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DEVOTION, REMEMBRANCE, AND IDENTITY

The Hagiographic Entries and Obituaries in a Parisian Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Psalter Made for Jakob Sunesen

BY

MARINA VIDAS

The focus of this article is a thirteenth-century illuminated Psalter (London, British Library, MS Egerton 2652), which was made in Paris for a Danish aristocrat.¹ I start with a brief description of the manuscript and then discuss the observations made about the Psalter in the scholarly literature. I then take a fresh look at the significance of the hagiographic entries and obituaries in the Calendar. New reasons are provided for identifying the patron of MS Egerton 2652 as the Danish nobleman Jakob Sunesen (died 1246). I also address the reception of the work after its completion.

Brief Description

MS Egerton 2652 is an easily held private devotional book measuring 165 × 105 mm. Each of its 238 folios of high quality parchment was illuminated with costly pigments and gold leaf. At the beginning of the manuscript there is a Calendar (ff. 1–6v), decorated with roundels illustrating the labors of the months and zodiac symbols, followed by a prefatory cycle of eight large composite miniatures, primarily depicting events from the life of Christ (ff. 7v–14). Next comes the text of the 150 Psalms embellished with ten historiated initials (ff. 15–213v), followed by a Litany (ff. 233–237) and a number of short prayers (ff. 237v–238v). All of the texts original to the book are in Latin. There are also a number of added notes and texts in later hands.

¹ I would like to thank Stiftelsen Svensk–dansk kulturfond for their support and an anonymous peer reviewer for a number of constructive comments. An earlier French version of this article, *Le Psautier de Sunesen et les transferts culturels franco-scandinaves au Moyen-Âge*. Kim Andringa, Frédérique Harry, Agathe Mareuge et Bénédicte Terrisse (eds.): *Ding, ding, ting: Objets médiateurs de culture*, Paris, is in press and will be published this year.

Review of the Literature

The manuscript has been studied by scholars with different areas of expertise, mostly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The earliest commentators, Augustus W. Franks, Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum, Ellen Jørgensen, Keeper of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, and Gottfrid Carlsson, Professor of History at Lund University, wrote primarily about the added obituaries which named a number of Swedish, Danish and Norwegian members of the highest nobility, including kings and queens.² Few extant medieval illuminated manuscripts contain concrete connections to Scandinavian nobility and this was one of the reasons that Franks, Jørgensen and Carlsson, were interested in the Psalter in London. Franks and Jørgensen drew attention to the manuscript's ties to Denmark and even postulated that the Psalter could have been executed there. Carlsson, on the other hand, argued that the manuscript was almost certainly made for Swedish nobility. However, the Danish scholar Tue Gad pointed to a significant flaw in Carlsson's hypothesis by showing that the *Sunesen Psalter* has a Calendar made for the use of Roskilde and, therefore, was unlikely to have been executed for a Swedish owner.³ Instead Gad suggested that it was made for a nobleman from Sjælland (Zealand).

Art historians have primarily focused on the iconography of the historiated initials introducing the Psalms at the ten part divisions and the style of the miniatures. In a study of thirteenth-century Psalter illumination by Günther Haseloff in which the miniatures in the *Sunesen Psalter* were very briefly discussed, the author judged that the illuminations were executed in Northeastern France in *c.*1230.⁴ Two magisterial studies concerned with Parisian illumination, one by Rainer Hausserr

² A. W. Franks: On Two Manuscript Psalters in the Collection of William Bragge, Esq. *Archæologia* 46, 1881, pp. 241–248, Ellen Jørgensen: Meddelse om et Psalterium, som forðum var i norsk Eje. *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 3, 1910–1912, pp. 220, 230, 231, Ellen Jørgensen: Studier over danske middelalderlige Bogsamlinger. *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 4, 1912–13, p. 62, and G. Carlsson: En svensk drottningens andaktsbok? *Nordisk Tidsskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, 41, 1954, pp. 101–110.

³ Tue Gad: Psalter. *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, 13, 1968, pp. 587–588.

