

**A Study of the British Library Manuscripts of the
Roman de Troie by Benoît de Sainte-Maure:
Redaction, Decoration, and Reception**

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Summary

Recent studies of the *Roman de Troie* have highlighted the need for more research on the extant manuscripts, because of the unreliable nature of the critical edition and the importance of the text to scholars of twelfth-century literature. This study seeks to contribute to knowledge of one of the most popular versions of the Troy legend in medieval France by describing and analysing two little-known manuscripts of the text. London, British Library, Additional 30863 (L2) presents an abridged version of the poem that provides insights into the reception of the poem in the early thirteenth century. London, British Library, Harley 4482 (L1) contains a series of decorated initials which exhibit a higher than suspected level of engagement with the text on the part of the manuscript's makers.

Part I of the thesis concentrates on L2, beginning in chapter 1 with a codicological and palaeographical description, and a discussion of its likely provenance. Chapter 2 develops the codicological analysis, looking at specific evidence of scribal editing and comparing the manuscript with its closest relative to see which abridgments are unique to L2. It concludes with case studies that illustrate the scribe's abridgement techniques via the presentation of the principal female characters. Chapter 3 looks at how the abridgments affect principal warrior figures such as Hector, Achilles and Penthesilee, concluding that the redactor and his public may have had a less nuanced vision of heroism than Benoît. It contrasts L2 with an abridged version of the text in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 375, in order to bring out the specificity of its approach.

Part II focuses on L1. Chapter 4 provides a full codicological and palaeographical description, and explores the likely provenance of the codex. Chapter 5 consists of a detailed examination of the manuscript decoration, while chapter 6 examines the reception of the Troy myth as evidenced by the contents of the historiated initials, focusing on Hector, Achilles and Penthesilee. The Harley initials are examined within the context of the illuminations of the wider manuscript tradition.

Appendix I: the historiated initials of London, British Library, Harley 4482, Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H.251, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 783.

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Introduction

The Old French poem known as the *Roman de Troie* is thought to have been composed in around 1165 by Benoît de Sainte-Maure.¹ The poem is a vastly amplified translation of two late Latin texts believed, during the Middle Ages, to be eye-witness accounts of the siege of Troy: the *De excidio Troiae historia* by Dares the Phrygian and *Ephemeris belli Troiani* by Dictys of Crete.² The *Roman de Troie* is one of a group of texts featuring historiographical, romance and epic elements translated from classical sources into the vernacular in the twelfth century, known as the *romans d'antiquité* or *romans antiques*, which include the *Roman d'Eneas*, based on the *Aeneid*, and the *Roman de Thèbes*, based on the works of Statius.³

The authors of the *romans d'antiquité* participated in the *translatio studii* topos by selecting, translating and adapting classical texts of politico-historical relevance into the vernacular, deriving authority from the *auctor* of the original text.⁴ During this period, there was widespread belief among Western European peoples that they were descended from the Trojans.⁵ Penny Eley has suggested that the authors of the *romans antiques* were motivated to disseminate the matter of Troy to a public who could not understand the Latin sources, perhaps in response to what Aristide Joly identified as Henry II's attempts to 'legitimise his rule by promoting the view that Normans and British were of one blood and should therefore share allegiance to one another.'⁶ Some critics have interpreted ll. 13457-70 of the *Roman de Troie*, which praise a 'riche dame de riche rei', as a dedication to Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁷ Even if it cannot be proved that

¹ Aimé Petit, *Naissances du roman: les techniques littéraires dans les romans antiques au xii^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1985) I, 13.

² *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia recensuit Ferdinandus Meister* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873); Werner Eisenhut, *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos Belli Troiani: Libri a Lucio Septimio Ex Graeco in Latinum Sermonem Translati: Accedit Papyrus Dictyis Graeci Ad Tebtunim Inventa*, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: Teubner, 1958).

³ *Le roman d'Eneas: édition critique d'après le manuscrit B.N. fr. 60*, ed. by Aimé Petit, *Lettres gothiques* (Paris: Le livre de poche, 1997); *Le roman de Thèbes: édition critique du manuscrit S (Londres, Brit. Libr., Add. 34114)*, ed. by Francine Mora-Lebrun (Paris: Le livre de poche, 1995).

⁴ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Old French narrative genres: towards a definition of the *Roman antique*', *Romance Philology*, 34 (1980), 143-59 (pp. 158-59).

⁵ Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval *origines gentium* and the community of the realm', *History*, 68 (1983), 375-90.

⁶ Penny Eley, 'The myth of Trojan descent and perceptions of national identity: the case of Eneas and the Roman de Troie', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 35 (1991), 27-41 (p. 29).

⁷ Léopold Constans, in his critical edition, refers to this passage as a dedication to Henry II's wife. Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Léopold Constans, *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 6 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904-1912) VI, 188-90. See also F.A.G. Cowper, 'Date and Dedication of the *Roman de Troie*', *Modern Philology*, 27 (1929-30), 379-82.

Henry II or his wife commissioned the *Roman de Troie*, as Emmanuèle Baumgartner has said ‘les romans antiques entrent bel et bien à cette date en résonance avec les préoccupations politiques du milieu anglo-angevin et tout particulièrement d’Henri II et, si l’on extrapole, de son épouse.’⁸

The huge popularity of the *Roman de Troie* in particular is indicated by the large number of manuscripts in which the text is preserved: thirty complete manuscripts and twenty eight fragments. As Marc-René Jung has pointed, out, there are more copies of the *Roman de Troie* preserved than any other literary text composed in the twelfth century.⁹ Benoît’s text also exerted a great influence on the work of later authors.¹⁰ However, even the earliest of the extant copies dates from several decades after the original composition of the poem; it was therefore copied and circulated in different cultural and historical contexts which could have affected the text in the course of transmission just as powerfully as the circumstances in which it was first composed. For example, the supposed dedication to Eleanor of Aquitaine mentioned above has excited much interest among modern scholars of the *Roman de Troie*, but few have followed up on Jung’s revelation that the passage is omitted from thirteen of the manuscripts which belong to different branches of the manuscript tradition. Jung says that we cannot rule out the possibility that Benoît himself deleted this passage, perhaps as a result of Eleanor’s fall from grace in the decade following the composition of the poem.¹¹ On the other hand, Emmanuèle Baumgartner has suggested that later scribes omitted the passage because they saw it as irrelevant, did not make the connection with a former royal figure, or found the panegyric to be incongruously placed in the midst of a misogynist tirade directed at all womankind.¹² In spite of the suppression of this detail, the text as a whole continued to be widely disseminated.

Although much work has been carried out on the text’s manuscript tradition and its significance to medieval literature, not all of the extant manuscripts have received the

⁸ Emmanuèle Baumgartner, ‘Aliénor d’Aquitaine et les images féminines de la royauté dans l’oeuvre de Benoît de Sainte-Maure’ in *Autour d’Aliénor d’Aquitaine: actes du colloque de Saint Riquier (décembre 2001)*, ed. by Danielle Buschinger and Marie-Sophie Masse (Amiens: Presses du Centre d’Études Médiévales de l’Université de Picardie-Jules Verne, 2002), pp. 1-9 (p. 2).

⁹ Marc-René Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au Moyen Âge*, Romanica Helvetica 114, (Basel: Francke Verlag, 1996), p. 19, pp. 22-23. Eleanor was imprisoned by Henry II in 1174 for plotting against him, and was not liberated until his death in 1189 (Régine Pernoud, *Aliénor d’Aquitaine*, rev. edn (Paris: Albin Michel, 1980), pp. 177-205).

¹⁰ See, for example, Catherine Croizy-Naquet, ‘La ville de Troie dans *Le livre de la mutacion de fortune* de Christine de Pisan (vv. 13457-21248)’, *Bien dire et bien apprendre*, 10 (1992), 17-33; Barbara Nolan, *Chaucer and the tradition of the roman antique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹¹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 32.

¹² Baumgartner, ‘Aliénor d’Aquitaine’, p. 3.

attention they deserve, and more research is needed in order to explain the popularity of this poem among medieval audiences. In order to shed more light on the attitude of readers towards the *Roman de Troie* in France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this thesis will focus specifically on the evidence provided by two manuscripts held at the British Library in London which have received relatively little critical attention to date, namely the manuscripts Additional 30863 (L2), from the beginning of the thirteenth century and Harley 4482 (L1), copied towards the end of that century; reference will also be made to appropriate comparator manuscripts.

The overall aim of this study is to evaluate the reception of the *Roman de Troie* as evidenced by these manuscripts, and this approach owes much to the groundbreaking work of Sylvia Huot in *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers*. She argues that all manuscripts contain a valid ‘version’ of the text they transmit, and shows how manuscript studies can enhance literary analysis of the *Roman de la Rose*. Huot asks the following questions in order to evaluate the reception of the *Roman de la Rose* from the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries: ‘How was it understood? What aspects of it were considered important, or shocking, or difficult, or superfluous? What kind of text did people think it was, or want it to be?’¹³ This approach underlies the present study, which examines manuscripts of a text as influential as the *Roman de la Rose*, but which were produced during an earlier time period, spanning the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth.

The study will build on the foundations laid by Marc-René Jung, whose handlist of the manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie* was created with the aim of setting out the material reality of the textual versions of the Troy legend available to readers in medieval France.¹⁴ Jung’s handlist shares the objectives of Huot, but fulfils them not by drawing overall conclusions about the reception of the text, but instead by providing a comprehensive and detailed overview of all the Troy manuscripts as a basis for further research on hitherto neglected areas of the manuscript tradition. While the present study contains comprehensive descriptions of the two British Library manuscripts, the main focus of the analysis will be on aspects of the manuscripts which might indicate the attitudes of the makers of these manuscripts towards the *Roman de Troie* approximately 40 and 140 years respectively after it first went into circulation. In the case of L2, the most distinctive attribute is the fact that this manuscript presents an abridged version of

¹³ Sylvia Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 8.

¹⁴ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 25.

the narrative, and there is reason to believe that the text was deliberately edited by those who produced the manuscript. The most salient feature of L1, on the other hand, is its series of decorated initials, which, though limited in comparison to the iconographic programmes contained in other *Troie* manuscripts, reveals detailed knowledge of the text on the part of those who determined the content of the images.

Before addressing the research questions posed by Sylvia Huot about how medieval readers received the *Roman de Troie*, and to see how L1 and L2 contribute to our understanding of this, we need to begin with an examination of how modern readers have approached the text, starting with an overview of existing editions, before moving onto textual and iconographical studies. It must be said at the outset that although analysis of how the London manuscripts fit into the manuscript tradition will form part of the thesis, this study will not seek to make a case for adopting either of these two manuscripts as the basis for a new edition. However, a complete, modern edition of the *Roman de Troie* would be welcomed by scholars of medieval vernacular literature, especially specialists in the *romans d'antiquité*, and it is hoped that this thesis will contribute to the greater understanding of the manuscript tradition which is necessary for completing such a task.

Editions

There have been several editions of the *Roman de Troie*, each with individual strengths and weaknesses and very much products of their time. The earliest complete edition was by Aristide Joly in 1871.¹⁵ The base text is that of ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 2181 (K), with the two main lacunae filled using text from Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 1610 (J), and additional variants borrowed from manuscripts Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 375 (B), Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 782 (C), Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 783 (D), and Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 903 (G).¹⁶ There is evidence of a number of inaccuracies in Joly's reading of K. Constans provided several examples of good readings mistranscribed, and bad readings reproduced faithfully by Joly.¹⁷ Constans' criticisms of the Joly edition stemmed mainly

¹⁵ Aristide Joly, *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie ou les métamorphoses d'Homère et de l'épopée gréco-latine au moyen-âge*. Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie, 28, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1870-71).

¹⁶ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, 1, iii.

¹⁷ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, 1, iv.

from the fact that he disagreed with Joly about his choice of base text. Constans and Paul Meyer carried out detailed work on the manuscript tradition, and some years after the publication of Joly's edition they published their findings, which indicated that there were two main groups of manuscripts.¹⁸ Constans' view was that Joly selected ms K on the basis of its geographical origin rather than the quality of its text: Joly believed it to be a Norman manuscript, and therefore closer to the original, which he supposed to be Norman. However, manuscript K does not belong to what Constans viewed as the 'better' of the two families.¹⁹

Constans went on to create a new edition of the *Roman de Troie*, which was published in a series of six volumes between 1904 and 1912.²⁰ According to Anne-Marie Gauthier, Constans employed Lachmannian principles in order to recreate what he regarded as the authentic voice of the author.²¹ This edition superseded that of Joly, and has many merits, but its flaws were recognised immediately after its publication. For example, Edmond Faral, while paying homage to the culmination of decades of work, points out that Constans does not give a clear explanation in the edition of the methodology used to establish the text, but only mentions in passing that the first family of manuscripts is used as a basis.²² In the final volume of the edition, Constans describes the seven main manuscripts used to establish the text: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 55 (M2), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 794 (E); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 821 (F); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 2181 (K); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 19159 (M); Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section de médecine, H. 251 (M1); and Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, XIII c. 38 (N).²³ Of these, according to Constans' own classification, M2, F, M1 and N are in the 'better' first family, the rest belong to the second; this reliance on manuscripts of both families contradicts Constans' earlier statement that the first family forms the basis of the edition. Faral does not criticise Constans' eclectic editing method in and of itself, noting that it is justifiable

¹⁸ Paul Meyer, 'Fragments du *Roman de Troie*', *Romania*, 18 (1889), 70-106; Léopold Constans, 'Notes pour servir au classement des manuscrits du *Roman de Troie*, in *Etudes dédiées à Gaston Paris* (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1891), pp. 195-238.

¹⁹ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, i, iii.

²⁰ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans.

²¹ Anne-Marie Gauthier, 'Edition et étude critique du 'cycle des Retours' du *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure d'après le manuscrit Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 55 sup et six manuscrits de contrôle' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Montréal, 1998), p. 4.

²² *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, iv, 55; Edmond Faral, 'Compte-rendu du *Roman de Troie* par Benoît de Sainte-Maure', *Romania*, 42 (1913), 88-106 (90).

²³ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 1-21.

to select readings from the second family as well as the first in the absence of an obvious best text. However, in view of the complexity of the manuscript tradition, Faral opines that it would have been better to base the text on the best manuscript of one of the two families, rather than create a hypothetical text derived from an overly broad range of readings.²⁴ It is interesting to note that Gilles Roques recommends recourse to the earlier Joly edition for more accurate readings, describing Constans' edition as '...une édition méritoire mais maintenant dépassée et même d'utilisation périlleuse.'²⁵

Since Constans published his edition of the *Roman de Troie*, nineteen more manuscripts containing the poem have come to light, all but two of which are fragments. The studies conducted on these fragments attempt to place them in the manuscript tradition already established. For example, Pellegrini's examination of the fragment Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, MS. fr. 24 (P5) led him to observe that P5 oscillates between two subgroups of the second family of manuscripts, *y* and *z*.²⁶ According to the descriptions supplied by Jung in his overview of all the manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*, eight of the 19 manuscripts have been found to exhibit characteristics from both *y* and *z*.²⁷ Penny Eley has suggested that the relationship of the Saragossa fragment (which is in fact an extract, containing the long version of the *entrevue* between Hector and Achillès) to the other manuscripts of the two subgroups could indicate that there was 'another subgroup of manuscripts, now lost, intermediate between Constans' *y* and *z*.'²⁸ Previously, extracts and abridgments in manuscripts have only been used to help establish families or decide how "good" a text is. They have not been used so much in a study of the reception of the text, though Jung and Eley have signposted this – Eley points out that the Saragossa fragment appears to be a "standalone" piece of writing that was copied because the encounter between Hector and Achillès was such a famous episode,²⁹ and Jung has highlighted instances of possible intentional abridgement across the manuscript tradition in his survey.³⁰

As well as questions being raised over his classification of the manuscripts,

²⁴ Faral, p. 90.

²⁵ Gilles Roques, 'Commentaires sur quelques régionalismes lexicaux dans le Roman de Troie de Beneit de Sainte-More', *Bien dire et bien apprendre*, 10 (1992), 157-70 (pp. 157-8).

²⁶ Silvio Pellegrini, 'Un altro manoscritto frammentario del *Roman de Troie*', *Archivum Romanicum*, 12 (1928), 515-29.

²⁷ Marc-René Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge*, Romanica Helvetica, 114 (Basel: Francke Verlag, 1996). The fragments concerned are C3, F1, G1, G2, M4, N4, P4 and P5.

²⁸ Penny Eley, 'The "Saragossa fragment" of the *Roman de Troie*,' *Studi Francesi*, 107 (1992), 277-84 (p. 279).

²⁹ Eley 'The "Saragossa fragment"', p. 278.

³⁰ See Jung, *La légende de Troie*. Besides L2, other significantly abridged manuscripts include BnF, f. fr. 375 (B) (pp. 164-77) and BnF, n. a. fr. 6774 (P) (pp. 250-253).

Constans' editing methods have been assessed by other scholars over the years and found wanting. Although he did not object to Constans' eclectic method, Faral's review of Constans' edition did remark upon the inconsistency in the use of variants in the critical apparatus,³¹ and Stefania Cerrito presents a thorough analysis of the editor's use of Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, XIII.C.38 (N), highlighting several errors. Like many critics, Cerrito recognises that Constans undertook a task of great magnitude in preparing the critical edition, and says that her work will help other scholars to use the edition by giving a clearer idea of its limitations.³² Many of the studies discussed above conclude that a new edition is necessary.

In spite of critics' reservations, no complete critical edition has emerged to replace Constans' version of the *Roman de Troie*. Several partial editions have been produced, which follow principles of text editing which are closer to those of Bédier, using a single best text for the clear majority of readings. However, the editions are still heavily influenced by Constans' enshrinement of M2 as the oldest manuscript.³³ In 1965 Kurt Reichenberger published a selection of extracts from the romance which was welcomed for making it available to a wider audience, but also heavily criticised by Jean-Charles Payen (among others) for its numerous inaccuracies in transcribing 2153 lines of the text of M2.³⁴ Some decades later, two more partial editions emerged in the same year. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vieillard published another series of extracts in an edition which features approximately half of the text of the *Roman de Troie*.³⁵ Baumgartner and Vieillard justify their choice of M2 as a base manuscript on the grounds of its having been identified by Constans as the oldest of the complete manuscripts, although they do acknowledge Jung's reservations about the accuracy of Constans' early dating of M2, and about the fact that, as Constans himself pointed out, M2 frequently alternates from the first to the second family.³⁶ As Penny Eley has

³¹ Edmond Faral, 'Compte rendu du *Roman de Troie* par Benoît de Sainte-Maure', *Romania*, 42 (1913), 88-106 (p. 89).

³² Stefania Cerrito, 'Il manoscritto XIII.C.38 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli nell'edizione Constans del *Roman de Troie* di Benoît de Sainte-Maure', *Travaux de linguistique et de philologie*, 38 (2000), 275-286.

³³ Constans, VI, 1-2.

³⁴ Kurt Reichenberger, *Der Trojaroman des Benoît de Sainte-Maure, nach der mailänder Handschrift in Auswahl herausgegeben von Kurt Reichenberger*, Sammlung romanischer Übungstexte, 48 (Tübingen, M. Niemeyer, 1963); Jean-Charles Payen, 'Reichenberger, Kurt, ed. Der Trojaroman des Benoît de Sainte More' (book review), *Romance Philology*, 19 (1965), 363-65.

³⁵ Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie: extraits du manuscrit Milan, Bibliothèque Ambrosienne, D 55*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vieillard, *Lettres gothiques* (Paris: Le livre de poche, 1998).

³⁶ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vieillard, pp. 19-20. Constans, ed., *Le Roman de Troie*, VI, 85-87; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 115-6.

pointed out, the omission of most of the battle scenes and the final section relating the homecoming of the Greeks has a distorting effect on Benoît's narrative: 'part of its political message is lost, and the careful balance between *militia* and *amor* is destroyed. Viewed as a whole, the text presented here privileges the role of women and love in a misleading and anachronistic way.'³⁷

One of the major sections of the poem omitted from the *Lettres gothiques* edition, the return of the Greeks to their homeland, is the subject of Anne-Marie Gauthier's partial edition of the final portion of the *Roman de Troie*. The Milan manuscript is once again used as the base text because of its age, artistic qualities, and likely provenance in an Anglo-Norman milieu.³⁸ Gauthier goes on to provide evidence showing that the Milan manuscript shares readings with both the first and second family at different sections of the manuscript, confirming the findings of Constans and Jung.³⁹ However, Gauthier does not pursue the implications of the Milan manuscript's capricious nature: that in spite of being an early exemplar, it appears to contain a text based on two different branches of the manuscript tradition that emerged in the decades following the composition of the poem.

Textual Studies

The secondary literature on the *Roman de Troie* is extensive, ranging from early studies of its sources, intertexts and influence on later literature by Edmond Faral to very recent research by Stefania Cerrito on the use of the sea to structure the narrative.⁴⁰ One particular focus for research has been the intertextual relations between the *Roman de Troie* and other romances, both of the same genre and of different genres. For example, Rudolf Witte and Alfred Dressler wrote on the relationship between *Troie*, *Eneas* and *Thèbes* in the years following the Joly edition.⁴¹ Such studies provide a valuable insight

³⁷ Penny Eley, 'Benoît de Sainte-Maure: *Le Roman de Troie*. Extraits du manuscrit de Milan, Bibliothèque ambrosienne, D55' (Book review), *French Studies*, 54 (2000), 68. However, in a subsequent article Baumgartner does defend Benoît's talents at describing war against Petit's dismissal (Baumgartner, 'Benoît de Sainte-Maure et l'art de la mosaïque', in *Ensi firent li ancessor: mélanges Marc-René Jung*, ed. by Luciano Rossi and others, 2 vols (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1996), 1, 295-307 (p. 299)).

³⁸ Gauthier, 'Edition et étude critique', p. 4.

³⁹ Gauthier, 'Edition et étude critique', p. 20.

⁴⁰ Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Champion, 1913), pp. 168-87; Stefania Cerrito, 'La mer dans le *Roman de Troie*: les aventures d'Ulysse au Moyen Âge' in *Mondes Marins au Moyen Âge: Actes du 30^e colloque du CUERMA, 3, 4 et 5 mars 2005* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2006), pp. 79-93.

⁴¹ Rudolf Witte, *Der Einfluss von Benoit's Roman de Troie auf die altfranzösische Literatur* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1904); Alfred Dressler, 'Der Einfluss des altfranzösischen Eneas-Roman auf die altfranzösische Literatur' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Göttingen, 1907).

into the creation of authorial voice, but do less to address the questions of reception posed in this thesis.

Other trends in manuscript studies have focused on questions of authorship and dating of the text. There was much debate going back and forth on the topic of chronology for decades, as can be seen from the summary table of positions taken in Faral's exposition of the problem.⁴² Since Giovanna Angeli's study of the *romans antiques*, it has been generally accepted that out of the three texts that form the core of this genre, the *Roman de Thèbes* was composed first, followed by the *Roman d'Eneas*, and that the *Roman de Troie* was composed last of all, circa 1165.⁴³ Many studies of the *Roman de Troie*, however, leave aside the problems of the textual tradition, focussing on the text as it has been constituted by Constans and attempting to elucidate prevalent themes. There are many works which have been written on the *romans d'antiquité* as a genre, and which aim to situate the *Roman de Troie* within that tradition, most notably Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinsky's article which attempted to define the genre.⁴⁴ Peter Damien-Grint uses the *Roman de Troie* principally as a comparator for the historiographical *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, which critics generally accept is also by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, though Damien-Grint says that the contrast in style between the two works 'has led some scholars to doubt their common authorship'.⁴⁵ David Rollo, also writing on twelfth-century historiography, focuses on the pseudepigraphic nature of the *Roman de Troie*. He groups Benoît with contemporary writers such as Wace, and argues that they created accounts of the insular past, based on purportedly authentic historical texts, as a way of representing and commenting upon the political concerns of the present.⁴⁶ Rollo suggests that in contrast to other writers of pseudepigraphic narratives, Benoît knew the accounts of Dares and Dictys to be forgeries, enabling him to take precedence as the principal author of Trojan history.⁴⁷

The literary theme which has received the most attention is that of the love stories; indeed, it has been declared that the main interest of the romance lies in these

⁴² Edmond Faral, *Recherches*, p. 169.

⁴³ Giovanna Angeli, *l'Eneas e i primi romanzi volgari*, Documenti di filologia, no. 15 (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1971).

⁴⁴ Blumenfeld-Kosinsky, 'Old French narrative genres', pp. 143-159.

⁴⁵ Peter Damien-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-century Renaissance: Inventing Vernacular Authority* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 59.

⁴⁶ David Rollo, *Historical Fabrication. Ethnic Fable and French Romance in Twelfth-Century England*, Edward C. Armstrong Monographs on Medieval Literature, 9 (Lexington: French Forum, 1998), p. 12.

⁴⁷ Rollo, *Historical Fabrication*, p. 20.

episodes.⁴⁸ The war scenes have also been considered, but largely insofar as they relate to the theme of love; Adler, for example, has written about the mutually destructive effect that *militia* and *amor* are shown to have upon each other.⁴⁹ The fact that the amorous story lines have received so much attention means that characters like Heleine, Briseïda, Medea and Circès have been examined extensively. One of the most significant and wide-ranging analyses of the female characters of the *Roman de Troie*, by Inez Hansen, widens the scope to include figures like Ecuba, whose primary roles are as mother and king's consort rather than lover.⁵⁰ Penny Sullivan has also treated the female characters in great depth in her doctoral thesis.⁵¹ Antonelli has written about Briseïda and courtly love, concluding provocatively that Briseïda is 'mad',⁵² while Douglas Kelly has theorised as to why Benoît should have invented such a character.⁵³ In his study of the reception of the *Roman de Troie*, Udo Schöning questioned Raynaud de Lage's claims, pointing to the significant historiographical aspects of the text.⁵⁴ Its relationship to the 'eye-witness accounts' has been commented on in connection with Benoît's translation technique,⁵⁵ and it is also one of many medieval texts linked to the myth of Trojan descent that was prevalent in Western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁶ Much work has been carried out on the reception of the *Roman de Troie* as evidenced by its influence on later medieval literature, often via Guido delle Colonna's translation of the work into Latin, as seen in the work of Boccaccio, Christine de Pisan, and Chaucer among others.⁵⁷ Certain scenes such as the judgment of

⁴⁸ Jean Frappier and Guy Raynaud de Lage, 'Les romans antiques', in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters. IV: Le roman jusqu'à la fin du xiii^e siècle*, ed. by Jean Frappier and Reinhold Grimm, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1978), pp. 145-82 (p. 179).

⁴⁹ Alfred Adler, 'Militia et Amor in the Roman de Troie', *Romanische Forschungen*, 72 (1960), 14-29.

⁵⁰ Inez Hansen, *Zwischen Epos und höfischem Roman. Die Frauengestalten im Trojaroman des Benoît de Sainte-Maure*.

⁵¹ Penelope A. Sullivan, 'The Heroine in Twelfth-Century French Literature: the Portrayal of Women Characters in Epic and Romance' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University College, Cardiff, 1981).

⁵² Roberto Antonelli, 'The Birth of Criseyde - an Exemplary Triangle: 'Classical' Troilus and the Question of Love at the Anglo-Norman Court', in *The European Tragedy of Troilus*, ed. by Piero Boitani (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 21-48.

⁵³ Douglas Kelly, 'The Invention of Briseida's Story in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Troie*', *Romance Philology*, 48 (1995), 221-41.

⁵⁴ Udo Schöning, *Thebenroman - Eneasroman - Trojaroman: Studien zur Rezeption der Antike in der französischen Literatur des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1991), p. 270; Jean Frappier and Guy Raynaud de Lage, 'Les romans antiques', p. 179.

⁵⁵ Penny Sullivan, 'Translation and Adaptation in the *Roman de Troie*', in *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Toronto 1983)*, ed. by Glyn S. Burgess and Robert A. Taylor (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985).

⁵⁶ Eley, 'The myth of Trojan descent,' 27-41; Reynolds, 'Medieval *origines gentium*,' 375-90.

⁵⁷ Guido de Columnis, *Historia destructionis Troiae*, ed. by Nathaniel Edward Griffin, *The Medieval Academy of America*, 26 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936; repr. 1970); R. M. Lumiansky, 'Aspects of the Relationship of Boccaccio's "Il Filostrato" with Benoît's "Roman de Troie" and Chaucer's "Wife of Bath's Tale"', *Italica*, 31 (1954), 1-7; Catherine Croizy-Naquet, 'La

Paris, which resonate throughout Western European literature, have been analysed by Ehrhart, Desmaules and Baumgartner.⁵⁸ Elements of social commentary have also been identified: Batany, for example, discusses possible anticlericalism expressed by Benoît within the text.⁵⁹

One of the most productive areas of research on the *Roman de Troie* has been its literary technique. Aimé Petit has written extensively on the literary techniques used in the *romans antiques*.⁶⁰ Glenda Leah Warren's research on the rhetorical technique of Benoît has been one of the few studies that has paid close attention to the virtuosity with which he composes his battle scenes.⁶¹ Analysing how school training of clerks influenced their writing habits, Douglas Kelly contrasts the *Roman de Troie* with the *Ilias* of Joseph of Exeter, concluding that Joseph wrote in Latin for a learned audience who would have full knowledge of the classical allusions, whereas Benoît's technique was shaped by the fact that he was writing in the vernacular for an audience who would not have access to the works of Dares and other Latin sources.⁶² Benoît has been recognised as one of the greatest practitioners of the art of description in the twelfth century, and the literature reflects this. Francisco Crosas has reviewed discussions of the *Chambre de beautés*,⁶³ while Penny Sullivan has written about the significance of the description itself and asks what was the purpose of this virtuoso example of descriptive writing placed at the heart of the story.⁶⁴ Valérie Gontero has pointed out the possible

ville de Troie dans *Le livre de la mutacion de fortune* de Christine de Pisan (vv. 13457-21248)', *Bien dire et bien aprendre*, 10 (1992), 17-33; Barbara Nolan, *Chaucer and the Tradition of the roman antique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

- ⁵⁸ Margaret J. Ehrhart, *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); Mireille Desmaules, 'Histoire d'une fable libérée: Le jugement de Paris dans la littérature médiévale,' *Uranie*, 10 (2003), 85-97; Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'Sur quelques versions du jugement de Paris,' in *Le roman antique au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque du Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie*, ed. by Danielle Buschinger (Göppingen: Kummerle, 1992), pp. 22-31.
- ⁵⁹ Jean Batany, 'Benoît, auteur anticlérical? De Troïlus à Guillaume Longue-Épée', in *Le Roman antique au Moyen Âge: actes du colloque du Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie, Amiens 14-15 janvier 1989*, ed. by Danielle Buschinger (Göppingen: Kummerle Verlag, 1992), pp. 7-22.
- ⁶⁰ Aimé Petit, *Naissances du Roman: Les techniques littéraires dans les romans antiques du xii^e siècle*, 2 vols (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985); 'L'Anachronisme dans les romans antiques du xii^e siècle' (doctoral thesis, Centre d'Études Médiévales et Dialectales de Lille III, 1985).
- ⁶¹ Glenda Leah Warren, 'Translation as Re-creation in the *Roman de Troie*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1988). For a detailed examination of the structure of the battle scenes, see pp. 291-321.
- ⁶² Douglas Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion: Description, Rewriting, and Authorship from Macrobius to Medieval Romance*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, 97 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 121-170.
- ⁶³ Francisco Crosas, 'La Chambre de Beautés: un lugar para la cortesía' in *Loca ficta: los espacios de la maravilla en la Edad Media y Siglo de Oro*, ed. by Ignacio Arellano, Biblioteca Áurea Hispánica, 26 (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2003), pp. 137-63.
- ⁶⁴ Penny Sullivan, 'Medieval Automata: the "Chambre de Beautés" in Benoît's *Roman de Troie*',

intertextual relationship between this episode and the revelations of St John.⁶⁵

The most prolific writer on the work of Benoît de Sainte Maure was Emmanuèle Baumgartner, whose scholarship has been hugely influential in reviving interest in the *Roman de Troie* and the *roman antique* genre as a whole. Baumgartner wrote about the vocabulary of literary technique, citing examples of Benoît referring to himself as a builder or a sailor,⁶⁶ and she has explored how Benoît constructs his identity as a wise clerk whose act of transmitting knowledge via romance writing is as valuable as any knightly deed.⁶⁷ She has shown the positive light in which automata are presented in the *Roman de Troie*,⁶⁸ and interprets Benoît's description of Briseïda's tent and the tomb of Hector and other heroes, including Panthesilee, as a form of intertextual rivalry with the author of the *Roman d'Eneas*.⁶⁹ She makes a related point when contrasting the treatment of Eneas in the two narratives – Benoît could be said to devalorise the character of Eneas as a way of competing with his predecessor, but Eneas' role in the downfall of Troy has to be handled carefully in the light of his future status as founder of a new civilisation upon which Western Europe will be based.⁷⁰ The techniques of intertextuality, description and literary vocabulary mentioned above are all considered in Baumgartner's influential 1996 article.⁷¹

Romance Studies, 6 (1985), 1-20. This article is not mentioned by Crosas.

⁶⁵ Valérie Gontero, 'La Chambre de Beautés: nouvelle Jérusalem céleste?' in *Le beau et le laid au Moyen Age* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2000), pp. 123-38.

⁶⁶ Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'Vocabulaire de la technique littéraire dans le *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure', *Cahiers de lexicologie*, 51 (1987), 39-48.

⁶⁷ Baumgartner, 'Sur quelques constantes et variations de l'image de l'écrivain (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)', in *Auctor et auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale. Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (14-16 juin 1999)*, ed. by Michel Zimmerman, Mémoires et documents de l'École des Chartes, 59 (Paris: École des Chartes, 2001), pp. 391-400.

⁶⁸ Baumgartner, 'Le temps des automates', in *Le nombre du temps: en hommage à Paul Zumthor*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Age, 12 (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1988), pp. 15-21.

⁶⁹ Baumgartner, 'Peinture et écriture: la description de la tente dans les romans antiques au XII^e siècle', in *Mélanges de littérature médiévale et de linguistique allemande offerts à Wolfgang Spiewock à l'occasion de son 60^e anniversaire*, ed. by Danielle Buschinger (Amiens: Université de Picardie, Centre d'Études Médiévales, 1988), pp. 3-11; 'Tombeaux pour guerriers et Amazones: sur un motif descriptif de l'*Eneas* et du *Roman de Troie*', *Michigan Romance Studies*, 8 (1989), 37-50; Baumgartner, 'Benoît de Sainte-Maure et l'art de la mosaïque', in *Ensi firent li ancessor: mélanges Marc-René Jung*, ed. by Luciano Rossi and others, 2 vols (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1996), 1, 295-307.

⁷⁰ 'Enéas et Antenor, deux figures de la trahison dans le *Roman de Troie*', in *Félonie, trahison, reniements au Moyen Âge: actes du troisième Colloque international de Montpellier, Université Paul Valéry, 24-26 novembre 1995*, ed. by Marcel Fauré, Les cahiers du C.R.I.S.I.M.A., 3 (Montpellier: Publications de l'Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier III, 1997), pp. 261-70 (p. 270).

⁷¹ Baumgartner, 'Benoît de Sainte-Maure et l'oeuvre de Troie,' in *The Medieval Opus: Imitation, Rewriting, and Transmission in the French Tradition. Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Institute for Research in Humanities, October 5-7, 1995, the University of Wisconsin-Madison*, ed. by Douglas Kelly, Faux Titre: Etudes de langue et littérature françaises, 116 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 15-28.

In addition to examining the literary awareness and innovative writing techniques of Benoît and the other authors of the *romans antiques*, Baumgartner has also demonstrated what the *Roman de Troie* has in common with texts perceived as more straightforwardly historiographical, such as the works of Wace and Gaimar, and indeed Benoît's *Chronique*.⁷² She takes into account the political as well as the romance dimensions of the *Roman de Troie*, examining what the portrayal of royal characters and emblematic patron figures like Solomon in the story can tell us about Benoît's attitude towards Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁷³ She has written about how the *Roman de Troie* provides examples of how cities were identified with women and royal power in medieval texts,⁷⁴ and has analysed images of feminine royalty and what they reveal about contemporary attitudes towards Eleanor of Aquitaine.⁷⁵ Catherine Croizy-Naquet has built on Baumgartner's research with her work on representations of women and cities in the *Roman de Troie*.⁷⁶ It should be noted in passing, however, that these studies share a problem with the edition, in that they talk about the *Roman de Troie* as presenting a kind of utopia, an apogee of civilisation, and do not address the major impact that war has on this civilisation, on the characters involved, and on the portrayal of kingship.

Iconographical Studies

Although less widely researched hitherto than the literary-historical aspects of the text, the iconography of the *Roman de Troie* has been the subject of several examinations. Fritz Saxl surveyed the illuminations of medieval manuscripts containing versions of the legend of Troy, dismissing the miniatures of the earliest extant fully illuminated manuscript of the *Roman de Troie*, ms BnF, f. fr. 1610, as 'crude'.⁷⁷ Continuing with

⁷² Baumgartner, 'Écrire, disent-ils: à propos de Wace et de Benoît de Sainte-Maure', in *Figures de l'écrivain au moyen âge: Actes du colloque du Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie, Amiens, 19-20 mars 1988*, ed. by Danielle Buschinger, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 510 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991), pp. 37-47.

⁷³ Baumgartner, 'L'Image royal dans le roman antique: Le *Roman d'Alexandre* et le *Roman de Troie*', in *Cours princières et châteaux: Pouvoir et culture du IXe au XIIIe siècle en France du Nord, en Angleterre et en Allemagne. Actes du Colloque de Soissons (28-30 septembre 1987)*, ed. by Danielle Buschinger, Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter, 6; Wodan, 21 (Greifswald: Reineke, 1993), pp. 25-44; 'Figures du destinataire: Salomon, Arthur, le roi Henri d'Angleterre', in *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. by Ian Short (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993), pp. 1-10.

⁷⁴ Baumgartner, 'Troie et Constantinople dans quelques textes du xii^e et du xiii^e siècles: fiction et histoire', in *La Ville: histoires et mythes*, ed. by Marie-Claire Bancquart (Paris: Institut de Français, Paris X Nanterre, 1983), pp. 6-17

⁷⁵ Baumgartner, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et les images féminines de la royauté', pp. 1-9.

⁷⁶ Catherine Croizy-Naquet, *Thèbes, Troie et Carthage: Poétique de la ville dans le roman antique au xii^e siècle*, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Age (Paris: Champion, 1994).

⁷⁷ Fritz Saxl, 'The Troy Romance in French and Italian Art', in *Lectures*, 2 vols (London: Warburg Institute, 1957), I, 125-38.

Saxl's work on the influence of classical material on medieval art, Hugo Buchthal carried out a study of two Venetian manuscripts containing Guido delle Columnis' Latin translation of the *Roman de Troie*, the *Historia destructionis Troiae*,⁷⁸ in which he examined the sources of inspiration for these iconographical cycles. Buchthal shares Saxl's opinion on the artistic merit of BnF, f. fr. 1610, describing it as an 'utterly debased copy produced in an outlying provincial scriptorium', intended for 'a rather lowbrow type of clientèle among the French knighthood'; he suggests that the model used by the artist must have been 'a splendid work indeed',⁷⁹ making the assumption that the first cycle of the iconographical programme was the best and most complete. He identifies similar iconographical schemes in *Roman de Troie* manuscripts produced in Italy during the thirteenth century, but judges the artistic standards as low.⁸⁰ Elizabeth Morrison has carried out the fullest examination yet of the French illuminated manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*, and rejects Saxl's and Buchthal's attribution of ms BnF, f. fr. 1610 to a provincial workshop, localising it instead in a Parisian milieu.⁸¹ Focusing on this manuscript and codices illustrated by the Fauvel master and other artists working in Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, she demonstrates that the images in these manuscripts were probably commissioned by members of the Capetian dynasty and show a preoccupation with justifying the Capetian claim to the throne.⁸²

There have been studies carried out which focus on a single aspect of the iconographical programme of the *Roman de Troie*, such as Stefania Cerrito's analysis of the various literary and iconographical depictions of the sagittaire in the romance and subsequent versions of its story in Middle Ages.⁸³ Hector is one of the most popular iconographical subjects, as demonstrated by numerous articles, for example Christiane Raynaud's study of how representations of Hector evolve from the thirteenth until the fifteenth centuries,⁸⁴ and detailed analyses of the portrayal of his tomb in French and

⁷⁸ Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration* (London: Studies of the Warburg Institute, 1971), pp. 3-19. See also Guido de Columnis, *Historia destructionis Troiae*.

⁷⁹ Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁰ Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, p. 14.

⁸¹ Elizabeth Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie* and French royal dynastic ambition (1260-1340)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 2002), pp. 84-87.

⁸² Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*'.

⁸³ Stefania Cerrito, 'Come beste esteit peluz: l'image du sagittaire dans les différentes versions de la légende de Troie au Moyen Âge', in *La Chevelure dans la littérature et l'art du Moyen Âge: Actes du 28^e colloque du CUERMA, 20, 21 et 22 février 2003*, ed. by Chantal Connochie-Bourgne (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2004), pp. 69-82.

⁸⁴ Christiane Raynaud, 'Hector dans les enluminures du xii^e au xv^e siècle', *Bien dire et bien apprendre*, 10 (1992), 137-156.

Italian Troy manuscripts by Buchthal and Jung.⁸⁵ Emmanuèle Baumgartner has appraised the images placed at the beginning of the *Roman de Troie* across the manuscript tradition, many of which appear to emphasise the importance of the role of the author in the transmission of knowledge by depicting a scribe in the act of writing.⁸⁶ Laurence Harf-Lancner has studied the illuminations of ms BnF, f. fr. 60, containing the *Roman de Thèbes*, the *Roman de Troie*, and the *Roman d'Enéas*. Harf-Lancner examines the function of the miniatures and the rubrics within the individual romances as well as the way in which visual parallels between the frontispieces unify the cycle of antiquity formed by this codex; moreover, she highlights instances where there is a breakdown in the relationship between text and image.⁸⁷

A number of the studies outlined above take a literary approach to reception that elucidates intertextual relationships between authors, often over lengthy time periods. The careful study of individual manuscripts, however, employing the sorts of approaches developed by Huot, can offer insights into reception of a rather different kind. For one thing, 'the activities of scribal editors and remanieurs are an essential part of medieval literature', and studying remaniements of texts can reveal much about the literary tastes of medieval readers.⁸⁸ Busby, for instance, in studying the behaviour of the scribe Guiot, who copied ms BnF, f. fr 794, infers from Guiot's comparative lack of interference with the text of the *Roman de Troie* that he had more respect for texts that could be perceived as historiographical works than for the romances of Chrétien de Troyes.⁸⁹ Huot also demonstrates how the interests and concerns of readers of the *Roman de la Rose* can be discerned in the iconography used in manuscript

⁸⁵ Hugo Buchthal, 'Hector's tomb', in *De artibus opuscula XL: Essays in honour of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. by Millard Meiss (New York: New York University Press, 1961), pp. 29-36; Marc-René Jung, 'Hector assis', in *Romania ingeniosa: Mélanges offerts à Gerold Hüly à l'occasion de son 60^e anniversaire*, ed. by G. Lüdi, H. Stricker and J. Wüest (Bern: Peter Lang, 1987), pp. 153-69.

⁸⁶ Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'Seuils de l'oeuvre: Le folio liminaire des manuscrits du *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure', in *Le Dialogue des arts*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Landry and Pierre Servet, 2 vols (Lyon: CEDIC, 2001), 1, 13-31.

⁸⁷ Laurence Harf-Lancner, 'l'Elaboration d'un cycle romanesque antique au xii^e siècle et sa mise en images: le *Roman de Thèbes*, le *Roman de Troie* et le *Roman d'Eneas* dans le manuscrit BnF fr. 60', in *Le monde du roman grec: Actes du colloque international tenu à l'École normale supérieure (Paris 17-19 décembre 1987)*, ed. by Marie-Françoise Baslez, Philippe Hoffmann and Monique Trédé, *Études de littérature ancienne*, 4 (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 1992), pp. 291-306.

⁸⁸ Huot, *The Romance of the Rose*, p. 9.

⁸⁹ Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, Faux titre, 222, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 1, 104-5. Busby observes that Guiot does omit a significant amount of material from the last 5,000 lines of Benoît's text, which uses Dictys instead of Dares as the main source, suggesting that Guiot has a critical attitude towards material derived from Dictys.

illumination.⁹⁰ The two manuscripts at the heart of this study are dissimilar to each other, one being a heavily abridged codex with a limited amount of decoration, and the other presenting a relatively full version of the text accompanied by a series of historiated initials. Moreover, they are produced decades apart from one another, in different locations. Nevertheless, they can legitimately be brought together as the question of reception is considered from two angles, looking on one hand at omissions, and on the other at additions, in the form of a paratextual visual gloss. The fact that the manuscripts originate from different geographical and temporal contexts allows us to broaden the scope of this study of the reception of the poem.

This thesis adopts these two approaches, taking into account the evidence provided by differing manuscript features for the reception of the *Roman de Troie*, and the Troy myth more broadly in thirteenth-century France. I express the idea of reception in terms of what the text meant to its readers and how the legend was received. By readers, I do not just mean the people who read the manuscript (whether out loud or silently), or who heard it read out, but, perhaps more importantly, the makers of the manuscript. The term 'makers', moreover, covers fuzzy categories, raising questions as to the extent that the roles of redactor, copyist, illuminator and compiler can be distinguished from each other. There is evidence from other manuscripts that the boundaries were blurred. This blurring might be caused by close cooperation between several individuals, or by one person fulfilling more than one role. For the purposes of this discussion, the makers of the manuscript will be grouped with the rest of the readers of texts, and it will be presumed that the expectations of the audience conditioned the editorial choices made by the makers of manuscripts, whether the makers were acting on the basis of their own response to the text as a reader, or in response to instructions from the person commissioning the piece.

Each individual manuscript provides a window into the ways in which this readership viewed and understood the text, raising questions about the notion of interpreting the *Roman de Troie* as a single text, and problematising the reliance on an edited text as the basis of interpretation. Keith Busby is right to warn that over-reliance on a single-manuscript text-edition or critical edition 'fails to do justice to practically every person involved in the process of transmitting the text: including authors, scribes, artists, and planners.'⁹¹ The aim of the present study is not to suggest that the existing

⁹⁰ Huot, *The Romance of the Rose*, pp. 273-322.

⁹¹ Busby, *Codex and Context*, 1, 61.

scholarship on the text is generally unreliable as a result of being based on the only available full critical edition; little would be achieved by going through individual works of criticism to take them to task for trusting such and such a reading of Constans which is not supported by any extant manuscript. This existing research should, however, be understood in terms of the elucidation of broad themes that may be nuanced or reinterpreted in any given manuscript version of the text. Busby urges scholars to ‘return to the manuscripts’ of Old French verse narrative, and to approach editing practice with the goal of ‘understanding the true nature of medieval textuality’ rather than recreating the ‘*ipsissima verba*’ of the author.⁹² The present study is a response to Busby’s plea, because it constitutes a codicological examination of the manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie* as a contribution to our understanding of the significance of the text in medieval culture. Firstly, it will provide a comprehensive description of two manuscripts which have not received much attention from scholars, with the exception of Jung, who has highlighted some intriguing features which are worthy of further exploration. Secondly, having highlighted these features, namely the apparent presence of scribal editing activity and a visual gloss on the narrative, they will be critically examined in order to determine what they reveal about the reception of the text by the makers of the manuscripts.

In part one of this study, the manuscript version of L2, with its heavy, but (as will be argued in due course) purposeful abridgements, provides a focus for an interpretation of the text that addresses the specificities of this manuscript’s readership, namely, what was regarded as important, and what was deemed superfluous. Chapter 1 provides the most detailed description yet of L2, with an overview of the manuscript’s codicological, palaeographical, linguistic and decorative features, and an evaluation of evidence for its dating and provenance. In Chapter 2, a comparison of the content of L2 with that of Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 3340, L2’s closest relative, will clarify the extent to which the manuscript has been abridged. This chapter presents the first analysis of the relationship between quire divisions and abridgements in an Old French single text codex, and it will be used as evidence that the abridgements contained in the manuscript were carried out by the scribes who produced the codex. A series of case studies of the treatment of prominent female characters in the abridged manuscript will be used to investigate whether the cuts have been made at random or follow a deliberate

⁹² Busby, *Codex and Context*, p. 62.

plan.⁹³ In chapter 3 I take a further case study approach towards evaluating the overall effect of the abridgements on the narrative, this time by examining the warrior characters, all but one of whom are male. The editing technique of L2 will be compared and contrasted with scribal editing activity evident in the text of the *Roman de Troie* contained in ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 375 in order to gain a clearer idea of what could have motivated the redactor of L2 to make such alterations to the text. It will become clear that certain characters, like Hector, are treated favourably by the redactor, whereas others, most notably Panthesilee, fare rather badly.

As with the textual enterprise of the producers of L2, expressed in a series of abridgements, so the producers of the Harley manuscript reveal their reading of the text in the illustrations with which they provided it. In part two of the thesis, this manuscript and its programme of illuminations are considered as evidence for reading of a different kind, but nevertheless illuminating many of the same problems and questions of (chronologically and spatially) localised reading of the *Roman de Troie*. In chapter 4 is the most in-depth description of L1 that has so far been carried out, considering similar aspects of the manuscript to those addressed in chapter one (codicology, palaeography, language and decoration); particular attention is paid to the style of the decorative features. Chapter 5 contains the first detailed analysis of the relationship between the historiated initials and the text they illustrate. This analysis of the iconographical programme will help to establish what was understood to be worthy of illustration by the makers of L1, and how certain scenes and interactions between characters like Hector and his foes were given added resonance for those reading the text. In chapter 6 the initials of L1 will be compared with the iconographical programmes of the contemporary manuscripts M1 and D in order to determine whether the text-image relationship of L1 is the result of a particularly informed reading of the text. Finally, looking at the wider context of Troy manuscript illumination, the presentation of Panthesilee across the manuscript tradition will be explored to see what aspects of this major character were selected for illustration.

⁹³ All names of characters will be rendered according to the lead entry in Constans' table of proper names (*Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, v, 25-93).

Part I

London, British Library, Additional 30863

Chapter 1

Description of London, British Library, Additional 30863

Codicological and Palaeographical Description

The manuscript London, British Library, Additional 30863,¹ which will hereafter be referred to as L2 in accordance with the sigla elaborated by Léopold Constans,² contains only the *Roman de Troie*. It is a vellum manuscript, measuring 238 mm high by 163 mm wide. The codex is bound in dark green morocco leather, ornamented with blind tooling; this corresponds to the description of the binding given in the two earliest catalogue records of the manuscript, which date from the mid-nineteenth century. The binding bears several marks and inscriptions indicative of the frequent changes of ownership that took place during the later decades of the nineteenth century before the manuscript was acquired by the British Museum. The title of the text is printed in gold lettering at the top of the front cover of the manuscript: 'LE ROMAN DE TROIE'; the author's details are included at the bottom: 'PAR BENOÎT DE STE MAVRE'. The same title is printed in gold lettering on the spine, in addition to the British Museum shelf mark (BRIT. MUS ADDITIONAL 30863). At the top of the spine is a white label with the number 397 printed on it, while at the bottom of the spine is a white label printed with the designation A23. The inside front cover bears the oval label of the Firmin Didot library, imprinted with the date 1850, which is probably the date that the library was established, as the manuscript did not enter the Didot collection until after 1864, when it was sold from the collection of Guglielmo (also known as Guillaume) Libri.³ The book cannot have been in the hands of the now notorious book thief Libri for

¹ The earliest known descriptions of the manuscript appear in a number of nineteenth-century sales catalogues, firstly in Téchener's catalogue, where the manuscript is listed as item 164 (, 1, 261-2). The manuscript is later described under item 65 in the catalogue compiled for the 1864 sale of manuscripts belonging to Guglielmo Libri, conducted by Sotheby's (*Catalogue of the Libri Library: Which Will Be Sold by Auction by Messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson, Auctioneers*, 6 vols (London: J. Davy and Sons, 1859-1864), vi, 22), and again as item 31 in the catalogue written for the sale of items from the Firmin-Didot library in 1878 (Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Catalogue illustré des livres précieux manuscrits et imprimés faisant partie de la bibliothèque de M. A. Firmin-Didot*, 6 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878-84), 1, 16-17. Subsequent descriptions, more accurate and detailed than the brief catalogue entries mentioned above, appear in: *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, pp. 46-7; Terry Nixon, 'The Role of the Audience in the Development of French Vernacular Literature in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries, with a Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 1989), pp. 547-9; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 100-110.

² *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, 1, v-vii.

³ *Catalogue of the Libri Library*, p. 22.

more than two years, as it was previously sold at an auction of books belonging to Jacques Téchener in 1862.⁴ Also on the inside front cover, the number 65 with a circle around it is pencilled in the top left corner, probably corresponding to the item number allocated to the manuscript on the occasion of its sale in 1864.⁵ In the bottom left corner is written 'Σ: 471-G-23, 397A'. On the paper page facing the inside of the front cover, the current shelf mark 30863 is printed. At the bottom, 'Purch'd at Didot's sale, Paris, 18 June 1878' is written in ink. Overleaf, at the top, also in ink, is written 'Musée F. Didot, no. 7'. At the end of the codex, a page of vellum appears to have been inserted at the time of the most recent binding. In pencil, facing the final folio of the manuscript, the words 'manque les v's 27223 à 30108' are written, an observation made using the line numbering adopted by Aristide Joly in his 1870-71 edition of the poem.⁶ Overleaf, '132 folios July 1878' is written in pencil in the centre of the page. On the paste down, the number 37 is written faintly in pencil in the top right corner.

As noted on the binding, the manuscript in its current form consists of 132 folios, which have been numbered in a modern hand in arabic numerals at the top right corner of the recto of each folio. These folios are arranged in seventeen quires, which have been numbered by a contemporary hand using roman numerals, which appear either at the beginning or the end of the gathering. For example, folio 23^v: iiiii; folio 24^r: v; folio 32^r: vi; 47^v: vii; 55^v: viii; 61^v: ix; 69^v: x. These quires consist of four bifolia, apart from quire ix (original numbering) which contains three. Out of an original nineteen quires, the first and last are missing; the first folio of quire ii and last folio of quire xviii are also missing. The text begins at line 1455 of the Constans edition (l. 1443 Joly edition) and ends at line 27342 (l. 27222 Joly edition).

