagen 1572 (vgl. Abb. 12)
3. ohne Ort, ohne Jahr (Ende 16. Jahrhundert?), def.
4. Kopenhagen 1700

Dværgekongen Laurin: 15 Drucke, 1588–ca. 1800

1. Lübeck 1588, def.
2. Lübeck 1599
- *3. ohne Ort 1643 (nicht erhalten, nur erschlossen)
- *4. ohne Ort 1689 (nicht erhalten, nur erschlossen)
5. Kopenhagen 1701
6. Kopenhagen 1706
- *7. ohne Ort 1717 (nicht erhalten, nur erschlossen)
8. Kopenhagen 1727
9. Kopenhagen 1736
10. ohne Ort 1737
11. ohne Ort, ohne Jahr, def.
12. Kopenhagen 1749
13. ohne Ort 1774
14. Kopenhagen 1782
15. Kopenhagen ohne Jahr (1797-1808)

12 Die Standarduntersuchung zur Transmission dieser Texte in Dänemark und Schweden in der frühen Neuzeit ist Richter (2009). Vgl. auch Glauser/Richter (2012).

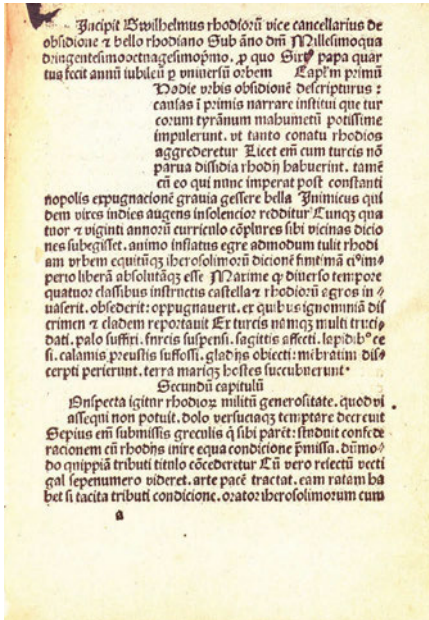


Abb. 10: Guillaume Caoursin, *De obsidione et bello rhodiano*, Odense 1482, Drucker Johan Snell, Incipit

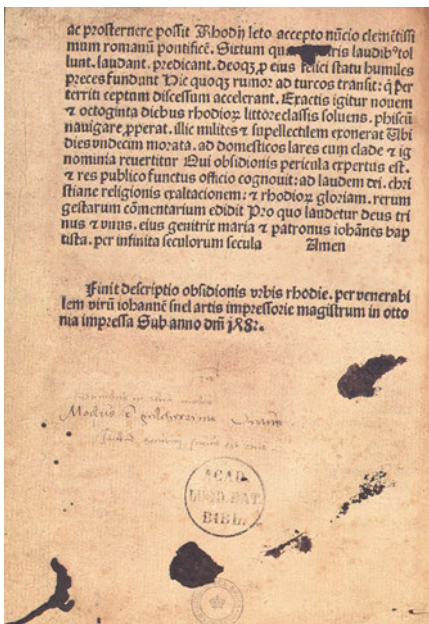


Abb. 11: Guillaume Caoursin, *De obsidione et bello rhodiano*, Odense 1482, Drucker Johan Snell, Kolophon

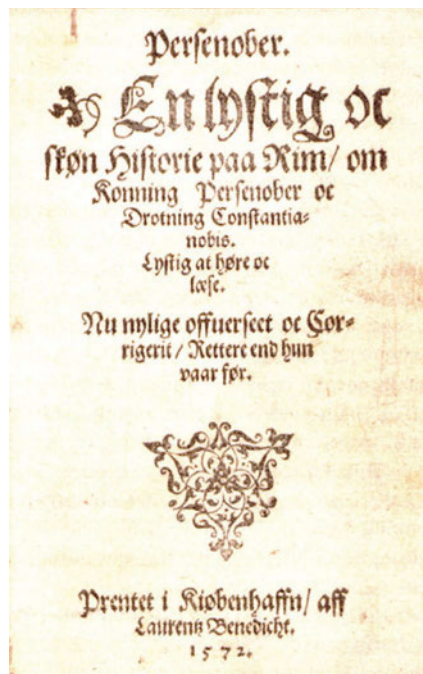


Abb. 12: *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, Kopenhagen 1572, Drucker Laurentz Benedicht, Titelseite



Abb. 13: *Flores og Blanseflor*, Kopenhagen 1504 (?), Drucker Gotfred af Ghemen (?), Holzschnitt

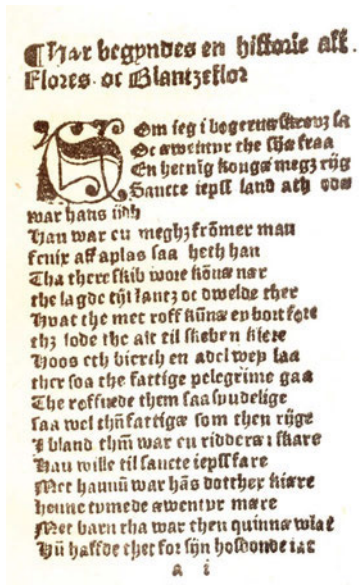


Abb. 14: Flores og Blanseflor, Kopenhagen 1509, Drucker Gotfred af Ghemen, Incipit

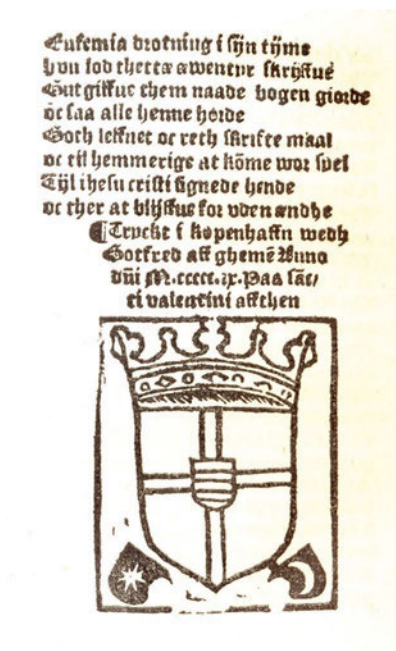


Abb. 15: Flores og Blanseflor, Kopenhagen 1509, Drucker Gotfred af Ghemen, Kolophon und Ghemens Wappen

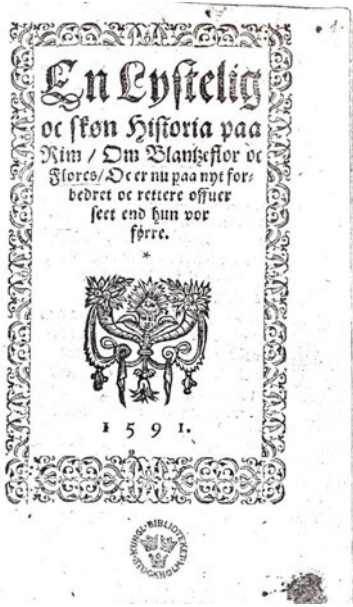


Abb. 16: Flores og Blanseflor, Lübeck 1591, Drucker Asswerus Krøger, Titelseite

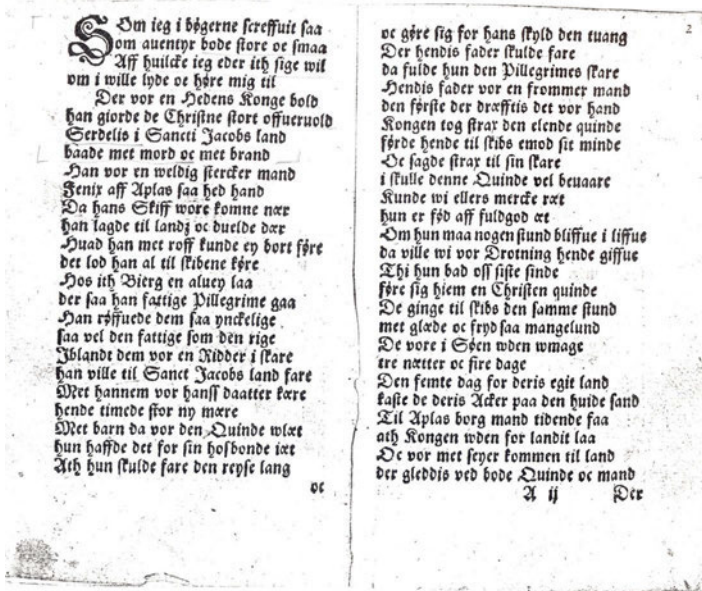


Abb. 17: Flores og Blanseflor, Lübeck 1591, Drucker Asswerus Krøger, Seiten Ajv–Aijr

Open Access Download von elibrary.narr.digital am '15.05.2024' um '13:27' Uhr

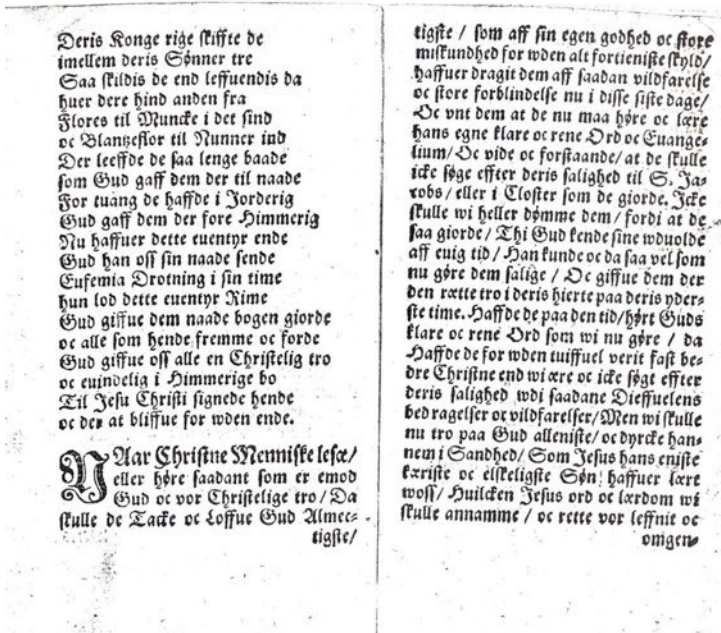


Abb. 18: Flores og Blanseflor, Lübeck 1591, Drucker Asswerus Krøger, Efterskrift

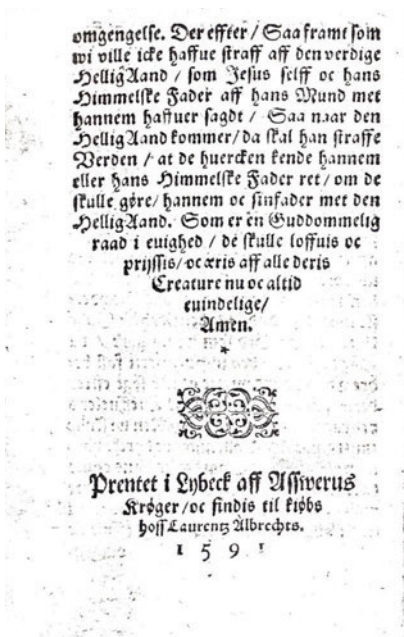


Abb. 19: Flores og Blanseflor, Lübeck 1591, Drucker Asswerus Krøger, Kolophon

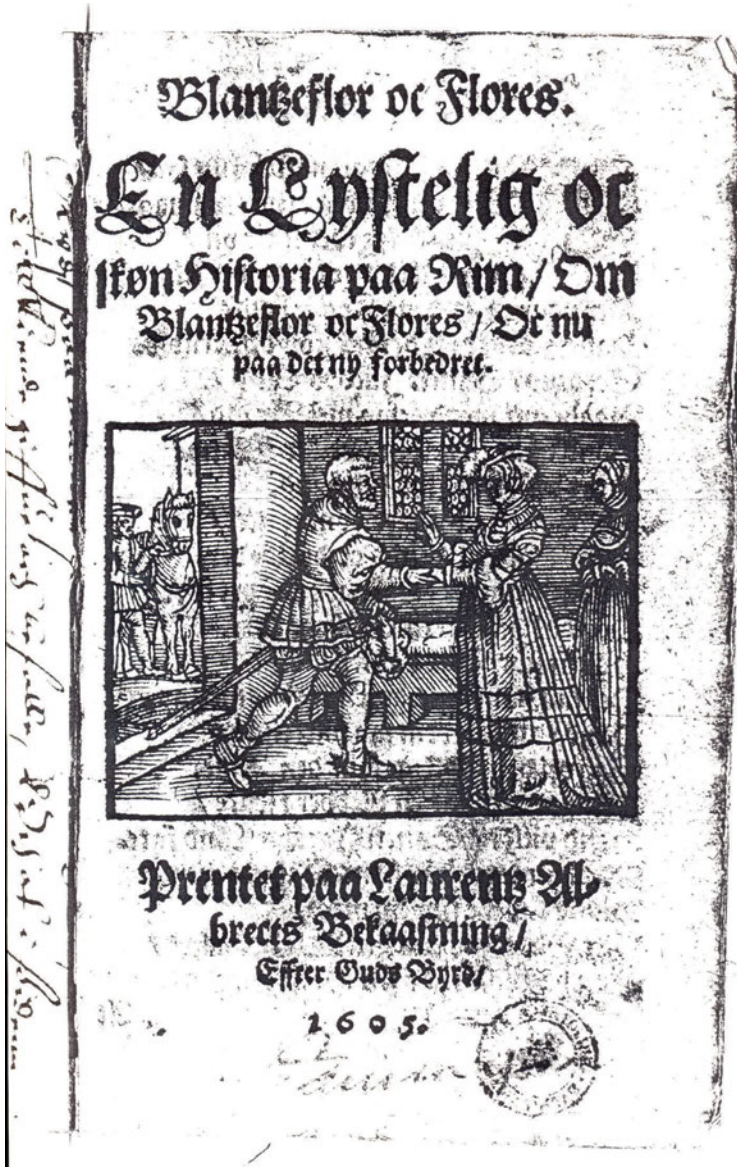


Abb. 20: Flores og Blanseflor, Kopenhagen 1605, Drucker Laurens Albrecht, Titelseite

<p style="text-align: center;">En Historie om</p> <p>DOm ieg i Bogerne skreffuit saa/ Om Euentyr gode store oc smaa. Aff huilcke ieg eder siger vil / Om i vilde lyde oc hore der til. Der vaar en Hedens Konge bold/ Hand giorde de Christne stor bffueruold. Erdelis i Sancti Jacobs Land / Baade met mord oc saa met Brand/ Hand vaar en veldig sterkere Mand/ Fenix aff Ablas saa hed hand. Da hans Skib vaare komne nær/ Hand lagde til Lands oc duelde der. Huad hand met roff funde ey bort fore/ Det lod hand alt til Skibene løre. Hoff it for Bierg aluey laa / Der saa hand fattige Pillegrimme gaa. Hand roffuede dem saa ynckelige / Saa vel den Fattige som den Rige. Jblant dem vaar en Ridder i skare / Hand vilde til Sancti Jacobs Land fare. Met hannem vaar hans Daatter fiere / Hende timede stor ny mere.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Blans:flor oc Flores.</p> <p>At hun skulde fare den reyse lang / De giøre sig for hans skyld den tuang. Da hendis Fader skulde fare/ Da fulde hun den Pillegrimes skare. Hendis Fader vaar en frommer Mand / Den første der dræbtis det vaar hand. Kongen tog strax den elende Quinde/ Førde hende til Skibs imod sit munde. Oc sagde strax til sin skare/ I skulle denne Quinde vel beuare. Kunde wi ellers merke ret / Hun er fød aff huld god et. Om hun maa nogen stund bliffue i liffue / Da vilde wi vor Dronninge hende giffue. Thi hun had off sidste finde / Føre sig hien en Christen Quinde. De ginge til Skibs den samme stund / Met glæde oc fryd saa mange lund. De vaare i Søen vden wmage/ Tre Netter oc fire Dage. Den femte dag for deris egit Land/ Kaste de deris Ancker paa den huide sand.</p>
---	--

Abb. 21: Flores og Blans:flor, Kopenhagen 1605, Drucker Laurens Albrecht, Seiten 2–3; Kolumnentitel

Siden toge de met dem Preste /
Visper oc Klercke aff det beste.
De rede saa gladelig til den Strand /
De seylede til deris egit land.
Siden loden de Grefne vd /
Offuer alle deris land met Dreff oc Bud.
At de skulde alle til Christen tro gaa /
Huem der ey giorde skulde døden saa.
Siden bygde de hedertige/
Mange Kircker oc Kloster rige.
De vaare sammen i xl. Aar/
Saa lenge deris alder vaar.
Deris Kongerige de skifte de/
Imellem deris Sonner tre.
Saa skoldis de end i skændis da/
Huer dere hind anden fra.
Flores til Muncke i det ind /
De Blans:flor til Muncke ind.
Der leffde de saa lenge baade /
Som Gud gaff dem der til naade.
For tuang de hafde i Jordens/
Gud gaff dem ey dersfor Dummerig.
Du haffuer dette Euentyr ende /
Gud hand off sin naade sende.
Eufamia Dronning i sin time /
Hun lod dere Euentyr Rime.
Gud giffue dem naade Boger giorde/
Oc alle som hende fremde oc førde.
Gud giffue off alle en Christelig tro/
De vindinge i Dummerige at bo.
Til Jesu Christi signede hende /
De der at bliffue for vden ende/ Amen.

Abb. 22: Flores og Blans:flor, Kopenhagen 1605, Drucker Laurens Albrecht, Kolophon



Abb. 23: Flores og Blanseflor, Kopenhagen 1695, Titelseite



SOm jeg i Bygerne strefvet saae/
 Om Eventyr baade store oc smaa/
 Af hvilcke jeg Eder et sigte vil/
 Om I vilde igde oc høre det til:
 Der var en Hedsck Konge bold/
 Hand gjorde de Chrestne stor Overtvold/
 Særdeels i Sancte Jacobs Land/
 Baade med Vord oc saa med Brand/
 Hand var en veldig stercker Mand/
 Henix aff Apias saa heed hand.
 Da hans Skib vare komne nar/
 Hand lagde til Lands oc buelde der/
 Hvad hand med Koff kunde ey bortføre/
 Det lod hand alt til Skibens ligre/
 Hos et stort Bierg en Alvey laa/
 Der saae hand fattige Pillegime gaa.
 Hand rofvede dem saa pncelige/
 Saa vel den Fattige som den Rige.
 I blant dem var en Ridder i Skare/
 Hand vilde til Sancte Jacobs Land fare/
 Med hannem var hans Datter lies/
 Hende timeste stor Nymere/
 Med Wærn da var den Qvinde Uslæt/
 Hun haffde bet for sin Husbonds sat/
 At hun fare den Rejsle læng/
 De gjorde sig for hans Skjold den Svang.
 A ff Den

Abb. 24: Flores og Blanseflor, Kopenhagen 1695, Seite Aijr, Incipit


Blanseflor oc Flores.
 Deris Kongerige pistet de/
 Intellem deris Sonner tres/
 Saa Kildtis de end lesuendendis da/
 Over dere hin anden fra/
 Flores til Wuncke i det Sind/
 De Blanseflor til Munner ind/
 Der leffde de saa længe baade/
 Som Gud gaff dem det til Naade.
 Stor Svang de haffde i Jorderig/
 Gud gaff dem siden Himmerig.
 Nu haffver dette Eventyr Ende/
 Gud hand os sin Naade sende.
 Eulamia Dronning i sin Time/
 Hun lod dette Eventyr rime/
 Gud giffve dem Naade Dogen gjorde/
 De alle som hende fremde oc førde.
 Gud giffve os alle en Christelig Tro/
 De Evindelige i Himmerig at bo/
 Ell I Jesu Christi signede Hænde/
 Og der at bliifve foruden Ende.
 1472



Abb. 25: Flores og Blanseflor, Kopenhagen 1695, Kolophon



Abb. 26: Flores og Blanseflor, Kopenhagen 1745, Titelseite



Som iea i Bøgerne skrevet saac,
 Om Eventyr baade store og smaa,
 Alt hvilke jeg Eder et sig vil,
 Om I ville høre og høre der til:
 Der var en Hedensk Konge bold,
 Ham gjorde de Christine stor Overbold,
 Særdeelis i Sancte Jacobs Land,
 Baade med Mord ogsaa med Brand,
 Hand var en vældig stærck Mand,
 Fenix af Alpes saa heed hand.
 Da hans Skibe vare komne nær,
 Hand lagde til Lands og dvelde der,
 Hvad hand med Ros kunde ey bertsføre,
 Det lod hand alt til Skibene føre,
 Hos et stort Bierg en Alvey laa,
 Der saac hand fattige Pilgrime gaae.
 Hand røvede dem saa ynckelige,
 Saa vel den Fattige som den Rige.
 I blant dem var en Ridder i Skare,
 Hand vilde til Sancte Jacob Land fare,
 Med hannem var hans Daatter fier,
 Hende timede stor Rymere,
 Med Barn da var den Qvinde ulæt,
 Hun havde det for sin Husbonds jæt,
 Alt hun vilde fare den Reyse lang,
 Og gjorde sig for hans Skuld den tvang,
 A 2 Den

Abb. 27: *Flores og Blanseflor*, Kopenhagen 1745, Seite A2r, Incipit

Eine erste überlieferungsbezogene Beobachtung dieser Historienbücher besteht darin, dass die Frühdrucke durchgängig jeweils nur eine Erzählung umfassen, während das Manuskript eine Sammlung verschiedener Narrative darstellt. Mittelalterliche Handschriften sind größtenteils Überlieferungsverbünde, wie das auch bei K 47 der Fall ist. Gegenüber alleinstehenden Einzeldrucken sind Texte in Sammelhandschriften in stärkerem Maß Bestandteile eines narrativen Ganzen und damit eines übergeordneten Erzählkomplexes, in dem u. a. die unmittelbaren intertextuellen Verbindungen zwischen den einzelnen Narrativen direkt deutlich werden. Eine Betrachtung solcher Überlieferungsverbünde kann, wie die materielle Philologie in jüngster Zeit durch vermehrte Untersuchungen von Gesamtmanuskripten – im Unterschied zu früheren Beschäftigungen mit Einzeltexten, die aus den jeweiligen Handschriftenkonstellationen losgelöst sind – gezeigt hat, durchaus neue Aspekte und Dimensionen eröffnen.

Maatte vi leve nu med No,
 Da ville vi i kloster bo,
 Udvælger et af disse tu,
 Hvilket I ville giøre nu,
 Om I ville nu leve med Ere,
 Skulle I Eder lade Christne here,
 Og alt det Jofet med Eder er,
 Det skal alt sammen Christnis her,
 Desligesie det som hiemme er,
 Lader det Christnis, Hiertens Rier.
 Flores svarede hende der til,
 Vi det ret gerne giøre vil.
 Saa loed hand genesen Christne sig der,
 Og alt det Jofet med hannem er.
 Siden toge de med dem Præste,
 Bisper og Præster af de beste.
 Derede saa glade til den Strand,
 Og seylede til deris eget Land.
 Siden lede de fleve ud
 Over ald deris Land med Brev og Bud,
 At de skulle alle til Christen Tro gaa,
 Hvem det ey gior, de skulle Døden faa.
 Siden bygde de haderlige
 Mange Kircker og kloster rige.
 De vare sammen i fyretive Aar,
 Saa lange deris Alder var.
 Deris kongerige skiftet de
 Iuellem deris Spinner tre,

Saa

Saa skiftis de end levendis da,
 Hver dere sin anden fra,
 Flores til Munch i det Sind,
 Og Blanseflor til Hunner ind,
 Der levde de saa længe baade,
 Som Gud gav dem der til Naade.
 Stor Svang de havde i Jorderig,
 Guld gav dem siden Himmerig,
 Nu haver dette Eventyr Ende,
 GUD hand os sin Naade sende.
 Eufemia Dronning i sin Time,
 Hun loed dette Eventyr rime,
 GUD give dem Naade Bogen giorde,
 Og alle som hende fremde og ferde.
 GUD give os alle en Christelig Tro,
 Og Gvindelige i Himmerig at bo,
 Til Jesu Christi signede Hænde,
 Og der at blive foruden ald Ende.



Abb. 28: Flores og Blanseflor, Kopenhagen 1745, Kolophon

K 47 ist dafür ein sehr gutes Beispiel. Die formelhaften Incipit / Explicit, Prologe, Epiloge, Kolophone stellen Kohärenzen zwischen den Erzählungen her. Deren Position in der Handschrift generiert Bedeutungsebenen und -zusammenhänge, die im einzelnen Narrativ nicht so ausgeprägt angelegt sind und unmittelbar sichtbar werden. Die vorliegende Anthologie feudaler Dichtung und Heldensagenstoffe wird durch einen kanonischen Text eröffnet (*Ivan løveridder*), der christliche Symbolik mit Elementen des hochmittelalterlichen Ritterethos und dem damit verbundenen Liebeskonzept verknüpft. Der zweite Text (*Hertug Frederik*) steht in einem ganz ähnlichen Kontext, gewichtet jedoch das Übernatürliche und die damit verbundenen Emotionen stärker. Die dritte Erzählung (*Dværgekongen Laurin*) weitet die in den ersten beiden Texten ausgebreitete Thematik ins Märchenhaft-Übernatürlich-Abenteuerhafte aus. In den drei Texten der zweiten Hälfte (*Den kyske dronning*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, *Flores og Blanseflor*) stehen Diskurse über Macht, Gender, Emotionen, Erotik, Sexualität, Triebe im Zentrum. Sie stellen die feudalen Thematiken der ersten drei Erzählungen Brautwerbungsnarrativen aus der Perspektive mittelalterlicher Frauenfiguren gegenüber. Dies kommt allein schon durch ihre Präsenz in den Benennungen der Erzählungen zum Ausdruck (auch wenn diese wie gesehen aus späterer Zeit stammen). *Den kyske dronning*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, *Flores og Blanseflor* konterkarieren die von den männlichen Protagonisten repräsentierten Ritterideale in *Ivan løveridder*, *Hertug*

Frederik, *Dværkongen Laurin*. Was die ersten drei Texte aufbauen, relativieren die letzten drei.¹³

Demgegenüber bestehen die frühen Druckausgaben der Historienbücher in der Regel aus nur einem einzigen Text. Erst aus späterer Zeit findet sich dann das verbreitete Phänomen von Sammelbänden meist adliger Sammler, die aus verschiedenen Historiendruckten in kleinen Formaten bestehen.¹⁴ Solche Sammelbände sind aufschlussreiche Zeugnisse des Umgangs mit der frühneuzeitlichen Druckliteratur, stellen jedoch nur ansatzweise intertextuell konstruierte Diskursfelder wie die mittelalterlichen Sammelhandschriften dar. In den Druckfassungen gewinnen auch anonyme Texte wie *Flores og Blanseflor*, *Persenober* og *Konstantianobis*, *Dværgekongen Laurin* an Transmissionsautonomie und dadurch an ‚autorloser Autorität‘ als in sich geschlossene Werke.

Besonders vielfältig und aufschlussreich ist die frühneuzeitliche Transmissionsgeschichte von *Flores og Blanseflor*, die im Folgenden an einigen Beispielen illustriert werden soll. Der älteste erhaltene Textbeleg ist ein aus zwei Blättern bestehendes Fragment von vermutlich 1504, das dem Kopenhagener Drucker Gotfred af Ghemen zugeschrieben wird. Es enthält den einzigen bekannten Holzschnitt eines narrativen Historiendrucks aus der dänischen Frühdruckzeit (vgl. Abb. 13). Die zweite Ausgabe stammt von 1509. Sie bietet einen vollständigen Text. Die erste Seite mit Incipit und die letzte Seite mit Kolophon und Druckerwappen sind schöne Beispiele für die sich etablierende Druckkultur der Zeit. Der Text von 1509 repräsentiert eine andere Fassung als jene in K 47, so dass man für den Beginn der Drucktransmission nicht von einem ungebrochenen Übergang der älteren Tradition in das neue Medium sprechen kann, sondern immer mit Überlieferungsphänomenen wie verlorenen Handschriften/Drucken oder verschiedenen Fassungen rechnen muss (vgl. Abb. 13–15). Eine genauere Analyse der Transmissionsgeschichte der Drucke deckt auf, dass das

-
- 13 Ein Beleg aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts gibt einen kleinen Einblick in eine Art von frühneuzeitlicher Polemik, die sich aus einer geistlichen, moralischen und soziologischen Perspektive gegen Erzählungen wie *Flores*, *Persenober* usw. richtete. Der dänische Buchhändler Jens Sørensen Nør-Nissom (1609–?) schrieb in seinem „Geistlichen Haushalts-Spiegel“ 1643: „Om Manden vil Christeligen regere sin Hustru / oc holde hende til Lydactighed / da skal hand i Begyndelsen holde hende til Hussholdning / icke lade hende være aldelis ledig / at gaa at strabaze i alle Gader / eller staa idelig i Dørrer eller Vinduerne / oc holde lang Fader=snack / eller siunge Bolevjer / skrifue Bole=Breffue med Hierter oc Straler / ey heller bruge wtuctige Bolebøger / som Blantzeflor / Persenober, Lucretia, oc andre saadanne letferdige Fabler / huilcke der opvecker onde Tancker oc Begieringer vdi Menniskene til saadanne Wtuctighed / huilcke icke burde at selgis eller omføris / thi de giøre meere ont end got. Item haffue Omgengelse met ont Folck [...]“ (Nør-Nissom 1643: Biiij^{r-v}) (Wenn der Mann seine Ehefrau christlich regieren und sie zu Gehorsamkeit anhalten will, dann soll er sie zu allererst zur Haushaltung anhalten, sie nicht ganz frei sein lassen, in allen Straßen herumzustreichen oder ständig in Türen oder Fenstern zu stehen und lange Maulaffen feilzuhalten oder Buhlweisen zu singen, Buhlbriefe mit Herzen und Strahlen zu schreiben, auch nicht unzüchtige Buhlbücher, wie Blantzeflor, Persenober, Lucretia, und andere solche leichtfertige Fabeln, welche zu bösen Gedanken und Begehren aufstacheln, welche nicht verkaufft und geführt werden sollten, denn sie tun mehr Böses als Gutes. Item mit bösen Leuten Umgang pflegen [...]). Nør-Nissom erkannte wie viele andere geistliche Zeitgenossen die in diesen „unzüchtigen Buhlbüchern“ angelegte Dynamik durchaus.
- 14 Zu Begriff, Geschichte, Transmission, Funktionen der ‚kleinen Formate‘ als typische Form von ‚det folkelige bogtryk‘ (der populäre Buchdruck) in der dänischen Druckkultur der frühen Neuzeit vgl. die große Untersuchung von Horstbøll (1999).

Medium des gedruckten Buches keineswegs bedeutet, dass ein gedruckter Text *per se* von Stabilität gekennzeichnet ist. Ganz im Gegenteil beruht die traditionelle Dichotomisierung von durch Unfestigkeit und Varianz geprägtem handgeschriebenen Text einerseits und andererseits gedrucktem Text, bei dem Stabilität das entscheidende Kriterium darstellt, auf einer Fehlkonzeption. Frühe Drucke waren genau so flexibel und unfest wie handgeschriebene Bücher. Der dänische Philologe und Historiker Peder Syv, der die Ausgabe 1504 nicht erwähnt, kommentiert dieses Phänomen bereits Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts in seinen handschriftlich bewahrten bibliographischen Notizen „Den danske Boglade“ wie folgt:

Blanseflor og Flores. der siges sidst udi, at dronning Evfemia Drotning i sin time hun lod dette eventyr rime. den ældste Edition, trykt i Kjöb: ved Gotfred af Gemen, 1509. haver mere end de sejemere Editioner: ja og mange steds anderledis. (nemlig om K. Marsilius, Gripon Jarl og Portneren, hvorledis de og bleve hjulpne og ophøjede)

Blanseflor og Flores. Dort wird am Schluss gesagt, dass „Königin Eufemia[,] Königin in ihrer Zeit, sie ließ diese *aventure* reimen.“ Die älteste Ausgabe, gedruckt in Kopenhagen von Gotfred von Ghemen, 1509. Hat mehr als die späteren Ausgaben, ja und [ist] an manchen Stellen anders. (Nämlich über K[önig] Marsilius, Jarl Gripon und den Pfortner, wie auch sie gerettet und erhöht wurden)¹⁵

Das Phänomen des variablen Drucktextes lässt sich an Titelseiten wie jener der *Flores*-Ausgabe 1591 besonders deutlich ablesen (Abb. 16). Hier wird die Arbeit am Text unterstrichen, wenn es – wie in der Ausgabe 1572 von *Persenober og Konstantianobis* (vgl. Abb. 12) – heißt, die *Historia* sei korrigiert worden. Obwohl auch ein Schreiber auf der Korrektheit seiner Abschrift insistieren kann, wie oben für den *Ivan løveridder* festgestellt, sind Vorstellungen, dass ein Text besser, also korrekter (gemacht) worden ist, eng mit dem Druck verbunden.

Wie die Abbildungen illustrieren, weisen die einzelnen Drucke natürlich viele typographische Phänomene auf, die die frühe Buchkultur kennzeichnen, und die *Flores*-Ausgaben zeigen denn zahlreiche Beispiele für Titelseiten, Kustoden, Kolumnentitel, Bogennumerierungen, später Paginierungen, Kolophone usw. Die Drucke 1605–1745 enthalten daneben

15 Peder Syv, „Den danske Boglade“, *Rostgaard 151, 4to*: 144 (ediert in Glauser, I, 1990: 324). Bei den hier von Syv beschriebenen Ausgaben handelt es sich vermutlich neben späteren Drucken um die heute nicht mehr erhaltene dritte Ausgabe von *Flores og Blanseflor* von 1542, die Árni Magnússon bei Syv sah: „I Árni Magnússons Ekscerpter (Universitetsbiblioteket Kbh. AM 576c 4^{to}) anføres Bl. 45: Historie om Blantzefflor. paa Danske Rim. editio tertia. Hafn. 1542. af Hans Vingaard i det ny Klosterstræde. Vidi apud P. Septimum. in 8. si rectè memini. Ellers kendes denne Udgave ikke [...]“ (In Árni Magnússons Excerpten (Universitätsbibliothek Kopenhagen, AM 576c 4^{to}) wird Bl. 45 angeführt: Historie von Blantzefflor. In dänischen Reimen. Dritte Ausgabe. Kopenhagen. 1542, von Hans Vingaard in der Neuen Kloostergasse. Habe sie bei Peder Syv gesehen. In Oktavo. Wenn ich mich richtig erinnere.) Vgl. Jacobsen/Olrik/Paulli (6, 1925: 505). Denn Syv führt im Titel zuerst *Blanseflor* und danach *Flores an.* – Während die titellose Erzählung in K 47 in der Marginalie als „*Flores Bok*“ bezeichnet wurde, hatte Gotfreds af Ghemen Ausgabe 1509 (und wohl auch seine nur fragmentarisch bewahrte Ausgabe 1504) das *Incipit* „Hær begyndes en historie aff Flores oc Blantzefflor“ (Hier beginnt eine Historie von Flores und Blantzefflor). Es ist nicht davon auszugehen, dass Árni Magnússons Erinnerung ihn hier im Stich ließ, so dass man davon ausgehen kann, dass ab der dritten Ausgabe *1542 sämtliche Drucke bis 1745 die von 1509 (und vermutlich 1504) abweichende Reihenfolge von Protagonist und Protagonistin aufweisen. Es sind jene Ausgaben, die nicht lediglich ein *Incipit* wie 1509 (und vermutlich 1504), sondern eine Titelseite im modernen Begriff haben; vgl. dazu unten.

Holzschnitte und Titelkupfer und anderen Schmuck, oft nach deutschem Vorbild. An ihnen lässt sich die Transmissionsgeschichte dieser mittelalterlichen Erzählung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert ausgezeichnet nachvollziehen (vgl. Abb. 20–28).

Die erste vollständig erhaltene *Flores*-Ausgabe 1509 setzt mit folgendem Incipit ein: „Hær begyndes en historie aff Flores oc Blantzeflor“ (Hier beginnt eine Historie von Flores und Blantzeflor) (vgl. Abb. 14).¹⁶ In der nächsten erhaltenen Ausgabe 1591 ist das Incipit dann ersetzt durch eine eigentliche Titelseite, wie sie in der Folge in sämtlichen Drucken verwendet wird (Abb. 16): „En Lystelig oc skøn Historia paa Rim / Om Blantzeflor oc Flores / Oc er nu paa nyt for=bedret oc rettere offuer seet end hun vor førre. 1591.“ (Eine lustige und schöne Historia in Reimen, über Blantzeflor und Flores, Und ist nun aufs Neue verbessert und richtiger durchgesehen als sie zuvor war. 1591.)

Ein solcher Titel erlaubt es, mehr Information zu vermitteln. So wird hier der Begriff ‚Historia‘ durch ‚lystelig‘ bzw. in anderen Ausgaben ‚lystig‘ und ‚skøn‘ amplifiziert (vgl. auch *Persenober* 1572, Abb. 12). Zudem verweist der Titel wie erwähnt darauf hin, dass der Text korrigiert und (erneut) verbessert worden sei, eine Information, die sich in allen folgenden Ausgaben 1605, 1695, 1745 hält (vgl. Abb. 20, 23, 26). Diese toposhafte, in unzähligen Drucken verwendete Formel ist im Zusammenhang mit dem oben angesprochenen Konzept zu sehen, entsprechend dem es eine richtige Form eines Textes gibt, die es durch Verbesserungen und Durchsicht bestehender Texte herzustellen gilt, wo diese von der korrekten Form abweichen. An solchen Titeln lässt sich die Entstehung einer frühneuzeitlichen Textkritik sehr schön beobachten.

Anhand der Kolophone der frühneuzeitlichen *Flores*-Ausgaben 1509 bis 1745 kann als weiteres spezifisches Phänomen die Entwicklung der medialitätsbezogenen Aussagen in diesen Paratexten summarisch nachgezeichnet werden. Die Änderungen, die die verschiedenen Drucke vornehmen, reagieren dabei recht konkret auf die technologischen Innovationen, die der Buchdruck mit sich brachte. Das Kolophon der ältesten vollständig erhaltenen Druckausgabe von 1509 (vgl. Abb. 15) führt noch die spätmittelalterliche Tradition weitgehend fort, wie sie durch die Epiloge in K 47 vertreten ist:

Nv haffuer thet awentyr endhe
 gudh han oss sijn naade sende
 Eufemia drotning i sijn tijme
 hvn lod thettæ æwentyr skrijffue
 Gut giffue them naade bogen giorde
 oc saa alle henne hørde
 Goth leffnet oc reth skrifte maal
 oc til hemmerige at komme wor syel
 Tijl ihesu cristi signede hende
 oc ther at blifue for vden ændhe (*Flores oc Blantzeflor* 1509: [gvijj^{r-v}])

Nun hat die Erzählung ein Ende, Gott uns seine Gnade sende. Königin Eufemia zu ihrer Zeit, sie ließ diese Erzählung schreiben. Gott gebe denen Gnade, die das Buch machten, und so allen denen,

16 Zum Begriff der ‚Historie‘, der hier eingeführt wird, vgl. Richter (2009).

die es hörten. Gutes Leben und gerechte Beichte und dass ins Himmelreich komme unsere Seele. Bis Jesus Christus sie segne und [sie] dort bleibe ohne Ende.

Auch wenn bereits gewisse Kürzungen im Verhältnis zu K 47 festzustellen sind, sind doch mit der königlichen Mäzenin, dem Dichter/Übersetzer und den Zuhörern die wesentlichen Beteiligten an der Herstellung der Handschrift und der Anwesenden am Vortrag erwähnt.

1591 (vgl. Abb. 18) hat gegenüber 1509 natürlich Änderungen orthographischer und typographischer Art. Hier wird zudem das Reimwort zu „time“ – 1509: „skrijffue“ – in das besser passende „Rime“ geändert und die Tätigkeit der anwesenden Zuhörenden in 1509 mit dem allgemeineren „fremme oc forde“ umschrieben. Zudem erwähnt dieses Kolophon von 1591 explizit „Christelig tro“:

Nu haffuer dette euentyr ende
 Gud han oss sin naade sende
 Eufemia Drotning i sin time
 hun lod dette euentyr Rime
 Gud giffue dem naade bogen giorde
 oc alle som hende fremme oc forde
 Gud giffue oss alle en Christelig tro
 oc euindeligh i Himmerige bo
 Til Jesu Christi signede hende
 oc der at bliffue for wden ende. (*Historia om Blantzefflor oc Flores* 1591: 31 [vgl. Abb. 18])

Nun hat diese Erzählung ein Ende, Gott uns seine Gnade sende. Königin Eufemia zu ihrer Zeit, sie ließ diese Erzählung reimen. Gott gebe denen Gnade, die das Buch machten, und so allen denen, die es beförderten und führten. Gott gebe uns allen einen christlichen Glauben und dass wir ewig im Himmelreich wohnen. Bis Jesus Christus sie segne und [sie] dort bleibe ohne Ende.

Die Ausgabe 1591 enthält nach dem Ende der Erzählung zudem einen interessanten Zusatz, den der Herausgeber Jørgen Olrik als „Efterskrift“ (Nachschrift) bezeichnete (vgl. Abb. 18–19). Es handelt sich um einen rund zweiseitigen Bogenfüller, der den neu angenommenen protestantischen Glauben preist und auf den ersten Blick kaum etwas mit der ‚Geschichte an sich‘ zu tun hat. Die Nachschrift formuliert aus protestantischer Perspektive eine Kritik am alten Glauben, der im Zentrum von *Flores og Blansefflor* steht:

NAar Christne Menniske lesæ / eller høre saadant som er emod Gud oc vor Christelige tro / Da skulle de Tacke oc Loffue Gud Almectigste / som aff sin egen godhed oc store miskundhed for wden alt fortieniste skyld / haffuer dragit dem aff saadan vildfarelse oc store forblindelse nu i disse sidste dage / Oc vnt dem at de nu maa høre oc lære hans egne klare oc rene Ord oc Euangelium / Oc vide oc forstaande / at de skulle icke søge effter deris salighed til S. Jacobs / eller i Closter som de giorde. Icke skulle wi heller dømmе dem / fordi at de saa giorde / Thi Gud kende sine wduolde aff euig tid / Han kunde oc da saa vel som nu gøre dem salige / Oc giffue dem der den rætte tro i deris hierte paa deris yderste time. Haffde de paa den tid / hørt Guds klare oc rene Ord som wi nu gøre / da Haffde de for wden tuiffuel verit fast bedre Christne end wi ære oc icke søgt effter deris salighed wdi saadane Dieffuelens bedragelser oc vildfarelser [...] (*Historia om Blantzefflor oc Flores* 1591: [Dvvi^v–Dvvi^r])

Wenn christliche Menschen lesen oder hören, was gegen Gott und unseren christlichen Glauben ist, dann sollen sie Gott dem Allmächtigen danken und ihn loben, der nun in diesen letzten Tagen aus seiner eigenen Güte und großen Gnade heraus und ohne jegliches Verdienst solche Täuschung und Verblendung von ihnen genommen hat, und ihnen gegönnt hat, dass sie nun seine eigenen klaren und reinen Worte und sein Evangelium hören und lernen können, und wissen und verstehen [können], dass sie für ihre Seligkeit nicht bei St. Jakob oder im Kloster suchen sollen, wie jene es taten. Aber wir sollen sie auch nicht verurteilen, dass sie so handelten, denn Gott kennt seine Auserwählten von ewiger Zeit. Er könnte sie damals wie auch jetzt selig machen und ihnen in ihrer letzten Stunde den rechten Glauben in ihr Herz geben. Hätten sie zu ihrer Zeit Gottes klare und reine Worte gehört, wie wir es nun tun, dann wären sie ohne Zweifel sicher bessere Christen gewesen, als wir es sind, und hätten ihre Seligkeit nicht in solchen Betrügereien und Täuschungen des Teufels gesucht.

Der Text dieser Nachschrift von 1591 (die vermutlich bereits in der verlorenen Ausgabe von 1542 vorhanden war, wofür die Passage „nun in diesen letzten Tagen“ spricht) fügt sich damit in die für das sechzehnte Jahrhundert typische Reformationspropaganda ein, stellt jedoch zugleich einen direkten Bezug zum Moniage her, die Blanseflor und Flores am Ende ihrer Geschichte in der katholischen Zeit vollziehen.¹⁷ Dadurch wird deutlich, dass die scheinbar isolierte und beziehungslose Nachschrift eben doch eine ganz klare Stellungnahme zur Textaussage vornimmt und ein erstrangiges Rezeptionsdokument darstellt. Auch Drucke haben die Möglichkeit, Narrative zu kontextualisieren.

Mit Ausnahme der Nachschrift, die nur in 1591 enthalten ist, hat die nächste Ausgabe 1605 (vgl. Abb. 22) gegenüber 1591 kaum Änderungen und auch 1695 und 1745 (vgl. Abb. 25, 28) sind mit 1605 fast identisch. Das Kolophon umfasst in allen Ausgaben 1509–1745 zehn Zeilen. Die Zuschreibung an Königin Eufemia, einer der festen Bestandteile seit der Niederschrift der altschwedischen *Eufemiavisor*, und die Einbeziehung von Dichter und Zuhörenden in das abschließende Gebet werden ebenfalls bis in die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts formelhaft überliefert. So tragen die Kolophone wesentlich dazu bei, die literarische Erinnerung an die mittelalterliche Mäzenin und die medialen Konstellationen bis zum Beginn der Moderne zu bewahren.

Jørgen Olrik beurteilte in der Einleitung zu seiner *Flores*-Ausgabe in Band 6 der *Danske Folkebøger* von 1925 die jüngeren Fassungen wenig gnädig:

I Renaissancetiden er Digtningen blevet underkastet en grundig Omarbejdelse, hvorved det er lykkedes at fjærne de fleste Spor af middelalderlig Poesi og erstatte dem med trivielle Rimerier. Herhen hører de yngre Udgaver af 1605, 1684 og 1695 [...]. (Jacobsen/Olrik/Paulli, 6, 1925: XXVI)

In der Renaissancezeit wurde das Gedicht einer gründlichen Überarbeitung unterworfen, wodurch es gelang, die meisten Spuren von mittelalterlicher Poesie zu entfernen und sie mit trivialen Reimereien zu ersetzen. Hierzu gehören die jüngeren Ausgaben von 1605, 1684 und 1695 [...].

R. Paullis Urteil fiel fast wortwörtlich gleichlautend aus, als er 1936 im Schlussband von *Danske Folkebøger* schrieb, es handle sich bei den nachmittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen

17 „St. Jakob“ bezieht sich auf den Wallfahrtsort Santiago de Compostela, der in *Flores og Blanseflor* eine zentrale Rolle spielt.

von *Flores og Blanseflor* um „en bevidst Omarbejdelse [...] har klemt Poesien ud af Livet paa Flores og Blanseflor og gjort den til et trivielt Rimeri“ (Paulli 1936: 237) (eine bewusste Überarbeitung [...] hat die Poesie aus Flores und Blanseflor vertrieben und sie [die Geschichte] zu einer trivialen Reimerei gemacht). Olriks Äußerungen zu den Drucken von *Persenober* und *Laurin* sind ähnlich negativ und man kann in ihnen nicht nur ablesen, dass die Herausgeber wenig Sympathie für die Texte hatten, mit denen sie sich beschäftigten. Wichtiger ist, dass aus ihnen eine zeittypische Polemik gegen Textveränderungen spricht, in denen man lediglich ein vermeintliches Sinken von Kulturgut erkennen konnte. Dass die Rede von der Trivialisierung längst obsolet geworden ist, braucht nicht eigens hervorgehoben zu werden. Eine vorurteilsfreie Analyse des spätmittelalterlichen / frühneuzeitlichen Transmissionsprozesses vermag aufzuzeigen, welche aufschlussreiche Einblicke in die Textualität, Medialität, Transgression diese handschriftlich und gedruckt überlieferten Texte bieten.

IV Dänische Ritterdichtung um 1500 und um 1750

Die drei in der Handschrift K 47 überlieferten dänischen *Eufemiaviser* *Ivan løveridder*, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* und *Flores og Blanseflor* stellen wichtige Rezeptionsdokumente aus dem ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert dar. Sie belegen die spätmittelalterliche Transmission der im hohen Mittelalter verfassten schwedischen *Eufemiavisor* und sind die wichtigsten Repräsentanten der höfisch-ritterlichen Literatur in Dänemark am Übergang zur Frühneuzeit. Durch ihre spezifische Anordnung in der Handschrift K 47, die von jenen in den Handschriften der schwedischen *Eufemiavisor* abweicht, und die zahlreichen intertextuellen Beziehungen zu den anderen Erzählungen in K 47 erhalten die drei dänischen *Eufemiaviser* eine besondere Aussagekraft. Am Beispiel der rasch einsetzenden nachmittelalterlichen Überlieferung von *Flores og Blanseflor* lässt sich zudem zeigen, wie das Genre der *Eufemiaviser* einen Medienwechsel zum Buchdruck vollzog, was es ihm erlaubte, eine weitere Etappe in einer zeittiefen Transmission zu nehmen und dadurch wesentliche Aspekte der höfischen Literatur in die literarischen Diskurse der Neuzeit zu überliefern.

Literatur

- Andersson, Roger (2014). „Die *Eufemiavisor* – Literatur für die Oberklasse“. In: Glauser, Jürg/Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (Hg.). *Rittersagas. Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 45). Tübingen: Francke, S. 45–69.
- Bambeck, Florian (2009). *Herzog Friedrich von der Normandie. Der altschwedische Ritterroman „Hertig Fredrik av Normandie“*. Text, Übersetzung, Untersuchungen. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Bandlien, Bjørn (Hg.) (2012). *Eufemia – Oslos middelalderdrønning*. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag.
- Bandlien, Bjørn/Eriksen, Stefka G./Rikhardsdottir, Sif (Hg.) (2015). „Arthur of the North: Histories, Emotions, and Imaginations“. In: *Scandinavian Studies* 87:1, S. 1–166.
- Blaisdell, Foster W. (Hg.) (1979). *Ívens saga* (= Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ, B, 18). Copenhagen: Reitzel.
- Boberg, Inger M. (1966). *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature* (= Bibliotheca Arnarnagnæana 27). Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Brandt, C. J. (Hg.) (1869–1870). *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen*. I–II. København: Samfundet til den danske Literaturs Fremme.
- Dahlberg, Torsten (1950). *Zum dänischen Lavrin und niederdeutschen Lorin. Mit einem Neudruck des einzig erhaltenen niederdeutschen Exemplars (Hamburg um 1560)* (= Lunds universitets årsskrift N. F., Avd. 1, 45:5; Lunder germanistische Forschungen 21). Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.
- Dahlerup, Pil (1998). „Ridderroman“. In: *Dansk litteratur. Middelalder. 2. Verdslig litteratur*. København: Gyldendal, S. 235–274.
- Degenbol, Helle (2014). „Fair words‘: The French poem *Floire et Blancheflor*, the Old Norse prose narrative *Flóress saga ok Blankiflúr*, and the Swedish poem *Flores och Blanzaflor*“. In: Glauser, Jürg/Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (Hg.). *Rittersagas. Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 45). Tübingen: Francke, S. 71–95.
- Dicke, Gerd/Eikermann, Manfred/Hasebrink, Burkhard (Hg.) (2006). *Im Wortfeld des Textes. Worthistorische Beiträge zu den Bezeichnungen von Rede und Schrift im Mittelalter* (= Trends in Medieval Philology 10). Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Djurhuus, Napoleon (Hg.) (1972). „Larvin dvørgakongur“. In: *Føroya kvæði. Corpus Carminum Færoensium*, 6 (= Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfunds Skriftserie 438). København: Munksgaard, S. 375–385, Nr. 212.
- Ferm, Olle u. a. (Hg.) (2015). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture: Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Finnur Sigmundsson (1966). *Rímnatal*, I-II. Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið.
- [*Flores og Blanseflor*] (1910). *Facsimile=Udgave af Flores oc Blantzeflor. Gotfred af Ghemens Udgave af 1509*. Kjøbenhavn: Hermann Petersen.
- Glauser, Jürg (1986). „Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit“. In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (Hg.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 15). Basel und Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, S. 191–207.
- Glauser, Jürg (1990). „Ausgrenzung und Disziplinierung. Studien zur volkssprachlichen Erzählliteratur Skandinaviens in der frühen Neuzeit“. I–II. Ungedruckte Habilitationsschrift. Universität Zürich.

- Glauser, Jürg (2010). „Staging the Text: On the Development of a Consciousness of Writing in the Norwegian and Icelandic Literature of the Middle Ages“. In: Ranković, Slavica/Melve, Leidulf/Mundal, Else (Hg.). *Along the Oral-Written Continuum. Types of Texts, Relations and their Implications* (= Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 20). Turnhout: Brepols, S. 311–334.
- Glauser, Jürg (2014). „The colour of a sail and blood in a glove. Medial constellations in the *riddarasögur*“. In: Johansson, Karl G./Mundal, Else (Hg.). *Riddarasögur. The Translation of European Court Culture in Medieval Scandinavia* (= Bibliotheca Nordica 7). Oslo: Novus forlag, S. 199–224.
- Glauser, Jürg (2019). „Les théorisations de la traduction en Scandinavie au Moyen Âge. Réflexions préliminaires“. In: Lodén, Sofia/Obry, Vanessa (Hg.). *L'expérience des frontières et les littératures de l'Europe médiévale* (= Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Âge 26), Paris: Honoré Champion, S. 381–394.
- Glauser, Jürg (2020). „Romance – A Case Study“. In: Bampi, Massimiliano/Larrington, Carolyne/Rikhardsdóttir, Sif (Hg.). *A Critical Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, S. 299–311.
- Glauser, Jürg/Richter, Anna Katharina (Hg.) (2012). *Text – Reihe – Transmission. Unfestigkeit als Phänomen skandinavischer Erzählprosa (1500–1800)* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 42). Tübingen und Basel: Francke.
- Glauser, Jürg/Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (Hg.) (2014). *Rittersagas. Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 45). Tübingen: Francke.
- Heinzle, Joachim (1999). *Einführung in die mittelhochdeutsche Dietrichepik* (= De Gruyter Studienbuch). Berlin und New York: De Gruyter.
- Hoffmann, Werner (1974). *Mittelhochdeutsche Heldendichtung* (= Grundlagen der Germanistik 14). Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Horstbøll, Henrik (1999). *Menigmands medie. Det folkelige bogtryk i Danmark 1500–1840. En kulturhistorisk undersøgelse* (= Danish Humanist Texts and studies 19). Kopenhagen: Det kongelige Bibliotek und Museum Tusulanums Forlag.
- Jacobsen, J. P./Olrik, Jørgen/Pauli, R. (Hg.). (1915–1936). *Danske Folkebøger fra 16. og 17. Aarhundrede*. 1–14. København: Gyldendalske Boghandel – Nordisk Forlag.
- Johansson, Karl G./Mundal, Else (Hg.) (2014). *Riddarasögur. The Translation of European Court Culture in Medieval Scandinavia* (= Bibliotheca Nordica 7). Oslo: Novus forlag.
- Layher, William (2010). *Queenship and Voice in Medieval Northern Europe* (= Queenship and Power). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lodén, Sofia (2012). *Le chevalier courtois à la rencontre de la Suède médiévale. Du Chevalier au lion à Herr Ivan* (= Forskningsrapporter/Cahiers de la Recherche 47). Stockholm: Stockholm University.
- Lodén, Sofia (2014). „Rewriting *Le Chevalier au Lion*: Different stages of literary transmission“. In: Johansson, Karl G./Mundal, Else (Hg.) (2014). *Riddarasögur. The Translation of European Court Culture in Medieval Scandinavia* (= Bibliotheca Nordica 7). Oslo: Novus forlag, S. 91–106.
- Lodén, Sofia/Obry, Vanessa (Hg.) (2019). *L'expérience des frontières et les littératures de l'Europe médiévale* (= Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Âge 26). Paris: Honoré Champion.
- Lodén, Sofia/Obry, Vanessa (Hg.) (im Druck). *Floire et Blancheflor en Europe. Anthologie*. Grenoble: UGA-Editions.
- Müller, Kevin (2020). *Schreiben und Lesen im Altisländischen. Lexeme, syntagmatische Relationen und Konzepte in der Jóns saga helga, Sturlunga saga und Laurentius saga biskups* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 66). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.

- Noreen, Erik (Hg.) (1927). *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie. Kritik upplaga på grundval av Codex Verelianus* (= Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskrift-sällskapet 163). Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Noreen, Erik (Hg.) (1930–1933). *Herr Ivan. Kritisk upplaga* (= Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskrift-sällskapet 164–166). Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Olson, Emil (Hg.) (1956). *Flores och Blanzeflor. Kritisk upplaga. Nytryck (med ett Tillägg)* (= Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskrift-sällskapet 214). Lund: Carl Bloms boktryckeri.
- Ott, Norbert H. (2012). „Dietrich von Bern. ‚Laurin‘. Druck Nr. 29.3.j“. In: *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters (KdiH)*. Begonnen von Hella Frühmorgen-Voss und Norbert H. Ott. Hg. von Bodemann, Ulrike/Freienhagen-Baumgardt, Kristina/Schmidt, Peter. Bd. 4:1. München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (<http://kdi.h.badw.de/datenbank/druck/29/3/j>; zuletzt geändert am 19.03.2018).
- Paulli, R. (1936). „Bidrag til de danske Folkebøgers Historie“. In: Jacobsen, J. P./Olrik, Jørgen/Paulli, R. (Hg.) (1915–1936). *Danske Folkebøger fra 16. og 17. Aarhundrede*. 1–14. København: Gyldendalske Boghandel – Nordisk Forlag, 13 (1936), S. 169–291.
- Præstgaard Andersen, Lise (Hg.) (1983). *Partalopa saga* (= Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ, B, 28). Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2009). *Transmissionsgeschichten. Untersuchungen zur dänischen und schwedischen Erzählprosa in der frühen Neuzeit* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 41). Tübingen und Basel: Francke.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2017). „It Euentyr vil jeg sige fra. Die Historie von *Persenober oc Constantianobis* (1572) als Beispiel für Texttransmission im frühneuzeitlichen Dänemark“. In: Müller-Wille, Klaus u. a. (Hg.). *Skandinavische Schriftlandschaften. Vänbok till Jürg Glauser* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 59). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, S. 174–178.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2018/2019). „Zur Überlieferung der Historie von ‚Flores oc Blantzeflor‘ in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit“. In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36:1, S. 38–53.
- Richter, Anna Katharina/Glauser, Jürg (2018/2019). „Transmission und Transformation. Die Historie von *Floire et Blanchefleur* in der skandinavischen und niederländischen Überlieferung“. In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36:1, S. 4–7.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2019). „La transmission de *Floire et Blanchefleur* au Danemark (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)“. In: Lodén, Sofia/Obry, Vanessa (Hg.). *L’expérience des frontières et les littératures de l’Europe médiévale* (= Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Âge 26). Paris: Honoré Champion, S. 395–406.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2019a). „Ritter, Romance, Rewriting. Überlegungen zur dänischen Erzählliteratur in der Frühdruckzeit am Beispiel der Historie von *Persenober oc Constantianobis* (1572)“. In: Besamusca, Bart/de Bruijn, Elisabeth/Willaert, Frank (Hg.). *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe*. Berlin und Boston: De Gruyter, S. 325–350.
- Rikhardsdottir, Sif (2012). *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse. The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Sørensen Nør-Nissom, Jens (1643). *Speculum Domesticum Spirituale. Det er: En Aandelig Huss=Speyel / Indeholdendis nogle merkelige Tractater oc Lærdomme [...] Tienestvilligen colligerit oc componerit ved Jens Søffrenssøn Nør=Nessom / Boghandler vdi Roeskild*. Prentet i Kiøbinghaffn.
- Sullivan, Joseph M. (2014). „Arthur of the Northeast: The Old Swedish *Herr Ivan* Redraws the King Arthur of Chrétien’s *Yvain*“. In: Bandlien, Bjørn/Eriksen, Stefka G./Rikhardsdottir, Sif (Hg.).

- „Arthur of the North: Histories, Emotions, and Imaginations“. In: *Scandinavian Studies* 87:1, S. 33–61.
- Syv, Peder (ohne Jahr). „Den danske Boglede“. Handschrift Rostgaard 151, 4to (Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen).
- Uther, Hans-Jörg (2004). *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. Part I: Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Religious Tales, and Realistic Tales, with an Introduction [...]* (= FF Communications 284). Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia und Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Onlinequellen

- Akhøj Nielsen, Marita. <https://tekstnet.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47-lang-beskrivelse> (abgerufen am 2.7.2021).

Abbildungsnachweise

- Abb. 1. K 47, 1r (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 2. K 47, 112r (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 3. K 47, 153v (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 4. K 47, 169v (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 5. K 47, 196v (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 6. K 47, 219r (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 7. K 47, 218v (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 8. K 47, 255r (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 9. K 47, 255v (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 10. Guillaume Caoursin, *De obsidione et bello rhodiano* (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 11. Guillaume Caoursin, *De obsidione et bello rhodiano* (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 12. *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, 1572 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 13. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1504 (?) (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 14. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1509 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 15. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1509 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 16. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1591 (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 17. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1591 (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 18. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1591 (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 19. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1591 (© Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm)
- Abb. 20. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1605 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 21. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1605 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 22. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1605 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 23. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1695 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 24. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1695 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 25. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1695 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 26. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1745 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 27. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1745 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)
- Abb. 28. *Flores og Blanseflor*, 1745 (© Det kgl. Bibliotek, Kopenhagen)

Flores og Blanseflor – Romance in East Scandinavia and the Introduction of Printed Book Culture in Denmark¹

Jonatan Pettersson (Stockholm)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5837-8597>

Abstract: The article addresses the question of what happened to the genre of romance when printing technology was taken into use in late 15th and early 16th century Denmark, at a time when hand-written manuscripts still were being produced. East Scandinavian romance had a history from the beginning of the 14th century in Sweden, when the three *Eufemiavisor* were created, and they continued to attract interest in late Middle Ages up to the beginning of the 16th century. They appear in Danish manuscripts in the last decades of the 15th century, but when the printing technology is introduced, they seem to play a less prominent role, as only one text, *Flores og Blanseflor*, survives in the first phase of printing. In the article, it is argued that the choice to print this particular text probably lies in its ability to respond to late medieval currents and the new urban literary market, but also that it perhaps should be understood within the context of a late medieval religious reading of romances.

Keywords: romance, late medieval romance, early prints, Scandinavian literary culture, Old Danish literary history, *Eufemiavisor*, *Flores og Blanseflor*

European romance is sometimes primarily associated with its high medieval origins, but it continued to attract interest for a long time, not the least during the late Middle Ages.² The genre was not stable or petrified; it evolved in different directions as time and contexts changed, and it was assigned new functions and meanings and found new audiences. One much discussed example of change within the romance genre is the abandonment of rhymed verse for prose, but the genre as a whole underwent changes that involved formal characteristics, thematic orientation, ideology, narrative structure, and expected audience.³

The late medieval period is also the period of the introduction of printing technology, which in time would change the whole textual landscape. Printing technology had the potential to make books available to new groups due to the much lower sale prices. One

1 The present study is based on research conducted within the research programme “Modes of Modification. Variance and Change in Medieval Manuscript Culture”, funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

2 An overview of the history of romance can be found in Saunders (2004).

3 The discussion on the development of late medieval romance is vast and will not be summarised here. For the present analysis, Brown-Grant (2008) and Cooper (1997, 1999, 2004) are important sources for the French and English contexts, respectively.

estimation states that printing technology lowered the cost of production by up to 80 percent in comparison with a manually produced book (Ludwig 1964: 4). However, even if the change was to be profound, the current scholarly discussion on this period nevertheless stresses the long co-existence of and exchange between the manuscript culture and printing technology rather than speaks of a sharp break (Boffey 2014; Tether 2017:14–16). Romance also found its way into printed book culture, but not without some hesitation towards the genre among printers, and the relationship would remain complex.⁴ Here, we will approach this process in Scandinavia.

