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THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

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# The Theme of Love in the *Romans d'Antiquité*

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by

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# PREFACE

Not a great deal of work has been done on the *romans antiques* as a group. The individual works have been the subject of studies and the *romans antiques* have been studied as a group for the purposes of dating and of tracing sources and Ovidian influence. Much remains to be done, however, to examine whether these works form a homogeneous group in terms of the concepts they embody, of their *Weltanschauung*. This study has attempted, in a limited field, the theme of love, to find whether there are similarities of treatment and execution. It is a revised version of a thesis accepted for the degree of M.Phil at the University of London in 1968.

I should like to express my very grateful thanks to Dr W. M. Hackett, who supervised the thesis, and to Professor D. J. A. Ross for his comments and suggestions.

# 1. INTRODUCTORY

The group of *romans antiques* comprises the *romans* of *Thèbes, Eneas, Troie* and *Alexandre,* and the poems of *Piramus et Tisbé* and *Narcisus.* These works have two points in common: they all deal with material from Greek or Roman antiquity, and they all fall within the twelfth century. As the date of *Philomena* is still uncertain, it has not been included in the group.

The study pursues two main lines of enquiry. Each work is the subject of a separate chapter, which analyses the way in which the love theme or themes have been treated and these analyses are followed by a chapter which tries to draw together the separate threads and to see if it is possible to define a concept of love which may be common to all the *romans antiques* or to some of them. The findings of this chapter have then been extended to a comparison with the theme of love as treated by Marie de France in the *Lais* and by Chrétien de Troyes, in works which are presumed to have been written at a slightly later date than most of the *romans antiques* themselves.

It has been necessary in the analyses of the individual works to make a comparison with the sources, as the *romans antiques* are primarily adaptations. Where the love theme has been adapted from an earlier source, this means of course that the framework of the story and the *dénouement* are to some extent fixed, and the poet has less latitude in construction. It does not necessarily mean, however, that the poet has to accept the love theme exactly as it stood without making any changes, any more than it prevents him from inventing love interest where previously there was little or none, as occurs both in the *Roman de Thèbes* and the *Roman de Troie.* The analysis has therefore attempted to show such adaptations and inventions.

Two major literary influences of the time have also had to be considered: the influence of Ovid and that of courtly love. Much work has already been done on Ovidian influence on medieval literature, and Faral in particular has examined it in relation to the *romans antiques* and established that writing in the Ovidian style was already a convention.[1] Imitation of Ovid might take the form of adapting the texts themselves, as occurs in the case of *Piramus et Tisbé* and *Narcisus,* but also, and more commonly, it could consist in the use of Ovidian language to describe the effects of love upon the lover, for example his sufferings, restlessness, impatience, his wounding by Love, and love itself described as a sickness. As

Ovidian influence in these works has been established, the extent to which it is found in the different *romans antiques* is here examined. To avoid repetition in the body of the text, the expressions which might be described as 'Ovidian' have been grouped in the glossary under sections one to five and section eleven.

The second current which may have influenced the *romans antiques* is the concept of courtly love, which first appears in the works of the Provençal troubadours. It would be dangerous to attempt a summary definition of such a wide topic, particularly as ideas vary between the different troubadours, but some elements of this *fin'amors* have been fairly clearly isolated, by M. Lazar among others.[2] For the purposes of comparison later in this study it is possible to say that courtly love is a concept characterised by the idealization of the woman and the humility of the lover towards his lady. The lover may hope to win favour by his service, and this service at the same time ennobles him and develops social qualities. Courtly love rests on a free choice, and the rôle of the lady is passive. It may or may not be an adulterous love, and it may or may not be consummated, but it is kept discreet. This study attempts to establish whether the concept of courtly love does in fact appear in the *romans antiques*.

A further concept considered is the ideal of *courtoisie*, which is distinct from courtly love. It might be summarized as gentlemanly or ladylike behaviour, which tends to express social values, since its aim is to make society more pleasant. Characters may be described as *courtois*, yet this is not in the more limited Provençal sense of the term. It means, rather, that the person in question is well-bred, polite, and possesses social graces. It may well follow, however, that those who are *courtois* will make suitable partners in the love relationship.

The glossary following the text seeks to give references to the vocabulary used to describe the love situations as it occurs in the texts. It tries to show the relatively frequent use of some terms as opposed to others, and to group them under headings. Its further purpose is to provide references to particular concepts which will be discussed in relation to individual works.

NOTES

1 E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge* (Paris, 1913).

2 M. Lazar, *Amour courtois et fin'amors dans la littérature du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1964).

## 2. *PIRAMUS ET TISBÉ*

The work of the French author of *Piramus et Tisbé,*[1] adapted from the story in Ovid's *Metamorphoses,*[2] is essentially a work of amplification. On the basis of the 111 lines which the story of Pyramus and Thisbe occupies in the *Metamorphoses,* the author has constructed a much longer poem of 921 lines. Examination of the two texts reveals a very striking adhesion to the general lines of Ovid's account. Although the French work is so much longer, the author has on occasion omitted some of Ovid's detail; the similes used by Ovid do not figure in the French, with the exception of:

> oraque buxo
> Pallidiora gerens exhorruit aequoris instar,
> Quod tremit, exigua cum summum stringitur aura. (134-6)

where the simile 'paler than boxwood' is given, in a slightly changed form, to Pyramus when he thinks that Thisbe is dead:

> Plus devint vers que feuille d'ierre (702).

The French author has made a few changes in the action of the story. Ovid had stated that the lovers were separated and had no go-between, but nevertheless 'nutu signisque loquuntur' (63). This is an obvious omission in the French; since Thisbe was confined to her house, it would have been impossible for the lovers to communicate in this way.

Line 151 and part of line 152 of the Latin have been omitted:

> letique miserrima dicar
> Causa comesque tui:

This may be taken together with the most significant omission of all: that of the last three lines of the Latin account:

> Vota tamen tetigere deos, tetigere parentes;
> Nam color in pomo est, ubi permaturit, ater,
> Quodque rogis superest, una requiescit in urna. (164-6)

What can be inferred from these omissions and changes? Firstly, as concerns the similes, we can see that the French poet was no servile imitator of Ovid; his excellent knowledge of Latin becomes evident from reading his transposition of the story, and

he drew the line at importing wholesale into his poem stylistic devices characteristic of the Latin poet. More than this, the French poet suppresses everything that could be extraneous to the interiorisation of the action. Descriptive detail, recurring mentions of events which have taken place, are all ruthlessly pruned. And, in the last two omissions mentioned above reference to the world outside is cut down as much as possible. It is difficult to agree with Duval, who accuses the poem of being: 'beaucoup plus long que raisonnablement il n'aurait dû l'être.'[3] This is to lose sight of the aim of the French author. A study of the omissions shows that he knew when to suppress where necessary.

These suppressions fulfill the same function as his amplification of other points: his aim is not to provide a concise account of the story which would keep the listener or reader in suspense, for, as Mrs Laurie justifiably points out: 'during several of the plaints the action comes to a complete standstill',[4] but to explore the motivation and psychology of the characters, to present a conception of love and to concentrate on the interior aspect of the story. This is admirably shown at the end of the poem, where the poet ends on a note of tragedy, whereas Ovid rather comfortably ties up the ends and shows that the death of the lovers did have some effect on the world outside.

The French poet gives little space to describing the falling in love of the lovers, and what he does say is using Ovidian language which was possibly already a convention.[5] Where his interest lies, it seems, is in showing the realisation of the lovers that they are in love: a realisation that does not come before they are separated. In spite of growing up together and taking pleasure in each other's company, 'encor ne sevent riens d'amour' (47), and the passage from naivety to conscious realisation is depicted with skill and sympathy by the poet. In his treatment of the awakening love of Pyramus and Thisbe the poet emphasises certain aspects of the situation, adding to Ovid's account.

In the first place, there is the social context. In Ovid, the social position of the lovers was only sketched in very slightly:

> Pyramus et Thisbe, iuvenum pulcherrimus alter,
> Altera, quas Oriens habuit, praelata puellis,
> Contiguas tenuere domos, (55-7)

In the French poem, however, Pyramus and Thisbe are firmly placed in the world of the rich bourgeoisie. Their fathers are:

> dui home renomé,
> Dui citeain de grant hautece,
> De parenté et de richece. (2-4)

The realism of the situation is greater than in the Latin version, for the French author fills in additional details: he adds the quarrel between the fathers which was the final obstacle to the marriage of the lovers. He has already told us that the fathers were rich; the families live in *palais* (217) and Thisbe's family has at least

a *serf* and a *chamberiere.* The emphasis is on the social equality of Pyramus and Thisbe: 'li hauz parages' (18) is mentioned together with their equal beauty and intelligence. The social position carried with it certain implications and conventions. The parents' permission is indispensable if the lovers are to marry, and indeed the authority of the parents is almost absolute. Pyramus, in lines 162-8, wishes that his father would take pity on them and release them from the ban. Thisbe, in lines 275-6, realises that her father would provide her with another, perhaps more suitable, *ami.* She, more so than Pyramus, is conscious of the conduct expected of a girl of her social standing, and she is conscious, too, of the fairly high social position she occupies:

> Car onc feme de ton lignage
> Ne fu reprise de putage. (242-3)

It would seem, then, that Pyramus and Thisbe are well suited to each other, both in personality and in social standing. Yet the poem ends in tragedy. This is inevitable, given the outcome in the Latin source, yet the poet, again by adding to his source, gives justification for the tragic ending.

It is stated several times that Pyramus and Thisbe are too young to love:

> Ainçois qu'il eüssent set ans
> Toucha Amours les deus enfans
> Et navra plus a cel endroit
> Que lor aez ne requeroit. (13-16)
>
> Navra Amours en leur enfance
> Le jovenciel et la meschine,
> Tresque la mort lor fu voisine. (44-6)
>
> Et jeünent plus qu'a lor droit
> Et que lor aez ne queroit. (51-2)
>
> Li douz regars, li simples sens,
> Et li non convenables temps (77-8)

and there is further reference to their age in lines 71, 73 and 117-18. This insistence on the extreme youth of the lovers serves a double purpose. On the one hand it provides the "tragic flaw" in a love otherwise suitable. In this poem Pyramus and Thisbe are separated in the first place because their love is considered a *folie* (96), quite unsuitable for their age, and the quarrel between their respective fathers simply reinforces the ban already imposed. In the Latin the only explanation for the separation was:

> taedae quoque iure coissent,
> Sed vetuere patres: (60-1)

In this poem the tragedy is an intrinsic part of the love situation and does not depend only on external factors.

On the other hand, by insisting on the *enfance* of the lovers the poet is also able

to make a distinction between the time when they first fell in love and were too young to realise the implications, and the moment when they:

> vinrent en jouvent
> Et il choisirent escient
> Et lor aez s'aert el cours
> Ou nature conceit amours, (123-6)

The poet thus indicates that love must be a conscious involvement, and that real love can only come with a certain maturity; a point which will be referred to at a later stage.

A further justification for the tragic ending, present in the Latin and taken up by the French author, is that the lovers quite consciously go against the ban imposed by their parents and defy convention in taking the matter into their own hands. Thus both in Pyramus's and Thisbe's being too young to love and in their defiance of convention there is *desmesure*: deviation from an accepted norm.

A similar distinction between right and wrong, between the norm and excess, appears to emerge from the love situation itself. There seem to be two contrasting concepts, which may at this stage be called *fol'amors* and *leal amors.* The concept of *fol'amors* is to be found centering on Thisbe's monologue in lines 221-306. In the course of the monologue she uses three times the word *fole* or *folie,* lines 227, 234 and 270, and the associated words: *esgaree* (225), *desver* (234), *desvee* (269) and *forsenee* (272). When and why, then, does she think of herself as *fole*? The monologue reflects Thisbe's conflicting thoughts and hesitations when she is shut up in the house. Under the apparent confusion and turmoil which the poet so skilfully portrays there is an underlying logical unity and progression, marked by the *reprises* and symmetrical balance of the argument. It seems at first, from line 230 onwards, that Thisbe is equating her desire for Pyramus with *folie,* and opposing it to reason. But this is not definitive: from line 256 onwards she shows herself to be far more concerned about her love for Pyramus. The *outrage* she has done to Pyramus in thought is far more serious than departing from the moral code of her social position, and if the two were in the balance, her love would turn the scale. *Fole* or *folie,* in lines 234 and 270, seem to be almost synonymous with *desmesure,* a departing from the norm of *leal amor.* Similarly, Thisbe's words to Pyramus in line 504, 'trop m'amez', tie in with the same concept of *fol'amor,* which in this poem is more typical of Pyramus than of Thisbe: it appears at this stage to be a love which is in some way excessive or immature. The contrasting concept, *leal amor,* more closely identified with Thisbe, may here be rather loosely defined as a mature love based on confidence, exemplified in Thisbe's 'De moi vueil que soies toz fiz' (577), and lines 847-9:

> Con faible amor, con povre foi
> Avroie,
> Amis, si je ne vous sivoie,

implying that this kind of love makes certain demands and has certain standards. It is this concept of *leal amor* or "good love" which makes convincing the poet's clearly marked attitude of admiration, even praise for the lovers at the end of the poem: 'Con lor leal amor fu granz' (921). He could hardly be expected to condone, much less heartily approve of a story in which two young people defy their parents and the accepted conventions of society. If, however, we accept that he was putting forward the idea of love based on mutual trust as a kind of *summum bonum,* then the ending is no longer incongruous.

Another essential aspect of the theme of love in this poem shows most markedly the difference from the Latin. The French poet has changed Ovid's use of the third person plural and, working on the same *données,* has split up Ovid's collective speeches into monologues and dialogues, thus making Pyramus and Thisbe two clearly differentiated characters. Moreover, although the basis for each speech may be found in the Latin text, the poet has made subtle adaptations, so that Pyramus and Thisbe become the representatives of two different conceptions of love. In order to see this more clearly, it is worth while to examine each of the speeches.

In Pyramus's first monologue, lines 150-203, he is clearly impatient about the situation and highly conscious of the bad effect love is having on him:

Fletrist ma face et ma coulour (157).

In fact, his attitude is rebellious, and he thinks of taking Thisbe by force. Throughout the monologue there is significantly no real mention of his love for Thisbe: his thoughts are highly introverted and centered upon the effects love is having upon himself. Thisbe in her turn speaks (221-306) but immediately we sense that she is on a different level and more conscious of the problems involved: heart versus Reason, social conventions, *leal amor* and *fol'amor.* With Thisbe the thought of Pyramus is present all the time, and unlike him, she does not once wish her love away. Thisbe reasons rather than rebels.

Pyramus's first speech to Thisbe (341-57) shows him as the suppliant lover, begging for favours, and there is here a note of complete incongruity, since Pyramus has at no time had occasion to doubt Thisbe's love. Thisbe, in her reply, (378-401) shows a natural embarrassment and reserve, since she has only recently realised her love for Pyramus. She reproaches him for his slowness in taking the initiative, and here also appears the stronger and more clear-headed of the two, adopting, in spite of her confusion, an almost maternal attitude towards Pyramus:

Mes poi savez que est amer (387),

and it is she who arranges the next meeting.

Pyramus in lines 408-98 again uses, as in the previous speech, a more flowery style than Thisbe: it has already been noted [6] that similes are few and far between in this poem, but those that are there are given to Pyramus. He it is, too, who speaks of dying, and who uses exaggerated expressions such as 'a mort sui

navrez' (409). Lines 423-33 are of great interest. Pyramus is speaking in terms of courtly love. He does not know whether to pray to the god of love, who is on his side, or to his lady; for her sake he is ready to die; if she does not help him she will be guilty of *vilenie* (427). He has done such long love-service that he deserves more than 'duel et torment' (431). Further on, in lines 453-9, the same atmosphere recurs, with Pyramus using the pleading *prierai, supploierai.* Again, it seems completely incongruous that Pyramus should be asking for proof of Thisbe's love, since she was already suffering physically and mentally for his sake. It is interesting that the *courtois* attitude should be given to Pyramus, who is by far the weaker character, for this attitude shows up poorly when contrasted with that of Thisbe. Pyramus's speech ends with a series of rhetorical developments in which he addresses in turn the *murs, parois, pertus, chaillous, amie, hostel, crevace* and *masiere.*

Thisbe in her reply (503-89), again strikes a more reasonable note than Pyramus, although she too abandons herself to a lament. Once again she takes the initiative, and this is done with great subtlety in the way she recounts her dream and thus suggests that they should meet outside the city. The maternal note recurs in:

Ne soiez lenz ne l'oubliez (585).

Lines 596-623 may be passed over with little comment; for obvious reasons this is one of the few times when the poet speaks of 'the lovers' rather than individualising.

On leaving the house, Thisbe is undismayed by the sinister omens which accompany her departure. She has the rather charming touch of realism when, sitting by the fountain, she:

se commence a porpenser
En quel guise ele gaberoit
Le jovenciel, qui ne venoit. (655-7)

To pass next to the series of laments: Pyramus (708-76) once again has the similes, the rhetorical style: he addresses the *lions, lune, terre, lions, morz, espee.* His first impulse is to anger: at this point a rather unspecified anger, and he grieves at first for his own loss. But here a subtle change comes over him. He has the grace to blame himself for Thisbe's death, and, for the first time in the poem, becomes conscious of his own inadequacy. In the confusion of his grief he speaks of *vengier* (769-70), and this not on the lion, the instrument of death, but rather on himself, and by the end of this lament he is speaking in accents of genuine grief and tenderness, in some of the best lines of the poem:

Ma bele, douce, chiere amie,
Par moi pechierre estes perie.
Suer chiere,
Je vous ai morte qui derriere
Ving a mon terme et vous premiere. (763-7)

Thisbe's first impulse on finding the body of Pyramus is to action: she draws the sword and immediately decides to kill herself, as she is unable to live without Pyramus. There is an interesting difference in their last prayers: Pyramus prayed that the mulberry fruits might always be black in remembrance of their death (771-6), while Thisbe's last wish is that she and her lover may be united in death (884-9), and her last act is one of tenderness.

To sum up briefly the foregoing: here we have opposition not only of character, but also of two different attitudes to love. While Thisbe remains constant in her attitude, a faithful exponent of *leal amors,* Pyramus evolves from an attitude that was both immature and unsatisfactory towards the ideal embodied by Thisbe. It should also be emphasized that throughout the poem Thisbe is the prominent character, and the poet modifies the Latin source to throw this into relief.

Thus the French author of *Piramus et Tisbé* has skilfully adapted the text of Ovid, aided certainly, as M. Branciforti has shown,[7] by the scholarly glosses of the period, but his adaptation nonetheless shows an individual conception of love in the way he has brought out the contrast between Pyramus and Thisbe.

There remain to be considered certain aspects which, although not of prime importance in this poem, are essential for the purpose of comparison with other works in this group.

The first concerns the possible existence of a code of conduct governing social relationships. This work differs from the other *romans antiques* in that we are not shown the first meeting between Pyramus and Thisbe and are therefore unable to follow the relationship from the start. However sections thirteen and fourteen of the glossary show that Pyramus and Thisbe use forms of address and endearment which are in common use in the love situations illustrated in the *romans d'Antiquité.*

Secondly, the place given to God or the gods. Here there is a certain amount of confusion, as there is little or no distinction made between the Christian God and Amors and Venus. Pyramus tends to call upon the god of love or Venus, although he uses Christian vocabulary as in lines 187-8: 'peres qui mains en haut'; and he refers to himself as a *pechierre* (764). Thisbe usually addresses God, with the exception of lines 298, 310 and 869. God or the gods are invariably on the side of the lovers; although Pyramus and Thisbe call upon the gods to witness their misery they nevertheless pray and believe they will be helped. There is one exception, when Pyramus accuses the god of love of being unjust (419-20). The part played by religion in the poem is small: the important fact is that religion is not identified with the moral code.

Then there is the question of sensuality. As Mrs Laurie has noted: 'the sexual impulse is the stronger in the girl'.[8] The French poet has however amplified this aspect, which in Ovid was very slight: the only references to any kind of sensuality in the Latin are lines 74-5:

> Quantum erat, ut sineres toto nos corpore iungi
> Aut, hoc si nimium est, vel ad oscula danda pateres?

and lines 140-1:

> Vulnera supplevit lacrimis fletumque cruori
> Miscuit et gelidis in vultibus oscula figens

If we except the equivalent passages in the French poem, then the French author has amplified in lines 298-301, 472, 552-7 and 914-16.

Finally, this poem shows certain realistic elements which do not appear in the Latin source: the details about the parents, the insistence on the ages of Pyramus and Thisbe, the detail that Thisbe was enclosed in:

> la chambre la dedens,
> Ou conversoient mains les gens, (317-18)

and the *jeu* of Thisbe finding the chink in the wall and attracting Pyramus's attention by pushing the end of her belt through the crack (329-32).

NOTES

1 *Piramus et Tisbé*, edited by C. de Boer, Classiques Français du Moyen Age (Paris, 1921).
2 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, translated by F. J. Miller, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London, 1916), IV, 55-166.
3 A. Duval, *'Pyramus et Thisbé*, par un trouvère anonyme', *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 19 (1838), 765-7 (p. 765).
4 H. C. R. Laurie, *'Piramus et Tisbé'*, *Modern Language Review*, 55 (1960), 24-32 (p. 24).
5 See glossary, sections 1 to 5.
6 Above, p. 3.
7 *Piramus et Tisbé*, edited by F. Branciforti, Biblioteca dell' Archivum Romanicum, 1st Series, Vol. 57 (Florence, 1959), Introduction, Ch. 4, pp. 45-51.
8 H. C. R. Laurie, op. cit., p. 32.

## 3. *NARCISUS*

In the case of *Narcisus*,[1] as with *Piramus et Tisbé*, a useful starting-point is a comparison with the French author's source, the account of the story of Narcisus given by Ovid[2] in order to ascertain first what elements in the Latin do not figure in the French.

The mythological element has been cut down considerably. There is no mention of the nymph Liriope; Narcisus's mother is simply 'une dame de la cité' (47). The nymph Echo has become the princess Dané and in consequence there is no reference to Juno's depriving Echo of the power of voluntary speech. The goddess Nemesis is replaced by Venus, the reference to Bacchus and Apollo in line 421 of the Latin is absent from the French, and the French account ends with the death of Narcisus and Dané, thus omitting any mention of Narcisus's descent into the infernal abodes, his naiad sisters, or the funeral pyre. Nor, in the French, does Narcisus become the flower which bears his name. Besides the mythological aspect, the very slight homosexual element which appears in the Latin is very carefully treated in the French. There is nothing corresponding to the first part of line 353 in the Latin:

Multi illum iuvenes, multae cupiere puellae;

Similarly, whereas in the Latin it is a scorned youth who prays to Nemesis that vengeance might befall Narcisus, in the French this prayer is given to Dané (616-25). While in Ovid Narcisus realises that it is a boy he has fallen in love with, and addresses his reflection as 'puer unice' (454), this is left deliberately vague in the French; here Narcisus does not seem to realise that his reflection is male: he thinks at first that it is a goddess or fairy, he addresses it as *cose* in line 683, and as *douce riens* in line 779.

The social aspect of love relationships is more marked in this poem than in *Piramus et Tisbé*. The social position of both Dané and Narcisus is clearly defined. Dané is:

la fille au roi de la cité (127).

She is highly conscious of this, and 'fille a roi' rapidly becomes a *leitmotiv*. Quite obviously she is used to commanding and being obeyed, as in line 201:

Je ferai ces fenmes lever.

She is conscious, too, of the conventions and obligations which this position imposes:

Ses tu que soies fille a roi? (385)

Here she is reminding herself that a certain standard of conduct is required of her; therefore to some extent she will keep up appearances and try to keep her infatuation secret. When she is planning to get up early and waylay Narcisus she says:

Bien m'en istrai; ja nel savront
Cil qui en la canbre gerront. (369-70)

Her parents have the authority and the obligation to provide her with a suitable husband:

Ja n'est-il pas raisons ne biens
Ne drois que je demant baron
Se par le conseil del roi non. (258-60)
Fille [e]s de roïne et de roi:
Segnor te donront endroit toi. (269-70)

but she would be prepared to rebel against this convention if necessary:

Et se il n'est a mon plesir? (272)

Her attitude towards Narcisus's social position is ambivalent: at first she is prepared to overlook the difference in rank:

Se nous ne sonmes d'un parage,
Il est assés de haute gent (348-9)

but when he has spurned her, her pride cries out and she accentuates the difference by the use of the feudal *home*:

Donc ne sui jou file le roi
Et il [li] fius a un suen home? (554-5)

Narcisus is the son of 'une dame de la cité' (47). He is not really concerned with what is expected of him socially, but is quick to remind Dané when she departs from convention:

Doit ensi aler fille a roi? (497)

Particularly fascinating are the different criteria adopted by Dané and Narcisus for the suitability of a relationship. When Narcisus is trying to persuade the reflection to leave the spring and join him, he puts his case in purely physical terms:

Ne sui gaires mains biaus de toi!
Maintes fois ai esté requis; (692-3)

Dané, however, in lines 341-50, gives a detailed description of what constitutes a sound basis for a relationship. The conditions include similarity of outlook:

assés somes d'une maniere (346),

equal attractiveness and age, similar social rank without the parties' being related. But before marriage can be concluded there should be love on both sides and there should be someone to act as mediator and make the arrangements: it is not *drois* that the girl should do this (345), and the consent of the parent should be obtained. If these conditions are fulfilled, then the relationship can lead to marriage:

Bien le porroie avoir par droit (344)

It seems, also, that if these conditions are complied with, then we have 'good' love; if not, then the lovers fall into *fole amor.* This latter concept is rather prominent in this poem. It is most striking that the poet uses this term in his prologue, line 18. The fact that he uses it here, before going on to illustrate it, implies that he was using *fole amor* as a fixed concept, an already defined idea, a term with which the listeners would be familiar, so that they would know what to expect from the subsequent illustration in the story.

To look at the use of the term in the story itself, in the case of Dané *fole* is used from the point where she decides to take the matter into her own hands and do something she knows she should not do. It is at this point, too, that her perspective begins to be distorted, so that her *folie* is indeed a kind of deviation or madness. When she says:

Ja, certes, se je sens avoie,
Le sien consel nen atendroie. (263-4)

she is completely twisting the meaning of *sens.* On the contrary, in accordance with *sens* and *mesure* she should approach her father about Narcisus and not take the initiative herself. From this point on the term *fole* is used consistently to describe her: *fole* (266) *fole, dervee* (383), *esgaree* (384), 'tout ai perdu le sens' (389), *fole* (391), *fol corage* (422), *fol plait* (424), and Narcisus calls her *fole* (489) and regards her action as *folie* (496).

The poet uses the term about Narcisus in line 804:

Ne sa folie n'aperçut

evidently with the meaning that his love was misplaced in being directed to himself. Here again, it is significant that Narcisus first uses *fol* to describe himself when he realises that he himself is the object of his love (838); before that he knew that he was in love but he was unaware that it was the wrong kind of love. From this point onwards the term is used successively in lines 851: 'en fol liu ai mis m'entente', 871, *folie,* 907, *folie,* and 906 *dervés.* Thus from this poem it does become more obvious that one is dealing with a particular concept and not just with an adjective used haphazardly.

