

Paris et Vienne and its Swedish translation

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ABSTRACT: *The French romance Paris et Vienne was translated into a great number of languages in the Middle Ages. The Swedish translation Riddar Paris och Jungfru Vienna from the sixteenth century only comprises the opening of the tale and is no more than 208 lines long. It is preserved in the manuscript Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, D 2, which is also known as Spegelbergs bok, a manuscript that contains texts of different genres. This article discusses some features of the Swedish text and context. First, in relation to the writing of the Swedish translation, it examines the manuscript's context and the role of Sweden's last Roman Catholic bishop, Hans Brask, as well as his secretary, Hans Spegelberg. Then, it analyses the links between the Swedish fragment, on the one hand, and the French romance and its translations into English and Low German, on the other hand (the Low German translation was most likely the Swedish translator's direct source). The article takes special notice of the prologue to the Swedish text and its use of the notion höffuisk kerlech, or 'courtly love'.*

KEYWORDS: Paris et Vienne – Riddar Paris och Jungfru Vienna – Roman idyllique – Medieval translation – Courtly love

Even though the romance *Paris et Vienne* has received little attention in the scholarly world, it was a popular success in the late Middle Ages. The many preserved manuscripts and early prints bear witness to its popularity in various milieus and cultures. The tale was translated into a great number of languages – Italian, English, Dutch, German, Catalan, Spanish, Latin, Mozarabic with Almajiado script, Russian, Armenian, Rumanian, Yiddish and Swedish – and is an excellent example of the Europeaniza-

tion of culture in the Middle Ages.¹ The Swedish translation *Riddar Paris och Jungfru Vienna*, from the sixteenth century, was embarked on in cross-rhymed verse, but it was never finished. The fragment, only preserved in the manuscript Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, D 2, also known as *Spegelbergs bok*, comprises the opening of the tale and is not more than 208 lines long. Nonetheless, this Swedish fragment, which marks the end of a small but important tradition of courtly literature in medieval Sweden, is interesting for a number of reasons.² In this article, I will discuss the Swedish text and its relation not only to the French romance but also to some other foreign translations of the tale.

The French Paris et Vienne

Paris et Vienne tells the story of two young lovers, Paris and Vienne, who have to overcome parental opposition before finally getting married. This story is typical of what scholars today call the *roman idyllique*, a kind of text that was widespread in the Middle Ages, more famous examples of the genre being *Floire et Blanchefleur* and *Aucassin et Nicolette*.³

The French *Paris et Vienne* has been preserved in one long and one short version. The longer version, edited by Robert Kaltenbacher in 1904, is attributed to a certain Pierre de la Cépède from Marseille. According to the prologue with which de la Cépède introduces his work, the French text was a translation made in 1432 from the Provençal, and the same Provençal source derived from the Catalan. However, neither of these sources has been preserved, although traces of a Provençal influence have been identified in the early manuscripts of the romance.⁴ The longer ver-

¹ The different versions of *Paris et Vienne* are presented in the introduction to the edition of *Paris e Vienna* by Anna Maria Babbi in 1991.

² The courtly romance was introduced into Sweden at the beginning of the 14th century with the so-called *Eufemiavisor*, three translations commissioned at the behest of Queen Eufemia of Norway. These three texts are important in the history of Swedish literature since they mark its beginning – at least, there is no trace of earlier Swedish literary texts of the same scope: the runic inscriptions, law texts and legends that precede them are really not narrative literary texts as extensive as the *Eufemiavisor*. The *Eufemiavisor* are followed by a number of texts that draw inspiration from them, in one way or another, for example the *Erikskrönika*, *Konung Alexander* and *Namnlös och Valentin*. As stated above, *Riddar Paris och Jungfru Vienna* marks the end of this tradition of courtly literature.

³ On the *roman idyllique*, see Galderisi and Vincensini 2009.

⁴ See for example Kaltenbacher 1904 and Brown-Grant 2010, p. 60.

sion is preserved in six manuscripts that closely resemble each other, apart from one Burgundian redaction, Brussels, KBR 9632/3, which differs considerably by being divided into chapters and containing some important additions as well as omitting the prologue.⁵

The shorter version of *Paris et Vienne* is preserved in one single manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 20044, and in later printed editions. It is about half the size of the longer version and like the Burgundian redaction, it starts without a prologue and is divided into chapters. This shorter version, edited by Anna Maria Babbi in 1992, was the starting point of many translations of the romance into other languages.