The manuscript is written in two columns throughout, but the number of lines per column varies throughout the manuscript. From fols 1 to 55^r, most of the columns contain forty lines each, apart from fols. 14^v to 15^v, which have columns of 38 lines. The last folio of quire viii, 55^v, and the first folio of quire ix, 56^r, have columns of 42 lines, and the variation continues across quire ix. Fols 56^v to 59^r have 45 lines, as does fol. 60^v, while fols 59^v and 60^r have 46 lines. Fol. 61^r has 43 lines, while the final folio of the quire, 61^v, has 40 lines, in accordance with the whole of quire x and most of quire

⁴ Téchener, *Description raisonnée d'une collection choisie d'anciens manuscrits*, 1, 261-2. For a fascinating account of the life of the infamous Libri, see P. Alessandra Maccioni Ruju and Marco Mostert, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri: Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist and Thief: A Nineteenth-Century Story* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

⁵ *Catalogue of the Libri Library*, p. 22.

⁶ *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Aristide Joly.

xi. In quire xi, the number of lines rises to 41 on fols 76^v and 77^r, and then to 42 on fol. 77^v. This number of lines per column is mirrored by the first folio of quire xii on fol. 78^r. After this point, the folios contain columns of 41 lines, until midway through quire xv. Here, from fol. 105^r until the end of the manuscript, the number of lines per column reverts to forty lines.

Pricking is still visible on the outer margin of most of the folios. Seventy have a single line of pricking, sixteen folios have a double line, including all six folios in quire ix, in which the two lines are approximately one centimetre apart at the top of the page, but converge towards the bottom. Six folios have a triple line, five of which are in quire viii, the sixth in quire xiii. On many of the folios containing multiple lines of pricking, it can be seen that one of the lines often does not extend down the whole length of the page, as can be seen on fol. 52, where the middle of the three lines extends from midway down the margin to the bottom, and the outermost line only extends down the midsection of the margin. The presence of converging and incomplete lines suggests that the clerk who prepared the manuscript made frequent errors in the course of pricking the page before ruling could take place. The rest of the folios have damaged margins, or perhaps have had the pricked part of the page trimmed off. The manuscript appears to have been cropped at the top of each folio, because the upper margins are much reduced in comparison to the lower margins.

The shape and size of the holes made in the course of pricking varies across the manuscript. For example, quires ii and vi have holes which are uneven and star-shaped because of the way that the pricking tool has torn the vellum, whereas the holes in quire vii are like very faint, evenly-sized pinpricks, and most of the pricking in quire xi consists of short, neatly formed horizontal slits. Sometimes one quire can contain several different shapes and size of prick hole, such as quire x, which has both star-shaped holes and horizontal slits; sometimes different shaped prick holes can be seen on the same folio, for example on fol. 73 (quire xi), where the holes start off as rounded but torn at the top of the page, but become more slit-like halfway down. The latter detail suggests that the same pricking tool was used across the manuscript, and it was differing techniques, perhaps influenced by time pressures, which created the variety of shape and size of hole.

Ruling with a plummet line is visible on fifty seven folios, occasionally on both the recto and the verso. The clearest rule-lines can be found on fols 29^v (quire v) and 54^v (quire viii). Quire iv has the highest amount of visible ruling, discernible on all of its

folios except on folio 21. On the other hand, there is no visible ruling at all in quires xvi or xvii. On fol. 29^v it can be seen that the scribe has written above the top line of the ruled area. Neil Ker observed that at the beginning of the thirteenth century, scribes began to change their method of ruling so that instead of leaving open the top of the written space, all four sides of the text were enclosed within the ruled line.⁷ The makers of L2 seem to have employed the older method of ruling, which supports the dating of the manuscript to the very early thirteenth century.

The vellum is of a mediocre quality, with holes throughout, and some tears which were sewn up before the text was written. Most of the pre-existing holes and tears occur in the first fifty or sixty folios of the codex. The scribes involved in copying the text have often had to compress or otherwise modify their writing when encountering these obstacles. For example on fol. 21 there is a wedge-shaped horizontal tear two thirds of the way down the column closest to the outer margin. The scribe has dealt with this by extending the affected couplet into the margin on the recto side, and a single line into the intercolumnar area on the verso. Other pre-existing holes affecting the text occur on fols 30, 33, 34, 35, 49, 50 and 63. Of the two holes on fol. 49, the larger one has been repaired at a later date with paper, but the rest of the holes have been left alone. The tears have received more attention, both from the makers of the manuscript and from later conservators. On fol. 66 there is a large tear which affects eleven lines of text. There are stitch holes indicating that a repair had been carried out, but there is no remaining thread.

The beginning of the codex is the most impaired in terms of damage which occurred after the manuscript was made. Several tears, which appear to have occurred after the text was copied and were stitched up in later years, can be found on fols 5, 16, 17, 19, 24, and 47. The tears on fols 16 and 17 were most probably incurred when the bottom of fol. 15 was removed, because the line of the tear follows the bottom edge of the cropped page. Other tears have been repaired using paper, as on fols 7, 8, and 70. Paper has been used most heavily to conserve the badly damaged margins of folios, most noticeably on the worn margins of the first four folios where the manuscript is most damaged. Worm holes penetrate from the beginning of the codex to folio 15. Throughout the book, there is a significant crease which affects the text halfway down each folio. The crease is deepest in the first twenty five folios, but subsequent folios are

⁷ Neil R. Ker, 'From "above top line" to "below top line": a Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica* (5), 1960, 13-16.

also severely warped. There are stains throughout, and the text is severely faded on fols 1, 2^r and 7^v. The creases, stains and fading have most likely been caused by exposure to damp.

Examination of the manuscript indicates that at least three, and possibly four, different hands are involved. The beginning of the text is written in a hand of low height, in which most of the letters are well spaced out and not many of the minims are joined up. On folio 16^r, in column two, a new hand is introduced, where the letter height is slightly higher. It slopes forward slightly, is thicker and seems more cursive and flowing. The words 'plus' and 'grant' tend to be written out in full, in contrast to the first hand, in which such words are systematically abbreviated. On folio 17^v the original scribe resumes the text. On folio 38^r, the first 8 lines of column two, dealing with the death of Protesilaus, are written in a much larger, forward sloping hand, in which none of the letters are joined up, but after this the first hand continues until folio 105^r where the writing becomes much larger. This fourth hand is somewhat similar to that on column 2 of 38^r, but seems to slope backwards instead, and does not display characteristics like descenders of <s> and <r> which dip slightly below the line in the example on folio 38^r. Also, the colour of the ink changes to a darker shade of brown which continues to be used to the end of the manuscript. On fol. 107^r, we see that a different way of denoting expunctuation is used – a line instead of a row of dots used elsewhere. From this point in the manuscript until the end, the number of lines per page goes from 41 to 40, probably in order to accommodate the larger handwriting. However, it should be noted that the number of lines per page varies throughout the manuscript and does not necessarily correspond to changes of hand.

In addition to the marks made on the codex in the course of relatively frequent transactions between owners during the nineteenth century mentioned above, the text has been annotated in several places by earlier owners and readers, as documented by Marc-Réné Jung.⁸ Among the earliest is a series of annotations made by a reader, starting with a marginal annotation on fol. 38^r in the midst of the first battle ('folx est qui aime')⁹. The first eight lines of column b on fol. 38^r have been written in a hand different from that which copied the rest of the text on this page, but it does not appear to be responsible for the marginal note. Subsequent annotation in the same careful bookhand as in the margins of fol. 38^r also appear on fol. 56^r ('amor ma mis' and 'amor

⁸ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 101-2.

⁹ All transcriptions carried out by the author in this thesis present the text as it appears in the manuscript. Abbreviations have been expanded and enclitic and elided forms have not been separated.

ma mis en grant'); this folio shows the aftermath of war, as it contains the end of Achillès' reaction to Patroclus' death, his burial, and Cassandra's dire prophecies (ll. 10343-440).¹⁰ On fol. 78^r the words 'amor amoretes qui ma amee mamera a mon cuer [...]]' are visible, but the rest of the faded text is hard to decipher.¹¹ This folio contains ll. 14951-15026, in which Achillès' continuing hatred of Hector is alluded to, as well as the torments of Diomedès, who has fallen in love with Briseïda. Jung has speculated that the reader was 'soit ennuyé par les longues batailles, soit distrait par ses amours',¹² but only one of the notes is written on a page which features a battle scene, so there is no compelling reason to suppose that the reader was not as engrossed by the military action as by his or her own romantic preoccupations. The use of the first person pronoun has led Jung to interpret these annotations as remarks about the condition of the person who made them, but the annotator could be blaming love and women for war in general, or quoting from as yet unidentified lyrics which are relevant to these points in the text. Indeed, A1, L2's closest relative, contains three annotations written in Latin, including one quotation identified by Jung as deriving from the a by Alexandre de Villedieu; the couplet in the margin of fol. 142^v, which links Paris' burning desire for Helen directly to the fall of Troy, is aptly juxtaposed with Ajax Telamon's statement to Paris prior to killing him on fol. 143^r: 'Por li morroiz e ie si faz' (l. 22813).¹³

Other annotations not mentioned by Jung include 'ni son uoy a uenu' on fol. 72^v, as well as the words 'Guiot matorni', again on fol. 78^r. The book was perhaps closed before the ink had dried on the latter annotation, for a mirror image of the note has been impressed on the margin of fol. 77^v. As fol. 78^r is at the beginning of quire xii, it would be tempting to believe that the inscription functions as an attribution to the scribe who copied this quire, but this is unlikely since it is in a much later hand than that used to copy the text and to write the other annotations mentioned so far, including one on the same folio, and the staining of the opposite leaf shows it was written after the quires were bound into the codex.

Marks of ownership include a note in a cursive fourteenth-century hand at the bottom of folio 14^v which reads 'A madame de Martignie madame Maulevrier saluz e bonne amor.'¹⁴ Although it has not been possible to identify the two individuals mentioned, Keith Busby has discovered that the two possibly aristocratic families are

¹⁰ All line references are to the Constans edition unless otherwise stated.

¹¹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 101.

¹² Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 101.

¹³ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 135.

¹⁴ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 101-2, Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 719-20.

perhaps linked to the locations of Martigné-Briand and Maulévrier, both in present-day Maine-et-Loire. As Busby says, it is ‘interesting to note two women who were friends and probably neighbours passing books one to the other.’¹⁵ As mentioned above, the bottom of the facing fol. 15^r has been cut off; one wonders whether a further identifying mark or inscription linked to the one on 14^v once occupied this space before it was removed. It is fortunate that this informative inscription is present in a codex which has been mutilated at the beginning and the end, places where modern readers might normally expect such inscriptions to be written. Busby’s survey of marks of ownership reveals that it is not uncommon for such inscriptions to be made in the midst of the text.¹⁶ The inscription might be located in quire iii of L2 due to lack of space on the original opening pages of the codex, which could have been crowded out by inscriptions made by previous owners. Alternatively, the beginning of the codex could already have been lost at the time when the book was transferred between the two women. We have already noted that on fol. 14^v the *mise en page* changes from forty to thirty-eight lines per column, so, leafing through the codex, it could have struck Madame de Maulevrier that here was a more spacious area of blank space in which to make her mark. If the book was indeed already acephalous at the time of transfer, it indicates that the *Roman de Troie* was deemed a worthy text to bestow even without Benoît’s prologue and summary or the account of the return of the Greeks to their home country.

There is another mark of ownership on fol. 51^r, which according to Busby ‘appears to come from a lower social milieu, and which records another kind of achievement largely unrelated to the manuscript itself.’¹⁷ The inscription is written in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand, perpendicular to the text in the outer margin, and reads ‘A mon bon amy Ennuec de Lavillerus qui focit la fille Bugny a tere.’¹⁸ The words ‘A mon bon amy Ennu’ have been written above this note as well, but have been rubbed out. This dedication could constitute a private joke rather than a straightforward dedication to the as yet unidentified Ennuec. Jung is clearly correct in stating that this inscription has nothing to do with the text, which on this folio recounts events from the lengthy second

¹⁵ Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 719. ‘Maulévrier’ is listed by Dauzat as a name of Breton origin (Albert Dauzat, *Les noms de famille de France: traité d’anthroponymie française* (Paris: Payot, 1945), p. 244) but ‘Martigny’ is said by him to be a toponymic surname originating from various regions including Aisne, Normandie and the Vosges (Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France* (Paris: Larousse, 1951) p. 420). Incidentally, Maine-et-Loire is to the west of neighbouring Indre-et-Loire, in which Sainte-Maure is situated.

¹⁶ Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 637-813.

¹⁷ Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 719.

¹⁸ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 102.

battle. Finally, there is a very faded inscription at the bottom of fol. 130^v, towards the end of the manuscript, which reads ‘por qui an son servage m’a tenu trot longement bon amour me feit de joye mes chante...A son bon ami amor sor...joff..seignor.’¹⁹ This inscription is also made in a late medieval hand, but it has not been possible to discern any full names.

That up to three marks of ownership can be detected in this manuscript, in addition to the marginal annotations made by earlier readers, strongly indicates that this codex has passed through several hands in the centuries following its creation. This study will be focusing on the way in which the makers of the manuscript responded to the Troy legend, rather than dwelling on the reactions of subsequent readers. However, it is worth signalling that more annotations have been made in L2 than in many of the other manuscripts containing the *Roman de Troie*, according to Jung’s detailed handlist. It has been noted above that the vellum on which the text was copied was not of the highest quality, being holed throughout, and it certainly suffered significant damage after it was copied. Also, the style of decoration, alternating between pen-flourished initials in some quires and paraphes in others, is not entirely consistent throughout the manuscript. In many ways, the codex corresponds to the early French vernacular literary manuscripts described by Terry Nixon as having been subject to heavy use:

Among the manuscripts, most are lacking folios or quires. All have worn parchment, brown from use, giving the appearance that these manuscripts were used until they fell apart. This suggests that they were personal books, meant for reading and part of the daily life of the seignury for whom they were probably made.²⁰

Perhaps there is something about the way in which the book was produced that made its owners and readers feel more relaxed about writing in it than they would about making a mark in a more prestigious illuminated codex, and yet the book was still considered valuable enough to be offered as a token of friendship.

Linguistic features in L2

As discussed above, four distinct hands can be identified in L2, and this has been taken into account during this examination of the linguistic features of the manuscript. Only the second hand diverges to a noticeable extent from the others in terms of dialectal traits and this will be considered last. Otherwise there is relative uniformity of usage

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Nixon, ‘The Role of the Audience’, p. 164.

across the manuscript. What follows is not intended to be a detailed study of the language of L2, which would be beyond the scope of this thesis. In many respects, the language of the manuscripts reflects the ‘literary norm’ associated with Old French narrative compositions. I have therefore noted, on the basis of a representative sample of folios, only those features that seem to provide additional information about the dating and possible provenance of this manuscript.

- 1) There is alternation between the graphies *ei* and *oi* throughout the manuscript, with *oi* being the preferred spelling. For example, *Helaine* is rhymed with *poine* (fol. 21^v) and *moine* (fol. 22^r).²¹ On folio 22r of L2 we see *merueillox*, but also *meruoille* on 78r. On 61r we see *soloil: uermoil* and *conseilliers*. These graphies in this particular group of words are also present in a manuscript copied in Provins-en-Champagne during the first half of the thirteenth century by the scribe Guiot (ms. Paris, BnF, f. fr. 794). In the 1957 edition of *Cligès* based on this manuscript, Micha notes examples such as *mervoilles*, *merveilleus*; *consoille*, *conseillié*.²² The alternation between *ei* and *oi* in L2 is more biased towards *ei* in words like *enseigne* (fols 46^r *enseigne/ensoigne*, 105^r *enseigne*, 120^r *enseigne*).
- 2) The first person personal pronoun is normally spelt *ie* (fol. 87; fol.79^r) but *ge* also appears (fol. 21^r). Constans points out that *jo*, unelided with a following vowel, occurs in the oldest of the manuscripts in both stressed and unstressed positions. This has led him to transcribe the first person singular pronoun as *jo* throughout the critical edition. He does not specify which of the oldest manuscripts he bases this decision on, but it is worth mentioning that the preferred form of the first person pronoun in M2 is *ie*. L2 is probably among the oldest of the manuscripts, but appears to feature ‘*ie*’ throughout.²³
- 3) The definite article in the masculine oblique case is normally *lo* (fols 56^r, 38^r), said to be an archaic form by Baumgartner and Vielliard,²⁴ reflecting usage in

²¹ M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), p. 495.

²² Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, ed. by Alexandre Micha, *Les Classiques Français du Moyen Ages*, II (Paris: Champion, 1957), p. xxiii.

²³ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 141.

²⁴ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Baumgartner and Vielliard, p. 24.

the East.²⁵

- 4) The enclitic form *quos* (*que* + *vos*) is fairly common in the manuscript (fol. 21^r, fol. 22^v). Although not included by Einhorn in the list of common enclitic forms in use in the twelfth century,²⁶ it is likely that *quos* was used in a similar time frame, and it is described by Baumgartner and Vielliard as an archaic form.²⁷
- 5) The scribes fairly consistently use *x* as an abbreviation for *-us* e.g. *menelax*, *angoissex*, *hontex* (fol. 21^v), *biax* (fol. 94^r).
- 6) Frequently, *l* is retained before a consonant e.g. *uoldra* (fol. 21^v); *maldisoient* (fol. 22^r); *malmis*, *uoldroit* (fol. 78^r); *maldit*, *malmise*, (fol. 87^r); *uoldrai* (fol. 120^r). Less frequently, the graphy *au* is used, as in *maudie* (fol. 87^r). In many words *l* + flexional *s* becomes *us*, e.g. *cheuax*, *buens vasax* (fol. 38^r), *chevox* (fol. 25^v), but there are exceptions e.g. *chevels* (fol. 87^r). Einhorn ascribes to conservatism retention of *l* in these positions in the written language, because *l* was vocalised or disappeared some time before the middle of the twelfth century.²⁸ However, retention of *l* may be an indicator of an early date for the manuscript. It is also worth noting that the graphy *filz*, used throughout L2 (e.g. fols 78^r, 87^r) is an earlier form of the inflected noun.²⁹
- 7) The form *hiaume*, found throughout the text (fol. 38^r; fol. 46^r; fol. 105^v), illustrates differentiation of *eau* to *iau* (>*jau*) which occurred early in the Northern and North-eastern region, including Champagne.³⁰

The most salient feature of the second hand that copied fols 16^r-17^r is the strong tendency to write [è] as *ai* (fol. 16^r *domaige*; fol. 16^v *saichoiz*, *paraige*, *saiche*; fol. 17^r *saiges* (twice)). According to Einhorn, this is a feature often seen in the dialect of

²⁵ Guy Raynaud de Lage, *Introduction à l'ancien français*, new edn, rev. by Geneviève Hasenohr (Paris: Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieure, 1990), p. 35.

²⁶ E. Einhorn, *Old French: A Concise Handbook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 145.

²⁷ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Baumgartner and Vielliard, p. 26.

²⁸ Einhorn, *Old French*, p. 24.

²⁹ Einhorn, *Old French*, p. 23.

³⁰ Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, p. 201.

Champagne and other regions of the North and East.³¹ The first, third and fourth scribes did not use this graphy, but used *a* instead. The first scribe shows this preference on 79^v (ll. 15265-6) ‘Gente dame ert de haut parage/ Franche e corteise e proz e sage.’ In the limited sample of writing by the third hand on fol. 38^r, we have *vaselage*. Examples of the fourth hand’s usage can be seen on fol. 107^r: l. 20269 *domage*, l. 20270 *sage*.

Another contrast between the second hand’s language and that of the rest of the manuscript is seen in the choice of the infinitive form *remanoir* – the other hands tend to use the alternative form *remaindre* instead, a version of the infinitive thought to have developed under the influence of the future tense.³² Dees has represented the distribution across regions of these two different forms of the infinitive, although only a partial impression emerges because of the small number of documents consulted. While there is some evidence to suggest that the form *remanoir* dominated in northern, central and eastern France, including Champagne, it is clear that both forms of the infinitive were found across a fairly wide region. Fifteen documents, the highest number, were used to show the distribution of the word forms in Somme, Pas-de-Calais, where the form *remanoir* dominated in Northern France (96.67 per cent of occurrences), but in the ten documents consulted that originated from Haute-Marne towards the east, *remanoir* was the form which occurred in 90 per cent of cases. Six documents were consulted from the Parisian region, of which 83.33 per cent of occurrences were *remanoir*. In the case of Aube, five documents were used, in which 80 per cent of occurrences were *remanoir*. Further south, in the Burgundy region, eight documents were consulted from Nièvre and Allier, in which *remanoir* was the favoured form in 80 per cent of cases. The only part of France on Dees’ map in which the other form, *remaindre*, appears dominant is Orléans, but only one document was consulted from that region. It appears that *remanoir* was the preferred form of the infinitive during this period in a variety of different regions, but the case of Orléans shows that it was not unheard of that more than one form of the verb be used in one manuscript.³³

Overall, the presence of enclitic forms and the conservative retention of consonants like *l* in words at a time when the consonant was perhaps already being vocalised supports the idea that L2 was copied towards the beginning of the thirteenth century. The language of the manuscript presents a number of features associated with

³¹ Einhorn, *Old French*, pp. 137-8.

³² Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, p. 338.

³³ Antonij Dees, *Atlas des formes linguistiques des textes littéraires de l’ancien français*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 212 (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1987), map no. 326.

the dialect of the Champagne region of France. As Einhorn points out, ‘the speech of Champagne was relatively free from individual dialectal features’,³⁴ though it shared linguistic traits with more marked dialects in the North and East. My linguistic sampling suggests that traces of such dialectal features are discernible in this manuscript, with some variation between scribes in terms of the prevalence of eastern traits, although overall the literary language of the Île de France is the more prominent. The non-linguistic evidence for a specifically Champenois provenance for L2 is explored in more detail in the next two sections.

Decoration

The decoration of L2 is minimal compared to contemporary manuscripts, and the loss of the first quire means that the frontispiece, which might well have been finely ornamented, is no longer extant. The remaining decoration is functional in nature, serving to mark divisions of the text. They consist of paraphes, or *pieds de mouche*, and pen-flourished initials. The styles of the paraphes provide further evidence that L2 was copied early in the thirteenth century, while the initials give an even firmer indication of date, as well as indicating the likely provenance of the manuscript.

Although pen-flourished initials appear throughout the codex, paraphes or *pieds de mouche* only appear in certain quires, firstly in quires iv, viii, ix and xi and from that point onwards with increasing frequency until the end of the manuscript. There is some variation in the forms of paraphes drawn; the majority are drawn with a short bow and comparatively long tail which curves towards the margin or intercolumnar space (fols 78^r and 123^v), but some are drawn with a bow which loops round to join the tail at a lower point, making the tail look proportionately shorter (fol. 72^v) – see figure a. The form with a long tail is said by Nixon to be characteristic of manuscripts copied in the last quarter of the twelfth and first quarter of the thirteenth centuries, whereas the form with a long bow is more similar to the form most commonly used from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, which was a kind of ‘C’ shape with the tail curving towards the text column. Older forms were still employed however.³⁵ It is interesting for dating purposes that an apparently transitional form of parape should manifest itself in this manuscript, but so far it does not appear that the use of these markers contributes in any way to determining the origin of the manuscript.

³⁴ Einhorn, *Old French*, p. 140.

³⁵ Nixon, ‘The Role of the Audience’, pp. 46–7.



Fig. a – London, British Library, Additional 30863 (fols 123^r and 72^r)³⁶

The paraphes, while drawn with dark brown ink, are highlighted using the same red pigment as is used for the pen-flourished initials, as in the case of the parape from fol. 72^r.

L2 contains more than 250 pen-flourished initials marking the divisions of the text of L2, and they appear to have been carried out by a single artist, who painted them alternately in red and green, decorating them with flourishing pen strokes in red ink for green initials, and in green ink for red initials. In general they are two lines high, very occasionally they are three lines high (two examples on folio 27^v) or four (see fols 30^v and 31^v). According to Marc René Jung, the lack of larger initials means that the manuscript does not offer the same subdivision of the narrative as that of its closest relative, ms. Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 3340 (A1).³⁷ The initials were perhaps not the work of the scribe(s), who instead left a corresponding minuscule in the margin as an instruction for the later insertion of capital letters – these are frequently visible in the manuscript. On fol. 26^r, column 2, line 2, the margin clearly shows that a <d> should be inserted, but an <e> was written by mistake. This means that l. 5509, where the narrator begins his portrait of the queen of Troy according to Dares, reads: ‘Eecuba ne uoil mie taire’. On fol. 19^v, a space appears to have been left for an initial, but it has not been filled.

Patricia Stirnemann has placed L2 among a group of manuscripts executed in the Manerius style dating to around 1200-1210 on the grounds of the style of flourishing used to decorate the initials.³⁸ She has put forward evidence that earlier members of the

³⁶ These images were created by being traced from the manuscript facsimile and then digitised by the author.

³⁷ Marc-René Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge* (Basel and Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 1996), p. 100.

³⁸ Patricia Stirnemann, ‘Some Champenois Vernacular Manuscripts and the Manerius Style of Illumination’, in *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones and Lori Walters (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), pp. 195-206 (p. 205).

group can be associated with the court of Henry the Liberal in Champagne.³⁹ The occasional archaising tendencies on the part of the copyists or the exemplar from which the text was copied give an impression of earliness in comparison to other manuscripts, which is consistent with the dating of the manuscript suggested by Stirnemann. Much research has been carried out on the nature of the potential influence of Henry's court upon literary production in the region. In the early 1960s, John F. Benton examined witness lists and correspondence in order to test the idea that the court of Champagne was at the heart of a thriving literary culture during the time of Count Henry the Liberal, his wife Marie de Champagne, and their son and successor Henry II. His survey takes into account both Latin and vernacular documentation dating from the beginning of Henry's reign in 1127 to the early thirteenth century, following the death of his son and wife in 1197 and 1198 respectively. Testing the hypothesis advanced by Gaston Paris that the court was the northern hub from which the 'doctrine' of courtly love was disseminated, Benton looked for evidence of patronage in the texts composed by writers such as Chrétien de Troyes who appeared to have written for the court. In addition to identifying potential writer-patron relationships, he also groups writers connected with the court according to the following categories: those who appeared often at court (e.g. Pierre de Celle and Nicolas de Clairvaux, both in the capacity of cleric rather than writer); authors who, like John of Salisbury, wrote letters to Count Henry; and those who wrote about the court (such as Walter Map and Pierre Riga).⁴⁰

Marie-Geneviève Grossel describes the whole study as 'très sceptique',⁴¹ and this is especially the case in the section on authors whose links to the court Benton considers doubtful. For example, Benton questions the idea that Andreas Capellanus was the chaplain of Marie de Champagne. Even when conceding that the countess might have been his employer, he first warns against taking Capellanus' apparent advocacy of adultery in the *De amore* as anything but an ironic comment on the behaviour of Marie and her mother Eleanor of Aquitaine. Furthermore, he points out that if Marie genuinely advocated the idea of courtly love as expressed in the treatise, this would bring her into conflict with the ecclesiastics who peopled her court according to the witness lists. Benton's doubts about the existence of a link between Marie de Champagne and Andreas Capellanus are supported by Alfred Karnein in his

³⁹ Patricia Danz Stirnemann, 'Quelques bibliothèques princières et la production hors scriptorium au xii^e siècle', *Bulletin archéologique du CTHS*, 17-18 (1984), 7-37.

⁴⁰ John F. Benton, 'The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center', *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 551-91.

⁴¹ Marie-Geneviève Grossel, *Le milieu littéraire en Champagne sous les Thibaudiens*, *Medievalia*, 14, 2 vols (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994), I, 253.

authoritative work on the reception of the *De amore*; Karnein agrees with Benton that Marie's interests did not reside in Latin literature.⁴² Furthermore, Karnein provides documentary evidence that Andreas Capellanus was not based in Troyes, but in fact worked in the *cancellaria* of Philip Augustus in Paris.⁴³

Benton concludes that while the evidence supports the idea that Henry the Liberal valued learning, and that his wife also appreciated literature, as evidenced by a dedication in Jean d'Evrat's *Genèse* which apparently refers to her personal library,⁴⁴ the couple cannot be viewed as the northern propagators of a doctrine of courtly love. Benton also points out that the writers he discusses were by no means exclusively connected to the court of Champagne, but wrote for patrons and corresponded with figures in other regions, in particular the North (e.g. Arras and Cambrai) and Flanders. 'These instances' Benton writes, 'show that the literary discourse, like the political and the economic, was largely to the north.'⁴⁵ But considered as a whole, the variety and quality of the literature produced in association with the court of Champagne marks it out as an audience of 'outstanding' literary sophistication.⁴⁶

Patricia Stirnemann complements Benton's prosopographical study with a detailed examination of the decoration of manuscripts produced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which can be associated with the court of Champagne;⁴⁷ according to Grossel, this recension provides evidence of the court's cultural appetites.⁴⁸ Using as a point of departure an inventory of 49 works belonging to the library of Henry the Liberal, most of which are still extant,⁴⁹ she posits that Henry ordered the books rather than inherited them, and that the order in which they were acquired (based on the assumption that the manuscripts came into Henry's possession soon after they were made) shows not only how the count's tastes in reading material evolved during the twelfth century, but also how the region of Champagne evolved as a centre of production. It appears likely that Henry imported artists from already productive regions such as Liège and Burgundy in order to enhance Troyes as a cultural centre. This study also sheds light on the interface between traditional monastic methods of book

⁴² Alfred Karnein, *De amore in volkssprachlicher Literatur: Untersuchungen zur Andreas-Capellanus-Rezeption in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, 4 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1985), p. 26.

⁴³ Karnein, *De Amore in volkssprachlicher Literatur*, pp. 21-39.

⁴⁴ Benton, 'The Court of Champagne', p. 564.

⁴⁵ Benton, 'The Court of Champagne', p. 589.

⁴⁶ Benton, 'The Court of Champagne', p. 591.

⁴⁷ Stirnemann, 'Quelques bibliothèques princières'.

⁴⁸ Grossel, *Le milieu littéraire en Champagne*, 1, 259.

⁴⁹ Danz Stirnemann, 'Quelques bibliothèques', p. 22.

production and the increasing use being made of lay artisans who were employed by courts or made their living as itinerant artists or scribes.

Stirnemann found that several of these manuscripts share decorative features with ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 8, 9, 10, also known as the Manerius Bible after the English scribe from Canterbury who is named in a colophon, a manuscript which she examined in an earlier article.⁵⁰ This mode of decoration flourished and became more systematised following 1180, after a couple of decades of experimentation in style. The manuscripts sharing these traits do not share scribes, artists or pen-flourishers. Some can be said to contain 'pure' examples of the style, whereas others are related or derived from it. Nevertheless, Stirnemann is certain that the manuscripts of this group can be situated in Troyes, even if they do not originate from one clearly defined *atelier*.⁵¹

Stirnemann returns to the translation of Genesis dedicated to Marie by Jean d'Evrat, and identifies Manerius features in the earliest exemplar of this manuscript, Paris, BnF, f. fr. 900. Based on the decoration of the codex, still discernible in spite of heavy mutilation, Stirnemann dates it to the end of the twelfth century, and speculates that it might have been a presentation copy intended for the library of Marie (the text was completed after Marie's death, and contains an epitaph in her memory). Stirnemann singles out two other manuscripts as having potentially belonged to Marie: Paris, BnF, f. fr. 22892 (a commentary on the Psalms by Peter Lombard) and BnF, f. fr. 24768 (sermons of St Bernard). Like the *Genèse*, both manuscripts contain vernacular texts translated from Latin, which were rare at the end of the twelfth century. Moreover, the commentary in BnF, f. fr. 22892 has been decorated all the way through in the Manerius style, whereas the sermons in BnF, f. fr. 24768 contain decoration that Stirnemann believes was influenced by the Mosan style; the Mosan master is thought to have originated in Northern France but had widespread influence over manuscript decoration.⁵² Stirnemann asserts that if the books were not commissioned by Marie, then they were perhaps commissioned by people close to her.⁵³

In a continuation of this line of research which centres on the manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes and their contemporaries, Stirnemann attributes L2 to the group of

⁵⁰ Patricia Danz Stirnemann, 'Nouvelles pratiques en matière de l'enluminure au temps de Philippe Auguste', in *La France de Philippe Auguste: Le temps des mutations*, ed. by Robert-Henri Bautier (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), pp. 955-80.

⁵¹ Stirnemann, 'Quelques bibliothèques', p. 31.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 33; pp. 28-9.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

Champenois vernacular manuscripts.⁵⁴ The ‘formal purity’ of the initials is very similar to those in BnF, f. fr. 900, and strongly suggest an early dating for L2. Keith Busby picks up on Stirnemann’s attribution of this manuscript to the Manerius group, and speculates that L2 was actually written for the court of Champagne, giving two reasons for its suitability: the fact that the house could claim Trojan ancestry, and that ‘the very homonymy of Troyes and Troy’ might have given the text increased allure in the eyes of the family.⁵⁵ In fact, L2, with its relatively humble materials, its heavy abridgements and inconsistency of layout (for instance in the varying number of lines per page, noted above, and in the alternation of pen-flourished initials with *pieds-de-mouche* in marking textual divisions), seems a humble manuscript in comparison to codices such as BnF, f. fr. 900, which are regarded as luxurious enough to be given as ‘presentation copies’. Nevertheless this does not exclude the possibility that it was commissioned by someone within the court, or close to it (compare the vernacular manuscripts described by Stirnemann above). As the Rouses have demonstrated in their survey of book production in medieval Paris, the French royal family of the fourteenth century did not have use purely for the highest quality liturgical manuscripts, and would frequently make use of *ateliers* which were capable of producing lower quality but popular manuscripts containing texts like the *Roman de la Rose*.⁵⁶ Perhaps it is not inconceivable that more than a century before, in a different region, the court of Champagne and those associated with it would commission popular works of vernacular romance produced to a less exacting standard.

The typical features of the Manerius style identified by Stirnemann include serifs that descend in a ‘hooked cascade’ on the initials A, H, I, M and N, and filigree decoration in the form of large, frilled ‘powder puff’ lobes on all of the initials.⁵⁷ A very similar feature is discussed by Sonia Scott-Fleming in her survey of pen-flourished initials in thirteenth century manuscripts; she describes the flourish as an ‘extended fan’, consisting of a ‘corrugated circle’ placed at the end of a ‘stalk’ composed of two pen strokes.⁵⁸ It belongs to a group of features that she identifies as belonging mainly to manuscripts produced before the mid thirteenth century, an observation which supports

⁵⁴ Patricia Stirnemann, ‘Some Champenois Vernacular Manuscripts and the Manerius Style of Illumination’, in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Keith Busby et al. (Amsterdam – Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1993), p. 195-226.

⁵⁵ Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 574.

⁵⁶ Richard and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200 – 1500*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), vol 1, p. 260.

⁵⁷ Stirnemann, ‘Some Champenois Vernacular Manuscripts’, p. 197.

⁵⁸ Sonia Scott-Fleming, *Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 44.

Stirnemann's dating of the manuscript to early in the century.⁵⁹ Examples of initial A with powder puff lobes in L2 can be seen below in figure b, and its counterpart in the *Genèse* is in figure c (See also figure d for an example from the Manerius Bible).⁶⁰



Figure b – London, British Library, Additional 30863 (fols. 35^r and 54^r)

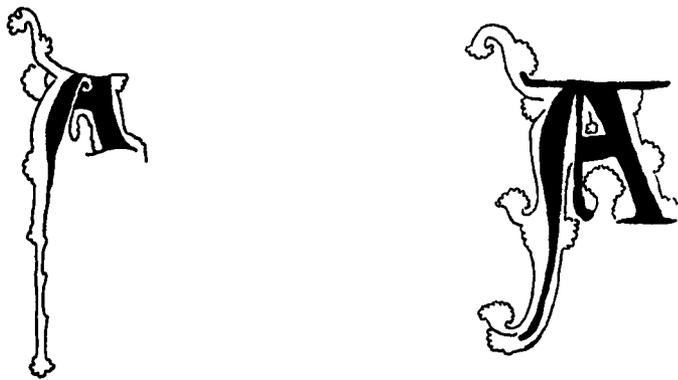


Figure c – Paris, BnF, f. fr. 900 Figure d – Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, ms. 9, fol. 1^v

Stirnemann says that the decoration of the initials in L2 is comparable to that found in the *Genèse*. From the examples visible here, it seems that the pen flourishing used in BnF, f. fr. 900 is more ornate, but as has been remarked, that codex seems to have been produced as a presentation copy, whereas L2 is more likely to have been produced for everyday usage, and therefore might be expected to have slightly simpler decoration.

Although the flourishing of the initials is strikingly similar to that employed in other manuscripts which very likely originate in Champagne, there is another aspect of the decoration, the colour scheme, which is less typical of the champenois group. The use of green means that the colour scheme of the codex is different from the normal alternation of red and blue found in other manuscripts in the Manerius group. In contrast

⁵⁹ Sonia Scott-Fleming, *Pen Flourishing*, pp. 72-3

⁶⁰ These images were created by being traced from the manuscript facsimile and then digitised by the author and Philip Shaw.

to the Evrat manuscript, for example, which has initials which alternate in red and blue (typical of the Manerius style), L2 offers a ‘chromatic anomaly’ in that its initials are drawn in red and green ink.⁶¹ It is possible that this is because the pen-flourisher was copying the colour scheme of an exemplar originating from Normandy or Touraine, which is, as Stirnemann points out, the region in which the *Roman de Troie* was composed by Benoît de Sainte-Maure.⁶² Stirnemann asserts that this colour choice might be in imitation of the exemplar, which could have come from the Normandy or Touraine area where the text was composed.

There is evidence from other parties that this colour scheme was typical of this region. A survey of Nixon’s catalogue reveals that of the 94 manuscripts described, 28 contain initials painted in red and green. Of these, 12 also incorporate other colours such as blue and yellow as well as red and green – according to Nixon, such varied colour schemes are common up until the second quarter of the thirteenth century, whereupon regular alternation between red and blue prevailed.⁶³ Not only does the presence of green betoken an early dating, it also does seem to be associated with manuscript production in West France, and, more especially, England. Of the 28 manuscripts using these colours, Nixon localises nineteen in England, three in Normandy and one in West France. The rest have no clear origin (one is from Sicily but it only contains one green initial, the rest are red and blue). It must be added that Nixon was working on (and expanding) the provisional list of the earliest French vernacular manuscript elaborated by Brian Woledge and Ian Short, which, as Keith Busby notes, already contain a preponderance of English manuscripts, so this may distort the results. However, a consultation of the British Library Illuminated manuscript catalogue yields supporting data. Of manuscripts produced between 1150 and 1210, seventeen contain red and green initials. Of these, seven are from England and three are from North-West France or Normandy. The remainder are from other regions in France, with one each from Champagne, Central France, Brittany and Pontigny, the rest generally identified as being from France. Again, this data must be interpreted with caution, as there are strong historical reasons for the British Library to have a substantial number of Anglo-Norman manuscripts.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the available data does seem to support Stirnemann’s

⁶¹ Stirnemann, ‘Some Champenois Vernacular Manuscripts’, p. 198.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁶³ Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 903, containing the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie* by Benoît, is one of these manuscripts. Nixon, item no. 31, pp. 336–43.

⁶⁴ British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts
<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/search2.asp> [accessed 11th March 2008].

hypothesis of a northwestern exemplar for a manuscript copied in Champagne, and supports the view that L2 is one of the earliest extant copies of the *Roman de Troie*, dating from the first decade or so of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the colour scheme is not the only aspect of the manuscript which can be associated with the Touraine region, as one of the marks of ownership discussed above appears to suggest that the manuscript was, during the fourteenth century, passed between two families based in that region.

The full description of the manuscript given above has allowed us to consider evidence for its dating and provenance. The following chapter will move on to consider the evidence for the reception of the text at the beginning of the thirteenth century provided by the abridgements in L2, and their relationship to the quire divisions described above. Not only do such features give indications of the milieu and environment in which the codex was produced, but they can reveal something of the attitude of the maker towards the text, and suggest that the narrative was being tailored to fit the manuscript in a very deliberate way.

Chapter 2

Evaluation of the Evidence for a Deliberate Abridgement Technique

L2 has long been recognised as an incomplete version of the *Roman de Troie*.¹ This is due to two factors: physical damage to the codex which led to the loss of at least one quire, and scribal omissions which come to light when the text in L2 is compared to the fuller versions such as the editions prepared by Léopold Constans and Aristide Joly, or to L2's closest relative, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3340, which will be discussed below. Some of these omissions occur in other manuscripts in the same family. Not all of the omissions are shared, however – the most interesting aspect of L2 is that the majority of the omissions are unique to this witness. One of the principal aims of this study is to account for how and why the text has been shaped in this distinctive way. The omissions derive either from changes made to the text by the scribes of the now lost exemplar(s), or from alterations made by the scribe(s) of L2 itself. A detailed examination of the text will, it is hoped, present a plausible picture of what agents of change were at work, and where and when they operated. Does the shortened text of L2 result mainly from abridgements made to the series of manuscripts copied in the decades following the composition of the poem, or are the omissions largely attributable to those who produced L2? And were they following a deliberate programme of abridgement?

Comparison of L2 and A1

In order to clarify the extent of the cuts and the manner in which it has been abridged, L2 needs to be studied alongside a full version of the text in a manuscript likely to have contained a similar version of the poem. Ms Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3340 (A1) has been chosen as the 'control manuscript' because it fulfils both these requirements. A1 contains 30,131 lines, compared to the 30,316 lines of Constans' edition, meaning that the manuscript contains a reasonably full version of the text. The two manuscripts are also relatively close in terms of age: L2 has been dated to the first decade of the thirteenth century by Stirnemann,² whilst A1, according to Nixon the earliest surviving

¹ *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts of the British Museum in the Years 1876-1881* (London: British Museum, 1882), p. 123; Henry Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1883), p. 978.

² See chapter 1, p. 29.

dated French vernacular manuscript, is dated to 1237.³ As well as satisfying the criteria of completeness and closeness in age, A1 also fulfils the requirement of similarity. According to Constans and Jung, A1 is the closest relative of L2.⁴ As discussed in the Introduction, Constans identified two main families of manuscripts, α and β , the first family being regarded by him as the best basis for an edition. He further subdivided each family into two groups, the first into v and x , and the second into y and z . On his stemmatological diagram, A1 and L2 are both placed in the z family, the second subgroup of the second family of manuscripts he identified. We shall see in the discussion that follows that the position of these two manuscripts in relation to each other and to the rest of the tradition is not as clear-cut as Constans' stemma suggests, but the reasons identified above make A1 the best candidate for a comparison with the text of L2.

So what is the relationship between these two manuscripts and how can this help us to understand the significance of the abridgements of L2? If the dating of the manuscripts is accurate, it is very unlikely that L2 has been copied from A1, because it almost certainly pre-dates it. So, is A1 based on L2, or is it more likely that they have a common ancestor? Unless the scribe of A1 filled in the gaps apparent in L2 with reference to a second exemplar, the second scenario seems more likely. What are the textual differences between them, and what implications might such differences have for our understanding of how the manuscripts are related? What can we establish about the exemplar from which A1 (and therefore possibly L2) was copied?

Before exploring these questions in more detail, it needs to be pointed out that there are omissions in L2 which are shared with other manuscripts in the z grouping and indeed with manuscripts from the other groups identified by Constans. The other complete manuscripts that Constans identified as being part of the z grouping are all later than L2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 2181 (K), which was used as the base text of Aristide Joly's edition of the poem, dates from the mid thirteenth century according to Constans.⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 375 (B) is dated from 1289,⁶ while Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français, 1553 (I) is dated to 1285.⁷ Cologne, Bodmer 18 (C1) also dates

³ Nixon, 'The Role of the Audience', p. 63.

⁴ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 93; Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 100.

⁵ *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Joly; *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 14-15; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 226-230.

⁶ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 27-31; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 164-77.

⁷ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 42-43; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 212-14.

from the late thirteenth century.⁸ Two closely related illuminated manuscripts are thought to have been produced in the Padua region of northern Italy between 1330 and 1340: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 782 (C),⁹ and Wien, ÖNB Cod. 2571 (W).¹⁰ Other manuscripts in the z subgroup dating from the fourteenth century are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français, 19159 (M) and St. Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, fr. F. v. XIV. 6 (S1).¹¹ The fragments in this group are Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (M3), which dated from the fourteenth century and was destroyed in 1945,¹² and Barcelona, Bibl. de Catalunya, 146 (S2), dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century.¹³ Jung has examined the nineteen manuscripts unknown to Constans and allocated them according to Constans' classification; two further complete manuscripts and six fragments can therefore be added to the z grouping.¹⁴ The common omissions are not shared consistently across the group, and in certain passages L2 is more closely allied to other groups, sometimes reading very differently even from A1, its closest relative.¹⁵ Nevertheless, as Jung states, the second family does have its own particular configuration, and it is evident that many omissions were made to a much earlier version of the text that was in circulation.¹⁶

There are four possible models to explain why omissions that occur in L2 are shared with other manuscripts in the z grouping. Firstly, there could have been an exemplar containing all the abridgements found in L2. The L2 scribe copied the exemplar faithfully; another scribe or scribes used this exemplar in conjunction with a fuller text to create the version found in other manuscripts in the same group. Secondly, there could have been an exemplar that was abridged to a lesser extent, copied by the L2 scribe and one or more others – the former made more abridgements, and the latter scribe or scribes copied the exemplar faithfully, or possibly filled in some of the gaps

⁸ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 33, 95; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 78-79.

⁹ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 31-33, 94-95; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 177-80.

¹⁰ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 56-57, 97; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 297-306.

¹¹ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 15-16, 82, 96-97; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 233-50.

¹² *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 60, 102; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 318-19.

¹³ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 64; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 306-7, Penny Eley, 'The "Sarasgossa Fragment" of the *Roman de Troie*,' *Studi francesi*, 107 (1992), 277-84.

¹⁴ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 24-25. The complete manuscripts are Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2433 (F1) (Jung, pp. 85-100) and Nottingham, University Library, Mi LM 6 (N4) (Jung, pp. 124-33). The fragments are Châlons-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque municipale, 35 (37) (C3) (Jung, p. 312), 's-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 75 68 (G1) (Jung pp. 313-17), 's-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (G2) (Jung, p. 317), Monticello d'Alba (M4) (Jung, p. 318), Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 3536, f.29 (P4) (Jung, p. 327) and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, MS. fr. 24 (P5) (Jung, p. 329).

¹⁵ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 93-4.

¹⁶ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 27.

created by abridgements by reference to another manuscript. Thirdly, there could have been an exemplar that was abridged to a lesser degree, used only by the L2 scribe, who then decided to take the abridging process further. The other manuscripts in this group would then derive possibly from L2, supplemented by another manuscript. This raises the question of why a scribe with access to both the abridged L2 and a fuller version of the text would use both, and not just copy from the fuller version; this is perhaps the least likely explanation. Finally, the L2 scribe could have been copying from a non-abridged exemplar to which a whole range of abridgements were introduced at the behest of a patron or patrons unknown. The other manuscripts in the group derive from L2, supplemented by another manuscript, but not all the abridgements made by the L2 scribe were filled out by this stage. The codicological evidence that will be discussed later makes the second model appear to be the most likely explanation.

Constans first pointed out the close relationship between A1 and L2 in his article on the classification of the manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*.¹⁷ This study was based on two passages from the Briseïda love-triangle episodes, cited as ll. 13495-521 and 14233-52 according to Joly's numbering in this article, which pre-dates the publication of Constans' own edition – these passages are found in ll. 13525-551 and 14281-14300 of his own version of the *Roman de Troie*. In the course of his analysis of transcriptions of the two passages taken from 27 complete manuscripts and the Bâle fragment, Constans points out numerous traits held in common by L2 and A1 which, directly or indirectly, assign them a common origin. These features can be found in ll. 13525, 13545, 13550 and 14284 of his own edition; some of these distinctive readings from A1 and L2 are given in the critical apparatus.¹⁸

Although Constans suggested in this study the possibility that A1 and L2 should be placed between two subgroups of the second family of manuscripts, the section detailing the full classification of the manuscripts fails to evoke the transitional nature of this pair of manuscripts, instead demonstrating the ways in which they can be considered 'intimement lié[s]'¹⁹ while at the same time independent from each other. The main point that Constans makes about the relationship between the pair is that A1 is sometimes linked to the first family of manuscripts in passages where L2 follows the second family. These differences can be seen in ll. 10825-76, 13195-206, 13207-60,

¹⁷ Constans, 'Notes pour servir au classement des manuscrits du *Roman de Troie*', in *Études dédiées à Gaston Paris* (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1891), pp. 195-238.

¹⁸ Constans, 'Notes', p. 230.

¹⁹ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 93.

13457-60, 14875-82, and 14895-936.²⁰ This makes L2, in Constans' view, one of a minority of uncontaminated manuscripts – only 11 out of the 28 manuscripts known to Constans are designated as such in the stemmatological table he elaborated.²¹ This designation of L2 as 'uncontaminated' is contradicted by Constans' observation that in spite of the divergence of the two manuscripts in the passages cited above, L2 shares 'sans doute par contamination' the lines 13457-70 with A1, that is, the alleged dedication to a queen discussed in the introduction and in chapter 2 above.²² However, it has been established that L2 does not in fact contain these lines. Constans only had access to a limited number of transcribed passages from L2, transcribed by third parties.²³ The idea of 'contamination' is itself a problematic concept and not entirely satisfactory for explaining the addition and suppression of certain lines and episodes, as argued by Alberto Varvaro. He makes the point that contamination presupposes the presence of a second exemplar consulted by a scribe to obtain material which is not in the first exemplar; hypothesising two different exemplars does not explain why the variance occurs in the first place.²⁴

Jung's descriptions of A1 and L2 give further evidence of the close links between them. He notes that there are two instances of special readings unique to L2 and A1. Firstly, they are the only two manuscripts to name Creüsa instead of Andromacha as the eldest of Priam's daughters in l. 2950. Secondly, it is only in these manuscripts that Panthesilee is identified in l. 8024 as the person who gave the horse Galatea to Hector, as opposed to the fairy Orva who is mentioned in the vast majority of the manuscripts (Constans cites only A1 as giving the Amazon's name as a variant for Orva, not L2 as well, one of many instances in the apparatus where his incomplete access to L2 is apparent).²⁵ Having informed us that Benoît follows the lead of Dares by listing Hector's wife as a daughter of his father Priam, Jung points out that other manuscripts belonging to the second family do not contain Andromacha's name in l. 2950, and that the number of Priam's infants mentioned in l. 2866 is seven, not eight as in other

²⁰ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 93-4.

²¹ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 105.

²² *Ibid.*, vi, 94n. Constans remarks that these lines occur in manuscripts from the first and second families, including D and L1.

²³ *Ibid.*, vi, 46. Constans derived some of his information on L2 from Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, which contains a description and partial transcriptions of the manuscript, and the rest from transcriptions carried out on his behalf by Mme Janvier, because, as Constans admits on p. 84 of the same volume, he was unable to consult this manuscript in person.

²⁴ Alberto Varvaro, 'Élaboration des textes et modalités du récit dans la littérature française médiévale', *Romania*, 119 (2001), 1-75 (p. 36).

²⁵ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 102.

manuscripts. He says that this could either be a scribal correction, or a censorious reaction to the fact that listing Andromacha as one of Priam's children would make her marriage to Hector incestuous. But the L2 manuscript is particularly interesting because Jung has noticed that the scribe had at first written *set* enfants, but corrected this to *.viii.* The substitution of Creüsa's name for Andromacha's in L2 is therefore undoubtedly an intentional correction.²⁶ It was perhaps made in order to make the text fit with other treatments of Troy matter. The occurrence of Panthesilee's name in the place occupied by Orva in other manuscripts might be an example of a correction made in order to strengthen the internal logic of the story, because later in the poem we learn that during the *entrevue* between Hector and Achilles, Hector was wearing a luxurious ermine-lined garment embroidered with his arms that was bestowed upon him by Panthesilee.²⁷ The line explaining the relationship between Hector and his benefactor, 'el ert samie il sis amis' (L2, fol. 69^r, l. 13018 (Joly edition)), is borne out towards the end of the war when we discover the true depth of her feelings for him.²⁸

In spite of the similarities between A1 and L2, Jung highlights several passages where the two manuscripts differ significantly. For example, although A1 and L2 correspond closely to each other in the first half of the *entrevue* between Achillès and Hector mentioned above, the two manuscripts deviate from each other towards the end of this passage. The *entrevue* episode has been shown by Constans and Jung to exist in several different redactions of varying lengths across the manuscript tradition.²⁹ According to Jung's schema, which shows the different permutations in existence, L2 has exactly the same redaction as a number of other manuscripts from several different families, but the version of this passage in A1 is only found elsewhere in St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, fr. F. v. XIV. 3 (S), a manuscript which happens to belong to the first section of the first family. Jung agrees with Constans that the omissions in A1 make it problematic for use as a basis for establishing the text, and cites two of the lengthier omissions as examples: in the sequence of descriptions of Priam's allies, ll. 6737-48, which mention the Greek warriors Pileus and Acamus, are

²⁶ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 27.

²⁷ In A1 (fol. 82^r) and L2 (fol. 69^r), the first section of the *entrevue* episode is the long version shared with ms K; Constans, who presents the short version of the episode in the edition, reprints in the variants section the longer version of the passage as edited by Joly (*Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, iv, 399-409).

²⁸ See chapter 3, pp. 106-7.

²⁹ Constans' edition contains the short version of the passage (ll. 13121-260), while Joly's edition contains the long version (ll. 12987-13234 (Joly edition)) (*Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 82-85; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 30-32).

omitted, making it appear that Pretemesus and Steropeus arrive from Thrace, not Peoine; the omission of ll. 6893-6906 deletes the arrival of Pistropleus and the *saietaire*.³⁰

The sheer length of the *Roman de Troie* makes a detailed comparison of the whole text of A1 with that of L2 impracticable within the scope of the present study. The discussion that follows is therefore based on detailed study of the first section of the text in these manuscripts, from the beginning until line 12539. This section has been chosen because it precedes the passages in the central section of the poem relating the travails of Briseïda which Constans has analysed in some detail in his article setting out the basis for the classification.³¹ The beginning of the text is admittedly incomplete in the case of L2, due to the missing quire and folio, which means that lines 1-1454 of the text are missing. But similar damage has been inflicted on the end of the manuscript, so there would be no advantage to comparing the last section of the narrative in A1 and L2. Moreover, the final section of L2 was copied by a different scribe, which would introduce a further level of complication into the comparison.³² On balance, it seems reasonable to base this study on the section of the text that received less attention from Constans than the passages relating to the *Entrevue d'Achille et d'Hector* and the *amours* of Briseïda in the middle section.

