

Holmbäck, Åke/Wessén, Elias (1979d), *Svenska Landskapslagar tolkade och förklarade för nutidens svenskar. Skånelagen och Gutalagen*. Stockholm.

Jansson, Sam (1943), *Svensk paleografi*. (Nordisk kultur 28 A). Stockholm.

Jansson, Sven-Bertil (1994), Attityder till literacy. Några exempel ur svenskspråkiga texter från senmedeltiden. In: *Medeltida skrift- och språkkultur* (ed. Inger Lindell). Stockholm, 103–120.

Jansson, Valter (1934), *Fornsvenska legendariet. Handskrifter och språk*. Stockholm.

Lönnroth, Lars/Delblanc, Sven (1987), *Den svenska litteraturen. Från forntid till frihetstid*. Stockholm.

Olson, Emil (1911), *Östgötalagens 1300-talsfragment*. (SSF 41). Lund.

Sawyer, Birgit/Sawyer, Peter (1996), *Medieval Scandinavia. From Conversion to Reformation circa 800–1500*. Minneapolis.

Schlyter, C. J. (ed.) (1834), *Uplands-Lagen*. (Samling af Sweriges Gamla Lagar 3). Stockholm.

Schück, H. (1891), Bidrag till frågan om Dalalagen. In: *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet i Uppsala förhandlingar 1888–91*. Uppsala.

Ståhle, Carl Ivar (1955), Medeltidens profana litteratur. In: *Ny illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria I* (ed. E. N. Tigerstedt). Stockholm.

Ståhle, Carl Ivar (1988), *Studier över Östgötalagen*. Efter författarens efterlämnade manuskript utgivna av Gösta Holm. (SSF 77). Lund.

Wiktorsson, Per-Axel (1976), *Södermannalagens B-handskrift. Textens historia och språk*. Uppsala.

Wiktorsson, Per-Axel (1981), *Avskrifter och skrivare. Studier i fornsvenska lagtexter*. Uppsala.

Wiktorsson, Per-Axel (ed.) (1989), *Magnus Erikssons Landslag enligt Cod. Ups. B 23*. (SSF 78). Lund.

Jonas Carlquist, Stockholm (Sweden)

94. The history of Old Nordic manuscripts IV: Old Danish

1. Overview
2. Latin manuscripts
3. Vernacular manuscripts
4. Literature (a selection)

1. Overview

With regard to Danish manuscripts – a term here used to cover both manuscript books and handwritten documents of certain or probable Danish origin – the period from ca. 1100 to 1350 constitutes a well-defined whole: there are no extant Danish manuscripts dating from before ca. 1100 and only very few from the half century or so after 1350. In the following, attention is chiefly given to those manuscripts from this period which provide information pertaining to the history of the Danish language.

Historically speaking, the details surrounding these manuscripts are hazy; apart from the charters most can be dated and localised only approximately, if at all, and their scribes are anonymous, with the exception of a very small handful, who, when they provide titles, tend characteristically enough to be in religious orders. Scribal schools can be discerned only in conjunction with the largest religious institu-

tions (primarily Lund, but possibly also Sorø). Linguistically speaking, the manuscripts are sometimes solely or predominantly in Latin, sometimes solely or predominantly in Danish, the former case typically when they preserve texts which are part of the common European Latin-Christian tradition and/or can be presumed to have had interest principally for the local representatives of that tradition (diplomas, municipal laws, guild laws, necrologies, cadastres, annals and chronicles), and the latter case when they preserve texts that were the product of indigenous culture (chiefly the provincial laws), or common European texts which may be assumed to have had especial meaning for ordinary people (medical and religious works). Quantitatively speaking, the distribution of the manuscripts over the period is as could be expected: the largest number are from the first half of the 14th c., fewer from the 13th c., and only a very few from the 12th c. Given that it is known that texts have been written down in Danish since the end of the 12th c., it is more of a surprise that the great majority of vernacular manuscripts should come from the last part of the period – indeed, apart from one or two, all are dated to the period ca. 1300–1350.

2. Latin manuscripts

With the exception of the two law codices AM 37 4to and AM 11 8vo, which contain complete short texts in the vernacular, the chief interest of the Latin manuscripts from the point of view of the history of Danish lies in the vernacular material that appears sporadically in them. This material is principally in the form of Danish personal and place-names, although particularly in the charters and municipal laws Danish words, especially substantives, occasionally appear which for one reason or another are not translated. Most often this scattered material is found in purely Danish or slightly Latinised form (the latter is especially the case for personal names), and can therefore throw light on the history not only of the vocabulary, but also on orthography, phonology and to some extent morphology.

Despite being in Latin, the original charters (i. e. legal documents such as royal ordinances, deeds, testaments and so on) are one of the period's most important (and least studied) sources for the history of Danish. Owing to the nature of their content, they are full of names, are almost always precisely dated, unlike other sources, and are more evenly distributed chronologically over the period than are the vernacular Danish manuscripts.

