Sources, Context, and English Provenance of the Old Danish Visio Pauli

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DARIO BULLITTA

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The Editors of JEGP announce that Charles D. Wright is retiring from the Board of Editors. Professor Wright joined the Board in 1995. Since 2002, when JEGP began to focus exclusively on the medieval period, he has served as the de facto editor-in-chief, and until 2008 he was the sole editor for articles and reviews on Middle English as well as Old English language and literature. We are grateful to Charlie for his exceptional learning, creativity, and dedication in guiding JEGP through a major change of identity as it began the second century of its existence. The Editors are pleased to announce that Professor Renée R. Trilling of the Department of English, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, will relinquish her position on the Advisory Board to join the Editorial Board and will assume editorial responsibility for Old English.
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Sources, Context, and English Provenance
of the Old Danish Visio Pauli

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As with most religions, the Christian doctrine asserts that the fate awaiting the souls of individuals depends directly upon their obedience or misconduct during the lives of devotees. As a result, Christian cosmological and eschatological inquiries have naturally, since their early history, focused on primary questions concerning the physical features of heaven and hell and speculated on the concrete quality of the rewards and torments in the afterworld.¹ The medieval preoccupation with and curiosity about these weighty metaphysical questions that are deeply rooted in Hebrew and classical (most notably Virgilian) traditions can be seen in the vast corpus of devotional literature reporting dreamlike journeys and transits to the afterworld, frequently visited by living individuals.² In their out-of-body expeditions, these (often fortuitous) travelers would be shown, or experience themselves, the comforts and agonies of heaven and hell. They would subsequently return to the physical world and relate to both the faithful and the unfaithful their extraordinary adventures.³

Few medieval texts feature the comprehensive, evocative depictions of the joys of heaven and the pains of hell as the so-called Visio Pauli or Apocalypse of Paul. A New Testament apocryphon, the Visio Pauli was probably written in Greek in Egypt in the middle of the third century and

I wish to thank Kirsten Wolf and the anonymous reviewer for the JEGP for providing helpful comments and incisive amendments of this essay and Carla Falluomini for reading over an earlier draft. I am also indebted to the University of Ferrara for offering me a research grant that allowed me to inspect at close range the codicological composition of K at the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.


translated into Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Syriac, and Old Church Slavonic between late antiquity and the High Middle Ages, and notably Latin sometime between the fifth and the sixth century.\(^4\) The Latin text survives in at least twelve main redactions, which underlie virtually all European vernacular versions of the text.\(^5\)

The preface to the text states that during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius the Calligrapher (†450) and the consulship of Cynegius (†388), a certain nobleman in Tarsus was instructed by an angel to unearth a mysterious marble box that had been buried for centuries in the foundations of the house where Paul the Apostle had once lived.\(^6\) The box contained the hidden “revelation” or “vision” of Paul, a narrative inspired by the notorious passage of 2 Corinthians 12:1–4, where the apostle claims to have ascended to the third level of heaven but admits that he is unable to reveal any details of the experience.\(^7\) The narrative of the \textit{Visio Pauli} attempts to fill the gap of 2 Corinthians and describes his alleged travel to the afterworld accompanied by the Archangel Michael. Paul is said to have traveled through multiple heavens and to have witnessed firsthand the alluring delights and rewards awaiting the righteous before descending to the macabre dungeons of hell, where he was shown the grotesque (and often bizarre) bespoken punishments afflicting the sinners, uniquely crafted in response to their earthly disobediences.\(^8\)

The text opens with a brief introduction where the sun, moon, stars, sea, rivers, and especially the earth complain in turn to God about the terrible


\(^8\) The punishment of the souls reflecting or contrasting their earthly misdeeds peculiar to the \textit{Visio Pauli} was well known to Dante, who makes extensive use of it in the description of the morphology of his \textit{Inferno}. Following Thomas Aquinas’s terminology, Dante refers to it as the “law of contrapasso.” See, for instance, the useful overview by Lino Pertile, “Contrapasso,” in \textit{The Dante Encyclopedia}, ed. Richard Lansing (New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 219–22.
sins of men (fornication, adultery, homicide, theft, perjury, sorcery, etc.). A multitude of angels speak to God about the souls of mankind, and Paul is shown the blessed and the sinful at the moment of death. The actual metaphysical journey begins with Paul and Michael’s visit to the third heaven, described as a golden, highly luminous palace with blooming and luxuriant vegetation and orchards closely resembling the Garden of Eden. They proceed to the City of Christ, where four great rivers flow: one of honey, where Paul sees minor and major prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Micah, Zechariah); one of milk; one of oil; and one of wine, where Paul meets some of the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Lot, and Job). The last magnificent vision is that of the tenth heaven, where King David abides in a high altar and is classically depicted singing the psalms in praise of the Lord with a psaltery and a harp. At that point, Paul is taken to the profound darkness and desolation of hell where he is shown a series of sinners condemned to lay immersed in a river of fire, each according to his offence (heretics up to their knees, fornicators to their navels, detractors to their lips, conspirators to their eyebrows etc.). He then encounters another series of sinners and is told the reasons for such brutal torments: misbelievers groaned and wept inside abyssal pits; the soul of an old man who indulged in gluttony and luxury was constantly pierced with hooked-steaks of iron; usurers were eaten alive by worms and serpents; slayers of orphans and widows were forced to stand barefoot on icy ground with amputated arms etc. Profoundly shaken by this unbearable sight, Paul cries bitterly and asks for divine intervention so that the sinners may at least have some partial rest from their everlasting punishments. Finally, heaven opens, Christ descends before the astonished crowd, and a Sunday reprieve is granted to all inhabitants of hell.

9. The Visio Pauli is the first text to make extensive use of the association of Paradise with the Garden of Eden; see, for instance, Ananya Jahanara Kabir, Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 32 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), pp. 18–19, and the references there.


In spite of its rejection by ecclesiastical authorities and eminent exegetes, most notably Augustine (†430),13 Aldhelm (†709),14 and Ælfric (†1101),15 the *Visio Pauli* enjoyed enormous circulation in the Middle Ages and was consulted and employed in the compilation of numerous works dealing with infernal visions.16 The text circulated widely in both rhyme and prose variants and was worked into several European vernaculars, among them Old Irish,17 Old English,18 Anglo-Norman,19 Middle French,20 and Middle High German.21 The first extant Scandinavian translations of the *Visio Pauli* are preserved in Old Norse and Old Danish manuscripts dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, though it is highly probable that its content was known in Scandinavia through intermediate sources, such as homilies of eschatological nature, which predate the extant translations by up to two centuries.22
THE OLD DANISH TRANSLATION