In a recent article, Brown-Grant has pointed out some differences between the longer and the shorter versions, at the same time as she has drawn parallels between the shorter version and the Burgundian redaction. Brown-Grant argues that the playful and comic tone of the longer version is replaced by a more serious tone in the other two text traditions:

whilst both the Burgundian and the shorter renderings of the tale follow the same basic narrative as that of the longer version, they nonetheless adopt a variety of different strategies for reducing the troubling potential of this text to be read as an apology for adolescent dissent.⁶

According to her analysis, the Burgundian text tends to reduce the «emphasis on the couple's duplicitousness by introducing a lengthy and retrospective validation of Paris as chivalric hero and true aristocrat», whereas the shorter version functions as «a means of conveying an uncompromisingly serious message about the moral dilemmas and emotional anguish undergone by young lovers intent on pursuing their personal desires».⁷ These differences within the French context are important to keep in mind before looking more closely at the ways in which the romance was adapted when translated into other languages, particularly Swedish. There is no doubt that the tale of the two lovers could be told differently depending on the writer's ideological agenda, even within one and the same language.

⁵ The Burgundian redaction is described more closely by Brown-Grant 2010.

⁶ Brown-Grant 2010, p. 63.

⁷ Brown-Grant 2010, p. 70.

Spegelbergs bok

Relatively few manuscripts have been preserved from the Swedish Middle Ages, and only around 15 of these, most of them dated to the later Middle Ages, contain literary texts.⁸ D 2, the manuscript in which *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienne* is to be found, commonly referred to as *Spegelbergs bok*, is a miscellaneous collection. The first part of the manuscript is dated to 1470-80 and the second to 1523. It is a paper manuscript, apart from the first two and the last two pages, which are vellum, and it has no illuminations. D 2 once contained 272 folia, but only 250 of these are preserved.

In order to get a closer understanding of the Swedish version of *Paris et Vienne*, it is necessary not only to raise the question of the identities of the commissioner and the translator behind the Swedish text but also to examine how the different texts within the manuscript relate to each other. Does the Swedish translation of *Paris et Vienne* play a particular role within this collection of texts?

All of the texts in D 2 cannot be considered as literary entertainment to the same extent as *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna*. On the contrary, D 2 assembles what Jonas Carlquist classifies as three types of texts: historical documents, political texts and literary entertainment. The first text in the manuscript, *Om Gotland*, is a translation into Old Swedish of the second chapter of *Guta saga*, a history of the island of Gotland written in Old Gutnish. This text is followed by copies of two famous Swedish rhymed chronicles retelling political events: *Erikskrönikan* and *Karlskrönikan*. After these chronicles, the manuscript presents a copy of *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie*, a fictional text that recounts the adventures of a certain Duke Fredrik and is one of the three romances that were translated at the behest of Queen Eufemia of Norway (the so-called *Eufemiavisor*). According to the text, *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie* is a translation from a German source that, in its turn, was a translation from the French. Neither of these sources has been preserved.⁹ The tale about Fredrik is followed by the

⁸ Carlquist 2002, p. 23.

⁹ The source text of *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie* remains unknown. Layher has argued that it was probably «a pre-courtly bridal-quest epic – something very much akin to a *Spielmannsepos* narrative – that was composed in northern Germany in the early part of the 13th century» (2000, p. 228). Layher has drawn attention to the similarities between the Swedish text and a Middle Dutch fragment about a certain *Hertog Henric* – a fragment that could, indeed, bring us closer to the lost Low German source. According to Layher, it is, however, unlikely that a French source ever existed (2000, pp. 242-243).