Romances appeared in today's Norway and Iceland in the thirteenth century, and in Sweden and Denmark, here collectively referred to as East Scandinavia, the genre was introduced in the fourteenth century and seems to have attracted interest during the fifteenth century.⁵ The printing technology was first introduced in Denmark and Sweden in the 1480s, and during the first decades it was mostly used for religious and educational texts.⁶ In Sweden, no secular narratives, like romances, were printed at all in this early phase, and this pattern would last. After the nobleman Gustav Vasa ascended to the Swedish throne in 1523, printing became monopolised under state control, thereby limiting the commercial exploitation of the printing technology.

In Denmark, a somewhat different path was taken, as secular texts in the Danish vernacular were printed in the very first decades of domestic printing (Undorf 2014: 16–18). Later in the sixteenth century, a large number of popular narratives were printed. These were a group of texts which sometimes are called 'chapbooks' or 'Volksbücher', or the more textually oriented concepts 'Historienbücher' or 'early modern narratives'.⁷ The shifting terminology of this group of texts mirrors the heterogeneity in terms of their content and textual characteristics. Although 'romance' is a rather wide and open genre concept, the early modern narrative is a probably even wider category.⁸

In this article, I address the process of change in the corpus of East Scandinavian secular narratives, of which the romances were part, upon the advent of the new printing technology in Scandinavia, and more specifically, in Denmark. For reasons which will be explained further below, special attention will be paid to the printing of the Danish *Flores og Blanseflor* of the *Floire et Blanchefleur* tradition. What happened to romance in East Scandinavia when printing technology began to be used at the same time as hand-written manuscripts were still being produced? How can we understand the choices that have left us the corpus of texts we have? Let us look at a broad picture of Scandinavian text history before going into the details of manuscripts and prints.

4 Sánchez-Martí (2019) shows the shifting attitudes towards romance among English printers, and Montorsi (2019) analyses how Arthurian material is edited in France and Europe.

5 A recent overview of Nordic romance texts with an emphasis on the West Nordic medieval texts can be found in Glauser (2020).

6 Undorf (2012: 62–64) summarises and compares printing in Denmark and Sweden.

7 The discussion on terminology is treated in Richter (2009: 7–11), in which previous research on this group of texts is also discussed (pp. 11–16).

8 The problem of genre is discussed in part 2 below.

1 Romance and secular narratives in late medieval Denmark and Sweden

Although the empirical focus of this study is on the Danish material, the topic requires a Scandinavian context since the textual cultures of each respective language area are connected in different ways. For the whole of the fifteenth century, Scandinavia was a political union; there were strong internal tensions, especially between Denmark and Sweden, but there was still a continuous interaction between its different parts. The languages were so close that translation of texts probably was not called for in many cases. An example of this inter-Scandinavian readership could be brought in from the early modern era, when Danish printed books seem to have been commonly read in Sweden (Richter 2009: 19–21). Still, ‘translations’ were carried out during the Middle Ages of texts from different parts of Scandinavia, even if the linguistic shifts between the source text and target text can be so small that it challenges the concept of translation.⁹

Denmark and Sweden share an important part of their history of romance literature through the three Swedish chivalric verse translations from the early fourteenth century, the *Eufemiavisor*. The *Eufemiavisor* were probably commissioned by the Norwegian Queen Eufemia (d. 1312) for her daughter Ingeborg and her future son-in-law, the Swedish Prince and Duke Erik Magnusson. Later, perhaps in the fifteenth century, they were translated into Danish.¹⁰

The *Eufemiavisor* consist of, first, *Herr Ivan* (‘Lord Ivan’), a verse translation of Chrétien’s de Troyes *Yvain ou le Chevalier au lion*, which also made use of the West Nordic translation *Ívens saga* as a source; second, *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie* (‘Duke Fredrik of Normandy’), which describes itself as a translation of a German translation of a French original, of which there are no traces; and finally, *Flores och Blanzefflor*, a translation that probably made use of a Norwegian translation of a *Floire et Blanchefleur* text.¹¹ According to the colophons, they were translated in 1303, 1308 and, most likely, 1311/1312, respectively (Degnbol 2014: 87). Unlike the West Nordic prose translations, the *Eufemiavisor* were written in knittel verse, an end-rhymed metre that was popular on the continent and remained dominant in Swedish secular narratives into the early modern era.

These three texts form the core of Swedish romance literature and influenced other works outside the romance genre, e.g. the Swedish royal chronicle *Erikskrönikan* (the ‘Eric Chronicle’) believed to be from the second quarter of the fourteenth century (Ferrari 2008: 55). There were no other romances translated in this early phase, but there are other works related to courtly culture that seem to stem from this period, such as the satire *Herr abboten* (‘The Lord Abbott’), the King’s mirror *Um styrilse konunga ok höfðinga* (‘On the Rule of

9 Linguistically speaking, it might be relevant to speak of intra-linguistic translation in Roman Jakobson’s terminology, but this is a discussion that will not be taken further here.

10 Queen Eufemia and her literary interests and activities are discussed in Würth (2000). It is unclear when they were translated from Swedish to Danish, but the manuscripts stem from the end of the fifteenth century. Kværndrup (2014: 295–297) suggests that the translations would have been carried out in the late fourteenth century when Queen Margareta I of Denmark became the regent of all Scandinavia, but even if it is quite possible, there is no clear evidence in favour of such an early dating.

11 For a thorough analysis of *Herr Ivan*, see Lodén (2012). The possible sources of *Hertig Fredrik* are recently discussed in Busby (2015) and the *Flores och Blanzefflor* in Bampi (2018/2019).

Kings and Chieftains'), and also the Old Swedish Pentateuch translation (known from the edition *Medeltidens bibelarbeten 1*, 'Medieval Bible Works 1').¹² From the last part of the fourteenth century stems a verse translation of the Alexander matter in *Historia de Preliis*, called *Konung Alexander* ('King Alexander'), which was partly adapted to the format of courtly literature (Bampi 2015). Later in the fifteenth century, some new texts appear to which we shall return after examining the romance manuscripts.

The manuscript evidence of the Old Swedish *Eufemiavisor* romances is limited. From the fourteenth century, only a fragment of a manuscript containing *Flores och Blanzeflor* is preserved. In addition, an inventory from the royal castle of Bohus, in modern western Sweden, mentions one book with *Herr Ivan* and another with *Hertig Fredrik*; however, there are no other traces of these manuscripts.¹³

Manu- script	SDHKnr 5311 ^b	R III	D 4	D 4a	D3	AM 191	E 9013	K 45	D 2
Time of MS pro- duction ^a	b. 1346	c. 1350	1410– 1430	c. 1448	1488	1492	c. 1500	c. 1500	–1523 ^c

Table 1: Old Swedish medieval manuscripts containing the *Eufemiavisor* romances.¹⁴ a: The approximate dates are suggestions, while the exact years are dates from the respective manuscripts; b: SDHKnr 5311 is not a manuscript but a charter containing a list of books that were kept at the royal castle of Bohus in modern western Sweden, which mentioned two of the *Eufemiavisor* romances, see footnote 13; c: The first text in the manuscript was written in 1470–1480. The other parts are from the first decades of the sixteenth century, with one text dated to 1523.

As can be seen in Table 1, there is a growing number of preserved manuscripts containing romance texts in the final decades of the Middle Ages. Although such an increase in numbers cannot be taken as proof of a growing interest – the actual number of manuscripts is low and older manuscripts have probably been lost to a greater extent than later ones – the material does at least avoid giving the impression there was vanishing interest in this literary category at the end of the fifteenth century. There are also other indications of an interest in secular narratives at large during the century through the translation of

12 The datings of all these three works are debated, but they have been argued to stem from the first part of the fourteenth century. *Herr abboten* is a clerical satire related to the Latin *Golyas de quodam abbate*, and for an introduction and broad analysis of the texts and their relation to the courtly literature, see Ferm/Morris (1997). For a discussion on the dating of the *Konungastyrelsen* ('The Rule of Kings', *Um styrilse konunga ok höfðinga*), see Delsing (2000). The relation between the Pentateuch translation and the *Eufemiavisor* is discussed in Wollin (2015).

13 The inventory in the charter SDHKnr 5311 tells of a number of books and mentions "jtem vnum yuan. (...) jtem dedit dominus rex. dapifero ærlingo I. librum de hærtogh fræthrik." ('moreover one *Ivan* (...) moreover the lord King gave one book with *Hertig Fredrik* to the Justiciar Erling Vidkunsson').

14 An overview of the manuscripts containing at least one of the three *Eufemiavisor* romances can be found in Layher (2015), and the manuscripts are described in more detail in Backman (2017, Ch. 2). I have excluded here MS Stockholm Riksarkivet, E 8822, as it belonged to a Norwegian milieu, see Karl G. Johansson's contribution in this volume.

new texts into Swedish from both the continental and other Scandinavian languages. These fifteenth-century texts were, for instance, *Namnlös och Valentin* ('Nameless and Valentin' of the *Valentin et Orson* tradition), *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* ('Knight Paris and Virgin Vienna' of the *Paris et Vienne* tradition) and *Sju vise mästarare* ('The seven sages' of the *Septem sapientes* tradition). All three are translations of German sources and examples of late medieval narratives that were widely popular in Europe.¹⁵ Also, the West Nordic *Karlamagnús saga* ('The Saga of Charlemagne') and *Þiðreks saga af Bern* ('The Saga of Theoderic of Bern') were translated into Swedish, which add to the impression of an interest in narrative texts in the vernacular. There seems thus to be a firm interest in secular narratives in the vernacular in late medieval Sweden, and the *Eufemiavisor* romances from the beginning of the fourteenth century were part of that interest.

The social provenance of the manuscripts is uncertain in most cases, but in some cases there is information concerning owners and scribes. When it comes to ownership, the information we have points in the direction of the aristocracy (including the royal family).¹⁶ All three *Eufemiavisor* are assumed to have been prepared for Princess Ingeborg and Duke Erik (Degnbol 2014: 87–88), and the inventory in the charter from 1346 places manuscripts of two of the texts in the royal family, although one is noted to have been given to the Justiciar Erling Vidkunsson of Norway (see footnote 13). Of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, two, namely D 4a and D 3, were produced for and owned by a mother and her daughter in the high nobility within the landowning aristocracy (Backman 2017: 27–32). These examples clearly show that this kind of literature was part of an aristocratic reading culture. In two cases we know that the manuscripts were produced by scribes connected to different religious institutions, and it is possible that they could have been meant to be used within these institutions. This pertains to MS AM 191 fol., which was written and owned by the chaplain of Askaby Cistercian nunnery, and MSD 2, which was written by the scribe of a bishop in Linköping in central Sweden.¹⁷ In the case of AM 191, some redactional choices seem to have been motivated by considerations regarding a female audience, which could be explained with an intention to use the manuscript at the Cistercian convent where the chaplain was active (Bampi 2017). The connection to the nobility is, however, still relevant in this case, as the sisters were in all probability of aristocratic lineage. The remaining manuscripts – the fragment R III, and MSS D 4, E 9013 and K 45 – carry no clear or explicit information on ownership.

What we see in Sweden is thus a sudden outburst of romance and other texts connected to the courtly culture in the beginning of the fourteenth century. These were likely inspired partly by the Norwegian literary culture and partly by the continental, probably German, one. In the fifteenth century, the *Eufemiavisor* continued to attract interest, as we find them in manuscripts, and there was moreover a production of new texts. These new texts did

15 *Namnlös och Valentin* is introduced in Vilhelmsdotter (2010), *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* in Lodén (2015a), and *Sju vise mästarare* in Bampi (2014).

16 For a more detailed discussion on the social context of the manuscripts of the Swedish *Eufemiavisor*, see Andersson (2014: 65–67), who stresses the connection to the aristocratic milieu and questions whether some of the manuscripts were used in monasteries.

17 For an updated discussion on D 2, see Lodén (2015a), and for a discussion on the context of AM 191 fol., see Bampi (2014).

not resemble the old *Eufemiavisor* as they were written in prose and also departed from the traditional romance material. The manuscripts show that the texts circulated among the aristocracy and that some of them were possibly read within religious institutions.

If we turn to Denmark, the history is even more difficult to grasp, as the preserved texts and manuscripts are late and even rarer than in Sweden. There are no known courtly literary texts in Old Danish from the fourteenth century, although we might assume the existence of ballads and other orally transmitted texts, perhaps already in the thirteenth century (Dahlerup 1998: 151–154). Only two manuscripts with romances are preserved from the fifteenth century, namely Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, K 4 from the latter half of the fifteenth century and Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, K 47 from around 1500.¹⁸ There might well have been a larger number of texts and manuscripts, also of greater age, that were lost in the 1728 Copenhagen fire, but it is also possible that a vernacular literary culture in Danish did not emerge before the fifteenth century.¹⁹

Old Danish chivalric texts	Pages in MS K 47	Old Swedish source texts
<i>Ivan løveridder</i>	222	<i>Herr Ivan</i>
<i>Hertug Frederik af Normandi</i>	83	<i>Hertig Fredrik av Normandie</i>
<i>Dværgekongen Laurin</i>	32	–
<i>Persenober og Konstantianobis</i>	54	–
<i>Den kyske dronning</i>	23	–
<i>Flores og Blanseflor</i>	74	<i>Flores och Blanzeflor</i>

Table 2: Romances in Danish medieval manuscripts in the order they appear in MS Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, K 47.

A complete library of all known Danish medieval chivalric texts can be found in MS K 47, and its contents are shown in Table 2. It includes translations of the three Old Swedish *Eufemiavisor* and the three chivalric tales only known in Danish: *Den kyske dronning* ('The

18 The miscellany manuscript Linköpings stiftsbibliotek Saml. 1 a, dated to early sixteenth century (Backman 2017: 35), represents a special case that I leave aside here. It is written in a mixture of Danish and Swedish and contains different kinds of practical and religious texts together with the Danish printed book *Den tolamodige Griseldis historia* (see Table 3 below). Paulli (1920: 232) does not rule out that the *Griseldis* text was copied from the printed but lost edition of 1528, and it is thus not clear if it should be seen as part of the medieval manuscript culture in this overview or an example of a manual copy of a printed book. It has genealogical notes about people within the aristocracy from 1518, which places it in the aristocratic milieu.

19 In his very broad overview of emerging vernacular cultures, Pollock (2006) shows that it is quite typical for a culture with an administrative and documentary vernacular literacy to persist for a long time before a vernacular secular literary culture suddenly breaks out. The Swedish vernacular literature probably owes its origins to the dynastical marriage between the Swedish duke and Norwegian princess in the beginning of the fourteenth century and the mother Eufemia's literary interests. Without such circumstances, the Swedish literary culture might have stayed silent for a much longer time, in a way similar to Denmark.

Chaste Queen'), *Dværgekongen Laurin* ('The Dwarf King Laurin', built upon sources about Didrik of Bern) and *Persenober og Konstantianobis* ('Persenober and Konstantianobis' of the *Partonopeus de Blois* tradition). *Den kyske dronning* has been suggested as a possible original work in Danish that relied on themes that were used in other texts.²⁰ K 47 is thought to stem from around 1500.²¹

Slightly older is the manuscript MS K 4, dated from around 1480, which contains *Ivan løveridder*, the Danish translation of *Herr Ivan*, together with other works of piety, among them a large number of legendary texts (Layer 2015: 278; Bullitta 2017: 5–8).

According to information in the texts themselves, *Den kyske dronning* was created in 1483 by an otherwise unknown Jep Jensen, and *Persenober og Konstantianobis* was written in 1484.²² The third of the Danish romances, *Dværgekongen Laurin*, carries no similar dating, and, as already mentioned, there is no information about the translation of the three *Eufemiavisor*.²³

The social provenance of the two manuscripts can only be hypothesised, but there are some interesting details that indicate female audiences in both cases. Bullitta (2017) has pointed out that the MS K 4 legendary material mainly consists of female saints, and in one occurrence the text addresses its audience as "sisters". In MS K 47, *Hertug Fredrik* and *Flores og Blanseflor* carry the interesting note in the colophon that they were penned by a female writer, and in the texts of both *Ivan løveridder* and *Hertug Fredrik* there are some deviations from other text witnesses, which seem to be motivated by an adaption to a female audience.²⁴ No changes with a similar intent have so far been suggested concerning *Flores og Blanseflor*. Nevertheless, adaptation to a female audience might possibly be the explanation for why one of the three sons of Blanseflor and Flores in the Swedish original was exchanged for a daughter in the Danish text, a rewriting that is described and discussed in Richter (2018/2019: 47–48). This exchange probably was meant to connect the story dynastically to the history of Charlemagne, as Charlemagne's mother Berthe is described as the daughter of the couple in the continental tradition of *Floire et Blanche fleur*. Still, to bring forth a historically important female heir, is a detail that could be seen in the light of the rewriting tendency in the other two *Eufemiavisor* in K 47, but the text needs further analysis before any conclusions might be drawn.²⁵ In summary, we find one manuscript connected to the religious sphere and one with no such obvious religious connections, but both of them were probably made for a female audience.

20 An overview of the Danish romances can be found in Dahlerup (1998: 247–274). For a recent discussion on *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, see Richter (2019, especially 332–334).

21 A description of both manuscripts is published online on the webpage "Håndskrifter/Tryk" at the website *Tekster fra Danmarks middelalder og renaissance 1100–1550 – på dansk og latin*. The URL address is given in the references (online sources) under the name of the webpage.

22 "Skønlitteratur" (*Tekster fra Danmarks middelalder*, see footnote 21) contains useful descriptions of each of the three works.

23 For a discussion of a possible time frame for the original translation, see Kværndrup (2014: 295–296) with comments in Bampi (2019: 217–218).

24 Some examples of changes in *Ivan løveridder* are given in Bampi (2019: 223–225), see also the contributions by Massimiliano Bampi and Louise Faymonville in this volume.

25 In a future article I will present an analysis of K 47 vis-à-vis the other manuscripts.

Compared to the literature of other European central cultures in the late Middle Ages, the Swedish and Danish romance literature is minute, but what matters here is the fact that there was a certain interest in this kind of literature as part of a more general interest in secular narratives in the latest phase of the medieval manuscript culture. Each manuscript was an expensive economic investment, and obviously there was enough interest to translate and create new texts as well.

The possible connection to religious contexts also deserves some further comments, as it is not self-evident why romances appear in otherwise religious manuscripts. Bampi (2019: 227–230) discusses two such Scandinavian cases, the already mentioned Danish MS K 4 and the Norwegian MS Stockholm, Riksarkivet, E 8822. These manuscripts have similar content structures, namely *Ivan løveridder/Herr Ivan* as a single romance text among other religious, edifying texts, and from that pattern and with support from previous research, Bampi argues that the romance could have been open to a religious reading and interpretation. A similar interaction between romance and works of piety has been reported in other parts of Europe, for instance, in English late medieval manuscripts.

The compatibility of romance with piety [...] is endorsed by the evidence of manuscripts and readership. The compilers of late medieval miscellanies, increasing numbers of them middle-class townsmen (such as the Leicester burgess Rate or the London mercer Johan Colyns) or gentry (such as the Yorkshire Robert Thornton), generously confirm the tendency in earlier collections [...] to mix romances with works of orthodox piety [...]. (Cooper 1999: 696–697)

Considering how deeply religious medieval society was, it is not surprising that works of piety are found together with ‘secular’ ones in lay manuscripts. However, it is perhaps a little more conspicuous when single ‘secular’ narratives are brought into manuscripts with mainly religious texts. In a discussion on the Middle English romance, Adams (1998: 291) argues that surrounding a romance with religious works even could be understood as a neutralisation of the morally problematic character of romance. The traditional genre had been criticised for its amoral themes, and probably as a response to that, Middle English romance tended to be influenced by the genre of Saints’ lives. In several ways there came to be a relationship between romance and the religious genres, and the two Scandinavian manuscripts seem to fit into that picture.

In one important aspect, the situation in Scandinavia differs from Cooper’s description of late medieval England in the quotation above. The reading culture among the lay, urban classes in England has no known counterpart in medieval Scandinavia, as no Scandinavian medieval manuscripts are clearly linked to burghers or townspeople (if we do not count the secular clergy). We must be careful about drawing conclusions *e silentio*, but as far as the material allows us any conclusions, the romances and secular narratives seem to have been a matter of concern for aristocratic readers, perhaps to some extent in religious settings.²⁶

26 In his analysis of early printed book culture in Denmark and Sweden up to the Reformation, Undorf describes what we know of private book-ownership, and when it comes to Denmark, most of the known book-owners were clerics (Undorf 2014: 235). In Sweden there are more examples of known book-ownership within the nobility and also among burghers (Undorf 2014: 251–253).

2 Changing texts, genres, and corpus

Before we move on with the analysis of the early printed book culture in Denmark, it is necessary to consider which texts should be included in the discussion and how the term ‘romance’ should be understood and used. It also requires a discussion on the concept of genre.²⁷

The *Eufemiavisor* text group took its departure from the emblematic romance of *Yvain*, but came to include perhaps less typical romance works of *Hertig Fredrik* and *Flores och Blanzeflor*. They were, however, shaped in the same form of knittel verse regardless of the character of their original, and an intended convergence is also visible in the translation of *Flores och Blanzeflor*, which is rewritten in a more courtly direction than the original (Bampi 2018/2019). Even if the three texts originally belonged to different traditions, they merge into a more closely connected group of texts as the *Eufemiavisor*.

The fifteenth century Danish knightly verse tales are obviously related to the *Eufemiavisor*, but they were held in a new, less courtly key, as the analysis of their vocabulary in Akhøj Nielsen (2017) has shown. There seems thus to have been a drift away from some of the typical features of the courtly language and content of the *Eufemiavisor*. In Sweden, we find no similar extension of the *Eufemiavisor* romance verse literature, but the literary corpus of secular narratives was expanded with prose works of other traditions, such as *Valentine et Orson* or the *Septem sapientes*.²⁸ The question is thus: are the new texts of the fifteenth century so different from the *Eufemiavisor* that it is no longer relevant to speak of the same kind of text? Is it a genre that changes or becomes more inclusive, or do the new texts form a new genre of their own?²⁹ Are even the *Eufemiavisor* to be regarded as *one* genre? These questions are complex and challenging, and the answers also depend on how we understand the concept of genre.

In a theoretical discussion on genre evolution and emergence, Miller (2016) points out that genre has traditionally been discussed either deductively from normative definitions, such as for instance the different kinds of speeches of Aristotle, or from an inductive analysis of traits in a given group of texts. Both these approaches aim at formulating the essence of a genre: what a genre actually *is* in terms of textual properties. In the case of romance, there are several such essentialistic definitions, such as the following example: “[a] fictional story in verse or prose that relates improbable adventures of idealized characters in some remote or enchanted setting” (Baldick 2008: 291). The consequence of such a definition is that some of the textual innovations we find in late medieval texts must be seen as an abandonment of the initial genre and the emergence of new genres, or the evolution of new sub-genres. However, such a rigid essentialism has been criticised for being anachronistic and not

27 A very useful discussion on the concept of genre with special attention to the West Nordic literature can be found in Bampi/Larrington/Rikhardsdottir (2020). Its recent publication has prevented me from treating it thoroughly in this discussion, but I hope to return to it in a future publication.

28 The Swedish *Namnlös och Valentin* of the *Valentine et Orson* tradition is in its main part written in prose, but it also contains some elements of knittel verse (Vilhelmsdotter 2010).

29 A similar discussion with some different conclusions can be found in Adams (1998: 292–293).

taking the contemporary views among the audience of the Middle Ages into consideration.³⁰ Would the late medieval readers agree upon the same definitions that we apply?

Miller has shown a way from such essentialism in her seminal article “Genre as social action” (1984), further developed in the discussion in Miller (2016), in which genre is treated as a social category. Genre is then not defined by specific traits in a group of texts but is instead based on habits and opinions among speakers, writers and readers. This leads to an interest in, for instance, how genres are named by their users (2016: 13). In the Scandinavian medieval context, where there is a shortage, or even an absence, of any meta-discussion about and literary terminology for vernacular texts, one might instead trace ideas about genres with respect to how texts were arranged in multi-text manuscripts.³¹

This social approach makes the concept of genre a dependent variable rather than an independent one, thus not postulating the existence of a genre but rather exploring genre as a possible, socially construed way of communication among the users and producers of text within a textual culture. This also means that it is necessary to be open to changing textual properties within the same genre in a growing corpus of texts.³² As long as texts are treated as a certain genre by their users, this is enough reason to speak of it as such, even if originally typical genre traits are replaced by innovations. However, if texts start to be read and used and categorised in new ways, one would have reasons to argue that a genre change is occurring. The religious reading of classical romance texts, which we touched upon in the last part, would then represent a possible genre change even if the texts themselves did not change at all.

Thus, genre development can be discussed from either a textual or a social viewpoint, and from positions between these two typical approaches. Whetter (2008) takes the essentialistic genre definitions as realities for the medieval audience, arguing that, for example, genre parodies would be impossible without the audience having a clear idea of the typical characteristics of the genre in question. From another perspective, Brown-Grant (2008: 7) argues that the general use of prose in the fifteenth century levelled out some generic distinctions, and with less distinct textual characteristics, like prose instead of a certain metre, genre categories became open for debate. It is clear that a thorough understanding of a genre and its evolution requires attention to the complex interplay between the textual properties and ideas underlying social categorisation in a continual negotiation of categories in a textual culture.

30 See, for instance, Cooper (1997: 142). The essentialistic genre concept has often been burdened by evaluative statements about literary quality in relation to the ideal, and changes within the genre has previously been described as a decline and degeneration, as discussed in Brown-Grant (2008). Similar pejorative sentiments can be found addressing the Old Swedish chronicles of the fifteenth century, when they depart from the courtly character of the fourteenth-century chronicle *Erikskrönikan*, which is discussed in Ferrari (2015).

31 A recent discussion on manuscripts as witnesses of genre conceptions can be found in Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (2020).

32 Miller (2016) also involves cognitive and psychological arguments, but here the alternative is described as social for the sake of simplicity and in line with how the approach to genre within New Rhetorical studies in the 1980s and onwards often is described. Miller/Devitt/Gallagher (2018) provide a useful overview of different theoretical positions in relation to the concept of genre.

In the following discussion, I am less concerned with the textual properties of specific works than with the corpus as a whole. I will, as indicated above, speak about the *Eufemiavisor* as a group of texts that, despite their internal differences, formed an identifiable group and potential category of texts for the medieval readers. I believe we cannot expect that the readers in medieval Sweden had a thorough knowledge of the relation each of these works had to the different international traditions of narratives to which they belonged. Most of them probably perceived them as one kind of text, be it a genre or some other text category. For the sake of simplicity, I speak of them as examples of East Scandinavian romance. When new narrative works of fictional character show up in the fifteenth century, it is reasonable to believe that people saw the differences between them and the *Eufemiavisor* – or the similarities, as in the case of the Danish knightly verse-tales. The difference could be on the formal level, like prose in contrast to knittel verse, but one would also need to consider content, values, motives etc. It is, however, not clear if they saw these new texts as a different category or as variants of the same basic kind of text. This is a field that needs further exploration and a more in-depth theoretical discussion.

Essentialistic definitions, like the one cited above, can be used as a methodological starting point, but one also must consider the historical circumstances and manuscript contexts. Most importantly, it is necessary to treat such definitions as prototype categories, that is a category with a core and with blurred boundaries.³³ Some texts undoubtedly belong to the core while others linger on the fringes or appear to be on the outside.

One type of text that has been excluded from the present investigation is historical verse-chronicles. Even though they were influenced by the *Eufemiavisor* in terms of literary form and style, they represent another epistemological discourse that connects to the readers' political and geographical real-world horizon of experiences, in contrast to the more or less far-away settings of romance adventures. An adjacent group of texts are the texts about Alexander the Great, Theoderic or Charlemagne, the 'heroic epics', which carry a greater weight of historical substance than, for instance, the Arthurian stories, but which still take place far away and long ago and are not rarely spiced with supernatural elements.³⁴ These texts are kept in the investigation, even if they to some extent belong to historiography. The new prose narratives that appear in late Middle Ages are, however, kept in the investigation regardless of how closely or distantly related they might be to prototypical romance definitions.

To summarise, when I ask the question of what happens to romance in East Scandinavia, I am not primarily interested in discussing the change in the properties of certain texts and how they relate to any definition of a genre. Rather, I wish to follow the fate of a historically defined group of texts, the *Eufemiavisor*, and the kind of text they represent within a broader group of related secular narratives by investigating continuity, variation and change in the corpus.

33 Glauser (2020) also stresses the hybridity of the romance text group, usually described as a genre, and treats it as prototype category.

34 A recent investigation of the Charlemagne tradition from a Nordic perspective can be found in Brandenburg (2019). Different aspects of the West Nordic *Piðreks saga* and its translation are addressed in Johansson/Flatén (2012).

3 The Danish corpus of secular narratives between the Middle Ages and the early modern era

We will now take a closer look at the changing corpus from the moment printing was introduced and further on into the sixteenth century. As already mentioned in the beginning, the history of printing in Denmark and Sweden began at the same time, in the 1480s, and in some respects printing in both parts of the Nordic union resemble each other.³⁵ Nevertheless, the Danish printed book culture developed in directions that had no counterpart in Sweden until much later, namely it had a much larger and differentiated production of secular texts. In Sweden, Latin schoolbooks and a political propaganda text (in German) are the only representatives of this category (Undorf 2014: 51, 57). In Denmark, it was not only secular works that were printed, but works in the vernacular, such as Latin schoolbooks, law books, chronicles, romance literature, contemporary historical and political works, scientific literature and classical Latin drama (Undorf 2014: 16–18).

The fate of Danish romance literature in the transition between the Middle Ages and the early modern era has been described differently. Some stress a continuity, while others see some kind of break, and the conclusion seems partly to depend on the chronological scope chosen. With a broad historical perspective, continuity seems to be the case, as can be exemplified by this description from a literary history of Danish literature:

Ridderromanerne bevarede deres popularitet gennem de følgende århundreder, idet de såkaldte 'folkebøger' fra 1500-, 1600- og 1700-tallet netop hentede en del af deres stof fra de middelalderlige forbilleder. (Pedersen/Mortensen/Schack 2007: 132)³⁶

Glauser (1984) prefers to speak of continuity in a discussion regarding how some literary themes became interesting in the late fifteenth century and later in the early modern era. Richter (2018: 44) takes a similar stance when describing the printing of *Flores og Blanseflor* as the beginning of a long series of printed narrative literature in Denmark.

However, with a narrower time perspective, including only the first phase of the printed book culture in Denmark up until 1523, Dahlerup (2010) points to a notable lack of interest in romance during that period.

Den høviske kultur er påfaldende sparsomt repræsenteret i bogtrykkerkunstens første 40 år i Danmark. Ridderromaner, folkeviser og høviske omgangsformer har levet deres liv i mundtlig og i håndskriftlig form. *Flores og Blanseflor* er eneste verdslige kærlighedshistorie, der kom med i første omgang. Det kan undre, fordi tiden ikke var smålig og ikke fremviste polemik mod den høviske

35 The history of printing in and for Denmark and Sweden up to the Reformation is thoroughly described and analysed in Undorf (2014), especially Chapter 1, with a summarised comparison on pp. 62–64.

36 'The chivalric tales continued to be popular during the following centuries, as the so-called chapbooks from sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took some of their matter from medieval models.'

kultur. Det er svært at pege på overbevisende årsager til dette tomrum i den samlede genreprofil. (Dahlerup 2010: 536)³⁷

We could then say that Danish romance survived in the long run from the Middle Ages and into the early modern era, but there is a kind of gap in the overlapping period, i.e. from the 1480s to the beginning of 1520s, when manuscripts with romances were still being produced even though printing had been introduced.

If we look at the corpus of narratives as a whole, how can the protracted transition between the medieval and the early modern literary be described as a process of change? Table 3 presents an overview of major East Scandinavian secular narrative works in the vernacular except for historical chronicles, with information about whether a certain text appeared in medieval manuscripts or not and if and when they were printed.

	Medieval manu-script	Danish editions 1480s–1530	Danish editions 1530–1600	Danish editions 1600– c. 1800
<i>Texts translated from Swedish into Danish</i>				
Ivan løveridder	Sw: 3 Da: 2			
Hertug Frederik af Normandi	Sw: 6 Da: 1			
Flores og Blanseflor	Sw: 5 Da: 1	2 (1505–10, 1509)	2 (1542, 1591)	4
<i>Texts in Danish (not known in Swedish)</i>				
Den kyske dronning	1			
Persenober og Konstantianobis ^a	1		2 (†1560, 1572)	1
Dværgekongen Laurin	1		2 (1588, 1589)	12
Den tolamodiga Griseldis historia/Griseldis	1 ^b	1 (†1528)	3 (1550s, 1592, 1597)	9
Sigismunda		1 (†1528)	1 (1591)	1
Marcolfus			4 († c. 1540, 1554, 1591, 1599)	9
Uglspil			1 (†–1571)	8
Euriolus og Lucretia			2 (†–1571, 1594)	1

37 ‘The courtly culture is remarkably sparsely represented in the first 40 years of book-printing in Denmark. Romances, folk songs and courtly forms of social intercourse continued in oral and handwritten form. *Flores og Blanseflor* is the only secular love story that made the transition initially. This is surprising as the era was not small-minded and did not show polemical action against the courtly culture. It is difficult to point out convincing reasons for this void in the overall genre profile.’ (My translation, JP.)

	Medieval manuscript	Danish editions 1480s–1530	Danish editions 1530–1600	Danish editions 1600– c. 1800
Fortunatus			1 (1575)	11
Den skønne Magelona			1 (†1583)	14
Faust			1 (1588)	11
Kong Apollonius			1 (1590s?)	18
Keyser Octaviano			1 (†1597)	15
Tvende Købmænd			1 (1599)	9
<i>Texts in Swedish and Danish, not translated from one another</i>				
Sju vise mästare (Sw)	3			
De syv vise Mestre (Da)			2 (1571–1575, 1591)	11
Karl Magnus (Sw)	4			
Karl Magnus' Krønike (Da)	1	2 (1501?, 1509)	2 (1534, 1572)	4
<i>Texts in Swedish (not known in Danish)</i>				
Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna ^c	1			
Amicus och Amelius	2			
Namnlös och Valentin	3			
Konung Alexander	1			
Didrikskrönikan	2			
Trojasagan	1			

Table 3: An overview of vernacular secular narratives (not including historical chronicles) in medieval manuscripts in Sweden and Denmark and in Danish prints that first appeared in the sixteenth century.³⁸ a: A fragment of the text is also preserved in the AM 151a 8vo manuscript from c. 1600; b: The text is only preserved in an early sixteenth century manuscript which might have been copied from the lost 1528 edition, see footnote 18; c: Only a part of the text exists in Swedish translation, see Lodén (2015a).

38 Information about editions is here mainly derived from Paulli (1915–1925, 1918–1936). Chapbooks with secular narratives that are not included here because the first preserved prints are from seventeenth century and later include *Theagenes and Chariclia* (3 editions up to c. 1800), *Vigoleis* (10 editions up to c. 1800), *Kong Edvard af England* (17 editions up to c. 1800), *Melusina* (15 editions up to c. 1800), *Helena* (21 editions up to c. 1800). Some of them might have been printed already in the sixteenth century.

Table 3 confirms the picture given in the previous quotations that there was some kind of continuity from the Middle Ages into the early modern era, although there was a rather narrow bridge between them in the first phase of the printing era. The following works represent the continuity from the Middle Ages: *Flores og Blanseflor*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, *Dværgekongen Laurin* and *Karl Magnus’ Krønike*; the last one being an abbreviated translation of the West Nordic *Karlamagnús saga*. The *Sju vise mästare* existed in Swedish manuscripts in the fifteenth century, and it was later printed in Danish, but the Danish texts were not translations of the Swedish ones. On the whole, Table 3 illustrates the fact that the influence of Sweden on the Danish literary corpus was restricted to the translation of the *Eufemiavisor*; none of the other Swedish secular narratives seem to have found their way to Danish scriptoria or printing workshops.

The first era of printing in the 1480s–1520s coincides with the last era of hand-written manuscripts. The two Danish manuscripts with chivalric texts, K 4 and K 47, were dated to ca 1480 and ca 1500, and a majority of the Swedish manuscripts that contain chivalric texts belong to the same era (see Table 1). Among prints of secular narratives from this period we find the two editions of *Flores og Blanseflor*, which are later to be followed by several other editions, two editions of *Karl Magnus*, and, at the end of this period, the two prose narratives *Griseldis* and *Sigismunda*. The first of these, *Griseldis*, also appears in a Swedish/Danish multi-text manuscript (Linköping, Stiftsbiblioteket, Saml. 1a). The oldest part of the manuscript has been dated to the late fifteenth century or ca. 1500, but *Griseldis* appears late in the manuscript in a section of mostly religious texts, and it has been suggested that the text might be a hand-written copy of a printed version (see footnote 18). Both *Griseldis* and *Sigismunda* were reprinted several times, and they were typical representatives of chapbook texts. What connects the romance literature of medieval manuscript culture with the literature of the printed book culture in this phase is thus restricted to *Flores og Blanseflor*; it is the link in the chain that never breaks. Later in the sixteenth century we find an interest in some of the medieval texts, and they continued to be printed for a long period of time, but with a different degree of success, as can be seen in Table 4.

	1500–1524	1525–1549	1550–1574	1575–1599	1600–c. 1800	Total
<i>Karl Magnus</i>	1	1	1		4	7
<i>Flores og Blanseflor</i>	2	1		1	4	8
<i>Persenober og Konstantianobis</i>			2		1	3
<i>Dværgekongen Laurin</i>				2	12	14
<i>De syv vise mestre</i> ^a			1	1	11	13
Total	3	2	4	4	32	45

Table 4: Number of editions of secular narratives printed in the sixteenth century that also occur in Scandinavian medieval manuscripts: a: *Sju vise mästare/De syv vise mestre* is included here although the Danish text was not translated from the Old Swedish text.

Of the texts from medieval manuscript culture that continued to be printed in the later period of 1600–1800, *Dværgekongen Laurin* and *De syv vise mestre* were the most frequently printed works, while *Karl Magnus*, *Flores og Blanseflor*, and *Persenober og Konstantianobis* attracted somewhat less interest. The numbers of editions of these texts can be compared with the works that appear in print in the sixteenth century for the first time (Table 5).

	1500–1524	1525–1549	1550–1574	1575–1599	1600–c. 1800	Total
<i>Griseldis</i>	1		1	2	9	13
<i>Sigismunda</i>	1			1	1	3
<i>Marcolfus</i>		1	1	2	9	13
<i>Uglspil</i>			1		8	9
<i>Euriolus og Lucretia</i>			1	1	1	3
<i>Fortunatus</i>				1	11	12
<i>Den skønne Magelona</i>				1	14	15
<i>Faust</i>				1	11	12
<i>Kong Apollonius</i>				1	18	19
<i>Keyser Octaviano</i>				1	15	16
<i>Tvende Købmænd</i>				1	9	10
Total	2	1	4	12	106	125

Table 5: Number of editions of texts first appearing in sixteenth century prints in different periods

It is clear from Table 5 that most of the works that first appear in Danish prints in the sixteenth century came to be reprinted in numerous editions up to around 1800, with the exception of *Sigismunda* and *Euriolus og Lucretia* of which there we only know three editions each. The new texts were thus in general more successful than the medieval texts of Table 4, and the tales of *Griseldis* and *Sigismunda* represent the first examples of the new repertoire. It is important to stress, however, that most of the texts in Table 5 actually had medieval origins but had not appeared in Scandinavia before. They thus represent something new in the Scandinavian text history but not in the European medieval textual culture.

The connection between the texts of the Scandinavian medieval manuscript culture and the early modern printed book culture of secular narratives in Denmark exists but is not strong. The medieval manuscript texts survived to some limited extent in the Danish printed book culture, while a new corpus of texts with continental and medieval European origins came to be more successful in general, especially when printing accelerated from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. These new texts were international ‘bestsellers’,

many of them among the most printed books in Europe.³⁹ In Horstbøll (1999: 476) the history of texts in early modern Denmark has been described as a process of combined continuity and change, as old texts were reprinted, but sometimes abandoned, while new texts were added to the corpus. A similar process took place between the Middle Ages and the early modern era, but it is also justifiable to speak of a large-scale change. During the Middle Ages, there was a cumulative expansion of works within the category of secular narratives, but with the transition to the early modern era, only small parts of this literary heritage survived. It is not a sharp break, but it is striking how the *Eufemiavisor* romances are copied in manuscripts until the introduction of printing and how they thereafter fall out of the picture – with the exception of *Flores og Blanseflor*.⁴⁰ It is time to examine this particular text more closely and consider possible reasons for why it might have been chosen to be printed at this tipping-point between the medieval manuscript and early modern printed book culture and how it managed to stay relevant to its audience. To accomplish this, we must first take a look at the printer, Gotfred van Ghemen, and his prints of this text.

4 Gotfred van Ghemen and the printing of *Flores og Blanseflor*⁴¹

The professional activities of Gotfred van Ghemen have been explored and discussed by book historians, but the scarcity of sources leaves plenty of room for uncertainties and speculation. Almost everything that can be said about Gotfred is derived from the books he printed; he has left almost no traces in other historical records.⁴² From his name it is assumed that he originated from the town of Gemen in Westfalen, and the first traces of him are a few preserved books he printed in Gouda, South Holland, sometime between 1486–1492. These were *Die ghestelike minnenbrief* ('The spiritual love-letter') and the *Historie van den edelen Lantsloet ende die scone Sandrijn* ('The history of the noble Lancelot and the fair Sandrine'). Both prints are relatively small products, twelve and twenty leaves, respectively, but there are a number of other prints that have been attributed to Gotfred with more or less certainty.⁴³

39 At least five of them are among the twelve most popular European narratives from the viewpoint of German book culture up to the nineteenth century, in Schlusemann's (2019) analysis.

40 In a European perspective, much scholarly work has been published on this transition between late medieval and early modern printed book culture in the last decade, for instance in Booton (2010), Boffey (2012), Cayley/Powell (2013), Frazier (2015), Tether (2017). As to the Scandinavian material, several studies by Jürg Glauser and Anna Katharina Richter (for instance, Richter (2009, 2012, 2018/2019, 2019), Glauser/Richter (2013)) have shed light on different early modern narratives.

41 In the following I use abbreviations to refer to the different Scandinavian versions of *Flores og Blanseflor*. FB/Sw stands for the Old Swedish version as edited in Olsson (1921), FB/D K 47 stands for the Danish manuscript version, FB/D 1505–1510 for the fragmentarily preserved first print of Gotfred and FB/D 1509 for Gotfred's 1509 edition. When needed, it is further specified which Swedish manuscript or copy of a printed edition is referred to.

42 The biographic overview in Bruun (1890) is still useful, but a shorter and updated account is provided in Larsen (1979–1984).

43 Bruun (1890: 9–13) discusses other books that Gotfred might be responsible for, partly due to the identification of Gotfred with some other printers with similar names. Hellinga/Hellinga (1968:

Gotfred was one of the printers of these times who moved to different cities during their career, and after his first printing activities in Gouda, he printed books in Copenhagen in the 1490s, probably for the newly founded university, and became the first known printer in Denmark. He also printed the *Den danske Rimkrønike* ('The Danish Rhyme Chronicle'), the first printed book in Danish to our knowledge. Gotfred was thereafter active as a printer in Leyden, not very far from Gouda, for a couple of years, but by 1505 he had returned to Copenhagen and printed books until 1510. A relatively large number of books from his printing workshop are preserved from this last Copenhagen period, stretching from lawbooks to educational books, devotional literature and also a few titles that belong to the group of secular narratives, namely *Karl Magnus' Krønike*, *Den danske Rimkrønike*, *Den strid af Rhodos* and *Flores og Blanseflor*.⁴⁴

Flores og Blanseflor was printed twice by Gotfred: one fragmentarily preserved text was printed sometime between 1505 and 1510 (LN 66), while the other edition, which is preserved in full, is dated to 1509 (LN 67).⁴⁵ The dated edition from 1509 includes his printing mark and a colophon stating Gotfred as the printer, but the 1505–1510 print is only attributed to him through the types. Two copies remain of the 1509 edition, one of which (LN 67 8° copy 1) is complete, while the other (Hielmst. 1860 8° (LN 67 8° copy 2)) has lost its first page. The first page of the complete copy begins with the large rubric "Hær begyndes en historie aff Flores oc Blantzefflor" ('Here begins a history of Flores and Blantzefflor') followed by a large S-initial of four lines height.

Two damaged copies of the 1505–1510 fragmentary print remain, namely Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Danica. vet. 26 and Danica vet. 26a (FB/D 1505–1510 26 and 26a). Both of them consist of just six leaves: two intact and four fragmentarily preserved leaves, of which one is the first leaf with a wood-cut illustration of the three main characters supplied with the text *Clares Flores Blantzefflor* on both the recto and the verso side. The text of the 1505–1510 print is not identical with that of the 1509 edition, but the differences are mainly on the orthographic level.⁴⁶ Both editions probably go back to the same text in contrast to both the Old Swedish manuscripts and the Danish version in K 47, which can be illustrated with Example (1).

13–14, 19) are sceptical towards such identifications in their typological analysis of Gotfred's works, and they did not test the other books attributed to Gotfred.

44 A catalogue can be found in Hellinga/Hellinga (1968: 34–37), and the works are described in Dahlerup (2010).

45 The fragmentarily preserved edition is dated to c. 1504 in LN 66, perhaps relying on Bruun (1890: 18), but the typological analysis of Hellinga/Hellinga (1968: 20) resulted in a dating 1505–1510, with no more specification possible. Tolde (1962: 57–61) suggested that the *Flores og Blanseflor* fragment (LN 66), together with the print of the chronicle *Den danske Rimkrønike* (LN 233), would have been the first print of Ghemen in Denmark, already around 1490, but he admitted that a thorough typological analysis would be needed before any conclusions could be drawn with certainty, and the results in Hellinga/Hellinga (1968) did not support his suggestion.

46 According to Brandt (1877: 324), there are some small differences between the two copies (26 and 26a), but nothing that questions them being part of the same edition.

(1)

FB/Sw in Olsson (1921: 8–9) ¹	FB/D K 47:	FB/D 1505–10: 1r, l. 13–16	FB/D 1509: 3r, l. 18–21
Min kære son, thet radher iak thik, at thu nim væl ok idhelik ² ok forsuma ey thina tima huarce sirla æller snima ³ .	myn kieræ son thet radher jech thik thw neme wel och ideligh ath thu time ey for spillæ kan tha bliwer thu rigeth jen mektug mand	Myn kære søn iek radher tegh lær nv vel och indherligh Ok forsømmæ ey thyn thymæ huerken arlæ eller syllæ	Mijn kiere søn ieg rader teg lær nw vel oc inderlig Oc forsømme ey thin tijnmæ hwerken orlig eller sijlle

¹ In the Olsson (1921) edition, the FB/D K47 is marked with an F in the apparatus criticus, and the FB/D 1509 with an E. A is MS D 4, B is MS AM 191 fol., and C is MS D 4a.

² C: hederlik

³ A: arla æller sirla, B, C: arla eller snima

While the two printed versions (FB/D 1505–1510 and FB/D 1509) are almost identical in Example (1) on the level of lexicon (but not orthographics), they depart clearly in wording from the version in the Swedish manuscripts (FB/Sw) and Danish manuscript version in K 47 (FB/D K 47). It must be said that the differences between the Danish prints and Danish manuscript versions are usually not as big as what we see in the last two lines in Example (1); however, they still diverge quite often on the level of wording and syntax.

What is curious about the two 1505–1510 exemplars is that both consist of exactly the same six pages. This was already commented on by Brandt (1877: 324), but it has not been thoroughly discussed, and we will therefore look closer at the material. On the recto side of the second leaf, the text begins at the top of the page with the following lines, equivalent to Brandt (1870: 291, l. 81) and Olsson (1921: 6, l. 97).

(2)

Palma søndagh i thet samma aar
 drotninghen fødthæ en søn saa klar
 Ok en mø then cristnæ quinnæ
 then feyrsthæ ther man kunne fyndæ (FB/D 1505–1510: 2r, l. 1–4)⁴⁷

The text thus starts describing the birth of the two children and their naming, Flores and Blanseflor, and we can see that it does not start out abruptly in the middle of a sentence, but rather in what could be described as the beginning of a new part in the story. The text then goes on with how the two children grow up and fall in love with each other to the great disappointment and indignation of Flores’ royal parents, and how Flores is sent to a school in another city. It finally ends at the point in the story when Blanseflor is sold by Flores’ father to a Babylonian merchant while Flores is still away. The lower part of the last page in both copies are lost, so we can never know if the edition included more leaves or on exactly which line the text ended. In both copies the page is torn off horizontally, in 26 after 13 lines and in 26a after 15 lines. In Example 3, the complete text of the last page of FB/D 1505–1510, 26a is shown with the corresponding lines in other text witnesses.

47 “On Palm Sunday in the very same year / the queen gave birth to a son so bright / and the Christian woman to a girl / the fairest that one could find anywhere”.

(3)

FB/Sw in Olsson (1921: 18–19) ¹	FB/D K 47: 223r
<p>The fœra hona swa lankt bort, at vi fa aldre til hænna sport.² Konungin² lot sik længe bidhia til, fœr æn han thet gœra vil; sidhan lot han kalla sik een kœpman, honum var hemelik³, ther kunne margha handa maal.⁴ Han badh hafua the iomfru fall⁵ ok badh⁶ wærdh for henne taka;⁷ thet giordhe han ey for pæninga saka.⁸ Han togh medh hænne til skip at lœpa⁹ ok genast faar then hænne monde kœpa,¹⁰ aff Babilonia en kœpman riik; i thera hampn var ængin sliik.¹¹ Thrætighi¹² mark gull han ther wt talde, ok tiwghu pæll the varo wt valda, ok tiwghu march silff at thet sama sin ok tiwghu mantla medh safuilskin, tiwghu kiortla aff examit vidha ok mantla aff biald œfrith sidha,</p>	<p>the fœræ himnæ saa langt borth ath wi fonge aldrig til himnæ sport han lodh segh lengy bede til fœrræ han thet giør wil sidhen lodh han kallæ til seg jen kiœbman hanum war hie mmelig som kunde mange handhæ maal och haffdæ tha then jomfrv fal werdh willæ han for himnæ tage thet giordhe han ey for pænning sage han lodh til skips medh himnæ lœbe han fandh then ther himnæ mwn kiœbe aff babelonia jen kiœbmand righ i thieræ haffn war jnghen sligh trœduge mark gull han vd tolde och tywe peld the waræ vd wolde tywæ mark sylff ath thet sinnæ och tywe mantel medh sabel skinde tywe kiortel aff sayen widhe och tywe mantel aff bialt side</p>
FB/D 1509: 6r ⁴⁸	FB/D 1505–10, 26 & 26a: 6v.
<p>Oc the fœre henne saa langt bort at wij faa eij tijl henne sport Han lod seg lenge bedæ tijl fœr han thet gerne giore wil ☉ Kongen lod siden kallæ sig een kœbman saa hemelig Som kunnæ mange hande maal oc han bœdh hanum then iomfrw faal Werd wijlle han for henne tagæ han giorde thet eij for pennige sagæ Han lod til skips met henne lœbæ han fand then henne wille kœbæ Aff babilon en kœpman rijg ther war ingen anden slijg Xxx mark han genisten gaff oc tywæ pæll paa samme laff Oc tywæ mark sølff at thet sindh oc xx mantle met sabel skindh Oc xx kiortle aff harmer hwijde och tywe kaaber œfret side</p>	<p>Ok the fœræ henne saa langth borth ath wi faa ey tijl henne sporth Han lodh segh lenghæ bedhæ tijl Fœr han thz giœra vijl Konningh bad kallæ saa hemmeligh en righ kœbmandh tijl segh Som kunnæ manghe handhe maal ok hanum hafuæ then iomfrv faal Wer wille han for henne taghæ han giœræ thz ey for pennighe saghe Han lodh tijl skebs mz henne lœbæ han fandh then henne ville kœbæ Af babilon en kœpmandh righ^[a] ther war inghen en andhen ligh xxx mark han genesthen gafh [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]</p>

48 “(...) And they will take her so far away / that we never will hear from her again.” He allowed himself to be appealed to for some time / before he accepted to do it. / The King thereafter sent for / a well trusted merchant, who knew many languages, / and he entrusted him the fair maiden. / He accepted to take the value of her, he did not do it for the sake of money. He took her to the ship, he found one who wanted to buy her. / A rich merchant from Babylon, there was no one of the same kind. Thirty marc he gave right away, and twenty furs as well, and twenty marc silver that time, and twenty mantles with sable fur, and twenty kirtles of white ermine, and twenty very long copes.’

¹ In the Olsson (1921) edition, the FB/D K 47 is marked with an F in the apparatus criticus, and the FB/D 1509 with an E. A is MS D 4, B is MS AM 191 fol., and C is MS D 4a. The list of variants in footnote 2–12 below is not complete but represents the most notable differences between the text witnesses.

² B, C: Han

³ C the full line: aff babilonia en k pman rik

⁴ C two lines from *ther kunne* to *iomfru fall*: I then hampn war ey hans liik / sannerlige thet sigher iach tik

⁵ B: the line is missing

⁶ C: lot

⁷ A: the line is missing

⁸ A adds: vtan for een annan mata

⁹ B: brath til skipa medh henne l pthe

¹⁰ C: two lines from *Han togh* to *monde k pa* are missing, B: han fan then k pman hona k pthe

¹¹ A: the two lines from *aff Babilonia* to * ngin sliik* are given in inverted order, C: the same two lines are missing here (cf. note 7 above)

¹² A, B, C: tiwghu

The FB/D 1505–1510 thus ends exactly when the King has found a merchant to sell Blanseflor to in the harbour, another merchant from Babylon. On the very last line in 26a, the text tells that the Babylon merchant offered thirty marc in exchange for Blanseflor. The following five lines, which are missing due to the mutilation of the page, list further treasures that the merchant pays for Blanseflor. If the text had continued on a new page, it would have started to introduce a marvellous Trojan cup, which is the most lavish prize given for Blanseflor, described over 20 lines.

The text is thus a small fragment of the whole story, about a tenth of the whole text. However, if we consider the text of FB/D 1505–1510 from the perspective of textual units, it is actually a text that could work on its own, if it was meant to give the reader just a piece of the whole. It introduces the main characters and leaves the reader at a ‘cliff-hanger’, when everything looks hopeless, though it still is possible that Flores will return and rush to Blanseflor’s defence. Could it have been a kind of advertisement for the planned complete edition or a publication in parts? Other examples of similar printing products from the same period would be necessary to consider such an interpretation, but it is still striking how the fragment works on its own, and, furthermore, that two copies have been preserved containing exactly the same pages, and damaged in the same way.

One other important detail about the fragment are the two missing leaves. Both exemplars of FB/D 1505–1510 contain only six leaves each, but a full printed sheet would have left eight leaves in an 8vo format book.⁴⁹ In his description of the two FB/D 1505–1510

49 It is curious that both copies lack the same pages, and they have in general the same kind of damages: The front pages of both exemplars are cut off horizontally just below mid-page at approximately the same height and leaf 5 and leaf 6 are torn off horizontally approximately at the same place on the pages of both copies (at line 13 and line 15 respectively), while the text of leaves 3 and 4 are intact in both copies. On leaf 2 some single lines are missing at the bottom of the page in 26 but

copies, Brandt (1877: 324) claims that the second and seventh leaf is missing, but contrary to what might be expected from Brandt's description, the text is intact from where it starts to its end – there are no lacunae due to lost leaves at the end, which would be natural if the seventh leaf was missing. However, there is another place where two missing leaves would fit in better. All pages contain exactly 20 lines of text, and if the two missing leaves are leaves 2 and 3, directly after the cover picture leaf, there would be room for 80 lines of text. It happens to be exactly the number of lines that are needed to fill the gap from the beginning of the *Flores og Blanseflor* text in the 1509 edition up to the line before the one that reads *Palma søndagh i thet samma aar*, where FB/D 1505–1510 starts out. It seems too much of a coincidence, but a closer examination of the volumes and binding is necessary.

The two copies of the FB/D 1505–1510 need a more thorough philological, book historical and codicological analysis, and we can only conclude now that it is possible that it never was a complete edition of the whole work *Flores og Blanseflor*, but instead might have fulfilled other purposes than offering its reader the full story.⁵⁰ Anyway, we might conclude that either *Flores og Blanseflor* was so successful that two editions were proposed soon after one another, something that had only happened once before with *Den danske Rimkrønike* in Gotfred's production of secular narratives, or he invested in a marketing product to increase interest. In both cases we can expect that he aimed at a rather large group of customers for this text, and he seems to have expected that it would sell. It is then, finally, time to turn to the question of why this particular text was chosen in the first place.

5 The choice of *Flores og Blanseflor*

Flores og Blanseflor was part of a long and complex European textual tradition that can be traced to the Old French *Le Conte de Floire et Blanchefleur* from the middle of the twelfth century.⁵¹ It also became very popular in the early modern era, where it was one

not in 26a. The copy 26a does, however, bear marks of what looks like a folding at the bottom at approximately the same height as the lost part of the page in 26. Both copies were found in Uppsala universitetsbibliotek pasted into "et gammalt bind" ('an old bind') (Brandt 1877: 248). The 26a includes an ex libris of Johan Henrik Schröder, who was Library director at Uppsala University Library from 1830 to his death 1857. At that time doublets were not always kept in the collections, which probably is the reason for how it came into his possession, but after his death, it was returned to the library. The books must have been found and bound into new volumes before 1857. I would like to express a special thank you to Helena Backman, librarian at Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, for help with the inquiries.

- 50 It has been noted by Toldberg (1962: 60) that the front-page picture actually is not well suited for the Danish/Swedish version of *Floire et Blanchefleur*. It is a picture of Clares, Blanseflor's friend or maiden, and Flores and Blanseflor, with their names written out above them. Like Blanseflor, Clares is depicted as a married woman wearing a hat, but in the Scandinavian version of the text, Clares never married but disappears in the last part of the story in contrast to the ending in other versions. (About the Scandinavian ending, see Degnbol 2014: 89–90). The woodcut was probably originally from the Netherlands and brought to Copenhagen by Gotfred (Bruun 1890: 28). It would work better with a print that only contained the beginning of the text rather than the whole text, but perhaps such a detail was not so important.
- 51 For references to the continental and Scandinavian traditions, see Richter/Glauser (2018/2019). A detailed analytical discussion of the Old Norse and Old Swedish textual transmission and the relation

of the twelve most successful early modern narratives printed in Germany (Schlusemann 2019). Its widespread popularity was probably one reason behind its publication by Gotfred van Ghemen, as printers preferred to reduce risks and bet on safe outcomes – something important for printers on the commercial market of all times. There were other popular stories, however, and even if its popularity in different parts of Europe probably contributed to the printer's decision, this is not an explanation for its obvious success and why it managed to stay relevant to the reading public for centuries, especially in contrast to other romances like *Herr Ivan/Ivan løveridder*.

Gotfred's choice to print *Flores og Blanseflor* could have had trivial reasons; he may just have happened to have a copy of the manuscript or perhaps he liked it – it is impossible to rule out such personal or psychological factors. There are also connections to his professional history, as it was a text that was spread in the Netherlands, and Gotfred seems to have brought the woodcut of the 1505–1510 print from the Netherlands with him (see footnote 50). The story also had a convenient short format, at least in comparison with the longer *Ivan løveridder*, which is over twice as long. However, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* is of the same length, and the other three Danish chivalric texts were even shorter (see Table 2). Nothing is known of the popularity of the other texts, aside from the fact that some of them proved to be successful printing material later in the sixteenth century. This still does not explain the lasting success of *Flores og Blanseflor* in the new era and its potential as a bridge between the medieval romance and early modern chapbooks.

One feature in *Flores og Blanseflor* that speaks in favour of it specifically, rather than the other *Eufemiavisor* texts, is its treatment of the topic of love and male-female relationships. In a comparison between the three Swedish *Eufemiavisor*, Lodén (2015b) notes that the love between Blanzefflor and Flores is not the same as the love between the male and female central characters in *Herr Ivan* and *Hertig Fredrik*: “While Laudin [in *Herr Ivan*] and Floria [in *Hertig Fredrik*] represent the honour of Ivan and Fredrik, the relationship between Flores and Blanzefflor is that between equals.” (2015b: 185). Such a model of love and male and female roles presented in *Flores og Blanseflor* seems to fit with the tendencies among the French late medieval romances as discussed in Brown-Grant (2008). She argues that marriage in the late Middle Ages came to be seen as “a companionate union based on the reciprocal (if not necessarily equal) rights and obligations of the married couple, a view which was actively propounded in late medieval marital treatises and sermons” (2008: 215).⁵² Until this topic is better explored for the case of medieval Scandinavia, we do not know if the same sentiments developed there. It does, however, fit with the rewriting tendency visible in the Danish translations of the Swedish *Eufemiavisor* discussed above, where the place and interest of women were taken into consideration. There are other specific features exclusive to the 1509 edition that point in this direction, of which I will only give a single example here. It is from the last part of the tale, when Flores is going to fight a duel, and Blanseflor declares her love to him in front of the other people.

to the French sources is given in Degnbol (2014). A recent overview with a focus on the Danish reception can be found in Richter (2018/2019).

52 Also, the absence of the typical relation in romance between a knight and a *married* woman is in tune with the development within late medieval French romance, but less exclusive for *Flores og Blanseflor*, cf. Brown-Grant (2008: 216).

