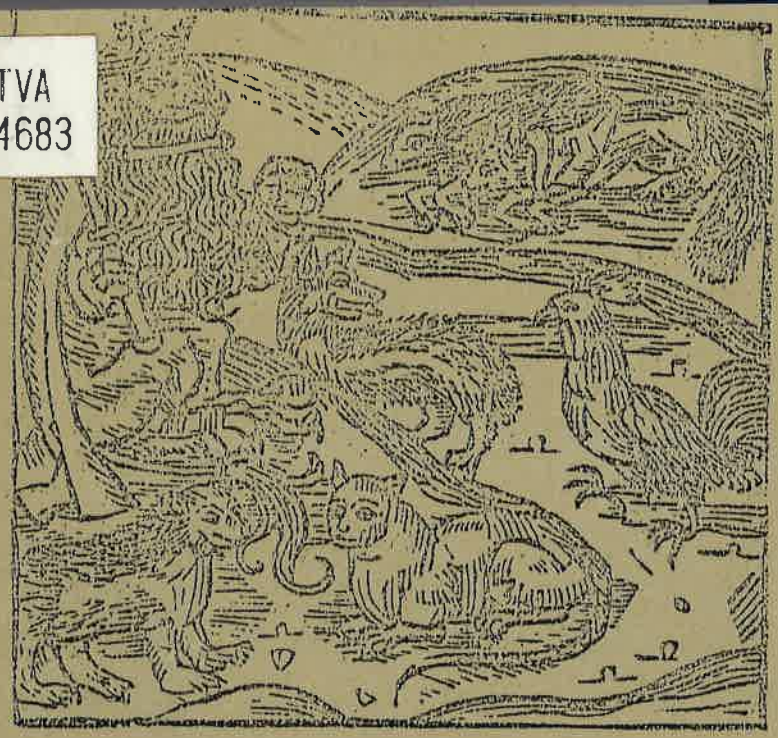

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

INTERNATIONAL

BEAST EPIC

COLLOQUIUM

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM HELD AT

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ON

THE BEAST EPIC, FABLE AND FABLIAU

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Kenneth Varty

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at the French Department of the University of Glasgow

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INTRODUCTION

The papers which follow were read at a colloquium held in Glasgow in September 1975. This was organised with the aim of bringing together scholars who are particularly interested in the medieval animal epic, animal literature, imagery and symbolism; in the bestiary, in fables; and in that closely related genre, the fabliau, the non-courtly, satirical short story. It was hoped that a new international society of scholars would grow out of this colloquium, and that hope now seems almost certain of being realized, for another colloquium centred on the medieval Beast Epic is planned for October 1977 in Amsterdam, and is being organized by the committee elected in Glasgow.

The printed text of the papers which follow is, for the most part, identical with that which was read at Glasgow, though a few elaborations, footnotes and bibliographies, omitted when delivered orally are now provided for the first time. In three cases, however, only summaries appear here: (Anne Ladd - "Talking about censure...", John MacQueen - "The Beast Epic in Scotland", and my own "New Light on the story of the fox's execution and funeral.". At the Colloquium, Anne Ladd had time to give her paper on the classification of the fabliaux only in summary form, as did W.O. Hassall his paper on Oxford University bestiaries; the full text is given here.

The order in which the papers are presented here differs from that in which they were read, as will be seen by comparing the table of contents with the programme presented on pages 132-134. All the papers on the Beast Epic have been placed first (pages 1-49). It had been my intention to place the two papers on animal imagery next, and the four on fabliaux last,

but Michael Bath's paper has been accidentally placed before Nico van den Boogaard's, so disturbing that order which is otherwise intact. Norman Blake's summarizing discussion was held before W.O. Hassall's and Michael Bath's papers were read, so it refers only to the Beast Epic and Fabliau papers.

Authors did not have the opportunity to check the stencilled typescript of their papers, so readers must blame me, not them, for any typing errors or misreadings of manuscripts. I crave the indulgence of both author and reader for any such faults; but time pressed - the last two manuscripts reached me only in August, and the work of preparing these proceedings has had to be done within the normal round of Departmental activity. Seventy-five copies have been made of this first edition. This is copy number Two.

2/75.

Kenneth Varty.

Kenneth Varty,

Christmas 1976.

'LUDITUR ILLUSOR': THE CARTOON WORLD OF THE YSENGRIMUS

Jill Mann

The Ysengrimus is one of the most difficult texts of the Latin middle ages. This is not only due to its length and the intricacy of its language, but also to the reader's difficulty in defining either its subject-matter or the author's standpoint in relation to it. We might take it to be a jeu d'esprit, a piece of frivolous entertainment, were it not full of images of macabre savagery, mutilation and death. Its fluent Latinity and confident use of rhetoric might suggest that it is a demonstration of clerical learning, were it not also packed full of proverbs and popular turns of speech. Its frequent references to monks, and intimate acquaintance with monastic life, might suggest that its author was a member of a religious order, were it not that the vast majority of these references are violent attacks on monastic laziness and greed. Perhaps the greatest paradox is that the importance of the poem was seen by Hans Robert Jauss[1] to lie in the fact that it is the first epically developed presentation of the enmity between the fox and the wolf - and yet the wolf finally meets his death, not through a plan of Reynard's, but at the hands, or rather the jaws, of the mighty sow Salaura - as if Roland, instead of suffering an epic betrayal by Ganelon, were to be murdered by a wicked aunt.

Jauss's book claimed to mark a new departure in studies of medieval animal poems by focussing on the nature of the texts themselves, rather than on the question of their origin. If, in what follows, I too concentrate on the nature of the text itself, this is as much a matter of prudence as of principle, since my knowledge of other medieval beast poetry

is not nearly as comprehensive as that of Jauss. But there is some principle involved, since the difficulties of the Ysengrimus, being difficulties of structure and tone, can only be resolved by means of an intensive scrutiny of the poem itself, and external information cannot even be placed in relation to the poem before this scrutiny has been made.

An excellent example of this, which will also act as a convenient introduction to the specific features of the poem that I wish to discuss, is Nivard's[2] use of the story of St. Pharaildis - or rather, his non-use of the story of St. Pharaildis. Pharaildis was one of the patron saints of Ghent, and Ernst Voigt, in the introduction to his monumental edition of the Ysengrimus, sees Nivard's reference to her as evidence for his close connection with the town, and the more so 'insofern ihr nicht, wie allen übrigen Heiligen, eine flüchtige Erwähnung zu Theil wird, vielmehr in einer formvollendeten, warmempfumdenen Elegie von 24 Versen (II 71-94) eine Ehrenrettung bereitet, ein Denkmal gesetzt wird' (p.xciv). In fact, at the end of his introduction, Voigt conjectures that Nivard may have been a canon and teacher at the church of St. Pharaildis, since the only MS that gives us his name - a late one - also refers to him as 'magister' (pp.cxix-cxx).

Let us look at the text to see how it squares with Voigt's remarks. Ysengrimus is trapped by his tail in frozen ice, and an old peasant woman is about to finish him off with an axe. She calls on a long list of saints to help her - most of them non-existent ones such as Excelsis, Osanna, and Alleluia. By way of climax to this list, we find the 'virgin Pharaildis' and are given the following history of her.

Hac famosus erat felixque fuisset Herodes
  Prole, sed infelix hanc quoque lesit amor,
Hec virgo thalamos Baptiste solius ardens
  Vouerat hoc dempto nullius esse uiri,
Offensus genitor comperto prolis amore
  Insontem sanctum decapitauit atrox;
Postulat afferri uirgo sibi tristis, et affert
  Regius in disco timpora trunca cliens,
Mollibus allatum stringens caput illa lacertis
  Perfundit lacrimis osculaque addere auet,
Oscula captantem caput aufugit atque resufflat,
  Illa per impluuium turbine flantis abit.
Ex illo nimium memor ira Iohannis eandem
  Per vacuum celi flabilis urget iter,

Mortuus infestat miseram nec vivus amarat,
  Non tamen hanc penitus fata perisse sinunt:
Lenit honor luctum, minuit reverentia penam,
  Pars hominum meste tertia servit here,
Quercubus et corilis a noctis parte secunda
  Usque nigri ad galli carmina prima sedet;
Nunc ea nomen habet Pharaildis, Herodias ante,
  Saltria nec subiens nec subeunda pari.
(II 73-94)

Herod was renowned for this daughter - and would have been blessed in her, but that she too came to grief through cursed love. This girl, yearning for the bed of the Baptist alone, had vowed to be no man's if he were denied to her. Her cruel father, angered by the discovery of his daughter's love, decapitated the innocent saint. The grief-stricken girl asked to have his severed head brought to her; the king's servant brings it, on a dish, and when it was brought, she clasps it in her soft arms, sprinkles it with tears, and is eager to implant kisses on it. As she pants for its kisses, the head backs away, and hisses at her, and through the skylight, in the eddy of breath, she disappears. Since then, John's unforgetful, hissing anger drives her on an empty journey through the heavens; he didn't love the wretched woman when he was alive, and he plagues her when he's dead. Yet the fates don't let her perish completely; honour softens her grief, and reverence lessens her punishment. A third portion of men serve this melancholy lady, and from the second part of the night until the first cries of the black cock, she perches on oaks and hazel-trees. Now her name is Pharaildis, whereas before it was Herodias,[3] a dancer neither preceded nor followed by anyone to equal her.

What are we to make of this extraordinary story? Its origin is partly of course the biblical story of Herodias[4] (although actions properly belonging to her daughter are here attributed to her), with the addition of medieval traditions about Herodias' nightly excursions, and lordship over a third of mankind.[5] Yet even if we accept that the figure of Herodias presented here is a creation of medieval legend rather than biblical history, the narrative still raises intriguing questions. Where does Nivard derive the notion that Herodias was in love with John? Why does he include the strange picture of the blowing head?[6] And most important of all, what is the explanaion for the equation of Herodias and Pharaildis? Voigt's commentary refers us to Jacob Grimm's Deutsche Mythologie for an explanation, but if we follow up his reference, we find that the only evidence there given for a medieval link between Herodias and Pharaildis is the Ysengrimus itself.[7] The connection may have been formed on the basis of the similarity between the name Pharaildis and

the name 'Verelde' (a Dutch form of 'Frau Hilde') - since 'Hildr' is a name found in lists of valkyries, the Milky Way was in the Netherlands called 'Vroneldenstraat' (or 'Frau Hilde's street'), and the activities of a valkyrie would be similar to those of the witch-like Herodias.[8] If this is indeed how the connection was formed, we may note that it rests on the same kind of linguistic confusion that we have in the creation of the saints Osanna, Excelsis, etc. But there is no external evidence that anyone made this connection except Nivard. St. Pharaildis was in fact a perfectly respectable eighth-century virgin, whose greatest indiscretion was to absent herself from home every night in order to pray at a monastery, for which she was beaten every day by her frustrated husband, who not unnaturally thought she was bestowing elsewhere the favours she denied to him.[9] Far from providing her with 'an apologue and a memorial', Nivard has foisted on to her an identification with one of the most scandalous figures of the New Testament, and given her an after-life as a witch - a strange way to show reverence for one's local saint.

It is not part of my argument to deny that the author of the Ysengrimus had anything to do with the church of St. Pharaildis (one is as likely to lampoon one's household gods as to offer incense to them), but rather to emphasise that critical judgement must precede attempts to localise the poem. If we are to give Pharaildis a role in determining the origins of the Ysengrimus, we must do so in the full consciousness that she is as suspect a character as the other members of the peasant woman's list (as van Mierlo long ago claimed)[10], and that the elaboration of her pseudo-history is determined, not by the external situation in which the author finds himself, but by the dominant images and motifs of his poem.

For we must ask; why does the pseudo-history take this particular form? Why include the detail of the blowing head? or the imaginative addition of Herodias being blown into the air? When we put the question in this way, we realise immediately that the story links itself with a whole series of similar motifs elsewhere in the poem - motifs which one might somewhat flippantly call the decapitation/hissing/

blown head complex.

For example: in Book IV, we are told how the wolf tries to gate-crash the company of eight other animals, including Reynard, who are travelling together on pilgrimage. They offer him something to eat, and then affect to discover that they have nothing suitable except a store of wolf-heads. Needless to say, there is only one wolf's-head, stolen from the gable of a house (where it had been nailed up to fend off evil spirits), which Reynard keeps on rejecting as not good enough, and which is then taken back by Joseph the sheep to the supposed larder in the next room, and disguised as another one. Reynard finally asks Joseph to bring a head which Gerard the goose had accidentally ripped off a wolf asleep in some grass which he was picking his way through it; Gerard was so excited by this, says Joseph, that he blew off its ears and its hair, and puffed it all the way home. The wolf's blood runs cold at this:

Tunc primum patuit fortunam nolle iocari,
  Haut umquam similem pertulit ante metum.
'Quis me', inquit, 'Satanas lupicidas traxit ad istos?
  Heu michi, quo tardit fune ligata dies?
Quid cornuta acies! Gerardus et iste refertur -
  Porro parum infaustos est iugulasse lupos,
Quin - efflasse pilos auresque rotasseque flando
  Huc caput! hoc sensu sospite ferre queam?'
Anser ad hec: 'hoc ergo novum, Ysengrime, recenses?
  Non michi res equidem contigit ista semel,
Si uellem, capita octo lupis maioribus illo
  Efflarem atque ipsi, domne heremita, tibi!
Mene fuisse putas materno semper in ovo?'
  Et dabat ingentem gutture flante sonum.
Audito ter clamat 'atat' lupus atque repente
  Sensibus amissis in sua terga cadit,
Efflatumque diu caput amisisse putavit
  Atque illud Geticas transiluisse nives.
(IV 315-32)

Then for the first time it was obvious that Fortune wasn't playing games; never before had he experienced so much fear. 'What devil' he says 'brought me to these lupicides? Oh, misery, is the day tied by rope, that it drags so slowly? Why this horned army? [referring to sheep, goat, etc.] This Gerard - for whom it's not enough to have murdered unfortunate wolves - is said to have blown off his hair and his ears and to have rolled his head here! Can I endure this without losing my senses?' The goose replied: 'Do you reckon this is something new, Ysengrimus? Truly, this has happened more than once to me. If I wanted, I could blow eight heads from wolves bigger than him - and yours too, sir hermit! Do you think I haven't come out of my mother's egg yet?' and he emitted an enormous noise from his hissing throat. When he hears it, the

wolf cries 'Aagh!' three times, and, losing his senses, falls on his back; for a long time he thought his head had been blown off and he had lost it, and that it had bounced away over the Romanian snows.

The second episode where this complex of motifs occurs takes place during Ysengrimus' brief stay in the monastery of Blandigny. The night office is being sung, and Ysengrimus is signalled to take his part. Not understanding what he is to do, Ysengrimus asks what is meant, and immediately he is hissed at to keep quiet, since he is breaking the rule of silence. The wolf takes the hissing as a signal for dinner-time, and declares his relief at its arrival, at some length. This evokes a positive storm of hisses:

Fratris ad hanc vocem fit perturbatio grandis,
  Undique tunc naso flatur et ore simul,
Flatibus innumeris edes procul icta reflabat,
  Ut uolucrum noctis milia terna sibi;
Tunc, quo more molens accitur, cuius in aurem
  Edita non ueniunt uerba tonante mola,
Sibila dante choro procul usque resibilat echo,
  Atria quam muro circueunte patent,
Stridula sic urgente notho canneta queruntur;
  Iam metuit uulpis prodier arte lupus,
Estimat in templo Gerardos flare trecentos
  Atque efflata suo claustra mouenda loco,
Seque pati stando tot flatus posse perhorret,
  Flante uno pridem se cecidisse memor.
Flatibus attacte subitis obiere lucerne,
  Fit pauor, et quidam celitus acta putant,
Te deum rapitur, clanga ilico bombilat ingens,
  Et maior tonitrus altera more molit;...
Tunc sparsim fratres per candelabra, per alta
  Scamna ruunt, libros, uasa crucesque rotant,
(Ast etate rudes septem latuere tapetis,
  Tres aulea quatuor, scriniaque octo tegunt)
Post aram sub scamna ruunt, suo pulpita fusi,
  Hic birrum labiis imprimit, ille manum,
Viscera fissuro non imperat ille cachinno,
  Terque cachinnantur quinque quaterque novem.
(V 839-56, 861-68)

At this speech from the brother there is a huge commotion, and there's hissing from nose and mouth together on all sides. The room, penetrated to its corners by countless hisses, gave them back again, like three thousand night-birds calling to each other. Then - in the same way that one shouts to a miller whose ear isn't reached by the words uttered, because of the thundering mill - as the crowd gives out its hissing, the echo hissed back again, as far as the buildings extend within their encircling wall, just as the hissing reeds whistle as the wind shakes them. Now the wolf is afraid that he has been betrayed by the fox's stratagem; he thinks that three hundred Gerards are hissing away in the church, and that the cloisters are to be blown from the spot - and he

despairs of being able to endure so many hisses and remain on his feet, when he remembers that he previously succumbed to a single one. The lamps, assailed by the sudden gusts, went out; terror ensues, and some think that it is an act of heaven. The great 'Te deum' bell is seized, and instantly booms out, and the other, even bigger one sets off as well, just like thunder...[11] Then the monks rush here and there, through the candelabra and the high benches, and set holy vessels and crosses rolling (while seven, young in years, hide behind the tapestries, twelve take refuge under the carpets, and eight in the chests). They rush under the benches behind the altar, they scatter under the pulpit. One presses his robe to his mouth, another his hand, a third fails to control the laughter that threatens to split his belly, and fifty-one of them burst out laughing.

At the end of this episode, Ysengrimus is beaten with a series of bizarre objects that the monks snatch up as makeshift weapons, and these objects include a horse's head (V 970).

What is the significance of this set of motifs? One would hardly wish to suggest that it lies in the author's deep-seated Freudian fear that his own head will be blown off (an intellectual's version of fears of impotency?). They are motifs which obviously have much in common with the kind of grotesque fantasy characteristic of folk- and fairy-tales: 'I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your house in'.[12] This is not to return to the claim made by an older generation of scholars that such tales constitute the origin of poems like the Ysengrimus; the tales collected by modern folklorists may well be the progeny rather than the parents of medieval beast-epic, as Lucien Foulet pointed out in connection with the Roman de Renard.[13] I mention folk-tales, rather, in an attempt to characterise some aspects of the world in which the Ysengrimus takes place - and it is a characterisation which for us could perhaps be as well effected by a comparison with the animal cartoon. If I then use the anachronistic concept of the cartoon in a discussion of the Ysengrimus, it is because it is less easy to confuse a stylistic description with a claim for historical descent than it is in the case of the folk-tale. My primary aim in doing so is to emphasise sharply certain features which strike one as extraordinary in a twelfth-century Latin beast-epic, and to discuss the poetic role of two of them in particular.

The first of these striking features is the extraordinary role and nature of the body in the poem. The hissing/decapitation theme raises doubts both about the substantiality, the fixity, of the body (since it can be puffed away), and at the same time gives it a sort of autonomy (since a decapitated head can exact vengeance). The autonomy of the body in the poem is very striking, particularly in connection with Ysengrimus (we have, in contrast, very little physical description of Reynard). The aspect of the wolf's body of which we are particularly conscious is his jaws; they are so frequently mentioned that they seem to have a separate existence. They are a gaping doorway, which Reynard is urged to enter while it stands open, as if Ysengrimus had no control over its opening, and as if it wasn't opening and closing all the time Ysengrimus is talking (I 83-4). When the wolf clashes his jaws together, they resound like one weaver's comb banging against another (VI 8), or like a sheet of metal beaten on an anvil (I 80); Reynard jokingly interprets the noise as that of tree-felling (VI 10ff.). The teeth inside cut through bones like a knife through butter (II 394); they are described as pick-axes (I 81), or as scythes which the wolf would do better to give away to peasants for mowing fields (II 405-6). They are so huge that when Reynard tosses Ysengrimus a plate with eight pies on it, and Ysengrimus swallows the lot, plate and all, in one gulp, without realising what he's done, Reynard ironically advises him to poke his tongue round in the spaces between his teeth, since he will probably find the pies buried in a molar cavity.

The exaggeration, the grotesquerie, in these descriptions, the way that Ysengrimus' teeth are constantly compared with objects far too large for a normal mouth, throws on to his jaws an emphasis that seems to endow them with a semi-autonomous existence. The episode with the severed wolf's-head also emphasises this semi-autonomy, since the head that causes Ysengrimus such fear is distinguished by having <u>its jaws propped open with a stick</u>:

> Laxat et impacto distentam pungile buccam,
> Horrifico rictu labra reducta patent.
> (IV 311-12)

He [Joseph the sheep] stretches its yawning cheeks by thrusting in a stick; its drawn-back lips gape with a horrible baring of teeth.

It is as if Ysengrimus is confronted by himself; the <u>horrificus rictus</u> which terrifies others is turned back on its owner.

The grotesque autonomy given to the body here is also visible in its re-vivificatory powers. In the ordinary world of reality, flaying an animal means its death; in the <u>Ysengrimus</u>, the wolf is shorn of his skin in Book III, goes away and grows a new one - rather as, in a cartoon world, the cat who is the villain may be squashed flat by a steam roller at one moment and completely restored to three dimensions at the next. Another 'cartoon' feature of the body is the pretence that swallowing is a process implying neither mastication nor digestion - that is, that things can be swallowed whole. This 'cartoon' feature can of course also occur in a context as respectable as the Bible, in the story of Jonah and the whale - a story of which the wolf makes use when inviting the fox to step into his stomach (I 35). But it is its grotesque and farcical aspect which is normally exploited in the poem; for example, in Ysengrimus' second attempt on the sheep Joseph, the sheep begs the wolf to brace himself against a post, and open wide his jaws, so that the sheep can charge inside and be swallowed at one go:

> Si me dumtaxat totum consumere posses!....
> Rumor ubique refert, quam sis Bernardus hiandi,
> Nunc pareuit, utrum noris hiare bene.
> Integer ingenti ferar in tua uiscera saltu,
> Buccellam talem fors tibi nulla dedit,
> Nil formido nisi in stomachos discurrere plures,
> Hiscere si nosti, deprecor hisce semel!
> Si bene laxaris buccam michi, funditus intro,
> Hoc tibi consilium proderit atque michi,
> Tunc non sollicitabor, ubi superantia condam,
> Cancellosque uteri quosque replebo tui!'
> (VI 79, 89-98)

If only you can eat me whole!... Rumour everywhere relates that you're a very Bernard for gaping jaws - now it will be clear whether you know how to open wide. With one mighty leap I'll be carried whole into your entrails; good luck has never brought you such a mouthful before. I fear nothing so much as ending up in lots of different stomachs; if you know how to open wide, I beg you to open up this once! If you stretch your cheeks apart properly for me, I'll go right in. This plan will benefit both you and me - I won't be worried about where I'll be made into left-overs, and your

stomach will be filled to its very limits!
We are dealing here, of course, with a constantly recurring feature of popular story - which for us has become children's story, Pinocchio or Peter and the Wolf. The bodily ability to revive and renew itself is also a feature of childish and popular belief, as the Ysengrimus itself makes clear at the moment when the old peasant woman is threatening the wolf with the axe.

Porro cohesurum nodo uiuace cadauer
Cogitat et prisco posse uigore frui;
Utque puer ruptum prudens intermeat anguem,
Ne coeant partes atque animentur itam,
Sic reducem uitam coituris demere truncis
Trino intercursu prouida uersat anus.
(II 53-8)

But she thinks the corpse will join together in a living knot, and be able to enjoy its former vigour. And so, as a clever child stands in between the halves of a split snake in case the parts might join together and come to life again, so this far-sighted granny thinks to hold off the returning life from the limbs by stepping in between them three times.

It is for this reason, one must suppose, that Ysengrimus can only be allowed to die by being eaten alive by a whole herd of pigs - instead of the transition from a live body to a dead body, death can only be represented by the transition from a body to no body at all.

What this analysis leads to is the consciousness of yet another paradox of the Ysengrimus; we can understand why Nivardus should wish to utilise the fantasy of the body's powers of renewal for the cyclical repetition of the fox's encounters with the wolf - but why should he then wish to destroy this cyclical repetition by making the body subject to progressive mutilation and death? A fantasy world of bodily autonomy and bodily integrity appears to give way to a real world, where the body is subject to disintegration and absorption into something other than itself.

The substitution of a macabre world of reality for a fantasy world of survival would fit Jauss's view of the poem's gloomy conception of Fortune as a goddess in whom malice far outweighs beneficence. Yet the peculiar tone and character of the Ysengrimus is created by its combination of the macabre and the farcical; if the comedy is black, it is

nevertheless comedy. And for a large part of the poem, the second 'cartoon' aspect which I wish to discuss ensures our sense of the suspension of reality in favour of fantasy. This is the theme of luditur illusor, or the raptor raptus (both phrases are taken from the poem; I 69 and VI 539-40). The normal relationships of predator and victim are here completely inverted; instead of dog biting man, man bites dog. In the course of the poem's action, the sheep batters the wolf to pulp, and the cock makes a complete fool of the fox.

Such an inversion of natual power-relationships is not, of course, unique to the Ysengrimus; in Henryson's Taill of the Wolf and the Wedder, for example, we have the sheep who dons a dog's skin and chases the wolf - but the skin falls off in the chase, the wolf looks back, and reality re-asserts itself. In Henryson, power-relationships are ultimately irreversible; wolf will always eat sheep. The Ysengrimus, in contrast, develops to epic proportions the 'cartoon' structure in which the bird or the mouse will always outwit the cat. (In fact, the inversion of the cat-and-mouse motif is provided in the simile from which the phrase luditur illusor is taken.(This principle, with only one clear exception, to which I shall return in a moment, determines all of the struggles for power in the Ysengrimus, but its determining role has never, to my knowledge, been noticed.[15] Reynard's outwitting by the cock, for example, has been explained either by reference to the epic analogy of Aeneas' one downfall[16] (though the epic 'hero' is more properly Ysengrimus in this poem), or as illustrative of Nivard's desire to show the need to prefer material utility to abstract values (in this case, the pride of noble birth)[17] - though this explanation does not show why Reynard, rather than any of the other animals, should be saddled with the failure that demonstrates this principle. And although Nivard presents the failure to cling to material rewards as the content of Reynard's wrong decision, as constituting and establishing its foolishness -

Deposuit gallum pro nobilitate tuenda,
Fastus et utilitas non simul esse ferunt.
(V 7-8)

He put down the cock to defend his high birth; pride and profit are uneasy bedfellows.

- he presents as the cause of this decision nothing other than the arbitrary powers of chance: you can't win them all.

> Insipiens quandoque rapit sapientis, itemque
> Preuentus sapiens insipientis opus,
> Vix aliquis semper sapienter, et omnia nullus
> Quamlibet insipiens insipienter agit;
> Reinardus per multa sagax cessauit in uno,
> Utile dum laxo dente reliquit onus...
> (V 1-6)

Sometimes a fool performs the action of a clever man, and in the same way, a clever man, when outwitted, acts the part of a fool. Hardly anyone acts shrewdly all the time, and no-one, even if he's a fool, does everything foolishly. Reynard, acute in so many matters, lapsed in one, when with slackened jaw he let go of his profitable burden...

To the list of examples of inverted victim-predator relationships can be added the episodes of stork and horse, and horse and wolf. The stork and horse episode seems to be a variant of the story of the words of the cock (or fox) to the horse in the stable: 'Let's take care, brother, lest we step on each other.'[18] In the usual versions of the story, however, there is either no response from the horse - the cock's suggestion that both are equally dangerous to each other being obviously ridiculous - or else the horse points out its ridiculousness. In the Ysengrimus, however, the stork, by clapping its wings loudly in the waters of the marsh where both animals are standing, succeeds in terrifying the horse, who gallops off on to dry land. He is there met by the skinless wolf, who decides that his appearance is nicely timed to provide a substitute for the lost hide. But just as the inversion of normal power-relationships meant that the stork triumphed over the horse, so they also mean that the horse will triumph over the wolf, and all that Ysengrimus gains from the encounter is a horse-shoe implanted firmly in his forehead. The wolf, the predator par excellence, becomes in this poem the most victimised of all victims. It is because the episodes of the poem are structured on the principle of victim-predator relationships, rather than, say, the contrast between Ysengrimus' blind greed and Reynard's more calculating selfishness, or between strength and cunning, that we find episodes where one appears without the other (fox and cock, wolf in monastery, wolf and horse, wolf and sow), or where neither of them appears at all (stork and horse).