When it comes to establishing how closely related these two manuscripts are to one another in terms of their textual content, how can the degree of closeness be measured? There are two methods which will be employed for this purpose. The first method of determining the relationship between the two manuscripts is to examine the areas of the text where the material differs from one manuscript to the next in terms of variant readings, for example, dialectal traits or alternative proper nouns. Constans of course listed many of the variants in his critical apparatus, and his findings will be relied on when using commonality of variants as evidence of kinship between A1 and L2. However, it is also necessary to be aware of the limitations of his critical apparatus in which information on the variants is contained, and known errors will be pointed out when appropriate. I will also be taking into account the variant readings identified by Jung which closely ally the two manuscripts.

The second method is to compare and contrast the additions and omissions which occur in each of the two manuscripts. As the aim of the comparison is to evaluate the

³⁰ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 139.

³¹ Constans, 'Notes pour servir au classement des manuscrits'.

³² See chapter 1, p. 21.

closeness of the two manuscripts within the context of the manuscript tradition by finding common areas of expansion and contraction of the text within the two manuscripts, the ideal way of testing the relationship would be to collate these gaps and additions with those of all the other manuscripts. As this is not possible within the scope of this study, the content of A1 and L2 will be compared with the text of Constans' edition instead, based as it is to a large extent on readings from across the tradition.

My evidence is derived from the collation of additions and omissions which have been made in the first section of the text up to line 12539. When considering A1 in relation to the text established by Constans on the basis of a different family, it can be seen that of the 30 passages viewed by Constans as additions that occur in A1, 23 are shared with L2. As for the 45 omissions in comparison to the parts of the manuscript tradition preferred by Constans which occur in A1, 33 of these are shared with L2. Most of the omissions in A1 are not as lengthy as those mentioned by Jung above, with two thirds consisting of missing couplets. Such short omissions are more likely to be the result of scribal error, whereas omissions of longer passages are less likely to be due to inattention on the part of the copyist. There are 63 omissions in the corresponding section of L2, of which 30 are not shared with A1. It should also be pointed out that in some of the instances where both A1 and L2 lack the same parts of the text, the gap in A1 is much shorter than that in L2, so it is more accurate to say that the omissions overlap than that they coincide.

It may be possible to gauge the relative closeness of A1 and L2 by consulting Constans' critical apparatus to see where he notes that a gap or addition in these two manuscripts is held in common with other manuscripts across the tradition. In the case of the additions, Constans only shows awareness of the same addition being made to other manuscripts in half of the instances. As for the omissions, 25 of them appear to have corresponding gaps in other manuscripts, whereas the remaining 20 are not accompanied in the notes by any indication of common errors elsewhere. It should be mentioned, however, that this is a very crude way of estimating the proximity of the relationship between A1 and L2, because Constans relied on a constantly shifting set of manuscripts in the course of establishing the text of the *Roman de Troie*, and his methodology is not transparent enough to determine whether he used all the manuscripts for all sections of the poem.

In spite of the sometimes lengthy omissions identified by Jung, A1 represents a full version of the poem. Its close relationship with L2 is demonstrated by the high

number of common readings shared between the two manuscripts, some of which readings do not occur elsewhere in the manuscript tradition. The two manuscripts do diverge, but the main difference is that L2 is much shorter than its close relative. A1 is therefore a suitable control to use when analysing the abridgements made to the text contained in L2.

The extent of abridgement in L2

As suggested above, L2 is heavily abridged in comparison to other versions in the manuscript tradition. Jung includes the scribe/redactor of L2 among those who made his study of the manuscripts less 'aride', because the extent of the abridging activity indicated that this copyist clearly had his or her own ideas about the legend of Troy.³³ In order to calculate the extent of the abridgements in L2, it is necessary to compare its contents with similar manuscripts. A full synoptic edition of the manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie* would allow versions from across the manuscript tradition to be collated with each other, and the extent of abridgement, not to mention interpolation could be determined in greater depth. However, a full collation between L2 and other manuscripts has been beyond the scope of the present study, and instead L2 will be compared with A1 and other manuscripts in the same family in order to indicate the degree to which omissions have been made to the text in relation to the rest of the extant witnesses.

The fact that L2 presents a significantly shorter version of the text has been long known. In his edition of the *Roman de Troie*, Constans points to Ward's observation that L2 contains 21120 lines, as opposed to the 30108 in the edition prepared by Aristide Joly, a difference of 8988 lines.³⁴ This calculation is based on the assumption that each folio is ruled for 40 lines, but as shown in chapter 1, the number of lines per page varies throughout the manuscript, and there are in fact 21503 lines in L2. Because the first and last quires of the manuscript are missing, as well as the first folio of quire 2 and the last folio of quire 3, the text starts at l.1443 and ends at l. 27222 (Joly edition). The missing beginning and end account for 4328 of the lines apparently lacking from L2. Within the

³³ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 14.

³⁴ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 46-7. Constans explains that he uses the figures from the Joly edition to show the extent of abridgement because L2 belongs to the same family of manuscripts as the one used by Joly as a base text (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 2181, designated as 'K'). This was classified as the second family of manuscripts by Constans. The line numbers given in this paragraph refer to the Joly edition, but in the rest of the chapter, the line numbers and text from Constans' edition will be used, because this is generally accepted as the defining critical edition of the poem.

the text preserved in the manuscript, some 4660 lines are missing when the content is compared with the 25665 corresponding lines in A1, its closest relative.³⁵ According to my calculations this represents an abridgement of 18 per cent. Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 375 (B) has been abridged to a similar extent, if compared against the Joly edition, but does contain the beginning and end.³⁶ Thus, L2 appears to be one of the most extensively abridged complete or near-complete manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*.³⁷

As stated above, the present study does not propose to put forward a full collation of L2 with A1, but has sought to determine cuts unique to L2 by comparing the abridged sections of text with the corresponding sections in A1. It is interesting to note that most of the cuts are made in the final section of the manuscript, from the sixteenth battle onwards: 2260 lines are missing between ll. 20000 and 27342 in comparison to 1623 lines having been cut from the poem up until this point. The cuts are also more frequent: 55 occurrences of cuts in the first section leading up to l. 20000 as opposed to 123 occurrences in the shorter, following final section. This pattern of abridgements in L2 is indicated in Appendix 1, which is a schematic representation of the manuscript divided up quire by quire, showing the sections of heavy abridgement activity discussed in the course of part I. It could be that, as Constans dismissively concluded, the scribe seized every opportunity to shorten his task,³⁸ and therefore made more abridgements towards the end in order to finish more quickly. Alternatively, it may be significant that the change of hand at fol. 105^r occurs at the point in the manuscript at which the rate and extent of abridgement increases exponentially. The change of scribe visible in the manuscript may be connected to a change in editorial technique.

³⁵ There are 30106 lines in total in A1, taking into account the missing folio 173, and the numerous half lines due the presence of large initials (see Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 136-37 (the large initial on fol. 84^v is not mentioned in his list)), and the scribe's scrupulous attention to *mise en page*, which has resulted in single lines of the text being split in half rather than run into the intercolumnar space (see fols 7^r (l. 1042 (Constans edition)), 25^v (ll. 4165-6), 33^v (blank line), 34^v (six line addition common to mss B k), 45^v (l. 7338), 51^v (l. 8328), 65^v (l. 10578), 85^v (l. 13605), 88^v (l. 13965), 94^v, 95^v (l. 15195), 99^r (l. 5803, l. 15824), 110^r (l. 17564), 122^r (l. 19419), 131^r (l. 20878), 141^v (l. 22611), 149^r (l. 23855)).

³⁶ In his description of B, Constans states that it contains 24700 lines, that is, about 5600 lines less than in his critical edition, which contains 30316 lines (Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, vi, p. 31). As B is in the second family of manuscripts, like L2 and K, I do not know why he did not compare the number of lines in B with that of the Joly edition, but the difference calculated in the extent of abridgement is not great: 18 per cent if compared with the Joly edition, 19 per cent if compared with Constans' edition.

³⁷ Jung also refers to L2 as the 'smallest' manuscript because it has only 132 folios, the lowest number (Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 436).

³⁸ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 47.

Two main hypotheses can be put forward to account for this phenomenon. The first is that the two hands in L2 belong to two faithful copyists of a version of the *Roman de Troie* which was already abridged, and was the work of a single redactor, whose editing technique changed partway through the text, perhaps because of his attitude towards the characters or events involved in the end of the narrative. Where the abridgements occur in this part of the manuscript, the occasionally awkward way in which the remaining text is made to bridge the gaps could be due to coincidental mistakes made by the copyist, or to the fact that the redactor was rushing to finish his task and took less care with the editing process. The second hypothesis is that the two hands belong to two different redactors who both edited the text as they copied it. If this is the case, it has to be noted that there are similarities as well as differences in the way in which they abridge the manuscript. The main contrast between the two possible redactors is that, as observed above, the rate at which abridgements occur increases towards the end of the manuscript, as do problematic splices in the narrative. On the other hand, the second redactor follows through with patterns established by the first, for example, the refusal to allow any other hero to take the *pris* from Hector.³⁹ So, is this a coincidence, or could it be that the two redactors were working according to the agenda of a patron, *compiler* or overseer of a scriptorium, who decided on an overall plan for abridgement? There is still much investigative work which needs to be carried out regarding this theory, but for the moment, because similar trends in editorial policy are visible in all parts of the manuscript, I will provisionally refer to the 'redactor' as a single entity, because it seems most likely that even if there are two scribes carrying out their own editing process, they are working according to a common plan.

There are certain codicological features of the manuscript which lend some support to the idea that a redactor was following an editing plan which required him to prioritise certain sections of the text above others. These features include the number of quires, the fact that abridgement occurs only in less than half of the quires, the varying number of lines per folio, and the use of paraphe symbols as opposed to pen-flourished initials. There are two striking tendencies in the abridgement process of the redactor – for one thing, several passages containing rich and evocative descriptions are cut out, and for another the ends of speeches are regularly curtailed. But the scribe or redactor did not have a blanket policy of abridging all descriptions and speeches. In order to try to give a full account of why the abridgements occur, it is also necessary to look at

³⁹ See chapter 3, p. 100.

where they occur in the manuscript. In particular, the relationship between the quire divisions and the abridgements seems to indicate that the physical nature of the manuscript had a significant influence on the editorial decisions taken by the redactor and scribes.

The relationship between quire divisions and abridgements in L2

L2 originally consisted of at least 18 quires, of which the majority of the signatures are still visible.⁴⁰ I will refer to all of the quires according to the original numbering in roman numerals. The first quire is missing, as are the first folio of quire ii, and the last folio of quire xviii.

It seems likely that no deliberate abridgement of the manuscript took place in the nine leaves which are missing from the beginning, that is, one quire which probably consisted of eight folios, and one folio from the next quire. It is very probable that the missing leaves were ruled for two columns, like the rest of the codex, and that each column was ruled for 40 lines, like the leaves which run from the existing fols 1 to 14'. If each missing leaf contained 80 lines of text, then this accounts for 1440 lines of text. As the actual manuscript starts at line 1443, it is plausible to assume that no significant editing activity took place in the original opening pages.

As for the missing final section of the manuscript, the extent of abridgement is much harder to estimate because the numbered quire signatures cannot help us put a limit on the original number of quires. The number of lines per page, which increases and decreases elsewhere in the manuscript, reverts, at the end, to 40 lines per bicolunar page. Compared to the fuller version of the text found in A1, some 2886 lines are missing from the end of L2. If this number is divided by 80 (the likely number of lines per page), the result is 36 (rounded down to the nearest whole number), which corresponds to 18 folios. There are three possible hypotheses as to the original configuration of the manuscript:

a) that the remaining part of the text, dealing with the *cycle des retours*, was not abridged but copied in full over the course of the final folio of quire 18 and a further two quires, one containing an extra folio;⁴¹

⁴⁰ See fols 7^v, 15^v, 23^v, 23^r, 32^r, 47^v, 55^v, 61^v, 69^v, 77^v, 85^v, 93^v, 101^v (cropped).

⁴¹ Terry Nixon's catalogue entry for L2 states 'last seventeen folios (one folio plus two quires) lost', so it is implicit that he would accept this hypothesis (Nixon, 'The Role of the Audience', p. 548).

b) that there is only one quire missing and that the section containing the *cycle des retours* was abridged by more than half, which would correspond to the extent of abridging activity in the final battle scenes found in ll. 23357-24396;

c) that no quires are missing and that the abridger terminated the narrative at the point when the Greeks set sail for Greece, eliminating the *cycle des retours* altogether.

Of all the above hypotheses, a) seems the least likely when considered in conjunction with two tendencies exhibited by the redactor of this manuscript: firstly, that the rate of abridgement increases towards the end of the manuscript, and secondly, that the redactor seems primarily interested in foregrounding the Trojan heroes. If the text in the missing folios were copied in full, that would mean that, at the very end of the manuscript, the redactor was reversing both tendencies by putting a halt to abridging activities and by privileging a section of the text which concerns only the fates of the Greek warriors, the Trojan traitors Antenor and Eneas, and the surviving female members of the Trojan royal family (now forcibly married to members of the Greek forces).

Hypotheses b) and c) seem inherently more plausible. Both scenarios further suggest that the redactor was consciously trying to alter the structure of the narrative by displacing its midpoint. Penny Sullivan suggests that the action which occurs at or around the halfway point of a medieval romance 'is likely to be of particular significance in terms of the overall structure or *sen* of the work'.⁴² She points out that in the *Roman de Troie*, the precise midpoint of the story falls in the passage containing a scene between Briseïda and the lovesick Diomedès (ll. 15001-186); this is the case in both the Joly and Constans editions, which are based on quite different manuscripts.⁴³ Sullivan argues that if this scene is considered in isolation, it is as if Benoît is using the crucial midpoint to convey to the readers merely the complications of courtly love. Instead, we should 'widen the net' by also taking into account the episodes before and after this scene when considering what Benoît might have wanted to express through the structure of the narrative.

The preceding episode is a description of the *Chambre de beautés*, and the midpoint is followed by a very brief description of the ninth battle, and a lengthy account of the tenth battle, during which Hector dies.⁴⁴ Summing up the effect of these

⁴² Penny Sullivan, 'Medieval Automata: the "Chambre de Beautés" in Benoît's *Roman de Troie*', *Romance Studies*, 6 (1985), 1-20 (p. 1).

⁴³ Sullivan, 'Medieval Automata', p. 1, p. 17n.

⁴⁴ Sullivan, 'Medieval automata', p. 1. According to the numbering in the Constans edition, the midpoint would fall between ll. 15158 and 15159; according to the numbering of Aristide Joly's edition (based

framing episodes, Sullivan states: ‘The account of the death of Hector shows us the rarest of individuals meeting an untimely end; the description of the *Chambre de beautés* reveals how eminent a civilisation is also going to be swallowed up by war’.⁴⁵ The scene book-ended by these episodes is literally one of exchange between Diomedès and Briseïda, who has been tactfully sidestepping his advances so far. At this point, she agrees to loan him the horse which he captured from Troïlus on the battlefield and sent to her as a gift (l. 15114-5), and she also bestows her right sleeve to be worn as a gonfanon in battle (ll. 15176-8). It seems that she is switching allegiances and the narrator states that her love for Troïlus is now ‘quassee’ (ll. 15185-6). Benoît perhaps intended her actions to convey the turning point in the fortunes of Troy, which had been in a strong position. This is underlined by the passage between the description of the *Chambre de beautés* and Diomedès’ lovesickness (ll. 14959-99): it is made clear that the Trojans suffer no ill effects from the siege as they have access to a forest well-stocked with game; the Greeks, on the other hand, have no such advantage and are adversely affected by the siege: ‘Cil de Grece sont en grant cure/ Del siege, qui tant tien e dure’ (ll. 14977-8).

Returning to the version of the story presented in L2, we can see that if there were originally nineteen quires, then the midpoint of the narrative could be taken to be quire x, and if there were eighteen quires, the midpoint would occur between quires ix and x. Either scenario would mean that the story’s centre of gravity would have been shifted to the fifth battle at the beginning of quire x, in which Hector slays a host of seven enemy kings who are listed by the narrator at the end of the conflict (ll. 12656-68). It may be that the redactor thought that this would be a more fitting and glorious midpoint than that of Benoît’s original conception of the romance. By moving the centre of the text, the redactor was perhaps trying to show what he thought lay at the heart of the story and wanted to condition the audience’s response to it.

The distribution of abridgements among the quires

Only quires viii, ix, xi, xv, xvi, xvii and xviii have been abridged. If the 30,000 lines of the *Roman de Troie* are divided into three equal portions, this helps us to understand how the pattern of abridgement relates to the structure and content of the romance. We can see that the first third of the text, relating the background to the war and recounting

on ms. K), it would fall between ll. 15054 and 15055.

⁴⁵ Sullivan, ‘Medieval automata’, p. 13.

the first skirmishes, is almost entirely retained in quires i-vii, with the description of Medea's bed being the only notable omission in this section (ll. 1553-70). The central section of the poem, which recounts events from the second to thirteenth battles, has been partially retained in quires viii-xiv, with some quires preserving an integral version of the text and others an edited version. The last third of Benoît's narrative is edited heavily in all of quires xv-xviii.⁴⁶

The way in which the omissions are distributed between the quires is consistent with the hypothesis that the redactor privileged certain parts of the story above others according to a predetermined plan, and that he was manipulating the structure of the narrative in order to emphasise Hector's worthiness and improve his image.⁴⁷ The heavy abridging of the final section of the text may well be linked to the fact that Hector does not feature directly in the last third of Benoît's poem. His brothers Troïlus and Paris still have a role to play here, but both are killed early on in this section. As for the second third of the text, if there were only eighteen or nineteen quires, as has been noted above, then quire x would have been identified as the midpoint of the narrative. This quire only contains one abridgement, which is shared with a number of other manuscripts in the z grouping, indicating that the contents of quire x, namely the fifth battle and Hector's *entrevue* with Achillès, were regarded as worthy of full retention by the redactor. This is in stark contrast to its neighbouring quires, ix and xi.

Both ix and xi have been substantially abridged, but in differing ways. Quire ix is notable for containing only six folios. There are 33 cuts in this quire (eight of which are shared with other manuscripts) which appear at a rate of about two or three per page, until fol. 61, which has four cuts on the recto and six on the verso. Although the cuts occur relatively frequently, the majority are short. There are three long cuts of 102 lines, 104 lines and 136 lines, and three medium cuts of 24, 44 and 84 lines; the remaining cuts range from 1 to 14 lines in length. The average length of cut is about 28 lines. Battles 3 and 4 have been squeezed into this quire and several skirmishes are left out. Most omissions are made with continuity in mind – as the death of Doroscalus is omitted, so is the period of mourning for him which follows at the end of the fourth battle. Similarly, the redactor seems to take care to omit the detail of Menelaus leading troops into the third battle (ll. 10569-10572), and his attack on Paris at the end of the fourth battle (ll. 11581-11864), probably because the encounter is subsequently reported

⁴⁶ See appendix 1 for a visual representation of patterns of abridgement activity across the quires.

⁴⁷ See chapter 3, pp. 90-99.

by Paris to Heleine, who says that it is not surprising that Menelaus hates her second husband so much. Hector's sardonic comment on the conflict between Heleine's 'two husbands' is also retained (ll. 11724-31; ll. 11740-46). Cuts frequently occur during speeches and it is usually the closing lines which are omitted: Agamemnon, Achillès, Hector, Priam, Ecuba and the barons she addresses all have their dialogue curtailed to varying extents.

Quire xi, on the other hand, has been copied on the normal eight folios. Overall, fewer cuts have been made here than in quire ix. There are 23 omissions in total, nine of which are shared with other manuscripts. The 14 cuts unique to L2 do not occur on the first few folios. Half of them occur on the final folio of the quire, 77v, (containing the end of the description of the *Chambre de beautés*) which presents a cluster of abridgements, with one cut occurring in column a and six cuts occurring in column b. In this respect it is very similar to the final folio of quire ix. In contrast to quire ix, the omissions are, on average, larger, with a mean length of 36 lines. There are six abridgements ranging from two to eight lines in length, and 8 abridgements ranging from 20 to 126 lines in length.

Quires ix and xi therefore exhibit significant editing activity, yet they act as 'bookends' to a quire which contains a section of the text copied in its entirety. I infer from this that quire x was copied before its neighbouring quires, and that the way in which the manuscript had been planned constrained the redactor to compress the narrative intended for quires ix and xi into limited space, forcing him to sacrifice certain elements of the text. Examination of another codicological feature, the number of lines per page, will strengthen this impression.

Variations in line numbering

Another feature of the manuscript, discussed in chapter 1 above,⁴⁸ is the variety in the number of lines per column. Although the majority of folios are ruled for 40 lines per column, a significant number of them are ruled for more or less than this amount.

Variation in the number of lines per page does not necessarily indicate the presence of abridging activity, as the Venn diagram below indicates.

⁴⁸ See chapter 1, pp. 18-19.

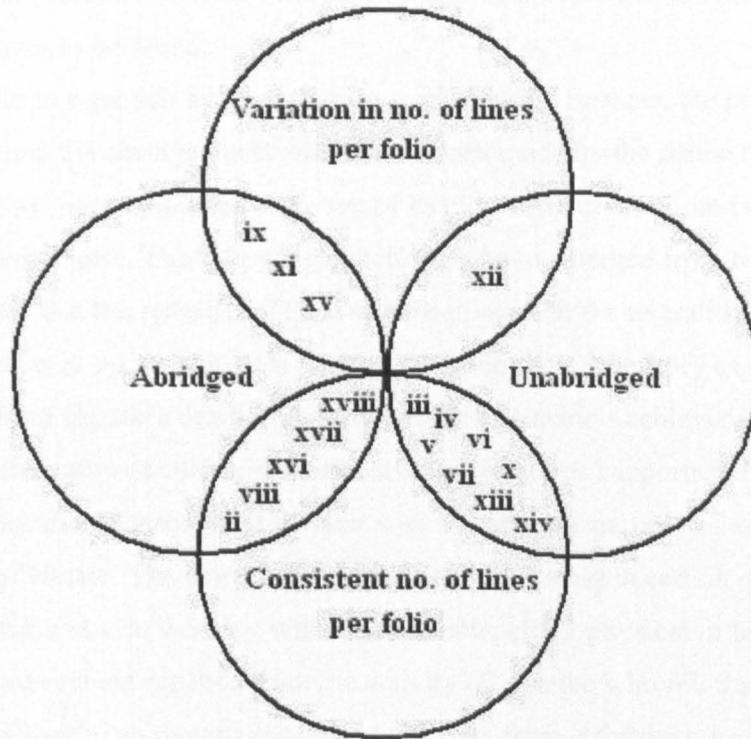


Diagram showing relationship between presence of abridgement and number of lines per page.

Quire ix displays great irregularity in line numbering. The first folio, 56^r, is ruled for 42 lines, meaning that it does not mirror its counterpart from quire viii, 55^v. 56^v to 59^r are ruled for 45 lines, 59^v and 60^r are ruled for 46 lines. 60^v and 61^r are another mismatched pair of folios, the former containing 45 lines, the latter 43, with the last line of column b left blank. 61^v is ruled for 40 lines, matching the first folio of quire x. This unusual layout, with longer than average columns, means that quire ix contains 1059 lines.

These lines represent less than two thirds of the material originally penned by Benoît for this section of the romance.⁴⁹ If the redactor had adopted the format used in quire x, with a regular 40 lines per column, then quire ix would have contained 960 lines over the course of its six folios. This suggests that the scribe deliberately switched to a different layout for this quire, adding extra lines at the bottoms of columns, because he realised too late that 960 lines under the normal format would not be enough to present the version of the text required according to the plan. It seems that content was

⁴⁹ As the first line of quire ix is 10343, and the closing line is 11980, this means that it represents 1637 lines of the original text.

privileged over presentation here, because nowhere else in the text are mismatched pages or columns to be found.

In order to establish whether there is a relationship between the physical make-up of the text and the abridgements which have been made by the scribe or redactor, the content of L2 has been compared with that of its closest relative A1, and the text analysed quire by quire. The following conclusions have emerged from this analysis. Firstly, it seems that the redactor of L2 was concerned with the overall structure of the text, and edited it in such a way as to change the midpoint of the story as it comes across in L2 from Hector's death in the tenth battle to Hector's achievements in the fifth battle. The distribution of editing activity between the quires supports the idea that the story was being altered throughout the text with the primary purpose of enhancing the presentation of Hector. The unevenness of the line numbering in certain quires suggests that the redactor was also working within constraints, either physical or temporal. Perhaps this unevenness resulted from the activity of a scribe who felt that it was more important to adhere to an overall plan than to deviate from it for the sake of visual symmetry. Overall, it appears that there was a predetermined plan as to what parts of the narrative should be preserved, and sometimes the redactor or scribe had to make *ad hoc* editing decisions in order to arrive at one of the fixed (or indeed cardinal) points of the narrative without running out of physical material.

Abridgement Techniques: Case Studies

Having considered where the abridgements occur in L2, I have formulated the hypothesis that the redactor deliberately shortened this version of the *Roman de Troie* in such a way that the edited text still gives prominence to Hector, a primary figure in the text. I will now examine the nature of the abridgements made to the text in order to see if there is any more evidence of an overall, predetermined plan on the part of the redactor. There will be attempts to deduce the reasons for the editing decisions taken, their effect on the narrative, and what they can tell us about the redactor's involvement with the narrative. The redactor could have been motivated to cut passages for several reasons. They could have been removed because the redactor regarded them as needless description or repetition. They could have been made in order to preserve continuity across the narrative and were necessitated by cuts made elsewhere by the redactor. They could also indicate a high level of engagement with the overall meaning and shape of the narrative as it pertains to all its characters, not just Hector. In all cases, the material

that the redactor chooses to retain is perhaps as revealing of his or her attitude to the text as what has been left out of the narrative in L2. However, it is often difficult to assign individual instances of abridgement exclusively to a basic need to cut description or maintain continuity: removing description or repetition within a speech may re-shape the narrative as well as shorten it, and contribute to a subtly different presentation of an event or character.

The consequences of the editing practice in L2 will be examined in more detail below and in the following chapter, in a series of case studies which illustrate different types of abridgement, and explore their implications for the reception of the text. This section provides an overview of abridgement technique, focusing on how the abridgements affect the presentation of a key group of characters in the text, namely, the leading female figures Andromacha, Cassandra, Ecuba, Polixena, Heleine and Briseïda. These characters have been selected because they feature at numerous points from the beginning to the end of Benoît's account of the Trojan war. Contrasting the passages that they occupy in the fuller version of the text in A1 with the abridged version in L2 therefore allows us to track various instances of abridgement affecting a group of characters throughout L2 without having to deal with unwieldy amounts of text. It also allows any consistent patterns of abridgement technique to be discerned more clearly.

The six women named above are not the only significant female characters in the romance, as demonstrated by the story of Medea, the most prominent woman in the pre-war opening section of the *Roman de Troie*. However, examining how her story is handled by the redactor will reveal why it is necessary to analyse editing practice of the redactor using characters that feature all the way through the *Roman de Troie*. Compared to the equivalent passage in A1, there is only one omission in L2 in the section of the text that concerns Medea: the description of her luxurious bed (ll. 1553-70, L2 fol. 1v). This omission is notable because it is a passage occurring at the beginning of the romance, a section which is not otherwise subject to much abridgement; the rest of the story of Jason and Medea is virtually untouched. The reader of L2 merely learns that Medea has a bed of gold and silver, more *gent* than had ever been seen. The full version of the text in A1 (fol. 10v) describes it in some detail; it has four enamelled feet inlaid with emeralds and rubies, is very costly, and the narrator states that there was nothing better in all Thessaly. It had silken sheets and a fur cover and a sheet from Saragossa. This passage could be seen as serving an important narrative purpose, occurring as it does just after Medea asks a trusted governess to fetch

Jason from his sleeping quarters and bring him to her bedroom; the governess responds by advising Medea to go to bed in the meantime (ll. 1536-1550).⁵⁰

In the full version of the text, the audience's attention is thus directed to linger upon the details of the luxurious bed, so the passage varies the pace in this account of the rapidly progressing love affair between Jason and Medea. Furthermore, it functions as an erotic foreshadowing of the couple's impending union. So why does the redactor cut out the description of the bed? Is it because he already has a plan that will involve shortening descriptions later on and cannot allow this episode to be anomalous? The redactor of L2 perhaps did not regard this omission as a great loss to the narrative, seeing it rather as a tedious obstacle to the denouement of the exciting assignation between Medea and Jason. I believe that this omission is an interesting example of the redactor's tendency to cut out descriptive elements in favour of a more rapid narration of preliminaries. But Medea's story is restricted to the preliminary account of the Trojan war, and to a part of the manuscript which does not feature many abridgements. The analysis needs to be extended in order to gain an overview of how the abridging activity described in the opening section of the chapter relates to the redactor's preoccupation with Hector and the other protagonists in the narrative.

The six women mentioned above provide a useful corpus of data not only because they make numerous appearances in the narrative, but because they can also be divided into three pairs, each pair sharing a similar function within the story. First the way in which the redactor handles Andromacha and Cassandra will be analysed; both happen to be clairvoyants who survived the fall of Troy only to be shipped to Greece as concubines. Then there will be an analysis of the treatment of Queen Ecuba and her daughter Polixena, who occupy the city of Troy until the moment of their deaths shortly after the fall of the city. Finally, the redactor's treatment of Heleine and Briseïda will be examined. These two women reflect each other in that the former is moved, perhaps under duress, from the Greek side into the bosom of the Trojan royal family as Paris' wife, whereas the latter is forced to leave her lover Troïlus, Paris' brother, in order to join her father who has defected to the Greek side; there she will find love in the arms of Diomedès, a prominent Greek warrior.

The differing abridgement techniques used in relation to these characters might be linked to the meaning of women in the Troy legend. One reason for their prominence in the *Roman de Troie* could be a preoccupation with the lineage of both the Trojans

⁵⁰ Numbering according to Constans' edition.

and the Greeks. Tamara F. O' Callaghan notes that the story narrated in the *Roman de Troie* was regarded by its audience as a myth of descent from the Trojan diaspora during the thirteenth century, and as such emphasized 'the importance of unbroken lineage for a culture'.⁵¹ These women might not have faced physical danger of death in combat like their male counterparts, but the consequences of war are still devastating for their prospects of continuing the Trojan lineage. Trojan warriors are lost in battle, restricting the pool of eligible mates, and the ultimate result is invasion, during which women are either slaughtered like Polixena and Ecuba (ll. 26471-26569), or handed over to the Greeks as in the case of Heleine (ll. 26279-298), Cassandra (ll. 26299-301) and Andromacha (ll. 26322-56). Briseïda's fate in the aftermath of the war is unknown, for Benoît does not include her in the story after she decides to give her love to Diomedès.

Women are obviously linked to the concept of lineage through their reproductive potential, but Benoît also associates women with the idea by thematically linking them to the concept of the city. During the early battle scenes, women, in particular Heleine, play a marginal role as witnesses of the battle who are confined to the city.⁵² It is, however, in the scenes of civic life that take place between the battles that they feature most strongly. This close connection with the city throws an interesting light on the function that women fulfil in the narrative. Catherine Croizy-Naquet points out that by the time the *romans antiques* were composed, the city is no longer envisaged only in terms of a violent relationship with the exterior. It begins to illustrate Dumézil's third function of fecundity, expressed in terms of food, riches, peace, health, beauty and abundance: '...la ville est détentrice de ces diverses composantes qu'elle partage en partie avec la figure féminine. En effet, celle-ci est symboliquement liée à la notion de fécondité et de beauté.'⁵³ The link between woman and the city is created principally through the spatial situation of the women – they are rarely seen outside the context of the city. Martine Thiry-Stassin summarises the ways in which many of the female characters fulfil the functions of feudal life: welcome and admiration of the warriors,

⁵¹ Tamara F. O'Callaghan, 'Tempering Scandal: Eleanor of Aquitaine and Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*' in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. by Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 301-317 (p. 309).

⁵² During the second battle, Heleine and a thousand other ladies are said to watch the 'grant tornei' from the city walls (ll. 8081-8089, alluded to again in l. 8650), and later, she and Polixena watch Paris, Hector et al. leaving the city for the third battle (ll. 10591-10621); during the fourth battle, Heleine sees Paris fall from his horse (ll. 11367-8).

⁵³ Catherine Croizy-Naquet, *Thèbes, Troie et Carthage: Poétique de la ville dans le roman antique au XIIe siècle*, Nouvelle bibliothèque du Moyen Age (Paris: Champion, 1994), pp. 324-5. The implicit comparison is with the *chansons de geste*.

care of the injured, lamentation for the dead, participation in funeral processions and commemorative ceremonies. Such activities are performed largely in response to the changing circumstances of the Trojan War, but Thiry-Stassin points out that occasionally female characters are shown initiating, rather than reacting to, events. For example, it is Ecuba who decides when and how Achillès must die.⁵⁴

The major exception to this rule is the case of the Amazon queen Panthesilee, who appears mainly in the context of the battlefield.⁵⁵ Queen Panthesilee will not be discussed until a later section, even though she is female, a major character, and edited in a singular manner. There are three reasons for discussing her separately to the other women in this chapter. Firstly, there is the question of scale: there is a great deal more material which concerns her and which is abridged than there is for the other women in the narrative. Secondly, she functions primarily as a warrior, committing violent acts on the battlefield. This means that for the most part she occupies a completely different sphere from other women in the text. As a result, comparisons between her and the male warriors are more meaningful. Having said that, Panthesilee can also be seen fulfilling the role of visiting dignitary in a courtly context, and this aspect of her presentation will be considered as well as her dominant war-like side. Finally, it is my opinion that the unique way in which she is treated by the redactor can only be fully understood if we have first explored a complete set of female as well as male comparators in order to account for why she has been singled out for this treatment.

Cassandra and Andromacha

Cassandra, like her brother Helenus, possesses the gift of clairvoyance, and she issues three warnings to the Trojans about the fateful consequences of their actions.⁵⁶ These warnings are completely disregarded at first, and are only recalled after the catastrophes that she predicted.⁵⁷ It is after the decision has been taken to send Paris to Greece that she makes her first prophecy that Troy will be destroyed if he takes a wife from that country, but it is the second and third prophecies that are of particular interest here,

⁵⁴ Martine Thiry-Stassin, 'Interpellations féminines dans le *Roman de Troie* de Benoit de Sainte-Maure', in *Mélanges de langue et littérature françaises du Moyen Age offerts à Pierre Jonin*, Sénéfiance, 7 (Aix-en-Provence: Publications du CUERMA, 1979), pp. 645-660 (p. 647).

⁵⁵ See chapter 3, pp. 102-115.

⁵⁶ Ll. 4143-66; 4883-936; 10417-54

⁵⁷ Cassandra is acknowledged to have prophesied correctly during the funerals of Hector and Paris (ll. 16418-9; ll. 22850-1). In the first instance, this acknowledgment forms the opening couplet of a lament jointly uttered by Ecuba, Andromacha and Heleine. In the second, the narrator reports that now one could see the events that Cassandra had foretold. It is interesting that this detail should be retained at an event where so many others are suppressed.

because they mirror each other but have been treated differently by the redactor. In the full version of the text, as preserved in A1, there are two occasions when Cassandra is locked up after the second and third prophecies, firstly by Priam, and secondly by those who do not wish to hear her dire predictions, but in L2 she is only incarcerated after the second prediction, not after the third.

The second and third versions of the prophecy complement each other because they are addressed to different audiences. The second prophecy (ll. 4883-936) is addressed to the women of Troy. Cassandra directly criticises the marriage of Paris and Heleine, and tells Ecuba that Priam has effectively killed her children. The women have as good as lost their menfolk, and she asks the rhetorical question ‘where will you find the tears to cry?’ (ll. 4920-21). The passage has been retained in full in L2 on fols 22^r to 22^v, including the detail that she was incarcerated afterwards. The passage is in quire iv, in the first third of the manuscript, which is not subject to heavy editing. The third prophecy is directed towards a male audience (ll.10417-54). Cassandra sees the aftermath of the first battle, and asks the warriors why they hate life so much that they want to die so soon. Ylion will be defeated whether peace is made or not, and many tears will be wept for the soldiers. Accursed is the fate they have thanks to Heleine. This passage occurs on fol. 56^v, which is at the beginning of quire ix. Although the prophecy is retained, the lines dealing with her second imprisonment have been omitted although they are present in A1:

Ancor deist el meinte chose
 Mais il lont an tel leu anclose
 Ou assez fu puis longuement
 Nan issi mie a son talant (A1, fol. 65r, ll. 10449-52)

As mentioned in the discussion of the relationship between abridgements and quire divisions above, this quire features heavy editing.

There are a number of explanations which could account for why the redactor has left out Cassandra’s second incarceration. Firstly, the redactor could have decided to omit the second imprisonment simply in order to avoid the repetition of this motif. Secondly, the redactor could have eliminated the second incarceration for the sake of continuity, believing that the reader will assume she is making her predictions from within prison. She is not mentioned as being part of the royal family and, just as Helenus does not take part in battle, so Cassandra does not participate in mourning. One

might argue that in some ways Heleine takes her place in the Trojan royal family: for example, she is one of the relatives who tries to help hold Hector back from entering into the tenth battle, and takes part in mourning for him after his death. Thirdly, we might see this as an omission designed to alter the way in which Cassandra's prophecy is received by its audience in the text. The fact that she is not imprisoned in L2's version of the romance might be intended to present the Trojan elite as more accepting of her predictions than they are in the full version. It is difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion, in this case, as to the redactor's intentions in abridging the text. We have here a clear example of the methodological problems inherent in approaching such an abridged text. There are at least three different ways of accounting for the redactor's decision to abridge the second incarceration of Cassandra, any one of which could satisfactorily account for the pattern of abridgements discussed above.

Andromacha, Hector's wife, is another character with powers of clairvoyance revealed during a dream, but unlike Cassandra her warning is heeded by everyone except Hector, the person it concerns. She is most prominent in the text when she is interacting directly with him during the scenes in which she is trying to persuade him not to go into battle after her monitory dream as well as enlisting the help of Hector's sister, mother and father in her attempts at dissuading him (ll. 15263-15532). She also appears as one of the female members of the royal family into which she has married, taking part in funeral rites or mourning for her husband (ll. 16459-71; ll. 16869-72). As we have seen in the overview of the relationship between abridgement activity and the quire divisions (see above), these passages occur in quires xii and xiii. These are quires which are not subject to abridgement activity, possibly because the redactor regarded them as containing the high points of the narrative, namely Hector's intransigent heroism and tragic death. In this section of the text, Andromacha's role and characterisation remain unchanged in comparison to the full version.

The character fares differently, however, after the death of Hector. Andromacha is not mentioned again until after the fall of Troy, when she is dragged out of hiding with Cassandra by the Greeks (ll. 26211-14), and later when she and her sons are released into the charge of Pirrus (ll. 26322-56). Once in Greece, it transpires that Andromacha and her son Laudomanta are forced into hiding because of the jealous plotting of Hermione (ll. 29651-64). The latter part of L2 is the most heavily abridged part of the manuscript, and the final quire of the manuscript, which may have contained the account of events in Greece including Andromacha's persecution, appears to be

missing.⁵⁸ The first two of these three episodes are preserved, however, although they are subject to some abridgement activity. In A1 (fol. 163r), Andromacha and Cassandra are said to be unharmed by the Greeks thanks to the protection of Oileus Ajax in ll. 26215-6, but this couplet is omitted in L2 (fol. 129^r). On fol. 129^v of L2, the omission of ll. 26307-42 means that Anthenor's intercession on behalf of Andromacha and her brother Helenus is absent, and that it instead appears that Helenus alone is responsible for successfully pleading for the pardon of his sister.⁵⁹ In both cases, the presentation of Andromacha is not directly affected by the abridgements made in these passages, which appear to have been made in order to remove descriptions of a Greek warrior and a traitor (Anthenor) behaving meritoriously. The redactor still makes a point of including details of the fate of Hector's widow, while removing information about the characters she interacts with. This implies that Hector is still regarded as important during this stage of the story by the redactor.

Heleine and Briseïda

The most overt point of comparison between Heleine and Briseïda is the fact that they are linked by marriage or affection to two of the principal Trojan heroes, Paris and Troïlus. The two women can also be compared to each other in terms of how they are positioned within the structure of the narrative. When Croizy-Naquet observes that women are identified with Troy by virtue of being confined within the city, she notes in passing that Briseïda is one of the exceptions in the *romans antiques*, for she is only shown briefly in the context of her Trojan home and plays out the rest of her time in the text as the only woman in the Greek camp.⁶⁰ I would go further and point out that Heleine is another prominent female character presented outside of the city: she is depicted twice at sea on her journeys from and back to Greece, and leaves Troy as a free woman.

The portrayal of Heleine is not drastically affected by abridging activity. There is one notable instance where editing has taken place around lines in which she features, leaving her untouched, as though the abridgements were intended to foreground her within the narrative. This occurs at the beginning of the third battle, where an evocation of the carnage to follow (ll. 10583-90) has been removed on fol. 56^v of L2, so that the

⁵⁸ See chapter 1, p. 18.

⁵⁹ This passage also includes references to other Trojan noblewomen, not mentioned before this point, who are 'given' to certain Greek leaders.

⁶⁰ Catherine Croizy-Naquet, *Thèbes, Troie et Carthage*, p. 325.

poem cuts immediately from the description of the ordered ranks of warriors to focus on Heleine and Polixena watching the troops with fear for their futures (ll. 10591-621).

This kind of foregrounding occurs even more noticeably after the death of Paris, where, on fol. 119r of L2, lengthy passages describing the griefstricken reactions of his family have been omitted both before *and* after Heleine's *plainte*. As a result, Heleine's *plainte* stands out and she comes across as the chief mourner in this scene. Ecuba's reaction, as well as that of her husband and his courtiers Polidamas, Anthenor and Eneas, is omitted before Heleine's speech (ll. 22897-22914), while the omission of ll. 23029-88 means that the reader does not see Priam make the significant gesture of bestowing his ring, crown and sceptre upon his dead son,⁶¹ nor the opulent tomb in which Paris is interred. However, the end of this omitted passage also relates that Priam and Ecuba took Heleine to their hearts as their own daughter after seeing the sincerity of her grief (ll. 23073-88), so this is an omission which directly affects the reader's understanding of Heleine's relationship with the Trojan royal house. Nevertheless, the overall effect of the abridgements in this section is to place Heleine in the spotlight. We have seen above that the role of Heleine's sister-in-law Andromacha has been preserved in passages where the characters she interacts with are edited, but this technique is rather more evident with regard to Heleine.

Although Heleine's response stands out while the reactions of others are suppressed, her speech is not untouched during this episode, for the redactor takes the additional step of shortening Heleine's lengthy lament by a total of six lines towards the end of her speech on fol. 119^v of L2, where she beseeches Paris' soul to accept hers as a companion in ll. 22989-23011; the passage is shown here alongside the corresponding passage from A1:

A1, fol. 144^r

Sire paris biaus dolz amis
 Ne soit uostre espir si eschis
 Au mien uueille sa compeignie
 Ge sui ge uostre douce amie
 Cele qui por uos se forsene
 Cui rien ne conforte nasene
 Cele qui por uos sant la mort
 Qui ainz nul ior ne uos fist tort
 Ne qui onques ior de sa vie
 Ne panssa uers uos uilenie
 Cele qui ne desirre rien

L2, fol. 119^v

Sire paris biax dolz amis
 Ne soit uostre esperiz eschis
 Au mien, uoille sa compaignie
 Ia sui ie uostre dolce amie
 Cele qui por uos se forssene
 Qui riens ne conforte nasene
 Cele qui por uos sent la mort
 Cele qui ainc ne uos fist tort

Cele qui ne desirre rien

⁶¹ See chapter 3, p. 100.

Nautre confort ne autre bien.
 Ne mes mame o la uostre soit
 A la mort pri quele ainz exploit
 Si la souire ainz quele soit loin
 Ce est or mes graindres besoin
 Ice sont tuit mi desirrier
 Ha; mort, chaele ne tarder
 Mais uien tost e si le siurai
 Mon cher ami qui perdu ai
 Atandaez moi biax dolz amis
 Tant que ie baise uostre vis
 Voz ialz e uostre bele boiche

Nautre confort neautre bien
 Ne mes mamie o la uostre soit
 A la mort pri quele en exploit

Viegne ahait e si sigrai
 Mon chier ami trop targie ai
 Atende moi biax dolz amis
 Tant que ie baise uostre uis
 Les iauz e la face e la boche

The first omission, ll. 22997-8, is a couplet present on fol. 144r of A1: the omitted couplet is one of a series expressing the loyalty of Heleine's soul ('ne qui onques io de sa vie/ ne panssa uers uos uilenie'), and its omission does not make a major difference to the speech. The second omission, ll. 23003-6, is an interesting example of the redactor's ability to make cuts that do not affect the overall sense of the text. In a passage where Heleine urges death to come quickly so that her soul can follow that of Paris, the omission of the lines 'Si la souire ainz quele soit loin/ Ce est or mes graindres besoin/ Ice sont tuit mi desirrier/ ha; mort chaele ne tarder' does not take away the essential meaning of this sentiment, for the edited text in L2 reads 'A la mort pri quele en exploit,/ Viegne ahait e si sigrai' – the audience of L2 is still aware of Heleine's wish for death to hasten, though it is expressed more succinctly.⁶²

Later, when Heleine pleads with Anthenor to intercede on her behalf with Menelaus, similar small-scale abridgement activity can be seen on fol. 125v of L2. The omitted lines 25291-93 describe Heleine's frightened reaction to news that Anthenor is negotiating with the Greeks, and how she approached him by cover of darkness, while ll. 25299-300, also omitted, mention her fear that Menelaus will have her dismembered. It is notable that the L2 redactor allows Anthenor's role in Heleine's salvation to remain here, whereas his role in the liberation of Andromacha appears to have been edited out. It is also interesting to note that while the redactor has not suppressed Heleine's expressions of fear for the fate of the soldiers, or the depths of the emotions she expresses for Paris, he does appear to want to reduce the impact of instances where she expresses fear for her own sake.

In contrast to Heleine, Briseïda's presentation is markedly affected by the abridgements made to the text of L2, and the effects become more noticeable as her

⁶² The edition and A1 read 'sivrai' instead of 'sigrai'.

story develops. When Briseïda is conducting her love affair with Troïlus, no lines concerning her are omitted. It is not until her loyalty to Troïlus wavers that the redactor starts to reduce her role in the narrative. This imbalanced treatment may be evidence that abridging activity may reveal a deeper level of engagement with the narrative, as opposed to editing as a reflex of impatience with Benoît's descriptive technique. The first passages relating to Briseïda that are omitted are during the episode describing her transfer from the Trojans to the Greeks. Her physical journey from Troy to the Greek camp (the beginning of her emotional journey) is strongly reminiscent of the episode in the *Roman de Thèbes* when Antigone is accompanied on her journey to the camp of her enemy by Parthenopaeus, who falls in love with her.⁶³ The redactor retains enough of this episode in L2 for the reader to see that Benoît might have drawn inspiration from his literary antecedent, but the omitted passages are notable for containing examples of Benoît's unique style. The first two of the three omitted passages might have been edited because of the redactor's general tendency to abbreviate descriptions of objects, as seen in the treatment of Medea's bed. However, close analysis of the abridgement techniques used leads me to infer that the redactor was not just targeting description *per se*, but seeking, at the very least, to eliminate particular aspects of Benoît's rich descriptive technique.

The first passage to be omitted contains an elaborate description of the mantle she wears on her journey to the Greek camp. Lines 13333-409 go into great detail about the seven-hued mantle's fabrication by a wise man from *Inde la superior*, who made it from the precious fur of the remarkable *dindialos*. Jung has identified an apparent antipathy towards Eastern civilisation on the part of the redactor, which might help to explain the omission of long passages describing artefacts of oriental provenance.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Glyn Burgess and John Curry have identified this creature with the squirrel of Malabar, which was renowned for its fur and its penis bone, which could be made into an aphrodisiac.⁶⁵ It could be that the scribe was not just removing overt references to the East but also suppressing a ribald allusion on Benoît's part by only retaining ll. 13333-6, which only reveal that the mantle was richly embroidered, lined

⁶³ Ingrid Hansen, *Zwischen Epos und höfischem Roman: die Frauengestalten im Trojaroman des Benoît de Sainte-Maure*, Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 8 (Munich: W. Fink, 1971), pp. 65-66.

⁶⁴ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 105.

⁶⁵ Glyn Burgess and J. L. Curry, 'Berbiolete and dindialos: Animal Magic in some Twelfth-century Garments', *Medium Aevum*, 60 (1991), 84-92. See also Pierre Manen's analysis of this word, which he says is unique to the *Roman de Troie* ('Des *dindialos* en particulier et de l'analyse de la variation graphique de l'ancien français en général', *Cultura neolatina*, 66 (2006), 141-59).

with ermine, and that it trailed upon the ground; a conventional description of a luxury garment with nothing of the Oriental natural history lesson inserted by the author (fol. 71^v).

The second passage to be abridged concerns another object which originates in the east: the Pharaoh's tent which Briseïda occupies on her arrival. The way in which the lines are abridged is even more suggestive of a possible intent on the part of the redactor to remove references to the East. In the full version of the passage as seen on fol. 86^v of A1, the reader is informed that the tent was given in exchange for geography lessons to Calchas, Briseïda's father, by the brother-in-law of a powerful Pharaoh who drowned in the red sea. Benoît labours the point that describing the ornate tent in more detail would detain the narrative too much, but he reveals that the floor of the tent was covered in fresh grass and sweet-smelling flowers (ll. 13818-45). In L2, the redactor has dispensed with the details of the provenance of the tent, and Benoît's insistence that the narrative must be advanced at the expense of further description (ll. 13821-40), and only retains the aesthetically pleasing details of the tent's floral floor (L2 fol. 72^v).

Furthermore, where A1 tells of a tent 'qui fu au riche pharaon' (l. 13820, fol. 86^v), the corresponding line in L2, which as we have seen normally has very similar lexis to A1, reads 'qui fu de riche ciclaton'. Did the scribe alter the line deliberately? Constans gives no variants at all for the word *pharaon* in his critical apparatus, so there is an absence of evidence that the redactor of L2 has inherited a different variant. This does not rule out the possibility that the redactor chose to suppress the reference to the Pharaoh by replacing the term with a more familiar one which fits the requirements of the metre.

Another passage which is cut in L2 concerns a long exchange between Briseïda and her father, Calchas. In ll. 13719-814 of the full version (A1, fols 86^r to 86^v) Briseïda reproaches her father for his desertion of the Trojans for the Greeks, speaking at length about honour and duty and saying that having decided to desert Troy, it would have been better for him to spend the conflict on one of the nearby islands than to enter the bosom of the enemy; Calchas justifies his actions in terms of the influence of gods on human behaviour. In the original version of the text, Benoît no doubt intended Briseïda's moral stance to be viewed as deeply ironic, given that she too switches loyalty from a Trojan prince to a Greek warrior, implicitly under the influence of the god of love. On fol. 72^v of L2, we can see that this passage is entirely absent, meaning that the reader learns of the great joy of father and daughter at being reunited and that Calchas cried with emotion, but sees nothing of the dialogue between the pair. The

brief, predictable scene of a touching family reunion is allowed to remain, but Briseïda's criticism of her father, which Martine Thiry-Stassin describes as transgressive behaviour on the part of a daughter,⁶⁶ is edited out, just like her father's self-justification. Once again, the redactor has retained the conventional description of a scene that Benoît includes as the preface to a more controversial passage that will add ironic depth and interest to the character of Briseïda, a passage which the redactor has apparently omitted.

The removal of these three passages is just the start of the abridgement activity in relation to Briseïda. Two of the passages contain ornate description which draws the reader's attention to objects of beauty associated with Briseïda and the third reveals Briseïda's moral stance towards her father's act of disloyalty towards his own side. In L2, this contradiction between her criticism of her father and her subsequent change of heart is eliminated from the narrative, like the luminous artefacts in which Benoît clothes and houses her. Numerous critics have demonstrated how crucial this moment in the text is to the overall development of Briseïda's character. Douglas Kelly, for example, has shown that Briseïda, like other female characters in the *Roman de Troie*, is used as an object of exchange, forced to leave a loved one behind (Troïlus) in order to be reunited with her father, but what is particularly interesting about Briseïda's case is the way that she reacts to the situation she finds herself in.⁶⁷ According to Kelly, 'Briseida is the first person in medieval romance to fall gradually in love,'⁶⁸ and her change of heart is narrated in the text by means of internal characterisation.⁶⁹ In comparison to the relatively minor abridgements made to passages pertaining to Heleine and Andromacha, Briseïda's impact as a character already seems to be compromised by this editing activity, because her courtly standing is diminished by removing the association with beautiful things and her characterisation is made less complex by the removal of her condemnation of her father's actions.

However, it also needs to be borne in mind that Briseïda's story does not occupy the same parts of the narrative as the appearances of Heleine and Andromacha. The latter two characters interact chiefly with two of the principal Trojan heroes, Hector and

⁶⁶ Martine Thiry-Stassin, 'Interpellations féminines dans le *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure', in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature françaises du Moyen Âge offerts à Pierre Jonin*, Sénéfiance, 7 (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 1979), pp. 645-60 (p. 651).

⁶⁷ Douglas Kelly, 'The Invention of Briseida's Story in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Troie*', *Romance Philology*, 48 (1995), 221-241 (p. 233).

⁶⁸ Kelly, 'The Invention of Briseida's Story', p. 236.

⁶⁹ Kelly, 'The Invention of Briseida's Story', p. 237.

Paris, and as such feature on the whole in text contained in quires which have been spared large-scale abridgement activity, which seems to privilege Hector and his brothers' exploits. Briseïda, on the other hand, enters the story in the section of text contained in quire xi, which features numerous cuts, along with quire ix: as we have seen, these two quires 'bookend' quire x, which is virtually untouched, possibly because it contains so much celebration of Hector's achievements. The omissions in quire xi do not only affect Briseïda – they also have an impact on the account of the eighth battle – but there does seem to be evidence of deep engagement here on the part of the redactor with the shaping of this particular character. Briseïda gradually switches her loyalties from Troïlus to the Greek warrior Diomedès. Benoît, in his list of portraits at the beginning of the text, lists her among the Greeks (ll. 5275-88), as if her change of sides is a foregone conclusion.⁷⁰ It might be that it is not only that Briseïda's story begins in a part of the manuscript deemed lower priority by the redactor than other parts of the *Roman de Troie*, but that Briseïda's change of heart made her story less appealing to the redactor.

