

BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE  
DE LA  
Société Internationale Arthurienne

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL BULLETIN  
OF THE  
International Arthurian Society

Et si fu li rois Artus navrés a mort, car  
il fu ferus d'une lance parmi le pis, et lors  
mena on grant duel entor Artu. Et Artus lor  
dist : « Laissiés ester le duel, car je ne  
morrai pas ».

*Didot Perceval, ms. E, f° 74 b.*

# La Société Internationale Arthurienne

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## ADHÉSIONS A LA S. I. A.

La Société Internationale Arthurienne, fondée lors du deuxième Congrès Arthurien qui s'est tenu à Quimper, du 2 au 7 septembre 1948, se propose trois buts principaux :

1°) L'organisation, tous les trois ans, de Congrès consacrés à des séances de travail (communications suivies de débats) et à des excursions.

2°) La publication annuelle d'un Bulletin bibliographique, destiné aussi à renseigner les adhérents sur l'activité de la Société.

3°) La création à Paris d'un Centre de Documentation pourvu d'une bibliothèque et d'un service de renseignements bibliographiques.

Chaque section nationale s'organise d'une manière indépendante, et fixe notamment un taux de cotisation variable suivant les différents pays ; un Comité Central, dont le siège est à Paris, est chargé d'assurer la liaison entre les diverses sections nationales.

En échange de sa cotisation, chaque membre de la Société a droit au service gratuit du Bulletin et peut utiliser sur place les ressources du Centre de Documentation.

Pour les pays qui comptent une section de la Société Internationale Arthurienne, s'adresser aux secrétaires et aux trésoriers nationaux.

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**PARIS**

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## Organisation actuelle de la Société Internationale Arthurienne

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## I – BIBLIOGRAPHIE

## NOTE SUR LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Notre bibliographie arthurienne doit s'efforcer chaque année de signaler tous les livres et tous les articles publiés sur des sujets qui intéressent directement la « matière de Bretagne ». On ne s'étonnera donc point qu'en soient écartés par exemple les travaux consacrés aux origines de l'amour courtois. D'autre part, nous laissons résolument de côté les œuvres d'un caractère purement populaire ou fantaisiste, ainsi que les aperçus généraux contenus dans les histoires de la littérature ou de la civilisation. A de très rares exceptions près, nous ne retenons pas non plus les études sur la tradition arthurienne postérieure au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Notre enquête bibliographique concerne les publications de l'année précédente, sauf dans le cas où il s'agit de remédier à des omissions.

Chaque section nationale établit sous sa propre responsabilité la part qui lui revient normalement.

Chaque bibliographie nationale est divisée en trois parties : I. Textes, traductions et adaptations ; II. Etudes critiques et historiques ; III. Comptes rendus. L'ordre alphabétique est partout observé.

Aussi souvent que possible, nous faisons suivre les travaux signalés d'une analyse courte et objective de leur contenu : pour des raisons purement pratiques et conformément à une décision du deuxième Congrès Arthurien, ces résumés doivent être rédigés de préférence en anglais ou en français.

Dans chaque bulletin annuel, la première publication annoncée porte le numéro 1. La numérotation (qui n'a aucune valeur chronologique) est ensuite continue, et non particulière à chaque branche (1).

Pour compléter la bibliographie, et en faciliter l'usage, nous donnons deux index, l'un des auteurs, l'autre des matières et des œuvres, avec référence aux numéros d'ordre.

Nous recommandons à nos collaborateurs de nous envoyer chaque année le texte dactylographié de leur contribution à la date du 1<sup>er</sup> juillet au plus tard.

J. F.

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(1) Toute référence à notre bibliographie doit donc tenir compte à la fois du numéro du Bulletin, et de celui des publications. (Exemple : Cf. BBSIA, 1, n<sup>o</sup> 20.)

## LISTE DES ABRÉVIATIONS

- AfdA.* . . . . . *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum.*
- Ann. Bret.* . . *Annales de Bretagne, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Rennes.*
- ASInSpr.* . . . . *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.*
- AUMLA.* . . . . *Journal of Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association, Ed., R.T. Sussex, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- BA.* . . . . . *Books Abroad. Ed. Ernst Erich Noth, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.*
- BBCS.* . . . . . *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
- BBSIA.* . . . . *Bulletin Bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthurienne.*
- BC.* . . . . . *Bibliotheca Celtica.*
- BEC.* . . . . . *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes.*
- Beihefte zur*  
*ZrP.* . . . . *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.*
- BJRL.* . . . . . *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.*
- BRABLB.* . . . . *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona.*
- BRAE.* . . . . . *Boletín de la Real Academia Española, Madrid.*

- CE. . . . . *College English*, Ed., Frederick L. Gwynn, Trinity College, Hartford 6, Connecticut.
- Celtica. . . . . Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 64-65, Merrion Sq., Dublin.
- CL. . . . . *Comparative Literature*, Ed., Chandler B.Beall, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
- CP. . . . . *Classical Philology*, Ed., Richard T. Bruère, Box 1, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.
- DA. . . . . *Dissertation Abstracts*, University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- DIAS. . . . . *Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies*.
- DLZ. . . . . *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*.
- DU. . . . . *Der Deutschunterricht*, Beiträge zu seiner Praxis und wissenschaftlichen Grundlegung, Stuttgart.
- DVj. . . . . *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*.
- EHR . . . . . *English Historical Review*.
- Éigse. . . . . A Journal of Irish Studies, ed. Gerard Murphy.
- Eriu. . . . . The Royal Irish Academy, 19, Dawson Street, Dublin.
- E. St . . . . . *English Studies, a Journal of English Letters and Philology*.
- Et. angl. . . . . *Etudes anglaises*, Paris.
- Et. celt. . . . . *Etudes Celtiques*, publ. par J. Vendryes, Société d'édition « Les Belles Lettres », Paris.

- Et. germ.* . . . . *Etudes germaniques*, Paris.
- Euph.* . . . . . *Euphorion*.
- Filologia romanza*.
- Folklore* . . . . . *Folklore*.
- FS.* . . . . . *French Studies*.
- GQ.* . . . . . *German Quarterly*, Managing Ed., Harold von Hofe, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.
- GR.* . . . . . *Germanic Review*, Ed., W.T.H. Jackson, 502 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.
- GRM.* . . . . . *Germanisch — romanische Monatsschrift*
- History  
of Ideas  
Newsletter* Ed., Rosalie L. Colie, Box 7, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York.
- JAF.* . . . . . *Journal of American Folklore*, Ed., Richard M. Dorson, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
- JCS.* . . . . . *Journal of Celtic Studies*, Managing Ed., Howard Meroney, Temple University, Philadelphia 22, Pennsylvania.
- JEGP.* . . . . . *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Eds., G. Blakemore Evans, et al., 208, The English Building, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.
- KFLQ.* . . . . . *Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly*, Eds., Alberta Wilson Server, et al., Department of Modern Foreign Languages, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

- Let. Rom.* ... *Lettres romanes*, Louvain.
- Ll. C.* ..... *Llên Cymru*.
- MA.* ..... *Moyen Age*, Bruxelles.
- Med. Aev.* ... *Medium Aevum*.
- MedStud.* . . . *Mediaeval Studies*, Managing Ed., V.J. Kennedy, C.S.B., Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 59, Queen's Park, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.
- MF.* . . . . . *Midwest Folklore*, Ed., W. Edson Richmond, Department of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
- MLN.* . . . . . *Modern Language Notes*, General Ed., Nathan Edelman, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Maryland.
- MLQ*.. . . . . *Modern Language Quarterly*, Managing ed., Edward Godfrey Cox, Parrington Hall, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington.
- MLR.* . . . . . *Modern Language Review*.
- Monatshefte* .. Ed., J.D. Workman, Bascom Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.
- MP.* . . . . . *Modern Philology*, Ed., George Williamson, University of Chicago, 1050 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.
- Mus.* . . . . . *Museum, Maandblad voor Philologie en Geschiedenis*, Leiden.
- Neophil.* . . . . *Neophilologus*.
- N & Q* ..... *Notes and Queries*.

- PBB. . . . . *Paul und Braunes Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.*
- PMLA. . . . . *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Ed., George Winchester Stone, Jr., 6 Washington Square North, New York 3, New York.*
- PSAS. . . . . *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*
- Rassegna della Letteratura italiana.*
- RBPH. . . . . *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, Bruxelles.*
- RES. . . . . *Review of English Studies.*
- Revue Internationale d'Onomastique* Directeurs MM. P. Fouché et J. Babin, Editions d'Artrey, 17, rue de La Rochefoucauld, Paris, 9°.
- Revue du Moyen Age Latin. . . .*
- RF. . . . . *Romanische Forschungen.*
- RFE. . . . . *Revista de Filología Española, Madrid.*
- RG. . . . . *Les Romans du Graal dans la littérature des XII° et XIII° siècles (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Editions du CNRS, 13, Quai Anatole-France, Paris, 8° 1956, 302 pages).*
- RJ . . . . . *Romanistisches Jahrbuch.*

- RLC.* . . . . . *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, librairie Didier, Paris.
- RLR.* . . . . . *Revue des Langues Romanes.*
- Rom.* . . . . . *Romania*, 2, rue de Poissy, Paris.
- RPh* . . . . . *Romance Philology*, Ed., Yakov Malkiel, Room 4333, Dwinelle Hall, University of California, Berkeley 4, California.
- RR.* . . . . . *Romanic Review*, General ed., Justin O'Brien, 526 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.
- RSSCW.* . . . . *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Ed. Fred A. Dudley, 305, College Hall, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
- SATF.* . . . . . *Société des Anciens Textes Français.*
- SF.* . . . . . *Studi Francesi*, Torino.
- SFQ.* . . . . . *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, Ed., Alton C. Morris, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.
- South Atlantic Quarterly* .. Managing Ed., W.T. Laprade, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
- SP.* . . . . . *Studies in Philology*, Ed. Dougald Mac Millan, Box 149, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
- Speculum.* . . . Ed., Charles R.D. Miller, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.



- Sym* ..... *Symposium*, Chairman Editorial Board,  
Antonio Pace, 313 Hall of Languages,  
Syracuse University, Syracuse, New  
York.
- THSC*. . . . . *Transactions of the Honourable Society  
of Cymmrodorion*.
- Western  
Folklore*. . . Ed. Wayland D. Hand, University of  
California, Los Angeles 24, California.
- W-Jb*. . . . . *Wolfram-Jahrbuch*.
- WW*..... *Wirkendes Wort*.
- ZdA*. . . . . *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*.
- ZfSL*. . . . . *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und  
Literatur*.
- ZrP*. . . . . *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.



# ALLEMAGNE ET AUTRICHE

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## BIBLIOGRAPHIE POUR L'ANNÉE 1958

ÉTABLIE PAR

RITA FALKE, WILHELM KELLERMANN, ERICH KÖHLEK,  
WALTER JOHANNES SCHRÖDER

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### I. — TEXTES

- 1 KRISTIAN VON TROYES, *Yvain, Nach W. Foerstlers letzter Ausgabe in Auswahl bearbeitet und mit Einleitung und Glossar versehen von Rudolf Baehr* (Sammlung romanischer Uebungstexte 43. Band).

### II. — ÉTUDES CRITIQUES

- 2 EIS, Gerhard, *Der Aderlass in Gottfrieds Tristan, dans Medizinische Monatsschrift* 2 (1948), pp. 162-164.
- 3 EIS, Gerhard, *Altdeutsche Handschriften, 41 Texte und Tafeln, mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen*, München, 1949.  
[Le texte et la planche 24 reproduisent un passage de l'*Iwein* de Hartmann.]
- 4 EIS, Gerhard, *Fragment aus Gottfrieds Tristan, dans Indogermanische Forschungen* 60 (1950), pp. 90-94.

- 5 EIS, Gerhard, *Fragment aus Albrechts Titurel*, dans *Colligere fragmenta — Festschrift Alban Dold* (Beuron 1952), pp. 265-266.
- 6 FOLGER, Herbert, *Eucharistie und Gral. Zur neueren Wolframforschung*, dans *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* V, 1 (1957).
- 7 GRUENTER, Rainer, *Parzivals "einvalt"*, dans *Euph* 52 (1958), pp. 297-302.  
[Rapport entre 'einvalt' et 'bescheidenheit' dans la paraphrase de Wolfram par le 'Jüngerer Titurel'.]
- 8 HALPACH, Kurt Herbert, *Epik des Mittelalters*, dans *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, hrsg. von W. Stammer, 2. Aufl., (1958) II. Bd., colonnes 397-684.
- 9 HENZEN, Walter, *Zur Vorprägung der Demut im Parzival durch Chestien*, dans *PBB* 80 (1958), pp. 422-443.  
[Le thème de l'humilité dans le *Conte du Graal* de Chrétien et dans le *Parzival* de Wolfram. Cette étude comparative se fonde sur l'action entière des deux romans.]
- 10 HOFER, Stefan, *Bemerkungen zu dem Bericht der 'Arthuriana' in der "Historia Regum Britanniae" des Galfrid von Monmouth*, dans *AStnSpr* 195 (1958), pp. 20-23.  
[Geoffroy de Monmouth a connu la *Chanson de Roland* et la *Vita Caroli Magni*, ainsi que le *Roman d'Alexandre*. Il leur a emprunté plusieurs détails pour donner du relief à son héros et pour le rendre plus grand que tous les grands rois, plus grand même que Charlemagne. Ces « additions » expliquent quelques erreurs dans le texte de l'*Historia Regum Britanniae*.]
- 11 KATANN, Oskar, *Einflüsse des Katharertums auf Wolframs Parzival?* dans *WW*, 8 (1958), pp. 321-329.  
[Ne croit pas que Wolfram ait été influencé par les Cathares.]

- 12 MOHR, Wolfgang, *Parzival und Gawain*, dans *Euph* 52 (1958), pp. 1-22.  
[Etude comparée du rôle des deux personnages dans le *Parzival* de Wolfram.]
- 13 MOHR, Wolfgang, *Höfisches Epos*, dans *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 2. Aufl., Bd. 1 (1958), pp. 669-683.  
[Vue d'ensemble du roman courtois en Allemagne. Bibliographie des travaux modernes essentiels.]
- 14 MOHR, Wolfgang, *Parzival und die Ritter. Von einfacher Form zum Ritterepos, Fabula, I* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1958).
- 15 RIEMSCHEIDER, Margarete, *Li rois mahaigniés*, dans *RJ* 9 (1958), pp. 126-138.  
[Etude des motifs intimement liés du « roi mahaignié » et de la « terre gaste » dans les romans du Graal à partir des origines ethniques.]
- 16 SCHRÖDER, Walter Johannes, *Vindaere wilder maere. Zum Literaturstreit zwischen Gottfried und Wolfram*, dans *PBB* 80 (1958), pp. 269-287.  
[‘Vindaere’ signifie non pas ‘inventeur’, mais simplement ‘poète’. Le reproche de Gottfried contre Wolfram ne concerne que la forme, et non le contenu.]
- 17 TSCHIRCH, Fritz, *Wernhers ‘Helmbrecht’ in der Nachfolge von Gottfrieds ‘Tristan’*, dans *PBB* 80 (1958), pp. 292-314.  
[Traces stylistiques du ‘Tristan’ dans l’œuvre de Wernher.]
- 18 WAPNEWSKI, Peter, *Wolframs Walther-Parodie und die Frage der Reihenfolge seiner Lieder*, *GRM* 39 (1958), pp. 321-332.

### III. — COMPTES RENDUS

- 19 KÖHLER, Erich, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik. Studien zur Form der frühen Artus- und Graldichtung* (Cf. *BBSIA* 9 (1957), n° 6).

C.R. par Reto R. Bezzola, *RF* 69 (1957), pp. 459-462.  
 [Etude subtile et profonde. L'interprétation que R.B. donne du rôle du mariage dans l'amour courtois diffère de celle de E.K.]

- 20 ROACH, William, *Le Roman de Perceval ou Le Conte du Graal*, publié d'après le ms. fr. 12576 de la Bibliothèque Nationale. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 9 (1957), n° 85).

C.R. par Erich Köhler, *RJ* 9 (1958), p. 236.

- 21 TILVIS, Pentti, *Prosa-Lancelot-Studien I-II*, Helsinki 1957. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 10 (1958), n° 165).

C.R. par Cola Minis dans *AfdA* 70 (1958), pp. 155-156.

22. WAPNEWSKI, Peter, *Wolframs Parzival. Studien zur Religiosität und Form*, Heidelberg, 1955. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 8, 1956, n°s 23, 36 ; 9, 1957, n°s 14, 65, 176 ; 10, 1958, n° 24).

C.R. par Herbert Kolb, *Euph.* 52 (1958), pp. 84-94.

23. ZILTENER Werner, *Chrétien und die Aeneis. Eine Untersuchung des Einflusses von Vergil auf Chrétien de Troyes*. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 10 (1958), n°s 18 et 159).

C.R. par Erich Köhler, *RJ* 9 (1958), pp. 236-240.

[M.K. formule des réserves relatives à l'influence exercée par Virgile, moins en ce qui concerne les thèmes et les motifs que la technique épique et, tout particulièrement, la composition d'ensemble.]

# AMERICAN BRANCH U. S. A. AND CANADA

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## BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1958

BY PAUL A. BROWN

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### I. — TRANSLATION

- 24 DUNN, Charles W., ed., *History of the Kings of Britain, by Geoffrey of Monmouth*, The Sebastian Evans Translation, Revised by Charles W. Dunn (A Dutton Everyman Paperback, D 14), New York : E. P. Dutton, 1958.

[Reprints Lucy Allen Paton's Introduction and adds a Bibliographical Note by Charles W. Dunn.]

### II. — CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDIES

- 25 BERTIN, Gerald A., "The Oedipus Complex in *Tristan et Iseult*", *KFLQ*, V (1958), 60-65.

[Freudian interpretation of the legend, based on Bédier, Thomas, and Béroul. The author thinks that Mark symbolizes one of many father images, that Iseult symbolizes the mother, and that the potion represents the milk the infant takes at the mother's breast.]

- 26 BROWN, Paul A., "A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Year 1957", *MLQ*, XIX (1958), 160-182.

- 27 EEBBS, John Dale, " Stylistic Mannerisms of the *Gawain-Poet* ", *JEGP*, LVII (1958) 522-525.

[Traces three stylistic mannerisms common to *Sir Gawain* and two or three of the following: *Patience*, *Pearl*, and *Purity*, as evidence of common authorship: the use of identical phraseology at the beginning and end of the poems (noted first by Miss Thomas in 1883), calling for the attention of the audience (previously unnoted), and confessing inability to describe some detail.]

- 28 FLETCHER, Robert Huntington, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles, Especially Those of Great Britain and France* (Harvard University Notes and Studies in Philology, No. 10, Boston: Ginn and Co., 1910), Reprint (Burt Franklin Bibliographical Series, No. 10), New York: Burt Franklin, 1958.

- 29 FRAPPIER, Jean, " Le Personnage de Gauvain dans la *Première Continuation de Perceval (Conte du Graal)* ", *RPh*, XI (1957-58), 331-344.

[The *First Continuation* show Gawain's chivalric prestige and courtesy at their height. He consents to sacrifice his personal glory for the sake of the *Riche Soudoier* and his *amie*. In the account of Gawain and the Lady of Lys, the redactor deliberately makes Gawain tell a false story to King Arthur for the sake of shielding the lady (in all manuscripts except ASL). At the Grail Castle, though his worldliness is apparent in his glances at the maiden who bears the silver plate, he is partially successful. The motif of Gawain's waxing and waning of strength, here occurring for the first time, is used as a means of idealizing still further the character of Gawain.]

- 30 GOLDHURST, William, " The Green and The Gold: The Major Theme of *Gawain and the Green Knight* ", *CE*, XX (1958-59), 61-65.

[The author believes that the poem represents the struggle between the primitive impulses of man (symbolized by the green) and the virtues upheld by civilization (symbolized by the gold). Bercilak is both green and a Knight; he represents both Nature and the Court. The lady's girdle is made of green silk, but it



is fashioned with gold. Contrast abounds throughout the poem : for example, the beheading game and the entertainment at the castle, the warm dining hall and the wintry landscape outside.]

- 31 JACKSON, Kenneth, "The Site of Mount Badon", *JCS*, II (1953-58), 152-155.

[Calling attention to the significant entry in the *Annales Cambriae* under the year 665, "*bellum Badonis secundo*", the author argues that Badbury Rings in Dorset is plausible as the place of the second battle, and possible as a site for the first, since the battle need not necessarily have occurred on the border of the area occupied by Saxon settlers.]

- 32 JACKSON, W. T. H., "The *De amore* of Andreas Capellanus and the Practice of Love at Court", *RR*, XLIX (1958), 243-251.

[The first two books constitute a manual of love making for ladies and gentlemen. Dialogues show how the game of love should be played. The third book excuses what has preceded : Andreas has told his readers what to avoid. Jackson does not think the first two books are ironical or that the third represents the author's true point of view. He wrote a not over-serious book for certain members of the court, especially ladies, and it reflects the behavior of a small segment of the culture of the time.]

- 33 JACKSON, W. T. H., "The Progress of Parzival and the Trees of Virtue and Vice". *GR*, XXXIII (1958), 118-124.

[The author finds the spiritual progress of Parzival in general agreement with the scheme of virtues and vices as the fruit of trees, drawn up by Hugh of St. Victor. He does not contend that Wolfram knew this description, or that he drew from any one theologian, but that Hugh sets forth what Wolfram expresses in his romance. It is only when Parzival has descended from innocence to despair, and then ascended from humility to charity and compassion, that he can ask the question.]

- 34 JOHNSON, Sidney M., "Gawan's Surprise in Wolfram's *Parzival*", *GR*, XXXIII (1958), 285-292.

[A study of the surprise reunion in Book XIII of Artus with Arnive, his mother; Sangive, his sister; and Itonje and Cundrie, Gawain's sisters. This has been prepared by the mentioning of the abduction of Arnive in Book II and the naming of the four queens in Book IV; then come Gawan's planning and the development of the adventure from Books X to XIII. The technique by which the surprise is developed illustrates Wolfram's careful workmanship.]

- 35 KLENKE, Sister M. Amelia, O.P., "Some Mediaeval Concepts of King Arthur", *KFLQ*, V (1958), 191-198.