⁴ Günther Haseloff: *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden*, Kiel 1938, p. 48. For a later study in which the iconography of one of the Psalm initials is briefly discussed see Judith H. Oliver: *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liège (c.1250–c.1330)*, Leuven 1988, p. 69, note 42.

the other by Robert Branner, included the *Sunesen Psalter*.⁵ Branner judged that the Psalter was executed in Paris by artists who worked on two important manuscript commissions for the Capetian court, namely the Vienna Moralized Bible in French (Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 2554) and the Toledo New York Moralized Bible (Toledo Cathedral and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 240). My own book also examined the *Sunesen Psalter* in the context of early thirteenth-century *de luxe* Parisian manuscripts.⁶ So from the information so far presented it might be concluded that the Dane, who acquired the Psalter produced in Paris by skilled craftsmen who had worked for French royalty, had wanted something special.

Hagiographic Entries and Obituaries in the Calendar

The Calendar was written by different scribes and in various times. The earliest and original part (ff. 1–4v), was written in Gothic script in the thirteenth century. Two different colors, gold and black, were used to hieratically grade the feasts for the months of January through August. Beside feasts from the universal Roman Calendar, there are number of feasts for English saints: Cuthbert of Lindisfarne (March 20), Alphege of Canterbury (April 19), Dunstan of Canterbury (May 19), Botulf of Thorney (graded gold, June 17), Alban of Verulam (June 22), Etheldreda of Ely (June 23), and Oswald of Northumbria (August 5).⁷ Feasts were also noted for French saints: Hilary of Poitiers (January 13), Maurus of Glanfeuil (January 15), Aldegonde of Maubeuge (January 30), Desiderius of Vienne (May 23), Germanus of Paris (May 28), the translation of Martin of Tours (July 4), and Germanus of Auxerre (July 31). Most strikingly, as Jørgensen and Gad pointed out, the Calendar includes feasts of saints venerated in Denmark and, more specifically, in the diocese of Roskilde. The inclusion of these Danish feasts is most unusual in a manuscript

⁵ Robert Branner: *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of St. Louis*, Berkeley 1977. R. Hausserr: Ein Pariser martyrologischer Kalender aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Edith Ennen and Günter Wiegelmann (eds.): *Festschrift Matthias Zender*, 2, Bonn 1972, p. 1102.

⁶ Marina Vidas: *The Christina Psalter: A Study of the Images and Texts in a French Early Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript*, 2006.

⁷ As in the Calendar, the Litany includes a number of English saints: Oswald, Cuthbert, Dunstan, Botulf, Wilfrid, Etheldreda, Sexburga, and Withburga, and French saints, e.g., Denis, Martin, Hilary, Germanus, Audoin, Leonard, and Giles (Egidius). However, no Scandinavian saints are invoked in the Litany.

produced in Paris and thus clearly indicates that the book was made for someone who would have wanted to know when feasts celebrated in the diocese of Roskilde took place.⁸ Examples of these feasts are: one for Olaf of Norway (July 29) who was venerated in Denmark, a feast for the Danish king Knud IV, who was canonized in 1101 (July 10) and one for his nephew Knud Lavard, father of King Valdemar I of Denmark (translation, graded gold, June 25).⁹ In addition to feasts for these royal saints there are two for Pope Lucius whose head relic was translated to Roskilde Cathedral, probably at the end of the eleventh century (feast and translation, March 4 and August 25, respectively).¹⁰ Also included are the following feasts celebrated in Roskilde: St. Brigid of Kildare (February 1), St. Boniface of Mainz (June 5), the translation to the cathedral of Roskilde of relics of holy virgins martyred with St. Ursula of Cologne (July 14), the translation of St. Margrete of Højelse (July 19) to the church of Our Lady, Roskilde, the feast of St. Magnus the Martyr (August 19), and the feast of Bernard of Clairvaux (August 20), who was the most important saint of the Cistercian order.¹¹ Another interesting fact, in my opinion, is that St. Benedict of Nursia, founder of the Benedictine order, is honored by inclusion in the Calendar (general feast, graded gold, March 21 and translation, graded black, July 11) is invoked in the Litany amongst the confessors, f. 234 and that St. Benedict's disciple, St. Maurus, who founded the first Benedictine monastery in Gaul, is named in the Calendar (January 15). Also of note is that Benedict's sister Scholastica is included in both the Calendar (February 10) and Litany. I will return to these entries connected to the Benedictines and Cistercians later in this article.

