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

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(Article begins on next page)



JEGP



Volume 116, Number 1

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of the Old Danish *Visio Pauli*

DARIO BULLITTA

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Early Scandinavian Literature

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The Spelling of the Proper Names in the *Old English Orosius*:
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STEPHEN GORDON

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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*

Dario Bullitta, *University of Siena*

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 4 at the National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

1. On the eschatological imagination of the Middle Ages, see, especially, *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); and the comprehensive theological overview in Jacob Taubes, *Occidental Eschatology*, trans. and pref. David Ratmoko (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2009) of *Abendländische Eschatologie. Mit einem Anhang*, Batterien, 45, 2d rev. ed. (Munich, Ger.: Matthes & Seitz, 1991).

2. On the Jewish and Christian eschatological traditions, see Richard Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, Neth.: Brill, 1998). On the legacy of Virgil's *Aeneid* on medieval literature, see, especially, *A Companion to Virgil's Aeneid and its Tradition*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Michael C. J. Putnam, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 123–57.

3. For a general and convenient overview of some fifty-four medieval *visiones* of ascent and descent to the afterworld, see Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook*, Garland Medieval Bibliographies, 11 (New York: Garland, 1993).

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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 *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 earthy 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

4. On the dating of the Greek text and its relation to the Latin and the eastern redactions, see, especially, Robert P. Casey, “The Apocalypse of Paul,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, 34 (1933), 1–32.

5. The redactions of the Latin text have been recently investigated and reidentified by Lenka Jirušková, *Die Visio Pauli. Wege und Wandlungen einer orientalischen Apocryphe im Lateinischen Mittelalter unter Einschluss der altschechischen und deutschsprachigen Textzeugen*, *Mittelalterliche Studien und Texte*, 34, ed. Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Leiden, Neth.: Brill, 2006). The following summary is based on James’s translation of the earliest manuscript of the Latin tradition, Paris, nouv. acq. lat. 1631, ff. 40v–48v, written in the ninth century at Fleury Abbey, which transmits the text already in its entirety. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. Montague R. James (1924; corrected repr., Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), pp. 504–21.

6. On the controversial dating of its discovery, see, especially, Theodore Silverstein, “The Date of the Apocalypse of Paul,” *Mediaeval Studies*, 24 (1962), 335–48.

7. On the subject, see Vernon K. Robbins, “The Legacy of 2 Corinthians 12:2–4 in the *Apocalypse of Paul*,” in *Paul and the Corinthians. Studies on a Community in Conflict. Essays in Honour of Margaret Thrall*, ed. Trevor J. Burke and J. Keith Elliot (Leiden, Neth.: Brill, 2003), pp. 327–39; and, more recently, James Buchanan Wallace, *Snatched into Paradise (2 Cor 12:1–10). Paul’s Heavenly Journey in the Context of Early Christian Experience*, *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*, 179 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 289–92.

8. The punishment of the souls reflecting or contrasting their earthly misdeeds peculiar to the *Visio Pauli* was well known to Dante, who makes extensive use of it in the description of the morphology of his *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 *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.⁹ 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).¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹²

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.

10. The image of the four rivers in Paradise is again borrowed from the description of Eden of Genesis 2:10–14. See Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "The Four Rivers of Eden in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (*Visio Pauli*): The Intertextual Relationship of Gen 2:10–14 and the *Apocalypse of Paul* 23," in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Culture Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst*, ed. F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuisen (Leiden, Neth.: Brill, 2003), pp. 263–84.

11. On the Biblical references to David playing the harp and their subsequent interpretation in medieval writings, see, for instance, David C. Fowler and John Spencer Hill, "Harp," in *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*, ed. David L. Jefferey (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1992), pp. 330–32.

12. On the Sunday respite, see Rudolph Willard, "Address of the Soul to the Body," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 50 (1935), pp. 957–83. The theme enjoyed particular popularity in the Irish tradition; see Louis Gougaud, "La croyance au répit périodique des damnés dans les légendes irlandaises," in *Mélanges bretons et celtique offerts à MJ Loth* (Paris-Rennes: Plihon et Hommay, 1927), pp. 63–72.

