Women and War in the Old French Troy Tradition:

Literary and Artistic Representations of

Female Agency in the *Romans d'Antiquité*

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Epigraph

Never mind. Point being that you don't have to get too worked up about us, dear educated minds. You don't have to think of us as real girls, real flesh and blood, real pain, real injustice. That might be too upsetting. Just discard the sordid part. Consider us pure symbol. We're no more real than money.

- Margaret Atwood, *The Penelopiad*

You may write me down in history
With your bitter, twisted lies,
You may trod me in the very dirt
But still, like dust, I'll rise.

- Maya Angelou, *Still I Rise*

Everything that explains the world has in fact explained a world that does not exist, a world in which men are at the centre of the human enterprise and women are at the margin 'helping' them. Such a world does not exist – never has.

- Gerda Lerner, *On the Future of Our Past*

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Abstract

The Old French *romans d'antiquité* (the *Roman de Thèbes*, the *Roman de Troie*, and the *Roman d'Enéas*) are often admired for their depiction of war, this being a focal concern of their respective narratives. However, the significant roles played by women in their representation of warfare are far less acknowledged. This thesis seeks to remedy that gap in the scholarship. The methodology is based on new philology, a gender studies approach, and new historicism. Attention is given not just to the *romans'* texts but also to later manuscript copies and their illustrations as a way of interpreting the texts' reception and value in the centuries after their composition. Chapter I considers the extent to which women were involved in the commissioning and patronage of the *romans* in the twelfth century and includes an analysis of manuscript traditions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Chapter II provides an overview of the written sources of the *romans* and shows how the female characters differ from their classical antecedents. It examines the *romans'* historical environment and identifies women with whom the texts can be connected and who may have helped influence the portrayal of the female characters. Chapters III-VII are dedicated to the different roles or experiences that women have in war. Chapter III looks at the ways in which women are invoked as the causes of war; Chapter IV surveys how they are victimised and suffer; Chapter V explores how they perform ancillary functions; Chapter VI takes on one of the most culturally popular images of women in war, which is the figure of the Amazonian woman-warrior; finally, Chapter VII analyses women's performance of political roles in conflict scenarios. Historical evidence suggests that this is the role in which we would expect women to be most active. Looking at these texts in this way sheds new light on women in the *romans d'antiquité* and illuminates how they are important to our understanding of the historical period in which these texts circulated.

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Editions

Quotations from *Thèbes* come from *Le Roman de Thèbes*, ed. and trans. by Francine Mora-Lebrun (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1995). Quotations from *Troie* come from Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. by Léopold Constans, 6 vols (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1904-12). Quotations from *Enéas* come from *Le Roman d'Enéas*, ed. by Aimé Petit (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1997).

Translations

All translations of the *romans d'antiquité* to English are mine unless otherwise indicated.[1] Translations of ancient languages or those that do not use the Roman alphabet are indicated in footnotes. Translations of modern European languages are not provided.

Spellings

Anglicised forms of spellings for people, places, and characters are used except in cases where the French form is in common usage. For example, Eleanor of Aquitaine (not Aliénor d'Aquitaine) and Helen (not Hélène), but Marie de France (not Mary of France) and Camille (not Camilla). Adjectives or possessives are used where necessary to differentiate the Old French characters from their classical counterparts. For example, 'Benoît's Cassandra' and 'the classical Cassandra', or 'the Old French Camille' and 'Virgil's Camille'.

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[1] My thanks go to Professor Rosalind Brown-Grant and Dr Alan V. Murray for checking my translations throughout this thesis. Any errors that may remain are purely my own.

Abbreviations

BAV   Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BL   British Library

BnF   Bibliothèque nationale de France

BNM Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

fr.   français

NL   Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Sigils

Manuscripts that contain at least one of the *romans d'antiquité* are referred to using sigils. The sigils are of my own designation and are assigned based on the first letter of the location in which the manuscript is found (e.g. P for Paris) followed by a number (if there is more than one manuscript in this location e.g. the manuscript located in Geneva is the only one and is therefore identified as 'G' not 'G1'). The number is determined by the dating of the manuscript (e.g. P1 is the oldest Paris manuscript and P19 the latest). The full shelfmarks and their sigils are detailed in Appendix I (arranged by sigil) and in the bibliography (arranged by shelfmark).

Introduction:

Women, War, and the Old French Troy Tradition

> Warfare is, nevertheless, the one human activity from which women,
> with the most insignificant exceptions, have always and everywhere
> stood apart [...]. If warfare is as old as history and as universal as
> mankind, we must now enter the supremely important limitation that it
> is an entirely masculine activity.[1]

The *romans d'antiquité* are often characterised as warfare narratives. If we were to accept

John Keegan's characterisation of warfare as 'an entirely masculine' activity then we may

not expect the *romans* to be the best place to look for women. Indeed, the epigraph to

Glyn S. Burgess and Douglas Kelly's recently published translation of *Troie* is a line of

poetry that simply reads, '[t]hese men shine darkly', perhaps confirming that we are about

to embark on an epic of male proportions.[2] But, as this thesis will show, such an

assumption would be wrong. Firstly, feminist scholars are working tirelessly to prove that

Keegan's characterisation of warfare is inaccurate and misleading; ever since Cynthia

Enloe asked 'where are the women?' in her seminal book on international politics in 1989,

scholars have been waking up to the universal and constant presence of women in warfare

partly by redefining what warfare actually encompasses.[3] Secondly, even if we were to

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[1] John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. 76.

[2] Lynette Roberts, 'Gods with Stainless Ears: A Heroic Poem', in her *Collected Poems*, ed. by Patrick McGuinness (Manchester: Carcanet, 2005), p. 64, quoted in Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *The Roman de Troie*, trans. by Glyn S. Burgess and Douglas Kelly (Cambridge: Brewer, 2017), p. iv.

[3] For example, warfare is not just fighting on a battlefield, it also includes politics, industry, economics, education, arts and culture, food, healthcare, and many other areas in which women are often integrated and indispensable: Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

define warfare simply in terms of battlefield-fighting, Marc-René Jung has calculated that only about a third of *Troie*'s text actually relates to combat (and the same proportion is roughly calculable for *Thèbes* and *Enéas*).[4] In the remaining two thirds we find a hive of activity in which women also feature. And thirdly, when we do look at the battlefield scenes, we find more than tales of just 'men' shining darkly, for both *Troie* and *Enéas* have women-warriors, too. Burgess and Kelly state in their introduction to *Troie* that there is 'only one' woman who engages in combat, and that her exploits are 'manly' anyway.[5] But this woman, Penthesilea, is not alone; she is accompanied by hundreds of other women in her army. And as Chapter VI of this thesis will explore, the exploits of these women-warriors are not manly but represent a distinctly feminine form of knighthood that is separate from, but certainly not inferior to, male knighthood. Clearly the debate over the extent to which war is a masculine activity is still going on and, as this thesis will show, it is a debate that medieval authors and audiences of the *romans* were engaged in, too.

i. The *Romans d'Antiquité*

Before outlining the scope and research aims of this thesis we need first to introduce the texts. Jean Bodel, a late twelfth-century poet writing in Old French, was the first to identify three distinct themes and literary cycles prevalent in medieval literature: 'de France et de Bretaigne et de Rome la grant' (*of France, of Britain, and of the Great Rome*).[6] The Old French Troy tradition is part of the *matière de Rome* and is made up of three texts known collectively as the *romans d'antiquité*.[7] They form an unbroken narrative that begins

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[4] Marc-René Jung, *La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge* (Basel: Francke, 1996), p. 10.

[5] Burgess and Kelly, 'Introduction', in Benoît, *The Roman de Troie*, p. 26.

[6] Jean Bodel, *La Chanson des Saisnes*, ed. by Annette Brasseur (Geneva: Droz, 1989), l. 6.

[7] Some scholars, such as Rosemarie Jones and Christopher Baswell, also classify Alexandre de Paris's *Roman d'Alexandre* (*c*. 1180-1200) and Thomas of Kent's *Roman de toute chevalerie* (*c*. 1174-

with the Theban wars between the sons of Oedipus and Jocasta, Eteocles and Polynices,

as told in the anonymous *Roman de Thèbes* (*c.* 1150-55). It continues with Benoît de Sainte-

Maure's *Roman de Troie* (*c.* 1160-65), which begins with the exploits of Jason and the

Argonauts, through the first sack of Troy by Hercules and the Greeks, and the wars and

second sack of Troy following Paris's kidnap of Helen. It ends with the anonymous

Roman d'Enéas (*c.* 1156), which relates the travels and wars of Aeneas and the exiled Trojan

diaspora as they resettle in Italy. After Aeneas marries Lavine, they begin a dynasty that

eventually produces Brutus, the legendary founder of Britain. All three are broadly defined

as translations of classical Latin works: *Thèbes* is a translation of Statius's *Thebaid* (*c.* 45-96),

Enéas a translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (*c.* 29-19 BCE), and *Troie* a combined translation of

both Dares Phrygius's *Excidio Trojae historia* (*c.* 400-99) and Dictys Cretensis's *Ephemeridos*

belli Trojani (*c.* 300-99). Of course translation needs to be understood in its medieval rather

than its modern sense; that is, as Silvère Menegaldo explains, 'qui priviliégie le sens sur la

lettre, qui ne s'interdit ni de supprimer ni d'ajouter ni de modifier et qui en somme tient

1200) as *romans d'antiquité* because of the geographical overlaps and Alexander the Great's apparent
Theban and Trojan ancestry: Christopher Baswell, 'Marvels of Translation and Crises of
Transition in the *Romans d'Antiquité*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. by Roberta
Kreuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 29-44 (p. 30); Rosemarie Jones, *The*
Theme of Love in the Romans d'Antiquité (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association,
1972), p. 1. However, there are reasons to separate the Alexander romances from the Theban-
Trojan romances. Firstly, the Alexander romances are written in dodecasyllabic rather than
octosyllabic verse, which led to the emergence of an entirely different metrical structure that is still
today known as 'Alexandrine' verse. Secondly, Jane Gilbert's work on the *Roman d'Alexendre* shows
that although it evokes the *romans d'antiquité* genre it does not conform to it: Jane Gilbert, 'Genus
and Genre: The Old French Verse *Roman d'Alexandre, Alexander and Dindimus*, and MS Bodl. 264',
Exemplaria, 27 (2015), 110-28. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the manuscript traditions of
Thèbes, Troie, and *Enéas* support a theory that they were received as a distinct and separate group by
medieval audiences, as will be shown in Chapter I.ii. For these reasons, this thesis does not include
the Alexander romances within its definition of *romans d'antiquité* but considers them as a separate
romans d'Alexandre tradition within the *matière de Rome* theme.

plutôt de ce que nous appellerions aujourd'hui une adaptation'.[8] Indeed the *romans*-poets make frequent diversions from their source material, both deleting certain aspects and adding new scenes and characters. The texts can better be said to have been inspired by classical sources, but emerge as distinct and individual original works. Menegaldo's study into the interplay between translation and invention during the development of the *romans* in the twelfth century is helpful in understanding the tradition of translation into which they appeared. He charts a progression across the century from translation to invention: the first type of translation is *traduction simple*, such as *Thèbes* and *Enéas*, which are *simple* in the sense that they are based on a single source (Statius' *Thebaid* and Virgil's *Aeneid* respectively). Next came *traduction complexe*, such as *Troie*, which are texts that translate more than one source (in Benoît's case, Dares and Dictys). Writers then faced 'une pénurie' of Latin texts suitable for translation and so they began looking for sources outside of the Latin canon and wrote texts that were closer to *adaptions*, such as Marie de France's adaptations of Breton fables in her *lais*.[9] There is even a form of translation that Menegaldo terms *traduction alléguée*, that is *romans* in which the authors invent an alleged Latin source they claim to have translated.[10] We also find rewriting and continuation of French texts, such as Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte du Graal* (*c*. 1135-90), which was 'continued' on four occasions over a period of approximately fifty years. Finally, Menegaldo brings us to *invention*, although as he concedes, 'il n'est probablement pas un seul roman du XIIᵉ siècle qui puisse être considéré comme relevant de "invention"'.[11]

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[8] Silvère Menegaldo, 'De la traduction à l'invention. La naissance du genre romanesque au XIIᵉ siècle', in *Translations Médiévales: Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XIᵉ - XVᵉ siècles)*, ed. by Claudio Galderisi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 295-323 (p. 311).

[9] Menegaldo, 'De la traduction', p. 315.

[10] Menegaldo, 'De la traduction', p. 318.

[11] Menegaldo, 'De la traduction', p. 320.

While Menegaldo's neat categorisation of the forms of translation is useful for understanding the various concepts of 'translation' in the twelfth century, we should not be too quick to place texts into single categories. Menegaldo classifies the *romans d'antiquité* as *simple* or *complexe* based on the number of their classical sources. However, Chapter II will show that they actually took inspiration from multiple other sources and created original characters and scenes that could justifiably be classified as *invention*.

ii. State of Research into Women and War in the *Romans d'Antiquité*

Scholarship on the *romans* peaked in the 1990s and early 2000s but has gradually declined over the past ten years. Luca Barbieri, Christopher Baswell, Emmanuèle Baumgartner, Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Raymond J. Cormier, Catherine Croizy-Naquet, Penny Eley, Patricia Grout, Noah D. Guynn, Ernst Hoepffner, Jung, Kelly, Philippe Logié, Francine Mora-Lebrun, Aimé Petit, and Zrinka Stahuljak are the most prolificly published scholars in the field of *romans*-scholarship. Most work tends to focus on the following themes: the links between the three *romans*, questions of narrative history and genres in Old French literature, the similarities and differences between the *romans* and their classical sources, love and sexuality, the representation and concepts of chivalry, and the so-called problem of 'anachronism' within the texts. Most scholars use close textual analysis as their methodology, while queer theory has become the dominant theoretical approach in recent years, having been used by Guynn, Judith Haas, William Burgwinkle, and Stahuljak to examine the representation of 'normative' and 'deviant' sexual activity.[12]

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[12] Noah D. Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics in the High Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Judith Haas, 'Trojan Sodomy and the Politics of Marriage in the *Roman d'Enéas*', *Exemplaria* 20 (2008), 48-71; Zrinka Stahuljak, 'Sexuality, Shame, and the Genesis of Romance', in *The Cambridge History of French Literature*, ed. by William Burgwinkle, Nicholas Hammond, and Emma Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 57-66.

Overall, most work on the *romans* limits itself to journal articles or individual chapters in books. There are very few monographs on individual *romans* and even fewer on all three together. Those that have been published tend to focus on the emergence of the *roman* as a genre and its place within the historical development of French language and literature.[13] Of the few remaining monographs, two look at the sources of the *romans*, one at their manuscripts, and one at the theme of love.[14] Indeed love is probably the topic that has been most thoroughly explored in *romans*-scholarship. Alongside Rosemarie Jones's monograph on the theme of love there are at least twelve articles that also treat this subject.[15] Alfred Adler's article on love and war unites two major themes of the *romans*, yet

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[13] Phillipe Logié, *L'Enéas: Une traduction au risque de l'invention* (Paris: Champion, 1999); Aimé Petit, *L'Anachronisme*, *Aux origines du roman: Le roman de Thèbes* (Paris: Champion, 2010), and *Naissances du roman. Les techniques littéraires dans les romans antiques du XIIᵉ siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1985).

[14] On the sources: L. G. Donovan, *Recherches sur 'Le roman de Thèbes'* (Paris: Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, 1975) and Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Champion, 1913). On the manuscripts: Jung, *La légende*. On love: Rosemarie Jones, *The Theme of Love in the Romans d'Antiquité* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1972).

[15] Alison Adams, 'Destiny, Love and the Cultivation of Suspense: The *Roman d'Enéas* and Aimon de Varennes' *Florimont*', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 5 (1979), 57-69; Alfred Adler, 'Militia and Amor in the *Roman de Troie*', *Romanische Forschungen*, 72 (1960), 14-29; Hassan Ali Abdullah Al-Momani, 'The Influence of the Conception of Love in Plato's *Symposium* on Virgil's *Aeneid* and the French *Enéas*', *Studies in Literature and Language*, 4 (2012), 17-22; Nicole Chareyron, 'Amour, couple et mariage dans l'*Enéas*', *Perspectives médiévales*, 14 (1988), 7-11; Raymond J. Cormier, 'A propos de Lavine amoureuse: le savoir sentimental feminine et cognitive', *Bien Dire et Bien Aprandre*, 24 (2007), 57-70 and 'Woman's Ways of Feeling: Lavinia's Innovative Discourse of/on/about Love in the *Roman d'Enéas*', in *Words of Love and Love of Words in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), pp. 111-27; Catherine Croizy-Naquet, 'Les Amours d'Achille et de Polyxène dans le *Roman de Troie*', in *L'Antichità nella cultura europea del Medioevo. L'Antiquité dans la culture européenne du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Rosanna Brusegan and others (Greifswald: Reineke, 1998), pp. 31-42 and 'Mères, filles et sœurs; amantes, épouses et veuves dans le *Roman de Thèbes*', in *Études sur le roman de Thèbes*, ed. by Bernard

this latter theme is vastly underrepresented in work on the *romans* in comparison to the amount of scholarship dedicated to the former. This is surprising given that they are often characterised as warfare narratives. However, this dearth of scholarship is not reflective of a lack of quality material in the *romans,* but is more indicative of the fact that Old French literary critics do not seem to have a specific interest in the technicalities or logistics of medieval warfare, while historians who do have an interest in warfare do not often use literary sources in their research.[16] For this reason perhaps, the studies that do look at warfare in the *romans* tend to focus on concepts and ideas of martial behaviour and chivalry only in the way that they manifest themselves in individual characters, fashion, and relationships, but pay little attention to other aspects of warfare. It may also be related to the fact that despite the importance of warfare in *Troie*, there is no recent edition of the Old French text that contains all of its twenty-three battles. Baumgartner and Vielliard, the text's latest editors, included fewer than half of the battle-scenes in their edition of extracts. Any scholar wishing to analyse the complete wars of *Troie* must choose either to rely on Léopold Constans's edition, now over a hundred years old, and which even when published was noted as containing mistranscriptions or misinterpretations, or to use Kelly

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Ribémont (Orléans: Paradigme, 2002), pp. 159-74; Helen C. R. Laurie, '*Enéas* and the Doctrine of Courtly Love', *The Modern Language Review*, 64 (1969), 283-94; Barbara Nolan, 'Ovid's *Heroides* Contextualized: Foolish Love and Legitimate Marriage in the *Roman d'Enéas*', *Mediaevalia*, 13 (1989), 157-87; Tamara F. O'Callaghan, 'Love Imagery in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1995); Michel Zink, 'Héritage rhétorique et nouveauté littéraire dans le "roman antique" en France au Moyen Âge: Remarques sur l'expression de l'amour dans le *Roman d'Enéas*', *Romania*, 105 (1984), 248-69.

[16] Due to the 'anachronism' problem in the *romans* they could legitimately be used as sources for exploring certain aspects of contemporary medieval warfare. For example, the manuscript illustrations in particular could provide a useful insight into weaponry, armour, and dress, as these are certainly drawn from contemporary practices rather than recreating classical styles.

and Burgess's English translation.[17] There are modern editions of the original text of *Thèbes* and *Enéas* but nevertheless, the actual scenes of battle or analysis of warfare have been relatively overlooked in favour of analysis of the aesthetics of warfare. For example, there have been three articles published just on the Trojan tents in *Enéas*, but not a single article on Aeneas's combat scenes.[18]

If little has been written on war in the *romans,* then even less has been published on the topic of women and war.[19] Kelly did some work on women in war in twelfth-century Trojan literature but this split its attention between *Troie* and Joseph of Exeter's *Ylias*, and its perspective was only on women as causes or victims (specifically, as concubines) of war but nothing in addition to these two categories.[20] Similarly, in the introduction to their translation of *Troie*, Kelly and Burgess include a subsection on women in war but it only

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[17] Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le roman de Troie*, ed. by Léopold Constans, 6 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1904-12). For a review of this edition, see Edmond Faral, 'Compte Rendu: *Le roman de Troie*, par Constans', *Romania*, 42 (1913), 88-106.

[18] Christopher Baswell, 'Enéas's Tent and the Fabric of Empire in the *Roman d'Enéas'*, *Romance Languages Annual*, 2 (1990), 43-48; Raymond J. Cormier, 'Sources for the Trojan's Tent Fortress in the *Roman d'Enéas'*, *Studi mediolatini e volgari*, 25 (1977), 85-92; Catherine Croizy-Naquet, 'La Forteresse de tentes troyennes dans *Le roman d'Enéas* (vv. 7281-7352)', *Bien dire et bien aprandre*, 9 (1991), 73-89.