Tue Gad judged that the original Calendar was written before 1224 due to the absence of the feast for St. Vilhelm of Æbelholt (June 16),

⁸ For the saints venerated at Roskilde Cathedral see Alfred Otto: *Liber daticus Roskildensis: Roskilde Gavebog og Domkapitlets Anniversarieliste*, 1933, p. 33.

⁹ An entry in brown ink, not original to the Calendar, was made on the line for January 7. Franks 1881, pp. 245–246, transcribed it as: “Canuti regis et m’ris” (Knut king and martyr). Knud Lavard, Duke of Schleswig, who was murdered on January 7, 1131 was never king and, therefore, it is possible that the scribe who added the feast confused Duke Knud with King Knud (d. 1086). This hand appears to be different from the one which wrote the obits for Scandinavian aristocrats. For the feasts of Duke Knud which was celebrated in Roskilde on January 7, and of King Knud which was celebrated on July 10, see Otto 1933, pp. 33–34.

¹⁰ Henry Petersen: *En Relikvie af Roskilde Domkirkes Skytshelgen, den hellige Pave Lucius*, 1875, pp. 2–4 and Otto 1933, p. 34.

¹¹ Otto 1933, pp. 33–34.

instituted in that year.¹² Also relevant for the dating of this portion of the manuscript, in my view, is that the feast of St. Dominic (August 5) did not figure in the original Calendar, but was added later in the thirteenth century. The absence of the feast for the founder of the Dominican order suggests that the Calendar, was composed before 1234, the year of the canonization of the saint.

The months of September to December (ff. 5–6v) are later additions to the manuscript. There are no illuminations on these leaves nor feasts of saints specifically associated with Scandinavia. Along with universal feasts, there are a number of French ones: Denis of Paris and companions (graded gold, October 9), Martin of Tours (graded gold, November 11) Felix of Valois (November 4) and Brice of Tours (November 13) as well as the martyrs Justus, Arthemius, and Honesta (October 11) who had local importance in the diocese of Arras.¹³ The last three mentioned saints were also venerated in Cologne as were a number of other saints named in the Egerton manuscript: [Ursula] and the 11,000 virgins who had been martyred in Cologne and whose relics were preserved in the church of St. Ursula (October 21), Cunibert, Bishop of Cologne (November 12), the saint who revealed the spot where St. Ursula and her virgin companions had been buried, and Severinus, Bishop of Cologne (October 23). The early thirteenth-century portion of the Calendar also includes feasts for saints with connections to Cologne: Herbert, Archbishop of Cologne (March 16) and Ludger, the Apostle of Saxony and Bishop of Münster (March 26), who had been ordained in Cologne in 777 as well as the aforementioned feast of July 14. Folios 5–6v must have been joined to the first part of the Calendar no later than the seventeenth century—The hand that wrote “A° 1613 nata fuit filia mea Ursula,” f. 3v (June 5) is the same as the one that noted “Stadæ inauguratus sum” (October 2), f. 5v.¹⁴

¹² Gad 1968, p. 587. I would add that close members of Jakob Sunesen’s influential and wealthy family, the Hvide, were important for the success of Vilhelm’s canonization and it is, therefore, unlikely that the Calendar would not have included his feast if it was produced after 1224. For the involvement of the Hvide kin group in Vilhelm’s canonization see Thomas K. Heebøll-Holm: *Why was William of Æbelholt Canonised?* Thomas K. Heebøll-Holm, Mia Münster-Swendsen and Sigbjørn O. Sønnesyn (eds.): *The Writing of History in Scandinavia and its European Context, 1000–1225. Essays in Memory Karsten Friis-Jensen*, Durham forthcoming.