In spite of its rejection by ecclesiastical authorities and eminent exegetes, most notably Augustine (†430),¹³ Aldhelm (†709),¹⁴ and Ælfric (†1010),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

13. *In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus cxxiv*, ed. Radbod Willems, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 36 (Turnhout, Bel.: Brepols, 1954), chap. 98.8, p. 581.

14. *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Rudolf Ehwald, Monumenta Germaniae historica Auctores antiquissimi, 15 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1919), p. 251.

15. *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series, Text*, ed. Malcom Godden, Early English Text Society, s.s., 5 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), p. 190.

16. Silverstein has advanced that the narrative of *Visio Pauli* may underlie Canto 2:28 of Dante's *Inferno*. See Theodore Silverstein, "Dante and the *Visio Pauli*," *Modern Language Notes*, 47 (1932), 397–99.

17. On the Old English and Old Irish versions of *Visio Pauli*, see, especially, Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press), pp. 106–74.

18. The first extensive translation of the *Visio Pauli* into Old English dates to the middle of the eleventh century. Its text is available in *The Old English Vision of St. Paul*, ed. Antonette di Paolo Healey, Speculum Anniversary Monographs, 2 (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1978).

19. Subsequently, during Anglo-Norman England the text was interwoven into an Old English Sunday homily (*In diebus dominicis*), preserved in a manuscript dating to the twelfth century. The text of the homily is available in *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises*, (*Sawles Warde, and þe Wohunge of Ure Louerd: Uerisuns and of Ure Lefdi, &c.*) of the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Century, First Series, ed. and trans. Richard Morris, Early English Text Society, 34 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1867–73), pp. 41–47. From the same century there are also two verse adaptations into Anglo-Norman. See Mary D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 274.

20. Seven rhymed redactions survive in Middle French dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century; see Douglas D. R. Owen, "The Vision of St. Paul: The French and Provençal Versions and their Sources," *Romance Philology*, 12 (1958), 33–51.

21. Two translations in Middle High German survive: the first is transmitted in four manuscripts from the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, whereas the second is preserved in *codex unicus* in a manuscript from around 1300. Their texts are available in Jirušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, pp. 981–92 and 992–96, respectively.

22. Mattias Tveitane has highlighted a possible influence of the *Visio Pauli* in a sermon on the Nativity of the Lord transmitted in the *Old Norwegian Homily Book* (which dates from circa 1200), whose text also transmits the typical *graduatio* of the *Visio Pauli*, describing the uncountable tortures of hell: *Ok þo at hværr maðr hæfði hundrað hofða. ok i hværiu hofði være .c. tugna or iarne. ok þær allar mætte fra uphæfe hæims þessa. alt til veraldar enda. þa mætte þær æigi sægia allt þat hit illa er i hælvti er* (And even if each man had one hundred heads, and in each

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.²³ 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 Swedecisms.²⁴ The manuscript contains the longest version of the *Annals of Ryd Abbey* (*Rydårbogen*) on ff. 11a–20vb, 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). *Gamalt norsk homiliebok. Cod. AM 619 4*, ed. Gustav Indrebø (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966), 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 the Norse compiler was translating. See *En norrøn versjon av Visio Pauli*, ed. Mattias Tveitane, Årbok for universitetet i Bergen. Humanistisk serie 1964, no. 3 (Oslo: Norwegian Univ. Press, 1965), 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, C22, on ff. 130r–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 CI–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 4to, f. 11r, from around 1400; and Reykjavik, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, AM 624 4to, pp. 293–97, from around 1500. Both manuscripts preserve the text fragmentarily: AM 624 4to is altogether missing the beginning, whereas AM 681 c 4to has only the last eleven lines. Its text is available in *En norrøn 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 1300-talet, tillhörande 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. cxi–cxvii; 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 Pil Dahlerup, *Dansk litteratur: Middelalder*, vol. 1: *Religiøs litteratur* (Copenhagen: 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 *hennæ* (her) and *theræ* (their), attested along with the more recent forms *hennis* and *theris*. Evidence of Scanian influence is the use of the pronoun *iach* (I), which is also employed in its Danish (Jutlandic) form *iech*. 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, *Studier til det danske Rigs sprogs Historie fra Eriks Lov til Chr. III's Bibel*, (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1910), I, 101, n. 2; and especially Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen, *Gammeldansk grammatik i sproghistorisk fremstilling*, 2d rev. ed. (Copenhagen: J. H. Schütz 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.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,²⁶ and an Old Danish translation of a lengthy Latin *Legendary* concerning mostly female saints on ff. 27r–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 Løveridder*), a translation of the Old Swedish *Herr Ivan Lejonriddaren* (ca. 5240 verses), which ends here deficiently.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 1480.²⁸ In light of the quires' signatures of K 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 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

