

OSVALDS SAGA KONUNGS

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Until Agnete Loth edited the entire Stockholm codex nr. 3 in fol. under the title Reykjahólabók only one of its texts was already known. This was Osvalds saga,¹ which had been edited by Jón Sigurðsson and published in 1854 together with a Danish translation.² With one exception, the saga did not receive much response from those interested in Icelandic literature, but it appeared repeatedly in the stemmas proposed by Germanists for the so-called Spielmannsepos Oswald, and was seriously considered by those intent on reconstructing the medieval German verse epic and tracing its reception.

In a monograph Anton Edzardi published in 1876,³ he proposed the thesis that Osvalds saga is a translation of the High German prose legend of St. Oswald (pp. 3-4).⁴ This legend was included in the monumental prose legendary known as Der Heiligen Leben or Passional, which was composed around the turn of the fourteenth century.⁵ The German legendary was unusually popular and is transmitted in 197 manuscripts and 41 imprints; of the latter 33 imprints are High German and 8 Low German (Williams-Krapp, p. 188). Despite his conviction that Osvalds saga was translated from the German legend, Edzardi noted that many deviations and apparent interpolations in the saga coincide with text known from German redactions of the tale that are older than the widely disseminated legend (pp. 5-8). He therefore wondered whether the source of the saga was not an older, longer form of the legend (p. 5). On the basis of textual correspondences between the saga and the German verse epic,⁶ he concluded "daß die hauptquelle des sagaschreibers eine ältere vollständigere recension der legende war" (p. 8; emphasis is Edzardi's).

In the essay "Om Osvalds saga," published in 1880, Oskar Klockhoff continued the discussion initiated by Edzardi but came to the conclusion "att den isländska Osvaldssagan icke haft någon annan källa än det lågtyska passionalet, och att afvikelserna därifrån äro öfversättarens egna, godtyckliga tillägg."⁷ Klockhoff thus denied the possibility of a source different from that found in the German legendary and furthermore identified the source as being the Low German--not the High German--compilation.

At this point the discussion about Osvalds saga came to an end and was not revived, albeit indirectly, until Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen published their important studies of Reykjahólabók three decades ago.⁸ They too posited the Low German Passionael as the source of all but one of the legends (St. Anne) in Reykjahólabók; they too explained discrepancies between the Low German and Icelandic texts as the work of the translator. Although Agnete Loth was more skeptical in the introduction to her edition of Reykjahólabók (1969) than her colleagues, she also thought the Passionael the most likely main source (p. xxxvi). Nonetheless, because of the many discrepancies between the Icelandic and Low German versions, she did not discount the possibility that additional sources of Reykjahólabók might be found in manuscripts.

At a previous Saga Conference (Helsingør 1985) I was able to demonstrate that the deviations in Gregorius saga biskups vis-à-vis the Passionael version are not to be ascribed to the translator but rather to a second source available to him that corresponded in matter, albeit not in style, to an exemplum found in a 1492 Lübeck imprint of the Plenarium.⁹ At least in the case of Gregorius saga biskups,

the ultimate source of which is Hartmann von Aue's Gregorius, it cannot be disputed that additional matter and other divergences derive from the translator's sources and are not a case of creative writing on his part.

To date no linguistic or literary studies of Reykjahólabók exist, but a comparative analysis of the Icelandic legendary and the Low German Passionael have convinced me that substantial additions in Reykjahólabók vis-à-vis the Low German imprints are not the work of the translator but are renderings of passages in deviating German, presumably Low German versions of the legends. Such is the case in Osvalds saga. In effect, my thesis is the same as Edzardi's, except that I posit the source to be a Low German--rather than a High German--work, one that was considerably longer than the redaction known from the Passionael.

What neither Edzardi and Klockhoff nor Widding and Bekker-Nielsen took into account is the origin of the Passionael itself, which is a Low German translation of a High German work produced around the turn of the fourteenth century, the oldest imprint of which is that of Augsburg 1471.¹⁰ (The oldest imprint of the Low German Passionael was published by Lucas Brandis around 1478 in Lübeck [Williams-Krapp, p. 235].) This large Middle High German prose legendary, known as Der Heiligen Leben or Passional derives from sources that are quantitatively, qualitatively, and stylistically quite different from it. One of its sources was a Middle High German verse legendary which was also called Passional;¹¹ thus, it is necessary to distinguish between the Vers-Passional and the Prosa-Passional. In addition, the author/compiler of the Prosa-Passional knew such works as Hartmann von Aue's Gregorius and Reinbot von Durne's Georg. Not infrequently the very passages that appear to be interpolated in Reykjahólabók vis-à-vis the Low German prose Passionael actually correspond to text found in one or the other source of the High German work from which the Low German legendary was translated. This is also true for Osvalds saga.