In the delineation of the characters the French author has made far-reaching changes to his source. Ovid's Echo is little more than a symbol of unrequited love; all we are told about the way her mind works is contained in lines 494-5, when she finds Narcisus dying:

Quae tamen ut vidit quamvis irata memorque
Indoluit,

Dané is a far more complex character. From the first time she glimpses Narcisus from her commanding position in her tower we are conscious of her imperiousness, whims, and way of behaving like a spoilt child. Although characterisation does not come within the terms of reference of this subject, it is necessary to point out that love, as seen in the *romans d'Antiquité*, is a matter of individuals as well as of types, for the authors go to some lengths to show the interaction of character upon character. In so far as the love interest develops in Dané, this is shown partly by reference to literary convention: her wounding by love's arrow, the way in which she expresses the effects of love upon her, and her lament for Narcisus. However the development is not always very skilfully directed: from line 155 onwards Dané realises very well that it is Love who has struck her, yet subsequently she cannot understand why she is unable to sleep and why her thoughts keep returning to Narcisus. In spite of this *non sequitur* it is interesting to see how she gradually realises that she does love Narcisus. In her monologue beginning in line 225 she still does not know why this *vassal* seems so important to her. She knows that she is attracted by his beauty, and by trying to picture to herself his character, which is perhaps thoroughly bad, she is putting into practice one of the dictums of the *Remedia amoris*: (299-326)[3]

Il est, espoir, fel u vilains
U enuieus, u d'ire plains (243-4)

At this stage her reasoning is still perfectly sound, but already in line 263, as has been noted, her sense of perspective is distorted, and all her arguments from this point stem from a false premise. However, she still has not used the word 'love': in lines 275 and 282 she uses *plaire*. She feels irresistibly drawn to watch Narcisus pass under her window again, and this time the effects of seeing him are even stronger. Suddenly she knows that she is in love, for at the start of the second monologue, from line 333, she says:

Ainc mais ne seu je nient d'amer
Et or me fait color muer (335-6)

and refers to Narcisus as: 'cil que je tant ain' (341). She then decides to take action. She does not approach her father, probably because she realizes that he would not approve of the difference in class:

Se nous ne sonmes d'un parage,
Il est assés de haute gent, (348-9)

Throughout, Dané is perfectly aware of what she is doing, as she makes a detailed plan of campaign, and even takes into account the possibility of Narcisus's refusing her.

No time is lost in putting her plan into action, and there is a parallel with *Piramus et Tisbé* in the way she steals out of the house and sits down waiting for

Narcisus and thinking what to say to him (425-37). When she sees Narcisus she has no inhibitions about going straight up to him and embracing him, and begging for mercy, thus adopting the man's role (456-8, 468-9). When he refuses her she again transgresses against convention by throwing aside all modesty and appealing to his sensuality (511-14). Dané's monologue beginning in line 541 completes the sketch of her character. The emphasis is not on her love for Narcisus, but rather on the fact that she, Dané, has been refused, in spite of her birth, her beauty, and the suffering she has undergone for Narcisus's sake: another instance of Dané's *desmesure,* as it was not the woman's place to take the initiative.

At first she is still hopeful that he may come back to her, and thinks of trying again, but then, in anger, she calls down a curse upon him. In the last part of the monologue the previous distortion of perspective develops into the complete disintegration of her personality: she is no longer conscious of her identity or behaviour, a state brought on probably by the realisation that the combined assets of her personality and attractiveness, of which she has a high opinion, have accomplished precisely nothing. Then Dané returns to her room until, at the end of the poem, she is again discovered running about the woods in search of Narcisus (972-6). This does not seem at first sight to be sufficiently motivated: it would seem that she repented of her violent curse and became concerned for Narcisus's welfare. Such an explanation is indeed the only justification for Dané's death for love of Narcisus: although initially her feelings were more akin to an obsession than to love, she seems to realise, too late, that she acted wrongly, and it is only when she is able to forgive Narcisus for slighting her that she can consider him as her *ami* (991).

The character of Narcisus is depicted with sympathy on the part of the poet. We are told that Narcisus:

> D'amer n'a soing ne rien n'en set,
> Dames en canbres fuit et het. (119-20)

and indeed he is extremely puzzled at first by the sensations aroused in him by the sight of his reflection. However he is far from insensible; at first sight he thought Dané beautiful (452), and given the right stimulus, he is quite ready to respond. It appears from the poem that he is not to be blamed for not loving Dané; when he met her he was still quite unaware of love. As he himself knows later, when his love is aroused, if a suitable object for his love were at hand, he would not be in the unfortunate situation of loving himself (959-62). It is a tragedy of timing. Yet Narcisus is to blame for two reasons.

First, he has an inexplicable prejudice against love, and when he meets Dané he tells her that he does not wish to have anything to do with it, alleging the poor excuse that he is still a child (498-500). Denial of such a fundamental part of his nature would therefore be likely to lead to tragedy. Secondly, granted that he need not be expected to love the 'first-comer', in this case Dané, this does not excuse his ungallant treatment of her, and the poet significantly does not blame his lack

of love, but his lack of pity (529-34). Narcisus does, however, progress. He realises that he has behaved badly towards Dané, and repents.

As in the case of *Piramus et Tisbé*, the forms of address used by Dané and Narcisus are referred to in the glossary, section thirteen. It is worth while pointing to the isolated use of *dous amis* in line 991. Dané does not call Narcisus *ami* until she realises that he is prepared to be involved with her, and she is now ready to adopt a more flexible, less selfish attitude.[4] Without drawing conclusions at this stage, it would seem that *amis* or *amie* is used as a form of address when a certain informal contract has been entered into, implying that mutual love exists between the two parties and that a greater freedom of expression exists for that reason, as it did between Pyramus and Thisbe.

As far as the religious element goes, there are again certain similarities to *Piramus et Tisbé*. God is called upon in exclamations (282, 333, 375, 424, 489, 506, 529, 550, 556, 559, 577, 605, 704, 876), and for specific favours by both Dané (289-90, 438-40) and Narcisus (951), and he is automatically presumed to be on the side of the lovers. There is a reference to 'the gods' in lines 616-21 and lines 893-902. In this second passage Narcisus suffers a momentary loss of faith when he accuses the gods of being deaf and unable to help him. Mrs Laurie gives an interpretation in terms of religion: 'By realisation of his state Narcisus is brought to see himself alienated from God'.[5] Lines 889-92 are somewhat ambiguous in that Narcisus may be addressing either God or the gods, but lines 893-902 show clearly that he is thinking of the gods in general. Moreover when he dies at peace this is not, perhaps, because he is at peace in the religious sense, but because he is at peace in the realisation that Dané loves him and that he could love her, given the opportunity. This poet is not at all preoccupied with religion or indeed with moral conduct: the problems which arise, although they may have moral overtones, such as Narcisus's selfishness, are seen in the context of the social situation. Religion is present in the background and is taken for granted, but it does not intrude.

More pronounced that in *Piramus et Tisbé* is the erotic element. Here too this is shown mainly with reference to the girl. Narcisus at the start of the poem appears to deny sensuality, and remains unmoved by Dané's beauty. However, as has been noted, he says that he found Dané attractive. The latter part of the poem, where he falls in love with his own reflection, shows him to be far from insensible, but here, because of medieval distaste for homosexuality and a probable desire not to shock, sex is played down. Narcisus says he is in love, but the nature of this love is left vaguely defined.

With Dané, the attraction she feels is purely physical in the first place: she keeps referring to Narcisus's beauty (132, 280-8, 320, 562). She has to remind herself forcibly that *bonté* is important too (242), and rather naively assumes that someone so beautiful must have a beautiful character (250-5), but it later becomes clear that his physical attractiveness is more important to her than anything else:

Car sa biatés, qui me rapele
Quant m'en voeil partir, me ratrait.
Ne me caut de quanque il a fait! (580-2)

The vocabulary she uses when referring to this love seems at first sight ambiguous:

Je te desir sor tote rien (466)
Mout nous poons bien entr'amer.
Biaus sire, otroie'l moi, t'amor! (482-3)

It need not necessarily refer to sex, but in the light of her actions and the way she offers herself to Narcisus, she is obviously speaking of physical love.

Does Dané see this love as leading to marriage, or as quite apart from it? At first it seems that marriage is her objective, from the following passages:

. . . Sera il tiens?
Ja n'est il pas raisons ne biens
Ne drois que je demant baron
Se par le conseil del roi non. (257-60)
Segnor te donront endroit toi.
Auques t'estuet por çou souffrir.
Et se il n'est a mon plesir? (270-2)
Bien le porroie avoir par droit (344)

It would be difficult to imagine her father sanctioning an extra-marital relationship. Then, however, Dané's attitude seems to change. She does not plan to say anything about marriage to Narcisus, but simply to tell him that she loves him. Yet at the end of the poem, in spite of nothing specific being said, it appears that both Dané and Narcisus, though too late, accept a relationship which has its own conventions and which would perhaps in time have led to marriage.

Finally, there remains the question of the attitude adopted by the poet. This is contained mainly in the prologue to the poem, lines 1-40, but there is also the poet's exclamation (529-34) about Narcisus's pitiless attitude to Dané, and the last two lines of the poem, which contain a warning to the listener or reader not to fall into the same situation as the characters. In the prologue there is an exaltation of natural, mutual love, which the poet describes as 'bien biaus a maintenir' (28). He warns the reader not to underestimate the power of love, in the way that Narcisus did (35-8) and advises caution (5-15) and adherence to 'sens et mesure' (3-4). Yet there is a definite condemnation of *fole amor* (18) which is by implication opposed to the kind of love which keeps to *sens* and *mesure,* and *fole amor* can only bring suffering (19).

There is a further element in the prologue which is not so clear. If someone is in the grip of *fole amor,* then:

En est il bien raisons et drois
Que cele en oie sa proïere
Ne ne soit pas vers li trop fiere,
Ke tost en poeut avoir damage
Par son orgeul, par son outraige. (20-4)

The most obvious interpretation of this would be that one should not act as Narcisus did: that even if one is unable to return love, one should at least be courteous in return. This would seem to fit in with the way the poet continues:

Et s'il avient que fenme prit,
Qui que il soit qui l'escondit,
Je voel et di sans entreprendre
Que on le doit ardoir u pendre. (29-32)

Yet it is strange that although his poem tells the story of the suffering caused to Dané by Narcisus's cruelty and rebuff, the poet should say:

Que *cele* en oie sa proiiere
Ne ne soit pas vers li trop *fiere*

Might this perhaps be an indirect condemnation of courtly love? This would fit in with the poet's praise for love which is natural and mutual. However, if this is a reference to courtly love, or to a misconception of courtly love, then it is the only reference to it in the poem, and Hilka, speaking of: 'die Ausgestaltung der Redeszenen und des verfeinerten Minnebegriffs'[6] must surely have been thinking of courtliness rather than of courtly love.

NOTES

1 *Narcisus,* edited by M. M. Pelan and N. C. W. Spence, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fascicule 147 (Paris, 1964).
2 Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* translated by F. J. Miller, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London, 1916), III, 339-510.
3 Ovid, *The art of love,* translated by J. H. Mozeley, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1929).
4 Above, p. 15.
5 H. C. R. Laurie, *'Narcisus', Medium Aevum,* 35, no. 2 (1966), 111-16 (p. 114).
6 A. Hilka, 'Der altfranzösische Narcisuslai, eine antikisierende Dichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie,* 49 (1929), 633-75 (p. 675).

# 4. *LE ROMAN DE THÈBES*

The love interest in the *Roman de Thèbes*[1] is divided among the couples Laius and Jocasta, Oedipus and Jocasta, Polynices and Argia, Tydeus and Deipyle, Parthenopeus and Antigone, Atys and Ismene, Etiocles and Salemandre, Lycurgus and Eurydice and Daire le Roux and his wife. These last two couples may in fact be discounted for the purposes of this study, since there is in their case no mention of a love relationship.

No mention is made in the *Thebaid*[2] of the relationship between Laius and Jocasta, and they do not appear together in the *Roman de Thèbes*; we simply see the effect upon Jocasta of her husband's death. In Constans's text Jocasta's first and only thought is for her position and her future; as a widow and without a child, she is left completely defenceless (220-4). She is nevertheless described as being *dolente* as well as *corroçose* (219). An interesting variant occurs in the manuscript S, which adds the lines:

Ainz se demente molt forment
Plore et sospire tendrement
Lasse dolente qe ferrai
De mon seignor qe perdu ai

an addition which is very much in keeping with the character of Jocasta as portrayed in the *Roman de Thèbes*.

Oedipus and Jocasta, too, are not really considered as a couple in the *Thebaid*. Book I, lines 69-70 refer briefly to their marriage having been a happy one, but when Statius's epic opens Oedipus has already plucked out his eyes, and there remains only the pervading sense of guilt. Only Jocasta appears, and there is no further mention of Oedipus until he emerges to mourn for his dead sons. The French poet, however, gives the whole story of their meeting and marriage, and this is presented mainly with reference to Jocasta. Naturally she mourns her late husband, and although in the spirit of courtliness she agrees to welcome Oedipus to her house, she reminds her people that as her husband has so recently been killed she is not joyful (349-54). However once she has met Oedipus and satisfied herself that he fulfills the requisite conditions for marriage with her: he is of high rank, handsome and gentlemanly (363-6), she is delighted with the prospect of marriage, and strongly attracted to Oedipus. When feudal women were widowed it was essential for the welfare of the fief that they should marry again. It is thus

perfectly natural that Jocasta should wish to remarry, and her initial hesitation in welcoming the conqueror of the Sphinx removes any feeling of impropriety; moreover her second marriage is justified by the wishes of her people.

Oedipus has little to say in the matter. He seems quite content to marry the queen and become ruler of Thebes, and indeed was in no position to suggest marriage himself. Little is said about the years during which they were married, beyond the fact that they were happy and had four children (451-2). As becomes clear from this work, while Statius was more interested in the marriage relationship, the French author is concerned with pre-marital situations. The discovery of the incest is of course mentioned, but in the *Roman de Thèbes* it is dismissed in a few lines; both Oedipus and Jocasta are fully conscious of their guilt, and their references to it have Christian overtones: *damné* (490), *pechié* (500). This is quite different from the situation in the *Thebaid,* where the feeling of guilt is dominant. One of the reasons for the difference seems to be the presentation of the character of Jocasta, and here Professor Adler has already shown some of the points of contrast between the *Thebaid* and the *Roman de Thèbes.*[3] In the latter, Jocasta is held up as a kind of example to follow. She is a woman whose courtship has followed regular lines, who has been happily married, and who inspires respect from society and affection in her children. She is the respectable *matrona* which the young girls will later become, a woman to be emulated except, of course, in the nature of her marriage. Thus all her actions are presented in a different light from that of the *Thebaid*: the incestuous nature of her marriage is kept in the background, and justification is found for the way in which she 'offers' Salemandre to Eteocles in return for Daire's freedom. Her mission to the camp of Polynices is a festive occasion, quite unlike the account in the *Thebaid* where we see a trembling old woman failing in her attempt to bring peace and scurrying ignominiously back to the city. Or again, Jocasta in the *Thebaid,* trying to make Eteocles stop fighting:

> ibat
> Scissa comam voltusque et pectore nuda cruento,
> Non sexus decorisve memor: (XI, 316-18)

bears no resemblance to the dignified Jocasta of the *Roman de Thèbes.* However Adler has described Oedipus and Jocasta as a 'courtly couple'.[4] Certainly they are polite and observe propriety, but they are showing courtliness rather than behaving according to any courtly code, for there is in this relationship no trace of courtly love.

We turn next to the two couples Polynices and Argia and Tydeus and Deipyle. Argia and Deipyle are to a certain extent considered together, both in the *Thebaid* and in the *Roman de Thèbes.* When Polynices and Tydeus meet the daughters of Adrastus, the *Thebaid* makes a passing reference to the beauty of the girls and concentrates on their modesty (I, 533-9). The *Roman de Thèbes* also mentions

their modesty and blushes, but adds:

> En la chambre vindrent les fées;
> Car monstrer voleient lor cors
> As chevaliers qui sont de fors. (940-2),

a note which is quite foreign to the *Thebaid*. The *Roman de Thèbes* adds a long and fairly conventional description of the beauty of the girls, and Hoepffner has noted the originality of lines 971-2:[5]

> Mieus vaut lor ris et lor baisiers
> Que ne fait Londres ne Peitiers;

Again, the French author adds an erotic element which is absent from the *Thebaid*. Hoepffner has also said that the girls have no voice in the matter of their marriage.[6] This is not really significant for the discussion of the treatment of the love theme in this work, since Argia and Deipyle are not consulted in the *Thebaid* either, and the French author does not treat them as main characters.

The account of the wedding in the *Thebaid* includes a mention of the fateful omens and a reference to the girls' reactions to marriage (II, 230-5, 256-67). The *Roman de Thèbes* ignores both these points, and the whole episode is dismissed in a few lines (1075-1100). This is perhaps further evidence of the poet's lack of interest in the marriage state, for after the description of the ceremony the fortunes of these couples in the *Roman de Thèbes* diverge markedly from their fortunes in the *Thebaid*. Perhaps the only constant factor is the similarity of viewpoint: in both works the theme of love is seen from the woman's side.

Deipyle, in the *Thebaid*, is represented as a kind of appendage to Argia; she is mentioned only three times more. She would have kept Tydeus back from the mission to Thebes (II, 371-4), Tydeus, in battle, spares a thought for her (VIII, 590-91), and she sets out with her sister to go to Thebes (XII, 117-21); she had heard of Tydeus's atrocity in gnawing the head of his enemy, but had forgiven him. In the *Roman de Thèbes* Deipyle is also mentioned three times: she weeps when Tydeus sets out for Thebes, but Tydeus 'd'içọ n'ot cure' (1229). She expresses grief when Tydeus returns wounded after the ambush, but in fact Polynices seems to be more deeply affected, and it is he who looks after Tydeus; and finally, Deipyle is mentioned at the end of the work as mourning her husband. To summarise, the treatment of the couple Deipyle-Tydeus conforms to what one might expect in an early *chanson de geste*, where the woman's role is minimal and she usually has little or no influence over events.

The case of Argia and Polynices is completely different. In the *Roman de Thèbes* Argia, after her wedding, is not individualized at all, and is only mentioned at the end, with her sister, as mourning her husband. However in the *Thebaid* Argia is one of the main women characters. She realizes that Polynices is yearning to go to Thebes, and is prepared to give up her own happiness and let him go: she even goes to her father and begs him to declare war for Polynices's sake (III,

678-710). After the disaster at Thebes it is again Argia who takes action: she sets out at the head of the Argive women to go to Thebes (XII, 111-16), and when the other women, learning of Creon's prohibition, wonder how they can bury or burn their dead, Argia takes it upon herself to defy this law and sees that the shade of her husband is given rest. She sets out with her former guardian, although the country is unfamiliar (XII, 177 ff.) and together with Antigone, whom she meets on the battlefield, sets the body of Polynices on the funeral pyre. When they are discovered she has no thought for her safety but vies with Antigone in taking the blame for what they have done, and is eager to meet her death and rejoin Polynices (XII, 452-63). Here again it is the woman who plays the leading part in the love situation, but this does not imply that Argia's love is one-sided. After his marriage Polynices feels how hard it is to tear himself away from Argos; he realises his responsibility to his wife, and even when he is on the point of setting out, the sight of Argia can put Thebes out of his mind (IV, 89-92). Argia appears to him in his dream of imminent disaster (XI, 140-50), yet, strangely, he does not mention her when he tells Adrastus that not even the pleas of his mother, sisters or father would break his resolve to meet Eteocles in single combat (XI, 170-3). When Polynices is with his wife he reveals a different facet of his character; the scene in Argos where Argia speaks of his longing to go to Thebes (II, 332-62) is one of the few times in the whole epic where the grim seriousness lifts for a moment and Polynices speaks 'breve tandem/risit' (II, 352-3). It seems strange that the author of the *Roman de Thèbes* should have chosen deliberately to omit such material.

The relationship between Antigone and Parthenopeus is an addition of the French poet. It is difficult to agree with Salverda de Grave's statement: 'Stace a fourni le canevas, rien de plus'[7] when he is writing of the additions made in the *Roman de Thèbes* by its author, to the material taken directly from Statius. It seems evident that the episode of Antigone and Parthenopeus was elaborated by the French author from *données* already furnished by Statius in the text of the *Thebaid,* and that the French author used in this elaboration, and also to a certain extent in the elaboration of the relationship between Ismene and Atys, material which he took from the character and situation of Argia.

In the first place, certain indications in the text of the *Thebaid* invite the elaboration of a relationship between Antigone and Parthenopeus. There are three separate descriptions of Parthenopeus, in which Statius stresses his beauty, attractiveness, and prowess (IV, 248-74, VI, 569-73, IX, 683-711). Antigone in the *Thebaid* has no lover. She is, however, described as affectionate, devoted and emotional: all qualities which, by a simple transposition, could be called into play in a love relationship.

Thus both Parthenopeus and Antigone are 'ready for love' in the same sense as are the lovers in *Piramus et Tisbé* and *Narcisus*; they are of suitable age, of equal beauty and social rank, and responsive. Furthermore, in the *Thebaid* we have a

mother – son relationship between Parthenopeus and Atalanta, and a relationship between father and daughter in the case of Oedipus and Antigone. It would then be quite natural to create a relationship between the two young people. So in elaborating a love situation between Parthenopeus and Antigone the French author had to look no further than Statius's text for his inspiration; it is not a case of pure invention, but rather of sensitive adaptation. Moreover in the *Thebaid* Argia is a perfect wife, and one of the main women characters. Similarly in the *Roman de Thèbes* Antigone takes on a greater importance than the other women characters and, in a particular situation, acts as a model of conduct, as does Argia in the context of marriage.

Two other points support this. When Argia meets Antigone on the battlefield she says, speaking of Polynices:

> Non hic amissos, quamquam vagus exsul, honores,
> Non gentile solum, carae non pectora matris,
> Te cupiit unam noctesque diesque locutus
> Antigonen; ego cura minor facilisque relinqui. (XII, 394-7)

This again contributes to the idea of Antigone as someone who inspires affection. The second point concerns lines 6432-6 of the *Roman de Thèbes* where Ismene, mourning Atys, mentions that he had a sister of whom he often spoke. In the preceding lines she had spoken of Atys's father and mother and their grief. This seems to be a direct reference to Argia's speech lamenting Polynices, *Thebaid* XII, 322-48:

> nullasne tuorum
> Movisti lacrimas? ubi mater, ubi inclyta fama
> Antigone? (XII, 330-2)

In Ismene's same speech, lines 6417-20, she says:

> Beaus sire douz, tu me diseies
> Qu'après le siege m'en menreies;
> Quant la guerre fust afinee,
> M'en menasses en ta contree:

Compare Argia's speech quoted above, lines 325-8:

> venit
> Ad Thebas Argia tuas; age, moenibus induc
> Et patrios ostende lares et mutua redde
> Hospitia.

In each case the resemblance seems too striking to be coincidental.

To return to Parthenopeus and Antigone, their first meeting, line 3887 ff. is highly indicative of their relationship. Significantly, Antigone is mentioned first, and she is immediately attracted to Parthenopeus. He in his turn is attracted to her, and his behaviour is in accordance with courtly standards. He asks who she is and where she is going, and in the following lines the emphasis is on his social graces; he makes good conversation, he tries his best to *servir* (3912), he is conscious of

what he is doing, 'pas ne s'oblie' (3919), and finally he asks her to be his *amie* (3920). Rather sharply, Antigone reminds him of the conventions that should govern their behaviour, and then states or implies the conditions necessary for a suitable relationship (3921-40). These are: no unseemly haste, such as Parthenopeus had shown; respect for her position: she is not a *bergiere* or *femne legiere* (3927-8); equal social standing, equal attractiveness and social graces; marriage implied as the goal of the relationship, the need for a mediator between the interested parties, for the consent of relatives and, essentially, for the willingness of the lovers to enter into the relationship. In contrast to this, if Antigone did not concern herself with the suitability of the relationship, and indicated immediately to Parthenopeus her willingness to love him, he would think her *fole* (3932). So *fole* is here equated with transgressing against the norm of accepted behaviour. Given the character of Antigone, the implication is that the concept of love which she is putting forward here is good and desirable.

Accordingly, the consent of Jocasta and Polynices is obtained, and Antigone and Parthenopeus are now *amis*. This implies a greater freedom; Parthenopeus may now take Antigone's hand, and in the council Antigone naturally inclines towards the Greeks because Parthenopeus is with them. Antigone gives Parthenopeus her sleeve as a favour to wear,[8] and he sends her a horse he captures in battle; in her reply she is able to give expression to her love:

Il a mei et m'amor tote. (4398)

Naturally, too, Antigone will be afraid for Parthenopeus in the battle. It may seem strange that when he dies he does not think of her, nor are we given her lament for him. This is probably because the author has taken this particular situation as far as it interests him, and as Ismene has a lament for Atys the poet may have had no wish to duplicate the situation. In the variant of manuscript A Antigone is shown dying of love nine days later.

For the relationship between Atys and Ismene, the basis is given in Book VIII of the *Thebaid*, lines 554-60: Atys had been betrothed from childhood to Ismene, he was noble, and they were pleasing to each other. Ismene adds later that she had caught sight of him once, when the betrothal pledges were exchanged. Miss Grout has noted that: 'Atys fights for Eteocles because he is engaged to his sister';[9] this too is indicated in the *Thebaid*:

soceros nec tristibus actis
Aversatus erat; (VIII, 556-7)

The story of Ismene and Atys follows similar lines in the *Thebaid* and in the *Roman de Thèbes*. Ismene in the *Roman de Thèbes* has a dream in which she sees Atys's mother weeping and asking her to give her back her son (6203-10); the difference is that Ismene does not dream that she was married to Atys, as she does in the *Thebaid* (VIII, 622-35). Again, as in the *Thebaid*, Atys's last thought when he is dying is of Ismene, but the *Roman de Thèbes* does not give the realistic

detail of Ismene's selfconsciousness at lamenting Atys in front of other people and only feeling free to abandon herself to her grief when she is alone with him.

In this case also the French author has made substantial adaptations to the text: Ismene sees Atys often; she gave him a favour to wear in battle, and speaks about him to her sister (4461 ff., 6197 ff.). The second passage is interesting in that it shows a marked difference from the equivalent passage in the *Thebaid* (VIII, 607 ff.), where Antigone and Ismene are speaking of their family and lamenting their fortunes, while in the French they are talking only about their lovers. Hoepffner has remarked of the passage beginning in line 4461: 'si elle (Ismene) a exprimé ses sentiments avec une franchise qui est encore celle des belles païennes de la chanson de geste, tout en y mêlant des réminiscences d'Ovide, c'est à sa soeur qu'elle fait cet aveu, et non pas à l'homme qu'elle aime'.[10] It is not surprising that Ismene does not tell Atys of her love, since in the poem they are not shown together until Atys is dying; moreover Antigone is here fulfilling the role of the *confidente,* a long-established Classical convention. Hoepffner sees the influence of Ovid in lines 4465-70:

> Ja ne seie fille de rei,
> Se por s'amor ne me desrei!
> O face bien o jo folei,
> Coucherai mei o lui, ço crei.
> Car fous n'esprent si en rosei
> Com fait l'amor que est en mei.

but the connection seems rather tenuous, and indeed the critical edition of *Thèbes* is remarkable for its lack of Ovidian influence in relation to the love theme. The second appendix to this chapter, pages 96-9, shows that certain manuscripts of the *Roman de Thebes* show more Ovidian influence than others.

In relation to the lament of Ismene on the death of Atys, Hoepffner has said: 'l'ampleur de la scène permet de mesurer l'importance que le poète entend accorder au rôle de la femme'.[11] This may be true, but Statius gave to Argia an even longer lament for Polynices (XII, 322-48). Also, the funeral lament was an extremely popular *genre* in the twelfth century: Branch IV of the *Roman d'Alexandre* contains several examples. Ismene is not the only one to lament Atys, although in the *Thebaid* Antigone and Argia were alone in mourning Polynices; we have also the lament made by Atys's knights, lines 6313-56, which merits a more detailed examination.

Atys is addressed in the same manner as a young girl would address her *ami* (sections thirteen and fourteen of the glossary):

> Ates, sire, douce jovente,
> Bèle chiére, fresche, rovente,
> Biaus sire... (6313-15)

The knights praise his generosity, his kindness, which caused them to be *joios*

(6327), his wisdom, and add:

> Qui te servi n'en repentié: (6333)
>
> Tu aveies un gent pareil,
> Proece et sen, qu'est mout sauvage
> Envers home de ton aage, (6338-40)

The vocabulary used offers a striking similarity to the vocabulary of courtly love, and the qualities of Atys that are praised could all be summed up in the word *jovens*. Atys appears as a kind of representative of *jovens*: he is young in spirit as well as in age, and he has that quality of giving, of himself as well as of his possessions which seems to lie at the root of that concept. Ismene again picks up the idea of youth in her lament, and in a densely-constructed monologue passes from the regret for lost youth and the thought of decay to her own personal sorrow, then widening the sphere of the lament to include Atys's family, and ending with a curse upon the man who killed him. Finally, to conclude the section on Ismene and Atys, it is interesting that where Statius refers to them as betrothed, this is rendered in the French by *amis* (3847). Can one then take the term *ami* or *amie* to mean betrothed?