The Old Danish translation of *Visio Pauli* survives in a single codex, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, K 4, written in an as yet unidentified Danish scriptorium during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Stockholm K 4 is a paper, composite, miscellaneous manuscript in a small folio format consisting of 162 leaves bound into fourteen quires. The dialect of K 4 is Scanian, though there are some distinctive Jutlandic traits, archaisms, and some Swedicisms. The manuscript contains the longest version of the *Annals of Ryd Abbey* (*Rydårbugen*) on ff. 11a–20b, the well-known chronicle of Danish history, which traditionally starts with the legendary head there were one hundred tongues of iron, and they all talked from the beginning of this world all unto its end, they could not describe all the evil there is in hell). *Gamal norsk homiliebok. Cod. AM 619* 4, ed. Gustav Indrebo (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1968), p. 34/2–5. Yet, it is unclear whether this is an explicit reference to its text or whether this reading was already interpolated into the Latin homily by the Norse compiler was translating. See En *norsøn versjon av Visio Pauli*, ed. Mattias Tveitane. Arbok for universitetet i Bergen. Humanistisk serie 1954, no. 3 (Oslo: Norwegian Univ Press, 1955), p. 14. No Old Swedish version has come down to us; however the Latin text was available at Vadstena Abbey, as witnessed by some excerpts in Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 22, on ff. 190r–31v. The codex was copied toward the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. See *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 1: *Handschriften C I–IV*, 1–50, ed. Margarete Andersson-Schmitt and Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 26, pt. 1 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988). pp. 227–31. The Old Norse text is transmitted in two Icelandic manuscripts: Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 681 c 410, f. 1r, from around 1400, and Reykjavik, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 624 410, pp. 293–97, from around 1500. Both manuscripts preserve the text fragmentarily: AM 624 410 is altogether missing the beginning, whereas AM 681 c 410 has only the last eleven lines. Its text is available in En *norsøn versjon av Visio Pauli*, ed. Mattias Tveitane, pp. 8–13. 23. The text was first edited in Herr Ivan Lejon-riddaren, en svensk rimmad dikt ifrån 1500-talet, tilhörende sago-kresten om konung Arthur och hans runda bord, ed. Jeremiah V. Liffman and George Stephens, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskrift-sällskapet, 50 (Stockholm: P. A. Nordstedt & Söner, 1849), pp. cx–cxvi; and is also available in *Gammeldansk læsebog*, ed. Nelly Uldaler and Gerd Wellejus (Copenhagen: Københavns universitets Fond til Tilvejebringelse af Læremidler, 1968). The edition consulted here is *De hellige Kvinder, en Legende-Samling*, ed. Carl J. Brandt (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1859). A brief overview of the narrative is found in Pål Dahlérup, *Dansk litteratur: Middelalder*, vol. 1: *Religions litteratur* (Copenhagan: Gyldendal, 1998), pp. 360–68. 24. Archaisms are transmitted along with their modern counterparts. This is the case for the genitives of third-person pronouns *hennan* (her) and *there* (there), attested along with the more recent forms *hennis* and *theris*. Evidence of Scandan influence is the use of the pronoun *sich* (I), which is also employed in its Danish (Jutlandic) form *sich*. See discussion and the useful wordlist in De *hellige Kvinder, en Legende-Samling* ed. Brandt, pp. 97–100 and 101–15, respectively. On the language of K 4, see also Lis Jacobsen, *Studer til det danske Rigstuds Historie fra Erks Lov til Chr. IIIIs Bibel*, (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1910), I, 101, n. 2; and especially Johannes Brondum-Nielsen, *Gammeldansk grammatik i sproghistorisk fremsstilling*, 2d rev. ed. (Copenhagen: J. H. Schutz Forlag, 1950), I, 9–11. A summary description of K 4 is available at http://middelaldertekster.dk/manuscript-descriptions/stockholm-k4, accessed May 1, 2015.
King Dan and ends in 1296. The chronicle is possibly incomplete as the transcription ends toward the middle of the column on f. 20vb with the year 1296, but an entry for it is missing.\textsuperscript{25}

The second and third items of the codex are Master Henrik Harpestreng’s (†1244) so-called Book of Stones (Stenbogen) on ff. 21ra–27ra, a treatise on the healing properties of gemstones,\textsuperscript{26} and an Old Danish translation of a lengthy Latin Legendary concerning mostly female saints on ff. 271–77v, in which the translation of the Visio Pauli is found. The last item of the codex, on ff. 78r–162v, is the Old Danish Yvein, the Knight of the Lion (Ivan Løveriddor), a translation of the Old Swedish Herr Ivan Lejonriddaren (ca. 5240 verses), which ends here deficiently.\textsuperscript{27}

It has been noted how the paper of the first seven quires transmitting the Annals of Ryd (quires 1–2) and the Book of Stones along with the Legendary (quires 3–9) had belonged to the same manuscript and can be dated to around 1468–80, whereas the paper of the last seven quires transmitting the Yvein (quires 10–14) is somewhat younger and possibly dates from around 1480.\textsuperscript{28} In light of the quires’ signatures of K\textsubscript{4}, it seems evident that these once belonged to two different manuscripts. They were originally separate and only subsequently bound in the current order in K\textsubscript{4}. The Old Danish Yvein was once placed at the beginning of another manuscript, whose transcription was never concluded, whereas the Book of Stones, the Legendary, and the incomplete Annals of Ryd were once part

\textsuperscript{25} The Annals survive in four different recensions, each of them transmitted in codex unicus. The oldest among them is the Latin text preserved in Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek, g9b 410, dating from around 1300, whose record ends with the year 1288. From the Latin text, three different Old Danish translations with subsequent amplifications were compiled: the first is preserved in Copenhagen, Royal Library, E don. var. 8°, dating from ca. 1400, which ends its chronicle with the year 1314. The second redaction preserved in K\textsubscript{4} ends with the year 1296. The third version extant in Copenhagen, Royal Library, NKS 606 8°, also dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, ends with the year 1226. On the subject, see Herulf Nielsen, “Rydbøger,” in Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder, ed. Allan Karker et al., (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1956–78), XIV, cols. 516–18. The Latin text and the three Danish translations are edited in Danmarks middelalderlige annaler, ed. Erik Kroman (Copenhagen: Selskabet til Udgivelse af Kilder til dansk Historie, 1980). The text of the first two Danish redactions are available at http://middelalderterkster.dk/rydaarbogen-edv3/1 and http://middelalderterkster.dk/rydaarbogen-nks606/1, accessed May 1, 2015.

\textsuperscript{26} The Old Danish Book of Stones is chiefly based on Marbod of Rennes’s (†1123) De lapidibus. An edition and translation of the Latin text is available in De lapidibus, ed. and trans. John M. Riddle (Wiesbaden, Ger.: Franz Steiner, 1977). The text is preserved in three manuscripts. The oldest is Copenhagen, Royal Library, NKS 66 8vo, written around 1300 at Sorø Abbey; Copenhagen, Royal Library NKS 70 R 8vo, written soon after 1400; and Stockholm K\textsubscript{4}, from around 1480.

\textsuperscript{27} The Swedish text is in turn an adaptation of Chrétien de Troyes’s Yvain, Le Chavalier au Lion. The same Old Danish translation is also extant in Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, K 47, ff. 11r–11v, dating from around 1500.

