

COLLEGIUM MEDIEVALE

Interdisciplinary Journal of Medieval Research

Volume

32, no. 1

2019

Published by
COLLEGIUM MEDIEVALE
Society for Medieval Studies

Oslo 2019

COLLEGIUM MEDIEVALE

Tverrfaglig tidsskrift for middelalderforskning
Interdisciplinary Journal of Medieval Research

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Bjørn Bandlien

EDITORIAL BOARD

Kjartan Hauglid

Espen Karlsen

Mikael Males

Vibeke Vandrup Martens

Eivor Oftestad

The journal *Collegium Medievale* is a forum for all who are engaged in research on topics related to the Middle Ages or the Renaissance. One volume is published annually. The journal is published by the medievalist association Collegium Medievale, Society for Medieval Studies, in cooperation with Novus Press, Oslo, Norway. The Association has its basis in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Oslo, <http://www.khm.uio.no/tema/tiden/middelalder/collegium-medievale/>.

Scholars within the relevant fields are invited to submit papers to the journal. The stylesheet is available online at: <http://bit.ly/CMstyle>

Previous volumes (vols. 18–31) are available online at <http://ojs.novus.no/>.

Institutions and individuals may subscribe to the journal. The annual subscription fee for 2019 is NOK 500 for institutions and NOK 400 for individuals, postage included. Individual issues may also be purchased, and most previous issues are available. Payments to Novus Press, Herman Foss' gate 19, 0171 Oslo, should be made to DnB, NO-0021 Oslo, Norway, BIC(SWIFT): DNBANOKK, IBAN for payments in Euro: NO2770950447018, IBAN for payments in Norwegian kr: NO8978740533362. DNB charges a fee of NOK 50, for cashing foreign cheques; this fee will have to be covered by subscribers using this mode of payment and should therefore be added to the amount paid for subscription.

Advertisements can be accepted by the journal: One page costs NOK 2.200, whereas a halfpage costs NOK 1.100 (plus 25% VAT = value added tax). Foreign publishing companies do not pay VAT. Publishers may also apply to have printed notices of books or other publications distributed with the journal. The fee for this is negotiable.

For further information, please contact the secretary: henriette.hoel@uib.no

Review copies can be sent to: Collegium Medievale, Box 9046 Grønland, N-0133 Oslo, Norway.

Printed in Norway by Lasertrykk.no, Oslo.

© Novus AS 2019.

COLLEGIUM MEDIEVALE, vol. 32, 2019

Artikler / Articles

- STEPHEN D. WHITE: The Politics of Misadventure at Camelot:
The Fall of Arthur's Kingdom in *La mort le roi Artu* 5
- SYNNØVE MIDTBØ MYKING: Alle vegar fører til Nidaros: Om eit fransk
handskriftfragment og dansk-norske kontinentale nettverk 39
- NINA KJØLSEN JERNÆS & KAREN MENGSHOEL: Medieval polychrome
sculptures in Norwegian museum collections and churches: Are there
differences in how they are retouched, presented and perceived? 59

Anmeldelser / Reviews

- Henning Laugerud: *Reformasjon uten folk* 85
(MARTIN BERNTSON)
- Lene Dāvøy (overs.): *Passio Olavi: Olav den hellige og hans mirakler* 93
(EGIL KRAGGERUD)
- Bente Lavold & John Ødemark (red.): *Reformasjonstidens religiøse bokkultur* 96
(IVAR BERG)
- Kurt Villads Jensen, Janus Møller-Jensen, Carsten Selch Jensen (eds.):
Fighting for the Faith – The Many Crusades 102
(PÅL BERG SVENUNGSSEN)
- Eivor Oftestad: *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant* 106
(STEPHAN BERGEHAMMAR)

The Politics of Misadventure at Camelot The Fall of Arthur's Kingdom in *La mort le roi Artu*

SOPHUS BUGGE ANNUAL LECTURE 2018

STEPHEN D. WHITE¹

‘Adventures in the kingdom of Logres were in such decline
that they hardly took place anymore’.²

The poisoning episode: ‘The greatest misadventure in the world’

A third of the way through *La mort le roi Artu* (c.1230),³ an early thirteenth-century Old French prose romance that concludes the Lancelot Grail Cycle,⁴ ‘the greatest misadventure in the world’ takes place at Camelot, the court of King Arthur of Logres.⁵ Although the poisoning episode, as I refer to it here, is extraordinarily complex

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the support he received 2018 for his work on this article from a fellowship from the Centre of Advanced Study at the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters.

² Frappier 1964.

³ Frappier 1964 [henceforth MA]. In the text and notes, passages from MA are cited by giving a Roman numeral for the section number, followed by a period, followed by a Roman numeral for line number(s). Translations – in which I use modern English cognates for key words such as ‘misadventure’ and ‘traïson’ – are my own, but I have consulted the English translations in Cable 1971 and Lacy 1995 and the modern French translations in Baumgartner and Madeiros 2007a and Hult 2009a. For a concordance to MA, see Kunstmann and Dubé 1982; for recent bibliography, Baumgartner and Madeiros 2007c; and Hult 2009c. In addition to Frappier 1964a, I have also consulted Baumgartner and de Madeiros 2007a; and Hult 2009a.

⁴ In its original form, according to most scholars, the Lancelot-Grail Cycle included three parts: (1) *Lancelot* (sometimes called the *Lancelot en prose* or the Cyclic Prose-Lancelot) = Micha 1978–1983; (2) *Graal* = Pauphilet 1967; and MA. For English translations of *Lancelot* and *Graal*, see, respectively, Lacy 1993–1996, vols. 2 and 3; and Lacy 1993–1996, vol. 4, pp. 3–87. On the cycle, see Hult 2009b: 9–29; Dover 2003; Kibler 1994a, 1994b, 2003; Lacy 1993; Micha 1987.

⁵ On misadventure and mischance, see the discussion below at fn. 27 and following.

and difficult to interpret, the following summary will suffice for the moment.⁶ While Queen Guinevere is eating in her chamber with Arthur's nephew Gawain and many other knights of the Round Table, a knight called Avarlan is plotting in another room to poison Gawain, whom he hates for reasons that are never explained. Dispatching a servant to give a poisoned fruit to the queen, Avarlan expects her to pass it to Gawain, a particular favorite of hers, who will eat it and die. But Guinevere – who is not watching out for 'treason' – gives the fruit to a knight called Gaheris the White, brother of Mador de la Porte, who accepts it out of love for her. Taking a bite, he immediately drops dead. Astonished by this 'marvel', the queen and the other knights all jump up from the table. Seeing the dead knight, the queen is grief-stricken about this 'misadventure' (62.37) and does not know what to do, 'because it was seen by so many worthy men that she could not deny it' (62.38–40).

One of the knights hurries off to tell Arthur about the 'marvel' (62.42) that has just taken place: the queen has killed a knight of the Round Table through 'the greatest misadventure in the world' (62.44–45). Coming to the queen's chamber and seeing Gaheris's body, the king says that Gaheris has suffered a very great 'mischance' (62.53), adding that the queen has done great 'villainy' if she has acted 'willingly' (62.53–54).⁷ 'Surely', according to an anonymous speaker, 'she deserves death for this deed, if she truly knew that the fruit that killed the knight was poisoned' (62.54–57).⁸ Meanwhile, Guinevere is so overwhelmed by the 'mischance' of Gaheris's death (62.64–65) that all she can say is that she would never have given him the fruit had she known that it (i.e., the fruit itself) was 'disloyal' (62.62). But Arthur now tells her that howsoever she gave the fruit to Gaheris, her deed was 'evil and villainous' and that he strongly suspects that she 'acted out of greater anger than [she] admit[s]' (62.65–6).⁹ After Arthur returns to his own palace, he signs himself with the cross a thousand times, in reaction to the 'marvel' of the knight who died by such 'mischance' (62.76–78). Meanwhile, Guinevere laments that God had forgotten her when she killed such a worthy man by what she, too, calls such 'mischance', adding that she gave him the fruit 'with great good will'.¹⁰

On the following day, however, when Gaheris is buried outside Camelot Cathedral, Arthur's knights decide by 'common consent' to place above his tomb an in-

⁶ For the entire three-part episode see (1) 62.16–63.18; (2) 67.16–69.13; and (3) 74.1–85. Hult 2009c.

⁷ 'de son gré'.

⁸ 62.52–54.

⁹ A difficult passage. I follow Cable 1971: 83.

¹⁰ 62.85–86: 'par grant debonnereté'.

scription that reads: 'HERE LIES GAHERIS THE WHITE OF KARAHEU, BROTHER OF MADOR DE LA PORTE, WHOM THE QUEEN CAUSED TO DIE BY POISON' (63.11–13).¹¹ Days later, Mador – who had been absent from court when Gaheris died – returns to Camelot and chances on his brother's tomb.¹² After reading the inscription and verifying what it says about Gaheris's death with a knight of the Round Table who happens to be passing by, Mador seeks vengeance for his brother by coming before King Arthur and demanding that he do 'right' (*dreit*) to him about the queen, whom Mador accuses of killing his brother 'by treason', adding that if she denies the accusation, he will prove it by fighting any knight who defends her.¹³ Upon hearing the accusation, many at court say that the queen is in serious trouble and will find no one to fight Mador, 'because everyone knows for certain that she killed [Gaheris] as she has been accused' (67.70–73). Although Arthur, we are told, is distressed by Mador's accusation, he is obliged to do him 'right', which clearly calls for the queen's execution (67.74–77). When he summons her to answer Mador's charge, Guinevere is aggrieved and angry: she knows that no one will defend her, because it is generally known that she killed Gaheris (67.77–82). Flanked by Gawain and his brother Gaheriet, the queen comes before Arthur, who repeats Mador's accusation, and asks Mador whether he is accusing her of having killed Gaheris 'by treason' and 'knowingly'.¹⁴ But when Mador insists that the queen did kill Gaheris 'disloyally' and 'by treason', she finds no knight at Camelot who will defend her against his accusation (68.1–9). She then asks Arthur to do 'right' to her according to the judgment of his court about how to proceed in her case.¹⁵ Without asking the knights of his court for advice on this matter, Arthur announces the court's judgment (*esgart*) himself, declaring that if the queen were now to admit to Mador's accusation, she would be put to death immediately; otherwise, he will follow the customary pro-

¹¹ 'ICI GIST GAHERIZ LI BLANS DE KARAHEU, LI FRERES MADOR DE LA PORTE, QUE LA REINE FIST MORIR PAR VENIM' (194.20–21).

¹² For the second section of the poisoning episode, see 67.16–69.13.

¹³ Killing 'by treason' (*par traïson*) is a recognized form of homicide in medieval French law. See White 2001, 2007, and 2008. For the sake of clarity, I translate the OF word 'appel' as 'accusation'.

¹⁴ 67.64–66: 'par traïson' and 'a mon escient'.

¹⁵ On the customary procedures of courts in literary and historical trials, see White 2011. Ordinarily, the king or a lesser lord of a court would ask his knights or barons to make an 'award' (*esgart*). After these men consulted privately about the matter and decided on the award, one of them would announce the award publicly (White 2008). Although the lord of the court could reject the award, he would ordinarily be open to strong criticism for doing so.

cedure of giving her forty days to find a knight to defend her.¹⁶ By subsequently asking Arthur to give her other ‘advice’ (68.22), Guinevere obliquely suggests that he help her to reconcile herself with Mador. But Arthur refuses to deviate from his previous judgment, saying that he would not do wrong for the queen or anyone else (68.21–23).¹⁷ Although Mador is dissatisfied with the king’s decision to give Guinevere so much time to find a champion, he agrees to return to Camelot in forty days and leaves the court, while Guinevere remains there, feeling very sad, because she knows that no knight will defend her except possibly one of ‘the kinsmen of King Ban’ (69.2–7), a group of ‘foreign’ knights from Gaul, who include Lancelot, the late King Ban of Benioc’s son; Lancelot’s brother Hector¹⁸ and their two cousins, Bors and Lionel, the sons of King Ban’s brother, the late King Bors of Gaunes.¹⁹

However, all four of these knights are absent from court, because, as will be explained more fully below, the queen has previously banished them from her lodge at Camelot in the erroneous belief that Lancelot betrayed her by giving his love to a beautiful young woman known as the Girl of Escalot. When Guinevere later tells Lancelot’s cousin Bors that she hates Lancelot mortally for betraying her, Bors tells Lionel and Hector that the three of them should separate Lancelot from the queen by returning with him to their kingdoms of Gaunes and Benioc in Gaul.²⁰ During the period of their banishment, Bors, Hector, and Lionel associate themselves with Arthur’s rival, the king of North Wales (37.14–37), while the queen later signals her estrangement from Lancelot by hinting that she might transfer her affections to Bors, who, she says, is more worthy of ruling a great empire than any other knight she knows (44.23–27). Nevertheless, Bors is so angry at Guinevere for her false accusation that Lancelot betrayed her by giving his love to the Girl of Escalot that he later refuses to fight for her against Mador.

Meanwhile, Arthur has apparently been making efforts to find a knight to champion the queen’s cause and is distressed that every knight he asks to do so refuses on the grounds that the queen was in the wrong and Mador in the right (79.3–8). Even

¹⁶ ‘Many say that the queen will not find anyone to fight for her, because they know for certain that she killed the knight as she has been accused’ (67.68–73).

¹⁷ This difficult passage should be interpreted in the light of the fact that the lord of a court had the option of halting judicial proceedings in a case such as Guinevere’s and arranging an ‘accord’ between the defendant and the plaintiff (White 2011 and 2016).

¹⁸ Hector is Lancelot’s half-brother, but is usually called his brother.

¹⁹ On King Ban of Benioc and his brother, King Bors of Gaunes, see *Lancelot en prose* 7: Ia.1–18; *Lancelot* 2: 1–5.

²⁰ Bors tells Lancelot that the queen had ‘barred you and me and all those coming with you to enter her lodge’ at Camelot (59.98–100).

Gawain turns down the king, because ‘we know that the queen killed [Gaheris] as she was accused’ (79.16–17). On the day of battle, however, Guinevere’s defense is finally taken up by Lancelot, who has heard a detailed account of Gaheris’s death and Mador’s accusation against the queen from an anonymous knight of the Round Table who witnessed both events and whom he encounters by chance in a forest (74.27–96). Soon afterwards, when Lancelot encounters Hector and then Bors—both of whom have learned of Mador’s accusation against Guinevere—it appears that although all three of them are willing to defend her, each of them views the case differently. Hector tells Lancelot he will go to defend the queen against Mador’s accusation of treason (74.117–120). Although Lancelot says he believes from what the knight has told him that Mador is in the right and Guinevere in the wrong, he also declares that because she formerly did him great honor, he will go to Camelot (albeit in disguise) to defend the queen, though not so boldly as he ordinarily would (75.33–42). Bors, too, has heard about the queen’s plight and is pleased about it, because, he says, she will now need to make peace with Lancelot in order to insure that he or one of his kinsmen will fight in her defense (75.29–32). Shortly before the day of battle, Bors goes to Camelot and speaks with the queen, feigning ignorance of the accusation against her and telling her that she deserves to have no one to defend her against Mador’s accusation and that he is pleased by the ‘mischance’ that she has experienced (77.22–29).

On the day of battle, Lancelot comes to Camelot in disguise and defends the queen against Mador’s charge that she killed his brother disloyally and by treason, by fighting to prove the oath he gives that she never contemplated disloyalty or treason (83.3–5). In other words, Lancelot denies, not that the queen killed Gaheris, but that her intentions were disloyal and treasonous when she did so. By defeating Mador, who is ignorant of his adversary’s identity and fails to grasp the meaning of his defense of the queen (83.5–6), Lancelot wins an acquittal for Guinevere. When he reveals his identity, the author says, he brings joy to everyone except Mador, who accuses the king of ‘treason’ by setting Lancelot against him. Lancelot’s victory also pleases Gawain, who said immediately after hearing Lancelot’s defense, but without knowing who he was, that he now anticipated Mador’s defeat, because he, too, would have sworn that the queen never contemplated disloyalty or treason (83.8–16). As a result, Mador is put to shame when he is reduced to accepting Lancelot’s mercy and his help in securing the queen’s forgiveness and a pardon from the king (84.50–56).

Because the story shows, in effect, that Guinevere killed Gaheris by misadventure rather than ‘willingly’, ‘disloyally’, or with ‘treason’ in mind, her acquittal of an accusation of killing him disloyally and by treason certainly seems just, given what

the audience knows about the killing and the oaths sworn by Mador and Lancelot, and given the medieval view of treason as a duplicitous, underhanded way of deliberately harming someone to whom loyalty is owed.²¹ Nevertheless, the way in which Gaheris's death is handled at Camelot is still deeply puzzling and raises many questions about what motivates the characters involved in the poisoning episode to act as they do and why the royal court proceeds in the case as it does. To begin with, because Arthur and the unnamed knight already mentioned indicate immediately after Gaheris's death that the question of Guinevere's guilt or innocence turns on whether she knew that the fruit that killed him was poisoned, why does no one ever ask, even after Guinevere's acquittal, who else could have poisoned the fruit—much less try to locate and punish the culprit, so as to ensure that Mador will have vengeance for his brother's death? Why is the inscription on Gaheris's tomb never changed so that it will not shame the queen by indicating that she brought about his death?

These questions are worth raising, not only because they bear on the broader issue of whether Arthur's court does right in the matter of Gaheris's death, but also because the authors of two later versions of the poisoning episode in Middle English stories about the death of Arthur took it for granted that a medieval court would have addressed these issues directly.²² In the late fourteenth-century *Stanzaic Morte Darthur*, after Guinevere is acquitted of Mador's accusation, the squires who served food and drink at the dinner where Mador's brother died from eating a poisoned apple are tortured until one of them admits to poisoning the apple. To give due satisfaction to Mador for his kinsman's death, the guilty squire is then executed in Mador's presence (Benson 1994: 56–57). In Sir Thomas Mallory's *Le Morte Darthur*, after Guinevere's acquittal of poisoning Mador's kinsman (here known as Sir Patrise) a Sir Pinel is identified by the Lady of the Lake as the knight who poisoned the fruit that killed Patrise in his attempt to kill Gawain. Sir Pinel then flees from Arthur's court. Later, an inscription on Patrise's tomb that identified the queen as his slayer is changed, so as to state that Pinel was the traitor who poisoned Mador's kinsman (Mallory 1998: 405–413). By contrast, the original version of the poisoning episode in *La mort le roi Artu* raises doubts about whether King Arthur's court does justice in this case and if not, why not.

Because it is customary for Arthur's knights to act as judges in his court, their role in the poisoning episode is worth examining closely.²³ Since initially, both Arthur

²¹ White 2008. On killing by misadventure in English law, see Hurnard 1969: 68–130.

²² On Middle English adaptations of MA, see Cooper 2003.

²³ In literary trials, as in historical ones, the knights and/or barons of a king or a lesser lord customarily act as judges in his court; see White 2011.

and the anonymous speaker evidently allow for the possibility that Guinevere did not poison Gaheris intentionally, why do the king's knights foreclose this possibility when they formulate the inscription indicating that she caused him to die by poison? Why do Gawain and Gaheris first show support for the queen by standing alongside her when she comes before the king to answer Mador's accusation, but later are unwilling to defend her, as are Arthur's other knights? Moreover, when it comes to making a judgment about how the court should proceed and what punishment it should impose on Guinevere if she fails to rebut Mador's charge, why do Arthur's knights leave both decisions to him? Do they all believe that it would be right to condemn the queen to die if no knight were to defend her against Mador's accusation of treason, and wrong to proceed in any other way in this matter? Since Gawain says, after hearing Lancelot's oath in defense of the queen, that he, too, would swear that she 'never contemplated any disloyalty or treason' (83.4–5, 19–23), why did he not offer to swear this oath or at least query Mador's accusation at an earlier stage of the trial, when it would have mattered?

Lancelot's attitude toward the case is also hard to fathom, as are those of Hector and Bors and that of Guinevere herself. Not having witnessed Gaheris's death, Lancelot relies on the account of it given by the anonymous knight in the forest, who, to be sure, is ignorant of Avarlan's role in the killing and considers the queen's cause unjust, but who mentions to Lancelot that she had received the fruit that poisoned Gaheris from a page (74.34–64, 78–79). Upon hearing the knight's report, Lancelot seems to signal his belief in the queen's innocence, first by expressing astonishment at the failure of Arthur's knights – including Gawain and Gaheriet – to defend her (74.71–74) and later by undertaking to defend her himself. Nevertheless, Lancelot tells Hector and Bors shortly after learning of Gaheris's death that by fighting on Guinevere's behalf, he will be in the wrong and Mador in the right. If he believes in the queen's innocence, why would he not also believe that he will be in the right if he fights on her behalf? If he thinks her guilty, why is he shocked to learn that none of Arthur's knights – not even Gawain or Gaheriet – is willing to defend her? Does he fight on her behalf only because he believes he is obliged to do so in order to recompense her for the honor she has previously shown him? And why does he come in disguise to Camelot to fight on her behalf? Does his attitude toward the case differ from that of his brother Hector, who, by all appearances, was ready to fight Mador to defend the queen as soon as he heard about the case? As for Bors, is he interested in whether Guinevere did or did not kill Gaheris by treason? Or does he regard her desperate need for a champion merely as a means of forcing her to make peace with Lancelot? Even Guinevere's view of her own case seems to vary from moment to

moment. When the page handed her the fruit, did she have any reason to think that the fruit itself was ‘disloyal’? If not, why does the author go out of his way to say that she was not on the lookout for ‘treason’? Immediately after Gaheris’s death, the queen worries that because all the knights had witnessed it, she could not deny it. But what does she have to deny? Later, after publicly protesting her innocence, she privately acknowledges that the failure of Arthur’s knights to defend her is fitting, because ‘they all know’, she tells herself, ‘that you are in the wrong and Mador in the right’ and are therefore abandoning her and letting her die ‘a shameful death’ (72.7–14).

As for Arthur, why does he appear to vacillate in his view of how Gaheris died and what role the queen played in his death? After learning from a knight who had been eating in the queen’s chamber that Guinevere had killed Gaheris through ‘the greatest misadventure in the world’, the king calls his death a great ‘mischance’, thereby implying that the killing was not necessarily deliberate, or at least not on Guinevere’s part. But when Arthur says that ‘the queen had done great villainy, if she had done this willingly’, he suggests that her intentions in giving the poisoned fruit to Gaheris may well have been innocent and that determining what they were is crucial to evaluating her conduct. However, when the queen insists that her intentions were innocent, Arthur insists that she acted maliciously, villainously, and angrily. Why does Arthur suddenly attribute these hostile emotions to Guinevere? Why, later on in the trial, does the king deviate from customary judicial procedure by failing to ask his knights for advice on how his court should proceed in the queen’s case and what punishment it should impose on her, if she is guilty as charged? Why does the king insist on sentencing her to death, if no knight rebuts Mador’s accusation in battle, rather than trying to make peace between them?²⁴ If the king believes his queen innocent of Mador’s accusation, why is he unable to convince any of his knights, even Gawain, to defend her? If he does not believe her, why does he give her time, over Mador’s protests, to find a champion who will fight on her behalf, and then keep looking for a knight to play this role? Is Arthur simply maintaining the pretense of supporting his queen and following customary court procedure, or does he actually hope that a champion can be found to defend her against the accusation of killing Gaheris by treason?

Some of the questions just raised cannot be fully addressed without considering the other plot-lines with which the successive phases of the poisoning episode are interlaced, while others can be answered only speculatively, because neither the characters in *La mort le roi Artu* nor its author can be trusted to say what they mean or mean what they say. But a close reading of the episode still enables us to address the

²⁴ See White 1978.

broader question of whether King Arthur and the members of his court fulfill their customary obligation to do 'right' in the matter of Gaheris's death by misadventure and to resolve the conflict that it generates. Though the text provides no way of explaining why no one at Camelot even tries to determine who poisoned the fruit that killed Gaheris and why, the failure of Arthur and his knights to do right to their dead companion by avenging his death is obvious and is all the more glaring when we note that his death at the king's own court brings shame not only to him and his kinsmen, but to the king and to all his companions of the Round Table as well as to Guinevere.

Because Guinevere clearly does not deserve to die as a traitor for her role in Gaheris's death, it is equally clear that she does not merit the torment and shame to which Arthur subjects her by initially threatening to put her to death unless she can find a knight to defend her and later trying ineffectually to find her a champion himself. Nor does she deserve to be publicly shamed by Mador's charge of treason or by the inscription on Gaheris's tomb, which directly implicates her in his death. But Mador is surely entitled to something other than the shame he incurs by losing his battle to Lancelot and by having to seek Guinevere's mercy and the king's pardon for having falsely accused her. What Mador was owed and should have received before he made his accusation was an apology from the queen for killing Gaheris, not by treason, but by misadventure, and possibly some form of compensation for his death. In return, he would have been obliged to pardon the queen and show her forgiveness. From the study of trial scenes in other Old French and Anglo-Norman literary texts, it is clear that through the mediation of third parties, including the king, an 'accord' of this kind between Mador and Guinevere could have been arranged, at the earliest soon after Gaheris's death and at the latest just before the king accepted the gages of Mador and Lancelot; and at several other points during the proceedings (White 2001, 2008). But the failure of anyone other than Guinevere to even hint that the conflict between Mador and Guinevere need not have been resolved by battle is a clear sign that at Arthur's court, relations that are supposedly based on love and trust have broken down to the point where they are, at best, transactional political connections and, at worst, relations of suspicion, envy, and even hatred.

Misadventures and the fall of Arthur's kingdom

If the poisoning episode were the only incident in *La mort le roi Artu* in which one character unintentionally causes harm (including lethal harm) to another character or characters but is later accused of acting deliberately or even by treason instead of being reconciled with the character(s) he or she harmed, we could interpret the story

of Gaheris's death and Guinevere's ensuing trial as an anomalous interlude in a story often read as recounting a series of tragic, causally connected events that lead ineluctably to King Arthur's death and the collapse of his kingdom.²⁵ However, because *La mort le roi Artu* includes so many other incidents of this kind and because all of them reveal, generate, or exacerbate internal conflict at Camelot that goes unresolved, we need to ask what role they play in a story that begins in the aftermath of the Quest of the Holy Grail and ends with the final dissolution of the Arthurian world.

Even a partial inventory of the misadventures, mischances, and acts of folly included in the first half of *La mort le roi Artu* reveals how important these incidents are to the story. In the first main episode Gawain confesses that on the recently completed Quest of the Holy Grail, he killed eighteen companions of the Round Table by mischance and because of his own sin (c.3). Compelled by the irresistible force of love to recommence an affair they had abandoned during the Quest, Lancelot and Guinevere bring shame to Arthur without really intending to do so (c.4). At a tournament, Bors wounds Lancelot without either of them recognizing the other (c.19) and an anonymous knight kills Lancelot's squire by misadventure (c.21). Soon afterwards, a knight is killed by a wild boar (c.23). Lancelot inadvertently insults and angers the queen by foolishly wearing the sleeve of the Girl of Escalot and thereby convincing Guinevere that he has betrayed her (c.34). A royal huntsman wounds Lancelot by 'mischance' when trying to shoot a stag (c.64). The queen, as we have seen, kills Gaheris by misadventure (c.65). Lancelot unintentionally causes the death of the Girl of Escalot by refusing to give her his love (c. 70). Lancelot kills Arthur's nephew Gaheriet, whom he did not recognize and would not have killed if he had (c.95).²⁶ Even if we take the view that these instances of misadventure, mischance, and folly are individual signs of a broader, irreversible change in the fortunes of Arthur and his kingdom (see, e.g., Lacy 1994), the harm – lethal or otherwise – that they accidentally cause is less dangerous and destructive than the harm that results when these accidents are misinterpreted or misrepresented as deliberate.

While acknowledging that in this story, as in medieval European societies generally, misadventures and mischances are signs of bad luck and bring shame to the characters they harm and the ones who are, in some sense, their instruments (Miller 1990: 61–68), I argue that the author of *La mort le roi Artu* also uses such incidents

²⁵ See, e.g. Burns 1993: xv, xxxi; Lacy 1994: 89, 90, 94, 95. On 'the relentless logical progression of events in *La mort*' see Burns 1995: 154.

²⁶ To underscore the similarities among several of these incidents, the storyteller uses the same two words – 'mesaventure' (2.12; 57.20; 62.37, 44) and 'mescheance' (3.17, 21, 26; 57.23; 62.53, 58, 78, 83; 65.27; 71.48; 77.28; 90.27; 103.12; 110.53). See also Kunstmann and Dubé 1982: s.vv. 'mesavenir' and 'mescheoir'.

(detailed below) both to reveal intrinsic weaknesses in Arthur's kingdom, including his fatal flaws as a ruler, and to show how they ultimately result in his death and the dissolution of the Arthurian world. By doing so, the author has created a very different and much more disturbing story about Arthur's fall than the traditional one first presented in celebratory accounts of his reign in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* (c.1135) and then re-told in Wace's Anglo-Norman adaptation of Geoffrey's text in the *Roman de Brut* (c.1155). In both of these narratives – which provide the basis of what has been called 'the Arthurian myth'²⁷ – Arthur's fall is entirely due to a political coup by his nephew Mordred, which takes place so suddenly and unexpectedly that it cannot detract from the glorious reputation that King Arthur had earned earlier in his reign. After the fifteen-year-old Arthur succeeds his father, Uther Pendragon, as king of Britain, his matchless military prowess, largesse, and skills as a political leader enable him and his ever-expanding following of loyal nobles and knights to unite all of Britain under his rule, conquer many other kingdoms, and make his court the most important political center other than Rome. When his political successes threaten the Romans and provoke them into planning an attack on him, Arthur gathers support from his loyal magnates and knights to launch a counter-attack. After entrusting his kingdom of Britain to his nephew Mordred, Arthur sails away with a great army to Gaul and is starting to cross the Alps in order to conquer Rome, when he learns that Mordred has betrayed him by usurping his throne and marrying his queen. Quickly returning to Britain, Arthur meets Mordred in a great battle, where he kills him, but is mortally wounded himself.²⁸

In *La mort le roi Artu*, as in Geoffrey's and Wace's narratives, Arthur is ultimately brought down by the treason of Mordred. But by the time the king sails back from the continent to fight him, the flawed political relationships that had tenuously held Arthur's kingdom together have so totally broken down that Arthur condemns Guinevere to death by burning; the people of Camelot denounce Arthur and his nephews as traitors; Lancelot and his kinsmen kill twenty of Arthur's knights, including three of his nephews; Arthur and Gawain initiate a war of revenge in the kingdom of Logres against Lancelot and his kinsmen; and when the latter return to their homelands in Gaul, Arthur and Gawain sail there to attack them. Before doing so, Arthur puts

²⁷ On the 'Arthurian myth', see below.