¹³ For the veneration of Justus, Arthemius, and Honesta in Arras see Société des Bollandistes (eds.): *Acta Sanctorum Octobris ex Latinis et Graecis, aliarumque gentium monumentis*, 56, Brussels 1970, p. 370.

¹⁴ Franks 1881, p. 245.

Now we will turn to the Scandinavian obituaries added to the Calendar on folios 1–4v. Franks deduced that a number of them noted the anniversaries of the deaths of close members of one family: Birger Brosa, Duke of Sweden (January 9, Bigerus dux sueorum), his sons, Philip, Duke of Norway, (January 8, O Philippus dux pie memorie norwegie), Knut, Duke of Sweden, (January 31, O Kanutus dux sueorum) and Magnus (May 25, O magnus filius ducis) and his daughter, Margrete (April 14, O Margareta filia ducis).¹⁵ Carlsson judged that the obituary for Ingegerd (April 7, O Ingerdis regina suerum) is for another of Birger's daughters.¹⁶

Franks also observed that many of people named in other obituaries were close relatives of Jakob Sunesen. From the first generation there are two women, Jakob's mother and mother-in-law, respectively: Cecilia, wife of Sune (May 17, O Cecilia uxor Sunonis) and Elizabeth, mother of Estrid (May 28, O Elisif mater Estridi [s]). From the next generation there is the obituary for Lady Estrid, the wife of Lord Jakob (February 1, O domina Estrid uxor domini Jacobi) and for Lord Jakob, son of [Sune?] (May 19, O iacobus filius (illegible)) and for Jakob's brother

¹⁵ There are two obituary entries (March 21 and 25) which do not give the name of the person whose death was commemorated. Franks proposed that the first was an obituary for the powerful Absalon, Archbishop of Lund, who died on March 21, 1201. (Absalon and Jakob's father, Sune Ebbesen, were first cousins). Amongst the entries which Franks could only partially read is one which he transcribed as "O'Ing" (January 25). Carlsson proposed that this obit may commemorate the death of Absalon's sister, Ingefred Assersdatter. Amongst the obits which were not erased is "O' Alexander" (August 12) which Carlsson suggested commemorated the death of Absalon's nephew. Another of the partially legible entries is the one for June 13 which Franks transcribed as "O' dominus Sugh." Carlsson stated that this entry was transcribed incorrectly, and proposed that it instead read "O' dominus Stigolus or Stigh." Thus it would have commemorated the death of Stig Tokesen. Carlsson's reading makes better sense especially in light of the fact that Stig Tokesen was a member of Jakob Sunesen's clan and the grandfather of King Sverker Carlson. For Stig's precise relationship to Jakob see below. The text written on the line for April 28 was transcribed by Franks as "Suerus rex norwegie." As Carlsson pointed out this date for the anniversary of the death of Sverre, King of Norway, was at odds with the date of March 9, recorded in other documents. For the tangled relationship of Sverre of Norway with Birger Brosa as well as with Absalon and the Hvide clan see Philip Line: *Kingship and State Formation in Sweden, 1130–1290*, Leiden 2007, pp. 99–100. Neither Franks nor Carlsson connected two legible obits: "O' Benedictus" (January 28) and "O' Nicolaus" (May 22) with the anniversaries of particular individuals. There are also a number of badly abraded Calendar entries (July 23, 26, 28, and 30) which Franks was unable to decipher. For Franks's transcriptions see Franks 1881, p. 246.

¹⁶ Carlsson 1954, p. 103.

Lars (January 31). To this last text I will return shortly. The obituaries of members of the following generation are recorded as well: Jens, son of Lord Jakob (February 10, O Johannes filius domini Jacobij) and his brother, Peder, Bishop of Roskilde (May 18, O Petrus Roskildenis episcopus nepos Petri pre[fecti]).