There is one notable passage concerning Briseïda which is not omitted, although it occurs during the eighth battle, a section of the text which is heavily abridged across fols 73r to 77v within quire xi. One of the most substantial omitted passages is ll. 14209- 66, in which, over the course of nearly sixty lines in the full version, Memnon clashes with Menelaus, and an encounter between Hector and Achillès is also briefly evoked. The second omitted passage (ll. 14367-492) is twice as long, and recounts, in the full version, how the Trojan maidens looked on as Polydamas clashed with Diomedès, taking his horse and presenting it to a grateful Troïlus, and how Troïlus in turn fights with Achillès, all the while wearing the *gonfanon* given to him by Briseïda, who is said by the narrator to have loved him still at this point. These thrilling encounters have been left out, but the redactor has retained the intervening passage on fol. 75 (ll. 14267-366) in which the narrator breaks off from the account of the battle in order to follow Diomedès' squire to the Greek camp, where he presents Briseïda with the horse captured by the Greek warrior from Troïlus. After hearing from the squire how Diomedès threw Troïlus to the ground and caused a hundred other Trojans to fall,

⁷⁰ Douglas Kelly points out that Benoît rearranges the order of portraits found in Dares. Dares starts with Heleine and her brothers, then switches to Priam and the Trojans, before reverting to descriptions of the Greek warriors. Briseïda is mentioned at the very end of Dares' series of perfunctory portraits, yet does not appear elsewhere in his account. Benoît follows Dares in placing Briseïda among the Greeks, but she is the first of them to be described and thus occurs midway through the sequence. Kelly, 'The invention of Briseïda's story', p. 229.

	20207	nissent de li a negun fuer
	20208	Samblant fait bien que de son coer
	20209	Leime sor tote rien uiuant
	20210	Nan auoit auiz fait nul samblant
	20211	Iusqua ce ior de lui .amer.
	20212	Mais adonc ne san pot celer
Ml't a grant duel e grant pesance	20213	Ml't a grant duel e grant pesance
Ne lesse pas por deparlance	20214	Ne laisse pas por reparlance
Que nel uoie dedenz sa tente	20215	Quil nou uoie .dedanz sa tante
Or est a lui tote sente	20216	des or est tote an li santante
des or laime des or len tient	20217	Des or leime des or si tient
Mes de lui perdre ml't se crient	20218	Mes de li perdre ml't se crient
	20219	Ml't fu perileuse la pLaie
	20220	Liolz des grex ml't san esmaie
e si en plore o ses .ii. iolz	20221	e ele ampleure ases ii. ialz
ne remaint por calclas lo uiolz	20222	Ne remeint por calcas le uialz
	20223	Ne por chasti ne por menace
	20224	Ne por deuie que il lan face
Que ne laisse sovent ueoir	20225	Quel ne laisse . souant ueoiR
des or puet non aparceuoir	20226	des or puet an aperceuoir
Que uers lui a tot atorne	20227	Que uers lui a tot atorne
Samor son cuer e son pense	20228	Samor son coer e son panse
Si set el bien certainement	20229	Si fet an bien certainement
Quil se mesfet trop laidement	20230	Quel se mesfait trop laidement
A grant tort e a grant boisdie	20231	a grant tort . e a grant boidie.
Sest si de troilus partie	20232	Sest de troylus departie
	20233	Mesfait a ce li est auis
	20234	e trop an a uers lui mespris
	20235	Que trop est biax riches e proz
	20236	e cil qui darmes les vaint toz
A soi meisme pense e dit	20237	a soi meismes pansse e dit
de moi niert ia fet buen escrit	20238	la de moi niert fait boens escrit
ne chanter buene chancons	20239	Ne chantee boenes chancons
Tex auenture ne tex dons	20240	Tiex auantures ne tex dons
Ne uossisse is ia auoir	20241	Ne uossise ia ior avoiR
Malues sen ai e fol sauoir	20242	Maluais san oi e fol sauoir
Quant ie trichai a mon ami	20243	Quant onques truichai mon ami
Qui ainc uers moi nel deserui	20244	Qui ainz uers moi nou desserui
[107 ^r] Ne lai pas [...] com ie dui	20245	Ne lai pas fait si com ie dui
Mis cuers deust bien estre a lui	20246	Mes coers deust bien estre o lui
si atachiez e se fermez	20247	Si estaichiez e si fermez
Quautres nen fust ia escotez	20248	Quautres nan fust escotez
Fause fui e legiere e fole	20249	Fausse fui . e legiere e fole
Ia ou ien entendi parole	20250	La ou ie antandi . parole
	20251	Qui loiaument se vialt garder
	20252	Nan doit ia parole escoter
	20253	Por parole . sont angignie
	20254	Li saige e li plus uezie
desor auront prou que retraire	20255	des or auront prou que retraire
de moi cil qui ne maiment gaire	20256	de moi cil qui ne meime gare

harront moi mes droit i auront	20257	harront moi mes e droit auront
les dames qui a troie sont	20258	Les dames qui a troie sont
honte iai fait as damoiseles	20259	honte an ai fait as damoiseles
trop lait e as riches puceles	20260	trop lait e as riche puceles
Ma tricherie e mes mesfait	20261	Ma tricherie e mes mesfait
lor fera mes toz iorz retraiz	20262	Lor fera mes lon tans retraiz
peser me doit e si fait el	20263	peser man doit e si fait el
trop ai lo cuer muable e fel	20264	Trop ai le coer muable e fel
quainz auoie lo meillor	20265	Quant mi auoie Le meillor
qui mes pucele dont samor	20266	Quainz mes pucele doint samor
cels quil amast deusse amer	20267	Caus quil amast deusse amer
e cels hair e eschuer	20268	e cax laidir . e eschuer
Qui porchacassent son damage	20269	Qui porchacassent son domaige
ici parut com ie fus sage	20270	Ici parut com ie fui saige.
Qu a celui quil plus haoit	20271	Qua celui quil plus haoit
contre raison e contre droit	20272	Contre raison e contre droit
Ai ma fine amor otroiee	20273	Ai ma fine amor otroiee
Trop en serai mes desproisie	20274	trop an serai mes desproisiee
e que me ualt se me repent	20275	e que me ualt se man repant
enee na mes recouement	20276	an ce na mes recouement
Serai donc a cestu loiax	20277	Serai donc ; acestui loiax
Qui ml't est proz e buens vasax	20278	Qui ml't est prouz e boens vassax
ie ne puis mes la reuertir	20279	ie ne puis mes la reuertir
ne de cestui moi resortir	20280	Ne de cestui mes resortir
trop ai ia en lui mon cuer mis	20281	[127"]Trop ai ia mon coer an li mis
por ce ai fait ce que iensis	20282	Por ce an ai fait ce que ian sis
il neust pas ensi este	20283	e neust pas ancor estE
se ie fusse en la cite	20284	Se fusse ancor an la cite
la ior mis cuers nel se pensast	20285	Ia ior mes coers nel se pansast
quil tresailist ne quil changast	20286	Quil tressaillest ne quil muast
mes ci estoie sanz conseil	20287	Mes ci estoie sanz consoil
e sanz ami e sanz feoil	20288	e sanz ami . e sanz faoil
si mot mestier tel atendance	20289	Si mot mestiers . tel atendance
qui most e dire e de pesance	20290	Qui mostast dire e de pesance
prou pense ci consirrer	20291	Preu poisse ci consirreR
e moi ploindre e desconforter	20292	e moi plaindre e desconforter
e endurer iusqua la mort	20293	e andurer iusca la mort
ne me uenist de la confort	20294	Ne me uenist de la confort
morte fusse pieca ce croi	20295	morte fusse pieca . ce croi
se neusse merci de moi	20296	Se nausse merci . de moi.
	20297	Ia soit ce que ie fait foLor
	20298	des ieus partiz ai le meillor
ie loie aurai ioie e leece	20299	tele eure aurai ioie e leece
que mis cuers fust en granz tristece	20300	Que mes coers fust an grant tristece
	20301	tex amporra . an mal parLer
	20302	Qui me uenist tart conforter
lon ne doit mie por la gent	20303	Ne doit an mie por la iant
Estre en dolor e en torment	20304	estre andolor . e antorment
Se toz li mondes estoit liez	20305	Se toz li mondes estoit liez
e mis cuers triste e iriez	20306	e mes coers soit triste e iriez

ice ne mest nule gaaigne	20307	ice ne mest nule gaaigne
mes ml't me delt li cuers e saigne	20308	mais ml't me dialt li coers e seigne
de ce dou ie sui en error	20309	de ce que me fui an error
car nule rien qui a amor	20310	Car nule rien quia amor
la ou sis cuer est point tirant	20311	la ou ses coers soit bien tirant
trobles dødotos e repentanz	20312	Trobles dotanz e repantanz
Ne puit estre senz gen verais	20313	Ne puet estre ses iex uerais
souent ma pai souent mirais	20314	Souant mapai souant mirais
souent mest buen souent lo uoil	20315	Souant mes bel souant le uueil
souent resont ploros mi oil	20316	Souant resont plorox mi euill
ensi est or ie nen sai plus	20317	Ainsi est or ie nan sai plus
dex doigne bien a troylus	20318	Diex doigne bien a troylus
quant nel puis auoir ne il moi	20319	Car nou puis auoir ne il moi.
a cestui me doig e otroi	20320	A cestui me doign e otroi
	20321	Ml't uodroie auoir cel talant
	20322	Que nausse remambremant
	20323	des ores de ca an arrieRe
	20324	e me fait mal de grant meniere.
	20325	Quant conciance me reprant
	20326	Qui a mon coer fait grant torment
	20327	Mais or mestuet a ce torner
	20328	tot mon coraige e mon penseR
	20329	Vueille; ou non des or mes
	20330	Com faitement . dýomedes
	20331	Soit damor . amoi atandanz
	20332	Si quil an soit liez e ioianz
	20333	e ie de lui des quainsi est
	20334	Or truis mon coer haitie e prest
	20335	De faire ce que lui pLaira
	20336	Ia plus orgoill ni trouera
	20337	por parole . lai tant mene
	20338	Cor li ferai sa volante
sil li ferai son uoloir	20339	e son plaisir e son voloir
dex men dont bien e ioie auoir.	20340	Diex man doint ioie e bien auoir.

In the preamble the redactor allows the reader to ascertain that Briseïda has made the final step in her emotional journey by fully committing herself to Diomedès when he returns from battle with a serious injury. It is obvious to observers that she has devoted her heart to him, she refuses to hold back for the sake of her father, and she acknowledges that she has behaved badly towards Troïlus. However, though the essential information has been conveyed, the reader of L2 is still denied certain interesting details which are present in the full version of the speech. The first lines to be omitted are those that reveal that Briseïda cannot hide her feelings any more (ll. 20205-12). The redactor has omitted lines elsewhere in the poem which reveal the inner turmoil of a character, and this seems to fit into a pattern of abridging details of human

psychology. Secondly, the redactor excises a couplet describing the seriousness of Diomedès' wound, and the dismay of his Greek comrades (ll. 20219-20). Finally, although the L2 version retains line 20222, stating that Briseïda would not stay away for the sake of her father (L2, fol. 106^v, 'ne remaint por calchas lo uiolz'), the redactor omits the following couplet 20223-4 (A1, fol. 127^r, 'Ne por chasti ne por menace/ Ne por deuie que il lan face), which shows that Briseïda went to Diomedès in spite of Calchas' threats and prohibitions. Calchas' vehement opposition to Briseïda's conduct perhaps does not fit in with the impression of an idealised father-daughter relationship created earlier in the L2 version of the text by the omission of Briseïda's criticism of her father's actions and his spirited defence.

As for the speech itself, the redactor can again be seen preserving the general thrust of the monologue, with omissions that perhaps betray his attitude to the lady's change of heart. These omissions are in general justifications that would normally incline the reader to be more sympathetic to her plight and place herself or himself in her position. In L2 we do not hear Briseïda's assertion that even the wisest of people could have been persuaded to do the same thing, that she has made the best out of a bad situation, and that anyone who would blame her would be slow to comfort her. These assertions are reasonable and show a strong sense of awareness not just of her own weaknesses (and strengths) but of the potential weaknesses of others if found in the same situation. I believe that the redactor has suppressed this evidence of shrewdness and sound judgement for the same reason that Briseïda's criticism of her father's treachery was removed: it appears that the redactor does not want the audience to see her as some kind of moral arbiter within this version of the text, and finds the complexity of her character problematic.

The redactor seems not to want to alienate the audience completely from Briseïda, for he has retained a significant amount of psychological introspection. Nevertheless, the closing lines 20321-38 are omitted. This editing practice may have been intended to give more prominence to Troïlus by reducing the impact of Briseïda's declaration of love to Diomedès at the end of the monologue: the final 20 lines of the speech, which underline her commitment to Diomedès, are removed apart from the final couplet. It has the effect of making Troïlus loom as large as Diomedès in the portrait of Briseïda's emotional landscape. The potential happiness that Briseïda might enjoy with Diomedès does not appear to be of as great interest to the redactor.

We can usefully compare the redactor's treatment of her in L2 with Roberto Antonelli's analysis of Guido delle Colonne's adaptation of the *Roman de Troie*, in which the account of the love triangle between Briseïda, Diomedès and Troïlus is 'linear, and sticks to *facts* and events; explanatory description, bare and essential, is preferred to decorative description and digression.'⁷¹ Examples of this paring down of the narrative by Guido include the complete omission of Briseïda's substantial final monologue. Antonelli insists throughout his article on Briseïda's capacity to change and how that development inspired later writers to lift her episode out of the narrative, whereas others, like the L2 redactor and Guido, sought to suppress this development in the narrative. He claims that Guido felt the need to simplify Briseïda, a complex literary creation of twelfth-century feudal society, for the emerging mercantile society of the thirteenth century, and that:

the principal character, a woman, had to be fragmented and deprived of her complexity in order to be understood by an audience who could easily identify with both of the male characters in the triangle, but not with an enigmatic figure who goes beyond her pre-established role.⁷²

Antonelli suggests that Guido's thirteenth-century audience could not cope with complexity in a female character. This implies that it was not until the fourteenth century that works by later authors like Chaucer and Boccaccio were positively received by audiences for exploring her story in more depth. However, Antonelli is on insecure ground when he blames Guido's merchant class contemporaries for the way Briseïda's character is altered. It seems a step too far to claim that the first consumers of Guido's translation were inherently less capable of dealing with complexity in a female character. It is with more certainty that we can say that Guido betrays his own attitude towards Briseïda and towards what he thought his audience's needs were through his treatment of the development of her character.

⁷¹ Roberto Antonelli, 'The Birth of Criseyde – An Exemplary Triangle: "Classical" Troïlus and the Questions of Love at the Anglo-Norman Court', in *The European Tragedy of Troilus*, ed. by Piero Botani (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 21–48 (p. 46).

⁷² Antonelli, 'The Birth of Criseyde', pp. 47–8.

Ecuba and Polixena

Ecuba, as Priam's consort, is the highest ranking woman in Troy, and, of course, mother of Hector. She is one of the most interesting characters in the narrative, female or otherwise. The author seems to have sympathy for her plight. Inez Hansen has written of her consummate diplomatic skills,⁷³ and Penny Sullivan has described the skilful way in which Benoît evokes the toll taken on her personality by the conflict as 'an impressive study of the effects of war on an individual noblewoman.'⁷⁴ On the whole, the redactor seems to want to preserve the prominence of her role, but frequently abridges the lengthy speeches that she makes throughout the narrative, for example when she invokes the gods in a particular way, or when her behaviour threatens to displace Hector from his pre-eminent position. The redactor's treatment of Ecuba seems to illustrate broader concerns with the reception of the text.

One of Ecuba's most important functions within the text is as a leader of mourning for her sons Hector and Troïlus (ll. 16425-58; 21699-22760). She displays grief for her other sons Deiphebus and Paris as well, but does not take the lead in the latter case. Besides acting as chief mourner, she is also depicted encouraging her sons and their comrades to fight for Troy for the sake of all their descendants, royal and otherwise (ll. 11855-94). As the war continues, she comes across as an increasingly desperate character – for example, Sullivan points out that after insisting at length to Troïlus that she is counting on him to defend the city (ll. 20630-55), she loses her composure as she sobs, throws her arms around his neck and covers him with kisses (ll. 20656-9).⁷⁵ Finally, her powers of persuasion are turned to destructive ends towards the end of the war, where she is a shadow of her former self and goads Paris into avenging the death of Troïlus (ll. 21838-956).

In certain scenes where Ecuba is using her powers of persuasion, or mourning for one of her dead sons, the redactor intervenes to influence the way in which Ecuba comes across in the narrative. The first instance is when Ecuba is in the *Chambre de beautés* exhorting Antenor, Polydamas and Eneas to defend Troy to the best of their ability. In L2, her speech is reduced by one half. Troïlus is present, but as a witness –

⁷³ Inez Hansen, *Zwischen Epos und höfischem Roman. Die Frauengestalten im Trojaroman des Benoît de Sainte-Maure*, Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 8 (Munich: W. Fink, 1971), p. 38.

⁷⁴ Penelope A. Sullivan, 'The Heroine in Twelfth Century French Literature: the Portrayal of Women Characters in Epic and Romance' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University College, Cardiff, 1981), p. 141.

⁷⁵ Sullivan, 'The Heroine in Twelfth Century French literature', p. 146.

Ecuba is directing her words at those who owe fealty to her family, rather than to actual members of her family. Just before this episode, during the deliberation over the fate of Thoas, Hector and Priam also have sections taken out of their speeches. The last five lines of Hector's response to Eneas are cut (ll. 11817-22), and Priam's entire response to the assembly is removed (ll. 11825-36), so it does not seem that Ecuba is being targeted any more than any other character. Below, I have placed the relevant passage (ll. 11855-94) alongside the corresponding lines from A1, the closest relative of L2, so that the number and extent of omissions can be clearly identified:

L2

[Fol. 61^v]

signor fait ele ce sai bien
del pro mon signor e del mien

ne uos traisistes ainz ariere
certaine amor e foi entiere
nos auez tresque ci portee
or est la chose tant alee
que conoistre nos estoura
qui de buen cuer ainz nos ama
(14 lines missing from L2)

faites la vile bien garder
ne nos laissez deseriter
lenor en iert uostre e li proz
sen seroiz enorez sor toz

se uos basssons li bassemenz
en sera nostre e a noz genz

A1

[Fol. 73^v]

Seignor fait ele ce sai bien
dou pru mon signor ne del mien
nabaisiez pas nostre quorone
de ce que droiz e loi nos done
ne uos traisistes as arriere
certeine amor e foi antiere
nos auez iusque ci portee
or est la chose tant alee
que conoistre nos estoura
qui ainz de boen coer nos ama
(69-72 missing from A1BB2CDJKy)

des or aparaistra lamor
e li granz sans e la valor
qui est an uos e latendance
[74^r]car nos i auons grant fiance
ia por .i. haut consoil doner
ni estuet autre demander
Li rois sest mis dou tot an uos
ml't est cist sieges perillos
por dieu si amprennez grant cure
car tost auient mesauanture
faites la uile bien garder
ne nos laissez deseriter
lesnor an ert vostre e li proz
don seroit esnorez toz iorz
e nostre oir qui le regne auront
les uoz toz iorz an ameront
se nos baissons li bassement
an sera uostre e a uos ianz
or an aient li deu pitie

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11892	e si an facent mon coer Lie
11893	de cax qui si nos ont gregiez
11894	e ci anclos e assegiez

In the largest omission from the speech, ll. 11873-83, Ecuba speaks of the great confidence that she and Priam have in the barons' abilities, and urges them to take care, because of the perilous nature of the siege. These lines do not repeat material from elsewhere in the speech, so it does not seem that the redactor has omitted them in order to summarise and advance the narrative. The lines are similar in content to the speech she later gives to Troïlus which was mentioned above (ll. 20630-55), but instead of a positive expression of confidence, it is a desperate assertion that Troïlus is her only hope. Unlike the speech to the barons, this affecting address to her son is retained almost entirely in L2, so it does not seem that the redactor found these sentiments problematic in and of themselves.⁷⁶ Rather, it appears that the redactor wishes to tone down the extent to which Ecuba expresses faith in this particular group of barons, two of whom, Antenor and Eneas, will go on to betray her family and the whole city. As has been suggested above, Benoît showed the pernicious influence of war on the human spirit to great effect in his portrayal of Ecuba, and one aspect of this which is discernible in the full version of the romance is the deterioration in Ecuba's optimism and trust. The redactor of L2 appears to sacrifice the idea of gradual erosion of hope by presenting Ecuba from the beginning as being less obviously trusting of those who would betray her; as a result, she comes across in L2 as shrewder and as having better judgment.

The redactor has also cut out lines 11887-8, in which she is referring to her descendants loving the knights' descendants for the sake of their ancestors' actions. As Eneas is one of the knights she is addressing, this omission could perhaps be interpreted as another case of the redactor wanting to suppress allusions to the *Roman d'Eneas*, which centres on Eneas starting a new civilisation.⁷⁷

The final omission in this speech removes Ecuba's plea for the pity of the gods. Earlier in the speech, in l. 11881, her request to the barons to be careful for the sake of God is also omitted. The fact that Constans capitalised the first letter of the noun '(por)

⁷⁶ Only two single lines are missing from the L2 version of this speech, l. 20638 (A1, fol. 129^v 'la feme tant ne perdra mes') and l. 20642 (A1, fol. 129^v 'Mes li miens coers nest mie en pes'). The omission of the latter line creates a problem, because the noun 'coers' in l. 20642 is the subject of the verbs in the following line (l. 20643 'de toi se crient de toi se dote'. The redactor appears to have solved this problem by shifting l. 20641 (L2, fol. 108^v, 'Tu me sostiens uiure me fais') to the position occupied by l. 20638. This means that l. 20643 follows straight on from l. 20640 (L2, fol. 108^v, 'tote ai a toi mentencion'), meaning that it is her designs or desires that are afraid on his behalf, instead of her heart. The overall meaning of the speech is substantially the same.

⁷⁷ See chapter 3, pp. 108-9.

Deu' in the critical edition suggests that he believed the queen was referring to a unique deity, if not the Christian one. Udo Schöning has examined references to heathen gods in the *romans antiques*, and has concluded that in general, from the point of view of the characters there are multiple gods, but from the point of view of the narrator and the audience there is one God.⁷⁸ The full version of Ecuba's speech demonstrates her belief in plural deities: her plea explicitly asks the gods to have pity and to exact revenge on her enemies. It may have been the case that the redactor felt less comfortable with the dual perspective on deities offered by Benoît, and for this reason might have chosen to suppress the apparent reliance of one of the most dignified characters in the romance on unchristian beliefs. Further evidence to support this hypothesis is the fact that elsewhere in the narrative, Ecuba's invocations of heathen deities by name have been removed by the redactor. For example, after the end of the war and before the fall of Troy, ll. 25499-612 are omitted, which deal at length with the relationship of the Greeks and Trojans with heathen gods. In the full version of the poem as seen in A1, this section describes the offerings to the gods made on both sides; Ecuba is said to insist on sacrifices to Apollo and Minerva in particular (ll. 25578-82). This removal of the expression of Ecuba's pagan religious belief occurs in the context of a passage which reveals how the Greeks and Trojans depended on sacrifices and haruspication to discern the future, and is perhaps rejected by the redactor.

An even more distinct example of the redactor suppressing Ecuba's references to the gods occurs during a scene where she laments her dead son Troïlus in ll. 21702-51. In the full version of the romance, she invokes Mars, Jupiter and Pluto during this lament (A1, fol. 136r, ll. 21715-8), but these lines do not figure in L2 (fol. 114r).⁷⁹ This is not the only instance of abridgement during the lament, for ll. 21731-40 are also missing in L2. These lines include further references to Ecuba's sacrificial practices, but the omitted lines also convey the raw pain of the bereaved Queen particularly forcefully, as seen in A1:

Ml't a ici dolereus plait
 Tant sacrefise uos ai fait
 Tant riche tample precieus
 Por ce si miestes haineus

⁷⁸ Udo Schöning, *Thebenroman - Eneasroman - Trojaroman: Studien zur Rezeption der Antike in der französischen Literatur des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 235 (Tübingen: Max Niemayer Verlag, 1991), p. 318.

⁷⁹ Later in this passage, ll. 21731-40 are also omitted from this speech in L2.

Ne me poez plus guerroier
 Plus tolir ne plus abaissier
 O mortel glaive o plorement
 De braiz de criz e de torment
 Auez raampli mes uiailles
 Mon esperit e mes corailles [ll. 21731-40, A1, 136v]

Could it be that the redactor is choosing to lessen the emotional impact of Ecuba's speech as well as to suppress evidence of her pagan customs? If so, the three lines that follow this abridgement in L2 could go some way to explaining why:

Filz troylus por uos uiuoie
 Mes por hector que ne moroie
 Por toi mestoie aseuree [ll. 21741-3, L2, fol. 114r]

The redactor has retained Ecuba's reference to Hector's death, which heightens the impact of the Queen's loss, but also places the loss of Troïlus in context: the Queen feels the pain of losing Troïlus all the more strongly because he was her only hope after the loss of her eldest son, the consummate warrior. At the time of Hector's funeral, Ecuba did not hide her grief, and she is said to have fainted over his corpse several times after having uttered her lamentation (l.16457). However, in the full version of the text her reaction to Troïlus' demise is even more extreme: she does not just faint over Troïlus' corpse, but becomes completely lifeless; Heleine has her brought into the *Chambre de beautés*, where she lies in a coma for three days, with some thinking that she will never recover (A1, fol. 136v, ll. 21753-60). These eight lines have been excised from L2. The redactor's preoccupation with Hector perhaps means that there is an intention to lessen the impact of Ecuba's reaction to the death of her younger son in order to preserve the status of the principal hero of the text as the redactor understood it. If so, that indicates that the redactor is not reading the text in the way that Benoît intended – Benoît was concerned to show the cumulative effect of years of war, loss and bereavement on the Queen's spirit, but the redactor is not so concerned overall with psychological development. Ecuba's character appears more static as a result of these interventions.

Polixena does not play as active a role within the story as does her mother, but is still a highly significant character. When her primary function within the narrative is as daughter of Priam,⁸⁰ or as sacrificial lamb to the slaughter and one of the last

⁸⁰ See for example her portrait in ll. 5541-76

descendants of the house of Priam,⁸¹ her appearances are not edited by the redactor. As Jung pointed out, it is quite remarkable that her long speech at the end of the romance should have been left intact (L2, fol. 130^r, ll. 26475-538), given that there are so many omissions in this section of the text. His view was that this shows that the redactor or scribe was not insensitive to the pathos of Polixena's situation.⁸² This may well be the case, but I also believe that the redactor has retained the speech in full because of the themes of wasted life and the fall of the house of Priam evoked by Polixena. Having pointed out that the Greeks' should have slaked their bloodthirstiness after having killed Priam, his sons, brothers, and nephews, she states:

Nistra de moi fille ne filz
 Par qui soit uilz nabastardi
 Li lignages don ie sui nee (fol. 130^v, ll. 26507-09)

Instead of bearing any children, who would presumably be fathered by the Greeks who hold her captive and thus abase her lineage, Polixena will die at the hands of the Greeks with her *puelage* intact, something which she takes comfort from. Her death without heirs underscores this turning point in the text, when, as Zrinka Stahuljak observes, Troy has been destroyed and its citizens slaughtered, and '*translatio* is set in motion from Troy toward Rome.'⁸³ Ironically, however, Polixena's words echo those of a Greek whom it was once hoped she would marry, i.e. Achillès' earlier musings on the decline of noble families in his response to Nestor's first request that he rejoin the Greek war effort, which are discussed below in chapter 3.⁸⁴ The scribe took these twelve lines from Achillès' speech, which was omitted, and placed them at an appropriate juncture in a subsequent speech made in response to Nestor's second attempt at persuading him, which is retained in full. Jung says that the redactor must have been struck by Achillès' thoughts on the loss of nobles, and I would argue that this is because he saw a foreshadowing in them of Polixena's last words before she was cruelly put to death for having been the object of Achillès' affections.

⁸¹ See ll. 26398-549 for the account of how she was hunted down and immolated to appease the gods as vengeance for Achillès' death. Her sister Cassandra has by now been made Ajax Oileus' concubine, leaving Polixena as the last of the virgin females of the house of Priam.

⁸² Marc-René Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France au Moyen Âge*, Romanica Helvetica 114, (Basel: Francke Verlag, 1996), p. 108.

⁸³ Zrinka Stahuljak, *Bloodless genealogies of the French Middle Ages: translatio, Kinship and Metaphor* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005), p. 186. See also p. 153.

⁸⁴ See chapter 3, p. 90.

On the other hand, when she appears in the text as the object of Achillès' desire, Polixena is subject to editing. This may have been because the redactor was not overly interested in Achillès as romantic hero. The majority of the instances of editing occur in speeches where Achillès addresses the absent princes, for example, ll.20721-46, during his dialogue with *Amour*, in which his interlocutor refers to Polixena as a potential *amie*, and ll. 22121-40, where it is said that setting eyes on her led to the downfall of Achillès (he is also compared to Leander in this passage).

The most interesting example of editing occurs when Polixena's inner reaction to Achillès' death is shortened. Ll. 22447-56 are omitted, but the lines which remain, ll. 22457-60, do actually summarise her feelings of guilt, and resentment towards her mother. This abridgement could be seen as a way of speeding up the narrative without detracting from the content, but it might also reveal a reluctance on the redactor's part to retain parts of the text which convey the characters' innermost feelings in any great detail. This does seem likely when this omission is compared with the omission of Ecuba fainting after the death of Troïlus, discussed above. This is not, however, to argue that the redactor regards psychological depth as extraneous. Psychological depth can be admitted as long as what is being revealed suits the redactor's overall scheme for the narrative, for example by enhancing the impact of Hector at the expense of others such as Achillès and Troïlus.

Conclusion

A consideration of the treatment of significant female characters by the L2 redactor establishes a pattern of editorial activity focused on partiality towards the Trojan cause. For instance, Benoît's Briseïda, a complex creation showing the inherent contradictions of courtly love when her loyalties are divided between her two lovers, comes across in the L2 version of the romance as a much simpler character. She is allowed prominence even in the midst of battle as long as she is expressing loyalty to Troïlus and to Troy, but undergoes substantial cuts, affecting the psychological depth of her portrayal, when she transfers her affections to Diomedès. At the end of the text, the preservation in full of Polixena's affecting speech in the face of death at the hands of the Greeks shows the redactor focusing on the powerful theme of the fate of the Trojan lineage.

Having established that the redactor favours the Trojan cause in his editorial decision-making process, we can go further to link the treatment of female characters to the examination of the relationship between quire divisions and abridgements above.

This analysis suggested that the redactor was structuring the romance in such a way that the exploits of Hector are foregrounded so as to occupy the central point of the text. This foregrounding of Hector can also be seen in the editorial treatment of female characters. In L2 Ecuba gives her strongest emotional response to Hector's death, while the impact of her reaction to Troïlus's is lessened. The omission of responses to Paris' death other than that of Heleine also serves to heighten the emotional power of Hector's death. The redactor's concern to include the fate of Andromacha at the end of the text, which is otherwise heavily abridged, shows his interest in the continuation of the Trojan line.

This chapter has put forward evidence gained from a comparison of L2 with its closest relative, A1, to show that the majority of the cuts made to L2 are unique to it. After establishing the extent to which material has been suppressed in L2, the investigation has moved on to consider possible reasons. Constans' explanation for the omissions, that the scribe was rushing to finish the task of copying, has, in the opinion of Varvaro, been applied 'un peu trop souvent' when trying to account for omissions in manuscripts across the manuscript tradition of the *Roman de Troie*.⁸⁵ By delving deeper into the abridgement process, this chapter has begun to put forward more satisfactory reasons for the shortening of the text presented in L2. It has analysed the L2 redactor's activities at the macro level by considering the interrelationship between quire divisions and abridgements, and has also focused on the micro level impact of such abridgements in the portrayal of female characters. These female characters have been subject to considerable critical interest, but while the *Roman de Troie* gives unusually full voice to female characters for its period, the actions of the male characters nevertheless constitute a much more substantial part of the narrative. Moreover, the battle-scenes on which these characters' portrayals centre have attracted less critical attention. The following chapter therefore extends the analysis of this chapter by examining the central warrior characters (including the warrior-queen Panthesilee) in relation to the L2 redactor's abridgement activities.

⁸⁵ Varvaro, 'Élaboration des textes', p. 29.

Chapter 3

Reception of the Troy Myth as Evidenced by the Abridgements

The many battle scenes in the *Roman de Troie* have been regarded by some modern critics as detrimental to our enjoyment of the work as a whole. For example, Faral says that Benoît, as a writer, had ‘de la verve, du souffle et de l’aisance’, but that the poem is ‘alourdi par la description des scènes de conseil et de bataille’, which try the patience of the reader.¹ Apart from the complete edition by Léopold Constans at the beginning of the twentieth century, the only other modern edition is a series of extracts which concentrates on the love stories and represents about half of the text. According to the editors, the military dimension of the text ‘n’est peut-être pas la plus séduisante pour le lecteur moderne’, and yet they freely admit that the battles occupy a far more important place than the edition suggests, and would have been followed with pleasure by an informed medieval audience.² As Catherine Hanley points out, the knightly classes commissioned compositions like the *Roman de Troie* for their entertainment, so combat between knights was an ideal subject to engage the attention of such an audience.³ The profusion of scenes of conflict may not suit modern literary tastes, but the large number of extant manuscripts suggests that the work was enormously popular in the Middle Ages, so we can conclude that the medieval audience must have appreciated the whole poem, including the battle scenes. The fact that most manuscripts retain the battle scenes shows that they were hardly considered as being dispensable. In this chapter, the analysis of the abridgement techniques in L2 will continue with a second set of case studies that consider how the redactor approached battle scenes, and, in particular, how these abridging activities affect the presentation and reception of key warrior figures.

If the redactor of L2 had shared the perception of modern editors that the battles are repetitive, containing interminable descriptions of violence and belligerent dialogue between warriors, such scenes would have been seen as ideal targets for wholesale abridgement in order to improve the flow of the story without detracting from its *sens*. However, it can be seen that specific battles are targeted for editing, whereas others are left largely intact. As with the abridgements relating to the major female characters

¹ Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines*, p. 415.

² *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Baumgartner and Vieilliard, p. 21.

³ Catherine Hanley, *War and Combat, 1150-1270: The evidence from Old French literature*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), p. 2.

discussed in chapter 2, the redactor did not make revisions at random; his careful editing practices reflect the remarkable variety of the battles, and his need to handle each one differently according to what effect its contents had on the story as a whole. An examination of what has been cut, and where, indicates certain patterns of abridgement that may point to a realignment of the presentation of certain heroic (and for the most part male) figures.

According to Constans' edition, the war of Troy took place over the course of twenty-three battles.⁴ The battles which are abridged in L2 occur at the beginning (second, third and fourth battles), the middle (eighth battle) and the end (sixteenth to twenty-third battles). There are many variations in the ways that these battles have been shortened. The cuts made to the second battle are very brief and do little to curtail this, the longest of the battle scenes, but the nature of the cuts is very significant. There is substantial abridgement at the ends of the third, fourth and eighth battles, where long passages detailing series of military exploits are removed. In contrast, the pattern of abridgement made in the last eight battles of the poem seems more fragmentary; shorter passages are cut at regular intervals during these battles. The changes in technique visible over the course of the conflict may well be determined by the redactor's attitude to the protagonists. It will be seen that some of the cuts made to the early battles strongly affect the portrayal of the poem's central heroes, Hector and Achillès. The redactor seems willing to tone down some negative aspects of Achillès' character, and shows particular partiality towards Hector, which may explain why the central conflicts that lead up to this hero's death and the immediate aftermath are left untouched. The piecemeal treatment of the final battles may show that the redactor assumed that the audience would lose interest in a narrative now deprived of a hero of the stature of Roland and peopled instead by outlandish figures like Queen Panthesilee and the brutal Pirrus.

As noted in chapter 2, there are some abridgements of the text which appear at first sight to be motivated by a concern to streamline the story by dispensing with elements of description and dialogue which do not affect the plot. However, closer examination of excised passages suggests that the redactor did not have a rigid policy of removing these details for the sake of brevity alone; rather, he seems to have had an

⁴ It could be argued that the twenty-first, twenty-second and twenty-third battles should be designated as one single battle, for no truce is called during the fighting, and it would seem structurally fitting to have one long battle at the end to correspond with the lengthy set pieces in the second and tenth battles.

acute awareness of the implications of every line, and wanted to exert influence over the text by editing it. In some cases it is the content of a passage which seems to influence the redactor's decision to edit, and in other cases it is the context in which it occurs that guides the decision.

In the case of dialogue, there is a marked tendency throughout L2 to cut out the ends of speeches, as we have seen in chapter 2, and also during the numerous scenes of council.⁵ However, direct speech in the thick of battle is, on the whole, appropriately short and to the point in comparison to the lengthy discourse that can unfold between conflicts. As a result, the pithy exchanges between characters on the battlefield are not very often subject to heavy editing.

Instances of descriptive passages being cut are more widespread. In addition to omissions of descriptions of oriental artefacts discussed in chapter 2,⁶ a lengthy description of the Orient is also missing from L2 (ll. 23127-356, fol. 119^v), and has also been omitted from several other manuscripts.⁷ It consists of a treatise on geography, beginning with a survey of the oceans and territories of the known world before gradually narrowing the focus to an account of the customs of the inhabitants of Femenie; it gives fascinating information to the audience about the background of Queen Panthesilee, but could be viewed as non-essential to the plot. On the other hand, it is notable that the episode describing the *Chambre de beautés*, which is another of the longest descriptive passages in the poem, has been substantially (though not entirely) retained in L2. The main cut to this passage in L2 consists of nearly 60 lines of description of the fourth and final automaton, apparently removed simply because the scribe was running out of space at the end of quire xi. As mentioned in chapter 2, when pointing out the omission of the passages relating to cloth woven by enchanters in India, and a tent which once belonged to a Pharaoh, Jung makes the remark 'Niente Oriente': he implies that these passages were omitted because they contained overt references to aspects of Eastern civilisation, which was not regarded highly by the redactor.⁸ It may be that the *Chambre de beautés* is retained because it represents 'a high point in

⁵ According to J.L. Levenson, there are approximately 50 such scenes ('The Narrative Format of Benoît's *Roman de Troie*', *Romania* 100:1 (1979), 54-70, p. 56).

⁶ See chapter 2, pp. 67-68.

⁷ The same section is also missing from mss Montpellier, Bibliothèque inter-universitaire, section médecine, H.251 (M1) and Paris, BnF, f. fr. 783 (D), two illuminated manuscripts which share close similarities in the positioning of historiated initials with L1 (Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 108). See also Alberto Varvaro, 'Elaboration des textes et modalités du récit dans la littérature française médiévale', *Romania*, 119 (2001), 1-75 (p. 28).

⁸ See chapter 2, p. 67; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 105.

civilisation in every sense of the term',⁹ and by extension part of the culture and heritage of those in the West who are genealogically descended from the Trojans.¹⁰

At the beginning of the third battle on fol. 56^v of L2, the redactor omits a short description of the helmets, lances and shields with which the worthy vassals are armed, and an allusion to the tears which will be shed when the slaughter takes place. The text of A1 reads:

La ueist an meint hiaume agu
 E meinte lance e meint escu
 La ueist an meint boen cheual.
 E meint cors prisie de vassal
 Dambedeus parz ot grant orgueil
 Porquant san plorerent .mil. euil. (A1, ll. 10583-88, fol. 66^v)

The use of the visualisation formula 'La ueist' in lines 10583 and 10585 is reminiscent of the language used in the *chansons de geste* and Wace's *Roman de Brut*. Baumgartner and Vielliard suggest that Benoît is deliberately seeking to imitate the epic style by using this kind of diction.¹¹ Although the redactor retains the majority of passages of this nature, they may have been viewed as ornamental enough to leave out on occasion, which could explain why these lines do not appear in L2.

The context of the passage might also have influenced the redactor's decision to edit it out, as it is part of a preliminary section leading into description of the battle proper, rather than an anaphoristic passage in the midst of fighting. However, the idea that the redactor valued active conflict more highly than descriptive preambles leading up to the battles is countered by the fact that it is rare for the opening sections of battles to be abridged elsewhere in L2. The preamble to the eighteenth battle has been removed (ll. 20865-20930, fol. 109^v) but that is because it has been rendered as one conflict with the seventeenth battle. As for the treatment of descriptions *in medias res*, an anaphoristic passage similar to the one quoted above, describing the clash of lances in the fifth battle and making use of the phrases 'la veïssez' and 'la oïssez', has been removed (ll. 12118-12122, fol. 62^v), and a similar passage from the sixteenth battle (ll.

⁹ Sullivan, 'Medieval Automata', p. 12.

¹⁰ Rollo states that the *Roman de Troie* is a prelude to the *Historia regum britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth because Benoît relates how the people understood by many in the twelfth century to be the forefathers of the British were defeated and forced to leave Asia Minor (Rollo, *Historical Fabrication*, p. 167).

¹¹ Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vielliard, p. 641, note to ll. 9700-9719.

20549-20567, fol. 108^r), containing repeated variations of the phrase ‘ci ot’, has had several lines removed in L2. This is a problematic example, however, because these abridgements are shared by other manuscripts, including L2’s closest relative, A1, and therefore may not be the work of the redactor whose distinctive editorial policy has resulted in the version preserved in L2.¹² On the basis of this evidence, it does not seem that the redactor regarded the preliminaries to the battles as being any less worthy of retention than the accounts of the violent mêlées that followed, or that he was particularly concerned to remove passages of epic diction.

Moving from context to content, a close look at the lines 10583-90 excised from the third battle in L2 (fol. 56^v) reveals that they do not function purely as ornament, but that they also form a transition between the description of the warriors and that of the women watching from the city, among them Heleine, ‘mout pensive e mout dotose’ (l. 10593). In addition, the final couplet prefigures the calamities which are about to unfold. It may be that the redactor felt that these transitional lines overstate the incipient tragedy, and instead preferred to allude to it more subtly by cutting straight to the figure of Heleine: as she beholds the warriors, she is clearly imagining a terrible fate. It will be seen that the redactor’s apparent aversion here to the obvious foreshadowing of general tragedy fits in with his efforts to suppress the heralding of doom for certain individual characters elsewhere in the text.

Elsbeth Kennedy noted, when examining the manuscript tradition of the *Prose Lancelot*, that certain suppressions seem to have been made to ‘conform with the special interests of scribe or patron.’¹³ This examination of L2 suggests that a similar process of modification is at work, and that the changes have not been made purely to increase the momentum of the story or to shorten a very long text. A ‘special interest’ of the redactor of L2, as evidenced in his treatment of battle scenes and male characters, appears to be a certain image of heroism. The discussion that follows will show how he has taken great care to enhance the presentation of Hector, Achillès and other characters by omitting

¹² In the fifth battle, ll. 12117-26 are missing from A1 as well as B B2 C J K y (see *Le Roman de Troie*, ed by Constans, II, 217). Some of the cuts made to the sixteenth battle only occur in L2, for example ll. 20551-552: ‘Ici muèrent les corages/ As plus hardiz e as plus sages’; the line ‘ici tremblèrent li coart’ is retained (perhaps the cut was made because it seemed more decorous for cowards to tremble than for the courage of brave men to be shaken?). Other abridgements from the sixteenth battle that occur in L2 coincide with those made in other manuscripts - for example ll. 20555-20558, describing shattered lances, shredded ensigns and drawn swords, are missing from D as well (ll. 20557-58 are missing from E K). Ll. 20565-6 (‘Ici ot mortel assemblee:/ Onc plus pesme ne fu jostee’) have also been cut from M2 H R (see Constans’ critical apparatus for these passages, *Le Roman de Troie*, III, 306).

¹³ Elsbeth Kennedy, ‘The Scribe as Editor’, in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier*, 2 vols (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1970), I, 523-531 (p. 524).

some negative aspects of their portrayal, and also to reduce allusions to impending death, whilst trying to remain as true as possible to the structural outline of the story.

Achillès and Hector

There are at least two striking examples of the redactor's apparent manipulation of the image of Achillès. First of all, in the unabridged version, the Greeks make two concerted attempts to persuade their best fighter to return to action once he has renounced fighting as a result of falling in love with Polyxena, daughter of King Priam. As Jung points out, the 544 lines which make up the first mission to Achillès (ll. 19411-19954) have been removed in L2. However, 12 lines from the omitted episode (ll. 19639-50) reappear later in the speech that Achillès gives in response to Agamemnon's and Nestor's second attempt to induce Achillès to fight on fol. 107^v. The lines, transcribed here by Jung, have been inserted just after Achillès reflects on the irreparable loss of Palamedes and thirty other kings (ll. 20377-86):

Ci periront tuit li meillor
 Et li reel engendreor,
 Don li buen oir fussent estrait.
 Ici a molt estrange plait:
 Par ceste uevre seront baissies
 Et destruites les granz ligniees
 Et li lignages souverains;
 De basses genz et de vilains
 Sera li mondes estorez.
 Ci perira nobilité,
 Hautece et pris, joie et enors:
 C'est granz damage et granz dolors. (L2, ll. 19639-50, fol. 107^v)

Jung observes that this apt insertion of lines shows that the redactor

a donc lu attentivement ce passage avant de le sauter. Les vers sur la déchéance des grands lignages ont dû le frapper; il les a insérés fort à propos dans le discours d'Achillès lors de la deuxième ambassade.¹⁴

This modification, which shows great attention to detail on the part of the redactor, also has the effect of making Achillès appear less intransigent. He is approached once in L2, not twice as in the unabridged version, so the audience is never aware of his first flat refusal to cooperate, and instead sees him immediately make a concession to his

¹⁴ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 106.

comrades by allowing his Myrmidon warriors to take part in the combat. It seems unlikely that this effect of lessening the obduracy of Achillès was unintentional on the part of the redactor.

The second example of a change in the portrayal of Achillès occurs when Troïlus is killed. By now Achillès has completely abandoned his anti-war stance, having felt compelled to take up arms for the Greeks again in the eighteenth battle and thus ruining any chance of union with Polyxena. During the nineteenth battle he brings about the death of Troïlus, who had replaced Hector as the embodiment of the hopes of Troy, and had severely wounded Achillès in the previous battle. At the opening of the nineteenth battle, several small cuts have been made to the passages detailing Achillès' state of mind (ll. 21246-72) and his speech to the Myrmidons urging them to help him kill Troïlus (ll. 21292-21320). In the description of Achillès' mental state, L2 preserves the lines which describe the anger and frustration of Achillès as he realises that his actions have achieved nothing, and that although he is still suffering the torment of love for Polyxena, there is no hope for him (ll. 21246-54), but the following four lines, present in A1, are missing from L2:

Des or ne si atant il mes
 Ne porquant san soutient grant fes
 Il na repos, ioie ne bien.
 Destruit an est sor tote rien (A1, ll. 21255-58, fol. 133^v)

The other lines cut from this passage are ll. 21260-61, which in A1 include the line 'Ire e dolor li fait sa plaie', revealing that the wound is increasing his pain and anger, and ll. 21267-70, in which it is said that whether it is right or wrong, Troïlus will surely die, and Achillès will demonstrate the depth of his ill-feeling to him. Although the reader of L2 is left in no doubt that Achillès is emotionally and physically afflicted, and that he will make Troïlus pay dearly for his injury (l. 21265), it seems that the redactor is trying to downplay the extent of Achillès' suffering and concomitant rage. This tendency to hide the depth of Achillès' negative feelings is continued in the redactor's treatment of his speech. Two more references to the wound are removed, in ll. 21299-300, and 21311-12, where Achillès asks his troops to avenge his wound on Troïlus. The overall effect of this editing is to lessen the impact that the wound has on Achillès' actions.

Having diluted the pained and enraged aspects of the portrayal of Achillès, the redactor of L2 appears to go even further by manipulating the lines which describe the

death of Troïlus. It is one of the most horrific killings in the poem because in the unabridged version, Troïlus is trapped under his horse (ll. 21245-30). At the moment Troïlus is slain, the text in A1 reads:

Car achilles qui lor aie
 Li a ancois le chief treinchie
 Grant cruialte e grant pechie (A1, ll. 21441-3, fol. 134^v)

L2 instead reads:

Na mie longement duré
 Que il li ont lo chief copé
 Ainz quil poïst avoir aïe (L2, fol.112^v)

In l. 21441, A1 differs from Constans' edition in that it refers to Achillès' hatred of the Trojans instead of describing him as a 'reneié', but it still refers to him by name. Jung has pointed out that several other manuscripts share L2's version of l. 21441, which does not mention Achillès by name or give him any negative epithet, but L2 goes further in rehabilitating the great Greek warrior by using a plural verb in l. 21442, which attributes collective responsibility for Troïlus' death to the Myrmidons.¹⁵ This can be compared to the way in which Diomedès' urging that the body of Panthesilee be thrown into the river Scamander has been edited out, presenting this desecration as the joint act of the Greeks, thus to some extent exculpating Diomedès (ll. 24441-52).¹⁶ However, the manuscript retains the narrator's judgement of the act of attaching Troïlus' body to the tail of Achillès' horse as a 'grant vilenie' (l. 21444), so it could not be said that the redactor of L2 is attempting to whitewash Achillès' conduct completely, which Jung believes is 'pratiquement impossible dans le sillage de Benoît de Sainte-Maure'.¹⁷ Nevertheless, some negative aspects of Benoît's portrayal of Achillès' character, the anger and the cruelty, have been attenuated as a result of these revisions which occur in L2. Although Benoît was ostensibly a pro-Trojan narrator, the redactor may have regarded Achillès as being of the same worthy generation of heroes as Hector and therefore wished to enhance his depiction in a similar way, though not to the same extent.

The presentation of Hector in battle in L2 certainly supports the idea of

¹⁵ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 107.

¹⁶ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 109.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

conscious editing of the image of heroic figures. Hector is the pre-eminent hero of the *Roman de Troie* and regarded by the narrator as an ideal warrior.¹⁸ For example, he is the only warrior capable of dealing out an 'epic blow' that splits his opponent Archilogus in half horizontally,¹⁹ and he is shown to have the upper hand in all of his encounters with Achillès (although he is defeated eventually).²⁰ Hector is not presented as a flawless character in the text however, and is shown to have a strong tendency to seek material gain on the battlefield to the detriment of his duty as a warrior and leader. The redactor seems disinclined to present the materialistic side of Hector's character in the same detail as in the unabridged version of the text. Towards the end of the third battle, the Trojan's capture of Achillès' horse is retained (ll.10659-724), but his capture of two other horses from Boëtes and Archilogus is suppressed, as is Prothenor's fatal attempt to capture Galatea from Hector (ll. 10825-960). Hector and his victims are not the only figures affected by the omission of this passage, as it also relates the killing of Doroscalus by Achillès, and the exploits of Troïlus and Paris (ll. 10884-908). Furthermore, several other manuscripts have a lacuna occurring at the same point in the third battle, albeit a much shorter one of 52 lines: ll. 10825-76 are missing from M M1 M2 A B B2 C D E H J P K P W and A2 . This shorter omission only concerns the account of Hector's slaying of Boëtes and Archilogus. The fact that the lines are present in A1 suggests that the lines might also have been present in the exemplar of L2, and that the scribe chose to suppress them.²¹ The closing moments of the third battle are cut short in many of the manuscripts, but none abridge it as much as the L2 redactor.

It could be the case that the redactor felt that there was too much repetition of the horse-capture motif within the space of one battle, but elsewhere in the text this motif occurs with similar frequency within one episode without being edited, for example during the eighth battle, where Hector's capture of Phelis' horse (ll. 14012-14, fol 73^v) is followed soon after by Diomedès' capture of the mount of Troïlus (l. 14289, fol 75^v). It would seem that some other motivation must lie behind the modifications to the third battle. Hector's capture of the horse of Achillès, his greatest foe, may have

¹⁸ *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Joly, I, 257.

¹⁹ Penny Eley, 'Epic elements in the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*,' in *Aspects de l'épopée romane: mentalités, idéologies, intertextualités*, ed. by Hans van Dijk and Willem Noomen (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1995), pp. 345-51 (p. 347).

²⁰ *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Joly, p. 265.

²¹ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, II, p. 142n; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 28, p. 49. Jung remarks that the manuscripts of the first family are complete in this part of the poem, apart from M2, which supports the idea that M2 hops from one family to the other. There is little homogeneity in the second family, apart from the mss of group y, which all present this omission.

been retained because it is a proof of his heroism.²² On the other hand, neither Boëtes nor Archilogus has the same status, and acquiring their horses as well as that of Achillès could suggest greed rather than a quest for glory on Hector's part.²³ Nevertheless, Boëtes and Archilogus are sufficiently significant that they are subsequently mentioned in the list of Greek leaders killed by Hector (l.16833 and l.16835).²⁴ Although the deaths of these warriors are not directly described in the L2 version of the poem, the redactor does not edit their names from the list on fol. 89^v. Also, the redactor does convey a hint of Hector's materialism in the remaining account of his capturing a horse, by retaining the lines in which he gives Achillès' steed to his squire Dodaniez before continuing to fight. Elsewhere in Old French literature, heroic characters often capture horses in order to give them to a disadvantaged knight. For example, in *Ille et Galeron*, Ille takes the Castilian war-horse of a Greek soldier whom he has just killed and bestows it upon a Frisian knight who was being held prisoner by the Greeks,²⁵ and in *Aymeri de Narbonne*, the eponymous hero kills a Saracen king in battle in order to bestow the victim's horse upon his youngest son, Guibert.²⁶ However, as we already know that Dodaniez is Hector's squire (l. 8485), it seems more probable that Hector was intending the horse as an addition to his own stable.

The third battle is not the only one in which Hector's presentation is modified in L2. An even more striking example of 'image-manipulation' is the omission of the account in the second battle of Hector leaning over the body of a fallen soldier and coveting his armour,²⁷ only to be attacked by Menesteus (ll. 10065-108, fol. 54^v). This

²² A similar example of a hero capturing his enemy's horse can be found in the *Couronnement de Louis*. According to the AB redaction, Corsolt, the giant champion of the Saracens, has sliced off part of Count William's nose during combat, but William finally deals him a blow that the Saracen cannot recover from, and the count declares that his nose has been avenged (ll. 1112-22). William is not motivated to capture Corsolt's horse out of revenge though; rather, he had noticed what a fine charger Corsolt is riding, and decides to spare it as much as possible during the fight, thinking that it may well be of use to him afterwards (ll. 1190-98). After killing his enemy and seizing the horse, William thanks God for the precious mount (ll. 1145-7) and declares that 'hui fu tele heure que mout l'oi covoitie' (l. 1148). Interestingly, the C redaction of the poem follows this version of the episode closely but does not contain this line where William reveals his covetous feelings. (*Les Rédactions en Vers du Couronnement de Louis*, ed. by Yvan G. Lepage (Genève: Droz, 1978), pp. 153-163).