other purely fictional text of D 2, that is, the fragmentary *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna*. This fragment occupies the folia 184v to 187r and is followed by a number of empty folia (187v-228v), some of them missing today (202-225). Thus it seems that space was left in order to continue the translation. The empty folia are followed by *Historia Sancti Olai*, which is a condensed, rhymed translation of the Old Norse *Óláfs saga helga*. After this text come three translations of Latin diplomas, written at the behest of King Valdemar of Denmark, referred to as *Paa halland och skane*. Two of the documents concern the handing over of Skåne, Blekinge, Lister and Ven from Johan of Holstein to King Magnus of Sweden. The third treats King Valdemar's selling of Skåne, Halland, Blekinge, Lister and Ven to King Magnus. After these texts, we find the didactic poem *Biskop Henriks rim*, attributed to Bishop Henrik Tidemansson, that deals with the Ten Commandments and how to rule. D 2 ends with the chronicle *Kung Christian Klippings krönika*, which, according to Carlquist, presents clearly anti-Danish elements.¹⁰

The manuscript is commonly called *Spegelbergs bok* because Hans Spiegelberg, the secretary of Hans Brask, Sweden's last Roman Catholic bishop, has often been identified as the scribe of most of the manuscript.¹¹ This, however, has been questioned by the Latinist Hedda Gunneng who argues that Spiegelberg only wrote one page, whereas another scribe, whom she calls *E*, wrote more than a third of the manuscript.¹² The most interesting point for our purpose, however, is Gunneng's conclusion about *Riddar Paris och Jungfru Vienna*; according to her analysis of the different handstyles in the fragment, Hans Brask wrote half of it himself.

Hans Brask

Hans Brask (1464-1538) was bishop of Linköping 1513-1527 and a well-informed and experienced politician.¹³ Even though he was patriotic and conservative and struggled against the Protestant reformation, he spent many years abroad and wanted to introduce several foreign elements into Sweden – *Paris et Vienne* is only one example of what he seems to have brought home with him.

¹⁰ Carlquist 2002, p. 105.

¹¹ See for example the description of D 2 given by Klemming 1868, pp. 243-246.

¹² Gunneng 1981, pp. 20-22.

¹³ For a presentation of Hans Brask, see Sjödin 1925-1926.

As was typical of a man of that time and position, Brask studied theology and law. He was a student at the cathedral school of Skara in Sweden before studying in Germany, first at the university of Rostock in 1486 and then, the following year, due to a rebellion in Rostock, at the university of Greifswald. He also spent time in Nürnberg and Leipzig. As Per Stobaeus has pointed out, the German milieu of that time was characterized by a “theological traditionalism” that certainly influenced Brask.¹⁴ When he came back to Sweden, he was made a canon. Around 1499, due to a conflict between Bishop Henrik Tidemansson, for whom he had worked, and the chief magistrate of Linköping, Lars Nilsson, Brask went to Rome and worked at the Roman Curia. His stay in Italy continued until 1504, with two short interruptions. During this time, he wrote several supplications for the Curia, received a doctoral degree and strengthened his power within the Swedish church. He also made acquaintanceships that he kept for a long time, mostly with Swedish and German priests. According to Stobaeus, Brask’s long stay in Rome helped him to see the church in an international perspective at the same time as he experienced the flourishing Italian renaissance.¹⁵

Thanks to Brask’s many letters, the modern reader can get an insight into his thoughts and ideas. For example, Brask describes Sweden as being situated at the end of the world – a poor country that was Christianised at a late stage in history and therefore needed regular contact with the centre of Christianity.¹⁶ He was concerned not only about the Church’s situation, but also for the laymen, and he wanted to spread European literary texts among the Swedish public. For example, he sent one text, referred to as *Sancti Renoldi book*, to Ture Jönsson, that he wanted translated into Swedish so that young Swedish men would read instead of drinking (*thet en good gerning pa thet at vnge karle finge vnderstwndom oc noget annet ath göre än altid ligge i ööl stoopet* ‘a good deed as young men would therefore at times have something else to do than always being in their cups’).¹⁷

In his letters to Canon Peder Bengtsson, who belonged to his closest circle, Brask encouraged him to learn various things abroad, not only about the work at the Roman Curia in Rome but also about more worldly

¹⁴ Stobaeus 2005, p. 174.

¹⁵ Stobaeus 2005, p. 178.