That the family of Jakob Sunesen was connected to that of Birger Brosa's is alluded to in one of the additions to the Calendar. Noted on the line for January 31 is the obituary for Knut, Duke of Sweden and Lord Lars with many others (O Kanutus dux sueorum et dominus laurencius cum m[ultis alis]). We know from other sources that in 1208 Jakob Sunesen, along with members of his and Birger Brosa's family, participated in the battle of Lena in Sweden on January 31, 1208.¹⁷ Jakob and the two men mentioned in the obituary, his brother, Lars and Birger Brosa's son, Knut, fought in support of King Sverker Karlsson the Younger of Sweden (died July 17, 1210) against his rival Eric, son of Knut I of Sweden. As Franks noted Jakob's brother, Ebbe, who died at Lena, was the father of Sverker's queen, Benedicte. Carlsson pointed out that Sverker was married at some point, either before or after Benedicte, to Birger Brosa's daughter Ingegerd.¹⁸ Thus both Jakob Sunesen's family and Birger Brosa's were related to King Sverker Karlsson by virtue of marriage. What has not been pointed out in the earlier literature on the *Sunesen Psalter* is that Sverker was related to Jakob Sunesen through his mother, Kristine Stigsdatter, a daughter of King Valdemar I's sister, Margrete, and of Stig Tokesen whose obituary may also have been included in the *Sunesen Psalter*.¹⁹ Thus Jakob Sunesen was not only the uncle of Sverker's queen, Benedicte, but also the second cousin of Sverker's mother, Kristine. Neither Franks nor Carlsson pointed out that two other royal women named in the obituaries had connections to Jakob's clan. Queen Richiza (May 8), a daughter of Valdemar I and wife of Erik X of Sweden, and Queen Margaret, consort of Valdemar II (May 24) were related to Jakob Sunesen's cousin Kristine, the first by blood and the latter by marriage.

The primary reason for placing the obituaries in the manuscript was commemorative. They would have reminded the manuscript's owner to say prayers for souls on the anniversaries of their deaths. This was the

¹⁷ For the deaths of Ebbe and Lars at Lena see, for example, Ellen Jørgensen (ed.): *Annales Danici Medii Aevi*, 1920, pp. 130 and 157.

¹⁸ Whether Ingegerd was Sverker's first or second wife has been a matter of debate. See Carlsson 1954, p. 103 and Line 2007, p. 104.

¹⁹ See note 16 above.

obligation of surviving family members who through prayer would help shorten the amount of time a soul would spend in Purgatory. Prayers for the dead were also performed in religious institutions which usually received some kind of recompense for this service in the form of land, money or gifts. The *terminus ante quem* for the additions to the Calendar is 1246, the year of the most recent death, that of Jakob Sunesen.

Jakob's only surviving child was his daughter Ingerd, Countess of Regenstein (c.1200–1258), and it is possible she inherited the manuscript and had the obituaries added to the Calendar. The obits would not only have served a commemorative purpose but they would have demonstrated (and celebrated) the manuscript owner's noble lineage and connections. I would also like to add that if the additions to the Calendar were made for Ingerd, then she might have had personal reasons to say prayers for the Bohemian princess and Danish queen Margaret (May 24). As is made evident in a letter from Innocent IV to the Bishop of Lund, the countess had close connections to Margaret's half-sister Agnes of Bohemia.²⁰

It is also not impossible that the entry for the feast for "beati Dominici confessoris" in the margin on f. 4v could have been added for Ingerd.²¹ Papal letters as well as Ingerd's will show that the countess was an important patron of the mendicant orders.²² She was a benefactress of the Dominican friars who arrived in Roskilde in 1231 and whose monastery there was completed in 1254.

I would like to return to Tue Gad's points that the Psalter has a Calendar for the use of Roskilde and that it was likely made for a nobleman from Sjælland. A manuscript with a Calendar for the use of this diocese would have suited Jakob Sunesen well since his major landholdings were on Sjælland and he had important connections to Roskilde.²³ Both his brother Peder (bishop 1191–1214) and his son, also called Peder (bishop 1215–1224), were bishops of this diocese and there is evidence to suggest that Jakob's sister, Margrete, might have been the Danish female saint whose translation is noted in the Calendar (July 19). Her remains

²⁰ For Agnes's intervention on Ingerd's behalf see Gustav Hermansen (ed.): *Danmarks Riges Breve. Udgivet af Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab. Række 2. Bind 1. 1250–1265*. 1938, p. 79.