²³ Such behaviour contrasts with that of the eponymous hero of *Erec et Enide*, who according to the narrator is uninterested in capturing knights or their horses at the Edinburgh tournament, preferring instead to concentrate on making his prowess apparent (Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec et Enide*, ed. by Jean-Marie Fritz, *Letres gothiques* (Paris: Le livre de poche, 1992), ll. 2210-14).

²⁴ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 28.

²⁵ Gautier d'Arras, *Ille et Galeron*, ed. and trans. by Penny Eley, *Kings College Medieval Studies*, 13 (London: Kings College Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1996), ll. 2204-6.

²⁶ *Les Narbonnais: Chanson de geste*, ed. by Hermann Suchier, 2 vols., *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1898), ll. 6288-6301.

²⁷ Jung (*La Légende de Troie*, p. 103) states that Hector is coveting the armour of Merion, whom he has just slain. This is supported by Dares, who says 'Hector Merionem persequitur et occidit, quem cum similiter spoliare vellet, advenit subpetias Menestheus.' (*Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia*

takes place during the longest battle scene in the poem, and it might be the case that the redactor became impatient towards the end of proceedings, and simply decided to shorten the ending of this encounter. However, this simple explanation seems unsatisfactory when the content of the passage is considered. This episode is crucial in the construction of Hector's character. When the *Roman de Troie* was composed, the acquisition of wealth from the defeated enemy was as much a part of warfare as burying the dead after battle. Wace's *Roman de Brut* contains several examples of Brutus claiming the spoils of war in a very general sense, without attracting any criticism from the narrator of the poem, because he uses the wealth gained both to support his army and to found a new civilisation.²⁸ In the *Roman de Rou*, on the other hand, according to Bliese, Duke William exhorts his men on the eve of the Battle of Hastings to fight well against the English in order to gain wealth as well as glory, but shows a recognition of the danger of the 'lust for plunder' when he warns the soldiers not to concentrate on seizing booty at the expense of fighting.²⁹ In the unabridged version of the *Roman de Troie* found in A1, there is a similar awareness of the risks of concentrating on plunder at the expense of fighting. The narrator issues a clear condemnation of Hector's acquisitive behaviour, which has been shown in sharp relief: 'Co poise moi, car trop est let' (A1, l. 10068, fol. 62^v). Further on, there is criticism of Hector's lack of self control:

Se il li uenist a plaisir
Il san poist assez soffrir (A1, ll. 10071-2, fol. 62^v)

Both of these narratorial comments form part of the passage omitted in L2. Earlier in this battle, Hector has already been prevented from taking Patroclus' armour by Merion (ll. 8359-94); perhaps the redactor felt that one example of Hector's covetousness was

recensuit Ferdinandus Meister (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873), p.24). According to Constans however, as well as the translation by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vielliard, Hector has spotted Patroclus' body, which had been placed in a tent on the battlefield by Merion. This interpretation seems probable, but there is still ambiguity in Benoît's text. See glossary entry for Hector in vol. 5 of Constans' edition of *Le Roman de Troie* (p. 56), and *Le Roman de Troie*, trans. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vielliard, *Letres gothiques* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1998), p. 241.

²⁸ For example, in ll. 489-92, after defeating the Greeks, Brutus shares the booty among the knights and orders that the dead be buried; in ll. 931-4 Brutus delights in the plunder accrued after defeating the Poitevins and laying waste their lands; in ll. 1045-8 they head for Britain when they have finished their military activities in France, taking their newly acquired wealth with them. See Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. by A. J. Holden, 3 vols, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris: Editions Picard, 1973).

²⁹ John R. E. Bliese, 'Leadership, Rhetoric, and Morale in the Norman Conquest of England', *Military Affairs*, 52 (1988), 23-28 (p. 25). For William's speech, Bliese refers to the Holden edition of the *Roman de Rou* (*Le roman de Rou de Wace*, ed. by A. J. Holden, SATF, 3 vols, (Paris: Picard, 1970-73), II (1971), pp. 159-162).

enough for one battle. However, there is another aspect of this incident which might help explain why the redactor of L2 suppressed it.

Within the poem, only Hector is portrayed as coveting someone else's armour. This scene is one of the two occasions where, as Baumgartner puts it, the author foregrounds 'la convoitise qui pousse Hector à s'approprier les armes des vaincus, à dépouiller leur cadavre, et qui l'entraîne loin du centre de la bataille et plus loin encore de ses responsabilités de chef.'³⁰ The reason that Benoît introduced this troubling character trait may have been to help explain why Hector, the greatest of warriors, met his death: his *convoitise* distracted him from his essential task of being the defender of Troy. Intertextual evidence to support this assertion can be found in the *Roman d'Eneas*, thought to have been written c. 1160. There are remarkable parallels between the scene omitted in L2 (ll.10065-108) and the passage detailing the final moments of Camille, queen of the Vulcans.³¹ Having noticed the magnificent helmet of the Trojan priest Chlorés, she is determined to slay him for it. The narrator condemns her actions with these words:

De grant naient s'est entremise,
 mais ainsi vait de couvoitise:
 mainte chose couvoite l'en
 dont l'en n'avra ja se mal non.
 Elle s'en peust bien consirer,
 ne li laira ja retorner.

(*Roman d'Eneas*, ll. 7255-60)³²

Camille concentrates on obtaining the prized helmet at the expense of her personal safety and her action leads directly to her death; the Trojan warrior Arans will take advantage of her inattention and slay her. As in the *Roman de Troie*, the narrator criticises the heroine for pursuing a petty end, and stresses that she could have restrained herself from doing so. It is thought that L2 was copied some 40 years after the composition of the *Roman de Troie*. By this time, manuscripts were being compiled which contained both *Troie* and *Eneas*.³³ It is tempting to speculate that the redactor

³⁰ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vielliard, p. 14 (introduction).

³¹ Faral mentions many instances of similar passages in the *Roman d'Enéas* and the *Roman de Troie* in his discussion of the chronology of the two romances, but does not mention the parallel between Hector's covetous behaviour and that of Camille in her final moments (Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines*, pp. 169-187).

³² *Le Roman d'Enéas*, ed. by Aimé Petit, *Lettres gothiques* (Paris: Le livre de poche, 1997), p. 448.

³³ According to Jung, the following manuscripts are roughly contemporaneous to L2: Paris, BnF, f. fr. 1450 (H) has been dated to about 1240 and contains *Eneas* and *Troie* as well as Wace's *Roman de Brut*, the five major poems of Chrétien de Troyes, and part of Herbert's *Dolopathos*; Montpellier, Bibl. de l'École de médecine, 251 (M1) has been dated to the second half of the thirteenth century and

might have come across the story of *Eneas* while working from such a compilation and been struck by the parallels between Camille and Hector. Maybe he did not only want to moderate the portrayal of Hector's *convoitise*, but was also concerned that an informed reader or member of the audience might also be aware of Camille's fate, and would draw the same parallel, anticipating undesirable consequences for Hector. Such a deduction would prove to be correct, as Hector's preoccupation with acquiring the arms of fallen foes will have the severest of consequences. The scene is significant in the structure of the story as a whole, for, as Jung points out, it is a prelude to Hector's death in the tenth battle. In that episode, he is assailed by Achillès when coveting the armour of another fallen comrade. He wounds Achillès, forcing him off the battlefield, and goes on to slay another Greek king. However, just as Camille failed to pay heed to Arans as she reached for the glittering helmet, so Hector lets his guard down when dragging the body of the king away, and Achillès takes this opportunity to kill the protector of Troy (ll. 16172-230, fol. 85^v).

By omitting the second reference to Hector's covetousness in the second battle, the redactor seems to have aimed both to enhance the warrior's image and also to remove allusions to his impending death. There are other omissions within the manuscript which could be said to foreshadow Hector's flaw and fate, such as the exchange between Hector and Achillès in the eighth battle (ll. 14179-200 (fol. 74^v)). As can be seen from the table below showing the text from A1 and L2 side by side, the last two lines of Hector's speech, in which he refers to the bloodthirstiness of his sword, do not appear in L2:

A1, fol. 89^r ll. 14165-202

Hector li dist sire achilles,
De moi ne uos trestoiz si pres
Ne me traie plus pres de uos
Trop est cist miens brans perillos
Laiz est e tainz de sanc a rois
Quil san est beigniez an trois
Tant an a trait remeis sont froit.
Mais san uostre sanc ne boit,
Si quesclaches de la ceruele
Volent el plat de la lemele,
Ne sera ia resaciiez

L2, fol. 74^v

Hector li dist sir achilles
Ia de moi ne traioiz si pres
Que ne me traie plus de uos
Trop est cist miens branz perillos
Laiz est e tainz de sanc de rois
dont il sest ui baigniez en trois
Tant en a trait remes sont froit
Mes sen cel uostre test ne boit
Si quesclache de la ceruele
Boivent el plat de la lemele
Ne sera ia rasaziez

contains *Eneas*, *Troie* (the first 4721 lines are missing) and *Brut*, (it possibly originally contained the *Roman de Thèbes* as well (Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 204-5; pp 116-17. See also introduction to *Eneas*, ed. by Aimé Petit, pp. 22-23).

E se uos ne uos esloigniez
 Jan cuiderai bien acomplir
 Son desiier e son plaisir
 Mout a grant soif de boiure an uos
 Il nest de rien si angoissos
 Achilles fu ml't angoisseus
 Cruieux e fal e aïreus
 Non souploia ne tant ne quant
 Hector fait il maluais samblant
 An faisoiez ancor nagaire,
 Quant uos meistes ou repaire
 Le dos tornastes a noz ianz
 Por remirer celes dedanz
 Qui ne uos an seuent nul gre.
 Mais uos le faissoiez degre³⁴
 Par cele foi que ge doi uos
 De tel chose iestes desirros
 Qui uos fera descompeignier
 de uos e de ce brant dacier
 Autre seignor aura sanz faille
 Ainz que soit fins de la bataille
 Mais ja nou porra mais porter
 Nus qui tant face a redoter,
 Qui tant force ne pooir
 Com uos ce sai ge bien de uoir
 Ne porent pas avoir loisir
 Dautres paroles departir

E se uos ne mesloigniez
 Ien cuiderai bien acomplir
 Mon desier e mon plaisir

Ne porent pas avoir loisir
 Dentraus paroles departir

As Hector has already spoken of his sword's desire to drink blood from Achillès' skull, the redactor of L2 may have thought that this couplet was superfluous. However, more than two lines are cut here; the redactor goes on to suppress all of Achillès' reply, and Hector's words are followed by the line 'Ne porent pas avoir loisir' (l. 14201). It might have seemed strange to the reader or audience of the story according to L2 that Achillès makes no reply to Hector's threatening words, but the fact that there was no time left to talk may have seemed sufficient explanation for his lack of response. In the unabridged version, Achillès remarks laconically that the bloodthirsty sword and its owner will soon be parted, which is standard heroic repartee, but he also taunts Hector by accusing him of turning his back on the enemy to gaze at the women inside Troy; they will not be grateful for the attention because Achillès says that Hector is the bloodiest, ugliest man he can see (ll. 14186 – 90). This taunt is connected to Hector's realisation, earlier in the battle, that Heleine and other ladies are watching him fight in bloodstained armour. This

³⁴ This line was copied as 'Mais le faissoiez uos degre', but the scribe noticed the error and signalled that 'uos' should precede 'le'.

makes him ashamed and angry, which causes him to fight with renewed vigour (ll. 14129-35). If the redactor is strongly pro-Trojan (which seems to be the case), perhaps he would want to suppress Achillès' mocking reference to the chivalry topos, which threatens to undercut the portrayal of Hector as an embodiment of courtly and chivalric values.³⁵ Achillès' words also allude to the eventual cause of Hector's death: although Hector did not literally turn his back on Achillès in the tenth battle, he did expose himself to attack by using his shield arm for another purpose. The cutting of this passage from the eighth battle conforms exactly to the pattern we observed in the second: the audience is simultaneously spared anticipations of Hector's death and shielded from the negative implications of his behaviour. It is also worth noting that the redactor has left out the narrator's description of Achillès as '[...] angoisseus/ Cruieux e fal e aïreus.'³⁶ This omission of derogatory epithets for Achillès is consistent with the redactor's editing technique with regard to this character, as we saw earlier.

In the unabridged version of the *Roman de Troie*, the two great heroes Achillès and Hector both have significant character flaws. The anger of Achillès makes capitulation over his decision to cease fighting extremely difficult, and when he does finally give in and return to the battlefield, his fury leads him to slay Troïlus in a particularly brutal manner. Hector's covetousness is not only a matter for authorial disapproval, it is also a contributing factor in his death, because it is linked to the inattentiveness that makes him vulnerable. It is difficult to dispute that the redactor of L2 seems to have deliberately suppressed parts of the text that refer overtly to these character defects in order to improve the image of both heroes.

Paris and Troïlus

Hector is too important a character for his exploits to be written out of the narrative purely for the sake of brevity, and it seems that it is generally actions which cast him in a negative light which have been removed. During the fourth battle, however, there are two abridgements involving Hector that seem at first puzzling. Going to the rescue of a stricken comrade is a very common motif in the *Roman de Troie*, and in the unabridged version of the poem Hector performs this heroic deed on behalf of his brother Paris on two separate occasions. First, Paris is unhorsed by Diomedès, who is unhorsed in turn

³⁵ Adler refers to Geoffrey of Monmouth's explanation of the 'platonic dynamics' of interaction between *militia* and *amor* which make up the chivalry topos: in *Historia regum britannie* IX, Ch. 13 he states that women watch their champions at a tournament; thus, the men become better fighters and better men, and the women become better women (Adler, '*Militia et Amor*', p. 14).

³⁶ See also discussion of omission of derogatory epithets for Achillès on p. 7.

by Hector (ll. 11213-94, fol. 59^v); then, after the closure of the main hostilities, Paris is attacked by Menelaus, but is dragged out of danger by Hector and Eneas (ll. 11581-11684, fol. 60^v). Both of these passages have been removed. Could it be that the redactor felt that these passages made Paris look excessively vulnerable, thus weakening the Trojan cause? This seems unlikely, for every single one of the principal warriors is unhorsed at some point, so it cannot be seen to be a distinctive sign of weakness. Perhaps, though, the redactor felt that these two instances of Paris finding himself in a precarious position occur too close to each other for comfort. Tellingly, after a description of Paris demonstrating his prowess with the bow, these lines have been edited out:

Coment que il l'ait aillors fait,
 Le jor est dreiz que pris en ait:
 Si avra il, quar bien est dreiz,
 Et or, ço cuit, e autre feiz. (ll. 11203-6, fol. 58^v)

The insertion of the phrase 'ço cuit' shows that this is the narrator's personal opinion of the behaviour of Paris: however Paris may have acted in other parts of the story, he deserved glory that day. This reads like an apology for his past and future behaviour. The fact that the passage has been removed in L2 indicates that the redactor read it this way too, and considered these mitigating words to be surplus to requirements now that the embarrassing incidents had been removed. Maybe the redactor also thought that there was no way the 'pris' should go to anyone but Hector while he was alive – or even after his death.

This point is powerfully reinforced by the redactor's treatment of Paris's funeral: the lines which relate that Priam gave his seals, his ring and his sceptre to his dead son are missing (ll. 23029-88, fol. 119^v). Both Croizy-Naquet and Baumgartner observe that this act of Priam's makes Paris the legitimate though posthumous heir to the throne, and that this is probably because the bold choices Paris made in his life render him the ideal representative of Troy and its values. Baumgartner argues that his choices (of Venus, then of Heleine) justify the way in which Troy sought beauty, fecundity and civilisation and survival against the odds, an alliance between prowess and beauty which Hector seemed to disdain.³⁷ I would argue that Benoît might not necessarily have intended

³⁷ Catherine Croizy-Naquet, 'Le portrait d'Hector dans le *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte Maure', in *Traduction, transposition, adaptation au Moyen Age: Actes du colloque du 22-24 septembre 1994, Centre d'Études Médiévales et Dialectales de Lille III, Bien dire et bien apprendre*, 14, (Lille: Centre

Priam's bestowal of the royal insignia to be regarded in a positive manner, but rather as the last of a series of indulgent acts towards his son, one of which led to the war breaking out in the first place. It is, of course very difficult to establish Benoît's, or the narrator's, attitude towards Priam and his wisdom. While Emmanuèle Baumgartner seems to think that Priam comes across as a wise, almost priestlike figure, Levenson, in stark contrast, reads the *Roman de Troie* as being critical of the socio-political system in force because in the council scenes, chaired by Priam, all views are aired but the wrong decision is always taken – if Benoît intended this then he can hardly have thought that Priam was infallibly wise.³⁸ However we read this act of Priam's – a last expression of the defining values of Trojan society, or final folly of a foolish and ill-advised old man – it could undoubtedly have been seen by a redactor jealous to safeguard Hector's reputation as a reversal of the hierarchy of significance between Paris and Hector. Hector's funeral, though opulent and with a sumptuous final resting place, was not accompanied by such a crucial gesture. For this reason it was suppressed.

After the tenth battle, Troïlus inherits from Hector the mantle of protector of Troy, a situation that is not altered by the redactor. Troïlus's actions remain largely unedited: the only way in which the redactor of L2 tries to manipulate the image of the knight is by removing ll. 20489-532, which means that on fol. 108r, the redactor has removed evidence that Troïlus' foolhardy exploits put him at risk in the sixteenth battle. This passage relates how he allowed himself to be surrounded by the forces of Nestor, and in the full version, Benoît makes it very clear that if it were not for Paris' help, Troïlus would have been killed ('Morz o priz fust Troïlus,/ Se li socors li tarjast plus' (ll. 20503-4)). Following this battle, Troïlus is disarmed in the *Chambre de beautés* (ll. 20595-690) in a scene which strongly echoes that which takes place after the second battle, when it is Hector who undergoes the same treatment (ll. 10217-244, fol. 55').³⁹

d'Etudes Médiévales et Dialectales de Lille, 1996), pp. 63-77 (p. 75); Emmanuèle Baumgartner, *De l'histoire de Troie au livre du Graal: le temps, le récit (xii^e au xiii^e siècles)*, (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994), p. 199.

³⁸ Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'L'Image royale dans le roman antique: le *Roman d'Alexandre* et le *Roman de Troie*' in *Cours princières et châteaux: Pouvoir et culture du IX^e au XIII^e siècle en France du Nord, en Angleterre et en Allemagne. Actes du Colloque de Soissons (28-30 septembre 1987)*, Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter, 6; Wodan, 21, ed. by Danielle Buschinger (Greifswald: Reineke, 1993), pp. 25-44; J.L. Levenson, 'The Narrative Format of Benoît's *Roman de Troie*', *Romania* 100:1 (1979), 54-70.

³⁹ During the scene where Troïlus is tended in the *Chambre de beautés*, 'un mantel descariate gris' is indeed placed upon the knight's shoulders. It is unlikely however that the clerk Benoît intended the audience to understand this as an allusion to the figurative meaning that the word 'mantle' has taken on in modern English. This derived from the passing of Elijah's mantle to Elisha (2 Kings 2:13) which was understood allegorically as a transfer of responsibility (see entry for 'mantle' in the OED (<<http://dictionary.oed.com>> [accessed 12 August 2006]). The same phrase does not appear to have

Unlike several other scenes where a hero is shown to have similar qualities or standing to Hector, this scene is not modified at all. The examples of Paris and Troïlus suggest that the redactor is aware of competing agendas within his process of abridgement, and has to balance priorities carefully. On the one hand, preserving the image of Paris takes precedence over showing Hector as a rescuer and thereby showcasing his heroism; on the other, reinforcing the status of Troïlus as the new Hector seems to be more important than foregrounding the achievements of his younger brother in the sixteenth battle. Having edited out Hector's rescue of Paris in the fourth battle, the redactor could not maintain a scene in which the roles were effectively reversed, however much this might contribute to the audience's perception of the younger warrior.

Pirrus and Panthesilee

On first sight it appears that Panthesilee, the predominant figure of the concluding battles, has been heavily targeted for editing by the redactor of L2; as Jung remarks, 'on doit [...] constater que le scribe ne semble pas avoir été particulièrement intéressé par la belle Amazone.'⁴⁰ She is not the only character to be treated in this way, however: her main opponent Pirrus also has a reduced role in this section of the story. These battles occur in the part of the manuscript where the cuts have been made most frequently. It may be that the redactor increased the rate of abridgements at this point in order to hasten the end of a long series of battles, but he is still even-handed in his treatment of the events and characters. The perception that Panthesilee is the character most affected by the editing process here could simply be a function of the fact that she is at the centre of events and there is much material concerning her available to be abridged.

Nevertheless, it seems highly significant that the redactor should, time and again, suppress details of the background, status, motivation and achievements of both Panthesilee and Pirrus. This leads me to believe that L2 exhibits deliberate manipulation of the image of Panthesilee, and, to a much lesser extent, that of Pirrus – both of whom have some claim to be considered as the 'hero' of this section of the poem.

Because Panthesilee's profile is altered so much in L2, in the discussions that

existed in the French language, and the phrase used for mantle in the Latin Vulgate is 'pallium', rather than 'mantellum' (*Biblia sacra: iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969) I, 2 Malachi 2:13). However, it is known that 'escarlate gris' was a very fine and highly prized type of cloth (Alice Planche, *Des plantes, des bêtes et des couleurs*, *Medievalia*, 23 (Orléans: Paradigme, 1998), p. 231n), and the mantle probably reflected the high esteem in which Troïlus was held.

⁴⁰ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 109.

follow I will start by describing her as she comes across in this manuscript before going on to reconstruct her character and actions as they come across in the fuller version presented in A1. In L2, she has travelled a long distance with her female warriors in order to assist the Trojans, gain renown and avenge the death of Hector, whom she admired and loved from afar. The Amazon queen is the ‘last best hope’ of the Trojans,⁴¹ and brings comfort to Priam. The first time that Panthesilee rides out to battle, she encounters Telamon Ajax, and is unhorsed by him. Her remaining encounters are with Pirrus, who was summoned by the Greeks after the death of his father, Achillès. L2 has preserved two elements which cast their confrontation as a re-enactment of the conflict that took place between Hector and Achillès. They have a verbal confrontation (ll. 24079-24118) which echoes the angry exchanges that took place between the two dead heroes (e.g. ll. 13135-206, 14179-200), and there are also references to the enmity and hatred between them (l. 24277 ‘Mout se heent, ele e Pirrus’).⁴² Pirrus eventually succeeds in killing Panthesilee, and the war is over.

The very first time that Panthesilee features in the narrative is in fact during the second battle, during which she is presented on two occasions as a courtly lover rather than a participant in war. One of these references to her is confined to L2 and the manuscript it resembles most closely, A1. According to the majority of the manuscripts, Hector’s horse Galatea was given to him by a fairy, named in the edition as Orva, and whose love for the warrior is said to have turned to hate after he rejected her advances (ll. 8023-8): only manuscripts L2 (folio 42^r) and A1 (fol. 50^r) state that the horse was a gift from Panthesilee and nothing is said about a subsequent unsuccessful pursuit of the great man.⁴³ The other reference to Panthesilee is common to most of the manuscripts: Polydamas kills her lover on the Greek side, King Celidis, whom she had also provided with a horse and armour out of ‘fine amor’ (ll. 8835-7; folio 47^r). Polydamas declares to

⁴¹ Glenda Warren Carl, “‘Tu cuides que nos seions taus/ come autres femes comunaus’: The sexually confident woman in the *Roman de Troie*”, in *Gender transgressions: crossing the normative barrier in Old French literature*, ed. by Karen J. Taylor (New York: Garland, 1998), pp. 107-27 (p. 122).

⁴² This is based on Kevin Brownlee’s observation that in Christine de Pizan’s *Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*, Panthesilee is presented as the equivalent of Hector and her conflict with Pirrus is ‘an attempted corrective replay of Hector’s final encounter with Achilles’; the presentation of Panthesilee in the *Roman de Troie* can be read in the same way. Christine is thought to have used the second redaction of *Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César* as a source, and, according to Jung, also borrowed from Benoît’s *Roman de Troie*. (Kevin Brownlee, ‘Hector and Penthesilea in the *Livre de la Mutacion de Fortune*: Christine de Pizan and the Politics of Myth’, in *Une femme de Lettres au Moyen Age: Etudes autour de Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995), pp. 74-75; Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 630).

⁴³ The other variants given by Constans in the textual apparatus are: ‘(L orua), Gn orna, J oua, DMI morgain, P2 -uein, KR -an, E -anz, M2CI orains, M orainz, B ornains, P orueins, A2 oruain, A ornais.’ *Le Roman de Troie*, vol. 1, p. 434.

the slain warrior that the 'amie' of Celidis will be very angry with Polydamas when she hears of his death (ll. 8861-4).

One wonders what the redactor of L2 made of this lady who apparently favoured the greatest of the Trojans at the same time as pursuing an affair with one of his enemies. She is not the only female character to be romantically linked with more than one man in the poem, however, as the examples of Briseïda and Heleine demonstrate.⁴⁴ This similarity might have caused the redactor to see her as less worthy of prominence later in the narrative, perhaps out of disapproval, because the character of Briseïda, for example, was not created by Benoît as an unambiguous example of feminine excellence and virtue. After alluding to Briseïda's future change of heart, the narrator denounces all women as inconstant in ll. 13438-56. Tellingly, this misogynistic passage, and the one lamenting the rareness of wise women in ll. 13471-94, have been retained in L2. Only the *excuse* addressed to a 'riche dame de riche rei' (ll. 13457-70), has been omitted from this section of the narrative; it has been omitted from other manuscripts as well. These lines are present in A1 on fol. 84^v, but as Jung remarks, they take the form of an invocation of the Virgin Mary, with an addition of three lines after ll. 13468-9:

Riche fille de riche roi,
 Sanz mal, sanz ire et sanz tristece
De vos nasquié tote leece
Le jor de la Natevité:
*Vos fustes fille et mere Dé.*⁴⁵

As discussed in the introduction,⁴⁶ several critics have interpreted this *excuse* as a dedication to Eleanor of Aquitaine, although as Cowper remarks, the scribe of A1 was evidently not alert to this attribution.⁴⁷ It is impossible to prove whether the redactor of L2, copying one of the earliest manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie* and therefore not so distant from the events of the previous century, knowingly and deliberately chose to suppress an allusion to the controversial queen. Nevertheless, the choice to retain the narrator's misogynistic diatribe in a frequently abridged section of the text is just one indicator of the attitude of the redactor towards women who make up their own minds in the *Roman de Troie*, and Panthesilee is certainly one such woman.

Unlike Briseïda, Panthesilee is not invented by Benoît, but he does reinvent her,

⁴⁴ See chapter 2, pp. 64-76.

⁴⁵ Transcription by Jung, who italicises the additional lines (Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 138).

⁴⁶ See introduction, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Cowper, 'Date and Dedication of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 382.

reworking the source material provided by Dares and Dictys to portray her more sympathetically; Dictys' account of the queen's motives is particularly unflattering.⁴⁸ Apart from the two brief mentions in the second battle, one of the principal sources of information about Panthesilee and her countrywomen is the description of Femenie which Benoît gives at the end of his discourse on the geography of the world, one of the most significant examples of amplification in the poem (ll. 23127-356). The omission of this passage has been discussed in the introduction to this chapter,⁴⁹ where it was noted that it fits into a pattern of suppression of descriptions of the Orient elsewhere in the narrative. A medieval audience would have been struck by the alterity of the culture of this nation, composed of mothers who opted to raise their children without male help, and of virgins who dedicated themselves to a life of combat and glory. Commenting on the *Roman de Troie* as presented in Constans' edition, Glenda Warren Carl says that modern readers might expect 'authorial condemnation' of such a way of life because of medieval literature's reputation for misogyny, but that this expectation is confounded.⁵⁰ Benoît instead gives a favourable impression of the Amazons: for example, in contrast to other versions of the legend, his account explains that only men who trespass on their territory are killed, not the suitors who impregnate the Amazons, nor their male offspring.⁵¹ Also, both the women who reproduce and the virgins who take up arms are described as 'vaillanz' (l. 23335, l. 23351).

The fact that this passage was left out of L2 does not prove that the redactor was a misogynist who disapproved of the Amazons' autonomous way of life, but it probably indicates that 40 years after the composition of the poem, there was less interest in this legend, and Panthesilee's stature is diminished as a result. L2 presents Panthesilee and her thousand warriors as 'un socors merveilos e fier' (l. 23122; folio 119v) who travelled a great distance to Troy (ll. 23375-77; folio 120r), but the audience is not told anything about the remarkable country they hail from. Indeed, Panthesilee is not identified explicitly as the queen of Femenie until several hundred lines later (l. 23769; folio 121r) because most of the other references to the provenance and identity of the queen and her Amazons are contained in sections which have been edited out.⁵² Even

⁴⁸ Werner Eisenhut, ed., *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos Belli Troiani*, p. 70.

⁴⁹ See p. 83.

⁵⁰ Warren Carl, "'Tu cuides que nos seions taus/ come autres femes comunaus'", p. 125.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

⁵² Examples of omitted references: in the description of the Orient, their land is named as *Amazoine* (l. 23305); the warriors are named as *Amazoniènes* (l. 23428) or *Amazoneises* (23681); Panthesilee is identified as the queen of Femenie in line 23769, which is retained, but other references to her in this capacity are lost (l. 24059; l. 24169), as is the description of her as *Panthesilee d'Orient* (l. 24228).

the short description of the queen as a woman of renown when she enters King Priam's court has been removed:

Preuz e hardie bele e saige
De grant valor de halt paraige.
Ml't ert prisiee e esnoree
De lui estoit granz renomee. (A1, ll. 23361-4, fol. 146^r)

According to Aimé Petit, this succinct portrait is praised for its brevity by Faral in comparison to the two long portraits of Queen Camille that feature in the *Roman d'Enéas*.⁵³ Nevertheless, it has clearly been regarded as surplus to requirements by the redactor of this section of L2.

Some details about the background of Pirrus are also missing from this part of the poem, for example, ll. 23784-92 (folio 121^v) are reduced to one line: 'Qui fu filz Achilles lo roi.' Perhaps the redactor felt that to mention the reaction of Deidamia and her father Licomedes to her son's departure would be to reiterate the information on Pirrus already provided at the moment of the Greeks' decision to summon the youth: the Greeks believe that he is destined to avenge the death of his father (ll. 22552-6, fols 117^r-117^v) and Telamon Ajax applauds the idea of summoning him and volunteers information about Pirrus' upbringing by Licomedes, and his many valiant attributes (ll. 22561-83 (fol. 117^v). By the time Pirrus enters the narrative in L2, the reader has been supplied with more hard facts about his background and status than about those of Panthesilee and her Amazons.

The redactor is selective as to what evidence of Panthesilee's motivations and feelings is retained (fol. 120^r). The audience is told her principal reasons for coming to the aid of the city of Troy are to see Hector, and to obtain glory for herself (ll. 23365-66). But what are her feelings for Hector exactly? The passage describing her devastated reaction to the news of his death, causing those who saw it to infer that she would have loved Hector if he were still alive, has been removed (ll. 23383-89). On the other hand, the passage describing how she listens to Priam describing his loss, and shares his pain, is retained (ll. 23395-416), including her declaration that she loved Hector more than any living thing (l. 23405 ' "Plus l'amœe que rien vivant"'), which is followed immediately by a call to punish those responsible for his death. In the full version of the text, Benoît presents a woman who at first internalises her initial disappointment and

⁵³ Aimé Petit, 'La reine Camille dans le *Roman d'Enéas*', *Lettres Romanes* 36 (1982), 5-40 (p. 9).

distress, but fails to hide her feelings from those around her. She then recovers by speaking publicly of her love for Hector, but also by responding to his death as if he is a fellow warrior who must be avenged. Glenda Warren has commented on the ambiguity of Panthesilee's feelings for the Trojan leader, remarking in her doctoral thesis that 'while Panthesilee's love for Hector may indeed represent part of the courtly environment (if "courtly" is defined as "having to do with love"), ladies of the courtly tradition do not commonly go into battle to avenge their lovers' deaths. Panthesilee's vengeance is rather that of a comrade in arms.'⁵⁴ In later work, she nuances this interpretation of Panthesilee's feelings for Hector, acknowledging that 'the boundaries between the friendship of comrades in arms and the affection of lovers are not clearly defined'; this uncertainty means that Panthesilee 'fuses the two main themes of the *Roman de Troie*: love and war.'⁵⁵

It could be that the redactor found Panthesilee's potentially romantic feelings for Hector to be problematic, but could not cut them out altogether, because he recognised that they fuel the antipathy she feels towards Pirrus, and that they also make Hector a pivotal figure in the narrative again, some time after his death. He tries to resolve this by cutting out the passage which seems to allude to private emotional turmoil, but retaining the queen's public expression of affection and call for vengeance, as well as evidence of the empathetic, caring side of Panthesilee's nature. This editing decision is strongly reminiscent of the suppression of psychological insights discussed in the treatment of women characters in chapter 2 above. The redactor sees fit to preserve another instance of this aspect of her character after the first battle in which she participates (ll. 23724-23734, fol. 121^v). Priam takes Panthesilee in his arms and thanks her, because he thinks that with the help of the queen and her warriors, the city will be saved. Then he releases her and starts to cry about the sons he has lost in the wars. She comforts him:

E cele come proz e sage
Lo reconforte buenement. (L2 ll. 23732-3, fol. 121^v)

Evidently the redactor judged Panthesilee's consoling behaviour towards the king in this courtly setting to be acceptable and worthy of retention.

⁵⁴ Glenda Leah Warren, 'Translation as Re-creation in the *Roman de Troie*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1988), p. 248.

⁵⁵ Warren Carl, "'Tu cuides que nos seions taus/ come autres femes comunaus'", *Gender transgressions*, pp. 113-4.

Panthesilee is given the opportunity to account for her motivations and the valiance of her warriors when she replies to Pirrus' dismissive speech in the twenty-second battle (ll. 24075-82; folio 122^r). Pirrus takes up his shield and makes a speech to his men, saying that they are letting themselves be mistreated, and the warriors who are killing their comrades are but women. Hansen has pointed out the strong similarity between these words and Tarchon's speech in the *Roman d'Eneas*, where he says that any knights who flee Camille and her women should be ashamed (*Eneas* ll. 7133-4: 'Ce sont femmes! Or ait vergoigne/ qui por elles fuit de besoigne.');

Aimé Petit is probably correct in saying that Benoît was recalling Tarchon's contempt of women when the author was writing Pirrus' speech.⁵⁶ The L2 redactor has edited out the closing lines of Pirrus' speech, in which he declares that if he does not defeat these women, he will no longer deserve to bear arms, and it is unbearable that women should stand up to them (ll. 24083-88), but a possible allusion to *Eneas* is still discernible at the beginning of the speech. The opening lines of Panthesilee's reply are retained, in which she asserts that Pirrus thinks that she and her entourage are like other ordinary women (ll. 24089-92). Panthesilee continues her speech, declaring that they are virgins who care nothing for luxury, and who defend their kingdom so well they have nothing to fear (ll. 24095-98), and she concludes by declaring that she will avenge the death of the mighty Hector on Pirrus, because he is the son of Achillès (ll. 24105-16). Several lines have been cut from her speech too. L2 preserves her accusation that Pirrus thinks the Amazons are like 'autres femes comunaus' (l. 24092) but edits out the couplet in which she describes the physical attributes of such women, and her emphatic denial that the Amazons share the same station in life: 'Que les cors ont vains e legiers:/ Ço n'est mie nostre mestiers' (ll. 24093-4). Line 24094 is strongly reminiscent of a line from Tarchon's speech in which he reproves Camille for having chosen the chivalric way of life: 'Ce n'est mie vostre mestier' (*Eneas*, l. 7151). The fact that this line has been omitted, along with the lines in Pirrus' speech which echo Tarchon in *Enéas*, perhaps suggests that the redactor was deliberately trying to suppress elements which seem to have an intertextual relationship with the other *romans d'antiquité*. We should, however, bear in mind the possibility that this line was already missing from the exemplar of L2, as it is also lacking in A1 (fol. 150^r). On the other hand, we have already seen a very similar abridgement in the second battle, where, as discussed above, the redactor has edited out the narrator's

⁵⁶ Hansen, *Zwischen Epos und höfischem Roman*, p. 81; Aimé Petit, 'Le Traitement courtois du thème des Amazones d'après 3 Romans Antiques: Enéas, Troie et Alexandre', *Le Moyen Age*, 89 (1983), 63-84 (p. 79).

condemnation of Hector's avarice, which bore a striking resemblance to criticism of Camille's own *convoitise* in the *Roman d'Enéas*. It seems quite likely, therefore, that the redactor of L2 was aware of, and in places deliberately adjusted or excised, textual echoes of the *Roman d'Eneas*. However, most of the exchange between Panthesilee and Pirrus has been retained in L2. This is perhaps in part due to the way it foregrounds vengeance for Hector's death as the reason for Panthesilee's actions, thus enhancing Hector's prestige even at this late stage in the narrative.

Further evidence of the manipulation of Panthesilee's image can be seen in the way she is presented on the battlefield. It is here that Benoît sought to portray her as a worthy successor to Hector, both as an effective commander of forces and as a formidable opponent in single combat. The redactor of L2 consistently tones down parts of the text which depict Panthesilee in this way, while being as true to the original story as possible. Lines which clearly show that Panthesilee was in command of her forces and in control of the battle have been removed. For example, in the twenty-second battle (folio 121^v), four lines referring to Panthesilee and her leadership are missing from L2:

Penthesilee dorient
 San est le ior ml't antremise
 Trestot ensi com el deuisse
 Tot ensi est tenu e fait (A1, ll. 23850-53, fol. 149^r)

The following passage, also absent, deals with the fierce fighting that takes place between the Amazons, Trojans and Greeks (ll. 23854-72). Its absence shows that the Amazons are also subject to selective editing practices, with the apparent aim of sanitising their bloodthirsty actions, for example, the disembowelling of the enemy: 'Par mi lor saillent les cerveles/ E par les haubers les boëles' (ll. 23861-2). Later in the same battle, the redactor shows signs of a sanitising impulse once again. He preserves the description of the Amazons' unearthly battle-cry, which states that there is nothing so lovely in the world to listen to, and that it sounds not so much like 'voiz femenines' as divine spirits (ll. 23998-24004). Following this cry, the Amazons are said to have pierced shields and brandished unsheathed swords, without appearing to draw blood (ll. 24011-12). However, the redactor has cut out a passage which gives details of the maidens disembowelling the enemy with pine lances (ll. 24005-10). Perhaps the redactor judged the juxtaposition of bloody fighting with the spiritual nature of the war-

cry as incongruous, and chose to preserve the more aesthetically pleasing of the two images. On the other hand, other manuscripts have shortened this passage too, so the omission could be a result of a change made to an earlier exemplar by a different redactor. Nevertheless, only in L2 is the passage cut out altogether, whilst other witnesses still retain some of the lines.⁵⁷ Overall, the content of these passages reflects indirectly upon Panthesilee because it is a description of successful fighting on the part of the Trojan side which derives from her qualities of leadership. The fact that these passages are not present in L2 indicates that the redactor did not think that her achievement as a leader was an important aspect of Panthesilee's role in the narrative.

To portray Panthesilee as a brilliant commander is one way of showing an intended parallel with Hector, but Benoît also does this by inserting another episode in which the queen's actions echo those of Hector in a very striking manner. During the twenty-first battle, only Diomedès prevents Panthesilee from cutting the Greeks down in their camp and setting fire to their boats (ll. 23697-706). Only Hector has achieved a similar feat, as seen in the second battle: he led the army to the shore and would have set fire to the Greek ships, thus bringing about the end of the war, were it not for the fact that destiny intervened and brought him into contact with Telamon Ajax, Hector's cousin on the Greek side, who persuaded him to desist (ll. 10121-74, fol 54^v). As Panthesilee's attempt at firing the boats is missing from L2, it appears as though she cannot be allowed to share in the glory of this great feat of Hector's. We noted earlier that the redactor of L2 removed a section in which it is said that Paris deserved the 'pris', or the glory, for his feats in the fourth battle (ll. 11203-6, fol. 58^v) and it was speculated that this is because the redactor feels that this honour should go to no one but his brother Hector while he was still alive. Panthesilee is also denied this accolade in L2: the omitted lines ll. 23709-19 relate how the Trojan troops file back into the city exhausted after the twenty-first battle, and all agree that Panthesilee deserved the 'pris' for her exploits that day:

Si que li dui meillor uassal
 Norent darmes tant fait desforz
 Ne des lor tant ocis ne morz
 Com la reine seulemant

(A1, ll. 23716-19, fol. 148^r)

⁵⁷ According to Constans' critical apparatus, ll. 24005-20 have been reduced to ten lines in the 'y' grouping (*Le Roman de Troie*, IV, pp. 433-4). Both A1 and L2 have been identified as part of the 'z' family. A1 preserves ll. 24011-12 and ll. 24015-18. These six lines are very different from the ten lines present in the 'y' grouping and do not include the description of disembowelling.

The omission of these lines suggests two things. Firstly, it seems as though the redactor is unwilling for Panthesilee to be a rival for the glory of Hector even after his death. Secondly, as it will be explained below, the encounters for which Panthesilee has just gained renown amongst the Trojans have been heavily edited. The redactor therefore realises that the presentation of Panthesilee in L2 has rendered her less praiseworthy.

These encounters during the twenty-first battle belong to a series of skirmishes in which Panthesilee proves her exceptional prowess against some of the most valiant and capable Greek warriors. These jousts are either edited in such a way as to make Panthesilee come across as less formidable, or not included at all. The only encounter left relatively untouched occurs in the twenty-first battle where we see Panthesilee unhorsing Telamon and claiming his horse (ll. 23623-8; folio 120v). Telamon is said to be displeased by what he sees, and he cannot tolerate it: ‘molt desagree/ Ce qui il veit, ne puet sofrir’ (ll. 23649); he takes Panthesilee by surprise and strikes her, but the warrior women fight back and unhorse him and take him prisoner with the aid of Philimenis, and Diomedès rescues his comrade with difficulty. What the readers of L2 could not know is that in the unabridged version, Panthesilee has just bested Diomedès, a scene which has been entirely cut out (ll. 23629-40) and during which it is said that Diomedès gained personal experience of the queen’s swiftness, force and prowess (‘Coneü a bien sa visteice/ E sa vertu e sa præce.’ Ll. 23637-8). Furthermore, there is no trace in L2 of Panthesilee’s second chance to prove herself against Telamon in the twenty-second battle. In the full version, she manages to knock Telamon’s helmet to the ground (L2, l. 24026-7, fol. 122^r). Why should the redactor preserve one of these three incidents and not the other two? Although Panthesilee is not completely defeated by Telamon the first time that they fought together, she does not come across as being invincible herself and has to rely on the help of others in that situation, whereas the second time, she unequivocally defeats him, just as she defeated Diomedès. It really seems as though the redactor is trying to depict Panthesilee as a less remarkable warrior than Benoît intended.

This is reinforced by the handling of the conflict scenes between Panthesilee and her arch enemy, Pirrus. In L2’s version of events, the first time that the two warriors meet in the twenty second battle (folio 122^r), they joust with each other and Pirrus breaks his lance (ll. 24119-38). The Myrmidons behold the chivalrous exploits of Pirrus and it is said that many lances broke in the bodies of soldiers that day (ll. 24157-24160).

The only other notable incident in that battle is that Pirrus slays Glaucus, brother of Polydamas, with his lance (ll. 24211-24220). The focus is very much on the successes of Pirrus in this conflict, and the impression is given that he bested Panthesilee, for he was the last to strike a blow. In the fuller version of events, their struggle lasts much longer. In the omitted lines 24139-56 Panthesilee strikes back and knocks Pirrus off his horse. He stands up and deals her three blows with his sword, and it is said that she would have been able to defend herself well even if they had not been separated by the press of warriors around them. Just as Panthesilee has another opportunity to prove herself against Telamon, so she comes across Pirrus for the second time in the same battle in a scene which is deleted from L2 (ll. 24221-43). This scene contains an account of another long fight, in which Pirrus has the worst of it: 'A ceste feiz, d'icest estor/ En fu Pirrus le sordeior.' (ll. 24237-8). Panthesilee had seized Pirrus by the ventail when they were separated by the press of warriors. It appears that the redactor has carefully edited the twenty-second battle to suggest that Pirrus has the advantage over Panthesilee.

Pirrus has the ultimate advantage over Panthesilee in the last battle (folio 122^v). However, I would argue that not only does the presentation of their final combat in L2 not do justice to Panthesilee, it also lessens the magnitude of the achievement of Pirrus as well. In L2, we are told that the day comes when they fight 'en maudite ore' (24284). They joust with each other: Pirrus breaks his lance (again) and Panthesilee drives her lance into him, but he stays in the saddle (ll. 24283-94). Pirrus is badly wounded, but has no intention of dying: determined to avenge himself, he approaches Panthesilee, the lance still protruding from him (ll. 24299-304). Pirrus manages to unhorse Panthesilee. He leans over her and deals her several mortal blows, dismembering her (ll. 24319-26). We are not told that prior to their ultimate confrontation, the pair had engaged with each other on numerous occasions during the twenty-third battle, both on horseback and on foot (ll. 24281-2): if this were known, the audience would perhaps have expected fatigue to be setting in by now. We are not told that when Panthesilee's lance breaks off inside Pirrus, he bellows in pain, and many of his men charge to avenge their leader (ll. 24295-8). Finally, we are not made aware that Panthesilee's helmet was not properly attached, which implies that she was not able to see properly: when she saw Pirrus coming, she thought she would be able to strike him first, but he managed to cut off her arm. The unabridged version seems to emphasise that despite his injury, Pirrus is able to overcome Panthesilee, but not without the support of his men, who hold back the

Amazon warriors (ll. 24305-18). The unabridged version also contains a description of how Pirrus collapses and is carried to his tent after the slaying of his enemy: this seems appropriate in the light of Benoît's insistence on the seriousness of his wounds. This version also reveals that Panthesilee's warriors are devastated, and fight as though they are seeking death (ll. 24327-40).

The handling of this episode in L2 is consistent with the overall treatment of the characters of Panthesilee and Pirrus so far. Firstly, just as with Panthesilee's other encounters, her prowess is played down. In the full version, the audience already knows how formidable she is, and might have reservations about Pirrus' chance of success. The detail about her helmet being loose is presumably inserted by Benoît as a partial explanation of her defeat – she is let down by faulty equipment which causes her to misjudge a manoeuvre, rather than by a lack of skill on her part. Secondly, the full extent of Pirrus' achievement is not brought home in L2. The systematic downgrading of Panthesilee's stature in this section of the poem means that less glory redounds to him after the defeat of the queen of the Amazons. As Kleinbaum states, 'If the Amazon exceeds in military prowess, then the skill of the hero who defeats her is even more extraordinary'.⁵⁸ The readers of L2 have only seen Panthesilee barely hold her own in battle, so her death would not come as such a great surprise. It appears that not only did the redactor not want Panthesilee to challenge Hector's position as the pre-eminent warrior, but he was also concerned that Pirrus should not gain too much renown either. It is difficult to gauge what effect the redactor intended by downplaying the seriousness of Pirrus' injury. In one respect, this omission could be seen as another way of reducing the glory allotted to Pirrus for overcoming extreme pain at the same time as felling his enemy. In another respect, it is impossible to ignore the parallel which Benoît created between the injured Pirrus and his stricken father in the nineteenth battle. Having diluted the extent of Achillès' wound in a previous instance, the redactor perhaps felt constrained to treat Pirrus' injury in the same way. He may have been as jealous of Achillès' reputation as of Hector's, and therefore would not want Pirrus to outshine his father by being able to overcome greater obstacles.

The final point about this episode is that although the detail about Panthesilee's arm being severed is removed in L2, the redactor retains other gory details of her death, which is one of the most gruesome in the poem. Having stated above that Benoît gives a more favourable account of Panthesilee than Dictys, the medieval author deliberately

⁵⁸ Abby Wettan Kleinbaum, *The War Against the Amazons* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1983), p. 1.

selects Dictys' version of Panthesilee's death, which is bloodier and crueller than in Dares.⁵⁹ It is noticeable that in the *Roman de Troie*, the deaths of notable characters become progressively more brutal as the poem progresses. In the early stages of the war, heroes dispatch their foes with a single blow: for example Hector cuts the heart of Patroclus in two (ll. 8349-50), and Achillès dashes Hector's innards onto his saddle, presumably with one thrust. In contrast, during the above-mentioned slaughter of Troilus, the victim is trapped under his horse and has already suffered 'tant granz cops' from other soldiers when Achillès decapitates him. This action is condemned by the narrator as 'Grant cruelté, grant vilenie' (l. 21333). To make matters worse, Achillès ties the corpse to his horse and tries to drag it away. In turn, Achillès is ambushed and murdered by Paris, who dismembers the body of Achillès and his companion, Antilocus. Benoît may have chosen Dictys' version of Panthesilee's killing to emphasis the devastating effects of losing the war. Patrick Geary writes in the works of Jordanes and other patristic historians, Amazons are handled in such a way that 'their defeat or destruction marks the beginning or reconstitutio of the proper order of the world'.⁶⁰ In the *Roman de Troie*, quite the opposite is happening, for the killing of Panthesilee marks the beginning of the end for Trojan civilisation. Outside of the text itself, the manner of Panthesilee's death is echoed by that of King Harold in the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*:

Ainz que partist icil tooiz,
Fu reis Herauz morz abatuz,
Parmi les dous costez feruz
De treis granz lances acerees
E par le chef de deus espees,
Qui entrerent jusqu'as oreilles
Que les plantes en oct vermeilles. (ll. 39680-86)⁶¹

According to Bennett and Eley, the 'reduplication of mortal blows' represents Harold's comprehensive defeat, and quashes any hopes that he might survive and reclaim the throne.⁶² In a similar way, Panthesilee's death symbolises the utter defeat of the city of Troy and the end of its hopes of victory. It is generally agreed that Benoît composed the

⁵⁹ Werner Eisenhut, ed., *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos Belli Troiani*, pp. 82-83.

⁶⁰ Patrick Geary, *Women at the Beginning: Origin Myths from the Amazons to the Virgin Mary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 34.

⁶¹ *Chronique des ducs de Normandie par Benoît*, ed. by C. Fahlin (3 vols., Uppsala, 1951-67).

⁶² Philip E. Bennett and Penny Eley, 'The Battle of Hastings according to Gaimar, Wace and Benoît: rhetoric and politics', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 43 (1999), 47-78, (pp. 76-77). I am grateful to Penny Eley for pointing out this parallel.

Chronique several years after the *Roman de Troie*,⁶³ and it seems plausible that the author should take this metaphor for a lost cause and redeploy it. That the redactor of L2 has preserved the gruesome and cruel aspects of Panthesilee's death shows that he understood its dire significance, and that it showed Pirrus in a bad light for being so excessively violent.

One is left with the overwhelming impression that the redactor found Panthesilee to be a problematic character, and one which he sought to deal with by systematically suppressing references to her identity, status and innermost feelings, to her ability to lead an army of women capable of bloodthirsty violence, and to her amazing prowess in single combat. He has to retain some elements which remind the audience of the rivalry between Hector and Achillès, like the verbal confrontation with Pirrus, because Panthesilee's words can be read as a tribute to Hector long after his death. However, Panthesilee is not allowed to be seen as directly imitating the deeds of Hector in any other way. The redactor has omitted such deeds not only because of an unwillingness to elevate the importance of Panthesilee, but because Pirrus too must not be presented as too valiant a hero. We can speculate that the redactor was perhaps an older man, hence his desire that the younger generation should not outshine Hector and Achilles. Nevertheless, the enormity and horror of her death is almost fully preserved, because the redactor recognises that it symbolises not just the death of a remarkable woman, but the end of all hope for the city of Troy.

Comparison of B with L2

Having discussed the abridgements in L2 and analysed in some depth the effect that scribal editing has on the text presented in this manuscript, it seems reasonable to compare L2 with another Troy manuscript which displays similar editorial behaviour in order to bring the techniques used by the redactor of L2 into even sharper relief. Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 375 (B), of the second family of manuscripts, also presents a shortened version of the text. Although the Paris manuscript was copied at the other end of the thirteenth century to L2, is in the form of a vast compilation of texts rather than a single text codex, and perhaps features the work of two named scribes who may have had authorial ambitions of their own, there is sufficient resemblance in the pattern of omissions to warrant a comparison. After discussing the general features of B, I will provide a specific analysis of the effect that

⁶³ Eley, 'Epic Elements in the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*', p. 345.

B's abridgements have on the presentation of some of the characters and events in the *Roman de Troie*, and contrast this with the ways in which the scribal editing of L2 affects them.

Unlike L2, B is a complete manuscript, with the beginning and end intact, but the two manuscripts have been abridged to a similar extent. In his description of B, Constans states that it contains 24700 lines, that is, about 5600 lines less than in his critical edition, which contains 30316 lines.⁶⁴ As can be seen from Jung's summary of the abridgements made to the text of the poem, many of the omissions are common to manuscripts of the second family, but it is the abridgements unique to B which are of most interest.⁶⁵ Although L2 and B are abridged to a similar extent, they are abridged in different ways. Whereas L2 tends to rely on omission alone as a method of abridging the poem, showing perhaps a more conservative and respectful attitude to the text, B tends to summarise and rewrite it. A summarised passage in B often consists of a mixture of lines from the authorial version and rewritten lines (for example, the contents of a couplet rewritten as a single line). Sometimes these original lines are left in position, sometimes they are displaced elsewhere, occasionally to serve the continuity needs of the redactor. More information about the scribes who are named in B may throw more light on this difference in editing technique.

B is a compilation manuscript dating from 1289. It has received frequent attention, partly because it is a vast codex containing 27 texts, including *Erec et Enide* and *Cligès* by Chrétien de Troyes. It has also aroused interest because of the biographical information revealed in the colophons, and because it seems possible to identify at least two of the scribes involved – one may be Perrot de Nesle (Neele) to whom is attributed the octosyllabic verse summary of the texts in the compilation on fols 34-35, and who is believed to be one of the manuscript's copyists. The other may be Jean Madot, who identifies himself in the colophon to the *Roman de Troie* as the nephew of Adam de la Halle and the copyist of the *Roman de Troie*.⁶⁶ Micha believed that these two named scribes were the only ones involved in the production of B,⁶⁷ but later critics, such as Holden in his edition of the *Roman de Rou*, identified more than two hands in the

⁶⁴ Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, VI, p. 31. As B is in the 2nd family of mss, like L2 and K, it is not clear why he did not compare the number of lines in B with that of the Joly edition, which is based on manuscript K, but the difference calculated in the extent of abridgement is not great: 18 per cent if compared with the Joly edition, 19 per cent if compared with Constans' edition.