¹⁶ Brask 91, 330, 426, 484. Henceforth, Brask’s letters are referred to as they are numbered in Gunneng’s edition from 2003. See also Stobaeus 2005, p. 170.

¹⁷ Brask 484.

things such as precious stones, gold and textiles. What is more interesting in this context is his advice that Bengtsson should learn Italian and French, languages that Brask considered useful in diplomatic work.¹⁸ In one letter to Bengtsson, Brask also writes about the literary texts that he most certainly came across in Italy. Among the texts that he mentions is *inamoramentum Karoli magni inamoramentum Renoldi vel orlandi*, the Italian Renaissance poet Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*, a text written in *ottava rima* that tells the story of the knight Orlando, also known as Roland.¹⁹ His wish to translate literature from the Continent reflects his eagerness to educate Sweden by making Swedish culture more open to influences from abroad. It should be noted that for some time Brask also ran a printing house in Söderköping that could have helped to spread the texts he wanted to be translated. As the Swedish literary historian Karl-Ivar Hildeman has pointed out, the translation of *Paris et Vienne* fits well into these didactic intentions.²⁰

Brask's literary ambitions were not very successful, however, probably due to the historical circumstances. For some time he had supported the Swedish king Gustav Vasa, although the king was his opponent. However, in 1527, when the decision was taken to turn Sweden into a Protestant country, he went into exile, travelling to Danzig, and after that he never returned to Sweden. The king closed down the printing house and the plan to translate texts such as *Orlando innamorato* was never realized. Actually, Brask's literary ambitions do not seem to have gone further than D 2 and the fragmentary Swedish translation of *Paris et Vienne*, a text, which makes this text all the more interesting.

The Swedish translation

Little has been written about the Swedish *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna*. Carl Ivar Ståhle dedicates a paragraph to it, pointing out that the cross-rhymed verse was a novelty in the 16th century.²¹ The longest contribution to the scholarship about the Swedish text is an essay written by Karl-Ivar Hildeman in 1958 which introduces the fragment as well as the European

¹⁸ Brask 256. See also Hildeman 1958, p. 27, and Stobaeus 2005, p. 194.

¹⁹ Brask 256. See also Hildeman 1958, p. 32, and Stobaeus 2005, pp. 189-190.

²⁰ Hildeman 1958.

²¹ Ståhle 1955, p. 115.

context of the romance. Hildeman analyses the Swedish text's insistence on the education of the young Paris and describes the text's function as: *ett uppfostringsprogram eller ett förhållningsideal för adlig ungdom* 'an educational programme or an ideal of conduct for courtly youth'.²² He also discusses the role of Hans Brask, whom he considers to be the commissioner of the translation. According to Hildeman, the didactic function of the translation fits in well with Brask's intention to educate the Swedish aristocracy through French and Italian literature: *Översättningen av "Paris och Vienna" kan ställas mot bakgrunden av ett vidare uppfostringsprogram, där litteraturen var avsedd att bidra till att förädla sederna och berika intressena* 'The translation of *Paris et Vienne* can be seen in the light of a broader educational programme, in which literature was intended to enoble the customs and enrich the interests'.²³ Hildeman also shows particular interest in the fact that the Swedish translation was written in cross-rhymed verse, suggesting that this was an influence from the Danish rhymed Chronicle, and not from the Old Swedish verse literature, which it would be tempting to believe. Whereas the Old Swedish tradition is dominated by texts in *knittel*, the *Eufemiavisor* being the most famous example, Hildeman points out that *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* and the Danish rhymed Chronicle were both written in a strophic metre. When it comes to the question of the source of the Swedish text, he considers it improbable that the translator used a French text. He draws attention to its closeness to the English and Dutch variants, and states that the Dutch variant could have been spread to Sweden through a Low German intermediary.

Even though Hildeman suggests that the source text may have been written in Low German, he does not mention Märta Åsdahl's previous work on the subject. As early as 1945, Åsdahl had, as a matter of fact, argued that a specific Low German printed version of *Paris et Vienne*, preserved at the university library of Uppsala in Sweden, was probably the Swedish translator's source.²⁴ Since Hildeman wrote his essay, Åsdahl's view has not been challenged. On the contrary, in 1965, Axel Mante edited the Low German text in question and in the introduction to his edition he provides further evidence that speaks in favour of Åsdahl's hypothesis. Mante's edition makes it possible to draw a close comparison between the Swedish translation and this admitted source, thus opening

²² Hildeman 1958, p. 31.