Unfortunately there are only two or three original Danish charters (as opposed to copies) from the 12th c. dealing with Danish matters. The oldest is Erik Emune's privilege for Lund Cathedral from 6 January 1135, the scribe of which has been identified as one of the scribes of *Necrologium Lundense* and must therefore have been affiliated with the famous Lund scriptorium. From the 13th c. around 350 original Latin charters issued in Denmark have been preserved, and there are well over twice as many from the first half of the 14th c. The scribes of only a few of these have thus far been identified with named persons: one of the important figures in King Abel's chancellery is thought to have been Esger, Bishop of Ribe (d. 1273) (Skyum-Nielsen 1963, 225ff.), and the hand on a number of charters written in Ribe during the period 1289–1315 has been identified as that of Canon Astratus of Ribe, who is known from, among others, the cartulary referred to as the "Ribe Oldemoder". Scribes of charters, as far as can be seen, never identify themselves; despite what has been claimed to the contrary (Skautrup 1944, 206, cf. 197), the sporadically found

formula *Datum per manum/manus* + a name in the genitive hardly represents a scribal formula (cf. inter alia Skyum-Nielsen 1957, 111 with references).

On the borderline between charters and manuscripts proper lie the Latin municipal laws of the period, and a single collection of guild laws. The municipal laws contain officially confirmed rules for the legal system in the towns, and the guild law the rules for the mutual obligations between the members of a brotherhood. They are of interest linguistically principally for their vocabulary of Danish glosses; especially rich in this respect are the bylaws of Schleswig, which are thought to have been issued as early as the first half of the 13th c., but are only preserved in a version from the beginning of the 14th c. for use in Ebeltoft (DKB [Royal Library of Denmark] GKS 3168 4to). Preserved in the original are the municipal laws for Copenhagen from 1254 (DRA [Danish Record Office]) and 1294 (DRA), the municipal laws for Ribe from 1269 (fragm. DKB NKS 1880 fol.) and for Aabenraa from 1335 (Aabenraa Landsarkiv [Regional Archives]). The guild law is that of St. Erik's Guild in Kalvehave; it was confirmed in 1266, but the small parchment booklet containing it, which comprises a separate part of the manuscript AM 275 8vo, is thought to be a copy from ca. 1300.

The Latin manuscripts of the period are all miscellanies of varying degrees of heterogeneity. Here they have for purely practical reasons been separated into necrologia, cartularies, the anthology known as *Valdemars Jordebog*, legal anthologies, a collection of grammatical texts, and finally manuscripts that are only of interest for their historical content.

Necrologia have their origin in the obligation churches and other religious institutions had taken upon themselves – generally in exchange for donations – to commemorate the dead at a service on the anniversary of their death. They can comprise many different kinds of texts, but the Danish material they contain is limited to necrologies, occasionally with added information on donations made by the deceased, historical notices and short texts that have been added for practical or administrative reasons, for example copies of title deeds or lists of prebends (properties the revenues from which were used to pay priests, canons etc.). From the scriptorium of the Laurentius Church in Lund – where in the early 12th c. a number of manuscripts of an unsurpassed beauty were produced – come two

manuscripts of exceptional interest for historical linguists. With their age and the large amount of Danish vernacular material they contain, they help to fill a gap which the charters cannot. The elder and grander of the two is known as *Necrologium Lundense* (Lund Medeltidshandskr. 6). Its first necrologies are thought to have been taken over from an older necrologium in connection with the consecration of the new crypt at Lund Cathedral in 1123. It is unclear whether the introductory text of St. Knud's deed of gift from 21 May 1085 (and a prebend list written at the same time) was added even earlier or whether it is a copy of a forgery produced toward the middle of the 12th c. (Kroon 1989, 225). The obituary section (*Memoriale fratrum*) was continued regularly to about 1170, and thereafter sporadically until the beginning of the 14th c. In the first half of the 13th c. two boundary descriptions were added which are full of names (*Termini Balluncslef*). Only slightly younger than *Necrologium Lundense* and every bit as rich in names is the *Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior* (Lund Medeltidshandskr. 7), the oldest necrologies of which were taken from *Necrologium Lundense* before 1146; subsequently necrologies were added regularly until the beginning of the 15th c., in many cases with accompanying information on the donations of the deceased. Other surviving manuscripts of this type are considerably younger and scarcely as valuable as sources, at least as far as place-names are concerned; these are: the Næstved Calendarium (DKB E don. var. 52 fol.) which was begun about 1265, *Liber daticus Lundensis recentior* (DKB GKS 845 fol.), begun ca. 1268, *Obituarium Hafniense* (DKB Thott 805 fol.), begun ca. 1275, and the *Necrologium Ripense* (DKB GKS 849 fol.), in use from 1284. To this list might also be added the fragmentary Nysted necrologium (Den Haag, Mus. Meermanno-Westreenianum), which cannot be dated more precisely than to the 14th c.