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, 98b 4to, 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 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, "Rydårbogen," in *Kulturhistorisk leksikon för 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://middelaldertekster.dk/rydaarbogen-edv3/1> and <http://middelaldertekster.dk/rydaarbogen-nks606/1>, accessed May 1, 2015.

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 4, from around 1480.

27. The Swedish text is in turn an adaptation of Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain, Le Chevalier au Lion*. The same Old Danish translation is also extant in Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, K 47, ff. 1r–111v, dating from around 1500.

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 thæn 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 Vorherre 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 Vorherre 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 uor 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 pynæ*) on ff. 46rb–55ra; Cecilia (*Aff sancte Cecilia hennis pynæ*) on ff. 55ra–59va; Catherine of Alexandria (*Aff sancta Katerina*) on ff. 59va–64va; Lucy of Syracuse (*Aff sancta Lucie pass<ionis>*) on ff. 64va–66vb; Agnes of Rome (*Af 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).

31. The text is available in *Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis item Mariae Dormitio, additis Evangeliorum et actuum Apocryphorum supplementis*, ed. Constantine von Tischendorf (Leipzig, Ger.: 1886), pp. 124–136.

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).³² 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 Mariae* 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 1300.³³ 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.³⁴ These are followed by a confessional prayer (*Skriptemålsbøn*) 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 Ivein and Laudine (the main characters of the following text), which was drawn only after the two codicological units were assembled.

33. A facsimile edition of the passion of Saint Christina preserved in Add. 3827 is available in Eiríkr Magnússon, "A Fragment of the Old Danish Version of the Legend of St Christina, &c. in Collotype Facsimile," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 5/3 (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1902), pp. 167–68. The text of Add. 3827 is collated with that found in K 4. Transcriptions and facing English translations of the texts and a glossary are also provided on pp. 168–75 and 177–86, respectively. The text is also edited in *Fragmenter af gammeldanske haandskrifter*, ed. Paul Diderichsen and Holger M. Nielsen, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: Universitets Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1931–37), I, pp. 2–22; and in <http://middelaldertekster.dk/legende/fragmenter-k48/1>, accessed May 1, 2015.

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-Murielidis 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. 5–92; 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 11r–21r 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.

36. Eiríkr Magnússon, "Fragment of the Old Danish Version of the Legend of St Christina," p. 174/1–17.

37. See Birgitte Holt Larsen, "Om Stenbogen i Stockh. K 4," in *Festskrift til Kristian Hald. Navneforskning, Dialektologi, Sprogshistorie. På halvfjerdesårsdagen 9. 9. 1974*, ed. Poul Andersen, Christian Lisse, et al. (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1975), pp. 443–60.

38. Eiríkr Magnússon, "A Fragment of the Old Danish Version of the Legend of St Christina," pp. 157–66.

39. *De hellige Kvinder*, ed. Brandt, p. 97.

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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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.⁴² 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.⁴³ Other characteristics of the C group are the description of a burning wheel,⁴⁴ Paul and

40. The catalogued Latin manuscripts are available in Jirušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, at pp. 37–149; their transcriptions are at pp. 510–931.

41. In the following discussion, I make use of Jirušková's manuscript *sigla* and numbering of variants. For the Danish text (hereafter indicated with the letter B), I refer to the pages and lines of *De hellige Kvinder*, ed. Brandt.

42. *De hellige Kvinder*, ed. Brandt, p. 28.

43. (1) B 24/1–3 *Vorrs hærvæ eghen dag thær søndagh ær, han ær vtuoldh foræ alle dagæ, forti at englæ och archangle glædis aa hanum mer æn andre daghe* (Our Lord's own day, that is Sunday, was chosen among all [week-]days since all angels and archangels rejoice in it more than for other [week-]days). The corresponding Latin text has *Dies dominicus dei est electus, in quo gaudebunt angeli et archangeli, maior deibus ceteris* (Sunday was chosen as the day of the Lord in which the angels shall rejoice more than any other days). Here and in the following example, I quote the text of Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2829, ff. 52–54v (C10) dating from the fifteenth century. As shall be seen, C10 is the surviving Latin manuscript with which the Danish text shares the greatest number of variants.