This would seem to be disproved immediately by the relationship between Etiocles and Salemandre. This episode is, more than the Antigone-Parthenopeus relationship, the invention of the poet, as in the *Thebaid* there is nothing significant to connect Etiocles with the theme of love, and Salemandre, like her father Daire le Roux, is as far as we know a pure invention of the French author. The episode may have been added to cater for a growing interest in love stories among the public, or perhaps to show Etiocles in a slightly more favourable light. Statius tended to favour Polynices, so the mellowing of Etiocles's character may be, in the words of Professor Adler, a *consolatio philosophiae.*

There is in this relationship a suggestion of an element of courtly love. Again, it is dangerous to try to read too much into this, and it may be that the similarity is purely fortuitous, and that what may appear courtly to a later reader was at the time written without reference to the concept of courtly love; yet there are similarities.

Etiocles had been in love with Salemandre for some time, but she is described as being 'trop dure' and 'trop eschive' (8460-2); she is therefore to some extent inaccessible. In this relationship there is no thought of marriage, and their love is kept discreet. Etiocles's love definitely enhances his social qualities; not only does he pardon a man whom he considers a traitor, but he feels pity and tenderness for the weeping Salemandre and fights the more valiantly that she may admire his prowess, and she, seeing this, is the more disposed to love him (9096-8). Etiocles has done a certain amount of love-service, both in being patient and in pardoning Salemandre's father, and Salemandre, in return, grants him her physical love.

Although it is not directly concerned with the theme of love in this work, the

episode of Hypsipyle (2156 ff.) serves to cast a certain amount of light upon the way in which the author treated relationships between men and women. The episode follows essentially the same lines as in the *Thebaid,* but again the differences are significant. Hypsipyle is no longer a woman of a certain age who has twin sons of at least twenty years of age, but a beautiful young girl. Perhaps the French author took this from Adrastus, who mistakes her for Diana and addresses her:

> Diva potens nemorum – nam te vultusque pudorque
> Mortali de stirpe negant –, (*Thebaid* IV, 746-7)

In the *Roman de Thèbes* we are in the atmosphere of courtliness, and Hypsipyle is addressed by the Argives as *dameisèle* (2171), *bèle* (2285) and *douce amie* (2179). In spite of the fact that the story is the same as in the *Thebaid,* the atmosphere is subtly different: a nuance of *chevalerie* hangs over the killing of the serpent and the Argives' intercession with Lycurgus. Again, perhaps, it is a *consolatio,* a relief to find chivalrous behaviour in the midst of so much bloodshed. It is well known that the French author suppressed to a very great extent the mythological allusions of Statius, and this is a case in point; the serpent is not referred to as Jupiter's creature, but rather as a horrible monster shattering the spell of the garden idyll.

Certain aspects which affect the treatment of the theme of love, and which appear in *Piramus et Tisbé* and *Narcisus* take up very little space in the *Roman de Thèbes.* Religion is quite absent from the love relationships portrayed here, although it is present in the background of the work as a whole. Homosexuality does not appear here, I feel, although Adler alludes to it in this context.[12] It seems that, for example, the devotion of Polynices to Tydeus, the love of Atys's knights for their leader and Polynices's feelings for Atys have more connection with *compaignonnage* than with homosexuality.

There are here fewer explicit comments on the part of the author than in *Narcisus,* and as the love interest in *Thèbes* is peripheral rather than central, the moralising tone of the prologue and conclusion need not apply to the love theme. It is however interesting that the author's:

> Prenez en cure,
> Par dreit errez et par mesure;
> Ne faciez rien contre nature,
> Que ne vengiez a fin si dure. (10227-30)

in making a firm distinction between the natural and the unnatural and recommending *mesure,* represents a similar attitude to that adopted by the author of *Narcisus*: a reflection, probably, of the humanistic atmosphere of the middle of the twelfth century.

Finally, the *Roman de Thèbes* should be situated against the background of some of the literary trends and influences current at the time of its writing. Hoepffner[13]

and Salverda de Grave[14] have pointed out that it bears many resemblances to the *chansons de geste*; yet the influence of women and of love is greater and more pervading than in the early epic, whether simply because of the many references, even in the midst of battles, to the *amies* of the knights or because of the love stories which contribute to the whole. Yet the *Roman de Thèbes* is not a courtly work. It may show certain elements of courtly love,[15] but these elements are incidental, and it seems rather that the poet is holding up for emulation the kind of love which exists between Antigone and Parthenopeus. What one does find is an atmosphere of courtliness, which consists mainly in courteous behaviour and chivalrous conduct.

In the case of the *Roman de Thèbes*, it is difficult to attribute with any certainty the ideas on love to outside influence. The author has followed his source very closely and found most of his material in the text he was adapting. There is not so much invented love interest as might be thought, and it was left to the author of the *Roman d'Eneas* to be the first to invent and depict a full-length love-story on the canvas supplied by his classical source.

Nowhere is the dependence of the author of the *Roman de Thèbes* on Statius more obvious than in the absence of Ovidian influence. Faral has shown that the author was conversant with the works of Ovid,[16] yet in the scenes of love interest, where one would surely have expected to find Ovid's influence, it is absent.

It does appear[17] that the *Roman de Thèbes* is one of the first, if not the first of the *romans antiques*. It seems definitely to have been written before the great vogue for interpreting and describing love in the manner of Ovid, and before the spread into Northern France of a wide interest in courtly love. In the *Roman de Thèbes* we find a love interest influenced by the *chansons de geste*, still fairly incidental, close to its source, and yet flavoured by the life and social code of the mid-twelfth century.

## NOTES

1 *Le Roman de Thèbes*, edited by L. Constans, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1890).
2 Statius, *Thebaid*, translated by J. H. Mozeley, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London, 1928).
3 A. Adler, 'The *Roman de Thèbes*, a *consolatio philosophiae*', *Romanische Forschungen*, 72 (1960), 257-76 (p. 273).
4 ibid., p. 259.
5 E. Hoepffner, 'Le *Roman de Thèbes*', *Revue des cours et conférences*, 34, no. 2 (1933), 490-7 (p. 493).
6 ibid., p. 494.
7 J.-J. Salverda de Grave, 'Recherches sur les sources du *Roman de Thèbes*', *Mélanges . . . Wilmotte* (Paris, 1910), p. 595.
8 If *Thèbes* was written prior to the *Eneas*, then this appears to be the first reference in medieval French literature to a woman giving her knight a token to wear in battle.
9 P. B. Grout, *A literary study of the Roman de Thèbes, including a comparison with its sources*, Unpublished M.A. thesis, London, 1966, p. 98.

[10] E. Hoepffner, op. cit., p. 495.
[11] ibid., p. 495.
[12] A. Adler, op. cit. p. 267.
[13] E. Hoepffner, 'La chanson de geste et les débuts du roman courtois', *Mélanges . . . Jeanroy* (Paris, 1928), pp. 428-9.
[14] J.–J. Salverda de Grave, 'Recherches sur les sources du *Roman de Thèbes*', *Mélanges . . . Wilmotte* (Paris, 1910), p. 595.
[15] Above, p. 26.
[16] E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge* (Paris, 1913), pp. 63-71.
[17] Below, p. 69.

## 5. *LE ROMAN D'ENEAS*

The *Roman d'Eneas*[1] presents two love relationships: between Eneas and Dido, and between Eneas and Lavine. It is well known that in the depiction of the first the poet followed fairly closely the account in the *Aeneid,*[2] supplementing this with elements drawn from his knowledge of Ovid. In fact, the whole basis of the story comes from Virgil: the Trojans arrive in Libya, and Dido, queen of Carthage, welcomes them to her city. By kissing Ascanius, whom Venus has invested with a special power, Dido burns with passion for Aeneas, a passion which is consummated while she and the Trojan, out hunting, take refuge in a cave from a storm. They spend the winter in Carthage together, until a message comes to Aeneas that he must leave Africa and make his way to Italy. Dido, hearing of his imminent departure, vainly tries to persuade him to stay at least until the winter is past. When he sets sail with his followers she kills herself, and their last meeting takes place in the underworld when Aeneas is on his way to see his father Anchises.

The elements of the story which differ from Virgil's account are very few: in the French, Cupid does not take the place of Ascanius at the banquet, but Venus gives Ascanius himself power to inflame Dido with love (see *Aeneid* I, 657-94). In the French the mythological content has been considerably reduced, and in the scene where Eneas meets Dido in the underworld she is not, in the French, reunited with Sychaeus, while in the Latin she is seen with her former husband (VI, 472-4).

Apart from these, the changes which the French poet has made to the text of Virgil affect characterisation rather than the story itself. This by no means implies that the author of the *Roman d'Eneas* has followed Virgil word for word. Often he adapts or condenses: for example when Dido and Eneas are setting out to hunt, Dido is compared to Diana (1485-6): a natural enough simile, but one which is mentioned in *Aeneid* I, 498-504. Such adaptations go to prove not only that the French author was adapting rather than translating, but also that he was following a copy of Virgil's text and not a prose adaptation of the *Aeneid.*

The poet has also drawn on Ovid; not so extensively in the Dido episode as in the latter part of the work in the relationship between Eneas and Lavine, yet quite noticably nevertheless. The Ovidian influence is here confined to the description of the nature of love and of its effects upon the sufferer. Salverda de

Grave[3] and Faral[4] have already drawn attention to some of the passages where this occurs. The expressions concerned have been placed in the glossary sections three to five, and it is sufficient at this point to indicate the passages showing the influence of Ovid: 810-14, 821-2, 1201-4, 1220-1257, 1301-3, 1407-8, 1447-56, 1489-90, 1662-4, 1793-6, 1857-60, 1878-9, 1903, 1958-74, 2010-11.

While not denying that the majority of expressions used in this text to describe the effects of love have an Ovidian source, I would nevertheless like to point out at this stage that a number of similar expressions occur in the *Aeneid,* and suggest that the author drew first on these expressions, which he then supplemented from his knowledge of Ovid. Dido is described as wounded by love in IV, 1-2 and IV 68-73, as frenzied or mad in IV, 300-1, 465-6, 474-5, 548-9 and 642, as pale in IV, 499 and 644. Virgil describes love as a fire or a flame in I, 713-4, IV, 2, 54-5, 66-7 and 101, and he twice exclaims on the nature of love:

> quid vota furentem,
> Quid delubra iuvant? (IV, 65-6)

> Improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis! (IV, 412)

In the portrayal of his characters the French author, while all the time following Virgil's account, makes subtle changes which show Dido and Eneas as very different from their Virgilian counterparts. In both the *Aeneid* and the *Roman d'Eneas,* Aeneas is the more passive character in this episode, but in the French even more so than in the Latin. When Mercury comes to bid Aeneas set out for Italy, he does find him occupied as if he intended to remain in Carthage:

> Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem
> Conspicit (IV, 260-1)

This is omitted in the French, as is also Aeneas's initial speech to Dido, *Aeneid* I, 595-610. Throughout the episode, Eneas is scarcely individualised in the French: he becomes a puppet, an object for Dido's lovesickness. Nowhere is this seen more strikingly than in the hunting scene. Up to this point Eneas had always been referred to as a personality in his own right; now, because of his complete subordination to Dido, even this is denied him, and he is known as 'Danz Eneas, ses druz' (1483). He is seen in a passive situation, waiting for Dido to make her entrance, and then helping her to mount her horse and taking her rein. Even the description of Eneas bears this out; Dido is compared to Diana (1486) and then, as an afterthought, a similar comparison is applied to Eneas:

> ce vos sanblast que fust Febus (1499).

Again, the scene where Eneas tries to break the news of his departure to Dido shows him as a weaker character than in the *Aeneid.* As Pauphilet has pointed out,[5] Eneas in his speech to Dido tries to soften the blow: the French author develops the Latin Aeneas's last words: 'Italiam non sponte sequor' (*Aeneid* IV, 361), and leaves out the rather brutal: 'hic amor, haec patria est' (IV, 347). Yet

in the French there is no equivalent to Virgil's description of Aeneas at this point:

ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
Lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat. (IV, 331-2)

The impression remains that Eneas's repeated expressions of regret and his:

sor tote rien vos amerai (1784)

are just empty words. The French differs from Virgil again when we are told that:

Danz Eneas forment plorot
Et la raïne confortot. (1863-4)

whereas Virgil specifically states:

At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
Solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
Multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,
Iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit. (IV, 393-6)

When Dido, despairing, sends her sister to plead with Aeneas, Virgil's characterisation is much clearer, since fate and Jupiter sealed the ears of his Aeneas, whereas in the French:

cil ne mue de noiant
Le corage que il avoit. (1900-1)

Because, in the French, there is not such a strong emphasis on the force driving Eneas to Italy, his behaviour rapidly becomes disjointed, and one is led to wonder whether he was by now tired of the pleas of Dido. Finally, when Aeneas and Dido meet in the underworld, the French and Latin accounts differ again. Virgil states that Aeneas:

Demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est: (VI, 455)

and when Dido flees from him he is left looking after her:

Nec minus Aeneas, casu concussus iniquo,
Prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem. (VI, 475-6)

The French Eneas, however, hastens to disculpate himself:

Mais ge n'i oi colpes ne tort. (2634)

and on her running away quite cheerfully strides on:

Avant ala li Troïnens,
Ne demora gaire de tens
Qu'il vint en icel chanp ou furent
Cil qui par bataille morurent, (2663-6)

It is interesting, then, that while in Virgil Aeneas is described as loving Dido, but does not tell her of his love, in the French Eneas protests that he loves Dido, but the author does not state that he loves her. Is one to see in this an indictment of Eneas as a philanderer, leading Dido on with promises of love? This is doubtful. Eneas has not mentioned marriage, and Dido is definitely the one who takes

the initiative. She is also the stronger character, yet she is depicted with little sympathy. In a sense the poet is condemning Eneas for his weakness in allowing himself to be overruled by Dido, but that is his only fault. In the parting scenes it seems that Eneas is meant to be seen as excusable; at a time when courtly and chivalrous behaviour was much admired, Eneas would have evoked little sympathy by making a brutal separation. Yet he had to go, so what else could he do except be kind to Dido and hope that she would not be hurt too deeply? Eneas does all he can, but it is to no purpose. One might even suggest that this exemplifies, for the poet, the failure of chivalrous and courtly behaviour (in the sense of courtliness) to help in the problems of personal relationships, unless those relationships have a satisfactory basis; a point which will be taken up again with reference to the second love episode.

When Dido welcomes Aeneas to Carthage, Virgil tells how she becomes inflamed with love when she kisses Cupid, alias Ascanius. Before this, although Dido had behaved courteously to the Trojans, there had been no hint of love. However in the *Roman d'Eneas,* when Dido receives Eneas's presents, there is the comment:

O granz graces a receü
Tint le don que riches fu;
Por sa valor tant nel prisa,
Com por celui qui li dona. (785-8)

At this point she has not yet kissed Ascanius: this implies, then, that Dido was already attracted to Eneas, and therefore her falling in love with him is partly her own doing, and not all to be blamed on Venus: this is significant when one looks at the portrayal of Dido in the *Roman d'Eneas.* It would appear that this divergence from Virgil's account is deliberate, and not simply a mistranslation of:

Praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,
Expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo
Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur. (I, 712-14)

Dido, then, is seen in the *Roman d'Eneas* as far more responsible for her actions than in the *Aeneid.* From the very first description of her the French poet sets a different tone from Virgil's. In lines 377-406 there is no mention of her love for her husband, as there is in the *Aeneid* I, 344; the emphasis is laid on Dido's *engins,* and she is endowed with some of the guile of Juno and Venus. Dido in the *Eneas* does not think of marriage, as in the *Aeneid* IV, 15-19, but:

Se por ce non qu'a mon espos
Pramis m'amor a mon vivant,
De lui feïsse mun amant; (1304-6)

It is significant also that when in the Latin Dido reproaches Aeneas and tells him that she has lost her honour for his sake (IV, 321-3), this does not appear in the French, implying either that she is shameless anyway, or that she has no time for

'proper' behaviour. Mrs Crosland has said that Dido: 'has not been rendered grotesque by a conventional description of her charms',[6] but then, as Faral has pointed out, why were portraits introduced into these works? Because the poet 'avait entendu enseigner que la description . . . explique les événements, et que la beauté de la femme justifie l'amour de la femme'.[7] Here, perhaps, there was meant to be no such justification. When Dido is described the description is not flattering:

de mautalent ot lo vis pers (1792).

Even her good points are passed over; the poet does mention the fact that she governs her country well in lines 377-80, but it is hard to recognise the ruler of Carthage in the Dido subsequently portrayed. Dido describes herself as changeable:

Se cist corages ne me mue,
Que jo ore ai, ne vivrai mie. (1734-5)

and the way she forgets her dead husband for love of Eneas becomes the pretext for misogynist remarks (1589-1604). Perhaps most significant is the poet's description of Dido's seduction of Eneas, where Virgil remains silent, and her attitude of triumphant joy as they return to Carthage. It is usual in the *romans antiques* for the woman to take the initiative, but the author of the *Roman d'Eneas* is conspicuous in his condemnation of Dido's advances. Like Dané, Ismene and Antigone, Dido is more sensual than her lover, but here again the poet's attitude is disapproving, as becomes clear from the vocabulary he uses to describe the winter in Carthage: *felenie* (1535), *faire son talant* (1538), *vergondee* (1540), *putage* (1572), *luxure* (1573), *s'i foloie* (1578), and from his insistence on Dido's neglect of her country during that time: 1408-32, 1575-8, 1609-10.

When Dido finally realises that Eneas is going away, she does not, like the Virgilian heroine, wish she had killed the Trojans when they landed, or curse Eneas; even this last burst of vitality is denied her, and she can only ask herself what went wrong and why did it all happen (1677-8, 1983-1990): elements which do not appear in the Latin. Pauphilet has pointed out the changes made in the French version to Virgil's account of the meeting in the underworld, and drawn attention to the 'Christian death' of Dido.[8] However he is of the opinion that in the French version pity is shown to Dido.[9] While it is true that the French Eneas does try to soften the blow of parting, the attitude of the author towards Dido shows not a trace of pity or tenderness. Virgil, certainly, feels pity for Dido: for him she is *inscia Dido* (I, 718), *infelix Dido* (IV, 68). One might expect that at her death, and after she has pardoned Eneas and expiated her own sin, the French poet might evince some sympathy, and he does start with a delicate description:

Sa blanche char et bele et tendre
Contre lo feu ne puet deffandre; (2121-2)

but this is followed immediately by the brutality of:

Ele art et brulle et nercist,
En molt po[i] d'ore se desfist. (2123-4)

The first two lines do show this poet to be capable of gentleness and feeling, although during the greater part of the Dido episode his attitude ranges from the sarcastic to the violent. It would seem that in his portrayal of Dido he is inveighing against some fault in her which caused her to do wrong. Why did the relationship between Dido and Eneas break down?

There is of course the answer provided in the *Aeneid,* that Aeneas was destined to go on to Italy and nothing could keep him back. This does enter into the French version, but in rather a different way, since there is not Virgil's emphasis on the glory of Rome. This author establishes very clear distinctions between black and white, right and wrong. Among the 'sins' is the sin of presumption; in the same way that Dané presumed she had a right to the love of Narcisus, Dido presumes that because Eneas has come to Carthage she can keep him there in spite of his future. Anna urges Dido to do this, presuming that the gods are on their side (1369-70). Presumption leads to distortion, and just as Dané was unable to reason clearly, so Anna can no longer make the essential distinction between right and wrong, and she confuses *foles amors* and *dolce amors,* thus leading Dido astray. So in this work too there are the concepts of *fole amor* and the good kind of love, *leal amor* or *dolce amor.* Dido's love is very definitely of the former kind: she calls herself *fole* in lines 1814, 1850, and it is interesting that she is unable to pardon Eneas until she has realised the fault in herself:

Come fole l'ai tant amé (2047)

Dido's love is 'wrong' for several reasons. Firstly because she is not meant to have Eneas as a substitute for Sychaeus, or to keep him in Carthage; they are unequal in that he has a destiny ahead of him. Their love, too, is unequal: Dido realises that Eneas is not so strongly attracted to her as she to him, but imagines everything is all right when he becomes her *druz.* On the contrary, because her love was on a wrong basis, everything went wrong, as she realises: 'a grant contraire m'est torné' (2048), and as the poet is at pains to point out, this kind of love is insidious and leads to moral atrophy and wantonness. This love is also wrong because it goes against the 'natural'; it was inspired by an *engin* on the part of Venus, and it interferes with Eneas's natural destiny. The attitude of condemnation is maintained until the end of the episode, and in Dido's epitaph the theme of *folie* is reiterated:

Iluec gist
Dido qui por s'amor s'ocist;
Onques ne fu meillor paiene,
S'ele n'eüst amor soltaine,
Mais ele ama trop folemant,
Savoir ne li valut noiant. (2139-44)

It is interesting that Dido's love is not wrong primarily because it is extra-marital. The views of this poet on marriage become more apparent in the second

part of the *Roman d'Eneas,* in the relationship between Eneas and Lavine.

Here too the French poet has based his story on the existing *données* of Virgil, where Lavinia appears, but only briefly. *Aeneid* VII, 53-7 gives:

> Iam matura viro, iam plenis nubilis annis.
> Multi illam magno e Latio totaque petebant
> Ausonia. petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
> Turnus, avis atavisque potens, quem regia coniunx
> Adiungi generum miro properabat amore;

Lavinia also appears in VII, 72-7, when her hair appears to catch fire as an omen of the coming war and her Trojan marriage: she accompanies Amata to the temple of Pallas:

> iuxtaque comes Lavinia virgo,
> Causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros. (XI, 479-80)

she blushes in the presence of Turnus (XII, 64-70) and flies into a frenzy on hearing of her mother's death (XII, 604-7). The French author has not admitted any of these episodes directly into his work, yet the Lavine he portrays is similar in character to the Lavinia glimpsed through Virgil's account: young, inexperienced, and at the threshold of marriage. The situation in Virgil lent itself to adaptation and expansion.

It is well known that this part of the *Roman d'Eneas* owes a great deal to Ovid, and that Ovidian influence is much stronger here than in the Dido episode. Of what does this influence consist? Faral has said that the prominence given to Lavinia is characteristic of Ovid's procedure and that she, like Echo and Medea, takes the initiative.[10] This is true, yet this initiative in Lavine need not come solely, or necessarily, from Ovid; it is also characteristic of Thisbe, Dané, Jocasta, Antigone and Ismene. Faral has also seen in Lavinia's mother a kind of *confidente*: 'l'amour a besoin de confidences, et Ovide place ordinairement près de ses héroines une nourrice, aux conseils de laquelle elles ont recours'.[11] However I would see in the poet's treatment of Lavine and her mother a reinterpretation of the Virgilian Amata. In Virgil the queen is represented as having strong views, and both in the Latin and the French she expresses her opinions more forcibly than the conventional *nourrice*.

However, the French poet owes a great deal to Ovid in the construction of the episode; in the way monologue answers monologue, in the monologue form itself, which is a dialogue between different states of the character's mind, in the way the lovers try to reason out their attitudes and reactions. As Faral has shown,[12] the poet in this episode puts into practice certain maxims about love which may have come from Ovid; those who are in love have no peace of mind, and Eneas and Lavine exemplify this; Eneas wonders whether he should dissimulate his feelings towards Lavine, and keep in control of the situation. Thirdly, and most evidently, the poet has drawn on Ovid, as in the Dido story, for the majority of expressions

he uses to depict the joys and sorrows of love and the reactions of the individual. Yet the poet uses Ovid as an aid, not as an end, and the human element is not subordinated to allegory: Lavine, like Dido, is aware of Eneas's *proëce* and *bialté* (8054) before she is wounded by love's arrow.

Thus Virgil and Ovid combine to shape the story, yet the adaptations made by the French author are considerable. Lavine is based on Virgil's indications, but she is sharply differentiated. Her reactions to love are complex: at first, naively, she refuses to have anything to do with it, but then the poet skilfully shows her bewilderment when she experiences it. In the midst of her sufferings she is endearing, whether by her humour, as when she remarks that it would be awkward if one could not even look at a man without falling in love with him (8151-4) or by her assumption, after the first pangs of love, that she has now learnt enough (8178-84), and her plea for an immediate cure (8188-9). Professor Adler thinks that when Lavine repeats her mother's accusations of Eneas (9130-70) she is behaving as a 'shrewish matrona',[13] but in fact most of what she says is a restatement of her mother's previous remarks, and it is understandable that, in her despair and inexperience, she should not know what to think. The characterisation of Lavine presents a coherent picture of a first experience of love.

Eneas here, as in his relationship with Dido, is the more passive partner, yet there is a difference. In the Dido episode, Eneas had no saving grace; when he did appear, he was made to seem faintly ridiculous. Now, however, the accent is on his prowess in battle, and through Lavine he proves himself in love also.

Yet the most important aspect of the concept of love in this situation lies in the solutions it provides to the problems of personal relationships. Eneas's affair with Dido was a catastrophe; in the elaboration of his relationship with Lavine, which is the poet's invention, one may expect to find some of the explanations. This would explain the strong didactic element which Faral has commented on: 'Le ton didactique que prend ici, sans raison apparente, l'auteur d'*Eneas,* ne paraît s'expliquer que par un souvenir d'Ovide, qui se pose, lui, en médecin des coeurs'[14] Ovid may play but little part here.

The Dido situation was doomed from the start, since it began from an unsatisfactory basis. Here, on the contrary, the circumstances are right. It has been predicted that Lavine will marry Eneas, her father is willing, and although her mother is violently against the match, she can have no objection once Eneas has proved himself against Turnus and against her unfounded accusations. Lavine herself is 'ready' to enter into a love experience. In spite of all this, certain conditions must be fulfilled before the marriage can take place.

Lavine is immature, and she has a great deal of growing up to do before she is really capable of love. The first step she takes can be seen in her monologue in lines 8083-8334. She tries to reason out her attitude to love, yet she is unwilling to be in love, and like a liturgical refrain the plea 'love have mercy on me' recurs. By the end of the monologue she has progressed; she is now ready to accept love,

and able to say:

> Or me rest bon et or le voil,
> Or m'en est grief et si m'en doil,
> Or sent mon cuer, or voil amer (8311-13)

This by no means implies that her difficulties are at an end, and her subsequent monologues show that she still has much to learn.

Eneas too must progress. Although he is more experienced than Lavine, he has not yet learnt from his mistakes in Carthage; he is still ignorant of the nature of love, and he is still basically selfish. But he does progress; he realises that after the battle with Turnus he should have gone to Lavine; he realises too that in order to make this relationship succeed he must reject some aspects of his previous outlook on love and women. This idea of progression shows great similarity to certain works of Chrétien, although he, in *Erec* and *Yvain,* looks at the problem within the marriage situation.

Thus the lovers must progress, but to start, their love must be mutual; as Lavine says:

> Il an estuet dous en un cople
> Et chascuns soit vers l'autre sople
> Et face li ses volantez. (8175-7)

and Eneas, in lines 9039-45, realises that if he had really loved Dido he would never have left her. If love is not mutual, it will lead to suffering, such as Lavine experiences when she does not know if her love is reciprocated. Love which is not mutual is *fole,* and the lover must be conscious of the dangers of falling into this kind of love. Lavine herself is almost neurotically aware of this, as is evident from the numerous occasions when she calls herself *fole* or says she has acted *folement*: 8257, 8348, 8352, 8434, 8676, 9847 and 9867 (see section twelve of the glossary).