[19] This is true not just for scholarship on the *romans* in particular but for scholarship on Old French literature in general. For example, Corinne Saunders has written about women and warfare in medieval English writing, but there is no equivalent study for French writing: Corinne Saunders, 'Women and Warfare in Medieval English Writing', in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. by Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux, and Neil Thomas (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 187-212. Catherine Hanley's monograph on warfare in Old French literature does discuss portrayals of women but is limited to thirteen (out of 260) pages: Catherine Hanley, *War and Combat, 1150-1270: The Evidence from Old French Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 86-89, 137-45.

[20] Douglas Kelly, 'Perspectives on Women in War in Twelfth-Century Troy', in *Imaginaires du mal*, ed. by Myriam Watthée-Delmotte and Paul-Augustin Deproost (Paris: Cerf, 2000), pp. 115-31.

focuses on women as 'exchangeable objects and booty' rather than exploring their roles any further.[21] There are a few articles that analyse individual women (including Helen, Hecuba, Medea, Dido, and Jocasta), but only a subsection of these focus on women in a warfare context: there are three on Camille from *Enéas* and one on Penthesilea (although this article is not specifically focused on *Troie,* but on the figure of Penthesilea more generally in the Middle Ages).[22] The only time that women are linked to warfare is as victim or as a warrior but little in between.

iii. Scope and Outline

Given the current state of research, this thesis addresses some currently unanswered questions. Overall, it explores how the *romans* present women in relation to war and to what extent this may have been influenced by the contemporary historical environment. It investigates how the *romans* can be seen as participants in the ongoing debates over women's roles and place in societal structure. This influence may have been felt both at the time at which the texts were originally composed and at the times at which they were copied into later manuscripts. To achieve these aims, the methodology employed here is based around three approaches: new philology, gender, and new historicism. The key principles of new philology are: firstly, that literary texts do not exist independently of

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[21] Kelly and Burgess, 'Introduction', in Benoît, *The Roman de Troie*, pp. 26-28 (p. 26).

[22] Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, 'Penthésilée, reine des Amazones et Preuse, une image de la femme guerrière à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Clio*, 20 (2004), 169-79; Rebecca Gottlieb, 'Why We Can't "Do Without" *Camille*', in *The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. by Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990), pp. 153-64; Wendy Chapman Peek, 'King by Day, Queen by Night: The Virgin Camille in the *Roman d'Enéas*', in *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), pp. 71-82; Aimé Petit, 'La Reine Camille dans le *Roman d'Enéas*', *Les lettres romanes*, 36 (1982), 5-40.

their manuscripts and that the relationship between the text and paratextual features must be considered; secondly, that the date, place, and purpose for which a manuscript is made are all socially, economically, and intellectually determined, and that these factors influence its form and meaning; thirdly, that manuscripts are disseminated and used in ways that are also socially, economically and intellectually determined. This research therefore has a strong focus on the manuscripts in which the *romans* are copied, paying particular attention to any illustrations or other texts copied into the same manuscript.[23] Currently, relatively little work on the texts has been done using new philological approaches. In particular, there are no studies that analyse the relationship between the *romans* and the other texts with which they are found in their manuscripts and only a few studies of their illustrations. The scholarship that exists on the iconographic traditions is almost exclusively focused on *Troie* with no comparative studies across all three texts and certainly none that look specifically at illustrations of women and war. The illustrations are considered just as important as the text because they provide insights into how the texts were received and interpreted, particularly in cases where the images diverge from the texts. Similarly, as twelfth-century French gradually fell out of use, later users of the manuscripts may have relied more heavily upon the illustrations to aid their comprehension of the Trojan narratives. Current studies tend to focus on manuscripts that are easily accessible through digitised versions or that are held in large national collections such as Paris and London, whereas I consulted all but one of the illustrated

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[23] Appendix I provides a catalogue of all the *romans*-manuscripts, which includes a complete list of the contents of each manuscript. Appendix III provides descriptions and folio references of all the illustrations of women that appear in *romans*-manuscripts.

roman-manuscripts, and am therefore able to include a more thorough and comprehensive survey of manuscript illustrations than has previously been attempted.[24]

The second approach, gender theory, analyses the social and cultural constructions that create perceptions of masculine and feminine.[25] This theory is used to analyse the ways in which masculinities and femininities are conceptualised in the *romans* in specific relation to warfare; this applies not just to literary analysis but also to the analysis of manuscript illustrations. Although the focus of the thesis is the female characters, it considers them in relation to the male characters, rather than in isolation. There has been relatively little written on gender as compared to queer theory in the *romans*.[26] However, using gender theory has proved particularly fruitful in this research, especially when analysing concepts of victimisation and chivalry. As Chapters IV and VI will show, this approach has exposed the extent to which certain types of suffering are gendered, as well as exploring a currently under-researched chivalric virtue, that of virginity, which has

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[24] The one illustrated manuscript I was unable to consult was MS SP1, although my thanks go to Dr Marina Tramet for her support in my quest to reach the Rossiiskaya Natsional'naya Biblioteka, even if it eventually proved unsuccessful. Selected images from this manuscript are available as reproductions in the work of a few scholars: Jung includes black and white copies of eight of its miniatures and he provides a bibliography for four other scholars who have reproduced selected miniatures: Jung, *La légende*, pp. 255, 276-90 (plates 21-28). However, due to the poor quality of most of these reproductions, the fact that they represent only a tenth of the manuscript's total illustrations, and given that no original research could be carried out, this thesis will not be including this manuscript in its analysis or discussion.

[25] Scholarship by E. Jane Burns, Simon Gaunt, and Roberta Krueger has been particularly influential in shaping this approach.

[26] Queer theorists working on the *romans* usually focus on the particular sexual activity or identity of the narratives's protagonists, especially questions around homosociality, homosexuality, and sodomy. For this reason there has been more written on the male characters than the female characters.

largely been ignored because of a predominant focus on male knights, who do not usually epitomise this virtue.

The third approach, new historicism, also emerged in the 1980s and gained particular popularity in the 1990s, but has fallen out of fashion in recent years.[27] It has been criticised for lacking a proper understanding of historiography and for paying insufficient attention to narrative details when analysing literature. However, being mindful of these potential pitfalls, this thesis aims to do justice on both of those fronts. The general tenets that inform its practice are as follows: firstly, it rejects ideas of formalism and instead posits that no text is meaningful in isolation but is part of a historical network of events, objects, practices, and other texts; secondly, it focuses on historical circumstances that may signal 'disruption, change, or discontinuity' within this contemporary cultural network;[28] thirdly, it acknowledges that scholars are also situated in a specific historical moment and that therefore they 'must recognise the subtle and inescapable interactions between the historical moment at which [they write as scholars] and the historical moment about which [they write]'.[29] This last principle in particular encourages scholarship that challenges traditional thinking that may previously have shaped objects and fields of study. New historicism therefore works well alongside both new philology and a gender studies approach. Its principles support and echo the principles of new philology with its rejection of viewing texts in isolation and it has a similar emphasis on historical context and cultural networks. Its scepticism of previous

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[27] The term 'new historicism' was first coined by Stephen Greenblatt in *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance* (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1982), p. 5.

[28] Claire Colebrook, *New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 40.

[29] Nicholas Howe, 'Historicist Approaches', in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 79-100 (p. 80).

scholarship and championing of new readings are also conducive to the application of gender theory. New historicism is particularly important to this thesis given the research questions around contemporary historical women as a potential source of inspiration for the composition of the texts. It is similarly valuable given the focus on the interests and influences of later readers, commissioners, and copyists. As Chapters I and II will show, using this approach means that we can identify more sources for the *romans* than have previously been explored, as well as to suggest some additional uses and values of the texts beyond the current thinking.

Given the richness of the texts, the lavishness of many of their manuscripts, and the wealth of material that has emerged by using a three-pronged methodological approach, it has been necessary to divide the thesis into seven chapters. The first chapter considers to what extent women may have been involved in the original commissioning and patronage of the *romans* in the twelfth century. It provides an analysis of the later manuscript traditions and patterns that appear in terms of illustrations, contents, ownership, and provenance in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and individual cases where women seem to have interacted with the *romans*. The second chapter provides an overview of the written sources of the *romans* and the ways in which the female characters differ from their classical antecedents. It then examines the historical environment into which the *romans* emerged and identifies various historical women who can be connected to the *romans* and who may have helped shape and influence the construction of the texts' characters. Chapters III-VII take a detailed look at the texts and illustrations of the *romans*, with each chapter dedicated to a different role or experience that women have in war. Chapter III looks at the ways in which women are invoked as the causes of war; Chapter IV surveys how they are victimised and suffer; Chapter V explores how they perform ancillary functions; Chapter VI takes on one of the most culturally popular images of women in war, which is the figure of the woman-warrior;

finally, Chapter VII analyses women's performance of political roles in conflict scenarios. This role may not be as glamorous as that of the woman warrior, but the historical evidence suggests that this is the role in which we would expect women to be most active. Looking at these texts in this way sheds new light on women's roles in the *romans d'antiquité* and illuminates how they are important to our understanding of the historical period in which they circulated.

Chapter I:

'A tote rien iert a plaisir':

The Composition and Manuscript Context of the *Romans d'Antiquité*

Questions concerning the texts' patrons at their time of composition in the twelfth century and their manuscript context at later dates in the Middle Ages are important because they provide an insight into the original purpose of the texts as well as their later value and use. This chapter considers the theory that the original patron of the texts was a woman who had a connection to warfare herself, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and why these texts may have been important to her. It then investigates other potential patrons or commissioners of later manuscripts and examines whether they valued the texts for similar or differing reasons. Finally, it highlights individual cases where the *romans*-manuscripts seem to have a special relationship with women, whether female commissioners, female readers, or indeed the way that the representation of women in the manuscripts is particularly adapted. Overall, it aims to explore the extent to which the *romans* were connected to women and warfare both at the time of their conception and at the times of their later copying.

I.i. Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Plantagenet Claim

There is no easy definition of what patronage entailed in the Middle Ages.[1] June Hall McCash explains that while some patrons 'were active participants in the creative process, directing writers or artists to sources and prescribing subjects and interpretations', others

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[1] For different views on the practical aspects of patronage, see Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. by Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 458-87.

'played a more passive role, becoming patrons only after the fact by compensating an artist for a work already completed'.[2] The reasons for patronage could be varied: Diana B. Tyson's study of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century patronage of French vernacular histories identifies at least nine reasons for commissioning such works: political aspiration, the desire to be recognised as patrons of literacy and culture, a wish to relive and preserve their (the patron's) own experiences, a sentiment of personal piety, a need to preserve the notable deeds of a deceased spouse or family member, the commemoration of a special occasion, a wish for information and education, or simply self-glorification.[3] If we look at writings outside of vernacular histories we could also add the suggestion that some texts were commissioned for entertainment and diversion or for the education of children.[4] Furthermore, there is no simple way to determine a patron's identity. Tyson suggests that a number of criteria should be used when constructing an hypothesis of patronage, including dedication in the work, records of payment, mention by the author of payment, praise of the patron, addressing the introduction or epilogue of the work to a particular person, internal evidence such as the structure or treatment of the subject matter, the existence of a presentation copy or manuscripts with marks of possession (such as coats of arms painted into initials), illuminations, or a statement by the author that he or she

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[2] June Hall McCash, 'The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview', in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. by June Hall McCash (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 1-49 (p. 3).

[3] Diana B. Tyson, 'Patronage of French Vernacular History Writers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Romania*, 100 (1979), 180-222 (pp. 218-19).

[4] For more on entertainment and diversion, see Penny Eley, 'The Myth of Trojan Descent and Perceptions of National Identity: The Case of *Enéas* and the *Roman de Troie*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 35 (1991), 27-40 (p. 29); for more on the education of children, see McCash, 'Cultural Patronage', pp. 22-25.

was asked to write the work.[5] Unfortunately, many medieval works do not contain even one of these criteria let alone several, making it especially difficult to identify certain texts' patrons.

Determining the *romans*-poets' patrons is just such a challenging task. The current consensus is that Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine were their patrons.[6] Benoît addresses a '[r]iche dame de riche rei' (*rich lady of a rich king*, l. 13468) in *Troie* who, Constans argues, was probably Eleanor.[7] Part of the evidence for this conclusion is that the epithet of 'riche rei' was often applied to Henry II.[8] Other critics have accepted this theory, partly due to the lack of plausible alternatives: Tamara F. O'Callaghan states that although 'the unnamed "riche dame" […] cannot be definitely identified as [Eleanor][…] other possible choices are pretty much limited'.[9] Even Karen Broadhurst, in an article that completely revises the scholarly opinion concerning Henry and Eleanor as patrons of vernacular literature, concedes that despite the alternatives (albeit few) 'the case for

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[5] Tyson, 'Patronage', pp. 184-85.

[6] This is the view in: Baumgartner and Veillard, 'Introduction' to *Troie*, p. 6; Catherine Desprès Caubrière, 'L'enjeu triangulaire de la trame romanesque du *Roman d'Énéas*', *Çédille*, 9 (2013), 129-44 (p. 136); F. A. G. Cowper, 'Date and Dedication of the *Roman de Troie*', *Modern Philology,* 27 (1930), pp. 379-82; Raymond J. Cormier, 'Pagan versus Christian Values in the *Roman d'Enéas*', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 33 (2007), 63-86 (p. 64); Marilynn Desmond, 'History and Fiction: The Narrativity and Historiography of the Matter of Troy', in *The Cambridge History of French Literature*, pp. 139-44 (p. 141); Judith Haas, 'Trojan Sodomy and the Politics of Marriage in the *Roman d'Enéas*', *Exemplaria*, 20 (2008), 48-71 (p. 59); Zrinka Stahuljak, *Bloodless Genealogies of the French Middle Ages: Translation, Kinship, and Metaphor* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), pp. 36-78.

[7] Benoît, *Troie,* VI, p. 189.

[8] Cowper, 'Date and Dedication', p. 380.

[9] 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, 2003), pp. 301-17 (p. 303). The other possible (but rejected) alternatives she suggests are: Eleanor of Castile, Joan of Sicily, Margaret of France, Marie de Champagne, Alice of Blois, and Adele of Champagne.

Eleanor […] does seem the most appropriate'.[10] The passage containing this dedication is actually omitted from eleven *Troie*-manuscripts and in one manuscript it is even reassigned to the Virgin Mary: [11]

Riche fille de riche rei,	*Rich daughter of a rich king, from you all*
De vos nasquié tote leece	*joy was born the day of the Nativity:*
Le jor de la Nativité:	*you are the daughter and mother of God.*
Vos fustes fille et mere Dé.	
(*Troie*, ll. 13467-70)[12]	

F. A. G. Cowper suggested that the dedication was omitted in certain manuscripts because it was 'a puzzle' to scribes.[13] However, it seems more likely that these omissions were made precisely because the 'dame' was in fact Eleanor, and that following the scandal of her rebellion against Henry, along with the subsequent decline in her reputation, later copyists wanted to remove any association with her from the text.[14] This

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[10] Karen M. Broadhurst, 'Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patrons of Literature in French?', *Viator*, 27 (1996), 53-84 (p. 73).

[11] It is omitted from MSS L1, P1, N, P2, P5, P9, L2, P11, P14, Mn, and P15 and appears with the Virgin Mary variation in MS P3. See Benoît, *Troie*, VI, pp. 25 and 189.

[12] Transcribed by Constans in Benoît, *Troie*, VI, p. 25.

[13] Cowper, 'Date and Dedication', p. 382.

[14] Eleanor was arrested as she was attempting to escape from Aquitaine to the French court to take part in the rebellion of her sons against Henry II in 1173. She was taken to England and kept imprisoned until Henry's death in 1189. For more on the subsequent decline of Eleanor's reputation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see: Fiona Tolhurst, 'What Ever Happened to Eleanor? Reflections of Eleanor of Aquitaine in Wace's *Roman de Brut* and Lawman's *Brut*', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lord and Lady*, ed. by Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 319-36; Peggy McCracken, 'Scandalising Desire: Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Chroniclers', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ed. by Wheeler and Carmi, pp. 247-63; Michael R. Evans, *Inventing Eleanor: The Medieval and Post-Medieval Image of Eleanor of Aquitaine* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), Chapters 1-2.

may also explain why we do not find any dedication in the prologue or epilogue, where we would usually expect to find dedications, because they may have been removed by later scribes. In fact, the 'riche dame' allusion that is still extant in sixteen manuscripts may just have slipped past some scribes who would not necessarily have been expecting a dedication in the middle of a text.

A further way that critics link Benoît with Henry and Eleanor is through his connection to another writer attached to their court: Robert Wace. That Wace worked at their court is not something that scholars challenge: Baumgartner and Vielliard state that his *Roman de Brut* (*c.* 1150-55) was 'sans doute composé à l'intention d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine' (a theory also held by numerous other critics including Charles H. Haskins and Rita Lejeune) and it may have originally been dedicated to Eleanor.[15] Furthermore, Broadhurst's investigation into the literary patronage of Eleanor and Henry concludes

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[15] Baumgartner and Veillard, 'Introduction' to *Troie*, p. 5; Charles H. Haskins, 'Henry II as a Patron of Literature', in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), pp. 71-77; Rita Lejeune, 'Rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et de sa famille', *Cultura Neolatina*, 14 (1954), 5-57. The evidence that Wace's *Brut* was originally dedicated to Eleanor comes from Layamon's Middle English version of the *Brut*: '[b]oc he nom þe þridde; leide þer amidden. | þa makede a Frenchis clerc; | Wace wes ihoten; þe wel couþe writen. | & he hoe ȝef þare æðelen; Ælienor | þe wes Henries quene; þes heȝes kinges' (*a third book he [Layamon] took, and laid it alongside | Which a French cleric had made, well learned in lore; | Wace was his name, he knew well how to write, | And he then did give it to the noble Eleanor, | Who was Henry's queen, that high king,* ll. 19-23): quotation and translation come from Layamon, *Brut*, ed. and trans. by W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinberg (London: Longman, 1995). However, there is no independent confirmation of this from any extant *Brut*-manuscripts of Wace: Bénédicte Milland-Bove, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine: femme de lettres ou homme d'État?', *Arts, recherches et créations*, 303 (2004), 157-61 (p. 158). Nevertheless, as the oldest of the extant manuscripts (Durham, Cathedral Library, C. IV. 27) is dated to the end of the twelfth century, that is after Eleanor's fall and imprisonment in 1173 (see n. 14 above), the absence of dedication in surviving copies of the *Brut* could once again be due to the strategy of 'writing Eleanor out' rather than evidence that Wace's *Brut* was not dedicated to her.

that Henry 'definitely commissioned' Wace's *Roman de Rou* (*c.* 1160-75).[16] Broadhurst's

concession to this definite instance of patronage is particularly notable, for the general

conclusion of her survey is that Henry only 'definitely commissioned' two works: Wace's

Rou and Benoît's *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* (*c.* 1180).[17] Wace's *Rou* connects to

Benoît's *Chronique*: the *Rou* ends with a complaint that the completion of the narrative is

to be done by 'Maistre Beneeit' (*Master Benoît*, l. 11419) and that a previously promised

financial reward from a 'reis' (*king*, l. 11425) has been denied to him.[18] This 'reis' is Henry

II and the completion of Wace's work eventually became Benoît's *Chronique*. Benoît's

Chronique picks up from where Wace ended the *Rou*, and makes a direct allusion to Henry:

'[p]ar le buen rei Henri' (*by the good king, Henry*, l. 32062).[19] As Wace's *Rou* is connected to

Benoît's *Chronique*, so his *Brut* is also connected to the narrative of the *romans*: it continues

the chronological narrative of the *romans* to follow Aeneas's descendant Brutus, his

founding of Britain, and the resulting kings of Britain. The manuscript evidence also

supports a theory that they were conceived of as belonging to the same tradition: five of

the *romans*-manuscripts also contain the *Brut*, and in all cases it directly follows a *roman*.[20]

Indeed, of all the other texts with which the *romans* are collected, the *Brut* is the one that

most commonly recurs. The fact that two writers could be working on such interwoven

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[16] Broadhurst, 'Henry II of England', p. 67.

[17] Previous scholars had suggested that Henry was the patron of seven other vernacular works: Jordan Fantosme's *Chronicle*, Marie de France's *Lais*, the Nun of Barking's *Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur*, Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide*, Beneit's *Vie de Thomas Becket*, the *Vulgate Cycle*, and Helie de Borron's *Palamedes*.

[18] References to and quotations from the *Rou* are taken from Wace, *Le roman de Rou*, ed. by A. J. Holden, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 1970-73).

[19] Quotations from the *Chronique* come from Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Chronique des ducs de Normandie par Benoit*, ed. by Carin Fahlin, 4 vols (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1951-79).