44. (11) B 24/23–25/2 *Thæræ ær eth brænnende hiull . . . oc huært synne tha pintæs ther tusende siele innen* (There is a burning wheel . . . and each time a thousand souls suffer therein) corresponding to the Latin *In quo est rota ignea . . . et in unaquaque vice mille anime concrematur* (In which there is a wheel of fire . . . and at each turn a thousand souls are consumed by fire).

the Archangel Michael's encounter with the soul of an old man,⁴⁵ and the concluding exhortation to the readers/listeners to convert to the law of God.⁴⁶

Within the C group, four subfamilies of manuscripts have been identified: C1, C2, C3, and C/spec.⁴⁷ The Old Danish translation clearly derives from the C2 group, surviving today in thirteen codices,⁴⁸ 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).⁴⁹ C2 has God, rather than Christ, descending from heaven,⁵⁰ and

45. (26) B 26/10–16 *Soa so han en gammel man grædende oc illee ladende i meliom firæ defflæ . . . forti scal han toolæ vtalic 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 vidit in alio loco unum senem inter IIII diabolos plorante et ululantem . . . ideo sustinebit innumerales pena in die iudicii* (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 Gud actæ vy tha brodhær oc syster, oc see vy vether tesse pinær, at vy matte gøræ Gudz villie i thettæ 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). *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). 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 Bibliotheek, 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 siæle sculde haue noger roo i heluide* (so that the souls would have some rest in Hell) renders *ut anime haberent requiem in infero* (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 27/26–27 *Tha foor then milde Gudh aff himæn* (Then the Mild God departed from Heaven) translates *Deus descendit de celo* (God descended from Heaven) (C2) against *Et vidit Paulus celum movens et filium dei descendentem 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.⁵¹ It also describes the waters of the grim river in which the sinful souls suffered as populated by diabolical beasts⁵² 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.⁵³ Other textual variations between C1 and C2 (mostly concerning the phrasing of the sentence) are also mirrored in the Danish text.⁵⁴

Within the manuscripts of the C2 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 (Cg), with connections to Oxford;⁵⁵ University Library, Add. 2829, ff. 53r–54v (C10), also from the fifteenth century;⁵⁶ and University Library, Ll.1.15, ff. 172va–173va (C11) from the fourteenth.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

51. (9c) B 24/17–18 *Ther pinthæs innen huær efftær 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) (C2). The reading is absent in C1.

52. (12) B 25/3–4 *oc ther war deffuels diur soa mannige innen* (and there were so many devilish animals inside) for *in quo multe bestie diabolice erant* (in which there were so many diabolic beasts) (C2). The reading is absent in C1.

53. (34g) B 28/5–6 *foræ sancte Michaels bøn oc sancte Pouels oc allæ myne englæ* (through Saint Michael and Saint Paul's prayer and all my angels) translates *Propter Michaelm et Paulum et angelos meos* (Through Michael and Paul and my angels) (C2) against *propter Michael et Paulum* (Through Michael and Paul) (C1).

54. As, for instance, B 24/8 *oc synduge siæle pintæs* (and the sinful souls suffered) translating *Et peccatores cruciati et suspensos in eis* (and the sinners [were] tortured and suspended in them) (C2) against *in quarum ramis peccatoribus cruciate pendebant* (in whose branches of sinners they hung crossing) (C1); and (28g) B 26/33–34 *mikit bangh ræt ænse lordon* (a great noise just like thunder) corresponding to *et audivit et suspirium magnum quasi tonitruum* (and he heard a great sigh as if a thunder) (C2) in place of *audivit gemitum et suspirium magnum quasi tonitrum* (he heard a groan and a great sigh as if a thunder) (C1).

55. It includes notes concerning the vicar of St. Mary Madgalene's Church in Oxford (*Questiones solute a vicario ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene in Oxonia*) on ff. 101–9. See M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 3: *Containing an Account of the Manuscripts Standing in Class*, ed. Montague R. James (Cambridge: At the Univ. Press, 1902), pp. 418–20.