²⁸ Geoffrey of Monmouth 2007: 248–253; Wace 1999: 326–335. Arthur's chosen successor Constantine defeats Mordred's two sons in battle and kills them. But after Constantine dies, Britain is so weakened by civil strife that the Britons lose control of the island and can only await Arthur's return to restore their political fortunes (Geoffrey of Monmouth 2007: 252–257; Wace 1999: 35–37). On the narratives of Geoffrey and Wace, see E.D. Kennedy 1996b: xv–xviii; Bogdanow 1996: 91–92.

his kingdom and his queen in the custody of Mordred, who usurps Arthur's throne and becomes king of Logres. Mordred also seeks to marry Guinevere, who angrily rejects him, takes refuge in the Tower of London, and dispatches a messenger to tell Arthur what Mordred has done. Upon learning of Mordred's treason (c.163), Arthur returns to the kingdom of Logres to fight him. In a great battle on Salisbury Plain, Arthur kills Mordred, but not before Mordred gives him a mortal wound (c.191).²⁹

How does *La mort le roi Artu* explain this catastrophe? According to the traditional view, it 'lays out an inexorable chain of cause and consequence in which the . . . love affair [that] Lancelot and Guinevere [renew at the beginning of the story] rekindles a clan vendetta between Arthur's family and Lancelot's that eventually draws the king away from his kingdom and makes . . . his bastard son Mordred's treason possible'.³⁰ However, to treat the renewal of Lancelot's and Guinevere's mad love affair as the underlying cause of Arthur's downfall is to overlook, not only his kingdom's inherent weaknesses and his fatal flaws as a ruler, but the prominent role of misadventures and acts of folly in initiating and sharpening conflict at Camelot. Even at the outset of *La mort le roi Artu*, Arthur is revealed to be far inferior as a ruler to the Arthur of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace, both of whom celebrate him as the king of all Britain (Geoffrey of Monmouth 2007: 9.15, 9.220; Wace 1999: 9641–9643), and the conqueror of many other kingdoms (Geoffrey of Monmouth 2007: 9.211–305; Wace 1999: 9799–10132). Here, however, Arthur is merely the king of Logres – which does not even include all of England – and must therefore compete for power and honor with other British rulers, such as the king of North Wales, who has hopes of drawing at least some of the kinsmen of King Ban to his court.³¹ Moreover, Arthur's court at Camelot is infinitely more faction-ridden and politically unstable than the opulent court of kings, magnates, and knights at Caerleon that Geoffrey of Monmouth describes (Geoffrey of Monmouth 2007: 9.306–530) or the court where Wace's Arthur establishes his Round Table in the *Roman de Brut*. According to Wace,

²⁹ For the conclusion of *La mort* see below.

³⁰ Burns 1993: xxxi. For the adultery as the underlying cause of Arthur's inevitable fall, see also Cable 1971: 20; Frappier 1964b: x; Lacy 1993: ix. According to Lacy 1994a: 89, 'the irreversible forces shaping events [in the story] have been set in motion, largely by the adultery of Lancelot and Guinevere'. For valuable critiques of this argument and the makings of a fuller explanation of Arthur's fall, see Hult 2009b: 59–74; Baumgartner and Medeiros 2007a: 29–36; Bogdanow 1996: 93–94.

³¹ On the political geography of *La mort le roi Artu* and *Lancelot en prose*, see Micha 1987: 251–281.

there was no court so talked about, not even that of the Roman emperor. [Arthur] never heard of a [praiseworthy knight] who would not belong to his household, if he could get him, and if such a one wanted a reward for his service, he would never leave deprived of it. On account of his noble barons—each of whom considered himself superior [to the others]—Arthur had the Round Table made. . . . There sat the [the barons], all equal, all leaders; they were placed equally round the table and equally served. None of them could boast that he sat higher than his peer; all were seated near the seat of honor, none far away. No one—whether Scot, Briton, Frenchman, Norman, Angevin, Fleming, Burgundian or Lorrainer—whoever he held his fief from, . . . was accounted courtly if he did not go to Arthur's court and stay with him. . . . They came from many lands, those who sought honour and renown, partly to hear of his courtly deeds, partly to see his rich possessions, partly to know his barons, partly to receive his gifts. He was loved by the poor and greatly honoured by the rich. Foreign kings envied him, doubting and fearing he would conquer the whole world and take their kingdoms away (Wace 1999: 9739–9780).

By contrast, Arthur's court at Camelot in *La mort le roi Artu* is merely the center of the kingdom of Logres and is rarely attended by faraway kings. Moreover, the court is sharply divided into two rival factions, one consisting of the king's five nephews, Gawain, Gaheriet, Agravain, Guerrehet, and Mordred (who is later revealed to be Arthur's illegitimate son), and the other of Lancelot, Hector, Bors, and Lionel. As 'foreign' knights from the kingdoms of Benioc and Gaunes in Gaul, the latter hold no land from Arthur and are attached to his court only because of Lancelot's adulterous love affair with Guinevere (36.47–66). If the affair were to end, all four would immediately leave Camelot and return to Gaul. To make their position at Arthur's court all the more difficult, their superiority in terms of prowess and honor to all of Arthur's nephews except Gawain and possibly Gaheriet is so obvious that Lancelot in particular is envied and hated by Agravain, Guerrehet, and Mordred, though not by Gawain and Gaheriet, who maintain amicable relations with him. Meanwhile, Lancelot and Guinevere, too, are hated by Arthur's sister, the sorceress Morgan, who has long hoped to destroy them. As for Arthur, he nominally owes protection to his own knights, who have sworn oaths of fidelity to him, and is expected to reward and honor them for their service, and to do right to them if they are harmed either directly or through their kin. In his capacity as the heirless head of a lineage that includes his five nephews, he and they have reciprocal obligations. But whether the king will honor these obligations is uncertain, as are the nature of the duties that Arthur owes

to King Ban's kinsmen and that they have to him. In a kingdom characterized by political contradiction and paradox, Arthur tries and fails to fulfill his conflicting, yet essential roles as king, lord, head of a lineage, and cuckolded husband. He can cling to power only if Guinevere and Lancelot are loyal to each other and disloyal to him and only if his unruly nephews show disloyalty to him by disloyally ignoring the disloyalty of Guinevere and Lancelot. Worst of all, the personal rivalries and feelings of hatred that permeate Camelot are particularly dangerous to the peace and unity of the Arthurian political community, because all the nobles who belong to it – including the king and queen – participate actively in what William Ian Miller calls an 'honor-based culture' (Miller 1990: 29–34) that requires them, as individuals and as group members, to compete for honor in any way they can, to avoid dishonoring themselves, and to avenge even the slightest hint of shame, as one can see from the many vows to take vengeance – usually against each other – that fill the pages of the story.

Although the Arthurian community just described bears some resemblance to the one depicted in other Arthurian romances, including the *Lancelot en prose*, the author of *La mort le roi Artu* drastically alters its political dynamics by eliminating the central motif around which these stories are usually organized, namely the chivalric adventure, which 'gives meaning to the actions and endeavors of [Arthur's] court' in other romances (Lacy 1994: 87–88). Ordinarily, adventures provide Arthurian knights with opportunities to gain honor by riding out from Camelot and defeating wicked knights and lords, rescuing ladies or their fellow knights from grave peril, conquering territory, securing material wealth, and sometimes gaining a wife in the process. In *La mort le roi Artu*, however, adventures have declined so much following the Grail Quest that King Arthur needs to organize tournaments to make sure his knights will continue to bear arms (3.33–43). Since he evidently lacks the requisite resources to distribute largesse, much less the power to gain new wealth, no foreign knights other than the kinsmen of King Ban come to Camelot, where there are few, if any opportunities to gain honor except by fighting for recognition as the best knight at a tournament or by engaging in court intrigues. In short, the Arthurian court turns in on itself; and the never-ending competition for honor that underlies chivalric culture is, at best, a zero-sum game.

In place of adventures, the author of *La mort le roi Artu* substitutes misadventures, such as the one that befalls Gaheris and leads to Guinevere's trial in the poisoning episode. As we have already seen, these misadventures are sometimes bizarre, grotesque, or even comical. But they are always potentially dangerous, because in the Arthurian world, as in medieval societies generally, misadventures and mischances—which are difficult to distinguish from each other – are not what are now called in English an 'acci-

dent', which carries little or no blame or legal liability.³² Instead, they are signs of bad luck, sin, or possibly divine disfavor.³³ So there is reason to wonder why a particular misadventure befell a particular character and why another character was its instrument. Besides, since it is so hard to know whether a supposed misadventure is truly a misadventure and so easy to impute ill-will to the character who was its agent, the impulse to avenge the harm and the shame that the misadventure has caused is difficult to resist. Moreover, even when a misadventure truly is a misadventure, it can often be honestly misinterpreted or maliciously misrepresented as an intentional act causing harm and shame that calls for vengeance. Finally, even if a misadventure is acknowledged to be a misadventure by everyone concerned, it still calls for an apology, a plea for mercy or forgiveness, and possibly an offer of another form of compensation and its acceptance. Achieving peace and reconciliation between the character harmed and the character acting by misadventure is difficult to arrange without intercession by a third party, because it is potentially shameful for the former to accept publicly an apology or other compensation and for the latter to give it publicly, unless each is assured that doing so is not dishonorable. For all of these reasons, the author of *Le mort le roi Artu* is able to use cases of misadventure, along with acts of folly, little mishaps, and odd coincidences, as vehicles for revealing the feelings of anger, jealousy, enmity, envy, and distrust that are endemic to Arthur's court and kingdom and difficult if not impossible to suppress or give up in order to bring conflict to an end even temporarily.

A series of misadventures

Because the various plot-lines in *La mort le roi Artu* are so carefully interrelated and intricately interlaced,³⁴ the misadventures analyzed below can be considered only roughly in sequence to show how they lead circuitously to Arthur's fall by intensifying old conflicts at Camelot, stirring up new ones, and providing opportunities for third parties to settle old scores and stir up new trouble. At the beginning of *La mort le roi Artu*, when the king commands that his knights' adventures on the Grail Quest be written down, they all learn, not only that thirty-two of their companions were killed in combat, but that eighteen of them – including Arthur's particular favorite, King Bademagu – were slain, not by enemy knights, but by Gawain, who is one of their own companions and a nephew of Arthur's. Instead of acting as a peacemaker by at

³² My discussion of 'accident' depends heavily on Miller 1990: 61–68, and 2003: 73–95.

³³ For a different view of 'narrative accidents' in *La mort le roi Artu* see Lacy 2003: 117–118, 121, 122 n. 8.

³⁴ On 'interlacing' in *La mort le roi Artu* and the Lancelot-Grail cycle generally, see E. Kennedy 1994.

least trying to reconcile Gawain with his fellow knights and, in particular, with the kin of the knights he killed, Arthur orders his nephew to confess publicly that he committed his many killings, not because he was a better knight than his victims were, but on account of mischance and his own misfortune. In this way, the king only sharpens internal divisions at his court by shaming Gawain so much that he feels even worse about his killings than he did before; by making his nephew a target for vengeance by the kin of the knights he killed; and possibly by giving himself the satisfaction of taking a cowardly form of vengeance on Gawain, instead of doing right to his victims or to him. This is not the only time in this story when Arthur fails to perform a king's traditional role of peacemaker.

A little later, two successive acts of folly by Lancelot and Guinevere pose a far more serious threat to peace at Arthur's court than do Gawain's unfortunate killings. First, Lancelot becomes so totally enamored of Guinevere that they renew the love affair that they suspended during the Quest. As long as the affair remains secret, it has the paradoxical effect of enhancing Arthur's power and prestige, because it insures that Lancelot and his kinsmen will remain at Camelot, instead of returning to their homelands in Gaul – as they would have done if the affair had not been renewed (36.59–64) and would do if it ended. For this reason, Arthur and others at Camelot have an incentive either to ignore all thoughts of the shame that the affair brings to him and to his kingdom or to refrain from even hinting at it publicly. However, the affair does not remain a secret, because the lovers conduct it so 'foolishly' that Arthur's nephew Agravain learns of it (4.1–14). His goal is to exploit his accidental discovery for his own ends by bringing harm to Lancelot, whom he hates, under the guise of encouraging Arthur to avenge the shame which, he insists, Lancelot is doing to him through his wife. But Agravain can achieve this objective only under the following circumstances: First, despite Arthur's great capacity for vacillation and many reasons for ignoring, forgetting, or disbelieving reports of the adultery and calls for full vengeance against the lovers, he must be convinced – and remain convinced – that reports of the adultery are true; that Lancelot has deliberately shamed him through his wife and cannot be excused by saying that he was drawn into the affair by the irresistible force of love; that knowledge of the adultery has become public and cannot be suppressed or ignored; and, finally, that the shame that it brings him if he does not openly avenge it outweighs the shame of losing the support of Lancelot and his kinsmen and of fighting and losing a war with them. Before justice can be done on Lancelot, moreover, Agravain must draw others into his conspiracy to help him catch Lancelot in the act of having sex with Guinevere. Then the lovers must be tried in Arthur's court, judged guilty and sentenced by Arthur's knights, and executed.

By the mid-point of the story, the conditions necessary for punishing the adultery have largely been met, not only as a result of purposeful political action by Agravain and other enemies of Lancelot's, but also because a series of misadventures has either provoked or intensified internal conflict at court. In the meantime, a tournament called by Arthur at Winchester serves as an occasion for multiple misadventures, each of which serves, in one way or another, to promote suspicion and discord, not only between the king and Lancelot, but among Lancelot, his three kinsmen, and the queen. All of these misadventures can be seen as unintended consequences of Lancelot's elaborate scheme to reaffirm his status as the greatest knight in the world. After telling everyone except Guinevere that he is so unwell that he cannot go to Winchester and must remain at Camelot, and insisting that his three kinsmen attend the tournament, Lancelot plans to go to the tournament in disguise by wearing different arms from the ones he usually uses and riding a different horse, so that other knights there will be willing to fight him and thereby give him the opportunity he craves to earn recognition as the best fighter there. However, because Agravain has just learned about Lancelot's affair with Guinevere, he assumes, after hearing that Lancelot will remain at court instead of going to Winchester, that he is doing so, not because he is unwell, but because he wishes to be with the queen. So Agravain believes that he will now have an opportunity to destroy Lancelot by catching the lovers together, proving to King Arthur that Lancelot is shaming him through his wife, and having his enemy Lancelot put to death. As a first step in this process, Agravain tells Arthur about the adultery and the shame that it causes him. Though the king says he doesn't believe him, he says he won't stop Agravain from spying on Lancelot and the queen. Moreover, by ordering Guinevere to remain at court, Arthur deliberately sets up a test of the truth of what Agravain has told him. Because Lancelot does go to Winchester and Arthur happens to recognize him despite his disguise, the king assumes that Agravain is wrong about Lancelot and the queen. Even so, he has now allowed his nephew to set in motion a plot to entrap them that later succeeds.

Another unfortunate consequence of Lancelot's ill-advised decision to fight in disguise at the Winchester tournament – where Arthur's knights of the Round Table fight on one side and 'foreign' knights coming mainly from elsewhere in Britain on the other – is that he is grievously wounded by his own cousin Bors, without either of them recognizing each other. How does this misfortune come about? Like Lancelot, Bors, Lionel, and Hector have come in disguise, but unlike him, they fight on the side of Arthur's knights, apparently for the purpose of identifying themselves as knights of the Round Table. Even though Lancelot knows which side his kinsmen will be fighting on, he chooses to join the foreign knights, who are known to be

weaker than Arthur's knights, because he believes it would be dishonorable for him to fight on the stronger side and, one may assume, it would be much more difficult to achieve recognition as the best knight at the tournament.³⁵ By doing so, however, Lancelot ensures that he will gain this honor only by defeating and thereby dishonoring the best knights who are fighting on Arthur's side, including Lancelot's own kinsmen. Lancelot's purpose is obvious to King Arthur, who, as we have seen, has recognized Lancelot by chance. So when Arthur sees him joining the foreign knights, he orders his nephews Gawain and Gaieriet not to compete in the tournament at all, for fear that if they did so, they and Lancelot might injure each other and that ill-will would arise between them. Whether or not Arthur immediately realizes that Lancelot and his kinsmen are fighting on opposing sides, he does nothing to obviate the possibility of their injuring each other. In the course of the fighting, Bors encounters Lancelot, and without either of them recognizing the other, gives him a deep wound in his side and knocks him to the ground. Although Lancelot pays back his unknown assailant by knocking him to the ground in turn, and later performs so many other great deeds of chivalry that everyone on both sides judges him to be the best knight at the tournament (20.25–26), his wound turns out to be so serious that he needs six weeks to recover from it and later vows to avenge the wound by killing the knight who gave it to him (40.17–22). Meanwhile, Bors suffers shame for wounding Lancelot, even though he did not intend to harm his cousin.

Bors has no reason to think that he did wrong by wounding Lancelot, because he did not know who he was. But Arthur, having realized at the tournament that Bors had wounded Lancelot (19.60–61), uses a chance meeting with Bors and Hector several days later to revisit the incident in a way that leads Hector to believe that the king is talking about it 'out of spite' and to respond by showing anger and ill-will toward Arthur (24.30–44). Later still, after learning from Gawain that his assailant was Bors, Lancelot makes peace with him, after Bors ashamedly and obsequiously seeks his pardon. Lancelot forgives him, but not before complaining that Bors and Hector had done what they could prevent him from winning the tournament, as he had hoped to do (46.1–52). Even after Bors makes his peace with Lancelot, however, he continues to feel ashamed about having wounded his cousin, particularly because Gawain keeps talking to him about the incident (47.1–5).

Yet another unintended consequence of Lancelot's decision to go to Winchester in disguise is that he unintentionally insults and shames Guinevere. When Lancelot is on his way to Winchester, he spends a night at a castle where he meets the beautiful Girl of Escalot, who does not know who he is, but hears him called 'the best knight

³⁵ See 16.32–19.66.

in the world'.³⁶ Totally enamored of him, the Girl then requests that Lancelot grant her what Anglophone scholars call a 'rash boon' by promising to give her a gift without knowing in advance what it will be. Instead of sagaciously granting the gift to the Girl on condition that it is one he can honorably give her, Lancelot responds that 'there is nothing on earth that I could do that I would not do' in response to the Girl's request (14.9–10). When she tells him that he has promised to wear her sleeve at an upcoming tournament at Winchester and bear arms there for love of her, he is troubled, because he knows that if the queen were to learn about what he did, she would be angry with him. However, this eventuality seems unlikely, because Lancelot will be in disguise at the tournament and assumes that no one there will recognize him or figure out who he is (14.1–36). He turns out to be wrong.

When he wears the Girl's sleeve at the tournament and Guinevere hears reports of his doing so, Lancelot unintentionally insults and angers Guinevere, who retaliates against him and his kin. When Gawain later tells Guinevere about Lancelot's purported love for the Girl of Escalot (31.1–32.20), the queen believes that Lancelot has betrayed her and, in addition to seeking an opportunity to take vengeance on Lancelot and the Girl (32.33–37), she eventually banishes him and his kin from her lodge at court (32.20–33.13). Her act later rebounds on her, because its unintended effect is that Lancelot and his kin are absent from Camelot when she needs them to defend her against Mador's accusation that she killed his brother by treason. In addition, if Lancelot were to decide to leave Camelot for good, as Bors explains to the queen, then he and Lancelot's other kinsmen would go with him to their own homelands in Gaul, because they were in Arthur's kingdom only because of him and he was there because of her (36.59–64). For this reason, Bors tells the queen on a later occasion, her hatred of Lancelot is causing great harm to Arthur's kingdom (59.76–82). A further unintended consequence of Lancelot's granting the rash boon to the Girl of Escalot is that by agreeing to wear the Girl's sleeve and bear arms for love of her, he inadvertently gives her what she later interprets as a claim on his love. And as we shall see below, when Lancelot rejects the Girl's claim, he not only kills her through her grief at this rejection, but is publicly shamed at Camelot for doing so.

Next, another series of particularly strange misadventures leads Arthur to believe that Lancelot and Guinevere have shamed him, and that he should arrange their entrapment so as to provide the requisite legal proof to justify putting them to death. For no apparent reason, Arthur and some of his knights happen to leave Camelot and get lost in a forest where, they believe, there are no houses or castles. The knights start to pitch their tents, when they suddenly hear a horn call from close by. Riding

³⁶ For the entire scene, see 13.1–14.36.

in the direction of the sound, the king and his knights arrive at a castle where they are offered hospitality by a mysterious lady, who unbeknownst to them is Arthur's sister, Morgan the Faithless. After an opulent feast, Arthur is conducted by two girls to a bed chamber, where, without his initially realizing it, there are pictures painted by Lancelot to tell the story of his love for Guinevere. The next morning, Morgan comes to Arthur without revealing her identity and requests a rash boon by asking Arthur to reward her hospitality, without telling him what reward she will claim. When Arthur grants her request, she tells him who she is and says that her reward is for him to spend two entire days contemplating Lancelot's pictures of his love affair with Arthur's wife and the adventures he undertook for love of her—and not Arthur. Because Morgan mortally hates both Guinevere and Lancelot, she wants her brother to view the pictures, so that he will see his own shame and Lancelot's treason. Egged on by Morgan, Arthur vows that if he can catch Lancelot and Guinevere in the act of having sex, he will inflict such punishment on them as will be spoken of forever. From then on, the author says, Arthur is even more suspicious of Guinevere and Lancelot than he had been before (48.1–54.14).

Just at this point in the story, the author presents the first phase of the poisoning episode, which we can now re-examine in order to propose plausible, though inevitably speculative answers to some of the questions previously raised above about the handling of Gaheris's death. Because Arthur has recently returned to Camelot from Morgan's castle, where he vowed to take revenge on Lancelot and Guinevere, he is so deeply suspicious of the queen that he either believes or is open to believing that she poisoned Gaheris, or is prepared to use Gaheris's unexplained death as a pretext for inflicting shame and distress on Guinevere without revealing his own shame, as he would need to do if he were going to take vengeance on her. This would not be the first time in the story that Arthur or another character has taken or tried to take a cowardly form of secret revenge on a character who did not necessarily deserve it. As for Arthur's knights, we may speculate that here, as elsewhere in the story, they take their cues from the king, whose failures to support Guinevere strongly are far more telling than his fitful efforts to find support for her. Mador meanwhile takes his cues from his fellow knights, who have hedged their bets a bit by formulating an inscription that implicates the queen in Gaheris's death by poison, though without explicitly accusing her of treason. But because women in medieval societies are proverbial poisoners, it is a very short step from the inscription to Mador's accusation. Desperate to avenge the terrible shame he has suffered on account of his brother's shameful death, Mador believes what he reads and what he hears from everyone at Camelot, many of whom saw Guinevere poison Gaheris. As for

Lancelot's role in the poisoning episode, one possible way of explaining it is to say that since Guinevere has seemingly betrayed him by believing him capable of betraying her with the Girl of Escalot, he is certainly entitled to consider the queen capable of treachery.

Following Gaheris's death by poison, several other misadventures intensify the growing rift between Arthur and Lancelot. While Lancelot is in a forest near Camelot, he is seriously wounded by an arrow shot by a huntsman who was shooting at a stag. After Lancelot vows to take revenge on the huntsman as soon as he can, a wise hermit assures him that he was wounded by 'mischance'. But since Lancelot recognizes the huntsman as a servant of Arthur's, he has reason to fear that the king is trying to kill him, without publicly acknowledging why he wants him dead (64.1–65.60). Previously, the huntsman who had wounded Lancelot fled and explained what he had just done to his fellows, who fear that if Lancelot is hurt, they will all be punished either by Arthur, if he learns what happened, or else, if the king does not act, by Lancelot's kinsmen (64.55–65.8). A little earlier, when the Girl of Escalot is wasting away for love of Lancelot, she asks him for his love in her 'mischance'. When Lancelot refuses her, she literally dies for love of him (57.1–47). Then, to ensure that Lancelot's treacherous killing will at least earn him public shame, though not the blood vengeance he probably deserves, the Girl engineers another misadventure. While Arthur and Gawain are standing near a stream that runs through Camelot near the Cathedral, an unmanned, richly decked boat arrives. Inside, they find not just the Girl's dead (though miraculously uncorrupted) body, but her written complaint, which accuses Lancelot of being the wickedest man in the world, because he refused to grant her mercy when she was dying for love of him. Professing horror at Lancelot's refusal to grant the Girl his love and declaring that everyone should blame him for it, Arthur has her buried in a tomb bearing the inscription, 'HERE LIES THE GIRL OF ESCALOT WHO DIED FOR LOVE OF LANCELOT'.³⁷ As a result, just as Guinevere is publicly shamed by the inscription linking her to the poisoning of Gaheris, Lancelot, too, is publicly shamed by an inscription implicating him in the Girl of Escalot's death.

Soon afterwards, Lancelot – who has already been banished from Camelot by Guinevere, wounded grievously by Arthur's huntsman, and shamed, first, by the Girl of Escalot and then by Arthur – comes to Camelot, secures Guinevere's acquittal of Mador's charge, and is fully reconciled with her before leaving again. When he returns, he and queen carry on their affair even more foolishly than before, so that it is

³⁷ 71.1–73.7. 'ICI GIST LA DAMOISELE D'ESCALOT QUI POR L'AMOR DE LANCELOT MORUT' (73.8–9).

now public knowledge (85.33-9). Agravain's efforts to expose the lovers and induce Arthur to punish them now proceed in a way that initially results in the alienation of Gawain and Gaheriet from Agravain, Guerrehet, and Mordred and from Arthur as well. When the king's five nephews happen to be talking very loudly about the adultery in a chamber at Camelot, Arthur happens to be passing by and commands them to tell him they are saying. Gawain and Gaheriet refuse, leave the chamber, and later speak to each other openly about the great danger of telling the king about the adultery. They agree that if the king were to learn about it and then come into open conflict with Lancelot over it, his court would be destroyed and dishonored, because Lancelot would fight Arthur—and defeat him, thanks to the strong support he would have from Gaul and many other lands. Meanwhile, Agravain tells Arthur that Gawain and Gaheriet have betrayed him by concealing the shame that Lancelot has caused him, while Mordred says that he and Agravain will help Arthur to avenge it. Though Guerrehet warns that if the king were to put Lancelot to death, Lancelot's kinsmen would wage a great war on him, Arthur prefers this outcome to failing to avenge his own dishonor. He thus commands his three nephews to catch Lancelot and Guinevere naked in bed together. The plot misfires, almost comically so. After the lovers sneak off to a chamber at Camelot, undress, and get into bed together, Guinevere hears Agravain's knights banging on the door, which Lancelot had locked behind them. While the knights are breaking the door down, Lancelot jumps out of bed, gets dressed, kills them as they enter the chamber, and escapes. After he meets up with Bors, Lionel, and Hector, they all leave Camelot together (83.39–90.99).

Guinevere, however, is captured, taunted and abused by Agravain's henchmen, and brought before Arthur, who announces that because he cannot take vengeance on Lancelot, he will take it on Guinevere; and he foolishly justifies putting her to death by citing his treacherous nephew's mendacious claim to have proof that she betrayed Arthur by lying with Lancelot. The king's knights then violate the customs of the king's court by letting Agravain, Mordred, and Guerrehet propose that the queen die by burning. With the exception of Gawain and Gaheriet, all of the king's other knights acquiesce in the decision, because they know that Arthur supports it. Gawain is so outraged by the judgment on Guinevere that he formally renounces his fidelity to Arthur. But Agravain, Mordred, and Guerrehet prepare to take the queen to be burned in the meadow outside of Camelot; they also try to forestall any effort by Lancelot and his men to rescue Guinevere by recruiting a group of knights to accompany them and compelling Gaheriet to join it, even though he says he will never fight against his friend Lancelot (91.1–93.77).

To rescue the queen, Lancelot and Bors lead an attack on Arthur's knights. After

Lancelot challenges Agravain and kills him and Bors challenges and then slays Guerrehet, general fighting breaks out between the two groups of knights. Having witnessed the killings of his two brothers, Gaheriet angrily retaliates by killing two of Lancelot's knights. Hector retaliates against Gaheriet, without recognizing him, and knocks off his helmet. When Lancelot happens to ride by, he splits Gaheriet's skull without knowing who he is; and upon learning his victim's identity, he is enraged, because he loved Gaheriet and would never have struck him if he had recognized him. In other words, Lancelot has killed Gaheriet by misadventure. Even so, Bors predicts that because Gawain and Arthur loved Gaheriet so much, they will now wage a war on Ban's kinsmen that will never have an end (94.1–96.17).³⁸ The prediction is correct, largely because Gawain is so outraged by the sight of Gaheriet's bloody wounds that he spends the rest of his life striving to avenge him and repeatedly obstructs all efforts to put an end to Arthur's war against Lancelot by means of a peace agreement between the two men.

After discovering Gaheriet's dead body, without knowing who killed him or why, Gawain angrily – and falsely – says that his slayer hated him, and he swears to take vengeance on the traitor who killed him (100.49–62). After Gaheriet's slayer is identified as Lancelot, Arthur and Gawain have him buried at Camelot Cathedral in a tomb whose inscription reads: 'HERE LIES GAHERIET, KING ARTHUR'S NEPHEW, WHOM LANCELOT OF THE LAKE KILLED'.³⁹ Given how closely the inscription resembles the one stating that Guinevere caused Gaheriet to die by poison, it is hardly surprising that the initial misinterpretation of the circumstances of Gaheriet's death leads to a great war waged by Arthur and Gawain against Ban's kinsmen and a lawsuit between Gawain and Lancelot; it also obstructs subsequent efforts to make peace in either conflict. After an inconclusive battle between Arthur's forces and Lancelot's, it appears that their war will end quickly. Suddenly, the Pope intervenes in the conflict, when he somehow learns that Arthur has condemned the queen to death for a 'misdeed' that had not been proven against her. He therefore places an interdict on the kingdom of Logres until Arthur takes back his wife (who has been with Lancelot ever since her rescue) and lives with her in peace, as a husband should (117.6–16). Despite the misgivings of Arthur, Lancelot, and Guinevere about the Pope's resolution of the conflict, Lancelot surrenders the queen to

³⁸ Because the Old French word 'fin' – like the Latin 'finis' – can refer to an agreement or accord that brings a war or another kind of conflict to an end, the phrase, 'la guerre. . . qui jamès ne prendra fin' (90.87, 96.14) is best translated as 'the war that will never be ended by an agreement'.

³⁹ 99.1–102.23. 'CI GIST GAHERIET, LI NIES [sic; should read: niés] LE ROI ARTU, QUE LANCELOS DEL LAC OCIST' (102.20–21).

the king and agrees to leave Arthur's kingdom. The war appears to be over (118.99–103), until Gawain is so enraged by the prospect of peace that he cannot restrain himself from picking a fight with Lancelot and angrily insisting that their war will continue until Gaheriet's death is avenged by the death of Lancelot, who, Gawain charges, had 'wickedly' killed his brother by 'treason'. Although the king refuses to allow Gawain to fight Bors in order to prove this accusation against Lancelot (119.38–88), who soon returns to Gaul (122.1–124.6), Arthur, at Gawain's urging, ignores the warnings of his wiser counsellors. Eventually he renews the war against Lancelot and makes plans to sail with his army to Gaul and attack him (127.3–8; 128.1–130.54).