(4)

FB/Sw in Olsson (1921: 118–119)	FB/D K 47: 250r–250v	FB/D 1509: 34v
<p>iak var honom stolin fra Væl hafuin ij sidhan giort vidh mik;</p> <p>thu vilde mik hafua til sielfan thik. Thet sigher iak her oppinbara:</p> <p>før æn thet skulde nakan tiidh vara, at iak skulle tagha annan man</p> <p>vtan Flores, ther iak vël an,</p> <p>iak ville før medh een kniiff skæra sunder mit eghith liif.”</p>	<p>jech war hanum medh swig tagen fra</p> <p>thet i willæ sielff hawe mæg thet seyer jech for sannen thik</p> <p>ath jech skullæ tage annen man æn flores ther jech i hierthet wel and jech seyer thet obenbaræ ath föræ thet skullæ sa wæræ</p> <p>jech willæ föræ medh myn kniiff skieræ synder myt eget liiff</p>	<p>iæg war alt hannum ijlle stollen fraa Wel giorde kongen siden mod meg</p> <p>han wille meg haffue til hustrw seg Thet sijer ieg eder openbare</p> <p>før mit brvllop sculle saa ware</p> <p>iæg sculle før met mijn egen kniiff sønder skoreth mith eget lijff</p>
<p>I was stolen from him You have thereafter done well to me</p> <p>you wanted to have me for yourself</p> <p>before there would be any time</p> <p>that I would take another man and not Flores, who I love so much,</p> <p>I would rather with a knife shred my own life</p>	<p>I was taken from him through deceit</p> <p>as you wanted to have me yourself I say that truly to you</p> <p>that I should take another man than Flores, which I love well in my heart, I say it openly that before that would happen</p> <p>I would rather with my knife shred my own life</p>	<p>I was maliciously stolen from him Well did the king then to me.</p> <p>He wanted to have me as his wife I say that openly to you</p> <p>before my wedding should stand that way</p> <p>I would rather with my own knife shred my own life.</p>

The main content is all the same in the three versions, but the 1509 edition has rewritten the lines in which Blanseflor formulates how she would enter a relationship with the King of Babylon (unwillingly). In both the Swedish and Danish manuscripts, the expression is that she would *take another man* [than Flores], whereas the 1509 edition says *before my wedding should stand that way*, and she also speaks of the king wanting her to become his *wife*. Such a new stress on the institutional forms of relations could have different explanations, but it is perfectly in line with the tendencies that Brown-Grant (2008) argues is a part of the late medieval romance development.

One could thus say that *Flores og Blanseflor* seems to have been in tune with the currents of the late medieval and early modern days in terms of the view of relations between men and women. The text also seems to have been adjusted to meet such ideals, although a more thorough comparison between the text witnesses is needed before a definitive conclusion can be drawn. Among the other three Danish chivalric tales, two of them, *Den kyske dronning* and *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, also deal with the theme of love, but in neither case is the reciprocal love the driving force of the story from the beginning as it is in *Flores og Blanseflor*. In *Dværgekongen Laurin* female characters play a very small part.

The lack of fantastic elements in *Flores og Blanseflor*, like giants or talking animals, is also something that connects it with what seems to have been a general taste among the late medieval audience, at least in the case of late medieval French and English romance,

where there is a tendency towards realism in general (Brown-Grant 2008: 7). *Flores og Blanseflor* begins with the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, a well-known place, and continues later with the two main characters travelling to the city of Babylon. The realism, or perhaps more adequately the minimal use of fantastic elements, and the historical setting of the story, are in tune with the currents within late medieval romance and share this characteristic with the other secular narratives printed in this early period, *Sigismunda* and *Griseldis*.

There is yet another characteristic that distinguishes *Flores og Blanseflor* from all the other romances we know circulated in manuscripts in the late Middle Ages, and that is its connection to the urban scenery and gallery. The main story of *Flores og Blanseflor* takes place either in cities or on journeys between them with the help of and in interaction with merchants. Flores is himself disguised as a merchant on his first journey towards Babylon and does not travel as a knight in shining armour. The city silhouette is not always so foregrounded in the actual scenery, but the hero never travels into the wilderness for adventure, an archetypical topic in romance; he stays in the cities he passes during the journey. This urban setting of the story is unique in relation to the other *Eufemiavisor* and the Danish chivalric tales, which take place at courts and castles or in the wilderness. Would this urban frame have mattered for the choice to print this particular text? It was certainly not the only reason, but as printing and the sale of printed books was concentrated to towns, it might have been a characteristic that contributed to make *Flores og Blanseflor* particularly well suited to connect to a potential urban audience in contrast to the traditional rural or courtly settings of the other romances.

There were probably several reasons that made *Flores og Blanseflor* a convenient choice and piece well suited for a new late medieval audience. No single explanation is perhaps sufficient, but they may have been essential qualifications for a text to be printed at all. Perhaps it was necessary that the love relationship was not of the type found in other romances, that it did not take place in the wilderness with too many supernatural ingredients or was not too long etc. Was *Flores og Blanseflor* perhaps the only one of the old texts that could meet the standards? This touches upon a question posed by Dahlerup in the quotation earlier in this article, namely why was *only* the *Flores og Blanseflor* printed and no other texts of the courtly literature. (For one thing, we cannot know if texts were published which are now lost, but we just need to ignore that possibility here.⁵³) It could

53 In his thoroughgoing and comprehensive study of the Danish printing history, Horstbøll (1997: 53–56) shows that in late discoveries of prints (published in the supplements to the national bibliography *Dansk bibliografi* of Lauritz Nielsen), only single specimens represent previously unknown works, the bulk being reprints of already known printed works. This speaks in favour of a conclusion that the preserved corpus of prints from the early modern period actually represents more or less the total number of works printed. For our case here, the problem remains that there might have been earlier prints of texts that are only preserved in editions from, for instance, the late sixteenth century.

be that *Flores og Blanseflor* was the only text that fit the bill, but we would need to analyse patterns of publication policies in comparable situations for a more proper understanding.⁵⁴

I would like to suggest another possible explanation that takes the other titles printed in Gotfred van Ghemens's workshop during the latest period of 1508 to 1510 into consideration, namely a long range of popular religious texts: *Jesu barndoms bog*, *Gudelige Bønner*, *De femten Steder*, *De femten Tegn*, *Lucidarius*, and *Sjælens Kæremaal paa Kroppen*.⁵⁵ Together with *Flores og Blanseflor*, they might, as a text collection, offer a printed parallel to the miscellanies discussed earlier in the article that mix mainly religious texts with some single romances that were intended for a religious or moral reading. In such a context, one romance is perhaps enough; it seems to have been sufficient in the case of MSS K 4 and E 8822. Moreover, instead of the knightly and aristocratic *Ivan løveridder*, we get the somewhat urban-based story of Blanseflor and Flores, who after their adventures lived a long life built on mutual love and finally took refuge in a monastery. Was this collection of texts, including *Flores og Blanseflor*, perhaps meant to interact with ambitions among a new audience in the towns to emulate the reading culture of the late medieval aristocracy? It is well known that the early printing culture followed the medieval manuscripts in layout and formats before the potentials of the technology were developed. Here I would suggest that the publication strategies might also have been modelled on the selection of texts which we see in some miscellanies: a main body of works of piety with some single, morally appropriate secular narratives.

To bring this long discussion to some final thoughts, it is clear that something happened in the literary culture in East Scandinavia when the printing technology was introduced. Within the groups that participated in the medieval manuscript culture, some texts of old age had been copied together with new texts in different constellations, but when the production and distribution of texts was more or less taken over by printers, a new repertoire of works developed and a large number of the old texts were left behind. It is reasonable to think that there was rational planning underlying these choices, calculated with a new group of customers in mind. What disappears is the mounted knight on a quest to win glory and his lady, the emblematic character of *Herr Ivan* and *Hertig Fredrik*. The main characters could still be knights in name, but it is a feature in the tale that is not prominent. In these new surroundings, *Flores og Blanseflor* was a text that still worked. For one thing, Flores fought a duel at the end of the story on a horseback and with his sword, but before that he does not show much of the martial proficiencies expected of a knight. The story had other qualities, which happened to meet the values and world-view of audiences that could perhaps not identify themselves in either the knight as a character or the male-female-relations upon which some romances were built. At the tipping-point

54 It is clear that attitudes to printing romance shifted, and it was not always favoured by printers. In England, no romance was printed before Caxton's *Le Mort d'Arthur* 1485, soon followed by the first Arthurian romance prints in France (Montorsi 2019). Many verse romances were printed in England in the first three decades of the sixteenth century and then disappeared, according to Sánchez-Martí (2019), because of the Reformation, before appearing again when Elizabeth I came to the throne in 1569.

55 'The Childhood of Christ', 'Pious Prayers', 'The Fifteen Places', 'The Fifteen Signs', 'Lucidarius', and 'The Claim of the Soul against the Body'.

between two textual cultures, *Flores og Blanseflor* seems to have offered room for the whole audience of men and women, aristocratic as well as religious and urban readers. It was a lovely text with a flavour of the past, but, more importantly, it was still relevant to its early modern readers.

References

Manuscripts and early modern prints

Helsinki University Library, R III.

København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 191 fol.

København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, *Hær begyndes en historie aff Flores oc Blantzeflor*. Gotfred af Ghemen. LN 67 8°. Copy 1, Copy 2 (Hielmsted 1860).

Linköpings stiftsbibliotek, Saml. 1 a, *Codex Grensholmensis*.

Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, D 2, D 3, D 4, D 4a, K 4, K 45, K 47.

Stockholm, Riksarkivet, E 8822, E 9013.

Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Danica. vet. 26, 26a, *Clares Flores Blantzeflor*.

Secondary literature

Adams, Tracy (1998). "Printing and the Transformation of the Middle English Romance". In:

Neophilologus 82, pp. 291–310.

Akhøj Nielsen, Maria (2017). "The Vocabulary of Chivalry in Old Danish Romances". In: Adams, Jonathan/Bampi, Massimiliano (eds.). *Beyond the Piraeus Lion. East Norse Studies from Venice*. København: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, pp. 123–138.

Andersson, Roger (2014). "Die *Eufemiavisor*. Literatur für die Oberklasse." In: Glauser, Jürg/Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (eds.). *Rittersagas. Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 45). Tübingen: Francke, pp. 45–69.

Backman, Agnieszka (2017). *Handskriftens materialitet. Studier i den fornsvenska samlingshandskriften Fru Elins bok (Codex Holmiensis D 3)*. Diss. Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala Universitet.

Baldick, Chris (2008). "Romance". In: Baldick, Chris (ed.). *The Oxford dictionary of literary terms*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bampi, Massimiliano (2014). "Translating and Rewriting. The *Septem Sapientes* in Medieval Sweden". In: Glauser, Jürg/Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (eds.). *Rittersagas. Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 45). Tübingen: Francke, pp. 239–262.

Bampi, Massimiliano (2015). "The *Eufemiavisor* and *Konung Alexander*. Diverging Ideologies?" In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 20–31.

Bampi, Massimiliano (2017). "Reading Between Texts. *Codex Askabyensis* and Its Use". In: Müller-Wille, Klaus et al. (eds.). *Skandinavische Schriftlandschaften. Vänbok till Jürg Glauser* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 59). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, pp. 155–159.

Bampi, Massimiliano (2018/2019). "Übersetzung als Manipulation. Der altschwedische *Flores och Blanzefflor* und dessen Überlieferung im 15. Jahrhundert". In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36:1, pp. 8–21.

- Bampi, Massimiliano (2019). "Yvain i dansk språkdräkt. Hövisk litteratur i det senmedeltida Danmark". In: Boeck, Simon Skovgaard/Vrieland, Seán D. (eds.). *A Copenhagen Miscellany. Studies in East Norse Philology*. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, pp. 215–233.
- Bampi, Massimiliano/Larrington, Carolyne/Rikhardsdottir, Sif (eds.) (2020). *A Critical Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Besamusca, Bart/de Bruijn, Elisabeth/Willaert, Frank (eds.) (2019). *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter.
- Boffey, Julia (2012). *Manuscript and print in London: c. 1475–1530*. British Library, London
- Boffey, Julia (2014). "From Manuscript to Print: Continuity and Change". In: Gillespie, Vincent/Powell, Susan (eds.). *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*. Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, pp. 13–26.
- Booton, Diane E. (2010). *Manuscripts, Market, and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Brandenburg, Elena (2019). *Karl der Große im Norden. Rezeption französischer Heldenepik in den altostnordischen Handschriften* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 65). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.
- Brandt, C. J. (1870). *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen. II*. København: Thieles Bogtrykkeri.
- Brandt, C. J. (1877). *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen. III*. København: Thieles Bogtrykkeri.
- Brown-Grant, Rosalind (2008). *French Romance of the Later Middle Ages. Gender, Morality and Desire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bruun, Christian (1890). "Gotfred af Ghemen. Den første bogtrykker i Kjøbenhavn". In: *Forening for Boghaandværk Aarskrift*, pp. 7–34.
- Bullitta, Dario (2017). "Sources, Contexts and English Provenance of the Old Danish *Visio Pauli*". In: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 116:1, pp. 1–23.
- Busby, Keith (2015). "Generic Hybridity and Memory in *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie*". In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 98–108.
- Cayley, Emma/Powell, Susan (eds.) (2013). *Manuscripts and printed books in Europe 1350–1550: packaging, presentation and consumption*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Cleve, John van (1986). "A Genre in Crisis. The 'Volksbuch'". In: *The German Quarterly* 59:2, pp. 203–215.
- Cooper, Helen (1997). "Counter-Romance. Civil Strife and Father-Killing in the Prose Romances". In: Cooper, Helen/Mapstone, Sally (eds.). *The Long Fifteenth Century. Essays for Douglas Gray*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 141–162.
- Cooper, Helen (1999). "Romance after 1400". In: Wallace, David (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 690–719.
- Cooper, Helen (2004). "Malory and the Early Prose Romances". In: Saunders, Chris (ed.). *A Companion to Romance. From Classical to Contemporary*. Malden MA: Blackwell, pp. 104–120.
- Dahlerup, Pil (1998). *Dansk litteratur. Middelalder. 2. Verdslig litteratur*. København: Gyldendal.
- Dahlerup, Pil (2010). *Sanselig senmiddelalder. Litterære perspektiver på danske tekster 1482–1523*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Degnbol, Helle (2014). "'Fair words'. The French poem *Floire et Blancheflor*, the Old Norse prose narrative *Flóress saga ok Blankiflúr*, and the Swedish poem *Flores ok Blanzaflor*". In: Glauser, Jürg/

- Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (eds.). *Rittersagas. Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 45). Tübingen: Francke, pp. 73–95.
- Delsing, Lars-Olov (2000). “Konungastyrelsens ortografi och tillkomsthistoria.” In: Edlund, Lars-Erik (ed.). *Studier i svensk språkhistoria* 5. Umeå: Institutionen för litteraturvetenskap och nordiska språk vid Umeå universitet, pp. 117–138.
- Ferm, Olle/Morris, Bridget (eds.) (1997). *Master Golyas and Sweden*. Stockholm: Runica et mediaevalia.
- Ferrari, Fulvio (2012). “Literature as Performative Act. *Erikskrönikan* and the making of a nation”. In: Bampi, Massimiliano/Ferrari, Fulvio (eds.). *Lärdomber oc skämtan* (= Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, serie 3, 5.). Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, pp. 55–80.
- Ferrari, Fulvio (2015). “*Karlskrönikan* och utvecklingen av det senmedeltida svenska litterära systemet”. In: Adams, Jonathan (ed.). *Østnordisk filologi – nu og i fremtiden*. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, pp. 185–195.
- Frazier, Alixon K. (2015). *The Saint between Manuscript and Print: Italy 1400–1600*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies.
- Glauser, Jürg (1986). “Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit”. In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (eds.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 15). Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, pp. 191–207.
- Glauser, Jürg (2020). “Romance – A Case Study”. In: Bampi, Massimiliano/Larrington, Carolyne/Rikhardsdottir, Sif (eds.). *A Critical Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, pp. 299–311.
- Hellinga, Lotte/Hellinga, Wytze (1968). “Gotfred af Ghemens færden ca 1486–1510. En typologisk undersøgelse”. In: *Fund og forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks samlinger XV*, pp. 7–38.
- Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir (2020). “Manuscripts and Codicology”. In: Bampi, Massimiliano/Larrington, Carolyne/Rikhardsdottir, Sif (eds.). *A Critical Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, pp. 299–311.
- Johansson, Karl G./Flaten, R. (eds.) (2012). *Francia et Germania. Studies in Strengleikar and Þiðreks saga af Bern* (= Bibliotheca Nordica 5.). Oslo: Novus Forlag.
- Kværndrup, Sigurd (2014). *Den nordiske løveridder. En ridderromance af Chrétien de Troyes. Bearbejdet, med noter, indledning og efterskrift af Sigurd Kværndrup*. København: Museum Tusulanum.
- Layher, William (2015). “Appendix: Manuscripts of the *Eufemiavisor*”. In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 273–279.
- LN = Nielsen, Lauritz (1919–1935). *Dansk bibliografi: med særligt hensyn til dansk bogtrykkerkunstens historie*. København: Gyldendalske Boghandel.
- Lodén, Sofia (2012). *Le chevalier courtois à la rencontre de la Suède médiévale. Du Chevalier au lion à Herr Ivan*. Diss. Stockholm: Department of French, Italian and Classical Languages, Stockholm University.
- Lodén, Sofia (2015a). “*Paris et Vienne* and its Swedish translation”. In: *Medioevni* 1, pp. 169–185.
- Lodén, Sofia (2015b). “The *Eufemiavisor*. A Unified Whole”. In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 176–188.

- Ludwig, Karl (1964). *Kurze Geschichte des Buchhandels in Deutschland*. 3rd ed. Düsseldorf: Jung.
- Miller, Carolyn R./Devitt, Amy J./Gallagher, Victoria J. (2018). "Genre. Permanence and Change". In: *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 48:3, pp. 269–277.
- Montorsi, Francesco (2019). "Production éditoriale et diffusion des récits arthuriens en France (XVe–XVIe siècles)". In: Besamusca, Bart/de Bruijn, Elisabeth/Willaert, Frank (eds.). *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 167–188.
- Olsson, Emil (1921). *Flores och Blanzeflor. Kritisk upplaga*. Lund: Berlingska boktryckeriet.
- Paulli, R. (ed.) (1915–1925). *Bibliografi over danske folkebøger fra 16. och 17. aarhundrede I*. København: Gyldendal.
- Paulli, R. (ed.) (1918–1936). *Bibliografi over danske folkebøger fra 16. och 17. aarhundrede II*. København: Gyldendal.
- Paulli, R. (ed.) (1920). *Danske folkebøger fra 16. och 17. Aarhundrede. Bd. VIII. Helena, Griseldis, En Doctors Datter*. København: Gyldendal.
- Pedersen, Vibeke A./Mortensen, Klaus P./Schack, May (eds.) (2007). *Dansk litteraturs historie. Bd 1: 1100–1800*. København: Gyldendal.
- Pettersson, Jonatan (2017). "Nordic Bible Translations in Medieval and Early Modern Europe". In: François, Wim/den Hollander, August (eds.). *Vernacular Bible and Religious Reform in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era*. Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT: Peeters, pp. 107–150.
- Pollock, Sheldon I. (2006). *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2009). *Transmissionsgeschichten. Untersuchungen zur dänischen und schwedischen Erzählprosa in der frühen Neuzeit* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 41). Tübingen und Basel: Francke.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2012). "Melusinas Verwandlungen. Historienbücher als Vorläufer des Romans in Schweden". In: Martin, Dieter/Vorderstemann, Karin (eds.). *Die europäische Banise. Rezeption und Übersetzung eines barocken Bestsellers*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 227–240.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2018/19). "Zur Überlieferung der Historie von *Flores oc Blanzeflor* in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit". In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36:1, pp. 38–53.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2019). "Ritter, Romance, Rewriting. Überlegungen zur dänischen Erzählliteratur in der Frühdruckzeit am Beispiel der Historie von *Persenober oc Constantianobis* (1572)". In: Besamusca, Bart/de Bruijn, Elisabeth/Willaert, Frank (eds.). *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 325–350.
- Richter, Anna Katharina/Glauser, Jürg (2013). "Aus der deutschen Sprache ins Schwedische transferiert". Zur skandinavischen *Eulenspiegel*-Tradierung und ihren textuellen Veränderungen im 19. Jahrhundert". In: Schwarz, Alexander (ed.). *Till Eulenspiegel. Traduire l'original – zurück zum Original*. Lausanne: Centre de Traduction Littéraire, pp. 191–209.
- Richter, Anna Katharina/Glauser, Jürg (2018/2019). "Einleitung. Transmission und Transformation. Die Historie von *Floire et Blanche fleur* in der skandinavischen und niederländischen Überlieferung". In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36:1, pp. 4–7.
- Sánchez-Martí, Jordi (2019). "The Publication of English Medieval Romances after the Death of Wynkyn de Worde, 1536–1569". In: Besamusca, Bart/de Bruijn, Elisabeth/Willaert, Frank (eds.). *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 143–166.

- Saunders, Corrinne (ed.) (2004). *A Companion to Romance. From Classical to Contemporary*. Malden MA: Blackwell.
- Schlosemann, Rita (2019). "A Canon of Popular Narratives in Six European Languages between 1470 and 1900. The 'Griseldis'-Tradition in German and Dutch". In: Besamusca, Bart/de Bruijn, Elisabeth/Willaert, Frank (eds.). *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 265–285.
- Tether, Leah (2017). *Publishing the Grail in Medieval and Renaissance France*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Toldberg, Helge (1962). "Hvornår tryktes der første gang på dansk? Til den trykte Rimkrønikes forhistorie". In: *Fund og Forskning* 9, pp. 53–70.
- Undorf, Wolfgang (2014). *From Gutenberg to Luther. Transnational Print Cultures in Scandinavia 1450–1525*. Leiden: Brill.
- Vilhemsdotter, Gisela (2010). "Namnlös och Valentin – en prosaroman om en drottningens olycksöde". In: Larsson, Inger et al. (eds.). *Den medeltida skriftkulturen i Sverige. Genrer och texter*. Stockholm: Runica et mediævalia, pp. 262–277.
- Whetter, Kevin Sean (2008). *Understanding genre and medieval romance*. Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Wollin, Lars (2015). "Chivalry and the Scriptures". In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 255–272.
- Würth, Stephanie (2000). "Eufemia: Deutsche Auftraggeberin schwedischer Literatur am norwegischen Hof". In: Paul, Fritz (ed.). *Arbeiten zur Skandinavistik* (= Texte und Untersuchungen zur Germanistik und Skandinavistik 45). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 269–281.

Online sources

- "Håndskrifter / Tryk". At: *Tekster fra Danmarks middelalder og renæssance 1100–1550 – på dansk og latin*. Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab. <https://tekstnet.dk/manuscripts> (accessed 25 June 2021).
- SDHK = Svenskt Diplomatariums Huvudkartotek. Stockholm: Riksarkivet. <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sdhk> (accessed 25 June 2021).
- "Skønlitteratur". At: *Tekster fra Danmarks middelalder og renæssance 1100–1550 – på dansk og latin*. Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab. <https://tekstnet.dk/manuscripts> (accessed 25 June 2021).
- Steen Larsen, Poul (1979–84). "Gotfred af Ghemen". At: *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*. 3rd ed. København: Gyldendal. https://biografiskeleksikon.lex.dk/Gotfred_af_Ghemen (accessed 2 July 2021).

The Danish Translations of the *Eufemiavisor* and the Literary Polysystem of Medieval Scandinavia

Fulvio Ferrari (Trento)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0188-1252>

Abstract: Traditional handbooks of Danish literature often present medieval literature as a static collection of texts accidentally handed down to us. The polysystemic approach, instead, can help us reconstruct the socio-semiotic context of medieval Danish culture and single out the dynamics through which this culture developed from its early stage, still characterized by a dichotomy between written Latin literature and oral Nordic poetry, to a more rich and complex system, in which different genres coexist and interact. Two different sets of events play a crucial role in this evolution: the conversion to Christianity and the integration of the Danish cultural system into a broader Northern European cultural system. To this second and later process, in particular, is due the import of cultural goods from Sweden to Denmark and, in particular, the translations into Danish of the Swedish *Eufemiavisor*.

Keywords: polysystem theory, culture planning, cultural transfer, medieval Danish literature, *Eufemiavisor*, Scandinavian courtly literature, Scandinavian romances, chivalry

Introduction

In their chapters dedicated to the Middle Ages, histories of Danish literature usually confine themselves to listing extant texts, offering information and hypotheses about the context of their production, and, in some cases, summarising their contents. The result is a more or less accurate survey of surviving medieval Danish texts, chronologically organized and enriched with some valuable socio-historical information. Though helpful, these presentations are scarcely able to account for the dynamics which caused the formation and the evolution of the literary system. What is needed is a framework in which to contextualise these dynamics which takes into account both the evolution of the whole, multileveled socio-semiotic system as well as the complex interplay of contacts with different literary traditions and cultural agents. Polysystem theory, a system of analysis developed by the Israeli culture researcher Itamar Even-Zohar and the Tel Aviv School that is now being applied to a growing number of different fields throughout the world, offers just such a nuanced

framework for understanding the dynamics and interrelations of the literary systems of medieval Denmark (Dimić 1993).¹

The principal difficulty in applying this theoretical approach to the literary (and, more generally, to the cultural) system of medieval Denmark derives from the fact that only a small part of the whole textual production has been handed down to us. Though it is generally true of all European vernacular traditions that a large percentage of medieval manuscripts is lost, it is especially so for Danish literature due to the disastrous fire at the Copenhagen University Library in 1728, which destroyed many medieval codices. Our image of medieval Danish literature is thus incomplete and largely determined by fortuitous factors, and each inference we make from the extant texts must be considered no more than a hypothesis.

Textual production in medieval Denmark

With due caution, however, we can make some important general statements. First of all, it would be misleading to consider textual production in medieval Denmark in isolation from the broader context of European literature. Already before the conversion of the Scandinavian peoples to Christianity, Denmark was part of the Scandinavian cultural community: skalds performed their poetry at the Danish court as well as in those of other Northern countries (Kværndrup 1984: 428; Ferm 2015: 117), and the Danish king was quite certainly involved in the compilation of *Knýtlinga saga* as late as in the middle of the 13th century (Bjarni Guðnason 1982: xiii–xv). The conversion was, in Even-Zohar’s terminology, a multifaceted act of ‘culture planning’ (Even-Zohar 2010: 78–97) of pivotal importance for the history of Denmark: the Catholic Church and the newly born Danish state cooperated in order to reorganize Danish society and reshape Danish culture according to the prevailing models in Central and Western Europe. The conversion did not only bring about the acquisition and the spreading of foreign religious practices and beliefs, but also the adoption of new models of social organization and of a new and complex symbolism of power. This act of cultural planning was made possible by the progressive strengthening and stabilization of the monarchy during the Viking age, as well as by the later alliance with the Catholic Church (Ulsig 1999). Without a strong monarchical power, such an ambitious operation would not have been possible in Denmark or in the rest of Scandinavia. In Even-Zohar’s words: “planners must have the power, get the power, or obtain the endorsement of those who possess power” (Even-Zohar 2010: 88).²

The conversion launched a process of forming the Danish literary system into a local subsystem of the broader European system by transferring elements of the international

1 Polysystem theory has revealed itself particularly fruitful in the field of Translation studies (Gentzler 1993: 105–143; Shuttleworth 2009), but has been successfully applied also to the analysis of intercultural exchange (see, for example, Bampi and Buzzoni 2013; Bertagnolli 2014).

2 On the process of conversion and on the consequences it had on culture, mentality, habits and worldview of the Scandinavian peoples during the Middle Ages see: Steinsland (1990 and 2005: 421–455), Winroth (2012), Schjødt (2013). More specifically on the role played by Christianity and Church in shaping and consolidating the Scandinavian monarchies see Bagge (2014).

Latin repertoire.³ This allowed the Danish subsystem to produce texts able to satisfy the new needs of the institutions that promoted it, the monarchy and the Church.

In the first centuries after the conversion, the Danish intellectual elite's primary literary interests lay in the genres of hagiography and historiography, which helped to legitimise the standing of the Christian monarchy in the new ideological order (Friis-Jensen 1999). It is telling that two of the first significant Latin narratives produced in Denmark were the sacred biographies of two Danish royal saints: Canute IV and Canute Lavard (Ferrari 1998 and 2001). The task of adapting conventional hagiographic models to produce two original legends was outsourced to foreign (English) 'specialists': Ælnoth of Canterbury composed the life of King Canute the Saint and Robert d'Ely that of Canute's nephew, Canute Lavard.

The creation of a Danish hagiographical tradition seems to be thoroughly connected with the import of European historiographical genres. At least three noteworthy historiographical works were written in Denmark in the course of the 12th century: *Roskildekrøniken*, *Lille Lejrekrøniken* and Svend Aggesen's *Brevis historia regum Daciae*. Moreover, in the first half of the century annalistic historiography had begun in Lund. The transfer of models thus engendered a local tradition of historiography which culminated in the composition of Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*. It is important to note that this process of transfer did not occur in isolation from the rest of the Danish cultural system, but in dynamic interrelation with the other components of this same heterogeneous system. Saxo was a full-fledged European intellectual. He probably studied in France, and he makes explicit references in his work to internationally recognized authorities such as the Venerable Bede, Paul the Deacon, and Dudo of Saint-Quentin (Friis-Jensen 1999: 320). His masterpiece is local history, though it is inserted into the broader framework of European Christian history, and Saxo did not hesitate to make use of traditional lore to reconstruct and reinterpret the past of his people. To this aim – as he himself affirms in the prologue to *Gesta Danorum* (Friis-Jensen ed. 2015: 6–7) – he consulted Icelandic specialised keepers of memory (the presence of Icelanders, in particular of Icelandic skalds, at the Danish royal court is well attested in this period). In this way international scholarly traditions and local oral lore are drawn together to create innovative cultural goods, which contributed to reshaping the Danish cultural system.

In the terms of polysystem theory, the institutions controlling the production of texts – monarchy and Church – had enacted since the 12th century a process of transfer aimed at reorganizing the whole of Danish culture. The production of written texts in Latin became the central cultural activity in the young Christian state, while the circulation of vernacular oral texts continued in an increasingly marginalized position. These two spheres were not isolated from each other: the agents of the 'new' culture drew elements from the repertoire of the local traditional system and reorganized it according to the models adopted from the European system.

The strategies of culture planning carried out by monarchy and Church, however, did not represent a coherent, homogeneous whole: different projects and internal conflicts were

3 “‘Repertoire’ designates the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the *making* and the *handling*, or production and consumption, of any given product. [...] In the case of making, or producing, we can speak of an *active operation* of a repertoire, or, as an abbreviated term, of an *active repertoire*. In the case of handling, or consuming, on the other hand, we can speak of a *passive operation*, or a *passive repertoire*.” (Even-Zohar 1997: 20). See also Code (2003).

present in the relatively simple power structures of state and Church in early medieval Denmark. To mention just the most evident case: after Duke Canute Lavard was murdered by his cousin Magnus, the son of King Niels and heir to the throne, the Danish royal dynasty and the whole kingdom were lacerated by civil war, until the faction of the Duke's heirs finally prevailed and his son Valdemar became king in 1146. The political division manifested itself also on the cultural level, with the canonization of Canute on the one hand and the defence of his murderer's reasons contained in the *Roskildekroniken*.

The project to integrate Denmark into the European cultural macro-system was completed in the 13th century. Danish authors such as Anders Sunesen, Boethius de Dacia, or Martinus de Dacia belonged to the international cultural elite. Karsten Friis-Jensen considers the success and the acquired centrality of Latin culture in the young Danish cultural system to have been a possible cause of the retarded development of a vernacular literature in Denmark (Friis-Jensen 1999: 322–323). The centrality of Latin literature, however, did not preclude the possibility of composing vernacular texts, and we do find texts written in Danish in the late 12th and in the 13th centuries, such as legal texts and Henrik Harpestreng's medical texts. Though these were practical texts that occupied a marginal position in the system, their existence testifies to the fact that the transferred tools of literacy had been applied to vernacular, non-narrative texts.

There are other factors that must be taken into account in order to understand the subsequent development of the Danish cultural system, chiefly that Denmark during this period was a multilingual society (Heebøll-Holm 2009: 43–45, 51–55; Ferrer 2012: 11). Beyond the religious, historiographical and philosophical texts, generally in Latin or Danish, prevalent in the 12th and 13th centuries, Danish intellectuals of that time had access to texts written in other languages. Denmark had particularly close political and cultural relations with the states of Northern Germany, whence it was likely exposed to many elements of the international cultural repertoire.

13th century Denmark and the chivalric ideology

That the new chivalric ideology had already reached Denmark by the beginning of the 13th century is attested, for example, by the *Historia de profectioe Danorum in Hierosolymam* (Kværndrup 1993). This text, probably written in Denmark by a Norwegian monk, shares the ideology of the Crusades and of spiritual chivalry. Furthermore, the 13th century is the period when – according to a majority of scholars – a new oral narrative genre, the ballad, spread from the continent to Scandinavia (Jansson 1999: 15–16).

By the 13th century the Danish literary system was thus organized under the control of the monarchy and the Church, and international non-fictional genres written in Latin firmly occupied the centre of the system. The activity of culture planning had succeeded in canonizing at least one original Danish text, Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*, whose strong position in the system determined its prolonged influence within Danish culture also later, when different cultural elements were transferred from the European repertoire. These elements were at least partly already circulating in 13th century Denmark, but the evolution of the social and political systems did not yet create the conditions for a radical change and reorganization of the literary system. A lay aristocracy – in the

medieval, European sense – came into existence during the age of the Valdemars with the enlargement of the traditional *hird*, the abandoning of the *leding* system, and tax exemption for the new elite of professional warriors, but this aristocracy only gradually developed self-consciousness (Ulsig 1999: 32). As it did so, it came to appropriate the symbolic and ideological elements shared by the more advanced European nobilities. Though elements of the international chivalric, courtly repertoire were undoubtedly already known in the 13th century, they were not yet able to be productive in the literary field. In Pil Dahlerup's words: "høvisk kultur kan spores i Danmark fra slutningen af 1100-tallet, ridderslagning indførtes i slutningen af 1200-tallet, ballader digtedes fra midten af 1200-tallet, og det flade land Danmark havde masser af heste og ridende ridderskab."⁴

The transfer of the international courtly repertoire in the literary systems: the cases of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark

Whilst it is quite easy to identify the principal agents of innovation in the cases of Norway and Sweden, the situation is a bit more complicated as regards Denmark. The transformation of the Norwegian court according to the models of continental monarchies involved, to use polysystem theory's terminology, the importation of goods, e.g., manuscripts, as well as tools, e.g., techniques of composition (Even-Zohar 2002 and 2010: 9–14). This was principally done at the will of the monarchy, particularly Hákon Hákonarson and his successors. This cultural policy was successful: the transferred repertoire established itself in the Norwegian-Icelandic literary system not only as a 'passive' repertoire that provided the Norwegian-Icelandic aristocracy with a new understanding of itself and of the world, but also as an 'active' repertoire that engendered a new local genre, the original *riddarasögur*.

In Sweden, the transfer of the international courtly repertoire into the local literary system seems to be the result of foreign intervention, one of the principal agents of which was Eufemia, the German queen of Norway who acted as a patron for the first translations of courtly literature into Swedish. Also this act of transfer was successful: the cultural goods (the translated texts) became tools that enabled the production of new, original texts like the rhymed chronicles. On the other hand, even if we cannot identify a particular Swedish agent of innovation in the literary field, we know that the rulers of the Bjällbo dynasty – and in particular King Magnus Ladulås – were active in transferring courtly symbolic materials and structures, especially chivalry, into the Swedish cultural system (Harrison 2009: 410–417).

In the Danish system, we are not able to identify – as far as I know – specific agents of culture planning. However, a group of narrative texts dated to the 15th century testifies that a network of contacts with different cultural and linguistic areas made it possible to transfer models of chivalric literature into the Danish literary system which had already established themselves abroad some centuries before, and that were in some regions at least partly outdated (Glaser 1986: 204).

4 "We have evidence of courtly culture in Denmark from the end of the 12th century onwards, knightly accolade was introduced at the end of the 13th century, ballads were composed from the middle of the 13th century onwards, and the flat land Denmark had a multitude of horses and knights" (Dahlerup 1998: 238). For a careful examination of all evidence testifying to the presence of chivalric culture in Denmark from the 12th century onwards see Heebøll-Holm (2009).

Danish 15th century manuscripts: sources and translations

This process of transfer is quite surely due to the emergence, in 15th-century Denmark, of a new, rich and powerful aristocracy (Glauser 1986: 203; Bøgh 1999: 79), which had close ties with the aristocratic circles of Scandinavia and of the Northern German states, and which had appropriated the whole symbolism of chivalry. This explains the plurality of source-cultures from which the Danish literary system in this period imports its models.

The narrative material of *Karl Magnus' Krønike* is drawn from a Norwegian source, as is, probably, that of the romance *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, whilst *Dværgekongen Laurin* is translated or re-elaborated from a German model, and the three *Eufemiaviser*, *Ivan løveridder*, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, and *Flores og Blanseflor* are translated from Swedish (Glauser 1986).

The *Karl Magnus' Krønike*, moreover, testifies to the interplay of written and oral sources in the production of literary texts in the Danish late Middle Ages. The *Krønike*, in fact, is an abridged version of the Norwegian *Karlagnús saga*, which is a compilation of French sources. But the *Krønike* and the saga differ in an interesting detail. In accordance with its French sources, the saga gives the name of the master thief who helps Karl foil a conspiracy of unfaithful vassals as 'Basin', where the *Krønike*, instead, calls him Alegast. This name is clearly connected to the form Elegast used in the Dutch epic poem *Karel ende Elegast* and in the German version of this same narrative known as *Karl und Elegast*. We know that the story about Charlemagne and the master thief circulated in Denmark during the late Middle Ages because it is contained in four ballads, one Danish and three Faroese, that have been handed down to us.⁵ Moreover, we know that a *fastnachtspiel* (carnival play) in Low German called *Koning Karl stelen vor mit Ollegaste* (King Charles went to steal with Ollegast) was staged in Lübeck in 1450 (Beckers 1983: 1001). It may therefore be argued that the Danish anonymous adaptor of the *Karlagnús saga* recognized the character of Basin as the Alegast/Elegast/Ollegast of the oral tradition and changed the name in his version (De Ruiters 2005).

Besides the texts that we can reasonably consider to be translations – at least according to the medieval definition of a translation – we find also texts that, although not themselves translations, clearly testify to the import of foreign models of composition. This is the case of the *Rimkrøniken*. Though surely an original Danish creation, its narrative structure, consisting in a sequence of monologues pronounced by the different Danish kings, is in all probability borrowed from the Swedish *Lilla rimkrönikan* (Friis 1937–1945: 188–193; Pedersen 2007: 140–142).

In the case of the romance *Den kyske dronning* we do not know for certain whether it is a translation or not. If it is not – as it seems quite probable – it is at least evident that the author borrowed motifs, style, and narrative patterns from the same international kinds of narratives that contemporaneously influenced the Swedish *Valentin och Namnlös* (Glauser 1986: 195–202; Ferrari 1994).

5 The ballads are published as DgF 469 in Olrik and Grüner-Nielsen (1967: 21–29). The Faroese versions are published as nr. 106 in Djurhuus (1968: 1–3).

Concluding remarks

Despite the scarcity of the manuscript tradition, the witness of the extant texts allows us to formulate some general hypotheses about the dynamics of the Danish literary system in the late Middle Ages. The undeniable increase in production of Danish texts pertaining to or connected with the international courtly genres demonstrates a thorough reorganization of the system in the course of the 15th century. The centre was no longer occupied by the hagiographical and historiographical genres long integral to international medieval literature whose language of expression was Latin. The Danish literature of the late Middle Ages, instead, was part of a complex cultural polysystem, in which different semiotic codes cooperated in providing the aristocratic elite with a positive image of itself, an ideological justification for its power and a code of conduct. It is in this dynamic context that the translation of the Swedish *Eufemiavisor* into Danish took place, and the same texts that had played a pivotal role in building the Swedish courtly culture thus contributed to the construction of the Danish courtly literature and ideology.

In the terms of polysystem theory, the imported repertoire was both *passive* – as it provided the aristocracy with tools for understanding itself and the world – and *active*, as it gave instruction about how to behave.

It is worth reiterating that the transfer from the international courtly repertoire into both the Danish and the Swedish literary systems occurred when this repertoire had already undergone a significant transformation in the more developed European cultures (Glauser 1986: 204). Because of the progressive enlargement of the social elites and the increasing role of the bourgeoisie not only in the economy and politics, but also in the literary activities, the strategies of idealization and the ethical concern typical of ‘classic’ courtly literature had elsewhere been partly abandoned for livelier, more realistic and sometimes rough descriptions of actions and characters. But the belated consolidation of a class-conscious aristocracy in Scandinavia brought about a belated import of courtly literature. As a consequence, the Scandinavian translators/adaptors of continental texts sometimes manipulated them in order to adapt them to the needs and the ideology of the patrons, and perhaps to the translator’s own opinions and values. The result could be a re-aristocratization of non-aristocratic models, as I elsewhere tried to demonstrate in the case of the Swedish *Valentin och Namnlös* (Ferrari 1994).

Gutenberg’s invention of the movable type printing and the evolution of the class composition of the Scandinavian societies brought about, after only a few decades, a new, thorough reorganization of the Scandinavian literary systems. The bourgeoisie was now able to afford the purchase of chapbooks, and the printers appropriated the narrative patterns of canonized chivalric literature in order to satisfy the demands of a new readership. These texts enabled this new readership to enter the fictional world of the ruling class and, at the same time, to enjoy the intricacy of their plots and the exoticism of their descriptions. In this way, the need for entertainment was satisfied and, at the same time, the bourgeoisie had the possibility to identify itself with the values and the way of life of an aristocracy which had progressively lost its military functions and had turned to a political and administrative elite (Rasmussen 1990).

References

- Bagge, Sverre (2014). *Cross & Scepter. The Rise of the Scandinavian Kingdoms from the Vikings to the Reformation*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Bampi, Massimiliano/Buzzoni, Marina (eds.) (2013). *Textual Production and Status Contests in Rising and Unstable Societies*. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari.
- Beckers, Hartmut (1983). "Karl und Elegast". In: Stöllinger, Christine (ed.). *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*. Bd. 4. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 999–1002.
- Bertagnolli, Davide (2014). "Die mittelniederdeutsche Übersetzung des 'Valentin und Namelos' und ihre Stellung im Polysystem Norddeutschlands". In: *Filologia germanica – Germanic philology* 6, pp. 21–38.
- Bjarni Guðnason (1982). "Formáli". In: Bjarni Guðnason (ed.). *Danakonunga sögur* (= Íslensk Fornrit 35). Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, pp. v–cxciiv.
- Bøgh, Anders (1999). "Kongen og hans magt". In: Ingesman, Per et al. (eds.). *Middelalderens Danmark. Kultur og samfund fra trosskifte til reformation*. København: Gads forlag, pp. 64–81.
- Code, Philippe (2003). "Polysystem Theory Revisited: A New Comparative Introduction". In: *Poetics Today* 24, pp. 91–126.
- Dahlerup, Pål (1998). *Dansk litteratur: Middelalder 1–2. Bd. 2: Verdslig litteratur*. København: Gyldendal.
- De Ruiter, Jacqueline (2005). "Elegast en de Karl Magnus' Krønike". In: Besamusca, Bart/Tigelaar, Jap (eds.). *Karolus Rex. Studies over de middeleeuwse verhaaltraditie rond Karel de Grote*. Hilversum: Verloren, pp. 205–215.
- Dimić, Milan V. (1993). "Polysystem Theory." In: Makaryk, Irena R. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory. Approaches, Scholars, Terms*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, pp. 154–155.
- Djurhuus, Napoleon (ed.) (1968). *Corpus carminum færøensium. Bd. V*. København: Akademisk forlag.
- Even-Zohar, Itamar (1997). "Factors and Dependencies in Culture: A Revised Outline for Polysystem Culture Research". In: *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée* 24, pp. 15–34.
- Even-Zohar, Itamar (2002). "Literature as Goods, Literature as Tools". In: *Neohelicon* 29, pp. 75–83.
- Ferm, Olle (2015). "The Emergence of Courtly Literature in Sweden. A Critical Discussion of Swedish Research". In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= Konferenser KVHAA 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 109–120.
- Ferrari, Fulvio (1994). "Da Valentin a Falantin. La traduzione svedese del romanzo in basso tedesco medio 'Valentin unde Namelos'". In: Molinari, Maria Vittoria et al. (eds.). *Teoria e pratica della traduzione nel medioevo germanico*. Padova: Unipress, pp. 359–388.
- Ferrari, Fulvio (1998). "Modelli di santità e di eroismo nella *Knýtlinga saga*". In: Degl'Innocenti, Antonella/Ferrari, Fulvio (eds.). *Tra edificazione e piacere della lettura: le vite dei santi in età medievale*. Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento, pp. 71–101.
- Ferrari, Fulvio (2001). "Agiografia, storiografia, invenzione letteraria: le figure di Knut IV e di Knut Lavard nella *Knýtlinga saga*". In: Ásdís Egilsdóttir/Simek, Rudolf (eds.). *Sagnaheimur. Studies in Honour of Hermann Pálsson*. Wien: Fassbaender, pp. 79–90.
- Ferrer, Marlen (2012). "State Formation and Courtly Culture in the Scandinavian Kingdoms in the High Middle Ages". In: *Scandinavian Journal of History* 37, pp. 1–22.

- Friis, Oluf (1937–1945). *Den danske litteraturs historie. I. Fra oldtiden til renæssancen*. København: Gads forlag.
- Friis-Jensen, Karsten (1999). “Litteratur og bøger”. In: Ingesman, Per et al. (eds.). *Middelalderens Danmark. Kultur og samfund fra trosskifte til reformation*. København: Gads forlag, pp. 314–333.
- Friis-Jensen, Karsten (ed.) (2015). *Saxo Grammaticus: Gesta Danorum. The History of the Danes*. Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gentzler, Edwin (1993). *Contemporary Translation Theories*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Glauser, Jürg (1986). “Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit”. In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (eds.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 15). Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, pp. 191–207.
- Harrison, Dick (2009). *Sveriges historia 600–1350*. Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Heebøll-Holm, Thomas Kristian (2009). “*Prisorum quippe curialum, qui et nunc militari censentur nomine*. Riddere i Danmark i 1100-tallet”. In: [Dansk] *Historisk tidsskrift* 109, pp. 21–69.
- Jansson, Sven-Bertil (1999). *Den levande balladen. Medeltida ballad i svensk tradition*. Stockholm: Prisma.
- Kværndrup, Sigurd (1984). “Det feudale stændersamfund”. In: Kaspersen, Søren et al. (eds.). *Dansk litteraturhistorie 1. Fra runer til ridderdigtning 800–1480*. København: Gyldendal, pp. 426–475.
- Kværndrup, Sigurd (1993). “*Profectio Danorum in Hierosolymam*”. In: Pulsiano, Philip/Wolf, Kirsten (eds.). *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 516–517.
- Olrik, Axel/Grüner-Nielsen, Hakon (eds.) (1967). *Danmarks gamle folkeviser. VIII–IX*. København: Universitets-Jubilæets Danske Samfund.
- Pedersen, Vibeke (2007). “Underholdning og oplysning – folkebøger og Danmarkshistorie på dansk”. In: Mortensen, Klaus P./Schack, May (eds.). *Dansk litteraturs historie (1100–1800)*. København: Gyldendal, pp. 132–142.
- Rasmussen, Jens Rahbek (1990). “Adel og konge – borger og bonde”. In: Brask, Peter et al. (eds.). *Dansk litteraturhistorie 2. Lærdom og magi 1480–1620*. København: Gyldendal, pp. 132–144.
- Schjødt, Jens Peter (2013). “The Christianization of the North – a New Kind of Religiosity”. In: Słupecki, Leszek/Simek, Rudolf (eds.). *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*. Wien: Fassbaender, pp. 303–320.
- Shuttleworth, Mark (2009). “Polysystem”. In: Baker, Mona/Saldanha, Gabriela (eds.). *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. 2nd Edition. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 197–200.
- Steinsland, Gro (1990). “The Change of Religion in the Nordic Countries – a Confrontation between Two Living Religions”. In: *Collegium Medievale* 3, pp. 123–135.
- Steinsland, Gro (2005). *Norrøn religion. Myter, riter, samfunn*. Oslo: Pax forlag.
- Ulsig, Erik (1999). “Højmiddelalder (1050–1350)”. In: Ingesman, Per et al. (eds.). *Middelalderens Danmark. Kultur og samfund fra trosskifte til reformation*. København: Gads forlag, pp. 28–39.
- Winroth, Anders (2012). *The Conversion of Scandinavia. Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Online sources

- Even-Zohar, Itamar (2010). *Papers in Culture Research*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University (<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.477.787&rep=rep1&type=pdf>). (2.7.2021)

Some Philological Observations on the Old Danish *Ivan løveridder* and its Old Swedish Source Text¹

Massimiliano Bampi (Venice)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8378-0190>

Abstract: The Old Danish *Ivan løveridder*, a translation of the Old Swedish *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren*, survives in two manuscript copies (Cod. Holm. K 4 and Cod. Holm. K 47) which differ considerably in length. The text in K 47 is much longer (6403 lines in Brandt's edition) than the defective text in K 4 (5273 lines in Brandt's edition) as well as the Old Swedish manuscript versions. Based on Noreen's study (1929) of the Scandinavian reception of Chrétien's text, the aim of the present essay is to illustrate and briefly discuss some of the main philological problems concerning the relationships between the manuscripts preserving the *Eufemiavisor* and their Danish translations as attested in K 47 and K 4.

Keywords: *Eufemiavisor*, Old Danish translation, MSS K 47 and K 4, philological problems, stemmatic relationships

The Old Danish version of Chrétien's work *Yvain ou le Chevalier au lion* – customarily referred to as *Ivan løveridder* – is unanimously considered to be the translation of the Old Swedish *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren*. It survives in two manuscripts from the second half of the 15th century: Cod. Holm. K 4 and Cod. Holm. K 47, both preserved at the Royal Library in Stockholm.² While the collection in K 47 consists of several courtly works (i.e. the three *Eufemiavisor*, *Dværgekongen Lavrin*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis* and *Den kyske dronning*), the codicological context in which *Ivan løveridder* appears in K 4 is more heterogeneous. The collection of texts making up this manuscript does indeed include several translated hagiographical materials (mostly about female saints), the annals known as *Rydårsbogen* and the so-called *Stenbogen*, a lapidary customarily attributed to Henrik Harpestreng. A third manuscript, now lost, is known to have been owned by the Danish book collector Frederik Rostgaard, who sold it together with the rest of his collection of books and manuscripts in 1726 (Noreen 1929: 7).

1 The present study is based on research conducted within the research programme “Modes of Modification. Variance and Change in Medieval Manuscript Culture”, funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

2 On the dating of K 4 see Bullitta (2017). On K 47 see Glauser (1986) and Hartung et al. (2016: 177–178). An overview of the main dating issues concerning K 4 is given in Bampi (2019: 220–222).

The two extant Danish manuscript versions differ considerably in length. The text in K 47 is much longer (6403 lines in Brandt's edition) than both the defective text in K 4 (5273 lines in Brandt's edition) and in the Old Swedish manuscript versions.

In addition to their intrinsic value as translated works, the Old Danish *Eufemiavisor* have proved particularly relevant to the study of the East Norse reception of chivalric literature in that they appear to be based on longer versions of the Old Swedish texts than the ones attested in the extant manuscripts, as will be shown in some detail later on (Noreen 1929).

The aim of the present essay is to illustrate some of the main problems related to the reconstruction of the relationships between the manuscripts preserving the *Eufemiavisor* and their Danish translations. The following observations draw especially on Noreen's 1929 study of the internal relations among the manuscript witnesses of both the Old Swedish and the Old Danish texts.

Editions

The texts of K 47 and K 4 were edited by Carl J. Brandt in 1869 and 1870 as part of his *Romantisk digtning fra Middelalderen*. A new scholarly edition of the text of K 47 is available as part of the collection of texts published by scholars involved in the project *Studér middelalder på nettet*, which to date represents the most important endeavour for the renewal of interest in Old Danish literature.³ So far, no new edition of the *Ivan løveridder*-text in K 4 is available.

Relationship between manuscripts

Although it is an indisputable fact that the interest in the Old Swedish *Eufemiavisor* has been increasing considerably over the last 10 years, scholarly works on the philological aspects of the transmission of these texts in the East Norse area are still scant. Our knowledge of the relationships between the manuscripts preserving both the Old Swedish and the Old Danish translations is indeed based on a philological groundwork dating from the 1920s and 1930s. This is to be seen against the background of the relative disinterest Old Danish literature has received in international scholarship over the last few decades. Its regrettable marginalisation⁴ in Medieval Scandinavian studies is partly dependent on the fact that the majority of texts that have come down to us are translations, which tend either to be considered less valuable than original works or, when deemed noteworthy, are for the most part not approached as literary works in their own right.

The slow development of a renewed interest in the Old Danish reception of the *Eufemiavisor*, if compared to the Old Swedish source texts, explains why all relevant scholarship on the *Eufemiavisor*/*Eufemiavisor* is by and large based on the critical editions that Erik Noreen and Emil Olson published around 90 years ago. In the case of the Old Danish texts, Carl Brandt's edition from 1869–1870 is still an important milestone, although

3 <https://tekstnet.dk/ivan-loeveridder/1>

4 Notable exceptions are represented by Glauser (1986), Dahlerup (1998), Fredriksen (1998a and 1998b) and Brandenburg (2019).

the edition of the K 47-text mentioned above will hopefully become the standard edition in the years to come.⁵

If one wishes to analyze the Old Danish translation by comparing it with its Old Swedish source, Noreen's text is thus still the only point of reference. The new edition of the Swedish texts by Henrik Williams, in which the *Eufemiavisor* are presented in a modernized form, came out in 2018 and is primarily intended for a larger audience, as the following passages make clear:

Syftet med föreliggande utgåva är att locka nya läsare till forntida texter. (2018a: 362)

The aim of this edition is to attract new readers to ancient texts.

(...) Den som vill få ett intryck av hur det äldsta textlagret ser ut hänvisas till Williams & Palmgren, där en fornsvensk 1300-talsversion av *Ivan lejonriddaren* har återskapats. Här vill jag istället söka mig till den andra ytterligheten, en så sent fornsvensk version som möjligt. Jag har tagit mig friheten att ikläda mig rollen som en skrivare vid medeltidens absoluta slut. Därvid har jag i stort sett följt texten hos Olson respektive Noreen men ersatt svårförståeliga ord med andra, hämtade från någon av handskrifterna, enligt principen att de valda orden ska ligga så nära dagens språkbruk som möjligt. (2018a: 364)

Whoever wishes to get an idea of how the oldest text layer looks is referred to Williams & Palmgren, where a 14th-century Old Swedish version of *Ivan lejonriddaren* has been reconstructed. Here, instead, I want to move to the other extreme, i.e. an Old Swedish version as late as possible. I have taken the liberty of assuming the role of a scribe at the very end of the Middle Ages. In doing so, I have largely followed Olson's and Noreen's text, respectively. However, I have replaced difficult words with others, taken from one of the other manuscripts, following the principle that the chosen words should be as close to today's language as possible.

The critical text established by Noreen poses some relevant philological issues. It is indeed a hybrid in that it contains passages that are taken from the Danish manuscripts, as explicitly declared in the critical apparatus, and re-translated into Old Swedish, whenever the Swedish manuscripts lack a corresponding passage. In some cases, the density of such interpolations is fairly high (see, for example, ll. 3500–3512; 3530–3533; 3541–42; 3543–44; 3561–62), which makes Noreen's critical text into an instrument that must necessarily be used with caution, especially if one aims to look at the transmission of Chrétien's text in the East Norse area as a whole. The *Herr Ivan*-edition is based on MS. A (Cod. Holm. D 4), which contains several lacunae. What meets the reader is therefore the result of a reconstructive effort that is obviously influenced by the state of manuscript transmission.⁶

In 1929 Erik Noreen published his thorough investigation of the relationships between the manuscripts preserving both the Old Swedish and the Old Danish translations as part of a broader tripartite philological study called *Studier rörande Eufemiavisorna*. To date,

5 It is thus noteworthy that the most recent contribution by the late Sigurd Kværndrup (2014) is an edition of the Old Swedish *Herr Ivan* intended for a Danish readership. In the book, only a few pages (295–297) are devoted to the Old Danish reception, although some of Kværndrup's observations are very interesting and would thus deserve further attention.

6 On D 4 as a whole and the question of its dating see Carlquist (2002: 97–103).

Noreen's work is the only philological investigation of the whole manuscript tradition of the *Eufemiavisor* in their Swedish and Danish incarnations.⁷ The present essay argues, by way of textual evidence, that a reconsideration of the relationships between the manuscripts is needed. However, since a thorough analysis of the relevant textual passages would exceed its scope, a limited number of examples will be illustrated.

However, for the purpose of studying the Danish transmission of the story of *Ivan løveridder* Noreen's study is still indisputably important for several reasons, not least because he considers the version of the text in K 47 (MS. F) to possess a considerable stemmatic value, as the following statements make clear:

Det synes mig ganske påtagligt att texten i F står avsidet från den tradition som föreligger i de sv. hss. A B D och även från den danska hs. E, vilken ansluter sig till gruppen A B D. Är denna uppfattning riktig så blir F av Iv (Cod. K 47) av samma kapitala betydelse för textkritiken som G av Fr (= K 47). Under alla omständigheter måste texten i F genom sin utmärkta fullständighet tillmätas det allra största värde. (Noreen 1929: 19)

It seems rather evident to me that the text in F lies apart from the tradition that is represented by the Swedish manuscripts A B D and even from the Danish manuscript E, which joins the group A B D. If this view is correct, ms. F of *Ivan* (Cod. K 47) should be accorded the same primary significance for textual criticism as ms. G of *Hertig Fredrik* (= K 47). In any case, the text in F must be given the utmost value by its excellent completeness.

Av dessa har F:s källa varit en utmärkt hs. F är den fullständigaste av texterna och en plusvers i F bör principiellt anses ha tillhört det fsv. (...) E, som står närmast A och B, visar ofta prov på en alldeles mekanisk överflyttning av den svenska texten; den karakteriseras även av många och svåra luckor i texten. (Noreen 1929: 45).

Of these, the source of F was an excellent manuscript. F is the most complete of the texts, and an additional verse in F must in principle be held to have belonged to the Old Swedish (source). E, which is closest to A and B, often shows evidence of a very mechanical translation of the Swedish text. It is also characterized by many difficult lacunae in the text.

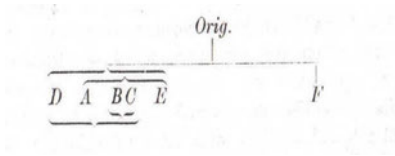
As far as the relationships among the manuscripts preserving the Old Swedish and Old Danish text are concerned, Noreen suggests the following reconstruction:

Jag anser mig icke bättre kunna uttrycka min uppfattning av handskrifternas förhållande till varandra än genom förut meddelade stamträd, försett med några klammer för att antyda sammanhang i den "svenska" gruppen". (1931: xiii)

I think I cannot express my understanding of the manuscripts' relationships with each other in any better manner than through the previously given stemma, provided with some brackets in order to hint at the connections in the "Swedish" group.

7 Alongside Noreen's study one should mention Valter Jansson (1945). In Jansson's seminal study, though, the focus is solely on the Old Swedish texts.

This is the stemma codicum of the East Norse *Ivan* according to Noreen (1931: 13):



The Swedish philologist provides textual evidence in support of his hypothesis that the additional verses in F – if compared to the other manuscripts, including E – are original (Noreen 1929: 19–24). Some of these examples point indeed to the fact that F retains several original readings or passages that are not attested in E (and, occasionally, in other Swedish manuscripts), as will be briefly shown in the following section:

I)

Luneta addresses a maiden who is looking for the lion's knight:

Herr Ivan

Then snimpsta tima iak han fan
tha skildis iak hær vidher han (ll. 4325–4326)⁸

The last time I saw him
I parted from him there⁹

Only F shows two additional verses if compared to both the rest of the Swedish manuscripts and E:

F
Sisten time jech hanum fandh
skildis jech heræ widh ham
hwad han hawer sidhen giord
ther hawer jech jnthet aff spord (78r)¹⁰

The last time I saw him
I parted from him there.
What he did afterwards
I have not heard anything about

The additional verses find correspondence in the wording of the Old French text:

8 In Noreen's critical edition, ll. 4329–4330 ("hwat han hafuer sidhan giort, / ther hafer iak ække aff sport") are taken from F and translated into Old Swedish, as discussed above. The Old Swedish text is quoted throughout from Noreen's edition.

9 All translations of the Old Swedish text are taken from Williams/Palmgren 1999 (here p. 205).

10 The *Ivan*-text in K 47 (F) is quoted throughout from the scholarly edition available online (<https://tekstnet.dk/ivan-loeveridder/1>). This passage corresponds to ll. 4304–4307 in Brandt's edition (1869: 137).

French

Bien m'an sovient que jel lessai
 Bien pres de ci, ou ci meïsmes;
 Ne puis ne nos antreveïsmes,
 Ne je ne sai qu'il a puis fet (ll. 4996–4999)¹¹

I definitely remember leaving him quite near here, or at this very place; we have not seen one another since, nor do I know what he has done since then.” (Kibler 2004: 357)¹²

II)

The members of the court invite Ivan to return and celebrate his victory upon completing his task of killing the giant:

Herr Ivan

Tha mælte then herra och the frvgha:
 “Wi bidhiæ thet gernæ om thet ma dugh,
 mæden j mogen ey nw medh os in,
 j komin her ater eth annat sin
 oc huilen ider oc haffuen make,
 i gøren thet for ware sake
tha i thet ærinde hafuin giørt
*ther wi hafuum aff idher hørt.*¹³
 Herra Iwan swarar husbondan tha:
 “For sannind iak thet ey iatta ma,
 thy thet alt a lykko star,
 huru thet mik i hænde gar.”¹⁴
 Æ badh herra Iwan husbondan tha:
 J laten idhræ sönir gøræ swa,
 taka thenne dwærgh och bort han føræ
 thit som j herra Gawian spøræ (ll. 3521–3536)¹⁵

Then the lord and the lady said.
 “we ask you, if it suits you,
 Since you cannot come in with us now,
 That you come back another time
 To rest up and be at leisure;
 do so for our sake.
 When you have carried out the task

-
- 11 The Old French text is quoted throughout from Poirion (1994).
 - 12 The English translation of the Old French text is quoted throughout from Kibler (2004).
 - 13 The italicized verses were taken by Noreen from MS. D (Stockholm, Riksarkivet, E 8822).
 - 14 The italicized verses are not attested in any of the Old Swedish manuscripts and were therefore added by Noreen, who translated them from F into Old Swedish.
 - 15 Text according to B (Noreen 1929: 21).

That we have heard about from you”.

Sir Ivan then answered his host:

“I cannot truthfully promise you this,
Because everything depends on fate
How things will turn out for me.”

But Sir Ivan then asked his host:

“Let your sons do this:
Take this dwarf and let them take him away
To where you hear of Sir Gawain;
They should not reveal who has rescued them from their distress.”

F

tha meltæ bodæ then herræ och frwe
wi bedhæ edher giernæ om thet maa dwe
men i mowe ey nw medh os bidhæ
i komær heræ affter jet anneth sindh
ath hwillæ edher och hawæ magæ
i giøræ thet och for woræ sagæ
tha i thet erindæ hawe giord
ther wi hawæ aff edher hørd
herræ iwan swaredæ **hosbwndæn tha**
for sanindæ jech thet ey jettæ maa
thy thet alt a lyckæ stor
hwræ thet mæg i hændæ gaar
æn bad her ywan **hosbwndhen tha**
j ladher edher sønær giøræ saa
och tage thenne dwerigh och bort hanum føræ
thidh som i herræ gawian ma spøræ (63r)¹⁶

Then the lord and the lady said.

“we ask you, if it suits you,
Since you cannot come in with us now,
that you come back another time
to rest up and be at leisure;
do so for our sake.

When you have carried out the task
that we have heard about from you”.