The question of *mesure* is interesting. On the one hand, there are certain conventions to which the lovers must adhere. Dido, to her cost, ignored these, and succeeded in lowering herself and losing all shame and honour. She also went beyond *mesure* in the way she 'blasphemed' and treated Eneas's mission lightly (1831-50). Two quotations illustrate how Lavine is conscious of these conventions:

> Que ja femme de ton parage
> Anpraigne a faire tel viltaige,
> Qu'a home estrange aille parler
> Por soi ofrir ne presenter. (8721-4)

> mais ge crienbroie
> Que vos m'an tenissiez propere
> Se vos mandoie amor premere (8366-8)

Yet, on the other hand, convention must not become an obsession, and if the relationship is based on mutual understanding, the lovers may have to alter their ideas of what is permissible, and reject previously held concepts. Lavine must learn

that one cannot always be demanding proofs of affection:

Il me deüst proier d'amer
Et losengier et dangerer.
Tol ne dire, n'est pas mesure; (9871-3)

Dido was wrong to make advances to Eneas, but in Lavine's case, provided she uses her judgement, this is permissible, and Eneas is glad that she took the initiative:

Molt par li doi savoir bon gré
Qu'el m'a primes amor mandé (8993-4)

Eneas must learn the value of trust. This had been impossible at Carthage, in an atmosphere of cunning. He is imbued with the precepts of a different approach to love, where one:

Ne doit pas tot son cuer mostrer
A feme, qui la velt amer; (9079-80)

He now realises that by following this different, unsatisfactory code he may lose Lavine's love, and that suspicion must be replaced by trust. Even more, there must be conscious, personal involvement; the same 'realisation' emphasised in *Piramus et Tisbé*, and here there is no substitute for direct experience, as Lavine remarks:

N'an pooie pas tant savoir
Par nul autre come par moi (8180-1)

together with a conscious effort to make the relationship work:

M'antante i metrai et ma cure (8310)

Thus it is impossible to have more than one *ami* or *amie,* and when Lavine wonders whether she should

bel sanblant faire a chascun (8264),

so that if anything happened to either Eneas or Turnus she would still have an *ami,* she rejects this egoism:

Bone amor vait tot solement
D'un sol a autre senglement; (8285-6)

Mais ne sont pas voires amors
Dont l'an apaie dous o trois; (8294-5)

*Voires amors* demand constancy, and as Lavine progresses, she is willing to remain faithful to Eneas, come what may, and the accusation of *sodomie* is a major trial.

Ja de s'amor ne quier partir;
Ge ne sui mie ancor a change. (8306-7)

One might point out here the enormity of Dido's crime in breaking faith with her former husband; as Dr Heer has put it: ' "Felony", breaking faith, was the gravest crime known to this society'.[15] Although it was the custom for widows of land-owners to remarry, a custom which found an echo in literature, as in *Raoul de Cambrai, Thèbes* and *Yvain,* in this case Dido's vow of faithfulness to Sychaeus

takes precedence over such a consideration.

If the lover is willing to accept the conditions and make an effort to progress, the rewards far outweigh the inconveniences. Love makes Eneas strong:

> Molt an sui plus et fors et fiers
> Molt m'en combatrai volantiers; (9051-2)

Significantly, this type of worthwhile relationship leads to marriage, and the work ends on a note of triumph and an exaltation of *leece* (10102) and *joie* (10096, 10106, 10109).

As in the *Roman de Thèbes*, some light can be shed on the treatment of the theme of love by looking at the incidentals of the work, and a case in point is provided by the accusations of *sodomie* levelled at Eneas by Lavine's mother. It has often been noted that this subject was much written about and discussed in the Middle Ages; in the words of Dr Heer, it was 'an occupational disease of the European intellectual'.[16] However these accusations are not entirely alien elements in the *Roman d'Eneas*. Already in the *Aeneid* there are several instances of accusations aimed at Aeneas and his followers:

> Et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu (IV, 215)
> O vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges, (IX, 617)
> Longe illi dea mater erit, quae nube fugacem
> Feminea tegat et vanis sese occulat umbris. (XII, 52-3)
> Semiviri Phrygis (XII, 99)

Lavine's mother is violent in her condemnation of the practice because it is 'contre nature' (8606) and

> la natural cople desfait (8608).

Similarly, for the French author, for whom love was above all spontaneous and natural, anything which went against this would be suspect. It may seem strange that such remarks are put into the mouths of women, but Virgil's Amata was quite a virago and Lavine, for her part, repeats what her mother had said. The author of the *Roman d'Eneas* can on occasion be brutal, sarcastic and violent, and would be unlikely to be scrupulous in his choice of expression.

The Camilla episode offers certain similarities, but here again the taunts of Tarcho are already implied in Virgil *Aeneid* XI, 705-8 and 732-7. Professor Adler has commented on the 'androgynous aura'[17] surrounding Camilla; this may derive partly from Opis's comments on Camilla's death:

> Heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti
> Supplicium, Teucros conata lacessere bello! (XI, 841-2)

This poet has given an interesting slant to the brief account of Venus asking her husband Vulcan to make arms for Eneas. In Virgil's version, *Aeneid* VIII, 374-86, Venus pleads with Vulcan and emphasises that she is a mother asking a favour for

her son. In the *Roman d'Eneas,* however, she says:

Se joïr vels mes de m'amor,
Or la deser par ton labor:
Molt me doiz bien lo jor servir
Que la nuit puez o moi gesir. (4335-8)

and Vulcan meekly:

Otroie li molt dolcement
Qu'il li feroit a son talant (4343-4)

The poet then goes on to say that Venus would never have done this had she not needed help for Eneas, but:

Blandir et losangier estuet
Et sosploier, qui mes ne puet. (4389-90)

It would be tempting to see in this an attempt to ridicule courtly love. What is certain is that this episode differs completely from the spontaneity and straightforwardness of Eneas and Lavine.

Writing of the love of Eneas and Lavine, Professor Bezzola has said: 'A Didon, dont la conquête facile ne saurait retenir le héros, se substitue la dame lointaine – Lavinie, la fiancée de l'adversaire, qui restera longtemps inaccessible, afin que l'amant ne triomphe qu'à travers les obstacles et les souffrances'.[18] However in many respects Lavine is far from being the inaccessible *dame*; by the way the poet introduces us into her mind and shows her torments and hesitations, he is putting her on a very human plane, on the same level as Eneas. Moreover Lavine too has obstacles to overcome, and the whole situation rests on the development of both characters rather than on courtly love.

This poem contains a number of misogynist remarks, put mainly into the mouths of the Carthaginian princes who comment on Dido's behaviour, and also into the mouth of Eneas, who quickly disowns them. Such remarks were common in twelfth-century literature: on the one hand they would be traditional or proverbial, dating back centuries and exacerbated by the Church's view of women as evil and a source of sin, and by the male-dominated society of the early and mid-twelfth century. On the other hand this conception would be reinforced by the influence of Greek and Roman antiquity; Virgil has the famous:

varium et mutabile semper
Femina. (*Aeneid* IV, 569-70)

Salverda de Grave has pointed out some of the similarities between *Eneas* and the *chansons de geste.*[19] Also in this connection might be mentioned the epitaph of Dido:

Onques ne fu meillor paiene (2141)

In conclusion, in the *Roman d'Eneas* there is a situation where, as Nitze has put it: 'Virgilian reminiscence is merged with that of Ovid in such a way, at times,

as to be indistinguishable from it'.[20] The *Roman d'Eneas* occupies one of the most significant positions in the literature of the twelfth century. It shows affinities with the *chansons de geste,* and it shows, too, a probable knowledge of the concept of courtly love. However it is not a courtly work, and only manuscript D, which may well be a later manuscript, shows a more courtly attitude where Eneas makes amends for his slight of Lavine.[21] There is, again, an atmosphere of courtliness.[22] The poet's humanistic leanings, commented on by Professor Adler,[23] are seen in the epitaph of Dido:

> Mais ele ama trop folemant
> Savoir ne li valut noiant (2143-4)

This implies that Dido's personality was divided: although she was a good ruler, this was no help to her in her relationships with other people. The poet pleads for integration of the personality, and integration of *voires amors* with *savoir.*

Where the *Roman d'Eneas* has its greatest influence, and one which has been overlooked, is in its 'depth psychology', beside which *Thèbes* appears superficial. The ideas of progress, growth and maturity are developed in the *Eneas* and point, inevitably, to the way which Chrétien was later to follow.

## NOTES

1 *Le Roman d'Eneas,* edited by J.–J. Salverda de Grave, C.F.M.A. (Paris, Vol. I 1964, Vol. II 1968).
2 Virgil, *Aeneid*, translated by H. R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library, revised edition, 2 vols (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1965 and 1966).
3 *Le Roman d'Eneas,* edited by J.–J. Salverda de Grave (Paris, Vol. I 1964, Vol. II 1968), 'Notes sur les sources d'*Eneas*', Vol. II, pp. 130-7.
4 E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge,* p. 74 ff.
5 A. Pauphilet, 'Eneas et Enée, *Romania,* 55 (1929), 195-213 (pp. 208-10).
6 J. Crosland, *'Eneas* and the *Aeneid'*, *Modern Language Review,* 29 (1934), 282-90 (p. 284).
7 E. Faral, *Recherches,* p. 101.
8 A. Pauphilet, 'Eneas et Enée', pp. 211-12.
9 ibid., p. 208.
10 E. Faral, *Recherches,* pp. 126-7.
11 ibid., p. 127.
12 ibid., p. 119.
13 A. Adler, 'Eneas and Lavine: puer et puella senes', *Romanische Forschungen,* 71 (1959), 73-91 (p. 73).
14 E. Faral, *Recherches,* p. 119.
15 F. Heer, *The medieval world,* translated by J. Sondheimer (New York, 1961), p. 106.
16 ibid., p. 120.
17 A. Adler, 'Eneas and Lavine, puer et puella senes', p. 88.
18 R. R. Bezzola, *Le sens de l'aventure et de l'amour* (Paris, 1947), p. 85.
19 *Le Roman d'Eneas,* edited by J.–J. Salverda de Grave (Halle, 1891), Introduction, pp. 66-7.
20 W. A. Nitze, 'A note on two Virgilian commonplaces in twelfth century literature', *Mélanges . . . Jeanroy* (Paris, 1928), p. 439.
21 See *Le Roman d'Eneas,* edited by J.–J. Salverda de Grave, Vol. II (Paris, 1929), pp. 240-3, vs. 9997 ff.
22 For Lavine's wish that she had given Eneas either her *manche* or her *guimple* as a token in his fight with Turnus (9329-36), see chapter 4, page 24, note 8.
23 A. Adler, 'Eneas and Lavine, puer et puella senes', pp. 89-90.

# 6. *LE ROMAN DE TROIE*

In the *Roman de Troie*[1] Benoît de Sainte-Maure uses the episode of Jason and Medea to set the scene; both militarily, as it foreshadows the subsequent destruction of Troy, and psychologically, as it forms the first of the four love-stories in this work. The question of Benoît's sources for this episode has not, however, been considered in detail. Constans has commented: 'Benoît, il est vrai, a pu trouver quelques détails dans Ovide, *Métam.*, VII. init. et *Her.*, XII, mais les différences et les particularités sont si nombreuses, tout en conservant un caractère antique, qu'il vaut mieux admettre soit un récit romanesque de l'expédition des Argonautes, comme le veut Koerting, soit, plus simplement, un Darès développé ayant utilisé une oeuvre de ce genre',[2] and Dr Lumiansky suggests that Benoît was indebted to a source, probably Ovid, for his treatment of this episode, but he does not specify further.[3]

Dictys[4] makes no mention of either Jason or Medea. Dares,[5] however, has a short portrait of Jason:

> Aesonis filius erat Iason virtute praestans, et qui sub regno eius erant, omnes hospites habebat et ab eis validissime amabatur. (p. 2, lines 2-4)

Benoît, in lines 733-6, makes these indications the basis of his portrait of Jason:

> Mout fu corteis e genz e proz
> E mout esteit amez de toz;
> Mout por demenot grant noblece
> E mout amot gloire e largece;

A comparison with *Metamorphoses VII*,[6] however, reveals striking similarities. Not only is the general tenor of the episode of Jason and Medea in the *Roman de Troie* the same as in *Metamorphoses VII*, 1-158, but there are a number of detailed resemblances. Medea had been ignorant of love until she met Jason (*Met.* VII, 13; *Troie* 1283-4), she wanted to marry him (*Met.* VII, 22; *Troie* 1290), she needed reassurance that he would not leave her, and asked him to plight his troth on the gods (*Met.* VII, 46-7; *Troie* 1624-34). Medea had doubts about leaving her parents in Ovid's account (*Met.* VII, 51-5); in *Troie* it is pointed out that she was wrong to do so (2030-4); at the time of Jason's trial there is a mention of Medea's fears for him (*Met.* VII, 134-6; *Troie* 1857-75); Medea would have embraced Jason on his return if she had dared (*Met.* VII, 144-6; *Troie* 2007-8).

Obviously there are differences between Benoît's story and the account given by Ovid, but these differences are mainly in the portrayal of the character of Medea, and would suggest, not that Benoît did not use Ovid as his source, but rather that he did use Ovid, and made deliberate changes in the story. Firstly, he does not go beyond the story of the Golden Fleece, and does not show Medea as she subsequently appears in the *Metamorphoses,* as a witch and murderess. Benoît's Medea is seen in a more favourable light; although she is not entirely exempt from blame, she is to a certain extent the victim, both of circumstance and of Jason's perjury. This conception of Medea's character is in keeping with the account given by Medea herself in *Heroides* XII.[7]

Secondly, whereas in the *Metamorphoses* Jason marries Medea, in the *Roman de Troie* no marriage takes place, and Medea chooses to follow Jason without any legal bond. This difference is not particularly significant; Benoît, like the authors of the other *romans antiques,* is not primarily interested in the psychology of the marriage relationship, although for him the idea of marriage is important. Benoît was evidently anxious to continue with his work, and so Jason's desertion of Medea is dispatched summarily.

There is however one difference which seems to suggest that Benoît deliberately altered the traditional account. In both the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides* Jason is the one to suggest marriage in return for Medea's help, while in the *Roman de Troie* it is Medea who takes the initiative. In the context of Benoît's story this seems quite logical. Throughout, it is Medea who is the active partner; she speaks to Jason first, although in fact she does this at the request of her father; she has the idea of helping him; both before and after his exploit she asks him to come to her room, and she is portrayed as determined to get her own way:

> Or i a si torné son cuer
> Qu'el ne laira a nesun fuer
> Qu'ele n'en face son poëir; (1285-7)

In Benoît's description of the relationship he focusses attention on Medea rather than on Jason; on her awakening love for Jason, her restlessness when he is slow in coming to see her, and her fears that he will be killed. Benoît does not choose to expand Ovid's indications of the conflict between love and reason in Medea's mind (*Metamorphoses* VII, 19-20), perhaps because he thought it more appropriate to exploit this theme in relation to other characters. Medea is also depicted as more sensual than Jason; she is immediately conscious of his physical attraction:

> Tost li avreit s'amor donee,
> S'il fust en lieu qu'il li queïst: (1280-1)

and when they spend the night together; 's'il le voust, ele autretant' (1649).

Jason also, but to a lesser extent, is different from Ovid's hero. By shifting the initiative, and thus the main responsibility, to Medea, Benoît lessens the enormity of Jason's crime against her. Jason may be blamed for cowardliness in the moral

sense, but hardly for misrepresentation. The principal characteristics of Benoît's Jason are his bravery and qualities of courtliness, described in lines 729-40. His bravery and desire for glory are essentially self-centred, and make him see Medea as a means to an end rather than as a person in her own right. Similarly, for Jason courtliness is something of a veneer; he is exquisitely polite to Medea but none the less deserts her. Yet in a way both these characteristics tend to excuse his own guilt. He is destined to win glory, and thus the fates and tradition determine that after winning the Fleece he is to go on to other exploits, unhampered by Medea. If he shows the qualities of courtliness, he will not rebuff the advances of a lady; it is perhaps Medea's fault that she takes pure courtliness for encouragement. So the dominance of the woman, who may expect more from the relationship than the man is capable of giving, appears here also, as in *Narcisus* and in the Dido episode of *Eneas*.

Jason and Medea, too, are conscious of certain norms of conduct which should be adhered to. Medea knows that Jason is not just anybody; his reputation has preceded him and she knows his background; he is a suitable person to love. When she sees him, then, her interest is awakened and she begins to love him:

> mout par li plot: (1258)
> Mout l'aama enz en son cuer: (1261)

She is first of all attracted to him physically, but then she notices his courtly qualities:

> Si a mout simple parleüre,
> Sage est et de bone maniere. (1272-3)

This is Medea's first experience of love; she is conscious of convention and is embarrassed on speaking to Jason, although her father has asked her to do so, and she is anxious that Jason should not think her forward. She knows what she wants from the relationship: marriage (1290) and 'joie pleniere' (1297). So far, everything seems to be in order. Jason is free to marry, and he expresses his gratitude to her for taking the initiative and speaking to him in the first place. Yet again, as in *Narcisus* and *Eneas*, somewhere the relationship goes very badly wrong, and once again it ends in tragedy.

Benoît blames Medea for her 'grant folie' in leaving her parents and family for love of Jason (2030-4) and blames Jason for deserting Medea, who had saved his life, for deceiving her and for perjuring himself (2036-42). Medea's desertion of her family was given by Ovid as one of the reasons for the tragedy, and Benoît, by attaching rather more blame to Jason, emphasises the seriousness of giving one's word. The question of right and wrong as it appears to Benoît will, however, emerge more clearly in the light of the three other love-stories.

There is in this episode a close resemblance to the story of Dido and Eneas. In each case the man is a traveller, and the love interest is but another episode in his wanderings. While Jason is accomplishing something concrete in his conquest of the

Fleece, Eneas is wasting his time and has to be admonished by Mercury to rouse himself from his sloth. However with the adaptations Benoît has made the similarities become more obvious. Both women take the initiative without assuring themselves that the man is willing to become involved. In both cases the men acquiesce up to a certain point and then make the break, causing suffering to the women, and both Eneas and Jason swear eternal fidelity, using identical words:

Sor tote rien vos amerai *Eneas* 1784, *Troie* 1434

In each case the break comes not because of another involvement, but because of some defect inherent in the relationship, some *folie.*

Medea and Jason show qualities of courtliness; Jason is: 'corteis e genz e proz' (733), Medea: 'corteise e bien aprise' (1253). Jason's graceful turns of speech and use of hyperbole would fall into the same category. At first glance it would seem that Jason and Medea not only show qualities of courtliness, but that they are also courtly. Medea experiences *fine amor* (1278); this is the first use of the term in the *romans antiques.* She is looking for 'joie pleniere' (1297), and Jason promises her *joie* (1443). Two of Jason's speeches employ what appears to be courtly vocabulary:

Ma dame sereiz et m'amie,
De mei avreiz la seignorie:
Tant entendrai a vos servir
Que tot ferai vostre plaisir. (1435-8)

Dame, li vostre chevaliers,
Icil qui quites senz partie
Sera toz les jorz de sa vie,
Vos prie e requiert doucement
Quel receveiz si ligement,
Qu'a nul jor mais chose ne face
Que vos griet ne que vos desplace. (1602-8)

and Medea asks Jason to be her 'leial seignor, leial amant' (1633). Yet essentially they are not a courtly couple. In the lines immediately preceding his first speech quoted above Jason had promised Medea marriage, and marriage was often considered incompatible with courtly love. There is no distance between Jason and Medea, and Jason performs no love-service; Medea, by taking all the initiative and helping Jason, is going against the conventions of courtly love. Not only this, but she goes against another norm: she falls into *fole amor.* When she is waiting for Jason to come to her she recognises that she has gone beyond the permitted limits:

Certes mout a en mei folor:
De quei me sui jo entremise? (1496-7)

Fol corage e mauvais semblant
Porreit l'om or trover en mei. (1500-1)

In a sense, Jason and Medea are outcasts. They fall outside the bounds of

courtly love, and they do not share *leal amor*. Although Medea is three times referred to as the *amie* of Jason (1913, 2019, 2028), and addresses him as *Beaus amis* (1609, 1659), the impression remains that she is trying to make more out of the relationship than is there. She and Jason do not dare to associate openly; they are not really *ami* and *amie*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the situation can only end in tragedy.

The main lines of the story of Paris and Helen are to be found in Dictys and Dares. Here again Benoît has made certain alterations. He follows Dares's indications fairly closely, but with one important exception. In Dares's account of the meeting of Paris and Helen, Paris is seen walking deliberately to and fro within sight of Helen, obviously in order to excite her interest (p. 12, lines 9-16). In the *Roman de Troie* this is omitted; Paris and Helen have both heard of each other, and their initial interest is mutual; there is no need for Paris to show himself off. Although Benoît's main source for the first part of the *Roman de Troie* was Dares, it is significant that he disregards completely Dictys's rather jaundiced view of Helen. Benoît does not say that Paris committed a 'very foul crime' in taking Helen away (p. 4, line 24 to p. 5 line 3). Helen in *Troie* is more dignified and does not burst into tears on arriving in Troy, nor does she tell Priam that her marriage to Menelaus did not suit her (p. 10, lines 3-5). There is no reference in *Troie* to her having betrayed her father and brothers, and when she asks Antenor to speak kindly of her to the Greeks she does not add that she hates Troy now that Paris is dead (p. 104, line 20 to p. 105, line 1). These changes would tend to suggest that Benoît has deliberately placed this couple in a favourable light.

This is certainly true of their courtship and first meeting. Paris had already heard of Helen's famous beauty and was anxious to meet her. On Helen's side:

> Ele ot demandé e enquis
> Cui fiz e dont esteit Paris; (4343-4)

Thus in a sense they are not strangers; they know that each other's background is suitable. They are equally attractive:

> Tant erent bel, ne me merveil
> S'il (i.e. Amors) les voleit joster pareil: (4363-4)

It might seem rather gratuitous that Benoît should add at this point:

> En lor aé, en lor enfance . . .
> Les a griefment saisiz Amors: (4359, 4361)

since Helen and Paris are obviously no longer children. It shows similarity to the idea of *enfance* which appears in *Piramus et Tisbé*, but here 'enfance' means rather early youth.

The interest, then, is mutual, and already a certain amount of confidence has been established between them; Helen is sure that she will see Paris again, and

Paris:

Tost sot, tost vit e tost conut
Son bon semblant e aparçut,
E que vers lui a bon corage:
Ne li fu mie trop sauvage, (4349-52)

Helen has, in a sense, taken the initiative in showing Paris *bon semblant,* but she, unlike Dané, Dido and Medea, is prepared to revert now to a passive role and leave the courtship to the man. The courtship is continued on Tenedos; Paris tells Helen that this is his first experience of love:

Onc mais ne soi que fu amer (4739)

and in lines 4737-54 he pledges his troth to her and submits himself to her. Helen accepts his offer of service, but it is interesting to examine her reasons for doing so.

Given the particular circumstances, Helen realises that the right thing for a woman in her situation to do is to accept:

Se jo desdi e jo refus
Vostre plaisir, poi me vaudra. (4758-9)

She realises too that she cannot avoid the reality of the situation, and that she cannot escape making a decision:

Quant defendre ne me porreie,
De dreit neiant m'escondireie: (4763-4)

She is a realist, so she accepts the involvement, which, in a well-founded relationship, must be mutual, and she requires certain assurances of Paris:

Se me portez honor e fei
Sauve l'avreiz son ma valor. (4766-7)

Up to this point, however, there have been some discordant notes in an otherwise suitable relationship. There is the shadow of Menelaus, but Benoît makes Helen's husband recede so far into the background during this episode that one is hardly aware that he exists. There is the element of pretence; the echo of Medea's *engins.* Helen, on her arrival at Tenedos, pretended to be extremely upset, and caused her attendant women to worry and sorrow too. Paris, when he went to comfort them, pretended to be angry. But it is significant that from the moment when Paris and Helen exchange vows all pretence drops away, and the climate becomes one of mutual trust.

Thus the first stage of the relationship is concluded. Up to now there have been certain courtly overtones; the subordination of Paris to Helen, her portrayal as the *dame* who must be served and courted. Yet once again this is not a courtly situation. The fact that it is an adulterous one is minimised, and, more important, it is a relationship leading to marriage, and here, for the first time in this group of works, marriage is seen not as an end, but as a prelude to a rather different kind of relationship.

The situation between Paris and Helen rests on a choice, and involves responsibility. This is significant, because their relationship affects not them alone; it is seen in a much wider context. Already on Tenedos, Helen's women were upset by her lamentations. Paris, by saying that Helen will be the lady of Troie, is giving her responsibility; people will depend on her, and she can be a good or a bad influence. Also, she will be involved with Paris's family and will share their fortunes. Thus love, in this episode, is an ennobling force; Helen drops her sham and pretence, and Paris, who is described as:

> – d'empire mout coveitos,
> Seignorie mout desirot. (5452-3)

(and here Benoît is adding to the portrait given by Dares) is prepared to give up this very *seignorie* to Helen.

When Helen and Paris arrive in Troy they are married, and a new phase begins. From now on Paris and Helen are seen in two contexts; the context of their marriage and that of their family and Troy. When they enter Troy Helen is still very much the *dame*:

> Paris tint par la regne Heleine,
> De li honorer mout se peine: (4815-16)

but as time passes she becomes more of a wife and less of a figurehead. When Paris is unhorsed by Menelaus (11366-8), pretence has so far dropped away that Paris can tell Helen about this incident without embarrassment, and in spite of it:

> Semblant d'amor e joie grant
> Li aveit dame Heleine fait. (11722-3)

The keynote of their relationship now is joy, referred to again in lines 11939-44, and one of the last references to them is the rather charming detail of how Paris goes hunting and brings the game back for Helen (14963-70).

In the wider context of the family and Troy, Helen is made welcome from the start. She shows herself worthy of her reception, for she is soon shown fearing for the Trojans in their battles with the Greeks (8085-6), and she becomes one of the family; Eneas, Polidamas and Troilus go to see her during a lull in the fighting, and she looks after Hector when he is wounded (14619-21). Even when Paris has been killed, this strengthens rather than loosens her bonds with the Trojans; her grief renders her even more popular among the people, and she becomes another daughter to Priam and Hecuba. There is one point where it may seem that Helen's behaviour is not altogether beyond reproach; her attitude to Polidamas. This has been pointed out by Constans: 'Parfois il semble que Benoît ne juge pas Hélène indifférente aux mérites du jeune héros; cf. l'allusion des vers 10293-4

> Tel l'a oï cui pas n'en peise,
> Que n'est vilaine ne borgeise,

et celles, moins précises, des vers 11921-30 et 14422-7.'[8] In the first reference,

because Helen is neither *vilaine* nor *borgeise,* because she is a *dame* and a kind of patroness in Troy, it is natural that she will feel affection for the Trojans, particularly for those who are closely connected with her husband. In lines 11921-30 it is expressly pointed out that there is nothing to be condemned in the behaviour of Helen and Polidamas:

> N'a entre eus dous fait ne semblant
> Ne parole, dont vilenie
> Puisse estre dite ne oïe; (11926-8)

Lines 14422-7 refer to Polidamas unhorsing Diomedes and giving the latter's horse to Troilus; many people were spectators of this gesture:

> E celes que nel heent mie
> L'ont l'une a l'autre al dei mostré: (14424-5)

This hardly seems to refer to Helen in particular; the women of Troy were accustomed to watching the battles, and there must have been many of them who had followed with interest the conflict between Diomedes and Troilus. They would therefore have been fascinated to see this kind of revenge meted out to Diomedes for his previous unchivalrous behaviour. It is important to insist on this aspect because it is linked with a point mentioned by Professor Adler: 'Quasi-innocent, quasi-legimate, the couple's relationship, however, is a most objectionable cohabitation, made possible through the wiles of Militia, and menaced by the Militia, which had occasioned it. The effect thus produced through the context of circumstances is our concern for the preservation of this relationship . . . We are made to feel that it is "natural" for Paris and Heleine to live as they do, just as it is "natural" for Beauty to be devoted to Amor'.[9] Benoît seems to be holding up Helen, and indeed the whole relationship with Paris, as a model, and thus it is unthinkable that her behaviour should be called into question. Everything about the situation is 'right' in every sense. Helen, from being a *dame,* becomes first *amie* and then wife, and after the death of Paris she is transformed into the figure of sister and daughter.