²³ Hildeman 1958, p. 31.

²⁴ See Åsdahl 1945, pp. 58-63.

up the topic for closer studies. In his edition he also quotes the beginning of the Dutch variant that he, like Åsdahl before him, considers to be the probable source text of the Low German translation.²⁵

A comparison with the English, French and Low German versions reveals, indeed, that the Swedish translator makes several additions to the passages that concern the young Paris' education. For example, as Hildeman points out, the Swedish knight learns not only how to use a sword, as in many of the other foreign versions, but also how to wrestle and play chess.²⁶ This is something that he does not learn in the English, French or Middle Low German versions, which could be understood as a way for the Swedish translator to give a more detailed description of the skills that a knight should have. However, the Swedish text does not only add references to the talents associated with a brave knight. In the following, I would like to discuss a couple of other features that are present in the text that show how the Swedish translation could have become a nuanced version of *Paris et Vienne*, if only it had been finished. I will compare the Swedish translation to the Low German text that Åsdahl and Mante have pointed out as the source text, and I will also draw parallels to the English translation and the two French versions, the longer and the shorter.

The Swedish *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* starts with a short prologue. In this passage, which takes up 13 lines in D 2, the narrator introduces the story that he is about to tell, presenting the main characters and the love theme:

Här börjas een lustelich historia aff en eddla Riddara i francariike ther heet pariis Oc then sköne Jomffru vienna then war en velldig herras dotter her godwart dallenson delphin i ffrankarrike och bannerherre Och war han aff gamelt konunx slecte, holchen paris och vienna led o mikin bedröffuile oc motegang ffor troo höffuisk kerlech skull som the haffde them emellan oc kom dog alth til en good enda (p. 443)²⁷

*Here begins a delightful story of a noble knight in France, whose name was Paris, and of the fair maiden Vienna, who was the daughter of a powerful man, Sir Godwart Dal-lenson, dauphin of France and knight, and he was of an old royal family. Paris and Vienna suffered great distress and misfortune for the sake of the true courtly love that they had between them, but all nevertheless ended well.*²⁸

²⁵ Mante 1965, pp. LV-LIX.

²⁶ Hildeman 1958, pp. 30-31.

²⁷ The quotations from the Swedish *Riddar Paris och Jungfru Vienna* follow Klemming's edition from 1881-1882.

²⁸ The translations of the different versions of *Paris et Vienne* are mine.

This prologue resembles those to be found in the Low German and English versions, but a few minor additions in the Swedish text reveal a unique tone. First of all, whereas the Low German text starts with the words *Hier begynneth ene historie* (p. 7) ‘Here begins a story’ and the English, similarly, begins with *Here begynneth thystorye* (p. 1) ‘Here begins the story’, the Swedish narrator adds an adjective, *lustelich* ‘delightful’, in order to describe what kind of story he is about to tell.²⁹ Rather than insisting on its didactic character, the text is immediately characterized as delightful.

Then, if we look at what is said about Vienna’s father, we find more additions. In the Low German source, we can read: *ene dochter des weldeghen heren Dolfynes* (p. 7) ‘a daughter of the powerful Sir Dolfynes’. The English text states: *the daulphyngs doughter of vyennoys* (p. 1) ‘the daughter of the Dolphyn of Viennois’. Once again, the Swedish translator gives a more detailed description, mentioning the full name Godwart Dallen-son, the fact that he came from France and that he was of old courtly lineage. By adding the reference to France and the courtly lineage, the translator places his story in a context of courtly romances. It is worth remembering that the manuscript of D 2, *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna*, follows directly after *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie*, which tells the story of Duke Fredrik of Normandy and his way to royal power. By emphasising the French and courtly milieu, the translator connects his text to the previous romance about Fredrik.