One of the episodes adduced by Edzardi for arguing that the Icelandic Osvald legend actually represents an older and longer version of the legend than that found in the Passionael is the council scene, in which Osvald's men urge him to marry (Edzardi, pp. 5-6). Neither the expansiveness of the scene in the saga nor its wealth of detail finds correspondence in the Passionael redaction; instead, as Edzardi pointed out, there are parallels to the saga in the shorter German verse Oswald.¹² Klockhoff dismissed the evidence as unconvincing and considered the correspondences the result of chance. He proposed instead that the expanded episode in Osvalds saga actually was inspired by and derives from the preceding legend in Reykjahólabók, namely that of Heinrich and Kunegunde (pp. 13-16).

Osvalds saga and Hendriks saga are related by virtue of the fact that in both legends a king's courtiers wish to convince their lord to marry; in both sagas the king is unwilling to do so initially, but gives in eventually. Klockhoff juxtaposed the Icelandic and Low German texts of the episode in the legend of Heinrich and Kunegunde to show their similarities; thereafter he juxtaposed the episode in Hendriks saga with the corresponding text in Osvalds saga.

Klockhoff made two methodological errors: 1) He did not present the entire Icelandic text of the Heinrich legend opposite the Low German text. What was superfluous in Hendriks saga and did not correspond to the Passionael he simply left out, but indicated its omission by dashes. 2) Klockhoff assumed a priori that Hendriks saga was translated from the Passionael's Van Keyser Hindrick, and any additional text in the saga was to be attributed to the translator. Then, on the basis of the similarity of the episodes in the Icelandic legends of Heinrich and Oswald, Klockhoff further assumed that additional text in Osvalds saga, that is, additional vis-

à-vis the Passionael version, had to be the translator's work, since the episode resembles that in Hendriks saga. The argument thus assumed something that had not yet been established, that is, that additional text in Hendriks saga is the translator's interpolation. This is not the case, as I hope to show. Furthermore, Klockhoff failed to analyze the structure and content of the passages in question; thus he did not realize that the narrative mode of the Low German episodes is quite distinct from that in the corresponding Icelandic episodes. The redactions of the Heinrich legend in the Passionael and in Reykjahólabók belong to different types of narrative.

If one compares not only Osvalds saga and Hendriks saga but also most of the other Icelandic legends with the Low German versions, one is struck by the detailed and dramatic narration in the former but an abrupt, laconic account eschewing descriptive detail and dialogue in the latter. The legends in the Passionael are flat and one-dimensional, whereas the Icelandic versions are plastic and multi-dimensional. The interaction of characters in the Oswald and Heinrich legends in the Passionael is projected onto a single plane consisting of one scene, but the council episodes in both Osvalds saga and Hendriks saga are realized as multi-scene episodes.

In the Low German legend Van sunte Oswaldo deme konninghe the council episode--with the exception of a single move in space to conclude the scene--consists of a tableau. There is no direct confrontation between Oswald and his counsellors; the Passionael simply reports that when the king was at the height of his splendor,

do meneden de heren he scolde ene iuncfrouwe nemen. wente storue he ane erue. so scolde eyn ander syn gued vnde syn rike besitte. deme yd nee sure were gheworden. Do quaz alzo drade eyn old man van deme wyllen godes. . . . Den entfenk sunte Oswaldus ghans guetliken vnde brochte em in syn pallas. (Cii, d)¹³

In the text above I have omitted the description of the old man. Of interest to us is not the physical appearance of the prophet, for the Icelandic text here corresponds to the Low German, but rather the one sentence conveying the retainers' concerns ("do meneden . . . gheworden"). In the saga this one sentence is represented by 33 lines in print (73:11-74:7).