[20] These manuscripts are MSS P2, P5, P10, P12, and Mn: in P2 the *Brut* follows directly after *Troie*; in MSS P5, P10, P12, and Mn the *Brut* follows directly after *Enéas*.

subject-matter suggests that they were working under the same influence or at the same place, and that while their works were primarily linked for narrative reasons, it may be indicative of shared patronage, too. The evidence does therefore suggest that Benoît had a place at Henry and Eleanor's court. However, as tempting as it is to conclude that *Troie* may also have been commissioned under their patronage, a question mark must still remain over this hypothesis. *Troie* may instead have been written under what Ian Short calls 'prospective patronage, that is the speculative dedication of a work to an influential individual in the hope of attracting *post hoc* reward, future commissions or favours'.[21] If the consequence was that Benoît was subsequently given the commission of the *Chronique* (at the expense of Wace) then this strategy was clearly an effective one. However, even if we could conclude that *Troie* was at one stage dedicated to Eleanor, this still would not be proof of patronage; at the most, it could be evidence that Benoît hoped or expected that Eleanor would come into contact with his work.

Leaving *Troie* and turning to the other *romans*, there is textual evidence apparently linking Eleanor to *Thèbes*. During the description of Adrastus's two daughters, Argia and Deiphyle, the poet writes '[m]ieus vaut lor ris et lor baisiers | Que ne fait Londres ne Peitiers' (*their smiles and kisses are worth more than either London or Poitiers*, ll. 971-72).[22] Critics such as Reto Roberto Bezzola make a link between this couplet and Eleanor: '[c]ette comparaison, qui réunit les deux capitales d'Aliénor dans un même vers, deux villes qui, pour d'autres que la reine d'Angleterre et comtesse de Poitiers n'avaient absolument rien

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[21] Ian Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots: French Literature in Twelfth-Century England', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1991*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 229-49 (p. 232).

[22] This couplet is not found in MS L4, the base manuscript for Mora-Lebrun's edition, and this quotation is therefore taken from Constans's edition of *Thèbes*: *Le roman de Thèbes*, ed. by Constans, 2 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1890).

de commun, ne saurait être un simple hasard'.[23] However, as convincing as this claim may seem, Petit has highlighted that this couplet appears in only one out of the five extant *Thèbes* manuscripts, and that this version of *Thèbes* is not the closest version to the original.[24] Furthermore, Constans called the quality and accuracy of this manuscript into question during his editing of *Troie* (the other text found in the manuscript).[25] The allusion to London and Poitiers in this version of *Thèbes* is clearly a deliberate addition by the scribe intending to connect England and Aquitaine and could give some clues as to who commissioned this particular copy of *Thèbes*, but it may not have been part of the *Thèbes*-poet's original composition.

Further evidence for the patronage of *Thèbes* and *Enéas* is thin. Lejeune thinks that their authors were in Eleanor's 'entourage' while Peter Dronke suggests that it was 'highly probable' that the *romans* were intended for Eleanor.[26] Similarly, the most recent editor of *Enéas* repeats the suggestion of an earlier editor, J. J. Salverda de Grave, that the work was written by someone 'formée à la cour des Plantagenêts' while the most recent editor of *Thèbes* cites the opinion of Cornelis de Boer, that this work was the fruit of 'une veritable école d'imitation de l'Antiquité' that existed at Eleanor and Henry's court.[27] However, Short cautions that attempts to link the *romans* with Henry's court are 'doomed to remain

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[23] Reto Roberto Bezzola, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident* (Paris: Champion, 1963), p. 271.

[24] The manuscript in which this couplet appears is MS G, dated to the end of the thirteenth century. However, Petit considers MS L4 (late fourteenth century) to contain the oldest version of *Thèbes*: Petit, *Naissances du roman*, pp. 1085-87.

[25] Constans writes that MS G is 'de valeur médiocre, offre des variantes nombreuses, qui […] montrent seulement, soit que le scribe ne comprenait pas son texte […] soit qu'il se préoccupait fort peu de le reproduire exactement': Benoît, *Troie,* VI, p. 33.

[26] Lejeune, 'Rôle littéraire d'Aliénor', p. 22; Peter Dronke, 'Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II', *Mediaeval Studies*, 38 (1976), 185-235 (p. 186).

[27] Petit, 'Introduction' to *Enéas*, p. 9; Mora-Lebrun, 'Introduction' to *Thèbes*, p. 7.

conjectural' while Broadhurst goes all the way in her refutation of these theories to state

that there is absolutely 'no foundation' for such a claim.[28] The texts themselves do not

give any direct clues and so their poets and patrons remain shrouded in even more

uncertainty than for *Troie*. However, while recent scholarship urging caution in associating

them with Eleanor and Henry is fair, we should also guard against being too quick to

dismiss the possibility that they were products of their court simply because of said lack

of evidence. It is not unreasonable to link the *romans* with Eleanor and Henry's court in

view of the likelihood that they had commissioned Wace's *Brut*, which has such a strong

narrative connection to the *romans*, and given that they are often found in manuscripts

containing the *Brut*.[29] At the very least, it is fair to say that the *romans*-poets would have

hoped or expected that their works would come to the attention of Eleanor and Henry,

and therefore perhaps all three are examples of Short's 'speculative patronage'.

Eleanor and Henry would not have been the first to commission works

connecting their dynasty to the Trojans, nor would they be the last. Numerous royal and

aristocratic families in medieval Europe claimed to be descended from the Trojans and

sought to solidify this claim in written texts. It was Fredegar, writing in the seventh

century in the first book of his *Chronicle*, who had first claimed Trojan ancestry for the

Franks.[30] The ninth-century chronicle *Historia Brittonum* then gave Trojan ancestry to the

Britons.[31] Next, the Normans and Anglo-Normans appropriated the legend. Norman

historians compared their patrons to Trojan heroes such as Hector and Aeneas while

Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing in the service of the Normans in the 1130s, recorded in

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[28] Short, 'Patrons and Polyglots', p. 239; Broadhurst, 'Henry II of England', p. 74.

[29] These connections will be expanded upon in the next section.

[30] Richard Waswo, 'Our Ancestors, the Trojans: Inventing Cultural Identity in the Middle Ages', *Exemplaria*, 7 (1995), 269-90 (pp. 269-75).

[31] Waswo, 'Our Ancestors', pp. 276-78.

his *Historia Regum Britanniae* that Brutus (the descendant of Aeneas) had made his 'first foundation on the banks of the Loire'.[32] Colette Beaune's work shows that 'the Trojan origin of France and its dynasty was everywhere in later medieval French literature [...]. After 1080, most comital and princely families claimed Trojan origins, and by the end of the Middle Ages there was hardly a noble who had not been allotted his own Trojan ancestor'.[33] Elizabeth Morrison's research on illustrated French manuscripts of *Troie* demonstrates how the Capetian dynasty saw themselves as the descendants of Hector.[34] French vernacular chronicles (such as the thirteenth-century *Grandes Chroniques de France*) continue the tradition of representing the French monarchy and nobility as the descendants of the Trojan diaspora.[35] It was right in the middle of this centuries-long medieval interest in Trojan origins that the *romans* appeared.

Henry and Eleanor may have been particularly drawn to such narratives because of the authority they gave to supporting the Plantagenet right to the throne of England. Simon Meecham-Jones states that Henry's reign had been challenged in three ways: 'the legitimacy of his family claims to the throne, the legitimacy of the Norman governance over a people predominantly alien in their language and many of their traditions, and the

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[32] Waswo, 'Our Ancestors', pp. 278-85.

[33] Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 226.

[34] Elizabeth Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie* and French Royal Dynastic Ambition (1260-1340)' (unpublished PhD thesis, Cornell University, 2002) and 'Linking Ancient Troy and Medieval France: Illuminations of an Early Copy of the *Roman de Troie*', in *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users. A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 72-102.

[35] Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the 'Grandes Chroniques de France', 1272-1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

legitimacy of England's attempts to extend its sway in claiming new territories'.[36] However, the writers associated with Henry's court, '[w]hether composing history, or shaping new patterns of mythology in philosophical and poetic works', were able to 'accomplish an identification of his dynastic and political interests with the perceived concerns of an emerging English political consciousness'.[37] Meecham-Jones acknowledges that there is no definitive proof that Henry and Eleanor were the patrons of all such works, but he reminds us that regardless of whether the texts 'were commissioned by the king and queen themselves, or by their aristocratic adherents, modifies scarcely, if at all, the role of the texts within the ideological construction of Plantagenet legitimacy'.[38] The significance of Trojan ancestry to the Plantagenet ideology is evident not just from the *romans*, but from Benoît's *Chronique* and Wace's *Brut* and *Rou*, too. These texts established Trojan descent for the Normans specifically by presenting the Trojan Antenor as the founder of the Danish race (from whom the Normans were descended).[39] The *Chroniques*, the *Brut*, and the *Rou* can (and, in certain manuscripts, do) happily sit alongside *Thèbes*, *Troie*, and *Enéas* as interrelated texts telling an unbroken historical narrative from the Theban wars of antiquity right up to the Norman dukes and English kings who were Henry II's direct ancestors. His motivation for patronising such texts would therefore seem clear.

However, it is also valuable to consider some alternative theories on the commissioning and use of these texts; the suggestion that the *romans* were products of the Anglo-Norman court in order to support the legitimacy and authority of Henry and

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[36] Simon Meecham-Jones, 'Introduction', in *Writers of the Reign of Henry II: Twelve Essays*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 1-24 (p. 1).

[37] Meecham-Jones, 'Introduction', p. 1.

[38] Meecham-Jones, 'Introduction', p. 4.

[39] Desmond, 'History and Fiction', p. 142.

Eleanor's political power should be just one theory among many, rather than occupying its current position as the leading and almost sole theory. The question of patronage may never be answered. Regardless of the original intention or purpose in creating the texts, they also had other values and could be used in multiple ways. These alternative uses will be considered in the next section.

I.ii. Manuscript Traditions and Ownership Patterns

This section looks at manuscript traditions or patterns with regard to date and place of production, whether a *roman* is found on its own or as part of a collection, illustrative cycles, and patronage, ownership, or readership. Table 1 provides a summary of the key information on the *romans*-manuscripts, as provided in more detail in Appendix I. From this, we can see some trends emerging.

Firstly, regarding the place of production, there is a definite pattern of manuscripts being produced in French territories during the thirteenth century and in Italian territories during the fourteenth century. Interestingly, the two earliest manuscripts (the only two that may be datable to the end of the twelfth century) were also produced in Italian territory, and the only manuscript produced within English territory is one of the latest of all the manuscripts, MS L4. The evidence from the manuscripts therefore puts a twist on critical opinion that the *romans* were associated with Anglo-Norman political ambitions as there appears to be little evidence to show that manuscripts of these texts circulated within their territories. Of course it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions based on such relatively selective evidence; of the six manuscripts for which the provenance has not yet been established, these might include territories not yet represented, and it is likely that there were many other copies of these texts in

Table 1: Manuscripts of the *Romans d'Antiquité*

MS	Date	Place	Illustrations	Contents	Ownership
M	1190-1206	Venice	17	*Troie*	Partly known
F1	1190-1225	Italy	No	*Enéas*	Unknown
L1	1200-20	Champagne	No	*Troie*	Partly known
P1	1200-25	Unknown	No	*Troie*	Unknown
N	1200-50	Unknown	No	*Troie*	Partly known
P2	1225-50	Provins/ Champagne	1 (not for *Troie*)	*Troie* and other texts	Unknown
P3	1237	Unknown	No	*Troie*	Unknown
P4	1200-1300	Unknown	No	*Troie*	Unknown
P5	1235-65	N. France	1 (for *Enéas*)	*Troie, Enéas,* and others	Partly known
P6	1264	Paris/ Burgundy	38	*Troie*	Unknown
L2	1250-1300	Amiens/ Arras	15	*Troie*	Partly known
P7	1285	Picardy	33 (1 for *Troie*)	*Troie* and others	Partly known
Nt	1286	Flanders/ N.W. France	83 (33 for *Troie*)	*Troie* and others	Partly known
P8	1288	Paris	No	*Thèbes, Troie,* and others	Partly known
G	1275-1300	Unknown	1 (for *Troie*)	*Thèbes* and *Troie*	Unknown
P9	1275-1300	Lorraine	No	*Troie* and another text	Partly known
P10	1292	Picardy	1 (for *Enéas*)	*Enéas* and others	Unknown
P11	1285-1300	N. France	2	*Troie*	Partly known
Vt	1275-1325	C. Italy	260	*Troie*	Partly known
P12	1300	Arras/ Picardy	1 (not *Enéas*)	*Enéas* and others	Partly known
P13	1300	Paris	4	*Thèbes* and *Enéas* (originally *Troie* from MS P14)	Partly known
P14	1300	Paris	27	*Troie* (originally *Thèbes* and *Enéas* from MS P13)	Partly known
Mn	1300	Paris/ Picardy	25 (1 for *Enéas*; 23 for *Troie*)	*Troie, Enéas* and others (possibly inc. *Thèbes*)	Partly known
P15	1300-25	N. Italy	Yes[40]	*Troie* and others	Partly known
P16	1300-50	N. France	Possibly[41]	*Troie*	Unknown
P17	1330-40	Paris	53	*Thèbes, Troie, Enéas*	Partly known
V1	1330-40	Naples	300+	*Troie*	Partly known
Vn	1330-40	Padua/ Bologna	196	*Troie*	Unknown
F2	1344	Florence	No	*Troie* and another text	Partly known
P18	1340-50	Verona/ Padua/ Venice	199	*Troie*	Unknown
L3	1340-60	Italy	No	*Enéas*	Partly known
SP1	1340-60	Bologna / C. Italy	168	*Troie*	Unknown
V2	1360-69	N. Italy	2 (1 for *Troie*)	*Troie* and another text	Partly known
P19	1350-1400	Italy	No	*Troie* and another text	Unknown
L4	1375-1400	England	No	*Thèbes, Enéas,* and others	Partly known
SP2	1380-1400	Unknown	No	*Troie*	Partly known

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[40] These illustrations are a series of unidentifed medallion-style portraits that are unrelated to the manuscript's texts.

[41] Spaces for miniatures were left but the illustrations were never completed.

manuscripts that are no longer extant and whose provenance is therefore similarly mysterious.[42] However, given that, for example, there are only two extant manuscripts of Benoît's *Chronique*, one from the late twelfth century and one from the early thirteenth century, and both are believed to have an Anglo-Norman provenance (the former from Anjou and the latter from either England or Normandy), it is surprising that none of the extant manuscripts of any of the *romans* have a similar provenance.[43]

The illustrative cycles also provide clues as to the value and use of these manuscripts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The majority (eight out of twelve) of the earlier illustrated manuscripts (those produced before 1340) were made in French territories.[44] Morrison's study of illuminated manuscripts of *Troie* between 1260 and 1340 convincingly argues that the purpose of these manuscripts' illustrations was to foster the claim of Trojan origins for the French kings.[45] She expands on an earlier idea, put forward by Anne D. Hedeman, that *Troie* may have been read as an 'unofficial prologue' to the

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[42] For example, several fragments of *Troie* are written in an Anglo-Norman hand, another fragment of *Troie* was copied by a Walloon scribe, and an additional *Troie*-fragment was written by a Catalan scribe. Since there are no complete manuscripts written by Anglo-Norman, Walloon, or Catalan scribes, this evidence supports the theory that the extant complete manuscripts are not necessarily representative of the spread of these texts throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. For more information on the fragments, see Jung, *La légende*, pp. 306-30.

[43] The earliest manuscript of the *Chronique* is Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 903 (*c.* 1180-1200) and the later manuscript is London, BL, Harley MS 1717 (*c.* 1200-1250).

[44] Table 1 indicates which manuscripts were illustrated and can be cross-referenced with Appendices I and III for more information.

[45] Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 82-106. Morrison here is following Anne D. Hedeman's work on *Troie* and the *Grandes Chronique* in Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, pp. 12-15. For more on the Capetian claim to Trojan ancestry, see also Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 226-44, and Bernard Guenée, 'Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être Capétien, en France, au Moyen Âge', *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 33 (1978), 450-77 (p. 452).

Grandes Chroniques de France.[46] This would obviously be a fairly radical case of repurposing

if the original intention of *Troie* had been to foster the claim of Trojan origins for the

English kings. However, it also provides a convenient explanation as to why manuscripts

containing *Troie* were popular in French territories if the narrative had been appropriated

to add legitimacy to the Capetian dynasty instead. Meanwhile the Italian illustrative cycles

have garnered less critical attention, despite often being longer and more luxurious. Of

the seven illustrated Italian manuscripts, five contain a remarkable number of images: MS

Vt has two hundred and sixty, MS V1 has over three hundred, MSS Vn and P18 have

nearly two hundred each, and MS SP1 has one hundred and sixty-eight. Hugo Buchthal's

overall assessment of these manuscripts is that 'the basic Trojan iconography remains

essentially the same', that they are of 'indifferent artistic quality', and that 'their interest is

negligible'.[47] But they have several interesting features. For example, MS Vt privileges the

figure of Paris in a way that no other manuscript does and is the only one to include an

image of Hecuba's tomb;[48] MS P18 includes the signature of the artist responsible for all

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[46] Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 36.

[47] Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1971), p. 14.

[48] Whereas the French manuscripts put Hector in the spotlight, in this manuscript he takes second place to Paris (as do the other characters). For example, and most strikingly, it contains a full-page illustration of the city of Troy in which Paris is the central figure (fig. 1). The caption at the top of the folio reads: 'Ylyon lostel Paris li roys' (*Ilion, the home of King Paris*). The caption states that Paris is a king when in fact he is only a prince. He is shown astride his horse with a hawk on his left arm and a dog at his mount's hooves; he is a picture of courtliness. He is distinguished in this way again on fol. 41ʳ, in which we see Hector, Deiphobus, and Paris in council with Priam. Paris is the only one shown carrying a hawk and with a dog at his feet, again marking him out as different and perhaps more courtly than either his brothers or father. Paris's position as 'king' of Troy, effectively usurping Priam, can be seen again in the illustration in which Penthesilea arrives into the city. The text of MS Vt (as with all other manuscripts) is clear that Priam greets her but here we see her being greeted by Paris (fig. 2). This is highly unusual; all other manuscript illustrations

two hundred of its miniatures;[49] MS V1 is the only manuscript to show the return of

Penthesilea's body to Femenie.[50] Part of the reason that some Italian manuscripts illustrate

scenes that other manuscripts do not is because they contain such extensive schemes in

the first place. Indeed, the narrative of *Troie* can almost be read from the illustrations

alone, without the need to understand the text. This may be reflective of a decline in the

popularity and readability of twelfth-century French by the fourteenth century, particularly

in non-French speaking territories, but a continued desire to share the Trojan stories.

However, it should be noted that MS P18's language was revised into a Franco-Venetian

dialect, which shows that certain patrons may still have been interested in the text as

well.[51]

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of Penthesilea's arrival either show her alone with her army or being greeted by Priam. This is the only example in which the illustrator has chosen to ignore the text and to show Penthesilea being welcomed by Paris. Similarly, MS Vt is unique in that it is the only one to illustrate Hecuba's tomb after her death (fig. 3). The tomb's description in the text is brief: '[l]a li firent sa sepouture | Grant e haute' (*their they built her a great and high tomb*, ll. 26571-72). Yet the illustrator has imagined it himself, with an image of Hecuba on the sarcophagus and an incense burner hanging above. The illustrator (or possible a later reader) has even added an epitaph below the tomb that does not come from Benoît's text: 'ci gist eccuba la vaillant | chi feme fu le roy prianz' (*here lies Hecuba the brave who was the wife of King Priam*). The reason that MS Vt honours Hecuba in this way may be due to her status as Paris's mother. It is not within the scope of this thesis to conduct further investigation into the reasons for which Paris was given such prominenence in this manuscript, but it would certainly be of value for a separate project.

[49] The artist was Turone de Maxio, a fourteenth-century Lombard painter active in Verona. Turone includes his name in white block capital letters in the bottom right hand corner of the miniature of Hector's tomb (fig. 4). For more on this miniaturist, see Costanza Cipollaro, 'Turone di Maxio, miniatore del *Roman de Troie* di Parigi (BnF, MS fr. 782)', *Codices Manuscripti*, 33 (2012), 16-22.

[50] This is discussed further in Chapter VI.iv.

[51] For more on MS P18's dialect, see Cipollaro, 'Turone di Maxio', p. 96.

There is a definite trend toward illustrated copies of *Troie*, but very few of *Thèbes* or *Enéas*. MSS Mn, P10, and P13 provide an historiated initial at the start of *Enéas* and MS P13 gives an historiated initial at the start of *Thèbes*, but MS P17 is the only manuscript that affords a significant illustrative scheme to both of these texts. However, it is interesting to note that despite the paucity of illustrations, it tends to be two of their female characters, Dido and Jocasta, who consistently appear.[52] In constrast, it is also of note that the great female warrior of *Enéas*, Camille, is never illustrated.