Sir Ivan then answered his host:

“I cannot truthfully promise you this,
because everything depends on fate
how things will turn out for me.”

But Sir Ivan then asked his host:

“Let your sons do this:

16 Lines 3506–3521 in Brandt’s edition.

take this dwarf and let them take him away
to where you hear of Sir Gawain;
they should not reveal who has rescued them from their distress.”

The verses in F (italicized in the quotation above), that are not found in the other manuscripts, find correspondence in the Old French text, as attested in the italicized passage below:

De monseignor Yvain sont cert
Qu' il nel porroient retenir
Por rien qui poïst avenir,
Si li prient de retourner
Por deduire et por sejourner
Tot maintenant que fet avra
Son afeire la ou il va.
*Et il responcqu'il ne les ose
Asseürer de ceste chose;
Il ne set mie deviner
S'il porra bien ou mal liner;
Mes au seignor itant dist il
Que il vialt que si quatre fil
Et sa fille praignent le nain,
S'aillent a monseignor Gauvain (ll. 4262–4276)¹⁷*

They knew that nothing in this world could detain my lord Yvain a moment longer, so they begged him to return and celebrate as soon as he had completed the task to which he was going. He answered that he did not dare promise them this; he could not guess whether it would end well or not. But he did say to the lord that he wanted his four sons and his daughter to take the dwarf and go to my lord Gawain.¹⁸

This appears to be a case of omission by homeoteleuton, as observed by Noreen.¹⁹ The scribe did probably skip the text between the two lines that contain the phrase, “husbondan tha”. The fact that the same omission is attested in manuscripts B, C, D and E appears to indicate that they are likely to derive from a manuscript that contained this error. At the same time, the fact that F preserves the whole passage leads Noreen to conclude that it must be based on a different antigraph from the model used for B C D E.²⁰ The general assumption on which this statement rests is that none of the extant manuscripts is a direct copy of any of the manuscripts that have come down to us: “Ingen av de bevarade handskrifterna

17 Poirion (1994: 442).

18 Kibler (2004: 348).

19 As mentioned in note 12 above, the Old Swedish edited text contains the whole passage because the missing lines in the Old Swedish manuscripts (“Herra Iwan swarar husbondan tha: / “For sannind iak thet ey iatta ma, / thy thet alt a lykko star, / huru thet mik i hænde gar”) were translated by Noreen from the Old Danish manuscript witnesses.

20 In addition, it is noteworthy that the wording in F mirrors the one attested in the Old French text.

är avskrift av någon annan av de bevarade handskrifterna, utan samtliga äga större eller mindre värde för textkritiken” (Noreen 1931: xi).²¹

However, Noreen’s investigation leaves space for doubts:

Vad särskilt E beträffar är saken visserligen ej fullt klar (...) men i fråga om en så omfattande text måste lämnas ett visst utrymme åt tillfälliga överensstämmelser. (Noreen 1929: 30)

As far as E especially is concerned, the matter is not entirely clear (...). However, in the case of such a comprehensive text, one must leave some room for accidental agreements.

Furthermore, the analysis of common errors in two or three manuscripts in group A B (C) D E “bekräftat den ovan uppställda arbetshypotesen men ger f.ö. icke så många säkra resultat om de närmare frändskapsförhållandena inom nämnda grupp” (Noreen 1929: 31)²².

Both quotations from Noreen’s study are indicative of the degree of relative uncertainty that characterizes the relationship within what he considers one of the two branches of the dissemination of the *Eufemiavisor* in Sweden and Denmark.

If we narrow our scope within the Danish texts, some textual passages deserve special attention. One of the two examples that will be discussed presently is merely mentioned by Noreen, whereas the other is granted more attention.

Such examples regard textual passages in which E and F converge against A B C D (Noreen 1929: 27).

Herr Ivan

Herra Iwan sprang op fra thet bordh,
han mælte til ængin man eet ordh
ok lop thøm allo swa langt ij fra
thet ængin thera matte honum na.
Owit swa hans **hiærna** fordreff
thet all siin klædhe han aff sik reeff
ok bardhe sik medh thorn ok qwista
thy at han ænkte vætta vistæ (ll. 2181–2188)

Sir Ivan sprang up from the table;
he did not say one word to anybody
and ran so far away from them all
that no one could reach him.
Madness attacked his **mind** in such wise
that he tore off all his clothes
and lashed himself with thorns and twigs
because he was out of his mind (Williams/Palmgren 1999: 109)

The text in both E and F reads as follows:

21 “None of the extant manuscripts is a copy of any of them, yet all of them possess a greater or lesser value for establishing the critical text”.

22 “confirms the aforementioned working hypothesis, yet does not provide so many certain results concerning the closer kinship relationship within the group”.

F:

Herre ywan sprank op fra thet bord
 han taled til jngen man iet ordh
 och løb them alle sa longt fra
 thet jngen aff them kwnne hanom naa
 widh hans **hierte** sa for dreff
 thet alle sine kleder han aff segh reff
 och borde segh met torne och qwiste
 thy ath han ey bedre wiste (38r–38v)²³

Sir Ivan sprang up from the table;
 he did not say one word to anybody
 and ran so far away from them all
 that no one could reach him.
 Madness attacked his **heart** in such manner
 that he tore off all his clothes
 and lashed himself with thorns and twigs.
 because he was out of his mind

E:

Her ywan sprangh vp foræ thet bordt
 Han meltæ til engen man eth ordh
 Han løb thom allæ soa langt j fra
 Ath engenteræ mattæ hannum naa
 Llwuicht **hiartæ** soa fordreff
 Ath alle syne clædær han af sich reff
 Och bardæ sigh mæt torne qwistæ
 Thi at han enktæt vistæ (Brandt 1870: 191; ll. 1984–1991)

Sir Ivan sprang up from the table;
 he did not say one word to anybody
 and ran so far away from them all
 that no one could reach him.
 Madness attacked his **heart** in such manner
 that he tore off all his clothes
 and lashed himself with thorns and twigs.
 because he was out of his mind

23 Brandt (1869: 69; ll. 2173–2180).

Noreen observes that E and F have *hierte* instead of *hiærne*, which is attested in all Swedish manuscripts. A comparison with the Old French text leads him to rule out the possibility that *hierte* is original as the text reads as follows:²⁴

Lors se li monte uns torbeillons
 El chief, si grant que il forsane (ll. 2806–2807)

Then such a tempest rose in his head that he went mad. (Kibler 2004: 330)

Furthermore, the fact that this passage is about Yvain losing his temper after suddenly realising the consequences of his foolish behaviour leads us to believe that the *hiærne*-reading is more plausible. Irrespective of whether the *hierte* variant should go back to a now lost French manuscript or not, though, what is particularly noteworthy here is that both Danish manuscripts contain one and the same variant that is not attested elsewhere.

There is another example of convergence of E and F against all other Swedish manuscripts that is even more interesting than the previous one. It is a short passage following a monologue in which Yvain/Ivan blames himself for causing such unbearable sorrow to Laudine, whom he sees crying in great despair from his window.

<i>Herr Ivan</i>	Cod. Holm. K 4 (E)	Cod. Holm. K 47 (F)
<p>Iak veet thet væl for vtan swik/ hon saghe mik hælder dødth æn qwik/ Tho hafuer iak hørt sighia een visan man/ thet han ij bokom skrifuith fan/: hwa ther stadhlika hafuer akt op a/man qwvinno hwgh skøt vænda ma/ thy at man finer thet opta swa/ the sighia thet ney, the wilia ia/ Iak thorff ey tala swa vnderlik/hwa weet hwath gudh vil gøre medh mik? /Han ma væl hæenna hiært vænda/ ok hona mik til glædi at sænda. (v. 1093–1104)</p> <p><i>I know it well, /she would rather see me dead than alive. /Yet I have heard a wise man tell/what he had found written in a book:/everyone who is very observant knows/that one can quickly change a wom- an’s mind/since this has often been demonstrated;/ they may say “no”</i></p>	<p>Iech wedh thet wel for wten suegh/hwn saa megh heller døth æn kuegh/jech tørff ey tale saa vderligh/hwem vedh huad gudh vil gjøre met megh/ath han maa vel henne hierte om wende/ henne megh til gleden at sende (Brandt 1870: 162; ll. 1028–1032)</p> <p><i>I know it well/ she would rather see me dead than alive/ I need not talk so strangely;/ who knows what God intends for me? / He may well change her heart/ so that it inclines towards me, to my joy.</i></p>	<p>iech wedh thet wel for wthen suegh/hwn saa megh heller døth en kuegh/jech tørff ey tale saa vnderligh/hwem vedh huad gudh vil gjøre met megh/ath han maa vel henne hierte om wende/henne megh til gleden ath sende (19r–19v; Brandt 1869: 34; ll. 1092–1097)</p> <p><i>I know it well/ she would rather see me dead than alive/ I need not talk so strangely;/ who knows what God intends for me? / He may well change her heart/ so that it inclines towards me, to my joy.</i></p>

24 As much as it is understandable that Noreen makes use of the critical edition of the Old French text for his study of its East Norse translations, it goes without saying that one should check all manuscripts of the Old French *Yvain* to establish whether such a reading is attested in any of them. The fact that there are important differences between some of the manuscript witnesses of Chrétien’s *Yvain* makes a thorough inspection of all of them even more important in order to gain a clear picture of the relationship between the Old Swedish translation and the French source text. On the manuscripts of *Yvain* see Busby et al. (1993) and Busby (2005).

<p>yet mean “yes.” I need not talk so strangely/ who knows what God intends for me? / He may well change her heart/ so that it inclines towards me, to my joy. (Williams/ Palmgren 1999: 59)</p>		
--	--	--

The difference in tone between the Swedish text and the Old Danish branch of the *Yvain*-tradition lies, quite obviously, in how Laudine’s reaction to her beloved husband’s death is commented upon.

A comparison with the Old French text reveals that the reference to women’s unsteady mood is couched in other words there:

D’orendroit ai ge dit que sages,
 que fame a plus de cent corages.
 Celui corage qu’ele a ore,
 espoir, changera ele ancore;
 ainz le changera sanz espoir. (ll. 1437–1441)

I was right to speak of ‘right now’, for a woman has more than a hundred moods. This mood she is now in, she will yet change, perhaps; in fact there’s no ‘perhaps’: she will change! (Kibler (2004: 312)

The last two verses in the Old Swedish passage (“thy at man finer thet opta swa/ the sighiæ thet ney, the wilia ia”) are not present in A either, and in light of Noreen’s stemmatic hypothesis they should therefore be understood as an innovation of B.

Moving from Noreen’s hypothesis that E and F go back to two different manuscript copies, the fact that both versions show the same omission (or lacuna) demands further attention, and the same applies to the example discussed above. Since all other manuscripts share at least two of the verses that express a slightly misogynistic attitude, one is led to wonder how likely it is that two scribes would have omitted the same passage independently. To weigh the sustainability of this view, one must consider what is known of the social environment in which the two manuscripts preserving the text were probably used.

Two passages in K 47 (one in *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* and one in *Flores og Blanseflor*) suggest that the copyist (or even the translator) is likely to have been a woman (see Glauser 1986: 193–194). In addition, some textual clues seem to indicate that the texts making up the collection were intended for a female public:

Als inhaltliche Hinweise auf ein klösterliches und eventuell weibliches Schreibermilieu hat man die Milderung von Kampfbeschreibungen, die drastische Kürzung einer erotischen Szene im dänischen *Hertug Frederik* und eine Ermahnung an Mönche, keine Waffen zu tragen (*Den kyske dronning*), gedeutet. (Glauser 1986: 194)

The mitigation of combat descriptions, the drastic shortening of an erotic scene in the Danish *Hertug Frederik* and an admonition to monks not to carry weapons (*Den kyske dronning*) have been interpreted as evidence of a monastic and possibly female writing milieu.

Weder neu noch original, sondern äußerst konservativ in seinem literarischen Geschmack, sammelte der jütische Kompilator bekannte hochmittelalterliche Erzählungen und versah sie mit einer differenzierten Funktion. Neue Rezipientenschichten fanden in ihnen unterhaltenden Vorlesestoff und in irgendeiner vagen Form vielleicht auch standesideologische Selbstbestätigung. In einem übergreifenden europäischen Kontext betrachtet, erstaunt nicht, dass um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert in den höchsten aristokratischen Kreisen Dänemarks und dem sich allmählich formierenden Patriziat die alte, eigentlich bereits unzeitgemäß gewordene, höfisch-ritterliche Epik so hoch im Kurs stand wie nie zuvor. (Glauser 1986: 204)

Neither new nor original, but extremely conservative in his literary taste, the Jutish compiler collected well-known stories from the high Middle Ages and provided them with a differentiated function. New groups of recipients found entertaining reading material in them and, in some vague form, perhaps also ideological self-affirmation. Considered in an overarching European context, it is not surprising that around the turn of the 15th to the 16th century, in the highest aristocratic circles in Denmark and the urban patriciate that was gradually forming, the old courtly and chivalric epic, which had actually become out of date, was so popular like never before.

Furthermore, Britta Olrik Fredriksen has more recently described K 47 as a “repertoire-håndskrift” that “minder i så henseende om adelsdamers visebøger fra 1500- og 1600-tallet” (1998b: 48)²⁵, thus providing further evidence in support of the hypothesis that this collection of texts was meant to address a female audience. In her view, it is likely that the intended readers of the texts in K 47 were aristocratic women.

As far as K 4 is concerned, a recent analysis of the hagiographical section of the manuscript has convincingly shown that the texts were most probably used within a female monastic community:

With regard to the selection of Marian and hagiographical texts it contains, and in light of the uncommon reference to the “sisters” as part of the audience, it seems plausible that the *Legendary* was composed for a female monastic house in Roskilde, possibly Our Lady’s Dominican nunnery. (Bullitta 2017: 22)

Elsewhere I have suggested that the later inclusion of *Ivan løveridder* in K 4 may have been prompted by the fact that the story of the knight and his lion lends itself well to being interpreted in a spiritual way, as other manuscript evidence also suggests (Bampi 2019: 228; Bandlien 2013).

Therefore, all of the above clearly indicates that K 47 and K 4 are likely to have been used to address a female public. Accordingly, it cannot be ruled out that the two scribes rewrote the same passage independently, as a result of a conscious manipulation of the text to adjust it to the worldview of the addressees. The omitted lines would indeed have been received fairly badly by a female public.

As much as this hypothesis is plausible, though, it is also possible that both E and F ultimately go back, either directly or indirectly, to a common ancestor that contained the omission. Other evidence in Noreen’s study strengthens such hypothesis. According to him,

25 “and in this respect resembles the *visebøger* from the 16th and 17th centuries owned by noblewomen.”

the aforementioned example is not the only case in which E and F converge in omitting a part of the text that is preserved in the Old Swedish manuscripts (Noreen 1929: 29–30). In Noreen’s study, however, such omissions are only listed. A thorough investigation of all of them would enable us to ascertain on more solid grounds the nature of the relationship of E and F, also with regard to the Old Swedish *Herr Ivan*.

Furthermore, whether or not both instances of convergence of E and F against all other manuscripts discussed above should be interpreted as conjunctive errors can thus be established only after a careful re-examination of the manuscript transmission of the Old Swedish text and its translations into Old Danish. Such re-examination would no doubt benefit a great deal from a broader investigation of the textual evidence regarding the other two *Eufemiaviser*, especially with regard to K 47.

All this leads us to conclude that, ninety years after Noreen’s study, a new investigation of the manuscript transmission of *Herr Ivan* in medieval Denmark would represent a most welcome contribution to our understanding of how the Old Swedish text reached a Danish audience. To this end, the observations contained in Valter Jansson’s seminal study about the original *Eufemiavisor* being written in an area located between the Southwestern and the Western regions of the Swedish kingdom (1945: 14; 312–313) still provide a most valuable starting point.²⁶ A new philological endeavour will thus need to go hand in hand with a new investigation of the social, dynastic and political relationships between Denmark and Sweden in the second half of the 15th century.

References

- Bampi, Massimiliano (2019). “Yvain i dansk språkdräkt. Hövisk litteratur i det senmedeltida Danmark”. In: Boeck, Simon Skovgaard/Vrieland, Séan (eds.). *A Copenhagen Miscellany*. Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund and Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, pp. 215–234.
- Bandlien, Bjørn (2013). “Yvain among Friars. A Late Medieval Franciscan Manuscript of *Herr Ivan*”. In: *Journal of the International Arthurian Society* 1, pp. 81–119.
- Brandenburg, Elena (2019). *Karl der Große im Norden. Rezeption französischer Heldenepik in den altostnordischen Handschriften* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 65). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.
- Brandt, Carl J. (1869). *Romantisk Digting fra Middelalderen*. Udgiven af C.J. Brandt. Vol. I. Copenhagen: Samfundet til den danske Literaturs Fremme & Thiele.
- Brandt, Carl J. (1870). *Romantisk Digting fra Middelalderen*. Udgiven af C.J. Brandt. Vol. II. Copenhagen: Samfundet til den danske Literaturs Fremme & Thiele.
- Bullitta, Dario (2017). “Sources, Context, and English Provenance of the Old Danish *Visio Pauli*”. In: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 116:1, pp. 1–23.
- Busby, Keith et al. (eds.) (1993). *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes* (2 vols.). Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Busby, Keith (2005). “The Manuscripts of Chrétien’s Romances”. In: Lacy, Norris/Grimbert, Joan Tasker (eds.). *A Companion to Chrétien de Troyes*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, pp. 64–75.

26 More recently, Dario Bullitta (2017: 23) has come up with the hypothesis that the copy of the *Herr Ivan*-text on which the Old Danish translation in K 4 may be based may have been found in Scania.

- Carlquist, Jonas (2002). *Handskriften som historiskt vittne. Fornsvenska samlingshandskrifter – miljö och funktion*. Stockholm: Runica et Mediævalia.
- Dahlerup, Pil (1998). *Dansk Litteratur. Middelalder. 1: Religiøs litteratur*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
- Fredriksen, Britta Olrik (1999a). "Digtet om *Ivan løveridder* og andre tekster". In: Petersen, Erik (ed.). *Levende ord & lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek and Mosgård Museum, pp. 46–48.
- Fredriksen, Britta Olrik (1999b). "Ridderromaner". In: Petersen, Erik (ed.). *Levende ord & lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek and Mosgård Museum, pp. 48–49.
- Glauser, Jürg (1986). "Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit". In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (eds.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 15). Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, pp. 191–207.
- Hartung, Hendrikje et al. (eds.). (2016). *Laurin*. Göttingen: Hirzel.
- Jansson, Valter (1945). *Eufemiavisorna. En filologisk undersökning*. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln and Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Kibler, William W. (2004). *Chrétien de Troyes, Arthurian Romances*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by William W. Kibler. London: Penguin.
- Kværndrup, Sigurd (2014). *Den nordiske løveridder. En ridderromance af Chrétien de Troyes. Bearbejdet, med noter, indledning og efterskrift af Sigurd Kværndrup*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag.
- Noreen, Erik (1929). *Studier rörande Eufemiavisorna III. Kritiska studier över Herr Ivan*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell and Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Noreen, Erik (1931). *Herr Ivan. Kritisk upplaga utgiven av Erik Noreen*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Poirion, Daniel (1994). *Chrétien de Troyes, Œuvres complètes. Édition publiée sous la direction de Daniel Poirion avec la collaboration d'Anne Berthelot, Peter F. Dembowski, Sylvie Lefèvre, Karl D. Uitti et Philippe Walter*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Williams, Henrik (2018a). *Eufemiavisorna I*. Stockholm: Atlantis.
- Williams, Henrik (2018b). *Eufemiavisorna II*. Stockholm: Atlantis.
- Williams, Henrik/Palmgren, Karin (eds.) (1999). *Norse Romance*. Edited by Marianne E. Kalinke. Vol. III: *Hærra Ivan*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Online sources

- Akhoz Nielsen, Marita. "Ivan løveridder". <https://tekstnet.dk/ivan-loeveridder/1> (Last accessed 02.07.2021)

A Middle Norwegian *Herr Ivan* – In Search of a Language¹

Karl G. Johansson (Oslo)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4572-8789>

Abstract: The view of Norway as a region in decay in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, subdued under Danish rulership, has in earlier research overshadowed the fact that there were still milieux in Norway where literature was re-written and distributed. The literary centres in Scandinavia had moved and changed, but writing continued among the literate classes. The version of *Herr Ivan* in a Norwegian mid-fifteenth-century manuscript, E 8822, in the National Archives, Stockholm, is central to this discussion of the Norwegian part of the Scandinavian literary system and its relationship to Danish translations from the same period. One objective is to present the relatively underresearched material in *Birgittine Norwegian*, which may provide new insights into the development of literacy in Scandinavia in the late Middle Ages.

Keywords: E 8822, Birgittine Norwegian (birgittinnorska), Middle Norwegian (mellomnorsk), literacy, literary systems, literary centres, *Eufemiavisor*

The present study does not deal directly with this book's primary subject, that is, Danish versions of the *Eufemiavisor*, but rather focuses on the version found in a Norwegian manuscript of the Swedish version of *Herr Ivan*. It is important, I think, to consider this text in order to further illuminate the dissemination of the *Eufemiavisor* in the Scandinavian realm at large. It is necessary to stress the importance of a focus on the Danish material. That material has too long been neglected in Scandinavian studies, due primarily to a focus on the mostly Icelandic 'canon' of Old Norse studies, but also as a result of the preference shown to the Swedish *Eufemiavisor*. In order to get a more complete picture of the literary system encompassing Scandinavia (including Iceland), more scholarly engagement with the Danish translations of the fifteenth century and later is necessary.

It is crucial, however, that as this material is brought into the discussion, it should not be treated in isolation from the overall literary system of Scandinavia. Danish, as well as Swedish, Norwegian, and Icelandic literature did not, it should go without saying, develop in a vacuum. In many of the chapters in this book, Danish literature's relationships both to the Swedish and the European literary systems are treated explicitly, as is the Norwegian background for the Swedish and subsequently Danish translations. My goal here, then,

1 The present study is based on research conducted within the research programme "Modes of Modification. Variance and Change in Medieval Manuscript Culture", funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

is to contribute to a more general perspective of what is going on in the literary system of Scandinavia in the time of the Danish translations. My contention is that the view of Norway as a region in decay in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, ruined by severe waves of plague in the fourteenth century and subdued under Danish rulership, has overshadowed the fact that there were still milieux in Norway where literature was re-written and distributed. The literary centres in Scandinavia had moved and changed, but literary culture continued among the learned classes. The version of *Herr Ivan* in a Norwegian manuscript from mid-fifteenth century will be central to my discussion of the Norwegian part of the Scandinavian literary system and its relationship to the Danish translations from the same period.

A few years ago, I published an article in which I argued that the translations of *Eufemiavisor* could be seen as representative of the movement of political power and consequently cultural activity from the Norwegian court at Akershus to the eastern (and subsequently southern) parts of Scandinavia (Johansson 2015). My argument was that there is need for a more nuanced understanding of the processes that ended the flourishing literary activity in Norway already two decades before the arrival of the Black Death in 1348. Traditionally the plague has been used as the one and only explanation of the Norwegian decay, but even if it did contribute to the breakdown it is hard to see why it should have impacted literary production in Norway more than in other parts of Scandinavia.

I think there are reasons to argue for a continuity in the development of literacy in the western regions throughout the period, despite the plague's diminishment of literary production. Here I have drawn heavily from a study presented by Jonathan Adams (2015) on the manuscript E 8902 in the Swedish national archives and the language of its two scribes, often referred to as *Birgittinnorska*. Adams believes the language of these texts to be Norwegian, rather than badly-treated Swedish, as has previously been assumed. This indicates that the scribes sought to adapt the language of their source text to that of their own region. There are a number of manuscripts containing writing in a similar linguistic form, not only adaptations from Swedish material, but also original compositions. Other noteworthy examples of this linguistic form can be found as marginalia added into older Old Norwegian manuscripts made in what seems to be a regional variant of eastern Scandinavian, suggesting some perception of linguistic continuity with Old Norse.

There are three things that can be stated at this point:

1. Our traditional view of national languages established in the nineteenth century does not really apply to the study of medieval languages (read: written languages).
2. The national borders could with good reason be replaced by social, political and cultural lines of diffusion when we study the history of texts in the Scandinavian Middle Ages.
3. The use of writing and texts in Scandinavia needs to be further studied from a pan-Scandinavian perspective in order to further our understanding of the interplay between regional variants, individual and institutional networks and various input in the form of translations and new European trends.

Middle Norwegian (*Mellomnorsk*)

The period I am interested in here, the so called *mellomnorsk* period, is usually considered to be between c. 1350 and c. 1537. As already mentioned, Norwegian scholarship has tended to view it as a period of decay and it has received far less attention than it deserves. This is mainly due to the romantic idea of a flourishing national language and culture disrupted by the Black Death and subsequently diminished by the political dominance of Swedish and later Danish kings. These romantic ideas of the nineteenth century have not sufficiently been challenged. But people in Norway, then as now, continued to speak their own local variants of the Scandinavian language, and the evolutionary processes leading to Modern Norwegian were already well under way in the northern and eastern parts of the realm of Norway in the early fourteenth century. Only in the western parts of the region was something reminiscent of Old Norse still spoken.

In his book on the Reformation in Norway, Henning Laugerud (2018) argues that the region was well administrated during the fifteenth century, primarily by the Catholic hierarchy presided over by the archbishops of Niðarós (Trondheim). He points out that the church during the fifteenth century re-built the structures that were damaged by the devastating plague in the years around 1350. Schools were established and priests educated to meet the needs of the whole archdiocese. Laugerud's research contrasts the generally-accepted depiction of Niðarós's state of decay during this period and instead encourages the present re-evaluation.

It should also be stressed that the idea of what constitutes *mellomnorsk* has never been agreed upon. The starting point for the decay of the literary system during this period should probably be put in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The linguistic changes had, as already mentioned, started even earlier in the northern and in the southeastern parts of the Norwegian realm. Texts from this period also show signs of development. Jan Ragnar Hagland has demonstrated in his study of Middle Norwegian writing that the extant charters from this period are well-formed in a manner reflecting the current trends of the rest of Scandinavia and Europe (Hagland 2005). Yet Hagland still takes the traditional view of the period as one of decay. He states:

Det vil seia at vi vil freista halda den tradisjonelle oppfattninga om eit skriftspråk som normmessig var i ferd med å gå i oppløysing opp mot det vi måtte vera i stand til å augna med omsyn til kvantitative og kvalitative sider ved bruk av skriftspråk på norsk i offentleg og eventuelt privat samanheng. (Hagland 2005: 13)

This is to say that we will try to uphold the traditional understanding of a written language which as a standard was in the process of dissolution in contrast to what we might be able to see regarding quantitative and qualitative aspects of the use of written language in Norwegian in official contexts and to some extent in private contexts.

While there is a change in the literary system of the western regions of Scandinavia during this time, there remains a high degree of literary competence. Hagland comes to the conclusion that although the period saw a reduction in literary activities, this did not bring literary production to a standstill (Hagland 2005: 110).

Birgittine Norwegian (*Birgittinnorska*)

As with *mellomnorsk*, there is no agreed-upon definition of what is meant by *birgittinnorska*. It is interesting that scholarship in the field has primarily been Swedish, regarding the relevant texts as examples of the Swedish language badly mistreated by Norwegian scribes. This reflects the limitations imposed by an anachronistic national perspective, and has in turn apprehended Norwegian scholarship's interest in what *birgittinnorska* can offer to studies of the literary culture of the period.² It was obviously far more inspiring to return to the golden age of Hákon Hákonarson and his sons and grandsons.

In Swedish scholarship Lennart Moberg is one of the more recent representatives of the view that *birgittinnorska* is a hybridised form of Swedish and Norwegian:

Det vi kallar birgittinnorska är ett egendomligt svensk-norskt blandspråk, som säkerligen bara har funnits i skriven form. Det mest karakteristiska är bristen på konsekvens. Svenskt och norskt blandas till synes planlöst. En norsk diftongform och en svensk monoftongform av ett och samma ord kan t.ex. stå sida vid sida. Om man skall kalla detta för norska eller svenska, kan diskuteras. (Moberg 1998: 11)

What we call Birgittine Norwegian, is a peculiar Swedish-Norwegian mixture, which certainly existed in written form only. Its most prominent characteristic is its lack of consistency. Swedish and Norwegian are mixed seemingly haphazardly. A Norwegian diphthong form and a Swedish monophthong form of the same word can stand side by side, for example. One might discuss whether this is Norwegian or Swedish.

Jon Gunnar Jørgensen is one of the few Norwegian scholars who have recently been interested in material related to this “mixed language” and who has treated it as written Norwegian, primarily in relation to his edition of the cadastre *Aslak Bolts jordebok* from 1997. Jørgensen writes:

På Aslak Bolts tid gjorde det seg også gjeldende en viss innflytelse fra svensk gjennom birgittinerne, som fra ordenen ble opprettet i 1370 hadde sitt hovedsete i Vadstena. Enkelte norske tekster fra denne tiden har så tydelige svenske trekk at språket har fått karakteristikken birgittinernorsk. Aslak Bolt var selv vennlig innstilt til birgittinerne, og medvirket som Bergen-biskop til at ordenen i 1426 fikk overta Munkeliv kloster i Bergen. (Jørgensen 1997: xxvii)

In Aslak Bolt's time a certain Swedish influence was exerted by the Birgittines, who from the time that their order had been established in 1370 had their principal house in Vadstena. Some Norwegian texts from this time show features so clearly Swedish that the language has been characterized as Birgittine Norwegian. Aslak Bolt himself was benevolent towards the Birgittines, and, as Bishop of the Bergen diocese, he was involved in the takeover of the Munkeliv convent in Bergen by the Birgittine order in 1426.

2 One obvious exception is Marius Sandvei (1938). Didrik Arup Seip stated that *birgittinnorska* was “no. med sterkt sv.-birgittinsk språklig innslag” (‘Norwegian with a strong Swedish-Birgittine influence’) (KLN 1: 558–559).

It is relevant to remember Aslak Bolt's relation to the Norwegian Birgittines in the following discussion. Here only one more quote from Jon Gunnar Jørgensen:

Betegnelsen "birgittinernorsk" er brukt om 1400-talls norsk skrift med innslag av svesismer. I Sverige stod birgittinerne for en viktig opprustning av morsmålet i skrift. De oversatte litteratur fra flere språk, faktisk også norrønt, til svensk, og tok i stor grad morsmålet i bruk på bekostning av latin. Den birgittinske innflytelsen i Norge har nok ført til innslag av svensk i norske skriftstykker, men på den annen side så *har den sannsynligvis også støttet opp under bruken av nasjonalspråket her som i Sverige*. I AB er også tekstens solide norskspråklige preg langt mer iøynefallende enn de enkelte svesismer. (Jørgensen 1997: xxix; my italics)

The term "Birgittine Norwegian" is used for fifteenth century Norwegian writing with traces of Swedecisms. In Sweden the Birgittines were responsible for an important advancement in the use of the written vernacular. They translated literature from many languages – even from Norse – into Swedish, and to a great degree used the vernacular instead of Latin. The Birgittine influence in Norway probably brought Swedish traits into Norwegian writing, but on the other hand *it probably also supported the use of the national language here as [it did] in Sweden*. In AB, the text's solid Norwegian character is considerably more apparent than the isolated examples of Swedecisms.

It is perhaps a bit anachronistic to talk about the written language of the time as "national", but it is interesting that the regional vernacular – a form not considered to be Old Norse – was used for writing throughout the period, and for distributing literary texts, even into the western parts of the Scandinavian literary system.

It is clear, however, that the Birgittines were only part of the explanation for eastern Scandinavian influences on the western variants of written Scandinavian of the time. There is evidence that some of the texts considered to be *birgittinnorska* were already produced early in the fifteenth century (or even late fourteenth century), before any influences from the Birgittines could be expected. A Norwegian Birgittine monastery was established in Bergen in 1427. Rather we should perhaps consider these texts as representative of the beginnings of an effort to establish a distinct regional written variant of Scandinavian language in the northern and eastern reaches of what is now Norway, and this must be understood within the contexts of its relationship to the literary activity of southern Scandinavia.

When we are looking for linguistic explanations for the emergence of mixed language in texts from northern and eastern Norway, two things are important to take into account. The first is the state of the spoken language in those regions, a matter broached in Jon Gunnar Jørgensen's quote above. The spoken language in these parts had already in the thirteenth century demonstrated similar developments to the rest of eastern Scandinavia. The second is to consider what models there were for the reformation of written language at this time. As Scandinavia's centres of literary production moved east in the first half of the fourteenth century, so too did Norway's models for literary language, thereby shifting away from the old manuscripts from the thirteenth century. Even if these manuscripts were to some extent still read by the reading elite, the language they presented must have been considered old-fashioned. The written language found in manuscripts from eastern Scandinavia would have provided what was likely to be considered a more modern written language worthy of emulation by local scribes.

Jonathan Adams discusses both *mellomnorsk* and *birgittinnorska* in his study of the manuscript E 8902 (earlier Skokloster 5 4to) in the Swedish national archives. One central observation in his study concerns the strategies of the two main scribes in adapting their source texts. Each demonstrates his own distinct variant of *birgittinnorska* while remaining highly consistent in his own use of that variant. Adams interprets this as a sign of a common strategy, that they are both aware of that they are not only producing new versions of the texts, but rather consciously adapting those texts to meet the needs of their intended audience, that is, they are producing “Norwegian” versions of the texts. From this observation Adams comes to the conclusion that the written language of the two scribes must be considered an attempt at a Norwegian written language. He states:

There are just two Norwegian examples of Birgitta’s revelations, viz. E 8902 and the nine rules for judges written inside GKS 1154 fol. My placing of E 8902 under the heading “Middle Norwegian” does not follow the traditional classification of this manuscript, which places it under Old Swedish. It has been classified as Middle Norwegian because it was copied by Norwegian scribes, was written in a type of language typical for late fourteenth-/early fifteenth-century Norway, and was in my view intended for a Norwegian audience. (Adams 2015: 28)

From this I think it is time to take a closer look at the other manuscripts deemed to have been written at least partly in *birgittinnorsk* in order to further our knowledge of what happened in the use of script and texts in this period.

The manuscripts

If we accept Adams’s argument, E 8902 is one of the primary attestations of the development of a new literary standard for the language of western Scandinavia, and therefore also an important local indicator of the same literary system responsible for the transfer of the *Eufemiavisor* into their Danish redaction. But there is other written evidence for this form of Middle Norwegian that warrants our attention.

In Linköping there is a manuscript, Linköping T 180, containing various texts from the same period as E 8902. In this manuscript we find among other texts seven stanzas from a ballad, the oldest written example of a ballad found in Scandinavia. I treat this ballad fragment in a recent publication, in which I also discuss the content of the manuscript as a whole (Johansson 2020). The most detailed discussion of the manuscript was presented by Poul Lindegård Hjorth (1976, see also Andersson 1993). Hjorth concludes in a Scandinavian mode, stating that the poem is Danish but displays Swedish traits that could possibly be Norwegian (see e.g. 1976: 26) and that the tradition must be studied from a Scandinavian perspective rather than being related to what he refers to as “en national skriftradition” (1976: 29; ‘a national writing tradition’).

In his study of the Linköping T 180’s ballad fragment, Kaj Blom provides a lexicographic perspective on the difficulties of distinguishing the three languages:

Forvanskninger påtræffes, men øjensynlig af en sådan art at de, i en del og deriblandt vigtige tilfælde, snarest må henføres til en person der ikke var fortrolig med visen(s sprogform) og indlevet i genren. – En “nem” (men dubiøs) forklaring kunne gå ud på at det var en dansker (af danskere født) el. evt. en svensker [...] der af interesse for visen havde ført den i pennen efter bedste evne.

Men indtil nærmere og bedre måtte foreligge kan heller ikke *Ridder i Hjorteheim* forpligte GldO. – Man kan godt tænke sig at skrivende folk i Syd-Norge kunne have et skriftsprog som det vi ser afspejlet i (afskriften) A. (Blom 1973: M57)

There are corruptions to be noted, but apparently of such a character that they, in some – and sometimes important – cases, must be attributed to a person that was not acquainted with (the linguistic form of) the ballad or familiar with the genre. A “simple” (but dubious) explanation could be that it was a Dane (born in Denmark) or possibly a Swede [...] who out of interest in the ballad had penned it to the best of his abilities.

But until closer and more thorough [investigation] is available, there is no obligation for the GldO [to include] *Ridder i Hjorteheim* either. One could very well imagine that literate people in Southern Norway could have had a written language like the one we see in (the transcript) of A.

Another example of a text in what can be characterised as *birgittinnorska* is found in one of the most exquisite Norwegian manuscripts extant from the second half of the fourteenth century, GKS 1154 fol of the Magnús lagabœtr Law of the Realm (MLL). On the very first folio, on the originally blank recto page, of this manuscript a considerably later hand has added a text from the revelations of Birgitta in the language that we are now accustomed to call *birgittinnorska*. Jonathan Adams has, however, been reluctant to add this text to his list of *birgittinnorska* texts and rather considers it to be Old Swedish (Adams 2008: 17). Adams has edited the text and discussed its provenance, dating, and linguistic features (2008). It is significant that the facsimile edition (Rindal/Berg 1983) of the manuscript does not provide images of this folio; who would be interested in these scribbles from the fifteenth century?

Finally, the manuscript E 8822 (earlier Skokloster 156) which is the subject of my discussion here, containing among other texts the version of *Herr Ivan*, will be presented in more detail below.

But it is not only in re-writings of texts from exemplars in a Swedish variant we find examples of what could be considered *birgittinnorska*. The language of the cadastre *Aslak Bolts jordebok* has been characterised as Swedish-influenced. As mentioned above, Jon Gunnar Jørgensen has pointed out that the archbishop of Niðarós, Aslak Bolt, had close contacts with the Birgittine milieu in Bergen. Jørgensen stresses the Norwegian aspect of Aslak Bolt’s linguistic activities. He underscores that Bolt, while archbishop of Niðarós, crowned Karl Knutsson king of Norway, and wrote this text for the crowning in what Jørgensen characterises as Norwegian (Jørgensen 1997: xi).³

Potentially related to the Birgittines are a number of Old Norse manuscripts dated to the thirteenth century that are believed to have been sent from Bergen to the Vadstena monastery in the fifteenth century and to have influenced literary production there (see e.g. Jørgensen 2012). These are kept today in the Royal Library in Stockholm under the signa Holm. perg. 6 fol (*Barlaams saga ok Josaphats*) and Holm. perg. 4 fol (*Piðreks saga*). The first of these seems to have been one of the source texts for the Swedish translation of

3 The charter is edited in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. 6, 560–561. It is available online: www.dokpro.uio.no/perl/middelalder/diplom_vise_tekst.prl?b=6282&s=n&str (accessed 25 June 2021).

the narrative about Barlaam (see e.g. Arvidsson 2009). This could provide further evidence, but not proof, that the Birgittines were a source for the *birgittinnorsk* as a written language.

Another argument that the written language found in these manuscripts represents an attempt by various scribes to establish a written standard for northern and western Norwegian is found in the scribbles in the margins of Norwegian manuscripts in Old Norse. My example here is found in the main manuscript of *Konungs skuggsjá* (the King's mirror), AM 243 b α fol., originally written in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. In mid-fifteenth century it was, as far as we know, owned by a farmer in Gran some distance north of Oslo. The farmer, Ogmundr Lafrantsson, is known from other documents for attending the election of Kristoffer as king of Norway in Lödöse in 1442. Ogmundr has written his name in the manuscript in connection to what seems to be relatively basic matrices for charters. From this identification a large number of comments and glosses to the Old Norse text are found in the margins throughout the manuscript that may be attributed to Ogmundr. In earlier research these notes have only received passing attention as evidence for the provenance of the manuscript, not for what they reveal of their owner's linguistic and literary disposition (see e.g. Holm-Olsen 1952: 22–24). But these marginal notes can in my opinion be of great importance in many ways for our understanding of literacy in fifteenth century Norway.

The very fact that Ogmundr owned the manuscript by the mid-fifteenth century is in itself of interest as it provides a context wherein a thirteenth century manuscript was kept and also used. But it is also relevant for reflecting the use of writing by a farmer in fifteenth century Gran who formulates comments and glosses to a text that must have been rather old-fashioned in its language. The notes indicate that Ogmundr not only owned the manuscript as an object of prestige, they also show that he could read the manuscript text and relate to it. His glosses to the text provide information about his interests, which seem to have been focused on Irish *mirabilia* and geographical descriptions. Where the salvation of his soul seems to have interested Ogmundr, the courtly life appears to have been irrelevant to him. Finally, he shows a vivid interest in weapons and warfare. Ogmundr's marginalia provide a wealth of insights for the state of language during this period of Norwegian literary history, challenging the general opinion of earlier scholarship that literacy was in decay and that Norwegians could not read the old manuscripts; Ogmundr could.

Herr Ivan in E 8822

The manuscript E 8822 today consists of 72 paper leaves. The first two leaves have no original text, only later scribbles that may be of interest for the further study of the context and provenance of the manuscript. On the first fol. (1^r) we find the attribution of the manuscript to the Franciscan friar Johannes from Trondheim.

Jstum librum Frater Johannes de nidrosia fecit colligere et conscribere ad vsum et commodum fratrum minorum custodie Bergensis et aliorum amicorum. qui eum alienauerit anathema sit.

Brother Johannes of Niðarós had this book compiled and written for the use and convenience in their duties for the little brothers [Minorites] and his other friends in Bergen. May the one who steals it be penalised with *anathema*.

The main part of the manuscript as it is preserved seems to have been the work of one scribe, but there are indications of more hands adding text in various places. An example is the script on fols. 29^v–30^r which differs significantly in size, style, and the colour of the ink. Poul Lindegård Hjorth (1971: 47–48) argues for at least three hands. Hand 1 is responsible for writing the attribution to Johannes on fol. 1^r. This hand is also the one that has written the prayers on fols. 29^v–30^r. According to Hjorth, hand 2 has written the text on fols. 3^r–8^r while hand 3 has produced the rest of the manuscript, that is, the main part. If the division between hand 2 and 3 is correct, this would indicate that two hands have collaborated on writing one of the texts of the manuscript and that they are contemporary and working in the same scriptorium. The relationship between these two hands and hand 1 is still uncertain.

The Norwegian historian Bjørn Bandlien has recently discussed the version of *Herr Ivan* and the ways in which it could be understood in its context alongside the other texts of the manuscript. Bandlien's focus is that of the historian. He is interested in explaining how the text has come to be included in a manuscript that mainly contains texts on religious matter and in what way the relationship between a manuscript belonging to a Franciscan friar and a writing that is associated with the Birgittines can be understood (Bandlien 2013). Perhaps Bandlien's line of reasoning also applies to our understanding of the use of writing and the attempt to provide a written language targeting a Norwegian audience, both as readers and as listeners to a text read in performance. The spoken language of eastern and northern Norway at this time would have been very much at the same point of departure from Old Norse as the spoken language in Sweden and Denmark; adjustments in spelling and vocabulary would be important for adapting the written language to the regional spoken variant, but it would have demanded little of the scribe to provide these marginal changes. It is interesting to note that the Franciscan monastery in Bergen was established early, already before 1250. The Franciscans did not, however, establish any house in Niðarós until 1430. It could therefore be argued that a manuscript produced in the Bergen house could have been sent to the brothers in Niðarós when the new house was recently established as a contribution to their library.

It is now time to turn to the contents of the manuscript, the bulk of which are indicative of an explicitly religious context.⁴ It should be stressed, however, that the border between sacred and secular material in medieval writing is not a firm one, and *Herr Ivan*'s appearance in an otherwise religiously-themed volume likely defies the modern dichotomy between religious and secular more than any attitude current at the time of the manuscript's production or compilation. The texts are ordered as follows:

4 Jonas Carlquist (2002: 53–54) provides a short presentation of the manuscript and its content. Carlquist also treats the function of the manuscript as a miscellany (2002: 119–124). A detailed discussion of the manuscript and the texts it contains, which I base my discussion on and refer to in the following, is presented by Poul Lindegård Hjorth (1971).

1.	Tio Guds bud utlagda (Exegesis of the Ten Commandments)	3 ^r –4 ^v	Hand 2
2.	Vår frus pina (Our Lady's Pain)	5 ^r –9 ^v	Hand 2 (5 ^r –8 ^r)
3.	Christi pina (The Passion of Christ)	10 ^r –16 ^r	Hand 3 (8 ^v –)
4.	Kroppens och själens träta (A Dispute between Body and Soul)	16 ^v –21 ^v	Hand 3
5.	Christi förtjenst (The Merits of Christ)	21 ^v –24 ^v	Hand 3
6.	Adam och Christus (Adam and Christ)	24 ^v –29 ^r	Hand 3
7.	Fyra böner etc. (Four Prayers etc.)	29 ^v –30 ^r	Hand 1
8.	Speculum missæ (An explanation of the parts of the Holy Mass)	30 ^v –32 ^v	Hand 3
9.	Tre andliga notater (Three notes on spiritual subjects)	32 ^v –33 ^r	Hand 3
10.	<i>Herr Ivan D</i>	34 ^v –59 ^v	Hand 3
11.	Fyra skälverser (Four toast poems)	59 ^v	Hand 3
12.	<i>Herr Ivan D</i>	60 ^v –72 ^v	Hand 3

The order of the texts in the collection is likely original and intentional, as is demonstrated by the fact that though it is a compilation, the manuscript was produced as a single project rather than stitched together from pre-existing folios at a later stage, as is true of many other manuscripts. Consider, for contrast, Dario Bullitta's description of Cod. Holm. K 4 as a "composite, miscellaneous manuscript" in his discussion of one of its contents, the Danish translation of the *Visio Pauli* (2016: 5). This manuscript, much like E 8822, contains a version of *Herr Ivan*, but otherwise consists primarily of hagiographic materials suggesting that it was made for a religious setting (Bullitta 2016: 22). Bullitta concludes that the manuscript seems to be the remains of two contemporary manuscripts subsequently bound together in the extant codex, but still he maintains that the hand in both manuscripts indicate that they were written by the same scribe (Bullitta 2016: 5–6). Massimiliano Bampi (2019) also considers the Cod. Holm. K 4 manuscript as well as another composite manuscript, Cod. Holm. K 47, which also contains a version of the Danish *Herr Ivan*. Bampi agrees with Bullitta's view of the manuscript K 4 points towards a monastic milieu and states:

Att *Ivan Løveridder* föreligger i ett manuscript som K 4 förefaller givetvis mer förvånande. Vad har en sådan text om en riddares död i gränslandet mellan verklighet och fiktion med uppbyggeliga och undervisande verk att göra? För att kunna svara på denna fråga behöver man vidga perspektivet och ta hänsyn till besläktade samlingshandskrifter i det östnordiska språkområdet. (Bampi 2019: 229)

That *Ivan Løveridder* is found in a manuscript such as K 4 obviously appears as a surprise. What purpose has such a text about the adventures of a knight in the borderland between reality and fiction among texts with the function of spiritual support and education? To answer this

question, one needs to widen the perspective and take into account similar manuscripts containing collections of texts from the linguistic region of eastern Scandinavia.

In the following passage Bampi treats E 8822 and compares its content and composition to Cod. Holm. K 4. He concludes after a short comparison that “[u]tifrån handskriftens innehåll kan man följaktligen tänka sig att denna underhållande text var avsedd för att tjäna ett likadant uppbyggande syfte i K 4” (Bampi 2019: 229) (judging from the contents of the manuscript it is therefore possible to assume that this entertaining text was meant to serve a similar edifying purpose in K 4). In a footnote he makes a clear, and in my opinion important, demand for leaving behind the rigid division between didacticism and entertainment. We need to be able to see more than one function for individual texts as well as manuscripts and take into consideration that composite manuscripts could have been intended to have different functions. The form and function of the composite manuscript could, further, change the original function(s) of the individual texts they contain. There is, however, one important difference between E 8822 and K 4 that should be considered. As was mentioned above the main body of text in E 8822 was written by the same hand and with the clear intention to form the collection we have in the extant manuscript. Cod. Holm. K 4, on the other hand, is a composite manuscript formed by what at the outset seems to have been two manuscripts bound together at a later stage. As Bullitta has pointed out, however, the hands of the two parts are so similar in paleography and orthography that the two parts should probably be considered to be written by the same scribe. This means that the two versions, one Danish, one Norwegian based on a Swedish translation, should not necessarily be considered as planned to form a unit with the hagiographic or primarily didactic literature. While the Norwegian manuscript originally was formed as a unit, however, the binding of the composite Danish manuscripts into one unit may be interpreted as a conscious action by the binder (collector). This would indicate that the result could be understood in rather the same way as the more original collection of the Norwegian manuscript. In two contemporary milieux, therefore, it could be claimed that the extant collections may have had similar functions, the Danish manuscript explicitly directed to nuns, the Norwegian to brothers in a monastery. In the following I will look more closely at the content of E 8822 in order to shed more light on the intended audience and functions of this manuscript in a milieu where we would expect the readers/listeners to have been predominately speaking some variant of fifteenth century Norwegian.

The first text of the collection is a poem with explanations of the Ten Commandments. The text ends on a verso page and the following text starts on a new leaf. It seems from my preliminary study, however, that both texts are written within the same quire. The text was edited by Klemming (*SFSS* 1881–1882: 84–91).

A second poem, *Vår frus pina* (Our Lady’s Pain), recounts the pains of Our Lady Mary on encountering her son dying on the cross. The text was edited by Klemming (*SFSS* 1881–1882: 61–77)

Christ’s *passio* is treated again in the following poem, *Christi pina* (The Passion of Christ). This version was the basis for Klemming’s edition (*SFSS* 1881–1882: 26–44). Another version of the text is found in Cod. Holm. A 34 (Codex Bureanus).

A popular literary genre in the European Middle Ages was the dialogue between body and soul (*Kroppens och själens träta*), which was adapted in various forms into regional

Scandinavian languages. One version is found in E 8822 in a language generally referred to as *birgittinnorsk* in earlier scholarship. There is also a version considered to be Swedish contained in the manuscript Cod. Holm. D 4 from c. 1430, and a full Danish version is only extant in the early print of Gotfred van Ghemen from the early sixteenth century (see Hjorth 1971). The relation between these Swedish and Danish traditions creates some contention between scholars trying to identify the language of the so-called *F* fragment and its now lost exemplar.⁵ Though there is general agreement that it contains a Danish translation of the text written as early as mid-thirteenth century, the language is difficult to assess. Poul Lindegård Hjorth concludes based on Paul Diderichsen's discussion of the palaeography and orthography of the fragment "at der er tale om en skånsk tekst fra det 14. århundrede (snarest fra dets første halvdel), men at der på den anden side heller ikke er noget træk, der forhindrer, at teksten kan være svensk" (Hjorth 1971: 41) (that we are talking about a Scanian text from the 14th century – at the earliest from the first half – but on the other hand there is not any trait excluding [the possibility] that the text might be Swedish). It seems preferable, then, to consider these texts within the framework of a Scandinavian literary system rather than an anachronistic national literary system. The *birgittinnorsk* text found in E 8822 was edited by Klemming (*SFSS* 1881–1882: 108–120).

The manuscript contains another poem about Christ's *passio*, The Advantages of Christ (*Christi förtjens*), which has been edited by Klemming (*SFSS* 1881–1882: 19–25).

The typological relationship between Adam as the first man – and the one who sinned – and Christ the redeemer is treated in the next poem (*Adam och Kristus*). The focus of the poem is again the Passion of Christ. The text was edited by Klemming (*SFSS* 1881–1882: 7–18).

On fols. 29^v and 30^r four prayers are written in what appears to be a different hand, most likely the one that attributed the collection to the Franciscan friar Johannes (cf. above). It is interesting to note again the focus here on Christ, Mary and St Anna, which was mentioned by Carlquist (2002: 122–123). The latter is also remembered in the four so-called *skålverser* ('toast poems') presented below.

The prayers are followed on fol. 30^v by the *Speculum missæ*, a text outlining and describing the mass. This kind of text was also introduced in other vernaculars. In Norse the genre of *messuskýringar* is represented already in both the Norwegian and the Icelandic homily books, both manuscripts dated to the early thirteenth century. The Swedish text seems, however, to be rather later, most likely from the fifteenth century, contemporary to the manuscript. It has not been edited.

From the *Speculum missæ* the manuscript continues with three shorter notes on spiritual subjects on fols. 32^v and 33^r. These texts focus on similar aspects of the Christian life, on sin and redemption, the seven Cardinal Sins, and Purgatory. These texts have not been edited.

Herr Ivan follows these. This text does not need any further presentation here. Jonas Carlquist states that the transcription of the text is not very thorough as some lines are left out by the scribe (Carlquist 2001: 123). This conclusion appears to have been drawn too quickly. It could be that the scribe – or his patron – adapted the text to fit the overall intention of the manuscript. My contention here is that a close reading of the manuscript

5 This fragment is presented and edited by Paul Diderichsen (1931–1937: 124–127; 333–338).

texts will provide a more nuanced understanding of the work of the two main scribes, as well as the alleged instigator of the work, Johannes.⁶ It is interesting to note that the scribe has left two blank pages, fols. 33^v och 34^r, before introducing the new text. This action appears to have been intended, as *Herr Ivan* is introduced on fol. 34^v, that is, on the same quire as the preceding text. On fol. 59^v the first lines of four so-called *skålvæser*, ‘toast poems’, are placed in between two parts of *Herr Ivan*.⁷ They are usually referred to as *Annas skål* (‘Toast to Anna’), *Brudgummens skål* (‘Toast to the groom’), *Brudens skål* (‘Toast to the bride’) and *Glädjens skål* (‘Toast to happiness’). It could be suggested that the order of the toasts was intended to be followed during a wedding feast. The poems were edited by Klemming (*SFSS* 1881–1882: 512–513).

Carlquist has pointed out that the rubric introducing *Herr Ivan* has a similar form to the rubric preceding what he calls the religious texts of the manuscript.⁸ It states:

her äptis star en sagä aff her iwan fager ath hörä (fol. 34^v)

In the following is found a tale of Herr Ivan, wonderful to hear

This could, however, be slightly, but perhaps significantly elaborated; it is relevant, I think, to note that the first text presenting the Ten Commandments has no rubric. This text thereby distinguishes itself from the rest and forms a kind of introduction to the whole collection. The following texts treat primarily aspects of the Passion of Christ and its importance for redeeming mankind and the individual Christian. Again, this invites us to further study the composition of the collection, perhaps with a certain focus on *Herr Ivan* as the text least expected to form part of it.

Conclusion

One of the objectives of this paper has been to present a relatively underresearched material that may provide new insights into the development of literacy in Scandinavia in the late Middle Ages. My contention is that this material should be seen as representative of the literary use of written language in the western parts of Scandinavia, what is today eastern and northern Norway, at a time when the golden era of Norwegian literature had come to an end as a result of political changes in Scandinavia at large. Where previously national biases have tended to overshadow the study of this period in Norwegian and Scandinavian literacy, it is time to bring the material into the light and see these fragments in relation to the general literary system of Scandinavia in the period.

6 I am at the moment working on a close reading of all the texts of the manuscript, including a thorough study of the Norwegian traits. This study is intended to continue the reasoning introduced in the present article.

7 Carlquist mentions these four stanzas, but seems to have placed them wrong in the manuscript when he places them on fol. 30^r and connects them to the prayers discussed above. Further, perhaps from associating them with the prayers, he does not see their relation to *Herr Ivan* as they interrupt the narrative on fol. 59^v. His understanding of the four stanzas therefore appears as rather strange.

8 The distinction between religious and profane or secular texts in the medieval material is in my opinion rather problematic, which could perhaps be well illustrated by the collection under scrutiny here.

My hope is that if a more thorough scrutiny of the manuscripts, fragmentary texts and marginal notes, generally considered to be *birgittinnorsk*, is conducted it will not only elucidate a rather unknown period in Norwegian language and literature, but also shed light on efforts at that time to establish written languages to match the challenges presented by new trends from the broader literary system of Europe. Though the western (Norwegian) attempt to meet these challenges is only attested today in these sparse fragments, it provides valuable insights into the broader Scandinavian literary system.

The Norwegian scribes seem to have looked to the eastern realm of the Swedish kingdom for matrices and sources while also writing in their own regional vernacular, perhaps in continuity with the older tradition that lost its importance in the first decades of the fourteenth century. This is evident in the writings of elites, such as the archbishop Aslak Bolt in Trondheim and the Franciscan friar Johannes, as well as of the wealthy farmer, Ogmundr Lafrantsson, who use the written standard of their day even as they still read Old Norse texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Taken together with the Danish *Herr Ivan*, this Norwegian adaptation of the work from Swedish exemplars reveals the interplay between the broader Scandinavian literary system and the regional sub-systems that constitute it. To further our understanding of the regional networks of literary dissemination the Norwegian text of *Herr Ivan* should be seen in relation to the Danish versions of the *Eufemiavisor*.

References

- Adams, Jonathan (ed.) (2008). *Displaced Texts. An Old Swedish Birgittine Revelation in Copenhagen, GkS 1154 fol. and Three Sermons in Vienna, Cod Vind. 13013* (= Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Serie 3. Smärre texter och undersökningar). Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet.
- Adams, Jonathan (2016). *The Revelations of St Birgitta. A Study and Edition of the Birgittine-Norwegian Texts, Swedish National Archives, E 8902*. Leiden: Brill.
- Andersson, Roger (1993). *Postillor och predikan. En medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionell belysning*. Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia.
- Arvidsson, Maria (2009). "Den fornsvenska översättningen av legenden om Barlaam och Josaphat i Holm A 49". In: Johansson, Karl. G./Arvidsson, Maria (eds.). *Barlaam i nord. Legendan om Barlaam och Josaphat i den nordiska medeltidslitteraturen* (= Bibliotheca nordica 1). Oslo: Novus, pp. 153–176.
- Bampi, Massimiliano (2019). "Yvain i dansk språkdräkt: hövisk litteratur i det senmedeltida Danmark". In: Boeck, Simon Skovgaard/Vrieland, Seán D. (eds.). *A Copenhagen Miscellany. Studies in East Norse Philology*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, pp. 215–234.
- Bandlien, Bjørn (2013). "Yvain among Friars. A Late Medieval Franciscan Manuscript of Herr Ivan". In: *Journal of the International Arthurian Society* 1:1, pp. 81–119.
- Blom, Kaj (1973). "Danmarks norske folkeviser". In: *Danske studier*, pp. 185–190 M44–M74; M159–M160.
- Bullitta, Dario (2017). "Sources, Context, and English Provenance of the Old Danish *Visio Pauli*". In: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 116:1, pp. 1–23.
- Carlquist, Jonas (2002). *Handskriften som historiskt vittne. Fornsvenska samlingshandskrifter – miljö och funktion* (= Opuscula 6). Stockholm: Runica et mediævalia.
- Diderichsen, Paul (ed.) (1931–1937). *Fragmenter af gammeldanske Haandskrifter*. København: Schultz.

- Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. Vol. 120 (1847–1915); Vol. 21 (1976); vol. 22 (1990–1992); Vol. 23 (2011). Christiania/Kristiania/Oslo: Kjeldeskriftfondet. Online: https://www.dokpro.uio.no/perl/middelalder/diplom_vise_tekst.prl?b=6282&s=n&str (accessed 25 June 2021)
- Hagland, Jan Ragnar (2005). *Literacy i norsk seinmiddelalder*. Oslo: Novus.
- Hjorth, Poul Lindegård (ed.) (1971). *Sjælens og kroppens trætte og Ars Moriendi. Med faksimileudgave af Ghemen-trykket*. København: Akademisk forlag.
- Hjorth, Poul Lindegård (1976). “Linköping-håndskriftet og ‘Ridderen i hjorteham’”. In: *Danske studier*, pp. 5–35.
- Johansson, Karl G. (2015). “Queen Eufemia, the Norwegian Élite and the Background of the *Eufemia-visor*”. In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 136–161.
- Johansson, Karl G. (2020). “En medeltidsballad från medeltiden. Riddaren i fågelhamn i Linköping T 180”. In: Hägerdal, Hans et al. (eds.). *Nordiska – på gång och på språng! Vänbok till Gunilla Byrman* (= HumaNetten 44). Växjö: Linnaeus University Press, pp. 163–174.
- Jørgensen, Jon Gunnar (ed.) (1997). *Aslak Bolts jordebok*. Oslo: Riksarkivet.
- Jørgensen, Jon Gunnar (2012). “Didrik til hest – til øst fra vest.” In: Johansson, Karl G./Flaten, Rune (eds.). *Francia et Germania. Studies in Strengleikar and Þiðreks saga af Bern* (= Bibliotheca nordica 5). Oslo: Novus, pp. 289–307.
- Laugerud, Henning (2018). *Reformasjon uten folk. Det katolske Norge i før- og etterreformatorsk tid*. Oslo: St. Olav forlag.
- Moberg, Lennart (1998). “Heliga Birgitta på birgittinernorska. Några språkliga iakttagelser”. In: Tjäder, Börje (ed.). *Smärre texter och undersökningar* (= Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Serie 3). Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, pp. 9–31.
- Rindal, Magnus/Berg, Knut (eds.) (1983). *King Magnus Hákonsson’s Laws of Norway and Other Legal Texts* (= Corpus Codicum Norvegicorum Medii Ævi. Quarto Series 7). Oslo: Selskapet til utgivelse av gamle norske håndskrifter.
- Sandvei, Marius (1938). “Birgittinernorsk”. In: *Maal og Minne*, pp. 40–53.
- SFSS 1881–1882 = *Medeltidens dikter och rim*, ed. Gustaf Edward Klemming (= Samlingar utgivna af Svenska fornskrift-sällskapet, vol. 25). Stockholm: Kungl. boktryckeriet.

Fragmenter af en dansk ridderroman på vers. *Persenober og Konstantianobis* i København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 151 b 8vo

Anne Mette Hansen (København)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0303-8659>

Abstract: The fragment AM 151 b 8vo from around the year 1600 contains a smaller portion of the rhymed courtly romance *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, a fifteenth-century Danish adaption of the French verse romance *Partonopeus de Blois* composed near the end of the twelfth century. In addition to the fragmentary text in the Arnamagnæan manuscript, the love story is preserved in one more manuscript, Stockholm K 47, and three printed editions, Copenhagen 1572 (LN 1325), one without date and place of printing (LN 1325a), and Copenhagen 1700. The fragment shares several readings with the 1572 print. In addition, some peculiar readings can either be due to the creativity of the scribe or the exemplar(s) used. The textual variation raises the question of the source(s) for the fragment and a collation with the privately owned undated print could probably shed some light on the matter. This examination remains to be done.