\textsuperscript{28} See Birgitte Holt Larsen, “Datering af håndskrifter ved hjælp af vandmærker,” in Danske studier, 63 (1968), 5–16.
of a single manuscript and were originally bound and transcribed following this order (quires 3–9 + 1–2). This hypothesis is further corroborated by the absence of a rubric for the Yvein, the text of which simply begins on f. 78r with its typical Trinitarian formula (I naffn faders ok søns ok than helligæ andæ), whereas each text of the first codicological unit is preceded by a specific rubric highlighted with red ink. This discrepancy in time of transcription of the texts in K 4 is further corroborated by the fact that whereas the older section (Book of Stones, Legendary, and Annals of Ryd) is transcribed in two columns, the more recent section (Yvein) is written in one column. In spite of these differences, consistencies in paleographical and spelling conventions seem to suggest that both sections were copied by the same scribe.29

The Legendary opens with two texts dedicated to the Virgin Mary: a section relating to her nativity and youth Joachim oc Anna oc Maria on ff. 27ra–33ra and her virginal conception of Christ Om Vorherræ fødelssæ on ff. 31rb–33ra, both extracted from the apocryphal Historia de nativitate Mariae et de infantia Salvatoris.30 These are followed by an excerpt on Christ’s Passion Aff Vorherræ pyne on ff. 33ra–37ra, a lavish translation of Matthew 26–27 (harmonized with Luke 14:15–26 and John 17:15); Huore Uor Fru vor optogen on ff. 37ra–38vb, namely, a translation of the Transitus Mariae (text type B) describing Mary’s ascent to heaven;31 and the Old Danish translation of Visio Pauli on ff. 38vb–41ra, here entitled Huore sancte Pouel vort pint, subject of this study. The hagiographical collection sensu stricto begins with the vitae and passiones of eight female saints and martyrs who suffered violent deaths. These have been arranged chronologically following the liturgical calendar. It starts with the passion of Saint Margaret of Antioch (Aff sancte Margarete) on ff. 41rb–46rb, celebrated July 17th and 20th, and continues with the lives of the Saints Christina of Bolsena (Aff sancte Kerstine hennis pyna) on ff. 46rb–55ra; Cecilia (Aff sancte Cecilia hennis pyna) on ff. 55ra–59va; Catherine of Alexandria (Aff sancta Katerina) on ff. 59va–64va; Lucy of Syracuse (Aff sancta Lucia pass<ionis>) on ff. 64va–66vb; Agnes of Rome (Aff sancta Agnes) on ff. 66vb–71vb; Sophia with Faith, Hope, and Charity (Aff sancta Sophia oc hennis dötter) on ff. 71vb–75va; and finally Marina the Monk (Aff Sancta Marina) on ff. 75va–77vb, whose feast falls on July 19th. The last text of K 4 is the beginning of a collection of Marian miracles (two exempla simply rubricated as Miraculum)

29. Ibid., pp. 9–15.
30. One of the texts pertaining to the so-called Protoevangelium Jacobi Minoris. See, for instance, Montague R. James, Latin Infancy Gospels: A New Text, with a Parallel Version from the Irish (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927).
on 77va–78va, which after a short homiletic preamble abruptly ends at the beginning of the first miracle. The space left blank on f. 77v is filled with the most notable marginalia of the codex, which is otherwise considerably void of secondary annotations. In a nearly contemporary hand to that of the main text, a scribe has drawn a macabre skull (possibly the representation of a physical object in which a memento mori was inscribed) with two snakes intertwined in its orbits. It has a strip running above it in which he/she wrote the grave words of Ecclesiastes 7:40: Morare novissima tua et in eternum non peccare (be mindful of your last [deeds] and never sin). Being placed at the end of the Legendary, this particular admonishment against sinning and exhortation to meditate on death, stresses the conceivable eschatological design and intent of this part of the collection, especially in consideration of the prominent space given to the Visio Pauli and Transitu Mariæ and their ostensive otherworldly theology.

In terms of content, the texts transmitted in K 4 show important affinities with a now disjointed manuscript; that is, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, K 48, consisting of forty-six leaves plus a bifolio; which is today preserved at Cambridge University Library with the signature Add. 3827, dating from around 1300. K 48 is incomplete from the very start: it begins with two Marian miracles of the so-called Toledo-Saturday type on ff. or–1r, but of the first miracle, only the concluding lines survive. These are followed by a confessional prayer (Skriftemålsbøn) on ff. 1r–2r and Henrik Harpestreng’s Book of Herbs (Harpestrengs Urtebog) on ff. 2v–

32. Objects (particularly skulls) with these sorts of admonitory and moralistic inscriptions became considerably popular after the middle of the fifteenth century. See Cathleen Cohen, Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973), p. 44. On the same folio there is a light sketch of a knight and a lady in courtly robes, possibly a representation of Iven and Laudine (the main characters of the following text), which was drawn only after the two codicological units were assembled.


34. Three groups of medieval collections of Marian miracles have been identified: the so-called Elements type, which describes the Virgin mastering the four elements; and the Hildefonsus-Murieldis and the Toledo-Saturday types, from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, respectively, each containing seventeen miracles. On their classification see the five articles by Adolfo Mussafia, “Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden,” Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, phil.-hist. Klasse, CXIII (1886), pp. 917–44; CXV (1888), pp. 95–92; CXIX (1889), pp. 1–66; Abh. VIII (1891), pp. 1–85; Abh. VIII (1898), pp. 1–74.
46r. The quire number 16 on f. 6r indicates that the first fifteen quires of the original manuscript (containing 120 leaves) are now missing. Add. 3827, once part of K 48, was found trimmed and glued inside the book cover of a Latin Bible in 8vo format printed in Venice in 1519. The fragment was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in 1897. 35 Folios 11–2r contain two accounts from the Passio sanctae Caterinae, whereas f. 2v transmits the very beginning of the collection of Marian miracles, introduced by a homiletic preface stressing her intercessional grace and advocacy. 36 The text of the passio is indeed identical with that transmitted in the Legendary of K 4. Consequently, it has been assumed (though with no conclusive evidence) that K 4 and K 48 plus Add. 3827 are sister copies of the same antigraph and that the fifteen missing quires of K 48 may have also contained the entire Legendary and the Book of Stones surviving in K 4. 37 A comparison of the two texts has shown that regardless of its later date and its removal from its place of transcription, K 4 transmits a somehow more accurate text than Add. 3827. 38

Carl J. Brandt was of the opinion that the translation of the fourteen Latin texts included in the Legendary of K 4 could not have been undertaken by the same person. He noted the discrepancies and inconsistencies of style between the above-mentioned excerpts from Matthew 26–27 against the stiffness of the Passio sanctae Margaritae. 39 As shall be seen in the following section, if some texts of the Legendary were already translated and had already circulated in Denmark during the fourteenth century, it is very unlikely that the Old Danish Visio Pauli was completed before the years 1350–75, since, as shall be demonstrated, the underlying Latin source-text was not available before those decades. Moreover, the inaccuracies pointed out by Brandt with regard to the Passio sanctae Margaritae can be explained by his collation of the vernacular text with the wrong Latin source-text, as numerous manuscripts of Margaret’s Latin passio remain hitherto unedited. The collation and testing of the vernacular translation with the wrong source-text evidently hindered some of the translation techniques and editing procedures of the Danish compiler. Luckily, thorough comparisons of all the Latin recensions of

35. For a detailed description of the manuscript, see Eiríkr Magnússon, “Fragment of the Old Danish Version of the Legend of St Christina,” pp. 153–66.
the *Visio Pauli* with its vernacular translations are conceivable today, since all known 113 surviving manuscripts transmitting the Latin text have recently been catalogued and transcribed at length in Lenka Jirušková’s groundbreaking study. The following section looks at the relationship of the Danish translation with its underlying Latin source-text, presenting the outcomes of a full collation of the vernacular text with all the variant readings of the Latin *Visio Pauli* available in Jirušková’s transcriptions.