[The author traces several examples in art of the Synagoga-Ecclesia theme (the supplanting of the Old Law by the New), usually portrayed with the Lance of the Passion and the chalice. She believes with Mario Roques that in Chrétien's Grail procession the Holy Grail is the chalice, and the Grail Bearer is Ecclesia. She emphasizes the medieval concept of King Arthur as a type of Christ. This would explain his presence on the Modena archivolt and in the mosaic near the sanctuary of the cathedral at Otranto. The theory, she believes, finds support in a woodcut of the Bürgerbibliothek at Bern which contains an inscription *Kunig Artus cin Christ.*]

- 36 LUMIANSKY, R. M., "Malory's Steadfast Bors", *Tulane Studies in English*, VIII (1958), 5-20. New Orleans [Louisiana]: Tulane University Press.

[The author considers Bors the most important supporting character in the *Morte Darthur*. In the earlier and middle parts of the book his steadfastness contrasts with the instability of Lancelot, for whom in the final part he assumes protective responsibility. Eventually Bors succeeds in erasing the one blemish on his character and attains spiritual purity. The author feels that Malory's consistent handling of the character is support for the idea of his unified conception of his book.]

- 37 MITCHELL, P. M., "The Grail in the *Parcevals* Saga", *MLN*, LXXIII (1958), 591-594.

[The author challenges Richard Heinzel's interpretation of the passage which was thought to describe the Grail. Mitchell does not believe that *gangandi*

*greidi* indicates a second translation of O. F. *graal* in the sense of chalice. He interprets *textus* as a book of the Gospels, and equates *graal* and *braull*. The object then which was borne in the hands of the maiden resembled a book of the Gospels, and was called *braull* in French, but *ganganda greida* in Old Norse.]

- 38 NEWSTEAD, Helaine, "King Mark of Cornwall", *RPh*, XI (1957-58), 240-253.

[How great is the Cornish influence in the Tristan legend? The oldest extant document to mention King Mark, the Latin *Vita* of St. Paul Aurelian, does not explicitly mention Cornwall. The Castle Dor inscription does not prove that the legendary Tristan was connected with Cornwall. Bérout's story of King Mark's ears must have come from a Breton *conte*, rather than from Cornwall. But Mark's geographical associations in the Tristan legend are centered in Cornwall. His castle Tintagel is the setting for a legend of human tribute. The fact that a similar story was told of Tristan may have brought the two figures together.]

- 39 REASON, Joseph H., *An Inquiry into the Structural Style and Originality of Chrestien's "Yvain"*. (Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, 57), Washington, D. C. : Catholic University of America Press, 1958.

[The author maintains that Chrestien used tripartition in the organization of the romance, in the selection of motifs and folkloristic material, and in his verbal style. Likewise, as advocated by Hatzfeld and Frappier, he uses a graded structure. A comparison of *Yvain* and the *Owein* shows the literary superiority of the former. There is an appendix on "Chrestien the Language Maker".]

- 40 ROACH, William, "William Albert Nitze (1876-1957)" *Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society*, 1957, pp. 153-157.

[Somewhat different from the memorial by the same author in *BBSIA*, No. 9 (1957), pp. 142-146.]

- 41 VALK, Melvin E., *Word-Index to Gottfried's "Tristan"*, Madison : University of Wisconsin Press, 1958.

[Photo offset.]

- 42 WALPOLE, Ronald N., "Humor and People in Twelfth-Century France", *RPh*, XI (1957-58), 210-225.  
 [Includes Marie de France and Chrétien. The author finds in "the contrast between the simplicity of the argument and the fantasy of the matter" a form of humor which suffuses the whole body of Marie's lays and Chrétien's romances.]
- 43 WILLSON, H. B., "Sin and Redemption in Hartmann's *Erec*", *GR*, XXXIII (1958), 5-14.  
 [Willson builds upon the foundation laid by H. Kuhn in 1948 (see *BBSIA*, 2, 1950, No. 54). The theme of *Erec* is a fall from the state of joy as a result of sin, and a redemption through unselfish love. Mabonagrín and his lady in the *boumgarten* symbolize Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. *Erec*, who corresponds to Christ, overcomes sin by defeating Mabonagrín, and restores joy. Enite is a symbol of *caritas*. The exile of *Erec* and Enite from courtly society and their restoration to fellowship reflect the Fall of Man and his redemption through Christ.]

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- 45 CARNEY, James, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*, Dublin : Institute for Advanced Studies, 1955. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 8, N° 171 ; and 9, N° 126 and 181).  
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- 48 GSTEIGER, Manfred, *Die Landschaftsschilderungen in den Romanen Chrestiens de Troyes : Literarische Tradition und künstlerische Gestaltung*, Winterthur : P. G. Keller ; Bern : A. Francke, 1958. (See *BBSIA*, 10, n° 158).  
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- 50 RICKARD, P., *Britain in Medieval French Literature, 1100-1500*, Cambridge and New York : Cambridge University Press, 1956. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 9, n° 163 ; and 10, n° 40).  
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- 56 ZUMTHOR, Paul, *Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale (VI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1954. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 7, n° 127).

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- 57 CULBERT, Taylor, *The Single Combat in Medieval Heroic Narrative*, University of Michigan, 1958.
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- 59 SHIELDS, Ellis Gale, *Rhetoric and the Gawain Poet*, University of Southern California, 1956.

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- 60 THOMAS, Jacques, *Un art d'aimer du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : L'Amistiés de vraie amour*. RBPH, XXXVI, 1958, pp. 786-811.

[Nouvelle édition, d'après le ms de Dijon, Bibl. Munic. 526 (et non plus d'après le ms de Manchester comme dans l'édition C.E. Pickford) de ce traité d'amitié, mais aussi d'amour, qu'on a eu tort d'attribuer à Richart de Fournival. Il s'inspire du *De amicitia christiana* de Pierre de Blois (1185-1195) et on ne peut lui assigner comme *terminus ad quem* que la date du ms : la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Édition avec commentaires (pp. 795-811).]

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- 61 FRAPPIER, Jean, *Sur la composition du Conte du Graal*, MA, LXIV, 1958, pp. 67-102.

[Réponse à l'article de M. de Riquer, *Perceval y Gauvain en « Li contes del Graal », Filologia Romanza*, IV, 1957, pp. 119-147 (cf. BBSIA, 9, 1958, n<sup>o</sup> 128) qui croyait à une soudure malhabile de deux romans en chantier, un *Perceval* et un *Gauvain*. Selon M. Fr., les inconséquences chronologiques ne sont pas étranges dans un roman inachevé de Chrétien. Il n'y a pas de discordances internes. « Tous les arguments avancés



par M. de Riquer peuvent être écartés sans exception » ; est invraisemblable le rôle qu'on prêterait à un éditeur-remanieur du *Conte du Graal*.]

- 62 JONIN, Pierre, *Le songe d'Iseut dans la forêt du Morois*, MA, LXIV, 1958, pp. 103-113.

[Le songe que relate Bérout (éd. Muret, 2065-74) doit être interprété non par la symbolique chrétienne, mais par la psychologie d'Iseut et, avant tout, son inconscient : le pavillon est le symbole du bien-être comme des honneurs qu'Iseut regrette, les lions évoquent Marc et Tristan qui la convoient passionnément, qui se réconcilient bientôt, suivant son désir secret. « Le rêve a libéré la reine qui sommeillait au cœur de l'exilée. »]

- 63 RAYNAUD de LAGE, G., *Faut-il attribuer à Bérout tout le Tristan ?* MA, LXIV, 1958, pp. 249-270.

[Veut « rassembler un faisceau de présomptions extrêmement fortes en faveur d'une solution dualiste » : deux poètes différents, publics de génération différente. C'est au vers 2766 de l'éd. Muret que commence un autre roman d'un auteur désinvolte à l'égard de la tradition et de l'action, friand de noms géographiques et de personnages. Des différences dans la variété des rimes, dans les associations de mots à la rime, dans les rejets, dans les attaques des discours, les annonces, les parenthèses. « La première partie tient plus du poème oral et la seconde davantage du poème écrit » ; si la seconde est de 1191, la première pourrait la précéder de 20 ou de 25 ans.]

- 64 *Histoire illustrée des Lettres françaises de Belgique* publiée sous la direction de Gustave CHARLIER et Joseph HANSE. Bruxelles, La Renaissance du Livre, 1958, in-4°.

[Livre premier : *Les débuts* (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles). Chap. IV : *Les romans et les contes courtois*, par Maurice DELBOUILLE (pp. 33-44). Cite, parmi les poètes originaires des anciennes provinces belges : Manesier, continuateur du *Conte du Graal* (qui écrit pour Jeanne de Flandre, fille de Baudouin VI de Hainaut), les auteurs picards de *Durmart le Gallois*, des *Merveilles de Rigomer*, du *Chevalier aux deux épées*, et l'auteur brabançon de *Sone de Nansai*.]

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C.R. par O. Jodogne, *Let. Rom.*, XII, 1958, pp. 350-352, avec des réflexions sur la valeur du roman.

- 66 ES, G. A. van, *De Jeeste van Walewein en het Schaakbord*,... éd. G. A. van Es (cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n° 149).

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[Adhère à l'hypothèse que ce roman néerlandais du début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ne serait ni une traduction ni un remaniement d'un roman français.]

- 67 FRAPPIER, Jean, *Chrétien de Troyes* (cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n° 86).

C.R. par Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, *Marche Romane*, VIII, 1958, pp. 136-139.

[Analyse très développée et appréciation élogieuse.]

- 68 GOOSSE, André, *Sur le Graal*, *Let. Rom.*, XII, 1958, pp. 302-308.

[Critique des études récentes de M. Lot-Borodine (*Rom.*, 1956, cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n° 112), A. Klenke (*PMLA*, 1955, cf. *BBSIA*, 8, 1956, n° 55 ; *SP*, 1956, cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n° 30), R.S. Loomis (*PMLA*, 1956, cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n° 32), R. Levy (*ibidem*, 1956, cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n° 31), M. de Riquer (*Filologia Romanza*, 1957, cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n° 128 ; *RFE*, 1955), A. Fourrier (cf. *BBSIA*, 7, 1955) et R. Lejeune (*ibidem*, 9, 1957), D. de Séchelles (*Rom.*, 1957, cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n° 94), S. Hofer (*RF*, 1956, cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n° 3).]

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C.R. élogieux d'O. Jodogne, *Let. Rom.*, XII, 1958, pp. 349-50.

[Regrette l'absence de glossaire, critique certaines graphies.]

## DANEMARK ET NORVÈGE

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[Réplique à l'étude de J. Frappier, *Sur la composition du « Conte du Graal »*. M. de Riquer maintient la thèse qu'il a soutenue dans son article *Perceval y Gauvain en « Li contes del Graal »* (BBSBIA, 10, 1958, n° 128), d'après laquelle la contradiction chronologique des aventures de Perceval et Gauvain dans le *Conte du Graal* est due à l'union de deux romans différents, que Chrétien laissa inachevés au moment de sa mort. La soudure eut lieu entre les vers 4688-4746 du roman dans sa forme actuelle. Ils constituent une interpolation, de même que l'aventure de Perceval et de l'ermite (vv. 6217-516) a été disloquée par le copiste-éditeur responsable de la soudure. En poussant sa recherche dans les continuations du *Conte du Graal*, Riquer conclut que la rédaction la plus ancienne du *Guiromelant* (première section de la *Première Continuation*) est la fin d'un roman de *Gauvain* laissé inachevé par Chrétien, antérieur à l'union avec le primitif *Perceval*, inachevé lui aussi, et à l'interpolation des vers 4688-4746. Cette union, avec les interpolations et modifications qu'elle comporte, est due à un copiste, et dans la tradition manuscrite de la *Première Continuation* de Chrétien, elle est représentée par le ms. A.]

## FRANCE

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- 79 CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, édités d'après la copie de Guiot (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 794) — III, *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*, publié par Mario Roques (CFMA, 86), Paris, Champion, 1958.

[Introduction (III-XL) — Références bibliographiques (XLI-XLIII) — Texte (1-216) — Notes (217-225) — Index des noms propres et des personnages anonymes (226-231) — Glossaire (232-240).]

- 80 LE BRAZ, Anatole, *La Légende de la Mort*. Choix de textes, présentation et notes de Pierre Hélias, Collection « Classiques pour notre temps », Paris, Alpina, 1958.

[Anthologie utile, et agréable à lire, de plusieurs légendes, dont certaines ne sont pas sans analogie avec quelques mythes arthuriens. La présentation de Pierre Hélias apporte des informations nouvelles.]

- 81 SALA, Pierre, *Tristan*, roman d'aventures du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, publié par L. Muir (Textes Littéraires Français, 80), Genève, Droz, Paris, Minard, 1958.

[Préface (7-8) — Introduction (La vie de Pierre Sala, le *Tristan*, 9-25) — Texte (27-240) — Bibliographie (241-243) — Notes (244-252) — Index des noms propres (253-256) — Glossaire (257-262) — Variantes (263).]

- 82 *Tristan et Yseut*, Redit par Blaise Gautier, Illustrations de Jean Garcia, gravées par Gilbert Poillot, in-16, non pag., fig. (Collection « Le meilleur livre du mois »), Paris, Club du Livre du Mois, 1958.

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- 84 CLUZEL, I., *La reine Iseut et le harpeur d'Irlande*, BBSIA, n<sup>o</sup> 10, 1958, p. 87-98.

[Soutient, contre l'opinion de Golther, que le duel « harpe contre rote » a été introduit, sinon imaginé de toutes pièces, par Thomas.]

- 85 CURTIS, Renée L., *The Problems of the Authorship of the Prose Tristan, Rom.*, LXXIX, pp. 314-338.

[L'auteur, rectifiant le résumé donné par J.D. Bruce de la théorie d'E. Löseth, indique les divers mss. où une version du prologue est attribuée à Luce, sire *del Chastel del Gat*, près de Salisbury ; mais dans *E*, *V* et *Gh*, Luce et Hélié de Boron sont désignés comme traducteurs ; pour les épilogues, 3 mss. présentent la conclusion du Pseudo-Gautier Map ; 9 mss. sont sans épilogue ; 12 mss. parlent d'Hélié de Boron dans leur épilogue.

Luce semblerait avoir commencé le roman, et Hélié de Boron aurait été un continuateur ; un résumé présente l'hypothèse de travail de R.C. ; il y aurait lieu de distinguer : Luce *del Gat* ; un continuateur qui se fait appeler Hélié de Boron, en prétendant être un parent de Robert ; un scribe qui donne à l'épilogue le nom de « Livre dou Bret » ; un second continuateur qui prétend être l'auteur du « Livre dou Bret ».

Selon R.C., il n'y aurait pas eu deux versions du roman en prose de *Tristan*.]

- 86 FOULON, Charles, *Le Rôle de Gauvain dans « Erec et Enide »*, *Annales de Bretagne*, t. LXV, 1958, p. 147-158.

[Le rôle de Gauvain, personnage de la tradition celtique, modifié déjà par Geoffroy de Monmouth et Wace, se développe dans les romans de Chrétien. Quelques détails le rattachent dans *Erec* à son ascendance celtique, tel le nom de son cheval *Guingalet* (de *gwen* et *kaled* ; ou de *kein* et *kaled*). Premier chevalier d'Arthur, valeureux, mais surtout de « grand sen », il cesse d'être un personnage de légende pour devenir non seulement un héros de roman, mais un chevalier courtois, très rationalisé par l'auteur d'*Erec*.]

- 87 FOURRIER, Anthime, *Réponse à Madame Rita Lejeune à propos de la date du « Conte del Graal » de Chrétien de Troyes*, *BBSIA*, n° 10, 1958, p. 73-85.



- 88 JONIN, Pierre, *Prolégomènes à une édition d' « Yvain »*, Publication des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix-en-Provence, Nouvelle Série, N° 19, Editions Ophrys, Gap, 1958.

[Les raisons d'une nouvelle édition d'*Yvain* (7-14) — Les manuscrits d'*Yvain* (8-25) — L'état du texte (26-63) — Le choix du manuscrit de base (64-87) — Le classement des manuscrits d'*Yvain* et les principes d'une nouvelle édition (88-96) — L'édition d'un passage d'*Yvain* (97-107) — Le texte établi, vers 5620-5970 (108-117) — Notes pour l'établissement ou l'explication de quelques vers (118-123).

L'auteur choisit le ms. *Bibl. Nat. fr.* 794 (copie de Guiot) comme manuscrit de base.]

- 89 JONIN, Pierre, *Les personnages féminins dans les romans français de Tristan au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Etude des influences contemporaines.* Publication des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix-en-Provence, Nouvelle Série, n° 22, Editions Ophrys, Gap, 1958.

[Avant-propos et introduction (7-14) — L'originalité de Béroul et de Thomas vis-à-vis d'Eilhart (15-55) — Les réalités historiques (Le procès d'Iseut, Iseut et les lépreux) (57-138) — Les courants littéraires (L'influence des romans antiques, L'influence courtoise sur Béroul et la *Folie Tristan de Berne*. L'influence courtoise sur Thomas et la *Folie Tristan d'Oxford*, 139-335) — Le climat religieux, Béroul, Thomas, 337-450) — Conclusion générale, Appendices, Bibliographie, Index (451-523).]

- 90 LEJEUNE, Rita, *Le rôle littéraire de la famille d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine, dans Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles, ... 1<sup>re</sup> année, n° 3, Juillet-septembre 1958, p. 319-337.*

[Richard Cœur-de-Lion et les romans de la Table Ronde (p. 322) — Geoffroy, comte, puis duc de Bretagne et la matière de Bretagne (p. 323) — Influence de Marie de Champagne et de Mathilde de Saxe (p. 324-329) — Naissance d'une littérature européenne de caractère français (p. 331-337).]

- 91 LOOMIS, Roger Sherman, *Objections to the celtic origin of the " Matière de Bretagne "*, Rom., LXXIX, 1958, pp. 47-77.

[Après avoir reconnu l'insuffisance de certaines hypothèses secondaires des partisans de l'origine celtique de la littérature arthurienne (Rhys, Brown, et lui-même dans *Celtic Myth and Arthurian romance*), R.S.L. montre que Bruce a minimisé à tort l'importance des éléments celtiques dans les romans arthuriens de Chrétien ; que Hofer, ou Tatlock, sceptiques quand il s'agit des rapprochements établis entre Chrétien et les anciennes littératures celtiques, sont eux-mêmes téméraires quand ils avancent certaines hypothèses sur les sources savantes du même auteur. K. Jackson a méconnu les études de plusieurs érudits comme Gruffydd, C. O'Rahilly, Ifor Williams. Enfin l'auteur insiste sur la probabilité d'une transmission des éléments celtiques par des intermédiaires bretons.]

- 92 LUMIANSKY, M., *Gawain's miraculous strength : Malory's use of le " Morte Arthur " and " Mort Artu "*, *Etudes Anglaises*, Avril 1957, X<sup>e</sup> année, fascicule 2, p. 97-108.

[Comment Malory utilise le thème de la force surnaturelle de Gauvain, qui se trouve à la fois dans la *Morte Artu* française et dans le poème en moyen-anglais du même nom. L'étude contient des comparaisons relatives au nombre des combats dans chacune de ces œuvres, à la durée de la force de Gauvain, à l'importance du thème et à son rôle. Effort d'unification et de progression dramatique chez Malory.]

- 93 MAC CANA, Proinsias, *Aspects of the theme of king and goddess in Irish literature, Et. Celt.*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1, pp. 59-65.

[Conclusion des articles signalés dans *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n<sup>o</sup> 113. Après un examen sommaire de divers contes, l'auteur distingue trois formes pour le thème de la « Souveraineté d'Irlande » ; celui du monstre qu'un baiser transforme en belle dame ; celui de la femme sauvage rendue à la beauté par son union avec le souverain légitime ; celui de la fille de sang royal élevée parmi les vachers et rendue à sa première dignité par son mariage avec un roi.]

- 94 MICHA, Alexandre, *Les manuscrits du « Merlin en prose » de Robert de Boron, Rom., LXXIX, 1958, pp. 78-94; pp. 145-174.*

[Après avoir décrit les divers manuscrits dans son premier article, A.M. distingue deux versions : l'une, la version  $\alpha$ , appartenant au petit cycle (*Joseph d'Arimathie, Merlin et Perceval*), et représentée par 39 manuscrits ; l'autre, la version  $\beta$ , faite pour le grand cycle (*Lancelot-Graal, ou Vulgate*) représentée par 12 manuscrits, et postérieure à l'*Estoire dou Saint Graal*. Divers passages-témoins appuient ce classement. Après un bref examen des manuscrits contaminés, l'article se termine par un tableau des deux versions (la première comprenant huit sous-groupes, répartis en trois familles ; la seconde, quatre sous-groupes.)

- 95 ROQUES, Mario, *Pour l'interprétation du « Chevalier de la Charrette » de Chrétien de Troyes, dans Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles..., 1<sup>re</sup> année, n<sup>o</sup> 2, avril-juin 1958, p. 141-152.*

[I. Manuscrits, titre, éditions. — II. Conditions de composition du roman. — III. Le récit. — IV. Le « sen » de l'œuvre. — V. Problèmes de chronologie.]

- 96 VENDRYES, J., *La Destruction de Ding Rig, dans Et. Celt., VIII, fasc. 1, 1958, pp. 1-40.*

[Traduction française d'un récit épique sur la prise de Ding Rig, en Leinster, par Labraid. Elle est suivie d'un commentaire littéraire, historique et stylistique.]

- 97 WILLIAMS, Harry F., *Cresttiens li Gois, BBSIA, 10, 1958, pp. 67-71.*

[*Cresttiens li gois* signifierait « Chrétien le gai, le joyeux, le vif ».]

### III. — COMPTES RENDUS

- 98 BINDSCHIEDLER, Maria, *Gottfried von Strassburg und die höfische Ethik, Halle, Niemeyer, 1955. (Cf. BBSIA, 8, 1956, n<sup>o</sup> 28.)*

C.R. par A. Moret dans *Et. Germ.*, avril-juin 1957, p. 158 ss.

[Élogieux. « Courte enquête, très riche de substance ». La position du poète vis-à-vis de l'éthique

courtoise ne peut s'éclairer que par l'examen du vocabulaire propre à ce domaine. L'amour dans *Tristan* n'est pas un mysticisme perversi et n'a rien de commun avec le pessimisme ou le manichéisme des Cathares.]