The one apparent exception to this principle is actually a

confirmation of it; that is, the bacon-sharing episode at the beginning of the poem. Reynard is in Ysengrimus' power, and only escapes by offering to procure for him a side of bacon carried by a passing peasant. Reynard tricks the peasant into dropping the bacon, it is carried off by the wolf and entirely consumed by him before Reynard arrives at the agreed rendezvous. Although this episode is the first to be related in the poem, it is chronologically in the middle of the whole action covered by the narrative; the Ysengrimus copies or parodies epic procedure by plunging in medias res, and including a later recapitulation of antecedent events. Jauss comments with justice that Nivard chooses to begin with the bacon-sharing episode because it constitutes Ysengrimus' single success, the high point from which the rest of the action forms a long decline until the moment of his death. But the author also chooses to begin with this episode because it is the only one that presents us with the fox and the wolf in their 'normal' relationship of victim and predator - the normal relationship which everywhere else in the poem gives way to abnormality. Whereas in Henryson, the fantasy situation of sheep-chasing-wolf breaks down in favour of the realities of wolf-eating-sheep, in the Ysengrimus, the realities of normal power relationships are consistently and thoroughly inverted. This is not to say that the realities of power relationships are negated; they repose mainly in the person of the one powerful animal who is never tricked, the lion. He, however, is exempted from the rules of this upside-down world by being almost entirely passive in the poem; since he never initiates any predatory action, he is never victimised. The fantasy element of the Ysengrimus does not consist in a claim that the realities of power and brute force do not exist, but in the fact that they temporarily work in reverse direction.

If we grasp the upside-down nature of the predator-victim relationship in the Ysengrimus, we shall be better equipped not only to understand the structure of individual episodes, but also, for example, to approach the ending of the poem, the apparently unconnected lament by the sow Salaura on the present state of the world. She describes a world whose inversion heralds its end - winter becomes summer, summer winter, floods turn land to sea and sea to land, and so on. This

series of general disasters culminates in the supreme disaster of the Second Crusade, undertaken under the patronage of Pope Eugenius III, who was a Cistercian monk. Thus Salaura twice utters the cry

Regna duo monachus subruit unus iners. (VII 468 and 672)
One wretched monk has overthrown two kingdoms.

At the very moment when one inverted world reaches its climax with the murder of the murdering wolf-monk, there is reflected to us the image of another inverted world which is the creation of a monk-wolf. Yet the ravages of this wolf are not 'normal' predatory behaviour, since the normal role of pope or priest is that of a shepherd - the image with which Reynard ironically defends the pope's greed for money. The pope, he claims, is only concerned for his flock, who are otherwise to be damned for the terrible sin of coin-cutting:

Scit bonus hoc pastor stolidasque in deuia labi
Et per opaca trahi compita meret oues,
Saluificare animas omnes uult papa fidelis...
(VII 685-7)

The good shepherd knows this/ that Satan tortures coin-cutters/ and grieves that his stupid sheep wander astray and up darkened paths. The faithful pope wants to save every soul...

- so the pope amasses all the coins to himself, to prevent the people from splitting in two the image of the cross imprinted on them. Once the relationship between the wolf-monk Ysengrimus and the monk-wolf Eugenius has been grasped, it is easy to see why Reynard ends his mock-defence - and the poem - with the wish that his Uncle Ysengrimus were still alive to defend the pope from the accusations made against him by Salaura (VII 705-8).

Greedy clerics are quite frequently presented as predatory wolves in twelfth century Latin satire. What makes the Ysengrimus so hard to cope with at first is that Nivard assumes this metaphor as a basis for his poem, and then inverts it. The wolf in sheep's clothing is an image with which we are all familiar from the Bible. But the Ysengrimus gives us, as it were, a sheep in wolf's clothing - which is more or less what Ysengrimus pretends to be when trying to

ingratiate himself with the company of animal-pilgrims:

Sum lupus aspectu, mens est mansuetior agno,
Voce lupum testor, sed probitate nego...
(IV 153-4)

I am a wolf in appearance, but my spirit is gentler than a lamb. By the evidence of my voice I am a wolf, but I give the lie to the evidence by my virtue.

This is, of course, a pretence, but if it cannot be said that Ysengrimus is a sheep, he is at least a wolf who is mercilessly beaten and gored every time he encounters one of these supposedly gentle animals.

So far as I know, attention has never been properly focussed on the fact that the central episode of the poem, the flaying of Ysengrimus so that his skin can be used as a covering for the sick lion, is fundamentally linked with this image of the cleric who is wolfish in his greed. The best way for us to approach the scene is through its obverse, the 'straight' use of the topos of the predator-cleric, which actually occurs later in the poem. Reynard, having let go of the cock Sprotinus, indulges in lengthy curses on his teeth - why didn't they hold on to what they had? Why should he have put his own honour before profit? After all, money is the new nobility. There is no shame but poverty. The pope is of course a supreme exponent of this principle, but he is surpassed by yet another ecclesiastic of monastic origins, Anselm, bishop of Tournai. (Ghent - assuming that to be the poet's home - was in the diocese of Tournai.)

Tornacum Romam studio uirtutis in isto
Transilit, Anselmo presule fausta polis;
Interius uiuo Tornacus uellera pastor
Decutit ipse ouibus, decutit ipse capris.
O utinam foret ille meis ex dentibus unus!
Mordendi legem fratribus ille daret;
Ecclesias ueluti leo septa famelicus ambit,
Nil linquens nisi quod non reperire ualet,
Dona, queat nequeat, qui iusso parcius offert,
Strictus obeditu mystica sacra tacet.
Quot gerit hic dentes, quasi tot predonibus horrens,
Vellera nequaquam rapta recresse sinit,
Preuolat et raperet, si posset, plura repurtis -
Proh dolor! inuentis tollere plura nequit;
Hunc non posse modum rapiendi uertere plangit,
Hoc solum prede certus inesse nefas.
(V 109-24)

In the pursuit of this virtue, Rome is outstripped by Tournai - a city blessed with bishop Anselm. The shepherd of Tournai

cuts off the fleeces from sheep and goats alike down to the living flesh. If only he were one of my teeth! He'd give his brothers a lesson in biting. He prowls around the churches as a hungry lion does the sheepfold, leaving nothing unless what he can't find. Whoever offers him less than he is told to (whether it's within his power or not), is compelled on his obedience to leave off reciting the holy mysteries. It's as if he bristles with as many robbers as he has teeth, nor does he allow the shorn fleece to grow again; he gets there first, and would take, if he could, more than he finds - alas! that he can't take more than he finds! He is sorry that he can't alter the limit to taking, and is sure that this is the only thing wrong with plunder.

The similarities between this passage, and the description of Ysengrimus being skinned alive, are not coincidental. Besides the idea of a fleecing which goes down to the living flesh, the idea of 'taking more than one finds' recurs in the court-episode, where Reynard hurls himself to his knees as the bear is about to begin the flaying, begging him with affected sobs,

> Amplius invento ne rapuisse feras!
> Non plus ille quidem, quam repperit, abstulit usquam..
> (III 932-3)

Don't take more than you find! He himself never took more than he found.

Moreover, when Bruno has completed his task, he is congratulated by all as an acolyte who knows how to help a bishop unrobe - except by the sheep, who objects (since there is still a piece of skin hanging between Ysengrimus' ears) that Bruno hasn't taken off the mitre; he knew the wolf was a monk, but he doesn't see why the king should make him a bishop as well - why should wolves have all the luck? The metaphor of the cleric who fleeces his sheep is stood on its head to become the literal flaying of the wolf, at the sheep's instigation (for it is the sheep and goat who are attacked at court by Ysengrimus and then persuade the king to send for Reynard) - a literal flaying which is then described, metaphorically, in terms of the unrobing of a bishop. The inversion of the proper state of affairs, which is encapsulated in the image of shepherd-turned-wolf, is itself inverted in the fantasy 'cartoon' world where the wolf's victims wreak vengeance on him. It is this, I think, that gives impetus to the progressive mutilation and final death of Ysengrimus, despite the cartoon world of cyclical and eternal trickery in which it is set; it is a fantasy destruction of the destroyers, which keeps a toehold in the cartoon world, despite

its savagery, because of its outrageous improbability.

NOTES

1. Studien zur Mittelalterlichen Tierdichtung (Tübingen 1969) Chapter 2.C.
2. The only evidence for the author's name is a fourteenth-century florilegium which offers excerpts from the poem under the title 'magister Nivardus de Ysengrino et Reinardo' (Ysengrimus, ed. E. Voigt, Halle a.S. 1884; repr. Hildesheim and New York 1974, p.xi). The poem itself was dated c.1148 by Voigt (ibid. p.cxx), and 1149 by J. van Mierlo (Het Vroegste Dierenepos in de Letterkunde der Nederlanden, Antwerp etc. 1943, p.118).
3. All quotations of the poem are taken from Voigt's edition. The translations are my own. I have a complete translation of the poem which I hope will be published shortly.
   In translating 'per impluuium' (l.84) as 'through the skylight', I have given a rendering based on the assumption that impluuium has its normal meaning: 'a skylight, the opening in the roof of the atrium through which the smoke issued, so called because it admitted the rain' (the definition of Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary). Grimm's suggestion that the word here has the sense of 'rain-storm', found in only one other medieval source, is, as Voigt says in his note, untenable.
4. Matt.14:3-11; Mark 6:17-28.
5. The major early testimonies for these beliefs about Herodias are to be found in the writings of Rather of Verona (c.890-974) and Burchard of Worms (965-1025). They are quoted, along with other references, in Jacob Grimm's Deutsche Mythologie (4th edn., 3 vols., Berlin 1875-8; translated as Teutonic Mythology by J.S. Stallybrass, 4 vols., New York 1966, originally published 1883-8) I 235 ff., Stallybrass I 283 ff.. According

to van Mierlo (Het Vroegste Dierenepos p.92 n.1), there are further references to be found in J.H. Bormans, Notae in Reinardum vulpem ex editione F.I. Mone, Ghent 1836, but I have not been able to see this book. See also H. Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens vol.VII (Berlin and Leipzig 1935-6), s.vv. Herodias and Pharaildis.

6. Parallels for this aspect of the story are extremely hard to find. Grimm includes a reference to Aelfric's homily on the Decollation of St. John the Baptist: 'Sume gedwolmenn cwaedon þaet þaet heafod sceolde ablawán daes cyninges wíf Herodiaden, de he fore acweald waes, swa þaet heo ferde mid windum geond ealle woruld; ac hí dwelodon mid þaere segene, fordan de heo beofode hire líf od ende aefter Iohannes slege.' (The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church; The First Part containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Aelfric, ed. B. Thorpe, vol. I, London 1844, p.486; cited Grimm Deutsche Mythologie[4] I p.236, Stallybrass I p.284). The story is also recorded in the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine (I am grateful to Dr. L. Peeters for this reference): 'Quidam enim dicunt, quod Herodias in exsilium damnata non est nec ibi defuncta, sed cum caput Johannis in manibus teneret et eidem gaudens plurimum insultaret, divino nutu caput ipsum in ejus faciem insufflavit et illa protinus exspiravit. Hoc quidem vulgariter dicunt, sed quia superius dictum est, quod in exsilio cum Herode miserabiliter consumpta fuerit, sancti tradunt in chronicis et sic tenendum videtur.' (ed. T. Graesse, 2nd edn., Leipzig 1850, cap.cxxv p.573; trans. F.S. Ellis, 7 vols., London 1900, V p.75). The Legenda Aurea is, however, thirteenth century, and thus a full century later than the Ysengrimus. The refusal to name a source in both Aelfric and Jacobus seems to indicate that the story was a popular one and circulated orally; at any rate, I have been unable to locate a source for either. Far easier to document is the tradition that Herodias' daughter met her end by falling through the ice on a frozen lake; see Acta Sanctorum Jun.24th, p.697; 'The Letter of Herod to Pilate', The Apocryphal New Testament ed. M.R. James (Oxford 1924, corr. and repr. 1953)

pp.xlv-xlvii. The Legenda Aurea records this tradition also, alongside that of the blowing head. None of these sources however represents either Herodias or her daughter as being in love with John.

7. The same is true of the authorities cited by Bächtold-Stäubli s.v. Pharaildis, which provide some evidence for legends about Herodias, and similarities between her role and that of the German demoness Holda or Holle, but do not give any further testimony at all for a connection between Herodias and Pharaildis.

8. See Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie[4] I p.236, Stallybrass I p.284. Not all scholars have accepted Grimm's explanation of 'Pharaildis' as a Latinisation of 'Veralde'; see, for example, W. Golther, Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie (Leipzig 1895) p.496n., and E.H. Meyer, Germanische Mythologie (Berlin 1891) p.273. More recently, L. Peeteres has tried to show certain other points of connection between the Norse figure Hildr, who constantly revived the dead bodies of the warriors of her father Hogni and her lover Hedinn so that they could continue their battle until the end of time, and the Christian saint Pharaildis, who is reputed to have resuscitated a dead goose ('Kudrun und die Legendendichtung', Leuvense Bijdragen 50, 1961, 59-85. I am very grateful to Dr. Peeters for sending me a copy of this article.) Peeters further claims that there are points of similarity between Pharaildis' refusal to consummate her marriage, and the Norse motif of the rejection of a bridegroom, preserved as a story about Kudrun in the Middle High German Kudrun, but originally perhaps a story about the Norse Hildr. Dr. Peeters' article is mainly concerned to elucidate the German poem, which does not concern us directly, but in so far as his argument touches on the possible connections between Pharaildis and a Norse Hildr or Hilde, we may note the following: 1) The rejection of a bridegroom is not a motif relating to Hildr in any Norse text. The rejection of a bridegroom proposed by her father, in favour of one she herself prefers (but not in favour of virginity) is told of the bride of Helgi Hundingbani, Sigmundarson; she is a valkyrie, is called Sigrun, and is a daughter of

Hogni (not an uncommon name). When Helgi has killed her father, he says 'You have been a Hildr to us, Sigrun.'; this is an allusion to the Hildr-Hedinn story, but it does not make the two tales identical. (Helgakvida Hundingsbana II, str.29, ed. G. Neckel, Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius, 4th edn., rev. H. Kuhn, Heidelberg 1962, p.155). 2) Of Hildr, we can only say that (a) it is a valkyrie-name (i.e., found in lists of valkyries), and means 'war', and (b) that in Snorri Sturluson's account (c.1220), Hildr daughter of Hogni is carried off by Hedinn and pursued by her father. She acts as a false mediator - as if she cared for neither - and, as mentioned above, revives the slain every night so that the battle between them never ends. She seems here a symbol of a thirst for war. (Skáldskaparmál, Edda Snorra Sturlusona, ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen 1931, pp.153-5). In Saxo Grammaticus (c.1200), Hilda is said to have longed so ardently for her husband (Hedinn) that she conjured up the dead to renew the war each day (The First Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus, trans. O. Elton, London 1894, V 160). 3) No particular stress can be placed on the name for the battle, Hjaðninga él, Hjaðninga vedr ('storm, blizzard of the Hjaðningar) as a possible link with the storm of breath in which Herodias is blown away, since 'storm' and its variants are commonly used in kennings for battle and no specific atmospheric implication attaches to the expression. (I am very grateful to Ursula Dronke for advice and help on the Norse material.)

9. Acta Sanctorum Jan.4th.
10. Het Vroegste Dierenepos p.41 n.2: 'Dat deze "folkloristische" sage bij het volk zelf verspreid was, geloof ik niet. Ik meen dat het fantazie is van den dichter zelf. 'Cf.p.91, where van Mierlo suggests that Mivard's reason for inventing the story of Pharaildis' love for John the Baptist was that the two parish churches of Ghent were dedicated to these saints.
11. I prefer to translate according to Voigt's interpretation of 'Te deum' as the bell's name, inscribed upon it, rather than to follow Schönfelder's rendering: 'Man sang eilig das Te deum.', which he explains as follows: 'Der Hymnus

Te deum laudamus hätte erst auf die zwölfste Lesung folgen sollen. Da aber die Lampen erloschen waren, musste man die letzten Lesungen ausfallen lassen und sang sofort das Te deum, das man auswendig konnte und durch Läuten der Glocken begleitete.' (Ysengrimus. Das flämische Tierepos aus dem Lateinischen verdeutscht, A. Schönfelder, Münster and Cologne 1955).

12. Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature (6 vols., Copenhagen 1955-8) Z 81; A. Aarne, The Types of the Folktale, trans. and enlarged by Stith Thompson (2nd revn. Helsinki 1961) 124. Aarne-Thompson 125, 'The Wolf Flees from the Wolf-Head' is also of interest in connection with the incident in Book IV; see below on IV 311-12.
13. See the chapter on 'Le Roman de Renart et le Folklore' in Le Roman de Renard (Paris 1968) Foulet is primarily discussing similar stories as probable (or improbable) sources for the Roman de Renard; while agreeing fully with what he says there, I would add that the fact that the motifs in animal stories can feed into folk-lore shows that they create a particular kind of comic and grotesque reality congenial to both narrative worlds. In answer to the possible objection that this is 'reading in' to the Ysengrimus a quality which its features only later acquired in other contexts, I would point out that the Ysengrimus itself appeals to the world of popular belief; see, for example, the passage on Aldrada (II 53-8) quoted below.
14. The meaning of this phrase is not quite clear. If taken as a reference to St. Bernard's greed, it gives rise to a puzzling contradiction with V 126, which seems to compliment the saint's exemplary poverty. Voigt explains the contradiction as due to a change of heart in Nivard after learning of the failure of the Second Crusade (introduction p.cxvii). Van Mierlo thinks the phrase may refer to Bernard's powers of oratory, rather than his greed (Het Vroegste Dierenepos p.49).
15. It is perhaps very glancingly hinted at by van Mierlo in his discussion of the cock-and-fox episode: 'Waneer Reinaert zijn list bij kleineren beproeft, zooals in de episode met den haan Sprotinus, dan zijn wij er niet bedroefd om, dat ook hij eens het onderspit delft. Want

hij is op zijne wijze een roover, zooals Isenfrim, maar in't klein.' (Het Vroutste Dieregenoos p.70). But this suggestion is not developed, and moreover forms part of a general discussion of the opposition between wolf and fox as exemplifying strength vs. cunning.

16. See Voigt's introduction p.lx.
17. See F.P. Krapp, 'Materialistischer Utilitarismus in der Maske der Satire: Magister Nivards "Ysengrimus"', Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 10 (1975) 80-88, esp. p.90.
18. See the analogues listed in Voigt's introduction p.lxxxii.

THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN IN VAN DEN VOS REYNAERDE

by Peter King

The fox-hunt, until fairly recently dominated by philologists in the Netherlands, has now been joined by a number of international literary scholars. There have, perhaps inevitably, been protests against their clumsy intrusion into a field requiring patient and detailed observation, and while their wider perspective has offered an open terrain as an alternative to the overgrown thicket, they still leave unresolved such fundamental questions as Reynaert's function in the tale and the satirical intention behind it. Moreover a new concept - die verkehrte Welt - has been introduced to add to the complexity.

The comparatist, H. R. Jauss, first referred to the verkehrte Welt in his discussion of the 'comédie cléricale' of the 17th Branche of the Roman de Renart. Four years later, Klaus Lazarowicz made it the title of his book on Reinhart and German satire. G. H. Arendt's doctoral dissertation describes the moral deviations in Nobel's kingdom in terms of the verkerhte Welt, and even Frank Lulofs, however critical he may be of Arendt's synchronic approach, concedes that the world upside down is one aspect of the social satire in Van den Vos Reynaerde. Finally, and most recently, T. Hagtingius refers to the world upside down in his article on a new approach to the Reynaert, where he writes: 'He does the very things the chieftain of a clan may not do, nor ever would do, and in doing so gives a clearly defined impression of the world upside down.' Hagtingius, however, is not referring to Nobel or Reinaert here, but to Coyote in a Winnebago

legend of North America. And however far removed this may seem from medieval Flanders, it takes me right to the heart of my problem - the problem, that is, of the meaning of 'the world upside down' applied to Van den Vos Reynaerde. For whatever else can be said about the animals there, they act in character as animals. The lion remains the lord of the quadrupeds, however arbitrary and acquisitive a lord he may be. The fox is consistently foxy, and hence hypocritical and deceitful.

The whole concept of an upside-down world, the popular art-forms of which I shall collectively call mundus inversus, arises out of the experience of paradox in life. This experience is essentially dualistic, for it registers an irreconcilable contrast between what is experienced and what is expected. Since there is no more basic paradox in human experience than that of life and death itself, it is not surprising that in primitive religions, since death is the antithesis of life, the dead were portrayed as living in an inverted world in which the spirits slept by day and walked on their heads, where boats sailed upside down, and words carried contrary meanings. Moreover, there is evidence that from very early times the concept of antithesis was a derivative of synthesis, so that the Egyptian symbol ankh ☥ and the astrological Venus-symbol ♀ denote a horizontal barrier between the unitary idea of a primordial existence and the empirical awareness of duality. This seems to be confirmed by the 'waika' myths of the Winnebago Indians in which the Coyote was the lord of creation and the 'worak' legends in which a creator figure has ousted the Coyote, who became the creator's implacable adversary, though in some 'worak' retaining vestiges of his earlier, beneficial, demiurgic features. Nearer home, the Lucifer myth gives, after all, a similar explanation for the dualism of good and evil, life and death, in a world-no-longer-paradise. And the anti-God is given animal guise.

But why should animals figure so prominently in these primitive myths? Raffaele Pettazzoni plausibly suggests that in the earliest, hunting, epochs, men were keenly aware of the importance of animals to their survival and of the

hierarchy among the wild beasts. So they recited tales recognizing the particular power of certain animals in order to ensure success in the hunt. When hunting evolved to farming, some of these beasts became the shepherd's greatest enemies, and the development of the earlier myth took account of this. This may or may not have any bearing on the problem of the co-existence of the lion, wolf, bear and fox in the beast epic, but that the hopes, fears and paradoxes in life have long been associated with animals is clear from Egyptian tales and drawings of 5000 or more years ago.

The most famous instance of the mundus inversus in Egyptian art is the war between the cats and mice, similar in its theme to the Greek Balracho-myomachie. Among the many illustrations showing animals acting like humans, there is a swallow climbing a ladder into a tree occupied by a hippopotamus, the fox acting as a shepherd to sheep and goats and (of possible interest in connection with the 'cloester-bier' reference in Reynaert) the fox acting as wetnurse to a sow helping a hippopotamus to brew beer. Whether or not we can assume Egyptian influence (as Pliny did of a later motif and Bruneau does in his Ganymède et l'aigle), it is at least possibly more than a coincidence that Archilocos expressed his shock at seeing a total eclipse in 648 BC, in terms of an animal mundus inversus. 'For,' he wrote, 'if Zeus could put out the sun, then anything was possible, so that one day four-legged beasts might exchange pasture with the dolphins.' This was taken up by Virgil in his adynata or impossibilia, in one of which a shepherd bewails his love-sickness in the words: 'Now may the wolf of his own volition run from the sheep.' The Carolingian poets Walafried and Theodulf, so Curtius tells us, follow the tradition. So, presumably, did Chrétien de Troyes, whose Cligés laments his misfortune in a whole series of adynata:

Les chiens foïr devant la lièvre
Et la tortre chacier le bièvre
Et le lion chace li cers
Si vont les choses a envers.

Thus all things topsy-turvy run. And this kind of hyperbole

was, of course, to take European love-poetry by storm in the Petrarchistic imagery of the Renaissance. But we are concerned with an earlier situation where confusion was a hallmark of society rather than of the star-struck individual. Typical of this age of social make-believe and mockery are the Carmina Burana, including the famous 'Florebat olim studium' with its satirical mundus inversus:

> Implumes aves volitant,
> brunelli chordas incitant,
> boves in aula saltitant,
> stivae praecones militant.
>
> Unfeathered fledglings leave the nest,
> Old mules strum their lutes with zest,
> In Senate House the oxen prank,
> And peasants all have general's rank.

The popularity of this kind of absurdity is attested in the rich variety of English medieval ornament collected by Francis Bond and Kenneth Varty, where foxes are ridden by rabbits or cocks, and where ducks chase the fox and a goose hangs him. A well-known, early example of this theme is the 11th-century emblem in the San Marco at Venice, where two cocks are shown carrying a fox on a pole. Brueghel the Elder's 'Flemish proverbs' illustrates the absurdities of the Verkeerde Wereld that were also handed down through generations in the French fatrasie, the Italian bugia, the Spanish aleluya and the English nursery rhyme. And Brueghel's contemporary, Hans Sachs, has two Schwänken with the titles, 'Die hasen fangen und praten den jeger' and 'Der verkerhrte Pawer' in which the cart is put before the horse in endless variations. Indeed, the humorous appeal of this kind of tale has lost none of its appeal to this day, witness the story of the rabbit who, after killing the fox, takes his head in a bag to Mrs Fox, 'en he tell 'er dat he done fetch her some nice beef w'at 'er ole man sont 'er, but she ain't gotter look at it twel she go ter eat it.' The similarities between this tale of Brer Rabbit and the Cuwaert episode in Van den Vos Reynaerde are obvoius. Yet it is, of course, an

almost perfect inversion of Willem's account. If Willem's tale represents the verkehrte Welt, what of the world presented in Joel Chandler Harris's folk-tales of the Southern States? In these tales the mundus really is inversus, with the rabbit riding the fox like a charger, and killing the bear by luring him into a tree full of honey and bees. Here we are back to the war between the cats and mice where the mouse pharaoh is the victor.

On this piecemeal evidence of the mundus inversus in various traditions we are confronted with a number of important questions. What are we to make of the striking similarities between some of the animal tales in Egyptian, Greco-Roman and American-Indian lore? Can we speak of an Egyptian, or at any rate an Oriental origin for this genre, and if so, does the European beast epic belong to it? The beast epic and the Egyptian tradition had at least this in common, that they both expressed dissatisfaction with prevailing political or social conditions by representing humans acting out of character in animal guises. And Jean Capart's comparison of the contest between the Egyptian gods Horus and Seth, with the contest between Isengrin and Renart certainly indicates some direct connection. And, finally, how does the satire in Van den Vos Reynaerde relate to the mundus inversus where animals act out of character?

In the beast epic itself, Fortune's wheel is certainly often turned to the author's satirical advantage, particularly in Isengrimus, but Willem's satirical intention at any rate seems to find expression in the fox's infallible ability, while acting true to type (or at least showing those traits popularly attributed to him) to exploit the weaknesses, in the form of familiar human failings, in other animals. Arendt rightly refers to the satire of a society prone to 'rencliner à sa nature', but this of itself cannot justify his use of the term verhekrte Welt. This world may be morally perverse, but it is certainly not inverse, that is, totally out of character morally or physiologically. I say 'totally' out of character, because peasants who act like knights, the priest's woman who takes an altar candle while the priest himself takes a distaff, the king who acts unconstitutionally,

or the confessor who asks for obscene details cannot be said to be acting entirely in character either. But in a world where animals have human characteristics we are already in the realm of make-believe. Moreover, the very choice of a species to represent human values implies a normative judgement. The lion is regal, so we expect kingly qualities in him. The hen is small and ineffectual and we expect pettiness in her, and so on. The author's purpose in drawing on the Reynard tradition is ostensibly (I say ostensibly...) to parody human types representing the social order, much as the vagantes adopted the guise of those types in the society whom they were parodying.

In Willem's ruthless exposure of every kind of sham and hypocrisy, in the structure and in the behaviour of society, in the law, in the church, in social convention and custom, even in literature itself, there is reason to doubt anything and everything in the tale, even the author's apparent intentions. For this reason, I am hesitant to accept Dr Lulof's reading of Willem's intention. 'Reynaert,' he writes, 'appeals to the sense of solidarity in the group, by which the group can survive in hazardous times', and he refers again to this in his recent book (which he was kind enough to lend me in page proof), Nu gaet reynaerde al huten spele, stating that he would emphasize the grouping of society in the tale since this accounts for both Reinaert's behaviour as head of the clan and for the structure of the tale itself. I am convinced of the significance of clan relationships, to which too little attention is normally paid. But quite apart from some doubt about whether Reynaert was the clan chieftain, there is too much evidence of parody even towards this social phenomenon to derive much comfort from it. There is, after all, room for considerable doubt about Grimbeert's motives for leaving the court before the anticipated execution. And if clan relationships really did represent the underpinning of social order and security, how on earth could Isengrijn be mistaken about his membership of Reynaert's clan? We have a modern, anthropomorphic parallel to the beast epic in Kipling's Jungle Books. Kipling's animals, it is true, do not conform as Willem's do, to what was then known about

animal behaviour, but his didactic intention is quite clear in the absence of any trace of satire, that men must fend for themselves in a dangerous world, by bold hunting in packs under disciplined leadership. In a later, less jingoistic age, an equally transparent social ethic was conveyed in a middle-class idyll, also undisturbed by any satire, in Graham's The Wind in The Willows.

But there's no such almost-allegorical clarity of purpose in Van den Vos Reynaerde. To avert (somewhat freely) to Lulof's comment on clan leadership and solidarity: 'As a Provisional I should derive small comfort from the knowledge that in negotiations to end internment, my leader, Reggie O'Fox, had named his own second-in-command as a drunken regicide!' Whoever heard or read this tale, wherever and whenever he heard it, heard a story with one indisputable protagonist named in the title, who is the very embodiment of deception. Buitenrust-Hettema's comment, 'the poet is often Reinaert himself; the latter's ideals are his own' implies that the author, too, is out to deceive us. A pointless exercise, surely, if the author intends to succeed. But there is plenty of evidence that Willem was, as it were, hand-in-glove with Reinaert, applying his own craft and cunning to fashion a double-bottomed structure which would itself exemplify the inconstancy of life and the shifting perspectives between appearance and reality. Hellinga has referred to the fleeting allusions which constantly alert us to the double-entendres in the tale, and Lulofs has subsequently stressed the significance of magic and demonic forces at play under the surface.