Cartularies appear to have been put together solely in order to facilitate the juridical and economic administration of religious institutions. The texts contained in them are almost always sources of names, in that they consist of copies of charters of importance to the institutions in question, along with various inventories of sources of revenue – primarily prebend lists and cadastres (topographically arranged inventories of properties with information on the revenues deriving from them) – in other words texts which by necessity

contain names of various kinds. The earliest of these is the cartulary from Ribe, which owing to an enigmatic post-medieval inscription reading “Oldemoder” [grandmother], is generally known as the *Ribe Oldemoder/Avia Ripensis* (DRA). It contains entries for the Ribe bishopric and chapter for the entire period ca. 1290–1518, but over two thirds of them are the work of the oldest scribe, who was active from about 1290 to 1322 and identifies himself as master Astratus, canon of Ribe and the church's advocate (*tutor*); he is otherwise known from references in, and was presumably the writer of, a number of contemporary charters from Ribe (Skyum-Nielsen 1948–1949, 152–155). The cartulary and cadastre from the Århus chapter are dated to the period around 1315, and together with two 15th-c. sections of similar content make up the manuscript known as *Århusbogen* (DKB E don. var. 53 fol.).

The Latin manuscript of the period which has, alongside *Necrologium Lundense*, the greatest value as a source for the history of the Danish language, although dated to as late as ca. 1300, is known as *Valdemars Jordebog* (DRA). It too is a miscellany, comprising texts of varying kinds, some of interest to historians of the language, others not. Although the texts are copies which appear to have been added – primarily by two scribes – according to a preconceived plan, the book's exact purpose, in contradistinction to that of the necrologia and cartularies, is difficult to discern and has therefore been the subject of much debate. The most recent hypothesis, that the book was intended as an aid to the Franciscan mission in the Baltic area in the years around 1300 (Gallén 1993, 81–83), is irreconcilable with the generally accepted localisation of the manuscript to the Cistercian monastery at Sorø, a localisation based on the observation of two striking congruences: viz. that one of the manuscript's two main scribes, the writer of the cadastral sections, is apparently identical with the scribe of the law manuscript AM 455 12mo, who identifies himself as Frater Johannes Jutæ (“[the] Jute”) and shares his name – admittedly not a particularly rare one – with a monk from Sorø named in a title deed from 1298; and that the manuscript also has many striking features of layout in common with the leech-book DKB NKS 66 8vo, the main scribe of which identifies himself as Frater Kanutus Yuul, the name of another monk from Sorø mentioned in a deed from 1310. Of relevance for the history of the Danish language are

principally the lists of crown properties and the like, which although responsible for the book's name, make up only about one third of it. Here there are some 1200 name forms and a great number of Danish words, including some terms for measurements and the names of animals that could be hunted on the Danish islands, along with occasional purely Danish passages. Most important is the section known as the "Main List", which systematically covers the entire country, district by district. It was written, according to the manuscript itself, in 1231, i.e. during the reign of Valdemar Sejr. Danish names are also found among other places in the annals included in the manuscript, the *Valdemarsannaler* (1074, 1130–1219).

Of the legal anthologies, the manuscript AM 37 4to undoubtedly belongs to the period under discussion, since this collection, which is presumed to have originated in Lund, contains one section which is dated to the second half of the 13th c. AM 11 8vo may also stem from this period, but cannot be dated more precisely than to the 14th c. The main texts of the two manuscripts are indigenous vernacular texts that have been put into Latin in order to reach an international public: one is a copy of the paraphrase made, according to a colophon, by Archbishop Andreas Sunesen (d. 1228) of the *Skånske Lov* or Scanian Law; and the other is a copy of a translation of *Jyske Lov* or Jutish Law (see section 3.). Both these texts contain a small number of Danish glosses, but what is most interesting about the two manuscripts from the point of view of the history of Danish are their vernacular texts. In AM 37 4to there is a text of *Skånske Kirkelov* or Scanian Ecclesiastical Law (see section 3.) which is thought to be a copy of a copy made during the ecclesiastical conflict of the 1250s (cf. e.g. Brøndum-Nielsen 1975, 33–42), while AM 11 8vo contains a fragment of the preface to *Jyske Lov* and a prayer to Christ. In AM 37 4to there is also found, as a comment on the manuscript's particular version of the epilogue to the Ecclesiastical Law, a short verse which has been added in the margin, known as "skåningestrofen".

The whole of the small manuscript AM 202 8vo, which is possibly from Roskilde, is dominated by texts dealing with Latin grammar. The texts have been written by various 14th-c. hands, the oldest of which is dated to ca. 1300 and is thought to be responsible, along with several hands from the second half of the century, for the Danish elements, which consist

of sporadic Danish glosses, including several animal and fish names.