Keywords: courtly romances, popular literature in early modern Denmark, transmission studies, manuscript studies, archival history, book history, Arnamagnæan Collection

1 Indføring

Persenober og Konstantianobis er en dansk ridderroman fra 1400-tallet om krig og kærlighed. Fortællingen om de to elskende er en bearbejdelse af den franske versroman *Partonopeus de Blois* der stammer fra den sidste del af 1100-tallet. Som det er tilfældet med mange andre populærlitterære værker fra middelalderen, er *Persenober og Konstantianobis* bevaret i både håndskrevet form og på tryk og i et tidsrum der spænder fra omkring 1500 til 1700. Selv om romanen længst ude er baseret på den franske versroman, kendes en direkte kilde til den danske version ikke. Det er blevet foreslået at den ligesom den anden bevarede version af den franske fortælling på et nordisk sprog, den islandske *Partalopa saga*, skulle gå tilbage til en tabt norsk bearbejdelse på prosa fra kong Håkon 4. Håkonssons regeringstid (1217–1253). Et andet forslag har været at Jep Jensen, den i øvrigt ukendte forfatter af den originale danske ridderroman, *Den kyske dronning*, også skulle have bearbejdet *Persenober og Konstantianobis*. Ifølge efterordet til læseren i den bevarede trykte version af fortællingen blev den danske tekst imidlertid oversat fra tysk af en person fra Bergen ved navn Hendrick

Christensen. I denne artikel ser jeg nærmere på håndskriftfragmentet København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 151 b 8vo fra ca. 1600. Artiklen er dermed et supplement til den transmissionshistoriske forskning i populærlitterære tekster fra skandinavisk og dansk senmiddelalderlig og tidligmoderne tid som bl.a. Richter repræsenterer (2017).

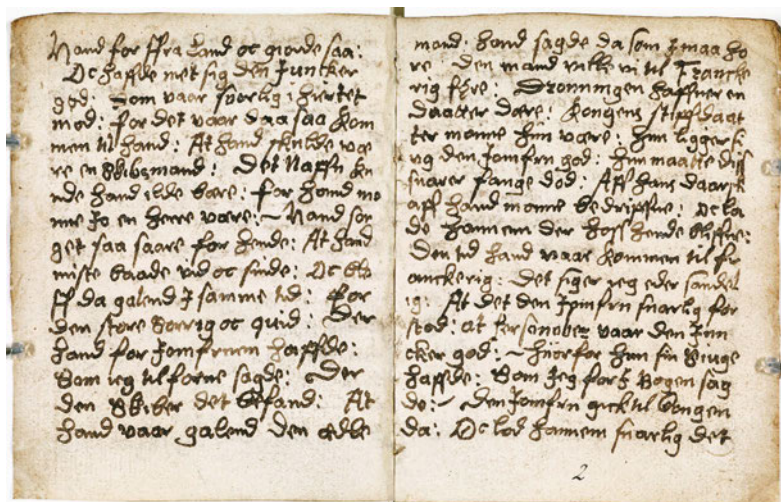


Fig. 1: København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 151 b 8vo. Opslaget 1v – 2r indeholder verslinjerne 846 – 876 skrevet som løbende tekst

2 Fortællingens handling kort fortalt

Persenober og Konstantinobis er en kærlighedshistorie. Kongen af Konstantia (det vil sige Konstantinopel) og hans dronning efterlader sig ingen sønner. Derfor overgiver kongen riget til sin yngste datter, den kloge og smukke Konstantianobis, der også er uddannet i trolddom. Da hun er blevet dronning, sender hun tolv riddere ud for at de skal finde en egnet ægtemand til hende. Konstantianobis synes godt om den tolvte af kandidaterne, Persenober, der er nevø til den franske konge, og ved hjælp af magi gør hun sig selv usynlig og opsøger ham for at lokke ham til sig. Da Persenober ankommer til hendes slot, er Konstantianobis usynlig og tavs om dagen, om natten derimod taler hun. Persenober udsættes for en kyskhedsprøve: Han må gerne ligge ved siden af Konstantianobis og tale med hende, men han må ikke få hende at se før der er gået et halvt år. Under disse måneder fuld af selvbeherskelse bliver Frankrig angrebet af fjender, og Persenober vender hjem for at forsvare sit fædreland og frelser kongeriget. Som man kunne forvente, må Persenober til sidst give efter for sin nysgerrighed og ved hjælp af en tryllering og efter råd fra sin mor bliver han i stand til at se den smukke Konstantianobis. Hun forstøder ham, og han må leve som en vanvittig i skovene i syv år. Historien ender dog lykkeligt, og de to elskende forenes i ægteskab.

3 Fortællingens ophav

De overleverede versioner af fortællingen om Partonopeus falder i to hovedgrupper der kan inddeles efter det geografiske sted hvor fortællingen begynder. Y-typen lader historien begynde i heltens fødeland Frankrig, mens historien i Z-typen begynder i Grækenland, heltindens fædreland. *Persenober og Konstantianobis* tilhører dermed Z-klassen (Præstgaard Andersen 1983: XIV). Et andet fælles træk for Z-gruppen er at begivenhederne fortælles i en fremadskridende kronologisk rækkefølge.

Det har tidligere været antaget at de nordiske tekster, det vil sige *Persenober og Konstantianobis* og den islandske riddersaga *Partalopa saga*, begge skulle gå tilbage til en tabt prosaoversættelse fra den norske konge Håkon 4. Håkonssons tid (konge fra 1217–1263) (Albeck 1968: 197). Denne formodning hviler på en analogislutning med transmissionen af en anden af de danske ridderromaner på vers, *Flores og Blanseflor*, som er en af de tre svenske *Eufemiavisor* der blev videre oversat til dansk. *Flores og Blanseflor* er således en oversættelse af den svenske *Flores och Blanzeflor*, der på sin side går tilbage til *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, den norrøne prosaoversættelse af den franske versroman *Floire et Blancheflor*. Men hypotesen om et fælles norsk forlæg for de to versioner kan ikke understøttes tekstligt, og der er hverken bevaret noget norrønt fragment, som det er tilfældet med *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, eller en svensk kilde til fortællingen om *Persenober og Konstantianobis* (Præstgaard Andersen 1983: XIX–XX).

4 De bevarede håndskrifter og tryk

Persenober og Konstantianobis er bevaret i to håndskrifter og tre trykte udgaver. Ud over den fragmentariske tekst i det arnamagnæanske håndskrift indgår fortællingen “Om Iomfru Constancianobis” (tilføjet med en senere hånd) som den fjerde af seks danske ridderromaner nedskrevet omkring 1500 i håndskriftet Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Codex Holmiensis K 47. Håndskriftet har kvartformat (196 mm x 130 mm), og det er opbygget af 21 læg med i alt 256 blade. En senere hånd har signeret læggene a-x (idet allograferne i/j og u/v udgør de samme to signaturer). Teksten er layoutet i verslinjer, mellem 24 og 33 linjer per side, og tre forskellige skrivere har været virksomme. Den person der har nedskrevet fortællingen om jomfru Konstantianobis, har skrevet hovedparten af håndskriftet, det vil sige fra bl. 79v–255v. Teksten består af i alt 1590 verslinjer der fylder 54 sider fordelt på bl. 169v–196r i læggene 14–17 (signeret o–q). I efterskriften dateres teksten til 1484: “thenne bogh worte dikt i rym / aar effter gusz fødsels tim / thet wil jech seye obenbaræ / twsind oc iiii hwndret aar / firæ sindis tywe paa thet fierde”.

I 1572 blev fortællingen trykt – i en revideret og rettet udgave af den københavnske bogtrykker Lorentz Benedicht (død ca. 1604): “Persenober. | En lystig oc | skøn Historie paa Rim, om | Konning Persenober oc | Drotning Constantia=nobis. | Lystig at høre oc | Læse. | Nu nylige offuerseet oc Cor=rigerit, Rettere end hun | vaar før.” (LN 1325) Foruden dateringen 1484 bringer denne udgaves efterord “Til Læseren” nærmere oplysninger om historiens herkomst. Den skal være oversat “aff tysk oc til danske” af en mand ved navn Hendrick Christensen, født i Bergen, og udgivet på tryk i København i 1560: “Der mand

screff M. D. hundrit Aar | Effter Christi Fødzal alt obenbar | Oc der til lige Trysinds tiue | Ieg vil det ikke liuffue | Da bleff Bogen først tryct paa ny | Vdi den Kongelige Stad Kiøbenhaffn”.

Der er ikke bevaret noget eksemplar af et tryk fra 1560, og man kan da heller ikke tage for givet at der har eksisteret en trykt udgave fra 1560. Formlen “jeg vil det ikke lyve” findes i andre rimede tekster, bl.a. *Rimkrøniken* (1495) og nogle episke viser, og er en tekstlig og genretypisk konvention der bidrager til at opretholde læserens forventning om tekstens ægthed. Det samme gælder oplysningen om at historiens originalsprog er tysk. Som den første videnskabelige udgiver af *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, C.J. Brandt, har gjort opmærksom på, kan oversættelsen ikke tilskrives en person med navn Hendrick Christensen i 1560 når teksten er dateret til 1484. Men efterskriftens oplysning skal formodentlig forstås således at Hendrick Christensen lod bogen trykke i 1560, og versene om at teksten er oversat fra tysk kunne tænkes at stamme fra den oprindelige tekst. Desuden var det ikke ualmindeligt at bogtrykkere netop anbefalede deres bøger ved at forsyne dem med et tysk forlæg, fx er der flere eksempler på at salmebøger der indeholder originale danske salmer har fået denne anbefaling (Brandt 1877: 335). I efterskriften bruges ordet “vende” for at oversætte: “Den som Bogen aff tysk oc til danske vende”, men “vende” kan også betyde ‘ændre’, ‘forandre’, og kunne i givet fald forstås som ‘revidere’ eller ‘modernisere’ en ældre tekst.

Hvem denne Hendrick Christensen var, vides ikke, men det er blevet foreslået at han kunne være en boghandler i Bergen med dette navn, som døde i 1560. Ifølge Bull/Paasche (1924: 110) er det ikke utænkeligt at en boghandler i Bergen skulle have bestilt en udgivelse af *Persenober og Konstantianobis* i København og selv have forfattet de indledende vers af efterskriften med henblik på afsætning på det bergensiske bogmarked.

Et andet forslag til tekstens ophav har været at den Jep Jensen der anføres som forfatteren/bearbejderen til *Den kyske dronning* i K 47, også skulle have bearbejdet/oversat *Persenober og Konstantianobis*: “hwo hans naffn wil wede / jep jensen mon han hiedhæ / then som bogen satte i ryme”; Jep Jensen har dog ikke kunnet identificeres (Olrik Frederiksen 1999: 48). Den afsluttende skriverformel i epilogerne til de to på hinanden følgende fortællinger i K 47, *Flores og Blanseflor* og *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, nemlig henholdsvis “then himnæ skreff hwn maa och saa / ther til seye wi allæ jaa amen” og “then henne skreff hwn saffde och saa / och ther til seye wi allæ jaa amen”, har givet anledning til at foreslå at der kunne være tale om en kvindelig skriver/bearbejder, formodentlig en adelsdame eller klosterjomfru (Olrik 1925: LXII).

Der er ingen oplysninger om tid og sted for det andet bevarede tryk (LN 1325a) da titelbladet er gået tabt, men det er antageligt lidt yngre end udgaven fra 1572 og udgivet i Nordtyskland. Erik Dal (1996: 288) har nemlig sammenlignet ortografien i 1572-trykket med denne udgave, og yngre skrivemåder og en hyppigere brug af store begyndelsesbogstaver i substantiver i det sidstnævnte tryk uden dato tyder på at denne udgave er yngre end udgaven fra 1572.

Den tredje bevarede udgave er et tryk fra 1700: “En Skiøn og Lystig | Historie, | Om | Konning | Persenober, | Og Dronning | Constantianobis, | Meget lystig at høre og at læse, på | Riim udsat. | Nu nyligen overseet og corrigeret | rettere end tilforne.” Trykkestedet er København, men der er ingen oplysninger på titelblad eller i en kolofon om trykkeri/forlag.

Der er heller ingen efterskrift, blot genfindes det fyndige vers fra de tidligere tryk: “Naar alt er vend, | Da er Døden end.”

Når man tager i betragtning hvordan andre populærlitterære værker er blevet genudgivet og genoptrykt flere gange, er det nærliggende at forestille sig at *Persenober og Konstantianobis* også kan være blevet trykt i 1600-tallet. Brandt (1877: 335) formulerede det således:

Foruden det nævnte Oplag 1572 fra Laur. Benedicts Presse, haves et yngre, så godt som uforandret, fra 1700; men imellem disse ligger der upåtvivlelig adskillige andre, som Tidens Tand har fortæret, fordi deres Læsere ikke delte Nyerups mening: at Bogens indhold ikke var fængslende.

Brandt refererer her til Rasmus Nyerup (1816: 10–11), der i 1816 kun havde kendskab til to udgaver, den tabte fra 1560 og trykket fra 1572, og måske derfor drog den slutning at bogens indhold ikke kunne have appelleret til et bredere publikum. Varianter i det arnamagnæanske fragment peger imidlertid på en anden mulig kilde end trykket fra 1572, og det står tilbage at undersøge om teksten i det bevarede nordtyske tryk (LN 1325a) kunne have tjent som forlæg.

5 Det arnamagnæanske fragment

AM 151 b 8vo består af to bladpar (bl. 1 + 4 og 2 + 3 er sammenhængende) med fortløbende tekst. Bladene måler 71 x 49 mm, og kanterne foroven er blevet beskåret. Papiret er af en god kvalitet; kædelinjerne går på langs af skriveretningen. I det øverste højre hjørne af bl. 2r anes en ganske lille del af et vandmærke, som derfor indtil videre ikke har kunnet identificeres. Skriften er en ikke-professionel, lidt øvet nygotisk kursiv fra den ældre periode, der i Danmark spænder fra reformationstiden (den første halvdel af 1500-tallet) til midten af 1600-tallet. Tekstens opsætning følger den samtidige grafiske konvention for gengivelse af vers som løbende tekst med interpunktionstegn (dobbeltprækker der ligner et moderne kolon) til adskillelse af hver verslinje.

Teksten omfatter 126 på hinanden følgende verslinjer: de sidste fire linjer af kapitel seks, hvori *Persenober* svigter *Konstantianobis* fordi han ikke kan klare ridderprøven (vers 831–834), hele kapitel syv som omhandler de to elskendes syv år lange adskillelse (vers 835–906) samt den første tredjedel af kapitel otte der har truslen fra hedninge som emne (vers 907–952). Disse 126 verslinjer svarer til godt en tolvtedel af hele romanen (1590 vers inkl. en kort epilog på fem linjer i K 47, i 1572-trykket 1628 vers inkl. efterskriften på 35 linjer og det korte slutdigt på to vers), hvilket betyder at hele teksten i AM 151 b 8vo's duodesformat ville have fyldt omkring 50 blade, en handy lille lommeudgave af en populær kærlighedsroman.

Hvornår og hvordan AM 151 b 8vo blev indlemmet i Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling har vi ingen oplysninger om. Fragmentet deler registreringsnummer med håndskriftet AM 151 a 8vo, der indeholder en samling af islandske kvad og viser nedskrevet i begyndelsen af 1700-tallet af bonden Magnús Einarsson (1688–1752) fra gården Jörvi (i Haukadalshrepp, Dalasýsla, i det vestlige Island). Arne Magnusson fik håndskriftet af skriveren selv i 1725.

Arne Magnussons samling af håndskrifter og trykte bøger blev organiseret efter 1) format/størrelse og 2) systematisk efter indholdet. Heraf følger at oktavhåndskrifterne fra

AM 126 8vo til AM 167 8vo alle indeholder islandske kvad, viser og rímur. AM 151 b 8vo er dermed det eneste ikke-islandske håndskrift i denne gruppe af oktavhåndskrifter.

I de gamle håndskrevne kataloger over håndskriftsamlingen, AM 384 fol. og AM 477 fol., der i årene 1730–1731 blev udført af Arne Magnussons tidligere privatsekretær Jón Ólafsson fra Grunnavig (1705–1779), er der en tilføjelse til beskrivelsen af indholdet i håndskriftet med registreringsnummeret AM 151 8vo: “item Nockur Erende ur Skriptar-Minning” [ligeledes: nogle strofer fra *Skriptarminning*]. I det trykte katalog udarbejdet af samlingens bibliotekar Kristian Kálund (1844–1919) og udgivet i årene 1889–1894, er AM 151 8vo imidlertid blevet delt i to, nemlig Reykjavík, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 151 a 8vo med samlingen af islandske kvad samt AM 151 b 8vo der indeholder fragmentet af den af Kálund identificerede tekst *Persenober og Konstantianobis*. Kálund lufter sin usikkerhed om Jón Ólafssons tidligere bestemmelse af teksten og placeringen af fragmentet med følgende bemærkning: “Kan der ved den i den gamle katalog under AM. 151, 8^{vo} opførte titel ‘Nockur Erende ur Skriptar-Minning’ være sigtet til dette stykke?” (1894: 417).

Skriptarminning er titlen på et digt der bl.a. er overleveret i håndskriftet Reykjavík, Den Arnamagnæanske samling, AM 714 4to, en samling af religiøse digte fra ca. 1600, men digtet findes ikke i AM 151 a 8vo. Hvis ordet ‘skriptarminning’ også kunne tænkes brugt som en betegnelse for ‘nogle afsnit/strofer fra et skriftligt levn’, kunne det henvise til *Persenober og Konstantianobis*-fragmentet som Jón Ólafsson ikke havde identificeret. På en blå katalogseddel, der er vedlagt håndskriftet, har en anden arkivar der arbejdede ved Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Jón Sigurðsson (1811–1879), noteret at fragmentet stammer (“ex”) fra AM 151 8vo. Denne tilknytning er formodentlig grunden til at Kálund besluttede at registrere og opbevare fragmentet sammen med AM 151 a 8vo i stedet for at anbringe det på et mere oplagt sted i samlingen: efter de to håndskrifter i duodesformat der indeholder de islandske *Rímur af Partalopa*, Reykjavík, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 440 a 12mo og AM 440 b 12mo, begge fra 1600-tallet.

Olrik har ikke taget hensyn til AM 151 b 8vo i sin udgave af *Persenober og Konstantianobis* i K 47, men han giver en kort beskrivelse af fragmentet, som han konstaterer viser “nær Tilknytning” til trykket fra 1572, og han anfører desuden en række “stilistiske Varianter” (1936: 133–134). Går man varianterne igennem, dokumenterer følgende leksikalske varianter Olriks iagttagelse at fragmentets tekst og 1572-trykket har flere fælles læsemåder over for K 47: vers 891: “tøllig” (K 47) – “saadan” (1572, AM); vers 899: “war” (K 47) – “bleff” (1572, AM); vers 918: “worthe” (K 47) – “bleff” (1572, AM); vers 852: “for han haffde seg akt jen herræ ath wæræ” (K 47) – “for hand monne jo en Herre være” (1572, AM); vers 921–922: “och lod them thet for standhæ / then hiedninge konning hindhe sændæ” (K 47) – “Oc gaff dennem tidende tilkende |At den Hedenske Konge ville deris land opbrende” (1572), “Oc gaff dennem tidende tilkende / Den hedenske Konge vil vor Land affbrende” (AM).

I vers 842 læser AM 151 b 8vo “jomfruen” med efterhængt bestemt artikel modsat den foranstillede bestemte artikel “den jomfru” i K 47 og 1572-trykket (men i vers 871 læser alle tekstbærere “den jomfru”). I vers 861 er adverbiet “da” placeret forrest i sætningen i K 47 og 1572-trykket, mens det i AM 151 b 8vo er placeret efter verbet: “da sagde han” (K 47, 1572) – “han sagde da” (AM). Der er andre syntaktiske forskelle mellem på den ene side fragmentet og på den anden side K 47 og 1572-trykket. I vers 871 udgør fragmentets placering af det direkte objekt i sætningens begyndelse: “at det den jomfru snarlig forstod” og tilsvarende i 1572-trykket

på pladsen foran verbet “den jomfru snarlig det forstod” en mere rytmisk udfyldning af knittelverset end “at den jomfru snarlig forstod” i K 47. Fragmentets placering af det indirekte objekt foran sætningens finitte verbum i vers 843 fremhæver dette sætningsled: “Oc hende kunde ingen glæde hende”, hvor det i K 47 og 1572-trykket står umarkeret: “och jngen gledhe kwnde hinnæ hende”, “Oc ingen glæde kunde hinde hende”. I vers 891 er der en ‘klassisk’ varieret ordgentagelse i fragmentet: “var og fór”; her har K 47 og trykket fra 1572 blot “fór”. En anden stilfigur, kiasmen, optræder også i fragmentet i vers 895: “at blive dér og dér at være” – “der at blive og være” (K 47, 1572).

6 Konklusion

Ifølge sin egen efterskrift blev romanen om *Persenober og jomfru Konstantianobis* forfattet i 1484. I K 47 indgår den i en antologi med seks rimede ridderromaner, de tre såkaldte *Eufemiaviser*, *Ivan løveridder*, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* samt *Flores og Blanseflor*, *Den kyske dronning* og *Dværgekongen Laurin*, det vil sige i en kontekst hvor alle teksterne tilhører den samme genre. Tilstedeværelsen i dette håndskrift har givet anledning til forslaget om at den i øvrigt ukendte forfatter til naboteksten *Den kyske dronning*, Jep Jepsen, også skulle have stået bag *Persenober og Konstantianobis*, mens efterordet til den trykte udgave fra 1572 nævner årstallet 1560 som det år romanen blev trykt på ny, og en Henrik Christensen, født i Bergen, som ophavsmanden.

De nævnte eksempler på variationen mellem teksterne i K 47, trykket fra 1572 og AM 151 b 8vo rejser spørgsmålet om hvilke(n) tekst(er) fragmentets tekst baserer sig på. Som Olrik (1936: 133–134) har påvist, og det i denne artikel er nærmere beskrevet, har teksten i AM 151 b 8vo flere ligheder med 1572-trykkets tekst. På den anden side har K 47 og 1572-trykket i det tekstudsnit af *Persenober og Konstantianobis* som er repræsenteret i fragmentet, lige så mange fælles læsemåder mod AM 151 b 8vo. De særegne læsemåder i fragmentet kan enten skyldes skriverens kreativitet eller de(t) forlæg som skriveren har gjort brug af. En sammenligning af fragmentets tekst med det bevarede (og privatejede) udaterede tryk (LN 1325a), der ifølge Dal (1996: 288) er yngre end udgaven fra 1572, vil muligvis kunne komme nærmere et svar på spørgsmålet og dermed give AM 151 b 8vo en plads i transmissionshistorien om den danske ridderroman *Persenober og Konstantianobis*.

Appendiks

Nedenstående tabel giver en oversigt over varierende læsemåder i K 47, trykket fra 1572 og AM 151 b 8vo. De ortografiske forskelle skyldes først og fremmest at sproget i K 47 er gammeldansk og ældre nydansk i den trykte udgave fra 1572 og AM 151 b 8vo.

Vers	K 47	1572	AM 151 b 8vo
833	oc ladæ hanum jet harnskæ giøre	Oc lod hannem it harnisk giøre	Oc lod saa hannem it harnisk giøre
841	thet bleff sa standen i vij aar	Det bleff saa staendis i siu Aar	Saa bleff det staaendis I siu aar

842	then jomfrv sorig i hier- thet baar	Den Iomffru sorrig i hietet bar	Iomfruen Sorrig I hietet baar
843	och jngen gledhe kwnde hinnæ hende	Oc ingen glæde kunde hinde hende	Oc hende kunde ingen glæde hende
852	for han haffde seg akt jen herræ ath wææ	For hand monne jo en Herre vææ	For hand monne Io en herre vææ
861	tha sawde han som i maa høræ	Da sagde hand som i maa høre	hand sagde da som I maa høre (ms. hore)
869	ther han war kommen til franckerigy	Den tid hand vaar kommen til Franckerig	Den tid hand vaar kommen til franckerig
871	ath then jomfrv snarlig for stod	Den Iomffru snarlig det for- stod	At det den Iomfru snarlig forstod
872	ath thet war persenober then jwnckergodh	At det vaar Persenober den Iuncker god	at Persenober vaar den Iuncker god
891	han foor tha i tøllig skaræ	Hand foer i saadan skare	Hand vaar oc foer I saadan skare
893	tha fæk han soræ i how	Da fick hand saa i hu	Da feck hand I hu
895	ther ath bliwe och wææ	Der at bliffue oc at vææ	At bliffue der oc der at vææ
896	och ede slikt som skowen wil bææ	Oc æde slikt som skoffuen monne bææ	Oc æde lige som skowen monne bææ
898	thet wil jech edher seye for sandh	Det vil ieg eder sige forsand	Ieg vil eder sige det for sand
899	ath han war ther i syw aar	At hand bleff der i vij. Aar	At hand bleff der vdi siv aar
900	och brast tha ap allæ thy saar	Oc brast da op alle de saar	Oc da brast op alle de saar
902	ther han mon medh then hiedening stride	Der hand monne met den Hedning stride	Hand monne met den hedning stride
905	medh sygdom och medh hiertelig qwidh	Met siugdum oc met hiertelig quid	Met siugsom oc met hierte quid
912	ther hendis landh kwndhe for staa	Der hendis land kunde faare- staa	Som hendis land kunde faarestaa
913	tha mon han bod til hindhe sændhæ	Da monne hand bud til hende sende	Hand monne da bud til hende sende
914	ath han wilde hendis land ap brænde	At hand wilde hendis land op- brænde	At hand wilde hendis land affbrænde
917	ther then jomfrv thet for stodh	Der den Iomffru det forstod	Strags den Iomfru det for- stod
918	tha worthe hwn æn mieræ i hierthet modh	Hun bleff end mere i hietet mod	Hun bleff end mere I hietet mod

921	oc lod them thet for standhæ	Oc gaff dennem tidende tilkende	Oc gaff dennem tidende tilkende
922	then hiedninge konning hindhe sændæ	At den Hedenske Konge ville deris land opbrende	Den hedenske Konge vil vor Land affbrende
924	och sawdhe tha til then jomfrv righ	Oc sagde til den Iomffru rig	Oc sagde til den Iomfrv rig
930	ther til wi skulle ey stande then wodhæ	Om wi skulle ey stande den vaade	Om wi skulle ey stande i den vaade
936	thet maa mæg drøwæ allæ dawæ	Det maa mig drøffue alle dage	mig maa det drøffue alle dage
938	dog wordher jech eder rad ath lyde	Dog vorder ieg eders raad at lyde	Ieg vorder dog eders raad at lyde
945	ath hwn skuldhe hanum thet wede	At hun skulde hannem dette vide	At hun skal hannem dette vedne

Litteratur

Håndskrifter

- København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 384 fol.
 København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 477 fol.
 København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 151 b 8vo
 Reykjavík, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 714 4to
 Reykjavík, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 151 a 8vo
 Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Codex Holmiensis K 47

Tryk

- Persenober. En lystig oc skøn Historie paa Rim om Konning Persenober og Drotning Constantianobis*,
 Kiøbenhaffn, aff Laurentz Benedicht, 1572. Oktav. 32 blade inkl. titelblad (LN 1325).
 [*Persenober*. Oversat af Henriik Christensen. Uvist trykkested, Nordtyskland, efter 1572.] Oktav. 29
 blade bevaret (LN 1325a).
En Skiøn og Lystig Historie om Konning Persenober Og Dronning Constantianobis, Kiøbenhafn Aar 1700.
 Oktav. 32 blade.

Udgaver

- Brandt, Carl Joakim (udg.) (1870). "Persenober og Konstantianobis, sat på Rim 1484". I: Brandt, C.J. (udg.). *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen 2*. København: Samfundet til den danske Literaturs Fremme, s. 33–86, 378–382.
 Olrik, Jørgen (udg.) (1925). "Persenober og Konstantianobis". I: Jacobsen, J.P./Olrik, Jørgen/Paulli, R. (udg.). *Danske Folkebøger fra det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede 6*. København: Gyldendal, s. 149–207, 389–448, 511–513.
 Præstgaard Andersen, Lise (udg.) (1983). *Partalopa saga*. Editiones Arnamagnæanæ Series B 28. København: C.A. Reitzels Forlag.

Sekundærlitteratur

- Albeck, Gustav (1968). "Persenober og Konstantianobis". I: Karker, Allan (red.). *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder* 13. København: Rosenkilde og Bagger, spalte 197–198.
- Brandt, Carl Joakim (1877). "Literærhistorisk Oversigt. V. Persenober og Konstantianobis" [sic]. I: Brandt, C.J. (udg.). *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen* 3. København: Samfundet til den danske Litteraturs Fremme, s. 327–335.
- Bull, Francis/Paasche, Fredrik (1924). *Norsk litteraturhistorie* 2. Kristiania: Aschehøg.
- Dal, Erik (1996). *Dansk Bibliografi 1482–1600. III: Supplement*. København: Det Kongelige Bibliotek og Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab.
- Kålund, Kristian (1894). *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske håndskriftsamling* 2. København: Kommissionen for det Arnamagnæanske Legat.
- Nyerup, Rasmus (1816). *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder*. København: Brødrene Thiele.
- Olrik, Jørgen (1936). "Persenober". I: Olrik, Jørgen/Paulli, R. (udg.). *Danske Folkebøger fra det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede* 13. København: Gyldendal, s. 133–134.
- Olrik Frederiksen, Britta (1999). "Ridderromaner". I: Petersen, Erik (red.). *Levende ord & lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Katalog*. København: Det Kongelige Bibliotek og Moesgård Museum, s. 48–49.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2017). "It Euentyr vil ieg sige fra. Die Historie von *Persenober oc Constantianobis* (1572) als Beispiel für Texttransmission im frühneuzeitlichen Dänemark". I: Müller-Wille, Klaus et al. (red.). *Skandinaviske Skriftlandschaften. Vänbok till Jürg Glauser* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 59). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, s. 174–178.

Digitale publikationer

- Persenober og Konstantianobis* (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Codex Holmiensis K 47). Adams, Jonathan/Akhøj Nielsen, Marita (udg.). *tekstnet.dk*. København: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 2002–2006.
- <https://tekstnet.dk/persenober-og-konstantianobis/metadata> (25. juni 2021).
- Persenober. En lystig oc skøn Historie paa Rim/ om Konning Persenober og Drotning Constantianobis. Lystig at høre oc læse. Nu nylige offuerseet oc Corrigerit/ Rettet end hun vaar før. Prentet i Kiøbenhaffn/ aff Laurentz Benedicht. 1572.* (LN 1325)
- Early European Books, ProQuest.com.
- <https://search.proquest.com/eebgeo/?accountid=132522> (25. juni 2021).
- Hansen, Anne Mette (2019). *En middelalderlig love story/A Medieval Love Story*. Månedens håndskrift/Manuscript of the Month, juni/June 2019
- <https://haandskrift.ku.dk/motm/en-middelalderlig-love-story/>
- <https://manuscript.ku.dk/motm/a-medieval-love-story/> (juni 2021).

Billedlegende

- København, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 151 b 8vo.
- Opslaget 1v–2r indeholder verslinjerne 846–876 skrevet som løbende tekst.
- © Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Københavns Universitet. Fotograf: Suzanne Reitz.

Hertug Frederik af Normandi and *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* – the Same, only Different

Louise Faymonville (Stockholm)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5489-7322>

Abstract: The Old Swedish romance *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*, one of the *Eufemiavisor*, has been preserved in six different manuscripts from the late Middle Ages. The Old Danish rendering of the story, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, is only available to us in one single manuscript, Cod. Holm. K 47. Although it was translated from Swedish in the fifteenth century and shares many features with its Swedish counterparts, there is also significant variation concerning wording and contents between the K 47 text witness and those in Old Swedish. Some textual differences between the text witnesses could be explained as results of lacunae and corruptions in the sources, but the nature of some of the variation in the K 47 text witness could also indicate scribal adaptation strategies related to the interests and expectations of the audience. The overall purpose of the K 47 manuscript as a whole may have been to amuse readers with a renewed interest in courtly culture.

Keywords: courtly romance, *Eufemiavisor*, *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*, K 47, text witness, variation

The courtly romance *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* forms together with *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* and *Flores och Blanzefflor* the so-called *Eufemiavisor*, all three composed in knittel verse and commonly believed to have been translated into Old Swedish in the early fourteenth century at the behest of Queen Eufemia of Norway. Unlike *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* and *Flores och Blanzefflor*, however, which were originally translated from French into several European languages and widely circulated throughout the Middle Ages, *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* is known only from its Old Swedish version and the subsequent translation into Old Danish. The many Germanisms in the vocabulary along with references in the epilogue to a translation into German (from French) and then into Swedish suggest a German model for the Old Swedish rendering, but the transmission history of the story remains unknown.¹ *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* survives in six text witnesses in Old Swedish, all produced during a period of approximately one hundred years, from the first half of the fifteenth century to a couple of decades into the sixteenth century. It was

1 Several scholars have discussed the origin of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* (e.g. Bambeck 2009; Busby 2015; Layher 1999, 2000; Lütjens 1912) but given the lack of foreign redactions, the question of the source(s) remains open.

translated into Old Danish from an Old Swedish model, and Cod. Holm. K 47 (henceforth K 47) preserves the only extant text witness in Old Danish of *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*. While the story of the Norman duke is broadly the same in all the text witnesses, Old Swedish and Old Danish alike, and nearly identical passages point to a common ancestor, there are also substantial differences between the Old Danish version and the Old Swedish counterparts, indicating not only different stemmatic branches but perhaps also different interests and adaptation strategies. This article elaborates on some of the differences, or variations, between the text witness of the Old Danish *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* and those of the Old Swedish *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*² and suggests an interpretation of the variation in *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*. Furthermore, it will also briefly touch upon an interpretation of the purpose of the K 47 manuscript as a whole.

According to the epilogue of five of the Old Swedish text witnesses, *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* was translated into Swedish in 1308, and the traditional dating of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* is based on this statement (cf. Lodén 2012: 11). However, the earliest extant text witness of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*, in Cod. Holm. D 4 (henceforth D 4), specifies the time of translation as late 1300, while the Old Danish text witness in K 47 brings forward an additional alternative dating of early 1301. These alternative dates have been discussed at length; the true date of translation of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* continues to be a matter of scholarly debate³ and cannot be treated any further within the scope of this article. Nevertheless, the differing dates serve here as an initial demonstration of the variation found between the Old Swedish and the Old Danish text witnesses. Before proceeding to a closer examination of the variation, a presentation of the text witnesses and the editions is in order.

Text witnesses and editions of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*

A summarized overview of the Swedish manuscripts containing the text witnesses of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* can be found in table 1 below. The text witnesses have been classified in accordance with the designations given by the editor G. E. Klemming.

2 Although there is a significant amount of internal variation between the Old Swedish text witnesses, it will not be treated in detail in this article, as the focus here lies on the comparison between the text witness of the Old Danish *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* and those of the Old Swedish *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*.

3 See for example Bambeck (2009).

Text witness	A	B	C	D	E	F
Manuscript	Cod. Holm. D 4	Cod. Holm. D 4a	Cod. Holm. D 3	Sw. National Archives, E 9013	Cod. Holm. K 45	Cod. Holm. D 2
Dating	c. 1430?	c. 1448	c. 1488	c. 1500	First half of 1500s	1523
Provenance	Vadstena?	Fru Märeta Ulfsdotter (nobility)	Fru Elin Gustavsdotter (Sture) (nobility)	Unknown	Unknown	Bishop Hans Brask
Summary of manuscript content (cited works in alphabetical order)	<i>Eufemiavisorna</i> <i>Karl Magnus</i> <i>Konung Alexander</i>	<i>Eufemiavisorna</i> <i>Karl Magnus</i> <i>Namnlös och Valentin</i>	<i>Eufemiavisorna</i> <i>Karl Magnus</i> <i>Namnlös och Valentin</i>	<i>Didrik av Bern</i> <i>Hertig Fredrik af Normandie</i>	<i>Didrik av Bern</i> <i>Hertig Fredrik af Normandie</i> <i>Namnlös och Valentin</i>	<i>Gutasagan</i> <i>Hertig Fredrik af Normandie</i> <i>Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna</i>
	Historical records	<i>Tungulus</i>	<i>Tungulus</i>		<i>Tungulus</i>	Chronicles
	Legends	Chronicles	Chronicles		Astrology	Historical records
	Poem of King Albrekt	Secular prose	Legends			Legend
	Short texts in Latin		Secular prose			
	Various religious/edifying texts					

Table 1: Overview of the Swedish manuscripts containing the text witnesses of *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie* (Sources: Backman 2017; Hyltén-Cavallius 1850–1854; Klemming 1844, 1866–1868; Noreen 1929a, 1929b; Wiktorsson 1997; Åström 1997)

Due to its age and the quality of its texts, D 4, containing text witness A, is considered as one of the most precious manuscripts in Old Swedish by many textual scholars and editors of medieval secular works. It has a very diverse content and constitutes an excellent example of a medieval miscellany.

Cod. Holm. D 4a (henceforth D 4a), containing text witness B, is also known as *Codex Verelianus* or *Fru Märetas bok* in reference to previous owners (Klemming 1844: XXVII; Noreen 1929b: 5). It has also received much attention from editors and scholars, and it is considered along with D 4 a prominent source of many of the edited Old Swedish texts. It shares much of its content with Cod. Holm. D 3 (henceforth D 3), containing text witness C and also known as *Fru Elins bok*, again in reference to a previous owner (Backman 2017: 13). Although both D 4a and D 3 are important testimonies of the literary culture of the Swedish aristocracy in the Middle Ages, D 3 has been considered less valuable than D 4a, partly because it has been damaged by water. Nevertheless, all three manuscripts D 4, D 4a and D 3 are of great interest for the research on the *Eufemiavisor* and courtly literature in general.

Manuscripts E 9013, Cod. Holm. K 45 and Cod. Holm. D 2 (henceforth K 45 and D 2), containing text witnesses D, E and F, respectively, have been researched less but are nonetheless interesting in a comparative study like this one. E 9013 is a part of the Skokloster collection and is kept at the Swedish National Archives, unlike the other manuscripts that are all kept at the National Library. Little is known about the history of the E 9013 manuscript; it has mainly been discussed in its capacity as a carrier of one of the two extant text witnesses of *Sagan om Didrik af Bern* (cf. Henning 1970; Hylltén-Cavallius 1850–1854: XLI–XLIII). The other text witness of that work can be found in K 45, which is a composite manuscript that features a somewhat Danicizing language. Some Swedish scholars and editors have described it as Swedish, but the Dane Molbech considered it a Danish work (Backman 2017: 33).

D 2, also known as *Spegelbergs bok* after Johan Spegelberg, the scribe of Bishop Hans Brask, consists of an older part that includes *Gutasagan* and *Erikskrönikan* and a younger part comprising the rest of the manuscript. The older part was dated 1470–1480 by G. E. Klemming (1866–1868: 243), a dating that has since been revised to the wider scope of 1400–1500 (<https://www.manuscripta.se/ms/100346>), and the younger part is dated to 1523 following the colophon of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*, where this year is mentioned by the scribe.

The Danish K 47 manuscript, which contains the text witness of *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, is dated to around 1500 and includes six romances: the three *Eufemiavisor*, *Dværgekongen Laurin*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis* and *Den kyske dronning* (<https://tekstnet.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47>). The manuscript was written by two scribes, and at least one of them may have been a woman (Dahlerup 1998: 260; Glauser 1986: 193–194), as demonstrated by the closing lines in *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*⁴:

4 There are some indications to suggest that the K 47 text witness of *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* is a copy of a slightly older, now lost translation (<https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/about>). If the closing lines in *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* were copied from an earlier translation, it is possible that ‘she’ refers to the translator rather than the K 47 scribe (cf. Jucknies 2015: 164).

then henne skreff hwn saffde och saa
och ther til seye wi allæ jaa amen

the one who wrote it [the book], she said this,
and to that we all say yes. Amen

(Verses 2419–2420, <https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/17>)

Although the dating of these individual manuscripts is not always precise, it is quite clear that they cover nearly a century of transmission of courtly literature in various contexts.

Hertig Fredrik af Normandie has been published twice, by Klemming in 1853⁵ and then again by Erik Noreen in 1927. Klemming also supplied his edition with an edition of the Old Danish *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*. C. J. Brandt published the latter along with the other texts in K 47 in 1869. Klemming based his edition of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* on the text witness in the oldest manuscript, D 4, but he also included a critical apparatus of variants from the text witnesses in the other Swedish manuscripts. Noreen's critical edition of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* is based on text witness B, in D 4a, but includes variants from the text witnesses in D 4 and the Danish K 47 (designated as text witness G), the only text witnesses that Noreen (1927a: VII) deemed valuable enough for textual criticism. According to both Klemming (1853: 227–228) and Noreen (*ibid.*), text witnesses A, B and G provided the most original versions of the text, while text witnesses CDEF were merely copies that were considered quite insignificant, if not useless. Klemming seems to have taken a somewhat arbitrary approach to the selection of variants from CDEF to include in his critical apparatus. Since CDEF were considered of much less value, some individual variants in these text witnesses were simply left out or perhaps in some cases overlooked by Klemming.

As for the stemmatic relationships between the text witnesses of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* and *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, there are mainly two theories which were put forward by August Lütjens (1912) and Noreen (1927a, 1927b), respectively. Both (Lütjens 1912: 17; Noreen 1927a: VIII) declare text witness G (in K 47) independent from the extant Swedish text witnesses and suggest as its model an unknown lost manuscript which was presumably closer in time to the original translation than any of the extant Swedish text witnesses. Their views differ with regard to the relationship between B and C: while Noreen (*ibid.*) considers C to be a copy of B and DEF copies of C, Lütjens (*ibid.*) argues that CDEF are rather copies of a 'sister text witness' to B. Recent research on manuscript D 3 strongly suggests that it was not a direct copy of manuscript D 4a but rather had a different source (cf. Backman 2017), thereby supporting the idea of a different model than text witness B (in D 4a) for text witness C (in D 3). My research points in the same direction as CDEF sometimes deviate from A and B; however, I have also noted a few interesting similarities between CDEF and G, which will be considered further below.

The present study is based on a review of both the manuscripts and the editions with an aim to map out the Old Danish text witness in relation to the Swedish text witnesses. Since the text witnesses are written in different languages – arguably – and demonstrate dialectal varieties to a certain extent, the noted variation is not on the grammatical or syntactical

5 The edition is incorrectly attributed to J. A. Ahlstrand.

level but rather concerns wording and plus or minus deviation – that is, where verses or longer parts of the narrative are absent in one or several text witnesses but present in others. The latter does not refer to physical lacunae in the studied text witnesses but can of course be the result of either lacunae or omissions in the source text. If more than one text witness exhibit a plus/minus deviation, it is all the more likely to be derived from the source text. The text witnesses may not be immediately related, but they could share a common ancestor higher up in the stemma. It should be noted that there is in fact a physical lacuna in the K 47 text witness due to a missing leaf between folios 125 and 126, corresponding to the episode in which Duke Fredrik is taking his leave from the dwarf king Malmrit and receives the magic ring.

The variations between K 47 and the Swedish text witnesses

Differences between the K 47 text witness and the Swedish ones can be found from the very beginning of the narrative, as exemplified by the following passage in the introduction.

konung artus ær thæn iak mena
 thæn ædhle første renæ
 tha forgik thz sihwalfua bordh
 ther førra hafðhe marght stolt eet ordh
 thy førra varðh riddara ok fruor sænda
 tha togh thz een ænda
 thz tro hans riddare ok hans mæn
 thz konung artws lifuer æn
 thz sihwalfua bordh ok thz komparni
 ther allan tima var swa fri
 do ey alt mz konungin ena
 ther lifðhe æpter badhe riddara ok swena

koningh artus ther jech mene
 then edelæ stalte then rene
 tha leffðhe ther effther hans tidh
 ridder och swenne the waræ blidh

King Arthur there I mean,
 the noble, proud, the pure.
 There lived after his time
 knights and squires who were merry.

(Verses 11–14, text witness G (K 47)
 Klemming 1853: 157)

King Arthur is the one I mean,
 the noble, pure prince,
 thus was dissolved the Round Table,
 where in bygone days many a proud word
 was sent to knights and ladies.
 Thus it came to an end.
 So believe his knights and his men
 that King Arthur is still alive.
 The Round Table and the company,
 that always were so bold,
 did not wholly die with the King,
 there lived still both knights and squires.

(Verses 11–22, text witness A (D 4),
 Klemming 1853: 3)

The wording in the verses preceding the ones quoted above is more or less the same in all the text witnesses, up until the mentioning of King Arthur in verse 11. From verse 12 onwards, the Danish text witness demonstrates a minus deviation that cuts and reformulates some ten verses elaborating on the Knights of the Round Table. If this variation is the work of the Danish translator or scribe, perhaps (s)he considered this part too dull, or perhaps the round table was no longer a well-known concept. In fact, the Knights of the Round Table are only mentioned on one occasion in G, as the *taffelrwndæ skaræ* (verse 1574, Klemming 1853: 198), where the Swedish text witnesses also use this wording. There is no other equivalent in G to the Swedish *sihwalfua bordh*; perhaps it was simply incomprehensible.⁶ The deviation could possibly also be the result of a lacuna or omission in the source text. The main part of these verses, however, is still present in the six extant Swedish text witnesses, so they are likely to have been original. Further on in the introduction, the Swedish *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* praises Duke Fredrik and his many courtly qualities in a somewhat repetitive manner. The Danish version cuts this short and goes straight to action and the first scene in which Duke Frederik goes hunting. That same scene includes a passage in which Fredrik senses adventure coming his way, or at least he does so in A and B. The introduction of Fredrik's line as well as the first part of it are missing in G:

the lupu ey een aker breedh
 the vændho thaghar a then sama leedh
 thiit the the riddara halda sa
 hertugh fræderik mælte ok sagdhe swa
 os ær her nu æwintyre
 komin a hand ok ful ohyre
 vi viliom ey iæggha at thetta sinna
 farom nu heem thit vi mak finna

They did not run the breadth of a field
 until they turned back the same way
 to where they saw the knights waiting.
 Duke Fredrik spoke and said thus
 'Unto us has now adventure
 come and plenty of that.
 We do not want to hunt at this time,
 let us go home where we might find quiet.'

(Verses 69–76, text witness A (D 4),
 Klemming 1853: 5)

the løbe jckj vdhen jen agers bredh
 the wendhe them affther then sammeleedh
 wi jeyer jckj mere ath thette sinnæ
 faræ wi hiem wi maa thet wel finnæ

They did not run the breadth of a field
 then they turned back the same way.
 'We do not hunt anymore at this time,
 let us go home that we may it well find.'

(Verses 28–31, text witness G (K 47),
 Klemming 1853: 157)

6 Additionally, it can be noted that the word *silvalver* (or *sihvalver*), 'round/ed', is also used in the Swedish text witnesses to describe the location of the dwarf king Malmrit's castle on top of a rounded hill, *a eet sihwalfft bergh* (verse 438, text witness A, Klemming 1853: 17). In G, the location is described as *pa jeth gronth berigh*, 'on a green hill', which must clearly be an adaptation in the Danish version; perhaps, again, to avoid an incomprehensible or (too) archaic word.

The couplet about adventure (verses 73–74 in A) is in fact also missing in DEF (C has a lacuna covering this part of the story), marking one of several instances, in the introduction as well as elsewhere in the text, where G accords with CDEF.

Without the introduction of Fredrik's line and his sensation of adventure, the narrative in G becomes rather abrupt and unclear, which could be explained as the simple result of a corrupted source text. However, since the introduction in G is radically shorter and has occasional different phrasing than in the Swedish counterparts, we might also suggest that the Danish translator or scribe adapted the text to some extent.

As noted by all the editors, a tendency to modify and adapt the text applies to the entire K 47 text witness. While many couplets and passages are missing entirely, there are also large parts that are more or less consistent with the narrative in the Swedish text witnesses, but with frequent modifications. There are also several plus deviations throughout G and Noreen (1927a: VIII) mainly attributes them to the source text, thereby pointing out the importance of G for textual criticism. The most conspicuous variation in G is the extensive revision of the tournament in Barna, which is followed by Duke Fredrik's visit to the maiden Floria's tower and her subsequent abduction. In the Swedish version, Fredrik and Floria set sail for Scotland, and the narrative takes a dramatic turn when Fredrik is washed overboard during a storm. He survives the ordeal thanks to his magic ring which keeps him afloat at sea, where his pursuers, sent by Floria's father, the Irish king, find and capture him. The entire episode, from the tournament to Fredrik's fall overboard, encompasses some 800 verses in the Swedish version but corresponds to merely 75 verses in G. The tournament, amounting to some 240 verses in the A text witness, is more or less entirely missing in G (there is only a description of the participating knights). In G, Duke Fredrik immediately takes off for Ireland where he enters Floria's tower disguised as a woman. He spends a couple of days there, merely admiring the fair maiden in secret, and the nightly and somewhat dubious action that takes place in the Swedish text witnesses is nowhere to be found. Fredrik then sends Floria off to Scotland and stays behind, only to be captured by the king's men, who find him afloat at sea. How he got there remains a mystery to the reader. The editors, as well as Lütjens (1912) and later Layher (1999), commented on the largely rephrased and abbreviated passage, but while Klemming (1853: 228), Brandt (1870: 368) and Lütjens (1912: 11–12) find the revision unskilful and attribute it to a corrupted source text⁷, Noreen (1927b: 18) questions such an explanation and suggests that the passage was adapted on purpose because the tournament was boring and the seduction and abduction of Floria too indecent. Since the tournament and the abduction of Floria are included in all the Swedish text witnesses, I find it unlikely that the source text omitted these parts of the narrative entirely, although there could have been a lacuna. As pointed out by Lütjens (1912: 12) and Layher (1999: 180), the Danish scribe must have been familiar with at least parts of the storyline, so if the revised passage is the result of a corrupted source text, the scribe must have had access to a different source, or at least read or heard the story at some

7 Although Layher (1999: 180) explains the revision as the result of a lacuna in the source text, he is not as critical towards the scribe as are Klemming, Brandt and Lütjens. Layher acknowledges the scribe's work as "half-successful" and "handled properly" (ibid.) for the most part.

point. This suggests that there must have been a relatively large number of text witnesses of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* in circulation at that time.

Further indications to support this suggestion can be found if we consider the similarities between G and CDEF. Klemming (1853: 228) and Noreen (1927a: VIII) note that G sometimes accords with A, sometimes with B, or displays an independent variant. Interestingly though, some of these independent variants accord with variance in CDEF in contrast to A and B. In addition to some shared minus deviations, there are also a few instances of reading agreement between G and CDEF vis-à-vis AB. The most notable example can be found in a description of the qualities of the precious stone amethyst (verse 389 in A according to Klemming 1853: 15):

Text witness A	Text witness B	Text witness C	Text witness G
the hafua han vær- dghogh hwa han veet	the haffua han wer- digh ther man weth	the haffue honum kær hwo thet weth	the hawe hinnæ kier how thz wedh
Those find it valuable who know of it	Those find it valuable which one knows	Those find it precious who know it	Those find it precious who know it

There is nothing in the surrounding text to suggest a scribal mistake (such as a *saut-du-même-au-même*) in any of the text witnesses. The most reasonable explanation would be that C had a different model than B (and A) which occasionally accords with the model of G rather than with the model of B. With G supposedly belonging to a different stemmatic branch than A–F, we seem to be facing a fairly complicated transcription history, probably more extensive than suggested in previous research. While further details of the stemmatic relationships cannot be analysed within the scope of this article, we can conclude that the number of text witnesses once in existence would have been far larger than what remains today.

Possible explanations of the variation in the K 47 text witness

The ‘standard’ explanation of the variation in the K 47 text witness of *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, as expressed by the editors, Lütjens and others, refers to corruptions and lacunae in the source text combined with a rather unskilful scribe. Indeed, peculiar and sometimes abrupt passages such as the hunting episode in the introduction or Duke Frederik’s sudden appearance at sea seem to support such an explanation, but I would argue that it is not a satisfactory explanation overall. Some of the variations do not quite fit the image of ‘repair work’ by a mediocre copyist; instead, we should perhaps consider the possibility of a scribe making adaptations on purpose, following a certain strategy. The variations seem at times to strive towards an action-driven and sometimes simplified narrative, replacing strange and unusual words and omitting redundant passages. At the same time, lengthy passages intended to display the refined courtly behaviour of the characters are often kept intact.

Following the extensive adaptation of the seduction of Floria in particular, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* loses some of the romance’s more burlesque theme and becomes more of a ‘generic’ courtly romance. The omission of the tournament implies a loss of the military

aspect of chivalric life in the romance. In this context, let us also consider an interesting example of wording, in bold below.

the stund the herra varo saman
vordho talath margha handa gaman
tha the herra stodho op fra bordh
tha sa margh man **bohordh**
hær ok ther om markena fara
mz marghin høfuizlikin skara

then stwndh the herrær war til samen
the haffde bodhe gledhæ och gamen
tha the herrær stodh fra thz bordh
the taledh mange **gammels ordh**
man saa ther herrær pa marken faræ
mz sa mange høweligh skaræ

The time the lords were together
were told many a joke.
Then the lords stood up from the table.
Then many men saw the **bohort**
rushing here and there on the field
with many a splendid crowd.

The time the lords were together
they had both joy and fun.
Then the lords stood [up] from the table.
They told many **joking words**.
One saw lords there rushing on the field
with so many a courteous crowd.

(Verses 3041–3046, text witness A (D 4),
Klemming 1853: 100–101)

(Verses 2252–2257, text witness G (K 47),
Klemming 1853: 216)

In this passage, from the description of Duke Fredrik's and Floria's wedding, the variation in G vis-à-vis the Swedish text witnesses is rather subtle; but with the omission of *bohordh*, the tournament is toned down in favor of the joy and splendour of the meal, emphasizing a joyous courtly setting, possibly in accordance with a strategy towards a more demilitarized narrative. Perhaps combat and battles were not that interesting to the audience anymore, but the symbolic values connected to chivalric ideals were still important and highlighted. Additionally, the word *bohordh* may have been difficult or even incomprehensible to the scribe or the intended audience.⁸ An intention to simplify and replace archaic, strange or incomprehensible words is implied elsewhere: in verse 1212 in G (Klemming 1853: 188), *høfuizlikt kalz ok gaman* (as per verse 1281 in A, Klemming 1853: 44), 'splendid joke and amusement', is rendered as *høwske snak och gamen*, 'courteous talk and fun', even though *kals*, 'joke, fun', is attested (though sparsely) from 1435 according to *Gammeldansk ordbog* (<https://gammeldanskordbog.dk/>). Another possible adaptation or even attempted correction in the Danish version appears in verse 1553 in G (Klemming 1853: 197), where the Swedish *ther vidher femora kunno tala* (as per verse 1620 in A, Klemming 1853: 55), 'who could speak to [femora]' is rendered as *the kwinnæ widh fuld faa mend talæ*, 'they could speak to very few men'. The mysterious *femora* is unexplained in Swedish and does not appear in the dictionary of Old Swedish by K. F. Söderwall (1884–1918), but the solution in G fits well with the narrative, which speaks of foreign knights coming to attend the tournament in Barna.⁹ The knights in question are said to come from *portegalæ*, 'Portugal',

8 There are no attested instances of *bohordh* (or spelling variants) in *Gammeldansk ordbog* (<https://gammeldanskordbog.dk/>).

9 The meaning of *femora* is unclear to Noreen (1927b: 47), but suggestions have been made by Layher (1999: 263, note 8), who puts forward a possible loan from Middle High German *vemer(e)*, 'hangman, executioner', and Bambeck (2009: 60), who translates the noun to *den Damen*, 'the ladies'. In his

but this is likely yet another Danish adaptation as the Swedish text witnesses speak of knights accompanying Sir *Arrik aff Tæstergala*, that is the Arthurian knight *Erec Destregâles* (or *d'estre-Gales*, cf. Lütjens 1912: 52–53; Thorstenberg 1910: 404), whose name and story may have been unknown to the scribe or even the Danish audience.¹⁰

If the more war-like aspects of the courtly literature had become irrelevant, it seems inconsistent that the battle of the dwarfs as well as Duke Fredrik's fight with the giant are still included in G. However, these are central parts of the narrative, and they also add to a supernatural theme including mythological beings that is recurrent in Arthurian romances.

Interplay with other texts in K 47

As previously mentioned, K 47 includes the three *Eufemiavisor* as well as three other texts: *Dværgekongen Laurin*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis* and *Den kyske dronning*. All six texts belong to the courtly literature, and they all include a certain element of magic and the supernatural (cf. Jucknies 2015: 173). Furthermore, they all display typical features of narratives that serve to amuse the audience. Their entertaining purposes are declared right at the beginning, as we can see from the following verses in the introductions of the texts.

Ivan løveridder	Hertug Frederik af Normandi	Dværgekongen Laurin
I Naffn fader oc søn oc then helligandh vil iec meg tage here til handh	eth ewentyr tha begynes heræ willæ i høræ hwræ thet æræ	Ieth lidhet spel acther jech ath skriwe ther man maa tidhen medh for drive
ffromme saghe fram ath føre Them til skiemten som thet vil høre	An adventure begins here, would you like hear what it is.	A little play I wish to write, with which one may pass the time.
In the name of the father, the son and the holy spirit, I would like to take it upon me to present delightful things as amusement to those who wish to hear it.		

recent translation of the *Eufemiavisor*, Henrik Williams (2018: 252) uses the G variant, 'very few men'.

10 Although Chrétien's de Troyes *Érec et Énide* had been translated and adapted into the Old Norse *Erex saga*, there is no evidence of an Old Swedish translation or other east Norse circulation of the story of Erec. Even though Arthurian romance and courtly literature in general may have been well-known concepts in Denmark, we cannot automatically assume that the Danish scribe made the connection between the somewhat corrupted name of *Arrik aff Tæstergala* and the original Arthurian romance of *Érec Destregâles*. Additionally, the source text could have been difficult to decipher, leading the scribe to simply replace *Tæstergala* with a known country far away.

Den kyske dronning	Persenober og Konstantianobis	Flores og Blanseflor
I naffn fadher och søn och then heligh and vil jech nw tage mæg til hand jet rim for eder ath seye hwo ther til wil høræ och tye	Jeth ewentyr wil jech seye fra ee hwo som ther wil lydhe aa An adventure I wish to tell to whoever wishes to listen to it.	Som jech i bogen skrewet saa och ewentyr the seye fra As I saw written in the book and adventure they tell.
In the name of the father, the son and the holy spirit, I would like to take it upon me to tell a rhyme to you who wish to hear it and keep silent.		

(Source: Tekster fra Danmarks middelalder og renæssance 1100–1550, www.tekstnet.dk)

They speak of adventure, fun and leisure. Certainly these are formulaic standard passages of the courtly literature, nevertheless they testify to the purpose of the texts.

The description of K 47 made available online by the Danish Language and Literature Society (*Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab*) at www.tekstnet.dk tells us that the manuscript has two thematic parts: the first part, to which *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* belongs, focusses more on the ordeals of the knight; the second part focusses more on courtly love. While this is certainly an accurate description, I would also add that there is an overall theme related to the supernatural, magic and storytelling which connects much of the courtly literature and emphasizes its amusement purposes.

Purpose of the K 47 manuscript

In contrast to K 47, which has a rather coherent theme, the Swedish manuscripts are all miscellanies – with the possible exception of the E 9013 manuscript that only contains *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* and the chronicle of *Didrik av Bern* – comprising works of different genres and functioning as miniature libraries. While their purpose was manifold – to amuse, educate, and edify – the purpose of K 47 seems to have been pure amusement and possibly a display of wealth and cultural refinement.

In order to try to understand the purpose of K 47, we must consider the historic and cultural settings in which the manuscript was created. We do not know who the original owner of K 47 was, but it is fairly safe to assume that it was someone with access to considerable wealth. During the fifteenth century, Denmark went through a period of restoration after the crises in the fourteenth century. The economic and commercial conditions improved for the ruling class but also allowed for the development of a new and wealthy group in society, merchants that partly included members of both the nobility and the church (Kværndrup 1984: 439). It seems that these rich times also paved the way for a revival of the courtly culture, as manifested by the translation of courtly texts and the creation of the K 47 manuscript. Bengt R. Jonsson has called this revival the “seconde

chevalerie” (1996: 17) and points to the renewed interest not only in courtly literature but also in the related genre of ballads. Pil Dahlerup (1998: 238) disagrees with Jonsson and points out that the chivalric culture and way of life had existed in Denmark since the twelfth century. The reason for the presumably late appearance of courtly literature could be that Denmark was simply a late bloomer – or quite the opposite, only that courtly romances had been read in German all through the Middle Ages, and no one had bothered to translate them into the vernacular until the late fifteenth century. But if courtly romances and epic tales were old news, why would one invest in a manuscript full of them? A second wave of interest in chivalric ideas and culture – and this time presented in the vernacular – could indeed explain why. We could also point out the continued interest in courtly romances in Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an early example of which would be the early sixteenth-century printed version of *Flores og Blanseflor*.

Concluding remarks

The story of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* seems to have been quite popular in Sweden, as demonstrated by the relatively large number of text witnesses, but in Denmark the only extant text witness suggests a more moderate interest. The Swedish *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* had been transmitted over centuries and kept most of its storyline with only minor adaptations in the text witnesses, but when the time came for the Danish translation, the translator/adaptor and/or the scribe made some major revisions. We cannot be fully certain of the origins of the revisions – some, if not all, may have originated in a now lost earlier translation of *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, making the K 47 scribe a copyist rather than a scribe with an adaptation strategy of their own. However, the K 47 manuscript displays a certain homogeneity (cf. Bampi 2019: 218) and, as I have tried to show, the text witness of *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* seems to adhere to the overall theme of the manuscript, allowing for the possibility that at least some revisions, or adaptations, were made by the K 47 scribe. It is also worth noting that the K 47 text witness of *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* is considered a more independent adaptation of its Swedish source than the other Old Danish text witness in manuscript Cod. Holm. K 4, which follows the Swedish source more closely (Dahlerup 1998: 247–248). Indeed, it would seem as though the scribe(s) of K 47 had an overall strategy towards an independent revision of the sources, possibly to satisfy the interests and expectations of the client and the audience.

At least one of the K 47 scribes may have been a woman, and it has also been suggested that the manuscript’s intended audience was female (cf. Bampi 2019: 220; Jucknies 2015: 164) – the possible omission of the lengthy description of the tournament as well as Duke Fredrik’s seduction of Floria point in that direction. If *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* was adapted to the extent of losing its characteristics to satisfy the expectations of an audience looking for refined courtly romances with a touch of magic, it may have lost its appeal to a wider audience on the way.

To summarize, some variations in the K 47 text witness of *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* – especially those that also occur in other text witnesses – are most likely copied from the source text. Other variations may be attempts to handle lacunae and corruptions, but there are also strong indications to suggest that the K 47 scribe(s) had an adaptation strategy.

The audience, perhaps female, expected a book full of magic, splendour, amusement and refined courtly romance, and the text witness of *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* was adapted accordingly.