²¹ In the later added Calendar section the feast for St. Francis of Assisi (October 4), canonized in 1228, is noted on f. 5v.

²² For Ingerd's many gifts to the mendicant friars and Franciscan nuns see K. Erslev: *Testamenter fra Danmarks Middelalder indtil 1450*, 1901, pp. 6–8.

²³ For Jakob's important patronage of Roskilde Cathedral see Otto 1933, p. 47.

were translated to the Cistercian Abbey Church of Our Lady in Roskilde in 1177 by order of Jakob Sunesen's first cousin once removed and head of the powerful Hvide kin group, Absalon, who was at that time Bishop of Roskilde.²⁴ It should also be pointed out that the feast of the translation of Knud Lavard on June 25 to the church of Our Lady in Ringsted on the island of Sjælland is graded gold, signalling that this feast had special importance. The fact that the Calendar notes the feasts of saints connected to orders that Jakob Sunesen patronized, namely the Cistercians and the Benedictines, may be another indication that the manuscript was commissioned for him.

Franco-Danish Ties in the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Century

Another reason to believe that the manuscript was made for Jakob Sunesen, and which has not been addressed in the earlier literature, is that it was produced in Paris. Jakob's family had ties to the French capital. His first cousin once removed Absalon as well as his brothers, Anders (c.1162–1228) and Peder, were educated there.²⁵ Members of Jakob's family also served on diplomatic missions to France on behalf of Danish kings and in particular in matters which dealt with the Danish princess Ingeborg (1175–1236), sister of King Knud VI (reigned 1182–1202) and King Valdemar II (reigned 1202–1241), who had married King Philip II Augustus of France in 1193.²⁶ At the time the *Sunesen Psalter* was made, that is before 1224, Ingeborg was dowager queen of France—Philip II Augustus had died on July 14, 1223 and his son, Louis, ruled France until

²⁴ Margaret was never officially canonized. For references to her martyrdom in 1176/7 see Jørgensen 1920, pp. 86, 87, 134, 138, 145, 150, 164, 193, 195, and 200. For her translation see Jørgensen 1920, p. 150. For a discussion of Margaret's position in Absalon's family see Nanna Damsholt: *Kvindebilledet i dansk højmiddelalder*, 1985, pp. 209–217, and Marianne Johansen and Helle Halding: *Thi de var af stor slægt: om Hvideslægten og kongemagt i Danmarks højmiddelalder*, 2001, pp. 58–59, 132.

²⁵ Birger Munk Olsen: *Trois étudiants danois à Paris au XII^e siècle*. Claude Lecouteux and Olivier Gouchet (eds.): *Hugur: Mélanges d'histoire, de littérature et de mythologie offerts à Régis Boyer pour son 65^e anniversaire*, Paris 1997, pp. 87–96.

²⁶ See for example, Thomas Heebøll-Holm: A Franco-Danish Marriage and the Plot against England. *The Haskins Society Journal*, 26, 2014, pp. 255, 256, 258, and 259, Nanna Damsholt: Medieval Women's Identity in a Postmodern Light: The Example of Queen Ingeborg. B. McGuire (ed.): *The Birth of Identities*, 1996, pp. 225–241, Nanna Damsholt and Johannes Steenstrup: Ingeborg. *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 1979–1984, <www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Monarki_og_adel/Dronning/Ingeborg>, Bojsen 1902, pp. 69–70 and Robert Davidsohn: *Philipp II. August von Frankreich und Ingeborg*, Stuttgart 1888, p. 54.

his death in 1226. Both Ingeborg and her brother Knud VI owned extraordinary Psalters—Ingeborg’s was made in France while her brother’s was produced in England, *c.*1182.²⁷ However, prior to Ingeborg’s Psalter no personal devotional manuscript survives belonging to earlier members of the Capetian dynasty. Ingeborg’s successor as queen of France, Blanche of Castile, is known in the 1220s to have owned at least one *de luxe* illuminated Psalter for her personal devotions. While not all Psalters produced in Paris during the 1220s and 1230s, the period in which the *Sunesen Psalter* was executed, have come down to us it is safe to say that ownership of an illuminated Parisian Psalter of this period especially, of one which was lavishly illuminated, was a rare thing.²⁸