After Arthur makes the catastrophic blunder of entrusting his kingdom and his queen to the treacherous Mordred (129.1–36), he sails with his army to Gaul, where Gawain – ever more dementedly angry with Lancelot – inadvertently transforms what was already a deeply contestable accusation that Lancelot treacherously killed his brother Gaheriet into the totally outrageous charge that Lancelot had treacherously killed 'his brothers', despite the fact that Agravain was killed openly after Lancelot had challenged him, while Guerrehet's slayer was not Lancelot but Bors, who killed him openly after challenging him. Even worse, by witlessly granting a rash boon to his rage-crazed nephew, the king is tricked into permitting him to fight Lancelot in a duel Gawain is certain to lose. Lancelot does his best to defeat Gawain without killing him, but inadvertently gives him what turns out to be a mortal wound. So foolishly and angrily did Gawain conduct himself in his personal vendetta with Lancelot that just before he dies, he is first blamed by Arthur for his own death and then blames himself, asking to be buried in Gaheriet's tomb, with a revised inscription reading: 'HERE LIE GAHERIET AND GAWAIN, WHOM LANCELOT KILLED BECAUSE OF GAWAIN'S EXCESSIVE RAGE'.⁴⁰

At this point, the author of *La mort le roi Artu* finally picks up on the traditional story of Arthur's downfall by describing Mordred's treason and Arthur's return to Britain to fight him, but does so in such a way as to show that the king himself is largely to blame for his own fate. After learning of Mordred's treason, Arthur foolishly rejects Gawain's advice that he seek Lancelot's support against Mordred (c.166); and as a result, the king's army is much weaker than it could have been. Prior to Arthur's final battle with Mordred, in which he kills his enemy, but receives a mortal wound from him, Arthur acknowledges that if it turns out badly for him, it will be because of his own sin and excessive rage (c.178). Finally, the author's new version of the old story adds one last misadventure. Before Arthur tells Girflet, one of his two

⁴⁰ 144.1–157.54; 172.1–30. 'CI GIST GAHERIET ET GAUVAINS QUE LANCELOT OCIST PAR L'OUTRAGE GAUVAIN' (172.29–30).

surviving companions, to throw his sword Excalibur into a nearby lake, where a hand comes out of the water to catch it, the dying king embraces his faithful butler Lucan. But he embraces him so tightly that he bursts Lucan's heart and kills him without realizing what he has done, until Girflet tells him how badly he acted in killing Lucan.⁴¹ After Arthur dies in a state of grief, anger, and sadness (192.23–24), he is buried inside a chapel in an opulent tomb whose inscription reads: 'HERE LIES KING ARTHUR WHO THROUGH HIS VALOR SUBJECTED TWELVE KINGDOMS TO HIS RULE',⁴² though one would never know about these triumphs from reading *La mort le roi Artu*.⁴³ Right next to Arthur's tomb is a less opulent one, whose inscription provides a better conclusion to the story of Arthur's fall: 'HERE LIES LUCAN THE BUTLER, WHOM KING ARTHUR SMOTHERED BENEATH HIMSELF'.⁴⁴

***La mort le roi Artu* and the subversion of the Arthurian myth**

The sharp contrast between the story of Arthur's fall in *La mort le roi Artu* and the accounts of it in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin prose-narrative and the Anglo-Norman poem of Wace is readily understandable when we consider the ideological uses to which Geoffrey's and Wace's texts were put by late twelfth-century Angevin kings and their supporters, and the interests that *La mort le roi Artu* could easily have served for their enemies in Capetian territories during the early thirteenth century. Whatever the motives that led Geoffrey and Wace to produce histories of King Arthur's reign in c.1135 and c.1155, respectively, the fact that the former dedicated his work to Earl Robert of Gloucester, the maternal uncle of King Henry II (1154–1189), while the latter wrote his *Roman de Brut* for Eleanor of Aquitaine, the same king's queen, fits together neatly with Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's contention that 'King Arthur's court and the customs he introduced there in ancient times provided a model from

⁴¹ 192.1–17. The description of how Arthur killed Lucan in Frappier's edition of *La mort* (Frappier 1964a) is inconsistent with the much briefer one in the inscription on Lucan's tomb, as given in virtually all manuscripts of this text. However, the description of the same killing in Hult 2009a: 868–871 fits well with the inscription, as explained in p. 869, fn. 1.

⁴² 194.23–24. 'CI GIST LI ROIS ARTUS QUI PAR SA VALEUR MIS EN SA SUBJECTION .XII. ROIAUMES' (194.23–24).

⁴³ On the treatment of Arthur's military campaigns in *The Story of Merlin* (which postdates *La mort le roi Artu*) see Lacy 1993b: ix; Burns 1993: xxiv.

⁴⁴ 194.20–21. 'CI GIST LUCANS LI BOUTEILLIERS QUE LI ROIS ARTUS ESTEINST DESOUZ LI' (194.20–21). The translation in my text follows Hult's modern French one of an almost identical inscription in Hult 2009a at p. 881.

the past for the court of Henry II'.⁴⁵ Reinforcing her argument, Jean Flori has recently written that 'the Plantagenet court adopted the Arthurian one and made it its own by assimilation, for a variety of ideological motives'. More specifically, he continues,

Henry II's appropriation of the Arthurian myth offered three major advantages: it legitimised the Anglo-Angevin dynasty by inscribing it into the lineage of the kings of Britain/Brittany, themselves [supposedly] of Trojan origin; since [the myth] could be set against the legend of Charlemagne, which was likewise exploited by the kings of France, it fitted into the framework of the political conflict between Capetians and Plantagenets; and finally, by affording them a common point of reference, it could serve to bond together the elites of the different Plantagenet territories. (Flori 2007: 294–295)

If the mid-twelfth-century Arthurian myth created by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace served to legitimate Henry II's Plantagenet empire in these ways, what can we say about the possible political import of the radically revised Arthurian myth that was incorporated into *La mort le roi Artu* and its true prequel in the Lancelot-Grail Cycle, the *Lancelot en prose*?⁴⁶ Because both prose-romances were evidently written in the Capetian territory between c.1210 and c.1230,⁴⁷ by which time the Plantagenet kings of England had largely lost their continental territories to their Capetian rival, Philip II of France (1180–1226), it appears that the authors of *Lancelot* and *La mort le roi Artu* created a literary vehicle for contesting Plantagenet imperial claims in newly formulated terms. Instead of deploying the legend of Charlemagne to counter the Arthurian myth in the manner referred to by Jean Flori, the authors of *Lancelot* and *La mort le roi Artu* directly subverted the myth of King Arthur as the powerful ruler of a great empire. In doing so, these authors not only emphasized Arthur's flaws as a ruler, the inherent weakness of his kingdom of Logres, and his failure to expand the territories that he ruled directly; they also showed that he owed so much of his power to Lancelot, his wife's lover from Gaul, that when his ties to Lancelot were severed, his own kingdom began to collapse. In short, the Arthurian kingdom of Logres and its king are rotten from the start of what became the Lancelot Grail Cycle in the *Prose Lancelot* and was concluded in *La mort le roi Artu*.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Schmolke-Hasselmann 1982: 62. On the dedication of Geoffrey's text, see Reeve 2007: ix-x; on Wace and Eleanor, see Weiss 1999: xii–xiii.

⁴⁶ See Hult 2009b: 7–29.

⁴⁷ On dating and geographical provenance, see Frappier 1964b: viii–ix.

⁴⁸ What follows draws on Hult 2009: 75–115.

The literary subversion of the Arthurian myth is well underway in *Lancelot*, which opens, not in Britain, where Arthur has just succeeded his father, Uther Pendragon, as king of Logres, but in the kingdom of Benioc, where Lancelot's father, King Ban, is under attack from the treacherous King Claudas and is soon overthrown after receiving none of the help he is owed and repeatedly seeks from his lord, King Arthur.⁴⁹ To be sure, Arthur is said to be so heavily burdened by internal revolts that he could not possibly provide the aid against Claudas that he owes to Ban and Ban's brother, King Bors of Gaunes, the father of Bors and Lionel (Hult 2009b: 9–115). But it turns out that even after Arthur puts down the revolts, he remains woefully delinquent in fulfilling his obligations to avenge the deaths of Ban and Bors and help their orphaned heirs—including Lancelot, Bors and Lionel—recover their lost inheritances. Indeed, Arthur's failure to honor these obligations is so blatant and shameful that on several occasions, he is publicly denounced for this 'sin' at his own court. After a monk from Benioc called Adragain the Dark tells King Ban's widow, Queen Elaine, that King Arthur bears 'the shame' for the subjection of Benioc and Gaunes to the treacherous Claudas, 'because he should long ago have avenged our [shame]', he travels to Arthur's court at London, where he lectures the king on a lord's duties to his own men:

'you are too slow to avenge acts of shame and injury done to you! The truth is, whoever harms a liegeman of yours harms you, for however the [man] is harmed, the shame of it is always yours. You honor and fear and serve those who take up arms against you and attack you; and those who have served you loyally, those you forget! Yet they have lost lands and honors, even their lives, and risk losing their souls in your service!'⁵⁰

More specifically, Adragain tells Arthur that his failure to avenge the death of King Ban, the disinheritance of Queen Elaine, and the loss of their son [i.e. Lancelot, who was abducted by the Lady of the Lake] 'so sull[y] your reputation that it is a wonder how you can dare to look any honorable man in the face'. After making feeble excuses for his ignominious failure to redress the wrongs that the monk has just cited, King Arthur insists that 'what I have done wrong I must put right as soon as God gives me the means'.⁵¹

Years later, however, when Arthur evidently has the means necessary to fulfill his obligations to Ban's son Lancelot and Ban's nephews, Bors and Lionel, he has

⁴⁹ See *Lancelot* 2: 1–5; *Lancelot en prose* 7: 1a.1–14.

⁵⁰ *Lancelot* 3: 24; *Lancelot en prose* 7: Xa.17

⁵¹ *Lancelot* 2: 24; *Lancelot en prose* 7: Xa.22–23.

still not acted on his vow to do so. Instead, the king behaves so shamefully when reminded of his sin that he shames the knights of his own court in the presence of visitors. When a knight called Banin comes from Benioc to Arthur's court and identifies himself as the godson of the late King Ban, Arthur broods 'for a long while, as tears rolled down his cheeks and fell upon the table' until Gawain grabs a horn and blasts out a sound that startles the king. Once Arthur's nephew has gotten his attention, he tells him that his brooding 'is an insult to everyone', because a king should show 'good spirits and a warm welcome' to visitors to his court.⁵²

Later in the story, Arthur has terrible dreams that are interpreted as presaging his fall from power. In one of them, the king's hair is falling out of his head and his beard is falling away; in another, 'all his fingers fall from his hands, leaving only his palms'. The meaning of these dreams, wise priests tell Arthur, is that 'you are to lose all worldly honor, and those in whom you have the greatest trust will, all unwillingly, fail you'.⁵³ Subsequent events come close to confirming these predictions. When Galehaut – the half-giant lord of the Distant Isles and Lancelot's sometime companion and lover – brings a large army to attack the kingdom of Logres, Arthur is 'greatly afraid of losing his land, and all honor, and his men were deserting in great numbers as the wise clerics had predicted'. While Galehaut could easily have taken over Arthur's kingdom, he realizes that his adversary has so few men that he would gain no honor and incur only shame by conquering Logres. Galehaut therefore inflicts even greater humiliation on Arthur by granting him 'a truce for one year on condition that he bring his full forces with him at the end of the year', at which point, Galehaut says, he himself will 'win greater honor in making war on [Arthur] than [he] would now'.⁵⁴ In an effort to rehabilitate himself, Arthur seeks advice from an anonymous wise man who counsels him on how he might be able to regain his lost honor. After the king follows the man's advice by confessing all of his sins to his archbishops and bishops, he acknowledges that he forgot to confess 'the great sin' he committed toward King Ban, who died in Arthur's service, and toward Ban's wife Elaine, who was disinherited after her lord's death by King Claudas. When Arthur tells the wise man how terrified he is about how many of his men are deserting him, even though he loves them, the wise man responds that

'it is no wonder that your men are deserting you, for since a man has failed himself, other must surely fail him; and you have failed, in that you have behaved

⁵² For the entire episode see *Lancelot* 3: 57; *Lancelot en prose* 7: XXa.4–12.

⁵³ *Lancelot* 2: 108; *Lancelot en prose* 7: XLIVa.4.

⁵⁴ *Lancelot* 3: 120; *Lancelot en prose* 7: XLIXa.17.

badly toward your Creator with respect to the dominion you were to hold from him, and not from any other. They must fail you; this is God's sign that He wishes to remove you from dominion, and therefore he took away those by whose aid you have long maintained it'.⁵⁵

In order to 'win worldly honor, the hearts of your people, and the love of Our Lord', the wise man tells Arthur, he must now reject avarice and distribute largesse. Whereas the Arthur of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace was generous by nature and lavishly rewarded his men, the wise man's lengthy, detailed instructions on gift-giving to the Arthur of the *Lancelot en prose* obviously constitute a sharp rebuke to him. A good king should already know that 'the giver must be just as joyful as he to whom the gift is made' and understand 'why [he] should never tire of giving.' As the wise man explains to Arthur:

'you can never be destroyed [by giving]. But you can be undone by keeping too much of your wealth, for none was ever destroyed by generosity, but many have been destroyed by avarice. Always give generously, and you will always have enough, for whatever you give will remain in your land, and from many other lands wealth will come into yours. And giving will never fail you as long as you are watchful, for you will never wear out the gold and silver of your land; rather they will wear you out, as the water wears out the mill-wheel. For this reason you must always think of giving'.⁵⁶

In response, Arthur agrees to do as the wise man orders; and from all appearances he soon recovers his lost dominion. But only toward the end of the story does he come close to fulfilling his obligations to Ban's kinsmen by supporting a war on Claudas that ends with the conquest of Gaunes, Benioc, and Gaul.⁵⁷ Even if we overlook Arthur's many other failures and failings as a king, as detailed in the *Lancelot en prose*, there are good grounds for arguing that the author of this romance has cast him in the role of a 'useless' king (see Peters 1970).

If we now re-examine *La mort le roi Artu* against the background of *Lancelot* – which includes many passages foreshadowing Arthur's fall and to which its sequel refers with increasing frequency as it reaches its conclusion (Hult 2009b: 21–29) – we can see how the later text's portrayal of Arthur builds on the one developed in

⁵⁵ *Lancelot* 3: 121; *Lancelot en prose* 7: XLIXa.22.

⁵⁶ *Prose-Lancelot* 2: 122; *Lancelot en prose* 8: XLIXa.24–30.

⁵⁷ *Lancelot* 3: 278–321; *Lancelot en prose* 6: C–CV.

the earlier text. The previous analysis of the misadventures that contribute to Arthur's fall in *La mort le roi Artu* suggests how the king's weakness, folly, disloyalty, moral blindness, and vindictiveness contribute to his fall. To this list of Arthur's flaws, we should add a refusal to show mercy, an inability to make peace, and a chronic failure to follow the advice of his wisest counsellors and to reject evil counsel. The confession that the king extorts from Gawain at the beginning of the story serves only to shame the king's nephew and alienate him from his fellow knights and to satisfy Arthur's half-repressed desire to take a cowardly form of vengeance on Gawain for the knights he killed on the Quest. Later, Arthur's half-repressed desire to take vengeance on Lancelot and/or Guinevere for the shame they have done him appears to be the animating force behind the king's erratic and otherwise inexplicable handling of Guinevere's trial for poisoning Gaheris and his exploitation of the Girl of Escalot's bizarre posthumous complaint that Lancelot killed her. Later still, we see how the evil, treacherous, and self-serving counsel of Morgan, Agravain, Guerrehet, and Mordred shames Arthur to the point where he finally expresses his desire for vengeance on the lovers and tries to destroy them. Even then, however, the king is too weak to act on his own initiative and slavishly depends on counsellors who are either envious and treacherous or too crazed by rage to tell him what to do. Agravain and his co-conspirators manipulate the king into ordering the lovers' entrapment and Guinevere's execution. Arthur is so weak and foolish that he allows Gawain to direct the war in Gaul with Ban's kinsmen and lets him fight a battle with Lancelot that brings about his own death. Then, the king witlessly entrusts his kingdom and queen to a known traitor. Wrathful and yet cowardly and treacherous to the very end, King Arthur summons up enough strength before he dies to kill Lucan, his last loyal friend. By misadventure.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

- BAUMGARTNER, Emmanuèle, and Marie Thérèse de MEDEIROS (ed. & trans.). 2007a. *La Mort du Roi Arthur*. Paris: Honoré Champion.
- BENSON, Larry D. (ed.). 1994. "Stanzaic Morte Arthur". In *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English Stanzaic Morte Arthur and Alliterative Morte Arthure*, rev. ed. TEAMS Middle English Texts. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University.
- CABLE, James (trans.). 1971. *The Death of King Arthur* [from Frappier 1964]. London: Penguin.

- FRAPPIER, Jean (ed.). 1964. *La mort le roi Artu: Roman du xiiiè siècle*, 3rd ed. Geneva: Librairie Droz.
- GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. 2007. *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the De Gestis Britonum* [Historia Regum Britanniae]. Ed. Michael D. Reeve and trans. Neil Wright. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Graal* = Pauphilet 1967.
- HULT, David F. (ed. & trans.). 2009a. *La Mort du roi Arthur*. Paris: Livre de Poche.
- LACY, Norris J. (trans.). 1995. *The Death of Arthur* [from Frappier 1964]. In *Lancelot-Grail* 1993–1996, vol. 4: 91–160.
- . (gen. ed.). 1993–1996. *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, 5 vols. New York: Garland Press.
- Lancelot* = *Lancelot*, trans. Samuel N. Rosenberg, et al. In *Lancelot-Grail*, vols. 2 and 3.
- Lancelot en prose* = Micha 1978–1983.
- Lancelot-Grail* = Lacy 1993–1996.
- MA = *La mort le roi Artu* [Frappier 1964].
- SIR THOMAS MALLORY. 1998. *Le Morte Darthur: The Winchester Manuscript*. Ed. Helen Cooper. Oxford: Oxford University.
- MICHA, Alexandre (ed.). 1978–83. *Lancelot: Roman en prose du XIIIè siècle*. 9 vols. Geneva: Droz.
- PAUPHILET, Albert (ed.). 1967. *La Queste del Saint Graal*. Paris: Honoré Champion.
- Stanzaic Morte Arthur* = Benson 1994.
- WACE. 1999. *Wace's Roman de Brut: A History of the British: Text and Translation*. Ed. and trans. Judith Weiss. Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies. Exeter: University of Exeter.

MODERN WORKS

- BAUMGARTNER, Emmanuèle and Marie Thérèse de MEDEIROS. 2007b. "Introduction". In Baumgartner and de Medeiros 2007a: 9–36.
- . 2007c. "Éléments de Bibliographie". In Baumgartner and de Medeiros 2007a: 37–46.
- BOGDANOW, Fanni. 1996. "The Evolution of the Theme of the Fall of Arthur's Kingdom". In Kennedy 1996a: 91–103.
- BURNS, E. Jane. 1993. "Introduction". In *Lancelot-Grail*, vol. 1: xv–xxxiii.
- . 1985. *Arthurian Fictions: Rereading the Vulgate Cycle*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

- CABLE, James. 1971. "Introduction". In *The Death of King Arthur*, trans. James Cable, 9-20. Penguin: London.
- DOVER, Carol. 2003. *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*. Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer.
- FLORI, Jean. 2007. *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Rebel*, trans. Olive Classe. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- FRAPPIER, Jean. 1964. "Introduction". In idem (ed.), *La mort le roi Artu*, 3rd ed., vii-xxix. Geneva: Droz.
- HULT, David F. 2009b. "Esquisses d'interprétation". In Hult 2009a: 9-115.
- . 2009c. "Indications bibliographiques". In idem (ed. and trans.), *La Mort du roi Arthur*, 167-180. Paris: Livre de Poche.
- KENNEDY, Edward Donald (ed.). 1996a. *King Arthur: A Casebook*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- . 1996b. "Introduction". In E.D. Kennedy 1996a, xiii-xlviii.
- . 1996c. "Select Bibliography". In E.D. Kennedy 1996b: xlix-lvi.
- KENNEDY, Elspeth. 1986. *Lancelot and the Grail: A Study of the Prose Lancelot*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1994. "Variations in Patterns of Interlace in the Lancelot-Grail". In Lacy 1994: 31-50.
- . 1996. "King Arthur in the Prose Lancelot". In E.D. Kennedy 1996a: 70-89.
- KIBLER, William W. (ed.). 1994a. *The Lancelot-Grail Cycle: Text and Transformations*. Austin TX: University of Texas Press.
- . 1994b. "The Mort Artu and Cyclic Closure". In Kibler 1994a: 85-98.
- . 2003. "The Sense of an Ending". In Dover 2003: 115-124.
- KUNSTMANN, Pierre and Martin DUBÉ. 1982. *Concordance analytique de La Mort le roi Artu*, 2 vols. Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université.
- LACY, Norris J. 1993. "Preface". In *Lancelot-Grail*, vol. 1: ix-xii.
- MICHA, Alexandre. 1987. *Essais sur le Cycle du Lancelot-Graal*. Geneva: Librairie Droz.
- MILLER, William Ian. 1990. *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- . 2003. *Faking It*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PETERS, Edward. 1970. *The Shadow King: 'Rex Inutilis' in Medieval Law and Literature, 751-1327*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- REEVE, Michael D. 2007. "Introduction". In Geoffrey of Monmouth 2007, vii-lxxvi.
- SARGENT-BAUR, Barbara N. 1996. "DUX BELLORUM / REX MILITUM / ROI FAIN'EANT: The Transformation of Arthur in the Twelfth Century". In E.D. Kennedy 1996a: 29-70.

- SCHMOLKE-HASSELNANN, Beate. 1982. "The Round Table: Ideal, Fiction, Reality". *Arthurian Literature* 2: 41–75.
- TRACHSLER, Richard. 1996. *Clôtures du cycle Arthurien: Etude et textes*. Geneva: Droz.
- WEISS, Judith. 1999. "Introduction". In Wace 1999: xi–xxix.
- WHITE, Stephen D. 1978. "'Pactum ... Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium': The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France", *American Journal of Legal History* 22: 291–309.
- . 2001. "The Problem of Treason: The Trial of Daire le Roux in Le roman de Thèbes". In *Law, Laity and Solidarities in Medieval Europe*, ed. Pauline Stafford, Janet L. Nelson, and Jane Martindale. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 95–115.
- . 2007 'Alternative Constructions of Treason in the Angevin Political World: Traïson in the *History of William Marshal*', *e-Spania*, 4 décembre 2007, pp. 1–47, mis en ligne le 21 décembre 2007. URL: <http://e-spania.revues.org/document2233.html>.
- . 2008. "The Ambiguity of Treason in Anglo-Norman-French Law, c. 1150 to c.1250". In Ruth Karras, Joel Kaye & E. Ann Matter (eds.), *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Society*, 89–102. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- . 2011. "Prosecuting and Proving Sexual Infidelity at the Court of King Arthur: The Case of Guinevere v. Lanval". In Per Andersen, Mia Münster-Swendsen & Helle Vogt (eds.), *Law and Private Life in the Middle Ages*, 1–26. Copenhagen: DJØF Publishers.
- . 2016. "The Evils of the Court: Judicial Melodramas in Medieval French Literature". In John G. Hudson & Sally Crumplin (eds.), *"The Making of Europe": Essays in Honour of Robert Bartlett*, 184–204. Leiden: Brill.

Stephen D. White, Asa G. Candler Professor Emeritus of Medieval History at Emory University. His many publications include *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050–1150*; *Feuding and Peacemaking in Eleventh-Century France*; *Re-Thinking Kinship and Feudalism in Early Medieval Europe*. E-mail: stephen.dwhite@gmail.com.

Alle vegar fører til Nidaros

Om eit fransk handskriftfragment og dansk-norske kontinentale nettverk

SYNNØVE MIDTBØ MYKING

This article discusses a fragment of Stephen of Tournai's *Summa in decretum Gratiani*, now in the Norwegian National Archives, but originally part of a manuscript copied in France between around 1175 and 1200. The medieval provenance of the manuscript is uncertain, but the article discusses the possible ways in which it might have ended up in Norway, where it was used as binding material for seventeenth-century accounts from the area around Trondheim: was it brought to Norway as a result of contacts forged in twelfth-century Paris, or did it come to Denmark first? By showing that the manuscript, no matter whether it first came to Norway or Denmark, would have travelled thanks to the same type of contacts, involving the same type of people, the article uses the absence of a known medieval provenance as an opportunity to shed light on Danish-Norwegian connections and parallels in the High Middle Ages.

Introduksjon¹

Få handskrift frå norsk mellomalder har overlevd i intakt tilstand. Særleg gjeld dette bøker skrivne på latin, der liturgiske handskrift utgjorde mesteparten. Etter reformasjonen i 1536/1537 vart dei aller fleste handskrifta samla inn og skorne opp, slik at pergamentet kunne nyttast til andre føremål, i stor grad som innbindingsmateriale på skattelister frå norske len og futedømme. I Riksarkivet, og i ein del andre norske samlingar, finst det i dag tusenvis av slike fragment, som til saman utgjør ei viktig kjelde til kunnskapen vår om norsk bokkultur i mellomalderen.²

¹ Med takk til Espen Karlsen, Åslaug Ommundsen og to anonyme lesarar for nyttige kommentarar.

² Dei siste åra har sett store framsteg når det gjeld forskning på norsk og nordisk fragmentmateriale so vel som på latinsk skriftkultur i Norden i mellomalderen. Sjå særleg Karlsen 2013 og Ommundsen & Heikkilä 2017, som inneheld introduksjonar til problemstillingane so vel som bidrag frå nyare forskning.

Utfordringane er likevel mange i studia av desse fragmenta. Ei av dei er mangelen på sikker kunnskap om lagnaden til handskriftet før det hamna under kniven: Sjølv når me kan vera rimeleg sikre på når og kvar den opphavlege boka vart produsert, utifrå kriterium som skrift, dekorasjon og innhald, er livet til boka – kven som eigde henne, kven som arva henne, kven som nytta henne – som regel skjult for oss. Me må dimed basera oss på historisk kontekst, med utgangspunkt i den etterreformatoriske lagnaden til fragmentet, for å kunna plassera handskriftet inn i sin rette samanheng.

I den fylgjande artikkelen diskuterer eg denne problemstillinga med utgangspunkt i eit fragmentert handskrift av verket *Summa in decretum Gratiani*, «Samanfatning av Gratians dekret», av den franske juristen, abbeden og biskopen Stefan av Tournai (d. 1203).³ Handskriftet, som er kopierte i Frankrike i siste fjerdedel av 1100-talet, består av fem enkeltfragment som alle vert oppbevart i Riksarkivet i Oslo, og som alle kan knytast til området rundt Trondheim (Nidaros). Ei opplagd forklaring er at nokon med tilknytning til erkebispesetet tok handskriftet med seg frå Frankrike i mellomalderen – jamvel om sjølv handskriftet ikkje seier noko om dette. Ei alternativ forklaring er at handskriftet slett ikkje var i Noreg i mellomalderen, men derimot i Danmark, og at det kom dit via eit tilsvarande geistleg nettverk: Fragmentet kan vera identisk med ei bok som er nemnd i testamentet til Anders Sunesen (d. 1228), erkebiskop av Lund.

Dei to forklaringane har mange parallellar, sidan bae legg til grunn at nettverk og kontaktar mellom skandinaviske og kontinentale miljø var ein viktig føresetnad for bokimport.⁴ Konklusjonen er at handskrift med usikker proveniens kan utgjera eit fruktbart utgangspunkt for å analysere samanhengen mellom personlege og institusjonelle nettverk og norsk-dansk handskriftskultur.

Opphav og proveniens

Jamvel om proveniens (*provenance*) stundom vert nytta synonymt med opphav i forskning på handskriftstudium, er skiljet prinsipielt viktig: Opphav seier noko om kvar handskriftet vart *laga*, proveniens seier noko om kvar handskriftet vart *nytt*. Opphav kan stadfestast på grunnlag av konkret informasjon – som til dømes ein kolofon der skrivaren nemner at boka er skriven på ein bestemt stad eller ved ein bestemt institusjon – eller på meir indirekte grunnlag, som regionale drag i skrifa/dekorasjonen eller inn-

³ Òg kjend som Stephanus Tornacensis (latin), Étienne de Tournai (fransk), Stephen of Tournai (engelsk).

⁴ Dette er eitt aspekt ved integreringa av Skandinavia i ein større pan-europeisk elitekultur, ein prosess som skyt fart på 1100-talet. Sjå t.d. Münster-Swendsen, Heebøll-Holm & Sønnesyn 2016.

haldet (til dømes ved at helgenar som var populære i eit bestemt område, er nemnde). Proveniensi kan stadfestast til dømes på grunnlag av ein ex-libris eller ved at boka er nemnd i ei inventarliste. Stundom kan både opphav og proveniens stadfestast på grunnlag av same informasjon: Det sokalla Munkelivspsalteret,⁵ som vart kopiert i birgittinar-klosteret Munkeliv i Bergen rundt 1450, inneheld ein kolofon der skrivaren, nonna Birgitta Sigfusdotter, presenterer seg ved namn og fortel kvar ho høyrer til.

Opphav og proveniens overlappar gjerne, men slett ikkje alltid, og ein kan ikkje slutta at eit bestemt opphav er lik ein bestemt proveniens. Dette er i endå større grad tilfellet for fragmenta i det norske Riksarkivet, som i særns liten grad inneheld konkret informasjon verken om opphav eller proveniens i mellomalderen, den sokalla primærproveniensen.⁶ Me veit meir om sekundærproveniensen deira, det vil seia kva som hende etter at handskrifta vart skorne opp, sidan fragmenta vart nytta som innbinding på skattelister frå bestemte geografiske område i bestemte tidsrom. Det er som regel vanskeleg å slå fast i kva grad handskrifta faktisk var i bruk i desse områda før dei vart nytta som innbinding, altså i kva grad det er ein samanheng mellom primær- og sekundærproveniensen. Ei skattelite kan innehalda skatterekneskapen frå til dømes Romsdal i året 1605, men kva kan me seia om pergamentfragmentet som er nytta som innbinding – kjem det frå eit handskrift som fanst i området i mellomalderen? Kom handskriftet til Romsdal på 1600-talet? Eller er det berre innhaldet i skattelista som kjem frå Romsdal, fordi innbindinga gjekk føre seg ein annan stad? Som me skal sjå, heftar det mykje uvisse ved fragmentmaterialet, og det er denne uvissa som opnar for minst to parallelle forklaringar på korleis eit fransk 1100-talshandskrift kunne hamna i Trondheim.

Lat. Frag. 159, 1–5: eit eksemplar av Stefans *Summa*

Oslo, Riksarkivet, Latinske fragment 159, 1–5 består av fem enkeltfragment frå eit eksemplar av *Summa in decretum Gratiani*, eit verk av Stefan av Tournai (1128–1203).⁷ Dette er ein kommentar over *Decretum Gratiani*, Gratians dekret, eit systematisk

⁵ Praha, Knihovna Metropolitni Kapituli B. 4/1 qv. For ein diskusjon av handskriftet, sjå Kaspersen 1980.

⁶ Eg fylgjer skiljet til Pettersen (2013: 48), som omtalar mellomalderproveniensen til handskriftet som primærproveniensi (*primary provenance*) og proveniens til handskriftet i fragmentert tilstand som sekundærproveniensi (*secondary provenance*). I dei tilfella der eit fragment vart nytta om att som innbinding, er dette tertiærproveniensi (*tertiary provenance*).