**THE LATIN SOURCE-TEXT**

The Latin *Visio Pauli* survives today in 113 codices transmitting two distinct redactions: the Heaven-Hell redaction, extant in seven manuscripts, and the considerably more popular Hell redaction, which survives in 102 manuscripts. The remaining four manuscripts transmit a third hybrid redaction, which conflates readings of the first two. Within the Hell redaction, Jirušková has identified three subfamilies of manuscripts and has named each with the first two words typical of their incipit: the A group, “oportet nos,” consisting of eight manuscripts; the B group, “interrogandum est,” with twenty-five witnesses; and the C group, “dies dominicus,” numbering forty-eight manuscripts.

The Old Danish translation preserves all the distinguishing features of the C group. First and foremost it features its typical incipit, which stresses the importance of Sunday among the days of the week. Other characteristics of the C group are the description of a burning wheel, Paul and
the Archangel Michael’s encounter with the soul of an old man, and the concluding exhortation to the readers/listeners to convert to the law of God.

Within the C group, four subfamilies of manuscripts have been identified: C1, C2, C3, and C/spec. The Old Danish translation clearly derives from the C2 group, surviving today in thirteen codices, and consequently reflects major and minor innovations, corruptions, and phrasing typical of C2 compared to C1 (the text of which is nevertheless remarkably close to that of C2). In C2, and consequently in the Danish text, Paul only generically asks Michael whether the sinful souls were able to rest in hell, whereas the correct and original question involved more specifically whether they had a weekly respite on Sundays (i.e., during the days of the Lord). C2 has God, rather than Christ, descending from heaven, and

45. (26) B 26/10–16 Soa so han en gammel man graedende oc illee ladende i melliom fivne defflæ . . . forti scd han tolke stvloct pyne til domedagh (Then he [Paul] saw an old man among four devils crying and moaning miserably . . . for that reason he shall suffer innumerable torments until Doomsday). Mox volit in alio loco unum semem inter III diabolos plorante et ululantiem . . . ideo sustinibit innumerales pena in die judici (Soon in another place he [Paul] saw a crying and howling old man among four devils . . . for that reason he shall bare innumerable torments until Doomsday). This reading is taken from Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library, Q 27 (Wo), dating from the fourteenth century.

46. (41) B 28/20–23 For God acte vy tha brodhær oc syster, oc see vy vether tesse pinær, at vy matte give Goduzu ville i thetta vórdidh . . . Amen (Therefore, let us give heed to God, brothers and sisters, and let us fear these torments, so that we can do God’s will in this world . . . Amen).

Nos ergo, fratres carissimi, ista mala audientes et tantae penas convertamur ad deum (Therefore, dearest brothers, after hearing these evil [things] and the many torments, let us turn to God). The Latin reading is again taken from C10.

47. As argued in Jirušková, Die Visio Pauli, pp. 184–89.

48. Most of them are of English origin. The oldest manuscripts within the C2 group date to the thirteenth century: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 61, ff. 205r–206r; Brugge, Stedelijke Openbare Bibliothec, 162, ff. 58v–60v (origin unknown); Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.21, ff. 117v–119r (England); and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1629, ff. 102r–103v (Agsbach/Austria). During the fourteenth century, the following were written: London, British Library, Royal 13.CVI, ff. 150r–v (England); Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library, Q 27, ff. 154r–155r (possibly Oxford); Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, 503, ff. 37v–30r (origin unknown); Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1731, ff. 161v–163r (Feuillants/Paris); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 527, ff. 191v–192v (England); and Cambridge, University Library, Ll.1.15, ff. 172va–173va (England).

During the fifteenth century, the following were written: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 524, ff. 190r–191r (origin unknown); Cambridge, Trinity College, O.8.26, ff. 109v–111v (England); and Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2829, ff. 53r–54v (England). The dates refer to the codicological unit of the (often composite) manuscripts where the text of the Visio Pauli survives. See Jirušková, Die Visio Pauli, p. 651.

49. (2a) B 24/4 at siecle sculde have noger roo i heluie (so that the souls would have some rest in Hell) renders ut anime haberent requiem in inferno (so that the souls would have rest in Hell) (C2) against ut anime haberent requiem in die dominico (so that the souls would have rest on the day of the Lord) (C1).

50. (34) B 27/20–27 The four then milde Gadhu aff himen (Then the Mild God departed from Heaven) translates Deus descendit de celo (God descended from Heaven) (C2) against Et voldt Paulus celum movens et filium dei descendem de celo (And Paul saw Heaven moving, and the Son of God descending from Heaven) (C1).
it is made clear that in hell the souls were suffering each according to its own (earthly) misdeeds.\textsuperscript{51} It also describes the waters of the grim river in which the sinful souls suffered as populated by diabolical beasts\textsuperscript{52} and that the Sunday respite was granted to the inhabitants of Hell not only through Michael and Paul’s intercessional prayer but also because of the heavenly assistance of all God’s angels.\textsuperscript{39} Other textual variations between C\textsubscript{1} and C\textsubscript{2} (mostly concerning the phrasing of the sentence) are also mirrored in the Danish text.\textsuperscript{54}

Within the manuscripts of the C\textsubscript{2} group, the Danish text shares a remarkable number of readings with what can be identified as the “Cambridge group” of manuscripts, which include three codices of southern English origin all preserved at Cambridge: the fifteenth century Trinity College, O.8.26, ff. 109v–111v (C\textsubscript{9}), with connections to Oxford,\textsuperscript{55} University Library, Add. 2829, ff. 53r–54v (C\textsubscript{10}), also from the fifteenth century;\textsuperscript{56} and University Library, Li.1.15, ff. 172va–173va (C\textsubscript{11}) from the fourteenth.\textsuperscript{57} Regrettably, their history remains hitherto unclear.

The Danish text shares other readings with Worcester, Cathedral and Chapter Library, Q 27 (Wo), a manuscript also written in Oxford in the

\textsuperscript{51}. (9c) B 24/ 17–18 Ther pinthæs innen huær eftær theress gerninger (There they suffered inside, each according to their deeds) renders Ibi cruciantur et recipiunt omnes secundum opera sua (There they were tortured and received [punishment], each according to his work) (C\textsubscript{2}). The reading is absent in C\textsubscript{1}.

\textsuperscript{52}. (12) B 25/ 5–4 oc ther war deffuels diur soo manninge innen (and there were so many devilish animals inside) for in quo multæ bestie diabolice erant (in which there were so many diabolical beasts) (C\textsubscript{2}). The reading is absent in C\textsubscript{1}.