Because of this transformation, it is with no feeling of impropriety that we see her return to Menelaus, for she has become much more than just the quasi-illegal wife of Paris. Because she is an ideal, she is the only one of Benoît's four heroines whose relationship does not end in tragedy; to the end she is seen has having an ennobling influence, for the reason why the Greeks restrain their anger with Menelaus over the Palladion is because of their affection for Helen. One might object that Helen's relationship with Paris is tragic in that Paris is killed, but even so she is the only woman in the *Roman de Troie* on whom the love relationship has a persistently good effect; for her life goes on and continues to be meaningful; Medea meets with desertion, Briseida becomes an object of gossip, and for Polyxena life ends through no fault of her own.

The episode of Troilus, Briseida and Diomedes is the story of two relationships,

neither of which is described in Dictys or Dares. Dictys does however give certain indications of another woman in Diomedes's life besides his wife;

> Oeax Naupli filius, . . . ibi Aegialen atque Clytemestram falsis nuntiis adversum maritos armat praedicto ducere eos secum ex Troia uxores praelatas his. praeterea addere ea, quis mobili suasu natura muliebre ingenium magis adversum suos incenderetur. itaque Aegiale advenientem Diomedem per cives aditu prohibet. (p. 120, lines 11-18)

Dares simply gives the portraits of the three characters, and Dictys mentions Troilus's popularity (p. 88, lines 24-6). The elaboration of the story seems to be Benoît's invention.

Dares dismisses the portrait of Troilus in a few words: he is handsome, strong, brave and eager for glory. These indications are expanded in *Troie* to over forty lines: after mentioning Troilus's beauty and qualities of courtliness, Benoît points to his steadfastness in love and his sufferings:

> Bien fu amez e bien ama,
> E maint grant fais en endura. (5435-6)

Briseida, in the beginning, shares the qualities of courtliness; she is:

> mout preisiee,
> Bele et corteise e enseigniee: (13087-8)

and Priam calls her 'franche e proz e sage e bele' (13112).

When Troilus and Briseida first appear, their relationship is already established. Briseida is Troilus's whole life:

> Si par ert de s'amor espris
> Qu'il n'entendeit se a li non. (13266-7)

and

> El li raveit de sei fait don
> E de son cors e de s'amor: (13268-9)

It was known throughout both camps that they were *ami* and *amie*. There are two particularly significant points about this relationship; it is an ideal, based on mutual trust:

> Entre eus n'a ire ne orguieuz,
> Defension ne descordance. (13308-9)

and, when they are forced to part, Troilus and Briseida swear to be eternally faithful to each other (13495-512). Although Benoît gives comparatively little space to this relationship at this point, its significance grows in the light of the subsequent relationship between Briseida and Diomedes.

This situation offers resemblances with those in other *romans antiques*. Briseida recognises that Diomedes is suitable, both in rank and personality (13664-6), while Diomedes on his side knows that she is the kind of woman many would like to love. Briseida is conscious of the obligations imposed upon a 'pucele de ma valor' (13651), and she is apparently aware of the dangers of *fole amor* (13652). There are certain

echoes of the feudal situation; Diomedes asks to be the *chevalier* of Briseida (13587) and begs her to accept his *homage* (13585).

However the chief element in this episode is that it is a relationship of courtly love, described as *fine amor* (393, 15020). From the outset there is distance between Briseida and Diomedes; she already has an *ami,* she belongs to the enemy camp, and Diomedes recognises that she is much sought after. When Briseida first replies to Diomedes she keeps this distance, pointing out that he must wait for her love, which it would not be suitable for her to give at this juncture. She emphasises the need for secrecy and keeping up appearances (13653-8), yet she is prepared to keep the courtly situation open by giving Diomedes a measure of hope (13676-8).

Diomedes's aims are in accordance with the courtly ideal. He wants to love and serve Briseida (13693-4) and be her 'chevalier e ami' (13542). His ideal is not a platonic one, any more than that of the majority of the troubadours (13567-9, 13607-8, 15027-8). To gain this reward, he is prepared to be patient:

> Tant atendrai vostre manaie
> Que vos avreiz de mei merci
> E que me tendreiz por ami. (13688-90)

and he will try to be worthy of her love and avoid doing anything to displease her (13600-03). Through loving her, his own value will be increased:

> Preisiez deit estre e de grant non
> Qui de vostre amor est saisiz: (13582-3)

In return he can promise her love and honour (13581), but he knows that he will have no *joie* until she gives him her love (13564-6); his *joie* depends entirely on her (13612, 15025-6).

This is certainly the language of courtly love, and the courtly situation is seen in the subsequent behaviour of Briseida and Diomedes. At the start of the relationship, Diomedes still has a long way to go to become the ideal courtly lover. Benoît's description shows him as hot-tempered and unreliable:

> La chiere aveit mout felenesse:
> Cist fist mainte fausse pramesse: (5213-4)
>
> Rien nel poëit en pais tenir,
> Trop par esteit maus a servir; (5221-2)

Diomedes does progress, but he is not transformed overnight. Although he had told Briseida he would treasure her favours (13700-12), he is so impatient to have some pledge from her that he takes her glove and does not wait for her to give it to him. He sees a fight with Troilus as a chance to perform love-service, and Briseida has to rebuke him:

> Tant com vers mei iert depreianz,
> Nel deit laidir ne damagier:
> Ço qu'est de mei aint e ait chier. (14330-32)

In lines 15002 ff. Diomedes is shown suffering for his love to the limits of endurance (15054-5), and here for the first time in the *romans antiques* there is Ovidian description of the sufferings of love combined with the courtly situation. Diomedes emerges from his sufferings as a more refined courtly lover; he promises to look after the horse he took from Troilus if this is Briseida's command (15136-7). He still hopes tenaciously that his present sufferings will turn to *joie* (15141-9), and as a reward for his progress Briseida gives him her sleeve (15176-8). In battle Diomedes is always conscious of fighting primarily for Briseida, and when he is wounded this is considered as the culmination of his love-service. At this point Briseida realises that she loves him:

Dès ore est tote en lui s'entente,
Dès or l'aime, dès or l'en tient,
Mais de lui perdre mout se crient. (20216-18)

and she decides to give her love to him:

Par parole l'ai tant mené
Qu'or li ferai sa volenté
E son plaisir e son voleir.
Deus m'en doint joie e bien aveir! (20337-40)

The sequel to this relationship makes it clear that once again something has gone wrong. Troilus suffers; he loses faith in all women, and is left sad, embittered and resigned (20666-76). Briseida too is unhappy and resigned. Benoît had already noted that:

Trop par en fust en l'ost haïe (15091)

and lines 20677-82 add that not only was she hated, but she became an object of mockery. As for Diomedes, lines 27943-56 refer to him returning from Troy with his *amie,* presumably Briseida. He appears supremely happy, proud of Briseida and ready to obey all her commands. Yet this does not last long, and when we last see Diomedes he is rejected by his wife, exiled, and chased from Salemine (27979-84, 28041-6, 28113-46).

Benoît is much more explicit in his explanations than the authors of the other *romans d'Antiquité*, and he makes it quite clear why all this suffering was caused. Already in the prologue he had stated that his work told of Briseida:

Come o son pere fu marrie
Por sa mauté, por sa folie, (377-8)

and

La fille Calcas se repent
Por ço qu'ele a d'amor boisié,
Fausé e menti e trichié. (564-6)

Thus Benoît blames Briseida for her behaviour to Troilus. This becomes clearer in lines 13429-56, where he condemns Briseida's fickleness, and goes on to give vent to an embittered outburst on this aspect of women in general. Benoît's personal views find further expression in lines 13471-94, where he comments on the rarity of finding beauty and chastity united in the same woman. He returns

to the theme of fickleness in lines 13859-66, but with an additional note:

Por çol comperent li leial:
Sovent en traient peine e mal. (13865-6)

Love is not isolated in a vacuum, and one must be aware of the harm that can be caused to innocent people such as Troilus. More than this, failure in love can affect a wide circle of people. Briseida is hated in the camp for the harm she has done to other women and the shame she has brought on them:

Honte lor a a totes fait: (20681)

Briseida had seemed to realise this when she told Diomedes that his love should extend to everything connected with her, but she failed to put her own principles into practice.

Besides condemning Briseida's fickleness, Benoît also blames her harshness to Diomedes (15035-50), and again extends this to apply to women in general. Not content with making one man unhappy, Briseida finds another victim, and is glad to see him falling under her spell:

La dameisele est mout haitiee
Et mout se fait joiose e liee
De ço qu'il est si en ses laz. (15173-5)

Benoît seems to condemn everything that Briseida has done, in both her relationships, but what, in the circumstances, should Briseida have done? Her situation is similar to Helen's; indeed Helen was not unwilling to be carried off, while Briseida mourned her parting from Troilus, yet Helen is held up as an example and Briseida is derided.

Here Briseida herself provides the answer, in her monologue of lines 20238 ff. It seems that she should have started to think earlier; she is not moved to analyse her position until she is already in love with Diomedes, when it is too late. She has been unaware of her position for too long, which comes back to the point made in *Piramus et Tisbé*: the importance of being conscious of one's actions.

Briseida realises that the root of her fault was her behaviour to Troilus (20229-36, 20242-8). She should have been so true to Troilus that she would never even listen to Diomedes (20249-52): in other words, the relationship with Diomedes should never have been allowed to develop.

In the succeeding part of the monologue Briseida refers to conceptions which are already familiar. She has fallen into a kind of *folie* (*fol sen*, 20242, *fole*, 20249, *folor*, 20297). Diomedes was the wrong choice in the first place, since he was Troilus's enemy (20267-9). She has harmed the interests of other people (20255-60), and given her *fine amor*:

contre reison e contre dreit (20272).

When she assesses the situation she knows that there can be no going back (20276). Therefore she will try to make the best of the situation, and put a conscious effort into loving Diomedes:

Mais or m'estuet a ço torner
Tot mon corage e mon penser, (20327-8)

Yet Briseida has gone so far in the wrong direction that she is no longer able to make a free choice, and the solution she adopts is the only one possible for her in the circumstances. Her love loses some of its merit because it is not given freely; she must give it 'vueille o ne vueille' (20329).

So, through a very different episode, Benoît comes back to the values established in the episodes of Jason and Medea and Helen and Paris; the importance of loyalty and the values of society. Although this is a courtly situation, basically the courtly values are of secondary importance. They have a certain civilising influence, but the relationship which counts, Briseida's relationship with Troilus, is not a courtly one.

Dares and Dictys both give an account of Achilles's unfortunate love for Polyxena, and they both stress the vehement nature of this love. Dares gives this account:

> Postquam dies anni venit, quo Hector sepultus est, Priamus et Hecuba et Polyxena ceterique Troiani ad Hectoris sepulcrum profecti sunt. quibus obvius fit Achilles: Polyxenam contemplatur, figit animum, amare vehementer eam coepit. tunc ardore conpulsus odiosam in amore vitam consumit . . .
> (p. 32 line 22 to p. 33, line 3)

and Dictys:

> ac tum forte Achilles versis in Polyxenam oculis pulchritudine virginis capitur. auctoque in horas desiderio, ubi animus non lenitur, ad naves discedit. sed ubi dies pauci fluxere et amor magis ingravescit, accito Automedonte aperit ardorem animi; ad postremum quaesiit, uti ad Hectorem virginis causa iret. (p. 61, lines 15-21)

Benoît has added a great deal to these indications. Once again he has made some alterations in the characterisation: Dictys describes Achilles's violence and savagery, and there is little trace of this in the love relationship in the *Roman de Troie.* To the portrait of Achilles given by Dares, Benoît adds courtly qualities:

Ne fu mie pensis ne mornes:
La chiere aveit liee e joiose (5162-3)

Larges esteit e despensiers
E mout amez de chevaliers. (5165-6)

Once again, Achilles's attitude to Polyxena and his courtship of her bear resemblances to the situations studied previously. Their meeting is in a sense suitable. Achilles does not come to Troy as an enemy, but 'tot desarmez',

Que bien poüst o eus parler (17532-3).

He is attracted by

la grant beauté e la façon (17552)

of Polyxena. Whether or not he has experienced love before, initially he does not

seem to realise what has happened to him:

A sei meïsme se conseille
Que ço puet estre que il sent,
Qu'ensi freidist e puis resprent. (17608-10)

but by the beginning of his monologue in lines 17638 ff. he is aware that his suffering springs from Polyxena. Nevertheless he is reasonable; she cannot be blamed for this (17643). He wants her to be his *amie* (17658), with a view to marriage (17769), and to attain this end he goes through the right channels, approaching Hecuba and, through her, Priam. He can offer Polyxena honour (17788-90), and he prays to God for help and advice (17744-6). His sufferings and hesitations are described at length in Ovidian language.

Benoît refers to this love as *fine amor* (17547, 19432). There is certainly distance between Achilles and Polyxena. He is prepared to perform love-service for her; he will abstain from fighting himself, and try to persuade the Greeks to return home. He has the makings of the courtly mentality:

Se j'esperasse e atendisse
Que jo al loinz rien conqueïsse,
Ço me donast confortement; (17679-81)

but, as he continues in the following lines, this love seems so far beyond his reach that there is not even room for hope. However, he will make an effort, and obstacles spur him on (18056-68). Polyxena becomes everything to him (18072-3), and he is seeking 'joie d'amer' (18068). The courtliness of the situation is most evident when Amors and Mesfaiz appear to Achilles (20702 ff.), a passage of particular interest since it is the first time in the *romans antiques* that allegory and personification of abstractions have been used in the love situation, with the exception of the frequent mentions of Amors.

Amors explains to Achilles that he has infringed the courtly code (20730-2), but, more seriously, he has broken his word in sending his Myrmidons into battle, even though he has not fought himself. Amors represents to Achilles that Polyxena has complained to him about this, and here Polyxena is represented as the *dompna* whose commands must be obeyed. Achilles had already killed her brother, but this could have been forgiven, and he has already suffered for his love. This time he has gone too far:

Tu perz ton pris e ta valor,
E si perz t'amie e t'amor. (20763-4)

Nothing is left, and the price Achilles will have to pay is suffering and death. Whatever Achilles does now, the outcome is decided. Love still keeps him from fighting, although he is angered at his own impotence. Finally he does fight, and:

Ne li membre, tant a iror,
Adonc d'amie ne d'amor: (21083-4)

According to Amors, Achilles should have kept his word and been steadfast in the love-service he had undertaken. Yet once again a problem is posed.

In the first place, how could Achilles possibly have avoided this tragedy? As soon as Achilles sees Polyxena, Benoît tells that this love will bring death and destruction (17535-48), so their love was doomed even before Achilles had had the chance to form a plan of conduct. As he says, love caught him in a weak moment (17648-9), and now escape is impossible. He, like Briseida, is completely alone; he sinks into self-deception:

> Jo meïsmes me trich e bois,
> Jo me deceif, mien esciënt, (17660-1)

while all the time he is conscious of it. He knows that this is *fole amor*: he refers to himself as *desvez* (17685, 18049), *forsenez* (17686), he loves *folement* (18039) and he *folei* (18032, 18050), and, when he compares himself to Narcisus, he shows that he can no longer distinguish between reality and illusion. When he tries to persuade the Greeks to return home, he applies the same terminology of *folie* to their enterprise as he had previously used about himself: *fol plait* 18174, *folie* 18212, 18215, *folement* 18216, *foleté* 18232, *folage* 18195. It is quite obvious to the Greek leaders that Achilles is gradually being destroyed by his love. Thoas points this out, and pleads with him to change before it is too late:

> Sor toz vaillanz avez valor
> E pris e honor e proëce:
> N'abaissiez pas vostre hautece, (18262-4)

It is significant that Benoît says:

> Qui tres bien est d'amor espris,
> Il n'a en sei sen ne reison. (18458-9)

All love is destructive, not only *fole amor*. Even Achilles seems to realise that he is in danger and should take steps to safeguard himself:

> Qui le mal sent venir sor sei
> Si en deit prendre tel conrei
> Que guarir puisse e respasser: (17725-7)

However Achilles is quite obviously doing something wrong, quite apart from the courtly situation. Polyxena is his enemy, and he is expecting the impossible. Priam is acting perfectly logically under the circumstances when he asks that Achilles should swear an oath of non-agression; he knows that Achilles is: 'l'ome que plus dei haïr' (17949). Achilles's loyalty lies with the Greeks, and he is harming their interests by suggesting that they should abandon their campaign:

> C'est devié lor fait Achillès,
> Se il mesfait, qu'en puet il mais,
> Quant cil li tout sen e mesure,
> Qui ne guarde lei ne dreiture,
> Noblece, honesté ne parage? (18443-7)

and lines 18462-8 show Achilles completely unconcerned about the plight of his followers, who were sad, angry and ashamed at being unable to do battle.

Professor Adler has suggested that because of Achilles's latent homosexuality; 'for a person like Achilles, it is a great achievement to be able to serve real Amor'.[10] While it is true that in this sense love has a salutary effect, Achilles's homosexuality is not really central to the problem. In spite of Benoît's evident sympathy for his hero, Achilles has transgressed, whether from the point of view of courtly love or from the point of view which seems to have held more value for Benoît himself: Achilles has broken his loyalty to the Greeks, and by cutting himself off he has opposed society.

Polyxena is a tragic figure. She is completely unconscious of the effect she has on Achilles, and she becomes a pawn in the machinations of Hecuba. However the idea of marriage to Achilles appealed to her:

> Mout li plaiseit e bel li ere
> Qu'il la deveit prendre a moillier (21232-3)

Here she appears very different from the *dompna* portrayed by Amors to Achilles, so different that one is forced to wonder whether the appearance of Amors and Mesfaiz to Achilles was nothing but a hallucination. Polyxena is grieved at the death of Achilles, but she takes the only course of action open to her, and hides her feelings from the Trojans:

> Mais n'est pas fole ne borgeise;
> Sage est, si ne vueut faire mie
> Rien qu'om li tort a vilenie.
> Por ço s'en tot, si fist que sage: (22452-5)

and she meets her unjust death bravely, yet another victim of love.

The *Roman de Troie,* while being in a sense a summary of the other *romans antiques,* at the same time exhausts the possibilities of this *genre.* Certainly Benoît goes further than the authors of *Thèbes* and *Eneas* in showing the interaction of love and war: nowhere is this more obvious than when the Trojan Paris is fighting for the Greek Helen, and the Greek Diomedes for the Trojan Briseida. The relationships depicted in *Troie* bear often striking resemblances to those in other works; Jason and Medea to Dido and Eneas, Achilles and Polyxena to Narcisus, the opening of the Briseida-Diomedes episode to Antigone and Parthenopeus, Helen and Paris to Pyramus and Thisbe and, by the lack of Ovidian development, to Antigone and Parthenopeus. On occasion Benoît makes abundant use of Ovidian description of the sufferings of love, yet, unlike the other authors, he gives two examples of the courtly relationship. There is one outstanding difference between *Troie* and the other *romans d'Antiquité*; in the latter the relationship is seen almost exclusively from the woman's standpoint. Benoît begins in this way with his portrayal of Jason and Medea. Helen and Paris, Briseida and Diomedes are given approximately equal importance, while in the situation of Achilles and

Polyxena the interest is centered entirely on Achilles. It may be that here Benoît shows the influence of the courtly way of thinking. Yet it seems from what can be deduced from these four situations that courtly love does not represent an ideal for Benoît. It may have a good influence, as upon Diomedes and possibly upon Achilles. Yet each time it is destructive and ends in tragedy. It is interesting that the three relationships which really end unhappily are extra- or pre-marital; in all three loyalties are broken and society is flouted. In the relationship between Helen and Paris a lasting relationship similar to marriage, with the responsibilities it entails, seems to have value as a bulwark of society, and the importance of society and of loyalty appear to be the essential criteria for Benoît.

Yet in spite of this the impression of tragedy remains with the reader, and one is left with the feeling that people are puppets swayed by love, which causes innocents to suffer and imposes conflicts and problems beyond solution.

## NOTES

1 Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie,* edited by L. Constans, S.A.T.F. (Paris, 1904-1912).
2 *Le Roman de Troie,* edited by L. Constans, vol. VI, p. 236.
3 R. M. Lumiansky, 'Structural unity in Benoît's *Roman de Troie, Romania,* 79 (1958), 410-24 (p. 412).
4 Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeridos Belli Troiani,* edited by Werner Eisenhut (Leipzig, 1958).
5 Dares Phrygius, *De Excidio Troiae,* edited by F. Meister (Leipzig, 1873).
6 Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* translated by F. J. Miller, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London, 1916).
7 Ovid, *Heroides,* translated by Grant Showerman, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1914).
8 *Le Roman de Troie,* edited by L. Constans, vol. V, p. 11.
9 A. Adler, 'Militia et amor in the *Roman de Troie*', *Romanische Forschungen,* 72 (1960), 14-29 (pp. 17-18).
10 ibid., p. 21.

# 7. *LE ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE*

The version of the *Roman d'Alexandre* followed in this study is that of Alexandre de Paris of c. 1185.[1] In this work, however, it is imperative to distinguish on the one hand the additions to the source made by Alexandre de Paris and on the other the inventions of Lambert le Tort. In both cases the line references given refer to the Alexandre de Paris version.

Alexandre de Paris is responsible for the portrait of Olimpias, Alexander's mother, which mentions her courtly accomplishments:

> la dame fu preus et de grant cortoisie
> Si ama biaus deduiz de bois, de chacerie,
> Rote, harpe et vïele et gigue et siphonie
> Et autres instruments o douce melodie (I, 153-6)

To this may be added her liberality, for she gave gifts to Philip. Yet in spite of her courtly character she is a prey to wounding gossip, and the poet goes on with a personal comment which could only apply in the twelfth century:

> N'est dame, se tant fit qu'ele se jeut ne rie
> Ne moustre biau samblant, qu'el ne soit envaïe
> Qui mal leur quiert a tort, Damedeus les maudie.
> De bouches mesdisans est la meison emplie
> Ou li deables regne o sa grant ost banie,
> Car li siecles est plains de grant losengerie. (I, 175-80)

Alexandre de Paris adds various mentions of the *amies* of the knights: I, 3069; II, 1499; III, 2042. He also adds the passage in II, 2602 ff. where Darius offers Alexander his daughter and half his land if he will leave him in peace; this is based on a passage in Darius's dying speech in which he begs Alexander to marry his daughter in *Historia de Preliis* $I^{2\ 2}$ or more probably Julius Valerius *Epitome*.[3] This source appears to have been combined with the account of Darius's war-council in *Epitome*[4] or *Historia de Preliis* $I^2$.[5] The Amiral of Babylon is similarly advised to make peace with Alexander and give him his daughter (III, 6306-7). Porrus is sincerely concerned about his daughter (III, 609-26), and Darius too is worried for the safety of his womenfolk (II, 2980-3), and grieves at the death of his wife (II, 3009-11, 3018).

Alexander himself is shown throughout as behaving in a courtly and chivalrous manner towards women. Cary comments that his treatment of Darius's family

'provided a remarkable instance of continence to an age not accustomed to such self-control in its conquering princes'.[6] His behaviour towards the queen of the Amazons is exemplary:

Li rois l'acole et baise qant vint au desevrer (III, 7707)

He rebukes the duc de Palatine for running off with the wife of Candeolus, and adds that this is not fitting behaviour for a man of his rank (III, 4606-12). This is comparable to the rebuke made by Alexander to his father, who was on the point of leaving his wife for Cleopatra:

Mout par fet grant folie hom de vostre escïent,
Qu'est venuz en ëage et a guerpi jouvent
Qui lesse sa moillier pour dit de fole gent; (I, 1868-70)

where Alexander raises an aesthetic objection: Philip is by his actions making himself ridiculous. *Folie* here appears as the opposite of *mesure,* a departure from the norm for a man of Philip's age and wisdom. In the same vein, Alexander himself is not involved in the episode of the water nymphs whose embraces are fatal to their lovers (III, 2896-932), in which some of his soldiers lose their lives.

Alexander is further shown, towards the end of the work, as a husband. Roxane's beauty is described in conventional terms (IV, 68-76), but with an extra touch: she has an ennobling aura:

Sous ciel n'a si dur home, tant soit vilains provés,
S'il esgardast la dame, ne fust d'amors navrés. (IV, 74-5)

She appears only briefly; when Alexander is poisoned she appeals to him not to commit suicide and leave her alone and pregnant (IV, 198-201), and Alexander discharges this responsibility by asking Perdicas to marry her without delay (IV, 242-50); he also asks Tholomés to marry and look after Cleopatra and her child (IV, 307-8). Roxane laments the death of her husband (IV, 905-18), but in her lament she is thinking of him foremost as a king and conqueror, and there is scarcely a note of personal grief; this is of course in keeping with the picture of Alexander as it emerges from the work as a whole: he is firstly a conqueror, and only secondarily a lover. Roxane does express a wish to die, and she faints on concluding her lament, but any note of passion is absent. Altogether the expression of feeling in love is almost completely lacking in the *Roman d'Alexandre,* and it is interesting that the passages of most sincerity, even tenderness, and which approach lyricism, come in the *regrés* of the peers for Alexander:

Joie, tu l'amas molt, onques ne le guerpis;
Va t'ent ensamble o lui es chans Elyseïs
Qui tout sont plain de flors, de roses et de lis (IV, 981-3)

and, speaking of death:

Or as fait ton pooir, ne nos pués faire pis,
Estainte as la lumiere dont li mons iert espris. (IV, 949-50)

It is Lambert le Tort who added the three main episodes of love interest in the

*Roman d'Alexandre*: the episode of the Amazon girls and Alexander's knights, the flower maidens, and Alexander and Candace.

There is no known Latin source for the episode, in Branch III, describing the love passage between Floré and Biauté and the knights Clin and Aristé, and it is presumably the invention of Lambert. It is very similar to the meeting of Antigone and Parthenopeus in the *Roman de Thèbes*. In both cases the women come to the camp of the army on a mission; they meet the men concerned while on their way to the camp, and in both cases the women, their clothes and their horses are described. There is further similarity in the speeches of Parthenopeus, Clin and Aristé. In the *Roman d'Alexandre* the girls are described from the point of view of courtliness; they are beautiful (III, 7512), 'cortoises et proisies' (7619), and dressed 'bel et cortoisement' (7405). Floré is 'molt cortoise' (7483) in her reply to the messenger, and 'ne fu pas vilaine' (7535) when Clin took her rein. Biauté is described as 'preus et sage' (7537).

Thus both girls are "suitable". Clin asks about Floré's background, and promises to tell her about himself in return:

> Car me dites vostre estre, dont estes, de quel gent
> Et comment avés non, (7541-2)

Having ascertained that she is of suitable rank, he then asks for her love and promises her his, and she responds favourably:

> je l'otroi bonement
> Que vos aiés la moie sans nul prolongement (7551-2)

Aristé speaks to Biauté in similar terms (7559-63), but she is suspicious, and he has to swear that his love is true:

> Loiaument je vos jur par le dieu ou je croi
> Que je por vostre amor sui mis en grant effroi. (7567-8)

and Biauté, reassured, promises him her love in return:

> n'en sai autre conroi,
> Toute ma drüerie et m'amor vos otroi; (7569-70)

Both couples want to marry, and the men ask permission of Alexander, *in loco parentis*, Clin explaining that he loves Floré not 'par putage', but:

> A mollier la veul prendre, (7630-1)

and when Alexander learns that the girls are willing, he gives his consent. The queen of the Amazons is angered at the loss of two of her soldiers, but she has no choice:

> Otroier li estuet qant li rois l'en argüe. (7684)

The whole episode, then, shows the "approved" course of courtship and marriage as it is illustrated several times in other *romans antiques*. As it is an addition, it does seem that the author is putting forward here a concept of love which is seen to

be worthwhile and valuable.