There are a number of Latin manuscripts from the period that are of interest for the history of Danish solely on account of their historical content, i.e. annals or chronicles which deal either solely or in part with Danish material and therefore include a number of Danish names, although in general significantly fewer than do the other Latin manuscripts discussed here. The earliest of the annals is the Colbaz Annal, which now forms part of the composite manuscript Ms. theol. lat. fol. 149 in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. The entries it contains pertaining to the history of Denmark are from 1130 until the end of the 12th c. and were made presumably in Lund or the vicinity thereof, as the same hand is thought to have been at work here as was responsible for the rubrication in *Necrologium Lundense*. Sometime late in the 12th c. the manuscript was transferred to the Cistercian monastery of Colbaz in Pomerania. A rich source for names, including many from the south Jutish border region, is the only surviving witness of the Ryd Annal, actually a combination of chronicle and annal, which goes up to 1288. The witness is a copy from about 1300 (Hamburg Stadtbibliothek 98b) and is so full of errors as far as the Danish names are concerned that the scribe is presumed to have been a foreigner. The most important of the chronicle manuscripts is *Ømbogen* (DKB E don. var. 135 4to). That part of the manuscript dating from the period under discussion contains a considerable collection of mid- and east-Jutish names, in that it gives historical accounts from the monastery at Øm in East Jutland, entered successively from at least 1216 up to 1320. Other manuscripts containing annals or chronicles with relevance for the history of the language are the following: Kiel UB [Universitätsbibliothek] S. H. 8 A 8vo from the second half of the 13th c. (a copy of the Roskilde Chronicle, written for the most part around 1140); Uppsala UB C 70 from the 13th c. (a copy of the Danish-Swedish annals from 916–1263); a leaf containing original annal entries for the years 1202 to 1347 that has been added at the end of DKB GKS 450 fol. ("the younger Sorø Annal") – the manuscript may be a French Justinus manuscript from the second half of the 12th c. given by Archbishop Absalon (d. 1201) to the monastery at Sorø; the fragment AM 843 4to from ca. 1300 and the older part, also from ca. 1300, of the composite vol-

ume Erfurt Stadtbibliothek 23 8vo (copies of the Lund Annal, running up to 1267, with the interpolation of the Lejre Chronicle, written about 1170). Of Saxo's great historical work *Gesta Danorum* – which is thought to have been written in the period 1185–1219 and which contains a large and important collection of names, albeit ones that are difficult to assess due to their partly Latinised forms – only a very few leaves survive from the period: the Angers fragment, DKB NKS 869 g 4to, comprising four leaves, dated to the beginning of the 13th c. and thought to stem from Saxo's own working copy; three other fragments, DKB NKS 570 fol., are dated to the end of the century. Despite their limited scope, these fragments are of great historical-linguistic significance if for no other reason than their importance for evaluating the oldest complete witness of the text, the Paris printed edition of 1514.

3. Danish vernacular manuscripts

From the last century of the period under discussion, ca. 1250–1350, about 30 Danish vernacular manuscripts have been preserved, all in the form of codices or fragments thereof, and all, with one possible exception, containing copies rather than originals. Naturally these manuscripts provide a much greater amount of material for the study of the history of Danish orthography, phonology, morphology and lexicology than do the Latin manuscripts, and also allow for the study of the history of syntax, style etc. In the areas of lexis, syntax, style etc. the possibilities are somewhat restricted, however, by the fact that the types of texts preserved are relatively limited, being principally confined to laws, leech-books and translations of religious material.

The bulk of medieval Danish vernacular manuscripts are law books, whose principal content is the laws for the three provinces into which the Danish kingdom was divided in the Middle Ages: Skåne (Scania), Sjælland (Zealand) and Jylland (Jutland). By the word 'law' is meant both laws proper (*love*), i. e. those issued and authorized by the king, as is the case with *Jyske Lov* ('Jutish Law'), and books of laws (*retsboøger*), collections compiled without royal sanction, as is the case with other provincial laws.

The doyen of Danish manuscripts is the large and exceptionally skilfully produced part of the manuscript SKB [Royal Library

of Sweden] B 74 which comes from the relevant period. It is dated to the second third of the 13th c., but rather before than after 1250. Its principal text is *Skånske Lov*, thought to have been recorded between 1202 and 1216; it otherwise contains only the *Skånske Kirkelov*, i. e. a settlement regarding details in the administration of justice agreed between the Scanians and the archbishop at some indeterminate point in the late 12th c. Two other law manuscripts date to the 13th c. but are presumably several decades younger than B 74. Dated to the end of the century is AM 24 4to, an eight-leaf fragment of *Valdemars sjællandske Lov*, which in its earliest form was perhaps drawn up under Valdemar the Great but is found here in a version from some time between about 1216 and 1241 (the so-called older redaction). The other manuscript is part of the composite volume SKB C 37 and contains *Jyske Lov*, which was issued in 1241 by Valdemar Sejr, along with two Latin ordinances. Given their location in the manuscript, these must have been added later than the text of the law itself, and since the scribe who wrote them has been recently identified as a scribe active in 1279 in the employ of a certain Thomas, curate to the powerful dowager queen Margrete Sambiria (d. 1282) (Skyum-Nielsen 1980, 531), the manuscript is now dated to around 1280, whereas it was previously assumed to be significantly younger.