The expansion is to be attributed to the extensive dialogue that takes place between the king and his courtiers. Furthermore, the episode is multi-dimensional, giving full consideration to both time and space. It consists of several scenes requiring the passage of time and a change of place, and is constructed as follows:

1. the courtiers decide that they should seek out the king to advise him to marry, in order to ensure heirs for the realm
2. some days pass
3. the lords reconvene and seek out King Osvaldr and ask for permission to address their concerns to him
4. one of the councillors speaks on behalf of the group: he tells King Osvaldr that only one thing is wanting in him as king
5. Osvaldr inquires what that might be and says he will accede to their wishes if at all possible
6. the courtiers thank him and say he needs a queen to rule with him; they do not wish to submit to a lord who has not acquired the kingdom through rightful succession; furthermore, it is not proper that others should destroy the realm he has built up
7. the king replies that he will consider their request and give them an answer
8. he tells them that he had actually wished to abstain from marriage and thus preserve his chastity

9. the lords intend to depart

10. there is a knock on the door and a visitor says he has a matter to bring before the king

11. the king tells the porter to open the door, but his courtiers to remain behind in order to hear what is to transpire.

The creator of the above thought in terms of time and space: he permitted the characters to interact, and conceived of the episode in dramatic terms: King Oswald is center stage; the other characters are presented in relation to him and must enter and leave his presence. Thus, when a new character, the visitor, enters the scene, the courtiers are not forgotten, but asked by the king to remain. The process leading up to the king's ultimate decision to take a wife evolves over the course of several days. The scene between the king and the stranger, who identifies himself as a prophet, is similarly depicted through dialogue.

Klockhoff correctly observed the parallels between the council scenes in Oswalds saga and Hendriks saga. The common denominator is the courtiers' observation that their lord lacks a wife, their recommendation that he marry to obtain heirs, and the protagonist's reply that he had not intended to do so. The difference between the episode in Van Keyser Hindrick and Hendriks saga is the same as that between the Low German and Icelandic redactions of the Oswald legend: a flat, one-dimensional account--albeit with some dialogue--in Keyser Hindrick on the one hand, but on the other hand a multi-scene depiction in Hendriks saga which traverses time and space. The council scene is reported as follows in the Low German redaction:

vnde beden den keiser dat he ene vrouwen neme. dar vmme leghen se em an. Dat was em swar. wente he hadde vnser heren Jhesum cristuz vterkoren to eneme eruen. dat wisten se nicht. vnde spreken ouer to deme keyser. Dat enbethemet deme ryke nicht. vnde is nycht wontlyk dat gy dat allene hebben. vnde do gy des nicht. so mote gy vnser vnwillen hebben Do trostede sik de keyser godes. deme he syne kusckheyt hadde gelauet beth in syneme doet vnde sprak to den heren. dat se em gheuen ene vrouwen. de em vnde deme ryke bequeme were. Do worden de heren alle vro. (lviii, c)

Although the above is more verbose than the corresponding episode in the Low German Oswald redaction and includes some dialogue, a comparison of this council scene with that in Hendriks saga shows that a similar disparity obtains as between the Low German and Icelandic redactions of Oswald.

In the saga the above scene is expanded into an episode consisting of three scenes, the account of which takes up 80 lines in print. In scene 1 the lords approach Hendrikr with their request and he asks for time to consider their proposal. He does so in scene 2: in a monologue that may be characterized as "erlebte Rede" Hendrikr recalls his vow of chastity and expresses the fear that God will be angry if he reneges on his promise. If he remains heirless, however, the emperor reasons, the realm will be rent asunder upon his death. In the end, Hendrikr concludes that two, that is, husband and wife, can vow chastity together--this is anticipatory of what is to transpire--and he decides to place his fate in the hands of God. When in scene 3 his lords once again approach Hendrikr, he tells them that he has considered their proposal, but does not think he can give them the answer they want since he has vowed chastity. Thereupon, one of the courtiers repeats at length the political arguments for choosing marriage, and once these have been put forth the emperor acquiesces and tells his lords to find him a wife befitting his estate and the welfare of the empire.