56. A description of it is missing in *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press*, ed. Charles Hardwick and Henry Richards Luard (Cambridge: At the Univ. Press, 1821–91), I–III. See also Jirušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, pp. 56–57.

57. See *Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, ed. Charles Hardwick and Henry Richards Luard, IV, 10–15.

fourteenth century, from which the Cambridge group of manuscripts appears to derive.⁵⁸ Proof of the dependence of C9, C10, and C11 on Wo is an important omission through eye-skip of two passages otherwise present in all other manuscripts transmitting text of the C2 type.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.⁶⁰ Both are consequently absent in the Danish translation.⁶¹

Among the aforementioned Cambridge group, the Danish text shares the greatest number of passages (sixteen in total) with C10, the best representative codex of that subfamily. Their most notable agreements are as follows: Paul and Michael entering hell, rather than exiting it;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;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.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 C2 type.⁶⁵

58. See *A Descriptive Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*, ed. Rodney M. Thomson with a Contribution on the Bindings by Michael Gullick (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer/ Boydell & Brewer, 2001), pp. 134–35. Worcester Q 27 contains several Augustinian, Dominican, and Franciscan treatises on penance. See *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, et al., vol. 1: *The Saint* (New York: New York City Press, 1999), p. 87, n. a.

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) *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).

60. (23) *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) *Hii erant, qui orphanis et viduis nocuerunt* (They were those who harmed orphans and widows).

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

62. (2b) B 24/6 *komme til heluidis* (they came to Hell) / *ibant ad inferum* (they came to Hell) (C10) against *exierunt ad inferum* (they went out of Hell) (C2 Majority).

63. (32a) B 27/9 *och hørde at tusendh tusende englæ øptæ* (and he heard thousand of thousands angels cry) / *et audivit vocem mila milium angelorum* (and he heard the voice of thousand of thousands of angels) (C10) against *Et audivit vocem milium angelorum* (and he heard the voice of a thousand angels) (C2 Majority).

64. (34c) B 27/33 *at i skulde leffue met mek* (so that you should live with me) / *ut viveretis mecum* (so that you would live with me) (C10) against *ut vos vinceretis mecum* (so that you would win me) (C2 Majority).

65. (1) B 24/1 *Vorrs hærræ egen dag* (Our Lord's own day) / *Dies dominicus dei* (Sunday, the day of God) (C10) against *dies dominicus* (Sunday) (C2 Majority); (9a) B 24/13 *Och ther war hoos then ouen siu særligh pyner* (and by the furnace there were seven afflictions) / *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;⁶⁶ the correct localization of the angelic voices heard by Paul and Michael in the forth heaven, rather than into the high heaven;⁶⁷ and several passages omitted in the Cambridge group.⁶⁸

plage erant ipsius fornacis (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 døo, oc mottæ ey* (they wanted to die and they could not) / *desiderant mori et non possunt* (they desired to die but they cannot) (C10) against *non possunt mori* (they cannot die) (C2 Majority); (12c) B 25/13–14 *han haffdæ hære siælf 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 græt sancte Pouel offter 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 *i huilken var alle hondæ pyne* (in which there were all the other torments) / *in quo omnes alie 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 spordæ apostellen, huoa the varæ* (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) (C2 Majority); (28f) B 26/31 *Oc hwar siall war yuer hin annen* (And each soul was above the other) / *Et erant quedam anime super alias* (And certain souls were above the others) (C10) against *Et erat anima una super alteram* (And one soul was above the other) (C2 Majority); (30c) B 27/5 *ther var gradh oc tendær niscæll* (there was weeping and grinding of teeth) / *ubi erat fletus et stridor dencium* (where there was weeping and grinding of teeth) (C10) against *ibi erit fletus et stridor dencium* (in that place there shall be weeping and grinding of teeth) (C2 Majority); (31) B 27/6 *Tha sagde engellen til sancte Pouell* (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); (34d) B 28/1 *och vdædiss men i alt eters liffdag* (and you were evil men throughout your whole life) / *sed mendaces fuistis in tota vita vestra* (but you were deceitful throughout your whole life) (C10) against *sed mendaces fuistis in vita vestra* (but you were deceitful throughout your life) (C2 Majority); (37) B 28/12 *Alle thee thenne dagh halde hellugh* (All those who hold that day holy) / *Et omnis, qui custodierit* (And all those who shall keep) (C10) against *Ideo qui custodierunt* (Therefore those who kept) (C2 Majority); (41) B 28/20 *oc see vy vether tessæ pinær* (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).