⁷ Den einaste utgåva som finst til no (von Schulte 1891), er ufullstendig, mellom anna fordi utgjevaren von Schulte utelét delar av teksten han meinte Stefan berre hadde lånt frå andre. Det knyter seg framleis spørsmål til innhaldet som berre kan løysast ved hjelp av ei ny og komplett utgåve (Pennington & Müller 2008: 137).

oversyn over kyrkjeretten compilert av teologen Gratian i Bologna på midten av 1100-talet.⁸ Stefan studerte sjølv romarrett og kyrkjerett i Bologna, og vart seinare abbed i augustinararklosteret Saint-Euverte i Orléans, der han var fødd; han er òg kjend som Stefan av Orleans. I 1176 vart han abbed i Sainte-Geneviève-klosteret i Paris, noko me skal koma tilbake til, før han vart vald til biskop i Tournai i 1191, eit embete han hadde fram til han døydde i 1203.

Stefan var aktiv som jurist òg etter at han kom heim til Frankrike, der ekspertisen hans var sær satterspurd blant biskopar, klerkar og personar som var involverte i rettssaker.⁹ Han skreiv truleg *Summa*-en, eller tok i alle fall til med arbeidet, kring 1160, medan han framleis underviste i Bologna (Pennington 2019: 9–10). Verket er blant dei best overleverte Gratian-kommentarane (Kalb 1983:10), og det inspirerte fleire andre tilsvarende verk, fyrst og fremst før 1200 (Weigand 2008b). Me kjenner til over 30 overleverte eksemplar av Stefans *Summa*, men dei fleste er ufullstendige.¹⁰

Handskriftet NRA, latinske fragment 159, 1–5 vart kopiert i Nord-Frankrike i siste fjerdedel av 1100-talet,¹¹ det vil seia relativt kort tid etter at verket kom til. Innhaldet er frå kommentarane av Gratians distinksjonar 3–5, 7, 17–20 og 21 (Vadum 2015:420), som alle omhandlar generelle prinsipp i kyrkjeretten, med unntak av distinksjon 21, som omhandlar rolla til personar i kyrkja.¹² Skrifta er ryddig og lita, med eit «rundt» aspekt; avsnitta er markerte med paragrafmerke i same blekk som brødteksten, utan understrekingar av oppslagsord. Eit av fragmenta er eit bifolium, medan resten består av mindre stykke; to av desse høyrer til nedre halvdel av same blad.

⁸ Dateringa og tradisjonen er uvis; mellom anna har det vorte hevda at det fanst to versjonar av verket, og at berre den fyrste av desse (frå ca. 1139) er skriven av Gratian sjølv (Winroth 2004).

⁹ Pennington 2019: 3. Ein nett-basert versjon av artikkelen finst her: https://www.academia.edu/36113733/%C3%89tienne_of_Tournai (vitja 19.07.19). Artikkelen gjev eit oppdatert og rikhaldig oversyn over forskinga som er gjort på Stefan og verka hans.

¹⁰ Ei liste over handskrifta finst her: http://amesfoundation.law.harvard.edu/BioBibCanonists/Report_Biobib2.php?record_id=a502 (vitja 22.07.19). Sjå note 14 om dateringa av desse.

¹¹ Stirnemann (2015) samanlikna fragmentet med Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 640, som ein reknar med vart kopiert i Sens på 1170-talet. Dei to handskrifta er samtidige, og har liknande format: Medan fragmentet har 50 linjer, har Troyes-handskriftet 47. Det sistnemnde er rett nok meir «lesarvenleg», med strek under lemmata og distinksjonane tydeleg indikerte i margen (Stirnemann 2015).

¹² Jamfør von Schulte 1891: 13–15, 16–17, 26–32. Ei elektronisk utgåve av Gratians *Decretum* finst her: <https://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/online/angebot> (vitja 19.07.19).

Bifoliumet, som har overlevd i full storleik, er 310 mm høgt og 210 mm breitt; teksten er sett ut i to spaltar, som måler rundt 250×65 mm, med femti liner.

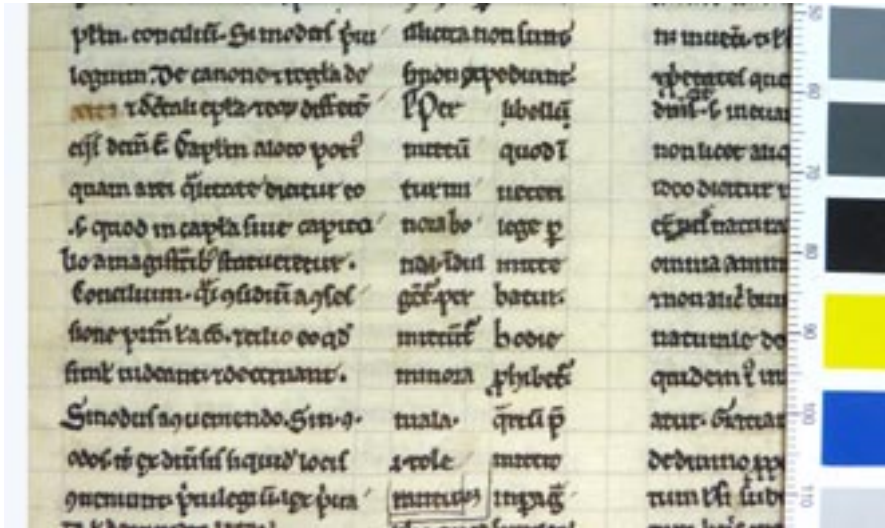


Fig. 1: Oslo, NRA, latinske fragment 159, 1–5 (forstørra utsnitt av eit av dei mindre fragmenta). Foto: Michael Gullick

Bifoliumet vart nytta som innbinding på ei skatteliste frå 1604–1605, Steen Billes rekneskap over Jemtland og Herjedalen, som høyrde til Noreg fram til 1645. Dei mindre fragmenta vart nytta som forsterking av ryggen på andre rekneskapar, sjølv om berre eitt av desse har fått påskrive proveniensinformasjon. Denne viser at fragmentet vart nytta som innbinding på 1633-rekneskapen for futedømmet Strinda, omlandet til dagens Trondheim.

Me står altså overfor eit eksemplar, datert til ein bestemt tidsperiode (ca. 1175–1200) og til eit bestemt geografisk område (Frankrike), som på ukjent vis hamna i Trondheim. Sjølv om fragmentet teier om korleis det fann vegen dit, kan den kontekstuelle informasjonen – inkludert det me veit om Stefan sjølv – gje oss (minst) to potensielle reiseruter. I det fylgjande vil eg diskutera desse.



Motstående side. Fig. 2: Oslo, Riksarkivet, fragment 2915 (lat. fragm. 159, 1): bifolium med påskrift frå Sten Billes rekneskap frå 1604. Foto: Riksarkivet.

Reiserute 1: Paris – Nidaros

Det fyrste alternativet legg til grunn at primærproveniensen til fragmentet er Nidaros i mellomalderen. Sekundærproveniensen er utvilsamt herifrå: Det eine småfragmentet vart nytta som innbinding på ei skattelite frå Strinda for året 1633, medan bifoliumet vart nytta for rekneskapen til lensherren Steen Bille over Jemtland og Herjedalen 1604–1605 (sjå over). Jemtland og Herjedalen var på denne tida norsk territorium og del av Trondheim len, der Steen Bille var lensherre frå 1601 til 1633 (Øvrebø 1983: 238). Strinda er ei tradisjonell nemning på området rundt Trondheim. I 1633 var det eit futedømme; på denne tida var Oluf Parsberg lensherre i Trondheim (Øvrebø 1983: 267). Det er truleg at rekneskapane frå futedømmet kan ha vorte bundne inn i Trondheim, og at dette skjedde hjå lensherren, særleg med tanke på at bifoliumet vart nytta som innbinding nesten tretti år før det vesle fragmentet: Det er nærliggjande å tenkja seg at lensherren har hatt eit lager av pergamentmateriale som han lét gå i arv saman med lenet (Myking 2017: 129).

Om handskriftet var i Nidaros i mellomalderen, kven kan ha eigd det og brukt det – og ikkje minst, kven tok det med seg frå Frankrike? Det er nærliggjande å tru at det dreier seg om ein person med tilknytning til erkebispesetet, sidan kjeldene stadfester at fleire geistlege frå Nidaros drog til Paris i høg mellomalderen, noko som er godt kjent i litteraturen (Johnsen 1939; Bagge 1981; Myking 2017). For å snevra inn den aktuelle tidsperioden, kan me nytta oss av det faktumet at Stefan sin Gratian-kommentar – i selskap med diverse andre Gratian-kommentarar – ser ut til å ha vorte avleggs i løpet av tidleg 1200-tal, då Johannes Teutonicus sin *apparatus* raskt etablerte seg som ein ny standardkommentar.¹³ Med tanke på kor verdfulle sjølv enkle handskrift var, er det lite truleg at nokon ville ha investert i eit verk som ikkje var tilpassa den nyaste utviklinga. Dersom ein nordmann skaffa seg handskriftet i Frankrike, hende det mest sannsynleg ikkje altfor lenge etter at boka vart til, i tidsrommet ca. 1175–1220.¹⁴

¹³ Johannes, som må ha gjort ferdig kommentaren sin seinast 1217, ekskluderte utdaterte diskusjonar og gammal lovgjeving, noko som bidrog til at teksten spreidde seg meir effektivt, og kom til å få status som *Glossa ordinaria* (Weigand 2008a: 84). Kommentaren hans har overlevd i kring 50 handskrift, og vart revidert av Bartholomeus av Brescia ca. 1234–1241, fyrst og fremst for å ta høgd for Gregorius IX sine dekretalar frå 1234 (Weigand 2008a: 85–91). For ein utfyllande diskusjon av den tidlege Gratian-litteraturen, sjå Hartmann & Pennington 2008.

Det er nettopp i denne perioden, mot slutten av 1100-talet, at me ser spor av eit regelmessig nærvære av nordmenn i Paris. Eit av dei fyrste teikna på dette er eit brev til Ernis, abbed i det kjende klosteret Saint-Victor frå 1161 til 1172, frå syster hans, «G», som er gift med ein nordmann av uviss identitet (Johnsen 1939: 101, 105–106). Ho nemner blant anna at fleire nordmenn skal ha utnytta gjestfridommen i klosteret ved å gje seg ut for å vera sende dit av henne, men kor mange reisande det er snakk om, er vanskeleg å fastslå. Sikkert er det at fleire namngjevne nordmenn oppheldt seg i Saint-Victor i løpet av andre halvdel av 1100-talet. Fire av desse er nemnde i daudeboka til Saint-Victor.¹⁵ Ein av desse, “Frater Germundus”, kan vera identisk med Geirmund, nevøen til abbed Ernis (Johnsen 1939: 104, 107).

Meir kjende er Eirik Ivarsson, erkebiskop av Nidaros frå 1189 til 1205, og etterfylgjaren hans, Tore Gudmundsson (d. 1214). Den fjerde er Tore, biskop av Hamar (d. 1196), som til liks med Eirik er omtala som “canonicus noster” (Tore Gudmundsson er derimot “frater”). Den femte nordmannen ein veit har vore i Saint-Victor, er Øystein Erlendsson, erkebiskop i Nidaros frå 1157 til 1188. Han er ikkje omtala i daudeboka, men er nemnd i eit brev til Ernis skrive mellom 1161 og 1168, der han er omtala som “den norske erkebiskopen som var hjå dykk” – truleg har Øystein vitja Saint-Victor på vegen til Roma for å ta mot palliet (Johnsen 1939: 105).

At nordmenn oppheldt seg i Paris på den tida då handskriftet vart kopiert, gjer det plausibelt at *Summa*-handskriftet kan ha funne vegen til Noreg alt i mellomalderen. Om dateringa frå 1170-talet stemmer, kan me utelukka at Øystein, som var i Paris ein gong mellom 1161 og 1168, eller Eirik, som vart utnemnd til biskop i Stavanger i 1171, har teke det med seg personleg. Det er derimot mogleg at nokon har teke det med seg på deira vegner, og spesielt i tilfellet Eirik Ivarsson er det freistande å sjå føre seg eit slikt scenario. Han hadde vore kannik i Saint-Victor, som me alt har sett, og kan dessutan ha hatt ei indirekte tilknytning til forfattaren av verket, som me straks skal sjå.

Saint-Victor var eit augustinarkloster, det vil seia eit kloster av kannikar som levde etter den augustinske regelen. Denne opnar for eit mangfald av tolkingar, slik at ulike hus kunne etablera sine eigne skikkar – *consuetudines*. På slutten av 1140-

¹⁴ Eit gjennomsyn av dei overlevande *Summa*-handskrifta, inkludert fragment (jamfør fotnote 10), viser at dei i all hovudsak er daterte til 1100- og 1200-talet i katalogane. Det finst unntak, som Trier, Stadtbibliothek 905, som er datert til 1300-talet i katalogen (http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs//katalogseiten/HSKO735_bo30_jpg.htm, vitja 19.07.19). Om dateringa er rett, kan det tyda på at Stefans *Summa* framleis hadde interesse 150 år etter at verket vart til, men ikkje nødvendigvis for dei fremste juristane eller ved dei store juridiske sentra, der utviklinga gjekk føre seg i rivande fart.

¹⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 14673.

talet vart Odo, prior i Saint-Victor, send for å reformera (det sviaktande) benediktinar-klosteret Sainte-Geneviève, som til liks med Saint-Victor låg på venstre breidd, og innføra dei viktorinske *consuetudines* der. Med seg hadde Odo eit lag av viktorinske kannikar, og ifylgje den seinare kjelda *Gallia Christiana*,¹⁶ som reknar opp namna på desse kannikane, var Eirik blant dei: *Henricus, seu Erricus junior tunc presbyter, qui deinde archiepiscopus Nidrosiensis, de Drontheim in Norvegia ab anno 1186. ad 1203* (“Henrik, eller Eirik, på den tida ein ung prest, som deretter vart erkebiskop av Nidaros i Trondheim i Noreg frå år 1186 til 1203 [sic]”, mi omsetjing) (Sainte-Marthe 1744: 712). Dersom Eirik verkeleg var med på reformasjonen av Sainte-Geneviève, må han ha nådd ein særskild høg levealder, sidan han fyrst døydd i 1213, 65 år seinare (Nenseter 2003: 31). Sjølv om *Gallia Christiana* kan innehalda både unøyaktige og feil opplysingar – Eirik var til dømes erkebiskop frå 1189 til 1205 og ikkje frå 1186 til 1203, slik kjelda seier – er det likevel ikkje utenkjeleg at opplysinga er sann, noko mellom andre Erik Gunnes har stilt seg open for (Gunnes 1996: 195). Alternativt kan ein annan Eirik frå Noreg ha vore til stades og seinare vorte forveksla med erkebiskopen, men om dette er meir sannsynleg, vert eit ope spørsmål.

I 1176 fekk Sainte-Geneviève ny abbed: Det var ingen ringare enn Stefan, forfattaren av *Summa*. At Stefan og Eirik nokon gong møttest personleg, er ikkje umogleg. Om me legg til grunn at opplysningane i *Gallia Christiana* har rot i røynda, var Eirik i Paris på slutten av 1140-talet, og kanskje heilt fram til rundt 1170. Me veit at Stefan vart kannik i Saint-Euverte på 1150-talet, og truleg studerte han i Bologna etter dette og fram til han vart kalla heim til Orleans som abbed i 1168 (Pennington 2019). Det er ikkje umogleg at han har vitja Saint-Victor og/eller Sainte-Geneviève på vegen til eller frå Orléans, og at han har møtt Eirik der.

At Eirik hadde tilknytning til viktorinarane i Paris og (kan henda) til Sainte-Geneviève, der Stefan var abbed, er ikkje den einaste grunnen til å sjå han som ein mogleg eigar av *Summa*-handskriftet. Eirik var ein ihuga tilhengjar av dei “gregorianske” reformtankane og ideen om ei universell kyrkje som stod over verdsleg makt, noko som var hovudårsaka til den lange og bitre konflikten med kong Sverre. I denne konflikten lente Eirik seg tungt på rettskjelder, mellom anna ved hjelp av ein omfattande korrespondanse med pave Celestin III (Nielsen 2008: 173–180). I Sverre-

¹⁶ *Gallia Christiana* (*Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa; qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et abbatum Franciæ vicinarumque ditionum ab origine Ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem appositis...*) er eit encyclopedisk oversyn over fransk kyrkjhistorie, med detaljerte lister over bispedømme, kloster og personar tilknytt desse. Den fyrste, ufullstendige utgåva kom alt i 1621. Eit omfattande revisjonsarbeid vart sett i gang av mauristane under leiing av Denys de Sainte-Marthe på 1700-talet og fullført i 1865.

soga står det at Eirik “viste til den lovboka som heitte Gullfjør, som erkebisp Øystein let skrive, og så til [gudeleg] romersk rett og somt som han hadde brev og innsegl på ifrå paven”.¹⁷ Soga spesifiserer ikkje andre rettskjelder enn Gullfjør, den tapte kristenretten til Øystein Erlendsson, men det er interessant å merka seg at Eirik skal ha nytta seg av romersk rett, som forfattaren ikkje ser ut til å skilja skarpt frå den kanoniske. Juristar med utdanning frå Bologna, inkludert Stefan, var lærde både i romarrett (basert på keisar Justinian I si samling *Corpus juris civilis*)¹⁸ og kyrkjerett, og Stefan drog vekslar på romarretten i virket sitt som kanonist, inkludert då han skreiv *Summa in Decretum Gratiani* (Pennington 2019: 14, 19–21). Eirik har dimed hatt konkret nytte av, og truleg interesse for, litteratur av typen *Summa*-fragmentet representer.¹⁹ Dette, til liks med banda til Paris og viktorarane, og ikkje minst tidspunktet – slutten av 1100-talet – gjer det freistande å sjå Eirik som ein mogleg eigar av handskriftet, jamvel om han ikkje har hatt høve til å skaffa seg det i løpet av si eiga tid i Paris, men har fått det eller kjøpt det i etterkant, til dømes på veg heim frå Roma etter å ha fått palliet i 1189.

Det er ikkje dermed sagt at Eirik er den einaste i Noreg på denne tida som kunne ha interesse av å eiga juridisk litteratur. Hans eigen motstandar, kong Sverre, var presteutdanna, og i skriftet *Tale mot biskopane* nyttar forfattaren seg av Gratian for å argumentera for at Sverre har retten på si side mot Eirik og biskpane som fylgjer han – rett nok utan å vera fullt på høgd med samtidig jus.²⁰ Eit anna døme er forjengaren til Eirik, Øystein Erlendsson,²¹ som ikkje berre var opphavsmannen til kristenretten Gullfjør, men truleg òg til dei sokalla *Canones Nidrosiensens*, statuttar for

¹⁷ Koht 1967: 137. Norrøen utgåve basert på *Flateyjarbók*: [https://heimskringla.no/wiki/Sverris_saga_\(Flateyjarb%C3%B3k\)](https://heimskringla.no/wiki/Sverris_saga_(Flateyjarb%C3%B3k)) (vitja 19.07.19). Her står det: *Erchibyskup baud fram þa bok er Gullfiodur var kollut er rita let Eysteinn erchibyskup. þar med baud hann guds lög romuersk ok þat sumt er hann hafdi til breffpauans ok innsigli* (kap. 103, mi utheving). Koht har omsett dette til “romersk rett”.

¹⁸ https://snl.no/Corpus_juris_civilis (vitja 19.07.19).

¹⁹ Me har ingen opplysningar om Eirik sine eventuelle boksamlingar, og lite om hans egne skrifter. Det overlevande brevet til paven er ført i pennen av Vilhelm av Æbelholt medan Eirik var i eksil i Danmark, sidan han på dette tidspunktet hadde tapt eller var i ferd med å tapa synet. Dette gjer det vanskeleg å avgjera kor mykje av innhald og formuleringar som representerer Eirik sjølv, og kva som er Vilhelm sine bidrag.

²⁰ “Men samtidens juridiske skolediskusjoner går Talens forfatter forbi. [...] De romerrettslærde interesserte seg på dette tidspunkt først og fremst for imperiet; de så med forakt på ‘småkongene’. Men selv de av deres argumenter for kongsretten som disse *reguli* kunne ta i bruk, mangler i Talen” (Gunnnes 1971: 113).

²¹ Øystein har truleg studert i utlandet, utan at me veit kvar. Gunnnes (1996: 30–35) gjettar på England eller Paris.

Nidaros erkebispedømme, som i stor grad byggjer på Gratians *Decretum* (Skånland 1969; Gunnes 1996: 133–139).

Meir generelt må dei kristne reformtankane, som fekk sterkare fotfeste i Noreg etter opprettinga av Nidaros erkebispedømme i 1152/1153, ha påverka politisk tankegang og handlemåtar. Dette er fremja av Hans Jacob Orning, som ser borgarkrigane i andre halvdel av 1100-talet som knytt til det gregorianske tankegodset: Den tradisjonelle forhandlingskulturen i det norrøne samfunnet, der ein kan forlika seg med tidlegare uvener og gjera bot for eventuelle mistak, må vika for eit ideal om å stå på sitt i møte med fienden, ei haldning Orning meiner forklarar kvifor Erling Skakke føretrekte å rydda motstandarar av vegen framfor å alliera seg med dei.²² Den nådelause innstillinga til Erling utgjer i so fall ein klar parallell til den uforsonlege haldninga Eirik viste overfor Sverre. Kompromissløysa til erkebiskopen gjer han dimed ikkje til nokon avvikar i det norske samfunnet, i alle fall ikkje i dei sfærane han sjølv ferdast i, men derimot til ein representant for haldningar som var i ferd med å spreia seg utanfor dei øvste laga i kyrkja. Det kan tyda på at fleire enn Eirik ville ha interesse av rettsleg litteratur.

Hovudpoenget er altså ikkje å prova at Eirik verkeleg var eigaren av *Summa*-handskriftet, noko som uansett ikkje kan provast, men å visa at nærværet av dette handskriftet i Nidaros kan forklarast ved hjelp av historiske fakta som til saman dannar eit samanhengande narrativ. Slik kan både Eirik og fragmentet sjåast som symbol på kvar sine konsept eller fenomen, høvesvis “norske geistlege med utandlandsk utdanning 1150–1200” (eventuelt “gregorianarar i Nidaros 1150–1200”) og “kanonisk litteratur i bruk i Noreg i mellomalderen”. Samanhengen mellom den fysiske personen og det fysiske fragmentet vert eit symbol på samanhengen mellom fenomenen dei representerer.

Reiserute 2: Paris–Lund

I det føregåande har eg hatt som utgangspunkt at *Summa*-handskriftet kom til Nidaros ikkje lenge etter at det vart kopiert, det vil seia mot slutten av 1100-talet. Alternativet eg no vil diskutera, opnar for ein annan primærproveniens, nemleg Lund, som i mellomalderen høyrde til Danmark. Her legg eg til grunn at handskriftet kom til Noreg fyrst etter reformasjonen på 1500-talet, for å skjerast opp og nyttast som innbindingsmateriale, og at det dimed ikkje kan nyttast som kjelde til den kanonistiske delen av norsk bokkultur i mellomalderen.

²² Orning 2014: 211–212. Til liks med Sverre Bagge (1986) reknar Orning byrjinga av borgarkrigsperioden til om lag 1160.

Det er overveldande sannsynleg at skattelistingane frå norske len og futedømme i hovudsak vart bundne inn før overfarten til Danmark (Pettersen 2013: 41–65). Spørsmålet er i kva grad innbindinga vart gjort med fragment frå lokale bøker, eller om pergament måtte importerast for å dekkja behovet. Det er grunn til å tru at dei fleste fragmenta i Riksarkivet kjem frå bøker som har vore i Noreg (Ommundsen 2017a: 136). I somme tilfelle viser det seg likevel at fragment frå norske skattelister stammar frå same handskrift som fragment i danske samlingar. Kor vidt det er snakk om dansk pergament som har vorte importert til Noreg for å nyttast som innbindingsmateriale eller omvendt, vil variera frå tilfelle til tilfelle.²³

Som me har sett, vart bifoliumet nytta som omslag på rekneskapen til den danske lensherren Steen Bille (1565–1629), som kom til Noreg i 1601, då han fekk Trondheim med Jemtland og Herjedalen i len. Det er mogleg at han har teke med seg eller fått tilsendt *Summa*-handskriftet til bruk som innbinding, og at blada han sjølv ikkje nytta, vart verande i Trondheim. Det som gjer ein dansk primærproveniens særleg aktuell i tilfellet vårt, er at Eirik Ivarsson ikkje var den einaste skandinaviske erkebiskopen med tilknytning til Paris og Sainte-Geneviève. Og endå viktigare: Me har grunn til å tru at minst eitt eksemplar av Stefans *Summa* fanst i Lund på byrjinga av 1200-talet.

Absalon, erkebiskop av Lund frå 1178 til 1201, studerte i Paris i åra rundt 1150,²⁴ det vil seia om lag på same tid som reformasjonen av Sainte-Geneviève fann stad. Det er uvisst om han studerte der sjølv,²⁵ men det er sikkert at han skreiv personleg til Geneviève-kanniken Vilhelm (d. 1203) og bad han om å koma til Danmark for å reformera det skrantande klosteret på Eskilø, som seinare vart flytta til Æbelholt. Vilhelm tok utfordringa på strak arm. Han skulle verta ein viktig figur i det politisk-religiøse livet i Danmark, i den grad at han vart helgenkåra i 1224. Både han og Absalon korresponderte med Stefan etter at sistnemnde vart vald som abbed i Sainte-

²³ 15 slike handskrift har vorte identifiserte til no; eit oversyn over desse finst i Ommundsen 2017b: 213–214. Eg takkar Espen Karlsen for å gjera meg merksam på at det eine handskriftet (Gjerløws Mi 29a) fanst i Noreg før reformasjonen (Pettersen 2013: 45).

²⁴ Munk-Olsen (1997: 89) reknar perioden frå midten av 1140-talet og fram til midten av 1150-talet som mest sannsynleg.

²⁵ Munk-Olsen (1997: 89–90) held det for lite truleg, sidan skulen ved Sainte-Geneviève på denne tida tok til å verta mindre tilgjengeleg for utanforståande. Myking (2018: 121, n. 22) peikar på at dersom Absalon møtte Vilhelm av Æbelholt som student (slik det vert hevda i vitaet til sistnemnde), er det meir sannsynleg at dette hendte i Sainte-Geneviève, og at Absalon kan ha fylgd undervisinga der i tillegg til å studera ved katedralskulen, slik Munk-Olsen føreslår.

Geneviève,²⁶ og Absalon ordna det slik at nevøen Peder Sunesen fekk studera i klosteret.

Anders, bror til Peder, studerte òg i Paris på eit tidspunkt,²⁷ men han er ikkje nemnd i breva Stefan skreiv til Absalon, noko som tyder på at han ikkje var i Sainte-Geneviève (Munk-Olsen 1997: 90). Han var uansett del av det same nettverket som broren og onkelen: På 1190-talet var han og Vilhelm på reise i Frankrike og kontinentet saman: Fyrst for å forhandla fram ekteskapet mellom den danske kongsdottera Ingeborg og kong Filip August, deretter for å løysa flokane som oppstod då Filip ville ha ekteskapet oppløyst – Stefan engasjerte seg òg i dette, kanskje på oppmoding frå dei danske kontaktane sine (Myking 2018: 122). Anders var elles blant dei som fekk i oppgåve av paven å vurdera grunnlaget for kanonisering av Vilhelm etter at sistnemnde døydd i 1224.

Med andre ord kan banda mellom Sainte-Geneviève og erkebiskopsetet i Lund i andre halvdel av 1100-talet seiast å vera endå klårare enn banda med Nidaros. Det aller viktigaste argumentet som talar for ein primærproveniens frå Lund, er likevel at me veit at minst eitt av Stefan sine verk fanst her i mellomalderen – og at det høyrde til nettopp Anders Sunesen.

Anders var ein framstående jurist og forfattar, med inngåande kjennskap til kanonisk rett.²⁸ *Liber Daticus Vetustior* (“den eldre gåveboka”),²⁹ eit handskrift frå 1100-talet som òg er kjent som “Lunds martyrologium”, inneheld ein nekrolog over Anders, inkludert ei liste over bøkene han testamenterte til domkapittelet i Lund (fol. 58r–59r). Blant desse finn me ein *Libellum Stephani, abbatis de sancta Genowefa* – kan det dreia seg om *Summa in decretum Gratiani*?³⁰ Og i so fall, kan denne boka vera identisk med handskriftsfragmentet i Oslo?³¹

²⁶ Sjå til dømes *Diplomatarium Danicum* rekkje 1, 3: 124–126, nr. 82, der Stefan takkar Vilhelm for ein hest som han har fått.

²⁷ Munk-Olsen (1997: 89) reknar med at Anders studerte i Paris ein gong mellom tidleg 1180-tal og 1193, året då bryllaupet mellom Ingeborg og Filip August fann stad.

²⁸ Condorelli 2018. For fleire aspekt ved Anders sitt virke, sjå Ebbesen 1985.

²⁹ Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, MS 7. Tilgjengeleg på nett: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-13276> (vitja 01.05.19). Ein antologi med tilhøyrande faksimile av handskriftet kom ut for få år sidan (Nylander 2015).

³⁰ At boka til Anders har vore eit eksemplar av Stefans *Summa*, har òg vore føreslått av Condorelli (2018: 137).

³¹ Eit argument mot dette kan vera at fragmentet er frå eit relativt stort handskrift (310x210 mm), og at det er meir sannsynleg at *libellus* har referert til ei bok av mindre format (Espen Karlsen, personleg kommunikasjon). Men *libellus* kan referera til innhaldet, særleg dersom handskriftet ikkje inneheldt alle delane av *Summa* (noko som er tilfelle for mange av dei over-

Mangelen på ei kvar form for ex-libris gjer det umogleg å stadfesta sikkert at Oslo, latinske fragment 159, 1–5 er identisk med Anders sin *libellus*. Men med tanke på at dei same argumenta som forklarar korleis boka kunne hamna i Nidaros i 1100-talet – personlege kontaktar med Sainte-Geneviève, ei interesse for kanonisk rett – i kanskje endå større grad er gyldige for Lund, er det ikkje usannsynleg at handskriftet var i bruk i Danmark i mellomalderen, og at det fyrst kom til Noreg med Steen Bille i 1601, særleg når me har belegg for at Anders faktisk eigde eit av Stefan sine verk.

... eller: Paris–Lund–Nidaros?