The very notion of the world upside down may indeed itself have been associated with witchcraft. I have no evidence of this in the Middle Ages, since I am no medievalist, but I do not think I should cloak my ignorance by passing this matter over! It started with the theory of the Antipodes, first mooted by the Greeks and subsequently rejected by the Church Fathers. Isidore of Seville condemned it on the grounds that creation could not tolerate men standing on their heads as they would have to if one set were standing upright in a two dimensional world. Augustine was no less scornful in

De Civitate Dei and at a much later date Sir Thomas Browne wrote: 'Let the Divine be upward; and the Region of the Beast below. Otherwise it is but to live invertly and with the Head unto the Heel of thy Antipodes.' And in the sixteen thirties Richard Brome wrote two plays, *The Antipodes* and *The Lancashire Witches* in which the witches cast a spell which upturns all the parent-child and master-servant relationships in the household. So in England the contrariness of the Antipodes conveyed more than moral judgement (in Brome's second play the protagonist goes mad through reading too many travel books and for a cure has to witness a play-within-a-play with the title 'The World Upside-down'). It also conveyed the entirely irrational and even witchcraft.

To return, however, to *Van den Vos Reynaerde*. Here, I believe, there can be no serious doubt about an undercurrent of harmful magic forces, and I would only relate it to what we have already considered in the iconographical tradition of the *mundus inversus*. Consider, for instance, the ancient motif in mosaics and on tombstones, depicting the stork (the soul) overpowering the fox (the devil), or the San Marco illustration of the cocks carrying off the fox. Hatto's symposium *Eos* shows how universal was the magical or symbolic attribute of the cock as harbinger of the light, and hence of safety and of virtue, and his adversary, the fox, as the stealthy representative of darkness and evil. There is, after all, good reason to put weathercocks as guardians on our buildings. But to argue from this, as John Flinn does, that the fox is, therefore, the embodiment of evil is to remove the satirical polarity in *Van den Vos Reynaerde*. For how can 'la source de tout le mal' provide this comedy of errors at the expense of his adversaries?

The uncertainty about the fox's rôle and hence about the satirical intentions in the story is, I believe, due to the deliberate ambiguity in it. We are not, as it were, allowed an 'either - or' choice, but are forced to accept 'both - and', just because this confronts us with the paradox inherent in the *mundus inversus* of what R. Alewyn calls naturalismus over against realismus. I can best illustrate this by reference to two passages from Isaiah. In the first the

prophet is describing the disarray following God's judgement of a wicked world:

> Behold, the Lord will lay waste the earth and make it desolate, and he will turn it upside down and scatter its inhabitants. And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest; as with the slave, so with the master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the creditor, so with the debtor' (24;1,2)

In the second, Isaiah gives his famous vision of paradise:

> 'The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the lion and fatling together, and a little child shall lead them... and the lion shall eat straw like the ox... (11;6.7)

There can surely be little doubt that the more educated Christians among Willem's audience will have found Nobel's kingdom not unlike the upside-down world of Isaiah's first description. And although, as we have seen, the beast epic does not follow the zoological inversion used in the second passage - Isaiah's vision of the coming of the virtuous king - this ideal contrast to the real situation is also suggested in some of the Reinaerd episodes, as Arendt has shown in support of his quotation from another chapter of Isaiah:

> Until the spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness be a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest. Then judgement shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field. (32;15,16)

Moreover, Isaiah's vision of a world of reconciliation among the beasts denotes according to the Catholic commentary, a return to the peace of Eden - the Messianic kingdom is a kingdom of peace and the new covenant is a covenant of peace, and

whatever may be said about Firapeel's final intervention, Willem's own signature is attached to the end of MS A which ends with a reconciliation and 'pays van allen dingen.'

The fox himself, like the poor in spirit, does, after all, inherit the earth from the rich and powerful. He may have learned magic arts (liste) from his father, but he is also the arch-adversary of the wolf (who is not only the scriptural devil among the flock and enemy of the good shepherd, but also the Werewolf), and of the bear (also a man-bear) and the animal of witchcraft, the cat, all, according to Grimbeert's account (fabricated by Reynaert) laying their regicide plot at a witch's sabbath. And - as if this confusion of opposites were not already perplexing enough, I recall my earlier question: what then was Reinaert's relative doing there as a fellow-conspirator? If this multiple imagery seems far too sophisticated, not to mention contradictory, for a medieval audience, we must constantly remind ourselves that their world was itself in the melting of superstition and belief, of establishment and anti-establishment. And they had no cause to forget this, seeking their entertainment as they did in the topical parody and masquerades of the Goliards, vagantes and carnivals. But we must also avoid exaggerating the possible significance of secondary motifs. We need not assume anything more than the most obvious comedy and suspense in the tale. It is, after all, a feature of much comedy, particularly comedy in animal stories, that it appeals to children and adults alike. Not without reason, John Locke in deploring the lack of children's literature in the early 18th century, referred to AEsop and Reynard as the only exceptions. This has, of course, been amply remedied in recent times, but it is still noteworthy that many of these books, like Alice and, very recently Richard Adams's Watership Down, appeal, just because of their multivalence, as much to adults as to children - or even more so.

In conclusion then - The original intention of the mundus inversus trope was to express paradox. So the terms die verkehrte Welt, le monde à l'envers, il mondo alla riversa, 'the topsy-turvy world' should, I submit, be reserved for the

incongruous or absurd that is appropriate to the paradoxical dimension in life, expressing the antithesis physically or morally implied in the concepts of Gelgamesh, the land of Cockayne, Hell or Paradise. Measured in these terms, Van den Vos Reynaerde is realistic, parodying (as parody must) the real situation in recognizable, though not necessarily predictable, terms of what is real. In its development, the concept of mundus inversus could be applied in satire or hyperbole to a wide range of experiences, including most certainly the turn of Fortune's wheel. But the catastrophic misfortunes in some of the Reynaert episodes and the absurdly uncharacteristic behaviour in others are incidental. They only become crucial inasmuch as they contribute to a general theme, and in that case, they belong to both worlds of black magic and enlightened goodness. Even so, these are hidden worlds only hinted at spasmodically and inconsistently. So, though both worlds can be described in terms of a mundus inversus (as Isaiah does), Willem does not so describe them. At most he alludes to them in his deliberately ambiguous poem. So, once again - we cannot speak of a world upside down in the Reynaert without considerable qualification. What even a random and cursory glance beyond Hulst and Kriekeputte may have shown, is that superstitions and religions, which die very hard, can leave a residue over vast areas and periods, so that it may not be merely wild speculation that Reynaert is the cousin of Coyote and the European guise of Horus. Why, when all is said and done, should we entirely dismiss the etymological origin of his name - Regin-hart - the doughty council of the gods?

TALKING ABOUT ACTION: SELF-CENSURE IN THE ROMAN DE RENART

Anne Ladd

This paper is part of a study on standards of language in non-courtly literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. That standards do exist as background to these genres is supported by examples of self-censure; that is, cases where there is in the text itself an indication that the author is forestalling blame from his public. The various branches of the Roman de Renart illustrate three kinds of self-censure. These usually appear in a sequence of affirmation and denial, or condemnation and approval.

The first kind of censure is the author/narrator's reproval of Renart, which is part of the opening lines in eight branches. However, it is really the author who is responsible for all misdeeds and offensive words in his text. The entire branch that follows any of these introductions is a refutation of the initial condemnation.

A second category of censure is reproval of Renart's words and deeds by other characters. This is still a form of self-censure, as the same person wrote both questionable words or scenes, and their contradiction.

This paper studies the most interesting case of other characters' reactions, Pierre de Saint-Cloud's Branches II and Va (Rcques IIIa, VII, VIIa, VIIb), relating the tricks played by Renart on various animals ending with the rape of Hersent the she-wolf, and the attempts of the animals at court to deal verbally with these deeds. A major theme of

this portion of the Roman is the uses of language. Renart's manipulation of words is one of his outstanding characteristics. He uses trickery with words to entrap all of the animals except perhaps Hersent. But when the author presents the court of Noble the lion, Renart's dynamic use of language to produce desired actions contrasts with the useless proliferation of words by the animals at court. An analysis of the language of the characters as each tries to talk about the brute fact of the attack on Hersent indicates the absence in this court of any standards of conduct or of language. Besides the author's uninhibited account of the rape episode, there are six others. The vocabulary shifts between the crudest terms and poetic phrases, with little distinction with relation to social class or sex of the speaker, except that some characters, such as King Noble, choose not to use the cruder language.

The proportion of lines spent in discussion of Renart's acts makes clear the failure of one kind of language. The plot of Pierre de Saint-Cloud's work consists of attempts to make words function as action in a world of tooth and claw. In these attempts Renart, who uses lies or words that create imaginary actions, is successful. The court, trying to get a grasp on truth or past reality with words, fails. The failure of the court to put a name to Renart's offenses, or rather, to his actions, which are not offenses unless named so, forms a circle that the courtiers never escape. Their naiveté or lack of discrimination is not shared by the author. The question of standards of propriety merely reinforces the inability of social language to handle the raw material of life as lived by the individual.

There are many other cases of censure by characters in these poems. However, the author's agreement in the blame is questionable. The most commonly censured act is adultery, and the usual mouthpiece of reproval is Ysengrin, Hersent's husband, who cannot be impartial. Another character who condemns Renart but turns out not to be sure of his opinion is Bernart the ass, the court chaplain in "The Death and Funeral of Renart." King Noble tends to condemn the deeds of which Renart is accused, but prefers to believe that the fox has not really committed them.

A third kind of reproval is self-accusation by the main character. In one type, Renart states all the wrongs of which he is accused but denies having done such terrible things, so that in censuring the acts he is, for the audience, condemning himself.

The more usual case of self-censure, however, takes the classic form of a confession, which is introduced into at least five branches. The confession is a list of what Renart himself considers to have done wrong. It also provides a delightful opportunity to affirm through negation, as the fox lingers with loving detail on his past misdeeds. In addition, some of the confessions throw in a few sins that have not been committed in any of the previous branches, as though Renart is making an on-the-spot improvisation in a burst of enthusiasm.

In general, it is actions and not words that are reproved in the Roman de Renart. The court scene composed by Pierre de Saint-Cloud and the confrontation of Renart and Ysengrin in "Le Duel Judiciaire" provide the only discussions of language. Affirmation and denial of blame are offered in many branches, but it is the censure that is overruled by the right of the stronger or smarter. Two opposite opinions are presented, followed by the discomfiture of the character who holds the unfavorable opinion, or by the escape of Renart from punishment, or by his relapse after a confession. Certainly, however, by the presentation of the censure, the author allows that some people will find Renart's actions distasteful and have standards by which he would be condemned, even if these standards cannot be allowed to survive in the Roman.

(Summary of the paper)

PIERRE DE SAINT CLOUD AND THE BESTIARY

Anthony Lodge

As I begin this paper I feel my position to be curiously similar to that of Renart in Branch I when he lures Brun the Bear with promises of large quantities of honey, only to trap his head in an empty log, bringing him to mischief at the hands of the peasants. I hope not to trap your heads into an empty log, but I must confess that my title 'Pierre de St Cloud and the Bestiary' promises more good things than I shall be producing. In my talk, I will not attempt a detailed and systematic analysis of the influence of the Bestiary on the work of Pierre de St Cloud. All I will attempt to do will be to highlight one point in Pierre de St Cloud's poem where I think the Bestiary may have played a part in the vernacular author's creative process, his adaptation of the fable of the Fox and the Crow. My remarks contain material sufficient for a footnote rather than for a full-blown article on the subject.

Pierre de St Cloud is the author of the earliest branch of the French Roman de Renart which is referred to (after Martin's edition) as II-Va. Little is known of him apart from the fact that this branch is conventionally attributed to him, and that he wrote it some time in the 1170's. His identity, the date and fundamental unity of his work form a major part of L. Foulet's magistral study on the Roman de Renart published in 1914.

Branch II-Va contains six episodes of varying length:

	Episode	Analogues
1.	Chantecler	Romulus, Isengrimus
2.	Renart and the Tomtit	Romulus, Isengrimus
3.	Renart and Tibert	
4.	Renart and Tiécelin	Romulus
5.	Rape of Hersent.	Romulus, Isengrimus
6.	Trial of Renart	

Of these six episodes, two are original vernacular creations - Tibert, and the Trial - and the other four are reworkings of fable material, three through the intermediary of the Isengrimus. The episode I wish to highlight here is the one which does not have an analogue in the Isengrimus - Renart and Tiécelin, the Fox and the Crow.

Renart and Tiécelin

A good deal of work has already been done on the genesis and structure of this episode in Pierre de St Cloud. Scholars are generally agreed to see it as an amplification of the Fox and the Crow fable found in the Romulus of Nilant. Foulet attempted to see an additional influence on Pierre de St Cloud's version coming from Marie de France's de Corvo et Vulpe. However, this hypothesis was effectively countered by R. C. Johnston in MLR, 57 (1962), 231-5.

The Romulus text

De corvo, qui casium de fenestra fertur rapuisse et altam ascendisse arborem.

Testatur subsequens fabula, quod multi in fine poenitent que falsis adulationibus facile assentiunt.

Quodam jam dudum tempore Corvus casium de fenestra rapuisse fertur; cum quo altam conscendit arborem. Cumque illum disponeret comedere Corvus, subdola Vulpes ad radices arboris, haec vidit, stetit, cogitansque in semetipso quo modo fraudulenter caseum a Corvo eriperet, ita dixisse fertur: O Corve, quis tibi similis? et pennarum tuarum nitor magnus est, et si tam praeclaram vocem haberes, nulla alia avis praecelleret te. At ille, dum placere Vulpi vellet et vocem claram se habere jactanter demonstrare cuperet, aperto rostro clamare altius parans, sui oblitus casei, caseum perdidit, quem cadentem desuper celeriter Vulpes dolosa avidis dentibus rapuit. Tunc Corvus ingemiscens, stupore nimio deceptus,

falsis adulationibus credidisse se poenitet. Sed postquam homo perdiderit quicquid amat, quid poenitentia illi proficit?

(ed. L. Hervieux, II, 521-2)

Let us briefly compare the structures of the two narratives.

Romulus	Renart (ed. Roques)
--	Scene-setting (ll. 5551-65)
I Theft of the cheese	Theft of the cheese (ll. 5566-92)
II Situation at the tree	Situation at the tree (ll. 5593-5614)
III Fox's flattery	III-IV Renart's threefold flattery, Tiécelin's singing and the loss of the cheese (ll. 5615-45)
IV Crow sings and loses cheese.	
———	Renart's attempt to catch Tiécelin (ll. 5646-84)
V Fox eats cheese	———
VI Crow's surprise and regrets	Tiécelin's regrets (ll. 5685-92)
	Renart eats cheese (ll. 5693-5705)

Pierre de St Cloud's reworking of the fable involves very considerable modification of the original. He not only expanded the bare bones of the fable narrative, but also drastically remodelled certain incidents and inserted an entirely new incident of his own. Pierre de St Cloud's expansion of the bare bones of the fable narrative follows the standard pattern of amplification:

(i) He introduces a 15-line section at the beginning transforming the featureless landscape of the fable into the lush green countryside of Northern France.

(ii) By the occasional use of feudal terminology he

transposes the tale from the timeless plane of moral symbols to medieval Europe.

(iii) Indulging his love of rhetoric, he expands the fable's terse reported speeches into lengthy and lively dialogues.

(iv) By adroit highlighting of significant details he fills out the stark cardboard figures of the fable into flesh and blood characters.

Pierre de St Cloud also takes liberties with the narrative of his source and drastically remodels one particular incident - the flattery sequence. Tiécelin, instead of carrying the cheese in his beak, is made to bring it to the tree in his claws. This allows the author to indulge his love of dialogue, for it frees the crow to hurl abuse at the old woman from whom he stole the cheese, and it gives the author the possibility of a long drawn-out temptation of Tiécelin by the great deceiver, Renart. In an intentional parallel with the earlier Chantecler episode, Renart takes time to anaesthetise Tiécelin's watchfulness by his flattery. He three times persuades the crow to sing, each time on a higher note. Only on the third and highest note does Tiécelin strain so hard that he relinquishes his grasp on the cheese. This partiality for threefold events is almost a hall-mark of Pierre de St Cloud's style - it recurs several times in the four earlier sections of Branch II-Va, giving a remarkable sense of symetry and stylistic unity.

Pierre de St Cloud's expansion of the bare bones of the narrative and his remodelling of the flattery sequence have both received their fair share of scholarly attention in the past. Less attention has been given, however, to Pierre de St Cloud's addition of an entirely new incident after the flattery sequence and Tiécelin's loss of the cheese. This incident has no parallel in the Latin fable, yet it occupies more than a quarter of the French version - 40 out of the 150 lines. Instead of gobbling up the cheese as soon as he finds it between his feet, Renart bides his time and embarks upon an attempt to capture the Crow as well. (ll. 5646-84) To do

this, he remembers the injury he sustained in the preceding 'steeplechase incident' with Tibert the cat; he grossly exaggerates its gravity, and suddenly feigns total physical incapacity. He protests to the watching crow that his injury is so serious that the smell of the cheese under his nose threatened his very life. Would Tiécelin please come and remove it:

> "This cheese stinks and smells so strong
> that it will soon kill me off.
> This causes me great distress,
> for cheese is not good for wounds.
> Ah! Tiécelin, please come down from
> your tree and deliver me from this evil."
>
> (ll. 5659-64)

The Crow is deceived by Renart's feigned incapacity and descends from the tree to recover his cheese. He barely escapes with his life, for Renart swipes at him, misses, but pulls out four of the Crow's tail feathers, before Tiécelin manages to flutter out of reach.

Why did Pierre de St Cloud introduce this new incident into his story? There are good thematic and structural reasons for it.

1) A thematic reason for its introduction lies in the fact that it gives us another example of the arch-traitor and hypocrite in action. Indeed, the raison d'être of the whole Roman de Renart is to give Renart a stage for performing successive acts of treachery.

2) Pierre de St Cloud also had structural reasons for bringing in this incident: the attack on Tiécelin is the third and final example in Pierre de St Cloud of Renart attacking a bird. Previously he had attacked Chantecler and the Tomtit. The parallelism is clear. We have already alluded to the importance of tripartite structures in Pierre de St Cloud. Moreover, the injury invoked here by Renart acts as a link with the preceding Tibert episode. In this way, the author tightens the bonds within his compilation.

Pierre de St Cloud then had sound thematic and structural reasons for including this new incident. But was this extra

episode entirely his own invention? The silence of the critics on this point implies that they think it was. I am not sure that this is so. It seems possible to me that Pierre learnt of this theme in the Bestiary. In the Bestiary, the significant property of the Fox is to try to catch birds by pretending to be dead.

The Bestiary text

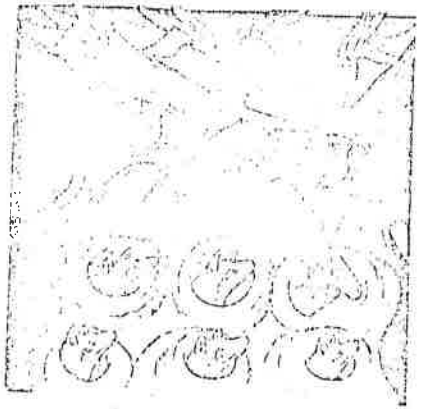
Vulpis dicitur quasi volupis. Est enim volubilis pedibus et nunquam recto itinere suis tortuosis anfractibus currit. Est et fraudulentum animal et ingeniosum. Cum esurit et non invenit quod manducet, involuit se in rubea terra ut appareat quasi cruentata et proicit se in terram, retinetque flatum suum ita ut penitus non spiret. Aves vero, videntes eam non flantem et quasi cruentatam, linguamque eius foris erectam, putant eam esse mortuam et descendunt sessum super eam. Illa autem sic rapit eas et devorat.

Istius eiusdemque figuram Diabolus possidet.....

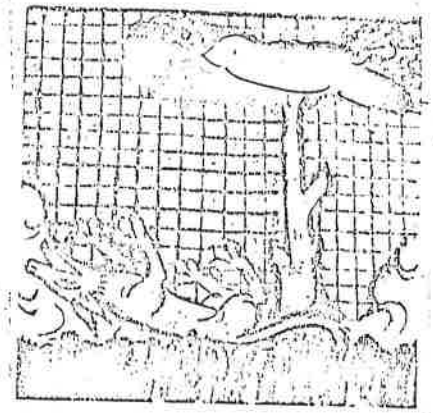
(Cambridge University Library, ii.4.26)

The Fox is recorded as rolling in red soil and then lying still on the ground counterfeiting death. Birds descend to feed on the 'corpse' and are attacked when they come within range. Quite obviously, the parallelism between the Bestiary description and Pierre de St Cloud is far from total - Renart does not roll in red soil and does not in fact feign death. He feigns incapacity and imminent death if the cheese is not removed. However, the parallelism is sufficiently close, in my view, for us to be able to say that Pierre de St Cloud may have had the Bestiary fox in mind when composing this extra episode.

Evidence that medieval people exposed to Pierre de St Cloud's story themselves linked the theme with the Bestiary is provided by pictorial evidence from one of the Renart mss



The Aberdeen Bestiary



Roman de Renart
B.N. fr. 1580

The position of the Fox, stretched out on his back with his head thrown back is so similar in the two that it seems plausible to me that the illuminator had also seen the thematic parallel with the Bestiary fox. Indeed, certain features of the BN 1580 illustration suggest that the illuminator was as much dependent on the Bestiary Fox as the Renart text:

- Renart is portrayed as sprawled out on his back as in the Bestiary, but there is no suggestion that Renart was on his back in Pierre de St Cloud.
- What about the cheese? I can detect no sign of the cheese in the illustration.

In Pierre de St Cloud's text the cheese was:

'on the ground between his feet' (5614)
'lying in front of him' (5651)

Both of these lines suggest that for Pierre de St Cloud, Renart was lying on his front, not on his back as in the illumination.

It seems clear to me that the illuminator of BN 1580, while illustrating the text in hand, may also have had another pictorial image in his mind - that of the Bestiary Fox sprawled out on his back in an attempt to capture birds. It may be that the illuminator of BN 1580 was being quite ideosyncratic. To disprove this, one would have to check other illuminations relating to this episode in other MSS. However, what I think one can say is that, at least, one medieval person exposed to Pierre de St Cloud's story seems to have seen a parallelism with the Bestiary. In my view, this was not fortuitous, and probably typifies the general medieval response to the episode. The Bestiary, while being particularly popular in England, was well known in Northern France, as the vernacular translations of Philippe de Thaun and Guillaume le Clerc testify.

What conclusions can be drawn from this little exercise in source-hunting? These forty-odd lines in the Tiécelin episode - if you accept with me their inspiration by the Bestiary - are in fact the closest Pierre de St Cloud comes to tapping Bestiary material directly. There is nothing in the portrayal of the other protagonists in his poem - the Lion, the Wolf and the Bear - which can be said to have been directly influenced by the Bestiary, as distinct from the general animal fable tradition. I think the same could be said of the writers of later branches of the Roman de Renart. The only exception which comes to mind is Branch VII - Renart's Confession - where Renart's confessor is a bird (Hubert the Kite) whom Renart gobbles up after pretending to be dead, i.e. The Bestiary motif is used again, this time in much purer form than in Pierre de St Cloud. But for this one theme then, the animal descriptions in the Bestiary have not been a source of direct borrowings in the Roman de Renart. Even so, the fact that this incident in the Renart and Tiécelin episode may have been inspired by the Bestiary seems to me to be not without significance for us modern critics. It serves to remind us of the proximity which existed in medieval eyes between the Physiologus - Bestiary tradition and the Roman de Renart. It reminds us that if we are to make the best sense of the animal stories in our text we must view their

actions not with the eyes of the modern zoologist or psychologist, but through an optic similar to that of the Bestiary. This latter approach is not too hard in the early part of Pierre de St Cloud's poem, but it becomes harder the more the poet emancipates himself from the fable sources and enters his own created world of feudal adventure.

Modern readers of the Roman de Renart - particularly French readers - usually come to the text after exposure to French animal poets like La Fontaine. Conditioned by this experience, their appreciation of the Roman de Renart comes to depend entirely on issues such as realism in the author's evocation of nature, vividness of dialogue, psychological realism in the characters. I would not claim that these critical criteria are entirely misplaced, but I would claim that they do not help the modern reader to reach the central core of the medieval French beast epic. The Roman de Renart - especially II-Va - I is not Naturpoesie as the nineteenth-century Germans conceived of it. It is not fundamentally an exploration of the psyche of a chronically deceitful individual. The characterisation of Renart is fundamentally a parody, a deflation of the lofty ideals and aspirations of chivalry - an inversion of the moral ideals of courage, loyalty and religion. The Bestiary's interest in the natural world was directed primarily at the capacity of the Beasts to symbolise moral and spiritual values. I would argue that priority must be given to the moral symbolism of the animals, especially Renart, in the Roman de Renart too.

NEW LIGHT ON THE STORY OF THE FOX'S EXECUTION AND FUNERAL (LA MORT ET PROCESSION RENART - Martin, Branch XVII) IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Kenneth Varty

Summary:

In 1974, during the course of the cleaning and conservation of some paintings on the back of the north range of choir-stalls in Gloucester Cathedral, Mr. Clive Rouse and his assistant Miss Ann Ballantyne detected, beneath some indifferent ornamental paintings dating from the Renaissance, a series of earlier paintings in which the fox was prominent. They proceeded to uncover the earlier work to find a series of eight or nine episodes which relate a c.1375 story of Reynard the Fox (see the illustrations following p.47). These episodes are contained in two wooden panels each measuring approximately 56 x 59 cms. Each panel is, like an enlarged miniature, divided into two registers, an upper and a lower, and each register into two - occasionally three - scenes.

* * * * * * * * *

Scene 1. (Fig.1) Left, upper register. A fox kills a goose.

Scene 2. (Fig.1) Centre, upper register. The upright fox (Reynard?) is taken prisoner by an upright hare (Couard?) and, - scarcely distinguishable - an upright goat carrying a tall cross (the head of the animal and the horizontal part of the cross are missing, but they both reappear, in the same colours, in Scene 5). Behind the goat is an upright boar

(Baucent?) carrying a rod.

Scene 3. (Fig.1) Right, upper register. The bound fox is being led before a seated, robed wolf-abbot (Ysengrin?). Facing the wolf is a cock (Chantecler?) and a hen (Pinte?).

Scene 4. (Fig.2) Left, upper register. Three pairs of yoked geese pull a bound, upside-down, horizontal fox to his execution. Birds begin to mob the fox from the trees under which the procession passes.

Scene 5. (Fig.2) Right, upper register. The fox is executed by the goat (using his cross to help dispatch the fox); the hare and a goose.

Scene 6. (Fig.1) Left, lower register. A horse or ass (Ferrant? Bernard?) and a stag (Brichemer?) sing from an open book in which notes of music are clearly visible.

Scene 7. (Fig.1) Centre and right, lower register. A number of dog-like and ape-like animals appear to be playing or arguing.

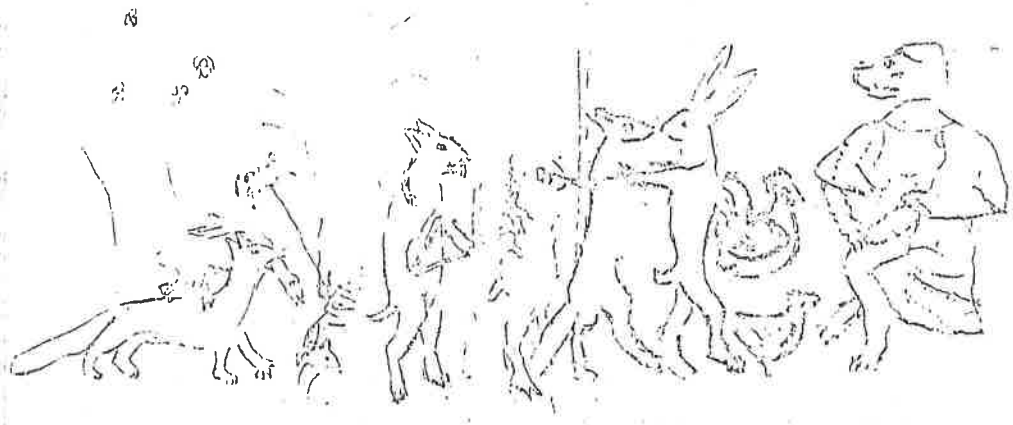
Scene 8. (Fig.2) Left, lower register. The fox, forepaws bound, is lifted on (or off) his bier. To the left, a mitred wolf (?) reads from a book; an upright hare; to the right, a boar rings a handbell, and a spotted dog (Courtois?) looks on.

Scene 9. (Fig.2) Right, lower register. A crowned lion (Noble?) with a lioness at his side (Fière?) sit at table, and are served by a bear (Brun?), a ram (Belin?) (or a goat), and an ape (Cointeriaus?).