Despite the fact that all three *romans* contain battles, councils, journeys, and the rise of fall of great cities, it is *Troie* that disproportionately captured the imagination of commissioners and illustrators, leading us to conclude that it must have been the individual heroes of that particular text that made it more popular. Of course Hector and Penthesilea would go on to become part of the *Neuf Preux* and *Neuf Preuses* traditions that emerged in the fourteenth century, perhaps explaining why texts that elaborate their battles and prowess continued to be popular.[53] In contrast, the heroes of *Thèbes* and *Enéas* were perhaps more problematic: Polynices and Eteocles were the products of incest and were eventually guilty of fratricide, while Aeneas was one of the traitors and conspirators during the Trojan wars, as well as the abandoner of Dido. Their stories may have been

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[52] These illustrations will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

[53] The *Neuf Preuses* first appeared in Jean Le Fèvre de Resson's *Livre de leësce* (*c.* 1380-87) and gained widespread popularity through sculpture, tapestry, and written works, particularly in Italy and France. This topos was based on the *Neuf Preux* topos, which had begun with Jacques de Longuyon's *Voeux du Paon* (1312), and consisted of nine 'worthy' men who personified the ideals of chivalry: these were three pagans (Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar), three Jews (Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus) and three Christians (King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon). Unlike the *Preux*, the *Preuses* were neither organised into three triads of pagans, Jews, and Christians, nor were its members consistent. For more on the *Preuses* topos, see Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), pp. 168-203.

important for the narrative completeness of the lineage of the kings and queens of Western Europe, but perhaps it was not necessary to go so far as to illustrate them, too.

In addition to the illustrative contents of the manuscripts, it is important to look at the other texts with which the *romans* are collected. Of the thirty-six manuscripts containing at least one complete *roman*, fourteen contain at least one other text.[54] These include *matière de Bretagne*, *matière de France*, *matière de Rome*, narrative histories, crusade narratives, religious texts, hagiographies, fables, *fabliaux*, and lyric poetry. On at least two (possibly three) occasions, the three *romans* were collected together, showing that they could be received as a trilogy: MSS P13 (containing *Thèbes* and *Enéas*) and P14 (containing *Troie*) were originally intended to form one codex (or were intentionally commissioned as two volumes);[55] MS Mn originally contained all three *romans* (along with Wace's *Brut*), although *Thèbes* has now been lost;[56] MS P17 contains not only all three *romans* alone, but also an original 'introduction' on its first folio that acts as a prologue to the entire collection.[57] Interestingly, they are not found with any allegorical texts (such as the hugely popular *Roman de la Rose*). Despite the rich variety of texts with which they appear, there does appear to be a pattern in the way in which they are grouped as we move from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century.

In the thirteenth century, the *romans* were generally collected together with narratives that created a link from the medieval nobility back to their Trojan ancestry, while simultaneously emphasising ideas of courtliness and chivalry. Nine of the thirteenth-century manuscripts contain texts other than the *romans*. Of particular note is the fact that

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[54] Table 1 provides an indication of which manuscripts also contain other texts and can be cross-referenced with Appendix I for more details.

[55] See the entries for MSS P13 and P14 in Appendix I for more details.

[56] See the entry for MS Mn in Appendix I for more details.

[57] See the entry for MS P17 in Appendix I for a transcription of this 'introduction'.

Wace's *Brut* appears in five (MSS P2, P5, P10, P12, and Mn) and his *Rou* in one (MS P8); Chrétien de Troyes's romances appear in four (MSS P2, P5, P8, and P12); the *Continuations* of the Grail narrative appear in two (MSS P2 and P5); Gautier d'Arras's *Ille et Galeron* appears in two (MSS P8 and Nt); two manuscripts contain narratives of Alexander the Great (MSS P8 and Nt). The choice of texts, and the ways in which they appear in certain manuscripts, has the effect of emphasising the place of the Trojan narratives within a longer continuous historical narrative through which contemporary nobles could trace their roots back to past heroes such as Antenor, Arthur, Alexander, Hector, and Aeneas.

At the same time, they tell tales of chivalry, courtliness, and love stories between knights and their ladies. MS L1 had at least one reader who seems to have been particularly taken with the representation of courtly love for he has written into the margins the phrases 'folx est qui aime' (*whoever loves is a fool*, fol. 38ʳ) and 'amor m'a mis en grant' (*love put me into greatness*, fol. 56ʳ).[58] MS P5 is a good example of the way in which both narrative history and courtly and chivalric norms are put into relief. It begins with *Troie*, followed by *Enéas*, followed by the *Brut*, into which have been inserted four *romans* by Chrétien (*Erec et Enide, Le conte du Graal, Cligès*, and *Yvain*), and finishes with the *Roman de Dolopathos*. *Troie*, *Enéas*, and *Brut* have clearly been ordered to tell a chronological narrative, and even the Chrétien-romances are inserted into the *Brut* at the moment when the text tells of King Arthur so as to maintain a smooth linear narration.[59] This manuscript presents how medieval nobles could explain their descent from the Trojan heroes of *Troie* and *Enéas* by linking it to the *Brut*, while the insertion of the Chrétien-

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[58] The grammatical form of 'folx' and 'm'a mis' suggest that this reader was male rather than female.

[59] However, the addition of *Dolopathos* at the end does break this chronological narrative somewhat, the *Brut* finishing with the story of the seventh-century Cadwaladr, whereas the Seven Wise Masters of the *Dolopathos* were supposed to have lived around 100 BCE.

romances make explicit the aspect of courtly love and chivalry that are expected of Christian heroes and warriors. The heroes of *Troie* and *Enéas* are of course non-Christian, but they are presented as equally noble, courageous, and valiant. What we see here is an effort on the part of the manuscript compiler to make the heroes of the classical epics evolve through the *Brut* until they emerge as the Christian chivalric and courtly heroes of the Arthurian romances. The *romans* themselves are written in a style that emphasises chivalry and courtliness.[60] Juxtaposing the *romans* with works such as Chrétien's romances makes this all the more evident, and suggests that this is partly why they were valued. Battles and warfare were clearly important, but the manner in which these wars were conducted was also of interest, hence the emphasis on chivalric discipline as practised by Arthur and his retinue. These thirteenth-century manuscripts seem keen to present warfare not only as an heroic exploit conducted by generations of Western Europeans stretching back to classical antiquity, but as something in which medieval ideas of honour, discipline, virtue, and courtly love also played an important role.

Meanwhile, in the manuscripts of the fourteenth century, the *romans* are no longer found with any Arthurian texts and in fact they are more often found on their own or with each other, rather than with other texts. The reasons for which the *romans* were valued seem to change: rather than emphasising courtly love or romanticising adventures in distant worlds, they instead juxtapose texts that highlight the more practical and perhaps even harsher aspects of warfare and present themselves as part of a universal history. Five contain texts other than the *romans*. Those that appear with particular

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[60] Their development of chivalry and courtliness is why they have sometimes been judged as anachronistic. For more information, see Aimé Petit, *L'anachronisme dans les romans antiques du XIIe siècle: le 'Roman de Thèbes', le 'Roman d'Enéas', le 'Roman de Troie', le 'Roman d'Alexandre'* (Paris: Champion, 2002) and 'La chevalerie au prisme de l'Antiquité', *Revue des langues romanes*, 110 (2006), 17-34.

frequency include: *Hector et Hercule* (*c.* 1300-24), which appears in three manuscripts (MSS P15, F2, and V2), the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (*c.* 1210) in two (MSS P15 and P19), and two crusade narratives (the *Ordène de Chevalerie* [*c.* 1200-50] and a *chanson de geste* on the siege of Antioche), which appear in one (MS L4).[61] These texts are almost exclusively historical or classical narratives from antiquity up to the thirteenth century, and the underlying themes are more concerned with glory in warfare, narrative history, and noble and moral martial behaviour, with an absence of courtly love. The prominence of three manuscripts that collect *Troie* with *Hector et Hercule* are particularly noteworthy. MS P15 is even described in the 1426 inventory of the library of the dukes of Milan at Visconti Castle as a manuscript relating 'Gesta Herculis et plurium aliorum ac Troiani' (*the deeds of Hercules and many other events at Troy*).[62] The emphasis on the deeds of Hercules is curious as Hector actually defeats him in *Hector et Hercule,* and he only appears briefly at the start of *Troie.* However, by the fourteenth century the legend of Hercules was of great moral value, for he came to be viewed as a role model for valour and wisdom: the monsters that he fought were represented as moral obstacles and the strength he demonstrated in defeating them was a simile for the strength needed to enter Heaven.[63] This suggests that *Troie* may have been intended to have a similar use: it provided exemplars for honourable, wise, and moral behaviour, that is, it had a social and didactic value. The *romans* are

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[61] In addition to the crusade narratives there are also connections between the manuscripts and crusading owners: MS M was originally owned by Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Milon of Brabant, who both participated in the Fourth Crusade (1202-04); MS L4 was owned by Henry 'The Fighting Bishop' of Norwich, who led the failed Despenser's Crusade in 1383; MSS P8 and P13 were owned by Jacques II de Bourbon, who participated in the Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396.

[62] Jung, *La légende*, p. 196.

[63] For more information on the way that such classical texts were reinterpreted, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Reading Myth: Classical Mythology and Its Interpretations in Medieval French Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), Chapter 1.

sufficiently complex for this variation in the texts with which they are matched to bring

these different aspects of their narratives to prominence.

Another possibility exists for the way in which the *romans* were valued, which is

their use as works to entertain and amuse. MS Nt demonstrates this most effectively. The

manuscript itself shows signs of frequent use, suggesting that it was often taken out to be

read.[64] Along with *Troie* it contains *Ille et Galeron*, Heldris of Cornwall's *Roman de Silence*,

part of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, the *Chanson d'Aspremont*, Raoul de Houdenc's *Vengeance

Raguidel*, eleven *fabliaux*, and fifteen lines from one of Marie de France's fables. One of the

first things that is noticeable about this collection is the diversity of the texts: romances of

classical antiquity, a *lai*, Arthurian narratives, a *chanson de geste*, *fabliaux*, and perhaps

originally a whole collection of fables (of which only these few lines of Marie de France

survive). It seems likely there was something to please everyone in this collection and that

this manuscript was used to entertain and divert.[65]

The commissioners and owners of the manuscripts also provide clues as to their

use or value. Determining the patronage of individual manuscripts is equally as difficult as

that of the original patronage of the texts. So far there is selective information available

about the ownership of twenty-three manuscripts, although this information is not always

from the medieval period itself.[66] Despite the paucity of information (and the usual

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[64] Lewis Thorpe, 'Introduction', in Heldris of Cornwall, *Le roman de Silence*, ed. by Lewis Thorpe
(Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1972), pp. 1-30 (p. 1).

[65] The accompanying illustrations also suggest a certain playfulness at times as they are often
unconnected to the texts that they accompany but instead show fantastical beasts and creatures.
For example, variations of a hybrid knight that is a man crossed with a dragon accompany *Troie*
(fol. 78ʳ), *Ille et Galeron* (fol. 158ʳ), the *Chanson d'Aspremont* (fol. 274ᵛ) and *La vengeance Raguidel* (fol.
328ᵛ).

[66] See Table 1 for indications of which manuscripts have ownership information available and
refer to Appendix I for further details.

uncertainty over whether those who owned the manuscripts actually read them, or that those who did not own them may still have had access to them through a family library or performed readings), we can at least see that there is slightly more variety in terms of the spread of ownership.[67] Below is the list of persons known to have owned (or interacted in some way with) at least one of the *roman*-manuscripts, given in approximate chronological order and with the manuscript that they owned indicated after their name:

Geoffrey of Villehardouin (1160-1212): MS M

Milon of Brabant (d. 1224): MS M

'Plonbeoli de plombeolis' (thirteenth-century hand): MS M

Béatrice de Gavre (d. 1315): MS Nt

Bertrand Goyon Matignon (thirteenth or fourteenth century): MS P5

'Madame de Martignie' and 'Madame Maulevrier' (fourteenth-century hand): MS L1

Lucas Boni of Florence (fourteenth century): MS F2

Robert of Anjou (1277-1343): MS Vt

Guido Gonzaga (1290-1369): MS V2

John II of France (1319-64): MS P11

Anne de Laval (1385-1466): MS Nt

John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury (1384-1453): MS Nt

Francesco I Gonzaga (1366-1407): MS V1

Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich (1341-1406): MS L4

Charles V, VI, or VII of France (fourteenth or fifteenth century): MS P11

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[67] For more regarding the reading and consumption of texts, see Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Jacques II de Bourbon, count of La Marche (1370-1438): MSS P13 and P14

Cristoforo Moro (1390-1471): MS L3

John Bertram of Thorp Kilton (d. 1471): MS Nt

Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours (1433-77): MSS P13 and P14

Charles de Croÿ, count of Chimay (1455-1527): MS P12

Dukes of Milan (1426-89): MS P15

Jean d'Averton, lord of Couldreau (*c.* 1400-99): MS SP2

Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio (1485-1548): MSS N and Mn

Charles V, Holy Roman emperor (*c.* 1500-58): MS SP2

Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601): MS M

Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631): MS M

Étienne Tabourot, lord of the Accords (1549-90): MS P17

Cardinal de Mazarin (1602-61): MSS P7 and P8

Pierre Bourdelot (1610-85): MS Vt

Philibert de la Mare (1615-87): MS P9

Louis XIV of France (1640-1715): MS P17

Edward Harley, earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689-1741): MS L2

Jean-Baptiste La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (1697-1781): MS P8

Maurice Johnson (1815-61): MS L4

Once again there is a dearth of medieval owners with Anglo-Norman connections or
sympathies. For example, the Goyon-Matignon family, who owned MS P5, was an ancient
Breton family with connections to Normandy that had a fairly antagonistic relationship
with the Plantagenets as there is a record of two members of the family, Guignes and

Seldivin de Goyon, being taken prisoner by Henry II in 1177.[68] Similarly, Jacques II de

Bourbon, who owned MSS P13 and P14, was a staunchly anti-English figure: his father,

Jean de Bourbon, had been actively involved in battles with the English, having been

captured and ransomed at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. Jacques II led a force in support

of Owain Glyndwr's invasion of England in 1403 and later supported Charles VII of

France's troops during the Hundred Years War.[69] Meanwhile the Laval family, who

originally owned MS Nt, were also known to have opposed the English during the

Hundred Years War, and indeed it appears that the reason this manuscript ended up in

England was because it was plundered from the Laval castle in 1428.[70] Once again,

without wanting to use the absence of evidence as proof of a theory, it is striking that

there does not seem to be much evidence of the *romans* having been owned by figures

who were particularly supportive of the Anglo-Norman dynasty. Conclusions from such

limited evidence are difficult to draw. However, patterns in the origins of the manuscripts

combined with details of their ownership make it appear that these texts were more

popular in Continental Europe in regions or among families that were not known allies of

the Anglo-Normans. Regardless of whether legitimising the Plantagenet dynasty had been

their original purpose when commissioned, this was obviously not why they came to be

valued by later commissioners and owners.

It is also notable that there is relative diversity in terms of gender, social status,

and occupation, when it comes to ownership. Although the evidence currently points to

the majority of owners being men, there are several women in this list, and one of them

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[68] Jean Ogée, *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la province de Bretagne*, 2 vols (Rennes: Deniel, 1853), II, p. 15.

[69] A. D. Carr, 'Wales', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History VI c. 1300-1415*, ed. by Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 334-44 (pp. 341-42).

[70] Cowper, 'Origins and Peregrinations', pp. 12-13.

(Béatrice de Gavre) is one of the few whom we can actually identify as the original recipient of the manuscript, rather than a later owner. With regard to status we have great monarchs and emperors such as John II of France, Robert of Anjou, Charles V, Holy Roman emperor, and Louis XIV of France owning copies of these manuscripts. There are also people who are virtually untraceable in historical records.[71] Finally, we see people from the different estates of medieval social structures: one owner is a simple scribe (Lucas Boni); there are owners from the church (such as Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, and Bishop Henry Despenser of Norwich); and there are owners from the nobility and knightly eschelons (such as Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Milon of Brabant, and John Talbot). Just as the collections in which these texts appear seem to suggest that they could be valued, used, and interpreted in different ways, so too the variety amongst their owners perhaps suggests that they had no single audience, but could be used by a multitude of people.

I.iii. Women and the *Romans*-Manuscripts

Finally, certain manuscripts stand out for having features that are particularly prominent in relation to women. Some manuscripts were specifically patronised by women or show signs of female readership. For example, MS P2 contains only one historiated initial, and it is of Marie de Champagne (the patron of Chrétien's works that also appear in this manuscript alongside *Troie*). The prominence of a patron in this manuscript links it to MS Nt. This manuscript contains texts that were patronised by women (such as *Ille et Galeron* that was dedicated to Beatrice I of Burgundy), or written by women (such as Marie de France's *Fables*), and the manuscript itself was originally commissioned for a woman,

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[71] For example, despite extensive research, there is no evidence yet to identify 'Plonbeoli de plombeolis', or the Madames Martignie and Maulevrier.

Béatrice de Gavre. The juxtaposition of its texts gives a prominence to the complexity of their female characters, particularly Silence and Penthesilea. Combined with the fact that these texts touch on a range of subjects, from the siege of Troy to the adventures of King Arthur's court to the actions of Charlemagne and the bawdy humour of the *fabliaux*, this suggests that women were using the manuscript in a variety of ways.

There is further evidence of female readership if we look at MS N, which presents a version of the text in which the unfavourable descriptions of women have been purposefully omitted. Fol. 81 of this manuscript should contain the passage in which the narrator of *Troie* makes a misogynistic digression about the infidelity of women (ll. 13457-70) but it was left out of the original copying of the manuscript (as were a number of other passages that are not necessarily specific to women). At some point, a later scribe went back and added in the missing passages into the margins of the manuscript (perhaps when another copy became available from which to copy). But when it comes to the part of the text in which this passage should be copied, the scribe instead just makes a note in the margin that there is a passage missing here, to signal that he had the passage available to him, but purposefully chose not to include it. Jung speculates that the scribe thought this passage was 'trop long'.[72] Instead, it is possible that this scribe deliberately chose not to rectify this omission specifically because he anticipated that this particular manuscript might have a female readership who would not appreciate the tone and content of this passage, especially as its position in the margin would draw extra attention.

Secondly, some manuscripts contain a disproportionate number of illustrations of women compared with how often they appear in the text. For example, there are only two manuscripts containing any illustrations of *Thèbes* (MSS P13 and P17) and yet the only character to be illustrated in both is Jocasta. Similarly, there are only four manuscripts of

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[72] Jung, *La légende*, p. 123.

Enéas with any illustrations (MSS P5, P10, P17, and Mn) and yet the only character (other than Aeneas) to be illustrated in all four is Dido. Women also often appear with disproportionate frequency in illustrated manuscripts of *Troie* (particularly in MSS P6, Vt, V1, Vn, and P18). For example, MS Vt contains two hundred and sixty illustrations, of which fifty-three (roughly twenty per cent) include women. In comparison, of the thirty thousand lines of text, approximately four thousand lines (roughly thirteen percent) relate to descriptions of women or the actions of women. And of the one hundred and sixty-three named characters in *Troie*, only nineteen (about ten per cent) are women. Women therefore appear more frequently in illustrations than they do in the text. In one manuscript, MS P17, a later reader has even added a large sketch (approximately thirty by forty centimetres in size) of a woman onto the flyleaf of the manuscript (fig. 5). Whether this is a reader's own interpretation of one of the women from the text or simply a sketch of a contemporary woman is not known. But it does suggest that at least one person handling this manuscript was so keen to see images of women that he or she even went so far as to add in one of their own devising.

Also of note is that illustrations of women appear to have been the focus of specific attentions from users of the manuscripts: in MS Nt, Penthesilea's arrival in Troy has been damaged;[73] in MS Vt, Helen and Paris's first meeting (fig. 6), their ride to Troy (fig. 7), and Andromache's attempts to prevent Hector from returning to battle (fig. 8) have been rubbed, touched, or potentially the manuscript left open with these folios exposed in such a way that a lot of their colour is missing; in MS Mn, Penthesilea's arrival to Troy has been obscured (fig. 9), while the only illustration to accompany *Enéas*, Dido watching Aeneas sail away from Carthage, has also been spoilt (fig. 10); in MS P17, the abduction of Helen has been damaged (fig. 11), as has the image of Lavine in her tower

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[73] Unfortunately a copy of this illustration is not available for reproduction.

(fig. 12); in MS V1, Medea and Jason's amorous activities in bed show signs of wear and

tear (fig. 13), while in MS Vn the illustration of this scene has been forcibly erased (fig.

14). Jung speculates that the damage to the illustration of Penthesilea in MS Mn was

caused by someone 'qui n'avait pas de tendresse pour les Amazones', but quite the

opposite could be true.[74] Kathryn M. Rudy's study of certain BL devotional manuscripts

reveals how a 'user's volitional destruction of selected images' could be caused by rubbing

and kissing as a form of iconophilia and that these images are therefore the ones

'venerated most ardently'.[75] Although her work is on religious manuscripts we may

nevertheless be able to apply some of her findings to secular texts such as *Troie*. The

illustrations outlined above provoked some kind of physical reaction from at least one

reader. It is probably not possible to ascertain whether this damage is the result of a user

who was either particularly fond of an image or particularly averse to such an image.