\textsuperscript{53}. (349r) B 28/ 5–6 foræ sancte Michaels bhm oc sancte Pouels oc alla myne engle (through Saint Michael and Saint Paul’s prayer and all my angels) translates Propter Michaelvm et Paulum et angeles meos (Through Michael and Paul and my angels) (C\textsubscript{2}) against propter Michael et Paulum (Through Michael and Paul) (C\textsubscript{1})

\textsuperscript{54}. As, for instance, B 24/ 8 oc synduge schiele pintæs (and the sinful souls suffered) translating Et peccatores cruciatus et suspensos in eis (and the sinners [were] tortured and suspended in them) (C\textsubscript{2}) against in quorum ramis peccatoribus cruciate pendebant (in whose branches of sinners they hung crossing) (C\textsubscript{1}); and (28g) B 26/ 33–34 mikit bangh ræt ænse tordon (a great noise just like thunder) corresponding to et audivit et suspirium magnus quasi tonitrum (and he heard a great sigh as if a thunder) (C\textsubscript{2}) in place of audivit gemitum et suspirium magnum quasi tonitrum (he heard a groan and a great sigh as if a thunder) (C\textsubscript{1})


fourteenth century, from which the Cambridge group of manuscripts appears to derive.\textsuperscript{58} Proof of the dependence of C\textsubscript{9}, C\textsubscript{10}, and C\textsubscript{11} on Wo is an important omission through eye-skip of two passages otherwise present in all other manuscripts transmitting text of the C\textsubscript{2} type.\textsuperscript{59} The lost sections described the torments of the souls of the slayers of orphans and widows that Paul encountered. They were condemned to simultaneously burn and freeze in a particularly icy location in hell.\textsuperscript{60} Both are consequently absent in the Danish translation.\textsuperscript{61}

Among the aforementioned Cambridge group, the Danish text shares the greatest number of passages (sixteen in total) with C\textsubscript{10}, the best representative codex of that subfamily. Their most notable agreements are as follows: Paul and Michael entering hell, rather than exiting it;\textsuperscript{62} the corrupted multiplied number (1000 x 1000) of angelic voices heard by Paul while the good soul is being accompanied before the Lord’s throne for judgment;\textsuperscript{63} and, toward the end of the text, God’s granting of eternal life to those observant of the commandments, rather than promising eternal victory.\textsuperscript{64} Moreover, there are numerous minor (but nevertheless significant) lexical and syntactical agreements between the two texts compared to the readings shared by the majority of the manuscripts of the C\textsubscript{2} type.\textsuperscript{65}


\textsuperscript{59} The scribe started copying from the wrong point, i.e., from the following torment of the gluttons, which begins with the same words: (24) \textit{Post hec vidit viros ac mulieres super canalia amnis} (Thereafter, [Paul] saw men and women on the channels of a river). Here and in the following note the Latin readings are taken from Vienna 1629 (W1).

\textsuperscript{60} (23) \textit{Post hec vidit viros ac mulieres in loco glaciali, et igni urebat de media parte et de media frigebat} (Thereafter, [Paul] saw men and women in a glacial place, and fire would burn on one side, and it would freeze on the other) and (23a) \textit{Hii erant, qui orphanis et viduis nocuerunt} (They were those who harmed orphans and widows).

\textsuperscript{61} A translation of readings 23 and 23a should have been found at B 26/6.

\textsuperscript{62} (2b) B 24/6 \textit{komme til heluadis} (they came to Hell)/ \textit{ibant ad inferum} (they came to Hell) (C\textsubscript{10}) against \textit{exierunt ad inferum} (they went out of Hell) (C\textsubscript{2} Majority).

\textsuperscript{63} (32a) B 27/9 \textit{och hørde at tusendh tusende englæ opfæ} (and he heard thousand of thousands angels cry)/ \textit{et audivit vocem milia milium angelorum} (and he heard the voice of thousand of thousands of angels) (C\textsubscript{10}) against \textit{et audivit vocem milium angelorum} (and he heard the voice of a thousand angels) (C\textsubscript{2} Majority).

\textsuperscript{64} (34c) B 27/33 \textit{at i skulde leffue met mek} (so that you should live with me)/ \textit{ut viveretis mecum} (so that you would live with me) (C\textsubscript{10}) against \textit{ut vos viveretis mecum} (so that you would win me) (C\textsubscript{2} Majority).

\textsuperscript{65} (1) B 24/1 \textit{Vors herre eghen dag} (Our Lord’s own day)/ \textit{Dies dominicus dei} (Sunday, the day of God) (C\textsubscript{10}) against \textit{dies dominicus} (Sunday) (C\textsubscript{2} Majority); (9a) B 24/13 \textit{Och ther war hoos then ouen siu særlisch pyrer} (and by the furnace there were seven afflictions)/ \textit{Et septem
As previously noted, in terms of agreements with the Danish text, Wo comes second only to C10 (with eleven shared readings in total). The Danish translation is in agreement with Wo (compared to the Cambridge group), especially in the preservation of older correct readings, subsequently corrupted or misinterpreted in the Cambridge group and in other manuscripts of the C2 group. These include the following: the right succession and list of body parts of the sinful, seen by Paul hanging on the fiery tree that stands before the gates of hell; the correct localization of the angelic voices heard by Paul and Michael in the forth heaven, rather than into the high heaven; and several passages omitted in the Cambridge group.

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plage erant ipsius fornasis (And inside that furnace there were seven afflictions) (C10) against Et septem pene erant in circuitu eius (There were seven torments circling it) (C2 Majority); (9c) B 24/19–20 vilde gerne døø, oc mótte ey (they wanted to die and they could not) / desideraverunt mori et non possunt (they desired to die but they cannot) / habet meritum secundum opera sua (he has a self-deserved reward) / habet meritum secundum opera sua (he has a reward according to his work) (C10) against habet meritum (he has a reward) (C2 Majority); (12c) B 25/13–14 han hafflæ hævar sieliff skildeth (he had a self-deserved reward) / habet meritum secundum opera sua (he has a reward according to his work) (C10) against habet meritum (he has a reward) (C2 Majority); (15) B 25/26 Tha greæ sanctæ Posæl officær gien (Then Paul cried again) / Paulus autem flevit (Then Paul cried again) (C10) against Et flevit Paulus et dixit (And Paul cried and said) (C2 Majority); (20) B 25/32 í huilêken vâr alle hóndæ fyne (in which there were all the other torments) / in quo omnes alle pene erant (in which there were all the other torments) (C10) against in quo omnes pene erant (in which there were torments) (C2 Majority); (20c) B 26/2 Tha spónda apostellen, huoa the vare (Then the apostle asked who they were) / Et interrogavit Paulus, que hee essent (And Paul asked who they were) (C10) against Et interrogavit Paulus, que essent (And Paul asked who they were) / Et interrogavit Paulus, que essent (And Paul asked who they were) (C2 Majority); (28f) B 26/31 Oc hævar siell var yuer hin annen (And each soul was above the other) / Et erat quædam animæ super alias (And certain souls were above the others) (C10) against Et erat anima una super alienam (And one soul was above the other) (C2 Majority); (30c) B 27/3 ther var gradh oc tendar niscœll (there was weeping and grinding of teeth) / ubi erat fluetus et stridor dencium (there was weeping and grinding of teeth) / ubi erat fluetus et stridor dencium (there is that place there shall be weeping and grinding of teeth) (C2 Majority); (31) B 27/6 Tha sågde engellen til sanctæ Posæll (Then the angel said to Saint Paul) / Et angelus Paulo (And the angel [said] to Paul) (C10) against Et dixit angelus (And the angel said) (C2 Majority); (34f) B 28/1 och vœlæiss men i all eðes lifspæg (and you were evil men throughout your whole life) / sed mendacœ fuistis in tota vita vestra (but you were deceitful throughout your whole life) (C10) against sed mendacœ fuistis in vita vestra (but you were deceitful throughout your whole life) (C2 Majority); (37) B 28/12 Alle thee thenne dagh holde hellig (All those who hold that day holy) / Et omnis, qui custodierit (And all those who shall keep) (C10) against Ideo qui custodierat (Therefore those who kept) (C2 Majority); (41) B 28/20 oc see vy vethet tesse pînaer (let us fear these tortures) / et tanta penas convertamur (and we would turn back many torments) (C10) against convertamur (we would turn back) (C2 Majority).