The construction of the multi-scene council episodes in Hendriks saga and Oswalds saga is similar as is the protagonist's objection to marriage. What

distinguishes the two episodes is the fact that a vow of chastity is already part of the narrative in the Low German Keyser Hindrick but it is not in the Low German Sunte Oswaldus. Indeed, chastity plays a major role in the legend of Heinrich and Kunegunde and this is the determinant of plot in the first part of the legend, which deals with the life of the couple. As the result of a dream vision, Heinrich has vowed to live chastely until his death; for this reason he objects to marriage. The woman chosen for him has made a similar vow, however, and thus Kunegunde's vow constitutes another obstacle to Heinrich's marriage. The conflict is not resolved until their wedding night. The other major conflict related in the second part of the legend also centers on chastity, for Kunegunde is falsely accused of a sexual liaison with a strange knight and must submit to an ordeal by fire.

The council scenes in the Icelandic legends are similar. The accounts consisting of a single scene in the Low German versions contrast with the multi-scene episodes in the Icelandic legendary, which contain extended dialogue and in the case of Hendriks saga also interior monologue. The episode in Osvalds saga is further distinguished by the apparent interpolation of a new motif, that is, chastity. In the Passionael redaction Oswald raises no objection to marriage. Thus, Klockhoff could actually have used this motif too for arguing the influence of Hendriks saga on Osvalds saga. One can counter such a thesis, however, by arguing that if the translator borrowed the chastity motif from Hendriks saga for the king, he might also have borrowed the second chastity motif for the heathen princess he is to woo. This did not happen, however, for the simple reason that the expanded council episode in Osvalds saga was not patterned by the translator after Hendriks saga but undoubtedly derives from an unknown Low German source, as does the expanded episode in Hendriks saga.

Recall that the legends in the Passionael are based on older German sources. For Keyser Hindrick the translator must have used a Low German redaction containing a fuller text than the Passionael, one which resembled in a number of respects the oldest German attestation of the legend, namely Ebernard von Erfurt's Middle High German verse legend, dating from the early thirteenth century.¹⁴ The relationship of the saga to a redaction closer to the old verse legend is established not only by the council episode but also by the later ordeal episode. In both episodes it can be shown that text in the saga additional to that found in the Passionael, and which appears to have been added by the translator, corresponds in fact to passages in Ebernard's verse legend. The similarity of wording is so striking that chance coincidence must be excluded. The Middle High German verse legend thus buttresses our argument that Hendriks saga derives from a Low German legend that was longer than the version found in the Passionael.

I submit that Edzardi was right in positing as source for Osvalds saga a German narrative that was longer and in many respects different from the one found in the Passionael. In one legend after another in Reykjahólabók it can be shown that what might be interpreted as the translator's interpolations and changes--if one compares the Icelandic with the Low German versions of the Passionael--are actually translations of matter found in what presumably were texts similar to the sources of the laconic redactions in the Low German legendary. The evidence suggests that the translator of Reykjahólabók worked for the most part from Low German redactions considerably longer than those of the Passionael. The only discrepancies in Reykjahólabók that are undoubtedly the translator's work are in the realm of stylistic amplification; the work abounds with synonymous collocations. The source of Osvalds saga was, like its Icelandic translation, a work exhibiting characteristics of the long narrative form and this is in contrast to the short form of

the legend in the Passionael. If one compares the style and content of Oswalds saga with that of Van Sinte Oswald, one is forced to conclude that the former exhibits the leisurely pace associated with the novellistic form, whereas the latter is stripped of retarding elements and speaks in the staccato voice of the exemplum and legend.

For the literary historian, Oswalds saga is one of the most fascinating texts in Stockholm 3, since it is a combination secular romance and sacred legend,¹⁵ the end product of a transmission and evolution that started in the eighth century in the British Isles with a historical figure and a developing cult, literarily attested in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Through the Historia regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth the Northumbrian king entered Scandinavian literature in ch. 49 of Breta sögur, a translation of Geoffrey's Historia, where we read a short account of Oswald's life and death.¹⁶ He was known as a man of peace and generosity to the poor. At the age of 38 he was killed in battle by the heathen King Penda. Breta sögur--but not its source, Geoffrey's Historia--also recounts the first miracle attributed to Oswald: after the battle in which Oswald is killed, an old man, whose arm has been wounded, dips it into Oswald's blood and he is healed. The narrator comments: "margar iartegnir ok storar garði gvo fyri hans verðleika þo at þær se eigi hér ritabár" (299:9-10). The author of Breta sögur, like other learned folk, presumably knew quite a few stories of miracles attributed to St. Oswald through Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica--in any case, a variant of the miracle of the healed arm is known from Bede. After the appearance of the saint in Breta sögur there is a hiatus of nearly three centuries before a full account of Oswald's life is written down in Icelandic.