Eit tredje alternativ, som enno ikkje har vore diskutert, er at handskriftet kom fyrst til Lund via dei kontaktane som er skisserte ovanfor – det vil seia gjennom Anders Sunesen eller nokon i krinsen hans – og at nokon tok det med seg vidare til Nidaros før reformasjonen. Dersom Oslo-fragmentet verkeleg er den same boka som vart testamentert til Lund-kapittelet i 1228, må handskriftet ha kome til Nidaros etter den tid. Det er vanskeleg å vurdera kor sannsynleg dette alternativet er, sidan det enno ikkje er gjort nokon endeleg systematisk studie av bokutveksling mellom Nidaros og Lund i høg mellomalderen.³² Ein slik studie er ynskeleg, men vanskeleg å gjennomføra utan meir kartlegging av dei danske fragmenta, slik at ein får eit betre oversyn over kor mange handskrift som er representerte med fragment både i norske og danske samlingar. For sjølv om det er rimeleg å gå ut frå at Lund og Danmark må ha utøvd ein viss påverknad på norsk skriftkultur særleg i fyrste halvdel av 1100-talet, det vil seia før Nidaros vart etablert som eige bispedømme, og sjølv om ein kan venta at bøker produserte i Lund er representerte blant fragmenta med norsk primær-

leverte eksemplara, sjå note 10). Eit døme på eit handskrift av same format som Stefan-fragmentet, og som inneheld ein *libellus*, er Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek, Ms. 376, som måler 310x200 mm og som er datert til 1200-talet (http://zoeken.brugge.bibliotheek.be/detail/Ronfredus-de-Epiphaniø/Ms-376-Libellus-Ronfredi-Beneuentani-de-Handschrift/?itemid=%7Clibrary%2Fv%2Fobbrugge%2Foudedrukken%7C7223&p=brugge_erfgoed, vitja 08.08.19). Sluttrubrikken (explicit) omtalar innhaldet som *Libellus Ronfredi Beneuentani de iure ciuili* (“Ronfredus Beneventanus si vesle bok om romersk rett”); det dreier seg om ei avhandling av liknande type som *Summa*. Det kan difor ikkje utelukkast at Anders omtala *Summa* som ein *libellus*, i tråd med samtidige konvensjonar, uavhengig av formatet på handskriftet.

³² Kontakten mellom nordiske senter, inkludert Lund, var eitt av tre hovudtema for fragmentprosjektet “Frå handskriftfragment til bokhistorie”, leidd av Åslaug Ommundsen, Universitetet i Bergen (2012–2017), jamfør <https://www.uib.no/fg/handskriftsfragment/73633/nordisk-samarbeid-i-mellomalderen> (vitja 01.05.19). Identifikasjonen av fleire fragment spreidde blant norske og danske samlingar, og dei metodologiske problema desse representerer, utgjorde eit viktig funn i prosjektet. Emnet er likevel ikkje uttømt, sidan det framleis er mange uløyste spørsmål knytt til det danske materialet.

proveniens, er det vanskeleg å undersøkje dette utan nokon metode for å skilja mellom handskrift som kom til Noreg frå Danmark i mellomalderen, og etterreformatorisk pergamentimport (Ommundsen 2017b: 184).

Ein studie av bokutveksling mellom Lund og Nidaros måtte lena seg på det me veit om personlege og institusjonelle nettverk mellom bispedømme. Relasjonane eg har skissert over, vert ofte diskuterte med utgangspunkt i kontakten mellom Noreg/Danmark (avhengig av kva land forfattern fokuserer på) på den eine sida og Frankrike på den andre, der fokuset er på banda mellom Skandinavia og kontinentet, heller enn på det intraskandinaviske nettverket.³³ Etter mi meining hadde det vore fruktbart å sjå nærare på forholdet mellom dei norske og danske geistlege, sidan me veit at desse slett ikkje var isolerte frå einannan: Det er vel kjent at Eirik oppheldt seg i Lund medan han var i eksil, og at Vilhelm skreiv til paven på hans vegner etter at han hadde mist synet.³⁴

Det er rimeleg å tru at den felles tilknytninga til Paris og vektorinarane ikkje berre styrkte forholdet mellom Eirik og Vilhelm, men òg mellom Eirik (so vel som for-gjengaren hans, Øystein, og etterfylgjaren hans, Tore), Absalon og Sunesen-familien: Alle desse kan – dersom me vender tilbake til kategoriseringa frå tidlegare – seiast å passa inn i gruppa “medlemmer av ein europeisk kyrkjeleg elite”. Kanskje har den vektorinske tilknytninga til dei norske erkebiskopane spelt ein viktig rolle som identitetsmarkør, eit teikn på at dei høyrde til i den europeiske eliten, like mykje som erkebiskopane i Lund, som Nidaros hadde vorte sjølvstendig frå i 1152/1153. For den del kan det ha vore Eirik som tok med seg *Summa*-handskriftet til Lund og skjenkte det i gåve til Absalon eller Anders; i so fall er me tilbake til ei reiserute der fragmentet truleg kom til Noreg etter reformasjonen, som innbindingsmateriale.

Avsluttande kommentarar

Me står altså overfor fylgjande alternativ: Handskriftet var i Noreg i mellomalderen, det var i Danmark i mellomalderen, eller det kom frå Danmark til Noreg (eller omvendt) i mellomalderen. Som me har sett, er alle tre alternativa moglege ut frå det me veit om den historiske konteksten: Både i Noreg og Danmark fanst det menn som hadde kontakt med vektorinarane i Paris, so vel som nytte av den typen litteratur

³³ To døme frå same forfattar er Myking 2017: 90–110 og 126–128, som fokuserer på kontakten mellom dei franske vektorinarane og Nidaros, og Myking 2018, som fokuserer på kontakten mellom Frankrike, Flandern og Lund. I bådøma er nabolandet (høvesvis Danmark og Noreg) og det franske sambandet nemnt, men utan nokon eigentleg diskusjon av dei intraskandinaviske relasjonane.

³⁴ Vandvik 1959: 93–97 (no. 28); Langebek 1786: 19–21 (lib. 1, ep. 24); DN VI 3.

Stefan-handskriftet representerer. Desse skandinavane hadde dessutan kontakt med kvarandre, slik tilfellet med Eirik, Absalon og Vilhelm representerer.

Sidan me har ei plausibel forklaring på at handskriftet kom til trondheimsområdet – Eirik eller ein annan nordmann med band til viktorarane og/eller interesse for rettsleg litteratur tok det med til Nidaros – kan det å vurdera andre forklaringsforstå ved fyrste augekast framstå som å gå over bekken etter vatn. Men det å vurdera andre alternativ set oss på sporet av problematikk som enno ikkje er fullt utforska, som utvekslinga av handskrift mellom Noreg og Danmark i mellomalderen, eller rekkevidda av pergamentimport etter reformasjonen. Kva forklaring ein ser som mest sannsynleg, kjem an på korleis ein vektar dei ulike typene indisium: Den etterreformatoriske proveniensen til fragmentet peikar mot Trondheim som staden der innbindinga gjekk føre seg, og dimed som staden der handskriftet befann seg, noko som er eit argument for at handskriftet òg var der i mellomalderen. Eirik erkebiskop sine band til viktorarane, so vel som det Sverresoga seier om bruken hans av rettsleg litteratur, støttar opp om dette alternativet. Om ein derimot legg vekt på faktumet at Anders Sunesen eigde eit av verka til Stefan, framstår Danmark som kanskje eit like sannsynleg alternativ, særleg med tanke på at somme av fragmenta i Riksarkivet kjem frå pergament som vart importert frå Danmark etter reformasjonen. Når det gjeld det tredje alternativet, at handskriftet kom frå Danmark til Noreg eller omvendt i løpet av mellomalderen, er det rein spekulasjon på det noverande tidspunkt, men det kan tenkjast at vidare forskning på dansk-norsk bokutveksling før reformasjonen vil styrkja (eller svekkja) denne hypotesen.

Kva rolle spelar det so om *Summa*-fragmentet i Oslo kom til Nidaros i mellomalderen, eller om det stogga i Danmark? Den grunnleggjande forklaringsmodellen er den same, sidan båe baserer seg på det me veit om den historiske konteksten: om skandinaviske studentar i Paris på 1100-talet, om nettverk av geistleg europeisk elite, og om kva litteratur denne eliten interesserte seg for og hadde nytte av. I båe forklaringane spelar reisande skandinavar i Paris ei viktig rolle, til liks med dei skandinaviske kontaktane til Stefan av Tournai. Og anten det opphavlege handskriftet var i Noreg eller i Danmark i mellomalderen, melder mange av dei same spørsmåla seg: Kva fortel det oss at denne typen litteratur var til stades i Nidaros eller Lund? Kva rekkevidde fekk verket, og inspirerte det nye verk som me ikkje kjenner til? Vart det utført lokale avskrifter som ein enno ikkje har oppdaga?

Primærproveniensen til fragmentet i Oslo er umogleg å slå fast ein gong for alle – me veit ikkje om boka til Anders var eit eksemplar av Stefans *Summa*, og om det skulle vera tilfelle, veit me ikkje om det dreier seg om same handskrift. Men diskusjonen av dei ulike potensielle reiserutene til fragmentet tener til å kasta lys over

viktige spørsmål knytt til dansk-norske nettverk og samband, anten handskriftet kom til Nidaros i mellomalderen, eller til Trondheim nokre hundre år seinare.

Bibliografi

- BAGGE, Sverre. 1981. Norge. I Mauno Jokipii og Ilkka Nummela (red.), *Ur nordisk kulturhistoria: mötesrapport: 1: Universitetsbesöken i utlandet före 1660*, 141–165. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän Yliopisto.
- . 1986. “Borgerkrig og statsutvikling i Norge i middelalderen”. (Norsk) *Historisk tidsskrift* 65: 145–197.
- DIPLOMATARIUM DANICUM, rekkje 1, band III, red. Aksel Emanuel Christensen, Herluf Nielsen m.fl. København: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1958–1990.
- CONDORELLI, Orazio. 2018. “The Ius Decretalium and the Development of the Law of Succession in Medieval Europe. Some Examples from Denmark and Sweden (XII–XIII C.)”. I Gigliola di Renzo Villata (red.), *Succession Law, Practice and Society in Europe across the Centuries*, 105–147. Studies in the History of Law and Justice 14. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- DN = *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, eds. Chr. C.A. Lange & et al. I–XXIII. Christiania/Oslo: Norsk historisk kjeldeskriftinstitutt/Riksarkivet, 1847–2011.
- EBBESEN, Sten (red.). 1985. *Anders Sunesen: Stormand, teolog, administrator, digter. Femten studier*. København.
- GUNNES, Erik. 1971. *Kongens ære: Kongemakt og kirke i «En tale mot biskopene»*. Oslo: Gyldendal.
- . 1996. *Erkebiskop Øystein: statsmann og kirkebygger*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
- HARTMANN, Wilfried & Kenneth PENNINGTON (red.). 2008. *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the decretals of Pope Gregory IX*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press.
- JOHNSEN, Arne Odd. 1939. *Om Theodoricus og hans Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium*. Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1939, No. 3. Oslo: Dybwad.
- KALB, Herbert. 1983. *Studien zur Summa Stephans von Tournai: Ein Beitrag zur kanonistischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte des späten 12. Jahrhunderts*. Forschungen zur Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte 12. Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner.
- KARLSEN, Espen (red.). 2013. *Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway: Studies in Memory of Lilli Gjøløw*. Oslo: Novus.

- KASPERSEN, Søren. 1980. "Munkeliv-psalterens figurinitialer – Deres forhold til teksten og det birgittinske vægmaleri". I Patrik Reuterswård og Marian Ullén (red.), *Genesis Profeta: Nordiska studier i gammaltestamentlig ikonografi*, 186–225. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 33. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- KOHT, Halvdan (overs.). 1967 [1913]. *Sverre-soga*. Oslo: Samlaget.
- LANGEBEK, Jacob (utg.). 1786. *Scriptores rerum danicarum medii aevi* t. 6. Hafniae : Typis viduae Andr. Hartv. Godiche.
- MUNK-OLSEN, Birger. 1997. "Trois étudiants danois à Paris au XIIe siècle". I Claude Lecouteux og Olivier Gouchet (red.), *Hugur: mélanges d'histoire, de littérature et de mythologie offerts à Régis Boyer pour son 65e anniversaire*, 87–96. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne.
- MÜNSTER-SWENDSEN, Mia, Thomas K. HEEBØLL-HOLM og Sigbjørn Olsen SØNNESYN (red.). 2016. *Historical and Intellectual Culture in the Long Twelfth Century. The Scandinavian Connection*. Durham/Toronto: Brepols.
- MYKING, Synnøve Midtbø. 2017. "The French Connection: Norwegian Manuscript Fragments of French Origin and their Historical Context". Ph.d-avhandling. Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen.
- . 2018. "Ter Doest, Lund, and the Legendarium Flandrense: Danish-Flemish Connections in the Late Twelfth Century". *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 28: 115–140.
- NENSETER, Olav. 2003. *Augustinerordenen: å lære andre gjennom ord og eksempel*. Religiøse ordener i middelalderens Norge 1. Oslo: Middelalderforum.
- NIELSEN, Torben K. 2008. "Celestine III and the North". I John Doran & Damian J. Smith (red.), *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, 163-182. Farnham: Ashgate.
- NYLANDER, Eva Nilsson (red.). 2015. *Mellan evighet och vardag. Lunds domkyrkas martyrologium Liber daticus vetustior (den äldre gåvoboken)*. Studier och faksimil-utgåva. Lund: Universitetsbiblioteket
- OMMUNDSEN, Åslaug & Tuomas HEIKKILÄ (red.). 2017. *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments. The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*. London og New York: Routledge.
- OMMUNDSEN, Åslaug. 2017a. "A Norwegian – and European – jigsaw puzzle of manuscript fragments". I Ommundsen & Heikkilä 2017: 135–162.
- . 2017b. "Danish fragments in Norway and their connections to twelfth-century Lund". I Ommundsen & Heikkilä 2017: 184–220.
- ORNING, Hans Jacob. 2014. "Borgerkrig og statsutvikling i Norge i middelalderen – en revurdering", (Norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift* 93: 193–216.

- PENNINGTON, Kenneth. 2019. “Étienne of Tournai”. I Olivier Descamps & Rafael Domingo (red.), *Great Christian Jurists in French History*, 35–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PENNINGTON, Kenneth & W. P. MÜLLER. 2008. “The Decretists: The Italian School”. I Hartmann & Pennington 2018: 121–173.
- PETERSEN, Gunnar I. 2013. “From Parchment Books to Fragments: Norwegian Medieval Codices before and after the Reformation”. I Karlsen 2013: 41–65.
- SAINTE-MARTHE, Denis de. 1744. *Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa : qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et abbatum Francia vicinarumque ditonum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur, & probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem appositis*, T. 7: *In quo de Archiepiscopatu Parisiensi* [Nova editio]. Paris.
- SKÅNLAND, Vegard. 1969. *Det eldste norske provinsialstatutt*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget
- STIRNEMANN, Patricia. 2015. “Some Highlights from the Norwegian Fragment Collection”, *Exploring the Middle Ages* (konferanseinnlegg). Bergen.
- VADUM, Kristoffer. 2015. “Bruk av kanonistisk litteratur i Nidarosprovinsen ca 1250–1340”. Ph.d.-avhandling. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo
- VANDVIK, Eirik (utg.). 1959. *Latinske dokument til norsk historie: fram til år 1204*. Oslo: Samlaget.
- VON SCHULTE, Johann Friedrich (utg.). 1891. *Die Summa des Stephanus Tornacensis über das Decretum Gratiani*. Giessen: Emil Roth.
- WEIGAND, Rudolf. 2008a. “The Development of the Glossa ordinaria to Gratian’s Decretum”. I Hartmann & Pennington 2008: 55–97
- . 2008b. “The Transmontane Decretists”. I Hartmann & Pennington 2008: 174–210.
- WINROTH, Anders. 2004. *The Making of Gratian’s Decretum*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- ØVREBØ, Egil. 1983. *Arkivregistraturar, 4 2: Lensrekneskapar Agder, Vestlandet, Trøndelag, Nord-Noreg: tillegg: rekneskapar og jordebøker eldre enn 1570*. Oslo: Riksarkivet.

Synnøve Midtbø Myking, postdoktor tilknytt prosjektet *Transformations of Medieval Law*, Institutt for lingvistiske, litterære og estetiske studier, Universitetet i Bergen. Ph.d.-avhandlingen “The French Connection. Norwegian Manuscript Fragments of French Origin and their Historical Context” vart forsvart i 2017. Tilsett ved Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes, CNRS, Paris. E-mail: synnove.myking@gmail.com.

Medieval polychrome sculptures in Norwegian museum collections and churches

Are there differences in how they are retouched, presented and perceived?

NINA KJØLSEN JERNÆS & KAREN MENGSHOEL

Polychrome sculptures from medieval Norway are found both in churches and museum collections. The two kinds of institutions, one religious and the other secular, provide different viewing contexts for these objects which in turn influence how they are perceived. Does the difference in context affect the choices made in retouching and presenting medieval surfaces to the viewers? To investigate this issue, conservation treatment reports from museums have been collected and analysed to register visual reintegration of damages on medieval three-dimensional polychrome objects in Norwegian museum collections. The results have been compared with those from a similar study (in 2017) of visual reintegration of damages on medieval sculptures from Norwegian churches. The conservation reports show some differences in conservation strategies between museums and churches regarding how visual integration is executed. The findings from the survey are discussed in the light of relevant literature dealing with religious objects in churches as secular venues and museums as religious venues. The comparison reveals smaller differences than expected, regarding presentation, conservation and visual reintegration of medieval polychrome sculptures in churches versus museums.

Introduction

In Norway, there are approximately 514 medieval polychrome wooden sculptures preserved (Hohler 2017: 36–55) and these are all housed in museums and churches. These two institutions, one secular and the other religious, can be regarded as opposites and provide different contexts for medieval works of art. The difference in context can influence the choices a conservator makes when retouching them, how the curator presents them, and how the viewer perceives the polychrome sculptures.

In an article from 2017, “Retouching medieval sculptures in Norwegian churches: Fifty years of practical work and written reports”, we provided an overview of visual reintegration of damages on medieval three-dimensional art in Norwegian churches. The treatments were all carried out by the conservation department at Riksantikvaren/the Directorate for Cultural Heritage (DCH) and subsequently by the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU).

Whereas the first study focused on different retouching strategies, how they had changed from 1970 to 2016, how conditions in individual churches influenced decision making in visual reintegration and the condition reports themselves as source materials, the present follow-up study focuses on the same materials, but from museums.

In this project, the objective is to investigate how this difference in context influences the ways that medieval polychrome sculptures are presented to the viewers in museums and churches, as well as how this is manifested in the selection of retouching methods for sculptures in churches and museums. Are there differences in how medieval objects are perceived in a museum context versus as part of a church interior? If so, do these differences influence how damages on these objects are visually reintegrated? The data for the study is collected from written conservation reports from six Norwegian museums.

Methods

REVIEW OF CONSERVATION REPORTS AND OTHER WRITTEN SOURCES

To analyse past and present practices of retouching medieval sculptures in Norwegian museums, conservation treatment reports from 1970 to 2016 were used as source material.¹ This period was chosen to make the results comparable to those from the equivalent survey of reports from Norwegian churches (Mengshoel & Kjølsten Jernæs 2017: 215–217). Hohler’s list of medieval wooden sculptures in Norway (2017: 36–54), search in the open database *Digitalt museum* for medieval sculpture (Digital museum 2018) and own experience formed the basis for requesting access to conservation treatment reports from the relevant museums with medieval sculptures in their collections.²

¹ The medieval sculptures in this study are from the late twelfth century to the early sixteenth century.

² Only reports from visual reintegration of sculptures and three-dimensional surfaces were collected. This delimitation was initially chosen for collecting data for the previous article where the aim was to analyse retouching of medieval church art objects, not interiors. The same criteria were chosen in this following project to make the data comparable.

In total, there are approximately 312 three-dimensional medieval objects in Norwegian museums.³ In addition to the university museums' medieval collections, there are 13 smaller county museums which have between one and three sculptures in their care. All 17 museums that are in possession of one or more medieval polychrome sculptures agreed to grant access to their archives. 11 museums stated that either no conservation work had been done over the period 1970–2016, or they did not find any documentation of conservation work from the time span in question. In total, 155 reports on conservation treatments of painted three-dimensional medieval sculptures were collected from six museums. In 18 cases, a treatment had been conducted, but the corresponding report was not found.⁴

“Visual reintegration” is used to describe how the disturbing effect of damages on a surface is reduced through filling, inpainting, glazing, and so on. The word “method” signifies the strategy chosen to do so. “Retouching” refers to the inpainting itself, and “technique” the actual application of paint.

The types of reports in our materials include exam theses, thorough condition reports, card files with brief notes and summary reports/annual treatment overviews. The type of report mirrors the level of detail in describing the retouching of the object.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

Much has been written on religious art in museums and churches, both within the conservation field and in neighbouring research fields. The literature discusses expectations about and curation of religious objects in museums and forms the foundation for this article.

Our previous article discusses past and present retouching practices by analysing conservation treatment reports from 1970 to 2016 (Mengshoel & Kjølseth Jernæs 2017: 205–232). It also studies the decision making behind the choices for visual reintegration and assesses the reports as source material. The present article is a continuation of this project. References are made to this previous study to compare the findings from retouching sculptures in churches with the new findings from the museum reports.

Lena Liepe's *A case for the Middle Ages: The public display of medieval church art in Sweden 1847–1943* (2018) provides a detailed account of how national and provincial Swedish museums displayed medieval religious art in the period mentioned. The exhibitions described in the book include Norwegian religious objects, and since Sweden

³ Including sculptures, altarpieces and three-dimensional carved objects, but not two-dimensional frontals or altar wings.

⁴ The authors would like to emphasise that this is an overview of relevant treatment reports from the given time-period, not a statistical analysis.

influenced Norwegian museums in matters of display and the focus on telling stories, this overview with references to context and ideology is relevant to this project.

Crispin Paine's *Religious objects in museums: Private lives and public attitudes* (2013) discusses how religious objects, curators and visitors relate to one another.

Steph Bern's PhD thesis, "Sacred entanglements: Studying interactions between visitors, objects and religion in the museum" (2015), is a study of how religious members of the public experience sacred artefacts in museum exhibitions. Her thesis was based on interviews with visitors who were observed venerating objects on display in the British Museum in London. Although this study was carried out in exhibitions of objects with a different history than the Norwegian medieval sculptures, we find the study relevant for this article as it addresses secular museums as context for religious objects in a modern society and how the public responds to this.

*Collection and museum: Chapters in the museums' history, practicality and ideology*⁵ (2010) is an introductory reading on museums and museology in general, from a Norwegian perspective. Bjarne Rogan's contributions (chapters 8 and 15 of the book) deal with categorisation of objects when incorporated into a museum collection and how their meaning shifts once they are removed from their original context. Ragnar Pedersen's essay (chapter 3) also provides an overview of the development of Norwegian museums.

Nanna Løkka (2017) discusses how religious artefacts produced before the Reformation are managed, and in her paper questions the university museums' claim for ownership. She also discusses the difficulties involved in returning these items back to the churches.

Several texts are relevant for shedding light on how the lack of an original context, a change in the original context and the transformation to a museum object form the new experience of religious items. Amongst them is "The baptismal house from Ringsaker church: One object, multiple stories"⁶ (Seim 2011) on the history of a eighteenth-century baptismal house, is relevant for this article as changes in context influence the reading of both object categories. Another text used, is *Religion for atheists* (de Botton 2012). Although this is a controversial book, in the chapter "Art", de Botton points out issues relevant in this article. It should be mentioned that this book is not commonly referred to in scientific papers, but when dealing with religious art it gives some interesting views on transformation of use and new experiences and was therefore read in this regard.

⁵ Original title: *Samling og museum, kapitler i museenes historie, praksis og ideologi*.

⁶ Original title: "Dåpshuset frå Ringsaker kirke: Én gjenstand, mange fortellinger".

An overview of the literature on visual reintegration is not included here as we have already provided a comprehensive review in our previous article (Mengshoel & Kjølseth 2017).

When examining the differences in communicating objects in the original context and in museums, it is relevant to consider the museums' mandate and role in society. To define their role, we have reviewed the International Council of Museums' (ICOM's) statutes and the Ministry of Culture's current strategic document on museums.⁷

Background

UNIVERSITY MUSEUMS

The four university museums in Norway are situated in Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and Tromsø. They have somewhat similar histories in collecting medieval objects. With a mandate from the Cultural Heritage Act, the university museums manage the material from pre-Reformation (1537) and are often the legal owners of these objects (Løkka 2017: 38). All of the four major religious medieval collections were founded out of the wish to preserve and present a well-sorted selection of objects from Norwegian church history. As part of the Enlightenment, categorisation of objects and scientific research on cultural heritage were emphasised (Pedersen 2010: 41). The idea of building a national identity by collecting and displaying Norwegian cultural heritage artefacts was based on the romantic philosophy of the 1830s–1840s, with an ambition for cultural history to help shape society (Pedersen 2010: 54).

The earliest religious collection was initiated in 1760 by Bishop Gunnerus, one of the founders of The Royal Norwegian Scientific Society.⁸ This collection is currently a part of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology's (NTNU) museum collection in Trondheim. The initiative to start collecting historic objects in the western regions was made by the President of the Parliament, W. F. K. Christie, in 1825. "Relics of the Catholic cultus" were explicitly mentioned as potential collection items (University of Bergen website 2018). These objects are currently on display in the church art exhibition at the Bergen University Museum, as seen in fig. 1 on the following page (von Achen 2018: 12). In Oslo, The Royal Norwegian Society for Development⁹ donated its collection of antiquities to the University of Oslo in 1817, which formed the basis for the University of Oslo's prehistoric collection¹⁰ and in

⁷ In Norwegian: Kulturdepartementets Stortingsmelding nr. 49 (2008–2009) *Framtidas museum – Forvaltning, forskning, formidling, fornying*.

⁸ In Norwegian: *Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab*.

⁹ In Norwegian: *Det Kongelige Selskab for Norges Vel*.



Fig. 1 The exhibition design creates an “illusion” of a church interior by creating a typical placement of objects. Crucifix from Leikanger church, Sogn, reg.nr. MA 48 (appr. 1150), the Virgin from Urnes church, Sogn, reg.nr. MA 46 (appr. 1200) and altar frontal from Ulvik church, Hardanger, reg.nr. MA 3 (appr. 1260), in Bergen University Museum. Photo: August 2018, NIKU.

turn became the Museum of Cultural History (KHM) under the University of Oslo (Pedersen 2010: 43).

The museums have protected historic religious objects from fire, damage and reuse. However, which objects have been included in museum collections, which have been sold and which have remained in churches seems quite arbitrary. Some objects have been donated to the museums, several have been purchased, and others have again entered the collections, temporarily or permanently, for preservation purposes because the climatic conditions in churches can be unfavourable. Others had become museum objects but have been returned to the church after several centuries.

Today, responsibility for management of medieval art in Norwegian churches lies at the Directorate for cultural heritage (DCH). In 1994, The Norwegian institute for cultural heritage research (NIKU) was founded and took over the practical conservation from DCH involving the same conservators. When referring to conservation work on objects in churches, this was carried out by the DCH before 1994 and NIKU after 1994.

¹⁰ In Norwegian: *Universitetets Oldsaksamling*.

MUSEUM CONTEXT VERSUS CHURCH CONTEXT

The ICOM (founded in 1947) defines a museum as “[...] a non-profit, permanent institution in the services of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purpose of education, study and enjoyment” (ICOM statutes 2017: 2). The current strategy of Norwegian museums is defined in the strategy document *Stortingsmelding nr. 49*, which emphasises availability, conducting research, conveying stories and taking an active role in the present society (2009: 13). As mentioned in the previous section, the university museums have built their medieval collections to conserve and exhibit this heritage.



Fig. 2 Detail of the new exhibition of medieval sculptures at the Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo. Example of grouping sculptures. Photo: April 2019, NIKU.

For the objects to enter a museum, the act of registering the items in the museum’s database, conducting an inventory and packing can be regarded as a ritual process (Seim 2011: 171). The classification that takes place in the museums indicates how society views the objects and can have societal and political consequences (Rogan 2010: 255). Taking an object out of its context and incorporating it into a collection is thus a transformation of meaning (Rogan 2010: 141). Fig. 2 is an example of grouping sculptures in a museum exhibition.

However, medieval objects in their church context and as parts of museum collections are not necessarily opposites. When reading Liepe’s (2018) work, it is apparent that different types of museums exhibit their religious objects in different ways, either as an aesthetic object or a cultural historical object. These ways of exhibiting religious objects have changed over time. Many museums

and exhibition halls in the early twentieth century were arranged to create the illusion of a religious context (Liepe 2018: 174–200). Especially the museums of cultural history made tableaux to exude a certain religious atmosphere (Liepe 2018: 144). Fig. 3 and 4 show examples of a “tableau” where the visitors are able to come close to the sculpture.



Fig. 3 (above left). Example of a “tableau” where the visitor comes close to the sculpture. The Virgin from Korskirke, Romsdal, reg.nr. MA 44 (13th century, repainted in the 1400’s), in Bergen University Museum. Photo: August 2018, NIKU.

Fig. 4 (above right). Detail of The Virgin from Korskirke, Romsdalen, reg.nr. MA 44, in Bergen University Museum. Photo: August 2018, NIKU.

Exhibition spaces are often calm, designed to accommodate contemplation, reflection and even insight at an individual level, similar to churches and cathedrals. At a social level, mastering these secular rituals confirms a person's identity as a member of a certain cultural group (Duncan 2005: 78). It is clear from visiting church art exhibitions today that the members of the public behave similarly to how they would in a church, albeit in a seemingly secular environment. This is in line with the notion that museums are modern secular churches and their objects are the modern world's relics (Paine 2013: 72). According to Paine, numerous scholars have regarded museums as "temples".

In fact, several churches are consecrated and in use but under a museum's management, which gives this discussion another dimension. St. Jørgens Church, Olavskapellet, Garmo Stave Church, Eidsborg Stave Church and Gol Stave Church are all in use but managed by museums.¹¹ The Religious Art Exhibition¹² at Norsk Folkemuseum is also consecrated and can be used for baptisms and weddings (Seim 2011: 174). The churches mentioned above became parts of museums to avoid destruction, except from Olavskapellet. This was built in 1930 as a chapel to house the museum's religious collection. The consecrated and religious spaces give the museum another function; the public still builds relations to the churches, as they carry on playing an integrated role in important life events.

RELIGIOUS OBJECTS IN A SECULAR CONTEXT

No matter how exhibitions are designed, the medieval religious objects are inevitably historicised or aestheticized. Berns (2015) believes that these items are thereby prevented from performing their intended function as objects of veneration. She argues that the social norms for how to act in a museum are restricting the way that museum objects could be encountered spiritually, as they are intended, not just analytically and cognitively as is considered "normal" among museum visitors and staff. Nonetheless, she also shows numerous examples of religious members of the public defying these norms and expectations by venerating these objects (Berns 2015: 8).

Paine quotes Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849) commenting Paris during Napoleon's rule and the development of the modern museums: "A museum robs them (the objects) of identity and value" (Paine 2013: 14). Although this harsh statement was from an eighteenth-century political, active Catholic point of view, it can

¹¹ St. Jørgens Church: Part of Bymuseet in Bergen, Olavskapellet: Part of Borgarsyssel museum in Sarpsborg, Garmo Stave Church: Part of open-air museum at Mailhaugen, Lillehammer, Eidsborg Stave Church: Part of open-air museum at Vest-Telemark museum, Gol Stave Church: Part of open-air museum at Norsk Folkemuseum.