66. (8) B 24/9–11 *hængde somme viith fødær, somme vit hænder, somme vit haar, somme vit ørne, somme viith thungæ, oc somme mæth arme* (some hung by their feet, some by their hands, some by their hair, some by their ears, and some with their arms) / *Alii pendebant pedibus, manibus, capillis, auribus, linguis, brachis* (Some hung by their feet, hands, hair, ears, tongues, arms) (W10) against *Alii manibus, alii brachis* (Some by their hands, others by their arms) (C10).

67. (33d) B 27/24–25 *Tha hørdis there røsth i then fiardæ himmel* (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. (9) B 24/12 *och ther pyntess siælæ i hannum* (and in it the souls suffered) / *et puniebantur in ea peccatrices anime* (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

in C10; (12a) B 25/7–8 *Och ther for næden vare sinduge siæle* (And there the sinful souls went down) / *et multe peccatrices <anima> merguntur* (and many sinful souls were immersed) (W10), the reading is absent in C10; (12b) B 25/9 *Ther vare mange diuffuels diur* (there were many devilish animals) / *Ibi sunt multe bestie diabolice* (in that place there are many diabolic beasts) (W10), the reading is absent in C10; (28a) B 26/21–22 *gik up døn soa hordh oc soa ondh* (there went up a stench so harsh and so bad) / *surrexit fetor malus et durus* (there rose a bad and harsh stench) (W10) against *evolavit fetor malus* (there flew up a bad stench) (C10); (30a) B 27/1 *huore megeth unæt thu giordæ i iørderigi* (how much evil you have done on earth) / *Quomodo operata est in terra* (in what way [evil] has been worked on earth) (W10) against *quid operata est in terra* (how [evil] has been worked on earth) (C10); (32b) B 27/12–13 *fore Guddroten* (before God) / *ante deum* (before God) (W10) against *ante dominum* (before the Lord) (C10); (34) B 27/27 *oc cronæ a hans hoffuit* (and a crown on his head) / *et diadema in capite eius* (and a crown on his head) (W10), the reading is absent in C10; (34a) B 27/27–28 *forthi at the badhæ hannum* (because they prayed him) / *Quem ita deprecantur* (Whom they therefore prayed) (W10) against *Quem videntes illi* (Whom they were seeing) (C10); (35) B 28/8 *Tha vorth heluidis dørworth* (Then the gloomy doorkeeper of Hell) / *Mestus ergo hostiarius baratri* (Therefore the gloomy doorkeeper of Hell) (W10), the reading is absent in C10.

69. The reading is also extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 527 (S. C. 814), ff. 191v–192v, a manuscript also written in Southern England during the fourteenth century, whose scribe could have been acquainted with one of the ancestors of Wo. See *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues II Laudian Manuscripts*, ed. Henry O. Coxe (1858–85; repr., R. W. Hunt Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1973).

70. (26a) B 26/12 *Oc engellen sagde, at han var en biscop, oc var glømen* (And the angel said that he was a bishop and was forgetful) / *Et dixit angelus: Episcopus negligens fuit* (And the angel said: the bishop was negligent) against *Hic negligens fuit* (This was negligent) (C10) and *Spiritus negligens fuit* (The spirit was negligent) (C2 Majority).