Nevertheless, we can at least see it as an indication that users of these manuscripts were

engaging and responding in some way with the female characters, and were certainly not

just focusing on the male figures alone.

In spite of medieval audiences' apparent interest in illustrations of women, there has

been rather less enthusiasm in modern scholarship: images of women in the *Troie*-

manuscripts have sometimes been overlooked or even misidentified as illustrations of

men. For example, a miniature of Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle was dismissed by

Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona because they claim 'it is impossible to determine the sex

of the combatants', despite the fact that they have long blonde hair sticking out from their

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[74] Jung, *La légende*, p. 122.

[75] Kathryn M. Rudy, 'Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Badges and
Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals they
Reveal', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2011), 1-56 (p. 30)
<http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2011articles/articles.html> [accessed 1 June 2015].

helmets and Penthesilea's white caparison and shield are specifically described by the text as a way to identify her (fig. 15).[76] Additionally, an historiated initial of Penthesilea's dead body is labelled by the BL as 'the body of a dead king', despite the fact that there are three ways to identify her as Penthesilea (fig. 16).[77] Firstly, the illustration appears at the point in the narrative immediately following Penthesilea's death; secondly, it shows a dead warrior being placed into a river, and Penthesilea is the only warrior in *Troie* to receive such a fate; thirdly, the illustration depicts the warrior with long flowing hair coming down from a crown, and such hair is a sign of a virgin woman (which Penthesilea was).[78] Jung agrees that 'il s'agit probablement du corps de Panthesilee' but he is clearly not confident in this;[79] he later states that '[l]es femmes n'apparaissent pas' in this manuscript, despite the fact that as well as this illustration of Penthesilea there is also an historiated inital of Hecuba, Polyxena, and Helen mourning at Hector's bier (fig. 17).[80] Therefore, while it is true that women may not dominate the illustrative scheme, (and nor would we expect

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[76] Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, 'Amazons and Crusaders: The *Histoire Universelle* in Flanders and the Holy Land', in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture and the End of the Crusades*, ed. by Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 187-229 (pp. 216-17, n. 3).

[77] BL description: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=30781> [accessed 5 June 2016].

[78] For more on the iconology of hair, including the ways in which virgin women were depicted, see Roberta Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks: An Iconology of Hair in Medieval Art and Literature* (London: McFarland, 2012).

[79] Jung, *La légende*, p. 112.

[80] Jung, *La légende*, p. 113. Jung concedes that there are women in this scene but dismisses it because 'les figures féminines ne sont pas individualisées': Jung, *La légende*, p. 113. However, this is typical of MS L2's style, which does not have accompanying captions. Instead, the text that this historiated initial accompanies makes it clear: it is the initial 'Q' from the 'Quant' at the start of line 17489. From lines 17511 to 17515 we are told that Hecuba, Polyxena, and Helen were by Hector's bier, which is presumably exactly who these three women are intended to represent.

them to), it is also not true to say that they 'n'apparaissent pas'. Similarly, a full-page

illustration in MS P6 that shows Penthesilea's death at the hands of Pyrrhus in the bottom

register is mislabelled by Jung as the death of Troilus (fig. 18).[81] In fact, Jung writes of this

manuscript:

> L'*ambiente* est encore purement guerrier. Les femmes – Medea, Briseide,
> Polixena - sont absentes. La reine Ecuba cependant apparaît trois fois [...].
> Andromacha est aussi représentée, avec son fils [...]. Mais il n'y a pas de
> scènes d'amour.[82]

However, Polyxena does appear in at least two of the miniatures (mourning the death of

Hector alongside other Trojan women on fol. 102ʳ, and at her execution on fol. 155ᵛ).

Indeed, of this manuscript's thirty-eight miniatures, women appear in nine of them.[83] As it

was unfair to say that women 'n'apparaissent pas' in MS L2, so too it is not accurate to

describe women as 'absentes' from MS P6 when they appear in a quarter of its

illustrations.

　　　Thirdly and finally, some manuscripts have either omitted or even erased women

to a certain degree, or alternatively, the scribes add in their own scathing commentaries to

their actions. MSS Mn, P8, P14, and L1 are all missing the description of the Amazons'

kingdom and the way in which they govern, procreate, and train for battle. Of these four,

MSS Mn and P14 have been linked to the same workshop, yet MS Mn's single illustration

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[81] Jung misidentifies both the top and bottom registers of this illustration: he describes the top
register as Paris removing the body of Deiphobus from the battlefield (when it is actually Achilles
dragging the body of Troilus), and the bottom register as the death of Troilus: Jung, *La légende*, p.
222. Morrison clarifies this error in 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 133-34.

[82] Jung, *La légende*, p. 225.

[83] These nine are detailed in Appendix III.

of Penthesilea is significantly damaged, while the corresponding image in MS P14 was omitted entirely from the illustrative scheme. When it comes to omitting warrior women from illustrative schemes it should be noted that there are no illustrations of Camille in any *Enéas*-manuscripts, even those that contain illustrations of male warriors. Similarly, MS P16 (whose illustrations were never completed but whose rubrics indicate the intended illustrative scheme), appears to have had no plans to include illustrations of Penthesilea.[84] There is nothing to indicate her arrival, her battles, her death, or her funeral. There are spaces left on fol. 143ʳ and fol. 146ʳ with rubrics that suggest these were for depictions of Battles XXI and XXII (in which she and the Amazons participated), but she is not named, nor are the Amazons, and indeed the description for Battle XXI (the first in which she appears) reads 'Ci est la xxie bataille du noble Roy priant' (*here is the twenty-first battle of the noble King Priam*). Meanwhile, MS G reduces the number of Priam's daughters from three to two, omits Cassandra's prophecies, and adds in over sixty unique and original lines that Jung rightly describes as 'un passage misogyne', which are dedicated to attacking Briseide's character.[85] In fact, the additional misogynistic passages and the omission of female characters or their actions actually may help connect to the apparently mysterious London-Poitiers couplet mentioned in the first section of this chapter, which appears in this manuscript. That couplet described Argia and Deiphyle's smiles as 'mieus vaut [...] que ne fait Londres ne Peitiers' (*worth more than London and Poitiers*). If London and Poitiers are used as a metaphor for Eleanor of Aquitaine, then this couplet may be a slight

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[84] Morrison has helpfully noted all the spaces where miniatures were planned in MS P16 and has transcribed the rubrics that accompany these spaces (and would have accompanied the miniatures). Of course the rubrics cannot guarantee what the illustrator would have ended up drawing, but it at least gives an idea of the original intentions: Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 268-72.

[85] Jung reproduces these lines in *La légende*, pp. 82-84.

on her, for she is publicly judged as less worthy than these two other women. Combined with the misogynistic passages, and the dating of the manuscript to a time when Eleanor's reputation was starting to suffer, perhaps this manuscript was either copied by or commissioned for someone complicit in the defamation of Eleanor's reputation.

I.iv. Conclusions

The exact circumstances that led to the composition of the *romans* may never be known. However, current research does suggest that they originally had a place at the court of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Whether that place was thanks to direct patronage, or was a consequence of speculative patronage, cannot be determined. It certainly seems that the *romans* would have been welcomed not just for bringing classical texts into the vernacular, where a larger and more diverse audience could enjoy them, but also because of the way they linked to other vernacular histories that allowed a genealogical connection to be made from the twelfth century back to antiquity. There is evidence from some manuscript collections that the *romans* were valued as continuous universal historical narratives from the way that they are collected with texts such as Wace's *Brut*, Benoît's *Chronique*, and the *Histoire ancienne*. Meanwhile later copies suggest that audiences were not simply interested in a simple succession of events, dates, battles, and geneology, but they wanted to explore the manner in which these events had taken place and the characters and worthiness of the men and women who had participated in them. We therefore see the *romans* appearing with texts such as Chrétien's romances and the *Ordène de chevalerie*, showing that they may also have been used as exemplars for chivalric behaviour. Additionally, we also see signs that they may have been prized for the entertainment value that they could provide, perhaps as a form of diversion at court. Certainly the richness and diversity of their characters and scenes (from the chivalric paragon of Hector to the

comic ridiculousness of Lavine's mother, or from the passionate love scenes between

Briseide and Troilus (and Diomedes) to the absolute horror of the incestuous relationship

between Jocasta and Oedipus), meant that careful selection of a passage could give an

entirely different experience of reading from one day to the next.

The provenance of the manuscripts shows a shift in the thirteenth and fourteenth

centuries away from the Anglo-Norman milieu and predominantly into France and Italy.

Manuscripts with a French provenance tend to have been repurposed in such a way that

they could support French claims of Trojan ancestry and help bolster claims of authority

through their descent from Hector. Manuscripts with an Italian provenance have

particularly rich illustrative traditions and in many ways the texts seem to have been

perfect vehicles for Italian artists and workshops to promote their skills. Evidence from

the owners and readers of these manuscripts is fairly diverse and again shows the many

ways in which these texts could be reimagined, reinterpreted, or repurposed.

Unfortunately, there is relatively sparse information on the original commissioners or

patrons of these manuscripts, but what little there is often tells powerful stories. The

shared ownership (and probably commissioning) of MS M by Geoffrey of Villehardouin

and Milon of Brabant (two knights of the Fourth Crusade) underlines *Troie*'s value as a

narrative of conquest but also a narrative of camaraderie where soldiers are lauded for the

strength of their bonds. The copy of *Troie* in MS Nt originally owned by Béatrice de

Gavre shows that it had value not just for men but also for women, too. The Madame de

Martignie and Madame Maulevrier who appear in MS L1 also demonstrate that *Troie*

could attract a female readership just as much as a male readership.

In fact, the *romans*-manuscripts suggest that the texts had a complex and varying

relationship to women. Some manuscripts promote and celebrate their female characters

by including elaborate illustrations or deliberately omitting passages that have a

misogynistic undertone. Other manuscripts do the opposite and omit women from the

illustrative scheme, reduce the amount of text dedicated to their descriptions, and add extra misogynistic passages. Beyond the intentions of the original manuscript architects, later readers have also left their mark in their interactions with the female characters: illustrations of women attract particular attention as compared to illustrations of men, and are more likely to be damaged in some way. Whether this damage is a sign of fondness or disgust cannot be deduced, but it does show that they were provoking reaction. Clearly the women of the texts were of interest to the original commissioners or intended audiences of the *romans*, (which is why the poets made such an effort to develop their characters), and evidently they continued to be of interest to their future audiences, even hundreds of years later. In order to see exactly how the poets were able to make the women of their texts so rich and developed, we now turn to look at their possible sources of historical inspiration.

Chapter II:

'Des danzeles, e des dames e des puceles':

Sources of the *Romans d'Antiquité*

Current scholarship on the sources of the *romans* tends to focus on classical influences and

other written texts to which the *romans*-poets had access. The first section of this chapter

considers these sources in relation to the female characters while the second section looks

at the historical record to consider the influence that historical women may have had. War

had a huge impact on the lives of many medieval women: they were sometimes cited as

the reason for hostilities and they were subject to suffering through violence,

displacement, famine, or loss of loved ones; they also played active roles as ancillaries,

politicans, and warriors, in supporting and driving certain war efforts. This chapter aims

to identify historical women who fit into these categories and who may have been known

to the *romans*-poets and influenced the development of their female characters.

II.i. Traditional Sources of the *Romans d'Antiquité*

The *romans* and their classical sources were part of a larger topos in medieval literature

known as *translatio studii* and *translatio imperii*. The former involved not just a transmission

of words and learning, but also the transmission of cultural ideals and information:

translatio was not just about translation but also about transfer and transmission.

Meanwhile *translatio imperii*, which often acted as a precedent to *translatio studii*, linked ideas

of imperial power with ideas of cultural elitism and intellectual heritage.[1] Translation of

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[1] For more on the ways in which ideas of *translatio* were linked to changes in the understanding of
history, knowledge, and culture in the Middle Ages, see: Dominique Boutet, 'De la *translation
imperii* à la *finis saeculi*: progrès et décadence dans la pensée', in *Progrès, réaction, décadence dans l'occident*

these classical texts into the vernacular connected contemporary Western Europe to classical Troy, Rome, and Greece, and thereby transmitted their wisdom, power, and intellectualism. Benoît outlines the framework of *translatio* within which he is working in *Troie*'s prologue (ll. 1-144) before naming his source as Dares. Dares's alleged eye-witness account of the events had been translated from Greek into Latin in the fifth century and was widely circulated in medieval Europe in lieu of Homer's *Iliad*, for which there was not yet a complete Latin translation, and which was therefore inaccessible to medieval readers.[2] Benoît claims that he is not using Homer because he is not a reliable source (ll. 45-74). In contrast, Benoît makes it clear that Dares's account is an accurate record of the events, that his translation is entirely faithful, and that therefore his version is an historically accurate account of the events (ll. 42-144). His other source is Dictys, whose alleged journal of the Trojan War had been translated into Latin in the fourth century by

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médiéval, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Laurence Harf-Lancner (Geneva: Droz, 2003), pp. 25-36; Peter Damian-Grint, 'Translation Topoi in Old French Narrative Literature', in *Riddarasǫgur: The Translation of European Court Culture in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. by Karl G. Johansson and Else Mundal (Oslo: Novus, 2014), pp. 57-89; Enrico Fenzi, '*Translatio studii* e *translatio imperii*. Appunti per un percorso', *A Journal of Medieval European Literatures*, 1 (2015), 170-208; Douglas Kelly, '*Translatio studii*: Translation, Adaptation, and Allegory in Medieval French Literature', *Philological Quarterly*, 57 (1978), 287-310.

[2] Although there was not a complete version of Homer's *Iliad* in Latin, there was a short translation (just over a thousand lines and ending after the death of Hector) in the first century, known as the *Ilias Latina*, which was relatively well-known during the Middle Ages. It was read in schools during the Carolingian period and continued to be listed as part of the curriculum in the following centuries: E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by W. R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 49, 56, 260, and 464; Marco Scaffai, *Baebii Italici* Ilias Latina*: Introduzione, Edizione Critica, Traduzione Italiana e Commento* (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1982), pp. 33-35. It is often found bound in manuscripts with Dares's and Dictys's works: George A. Kennedy, *The Latin Iliad: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes* (Fort Collins: Privately published, 1998), p. 12. Benoît may therefore have had access to this version of the Trojan story, too, though he makes no mention of it.

Quintus Septimius, although Benoît does not mention this in his prologue.[3] He only

mentions Dictys about four fifths of the way into the narrative (ll. 24417-19).

In contrast, the poets of *Thèbes* and *Enèas* make little attempt to identify their

sources. Menegaldo suggests that the authors fail to mention them because they are

attempting to create a real proximity to the Latin text, in the manner of modern

translators.[4] It is a fairly common convention of medieval texts, particularly romances, not

to list their sources.[5] The only authorial allusion to the *Thebes*-poet's principal source

comes approximately four fifths of the way through the narrative as he describes a cup

that Polynices has received as a gift and adds a note that these details come from 'le liver

d'Estaisce' (*Statius's book,* l. 8543). However, despite the limited acknowledgement of

Statius, there is no doubt that the *Thèbes*-poet was familiar with the classical source: the

first two of the *Thebaid*'s twelve books are reproduced in *Thèbes* with relatively few

amendments while the following ten books appear in translation to a greater or lesser

extent.[6] The *Thèbes*-poet was most likely a clerk and knowledge of classical writers such as

Statius would not have been unusual. Indeed, the *Thebaid* is believed to have had 'un

succès très vif' in twelfth-century schools, which formed part of a general 'renaissance des

études anciennes' throughout the century.[7] F. M. Warren's study into the instances where

Thèbes does diverge from the *Thebaid* led him to theorise that the poet was translating an

intermediate Latin text, rather than working with Statius's text.[8] This supposition was

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[3] E. Griffin, 'The Greek Dictys', *The American Journal of Philology*, 29 (1908), 329-35.

[4] Menegaldo, 'De la traduction', p. 305.

[5] Roger Dragonetti, *Le mirage des sources: L'art du faux dans le roman medieval* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), pp. 47-48.

[6] F. M. Warren, 'On the Latin Sources of *Thèbes* and *Enéas*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 16 (1901), 375-87 (pp. 375-79).

[7] Faral, *Recherches*, pp. 398-400.

[8] Warren, 'Latin Sources', p. 380.

based on Warren's scepticism as to the *Thèbes*-poet's compositional abilities: he states that *Thèbes* shows signs of 'material… drawn from other sources, a proceeding which the ordinary medieval translator would be unable to carry out', that the poet has 'an erudition [...] which we would not expect to find in a translator', and that there is 'a variety and a richness… which indicate scholarship of a no mean order, a scholarship which we can hardly believe was possessed by the medieval versifier'.[9] Warren also applied this theory of an intermediary (and subsequently lost) Latin text to explain the differences between *Enéas* and *Troie* and their basic source material. However, more recent scholars have abandoned this theory. Today we can more confidently say that the additions and changes made to the *Thebaid* were the work of the poet himself, rather than an intermediary poet, as many of these amendments find their sources in other written works with which an educated twelfth-century clerk would almost certainly have been familiar, and it would not be surprising to find that a 'versifier' was capable of making such allusions.[10]

To illustrate other potential influences and sources it is helpful to look at specific examples of the places in which *Thèbes* diverges from the *Thebaid*. For instance, more space is dedicated to developing the female characters: the description of Adrastus's daughters, Argia and Deiphyle, is fifty-one lines in *Thèbes* but only five lines in the *Thebaid*;[11] the conversation between Jocasta and Eteocles in which she counsels him does not have an equivalent scene in the *Thebaid*;[12] the scene in which Jocasta and her daughters

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[9] Warren, 'Latin Sources', pp. 378-82.

[10] For more information on such schools, see, for example, Reginald L. Poole, 'The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time', *The English Historical Review*, 35 (1920), 321-42, and Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

[11] *Thèbes*, ll. 1030-81 and *Thebaid*, Book I, ll. 534-39 (references to the *Thebaid* use J. H. Mozley's edition).

[12] *Thèbes*, ll. 3887-4108.

travel to the Argive camp for negotiations is nearly four hundred lines in *Thèbes* but just under a hundred lines in the *Thebaid*;[13] finally, the description of Jocasta's daughters, Antigone and Ismene, at the moment when they accompany her to the Argive camp, occupies fifty-six lines in *Thèbes* but is only a subclause of a single line in the *Thebaid*.[14] The increased importance of women in the narrative is generally attributed to Ovid's influence. Edmond Faral states that 'il est certain que l'auteur [...] connaissait très bien les *Metamorphoses*'.[15] However, while scholars such as Faral, Warren, and Constans all drew attention to Ovid's influence, more recent scholars such as Petit and Dominique Battles argue that his influence was not as strong as previously thought.[16] Petit posits that the love episodes are actually less important in *Thèbes* than in *Enéas*, and indeed that this Ovidian representation of love only really comes into play in the *romans* from *Enéas* onwards, and has been incorrectly associated with *Thèbes*.

Battles draws attention to the additional scenes that may have been influenced by crusading narratives. She argues that the chronicle tradition of the First Crusade was important to the tone and content of *Thèbes* and that 'the story of the First Crusade helps to account for the most sweeping alterations that the *Thèbes*-poet brings to Statius' *Thebaid*'.[17] She focuses on three episodes that the poet adds to *Thèbes*: the siege of Montflor, the famine and expedition for provisions, and the trial of Darius the Red. She

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[13] *Thèbes*, ll. 4109-4491 and *Thebaid,* Book VII, ll. 474-561.

[14] *Thèbes,* ll. 4117-73 and *Thebaid*, Book VII, l. 479.

[15] Faral, *Recherches*, p. 63.

[16] Aimé Petit, 'Aspects de l'influence d'Ovide sur les romans antiques du XIIᵉ siècle', in *Présence d'Ovide. Actes du colloque d'Azay-le-Ferron (26-28 septembre 1980)*, ed. by Raymond Chevallier (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982), pp. 219-40 (pp. 220-32) and Dominique Battles, *The Medieval Tradition of Thèbes: History and Narrative in the Old French Roman de Thèbes, Boccaccio, Chaucer and Lydgate* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 19-60.

[17] Battles, *Medieval Tradition of Thèbes*, p. 25.

argues that all three derive from similar episodes in chronicles of the First Crusade and 'have the overall effect of making the story of the Theban war resemble the expedition to Jerusalem of 1095-99'.[18] Her comparative analysis convincingly demonstrates the ways in which the siege of Montflor resembles the siege of Antioch, how the famine episodes resemble chronicle accounts of famine during the crusades, and how the trial of Darius the Red parallels that of Pirus, the Pious Traitor of Antioch.[19] Battles argues that the *Thèbes*-poet 'transforms Statius's ancient story of civil war into a medieval crusade'.[20] However, the preservation of the civil war aspect may have been just as important to the poet. The *Thèbes* is dated between 1150 and 1155, during which time the civil wars of the Anarchy (1135-54) between King Stephen of England and Empress Matilda were finally coming to an end. This conflict, essentially a civil war between cousins, ended when Stephen agreed to recognise Matilda's son, Henry FitzEmpress as his heir, with Henry eventually being crowned as king of England in 1154. Given that Henry is posited as one of the potential patrons of *Thèbes*, it is not unreasonable to assume that the *Thèbes*-poet would have considered civil war between members of the same family to be a topic of interest.