References

Manuscripts

- Kungliga biblioteket (The National Library of Sweden), MS. Cod. Holm. D 2
 Kungliga biblioteket (The National Library of Sweden), MS. Cod. Holm. D 3
 Kungliga biblioteket (The National Library of Sweden), MS. Cod. Holm. D 4
 Kungliga biblioteket (The National Library of Sweden), MS. Cod. Holm. D 4a
 Kungliga biblioteket (The National Library of Sweden), MS. Cod. Holm. K 4
 Kungliga biblioteket (The National Library of Sweden), MS. Cod. Holm. K 45
 Kungliga biblioteket (The National Library of Sweden), MS. Cod. Holm. K 47
 Riksarkivet (The Swedish National Archives), MS. E 9013

Printed sources and literature

- Backman, Agnieszka (2017). *Handskriftens materialitet: studier i den fornsvenska samlingshandskriften Fru Elins bok (Codex Holmiensis D 3)* (= Nordiska texter och undersökningar 32). Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk, Uppsala Universitet.
- Bambeck, Florian (2009). *Herzog Friedrich von der Normandie: der altschwedische Ritterroman Hertig Fredrik av Normandie: Text, Übersetzung, Untersuchungen* (= Imagines medii aevi 24). Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Bampi, Massimiliano (2019). "Yvain i dansk språkdräkt: Hövisk litteratur i det senmedeltida Danmark". In: Boeck, Simon Skovgaard/Vrieland, Seán D. (eds.). *A Copenhagen miscellany: studies in East Norse philology*. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, pp. 215–234.
- Brandt, Carl Joakim (1869–1877). *Romantisk digtning fra middelalderen*. Kjøbenhavn: Samfundet til den danske literaturs fremme.
- Busby, Keith (2015). "Generic Hybridity and Memory in Hertig Fredrik av Normandie". In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 98–108.
- Dahlerup, Pil (1998). *Dansk litteratur: Middelalder. Bd. 2: Verdslig litteratur*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
- Glauser, Jürg (1986). "Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit". In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (eds.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 15). Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, pp. 191–207.
- Henning, Bengt (1970). *Didrikskrönikan: handskriftsrelationer, översättningsteknik och stildrag* (= Stockholm studies in Scandinavian philology; N.S., 8). Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.
- Hyltén-Cavallius, Gunnar Olof (ed.). (1850–1854). *Sagan om Didrik af Bern* (= Samlingar utgivna av svenska fornskrift-sällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 10). Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Jonsson, Bengt R. (1996). "Om Draumkvædet och dess datering". In: *Sumlen: årsbok för vis- och folkmusikforskning. 1994–1995* (1996). Stockholm: Samfundet för visforskning.

- Jucknies, Regina (2015). "Through an Old Danish Lens? Precious Stones in the Late Medieval Danish Reception of Courtly Literature". In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 162–175.
- Klemming, Gustaf Edvard (ed.) (1844). *Flores och Blanzeflor: en kärleksdikt från medeltiden* (= Samlingar utgivna av svenska fornskrift-sällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 1). Stockholm.
- Klemming, Gustav Edvard (ed.) (1853). *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie: en medeltidsroman* (= Samlingar utgivna av svenska fornskrift-sällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 11). Stockholm.
- Klemming, Gustaf Edvard (ed.) (1865). *Svenska medeltidens rimkrönikor D. 1 Gamla eller Eriks-krönikan: folkungarnes brödrastrider: med en kort öfversigt af närmast föregående tid, 1229–1319* (= Samlingar utgivna av svenska fornskrift-sällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 7:1). Stockholm.
- Klemming, Gustaf Edvard (ed.) (1866–1868). *Svenska medeltidens rimkrönikor D. 3 Nya krönikans fortsättningar eller Sturekrönikorna: fortgången af unionsstriderna under Karl Knutsson och Sturarne, 1452–1520* (= Samlingar utgivna av svenska fornskrift-sällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 7:3). Stockholm.
- Kværndrup, Sigurd (1984). "II. Det feudale stændersamfund". In: Kaspersen, Søren et al. (eds.). *Dansk litteraturhistorie 1: Fra runer til ridderdigtning o. 800–1480*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, pp. 426–475.
- Layher, William Thomas (1999). *Queen Eufemia's legacy: Middle Low German literary culture, royal patronage, and the first old Swedish epic (1301)* (= Diss. Harvard Univ.). Ann Arbor: UMI.
- Layher, William Thomas (2000). "Origins of the Old Swedish epic *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*: a Middle Dutch link". In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 21:2, pp. 223–249.
- Lodén, Sofia (2012). *Le chevalier courtois à la rencontre de la Suède médiévale: du Chevalier au lion à Herr Ivan* (= Forskningsrapporter/Cahiers de la recherche, Stockholm University 47). Stockholm: Stockholm University.
- Lütjens, August (1912). *Herzog Friedrich von der Normandie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen und schwedischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (= Münchener Archiv für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 2). München: G.D.W. Callwey.
- Noreen, Erik (ed.) (1927a). *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie: kritisk upplaga på grundval av Codex Verelianus* (= Samlingar utgivna av svenska fornskrift-sällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 49). Uppsala.
- Noreen, Erik (1927b). *Studier rörande Eufemiavisorna 2. Bidrag till Hertig Fredriks textkritik* (= Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala 22:7). Uppsala.
- Noreen, Erik (1929a). "Olika händer i Cod. Holm. D 4". In: *Studier tillägnade Axel Kock*. Lund: Gleerup, pp. 263–270.
- Noreen, Erik (1929b). *Studier rörande Eufemiavisorna 3. Textkritiska studier över Herr Ivan* (= Skrifter utgifna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala 26:1). Uppsala.
- Söderwall, Knut Fredrik (1884–1918). *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket 1–2* (= Samlingar utgivna av svenska fornskrift-sällskapet. Serie 1. Svenska skrifter 27). Stockholm.
- Thorstenberg, Edward (1910). "'Duke Frederick of Normandy', an Arthurian Romance". In: *Modern Philology* 7, pp. 395–409.
- Williams, Henrik (ed.) (2018). *Eufemiavisorna I. Flores och Blanzeflor*. Stockholm: Atlantis.

- Wiktorsson, Per-Axel (1997). "On the Scribal Hands in the Manuscripts of 'Skemptan'". In: Berggren, Maria/Ferm, Olle/Morris, Bridget (eds.). *Master Golyas and Sweden: the transformation of a clerical satire: a collection of essays*. Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, pp. 257–267.
- Åström, Patrik (1997). "The Manuscripts of Skemptan". In: Berggren, Maria/Ferm, Olle/Morris, Bridget (eds.). *Master Golyas and Sweden: the transformation of a clerical satire: a collection of essays*. Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, pp. 235–256.

Online sources

Gammeldansk ordbog

<https://gammeldanskordbog.dk/> (accessed 25 June 2021)

Manuscripta – A Digital Catalogue of Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts in Sweden
www.manuscripta.se (accessed 25 June 2021)

Tekster fra Danmarks middelalder og renæssance 1100–1550
www.tekstnet.dk (accessed 25 June 2021)

Karl Magnus' *Krønike* im Kontext der nordischen Karlsepik

Elena Brandenburg (Köln)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7088-4807>

Abstract: Being preserved in a manuscript dated to 1480, the Old Danish *Karl Magnus' Krønike* seems to contain no aristocratical traits despite the fact that the Old Norse *Karlamagnús saga* as well as the Old Swedish *Karl Magnus* were both read in a courtly context. The article discusses the process of translating the 'original' heroic poetry into different cultural and linguistic areas and their possibilities of acculturation in foreign contexts.

Keywords: Old Danish Literature, *chansons de geste*, Charlemagne, Børglum, transmission, 15th century

Einleitung

Die auf ca. 1500 datierte Papierhandschrift K 47 (Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm) gilt als primärer Zeuge der dänischen Rezeption höfischer Literatur (vgl. Glauser 1986: 192). Die hierin überlieferten Verserzählungen sind neben den Übersetzungen der schwedischen *Eufemiavisor* auch *Dværgekongen Lavrin*, *Persenober* og *Konstantianobis* sowie eine in dänischer Sprache verfasste Erzählung mit dem Titel *Den kyske dronning*. Damit repräsentiert die Handschrift K 47 eine kleine höfische Romananthologie (Glauser 1986: 192) und verbürgt das Interesse der dänischen Rezipienten an höfischen Sujets.¹

Ein weiteres Zeugnis für die Tradierung kontinentaleuropäischer Erzählstoffe in Dänemark ist die 1480 in Børglum entstandene Handschrift Cod. Holm. Vu 82. Neben den niederdeutschen Texten ist es vor allem die in Vu 82 überlieferte *Karl Magnus' Krønike* (Chronik Karls des Großen) sowie deren Kontextualisierung innerhalb der spätmittelalterlichen Literatur des Nordens, die im Fokus dieses Beitrags stehen werden. Die von der Forschung lange vernachlässigte *Krønike* stellt eine Übersetzung bzw. Bearbeitung altfranzösischer heldenepischer Gedichte, der sog. *chansons de geste* aus dem Bereich der *matière de France* um den Herrscher Karl den Großen dar. Trotz oder gerade aufgrund der Tatsache, dass die Stoffe in kompilierter Form bereits in Norwegen in Gestalt der *Karlamagnús saga ok kapp*

1 Eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Handschrift K 47 ist unter <https://tekstnet.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47-lang-beskrivelse> (abgerufen am 25.6.2021) zu finden. Zum historischen Hintergrund vgl. Glauser (1986), zu den einzelnen Texten u. a. Kværndrup (2014), Hartung u. a. (2016), Richter (2018), Bampi (2019).

hans (Saga von Karl dem Großen und seinen Gefährten) im 13. Jahrhundert vorlagen sowie in fragmentarischer Form in vier schwedischen Handschriften aus dem 15. Jahrhundert überliefert sind, verdient die dänische Übertragung als ein letztes Glied in der mittelalterlichen Tradierung heldenepischer Stoffe eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit, wenn es um die Frage nach Genre-Transformationen im Prozess der Übersetzung bzw. Adaption geht.² Vor dem Hintergrund der norwegischen und schwedischen Überlieferung sollen hier auch im Hinblick auf die sog. ‚Ritterrestauration‘ im Dänemark des 15. Jahrhunderts einige Überlegungen zur Genre-Bestimmung der *Karl Magnus’ Krønike* angestellt werden.

Die Børglum-Handschrift Vu 82

Die Handschrift Cod. Holm. Vu 82 (Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm) ist die einzige Handschrift aus dem späten Mittelalter, die den Text der *Karl Magnus’ Krønike* tradiert. Darüber hinaus ist er in zwei Drucken aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert überliefert: Als Fragment liegt der Text in einem Druck von Gotfred af Ghemen von 1509 vor, welcher als Grundlage für die revidierte Version von Christiern Pedersen von 1534 diente.

Die Handschrift umfasst 162 Blatt im Format 21x15 cm und enthält zwei Datierungen: 1480 und 1541. Der ältere Teil der Handschrift ist in Børglum entstanden, wie die Angabe „Ar æfter gudz byrd M cd lxxx sancte marie magdalene afften i børlum“³ offenbart. Die jüngeren Partien sind auf den Seiten 67 und 76 auf das Jahr 1541 datiert. Die Handschrift ist paginiert von der Seite 1 bis 321.⁴ Einige wenige Informationen zur Provenienz der Handschrift finden sich bei Borchling (Borchling 1900), so auch die Tatsache, dass nach dem Handschriften-Katalog von 1734 die Handschrift im Jahr 1693 aus dem Antiquitets-Arkiv in die Königliche Bibliothek in Stockholm gelangte, wo sie mit dem Titel *En Rymbok på gamall tyska om åtskilligt, et Caroli Magni Historia, MS, på papper in 4°* (Ein Reimbuch auf Altdeutsch über Verschiedenes und Caroli Magni Historia, MS, auf Papier, in 4°) aufgelistet wird (Borchling 1900: 109–110).

Der Inhalt der Handschrift ist wie folgt:

S. 1–7	<i>Des Kranichhalses neun Grade</i>
8–48	<i>Die Farbentracht</i>
48, Z. 7–64	<i>Liebesgespräch III</i>
65–67	Niederdeutsche Sprüche
68	zeigt ein künstlich verschlungenes Monogramm in gotischen Buchstaben mit einer Krone darüber (vgl. Borchling 1900: 112)
69–76	<i>Lehren für eine gute Jungfrau</i>
77–96	<i>Rat der Vögel</i>

2 Zu den europäischen Überlieferungen und Übersetzungen der Karlsepik vgl. Publikationen und Projekte des internationalen Netzwerkes *Charlemagne. A European Icon* <https://www.charlemagne-icon.ac.uk/> (abgerufen am 25.6.2021) sowie Hardman/Ailes (2017) und Ailes (2012).

3 Im Jahr nach Christi Geburt 1480 am Abend der Hl. Maria Magdalena in Børglum – gemeint ist der Vorabend des Gedenktags der heiligen Maria Magdalena (22. Juli), also der Abend des 21. Juli (alle Übersetzungen ins Deutsche, soweit nicht anders angegeben, von der Autorin, EB).

4 Für die vollständige Handschriftenbeschreibung und Abbildungen von vergrößerten Anfangsmajuskeln mit Drollerien vgl. Kurras (2001), vgl. auch Lindegård Hjorth (1960: XVII) sowie Molbech (1843).

97–105	<i>De vos unde Hane</i>
106–116	<i>Der Trinker</i>
117–130	Chronikalische Aufzeichnungen
130–138	Gottfried von Franken <i>Pelzbuch</i> in Auszügen
139–317	<i>Karl Magnus' Krønike</i>
318–321	Alphabet in gotischen Buchstaben (wie auf S. 68)

Insgesamt konnten drei Schreiberhände ausgemacht werden. Die älteren Partien der Handschrift, Seiten 1–64 sowie 139–318, stammen von einer Schreiberhand. Beide Abschnitte sind paläographisch einheitlich geprägt: Hier stimmen die Stiftführung, der Schriftduktus sowie die Buchstabenformen überein (vgl. Lindegård Hjorth 1960: XX). Ein weiteres Argument für die Zusammengehörigkeit der spätmittelalterlichen Texte sind die heraldischen Initialkompositionen auf Seiten 1 und 139, deren Schachbrettmuster zudem in modifizierter Form auch an anderen Stellen der Handschrift erscheint.⁵ Am jüngeren Part der Handschrift waren mindestens zwei Schreiberhände beteiligt. Offensichtlich bestand die Handschrift ursprünglich aus zwei oder mehreren einzelnen Teilen, die später zu einer Sammelhandschrift zusammengebunden wurden. Am ehesten ist die Grenze zwischen den deutsch- und dänischsprachigen Texten zu erkennen, also zwischen den Seiten 138 und 139. Gleichwohl ist es nicht möglich, eine scharfe Trennung zwischen den mittelalterlichen und den nachmittelalterlichen Texten innerhalb der niederdeutschen Sektion auszumachen (vgl. Lindegård Hjorth 1960: XXII). Trotz des unterschiedlichen Alters einzelner Partien und mehrerer Schreibhände ist das Papier der Handschrift durchgehend vom selben Typ.

Ausgehend von der weiter zuvor erwähnten Notiz wird als Produktionsort der Handschrift das Kloster in Børglum angenommen. Wann genau das eigentliche Kloster auf der jütischen Inselspitze gestiftet wurde, ist nicht bekannt, vermutlich um das Jahr 1150.⁶ Bis 1536 war das Kloster im Besitz des Prämonstratenserordens, im Zuge der Reformation wurden dann jedoch alle Bischofsgüter beschlagnahmt. Ob es im Kloster eine rege literarische Tätigkeit gegeben hat, wird ungeklärt bleiben: Die Bestände der Klosterbibliothek und die dort eventuell vorhandenen Inventarverzeichnisse sind der Enteignung und der Säkularisierung zum Opfer gefallen. Somit ist die Handschrift Vu 82 das einzige Zeugnis literarischer Produktion in Børglum.

***Karl Magnus' Krønike* im nordischen Kontext**

Karlamagnús saga

Für die Überlegungen bezüglich der Genre-Transformationen im Prozess der Übertragung kontinentaleuropäischer Stoffe ins dänische Literaturmilieu ist der Blick auf die gesamte nordische Überlieferung der Karlsdichtung hilfreich, gilt doch die *Karl Magnus' Krønike* als

5 Zum Wappen in den Initialkompositionen und den daraus ableitenden Schlussfolgerungen zum möglichen Besitzer oder Auftraggeber der Handschrift vgl. Lindegård Hjorth (1960: XVI–XVII) sowie Brandenburg (2019: 101–104).

6 1086 war das Kloster noch ein königliches Gut, 1139 wurde der Bischofssitz nach Børglum verlegt. Eine Klosterstiftung vom Mutterkloster Steinfeld aus wird um 1150 angenommen. Vgl. dazu: Nyberg (1978: 265–281, hier 265); Backmund (2018: 437).

ein Ableger der bereits im 13. Jahrhundert existierenden norwegischen *Karlamagnús saga*, einer „Groß-Kompilation“ (Kramarz-Bein 2002: 115), die eine Übersetzung verschiedener französischer Heldengedichte *chansons de geste* darstellt. Die Überlieferung der Saga liegt in zwei Redaktionen vor: Die ältere Redaktion (α) stellt die ursprünglichere, wenn auch nicht vollständig erhaltene Version dar, deren Entstehungszeit vor bzw. um 1250 geschätzt wird (vgl. Kramarz-Bein 2002: 120), während die jüngere Redaktion (β) durch drei zusätzliche Kapitel (*þættir*) und eine redaktionelle Bearbeitung gekennzeichnet ist. In der Forschung geht man von der Entstehungszeit um 1290–1320, möglicherweise auch erst um 1330–1340 aus.⁷

Die in der Forschung etablierte Einteilung der Synopse der α - und β -Redaktion in zehn *þættir* lässt sich folgenden Quellen zuordnen: *Roman d'aventure Doon de la Roche*, *Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche*, *Pseudo-Turpin*, *Chanson d'Aspremont*, eine verlorene *Chanson des Saxons*, *Chanson d'Otinel*, *Voyage de Charlemagne*, *Chanson de Roland*, *Moniage Gillaume*, Vinzenz von Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* und *Tveggja Postola saga Jóns ok Jacobs* (Saga von den beiden Aposteln Johannes und Jakobus). Einige *chansons* konnten zudem nicht mehr identifiziert werden, so ist z. B. der erste *þáttur* der Saga keiner bekannten *chanson* zuzuordnen – also sah sich die ältere Forschung veranlasst, eine verlorene **Vie romancée de Charlemagne* zu postulieren, die der Redaktor durch die Technik der Demontage auch partiell an dafür geeigneten Stellen eingesetzt haben könnte. Von dieser Hypothese scheint sich die neuere Forschung allerdings weitestgehend zu distanzieren (vgl. Kramarz-Bein 2002: 123; Röder 2000).

Ausgehend von der Entstehungszeit der α -Redaktion um 1250, ist es naheliegend, die *Karlamagnús saga* vor dem Hintergrund der literarischen Übersetzungstätigkeit am Hofe des norwegischen Königs Hákon Hákonarson (1217–1263) zu positionieren. In seiner Regierungszeit wurden Übersetzungen kontinentaleuropäischer Texte aus den Bereichen der *matière de France*, *matière de Bretagne*, *matière d'aventure* etc. vorgenommen, mit denen die Genese einer neuen produktiven Gattung der *riddarasögur* (Rittersagas) ihren Anfang hatte. Mit den neuen Ausdrucksformen und Erzählmöglichkeiten wurden die Grenzen des fiktionalen Erzählens im Norden nachhaltig expandiert (vgl. Glauser 2016: 33).

Die Lokalisierung der *Karlamagnús saga*, zumindest der älteren Redaktion, vor der Folie des bergensischen Literaturbetriebs des 13. Jahrhunderts, erklärt die Tatsache, dass die Saga trotz ihrer Provenienz in der romanischen Heldenepik durch ihr „literarisches, höfisch-kulturelles Milieu“ (Kramarz-Bein 2004: 154) geprägt ist. Die Justierung der in den *chansons* angelegten Werte der Heldenepik hin zur Höfisierung der Erzählstoffe um Karl den Großen ist auch auf lexikalischer Ebene bemerkbar, wenn in der Saga die beliebten Modewörter aus dem höfischen Umfeld verwendet werden (vgl. Kramarz-Bein 2002: 64). Generell kann die *Karlamagnús saga* als ein literarisches Identifikationsangebot an Hákon Hákonarson gesehen werden (vgl. Kramarz-Bein 2004: 161), der in der Figur Karls des Großen ein mächtiges historisches Vorbild fand. Trotz der Diversität der Stoffe, die Eingang in die Kompilation gefunden haben, bemüht sich die norwegische Saga um die Konvergenz in der Darstellung des Kaisers. Als ein von Gott auserwählter *rex iustus* tritt Karl der Große in der norwegischen Überlieferung in Erscheinung, dessen Überlegenheit nicht in Frage

7 Zu Datierungen weiterführend: Kramarz-Bein (2002: 121).

gestellt wird. Hier wird deutlich sichtbar, wie die aus einer anderen literarischen Tradition und Gattung stammenden Stoffe an die zeitgenössischen Diskurse im Literaturbetrieb am norwegischen Hof zu Zeiten Hákon Hákonarsons angeknüpft werden. Die *Karlamagnús saga* ist damit ein wichtiges Zeugnis der frühen nordischen *chansons de geste*-Rezeption, auch wenn diese in einem höfisierten Gewand auftritt.

Die schwedische Überlieferung: *Karl Magnus*

In Schweden nahm die Rezeption höfischer kontinentaleuropäischer Literatur ihren Anfang mit den *Eufemiavisor*, drei Versromanen mit Vorlagen in französischen und deutschen Texten, deren zentrale Rolle für die Entwicklung der volkssprachigen literarischen Tradition in Schweden von der jüngeren Forschung immer wieder hervorgehoben wird (vgl. Würth 1999; Bandlien 2012; Andersson 2014; Ferm et al. 2015). Diese Übersetzungen, die als Auftragsarbeit der deutschstämmigen norwegischen Königin Eufemia gelten, offenbaren in ihrer Entstehungsgeschichte ein enges Geflecht aus aristokratischen familiären Verbindungen zwischen dem norwegischen und dem schwedischen Hof am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts. Auch die Handschriften, in denen sie überliefert sind, sind eng an das politische Geschehen und die aristokratischen Belange und Hintergründe im Schweden des 15. Jahrhunderts gekoppelt. Cod. Holm. D 4, Cod. Holm. D 4a, Cod. Holm. D 3 sowie AM 191 fol. sind allesamt Sammelhandschriften mit unterschiedlichen, teils sehr heterogenen Inhalten. Neben den *Eufemiavisor* beinhalten diese Handschriften auch andere übersetzte Texte aus fremdsprachigen Kulturen und Traditionen. Abgesehen von Cod. Holm. D 4, der wohl heterogensten Handschrift mit höfischen, historischen, religiös-geistlichen und fachdidaktischen Texten in Schwedisch und Latein, stellen die drei anderen Handschriften Anthologien mit einer eher homogenen höfischen Ausrichtung dar.

Die schwedische Adaption des Karlsstoffes, bekannt unter dem Namen *Karl Magnus*, ist in diesen vier Handschriften überliefert. Die norwegische *Karlamagnús saga* gilt als Vorlage für die schwedische Bearbeitung, auch wenn diese lediglich zwei der insgesamt zehn *þættir* enthält, nämlich die Episode mit Karls Reise nach Jerusalem (frz.: *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*, in der norwegischen Übersetzung als *Jórsalaferð* (Jerusalemreise) bekannt) sowie die Bearbeitung der in der französischen Literaturgeschichte kanonisierten *Chanson de Roland* (in der Saga: *Af Runzivals bardaga, Von der Schlacht in Roncesvalles*). Warum sich die Überlieferung auf lediglich zwei Episoden beschränkt, bleibt rätselhaft: Sollte es eine bewusste Entscheidung des Übersetzers gewesen sein, sich ausgerechnet auf diese zwei Kapitel zu beschränken, so hat er sich für zwei besonders ambivalente *chansons* entschieden, die in ihrer Gegenüberstellung umso kontroverser erscheinen. Während die Episode um Rolands Tod eines der ältesten Versepen der französischen Literatur ist und aufgrund dessen zentraler Motive, aber auch sprachlicher Versiertheit schon früh zum Nationalepos der Franzosen stilisiert wurde,⁸ stellt Karls Reise eine satirische Auseinandersetzung mit Karls kläglichem Kampf um Ansehen und Ehre dar. Trotz des kritischen Potentials, das die Episode in ihrer Darstellung von Karls Ruhmsucht und seiner Angst in der Konfrontation mit dem Fremden enthält, wird auch hier Karls Figur in ihrer primären Funktion als *rex iustus* mit Vorbildcharakter nicht erschüttert.

8 Dazu weiterführend: Di Vanna (2011); Gaunt (2003).

Betrachtet man *Karl Magnus* jedoch nicht als ein isoliertes Werk, sondern auch den kodikologischen Hintergrund, in den er eingebettet wird, wird hinter der positiven, ja polierte Darstellung Karls eine programmatische Ausrichtung sichtbar. Massimiliano Bampi schlägt vor, die Texte der schwedischen Sammelhandschriften in ihrem unmittelbaren Bezugsfeld der jeweiligen Handschrift zu analysieren, die in einen ‚intertextuellen Dialog‘ (vgl. Bampi 2015) zu anderen Texten der Handschrift treten. So wird beispielsweise in Cod. Holm. D 4 trotz der sonst äußerst heterogenen Inhalte eine Zusammengehörigkeit von drei Herrscher-Viten erkennbar: Neben dem übersetzten Text *Konung Alexander* (König Alexander) porträtiert auch das allegorische Gedicht *Dikten om Kung Albrekt* (Gedicht über König Albrecht) über den zeitgenössischen, in der Bevölkerung durchaus verhassten König Albrecht III., royale Verhaltensmuster, die teils auf Identifikation, teils auf Kritik abzielen. Karl dem Großen kam auch in der schwedischen Adaption die Rolle eines *rex iustus* zu, dessen Status durch die handschriftliche Überlieferung des 15. Jahrhunderts nicht erschüttert, sondern immer weiter stabilisiert wurde.

Auch wenn *Karl Magnus* im Zuge der Übersetzung ins Schwedische keine vollständige Transformation zu einem höfischen Roman vollzogen hat, so erklären sowohl seine kodikologische Platzierung in vier Sammelhandschriften mit hauptsächlich höfischen Inhalten als auch der eindeutig aristokratische Rezeptionsrahmen – denn drei der vier Handschriften waren im Besitz einer adligen Familie⁹ – auch hier eine gewisse ‚Höfisierung‘ der ursprünglich heldenepischen Stoffe.

Karl Magnus’ Krønike

Die kodikologische Einbettung der dänischen Überlieferung der Karlsepik *Karl Magnus’ Krønike* lässt aufgrund der Heterogenität der Stoffe der Handschrift Cod. Holm. Vu 82 keine weiteren Interpretationen zu, außer der Tatsache, dass der Redaktor ein offensichtliches Interesse an den niederdeutschen allegorischen und moralischen Texten hatte. Womöglich sollten die Lagen mit den immerhin ca. 60 Jahre auseinanderliegenden Aufzeichnungen der niederdeutschen Werke zu einer Handschrift zusammengebunden werden, während *Karl Magnus’ Krønike* mit anderen, generisch im gleichen Kontext anzusiedelnden Werken eine andere Handschrift hätte ergeben können. Aufgrund der Überlieferungslage sind solche Überlegungen zwar nicht völlig ausgeschlossen, aber doch hypothetischer Natur. Somit gilt die *Krønike* als das älteste Zeugnis für die Rezeption kontinentaleuropäischer Literatur im Dänemark des späten 15. Jahrhunderts.

Da eine kodikologische Kontextualisierung der *Krønike* keinerlei Schlüsse zulässt, lässt sich die Frage nach dem Genre-Transfer zunächst auf der textimmanenten Ebene beantworten. Obwohl der Text als eine Adaption der älteren Redaktion der *Karlamagnús saga* gilt, ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass dem Übersetzer auch andere, z.B. französische Vorlagen zur Verfügung standen. Die Kapitel der *Krønike* entsprechen denen der Saga der α -Redaktion:

9 Als Auftraggeber für Cod. Holm. D 4 gilt Gustav Algotsson, dessen Frau Märta die Handschrift Cod. Holm. D 4a (*Fru Märta’s bok*) besaß, während ihrer Tochter das Manuskript Cod. Holm. D 3 (*Fru Elins bok*) zugeeignet war. Für weitere Besitzverhältnisse vgl. Jonsson (2010); Bampi (2008); Brandenburg (2019: 67–95).

1. Karl Magnus og hans Kæmper (Karl der Große und seine Recken)
2. Udger Danske og Burnemand (Udger Danske und Burnemand)
3. Kampen i Spanien med Kong Agulando (Der Kampf in Spanien mit König Agulando)
4. Kampen i Saksen med Kong Vittelin (Der Kampf in Sachsen mit König Vittelin)
5. Kæmpen Otvel (Der Recke Otvel)
6. Rejsen til det hellige Land og Konstantinopel (Die Reise ins Heilige Land und nach Konstantinopel)
7. Slaget i Ronceval (Die Schlacht von Roncesvalles)
8. Boldevin, Udger Danske og Villum Cornitz¹⁰ (Boldevin, Udger Danske und Villum Cornitz)

Die Transmission der *Karl Magnus' Krønike* kann vor dem monastischen Hintergrund des Entstehungsortes der Handschrift betrachtet werden. Børglum gilt als das Mutterkloster der beiden damals norwegischen Prämonstratenserabteien in Tønsberg und Dragsmark und pflegte enge Kontakte zu ihnen, u. a. wurden die Børglumer Kanoniker dorthin entsandt. Die Stiftung des Klosters Marieskog in Dragsmark durch Hákon Hákonarson wird auf das Jahr 1234 datiert (Backmund 2018: 439).¹¹ Die Kommunikation sowie der Handel und Export von Waren unter den Klöstern war durch die geographische Lage und ihre Nähe zur Nordsee begünstigt (Nyberg 1993: 74). Trotz der abgeschiedenen Lage des nordjütischen Klosters sind auch Verbindungen nach Frankreich nachgewiesen: Wie das Mutterkloster Steinfeld in der Eifel verpflichtete sich auch Børglum, das Generalkapitel in Prémontré in Frankreich regelmäßig zu besuchen, wo Norbert von Xanten im Jahr 1120 den Prämonstratenserorden gegründet hatte (Nyberg 1986: 108–109). Diese monastischen Verbindungen zwischen den Prämonstratenserabteien in Dänemark und Norwegen, v. a. zwischen Børglum und Marieskog, gestiftet durch Hákon Hákonarson, könnte einer der Wege der älteren Fassung der *Karlamagnús saga* ins Børglumer Kloster gewesen sein, das seit 1177 auch selbst regelmäßige Kontakte nach Frankreich pflegte. Über diese Route könnten auch französische Handschriften oder zumindest Kenntnisse der französischen Heldenepik, die bei der Übersetzung der *Karl Magnus' Krønike* neben der norwegischen Vorlage vorgelegen haben, vermittelt worden sein. Kann die Entstehungsgeschichte der *Karl Magnus' Krønike* im entlegenen Kloster in Nordjütland, so fragmentarisch und opak sie sein mag, zum besseren Verständnis des Textes im Hinblick auf seine Genre-Zugehörigkeit beitragen?

Sowohl die *Karlamagnús saga* als auch die schwedische Bearbeitung *Karl Magnus* bieten Lesarten und Interpretationen, die eng an das literarisch-höfische Milieu ihres jeweiligen Entstehungskontextes geknüpft sind. Die *Karlamagnús saga* ist im Kontext der übersetzten *riddarasögur* am norwegischen Hof unter Hákon Hákonarson, *Karl Magnus* in einem aristokratischen Rezeptionsmilieu im Schweden des 15. Jahrhunderts anzusiedeln. Die Annahme, dass das letzte Glied in der nordischen Transmissionskette des Karlsepik, nämlich

10 Die Kapiteltitel sind der Ausgabe von Brandt (1877) entnommen. Weder in der Handschrift selbst noch in der Edition von Lindegård Hjorth (1960) sind die einzelnen Abschnitte mit Titel versehen.

11 Offensichtlich wurde das Olavskloster in Tønsberg früher gegründet, wenn die ersten Kanoniker aus Børglum bereits um 1191 nach Tønsberg entsandt wurden: „Primi canonici venerunt, circa annum 1191, ex Børglum“ (Backmund 2018: 445).

die dänische Bearbeitung, ebenfalls höfisierende Bearbeitungstendenzen aufweisen würde, ist daher naheliegend. Der Blick in die *Krønike* offenbart jedoch, dass man im Falle der europäischen Karlsepiik nicht von einem gemeinnordischen Adaptionmodell ausgehend kann: Die *Karl Magnus' Krønike* enthält keinerlei Spuren der höfischen Ethik. In der dänischen Bearbeitung rückt gerade die Provenienz der Stoffe aus ihrem heldenepischen Milieu in den Vordergrund – von Helden und Heiden berichten die zehn überlieferten Episoden der *Krønike*, von drastischen Kämpfen und vielen Toten auf den Schlachtfeldern im Namen des Christentums. Dies ist sicherlich kein exklusiv dänisches Phänomen, sind doch die frühen *chansons de geste*, in denen die Kreuzzugsthematik zentral ist, per Definition geradezu eine Apologie der Gewalt (vgl. Payen 1979: 226). Vor allem bezogen auf die *Chanson de Roland*, die in der romanistischen Forschung als „Blüte der französischen Heldenepik“ (Bastert 2010: 12) gilt, betitelte der Romanist Jean-Charles Payen die Gewalttätigkeit gar als eine „poétique du génocide joyeux“ (Payen 1979: 226). Auch die dänische Literaturgeschichte fasst den narrativen Kern präzise zusammen: „Det er en kamp og drab og afhuggede lemmer fra ende til anden“ (Dahlerup 1998: 239) (Das ist Kampf und Totschlag und abgetrennte Gliedmaßen von Anfang bis Ende), und auch hier wird festgehalten: *Karl Magnus' Krønike* ist kein Ritterroman. Im Übrigen ist sie auch keine Chronik, da diese Bezeichnung erst im Druck von Christiern Pedersen von 1534 auftaucht und nachträglich auch für den mittelalterlichen Text Verwendung fand, allerdings kann der dänische Bearbeiter diese sehr wohl als Geschichtsschreibung aufgefasst haben (vgl. Dahlerup 1998: 241). Warum ist die dänische Bearbeitung trotz der norwegischen Vorlage mit ihren deutlichen Höfisierungstendenzen sowie den aristokratisch-höfischen Versionen aus dem benachbarten Schweden dennoch viel mehr im ‚ursprünglichen‘ Kontext der Heldenepik verhaftet?

Karl Magnus' Krønike gilt als das älteste überlieferte Rezeptionszeugnis der kontinentaleuropäischen Stoffe in Dänemark, wobei die höfische Dichtung erst mit der auf ca. 1500 datierten Handschrift K 47 ins dänische literarische Milieu Einzug hält. Die im Vergleich zu den nordischen Nachbarn verspätete Rezeption erklärt Jürg Glauser mit dem Phänomen der sog. ‚Ritterrestauration‘ (Glauser 1986: 203). Im Zuge der sozioökonomischen Entwicklungen im 14. Jahrhundert entstand erst im späten 15. Jahrhundert unter Christian I. (Regierungszeit 1448–81) eine neue Adelschicht mit dem Bedürfnis nach einer ideologisch-höfisch aufgeladenen Literatur, welche die aristokratischen Lebensentwürfe widerspiegelte und legitimierte. Die der höfischen Dichtung bescheinigten Funktionen von *prodesse et delectare*, also von Didaxe und Unterhaltung, werden in den dänischen Adaptionen zusätzlich um eine „standesideologische Selbstbestätigung“ (Glauser 1986: 204) erweitert, was der Grund für die späte Aktualität dieser Gattung in Dänemark sein dürfte. Das gilt insbesondere für Texte wie *Ivan løveridder*, dessen Prolog bereits zentrale höfische Konzepte von *riderskap* (Ritterschaft), *fruer ere* (Damenehre) sowie *frwer loff* (Damenlob) anspricht.¹² Zudem präsentieren die Prologe von *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*, *Persenober og Konstantianobis* sowie *Flores og Blanseflor* das Ereignishafte der Narrationen bzw. das narrativierte Ereignis, das *ewentyr*¹³, wenn sie einleiten mit: „eth ewentyr tha begynes

12 Weiterführend zum Prolog: Glauser (1986: 204); zu Chrétien's *Yvain* im dänischen Kontext vgl. Bampi (2019: 215–234).

13 Zum Begriff *aventure* vgl. u. a. Eming/Schlechtweg-Jahn (2017).

heræ“ (ein Abenteurer, das hier beginnt, *Hertug Fredrik*, 112r) oder „Jeth ewentyr wil jech seye fra“ (Von einem Abenteurer möchte ich berichten, *Persenober*, 169v).¹⁴

Im Gegensatz dazu ist die *Karl Magnus' Krønike* bar jeglicher medientheoretischen Reflexionen über die Möglichkeiten metafictionalen Erzählens, wie sie in den Prologen, Epilogen und Kommentaren der übersetzten höfischen Literatur zu finden sind (vgl. Glauser 2016: 33). Der Stil der Berichterstattung über die kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen Karls des Großen und seiner Männer ist in der dänischen Bearbeitung lakonisch, formelhaft und höchst redundant. Damit knüpft die *Krønike* an die mündlichen Ursprünge der Heldenepik an, obwohl die uns überlieferte Heldenepik keineswegs spontane Verschriftlichungen mündlicher Vorträge darstelle, sondern als gezielt durchformte „Verschriftlichung heldenepischer Stoffvorgaben“ (Bastert 2010: 20) zu werten sei, die jedoch eine eigene, „die Methoden mündlichen Erzählens ausbeutende Poetik“ (ebd.) generierte. Medientheoretische Kommentare wären in einer Gattung, die primär auf einer, wenn auch artifiziell hergestellten, Mündlichkeit basiert, geradezu konterkarierend.¹⁵ Über ein Schriftlichkeitsbewusstsein, das eine zentrale Neuerung in der Literaturgeschichte des Nordens darstellt (vgl. Glauser 2016: 33), verfügte die Gattung der Heldenepik noch nicht – oder wollte es zumindest nicht in der Weise artikulieren, wie die höfische Literatur dies tat. Im Gegensatz zur höfischen Dichtung bedurfte die Heldenepik aufgrund des ihr inhärenten gattungstypischen Authentizitätsanspruchs keiner Rechtfertigung des Erzählten. Die Prologe der höfischen Werke hingegen legen häufig eine Programmatik des Erzählten dar:

Das höfische Epos muss Fragen zu seiner Funktion, seiner Legitimation und seinem Wahrheitsanspruch geradezu apologetisch thematisieren. [...] In der Heldenepik stellt sich in der Regel weder die Frage nach dem zugrunde liegenden Wahrheitsbegriff noch die nach Motivation oder Funktion des Erzählens. (Philipowski 2007: 54)

Damit sind zwar die zentralen Unterschiede zwischen den Gattungen der Heldenepik und des höfischen Romans angesprochen, die verschiedene Ausformungen übersetzter Literatur in Dänemark begründen, sie liefern jedoch noch keine Erklärung bezüglich der Frage nach der fehlenden ‚Höfisierung‘ der Karlsepik in Dänemark, obwohl die höfische Literatur in Gestalt der *Karlamagnús saga* dem dänischen Bearbeiter offensichtlich als Vorlage diente und im benachbarten Schweden die höfische Literatur bereits Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts übersetzt wurde. Hierfür sollen im Folgenden anhand eines Vergleichs mit der deutschsprachigen Rezeption der *chansons de geste* einige gattungstheoretische Thesen aufgestellt werden.

In seiner Studie zur *chansons de geste*-Rezeption im deutschsprachigen Raum verweist Bernd Bastert auf die fehlenden konstitutiven Rezeptionsbedingungen, nämlich das fehlende ‚Sagengedächtnis‘ der Romania (Bastert 2010: 402). Als ‚Sagengedächtnis‘ begreift Bastert eine Art geschlossenes heldenepisches Universum, in dem alle *chansons* durch Referenzen und gegenseitige Verweise miteinander verknüpft waren und das den zeitgenössischen Rezipienten

14 Die Zitate sind folgender digitaler Edition der Handschrift K 47 entnommen: *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* <https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/1> (abgerufen am 25.6.2021); *Persenober og Konstantianobis*: <https://tekstnet.dk/persenober-og-konstantianobis/1> (abgerufen am 25.6.2021).

15 Gleichwohl beziehen sich auch einige *chansons de geste* auf verschriftlichte Quellen, etwa Chroniken zur Legitimation ihrer Berichte (vgl. Bastert 2010: 22).

prinzipiell jederzeit verfügbar war. Im Hinblick auf die Gattung der *chanson* führt Bastert zudem den Begriff „episches Substrat“ (Bastert 2010: 56) ein. Jenes Substrat, zu dem neben fingierter Oralität und Performanz auch die intendierte Archaisierung der verschriftlichten *chansons de geste* sowie die Strophenform gehören, bildet das Fundament für die verschriftlichte *chansons de geste*. Im Weiteren besteht diese aus verschiedenen ‚Superstraten‘, welche sich in die vorherrschenden literarischen Diskurse der sie aufnehmenden Kultur im Prozess der Übersetzung und Bearbeitung einschreiben können (Bastert 2010: 58). Unter ‚Superstraten‘ sind hier romanhafte, parodistische, historiographische sowie hagiographische Tendenzen der jeweiligen *chansons* subsumiert, die – mit Rückgriff auf das legitimierende Substrat – die Evolution der Gattung ermöglicht haben.

Das romanische ‚Sagengedächtnis‘ ist für Bastert eine konstitutive Rezeptionsbedingung, die erst die entsprechende, d. h. heldenepische Rezeption der *chansons de geste* ermöglicht hätte (vgl. Bastert 2010: 402). Ohne eine Anbindung an das besagte ‚Sagengedächtnis‘ mussten sich die heldenepischen Texte, die durch Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen in andere kulturelle, soziale und literarische Räume übertragen werden, in die dominanten Diskurse der Zielkultur einschreiben. Auch wenn der Gedanke, dass die aufnehmende Kultur entscheidend für die Adaption des Textes ist, in der Forschung längst etabliert ist, so ist im Falle der *chansons de geste*-Rezeption dennoch festzuhalten, dass die Erzählungen keine vollständige Gattungstransformation erfahren: Vielmehr treten die in ihnen bereits angelegten Tendenzen stärker zu Tage.

Nicht nur im deutschsprachigen Raum, auch im Norden fehlte das entsprechende ‚Sagengedächtnis‘ für die Rezeption der Heldenepik als solche. Dass die kompilierten *chansons de geste* in Norwegen und Schweden jeweils höfisierende Bearbeitungstendenzen aufweisen, ist mit Sicherheit auf die Aktualität der höfischen Literatur in Norwegen unter Hákon Hákonarson und Schweden im frühen 14. Jahrhundert (Übersetzung der *Eufemiavisor*) bzw. 15. Jahrhundert (Sammelhandschriften Cod. Holm. D 4, Cod. Holm. D 4a, Cod. Holm. D 3, AM 191 fol.) zurückzuführen. Hier konnten die höfischen Valenzen der französischen Heldendichtung in den zeitgenössischen literarischen Diskursen im Rahmen der Möglichkeiten, die den Bearbeitern zur Verfügung standen, zu Tage treten. Dies geschah v. a. auf der lexikalischen Ebene sowie durch Hinzufügen wertender Kommentare. Die höfischen Valenzen der *chansons de geste* konnten in Dänemark jedoch auf Grund der fehlenden höfischen Rezeption nicht realisiert werden.¹⁶ Auch wenn die ‚Ritterrestauration‘ unter Christian I. im 15. Jahrhundert Dänemark erreichte, so war zum Zeitpunkt der Übersetzung der Karlsdichtung ins Dänische der höfische Diskurs nicht zentral – dieser scheint erst mit der Handschrift K 47 etabliert gewesen zu sein. In Dänemark fehlt also nicht nur das romanische Sagengedächtnis, die konstitutive Rezeptionsbedingung der Heldenepik als solche, sondern auch der höfische Diskurs der benachbarten Länder. Was jedoch als Folie für die Bearbeitung der Stoffe dienen

16 Ein anderer Aspekt, der aber nicht weiter ausgeführt werden kann, ist die von Simon Gaunt diskutierte Abhängigkeit zwischen Genre und Gender. Nach Gaunt ist die Heldenepik durch eine ‚monologische Maskulinität‘ gekennzeichnet, in der weiblichen Figuren höchstens eine marginale Rolle zugewiesen wird, wohingegen die höfische Literatur, insbesondere der *roman courtois*, durch Genderbeziehung zwischen männlichen und weiblichen Protagonisten geprägt ist. Dass die *Karl Magnus‘ Krønike* nicht als höfische Dichtung gelten kann, zeigt die Eliminierung bzw. Marginalisierung weiblicher Figuren wie z. B. der heidnischen Königin Bramimonde. Weiterführend hierzu: Gaunt (1995); Brandenburg (2019).

konnte, waren die historiographischen sowie die hagiographischen Valenzen der *chansons de geste*. Wie Pil Dahlerup anmerkt, „kunne den danske bearbejder godt have forestillet sig, at der var tale om historieskrivning“ (Dahlerup 1998: 214).¹⁷

Vor dem geschilderten monastischen Hintergrund erscheint die betont christlich-hagiographische Ausrichtung der dänischen Adaption naheliegend. Die religiösen und hagiographischen Valenzen der *chansons de geste*, die schon bei der Selektion bestimmter *chansons*-Typen aus dem Repertoire der französischen Heldendichtung und deren Übertragung in den deutschsprachigen Raum ausschlaggebend waren (Bastert 2010: 400–405), sind vor allem in der Konzeption der Hauptfigur der *Karl Magnus' Krønike* sichtbar, was im Folgenden an einigen Textbeispielen demonstriert werden soll.

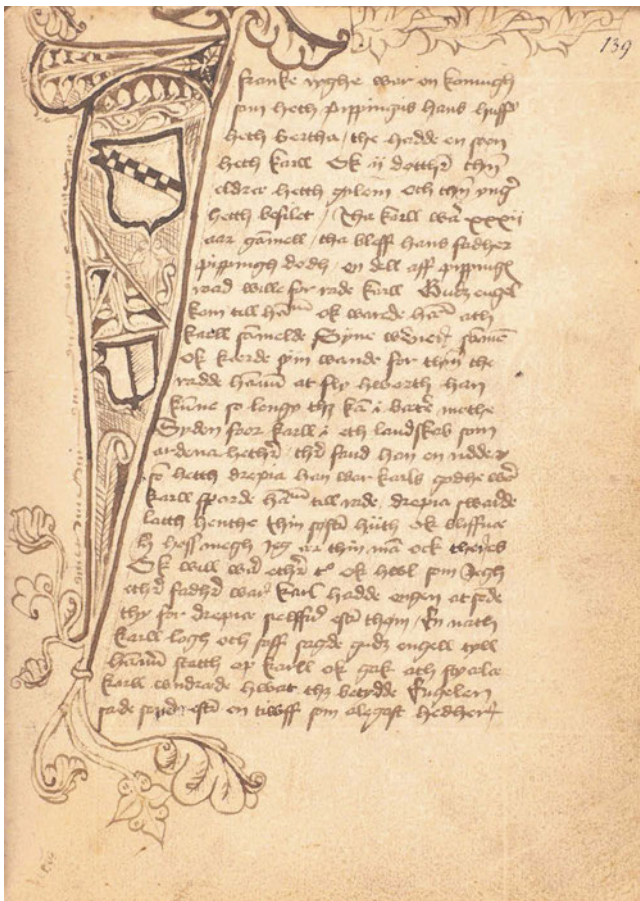


Abb. 1: Cod. Holm. Vu 82, S. 139

17 „Der dänische Bearbeiter kann sich gut vorgestellt haben, dass dort die Rede von Geschichtsschreibung war“, also z.B. die Erzählungen tatsächlich als Chronik gelesen haben.

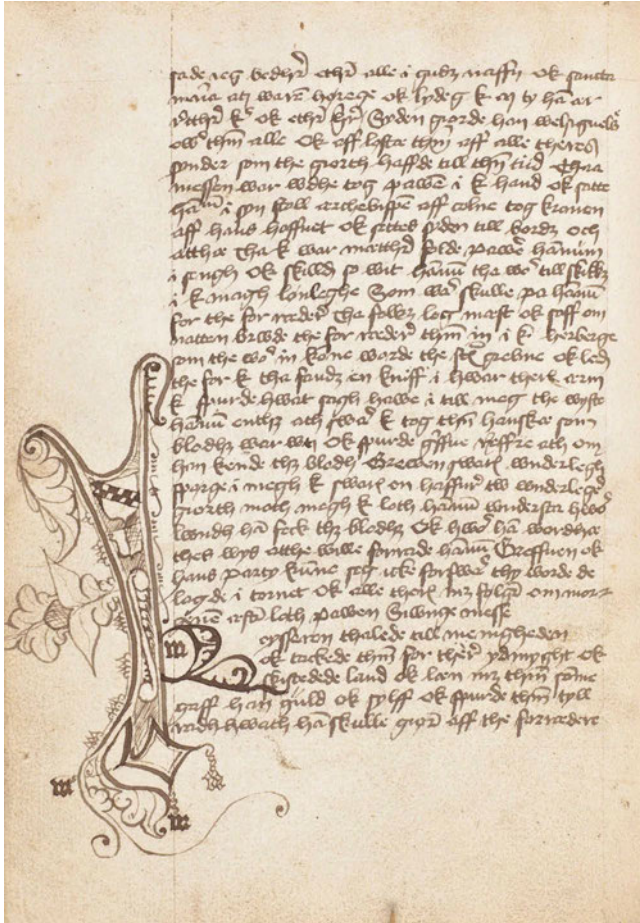


Abb. 2: Cod. Holm. Vu 82, S. 146

Karl der Große – Held und Heiliger

Die zyklisch angelegte *Karl Magnus' Krønike* beginnt mit familiären, historisch teilweise verifizierbaren Informationen um den damals 32-jährigen Kaiser und endet mit dessen Tod im Alter von 105 oder 106 Jahren. Auf den insgesamt 178 Seiten der Handschrift wird dabei keineswegs ein konsistentes Bild des Herrschers entworfen: Zu unterschiedlich sind die *chansons* in Bezug auf ihre Provenienz, vergleicht man etwa die parodistische Ausrichtung von *Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople* (in der dänischen Bearbeitung: *Rejsen til det hellige Land og Konstantinopel*) mit der heilsgeschichtlich-religiös aufgeladenen *Chanson de Roland* (dän.: *Slaget i Ronceval*). In den acht aufeinanderfolgenden Erzählungen wird Karls Genese zu einem Heiligen vollzogen, der sich das Seelenheil vor allem im Kampf gegen die Heiden erarbeitete.

Die inzestuöse Zeugung Rolands durch Karl und seine geliebte Schwester Gylem im ersten Kapitel zeigt einen frühen Riss in der ansonsten von Heldentaten geprägten Darstellung des Kaisers:

Syden for k hiem till eriinsborg ther war hans søster Gylem hoss hannum han war so kær ath henne ath han lagde henne i samme hws som han log jnne met diefællssens jnskiutelsse athan afflede eth barn met henne. (Lindegård Hjorth 1960: 16, 8–11)

Danach begab sich Karl zurück nach Erinsborg. Dort war seine Schwester Gylem bei ihm. Er liebte sie so sehr, dass er sie in das gleiche Zimmer legte, wo auch er schlief. [Es war] mit Teufels Werk, dass er ein Kind mit ihr zeugte.

Diese eine Sünde, die er seinem Beichtvater Ägidius verschweigt, wird dennoch durch die Erscheinung des Engels Gabriel publik, der während der Messe eine Schriftrolle auf den Altar wirft. Mit dieser Schriftrolle konfrontiert, beichtet Karl und erhält Vergebung:

k fiøl paa kne ok wyderkennes the synder ok forloffuede at giøre the synder mere i syne dage ok tog aff løssningh. (Lindegård Hjorth 1960: 16, 21–32)

Karl fiel auf die Knie und bekannte sich zu seinen Sünden und versprach, nie wieder in seinem Leben zu sündigen und erhielt die Absolution.

Das gezeugte Kind ist Roland, einer der größten Helden der französischen Epik, der in die Obhut eines von Karls Männern gegeben wird. Bemerkenswert ist das erste Treffen von Vater und Sohn:

tha han war vij ar gammel worth han førth till K Tha sade k til hannum kener tw meg ja sade Roland tw est k M keysere myn moderbroder tha loo k. (Lindegård Hjorth 1960: 16, 25–28)

Als er sieben Jahre alt war, wurde er zu Karl geführt. Da sagte Karl zu ihm: „Kennst du mich?“ – „Ja“, sagte Roland „du bist Kaiser Karl Magnus, mein Onkel.“ Da lachte Karl.

Diese Episode ist insofern bemerkenswert, als sie zusammen mit der *Karlamagnús saga* zu den wenigen Textes des Mittelalters gehört, die die Inzestsünde explizit thematisieren, während die altfranzösische Epik diese immer nur „zwischen den Versen“ (Mölk 2003: 88) erzählt. In der *Krønike* wird Karls Identitätsbildung als Herrscher mit dieser obskuren Sünde eingeleitet, dennoch ist seine Nähe zu Gott, die Kommunikation mit himmlischen Instanzen sowie seine Visionen nicht nur im Hinblick auf die Genese seiner Identität zentral, sondern auch als strukturbildendes Merkmal im narrativen Verlauf der *Krønike*, wenn etwa göttliche Interventionen den Ausgang der Kämpfe entscheiden. Stets präsent ist die Begleitung des Engels Gabriel als Botschafter nach gesprochenen Gebeten und Fürbitten: Neben der bereits erwähnten Episode um Karls Inzestsünde erscheint Gabriel auch in *Slaget in Ronceval* als Botschafter nach Karls Gebeten um eine Verlängerung des Tages und überbringt ihm die gute Nachricht: „Gott hat dein Gebet erhört. Reite nun deinen Feinden hinterher, du sollst noch genug Tageslicht haben“ – „gud hauer hørth thin bøn Ryd æfter thynæ wuener tw skalth haffue dag nogh“ (Lindegård Hjorth 1960: 318, 2–3). Auch der nächste militärische Auftrag wird Karl von Gabriel übermittelt: „far till libia land och hielp then gode konning ywan hedninge stryde fast pa hans land“ (ebd.: 320, 28–29) (begib dich nach Libyen und hilf dem guten König Ywan, die Heiden entschlossen zu bekämpfen).

Die betont religiöse Ausrichtung der dänischen Adaption wird in der Interferenz heldenepischer und hagiographischer Diskurse offenbar: Die unzähligen Schlachten Karls und seiner Männer gegen die Heiden bedürfen einer Legitimation durch eine höhere Instanz. Hier sind es die Heiligen selbst, die die Entwicklung des Kaisers zu einem *miles christianus* lancieren. Die Kommunikation mit diesen erfolgt entweder über Karls Träume – oder *in persona*. So erscheint der heilige Jakobus, der Prediger des rechten Glaubens in Galicien, in einem Traum und appelliert an Karl, Spanien von den Heiden zu befreien:

Tha keyssær karll hadde wunneth mannige landh wnder segh han sogh en nath pa hemmelen en stierne westen till galicia han wnderæde hwat thet betidde en nath synthes hannum i søwnen en fagher herre ok taledde till hannum what giør tw myn søn k. spwrde ho est tw han swaret jegh hether jacobus gudz apostell herodes lotth megh halss hwgge myn kropp ligger i galicia ther kenner meg engen man thy the ære alle hedninge, Ock tækker meg ware wnder attw frælsær icke myth landh fra sarasenus so som gud giore tegh megtugh ouer alle konger so skaltu frælsæ myt land ok flere stædhder Ok skaltu ther fore bæere krone i hymmeryge AmeN. (Lindegård Hjorth 1960: 80, 19–29)

Als Kaiser Karl viele Länder erobert hatte, sah er eines Nachts einen Stern am Himmel, westlich von Galicien. Er wunderte sich, was das zu bedeuten hatte. Eines Nachts erschien ihm im Traum ein schöner Herr und sprach zu ihm: „Was machst du, mein Sohn?“ Karl fragte: „Wer bist du?“ Er antwortete: „Ich heiße Jakobus, Apostel Gottes. Herodes ließ mich enthaupten, mein Körper liegt in Galicien, dort kennt mich niemand, denn alle sind Heiden. Und es erscheint mir wunderbar, dass du mein Land nicht von den Sarazenen befreist, auf dass Gott dich zum mächtigsten aller Könige mache: so sollst du mein Land und viele andere Orte befreien, und dafür sollst du im Himmelreich die Krone tragen. Amen.“

Als Kriegssagitator im Kampf gegen die Heiden erscheint hier also St. Jakobus und leitet damit den heilsgeschichtlich bedeutsamsten Kampf der Christen gegen die Heiden ein, die darauffolgende Schlacht gegen den König Agulando.

Auch an einer anderen Stelle ist die Verschränkung der militärischen und der hagiographischen Diskurse nicht voneinander zu trennen: Während der Schlacht gegen Agulando und seine Männer erscheinen drei weiße Ritter, um die noch jungen Helden Roland und Wdger Danske zu unterstützen. Hierbei handelt sich um die Heiligentrias St. Georg, St. Demetrius und St. Mercurius.¹⁸ Diese kämpfen zusammen mit Karls Männern an deren Seite so tüchtig, dass Hunderte Heiden durch ihre Schwerter fallen:

the iij helge ryddere ware i striden Georgius deometrius ok mærcurius the hugge so store hwg ath C fiøllæ for teris swærd. (Lindegård Hjorth 1960: 154, 14–16)

Die drei heiligen Ritter im Kampf waren Georg, Demetrius und Mercurius. Sie teilten so starke Hiebe aus, dass Hunderte durch ihre Schwerter fielen.

18 Diese drei Heiligen wurden sowohl einzeln als auch in dieser Konstellation bereits seit dem 10. Jahrhundert als Schutzpatrone im byzantinischen Heer verehrt. Die Kreuzfahrer der lateinischen Christenheit übernahmen den Kult der drei Ritterheiligen (vgl. Kolb 1987: 44).

Ein letztes Beispiel soll die Signifikanz der Hagiographie bei der Konstruktion des Herrscherbildes unterstreichen. Die *Karl Magnus' Krønike* schließt mit dem Tod Karls, dessen Kräfte ihn schon zuvor verlassen haben und dessen Herrschaft nun seinem Sohn übertragen werden soll:

ieg ær nw gammell och siwger ath ieg hauer engen mackt ath stride moth hedningen miere Thij bedher ieg ether ath i tage lodarius myn sòn till keysera i myt stet Soo giorde dauit wet salomon syn sòn. (Lindegård Hjorth 1960: 340, 15–18)

Ich bin nun alt und krank, so dass ich keine Kraft mehr habe, gegen die Heiden zu kämpfen. Darum bitte ich euch, dass ihr an meiner Stelle meinen Sohn Lodarius zum Kaiser nehmt. So tat es auch David mit seinem Sohn Salomon.

Zentral für die narrative Identitätsbildung erscheint hier die Tatsache, dass Karl nicht länger den Kampf gegen die Heiden ausfechten kann – dies ist für die Herrscherpersönlichkeit im Sinne eines *miles christianus* ein konstitutives Merkmal. In diesem Moment der Machtaufgabe wird die Brüchigkeit seiner Identitätskonstruktion deutlich, wenn Karls Tod nicht der eines strahlenden Ritters und *rex iustus* ist, sondern eines alten Sünders. Hier treten die heldenepischen Verdienste Karls zurück und die hagiographischen Elemente formen stattdessen das Bild des Kaisers. So enden das Kapitel und damit die gesamte *Karl Magnus' Krønike* mit einer Vision des heiligen Ägidius, Karls Beichtvaters, der auch schon im ersten Kapitel in Erscheinung getreten ist. In dieser Vision erscheinen nach Karls Tod mehr als 300 Teufel, die in den Besitz seiner Seele kommen möchten.¹⁹ Doch der kopflose Apostel Jakobus, der Karl zuvor zur Befreiung Galiciens von den Sarazenen aufgerufen hatte, legt in die Waagschale, in der sich Karls Seele befindet, so viele Steine, dass Karls Seele vor der Hölle gerettet wird und direkt in den Himmel aufsteigen kann:

han so mer en iij C [...] sanctus egidius sporde hwat them skaddhæ the swaret k. siel war pa wegskolen ther kam then hoffuer løssæ Jacop som i kallen apostel Ok wp fylthæ andræ wægskolænæ met sten och k. siel war so lætth ath wij wistæ icke hwort hon bleff, syden fore diaëflænæ syn weg. (Lindegård Hjorth 1960: 342, 2–11)

Er [Ägidius] sah mehr als 300 Teufel. [...] Der hl. Ägidius fragte was ihnen Verdruss bereitete, sie antworteten: „Karls Seele war in der Waagschale, da kam der kopflose Jakobus, den ihr Apostel nennt und füllte die andere Waagschale mit Steinen und Karls Seele war so leicht, dass wir nicht wussten, wo sie blieb.“ Danach gingen die Teufel ihres Weges.

Das Versprechen des heiligen Jakobus, Karl möge für seine Verdienste im Namen der Christen im Himmelreich die Krone tragen, wird hiermit eingelöst. So stellt die religiös-hagiographische Figuration des fränkischen Kaisers mit der Aufnahme seiner Seele in den Himmel das Ende der *Karl Magnus' Krønike* dar.

19 Das Visionsmotiv stammt offensichtlich aus der *Pseudo-Turpin Chronik* (12. Jh.), in der erklärt wird, dass die Steine in der Waagschale aus den von Karl errichteten Kirchen und Klöstern stammen (vgl. Plötz 2003: 52).

Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

Die angeführten Beobachtungen sollten demonstrieren, unter welchen konstitutiven Bedingungen die Rezeption kontinentaleuropäischer Stoffe im Norden erfolgte. Während die Übertragung der *Eufemiavisor*, die mit den anderen Werken der dänischen Handschrift K 47 die dänische Rezeption höfischer Literatur verbürgen, sowohl von der Provenienz der Stoffe als auch hinsichtlich ihres Rezeptionsrahmens in Norwegen, Schweden und Dänemark als aristokratisch bezeichnet werden kann, wurde am Beispiel der kompilierten *chansons de geste* gezeigt, dass die Rezeption der französischen Heldenepik in drei benachbarten nordischen Kulturräumen jeweils unter anderen Vorzeichen stand. Während die Übersetzung der *Karlagnús saga* im Kontext der übersetzten *riddarasögur* am Hof Hákon Hákonarsons lokalisiert werden kann, ist die spätere Rezeption der Geschichten um Karl den Großen in Schweden zumindest vor einem aristokratischen Hintergrund bzw. im Kontext der aristokratisch ausgerichteten Handschriftenüberlieferung anzusiedeln.

Deutlich anders verhält es sich mit der dänischen Adaption: Hier treten die höfisierenden Tendenzen der norwegischen Vorlage zurück. Die dänische *Karl Magnus' Krønike* ist geprägt durch eine Verflechtung von militärischen und religiös-hagiographischen Diskursen, die jedoch bar des ‚epischen Substrats‘ (Bastert) nicht als Heldenepik rezipiert wurden, sondern, eingebettet in den monastischen Hintergrund der Entstehung der Børglum-Handschrift, als eine Art Historiographie mit deutlichen religiös-hagiographischen Zügen. Ohne die Rückbindung an das romanische Sagengedächtnis ‚mussten‘ sich die epischen Stoffe in andere dominante Diskurse der jeweiligen Kulturräume einschreiben. Diese Adaptionsfähigkeit ermöglichte ihnen eine verlängerte Aktualität und Rezeption über das Mittelalter hinaus, zwar nicht als Heldenepik, so vielleicht als unterhaltend-belehrende oder auch historiographische und religiöse Literatur.