In the German-speaking realm the hagiographic prose chronicle, as known from Bede, underwent a transformation. Georg Baesecke expresses the evolution in the formula "Geschichte + Legende + Brautfahrttypus" (Der Münchener Oswald, p. 309). The combination of these three different literary types generated a hagiographic bridal-quest romance in the twelfth century, and this romance, albeit in prose, is what the Icelandic translator put down for posterity in Reykjahólabók. According to Germanists, Oswalds saga belongs to the third of the four major redactions of the legend/romance: 1) Münchener Oswald; 2) Wiener Oswald; 3) Oswald-Prosa (the redaction in the Passionael); 4) Oswald-Prosa B (a manuscript from ca. 1500).¹⁷ The traditional classification of Oswalds saga with the redaction in the Passionael rests on the similarity of plot and names, as well as the pronounced hagiographic features of both redactions; it is not based, however, on a shared narrative art. A close comparison of the two works shows that Oswalds saga cannot derive from the Passionael redaction, although it may derive from the same or similar source as that used by the author of the legend in the Passionael.

In respect to matter, the German Oswald texts represent both the romance and hagiographic traditions, the former expressed in the longer verse epic, the latter primarily, but not exclusively, in the shorter prose narrative. There are two exceptional versions in the hagiographic branch, namely the Wiener Oswald and Oswalds saga. The former is a 14th-century verse narrative that commences with an exhortation to listen to the tale "von sinte Oswalden leben" (v. 4) and concludes with a similar exhortation to invoke "sinte Oswalden" to aid us in bettering our life so as to join him eventually in heaven (vv. 1456-65). In this late medieval redaction of Oswald, the narrative that originated in the German literary tradition as a bridal-quest romance, took on hagiographic features; it became "ein ganz überwiegend geistlich-legendarisches Werk."¹⁸ Although Oswalds saga and the Wiener Oswald represent two different branches--as evidenced, for example, by the

names Aron and Spange in the German but Gaudon and Pia in the Icelandic redaction--the two texts nonetheless share some features, thereby suggesting that some of the apparent "innovations" in Oswalds saga, that is, vis-à-vis the Passionael, actually derive from its German source.

An important correspondence between the two works occurs in the council scene. In the saga Osvaldr tells his retainers that he has not intended to marry because he desires to live a life of chastity (74:2-3). Although this detail corresponds to a similar wish expressed in the council scene in Hendriks saga, it is a blind motif in Oswalds saga, which suggests to me that it was not interpolated by the translator but simply transmitted from his source. In the Wiener Oswald the same motif occurs. Although Oswald inquires of the pilgrim whether he knows of a maiden he might marry, there is a stipulation: she has to be someone,

da her mit bliben mochte
kusche biz an sin ende
ane alle missewende. (56-58)

And the same concern recurs:

kennst du in dinen sinnen
irne eine kuniginne,
die mir zum wibe tochte
und kusche mit mir leben mochte? (83-86)

The chastity motif recurs throughout the 14th-century Wiener Oswald,¹⁹ which has a pronounced hagiographic cast (Oswald is repeatedly referred to as "sinte Oswald"). This verse narrative thus attests the existence of the chastity motif in at least one redaction of the Oswald legend in the German realm. It therefore seems plausible to posit as source for the saga a narrative related to the Passionael redaction, but one that had also contained the chastity motif. Indeed, a hint of this motif is already found in the longest non-hagiographic German redaction, the Münchener Oswald, where the protagonist asks God for advice concerning marriage and declares himself willing to marry, "möcht ez nür an sund gesein" (v. 40). Although Baesecke thought the prayer (vv. 35-42) was not part of the archetype (pp. 215, 245), it nonetheless suggests how a literary tradition of an unwilling Oswald who wished to preserve his virginity could have evolved.²⁰ Even the Passionael redaction refers to the chastity motif as an integral part of one branch of the Oswald legend, for at the end of Van sunte Oswaldo deme konninghe we read that some versions of his life recount that Oswald had never known woman and had remained a virgin all his life (Passionael, Ciiiii, b).