71. (9b) B 24/16 *Oc thom alle varæ synduge siæle innen* (And they were all sinful the souls therein) / *et in illa furnace erant anime peccatorum* (and in that furnace there were the souls of the sinful) against *et in illa furnace mittuntur anime peccatorum* (and in that furnace were cast the souls of the sinful) (C10, Wo and C2 Majority); (14c) B 25/22 *The ther til theræ mon var* (Those who were up to their mouth) / *Hii, qui dimersi sunt usque ad labia* (Those who are immersed up to their lips) against *Alii dimersi usque ad labia* (Some immersed up to their lips) (C10, Wo, C2 Majority); (30) B 26/36 *lathend then same dagh af legomet* (leading him the same day from the body) / *ducebant eodem die de corpora* (they led him the same day from the body) against *ducebant eo die de corpore* (they led him that day from the body) (C10, Wo, C2 Majority); (36) B 28/10 *Vy tacke tith nafn ther høgist Gud/ Benedicimus te filium dei excelsi* (We bless your name, Son of the highest God) against *Benedicimus te, fili David excelsi* (We bless you, Son of the highest David) (C10, Wo, C2 Majority).

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>. 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. 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. ⁷⁴ The second corruption describes a golden angel, rather than God’s angel, accompanying the good soul to heaven. 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 *firæ tusende pinæ oc firtiuge hundræt oc siw* (144,007). 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. 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. The most

72. (24) *oc foræ thom var enkyns fruct ther* (and before them there was a kind of fruit) / *et fructus ante illos erant* (and a fruit was before them) (C2 Majority) against *cuius fluctus ante illos erant* (that wave was before them) (Wo). The reading is absent in C10.

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

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

75. (32) B 27/7–8 *I then same stundh ledæ gull engell en ræth siæll* (In that same moment a golden angel led a righteous soul) against *Post hec in uno momento adduxerunt angeli animam iustam* (Subsequently, in one moment, the angles 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*).

76. (32a) B 28/15–16. The number 144,000 (that is 12 x 12 x 1000) is taken from Revelation 7:4 and 14:1, 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.

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).

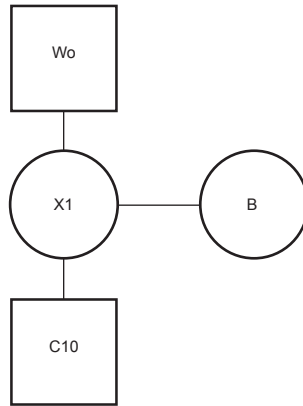


Figure 1: Filiation of Wo, C10, and B.

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

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 28/20–23 *For Gud acte vy tha brothaer oc syster, oc see vy vether tesse pinær, at vy matte gøre Gudz villie i thette vœrildh . . . 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 1256.⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ 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.⁸² The decision to place together the translations of *Transitus Mariae Virginis* and *Visio Pauli*, on the fate of souls in the afterlife, may conceal an appeal to a nun's beati-fied 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.⁸³

80. On the foundations of priories in medieval Roskilde, see the useful summary by Troels Dahlerup, "Church Organization and Function. 1. Denmark," in *Medieval Encyclopedia. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Philip Pulsiano, Kirsten Wolf, et al., Garland Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages, 1 (New York: Garland, 1993), pp. 84–88.

81. See, for instance, David Carter, "Mariological Dogmas," in *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, ed. Erwin Fahlbusch et al., trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Brill, 2003), III, 404–5. [Originally published as *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon. Internationale theologische Enzyklopädie*, ed. Erwin Fahlbusch et al., 3. Auflage (Göttingen, Ger.: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986–97)]. For a quick overview of the so-called *imitatio Mariae* of the medieval nuns, see, for instance, Grete Lüers, *Marienverehrung mittelalterlichen Nonnen*, Aus der Welt christlicher Frömmigkeit, 6 (Munich, Ger.: E. Reinhardt, 1923).

82. On the *sponsa Christi* topos, see, for instance, John Bugge, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Idea*, Archives Internationales d'histoire des idées. International Archives of the History of Ideas, Series Minor, 17 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 61–79.

83. See Hilding Kjellman, *La deuxième collection anglo-normande des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge et son original latin, avec les miracles correspondants des manuscrits français 375 et 818 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Arbeten utgifna med understöd af Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, Uppsala, 27 (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1992), pp. xii–xiii.

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 Kalmar 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

84. For a survey on the Roskilde nunneries and their adaptation to the surrounding society of the city, see Thomas Hill, "Middelalderlige nonneklostre mellem religiøse idealer og verdslige krav. Bidrag til historien om klosterne Vor Frue, St. Clara og St. Agnes i Roskilde," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 1 (1995), 7–30.

85. On Margaret I and her unification of the Scandinavian kingdoms, see, most recently, Vivian Etting, *Queen Margaret I (1353–1412) 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. 83.