Moving from *Thèbes* to *Enéas*, more has been written on the sources of this text than on either of the other two *romans*, particularly its relationship with Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's influence.[21] In addition to Virgil's text, Cormier, Francine Mora, and Barbara

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[18] Battles, *Medieval Tradition of Thèbes*, p. 30.

[19] Battles, *Medieval Tradition of Thèbes*, pp. 30-36.

[20] Battles, *Medieval Tradition of Thèbes*, p. 19.

[21] See for example: Raymond J. Cormier, 'Classical Continuity and Transposition in Two Twelfth-Century Adaptations of the *Aeneid*', *Symposium: A Quarterly Journal in Modern Literatures*, 47 (1994), 261-74 and *One Heart, One Mind: The Rebirth of Virgil's Hero in Medieval French Romance* (Oxford, MI: University of Mississippi, Romance Monographs, 1973); Jessie Crosland, '*Enéas* and the *Aeneid*', *The Modern Language Review*, 29 (1934), 282-90; Faral, 'Ovide et quelques autres sources du *Roman*

Nolan have drawn attention to the marginalia, gloss and commentary tradition of Virgil

during the Middle Ages, in particular Servius's glosses of the *Aeneid*, which seem to have

been an important part of the translation process.[22] They highlight an early episode of

Enéas, the 'Judgement of Paris': Juno, Pallas, and Venus are talking when a golden apple is

thrown between them, on which is written a message that the most beautiful of them

should have the apple as a gift. They ask Paris to make the judgement, and secretly make

promises to him about what they will give him in return for being chosen. Paris chooses

Venus, and she rewards him with Helen. While Virgil only briefly alludes to this episode

in the *Aeneid*, the *Enéas*-poet expands it to eighty-four lines.[23] Faral suggests that the

Enéas-poet may have found the extra details either in a commentary of the *Aeneid* or from

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d'Enéas', *Romania*, 40 (1911), 161-234; Barbara Nolan, 'Ovid's *Heroides* Contextualised: Foolish

Love and Legitimate Marriage in the *Roman d'Enéas*', *Mediaevalia*, 13 (1989), 157-87; Nancy P.

Pope, 'The *Aeneid* and the *Roman d'Enéas*: A Medieval Translator at Work', *Papers on Language and

Literature*, 16 (1980), 243-49; Jerome Singerman, *Under Clouds of Poesy: Poetry and Truth in French and

English Reworkings of the Aeneid, 1160-1513* (New York: Garland Publications, 1986).

[22] Raymond J. Cormier, 'An Example of Twelfth-Century *Adaptatio*: The *Roman d'Enéas*-Author's

Use of Glossed *Aeneid* Manuscripts', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 19 (1989), 277-89; Francine Mora-

Lebrun, 'Sources de l'*Enéas*: La tradition exégétique et le modèle épique latin', in *Relire le 'Roman

d'Enéas'*, ed. by Jean Dufournet (Paris: Champion, 1985), pp. 83-104; Barbara Nolan, 'The

Judgement of Paris in the *Roman d'Énéas*: A New Look at Sources and Significance', *Classical

Bulletin*, 56 (1980), 52-56.

[23] This episode corresponds to ll. 99-182 of J. J. Salverda de Grave's edition of *Enéas* (*Le roman

d'Enéas*, ed. by J. J. Salverda de Grave, 2 vols [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1925-29]). The manuscript

used for Petit's more recent edition of the text, MS P17, does not include this episode: in a much

more Virgilian style, there are only five verses that refer to it with no real details ('Juno, qui ert du

ciel deuesse, | Estoit vers eulz moult felonesse; | Fforment avoit coilli en hé | Touz ceulz de

Troie la cité | Del jugement que fist Paris' (*Juno, who was the goddess of the sky, was very angry toward

him [Aeneas]; she was incredibly furious with him and all those from the city of Troy because of the judgment that

Paris had made*, ll. 83-87). Petit makes a brief comment on this omission in his introduction: the

Judgment of Paris is 'une excision importante [...] à moins que l'on ne considère qu'il s'agisse d'un

ajout de tous les autres manuscrits': Petit, 'Introduction' to *Enéas*, p. 27.

the *Fabulae* of Hyginus.[24] Mora and Nolan pick up on these ideas and look further into the

impact that glossed manuscripts may have had on the *Enéas*-poet's composition, noting in

particular that Servius's commentaries were popular in early medieval schools and that

such glosses 'demonstrate beyond doubt that Paris's story already belonged to the

Virgilian tradition in the first part of the twelfth century to be studied by schoolboys and

poet-translators alike'.[25] Cormier's study takes into consideration over one hundred *Aeneid*

manuscripts, all containing ninth- to twelfth-century annotations, and concludes that

awareness of this 'holistic tradition – text *cum* gloss as a complete *Gestalt*' is the only

possible way to understand the manner in which medieval readers and writers would have

understood classical works such as the *Aeneid*.[26] Therefore the glosses and commentaries

that accompanied the *Aeneid* become equally as important as Virgil's text.

The ways in which the *Enéas*-poet adapts the *Aeneid* yields interesting

comparisons, particularly with regard to its female characters. The differences between

Virgil's Dido and the *Enéas*'s Dido have been well-examined by Marilynn Desmond and

Jerome Singerman, both of whom note that one of the most significant consequences of

the changes made by the *Enéas*-poet is her deathbed speech.[27] In the *Aeneid* she dies

cursing Aeneas whereas in *Enéas* she dies bestowing a forgiveness that 'may fairly be

described as Christian in spirit'.[28]As Desmond notes, the effect of this forgiveness is that,

unlike Virgil's Dido, 'the suicide of the Norman Dido has no global, proleptic meaning'.[29]

While in the *Aeneid* her suicide and curse are part of the narrative device that drives the

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24 Faral, *Recherches*, p. 75.

25 Nolan, 'Judgment of Paris', p. 53.

26 Cormier, 'An Example of Twelfth-Century *Adaptatio*', p. 286.

27 Marilynn Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval* Aeneid (Minneapolis:
University of Minnesota Press, 1994), and Singerman, *Under Clouds of Poesy.*

28 Singerman, *Under Clouds of Poesy*, p. 49.

29 Desmond, *Reading Dido,* p. 115.

plot and the classical Aeneas's mission in the founding of Rome, her forgiveness of the

medieval Aeneas means that her tragedy becomes purely personal, with no dynastic,

political, or imperial consequences. As Singerman concludes: 'Dido's death no longer has

any historical significance whatsoever. Her meaning can be sought only within the poem,

in her erotic relationship with Aeneas, and in the ways in which her image is mirrored and

transformed in Lavine'.[30]

With regard to Lavine, the *Enéas*-poet also makes substantial changes to her

character. Singerman describes her as 'little more than a shadow in the *Aeneid*, almost

always referred to only in passing'.[31] But in *Enéas* she is completely transformed,

something that Singerman attributes to an Ovidian influence.[32] In Virgil, Lavine occupies

barely half a dozen lines but in *Enéas* the descriptions of their relationship occupy nearly

two and a half thousand lines (roughly a quarter of the whole work). Jessie Crosland

makes a fairly damning judgment on the *Enéas*-poet's incorporation of Ovid into Virgil,

particularly with relation to the Lavine-Aeneas relationship, stating that 'the author

definitely turns his back on Virgil and, completely under the influence of Ovid, gives us

the classic description of the genesis of love', which Crosland judges as a substitution of

'sob-stuff for the true pathos of the original'.[33] Faral's study (along with the work of J. J.

Salverda de Grave and Barbara Nolan) identifies other examples where there is a link not

only with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but also his *Ars Amatoria*, *Amores*, *Remedia Amoris*, and

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[30] Singerman, *Under Clouds of Poesy*, p. 114.

[31] Singerman, *Under Clouds of Poesy*, p. 51.

[32] Singerman, *Under Clouds of Poesy*, p. 52. In addition to Singerman, see Faral, 'Ovide et quelques autres sources', passim; Barbara Nolan, 'Ovid's *Heroides* Contextualised: Foolish Love and Legitimate Marriage in the *Roman d'Enéas*', *Mediaevalia*, 13 (1989), 157-87; Petit, 'Aspects de l'influence d'Ovide', pp. 219-40.

[33] Crosland, '*Enéas* and the *Aeneid*', pp. 287-90.

Heroides.[34] Faral notes that in the relationship between Lavine and Aeneas it is Lavine who plays the principal role, something that he also attributes to Ovid.[35] The *Enéas*-poet therefore takes not only the representation of love from Ovid, but also the structural idea of centring a scene around a female character: this in itself would have been fairly innovative in comparison to earlier vernacular narrative genres such as *chansons de geste* that tended to revolve around male characters.[36] However, as the next section will show, there is more to be said about the influence of historical women as being inspiration for developing the poem's female characters; Ovid's women may have been important, but the same could be said of certain historical women, too.

Leaving *Enéas* and turning to *Troie*, comparatively little has been written regarding its sources. However, as with the other *romans* it is clear that the poet drew on other sources to expand the narrative: Dares's and Dictys's texts amount to approximately one and a half thousand lines of Latin prose in total, but Benoît's work is just over thirty thousand lines of verse. Again there is evidence to suggest that Benoît used Ovid. For example, Ovidian writing may have helped inspire the love-triangle between Diomedes, Troilus, and Briseide, which is a storyline that is entirely original to Benoît.[37] Faral

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[34] Faral, 'Ovide et quelques autres sources', passim; *Enéas: roman du XIIᵉ siècle*, ed. by J. J. Salverda de Grave, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1925-9), II, pp. 130-36; Nolan, 'Ovid's *Heroides*', pp. 157-87.

[35] Faral, 'Ovide et quelques autres sources', p. 208.

[36] For a detailed analysis of the centrality of men and 'monologic masculinity' in *chansons de geste*, see Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 22-70.

[37] For more on the invention of the Briseide story, see Douglas Kelly, 'The Invention of Briseide's Story in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Troie*', *Romance Philology*, 48 (1995), 221-41. O'Callaghan suggests that Benoît intended the story of Diomedes and Briseide to parallel the relationship of Paris and Helen: her theory is based on the supposition that Paris and Helen would have been seen as parallels for Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and therefore Benoît was unable to criticise Helen for actions such as infidelity, for fear of offending the queen, whereas in creating Briseide he

proposes that alongside Ovid, Benoît also took inspiration from *Thèbes* and *Enéas* and the ways in which they too had used love stories in their narratives.[38]

Another departure from his Latin sources can be seen in his penchant for enlarging the battle scenes and councils. Faral thought that these scenes 'traine[nt] en longueur et lasse[nt] la patience du lecteur' while Constans described these extensions as a 'monotonie'.[39] *Troie*'s editors, Baumgartner and Vielliard, limit this judgment to conclude that while these episodes are perhaps not '[les] plus séduisante[s] pour le lecteur moderne', the 'public médiéval au contraire devait suivre avec compétence et plaisir complices l'alternance savante des mêlées et des combats singuliers'.[40] Benoît is relatively faithful in following the number of battles given by his source;[41] where he deviates is in the length of description. For example, the first battle in which the Amazon queen Penthesilea fights (Battle XXI of *Troie*) is described by Benoît in two hundred and thirty-four lines (ll. 23485-719) whereas the corresponding battle in Dares is just four lines (D.36).[42] Dictys's version gives slightly more detail than Dares's, but Penthesilea appears in only one battle (IV.2-3) as compared to three battles in *Troie* (Battles XXI-XXIII).[43] The details of Benoît's battles do not come from his Latin sources, but more likely come from the

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could project onto her all the castigations that he was unable to associate directly with Helen/Eleanor: O'Callaghan, 'Tempering Scandal', pp. 301-17.

[38] Faral, *Recherches*, p. 416.

[39] Faral, *Recherches*, p. 415; Benoît, *Le roman de Troie*, VI, p. 246.

[40] Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Veilliard, 'Introduction' to *Le roman de Troie*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Veilliard (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1998), pp. 5-29 (p. 13).

[41] *Troie* has twenty-three battles compared to Dares's eighteen battles.

[42] References to, quotations from, and translations of *Daretis Phrygii de excidio Trojae historia* are taken from *The* Other *Trojan War: Dictys & Dares Parallel Texts*, ed. and trans. by Giles Laurén (Marsten Gate: Sophron, 2012) and are referenced by book and chapter number.

[43] References to, quotations from, and translations of *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos belli Trojani* are taken from *The* Other *Trojan War* and are referenced by book and chapter number.

historical realities of medieval warfare and tournaments.[44] As Baumgartner and Vielliard state in the introduction to their edition of *Troie*: 'ses personnages [...] se battent comme des hommes du Moyen Âge'.[45] For example, in Dictys's account of Penthesilea's battle, the two sides use bows or throw spears to fight each other with minimal actual hand-to-hand combat. However, in *Troie*, the battles in which she fights (and which are typical of the battles that have come before her arrival) see the combatants using swords in duels and jousting against each other. The most popular way of describing the combatants is with swords, lances, or a combination of the two. The most infrequent weapon described is a bow. Helen Nicholson tell us that the 'primary weapons of the nobility during the period from the late eleventh century to 1500 were the lance and the sword', so such a representation of combat would have been recognisable to a contemporary audience.[46] This suggests that Benoît was not just using written sources to create *Troie*, but was also drawing inspiration from his environment.

All three *romans*-poets made omissions from their source material as well as adding to it. This is most noticeable with regard to the classical gods, goddesses, and the supernatural. In reducing the role of the gods, their purpose and function within the narratives also changes. Jean Seznec suggests that four traditions saved them from complete annihilation: the historical, the physical, the moral, and the encyclopedic.[47] The historical (or euhemeristic) is the tradition most often used to explain the presence of

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[44] Charges of anachronism have been made against the texts in part because of the presence of twelfth-century (rather than classical) fighting techniques and ideals: Petit, *L'anachronisme dans les romans antiques*.

[45] Baumgartner and Veilliard, 'Introduction' to *Troie*, p. 10.

[46] Helen Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe, 300-1500* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 102.

[47] Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, trans. by Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton: Bollingen Series, 1972).

pagan deities in romances, that is, that the pagan gods were historical figures rather than actual deities. However, Blumenfeld-Kosinski argues that actually there is an 'absence' of euhemerism in the *romans*.[48] Instead, the gods are removed from their divine sphere and reoriented: the gods in *Thèbes* are used as 'mouthpieces for the voice of reason and learning' while the gods in *Enéas* are used to emphasise 'a founding myth and didactic concerns'.[49] This is why the 'petty quarrels and frivolous pastimes that occupied the gods in the pagan mythological tradition are missing' from the *romans*.[50] However, it is possible to accept both the traditional euhemeristic explanation and Blumenfeld-Kosinski's theory of 'reorientation'. For example, the *Enéas*-poet had to reconcile the fact that Aeneas, the alleged ancestor of certain medieval kings and queens, was apparently the son of a pagan goddess, Venus. In this case, the poet selected and edited the scenes in which Venus features so that when she appears in *Enéas* the overall impression is not one of a supernatural goddess, but more of a (mortal) mother of a future king. Similarly, in other cases, the gods are invested with a type of 'ancient *sagesse*' and essentially become the mouthpieces of the poets in order to make moral speeches that are imbued with a 'new voice of authority'.[51] Much of the detail disappears, so what we find are significantly pared-down versions, but they are still important: sometimes euhemeristically and sometimes metaphorically.

To summarise: while *Thèbes*, *Enéas*, and *Troie* owe a debt to Statius, Virgil, and Dares and Dictys respectively, they may also owe a debt to Ovid, crusade narratives, and glossed manuscripts of classical works, as well as to their contemporary environments.

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[48] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'The Gods as Metaphor in the *Roman de Thèbes*', *Modern Philology*, 83 (1985), 1-11 (p. 2).

[49] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'The Gods as Metaphor', p. 10.

[50] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'The Gods as Metaphor', p. 10.

[51] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'The Gods as Metaphor', p. 10.

This last source is particularly important and has not been investigated to the same extent as the other sources. Historical realities of the poets' environments meant that they could add details and colour that were missing from their classical source material to create a more detailed (if anachronistic) picture of war that would be recognisable to their audiences. This is particularly interesting when considering the changes made to the female characters.

II.ii. Historical Women as Sources

In the *romans*, women are connected to warfare in five ways: as causes, as victims, as ancillaries, as warriors, and as politicians. These categories can be seen reflected in the historical record, too. We can begin by looking at women as causes of war. To clarify, this is not the cause of war in the sense that they have actively incited or declared war, but in the sense that they are blamed for, or stated as, the reason over which war, conflict, or violence has erupted. Nicholson's study of medieval warfare posits that one of the (many) reasons for waging war was the desire of individuals to 'attract the attention of desirable partners, so increasing the possibility of marriage and having children to carry on their line'.[52] Of course, sometimes their efforts went well beyond 'attracting attention' to outright conflict and violence in pursuit of a woman. For example, after Eleanor of Aquitaine's annulment of marriage from Louis VII of France (but before her marriage to Henry II), she was subject to at least two violent abduction attempts in 1152 alone: once by the future Count Theobald V of Blois and once by Henry II's younger brother, Geoffrey of Anjou.[53] And before these events, her sister, Petronilla, who had accompanied

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[52] Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare*, p. 2.

[53] Alison Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: By the Wrath of God, Queen of England* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), p. 93.

her to the French court upon Eleanor's marriage to Louis, had already been held 'largely responsible for the first major conflict of the reign, sparking a chain of events that were to culminate in a tragedy'.[54] This relates to Petronilla's affair with Louis's cousin, Count Raoul I of Vermandois. He left his wife to marry Petronilla and they were subsequently excommunicated by the Pope. This led to a flare in hostilities culminating in Louis's infamous razing of Vitry-le-François in 1142. The excommunication was eventually lifted in 1144, but Petronilla and Raoul had their marriage annulled in 1151.[55] These themes of women 'causing' violence because of either being abducted (as with the historical Eleanor and the literary Helen and Hesione) or being caught in a love triangle (as with the historical Petronilla and the literary Briseide and Lavine) are certainly themes explored in *Troie* and *Enéas*.

The second category is women as victims of war. There is no shortage of examples of women's suffering as the result of war. The Augustinian tradition of just war doctrine did not necessarily make exceptions for women and the best that women could 'hope' for was enslavement instead of execution.[56] The fact that the eleventh- and twelfth-century movements of the Peace of God and Truce of God attempted to make provisions for the protection of women shows that this was by no means an accepted norm at the time.[57] In addition, studies have shown that rape was a common occurence in medieval

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[54] Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 37.

[55] There is very little scholarship on Petronilla but there are references in Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 22-27, and Jim Bradbury, *The Capetians: Kings of France 987-1328* (London: Continuum Books, 2007), p. 152.

[56] Rory Cox, 'Asymmetric Warfare and Military Conduct in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 38 (2012), 100-25 (p. 104).

[57] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present*, 46 (1970), 42– 67, and T. Head and R. Landes, eds, *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

warfare.[58] Even when protections against such atrocities were promoted they tended to be limited to noblewomen only. Richard W. Kaeuper's work on chivalry suggests that while there was a concept of protecting noblewomen against violence and sexual assault, there was similarly an assumption that men did nevertheless inflict violent sexual aggression upon women during times of war, especially those outside the nobility.[59] The *romans*-poets would not have had to look far or hard to find stories of women who had suffered as a result of conflict.

The third category is women as ancillaries. In 1946, the historian Walter Porges wrote that the presence of women on the First Crusade caused 'grave complications' for, along with 'the poor', they formed a 'full complement… of incompetents and undesirables'.[60] His characterisation of women was based on the assessment that, with the exception of a few noblewomen and 'a single nun, of less than doubtful morality', the majority of women were simply 'campfollowers and harlots'.[61] However, in the seventy years since Porges's dismissive analysis of women's contributions to this crusade, subsequent research has revealed that women played important roles in supporting such efforts. Nicholson's work on the Third Crusade shows that women 'took an active role in support of the

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[58] See for example, Corinne Saunders, 'Sexual Violence in Wars: The Middle Ages', in *Transcultural Wars from the Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Hans-Henning Kortüm (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), pp. 151–64; Anne Curry, 'The Theory and Practice of Female Immunity in the Medieval West,' in *Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones: from the Ancient World to the Era of Human Rights*, ed. by Elizabeth D. Heineman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 173-88.

[59] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 225-30.

[60] Walter Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-combatants on the First Crusade', *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 1-23 (pp. 13-14).

[61] Porges, 'First Crusade', p. 13.

combatants'.[62] Following Nicholson, Christoph T. Maier's survey of women across the entire crusade movement concluded that 'women's involvement [...] played a large part in making men's crusades happen'.[63] So what form did this support and involvement take?