There are four law codices from around 1300. Two contain only texts of *Jyske Lov*: AM 4 4to, which was also formerly regarded as significantly younger and has received scant scholarly attention, and the "Flensburg manuscript" (Stadtarchiv, Flensburg), which before the redating of C 37 was thought to be the oldest known manuscript of *Jyske Lov*, dated by some to the end of the 13th c. Its name derives from its earliest known provenance, the town hall in Flensburg, whereas the language cannot be precisely localised, despite the sporadic presence of elements which have been attributed to a south-Jutish scribe. The third of these manuscripts is AM 455 12mo, a veritable florilegium of Zealandic legal material. It contains the younger redaction (compiled presumably after 1241) of *Valdemars sjællandske Lov* (to which the preface to *Jyske Lov* has been added, as was subsequently common); *Sjællandske Kirkelov*, a text which is largely identical to *Skånske Kirkelov* with the exception that the contracting parties are here the bishop and people of Zealand and that the date is (plausibly) given as July 21, 1171;

and finally *Eriks sjællandske Lov*, the youngest and longest of the provincial laws, which was presumably first drawn up after 1241 and is associated with some otherwise unidentifiable Erik. The manuscript's sole scribe identifies himself twice as Frater Johannes Jutæ, who, as was mentioned (in sect. 2.), is presumed to have written large parts of *Valdemars Jordebog* and has been identified as a monk in the monastery at Sorø, as has the only other scribe of a Danish vernacular manuscript who identifies himself with name and title, Frater Kanutus Yuul. Both in terms of date and style, the two scribes are so close to each other that it has been suggested – perhaps rather boldly – that there was an active scribal school at Sorø around the year 1300. The fourth manuscript from around 1300 is AM 28 8vo. It contains *Skånske Lov* and *Skånske Kirkelov* written in one hand; written in another, possibly slightly younger, hand are two short historical texts (fragments of a list of Danish kings and a Danish chronicle beginning with the legendary king Hadding's son Frode to Erik Menved), a description of the drawing of the oldest border between Sweden and Denmark (“the Daneholm settlement”) and finally a verse with accompanying musical notation, the earliest preserved in Scandinavia to a vernacular text. What makes the manuscript truly exceptional, however, is that it is written entirely in runes (hence its name, *Codex runicus*). These are not the classical Viking-Age runes, but rather runic characters modified so that each corresponds to a letter of the Latin alphabet. Something of a similar kind is known only from the small fragment SKB A 120, and given that it stands close to AM 28 8vo in terms of the form of the runes and the language (Scanian), it has been suggested that the two manuscripts come from the same scriptorium; it has been further suggested, on rather meagre grounds, that this scriptorium may have been at the Cistercian monastery at Herrevad in Scania. This use of runes is normally regarded as a revivalist phenomenon. The two runic manuscripts in no way form an organic link between the runic script culture of the Viking Age and medieval Latin book culture, but are entirely products of the latter, and both must have had as their exemplars texts written in the Latin alphabet.

Most of the law codices stemming from the first half of the 14th c. are dated to around 1325. Only two are thought to be slightly older. One of these is a manuscript of *Jyske Lov*, AM 286 fol., which is dated to the early

14th c., or ca. 1320. It appears originally to have belonged to the Ribe chapter house, and judging from its large format – it is the only extant Old Danish law manuscript in folio – may have served as a reference copy in the library. That the first of the manuscript's two scribes appears, on linguistic grounds, to have been from the Ribe area, or at least south Jutland, also supports this notion of an origin in Ribe. The other early 14th c. law manuscript is part of the composite volume Ledreborg 12 12mo (from the beginning of the 14th c., sometimes, however, dated to ca. 1325 or the middle of the century). With the exception of the last two leaves (which contain short texts in Latin), the manuscript is entirely taken up with Scanian legal material: *Skånske Lov*, *Skånske Kirkelov*, the Scanian version of Erik Klipping's Vordingborg Decree of March 19, 1282 and Erik Klipping's Nyborg Decree for Skania of May 26, 1284. Primarily on the basis of its language, which differs slightly from that of the other early manuscripts of *Skånske Lov*, it has been suggested that the text of *Skånske Lov* preserved in Ledreborg 12 represents an adaptation for use within the area of Zealandic judicature, something a thorough investigation of first and foremost the unstressed vowels argues against, however (Frederiksen 1974, 367–370). Among the large group of legal manuscripts dated to ca. 1325 there are two that contain essentially only *Skånske Lov* and *Skånske Kirkelov*: SKB B 76 4to (known as the “Hadorphian manuscript” after the Swedish scholar Johan Hadorph, who edited it as early as 1676), which has the peculiarity that the epilogue to the *Sjællandske Kirkelov* is added to the text of the ecclesiastical law, and SKB B 69 4to, which appears to have connections with Malmö and was perhaps written there – a scribe from Malmö has at least been postulated to explain a number of linguistically eccentric passages. Four other manuscripts in the 1325 group contain primarily Jutish legal material: SKB C 44, which contains only *Jyske Lov*; part of SKB C 40, also containing only *Jyske Lov*; AM 453 12mo, containing in part *Jyske Lov*, the scribe of which identifies himself in a Latin verse as Johannes, born in Ørum (the name of various settlements), and in part the Jutish-Zealandic version of Erik Klipping's coronation charter of July 29, 1282 in Latin and Erik Klipping's Nyborg Decree for North Jutland of May 21–27, 1284 in Danish; and finally DKB NKS 295 8vo, the contents of which are identical to those of AM 453. The scribe of NKS 295

