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

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

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

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

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

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

According to the epilogue of five of the Old Swedish text witnesses, *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* was translated into Swedish in 1308, and the traditional dating of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* is based on this statement (cf. Lodén 2012: 11). However, the earliest extant text witness of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie*, in Cod. Holm. D 4 (henceforth D 4), specifies the time of translation as late 1300, while the Old Danish text witness in K 47 brings forward an additional alternative dating of early 1301. These alternative dates have been discussed at length; the true date of translation of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* continues to be a matter of scholarly debate<sup>3</sup> and cannot be treated any further within the scope of this article. Nevertheless, the differing dates serve here as an initial demonstration of the variation found between the Old Swedish and the Old Danish text witnesses. Before proceeding to a closer examination of the variation, a presentation of the text witnesses and the editions is in order.

### **Text witnesses and editions of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie***

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

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

3 See for example Bambeck (2009).

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* has been published twice, by Klemming in 1853<sup>5</sup> and then again by Erik Noreen in 1927. Klemming also supplied his edition with an edition of the Old Danish *Hertug Frederik af Normandi*. C. J. Brandt published the latter along with the other texts in K 47 in 1869. Klemming based his edition of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* on the text witness in the oldest manuscript, D 4, but he also included a critical apparatus of variants from the text witnesses in the other Swedish manuscripts. Noreen's critical edition of *Hertig Fredrik af Normandie* is based on text witness B, in D 4a, but includes variants from the text witnesses in D 4 and the Danish K 47 (designated as text witness G), the only text witnesses that Noreen (1927a: VII) deemed valuable enough for textual criticism. According to both Klemming (1853: 227–228) and Noreen (*ibid.*), text witnesses A, B and G provided the most original versions of the text, while text witnesses CDEF were merely copies that were considered quite insignificant, if not useless. Klemming seems to have taken a somewhat arbitrary approach to the selection of variants from CDEF to include in his critical apparatus. Since CDEF were considered of much less value, some individual variants in these text witnesses were simply left out or perhaps in some cases overlooked by Klemming.

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

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

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

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

### The variations between K 47 and the Swedish text witnesses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As noted by all the editors, a tendency to modify and adapt the text applies to the entire K 47 text witness. While many couplets and passages are missing entirely, there are also large parts that are more or less consistent with the narrative in the Swedish text witnesses, but with frequent modifications. There are also several plus deviations throughout G and Noreen (1927a: VIII) mainly attributes them to the source text, thereby pointing out the importance of G for textual criticism. The most conspicuous variation in G is the extensive revision of the tournament in Barna, which is followed by Duke Fredrik's visit to the maiden Floria's tower and her subsequent abduction. In the Swedish version, Fredrik and Floria set sail for Scotland, and the narrative takes a dramatic turn when Fredrik is washed overboard during a storm. He survives the ordeal thanks to his magic ring which keeps him afloat at sea, where his pursuers, sent by Floria's father, the Irish king, find and capture him. The entire episode, from the tournament to Fredrik's fall overboard, encompasses some 800 verses in the Swedish version but corresponds to merely 75 verses in G. The tournament, amounting to some 240 verses in the A text witness, is more or less entirely missing in G (there is only a description of the participating knights). In G, Duke Fredrik immediately takes off for Ireland where he enters Floria's tower disguised as a woman. He spends a couple of days there, merely admiring the fair maiden in secret, and the nightly and somewhat dubious action that takes place in the Swedish text witnesses is nowhere to be found. Fredrik then sends Floria off to Scotland and stays behind, only to be captured by the king's men, who find him afloat at sea. How he got there remains a mystery to the reader. The editors, as well as Lütjens (1912) and later Layher (1999), commented on the largely rephrased and abbreviated passage, but while Klemming (1853: 228), Brandt (1870: 368) and Lütjens (1912: 11–12) find the revision unskilful and attribute it to a corrupted source text<sup>7</sup>, Noreen (1927b: 18) questions such an explanation and suggests that the passage was adapted on purpose because the tournament was boring and the seduction and abduction of Floria too indecent. Since the tournament and the abduction of Floria are included in all the Swedish text witnesses, I find it unlikely that the source text omitted these parts of the narrative entirely, although there could have been a lacuna. As pointed out by Lütjens (1912: 12) and Layher (1999: 180), the Danish scribe must have been familiar with at least parts of the storyline, so if the revised passage is the result of a corrupted source text, the scribe must have had access to a different source, or at least read or heard the story at some

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

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

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

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

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

### Possible explanations of the variation in the K 47 text witness

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Interplay with other texts in K 47

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Purpose of the K 47 manuscript

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

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



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

### Concluding remarks

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

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

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

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

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