Guibert of Nogent's twelfth-century chronicle of the First Crusade recounts how women brought water to the soldiers in battle.[64] In fact, Sarah Lambert suggests that stories of women providing refreshments to the troops are 'so commonplace as to be regarded as a topos in crusading literature'.[65] Not only did they provide water, but they kept the soldiers supplied with weapons and ammunition, too. For example, Fulcher of Chartres's chronicle of the First Crusade describes women bringing stones to the defenders of Joppa during its siege in 1123.[66] Additionally, Shulamith Shahar has evidence that some women were skilled in sharpening tools and making scabbards for swords and knives, while P. J. P. Goldberg has shown that women were involved in the manufacturing of certain arms (particularly coats of mail, bows, and arrows).[67] Also, there is an indication that women were involved in 'personal care', which includes health,

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[62] Helen Nicholson, 'Women on the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), 335-49 (p. 349).

[63] Christoph T. Maier, 'The Roles of Women in the Crusade Movement: A Survey', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), 61-82 (p. 81).

[64] Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. by Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 66.

[65] Sarah Lambert, 'Crusading or Spinning', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), pp. 1-15 (p. 8).

[66] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Book 3, Chapter 17, Paragraph 3.

[67] Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1983), pp. 191-92; P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire* c. *1300-1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 91-96, 128. Goldberg's findings come from Yorkshire specifically, but there is nothing to suggest that similar findings would not be possible were similar research techniques and methodologies applied in other geographic regions.

cleanliness, and comfort. Monica H. Green's study of medieval European women's medical practice overturns previous assumptions that female medical practitioners only concerned themselves with women (and that male medical practitioners only concerned themselves with men) and shows that women can be found 'scattered throughout a broad medical community consisting of physicians, surgeons, barber-surgeons, apothecaries, and various uncategorisable empirical healers'.[68] This means that women could have been involved in treating the sick or wounded in battle.[69] In addition, we see women acting as intelligence gatherers and spies. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach tell the story of women from Orléans who were sent to the court of Henry V of England in 1417 to gain information about his intentions regarding their city.[70] Indeed Bachrach and Bachrach state that the role of women in intelligence gathering in medieval warfare was so well-known that certain military commanders issued ordinances to remind men not to reveal sensitive information to local women.[71]

Finally, Michael R. Evans's analysis of two chronicles of the Third Crusade concludes that women are 'usually described by crusade chroniclers in stereotypical female

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[68] Monica H. Green, 'Women's Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe', in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Judith Bennett and others (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 39-78 (p. 44).

[69] Joanna Phillips discusses the possibility of women as medical practitioners in her study of sickness and health during crusader campaigns and concludes that while it is possible to infer their contribution to medical care, it is not currently possible to confirm it: Joanna Phillips, 'The Experience of Sickness and Health during Crusader Campaigns to the Eastern Mediterranean, 1095-1274' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2017), pp. 75-77.

[70] Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach, *Warfare in Medieval Europe* c. *400*-c. *1453* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 346.

[71] Bachrach and Bachrach, *Warfare in Medieval Europe*, p. 346.

roles, notably those of washerwoman or prostitute'.[72] Clarification is needed on Evans's

use of the word 'prostitute' as recent research redefines this word to suggest that women

characterised as 'prostitutes' in the Middle Ages may not have been what we would

consider 'prostitutes' by today's definitions.[73] Natasha R. Hodgson explains that 'it was

sex outside the bonds of matrimony, or the number of partners a woman had, rather than

an exchange of money, that defined a prostitute. Prostitution in the modern sense [...]

undoubtedly took place in medieval society, but the label could be applied to all illicit,

non-marital sexual acts'.[74] Similarly, Alan V. Murray's study of women on the First

Crusade observes that all of the principal crusade chroniclers mention female participants,

and that these women would have been 'especially vulnerable' during times of pregnancy

or nursing children, and the high death rates of men (perhaps their husbands, fathers, or

brothers) may have meant they had 'little choice but to attach themselves to other men'

under these circumstances.[75] While he allows for the possibility that 'something like

prostitution may have taken place on a less than voluntary basis', he suggests that this was

'probably outweighed by relationships that may have been irregular but were essentially

monogamous, in which women sought new providers and protectors to replace men who

had died'.[76] Murray concludes that the presence of 'prostitutes' on crusade has 'been

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[72] Michael R. Evans, '"Unfit to Bear Arms": The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Edgington and Lambert, pp. 45-58 (p. 45). His analysis is based on Ambroise of Normandy's late twelfth-century *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* and Richard de Templo's early thirteenth-century *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*.

[73] Evans, 'Unfit to Bear Arms', p. 45.

[74] Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 106.

[75] Alan V. Murray, 'Sex, Death and the Problem of Single Women in the Armies of the First Crusade', in *Shipping, Trade and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 255-70 (p. 266).

[76] Murray, 'Sex, Death and the Problem of Single Women', p. 267.

misconceived and exaggerated' and are too often derived from the 'prejudices of the predominantly clerical sources' and that the stigmatisation of prostitutes was just a general stigmatisation of unattached women.[77] Instead of prostitutes then, we would perhaps do better to speak of women (whether single or married) who accompanied men on campaigns and provided ancillary support that may have included comfort and companionship (either sexual or platonic). For example, Robert the Monk's chronicle of the First Crusade relates the great distress experienced by the wife of Philip I of France's constable when he is killed.[78] She had to be restrained by other women to stop her from hurting herself. Why his wife was on crusade is never explicitly stated; possibly she just wanted to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but possibly she wanted to accompany and support her husband. Similarly, in Albert of Aachen's chronicle of the First Crusade we hear of a woman of 'great birth and beauty' who was killed while playing dice with a clerk at the siege of Antioch.[79] Aside from her nobility and beauty we are not given any other information as to why she is in Antioch, but perhaps her ability to play dice and engage in 'pleasurable' pastimes with the crusaders was of value. Eleanor of Aquitaine, too, accompanied her then husband, Louis VII, on the Second Crusade. However, she is better considered within the warrior or politician category than the ancillary. This then leads us on to the next categorisations.

The definition of warriors does not necessarily demand that they engage in hand-to-hand combat on the battlefield, but only that they held military command, potentially wore armour or carried arms, or were present at the site of a battle or siege (even if only

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[77] Murray, 'Sex, Death and the Problem of Single Women', p. 268.

[78] Robert the Monk, *History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. by Carol Sweetenham (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), Book V, Chapters 6-7.

[79] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 208-10.

in an observational capacity).[80] Before turning to Eleanor, it is important to look at three women who preceded her chronologically but remain connected to her.[81] These three women are all named Matilda.[82] Firstly, there is Matilda of Canossa (1046-1115), who led armies into battle during the Investiture Controversy and defeated the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV. David J. Hay's monograph on Matilda's military leadership shows that she had advanced knowledge of military intelligence, manoeuvring, and surprise and used it in her strategising.[83] Although she did not lead the charges herself, this owed more to political and strategic constraints than to a lack of willingness or ability. Her reputation and successes were so great that later biographers 'embarked upon a wild goose chase to find the men they were certain must be found to explain her military successes'.[84] They were not successful in this search. Although she defeated Henry IV, she ultimately made his son, the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V, her heir. Henry V was married to Empress Matilda of England, the second Matilda at whom we will now look.

Empress Matilda (1102-67) was the daughter of Henry I of England and Matilda of Scotland, granddaughter of William the Conqueror and Matilda of Flanders, Holy Roman empress through her marriage to Henry V, and Henry I's chosen heir to the English throne (as his only surviving legitimate child). Her claim to the throne was

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[80] The *Oxford English Dictionary*'s definition of a warrior is 'a person who makes war upon a persecutor' or 'a person whose occupation is warfare' but there is no obligation that this person has to fight, injure, or kill.

[81] Appendix II illustrates how all the women discussed in this chapter can be connected to Eleanor.

[82] Interestingly, this is a name that even means 'battle-worthy' (from the Germanic name *Mahthildis*, which is a compound of *maht* (*might* or *strength*) and *hild* (*battle*)) (<http://www.behindthename.com/name/matilda> [accessed 10 July 2017]).

[83] David J. Hay, *The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa, 1046-1115* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), p. 241.

[84] Hay, *Matilda of Canossa*, p. 253.

unpopular with the barons and the Church, and the throne was claimed instead by her

cousin, Stephen. The civil war that followed is commonly known as the Anarchy, and

lasted from 1135 to 1154.[85] Matilda played an active role both politically and militarily in

England for the first twelve years of the war, and although she eventually returned to

Normandy in 1147, she did not give up her claim entirely, but instead switched strategies

to promoting her son's right to the throne.[86] Her military accomplishments were such that

Catherine Hanley's forthcoming biography of Matilda is titled *Matilda: Empress, Queen,*

Warrior in recognition of her proficiency in this third capacity. Although she was

ultimately unsuccesful in claiming her rights through her battlefield exploits, she was

successful in claiming them through negotiations for her son; when Stephen died in 1154,

his son was bypassed in favour of Matilda's son, who was crowned Henry II of England.

Given that the earliest of the *romans*, *Thèbes*, was composed some time between 1150 and

1155, it would be almost impossible that its Anglo-Norman poet would have been

unaware of Matilda's military role in the conflict itself as well as her political role in

negotiating the terms of Henry's inherited kingship. Matilda lived until 1167, during which

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[85] Much has been written about Matilda's role in The Anarchy, although it is often hidden in
chapters and books purporting to be about Stephen alone. See for example, Jim Bradbury, *Stephen
and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139-53* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009); Marjorie Chibnall, *The
Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993);
Edmund King, *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) and
King Stephen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Keith J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen:
Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1993); Graeme J.
White, *King Stephen's Reign (1135-54)* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008). Catherine Hanley's book,
Matilda: Empress, Queen, Warrior (New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming), scheduled for
publication in 2018, will make a welcome and much needed contribution to the scholarship on
Matilda.
[86] Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp. 151-52.

time she continued to be politically active in diplomatic negotiations in Normandy.[87] It was also during this period that the other two *romans* were completed. She no doubt continued to be a formidable force throughout this later period of her life. Judith A. Green's survey of the duchesses of Normandy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries shows that Matilda's preferred style in her charters was 'empress, daughter of the king', with a clear sense that the title of empress was superior to that of queen or duchess anyway.[88] If the *romans*-poets wanted to develop the role of powerful warrior-queens found in their classical source material, they would not have had far to look.

On the other side of the Anarchy was the third Matilda: Matilda of Boulogne (1105-52), the queen consort of England through her marriage to Stephen. She also commanded military units and strategic negotiations during the Anarchy.[89] Patricia Dark's study of Matilda shows that she had authority both as a locally dominant feudal landholder (in the English Honour of Boulogne) and as the wife of the king.[90] In fact, Dark identifies six types of authority from which Matilda could draw power: personal, charismatic, patrimonial, wifely, queenly, and motherly.[91] Importantly for her subsequent reputation and characterisation in historical documents, she used her authority primarily to support her husband and his position as king, which 'attracted the favourable comment of chroniclers'.[92] Dark explains that medieval society had 'a strong expectation that

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[87] Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, pp. 158-65.

[88] Judith A. Green, 'Duchesses of Normandy in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Normandy and its Neighbours, 900-1250: Essays for David Bates* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 43-59, (p. 53).

[89] Green, 'Duchesses of Normandy', p. 52.

[90] Patricia Dark, '"A Woman of Subtlety and a Man's Resolution": Matilda of Boulogne in the Power Struggles of the Anarchy', in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 147-64 (p. 148).

[91] Dark, 'A Woman of Subtlety', p. 148.

[92] Dark, 'A Woman of Subtlety', p. 164.

women would act to further the agendas of their husbands by influencing them or acting as proxies for them'.[93] This expectation of playing a political (and, where necessary, a military) role means that women who acted as such should not be seen as exceptions, but as a reflection of the ideal. In fact it was women who did *not* use their authority and influence to support their husbands or sons who would have been looked on as anomalies. The *romans*-poets would have no doubt been keen to acknowledge this ideal in their own works.

Finally, we return to Eleanor of Aquitaine. The extent of her actions and participation in military activities is still relatively unknown and predominantly speculative due to a lack of reliable primary sources.[94] There was a later myth associated with Eleanor that she and her ladies dressed as Amazons while on crusade, which came from a thirteenth-century Byzantine chronicle written by Niketas Choniates:

> Females were numbered among them, riding horseback in the manner of men, not on coverlets sidesaddle but unashamedly astride, and bearing lances and weapons as men do; dressed in masculine garb, they conveyed a wholly martial appearance, more mannish than the Amazons. One stood out from the rest as another Penthesilea and from the embroidered gold which ran around the hem and fringes of her garment was called Goldfoot.[95]

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[93] Dark, 'A Woman of Subtlety', p. 150. She does this by citing the work of Rowena E. Archer, Marjorie Chibnall, Sharon A. Farmer, Megan McLaughlin, Pauline Stafford, and Jean A. Truax.

[94] Conor Kostick highlights the problems with current primary sources for Eleanor's role on the Second Crusade in his chapter 'Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Women of the Second Crusade', in *Medieval Italy, Medieval and Early Modern Women: Essays in Honour of Christine Meek*, ed. by Conor Kostick (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), pp. 195-205.

[95] Niketas Choniates, *'O City of Byzantium': Annals of Niketas Choniates*, ed. and trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), p. 35.

However, Evans has dispelled the once-popular trend of identifying Eleanor as this 'Goldfoot'.[96] Furthermore, Peggy McCracken's work argues that later chroniclers (those working after her 'fall' in 1173) were generally more interested in portraying her as 'scandalous' rather than in an accurate fashion, anyway.[97] John of Salisbury and William of Tyre claim that she engaged in an adulterous and incestuous affair with her uncle, Raymond of Poitiers, while the Minstrel of Reims transformed these stories into an elaborate tale of her affair with Saladin himself.[98] Nevertheless, Conor Kostick argues that despite the dearth of reliable sources for Eleanor's actions throughout the Second Crusade, there is sufficient evidence to support the claim that she exercised political and military command through her vassalage of crusading knights at one time, in particular that of the sojourn of the French army in Antioch in 1148.[99] Regardless of the true extent of her role in the events of the Second Crusade, we can be confident that the *romans*-poets, working at an Anglo-Norman court less than twenty years later, would at least have heard tell of this commanding crusading woman. Added to which, she was a powerful political figure. Elizabeth Brown's study of her seals shows that after her marriage to Henry she identified herself as duchess of Aquitaine, queen of the English, and duchess of Normandy.[100] Daniel Power argues that this styling of Eleanor as duchess of Normandy alongside Henry as duke of Normandy is partially responsible for the renewed

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[96] Michael R. Evans, 'Penthesilea on the Second Crusade: Is Eleanor of Aquitaine the Amazon Queen of Niketas Choniates?', *Crusades*, 8 (2009), 23-30.

[97] McCracken, 'Scandalising Desire', pp. 247-63.

[98] McCracken, 'Scandalising Desire', pp. 248-55.

[99] Kostick, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine', pp. 203-05.

[100] Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine Reconsidered', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ed. by Wheeler and Parsons, pp. 1-54 (pp. 22-23).

interest in Norman history that appeared at their court, of which the *romans* were a part.[101] As Dark noted was the case for Matilda of Boulogne, all the evidence suggests that Eleanor also had personal, charismatic, patrimonial, wifely, queenly, and motherly power; the *romans*-poets could surely not have failed to be influenced by such a contemporary. These four 'warrior women' had a particular connection to the Anglo-Norman court of the *romans*-poets and have thus been chosen for examination in this section. However, they were not necessarily exceptional in the sense that they were almost certainly not the only female warriors of the Middle Ages. Nicholson reminds us in her monograph on medieval warfare that there has been considerable debate over the extent to which 'women did actually take part in warfare during the medieval period' but that ultimately there is some evidence for women having taken to the field and ample evidence that medieval writers 'relished' the depiction of fighting women.[102] As Hay writes in the closing paragraph of his monograph on Matilda of Canossa: '[a]t what point do these exceptions become so numerous that they can no longer be deemed exceptions?'.[103] The *romans*-poets may have had recourse to other contemporary historical women not named in this chapter as inspiration for their warrior women characters.

Finally, we come to the category in which women seem to have played the most powerful role, that of politician. The women mentioned in the warrior category (the three Matildas and Eleanor) also have a place in this category, arguably even more so given the ambiguity over the extent to which some of them played warrior-roles compared to the

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[101] Daniel Power, 'The Stripping of a Queen: Eleanor of Aquitaine in Thirteenth-Century Norman Tradition', in *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. by Marcus Bull and Catherine Leglu (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 115-35 (pp. 116-20).

[102] Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare*, p. 60.

[103] Hay, *Matilda of Canossa*, p. 254.

unambiguity of their political power. In addition to these four women there are a further

five who are important to outline and, again, all of whom have a connection to Eleanor

and Henry's court (see Appendix II). Considering these women in chronological order,

we start with Matilda of Flanders (1031-83), the wife of William the Conqueror, and great-

grandmother of Henry II. There is ample evidence to indicate that she held an active

political role throughout her tenure as duchess of Normandy and Queen Consort of

England: while William was in England in 1066, she remained in Normandy and acted as

a senior magnate and regent for her son Robert (who was thirteen years old); in 1075, she

was present at the restoration of Gisors to Rouen Cathedral by Count Simon of the

Vexin; in 1080, she was authorised to preside over a land plea at Cherbourg, and on other

occasions she acted directly in partnership with William.[104] In fact, she was the first

duchess of Normandy to be crowned queen of the English (her coronation was held in

1068), and this was done at the behest of William himself.[105] Like William, she had

authority in both Normandy and England, which she evidently put to use, as there are

records of her attestations of royal diplomas in Winchester, Windsor, London, Bury St

Edmonds, Salisbury, and Downton between 1069 and 1082.[106] Matilda was clearly a figure

of authority and power in many ways equal to her husband: '[h]e was king and duke, she

queen and duchess'.[107] The *romans* were composed less than a century after her death with

her direct descendants still controlling the Anglo-Norman kingdom that she and her

husband helped to found. No doubt any poet at their court would have been well

acquainted with her story.

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[104] For more information on all these actions, see Green, 'Duchesses of Normandy', p. 48.

[105] Green, 'Duchesses of Normandy', p. 48.

[106] Green, 'Duchesses of Normandy', p. 49 n. 35.

[107] Green, 'Duchesses of Normandy', p. 49.

Secondly, there is Adela of Normandy (1067-1137), Countess of Blois, Chartres, and Meaux, who was the daughter of Matilda of Flanders and mother of Stephen I of England. She acted as regent while her husband was away on the First Crusade and then again after his death in 1102, and was eventually canonised as Saint Adela. Kimberley A. LoPrete's work on Adela shows that her actions while her husband was on crusade helped to consolidate comital authority over her own domains, as well as to support her brother, Henry I of England, in his attempts to ensure that Normandy and England were under joint rulership.[108] She also helped to reconcile Henry with Archbishop Anselm, and developed her own close relationship with Ivo of Chartres that helped bolster her authority as a countess.[109] From 1108-20, her skills as a negotiator and diplomatic presence with the princes of northern France, the king of France, and the king of England, helped alleviate the conflicts that arose over the status of Normany during this time.[110] Although she eventually joined the monastic communicty at Marcigny, she did not relinquish her political role. For example, even after taking the veil she still monitored and advised her son, Theobald the Great, on his comital duties.[111]

Thirdly, there is Matilda (or Edith) of Scotland (1080-1118), queen of England, wife of Henry I of England, and mother of Empress Matilda. Matilda was an active partner in administering Henry's lands in both England and Normandy. Lois L. Huneycutt's study of Matilda shows that not only was she often 'present at the councils where major policy decisions were made' and that she was a member of Henry's curia, but

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[108] Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois: Countess and Lord (c. 1067-1137)* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), Chapter 4.

[109] LoPrete, *Adela*, Chapter 5.

[110] LoPrete, *Adela*, Chapter 6.

[111] LoPrete, *Adela*, pp. 412-14.

she also passed judgements and issued her own charters.[112] Moreover, none of the sources that write about her involvement in such matters express any 'surprise or dismay that this should be the case'; indeed it was expected that the queen would play the role specified in the coronation ritual to be 'a participant in the affairs of the kingdom'.[113] She also played a key role in the English Investiture Controversy that took place between 1102 and 1107 between the papacy and Henry, acting as an intercessor between Archbishop Anselm and her husband by writing letters and mediating their interactions.[114] Next to politics she was also a great patron of the arts and 'under her influence, the Anglo-Norman court became a centre of literary and artistic patronage' with a particular emphasis on narrative history, hagiography, poetry, and a biography of her own mother, Saint Margaret of Scotland (1045-93).[115] The extent of works that she commissioned meant that her legacy could be seen and felt for decades (if not centuries) after her death.