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.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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."⁹⁰ It stands to reason that, among

88. See the epistolary between the Queen and the Roskilde Prioress of Our Lady's Abbey in *Diplomatarium Danicum*, ser. 4, vol. 5: 1393–1395, ed. Herulf Nielsen (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, C.A. Ritzels Forlag, 1998), nr. 58 and 59.

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: *Laale-Løvenørn*, ed. Carl F. Bricka (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1887–1905), p. 521.

90. *Henricus dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie uniuersis et singulis admirallis capitaneis castellanis . . . ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quod suscepimus in protectionem et defensionem nostram ac in saluum et securum conductum nostrum magistrum Petrum Lukke/ archidiaconum Roskildensem ambassiatozem nobilissime domine regine Dacie certa negocia [am nos et] regnum nostrum quam ipsam reginam et regnum suum . . . et exinde ad dictas partes Dacie redeundo homines et seruientes equos harnesia res et bona [sua] quecumque . . . In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus. patentes usque ad festum natalis domini proximo futurum duraturas. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium tercio die maii anno regni [nostri secundo]. Per consilium.*

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

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 Danicum* nr. 14010503001, available at <http://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/14010503001>, accessed on May 1, 2015.

91. *Inuictissime atque, metuendissime, princeps . . . ualemus, humiliori/ eidem magestati uestre supplicamus quatinus. serenitas. uestra discretissima pro. mora nostra. huiusmodi. per nos. nullo. modo affectata dignetur nos. habere. excusatos./ et cicius quo poterimus cum. proximo. securo. nauigio. deo duce intendimus. remeare. sed. ad nauigia lingue. Theutonicorum/ propter ea que in partibus istis publice et famose. referuntur./ de hiis. que eis. et eorum amicis. hiis diebus. circa mare uestrum. Anglicanum contingebant/ ponere nos. ausi non sumus./ nisi prius per ipsos regem. et. reginam uel dominum episcopum. Roskeldensem./ quem. propter eximios. honores. intuitu. dicte. uestre. serenitatis. nobis. impensos ipsa. serenitas dignetur. habere. merito. recommisum/ specialiter et obnix. eis. essemus commendati/Prefatus. tamen episcopus eciam. per. uos instantissime. rogatus/ nisi audita uoluntate dictorum. regis. et. regine. hoc non audet ut dixit. attemptare/ Alia non. occurrunt hiis scriptis. digna nisi quod magestatem. uestram ad regimen populorum sibi commissorum / diu conseruet / altissimus feliciter. ut optamus. Scriptum. in ciuitate. Roskildensi. xvi. die mensis. iuniu/ Uestri humillimi Ricardus. minister ecclesie. Bangorensis continuus orator ac Iohannes. Perant. seruens ad arma seruitor 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 no 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 first been specifically and eagerly recommended [to do so] by the King and Queen [of Denmark], or by the Lord Bishop of Roskilde . . . Written in the city of Roskilde on 16 June. Your humble Richard, Minister of the church of Bangor, renewable supplicant, and John Peruant, Sergeant-at-Arms. [Your] servants, always ready to commandments and instructions). The letter is preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Nero B III, on f. 15r. See *Diplomatarium Danicum*, nr. 1401616001, <http://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/1401616001>, accessed on May 1, 2015.

October 26, 1406.⁹² 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.⁹³

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

92. On Philippa’s wedding and regency, see especially Steinar Imsen, “Late Medieval Scandinavian Queenship,” in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 55–63.

93. Thott 517 4, dating from around 1370, was produced for Mary de Bohun (†1394), Philippa’s mother. It transmits the Middle French lives of Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Saint Margaret, available online at <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/75/dan/>, accessed on May 1, 2015. See *De illuminerede Haandskrifter fra Middelalderen i Det Store Kongelige Bibliotek*, ed. Christian Bruun, Aarsberetninger og Meddelelser fra Det store kongelige Bibliotek, 3 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1874–89), p. 197. Thott 547 4°, also dated to the years around 1379, is a Book of Hours in Latin, available at <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/76/dan/>, accessed on May 1, 2015. See *De illuminerede Haandskrifter*, ed. Bruun, p. 192.

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.