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66. (8) B 24/9–11 hengle somme vith fødær, somme vith hænder, somme vith hæør, somme vith ðørne, somme vith thungeær, oc somme methm arme (some hung by their feet, some by their hands, some by their hair, some by their ears, and some with their arms) / Alìi pendebant pedibus, manibus, capillis, auribus, linguis, brachis (Some hung by their feet, hands, hair, ears, tongues, arms) (W10) against Alìi manibus, alìi brachis (Some by their hands, others by their arms) (C10).

67. (33d) B 27/24–25 Tha hœrðis ther ræsth i ðen fiæðer hœmnel (Then their voice was heard in the fourth heaven) / Tunc audito sono eorum in quarto celo (then their call was heard in the fourth heaven) (W10) against Tunc audita vox eorum alto celo (Then a voice was heard from them in the high sky) (C10).

68. (q) B 24/12 och ther pynest sielæ i hannrum (and in it the souls suffered) / et puniebantur in ea peccatrices animæ (and in it the sinful souls were punished) (W10), the reading is absent.
Yet, there is a single noteworthy case in which a textual corruption exclusive to Wo was transmitted to the Danish text.69 Paul and Michael’s encounter with the sinful soul of an old man is, in Wo, an encounter with an old bishop. This particular error may have arisen in one of the predecessors of Wo through the paleographical change of the first two letters (<s>/<e>) of the abbreviation for spiritus (spirit, ghost) with that of episcopus (bishop), which can easily be misinterpreted (<epu>/<spu>).70 Whereas all C2 manuscripts preserve the correct spiritus, the Cambridge group (derived from Wo) omits the reference to the sinful bishop, whose damnation may have been intentionally obscured to an ecclesiastical audience. Finally, few minor readings (four) of the Danish text are in possible agreement with C11.71

There is a single instance in which both the manuscripts of the Cambridge group and Wo are corrupted, but the Danish text preserves an
older uncorrupted reading shared with the majority of manuscripts of the C2 type, correctly describing the gluttons being chained before an unreachable fruit (fructus) rather than before a suspicious stream of water (fluctus), a misreading generated by the confusion of the graphemes <r><l>.\textsuperscript{72} Naturally, there are a considerable number of passages (seventeen) in which the text of C2 is fairly stable and the same text is shared by virtually all of its thirteen witnesses and the Danish text.\textsuperscript{73} Moreover, there are two small additions in the Danish text, which are not present in any of the manuscripts of the C2 group. One describes a damned soul, tortured by the seven devils and lead before Satan (here addressed with the epithet “high judge of hell”)—a scene, otherwise unattested in the other manuscripts of the C2 group, that mirrors the triumphal lifting of the good soul to God for judgment.\textsuperscript{74} The second corruption describes a golden angel, rather than God’s angel, accompanying the good soul to heaven.\textsuperscript{75} A third small corruption exclusive to the Danish translation is found toward the end of the text, when Paul asks Michael the specific number of torments in hell. The correct reading here is “144,000,” as seen in C10 centum quadriginta quattor mila milium (144,000), whereas the Danish text has fire tusende pineae oc firtiuge hundret oc siw (144,007).\textsuperscript{76} Nevertheless, the error could have already been present in the missing Latin manuscript from which the Danish translation derives, as numbers are often subject to confusion and incorrect transcriptions in manuscripts.\textsuperscript{77}

Based on purely textual evidence, the Danish translation may derive from a lost codex interpositus (X1), written between the transcription of Wo in the fourteenth century and C10 in the fifteenth, as shown in figure 1 below. Yet, the Danish text is considerably closer to the latter.

\textsuperscript{72} (24) oc force thom var enkyns fruct her (and before them there was a kind of fruit) / et fructus ante illos erant (and a fruit was before them) (C2 Majority) against eius fructus ante illos erant (that wave was before them) (Wo). The reading is absent in C10.

\textsuperscript{73} Readings 2a; 10; 11; 14b; 14d; 18; 18a; 20a; 20b; 26; 28; 28d; 28e; 28g; 30b; 33b; 33c; 39a.

\textsuperscript{74} (30b) B 27/2 Tha leddes hun force hogistæ domere i heluidæ (Then she was led before the highest judge in Hell). The reading is absent in C10, Wo, and C2 Majority.

\textsuperscript{75} (32) B 27/7–8 I then same stundh lede gull engell en reth siell (In that same moment a golden angel led a righteous soul) against Post hoc in uno momento adduxerunt angeli animam iustam (Subsequently, in one moment, the angels led a righteous soul) (C10, Wo, C2 Majority). Also here the error in transcription originated through the paleographical confusion of clusters <l> with <ds> (gull/ guds).

\textsuperscript{76} (32a) B 28/15–16. The number 144,000 (that is 12 x 12 x 1000) is taken from Revelation 7:4 and 14:4, where it refers to the Jewish evangelists that descended from the twelve tribes of Israel. See, for instance, Brian K. Blount, Revelation: A Commentary, The New Testament Library (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009), pp. 144–48.

\textsuperscript{77} It should also be noted that seven is the number of the torments of Hell in the Old Danish Lucidarius. The text is edited in A Danish Teacher’s Manual of the Mid-Fifteenth Century (Codex AM 76 8°), ed. Sigurd Kron et al. (Lund, Swed.: Lund Univ. Press, 1993).
interesting departure of the Danish translation from the Latin source-text is a small, yet relevant addition to the concluding homiletic formula *fratres karissimi* (dearest brothers) encouraging the faithful—and in a stricter sense the brethren of a monastery hearing the reading—to leave corrupted behavioral habits and convert to the law of God.\(^{78}\) Within this exhortation, the Danish compiler further specifies that his audience is made of both “brethren and sisters,” implying that this particular translation of the *Visio Pauli* was either read in a double monastic house or, more likely, translated by the bishops or brethren for the fruition of a nunnery annexed to the monastery.\(^{79}\)

**THE ROSKILDE CONNECTION**

Among the centers of learning and devotion in medieval Denmark, Roskilde seems to be the most suitable monastic milieu in which the *Legendary* could have been compiled. By the middle of the thirteenth century, three female monastic houses were established at Roskilde: Our Lady’s Abbey dedicated to the Virgin Mary (first established as Dominican in 1160 then reformed Cistercian in 1177), which depended legislatively and intellectually (though not economically) on the Cistercian establishment of

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\(^{78}\) (41) *Nos ergo, fratres karissimi, ista mala audientes et tantas penas convertamur ad deum,* (Therefore, dearest brothers, after hearing these evil [things] and the many torments, let us turn to God) as seen in C10.