8vo is thought to be the same as that of one of the two large Jutish-Zealandic legal anthologies which is also part of the group of manuscripts dated to ca. 1325. This is SKB C 63, which contains both the same Jutish legal material as does NKS 295 8vo and the two Zealandic Laws (the younger redaction of *Valdemars Lov*) as well as *Sjællandske Kirkelov*. These same contents, but in a slightly different order and without the decrees, are also found in another large anthology, SKB C 39, which, on account of its text being closely related to that of AM 455 12mo, and because a variant of the first line of a Latin scribal verse in the manuscript is found in NKS 66 8vo, might tentatively be linked to the monastery at Sorø. Slightly younger than these are part of DKB GKS 3657, from ca. 1350, which contains most of *Jyske Lov* but ends defectively, and AM 41 4to, from around or slightly before 1350, which contains *Skånske Lov* and *Skånske Kirkelov*. At the front of the latter manuscript and almost to be regarded as a pen trial, or at least added in a different hand (ca. 1350) from the main hand of the manuscript, is a fragment in Scanian or Swedish of the East-Nordic translation of a “Debate between the body and the soul”, ultimately based on a Latin poem from the 13th c. commonly known as *Visio Philiberti*. Dating from some time in the first half of the 14th c. is a two-leaf fragment of the older redaction of *Valdemars Lov* (NRA [Norwegian Record Office]). Perhaps also dating from the period is the vellum part of AM 19 8vo, containing *Jyske Lov*. The manuscript cannot be dated more precisely than to the 14th c., but on the basis of its linguistic features it may be localized to the area where Danish and Frisian were in contact at the time.

A small manuscript in the Stadtarchiv, Flensburg, is possibly an original law book. With perhaps only a draft for an exemplar, its oldest hand is responsible for a Danish version of the Flensburg municipal law, issued in Latin in 1284, with a supplement from 1295 (cf. Diderichsen 1956, 96 ff.). This Danish redaction is dated by Diderichsen (*ibid.*) to ca. 1315. Yet another supplement has been added in two 14th-century hands (issued January 25, 1321).

Two manuscripts from the period, SKB K 48 and DKB NKS 66 8vo, both dated to ca. 1300, contain texts of the same leech-book/herbal. Although traditionally associated with the name of Erik Plovpenning's physician, Master Henrik Harpestreng (d. 1244), the

work has its roots in two Latin texts from the Salerno medical school (*De viribus herbarum*, probably by Odo Magdunensis, and *De gradibus liber* by Constantinus Africanus, both 11th c.). The text of the leech-book as preserved in K 48 is nearer the original than that of NKS 66 8vo and also incorporates some sections attributed to Harpestreng (but based on Latin sources) on bathing, blood-letting and so on. The two manuscripts are otherwise quite different in their composition. K 48 contains, in addition to the leech-book, a confessional prayer, otherwise unknown but presumably a translation from Latin. It is added in a different, but in all likelihood contemporary, hand. Moreover, the prayer is preceded by the end of one Marian miracle and the full text of another, both known from the so-called TS-series of Marian miracles. K 48 thus appears to be a fragment of a larger whole, one whose contents are thought to have included a complete collection of Marian miracles along with a collection of female saints' lives (*legenda*), and possibly also a lapidary (a work that explains where gemstones can be found and enumerates their mineralogical, medicinal and supernatural qualities). The evidence on which this conclusion is based is partly the so-called Cambridge fragment, which is in all likelihood another part of this original whole and contains the beginning of a collection of Marian miracles (apparently of the TS type) along with fragments of the life of the martyr Christina (for its closest Latin parallel, see Gad 1961, 207), and partly the late medieval manuscript SKB K 4, which among other things contains a collection of female saints' lives and a lapidary whose language is rather archaic; the text of the legend of Christina it contains suggests it is related to the Cambridge fragment (Larsen 1974, 447). NKS 66 8vo is also a miscellany, but with a clearer unifying principle underlying the texts it comprises, at least those written in the main hand. The scribe identifies himself as Frater Kanutus Yuul and is thought to have been part of the Sorø scriptorium (see sect. 2.). Following the medical text he presents first a lapidary, which is based on two Latin texts, *Liber lapidum* written ca. 1080 by Marbod of Rennes and a compilation from the early 13th c. by the otherwise unknown Arnoldus Saxo, and which at most shares certain sources with the lapidary in K 4. Finally there is a short cookery book, possibly translated from Low German but presumably based ultimately upon French recipes whose earliest preserved witnesses are significantly