⁶⁵ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 164-77.

⁶⁶ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 165-6.

⁶⁷ Alexandre Micha, *La tradition manuscrite des romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, (Geneva: Droz, 1966), p. 31.

manuscript, and Charles François identified as many as six.⁶⁸ Carleton W. Carroll has looked in more detail at the text of *Erec et Enide*,⁶⁹ building on the work of Terry Nixon, who identified what hands are at work in each text of B; according to Nixon, the scribe who copied the whole of the *Roman de Troie* (fols 68r-119v) also copied the beginning of *Athis et Prophilias* (fols 119v-123v) and the first part of the *Roman d'Alexandre* (fols 164r-182r).⁷⁰ Jung and Lori Walters point out that the scribe might not be Jean Madot himself, but someone who copied this colophon (in which he claims not only to be related to Adam de la Halle, but also that he has lost his coat in the course of gambling and that he deserves better remuneration) from the exemplar.⁷¹ Walters goes on to say that even if this is indeed the case, it seems likely that at some point in the history of the version of the text presented in B, Jean Madot was involved in the copying of the *Roman de Troie*. She suggests a reason for Madot's assertion to have 'parfornie' the text of the romance by drawing a comparison with Godefroi de Leigni's claim to have 'parfinee' the text of the *Chevalier de la Charrete*. Because *parfornir* and *parfiner* are synonymous according to Tobler-Lommatszsch, and because Godefroi was responsible for continuing Chrétien's unfinished *oeuvre*, Walters claims that Jean Madot wants to be seen as the continuer of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's romance. She cites supporting evidence such as the literary persona constructed in Madot's colophon, reminiscent of Wace's prologue to the *Roman de Rou* further on in B, and the fact that the version of the *Roman de Troie* in B is one of a group which does not feature the name of Benoît towards the end of the story.⁷² These are good reasons to believe that Madot was attempting to claim a stake in the legacy of the *Roman de Troie*, but Walters does not address the issue that, far from presenting an extended version of the romance, as might be expected of a purported continuation, the romance has been substantially abridged in B. It is possible, then, that we should look to other meanings of *parfornir* as clues to Madot's meaning. Common definitions relate to the idea of executing, carrying out or finishing something, while Tobler-Lommatszsch also gives *bestreiten* ('to dispute or challenge') as a definition of the verb. While none of these definitions is specifically

⁶⁸ Wace, *Le Roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by A. J. Holden, 3 vols, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris: Editions Picard, 1970-73), vol. 3, p. 22, n. 2; Charles François, 'Perrot de Neele, Jehan Madot et le ms. B.n. fr. 375', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 41 (1961), 761-79.

⁶⁹ Carleton W. Carroll, 'One text, two scribes: manuscript P of *Erec et Enide* (Paris, BnF, fr. 375)' in *De sens rassis: Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 109-24 (p. 121).

⁷⁰ Terry Nixon, 'Catalogue of Manuscripts', in *Les manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Keith Busby et al, *Faux titre*, 71, 2 vols (Amsterdam/Atlanta, Georgia: Rodopi, 1993), II, 1-85 (p. 66).

⁷¹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 166; Lori Walters, 'Le rôle du scribe dans l'organisation des manuscrits des romans de Chrétien de Troyes', *Romania*, 106 (1985), 303-325 (320).

⁷² Walters, 'Le rôle du scribe', p. 320.

related to the idea of editing or abridging, perhaps the past participle of *parfornir* was used by Madot to show that he had executed the text in a way that showed he had other ideas as to how it should best be written. The text features so many summaries and inserted lines invented by the scribe that it seems very likely that this was a scribe with the confidence to make editorial, if not authorial, changes to the narrative. There are sufficient grounds to suggest that the scribe of the *Roman de Troie* in B was more than just a copyist, and this justifies a comparison of B with the version of the text in L2 as an example of how the text was reshaped and differently received.

There are signs of scribal intervention and abridgement activity throughout the manuscript. Micha provides detailed information about the abridgements made to the works of Chrétien de Troyes,⁷³ but these sections are copied by two different hands, neither of which are implicated in copying the *Roman de Troie*; Carroll has pointed out that it is the same hand that copies the second portion of each of these two texts, and more abridgement activity occurs in the two latter sections of the narrative.⁷⁴

Abridgements of the *Roman de Troie* in B

Having discussed the general characteristics of the B manuscript and the tendencies of the scribe responsible for copying the *Roman de Troie*, the focus will now shift to a more detailed analysis of the abridgement techniques used, beginning with an overview of the pattern of abridgements unique to B. Then, in order to provide a meaningful follow-up to the previous sections, in which the L2 scribe's treatment of the characters of Hector and Panthesilee was examined in particular detail, I shall reprise those case studies and compare and contrast how these two characters fare at the hands of the B scribe.

As noted above, many of the abridgements of B are shared by other manuscripts in the same group. Here I will concentrate on the abridgements which are unique to B

⁷³ According to Micha's examination of the versions of *Cligès* and *Erec et Enide* in BnF, f. fr. 375, these two texts feature signs of scribal intervention, but the two texts appear to have been handled in different ways. The text of *Cligès* has been copied in such a way as to omit descriptions of preparation for battle, and insights into characters' state of mind, and the omissions are nearly all in the first half of the text (pp. 323-4). In *Erec*, Micha says that the redactor does not refrain from apparently reformulating the text according to whim (p. 318) and the omissions are nearly all in the final third of the text (p. 324). The omissions made to the text of *Cligès* result in imprecisions and in the suppression of ideas. In *Erec* the situation is different, due to the redactor refining and modifying existing text to elicit clearer meaning, though perhaps one which diverges from the author's original intent (pp. 324-5). I have not been able to ascertain what effect the omissions at the end have on the overall effect of the text (Alexandre Micha, *La tradition manuscrite des romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, (Geneva: Droz, 1966)).

⁷⁴ Carroll, 'One text, two scribes', p. 119.

among the extant manuscripts. The abridgements that are unique to B do not occur in significant numbers until after the halfway point of the narrative. They increase in frequency after the death of Hector, and are concentrated in three main sections of the text: the twelfth to fifteenth battles, from which nearly a thousand of Benoît's original lines have been cut; the 'amours de Briseïda,'⁷⁵ and the final battles featuring Panthesilee and Achillès' son Pirrus, from which 632 cuts have been made. Unique cuts made to the final 5000-word section of the narrative, which recount the adventures of the Greeks on their return from Troy, are minimal – only about a hundred lines of Benoît's original text have been removed, and this is mainly in the form of couplets here and there – there are no substantial omissions such as occur earlier in the narrative. As Jung remarks, Constans' assertion that B shows evidence of Jean Madot hurrying to earn the reward for his labour does not really hold true, because we do not have an increase in the rate of abridgements towards the end of the narrative.⁷⁶ Indeed, the returns of the Greeks are substantially retained. It is interesting to speculate why the *cycle des retours* was retained, given that it is so much abridged in L2. Perhaps they were judged by Madot, who was also responsible for the copying of the first part of the following text, *Athis et Prophilias*, to be a good transition between the fall of Troy and the opening of this text, which takes place in Greece.

Although abridgements to the text of B are few and far between before the death of Hector, some omissions have been made which affect his presentation. As discussed above, the L2 redactor has a tendency to excise lines which refer to less positive aspects of Hector's character, such as his material acquisitiveness, which distracts him from his role as commander and warrior. One example is the omission of ll. 10065-108, which relate how Hector covets Merion's arms. In B, there is a couplet missing from the corresponding section in this manuscript, (ll. 10079-80, fol. 87^r) referring to Merion's death, but this is one of many small omissions common to the second family, and therefore of no inherent interest.⁷⁷ Otherwise, B retains the picture of Hector presented in the unabridged version of this particular episode. The second major omission concerning Hector in L2 is ll. 10825-960, 136 lines from the third battle describing the deaths of Boëtes and Archilogus at the hands of Hector. B has an omission at the same point in the text, but it is one of a large group of manuscripts mentioned above that all

⁷⁵ Jung has transcribed in full this passage (ll. 20193-21243) in order to demonstrate the scribe's abridgement techniques (Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 169-74).

⁷⁶ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 166-7.

⁷⁷ A B B2 C J k y also lack this couplet.

lack ll. 10825-76 towards the end of the third battle. It seems more likely that this shorter omission of 52 lines results from an editing decision made at an earlier stage of transmission than from the B redactor's own editing programme. The B scribe does not abridge the sections relating to Hector's negative qualities that are abridged in L2, and the sections specifically pertaining to Hector which are abridged in B are also abridged in other manuscripts of the same family.

Unlike the scribe of L2, there is no evidence to suggest that the B scribe has a specific, idiosyncratic agenda with regard to the presentation of Hector in the *Roman de Troie*, although the fact that the battles running from his death to those featuring the greatest exploits of Troilus have been left relatively intact perhaps indicates that the redactor probably considered both Hector and Troilus to be strong central figures and that battles featuring them deserved more prominence than those which did not showcase any particular warrior.

The character of Panthesilee is affected to a much greater extent by abridgement activity towards the end of the text in B. For instance, B also omits the description of the Orient which precedes the arrival of Panthesilee, but as mentioned above, this is another omission shared with multiple manuscripts (ll.23127-356).⁷⁸ More interesting is the way in which the arrival of Panthesilee (ll. ll. 23357-72) is handled by the redactor of B. In contrast to the L2 redactor, who abridges the lines referring to the arrival of Panthesilee without altering the text, the B scribe incorporates original lines from the following section (ll. 23378-80) into a summary of the passage.⁷⁹ I have placed the two versions of this passage in L2 and B alongside a transcription of the corresponding lines from A1's more complete version of the text. The un-numbered lines in the passage transcribed from B are those that appear to have been formulated by the B redactor.

A1	L2	B
[fol. 146r]	[fol. 119v]	[fol. 107]
An ce termine e an ces anz	En cel termine en icels anz	23378 Deus mois et plus tos entirains
Qu cil contanz estoit se granz	Que li siecle estoit si granz	De ce nos fait Daires certains
A troie uint an la contree	[f. 120r] vint a troie en la contree	23379 Auoient Grieu sis as portax
La reine panthesilee	La roine pantesilee	23380 Que nen estoit issus vassax
Preuz e hardie bele e saige		Atant vint Priant en oïe
De grant valor de halt paraige		La roine de Famenie

⁷⁸ See p. 83.

⁷⁹ In Constans' transcription of this passage from B, he only highlights that 23379-80 have been transplanted, but l. 23378 ('Deus mois et plus tos entirains') has also been transferred, occupying the place normally occupied by l. 23357, which in A1 reads 'An ce termine e an ces anz'.

Ml't ert prisiee e esnoree
 De lui estoit grant renomée
 Por hector quil uoloit ueoir
 e por los e por pris avoir
 Sesmut a uenir au secors
 Ml't par auoit riches ators
 Samena ml't noble compeigne
 E fiere e hardie e grifeigne
 .M. damoiseles . adurees
 Forz e aidanz e bien armees

Por hector que cuidot ueoir
 e por pris conquerre e auoir
 Sen mist por uenir al secors
 Ml't par auoit riches ators
 Ml't amena riche compaigne
 e ml't fiere e ml't grifaigne
 Mil damoiseles adurees
 hardies e bien atornees.

Une preudame renomée
 Qui Panthesilee est nomée

23369 Ml't amena fiere compaigne
 23370 Et fiere e hardie e grifaigne
 23371 Mil damoiseles adurees
 23372 Aidans e fors e bien armees

This passage is marked with a pen flourished initial in A1 and with a paraphe in L2, most likely because it marks a transition from Benoît's encyclopaedic description of the Orient to a resumption of the main narrative back in Troy (or in the case of L2, the paraphe may mark the point at which the omission of the description of the Orient was made). Both A1 and L2 frame this new stage in the narrative by concentrating on the arrival of Panthesilee. In the full version of the text, Panthesilee's arrival arises naturally from the lengthy encyclopaedic description of the Orient in which she originates. In B, by contrast, the beginning of the summary of this passage draws attention not so much to Panthesilee's arrival as to the fact that the siege has been running for six months, and the borrowing of ll. 23379-80, which explicitly refer to the harrowing situation of Greeks besieging the gates and the impossibility of leaving the city, only serves to heighten the tension, and sets the scene for Queen Panthesilee's intervention. It perhaps struck the redactor of B that it was more logical to highlight the situation in Troy that greeted Panthesilee, rather than mentioning 'out of the blue' that the Amazon queen arrived in order to help the Trojans. Might it be that the redactor of B, aware of the effect that omitting the Orient section has on the lines describing the arrival of Panthesilee, has hit upon a more adroit way of bridging the gap than the redactor of L2?

As we can see, L2 omits the four lines which refer to Panthesilee's courtly and knightly attributes: her prowess, beauty, wisdom and renown, as well as her noble background. B also omits these lines, but substitutes them with a reworked couplet that might seem uninformative and derivative at first sight, but reveals something of the thoughtful abridgement technique of the scribe upon closer scrutiny. This couplet describes her briefly as 'La roine de Famenie/ Une preudame renomée'. The first line of this couplet was probably not a pure invention of the scribe, as it occurs elsewhere in the full version of the text, but not until l. 23679. It seems to have been inserted here because the information about Panthesilee's origins has been omitted: the scribe appears

to recognise that that audience requires a minimal description of her as the queen of the region described in Benoît's original version.

The second part of the couplet is even more telling. According to Constans' glossary, *preudame* is a variant only found in B. So far I have not been able to find any other occurrences of this epithet, and the nearest equivalent is *preudedame* in l. 3685 of Löseth's edition of *Eracle*.⁸⁰ This reading from ms Turin, Bibl. naz. L.1.13 (T), a witness which 'sometimes produces complete nonsense' according to Karen Pratt,⁸¹ does not occur in a military context, but like B the manuscript dates from the late thirteenth century. Tobler-Lommatzsch gives this reading as a variant of *preudéfeme*, which is a common epithet used to denote a woman who was noble or endowed with worthy qualities. Semantically, the word *preudéfeme* overlaps considerably with the male equivalent, *preudhomme*, but mainly in terms of non-gender-specific qualities of honour and worthiness; *preudéfeme* does not appear to carry any connotation of military prowess. The term *preudame* could have been selected because it had one fewer syllable than *preudéfeme*, which would have produced a hypermetric line. One wonders if the term *preudame*, which looks and must have sounded so much more like the male equivalent, was employed by the scribe of B in order to succinctly convey the idea of Panthesilee's expertise as a warrior. We can see that Panthesilee's worthiness and renown is acknowledged in the version presented in B, in comparison to L2, and that the scribe has deliberately chosen lines which convey vital information about her origin, status and rank. Unlike L2, B omits the lines which explain Panthesilee's twin motivations for coming to the aid of the Trojans: to meet Hector, and to gain personal glory. This implies that the redactor of B saw Panthesilee as a character interesting enough in her own right without the need to associate her with a long dead hero. Both L2 and B retain in full the initial description of the queen's formidable entourage of Amazons in ll. 23369-72

The following section, ll. 23373-92, describes the Amazons' journey towards and arrival in Troy. The lines referring to the Amazons' long journey are retained in L2, but it omits a couplet referring to the Arabian mounts used by the Amazons (ll. 23373-23374), and Panthesilee's public reaction to Hector's demise (ll. 23383-23390). The only lines that B retains from this section have, as shown above, been displaced to the

⁸⁰ *Oeuvres de Gautier d'Arras*, ed. by E. Löseth, Bibliothèque française du Moyen Age, 6, 2 vols (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1890) I, p. 192.

⁸¹ Gautier d'Arras, *Eracle*, ed. by Karen Pratt (London: King's College London Medieval Studies, 2007), p. li.

beginning of the description of Panthesilee's arrival (ll. 23378-80). The rest of this section has apparently been discarded, and B resumes the narrative at 23393 'Li reis Priant li fait grant joie'.

The B scribe is preoccupied with forming a logical and coherent narrative out of the shortened version of the text, while still conveying crucial information about Panthesilee's rank, status, character and actions. The B scribe could almost be seen as being 'fairer' to Panthesilee than the L2 scribe, whose techniques seem to indicate a preoccupation with downgrading her for fear of lessening the prestige of Hector. The differing ways in which the scribes of B and L2 treat the character of Panthesilee show that there was no uniform way of responding to the character of the female warrior on the part of thirteenth-century scribes, but that reactions differed according to the literary priorities of those who copied the manuscripts.

My overall conclusion is that the way in which the B scribe shortens the narrative is more radical than that of the L2 scribe, because not only is text omitted, but lines composed by Benoît are displaced to different positions, and the scribe uses his own words to summarise sections of the narrative. However, the overall effect of the editing is relatively conservative and even-handed with regards to the events of the text and presentation of the characters. Essential details are still retained. In direct opposition to this, the abridgement techniques used by the L2 scribe are far more conservative than those used in B. Editing is carried out using omission; only very occasionally are Benoît's lines shifted or lines of the scribe's making inserted, and that is only when it is necessary to fill gaps at the ends of quires. On the other hand, the effect of the editing practice has a more radical impact on the text, significantly altering the quality and quantity of information available to readers about characters like Hector and Panthesilee. Also, the L2 scribe appears to be almost blinded to the consequences of his editing by his concern with glorifying Hector; the B scribe's concern with creating a linear and coherent narrative shows up the occasionally ineffective transitions created by the L2 scribe's editing practice.

This is only a very brief analysis of the abridgement technique of the scribe of the *Roman de Troie* in B. Further directions for research, which are beyond the scope of the present study, might usefully include a comparison with the abridgement technique (if any) in other sections of the manuscript copied by the same hand: the beginning of *Athis et Prophilias*, and the first part of the *Roman d'Alexandre*. This might help to establish whether it is feasible to identify the hand as that of Jean Madot, or whether

instead the *Roman de Troie* is the production of a redactor working in an earlier manuscript. It would also be very interesting to see if there is any connection between quire divisions and abridgements, as there is in L2.

Conclusion

The case studies presented above have allowed us to consider the effect of abridgement activity in L2 on the key figures of Hector, Achillès, Paris, Troïlus, Pirrus and Panthesilee. In the cases of Hector and Achillès, the redactor has sought to subtly edit out lines which reveal the full extent of these characters' flaws. The redactor is zealous in preserving the pre-eminence of Hector in the narrative, to the extent that he makes changes to the text that attenuate the achievements of his brothers, Paris and Troïlus. The case of Panthesilee, one of the most compelling characters of the poem, also provides the most persuasive evidence of thoughtful and deliberate editing activity on the part of the redactor. Like Hector's brothers, she is not allowed to take precedence over Hector, and her gender is perhaps another reason for the curtailing of her role in L2. The redactor is still sensitive enough to Benoît's agenda, however, to recognise Panthesilee as providing a kind of posthumous tribute to Hector, and the full symbolism of her cruel death is retained. The contrast in abridgement technique between this manuscript and B reveals that, although the B scribe made more radical interventions at a textual level by summarising as well as abridging sections of the poem, he was perhaps truer to Benoît's original vision than the redactor of L2, who, by dint of suppressing lines, sought to reshape the presentation of key heroic figures.

In the course of part I, we have seen that, although the text of L2 is greatly abridged, this cannot be attributed solely to the actions of a copyist impatient to reach the end of his task. It is possible that those responsible for creating L2 operated under constraints of time or limited resources, but, in response to such constraints, a coherent version of the text has been created. The analysis of the quires shows that there was a deliberate prioritisation of the section of the narrative in which Hector is at his most glorious, shifting the original mid-point of the poem to place him at its centre. This version reflects particular concerns on the part of the redactor with the presentation of Hector, setting in motion a host of interrelated adjustments to the depiction of the characters with whom he interacts.

The pattern of abridgements strongly suggests that the redactor was aware of the

passages that register change and development and ambiguity in a character. The paradox of L2 is that the redactor must have had a subtle appreciation of what constituted a realistic, believable human character in order to fillet the narrative of evidence of development, changes of heart, and moral deterioration. Could it be that the redactor knew his or her audience, and was tasked with creating a version of the *Roman de Troie* which contained characters that were fixed points in time and space, not only to economise on resources, but perhaps to cater to an audience less sophisticated than the scribe? An audience that would be troubled by references to the East, and the inner thoughts of women, and had sufficient leisure to listen to detailed reports of war and combat? We could speculate that this version of the *Roman de Troie* was aimed at a predominantly male audience. And yet, in the centuries that followed the creation of the manuscript, the book was swapped between two women as a token of friendly affection. In chapter 2 above, we cautioned against Antonelli's suggestion that Guido delle Colonna's simplification of the character of Briseïda proved that his thirteenth-century audience had simple tastes; Guido's attitude to the character is revealed, but it cannot be assumed that he had a homogenous readership with similar desires.⁸² Similarly, it is safer to say that the editing technique employed by the redactor of L2 can be used as evidence of how the horizon of expectation of at least one medieval reader interacts with that of a medieval text, and how the text is subsequently modified and interpreted anew.⁸³

In the Introduction, the key questions of textual reception raised by Huot were noted as an underlying focus for this study. This analysis of the abridgements has shown us what the makers of L2 thought was important about the *Roman de Troie*: Hector, one of the Nine Worthies and a figure of increasing prominence in thirteenth-century literary culture. *Les voeux du paon* (c. 1310-12) by Jaques de Longuyon contains the first concrete formulation of the canon of heroic figures from the biblical and classical times and the more recent past (Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus, Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godefroy de Bouillon),⁸⁴ who were 'une sorte de *best of en matière de prouesse et de gloire*.'⁸⁵ The earliest sign of the tradition dates

⁸² See chapter 2, p. 76.

⁸³ For a useful discussion of reception theory and classical texts, see Charles Martindale, 'Introduction: Thinking Through Reception', in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, ed. by Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas, *Classical Receptions*, 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 1-13.

⁸⁴ Anne Salamon, 'Les Neuf Preux: entre édification et glorification', *Questes: Bulletin des jeunes chercheurs médiévistes*, 13 (2008), 38-52 (p. 38).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

from 1242 in the *Chronique* of Philippe Mouskés, who mentions Hector as the greatest hero of the classical age;⁸⁶ and he remained at the head of the list in later iterations.⁸⁷ The importance of Hector in the L2 redactor's editorial plan could result from awareness of this exemplary figure, who was a kind of "superhero" in the eyes of a thirteenth-century audience.⁸⁸

The development of a list of equivalent female Worthies took longer to emerge, and as Celeste Wright has shown, there was more variation in the personages selected and the list was never standardised.⁸⁹ However, it is interesting to note that Panthesilee was often named as a Worthy, and that parallels could be drawn between her and Hector.⁹⁰ Benoît's positive portrayal of the Amazon warrior shows her to be as worthy as the Trojan prince, but this examination of the abridgement technique practiced in L2 suggests that the character of Panthesilee was found to be shocking and difficult in some quarters by the early thirteenth century. Textual criticism is not the only source of evidence for reception of texts by their medieval audiences, and in Part II we shall move from the beginning to the end of the thirteenth century, and will consider paratextual evidence for reception in the form of the illuminations of Harley 4482 (L1).

⁸⁶ Busby, *Codex and Context*, 1, 298.

⁸⁷ Roger Sherman Loomis, 'The Heraldry of Hector or Confusion Worse Confounded', *Speculum*, 42 (1967), 32-5 (p. 32).

⁸⁸ Busby, *Codex and Context*, 1, 289.

⁸⁹ Celeste Turner Wright, 'The Elizabethan Female Worthies', *Studies in Philology*, 43 (1946), 628-43 (p. 628).

⁹⁰ Wright, 'The Elizabethan Female Worthies', p. 629.

Part II

London, British Library, Harley 4482

Chapter 4

Description of London, British Library, Harley 4482

Codicological and Palaeographical Description

British Library, Harley 4482 (L1) is a vellum manuscript, measuring 262 mm high by 165 mm wide; it contains only the *Roman de Troie*. It is currently bound in a red leather binding, with the date 1975 stamped on the bottom left hand corner of the back board indicating the year that it was rebound. According to Fritz Saxl's 1953 description of the manuscript, the manuscript was previously contained in damaged leather binding dating from the seventeenth century, but this binding has now been replaced.¹ The first folio of the manuscript is damaged, and there are signs that mould had formed upon it and was scraped off. This, and the absence of any sign of clasps or ironwork, suggests that the codex was already in a damaged state when it came into the possession of the Harley collection during the eighteenth century.

The first folio is inscribed with the date of 13 August 1724 in the top right hand corner in the handwriting of Humfrey Wanley, Lord Harley's librarian. The acquisition of this manuscript is alluded to in Wanley's diary in the entry for 12 August 1724, in which he refers to 'a large Parcel lately arrived from beyond the Seas', containing over ninety manuscripts which 'must have the Date of the next Day sett upon them'. Wanley says that the items are described in a list dated 27 June 1724, which is now lost, but the editors of his diary, Cyril and Ruth Wright, have been able to identify 93 manuscripts bearing the date of 13 August 1724, including Harley 4482. The parcel of manuscripts was purchased from the bookseller and importer Nathaniel Noel.² He was frequently engaged by Lord Harley to acquire books and manuscripts on the continent, where his agent was George Suttie.³ It has not been possible to glean further information about the provenance of L1 from perusal of Noel's own account book in the entry for 12 August 1724, for it only contains, in Wanley's handwriting, a general description of the books

¹ Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters*, 3 vols, Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken (London: Warburg Institute, 1953), III, 188-89.

² *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, ed. by Cyril E. and Ruth C. Wright (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966), p. 304.

³ Cyril E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A study of the sources of the Harleian Collection of manuscripts preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, British Museum Bicentenary Publications, 3 (London: British Museum, 1972), p. 253.

as having ‘lately arrived from beyond the Seas’ similar to Wanley’s own diary entry for the same day.⁴ However, as Wright remarks, ‘the reappearance of this small but important ‘lost’ manuscript prompts one to hope that perhaps some day, somewhere, the originals of the letters (and lists) which Noel’s agent George Suttie sent to him describing his travels on the continent in search of manuscripts and early printed books (and of which we have only a few extracts made by Wanley) may also reappear’.⁵

The manuscript contains 188 folios with two columns of 40 lines throughout, and is divided into 24 quires, all containing 8 folios apart from the last one, which contains four. Some traces of the original quire signatures in roman numerals and catchwords are still visible, the clearest examples being on fols 112^v, where the catchword XIV *ensi destroi ici pensis* links quire xiv to quire xv, which begins with l. 18101 at the top of fol. 113^r, and fol. 184^v, where the catchword XXIII *tost apristent e tost* links quire xxiii to quire xxiv, which begins with l. 29789 on fol. 185^r.

The ruling has for the most part been erased, but it is possible to distinguish it in some places, for example on fols 40^v, 46^v, 48^v, 145^v and 146^r. It can be seen that the scribe has written below rather than above the top line, which is an indication that the manuscript was not written much earlier than the end of the thirteenth century.⁶ On most of the pages, three sets of three dots in a horizontal row are visible in the top margin, spaced 4.7mm apart. These dots correspond to the three sets of three parallel vertical lines drawn across the page to divide it into two columns separated by an intercolumnar space.

The manuscript appears to have been cropped at both the bottom and the top of each folio, for not only have the quire signatures largely been cut away as mentioned above, but also the upper flourishes of some of the pen-flourished initials are truncated (see fol. 109^r, where a vine leaf has been cut in half). The folios have been assembled hair side to hair side, flesh to flesh. The hair side seems to tarnish more readily, for instance fols 98^r, 99^v, 100^r, 101^v, 102^r. The beginning (fols 1-6) and end (fols 187 and 188) are the dirtiest sections of the manuscript, as might be expected. The last folio is especially badly damaged, with half of the page missing and only one column of text preserved. The text begins with l.1 of the Joly and Constans editions, and ends with l. 30314 of the Constans edition (l. 30106 of the Joly edition). Jung speculates that the

⁴ London, British Library, Egerton 3777, fol. 39.

⁵ Cyril E. Wright, ‘A “Lost” Account-book and the Harleian Library’. *British Museum Quarterly*, 31(1966-67), 19-24 (p. 23).

⁶ N. R. Ker, ‘From “above top line” to “below top line”: A Change in Scribal Practice’. *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 13-16.

missing part of the final folio probably contained the last two lines of the poem followed by an *explicit*, because a capital 'E' is still apparent at the height of the third line of column a; this observation echoes that of Ward.⁷ According to Constans, several manuscripts have a continuation of ten lines after l. 30316, and in two manuscripts the first line of this continuation begins with *et cil*, so it is possible that L1 contained a similar version of these lines.⁸

The text is mostly readable throughout, but several columns are smudged in appearance because of showthrough (see fols 123^r at bottom of column a and 123^v at bottom of column b). The pages containing images are not noticeably dirtier or more damaged than the rest of the folios, which perhaps suggests that the previous owners of the manuscripts did not consult the manuscript purely to look at its illustrations. There are several tears and holes in the manuscript, but only a few affect the text. On fols 7^v and 123^v, what appear to be pre-existing tears have been sewn up and the scribe has written around the stitching. However, on the recto side, the stitching appears to have been smoothed over and some of the surrounding text is obscured, perhaps as a result of a modern paper repair. Similarly, the scribe appears to have written around holes on 135^r and 138^v, with a later paper repair filling the space. The manuscript has been repaired quite comprehensively, but not always sensitively i.e. the text is obscured by the repair in at least one instance. The British Museum stamp appears on fols 71^v, 87^v, 100^v, 106^v, 133^v, 145^v, 156^v and 169^v.

The copying appears to be the work of one scribe writing in a Gothic hand. The words have a letter's width between them. Particular characteristics include 'o's which are almost triangular in shape, minims which are rounded at the top, and a variety of forked and straight ascenders. The letter height is 2 to 3 mm high, with the descenders going 1 to 2 mm below the ruled line. Alison Stones believes that the script of L1 exhibits early cursive features, suggesting that it dates from the early fourteenth century. For example, the short 'd' on 129r is one of the features that led to the development of cursive script.⁹ Furthermore, there is a falling 'd' on folio 5r, at the beginning of the line

⁷ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 110; Henry D. L. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1883), p. 39.

⁸ Constans cites these lines in the apparatus at the end of his edition of the poem. The two manuscripts that contain an explicit beginning with *et cil* are Paris, BnF, f. fr. 1450 (H) and St. Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, fr. F. v. XIV. 6 (S1). The other manuscripts listed by Constans have a continuation beginning with *icil*; these include two manuscripts belonging to a different family from L1 but which share art historical similarities which will be discussed in chapter six below: Paris, BnF, f. fr. 783 (D) and Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H. 251. Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Léopold Constans, iv, 386-7.

⁹ Alison Stones, personal communication, 5th December 2007.

just beneath the decorated initial. According to Derolez, this feature was employed by scribes trained in the documentary tradition but working in bookhand; they ‘sometimes took advantage of the space offered by the left-hand margin to extend the shaft of the Uncial **d** at the beginning of the line to the left’. This feature is apparently only found in manuscripts of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹⁰ Derolez does not, of course, say that this is a cursive feature, but we can infer that the ‘falling ‘d’ is a small sign of the way that bookhand developed at the hands of scribes who practised documentary writing techniques.

Another element which might be linked to the formation of cursive script can be found three lines below: the numeral ‘i’ has an ascender which not only drops below the base line, but also loops back up to the left. Derolez states that the emergence of such loops ‘has generally been considered a determining characteristic of cursive script’.¹¹ However, so far I have been unable to find any other examples of this kind of looping in L1. This is a matter for further investigation, but it seems appropriate to categorise the script of L1 as a fairly typical late thirteenth-century/ early fourteenth-century bookhand.

There are few annotations in the manuscript. In addition to a note of the date of acquisition made by Humfrey Wanley (see below) and the number ‘36’ written on the bottom margin of the first folio, the word *guiot* is written in the top left margin of fol. 166^v.¹² There is also on fol. 55^r a crude lead point sketch of a horse with stick legs, and the outline of a human figure with head, shoulders and no arms. The paucity of annotations contrasts with the plethora of annotations made in L2 by a variety of readers engaging with the text through the centuries, as discussed in chapter 1. It may be that the high production standards of this manuscript containing a series of historiated initials meant that it was treated with more care and respect by its owners.

Decoration

The principal decorative feature of the manuscript is the series of fifteen historiated initials, distributed fairly evenly throughout the text (see chapter 5 for detailed analyses of individual images). The following table summarises the content of each miniature.

¹⁰ Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006), p. 87.

¹¹ Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 127.

¹² Curiously, the same name is written in L2 (see chapter 1, p. 23). The handwriting is different but both annotations are written in late medieval hands.

Folio	Letter	Brief description
1 ^r	S	The author shown in the process of writing.
5 ^r	P	King Peleüs and Jason at a banquet.
14 ^v	Q	The Greek fleet, led by Hercules, arrives at Troy prior to the first destruction of the city.
26 ^v	E	On his way to Greece, Paris' ship passes that of Menelaus.
35 ^v	U	Agamemnon addresses the Greeks.
41 ^v	C	Achillès poised to strike King Teüttrans during the expedition to Mysia.
52 ^v	H	Hector kills Patroclus during the second battle.
69 ^r	A	Agamemnon addresses Greek troops after the third battle.
76 ^r	C	Hector kills King Orcomenis during the fifth battle.
95 ^r	A	Ninth battle.
109 ^r	Q	Anniversary of Hector's death.
119 ^v	B	Thirteenth battle.
140 ^r	C	Twentieth battle.
151 ^r	R	The Greeks dispose of Panthesilee's body in the river Scamander.
161 ^r	Q	The Greeks' feigned departure from Troy.

As Jung points out, the illustrator had a predilection for depicting scenes of combat. There are no illustrations in the final section of the poem, the *cycle des retours*. A number of manuscripts (D, M1 and Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, XIII.C.38 (N)) contain decorated initials which occur in exactly the same places as some of those in L1.¹³ Like L1, N is in the *x* grouping of manuscripts, that is, the second subgroup of the first family elaborated by Constans.¹⁴ D and M1, on the other hand, are both in *y*, the first subgroup of the second family.

The historiated initials in L1 are quite small, compared with those in some of the other illuminated manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*.¹⁵ The first initial, on folio 1^r, which depicts a scribe, wearing the hooded robe of a clerk, writing at a lectern attached to his chair, is 12 lines high (52mm). The remaining initials range from 4 to 10 lines in

¹³ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 112-3.

¹⁴ Constans admits that he only had a small number of readings from L1 upon which to base his classification (*Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, p. 71). However, Jung, in his review of Constans' classification, confirms that the *x* grouping, including L1, forms a homogenous group (Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 25, p. 110). See also chapter 2, p. 37.

¹⁵ For example, all of the historiated initials in M1 are at least eight lines high (Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 118).

height (or from 20mm to 45mm); 8 lines is the most common line height. Considering the limited amount of space within the initials, they contain highly detailed scenes which are all painted against a background of burnished gold. In places this has been rubbed off, especially on fol. 1^r.

The initials themselves are red or blue and decorated with floral dots and whirls in white ink, and are set against a narrow background in contrasting blue or red which is decorated with a similar pattern, apart from fol. 1^r. The initial on fol. 1^r is the only initial to be set against a background decorated with a geometric design known as a diaper pattern, which is common in Gothic manuscript illumination; it is traced with dark pigment on a red background with traces of light blue which have been almost rubbed off. The backgrounds to all the initials are edged with gold, and are either square or are shaped to align with descenders or ascenders of initials (fol. 5^r 'P'; fol. 14^v 'Q'; fol. 52^v 'H'. fol. 69^r 'A'; fol. 95^r 'A'; fol. 109^r 'A').

Although the initials are not large, the artist or artists have taken the trouble of combining a variety of decorative elements in order to give each initial a distinct border. The basic pattern is as follows: vine scrolls in red or blue are either attached directly to the top and bottom left-hand corners of the initials, or else they appear to hook under or over the initial's thin gold frame. The part of the scroll closest to the initial sprouts a pair or triplet of short spiralling stalks terminating in three- or five-lobed leaves coloured in red, blue or green; these sections are decorated with a cusped border filled in with gold leaf. The stalks usually extend vertically up or down from the letter, though we see on fols 35^v and 52^v that there are two pairs of leaf-stalks growing horizontally (at the top right- and left-hand corners of the 'U' on fol. 35^v, and at the top of the ascender of the 'H' on fol. 52^v). These horizontal leaf-pairs are also distinguished by the bird-like silhouette of their terminals, which suggest a pair of peacocks perched on top of the letter. In addition to this subtle use of bird imagery in this initial, an unmistakable bird with red head and wings and a blue body forms the upper terminal of the lower vine scroll, its neck forming the hook over the frame of the initial. Many bird-like figures inhabit the vine scroll in this way, often forming the hook-link between scroll and initial with their necks; they are visible on fols 14^v, 35^v, 41^v, 76^r, 109^r and 161^r. There is a single human-bird hybrid figure forming the upper terminal to the lower vine scroll on fol. 140^r – like some of the other birds (it particularly resembles the one on 41^v; see figure 6), it wears a blue pointed hood and has a blue body and red wings, but it also has a woman's face viewed in profile with long brown hair. The face is executed differently

from the faces viewed in profile within the initials, with a hooded eyelid and a darker shade of hair. It is tempting to believe that the hybrid is an allusion to Heleine, the wife of Paris, who is probably the warrior represented fighting on the right in this initial. Alison Stones argues, on the other hand, that the hybrid face is hooded and therefore male, but given that this is a fantastical figure, and a hybrid one at that, it is not inconceivable that it is intended to be female.¹⁶

The figures within the initials have small, slightly spade-shaped faces, with a dab of orange-red shading applied to the jaw-line to add colour and depth (though the shading on the face of Panthesilee's corpse on fol. 151^r is greyish-brown). The eyebrows are drawn with a single stroke which extends further than the eye itself, and the eyebrow which is closest to the centre joins onto the nose, which is formed with a hook-like stroke that makes for a slightly snub nose, with the exception of Ecuba on folio 109r, whose nose is sharper than the rest and drawn with a squiggle which might denote a nostril. Mouths are drawn with two strokes of black pen, the upper stroke wider than the lower one and turned down at the corners. The mouths of prominent figures are fleshed out with a dab of red pigment, but those of figures in the background are not so developed.

The figures are generally drawn with their faces three-quarter-turned, facing their counterparts within the scene. The scribe on fol. 1^r is seen in profile, as are the warriors wearing full helmets, whose large-irised eyes can be seen through the slits (fols 52^v, 76^r, 95^r, 119^v, 140^v). The eyes of the bare-faced figures are shaped like tear-drops laid on one side, narrowed at the left-hand corner if the character is placed on the left, with the iris and pupil in the rounded right-hand corner staring at the opposite side of the scene (vice-versa for figures on the right). It is generally the case that figures are countering each other, whether in battle, in conversation, or passing in ships at sea. When the line of sight deviates from this general pattern, it is because the artist wants to show different dynamics in a scene. For example, on fol. 161^r, we see the Greeks' feigned departure from Troy: a boat full of soldiers on the left, tents in the centre, and the walls of Troy on the right with an armed figure looking down at the boat. The composition of this scene is very similar to that on fol. 14^v, except that on fol. 161^r there are no tents, and the warriors are looking away from, not towards, the city they seek to conquer.

¹⁶ Alison Stones, personal communication, 5th December 2007.

The hairstyles of the figures are fairly consistent throughout. All of the men have wavy bangs curling down from the temples, pairs of black swirling lines (one thicker than the other) indicating the texture of the hair. Many of the men have a row of forelock curls, with each curl drawn as an upside down horseshoe with a dot in the centre. Exceptions are Jason on fol. 5^r, whose hair is swept straight back under a circlet, and Agamemnon on fol. 35^v, where his forelocks spiral like snail shells and overlap each other, and on fol. 69^f, where his hair is swept back under his crown like Jason's. In general, the tint of the hair is slightly greyer than the skin tone. Apart from Panthesilee, whose long wavy hair hangs down below her crown, none of the female figures' hair is visible. Ecuba wears a wimple and her mantle covers her hair, while veils completely cover the hair of her female companions (fol. 109^f). Crowns are worn by Ecuba and by male figures. These are coloured in white, red or gold. That of Peleüs on fol. 5^r is the most ornate: the ribbing of the decorative leaves is finely and clearly drawn. The crowns of Menelaus on fol. 26^v, with its black inlaid triangle, and that of Agamemnon on fol. 35^v, are also carefully drawn. However, there is a slight deterioration in the level of care taken in the quality of the execution of crowns as the narrative progresses. Menelaus wears his crown over his helmet, which is round and painted pale green, as do King Teütrens (fol. 41^v), and King Orcomenis (fol. 76^f), who wears a helmet with a full visor covering his face. The warriors wear either round helmets, which can be plain, painted like Menelaus', or adorned with a single bar or stripe down the middle, or they wear pointed helmets with stripes appear to radiate from a central point, sometimes with black pigment daubed between the stripes. One of the most striking examples of these pointed helmets is worn by the warrior on the right on fol. 140^f. These two styles of helmet are worn by warriors on both sides and do not appear to be used to distinguish the Greeks from the Trojans.

Hands and fingers raised in gestures of conversation or command are accentuated with heavy strokes of black that are sometimes thicker than the digits they highlight e.g. Jason's raised hand on fol. 5^r. His other hand, which holds a pair of gloves, is resting against his hip. The creases between fingers and palm are often delineated, as is the fleshy mound beneath the thumb. Hands turned palm inwards have knuckles delicately modeled with white pigment, for example, Achillès' glove-holding hand on fol. 109^f.

In this series of images, only royalty wear mantles, which come in pink or blue and are lined with orange-red or vermilion (see fols 5^r, 35^r, 69^f, 109^f). The other figures

wear surcoats, often in blue, pink or red, but occasionally they are richly patterned (see Jason on fol. 5^r and Heleine's dress in royal blue with vermilion cross-hatching and white dots on fol. 109^v).

L1 also contains secondary decoration in the form numerous pen-flourished initials, which are two to three lines high. Generally there are two to three per folio. These are either royal blue with red flourishing, or red with teal flourishing (the colour of this ink is similar to that used for the sea and some of the leaf finials in the historiated initials). Sometimes this blue-green flourishing is very faded e.g. fols 2^v, 76^v. The pen-flourished initials in L1 are far more densely and ornately decorated than those in some other manuscripts, notably M1. One expert has suggested that the relative simplicity of the filigree decoration in M1 indicates that it is earlier than L1.¹⁷ However, according to Patricia Stirnemann's work on pen-flourished initials, simplicity suggests lateness rather than earliness. She has charted the development of style in this aspect of decoration in Parisian manuscripts between 1140 and 1314 by monitoring the use of certain decorative elements. The initials of L1 exhibit masses of 'frog spawn' both within the letter and flanking the shafts of the antennae, which themselves are terminated with squiggly tendrils. Such features emerged during the 1240s and were prevalent until the third quarter of the thirteenth century.¹⁸ Stirnemann identifies a paring down of the ornamentation of initials towards the end of the period (1270-1314), for example, frog spawn-like bubbles appear singly rather than *en masse*, and 'les antennes font des simples aller-retours, retombant avec lassitude sous l'initiale'.¹⁹ This minimalism is evident in the pen-flourished initials of M1. As we shall see, there is some evidence that L1 was produced in Amiens, which was heavily influenced by Parisian style but still a distinct region, therefore Stirnemann's work on pen-flourished initials in Parisian manuscripts cannot be used to date it precisely. Nor can we be certain that the comparatively plain pen-flourishing in M1 means it is earlier than L1.

Linguistic features in L1

On art historical grounds, as we shall see, the Harley manuscript has been associated with a group of manuscripts produced in the Amiens area towards the end of the

¹⁷ Alison Stones, personal communication, 5th December 2007.

¹⁸ Patricia Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisiennes: 1140-1314', *Revue de l'Art*, 90 (1990), 58-73 (pp. 68-69).

¹⁹ Stirnemann, 'Fils de la vierge'. p. 71.

thirteenth century. Some traces of northern or north-eastern dialect in the text, while not exclusively Picard, might support the hypothesis of Amiénois origin:

- 1) The most striking feature exhibited throughout the manuscript is a tendency of the spelling to reflect the velarisation of *a* before the consonant group *bt* (*deffensauble* fol. 19^v; *taubles* fols 20^r and 20^v; *estaublis* fol. 161^v).
- 2) There is one case of omission of the glide consonant *d* in the conjugations of the verb *voloir* (intervocalic groups -lr- and -dr-) *vorrans* on fol. 69^v. Otherwise *d* is retained (*vodrai* fol. 30^v; *vodriies*, 74^r; *vodrois* fol. 74^r; *vodrois* fols 30^v, 74^r, 81^r, 95^r, 106^r, 154^v).
- 3) The *b* glide is present in the intervocalic group *nl*: *assamble* fol. 20^v; *ensamble* fol. 120^r; *assambla* fol. 132^r; *resambler* fol. 186^r.
- 4) Throughout the manuscript, there are words in which triphthongisation of *eau* to *iau* has taken place: *biaute* fols 19^v and 178^v; *biaus* fols 19^v and 186^r; *oisiaus* fol. 20^r; *iaus* fol. 120^r; *ciaus* fols 132^r, 154^r and 156^r. Pope assigns this phenomenon to the north and north-east, including Champagne.²⁰ The most frequent spelling of helmet is *hiaume*, but there are one or two instances of *hiame* (fols 123^v, 132^r, 140^v).
- 5) The graphy *x* is not used universally as an abbreviation for *us*, but is found in the plural oblique form *iox* (fols 140^r, 154^r, 186^r).²¹
- 6) The graphy *v* is used in words starting with [v], a sound which is represented with the graphy *u* when the consonant occurs medially. A double *v* is used for words that start with the syllable [vu] e.g. *vvel* fol. 26^v.

²⁰ M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, 2nd edn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), p. 201.

²¹ This form is given in Tobler-Lommatzsch, with a citation from l. 21294 of Philippe Mouskes' chronicle, thought to have been composed in Flanders in the second quarter of the 13th century (Philippe Mouskes, *Chronique rimée*, ed. by Baron de Reiffenberg, 2 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1836-8).

Provenance and dating

According to Elizabeth Morrison, the secondary decoration of L1 suggests English influence, meaning that the manuscript could be of northern French provenance.²²

Alison Stones has further suggested that Harley 4482 originates from the Amiens area, and points out that its cusped border decoration is very similar to that found in the Hague Missal (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 40) which was illustrated by Pierre de Raimbaucourt in 1323. The figure style, however, is different, which perhaps means that the artist of the Harley manuscript was a lesser follower of de Raimbaucourt.²³

Examination of the historiated initials of the Hague Missal shows that they are decorated at the corner with tendrils of vine scrolls containing three or five-lobed leaves painted in red, blue or green, with a cusped border filled in with gold leaf (see for example fols 75^r, 81^r and 96^r).²⁴ However, while the arrangement of leaves on fol. 96^r mimics the linear disposition of the leaves and swirling stalks in Harley 4482, the initials of the Hague Missal generally feature trios of leaves in trefoil-like formations or other irregular shapes. Also, a very striking feature of the Hague Missal is the use of lattice-work interlace to decorate the initials as well as the borders of pages. This motif does not feature at all in Harley 4482, though the way in which vine scrolls and birds' necks intertwine with the initial is reminiscent of interlace.

The main difference between Harley 4482 and the Hague Missal occurs in the style in which figures are drawn within the initial. The upper eyelids of the Hague missal figures have a pronounced flick at the outer corner as if to denote an eyelash, which lends a greater intensity to the gaze than is found in Harley 4482. Orange pigment is used on the jawlines, but is applied with greater delicacy, and the use of fine, pale grey brush strokes on the faces to give the impression of bone structure almost creates a watercolour effect. The overall technique of the artist appears more fluid, with flowing black pen strokes and more transparency to the blocks of colour.

It is important to remember, however, that any difference in style might not just be the result of a difference in hand or workshop; leaving aside the full page miniatures, the historiated initials in the Hague Missal are drawn on a much larger scale than those

²² Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 178.

²³ Alison Stones, personal communications, September and November 2007.

²⁴ Hague Missal, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 78 D 40, <<http://www.kb.nl/manuscripts/search/index.html>> [accessed 19 September 2007] (figures 11, 13, and 16).

in Harley 4482; averaging at 60 x 65mm, they are in fact twice the size of those in L1. The fact that the images in the Harley manuscript still contain a comparable level of detail even at half the scale is testament to the artist's extraordinary ability to paint finely in limited space.

Despite some similarities with the Hague Missal, it is therefore unlikely that L1 was illustrated by the same artist. While there are elements in L1 of the border decoration in the Hague Missal illustrated by Pierre de Raimbaucourt, such as the spiky cusping, Alison Stones does not attribute the manuscript to this artist. Instead she thinks it fits in well with a group of liturgical and literary manuscripts which centre on the Corbie Missal (Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, 157), dating from before 1297, which contains artistry of remarkable quality. These are: Amiens Bibliothèque municipale, 156 (c. 1289), Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, 158 (before 1297), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 729 (before 1297), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 796 (after 1297), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français. 372 (c. 1292), Cognoy, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Bodmer 189 (after 1303).²⁵ If L1 can be associated with this group of manuscripts, then a dating of around 1300 seems plausible.

It should be borne in mind that little is known for sure about the methods used to organise work on this set of Amiens manuscripts; Richard and Mary Rouse have carried out extensive research on book production in Paris between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and suggest that work was organised primarily by *libraires* who would commission small family businesses to illustrate manuscripts for the book trade. Artists may have been able to read, but were not necessarily familiar with the texts they were illustrating and therefore would have relied on instructions from the planners of each codex, conveyed in the form of detailed separate notes, marginal instructions which were later erased, or rubrics intended to inform the reader as well as the artist.²⁶ In his article on the regional styles which emerge in the late thirteenth century, Avril points out that book production outside Paris might not have been supervised by *libraires* to such a great extent, as the book market had a smaller clientèle in the provinces,²⁷ so there may have been fewer artisans taking on a greater variety of roles in provincial

²⁵ Alison Stones, paper entitled 'L'illustrations des manuscrits liturgiques d'Amiens et de sa région aux alentours de 1300', delivered at the conference 'In saeculum Amiens; les manuscrits musicaux d'Amiens au Moyen Âge', held at the Musée de Picardie, Amiens, 22-24 November, 2007.

²⁶ Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Production in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000).

²⁷ François Avril, 'Manuscrits', in *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285-1328* (Paris: Editions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), pp. 256-334 (p. 257).

literary centres. For the purposes of this study therefore, when discussing the decisions made in illustrating L1, I will not assume a division in labour between the roles of the artist and the planner of the manuscript. However, there is reason to believe that patrons generated substantial demand for book production in major medieval conurbations such as Amiens. As Busby makes clear in his survey of patterns of regional manuscript production in medieval Francophonia, the Northeast region ‘developed an extraordinary literary culture’.²⁸ and the significance of the region’s role in the transmission of Old French literature is attested by the fact that approximately half of extant Old French manuscripts were copied in the Northeast.²⁹ According to Susie Nash, Amiens was a wealthy town in the thirteenth century, and the sensitive geo-political situation of Picardy, sharing borders with France, Normandy and Flanders, might have ‘stimulated the considerable literary and artistic patronage of the local nobility, as they turned to romances and histories to define their status’.³⁰

The codicological and palaeographical features of this manuscript, taken together with the evidence of a distinctive artistic style, point towards a provenance in the specific milieu of late thirteenth-century Amiens. This provides us with a valuable opportunity to examine in some detail the ways in which a provincial audience may have viewed the *Roman de Troie* at this date, and the chapters which follow seek to address key questions of reception of the text through a close examination of the iconography of the manuscript.

²⁸ Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 514.

²⁹ Busby, *Codex and Context*, II, 535.

³⁰ Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens in the Fifteenth Century* (London: British Library, 1999), p. 27.

Chapter 5

Image and Text in the Historiated Initials of BL, Harley 4482

Following the codicological and palaeographical description of L1 in the previous chapter, and the analysis of the style of illustration with a view to establishing the likely Amiénois provenance of the manuscript, the series of fifteen historiated initials will now be examined in terms of the relationship between image and text. The initials will not be described in the order in which they appear in the text. Instead, they have been grouped together on the basis of their sharing both a similar mode of composition, for example a particular form of combat scene, and similar subject matter. It is hoped that, rather than give the impression that the images consist mainly of repetitive, non-specific battle scenes, as argued by at least three previous critics,¹ this approach will instead make clear that the artist of this manuscript paid close attention to the text of the *Roman de Troie*, conveying a variety of distinctive details which have a profound effect on the presentation of certain characters.

The historiated initial of the first line of the poem (figure 1) depicts a figure clad in a brown or dark grey-blue hooded habit, holding the traditional writing implements of a scribe: a pen in one hand and a knife in the other. He is seated at a lectern which may be draped, but damage to the pigment makes it difficult to be certain. One leg is crossed over the other, exposing his bare foot, the only unshod one in the manuscript. He appears to be wearing a cap tinted with a green pigment used in other initials to tint some of the warriors' helmets, to pick out architectural details like battlements and lintels, and for the sea.

It seems most likely that this seated writing figure, with his clerkly accoutrements and plain garb, is intended to represent Benoît de Sainte-Maure, as suggested by Jung and Morrison.² However, Alison Stones has pointed out a mark in the area above the cap which originally could have been the point of a crown, or the apex of a pointed cap of a sort commonly used in medieval art to identify Jews.³ This observation implies that

¹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 113; Doris Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen zur Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (1250-1400)*, European university studies. Series XXVIII, History of art vol. 94 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), p. 191; Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 178.

² Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 111; Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 178.