- 99 CLUZEL, Irénée, *Les plus anciens troubadours et la légende amoureuse de Tristan et d'Iseut*. (Extrait des *Mélanges István Frank*, 1957, pp. 155-170).  
C.R. sommaire par F. Lecoy dans *Rom.*, LXXIX, 1958, p. 432.  
[Réserves sur l'existence d'un *Tristan* provençal.]
- 100 DELIUS, Walter, *Geschichte der irischen Kirche*, München-Basel, E. Reinhard-Verlag, 1954.  
C.R. par J. Vendryes dans *Et. Celt.*, Vol. VIII, fasc. 1, 1958, pp. 188-191.  
[Eloges.]
- 101 FRAPPIER, Jean, *Chrétien de Troyes, L'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, 1957. (Connaissance des Lettres, 50.) (Voir *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n° 86).  
C.R. par Pierre Gallais dans *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles...*, 1<sup>re</sup> année, n° 3, juillet-septembre 1958, p. 385-387.  
par R. Bizot, dans *Revue de la Franco-Ancienne*, juillet 1958, p. 303-305.  
par J. Bourciez dans *RLR*, LXXIII, n° 1958-1959, p. 101-102.  
[Eloges : d'utiles observations. Une note additionnelle contient un commentaire intéressant sur l'article de J.F., *Le tour « je me sui » chez Chrétien de Troyes, Romance Philology*, IX, 2, 1955. Cf. *BBSIA*, 8, 1956, n° 49.]  
par Henri Roussel dans la *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, 1958, p. 283-288.
- 102 FRAPPIER, Jean, *Le Graal et l'Hostie (Conte del Graal, v. 6413-31)*, tiré de *Les Romans du Graal aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1956, p. 63-81. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n° 98.)  
C.R. par J. Bourciez dans *RLR*, LXXIII, n° 1958-1959, p. 101.

- 103 GSTEIGER, Manfred, *Die Landschaftsbilderungen in den Romanen Chrestiens de Troyes*. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n° 158.)  
C.R. par Hanne Lange dans *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 1<sup>re</sup> année, n° 3, juillet-septembre 1958, p. 387-388.
- 104 MAC KENNA, Lambert, *The Book of Magauran, Leabhar Méig Shamhradhain*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1947, XXV-470 p. in-8°.  
C.R. par E. Bachelery dans *Et. Celt.*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1, pp. 211-213.  
[Eloges de cette édition de poèmes des XII<sup>e</sup>, XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles.]
- 105 MARX, Jean, *Quelques remarques au sujet de récents travaux sur l'origine du Graal*, MA, 1957, pp. 469-480. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n° 60.)  
C.R. sommaire par M. Roques dans *Rom.*, LXXIX, 1958, p. 432.  
[M.R. maintient les vues qu'il a exposées dans *le Graal de Chrétien et la Demoiselle au Graal*, et considère comme un « témoignage capital » les visions d'Hildegarde de Bingen.]
- 106 MICHA, Alexandre, *La Table Ronde chez Robert de Boron et dans la « Queste del Saint Graal »*, extrait de *Les Romans du Graal aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1956, pp. 119-136. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n° 116.)  
C.R. sommaire par J. Bourciez dans *RLR*, LXXIII, n° 1958-1959, pp. 100-101.
- 107 NITZE (*William A. Nitze Testimonial, Romance Philology*, t. IX, fasc. 2 et 3, années 1955-1956. Cf. *BBSIA.*, 8, 1956, n°<sup>s</sup> 40, 49, 58, 61, 63, 71, 73, 75, 65, 47.)  
C.R. analytique des articles contenus dans les fascicules 2 et 3 du tome IX de *Romance Philology* (année 1955-1956) par Pierre GALLAIS, dans *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 1<sup>re</sup> année, n° 1, janvier-mars 1958, p. 98-100.  
[Articles résumés de J. Fourquet, J. Frappier, R.S. Loomis, J. Marx, A. Micha, H. Newstead, M. de Riquer, M. Roques, A.W. Thompson.]

- 108 *Romans du Graal aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles (Les)*, publication du CNRS (Cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n<sup>o</sup> 94 à 123, passim.)  
C.R. par J.A. Bizet, dans *Et. Germ.*, juil.-sept. 1958, p. 269-270.  
[Le c.r. insiste sur le problème de l'unité du *Conte del Graal* (épisode de Gauvain) et d'autre part sur le problème de Kyot.]  
C.R. par Georges Duby, dans *Annales* (Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations), année 1957, p. 672.
- 109 RYCHNER, Jean, *Marie de France, Le lai de Lanval*, éd. par J. Rychner (Cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n<sup>o</sup> 84.)  
C.R. par Jeanne Lods, dans *Rom.*, LXXIX, 1958, pp. 425-428.  
[Cette édition est un « bon instrument de travail ». Observations critiques concernant l'unification de la langue par l'éditeur et la ponctuation du texte. Éloge de l'édition de la version norroise.]
- 110 SEGRE, Cesare, *Lanval, Graelent, Guingamor*. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 1958, n<sup>o</sup> 129.)  
C.R. par Jeanne Lods dans *Rom.*, LXXIX, 1958, pp. 131-135.  
[J.L. ajoute à son compte rendu — élogieux — un commentaire personnel — psychologique et moral — du lai de *Lanval*.]
- 111 THOMSON, R.L., *Pwyll Pendewic Dyuet*, Dublin, Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957, XXXIV-72 p. in-16.  
C.R. par J. Vendryes dans *Et. Celt.*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1, 1958, pp. 228-229.  
[Commentaires sur cette édition, la première d'une collection irlandaise de textes gallois médiévaux et modernes.]
- 112 WAPNEWSKI, Peter, *Wolframs Parzival-Studien zur Religiosität und Form* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1955, 204 p.). Cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1956, n<sup>o</sup> 23.  
C.R. par A. Moret dans *Et. Germ.*, avril-juin 1957, p. 159-160.  
[Approuve la méthode précise et prudente (l'influence de saint Augustin domine au livre IX), ainsi que le ton courtois de la discussion.]

- 113 WEBER, Gottfried, *Gottfrieds von Strassburg Tristan und die Krise des hochmittelalterlichen Weltbildes um 1200* (Cf. *BBSIA*, 5, n° 15.)  
C.R. par J. Fourquet dans *Etudes Germaniques*, janvier-mars 1957, p. 34 ss.  
[Le titre de l'article est *Littérature courtoise et théologie* : reproches adressés à la méthode de G.W. ; celui-ci part du postulat que le *Tristan* est un poème ésotérique ; il y introduit à tort des éléments cathares et manichéens qui n'ont pas de rapport avec cette œuvre.]
- 114 WEIGAND, Hermann, J., *Three chapters on Courtly Love in Arthurian France and Germany* (Lancelot — Andreas Capellanus — Wolfram von Eschenbach), Chapel Hill, 1956. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 9, 1957, n° 40.)  
C.R. par J. Frappier dans *RLC*, 32<sup>e</sup> année, 1958, p. 107-111.  
[Eloges. Cependant le parallèle entre Wolfram d'Eschenbach et Chrétien de Troyes est en partie faussé par des erreurs de perspective.]
- 115 WILLIAMS, Ifor, *Armes Prydein o Lyfr Taliesin, Caerdydd, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru*, 1955, XLVII-76 p., in-12°. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 8, 1956, n° 153.)  
C.R. par E. Bachellery dans *Et. Celt.*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1, pp. 220-226.  
[Étude très fouillée de l'édition de ces poèmes qui vont du VI<sup>e</sup> s. (?) au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nombreuses corrections.]
- 116 WILLIAMS, Ifor, *Chwedl Taliesin* (La Légende de Taliesin), Caerdydd, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 24 p. in-8°, 1957.  
C.R. par E. Bachellery dans *Et. Celt.*, vol. VIII, fasc. 1, pp. 229-231.  
[Eloge de cette conférence de I.W. Elle porte sur un ms. du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle contenant la prose et les poèmes attribués à Taliesin ; I.W. a essayé de fixer le second stade (vers 916-940) et le troisième stade (vers 1400) de la légende de Taliesin. Le premier stade le montrerait confondu avec les bardes du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, et peut-être avec Merlin. Ce travail, dit E.B., est « promoteur ».]

- 117 WOLF, Werner, *Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jüngerer Titurel*, Band I. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1955, CXXXVIII-496 p. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 8, 1956, n° 2.)

C.R. par A. Moret dans *Et. Germ.*, juillet-sept. 1957, p. 273.

[Le *Jüngerer Titurel*, longtemps considéré comme étant de Wolfram, n'est en fait que le développement de deux épisodes de *Parzival*, correspondant eux-mêmes à deux fragments du *Titurel* de Wolfram. Description des 57 mss. ou fragments connus, regroupés en trois branches ; variantes des mss. de la branche I et leçons du témoin le plus ancien et le plus complet de la branche II. Excellent travail.]



# GREAT BRITAIN

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## ARTHURIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY 1958

COMPILED BY LEWIS THORPE \*

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### II. — CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDIES

- 118 BLISS, A.J., *The hero's name in the Middle English versions of "Lanval"*, in *Med.Aev.*, XXVII, 2 (1958), pp. 80-85.

[*Lanval* exists in two Middle English versions : a complete version which has survived in two complete manuscript texts, a fragmentary manuscript text and two printed fragments ; and a later version in twelve-line tail-rhyme stanzas written by Thomas Chestre, of which we possess a single manuscript only. In this article Mr. Bliss gives a detailed analysis of the numerous variant spellings of the hero's name which appear not only in these texts but also in casual references in early English literature. He follows H. Zimmer in the association with Lanvaux in Morbihan ; and he connects the *Lamuas*, *Lamual*, *Lamuuel*, *Lamuell* forms with the *Lamuel* of the *Vulgate Proverbs* XXXI, 4. His collations permit him to make certain conclusions concerning the debt of Thomas Chestre to his predecessor and concerning the manuscript and printed traditions.]

- 119 BOGDANOW, F., *The character of Gauvain in the thirteenth-century prose romances*, in *Med. Aev.*, XXVII, 3 (1958), pp. 154-161.

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\* I express my thanks to Mrs. Rachel Bromwich who has supplied the Welsh material.

[An analysis of the duality of character of Gauvain, who in some texts is a model of chivalry but elsewhere is treacherous and vindictive. E. Vinaver has already examined this duality as it appears in Malory and has stressed that Malory inherited it from his French sources. W.A. Nitze and B.K. Ray have also studied it. Miss Bogdanow now traces the variation of treatment given to Gauvain in the Vulgate Cycle, in the prose Tristan, in the pseudo-Robert de Boron Cycle and in the *Palamades* and comes to certain conclusions about that variation.]

- 120 GRAY, D., *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, line 649, in *N et Q.*, New Series, V, 11 (1958), pp. 487-8.

[Contains a further suggestion concerning line 649, which reads : 'In þe more half of his schelde hir ymage depaynted'. S.O. Andrews and Israel Gollancz changed to [inner]-more. Mr. Gray would read *innore*.]

- 121 JARMAN, A.O.H., *Mabinogi Branwen : Crynodeb o Ddadansoddiad W.J. Gruffydd* (Summary of W.J. Gruffydd's Analysis of the *Mabinogi of Branwen*), in *Ll.C.*, IV (1958), pp. 129-134.

[This article is based on papers left by the late Prof. W.J. Gruffydd and on notes taken down from his lectures. It gives a synopsis of the ideas about the sources of *Branwen* which, had he lived, he would have developed in a book intended to complete his work on the sources of the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*. Gruffydd considered that the original nucleus, which can be discerned as underlying subsequent accretions to the narrative, was an account of the raid upon the Other World (*Annwfn*) made by Pryderi, the central hero of the *Four Branches*. Its purpose was to bring back the Other World treasure, a Cauldron of Regeneration. An independent handling of the same theme has come down in the early poem *Preiddeu Annwfn*, "The Spoils of Annwfn", where we already find the adventure which was originally appropriated to Pryderi to have been transferred to Arthur; just as in the *Mabinogi* version it has been transferred to Brân Vendigeit. But in both the poem and the *Mabinogi* there have survived traces of the original association of the adventure with Pryderi. The chief

importance of the discussion for Arthurian scholars lies in the demonstration that a part of the narrative material underlying the *Four Branches* was separately introduced into the Arthurian complex in the ninth- or tenth-century poem *Preiddeu Annwfn.*]

- 122 JONES, R.M., *Y Rhamantau Cymraeg a'u Cysylltiad a'r Rhamantau Ffrangeg* (The Welsh Romances and their connection with the French Romances), in *LL.C.*, IV (1958), pp. 208-227.

[A re-examination of the nature of the relation which subsists between the *Mabinogion* tales of *Owein*, *Peredur* and *Gereint ac Enid*, and Chrétien's poems *Le Chevalier au Lion*, *Le Conte del Graal* and *Erec et Enide*. Fresh material drawn from a study of the Welsh literary back-ground is brought into the argument. While adhering to Loomis' view that these tales cannot be based on Chrétien's corresponding poems, J. disputes the conclusion that they derive from a common French source with the latter. He emphasises the stylistic affinities which these tales have in common with the narrative tradition of the native *chwedlan*, and disputes in detail the evidence which has previously been adduced as proving that the Welsh tales are translated from a French prototype. He considers that they spring from a continuous tradition in Welsh, and that the French influences in them are to be attributed to the fact that they represent older native tales which were re-adapted in a bi-lingual community in South Wales after the Conquest, and were moulded by storytellers such as the famous *Bleddri*, whose *répertoire* was available in both languages.]

- 123 JONES, T., *Dat blygiadau Cynnar Chwedl Arthur* (The Early Evolution of the story of Arthur), in *BBCS.*, XVII (1958), pp. 235-52.

[A critical re-assessment of the evidence for the growth of the pre-Geoffrey Arthurian tradition, dealing primarily with the allusions to Arthur in the Welsh-Latin chronicles and in early Welsh poetry. The reference to Arthur in the *Gododdin* and the passage in Nennius listing 'Arthur's Battles' both date from at least as early as the ninth century, and may well be older; and fresh evidence is adduced which enforces the belief that Nennius' passage in the 'Battles' is based on an older Welsh (North-British) poetic source. Both the above sources are to be interpreted as pro-

viding evidence that the early heroic tradition of Arthur originated in North Britain. Also from as early as the ninth century, the Nennian *Mirabilia* provide evidence for the growth of folklore and romance around Arthur's name; while other early references prove that the names of a number of independent characters of heroic legend and of mythology were brought into association with Arthur in Welsh sources which can be confidently dated as prior to the Norman Conquest. It is shown that this movement southwards of traditions concerning an originally North-British hero, and their fresh localisation in Wales and in the south-west, fits in with a recognized pattern in the movement of early Welsh sub-literary material.]

124 LEWIS, I., *Arthurian Literature*, 1957, bibliography publ. in *BC.*, V (1958), pp. 41-47.

125 LOOMIS, Roger S., *Scotland and the Arthurian Legend*, in *PSAS.*, LXXXIX, Session of 1955-56 (publ. 1958), pp. 1-21.

[There is no good evidence to connect the historic Arthur with Scotland, but Geoffrey of Monmouth made him the conqueror and overlord of the Scots, and inspired the identification of Edinburgh with the famed Castle of Maidens of romance. A cognate tradition, linking Morgain la Fée to this castle, left its traces on the *Mort Artu* and the ballad *The Queen of Scotland*. Breton *conteurs* invented a love affair between the historic Owain Rheged and the Lady of Lothian, which was the basis of Chrétien's *Yvain*. Chrétien himself was responsible for transferring Gawain's adventures in the Castle of Ladies from the border of Wales to that of Galloway, and in the fourteenth century the Scots claimed that Sinadon (Caer Seint in Snowdonia) was Stirling, with the result that the title Snowdon Herald is Scottish. The name and legend of Tristan started with a Pictish king of the eighth century.]

126 LOOMIS, Roger S., *Arthurian Tradition and Folklore*, in *Folklore*, LXIX (1958), pp. 1-25.

[The assertion that elements of Arthurian romance derive from folktales is often misleading, since most of the Irish and Welsh contributions were contained in the répertoire of professional sagamen, reciting

before nobles and princes. Certain Breton motifs, however — the storm-making spring and the gifts of the fays to Arthur — seem to have had a popular origin. Celts of all classes shared the belief in Arthur's survival, whether in the underworld or on a fairy isle, whether as leader of the Wild Hunt or in the form of a black bird, and some of these traditions survived as folklore far into the last century, even spreading to England and France. But "legends" that Joseph of Arimathea brought the Grail to Glastonbury, that Tristram of Lyonesse came from a sunken land off the coast of Cornwall, that Guenevere was buried at Meigle, and that Dozmare Pool was the mere into which Bedivere flung Excalibur are all of literary, not popular, origin.]

- 127 LOOMIS, Roger Sherman, *A common source for "Erec" and "Gereint"*, in *Med. Aev.*, XXVII, 3 (1958), pp. 175-78.

[Professor Loomis replies to the article publ. in *Med. Aev.*, XXVI, 1 (1957), pp. 32-35, entitled "*Et Liconaus ot non ses pere*", (Cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 114), in which Mr. R. Harris challenges the conclusions which Loomis (in *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* p. 35 and *Mélanges Ernest Hoepffner* pp. 227-30) drew from the fact that Chrétien de Troyes called Enide's father *Leconuials* and that the author of the Welsh *Gereint* referred to the corresponding personage as *Ynywl iarll*. In an appendix to this reply Mr. Harris shows that he is not convinced.]

- 128 MAC CANA, P., *Branwen, Daughter of Llyr: a study of the Irish affinities and of the composition of the Second Branch of the Mabinogi*, Welsh Univ. Press, 1958, pp. 1-199.

[An extensive investigation and study of such Old Irish tales as could have influenced the eleventh-century 'author' of the *Mabinogi* of *Branwen*. This work carries further the study of the literary affinities and development of the tale which the late Prof. W.J. Gruffydd began but did not live to complete.]

- 129 VINAVER, E., *King Arthur's Sword, or the Making of a Medieval Romance*, in *BJRL.*, XL, N° 2 (1958), pp. 513-26.

[Instead of treating medieval romance as a "record of folklore" the author endeavours to look upon it as

part of the literary history of its time, using the theme of Arthur's sword as an example of a constructive process underlying the structure of thirteenth-century Arthurian romances. Gauvain's gesture in arming Lancelot with Excalibur in a moment of danger (*The Vulgate Version*, III, 386) adds to the significance of their encounter on the battlefield in the *Mort Artu*, just as the story of how Arthur received his sword from a hand which rose above the surface of the lake provides a necessary complement to the scene of Arthur's death, when his sword is cast into a lake and caught by the same hand. In each case the earlier scene is invented after the later one, and the process seems to be one of consistent development from isolated to co-ordinated episodes.]

- 130 WILLSON, H.B. *Walther's Dream*, in *MLR*, LIII, 2 (1958), pp. 191-6.

[This poem falls into the category of religious poetry, and is not an example of Walther's so-called "enlightened scepticism". The 'lay piety' from which it springs is strikingly illustrated in the cryptic conclusion, where the old woman's thumb and finger formula conceals a 'sacramental' reference to the Holy Trinity, symbolising the deeper reality of Oneness underlying the diversity and plurality of the seen world.]

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- 136 ZILTENER, W., *Chrétien und die Aeneis. Eine Untersuchung des Einflusses von Vergil auf Chrétien von Troyes*, Graz and Cologne, 1957. (Cf. *BBSIA*, 10, 159).

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[Mlle Brayer donne la description du ms. du Vatican (Ottob. lat. 1869) du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui contient le « Roman de Brut » complet, et du ms. de La Haye (Bibl. R.73.J.53), qui « a été défiguré par la disparition de nombreux feuillets », sans compter que « les feuillets rescapés ont été mélangés, transposés et reliés dans un désordre extrême ». Du « Roman de Brut », on y trouve seulement 7348 octosyllabes.]

- 138 CORDIÈ, C., *Alla ricerca di Demogorgone*, dans *Studi in onore di Angelo Monteverdi*, Modena, 1959, I, pp. 158-184.

[Cet article, qui avait déjà paru dans un autre ouvrage (*Romanticismo e classicismo nell' opera di Victor Chauvet e altre ricerche di storia letteraria*, Messina-Firenze, 1958, pp. 165-202) contient des rapprochements intéressants entre le mythe de Demogorgone et la légende arthurienne.]

- 139 GUIDI, A., *Un brano del « Galvano » inglese*, dans *Studi in onore di Angelo Monteverdi*, Modena, 1959, I, pp. 313-17.

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[L'auteur établit des rapports d'un grand intérêt entre la chanson de Bernart de Ventadour (*Can vei la lauzeta mover*) celle de Raimbaut d'Orange (*No chan per auzel ni per flor*) et celle de Chrétien de Troyes (*D'Amors, qui m'a tolu a moi*). Tout en imitant Bernart de Ventadour, sans se rallier en tous points à son inspiration, Chrétien paraît bien répondre à Raimbaut d'Orange en préférant au philtre et à l'amour fatal de Tristan un amour fondé sur « fin cuer » et « bone volanté ». De même que chez Bernart le « senhal » *Tristan* désigne Raimbaut, on peut se demander si chez ce dernier le mystérieux *Carestia*, où l'on a voulu reconnaître le *senhal* d'un jongleur, n'implique pas une allusion à l'expression et à la notion (venue d'Ovide) de *chier tans* qu'emploie et définit Chrétien dans sa chanson (v. 42) et dans un passage de l'*Yvain* (v. 2515 ss.). Peut-être, plus problématiquement, n'est-il pas interdit de supposer que Raimbaut s'est plu aussi à faire un jeu de mots sur le nom du poète, *Crestia*, Chrétien de Troyes. Cette importante contribution à l'histoire (si difficile) des rapports littéraires entre le Nord et le Midi de la France au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle s'achève par la citation et le commentaire de plusieurs passages, empruntés à quelques troubadours (Guillem de Saint-Didier, Arnaut Daniel, Raimon de Miraval, Guillem Montanhagol, Raimon Bistort d'Arles, Luchetto Gattilusio) où se retrouvent le thème ou l'expression de *carestia*.]

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- 142 BERTONI, G., *Cantari di Tristano*, Modena, Soc. Tip. Modenese, 1937.  
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[Ce volume contient les communications du Congrès de Strasbourg de mars-avril 1954. M. Cigada signale surtout les travaux de M. Roques (*Sur le mot « graal »*), de J. Frappier (*Le Graal et l'Hostie*), d'E. Faral (*Sur les origines purement chrétiennes du Graal*), de K. Jackson (*Les sources celtiques du Roman du Graal*), etc. Il semble que les travaux de ce congrès ont confirmé les origines surtout celtiques du Graal.]
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[Frocin, nom du nain astrologue dans le *Tristan* de Béroul, tantôt sous cette forme, tantôt sous la forme *Frocine*, proviendrait d'un nom commun *frocin* (e) qui pourrait avoir désigné tout d'abord le petit crapaud ou la petite grenouille et que Béroul aurait employé pour désigner métaphoriquement un nain.]