* * * * * * * * *

These scenes seem to be a version of the Mort et Procession branch of the Roman de Renart into which the folk-lore, popular, world-upside-down imagery of the fox/goose motif has been woven. That the scenes are related to the Beast Epic is surely proved by the presence of the crowned lion and his queen the lioness; and strongly suggested by the presence of the boar, goat, hare, cock, hen, wolf, horse or ass, stag, dog, bear, ram and ape or monkey. That they are related to the Mort et Procession Renart is strongly suggested

FIGURE 1, UPPER REGISTER



SCENE 1 SCENE 2 SCENE 3

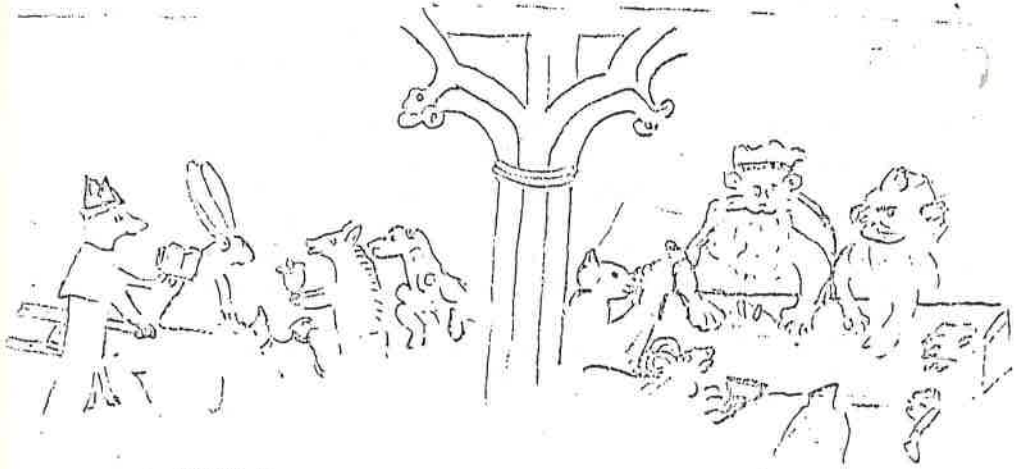
FIGURE 1, LOWER REGISTER

SCENE 6 SCENE 7

FIGURE 2, UPPER REGISTER

SCENE 4 SCENE 5

FIGURE 2, LOWER REGISTER



SCENE 8 SCENE 9

by scenes six, seven and eight. In the French story, after Bernard the Ass has pronounced a funeral oration and led prayers, Brichemer the Stag and Ferrant the Horse read from the New Testament. And, in the course of the Service for the Dead, Bernard the Ass reads a lesson, while the response is sung by Brichemer the Stag. The seventh scene, the least well preserved and most difficult to interpret, may have something to do with the riotous feast the animals have as Renart's supposed corpse is left on its bier. During this feast the animals play a foot or paw-banging game - each animal in turn stretches out a foot/paw/hoof/claw and his challenger tries to knock him over by striking the outstretched limb as hard as he can. This may be the game one sees depicted in scene seven.

* * * * * * * * * *

These paintings have to be seen in the context of other fox-funeral and fox-hanging paintings, drawings and sculptures of which there is a relatively large number in England: e.g. the one, c.1300, in the Walters Art Gallery MS 102 (probably made at Peterborough); at York, c.1310, in stained glass; in the Smithfield Decretals (Brit. Mus. MS Roy. 10. E. iv), c.1340; the one that was part of a mural, c.1450, at Ludgvan Church; that is part of a mural, c.1450, in Cothay Manor; and on a misericord, c.1520, in Beverley Minster. (The York, Ludgvan and Cothay evidence is as yet unpublished; slides were shown to members of the Colloquium). There is, of course, complementary iconographical evidence from the Continent, e.g. from Oviedo, Ravenna, Verona, Venice, Murano, Paris (B.N. ms. fr. 12583), Strasbourg, Marienhafe etc., most of which has been described and commented on in "The Death and Resurrection of Reynard in Medieval Literature and Art", Nottingham Mediaeval Studies, Vol. X, 1966, pp.70-93, though the Oviedo and Paris evidence has yet to be published. (Members of the Colloquium were shown a slide of the B.N. miniature).

THE BEAST EPIC IN SCOTLAND

John MacQueen

Summary:

(1) John Barbour, Bruce, XIX, 650-683, "How the Fox playt with the Fischer". c.1375. (STS. edit., II, pp.163-165).

(2) The Talis of the Fyve Bestes (fragment). Asloan Manuscript (1515), ff.229-235b. (STS. edit., II, pp.127-140).

(3) Robert Henryson (c.1420-1490):-
(a) "The Taill of the Wolf that gat the Mekhering throw the wrinkis of the Foxe that begylit the Cadgear". (cf. Roman de Renart, XIV, Martin's edition).
(b) "The Taill of the Foxe, that begylit the Wolf, in the schadow of the Mone". (cf. Caxton's Reynard the Fox, 1481).
(c) The Tod
(i) "The Taill of Schir Chantecleir and the Foxe". (cf. Chaucer, Nun's Priest's Tale)
(ii) "The Taill how this foirsaid Tod maid his Confessioun to Freir Wolf Waitskaith." (?cf. Caxton's Reynard).
(iii) "The Taill of the Sone and Air of the foirsaid Foxe, callit Father wer: Alswa the Parliament of fourfuttit Beistis, haldin be the Lyoun". (?cf. Caxton's Reynard)

OXFORD UNIVERSITY BESTIARIES AND THEIR PUBLICATION AS COLOUR TRANSPARENCIES

W.O. Hassall

For those who study the beginning of Genesis the creation of the birds, beasts and fishes provides scope for enlargement. The study of the animal creation is a great subject expanding into modern zoology. The Middle Ages contented itself with a compendium. This followed an antique work called the Physiologus. It contained statements which were believed to be true, though some were in fact not, while yet other statements contain germs of half-understood but forgotten truths. The reader of the Bestiary, like the reader of the Bible, accepted what he read, but he was interested in inner meanings and morals which could be drawn from the statements. In this he and his generation differed from ours. Thus it was believed that the bear cubs were born amorphous and that the mother licked them into shape. It was hard to check the facts, but the moral was clear. The story is told in Ovid's Metamorphosis XV, 379-381:

> 'Nec catulus partu quem reddidit ursa recenti,
> Sed male viva caro est: lambendomater in artus
> Fingit et in formam, quantam capit ipsa reducit.'

Caxton translates this 'whan the bere hath fawned the fawne semeth but a gobet of flesshe not a lyve, but after it had forme by the lyckyng of ye moder'. Thus it was accepted as fact that the mother bear had amorphous cubs which she licked into shape with her tongue.

M.R. James divided Bestiaries into "families" according to their arrangement and amount of additional matter incorporated.

The first family is the most primitive in arrangement and content. This family includes the Ashmole Bestiary with its 129 illustrations. It did not include Barnacle Geese which are derived from Giraldus Cambrensis' book on Ireland. The nesting places of these birds have only recently been discovered in the Arctic. Medieval people believed that they grew out of barnacles which they resemble somewhat in shape, and Irish priests argued that they might eat them in Lent as they ought to count as fish. Pope Innocent III disagreed in 1215 and Aeneas Silvius doubted the tale. This rare theme occurs in MS. Bodley 764, a "second family" manuscript containing 140 illustrations executed between 1230 and 1240. This adds the detail of the Cat's Larder which is like the bird cages which occur in some Romances of the Rose. MS. St. John's College 61, also of the second family, has only 94 pictures. Pictures from MS. Bodley 764 have been reproduced in several strips. That on English Rural Life contains particularly fine glimpses of daily life, including a woman milking a cow and a peasant chewing a sausage as he drives his mule with grist to a carefully drawn mill. Some of the illuminations show an eye for naturalism. Gold, highly polished and incised, shows that these three manuscripts were produced regardless of expense.

It is rather startling to find that some of the very beautiful pictures in MS. Bodley 764 have never been reproduced. If a complete record be made available, would it be more convenient for it to be on microfiche rather than film? If so, it should probably reproduce the complete manuscript even though this means including unillustrated pages. Probably it should reproduce complete openings.

The other Oxford Bestiaries are all later in date. All are illustrated; but as gold is not used in any of them, they are not strictly speaking "illuminated" in the narrow sense of the word.

MS. Bodley 602 has 73 pictures executed about 1225-50 in what has been called the style of the school of Matthew Paris. Matthew Paris was a monk of St. Albans who was well informed on affairs of state. He sometimes went abroad on government business and King Henry III and other great men used to stay at St. Albans on the great north road from London. Matthew Paris

knew Henry III personally, though he did not always approve of him, and on one occasion the king was anxious that he should get a good view for making the illustrations of contemporary events with which he illustrated, with his own hand, his own excellent historical writings. He is one of the only two thirteenth-century artists working in England whose work can be identified. Fourteen transparencies have been made from this manuscript. The one reproduced (B, 152) shows an ape pursued by hunters. The fugitive must abandon his favourite child which he holds in his arms in order to flee more quickly; but he cannot rid himself of his less-loved child which has had to ride pig-a-back, and so cannot be dislodged.

MS. Douce 167 formed part of the magnificent collection of Francis Douce, an official of the British Museum who bought personally many illustrated manuscripts which its Trustees refused to purchase. Under the circumstances he left them to Oxford University. MS. Douce 167 contains twelve tattered pages from a Bestiary of the third quarter of the thirteenth century. It has 35 pictures of which only the fox, the unicorn and the whale have been reproduced. Our reproduction (from slide B. 156) is a crude representation of the story of the hunters capturing a unicorn. The way to capture unicorns was to seat a virgin outside a wood in which a unicorn lived. The unicorn would come and lay its head on the virgin's lap and could readily be captured. One hopes that zealous seekers for unicorns who believed they knew where they were to be found were not disappointed by the performance of too many young ladies whom they had believed to be suitable bait. The delicately tapering horn of the narwhal was believed to have been derived from a unicorn - and early observers of the rhinoceros were horrified to find that the real natures of real one-horned creatures were so much less elegant than they expected.

Both these two manuscripts are of the "first family", as of course is MS. Douce 151, which is a copy from the Ashmole Bestiary made about 1300. It contains 129 pictures. The specimen shown (roll 217.6.4) shows a huntsman escaping from a tigress (whom he has robbed of its cubs) by throwing down a mirror. The moment of delay thus caused enables him to escape.

I recently saw in a twentieth-century book on animals for children a story which associated tigers with mirrors - the writer alleged that they were used to trap tigers in China.

M.R. James's third "family" differs from the others in that domestic animals are separated from and precede wild ones. In it the ox comes first instead of the customary lion. The only one of the four examples known to him which is in Oxford is in MS. Douce 88 (item 2). This contains 67 pictures set in small panels. They are of the early fourteenth century. Fifteen of these have been reproduced on roll 217.1. The plate shows the disgusting rearguard action of a beast called a Bonnacon (217.1.9). The bonnacon is described in the Bestiary as an Asiatic creature with a head like a bull's and a mane like a horse's and horns so curved that they do not pierce anyone who collides with them. His rear is more effective for defence, for if he runs away he acts like a jet engine and the contents of his belly cover three acres and burn down trees. Aristotle in his History of Animals, IX, 32, calls it the Bonassus and says that its range is four fathoms and that the excrement is caustic enough to burn the hair of dogs. He adds that it is only caustic if the animal is frightened. Many animals do act in this way when escaping, and fear can in fact alter the chemical composition of human sweat.

By the fourteenth century, Psalters and Romances intended for the wealthy engaged the skill of the best illuminators and care was no longer lavished on Bestiaries. MS. Bodley 533, a manuscript of the second "family", has indeed 101 illustrations but they are humble affairs.

M.S. Bodley is of interest as being one of the few manuscripts of which the provenance has been revealed by the exhaustive studies of N.R. Ker in Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd ed., 1964. It comes from Holy Trinity Priory, York. Only fourteen of its pictures have been reproduced on roll 217.5 for comparative purposes.

For completeness, mention should be made of four other Oxford manuscripts which are somewhat akin to the Latin Bestiaries already discussed. MS. e Mus. 136 is a compendium from Hugh de Foliet's De bestiis. It contains 53 thirteenth-century Netherlandish drawings of which only ten have been put

on colour film. The animals are the usual Bestiary creatures, beginning with the ox, not the lion. They are preceded by two pages of monstrous humans, and Adam naming a group of animals. The drawings are lightly coloured in green, red and brown. Two French translations of the Bestiary are in Oxford. One is at Merton College and is thirteenth century. The text is that of Philip de Thaon, and none of its fifteen illustrations have been reproduced. The reference to this little-known manuscript is complicated by the fact that in Coxe's catalogue of Oxford college manuscripts it is MS. 249, in Powicke's catalogue of Merton manuscripts it is described on p. 561, and its actual shelfmark is B.1.7. The second French translation is in a composite manuscript containing various works and now called MS. Bodley 912. This volume includes Guillaume le Clerc's Bestiaire. It is of the early fourteenth century. Though the language is French the pictures are made in England. There are 43 of them, and none has been reproduced.

Richard de Fournivall's Bestiaire d'Amour forms part of another composite volume, MS. Douce 308 (fol. 86d-106v). Instead of drawing Christian morals from natural history, this work compares lovers to various kinds of animal. There are some 68 small miniatures, with gold, rose or blue grounds, inset in the text. On the first page (fol. 86d) there is, as so often at the beginning of the Gospels and other works, an 'author portrait' and a scene of the book being presented to a patron. The verso has a text with three miniatures which are strangely relevant to any consideration of a visual approach. They illustrate a long discussion of the virtues of words and pictures for education and striking the memory. A seated figure is shown looking at knights in armour as if they were present, though in fact he is only reading about them. A bestiary in roll form is shown being given to a recipient: it will enable him to recall to memory in words and pictures even when the narrator has himself gone elsewhere. There are some 68 pictures, most of which are available for study on roll 180G, but this roll omits the whale and the fox.

Just as the Caladrius looks at an invalid who will recover and looks away if he will die, so the author dies of despair if his loved one turns away - in the Bestiary proper the Caladrius is like Our Lord who turns towards the Christians

and away from the Jews. The sirens (drawn as mermaids) signify that a woman is to blame if she draws a man on with sweet words and then betrays him, and a man is guilty if he believes her. The corresponding picture of the sirens in MS. Bodley 764 is especially worthy of reproduction as an example of early caricature. Ulysses has a delightfully silly smile as he dotes on the dangerous accents of temptation.

The asp is regularly shown pressing one ear to the ground and blocking up the other with its tapering tail so as not to hear the blandishments of the snake-charmer. This illustrates the words of the Vulgate Psalm LVII, though it does not give the reference:

> Furor illis secundum similitudinem serpentis sicut aspidis surde et obturantis aures suas que non exaudiet vocem incantium, et venefici incantantis sapienter.

The Authorised Version translates this into English as Psalm LVIII verses 4-5: where the wicked "are like the deaf adder that stoppeth up her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of the charmers, charming never so wisely". Thus Furnival says he should have acted so as not to be lured by love. The Bestiarist compares the asp to men of the world who press an ear to earthly desires but do not hear the voice of Heaven. Only men are as bad as asps for inattention and wilful blindness. Furnival interprets the tiger gazing into a mirror as himself caught by the first sight of his beloved and, on the same page, explains that just as the unicorn, the most cruel of beasts, when he smells a virgin, kneels humbly before her, so he, the proudest of men, is humbled before his love.

The Bestiarist relates that a replete panther sleeps for three days and then belches with a sweet smell. This attracts all the other beasts except the Dragon which flees in terror. The beautiful creature is like Christ rising from the tomb and routing Satan. This religious meaning is made plain by representing the Dragon on that part of the page which heralds call the 'sinister base', at the bottom, at what would be below the left hand of Christ of He were portrayed instead of the panther, i.e. what the observer would consider the bottom right hand corner. For Furnival the sweet scent leads him to follow his love. For a student of English surnames it might be

tempting to recall that the English surname Panter or Panther has been associated with the making of bread just as Butler is associated with bottles - for the smell of new bread might well attract a crowd to the pantry door of a castle.

The lion was believed to obliterate with its tail its tracks over the mountain to deceive its foes just as Christ came secretly into the Virgin's womb to deceive the Devil who otherwise might have refrained from tempting him. For Furnival man is like the lion and if he does anything wrong he should make sure that he is not found out.

The lion is habitually represented bringing to life its three new-born cubs by roaring at them or breathing into their faces. Thus the Father raised Christ from the grave on the third day, and thus Furnival begs his love to recall him to life. The Pelican sheds its blood to revive her young - which is why Dante calls Christ Nostro Pelicano, and why the Pelican in her Piety is the emblem of Corpus Christi. Thus Furnival will revive if only his beloved will open her side and pour out her sweet heart and goodwill on him. The hedgehog carries grapes or crab-apples on its spines. Pliny related this, and an Irishman tried to persuade T.H. White that he knew it to occur. In 1966 a photograph of a hedgehog performing this action was printed in Animal Magic introduced by J. Morris and K. Shackleton, ed. Douglas Thomas. Furnival observes that some people are quite unapproachable from whatever angle you try. Furnival interprets the story of the hunted monkey as signifying that the poet's lady will some day lose her favourite while the man she does not love will continue to cling to her. Sailors mistake a whale (or Aspidodelone or Aspidochelone) for an island and it destroys them like those who anchor themselves on the devil. Thus, according to Furnival, all is not always what it seems and there are those who say they will die of love though that is completely untrue. They are as deceitful as the fox which lies on its back to attract silly birds to their destruction. The illustrations are here taken from earlier and more magnificant Bestiaries rather than from the less impressive one in the Bestiaire d'Amour.

In his book on Reynard the Fox, published by Leicester University Press in 1967, Professor Kenneth Varty has reproduced

several animal pictures from MS. Ashmole 1504. This manuscript is often called a Herbal and Bestiary but strictly speaking no part of it is a Bestiary. It contains no text, but only the names of the plants or animals illustrated. Plants and animals are kept separate and are meant to follow an alphabetical order. The manuscript (and a rather better organized twin executed by the same hand) appears to have been a sort of pattern-book intended for students and to provide models for such arts as embroidery. The twin manuscript was at Helmingham Hall and is now in the U.S.A. The captions are in English, but the artist's style would otherwise suggest that he was from the Low Countries, or had worked there - like Caxton the first English printer. The whole manuscript has been reproduced on roll 156B. Each of its 93 frames reproduces a complete page. Plants come first, and animals run alphabetically from Asp and Ape on fol. 50, frame 55, to Rats and Toads on fol. 41v, frame 78. These include such regular denizens of the Bestiary as the Beaver or Castor castrating itself to deny the use of its valuable glands to its pursuer, a cat with a mouse standing on its egg, a fox eating a bird, an elephant with a castle on its back, unicorns, ibex, crocodiles, peacock and ostrich, and the panther in its many coloured coat. Then follow various coats of arms.

Early Bestiary illustrators had never seen real elephants, unlike Matthew Paris who made a careful drawing of a specimen given to King Henry III of England. Their efforts accordingly are not at all naturalistic. The Elephant and Castle became an inn sign of which one example is commemorated in a focal point for the traffic of south London. Ingenious but false etymologists periodically account for it as a corruption of the words 'Infanta of Castile' in allusion to Henry VIII's first wife Catherine of Aragon. But twelfth-century booklovers were familiar with the picture of an elephant carrying an armoured howdah manned by knights and sometimes being heroically resisted by light infantry. One of the earliest English representations of coats of arms occurs in such a picture. The exaggerated number of the crew reached a high point in the Book of Maccabees, VI, 37, where we hear of 'Elephants with wooden towers each containing 32 valiant men who fought from above and an Indian to drive the beast'. Fighting elephants

were used as early as the fourth century B.C. and both Indian and African ones are shown in ancient art. Those of Pyrrhus had towers which made them too tall to enter the gate of Argos, and the howdahs may have been his own innovation. After Caesar captured 64 fully equipped from the Pompeians at Thapsus in 46 B.C., they disappear for three centuries. The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World is a recent study by H.H. Scullard. The Bestiarist's account of the love-life of the elephant finds confirmation in I.D. Douglas, Among the Elephants. Both books are very recent.

--ooOoo--

A Select Bibliography

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Appendix

Details of Oxford University Bestiaries on Colour Film Roll

As early as 1959 a commercial firm (then called Micro Methods, now called Educational Productions) published coloured microfilms of the famous Ashmole Bestiary (MS. Ashmole

1511, 70 frames of the illustrated pages) and of MS. St. John's College Oxford 61 (every opening). Thereafter the Bodleian Library began to publish itself, and has published strips supplementary to these.

Though useful for study some lecturers wanted to have transparencies with detailed close-up shots of particular miniatures, for comparison with the Ashmole Bestiary. This led to the production of roll 167 G (30 frames, selected by Mark Landburgh, and roll 217.1-7 showing some of the more popular creatures, such as the panther, unicorn, hyena, bonnacon, manticora, fox, wolf, the faithful dogs of Garamantes and the Pelican).

The earliest Bestiary in the Bodleian (MS. Laud. Misc. 247) was produced in England, about 1125. It contains fine line drawings. Though these are uncoloured they are all reproduced on roll 190 K (38 frames).

The Ashmole Bestiary of about 1200 is perhaps by the same artist as Aberdeen University Library no. 21725. There is an unpretentious fourteenth-century copy in MS. Douce 151 - roll 217.6 which reproduces 17 of its 29 separate pictures. It and MS. Douce 167 (with 35 pictures on twelve tattered brown pages) are exceptional amongst Bodleian Bestiaries in not being photographed on stock black and white microfilm.

BESTIARY LIST

Roll 126	Bestiary Illumination I. Selected illustrations from 3 MSS. English, 12-13th centuries. 18 frames.
" 136 A	Bestiary II. English 13th century. MS. Bodley 764. 36 frames.
" 156 B	Herbal and Bestiary: a child's primer. English, early 16th century. MS. Ashmole 1504. 93 frames.
" 167 G	Bestiary. A selection. English, c. 1200. MS. Ashmole 1511. 29 frames.
" 175 H	English Rural Life. From 26 MSS. (Companion to Bodleian Library Picture Book No. 14). 51 frames. A good selection of animals on this filmstrip.
" 175 L	Parrots. Selected from 20 English and Continental MSS. 20 frames.
" 180 G	Bestiaire d'Amour, by Richard de Fournivall. Metz. 1st half 14th century. MS. Douce 308. 54 frames.
" 186 H(2)	Animal and Plant illustrations from MS. Ashmole 1462. A miscellany composed of 18 tracts in Latin of scientific subjects. English, 13th century. 31 frames.
" 187 G	Conrad Gesner, Historiae Animalium: selection from a printed Bestiary. Zurich, 1551. 16 frames.
" 187 J	Creatures from MS. Ashmole, 1525., a Gallican choir Psalter from St. Augustine's Canterbury, early 13th century. 36 frames.
" 190 K	Bestiary. English, c. 1120-30. MS. Laud. Misc. 247. 40 frames.

Roll	207 B	Hunting, illustrations from four 15th and 16th century MSS. French and Italian. 10 frames.
"	211 D	Dogs from the Romance of Alexander, details. Flemish, 1338-44. MS. Bodley 264. 14 frames.
"	217.1	Bestiary. English, 14th century. MS. Douce 88 (Part 1). 15 frames.
"	217.2	Bestiary. English, 13th century. MS. Douce 88 (Part 6). 11 frames.
"	217.3	Bestiary. English, c. 1200. MS. Ashmole 1511. 10 frames.
"	217.4	Bestiary. Netherlands, 13th century. MS. e. Mus. 136. 13 frames.
"	217.5	Bestiary. English, 14th century. MS. Bodley 533. 12 frames.
"	217.6	Bestiary. ?France, 14th century. MS. Douce 151. 14 frames.
"	217.7	Bestiary. English, c. 1300. (Related to MS. Ashmole 1511). MS. University College 120. 12 frames.
"	242.1	Animals from MS. Bodley 130. Herbal and Book of Medicine from Animals of Sextus Placitus. English, late 11th century. 26 frames.
"	247.6	Cats. English, from 10 MSS. 12th - 15th cents. 10 frames.
"	247.7	Cats. Continental. From 16 MSS. 12th - 17th cents. 17 frames.
"	248.5	Creatures in a Catena on Job. Byzantine, early 16th century. Selected from MS. Laud. Gr. 86. 13 frames.

L'EDITION COMPLETE DES FABLIAUX

Nico Van Den Boogaard

Le lecteur du Miller's Tale ou du Reeve's Tale de Chaucer est renvoyé par Robinson à l'édition de Montaiglon et Raynaud et de même dans le Companion to Chaucer Studies édité par B. Rowland, Brewer nous dit: "The medieval French fabliaux were first edited and studied in the eighteenth century; collections began to be made, and the standard collection of Montaiglon and Raynaud was published 1872-90". De la même façon le lecteur des Boerden hollandais est renvoyé à Montaiglon-Raynaud, tout à fait comme celui qui s'intéresse au Décamerone de Boccace et à ses prédédesseurs, aux Versschwanken en allemand. Et surtout, pour le spécialiste de la littérature médiévale française cette édition presque centenaire reste l'unique source pour la plus grande partie des fabliaux. Certes, nous possédons de bonnes éditions récentes de quelques fabliaux isolés. Je pense aux fabliaux de Gautier le Leu (éd. Livingston), de Rutebeuf (Faral et Bastin), les fabliaux de Barat et Haimet, de St Pierre et le Jongleur et quelques autres. Dans une perspective didactique il faut louer le choix de Johnston et Owen. Mais la plus grande partie, plus de cent textes, n'est pratiquement accessible qu'à travers l'édition de Montaiglon et Raynaud. Or, sans vouloir déprécier de quelque façon que ce soit le travail de ces deux savants (et surtout de Raynaud), compte tenu de l'époque où ils travaillaient, il faut dire que pour la recherche moderne leur édition est insuffisante.

On constate d'abord que le choix des textes n'a pas été

fait selon des critères uniformes: la définition du fabliau est plus restreinte à partir du troisième volume. Ensuite, il faut dire que:

(a) un des codices les plus importants, Berlin, Hamilton 257, qui comprend trente textes, a été utilisé à partir de l'avant-dernier volume; d'autres manuscrits et d'autres fabliaux ont été découverts après la publication.

(b) la présentation typographique du texte (absence de numérotation dans la marge, d'apparat critique et de commentaire) rend cette édition d'un maniement difficile.

(c) les indications pour l'interprétation (le glossaire et les notes explicatives) de ces textes qui, du point de vue de la langue, sont souvent extrêmement difficiles, sont absolument insuffisantes.

(d) les travaux de Rychner, les contributions récentes les plus importantes modernes à l'étude des textes des fabliaux, ont montré que le fabliau vit surtout à travers des variantes et des variations. L'édition Montaiglon - Raynaud ne permet pas de voir comment un fabliau a vécu au Moyen-Age.

(e) la confrontation des translittérations d'une bonne cinquantaine de textes que nous avons entreprises, avec les transcriptions de Montaiglon-Raynaud montrent que la précision souhaitée quant à la fidélité aux mss, laisse beaucoup à désirer.

Toutes ces raisons nous ont amené à étudier sérieusement la nécessité de préparer une édition moderne du corpus des fabliaux. Depuis le début 1972 mes collègues le professeur Geschiere de l'Université Libre d'Amsterdam, le professeur Noomen de l'Université de Groningue et moi-même (de l'Université d'Amsterdam), nous nous sommes réunis régulièrement, deux ou trois fois par mois, pour étudier tous les aspects du problème. Nous avons bientôt constaté que c'était une entreprise de longue haleine, et puisqu'il s'agit d'environ 150 textes dans près de quarante (39) mss différents, il serait indispensable que nous formions un groupe de personnes, qui, avec nous, préparent l'édition. Nous avons la chance d'avoir parmi les assistants et les chargés de cours de nos universités des personnes non seulement enthousiastes mais encore très compétentes: Mlle Spoor, M. Dees, M. Sol et M. Kooyman de l'Université Libre, Mme Dickhout, Mme de Kok, M. Verhulsdonck et M. van Eeden de l'Université d'Amsterdam, M. Exner et M. Gosman de l'Université de Groningue. Mais la compétence et l'enthousiasme seules ne suffisent pas pour qu'on puisse faire un travail scientifique; il faut aussi du temps. Nous avons calculé que chaque université ne pouvait contribuer que 700 heures annuelles à l'entreprise, ce qui ne suffit pas, si l'on songe à un total de 90.000 heures qu'il faut pour mener à bon terme l'entreprise. Nous avons rejeté tout de suite l'idée de faire exécuter la plus grande partie du travail par nos étudiants; ce serait prendre de trop grands risques. Il fallait avoir de jeunes chercheurs qui ayant fini leurs études avec les meilleurs résultats, puissent travailler pendant quelques ans uniquement aux fabliaux. L'Organisation Néerlandaise pour le Développement de la Recherche Scientifique ZWO nous a accordé des subventions qui nous assurent pour 5 à 6 ans de la présence de 3 collaborateurs dans les trois universités, avec une possiblilté de prolongement après cette période et cela dans des conditions qui nous permettent d'attirer les meilleurs (Mme MacGillavry, M. van Os et M. Rus). Nous prévoyons avoir publié le corpus des fabliaux dans 8 ans; le premier volume paraîtra probablement en 1978. Nous avons déjà des contacts avec des éditeurs intéressés.