younger, as is the case with most European culinary texts from the Middle Ages. In a now fragmentary gathering in front of the leech-book text a more or less contemporary hand has added a text of *Skånske Kirkelov* that is so close to the text of B 69 that the two must derive from a common exemplar, while on the final leaf of the gathering of the cookery book there has been added a piece on “julemærker”, omens regarding the weather and harvests on the basis of the day of the week on which Christmas falls, probably deriving from a widely disseminated Latin work ultimately of Greek origin, *Prognostica temporum*. A four-leaf fragment dated to the first half of the 14th c. (Linköping Gymnasibibliotek T 67 nr. 199) preserves the text of a leech-book which appears to be closely related to that found in NkS 66 8vo.

All the manuscripts from the period that exclusively preserve translated religious material have in common the fact that they are fragmentary, and apart from SKB A 120 all bear clear signs of having been reused in the way religious manuscripts from the Middle Ages frequently tended to be treated in the following centuries – cut up for use as parchment strips for seals, as lining in bindings, or as envelopes for archival material and so on. The oldest of these religious manuscripts is in all likelihood the Cambridge fragment (Cambridge University Library Add. MS. 3827¹), which has been identified as a small remnant – two conjugate leaves – of the same miscellany which K 48 is a more extensive remnant of, and has thus the same dating (ca. 1300). To the period around 1325 are dated two fragments whose language had previously been identified as (younger) Old Swedish but in the 20th c. was claimed to be early Old Danish, more precisely Scanian, and which represent as such newly claimed territory for the history of Danish language. One of these is the six-leaf fragment SKB A 120, which is written in the runic alphabet and whose place of writing has been tentatively identified as the Cistercian monastery at Herrevad in Scania. It contains part of a translation of a widely disseminated Latin tract concerning Mary’s lament at the Cross (*Planctus Mariæ*, early on attributed to the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux, 1090–1153, but probably written by Og(ler)ius of Trino, d. 1214). The other fragment is SKB *A 115, a bifolium which contains just over a hundred lines of a metrical version (in *knittelvers*) of the Latin apocryphal gospel *Evangelium Nicodemi* (on Christ’s descent into hell

and resurrection); the Danish text is possibly based on a lost German metrical version. Probably also from the period, but not more precisely datable than to after about 1300, come the remnants of two manuscripts containing *legenda* found in Uppsala UB C 871. One contains fragments of a translation of the life of Christina, but based either on another Latin source or simply another translation than the Cambridge fragment (Gad 1961, 243f.). In the other are preserved fragments of a translation of the life of the confessor Elisabeth of Thuringia (canonized 1235), apparently translated from an otherwise unknown Latin version of her life in the *Legenda aurea* (a work compiled in the second half of the 13th c. by Jacobus de Voragine, ca. 1226–1298) (Gad 1961, 245). From around 1350, or perhaps slightly later, there is a manuscript the only remnants of which are strips on seals attached to two 17th-c. documents from Romsdal in Norway, but whose contents can with some likelihood be assumed to have been a translation of the *Legenda aurea*; at least the remnants preserve a few lines of two *legenda* from that collection, those of the 5th-c. (?) ascetic St. Alexius and the martyr Cecilia. The text of the latter appears to be so close to the life of Cecilia preserved in the much younger K 4 that the two could well derive from the same translation.

4. Literature (a selection)

- Blatt, Franz/Christensen, C.A. (1938), *Corpus Diplomatium Regni Danici* 1–7. Hauniae.
- Brøndum-Nielsen, Johs. (1950), *Gammeldansk Grammatik i sproghistorisk Fremstilling* 1². København, 30–40 (with references to editions not mentioned separately in this bibliography).
- Brøndum-Nielsen, Johs. (1955), *Et gammeldansk Diget om Christi Opstandelse efter Fragment Stockh. *A 115 (c. 1325)*. København.
- Brøndum-Nielsen, Johs. (1960–1973), *Corpus Codicum Danicorum Medii Aevi* 1–10. Hafniae.
- Brøndum-Nielsen, Johs. (1964), *Legende-Fragmenter paa Seglremme fra Romsdal*. In: *AphS* 26, 88–99.
- Brøndum-Nielsen, Johs. (1975), *Skaanske Kirkelov og AM 37, 4^o*. In: *AphS* 30, 33–42.
- Christensen, Vibeke/Sørensen, John Kousgård (1972), *Stednavneforskning* 1, København, 31–91.
- Diderichsen, Paul (1956), *Flensborg stadsret. Nogle tekstkritiske bidrag*. In: *Festskrift til Peter Skautrup* (eds. Svend Aakjær/Kr. Hald/Aage Hansen et al.). Aarhus, 87–112.