- 184 HEINIMANN, S., *Zur stilgeschichtlichen Stellung Chrétiens*, dans *Mélanges István Frank*, p. 235-249.

[Contribution à l'étude de la langue de Chrétien de Troyes. Rapprochements entre un certain nombre d'expressions employées par Chrétien et des expressions analogues relevées dans les chansons de geste et chez les troubadours.]

- 185 LEJEUNE, Rita, *Le troubadour Rigaut de Barbezieux*, dans *Mélanges István Frank*, p. 269-295.

[P. 273-276 : Rigaut de Barbezieux et la légende de Perceval. Il n'est pas assuré que ce troubadour ait séjourné à la cour de Marie de Champagne. « Pourquoi le Perceval du troubadour, au lieu d'être un écho de Chrétien, n'apparaîtrait-il pas comme un témoin de la diffusion précoce de la légende du graal dans les territoires de l'Aquitaine, cette Aquitaine gouvernée depuis 1152 par un fils de la maison d'Anjou ? Ne savons-nous pas, par Wolfram d'Eschenbach, qu'il y a eu des influences angevines dans le traitement de cette légende ? »]

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## II – RECHERCHE ET CRITIQUE



## KING ARTHUR IN THE BALTIC TOWNS

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Being far removed from the centres in which Arthurian romances first arose and later proliferated, the towns of the medieval Baltic area did not favour this type of chivalric fiction, not even in the later Middle Ages when prose redactions were being disseminated elsewhere in Europe by pioneers in the art of printing. Nevertheless a cult associated with King Arthur was widely known in the cities of Old Prussia, Poland and Latvia in this later period. It found its expression in social institutions, however, rather than in works of literary art. The development of the Arthurian cult over several centuries represents a curious and interesting chapter in cultural history. It is well known to historians of the area, but is probably less familiar to students of medieval literature. Passing from its earlier to its later phases is in fact like turning from the atmosphere of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* to the earlier sections of Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*.

What happened was that in a number of towns like Dantzic and its neighbours there appeared, early in the 14th century, organizations called Brotherhoods of King Arthur, each with a meeting place known as Arthur's Court (Curia or Societas Arturi, Artushof, Dwór Artusa or an equivalent expression) (1). The cities included Dantzic, Culm, Thorn (Torun), Elbing, Braunsberg, Riga in Latvia and perhaps Stralsund in Pomerania. The chief patron saint was usually, though not always (for instance, not in Riga) St George, associated with the knightly activity of killing dragons and rescuing damsels in distress. The foun-

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(1) A general account of this cult was first given by Theodor HIRSCH, *Ueber den Ursprung der Preussischen Artushöfe*, *Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, I (1864), 3-32. A detailed account of the institution in Dantzic (Gdansk) appears in Paul Simson, *Der Artushof in Danzig und seine Bruderschaften die Banken* (Dantzic, 1900).

ders of the societies were members of families of noble origin who had turned to trade. Their courts at first combined the functions of an aristocratic club perpetuating feudal ceremonies, a mercantile exchange, and a religious benevolent society. Here was a place where shipbuilders and wealthy traders could discuss their assets, risks and profits; where works of charity and religious observance could be planned; and where there were convivial gatherings daily, with food and beer, until the statutory closing hour.

Membership was limited by the rules: for instance, small traders as well as handicraft workers were excluded in the early period (14th and 15th centuries), and reputable "brothers" were expected, upon pain of disqualification, to avoid unseemly behaviour such as quarreling, bad language, commercial malpractices, intimacy with eachothers' wives, and marriage with women of bad reputation (2). The annual ceremonies which most clearly recalled feudal-aristocratic origins were the tournaments held in knightly costumes, apparently in imitation of Arthur's court, at specific seasons. At Dantzig it was customary in the pre-Lenten season to have members and guests joust against one another (the expression was "nach der Tafelrunde reiten").

A prize was awarded to the winner from the hands of the ladies present. A festival called the Mairitt was held at Whitsun, ending in a banquet at which the ladies also participated. This was held, appropriately enough, under the patronage of the aristocratic order or "bench" of St George; but in the course of time patronage was extended to less exclusive families belonging to other orders within the Court.

The shift in social relations is amusingly exemplified by an incident occurring in Dantzig during the latter 15th century. According to the chronicle of the city written by Caspar Weinreich (3), the ceremonies of the year 1486 were disturbed by strife arising from an issue of class distinction. The patrician ladies objected to the presence of contes-

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(2) The regulations of the Artushof in Dantzig, presumably dating back to the 14th century in their oldest form, are printed by Simson, *op. cit.*, Appendix.

(3) *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, IV (1870), p. 757. The passage is obscure, but the editors thus interpret it.

tants of the lower orders, especially to a certain " Merten Bogen, gekoren ein versteerer und eines pauren [i.e., bauren] son Lenardt von der Domerau, anders genant von Kleskau ". A contestant named Hermann Floring was secretly prepared and suddenly presented himself, but he would not agree that the prize — a silver model of a ship (" ein silbern lebarn ") — should revert to the Fraternity of St Rainold in the Court, as had previously been arranged. A new model of the prize was therefore made, but some " olderleute " or councillors of the Court seized it when it was ready to be delivered to the ladies, and cast it on the ground before them :

Und do man den frauen den dank antworten wolde, do nemen in die alderleute vom hofe bei namen : Hans Stutte, Greger Melmen, Detloff von Loe, Hans Overam u. und wolden den kleinen dank nicht lossen vergeben und worfen in vor de fusse, so das den obent kein dank von den frauen wart vergeben. Die frauen sprochen, het er in die hende komen, sie wolden in gerne haben vergeben, sonder die olderleute wolden in den frauen in die hende nicht lossen komen...

Thus no one received the prize, neither Floring (who appears to have been the ladies' « protégé » nor one of the low-born group. The affair caused much unfavourable comment by Court members, common folk and visitors also : " so das do auff dem hofe von frembden leuten und allem gemeinem volk, rat und scheppen grosz dovon sprechen war : der andere sunst, der ander so " .

In the Court's regulations as revised in the 16th century, there was no longer a distinction made between large-scale merchants and small traders, but hired workers and handicraftsmen were still excluded. The Reformation naturally modified the role and organization of religious practices. The rules about decorous behaviour and moral standing were retained; especial attention was given to the observance of seemly language, to hours of closing, to the exclusion of female vendors, and to like matters. The numbers of foreign guests were increased, and they were still made welcome as associate members under specified conditions.

Trading connections with England increased notably in the 16th century, and English visitors were the most numerous of all foreigners. This well-known economic fact is

reflected in a curious literary text, hitherto but little studied, to which I have recently called attention elsewhere (4). This is an anonymous English fabliau of unknown immediate source which is preserved in a 16th century collection called *The Deceit of Women*. The tale in question, told with lively skill, is a variant of the familiar plot which folklorists designate as *The Lover's Gift Returned*. For our purposes the interesting point is that the action occurs in Dantzic, that the lover is a visitor from Lubeck (a city well represented in Arthur's Court), that the duped husband is also a merchant and a member of the Court. In fact, the wife instructs her lover to visit her after " the clock hath smitten " seven, since she will then be free to receive him :

For it is the maner in Danswyke that the moste parte of all the marchaunte men haue supped at .vii. a clocke, and than they goe to Artus gardeyn to drinke and there to take there recreacyon, and somtyme to make bargains with theyr marchandise... And thus went this gentilwomans husband to Artus gardeyn at .vii. of the clocke after supper (fol. 30<sup>b</sup>-31<sup>a</sup>).

We know from the " Ordinacie " that the husband will be able to sit there drinking beer with his fellows until 10 o'clock, thus leaving his wife three hours to give over to her amorous adventure with the visitor from Lubeck. Knowing the rules of the society, which excluded merchants with lascivious wives, we can the better appreciate the satiric effect of the use to which this lady puts her husband's absence at the Court.

The *Deceit of Women* as we now have it appears to be based on earlier edition in the English language made at Antwerp by Jan Doesborch (about 1520). That this should be so is not surprising, in view of the close relations, both mercantile and cultural, between 16th century Baltic cities and the Low Countries. A storyteller in Antwerp could easily learn from hearsay of Arthur's Court in Dantzic and

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(4) *A Sixteenth-Century English Satirical Tale about Gdansk*, *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* (Warsaw), IV (1957), 95-120. The text of the tale here given is that of Veale's edition (London, 1560).



its use as a combined exchange and merchants' club, without having visited the northern port himself. The same is true, of course, of writers and readers of fiction in Tudor London.

Reverting once more to the origins of Arthur's Court in Dantzic, its English connections suggest another contact of considerable literary interest. In an exhaustive study of Chaucer's *Knight* and his historical background, A.S. Cook has shown (5) in detail how many English adventurers, notably Henry Bolingbroke (later King Henry IV) participated in the campaigns by the Teutonic Order against Lithuania in 1390-91 and 1392-93. These campaigns, though conducted ostensibly as crusades, were determined by immediate political objectives. Their costs were great and their gains (reckoning in terms of conversions) were trifling (6).

But while he took part in them, Bolingbroke was also involved in social events of a chivalric character. The ceremony of "beginning the board" at the table of honour of the Teutonic Knights, the holding of tournaments, the honour given to St George as patron, the choice of foreign guests as honorary participants — all these usages were chivalrous and aristocratic; but they also ran parallel to observances of the mercantile Arthur's Court in the same city of Dantzic. In both societies, it appears, quarrels broke out on occasion over questions of honour and prece-

(5) *The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XX (1916), 165-240.

(6) Thomas WALSINGHAM in his *Historia Anglicana* indicates the futility of Bolingbroke's intervention in Baltic affairs if his activity was to be regarded as a crusade. His victory at the siege of Vilna (in a three-way struggle for power among the Kings of Lithuania and Poland and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order) netted precisely eight converts to Christianity at the price of 4,000 casualties: *captaque sunt ibi, vel occisa, quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn, inter caeteros, ibi perempto, qui adversarius noster fuit... Facti sunt Christiani de gente de Lettow octo...* Ed. Henry Thomas Riley, II (London, 1864), p. 198. For details of this campaign see Lucy Toulmin Smith, Introduction to: *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land Made by Henry Earl of Derby*, Camden Society, New Series No. 52 (1894).

dence. Both the Order and the Court, it is suggested, may have originated in the example given by the Order of the Garter instituted by King Edward III, which in turn was influenced by the Round Table of King Arthur (7). There were also points of contact in membership between the English Order and Dantzic's mercantile Court of King Arthur. King Erich of Denmark, who was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1421, was also an honoured guest at the Artushof of Dantzic (8). English visitors in Prussia — men like Henry Hotspur, Earl of Percy (in Prussia in 1392), John Beaufort, Lancaster's oldest natural son (in 1394), as well as Bolingbroke himself (in 1390-91 and 1392-93), and later foreign guests like King Erich — were in a position to report that chivalrous practices in memory of King Arthur were being kept alive there by two organizations of two differing social types. A poet like Chaucer, listening to such reports, would have more than one reason for envisaging the Baltic area as an appropriate scene for his Knight's adventurings.

Margaret SCHLAUCH.

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(7) HIRSCH, p. 23 ; COOK, p. 211.

(8) George Frederick BELTZ, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1841), p. lx. See also HIRSCH, *loc. cit.*, p. 27.

## ARTHURIAN HERALDRY AND THE DATE OF ESCANOR

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It has long been felt that Girart d'Amiens' Arthurian romance was written "about 1280", but, until recently, this belief was entirely founded upon a suggestion made by Gaston Paris in 1893 :

Girard d'Amiens, en effet, a dédié son œuvre à Aliénor de Castille, qui épousa tout enfant, en 1254, le prince Edouard, fils de Henri III d'Angleterre, et mourut en 1290. Comme il la traite de reine, il n'a pu écrire qu'après 1272, année où Edouard I<sup>er</sup> succéda à son père. Il n'a sans doute pas écrit beaucoup plus tard, car on doit croire que la reine Aliénor, pour s'intéresser à des contes de ce genre, devait encore être relativement jeune. C'est ce qui nous engage à placer vers 1280 la composition d'*Escanor* (1).

An important argument against Gaston Paris' notion that only a 'relatively young' person could have been interested in Girart's romance is offered by Loomis' article entitled "Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast" where it is amply

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(1) *HLF*, XXXI, 153. Cf. Gaston PARIS, *La Littérature française au moyen âge*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1905), p. 279 ; *HLF*, XXX, 600 : "vers 1285". *Der Roman von Escanor von Gerard von Amiens*, ed. H. Michelant (Tübingen, 1886), p. xxv : "il a vécu dans les deux derniers tiers du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ou à peu près." BRUCE, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Göttingen, 1923), II, 275, accepts Gaston Paris' dating in *HLF*, XXXI, as do most scholars after him. Martin KLOSE, *Der Roman von Claris und Laris* (Halle, 1916) does not seem to have consulted Gaston Paris' notice with the result that his dating of *Escanor* ("noch weiter nach den achtziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts", p. 302) was duplication of effort. Raphael LEVY, *Chronologie approximative de la littérature française du moyen âge* (Halle, 1957), p. 23, gives the date "1281" with a reference to his *Répertoire des lexiques du vieux français* (New York, 1937), no. 634 which is only, however, a listing (p. 51) of Michelant's edition among the "Principaux lexiques inexistantes ou incomplets".

demonstrated that the English monarch's Arthurianism was a lifelong affair (2). We know, for example, that Rusticiano da Pisa compiled his French romance *Meliadus* from a book (either a *Tristan en prose* or a *Palamedes* or a combination of both) given to him by Edward about 1273 (3). It may therefore be assumed that Eleanor's interest in Arthurian literature also dates back at least that far. In 1278, Edward and Eleanor visited Glastonbury and had King Arthur's tomb opened (4).

Loomis, however, does not challenge Gaston Paris' reason for dating *Escanor* "about 1280". He goes on, rather to propose the date 1279 :

Whitsuntide of the following year, 1279, saw Edward and his queen at Amiens, and it may well have been on this occasion that Girart d'Amiens presented to her his *Escanor*, one of the latest French romances of the Arthurian cycle. It is very prolix, running originally to more than 27,000 lines, and contains an unusual number of principal characters, making the plot very complicated. It is a sign of the times that Dinadan is allowed to remark in strong terms on the futility of random fighting, but how such unknighly sentiments went down with Edward we shall never know, but can only guess (5).

According to Gough, Edward was at Amiens on May 18, 1279, at Montreuil-sur-Mer on May 19, and at Amiens once again on the Pentecost (May 21) as well as on May 23 (6). The occasion was marked by the Treaty of Amiens (7). The royal couple stayed in France until June 19.

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(2) *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 114-127.

(3) BRUCE, II, 27, gives the date as "certainly after November, 1272, and most probably after August, 1274". LOOMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 115, states that contact between Edward and Rusticiano was probably not made until the spring of 1273.

(4) W.A. NITZE, "The Exhumation of King Arthur at Glastonbury", *Speculum* IX (1934), 355-361.

(5) LOOMIS, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

(6) HOMOY GOUGH, *Itinerary of King Edward the First* (Paisley, 1900), I, 95.

(7) Maurice POWICKE, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1953), p. 235. The mention of *Pontiu* in *Escanor* 18882 may be an allusion to the fact that formal cession of Ponthieu to Eleanor was agreed upon by Philip III of France on the occasion of this treaty. See Powicke, p. 235.

Gaston Paris' suggestion that *Escanor* was written 'about 1280' seems plausible enough, but we cannot accept his reason for pushing back the date ten years before Eleanor's death (1290). Loomis' dating, on the other hand, is based on the fact that Girart has indicated what is presumably his native city in verse 25898 of *Escanor* :

Girardins d'Amiens qui envie  
n'a d'ajouster el conte fables  
ne mos qui ne soit veritables  
ne vous en set avant retraire.

But the name Girart or Girardins d'Amiens was also used by the author in *Meliacin* and in *Charlemagne* and it is more than likely that he was elsewhere than at Amiens when he wrote these works. The epithet d'Amiens in *Escanor* rather implies that Girart was *not* in that city when he wrote his Arthurian romance for Eleanor (8). I am inclined to share Gröber's view that Girart d'Amiens was probably in England when he composed *Escanor* (9).

Are we then limited in our knowledge of the date of Girart's romance to the terminus dates first proposed by Tobler : 1272-1290 (10) ? Edward and Eleanor were away from England when Henry III died and they did not return

(8) Cf. Paul LEBEL, *Les Noms de personnes*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1949), p. 100 : "Quand le personnage venait d'une localité notoirement connue, il en prenait le nom : par exemple *Guillaume de Chatiau Thierry* 1275 à Provins, originaire de Château-Thierry".

(9) *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, 1 (Strasbourg, 1902), 786. Gröber cites no evidence to support his statement that Girart's use of geographical names in *Escanor* indicates a familiarity with English toponymy. Note, however, *Escossuatre* (ME *Scottewatre* 'Firth of Forth' ; cf. *Brut*, ed. Arnold, v. 1307 : *Escoce Watre*) in vv. 199, 3587, etc. ; *Bauborc* (Bamborough in Northumberland) in vv. 165, 3079, etc. ; *Annuec* (Alnwick in Northumberland) in v. 3688. On the name *Escossuatre*, see A. Bell, *ZRPh.* LIV (1934), 753-755, where this place name is identified with *Cothoatre* in *Perceval* 3675. U. T. HOLMES, Jr., "A New Interpretation of Chrétien's *Conte del Graal*", *SP*, XLIV (1947), 468, suggests *Kattath* or *Quattat*, a hypothesis supported by E.B. Ham in his review of Roach's edition of *Perceval* (Geneva and Lille, 1956) in *MLN*, LXII (1957), 467.

(10) Review of *Escanor*, ed. Michelant, in *ZRPh.*, XI (1887), 422.

until August 2, 1274. Eleanor accompanied her husband on his crusade to the Holy Land and it is difficult to see how she could have commissioned *Escanor* before her return. Edward did spend some time in France on the return voyage, but his Queen traveled from Italy to Spain where she visited her half-brother, King Alfonso the Wise. The royal couple was in Gascony until shortly before returning to England where Edward was crowned at Westminster on August 19, 1274 (11). But a study of the heraldry in *Escanor* provides us with the most effective means of dating Girart's romance (12).

There are twenty-one coats of arms described by Girart d'Amiens as worn by the participants in the tournament before Bauborc for the hand of Andrivete. Some of these are immediately recognizable as traditional Arthurian arms (13). Compare, for example, Sagremor's arms in *Escanor* with those found in two earlier sources :

*Escanor* :                    d'or et de seble gironnees  
                                  portoit li unz les armes plaines,  
                                  .....  
                                  et cil avoit Saigremors non (14).

*Second Continuation* : Après recoisi Sagremor  
                                  Qui banieres de noir et d'or  
                                  Portoit, ce sanbloit, gironnees (15).

*Durmart le Galois* :    Cil noirs qui d'argent est fetres  
                                  Est Saigremors li desrees,

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(11) POWICKE, pp. 225-226.

(12) First suggested by TOBLER, *ZRPh.*, XI, 424. Alwin SCHULTZ, *Das höfische Leben*, 2d ed., II (Leipzig, 1889), 106-150, quotes occasionally from *Escanor* in his discussion of heraldry.

(13) I know of no study of Arthurian heraldry in the 13th century.

(14) Vv. 4992-4993, 4999.

(15) MS. K, fol. 106 f. I am indebted to Prof. William Roach for the use of photostats and of his transcript of this manuscript. The section containing these arms and those in the discussion which follows above is missing in all but two of the MSS of the *Second Continuation* including the one used as a basis for Potvin's edition. Professor Roach believes that the passage in question may be a later interpolation.

C'est cil as armes gironees  
D'or, de synoples eslevees (16).

The coats of arms worn by Agravain, Gaheriet, Gawain, and Guerehes in *Escanor* 5001-5005, 5216-5221, and 4954-4957 have similar literary antecedents (17). Gontier, in *Escanor* 4084-4087, has arms identical to those worn by Melian de Lis in *Durmart le Galois* 8529-8534, while Espinogre's arms in *Escanor* 4122-4123 are simply the reverse. Li Lais Hardis, in *Escanor* 3568-3571, wears the familiar arms of Brittany, but it is interesting to note that this coat of arms is associated with one of Gawain's brothers in *Durmart le Galois* 8413-8414 (18). The unidentified knight in *Escanor* 5565-5568 is probably Yvain, as the arms are those borne by the Chevalier au Lion in earlier romances (19). Lucan's shield is blazoned *gules, five kegs argent* in *Escanor* 3484-3485, doubtless a heraldic allusion to his function as a butler in Arthur's household (20).

All but two of the remaining coats of arms described by Girart d'Amiens need not concern us here as they were probably utilized by him independently of any Arthurian tradition (21). The arms attributed by Girart to the King

(16) *Li Romans de Durmart le Galois*, ed. E. Stengel (Tübingen, 1873), vv. 8479-8482.

(17) Cf. AGRAVAIN in the *Second Continuation*, MS. K, fol. 106 e and *Durmart* 8483-8485; GAHERIET in the *Second Continuation*, MS. K, fol. 106 e (these arms are attributed to Guerehes in *Durmart* 8415-8416); GAWAIN in the *Second Continuation*, MS. K, fol. 106 e, *Durmart* 8408-8410, and *Les Enfances Ogier*, ed. Albert Henry (Bruges, 1956) vv. 5092-5097.

(18) Scribes often confused Gaheriet with Guerehes. The "Gaharés" here in *Durmart* was probably Guerehes, as Girart's blazon seems more logical.

(19) *Durmart* 8424-8434, *Li Tournoiementz Antecrit*, ed. G. Wimmer (Marburg, 1888), vv. 1986-1993; *Lancelot en prose* in *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, ed. H. O. Sommer, IV (Washington, 1911), 93.

(20) On Lucan, see the note to line 592 in *Perlesvaus*, ed. W. A. Nitze, II (Chicago, 1937), 226-227. Cf. the canting arms of Sir John le Botiler in *Mediaeval England*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1924), p. 209 and fig. 213.

(21) *Escanor* 3572-3575 (Briant des Illes); 3594-3597 (li fix le roy d'Escossuatre); 3598-3600 (Hector des Marés); 3640-3642 (li

of Scotland and to the King of Wales, on the other hand, are of capital importance to the dating of *Escanor*.

le roi d'Escoce qui bien pris  
s'ert gardé de son couvenant  
point envers lui tot maintenant,  
bien armez sor le cheval sor,  
.i. lyon de geules sour l'or  
a .i. double treçon vermeil.  
(*Escanor*, 3692-3697).