Mais les difficultés d'une telle entreprise sont faciles à prévoir: une vingtaine de personnes y collaborent et elle s'étend sur 10 ans. Comment, dans ces conditions, assurer et le niveau et l'homogénéité de l'édition. La solution réside, d'après nous, dans une structuration très forte et très explicite d'une part, dans un système de contrôle très poussé de l'autre. C'est pourquoi nous avons établi un certain nombre de règles qui visent à assurer le caractère d'homogénéité de l'édition tout en sauvegardant la liberté individuelle du chercheur. C'est pourquoi nous avons adopté

grosso modo le système de contrôle suivant: le travail pour l'édition d'un seul fabliau est divisé en plusieurs phases et chaque fois qu'un collaborateur termine une partie du travail, il doit la faire contrôler par quelqu'un d'une autre université. Finalement, tout travail doit encore être contrôlé par la direction.

Comme je viens de le dire, l'entreprise doit être fortement structurée, et il est indispensable qu'une série de décisions soit prise avant que le travail proprement dit ne commence. Certaines d'entre elles ont une portée purement organisatrice, mais il y en a qui ont un caractère nettement scientifique et je parlerai de celles-ci. Vous comprenez que dans ce domaine il y a une part d'hésitation, puisque nos décisions sont basées sur des hypothèses concernant des utilisateurs éventuels. C'est pourquoi nous sommes heureux de présenter notre projet ici. Vos remarques critiques nous permettront sans doute de nous corriger sur des points intéressants.

Le premier problème est celui de la définition du fabliau puisqu'elle doit être à la base du corpus lui-même. Je ne veux pas approfondir le sujet devant vous d'autant plus que le professeur Noomen a exposé ses idées sur le problème au Congrès de Linguistique et de Philologie Romane de Naples en 1974, et que M. Spencer vous entretiendra du même sujet tout à l'heure. Je ne mentionne que quelques conséquences pour la constitution du corpus si nous comparons notre liste avec celle de Nykrog. Nous excluons certains récits de la version française de la Disciplina Clericalis, des Fables de Marie de France et quelques autres textes, puisqu'ils ne se présentent pas de façon indépendante, mais comme partie intégrante d'un ensemble plus grand. Nous avons inclu d'autre part un certain nombre de textes qui avaient été signalés par Bédier comme des fabliaux, mais que Nykrog avait retranché de la liste. Le professeur Noomen ici présent veut bien, si vous voulez, préciser ses idées sur le problème. De toute façon, la conséquence de cette définition du fabliau est que nous avons dressé une liste des fabliaux que nous voulons éditer. Mais pour permettre aux chercheurs futurs de manier une définition différente, nous ajoutons à notre édition un volume de textes qui depuis cent ans jouent un rôle important dans les essais de cerner la notion de fabliau. Je nomme le Chevalier Tort, le Songe d'Enfer et le Lai d'Esprevier. Deux autres éléments doivent encore être étudiés pour connaître les contours du corpus à étudier.

Il y a d'abord le problème matériel de la connaissance des mss qui nous ont transmis les textes. Les indications de Bédier, Nykrog, Legry-Rosier et Rychner nous semblent insuffisantes. Un dépouillement des sources manuscrites et imprimées montre qu'il y a bien des choses à ajouter. Nous avons constaté, par exemple, que là où Nykrog ne donne que deux fabliaux pour le recueil de Chantilly, il en renferme en réalité six. Mlle Ladd, qui vouz parlera aussi des fabliaux, en était arrivée à la même conclusion. Encore très récemment Jodoque omet ce manuscrit dans la liste de codices renfermant cinq fabliaux ou plus. Un de nos soucis constants est celui de savoir si quelque part des fabliaux inconnus se cachent : nous dépouillons systématiquement catalogues de bibliothèques et fichiers dans l'espoir d'en trouver. Nous visitons des bibliothèques étrangères pour consulter les manusorits eux-mêmes et pour étudier les catalogues et les fichiers. Nous sommes partout bien accueilli et je me fais plaisir de mentionner ici la gentillesse de notre collègue L. Thorpe de l'Université de Nottingham qui m'a reçu de façon fort sympathique quand j'ai consulté le célèbre manuscrit de Wollaton Hall. Nous avons conçu l'ordre de notre publication de telle façon que des inclusions éventuelles sont toujours possibles.

L'autre problème est formé par le caractère propre du fabliau tel que nous le connaissons à travers ses déformations, ses variantes, ses variations. Où faut-il parler de deux fabliaux différents et où avons-nous affaire à deux témoins quelque peu différents du même fabliau? On voit, et Rychner l'a amplement illustré, que toutes sortes de rapports s'établissent et que tous les degrés imaginables de rapprochements se présentent. La solution que nous adoptons est

principalement la suivante: si deux copies manuscrites ont des vers communs, nous les considérons comme un même fabliau. Quelques cas-limites demandent un traitement spécial: la Male Honte, le Chevalier qui fist parler. De manière générale cependant on peut rendre compte de cette façon de particularités telles que: présence simultanée dans le même codex, noms d'auteurs différents ou anonymat, différence de titres etc. Mais notre objectif principal étant de fournir au lecteur toute l'information nécessaire, nous avons cherché encore d'autres moyens pour permettre au lecteur de voir comment un fabliau a vécu au XIIIme siècle. La formule traditionnelle de Montaiglon et de Raynaud nous semble inadéquate. Ils choisissent un texte de base qu'ils éditent avec un nombre important de corrections et ils rejettent un nombre encore plus grand de variantes dans un apparat critique en fin de volume.

Nous aussi, nous éditons un texte critique: un des mss qui nous semble être le meilleur représentant avec le moins de retouches possibles. Nous y introduisons une ponctuation moderne, mais nous remplaçons l'apparat critique négatif par une édition complète de tous les mss sous forme synoptique où nous conservons au maximum les formes qu'ont revêtues les fabliaux dans les mss. (les Reynardisants parmi vous connaîtront sans aucun doute l'édition Van de Vos Reynaarde par mon collègue Hellinga). Cette double façon d'éditer présente un avantage énorme comparé aux procédés traditionnels, et surtout il nous est possible de rendre service à un très grand nombre de lecteurs de discipline différente: on disposera avec le premier texte d'un bon témoin présenté sous une forme bien lisible, même pour le lecteur non-spécialisé en ancien français. Le texte doit suffire, s'il veut prendre connaissance du fabliau sous sa forme la plus réprésentative. Eventuellement, si les différences entre les versions d'un même fabliau sont importantes, nous éditons ainsi plusieurs textes de base. Mais le spécialiste des transformations des contes, le linguiste trouvera toute l'information nécessaire dans l'édition synoptique. Cela veut dire aussi que nous avons établi deux types de règles pour la présentation des textes, des règles uniformes pour la manière dont il faut les présenter.

Les solutions adoptées sont le résultat d'un compromis. Nous ne pouvions pas aller jusqu'aux limites extrêmes pour être utiles à toutes les personnes intéressées aux fabliaux: dans ce cas il aurait fallu d'une part une série de bons films ou de pièces de théâtre sur les fabliaux, et à l'autre extrémité de bons fac-similés de tous les mss. Nous n'allons pas aussi loin. Notre édition ne pourra pas servir aux paléographes; d'ailleurs ils ne se contenteront pas d'un fac-similé. Mais nous nous efforçons d'atteindre un très haut degré de fidélité aux mss dans la partie dite "synoptique" de notre travail: la résolution des abréviations se fera de manière systématique - un système souple qui s'adapte à chaque fabliau - et se fera répérer par l'emploi d'italiques; le système de ponctuation, d'utilisation de lettres capitales et de lettrines, de disposition sur la page du moyen-âge se retrouvera dans notre édition. Pour le problème de la scriptura continua nous avons adopté le système suivant: lorsque la séparation des mots dans le ms est la même que celle qui est en usage aujourd'hui nous utiliserons un blanc dans l'impression. L'écart le plus fréquent est celui où l'écriture ancienne ne sépare pas des mots là où nous le ferions. Dans ce cas nous utilisons entre deux lettres la moitié d'un blanc normal. Cela permet d'une part une lecture courante, d'autre part ce système a l'avantage qu'il est possible de retrouver la manière dont le copiste avait écrit por ce que. Si l'inverse se produit, et que le copiste sépare des lettres qui ne forment qu'un seul mot - cas beaucoup plus rare - nous signalons notre émendation par l'emploi d'un astérisque. Nous ne corrigeons dans ces textes synoptiques que les fautes évidentes, nous mentionnons les lacunes, les corrections qui sont faites dans le ms même. Malgré ces détails nous sommes encore loin du ms, puisque nous voulons aussi que le texte se lise je dirais comme un roman, disons plutôt comme un fabliau. Nous renonçons donc à tout ce qui pourrait dérouter le lecteur; si nous conservons l'emploi

médiéval de i et j, u et v, nous ne distinguons pas par exemple entre les deux types de s ou d r. Il ne faut pas oublier que l'idée de ces textes synoptiques est née du désir de donner d'une part un texte facilement lisible qui se rapproche le plus du ms, et de les substituer d'autre part aux variantes en bas de page ou en fin de volume.

Si nous voulons offrir la même information que celle contenue dans ces variantes - et même plus - nous devons placer les textes les uns à côté des autres pour permettre une comparaison des vers identiques. Nous avons dû définir ce que c'est que "des vers identiques": des vers qui ont ou bien la même rime ou bien un même "mot fort" et dont la fonction sémantico-narrative, c'est-à-dire le sens global du vers et de son entourage (le vers précédent et le vers suivant) est la même. Nous avons dû déterminer des règles pour la disposition typographique des vers non-identiques, et un système de renvois pour les cas de déplacement. Nous ajoutons à ces textes synoptiques un minimum de notes qui rendent compte des particularités du ms.

Dans l'autre partie de l'édition, celle que j'ai appelée "texte critique", nous allons beaucoup plus loin dans notre commentaire et nous nous efforçons de rapprocher le fabliau autant que possible de l'usager de notre édition. La ponctuation, l'emploi des capitales, la forme des mots se rapproche le plus possible de l'usage du français moderne. Cependant nous avons aussi à tenir compte d'une tradition philologique qui s'est formée pendant les cent dernières années: nous utilisons l'accent aigu, mais nous n'employons pas l'accent grave. Nous avons simplifié la règle compliquée pour l'emploi du tréma tel qu'il figure dans le Rapport pour la SATF dans la Romania. Nous corrigeons le ms là où cela peut aider le lecteur moderne globalement dans quatre cas:

(a) quand il y a des lacunes ou des passages illisibles

(b) quand le nombre de syllabes est inférieur ou supérieur à huit (on pourrait faire une exception peut-être pour les textes anglo-normands)

(c) quand la rime fait défaut ou est incorrecte.

(d) quand un mot, expression ou passage est altéré de manière à être incompréhensible ou peu compréhensible.

Nous ajoutons à ce texte critique un relevé de tous les lieux où nous avons corrigé, des notes et éclaircissements, et dans le cas où la tradition manuscrite nous donne plus d'un témoin, nous expliquons le choix du ms qui sert de base à l'édition critique. Dans ce but nous présentons, si possible, un stemma codicum raisonné ou nous alléguons les autres raisons qui nous ont fait pencher en faveur de tel ou tel ms. Nous refaisons cette opération pour chaque fabliau, car nous refusons d'accepter des généralités du genre: le ms A (Paris BN fr. 837) présente le plus grand nombre de fabliaux, il donne très souvent une leçon acceptable, voire très bonne, donc nous l'acceptons partout où il se présente. Cela ne serait pas faire un travail scientifique sérieux.

Il est cependant un autre point où le codex est pris comme principe organisateur. Je parle de l'ordre de la publication. Nous avons beaucoup discuté de l'ordre possible et nous avons rejeté les possibilités alternatives suivantes:

(1) d'après les auteurs, puisque l'anonymat prédomine.

(2) d'après les sujets ou les thèmes. Il y a là deux possibilités: grouper les mêmes thèmes; dans ce cas nous prévoyons des discussions sans fin sur la définition des thèmes et l'appartenance de tel ou tel fabliau à un groupe plutôt qu'à un autre. D'ailleurs nous ne voulons pas présenter un nouveau Bédier ou Nykrog, mais le matériel sur lequel des études littéraires peuvent se baser. On peut aussi essayer de grouper chaque fois le plus grand nombre de thèmes différents, ce que j'appelle "un beau désordre". C'est le système, si j'ose dire, de Montaiglon-Raynaud. Cela n'aide guère le chercheur à se retrouver facilement dans les 140 textes.

(3) d'après l'ordre alphabétique qui résulte du titre ou de l'incipit. Comme ces critères

peuvent varier dans les mss d'un même fabliau nous avons rejeté cette possibilité.

La meilleure solution nous semble être de publier les fabliaux d'après les mss où ils se trouvent et dans l'ordre donné par le ms. Nous commençons par tous les fabliaux du ms qui en donne le plus grand nombre (A) et nous passons ensuite aux autres mss dans l'ordre décroissant du nombre de fabliaux qu'il donne.

Deux remarques sont à faire que j'illustrerai avec un exemple. Le Valet aux douze femmes se trouve dans les mss A, C, E, I. C'est le no. 28 de la liste des fabliaux du ms. A, et il portera donc le no. 28 dans notre publication. C'est à cette place, et non parmi les fabliaux de C, E ou I, que nous publierons le texte critique et tous les 4 textes synoptiques. Mais le choix du texte critique est déterminé par des critères indépendants, et nous insérons donc, dans le volume consacré à cette partie du ms A, le texte critique d'après I. Le lecteur qui désire trouver à cette place la version du ms A, la trouvera parmi les textes synoptiques et placée à gauche des trois autres. J'ai parlé surtout de l'établissement du texte, mais le travail philologique le plus important et le plus intéressant, et qui détermine la valeur d'une publication est le commentaire. Une partie du commentaire se trouve dans la façon dont on corrige le texte et le pourvoit d'une ponctuation. Dans les notes nous discutons:

(a) les problèmes en rapport avec l'établissement du texte;

(b) des mots et passages dont l'interprétation soulève des difficultés;

(c) des questions de caractère historique, culturel, linguistique ou littéraire, bref de caractère extra-textuel qui peuvent contribuer à une meilleure compréhension en profondeur du texte. Mais nous croyons que le meilleur commentaire suivi, et qui rend le plus grand service, est une traduction en français moderne et nous voudrions l'ajouter à notre édition.

On peut se demander si dans ces conditions un glossaire sera nécessaire, et surtout quel type de glossaire il faut préférer. La réponse dépend des conclusions sur la catégorie d'usage auxquels nous nous adressons. Très globalement, on peut penser aux catégories suivantes:

(1) Les étudiants. Dans ce cas le glossaire ne doit pas être trop restreint.

(2) Les philologues spécialistes de l'ancien français. Un glossaire restreint suffira qui résout des problèmes spécifiques, enregistre des significations remarquables et rares.

(3) Les personnes qui s'intéressent à la science de la littérature en général. Le glossaire sera encore plus étendu que pour les étudiants.

(4) Les spécialistes de la poétique médiévale. En ce qui concerne les interprétations le glossaire tiendrait le milieu entre ceux des catégories 1 et 2. Il faudrait encore ajouter autant d'information que possible sur la composition totale du vocabulaire.

(5) Les linguistes qui s'occupent de l'ancien français ou de l'histoire de la langue. Un inventaire exhaustif sera tout indiqué.

La traduction peut contenter en grande partie les catégories 1 et 3. Pour les catégories 4 et 5 on pourrait envisager un projet spécial, un lexique complet. Mais cette entreprise énorme ne pourrait pas être intégrée à l'édition des fabliaux. Nous pensons plutôt à un glossaire par volume qui s'adresserait en particulier à la catégorie 2, c'est-à-dire à vous. C'est pourquoi je vous soumets l'idée suivante. Grosso modo nous pourrons inclure chaque mot (et chaque occurrence de ce mot) qui comporte moins de 3 citations dans le sens en question dans les dictionnaires Tobler-Lammatsch et/ou Godefroy. Cependant nous constituons en ce moment un fichier où figurent tous les mots qu'on ne trouverait pas - ou dans un sens différent - dans le Petit Larousse. Cela nous permettra de changer la forme du glossaire si nous renonçons, pour des raisons pratiques ou autres, à la publication simultanée de la traduction en français moderne.

J'ai déjà parlé d'un projet annexe qui serait possible dans un avenir encore assez éloigné: le lexique complet.

D'autres études se dessinent déjà en marge de notre travail: des études sur la tradition manuscrite et le problème de la filiation, soit des fabliaux en particulier soit de caractère théorique, sur les habitudes d'un copiste d'un des manuscrits de fabliaux (M. Verhulsdonck), études sur tel ou tel auteur de fabliaux. Nous comptons profiter de ces études pour notre Introduction générale, mais nous essayons de ne pas trop nous éloigner du but que nous nous proposons: l'édition de tous les fabliaux français du moyen-âge. Vous comprenez que, une fois lancé, je pourrais encore beaucoup parler de cette entreprise qui est portée par l'enthousiasme de tant de personnes. Je ne le ferai pas maintenant, car ce qui vaut pour les fabliaux, selon l'auteur anonyme de la Crote, vaut certainement pour le genre littéraire de la conférence:

LI FABLEL CORT ET PETIT
ANUIENT MAINS QUE LI TROP LONC.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE COLLARED DEER

Michael Bath

The motif of the white hart, commonly shown with collar and possibly chain attached, will be most familiar to us as an inn sign. There is no mystery about the origin of the sign; it comes, as so many of our inn signs do, from the heraldic armoury where it is famous as the badge of King Richard II. My main purpose in this paper is to trace the motif to its source in the curious medieval legend of Caesar's deer, and to discuss its significance in the light of the wider iconography of the deer in the middle ages. The legend that Caesar put a collar on a deer which lived to a miraculous age is derived from Greek legends relating to the Homeric founders of ancient cities. I shall be attempting to make a case for seeing the medieval significance of the legend in the context of a renovatio imperium romanorum. I want to begin by looking at three English examples of the legend.

A few miles from Sherborne in Dorset is a village with the curious name King's Stag. It lies in the Blackmore Vale, which in medieval times was a royal deer forest. Hardy refers to the Vale in Tess of the D'Urbervilles,

> The Vale was known in former times as the forest of White Hart, from a curious legend of King Henry III's reign, in which the killing by a certain Thomas de la Lynd of a beautiful white hart which the king had run down and spared, was made the occasion of a heavy fine.

This anecdote was first recorded by Camden, and has been repeated by local historians ever since. Outside the original village inn there used to hang a sign, the earliest

reference to which dates from 1829, displaying a white hart with a gold collar. On the reverse were the following verses,

> When Julius Caesar landed here
> I was then a little deer;
> When Julius Caesar reigned king
> Round my neck he put this ring
> Whoever shall me overtake
> Spare my life for Caesar's sake.

In these verses a local anecdote which probably has some historical basis, since a fine known as white hart silver was paid into the exchequer by certain Dorset estates as late as the mid-19th century, has become associated with a very ancient legend.

That the verses themselves are older than the date 1829 would suggest is confirmed by my next example. In 1661, the naturalist, John Ray, visited Yorkshire on one of his Itineraries. On 3rd August he was near Leeds,

> Then we rode through a bushet or common, called Rodwell Hake, two miles from Leeds, where (according to the vulgar tradition) was once found a stag, with a ring of brass about its neck, bearing this inscription:
>
> 'When Julius Caesar here was king,
> About my neck he put this ring:
> Whosoever doth me take
> Let me go for Caesar's sake.'

Ray tells us no more about the origin of these verses, nor does he identify his source further. I find it rather curious that two such close variants of the same verses should be found so widely diffused. My next example deepens the mystery. In a book written c.1445 called De Militari Officio, Nicholas Upton speaks of a stag killed in Windsor forest. Upton was sometime precentor of Salisbury Cathedral, where he is remembered for his unsuccessful mission to Rome to obtain the canonisation of Osmund, its founder. His book on the science of arms contains a section on animals used as armorial devices, in which he seems more interested in zoology than iconography. After paraphrasing Pliny and Isidore on deer, he goes on to supply a piece of information of his own. It is about the only piece of original information in the book.

> I have often heard about a stag which was killed in Windsor forest at the stone called Besauntestone near Bagshot, which stag had a golden collar, on which was written,
>
> Julius Cesar quant jeo fu petis
> Ceste coler sur mon col ad mys.

Upton does not pause to consider how Caesar came to write in Old French, indeed with an engaging ingenuousness he translates the motto into Latin for the benefit of his learned readers. If we in turn translate we get something very close to the Dorset and Yorkshire variants. "When I was a little deer/ Caesar put this collar here".

There will only be time on this occasion to summarise the classical sources very briefly. Three of these are known to me, the earliest of which relate to the legendary Homeric founders of Greek cities. Already in these versions it is possible to see the legend as a pledge of imperial or national continuity. Pausanias, for instance, tells of a deer captured in Arcadia with an inscribed collar put there "when Agapenor was at Troy". Agapenor was the leader of the Arcadians in Homer. The deer was recaptured by a descendant of the leader of the Arcadians in a celebrated victory over their Spartan invaders. Pausanias says that this shows that deer live longer even than elephants. Another collared deer is to be found in a work popularly attributed to Aristotle, entitled De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, "The Wonders of Hear-say". This records that a deer was recaptured in Apulia in Italy with an inscribed collar, dedicated to Artemis, which had been placed there by Diomedes. After his Homeric exploits, which included stealing the Palladium, tradition had it that Diomedes sailed westwards to Italy where he founded colonies and became the legendary foe of Aeneas. He was strongly associated with Greek patriotism in the struggle against Roman domination of the peninsula. Finally, Pliny records in his Natural History that Alexander the Great put collars on several deer which were recaptured one hundred years after his death. Pliny uses this story as evidence that deer live to a great age. Pliny's example was familiar to several of the medieval commentators on our legend, and indeed as late as the seventeenth-century, writers

will be found affirming that deer live to a great age, and citing Alexander's deer as evidence.

The essential medieval form of the legend may be illustrated by a version given by early annalists of the deer seen by Charles VI in the forest of Senlis. A deer was captured wearing a collar bearing the inscription Caesar hoc mihi donavit. Thereafter, Charles adopted the winged deer as his badge. Robert Gaguin, repeating the legend some hundred years later, commented that we should not infer from this that the collar was put there by Julius, but rather by some other emperor 'quandoquidem a primo illo Cesare quemvis imperatorem cesarez apellari usus atque autoritas obtinuit'; which comes close to recognising the legend as a symbol of imperial descent. Indeed it seems probable that the legend has everything to do with kings, and nothing to do with stags. In the middle ages, although this meaning is seldom spelled out by commentators, the collared deer appears to have become a symbol of the Roman empire, it is Caesar's deer, a pledge of the survival of the imperial ideal. As Robert Folz has shown, whatever the fragmentation of actual history, the ideal of empire is unbroken, the Palladium must be handed on, the penates jealously protected. The deer is sacred to Caesar, it must not be killed, or to quote the motto which was most commonly found on its collar 'Noli me tangere, Caesaris enim sum'.

My next example shows exactly how the deer might be collared by a later emperor, who in Gaguin's words, had borrowed the title and the authority of the first caesars, for the version recorded in an inscription on the walls of Lübeck Cathedral attributes the deer to Charlemagne, who is supposed to have put a collar on the neck of a stag which he had captured in the woods of Holstein. Four hundred years later it was captured by Henry the Lion. Henry, no less than Diomedes or Alexander, was a founder of cities, and uniter of empires. At one stage his possessions stretched from the North Sea to the Adriatic. Of course, Charlemagne's legitimate successor was not Henry, but the Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, but it is not difficult to see why, particularly in a town such as Lübeck, which owed a great deal to Henry's patronage, it should be Henry himself who is identified with Charlemagne.

Frederick's own imperial pretensions are well known, indeed one of the reasons why Henry was left to rule in Germany was that Frederick left his country in order to receive the imperial crown in Rome. As Robert Folz shows, the period saw a strong revival of imperial ideology. It is no accident that the earliest versions of this legend should go back to Troy, for Troy represents the genesis of all subsequent European imperial myths. The Franks had traced their own imperial lineage back to Troy as early as the 12th century.

However, this Lübeck version also shows the syncretic tendency of medieval symbols, since according to the inscription, the deer seen by Henry the Lion not only wore a collar, but also bore a crucifix between its horns. The animal picks up with this detail a quite separate and more familiar iconographic tradition which has received more study. Its most familiar source will be the legend of St Eustace, first recorded in the 8th century, and a popular subject with illustrators. The iconography of the cruciferous stag has been recently surveyed by Marcelle Thiébaux, however, it is not commonly remarked how this vision was commonly linked to the foundation of abbeys. In the Lübeck version, the vision leads Henry to found the cathedral on the spot, indeed the purpose of the inscription is to account for the cathedral's foundation. It was similarly a deer which showed the Duke of Anségise where to found the Abbey of Fécamp. One of the prime functions of deer in medieval legend is as angeloi or messengers.

It may be worth commenting on the Christian iconography of the stag at this point as it features in the Bestiaries. In classical zoology the stag was thought to rejuvenate itself by eating a serpent, and then hurrying to drink water to neutralise the venom. The bestiaries picked up the idea and quoted the psalm text (Quemadmodum desiderat cervus...) or further allegorised the details in a variety of ways. It is tempting to make a connection between the classical idea of the stag rejuvenating itself - commonly it was thought the stag could live for 50 years before it ate the serpent, when it would thereby secure another 50 year span - with the other common idea that the stag is extremely long lived. And indeed this idea would surely support the propriety

of making the stag into a symbol of imperial renovatio. It has to be said, however, that none of the medieval commentators to my knowledge makes explicit this equation.

The Christian iconography is picked up by St François de Sales. Speaking of the natural inclination of the human heart to love God, St François says that this love links us to God, just as the inscribed collars bind deer to those great princes who have captured them and set them at liberty. St François refers to several deer, presumably because he was aware of several versions of the legend, and indeed one might attribute Pliny's earlier plural to the same cause. It is clear that he understands the deer as a symbol of the human soul, though his paradoxical point about freedom and imprisonment seems to be creative and original.

Petrarch's well-known sonnet 'Una candida cerva...', although it inspired imitations which belong more clearly to the secular and Ovidian tradition of the love-chase, itself has strong affinities with the religious tradition. For instance, the hind (it has suffered a change of sex - in earlier examples the sex, where specified, is male) appears to Petrarch in a symbolic vision. The inscription on its collar dedicates it to Caesar:

> Nessun me tocchi.....
> Libera farmi al mio Cesare parve.

The paradoxical freedom resembles St François. Most of Petrarch's early editors confidently identify Caesar as God, though some believe Caesar is the lady's husband. Frequently, they spell out the allusion to Caesar's deer, citing Pliny, and in one case refering to the deer of Charles VI. The motto is invariably given as 'Noli me tangere, Caesaris enim sum', or a close variant, indeed one editor states that this formula had become proverbial, a suggestion that is confirmed, since the family of Pompei used two harts for the supporters on their coat of arms, collared with the letters N.M.T. for 'Nemo me tangere' - presumably the motto was so familiar that the letters needed no spelling out. Presumably also the inflection would be something translatable as 'Wha daur meddle wi' me'.

In Wyatt's imitation of Petrarch, the inflection is rather 'Noli me tangere - keep your hands off'. Wyatt's deer may be Anne Boleyn, with whom he is rumoured to have had an affair, in which case his Caesar is Henry VIII. With Wyatt we are more clearly in the amorous and Ovidian tradition. Petrarch's symbolic vision is turned into a futile and cynically observed love-chase - though one of Petrarch's editor's had already used the phrase 'L'amorosa cacchia'. Petrarch's unique vision becomes in Wyatt a general condition, from which there is no escape, moreover, it is the lover who is the prisoner, tied to the pursuit of the deer by his own alliteration: 'fainting I follow', the deer is free and fickle:

> Noli me tangere, for Caesar's i ame
> And wild for to hold, though I seme tame.

Wyatt's poem conforms to one of the recurrent narrative patterns of the hunting metaphor in literature (distinguished by Marcelle Thiébaux) where the hunter becomes the victim.

I want to return finally and briefly to Richard II's badge. According to a late MS, Richard borrowed the device from his mother, the Fair Maid of Kent, whose badge was, however, a white hind. The badge was first brought into prominence at a tournament in Smithfield in 1390, and was widely distributed among his followers. Charles VI adopted the winged stag as his badge about the same time, and it is possible that Richard knew of its legendary significance, even before he married Charles's daughter, Isabella, in 1396. It would be tempting to connect the badge with Richard's little known imperial pretensions, since from about 1394 onwards, Richard sought election as Holy Roman Emperor. A statue of him wearing the triple crown as Emperor designate can still be seen in York Minster.

In conclusion, it has to be admitted that the evidence for an imperial interpretation of this symbol is only circumstantial. None of those who refer to it in the middle ages explicitly interprets it as a symbol of renovatio. Usually, their minds are on other things; the life of stags, the love of God, or the marital status of Laura. The iconography

of the deer, however, is complex, and I would argue that in the fragmentary versions which have come down to us, the probable imperial significance has been overlaid by traditions of allegorising or interpretating the deer symbol which were manifestly more strongly established, and are hence more familiar to modern animal iconologists.