The other two episodes concern Alexander himself. As Cary has said, 'with the establishment of courtly convention it became essential that he should be amorous, whatever amorousness might imply'.[7] It implies here unimportant erotic interludes entailing no consequences or responsibilities. The source of the flower maidens has not been traced, but the episode was evidently introduced into the romance by Lambert. Alexander succumbs to their charms, but the maidens are not just anybody:

> Il n'en i avoit nule chamberiere n'ancele,
> Mais toutes d'un parage, chascune iert damoisele. (III, 3336-7)

They are beautiful, 'vestues comme dames' (3354), and they very definitely take the initiative:

> plus aiment les homes que nule riens vivant,
> Por ce q'en cuide avoir chascune son talant. (III, 3358-9)
>
> Les puceles n'i firent plus longe demoree,
> Chascune prist le sien sans nule recelee. (III, 3459-60)

and, as Alexander says, 'molt nos ont desirrés' (3387). However the poet explains that the knights are not unwilling:

> Cil legier bachelier qui tant l'ont desirree,
> Qui pieçà sont issus hors de la lor contree,
> Chascuns n'i ot sa feme ne s'amie amenee. (III, 3463-5)

With this rather ingenuous comment the author seeks to reassure us that it is understandable, that everything is all right: as Cary puts it, 'occasional dalliance, such as that with the maidens of the wood, is pastoral and permissible'.[8] The result is 'grant joie' (3466), and Alexander is still the perfect knight; when he wanted to take away one girl whom he thought worthy of being a queen, he took 'mervelleuse pité' (3507) on her when she dared not leave the wood.

Most of the love interest in this work is concentrated on the relationship between Alexander and Candace. This is certainly an addition of Lambert; the two available sources, Julius Valerius *Epitome*[9] and *Historia de Preliis* $I^1$ or $I^2$,[10] agree in making Candace's attitude motherly and Alexander's filial, and there is no mention of any love between them. In this episode, Candace is definitely not a passive figure. She is the first to fall in love, and she makes the first move, in spite of her fear of what people might say, and her fear that Alexander might refuse her (III, 4438-40). Alexander does nothing to win Candace; it is she who prepares the way. She chooses him, and he acquiesces and sends a message telling her of his love (4450-1). Candace makes no secret of her desire for him:

> De ta volonté faire nule riens ne refus; (4788)

There is discretion in this relationship, in that Alexander takes on a false identity while he is at the palace, and there is distance, at least initially, between the two,

but this distance is seen from Candace's point of view, and to render Alexander accessible it is she who has to make the move. When we are told how she kisses, embraces and gazes at the image of Alexander (III, 4484: an addition of Alexandre de Paris), we have a very vivid picture of the adoration of the symbol, and of Candace's idealisation of Alexander. Candace on her part shows humility:

A la terre se couche, merci demande et prie: (4781)

Alexander's only concession to humility comes in lines 4838-9, when Candace asks him to forgive her son for accusing him of murder, and Alexander replies:

Se il m'avoit pis dit et fait honte gregnor,
Tout seroit pardoné, dame, por vostre amor.

The fact that Alexander takes on a false identity is a tactical move rather than an act of humility. The love of Alexander and Candace is consummated (4841-3), but again Alexander is accepting a situation rather than initiating it.

The tone of this episode is obviously quite different from that of the Amazon girls and their knights. It is not a permanent relationship but a sentimental episode, and reveals a totally different view of love. Could the concept of love shown here be described as courtly? If Alexander is supposed to be seen as the courtly lover, then the courtly element is very slight indeed, and it could hardly be called a courtly relationship at all, but simply one in which the man is behaving courteously. If, however, one considers the episode as an inverted courtly situation, where Candace is playing the part of the courtly lover, a rôle usually assigned to the man, then the episode does exhibit certain elements of courtly love. The love interest in the whole work is so slight that it would be dangerous to try to draw inferences from this single episode; in the absence of further evidence one can do no more than wonder whether this was perhaps a deliberate, and even a satirical, inversion of rôles.

In this work one has the contributions of two authors to the love interest. The additions of Alexandre de Paris, however, hardly merit this description: he adds further descriptive references to women found in his source material, and he emphasises the courtliness and chivalry of Alexander, but he does not invent love interest for its own sake. From the additions of Lambert, however, it can be inferred that this author had a definite knowledge of the concept of courtly love. Yet it appears that he may have chosen to portray it satirically, showing it as superficial and inadequate, and that he was more in sympathy with the reciprocal, realistic concept of love shown in the episode of the Amazon girls, where love is based on mutual liking and respect and leads to marriage.

There is no Ovidian development in this work, apart from a few words common to the other *romans antiques* which are shown in the glossary; perhaps the vogue for Ovid had already passed. Although the additions of Lambert put a little more emphasis on Alexander as a lover, the theme of love in the *Roman d'Alexandre* remains slight: to quote Cary, 'the theme of love is not allowed to exceed episodic

limits, and soften the heroic atmosphere of the battles or the marvellous terrors of the journey through the East'.[11]

## NOTES

1 *The medieval French Roman d'Alexandre,* vol. 2, Version of Alexandre de Paris, edited by E. C. Armstrong, D. L. Buffum, Bateman Edwards, L. F. H. Lowe (Princeton and Paris, 1937).
2 *Historia de Preliis,* edited by A. Hilka, in *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman . . . nebst dem lateinischen Original* (Halle, 1920), p. 133, lines 8-13.
3 *Julii Valerii Epitome,* edited by J. Zacher (Halle, 1867), Book II, cap. 20, p. 51, lines 7-11.
4 *Epitome,* Book II, cap. 7, p. 42, line 15 to p. 43, line 7.
5 *Historia de Preliis,* cap. 46, p. 90, line 20 to p. 91, line 29.
6 G. Cary, *The medieval Alexander,* edited by D. J. A. Ross (Cambridge, 1956), p. 218.
7 ibid., p. 219.
8 ibid., p. 219.
9 *Epitome,* Book III, chapters 19-23, pp. 56-61.
10 *Historia de Preliis,* caps. 108-110, p. 210, line 8 to p. 221, line 32.
11 G. Cary, *The medieval Alexander,* p. 219.

# 8. CONCLUSIONS ON THE *ROMANS D'ANTIQUITÉ*

In the preceding chapters particular concepts have been dealt with as they occurred in the texts, with occasional reference to similar ideas appearing in other works. The aim of this chapter is a restatement of these concepts in order to point to some of the affinities and divergencies in the theme of love as shown in the different *romans d'Antiquité*.

The use of Ovidian vocabulary to describe the process of falling in love and the effects of love provides a common denominator for all the works in the group with the exception of the *Roman de Thèbes*, although Ovidian development is present in one of the later manuscripts of that work. The extent of Ovidian influence varies from one work to another. It is most strongly present in the poems adapted directly from the *Metamorphoses: Piramus et Tisbé* and *Narcisus*; in the episode of Eneas and Lavine in the *Roman d'Eneas*, and the episode of Achilles and Polyxena in *Troie*. It is present to a lesser extent in the episodes of Eneas and Dido, Jason and Medea, and Briseida and Diomedes, very slightly in that of Alexander and Candace, and completely lacking in *Thèbes* and in the episodes of Paris and Helen, Floré and Clin, and Biauté and Aristé.

The presence or absence of the courtly element in these works is more difficult to define. The courtly situation is shown fully and in practice only in the episodes of Briseida and Diomedes and Achilles and Polyxena in the *Roman de Troie*; in the *Roman d'Alexandre* the courtly situation appears to be inverted with Alexander and Candace. The *Roman d'Eneas* appears to show no element of courtly love, with the possible exception of the brief appearance of Venus and Vulcan; the *Roman de Thèbes* may have a suggestion of courtly love in the relationship between Etiocles and Salemandre; Piramus at one stage behaves in the manner of a courtly lover, and the prologue to *Narcisus* may be referring to the concept of courtly love. Yet in the case of *Eneas*, *Thèbes*, *Narcisus* and *Piramus et Tisbé* this element is so slight as to render any definite identification of it with the courtly situation impossible, and I would simply suggest two possible explanations.

Research to date places the dates of composition of the *romans antiques* at some time during the period from approximately 1145 to 1185. The concept of courtly love as shown in the works of the troubadours was developing already in the first half of the twelfth century. It is therefore possible chronologically that the authors of the *romans antiques* may have had some knowledge of developments in Southern

France some time before these ideas were spread through the influence of Eleonor of Aquitaine and Marie of Champagne. If this were the case, references to courtly love in these works could well be few and veiled, whether because of caution or through lack of familiarity with the concept. On the other hand, the range of relationships depicted in this group of works is wide. It is possible to envisage the 'courtly elements' in *Eneas, Thèbes, Narcisus* and *Piramus et Tisbé* as part of human experience which may on occasion offer similarities to courtly love *avant la lettre*; this would be an explanation analogous to the suggestion put forward by Mr Dronke, that: 'the "new feeling" of *amour courtois* is at least as old as Egypt of the second millenium B.C., and might indeed occur at any time or place'.[1]

All that can be said with any certainty is that nowhere in the *romans d'Antiquité* is courtly love proposed as an ideal. The concept, if indeed it occurs, is irrelevant to the main theme in *Eneas* and *Narcisus,* secondary in *Thèbes* and seen as an immature stage in *Piramus et Tisbé*. Benoît seems to concede a transient ennobling value to the courtly experience, but it remains for him destructive and rather unsatisfactory.

The kind of love celebrated by the authors of the *romans d'Antiquité* differs radically in several respects from courtly love, and here I refer to the *leal amor* which seems to be implied in the episodes of Pyramus and Thisbe. Dané and Narcisus, Eneas and Lavine, Atys and Ismene, Antigone and Parthenopeus, Paris and Helen, Troilus and Briseida, Floré and Clin and Biauté and Aristé. In these relationships the emphasis falls on compatibility: of rank, and of interest; the love is mutual. The relationship should be sanctioned and pass through the proper channels, and once it is established, fidelity to one's word is a vital factor. Yet the existence of such a relationship does not imply stagnation; there must be a conscious effort on both sides to make the relationship satisfactory, a putting-off of pride and pretence. There should be progression; not in the sense of the courtly experience, where the lover strives to improve in order to merit the favours of the loved one, for in the *romans antiques* the emphasis is laid on mutual trust and confidence, and the doubts and fears belong to the initial stages. The progression is rather what might be called an expansion of the personality, which takes on an additional dimension through the experience of love. The involvement of oneself with another is seen as a conscious, voluntary act from which all constraint is absent; love appears as spontaneous and natural, and thus homosexuality or misplaced love is anathema.

Love is seen as finding its culmination in marriage, and it takes account of sensuality; with the exception of Achilles, it is generally the woman who is depicted as more sensual than the man. *Leal amor* is seen to be based firmly upon social values and indeed to strengthen the fabric of society, for the lover, once involved with love, becomes aware of and takes on greater responsibilities. Love follows a code, but it is a social code which at the same time safeguards the individual if he or she will accept it, but it is a code which seems to develop independently of

religious or moral standards. The relation of love to society is not always explicitly stated. The relationship between the lovers may be satisfactory in itself, but none the less the lovers may be in conflict with society, as in *Piramus et Tisbé.* Dané is aware that her *fole amor* is opposed to the standards of her family. With *Thèbes, Eneas* and *Troie* society takes on a greater importance; Eneas's development in the social context runs parallel to his development in the love situation.

Desirable as it may be, this *leal amor* is not always achieved, and examples abound of relationships which offer nothing but sorrow to the parties concerned: Dido and Eneas, Medea and Jason, Achilles and Polyxena, Briseida and Diomedes, Dané and Narcisus. However in each case, in the way the author justifies the predetermined *dénouement,* there is seen to be some flaw, some point where one or both of the lovers fall into the wrong kind of love: *fole amor.* The individual cases have already been discussed, but it remains that from these works there does emerge a concept of love which goes astray, and which departs from the norm of conduct which should be followed. *Fole amor* is seen to be the contrary of what is implied by *sens et mesure,* although here again one must proceed with caution.

*Sens* and *mesure* are terms which do occur in the *romans antiques,* usually in opposition to *folie,* but not necessarily in the particularised, more restricted use of the terms in the courtly vocabulary. It seems here that *sens* and *mesure* are identified with 'what is the right thing to do', 'what is socially acceptable'; they relate to the external factors governing the conduct of the individual. They are not yet the *sens* and *mesure* of the lover himself, as they become in the later courtly vocabulary. This more general meaning is present, for instance, in Marcabru:

> En tal loc fai sens fraitura
> On hom non guarda mezura (XII, 82-3)[2]

Compared to earlier works such as the early epics, the *romans d'Antiquité* show in general a tendency to interiorise. The obstacles in the path of love are often abstract rather than concrete: Dido's vow of fidelity to her dead husband, Narcisus's personal inability to love, Eneas's reluctance to behave consciously and responsibly. There is interest in the delineation of character; although the characters in *Thèbes* and *Alexandre* tend to be static, the characters in the other works, particularly *Piramus et Tisbé, Narcisus* and *Eneas* are seen in the process of development. In spite of the main outlines of the stories being fixed, there is a tendency to suppress supernatural and mythological elements, and the onus of responsibility for their actions falls on the characters themselves.

Love as shown in the *romans antiques* generally has a tragic ending. Once again this is partly accounted for by the fact that in the interests of *vraisemblance* the author was unable to depart too far from his sources. Yet it does seem that if the lover falls into an unsuitable, passionate love, the effect on his or her personality is far more serious than if the love is well-placed and the lovers are separated by death. In the case of Pyramus and Thisbe, Dané and Narcisus, Atys and Ismene,

Antigone and Parthenopeus, Paris and Helen, the main trend is constructive, but for Dido, Medea, Briseida and Achilles, their personalities are destroyed by love, and death, if it comes, is a release. It is interesting that unclouded *joie* is rare, and can only be said to occur in *Alexandre* and in the Lavine episode of *Eneas.*

Finally, the *romans d'Antiquité* tend to consider the theme of love with reference to the woman. The case of Achilles and Polyxena is an exception, and also in the episodes of Paris and Helen, Briseida and Diomedes and Eneas and Lavine approximately equal attention is given to the man. On the whole the woman is the dominant figure and takes the initiative, whether openly, as Dané, Medea, Dido and Candace, or more subtly, as Lavine and Thisbe. The growing importance of women is seen, too, in the secondary episodes and in passing references; the *amies* and *dames* are present in the background, and the virtues of respect for women and politeness: *courtoisie,* are extolled. It is not yet the brilliant society of the Arthurian romances, but the atmosphere is refined and chivalrous.

A great deal has been written on the relative chronology of the *romans d'Antiquité*, and the terms of reference of this study do not permit an exhaustive review of existing opinions, nor a detailed account of the evidence. I would, however, suggest tentatively the following order: *Thèbes, Piramus et Tisbé, Narcisus, Eneas, Troie, Alexandre.* As far as the major works *Thèbes, Eneas* and *Troie* are concerned, this order is in line with the majority opinion as analysed by Miss Grout.[3]

*Thèbes* I would consider for a variety of reasons to be the first in date, for its resemblances to the epic, the episodic love interest, lacking in the subtleties which a more sophisticated public would later demand, and the lack of Ovidian development. As far as the relative chronology of the other works is concerned, I would suggest as a basis of comparison the growing interest in psychological development in characterisation, and the passage from pure adaptation to the invention of the author.

*Piramus et Tisbé* is chiefly a work of adaptation, although with fairly far-reaching modifications; the poet has expanded Ovid's account to provide a series of monologues and has developed the characters of both Pyramus and Thisbé. *Narcisus* shows a greater modification in that its author has substituted Dané for Echo and grafted onto Ovid's account a heterosexual relationship of his own invention. This is taken a step further in *Eneas,* where the author has constructed a complete love situation from a few facts gleaned from the *Aeneid.* Benoît's fuller integration of the love interest into his work as a whole would suggest that *Troie* is later than *Eneas,* and with *Alexandre* the *genre* has turned full circle. The resources of the *roman antique* have been exhausted, and while *Alexandre* shows elements both of the courtly situation and of *leal amor,* the theme of love is episodic and closer to *Thèbes* than to *Troie.*

## NOTES

[1] E. P. M. Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the rise of European love-lyric* (Oxford, 1965), p. ix.
[2] in *La lírica de los trovadores,* edited by M. de Riquer (Barcelona, 1948), Vol. I, p. 44.
[3] P. B. Grout, *A literary study of the Roman de Thèbes including a comparison with its sources,* Unpublished M.A. thesis, 1966, University Library, London, pp. 50-9.

# 9. MARIE DE FRANCE AND THE *ROMANS D'ANTIQUITÉ*

Ovidian description in the *Lais*[1] is seen to any extent in only three: *Equitan* (54-64, and Equitan's monologue, lines 65-100), *Guigemar* (379-84, 390-2, 393-426, 476, 483-6, 499 and 501-4), and *Eliduc* (304-6, 315, 331-2, 341-2, 387-401 and 458-462). Levi[2] and Hoepffner[3] have pointed out similarities and, in some cases, identity of language with that used in *Eneas*, and Camilla Conigliani has touched on some of the affinities of the *Lais* with *Thèbes* and *Troie*.[4] Where these references relate to the love situation, they apply not to the concept of love which emerges, but simply to the way in which the lovers express themselves and the effects love has on them. Hoepffner remarks that this particular vocabulary is only found in the first part of the *Lais*.[5] This, however, is hardly surprising, since the Ovidian "stock in trade" of which the poet or poetess makes use applies only to the actual falling in love of the lovers and their initial doubts and fears. In the same way, when Marie does not make use of this vocabulary in certain *lais*, this does not necessarily mean, as Hoepffner suggests, that these *lais* were written before Marie had knowledge of the technique used in the *Eneas*, but simply that the situation in those *lais* does not call for this type of development. Thus Marie's use of Ovidian language is similar to that of the authors of the *romans antiques*, with the exception of *Thèbes* and *Alexandre*: to express the effects of love in the first stages of a relationship.

The courtly elements in Marie's *lais* form a question which has preoccupied many scholars, and a detailed discussion of this far exceeds the scope of this study. However I would tend to agree with B. H. Wind: 'L'élément courtois y est pour ainsi dire superposé: il n'atteint jamais le fond de douce mélancolie sous-jacent dans les Lais'[6] and 'les traits courtois présents dans ses *Lais*, mais qui n'en forment pas "la matière et le sen" ',[7] and with Camilla Conigliani: 'La nuova concezione amorosa si sovrappone perciò qua e là alla vecchia storia, ma solo come ornamento esteriore che ancora non riesce a trasformarlo'.[8] It would seem that Marie was certainly acquainted with the concept of courtly love, but that her treatment of it resembles that of Benoît de Sainte-Maure; she uses it judiciously and cautiously, to illustrate particular situations.

Apart from these influences, other aspects of the theme of love in Marie show resemblances with the *romans d'Antiquité*. The *Lais*, too, seem at first sight to have an atmosphere of amorality. Yet, as has been seen in preceding chapters, the

*romans d'Antiquité* have their own morality which underlies the social situation, although it may at first seem in opposition to it: Diomedes and Helen were already married, yet in the *Roman de Troie* Benoît made abstraction of this and concentrated on the importance of Briseida's fidelity to Troilus and the involvement of Paris and Helen. In the same way in the *Lais, Guigemar, Yonec, Laustic* and *Milun* all contain an element of adultery, yet Marie's sympathy is evidently with the separated lovers. However morality is restored. As will be seen, the husbands in *Guigemar, Yonec* and *Laustic* are not entirely free from blame. On balance, loyal love is rewarded, as in *Le Fresne, Lanval, Eliduc* and *Milun.* In *Yonec* and *Les Deus Amanz* the lovers are reunited in death. In the world of the *Lais* the distinction between black and white is more clear-cut than in the *romans antiques*: as Camilla Conigliani has put it, it is: 'una morale sommaria che separa nettamente i buoni dai cattivi',[9] and to quote S. Foster Damon: 'Love was not inevitably the source of all good: it might elevate, it could also brutalize'.[10]

With Marie, this distinction is made quite clear. There is definitely a kind of love which is 'good', which Marie admires, and it is worth while to look at the terms she uses when speaking of this love:

| | |
|---|---|
| lëal | *Guigemar* 493 |
| hum lëals | *Equitan* 138 |
| s'entr'amerent lëaument | *Les Deus Amanz* 64 |
| Celui que elle eime lëalment | *Yonec* 304 |
| Sagement e bien s'entr'amerent | *Laustic* 29 |
| bone amur | *Milun* 147 |
| lur amur que tant fu fine | *Chevrefoil* 8 |
| ki aime mut lëalment | *Chevrefoil* 22 |
| Mut s'entr'amerent lëaument | *Eliduc* 12 |
| De sa femme li remembra<br>E cum il li asseüra<br>Que bone fei li portereit<br>Et lëaument se cuntendreit | *Eliduc* 323-6 |
| lëauté | *Eliduc* 467 |
| mut l'amot de bon'amur | *Eliduc* 684 |
| Ne fust l'amur lëale e fine<br>Dunt vus m'amastes lëaument | *Eliduc* 944-5 |
| Mut ot entre eus parfit'amur | *Eliduc* 1150 |

The keynote is *amur lëale,* and the other terms used, *bone amur, parfit'amur* and even *fine amur* seem to be synonymous with it. With the exception of *parfit'amur,* these are terms already familiar from the *romans antiques.* (See section twelve of the glossary).

It is possible to distinguish some of the components of this *amur lëale* of Marie. In the first place it rests on a free choice, and respects the liberty of both parties.

Thus the husbands in *Guigemar, Yonec* and *Laustic,* by their efforts to imprison the woman against her will, are doing wrong, and all of them give place to a lover better than themselves. The woman may take the initiative, but within the limits of *amur lëale* this is done tactfully, as Guilliadun in *Eliduc* or the woman in *Milun,* or for good reason, as the fairy in *Lanval.* The lovers should be suitable for each other: the woman in *Equitan* points out to the king that the difference in rank between them is too great, the *meschine* in *Guigemar* remarks on how well-suited Guigemar and her mistress seem:

> Cest'amur sereit covenable,
> Si vus amdui feussez estable,
> Vus estes bels e ele est bele. *Guigemar* 451-3

and Guilliadun, already attracted to Eliduc, is anxious to know whether he is worthy of her:

> Ne sai s'il est de haute gent *Eliduc* 389

There is a marked erotic element, and Marie does in fact give indications that there is no purpose in behaving in a distant manner, providing the love rests on a suitable basis:

> Ki un en peot lëal trover,
> Mut le deit servir e amer
> [E] estre a sun comandement *Guigemar* 493-5

and in the *lai* of *Chaitivel* the woman regrets not having made up her mind to love one of her four suitors.

Once the relationship has been entered into, the woman does not remain passive any more than in the initial stages. In Ewert's words: 'It is a mutual passion demanding equal duties from man and woman',[11] an attitude typified in the women of *Guigemar, Lanval,* and *Les Deus Amanz.* However I would not agree with the comment of Levi: 'Superate l'indecisione, infranti i vincoli di ogne riguardo sociale ed umano, l'amore alla fine trabocca come una forza selvaggia'.[12] With the exception of the fairy element, which enables the characters in *Yonec,* for example, to overcome insuperable obstacles, realistic attitudes predominate, and the women characters, in particular, behave in a highly conscious manner. The women in *Guigemar* and *Equitan* are initially suspicious at being taken off their guard by love, the woman in *Bisclavret* is well aware of what she is doing when she summons her lover on getting rid of her husband, and the girl in *Les Deus Amanz* is quite conscious of the human failings of her *ami.* Moreover, far from being an undisciplined force, *amur lëale* tends towards marriage, and this is the hope of the lovers in *Guigemar, Milun, Les Deus Amanz* and *Eliduc.*

Perhaps the most important aspect of *amur lëale* in the *Lais* is a concept which also emerges from the *romans antiques*: the importance of keeping one's word, and the importance of fidelity to the vows which the lovers exchange voluntarily. Perhaps the clearest example of this is in *Guigemar,* where the knot and the girdle

become concrete symbols of these vows, and once the vows are exchanged no one but the parties involved can break them. The only means of attaining union with the one who has received the vow may be through death: one's own death (*Yonec, Les Deus Amanz*), or that of another *(Milun),* but, as can be seen from *Eliduc,* it takes both parties who made the vows to repudiate them. Thus *amur lëale* is a concept based on the individual rather than on society. It is significant that Equitan, realising that the wife of his *seneschal* is not free, bases his reasoning not on the social institution of marriage, but on the fact that he is bound to her husband by his own word (*Equitan,* 72-4).

Although the world of the *Lais* is a real world in that it contains the same institutions and society as Marie's own world, there is a greater atmosphere of unreality than in the *romans d'Antiquité.* The mystical, fairy element provides detachment, so that the reader or listener is able to consider the problems involved without being distracted by social considerations. It is significant that Lanval should say to his *amie*: 'Pur vus guerpirai tutes genz' (*Lanval* 128), which is a note entirely foreign to the *romans antiques.* (In *Troie* it is pointed out that Achilles is doing wrong by isolating himself).

Marie does on occasion make use of terms which appear also in the *romans antiques: mesure* is mentioned in *Les Deus Amanz,* 179:

Kar n'ot en lui point de mesure.

where 'mesure' is the opposite of 'excess', and in *Yonec,* 201-2:

Mes tele mesure esgardez
Que nus ne seium encombrez:

*Dreiture* occurs in *Eliduc,* where during the storm Eliduc is reproached by the men on the ship:

Femme lëale espuse avez
E sur celë autre en menez
Cuntre Deu e cuntre la lei,
Cuntre dreiture e cuntre fei. (835-8)

*Sens* occurs in *Guigemar* 519-22:

Mes la dame de bon purpens,
Ki en sei eit valur ne sens,
S'ele treve hume a sa manere,
Ne se ferat vers lui trop fiere;

and in *Equitan* 17-20:

Cil metent lur vie en nuncure
Que d'amur n'unt sen e mesure;
Tels est la mesure de amer
Que nul n'i deit reisun garder.

The conflict between reason and emotion touched on in lines 19-20 occurs frequently in the *romans antiques*; whereas in *Narcisus, Thèbes* and *Troie* it is seen

as wiser to let love and reason go hand in hand, *Piramus et Tisbé* and *Eneas* show, as does Marie here, that reason may be subordinated to love.

Terms such as the above, however, are illustrated rather than discussed in the *Lais*, and Marie, like the authors of the *romans antiques*, makes sparing use of fixed concepts. It is particularly interesting, therefore, that we should find here the concept of *folie* or *fol'amur*. Marie uses this term as synonymous with 'excess' in *Les Deus Amanz*, 149-51:

> Li reis ne l'en escundist mie;
> Mes mut le tint a grant folie,
> Pur ceo qu'il iert de jeofne ëage:

as meaning a wrong action in *Le Fresne*, 479-80:

> Nostre fille ai ci coneüe,
> Que par ma folie oi perdue;

and as the equivalent of 'impossible' in *Guigemar*, 777-8:

> Ore ai pensé mult grant folie:
> Bien sai que ceo n'est ele mie;

Used in the love situation, *folie* indicates a love which appears impossible and which, in consequence, should not have been entered into:

> Folement ai mise m'entente — *Eliduc*, 392
>
> Mut l'unt blasmé e chastïé
> K'il ne face si grant dolur,
> E maudïent si fol'amur. — *Lanval*, 408-410

These meanings of *folie* have already been seen in the *romans d'Antiquité*. The following passages show a rather different interpretation:

> Si cume li vilain curteis,
> Ki jolivent par tut le mund,
> Puis se avantent de ceo que funt;
> N'est pas amur, einz est folie
> E mauveisté e lecherie. — *Guigemar*, 488-92

and the passage goes on to show the contrast with *lëal:*

> Ki un en peot lëal trover,
> Mut le deit servir e amer
> E estre a sun comandement' — *Guigemar*, 493-5
>
> Mes n'ot entre eus nule folie,
> Joliveté ne vileinie:
> De douneer e de parler
> E de lur beaus aveirs doner
> Esteit tute la drüerie
> Par amur en lur cumpainie. — *Eliduc*, 575-80

Here Marie is giving a new meaning to the concept of *folie* in making it the equivalent of 'lust', a connotation which is not found in the *romans antiques*, where the

term is used usually only in the sense of mental excess as opposed to physical.