¹² In Norwegian: *Kirkekunstutstillingen*.

be stated that the religious object's truth is somehow lost when it is removed from the church. According to both Paine and Berns, some religious visitors may come to museums, not as secular churches, but as places of worship, and thereby break the script (Paine 2013: 32). They might not master the cultural codes of the social groups that are comfortable in museums. The religious visitors are counteracted and prevented from using the object as it was intended. By the social norms of behaviour in a museum, they are forced to approach the item as a museum object.

De Botton goes further by comparing museums to universities when he emphasises the enlightenment inherent in religious sculptures. According to De Botton, both universities and museums tend to fill the gaps left by a decline in faith; they give people meaning by seeking old knowledge but without the need for superstition (De Botton 2012: 209). The religious landscape in Western Europe is drastically changing with a steady decline in religious affiliation in several countries, among them Norway, Great Britain and the Netherlands are mentioned (de Bayer & Takke 2012: 5, 7). This is supported by Urstad, who has investigated the religiously unaffiliated in Norway. Urstad points out changes in both demography and culture (2017: 61–81). In that sense, museums are able to take over the aesthetic responsibilities of churches. A person can learn about a past religion, faith and culture by visiting an exhibition of religious artefacts. This view can be regarded as the rationale for museums that exhibit multiple sculptures side by side, and it encourages the visitor to look at the beauty, the technique and the materials. It enables the visitor to compare them and appreciate their history; by doing so, one loses the cultural context and function.

In a Norwegian context, this view can be supported by an example from the web page for the exhibition “Transition – faith and sacred objects in the Middle Ages” at the Museum of Cultural history. It states that the “exhibition contains a number of beautiful artefacts which Norwegians regarded as being sacred during the Middle Ages”. This use of the past tense illustrates how these objects are considered museum objects, frozen and with an altered meaning after their entry to the museum collection. This reduces the objects' religious and use value and increases their age- and historical value.

The interviewees in Berns' project were mainly Catholics, eastern Orthodox or members of the Church of England, and they were selected for interviews after being observed venerating exhibition pieces. They would not be representative to the typical visitor to the British museum, which include tourists from different countries and different creeds, including non-religious. The body of visitors to an exhibition of medieval art in Norway are probably equally complex.

Religious interest is perhaps not the main motivation for visiting such exhibitions, but rather an interest in cultural history. If at all religious, most Norwegian visitors are probably protestant, which creates a further distance to these artefacts of a catholic era.

Results

REVIEW OF TREATMENT REPORTS

The analysis of the collected conservation treatment reports focuses on the results that can contribute to the study's objectives. We do this in order to point out possible differences in the visual reintegration of medieval sculptured surfaces in museums and in churches. The hypotheses that are not confirmed by the findings in the dataset, or where the dataset shows other tendencies, are also discussed.

There is evidence of 173 conservation treatments of medieval polychrome sculptures between 1970 and 2016 in the museum collections. We find 155 treatment reports, including handwritten notes, summary reports and card files. 18 treatments are described or referred to in other reports, but the conservation reports themselves are not found. Eight of these are sufficiently described in other reports to be included in our dataset. In total, 163 treatments are included in the dataset of reports from the museums and form the basis for the analysis.

The majority of the entries in the dataset come from three well-established conservation departments. Of the 163 treatment reports, only three are from smaller museums or collections. The conservation departments and their conservators are anonymised, and the institutions' names are substituted with the letters A to F.

The survey's results are plotted in a datasheet for analysis¹³ and presented in three tables: Description of objects before treatment/condition (Table 1), Description of treatment: Methods and techniques of visual reintegration (Table 2) and Treatment reports (Table 3).¹⁴ The results of the 2017 survey of treatment reports from sculptures in churches are included in the last column of each table for easier comparison. In the churches, there are 98 known treatments, but only 65 are adequately documented to be included in the dataset.

The numbers listed in the tables reflect the use of certain phrases in the reports that we defined prior to the survey. We have not inspected the objects or the retouches themselves. More than one phrase can be used in the same report; thus, the total number of mentions of the phrases can be greater than the number of the reports. It is important to read the findings in relation to the total number of treatments (in

¹³ Available at NIKU on request.

¹⁴ For a more detailed account of the registration of data, see Mengshoel & Jernæs (2017).

bold font) and not simply compare numbers due to the relative difference in quantities in museums and churches.

The focus has been on the differences and the similarities between treatments and reports from museums and the DCH/NIKU, but some internal differences among the museums also exist. They are presented in the tables, but only the most significant differences are pointed out in the text.

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECTS BEFORE TREATMENT

One of the most important premises for choosing the visual reintegration strategy¹⁵ is the current appearance of the surfaces of the objects. Table 1 lists the different terms used in the conservation reports to describe the objects before treatment – the starting point for the visual reintegration of the damages.

The numbers of sculptures with original polychromy are 70/163 and 26/65 (both 43%) for museum and church objects, respectively. The terms used to describe the surfaces are also similar.¹⁶

The most striking differences are that there is more overpaint on objects in churches (27/65) than in museums (25/163), more overpaint has been removed (churches: 15/65, museums: 14/163), and surfaces are more damaged by overpaint removal (churches: 15/65, museums: 8(10)/163).

DESCRIPTION OF TREATMENT: METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF VISUAL REINTEGRATION

Overpaint and old retouches

Full overpaint removal is hardly carried out on the objects placed in churches, as opposed to museums, where it is slightly more common. Partial overpaint removal is also undertaken more often in museums,¹⁷ as is clearing the surface of the remains after past removals.

In churches, it is far more common to overpaint overpainted surfaces instead of uncovering them (7/65). This is not the case in museums (1/165). Likewise, old retouches are adjusted rather than removed.

¹⁵ Visual reintegration strategy: The overall approach to reducing the disturbing effect of damages to a surface.

¹⁶ As there is no common understanding of when to use these different terms, they might be used differently, which is important to bear in mind.

¹⁷ It is interesting to see how the majority of overpaint removals, both full and partial, are executed in one museum, but to analyse the reason for this is outside the scope of this article.

Table 1. Description of objects before treatment/condition

Description and overall condition before treatment	A	B	C	D	E	F	Sum from museums A–F	Sum from churches (2017)
Known treatments	62	67	31	1	1	1	163 entries in the dataset	98
Registered treatment reports, card files, summary reports or articles	61	61	30	1	1	1	155	65 entries in the dataset
Original polychromy	27	27	13	1	1	1	70	26 (28)
Traces of original polychromy	25	14	5	-	-	-	44	11 (13)
Worn	13	10	1	1	-	-	25	Not registered
Fragmented	16	4	3	-	-	-	23	15
Degraded	17	4	-	1	-	-	22	17
Overpainted	5	10	8	-	1	-	25	27
Partially overpainted	12	4	8	-	-	1	25	18 (19)
Damaged by overpaint removal	4 (6)	1	-	1	-	-	8 (10)	10
Uncovered polychromy	4	1	8	1	-	-	14	15
Overcleaned	1 (5)	5	1	-	-	-	7 (11)	6

Retouching methods and techniques

Neutral retouch is a museum phenomenon and is not chosen for retouching church objects. However, fully integrated retouches are preferred more often for church objects. Normal retouches are used slightly more frequently in churches (4/65) than in museums (4/163).

Table 2. Description of visual reintegration

Visual reintegration	A	B	C	D	E	F	Sum from museums A–F	Sum from churches (2017)
Known treatments	62	67	31	1	1	1	163	98
Registered treatment reports, card files, summary reports or articles	61 ¹	61	30	1	1	1	155	65
Retouching/inpainting	51	46	10	-	1	1	109	44
No retouching explicitly mentioned	8	12 (13)		1			21 (22)	13 (16)
Hatching straight, curved, cross, rigatino ²	17	16	-	-	-	1	34	18
Fully integrated retouches	7	-	-	-	-	-	7	8
Neutral retouch ³	13 (12)	7	3	-	-		23	-
Glaze	2	1	1	-	-	1	5	6
Normal retouch (viewing distance) ⁴	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Retouch to local colour	13	7	-	-	-	1	21	13
Retouch to colour of wood	21	3	1	-	-	1	26	10
Retouch to colour of ground	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Retouch to colour of overpaint	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8
Tone in ⁵	8	8	2	-	-	-	18	Not registered

¹ Including one treatment of objects belonging to other museums, and one treated by an external conservator.

² Hatching technique: Paint applied in lines rather than a uniform paint film. Tratteggio, or rigatino: A retouching technique where transparent colour is applied in vertical lines, sometimes in pure, primary colours, optically blended in the eye of the viewer (Nadolny 2012: 581).

³ Neutral retouch: Retouching lacunae by inpainting in a single flat tone, often grey.

⁴ Normal retouch: Visible at a short distance and blends in with the surrounding area at a normal viewing distance.

⁵ Tone in: Reduce the contrast in colour between damage and the surrounding area by applying paint to the damage.

Tone down ⁶	12	12	4	-	1	-	29	15
Aqua sporca ⁷	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	3
Filler ⁸	3	-	1	-	-	-	4	16
Full overpaint removal	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	(2)
Partial overpaint removal ⁹	5	2	10	-	-	1	18	11
Removal of remains of overpaint	2	2	5	-	-	-	9	
Overpaint of older overpaint ¹⁰	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	6 (7)
Defining of forms, finishing of outlines and contours	2	4	-	-	-	1	7	5
Retouch without filling	10	2	-	-	-	-	12	12
Retouch of large lacunae ¹¹	1	-	3	-	-	-	4	2
Retouch of small lacunae	3	2	1	-	-	-	6	9
Retouch of all lacunae	-	1		-	-	-	1	-
Wood retouching, darker, lighter, bleached	7	-	-	-	-	1	8	3
Removal of old retouches	2	8	3	-	-	-	13	11
Adjustment of old retouches	1	2	-	-	-	-	3	8
Pointillist retouch ¹²	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Regilding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Different techniques for different areas	12	10	-	-	-	-	22	14

⁶ Tone down: Reduce the contrast in value between damage and the surrounding area by applying paint to the damage.

⁷ Aqua sporca: Dirty water. Brownish glaze used to tone down damages.

⁸ Application of filling material to bring a damage to the level of the surrounding area before retouching.

⁹ Partial over paint removal: Only parts of the object are cleared of overpaint.

¹⁰ Overpaint overpaint: Cover an older overpaint with a new one, either with paint or glaze.

¹¹ Lacunae: A defined area of paint loss.

¹² Pointillist retouch: Paint applied in dots, optically blended in the eye of the viewer.

The hatching technique is used in both museums (34/163) and churches (18/65).¹⁸ Glazes are preferred slightly more often in churches (6/65) than in museums (5/163), as is the use of aqua sporca (1/163 in museums, 3/65 in churches).

Based on the dataset, it is difficult to conclude which losses are retouched and which ones are not retouched, but there is a slight tendency that smaller lacunae are retouched more often in churches than in museums. None of the institutions have reported retouching of all lacunae on an object.

There are few differences in whether losses are retouched to the local colour, the colour of the wood or the colour of the ground. However, retouching to the colour of overpaint is practised only on church objects.



Fig. 5, 6 Detail of retouching without filling. Part of triptych from Nesna church, Nordland, reg. nr. MA19 (appr. 1470). Bergen University Museum. Photo: August 2018, NIKU.

¹⁸ Museum C stands out as it never chooses this technique.

The greatest difference lies in the use of filler. Retouches are applied straight into damages more often in museums. In churches, damages tend to be filled more often before retouching. Regilding of damaged gilded areas is only executed in two cases, both on church objects. Different techniques are described as used on the same object more often in church reports than in museum reports, indicating a greater variety of techniques.

As shown in tables 1 and 2, there are still more similarities than differences in the treatment of objects in museums and churches.

TREATMENT REPORTS

The three major conservation departments follow different routines for reporting. They all produce not only conservation treatment reports but also condition reports, file cards and summary reports. One of the archives also includes four exam theses, which are more thorough than a typical treatment report and include more of the reasoning leading to decisions regarding visual reintegration. Some conservators also prefer to update the previous reports by adding handwritten notes instead of creating new documents.

Table 3. Treatment reports

Treatment reports	A	B	C	D	E	F	Sum from museums A–F	Sum from churches (2017)
Known treatments	62	67	31	1	1	1	163	98
Registered treatment reports, card files, summary reports or articles	61	61	30	1	1	1	155	65
Missing reports from known treatments	2	11	2	-	-	-	14	33
Decision making included in reports	17 (19)	12	3	1	-	1	34 (36)	37

The number of missing treatment reports is much higher in the DCH/NIKU than in museums, with 33 out of 98 known treatments, as opposed to 14 out of 163 in museums.

The decision making behind the reintegration of damages are to some degree included in 36/163 museum reports. They are relatively evenly distributed across the three major institutions and include two cases where retouching is not executed.¹⁹ Decision making is included much more often in the DCH/NIKU reports (37/65).

Reducing contrasts between exposed white ground and surrounding areas, unifying scattered impressions and “recreating wholeness” are typical examples of the reasons for retouching in both museums and churches.²⁰

Discussion – differences in visual reintegration between objects in museums and in churches

Before starting this project, the assumptions were that museums and churches would be fundamental opposites as venues for displaying medieval art. We believed that this dissimilarity would affect the perception of the objects, and in turn influence how they would be curated and presented. This difference has not been as evident as expected. The integrity of the objects themselves seems more important than the context in which they are exhibited. Medieval polychrome sculptures have a strong standing in the museum and conservation world, and conservators, curators and museum staff are professionals with consistent ethical standards. The objects are in focus, not the viewers.

According to Paine, most museums in the western world exhibit religious art but are mostly operated by non-religious staff (Paine 2013: 23), which is in itself a paradox. This is perhaps also the case in Norway. It is still our impression that respect for religious objects does not require personal faith. For both conservators and curators, professional ethics implies that religion is accommodated in handling, preserving and exhibiting religious objects, perhaps bridging the gaps between secular and sacred exhibition spaces. This practice is in accordance with the literature that emphasises how the line between museum and church is not as definite as most would think (Berns 2015; Seim 2011).

The spreadsheets clearly indicate that retouching treatments in museums are carried out before upcoming exhibitions and loans.²¹ This practice follows the ethical

¹⁹ In the chronological overview of the reports, we see no change over time in whether or not decision making is included in the reports.

²⁰ Another, more specific example of decision making was found in a treatment report from museum C, where the conservator reports retouching several years after the main conservation work was undertaken. The reason was that visitors complained that the surface was “messy” and the motif difficult to read. The conservator improved the disturbing effect of the damages by applying a glazed neutral retouch in grey- brown.

²¹ Chronology is not represented in the tables under Results. Spreadsheet available at NIKU on demand.

guidelines in conservation. However, medieval art in churches is always on display. Whether or not damages on a church sculpture are reintegrated depends more on the viewing distance, the lighting conditions, and so on. In museums, a short viewing distance can be assumed, and retouching is executed accordingly. Nonetheless, there are examples of how an object's condition and conservation history are the grounds for the retouching choices, how it should be exhibited and thus which story it should tell.²²

The objects in churches seem to have been subjected to fewer but heavier treatments prior to 1970 than the museum objects. The DCH/NIKU reports use terms, such as "overpainted", "uncovered polychromy" and "damage by overpaint removal" (table 1), more often than the museum reports. Perhaps the conditions were more severe before the conservation had been initiated; this might have been caused by more severe changes in indoor climate conditions in the churches, and less frequent conservation treatments. This may have led to a more pragmatic approach to visual reintegration in the timespan of our survey. The conservators working with church objects report using different techniques on various areas of the surfaces more often than the museum conservators. Retouching lacunae to the colour of the overpaint is only reported from churches, which is also a fairly pragmatic approach, perhaps not in keeping with DCH/NIKU practices.

There are also no reports of regilding from museums, but two from churches, in 1978 and 1981. This low number indicates that when working on Norwegian medieval sculptures, conservators in general seldom aim for pristine results. In contrast, the use of *aqua sporca* involves glazing in a brownish tone, thus imitating an aged appearance. This technique is used more often in churches than in museums.²³

Overpainted areas on church objects are often overpainted again, and retouches are adjusted rather than removed.²⁴ Overpainting of overpaint is more efficient than removal and perhaps works better aesthetically from a distance than up close, as in a museum. This also supports our impression that conservators are more focused on

²² In one case, the object remained unretouched due to its "virgin-like" state, and its worn and fragmented appearance. The museum chose to exhibit the object to represent the treatment of paintings and sculptures under the *Biltsturm*, a typical example of "museum thinking".

²³ The term "tone down" could be used instead of "*aqua sporca*", they both describe reducing contrast. "Tone down" is reported used as often in museums as in churches.

²⁴ Most of the overpaint removals in museums are carried out in one conservation department, in museum C. This department also reports more overpainted surfaces, either full or partial, and hardly any "overcleaning" or "damage by paint removal". The reason for the higher occurrence of "overpaint removal" probably lies in the nature of the collection, not in the preferences of the conservator.

details when working on museum objects but are forced to step back and prioritise the totality when working on objects in churches. When discussing different conservation strategies, the focus tends to be on conservation ethics, but our impression is that external factors, such as project deadlines, economic limitations and staff shortage, also play a role when deciding on a treatment strategy. Perhaps the DCH/NIKU personnel have had stricter budgets and fewer work hours than their colleagues in museums and are thus forced to compromise more often.

There are also differences in the reports from the museums and the DCH/NIKU. Museum reports are more focused on detail in describing a condition before treatment. They tend to describe individual damages rather than the overall condition. The museum reports seem to be for internal use and intended to be read with the object at hand, as opposed to the DCH/NIKU reports, which are written to stand alone after the sculpture itself is returned. Additionally, the NIKU reports from the last 13 years are published online, and reach different readers than the museum reports. The church reports are generally more extensive and have more elaborate descriptions of conditions, focusing on the overall impression and using terms such as “fragmented” and “degraded”.

The DCH/NIKU reports tend to include more of the reasoning behind the visual reintegration. Perhaps museums have a more standardised retouching policy, and less discussion is needed before each decision is made. The tendency to choose different retouching techniques for different areas on the same item, as is the case for church objects, also calls for a more thorough account of the reasons in the reports. More intervening treatments, including regilding or overpaint removal, perhaps also demand more detailed justification based on ethical standards in comparison to treatments that involve less retouching.

Retouching is executed in 68% of the treatments in both museums and churches, so there is no difference in the frequency of retouching when the object is being restored. The retouches themselves are surprisingly similar across institutions, according to the written sources. The hatching technique is used in both museums and churches as a way to ensure that the retouch is easily identifiable, which is ideal for medieval art.²⁵ However, the term “hatching technique” is used only from 1996 onwards in the church reports, a little later than in the museum reports.²⁶

²⁵ There is one example from a museum where an integrated retouch was removed, and neutral retouch applied, to make it more visible.

²⁶ Hatching technique as a term is used from 1981 and onwards in museum B, as opposed to museum A, which used this term all through the time period in question, and museum C which does not use hatching at all. This perhaps indicates that museum A introduced this method and led the way for the other institutions.

Neutral retouch seems to be a museum phenomenon; there are no reports of this on church objects. Neutral retouches are also visible and identifiable but in a single grey tone adjusted to complement the totality of the surface, which is perhaps too challenging to achieve when working in situ in a church but feasible in a studio.

If a damage is surrounded by an area of bare wood, it can be retouched to match the colour of the wood instead of the lost paint layer. This type of retouch is used slightly more often in museums than in churches, and one museum in particular prefers this method. The intent is then not to recreate an original polychromy but merely to tidy up a fragmented impression and facilitate the interpretation of the three-dimensional form. In this approach, an acceptance of age and degradation is inherent, a way of thinking that perhaps comes naturally when visiting a museum.

Today's museum visitor is generally well informed. The introduction on the web page for the exhibition "Transition – faith and sacred objects in the Middle Ages" states:

[...] today the surfaces are damaged, the colour pigments have faded and many of the statues of saints and altarpieces have been deliberately altered [...]. Pieces have been removed, moved or added. (KHM web page 2019)

Even though this is an exhibition with focus on transition of the objects, it communicates acceptance of worn, damaged and fragmented medieval surfaces.



When working on medieval sculptures from churches, the conservators tend to fill damages before retouching more often than on museum objects. In museums, the differences in the level are often used to ensure that the retouch is easily identifiable. Regarding objects from churches, damages are filled, partly to protect the vulnerable edges during handling. In museums, handling can perhaps be controlled more carefully, as opposed to in churches, where objects are left in the care of

Fig. 7 Detail of The Virgin and child with St. Anna (unknown origin) from the 16th century, in The Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo. Photo: April 2019, NIKU.

the church after their return. Perhaps conservators working on church objects also tend to use fillers to reduce the impression of a fragmented and “messy” surface and tidy up the silhouette of a sculpture, in line with their focus on the totality, not the details.

Although conservators sometimes move between institutions, the staff in the different museums and the DCH/NIKU has been relatively stable during the reviewed time-span. Some names show up in reports from more than one institution, but on the whole, the conservators tend to stay in their conservation departments. An outsider would suspect that this could lead to different conservation practices. With few exceptions, this has not been evident in our source material, which could be an indication that conservators keep themselves updated and interact with other institutions and cities.

Despite the differences, the many similarities still mirror the blurred lines between secular museums as homes of religious objects and sacred spaces as exhibition areas.

Conclusion

Medieval art has mainly two types of exhibition spaces – museums and churches. The two are seemingly opposites. One is secular and exhibits museum objects taken out of their contexts and frozen in time; the other is religious, part of a living, yet reformed, tradition. Shifting exhibitions in museums may focus on aesthetic objects and under-communicate their religious function, while other exhibitions try to make tableaux or illusions of church interiors. In this project, the objective was to investigate how this difference in context influences the way that medieval polychrome sculptures are presented to viewers in museums and churches and how this is manifested in the choice of retouching methods on sculptures in churches and museums.

There are some differences in how sculptures are retouched, depending on where they are exhibited. Treatments on objects placed in churches are fewer and further apart; generally, they are in a worse state of conservation before they are treated than objects cared for in museums. This had also been the case in the past, calling for more varied and more invasive conservation treatments.

Museum objects are generally only retouched before exhibitions and loans. Objects from churches are always on display but are still not retouched more than museum objects. On sculptures exhibited in churches, retouching methods vary more to fit the different damages and the different areas on the same object. In museums, conservation conditions are more consistent than in churches, and the retouches are more standardised.

The conservation reports vary in size and form, depending on their area of use. In museums, reports are more focused on details and have less description of the object itself, probably because it is meant to be read with the sculpture at hand. The reports from the conservation of church objects are more descriptive, focus on the totality and are meant to stand alone. They also include more of the reasoning behind the retouching decisions, probably because the conditions are more decisive for the choices made, and the types of damages vary more as do the methods. Museum reports are mostly for internal use, while the DCH/NIKU reports are written for a wider readership.

Despite these differences, the similarities are more prominent. Conservators have high professional standards, and there are little differences in practice among institutions. Medieval polychrome sculptures have a strong standing, and their integrity seems to be more important than other considerations, such as context, functions or viewers' expectations.

The differences between secular museums and churches as exhibition spaces for medieval art are perhaps not as large as expected, either. Museum exhibitions can be visited by believers who treat religious artefacts as they are intended – objects of veneration. Museum churches are used for traditional events like Christian weddings and baptisms. Likewise, churches are visited by non-religious people who attend concerts or meetings, or as tourists enjoying an art experience. This might not be that different from the more spiritual experience of a traditional churchgoer.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all the museums we have been in contact during this project. We have been overwhelmed by the positive interest. Some of you have opened your archives for us to explore the old reports, and others have done a great research job in finding relevant reports for us, which is priceless. We are especially grateful to our conservator colleagues Tone M. Olstad (Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research) and Mirjam Liu (National Museum Oslo) for their useful readings.

Bibliography

BERNS, Steph. 2015. "Sacred Entanglements: studying interactions between visitors, objects and religion in the museum". Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent.

- DE BEYER, Marc & Jacqueline TAKKE. 2012. *Guidelines on ways of dealing with religious objects*. Utrecht: Museum Catharijneconvent.
- DE BOTTON, Alain. 2012. *Religion for atheists*. London: Penguin Books.
- DUNCAN, Carol. 2005. "The art museum as ritual". In Gerard Corsane (ed.), *Heritage, museums and galleries – an introductory reader*, 78–89. New York: Routledge.
- HOHLER, Erla. 2017. "Medieval wooden sculptures in Norway". *Collegium Medievale* 30: 33–84.
- LIEPE, Lena. 2018. *A case for the Middle Ages: The public display of medieval church art in Sweden 1847–1943*. Stockholm: Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitetsakademien.
- LØKKA, Nanna. 2017. "Tilbakeføring av museumsgjenstander fra nasjonale samlinger til lokalsamfunn i Norge. Jus, etikk, politikk, praksis og verdisyn". *Nordisk museologi 2017*: 37–54. Oslo: Senter for Museumsstudier, Institutt for kulturstudier og orientalske språk, Universitetet i Oslo.
- MENGSHOEL, Karen & KJØLSETH JERNÆS, Nina. 2017. "Retouching medieval sculptures in Norwegian churches: Fifty years of practical work and written reports". *Collegium Medievale* 30: 205–232.
- NADOLNY, Jilleen. 2012: "History of visual compensation for paintings". In Joyce H. Stoner & Rebecca A. Rushfield (eds.), *Conservation of easel paintings*, 573–585. New York: Routledge.
- PAINE, Crispin. 2013. *Religious objects in museums: Private lives and public duties*. London: Bloomsbury.
- PEDERSEN, Ragnar. 2010. "De norske museene får sin form". In Bjarne Rogan & Arne Bugge Amundsen (eds.), *Samling og museum, kapitler av museenes historie, praksis og ideologi*. Oslo: Novus forlag.
- ROGAN, Bjarne. 2010. "Tingenes orden. Klassifikasjon, samling, museum". In Bjarne Rogan & Arne Bugge Amundsen (eds.), *Samling og museum, kapitler av museenes historie, praksis og ideologi*. Oslo: Novus forlag.
- SEIM, Marie Fongaard. 2011. "Dåpshuset fra Ringsaker kirke. En gjenstand – mange fortellinger. Fra kirkeinventar til museumsobjekt". *By og bygd: Årbok for Norsk folkemuseum* 44: 162–181.
- URSTAD, Sivert Skålvoll. 2017. "The religiously unaffiliated in Norway". *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 30.1: 61–81.
- VON ACHEN, Henrik. 2018. "Universitetets røtter – kunstsamlingen i Bergens Museum". In *Kunst og arkitektur ved Universitetet i Bergen*, 5–118. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Web pages

- Consecrated churches 2014: Consecrated churches in Borg diocese 2014, accessed 13th December 2018 <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/bispedommer/borg-bispedomme/fagomrader/vigsel/>
- Digital Museum: Common digital platform for photographs for Norwegian Museums, accessed 20th May 2018 <https://digitaltmuseum.no/>
- ICOM statutes 2017: Accessed 10th April 2019. https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/2017_ICOM_Statutes_EN.pdf
- Stortingsmelding nr. 49 2009: Regjeringens stortingsmelding nr. 49. Framtidas museum- forvaltning, forskning, formidling, fornying. Accessed 10th April 2019. <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stmeld-nr-49-2008-2009/id573654/>
- Website KHM: Medieval exhibition, accessed 5th February 2019. <https://www.khm.uio.no/besok-oss/historisk-museum/utstillinger/faste/norsk-middelalder/index.html>
- Website KHM exhibition Transformation, accessed 19th April 2019. <https://www.khm.uio.no/besok-oss/historisk-museum/utstillinger/faste/forvandling/index.html>
- Website NTNU: Cultural historical collections, accessed 5th February 2019. <https://www.ntnu.no/museum/kulturhistoriske-samlinger>
- Website UiT: Exhibitions, accessed 5th February 2019. https://uit.no/tmu/utstillinger/utstilling?p_document_id=398790
- Website University of Bergen: Church exhibition, accessed 5th February 2019. <https://www.uib.no/universitetsmuseet/67681/kirkekunstutstillingen>

Nina Kjølsten Jernæs, MA, is a paintings conservator/researcher at the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU). Together with Karen Mengshoel, Nina has written two papers on retouching medieval sculptures (2017). She has also published a paper on how to involve stakeholders when dealing with religious art in churches (2018). Together with Elisabeth Andersen (art historian), she has written two articles about religious paintings with “The Passion Clock” motif (2014, 2015). The topics are comparable survey conditions, iconography, painting technique and future preservation. She has also written about Adolf Tidemands’ use of materials, together with paintings conservator Anne Ørnhøi (2011). E-mail: nina.kjolsen@niku.no.

Karen Mengshoel, MA, is a paintings conservator at NIKU. Together with Nina Kjølsten Jernæs, she has published two papers on retouching medieval sculptures (2017). She has also written two papers on altered Norwegian epitaphs (2014, 2016). Karen and her colleagues have co-authored several papers on Edvard Munch’s Aula frieze as part of the Aula project (University of Oslo). The topics have been Munch’s painting technique, conservation and change in public attitudes, historical treatments and moving of monumental artworks (2012–2016). E-mail: karen.mengshoel@niku.no.

Henning Laugerud: *Reformasjon uten folk: Det katolske Norge i før- og etterreformatorisk tid* (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Serie B. Skrifter, 172). [Oslo]: St. Olav forlag, 2018. 364 s.

**ANMELDT AV MARTIN BERNTSON
Institutionen för litteratur, idéhistoria & religion, Göteborgs universitet**

I äldre tiders översikter över reformationen i Norden beskrevs ofta händelseförloppet ur reformatorernas eget triumfatoriska perspektiv. Den förreformatoriska katolska kyrkan framställdes inte sällan som korrupt och degenererad, och det betraktades därför närmast som en självklarhet att det behövdes en reformation. Reformationens seger gick därmed att förstå utifrån samma premisser – den var helt enkelt nödvändig. Inom efterkrigstidens reformationsforskning har bilden av det senmedeltida fromhetslivet nyanserats. Reformationen i Norden brukar idag skildras som en trög process som åtminstone till en början inte hade någon stark folklig förankring. Till pionjärerna i denna omtolkning hör de norska forskarna Oluf Kolsrud (1885–1945) och Oskar Garstein (1924–1996). Den senares livsverk *Rome and the Counter Reformation in Scandinavia* (fyra band mellan 1965 och 1992) hör till de internationellt mest kända studierna av reformationen i Norden.

Under 1990- och 2000-talet har det också blivit vanligare, både i Skandinavien och i England, att utmana det äldre lutherskt färgade sättet att skildra reformationen utifrån katolska revisionistiska perspektiv. Det mest kända exemplet från Sverige är Magnus Nymans *Förlorarnas historia: katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina* (Uppsala 1997). Jag vill gärna placera in *Reformasjon uten folk*, författad av konsthistorikern Henning Laugerud, i denna revisionistiska forskningstradition. Boken ger en översikt över reformationen i Norge, men syftet förefaller inte primärt vara att hitta nya källor eller göra nya tolkningar av känt källmaterial (även om sådana nytolkningar förekommer) utan snarare att skapa ett alternativt narrativ om reformationen som utmanar den äldre, lutherskt färgade, berättelsen, med dess osynliggörande av katolska kyrkans livskraft i Norge. Till författarens utgångspunkter hör den helt riktiga observationen, att historia är något identitetsskapande, det vill säga att de begrepp och narrativ vi använder för att berätta om det förflutna påverkar oss själva och vårt sätt att betrakta omvärlden. Synen på vår egen samtids katolicism påverkas exempelvis genom att den katolska kyrkan betraktas som en del av den

”mörka medeltiden” vilken ställs mot en ”ljus” renässans och mot en reformerad kyrka. Till författarens utgångspunkter hör därför att historieskrivningen aldrig får bli teleologisk. Historiska förändringsprocesser är inte determinerade att röra sig på ett entydigt sätt i en rak linje. Norge var aldrig på förhand determinerat att bli ett lutherskt land.