Through members of his family Jakob Sunesen was likely to have had the connections to order a *de luxe* Psalter in Paris. Furthermore, Jakob, who was one of Denmark’s most powerful and wealthy nobleman, had the money to pay for an expensive codex.²⁹ We also know that he, as well as members of his family, were interested in books – he commissioned more than a dozen works for Hamburg Cathedral.³⁰ In commissioning his Parisian Psalter, Jakob may have even wished to have the kind of object which was owned by Danish royalty.

²⁷ For the Ingeborg’s Psalter see Patricia Stirnemann: Ingeborg Psalter. Colum Hourihane (ed.): *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 3, Oxford 2012, p. 374, Kathleen Schowalter; The Ingeborg Psalter: Queenship, Legitimacy, and the Appropriation of Byzantine Art in the West. Kathleen Nolan (ed.): *Capetian Women*, New York 2003, pp. 99–136, A. Merrill: A Study of the Ingeborg Psalter Atelier, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1994 and Florens Deuchler: *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin 1967. For the Psalter which may have been produced for Knud’s coronation see Patricia Stirnemann: The Copenhagen Psalter Reconsidered as a Coronation Present for Canute VI (Kongel. Bibl., ms. Thott 143 2°). F. O. Büttner (ed.): *The Illuminated Psalter. Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, Turnhout 2005, pp. 323–328 and Patricia Stirnemann: The Copenhagen Psalter. Erik Petersen (ed.): *Living Words and Luminous Pictures: Medieval Book Culture in Denmark: Essays*, 1999, 67–76.

²⁸ Branner catalogued about twenty illuminated Parisian Psalters produced during the second and third decade of the thirteenth century. Not all of these are as extensively illuminated as the *Sunesen Psalter*.

²⁹ For Jakob’s wealth see Erik Ulsig: The Estates of Absalon. Karsten Friis-Jensen and Inge Skovgaard-Petersen, (eds.): *Archbishop Absalon of Lund and his World*, 2000, p. 98.

³⁰ See Jacob Langebek: *Scriptores rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi*, 5, 1774, pp. 411–412. Jakob’s brother, Anders, Archbishop of Lund, at the time of his death, had a sizeable library of around thirty works. For the inventory of his books see Sten Ebbesen and Laurentius Boethius Mortensen (eds.): *Andreae Sunonis filii Hexaameron: post M. Cl. Gertz*, 1, 1985, pp. 20–21. For the Psalter owned by Jakob Sunesen’s daughter, Ingerd, see Erslev 1901, p. 7.

Let us now turn to the visual connections between the *Sunesen Psalter* and manuscripts made for the French court. The design of the prefatory cycle, the series of full-page miniatures placed in between the Calendar and texts of the 150 Psalms, is derived from that of the *Vienna Moralized Bible* in French, a manuscript made for Blanche of Castile in the early 1220s.³¹ In both the *Sunesen Psalter* and the *Vienna Moralized Bible* in French multiple biblical scenes on gold grounds are circumscribed in geometric shapes which have blue frames on the rectos and pink ones on the versos and which are placed against alternating backgrounds of pink or blue. The busts of angels in the *Sunesen Psalter* in the central diamonds also recall the busts of angels framed by squares on top of quatrefoils in *Vienna 2554*.³² Another connection between the *Vienna Moralized Bible* in French and the *Sunesen Psalter* is that two of the artists who painted miniatures in the Bible also worked on the Psalter.³³