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GENERIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FABLIAUX: A CRITIQUE OF NYKROG

Richard Spencer

The aim of this paper is to evaluate Professor Nykrog's contribution to fabliaux studies and to draw conclusions as to possible lines of future research.

Our starting point must inevitably be Bédier, if only to set the record straight. For, as N. points out, B., for so long after 1893 the undisputed authority in the field, has often been misrepresented by over-simplification. Like most scholars of his era he is obsessed by origins rather than by structures, though not unaware of the synchronic alternative. In his work B. first attacks the 'orientalists' (i.e. Gaston Paris) for their exclusive interest in more or less remote sources. The second part, which concerns us here, studies the fabliaux as products of medieval French society and develops two main arguments: (i) that the fabliaux are definable as 'contes à rire en vers', often not markedly amusing, more typically bawdy, rarely if ever satirical, but contemptuous of women; and (ii) that 'originairement l'œuvre des bourgeois' they flourish within a whole complex of 'bourgeois' literature in the XIII and XIV centuries, particularly in the towns of N.E. France.

But B. doesn't stop there: as his use of 'originairement' suggests, the link with the bourgeoisie is not seen by him as permanently exclusive. What he calls 'l'esprit des fabliaux' appears early in the epics of the XII century as 'un élément comique, plaisant, vilain', and the same influence is at work in even the most aristocratic genres. As B. puts it, there is 'confusion des publics' and also 'promiscuité des genres'.

In other words, just as the 'noble' genres circulate among the bourgeois (Jean Bodel writes a version of the Caisnes) so courtly circles appreciate the fabliaux. I should add that this erudite and perceptive study remains indispensable despite its deference to late XIX century prejudices.

N.'s stated intention is to present the fabliaux as a 'genre courtois', inseparable from the courtly milieux. Using much the same evidence as B., he suggests that lais, romans and fabliaux are addressed to the same audiences, the fabliaux being a kind of distorting mirror caricaturing the more sublime genres. In his conclusions N. goes so far as to say that 'la littérature narrative profane en ancien français se présente à nous comme un Janus à deux visages, sans pour cela cesser d'être un tout indivisible'. Hence the two theses seem to have considerable common ground since neither precludes the idea of a national literature in which the influence of the feudal classes remains paramount, and which includes the fabliaux. The two differ about origins but not about possible developments over the period of 150 years involved. N.'s Essai sur les origines suggests that the most probable ancestor of the fabliaux is the Fables of Marie de France; B. speaks more vaguely of 'l'esprit des fabliaux' but can point to solid evidence concerning the earliest writers of such works.

B.'s other main contention about contes à rire is not questioned by N. His work is arranged in two sections, both designed to controvert not so much the real thesis advanced by B. as the vulgarised notion of the fabliaux as 'bourgeois literature'. The first part discusses aspects suggestive of a courtly audience, the second argues the courtly nature of apparently anti-courtly traits. A preliminary historical survey of fabliaux studies constitutes an invaluable research instrument for which N. deserves high praise.

The thesis proper begins with evidence drawn from the texts and MSS that these poems were widely circulated and recited before courtly as well as bourgeois audiences: confusion des publics, promiscuité des genres. A statistical analysis of themes then seeks to show that the difference between fabliaux and other 'courtly' genres is basically one of style. The one is the 'caricature grotesque' of the other.

This use of themes, according to sociological techniques, seems to have questionable application to literature, for the reader never knows where theme ends and conte begins. Thematic analysis is too often a substitute for analysis of the poems themselves, and one moderately complex conte can give rise to a number of themes, which then assume equal significance in their respective categories. Thus the Vilain Mire or the Segretain moine are classified for certain purposes as 'erotic' stories even though their erotic content is minimal.

Most of N.'s argument rests on a minority of the total harvest of themes, those he calls 'érotiques', though it should be noted that a fair proportion of this group are only peripherally 'erotic'. Some forty themes considered non erotic are treated with scant ceremony - in much the same fashion as B. deals with his fabellae ignobilium. Within the 'erotic' group, the main discussion concentrates eventually upon a minority of themes involving either the trio of husband and lovers, or two protagonists (husband-wife / two lovers / seducer and prey, etc). There is an obvious similarity between this type of theme and those found in courtly literature, as is evident in a poem like the Vair Palefroi, or more precisely perhaps in the Lai de l'Ombre. A useful point arising from this analysis is that the fabliau tends to highlight, within the trio, the husband and wife, whereas the courtly tale puts the lovers to the fore. But the claim that the fabliaux are therefore to be seen as the 'caricature burlesque' of the courtly genre seems far-fetched, even when confined to 'erotic' 'triangular' themes.

N.'s study of parody has rightly been praised by some critics for its originality. Ample evidence is produced to show parody not merely of courtly romances but also of epic and moralistic poems. Yet it must be said that the extent of the phenomenon is exaggerated by loose use of the term parody to include mere quotations as well as structured types of burlesque. Besides, parody and burlesque are two-sided phenomena. The parody of a Breton lai for instance is not necessarily appreciated only by aristocrats.

There is again concentration on 'triangular' themes when the author examines the conflicts of male characters in the

hope of discovering from their outcome the prejudices and attitudes of the typical audience. He assumes that even if these stories attract socially mixed audiences, the tastes of the 'courtois' will predominate. The 'courtois' are also assumed to have common attitudes. Once again one is aware of the weaknesses of the method used: often the data are so meagre as to be statistically insignificant, and the process obscures the true nature of the tales ultimately involved, some of which are primarily about feats of cuckoldry in which the woman's role is predominant. An obvious example is Aubeféé, which provides one of the two themes involving bourgeois lovers, despite the fact that all the action depends on the entremetteuse herself, and is mainly concerned with her ingenuity in proving the innocence of the wife. The statistics, after awkward exceptions have been eradicated, are nevertheless taken to show an essentially tripartite social picture, which, the author maintains, corresponds to aristocratic concepts, though it seems also to reflect the traditional notion of the three estates, and to be imposed here by the need for vraisemblance. N. further claims that this analysis reveals deep respect for the nobles, centempt for the vilains, and ambivalence towards the bourgeoisie. The least satisfactory part of the discussion concerns the clergy, whose relationship to courtly circles is, incidentally, never clarified. Their presence in the fabliaux and particularly in the 'erotic' types which interest N., is not investigated. The author's approach and his findings mark no advance on B.'s. There is the same descriptive, 'synthetic' method which arbitrarily collates traits torn from context to form a composite and necessarily dubious picture. A survey of the ranks of the clergy which makes no distinction between friars and monks, leads to the conclusion that bishops, who rarely figure in the fabliaux, are less popular than the ordinary run of clergy. One presumes that this conclusion is based exclusively on the 'thèmes à triangle'.

In the second part N. deserves credit for his positive appreciation, supported by analysis of specific texts and appraisal of known authors, of the literary art of the fabliaux. By contrast, the chapter on 'Love and Marriage' is abstract in its arguments and somewhat devious in its approach. If Guillaume au faucon is to be regarded as a fabliau how can one justify the decision to exclude it and others of the same type from discussion? N. is intent first on presenting a crude antithesis between the coarsely physical love of the fabliaux and the sublime variety found in courtly poems and perhaps also in aristocratic practice. But this antithesis is later attenuated on the one hand by the suggestion that courtly mores are not so sublime as to exclude sex, and on the other by the arbitrary inclusion of clerks (i.e. students) and bourgeois lovers in the courtly category. In this way tales like Les Tresses or the Borgoise d'Orléans are placed implicitly in the 'courtly' bracket, even though they concern cuckoldry and not 'service d'amour'. The so-called 'fabliaux grossiers' are by the same token limited to those dealing with 'les amours inavouables et grossiers des prêtres, etc.', which we are assured gave pleasure to the aristocracy. Unfortunately N. identifies only two poems as being in this category: Le Fol Vilain and La Sorisete. Yet he concludes that 'L'amour grossier des fabliaux, c'est l'amour des autres tel que se le représente le beau monde courtois' - a conclusion both unwarranted and ingenious. As for the treatment of marriage, it remains merely descriptive, with the emphasis on its grotesque (i.e. non courtly) character. The marital harmony found in Constant du Hamel or in Brunain is ignored.

Similarly N.'s discussion of the treatment of women in the fabliaux, with its disproportionate reliance on theorists like Andreas Capellanus and the abstract nature of its arguments, never measures up to the problems involved. It is significant that he should deal separately with love, marriage and male and female characters instead of analysing texts where they are all involved. There is no challenge to B.'s view that the fabliaux express 'une sorte de colère contre les femmes ... êtres inférieurs ... malfaisants', despite the fact that it involves imposing a non-literary criterion on a literary genre, and also conflicts with the notion of conte à rire. N. chooses rather to prove that mysogyny and courtly adoration are two sides of the coin of aristocratic society - a point B. readily endorses.

Finally, the question of obscenity - B. found this embarrassing. In his view the obscene fabliaux are 'un dernier cercle secret, où nous ne pénétrerons pas'. They are

'l'aboutissant extrême ... de l'esprit gaulois' - a sort of regrettable phenomenon, explicable in terms of human nature. Such tales are found in 'les bas-fonds de toutes les littératures'. Yet, as far as the fabliaux are concerned B. links obscenity to no specific type of audience, and merely (325-6) remarks that the obscene poems were not the least well-received. N. seems to have misunderstood B.'s point, for he takes 'bas-fonds' to refer to the lower classes. On the other hand his examination of the stylistic uses of obscenity marks a definite step forward. He argues that the frank and almost violent introduction of obscene terms represents something no more generally tolerated in XIII century society than today, being especially distasteful to women. At the same time obscenity corresponded to a long literary tradition already visible in medieval Latin verse.

Contrary to widespread belief, the term 'genre courtois burlesque' (228) is applied by N. only to a restricted group of fabliaux: the central core of what he calls the 'erotic' themes. It is upon these types that, as we have seen, his thesis rests, and one can surely accept that in this group there is indeed a considerable element of 'burlesque' in the sense of a parody of the more solemn courtly genres. An excellent example is Du chevalier qui fit les cons parler, one of the most frequently copied poems, about a knight down on his luck, accompanied by his hard-headed squire, who comes upon fairies bathing in a forest pool. When the squire steals their clothes, the courteous knight returns them, and is rewarded with three gifts. He is given wealth, like Lanval; and powers partly indicated by the title. In his subsequent adventures the powers are demonstrated, as in a grotesque wager with a countess, whose rapid discomfiture greatly diverts the court and the count himself. This is a tale full of Arthurian allusions, in which all the bienséances, both real and literary, are overturned, including the merveilleux. It is a direct parody of 'courtoisie', without a vilain in sight, unless it be the squire. But whether it could appeal only to a courtly audience is a matter of conjecture.

This category of 'burlesque courtois' would presumably include those fabliaux Professor Reid has called 'courtois', such as Guillaume au faucon and Le Chevalier qui recouvra, which also clearly allude to more orthodox sentimental poems.

As for the rest of the poems, N.'s conclusions are not without vagueness. What is the relationship of the 'non-erotic' fabliaux, and what one might call the 'pseudo-erotic' ones, to the 'beau monde'? We are never directly informed, but N. seems to be tacitly including them in his scheme when he speaks (235) of the fabliaux as 'le monde idéal de tout ce qui est contraire à l'élégance seigneuriale: c'est le milieu de la courtoisie du vilain, de la négation de l'idéal, de tout ce qui est "a toute rien contrere"'. This is an attractive generalisation but one still too narrow to accommodate all the fabliaux. Can we for instance fit into this pattern a poem like Le vilain qui conquist paradis par plait? The vilain hero is so underprivileged that at his death no angel or devil seeks his soul. But not only is he a good Christian according to the teachings of the Church, he is also resourceful and endowed with courtly qualities of eloquence and persistence, thanks to which he wins his case against apostles who see Heaven as the home of the courtois. Thus, privilege is overcome by a vilain who is not really a vilain, and indeed the poet plays on the word, raising by implication the question of its true meaning. Thus in the make-believe of the fabliau the world is turned upside down, but surely not in the sense suggested by N. The poem is not without ambiguity, but in at least one of its aspects it surely belongs to a literature of compensation in which dreams come true as in the Land of Cockayne. It is this aspect which accounts in Le Vilain Mire for the fairy-tale quality mentioned by N.: essentially the crude and horny-handed vilain triumphs in the world of 'courtoisie'. A similar analysis could be made of poems like Dou poire mercier, La Male Honte, le Vilain au buffet and Connebert, as well as Baillet. What is meant by 'la courtoisie du vilain'? What is a 'vilain'? Is he simply a man of the countryside, a peasant? But is the gap between 'vilain' and 'bourgeois' as wide as N.'s arguments suggest? The 'bouchier' of Abbeville is described as 'vilains', but the husbands of the Prestre crucifié and of the Prestre teint as 'bourgeois'.

What does 'genre courtois' mean as applied to the fabliaux? Towards the end of the first section N. tells us that these poems (no doubt only the erotic ones!) 'dépeignent les mœurs érotiques des non eburtois telles que se les figurent les courtois'.

This seems to have two implications: first, that the 'non courtois" are in fact priests, since bourgeois and clerkly lovers are classed as honorary courtois and in vilain households it is priests who hold the torch of Venus. But are all priests even at the parish level regarded as non-courtois? They are certainly not so regarded by the vilains themselves, as the Vilain Mire demonstrates, and those we find in Aloul and Baillet have a taste for courtly dalliance. Most priestly lovers have two essential features in common with the 'courtois' proper: they have time on their hands and they are privilégiés who live on dues. Moreover it is worth asking why the sexual conflict so rarely opposes vilain to vilain, and whether such struggles in the fabliaux are to be understood exclusively at the sexual level. Secondly there is the implication that the fabliaux, if not written by courtois, are somehow produced for them and represent their views. How can this be squared with what we know of Jean Bodel, whom N. himself sees as the probable inventor of the genre? On all the evidence Bodel is a man of the town, who worked in Arras as a functionary of some kind, at least for part of his career. He was probably associated with patrons from the nobility as well as from the bourgeoisie, but his status seems to have been that of an intermediate element. It is this social ambiguity which we find reflected in his carefully composed fabliaux. In Brunain, Le Vilain de Bailleul and Des deus chevaus he is obviously sympathetic to the vilains when they confront clerics whose worldliness is obviously not approved. But what could develop into violent anti-clericalism is suppressed and ambiguous conclusions leave the issue open. Bodel knows the vilains without despising them. He also knows the Church and he fears its power. But Bodel and his work do not fit into the picture of the fabliau as a courtly genre. Nor do Rutebeuf and Gautier le Leu. Beaumanoir and Henri d'Andeli are of suitable social origin, but the fabliaux ascribed to them hardly support N.'s case, for Le lai d'Aristote, though 'courtois' in tone, is not a burlesque, while De Fole Larguece is only marginally a fabliau according to N. (17-18), with its marked moralistic tone. It had moreover an anti-courtois slant. There might be support for N. from the way Jean de Condé angles the story of Du Clerc qui fu repus derriere l'escrin for while the bourgeoise, gay, amorous and clearly much in demand, is a familiar figure, the husband is shown as a mere poltroon in face of his two rivals, and in the same writer's Des Braies au prestre we are also told of the ridicule incurred by the husband wearing the priest's breeches. But both these are examples of 'thèmes érotiques triangulaires', always open to comparison with courtly tales.

From my own observations and from the reactions of reviewers a number of points emerge which have a possible bearing on fabliau studies. One is the realism of the fabliaux, or more precisely what Dr.C.C. Williams sees as a combination of humdrum setting and objective patterns on the one hand, and, on the other, farcical plots and elemental motifs. Dr. Pearcy makes a similar point. Linked with this problem is the realisation that many fabliaux are not purely humorous but have also some moral content, which may or may not be expressed as a formal moral ending. B. was of course aware of this, but could not retain the point in his main argument. It has more recently been taken up by both Togeby and Jodogne. The latter even embodies it in his suggested definition of the genre as 'un conte en vers, où, sur un ton trivial, sont narrés une ou plusieurs anecdotes plaisantes ou exemplaires, l'un et l'autre ou l'un ou l'autre'. Livingston finds a similar contradiction in Gautier le Leu. It is a pity that N. pursues neither aspect. The conte à rire formula is ill-suited to the fabliaux whose homour is rarely, even if we allow for the effect of skilled public performance, such as to provoke laughter. It is often in Dr. Williams' phrase 'straight-faced and drily sarcastic'. B. and N. may well be right in rejecting the idea of satire in the fabliaux, if by 'satire' is meant a specific form of literature which directly attacks a person or a group. B.'s narrow definition of the term is well-designed to support his general formula of contes à rire, yet he comes close to admitting that there is anti-clerical satire in the fabliaux. In this connexion some critics have spoken of 'stock characters' who are traditionally the object of irony or jest, but without explaining the origins of these characters, or apparently taking into account the ample evidence of concern expressed as much by Church leaders as by political satirists and moralists over the condition of the clergy. Most fabliaux

tell a story, and any social comment they make is indirect, unless it appears in an introduction or conclusion, but the subjects they treat and the way they deal with them are often highly significant. A nod is often in such circumstances as good as a wink. Rutebeuf's tone in Le Testament de l'âne is urbane, but the whole poem is a trenchant condemnation of the worldliness of both bishop and priest. If the one is an avaricious 'vilain', the other because of his 'courtoisie' is also a money-grubber. The apparently simple tale of the Prevoire qui mangea les mûres has much more point viewed against the background of discontent with the clergy. This priest is a businessman whose wordly attachments are spelled out: his mesnie, his prestresse, his horse and his commercial activities all interfere with his minimal duties. It is greed that compounds his venial fall from grace, and no doubt his effete inability to escape single-handed from the brambles is also symbolical of his worldly interests.

Poems of this sort are close in spirit if not always in form to the exemplum tradition and this in turn is connected with the rise of the universities and the Goliards. Edmond Faral and others, including recently Professor Beyer, have linked the fabliaux with a Latin tradition. B. makes mention of the Goliards, and both he and N. point to similarities between the attitudes to sex expressed by the fabliaux and those found in Jean de Meung. But this broad philosophical dimension still remains to be fitted to the fabliaux as a genre.

Some shortcomings in the work of N. which he shares with B. notably the synthetic approach I have noted more than once, are the result of the very nature of their enterprise. How can one adequately define and classify as a single genre what is an admittedly heterogeneous collection of poems scattered in time over 150 years and in space over a large area of France and England? It may be that discussion of the genre is still premature. More study of individual poems could be the key to advance on the general front. Nevertheless this collection of tales is a coat of many colours loosely woven: there are fabliaux which seem like Bérengier to be concerned with defending old feudal values, while many others attack privilege. Others seem completely devoid of social or moral comment,

simply written for their fantastic, farcical value as adventures which overturn reality and suspend convention as well as disbelief. The results of any investigation at the generic level should perhaps be taken with a large grain of salt. Each poem is an artistic whole and must in the last analysis be studied as such.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE FABLIAUX BY PLOT STRUCTURE

Anne Ladd

Classification of the fabliaux by plot structure and outcome offers the advantages of simplicity and comprehensiveness, and helps define the nature of the genre. As an example of another advantage of this approach, utility, a short study of the role of women in the fabliau is appended to this paper.

This analysis uses only those fabliaux that are listed by Nykrog, who defines the fabliau as a laugh-provoking tale in verse from medieval French literature, short, or at least recounting one incident only with its immediate consequences.[1] The conclusion, however, suggests a change of emphasis in Nykrog's definition affecting six stories in his list.

In the study of plot elements, the debt of the first part of the paper to Vladimir Propp's method in Morphology of the Folktale[2] will be evident. It is assumed that what is constant and similar in all tales is the abstracted plot. Fabliau plots are reduced to simple schemas showing the various possible actions of characters as functions performed by these characters or agents of the plot. A function, which is the basic element of plot structure, is defined by Propp as the action of the character seen from the point of view of its contribution to the elaboration of the narrative. Simplifying Propp, I concentrate on denouement alone since there are so few incidents in the fabliau. Everything in the story is subordinated to a resolution that must be swift and funny.

Psychology, along with any other character attributes, is subordinated to the needs of the denouement. The fabliau

contains always the same rudiment of psychological motivation, integrated into the nature of the genre. In a fabliau, the basic motivating assumption is that one individual can affirm his or her worth as a human being only by struggle, and most often only at the expense of another: thus, the name of the game is to prove oneself stronger or smarter than one's fellows. The functions or actions in the plot all have this purpose. The function in a fabliau, then, is one that aims for a final relation of superior-inferior, and the psychology required for this ending is the need to distinguish oneself. This simple motivation distinguishes the fabliau plot from many other plots based on conflict between two people, for example, those where the hero is rewarded for virtue.

The major distinction lies between functions that are transitive or require a second character as object, and functions that end in the victory or defeat of one person without comparison to anyone else. There is a large group of fabliaux (30 at least) in which a single character manages to get himself or herself into trouble ("Le Provost a l'aumuche") or suffers from an impersonal force ("Le prestre et le Mouton"). Even where there is no conscious struggle, there is victory or defeat at the end for the protagonist. No initial psychological motivation is needed for the second group (which is rare), but it is the difference in plot outcome that determines the classification:

CATEGORY I a) A defeats himself or herself
b) A overcomes circumstance

There is in these cases an action ending in a stable state of superiority or inferiority to the world. The audience laughs at the character in the first sub-group, from a sense of superiority, and with the character in the second group. In "Les Deux Angloys et l'anel", the French audience is amused at the Englishmen who cannot pronounce the difference between anel, "baby donkey", and agnel, "lamb". In "Le Vilain de Farbu", we admire our superiority over the bumpkin who does not know that iron is hot when it sizzles but that pudding can be hot even when it doesn't. The stupidity of all characters in "Les Deus Vilains" or "Le Sot Chevalier" results in the final misunderstanding, with no effort on any character's part

to overcome another. Our sense of invulnerability to the incompetent devil salts "Le Pet au Vilain".

If vice is the chief feature of the one character, it is punished only if it is too stupid to succeed, as in "Le Provost a l'aumuche", or because of chance reverses, in "Le Prestre et le Mouton", or in "Brunain, la vache au prestre", where the priest's sermon quoting the Bible for personal gain causes him to lose his own property.

In rarer cases, a character finds himself up against circumstance and overcomes it, such as the characters in "Le Segretain", who in turn find a dead body on their hands.

All other fabliaux have a small number of agents or characters in a simple plot that can be outlined thus:

CATEGORY II A overcomes B

This function of proving superiority to someone else is so general that it often provides the sole motivation of a tale. The clerk of "La Pucele qui abevra le polain", when he hears of the girl who will not tolerate the word "foutre", perks up and swears that he will prove forthwith whether he has any "guile" in him. For him the challenge lies primarily in a battle of wits. In "Sire Hain et Dame Anieuse" the henpecked husband realizes that only be defeating his wife in single combat can he prove that he wears the pants in the house.

Once this structure is established, the agents of the plot can be multiplied: A and B outdo C, D, and F in "Gombert et les deus clers", where the clerks deceive the miller, his wife and daughter.

Propp's development of classifications proceeded by separating plots with mutually exclusive elements. In the shorter fabliau, a more obvious distinction comes from the degree of complication of the plot. A more extended plot, however, is still only a development of Category II:

CATEGORY III A tries to overcome B, who overcomes A

It is necessary to present this schema, and that of the following category, as inalterable chronological sequences, because of the psychological motivation if for no other reason. In these cases, revenge is the most common stimulus for B's

need to reaffirm his or her human value. The courtisan of the "Lay d'Aristote" resolves to prove that even the philosopher is susceptible to the foibles of love because Aristotle has first tried to break up her own romance with the young Alexander. The heroine of "Berangier au lonc cul" wants to punish her husband for his boasting belittlement of her own family. One of the most common plots involves a husband and wife who take the money offered by the wife's suitors, and on top of the bargain shame or kill the would-be adulterers, in, for example, "Constant du Hamel", "Estormi", and "Les Quatre Prestres". In "L'Enfant qui fu remis au soleil", a husband punishes his wife and her illegitimate child years after its birth.

One of the most frequent cases of the psychological need for revenge is that of the ill-treated wife. In "Aloul", only because of the husband's jealousy and restrictions on her does the wife swear to deceive him at the first possible moment.

A final variation on this extended plot merely adds a third agent to perform the second function:

CATEGORY IV A overcomes B, and is overcome by C

In "Frere Denise", a mendicant monk tricks an innocent girl into following him around the country, until she is recognized by a nobleman's wife, who makes him rehabilitate the girl with a substantial dowry. In "La Dame escoillée", a husband is dominated by his wife until their son-in-law teaches her a lesson. This plot variation is not very common, probably because it allows a less poetic justice than letting the first victim take his or her own revenge. It also requires more than one episode.

Finally, there are a few plots that can only fit into these categories as combinations. Most numerous are the variants of "Le Segretain", which combine Category III (the husband kills the monk who tried to seduce his wife) with Category I (a series of individuals overcome the circumstance of being saddled with evidence of murder). "Les Trois Dames qui troverent l'anel" presents three variations of Category II. "Dame Joenne" begins with several instances of the disputatious

woman receiving her just punishment (Categories II and III) but ends with her reaffirming her opinion even when her tongue is cut out (Category I). "Le Fol Vilain" combines several stories to show the character's stupidity, some from Category I and some from Category II. But these combined narratives start to break out of the genre as defined by Nykrog, a tale limited to a single incident. The method of classification proposed in this paper does not in itself answer the question, how many episodes or functions can a tale use and remain a fabliau? To accept "Le Fol Vilain" while excluding Trubert requires either a lengthy definition or the ability to make arbitrary cut-offs. Here I accept Nykrog's delimitation of the fabliau.

This classification by structure is comprehensive; it accommodates all of Nykrog's fabliaux except four, to which I shall return. It is also simple; the 156 remaining tales fall easily into four categories without repetition, except for the eight mixed plots, of which four are variants of the same story.

Once the structural similarity of the fabliau plots is established, secondary distinctions can be made. Two such distinctions invite further analysis: subcategories of functions and subcategories of agents.

In classing means of overcoming, or variants of the function of establishing superiority, one can enumerate: obtains horse (money, justice, sexual favors) from (Categories II, III, IV); makes look ridiculous, makes believe an absurdity, substitutes lover for (Categories II, III); gets revenge on (by beating, mutilating, cuckolding, killing, selling the illegitimate child of) (Categories III, IV). The functions in Category I can be divided into those favorable and unfavorable to their agent: shows ignorance of heat (sex, language); gives in to brute force; or: shows exceptional intelligence (dexterity, knowledge, physical stamina ...). The enumeration can be carried further, and it would be an interesting study to look for mutually exclusive or obligatorily linked pairs. Here, however, an outstanding distinction, non-structural but applicable to every category, is that between force and wit as the means of overcoming.

The use of wit to triumph is characteristic of most fabliaux. The endings of only nineteen fabliaux are decided by the law of the stronger. In other tales, even where the denouement is an act of force ("Constant du Hamel", "La Gageure"), it is first an act of deception that puts the victim in the power of the winner. In addition, tales such as "Le Prestre et les deux ribaus" insist on the value of learning trickery. Haisel, author of one version of "Les Trois Dames qui troverent l'anel", says that the prize for deceit goes to the lady who used neither drunkenness nor force, but pure wit, to outdo her husband ("Cil fu li mieus afoubertez/ Qu'ivresce et force, ce savez/ Engignerent les autres deus"). These fabliaux aim for the ideal expressed in this line of "Le Vilain qui conquist paradis par plait": "Mielz valt engiens que ne fait force". Ruse is better than force. For this group of fabliaux the plot schema "A overcomes B" can be modified:

SUBGROUP IIa A outwits B

Categories I, III, and IV invite similar subgroups.

The object of the deception is for A to prove himself or herself more intelligent than B, and sometimes incidentally to obtain power over or possessions from B. Thus "Les Trois Dames qui troverent l'anel" strive to outdo each other in deceiving their husbands: one is absent from home for a week and persuades her neighbors that it is her angry husband who has lost all concept of time, so much so that they tie him up as a raving madman. The second persuades her husband, with the aid of alcohol, that God has called him to be a monk; the third tricks her spouse into giving her in marriage to her lover. One of them will win the ring; but this is secondary to the satisfaction of having proved one's superiority over one's mate.

The outwitting can take the form of persuasion, as when the young hero of "Guillaume au faucon" finally wins the love of his lady by perseverance.

There are many other ways of grouping the fabliaux with various useful ends, as long as the essential description of the fabliau by functions is kept in mind. The distinction of fabliau groups by whether the plot is based on actions or

words, however, is especially risky, as a combination of the two is often used (for example, "La Saineresse" shows a woman cuckolding her husband by a combination of disguise and lies). A classification by motifs or themes, such as dreams or mistakes about cadavers, can be most useful to the folklorist or student of sources. Primary classification by motifs, however, may obscure the fact that one means of deception has been substituted for another in a fabliau variation, while the plot structure itself is unchanged. Division by motifs can also be repetitive, as one tale may have a cluster of motifs, some consisting of actions and some consisting of subjects or agents.

A second interesting subdivision is that based on agents of the plot, or their attributes. Nykrog used it to show that the minor clergy as a social class is always victim in the fabliau.[3] The second part of this paper uses the analysis by agent to study roles of women versus those of men.