³ Alison Stones, personal communication, 5th December 2007. Examples of such caps can be seen in a Bible written in Old French dating from the 1280s, for example the depiction of Moses leading the

the figure could be King Solomon, who is named in the first line of the *Roman de Troie*, and as a result is widely depicted on the first folios of the Troy manuscripts.⁴ Inspection of the manuscript with a magnifying glass and viewing of the digital image at high resolution reveals what appears to be a chip in the gesso base of the miniature – there is a similar chip to the right of the figure’s legs. The faint interruption in the sliver of gold leaf on the edge of the head beneath the chip might indicate that some pigment has flaked away that originally depicted a more elaborate head covering. But none of the other crowns executed by this artist have a single point – apart from the one worn by Menelaus on fol. 26^r, the peak of which does not rise above the top of his helmet. It seems most likely that the scribe is supposed to represent the author himself.⁵

In contrast to backgrounds of other initials, fol. 1^r has a diaper pattern traced with dark pigment against a red background. The leaf scroll decoration with cusped border branches away from the initial (cf. fols 5^r and 35^v). Elizabeth Morrison describes the decorative bar (not shown here) running down the left side of the page and continuing along the bottom, and climbing back up the right side, as containing ‘a bird, a bunny, and a cat’,⁶ but Scot McKendrick has identified the animals as a hound chasing a rabbit and a bird perched in a tree on the bottom, and a rabbit looking up towards a hound on the right hand border.⁷ This decorative bar is unique in the manuscript.

It is not until the second initial of the manuscript (fol. 5^r) that we begin to see a conjunction between narrative and image, as opposed to the portrait of the author/narrator in the act of writing his work. This capital ‘P’ (of *Peleüs*) in col. b marks the point where the narrative begins after the lengthy prologue and summary of the text (l. 715).⁸ Here, King *Peleüs* is shown behind a table laden with food and drink (figure 2). To the left of *Peleüs* stands a man with a knife in one hand, reaching with the other hand for what appears to be a joint of meat in a bowl on the table. *Peleüs* is turned with hands raised towards Jason, standing to the right of the table with one hand raised. Jason’s other hand is holding a pair of gloves and resting against his hip. This is a gesture which has been identified by François Garnier as signifying determination, appropriately enough given that this scene shows *Peleüs* sending Jason on the mission

Israelites (Paris, nouvelle acquisition française 1404, fol. 25^v).

⁴ Emmanuèle Baumgartner, ‘Seuils de l’oeuvre: le folio liminaire des manuscrits du *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure’ in *Le dialogue des arts* (Lyon: CEDIC, 2001), pp. 13-31 (p. 17).

⁵ Baumgartner, ‘Seuils de l’oeuvre’, p. 20.

⁶ Elizabeth Morrison, ‘Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*’, p. 240.

⁷ Scot McKendrick, personal communication, 25th January 2007.

⁸ Here and elsewhere in this chapter line numbers from the Constans edition are used to enable readers to cross reference easily to the published text.

to Colchos, which the young man accepted eagerly.⁹ To Jason's left stand two companions, partially obscured. Jason's hair is swept straight back under a circlet, a style which contrasts with that used for other male figures in L1; he is wearing a blue surcoat diagonally criss-crossed with faint white lines and dotted with vermillion, representing richly patterned cloth – most other surcoats in the illuminations are plain. The crown worn by Peleüs is the most ornate of all those found in the illuminations; of a pale gold colour, the ribbing of its decorative leaves is finely and clearly drawn.

Although the scene illustrates the feast at which Peleüs incites his nephew to seek the Golden Fleece in return for his kingdom, the text describing this scene is actually located overleaf on fol. 5^v. The text on fol. 5^r describes the king's sense of insecurity about his valiant nephew, which leads him to hatch a scheme to eliminate this potential pretender to the throne (ll. 715-98). The actual banquet scene is described in ll. 799-805, transcribed from fol. 5^v:

Ne demoura pas puis .i. moys
 cune grant feste tint li rois
 grans fu la cours quil assambla
 e la gent grans quil aiousta
 assez iot contes e dus
 e cheualiers .vii. ou plus
 yason i fu e hercules

The fact that Jason and Peleüs are depicted in conversation shows that the artist was aware of the dialogue between the two characters in which Peleüs challenges Jason (ll. 817-854), and of Jason's eager internal reaction and ready assent (ll. 855-92). Here, as with the very first initial, there is a disjunction between the image and the text copied alongside and immediately below it. The initial illustrates what the artist/planner seems to have perceived as the key element in the narrative segment that follows, rather than the first lines of that segment.

This scene, showing the catalyst for the voyage of the Argonauts, begins the cycle of the first destruction of Troy as Benoît relates it. En route to Colchis, Jason and his party make a landing at Troy, only to be rudely rebuffed by King Laomedon (ll. 1037-60); as a result, Hercules sails to Troy with an army after the voyage for the Golden

⁹ François Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge: Signification et symbolique* (Paris: Le léopard d'or, 1982), p. 185. One of the examples Garnier uses to illustrate this is that of Priam commanding his son Paris to ravish Heleine in the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms 782, fol. 79 (p. 189, fig. F).

Fleece, and the city is sacked for the first time in the *Roman de Troie* (ll.2183-2824). The artist depicts the arrival of Hercules' fleet in the initial 'Q' (*quant*) on fol. 14^v (figure 3) in a scene composed in almost the same way as the manuscript's final historiated initial on fol. 161^r (figure 15), which depicts Agamemnon's fleet pretending to leave the city definitively prior to the ultimate destruction of Troy. These two miniatures are not just mirror images of each other allowing the artist to save time and effort when executing his final task; although similar, the two compositions still have significant differences which clearly link each one to the actions being described in the text.

In the first of this pair of images (figure 3), two boats are depicted sailing on a pale green sea inhabited by fish, and approaching the city walls to the right. One boat contains a warrior, perhaps Hercules himself, holding a spear upright with a dull pink ensign flying from it; he is holding onto the rope connecting the mast to the prow. Another warrior is partially visible on the boat behind him. They represent Hercules' fleet arriving at Troy, intent on avenging the slight to the Greeks inflicted by Laomedon. The moment depicted, which follows an evocation of *reverdie* and of the sea voyage undertaken, is described in ll. 2205-10, on the same folio as the initial:

Ml't par orent trestuit grant ioie
 quant virent le pais de troye
 le ior laisserent trespasser
 e quant il vint a lanuiter
 an port de segeon tornerent
 toutes les neis i aencrerent

The Trojans are not described at this point in the text as witnessing the arrival of the Greeks, but are nonetheless represented by the head of a warrior looking on from a window above the entrance to the city referred to here as the *port de segeon*. The fact that the Trojans observed the arrival of the Greeks is not mentioned until nearly two hundred lines further on at ll. 2379-80 (fol. 15^v). This indicates that the artist or planner may have read further on in the text, past the lengthy speeches made by Peleüs and Hercules upon their arrival and the description of the Greek army, until finding the point when the Trojan reaction to the invasion is described. The portcullis of the *port de segeon* is visible behind wooden gates which share the red-brown hue of the boats. It seems that the artist originally drew a similar head rising from behind the lower set of battlements to the left of the head in the window, but it appears to have been rubbed out.

In all of the scenes in which Greeks and Trojans encounter each other, the Greeks will be seen to occupy the left hand side of the image, the Trojans the right.

As noted above, the scene is in many ways reflected in the initial in column a on fol. 161^r (figure 15) where the Greeks feign their departure from Troy, and the Trojans observe their departure. Three warriors on a ship are here shown at sea with the gates of Troy on the right, and the head of a warrior watching from above the gate to the city. The image differs from that on fol. 14^v because the boat is sailing away from, not towards, the city and the warriors have their backs turned towards Troy; the mast flies an ensign of the same hue as the sea, and three tents are interposed between the departing boats and the walls; scarlet brush strokes flickering across the tents represent flames. The gates of the city are clearly hinged (this detail is absent from the earlier image). The scene illustrates ll. 25978-94, which appear at the bottom of column b on the same folio as the initial:

Des or se mestent a la voie
 Quant lor bons orent acomplis
 E li nauies fu garnies
 Si ont les loges alumees
 de troie en voient les fumees
 Ml't ierent grant li atrait
 Quil auoient de loing fait
 Ml't si erent bien haubergie
 Bien atourne e bien logier
 volentiers i ont les feus mis
 Si com dit dares et dithis
 Des or ni sont plus demoure
 Mais del port sont desaancre
 Vont sen a ioie e a baudor
 Mil ensaingnes de coulor
 I parissent sor mas dreciers
 De dras de soie entresaingnies

All the physical details mentioned in this passage – the departure of the ships, the burning Greek camp, the Trojans witnessing the departure, and a silk ensign – are portrayed in this image, though the joy and delight felt by the Greeks upon their departure is not conveyed in the facial expressions of the figures on the boat. The fact that ensigns and figures watching from the walls are depicted in both figures 3 and 15, even though they are only specifically mentioned in the text accompanying figure 15, suggests that there may be a degree of stereotyping in the composition of the image.

Nevertheless, the portrayal of the conflagration of the Greek camp shows that the latter image has been specially devised for this particular juncture in the narrative.

Water, one of the compositional elements which unifies the two images used to preface the first and final destructions of Troy, is an even more dominant feature of the image that follows figure 3. The fourth in the sequence of historiated initials, an 'E' (*el*) on column b on fol. 26^v (figure 4), shows Paris sailing to Greece on his mission to reclaim Laomedon's kidnapped sister Hesione; Paris will eventually return with Heleine instead, an act which sparks off the main conflict of the *Roman de Troie*. The initial depicts two boats facing one another, capturing the moment when Menelaus' boat passes that of Paris while the latter was en route to Greece. As on folio 14^v (figure 3), the initial occurs at a juncture in the text where Benoît uses the motif of the *reverdie* to signal a transition in the narrative, and the text following and alongside the initial describes the preparations for the mission which take place in Spring, Priam's exhortatory speech, and the sea voyage itself. The scene actually illustrated is described in ll. 4233-8, which are located overleaf on fol. 27^r:

Quant cil des nez sentrechoisirent
 E li vn deaus les autres virent
 Ne sorent dire ne penser
 Quel part chascuns deuoit aler
 Ne se vodrent tant aprochier
 Que lun peust lautre arainier

Once more it is an encounter between the two sides which the artist illustrates. Each boat contains a number of armed men, with one figure on each boat made more prominent through height and through being drawn in a more detailed way. Menelaus, referred to as a king in l. 4227, is shown on the left-hand boat, wearing over his helmet a carefully drawn crown with a black inlaid triangle, and he is accompanied by three men whose features are harder to discern. Paris is shown on the right, wearing a blue surcoat and looming above his two shipmates.

It may have been Paris who provoked the war, but the Greeks' determination to engage in battle is portrayed in two scenes of council which take place before and during the conflict, and which have very similar compositions. The first, which follows the scene of Paris and Menelaus' encounter, is in a capital 'U' (*uait*) in column b of fol. 35^v (figure 5). A man on a green seat on the right faces a group of men standing on the left. All wear crowns; that of the seated figure is the most ornate. The group consists of

nine figures, two men fully visible in front, the rest partially visible behind them. The two front figures and the seated figure are wearing a mantle over a robe; this is the garb of royalty in this manuscript. The seated figure is holding a sceptre in his left hand and has raised his right hand, the index finger pointing upwards, to show that he is speaking, while the two figures facing him have their right hands raised with the palm turned inwards, a sign of acquiescence according to Garnier.¹⁰ The arch across the top of the picture, joining onto a wall on the right, may indicate that this is an interior scene.

The subject matter of this scene has in fact been interpreted differently by Elizabeth Morrison and Marc-René Jung. Morrison labels this scene as the assembly of the Greek kings in Athens prior to their sailing to Troy.¹¹ This famous motif, the catalogue of ships provided by the 49 Greek kings and barons for the voyage to Troy, is described in ll. 5583-702, that is, the section of text immediately following the initial. We have seen elsewhere that the historiated initials generally illustrate events on the same folio or overleaf. Here, though, this list of participants does not include any dialogue, whilst this is clearly taking place in the picture. Following the catalogue of kings and ships, though, the narrator evokes the assembly at Athens to which Agamemnon summoned the Greek princes, which took place 'Fors de la uile en une plainne' (l. 5712, fol. 36^v) and where the Greek commander addresses the crowd (ll. 5720-88). The interior scene suggested by the miniature belies the description of the parliament taking place outside the city in the middle of a plain, but the artist clearly intends to portray a multitude of people, and the gestures of assent could represent the Greeks' reaction to Agamemnon's speech: 'Ceste parole ont agree/ Tuit cil a cui el fu contee' (l. 5799, fol. 37^r).

Jung, on the other hand, believes the scene depicts Ulysses and Diomedès at the court of Priam in the capacity of ambassadors asking for the return of Heleine in order to prevent war taking place (ll. 6211-478, fols. 39^v-41^r).¹² This event takes place indoors within Priam's palace, which fits in with the architectural details of the image, and the two clearly defined front figures with a multitude of people could be seen as the two ambassadors surrounded by Priam's courtiers. Notwithstanding, the figures at the front appear to be listening and obeying, not putting forward their own point of view, and the event is recounted more than 500 lines or four folios later than this initial. Moreover, all

¹⁰ Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge: Signification et symbolique* (Paris: Le léopard d'or, 1982).

¹¹ Elizabeth Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 241.

¹² Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 111.

of the figures are wearing crowns. Elsewhere in the manuscript the artist generally depicts events from the text in closer proximity to the initial, so it seems that Morrison's interpretation of the scene is the correct one.

The second council scene occurs at the midpoint of the series of fifteen historiated initials, in a capital 'A' (*Autre*) in column b of fol. 69^r (figure 8),¹³ and although the composition is similar to that of figure 5 above, the setting and garb of the figures indicate that we are not in Athens any more; the image shows Agamemnon addressing his soldiers during the council of Greeks after the third battle of the Trojan war. On the right, a crowned figure is on a seat similar to the one in figure 5; he has one leg crossed over the other, and is wearing a mantle over a robe, and is facing a group of eight warriors standing to the left of the image. All the figures are inside a multicoloured pavilion tent, which, with its panels of blue, pink and scarlet, shares the colour scheme of the tents depicted on fol. 161^r (figure 15). The warrior standing furthest to the left is carrying a sword in his right hand resting against his shoulder, and the warrior next to him holds a spear in his left hand which points up and divides the interior of the tent in two, one half occupied by the warriors, the other by the crowned figure; the latter's left hand is raised with the index finger pointing upwards to show that he is speaking, and the spear-carrying soldier facing him has a raised right hand with the palm turned inwards, perhaps to indicate acquiescence. According to the text, Agamemnon uses his speech to exhort his men to do better, insist on the need to destroy their greatest enemy, Hector, and praise Achillès' almost successful attempt at killing him (ll. 10987-11060). This text follows immediately below the image. Achillès responds by talking of the grief Hector has caused him by killing Patroclus; he is now bent on revenge (ll. 11065-82, fol. 69^v). It is tempting to believe that the warrior with raised hand and holding a spear is Achillès. This image foreshadows Hector's death: even though the Greeks are shown in isolation and talking among themselves, they are focused on the threat that the Trojan hero presents to them.

Hector is one of the key characters in the sequence of miniatures in L1. Like Agamemnon, he is portrayed twice (in life – the Trojan warrior's sarcophagus is also depicted at a later point), but instead of holding forth like the Greek commander, he is only shown slaughtering prominent figures of the opposing forces. The first instance is in column b of fol. 52^v (figure 7), and the picture is located within the capital 'H' of his own name. The foreground of this initial shows two warriors in combat on horseback,

¹³ Note that the bar of the 'A' is missing, as on fol. 95^r.

both wearing full helmets, through the visors of which large-irised eyes are visible. The warrior on the right is tilting forward and has managed to pierce his adversary's shield and chest with his lance; the bloody point can be seen emerging from the back of the other warrior, who is in the process of being knocked off his horse by the force of the blow. He is leaning back, his foot has left the stirrup, and his helmet and the hindquarters of his mount occupy the frame of the image, as if the artist intends to convey the force of the assault by showing Patroclus and his mount being pushed out of the frame. Warriors are seen in the background on the left and right looking on, not apparently engaging in combat or wielding any arms. This striking encounter occurs at the beginning of the second battle, and shows Hector killing Patroclus. Hector's shield bears the arms azure, a lion gules rampant, while Patroclus is carrying a shield with a partially visible geometric design. According to the text immediately following the initial, it is Patroclus who struck the first blow, but the artist has chosen to depict the fatal blow given by Hector in return a dozen or so lines below the image:

hector ne muet ne ne chancele
 tres parmi la targe nouuele
 e par lauberc maillie vestu
 conduit le bon espie tranchant
 trestout le pis li va fendant
 le cuer li tranche en .ii. moities
 enuers chei mors el ses pies (ll. 8343-50)

One of the most intriguing details of this image is what lies beneath the jousting warriors. Instead of the severed heads and limbs that litter the ground in other battle scenes in this manuscript, the artist appears to have drawn a single corpse wrapped in brown cloth. This could be taken as an allusion to Hector's determination to plunder the priceless arms from Patroclus' body on two occasions in the same battle, to the dismay of the narrator (ll. 8437-48, ll. 10065-74). On his second attempt at plundering the body, Hector's inattention allows Menesteus to wound him, and as discussed in part I, Hector's eagerness for the arms of his vanquished foes elsewhere in the text will eventually contribute to his death at the hands of Achillès (ll. 16176-230).¹⁴ The artist depicts Hector's glorious achievement of killing Patroclus with a single blow, but by including a cadaver at the bottom of the picture, the cause of Hector's downfall is also alluded to. The death of Patroclus fuels Achillès' desire to kill Hector, and Hector's

¹⁴See chapter 3, pp. 90-92.

covetousness provides him with the opportunity. The artist appears to be combining material from widely separated parts of the text into an image with deep symbolic meaning.

The second picture of Hector shows his killing, during the fifth battle, of King Orcomenis, a character far less prominent than Patroclus. As Jung remarks, it is rare for the text to be segmented here: across the manuscript tradition, only L1 and Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, XIII.C.38 (N) have large initials at this point in the narrative, and of those, only the one in L1 contains a miniature.¹⁵ This historiated initial, in a capital 'C' (*Con*) in column a of fol. 76^r (figure 9), is the smallest in the manuscript, at only four lines high. As on fol 52^v, there are two warriors in combat on horseback, both wearing full helmets; but the warrior on the left is wearing a crown over his helm in figure 9. Both horses are caparisoned in this initial, as they are in some further combat scenes in the manuscript; the presence or absence of caparisons and the diverse patterns used to decorate the fabric are two of the ways in which the artist introduces variety into the battle scenes.¹⁶ The warrior on the right is once again pitching forward into a powerful jousting blow, keeping a firm grip of his horse's reins with his left hand while thrusting his lance through the shield and chest of the other warrior so that the bloody point exits the other side. As on 52^v, the victim's foot has come out of the stirrup as he falls off the horse, but only his helmet has been forced into the border area of the initial. There are more warriors in the background on the left and right, and one on the right is actively engaging in combat, raising his sword so that it protrudes from the initial into the text itself. There are dismembered body parts on the ground. Hector's shield has the same colour scheme as on fol. 52^v, but Jung likens the animal depicted on it to a crab rather than a lion.¹⁷ This shield, about half a centimetre in height, is approximately half the size of the first one, so it might have been challenging for the artist to fit in the likeness of a lion. The text on this folio describes the whole encounter between Orcomenis and Hector, during which the king struck the first blow, shattering Hector's shield (ll. 12101-5), although it is shown intact in the image. The artist depicts the moment of Orcomenis' death, described in terms reminiscent of Patroclus':

¹⁵ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 112, p. 124.

¹⁶

¹⁷ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 112. However, it is actually more like a scorpion than a crab, as it has a clearly defined head.

hector ne muet ne ne chancele
ains li ra si lescu perciet
e le fort hauberc desmaillie
quil li desioint les .ii. costeis
a la terre chiet craunteis (ll. 12106-10)

As remarked above, the death of Orcomenis is not a common feature of the iconography of the *Roman de Troie*; the fifth battle was notable chiefly for the intervention of the Sagittaire, whose portrayal in numerous manuscripts is discussed by Stefania Cerrito.¹⁸ However, at the end of the fifth battle, the tally of kings who died by Hector's hand, including Orcomenis, is cited admiringly by the narrator.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that these two scenes of Hector expeditiously despatching prominent Greek warriors (figures 7 and 9) precede and follow the scene of the council of the Greeks during which they vow to vanquish their most dangerous foe (figure 8). There is a dynamic relationship between the central image and those that surround it: Hector's prowess stokes the vengeful ire of the Greeks, only for these sentiments to be frustrated by further feats of arms by Priam's son. The trio of images at the heart of the iconographical programme centres steadfastly on the exploits of Hector.

Hector is not the only character to be shown achieving great things in battle, for in the image preceding the death of Patroclus, Hector's most bitter adversary, Achillès, is also shown engaging in single combat. This is a scene which is not crucial to the development of the plot, but interesting in terms of the development of Achillès' character. This image, in a capital 'C' (*Ce*) in column a of fol. 41^v (figure 6), is again amongst the smallest in the manuscript at only 5 lines high, and depicts two armed warriors on foot – all the rest of the combat scenes in the manuscript feature knights on horseback. On the left, a crowned figure, half crouched, the hands joined in a gesture of pleading, looks at his adversary standing over him on the right, his right hand grasping the crown and his left hand brandishing a sword. The head of a horse appears behind each figure, and there are severed limbs underfoot. This initial illustrates an event during the expedition of Telephus and Achillès²⁰ to Mysia to procure supplies for the Greek army. Here, in a passage in column b of the same folio, Teütans, the king of Mysia, has been dealt a mortal blow by Achillès, who is preparing to decapitate the

¹⁸ Stefania Cerrito, 'Come beste esteit peluz: L'image du Sagittaire dans les différentes versions de la légende de Troie au Moyen Age', in *La Chevelure dans la littérature et l'art du Moyen Age: Actes du 28e colloque du CUERMA, 20, 21 et 22 février 2003*, ed. by Chantal Connochie-Bourgne (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2004, pp. 69-82.

¹⁹ See chapter 2, p. 49.

²⁰ Not Hercules as stated by Jung (*La légende de Troie*, p. 111).

king:

mais achilles en mi lestor
 connut le roi ferir le vait
 si que mortel plaie li fait
 a dens chei en mi la place
 le hiame de son chief deslace
 sempres li eust le chief trenchie (ll. 6550-6555, fol. 41^v)

This is the first battle scene, and the first appearance of Achillès – he will be portrayed later in the scene which features Hector’s sarcophagus, and as mentioned earlier, he may feature in the image of the council of the Greeks in fol. 69^r (figure 8). Morrison labels this scene as ‘Achilles kills a king’,²¹ which is not strictly true, because Teütrans does not die straightaway. The artist has selected the most dramatic moment for illustration, just before the intervention of Telephus, who pleads with Achillès to spare Teütrans; the king of Mysia makes Telephus his successor shortly afterwards, before dying of his injury. This is an interesting episode in the development of Achillès’ character, for it shows that at the beginning of the war of Troy, he is willing to heed the exhortations of a comrade – he becomes less cooperative and humane in later dealings.²² Jung points out that it is curious that Achillès strikes with his left hand, and remarks that this illustration is ‘assez libre’, because the text states that the king has fallen *adens*, or flat on his face, which is not how Teütrans is portrayed here.²³ This could be taken as evidence that the artist was not paying attention to detail, but it must also be remembered that this is one of the smallest images, so the artist had to convey the scene in limited space; this could have necessitated his disregarding certain details. It may have seemed expedient to transfer Telephus’ pleading to Teütrans by portraying him in an imploring attitude, rather than face down in the mud and looking as good as dead. For the same reason, perhaps, Achillès is shown grasping the king’s crown instead of unlacing his helmet as the text relates: conveying the status of the victim and the drama of the moment here seems to have taken precedence over being true to every detail of the text.

We now come to one of the most interesting images in the sequence, in which Achillès and other figures are gathered around the bier containing Hector’s body on the

²¹ Elizabeth Morrison, ‘Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*’, p. 241.

²² See chapter 3, pp. 86-87.

²³ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 111.

anniversary of his death.²⁴ Within the initial 'Q' (*Quant*) in column b of fol. 109^r (figure 11), there are six figures altogether, standing around a bier covered with a pale cloth decorated with horizontal and vertical lines in blue, and dots, squares and diagonal lines in red. On the left, there is one fully visible man, shown wearing civilian garb of vermilion and holding his gloves in his right hand and raising his left hand; this is likely to be Achillès. Behind the tomb, there are three other figures plus the top of a head. Throughout this description of the initials it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the artist took care to illustrate selected moments from the text, but this image is remarkable for abundantly conveying nearly every detail of a considerable passage of the text, running from just after the initial at l. 17489 to 17544 – more than fifty lines:

Quant icil ans fu accomplis
 quector fu mors e en fois
 si vous puet on por voir retraire
 conques si riche anniuersaire
 Ne fu el monde celebreis
 Com li a fait ses parenteis
 E tous li pueples communez
 Ml't fu festiuez li anuez
 Ml't i chanterent li clergies
 Ml't il fu ce iour essaucies
 Ml't par i despendi prians
 Ni ot vn seul petit ne grant
 Qui a ce ior ne festinast
 E qui a son voloir nentrast
 Dedens la riche sepulture
 Ou li cors est sens porreture
 Le ior le virent bel e frois
 Chevalier dames e bouriois
 Ains nenlaidi ne empira
 Car cis qui lenromatiza
 Le gardast bien iusqua iuise
 Se la citeis ne fust ains prise
 Ecuba e polixenain
 Toute la nuit e lendemain
 I ueillent a duel e a painne
 Ensemble o eles dame helainne
 Mainte dame mainte pucele
 E mainte riche damoisele
 Auoit o elles de grant pris
 Ici com ie el liure lis

²⁴ So far parallels have been drawn between images which have been composed in a similar way and contain similar subject matter. The image in figure 11 is not entirely dissimilar to that of figure 2, for Peleüs and Jason are shown standing behind or beside a trestle table just as the figures here stand behind or beside Hector's bier. However, the events in these two images are markedly different.

Por esgarder le sacrefice
 Lanniuersaire e le seruice
 E por les dames esgarder
 Vinrent de lost li bacheler
 Li ostelain rien ne cremoient
 Car ferme true entriaus auoient
 De lost greiois li amiraut
 Li plus prisiet e li plus haut
 I venoient pour esgarder
 Lanniuersaire celebrer
 Nes meismes dans achilles
 I vint tous desarmeis si pres
 Que bien peust a caus parler
 Ml't sen peust bien consirrer
 Mar ia porta ains les pies
 Car ains quil sen soit repairies
 E de la feste retornez
 Estera il mal atornez
 Sa mort i a mise an sa main
 Veue i a polixenain
 Apertement en mi la chiere
 Cest locoisons e la maniere
 Par quil sera geteis de vie
 E lame de son cors partie

Benoît describes a lavish ceremony attended by the whole city at which Hector's mother Ecuba, sister Polixena and sister-in-law Heleine of Troy are the principal mourners. The Greeks attend as observers, amongst them is Achillès, who sets eyes on Hector's sister Polixena and falls in love. This sets in motion a chain of events that leads to his death: in trying to negotiate marriage with Polixena, he agrees to cease fighting for the Greeks, but when he is inevitably dragged into warfare again, Polixena's mother Ecuba is so outraged that she sends Paris to kill Achillès in an ambush under cover of night.

The richly patterned cloth draped over the bier is a nod to Priam's extravagance in staging the ceremony. Jung has stated that the female characters in this scene are not individualised,²⁵ but I would suggest that close examination of the group reveals that the artist has deliberately included all of the female characters mentioned in the passage above. The central figure, hands clasped in a gesture of mourning, wearing a wimple and a mantle similar to those worn by kings elsewhere in the text, is probably Ecuba, Hector's mother. She is flanked by two women wearing white kerchiefs. The woman to the left, wearing a crimson robe with vermilion crosshatchings and a girdle picked out in white, is probably Polixena, Hector's sister. Her hand is raised, palm inwards, and

²⁵ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 113.

she appears to be looking towards Achillès, who is returning her gaze, in a direct visual reference to the point in the text when Achillès sets eyes on her and falls in love at first sight. The text mentions only his feelings at this point, but the fact that Polixena is shown by the illustrator to be returning his gaze might indicate that the illustrator was aware that she covertly reciprocated his feelings, something which is made known by Benoît later in the story. It is certainly not the case that 'l'amour est absent de l'illustration'.²⁶ When describing Achillès' reaction to seeing Polixena for the first time, Benoît makes it very clear that by falling for her, Achillès has sown the seeds of his own doom. The woman to the right of Ecuba, wearing a blue robe with the same patterning as Polixena's, is probably Heleine. There is a fourth head partially visible behind, who might be Andromacha. Finally, on the right, there is one partially visible man whom I believe to be Paris standing next to his wife Heleine. Ecuba's eyes are trained on the tomb, while Heleine is looking at Paris, who is also looking down at the tomb – her arm is also aligned with his raised hand. Paris' presence foreshadows his killing of Achillès under cover of darkness. This image not only foregrounds the effect Hector's death has on his loved ones, but also looks ahead to the impact that this event will have on Achillès' own fortune.

Hector's death does not, of course, bring with it the end of the war, and the Trojans and Greeks fight on. There is a series of four initials which portray action in front of the city walls. One is a generic scene of battle which actually precedes Hector's death, but the rest show in turn three characters who succeed Hector as pre-eminent warriors after his death; the last of these three images does not contain a combat, but instead contains a scene showing the grisly fate of one of these heroes in the aftermath of war.

The first battle scene depicted in the initial 'A' (*Acompli*) in column a of fol. 95^r (figure 10) occurs at the beginning of the ninth battle, and shares many of the features of the illustrations of the other scenes featuring knights in battle in front of Troy after Hector's demise. Two groups of armed warriors on horseback are shown clashing outside city walls. The two warriors in the foreground on each side are wearing full helmets and wielding lances. The warrior on the right has managed to pierce the shield of his counterpart, but does not appear to have unseated or wounded him (it is worth mentioning that no other warrior in the manuscript is depicted inflicting such grievous wounds as Hector did upon his opponents). Their shields are decorated with diagonal

²⁶ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 113.

lines similar to those used to decorate the cloth of the caparisoned horses. The caparison of the left-hand horse is particularly long, flowing, and ornate. The knights in the background are fighting with swords; one has his face exposed, but for the most part only the tops of their helmets are visible. The ninth battle is actually referred to as the eighth one in the text of L1 and of several other manuscripts,²⁷ and is one of the shortest in the poem, and it begins at the top of column a on the same folio as the initial:

En iceste bataille huitainne
ains que trespasast la quinsainne
ot ml't ocis de haute gent
ce dit dares qui pas ne ment
maint duc. maint amiraut prisie
i ot ocis e detranchie
en cel termine e en cel mois
ml't plus quil nauoit fait ancois
morurent cil qui naure erent
sachies ml't po en eschaperent
vne foie en cel este
i ot si grant mortalite
que sempre erent li naure mort
ml't en orent grant desconfort
e cil defors e cil dedens (ll. 15197-15211)

The walls of Troy are on the right of the image, as usual. No gates are depicted, but there is an archway on the upper level of the tower that is filled in with black pigment and speckled with white. This brief conflict begins at line 15187 with the armies entering the battlefield and fighting until evening for twelve days, until Agamemnon petitions Priam for a truce (l. 15219). The archway in the wall, with its white dots against a dark background, is perhaps intended to convey a starlit sky under which the knights fought. No deaths of notable warriors occur; instead, the general loss to both sides is recognised as the major impact of this battle.

The next image in this series occurs at the beginning of the thirteenth battle, in the capital 'B' (*Beneois*) in column a of fol. 119^v (figure 12), and shows armed warriors on horseback in front of the city walls on the right, with a portcullis just visible behind the knights. The warrior in the foreground on the left is wearing a full helmet, carrying a shield on his left arm with the arms azure, a bend argent, and holding a sword aloft with his right hand. His elegant white steed contrasts with the rather crudely drawn black

²⁷ For example, in L1's close contemporaries, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 783, and Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H.251. See Constans' critical apparatus for details of other manuscripts with this variant (*Le Roman de Troie*, vol. 3, 16).

charger being ridden by his adversary. This warrior's face is exposed and his right arm raised high in the air, wielding the shaft of a lance. His shield of gules is displayed prominently and bears a charge, namely a six-legged creature with large green eyes, similar to that of Hector's shield on fol. 76^r.²⁸ The distinctiveness of the shield and its similarity to Hector's may mean that this warrior, fighting on the Trojan side, is Hector's brother Troïlus, since he is the first and only warrior to be named in this relatively brief battle in the text overleaf (ll. 19282, fol. 119^v), and he is really seen to come into his own as a soldier after Hector's death. Indeed, it is his exploits which push the Greeks to beg Achillès to take up arms again. The warrior behind him, wearing a full helmet, is bearing a partially visible shield which has the same kind of animal on it, but the colours are different. The heads of other soldiers are visible in the background on both sides, one with an exposed face. There are the usual dismembered body parts underfoot. There also appear to be two arrows or bolts flying through the air from left to right above the heads of the combatants – the points of these weapons are triangular, in contrast to those of the spears drawn elsewhere in the manuscript, which tend to be diamond-shaped (cf. fols. 95^r (figure 10) and 140^r (figure 13)). The artist may have included this detail in response to these lines, which describe the profusion of arrows falling on the battlefield:

persant traient e arrabois
traient saietes dars turcois
plus espesement quel gresille (ll. 19263-5, fol. 119^v)

Although the artist depicts details like the precise kind of weaponry used, it is worth mentioning that another distinctive aspect of the battle is not portrayed: the weather plays a large part in this conflict and the soldiers leave the battlefield soaked with rain and blood (ll. 19272-5, fol. 119^v), but there is no sign of such climatic conditions in the image. Nonetheless, it seems likely that this is not just a generic battle scene, but one which seeks to showcase the prowess of another of Priam's sons, albeit not in the form of an epic deathblow dealt out to a notable enemy.

Following this image of Troïlus in combat is another battle scene in the capital 'E' (*en*) in column a of fol. 140^r (figure 13). At ten lines high, this is one of the larger initials, and it is also one of the most finely illustrated battle scenes, for example, the horses' caparisons are richly decorated and the many folds in the drapery have been

²⁸ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 112.

carefully drawn. The composition of the scene is very similar to that of fol. 119^r, with two knights jousting in the foreground, with other warriors and the city walls behind, and body parts underfoot. However, the shields and weapons are different and the horses on fol. 119^r are not caparisoned. The warrior on the left is wielding a lance this time, but appears to have missed his opponent. The warrior on the right, on the other hand, has managed to smash his sword onto the helmet of the lance-bearing knight, causing blood to spurt out. The shield of the left-hand knight bears what appears to be a serpent or the tail of a lion, whereas that of the right-hand warrior resembles a star, flower or heraldic mullet. It could be an example of the 'targe a flor' referred to in l. 22662 (fol.140^v). The initial occurs at the beginning of the twentieth battle, which starts with the theme of the *reverdie*, also used to evoke a time of transition on fols. 14^v (figure 3) and 26^v (figure 4); a description of the bloody carnage ensues as the exploits of Paris and his Greek counterparts are reported. Elizabeth Morrison says that this initial depicts the death of Paris, and it is true that Paris is killed in the twentieth battle, but it seems unlikely that the warrior receiving a blow to the head represents Paris, because he is on the left of the image rather than the right, which is normally occupied by the Trojan side. Although Paris's feats of arms are referred to several times in the text immediately following the initial, his weapon of choice in the text is the bow, not the sword as wielded by the right-hand warrior (l. 22747).

The final image in this series and the penultimate one of the manuscript, in the initial 'R' (*Riches*) in column b of fol. 151^r (figure 14), features a group of furtive-looking armed warriors standing by city walls, from which the head of a soldier looks down upon the group. On the right of the picture, in front of the tower, there are the rear ends of three departing horses, which perhaps denote the retreating Trojans and Amazons, and which thus convey the immediacy of the aftermath of the final battle. The initial does not illustrate the content of the lines of text immediately alongside and below. In ll. 24397-404, just after the initial, Benoît signals that he will be relying primarily on the account of Dictys of Crete rather than on that of Dares the Phrygian, and he briefly refers to the credentials of the two purported eyewitnesses. Then, in ll. 24405-24 he delivers a 'sorte de nouveau sommaire annonçant le double finale du récit, la destruction de Troie et les 'retours' des chefs grecs'.²⁹ However, instead of being inspired to depict one of the sources of Benoît's romance, to illustrate the dramatic

²⁹ Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. and trans. By Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vieillard, *Lettres Gothiques* (Paris: Le livre de poche, 1998), p. 656.

moment of the ultimate destruction of Troy, or to show the Greeks leaving the city once and for all, the artist instead illustrates the events recounted in ll. 24430-59, concerning the fate of the Amazon warrior Panthesilee's corpse at the hands of the conquering Greeks – all of this text occurs overleaf, on fol. 151^v:

La roine de femenie
 fu ml't plainte e regretee
 E tendrement des iox ploree
 Cil defors ont le cors mire
 E dient que de sa bonte
 Ne nasqui onques rien viuant
 Parle en ont petit e grant
 Sauoir que del cors seroit fait
 Dient que grant honte e grant lait
 Lor fist de venir encontre eux
 Si lor a fait damage e duex
 Par li e par le sien effort
 Ia des lor .x. mille mort
 Par maintes fois les a vaincus
 Soit len teis guerredons rendus
 Que ia ne soit enseuelie
 Neptolomus nagree mie
 Ansois vuet quele ait sepulture
 E son seruice e sa droiture
 dolor seroit e retrasson
 se same auoit dampnation
 tout ce desuuet dyomedes
 Sor tos en est fel e engres
 A trestoiz vuet faire otroier
 Quas chiens soit donnee mengier
 Ou en vn des flueues getee
 Ceste est la veriteis prouuee
 Quen eschandre la trainerent
 La sauons bien quil la geterent
 Cest vne eauue ml't tres parfonde

There is a figure in the midst of the group of Greeks whose face is turned to the front, while another knight on the far left is looking into the centre of the group. The overall effect of the knights looking in different directions conveys a sense of guilt, and also of division, in contrast to the tight and united ranks of soldiers that we have seen up to this point. The artist may be conveying the disagreement among the Greeks when they disposed of Panthesilee's body: Pirrus, her killer, argues that she deserves a proper burial (ll. 24445-50), but Diomedès argues that her remains should be thrown into the

river Scamander as punishment for the damage she had done to the Greek forces when she was alive, and it is his opinion that holds sway (ll. 24451-59). As we have seen in chapter 3 of Part I, when Panthesilee joined the Trojan forces after the deaths of Troilus and Paris, she was for a time one of the most formidable opponents of the Greeks, and a worthy successor to the sons of Priam in terms of military achievements.³⁰ At the front of the group two knights are turned towards each other, again looking in opposite directions; one is stooped over the lifeless body of Panthesilee and holds her arm with both hands, while the other has one hand raised with the palm outwards to show he is speaking to his companion, and the other arm lowered to point at Panthesilee's corpse. This figure could be Pirrus arguing for an appropriate burial, or Diomedès proposing the ignoble disposal of the queen and persuading someone else to do the deed.

The condition of Panthesilee's corpse is particularly interesting, for it reveals that the artist has paid some close attention to the passage containing the account of the Amazon warrior's death that precedes this image. On fol. 150^v, the previous page, the moment when Pirrus cuts her down is described and the first devastating injury is recounted in ll. 24312-3: 'par entre le col e lescu/ seure li a le bras del bu'. After the severing of her arm, she falls off her horse, and all her limbs are chopped off and her brains spill on the grass.³¹ The image does indeed clearly show that one of Panthesilee's arms has been severed, but the only other apparent injury is a black eye. Given that in the text following the initial the Greeks are said by the narrator to admire the beauty of Panthesilee's body, the artist might have found it problematic to show Panthesilee with all this damage done and expect people to believe that her remains are subject to admiration. Perhaps the artist compromises by showing the Amazon with her primary injury and bruising. At the very least, it is clear that the artist is familiar with the circumstances of her death; the treatment meted out to her corpse contrasts poignantly with the honour accorded to her predecessor in arms, Hector, on fol. 109^r. It is appropriate that Panthesilee's corpse, rather than an illumination of Dictys or of Troy in flames, should be the subject of the penultimate initial, for it forms the third in a series depicting the inheritors of Hector's mantle: Troilus, Paris and finally Panthesilee.

³⁰ See chapter 3, pp. 98-110.

³¹ See chapter 3, pp. 109-10.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the artist appears to have had a policy of basing the subject matter of the historiated initials on carefully selected information from the text following the initial. Details and composition of the images point to a very close reading of the text on the part of those responsible for the illustration of the Harley manuscript. Jung has remarked on the illustrator's predilection for battle scenes, but it might be more accurate to state that, overall, the artist had a taste for portraying scenes of exchange, whether the transaction involved blows, words or passionate glances. In some cases, as on fols 109^r (figure 11) and 151^r (figure 14), the artist is illustrating details from an especially long stretch of text, though the section of the poem illustrated is nearly always on the same folio or overleaf. Responsibility for the conflict is shown to lie with both sides. Paris is shown sailing to Greece, and it will be his action which starts off the war. But moments when the Greeks show their willingness for war, and their hatred of Hector, are also emphasised. The interior of Troy is only shown during the moment of amnesty, when Hector is remembered. Otherwise, Trojans are represented either by their heroes, or by witnesses looking down from the tower. When scenes of combat are illustrated, the artist takes pains to portray a variety of forms of combat – from the hand-to-hand combat on foot between Achillès and the king of Mysia (figure 4) to the general mêlée of the ninth battle (figure 10). There also appears to be a deliberate intent to showcase different levels of achievement on the battlefield. Hector is at the top of the hierarchy, as he is shown meting out two epic blows, while his brothers do not display such unequivocal might. All the same, the artist shows awareness of Hector's character flaws by alluding to his covetousness, and does not shy away from portraying Panthesilee's grisly fate. There is more interest in the illustrations in the interplay between politics and warfare than in the romantic liaisons in Benoît's story, though the love between Achillès and Polixena is strongly hinted at. As we have seen, the artist at times brings in elements from other parts of the text, not in proximity to the image, in order to add further resonance to his illustrations. Some images are strongly related to others in the sequence, but motifs and modes of composition are not doubled purely out of expediency, but in order to draw parallels and to create dynamic relationships between the successive images of this iconographical programme. We have identified two images which are particularly rare in the iconography of Troy (figures 6 and 9), but these form an integral part of the programme of illustrations in L1, as they reveal insights about Achillès and reinforce the achievements of Hector, thereby contributing

to the overall foregrounding of heroism in this manuscript. In the following chapter, where the iconographical programme of L1 will be compared with that of its contemporaries, Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section de médecine, H. 251 and Paris, BnF, f. fr. 783, the internal resonances of L1's sequence of images will become all the more apparent.

Chapter 6

Comparison of the Historiated Initials of BL, Harley 4482 with Other Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*

In the previous chapter the images of L1 and their relationship to the text of the manuscript were examined in some depth. It was suggested that L1 may present a particularly close ‘reading’ of the text via its historiated initials, but this suggestion needs to be seen against the broader context of manuscript illumination in this period. In order to consider how typical the approach of the artist of L1 is, this chapter begins by considering the similarities and differences between L1 and its two closest counterparts in terms of age and manuscript decoration: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 783, and Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H.251. The illustrations of the text that occur at the same points in the narrative in the three manuscripts will be compared with each other, in order to gauge the nature of the text-image relationship in the three manuscripts. Then, the overall effect of the three different iconographical programmes and their relationship with the story of the *Roman de Troie* will be evaluated. Taking into account the decoration of manuscripts illuminated in different time periods and geographical regions, I will focus specifically on the presentation of Panthesilee, with a view to situating L1 within the wider context of Troy manuscript illumination, and exploring possible iconographical links between L1 and other, later manuscript traditions.

Comparison of L1 with D and M1

Like L1, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 783, hereafter referred to as D, and Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section de médecine, H.251, hereafter referred to as M1, are thought to have been produced around 1300.¹ D and M1 are a pair of manuscripts long recognised as being closely linked to one another on linguistic and iconographical grounds. They were first identified as close relatives by Léopold Constans because of textual similarities. For example, all of the lacunae of M1, save

¹ Morrison dates Montpellier H.251 and BnF, f. fr. 783 to c. 1300 (‘Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*’, p. 242, p. 254) and Harley 4482 to the mid to late thirteenth century (ibid., p. 240).

that of the missing folios at the beginning of this codex, are shared with D.² D itself lacks what would originally have been the fifteenth quire, that is, 8 folios, between folios 112 and 113, corresponding to ll. 18053-19378, a passage which is present in M1.³ Most of the lacunae are small, though longer portions of the text, such as Benoît's description of the Orient (ll. 23127-356) are also absent from both D and M1.⁴ The art historical features of D are later remarked upon by Doris Oltrogge, who associates the manuscript with L1 because both manuscripts contain what she describes as non-specified topoi;⁵ she does not mention M1, perhaps because the images of the latter manuscript are accompanied by rubrics. The manuscripts are only briefly mentioned by Oltrogge and were probably not consulted in depth; as shown in chapter 5, the images contained in L1 could hardly be described as non-specific, for they convey a wealth of narrative detail. It was not until Jung compiled his handlist of the Troy manuscripts that more details emerged of the art historical similarities between the three manuscripts. When describing D and M1, Jung points out that the two manuscripts have been decorated in a very similar way, that is, the historiated initials in D are found in exactly the same positions as in M1. The two manuscripts have similar *mise en page*, with two columns of forty lines on each folio, although the overall dimensions of D are slightly larger than those of M1.⁶ Due to the lacunae in both manuscripts, there are only 26 of these large initials in D and 23 in M1, but it seems likely that the original iconographical programme consisted of 28 initials. Furthermore, Jung remarks that nine of the initials in L1 are positioned at identical points to those in M1 and/or D, as shown in the table below.⁷

² *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 18n.

³ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 181.

⁴ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vi, 33-34. This passage is also absent from L2 and B (see chapter 3, p. 83).

⁵ Doris Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen zur Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César (1250-1400)*, European university studies: Series XXVIII, History of art vol. 94 (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 1989).

⁶ D measures 310 x 230 mm, and the written space measures 240 x 170mm, whereas M1 is 300 x 200 mm, with a written space measuring 200 x 130-150 mm (Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 116, p. 180). L1 measures 260 x 167 mm and has a similar *mise en page*, but the written space is much smaller at approximately 176 x 104 mm (Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 110).

⁷ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, pp. 110-113 (L1); pp. 116-124 (M1); pp. 180-185 (D).

	London, BL, Harley 4482	Montpellier, H.251	Paris, BnF, f. fr. 783
l. 1	1 ^r	[missing folio]	1 ^r
l. 715	5 ^r	[missing folio]	5 ^v
l. 2183	14 ^v	[missing folio]	14 ^v
l. 4167	26 ^v	[missing folio]	27 ^r
l. 5583	35 ^v	6 ^r	36 ^r
l. 15187	95 ^r	65 ^v	95 ^r
l. 17489	109 ^r	80 ^r	109 ^v
l. 19207	119 ^v	90 ^v	[missing folio]
l. 22599	140 ^r	103 ^r	132 ^v

Shared placement of historiated initials across L1, M1 and D

The significance of the similarities between D and M1 has been explored in depth by Morrison, who links certain aspects of the iconographical programmes of these manuscripts to promotion of the Capetian royal family as the legitimate rulers of France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. She does this within the context of a wider ranging analysis of the developments of the iconography of the *Roman de Troie* from the earliest fully illuminated manuscript, BnF, f. fr. 1610 (J) (c. 1264),⁸ through to one of the latest illuminated manuscripts of the text produced in France, BnF, f. fr. 60 (A).⁹ One of the major contributions of her thesis is the reevaluation of J, in the face of Buchthal's dismissive opinion.¹⁰ In order to show how the dynastic concerns of the Capetians continued to be represented in manuscripts illuminated in Paris from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century, she holds up the iconographical programmes of D and M1 as evidence. She argues that D and M1 share with BnF, f. fr. 1610 an emphasis on the theme of Greek perfidiousness, which she sees

⁸ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 82-133.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 182-220.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 85.

as ideologically important to Capetian claims of Trojan descent.¹¹ However, this part of her thesis is less convincing, and I believe that she misinterprets certain images which she claims represent the duplicity of the Greeks. For example, the final image of D on fol. 173^v depicts a figure on the left speaking to a group of people on the right. This image occurs at l. 29815, and Jung's interpretation of the scene as Ulysses recounting his dream seems correct.¹² Ll. 29822-4 refer to the learned audience summoned by Ulysses to help him interpret his dream. However, Morrison says that this image depicts 'the gathering of Greeks in an assembly following the death of Ulysses' and she identifies one of the figures on the right as Aeneas, claiming that the intent is to remind readers of his treason.¹³ It seems more likely that the artist was depicting Ulysses in life describing his prophetic dream than departing from the actual content of the text to highlight the treachery of those who betrayed Troy.

Morrison argues that D was produced in Paris,¹⁴ and that M1 was either produced under the direction of the same *libraire*, or that the two derive from a common model, or that one was based on the other.¹⁵ Whatever the reason for the closeness of the relationship, the two manuscripts resemble each other strongly enough for them to be described as 'twins'.¹⁶ However, Morrison does not attempt to elucidate the iconographical relationship between D, M1 and L1, stating that there are no meaningful parallels between the images that occur in the same positions in the text across the three manuscripts, and that it is impossible to form 'any complexity of interpretation' from L1's illumination scheme.¹⁷ Admittedly, with only fifteen historiated initials, L1's programme of illuminations is more limited than those of M1 and D, but we have already seen that its images abound in information derived most probably from the text. It remains to be seen whether D, and its 'twin', M1, contain historiated initials that are just as deeply anchored in the text they illustrate. Furthermore, by comparing D and M1 with L1 I will demonstrate that it is not entirely the case that manuscripts produced outside the Parisian milieu had, as Morrison claims, 'completely different illumination schemes followed by artists without the same concerns.'¹⁸ If she had looked at L1 more

¹¹ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 164.

¹² Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 184.

¹³ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 172.

¹⁴ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 144-49.

¹⁵ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 164-5. She mentions that Constans found traces of Picard dialect in the manuscript.

¹⁶ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 163.

¹⁷ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 178-180.

¹⁸ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 134.

closely, she would have noticed that Hector is clearly designated as the pre-eminent warrior and that the Greeks come across as being bent on his destruction, as well as duplicitous, whereas Hector is only really remembered in death in D and M1 – his exploits are not *mis en relief*.

Comparing and contrasting these initials which occur at the same divisions in the narrative in M1, D and L1 reveals that they share many similarities in terms of content and style, as might be expected in three manuscripts produced at approximately the same time, but the differences between them indicate that the makers of these manuscripts had different priorities in selecting which aspects of the text to emphasise. What will become very clear is that, as Jung has observed, in D, there is a tendency for the illustrator or planner to rely on the lines which immediately follow the image (although it is not always the case that the image illustrates the text); in M1, there is a greater reliance on the rubric.¹⁹ Morrison also notes the reliance on rubrics in M1, arguing that D demonstrates a more sophisticated interpretation of the actual text.²⁰

Since M1 is acephalous, D and L1 in fact share four initials at the start of the text which are lacking in M1, although it seems likely that M1 would originally have had four initials matching those in D. On the first folio of D, there is a miniature depicting the destruction of Troy at the top of the folio across the width of two columns. This miniature does not have any counterpart in L1 or M1, although of course, as with the initials, there may originally have been a similar miniature in M1. The first two initials of L1 and D appear to illustrate the same elements of the text, but in D the images appear to have been transposed in error. In L1 the first initial (figure 1) depicts a scribe seated at a lectern and in the process of writing, probably representing Benoît de Sainte-Maure, as described in chapter 5.²¹ The second initial, occurring at l. 715, shows Peleüs challenging Jason to seek the Golden Fleece. In D, the first initial (figure 16) contains a sheep with a golden fleece, whereas the second (figure 17) contains an image of a kneeling scribe offering a book to a king seated on the right, who is taking hold of the book with his left hand and has raised his right hand, his index finger pointing upwards as if to show that he is speaking. Morrison observes that the royal seal dangling from the codex in figure 17 is similar to one seen in a copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* produced for a member of the Capetian court (Paris, BnF, f. fr. 10132), which could mean the *Roman de Troie* has received royal approval and that it can be

¹⁹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 184-5.

²⁰ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*' pp. 164-5.

²¹ See chapter 5, pp. 135-6.

associated with the tradition of pro-Capetian historiography. This is a persuasive point, but Morrison goes on to argue that her assertion is supported by the fact that this image appears at a juncture in the text which has no obvious connection with iconography relating to royal patronage, meaning that ‘the scene is very clearly meant to be understood by the reader as a presentation miniature at the beginning of the text proper’.²² This argument appears unconvincing when the first two initials of D are compared with those of L1. In L1 the images relate to the subject matter of the text that they accompany, but in D, there appears to be a simple inversion, and Morrison does not take into account the presence of the sheep on the first folio where a presentation scene would be expected. It is indeed the case that the ‘text proper’ begins at line 715, following Benoît’s lengthy prologue and summary of the narrative, but it cannot safely be said that the artist or planners of the manuscript originally intended to articulate the text in this way.

Emmanuèle Baumgartner has also noted the unexpected appearance of the sheep instead of a ‘scène de commande’ in the first initial of D, and has given two possible explanations for the inversion. It could be that the mention of a ‘riche rois’ in l. 715 on fol. 5^v of D caused the illustrators to place the portrait of a king in that initial instead of at the beginning of the text. Alternatively, Baumgartner suggests that the planners of the manuscript deliberately inverted the subjects of the initials. Beneath the miniature showing the destruction of the city is the golden fleeced sheep, a symbol of covetousness which is therefore linked to the fall of Troy by the planners of the manuscript. The scene showing royal patronage is propelled to the beginning of the actual narrative of the *Roman de Troie*, ‘un texte qui stigmatise cette convoitise et en retrace les néfastes effets.’²³ Baumgartner’s explanation of a possible deliberate transposition takes into account the relationship between the text as a whole and the images that illuminate it, which makes it a more convincing explanation than Morrison’s assertion that an attempt was being made to link the *Roman de Troie* to the tradition of royal historiography.

The next three initials in D which appear in the same place in the text as in L1 are all seascapes. The first, on fol. 14^v (figure 18), occurs at line 2183, corresponding to the image on fol. 14^v of L1 (figure 3). The lower half of the scene is taken up with

²² Morrison, ‘Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*’, p. 169.