I likhet med svenska och engelska katolska revisionister betraktas i denna bok reformationen som en politisk process som genomförs utifrån elitens ekonomiska och politiska behov utan folkets stöd eller intresse. Av just den anledningen etablerar sig reformatorisk religiös praktik enligt författaren aldrig i de bredare folklagren, och om så skedde berodde det främst på en envis och långsiktig disciplinering av folket. Reformationen betraktas med andra ord som ett tydligt och radikalt brott med senmedeltida kyrkliga förhållanden, men det rör sig om en trög process som närmast är att betrakta som ett misslyckande.

Boken är, förutom en inledning, uppdelad i åtta kapitel. I de två första kapitlen behandlas situationen i Norge före reformationen, en översikt som både behandlar den kyrkoorganisatoriska nivån med den nidarosiensiska kyrkoprovinsen och dess relation till Kalmarunionens kungar före 1537 (kapitel 1), men författaren ger också en översikt över det praktiska fromhetslivet i Norge före reformationen (kapitel 2). Författaren invänder mot äldre reformationsskildringars tendens att betrakta kyrkolivet före reformationstiden som en förfallsperiod. Istället uppfattas den nidarosiensiska kyrkoprovinsen ha haft ett ”uppsving” strax före reformationen. Under början av 1500-talet återinrättas stängda kloster och flera kyrkorenoveringar äger rum. Likaså trycks under åren strax före reformationen de två liturgiska handböckerna *Missale Nidrosiense* och *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, de första tryckta böcker som haft en norsk uppdragsgivare. Ett syfte med tryckningen av missalet var att enhetliggöra mässfirandet i kyrkoprovinsens stift, något som författaren – i mitt tycke helt riktigt – betraktar som del av det katolska reformprojektet i Europa vid denna tid.

Författaren skildrar sedan reformationens införande i Norge. Först möter vi den organiserade kyrkans motståndskamp mot reformationen, som ju i Norge förknippas med den nationella katastrof som det ökande danska inflytandet innebar (kapitel 3). Medan reformationen i Sverige har förknippats med ”befrielsen” från Kalmarunionen, sammankopplas reformationen i Norge med den rakt motsatta utvecklingen, nämligen en ännu hårdare politisk underordning under det danska väldet. I både Norge och Sverige förknippades emellertid införandet av reformationen med en repressiv regim, och de praktiska förändringsprocesserna mötte i båda länderna ett motstånd där politiska och religiösa motiv var sammanflätade. I särskilt fokus i

författarens framställning hamnar ofrånkomligen ärkebiskopen Olav Engelbrekts-sons (d. 1538) väl kända militära kamp mot Christian III (regeringstid 1534–1559) vars krav på överhöghet över Norge sammanföll med kravet på införandet av reformatoriska nyordningar, en kamp som kulminerade våren 1537 då danska trupper övertog upprorsmännens förskansningar och ärkebiskopen fick gå i exil. I det följande kapitlet letar sig författaren ned på "marknivå" och behandlar det norska folkets motstånd mot reformationen mellan 1537 fram till runt 1600. Materialet baseras till stor del på rapporter bland rikets andliga och världsliga elit om hur folket både vägrar att delta i det reformerade gudstjänstlivet och om hur de bjuder aktivt motstånd mot de präster som försöker genomföra kultiska förändringar. I likhet med situationen i Sverige kunde bönder ofta vara synnerligen brutala i sin kamp mot den nya tron och dess uttrycksformer, något som visar på den vikt som de äldre bruken fyllde i fromhetslivet. Intressant är också diskussionen om den till synes mjuka övergången mellan katolskt och lutherskt, som i författarens ögon snarast skall betraktas som en strategi "for å føre folket bak lyset" (s. 160).

I följande två kapitel diskuteras den organiserade katolska missionen i Norge. Det ena kapitlet behandlar utvecklingen före den så kallade Gjerpen-domen 1613, där fem präster och intellektuella anklagades och dömdes för att ha varit delaktiga i en katolsk konspiration. Denna "underground-katolicism" betraktas som uttryck för det organiserade försöket från Roms sida att vinna tillbaka Norden till katolsk tro, och det är också denna mission som hamnar i författarens fokus. Särskild uppmärksamhet riktas mot den norske jesuitpatern Lauritz Nielssøn, som är mer känd under öknamnet "Klosterlasse". Den katolska missionsverksamheten i Danmark och Norge förenklades av att det under en tid under slutet av 1500-talet rådde en relativ tolerans mot katolsk verksamhet i landet, men kontrollen skärptes i början av 1600-talet och den jakt på hemlig katolsk mission som då inleddes kulminerade med Gjerpendomen, varefter myndigheternas attityd till katolicismen blev än mer inskränkt. Den minskade toleransen från regeringsmaktens sida hindrade emellertid inte Rom från att ånyo försöka rekatolicera Norge och resten av Norden. Denna mission behandlas i det sjätte kapitlet som sträcker sig från 1610-talet fram till 1700-talet. Ett intressant avsnitt i detta kapitel berör den katolska mission som bedrevs av den bohuslänske katolske sekularprästen Joannes Martini Rhugius (d. 1651), som på 1630-talet kunde rapportera om att de norska bönderna "i hjärta och sinne" i stor utsträckning fortfarande var katolska. Även om de av Rom initierade rekatoliceringsförsöken under senare hälften av 1600-talet efterhand avtog, levde traditionella trosföreställningar och rituella praktiker kvar inom befolkningen längre än så. I de två sista kapitlen går författaren igenom katolskt liv inom de bredare folklagren från 1500-

talet fram till 1700-talet (kapitel 7 och 8). Det källmaterial som används är till stor del påbud från religiösa och sekulära myndigheter rörande "missbruk" ute i församlingarna.

Boken är skriven med en läsvänlig prosa och är rikt illustrerad med många vackra och dessutom för innehållet relevanta bilder. Strukturen är genom sitt kronologiska upplägg lätt att följa. Författaren har inte enbart baserat sin framställning på äldre forskning utan har själv granskat en stor del av materialet, som flödar rikt. Möjligen saknar jag en diskussion om den kravlista som utarbetades i Norge i augusti 1534 där man exempelvis riktade motstånd mot att mässan börjat firas på norska (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum* 10, nr 674).

Jag uppskattar att författaren vid återkommande tillfällen kontextualiserar processen och lyfter fram orsakssammanhang utanför de teologiska bevekelsegrunderna. När det gäller exempelvis våldsutövande mot präster som ville införa liturgiska nyordningar betonar författaren att de reella orsakerna kan vara svåra att fastslå, och troligen fanns det flera sådana, däribland djupgående sociala konflikter mellan prästerskap och allmoge, vilket dock inte hindrar att de också kan tolkas som ett reellt motstånd mot just dessa nyordningar. Ett läsvärt avsnitt av boken handlar om den känsla av förfall som fanns i Norge efter 1537 och som bland annat uttrycks i *Hamarkrøniken*. Även inom de grupper i Norge som var positivt inställda till reformationen fanns det en känsla av att danskarnas maktövertagande innebar ett både kulturellt förfall och en politisk förlust, något som förklaras av att de gamla norska elitmiljöerna genom denna förändring blev politiskt omyndigförklarade och förlorade viktiga positioner. Deras värnande av åtminstone delar av det äldre katolska arvet hade alltså (också) politiska undertoner.

Till de mest intressanta inslagen i boken hör anknytningarna mellan den reformatoriska förändringen i relation till materialitet och topografi, ett resonemang som har inspirerats av den brittiska historikern Alexandra Walsham (f. 1966). En återkommande tanke är platsernas betydelse för det kollektiva minnet, med exempelvis heliga platser som en "erindringsmaskin" (s. 81). I det sammanhanget fungerade den kyrkliga konsten inte bara som undervisningsmaterial utan stod i ett meningsproducerande sammanhang; bilderna hade en "potentiell mening" och gjorde mässfirandet förståeligt och tjänade som en påminnelse om denna förståelse, något som författaren menar hade betydelse för de katolska trosuppfattningarnas fortlevnad. Författaren driver en intresseväckande hypotes om att det kontinuitetsbevarande inslaget i luthersk rituell praktik utgjorde en viktig förutsättning för de katolska föreställningarnas fortlevnad. Genom att fysiska minnesplatser, till vilka trons uttrycksformer var knutna, bevarades, fortlevde också för mentaliteten viktiga för-

bindelser med de äldre trosföreställningarna. Här väcks samtidigt reflektionen att också den lutherska kyrkans konst och materiella uttrycksformer på sikt bör ha haft samma meningsproducerande funktion, något som dock ligger bortom denna boks syfte.

Boken lever tydligt upp till sin något polemiskt hållna titel. Genomgående i boken beskrivs motståndet mot reformationen som närmast kompakt. Det norska folket var som helhet mot reformationen och ville helt enkelt inte vara lutheraner (s. 133, 137). Reformationen kom från ovan och blev "presset ned over et uvillig folk" (s. 137). Vi får veta att "folket" saknade respekt och intresse för den nya läran och det nya prästerskapet (s. 146) och att det fanns "sterke katolske sympatier hos befolkningen i Norge i sin alminnelighet" (s. 171). Hundra år efter reformationens införande var folket i Norge "i hovedsak positivt stemt overfor Den katolske kirke, og man følte seg framdeles katolsk" (s. 293). "Majoriteten av befolkningen i Norge" var under åtminstone en lång tid helt emot den nya religiösa ordningen eftersom "befolkningen" uppfattade sig som katoliker (s. 308). Mot slutet av boken kan det följaktligen konstateras att "befolkningen i Norge var og ble katolikker. Den lutherske protestantisme var en kristendom tilhørende en ny og liten, hovedsakelig dansk, embedsmannaelite" (s. 327). Denna närmast övertydliga betoning av det norska folkets bristande anslutning till reformationen väcker vissa frågor av metodisk art.

Jag hade gärna sett en mer genomgripande diskussion om vad som kan och bör innefattas i konceptet "katolsk". Författaren likställer den katolska kyrkans organiserade motreformatoriska aktivitet med folkliga krav på bevarandet av "katolska" rituella bruk och föreställningar (se ex. s. 13). Frågan är emellertid i vilken utsträckning folkliga krav på äldre sedvänjors bevarande skall betraktas som uttryck för kvarlevande "katolska" seder och bruk och om folket som önskade ha kvar dessa seder och bruk alltid bör klassas som "katoliker". Jag menar att det finns anledning att göra en distinktion mellan "church papists", det vill säga aktörer som identifierade sig som katoliker fullt ut, och de bönder som ställde krav på bevarande av traditionella riter som var förankrade i det agrara samhället. Det är under alla omständigheter problematiskt att tolka varje form av religiös traditionalism inom bondeståndet som uttryck för en renodlad katolicism. De svenska bönder som under början av 1800-talet värnade om 1695 års psalmbok kan exempelvis inte med nödvändighet betraktas som "luthersk ortodoxa", trots att de försvarade en text som tydligt var förankrad i denna idétradition. Författaren visar en medvetenhet om denna problematik då han på s. 283 betonar att det ibland kan vara svårt att avgöra om vissa praktiker och föreställningar sågs som "katolska" eller "lutherska" – en sådan diskussion hade jag gärna sett tillämpad och utvecklad på ett mer konsekvent sätt i boken. Jag föredrar den dis-

tinktion som den (katolske) engelske kyrkohistorikern Eamon Duffy (f. 1947) gör i sitt klassiska arbete *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992), mellan vad han kallar "traditional religion", åsyftande den förreformatoriska senmedeltida fromheten i all sin brokighet, vilken han ställer emot "modern religion", som åsyftar den moderniserande religion som fanns inom både de reformatoriska och den tidigmoderna katolska kyrkan.

Något som tydligt framgår i boken, men som möjligen kunde ha analyserats mer djupgående, är att det egentliga kulturhistoriska "brottet" mellan traditionell och modern religion egentligen sker först på 1700-talet, där kombinationen av statspietistisk trosförståelse och upplysningstänkande lade grund för en kamp mot "vidskepliga" bruk bland folket.

Stundtals tycker jag att författaren utgår från alltför skarpa teologiska distinktioner mellan vad som skall betraktas som katolskt och lutherskt, något som särskilt gäller framställningen av luthersk ecklesiologi och nattvardssyn. Författaren menar att kyrkan för Luther "utelukkende" är de troendes gemenskap och att kyrkan enbart är en andlig gemenskap, något som medförde att han tömde "Kirken som institusjon for innhold" (s. 40) och han menar också att luthersk förståelse av realpresensen skulle innebära att Kristi närvaro i nattvardselementen enbart var av andlig art, att Kristus alltså inte fanns "reelt fysisk til stede i nattverdselementene" (s. 256). Luther, och även Melancthon, betonar visserligen kyrkan som osynlig gemenskap i något större utsträckning än vad som är fallet inom katolsk tradition, men båda tillmäter kyrkans synliga uttrycksformer en väsentlig teologisk betydelse. Likaså har Kristi närvaro i luthersk nattvardssyn aldrig betraktas som något icke-fysiskt. Vi kan här erinra oss Luthers kända formulering om att Kristus finns närvarande "i, med och under vin och bröd" och den tionde artikeln i *Confessio Augustana* som slår fast att Kristi kropp och blod i nattvarden "är verkligen tillstädes och utdelas åt dem som undfår sakramentet". Den stora skillnaden mellan luthersk och katolsk nattvardssyn har snarast handlat om huruvida filosofisk begreppsapparat kan eller bör användas för att förklara realpresensen eller om det räcker med att förtrösta på Guds löften. Genom förenklingar av dessa slag framstår också de teologiska brytpunkterna mellan katolskt och lutherskt som större än vad jag skulle vilja påstå att de var, något som exempelvis gäller den kanske inte helt entydigt katolska "närvaroreligiositet" i mässfirandet som beskrivs på s. 256ff.

Bokens värde hade också höjts väsentligt av en kritisk diskussion kring vad vi egentligen menar med "folket" och "folkkulturen" och hur vi som historiker i metodiskt avseende kan och bör närma oss denna. Författaren för i kapitel 7 en konstruktiv diskussion om problematiken mellan elit- och folkkultur, och jag delar hans uppfattning angående problematiken i att upprätta en dikotomi mellan folk och elit,

vilket har varit vanligt inom äldre forskning. Jag ställer mig däremot en aning undrande inför hans definition av folkelig religion som synonymt med föreställningar och praktiker ”som i større eller mindre grad står i motsetning til statens offisielle evangelisk-lutherske religion” (s. 246). Den risk som finns med en sådan förförståelse är att vi hamnar i samma dikotomiserande problematik som tidigare och därtill riskerar författaren härvid att hamna i ett cirkelresonemang. På s. 328 förklaras att religiösa föreställningar och praktiker bland den allmänna befolkningen inte kan reduceras till en blandning av hedendom och naiv kristendom, men hur skall de då beskrivas? Jo, den ”var bare ikke luthersk” (s. 328). Detta är förvisso är en rimlig – men metodiskt tveksam – slutsats om man på förhand söker efter föreställningar och praktiker som står i motsättning till luthersk tro och praktik.

Jag delar författarens övertygelse att det verkligen är metodiskt försvarbart att tala om ett reformationsmotstånd i olika delar av Europa och att detta motstånd vilade på en medvetenhet inom folket om de förändringsprocesser som ägde rum. Men med tanke på det relativt begränsade källmaterial vi har tillgång till bör man vara försiktig med informell statistik och försök till kvantifieringar av motståndets omfattning, vilket blir fallet när man talar om ”majoriteten” och ”folket som helhet”. De människor som gjort tydligast avtryck i vårt källmaterial är som regel sådana som varit motvalls eller olydiga, och det är dessa vi möter i domstolsprotokoll och i agitations-skrifter från uppror, och jag delar författarens intresse för denna typ av material. Men den tysta grupp som eventuellt kan ha uppskattat den reformatoriska utvecklingen hör vi av naturliga skäl inte av. Det finns därför anledning att uttrycka sig en aning försiktigt och kanske snarast tala om att det inom befolkningen i Norge förekom ett strukturellt och aktivt motstånd mot reformationens omdaningar och ett värnande av traditionella religiösa uttrycksformer av vilka vissa inte befann sig i linje med lutherska normer. Det hade därvid varit intressant om författaren fört en diskussion om den dynamik vi ofta finner inom folkkulturen. Istället för att tala om en spänning mellan ”katoliker” och ”lutheraner”, är det enligt mitt förmenande mer intressant att se vilka religiösa praktiker som man ville bevara, orsakerna till dessas popularitet samt vilka metoder och tillvägagångssätt som man valde för att förhandla fram deras bevarande – och varför man ibland lyckades eller inte lyckades. Vilka sociala funktioner fyllde egentligen de traditionella religiösa praktikerna?

Med tanke på bokens breda anslag och det intresse författaren visar när det gäller metodfrågor är det lite synd att framställningen ibland präglas av en informell normativitet färgad av tanken på den katolska kyrkan i Norge som offer för en repulsiv och enbart politiskt motiverad förtryckande lutherdom, som tvingades på folket. Problemet är att framställningen, i likhet med det äldre lutherskt färgade

narrativet, tenderar att bli en aning ensidig. Liksom inom viss svensk katolsk revisionism betecknas reformationen som en "kulturrevolution", vilket givetvis ger (värderande) associationer till Maos Kina. Tidvis beskrivs reformationsprocessen i Europa på ett aningen förenklande sätt. Reformationens framgång i Europa förklaras med hänvisningar till furstarnas politiska motiv och till deras tvångsmetoder (s. 26). Furstarna hade förvisso en viktig roll i både Tyskland, England och Skandinavien, men vi bör samtidigt inte bortse från den roll som borgerligheten i de urbana rummen spelade, inte minst i Tyskland och i Danmark. Det talas om den lutherska "ekstremt polemiska" bildpropagandan (s. 322), mot vilken borde ställas att påvedömet ansvarade för en minst lika polemisk propaganda gentemot lutheranerna.

Jag reagerar slutligen mot det i mitt tycke lite för nationalistiskt färgade talet om "den norske kirkeprovins" (ex. s. 37). Det fanns under nordisk medeltid varken någon "svensk" eller "norsk" eller för den delen "dansk" kyrkoprovins. Kyrkoprovinserna, med sina ärkesäten i Lund, Nidaros och Uppsala, sammanföll ibland visserligen med de nationella gränserna, men så var inte alltid och inte med nödvändighet fallet, något som kanske är särskilt tydligt när det gäller den uppsaliensiska kyrkoprovinsen som innefattade områden som i politiskt och nationellt avseende tillhörde Danmark och Norge (exempelvis Gotland och Jämtland).

Reformasjon uten folk är en mycket vacker och läsvärd bok och den är en guldgruva för den som söker efter kunskap om katolska kyrkans efterreformatoriska historia i Norge. På ett innovativt sätt relateras kyrklig traditionalism till ett materialitetsperspektiv där både konst och andlig topografi uppmärksammas. Framställningens katolskt revisionistiska prägel och dess stundtals apologetiska anslag väcker samtidigt många frågor kring perspektiv och metodval.

Passio Olavi. Olav den hellige og hans mirakler. Oversatt av Lene Dåvøy, Trondheim: Museumsforlaget, 2019. 87 s.

ANMELDT AV EGIL KRAGGERUD
Professor (em.) i klassisk filologi, Universitetet i Oslo

Den smakfulle lille boken, med stive permer og silkebånd, kom på mitt bord med følgende kommentar fra CMs redaksjon: 'Denne nye oversettelsen er den man sikkert vil vise til i norsk forskning. Derfor er en omtale ønskelig.' Boken tiltrekker seg uten videre oppmerksomhet med gjengivelser av Håkon Gullvågs nå forsvunne 'reisealter' med Olavus Rex i midten. Ikke minst er å merke at *Nidaros Domkirkes Restaureringsarbeider* (NDR) står bak utgivelsen; Øystein Ekroll, arkitekturhistorikeren ved NDR, har skrevet innledningen. Boken ble passende lansert i kirken som del av Olavsfestuken på selve martyrens translasjonsdag 3. august. En primær målgruppe er utvilsomt pilegrimer, turister og besøkende. I vår sammenheng er målgruppen for disse linjer først og fremst medievalister (om jeg får tillate meg betegnelsen på norsk).

Å omtale den såkalte *Passio Olavi* (PO) som én tekst bør for øvrig helst modifieres. PO omfatter i virkeligheten to temmelig ulike skrifter, det ene handler om den hellige konges liv og død (*Passio beati Olavi regis et martiris* er en mulig tittel), det andre dreier seg om undere knyttet til martyren (*Miracula beati Olavi regis et martiris* kan tenkes). Oxfordmanuskriptet – i det store og hele det beste tekstvitne vi har – skiller *Passio* og *Miracula* fra hverandre ved bruken av *Incipit*- og *Explicit*-formler. At skriftene likevel er nær sammenhengende i kraft av Olavskultusen er selvsagt. Men deres tilblivelse er forskjellig. Den egentlige *Passio* tilhører den hagiografiske genren og er erkebispesetets offisielle skriftstykket om martyrkongen. I så måte har vi å gjøre med en tidlig, helhetlig og oppbyggelig helgenlegende. Den utgjør bare de seks første sidene i foreliggende oversettelse (s. 25–31) og var der antagelig i sin latinske form kort etter erkesetets opprettelse i 1152/53. *Miracula* er, som tittelen antyder, enhetlig i tematikken i form av en serie frittstående eksempler gjennom 150 år. Vi kan følge begynnelsen av tradisjonen i skaldekvad (Torarinn Lovtunge, Sigvat) få år etter kongens død inntil en anselig samling hadde dannet seg og reflekteres i Einar Skulesons *Geisli*. Registrering og arkivering av troverdige undere knyttet til Olavsdyrkelsen var en sentral oppgave for domkapitlet. Ansvaret for den endelige utforming av den løpende rapportering falt naturlig på erkebiskopen.

Bare i ett tilfelle var han selv rapportør (jf. den kjente historien om Øystein Erlendssons raske tilfriskning etter sitt fall fra byggstillaset i domene, s. 69–71). De rapporterte tilfellene av *miracula* ble ved leilighet redigert sammen, noe som ikke var i veien for en senere forøket utgave. *Miracula* gjenspeiler altså martyrens uavsluttede virke.

Det er mye godt å si om denne publikasjonen: Dåvøy skriver et moderat bokmål som gjør *PO* greit tilgjengelig for moderne lesere. Ekroll har utstyrt oversettelsen med en forholdsvis kort, interessant og innholdsrik innledning.

Så langt så godt, men noen marginale bemerkninger hører med for *CMs* lesere: den nye oversettelsen avviker ikke særlig meget fra Eiliv Skards pioneroversettelse på nynorsk fra 1930. Skard reviderte selv sitt arbeide i 1970 (Norrøne bokverk 26). Samlingen av mirakler var alt for hundre år siden så fyldig som den godt kunne og burde bli. Skard har uten unntak de samme mirakler som Dåvøy har. En annen ting er at Dåvøy har kunnet nyttiggjøre gjøre seg enkelte varianttilsetninger i Lenka Jiroušková's kritiske tekstedisjon (B. 2, s. 30–88; angående J.s arbeide om *PO* som helhet se *CM* 29, 2016: 150–164). Til gjengjeld har Skard noe fyldigere sluttnoter. Enda bedre i så måte er Carl Phelpsteads noter i vol. XIII av Viking Society's serie av utgaver og oversettelser (London 2001).

Begrepet *passio* i tittelen oversettes bedre av Skard når han gjengir det med «lidingssoge» i undertittelen. For med *passio* markeres martyrens *imitatio Christi*. Det sekulariserte '*fortellingen* om Olav den hellige' fjerner seg fra den middelalderske tenkemåte. Det skurrer også når det på s. 82, i beretningen om gutten som fikk talens bruk igjen, heter: 'Den påfølgende *dødsdagen til martyren* fikk også en gutt tilbake taleevnen'. Skard har som seg hør og bør 'På *fødedagen åt martyren . . .*' (*Item sequenti martiris natalitio*): Stiklestad betød den legemlige død, men samtidig begynte martyrens evige liv til velsignelse for dem som påkalte hans hjelp.

Ett navn savner jeg i innledningen: Frederick Metcalfe (1815–1885), 'fellow' ved Lincoln-college i Oxford, teolog, norrøn filolog, lærebokutgiver. Det er takket være ham at *Miracula* kom for dagen i den tilnærmet fullstendige form. Navnet vil være kjent for mange. I årene 1858–59 utga han velskrevne og høyt skattede bøker om sine ferder i Norge, også kjent i norske oversettelser. Da Gustav Storms *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ* utkom i 1880 var Oxfordmanuskriptet i Corpus Christi-colleget ikke en del av grunnlaget. Da var allerede Metcalfe fullt opptatt av en utgivelse av det ukjente manuskriptet. Han hadde kontaktet den langt yngre Storm som oppmuntret ham til å utgi det, men uten at et nærmere samarbeide kom i stand. Metcalfes utgave kom i 1881. På slutten av 1990-tallet forberedte Inger Ekrem en tospråklig ny utgave. Bare et maskinskrevet utkast forelå da hun døde i februar 2000. Metcalfes manu-

skript måtte vente enda 14 år før det ble utgitt på ny i trykt form gjennom Jiroušková's nitide utgave (2014), men da uten oversettelse. Det må derfor sies at vi fortsatt mangler en enkel *tospråklig* utgave til bruk i undervisning og forskerutdanning.

Bibliografi

- JIROUŠKOVÁ, Lenka. 2014. *Der heilige Wikingerkönig Olav Haraldsson und sein hagiographisches Dossier. Text und Context der Passio Olavi*. *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 46. Leiden: E. J. Brill
- KRAGGERUD, Egil. 2016. "Review of Jiroušková (2014)." *Collegium mediaevale* 29: 150–164.
- METCALFE, Frederick (ed.). 1881. *Passio et miracula Beati Olavi, edited from a twelfth-century manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- PHHELPSTEAD, Carl (ed.). 2001. *A History of Norway and the passion and miracles of the Blessed Óláfr*. Translated by Devra Kunin; edited with an introduction and notes by C. P. Viking Society for Northern Research, vol. XIII. London: University College.
- SKARD, Eiliv. 1930. *Passio Olavi. Lidings saga og undergjerningane åt den heilage Olav*. *Norrøne bokverk* 26. Oslo: Samlaget.
- STORM, Gustav. 1880. *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ*. Kristiania: Brøgger.

Egil Kraggerud, professor (em.) i klassisk filologi, UiO, har bl.a. disse tospråklige utgivelser: Theodoricus' *De antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* (ca. 1180), Jens Nilssøns *Elegidion* (1581), Halvard Gunnarsøns *Akrostikhis* (1606) og Tormod Torfæus' *Historia Vinlandiæ antiquæ* (1705).



Bente Lavold og John Ødemark (red.): Reformasjonstidens religiøse bokkultur cirka 1400–1700: tekst, visualitet og materialitet. Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2017. 293 s.

LESEN AV IVAR BERG

NTNU – Noregs teknisk-naturvitskaplege universitet, Trondheim

Denne antologien er eit resultat av eit seminar med same namn som vart halde i Nasjonalbiblioteket i Oslo 20. februar 2015. Deltakarane, no forfattarane, representerer ulike fag, men med felles interesse for eldre, religiøs bokkultur. Dermed er dette verkeleg eit tverrfagleg prosjekt.

Nedanfor har eg kommentert at nokre bidrag til dels byggjer på tidlegare arbeid. Lat meg difor understreke at det ikkje nødvendigvis er negativt, for gode framstillingar i tverrfaglege antologiar som denne er verdifulle for å spreie kunnskap til interesserte på andre, nærliggjande fagfelt. For denne lesaren var det artiklane om ting eg ikkje visste noko om frå før, som var dei mest interessante, særleg kapitla av Bisgaard, Ødemark og Laugerud. Totalt har boka åtte kapittel i tillegg til ei innleiing, og kvart kapittel skal få ein kort omtale.

ØYSTEIN RIAN gjev ein historisk bakgrunn og understrekar korleis etableringa av ei statskyrkje med reformasjonen styrkte kongsmakta. Etter dette følgde ei ideologisk einsretting, ikkje minst gjennom universitetet og bokkulturen, som vart kontrollert av sensuren. Lokaliseringa av både universitetet og dei fleste og største trykkeria i København gjorde dette enklare. Ansvar for sensuren var lagt til universitetet, og restriksjonar på bokimport styrkte den intellektuelle einsrettinga (men jf. Dahls kapittel). Resultatet vart, som Rian formulerer det, «en hegemonisk litterær kultur som forfatterne forholdt seg til og innordnet seg under, preget av hyllest til Gud og kongen» (s. 39). Dei som kjenner boka hans Rian om *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge* (2014), vil nok ikkje finne mykje nytt, men kapitlet gjev eit fint oversyn.

GINA DAHL diskuterer boksamlingane til norske geistlege frå tida 1650–1750 (som ho har skrive større arbeid om, jf. s. 46) og kva dei fortel om intellektuelle interesser. Koplinga til den tyske kultursfæren, slik ein ser i bokimport, er velkjent, og tyske, lutherske forfattarar dominerte kvantitativt. Desto meir interessant er det at Dahl peikar på omfattande import også frå Nederlanda og England, og bøker av både kalvinistar og katolikkar. Såleis fekk norske geistlege tilgang på bøker sensuren ville halde unna dei, trass i dei offisielle restriksjonane på bokimport. Bøkene som faktisk

var i omløp, hadde meir variert innhald enn bøker publiserte i Danmark. Slik modifierer Dahl på eit viktig punkt den intellektuelle einsrettinga som Rian legg vekt på i kapittelet sitt. Dahl nemner bøker på engelsk (s. 52, 66), men eg ville ikkje venta at mange norske geistlege las engelsk. Det heiter (s. 52) at bøker på engelsk, nederlandsk og fransk «hørte dog til sjeldenhetene», og det hadde vore fint med ein enkel statistikk over fordelinga på ulike språk.

JOHN ØDEMARK tek oss inn i tida da trua på trolldom vart omdefinert til overtru. Utgangspunktet er ei rekkje tilfelle av galskap som ramma eit hushald i Køge (like sørvest for København) i åra 1608–15 og førte til trolldomsprosessar og minst 15 dødsdomar. Hendingane vart omtala i boka *Køge Huskors* (1674), men da var ei ny tid i kjømda. Ødemark viser korleis framstillinga i *Køge Huskors* møtte motstand frå 1690-åra og ganske snart vart definert som overtru, ikkje ei sannferdig framstilling. Forteljninga levde vidare i ymse omarbeidingar, men som fiksjon, ikkje dokumentar; striden mellom Gud og Satan vart redusert til komedie. Ødemark koplar dette til Max Webers «avfortrylling» av verda, der reformasjonen var eit mellomsteg på vegen til rasjonalitet (s. 75). Eit døme på dette var at sider ved katolisismen (t.d. helgenkult) vart framstilt som overtru av reformatorane.