It is, however, the final lines of the prologue that catch my interest. In the Swedish translation, we learn that the two lovers suffered *ffor troo höffuisk kerlech skull*. The use of the expression “courtly love” is, indeed, surprising. In the Low German translation there is no direct equivalent to the word *höffuisk*: *vmme der truven leue* (p. 7) ‘because of the true love’. The same goes for the English version: *bycause of theyr true loue* (p. 1) ‘because of their true love’. As is widely known, the expression *courtly love* or *amour courtois* is not really medieval but rather an invention of the 19th-century mediaevalist Gaston Paris. However, it does appear in the prologue to the Swedish translation of *Paris et Vienne*. Thus, even though the Swedish text was never finished and its literary value could never be fully evaluated, its mention of *courtly love* doubtlessly deserves attention.

²⁹ The quotations from the Low German *Paris und Vienna* follow Mante’s edition from 1965. The quotations from the William Caxton’s English *Paris and Vienne* follow Leach’s edition from 1957.

Finally, I will look more closely at three passages in the translation that follow the prologue in order to better understand how we should interpret the opening words of the translation. The passages in question are: the description of the friendship between the maidens Vienna and Isabelle, the description of Vienna's beauty and the description of Paris' friend Edward and his love for a young lady. In all of these passages, the Swedish translator makes additions that actually seem to reflect a larger idea about what his text should tell its public.

Early in the text, we learn that Vienna was brought up by a noble lady. The daughter of this lady, Isabelle, became Vienna's close friend. The passage dedicated to the relationship between the two girls is elaborated in the Swedish text:

oc aff opfödan fingo then act
 the ville ey aatskild vära
 the lecte sammen oc finge then maat
 ath ingen kunne them skilia
 skulle the skilias daag eller natt
 th3 war fast moot theres vilia
 hwar thera hade the andra sa kär
 som hoon ware henne systher
 ath huad then enes var begär
 the andre ther aat lyster (vv. 59-68)

and the result of their upbringing was that they did not want to be separated, they played together and it went so far that nobody could separate them. If they were separated day or night, it was greatly against their will, each of them held the other so dear, as if she were her sister, so what one of them desired, the other wished for too.

In comparison, the Low German and English texts are briefer. The Low German text says: *Vnde kregghen sick vnderlanghen soe leeff, dat de ene sunder die anderen nicht wesen mochte, vnde beten sik vn-derlanghe "sustere"* (p. 8) 'And received so much mutual love that they did not want to be without one another, and called each other sister'. Similarly, we can read in the English: *soo grete loue was bytwene them bothe that they called eche other systers* (p. 2) 'there was so great love between them both that they called each other sister'. In the three texts, Vienna and Isabelle are, indeed, said to love each other and call each other "sister"; as in the Swedish translation, the German version also points out that the two young women did not want to be separated from one another. This detail is also present in the French versions of the passage, the longer version

reading: *Les deux pucelles estoient continuellement ensemble, et eurent une tres singuliere amour entre elles, si que l'une ne povait durer sans l'aultre, et se nommyrent seurs l'une l'aultre* (p. 394) 'The two maidens were always together and had a very particular love for each other, so that one of them could not be without the other, and they called each other sister'; the shorter: *et oult si grant amour entre ses deulx filles que l'une ne povait estre sans l'aultre* (p. 58) 'and there was such a great love between the two girls that one of them could not be without the other'.³⁰ However, it is only in the Swedish text that we find the assertion that the desire of one of the girls was the other's wish – two added lines that make the bonds between the two women even stronger. This addition could, of course, have been made in order to complete the cross-rhymed verse, but even if that was the case, the result remains the same: emphasis on the maidens' closeness.

In what follows, the narrator tells us of Vienna's great beauty:

Vienna vaxte daglige til
 m3 växt oc skönheet lica
 oc ther m3 dygd, iak säya vil
 ath i alt frankariike
 war ey then tiid en fägre möö
 th3 skede m3 gud3 vilia
 war röd som roos oc smal som röö
 oprunnen, hwiit som lilia
 ffor ffruor oc jomfrur bar hon priiss
 ath hon var skönst for alla (vv. 69-78)

Vienna grew every day, in growth and beauty alike, as well as in virtue; I would like to say that in the whole of France there was no fairer maiden at that time, for it was the will of God. She was red as a rose and slender as a reed, white as a lily. More than other ladies and maidens she was praised for being the most beautiful of all.