²³ Emmanuèle Baumgartner, ‘Seuils de l’oeuvre: Le folio liminaire des manuscrits du *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure’ in *Le dialogue des arts*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Landry and Pierre Servet (Lyon: CEDIC, 2001), pp. 13-31 (pp. 19-20).

billowing waves, on which sail two boats, the boat in front bearing four warriors, the one behind bearing two. The artist uses simple naval architecture to give depth to the image, with square sails suspended perpendicularly to the masts. As in L1, the image in D depicts Hercules' fleet sailing to Troy with the intention of wreaking revenge for Laomedon's rude treatment of the Greeks when they were on their way to Colchis. However, instead of showing the moment of arrival at Troy, as in L1, the historiated initial in D depicts the voyage of the fleet, on open water with no land in sight. The sails billowing in the wind give the impression that the fleet is surging along on the high seas, and the arrangement of the warriors, turned towards each other rather than all facing the same way as in the corresponding initial of L1, is more suggestive of camaraderie than single-minded retaliatory intent. As stated in chapter 5, the lines immediately following the initial evoke the *reverdie* topos (ll. 2183-91), but the subject of the image in D appears to relate to ll. 2192-99, which describe the departure of the fleet, composed of noblemen summoned by Hercules, and the voyage itself:

Puis se mistrent es hautes ondes
 La ou elles sont plus profondes
 Traient e siglent a efforts (ll. 2197-9, Ms. D, fol. 14^v)

The artist or planner stops short of illustrating the Greeks' first military incursion on Trojan territory, which is detailed in ll. 2199-2210, and presented in L1 as an encounter between the two sides thanks to the head drawn watching from the city walls. Rather than emphasising the confrontational nature of the Greeks' journey to Troy, the artist of D chooses to illustrate a colourful but inconsequential moment from their sea voyage.

The next initial, on fol. 27^r (figure 19), is strikingly similar to its corresponding initial on fol. 26^v of L1 (figure 4), at line 4167. Both initials show two boats facing each other at sea, which contain the same number of warriors – four in the vessel on the left, three on the right. There are obvious differences of style, such as the way in which the sea is drawn in D, lacking the fish of L1 but with far more pronounced waves and painted blue rather than jade. The boats, too, are drawn differently in D, with masts with crossbars with square sails hanging from them. Otherwise the main difference is in the way that the crew are drawn. The initial in D is one line higher than in L1, which allows more space and probably explains why the figures are better drawn than in L1. However, in L1 there seems to be a conscious effort to show the hierarchy of the boats' occupants. The scene is of the encounter at sea between Menelaus and Paris, who are

distinguished in L1 by being made more prominent in comparison to their shipmates, for the two characters are drawn somewhat taller; furthermore, Menelaus, on the left, is drawn wearing a crown. By contrast, all of the figures in D have heads and torsos of the same size visible above the bulwark. No crowns or other distinguishing features are used. Overall, however, the corresponding initials in each manuscript resemble each other more strongly than any other pair of initials that occur in the same places in the text in D and L1. In both cases, the subject of the illustration pertains to lines 4233-8, cited in chapter 5, describing the moment when the two parties saw each other.²⁴ In the case of D, these lines are on fol. 27^v. As with the previous pair of initials, the artists in both manuscripts have skipped the *reverdie* device in order to depict the action, but there is a longer gap than usual between the image and the lines in the text that inform it in this case.

The third of these seascapes in D has a corresponding image not only in L1 but also in M1 (the first of the extant sequence of images in M1), though neither feature the sea. The image in D on fol. 36^r (figure 20) is superficially similar to figure 19 above, in that it features two parties of warriors in boats facing each other at sea. The main difference is that there are no sails visible, and instead of the majority of the two groups gazing at each other in a confrontational manner, the warriors of each group are turned to one another. The composition of the figures is similar to the one used in figure 18, which shows the Greek fleet sailing towards Troy. This image is meant to convey the famous motif of the catalogue of ships mentioned in ll. 5583-5702, immediately following the initial. Of course, only two boats are shown, not the forty-nine listed, but certainly the line ‘aprestee fu la naue’ (l. 5596) is accurately conveyed by the scene of the two boats without sails, suggestive of boats in harbour making ready for a voyage.

The corresponding historiated initials in M1 and L1 do not contain seascapes, because they do not directly illustrate the catalogue of ships which follows the initial. Instead, both portray council scenes. In the case of L1, as we have seen in chapter 5, the scene is most likely to be Agamemnon addressing the Greeks before their voyage to Troy.²⁵ The initial in M1, on fol. 6^r (figure 24), shows five figures, three fully visible sitting next to each other in a row, and the other two behind. The central figure has a raised hand and index figure, while the two figures on either side have their hands raised to their chests with palms inwards as if giving assent; these gestures are similar to

²⁴ See chapter 5, p. 140.

²⁵ See chapter 5, p. 141.

those made by Agamemnon and his interlocutors in L1. Another similarity, in terms of style, is the way in which the three front figures in M1 are clasping the two panels of their mantels together with their hands, like the figure facing Agamemnon in L1. The central figure of M1 could be intended to represent Agamemnon delivering a speech, but he is not wearing any regalia like his counterpart in L1. The rubric accompanying the image in the Montpellier manuscript is ‘Commant li grezois pristrent conseil ensemble por aler seur troiens’; the collective actions and intentions of the Greeks are described in the rubric, but no individual is named. The fact that the middle figure is shown speaking but is not distinguished in any other way might mean that the illustrator relied purely on the information in the rubric in order to draw a council scene with no obvious hierarchical structure. Without knowing the identity of the council members, the artist perhaps did not feel the need to show the elevated status of the person speaking, as in L1.

The historiated initials in the three manuscripts which illustrate the ninth, thirteenth and twentieth battles reveal the differing lengths to which the artists went in conveying the nature of combat over the course of the Trojan war. As mentioned in chapter 5, the ninth battle does not feature any named individual warriors, in contrast to the thirteenth and twentieth battles, but the artist of L1 has still attempted to convey the fierceness of the fighting in the historiated initial on fol. 95^r (figure 10).²⁶ On the right, the lance of a Trojan warrior is piercing the shield of his adversary, whose surcoat, as well as the caparison of his mount, have been drawn as if blown back by the wind to convey swift movement of the Greek side towards the walls of Troy where they are strongly resisted. Both lances and swords are being wielded at various angles and striking the bodies of those on the opposing side at several points, giving the impression of a multitude of warriors fighting in a confined space, with dismembered heads and limbs underfoot.

In contrast to this scene of violence and carnage, the depictions of the ninth battle in D and M1 appear choreographed and almost balletic. In the corresponding initial in D on fol. 95^r (figure 21), the two sides, all in full helmets, gallop towards each other with élan, surcoats fluttering in the breeze, but the lance born by the left hand warrior is perfectly level and makes no connection with his opponent. There is no other weapon in sight and the shields do not bear any features by which their bearers might be distinguished. There is greater distance between the two sides than in L1 and only the

²⁶ See chapter 5, pp. 149-50.

front quarters of the horses are in contact with each other. It seems that we are witnessing the moment just before the two sides clash in battle, rather than the height of the *mêlée* as in L1; perhaps the artist based the illustration on line 15190, which alludes to the Greeks' and Trojans' entry onto the battlefield after arming themselves ('Puis sen issirent as chans fors'). The counterpart initial in M1, on fol. 65^v (figure 25), contains an even more decorous military encounter, accompanied by the rubric 'Comant li grezois e li troien/ Rasseblerent apres les treues'. The initial is narrower than its counterpart in D, so there are fewer warriors in the reduced space, but as in D they are all wearing full helmets and shields with few distinguishing features. The only weapons deployed are swords; these are held at symmetrical angles by opposing warriors in such a way that the gauntleted hands holding the hilts of the swords are crossed over each other. A very similar formal patterning of the swords is employed in the depiction of the twentieth battle in M1 on fol. 103^r (figure 28), but in illustrating the thirteenth battle on fol. 90^v (figure 27), the artist of M1 appears to have decided to vary this pattern. In this image, the artist seems at first to have drawn the typical V-shaped pair of crossed swords, but then added a third sword brandished aloft by the righthand warrior. The sword forming the left half of the V-shape cannot therefore be held by the righthand warrior, and the viewer is left without a clear indication of who is holding it.

The decorum of the warriors' deportment is complemented by the decorative composition of the horses, whose legs are carefully drawn and evenly spaced. The eye is drawn to the white charger ridden by the left-hand warrior; the horse's elegant head to the right of the image's centre is drawn with a determined expression. The artist of M1 appears to have taken particular care with the depiction of horses. In this image, as in those that illustrate the thirteenth and twentieth battles, we see horses which, in contrast to the stereotyped poses of the anonymous warriors with covered faces, appear full of individuality. The horse of the leading warrior, which in all three images is on the left, facing towards the right, is varied considerably by subtle adjustments to the shape and positioning of the eye, eyebrow, and the lines on the muzzle suggesting the mouth. Thus, in the image of the ninth battle, the eye is almond-shaped, with a long and strongly curving eyebrow line, and the mouth formed of a short, straight line. This compares with a smaller, rounder eye and shorter, straighter eyebrow in the thirteenth battle, coupled with a more curving mouth line. In the twentieth battle, the horse has a very prominent, large eye with a substantial white beneath a long, straight and almost horizontal eyebrow. This horse is also distinguished by the long, curving line of its

mouth. These subtle differences lend individuality to horses that are otherwise depicted in near-identical conventional poses. This individuality appears to derive from the artist's own skill and enjoyment in depicting horses, rather than representing an attempt to relate the appearance of the horses to specific textual details.

Even in the conventional aspects of the depiction of horses in M1, the artist demonstrates a level of skill in marked contrast to that of the artist of L1. In the thirteenth battle in particular, we see a complex and neatly executed arrangement of interlaced horses' legs in M1, whereas the artist of L1 struggles with accurately rendering the form of horses in battle. For instance, in the thirteenth battle (fol. 119^v, figure 12), the horse that Troïlus rides is executed especially shoddily: it appears almost immobile, with no attempt to represent its individual front legs, and a single hind leg awkwardly fitted into the curvature of the initial.

Overall, the images of the ninth battle in D and M1 are more composed and less violent than the initial illustrating this battle in L1. As demonstrated in chapter 5, the aim of the artist in L1 appears to be to express the impact of the battle on both sides, whereas the artists of D and M1, perhaps relying solely on the information contained in the rubric or in the lines immediately following the initial, merely illustrate the fact that an encounter took place without dwelling on the ensuing carnage.

As we have seen, no named warriors take part in the ninth battle in the text, but the thirteenth and twentieth battles feature several notable characters from the Greek and Trojan armies. In chapter 5 it was suggested that the artist of L1 deliberately portrayed Troïlus and Paris in figures 12 and 13, marking them out with shields bearing heraldic devices reminiscent of Hector's arms in the case of Troïlus, or bearing a star or flower in the case of Paris. D and M1, in contrast, do not depict shields with clear identifying devices anchored in the details of the text. M1 tends to depict shields as plain fields of colour, while D employs fantastical devices such as the head of a cat or a man in some cases, and in other cases depicts shields as plain or striped fields of colour. L1 also includes details of the fighting activity mentioned in the text, for example arrows fly through the air in figure 12. In D and M1, there is not as much variation of weaponry. In M1, only swords are used and the warriors depicted all adopt the same postures. In D, lances are the weapon most commonly depicted; a bow is wielded by a warrior in the initial on fol. 132^v (figure 23), but this does not appear to relate to a detail in the accompanying text describing the twentieth battle. Moreover, in neither D nor M1 is there any contextualising city wall to give an indication of which side is which, and

faces are covered.

It could be that the stereotypical nature of the battle scenes in M1 and D betrays a lack of interest on the part of the makers of the manuscript in the outcome of the battles depicted, in the prowess shown and the lives lost. In contrast, the artist or planners of the Amiens manuscript show themselves to be highly engaged in what the battles reveal of the heroes involved, and concerned about showing the true human cost by not baulking at portraying severed heads and limbs.

The only other image besides the battle scenes which is broadly similar in all three manuscripts is the anniversary of Hector's death.²⁷ It is when comparing the images of this scene that the L1 artist's engagement with the text and all the emotional and political ramifications of the Trojan War becomes apparent, in comparison to the more superficial treatment of this scene by the artists of D and M1. On fol. 109^r of D we have a scene which, according to Morrison, reflects contemporary burial practices for dead royalty in France, 'with the body simply draped and surrounded by candles for public mourning' (figure 22).²⁸ The contours of the body are suggested by the black lines used to show the texture of the cloth, and the abundance of candles is suggestive of the expense of the ceremony. In Christiane Raynaud's survey of depictions of funerals in books of hours, missals, breviaries, psalters and antiphonals created in the northern half of France between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, early representations of funeral scenes often show the body covered with a pall, the outline of the head frequently visible underneath, and surrounded by candles; the body becomes less visible in scenes in more recent manuscripts, being hidden in a coffin instead.²⁹ It seems more likely that the illuminator of D has portrayed the funeral of Hector in this scene, rather than the commemoration of his death. There is a group of mourners seated on the left and two female figures sitting in the front row. The one closest to the bier has raised her hand to her cheek in a gesture redolent of mourning, which is echoed by the man sitting immediately behind her. Only the tops of the heads of the rest of the group are visible, but the impression is given of a multitude of mourners, which means that the illustrator was aware of Benoît's assertion that everyone in Troy was present that day. The

²⁷ This trio of images is discussed in my forthcoming article 'Strangers in the Sepulchre, Exchanging Glances: Depictions of the Anniversary of Hector's Death in the Illuminated Manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*' in *(Ex)change: Transitions and Transactions in French Literature and Culture*, ed. by Manuel Branganca and Steven Wilson (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010), and the discussion that follows is largely based on this analysis.

²⁸ Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 125.

²⁹ Christiane Raynaud, 'Quelques remarques sur les cérémonies funéraires à la fin du Moyen Age', *Le Moyen Age*, 99 (1993), 293-310 (pp. 300-01).

primary focus here is on Hector, and the secondary focus is on the act of remembrance, and the emotion and grief of those left behind, both his closest relatives and the townspeople as a whole, information on which is held in the first column of text, in which the initial is situated. It may well be that the two women at the front are supposed to be Hecuba and either Polixena or Heleine, all three of whom are mentioned as being present in the text; interestingly, only Hecuba and Polixena are mentioned in the first column, while Heleine is mentioned at the top of the second column, raising the possibility that the decision on what figures to include in the initial was based on the contents of the first column. The image does not present any details of Achilles or his fatal infatuation with Polixena in the second column of fol. 109^r.

The corresponding scene in M1 contains similar elements, with a body draped with a red pall attended by mourners, but they are arranged differently (figure 26). Instead of the image being divided on a left/right axis, the image is 'split' horizontally, with the cadaver and candles occupying the foreground, and the figures standing in the background. There are only three figures, which perhaps reflects this illustrator's taste for portraying human figures in sets of three elsewhere in the manuscript. This predilection for threefold patterning is continued in the foreground: there is one candle for each figure. Gestures convey an unmistakable sense of grieving and loss conveyed by the gestures – the central figure's hands are clasped to the chest, while the two flanking figures have their hands raised to their cheeks and are gazing down onto the corpse, whose head is clearly discernible beneath the sheet. Again, the obvious presence of the body is typical in funeral scenes in manuscripts from this period, as indicated by Raynaud.³⁰

Jung has remarked that the illustrator appears to have followed the rubric, which says 'Comant len plaignoit Hector quant il fu mort e comant len fist son seruisse'. As the rubric does not mention Achilles falling for Polixena, the illustrator uses a traditional image of mourning for this scene.³¹ Consultation of manuscripts illuminated by illustrators working in a style similar to that of M1 reveals the stereotypical nature of this composition.³² The two figures on the left- and right-hand sides have been identified as female by Jung, but since their hair is short and uncovered, it seems more likely that

³⁰ Raynaud, 'Quelques remarques', pp. 300-01.

³¹ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 120.

³² See, for example, the similar composition of the depiction of the death of Josephes, on fol. 156^v of ms Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 951, containing the vulgate Arthurian Cycle (lacking the Lancelot). See Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acree, 1275-91* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 122-4 (plate 212).

they are men. The veiled figure in the middle is certainly a woman. Morrison identifies her as Andromacha, Hector's wife, although this character is not mentioned at all in the context of the anniversary. Her devastated initial reaction to his death one year before is described at length (ll. 16459-78), after which it is said she took to her bed (16869-70). In the course of illuminating M1, it appears that the illustrator did not just use the rubrics as a guide, but relied more heavily upon them than upon knowledge of the text. The most persuasive evidence of a preference for his being guided by the rubric alone is the historiated initial whose rubric alludes to the use of *olifanz*. The initial contains a miniature of a man riding on an elephant, whereas the adjacent text describes the noise made in battle by the musical instruments which bear the same name.³³ The wording of the rubric implies that Hector has just died, not that one year is being marked from the time of his death, which brings the rubricator's own knowledge of the story into question. It may well have been the illustrator's intention to portray the grieving wife of Hector, as Morrison assumes, though it is impossible to be sure. The focus is certainly on the act of mourning for Hector, though the presence of only one woman and two men means that the miniature is less specifically linked to the ceremony as it is described in the text.

In the version of this scene in L1, as in the preceding images, the presence of Hector's body is far less obvious, having apparently been interred in a stone sarcophagus covered with a pall (figure 11). As funeral scenes in manuscript illuminations from the thirteenth and early fourteenth century often showed the body draped in a sheet, the fact that the illuminator of L1 has enclosed Hector's body in a tomb may show awareness that time has elapsed since the moment of the funeral ceremony.³⁴ There are no candles, but the opulence of the occasion is suggested by the richly patterned cloth of the pall. The L1 illustrator seems to combine the two modes of composition used in the other manuscripts by placing figures both behind and to the side of the sarcophagus, making the most of the available space. There are six figures altogether, engaged in a complex series of exchanges involving Achilles, Polixena, Hecuba, Andromacha and Heleine.³⁵ There are the traditional hand gestures of mourning, but what is really interesting here are the different focuses of the figures' gazes. Hecuba's eyes are trained on the tomb, while Heleine is looking at Paris, who is also looking down at the tomb – her arm is also aligned with his raised hand. Achilles

³³ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 120; Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 171.

³⁴ Raynaud, 'Quelques remarques', pp. 300-01.

³⁵ See chapter 5, pp. 146-9.

and Polixena, though, appear to be looking at each other, in a direct visual reference to the point in the text when Achilles sets eyes on the sister of Hector and falls in love at first sight. The text mentions only his feelings at this point, but the fact that Polixena is shown by the illustrator to be returning his gaze might indicate that the illustrator was aware that she covertly reciprocated his feelings, something which is made known by Benoît later in the story. It may appear that a similar exchange of glances occurs in M1, but closer examination reveals that while the central female figure's eyes may be looking in the direction of the man on her left, his eyes are quite plainly concentrated on the tomb, and he is clearly in a position of mourning. Achilles was of course the killer of Hector and is not shown to have any feelings for his victim; in Benoît's text, he only has eyes for Polixena.

The complicated dynamics visible in the Harley scene are appropriate at this juncture in the text. It marks a pause in hostilities during which even the worst enemy of Troy is permitted to enter its most sacred space. This moment harks back to the greatest loss of the Trojan war so far, but also anticipates both the fall of Troy and of the Greeks' greatest warrior, Achilles, by showing the moment he falls in love with Polixena. Moreover, Paris is partially visible at the edge of the frame, which foreshadows Paris's killing of Achilles under cover of darkness. This is a multi-layered scene that at once concentrates the reader's attention on the present while at the same time directing it backwards and forwards in the narrative. It is an image which effectively illustrates the interaction between love and war that runs through the whole poem, acknowledging the drastic effects that they have upon each other.

It is impossible to prove that this image, showing enhanced awareness of the text and a departure from commonly used models of mourning, had any influence on the work of later illustrators, because it is not known how many exemplars have been lost. However, a miniature depicting the anniversary from a copy of the *Roman de Troie* produced in the 1330s shows a continuation in the trend of illustrating Achilles falling for Polixena during the anniversary service. Fol. 101^r of manuscript BnF, f. fr. 60, produced a few decades after the three manuscripts discussed above, contains a strikingly similar composition, but drawn by known artists who are reputed to have shown little critical understanding of the texts they illustrated. The Rouses have shown that Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston were a husband and wife team of artists who were prolific illustrators of rapidly-produced manuscripts who appeared to frequently

derive all necessary information on the image from the rubrics that accompanied them.³⁶ The rubric accompanying this miniature refers explicitly to both the anniversary and Achilles' fatal *coup de foudre*.³⁷ The details conveyed in the rubric enabled the artists to present a nuanced version of the anniversary scene. The actions of this rubricator indicate that by the third decade of the thirteenth century, there was an appetite for emphasising both the epic and romance elements of this text for readers of the manuscript. Baumgartner reads this in terms of a rejection of verse historiography in favour of prose versions of the past, noting that the makers of BnF, f. fr. 60 included the *Romans de Thèbes*, *Troie* and *Eneas* but omitted the 'natural' offshoot of these works, the *Roman de Brut*, which accompanies the *romans antiques* in earlier compilation manuscripts. She argues that the extraction of this trilogy of *romans antiques* into a cycle of 'récit pur' means that the codex was created as a work of fiction divorced from the tradition of vernacular verse historiography represented by compilations centred on the *Brut*,³⁸ although an alternative explanation might be that by the thirteenth century, this account of the history of Britain might have been regarded as less suitable for inclusion by French compilers of manuscripts containing historical material.³⁹

It can certainly be said that close examination of L1 reveals it to be a more sophisticated response to the Troy story than previously thought. While D and M1 emphasise the loss of the great hero Hector, and the ensuing sense of devastation, the interpretation of this event in L1 focuses on the loss of one hero and also, through the exchange of glances, foreshadows the loss of another as a result of *fin amor*. It is evidence that towards the end of the thirteenth century, readers of the text responded to this episode as a pivotal moment in a narrative of complex structure and powerful themes. Just as love interacts with war, so text interacts with image; readers of L1 have their attention drawn to romance and epic elements of the *Roman de Troie* because the makers of the manuscript have allowed their illustration of the manuscript to be informed by detailed knowledge of the text.

This comparison of L1, M1 and D suggests that L1 can be seen as representative of an evolution in cycles of illustration in Trojan war narratives towards the end of the thirteenth century, as illustrators exchanged traditional models of the narrative for more specific imagery informed by greater textual awareness. As we have seen, in L1 textual

³⁶ Rouses, *Manuscripts and their makers*, I, 235.

³⁷ Jung, *La Légende de Troie*, p. 155.

³⁸ Baumgartner, 'Seuils de l'oeuvre', p. 27.

³⁹ Karen Pratt, personal communication, 12th May 2010.

details that informed the illuminations were not always selected from the immediate vicinity of the initial, but sometimes from quite far ahead in the text. Moreover, more details are packed into the miniatures than could be contained in a normal sized rubric, such as those seen in M1.

In M1, the rubricator gave quite general indications of what was happening in the text, with the result that the artist in at least one place completely misunderstood the subject of the rubric by illustrating an elephant instead of a trumpeter, as mentioned above. This narrow reliance on rubrics is apparent in the initials discussed above, and contrasts with the situation in L1. In D, as we have seen, the initials are often similar to those in M1 in their stereotyped scenes, and show signs of a lack of attention to the text in the transposition of the first two initials. There are, however, no rubrics in D, and the initials can usually be seen to relate directly to textual details in their immediate vicinity, gleaned either from the artist's own reading of the text or from the instructions given by the planner of the manuscript. Set against this, the careful attention of the artist or planner of L1 to the overall narrative is striking. Although the similarity in the positioning of initials across three manuscripts may indicate a common ancestor, the greater degree of textual engagement shown on the part of the illustrator of L1, who was probably based in the Amiénois region, may reflect workshop practices which differed from those in the Paris where M1 and D are likely to have been produced.

Iconography of Panthesilee in Harley 4482 and related manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*

Having considered the programmes of illustration of the *Roman de Troie* in M1, D and L1, we have identified L1 as a manuscript containing a particularly original and textually-aware treatment of the material. Within this treatment, it is apparent that Hector is identified as a prominent figure, and this raises questions about the treatment of the figure of Panthesilee who, as we have seen in chapter 3, functions within the full version of the text as a counterpart to Hector, but whose impact is reduced in the L2 redaction. In the centuries following the composition of the *Roman de Troie*, Panthesilee was enshrined as one of the Nine Female Worthies, which led to increased interest in representations of her in later medieval art,⁴⁰ but this canon of female excellence took much longer to develop than its male counterpart, and was never as

⁴⁰ Scot McKendrick, 'The "Great History of Troy": a Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 54 (1991), 43-82 (p. 78).

prominent. The following analysis of the depiction of Panthesilee in L1, and overview of representations of this figure in other illuminated manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie* will trace out what aspects of the warrior queen were deemed suitable for illustration.

The intervention of Panthesilee at the end of the Trojan war is a subject which is selected for illustration in nearly all of the illuminated manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*. However, we shall see that the manuscripts emphasise differing aspects of her role: for example, in L1, she is shown as a cadaver being disposed of in an ignoble fashion, whereas in other manuscripts she is depicted as a conquering hero. In order to interpret the portrayal of Panthesilee in L1, it will be necessary to examine it in the context of the overall iconography of this character in the illustrated Troy manuscripts, the great diversity of which was briefly evoked in the introduction.

The manuscripts can be divided into two groups. The first consists of manuscripts which were produced in France, five of which are dated to the second half of the thirteenth century:

- 1) Paris, BnF, f. fr. 783 (D): original programme of 28 decorated initials.
- 2) Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H. 251 (Montpellier H. 251): original programme of 28 decorated initials.
- 3) Paris, BnF, f. fr. 1610 (J) 29 miniatures of one column width and 8 full page miniatures (some of which have been removed from the manuscript).
- 4) Harley 4482: 15 decorated initials.
- 5) Nottingham, University Library, Mi. LM. 6 (N4): 83 historiated initials, of which 33 occur in the part of the manuscript that contains the *Roman de Troie*.

One manuscript is dated to the fourteenth century: Paris, BnF, f. fr. 60 (A); this contains 32 miniatures. There is another fourteenth-century manuscript, Paris, BnF, f. fr. 19159 (M), in which space was made for illuminations which were never executed.

The second group consists of manuscripts which were illuminated in Italy. The following manuscripts have been dated to the 1340s:

- 1) Paris, BnF, f. fr. 782 (C)
- 2) Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 2571 (W)
- 3) Venice, Marc. fr. XVII (V1)
- 4) Vatican, Vat. Reg. Lat 1505 (R)

5) St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, fr. F. v. XIV. 3 (S)

Marc-René Jung points out that the French manuscripts contain 167 miniatures in total, whereas the five Italian manuscripts above are abundantly illustrated, containing 1450 miniatures between them.⁴¹ In addition, there is another Italian manuscript from the 1340s, Firenze, Ricc. 2433, but this manuscript will not be taken into account because none of the images bear any relation to the text. Furthermore, there is a thirteenth-century illuminated manuscript, Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, D 55 sup (M2).⁴² With its more modest programme of 17 historiated initials, it could be said to have more in common with the French manuscripts, iconographically speaking.

The fourteenth-century Italian manuscripts, with miniatures on nearly every folio of the manuscript, give the fullest visual account of the life of Panthesilee. Of these Italian manuscripts, the Vienna manuscript (W) is of particular relevance here, as it is almost identical to Paris, BnF, f. fr. 782 (C).⁴³ The scenes from the narrative are painted at the top or the bottom of the folio, without a frame, and Jung has remarked upon the monumental quality of the miniatures.⁴⁴ I refer to H. J. Hermann's full description of the miniatures for the description that follows.⁴⁵

In the Vienna manuscript, we first see Panthesilee riding at the head of her cohort of Amazons when she greets Priam as he rides out to meet her from Troy (fol. 143^v). On fol. 145^r we see the first of a series of battle miniatures – in this one she unhorses Menelaus. On fol. 148^r, still in the midst of the *mêlée*, she has grabbed the saddle of Pirrus and looks as if she is about to defeat him. However, on 149^r we see that a wounded Pirrus has taken his sword to Panthesilee and is severing her arm. Hermann provides a colour plate of this scene (taf. LX), in which we can see that Panthesilee is on the left, wearing a crown with a dark braid of hair running down her back. Several of the Amazons have such a braid. In contrast to the opposing Greek forces, none of the Amazons carry shields, which would have obscured their backs, and the artist may have decided to leave shields out in order to allow this distinguishing feature to stand out.

⁴¹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 39.

⁴² See also Introduction, pp. 7-8.

⁴³ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 177-80 (C), pp. 297-306 (W)

⁴⁴ Marc-René Jung, 'Hector assis' in *Romania ingeniosa: mélanges offerts à Gerold Hilty à l'occasion de son 60e anniversaire*, ed. by G. Lüdi, H. Stricker & J. Wüest (Bern: Peter Lang, 1987), pp. 153-69 (p. 165).

⁴⁵ H. J. Hermann, 'Italienische Handschriften des Duecento und Trecento.2. Oberitalienische Handschriften der zweiten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts' in *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, ed. by I. Wickhoff, 9 vols (vol. 8, no. 5, part 2), (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1929), pp. 135-52.

Panthesilee's surcoat and the caparison of her horse are sprinkled with a five-petalled flower device on an azure background. On 149^v we see the Greeks harrying the Amazons as they escape through the walls into the city. Finally, on 150^r, the Greeks are depicted in council, with Diomedès edes recommending that Panthesilee's body be thrown into the river Scamander (so as to deny her a proper funeral as punishment for the damage she did to the Greek forces).⁴⁶

The only parts of Panthesilee's story which are not illustrated here are her battlefield encounters with other Greeks (there were many of them) and the fact that her body is eventually recovered and born home by Philimenis to Femenie, where she receives a funeral and a tomb. The conclusion to her story is probably not illustrated because once she has fulfilled the important function of symbolising the fall of Troy and allowing the Greeks to demonstrate their treachery, she is no longer important to the visual narrative.

Milan, Bibl. Ambr. D 55 sup. is also a manuscript of Italian provenance, but is dated to a much earlier period. In fact, Constans held the manuscript to be the earliest complete version of the *Roman de Troie*, using it as one of the primary base texts of the critical edition, although Jung has signalled that research by Renata Cipriani indicates that it does not merit such an early dating but was copied during the thirteenth century rather than at the end of the twelfth.⁴⁷ Even if the text is somewhat later than originally thought, in the light of Busby's generalisation about illuminated manuscripts belonging to later generations,⁴⁸ it is interesting that a manuscript copied only a few decades after the composition of the poem, and in a different country, should have such a relatively developed programme of illustration. The manuscript A1, which was discussed in relation to L2 in chapter 2, dates from 1237, perhaps not much later than the Milan manuscript, but it contains only two decorated initials, one for the frontispiece and one depicting Jason and Peleüs on fol. 5^r.⁴⁹ However, although the images in the Milan manuscript are more abundant, it contains only four scenes which relate directly to the text, the rest being griffins or fantastical hybrids. One of these, on fol. 156^v, depicts a dead Panthesilee lying with her arms crossed on a bier or shield; a pair of women are

⁴⁶ Hermann, *Italienische Handschriften*, p. 148.

⁴⁷ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 114-5. This manuscript was used as the base text of the most recent (partial) critical edition (Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Viellard, *Lettres gothiques* (Paris: Le livre de poche, 1994)).

⁴⁸ Busby, *Codex and Context*, I, 225.

⁴⁹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 134.

making gestures of mourning, one of them tearing at her long hair.⁵⁰ It illustrates the lines which follow:

La raïne de Femenie
Fu plainte molt é regretée
E tendrement de toz plorée [ll. 24430-2]

This is the only portrayal of the Amazon in death in which she is neither falling in battle nor about to be thrown into the river. Anne-Marie Gauthier asserts that the maker of the Milan manuscript was well aware that the death of Panthesilee represented a pivotal moment in the fortunes of Troy, and adroitly emphasises it by placing a miniature at this point which displays grief, despair and destruction. Moreover, Gauthier argues that a deliberate parallel is created between this image and an earlier historiated initial on fol. 104^v which she interprets as a representation of a crowned Hector reclining on his sickbed.⁵¹ Jung describes this figure as female, but as he was only able to consult a microfilm of the manuscript, he warns that some of his descriptions of the illuminations are subject to caution.⁵² If Gauthier's assertion is correct, then it is surely significant that out of four identifiable portrayals of characters in the Milan manuscript, two of them should be of Hector and Panthesilee. The other two images that Gauthier believes are specific to the text are on fols 84^r, in which she identifies the knight on horseback as Achilles, and 136^r, which she interprets as Achilles shaking hands with Agamemnon after agreeing to allow the Myrmidons to be deployed in battle.⁵³

Most of the French manuscripts have a less restricted iconographical programme than the Milan manuscript, but one of them, Nottingham UL Mi. LM. 6 (N4) shares the characteristic of containing some miniatures which do not obviously illustrate the text.⁵⁴ However, this manuscript also singles out Panthesilee for illustration. In contrast to the Vienna manuscript, where we see Panthesilee at the head of an army, in N4 we see her crowned and adopting a posture of mourning as Priam tells her of his son's fate (fol. 121^v). The emphasis is on her status as a sympathetic listener, reacting to events and

⁵⁰ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 116.

⁵¹ Gauthier, 'Edition et étude critique', p. 281.

⁵² Jung, *La légende de Troie*, pp. 118-121.

⁵³ Gauthier, 'Edition et étude critique', pp. 278-80.

⁵⁴ For example, the episode when Achilles falls for Polyxena at the anniversary of Hector's death is illustrated by a winged siren (f. 92r, l. 17489). At first sight, this has little to do with the text, but Jung speculates that the image could relate to Achilles' love (Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 130). The fact that Achilles' feelings will lead to his subsequent death in an ambush makes it seem likely that the image was selected to comment on the risks of falling in love.

showing her feelings for Hector, whom she loved from afar.

In M1 there is a historiated initial at l. 23089 (fol. 106^r) but it has been rubbed out. According to the rubric, which is incomplete, it depicted Panthesilee and her Amazons ('Comant la raine Panthesilee [...] son ost de dames').⁵⁵ The destruction of this image may reflect the *mores* of audiences of a later date, who disapproved of the Amazons. In D, as we would expect, an initial occurs at the same place, but it is a generic battle scene. Jung points out that M1 and D belong to a group of manuscripts in which the lengthy description of the East and Femenie has been omitted.⁵⁶ D is the only manuscript with a comprehensive illumination scheme which does not include Panthesilee at all.

Ms BnF, f. fr. 19159 (M) contains rubrics and spaces left for 39 miniatures which were never executed, but Jung asserts that the positioning of these spaces and the content of the rubrics can give an idea of the intended iconographical programme.⁵⁷ However, although some of the rubrics contain useful descriptive information, those which announce the battles do little more than enumerate them, and the only characters named as participants are Hector and Priam.⁵⁸ Jung believes that the miniature planned for fol. 143^r, on which the 21st battle started, would certainly have shown Panthesilee, but as Priam is mentioned in the rubric, it is likely that the king was intended as the main subject of the image. There was also an image planned after l. 23824, the 22nd battle. The rubric announces it as 'Ci est la derreniere bataille .xxii.'⁵⁹ This is the battle in which Panthesilee meets her death, so it is likely that she would have been depicted.

Ms BnF, f. fr 1610 (J) is the only manuscript in the French grouping which preserves a depiction of Panthesilee's prowess on the battlefield. This occurs at l. 23357 (fol. 138^r). Many manuscripts feature a decorated, historiated or large initial at this juncture in the narrative. But later, in a full page miniature on fol. 154^v, she is seen dying at the hands of Pirrus in the lowest part of a three chamber illustration. Above her the deaths of Troilus and Paris are depicted. So it is quite clear that the death of Panthesilee looms just as large for the illustrator of this manuscript as the deaths of two of the greatest Trojan warriors. To portray the Amazon queen dying in combat does not

⁵⁵ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 121

⁵⁶ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 121. The others are the non-illuminated manuscripts L2 and Paris, BnF, f. fr. 375.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁵⁸ Among the battle rubrics, Hector is mentioned once, after l. 15604 on f. 93r is 'Ci commence l'uitisme bataille, en laquele Hector fu ochis'. Priam is mentioned on f. 102r (the first battle after Hector's death) and on 143r. *Ibid.*, pp. 241 and 247.

⁵⁹ Jung, *La légende de Troie*, p. 247.

grant her victim status, rather, it means that she is elevated to the same position as Hector, Troilus and Paris, who are also shown dying in very similar circumstances. There are several ways in which Panthesilee doubles Hector during her brief appearance in the text: for example, she fights the son of Hector's mortal enemy Achilles, and she achieves feats such as almost managing to burn the Greek fleet, which is something that only Hector had been anywhere near achieving in the past. The artist seems to acknowledge that Panthesilee's prowess is equal to that of the sons of Priam. The fact that her killing is the image in the last register signifies that she was Troy's very last defence; the following full page initial shows the killing of Priam and Polixena within the city.

As we saw in chapter 5, the illustration of the treatment of Panthesilee's corpse on fol. 151^r of L1 is one of the most interesting in the manuscript because it contains tiny details that betray extremely close attention to the text. It is another scene where the multiplicity of directions in which the characters gaze, already remarked on above in relation to Hector's memorial service, may have special significance. This scene depicts the end of the war, with the departing flanks of three horses visible on the right representing the retreating Trojans. A group of Greek soldiers occupy the central ground, while the corpse of Panthesilee, one arm severed as recorded in the text, is being dumped unceremoniously in the river Scamander by the Greeks. The overall effect of the knights looking in different directions conveys a sense of furtiveness, and also of division, as Diomedès and Pirrus disagree over how her body should be disposed of.⁶⁰

The depiction of the disposal of Panthesilee's body in BnF, f. fr. 60 (A) is very similar – one knight holds the body, wounded in the torso and with legs and wrists joined, by the waist over the waves of the river, while behind him another knight points an index finger at him while exchanging a glance with a fellow warrior – perhaps Diomedès encouraging this course of action, or Pirrus in a gesture of expostulation against it. However, the image does not convey the division among the warriors which is articulated in the corresponding historiated initial in Harley 4482. This image is juxtaposed with the burning towers of Troy on the left, which seems to reverse the order of events, as Troy is not sacked until after Panthesilee has been thrown into the river. In general, the illustrators do not balk at showing the severed heads and limbs of ordinary warriors, but it is worth noting that out of the two manuscripts to depict the disposal of

⁶⁰ *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Constans, vol. 4, ll. 24446-59.

Panthesilee's body, only in L1 does the illustrator observe Benoît's detailed account of the gory dismemberment of Panthesilee; close examination reveals that her arm has been severed at the shoulder in this image, and there is blood pouring out. The artists of BnF, f. fr. 60 have been identified as Richard de Montbaston and the Fauvel Master.⁶¹ These artists have been described by the Rouses as possessing a superficial understanding of texts in comparison to other contemporary artists, though they were popular with wealthy patrons.⁶² Certainly the portrayal of Panthesilee's corpse in this Parisian manuscript does not reveal the same close attention to detail that is evidenced in L1.

This brief overview of the presentation of Panthesilee indicates that in manuscripts which allow for extensive decoration and illumination, her story can be told in full, but in manuscripts in which the iconographical programme is more limited, there is a marked preference for focusing on the manner of Panthesilee's death or the treatment of her corpse, rather than dwelling on her achievements as a warrior. The only manuscripts which show (or showed) her alive, and not killed in battle or desecrated, are N4 and, prior to the image being rubbed out, M1. The rest of the illuminated manuscripts offer scenes of her defeat as well as of her prowess, or they dwell solely on the image of Panthesilee as a victim of the Greeks' vengefulness.

Conclusion

A comparison of the iconographical programme of L1 with those of its close contemporaries, M1 and D, supports the idea raised at the beginning of this chapter that the makers of L1 engaged closely with the text in selecting scenes for illustration in the historiated initials. Every single initial in L1 can be linked to the text surrounding it in a very specific way, in contrast to the illuminations of M1 and D, which less frequently demonstrate a close and textually-aware connection with the *Roman de Troie*. The artist/planner of L1 does not rely on rubric or on text in the immediate vicinity of an initial, but draws details from parts of the text widely separated from the initial, demonstrating detailed knowledge of the text as a whole. It is also interesting to observe the artist's or planner's emphasis on romance and epic elements of the *Roman de Troie* in the depiction of the anniversary of Hector's death. In this respect it bears a similarity

⁶¹ Richard and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, Illiterati et uxorati (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000). An exhaustive list of manuscripts illuminated by the Fauvel Master is in appendix 8D (pp. 195-200) and a list of manuscripts illuminated by Richard de Montbaston is in appendix 9A (pp. 202-206).

⁶² Rouses, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, p. 259.

to the treatment of this scene in the latest extant illuminated manuscript of the *Roman de Troie*, BnF, f. fr. 60. When set against the iconographical programmes of its near contemporaries, M1 and D, this demonstrates not only the intelligence and textual awareness of the artist/planner of L1, but also the engagement of this individual with important emerging trends in the interpretation of the Troy legend. As seen in chapter 5, the iconography of Hector in L1 places him firmly at the top of the heroic hierarchy, with prominence also given to the feats of Achilles, Troilus and Paris. By contrast the battle scenes of D and M1 are stereotyped, with no individualisation of particular warriors. The treatment of Panthesilee in L1 and across the manuscript tradition reveals the variety of responses to this singular figure during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries: a character as multifaceted as Briseïda, we see her in the guises of courtly noblewoman and formidable warrior and, in death, her corpse is revered and exalted or ignominiously discarded.



Figure 2

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 5^r

L. 715

King Peleus and Jason at a banquet.

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Figure 3

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 14^v

L. 2183

The Greek fleet, led by Hercules, arrives at Troy prior to the first destruction of the city.



Figure 4

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 26^v

L. 4167

On his way to Greece, Paris' ship passes that of Menelaus.

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Figure 5

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 35^v

L. 5583

Agamemnon addresses the Greeks.



Figure 6

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 41^v

L. 6527

Achilles poised to strike King Tetrans during the expedition to Mysia.

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Figure 7

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 52^v

L. 8329

Hector kills Patroclus during the second battle.

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Figure 8

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 69^r

L. 10985

Agamemnon addresses Greek troops after the third battle.

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Figure 9

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 76^r

L. 12091

Hector kills King Orcomenis during the fifth battle.

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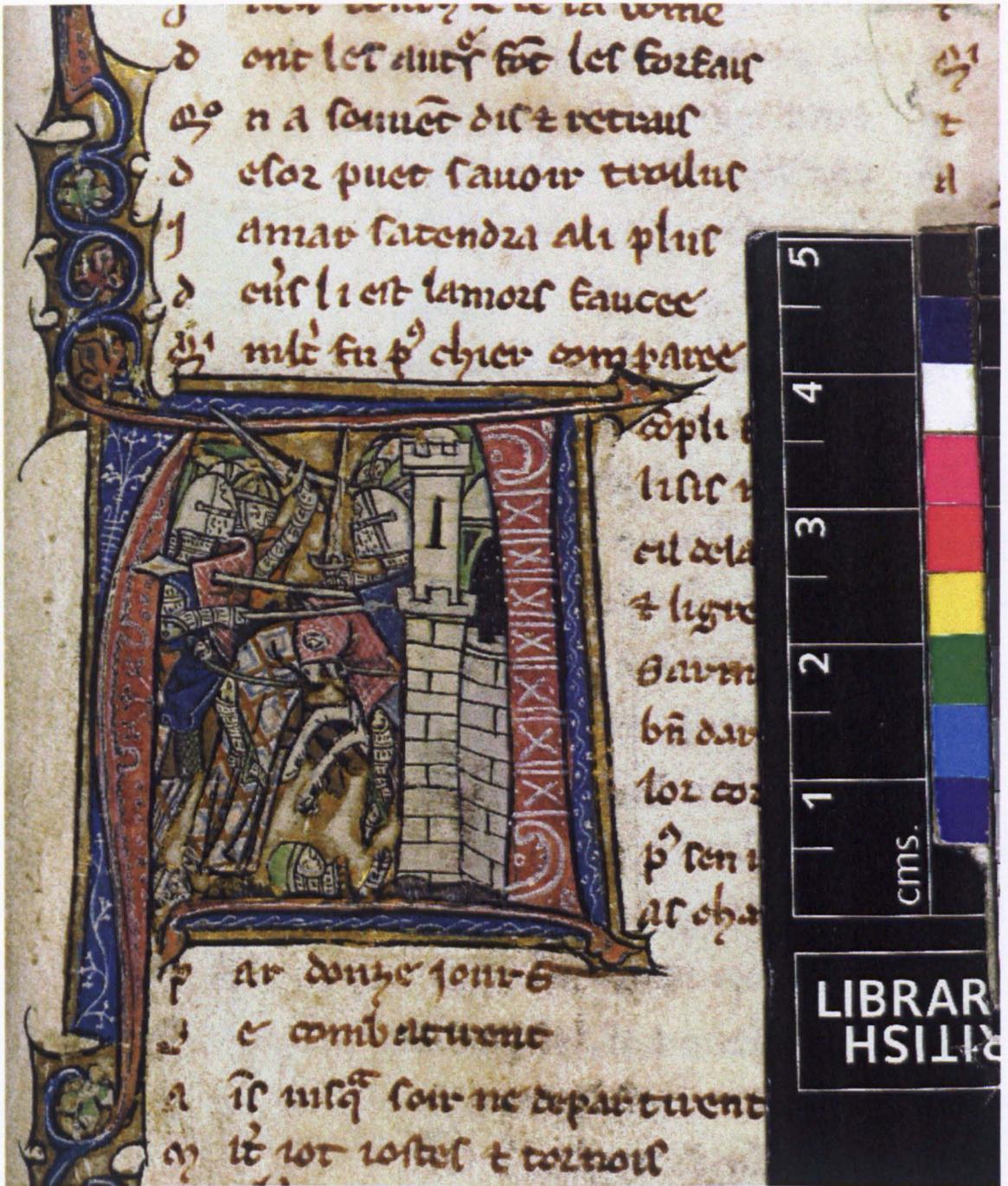


Figure 10

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 95^r

L. 15187

Ninth battle.



Figure 11

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 109^r

L. 17489

Anniversary of Hector's death.

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Figure 12

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 119^v

L. 19207

Thirteenth battle.



Figure 13

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 140^r

L. 22599

Twentieth battle.

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Figure 14

London, British Library, Harley 4482, fol. 151^r

L. 24397

The Greeks dispose of Penthesilee's body in the river Scamander.

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Figure 16

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 783, fol. 1r

L. 1

Miniature: first destruction of Troy.

Initial: the sheep bearing the golden fleece.



Figure 17

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 783, fol. 5^v

L. 715

A seated king receives a book from kneeling scribe.



Figure 18

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 783, fol. 14^v

L. 2183

The Greek fleet sails toward Troy prior to the first destruction of the city.



Figure 19

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 783, fol. 27^r

L. 4167

On his way to Greece, Paris' ship passes that of Menelaus.



Figure 20

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 783, fol. 36^r

L. 5583

The Greek fleet assembles prior to sailing over to reclaim Helen.



Figure 22

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 783, fol. 109^v

L. 17489

Anniversary of Hector's death.



Figure 23

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 783, fol. 132^v

L. 22599

Twentieth battle



Figure 24

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H.251, fol. 6^r

L. 5583

The Greeks in council.

Image created by the photographic service of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de
 Montpellier



Figure 25

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H.251, fol. 65^v

L. 15187

Ninth battle

Image created by the photographic service of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier

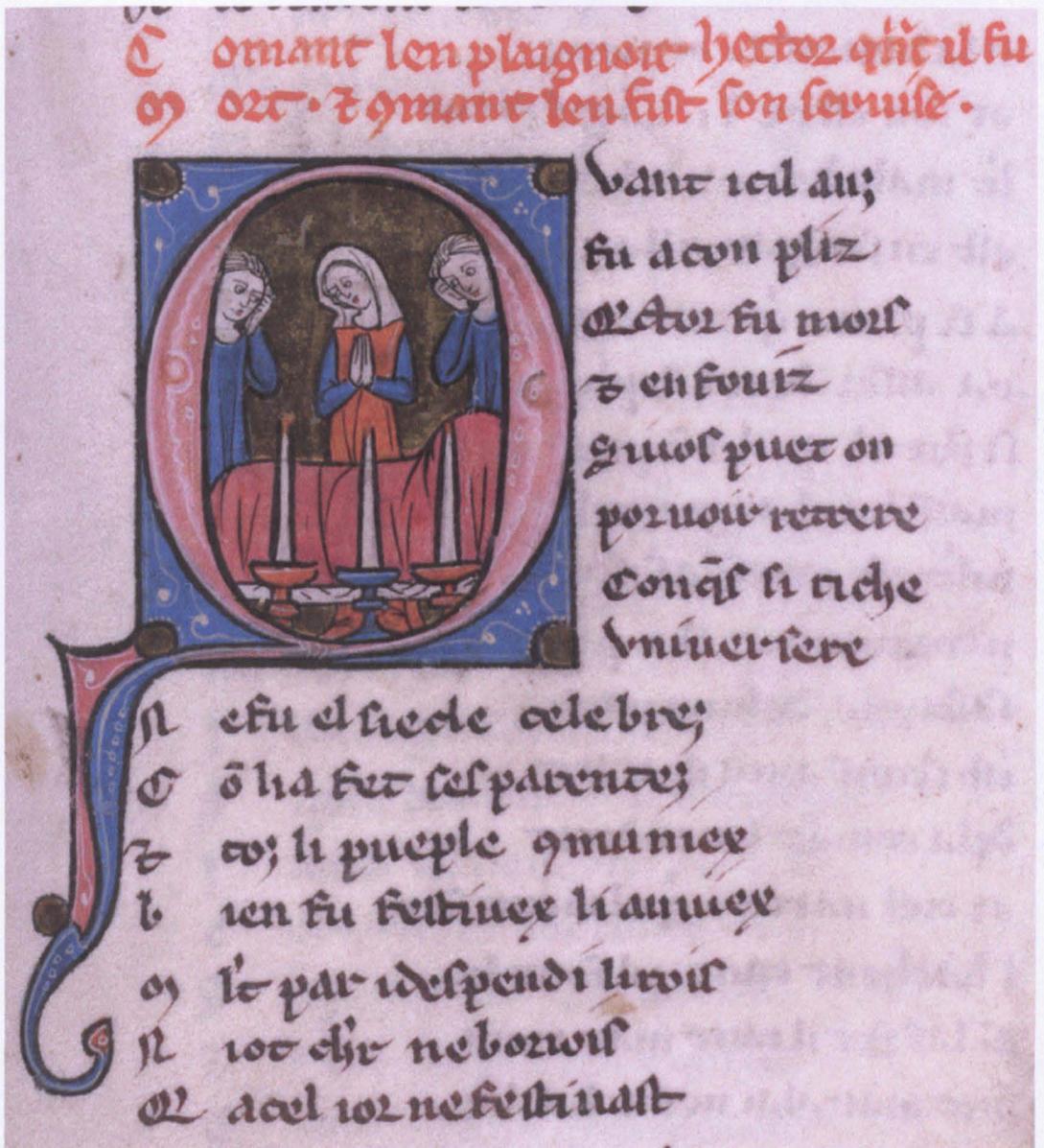


Figure 26

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H.251, fol. 80^r

L. 17489

Anniversary of Hector's death.

Image created by the photographic service of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier

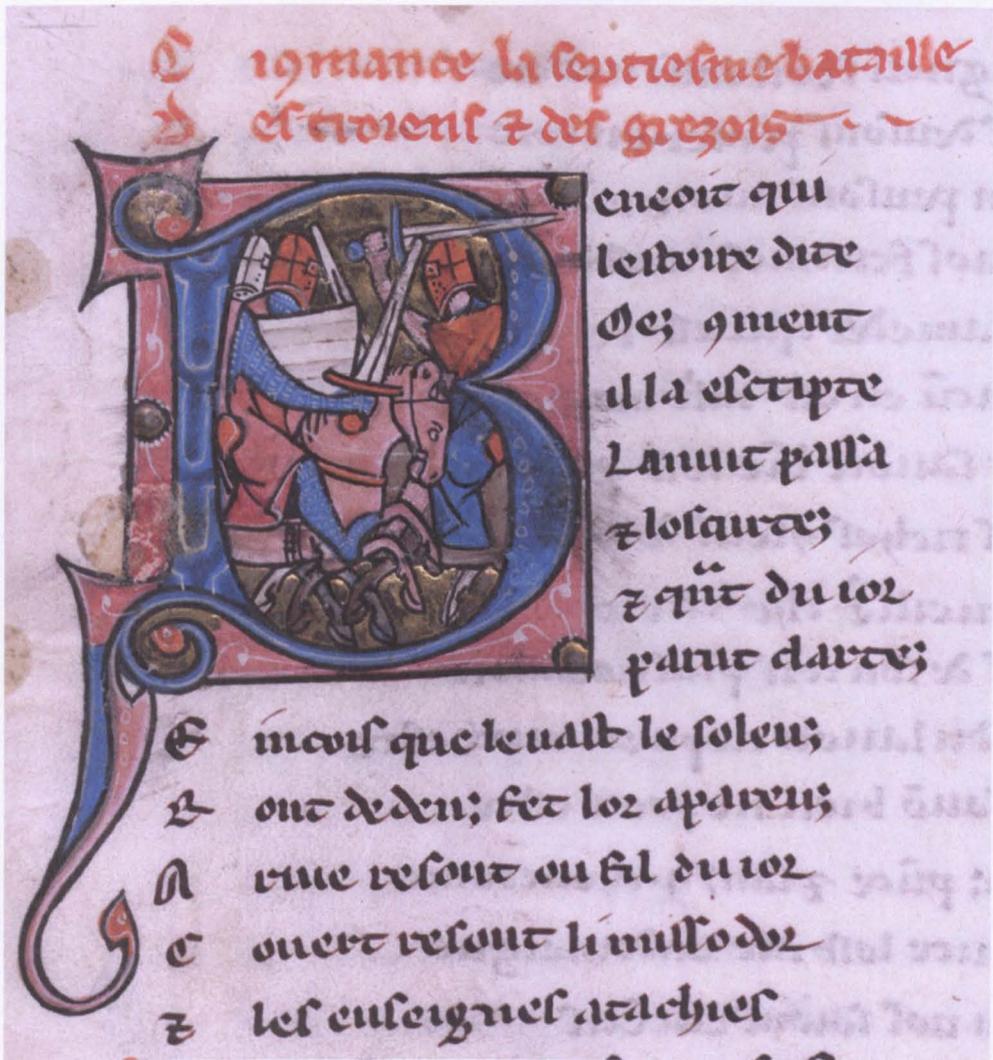


Figure 27

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H.251, fol. 90^v

L. 19207

Thirteenth battle.

Image created by the photographic service of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier



Figure 28

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, section médecine, H.251, fol. 103^r

L. 22599

Twentieth battle.

Image created by the photographic service of the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier

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¹ These are the manuscripts consulted directly or in the form of printed or digital facsimiles during the course of my research. For a full catalogue of the manuscripts of the *Roman de Troie*, see Jung, *La légende de Troie*.

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