\(^{79}\) B 28/20–29 *For Gud actæ vth the brothær oc syster, oc see vth vether tesse pinær, at vth matte gøre Gudz villie i thette værildh . . . Amen* (Therefore, let us give heed to God, brothers and sisters, and let us fear these torments, so that we can do God’s will in this world . . . Amen).
Sorø; Saint Agnes’s Priory of Dominican nuns, established in 1236 and annexed to Saint Catherine’s male priory in Roskilde; and finally Saint Clare’s Priory of Poor Clares, established in 1256. Evidence of the fruition of the Old Danish *Visio Pauli* within a female monastic environment is corroborated by the hagiographical works selected for the *Legendary*, which is clearly aimed at an audience of female devotees.

As a matter of fact, the *Legendary* begins with the *Historia de nativitate Mariae et de infantia Salvatoris* describing the apocryphal life of Mary and her miraculous conception of Christ, with a primary focus on her perpetual virginity, a doctrine essential to the vocation of a nun. The following text in the *Legendary* is the excerpt taken from Matthew 26–27 concerning the last supper, the passion, and resurrection of Christ, which suggests a further consistent parallel between the Virgin and the nuns, who are typically acknowledged as the brides of Christ. The decision to place together the translations of *Transitus Mariæ Virginis* and *Visio Pauli*, on the fate of souls in the afterlife, may conceal an appeal to a nun’s beatified assumption in imitation of Mary’s own ascent into heaven or, on the contrary, the possibility of leading a condemned afterlife in hell as the sinful described by Paul in his journey. Additionally, the protagonists of the following lives of eight persecuted and martyred female saints were undoubtedly regarded as embodiments of a nun’s virtues. The hagiographical anthology is then followed by what remains of a translation of the Toledo-Saturday collection of miracles attributed to the Virgin, the oldest of which (*T-S 2*) was recorded in the years 1128–29. The miracle collection may be considerably older than the texts on the nativity of the Virgin and most of the texts in the hagiographical collection.

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The particular choice of hagiographical texts and their order within the *Legendary* may not have been purely accidental. The prominence and great space given to the Marian texts and the special focus on Mary’s sacred virginity may indicate that the *Legendary* was prepared for a nunnery devoted to the Virgin, as, for instance, Our Lady’s Abbey in Roskilde. Moreover, the *Legendary* also includes the lives of Agnes and Catherine, the two female patron saints to whom two churches in medieval Roskilde were dedicated. 84 If on the one hand, no church, chapel, or convent was dedicated to the first female saint in the collection, Saint Margaret of Antioch (†304), it is plausible that the prominence given to her *vita* in the *Legendary* was determined by political rather than purely devotional reasons.

As shown in the previous section, the typology of readings transmitted in the Old Danish *Visio Pauli* suggest that its translation (presumably along with the other translations in the *Legendary*) was composed between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. That is, when *Wo* was already in circulation, but before *C10* was compiled in the fifteenth century. These years coincide with the reign of Margaret I, Queen of Denmark between 1387–1412, who would later unite the Kingdoms of Norway and Sweden under one crown. 85 During her reign, logical associations between her and her saintly namesake may easily have been made, as it seems to have been the case in the eleventh century for her Insular forerunner, Queen Margaret of Scotland (†1093). 86 In light of this, the choice of signing the Treaty of Kalmor on Saint Margaret’s day (June 17) in 1397 may have been a conscious attempt to promote the image of Queen Margaret as an ensemble of saintly virtues alongside her dauntless leadership in the unification and martyr-like defense of her reign(s). 87 Our Lady’s Priory in Roskilde became specifically indebted to


85. On Margaret I and her unification of the Scandinavian kingdoms, see, most recently, Vivian Etting, *Queen Margaret I (1357–1412) and the Founding of the Nordic Union*, The Northern World, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

86. The composition of the Anglo-Saxon lives of Saint Margaret of Antioch have been regarded as a possible tribute to Queen Margaret of Scotland. See Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of Saint Margaret*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), p. 89.

87. It is because of her particular strength and capability as a female monarch that Queen Margaret I earned the nickname “Semiramis of the North” after the legendary Assyrian Queen. See, for instance, Margaret McFadden, “Margaret of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden,” in *Dictionary of World Biography*, vol. 2: The Middle Ages, ed. Frank N. Magill et al. (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), pp. 626–28.
Queen Margaret I when, on July 6, 1393, the queen donated the property of Kelstrup (Odsherred municipality), including all the goods pertaining to it, to the Roskilde nunnery in exchange for a mass addressed to the Virgin Mary in memory of her father and forefathers and for herself. The *Legendary* may then have been assembled in Roskilde as a possible royal encomium and a sign of gratitude to Queen Margaret before her death on October 28, 1412.

THE ENGLISH PROVENANCE OF THE TEXT

At the beginning of the fifteenth century and after the first great unification of Denmark, Sweden with Finland, and Norway with its Atlantic dependencies (the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland) under Margaret I, the Nordic empire was in search of international prestige and official recognition. Naturally, the quickest possible political move was a marriage of two royal offspring that would firmly seal the alliance of two kingdoms.

In 1401, Queen Margaret entered into negotiations with King Henry IV of England to arrange a marriage between her adopted son, Eric of Pomerania (†1459), and Henry’s youngest daughter, Philippa of England (†1430). Margaret sent to England Master Peder Lykke (†1436), archdeacon of Roskilde Cathedral, in order to take care of the matter. A letter dated May 3, 1401, written at Westminster on behalf of Henry IV, assured Peder Lykke safe travel through the English Kingdom. Henry specifies that after the completion of his duties in England, Peder could safely make his return to Denmark “with his men and servants, horses, equipment, items and good of all sorts.” It stands to reason that, among

89. A learned man educated in Paris, Peder was introduced to a political career by the Bishop of Roskilde Peder Jensen Lodehat (†1416). Queen Margaret’s political counsel, Lykke was elected bishop of Ribe’s (Jutland) episcopal see in 1409 and was later granted the archbishopric of Our Lady’s Church in Lund in 1414. He died in 1436 and was buried in the chapel of Lund Cathedral. See *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon. Tillige omfattende Norge for tidsrummet 1537–1814*, vol. 10: *Laae-Løvenorn*, ed. Carl F. Bricka (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1887–1905), p. 521.
the archdeacon’s belongings there were manuscripts containing (devotional) literature of various kinds. In 1401 King Henry IV also sent a royal delegation to Roskilde led by Richard Young, Bishop of Bangor (+1418), and the sergeant-at-arms John Paruant. They spent several months in Roskilde and considerably delayed their return to England, as witnessed by a letter of apologies written at Roskilde by the two emissaries and sent to King Henry on June 16, 1401.91