Literatur

- Ailes, Marianne (2012). „Charlemagne as ‘Father of Europe’ and King of France: A European Icon in the Making“. In: *Reading Medieval Studies* 38, S. 59–76.
- Andersson, Roger (2014). „Die Eufemiavisor – Literatur für die Oberklasse“. In: Glauser, Jürg/Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (Hg.). *Rittersagas. Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 45). Tübingen: Francke, S. 45–70.
- Backmund, Norbert (2018). *Monasticon Praemonstratense. Id est Historia Circariarum atque canoniarum candidi et canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis*. Berlin und Boston: De Gruyter, 2. Neub. Aufl.
- Bampi, Massimiliano (2008). „In Praise of the Copy. Karl Magnus in 15th-Century Sweden“. In: Ders./Ferrari, Fulvio (Hg.). *Lårdomber oc skämtan. Medieval Swedish Literature Reconsidered* (= SSFS; S. 3; 5). Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, S. 11–34.
- Bampi, Massimiliano (2015). „Schacktavelslek och intertextuell dialog i AM 191 fol. och Cod. Holm. D 3“. In: Adams, Jonathan (Hg.). *Østnordisk filologi – nu og i fremtiden* (= Selskab for Østnordisk Filologi 1). Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, S. 145–158.
- Bampi, Massimiliano (2019). „Yvain i dansk språkdrækt: hövisk litteratur i det senmedeltida Danmark“. In: Boeck, Simon Skovgaard/Vrieland, Seán D. (Hg.). *A Copenhagen Miscellany. Studies in East*

- Norse Philology*. Kopenhagen und Odense: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund und Syddansk Universitetsforlag, S. 215–234.
- Bandlien, Bjørn (Hg.) (2012). *Eufemia: Oslos middelalderdronning*. Oslo: Dreyers.
- Bastert, Bernd (2010). *Helden als Heilige. Chanson de geste-Rezeption im deutschsprachigen Raum* (= Bibliotheca Germanica 54). Tübingen und Basel: Francke.
- Borchling, Conrad (1900). „Mittelniederdeutsche Handschriften in Skandinavien, Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg und Vorpommern. Zweiter Reisebericht“. In: *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse* (Beiheft), S. 1–204.
- Brandenburg, Elena (2019). *Karl der Große im Norden. Rezeption französischer Heldenepik in den altostnordischen Handschriften* (= Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 65). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.
- Brandt, Carl Joakim (Hg.) (1877). *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen*. Bd. III. Kopenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri, S. 1–138.
- Dahlerup, Pil (Hg.) (1998). *Dansk Litteratur. Middelalder 2. Verdslig litteratur*. Kopenhagen: Gyldendal.
- Di Vanna, Isabell N. (2011). „Politicizing National Literature. The Scholarly Debate around la Chanson de Roland in the 19th Century“. In: *Historical Research* 84, 223, S. 109–134.
- Eming, Jutta/Schlechtweg-Jahn, Ralf (Hg.) (2017). *Aventiure und Eskapade: Narrative des Abenteuerlichen vom Mittelalter zur Moderne* (= Transatlantische Studien zu Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit 7). Göttingen: V&R unipress.
- Ferm, Olle u. a. (Hg.) (2015). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Gaunt, Simon (1995). *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (= Cambridge Studies in French 53). Cambridge und New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gaunt, Simon (2003). „The *Chanson de Roland* and the Invention of France“. In: Peckham, Robert Shannan (Hg.). *Rethinking Heritage. Cultures and Politics in Europe*. London: Tauris, S. 90–101.
- Glauser, Jürg (1986). „Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit“. In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (Hg.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 15). Basel und Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, S. 191–207.
- Glauser, Jürg (2016). „Mittelalter (800–1500)“. In: Ders. (Hg.). *Skandinavische Literaturgeschichte*. 2. Aufl. Stuttgart: Metzler, S. 1–51.
- Hardman, Phillipa/Ailes, Marianne (2017). *The Legend of Charlemagne in Medieval England. The Matter of France in Middle English and Anglo-Norman Literature* (= Bristol Studies in Medieval Cultures 8). Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Hartung, Hendrikje u. a. (Hg.) (2016). *Laurin*. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag.
- Jonsson, Bengt R. (2010). *Erikskrønikan diktare – ett försök till identifiering* (= SSFS; Serie 1, Svenska Skrifter 94). Stockholm: Norstedt.
- Kolb, Herbert (1987). „Der weiße Reiter. Zu einem Thema der spätmittelalterlichen Karlsepik“. In: *IASL* 12, S. 26–56.
- Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (2002). *Die Þiðreks saga im Kontext der altnorwegischen Literatur* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 33). Tübingen und Basel: Francke.

- Kramarz-Bein, Susanne (2004). „Die altnordische Karlsdichtung: Das Beispiel der ‚Karlsmagnús saga ok kappá hans‘“. In: Bastert, Bernd (Hg.). *Karl der Große in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalters. Konstruktion eines Mythos*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, S. 149–163.
- Kurras, Lotte (2001). *Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek Stockholm. Handschriftenkatalog* (= Acta Bibliotheca Regiae Stockholmensis 67). Stockholm: Kungl. Biblioteket.
- Kværndrup, Sigurd (1984). *Den nordiske løveridder. En ridderromance af Chrétien de Troyes*. Kopenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Forlag.
- Lindegård Hjorth, Poul (Hg.) (1960). *Karl Magnus' Krønike* (= Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfunds Skriftserie 398). Kopenhagen: Schultz.
- Molbeck, Christian (1843). „Danske Haandskrifter, fornemmelig af historisk Indhold, i det Kongelige Bibliothek i Stockholm“. In: *Historisk tidsskrift* 4, S. 129–166.
- Mölk, Ulrich (2003). „Der heilige Roland: Französisches Rolandslied und lateinischer Pseudo-Turpin im Vergleich“. In: Herbers, Klaus (Hg.). *Jakobus und Karl der Große: Von Einhards Vita zum Pseudo-Turpin* (= Jakobus-Studien 14). Tübingen: Narr, S. 79–89.
- Nyberg, Tore (1986). *Die Kirche in Skandinavien. Mitteleuropäischer und englischer Einfluss im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert. Anfänge der Domkapitel Børglum und Odense in Dänemark* (= Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 10). Sigmaringen: Thorbecke.
- Nyberg, Tore (1993). „Børglum, Tønsberg, Dragsmark“. In: Eriksson, Jan E. G./Schei, Kari (Hg.). *Seminarer 'Kloster og by': 11.–13. november 1992 – omkring Olavsklosteret, Premonstratenserordenen og klostervesenet i middelalderen*. Tønsberg: Tønsberg bibliotek, S. 68–78.
- Payen, Jean-Charles (1979). „Une Poétique du génocide joyeux: Devoir de violence et plaisir de tuer dans la *Chanson de Roland*“. In: *Olifant* 6, S. 226–236.
- Philipowski, Katharina-Silke (2007). „Strophisches und stichisches Sprechen. Medientheoretische Überlegungen zur Figurenrede in höfischer Epik und Heldenepik“. In: Miedema, Nine/Hundsnurscher, Franz (Hg.). *Formen und Funktionen von Redeszenen in der mittelhochdeutschen Großepik* (= Beiträge zur Dialogforschung 36). Tübingen: Niemeyer, S. 43–73.
- Plötz, Robert (2003). „De hoc quod apostolus Karolo apparuit. Die Traumvision Karls des Großen: Eine typisch mittelalterliche Vision?“. In: Herbers, Klaus (Hg.). *Jakobus und Karl der Große: Von Einhards Vita zum Pseudo-Turpin* (= Jakobus-Studien 14). Tübingen: Narr, S. 39–78.
- Richter, Anna Katharina (2018). „Zur Überlieferung der Historie von *Flores oc Blantzeflor* in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit“. In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36:1, S. 39–53.
- Röder, Gabriele (2000). „War die Vorlage der *Karlsmagnús saga* I eine *Vita Caroli Magni* aus Flandern?“. In: Paul, Fritz (Hg.). *Arbeiten zur Skandinavistik. 13. Arbeitstagung der deutschsprachigen Skandinavistik, 29.7.–3.8.1997 in Lysebu/Oslo* (= Texte und Untersuchungen zur Germanistik und Skandinavistik 45). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, S. 203–214.
- Würth, Stefanie (2000). „Eufemia – Deutsche Auftraggeberin schwedischer Literatur am norwegischen Hof“. In: Paul, Fritz (Hg.). *Arbeiten zur Skandinavistik. 13. Arbeitstagung der deutschsprachigen Skandinavistik 29.7.–3.8.1997 in Lysebu/Oslo* (= Texte und Untersuchungen zur Germanistik und Skandinavistik 45). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, S. 269–281.

Onlinequellen

Handschrift Codex Holmiensis K 47

<https://tekstnet.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47-lang-beskrivelse> (abgerufen am 25.6.2021).

Edition von *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*

<https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/1> (abgerufen am 25.6.2021).

Edition von *Persenober og Konstantianobis*

<https://tekstnet.dk/persenober-og-konstantianobis/1> (abgerufen am 25.6.2021).

Charlemagne. A European Icon

<https://www.charlemagne-icon.ac.uk/> (abgerufen am 25.6.2021).

Abbildungsnachweise

Abb. 1: Ms. Cod. Holm. Vu 82, S. 139 (Beginn der *Karl Magnus' Krønike*). © Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

Abb. 2: Ms. Cod. Holm. Vu 82, S. 146. © Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

Courtly Colours. Colour Terms in Old Danish, with a Side Glance at Old West Norse and Middle High German

Regina Jucknies (Cologne)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5708-0097>

Abstract: The present study investigates the use of colour terms in Old Danish. As colour studies have not yet been carried out within East Norse philology, a side glance at the research concerning the neighbouring languages of Middle High German and Old Norse is used for inspiration and comparison. By excerpting the Old Danish Dictionary's slip collections, the uses of colour terms as presented in written sources are tackled, and the colour terms in the six Old Danish courtly romances gathered in the manuscript K 47 are investigated in detail. As one of the results, it can be stated that colour clusters serve to illustrate courtliness, but especially in cases where a court is ruled by a genuinely non-courtly figure like a heathen potentate or a dwarf king. Furthermore, colour terms are not exclusively connoted with a single positive or negative meaning but can serve different narrative purposes.

Keywords: Colour studies, Old Danish, courtly romance, Middle High German, Old Norse, colour symbolism, East Norse

*Human societies do not only speak of colours, but
also with colours. (Eco 1985: 166)*

“Color is above all a social phenomenon, and there is no transcultural truth to color perception.” (Wolf 2006b: 73). Right at the beginning, this quote reminds us of the fact that we will never be able to find out how people actually saw or perceived colours in former times. Nevertheless, colour studies can serve to increase our understanding of which items or phenomena, regardless of materiality or non-materiality, are described in colours. This requires the assumption that the descriptions include more than a chromatic quality, but simultaneously present us with a moral or symbolic statement. It is important to note that the message of a colour has always been contextual. Through the ages, the colour red, for a

prominent example, could denote love, but in another context, it could signify its opposite, hate.¹

The present study is devoted to the use of colour terms in Old Danish verse romances as they have come down to us in a single manuscript. Cod. Holm. K 47 was written around 1500 by two Jutlandic scribes, and it consists of six romances in *knittel* verse, which have been called a ‘little anthology of courtly romances’ (“en hel lille høvisk romanantologi”, Kværndrup 1984: 469). In the following, I will analyse where the texts in this manuscript make use of colours, and what they describe by colour terms. To date, – as far as I know – colours in East Norse literature have not been investigated at all.

Within this study, it is not possible to treat the subject in any exhaustive way. Instead, my aim is to open up further research in East Norse colour studies, relating my findings to two literary systems neighbouring the East Norse area, namely West Norse and Middle High German. Evidence of colour use in these systems supplies a well-researched background. Both differences and common ground shared by the three literary systems will be discussed. However, before that, the influential colour term study by Berlin and Kay (1969) has to be introduced briefly and related to the Old Danish material, because both German and Scandinavian research relevant for the following refers to their scale of basic colour terms.

Brent Berlin and Paul Kay investigated the colour term vocabulary in 98 languages, and in their survey, they postulated the existence of eleven so-called basic colour terms.² Furthermore, they claimed that if a language’s use of basic colour terms is reduced to fewer terms, their notion is predictable, and they established a scale of stages from I to VII along which a language would evolve by expanding its colour term vocabulary. According to them, a language with only two basic terms applied, will have a name for black and for white (I). A fully evolved term system will own all eleven terms, i.e. use these two plus red (II), green, yellow (III/IV), blue (V), brown (VI), purple, pink, orange and grey (VII). A growing term set would expand along the sequence just stated, with the rule that yellow could as well occur before green, and that the four terms at the end of the sequence could differ in order, but would appear in close chronology (Berlin/Kay 1969: 22).

The basic colour terms occurring in Old Danish are *røth* (red), *hvit* (white), *svart* (black), *grøn* (green, fresh), *gul* (yellow, blond), *bla* (blue, blue-black, lead grey), *brun* (russet, dark red, purple), and *gra* (grey). As can be seen from the English translations, *bla* and *brun* own qualities that today are expressed via differentiating terms which denote several hues. *blek* (pale) as a frequently used colour term has a special position and mostly serves to describe facial colour (or rather: non-colour, see below). There are no basic terms for pink, orange,

-
- 1 For decades, the French historian Michel Pastoureau has published extensively as well as systematically on the cultural history of colours including the Middle Ages. In his works, which were widely translated, he provides a wealth of facts and interpretations of the symbolic value of colours, and he offers both studies concentrating on single colours: yellow (2019), red (2016), green (2013), black (2008), and blue (2000), and on comprehensive surveys (on the Middle Ages 1986, from an anthropologist angle 1989, on heraldics 1982 and 2009). Further colour studies in East Norse will stand to benefit from Pastoureau’s works. However, the present study is first and foremost aimed at an investigation of the occurrence and use of colour terms in its source texts and will leave interpretations of their symbolic meanings aside.
 - 2 For a narrow definition of the terms, see Berlin/Kay (1969: 5–7).

and purple, the latter hue is presumably included in the term *brun*. According to Berlin and Kay's scale, Old Danish would probably have to be placed at the beginning of stage VII.

After this short introduction, I will now briefly skim the recent research that has been undertaken in Old West Norse and in Medieval German philology. Concerning the latter, however, the number of titles mentioned is inevitably limited and selective.

Colours in German Medieval Studies

In recent years, colours in medieval German literature have been investigated from several perspectives. In 2009, the German association of medievalists (Mediävistenverband) organised a comprehensive conference that brought together colour studies from a great variety of disciplines including linguistics and literary studies, yielding a substantial two-volume publication (Bennewitz/Schindler 2011). Here, Oleksandr Oguy published his colour term survey on the German medieval material (a comprehensive collection of texts he defines as literary), referring to Berlin/Kay. He postulated that in terms of frequency, the order of colour term use differs from their scale. An extraordinarily extensive use of the colour term *crâ* (grey) would put this hue between green and brown, which is followed by yellow. In addition, to the basic colour terms, Oguy also included adjectives depicting light, dark, shining, and varicoloured qualities, and defines the most basic of the basic colour terms as white/light, and black/dark. Furthermore, he placed the term *bunt* (multicoloured) after yellow and before the term last in row, blue (Oguy 2011: 407). This makes his study deviate from the defining principles of Berlin and Kay, but the statistic evidence is still useful to have, even if it is not significant for the chronology in evolution.

Further colour term studies were conducted by a research project at Siegen university on the semantics of colours in epic texts of the 12th and 13th centuries ("Polychrome Entwürfe höfischer Welten: Farben und ihre Semantiken in erzählender Literatur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts"). It resulted in important articles by Monika Schausten (2008, 2011), on colours in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, and in two dissertations, on the colours of the elite (*Die Farben der Herrschaft*, Klein 2014), and on the colours of the body at the court (*Die Farben höfischer Körper*, Osten 2014). In the context of the project, a conference was held focusing on colours in German literature and art, which was followed by extensive conference proceedings (Schausten 2012). Within this volume, articles deal with the colours of coats of arms (Haiko Wandhoff), 'monochrome' knights (Bruno Quast), and the colours of mourning (Andreas Kraß). Elke Brüggén deals with 'the colours of women', and refers to a typical courtly colour scheme put forward by Herman Pleij (Pleij 2004: 17). This spectrum sees red, white, and black as central colour areas. Further contributions to the above-mentioned volume, especially on complexion, will be discussed below.

Elke Brüggén's dissertation investigated clothing and fashion in narrative German literature in the 12th and 13th centuries, where she also treated coloured clothing, with a special focus on dyed fabrics (Brüggén 1989). In 2011, a comprehensive reference work on the significances of colour terms in the Middle Ages was published (Meier/Suntrup 2011). The lexicon concentrates on the figurative and allegorical use of the terms, with a focus on theology and the Latin evidence. This research interest was followed by a number of

publications on the occurrence and on the significances of colours in courtly literature, some of which I will refer to later in context with the East Norse material.

Studies in West Norse colour terms

Colour terms in Old West Norse have been investigated in extenso by Kirsten Wolf: during the last fifteen years, she has published systematically on almost all colour terms in Old Icelandic (Wolf 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2010, 2015, 2017). In her articles, she subsequently treated the Old Icelandic basic and non-basic colour terms, mostly concentrating on the occurrence of the different terms and the phenomena they describe, and leaning heavily on the influential colour studies by Berlin and Kay (1969). Referring to their report, Wolf was able to show that Old Norse is an early stage VII language: its colour term bias consists of eight colours: *svartr*, *hvítr*, *rauðr*, *grænn*, *gulr*, *blár*, *brúnn*, and *grár*. Based on a wide corpus of texts and dictionaries (including the slip collection of the Dictionary of Old Norse Prose and both Eddic and skaldic poetry), her colour studies accumulated result in a solid overview over the colour term material conveyed, including non-basic colour terms (Wolf 2015), and the term *bleikr* (Wolf 2005, and 2006a).³ In his study of Old Norse colour semantics, Georg C. Brückmann is also very systematic in counting and displaying occurrences of the basic colour terms just mentioned (Brückmann 2012). He provides substantial, valuable data for comparison with the East Norse evidence. However, the poetic Eddic and skaldic material are not included.

Further studies, mostly on dyed clothing in the Icelandic sagas, were published by Anna Zanchi (2006, about *grænn*), and Nathalie van Deusen (2012, about *blár*). Anita Sauckel's dissertation about the literary function of clothing in Old West Norse prose does not focus especially on colours, but it contains a whole chapter on blue/black (*blár*) clothing (Sauckel 2014: 115–128). A special strand of research gathers around the question of whether the blue clothing indicates the wearer's intention to kill, e.g. in the article by Sandra Ballif Straubhaar (2005).⁴ In this context, Thor Ewing states that clothes in this hue feature in many other, non-killing scenes. From the archeological evidence, he can show that *blár* was the most common colour used for dyeing fabric, but that red dye would have been the strongest marker of high status (Ewing 2006: 229).

Thus, to date, the colour term *blár* has sparked most interest in West Norse research. As the corresponding *bla* in East Norse likewise forms a peculiar case, I will come back to that. An article on courtly clothing in *Laxdæla saga* by Gesine Snell focuses on the fabric and less on colour, mostly because a more general expression (*litklæði*) is used in the text that does not specify any colour (Snell 2000). Long before but still vividly cited, Valtýr Gudmundsson published on this expression, including a discussion of medieval Icelandic colour terms in relation to their use for clothes dyed in and outside Iceland (Valtýr Gudmundsson 1893).

3 In addition, Wolf very recently edited the comprehensive, 6-volume *Cultural History of Color* (with Carole P. Biggam), cf. Wolf/Biggam (2021).

4 This cannot be proved for any case in Old Danish material.

Which colours?

Let us now turn to the appearance of colour terms in Old Danish. As we have seen above, this language shows eight basic colour terms. In addition to them, I will investigate the use of the term *blek*, which is not a basic term, but frequent and important in courtly romance.⁵

To set forth a first overview of the occurrences of Old Danish colour terms, I have exploited the Old Danish list collection (*Gammeldansk Seddelsamling*) and excerpted the most common uses of the terms. The collection, comprised of about 29,000 articles gathered on over 900,000 or 950,000 slips,⁶ is almost exhaustive. This data facilitates a sustainable base for reasonable assumptions if it does not serve as a source for statistical assessments due to the contingencies of transmission. The source material for the collection consists of text witnesses from ca. 1100 to 1515, including runic inscriptions, charters, letters, accounts and the like as well as narrative literature both religious and profane, both in prose and in verse, besides instructive texts representing the medieval arts, including glossaries, and collections of proverbs. In short, everything at hand in the middle of the 1950s was excerpted, and put online in recent years.

In a comprehensive statistical study (which is not intended here), it would be necessary to substract fixed expressions from the data provided by the *Seddelsamling* (for example *hvit pænning*, that means compounds sometimes inconsistently spelled as two separate words like *hvitlök*, see below), as well as the use of the adjective as a sur- or byname, which however features as a more frequent use in the Old West Norse material for *hvíti*, *svarti*, *raudí* (Brückmann 2012: 83). A specification of text genres (corresponding with the studies by Brückmann and by OGuy) would also be both reasonable and useful. In light of the time span covered, it would also be ideal for the dating of the individual records to be provided, but given the contingency of the text witnesses handed down to us, this data could not be provided with certainty.

The following first-time aggregation of recorded colour terms primarily serves to spell out tendencies in use in order to provide a foundation for further studies and, in the present context, a narrower observation of colour term use in the verse romances. The numbers below indicate the results of simple searches for adjectives, including occurrences of those adjectives in their comparative and superlative degrees.⁷ It is important to note that the data are not totally consistent. For example, in some cases the spelling of a compound alternates between one and two words, and the references are spread over three lemmata. The advanced search mode does not yield trustworthy results for the cases tested, therefore, none of the selection options was chosen, and all searches included the complete material. It was thus impossible to take close account of the text genres, but the most relevant usages are notified in the following survey.

5 The terms *blank* (shining, also used in the compound white wine), *skær* (clear, bright, shining) *lys* (light, clear, bright), and *myrk* (dark) specify the quality of a colour. They cannot be included in the present survey, but would have to form part of a more comprehensive investigation.

6 The dictionary's homepage makes two diverging statements on the number.

7 A discussion of the use of the inchoativa derived from the adjective, such as *svartne*, *blekne* etc. would certainly yield further results but has to be postponed to keep consistency of the present study.

Firstly, the data are grouped by colour and the frequency of the phenomena they denote are listed, although not in absolute numbers. Secondly, a survey follows, which shows the colour terms in K 47 in numbers of occurrence, before thirdly the K 47 data are interpreted in detail, with a special focus on the occurring colour clusters.

1 *røth* (274 slips)

In most of the slips, it is clothes or fabric that are described as red. Red-coloured plants, or their parts (herbs, spices, bloom, root, including *røth kal* (red cabbage, 4 plus – in one word – 3 extra slips), *røth løk* (red onion, 2 plus 17 extra slips) and *røth bynke* (dock or sorrel, 3 plus 1 extra slip) are followed in frequency by red precious stones, which however are often described by several colours. Blood is called red; in about a third of the cases it is Christ's blood. Notwithstanding, red is not the only colour ascribed to blood (see below). Other human liquids are mentioned often (urine or part of the four humours), mostly in medical texts. Human skin and face are described as red, sometimes in combination with *blek*, sometimes together with *fager* (beautiful). *Røth ok fager* usually occurs in devotional texts, as is the case with the expression Red Sea (*røthe mæx* or *røthe hav*), which occurs repeatedly. Red gold is mentioned a number of times, and several animals are described as red (about six times in reference to a horse). Less frequent are parts of coats of arms, hair, or other physical items. Fire or flames are mentioned in only very few cases.

2 *hvit* (471 + 60 = 531 slips)

This great number of slips is staggering only at first glance. It is nearly doubled by samples referring to a fixed expression that is used with special frequency in economical accounts and inventories for silver coins, i.e. the Rhenish Groschen, described as a 'white penny' (germ. *Weißpfennig*, lat. *denarius albus*). The noun *hvit* gives 60 slips, 54 of which refer to the silver coin, the other 6 denote eggwhite. For the lemma *hvitæpæning*, there are three slips, two of which symptomatically have the compound written in two words. In all, its records sum up to 119, and thus account for almost a quarter of the evidence.⁸

Flowers and parts of plants, seeds and spices, most often garlic (*hvit løk*), are described with a separate adjective for white about 20 times, and in the same number of instances as part of a one-word compound (*hvitløk*). Second comes *hvit røkelse* (frankincense, ca. 11 slips). Together, the slips of this group total 100.

Fabrics and clothes can be white. *Hvit klæde* occurs frequently in devotional texts, where persons are described as white without specifying whether that colour is a property of their skin or their clothing, and white souls are mentioned. In a few cases, coats of arms are described featuring white parts. Eggwhites as well as white wine are mentioned frequently in both medical and culinary texts. White skin occurs about 20 times, specified in some cases as white faces, cheeks, necks or hands (see below).

8 This is a clear reminder of what the data in the *Seddelsamling* consists of, namely a great number of charters, accounts, and other non-literary text witnesses, where the material from the verse romances features, prominently, but in fact only forms a very small part of the whole.

White animals are mentioned, of which the most frequent species is the horse, both in literary and non-literary texts. White bread features in medical texts and some devotional literature. Urine can sometimes be denoted as white, and blood is described as white in medical texts. Snow is always depicted in comparison, both in the positive (*hvit som sne*, white as snow) and comparative (*hwider en snee*, whiter than snow) degrees. This phrasing is found in devotional texts and romances (see below). *Hvite tirsdag* (Shrove Tuesday) is a fixed expression, which only occurs twice.

3 svart (234 slips)

Most of the slips describe seeds, plants, or parts of plants that are described as black. Black (precious) stones also occur frequently, and the phrase *svart jorth/mold* ‘black soil’ is used several times. Black fabric (mostly *silke*, silk, and *lejdisk*, a fine fabric woven in Leiden in the Low Countries⁹) and clothes are mentioned on almost 40 slips. Black magic is named ten times (*sorte kunst*), and black monks (*svarte brødre*), i.e. those wearing the black cowl of the Dominican order, nine times. Almost 20 slips show *Svart* as a surname. A black complexion is found on 15 slips, and persons are called black in 14 cases, some of them *svart blaman*. Black animals, many of them horses, occur as well, as does black hair. On several slips, black has a negative connotation (especially in superlative form *swartasta dyefflane*, the blackest devils, Post: 251,31). Blood is called black, and human skin (sometimes the face). *Svart*, in devotional literature, can also mean an ‘inner’ colour, negatively connoted, as ‘black and impure’.¹⁰

4 grøn (181 slips)

In most of the slips, *grøn* is used meaning ‘fresh’, most often denoting plants or parts of them (more than 90 slips), and fresh wounds (*grøn saar* 13 times). With plants it is sometimes not clear whether green indicates colour or freshness. The phrase *grøn lund* occurs five times, and a green grassland (*grøn æng*) occurs several times. Precious stones, mostly emeralds, are described as green. Clothes and fabric can be green. *Spænsk grønt*, a fixed expression denoting verdigris or copper rust, features on eight slips.

5 gul (88 slips)

In most of the slips, it is as part of a compound, *gulæ sot*, on 12 slips, and as a noun in one word, *gulsot*, on 11 slips, denoting jaundice. Plants and their parts come second, closely followed by stones. Complexion is frequent, especially, but not exclusively, in the medical texts, and fabric and clothing are called yellow. Other uses differ, but the meaning of blond hair is recorded several times. Egg yolk occurs both in medical and culinary recipes, and yellow blood features in three medical texts.

9 A still useful, commented list of medieval fabrics can be found in Falk (1919: 50–73). Further information can be gained from consulting the glossary of Middle High German, provided by Brüggem (1989: 268–293).

10 E.g. ChrPedSkr I: 325.1: *De mwe ligness ved en mødding som vden till betact er met sne oc syness huid oc deglig men indwertiss er hwn swort och wren* (This can be compared to a dung heap which is snow-covered and so looks white and beautiful from the outside, but from the inside it is black and impure).

6 *bla* (91 slips): blue, blackish blue, dark grey

Most of the slips feature fabric or clothing. However, in most cases, *bla* is the colour of bruises: Blue and bloody, *bla oc blothigh*, are often combined, mostly in legal texts. Blue plants occur (mostly lillies), and the colour is used in descriptions of coats of arms. Twice it is used in the comparison ‘blue as the sky’.

7 *brun* (73 slips): brown, russet, dark red, violet

On 11 of the slips, *Brun* is a surname. Garments and fabric are also described as *brun*, often silk, or scarlet. The colour term is often used for plants and their parts, mostly for viola and poppy. Otherwise, the use is not very specific for any certain expression.

8 *gra* (66 slips)

In most of the slips, it is grey fabric, or horses listed in accounts. The expression *gra brother* occurs several times, but is to be added to the number of compounds denoting Franciscan monks (70 slips for *grabrother*, and 81 for compounds formed with that term, such as *grabrøthrekloster*). Hair is described as *gra*, sometimes in the phrase *gammel ok gra*, old and grey.

9 *blek* (65 slips)

In most of the slips, almost 50, it is the human face (or skin) that is described as pale. A few stones are described by the term. If *blek* is combined with another colour, it is mostly with *røth*; in a few cases it is *svart* or *gul*. It is twice used in a comparison, *blek som en aske*, as pale as ashes.

The perusal of the *Seddelsamling* allows for some remarks on the resemblance in colour term use by a number of texts. But again, the data does not allow statements on the numeric relationship of the terms concerning the text genre they occur in. Thus, as noted above, a comparison of absolute numbers will not yield objective results. I have therefore tried to give a preliminary overview of the occurrences, as more intensive studies are necessary to explore the data at a deeper level. Before going into detail, as a preliminary result, it can be stated that texts of religious instruction and devotion, such as *Herr Michaels rimværker*, *Henrich Susos Gudelig Visdomsbog*, a number of books of prayer (*bønnebøger*), and *Jesu Barndoms Bog* (The book of the childhood of Jesus), show similar use of colour terms, comparable to that of the verse romances. On the other hand, texts containing florid descriptions of the exotic, like *Mandevilles Rejse* (Mandeville’s Travels) and the famous *Letter to Emanuell Comnenos* by Prester John use analogue expressions to describe impressive phenomena. All these texts (with the early exception of *Mandevilles Rejse*, which is earliest extant in a manuscript dated to 1459) can be dated roughly to between the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century.

Colour terms in K 47

Before interpreting the use of the colour terms, a table specifies the occurrences in all six romances. The individual length of the six romances differs considerably (DL 882 vv., PK 1581 vv., KD 1238 vv., FB 2202 vv., HF 2421 vv., IL 6410 vv.), so it is not surprising that the colour terms' frequency will differ as well. In all, colour terms occur 81 times, divided as can be seen in the following table:

	IL ¹¹	KD	PK	DL	HF	FB	Σ
<i>røth</i>	4 ¹²	4	–	5 ¹³	10	9	36
<i>hvit</i>	2	–	3 ¹⁴	– ¹⁵	5	4	15
<i>svart</i>	7	–	1 (<i>sorte skole</i>) ¹⁶	–	1 (<i>kape</i>)	–	9
<i>grøn</i>	4	–	–	1 (<i>lund</i>)	3	2	6
<i>gul</i>	3	–	–	–	–	–	3
<i>brun</i>	2	–	–	–	1 (<i>lys</i>)	–	3
<i>gra</i>	–	1 (<i>hest</i>) ¹⁷	–	–	1 (<i>kape</i>) ¹⁸	–	2
<i>bla</i>	1 ¹⁹	–	–	–	–	–	1
<i>blek</i>	2	2 (<i>rød ok blek</i>)	–	–	–	2 (<i>blek ok rød</i>)	6

What is worthy of being described in colours?

- *Bla* occurs only twice, once of which in a compound, both in the same passage of IL, in the detailed description of the scary shepherd: his complexion and lips are *bla* (IL 6r).
- *Blek* always denotes complexion, and mostly in combination with *røth*, although it occurs once together with *gul* (IL 82v), and once as a single colour (IL 93v).
- *Brun* is rare. Twice it depicts fabric (*skarlogh*, IL 5r and 72r), and once light (HF 117v).
- *Gul* occurs in only one text, *Ivan løveridder*, for herbs (both yellow and green, IL 5r), eyes (IL 6r, *gule som topaciws*), and complexion (IL 82v).

11 In the following, the titles of the six romances are abbreviated: *Ivan løveridder* (IL), *Den kyske dronning* (KD), *Persenober og Konstantianobis* (PK), *Dvægekongen Laurin* (DL), *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* (HF), and *Flores og Blanseflor* (FB).

12 The name *Vadian røde* occurs twice.

13 Of which 4 *roser*, 1 superlative *guld*.

14 The name *Hvidrok* occurs 15 times.

15 The expression *sne hvid hest* occurs once.

16 The name *Sorterok* occurs twice.

17 The compound *apeld gra* occurs once.

18 The compound *apeld gra* occurs once.

19 The compound *blaman* occurs once.

- *Gra* is used once for a horse (KD 206r), twice as *apeld gra* (KD 206r, HF 149v), and once for the grey colour of the Franciscan cowl (HF 152r).
- *Grøn* occurs mostly in the phrase *grøn lund* (DL 156r, IL 38v, 47v, and 77r). In HF, it describes a precious stone (*smaragdws*, HF 118v), light (HF 117v), and a mountain (HF 118v). IL features both green and yellow herbs (IL 5r). FB describes an artificial bird's claws (223v) and marble (235v) as green.
- *Svart* is used for the Dominican cowl once (HF 152r), and a Dominican school (PK 169v), and twice for a name (*Sorterok*, PK 190r, 196r). The term is used the most in IL (7), thrice to depict the scary shepherd, (IL 6r). Of the other four cases, two describe black bread (*thet sorte brødh sa sødeligh aadh, som thet war then beste madh* (IL 39r), and two black complexion: Ivan's *jomfru* falls silent in shock, and the colour of her face changes to that of soil (*tha wortæ hwn sorth som jen jordh*, IL 96r), and Ivan's face turns so black that he is unrecognisable (IL40r). In the last case, the adjective is used for black earth (*pa sorten mold*, IL 97v).
- *Hvit* occurs as a single word three times in PK, where it specifies tablecloth, sand, and armour, all parts of the courtly world (PK 173r, 188v, and 191r). In the same text, Persenober's pseudonym is *Hvitrok*, Whitecoat, which occurs 15 times. IL features a lady's white arm, hand and fingers (25r, 86v). In HF it describes clothes, twice *hosser* (breeches, HF 112r, 113v, the second time compared to *filben*, ivory), and once *svandser*, the white trains of the ladies' dresses at the feast (HF 150v). Lights are also described as white, sometimes as white as snow (HF 117v). HB features white a bloom²⁰, a half-white horse, white marble, and white sand (FB v. 104, 227v, 235v, and 253r). The dwarf king Laurin's horse is *sne hvit* (158r). In all cases, everything white is closely related to the world of the court.
- *Røth* is the most common colour in all romances (36 occurrences), except for PK (in which there are no occurrences at all). Red is used for roses (4 times in DL, 155v, 157r, 159r, 167v), but most often, it is used for clothes and fabric, i.e. *skarlogh* (4 of 7, KD 203r, FB 253r, HF 149v, IL 86v, *kiortel*, FB 241v, *kledher* HF 134r, *waben rok* HF 138r), followed by gold (5, DL 158r, FB 229v, 235v, HF 119v, IL 32v). Blood is special in that it is described by a colour term only twice (IL *brynne* 13v, *waben* 46r), otherwise it occurs in compounds (4) as a horse's colour (3, FB 227v, HF 113r,), of water that turns red (FB, 238v), and as the colour of lights (HF 117v). Ruby is red (3, *som solen* HF 118v, 148v, IL 8v), as is face colour (4, KD 212v, 216v, FB v. 88, 246r), always in combination with *blek*. Flames or fire feature once in KD (202r), and red is used once for specifying the colour of a castle (HF 115r). Vadian the Red is named twice (IL 11v, 25v).

The things or phenomena described by colour terms can thus be organised in roughly six groups. The first of these is fabric and clothing are described as red, white, black, grey, and *brun*. The second is horses, presented in such colours as (snow) white, red, white and red, and (dappled) grey (see below). Our third group are the five colours used to describe human skin: *blek*, red, black, *bla*, and yellow, while our fourth group, nature, according to the K 47, is described in five colour terms as well: red roses, white sand, green grove, black soil. Plants

20 The passage is missing in K 47, but was added by Brandt in his edition, from the 1509 Ghemen print.

and parts of plants that could be defined as a subgroup of animate nature, comprise only four colours: white, red, yellow, and green. Fifth are precious stones (including marble), in red, green, white, and yellow. The last group gathers phenomena exclusively described as red which are gold, fire and flames.

Blood, fire, snow, and soil are typical for use in colour comparison: *røth som blod, som eld, som solen, hvit som sne, svart som jorth*, but *gul som topaci* also appears. The last of these forms part of a colour cluster, of which we find a few in the romances (see below).

How does this aggregation of colour term data fit into the neighbouring literary systems? Limitations of space restrict our focus to only a few cases, of which I have chosen two colours (*bla* and *blek*) for comparison with Old West Norse. For the comparison with Middle High German courtly literature, I have chosen two aspects: colours of horses and colour clusters.²¹ The West Norse cases shall be treated first.

blár vs. bla, bleikr vs. blek

Just like the Old Danish *bla*, the spectrum of the Old West Norse term *blár* covers a gradient of dark blue to black. Kirsten Wolf was able to show that *blár* initially only denoted a dark colour and shifted its meaning when a term for the hue of a dye was needed. This she deduces from the fact that *blár* is used frequently for fabric and clothes. Though the Old Danish *bla* is also used for fabrics, as is shown above, at present it is impossible to determine whether it, too, evolved to meet a parallel need to that of its West Norse cousin. The frequent phrasing of *bla ok blodhugh*, definitely has its parallel in Old West Norse *blár ok blóðugr*, and is likewise used in legal texts (Brückmann: 21, though he seemingly does not pay attention to its occurrence in legal texts) and for complexion in both languages. Though there are cases in which *blár* has negative connotations, Wolf gives them little attention (Wolf 2006b) as her data shows a more frequent negative connotation for *svart*. The Old Danish evidence similarly suggests symbolic negative connotations for *bla*, but as in Old West Norse, *svart* was the favoured term for describing a menacing being, be it a 'blackest devil' or someone 'sort som et troll'. I would therefore support extending the framework of Wolf's findings also to Old Danish. This said, there are instances of *bla* with negative connotations in the verse romances consistent with the negative uses of West Norse *blá* that Wolf overlooks, namely the colour-clustered passage on the scary shepherd in *Ivan løveridder*, which will be treated in more detail below. The shepherd's lips are *bla*, and the whole figure is described as *jen hierde sorter en jen bla mandh*, which includes the other occurrence of *bla* in the romance, in a compound. Black *blamen* feature on three slips of the *Seddelsamling*, all placed close to a description of devils.²² A matchable combination of black and blue occurs in Old West Norse in a variation, where the comparative degree is used to describe the intense colour of the figure: *blámaðr biki svartari* (*Barthólómeuss saga*, ed. Unger 1874: 736.28), and *blámenn hrafni svartari* (*Tveggja postola saga Símons ok*

21 The two comparisons make use of data that strongly differ from each other.

22 *grymme dyr, diæfle scapels, sort blomænd utalle* (Suso: 143.20); *diæfwle sosom sorte blomæn* (Suso: 130.10); *mange vtalige dieffle smaa som røtter oc sorte som blaamend* (ChrPedSkr I: 304.1).

Júdass, ed. Unger 1874: 791.9–10, both cited from Wolf 2006b: 72). Both examples are from Christian legendary texts just as the Old Danish examples mentioned.

As the occurrence of the term *bla* in K 47 is so sparse, conclusions can only be drawn if it can be aligned with the evidence of other sources. However, when considered together with the devotional literature extant from about the same time, the negative connotations for *bla* appear only in a very few examples, and most of them in the compound *blaman* (see above). Thus, the general evidence of the usage of this term does not carry this notion alone, as it shows proof of being used to denote exquisite fabrics and clothings both in literary and non-literary texts.

The West Norse term *bleikr* could possibly be regarded as a kind of macrocolour, ‘covering, at least partly, the category of pale or light colors’ (Wolf 2006a: 187). These include its main use for a pale human face, as well as of light red, the light colour range of domestic animals, and of human hair (blond) (Wolf 2005: 253, citing the Arnamagnæan Commission’s Dictionary).²³

The Old Danish evidence for *blek* shows that the term’s dominant use is for complexion, which is consistent with the Old West Norse. But in Danish there is no evidence for *blek* being used to describe either a human hair colour or the colour of an animal. Conversely, there seems to be no evidence of *bleikr* being used in West Norse to denote the colour of a stone as it does in Old Danish.

In the K 47 texts, as we have seen, *blek* is used exclusively for a colour of the face, frequently in instances of facial colour changing. Isabelle Ravizza has discussed similar changes of facial colour in sagas of Icelanders, especially *Njáls saga* and *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, as non-verbal indicators of emotional changes (Ravizza 2010: i.a. 44–47). This interpretation can equally be applied to the four instances in K 47 in which mostly women, but also one man, blush and blanch. A blackening of the complexion is also caused by strong emotions: Ivan’s mistress turns black and falls silent when she hears that a knight who treated her badly is back at Arthur’s court: *tha wortæ hwn sorth som jen jordh, och stodh och talet ey jeth ordh* (IL 96r). KD features two instances of colour changes reflecting emotion. The first of these is when the queen turns red and pale when she is uncertain of the identity of the knight who wants to fight on her behalf (*dronningen worte bode rød och bleg, ther the begynte thenne legh*). In the second, the king of Bohemia explicitly becomes angry (*han giorde segh wred wedh hinnæ i gien*) and leaves because of the queen’s hostile behaviour. FB includes a scene in which the change of facial hue is connotated positively when Flores’ mother-to-be feels the foster in her belly: *hun glædes tha oc ey aff leg, hun war bade rød oc bleg* (then, she rejoiced, and not for fun, she was both red and pale, FB v. 87–88). FB’s other facial hue change is caused by fear, when Blanseflor’s German friend at the harem, Klares, fears that the king of *Babilon* will have the two lovers Flores and Blanseflor killed after catching them red-handed in Blanseflor’s bed in the harem’s tower: *klares worte bodhe bleg oc rød, hwn reddes tha for thieris død*. The order of the two colour terms shifts, but this is presumably caused by the rhyme.

23 As a non-basic colour term, *bleikr* is not included in Brückmann’s study.

Interestingly, K 47 also features a change to a black complexion as a sign of both geographical and spiritual distance from the court. when Ivan becomes a lunatic in the woods, *hans hwdh war sort thet seyer iech, thy war han jnkted kenneligh* (his skin was black, as I say, therefore he was irrecognisable, IL 40r).²⁴ Black complexion also indicates counter-courtly disposition in the description of the scary shepherd (see below).²⁵

A change in facial hue can also reflect physical health. IL describes an encounter Ivan has with a group of poor women at Pineborg: *thiære farigh war bodhæ gullæ och blegh, thet war aff hunger och ey aff legh* (their colour was both yellow and pale, this was due to starving, not for fun). A yellow complexion is frequently mentioned in medical texts as a sign of illness, so the allusion here was commonly known. Another instance of pale complexion indicating illness occurs when Ivan's lady has been fairly ill, but then learns that the knight will come to fight for her. She feels better immediately and gets up to meet him, but, visible to all, her cheeks still are pale: *blegæ war hinnæ kinnæ, thet mattæ the wæl aa hinnæ finnæ* (IL 93v). To sum up, the occurrences of the term *blek*, although it is always used in descriptions of facial colour, its notions differ considerably: it can both denote illness, fear, joy, and anger.

Coloured horses

K 47 shows six quotes pertaining to the colours of horses. Horses are part of the world of the court in the broader European system, and this is clearly true in the the Old Danish system, too, where the horses are white, red, or dappled. Horses are depicted in a simple grey only when their owners are travelling in disguise (in KD, this is the king of Bohemia masked as the Pope's legate KD 206r). In most of the cases, extraordinary horses are portrayed with extraordinary saddlery, praised in detail as masterpieces of handicraft and precious materials that help to stress the wealth of their riders. Usually the rider is a knight, but in the K 47 texts, the riders are dwarfs four of six times, and even females appear on horseback.

The precious steed that Flores gets from his stepfather when he sets out in search for Blanseflor is both white and red. In the late medieval Middle High German version of FB, Konrad Fleck's *Flores und Blanscheflur*, Udo Friedrich attributes the colours white and red to the ideal of courtly love, and calls Flores' horse a „Minnepferd“ (a horse of courtly love, Friedrich 2012: 84).²⁶ In the Old Danish version, this chromatic combination is introduced at the beginning of the text when the names of the two protagonists are said to signify a red and a white bloom respectively (*hans naffn en rød blomme lyder, hennes naffn eth hwit*

24 During that same far-from-court episode, Ivan eats black bread, and it tastes like the best of foods (*thet sorte brød sa sødeligh aadh, som thet war then beste madh* (IL 39r).

25 Ulrich Ernst draws the same conclusion for Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*. Furthermore, he comments on this interpretation that it is already intended in Chrétien's de Troyes *Yvain* (Ernst 2007: 176).

26 The colour combination of red and white as a symbol for violence is put forward by Brügger for the case of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (Brügger 2012: 219), but this does not apply for the cases found in the K 47 texts. Only in one case, in IL, a fight, between Ivan and Gavian, features red (*thiæræ godhæ swærdhæ saa fast biedh, the tryktæ vdh then rødhæ swedh*, their excellent swords bit powerfully, they evaporated red sweat, IL 97v), and later on, black (*han kastæ fra sægh bodhæ swærdh och skiold langh wey borth pa sorten mold*, he threw away both his sword and shield onto the black soil, IL 100r/v).

blomster tyder, v. 103–4²⁷), which is not stated in Fleck's version. The horse's colours parallel this: *then hæst war vnderlig til lydh, som sne war halff dielen hwid, annen hans sidhæ war rød som blod thet maa wel wærxæ jen ganger god* (FB 227v), and the saddle is described in all its precious details of fine fabric and noble metal, all shining bright and splendid.

In HF, Hertug Frederik goes hunting mounted upon a blood-red horse and dressed in white breeches, which could likewise be interpreted as a dichromatic sign of chivalry and courtship (HF 113r, 113v). At Hertug Frederik's and Floris' wedding at the end of the romance, horses feature once more, this time participating in the royal dwarfs' solemn procession. Both women and men are on horseback: the ladies horses are dapple grey, those of the knights are blood-red: *the gonger the frwer redhe appa, allæ war the abild graa, the ridder ørss waræ allæ goth, allæ rødæ som jeth blodh*.

Only a single white horse is mentioned in K 47. This is the dwarf king Laurin's steed which is snow white: *hesten han war sne hwidh* (DL 158r). As stated elsewhere, dwarfs figure as ideal in courtly behaviour and appearance, which will also become clearer in the following investigation of colour clusters in the K 47 texts.

Colour clusters

“Die ideale höfische Welt ist bunt.” (The ideal courtly world is multicoloured; Quast 2012: 171). In Old Danish literature, an abundance of colours marks extreme impressions either of splendour or of fear, but both in relation to the ideals of the court.

The most extensive scenery of all the romances is the description of a palace in FB, wherein some colours are named and many more are implied, creating a lavish image of the court. The overflowing description of the tower in Babilon where Blanseflor is held prisoner is a splendid and courtly (if slightly excessive) one:

aff malmer stiene grøne
 the ther gode ær och skiøne
 al then hwalf aff then same stien
 ther bode ær skier och ren
 jen knap owen pa torned stoor
 aff røt guld øwert stor och klar
 giømnen knapen gaar jen stangh
 tredugæ alnæ ær han langh
 owen aa knapen jen karbwinkel stien
 som solen allæ klarestæ skien
 saa skien then stien om myrke nat²⁸ (FB 235v)

The description begins with green and white marble, red gold, and a sun-like shining carbuncle (surely red), and goes on to appeal to all of the senses, the eye, the ear, even the

27 Cited after Brandt's edition, where the missing passages are inserted from the Ghemen print of 1509.

28 Of green marble stones, which are outstanding and beautiful, the whole arch of the same stones that are both bright and sheer, there was a huge orb on top of the tower, made from red gold, truly great, and clear. Through the orb, a pole is set, which is thirty cubits long. On top of the orb, there is a carbuncle stone, which shines like the sun at its brightest, thus this stone shone in the dark night.

intellect, through abundant references to encyclopedic knowledge of the rivers flowing from paradise, and of all the different kinds of precious stones to be found there. These stones, though not described by colour terms, evoke colour, much as the following account of plants and spices evoke smell without describing it with scent terminology. Shockingly, this narrative is turned into a scene of horror, for the waters flowing there, earlier conjuring images of paradise, are soon used for a trial and turn as red as blood if a girl who wades in them is not a virgin any more (*ær hwn ey mōø ower wanned wod, wannet wordher rød som jet blod*, FB 238v). Her punishment is to die at the stake. Thus, the sensitised, overwhelmed listener is suddenly confronted with a scene of horror and death. The exaggerated, multicoloured presentation of the palace is to be interpreted as a sign of non-courtliness in a non-Christian ruler's realm. Such exaggeration features in two other scenes in the K 47 texts as well, where a dwarf king and his court are described in detail.

In the beginning of HF the eponymous duke is described; he bears a precious necklace, he is dressed in white, his helmet is made from hard, white steel (... *too hwozer the war hwidhe, the war giordh medh mygel flydhæ, hans hielm war hwidh af stol och hordh*), his horse is red, and his shield features a massive, golden hoop (*jen trindh bøghele aff guldh sa bredh ower andræ skioldhæ war han tiedh*). All of this illustrates Hertug Frederik's wealth, but all of it is outmatched by raiment of the dwarf king, Malmrikt. His pants are as white as ivory, and his shining gold helmet is decorated front and back with a meticulously-described assortment of precious stones crowned by a splendid carbuncle.²⁹

The superiority of the dwarf king's wealth over Frederik's becomes a motif repeated in a comparison of the two figures' dwellings. Hertug Frederik's castle, Kallidæs, is not described in detail, but it is said that he lived in rather poor conditions (*then tidh then edelæ hertwgh frederik, leffdhæ i werdhen sa ønckeligh*). His hunting trip is cut short by the speed with which his hounds are able to return from running through the small area of his estate (*the løbe jckj vdhen jen agers bredh, the wendhe them affther then samme leedh*), and though he is able to provide courtly entertainment, *gammen*, it is modest. The splendour of the dwarf's palace, on the other hand, is visible to Hertug Frederik long before he reaches the castle. Upon his arrival, the description of the gorgeous palace mirrors the earlier description of the dwarf king. The brightness of the precious stones on his helmet and shield is reflected in the mountain, at the top of which is his castle, shining as red fire just like the carbuncle crowning his helmet.

them tømte alth som bierighet mon brenne
 aff the stiene som dwerighen førde
 j skioldh och hielm ther han segh rörde
 the fwnne jen porth giømen bierighet sa bred
 ath hertogen madeligh i giømen red

29 For an investigation of the notions of precious stones in the Old Danish evidence, see Jucknies (2015).

the sowe vdhen bierighet jen fower grøde
 och jet hws skiendhe som jeld hin røde³⁰ (HF 2.114v.1–115r.3)

A more elaborate description of the palace follows after an interlude depicting the lavish fashion of the dwarf queen: the gold decorating her mantle jingles and is adorned with clear and shining gems. Her golden crown is emblazoned with precious stones, and her girdle is of great value. Duke Frederik of course has no wife at all, much less one so richly adorned. The resumed depiction of the palace matches the royal couple in splendour. Built of marble, it is illuminated by four hundred colourful lights, each hundred of them in a different hue, and it has windows made from cristal:

firæ hwndredth lyws ther jnnen skien [...],
 jeth hundredh lyws war hwidthæ som sne
 thet aneth grøne thet matte man see
 thet tridi war bronæ farige goth
 thet fierdhe war rødh som jeth blodh
 the windugh war aff cristallæ allæ³¹ (HF 117r–117v)

The interior of the palace is also described in an intensive burst of colours, sparkling with gold, precious stones, and noble fabric. A sumptuous table is described, and on it a board game bordered with green emerald and made half from rubies as red as the morning sun, *sa rødh som solen om morigen skien*, half from skillfully engraved jasper (*then annen diel aff jaspis war, grawen medh mange sielsøne par* (HF 118v). The wealth of his palace is said to oustrip that of Prester John's easily. Malmrikt is also lavishly outfitted for war: his magnificent tent is made from precious fabric and topped with a golden eagle. The king's and the queen's tents set up later at Hertug Frederik's wedding are also described in splendour, and the queen is dressed in scarlet. The ladies of their entourage ride dapple grey horses, and the knights blood-red ones.

Despite all the the gorgeousness and colour of their court, there is an imbalance of status between dwarfs and people. Notwithstanding all his glory, Malmrikt needs the duke's help as a warrior, which Frederik grants for free despite the dwarf king's offer of wealth. The dwarfs need Frederik's explicit permission to attend in his wedding. In the end, they make the richest gifts of any guests at the feast. Though the dwarf king, his queen, and their castle bear proper courtly names (king Malmrikt, queen Gunidor, and the castle Karlefinth), they remain approximate rather than full equals to the human nobles. It seems as though their courtliness and splendour must vastly exceed those of a human court in order for them to be acceptable for human company.

In the second romance starring a dwarf king, the splendour of eponymous King Laurin's court is again described at length, but this time without colours. Only three colours occur

30 To them, the hill seemed to burn when the dwarf moved, caused by the gems on his shield and helmet. They found a gate leading through the mountain, which was so vast that the duke could pass through easily. Outside the mountain, they saw a beautiful cover of vegetation, and a castle shining like red fire.

31 Four hundred lights shone inside [...], one hundred was as white as snow, one could see another [hundred] green ones, the third [hundred] was in an excellent purple, the fourth [hundred] was red like blood, all the windows were made from cristal.

in this romance: *rød*, *hvit*, and *grøn*. Red is used almost exclusively for describing Laurin's famous roses. Four quotes encapsulate the germ of the narrative's drama, e.g. death penalty for whoever should pick the dwarf's roses, either uttered by the criminal (King *Dyderik*), or the prosecutor (King Laurin). The colour term ends the verse and mostly rhymes with *dødhe*, and the distich resembles the refrain of a ballad with minor variation, e.g. *jech skal bryde the roser rødhe, skulde jech ter om bliwe døde* (I will pick the red roses, even if I die for it, DL 157r). The only outlying occurrence of the hue is in superlative degree in the stereotyped, elative phrase *rødistæ guld* (DL 158r). This also symbolises courtly glamour, and is used for a horse-shoe that is made of an extraordinarily precious sort of gold.

The second colour term, *hvit*, occurs in the same passage: Laurin's horse is not only splendidly shod, but also bears a flawless, courtly-coloured coat of snow white (*hesten han war sne hwidth*, DL 158r). The third colour, *grøn*, occurs as the protagonists ride through the woods: *thy rede I giømen skowe oc grøne lwnde, at ingen man them fyllige kwnne* (DL 156r). Note that the conventional phrase, *grøne lunde*, has to serve the rhyme in an overlong verse.

Though these two splendid kings may be imperfectly courtly figures because of their deviant status as dwarfs, the infamous black shepherd in IL, reads as an entirely uncourtly caricature in contrast to them. In him the features that make a perfect knight are utterly negated, both in complexion and lineament, constitution and posture, garments and fabric, armour and equipment. Colours feature as well, and they are the antithesis of the courtly red-white-multicoloured colour scale illustrated above. The shepherd owns only the dark shades *svart* and *bla*, apart from his eyes that glow in an unnatural, luminescent yellow compared to the colour of the precious stone, *topatsius*. The references to this stone compiled in *Seddelsamling* do not indicate a fixed hue, but rather seem to connote a bright, shining property, whether it is red gold, or yellow-green,³² and in Prester John's letter, explicitly cited in the romance³³, *topatsius* is likened to the shining stars. Besides his ugly colours, he is hairy, black-cheeked, with a misshapen face and the teeth of a boar set in his wide, blue-lipped mouth. His garments, described as troll-like (*jen leder trolldh*) and strange (*hans kleder war vnderligh*), are made from two cattle hides cut into straps (*the ware aff nøde huder two, alle skorne remme*, and described in a mocking manner as the *rigeste kleder* (most rich), as if to emphasise their remoteness from the courtly world (IL 6r). This description and its colour combination mark out the shepherd as a clear antipode to the courteous body.

To sum up, the Old Danish world of the court is described in terms of precious items, both natural (stones) and handcrafted (cloth). The colour(s) of the items, in comparison with the Middle High German evidence, is only rarely mentioned. Though precious stones, for example, are identified by name, their colour spectra are seldom included in their descriptions. Conversely, colour is an important part of descriptions in other texts such as

32 *Topazius hetær en ærlyk stehen. oc ær twinnækyns. En hauær lyt sum skært sylf. Annæn ær lutæth sum haf oc ær grønlyk gul* (Topazius is the name of a capable stone, and it is of two sorts. One has a colour like bright silver. The other is coloured like the sea and it is greenish yellow, HarpStenb (K): 192). *Han [Topazius] ær ligh røt gul a lyt* (Its colour is like red gold, HarpStenb (K 4): 231,1). The compiler(s) of K 47 could well have had the manuscript K 4 at their disposal, cf. Jucknies (2015).

33 This citation is already present in the Old Swedish original, and the Danish adaptor chose to not leave that passage out, while (s)he is not reluctant to abridge the text otherwise.

medical recipes. Colour plays a secondary role to other properties of lavish materials (eg, the brightness of gems) in defining the splendour of the court. Notwithstanding, colours are used to accentuate and emphasise especially important scenes, spectacular views, and both positive and negative phenomena. Negatively connoted colours can serve to contrast the colourful courtly world. The use of colour terms is after all only one of several possibilities to describe the splendour of the court.

Human complexion is also an important subject for colourful description in courtly narratives. Blushing or blanching is described most but, as shown above, faces can also turn *bla*, *svart*, and even *gul*. The term *hvit* for human skin is not used for facial colour, but exclusively for ladies' limbs, such as fingers, hands, and arms.³⁴ Though restrained in comparison with those of the broader European system, the Old Danish system's colour descriptions are nonetheless thematically consistent with those of European courtly schemes, even as Courtly splendour is conveyed more by costliness of materials than by gaiety of colours.

Courtly Colours?

Colours in East Norse literature are the topic of this article. This study reasserts that colour terms do not correspond tightly with single significances, but rather can have a range of connotations, positive or negative, depending on their context. They can represent the courtly sphere or a sphere far from it. Extensive descriptions of lavish decor can feature in the courts and palaces of potentates who do not belong to the Christian courtly world, like the two dwarf kings and the king of Babilon.

Further studies will need to investigate the way colour terms are used in religious and theological texts and compare them to their usage in courtly romances. Other text that will require investigation are 'non-fictional' such as medical treatises depicting stones, herbs, human and animal liquids, and skin, as well as economic documents like charters, accounts, and inventories, that describe the colours of items sold or paid, especially of clothing and fabric. The inevitable exception to the *determinata* of typical colours are the colour descriptions of human liquids in both medical and devotional texts – in the romances, blood is always red.

"If any one era could be singled out as being the most obsessed with colour, it would be the Middle Ages." (Pleij 2004: 4). Does this claim of obsession also hold true for the six Old Danish courtly romances transmitted in the manuscript K 47? As has been mentioned in this study, the courtly romances only make limited use of colour terms. Splendid descriptions of courtly decoration, though described in detail, often give little specification of colour, which would be uncommon in Middle High German romances. The occurrence of colour clusters in Old Danish romance is reduced to a few intense scenes such as FB's description of the tower in Babilon or the portrayal of the shepherd in IL. These reductions may have

34 The white hue is a sign of courtly beauty. In Middle High German, it is represented by *wîz* and by *blank*, and is attributed to skin, hands, arms, and breasts (cf. Brüggem 2012: 214). The latter do not feature anywhere at all in the Old Danish romances, probably in censorship for educational reasons.

been made to suit the tastes of the reading or listening public, but the motive for them may lie beyond the speculative abilities of modern scholarship.

The same colours are used to describe most of the courtly items or phenomena in Old Danish romance, regardless of source, which could be the result of poetological causes such as a preference for set phrases like *grøn lundh*, and stereotyped end rhymes like *rødhe -dødhe*. These features could also have mnemonic functions for oral performances of the texts. A closer investigation of formulae and phrasing in Nordic ballad tradition is a *desideratum*. Thus, with the field of colour studies opened to the East Norse text world, a lot of challenging but nonetheless promising research lies ahead.

References

Primary sources

All six Old Danish verse romances of the manuscript K 47 are mainly quoted from *Tekster fra Danmarks middelalder og renæssance 1100–1550 – på dansk og latin* and were all accessed 25 June 2021.

KD: *Den kyske dronning*. At: <https://tekstnet.dk/den-kyske-dronning>

DL: *Dværgekongen Laurin*. At: <https://tekstnet.dk/dvaergekongen-laurin>

FB: *Flores og Blanseflor*. At: <https://tekstnet.dk/flores-og-blanseflor>

HF: *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*. At: <https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi>

IL: *Ivan løveridder*. At: <https://tekstnet.dk/ivan-loeveridder>

PK: *Persenober og Konstantianobis*. At: <https://tekstnet.dk/persenober-og-konstantianobis>

Brandt, C.J. (ed.) (1869–1877). *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen*. 3 vols. Copenhagen: Samfundet til den danske Literaturs Fremme.

Sources quoted from *Gammeldansk Seddelsamling*

ChrPedSkr: *Christiern Pedersens Jærtogens-Postil. Vinterparten*. (1515). Brandt, C. J. and R.Th. Fenger (eds.) (1850). *Christiern Pedersens Danske Skrifter* 1. Copenhagen.

HarpStenb (K): *Harpestræng Stenbog*. MS. K (NkS 66, 8vo). Kristensen, M. (ed.) (1908–1920). *Harpestræng. Gamle danske Urtebøger, Stenbøger og Kogebøger*. Copenhagen, pp. 174–193.

HarpStenb (K4): *Harpestræng Stenbog*. MS. K4 (Cod. Holm. K 4). Kristensen, M. (ed.) (1908–1920).

Harpestræng. Gamle danske Urtebøger, Stenbøger og Kogebøger. Copenhagen, pp. 225–240.

Suso: *Henrik Susos Gudelig Visdoms Bog*. Brandt, C.J. (ed.) (1865). *Dansk Klosterlæsning fra Middelalderen*. 1. Copenhagen.

Post: *Den skånske Postil fra Bekkaskogh* (Cod. Upps. C 56,4). Klemming, G.E. (ed.) (1879). *Svenska Medeltids-Postillor* 3 (= SSFS 23).

Printed sources

Ballif Straubhaar, Sandra (2005). “Wrapped in a blue mantle: Fashions for Icelandic slayers?”. In: *Medieval clothing and textiles* 1, pp. 53–65.