Besides using the term *folie,* Marie illustrates it in some of the *Lais: Les Deus Amanz,* where an otherwise *lëal* love ends tragically because of the *folie* or lack of *mesure* of the boy in overestimating his strength, a *lai* which bears a great resemblance to *Piramus et Tisbé* both in characterisation and in the insistence on the extreme youth of the boy and girl. Similarly, *folie* is illustrated in *Equitan,* where the inverted reasoning of Equitan, who tries to prove that *curteisie* is synonymous with *drüerie,* resembles that of Dané in *Narcisus.*

In several ways Marie goes beyond the *romans d'Antiquité,* by her use of the symbol, the incorporation of the 'matière de Bretagne' and the further interiorisation of the action, remarked on by Levi: 'L'attenzione dei lettori, che dinanzi veniva concentrata quasi esclusivamente sulle vicende delle guerre e delle avventure, cioè su fatti che costituiscono l'apparato esteriore della vita, ora viene invece richiamata agli avvenimenti del mondo interiore e ai problemi dell'anima'.[13] It would seem valid to suggest, however, that Marie is indebted to or influenced by the *romans antiques* to a greater extent than has yet been suspected; influenced not only textually, but also by the concepts underlying the *romans antiques.*

NOTES

1 Marie de France, *Lais,* edited by A. Ewert (Oxford, 1944).
2 E. Levi, 'Marie de France e il romanzo di *Eneas,* *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto de Scienze, Lettere ed Arti,* 81, 2nd part (1921-2), 645-86.
3 E. Hoepffner, 'Marie de France et l'*Eneas*', *Studi Medievali,* new series, 5 (1932), 272-308.
4 C. Conigliani, 'L'amore e l'avventura nei *Lais* di Maria di Francia', *Archivum Romanicum,* 2 (1918), 281-95 (pp. 284-5).
5 E. Hoepffner, 'Marie de France et l'*Eneas*', p. 297.
6 B. H. Wind, 'L'idéologie courtoise dans les lais de Marie de France', *Mélanges . . . Delbouille* (Gembloux, 1964), p. 744.
7 ibid., p. 748.
8 C. Conigliani, 'L'amore e l'avventura nei *Lais* di Maria di Francia', p. 293.
9 ibid., p. 282.
10 S. Foster Damon, 'Marie de France: psychologist of courtly love', *P.M.L.A.,* 44 (1929), 968-96 (p. 969).
11 Marie de France, *Lais,* edited by A. Ewert (Oxford, 1944), Introduction, p. xvii.
12 E. Levi, 'Marie de France e il romanzo di *Eneas*', p. 664.
13 ibid., p. 646.

# 10. CHRETIEN DE TROYES AND THE *ROMANS D'ANTIQUITÉ*

For the purposes of this study it is most convenient to treat each work of Chrétien separately, as his works differ so greatly among themselves.

## *Erec et Enide*

The situation depicted in the second part of *Erec et Enide*[1] differs from the majority of relationships treated in the *romans d'Antiquité* in that it deals with the marriage relationship. However the 'premier vers' which describes the meeting and marriage of Erec and Enide is in several respects similar to the works under consideration.

Ovidian description is almost entirely lacking to express the initial stages of their relationship, but lines 411-41 contain a portrait of Enide which tells how, like Dané, Pyramus and Thisbé, she was created by *Nature.* She and Erec are both attractive, they are mutually drawn to each other, and although Enide plays a passive role, she joyfully acquiesces in becoming Erec's wife. They are not perhaps equal in rank, but Erec's position is balanced by Enide's father's high hopes for his daughter. Enide, like the heroines of the *romans antiques,* is more sensual than her *ami,* but she behaves with appropriate modesty. Erec promises Enide honour, to be shared by her parents, and the relationship is suitably conducted in that Erec is accepted in the house of Enide's father, and asks him for her hand. The 'rightness' of the whole situation is symbolised by the conquest of the falcon by Erec as the champion of Enide.

So far, the situation is parallel to those examples of 'suitable love' shown in the *romans d'Antiquité.* However the major part of *Erec et Enide* deals with the progression and development of the characters. This had also been the case with Pyramus and Thisbe, Narcisus, Paris and Helen, and Eneas and Lavine. Yet at first glance the development appears to be in a rather different direction. The developing characters in the *romans antiques* tend to advance from immaturity towards a more mature, responsible attitude. Professor Bezzola has seen in *Erec et Enide* a double development, closely interwoven: 'Le roman d'Erec et d'Enide ne tourne pas autour de conflits et de malentendus intimes entre deux époux. . . . il reflète

l'initiation à la vie, initiation de l'homme à la vie du chevalier en première ligne, mais, dans ce cas aussi, initiation de la femme à son rôle de "dame" '[2] and: 'le mariage, loin d'être un point d'arrivée dans l'évolution du chevalier, était, sinon incompatible avec l'amour qui venait de transformer le héros et de l'engager sur la voie de vraie chevalerie, du moins le mettait en grand danger. Le mariage, loin d'être une fin heureuse de l'aventure, lui donnait une tournure extrêmement critique et d'autant plus compromettante qu'Erec le contractait devant toute la cour du roi qui le sanctionnait'.[3] However Professor Bezzola considers that Erec and Enide are 'deux êtres parfaits'[4] – in other words, their development is not from immaturity to maturity, but rather a successful solution of problems presented by a new set of circumstances. I would venture to suggest that there may be another possible interpretation: that Erec and Enide, although ideally suited to each other, and perfect examples of *courtoisie,* are nevertheless lacking in certain respects, and that these immature sides to their characters are developed during the *aventure.*

Erec and Enide meet with five adventures which concern them as individuals; three where Erec plays the chief part: the encounter with the three knights (2791-920), the five knights (2921-3079) and with Guivret le Petit (3653-908), and two where Enide's role is emphasised; the *conte* who falls in love with her and threatens to kill Erec (3080-652) and the episode of the comte de Limors (4636-900).

Professor Bezzola has remarked on the first of Erec's adventures: 'On ne saurait guère douter que ces trois chevaliers sur lesquels Erec remporte sa première victoire, symbolisent l'idée et la volonté de ne pas être *recreant*'.[5] The second episode, of the five knights, he has called a 'victoire sur la convoitise'.[6] This episode may also be interpreted as representing another fault in Erec, going back to before the time he became *recreant.* Although he was struck by Enide's beauty, Erec did not show any sign of wanting to marry her until he heard from her father of the circumstances in which he could challenge the holder of the falcon – by having an *amie* and upholding her beauty in battle. Immediately, he asked for arms (602-10), and then, almost in the same breath, continued:

mes ancor vos voel querre un don, (631)

which was the hand of Enide. Unceremoniously, Enide was given and received:

Tenez, fet il, je la vos doing.
Erec lieemant la reçut,
Or a quanque il li estut. (678-80)

and even after his victory in the contest, he still speaks of Enide to her uncle in materialistic terms:

Et qu'an dites vos, sire, dons?
Don n'est biax et riches cist dons? (1267-8)

Thus Erec's victory over the five knights represents a victory over the last traces of

his own attitude of considering Enide as a beautiful free gift.

Enide had made an excellent marriage without the slightest effort on her part; she had become aware of Erec's falling reputation and still has not taken any action. When Erec accidentally hears her lament and orders her to get ready to follow him in quest of *aventure,* her only reaction is further lamentation and a wish that she had not spoken, thus regretting the only positive action she has ever taken up to that point. So Enide's first main adventure is a test of this very passivity: the count asks her to be his *amie* and 'dame de tote ma terre' (3318-9); an offer similar to Erec's, and once again Enide had done nothing but inflame the count with her beauty. Here again, as previously when Erec had forbidden her to warn him of danger approaching, Enide is forced into action, and this time it is not purely defensive action; she herself has to imagine a ruse that will gain time and prevent Erec's murder.

The keynote of the offers made to Enide by the count of Limors is wealth and position, again one of Enide's weak points. Influenced by her father to expect marriage to a 'roi ou conte' (532), Enide was attracted to Erec and happy to marry him, but all the happier since she:

> bien savoit qu'il seroit rois
> Et ele meïsme enoree,
> Riche reïne coronee. (688-90)

and the hardships imposed upon her by the *aventure* were perhaps intended by Chrétien to counterbalance her desire for luxury.

So the perils and obstacles which Erec and Enide meet with spring essentially from their own characters, and their environment is very much of their own making. Here *Erec et Enide* differs from the *romans antiques,* where the symbolism is much rarer. Yet there is the same emotional growth and development, and again, there is the importance of society. The adventures mentioned above concern Erec and Enide as individuals, and the episodes of Cadoc de Cabruel and the Joie de la Cort, as well as the court of King Arthur, represent the society in which the individual must find his or her rightful place. When Erec returns to the court it is of his own free will; in the same way when he and Enide have finished the *aventure,* he voluntarily and consciously pledges his love to her again:

> Or voel estre d'or en avant,
> Ausi con j'estoie devant,
> Tot a vostre comandemant; (4888-90)

The *Roman d'Eneas* is probably the *roman antique* which comes closest to Chrétien in its concern with the development of the individual personality. It is interesting that in the *Eneas* is expressed the ideal of friendship,[7] which also plays an important role in *Erec et Enide.* The episode of Guivret le Petit shows Erec for the first time reciprocating in friendship. Previously he had already been an accepted figure at the court, but while all his companions were engaged on hunting the white

stag he had isolated himself. Through his meeting with Guivret Erec learns to invite and accept help, through Guivret he learns of the Joie de la Cort, his crowning achievement which reinstates him as an individual and as a member of society, and when he finally returns to the court it is with the symbols of love and friendship, Enide and Guivret, at his side.

Professor Bezzola has a valuable chapter on the importance of the name in the works of Chrétien, and points out the significance of its use. The use of the proper name in the *romans antiques* is sparing, although it is not endowed with the same importance as in Chrétien. Section thirteen of the glossary gives references to the use of the proper name in direct speech in the *romans d'Antiquité*, and in these works the proper name tends to be used as a term of endearment, implying a certain intimacy. It is interesting that at the two points where the emotions of Erec and Enide are most intense: the flight from the castle of the count of Limors and Erec's departure for the Joie de la Cort, Erec addresses his wife as: 'ma dolce suer' (4882), 'bele douce suer' (5784), a term which in the *romans antiques* occurs only in *Piramus et Tisbé*, and then at a similar point of high emotion. Again, the term *ami, amie,* is used in the *romans antiques* between lovers who have entered into a mutual relationship, or, like Medea for example, who would like to think they had. In *Erec et Enide* there is no dialogue between the lovers until after they are married, but it is significant that Enide is not referred to as the *amie* of Erec until he is fighting as her champion, that is, until he has symbolically entered into this contract with her.

*Erec et Enide* does not really show any reference to a concept of *fole amor* as such, although Enide is referred to in the terms:

> Onques nus ne sot tant d'aguet
> Qu'an li poïst veoir folie,
> Ne malvestié, ne vilenie (2416-18)

Enide refers to herself as *fole* in a similar manner to Dané and Thisbe, to blame herself for an action she considers unwise:

> Ele dist lors une parole
> Dom ele se tint puis por fole; (2483-4)
>
> La folie qu'ele dist: (2583)
>
> Fole malveise (2585)
>
> Malveise fole (2971)
>
> De mon seignor sui omecide;
> Par ma folie l'ai ocis:
> Ancor fust or mes sires vis,
> Se ge, come outrageuse et fole,
> N'eüsse dite la parole
> Por coi mes sires ça s'esmut; (4586-91)

and when Erec tells her not to warn him again of danger, he says:

Vos ferïez molt que fole (3005)

Chrétien, again like the author of *Piramus et Tisbé*, uses *lëal* and *lëaument:*

Vers son seignor ot le cuer tandre
Come bone dame et lëax:
Ses cuers ne fu dobliers ne fax; (3458-60)

Or ot Erec que bien se prueve
Vers lui sa fame lëaument: (3480-1)

Qui li veïst son grant duel fere,
Ses poinz tordre, ses chevox trere,
Et les lermes des ialz cheoir,
Lëal dame poïst veoir; (3789-92)

Bien voi que lëaumant amez
Vostre seignor, . . . (5010-11)

Gentix dame lëax et sage (5785)

In each case, as in *Piramus et Tisbé*, with the root meaning of 'being loyal'. The contrary is shown by Mabonagrain, who said he was forced by his oath to his *amie* to fight all those who came against him:

Se ge ne volsisse estre fax
Et foi mantie et deslëax, (6063-4)

Chrétien in this work once uses 'amer parfitemant', used by Marie de France, but which does not occur in the *romans antiques*:

je resui certains et fis
Que vos m'amez parfitemant. (4886-7)

## *Cligès*

Professor Micha has made a detailed study of resemblances between *Cligès*[8] and *Eneas,* with particular reference to the monologues, textual similarities, and the part played by the god Amors.[9] It is indubitable that of the works of Chrétien, *Cligès* makes the most extensive use of Ovidian description to express the effects of love upon the couples, particularly in the case of Soredamors and Alexandre, but also, to a lesser extent, in that of Fenice and Cligès.

However, as Professor Micha has indicated, the resemblances are not restricted to vocabulary alone: 'c'est non seulement dans quelques réminiscences plus ou moins nettes, c'est dans l'utilisation, parfois renouvelée ou plus poussée de quelques thèmes essentiels que s'aperçoit l'influence directe d'*Eneas* sur *Cligès*'.[10] There are similarities between the concept of love in *Cligès* and that which emerges from the *romans antiques,* not only the *Eneas.*

Alexandre, in his first monologue (618-864) is torn by doubts and hesitation,

but finally he accepts, and even welcomes, the situation:

Je ne quier que cist max me lest. (860)

Similarly, Soredamors realises that she has only herself to blame for being in love (496-7), and expresses her readiness to accept involvement:

Or vuel amer, or sui a mestre,
Or m'aprandra Amors . . . (938-9)

Or aim et toz jorz amerai. (980)

Like Lavine, she thinks that she already knows all about love (944), and concludes that it is only possible to be a *veraie amie* to one person (949-52). Yet she is conscious of convention and is not prepared to take the first step in confessing her love (989-1013): it is a different matter to give subtle indications of her interest:

Si jel porroie metre an voie
Par sanblant et par moz coverz.
Tant ferai qu'il an sera cerz
De m'amor, se requerre l'ose. (1032-5)

Again, Soredamors is a more definite character than Alexandre, and she has an end in view: her monologue in lines 1372-98 indicates that she wants the right to call him her *ami.*

As in the *romans d'Antiquité*, the lovers are extremely conscious of their own states of mind and of each other's reactions: the importance of the voluntary element in the relationship is summed up by Alexandre:

Mes puet cel estre an nul androit
Cele pucele ne voldroit
Que je suens fusse n'ele moie. (2287-9)

The love of Soredamors and Alexandre is eminently suitable; it is guided by Guinevere, who suggests that they should marry and thus make their love last:

Par mariage et par enor
Vos antre aconpaigniez ansanble;
Ensi porra, si com moi sanble,
Vostre amors longuemant durer. (2266-9)

This love is 'leax et droite', but once again there is the danger of *folie.* There are numerous references to this term in the love situation (*fole* 503, 507, 889, 926, *fol* 618-9, 629-30, 1621-2, *folie* 622, 886); but the most significant are in lines 994, when Soredamors reminds herself that she would be *fole* to tell Alexandre of her love, and lines 619-24, where Alexandre, having just realised that he is in love, is thinking the situation impossible:

Voiremant sui ge fos,
Quant ce que je pans dire n'os,
Car tost me torneroit a pis.
An folie ai mon panser mis:
Que fol me feïsse apeler.

Fenice and Cligès are both attractive and *courtois,* and it is 'right' that she

should love him:

> Et s'ele rien amer devoit
> Por biauté qu'an home veïst,
> N'est droiz qu'aillors son cuer meïst. (2774-6)

Professor Micha, speaking of the episode of Soredamors and Alexandre, has remarked: 'l'idée de *parage,* soulignée par *Eneas* et par Ovide dans une de ses *Métamorphoses,* n'apparaît nullement chez Chrétien: il y a honte, dit-il seulement, à aborder le premier un homme, quel qu'il soit. Puisque le problème de casuistique sentimentale n'est posé que par les deux seuls poètes médiévaux, c'est qu'*Enèas* a joué ici le rôle d'intermédiaire'.[11] In this episode of Fenice and Cligès, however, the idea of *parage* does appear; Fenice is very glad to find out who Cligès is, and that he is worthy of her; once she is involved with him, she is concerned for his honour (3148-53).

It is not surprising that Fenice too should be afraid to tell her lover that she loves him:

> car sinple chose
> Doit estre pucele et coarde. (3794-5)

but when the lovers are reunited Fenice does take the lead in extracting a confession of love from Cligès, and it is she who has the idea of the false death and burial. Their love, too, leads to marriage. In this episode one can see clearly the importance of keeping one's word: Fenice has promised herself to Cligès and holds herself to this in spite of her suffering, and Alis, by breaking his promise to Alexandre, prepares his own tragedy.

The concept of *folie* is illustrated in two interesting passages. When Cligès suggests that he and Fenice should run away to Britain she rejects the idea:

> Por trop baude et trop estapee
> Me tendroit l'en, et vos por fol. (5262-3)

and when the lovers are reunited:

> Et mervoille est se il se tienent,
> La ou prés a prés s'antrevienent,
> Qu'il ne s'antracolent et beisent
> D'icez beisiers qui Amor pleisent;
> Mes folie fust et forsens. (5071-5)

Yet in spite of the resemblances there are certain aspects which divide *Cligès* from the *romans antiques.* Both Soredamors and Alexandre are prepared to love even if their love is not reciprocated:

> S'il ne m'aimme, j'amerai lui (1038)
> S'ele de li rien ne m'otroie,
> Totevoies m'otroi a li. (2290-1)

and Cligès's humble attitude towards Fenice:

> Com il vint devant li plorer,
> Con s'il la deüst aorer,
> Humbles, et sinples, a genolz. (4323-5)

reinforces Chrétien's description of this couple as 'fins amanz' (3815).

## *Le chevalier au lion*

Ovidian description in *Yvain*[12] is greatly reduced. Briefly, it may be found in the fairly numerous references to *Amors,* as forming the basis of the description of Laudine and Yvain falling in love (1358-409), in the account of Laudine's restlessness during the night when, instead of the conventional dream, she has an imaginary conversation with Yvain (1736-86), and in the lines describing God's creation of Laudine – so beautiful that Nature herself was in awe (1495-510). There is also a reference to the wound made by love (5374-8).

The initial part of the work, describing Yvain's visit to the fountain and his marriage to Laudine, again reveals similarities to the *romans antiques*; not only in situation, in that Laudine, like Dido and Jocasta, is soon consoled after the death of her husband, but also in being an example of 'suitable' love. Yvain would be a better defender of the fountain than Laudine's late husband; he has suitable qualities:

> Sanz ce qu'il est de haut parage,
> Est il de si grant vasselage,
> Et tant a corteisie, et san,
> Que desloer nel me doit an. (2125-8)

Their interest in each other is mutual, and Laudine reasons that their love is in accordance with *reison* and *droit*:

> Et celui qu'ele ot refusé
> Ra molt lëaument escusé
> Par reison et par droit de plet
> Qu'il ne li avoit rien mesfet, (1755-8)

The involvement must be conscious; on Laudine's side this is shown by the way she reconciles all possible objections; in the case of Yvain, the description is succinct:

> Et mes sire Yvains est ancor
> A la fenestre ou il l'esgarde;
> Et quant il plus s'an done garde,
> Plus l'ainme, et plus li abelist. (1420-3)

Laudine had already been called the *leax amie* of Yvain (1750) and he spoke to her

as a *verais amis* (1976); their interview is short and restricted to essentials, and when Laudine sums it up:

Sachiez donc, bien accordé somes (2038)

the relationship is established on the individual plane, but it remains to ask the consent of the barons, for the social context of the relationship, the rôle of Yvain as the new defender of the fountain, has been well in evidence from the start.

Yvain had been described as loving 'an si fole meniere' (1517), but *fole* here would simply be synonymous with 'much'. However when he leaves Laudine it is interesting that this is described as *folie.* Lunete in the message from Laudine to Yvain at the court says:

Bien a sa guile aparceüe
Qu'il se feisoit verais amerres,
S'estoit fos, souduianz et lerres; (2724-6)

When Yvain thinks of asking Laudine's leave to return to chivalry:

Ou face folie ou savoir,
Ne leira que congié ne praigne
De retorner an la Bretaigne. (2546-8)

and on his return he admits that:

Folie me fist demorer, (6774)

Two other details are worth mentioning; the use of *fine amor* to describe the friendship of Yvain and Gauvain:

N'est-ce Amors antiere et fine? (6007)

and lines 2456-67, showing the folly of confusing *courtoisie* with love.

Thus one interpretation of *Yvain* brings it close to the theme treated several times in the *romans d'Antiquité*; a love which is right and secure in itself, but which is in danger of being lost through the *folie* of one of the partners.

## *Le chevalier de la charrette*

Compared to the other works of Chrétien, the *Lancelot*[13] bears little comparison with the *romans antiques.* There are, however, interspersed throughout the text, numerous references to Amors, to the wound of love (1336-43) and the flame of love (3749-51), and Lancelot, confronted with the *charrette,* has the same conflict between love and reason as Dané, Thisbe and Lavine (365-77). Even the many references to the division of the heart and the body, an aspect which plays a major part in *Cligès,* probably owe more to the *Tristan* of Thomas than to the *Eneas* or to the distinction made between *drüerie* and *amistié* in the *romans d'Antiquité.*

Once again there is the concept of the relationship between *ami* and *amie,* which

must be a mutual involvement of the two parties: Lancelot is uncertain whether he has the right to call Guinevere *amie*:

> Ne sai se die 'amie' ou non,
> Ne li os mètre cest sornon. (4363-4)

Chrétien again makes significant use of the proper name. This is shown particularly in lines 1997-2010, where the girl who had been Lancelot's constant companion leaves him at the point where he refuses to tell her his name and thus tacitly refuses to get further involved with her. There is also an indication that a relationship proceeds from conscious involvement; it may be that Guinevere received Lancelot coldly partly because she was unaware how much he meant to her until she thought him dead.

There are two references to *folie* which are worth pointing out: in the context of the individual, when the queen reproaches herself:

> Quant mon esgart et ma parole
> Li veai, ne fis je que fole?
> Que fole? Ainz fis, si m'aïst Dex, (4201-3)

and in the context of society'

> Et se reisons ne li tolsist
> Ce fol panser et cele rage,
> Si veïssent tot son corage;
> Lors si fust trop granz la folie.
> Por ce reisons anferme et lie
> Son fol cuer et son fol pansé; (6842-7)

It is above all the *sen* of the *Lancelot* which distinguishes it from the *romans antiques*. It is not a question of the development of personality, since Lancelot is already the perfect lover, predestined and mystical, and Guinevere is the perfect *dame*. While courtly love as it appears in the *romans d'Antiquité* is confined to a few episodes, the *Chevalier de la charrette* represents the adaptation of the situation of the courtly love lyric to narrative.

One common factor remains: as in the episode of Briseida and Diomedes, the final fortunes of the couple remained undecided, so the reader of the *Lancelot* is left uncertain as to whether the love of Guinevere and Lancelot at the castle of Meleagant is a beginning or an end.

## *Perceval*

*Perceval*[14] offers hardly any Ovidian description; lines 1950-51, 1962-3 and perhaps lines 2636-7 are all that can be found in the main love story of Perceval and Blancheflor, and even here there is a difference; Blancheflor is restless not

because of love, but because of her anxiety about asking Perceval to fight for her the next day.

Perceval and Blancheflor are eminently suited to each other:

Tant est cil biax et cele bele
C'onques chevaliers ne pucele
Si bien n'avindrent mais ensamble,
Et de l'un et de l'autre samble
Que Diex l'un por l'autre feïst
Por che qu'ensamble les meïst. (1869-74)

At the beginning of the relationship Blancheflor is forced into taking the initiative; she realises that if she does not speak, he never will (1879-81), she had to go to his room and hope that he would offer to fight for her and her household. Yet Blancheflor carries all this out with admirable subtlety, indicating to him that she was doing the right thing:

Por che se je sui pres que nue
Je n'i pensai onques folie
Ne mauvestié ne vilonnie, (1986-8)

and spurring him on to fight while at the same time being afraid for him:

Ensi fait ele come sage,
Qu'ele li a mis en corage
Ce qu'ele li blasme molt fort, (2135-7)

The change in Perceval is striking. On his arrival at Blancheflor's castle he sits in silence, not caring to enquire the cause of the obvious poverty and sorrow. When he arrived:

il ne savoit nule rien
D'amor ne de nule autre rien (1941-2)

yet when Blancheflor comes to him:

tant de cortoisie fist
Que entre ses deus bras le prist
Maintenant et vers lui le trait, (1977-9)

The next morning he makes a spontaneous offer of help and will not be deterred, any more than Blancheflor can prevent him from taking on a second battle with Clamadeus. By the time he has to leave Perceval has taken the initiative to such an extent that Blancheflor's tears cannot hold him back:

Mais ja por doel que ele en ait
Ne remandra noient, ce cuit. (2608-9)

Thus during the course of his stay with Blancheflor, Perceval comes to dominate the situation entirely. This provides a parallel with Erec's situation and is especially interesting since Fenice, Laudine and Guinevere were very much in command of their respective situations, and Alexandre could not be said to dominate.

Here Chrétien has taken the elements of the 'suitable' love shown in the *romans antiques* and adapted them to an entirely different situation. Yet it is not a courtly situation. Gauvain, hearing from Perceval the subject of his meditation, remarks:

> Cist pensers n'estoit pas vilains,
> Ainz estoit molt cortois et dols; (4458-9)

but this is something of an understatement. It seems that the main factor in Perceval's meditation is an awakening awareness of the meaning of love. The time he had spent with Blancheflor was idyllic, but he had still not been fully conscious of what it had meant. He had been able to put the thought of his mother out of his mind, and even after this time he had not been able to ask the vital question about the Grail. It is particularly interesting that in Chrétien's latest work he should again show one of the aspects of the theme of love which had been treated in the *romans d'Antiquité*.

The object of this short comparison with the works of Chrétien has not been to examine in detail the meaning behind them, but simply to pick out certain aspects which seem to be common to both groups of works. Chrétien carried the *données* of the *romans antiques* as far as they could go: in *Cligès*, by placing in relief, in two separate episodes, the description of the awakening of love, and in *Erec et Enide*, by taking the *ami-amie* relationship to its conclusion – marriage – and then interweaving and fusing the different aspects of woman: *amie, femme, dame*. In *Yvain* and *Lancelot* Chrétien develops the theme of the quest, already present in *Erec et Enide* and even in the *Eneas*. *Yvain* bears resemblances to the *romans antiques* in the initial situation, but the elaboration of the *sen* comes closer to the *Chevalier de la charrette*, whose similarities to the *romans antiques* are incidental. *Perceval* again develops the quest theme, but this time in a search for something beyond love and involvement with another human being, yet something which can only be reached through the awareness that comes from such a relationship.

The *romans d'Antiquité* appear in perspective only when compared with the works of later writers such as Marie de France and Chrétien. Conversely, however, Chrétien can be more fully appreciated when it is seen how much his treatment of the love theme owed to the works of his predecessors and how, by fusing some of the same concepts and something of the same technique with other elements, he created a new tradition.