Though not without problems, the negotiations among the two kingdoms (which lasted five years) turned out successfully, and the royal wedding of Eric and Philippa was finally celebrated at Lund Cathedral on

91. Inuicissime atque. metuendissime. princeps . . . ualemus. humiliori/ eidem magestati uestre suppleciamus quatinus. servitas. uestra discretissima pro. mora nostra. huissuusmodi. per nos. nullo. modo auctore dignetur nos. habere. excusat. et. cius quo poterimus cum. proximo. secur. nauigio. deo duce intendentis. remanere. sed. ad nauigia lingue. Theutonicorum/ propter ea que in partibus istis puplicate et famose. referuntur./ de his. que eis. et eorum amicis. his diebus. circa mare uestrum. Anglicanum continet/ ponere nos. ausi non sumus./ nisi prius per ipsos regem. et. reginam uel dominum episcopum. Roskeldensem./ quem. propter eximios. honores. merito. reuocassim. per. uos instantissime. rogatus/ nisi audita uoluntate dictorum. regis. et. regine. hoc non audet ut dixit. attemptare/ Alia non. occurringu. his scriptis. digna nisi quod magestatem. uestra ad reginam populorum sibi commissorum/ diu conservet/ altissimus feliciter. ut optemus. Scriptum. in ciuitate. Roskildensi. xvi. die mensis. iunii/ Uestri humilissimi Ricar- dus. minister ecclesie. Bangoenensis continuus orator ac Iohannes. Perant. serviens ad arma servator ad imperia et mandata semper promptissimi (Most invincible and dreaded sovereign. . . we beseech You, the same majesty, and most discreet sovereign, with as much humble affection as possible, to excuse us for our delay in our way sought by us. Led by God, we intend to return [to England] as soon as possible with the nearest safe shipping opportunity. But, because of what it is openly said in these [Nordic] countries, which concerns the issue affecting them and their friends in these days in Our English sea, we did not dare to trust the ships of German tongue, unless we had their friends in these days in Our English sea, we did not dare to trust the ships of German tongue, unless we had their friends in these days in Our English sea, we did not dare to trust the ships of German tongue, unless we had their friends in these days in Our English sea, we did not dare to trust the ships of German tongue, unless we had their friends in these days in Our English sea, we did not dare to trust the ships of German tongue, unless we had their friends in these days in Our English sea, we did not dare to trust the ships of German tongue, unless we had their friends in these days in Our English sea, we did not dare to trust the ships of German tongue,

Stanley (Henry, by the Grace of God King of England, France, and Lord of Ireland, sends greetings to each and every one of his admirals, captains of the guard, high constables . . . whom this letter shall reach. Ye shall know that we have taken in Our protection and defense, and in Our safe passage, Master Peter Lukke, Archdeacon of Roskilde, ambassador of the noblest Lady, Queen of Denmark, who should perform certain duties both for the part of our kingdom and for that of the Queen and her kingdom . . . and [so that he may] then make return to the aforementioned region of Denmark with his men and servants, horses, equipment, items, and good of all sorts . . . In testimony of this, we have commissioned our letter, which is valid through the forthcoming feast of Christmas. Witness of this [the King] at Westminster, 3 May in the second year of my government. At the council. Stanley”). The diploma, Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, NKR 1863a, was last printed in Jens Engeberg, Kilder til dansk historie i engelske arkiver (Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet, 1968), p. 46. Another copy is preserved in London at the Public Record Office. The text consulted here is Diplomatarium Daniicum nr. 14010509001, available at http://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/14010509001, accessed on May 1, 2015.
October 26, 1406. It is during the first decade of the fifteenth century, first with the reciprocal exchange of ambassadors, then with the move of Princess Philippa along with her royal retinue to Scandinavian soil, that some English manuscripts of devotional matter made their way to Denmark. Philippa herself is said to have brought to Denmark two beautifully illuminated English manuscripts dating to the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century. They contain devotional literature and are preserved today in Copenhagen at the Royal Library.

CONCLUSION

The Old Danish text of the *Visio Pauli* features methodical translations and a flawless, elegant prose, which required a good knowledge of the Latin language on behalf of its compiler. K 4 in particular boasts a scrupulous accuracy within its transcription of the text; it needs, therefore, to be regarded as the result of the patient work of a trained scribe. Whereas the exact Latin manuscript source behind the Old Danish translation is unfortunately missing, the typology of readings transmitted in the vernacular text can be traced back to a group of manuscripts (particularly Wo and C10) produced during the second half of the fourteenth century in southern England.

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. Moreover, the prominence given to the life of Saint Margaret, which is placed right after the life, death, and holy assumption of Mary in the *Legendary*, may be seen as a will of royal encomium to the Queen Margaret I, who ruled Denmark in those very years (1387–1412), and toward whom the bishopric and nunneries of Roskilde were particularly


considerate. The year 1412—that of her death—may consequently be taken as a reasonable ante quem date for the compilation of the Legendary in the form we know it today.

Some Latin manuscript material transmitting a text of the Visio Pauli with readings typical of the aforementioned Cambridge group, along with some female hagiographical material not at the time available at Roskilde (but in which the bishopric and the nunneries must have cultivated particular interest), may have been selected by Peder Lykke, Archdeacon of Roskilde, during his travel to England as ambassador of Queen Margaret in 1401. Soon after he deposited this material at Roskilde, the translation of the Latin texts into the vernacular began, not only for the benefit of the illiterate, but first and foremost for the nunneries of the city. The year 1401 may thereafter be taken as an approximate post quem date for its compilation. Subsequently in Roskilde some literary material of ultimate English provenance was collected into a manuscript along with other hagiographical material in the vernacular already available in the scriptorium (possibly an older translation of the Latin vita of Saint Catherine and the collection of Marian miracles), and not least with historical and medical texts typical of the Sjælland region: the Annals of Ryd Abbey and Master Henrik Harpestreng’s Book of Stones.

With his election to Bishop of Ribe (Jutland) in 1419, a manuscript containing the full version of the Legendary, the Annals of Ryd Abbey, and the Book of Stones may have been taken by Archdeacon Lykke himself from Roskilde to Ribe, where there must have been considerable subsequent copying and where its text may have acquired a particular Jutlandic coloring. Later in 1414, when Lykke was granted the prestigious Archbishopric of Our Lady’s Church in Lund, he must have taken a copy of that manuscript with him, especially considering the particular interest of that church in Marian texts on account of its dedication and devotion to the Virgin. Once in Scania, in a span of some sixty/eighty years, the manuscript may have acquired its distinguished Scanian idiosyncrasies as a consequence of considerable subsequent copying. In that region the manuscript coexisted with secular literary material of Swedish provenance, such as the Old Danish Yvein, the Knight of the Lion, to which it was later bound to form a single composite codex. The result of this extensive copying and fruition in diverse geographical areas unveils in a language characterized by a singular blending of disparate dialectal forms, which is so peculiar to the prose of K 4.