Such a classification by plot outcome suggests a change of emphasis in Nykrog's definition of the fabliau. While the traditional definition of conte à rire handles most fabliaux, some stories fit more easily into a definition widened to put the emphasis on wit as well as laughter. Sometimes the audience is encouraged less to laugh out loud than to savor the poetic rightness of a character's fall ("La Veuve", "Le Prestre pelé", the wife of "Celui qui bota la pierre"). This is also a more comfortable definition for fabliaux such as "Fole Larguesce", where laughter may not be a necessary reaction, but where the public should be pleased by the fitness of the resolution. It is not, however, enough to say, with Omer Jodogne, that the fabliau may be either "plaisant ou exemplaire". The element of humor caused by triumph or defeat must be present. Jodogne's more recent definition of the fabliau as a verse tale where, in a trivial tone, are narrated one or several amusing and/or exemplary adventures, adds the important consideration of tone, but remains vague because it gives too little attention to the kind of adventure narrated.[4] The narrator's tone, a question of point of view, may make us consider as inferior even the victor of a contest that is thus trivialized.

The question of tone indicates that this structural description of the fabliau does not pretend to provide a complete definition. Any definition should in addition include amusement as the tale's purpose, the structure of inferior/superior or of victory or defeat that is established by the plot's outcome, the genre's brevity, and the frequent use of trickery to bring about the denouement.

Such a change of emphasis allows the reintroduction of two tales disallowed by Nykrog because they are also moral tales: "La Housse partie" (A mistreats B his father, until C, the grandson, finds a means to reform him) and "La Pleine Bourse de Sens" (A wrongs his wife B until wise man C helps her prove her superiority). These two stories fit the schema of classification outlined earlier, which suggests that they should be accommodated by the definition as well.

This classification of the fabliaux by plot does make questionable the inclusion of "Les Trois Chanoinesses de Couloigne" and "Le Roi d'Angleterre et le jongleur d'Ely", since there is no victory by one party over another. In fact, there is no moment in these two tales where one can say there is a resolution; there has never been a problem or conflict to resolve. There is no reason for either of these tales to stop at the moment that it does. They are "dits". The action that would result in a stable inferior/superior relation never comes.

There are two other fabliaux in which there is no victory or defeat, only a humorous account of origins. "Les Putains et les lecheors" shows the Creator entrusting care of prostitutes to the clergy - who treat them very well indeed. "Du Con qui fu fait a la besche" shows the Devil creating woman's organs and her tongue. The stories are short, and provoke laughter by showing the inferiority of woman or of the clergy, but they do not have any of the other characteristics of the fabliau.

* * * * *

The following study of the image of women in the fabliau is presented as an example of the utility of this

classification by plot outcome. Men and women as agents can have exactly the same functions: concealing gluttony in "Les Perdrix" and "L'Oue au chapelain"; displaying ignorance of language in "Les Deux Angloys" and "La Vielle qui oint la palme"; taking revenge in "Le Vilain Mire" and "La Plantez". However, some statistics on the attributes of winner and loser as distributed between the sexes give a new perspective on the fabliau's antifeminism.

Of the one hundred and fifty-six fabliaux in the appendix, eighty-four are based on conflict between men and women. From these, thirty-eight leave no doubt about the superiority in wits of the woman. Twenty-nine tales show the man as superior, usually in wit, occasionally by sheer brawn. The remaining seventeen show the woman and man as equal winners and losers, or a woman and a man who outwit another man; or a man who outwits a woman and a man.

What kind of antifeminism is it that, in over fifty per cent of male-female conflicts, shows the woman winning? A structural study cannot answer such a question. It only makes the question evident. An answer to this question about attributes is suggested by a study of lessons or "morals" in the fabliaux. Forty-one fabliaux have lessons concerning women. In nine of these the superior wit of woman is proclaimed:

> Par cest fablel prover vous vueil
> que cil fet folie et orgueil
> qui fame engignier s'entremet:
> quar qui fet a fame .i. mal tret,
> elle en fet .x. or .xv. ou .xx.,

says the author of "Les Deux Changeors"; "By this tale I want to prove to you that he is guilty of folly and pride who sets out to deceive woman; for whoever does to woman one ill turn, she returns ten or fifteen or twenty". It is true that the insistence on superior intelligence is not meant to be flattering. "Woman is made to deceive," says the author of "Les Perdriz". "This woman was indeed a devil," says the author of "La Dame qui se venja du chevalier." The three women who overcome circumstances ("Celle qui servoit", "Dame Joenne", the wife of "Le Pré tondu") do so by stubbornness or physical stamina rather than intelligence, but while unsympathetic they are inhumanly awesome.

Often enough, however, the tale's lesson, whether stated or implied, merely demands equal respect for a human partner in life's rough game. If anything, the woman is favored because the authors of such tales of pranks can assume that audience sympathy will go to the weaker character. Many lessons from fabliaux based on male-female conflict suggest that men should observe the golden rule, and usually they show complete understanding of the merely human motives of the woman in the case. Even in "La Veuve", where the heroine is punished for making an unwise marriage, the poem ends with an admonition to husbands to be kinder. In "Estormi" the would-be seducers of a good wife deserve their death, since, says the author, they should not have expected any virtuous woman to be swayed by offers of money. In "Le Meunier D'Arleux", where a girl outwits the miller and his apprentice who try to seduce her, the lesson is more general: no one should try to deceive or betray another. In "Le Vilain Mire" the old man decides that the only way to insure his wife's fidelity is to beat her as he leaves the house each morning and then beg her pardon when he returns at night. There is no lesson stated by the author, but soon the wife asks herself, "Was my husband ever beaten? No, he does not know what blows are. If he did, he would not give me so many for all the world," and it is her success in putting him in her situation that leads to his further advontures as the king's unwilling physician. In such tales we see the woman's motives, particularly her reaction to the injustices of her mate, in a purely human light.

Antifeminism, when it appears in the fabliaux, approaches devil-worship in the intellectual powers it attributes to the average housewife. One example is the wife who gobbles up the partridges before dinner and convinces her husband that the priest took them, then avoids a possible explanation between the two men by persuading the priest that her husband is following him with a knife to punish him for suspected adultery; or the wife of so many fabliaux who convinces her husband that he is dreaming or even dead when he sees her with a lover. This antifeminist stance, in the rare cases where it appears, is sometimes malicious or fearful, seldom merely contemptuous. In general, a strong feminine role is favored

by the genre, which requires actors who enter naturally into an adversary relationship, but have the ability to hold their own in the ensuing struggle.

In the above discussion, it is legitimate to make generalizations about women in the fabliaux, because the genre does not often recognize individuals, and must subordinate all agents to plot outcome. It is the outcome of plots, however, that makes clear the equal chance given to women in the fabliaux, and their remarkable ability to make use of it.

NOTES

1 Per Nykrog, Les Fabliaux, nouv. éd. (Geneva: Droz, 1973), pp. 13-19. Fabliaux are listed alphabetically on pp. 311-324. Quotations are from Anatole de Montaiglon and Gaston Raynaud, Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des xiiième et xivème siècles, 6 vol. (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1872-1890). Translations are my own.

2 Vladimir Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, trans. Lawrence Scott, International Journal of American Linguistics, publication 10 (October, 1958). Originally published in Leningrad in 1928.

3 Nykrog, Les Fabliaux, p. 132.

4 Omer Jodogne, Le Fabliau, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, of the Université catholique de Louvain, fasc. 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), p. 23.

APPENDIX

Classification of Fabliau Plots
(mixed plots are classified by ending)

CATEGORY Ia A defeats himself or herself

1. Inferior Men:

   Les Deux Angloys; Les Trois Boçus[1]; Brunain, la vache au prestre; Le Sot Chevalier; Les Chevaliers, les clers et les vilains; Le Couvoiteus et l'Envieus; Le Moigne; La Male Honte, I & II; Le Prestre et le mouton; Le Prestre pelé; Le Prestre qui dist la passion; Le Prestre qui menga mores, I & II; Le Provost a l'aumuche; Le Vallet qui d'aise a malaise se met; Le Fol Vilain[2]; Le Vilain Asnier; Le Vilain de Farbu; Le Vilain qui n'iert pas de son hostel[2]

2. Inferior Women:

   Les Braies le Priestre; Celui qui bota la pierre I & II; Les Trois Dames de Paris; L'Home qui avoit feme tencheresse; Les Trois Meschines; La Nonnete I & II; La Veuve; La Vielle qui oint la palme; Les Deux Vilains

3. Other cases:

   Les Trois Orements; Le Pet au vilain; Les Sohais; Les Quatre Souhais Saint Martin; Le sohait desvez

CATEGORY Ib A overcomes circumstances

1. A is a man:

   Le Prestre qu'on porte[3]; Le Segretain I, II, III, IV[3]; Le Vilain Mire[2]

2. A is a woman:

   Dame Joenne[5]; Le Pré Tondu; Une Seule Fame qui servoit

CATEGORY II A overcomes B

A Two agents

1. A Man overcomes a woman:

   Celle qui se fist foutre; La Dame qui aveine demandoit; La Dame qui fist entendant; La Dame qui fit trois tors; La Damoiselle qui n'ot parler; La Damoisele qui ne pooit oïr; L'Esquiriel; La Femme ki fist pendre; Le Fevre de Creil; Fole Larguesce; La Grue; Guillaume au faucon; Le Heron; Le Pescheor de Pont seur Saine; Porcelet; Le Pucele qui abevra le polain; La Pucele qui voloit voler; Sire Hain et Dame Anieuse

2. A Woman overcomes a man:

   Les Braies au Cordelier; Le Chevalier a la robe vermeille; Le Clerc qui fu repus; Gauteron et Marion; L'Espee; L'Espervier; La Femme qui charma; La Feme qui cunquie son baron; Le Pliçon; La Sorisete des estopes; La Vielle Truande; Le Vallet aus douze fames; Le Velous; Le Vilain de Bailluel ; Le Vilain qui od sa feme; Le Vilain qui vit un autre; La Contrarieuse[1]
   (and some incidents from Le Fol Vilain and Le Vilain qui n'iert pas de son hostel sire)

3. Men and women are equal winners or losers:

   Le Prestre et la Dame; Le Prestre qui abevete

4. Other cases:

   Brifaut; Le Foteor; Le Povre Mercier; L'Oue au chapelain; Le Testament de l'asne

B Multiple Agents

1. A Man outdoes a woman or women:

   Boivin de Provins; Le Chevalier qui recovra

2. A Woman or women overcome men:

   Les Trois Dames qui troverent l'anel I & II; Les Perdriz

3. Men and women are equal winners or losers:

   Auberée; Gombert et les deux clers; Le Maignien qui foti la dame; Le Prestre qui ot mere; La Vieille et la lisette

4. Other cases:

   L'Anel; Les Trois Avugles; Les Trois Dames qui troverent un vit I & II; Estula; Le Jugement des cons; Saint Piere et le jougleur; Le Vilain qui conquist paradis; .W.

CATEGORY III A tries to overcome B, who overcomes A

A Two agents only

1. A Man gets revenge on a woman:

   Le Povre Clerc; La Couille Noire; L'enfant qui fu remis; Le Sentier batu

2. A Woman gets revenge on a man:

   Aristote; Berangier au lonc cul I & II; Le Borgoise d'Orliens; Les Deux Changeors; Le Chevalier qui fist sa fame confesse; La Crote; La Dame qui fist batre son mari; La Dame qui se venja; La Damoisele qui sonjoit; La Piere au puis; Le Prestre et Alison; La Saineresse; Les Tresces (Also the first part of Le Vilain Mire and Les Trois Boçus)

3. A Man and a woman overcome a man:

   L'Evesque qui benei; Le Prestre teint

4. Other cases

   Charlot le Juif; Les Deux Chevaus; La Plantez; Le Prestre crucefié; Le Prestre et le leu; Le Prestre et les deux ribaus; Le Prestre qui fu mis au lardier; Le Preudome qui rescolt; Le Vescie a prestre; Le Vilain au buffet

B Multiple Agents

1. A Man or men outdo a woman or women:

   Le Chevalier qui fist les cons parler I & II;[4] Connebert; La Gageure

2. Woman outwit men:

   Le Meunier d'Arleux

3. Men and women are equal winners and losers:

   Le Bouchier d'Abeville; Le Chevalier a la corbeille; Un chivalier et sa dame; Constant du Hamel; Estormi[3]; Le Meunier et les deux clers; Le Prestre et le chevalier; Les Quatre Prestres

4. Other cases:

   Barat et Haimet (really a draw)

CATEGORY IV A overcomes B but is outdone by C

1. C is a man:

   La Dame escoillee

2. C is a woman:

   Aloul[3]; Le Cuvier; Frere Denise; (La Pleine Bourse de Sens)[6]

3. All parties are of the same sex:

   (La Housse partie)[6];

UNCLASSIFIED

Le Jugement (too fragmentary); Le Roi d'Angleterre et le jongleur d'Ely (a tenson or jeu-parti); Les Trois Chanoinesses (a dit); Le Con qui fu fait a la besche; Les Putains et les lecheors

Notes to the Appendix

1 The lesson places the tale in Category III, with the woman being avenged.

2 Some of the anecdotes fit Category III, with the woman outdoing her mate.

3 The first part of the plot falls into Category III, with men and women on both the winning and losing sides.

4 The first anecdotes use schemas from Category II, with the man winning.

5 In the first part of the plot, a man outwits the woman or she fails through her own stupidity.

6 These tales are not in Nykrog's list of fabliaux.

"I did shout for help, but the tide of battle suddenly changed in my favor, thank you."

SEX AND VIOLENCE IN THE MÄREN

David Blamires

Following the studies of Hanns Fischer the term Märe is now generally applied to the medieval genre of independent short tale in rhyming couplets that deals with fictitious secular events and has exclusively or predominantly human protagonists; its length varies from about 150 to 2,000 lines.[1] On Fischer's count there are 212 such poems in German, plus seven minor fragments, covering the period from the beginning of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century.[2] A further 44 poems constitute borderline cases.[3] Broadly speaking these 212 Mären can be grouped in three categories: the comic, the exemplary, and the courtly or sentimental. The distinctions between them are not always easily determined. A Märe that is comic in its plot may, for example, be regarded as an exemplum by reason of the moral adduced in its closing lines.

From the point of view of theme the largest single category is concerned with deceptions in sexual relationships. A few tell tales of erotic naïvety, both male and female, and several deal with the engineering of a sexual encounter between a man and a woman in which marriage is not involved. Complications may arise through the need to outwit parents in some instances. The great majority of Mären, however, centre on the theme of adultery. There are four basic approaches. The first and by far the most common is seen from the viewpoint of the married woman, and its enjoyment consists in the audacity of the ruses employed to bamboozle the husband. The second is seen from the husband's viewpoint, with the emphasis on the capture

and punishment of the wife's lover. The third is concerned with attempted adultery, with husband and wife pitting their wits against a would-be adulterer. The fourth focusses once more on the fooling of the husband, but this time from the viewpoint of the man who wishes to take advantage of the foolish husband's wife, the latter being simply the means whereby the husband is dealt a slap in the face. The butt of the comedy is always the stupid husband or the importunate lover. In the rare event of the wife suffering punishment, the element of Schwank gives way, in that point of the story at least, to moral injunction.

There are 51 Mären where actual or intended marital deception takes place and escapes punishment within the framework of the story.[4] Frequently the poem will end with the comment that no man is clever enough to be beyond the reaches of a woman's cunning. Thus, in Die zurückgelassene Hose (The forgotten breeches) Heinrich Kaufringer refers to the topos that since Samson, Solomon, David and Aristotle were all waylaid by women, how can any other man expect to have a different experience? In a different vein, the poem Minnedurst (Love-thirst) ends with the plea that God should confound those who act wickedly. As against these 51 Mären, there are 15 in which some degree of punishment is meted out to the offending party or parites, usually the apprehended lover.[5] It is interesting to compare the social status of the adulterous men in the two types of story. In those Mären where the wife succeeds in duping her husband, the partners are well distributed over the social range. Sixteen are knights or noblemen; twelve are simply lovers with no social category noted; eleven are students or young men; eleven are priests, monks or friars; while the rest, eight in number, are servants or members of the lowest class. Where the adulterer or would-be adulterer is caught and punished, the proportions are quite different. Three are knights (all in one tale, Der Herr mit den vier Frauen (The lord with the four wives); one is not categorized; twelve are clerics; one is a peasant, and one is a blind man (the fumblings of the blind are a frequent source of merriment in medieval literature). There is also the dwarf in Schondoch's Die Königin von Frankreich (The queen of France), who is killed on the false suspicion

of having committed adultery. Incidentally, in only one of these Mären is the adulterer stated to be a married man (Hans Folz's Die Wiedervergeltung/The retribution/). The chief animus of the stories is against the clergy, on whom some horrific punishments are inflicted.

Underlying all the Mären is the belief that the proper relationship between a husband and wife consists in the husband's dominance and control and the wife's submissive obedience. If the wife fails to conform to this pattern, the husband must exert force to make her do so. The extent to which this is necessary will depend on the relative recalcitrance of the woman in question. In Die gezähmte Widerspenstige /The tamed recalcitrant wife/ the husband compels an awkward wife to learn to gallop like a horse, after which treatment she 'became virtuous and loved her husband lovingly, as he also did her' (203-5). The wife, significantly, has to conform to the man's relationship with his dog: 'he was faithful and obedient to me at all times,' the husband declares, 'you ought to be obedient in the same way' (71-3). Similarly, in Sibote's Frauenerziehung /The training of a wife/ [6] the husband cows his wife on the way to their bridal home by showing extreme severity to his hawk, hound and horse, all of which he summarily kills because of some alleged infringement of obedience to him. The bride's mother, from whom she inherits her nasty disposition, upbraids her for her docility to her husband, but she is also quickly dealt with by her son-in-law. He tells her that her evil spirit comes from two 'anger steaks' (zornbraten) in her thighs, the first of which he proceeds to remove by inflicting a deep wound on her and apparently extracting a sheep's kidney. The mother escapes the second operation through promising immediate obedience to her husband. In another story, Die böse Adelheid /Wicked Adelheid/, the wife cannot be controlled, but has to be got rid of. Adelheid crosses her husband in everything, so he decides one day to get his own back by telling her to do the opposite of what he really wants her to do. When she disobeys his instruction not to walk too near the river, she falls in and is drowned. Her husband assumes that because she is so contrary in spirit, her body will have floated upstream, and of course she is thus never found. The husband

returns happily home. Several of the Stricker's Mären deal with the proper relationship between man and wife, but only one - Die eingemauerte Frau /The immured wife/ - is concerned with straightforward disobedience. Here the problem is solved by the husband having the wife immured. Eventually she comes to her senses and through confession to a priest convinces her husband of her change of spirit. On release from her prison she becomes a model of wifely obedience to all other shrewish women, who then follow her example.

In all these Mären where the wife fails to be obedient to her husband, she is characterized simply as wicked (übel), and the breakdown in marital harmony is attributed to her malevolence. Her fault is a moral one; it is a conscious exercise of the will in pursuit of a wrong end. In the more numerous cases in the Mären where the wife dominates the husband and/or indulges in adulterous escapades, it is the husband's stupidity that justifies the treatment he receives. The range of indignities or maltreatment that the husband suffers is devastating, but his action or lack of it is based on physical, psychological or intellectual incapacity rather than on the exercise of the will. But though his failures are passive rather than active, his stupidity does not entitle him to be spared ridicule or suffering. There is, however, no wicked husband figure in the Mären to counterbalance that of the wicked wife. Where such a figure does occur, it is in religious tales focussing on the Christian virtue or near-sanctity of the wife who is tested by such a husband, as, for example, in the story of patient Griselda, extant in five different prose versions in German.

The nearest thing to a wicked husband that we have in the Mären is to be found in the late fifteenth century Beringer.[8] The knight Beringer is avaricious and ill-tempered, but, more importantly, he is a coward who boasts of imaginary conquests in tournaments. His wife, suspicious of his undamaged armour when he return from his excursions, follows him once in male disguise and discovers him alone in a forest, hitting away at his own armour. She attacks him angrily, defeats him and forces him to kiss her arse three

times. She informs him that she is knight Wienand of the Vile Land, with the long arse-cleft, resident at Hair Castle. When Beringer returns home, he blubbers over his wounds and swears he will not go on any more tournaments. At later uncouth behaviour towards her, his wife threatens him with her friend, knight Wienand, and cows Beringer into submission, after which they live together in love and peace. The punishment here, humiliating rather than violent, matches up well with the knight's cowardice and boastful dishonesty.

Two Mären vie with each other for the most savage treatment of a stupid husband at the hands of a wife. The earlier one, the mid thirteenth century Der begrabene Ehemann /The buried husband/ by the Stricker, exhibits the firm moral line that is the hallmark of this poet. The Märe opens with a husband and wife seeking to outdo each other in assertions of their love. The wife then demands of her husband, as the proof of his love, that he should believe everything she says and does. She tests this by calling him to supper at midday, and when he protests she reproaches him with having broken his promise. Further tests produce compliance, although the husband realizes that things are not as his wife claims. When he later sees her behaving suspiciously with the village priest, she becomes angry at his reproaches and threatens to separate from him. Eventually she persuades him he is dying, the last rites are performed, and he only begins to protest when the first shovelfuls of earth are thrown into the grave in which he is lying. The adulterous priest interprets these cries as those of the devil, whereupon the husband is quickly buried alive. The poet ends with the laconic remark: 'He suffered this injury because he allowed a foolish woman to rule his life.' Through an ascending series of episodes the development and extent of the husband's folly is plainly demonstrated. The comedy, culminating in the wildly improbable burying alive, obviously subserves the poet's strong conviction of the proper nature of the relationship of husband and wife.

The other Märe which recounts extreme modes of dealing with a stupid husband is Heinrich Kaufringer's version of the well-known contest as to which of three wives can fool her husband the most, Drei listige Frauen B /Three wily women B/.[9] The interest thus centres on the extravagance of the tricks to which the wives have recourse; the poem lacks any didactic note, and indeed its absurdity is emphasized by the fact that the violence perpetrated on the husbands is undertaken in order to qualify for being allotted the seventh heller of the money the three women have received for their joint sale of eggs at market. Only the first and third episodes are marked by real cruelty. The first regales the audience with the theme of pulling out one of the husband's teeth under the pretence that it smells. The wife claims that the servant has on his first attempt pulled the wrong tooth and requires that another should be drawn. In the process the husband faints. The wife has the priest fetched and convinces the husband that he is dead, whereupon she makes love to the servant in the husband's sight. The husband's folly is demonstrated by his remark at seeing this: 'Heinz, my man, if I were alive, as I certainly was this morning, this shameful deed would cause me the keenest pain. I would not leave it unavenged before I'd stabbed you to death. But I have to put up with it since, by my faith, I can no longer harm anyone, as death's bitter blow has brought me down and torn all my limbs apart.' The third episode is even more sadistic. The wife persuades her husband to go to church naked under the impression that he is wearing his clothes. Then, when he can't open his pouch to get some money for the offering, she pulls out a knife to help him and chops off his testicles. The deceived husband runs wild with pain and anger to the forest, but the poet merely ends with the observation: 'Now we'll let the blockheads run about the forest until they understand that they are all drunk and blind although their eyes are open. When they recognize that, they will indeed go back home and put up with the pain they have suffered.' As with the Stricker, the implication is that the men have not been unjustly dealt with, but have simply got what they deserved for their stupidity. Kaufringer's poem has none of the Stricker's moral concern. Here, as elsewhere, the later author revels in lurid details, coarse and brutal occurrences. His mentality is that of a sadist.

Following these examples of marital violence, where

adultery is largely incidental, I want to turn now to those Mären where adultery is the central point. In the majority of tales in which the wife succeeds in committing adultery or in allowing her lover to escape the clutches of her husband, the emphasis is not so much on the husband's stupidity as on her own cleverness. To be sure, the husband's drunkenness frequently permits an act of adultery to take place without his knowledge, and in that respect he is culpable. In terms of the stories - as opposed to those of Christian ethics - the wife is exonerated from blame through the exercise of superior skill. Here, as elsewhere in comedy, ingenuity and daring is more admired than traditional morality.

Generally speaking, in the tales of adultery the husband is simply outwitted and unaware of what is happening. But a number of Mären take things further, and the husband is dealt a beating by the wife's lover, as in Der Schreiber /The scribe/, Der Koch/The cook/ by the Swiss Anonymous, and Hans Rosenplüt's Der Knecht im Garten /The servant in the garden/.[10] These are variants on the story which relates how a wife gets her husband to go outside disguised in her clothes to forestall her assignation with an importunate lover. She then commits adultery and gets the lover to beat her husband, telling him that it was a test of the wife's faithfulness. The act of adultery is actually instigated by the lover, then engineered by the wife, but the ruse convinces the husband of the trustworthiness of the lover and enables the adulterers to continue their deception.

There are two variations of this theme that motivate it differently - Bestraftes Misstrauen /The punishment of mistrust/ and Der Herr mit den vier Frauen. In these the husband is out to test his wife's fidelity. He gets a servant or friend to make sexual approaches to her until she eventually makes an assignation with him in the garden. The husband then changes places with the servant (friend), but the wife has the importunate lover, as she thinks, soundly beaten by her servants. The husband is thereby convinced of her fidelity. Folly in the guise of mistrust thus reaps its own punishment.

The stupidity of the husband is measured by the

enormity of the tricks that can be played on him. The theme of the besotted lover is famous in the story of Aristotle and Phyllis, which appears in German as well as many other languages, but there is little else in the Mären that fits in this category. The nearest would be in the two versions of Die zwei Beichten /The two confessions/, where a peasant couple confess their sins to each other. The wife confesses to several acts of adultery, but claims they were either unwilling on her part or done in order to gain the favour of the adulterer in the improvement of the married couple's material circumstances. Accordingly, the husband absolves her and gives her a token penance. But when he admits simply to feeling lustful towards their servant-girl, the wife responds with great severity. In version A he is beaten hard with a broom, while in version B he is ordered to cut his hand off, make a pilgrimage to Rome, and be scourged by his wife. When the husband is prepared to accept these penances, referring to Jesus' suffering for mankind, the wife is moved by his humility and remits the penances, saying 'mercy is better than justice'. Version A (extant in three manuscripts) regards the matter in terms of the husband's simple-mindedness, while version B converts the story into an exemplum of Christian humility.

To the tales of adultery in which the husband is not merely tricked, but also beaten, may be added others with similar features. In Der Pfaffe mit der Schnur /The priest with the string/ (versions A and C, but not B)[11] the husband catches the lover, but when he foolishly leaves him to his wife to hold while he goes to fetch a light, the wife substitutes a donkey. The husband beats her and locks her outside, and she gives an old woman money to take her place while she goes off with her lover. The husband beats his supposed wife again and cuts off her hair. The next morning he is unable to prove his wife's adultery, because she demonstrably still possesses her own hair, which he claims to have cut off. He is therefore adjudged by one and all to have left his senses and is exorcized by the wife's priestly lover. In version A the wife burns nine holes in his head with incense, at which the husband finally swears to trust her henceforth. This memory of exorcism

causes him to keep silence about suspicious matters he later notices. In version C it is the miscreant priest who burns the holes in his head, otherwise the outline of the story is the same.

In the tales of adultery where the woman is found out and punished, the penalties are wide-ranging, though usually less than those inflicted on the lover. In the Stricker's Der kluge Knecht [The clever servant][12] she is merely beaten. Beating and cutting off the hair is the intended punishment in the three versions of Der Pfaffe mit der Schnur, Herrand von Wildonie's Der betrogene Gatte [The deceived husband], and the anonymous Der Reiher [The heron], all of which tell the same basic plot, but the wife's wiles ensure that she is not the person to suffer it. A more brutal punishment occurs in the Stricker's Das heisse Eisen [The hot iron]. Her a woman demands that her husband should undergo the ordeal of lifting a hot iron in the bare hand as a proof of his fidelity. The husband agrees, but slips a piece of wood unseen between the iron and his hand and so escapes unscathed. He then demands that his wife should undergo the same test. She admits to various lovers, but asks to be excused because women cannot do without them as easily as men, who are stronger. The husband declares his forgiveness, but insists on her undergoing the ordeal all the same. She is so severely burnt that her hand is henceforth useless. In great anger the husband promises in the future to deal with her according to her deserts. One of the manuscripts of this poem (Pommersfelden) concludes with the injunction not to desire to punish others if one is also worthy of punishment. Here it is not so much the wife's acts of adultery that are punished as her gratuitous vindictiveness towards her husband, which he is through superior intelligence and lack of superstition able to evade and then turn against her.

Another punishment that is the reward for stupidity as well as illicit sex is to be found in Hans Rosenplüt's Der Hasengeier [The hawk that goes after the hare]. Here an enraged lover - not actually a husband, though in the story he virtually fulfils that role - presents his lady

with a hawk that is supposed to have the power of revealing the truth and apparently demonstrates the presence of the lady's preferred lover, a rich priest. The hawk needs to be carefully guarded and can be killed by a person urinating over it. Lady and priest in thus attempting to dispose of the hawk both suffer a grim mutilation.