There is another deviation from the Passionael in Oswalds saga, where the latter text concurs, however, with that of the Wiener Oswald. When the princess wants to join Osvaldr and discovers that the gates are locked, she turns to prayer. In the Passionael redaction she implores Mary, the Queen of heaven, to help her (Ciiiii, a), but in the saga she turns to the "gvd allra gvda sem kristner trva æ" (85:2), which makes better narrative sense, since she has not yet been converted. The Wiener Oswald also transmits calling on God rather than Mary, but in a somewhat more convincing albeit convoluted manner. The heathen princess herself does not pray but instead asks the proxy wooer, that is, the raven, to implore its master to seek help from His God (1095-96), and this is what Oswald does: he falls on his knees and calls on God--not Mary (1105-1121).

The discrepancies between the saga and the Passionael redaction are paradigmatic for what happens throughout Reykjahólabók and speak for sources that consistently make better narrative sense than the abrupt, paratactic legends of the Passionael. Time and again, the Low German versions lack what might be considered a reasonable development of plot: motivation is wanting, questions are asked but not

answered; individuals are privy to information they could not possess; inconsistencies occur. A comparison of the Low German legends with the sagas and with some older German sources shows on the one hand that the weaknesses in the Low German redactions are the result of an at times thoughtless reduction of text, and indicates on the other hand that the saga derives from longer redactions than those of the Passionael.

That the saga represents the long narrative form but the Passionael redaction the short form of the exemplum and legend can be seen in the following comparison. When Oswald arrives in the heathen kingdom, the Passionael reports: "Dat sach tohant eyn heydensch man. vnde sede dat deme konninghe" (Ciii, d). The corresponding passage in the saga contains more detail:

Petta fieck at sjæ einn heidinge sem var æ borginne og hliop sem hann matte jnn fyrer konginn og seiger honvm at fiolde skipa hafe lagt jnn fyrer borgina og reistv þegar sin thioð er þeir qvomv æ land. (81:24 ff.)

Although the Münchener Oswald represents a different branch, the correspondence in verbosity and wording with the saga is striking:

daz erhörte des küniges wahtaere,
ez dühten in wunderliche maere.
nû lief er alsô drâte
hin vür sînes hêrren kemenâte,
deme sagete er dô diu maere,
daz vür die burc komen waere
manic werder kristenmann

.....
ez sint vremede geste
komen vür die veste (2139-50)

Although one might be inclined to consider the above concurrence of the Icelandic "og hliop sem hann matte jnn fyrer konginn" with the German "nû lief er alsô drâte / hin vür sînes hêrren kemenâte" to be coincidence, the repeated agreement of the Icelandic text--where one might interpret it to be the result of greater verbosity--with the Wiener Oswald strongly suggests that the source of Oswalds saga was not only longer than the text of the Passionael but at times also diverged significantly from it.

The passages adduced above to show that the source of Oswalds saga was not the 1492 imprint of the Passionael, or for that matter any other imprint of the work, support on the one hand Edzardi's contention that the saga reflects a German redaction of the legend antedating the Passionael, and coincides on the other hand with the indisputable evidence furnished by other legends in Reykjahólabók that they did not derive from the Low German legendary. This is the case not only for Hendriks saga, which has been included in our discussion of Oswalds saga, but also for the other legends found in the Icelandic compilation, notably Gregorius saga biskups. The conclusion to be drawn is that Reykjahólabók is a unique legendary, for it is the sole witness to a collection of Low German legends which either have perished or are buried--as yet undiscovered--in an unknown library.

Notes

¹"Osvldr" in Reykjahólabók. Islandske helgenlegender, ed. by Agnete Loth. Editiones Arnarnagæanæ, A, 15 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1969), I:71-95.

²"Saga Ósvalds konungs hins helga." Udgiven efter en islandsk Oldbog, med Indledning af Jon Sigurdsson; og med tilføjet dansk Oversættelse af Thorleif Gudm. Repp. In: Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, udgivne af det kongelige nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab 1854. Kjøbenhavn. Pp. 3-91. The edition is on pp. 24-91. The Danish translation is on facing pages.