I ei liknande sak i Thisted (på Nordjylland) i 1696–98 fekk den litterære framstillinga i *Køge Huskors*, ikkje trolldom, skulda for å vera inspirasjon. Ødemark viser fleire gonger til denne saka, men me får litt for sparsame faktaopplysningar (årstalet blir til dømes ikkje nemnt). Det kan elles innvendast at heile breidda i det teoretiske apparatet kanskje ikkje er strengt naudsynt for å forstå utviklinga, men det er uansett ei spanande historie om korleis rasjonaliteten vann fram i den tidlege opplysnings-tida.

ESPEN KARLSEN skriv om latin i Noreg frå 1000-talet til 1850, eit breitt tids-spenn. Med tanke på det overordna temaet for boka hadde kapittelet tent på å fokusere meir på den latinske skriftkulturen på 15–1600-talet, til dømes kring Oslo-humanistane. Første del tek føre seg den første latinske litteraturen i Noreg etter kristninga og framover høgmedialderen, før dei to messebøkene for Nidaros-provinsen som vart trykte i 1519, blir omtala. Neste del diskuterer ei liste over bok-samlinga ved domkapittelet i Nidaros frå reformasjonstida, før kapittelet avsluttar med den etterreformatoriske perioden, da latin vart mindre viktig innanfor religion og administrasjon, men derimot «styrket sin posisjon som lærdomsspråk» (s. 122). Først på 1800-talet blir denne tradisjonen med røter i mellomalderen broten.

Det er «noen overlappinger» (s. 111) med bolken som Karlsen skreiv om latin og gresk i Bull mfl. (2018), og teksten hadde tolt litt meir gjennomarbeiding. Til dømes er store delar av s. 121–123 om den etterreformatoriske perioden omtrent iden-

tisk med Bull mfl. (2018: 469–470), før framstillinga hoppar tilbake til språk i diplomatiet frå 1300-talet og framover – eigentleg ei fortsetjing av same tema ovanfor (s. 112–113). Det heiter elles at «valg av språk i kontakten landene imellom [...] har fått liten oppmerksomhet i faglitteraturen» (s. 123). Det er nok sant, men emnet er til dømes teke opp av Berg (2013: 177–182), som Karlsen har i litteraturlista.

LARS BISGAARD diskuterer omsetjingar av to verk med religiøst innhald frå tysk til dansk, eit før og eit etter reformasjonen. *Sjælens trøst* er eit oppbyggjeleg skrift, opphavleg skrive på latin og omsett til tysk, og i første del av 1400-talet til både dansk og svensk. *Peder Smed og Adser Bonde* er ein «reformatorisk satire», første gong trykt på tysk i 1523/24 og på dansk i 1559, men kanskje omsett så tidleg som ikring 1530. Hovudhandlinga er at Peder Smed lærer Adser Bonde om alt det galne i katolisismen. Båe verka kan seiast å vera didaktiske og gjev opplæring i religionsutøving og den rette trua.

Bisgaard er oppteken av korleis omsetjarane har arbeidd for å gjera verka tilgjengelege for danske lesarar, og kva miljø omsetjingane kan ha vorte til i og for. Omsetjinga av *Sjælens trøst* er særleg i starten nokså tru mot originalen, men det er òg mange døme på at omsetjaren har tilpassa stoffet for å gjera det forståeleg. Bisgaard forklarar tilpassingane med at verket har vore meint til bruk i opplæringssamanheng i eit kloster, men dette blir naturlegvis hypotetisk. Omsetjaren av *Peder Smed og Adser Bonde* har på si side vore så dyktig at verket på 1800-talet vart rekna for ein dansk original. Tilpassinga gjeld små detaljar som at figurane drikk øl, ikkje vin, i tillegg til fullstendig omskriving til eit dansk miljø (stader, personar, referanse til hendingar) og dessutan frå prosa til knittelvers. Bisgaard føreslår at verket kan ha vore ein skulekomedie som har medverka i oppsedinga av dei unge i den rette trua.

Medan omsetjingar vart vanvyrde av tidlegare litteraturforskarar, har Bisgaard omsetjingsstudiar som teoretisk utgangspunkt og viser korleis det kan brukast på eldre tekstar. Han er oppteken av «værkers brug og funktion» (s. 169), og utan å kommentere det, følgjer han tilnærminga i den såkalla nyfilologien (jf. Nichols 1990, innleiing til eit temanummer om «The New Philology»), der kvart einskilt tekstvitne og funksjonen det hadde, er viktig.

ELISE KLEIVANE gjev ein ålmenn bakgrunn til bruk av Bibelen i vestkyrkja, som er eit relevant bakteppe for reformasjonstida, med konkrete døma frå høgmedialderen (ca. 1050–1350). Kapitlet fell såleis utanfor periodeavgrensinga i boktittelen. Kleivane viser korleis Bibelen vart formidla til folk på ulike vis, gjennom omsetjingar av (delar av) Bibelen til norrønt, og ikkje minst fortolkingar av innhaldet, munnleg i preiker – som var på morsmålet – og visuelt i kyrkjekunst. Den fremste omsetjinga

er *Stjórn*, som dekkjer dei historiske bøkene i Det gamle testamentet, men også i helgensoger finn ein utdrag frå Bibelen med forklaringar.

Det er ei viktig påminning at (delar av) Bibelen vart omsett til folkemål allereie før reformasjonen, også i Norden. Det same gjeld poenget om at Bibelen ikkje måtte tyde ‘ei samanhengande bok’, slik me tenkjer i dag. Men Kleivane peikar sjølv på at oppfatninga av Bibelen som ei eining vart sterkare frå 1200-talet (s. 198–199), dvs. fram mot reformasjonstida. Reformatorane utnytta trykkjekunsten effektivt til å spreie både propaganda mot pavekyrkja (jf. Laugeruds kapittel, s. 227) og oppbyggjelege religiøse tekstar, og når latin etter kvart gjekk ut av bruk i liturgien, kom folkemåla til å rå åleine i kyrkjerommet. Så jamvel om det fanst eldre omsetjingar av bibeltekstar til nordiske språk, styrkte reformasjonen folkemåla i religiøs språkbruk.

HENNING LAUGERUD kombinerer i kapittelet sitt kunsthistorie og religionshistorie på interessant vis og drøftar materielle og visuelle sider ved nokre bøker frå den første lutherske litteraturen på dansk ikring 1530 og framover. Bolken om Christiern Pedersson og omsetjinga (eller omarbeidinga) hans av Luthers *Passional* viser godt kontinuitet frå katolsk til reformert tid: personleg gjennom at Christiern vart lutheranar, og ikonografisk ved at biletutvalet skil seg frå Luthers og ligg tett opp til eldre, katolske bønnebøker. Pedersen argumenterte, dels uavhengig av Luther, for at bilete er viktige fordi dei vekker kjensler og gjer det lettare å forstå og hugse. Ein liknande tankegang hadde lang tradisjon, slik at reformasjonen ikkje var noko brot her (heller).

Vidare ser Laugerud på bibelutgåvene som fekk namn etter regjerande konge og var dominerte av store kongeportrett, som markerte at kongen no også var religiøs leiari. Biblane inkluderer tradisjonelle religiøse motiv, men også antikatolsk propaganda, til dømes ein margkommentar som identifiserer Dyret i Openberringa som paven (s. 227 f.). Også sjølve skrifta kunne få status som illustrasjon, til dømes på såkalla skriftaltertavler, der bileta er erstatta av tekst. Dette hadde Luther sjølv tilrådd.

BENTE LAVOLD skriv om (gjen)bruk av bilete i religiøse bøker i Danmark og Island, både motiv og dei fysiske biletblokkene til tresnitt. Kjeldematerialet er ein serie danske tresnitt laga til ei utgåve av Luthers *Passional* i 1573, som vart bruka att i ei islandsk omsetjing trykt i 1598. Fleire av bileta er laga etter førreformatoriske modellar og viser kontinuitet i biletbruken, slik også Laugerud peikar på. Nokre av motiva har truleg inspirert måleri på islandske altertavler, og dei fleste bileta vart bruka om att i ei bok trykt i 1695. Faktisk finst eitt bilete att i ei bønnebok trykt så seint som i 1771. Lavold kjem òg inn på dei fysiske sidene ved tresnitt og bokformat, og illustrasjonar viser korleis eit bilete som dekkjer heile sida i bønnebøker i oktavfor-

mat, kunne brukast omkransa av tekst i biblar i folioformat. Til dels blir kanskje opplysningane om fysiske mål meir detaljerte enn emnet krev.

Strukturen i dette kapittelet er litt springande. Til dømes er Luthers meiningar om biletbuk bruk nemnde fleire stader, delvis overlappande med Laugeruds diskusjon av det same. Her burde redaktørane (Lavold sjølv var ein av dei) ha samordna kapitla betre. Alle islandske namn er tilpassa norsk skriveskikk, jamvel islandske stadnamn, men dette er heilt umotivert. Språkrådet tilrår at islandske namn frå etter 1500 blir skrivne på islandsk.¹

Samla sett inneheld boka interessante kapittel som alle på ulike vis tek føre seg religiøs bokkultur. Avgrensinga til reformasjonstida i tittelen, enda ho er gjort så vid som 1400–1700, er derimot ikkje heilt treffande, for fleire av bidraga går ut over dette tidsspennet (Kleivane er knapt innanfor). Somme stader kunne litt strammare redigering vore på sin plass, men uansett er kvart einskilt kapittel godt på sitt vis. Ikkje minst er denne typen tverrfaglege publikasjonar viktige for å spreie kunnskap til forskarar på nærliggjande fagfelt. Dersom dét skal vera føremålet, må òg forfattarane skrive på ein tilgjengeleg måte, og det lukkast dei fleste godt med.

Eit overordna mål med boka er å vise korleis reformasjonen ikkje var eit eintydig tradisjonsbrot, men også fortsette eldre tradisjonar, og at brotet ikkje var så klårt som reformatorane sjølve framstilte det (Laugerud, s. 238). Dette synest eg lukkast, og noko ukjend fenomen er det eigentleg ikkje. Kor ofte har ikkje dei som oppfattar seg som den ny vin, vore opptekne av å understreke sjølve tradisjonsbrotet, medan historikarar i ettertid finn døme på kontinuitet?

Noko eg førebels ikkje har nemnt, men som tener boka til stor ære, er at ho er gjennomillustrert i fargar. I kapitla av Laugerud og særleg Lavold er bileta naudsynte for at diskusjonen skal bli meiningsfull, men også andre kapittel er illustrerte med (i all hovudsak) foto av boksider i verk som blir omtala. For ein bibliofil som denne lesaren bidreg bileta sterkt til leseledda.

Bibliografi

- BERG, Ivar. 2013. Eit seinmellomalderleg skrivemiljø: Nidaros erkesete 1458–1537. Ph.d.-avhandling, NTNU.
- BULL, Tove, Espen KARLSEN, Eli RAANES & Rolf THEIL. 2018. «Andre språk i Noreg.» I Brit Mæhlum (red.), *Praksis*, 417–532. Norsk språkhistorie, hovudred. Helge Sandøy & Agnete Nesse, band 2. Oslo: Novus.

¹ Språkrådet har retningslinjer for skrivemåten av historiske namn: https://www.sprakradet.no/sprakhjelp/Skriverad/navn-pa-steder-og-personer/Historiske_navn/Retningslinjer/.

- NICHOLS, Stephen G. 1990. «Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture». *Speculum* 65: 1–10.
- RIAN, Øystein. 2014. *Sensuren i Danmark-Norge. Vilkårene for offentlige ytringer 1536–1814*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.



Kurt Villads Jensen, Janus Møller-Jensen, Carsten Selch Jensen (eds.): *Fighting for the Faith – The Many Crusades*, Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et mediævalia/Centre for Medieval Studies, Stockholm University, 2018. 423 pp.

REVIEWED BY PÅL BERG SVENUNGSSEN
Department of Social Science, Western Norway University of Applied Sciences (Campus Sogndal)

The Crusades have been one of the most enduringly popular topics in medieval history among historians and a wider public alike, and crusade studies have reached an impressive critical mass over the last few decades. In the process, it has become one of the most cross-disciplinary fields within medieval history, encompassing a multitude of methodological and theoretical approaches. *Fighting for the Faith – The Many Crusades* aims to illustrate the variety in Crusade studies internationally. The initiative arose from general discussions about the Crusades among a group of Danish medievalist at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense, which led to further discussions at symposia and workshops around Europe and in the United States. In the “Introduction”, Kurt Villads Jensen and Carsten Selch Jensen state that the aim of the book is to discuss “some of the fundamental questions of current Crusade studies, including the reasons for undertaking crusades, against whom to crusade, and the periods during which it was possible to go on crusades – as well as what happened subsequently” (p. 9). The anthology consists of fifteen articles that cover a broad range of themes related to the Crusades and aspects of crusading. The contributions are almost exclusively limited to textual analyses, with the exception of Theresa M. Vann’s article on the role of images in the Hospitallers’ early book production.

In the first article, Thomas Hoffmann analyses medieval understandings of Muslims. Hoffmann warns that we should be wary of construing stereotypes as the critical factor in Christian-Muslim relations, and that Muslims could be understood within different categories and distinct types. Miika Tamminen also discusses images of Muslims in the thirteenth century, but from the perspective of pollution in the crusade propaganda of James of Vitry and Eudes of Châteauroux. Tammin shows how fear of pollution through accusations of idol-worshipping and sexual perversity was a part of crusade sermons to mobilize against Islam. Kurt Villads Jensen looks at the concept of change in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The First Crusade

and the conquest of Jerusalem marked a shift in the intellectual culture of Western Europe after 1100; history had moved into a new and better epoch. This saw a new interest in progress and change that in turn had huge implications for the Latin attitude towards all non-Christians, not only Muslims, but also Jews and Mongols.

In his article, Bjørn Bandlien also discusses different stereotypes of Muslims, but focuses on a specific geographical area, Norway and Iceland. Analysing a broad corpus of Norse texts, Bandlien finds that many of the same misinterpretations that had developed in European theology and literature were also present in Norway and Iceland by the turn of the thirteenth century. The various stereotypes of Muslims thus had an impact even in areas with no Muslim population and limited contact with the Islamic world. Jason T. Roche looks at Byzantine-Latin relations in the wake of the First Crusade. According to Roche, an important aspect in the Byzantine narratives regarding the Latin newcomers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is that they are refracted through a distorting classicizing lens; this saw the repeated use of classical Greek barbarian *topoi* in the descriptions of Latins. Christian Høgel continues along a Byzantine theme, in exploring the medieval understanding of Islam as a violent religion. Høgel looks at the problematic relationship between a polemical passage in the writings of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (r.1391–1425), and the (para-)phrasing of it in a speech by then Pope Benedict XVI in 2006.

Turning northwards again, Carsten Selch Jensen turns to the problematic issue of clerical violence in connection with crusading on the Baltic frontier. Through a close reading of the text of Henry of Livonia from the 1220s, Jensen not only explores the question of whether clerics personally fought and killed, but also how they acted as peace negotiators between the newly converted Christians and pagans. The posthumous article by Tore Nyberg also deals with the northern Crusades. Initially, Nyberg sketches the broader context of the late medieval crusades, before he turns to the relationship between the Kalmar Union and the Orthodox Russians in the late fifteenth century. Despite the Russians repeatedly being the target for crusades, when the Danish Union king Hans (1481-1513) faced opposition in Sweden, he deemed it advantageous to sign a treatise with the Muscovite prince against the Swedes. The Swedes in response procured a crusading bull against the Russians, and another against the Union king. However, the first was lost, and the second came too late to be of any use. The Hussite heretics were a headache for both the Pope and the Emperor, resulting in several failed crusades directed towards them in the course of the fifteenth century. But what of the Hussite theory of war? Pavel Soukup aims to address two issues. Firstly, how the Hussite critique of the crusade did not mean a total rejection

of the idea of crusading. Secondly, he also points out how the Hussites themselves developed their own concept of fighting for the faith.

Many of the articles in the second half of the book deal with the transition of crusading, as a part of contemporary European politics, to something of the past – the memorization of the crusades. Both Greg O'Malley and Norman Housley discuss different aspects of the crusading movement in the later Middle Ages and the crusades against the Turks. O'Malley's article focuses on Tudor England and the role of the crusades. O'Malley explores how the image of the 'Turk' came to represent both outer and inner enemies. While the outer Turk was primarily the Ottomans, the inner Turk was a more complex figure who could represent all those, whom from a Tudor perspective, created dissent within Christianity: at first France, but later also the Lutheran countries of the north such as Denmark. The multifaceted and changing identity of the 'Turk' in European propaganda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, has previously been discussed in studies by Norman Housley (Housley 2002: 131–159). However, in his present article, Housley attempts to understand the general change in conceptualization of crusading as a phenomenon. By comparing two examples, the efforts of Pope Pius II (1458–1464) to mobilize a crusade in the 1460s and the later history writing of the Anglican clergyman and Cambridge academic Thomas Fuller (1608–1661), Housley explores the transition of late medieval crusading – from the world of mobilization to the world of memory.

Despite increasingly becoming a thing of the past, Karen Skovgaard-Petersen's article on the Danish historian Anders Sørensen Vedel, demonstrates how crusading could still be a potential element in the politics of the late sixteenth century. Skovgaard-Petersen shows how Vedel appropriated the crusades to fit within a new Lutheran context. Following on the theme of Lutheranification of the Crusades, is Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński's analysis of the treaty of Kraków in 1525 (which includes the original Latin version as well as an English translation of the treaty). Following the conversion of the Teutonic Order's 37th Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg-Ansbach, to Lutheranism, the treaty resulted in the dismantlement of the Order's Prussian territories and Albert becoming the first hereditary Duke in Prussia. As already mentioned, in her article Theresa M. Vann looks at another Military Order, the Hospitallers. Vann analyses the Hospitaller's writings about the Ottoman Turk, including a discussion on the use of images in the order's early book production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Closing the anthology, Benjamin Weber focuses on the late medieval papacy and the role and place of Jerusalem in papal letters. Weber finds that papal letters largely confirm the view that Jerusalem

gradually lost its importance in crusading during the fifteenth century in connection with the Ottoman advance.

The anthology gives a very good overview of the variety within current Crusade studies internationally, despite the absence of some popular themes in recent crusade scholarship, such as liturgy, materiality or eschatology (cf. Gaposchkin 2017; Purkis 2018; Rubenstein 2019). The book sheds new light on key aspects of the idea of crusading, especially regarding representations of religious otherness, while several articles also discuss the memorization of the Crusades, a popular theme in recent scholarship (Cassidy Welch 2017; Paul & Yeager 2012). The main weakness of the anthology is the vague title. The subheading of the book – *The Many Crusades* – speaks little of the content, and while several of the articles deal with different crusading venues, such as the Holy Land, the Baltic or against groups within Europe, other major arenas, most conspicuously Iberia, are not mentioned. In general, the anthology focuses on the changing idea of the Crusades and the phenomenon's transition from practice into memory. Hence, a title that better reflected this would be more fulfilling. Another minor issue is the absence a thematic grouping of the articles, which would have made the correlations between them more apparent. At any rate, these are minor criticisms. *Fighting for the Faith – The Many Crusades* is a valuable contribution to the field of crusade studies and medieval scholarship. Hopefully, it will lead to further research on the role of the Crusades in a Scandinavian as well as a wider European context.

Bibliography

- CASSIDY-WELCH, Megan (ed.). 2017. *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- GAPOSCHKIN, M. Cecilia. 2017. *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the making of Crusade Ideology*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- HOUSLEY, Norman. 2002. *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- PURKIS, William J. (ed.). 2018. *Material Religion in the Crusading World*. Special issue of *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 14:4.
- PAUL, Nicholas & Suzanne YEAGER (eds.). 2012. *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image and Reality*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- RUBENSTEIN, Jay. 2019. *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



Eivor Andersen Oftestad: *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem* (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion). Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019. XVI, 257 pp.

REVIEWED BY STEPHAN BERGEHAMMAR
Lund University

An obscure twelfth-century document claiming that the main altar of the Lateran basilica in Rome has the ancient Ark of the Covenant hidden within – does that not sound more like the plot of a Hollywood spectacular than the topic of a scholarly treatise? Yet Eivor Andersen Oftestad shows how much we can learn about the hearts and minds of twelfth-century people (especially clerics) if we enter deeply into the background and ramifications of this claim, connected as it is with Jerusalem.

Because of its role in salvation history, the city of Jerusalem with its Temple Mount has always exercised a potent influence on Christian liturgy and imagination. In the fourth century, liturgical practices in Jerusalem quickly spread to the rest of the Church and still influence how Holy Week and Easter are celebrated. The Council of Chalcedon (451) made the bishop of Jerusalem a patriarch, and the church on Mount Zion came in time to be called *mater omnium ecclesiarum*. However, the claims of the earthly Jerusalem have also constantly been warded off in favour of “the Jerusalem above, our mother” (Gal. 4:26). Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–c. 395) denounced Jerusalem pilgrimage as useless if not downright dangerous, and medieval exegesis was far more interested in the spiritual significance of the Temple and its furnishings than in the historical objects. But in the long period which we call the Middle Ages it is of course possible to discern fluctuations and changes of emphasis.

The starting point of Oftestad’s investigation is a text of about seven printed pages called *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*. It is found in several versions in the Lateran archives as well as in thirteen manuscripts from monasteries in northern France and Belgium. After briefly describing the history of the Lateran, it goes on to enumerate altars and relics in the papal oratory of San Lorenzo and in the basilica San Giovanni itself. Some brief notes follow on the liturgy of these two churches and the clergy that performs it, after which more altars and relics as well as a couple of inscriptions are described. (It should be noted that this is the arrangement of the major group of French/Belgian manuscripts; the Lateran manuscripts contain versions with

other arrangements and more material, in particular a revised version by John the Deacon, composed between 1159 and 1181). Now, it is the merit of this little text that it is the oldest preserved witness to the claim that the main altar of San Giovanni housed the Ark of the Covenant, which in addition contained the rods of Moses and Aaron, the menorah from the tabernacle and the tablets of the Law. After a fire in 1308, the Ark and the two rods were actually placed on display outside the altar, and they remained on display until 1745, when Pope Benedict XIV ordered them to be removed – whether because he doubted their authenticity or because he did not want them to be venerated by Jews (which in fact happened) we do not know. Where they were moved to, no one seems to know, so there is indeed a mystery here for movie makers to cash in on.

The scholarly question posed by Oftestad is, however, different. What did this claim to possess the Ark of the Covenant mean? Her answer, presented already on page 1, is that “the Ark was presented as a proof that San Giovanni was ‘the temple of the New Covenant’ and the successor to the temple of Jerusalem”. This quick answer fortunately does not remove any of the excitement of what follows, because in order to substantiate it, Oftestad takes us on a quite breathtaking tour of holy places and colourful texts. The first two chapters lay the groundwork by presenting previous research on the *Descriptio* and a few theoretical concepts to be used in the study, after which the content of the *Descriptio* is summarized. Chapter three sets the centre stage, which is Rome: it presents the main Lateran manuscript, the history of the Lateran Chapter and conflicts and claims concerning papal primacy in the twelfth century.

The following two chapters broaden the stage: chapter four starts with the French/Belgian manuscripts, shows that the *Descriptio* in them appears together with several texts about Jerusalem, and argues that this is due to the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. Moreover, Oftestad analyzes texts on the Temple by (primarily) eleventh-century authors and contrasts them with texts from the early twelfth century. She is able to show that while before 1099 symbolic interpretations dominate, after that year the earthly city becomes a goal in itself. Its capture is now seen by some as a fulfilment of prophecy, and an anonymous Norman author even claims that it is superior in dignity and authority to Rome. It becomes possible to speak of the earthly city of Jerusalem as a figure of the heavenly city rather than as a symbol of the Church, which was the traditional view.

Chapter five, “In the Jerusalem Context”, delves even more deeply into this theme by exploring a variety of sources from and about Jerusalem at the beginning of the twelfth century. An early fascination with the Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock gives way after a couple of decades to an increasing emphasis on sites

connected with the life of Christ, but not without setting its stamp on ways of talking about remnants of the Temple and its furnishings, which tend to be invested with spiritual significance of a more literal kind than before 1099. A nice touch in this chapter is that it also takes into consideration the fact that the canons of the *Templum Domini* (i.e. the Dome of the Rock) and of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as well as of San Giovanni in Rome were simultaneously affected by the canonical reform movement.

Chapter six investigates how the canons of San Giovanni used Old Testament texts about priests and temple when framing their own identity. Basing herself primarily on the papal liturgy for Maundy Thursday and the Rule of Aachen, Oftestad concludes that the pope was seen to fulfil the role of the high priest in the temple while the canons saw themselves as the wider circle of Levites. The latter part of the chapter moves on to the question of how the presence of God, so significant in Old Testament texts about tabernacle and temple, was envisaged at the Lateran. Here, Oftestad is able to use liturgical texts for the dedication feast (celebrated on 9 November in San Giovanni), which intriguingly include texts for another, quite different feast called *Passio Ymaginis Domini*, celebrated on the same day. She argues that both sets of texts, in different ways, strongly stress the idea of Christ's presence.

The seventh and final chapter engages with yet two more sources: the *Historia Imaginis Salvatoris* by Nicolaus Maniacutius, a learned canon of the Lateran palace active around the middle of the twelfth century, and John the Deacon's version of the *Descriptio*. For Maniacutius, objects from the temple do not establish continuity between temple and Lateran but rather the opposite; as spoils they manifest God's vengeance on Jerusalem because of the crucifixion. God's presence is instead mediated by the sacred image of Christ in the papal oratory of San Lorenzo, which was said to have been painted by St. Luke and completed by angels. John the Deacon's text on the other hand, offered as a gift to Pope Alexander III, is concerned with proving that San Giovanni truly owns the authentic relics of the Temple. His emphasis is on continuity. But for both authors, the temple objects show that the Church is the true heir to and fulfilment of the Old Covenant. In this chapter, a subsidiary theme which runs right through the whole book culminates; both the Temple relics and the Old Testament imagery are vigorously used in the twelfth century to undergird and extol papal supremacy.

An epilogue interestingly notes that similar strategies of interpretation were used during the Renaissance in order to promote the building of new St. Peter's and again to enhance the authority of the pope. Then follow useful appendices, the first describing manuscripts of the *Descriptio*, the second setting forth the different ver-

sions of that text and the third providing an edition of it from the Vatican manuscript Reg. lat. 712 with an English translation.

As can be inferred from the above, this is a learned and thorough study. Oftestad employs a wide range of both primary and secondary sources. Among them are a couple of unpublished Latin texts of which she provides generous excerpts in the footnotes, always with a competent English translation. Her style is pleasant and the main body of text has few if any typographical errors (there are occasional typos in the footnotes). As for the content, I particularly appreciated the variegated nature of the texts studied and that they are not squeezed into a single mould. One gets a clear sense that the authors had different backgrounds and outlooks and that opinions changed over time. Oftestad respects her source material and handles both historical and theological problems with competence.

I have a slight quibble with her focus on 'legitimization'. Although she writes in the Introduction that, inspired by Aleida Assmann, she will use this word to designate the medieval understanding of tradition as a continued "presence of the past", I find that in practice it tends to mean defending the status of oneself and one's church. In other words, we remain in the paradigm of Marx and Weber which asserts that the struggle for power is the motor of history. Oftestad shows very deftly that there *were* conflicts and differences between different parties, but that is not the only reason why people say and do things. I wish she had paid a little more attention to the beautiful texts by Peter Damian (c. 988–1072) which she quotes here and there. An example: when Peter extolls the Lateran as the Church of Churches and Holy of Holies, he immediately adds that it is joined to the other churches with a mystic bond; they are like the extended arms of divine mercy which include the whole world in the embrace of the universal Church (PL 144, col. 256, the continuation of the passage quoted on p. 90, note 33). Love, in other words, is a historical force too.

I have some quibbles also with the edition in Appendix 3. The editorial principles stated on p. 216 are vague and incomplete. What do different kinds of brackets in the text mean and how are errors in the manuscript handled? As it turns out, the transcript of the *Descriptio* contains about a dozen obvious errors, where some seem to be typos while others probably stem from the manuscript. But how can we know? A case in point is the hexameter verses over the entrance to San Giovanni, which in Oftestad's transcript read:

*Sergius i[m]peras pius papa hanc qui cepit ab imis
Tercius explevit totam quam conspicis aulam.*

The first line is not even a hexameter as it stands, nor does it make sense, and a quick internet search shows that the second word should be *ipse*, not *imperas*. If this is a mistake in the manuscript, it is a mistake such as an editor has a duty to point out and correct, at least in a footnote. This said, I must add that the edition is very useful and that the competent translation which follows it will be quite sufficient for the purposes of most readers.

But what about the central hypothesis of the book, that San Giovanni was seen by some, at least for a time, as the “temple of the New Covenant”, a successor to the temple of Jerusalem? Does that hold? Well, no. For two simple reasons, I remain unconvinced. The first is that the main altar of San Giovanni did not, according to the *Descriptio*, contain only the Ark and other objects from the Temple, but also numerous wonderful relics associated with Christ, including the seamless tunic which the Virgin Mary had made for him and some of the blood and water from the wound in his side, as well as relics of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. Nothing in the text suggests that the Temple relics had a significance which the other relics did not have.

The second reason why I remain unconvinced is that all the Temple symbolism associated with San Giovanni in various texts (and Oftestad has found a lot) could just as well be applied to any parish church – and has been so applied, e.g. in rites for the dedication of a church and in sermons for the anniversary of dedication. And as for physical Temple symbolism, the main altar of the Cathedral of Lund also received many fine Jerusalem relics at its consecration in 1145 and it stood (and stands) above a crypt decorated in imitation of the Jerusalem temple. The Lateran had more fancy stuff, it is true, but it is a question of degree, not of kind.

The remarkable collection of relics in San Giovanni and the very high-strung things said about its liturgy and clergy in some sources are, in my opinion, a way of emphasizing its dignity, not an attempt to make it a literal successor of the Jerusalem temple. If the latter were true, it would be quite sensational, and Oftestad knows it. She knows what “judaizing” means in medieval sources. She knows that in medieval exegesis the true successor of the Jerusalem temple is, first and foremost, Christ himself, in whom the Divine Presence resides in its fullness; secondly the Church made of living stones, Christ’s mystical body; and thirdly the individual Christian as a member of the Church. She also knows, I’m sure, that when Temple symbolism has been introduced in church buildings and in ritual – which has happened throughout history but especially in the Middle Ages – the purpose has not been to claim a continued presence and validity of the old cult, but to remind people of the spiritual realities which the old cult signified. She knows, but wants to make the Lateran a glaring ex-

ception, an instance of an excessive theological literalism that held sway for a time in the wake of the First Crusade. An increased literalism at this time she does demonstrate, but not to the extent that people earnestly thought of the Lateran as an earthly successor to the temple of Jerusalem.

Does that matter? Not at all. Oftestad's hypothesis has inspired her to explore a wonderful world of events and ideas and to write a book full of valuable and nuanced insights. Even those who cannot follow her the whole way will benefit from sharing part of the journey with her.