Le Roy d'Escoce, d'or  
un lion rampant et un  
borde florette de gulez.  
(*Walford's Roll*, no. 11).

li rois de Gales qui avoit  
le meilleur cheval c'on savoit.  
Mais les armes ot granz et lees  
d'or et d'argent esquartelees,  
a liepardiaus de l'un en l'autre.  
(*Escanor*, 3973-3977).

Llewellin ap Griffith,  
escartellé d'or et gules  
.iv. leons de l'un et  
l'autre.  
(*Walford's Roll*, no. 21).

A close comparison between Girart's descriptions and the historical arms in *Walford's Roll*, a roll of arms dated « about 1280 » (22), reveals minor differences in blazon, but this is characteristic of heraldry in medieval French literature. Essentially, however, the descriptions of the royal arms in *Escanor* are faithful and we may be sure that Queen Eleanor and her entourage immediately recognized this open allusion as "heraldic flattery". Historical characters are often thus portrayed in contemporary French literature (e.g., *Châtelain de Coucy*, *Roman du Hem*, *Tournoi de Chauvency*), especially in descriptions of tournaments, as in *Escanor*.

The allusion to King Alexander III of Scotland reduces the *terminus ad quem* of Girart's romance to 1286, the year of

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rois de Serre wears "les droites armes des Traverses" which bear a curious resemblance to the arms of the Basque country); 3712-3713 (li fix le roy d'Annuec); 3730-3731 (Gorvain Cadrus); 3817 (Bisclaret); 3966-3967 (li Bian Mauvais); 4010-4011 (Brun Sanz Pitié).

(22) *Walford's Roll* was edited by W. S. Walford, "A Roll of Arms of the Thirteenth Century", *Archaeologia*, XXXIX, 2d series (1863), 373-388. On the date, see p. 377. M. Prinnet, "Armoiries françaises et allemandes décrites dans un ancien rôle d'armes anglais", *Le Moyen Age*, XXV, 2d series (1923), 223: "cette date paraît vraisemblable". But Anthony R. WAGNER, *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1950), p. 8: "Probably c. 1275".



the monarch's death. Six guardians of the realm were named, but Edward became "superior lord of Scotland" from the time of Alexander's death until 1292 (23). On the dorse of the contemporary *Camden's Roll*, there is a blank space where the name of the King of Scotland with a description of his arms should have been set down. "This indicates the date of the explanatory French blazon to be a period subsequent to the assertion of Edward's claim to suzerainty over Scotland, namely close upon A.D. 1286" (24).

The most important clue to the date of *Escanor*, however, is the allusion to the celebrated Prince of Wales (25). The King of Wales is, of course, a stock character in Arthurian romance, but there could be no mistaking this famous coat of arms. To the historian, the fact that Llywelyn ap Gruffydd is depicted in a favorable light can mean only one thing: Girart's romance was written between November, 1277, and Palm Sunday, 1282, the brief span of years when the rebel prince enjoyed singular favor at the court of Edward I.

Until the Treaty of Conway on November 9, 1277, the Prince of Wales had been constantly at war with England. Now at Christmas, 1277, he accompanied Edward to London and performed homage in full Parliament. The following year, the treaty was renewed at Worcester and Queen Eleanor brought Lady Eleanor of Montfort whom King Edward himself gave away in marriage to Llywelyn on October 13. King Alexander of Scotland was among the notables who witnessed the ceremony. The marriage ended in tragedy, however, for Princess Eleanor died in childbirth in January, 1282. Events now took a sudden turn. On the eve of Palm Sunday, 1282, Llywelyn launched an attack against Edward. The war ended two years later with the death of the rebel

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(23) POWICKE, pp. 597-608.

(24) James GREENSTREET, "The Original Camden Roll of Arms", *Journal of the British Archeological Association*, XXXVIII (1882), 310.

(25) On the royal arms of Scotland and Wales, see A. R. WAGNER, *Historic Heraldry of Britain* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1939), pp. 42, 48. The arms of Wales are also found in *Fouke Fitz Warin*, ed. Louis Brandin (Paris, 1930), p. 25, lines 28-30.

prince and the defeat of the Welsh forces (26). It would, therefore, have been unpardonable to say the least for Girart d'Amiens to include a favorable allusion to the King of Wales before late 1277 or after Palm Sunday, 1282.

In view of the foregoing facts, I submit that *Escanor* was commissioned by Eleanor of Castile sometime between these two dates, perhaps in connection with the Round Table held at Warwick in 1281. The fact that Arthurianism in England reached a peak of popularity during these years best explains Eleanor's request. Gaston Paris' intuition that Girart's romance was written 'around 1280' is thus confirmed by a study of the heraldry in *Escanor*.

Gérard J. BRAULT.

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(26) POWICKE, pp. 400-429.

## MORE LIGHT ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES ?

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The renewed attempts during the last decade to determine with some precision the chronology of Chrétien's works seem to be meeting with general acceptance, but with little, if any, critical examination (1). Assent to their particular findings ranges from M. Frappier's prudently reserved "Chrétien aurait travaillé... il aurait entrepris..." and Mme Rita Lejeune's cautious "avec beaucoup de vraisemblance", to Professor Cowper's outright affirmation, "celle (la carrière) de Chrétien se poursuit de 1170 à 1185" and Sr. Martin de Riquer's even more categorical "sabemos que..." (2). The familiar process by which a hypothesis — honestly presented as such by M. Fourrier (Professor Hofer is much more positive in his claims) and Mme Lejeune — becomes a generally accepted fact, is visibly at work. It may be well at this point, therefore, even at the cost of assuming the ungrateful role of *advocatus diaboli*, to attempt a systematic review and evaluation of the most important evidence and arguments advanced in support of the new chronology.

It has long appeared, despite the very numerous and frequently contradictory conjectures on the subject of the dates of Chrétien's works, that only two absolutely certain points

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(1) Reference is made in particular to the dates proposed by M. Anthime Fourrier in BBSIA, II (1950), 69-88, and Stefan Hofer in articles referred to by M. Fourrier, and later in his *Chrétien de Troyes*, Graz-Köln, 1954. M. Fourrier's later articles in the BBSIA and Mme Rita Lejeune's articles in *Moyen Age*, LX (1954), 51-79, and BBSIA, IX (1957), 85-100, are not under discussion here, since they deal with the *Perceval*, and we are concerned here only with the four preceding romances.

(2) Cf. J. FRAPPIER, *Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris, 1957, p. 12; F. A. G. COWPER, in his edition of *Ille et Galeron* (SATF), p. XLV; MARTIN DE RIQUER, *Filologia Romanza*, IV (1957), 136; RITA LEJEUNE, "La date du Conte du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes", *Moyen Age*, LX (1954), 56.

of reference can be considered as definitely established : 1164, when Marie, daughter of Louis VII, married Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne, as *terminus a quo* for the *Charrette* which is dedicated to "ma dame de Champagne", and 1191, date of the death of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, to whom Chrétien dedicated his *Perceval*. While acknowledging these as the two sole certainties, M. Fourrier nonetheless presents evidence for a close dating of all five extant romances which, though it does not constitute irrefragable proof, should still in his opinion win "une adhésion très voisine de la conviction" (3). Most of this evidence is based on features in the romances which are held to be reflections of actual historical events. An author does not write in a void, and "rien ne naît de rien", M. Fourrier reminds us, and concludes that it is legitimate to seek for allusions to contemporary events in works of fiction. The cases of *Cinna* and *Bérénice* are cited to the point. In their case, however, the analogy between the literary work and the historical situation it is said to reflect concerns the central theme of the work and not merely, as in the cases to be discussed below, some of its secondary or incidental features.

If one selects individual details of any literary text, it is not very difficult to find contemporary historical situations which present some similarity to some aspect of the text and which the author may possibly have had in mind when he wrote. For a text to be dated by means of such resemblances, however, it would be necessary to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that it is extremely unlikely, if not impossible, that the literary narrative may have been invented quite independently of the specific historical situation.

### EREC

The first bit of evidence to be considered is based on a claimed literary dependence, and not on a suggested historical allusion. Alexander the Great is mentioned three times in *Erec*. The first two passages (ll. 2269-2270, 6673-6676) are merely banal references to Alexander's conquests and his

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(3) *Art. cit.*, p. 70.

*largesse* which were common currency in medieval Alexander lore. The third passage (ll. 6683-6685) is part of Chrétien's description of the magnificent *fêtes* celebrating Erec's coronation at Nantes :

...tant n'ossassent pas despandre  
Antre Cesar et Alixandre,  
Come a la cort ot despandu,...

This, Professor Hofer claims, is certainly a reminiscence of a passage of Lambert le Tort's *Roman d'Alexandre* (4) : *Plus donast Al'x. qu'autre n'ossast penser*. The precise resemblance between these two passages lies in their use of the verb *oser* in connection with extravagant royal spending. One may well hesitate to accept the argument that Lambert thought of so using it, but that Chrétien could not have had the same idea independently. The coupling of the ideas of audacity and expenditure is not so unnatural or so unexpected as to make one doubt that it may have occurred to two people independently of each other. Taken together, these passages can scarcely constitute, as Professor Hofer claims, incontrovertible proof that Chrétien used a particular Alexander text.

In the last two passages containing references to Alexander, he is coupled with Caesar as an example of great splendor and generosity far surpassed by Arthur. Are we therefore to conclude that *Erec* was written after 1213-1214, the date of *Li Fait des Romains*, or *Livre de Cesar* ?

One might gather from the foregoing that the date of Lambert's text has been definitely established. Hofer reminds us that Armstrong accepted Gröber's date of 1170 for it, but that, he claims, is impossible, because Chrétien used it in *Erec* (5). In other words, 1170 is too late for the *Alexandre* because it was used in *Erec*, and *Erec* could not have been written in 1150 or 1160ca, as Foerster thought, because it used the *Alexandre*. It would be difficult to find a better example of circular reasoning. The plain fact is that we don't know when either of these works was written, and many will doubt that *Erec's* dependance on Lambert's

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(4) HOFER, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 46.

*Alexandre* is an indisputable fact. Lambert's work itself was based on pre-existent material which was certainly accessible to Chrétien, and one need not accept the categorical affirmation that the Alexander references in *Erec* are based on anything more than widely known features of twelfth-century Alexander lore (6).

Professor Hofer's dating of the *Erec* in relation to the *Eneas* is subject to the same criticisms as those we have made above. There is no reason to assert that the story of Dido and Aeneas carved on *Erec's* saddle-bow derived from the *roman d'Eneas*. Chrétien surely went to school, and it would be surprising if he did not hear the story there (7). And again, we do not know in any case when the *Eneas* was written, and it cannot therefore be used to furnish a point of reference for dating the *Erec* as of circa 1165, as Professor Hofer would have it (8). He excludes M. Fourrier's arguments in favor of 1170 for the *Erec* by simply saying, without given any reason, that that is too late (9). This preference for an earlier date does not appear to be based, as M. Fourrier states (10), on a claimed *terminus a quo* of 1170 for *Cligés*, which could not of itself exclude that date for *Erec*. Professor Hofer, moreover, does not entirely reject M. Fourrier's dating of *Cligés* as late as 1176, although he clearly prefers a date nearer 1171 (11). Whatever his reasons for categorically affirming that 1170 is too late for *Erec*, he explicitly rejects M. Fourrier's chief

(6) Cf. George CARY, *The Medieval Alexander*, Cambridge U. Press, 1956, pp. 88, 209, 358, 368, particularly p. 366, where the authors accepts without difficulty the opinion that the *Erec* references to Alexander need not be explained by reference to the *Roman d'Alexandre*.

(7) HOFER, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 45. In his life of Louis the Fat, Suger compares him to Hector (*Vie de Louis VI le gros* [éd. Waquet], p. 144). Must we conclude from this that Suger wrote after the *Roman de Troie*? Chrétien could have read a more poetic account of Lavinia's beauty (*Erec*, ll. 5891-5892) in the *Eneid* (XII, 67-70, 605-606) than in the *Eneas*, and he may have remembered the mention of her beauty in Wace, *Brut*, ll. 49-50.

(8) *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 43, n. 2.

(10) *Art. cit.*, p. 70.

(11) *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

reason for choosing that date, a belief that Erec's coronation at the end of the romance is a clear reflection of a historical occurrence which took place on Christmas Day of 1169 (12).

In the romance, it will be remembered, Arthur decides to crown Erec and Enide King and Queen at a great feast to be held in Nantes on Christmas. To this feast kings and lords are summoned from all of Arthur's domains, and it is celebrated with unparalleled splendor. M. Fourrier points out that Christmas is a feast infrequently mentioned in Arthurian romance, and that one may well ask why Arthur chose that day and place for the coronation of Erec and Enide. The answer, he holds, lies in the fact that Chrétien remembered an event that took place in Nantes on Christmas Day of the year 1169.

In August 1166 Henry I had affianced his son Geoffrey to Constance, sole heiress of her father, Conan IV, Duke of Brittany, whom Henry forced to abdicate. He then took possession of the duchy in the name of his young son. In May 1169, in the cathedral of Rennes, Geoffrey, as Duke of Brittany, received the homage of the Breton barons present at the ceremonies. On Christmas of the same year Henry held court at Nantes, and with his son Geoffrey received the homage of the bishops and barons of Brittany there present. "Voilà", writes M. Fourrier, "qui équivalait à un couronnement ou, du moins, constituait une investiture officielle" (13). The question remains whether the resemblances between the fictional account and the historical event are so close and so significant that one cannot reasonably believe that Chrétien could have written his account without having in mind the event in Nantes in 1169. M. Fourrier's hypothesis would, it is true, explain why Chrétien chose Nantes and Christmas for Erec and Enide's coronation, but only if those substantial resemblances could be verified, and if the possibility of other hypotheses could be excluded.

Aside from the identity of time and place, there is, on closer analysis, little similarity between the two events. The statement that the ceremony of homage — not the first such homage, as we have seen — enacted in Nantes in 1169 was

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(12) *Ibid.*, p. 47, n. 1.

(13) *Art. cit.*, p. 72.

the equivalent of a coronation is highly contestable. It is quite clear that the Plantagenets and the Capetians of Chrétien's time considered a king as far more than a feudal lord among feudal lords, a mere *primus inter pares*, and no mere feudal investiture could be considered the equivalent of a royal coronation. The mystique of royalty was very highly developed in the second half of the twelfth century, and despite the ambitions and imitations of the great feudal lords, it is most unlikely that one in a series of homages to the child-Duke-by-marriage of Brittany would have struck Chrétien or his contemporaries as the equivalent of a royal sacring.

Chrétien's sense of this royal mystique is so frequently given expression throughout his works that it is unnecessary to illustrate it here. The sacred character of Erec's coronation and sacring is strongly stressed. It is an anointment by high prelates according to the Christian law (ll. 6859-6860). Not Arthur, but the Bishop of Nantes in his presence

Fist le sacre del roi novel  
Mout saintemant et bien et bel  
Et la corone el chief li mist. (ll. 6867-6869.)

Immediately after this holy ceremony Erec placed a second crown on Enide's head, and the entire court proceeded to the *mestre eglise* to hear mass. Kings and great lords from all the domains subject to the kings of England in Chrétien's day attended these magnificent solemnities.

On Christmas day of 1169 at Nantes there was nothing resembling this glorious royal *sacre*. Henry merely held a court there at which he and his son, by right of his betrothal to the heiress of the deposed Duke, received the homage of the bishops and barons of Brittany there present. It was not the first time they had done so, and it is most unlikely that it was widely considered throughout France as the equivalent of a royal consecration.

As early as 1158, on the death of Geoffrey, a younger brother of Henry II, the latter crossed the Channel and took possession of the city of Nantes (14). And in 1166, after he

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(14) Ralph of DICETO, *Ymagines Historiarum* (Rolls Series, No. 68), I, 302; *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series, No. 68), II, 75.



had forced the Duke of Brittany to abdicate in the young couple's favor and had received homage in his son's name Cathedral of Rennes as Duke of Brittany and there received to Rennes, *et per civitatem illam, que caput est Britanniae, totum illum ducatum saisivit* (15). Again in May 1169, as we have seen, Geoffrey was solemnly received in the Cathedral of Rennes as Duke of Brittany and there received the homage of the barons of Brittany present at the ceremonies. It is scarcely likely, under such circumstances, that the next court held by Henry and Geoffrey, on Christmas of 1169, would have been considered as the equivalent of a particularly splendid royal sacring, and that it would have inspired Chrétien's account of how Erec and Enide were crowned and anointed King and Queen shortly after the death of Erec's father, in the presence of kings and lords from all of Arthur's domains, and in the course of festivities more sumptuous than anything Alexander or Caesar ever dared conceive. This court of Nantes in 1169 was merely one in a series of usual, one is almost tempted to say routine, courts held during the travels of Henry and his young son. It was in no sense a solemn inauguration of a royal tenure, nor was it the imprinting of a sacred character on a consecrated King at the beginning of his reign. This is the nature of Erec's anointment and consecration, to use Chrétien's very words, and the court held at Nantes in 1169 had nothing in common with it in character.

The circumstances and details of the two ceremonies were moreover so completely different that it is doubtful that they were ever associated in anyone's mind in Chrétien's time. Geoffrey was a child twelve years old; he derived whatever legitimate claims he may have had to the duchy of Brittany from his even younger child-betrothed who was not, so far as we are told, even present at the ceremonies, which were entirely secular in character. It was after these ceremonies, according to Benedict of Peterborough, that Geoffrey and his father *circuierunt castella Britanniae, accipientes fidelitates et ligantias a comitibus et baronibus et liberis hominibus, de quibus antea non acceperant* (16).

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(15) Robertus de MONTB, *Chronica*, Pat. lat., CLX, col. 502.

(16) *Gesta Henrici Secundi et Ricardi I*, A.D. 1169-1192 (Rolls Series, No. 49), I, 3.

In *Erec* the situation is entirely different. Erec is an accomplished, proven knight, a new king by inheritance on his father's death, and he places a crown on the head of his wife, who was the daughter of an impoverished *vavassor*. There were present at the solemnities kings and lords from all of Arthur's domains, whereas at Nantes there were only some counts and barons of Brittany.

Among those present at Erec's coronation Chrétien includes nobles of Ireland. " Or ", writes M. Fourrier, " l'Irlande, jusqu'alors indépendante, ne fut conquise qu'en 1169-1170 par des barons gallo-normands avec l'assentiment de leur suzerain, le roi d'Angleterre, qui n'eut plus, à la fin de l'année suivante, qu'à se donner la peine d'en aller solennellement prendre possession. " (17) Since Chrétien evidently considers Ireland among the domains subject to Arthur, M. Fourrier concludes that he wrote after 1169-1170.

This account of the facts is, however, much over-simplified, and the course of events was considerably less clear than the foregoing would lead one to believe.

As early as 1154, shortly after his accession, Henry had obtained from Pope Adrian VI a bull authorizing the conquest of Ireland (18). At a council held at Winchester in September of 1155 he put forward a plan for that conquest. Other matters of more immediate concern absorbed his attention thereafter, and it was not until many years later that Ireland again became the subject of his attention, when the exiled King of Leinster, Dermot Mac Murrrough, appealed to him for help in regaining his kingdom. Henry authorized any of his subjects to come to his aid, and by the end of 1169, aided by Normans who had settled in Wales, Dermot succeeded in recovering his kingdom. In August 1170 Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, against Henry's express wish, landed in Ireland, married Dermot's daughter, and succeeded him as King on his death in May 1171. Henry organized an expedition against Ireland, and recalled Strongbow. The latter appeared before him at Milford Haven, and there was permitted, after making various concessions, to do homage for Leinster. Henry then went to Ireland and

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(17) *Art. cit.*, p. 73.

(18) *Ralph of Diceto, op. cit.*, I, 300.

sojourned there from October 1171 to April 1172, receiving the homage of many Irish chiefs. He did not at that time or at any time subsequently conquer all of Ireland. He left that task to Dermot's "gallo-Norman" adventurers, now installed in Ireland, whom, however, he did not trust. He consequently attempted to play off other Irish chiefs against them, and "the country was therefore never conquered" (19).

Henry's Irish expedition of 1171-1172 resulted, then, in an only partial subjection of the country, and even that was only temporary. When another expedition was entrusted to his son John in 1185, it "proved an utter failure" (20). Consequently, Ireland was never really conquered by Henry II, and no Irish prince, so far as is known, ever paid homage to Henry at Nantes.

Chrétien, of course, was perfectly free to imagine that his legendary King of England in a by-gone day received the allegiance of Irish nobles at a solemn court held in Brittany. The question remains, however, whether in order to do so in 1170, as M. Fourrier thinks, he had to know of the very inconclusive Irish events of 1169-1172. As early as 1154 Henry had laid claim to Ireland, and his claim had been recognized by the Pope. Wace, moreover, had also included the King of Ireland among the vassals present at Arthur's coronation (21), which, according to M. Fourrier, served as a model for Erec's (22). It would appear that neither in its essential nature nor in its attendant circumstances does the Christmas 1169 Court at Nantes closely resemble the coronation of Erec and Enide.

The two ceremonies have, then, only their time and place as essential points in common. Christmas, we are told, was a "fête plutôt rare dans le roman arthurien, qui préfère généralement celles de la belle saison, c'est-à-dire Pâques, l'Ascension, la Pentecôte, voire la saint Jean d'été..." (23)

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(19) Doris STENTON, in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, V, 566.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 566.

(21) *Brut* (éd. Ivor Arnold, SATF), I, 10303.

(22) *Art. cit.*, p. 73.

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 71.

It is true that this is the only instance in which Chrétien speaks of a court being held on Christmas, although the feast is mentioned in passing in *Perceval* (l. 8249) and in the part of the *Charrette* attributed to Godefroy de Lagny (l. 6256). If we look for Chrétien's references to the other great feasts mentioned above, however, we find that Easter, too, is mentioned only once as the occasion of a royal court (*Erec*, l. 27), and only once more in all of Chrétien's works, as the day of Perceval's communion (l. 6512). The Ascension, too, is mentioned only once as the occasion for a court (*Charrette*, l. 31), and once more, very incidentally, in the *Perceval* (l. 2940). The feast of Saint John is never the day on which a royal court is held, although it figures in *Yvain* as the approximate time of the hero's adventures (ll. 669, 2574, 2750), and that is the only connection in which it is ever mentioned by Chrétien.

Pentecost alone figures very frequently as the day on which Arthur held court, and that is entirely natural and apparently reflects actual medieval custom (24). If Chrétien showed Arthur holding court just once on Easter, and just once on Ascension day, there is nothing very strange about his doing so just once on Christmas either. Moreover, Chrétien even tells us why Arthur chose that time of year: the news of the death of Erec's father, King Lac, reached him at Arthur's court at Tintagel *vint porz devant Natevité* (l. 6519).