Bennewitz, Ingrid/Schindler, Andrea (eds.) (2011). *Farbe im Mittelalter. Materialität – Medialität – Semantik. Akten des 13. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes vom 1. bis 5. März 2009 in Bamberg*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

- Berlin, Brent/Kay, Paul (1969). *Basic Color Terms. Their Universality and Evolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brückmann, Georg C. (2012). *Altwestnordische Farbsemantik* (= Münchner Nordistische Studien 11). München: utz.
- Brüggen, Elke (1989). *Kleidung und Mode in der höfischen Epik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Brüggen, Elke (2012). "Die Farben der Frauen. Semantiken der Colorierung des Weiblichen im *Parzival* Wolframs von Eschenbach". In: Schausten, Monika (ed.). *Die Farben imaginierter Welten. Zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (= Literatur – Theorie – Geschichte 1). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 201–225.
- Deusen, Nathalie van (2012). "The Matter of *blár* in *Tristrams kvæði*". In: *Arthuriana* 22, pp. 109–117.
- Eco, Umberto (1985). "How Culture conditions the Colours we see". In: Blonsky, Marshall (ed.). *On signs. A semiotic reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 157–175.
- Ernst, Ulrich (2007). "Haut-Diskurse. Semiotik der Körperoberfläche in der Erzählliteratur des hohen Mittelalters". In: Wolfzettel, Friedrich (ed.). *Körperkonzepte im Arturischen Roman*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, pp. 149–200.
- Ewing, Thor (2006). "'i litklæðum' – Coloured Clothes in Medieval Scandinavian Literature and Archaeology". In: McKinnell, John et al. (eds.). *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature: Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York 6th–12th August 2006*. Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, pp. 223–230.
- Falk, Hjalmar (1919). *Altwestnordische Kleiderkunde mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Terminologie* (= Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter, II. Hist.-filos. Klasse, 1918, 3). Kristiania: Dybwad.
- Friedrich, Udo (2012). "Bunte Pferde. Zur kulturellen Semantik der Farben in der höfischen Literatur". In: Schausten, Monika (ed.). *Die Farben imaginierter Welten. Zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (= Literatur – Theorie – Geschichte 1). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 65–88.
- Gläser, Jürg (1986). "Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit". In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (eds.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 15). Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, pp. 191–207.
- Jucknies, Regina (2015). "Through an Old Danish Lens? Precious Stones in the Late Medieval Danish Reception of Courtly Literature". In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 162–75.
- Klein, Mareike (2014). *Die Farben der Herrschaft. Imagination, Semantik und Poetologie in heldenepischen Texten des deutschen Mittelalters* (= Literatur – Theorie – Geschichte 5). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Kraß, Andreas (2012). "Die Farben der Trauer. Freundschaft als Passion im *Trojanerkrieg* Konrads von Würzburg". In: Schausten, Monika (ed.). *Die Farben imaginierter Welten. Zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (= Literatur – Theorie – Geschichte 1). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 227–240.

- Kværndrup, Sigurd (1984). "Tredje del. høvisk og katolsk kultur 1250–1480. II. Det feudale stænder-samfund". In: Kaspersen, Søren et al. (eds.). *Dansk Litteraturhistorie 1: Fra runer til ridderdigtning, o. 800–1480*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, pp. 426–475.
- Meier, Christel/Suntrup, Rudolf (2011). *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter*. Köln etc.: Böhlau.
- Oguy, Oleksandr (2011). "Farbige' Mentalität im Mittelalter. Eine quantitative Rekonstruktion". In: Bennewitz, Ingrid/Schindler, Andrea (eds.). *Farbe im Mittelalter. Materialität – Medialität – Semantik. Akten des 13. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes vom 1. bis 5. März 2009 in Bamberg*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 395–418.
- Oster, Carolin (2014). *Die Farben höfischer Körper. Farbattribuierung und höfische Identität in mittelhochdeutschen Artus- und Tristanromanen* (= Literatur – Theorie – Geschichte 6). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Pastoureau, Michel (1982). *L'Hermine et le Sinople, études d'héraldique médiévale*. Paris: Le Léopard d'Or.
- Pastoureau, Michel (1986). *Figures et couleurs. Études sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales*. Paris: Le Léopard d'Or.
- Pastoureau, Michel (1989). *Couleurs, images, symboles. Études d'histoire et d'anthropologie*. Paris: Le Léopard d'Or.
- Pastoureau, Michel (2000). *Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Pastoureau, Michel (2008). *Noir. Histoire d'une couleur*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Pastoureau, Michel (2009). *L'Art de l'héraldique au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Pastoureau, Michel (2013). *Vert. Histoire d'une couleur*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Pastoureau, Michel (2016). *Rouge. Histoire d'une couleur*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Pastoureau, Michel (2019). *Jaune. Histoire d'une couleur*. Paris: Le Seuil.
- Pleij, Herman (2004). *Colors demonic and divine: shades of meaning in the Middle Ages and after*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Quast, Bruno (2012). "Monochrome Ritter. Über Farbe und Ordnung in höfischen Erzähltexten des Mittelalters". In: Schausten, Monika (ed.) (2012). *Die Farben imaginierten Welten. Zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (= Literatur – Theorie – Geschichte 1). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 169–182.
- Ravizza, Isabelle (2010). *KörperSprache. Formen nonverbaler Kommunikation im Spiegel der „Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar“ und der „Njáls saga“* (= Skandinavistik 6). Münster: Lit.
- Schausten, Monika (ed.) (2012). *Die Farben imaginierten Welten. Zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (= Literatur – Theorie – Geschichte 1). Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Snell, Gesa (2000). "Die höfischen Züge – insbesondere die Kleidungsbeschreibung – als Stilmittel in der *Laxdæla saga*". In: Paul, Fritz (ed.). *Arbeiten zur Skandinavistik. 13. Arbeitstagung der deutschsprachigen Skandinavistik, 29.7.–3.8.1997 in Lysebu (Oslo)*. Frankfurt etc.: Peter Lang, pp. 249–257.
- Valtýr Guðmundsson (1893). "Litklæði". In: *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 9, new series 5, pp. 171–198.
- Wolf, Kirsten (2005). "Reflections on the color of Esau's pottage of lentils (*Stjórn* 160.26–161.9)". In *Gripla* 16, pp. 251–258.
- Wolf, Kirsten (2006a). "Some Comments on Old Norse-Icelandic Color Terms". In: *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 121, S. 172–192.

- Wolf, Kirsten (2006b). "The Color Blue in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature". In: *Scripta Islandica* 57, S. 55–78.
- Wolf, Kirsten (2007a). "The Colors of the Rainbow in Snorri's *Edda*". In: *Maal og minne*, pp. 51–62.
- Wolf, Kirsten (2007b). "Snorri's Use of Color Terms in *Gylfaginning*". In: *Skandinavistik* 37, pp. 1–10.
- Wolf, Kirsten (2009). "The Color Grey in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature". In: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 108, pp. 222–238.
- Wolf, Kirsten (2010). "Towards a Diachronic Analysis of Old Norse-Icelandic Color Terms: The Cases of Green and Yellow". In: *Orð og tunga* 11, pp.109–130.
- Wolf, Kirsten (2015). "Non-basic Color Terms in Old Norse-Icelandic". In: Turco, Jeffrey (ed.). *New Norse Studies*. Ithaca: Cornell Library Press, pp. 389–433.
- Wolf, Kirsten (2017). "The Color Brown in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature". In: *NOWELE* 70, pp. 22–38.
- Wolf, Kirsten/Biggam, Carole P. (eds.) (2021). *A Cultural History of Color*. 6 vols. London etc.: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Zanchi, Anna (2006). „The Colour Green in Medieval Icelandic Literature: Natural, Supernatural, Symbolic?“. In: McKinnell, John et al. (eds.). *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature: Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference, Durham and York 6th–12th August 2006*. Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, pp. 1096–1104.

Other electronic sources

All electronic sources were last accessed 25 June 2021.

"Manuscript Codex Holmiensis K 47" at *Tekster fra Danmarks middelalder og renaissance 1100–1550 – på dansk og latin* <http://middelaldertekster.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47-lang-beskrivelse>.

Gammeldansk Ordbog <https://gammeldanskordbog.dk>.

"Gammeldansk Ordbogs materiale" at *Gammeldansk Ordbog* <https://gammeldanskseddelsamling.dk/faktasiden>.

Gammeldansk Seddelsamling <https://gammeldanskseddelsamling.dk>.

Der er en verden uden for Bern. Stednavne og spatiale referencer i K 47

Simon Skovgaard Boeck (København)  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5334-7241>

Abstract: This article presents the project Norse World – a digital infrastructure of place names and other spatial referents in medieval East Norse texts. The database is a valuable scholarly resource for literary scholars, philologists, linguists, onomasticians, and others interested in Scandinavian medieval literature and medieval mentality and worldviews. It is not only a gazetteer of places mentioned in the East Norse sources, but also contains information on both sources and places. The attestations – available for further research – are accessible as data and can be visualized on a map.

The qualitative and quantitative differences between the texts of K 47 in respect to spatiality are discussed as a case study showing that Norse World is a useful tool for research in medieval Scandinavian literature.

Keywords: Norse World, digital infrastructure, spatial humanities, placenames, places, East Norse, philology, K 47

1 Introduktion

Den danske forfatter Peter Seeberg (1925–1999) har i et interview udtalt at de fremmedartede, hovedsageligt engelskklingende personnavne som Dust, Hawk og News, der optræder i hans novellesamling *Eftersøgningen* (1962) er “tovlige ord”, der gjorde det muligt “at skabe et associativt rum, som man ikke benytter, men som er med i sin ubenyttethed” (Svendsen 1966: 88). Billedet i dette udsagn kan også bruges om den senmiddelalderlige danske litteratur. De første danske læsere af K 47 har næppe haft en meget konkret opfattelse af de steder der omtales i håndskriftets tekster; snarere har disse eksotiske steder været med til på lignende måde at danne et “associativt rum”. Jeg vil i det følgende indkredse hvordan stednavnene anvendes i K 47’s tekster. Jeg når ikke til at sige hvordan teksternes stednavne kan sige noget om de middelalderlige verdensbilleder, der ligger bag dem; men jeg præsenterer et værktøj, der vil kunne understøtte fremtidig forskning i netop det – og meget andet.

2 Norse World

2.1 En præsentation

Norse World er det konkrete resultat af et infrastrukturprojekt, der for tiden udarbejdes ved Uppsala universitet. Projektet hedder formelt “Fornnordisk omvärldsuppfattning: En kartering och analys av utländska ortnamn i svenska och danska texter från medeltiden” og er støttet af Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.¹ Ved hjælp af denne resurse er det muligt at stille en række interessante spørgsmål til den østnordiske litteratur. Projektets målgruppe er bl.a. filologer, litteraturhistorikere, navneforskere, historikere, og en kort præsentation er formentlig på sin plads.²

Norse World vil indeholde stednavne og andre stedindikerende ord og fraser fra hovedparten af det fornsvenske og gammeldanske korpus, vel at mærke kun sådanne steder der ligger uden for det nuværende Danmark-Sverige.³ Til gengæld begrænser vi os ikke til proprier, men medtager også inkolentbetegnelser og adjektiver, der er afledt af stednavne. Undertitlens “kartering och analys” kan forlede til at tro, at projektet tolker stednavnenes brug i de enkelte tekster. Det er ikke tilfældet; den offentligt tilgængelige database bliver et redskab for forskere og andre interesserede til at undersøge stednavnes forekomst i teksterne. Det er med andre ord et avanceret register, der til hvert belæg i materialet knytter oplysning om det konkrete værk, håndskrift, udgave, sidetal m.m. Hvert håndskrift og tidligt tryk er registreret for sig med oplysninger om tilkomstid og -sted, materiale, omfang og indhold. I databasen knyttes hvert stednavn desuden til den pågældende lokalitet, der er selvstændigt opført i databasen med oplysninger om koordinater, art (by, borg, flod, land osv.) og links både til en GIS-gazetteer og Wikipedia. Den særligt interesserede henvises til projektets hjemmeside, hvor alle oplysningstyperne er defineret, her er det tilstrækkeligt at konkludere, at disse gør det muligt at visualisere stednavnene på kort, og at trække forskelligartede oplysninger ud af databasen. Helt lavpraktisk kan man finde steder, der er omtalt i de østnordiske tekster: fiktive og faktiske. Det er altså muligt at finde alle de tekststeder hvor fx Venedig, Tyskland eller Den hellige Grav optræder. Ligesom det som sagt er muligt at finde adjektiver, sprog- og inkolentbetegnelser og andre stedindikerende ord.

1 I projektgruppen indgår eller indgik (foruden undertegnede) Jonathan Adams, Agnieszka Backman, Jessica Holmlund, Felix Marklund og Alexandra Petrulevich.

2 En breddere præsentation findes i Petrulevich/Backman/Adams (2020).

3 Det skal bemærkes, at korpusset ikke omfatter bibeloversættelserne og de mange diplomer.

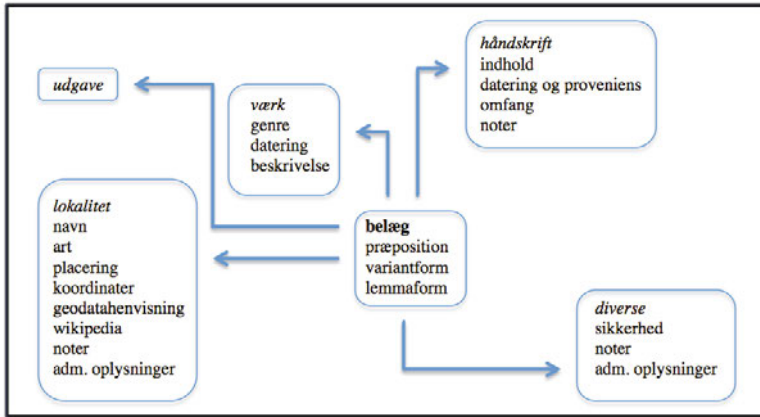


Fig. 1: De forskellige elementer der indgår i databasen. Til hvert belæg er der knyttet oplysningstyper, der igen er knyttet til andre oplysningstyper.

På nuværende tidspunkt (23. juni 2021) rummer databasen mere end 6.500 belæg fordelt på 984 steder uddraget af 94 værker fra 41 håndskrifter, 5 tidlige tryk og 3 middelalderlige runeindskrifter.

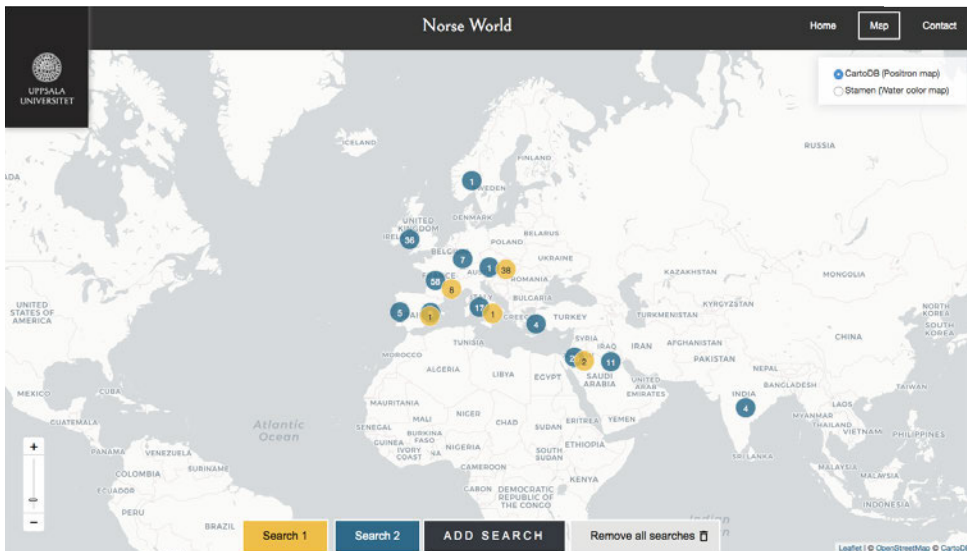


Fig. 2: Et udsnit af Norse World’s brugergrænseflade, der viser belæg fra Codex Holmiensis K 47 (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket). De blå prikker er fra *Eufemiaviserne*, de gule fra håndskriftets øvrige tekster.

Open Access Download von elibrary.narr.digital am '15.05.2024' um '13:27' Uhr

Der udestår stadig en lang række tekster – for Danmarks vedkommende også nogle af det meget interessante som *Mandevilles Rejse*, *Karl Magnus' Krønike*, Christiern Pedersens værker og meget af den religiøse litteratur i øvrigt. I forhold til denne undersøgelse af stednavne i K 47 er det naturligvis navnlig den manglende excerpering af *Karl Magnus' Krønike* – hvis motiv og høviske idealer jo delvis falder sammen med ridderromanerne, der kan begrædes. Med udgangspunkt i den litterære stedforskning, vil jeg nu fokusere på et par aspekter af Norse World.

2.2 Narrative udviklinger

I et temanummer af *The Cartographic Journal* om litterær kartografi (2011, 48:4) efterlyser lederskribenterne bl.a. en visualisering af hvordan fiktive steder udvikles over tid:

How a fictional space *gradually evolves*, step by step according to the plotline, by slowly building up a network of settings (this would call for a link between narrative/narrated time and the spatial dimension of a text which is a hugely complex matter). (Piatti og Hurni 2011: 221)

Det er ikke urimeligt at stille lignende spørgsmål til det middelalderlige materiale; hvordan opbygges egentlig litterære rum i fx *Ivan løveridder*? Og ideelt set burde det kunne lade sig gøre at besvare med udgangspunkt i Norse World-projektets materiale, der som sagt også registrerer sidetal. Ja, med det mindre forbehold, at linjenummer ikke opmærkes, og at kun stednavne og stedindikatorer og deres nærmest kontekst gengives. Desuden ligger en egentlig kobling mellem fortalt tid og fortælle tid uden for projektets opgave (men er formentlig af mindre interesse for det middelalderlige materiale?). Den egentlige analyse af hvordan stedbeskrivelser udvikles i teksten kræver altså stadig et arbejde af forskeren. Mit umiddelbare indtryk er – for K 47's vedkommende – at lokaliteterne i høj grad anvendes som markører, sproglig dekoration, uden egentlig narrativ drivkraft. Det gælder for eksempel "Barna" (der måske er Verona) i *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*.⁴ I teksten omtales byen ganske vist som "stor" og "dyr" ("herlig, fornem"), men den træder fuldstændig i baggrunden for den turnering, Frederik deltager i der. Til denne kommer også en række riddere fra andre lande, heriblandt

aff bemen kam *jen herræ* rig
try hwndrede riddæ haffde han *medh* segh

og

ther *kommer* try c portegalæ
the *kwmæ* vidh fuld faa mend talæ

Hverken Böhmen eller portugiserne spiller imidlertid en egentlig rolle i historien. Men de tjener til at illustrere denne indledning:

aff *norden* och aff *vesten*
mange stalte fremedhe gieste
aff *synden* och sa aff *østen*

4 Citaterne her fra <https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/9>

mange stalde ridder trøste
 thy kame ther allæ wegne
 jech wil jen diels aff them ap neffne

Dette stykke viser en afgørende forskel fra tekstens svenske forlæg, der ikke omtaler verdenshjørnerne.⁵ De er måske i den danske version at betragte som fyldekalk, men de viser at den danske version af *Hertug Frederik* er sprogligt bearbejdet. Som bekendt er *Ivan løveridder* i K 47 i langt højere grad en bearbejdelse af det svenske forlæg, end tilfældet er for den anden danske oversættelse af denne tekst, i Stockholm K 4 (se fx Bampi 2019). Den dekorative brug af stednavne og andre fremmedord fortjener en dybere undersøgelse, der vil kunne udnytte Norse World's data.

I andre tekster – som fx den religiøse *Sjælens Trøst* – falder det i øjnene, hvor ofte spatialitet *ikke* tematiseres. Når man exciperer, tager man sig i et tænke at et givet tempel, en vis by eller land *kunne* have haft et navn. De vage geografiske henvisninger grunder vel ofte i et forlæg, og hjælper naturligvis til at gøre fremstillingen mere generel: “Thæt skedhe entidh at nogle godhe mæn the sæyldo oc como til et land oc lagho thær længe børfaste fore” (Nielsen 1937–1952: 93). I dette tilfælde savner også den middelnedertyske version, der udgør en del af grundlaget for den svenske (og dermed danske) tekst, en lokalisering: “Dat geschach to eyner tijd, dat lude segelden ouer mer vnde quemen to eyneme lande, dar vntuel en de wint” (Schmitt 1959: 236). Men andre beretninger har netop henvisninger til en by: “en stath het lucha” (Nielsen 1937–1952: 74), der nævnes en passant og ikke umiddelbart ses at tjene noget narrativt formål. Stedet optræder ikke i den middelnedertyske *Seelentrost*, der har en helt anden – kortere – indledning til dette eksemplum om *Amicus og Amelius* (Nielsen 1937–1952: 73–88). Det er interessant, fordi den nordiske version af denne vidt udbredte historie om to venners prøvelser og gensidige kærlighed (se fx Winst 2009) i modsætning til andre tekstdele i *Sjælens Trøst* har en meget høj geografisk forankring. Et forhold, der altså måske er en nordisk tilføjelse til teksten. I denne histories gammeldanske version optræder disse i alt 50 belæg (alfabetiseret og i gammeldansk normalform): “alvernensis” (5 gange), “berikan” (bis), “Berikano” (7 gg.), “Frankerike” (6 gg.), “Italia”, “Lateran”, “long-barth”, “Luca”, “Melan”, “Paris” (4 gg.), “Rom” (12 gg.), “romere” (bis), “Sancti Albini ok Sancti Eusebii”, “Sancti Petri”, “Sankte Peters Kirkje”, “Sankte Salvators Kirkje”, “Secanan-floth”, “thythisk” (bis), og det er muligt at historien om *Amicus og Amelius* kan bruges som eksempel på gradvis opbygning af litterære rum hvad angår nogle af de mere frekvente heraf, omend man omvendt kan have en formodning om, at fx Rom optræder temmelig uspecificeret. Men også dette må henstå til videre forskning.

2.3 Rumopfattelser

Mens man kan lave mange interessante søgninger i databasen og også kan få flotte visualiseringer af teksternes stednavne, er der en detalje, som ikke umiddelbart besvares. Det handler om den rummelige opfattelse i middelalderen. Ved anakronistisk at benytte GIS-tagging og moderne kort kommer vores verdensbillede til at stå i vejen for visualiseringen af middelalderens. Vi vil hævde, at det er et hermeneutisk grundvilkår, hvortil

5 Petrulevich (under udgivelse).

kommer, at langt de fleste af de undersøgte tekster netop ikke tematiserer rum eller afstand. End ikke den mest lokale af teksterne – *Vejleder for Pilgrimme*, der udførligt beskriver helligsteder i Jerusalem og omegn – er helt præcis i sin angivelse af afstand og position.

Men altså: hvad siger omtalen af et stednavn i fx *Ivan løveridder* om den rumlige opfattelse i middelalderen? Hvis ikke rejsen til stedet omtales, siger det vel ikke så meget. Og hvis ikke den rejsende (eller stationære) person, der er knyttet til stedet omtales, får man ikke mulighed for at undersøge oplevelsen af stedet – i det omfang stedbeskrivelser i den østnordiske litteratur overhovedet følger de i teksten handlende personer og ikke den alvidende fortæller. Her kunne en sammenstilling af jeg-formede fortællinger (*Mandeville*, *Rimkrøniken*) og fx K 47 formentlig være interessant.

Norse World afstår altså fra at excerperere, hvilke agenter, der er knyttet til rejser, og i det hele fra at registrere om et stednavn optræder i en gengivelse af en rejse. Men projektet registrerer, hvilke præpositioner der er knyttet til de excerperede stednavne. De direkte præpositioner (“til”, “fra”, “af” osv.) kan antyde en rejse, men gør det ikke sikkert (navnlig *af* er i denne forbindelse tvivlsom). For at foretage litterære undersøgelser af fx rumslighed eller opfattelsen af enkelte steder kræver det altså, at forskeren går til kilderne selv. Men igen: Norse World tilbyder en nem og pålidelig indgang til disse.

3 Nogle forskningsperspektiver

3.1 Betydningsforskelle

I den førnævnte leder i *The Cartographic Journal* efterlyses også en illustration af betydningsforskelle mellem steder (Piatti/Hurni 2011: 221). Hvis man tør forudsætte at betydningsfuldhed korrelerer med kvantitet, vil en sådan illustration let kunne udtrages af Norse World. Men det skal man nok være påpasselig med at hævde meget absolut. Ser vi på *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* fx, fremgår det, at Irland som topscorer optræder 12 gange, Normandiet og England hver 10 gange, Skotland 9 gange, og Frankrig 5 gange. Mens der er en selvstændig pointe i at teksten foregår mange andre steder end i Normandiet, vil man nok nødtigt konkludere at Irland er mere “betydningsfuld” end fx Normandiet. Men man kan se, at hovedparten af tekstens steder (46 ud af 70) befinder sig i det vesteuropæiske område: Irland, Storbritannien, Frankrig.

Og man kan måske tillade sig at slutte omvendt, at fx tekstens ene belæg på Gascogne har perifer betydning. Henvisningen hertil falder i opremsningen af gæster til Frederiks bryllup:

th̄er kam jen grewe aff askomyn
han war alt jen herræ fyn
c ridder haffdæ han medh sæg
han kam alt sa kosteligh⁶

6 <https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/13>

Her nærmer vi os noget der minder om Seebergcitaten jeg indledte med; Gascogne – der i den danske tekst er forvansket, den fsv. har *gaskonia* – bruges formentlig ikke til andet end et rim og til at give stedet en vis fornemhed.

3.2 Frekvens og distribution

I forlængelse heraf kan man også sammenligne teksterne indbyrdes. Sammenligner man fx inventaret af registrerede steder i *Den kyske dronning*, *Hertug Frederik* og *Flores og Blanseflor*, bliver det klart, at der er geografisk markante forskelle. *Den kyske dronning* nævner 4 forskellige steder: Polen, Bøhmen, Rom og Den hellige Grav. De to sidste nævnes hver én gang, mens Polen optræder 10 gange, Bøhmen 16, begge navnlig i forbindelser som “kongen af Polen”. Det dominerende central-østeuropæiske fokus i *Den kyske dronning* modsvares som sagt af en dominerende vesteuropæisk dominans i *Hertug Frederik*, med Indien som eneste afviger. Billedet er mere broget i *Flores og Blanseflor*, ikke kun fordi de østligste punkter, i Irak, optræder flere gange, men også fordi både vesteuropæiske og sydeuropæiske steder omtales.

Men hvordan forholder antallet af steder sig til teksternes længde? Er der større stedtæthed i *Hertug Frederik* end i *Den kyske dronning*, eller skyldes forskellen at den første tekst er længere? Det fremgår af denne oversigt at *Hertug Frederik* har samlingshåndskriftets højeste stedtæthed, men altså også at der ikke er en forbindelse mellem tekstens længde og antallet af belæg.

Tekst	Antal belæg	Antal vers	Belæg pr. vers
<i>Ivan løveridder</i> (*)	26	6345	4 ‰
<i>Hertug Frederik af Normandi</i> (*)	70	2359	30 ‰
<i>Dværgekongen Laurin</i>	12	882	14 ‰
<i>Persenober og Konstantianobis</i>	11	1590	7 ‰
<i>Den kyske dronning</i>	29	1238	23 ‰
<i>Flores og Blanseflor</i> (*)	44	2085	21 ‰

Fig. 3: Fordelingen af belæg på K 47's tekster. De tre *Eufemiaviser* er markeret med asterisk.

Oversigten viser også at der ikke er noget entydigt billede af stednavnenes tilhørsforhold til høviskhed. Man kunne måske forestille sig at der gik et skel mellem *Eufemiaviserne* og de øvrige, svarende til den forskel på ordforrådet, Marita Akhøj Nielsen har beskrevet i en metodisk nybrydende artikel (2017). Men noget ligende lader sig ikke vise her. Tværtimod: De tre *Eufemiaviser*, *Ivan løveridder*, *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* samt *Flores og Blanseflor*, omfatter både den tekst der har højest og den der har lavest stedfrekvens. Gennemsnittet for *Eufemiaviserne* er 13 ‰ for de øvrige: 14 ‰. Man kan altså ikke drage den kvantitative konklusion, at et stort indhold af stednavne er en særligt høvisk parameter.

Derimod kan det formentlig svare sig at se kvalitativt på forholdet: hvilke stednavne medtages i *Eufemiaviserne*, hvilke i de øvrige tekster?

En søgning på samtlige steder i de to grupper viser markante forskelle. Af figur 2 ovenfor, der ikke tager højde for de fiktive steder, fremgår det hvor *Eufemiavisernes* belæg peger hen (de blå prikker), og hvor de specifikt danske teksters stednavne er belagt. De specifikt danske tekster vidner om et mere centraleuropæisk centreret verdensbillede, mens *Eufemiaviserne* ikke blot har langt flere belæg (140 mod 52), men også en større spændvidde; *Eufemiavisernes* belæg ligger i 12 moderne stater, de øvrige i 6; de specifikt danske tekster har ét belæg uden for Europa, nemlig Den hellige Grav. *Eufemiaviserne* har 12 asiatiske forekomster.

Hertil kommer yderligere to kvalitative forskelle mellem *Eufemiaviserne* og de øvrige tekster i K 47. For det første er det bemærkelsesværdigt at kun *Eufemiaviserne* indeholder hvad vi har kaldt fiktive steder, altså sådanne steder der ikke har grund i den virkelige verden. Det gælder eksempelvis:

then ther thiente koningh artus | dauligh poo karildos hus (*Ivan løveridder*)⁷
 jnghen hws i thette rige | maa segh wedh karlefinth lige (*Hertug Frederik*)⁸
 til drwssenborigh then gode stad (*Flores og Blanseflor*)⁹

Fiktive steder er altså endnu et træk der – ved siden af det høviske ordforråd – udpeger *Eufemiaviserne* i forhold til de andre tekster i K 47.

Den anden forskel gælder stedernes arter. I *Eufemiaviserne* anvendes ud over stedsbetegnende adjektiver, inkolent-, sprog- og møntbetegnelser, navne på en lang række forskellige slags lokaliteter: borge (alle fiktive), en kirke (i Santiago de Compestela), byer, lande, marker, skove, huse, et bjerg (fiktivt), et bjergpas, områder, floder, et stræde og en dal. I alt 17 forskellige typer i dette projekts typologi. Dette inventar er meget mindre i de specifikt danske tekster, der rummer adjektiver og inkolentbetegnelser, byer, lande, et fort (Berner Kluse), en grav (den hellige) og regioner.

4 Afslutning

Jeg nævnte, at omtalen af den italienske by Luca ikke synes at have et narrativt formål i *Sjælens Trøst*, og at Gascogne i *Hertug Frederik af Normandi* blot tjener som pryd; man kan naturligvis ikke på 600 års afstand fastslås, hvilke konnotationer middelaldersvenskere og -danskere havde til disse steder. Men vi kan med projektet her indsamle de spatiale referencer som et grundlag for en sådan bedømmelse, som et fundament for en beskrivelse af den middelalderlige omverdensopfattelse. Hermed skabes et yderst brugbart arbejdsredskab for den fremtidige udforskning af den fornsvenske og gammeldanske litteratur. At Norse World kan bruges som grundlag for spændende forskning, har ikke mindst min kollega Alexandra Petrulovich vist i en række undersøgelser, hvoraf jeg navnlig vil fremhæve én, der med udgangspunkt i to svenske tekster, *Sjælens tröst* og *Erikskrönikan*,

7 <https://tekstnet.dk/ivan-loeveridder/2/1>

8 <https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/2>

9 <https://tekstnet.dk/flores-og-blanseflor/1>

påviser interessante mønstre i teksternes konstruktion af spatiale forhold (Petrulevich: under udgivelse).

Litteratur

- Bampi, Massimiliano (2019). "Yvain i dansk språkdrækt: hövisk litteratur i det senmedeltida Danmark". I: Boeck, Simon Skovgaard/Vrieland, Seán D. (red.). *A Copenhagen Miscellany. Studies in East Norse Philology* (= Universitets-Jubileets danske Samfunds skriftserie 599). København: Selskab for Østnordisk filologi og Syddansk Universitetsforlag, s. 215–233.
- Nielsen, Marita Akhøj (2017). "The Vocabulary of Chivalry in Old Danish Romances". I: Adams, Jonathan/Bampi, Massimiliano (red.). *Beyond the Piraeus Lion. East Norse Studies from Venice* (= Universitets-Jubileets danske Samfunds skriftserie 594). København: Universitets-Jubileets danske Samfund og Syddansk Universitetsforlag, s. 123–138.
- Nielsen, Niels (udg.) (1937–1952). *Sjælens trøst (Siæla trøst)*. København: Schultz.
- Piatti, Barbara/Hurni, Lorenz (2011). "Editorial. Cartographies of Fictional Worlds". I: *The Cartographic Journal*, 48:4, s. 218–223.
- Petrulevich, Alexandra/Backman, Agnieszka/Adams, Jonathan (2020). "Medieval Macrospace Through GIS: The Norse World Project Approach". I: *Cartographic Journal* 57:1, s. 18–27 (<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00087041.2019.1596341>).
- Petrulevich, Alexandra (under udgivelse). "The multi-layered spatiality of the Global North: Spatial references and spatial constructions in medieval East Norse literature". I: *The Medieval Globe*.
- Svendsen, Hanne Marie (1966). *Romanens veje. Værkstedssamtaler med danske forfattere*. København: Rasmus Fischer.
- Winst, Silke (2009). *Amicus und Amelius. Kriegerfreundschaft und Gewalt in mittelalterlicher Erzähltradition* (= Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 57 [291]). Berlin og New York: De Gruyter.

Links

<https://norseworld.nordiska.uu.se/> (25.6.2021)

<https://www.uu.se/en/research/infrastructure/norseworld/> (25.6.2021)

<https://tekstnet.dk/> (25.6.2021)

Abstract & Keywords

The articles collected in the present volume are for the most part based on papers presented at the international conference *The Eufemiaviser and the Reception of Courtly Culture in Late Medieval Denmark*. This conference, organised by the editors of this volume and held at the German Department of the University of Zurich on 13–14 September 2018, aimed to provide a forum for a detailed examination of various aspects regarding the textual transmission of the late medieval *Eufemiaviser* (Eufemia Lays) in Denmark. These are three medieval courtly verse romances which – named after their patron, the Norwegian Queen Eufemia (1280–1312), originally from Northern Germany – were first translated into Old Swedish at the beginning of the 14th century and later, presumably in the second half of the 15th century, from Old Swedish into Old Danish. While there are several handwritten textual witnesses of the three *Eufemiavisor* in the Old Swedish tradition, the Danish versions survive in only one miscellany (Codex Holmiensis K 47, Royal Library, Stockholm, hereafter K 47), although an incomplete version of one of them (*Ivan løveridder*) is preserved in another manuscript (Codex Holmiensis K 4, Royal Library, Stockholm). Together with three other narrative texts that show some thematic convergences with the *Eufemiaviser*, the texts in K 47 represent a unique testimony for the reception of narrative literature according to continental courtly models in Denmark during the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period. These texts also offer an important literary view on the renaissance of chivalry in late medieval Denmark, as manifested in architecture and in forms of representation of courtly culture, the so-called *Ritterrestauration* (restauration of chivalry).

In contrast to the Old Swedish *Eufemiavisor*, to which an international conference was dedicated in Stockholm in 2012 (cf. Ferm et al. (eds.) 2015) as a sign of a fairly rapidly growing interest in them in the field of medieval studies, the Danish versions have so far been treated only marginally in international Scandinavian studies, and only recently have they started to receive more scholarly attention. A few contributions are worth mentioning inasmuch as they lay the foundations for our knowledge of these works and our understanding of them.

In Jürg Glauser's (1986) article on courtly-knightly epic poetry in late medieval and early modern Denmark, the *Eufemiaviser* and their cultural-historical significance are discussed in the context of the study of MS K 47. Although the focus is mainly on *Den kyske dronning* (The Chaste Queen), all three verse novels are discussed as part of an intertextual dialogue based on the thematic similarities of the texts collected in this manuscript.

Pil Dahlerup's reflections (1998) on courtly romance represent the most detailed overview of the entire *Eufemiaviser* within the framework of courtly culture to have been published so far. The main structural and stylistic features of the texts as translations are presented in a concise form. In addition, the multi-layered potential for meaning of the *Eufemiaviser* is emphasised, especially with regard to their ideological scope. Dahlerup not only places the Danish *Eufemiaviser* in the context of (late) medieval courtly literature in Denmark, but also always considers them against the background of continental European

tradition, especially in terms of the influence of French and German-language literature. The *Eufemiaviser* as examples of chivalric romance are also briefly discussed by Britta Olrik Fredriksen (1999) as part of a survey of Danish book culture in the late Middle Ages.

More recent scholarship has discussed the constituent lays of the Danish *Eufemiaviser* individually. In 2014, for example, the late Sigurd Kværndrup published the Danish translation of the Old Swedish *Herr Ivan lejonriddaren* (Ivan Lion Knight, which is based on Chrétien's *Yvain ou le Chevalier au lion*) – *Ivan løveridder* – together with a detailed discussion of its reception in Sweden. Although Kværndrup's study grants very little attention to the Old Danish versions, it contains some interesting, albeit fairly undeveloped ideas about how the translations came about in late-medieval Denmark. Anna Katharina Richter (2018) discusses the transmission of *Flores og Blanseflor* (Floire et Blanche fleur) in Denmark between the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. In her article, she examines some peculiarities of the printed tradition of the Danish *Flores*, understood as an expression of retextualisation in the transition from manuscript to print. Massimiliano Bampi (2019) has both examined the manuscript transmission of *Ivan løveridder* and its relationship to the Old Swedish *Herr Ivan*, and offered some preliminary reflections on the intertextual dialogue within the collected manuscripts K 47 and K 4. Regina Jucknies (2015) has also worked on these two manuscripts.

A significant contribution towards further investigation into the *Eufemiaviser* has been made by the publication of the diplomatic editions of the texts preserved in K 47, which are digitally accessible as part of the project "Studér middelalder på nettet" (<https://dsl.dk/projekter/studer-middelalder-pa-nettet>) run by the Danish Society for Literature and Language (DSL). The carefully edited, fully lemmatised texts are accompanied by a detailed description of both the manuscripts (<https://tekstnet.dk/manuscripts>) and the individual works. This proves a useful tool indeed for scholarly, philologically informed work on the individual texts.

On this volume

Since the *Eufemiaviser* should be regarded not as an isolated phenomenon, but always within the context of late medieval (continental European and Scandinavian) courtly literature and culture, the scope of the conference as well as of the present edited volume also includes other narrative texts, such as the Old Danish *Karl Magnus' Krønike* (Chronical of Charlemagne) and its earlier Old Swedish variant *Karl Magnus*, and a manuscript of *Persenober oc Konstantianobis* (Persenober and Konstantianobis) in the Arnamagnaean Collection in Copenhagen, which must be seen as part of the dissemination of the romance *Partonopeus de Blois* across all Europe.

The present articles investigate the Old Danish *Eufemiaviser* from a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives. Most of the papers presented were devoted to questions of textual transmission. Such aspects as variation and productive changes in the *Eufemiaviser* were discussed in their history of transmission which is regarded as a history of a *longue durée* and *Zeittiefe*. The different, complex interferences of manuscript culture and early book printing also play an important role: for example, only in Denmark one of the three *Eufemiaviser* circulated also in print, even until the middle of the 18th century,

whereas the other two existed only in manuscript form. In the Swedish tradition, we can figure out interesting associations of transmission in miscellanies belonging to members of the Swedish nobility but there is no transmission in print. In addition to a more text-based analysis of the three romances, the application of the tenets of polysystem theory contributes towards a better understanding of the dynamics of literary and textual production in medieval Denmark.

Additionally, linguistic-historical aspects of the verse romances and research databases on the language(s) in Renaissance Denmark offer various theoretical approaches and new possibilities – as an example, they point out the importance of multilingualism in pre-modern Scandinavia, where Latin, High German and Low German were used as a matter of course alongside Swedish and Danish. Discussions at the conference also revealed the manifestations and functions of cultural memory represented in the *Eufemiaviser*. This is particularly interesting for Danish literature as there is very little written evidence of courtly literature here. Two of the papers presented at the conference are not included in the present volume. On the other hand, the article on the transmission of *Karl Magnus' Krønike* in the context of the Nordic Charlemagne literature published here was not presented at the conference. The decision to include it is based on the fact that this work represents an important supplement to our text corpus since it presents a Scandinavian adaptation of contemporary continental European narrative material.

It is the editors' hope that by discussing different aspects of the transmission of the late medieval Danish *Eufemiaviser* with their cultural and historical background, this volume will contribute towards enriching research on the *Eufemiaviser* as well as on medieval European courtly literature in general and stimulating new research on manuscripts and early print in the East Norse world and its relationships with both the West Norse area and, more broadly, with the rest of Europe in the late Middle Ages.

Keywords

Eufemiaviser, Old Danish, Old Swedish, manuscript and transmission studies, translation studies, cultural memory, courtly literature, miscellanies, romance

References

MS Codex Holmiensis K 47

<https://tekstnet.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k47>

(accessed on 25 June 2021)

Ivan løveridder

<https://tekstnet.dk/ivan-loeveridder/metadata>

(accessed on 25 June 2021)

Hertug Frederik af Normandi

<https://tekstnet.dk/hertug-frederik-af-normandi/metadata>

(accessed on 25 June 2021)

Flores og Blanseflor

<https://tekstnet.dk/flores-og-blanseflor/metadata>

(accessed on 25 June 2021)

Bampi, Massimiliano (2019). "Yvain i dansk språkdrækt: hövvisk litteratur i det senmedeltida Danmark".

In: Boeck, Simon Skovgaard/Vrieland, Seán (eds.). *A Copenhagen Miscellany. Studies in East Norse Philology*. Copenhagen and Odense: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund and Syddansk Universitetsforlag, vol. 3, pp. 215–234.

Dahlerup, Pil (1998). *Dansk Litteratur. Middelalder*. Vol. 1: *Religiøs litteratur*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Eufemiavisorna (2018). Textredigering, Kommentarer och ordförklaringar av Henrik Williams. Introduction av Bo Ralph (Svenska Akademiens klassiker). Stockholm: Atlantis.

Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.) (2015). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.

Fredriksen, Britta Orlík (1999). "Ridderromaner". In: Petersen, Erik (ed.). *Levende ord & lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek and Mosgård Museum, pp. 48–49.

Glauser, Jürg (1986). "Höfisch-ritterliche Epik in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit". In: Naumann, Hans-Peter/von Platen, Magnus/Sonderegger, Stefan (eds.). *Festschrift für Oskar Bandle. Zum 60. Geburtstag am 11. Januar 1986* (= Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 15). Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, pp. 191–207.

Jucknies, Regina (2015). "Through an Old Danish Lens? Precious Stones in the Late Medieval Danish Reception of Courtly Literature". In: Ferm, Olle et al. (eds.). *The Eufemiavisor and Courtly Culture. Time, Texts and Cultural Transfer. Papers from a symposium in Stockholm 11–13 October 2012* (= KVHAA Konferenser 88). Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 162–173.

Kværndrup, Sigurd (2014). *Den nordiske løveridder. En ridderromance af Chrétien de Troyes*. Bearbejdet, med noter, indledning og efterskrift af Sigurd Kværndrup. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag.

Richter, Anna Katharina (2018). "Zur Überlieferung der Historie von *Flores oc Blantzefflor* in Dänemark zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit". In: *Tijdschrift voor Skandinavistiek* 36:1, pp. 38–53.

Autorinnen und Autoren / List of Contributors

Massimiliano Bampi is Professor of Germanic Philology at Ca'Foscari University, Venice. He holds a PhD in Germanic Philology and Linguistics from the University of Siena. He has written articles and book chapters on various aspects of medieval Scandinavian literatures (including genre definition in saga literature and the development of the *fornaldarsögur*) and their modern reception. His research interests include Old Swedish and Old Danish translations of chivalric literature and courtly poetry in medieval Germany. He is a member of the research programme *Modes of Modification. Variance and Change in Medieval Manuscript Culture* (2018–2025), funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

Simon Skovgaard Boeck has a PhD in Nordic Philology from the University of Copenhagen (2009). He has published articles on Old Danish texts, on sixteenth-century Danish vocabularies, on word formation, and on a medieval bookbinding as well as a vast number of scholarly editions of Old Danish texts. Currently he is working as senior editor at the Society for Danish Language and Literature. From 2017 to 2020 he was a participant in the “Norse Perception of the World” project at Uppsala University. He is editor of the periodical *Danske Studier* (together with Henrik Blicher).

Elena Brandenburg is PostDoc at the Department for Scandinavian and Finnish Studies at the University of Cologne. Her PhD dealt with transmission and reception of chansons de geste in East Old Norse manuscripts (*Karl der Große im Norden. Rezeption französischer chansons de geste in den altostnordischen Handschriften*; Charlemagne in the North. Reception of chansons de geste in the Old Norse manuscripts, 2019). Her research interests include topics like cultural transfer, translation, and transmission of European literature in the North as well as studies of gender and alterity in medieval literature.

Louise Faymonville is a doctoral student in Scandinavian Languages at the Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism at Stockholm University. Her ongoing research examines the development of profane literature in Old Swedish c. 1300 – 1530, focusing on the transmission and transformation of the courtly literary heritage of the *Eufemiavisor* in the late medieval textual landscape. Her main research interests include material philology and medieval Scandinavian literature.

Fulvio Ferrari is Professor of Germanic Philology at the University of Trento (Italy). His research concerns mainly the courtly literature of the Nordic and Dutch areas, the Icelandic sagas and the reception of medieval Germanic literature in modern and contemporary times. His most recent publications concern the peculiarities of the Germanic epic genre, the reception of Old Norse literature in Italy and the rewrite of *Darraðarljóð* by the Dutch romantic poet A.C.W. Staring.

Jürg Glauser is Professor Emeritus of Scandinavian Studies at the University of Zurich and the University of Basel (Switzerland). His main fields of interest are the Old Norse-Ice-

landic literature (especially Sagas and Eddas) and early modern Scandinavian narratives (ballads and chapbooks) as well as modern Icelandic literature. Preferred methodological approaches include text-transmission and book-history, authorship and textuality, pre-modern Nordic rhetoric, media and memory studies.

Anne Mette Hansen is Associate Professor in Nordic Medieval Philology and manuscript researcher at The Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection at the Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics at the University of Copenhagen. She is also head of the Arnamagnæan Institute and curator of the Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection. Her main fields of research are practical texts and compilation manuscripts from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, especially prayer books and didactic texts as well as encyclopaedic works. Preferred research and methodological approach is artefact philology.

Karl G. Johansson is Professor of Old Norse Philology at the University of Oslo. He has published monographs, articles and edited volumes in the field of Old Norse literature and philology. Currently he leads the research programme *Modes of Modification. Variance and Change in Medieval Manuscript Culture* financed by the Swedish Riksbankens jubileumsfond for the Advancement of the Humanities and Social Sciences for the years 2018–2025.

Regina Jucknies worked as a research assistant in Scandinavian Studies at the universities of Bonn and Cologne and was a founding member of the Society of East Norse Philology. She has published on Old Norse saga literature, on Icelandic paleography and early modern book history (her dissertation), and on East Norse literature and language, and she is the editor of a bibliography of Norse studies. She holds a Master of Library and Information Science, and together with a team of microbiologists and philosophers, she is currently investigating medieval manuscripts and their biography at Leipzig University Library.

Jonatan Pettersson is Senior Lecturer and researcher at the Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism at Stockholm University, and he is active in the research programme *Modes of Modification* (2018–2025). His main research interests are medieval textual culture and different aspects of textual production, for instance translation but also different modes of textual reproduction. In the research programme he focuses on the role of the town and of urbanity in the history of texts, and studies, among other things, the transition from the medieval manuscript culture to the early modern printed book culture.

Anna Katharina Richter received her PhD in Nordic Philology from the University of Zurich with a study on early modern narrative literature in Denmark and Sweden. She works at the Department of Scandinavian Studies at the University of Zurich. Her main area of research is early modern literature and book history in Scandinavia (especially chapbooks, romances), and her current project deals with a manuscript containing a Danish translation of *Amadis de Gaula* and the dissemination of the *Amadis* novel in Scandinavia.

Register / Index

- AM 151b 8vo (Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Kopenhagen) 11, 131f., 135ff.
- AM 191 fol. (Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Kopenhagen) 61, 75, 77, 161, 166
- Árni Magnússon 135f.
- Aslak Bolts jordebok* 118, 121
- Caoursin, Guillaume 32, 34
- chansons de geste* 157, 160f., 164–168, 172, 213
- Chrétien de Troyes 11, 14, 16, 99, 101, 151, 189
- Christensen, Hendrick 132ff.
- Codex Holmiensis D 2 (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Spegelbergs bok) 144
- Codex Holmiensis D 3 (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Fru Elins bok) 144, 161f., 166
- Codex Holmiensis D 4 (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket) 61, 75, 77, 101, 126, 142, 144f., 161f., 166
- Codex Holmiensis D 4a (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Codex Verelianus / Fru Märetas bok) 61, 75, 77, 144f., 161f., 166
- Codex Holmiensis K 4 (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket) 7–12, 14–30, 32f., 44–49, 51, 61–64, 71, 73ff., 77, 82, 99–103, 110ff., 124f., 131, 133–137, 141f., 144ff., 148f., 151ff., 157, 164ff., 172, 177f., 182, 185f., 188–191, 193f., 199, 202–206, 209f.
- Codex Holmiensis K 47 (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket) 7–12, 14–30, 32f., 44–49, 51, 62f., 71, 73ff., 77, 99–103, 110ff., 124, 131, 133–137, 141f., 144ff., 148f., 151ff., 157, 164ff., 172, 177f., 182, 185f., 188–191, 193f., 199, 202–206, 209f.
- Codex Holmiensis Vu 82 (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket) 8, 12, 157ff., 162, 175
- Den danske Rimkrønike* 74, 78, 94, 134, 204
- Den kyske dronning* 7f., 15, 17f., 24, 26, 29, 31f., 45, 62f., 80, 94, 99, 110, 134, 137, 144, 151, 157, 205, 209
- Didrik av Bern* 152
- Dværgekongen Laurin* 7, 10, 15, 17, 19, 22, 29–33, 45f., 51, 63, 71f., 80, 94, 99, 137, 144, 151, 157, 186, 190, 192f.
- Erikskrönikan* 59, 66, 144, 206
- Eufemia, Königin von Norwegen 7, 15f., 30, 32, 47, 50, 59, 62, 93, 141, 161, 209
- Eufemiaviser* (dän.) 7–16, 19, 32, 51, 57, 94, 99f., 112, 137, 205f., 209ff.
- Eufemiavisor* (schwed.) 7f., 11f., 14ff., 19, 50f., 57, 59–63, 65, 67, 71, 73, 79, 81, 89, 95, 99ff., 107, 112, 115f., 120, 128, 133, 141, 144, 151, 157, 161, 166, 172, 209, 213
- Floire et Blanchefleur* 15, 58f., 63, 78
- Flores och Blanzefflor* (schwed.) 15f., 18, 59f., 133, 141
- Flores og Blansefflor* (dän.) 7, 9f., 12, 14–19, 25, 27–33, 35–51, 57–60, 63, 65, 68f., 71–75, 77–82, 94, 110, 133f., 137, 141, 153, 164, 188f., 205f., 210
- Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* 18, 133
- Gesta Danorum* 91f.
- Ghemen, Gotfred af (Govert van) 35f., 46f., 73f., 78f., 82, 126, 158
- Griseldis* 62, 71f., 81
- Gutasagan* 144
- Hákon Hákonarson, König von Norwegen 93, 118, 160, 163, 166, 172
- Henrik Harpestreng 92, 99
- Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* (schwed.) 12, 15f., 32, 59f., 65, 79, 82, 102, 141–145, 147, 149, 152f.
- Hertug Frederik af Normandi* (dän.) 7, 12, 14–18, 21, 29f., 32, 45, 51, 79, 94, 110, 134, 137, 142, 144f., 149, 152f., 164f., 202–206
- Ivan lejonriddaren* (schwed.) 8f., 11, 15f., 19, 59f., 63f., 79, 82, 99, 101–104, 107, 112, 115f., 121–124, 126ff., 141, 153, 210
- Ivan løveridder* (dän.) 7ff., 11, 14, 16, 18, 20, 29–32, 45, 47, 51, 63f., 79, 82, 94, 99f., 102, 111, 124, 137, 164, 185, 187, 202–206, 209f.
- Ívens saga* 16, 59

- Karel ende Elegast* 94
- Karlamagnús saga* 12, 18, 61, 71, 94, 157–163, 165, 169, 172
- Karl Magnus' Krønike* (dän.) 8ff., 12, 71, 74, 94, 157ff., 162–169, 171f., 175, 202, 210f.
- Karl Magnus* (schwed.) 8ff., 12, 71f., 74, 94, 157ff., 161–169, 171f., 175, 202, 210f.
- Konung Alexander* 60, 162
- Mandeville's Travels* 184, 202, 204
- Ms. E 8902 (Stockholm, Riksarkivet) 116, 120
- Ms. E 9013 (Stockholm, Riksarkivet) 61, 144, 152
- Namnlös och Valentin* 10, 61, 65
- Partalopa saga* 17, 131, 133
- Partonopeus de Blois* 9, 15, 17, 131, 210
- Pedersen, Christiern 158, 164, 202
- Persenober oc Constantianobis* 7, 9ff., 15, 17, 19, 23, 29f., 32f., 35, 45–48, 51, 63, 71f., 80, 94, 99, 131–137, 144, 151, 157, 164f., 186, 210
- riddarasögur* 93, 160, 172
- Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* 10, 61
- Septem sapientes* 61, 65
- Sigismunda* 71f., 81
- Sjælens Trøst* 203, 206
- Sju vise mästare* (schwed.) 61, 71
- Stenbogen* 99
- Syv, Peder 47
- Þiðreks saga af Bern* 61
- Yvain ou le Chevalier au lion* 7f., 11, 14ff., 59, 65, 99, 106, 109f., 164, 189, 210

Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie

Herausgegeben von der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft
für Skandinavische Studien

Die Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Skandinavische Studien (SGSS) gibt die Schriftenreihe „Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie“ (BNPh) heraus. Es sind wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen aus dem gesamten Fachbereich Nordische Philologie/Skandinavistik. Die Untersuchungen befassen sich mit Studien zur Literatur-, Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft der skandinavischen Länder Dänemark, Finnland, Färöer, Island, Norwegen und Schweden. Sie sind nicht nur auf die schweizerische Nordistik begrenzt. Es sind die Ergebnisse skandinavistischer Forschungsprojekte in Form von Tagungsbänden, Dissertationen, Habilitationsschriften und anderen Monographien, die dadurch allen Interessierten zugänglich gemacht werden sollen.

Bisher sind erschienen:

Frühere Bände finden Sie unter:
<http://narr.de>

34

Astrid Surmatz

Pippi Langstrumpf als Paradigma

Die deutsche Rezeption Astrid Lindgrens und ihr internationaler Kontext
2001, 632 Seiten
€[D] 78,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-3097-0

35

Iris Ridder

Der schwedische Markolf

Studien zu Tradition und Funktion der frühen schwedischen Markolfüberlieferung
2002, 276 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-3098-7

36

Barbara Sabel

Der kontingente Text

Zur schwedischen Poetik in der Frühen Neuzeit
2003, 171 Seiten
€[D] 32,90
ISBN 978-3-7720-3099-4

37

Oskar Bandle, Jürg Glauser, Stefanie Würth (Hrsg.)

Verschränkung der Kulturen

Der Sprach- und Literaturaustausch zwischen Skandinavien und den deutschsprachigen Ländern
2004, 600 Seiten
€[D] 129,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8030-2

38

Silvia Müller

Schwedische Privatprosa 1650–1710

Sprach- und Textmuster von Frauen und Männern im Vergleich
2005, 320 Seiten
€[D] 44,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8035-7

39

Klaus Müller-Wille

Schrift, Schreiben und Wissen

Zu einer Theorie des Archivs in Texten von C.J.L. Almqvist
2005, 522 Seiten
€[D] 49,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8086-9

40

Jürg Glauser (Hrsg.)

Balladen-Stimmen

Vokalität als theoretisches und historisches Phänomen
2011, 195 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8173-6

41

Anna Katharina Richter

Transmissionsgeschichten

Untersuchungen zur dänischen und schwedischen Erzählprosa in der frühen Neuzeit
2009, 337 Seiten
€[D] 49,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8292-4

42

Jürg Glauser, Anna Katharina Richter (Hrsg.)
Text – Reihe – Transmission
Unfestigkeit als Phänomen skandinavischer
Erzählprosa 1500–1800
2011, 320 Seiten
€[D] 49,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8293-1

43

Lena Rohrbach
Der tierische Blick
Mensch-Tier-Relationen in der Sagaliteratur
2009, 394 Seiten
€[D] 49,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8307-5

44

Andrea Hesse
Zur Grammatikalisierung der Pseudokoordination
im Norwegischen und in den anderen
skandinavischen Sprachen
2009, 264 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8328-0

45

Jürg Glauser, Susanne Kramarz-Bein (Hrsg.)
Rittersagas
Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission
2013, 288 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8357-0

46

Klaus Müller-Wille (Hrsg.)
**Hans Christian Andersen und die Heterogenität der
Moderne**
2009, 246 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8351-8

47

Oskar Bandle
Die Gliederung des Nordgermanischen
Reprint der Erstauflage mit einer Einführung von Kurt
Braunmüller
2011, 168 Seiten
€[D] 100,-
ISBN

48

Simone Ochsner Goldschmidt
Wissensspuren
Generierung, Ordnung und Inszenierung von Wissen
in Erik Pontoppidans *Norges naturlige Historie*
1752/53
2011, 295 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8439-3

49

Frederike Felcht
Grenzüberschreitende Geschichten
H. C. Andersens Texte aus globaler Perspektive
2013, 312 Seiten
€[D] 49,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8487-4

50

Thomas Seiler (Hrsg.)
**Skandinavisch-iberoamerikanische
Kulturbeziehungen**
2013, 240 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8480-5

51

Klaus Müller-Wille, Joachim Schiedermaier (Hrsg.)
Wechselkurse des Vertrauens
Zur Konzeptualisierung von Ökonomie und Vertrauen
im nordischen Idealismus (1800–1870)
2013, 213 Seiten
€[D] 49,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8478-2

52

Hendrik Lambertus
Von monströsen Helden und heldenhaften Monstern
Zur Darstellung und Funktion des Fremden in den
originalen Riddarasögur
2013, 260 Seiten
€[D] 49,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8486-7

53

Alois Wolf
**Die Saga von der Njálsbrenna und die Frage nach
dem Epos im europäischen Mittelalter**
2014, 128 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8496-6

54

Walter Baumgartner
Gibt es den Elch? – Fins elgen?
Aufsätze 1969–2011 zur neueren skandinavischen
Lyrik – Essays 1969–2011 om nyere skandinavisk
lyrikk
2014, 338 Seiten
€[D] 39,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8540-6

55

Lukas Rösli
Topographien der eddischen Mythen
Eine Untersuchung zu den Raumnarrativen und den
narrativen Räumen in der *Lieder-Edda* und der *Prosa-
Edda*
2015, 235 Seiten
€[D] 49,-
ISBN 978-3-7720-8552-9

56

Katharina Seidel

Textvarianz und Textstabilität

Studien zur Transmission der *Ivens saga*, *Erex saga*
und *Parcevals saga*

2014, 248 Seiten

€[D] 59,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8558-1

57

Laura Sonja Wamhoff

Isländische Erinnerungskultur 1100–1300

Altnordische Historiographie und kulturelles
Gedächtnis

2016, 260 Seiten

€[D] 59,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8585-7

58

Klaus Müller-Wille, Sophie Wennerscheid (Hrsg.)

Kierkegaard und das Theater

in Vorb., ca. 220 Seiten

€[D] 39,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8621-2

59

Klaus Müller-Wille, Kate Heslop, Anna Katharina
Richter, Lukas Rösli (Hrsg.)

Skandinavische Schriftlandschaften

Vänbok till Jürg Glauser

2017, 345 Seiten

€[D] 39,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8628-1

60

Hans-Peter Naumann

Metrische Runeninschriften in Skandinavien

Einführung, Edition und Kommentare

2018, 488 Seiten

€[D] 69,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8652-6

61

Petra Bäni Rigler

Bilderbuch – Lesebuch – Künstlerbuch

Elsa Beskows Ästhetik des Materiellen

2019, 304 Seiten

€[D] 39,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8661-8

62

Kathrin Hubli

Kunstprojekt (Mumin-)Buch

Tove Janssons prozessuale Ästhetik und materielle
Transmission

2019, 184 Seiten

€[D] 39,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8655-7

63

Sandra Schneeberger

Handeln mit Dichtung

Literarische Performativität in der altisländischen

Prosa-Edda

2020, 206 Seiten

€[D] 39,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8672-4

64

Jürg Glauser (Hrsg.)

50 Jahre Skandinavistik in der Schweiz

Eine kurze Geschichte der Abteilungen für Nordische
Philologie an der Universität Basel und der
Universität Zürich 1968–2018

2019, 296 Seiten

€[D] 59,99

ISBN 978-3-7720-8679-3

65

Elena Brandenburg

Karl der Große im Norden

Rezeption französischer Heldenepik in den
altostnordischen Handschriften

2019, 237 Seiten

€[D] 59,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8680-9

66

Kevin Müller

Schreiben und Lesen im Altisländischen

Lexeme, syntagmatische Relationen und Konzepte in
der *Jóns saga helga*, *Sturlunga saga* und *Laurentius
saga biskups*

2020, 310 Seiten

€[D] 59,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8694-6

67

Katharina Bock

**Philosemitische Schwärmereien. Jüdische
Figuren in der dänischen Erzählliteratur des
19. Jahrhunderts**

2021, 264 Seiten

€[D] 78,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8747-9

68

Massimiliano Bampi, Anna Katharina Richter (Hrsg.)

**Die dänischen *Eufemiaviser* und die Rezeption
höfischer Kultur im spätmittelalterlichen Dänemark
– *The Eufemiaviser and the Reception of Courtly
Culture in Late Medieval Denmark***

2021, 216 Seiten

€[D] 39,-

ISBN 978-3-7720-8750-9

Das Buch präsentiert Texte, die ein einzigartiges Zeugnis kontinentaler höfischer Erzählkunst in der dänischen Literatur zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit darstellen: die *Eufemiaviser* (Eufemia-Gedichte), die in der Zeit um 1470–1480 über französische und altschwedische Vorlagen ins Dänische übersetzt wurden. In der skandinavistischen Forschung wurden sie bisher kaum untersucht.

This book presents texts which are a unique testimony in Danish literature between the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period: the so-called Eufemiaviser (Eufemia poems), courtly verse romances, translated into Danish via Old French and Old Swedish sources in the later part of the 15th century. These texts have hardly been studied in Scandinavian research so far.

Prof. ass. Massimiliano Bampi lehrt Germanische Philologie an der Universität Ca'Foscari in Venedig.

Dr. Anna Katharina Richter ist Oberassistentin an der Abteilung für Skandinavistik am Deutschen Seminar der Universität Zürich.

BEITRÄGE ZUR NORDISCHEN PHILOLOGIE

ISBN 978-3-7720-8750-9



9 783772 087509



narr/f
ranck
e|atte
mpto