## NOTES

1 Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide,* edited by M. Roques, C.F.M.A. (Paris, 1955).
2 R. R. Bezzola, *Le sens de l'aventure et de l'amour* (Paris, 1947), p. 81.
3 ibid., p. 137.
4 ibid., p. 141.
5 ibid., p. 162.
6 ibid., p. 164.
7 with Nisus and Euryalus (4906-5252), Eneas, Evander and Pallas (4701-824, 6147-208). See also A. Adler, 'Eneas and Lavine: puer et puella senes', *Romanische Forschungen,* 71 (1959), 73-91 (pp. 85-7).
8 Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès,* edited by A. Micha, C.F.M.A. (Paris, 1957).
9 A. Micha, 'Eneas et Cligès', *Mélanges . . . Hoepffner* (Paris, 1949), 237-43.
10 ibid., p. 242.
11 ibid., p. 239.
12 Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier au lion,* edited by M. Roques, C.F.M.A. (Paris, 1964).
13 Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier de la charrette,* edited by M. Roques, C.F.M.A. (Paris, 1958).
14 Chrétien de Troyes, *Le roman de Perceval ou le conte du Graal,* edited by W. Roach (Geneva and Lille, 1956).

# APPENDIXES TO CHAPTER 4

## Appendix 1

### The death of Atys

Faral has suggested that there are resemblances between the account of the death of Atys in the *Roman de Thèbes* and the death of Pyramus in *Piramus et Tisbé* and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*[1] While not denying that the author of the *Roman de Thèbes* was acquainted with Ovid, I would suggest that he has here, by adapting the indications furnished by Statius, given an account which owes little or nothing to Ovid. In doing this, the French author has used not only Statius's account of the death of Atys, but also the lament of Argia for Polynices, (XII, 322-48).

The death of Atys and Ismene's lament for him is recounted in the *Roman de Thèbes* in lines 6211-444. Attention is concentrated on Ismene in the greater part of this passage, with the exception of the mourning of Polynices (6273-8) (6285-9) and the lament of Atys's knights (6297-358). There are 145 lines devoted to Ismene and her reactions, compared with 14 lines in the *Thebaid* (VIII, 641-54). The account of Argia's search for the body of Polynices and her laments occupy over 200 lines in the *Thebaid.* The relevant passages are here set out in parallel in tabular form.

(Atys's teeth are parted so that he can speak):

Mais ço cui chaut? Ne parla joi.
Preié lor a a quauque peine
Que li ameinent tost Ysmeine:
Ysmeine li est en la boche;
L'amor de lé al cuer li toche;
Il demande sovent Ysmeine,
Et Jocaste la li ameine:
Amis, fait ele, vei t'espose,
La chaitive, la dolorose!
Uevre les ueuz, si l'a veüe,
A tant l'anme est del cors eissue.

Une leuee fu Ysmeine
Morte, senz fun et senz aleine.
De lé poez oïr merveille:
Nen ot, ne ne veit, ne ne ceille,
Ne ne se muet mais que la pierre;
Vert esteit come fueille d'ierre;
Point de color n'ot en sa face;
Plus esteit freide que n'est glace.
El col li truevent une veine
Que li bateit a quauque peine:

(A bed is made up for her and she is taken to it.
Ismene is in her room and her mother is reluctant to let her go to the body)

Mais ele nel pot endurer,
Mout fort comença a jurer,
Se ja nel veit, sempres morra
Et de duel sis cuers partira.

(She is escorted to the bier by two knights and lifts up the covering to see Atys's face)

Ysmeine en ot al cuer dolor:
Par la chiére l'eve li cole,
Del peliçon moille la gole
Cent feiz li baise de randon
Les ueuz, la face et le menton;
Al cors piuement se complaint
Et son grant duel iluec refraint:
Ates, beaus sire, tu ne m'oz?
Uevre tes ueuz, por quei les cloz?
Ço est Ysmeine que parole.

Prima videt caramque tremens Iocasta vocabat
Ismenen: namque hoc solum moribunda precatur
Vox generi, solum hoc gelidis iam nomen inerrat
Faucibus. VIII, 641-4

(Jocasta sets Ismene in front of him)

quater iam morte sub ipsa
Ad nomen visus defectaque fortiter ora
Sustulit; illam unam neglecto lumine caeli
Aspicit et vultu non exsatiatur amato. VIII, 647-50

fugere animus visusque sonusque XII, 317

tenuit saevus pudor; attamen ire
Cogitur, VIII, 645-6

tum corpore toto
Sternitur in voltus animamque per oscula quaerit
Absentem, XII, 318-20

Amplexu miscent avidae lacrimasque comasque,
Partitaeque artus redeunt alterna gementes
Ad vultum et cara vicibus cervice fruuntur. XII, 386-8

Huc adtolle genas defectaque lumina: venit
Ad Thebas Argia tuas; XII, 325-6

Faral does not go further but if one examines Ismene's lament, the resemblances with Argia's in the *Thebaid* are striking. The main points of Ismene's lament in *Thèbes*, with the parallel passages in the *Thebaid*, are:

(Apostrophe to Death)

(The grief of the lover, and her own grief in particular)

(Atys had promised to take her to his country after the siege, but now she will never see it 6417-22)

(The grief of his father, mother and sister: 6423-30)

(Ismene ends her lament with a curse upon the man who killed Atys, for he has caused great grief, especially to her)

(Does not appear in the *Thebaid,* but such apostrophes were common in 12th century literature)

(Keynote of Argia's lament)

> – venit
> Ad Thebas Argia tuas; age, moenibus induc
> Et patrios ostende lares et mutua redde
> Hospitia. (XII, 325-8)

> nullasne tuorum
> Movisti lacrimas? ubi mater, ubi inclyta fama
> Antigone? (XII, 330-2)

> Hoc frater? qua parte, precor, iacet ille nefandus
> Praedator? vincam volucres – sit adire potestas.
> Excludamque feras; (XII, 341-3)

Thus the greater part of this episode in the *Roman de Thèbes* is drawn, without doubt, from Statius. There are also aspects of the episode which are certainly the invention of the French poet, and for which he had no recourse to Ovid. Here I would include the comforting of Ismene by Antigone (6229-30), the detail on how Atys's tongue was anointed and his teeth separated (6236-8), the bed being made up for Ismene (6270), the knights escorting her to the bier (6370-1) and the detail of her tears:

Del peliçon moille la gole (6376).

All these points are either commonplaces or reminiscent of an everyday situation rather than of the *Metamorphoses.* Here also would belong the detail of how Jocasta and the women knew that Ismene was alive when they found the vein beating in her neck. (6265-6)

So the resemblance pointed out by Faral rests mainly on the lines:

Ne ne se muet mais que la pierre;
Vert esteit come fueille d'ierre;
Point de color n'ot en sa face;
Plus esteit freide que n'est glace. (6261-4)

Here the only resemblance between the description of Ismene and that of Pyramus which might be called striking is the simile 'green as ivy' and the rhyme *ierre/pierre,* the other expressions being simply commonplaces to describe someone who has fainted. However it seems very probable that the simile used here was just a twelfth-century cliché.[2] Why should the author of *Piramus et Tisbé* have changed Ovid's perfectly adequate simile 'paler than boxwood', if not to bring the expression up to date and give it more meaning for the audience? Nowadays we use the adjective 'green' to apply to someone who is seasick: why not, in the twelfth century, to someone who has fainted? Finally, the most obvious rhyme for *ierre* is *pierre.*

In the case of the death of Atys and the lament of Ismene, as with the rest of the love interest, the influence of Ovid is singularly lacking in the *Roman de Thèbes,* and Statius's *Thebaid* remains the prime inspiration of the French author.

NOTES

1 E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge,* pp. 14-15 and p. 409.
2 For another example of this expression see manuscript S,1. 2860, Appendix II, p. 97.

# Appendix 2

## Manuscript variants

Chapter four has been based on Constans's critical edition of the *Roman de Thèbes*. It is however necessary to consider briefly the different manuscripts, since they show sometimes notable differences.

*Manuscript S*

Here there is little which differs from Constans's text as concerns the theme of love; there is a slight difference in the portrayal of Jocasta's character when she meets Oedipus. In O she was represented as marrying him principally for 'reasons of state';here she is shown as making more effort, whether out of politeness of from a desire to impress Oedipus it is difficult to tell:

En la sale l'en ont mené
Et a la dame comandé:
Cèle se peine del servir,
Del conreer et del blandir. (377-80)

One other small, though interesting, point is the use, in the 'épisode de la vieille à l'énigme', of the simile:

Et ert tant vert com[e] d'ierre fueille (2860)

which again goes to show that this expression was simply a commonplace.

*x family of manuscripts*

In this group, which Constans places in his second appendix, there is very slightly more emphasis on women; Juno appears, described as a high-born lady with qualities of courtliness:

Mès Juno, la dame de touz,
Bèle et bonne, cortoise et prouz (9427-8)

Argia and Deipyle are to some extent individualised and given a little more prominence in the final scenes where they are mourning their husbands, and finally, when the duke of Athens sends a messenger to the Argive women he singles out one of them to question, addressing her as 'bele amie', while she in reply calls him 'amis'.

*y family of manuscripts*

The variants shown in Constans's third appendix have what might almost be called a misogynist flavour. Jocasta appears as much more wily in her approach to

Oedipus.

Mais neporoec li fist sanlant
Que de lui prendre n'a talant.
Ele ert bien cointe, si fu sage,
Si sot bien covrir son corage. (725-8)

and, by a masterly stroke, she dissimulates her eagerness to marry him by posing in advance the objections which will be made:

La gent diront, se preng signour,
Que je n'ai gaires grant dolour. (733-4)

In the scene where Jocasta and Oedipus discover the truth about their marriage, Oedipus is shown as saying:

Oï l'ai dire, c'est vretés:
Feme a .j. art plus que malfés. (839-40)

Here, too, we have the episode of Lycurgus's daughter looking after the wounded Tydeus. This, like the episode of Hypsipyle, is not strictly a love story, although when Tydeus has gone:

La demoisèle s'en revait
Qui pour s'amour est en dehait. (2907-8)

Rather, it is an episode of 'courtliness', where Tydeus is shown as behaving like a perfect gentleman, and the girl shows him tenderness and affection. There is an unusual form of address when Tydeus, grateful for the kindness shown him, addresses the girl as 'suer honeree' (2863) and 'ma douce suer' (2872), and this might be compared with *Piramus et Tisbé* (765) where Piramus, again in a moment of affection, calls Thisbe 'suer chiere'.

These variants also give the rather charming description of Antigone and Parthenopeus holding hands (6249):

De la guerre ne lor sovient
Ne de batalle ne d'estour,
Ains parolent de lor amor;
Dient amer est dolce vie:
N'est pas cortois qui l'entreoblie;
Puis s'entrebaisent doucement. (6250-5)

Here the lament of Ismene is expanded. Although it departs further from Statius, there is still no Ovidian influence, and the additions, in lines 8359-92, point rather to the poet's invention, as for example when Ismene says that her dream of the previous night, when she was singing, was a presage of her present lamentation, and when she calls upon all girls who are in love to weep for her.

*Manuscript A*

The most remarkable variant in this manuscript is the sorrow and death of Antigone, and the passage where Salemandre tries to comfort her (13271-396).

This shows a more extended use of rhetorical procedures than appears in O. Lines 13281-94 have a development on the nature of love which is absent from the critical edition, and which appears to be a later interpolation, as does the whole episode. Salemandre's speech in lines 13311 ff. bears a fairly strong resemblance to the passage in *Narcisus* where Dané is trying to reason out her attitude to her love for Narcisus whom she has just met: Salemandre reminds Antigone of the obligations of her social position and advises her to be *sage* rather than *fole*:

Mais soiés sage, ço ert drois,
Car nee estes tote de rois;
Por çou vous devés mix garder
Et plus sagement demener.
Garde i prendront tote la gent;
Ore en estes au provement:
Tornera vos a grant honor,
Se par sens faites vo dolor.
On en dira mainte parole:
Ne devés pas estre si fole
C'on die que soiés dervee
Ne par amours si forsenee.
Vous estes de mout haut linage:
Esté avés et preus et sage;
De vos n'issi ainc legerie,
Et sorparler n'i convient mie. (13331-46)

*Manuscript P*

This is the manuscript which shows the greatest number of significant variants. Some of these are developments of indications already existing in the text which Constans has taken as the basis of his critical edition, such as Ismene's extremely long lament for Atys, lines 8041-210. Stylistically this is of far less value than the lament in O, and its only importance lies in an interesting comment on twelfth-century psychology, when Ismene says:

Ne vous voloie nis baisier;
Trop vous faisoie dure chiere: (8158-9)

Mais jel faisoie par cointise,
Por miex avoir ens me justise,
Si com pucelles font tous jours
Por miex destraindre leur amours.
Téls se coevre vers son ami,
Qui plus l'aime ke ne fait li;
Eles le font par cauverie.
Çou ke j'en fis tien a folie: (8165-72)

Secondly, this manuscript has additions which must be later inventions. These include a scene where we see Ismene and Atys together, lines 5455-74, a Hamlet-like scene at the end of the poem, when Argia and Deipyle, Jocasta and Antigone

all die (13257-64), and the episode of Céfas, king of Nubia, who comes to Thebes to help Etiocles and asks for the hand of Antigone (9075-10180).[1] Antigone, who is already the *amie* of Parthenopeus, tells her *ami* of the impending arrival of Céfas, and swears that nothing will alter her love for him. Parthenopeus kills Céfas in battle, and Antigone laments Céfas. The episode shows a mixture of courtliness, as in the way Antigone receives Céfas's messenger, of initiative taken by the girl, when Antigone writes to Parthenopeus and thus warns the Argives to be on the alert, and of Ovidian influence, which is very definite here. In lines 9255-9395 Antigone is shown as having been wounded by love's arrow, suffering the torments of love, restless, debating within herself as to the best course of action, and finally writing her letter to Parthenopeus.

It is generally held that the *Roman de Thèbes* preceded the *Roman d'Eneas* by a few years, perhaps a decade.[2] It has been suggested that the *Roman d'Eneas* was the first of the *romans antiques* to make extensive use of Ovidian vocabulary to describe the effects of love, thus setting a fashion. If, however, manuscript P of the *Roman de Thèbes* shows definite resemblances to Ovid's descriptions of love, does this mean that *Thèbes*, and not *Eneas*, was the first to set the trend? This is unlikely. Constans does not mention this in his introduction to the *Roman de Thèbes*, but the whole atmosphere of this episode related by manuscript P is out of keeping with that of the other manuscripts. Moreover, the similarities to the *Roman d'Eneas*, particularly the sending of the letter to Parthenopeus, are so striking as to be deliberate. It seems far more probable that manuscript P contains interpolations of a later date, the work of a poet who, seeing the success of the *Roman d'Eneas*, made a deliberate attempt to bring the *Roman de Thèbes* up to date and provide the more substantial love interest which audiences were beginning to demand.

NOTES

[1] *Le Roman de Thèbes*, edited by L. Constans, Vol. II, pp. 276-303.
[2] On the dates of the *romans antiques* see also above, p. 69.

# GLOSSARY OF WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN LOVE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE *ROMANS D'ANTIQUITÉ*

*Abbreviations and editions referred to*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | *Le Roman d'Alexandre* | Edited by E. C. Armstrong, D. L. Buffum, Bateman Edwards, L. F. H. Lowe (Princeton/Paris, 1937). |
| E | *Le Roman d'Eneas* | Edited by J.-J. Salverda de Grave (Paris, Vol. 1, 1964, Vol. 2, 1968, revised edition). |
| N | *Narcisus* | Edited by M. M. Pelan and N. C. W. Spence (Paris, 1964). |
| P | *Piramus et Tisbé* | Edited by C. de Boer (Paris, 1921). |
| Th | *Le Roman de Thèbes* | Edited by L. Constans (Paris, 1890). |
| Tr | *Le Roman de Troie* | Edited by L. Constans (Paris, 1904-1912). |

*Subdivisions of glossary*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Section | 1 | Expressions denoting falling in love and being in love. |
| Section | 2 | Falling out of love. |
| Section | 3 | Expressions of joy. |
| Section | 4 | Expressions of sorrow and anger. |
| Section | 5 | The effects of love. |
| Section | 6 | Sexual love. |
| Section | 7 | Homosexuality. |
| Section | 8 | Expressions which may be feudal in origin. |
| Section | 9 | Expressions generally accepted as relating to the vocabulary of courtly love. |
| Section | 10 | Expressions used pejoratively. |
| Section | 11 | Expressions relating to Amors. |
| Section | 12 | Expressions of particular importance to the argument of this study. |
| Section | 13 | Forms of address in direct speech. |
| Section | 14 | Expanded forms of address. |

*Abbreviations*

n noun
v verb
a adjective

*Note*

The references in this glossary group the words and expressions which occur in the love situations in the *romans d'Antiquité*. For the purposes of comparison with their use in these situations, some references have been given to the terms *dru, drue, drüerie* and *privé, privée* where they occur elsewhere in the works.

With the exception of section eleven, words used in the texts with reference to *Amors* have been grouped together with the same words used of the lover: e.g. *Amors navre* would be included under *navrer*, as it has been considered as the effect of sorrow or pain upon the lover. For this reason section eleven is considerably reduced.

As the feminine form of adjectives tends to occur more often in these situations than the masculine form, it has been put first, e.g. *forsenee, z.* In the case of a single occurrence of an adjective, whether masculine or feminine, that form has been given.

*1 Expressions denoting falling in love and being in love*

acquis N 14
P 436

aeschier E 9949
Tr 17601

amoros Th 9075

anamer E 6124

atorner Tr 20227-8
Que vers lui a tot atorné:
S'amor, son cuer e son pensé.

chier avoir Th 6221

conquerre N 965 (amor)

conquis Tr 17736

cuer Tr 4741, 13265, 20281 (son cuer metre en)

corage A IV, 488 (son corage metre)

enclin Tr 4743

enlacer N 169, 414

entente Tr 20216 (est tote en lui s'entente)

ententis Tr 18102

entremise N 13, 492 (d'amer)

espeir Tr 13563, 13686

esperiz Tr 14300 (En li est toz mis esperiz)

pris N 414

sorprendre E 9068
Tr 22132

sorprise, E 1371, 8238

sorpris Tr 478, 18029

toucher P 14

*2 Falling out of love*



*3 Expressions of joy*

*4 Expressions of sorrow and anger*

plorer (v) P 391, 439, 825
Th 1226, 6408, 6409
Tr 1859, 1876, 13276, 13298, 13415, 13442, 13523

ploros P 511
Tr 20316

poinz E 1250 (des poinz se fiert), 1961 (tort ses poinz)

rage A IV, 494
E 8207
N 163, 233, 382, 872, 956
P 705
see section 6

regreter A III, 4483
E 9920

sanglotir E 7928, 8076

souffrir E 1443, 7991, 8710, 10074
N 271, 356
P 151, 444
Tr 395, 1291, 13530, 13544, 15055, 15076, 17720, 20846

soing Tr 18013-4

sospir E 7965, 8340, 8465, 8467, 8926
N 176, 681
P 33, 36, 128, 146, 398
Tr 13326, 13440, 13604, 15035, 15060, 15152,

sospir Tr 17614, 18008, 20206

sospirer E 1204, 1231, 1857, 1973, 7923, 8244, 8455, 8554, 8934, 9232, 9263,
N 157, 322, 512, 677, 714
P 367, 439, 443, 499, 903
Tr 13276, 13428, 15007, 18016, 18130, 20781

torment N 303, 328, 734, 766, 780
P 130, 151, 431, 514
Tr 20304, 20326

tormenter (se) N 847, 986

tormentez Tr 20776

travail A III, 4485
E 1433
N 189
P 555
Tr 20781

travailler E 1232
N 741
P 139, 521
Tr 13598, 19432

traveillie N 305

triste P 150, 511
Tr 13528, 20306

tristece Tr 13262, 20300

tristor E 9314
P 145, 546

trouble Tr 20312

troublés P 209

## 5 *The effects of love*

alumer N 88

anaspri E 9062

anbelir E 7999

anflambee E 1795

ardor E 8087
N 694
P 119, 140, 155

ardre E 8419

ardre N 76, 314, 776, 856
P 142
Tr 17567

arson Tr 17566

argüer E 1203, 1958, 1968, 8935

aspreier Tr 18087

assalir E 1418

*6 Sexual love*

faire Th 6416
faire amor Tr 13302
gesir A III, 4843
E 1237, 3853, 4338, 4346, 7077
Tr 1643, 13531, 15028
joer E 8574
Th 3965, 6431, 9098
see sections 3, 7, 11
mangier biset E 8570
monter sur E 8593
parler a guichet E 8575
plaire E 4347
Et fist de li ce que lui plot
Th 6200
see section 3
presenter son cors A III, 3319
privée, privé A II, 3003-4, III, 617, III, 4437
N 291
also used between men:
A I, 1764
Th 1457
pucelage P 259
rage A III, 7268
E 813, 1262, 1270, 1302, 2058
see section 4
sambler E 1522
Il fait de li ce que li samble
talent A III, 3359
E 1342, 1538, 1607, 1853, 9146
N 290, 918
P 433
Th 8017
Tr 2026, 11939
see end of this section
tenir N 987
P 198
vie Tr 2027 (demener bele vie)
volenté A III, 4788 (faire), III, 7245 (faire)
E 1525 (consentir), 3311 (faire)
P 797 (acomplir)
Tr 17880 (avoir), 20338 (faire)

Certain of these expressions may be used ambiguously or in a non-sexual sense:
coveiter Th 3888, 3895
Tr 4335, 15151, 17881, 18472, 22022
desirer P 446, 865
Tr 15151
talent E 8522
Th 6411

*7 Homosexuality*

galt mener E 9139
gieus Tr 13185
see sections 3, 6, 11
Ganimede E 9135
mestier E 8569, 9168
poil de conin E 8595
Il n'aime pas poil de conin
sodomite E 8583, 8611

*8 Expressions which may be feudal in origin*

amender N 584
chevalier Tr 13541-3
Jos criasse mout grant merci,
Qu'a chevalier e a ami
Me receüssiez tot demeine
clamer E 8194-5
clamer (se) E 8657, 8980
covenant Tr 1637, 20751
dreit faire E 8196, 8698, 8981
see section 12, droit
droture offrir N 3, 585

droture offrir P 344
fief P 306
Tr 18006
homage Tr 13585
ligement Tr 1606
maisniee (usually of Amors)
E 7993, 8119
Tr 13699, 18022, 20733
otreier E 8564
N 483
otreier Th 8495
Tr 15172, 20273
seignor (indirect speech)
A III, 6429
Th 6410, 6411
Tr 1633, 14309
seignorie Tr 1436, 4704
tort N 254, 418
P 175, 176
Tr 20231

*9 Expressions generally accepted as relating to the vocabulary of courtly love*

atendant Tr 20711
atendre Tr 17721
comandement Tr 20729
comander Tr 15136, 15170
dame see sections 12, 13
depreianz Tr 14330
deservir E 4336
fin'amors see section 12
folie see section 12
loi P 420
Tr 20715
merci A III, 4781
E 8158
N 375, 469, 479, 792, 900
P 468
Th 8489-90
Tr 13689, 15149, 18092
merci crier Tr 13541, 13707, 15056, 17652
mesure E 8679
N 3-4
En toute riens est bien droture
C'on i esgart sens et mesure
N 251 (sans mesure)
Th 8459
Li reis l'amot et senz mesure
Tr 18027
Amer le fait outre mesure
Tr 18445-6
. . . cil li tout sen e mesure,
Qui ne garde lei ne dreiture,
obeïr Tr 4747
ofrir (s') Tr 13584
penitence Tr 20723
prier A III, 4781
N 388, 470, 471, 791, 925, 944
P 423
Th 8488
Tr 374, 1605, 4736, 13498, 13571, 13573, 15053, 15062, 15064, 18092
priere N 21, 510
P 37
Tr 15148
raison N 20-1
En est il bien raisons et drois
Que cele en oie sa proiiere
P 238
Garde Raison qui t'est contraire
P 615
Volantez oste raison
P 622-3
Sens ne raison nes puet retraire
De ce qu'il ont empris a faire.
Tr 13620-1
Nen est biens ne reisons ne dreiz
Que d'amer vos donge parole:
Tr 18458-9
Qui tres bien est d'amor espris,
Il n'a en sei sen ne reison.
Tr 20272-3
Contre reison e contre dreit,
Ai ma fine amor otreiee:
repentanz Tr 20312
repentir (se) E 9206, 9212, 9216,

repentir (se) E 10013, 10015, 10078
semblant (bel) A I, 176
E 1334, 1689, 4378, 8264, 8358 (dolz s.)
N 993
Tr 4350 (bon s.), 11722 (semblant d'amor)
sen Tr 17686 (de mon sen si forsenez)
Tr 18445-6
cil li tout sen e mesure,
Qui ne garde lei ne dreiture,
Tr 22117
Amors li a le sen toleit:
Tr 22130-1
Qu'Amors li fait le sen changier,
Qui home fait sort, cec e mu
sen see also droit, section 12, and mesure and raison, above
servir E 4337
Tr 1437, 4748, 13611, 13694
servise E 1706, 7995
Tr 18020
supploiier P 262, 454
umelier (s') A III, 7615
vilaine, vilains A IV, 74
E 9036
N 243, 570, 947
Tr 13416, 15062
vilainnement N 563
vilenie A III, 4775, III, 4782, III, 7616
P 427
Tr 11927, 22454

*10 Expressions used pejoratively*

aire N 949 (de mal aire)
avoltire A III, 4622
boisdie P 228
Tr 20231, 20674
boisier E 8283, 8303, 9909
Tr 565, 20784
borgeise Tr 10294, 22452
changier E 8284
corage muer E 1734
P 271
Tr 13432, 13443
see section 5
crueus E 1798
deceüs N 836
decevoir E 1682
N 166, 860
P 794
Tr 13632, 20787, 22132
decevoir (se) N 674
Tr 17661
deputaire N 566
desdaing N 552
desenor E 2002
desvergondee P 270
dur A IV, 74
dur E 1805
N 412, 529, 592, 949
Th 8460
engeigner Tr 2039
enuieus N 244
eschive Th 8462
esclandre Th 9082 (senz e.)
estable (poi) Tr 13863
fause, faus Tr 13631, 20249
fauser Tr 566
fauseté Tr 20674
fel E 1798
N 243, 566, 571, 787
Tr 20264
felon N 412, 529
Tr 20786
felonie E 1535, 1692, 9010
N 948
fiance mantie E 1991
fiere, fiers N 22, 689, 787
fierté E 9861
foiz mantie E 1997
folie see section 12
garce A II, 1500

### *11 Expressions relating to Amors*

*12 Expressions of particular importance to the argument of this study*

## *13 Forms of address in direct speech*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sire | A III, 4770, III, 4783, III, 7544m III, 7551, III, 7564, III, 7569 | sire | A IV, 905 (sire, rois des rois) |
| | E 1749, 1757, 4311 | | A IV, 198 (sire, drois empereres) |
| | N 461 | | Tr 22989 (Sire Paris, beaus douz amis) |
| | Tr 4721, 4755, 13619, 15093, 15114 | suer chiere | P 765 |
| | | vassaus | Tr 1313, 1591 |

*14 Expanded forms of address*

| | |
|---|---|
| E 9095 | Dolce amie, bele faiture |
| P 341-2 | Tisbé, douce bele faiture: |
| | Oevre demeine de Nature, |
| P 281-3 | . . . biaus! |
| | Rose tendre e lis nouviaus, |
| | Flor de tous autres damoisiaus |
| P 763 | Ma bele, douce, chiere amie, |
| Tr 1862 | Jason, sire, beaus amis genz, |
| Tr 18070-3 | La douce, la de bon aire, |
| | La resplendor de beauté fine, |
| | En cui est tote ma destine, |
| | Tote ma vie e ma santé, |
| Tr 18076-9 | Fine de bel semblant, |
| | Esperital, enluminee, |
| | Sor totes autres desiree, |
| | Sor totes cele que plus vaut, |
| Tr 20798-800 | Douce, fine, fresche flor, |
| | Sor les beles esperitaus |
| | E sor totes angeliaus, |
| Tr 20803-4 | Uevre de nature devine, |
| | Sor trestotes beautez reïne, |

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