If Chrétien really did have events of Henry's life in mind when he wrote the *Erec*, he may have remembered that on King Stephen's death toward the end of the year 1154, Henry himself was crowned in Westminster Abbey on the Sunday before Christmas of the same year (25). If Christmas was not a usual day for holding court in Arthurian romance, it was, on the contrary, frequently the occasion for an actual royal coronation, and it is quite possible that Chrétien may have known that after Henry's sacring in Westminster Abbey, he was "crowned" again at Lincoln on Christmas Day of the year 1157 (26). Moreover, William

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(24) Cf. Hilka's note to l. 2785.

(25) Roger of HOVEDEN, *Chronica* (Rolls Series No. 51), I, 213.

(26) *Gesta Henrici Secundi et Ricardi I* (Rolls Series No. 49), II, CXXXI.

the Conquerer himself had been crowned in London on Christmas Day of 1066. And it is very likely that in Chrétien's time, at least, every schoolboy knew that Charlemagne had been crowned as Roman Emperor by the Pope on Christmas day of the year 800. There were, then, many very well known royal coronations on Christmas which may well account for Chrétien's choice of that day for Erec's coronation, without any necessary reference to the not particularly memorable court Henry and Geoffrey held at Nantes on Christmas Day of 1169.

If the choice of Christmas for the coronation is then in no way surprising, we may still ask why Nantes? One may ask, but it is not certain that one is entitled to an answer. Nantes was one of the many possibilities, and an author does not have to account to posterity for every one of the myriad choices among possibles he makes in his writings. Nantes is one of the chief cities of Brittany, Arthur was the hero of the Bretons; Erec, it is generally agreed, is a name of Breton origin, why, then, should Chrétien not have been free to imagine that Erec's coronation took place at Nantes? He may possibly have heard of the historical Guerec, Count of Nantes in the tenth century.

There is also the possibility that, as Zimmer held, Nantes in this passage stands for Kaer Nant, Carnant, which had been mentioned earlier as a place where King Lac sojourned in a fine castle of his (ll. 2315-2317) (27). Chrétien's source may well have intended that Erec's coronation take place at Carnant, in his own domain. There is nothing in the text to suggest that a great expedition of the entire court and a Channel crossing in December's uncertain and frequently perilous weather was undertaken. Zimmer's hypothesis does not seem implausible.

M. Fourrier's third argument for placing the composition of *Erec* in 1170 is based on the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury at court where he blessed the marriage of Erec and Enide *si com il doit* (l. 2034). This expression, M. Fourrier claims, is an allusion to the *privilege* of the Primate of England although, as he points out, "ce privilege concernait le sacre royal" (p. 73). Precisely, and since

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(27) Cf. FOERSTER, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. Carnant.

this wedding ceremony was entirely distinct from any royal coronation, there is no need to see in the very common expression *si com il doit* anything more than an indication of approval of what is fitting and proper. It is so used from the earliest French texts extant : *si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dist*, and *chi sil feent cum faire lo deent* (the last from the Valenciennes Jonas fragment). It has various nuances of meaning, ranging from an indication of mere social propriety to a statement of moral obligation.

In the present passage there is no clear implication that the Archbishop of Canterbury came to court expressly to perform the ceremony. Chrétien simply says that

L'arcevesques de Cantorbire,  
 Qui a la cort venuz estoit,  
 Les beneī si com il doit. (II. 2032-2034.)

Since the Archbishop was present at court, the expression may only mean that it was fitting that the prelate of greatest dignity present should perform the marriage ceremony of a king's son and a great favorite of the court. One need see in it no necessary allusion to the Primate's privilege of consecrating the King of England.

*Si com il doit* may also bear another quite different interpretation. It may indicate not merely the performance of an act which one is obligated to perform, but also its performance in the proper manner, in due form. Chrétien plays very explicitly and with wry humor on the two meanings of the expression in his account of the wedding night of Fenice and Alis, who

... si come il dut,  
 Avuec sa fame la nuit jut. —  
 "Si come il dut", ai je manti,  
 Qu'il ne la beisa ne santi ; (II. 3333-3336.)

"As he *should*", we might say, but not "as he should". The expression can clearly bear both interpretations.

It is not then necessary to detect in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury at court and his blessing of Erec's marriage *si com il doit* an allusion to the relations between Henry II and Thomas Becket. M. Fourrier recalls that after many years of estrangement there was an official reconci-

liation between the King and the Primate on July 22, 1170, and that after Becket's murder on December 29th of the same year, the See of Canterbury remained vacant for several years. The facts are undisputed, but the premise that Chrétien would not have represented the Archbishop of Canterbury as present at the court of a legendary King of England in a remote period of the past unless the actual Archbishop at the time he wrote was on good terms with the reigning King, seems completely gratuitous. There is no justification for supposing that Chrétien must have had specific political events in mind at all when he wrote the *Erec*, but even if he did, he might very have chosen to depict in his romance a more fortunate time, when things were as they should be at court, with the Archbishop of Canterbury present as the revered Primate of England. The allusion could fit either way, if allusion there was.

I suggest, then, that Chrétien may well have made allusions to Alexander's conquests and generosity and to the story of Dido and Aeneas, that he may have had the Archbishop of Canterbury bless the marriage of Erec and Enide at Arthur's court, and that he may have chosen to have them crowned at Nantes on Christmas, without necessarily having in mind any specific literary texts or particular historical events of the period between December 25, 1169 and December 29, 1170. To establish a date for the *Erec* by means of such claimed allusions it is not sufficient to show that Chrétien may have had them in mind; it would be necessary to show that he must have, or at the very least that one may not reasonably doubt that he did. I don't think that this has been done.

### CLIGÈS

In this romance, too, MM. Hofer and Fourrier see clear reflections of specific historical circumstances and events. Its general characteristics which are said to reflect a particular juncture in history are: the interest in things Byzantine, the sympathy and the favorable comments which are expressed toward the German Emperor, and the depiction of a Duke of Saxony as his enemy. The specific historical

events which it is claimed are reflected in the romance are a series of embassies and negotiations in view of a Germano-Byzantine imperial marriage.

Here, as elsewhere, M. Fourrier is relatively moderate in his claims, *si com il doit*, where Professor Hofer is much more categorical. Chrétien's romances are not, for the former, *romans à clef* (28), but Professor Hofer does not hesitate to call *Cligés* a *Schlüsselroman* (29).

The general interest in Byzantium throughout the romance is scarcely in need of explanation or justification. Relations between Byzantium and the West had been fairly frequent since at least the time of Charlemagne, and of course they were particularly constant since the beginning of the Crusades. The accounts of participants in these expeditions aroused the liveliest interest in France, where the prestige of the Eastern Empire and its reputation for riches and splendor made it the object of admiration and wonder. Examples are almost numberless. One might cite, among many others, the amusingly candid preoccupation of Abbot Suger with the ability of the treasures of his Abbey to stand comparison with those of Constantinople, and especially of Santa Sophia. It was evidently his chief topic of conversation with returning pilgrims (30).

The affairs of the German Empire were also of constant concern to the French, although it was true in the Middle Ages, as it is now, that relations were sometimes friendly and sometimes the opposite. Professor Hofer and M. Fourrier believe that the favorable picture of the German Emperor in *Cligés* reflects the particular conditions in France and especially at the court of Champagne in the 1170's, when Henry the Liberal was promoting a Franco-German rapprochement. But Professor Hofer himself acknowledges that Henry had already been attempting to further such a rapprochement for a long time before 1170 (31). According to Rahewin, the continuator of Otto of Freising, Louis VII himself had previously attempted the same thing on several

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(28) FOURRIER, *art. cit.*, p. 70.

(29) HOFER, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

(30) Cf. ERWIN PANOFSKY, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis*, Princeton, 1946, p. 64.

(31) *Op. cit.*, p. 123, and n. 7.



occasions, and in particular by means of an embassy sent to the Emperor in 1159 (32).

There is then no need to see in the general setting of *Cligés* a reflection of the special relations among France, Germany, and Byzantium in the 1170's. For a considerable period before that time there had been a widespread general interest, on occasion a very sympathetic French interest, in both the Eastern and Western Empires.

In regard to the more specific details of the situation in *Cligés*, MM. Hofer and Fourrier agree in identifying the duc de Sesseigne with Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony. They disagree, however about the precise period in the uneasy relations between Henry and his cousin, Frederick Barbarossa, which is reflected in *Cligés*. For M. Fourrier, Henry could not have been depicted as so hostile to the Emperor before the open break between the two in 1176. Professor Hofer, on the other hand, thinks that Henry's devastation of Magdeburg in 1170 was sufficient to account for his role in *Cligés*. Long before 1170, however, there was a well established rivalry between the two Houses headed by Henry and Frederick respectively, the Guelfs and the Hohenstaufen Ghibellines, and especially between their two immediate predecessors, Henry the Lion's father, Henry the Proud, and Frederick's uncle, Emperor Conrad III. Henry the Proud had married the daughter of Emperor Lothair, and on the latter's death in 1137 he was Conrad's rival for succession to the imperial throne. At the election of 1138 he was defeated by Conrad of Hohenstaufen who shortly thereafter deprived him of his duchies of Bavaria and Saxony. He subsequently regained the latter with the aid of faithful Saxon nobles, and transmitted it to his son, Henry the Lion, on his death in 1139.

Here then, long before 1170, was a very powerful Duke of Saxony, actually married to the daughter of a German Emperor, and the defeated rival of the reigning Emperor. He resembles the duc de Sesseigne in *Cligés* at least as closely as does his son.

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(32) OTTONIS et RAHEWINI, *Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris*, 3 a ed... (ed. B. von Simson-SS. *Rerum Germ. in usum scholarum*), Hanover and Leipzig, 1912, p. 267.

This matter of the Duke of Saxony points up the fundamental difficulty and danger of attempts to relate fictional accounts to historical events. If one accepts, as one must, the fact that the resemblance cannot be more than partial and approximate, the game becomes too easy. With a little change here and a big change there, one can find an almost unlimited number of such coincidences in matters of detail, provided that one is not too difficult about one's criterions for establishing significant resemblances. We shall see an example of this in considering the conduct of the negotiations between the Western and Eastern Emperors which Chrétien is said to have had in mind when he wrote *Cligés*.

On May 24, 1170 Frederick Barbarossa held court at Ratisbon. From there " sans doute ", M. Fourrier asserts, he sent an embassy to Constantinople in connection with the proposal of marriage between his eldest son and Maria, only daughter of the Eastern Emperor Manuel Comnenos. This is simply conjecture with no documentary authority. In June 1171, however, Frederick did in fact receive at Cologne messengers from the Emperor of Constantinople who came to negotiate this marriage. Early in 1172 the Bishop of Worms, travelling to Constantinople to further the project, met with Henry the Lion, who, with a numerous suite, was on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The two travelled to Constantinople together. On his return Henry passed through Constantinople again, and, says M. Fourrier " *dut* (italics ours) s'ingénieur à contrecarrer la politique de Barberousse, c'est-à-dire, en l'espèce, le projet de mariage " (33). In any case, the project fell through and the marriage never took place. Finally, on June 24, 1174, Barbarossa held a Diet at Ratisbon at which Henry the Lion was present and at which ambassadors of the Emperor of Constantinople appeared once more to treat of the marriage, " pour la dernière fois et en vain " (34).

Thus, we are told, history reveals the same sequence as in *Cligés* : Ratisbon — Cologne — Ratisbon. The significance of this parallelism would depend, one would think, on the closeness of the resemblance between the two series

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(33) *Art. cit.*, p. 77.

(34) *Ibid.*, p. 77.

of events. When we look a little closer, we find, once again, that they are so different that it seems unlikely that they would ever have been associated in the minds of Chrétien or his contemporaries.

At the first court held at Ratisbon in *Cligés*, the German Emperor receives Greek envoys asking the hand of his daughter for their Emperor. There was no such embassy received at Ratisbon on May 24, 1170, and M. Fourrier merely surmises that *sans doute* Barbarossa sent ambassadors from there to Constantinople on a rather different errand.

It was at the second step in the historical sequence, at the court held at Cologne on June 24, 1171, that Frederick received Greek envoys who had come to negotiate the marriage between Manuel's daughter and Frederick's eldest son. Although MM. Hofer and Fourrier both speak of the German Emperor in the romance as receiving a *second* Greek embassy at Cologne, there is neither in history nor in the romance such a second embassy. In history, the embassy received at Cologne was the first, and in the romance there is no second embassy at all. The matter had been immediately agreed upon when the Emperor received the Eastern legation at Ratisbon, and, as he requested in his reply, the Greek Emperor came himself, at the head of a powerful army, to Cologne, and there married the daughter of the German Emperor.

Here the situation is so different from the historical event that M. Fourrier attempts a partial accommodation by claiming that Chrétien amused himself by making his fictional account just the opposite of the actual event. Whereas in fact there was merely a proposal of marriage, which never came to fruition, between a Byzantine princess and a German prince, in the romance the marriage actually did take place, and it was between a Byzantine Emperor (not prince, be it noted) and a German princess. The game becomes even easier to play when one may change the rules at will and then observe them only in part.

This entire discussion, moreover, is based on the unexpressed assumption that Chrétien and his contemporaries followed with close attention and remembered in minute detail the endless negotiations involving projects of royal and imperial alliances and marriages. In historical reality

these were so numerous and so involved in a play of constantly shifting alliances, and they were so often conducted in a more or less secret fashion, that they must have been extremely difficult to follow in the twelfth century, as they still are today.

We have seen that the actual historical negotiations at Cologne in 1171 bear no resemblance to the wedding which took place there in the romance. Moreover, if Chrétien and his contemporaries had really been well informed in 1171 (Hofer) or in 1176 (Fourrier) about imperial marriage projects, they would have known that before and after 1171, Manuel was also negotiating with Frederick's arch-enemy, William of Sicily, offering him the hand of the same daughter Maria in marriage. They would also have known that there was a less than firm friendship and alliance between the two Emperors, irrespective of any machinations of Henry the Lion, and that Manuel had even been demanding of the Pope the restoration of the unity of the Empire with himself as sole Emperor of the East and the West (35).

The endless series of embassies, the constant negotiations at cross purposes, the relative infrequency of success in such proposed alliances and projects of marriage, are all well illustrated by M. Fourrier himself (36). The simple sequence of events in *Cligés* bears very little resemblance to the complexities of historical reality.

Step three in M. Fourrier's series represents a personal addition of his which, very understandably, Professor Hofer does not accept. The last, unsuccessful, negotiations in regard to the proposed marriage which took place in Ratisbon in 1174 have indeed a quite invisible relation to the attempted kidnapping of the new bride by the duc de Sesseigne in Chrétien's story. Given the also quite slim resemblance between the first two steps of the historical and the fictional series, Professor Hofer's salutary skepticism might equally well have been extended to them also. Outside of the fact of a Germano-Byzantine marriage — not the first of such imperial alliances by any means — the only resemblance between history and the events in *Cligés* lies in

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(35) Ferdinand CHALANDON, in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, V, 198-199.

(36) *Art. cit.*, p. 79.

the names of the two cities, Ratisbon and Cologne. Once again, when M. Fourrier asks " why Ratisbon and Cologne? " one may simply ask in reply " why not? " Chrétien had to have his German Emperor in some castle or city, and Ratisbon and Cologne were surely among those best known in France at the time. Frederick was in fact frequently in Ratisbon and held several courts and diets there. If he was less frequently in Cologne, that city was very well known in France, as can easily be verified from the extremely numerous references to it in the *chansons de geste*. We have, moreover, no reason to affirm *a priori* that Chrétien had an intimate knowledge of German geography, that he held in his mind an accurate memory of the details of Frederick's politics and peregrinations, or that, in his Greco-Germano-Arthurian-Tristan fantasy, he chose to reproduce historical events in highly altered and, on occasion, playfully inverted, form.

The fallacy of this method of dating literary fictions by means of such claimed resemblances to historical situations becomes clearer yet when one sees how readily one may find other historical situations which bear an equally close, or perhaps even a closer resemblance to the fictional situations in question. In regard to this particular case of *Cligés*, one can with little difficulty find another set of historical circumstances which come much closer to the events of the romance than do those advanced by MM. Hofer and Fourrier. Their suggested parallel involves only the matter of the imperial alliance and the names of the cities of Ratisbon and Cologne. There is, however, a basic circumstance of the romance which is missing from the proposed historical parallel: the usurpation of the Byzantine throne by a younger son of the deceased Emperor. A situation embodying this circumstance as well as other features of *Cligés* and presenting a considerably closer parallel to its plot is observable in the two Empires in the middle 1140's.

In 1142, the two eldest sons of Emperor John of Byzantium, Alexios and Andronikos, died one very shortly after the other. Their names were, of course, common ones which were borne by several emperors, but it may or may not be significant that the French equivalent of Alexios is Alis, and that Andronikos might not improbably have suggested Alexandre to the mind of a twelfth-century Frenchman.

In any case, these two eldest sons both died before their father, who was survived by two younger sons. Of these two survivors, it was the younger brother, Manuel, and not the elder, who succeeded to the throne when he died in 1143. In 1146, this Emperor Manuel married Berta von Sulzbach, the sister of the wife of Emperor Conrad III, but he agreed to marriage only after she had been raised by adoption to the rank of *Kaiserstochter* (37). Like Alis and his advisers in *Cligés*, Manuel clearly felt that only the daughter of the German Emperor could be worthy to sit beside him on the throne of Constantinople.

Here we have, then, a Byzantine Emperor, a younger son who succeeds to the throne to the exclusion of his elder brother, and who then marries a German *Kaiserstochter*. We have, moreover, an abbreviated transcript of a letter despatched by Conrad from Ratisbon in 1142 in reply to an embassy sent by the Greek Emperor to ask that a princess of the Imperial House be given in marriage to his son Manuel (38). It will be remembered that Emperor Conrad's bitterest enemy, as we have seen, was the Duke of Saxony, Henry the Proud, who had been his opponent in the imperial election of 1138, and who had married the daughter of the previous German Emperor, Lothair. Curiously, also, Rahewin, probably by a momentary confusion or slip of the pen, calls the Emperor Manuel Comnenos who, like Alis, married the *Kaiserstochter*, Alexios (39).

It seems difficult to deny that this situation is closer to that depicted in *Cligés* than is that of 1170-1171. The marriage did take place, and it was a Greek Emperor and a German *Kaiserstochter*, and the Greek Emperor was a younger brother who took the throne instead of his elder, and the Duke of Saxony was the German Emperor's enemy, and he did have a claim to the throne through marriage to a *Kaiserstochter*. Whether or not Chrétien had any clear recollection of these circumstances when he wrote the *Cligés* I should not attempt to say. He probably knew, at least, of

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(37) Theodor MAYER, Konrad HEILIG, Carl ERDMANN, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I* (MGH SS. 9), pp. 157-158. Cf. *Cligés*, II. 2648-2661.

(38) OTTONIS ET RAHEWINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-43.

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 170.

an old enmity between the Duke of Saxony and the German Emperor, and he may well have heard of the succession to the throne of Constantinople of a younger son, to the exclusion of his elder brother, and he may well have known of the Germano-Byzantine marriage. That would have been quite sufficient to set the stage for the events related in *Cligés*, without any necessity to suppose that Chrétien must have known the circumstances of 1170-1171 (Hofer) of or 1170-1171-1174-1176 (Fourrier) which had a much less close resemblance to the events in the romance than do those of 1138-1146. If a specific historical situation is indeed alluded to in *Cligés*, and so furnishes a *terminus a quo*, it would then, I think, much more probably be 1146, than 1171 or 1176.

### LANCELOT/YVAIN

For the *Lancelot*, at least, it has been universally accepted that we have a positive chronological point of reference in the dedication of the work to *ma dame de Champagne*, who can only be identified with Marie, the eldest daughter of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine. The date of her marriage to the Count of Champagne would then give us an indisputable *terminus a quo*. MM. Hofer and Fourrier accept without question the traditional date of 1164 given for that marriage ; it has been repeated as an undisputed fact for so long that no need is felt to justify it, and, indeed, it is not easy to trace it to its source. So far as I have been able to find out, the assertion goes back ultimately and solely to a very questionable personal interpretation by d'Arbois de Jubainville, almost a century ago, of an even more questionable passage in just one chronicle whose dates are still more questionable (40).

In speaking of the marriage of the two daughters of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine to the two brothers, Henri, Count of Champagne, and Thibaut, Count of Blois and Chartres, d'Arbois de Jubainville remarks that this "double marriage est signalé par une foule d'auteurs", and cites numerous references to them. One author only, he acknow-

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(40) H. d'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, Paris, 1861, III, 82 and 96-99.

ledges, gives a date : Robert de Monte or de Torigny, Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel. Under the year 1164 he relates that the *Comes Carnotensis Theobaldus despondit filiam Ludovici regis Franciae; et rex ei concessit dapiferatum Franciae... Henricus autem frater ejus primogenitus, comes Trecentis, iterum assumpsit filiam Ludovici regis, quam prius dimiserat.*

This passage, according to d'Arbois de Jubainville, contains two errors. The first is that Thibaut became seneschal only in 1164, whereas in fact he was seneschal ten years earlier. D'Arbois suggests that this statement of Robert's may be interpreted to mean that Thibaut was betrothed to Aélis de France in 1154 and was made seneschal in consequence, but that the marriage took place only ten years later.

The second of Robert's errors, he says, is the reference to a supposed reconciliation between Henry and his previously repudiated wife, Marie. Robert, according to d'Arbois, must have confused the *fiançailles* of 1147 (another hypothetical interpretation of his) with a marriage, and therefore took the marriage, finally celebrated in 1164, for a reconciliation. He bases his reluctance to believe in a marriage before 1164 on the belief that if a subsequent separation had taken place, there would be mention of it in extant documents, and also on the "fact" that none of the letters of Henry to Louis VII calling the latter "father" is earlier than 1164.

In reply to the first argument, it may be objected that the separation, if separation there was, may not have been a formal divorce at all, and hence not the subject of ecclesiastical procedure. One might cite in this connection the case of Marie's mother, Eleanor, and her second husband, Henry II.

In regard to the second argument that "aucune des lettres où Henri donne à Louis VII le titre de père n'est antérieure à l'année 1164" (41), one should note that there are in all only three letters of Henry to Louis VII given in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, which was d'Arbois's source, that all three of them give Louis the title of father, and that Dom Bouquet dated them in 1163, 1164ca, and 1165 respectively (42). D'Arbois rejects the date of 1163

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(41) *Ibid.*, III, 98.