Conclusion

In this article I have argued that the Parisian illuminated devotional manuscript made for Jakob Sunesen might be understood as a symbol of high status. Illuminated luxury Psalters were rarely found in Scandinavia in this period and the few examples which were in Denmark and Norway were in the hands of Scandinavian royalty. Ownership of such an object, therefore, would have certainly set him apart from most of his Danish peers who were unlikely to have owned a book of this quality for their personal devotions. Furthermore, because the *Sunesen Psalter* was executed in Paris and incorporates imagery found in French royal manuscripts it might also have served as a symbol of his family's connections to France. I also have suggested that for a later owner, perhaps

³¹ For Blanche as the patron of the *Vienna 2554* see Tracy Ann Chapman: *The Female Audience for the Bible moralisée*. Blanche of Castille and the Example of Vienna 2554, M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1995; Gerald B. Guest: *Queens, Kings and Clergy: Figures of Authority in the 13th c. Moralized Bibles*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1998, pp. 106–170 and Gerald B. Guest: *Picturing Women in the First Bible moralisée*. Colum Hourihane, (ed.): *Insights and Interpretations in Celebration of the Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, Princeton 2002, pp. 106–130.

³² While the miniatures in the early thirteenth-century Moralized Bibles were accompanied by texts, those in Parisian Psalters of the period usually were not.

³³ Branner 1977, p. 42, note 33. Branner also judged that one of the artists who worked on the *Sunesen Psalter* painted miniatures in the *Toledo New York Moralized Bible* (Toledo, Cathedral and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 240, c.1226–1235), a manuscript made for Blanche of Castile.

Ingerd of Regenstein, it was important to add obituaries to the Calendar so that prayers would be said for deceased members of Jakob Sunesen's immediate family as well as for members of the Swedish nobility to whom he was connected by marriage, some of whom had been had fought alongside him in Sweden. At some point in the manuscript's history someone attempted to erase the majority of these additions. I can only speculate about why the obituaries were tampered with, but what I can say with some certainty is that for the person who erased the names it was no longer necessary or desirable to remember the anniversaries of the deaths of these Danish and Swedish aristocrats or that the manuscript be explicitly connected to these Scandinavian nobles.³⁴ As is evident from the post-medieval inscriptions and texts, the manuscript held relevance for its later owners. It continued to be used as a prayer book and as a medium to record important family events, one of which was the birth of a daughter, called Ursula. The added prayers and other texts also testify to the fact that for some of its later readers it was important that the manuscript reflect their ownership and devotional practices. In the nineteenth century the deletions to the Calendar were "recovered" by Augustus W. Franks and his associates who found the manuscript's provenance and connection to Scandinavian nobility of significance. Finally, the analysis of the manuscript presented here has contributed to the existing scholarship by showing that the relationship between this object and its audience was a changing one.

³⁴ The obituaries which were not expunged and which are still legible are for: Benedict (January 28), Queen Ingegerd of Sweden (April 7), Queen Richiza of Sweden (May 8), and Alexander (August 12). Also, the feast added for St. Dominic on August 5 is still clearly visible.

SUMMARY

MARINA VIDAS: *Devotion, Remembrance, and Identity: The Hagiographic Entries and Obituaries in a Parisian Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Psalter Made for Jakob Sunesen*

The focus of the article is a handsomely illuminated Parisian thirteenth-century Psalter (London, British Library, MS Egerton 2652), which includes in the Calendar feasts of saints venerated in Denmark and, more specifically, in the diocese of Roskilde. A brief description of the manuscript is provided and the scholarly literature about the Psalter is discussed. Then a fresh look is taken at the significance of the hagiographic entries and obituaries in the Calendar. New reasons are provided for identifying the patron of MS Egerton 2652 as the Danish nobleman Jakob Sunesen (d. 1246) who had major landholdings on the island of Sjælland, and had family ties to Roskilde and Paris. The reception of the work after its completion is addressed and it is argued that the Parisian illuminated devotional manuscript might be understood as a symbol of Jakob Sunesen's high status. It is suggested that Jakob Sunesen's only surviving child, Ingerd, Countess of Regenstein (c.1200–1258), might have inherited the Psalter and had the obituaries added to the Calendar after her father's death. The article also seeks to show that the obituaries may not only have served a commemorative purpose but they may have demonstrated and celebrated the manuscript owner's noble lineage and connections.