Similar passages do exist in the English, French and Low German versions, but it is interesting to notice that the Low German text, which, as noted above, is the source text according to previous research, only tells us of Vienna's beauty with no reference to an equivalent of the Swedish *dygd* 'virtue'. If we look at the other texts, however, the longer French version refers to the maiden's *tres grant sciense* (p. 394) 'very great wisdom'

³⁰ The quotations from the longer French version follow Kaltenbacher's edition from 1904; the quotations from the shorter version follow Babbì's edition from 1992.

and her *vertuz* (p. 395) ‘value’; the shorter version speaks of her *gentillesse* (p. 58) ‘nobleness’ and *la grant dignité de son pere et de sa mere* (p. 58) ‘the great dignity of her father and mother’. Similarly, the English text mentions Vienna’s *gentylnesse* (p. 2) ‘nobleness’. Furthermore, whereas the English, French and Low German texts refer to Vienna’s beauty – *vthnemender schoenheit* (p. 8) ‘extraordinary beauty’, *souerayn beawte* (p. 2) ‘sovereign beauty’, *tres grande beaute* (the longer version, p. 394) ‘very great beauty’ or *souveraine beaulté* (the shorter version, p. 58) ‘sovereign beauty’ – without depicting it, the Swedish translator gives a more concrete description of her appearance, stating that she was red as a rose, etc. Once again, the lines can have been added in order to fill up the rhymed verse. Nevertheless, when comparing the different versions of this passage, it becomes clear that the Swedish translator stressed not only Paris’ education but also the beauty and moral dignity of the courtly female character.

The Swedish fragment ends with a long passage dedicated to Paris’ friend Edward and his love for a maiden. The English, French and the Low German versions also mention the fact that Edward was in love with a maiden, but the Swedish text makes several additions, stating, for example, that Edward wanted to marry the young woman, *ath han wilde the Jomfru riik / til äcteskap ath fryä* (vv. 181-182) ‘that he wanted to propose to the noble maiden’, and that he hid his love and the fact that *hans hugh saa heetlig bran* (v. 187) ‘his heart burned so violently’ from everyone except Paris. It is likely that this second addition is due to a confusion: in the other texts, this passage is followed by a description of Paris’ new-born love for Vienna, in which it is said that it was Paris who hid this love from everyone except Edward, and not the other way round. The Swedish translator further adds the following advice from Paris to Edward: *bruka hoffwerk m ära* (v. 196) ‘use chivalrous skills with honour’, advice that fits in well with Paris’ own chivalrous education. At the very end of the passage, it is said that Paris knew nothing yet of love:

han wiste ey aff huat wenus war
 eller amor hadhe inbära
 dog war wenus ther til ospar
 ath paris skulde th3 lära
 med tidhen monde th3 och saa ske
 sedan paris kom til manna
 ath ffor the ting han fför sagde ney
 them monde han sedan sanna (vv. 201-208)

he did not know what Venus was, or what Amor meant. However, Venus was eager that Paris should learn. In the course of time that would also happen. When Paris became a man, he would accept things that he had refused before.

The reference to Venus and Amor does not exist in the French or Low German texts. The English version, on the other hand, does contain a reference to the goddess: *but Parys as yet knewe nought of amourste but not longe after Venus the goddes of loue fyred his thou t with the hert vnto a noble yong lady* (p. 3) ‘but Paris did not yet know of love. Not long after, however, Venus, the goddess of love, let his mind and heart burn for a noble young lady’. Even though previous research does not consider the English text to be the Swedish translator’s probable source text, the mention of Venus in both the Swedish and English versions of *Paris et Vienne* reminds us of the intricate relationship between the various European versions of the tale. Moreover, Venus’ presence in the Swedish text is interesting since it shows that the love theme was highly relevant for the translator.