(42) Vol. XVI, Nos. 215, 352, 365, pp. 103, 115, 119.



for the first chiefly because in it Henry calls Louis "father", and he became that only in 1164. Another example of perfect circular reasoning: the letter serves to date the marriage, and the marriage serves to date the letter (43).

The dating of the other two letters in question is no more certain. Of the one called No. 352 in the *Recueil* (p. 115) and there dated 1164 ca, d'Arbois simply says "nous ne saurions quelle date donner à la troisième", and of No. 365 (*Recueil*, p. 119, there dated 1165) that it "paraît se rapporter à l'année 1165" (44). Nothing, then, can be concluded on the basis of the very uncertain dating of these three letters. Whether the earliest of the three is dated as of 1163 or 1164, it would obviously not prove that Henry was not married to Marie before that time, which is what d'Arbois is trying to establish. One would gather from d'Arbois's reasoning that there are other, earlier, letters of Henry to Louis extant which do not give him the title of "father", but that is not the case.

D'Arbois rightly points out the error in Robert's date of 1164 for the conferring of the dignity of seneschal on Henry's younger brother, Thibaut, but he is on very uncertain ground when, after rejecting that date for Robert's claimed reconciliation of Henry and Marie, he accepts it, on Robert's unsupported testimony, and asserts that it marked, not a reconciliation, as Robert says, but a marriage. The fact is that there is not a single medieval authority for the marriage in 1164.

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(43) D'Arbois's other reason for rejecting the date of 1163 is no more convincing. The letter speaks of an *expeditionem longinquam* of the Count of Nevers, which Dom Bouquet took as a reference to his pilgrimage to Notre-Dame-du-Puy in 1163, whereas d'Arbois claims the term more properly applies to his voyage to the Holy Land in 1168. Either interpretation seems possible, but in the context the first is the more likely. Henry is explaining to the King that the Count of Nevers cannot attend him at Auxerre, because "vadit enim in expeditionem longinquam". If the Count had actually been on a voyage to the Holy Land, one would expect Henry to say so explicitly, for it would have furnished the best possible excuse for non-attendance, much more satisfactory than the vague one offered. Cf. d'Arbois, *op. cit.*, III, 70, n. 3.

(44) *Op. cit.*, III, 82, n. 4.

Since Robert's testimony is the only basis for the date of 1164, in relation to Henry and Marie at all, and that in a passage so admittedly inaccurate, one is led to wonder how much reliance can be placed on the date itself. The most cursory investigation into the dependability of the dates in Robert's Chronicle leaves no doubt whatsoever on that point : "la confusion des dates qu'on y remarque en plusieurs endroits,..." writes Brial of his Chronicle, and further, "la chronologie de Robert du Mont est encore plus viciée dans un long fragment de cette chronique, depuis l'année 1139 jusqu'en 1168..." (45). Richard Howlett, in the preface to his edition of Robert's Chronicle is of the same opinion : "Robert of Torigni appears... as but a threadbare annalist, whose careless chronology is vexing to the soul" (46). Howlett returns again to stress the point : "Passing to the important question of chronology, we are bound to remark that the confusion which prevails in Abbot Robert's chronicle is no doubt largely due to his unfortunate way of leaving his notes to be copied by his subordinates and his date-rubrics to be inserted by the most erratic of his scriptorium staff" (47).

Since the date of 1164 is found only in Robert (and there as the date of a reconciliation, not a marriage), and his chronology is so totally without authority, we surely cannot consider it to be firmly established as the date of Marie's marriage. The marriage date of 1164 ultimately rests, then, on d'Arbois de Jubainville's very doubtful interpretation of a single, admittedly inaccurate passage in a chronicle whose dates are totally discredited. It would be difficult to imagine a case of general acceptance of a "fact" based on flimsier evidence. And still, the first to question it, to my knowledge, has been Professor Urban T. Holmes, who calls attention to a charter of Henry's of 1159 in which Marie is already spoken of as *Maria Trecensis comitissa*, and *comitissa sponsa mea* (48).

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(45) *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XIV, 370-371.

(46) (Rolls Series, No. 82), Vol. IV, p. XVIII.

(47) *Ibid.*, p. XXII.

(48) Urban T. HOLMES, Jr., and Sister M. Amelia KLENKE, O.P., *Chrétien de Troyes, and the Grail*, Chapel Hill, 1959, p. 18.

The importance of a sound foundation for the traditional date of 1164 for Marie's marriage can hardly be overestimated, for it has served as the principal landmark for dating, not only Chrétien's works, but those of Chrétien's contemporaries, notably Gautier d'Arras in particular (49). Robert de Torigni, Abbot of Mount-Saint-Michel has unwittingly left us a literary landmark as perilous, in its way, as his Abbey, Saint-Michel del Peril de la Mer.

The marriage of Marie de Champagne would, if only we knew when it took place, give us a sure point of reference for the dating of Chrétien's *Lancelot*, but MM. Hofer and Fourrier are surely right in holding, contrary to some other scholars, that the death of Nureddin (1174) cannot be used to furnish a *terminus ad quem* for *Yvain* (50).

Après mangier sanz remuër  
Va chascuns Noradin tuër (11. 595-596.)

is one in a series of proverbial expressions, and it could well have been used long after Nureddin's death.

It is doubtful, on the other hand, whether any more confidence can be placed in deductions based on the relative position of the feast of Saint John (June 24th) and the second Sunday after Pentecost (51). In *Yvain*, Arthur swears that he will arrive at the Magic Fountain on the eve of the feast of Saint John, in less than two weeks from the time of his oath. Since this was sworn on Pentecost Sunday (l. 6), this would put the 23rd of June earlier than the second Sunday after Pentecost, or Pentecost itself later than June 9th. In the second half of the twelfth century this happened only twice, in 1166 and in 1177. Since 1166 is too early, M. Fourrier claims, 1177 is the *terminus a quo* for *Cligés*. This claim is made in the face of sound scholarly scruples acknowledged in the same paragraph: "les indications tirées du calendrier demeurent, dans un récit romanesque, sujettes à caution", and, an even more telling general admission,

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(49) Cf. F.A.G. Cowper, in the introduction to his edition of *Ille et Galeron* (SATF), pp. XL-XLI.

(50) HOFER, *op. cit.*, p. 155; FOURRIER, *art. cit.*, p. 86.

(51) FOURRIER, *art. cit.*, p. 86; HOFER, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

In any case, these two eldest sons both died before their father, who was survived by two younger sons. Of these two survivors, it was the younger brother, Manuel, and not the elder, who succeeded to the throne when he died in 1143. In 1146, this Emperor Manuel married Berta von Sulzbach, the sister of the wife of Emperor Conrad III, but he agreed to marriage only after she had been raised by adoption to the rank of *Kaiserstochter* (37). Like Alis and his advisers in *Cligés*, Manuel clearly felt that only the daughter of the German Emperor could be worthy to sit beside him on the throne of Constantinople.

Here we have, then, a Byzantine Emperor, a younger son who succeeds to the throne to the exclusion of his elder brother, and who then marries a German *Kaiserstochter*. We have, moreover, an abbreviated transcript of a letter despatched by Conrad from Ratisbon in 1142 in reply to an embassy sent by the Greek Emperor to ask that a princess of the Imperial House be given in marriage to his son Manuel (38). It will be remembered that Emperor Conrad's bitterest enemy, as we have seen, was the Duke of Saxony, Henry the Proud, who had been his opponent in the imperial election of 1138, and who had married the daughter of the previous German Emperor, Lothair. Curiously, also, Rahewin, probably by a momentary confusion or slip of the pen, calls the Emperor Manuel Comnenos who, like Alis, married the *Kaiserstochter*, Alexios (39).

It seems difficult to deny that this situation is closer to that depicted in *Cligés* than is that of 1170-1171. The marriage did take place, and it was a Greek Emperor and a German *Kaiserstochter*, and the Greek Emperor was a younger brother who took the throne instead of his elder, and the Duke of Saxony was the German Emperor's enemy, and he did have a claim to the throne through marriage to a *Kaiserstochter*. Whether or not Chrétien had any clear recollection of these circumstances when he wrote the *Cligés* I should not attempt to say. He probably knew, at least, of

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(37) Theodor MAYER, Konrad HEILIG, Carl ERDMANN, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I* (MGH SS. 9), pp. 157-158. Cf. *Cligés*, ll. 2648-2661.

(38) OTTONIS ET RAHEWINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-43.

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 170.

an old enmity between the Duke of Saxony and the German Emperor, and he may well have heard of the succession to the throne of Constantinople of a younger son, to the exclusion of his elder brother, and he may well have known of the Germano-Byzantine marriage. That would have been quite sufficient to set the stage for the events related in *Cligés*, without any necessity to suppose that Chrétien must have known the circumstances of 1170-1171 (Hofer) or of 1170-1171-1174-1176 (Fourrier) which had a much less close resemblance to the events in the romance than do those of 1138-1146. If a specific historical situation is indeed alluded to in *Cligés*, and so furnishes a *terminus a quo*, it would then, I think, much more probably be 1146, than 1171 or 1176.

### LANCELOT/YVAIN

For the *Lancelot*, at least, it has been universally accepted that we have a positive chronological point of reference in the dedication of the work to *ma dame de Champagne*, who can only be identified with Marie, the eldest daughter of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine. The date of her marriage to the Count of Champagne would then give us an indisputable *terminus a quo*. MM. Hofer and Fourrier accept without question the traditional date of 1164 given for that marriage ; it has been repeated as an undisputed fact for so long that no need is felt to justify it, and, indeed, it is not easy to trace it to its source. So far as I have been able to find out, the assertion goes back ultimately and solely to a very questionable personal interpretation by d'Arbois de Jubainville, almost a century ago, of an even more questionable passage in just one chronicle whose dates are still more questionable (40).

In speaking of the marriage of the two daughters of Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine to the two brothers, Henri, Count of Champagne, and Thibaut, Count of Blois and Chartres, d'Arbois de Jubainville remarks that this "double marriage est signalé par une foule d'auteurs", and cites numerous references to them. One author only, he acknow-

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(40) H. d'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, Paris, 1861, III, 82 and 96-99.

ledges, gives a date : Robert de Monte or de Torigny, Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel. Under the year 1164 he relates that the *Comes Carnotensis Theobaldus despondit filiam Ludovici regis Franciae; et rex ei concessit dapiferatum Franciae... Henricus autem frater ejus primogenitus, comes Trecentis, iterum assumpsit filiam Ludovici regis, quam prius dimiserat.*

This passage, according to d'Arbois de Jubainville, contains two errors. The first is that Thibaut became seneschal only in 1164, whereas in fact he was seneschal ten years earlier. D'Arbois suggests that this statement of Robert's may be interpreted to mean that Thibaut was betrothed to Aélis de France in 1154 and was made seneschal in consequence, but that the marriage took place only ten years later.

The second of Robert's errors, he says, is the reference to a supposed reconciliation between Henry and his previously repudiated wife, Marie. Robert, according to d'Arbois, must have confused the *fiançailles* of 1147 (another hypothetical interpretation of his) with a marriage, and therefore took the marriage, finally celebrated in 1164, for a reconciliation. He bases his reluctance to believe in a marriage before 1164 on the belief that if a subsequent separation had taken place, there would be mention of it in extant documents, and also on the "fact" that none of the letters of Henry to Louis VII calling the latter "father" is earlier than 1164.

In reply to the first argument, it may be objected that the separation, if separation there was, may not have been a formal divorce at all, and hence not the subject of ecclesiastical procedure. One might cite in this connection the case of Marie's mother, Eleanor, and her second husband, Henry II.

In regard to the second argument that "aucune des lettres où Henri donne à Louis VII le titre de père n'est antérieure à l'année 1164" (41), one should note that there are in all only three letters of Henry to Louis VII given in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, which was d'Arbois's source, that all three of them give Louis the title of father, and that Dom Bouquet dated them in 1163, 1164ca, and 1165 respectively (42). D'Arbois rejects the date of 1163

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(41) *Ibid.*, III, 98.

(42) Vol. XVI, Nos. 215, 352, 365, pp. 103, 115, 119.

for the first chiefly because in it Henry calls Louis "father", and he became that only in 1164. Another example of perfect circular reasoning: the letter serves to date the marriage, and the marriage serves to date the letter (43).

The dating of the other two letters in question is no more certain. Of the one called No. 352 in the *Recueil* (p. 115) and there dated 1164 ca, d'Arbois simply says "nous ne saurions quelle date donner à la troisième", and of No. 365 (*Recueil*, p. 119, there dated 1165) that it "paraît se rapporter à l'année 1165" (44). Nothing, then, can be concluded on the basis of the very uncertain dating of these three letters. Whether the earliest of the three is dated as of 1163 or 1164, it would obviously not prove that Henry was not married to Marie before that time, which is what d'Arbois is trying to establish. One would gather from d'Arbois's reasoning that there are other, earlier, letters of Henry to Louis extant which do not give him the title of "father", but that is not the case.

D'Arbois rightly points out the error in Robert's date of 1164 for the conferring of the dignity of seneschal on Henry's younger brother, Thibaut, but he is on very uncertain ground when, after rejecting that date for Robert's claimed reconciliation of Henry and Marie, he accepts it, on Robert's unsupported testimony, and asserts that it marked, not a reconciliation, as Robert says, but a marriage. The fact is that there is not a single medieval authority for the marriage in 1164.

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Since Robert's testimony is the only basis for the date of 1164, in relation to Henry and Marie at all, and that in a passage so admittedly inaccurate, one is led to wonder how much reliance can be placed on the date itself. The most cursory investigation into the dependability of the dates in Robert's Chronicle leaves no doubt whatsoever on that point: "la confusion des dates qu'on y remarque en plusieurs endroits,..." writes Brial of his Chronicle, and further, "la chronologie de Robert du Mont est encore plus viciée dans un long fragment de cette chronique, depuis l'année 1139 jusqu'en 1168..." (45). Richard Howlett, in the preface to his edition of Robert's Chronicle is of the same opinion: "Robert of Torigni appears... as but a threadbare annalist, whose careless chronology is vexing to the soul" (46). Howlett returns again to stress the point: "Passing to the important question of chronology, we are bound to remark that the confusion which prevails in Abbot Robert's chronicle is no doubt largely due to his unfortunate way of leaving his notes to be copied by his subordinates and his date-rubrics to be inserted by the most erratic of his scriptorium staff" (47).

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(49) Cf. F.A.G. Cowper, in the introduction to his edition of *Ille et Galeron* (SATF), pp. XL-XLI.

(50) HOFER, *op. cit.*, p. 155; FOURRIER, *art. cit.*, p. 86.

(51) FOURRIER, *art. cit.*, p. 86; HOFER, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

"il faut faire flèche de tout bois" (52). The particular "wood" in this case is the unexpressed and entirely unwarranted assumption that Chrétien must have written *Yvain* in a year when the second Sunday after Pentecost came after June 23rd because it did so in the story (53). For Chrétien to place Pentecost Sunday after June 9th it was necessary only that he could imagine that that might possibly occur. Although June 9th is rather late for Pentecost, it is not, as we have seen, an impossible or an improbable date.

It is, one would think, most unlikely that when Chrétien wrote his romances about fictitious events of a remote period in the legendary past he kept one eye on the calendar. There is a much more simple and entirely plausible explanation for Chrétien's indications of time in this instance. The choice of Pentecost for Arthur's holding a great court which becomes the occasion for the undertaking of a wondrous adventures is, as we have seen, quite usual and entirely to be expected. Since Arthur's curiosity is aroused by this tale of the Magic Fountain, it is perfectly natural for him to decide to undertake the adventure himself without delay, and so to announce his intention to undertake it within a *quinzaine* (54). But why, one may ask, did Chrétien specify that Arthur would do so on Saint John's eve? The most likely explanation, I think, is that despite all of Chrétien's courtly rationalizing, this is a most supernatural fountain with its magically aroused storm and its suddenly appearing fearsome guardian, and Saint John's eve, even today in many parts of Europe, is a time when supernatural beings are most apt to be about (55). Even in Elizabethan England, Shakespeare obviously expected that the allusion in the title of *Midsummer Night's Dream* (Midsummer Night is another name in England for Saint John's eve) would be readily understood. In Chrétien's time, surely, his audience was not surprised to hear of mysterious goings-on expected on

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(52) *Art. cit.*, p. 86.

(53) Cf. T. B. W. Reid, note to l. 666 in his edition of *Yvain*, Manchester U. Press, 1942.

(54) Cf. *Perceval* (ed. Roach), l. 1264, and (ed. Hilka), l. 4790 V; GAUTIER D'ARRAS, *Ille et Galeron* (SATF), ll. 1618, 3089.

(55) Cf. *Columbia Encyclopedia*, s.v. "midsummer day".

that night either. M. Fourrier, who mistakenly places Arthur's intended time of arrival on Saint John's Day itself, misses the probably clear allusion in Arthur's announced intention to depart promptly to seek the adventure

Si que il i vandra la voille  
 Mon seignor saint Jehan Batiste,  
 Et s'i prandra la nuit son giste,... (II. 668-670.)

Chrétien's situating Arthur's court on Pentecost and his indication of Arthur's eagerness (*ainz ne passeroit quinzaine*) to undertake the adventure not long after, on Saint John's eve, are readily understandable without supposing any reference to the ecclesiastical calendar of 1166 or of 1177.

One cannot place very much faith, either, in deductions based on Chrétien's mention in the *Charrette* of the presence at the tournament of Noauz of knights who had taken the Cross. M. Fourrier would link this unique mention of crusaders in Chrétien's works to Henry's taking the Cross in 1177. If one insists — erroneously, I think — on seeing allusions to contemporary events in every detail of an Arthurian romance, we might here again remember that events of the late 1140's fit the situation as well as those of the 1170's. Henry was, after all, a valiant and much admired crusader in his youth. Many chroniclers praise him highly, and there is extant a most laudatory letter written in 1147 or 1148 by Louis VII to Henry's father, Count Thibaut (56).

If there is, then, no clear, positive, indication of the dates of the *Lancelot* or the *Yvain*, it had long been believed that we knew at least that the former was written before the latter, since the *Yvain* contains three allusions to events related in the *Lancelot* (57). According to M. Fourrier, however, things are not so simple as they appear, and we cannot so easily accept the conclusion that the *Lancelot* preceded the *Yvain*. For one thing, there are obscurities in the former which are, he holds, explained in the latter. At the very

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(56) Cf. René GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, Paris [1934-1935], III, 241; Achille LUCHAIRE, *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII*, Paris, 1885, pp. 175, 237. William of TYRE, *Pat. Lat.*, CCI, 673.

(57) Ll. 3706-3715, 3918-3939, 4740-4745.

beginning of the *Charrette* Arthur holds court, and, Chrétien specifies,

Aprés mangier ne se remut  
Li rois d'anre ses compeignons... (ll. 36-37.)

"Détail futile, remarque oiseuse", exclaims M. Fourrier, but "tout s'explique" when we remember that Arthur acted differently in *Yvain*, where he retired and went to sleep immediately after dinner (ll. 42-52) (58). This argument would be more convincing if Chrétien were an economical artist, rarely given to the *détail futile* or the *remarque oiseuse*. And one may wonder whether Chrétien's audience, any more than modern readers, would have remembered this detail from the beginning of *Yvain* when reading or hearing the *Lancelot* read, or whether Chrétien could have expected them to. One might also maintain that the remark isn't completely futile or idle, nor is it unique in the *Yvain*. We have seen it used again in the *Yvain* in another context: the habitual post-prandial bragging period when,

Aprés mangier sanz remuër  
Va chascuns Noradin tuër,... (ll. 595-596.)

In both cases the remark has the definite function of setting the stage by indicating that the company remained seated at table. The plot of the *Lancelot* absolutely required Arthur to be there to hear Meleagant's *défi* and to set events in motion by granting Ké the rash boon. It was necessary also to show Arthur's peculiarity poltroonish reaction to the *défi* in order to obviate the natural question of why it was not he, rather than Lancelot and Gauvain, who went to Guenevere's rescue. It was not without reason, then, that Chrétien chose to make explicit Arthur's presence at this disgraceful episode at his court.

M. Fourrier also finds strange and inexplicable in the *Charrette* Ké's poor reputation at court and the dim view that is taken there of his worth as a defender of the Queen. No basis for such a feeling can be found, he says, in the *Brut* of Wace, in *Erec*, or in *Cligés*. In considering this point one should remember first that Chrétien is presenting

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(58) *Art. cit.*, p. 83.

to the reader a court whose members form a close-knit society and that they are well acquainted with each other at the beginning of the romance. They have already well established reputations. Only newcomers to the court or young knights at the beginning of their careers, like Erec, Cligés, and Perceval, need to demonstrate their prowess before taking their proper place at court. By M. Fourrier's reasoning we should also be forced to conclude that the *Perceval* was written before *Cligés*. The first mention of Perceval in *Cligés* speaks of him as *uns vassaus de grant renom* (l. 4827), and as soon as Cligés hears his name, he is most anxious to try his strength and skill against him. There is no more warrant for this favorable high renown of Perceval in the *Brut* or in *Erec* than there is for Ké's bad repute. There is, indeed, very much less, since in *Erec* Chrétien already showed Ké as the discourteous *fanfaron* who was subject to being shamefully unhorsed for his pains (ll. 3983 ss.).

When the Queen's safety is at stake, surely only the greatest and most valiant of all knights can be entrusted with the mission of serving as her champion, and Ké is never that. In *Cligés* he isn't even mentioned at all among the knights of Arthur's court. We don't need the tale of Ké's misadventure in *Yvain* to explain the dismay of the court in *Lancelot*. The members of the court know him well, and Chrétien is certainly not obliged to add a footnote to explain the reasons for their low estimate of him as the Queen's champion. The cry of *outrage et desreison* when he claims this role (*Charrette*, ll. 185-187) is provoked moreover, not only by his designating himself as Guenevere's protector, but also by his having forced Arthur by means of the "rash boon" to accept Meleagant's truly unreasonable and outrageous proposal that the Queen be entrusted to a knight of the court, and that she be offered as a forfeit if her escort is vanquished in a duel with him. There is nothing so surprising in their strong reaction to this that we must turn to the *Yvain* for an explanation of it.