The most savage punishments for a woman's adultery are contained in Kaufringer's Mären, where the fates of the stupid husbands in Drei listige Frauen B have their female counterparts. In Die Suche nach dem glücklichen Ehepaar [The search for the happily married couple] a husband who suffers from the burden of a miserly wife travels about looking for a really happily married couple. In vain. He encounters two who appear to fulfil the conditions, but with the first he witnesses how the husband compels his wife each evening to drink from the cranium of a priest who was her lover and whom the husband himself killed. With the second the wife had previously been the subject of malicious gossip for her sexual activity, which is now only kept in check by the fact that the husband has a terrifyingly strong monster of a peasant chained up in the cellar with whom the wife consorts when her wicked lusts drive her to it. Through this covert activity the marriage appears satisfactory to the outside world, but all the children that are taken for the husband's are in fact the peasant's. The wandering discontented husband returns home, willing to put up with his wife's miserliness, since he now realizes how much worse matters could be.

The motif of the wife having teeth pulled out of her husband's mouth ostensibly because they stink, found in Drei listige Frauen B, also occurs in Kaufringer's Die Rache des Ehemannes [The husband's revenge]. In this latter poem the husband takes revenge on his wife by forcing her adulterous lover, a priest, to bite out his wife's tongue on pain of death. The husband then informs her relatives and rejects his wife. Incidentally, the tooth-pulling motif is also contained in Der Zahn [The tooth], but the lover who asks the wife to do this for him is so appalled when she actually obeys that he abandons her. Here

we have what seems to be a collision between the fiction of the story and the standards of everyday conduct, for the point of the poem is not to demonstrate the folly of the husband, who is per contra characterized as virtuous (einvaltig) and good. The tooth-pulling motif survives as comedy in the poems where it is juxtaposed with other tricks that compete with it in savagery (Drei listige Frauen B) or where it is matched by the ferocious punishment of the lover, whose testicles and scrotum are fashioned into a purse (Die Rache des Ehemannes), but where it occurs in isolation it is unmasked as deriving from a wickedness that would be capable of murder. Der Zahn seems to me to fail as a story, because there is no adequate response on the same level to the woman's unscrupulousness. She is not punished: the lover simply abandons her. The element of reflectiveness on the lover's part, which connects what has been narrated to the ordinary standards of moral action and judgement, destroys the fiction which permits such brutal audacity to exist. Kaufringer's sadistic imagination operates in a purely literary context that is insulated from the accepted morality of the everyday world. Der Zahn shows what happens when the two frames of reference are brought together. There are other poems too where the exercise of reflective judgement allows the story to be enjoyed as fiction, while the amorality of the events narrated would elicit censure if the fiction were a reality. This is the case with Die drei Mönche zu Kolmar [The three monks of Colmar][13], where the three monks who make advances to a devout wife through the medium of the confessional are in turn scalded to death in a tub of boiling water. Then, as the corpses are being carried away by a drunken student, a fourth monk, innocently passing on his way to matins, suffers the same treatment as the corpses in being thrown into the Rhine.' The killing of the first three monks is justified by their perversion of the confessional, but the poet merely says of the innocent fourth: 'It frequently happens that the innocent have to pay for the misdeeds of the guilty' (391-3). The poem, however, contains certain features which remove it from the sphere of historical veracity. Its opening lines claim that it is a true story, but its setting in Colmar

precludes the veracity of the corpses being thrown in the Rhine, for Colmar is several miles distant from it. Then there is the problem of the discrepancy between the alleged piety of the woman and her consent to the horrifying murder of the three monks. Volker Schupp raises a further problem about the drunken student's acceptance that the three corpses are one and the same, though the monks belong to three different orders and thus wear different habits. But if he is confused enough to dispose of corpses that can walk and not reflect on what he is doing, then he surely will not be disturbed by or even notice the difference in their habits.[14] All of these considerations underline the fictitious character of the narrative and enable the savagery of the comedy to be enjoyed, undisturbed by the application of ordinary morality.

Comment on Die Rache des Ehemannes and Die drei Mönche zu Kolmar has already given some information on the category of punishments inflicted by the husband on the adulterer or would-be adulterer, to add to those inflicted on the wife. There are in fact two Mären where the husband learns by accident from the adulterer himself that he has made love to his wife. In both cases the adulterer, a student in Claus Spaun's Fünfzig Gulden Minnelohn [Fifty gulden as the payment for love] and an impoverished young knight in Kaufringer's Der zurückgegebene Minnelohn [Returning the payment for love], has paid for his privilege with all the money he has. The husband demands the money back from his wife and re-apportions it to the various participants, himself included. The genuine punishments begin with demands of money from the adulterer, as in the Stricker's Der kluge Knecht. Here the priest is tied up until he promises the husband so much of his wealth - which afterwards he was scarcely able to put together - that he wished he had never set eyes on the woman. The Heidelberg manuscript of this poem gives more precise monetary details. Money payment is also involved in Rosenplüt's Der Bildschnitzer von Würzburg [The woodcarver of Würzburg],[15] where husband and wife together trick the would-be adulterous priest and make him pay a hundred pounds in gold for his attempt. This vast sum of money obviously belongs to the realm of pure fantasy

in which the story itself operates. In this poem and Der Herrgottschnitzer [The carver of religious images] the money-payment is a substitute for the original intention of castrating the priest, for the wife has created a temporary refuge for him, stripped naked and daubed with paint among the religious images in her husband's workshop. When the husband stops in front of him there, he remarks on the size of the priest's genitals and gets his wife to hand him an axe to chop off the offending part, whereupon the priest rushes out of the workshop to his escape.

I have already mentioned the sexual mutilation involved in Rosenplüt's Der Hasengeier, the macabre details of which I have given earlier. In Rosenplüt's Die Wolfsgrube [The wolf-pit][16] the punishment is equally luridly visualised, Priest, wife and maid-servant are all trapped in the wolf-pit designed by the nobleman and his servant to put an end to the adultery. After the offending priest has been castrated, one of his testicles is displayed over the marital bed as a warning, while the other is hung round the maid-servant's neck.

A couple of tales stray into the field of excremental humour, which is more copiously represented in the Fastnachtspiele than in the Mären. A would-be blind lover has water poured over him, as the husband pretends to urinate on him (Der blinde Hausfreund [The blind lover]). This tale clearly presents considerable dramatic possibilities in the Fastnachtspiel tradition, but the pouring of water in the Märe seems rather like a cleaning up of the urination motif. Kaufringer, as always to the forefront with material to shock, tells in Die Zehnte von der Minne [The love tithe] how a husband forces an adulterous priest to drink his wife's urine, informing him that it comes from the same vine as he had just extracted his tithe from. The beating of a priest for committing adultery occurs as an incidentally mentioned fact in Kaufringer's Der verklagte Bauer [The accused peasant], which is a contest of wits between a peasant and a priest.

Hans Folz's Mären figure very little in this account of punishments. In most of them he seems to have delighted in the ingenuity or coarseness of the tricks that one person plays on another. Such punishments as occur are tricks that

top the one already narrated. His only Märe that deals with the avenging of adultery - Die Wiedervergeltung - presents the unusual situation where the adulterer is another married man. The husband, having caught the adulterer, has his wife fetched and forces her to submit to sexual intercourse with him in order to save her own husband from death. This is the only Märe where the adulterer is presented as a married man. Elsewhere the lovers are either unmarried, even celibate, or no mention is made of their status at all.

The culmination of punishments is, of course, death. I have mentioned that in Die drei Mönche zu Kolmar already, and there is also the incident in Kaufringer's Die Suche nach dem glücklichen Ehepaar, where the searching husband encounters another man who has killed his wife's priestly lover and forces her to drink daily from his skull. The only other instance is to be found in Schondoch's Die Königin von Frankreich. Here the innocent court dwarf is placed in the queen's bed by the king's treacherous marshall in the king's absence, both dwarf and queen remaining asleep while this is done. When the dwarf is found, he is hurled against the wall and killed. The king would also have had the queen burnt at the stake for her supposed infidelity, but he is dissuaded from this action by the duke of Austria on account of the queen's pregnancy. It is, however, only in Die drei Mönche zu Kolmar that violent death is at the centre of the story. With the other two poems it is either balanced against other episodes or pales into insignificance in view of the greater emphasis on the rest of the story.

Violence and aggression is present in the Mären that deal with the marriage relationship and with adultery from those of the Stricker onwards. It affects all those characters involved - husband and lovers especially, the wife much less. The main change that is noticeable over the three centuries in which Mären were current is that the primarily moral concern expressed by the Stricker at the beginning of the period gives way to a cruder, more physical and materialistic attitude that reaches its apogee with Kaufringer especially and Rosenplüt. There is also a growth in anti-clericalism, which is apparent in all spheres of

fifteenth century life outside imaginative literature. The fifteenth century, which accounts for approximately half the total number of Mären, saw the re-working of plots derived from earlier stories in quite a large number of cases. Virtually everywhere the later versions are courser in tone, more explicit in their treatment of sexuality, and more gruesome in their violence.

NOTES

1. See Hanns Fischer, Studien zur deutschen Märendichtung (Tübingen, 1968), pp. 62-3.
2. Op. cit., pp. 65-71.
3. Ibid., pp. 72-7.
4. These are given, as are all the examples in this paper, according to the titles listed in Fischer's Studien. They are as follows: Schweizer Anonymus, Der Koch, Der Pfaffe im Käskorb, Der Pfaffe mit der Schnur B; Jacob Appet, Der Ritter unter dem Zuber; Berchta; Umgangene Busse; Dietrich von der Glezze, Der Gürtel; Der warnende Ehemann; Hans Folz, Der ausgesperrte Ehemann, Die Hose des Buhlers, Der Köhler als gedungener Liebhaber, Pfaffe und Ehebrecherin B; Drei buhlerische Frauen; Frauenlist; Die Heidin A; Die Heidin B; Herrand von Wildonie, Der betrogene Gatte; Heinrich Kaufringer, Bürgermeister und Königsohn, Chorherr und Schusterin, Die zurückgelassene Hose, Der zurückgegebene Minnelohn, Der Schlafpelz; Der Kerbelkraut; Der Liebhaber im Bade; Die treue Magd; Die Meierin mit der Geiss; Minnedurst; Der vertauschte Müller; Pfaffe und Ehebrecherin A; Der Pfaffe mit der Schnur A; Der Pfaffe mit der Schnur B; Ritter Alexander; Der Ritter mit den Nüssen; Hans Rosenplüt, Der Knecht im Garten, Der Wettstreit der drei Liebhaber; Rüdeger von Munre, Studentenabenteuer B; Hans Schneeberger, Der Mönch als Liebesbote C; Der Schreiber; Claus Spaun, Fünfzig Gulden Minnelohn; Stricker, Der begrabene Ehemann; Studentenabenteuer A; Tor Humor; Virgils Zauberbild; Vergebliche Vorhaltungen;

Wandelart; Des Weingärtners Frau und der Pfaffe; Die Wette; Der Wirt; Der Zahn; Johannes Werner von Zimmern, Der enttäuschte Liebhaber; Jörg Zobel, Das untergeschobene Kalb.

5. Hans Folz, Die Wiedervergeltung; Der blinde Hausfreund; Heinrich von Pforzen, Der Pfaffe in der Reuse; Der Herr mit vier Frauen; Der Herrgottschnitzer; Heinrich Kaufringer, Die Rache des Ehemannes, Der verklagte Bauer, Die Suche nach dem glücklichen Ehepaar, Die Zehnte von der Minne; Niemand, Die drei Mönche zu Kolmar; Hans Rosenplüt, Der Bildschnitzer von Würzburg, Der Hasengeier, Die Wolfsgrube; Schondoch, Die Königin von Frankreich, Stricker, Der kluge Knecht.
6. French parallel = La dame excoillée. See Frauke Frosch-Freiburg, Schwankmären und Fabliaux. Ein Stoff- und Motivvergleich (Göppingen, 1971), pp.87-95.
7. French parallel = Marie de France, L'home qui avoit feme trecheresse; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 137-41.
8. French parallel = Bérengier au long cul; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 62-8.
9. French parallel = Les trois dames qui troverent l'anel; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 177-92.
10. French parallels = La borgoise d'Orliens, Un chivalier et sa dame et un clerk; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 170-6.
11. French parallels = Garin, La dame qui fist entendant son mari qu'il sonjoit; Les tresces; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 145-60.
12. French parallel = Le povre clerc; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 80-7.
13. French parallels = Hugues Piaucele, Estormi; Haiseau, Les quatre prestres; Durand, Les trois bocus; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 199-209.
14. Volker Schupp, 'Die Mönche von Kolmar. Ein Betrag zur Phänomenologie und zum Begriff des schwarzen Humors', Festgabe für Friedrich Maurer (Düsseldorf, 1968), p. 203.
15. French parallels = Le prestre crucifié; Gautier le Leu, Le prestre teint; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 105-18.
16. French parallel = Le prestre et le leu; Frosch-Freiburg, pp. 142-4.

COMMENTS ON A PERFORMANCE OF A *NOUVELLE*, A *FABLIAU* AND A *FARCE*

Jane Oakshott

The programme was presented in the belief that comedy is a universal phenomenon, and that the response even of a modern actor and audience can be most helpful in the discussion of comic writings of the past. The comments which follow are drawn partly from observations made during rehearsals, and partly from reactions noted during the performance.

The performance consisted of three items - a *nouvelle*, a *fabliau* and a *farce* - each presented in a different way, as the text required. The *nouvelle* and the *farce* were treated in the way it seems they were originally intended: that is, the *nouvelle* was simply read aloud, and the *farce* was presented by an all-male cast with minimal stage-setting. In the absence of clear documentation, the performance of the *fabliau* was an experiment. Whereas the *nouvelle* was written to be complete in itself, the more sketchy style of the *fabliau* lends itself spontaneously to accompanying gesture and action by the story-teller. This gesticulation developed in the course of rehearsal into an extrovert and stylised sequence of movements until it was felt that it fitted with the tone of the spoken narrative.

More detailed comments are as follows:

1) The third of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*,[1] '...de la tromperie que fist ung chevalier a

la femme de son musnier a laquelle bailloit a croire que son con luy cherroit, si luy recoingna pluseurs foiz. Et le musnier, de ce adverty, pescha ung dyamant que la femme du chevalier avoit perdu; et dedans son corps le trouva, comme bien sceut le chevalier apres.'

- The story is a more elaborate version of that in the farce (see paragraph three below). Although very different in treatment - narrative versus dramatic, courtly versus popular - they have in common, as opposed to the *fabliau*, a concern with *how* rather than merely *what*.

- In the *nouvelle*, the elaborate style and use of euphemism slowed down the action so that the audience had time

  a) to be embarassed, and/or
  b) to appreciate the narrative technique, having anticipated the point of the story.

Hence people smiled rather than laughed.

2) The *fabliau* 'De la grue'.[2]

- The text was shortened slightly (lines 116-119 were reduced to one new line) and the final moral was replaced by a synonymous but snappier one *remembered* from a different *fabliau*. (Le male garde pest lo leu', by 'A mol pastor le loup chie laine'.) Oral tradition in action?

- During the Colloquium, the comic effect of vulgar words had been discussed. In this performance, the oft-repeated word 'foutre' did not in itself provoke laughter. Laughter often followed, but in all cases it was because the word had caused the comic point of the story to be relayed so concisely as to produce a shock, relieved by laughter. No less amusement was provoked by the deliberate misapplication of the concept of *courtoisie*, or by purely visual comedy.

- The miming of the narrative brought out the absurdity of it rather than any realism it might be

said to possess. This was due as much to the type of movement demanded by the speed of the narrative as to the portrayal of four characters by a single performer.

3) The farce 'D'ung gentilhomme.'[3] Whilst the Gentilhomme remains with the peasant's wife, the peasant is sent with an irrelevant message to the Dame. He takes the opportunity to cuckold the Gentilhomme after which they both agree to keep, in future, to their own wife.

- The use of an all-male cast introduced an element of the grotesque which allowed a release from the inhibitions of normal society. In this context, vulgarity provoked hilarity.

- Most of the business was evolved in the course of rehearsal, and the ambiguities of certain phrases were revealed through the natural interaction of the actors more than by the careful and deliberately ribald examination of the text which had preceeded this stage of events.

- Much of the play is narrative, with characters explaining present and anticipating future actions. Even so, the situations were easily understood by non-French speakers through the varying grouping of the actors.

At each stage of the performance, words and actions played a different role: in the nouvelle words were of prime importance; in the fabliau, words and actions were of equal value in telling the story and in producing comic effect; in the farce, laughter was plainly caused more by the situations and actions than by the words, many of which were drowned. The fabliau may from this be seen to stand between the reading and the farce, between simple narrative and true drama. It worked as a performance rather than as a reading, which is the limited presentation suggested by the description of the fabliau as a narrative genre. Since 'De la grue' is by no means atypical, it is possible that the description 'narrative' is insufficient for the genre as a whole.

(The nouvelle was read by James Coleman; the fabliau mimed by Jane Oakshott; the farce acted by William Craw, Peter Davies, Leighton Hodson and Michael Sadler; the whole performance produced by Jane Oakshott)

1. Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles (ed) F. P. Sweetser, Geneva 1966, pp. 38-47.

2. Recueil général et complet des fabliaux. (eds) A. de Montaiglon and G. Raynaud. Paris 1883 Vol: V pp.151-56

3. Ancien théâtre français. (ed) M. Viollet le Duc Paris 1854 Vol: 1 pp. 250-70.

DISCUSSION: A SUMMARY

Norman Blake

In comparison with the International Conference on the Beast Epic held at Louvain in 1972 the papers at this Colloquium concentrated more on wider issues such as literary criticism and cross-cultural influences than on source study, philology, textual elucidation or the detailed study of shorter passages. The general discussion held at the end of the second day of the Colloquium was consequently wide-ranging, and as is the nature of such discussions few conclusions were reached. The following topics were among those raised.

For literary critics there is the fundamental question of deciding which text to use as a basis for literary evaluation. When we are dealing with a medieval text like the Roman de Renart, is it possible to think of it as existing in a single version of which all manuscripts contain simple variants? This discussion was provoked by Professor Ladd's paper in which she at one point said she preferred to use a reading not in the edition she was otherwise following, and partly by the outline of the way in which Professor Van Den Boogaard indicated his team of collaborators was going to set up their edition of the fabliaux. This edition would provide an edited text as well as versions of all the principal manuscripts. Two problems are represented here: how an editor should publish a text, and how critics should choose texts for evaluation. As for the latter the sense of the meeting was that critics should not jump from one manuscript version to another to support their particular critical attitudes. We may be coming to the stage where we have to accept that each manuscript represents

a different and independent version of each text. It may be that we shall soon speak not of the Roman de Renart, but of Roman de Renart A, Roman de Renart B, etc. To choose from among variants would enable a critic to evaluate a text on the basis of an edited version which no medieval reader actually read. The problems of editing were not discussed in detail, though it follows that it would be desirable to have as many manuscript versions in print as possible and that it may in future become increasingly difficult to justify the concept of an edited text of the traditional kind.

A further problem for the literary critic is that of his critical vocabulary. This part of the discussion was prompted in part by Mr. Spencer's critique of Nykrog. Professional critics make use of such words as 'parody' and 'satire', but they rarely define them. They tend to mean different things to different people. It would perhaps be asking too much of individuals to define all the technical terms they use before embarking on the substance of their contributions, but the possibilities for misunderstanding are legion. It may often seem as though critics are arguing more about their own definitions than about the medieval text in question. It was emphasized how difficult it was to use some of these terms in the medieval period, and although nothing positive emerged from this part of the discussion, the general feeling was towards caution in the use of modern critical terminology.

The paper by Dr. Blamires sparked off discussion on the use of language in medieval texts, a subject which until now has been undervalued by modern scholars who have been more concerned with textual elucidation than with evaluating how medieval authors use language. Frequently there seems to be an attempt to distinguish medieval from modern writing by pointing to such general features as the use of rhetoric without sufficient attention being paid to the way medieval poets differ among themselves. It is almost as if to say a poet is medieval is sufficient comment about his use of language, for medievalists may hitherto have been concerned more with continuity than diversity. In view of the many languages in which the texts under discussion are written, there was not much of a detailed nature that could usefully be said in the discussion. Several speakers emphasized how

important this subject was, and it was suggested that it might form the theme of a later conference.

The topic to arouse most discussion, partly because it bulked large in many of the papers, was that of cultural influence. This could be divided into three main areas: the development of a theme over a long period; the relation of a written text to its written sources; and the problem of assessing the influence exerted by one form of animal narration upon another. The last of these, in its form of the interrelation between art and literature, received particular attention. A question that emerged in the discussion was how far art and literature existed as separate entities in the medieval period. If we accept that in most manuscripts a scribe produced the text and an artist the illustrations, it is reasonable to suppose that the scribe followed written sources and the artist copied from artistic models. It is unlikely that an artist read the work he was to illustrate in order to produce pictures from his imaginative response to the work or that a scribe constructed a story on the basis of illuminations known to him. Two problems that emerged were to what extent one could argue that the Reynard story was known in a particular country if illustrations from the cycle are found and how far one can use manuscript illumination to elucidate the difficulties in a text. A wide range of divergent views was expressed on both these points. Both are important in Reynard scholarship, and have a bearing on the questions of sources and thematic development. For in many written versions of the story in different languages there is one obvious source, but there are also many other influences at work. One of the problems of scholarship has been to determine what those influences were. Do we have to resign ourselves to looking only for written (or perhaps oral) sources, or can we assume that pictorial and other representations may have been known to and used by the authors? It is often easy to point to similarities across languages and across different art forms, though it is usually impossible to make any firm deductions on the basis of those similarities. The influence of the individual vernaculars has an important bearing here since few have studied the effect that writing in one language, when an adaptor is using a source in a second language, will have. To what extent is a writer influenced by

his own language and literature in the way he approaches the problem of translation? Is this also a pertinent question, mutatis mutandis, to ask of national artists? Unfortunately, apart from indulging in the odd wild-goose chase, the discussion raised more questions than it answered. It did show how much work remains to be done in this field, and that there are no easy solutions.

PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS

First Session: The 'Fabliau' and the Medieval Short Story

16.30, Tuesday, 23rd September

Dr Blamires: "Sexual Comedy and Violence in the German Mären"

- chaired by Professor Varty -

20.15, Professor Van Den Boogaard: "Research into and the editing of the fabliaux"

- chaired by Professor Laidlaw -

20.45, Mr Spencer: "Generic characteristics of the fabliaux - a critique of Nykgrog"

- chaired by Professor Van Den Boogaard -

21.15, Dr Anne Ladd: "A new attempt at classification of the fabliaux"

- chaired by Professor Van Den Boogaard -

Second Session: The Continental Beast Epic

(i) In the Low Countries

09.20, Wednesday, 24th September

Dr Jill Mann: "The Ysengrimus"

- chaired by Professor Rombauts -

10.10, Mr King: "The World upside down in Van den Vos Reinaerde"

- chaired by Professor Gerritsen -

(ii) In France

11.15, Dr Lodge: "Pierre de St Cloud and the Bestiary"

- chaired by Professor Braet -

11.50, Dr Anne Ladd: "Talking about action - the Roman de Renard"

- chaired by Professor Geschière -

Third Session: The Beast Epic in Britain

14.15, Wednesday, 24th September,

Professor MacQueen: "Henryson's The Tod"

- chaired by Professor Duncan -

15.00, Professor Varty: " New light on the story of the fox's execution and funeral - the French Mort et Procession Renart, Branch XVII of the Roman de Renart - in medieval England

- chaired by Professor Mertens-Fonck -

16.15, Professor Blake: Introduced and led a general discussion

Informal, additional session:

Wednesday evening, 24th September, in the Smoke Room of the College Club, 20.30 hours;

Miss Jane Oakshott and others presented a programme consisting of a short story, a fabliau and a short farce. This programme, which lasted about 40 minutes, aimed to show, especially where the short story and the fabliau are concerned, how narrow was the line which divides narrative from drama, and courtly from bourgeois

1. The third of the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles: "De la tromperie que fist ung chevalier à la femme de son musnier... Read by Mr Coleman
2. De la grue (from Fabliaux du 13^{me} et 14^{me} siècles, ed. Montaiglon and Reynaud, Vol. V, pp 151-6). Read by Miss Oakshott
3. La Farce d'ung Gentilhomme (from Viollet le Duc's Ancien Théâtre François, Vol. I, no. 15). Presented by Mr Craw, Dr Davies, Mr Hodson and Dr Sadler.

Fourth Session: animal imagery and symbolsim

09.20, Thursday, 25th September,

Mr Bath: "The iconography of the collared deer"

- chaired by Professor Walsh -

10.00, Mr Hassall: "Publication of Oxford Bestiary illustration on colour film"

- chaired by Professor Blake -

11.15, Business Meeting

MEMBERS ATTENDING

ADAMS, Dr Alison (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

BARBER, Mrs Enid (Glasgow)

BATH, Mr Michael (English Dept., Univ. of Strathclyde, Glasgow)

BENNETT, Mr Philip E. (French Dept., Univ. of Edinburgh)

BLAKE, Professor Norman F. (English Dept., Univ. of Sheffield)

BLAMIRES, Dr David (German Dept., Univ. of Manchester)

BRAET, Professor Dr Herman (Romance Lit., Katholiek Universiteit, Leuven, Belgium)

BROWN, Professor Alfred (Medieval History Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

CRAW, Mr William (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

DAVIES, Dr Peter V. (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

DE CALUWÉ-DOR, Mme. Dr Juliette (Germanic Philology Dept., Univ. of Liège, Belgium)

DICKHOUT-NIEBOYER, Mrs (French Dept., Univ. of Amsterdam, Holland)

DUNCAN, Professor (Scottish Lit. Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

ELWELL-SUTTON, Mr L. P. (Persian Dept., Univ. of Edinburgh)

GEHLHAR, Mr James (Persian Dept., Univ. of Edinburgh)

GEHLHAR, Mrs Mhairi (ersian Dept., Univ. of Edinburgh)

GERRITSEN, Professor Dr W. P. (Instituut De Vooys, Univ. of Utrecht, Holland)

GESCHIERE, Professor Dr L. (French Dept., Free Univ. of Amsterdam, Holland)

GIBBS, Dr Jack (Spanish Dept., Univ. of Birmingham)

GOODALL, Mr John A. (Society of Antiquaries, London)

GUILBERT, Miss Anne (Glasgow)

HARRISON, Miss Kathleen S. (German Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

HASSALL, Mr W. O. (Western Mss Dept., Bodleian Library, Univ. of Oxford)

HOLDEN, Dr A. J. (French Dept., Univ. of Edinburgh)

KENNEDY, Dr A. J. (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

KING, Mr Peter K. (Dutch, Univ. of Cambridge)

LADD, Assoc. Professor Anne (Romance Lang. & Lit. Dept., Indiana University, Fort Wayne, U.S.A.)

LAIDLAW, Professor James C. (French Dept., Univ. of Aberdeen)

LAPIDGE, Dr Michael (French, Univ. of Cambridge)

LAURIE, Miss Helen C. R. (Glasgow)

LLOYD, Mrs Heather (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

LULOFS, Dr Frank (Dutch Dept., Univ. of Amsterdam, Holland)

LODGE, Dr R. A. (French Dept., Univ. of Aberdeen)

MacDONALD, Miss Aileen A. (Aberdeen)

MacQUEEN, Professor John (Scottish Lit. Dept., Univ. of Edinburgh)

MANN, Dr Jill (Latin, Univ. of Cambridge)

MERTENS-FONCK, Mme Professor Dr Paule (Germanic Philology, Univ. of Liège, Belgium)

MOLES, Miss Elizabeth (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

NEWALL, Miss Venetia J. (English Dept., University College, London)

NOOMEN, Professor Dr Willem (French Dept., Univ. of Groningen, Holland)

OAKSHOTT, Miss Jane (Centre for Medieval Studies, Univ. of Leeds)

O'SHARKEY, Dr Eithne M. (French Dept., Univ. of Dundee)

OWEN, Professor D. D. R. (French Dept., Univ. of St Andrews)

PEETERS, Dr L. (Dutch Dept., Univ. of Amsterdam, Holland)

POPE, Mr Robert F. (English Dept., Univ. College, Cardiff)

PRESS, Dr Alan R. (French Dept., The Queen's University, Belfast, N. Ireland)

RAWLES, Mr Stephen (Univ. of Glasgow Library)

ROMBAUTS, Professor Emeritus Dr Edward (Representing the Instituut Voor Middeleeuwse Studies, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, Belgium)

RUNNALS, Mr Graham (French Dept., Univ. of Edinburgh)

SADLER, Dr Michael (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

SPENCER, Mr Richard (French Dept., University College, Cardiff)

SPILSBURY, Dr Sally (French Dept., Univ. of Aberdeen)

STEWART, Mrs Lorna (Records Office, Edinburgh)

THORP, Mr R. M. (Special Collections Dept., Univ. of Glasgow Library)

TUCKER, Mrs Janey (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

VAN DEN BOOGAARD, Professor Dr Nico (French Dept., Univ. of Amsterdam, Holland)

VARTY, Professor Kenneth (French Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

VERHULSTDONCK, Dr J. Th. (French Dept., Univ. of Amsterdam, Holland)

WALSH, Professor Peter G. (Latin Dept., Univ. of Glasgow)

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