The Swedish fragment ends with this passage; Paris new-born love for Vienna is never introduced, except for what is said about it in the prologue. However, if we look at what follows in the longer French version, starting with Paris’ own monologue, we actually find an echo of what is said in the Swedish prologue:

“Ceste dame que mon cuer veult tant amer, veulhe je ou non, est de si noble sang et de si hault parente, que c’est contre toute raison que je la doye amer; mes mon cuer me efforce, donc il me convyent faire ce qu’il veult.” Et pour ce l’amoit si cortoisement et si couvertement, que la dame, que pucelle estoit, ne s’en aparcevoit de riens, ne il n’estoit homme ne femme qui s’en aparceust de riens ne en sceust riens, fors Edardo, a qui il disoit touz ses secretz. (pp. 396-397)

“This lady that my heart so much wants to love, whether I want it or not, is of so noble blood and high lineage that it is against all reason that I should love her; but my heart forces me, so it is suitable for me to do what it wants.” And for that reason he loved her so courteously and so secretly that the lady, who was a maiden, noticed nothing, nor did any man or woman notice or know anything, except for Edardo, to whom he told all his secrets.

Since Paris’ lineage is not as noble as his loved one’s, he does not declare his love but keeps it secret from everyone except Edward, thus loving Vienna *cortoisement*. Just as in the Swedish prologue, the love is said to be courtly.

Conclusion

The passages discussed above show that the Swedish translation of *Paris et Vienne* was undertaken as an ambitious project in which the translator, perhaps Hans Brask himself, wanted to stress not only Paris' chivalrous education but also put forward Vienna's beauty and explored the love theme. The mention of "courtly love" in the prologue was probably a highly conscious choice on the part of the translator in order to stress what he considered the central theme of the story.

As Hildeman has shown, the Swedish translation certainly had a didactic purpose and Brask was probably the person behind this aim. Nevertheless, as revealed in the very first sentence of the prologue, we should not forget that the translation is just as much *een lustelich historia* whose subject is the story of two young lovers and their *höffuisk kerlech*. The manuscript context is essential for us to understand the Swedish text; if we look at the texts, together with which the Swedish translation appears in D 2, *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* stands out as the only one whose main theme is love. Even though the preceding *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie* is also a fictional text that praises courtly values and contains elements of a love story, it is primarily an amusing story about the adventures of Duke Fredrik – in fact, its first line is: *Eth æuintyr thet byriæs hæer* 'an adventure begins here'.³¹ Additionally, whereas *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie* is said to be a translation from a German source that derived from a French original, *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* connects to a literary tradition spread further in Europe – at least according to the manuscripts that have survived. Even though the direct source of the Swedish translation was written in Low German, it is likely that it was its popularity on the Continent that seduced Brask. Thus when looking at its place in D 2, the Swedish version seems to add two aspects to the collection of texts in the manuscripts: the exploration of love as a literary theme and the continental origin. It is probable that these two elements were important when placing the translation in this collection; their presence would, indeed, complement the other texts. Accordingly, the didactic purpose of the Swedish text was just as much a literary one: to complete the collection of texts offered by D 2 with a story that connects to a wider European discourse on love.

³¹ See Noreen's edition from 1927.

The hypothesis of a Low German source for the Swedish translation is particularly plausible if we consider Brask's familiarity with Germany, not only from his time as a student in Rostock and Greifswald, but also from his work in Rome where he made important German contacts. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that German influences – cultural, linguistic and political – were widespread throughout the Swedish Middle Ages. It is probable that Brask came across the story of *Paris et Vienne* in Italy, where it was widespread, and that the Low German source text was provided by one of his many German contacts. Even if the direct source was Low German, the tale connects to a broader literary tradition with a French origin. This fits perfectly well into the picture that we can discern of Brask's travels, linguistic knowledge and literary intentions.

I have only scratched the surface of the Swedish *Riddar Paris och jungfru Vienna* and its connection to the other European versions. My intention has not been to test Åsdahl's and Mante's hypothesis about the Low German source text, but to discuss some features of the Swedish text and context. Nevertheless, the comparison between passages from the Swedish translation with their equivalents in English, French and Low German underlines the intricate relationship between the various European versions of the tale – a relationship that does, indeed, illustrate the Europeanization of literature in the late Middle Ages.

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