What, in M. Fourrier's view, are we to think of the allusions in *Yvain* to the events of the *Charrette* if, as he believes, *Yvain* precedes the *Charrette*? The first two allusions, we are told, "n'en sont pas à proprement parler" (59). It

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(59) *Ibid.*, p. 84.

is possible, he explains, that they refer to a work "en gestation", or barely begun. This is, of course, a possibility, but it is also a possibility for the third allusion, despite the fact that it concerns an event near the end of Chrétien's part of the *Charrette*. If Chrétien started to write the *Yvain* before the *Lancelot*, there is no reason to suppose that he knew how the latter would begin, but did not know how he would continue the story. If, as Professor Hofer points out in this connection, Marie gave him its *matière et san*, she would scarcely have given him only part of the *matière* (60). M. Fourier's explanation that Chrétien first started to write the *Yvain* and in it referred to adventures in the *Lancelot* he was about to write, then wrote the *Lancelot*, passed the latter on to Godefroy de Lagny to finish, and then returned himself to finish the *Yvain* is certainly not impossible, but neither is it, I think, necessitated by the facts, nor can it be considered to be cogently established (61).

The simplest and most plausible explanation of the three references to the Lancelot story in the *Yvain* is the traditional one that Chrétien was referring to incidents in his own already completed and widely known work. However that may be, I can see no sufficient reason for the disinction between the first two, or assertedly "not real" allusions, and the third one, for the affirmation that the action of the *Lancelot* must be inserted at a certain spot of the *Yvain*, and that their order of composition was *Yvain-Lancelot-Yvain*, with the break at a given point in the latter.

The hypothesis of the concurrent composition of *Yvain* and *Lancelot* in the period between 1177 (because of the calendar considerations relative to St. John's eve) and 1181 (because of a reconciliation in that year between Philippe d'Alsace and the House of Blois-Champagne, after which, according to M. Fourier, Chrétien passed into Philippe's service) seems to me to be completely without foundation. The explanation advanced for Chrétien's having left the *Lancelot* unfinished is not more impressive. In June or July

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(60) *Op. cit.*, p. 155, n. 17.

(61) Professor Hofer's skepticism on this point is also shared by Urban T. Holmes, in his *Chrétien, Troyes, and the Grail*, p. 47.

of 1179, we are told, Henry left for the Holy Land at the head of a great French expedition, and Marie's last child by him was born on May 13th of that year. Since she supposedly had "d'autres soucis en tête" at that time, Chrétien may have had no incentive to finish the *Charrette*. Again, this is possible, but it is very far from certain. We know nothing whatever of the personal relations between Marie and Henry, whether his departure was a source of grief and care to her, or whether it was a relief and a joy, or again, a matter of relative indifference. We do know, however, that royal and noble ladies in the Middle Ages were normally very little preoccupied with their infant offspring, and we have no reason to suppose it was very different with Marie. And again, even if she were full of *soucis* for the reasons stated, that might well be all the more reason for seeking distraction in tales of marvelous adventures in the realm of fantasy and love casuistry for which she evidently had so strong a predilection. An assertion of a relation between Henry's departure for the Crusade and his son's birth on the one hand, and the unfinished state of the *Lancelot* on the other, is purely conjectural and, in its own way, another form of romancing.

All of the reflections of specific literary texts or historical events and situations which MM. Hofer and Fourrier (despite their occasional differences of opinion) claim to see in the works of Chrétien seem to me to be, in varying degrees, illusory and not very impressive on close examination. They sometimes vanish when looked at critically, or they seem relatively superficial or very possibly fortuitous. In some instances, as we have seen, it is possible to point to other historical situations which bear a closer relation to those of the romance than the ones advanced by Messrs Hofer and Fourrier. The method is simply too easy to use, and can serve to prove admost anything one may wish it to. Only desire, patience, diligence, and a ready imagination are necessary.

We should be wary of the assumption that medieval authors were more dependent than we are on particular literary sources. When we say a man is richer than Croesus or has more jewels than a Maharajah, we are not necessarily referring to any particular text on ancient history or to any particular maharajah at any particular time in Indian history.

It would certainly be most desirable to be able to narrow down the possible dates of the composition of Chrétien's romances, but that should not make us grasp at straws, or place confidence in arrows made of poor wood and pure conjecture. We cannot, I am afraid, at this time add anything to the two "jalons sûrs" of 1164 and 1191. On the contrary, I think we must resign ourselves to giving up the first of them, and be content, until further notice, with 1191. None of the dates advanced by MM. Hofer and Fourier are inherently impossible, but neither, I think, can they be accepted as established.

Jean MISRAHI  
*Fordham University*



### **III – COURRIER ARTHURIEN**



## CHRONIQUE

— *Congrès de Vannes (1960)*. — Le sixième Congrès Arthurien se tiendra à Vannes (Morbihan) du 17 au 21 août 1960.

Les communications porteront sur les sujets suivants :

- 1° Le roman arthurien en vers au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ;
- 2° L'iconographie arthurienne ;
- 3° Le personnage de Merlin ;
- 4° La fortune des romans arthuriens au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

L'arrivée des congressistes est prévue pour le mardi 16 août. Les séances de travail commenceront le mercredi 17 août dans la matinée et se poursuivront jusqu'au samedi 20 août inclus. L'après-midi du jeudi 21 août sera consacrée à une excursion aux monuments mégalithiques de la région (Carnac et Locmariaquer). Une seconde excursion aura lieu le dimanche 21 août à travers le golfe du Morbihan.

Les invitations seront envoyées prochainement. Elles donneront des précisions complémentaires sur l'organisation et le programme du Congrès.

— Three works of interest to Arthurians, which have long been out of print, and which are still of great value, are being published by Burt Franklin, 514 W. 113th Street, New York. They are Lucy Paton, *The Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, and Laura A. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England, A Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-Cyclic Metrical Romances*. The reprints will include supplements, bringing the bibliography up to date, and the first two will contain a review of scholarly opinion since the original date of publication.

— Le huitième Congrès de la Fédération Internationale des Langues et Littératures Modernes se tiendra à l'Université de Liège du 28 Août au 4 Septembre 1960. Thème du Congrès : *La littérature et la langue*.

Le Comité liégeois chargé de l'organisation du Congrès est ainsi constitué :

Président : Maurice Delbouille, Professeur à l'Université de Liège.

Secrétaires : Irène Simon, Professeur à l'Université de Liège ; Jules Horrent, Professeur à l'Université de Liège.

Trésorier : D<sup>r</sup> A. Nivelles.

— *Le président de la Société Internationale Arthuriennne prie instamment ses collaborateurs de bien vouloir lui faire parvenir chaque année la bibliographie établie par leurs soins ainsi que la liste des membres appartenant à leur section nationale, avant le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet.*

*Il souhaite que le texte dactylographié des diverses bibliographies soit conforme à la présentation adoptée dans le Bulletin imprimé. En consentant à tenir compte de ces recommandations, on simplifiera et on allègera beaucoup la tâche du président et du secrétaire général de la Société Internationale Arthuriennne.*

— William Roach et Jean Frappier ont été élus respectivement membre et membre correspondant de la Mediaeval Academy of America.

## NÉCROLOGIE

### STEFAN HOFER

Unvermutet plötzlich ist der romanistische Ordinarius an der Universität Wien, Stefan Hofer, am 6. Mai 1959 im Alter von 70 Jahren gestorben. Er war den Bestrebungen der Artusgesellschaft seit ihren ersten Zeiten eng verbunden und gehörte ihrem Vorstand als Vertreter

Osterreichs an. Das wissenschaftliche Werk, das der Verewigte hinterlässt (noch im vorliegenden Bulletin werden seine "Bemerkungen zu dem Bericht der 'Arthuriana' in der 'Historia Regum Britanniae' des Galfrid von Monmouth" angezeigt) ist von mediävistischen Impulsen geprägt. Es sei an die lange Reihe von Arbeiten erinnert, die sich zeitlich an die Neubearbeitung des Spätmittelalterteils von Gröbers Darstellung der altfranzösischen Literatur (1933-37) anschlossen und die Stefan Hofer als einen ausgezeichneten Kenner des höfischen Romans und der gesamten Matière de Bretagne, vor allem der Lais, der Tristan-Fassungen und Chrétiens von Troyes offenbarten. Die literaturwissenschaftliche Methode, die diese Aufsätze charakterisiert und zu der den Gelehrten eine ungewöhnliche Kenntnis der Quellen, eine geduldige Vergleichung von Details und eine Gabe scharfsinniger Kombination befähigten, war die Suche nach Einfluss und Wirkung älterer Texte auf jüngere, also eine Art Genealogie der Schriftwerke. Eine zweite Grundrichtung des Hofer'schen Forschens, die Verknüpfung der Literatur mit ihrem geschichtlichen und sozialen Existenzboden, tritt mit aller Deutlichkeit in dem Werk hervor, welches die wissenschaftliche Erinnerung an Stefan Hofer am lebenskräftigsten erhalten wird, seinem 1954 erschienenen Buch: « Chrétien de Troyes. Leben und Werke des altfranzösischen Epikers ». Es ist gleichzeitig eine konzentrierte Summa aller Kenntnisse über Chrétien und eine sehr originelle eigene Exegese des von Hofer bewunderten Dichters. Die Teilnehmer am Strassburger Kolloquium über die Gralromane im Frühjahr 1954 werden sich an den Ton der Freude erinnern, mit dem Stefan Hofer am Ende der seinem Vortrag über "La structure du conte del Graal examinée à la lumière de l'œuvre de Chrétien de Troyes" folgenden Diskussion die Publikation seines Buches bekannt gab. Die Ausführlichkeit, mit der der Verfasser in diesem Werk, das den christlichen Ursprung der Grallegende erweisen will, die gegnerische These

von ihrer keltischen Herkunft zu Worte kommen lässt, zeigt die Stefan Hofer bei aller Vorliebe für "Streitfragen zur altfranzösischen Literatur" (ZrPh 65, 1949) kennzeichnende Vornehmheit in der wissenschaftlichen Debatte. Das internationale Gespräch über die Figuren des Artuskreises und die Wunder der Gralwelt ist noch lange nicht abgeschlossen. Es wird nun leider ohne die Stimme Stefan Hofers weitergehen müssen.

Wilhelm KELLERMANN.

CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION ARTHURIENNE  
(Sorbonne, Institut de Français,  
17, rue de la Sorbonne, Paris, 5<sup>e</sup>)

#### LIVRES REÇUS

*Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* (Université de Poitiers — Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale) — 1<sup>re</sup> année, n° 4 — Octobre-Décembre 1958.

Pierre SALA, *Tristan*, roman d'aventures du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, publié par L. Muir, Genève, Droz, Paris, Minard, Textes Littéraires Français, 1958.

Jean MISRAHI, Tiré à part du compte rendu du livre de Jean Frappier, *Chrétien de Troyes, L'Homme et l'Œuvre* (Paris, Hatier, 1957) paru dans *The French Review*, XXXII, n° 4, February 1959, p. 392-393.

Jean MISRAHI, Tiré à part du compte rendu du livre de Paul Zumthor, *Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale (VI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* paru dans *Speculum*, XXXIII, July-1958, n° 3, p. 437-443.

Alfred ADLER, Tiré à part du compte rendu de Pierre Sala, *Tristan*, roman d'aventures du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. L. Muir, Textes Littéraires Français, n° 80,

1958, paru dans *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXI, 2, 1959, p. 519-525.

Aurelio RONCAGLIA, *Carestia*, tiré à part de *Cultura Neolatina*, vol. XVIII, 1958, fasc. 2-3, p. 1-17.

Helaine NEWSTEAD, tiré à part du compte rendu du livre d'Erich Köhler, *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik — Studien zur Form der frühen Artus .. und Graldichtung*, paru dans *Romance Philology*, XII-3, February 1959, p. 326-329.

Helaine NEWSTEAD, tiré à part du compte rendu du livre de Charles Muscatine, *Chaucer and the French Tradition ; a Study in Style and Meaning* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1957), paru dans *Romance Philology*, XII-4, May 1959, p. 405-413.

### TRAVAUX ANNONCÉS

HOULTON, C.M.F., *The work of Hue of Roteland*, M.A. thesis submitted to the University of London in June 1958. The "romans bretons" are considered in chaps. 10 and 11, with special reference to Chrétien de Troyes, Thomas d'Angleterre and Marie de France.

WEINGARTNER, Russell, *The Authorship of the Old-French Lay Guingamor*. (Université de Princeton).

SPAHR, Blake Lee, "Proper name lexicon of the Dutch Arthurian material". (Berkeley University, California).

Extrait d'une lettre de M. Blake Lee Spahr (29/1/1959) : "I am now engaged in doing a proper name lexicon of the Dutch Arthurian

material as a sort of "Vorstudie" to a book which would deal with the place of the Dutch Arthurian works in the Arthurian tradition. The lexicon will be ready about a month, but, of course, the book is a longer project and I would like to have "my intentions declared". I estimate it may be finished in about two years. "



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- ZUMTHOR**, Dr. Paul, Professor ordinarius, Université  
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- ZYGULSKI**, Zdzislaw, Wroclaw.



## INSTITUTS, UNIVERSITES, BIBLIOTHEQUES

- Aarhus, *Statsbiblioteket*.
- Aberystwyth, Wales, *The National Library of Wales*.
- Aberystwyth, Wales, *The Library of the University College of Wales*.
- Åbo, *Åbo Akademis Bibliotek*, Finlande.
- Albuquerque, New Mexico, *University of New Mexico Library*.
- Amsterdam, *Bibliothèque de l'Université*.
- Austin, *University of Texas Library*, Austin 12, Texas.
- Bâle, *Bibliothèque de l'Université*.
- Baltimore, *Enoch Pratt Free Library*, Baltimore 1, Maryland.
- Bangor, Wales, *The Library of the University College of North Wales*.
- Barcelone, *Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics*.
- Bari, *Istituto di Filologia Moderna dell' Università*, Bari.
- Baton Rouge, *Louisiana State University*, General Library, Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana.
- Belfast, *The Library of the Queen's University*, Belfast, Northern Ireland.
- Berkeley, *University of California*, General Library, Berkeley 4, California.
- Berne, *Stadt- und Hochschulbibliothek*.
- Boston, *Public Library*, Boston 17, Massachusetts
- Boston University, *College of Liberal Arts Library*, Boston 15, Massachusetts.
- Boulder, Colorado, *University of Colorado Library*.
- Bruxelles, *Bibliothèque de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles*, Belgique.
- Bruxelles, *Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*.
- Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, *Bryn Mawr College Library*.
- Buffalo, *University of Buffalo*, Lockwood Memorial Library, Buffalo 14, N.Y.
- Cambridge, England, *The University Library*.

- Cambridge, Massachusetts, *Harvard College Library*,  
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.
- Canberra, *University College Library*.
- Carbondale, Illinois, *Southern Illinois University*,  
General Library.
- Chicago, *Newberry Library*, Chicago 10, Illinois.
- Cincinnati, Ohio, *University of Cincinnati Library*.
- Cleveland, *Public Library*, Cleveland 14, Ohio.
- Copenhagen, *Det Kongelige Bibliotek*.
- Detroit, *Wayne University Library*, Detroit 1, Michigan.
- Dublin : *Coimisiún Béaloideasa Eireann*, Irish Folklore  
Commission, 82 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
- *Franciscan House of Studies*, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
- *National Library of Ireland*, Kildare St., Dublin.
- *Royal Irish Academy*, 19, Dawson St., Dublin.
- *School of Celtic Studies*, Dublin Institute for Advanced  
Studies, 64-5, Merrion Square, Dublin.
- *The Library of Trinity College*, Dublin.
- Erlangen, *Romanisches Seminar der Universität*.
- Eugene, Oregon, *University of Oregon Library*.
- Evanston, *Northwestern University Library*, Evanston,  
Illinois.
- Exeter, *The University Library*, Exeter, England.
- Fayetteville, *University of Arkansas Library*, Fayette-  
ville, Arkansas.
- Frankfurt a. Main, *Englisches Seminar der Universität*.  
— *Romanisches Seminar der Universität*.
- Gainesville, Florida, *University of Florida Libraries*.
- Galway, *The Library of University College*, Galway,  
Ireland.
- Gand, *Séminaire de Philologie romane de l'Université*.
- Glasgow, The University of, *The French Departmental  
Library*, Glasgow, Scotland.
- Göteborg, *Stadtsbibliotek*.
- Göttingen, *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*.
- Göttingen, *Romanisches Seminar der Universität*.
- Greifswald, *Romanisches Seminar der Universität*.
- Grenoble, *Bibliothèque de l'Université*, Grenoble, Isère.

- Grenoble, *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Philologie de la Faculté des Lettres.*
- Hamburg, *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.*
- Hanover, *Dartmouth College, Baker Library, Hanover, New Hampshire.*
- Heidelberg, *Deutsches Seminar der Universität.*
- Heidelberg, *Romanisches Seminar der Universität.*
- Helsingfors, *Universitetsbiblioteket.*
- Hull, *The University Library, Hull, England.*
- Innsbruck, *Romanisches Seminar der Universität.*
- Iowa, *State University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa.*
- Kiel, *Seminar für deutsche Philologie der Universität.*
- Knoxville, *University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.*
- Lausanne, *Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire.*
- Leeds, *The Brotherton Library, The University, Leeds, England.*
- Lexington, *University of Kentucky Libraries, Lexington 29, Kentucky.*
- Liège, *Bibliothèque de l'Université.*
- Lille, *Bibliothèque de l'Université.*
- Liverpool, *The University Library, Liverpool, England.*
- London, *The University of, The Goldsmiths' Library, Senate House, London, W.C. 1.*
- London, *University College, The Library, Gower Street, London, W.C. 1.*
- *University College, London, The French Departmental Library, Gower Street, London, W.C. 1.*
- Los Angeles, *Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles 13, California.*
- *University of California, General Library, Los Angeles 24, California.*
- Louvain, *Bibliothèque de l'Université Catholique.*
- Lund, *Folkslivarkivet.*
- *Historiska Museet, Scaftstorg, Lund.*
- *Romanska institutionens bibliotek.*
- *Universitetsbibliotek.*

- Lyon, *Bibliothèque de l'Université de Lyon*.
- Madison, Wisconsin, *University of Wisconsin Library*.
- Manchester, *Manchester University Library*, Manchester, England.
- Marburg/Lahn, *Universitätsbibliothek*.
- Miami, *University of Miami Library*, Coral Gables 46, Florida.
- Milano, *Biblioteca della Facoltà di Lettere dell'Università*.
- *Biblioteca della Facoltà di Lingue dell'Università Bocconi*.
- Milano, *Biblioteca dell'Università Governativa*, via della Passione, 12.
- Minneapolis, *University of Minnesota Library*, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.
- Mississippi, *University of Mississippi Library*.
- Mold, *Flintshire County Library*, Mold, Flintshire, Wales.
- Montreal, *McGill University*, Redpath Library, Montreal, P.Q., Canada.
- Morgantown, *West Virginia University Library*, Morgantown, West Virginia.
- München, *Deutsches Seminar der Universität*.
- Nantes, *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Lettres*, 23, rue Gambetta, Nantes (Loire-Atlantique).
- Napoli, *Biblioteca dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*.
- Nashville, *Joint University Libraries*, Nashville 4, Tennessee.
- Neuchâtel, *Séminaire des langues romanes*, Université.
- New Orleans, *Tulane University*, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, New Orleans 18, Louisiana.
- New York, *Columbia University Libraries*, New York 27, N.Y.
- New York, *Fordham University Library*, New York 58, N.Y.
- New York Public Library*, 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

- New York University, Washington Square Library, New York 3, N.Y.*
- Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, Main Library, Notre Dame, Indiana.*
- Nottingham, The University Library, Nottingham, England.*
- Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket.*
- Oxford, The University of, The Library of the English School, Examination Schools, Oxford, England.*
- *The University of, The Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.*
- *The University of, The Taylorian Library, Oxford, England.*
- Padova, Biblioteca dell'Istituto di Filologia moderna dell'Università di Padova.*
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Périodiques.*
- *Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris, Sorbonne.*
- *Institut de Français de la Faculté des Lettres, place de la Sorbonne.*
- *Institut National Pédagogique, 29, rue d'Ulm, Paris (5°).*
- *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 87, rue Vieille-du-Temple, Paris (3°).*
- *Union Latine d'Éditions, 33, rue des Grands-Augustins, Paris.*
- Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library.*
- *Free Library of Philadelphia.*
- *Temple University, Sullivan Memorial Library.*
- Pocatello, Idaho State College Library, Pocatello, Idaho.*
- Poitiers, Bibliothèque de l'Université.*
- Poitiers, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 36, rue de la Chaîne, Poitiers.*
- Princeton, University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.*
- Providence, Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island.*
- Quimper, Archives Départementales du Finistère, rue du Palais, Quimper.*

- Rennes, *Bibliothèque Municipale de Rennes*.  
— *Bibliothèque Universitaire de Rennes*.  
— *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Français*, Faculté des Lettres.  
— *Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, place St-Melaine, Rennes.
- Roma, *Istituto di Filologia Romanza dell'Università*.  
St-Andrews, *The University Library*, St-Andrews, Fife, Scotland.
- Salt Lake City, *University of Utah Library*, Salt Lake City 1, Utah.
- Santa Clara, *University of Santa Clara*, Varsi Library, Santa Clara, California.
- Seattle, *University of Washington Library*, Seattle 5, Washington.
- South Hadley, *Hampshire Inter-Library Center*, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
- Stanford, *Stanford University Libraries*, Stanford, California.
- Stockholm, *Bibliothèque Royale*.
- Storrs, *University of Connecticut*, Wilbur Cross Library, Storrs, Connecticut.
- Strasbourg, *Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire*.
- Tallahassee, *Florida State University Library*, Tallahassee, Florida.
- Torino, *Biblioteca dell'Istituto di Filologia Romanza dell'Università di Torino*.
- Toronto, *Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies*, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.
- Toulouse, *Bibliothèque Universitaire de Toulouse*.
- Turku, *Turun Yliopiston Kirjasto*, Finlande.
- University Park, Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania State University*, Pattee Library.
- Uppsala, *Universitetsbiblioteket*.
- Urbana, *University of Illinois Library*, Urbana, Illinois.
- Utrecht, *Institute for Comparative Literature*, University of Utrecht.
- *Institut Français*, Université d'Utrecht.

Washington, *State College of Washington Library*,  
Pullman, Washington.

— *Folger Shakespeare Library*, Washington 3, D.C.

Wellesley, *Wellesley College Library*, Wellesley 81,  
Massachusetts.

Wien, *Romanisches Seminar der Universität Wien*, 10,  
Universitätstrasse, Wien.

Williamstown, *Williams College Library*, Williamstown,  
Massachusetts.

Würzburg, *Seminar für deutsche Philologie der Univer-*  
*sität.*





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