³Untersuchungen über das Gedicht von St. Oswald (Hannover: Carl Rümpler, 1876).

⁴The text of the German prose legend cited by Edzardi is that printed by Ignaz Vincenz Zingerle in his monograph Die Oswaldlegende und ihre Beziehung zur deutschen Mythologie (Stuttgart and München, 1856).

⁵Werner Williams-Krapp, Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1986), p. 189.

⁶Edzardi cites from Ludw. Ettmüller's edition, Sant Oswaldes leben. ein Gedicht aus dem zwölften jahrhundert (Zürich, 1835). This is an edition of the Münchner Oswald.

⁷Oskar Klockhoff, "Om Osvalds saga," Små Bidrag till nordiska Literaturhistorien under Medeltiden (Upsala, 1880), p. 17. In his Der Münchener Oswald. Text und Abhandlung, Germanistische Abhandlungen, 28 (Breslau: M & H Marcus, 1907), Georg Baesecke remarks: "Auch ich halte für wahrscheinlich, daß n [Osvalds sagal] eine Übersetzung aus dem niederdeutschen Passional ist. . . . Edzardi ist durch Klockhoff widerlegt" (fn. 2, p. 221).

⁸Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "En senmiddelalderlig legendesamling," Maal og Minne (1960), 105-28; "Low German Influence on Late Icelandic Hagiography," The Germanic Review, 37 (1962), 237-62.

⁹"The Icelandic "Gregorius peccator" and the European tradition," The Sixth International Saga Conference, 28.7. - 2.8.1985, Workshop Papers, I (Copenhagen: Det arnamagæanske Institut, 1985), pp. 575-84. In the meantime I have discovered that the exemplum also exists in the Lübeck Plenaria of 1493 and 1506.

¹⁰Cf. Williams-Krapp, Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters, pp. 188-91.

¹¹Kari Köpke, ed., Das Passional. Eine Legenden-Sammlung des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Gottfr. Basse, 1852).

¹²The two Middle High German verse redactions of Oswald are the Münchener Oswald, edited by Georg Baesecke, Germanistische Abhandlungen, 28 (Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1907), and the shorter Wiener Oswald, also edited by Baesecke (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1912). The Münchner Oswald has been reedited by Michael Curschmann: Der Münchner Oswald. Mit einem Anhang: die ostschwäbische Prosabearbeitung des 15. Jahrhunderts, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, 76 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1974). I cite Curschmann's edition.

¹³The text is that of the Lübeck imprint of the Passional printed by Steffan Arndes in 1492.

¹⁴Reinhold Bechstein, Heinrich und Kunegunde von Ebernand von Erfurt (Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1860).

¹⁵Georg Baesecke writes of the German Oswald legend: "Ihr Archetypus wird rekonstruiert und zeigt sich zusammengesetzt aus Legende und Brautwerbungssage" (Der Münchener Oswald, pp. xii-xiii).

¹⁶Breta sogur, in: Hauksbók udgíven eftir de Arnarnagnænske Håndskrifter No. 371, 544 og 675, 40 samt forskellige Papirhåndskrifter (Copenhagen: Det kongelige nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab, 1892-96), ch. 49: "Af Osvalldi konvngæ," pp. 298-99.

¹⁷Michael Curschmann, Der Münchener Oswald und die deutsche spielmännische Epik. Mit einem Exkurs zur Kultgeschichte und Dichtungstradition, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 6 (München: C. H. Beck, 1964), pp. 2-3.

¹⁸Michael Curschmann, Der Münchner Oswald (1974), p. IX.

¹⁹In verses 40a-b, 56-58, 86, 90, 100, 104, 176, 758, 912-13, 1110, 1119-20, 1137-38, 1143, 1365-70, 1378-84. The dating is by Baesecke in his edition of the Wiener Oswald (p. LXVI).

²⁰In his edition of the Wiener Oswald, Baesecke discusses the chastity motif and remarks: "Keuschheit bis ans Lebensende wird weder in *MS noch in *zn (noch in *WO) gewünscht" (p. LXXIX). Baesecke is referring to the archetypes of the three branches (*zn = the redaction represented by the Passionael and the saga). For our purposes the archetype(s) play(s) no role. What is essential is that the chastity motif is part of the extant literary tradition.