- Frederiksen, Britta Olrik (1974), *Sproget i Ledreborg 12 af Skaanske Lov og Skaanske Kirkelov*. Unpublished thesis, University of Copenhagen.
- Gad, Tue (1961), *Legenden i dansk middelalder*. København.
- Gallén, Jarl (1993), *Det "Danska itinerariet". Franciskansk expansionsstrategi i Östersjön* (ed. John Lind). Helsingfors.
- Jørgensen, Ellen (1929), Et Brudstykke af et Calendarium fra Nysted Franciskanerkloster. In: *Personalthistorisk Tidsskrift* 49, 213–215.
- Kroman, Erik (1943), Dansk Palæografi. In: *Nordisk Kultur* 28. *Palæografi A. Danmark og Sverige*. København/Oslo/Stockholm, 36–81.
- Kroman, Erik (1951–1961), *Danmarks gamle Købstadlovgivning* 1–5. København.
- Kroman, Erik (1971), *Den danske Rigslovgivning indtil 1400*. [København].
- Kroon, Sigurd (1989), Knut den heliges försvunna gåvobrev av 21 maj 1085: ett antedaterat 1100-talsdokument. In: *Scandia* 55, 203–243.
- Larsen, Birgitte Holt (1974), Om Stenbogen i Stockh. K 4. In: *Festskrift til Kristian Hald* (eds. Poul Andersen/Christian Lisse/Karl Martin Nielsen et al.). København, 443–460.
- Nielsen, Karl Martin (1946–1982), *Middelalderens danske Bømebøger* 1–5. København.
- Nielsen, Lauritz (1937), *Danmarks middelalderlige Haandskrifter*. København.
- Nielsen, O. (1872–1887), *Kjøbenhavns Diplomatarium*. Kjøbenhavn.
- Nyrop, C. (1895–1904), *Danmarks Gilde- og Lavsskraaer fra Middelalderen* 1–2. København.
- Petersen, Erik (1999), *Levende ord & lysende billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Katalog*. [København/Århus].
- Skautrup, Peter (1937), *Eriks sjællandske Lov. Text* 1–2 (Danmarks gamle Landskabslove 5). København.
- Skautrup, Peter (1944), *Det danske sprogs historie* 1. København, 190–215.
- Skyum-Nielsen, Niels (1948–1949), Haandskriftet "Ribe Oldemoder". En kritisk Studie. In: *Scandia* 19, 127–156.
- Skyum-Nielsen, Niels (1957), *Diplomatarium Danicum* 1st series, vol. 5. København.
- Skyum-Nielsen, Niels (1963), Den danske konges kancelli i 1250'erne. In: *Festskrift til Astrid Friis* (eds. Svend Ellehøj/Svend Gissel/Knud Vohn). København, 225–245.
- Skyum-Nielsen, Niels (1980), [Review of] Thomas Riis: Les institutions politiques centrales du Danemark 1100–1332. Odense 1977. In: [Dansk] *Historisk Tidsskrift* 80, 525–538.

Britta Olrik Frederiksen,
Copenhagen (Denmark)

Translated by Matthew James Driscoll

95. The development of Latin script I: in Norway

1. The introduction of Latin script
2. The corpus
3. Typology
4. Periodisation
5. Abbreviations
6. Scribes
7. Reference books and study aids
8. Literature (a selection)

1. The introduction of Latin script

Norwegians encountered the Latin alphabet on Viking raids and on trading expeditions a long time before it was taken into use at home. Coins with Nordic names in the Latin alphabet (e.g. *Anlaf* = *Óláfr*, *Sihtric* = *Sigtryggr*) were issued in York before the middle of the 10th century and suggest that Scandinavian traders also knew how to employ the new al-

phabet. The fundamentals of an alphabetical script were, after all, well known, since the runes had by then been in use for many centuries in Norway and the other Scandinavian countries.

The introduction of Christianity brought the Latin alphabet to Norwegian shores, most likely as early as the 10th century. Several Norwegian bishops during the reign of King Óláfr Haraldsson (d. 1030) had learnt to write in England. One received the nick-name *inn bókvísi* 'the bookwise', and Bishop Grímkell or one of his companions is supposed to have written a mass for King Óláfr ca. 1050. Since the reign of King Óláfr inn kyrrri (1067–1093) we have every reason to assume that quite a few Norwegians knew how to write, not only in Latin but also in the vernacular. It is generally thought that the recording of provincial

Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikations- wissenschaft

Handbooks of Linguistics
and Communication Science

Manuels de linguistique et
des sciences de communication

Mitbegründet von Gerold Ungeheuer (†)
Mitherausgegeben 1985–2001 von Hugo Steger

Herausgegeben von / Edited by / Edités par
Herbert Ernst Wiegand

Band 22.1

Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York
2002

The Nordic Languages

An International Handbook of the History
of the North Germanic Languages

Edited by

Oskar Bandle (main editor) · Kurt Braunmüller

Ernst Håkon Jahr · Allan Karker

Hans-Peter Naumann · Ulf Teleman

Consulting Editors:

Lennart Elmevik · Gun Widmark

Volume 1

Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York
2002