The final two women take us away from Normandy and across to *Outremer*, although they still have familial connections to Normandy (see Appendix II). Murray's study of women in the royal succession of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shows that, in contrast to the kingdoms in the West, 'the occurrence of female rulers was surprisingly frequent in the farthest eastern frontier of Latin Christendom'.[116] One such woman was Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (*c.* 1109-61)

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[112] Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 73.

[113] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 74.

[114] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 75-78.

[115] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 125. Huneycutt goes on to provide details of the works and artists that she patronised in Chapter 6 of *Matilda of Scotland*.

[116] Alan V. Murray, 'Women in the Royal Succession of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1291)', in *Mächtige Frauen? Königinnen und Fürstinnen im europäischen Mittelalter (11.-14. Jahrhundert)* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2015), pp. 131-62 (p. 133).

who was crowned (with her husband, Fulk) in 1131. She ruled in several capacities: firstly

alongside her husband until his death in 1143 and then as regent until her son, Baldwin

III, came of age in 1145. She was 'reluctant to give up' her queenship at that time and

there ensued a period when the kingdom was divided between her and Baldwin, before a

civil war that ultimately reunited the kingdom but led to Melisende's exclusion from its

government.[117] The chroniclers are enthusiastic about Melisende's political acumen.

William of Tyre described her as 'a most prudent woman with much experience in almost

all secular matters' and stated that 'she ruled the kingdom with such diligence and [...]

wisdom that she could be said to have equalled her [male] ancestors in these respects'.[118]

He clears her of blame in the civil war, accusing Baldwin III's advisors instead.[119]

William's chronicle was written between 1170 and 1183, approximately ten to thirty years

after the *romans*. However, we can nevertheless speculate that news and stories of Queen

Melisende would have reached the Anglo-Norman court well before this time, and may

even have been transmitted by Eleanor of Aquitaine herself. Eleanor visited Jerusalem

during the Second Crusade while her husband at the time, Louis VII of France, was

fighting alongside Baldwin III during the short-lived siege and attempted (but failed)

capture of Damascus.[120] There was also a familial connection: Henry II's grandfather, Fulk

of Anjou, had married Melisende (after the death of Henry II's grandmother, his first

wife, Ermengarde). Once Eleanor married Henry II in 1152 and was presiding over an

active cultural court that had an interest in historical narrative it is difficult to imagine that

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[117] Murray, 'Women in the Royal Succession', p. 144.

[118] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, Book XVI, Chapter 3 (cited and translated in Murray, 'Women in the Royal Succession', p. 142).

[119] Murray, 'Women in the Royal Succession', p. 144, n. 42.

[120] Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land*, pp. 131-34.

she would not have shared her stories and experiences of crusade and the ruling figures, such as Queen Melisende.

The second woman from *Outremer* was one of Melisende's sisters, Alice of Antioch. She married Bohemond II of Antioch in 1126 and when he died she tried to keep control of the city rather than let it return to the control of her father or brother-in-law. She made several attempts to maintain power in Antioch but all were ultimately unsuccessful and she died not long after. Whereas William of Tyre had been enthusiastically supportive of Melisende in his chronicle, he made strong objections to Alice. He described her as 'wicked', 'tyrannical', and 'guided by an evil spirit'.[121] However, Thomas Asbridge's study of Alice concludes that actually 'the situation was quite different'.[122] He argues that she 'must have enjoyed quite a high level of support in the immediate aftermath of Bohemond's death' and discredits provocative rumours such as William's allegation that Alice attempted to make an alliance with the Muslim ruler of Mosul and Aleppo.[123] Instead, he concludes that Alice created a 'powerful independent centre of authority' while in exile from Antioch, and that she was just as powerful a force as Melisende.[124] If Eleanor was in the Holy Land during the Second Crusade and heard tell of Queen Melisende, we can imagine she would also have heard of Melisende's powerful younger sister. Perhaps the reports made of Alice at that time were closer to Asbridge's assessment rather than William's version, and would therefore have added to

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[121] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, Book XIII, Chapter 27; Book XIV, Chapter 4; Book XIV, Chapter 20. Cited and translated in Thomas Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch: A Case Study of Female Power in the Twelfth Century', in *The Experience of Crusading: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. by Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 29-47 (p. 29).

[122] Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch', p. 33.

[123] Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch', pp. 33-34.

[124] Asbridge, 'Alice of Antioch', pp. 42-44.

Eleanor's collection of stories of powerful female rulers that she could take back West and share with her new courtiers.

II.vi. Conclusions

Current scholarship on the sources of the *romans* has tended to look only at classical literary sources, alongside a few other contemporary writings such as crusade narratives. However, none of these sources adequately explain how the poets were able to develop their female characters so significantly. Instead, it seems fair to look at the historical environment in which the poets were working to determine whether historical figures could have acted as inspiration. Indeed, perhaps the development of some of these characters (particularly the political powerful queens and martially successful warrior women) was even intended to be recognisable as a form of homage to those who inspired them. The women discussed in this chapter all share a certain number of traits and characteristics with the women who appear in the *romans*, and all of these women can be connected to the court of Eleanor and Henry through various familial connections. If the poets drew on such women to develop their texts it not only helped them to produce a richer text, but also created portraits of women that may have been recognisable to potential patrons or audiences of the text, and therefore made them more appealing. Inclusion of women in any structure or description of war would not have been something unusual or anomalous, but actually closer to an 'expectation'. It will therefore not be surprising that the *romans* explore these roles and influence of women in their narratives. Indeed Amalie Fößel, in her recent study of the political traditions of female rulership, shows that medieval chroniclers viewed female rulers 'as political actors [... to

be] praised and criticised for their actions', just as any male ruler would have been.[125] Rather than sidelining women into the margins or footnotes as warfare narratives had tended to do before them, the *romans* pioneered a more accurate representation of warfare, one that did not consist only of men on the battlefield, but recognised the many roles and experiences that women also had during times of conflict. They by no means diminish the role that men play, but do attempt to increase the representation of the role that women play. The exact nature of those roles will now be the subject of the next five chapters.

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[125] Amalie Fößel, 'The Political Traditions of Female Rulership in Medieval Europe', in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 68-83 (p. 70).

Chapter III:

'Pour l'acheison d'une femme':

Women as Causes of War

The philosopher George Santayana wrote that 'only the dead have seen the end of war', for the non-existence of war is an illusion, and so we must 'make peace with the fact of war'.[1] He is not the only thinker to observe that war seems to be an inevitable constant across centuries and cultures: Sun Tzu's *Art of War* (*c.* 500-496 BCE), Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War* (*c.* 431-11 BCE), Vegetius's *De re militari* (*c.* 383-450), Christine de Pizan's *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* (1410), Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* (1816-30), and Kenneth Waltz's *Man, the State, and War* (1959) are but a few canonical texts from the last two and a half thousand years all interested in the causes of war. The *romans* also engaged with this debate in their exploration of the Theban, Trojan, and Latin wars, including the role of women as causes. This chapter examines the extent to which women are represented as necessary factors in causing the outbreak of hostilities, and the degree of this responsibility: whether they are sufficient factors in their own right.[2] Furthermore, it explores the degree to which they are responsible for the prolongation or cessation of violence. Finally, it asks whether the causes of war in these texts are better found in

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[1] George Santayana, *Soliloquies in England and Later Soliloquies* (London: Forgotten Books, 2012), p. 102.

[2] A necessary cause of conflict is 'that without which the conflict behaviour would not occur' while a sufficient cause of conflict is 'one whose occurrence produces conflict': R. J. Rummel, *Understanding Conflict and War*, 5 vols (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979), IV, 411. Or in other words, a necessary condition is one that must be satisfied for conflict to occur (but does not guarantee it), whereas a sufficient condition is one that (on its own) guarantees that conflict will occur.

masculine ideas of vengeance, feuding, martial glory, chivalric honour, dynastic power, and territorial supremacy as well as in the construction of masculinity itself.

III.i. Women as Causes of War

The *romans* present four ways in which women are portrayed as the cause of, or motivation for, violence: firstly, because they have been abducted or wronged and must be rescued or avenged; secondly, because they are offered up as a prize or reward to the victor in battle; thirdly, because knights wish to display their martial prowess in a public way to women who watch the battles; and fourthly, because women themselves may initiate violence by taking up arms or imploring men to fight on their behalf.

The first category is the one most thoroughly explored, through the figures of Helen and Hesione in *Troie*. Helen is the more famous of the two and has been cited as the cause of war throughout the centuries: 'was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships, | And burnt the topless towers of Ilium' asks Christopher Marlowe's Doctor Faustus.[3] At first glance, the medieval texts and their classical sources do seem to suggest

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[3] Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (Act V, Scene i). There are several reasons why Hesione has not been remembered to the same extent that Helen has. Firstly, her character is underdeveloped in comparison to Helen's; she has no dialogue in *Troie* and is generally only referred to rather than being present in any scenes. She rarely appears in illustrations and even when she does it is only at the point of her abduction. Essentially, she is portrayed as more of an object than a person. Secondly, her abduction is presented simply and directly with little ambiguity, nuance, or intrigue. In classical versions of the Troy stories (such as Apollodorus of Athens's *Chronicle*, Homer's *Iliad*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) there is a prologue to her abduction that does not appear in *Troie* where we are told that she was actually rescued by Hercules after Laomedon tried to sacrifice her. Her fate is therefore more of a blessing in order to escape the murderous intentions of her brother. In *Troie* we are not told this and so her abduction is a much more straightforward wrong. In contrast, Helen's abduction is more ambiguous (as will be discussed later) and is therefore more provocative. Thirdly, Hesione's abduction triggers Antenor's diplomatic envoy to Greece, but it is only Paris's abduction of Helen that triggers actual battles; essentially, had Hesione's abduction

that Helen's abduction is the primary reason for the war. In Dictys's account, Helen is abducted by Paris, provoking Menelaus and the Greeks to sail to Troy and demand her return. Priam gives her the choice to return to Greece but she states that she prefers to remain in Troy:

Tunc Priamus inter regulos medius	*Then Priam, standing in the midst of the*
adstans facto silentio optionem	*princes and calling for silence, said that*
Helenae, quae ob id in conspectum	*Helen (who had come into public view*
popularium venerat, offert, si ei	*for this purpose) should have the*
videretur domum ad suos regredi.	*right to decide. When he asked her;*
Quam ferunt dixisse neque se invitam	*'Do you want to go home?' her answer,*
navigasse, neque sibi cum	*so they reported, was 'No'. She had not*
Menelai matrimonio convenire.	*sailed, she said, unwillingly, for her*
(*Dictys*, I.10)	*marriage to Menelaus did not suit her.*

Helen seems complicit in her abduction, choosing to stay with Paris rather than return to Menelaus. Benoît picks up on this in *Troie* and gives various indications that Helen was a willing participant, having fallen in love with Paris. When the Trojans attack the temple to take her away the narrator tells us that '[n]e se fist mie trop leidir, | Bien fist senblant del consentir' (*she did not allow herself to be mistreated, and even seemed to consent*, ll. 4505-06). This complicity may therefore make the term 'abducted' may therefore seem problematic when it comes to Helen's departure from Greece. However, to a medieval sensibility it would not have been problematic. Helen's legitimate marriage to Menelaus meant that her rightful place was by his side, and her departure with Paris, even willingly, this automatically made him her abductor and she an abductee. For example, in 1285, a man

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prompted the Trojans to sack the city in which she was being held (rather than just send an envoy) perhaps it would have attracted more attention.

who 'abducted' a Benedictine nun from her religious house in Wilton was sentenced to imprisonment despite her apparent consent.[4] Abduction to a medieval mindset only indicated 'taking away' and was neutral in terms of the giving or withholding of consent.[5] In that context, therefore, we can speak about Helen's abduction without necessarily needing to discuss her acquiescence. What is important is that regardless of the consent, the event itself had drastic reprecussions, and Menelaus and the Greek army certainly do not concern themselves over whether Helen was a willing or unwilling abductee.

Helen's abduction is illustrated in six manuscripts (MSS P6, P17, Vt, V1, Vn, and P18).[6] Despite the fact that the texts do not seem particularly concerned over the question of her consent, the miniatures show a certain amount of disagreement over the extent of her complicity. MS P17 includes two renditions of her abduction; one is included as part of the frontispiece and another at the point in the text where her abduction is described. In the frontispiece (fig. 19) we see her forcibly manhandled by men in armour who pick her up and carry her into a boat. Her body is limp and her arms hang loosely, showing her powerlessness against the flurry of activity produced by the soldiers carrying her away. Similarly, in the later miniature (fig. 11) we again see that she has been picked up off the

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[4] For more details on this story and the legal ramifications, see F. Donald Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, 1240-1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 85-86.

[5] For the varying implications and meaning of abduction, see Christopher Cannon, '*Raptus* in the Chaumpaigne Release and a Newly Discovered Document Concerning the Life of Geoffrey Chaucer', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 74-94 and J. B. Post, 'Ravishment of Women and the Statues of Westminster', in *Legal Records and the Historian*, ed. by J. H. Baker (London, 1978). This is also discussed in more detail in Chapter III.ii.

[6] Had the illustrations of MS P16 been completed it may also have featured in this manuscript as there is space left for a miniature on fol. 26ᵛ accompanied by this rubric: 'Comment li roys prianz son navie en grece et comment paris son filz ravie heleine pourquoy troi fu destruite secondement' (*how Priam's fleet went to Greece and how his son Paris abducted Helen, which is why Troy was destroyed a second time*).

ground, though this time by a single male figure (presumably Paris). However, this miniature is one of those that has been subject to certain attentions from a later user of the manuscript and is quite heavily obscured and damaged over Helen's upper half. Paris's face is featureless, presumably due to the attentions of the same user rather than the miniaturist having intentially left it blank (there is no sign in any of the other illustrations that this manuscript was unfinished). The indication in this manuscript is that Helen was forcibly and violently taken from her home, and this has produced a strong reaction in at least one later user. In contrast, the Italian manuscripts give a more ambiguous imagining of this scene. For example, in MS Vn we see the violence around the abduction as soldiers attack various Greek men and take others prisoner (fig. 20). In the centre of the frame, by contrast, Helen and Paris have a serene appearance. Paris holds his hand out to Helen indicating that he is speaking to her (rather than just picking her up and carrying her off) while Helen has her hands folded gently and looks directly at Paris. The soldier behind her, with his sword drawn, reminds us that there is perhaps an element of coercion, but similarly we could interpret this scene as Helen going willingly, even if her countrymen put up a fight. It almost looks more like a rescue scene than an abduction. Similarly, in MS Vt, the figures of Helen and Paris are drawn so close together that they overlap (fig. 21). Their heads incline towards one another, suggesting an intimate relationship. To the sides of the scene we see looting and violence, but this does not affect Helen as she walks calmly out of the scene accompanied by Paris. As mentioned in Chapter I.ii, this manuscript has a particular affinity for Paris, perhaps indicative of a general Italian affection for him. The Italian manuscripts may therefore be more inclined to depict this rather more ambiguous version of Helen's abduction, where Paris is not shown as a violent abductor (as in MS P17), but more as an *ami* or even a rescuer.

Regardless of the exact circumstances of Helen's abduction, *Troie* and its sources make its disastrous consequences clear. Dares's version gives us Panthus's warning to

Priam that if Paris takes Helen from Greece, Troy is destined to fall (*Daretis*, D.8). Benoît, remaining faithful to his sources here, reiterates Panthus's prophecies (ll. 4077-118) and adds Cassandra's prophecies to them: '[s]e de Grece a femme Paris, | Destruit iert Troie e li païs' (*if Paris has a wife from Greece, Troy and its lands will be destroyed*, ll. 4147-48). Helen is cited as the reason for war, but Paris is similarly implicated alongside her. However, as the war progresses, Paris's responsibility diminishes, while Helen's increases. This is highlighted in two episodes: firstly, Achilles's speech to the Greek chiefs, and secondly, Helen's lament following Paris's death. In the first episode, Achilles attempts to persuade the Greeks to make peace, claiming that the reason for which they went to war in the first place is not a good enough reason to continue:

Trop fol plait avons entrepris,	*We foolishly committed ourselves to a*
Qui pour l'acheison d'une femme	*distant quarrel; all for the sake of a*
Avons guerpi tant riche regne,	*woman we have left our rich lands,*
Tant reiaume, tant bon païs.	*our kingdoms, and our good territories.*
[...]	*[...]*
Mout est mauvaise l'acheison	*The reason for our terrible*
De nostre grant destrucion.	*suffering is a very bad one.*
(*Troie*, ll. 18174-77, 18189-90)	

Later in the narrative, Helen's own words invoke her responsibility, making her speech not just a lament but a confession:

Ja plus terre ne me sostienge	*This land can no longer support me*
Ne ja mais par femme ne vienge	*for never has a woman brought such*
Si grant damage com par mei!	*great damage as I have! So many rich*
Tant riche duc e tant bon rei	*dukes and so many great kings and so*
E tant riche amiraut preisié	*many worthy chiefs have been killed*
En sont ocis e detrenchié!	*and hacked to pieces!*

[...]	*[...]*
Mil mui de sanc de cors vassaus	*A thousand measures of blood from the*
De chevaliers proz e leiaus	*bodies of worthy and loyal knights have*
Sont espandu par m'acheison.	*been spilled for my sake.*
[...]	*[...]*
Que ne m'ocit le rei Priant,	*King Priam should kill me, for it is*
Qui par mei est vis confonduz.	*through me that his life has become*
(*Troie*, ll. 22927-32, 22957-59,	*desolate.*
22962-63)	

Her full speech is nearly one hundred lines long, and all of it is a variation on the theme of how she is solely to blame for all the death and destruction that the war has brought, as well as her wish to die as punishment for having brought about such evils.[7] Whether Helen truly believes that she is the cause and deserves such punishment is debatable; it may be that this is a strategy to stay on the good side of Priam and Hecuba, who are now her only chance for safety as she is more vulnerable following Paris's death. Such laments certainly do not do her any harm, for the narrator tells us:

Tel l'i a dame Heleine fait	*Helen displayed such [grief]*
E tant i a crïé e brait	*and cried and lamented so much*
Que Prianz e sis parentez	*that Priam and his relatives*
L'en sorent puis merveillos grez:	*were very grateful. She was*
Mout en fu puis de toz amee	*very much loved by them all*

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[7] This is a considerable departure from Benoît's source material: in Dares's version we are told only that Helen took part 'magno ululatu' (*with loud lamentations*, D.35) but there are no details as to the actual words. Dictys's version presents an even starker difference: not only is the scene in which Helen laments Paris's death entirely absent, but a woman named Oenone, whom we are told was his wife before Helen's abduction, is present at his funeral, and her grief is so great that she dies on the spot and is buried with him (*Dictys*, IV.21).

> E mout l'en ont tuit honoree. *and was very much honoured.*
>
>   (*Troie*, ll. 23073-78)

Regardless of whether Helen truly believes herself to be the cause of the war, nobody disagrees with her, and in accepting responsibility she makes herself a sympathetic figure who can win the court's love, respect, and protection. Paris's death seems to absolve him of responsibility and there is no mention of the fact that he had abducted her in the first place. As the figure who has been 'left behind', it is Helen's responsibility to accept the blame, and throw herself on the mercy of the Trojan court.

But Helen's abduction was not the first to take place in *Troie*. The first destruction of Troy by the Greeks, led by Hercules, results in the abduction of Hesione. Logié argues that this abduction is the most important factor in determining the causes of the war, for it is this event that sets in motion the 'jeu du *tort* et du *droit*' that makes up the narrative structure of the rest of *Troie*.[8] Paris's initial expedition to Greece has the goal of recovering Hesione (after Antenor has failed to accomplish this in an earlier outing). However, he instead abducts Helen and returns to Troy. It is at this point that Logié claims Priam suffers his 'fatal aveuglement': 'Priam voit dans Hélène la monnaie d'échange qui lui permettra de retrouver Hésione, mais, par une contradiction étrange et inexpliquée, il autorise son fils à l'épouser'.[9] To a certain extent, the Trojan abduction of Helen is 'justifiable' in return for the Greek abduction of Hesione. Even Achilles makes this point clear:

> Ja en menerent Greu s'antain, *The Greeks previously abducted*

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[8] Logié, 'L'oubli d'Hésione ou le fatal aveuglement: le jeu du *tort* et du *droit* dans le *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte Maure', *Le Moyen Âge*, 108 (2002), 235-52.

[9] Logié, 'L'oubli d'Hésione', p. 240.

Soror son pere, Esionain,	*[Paris's] aunt, the sister of his father,*
Que mout fu quise e demandee:	*Hesione, whom they came to reclaim*
Se cist en ra ceste menee,	*many times. If [Paris], in return,*
Quel tort, quel honte e quel damage	*abducted [Helen], where is the*
I peut aveir nostre lignage	*wrong, the shame, or the harm in that*
Ne nos meïsmes, qui ci somes?	*to our lineage or to us who are here?*

(*Troie*, ll. 18201-07)

However, Priam's refusal to then return her (in exchange for Hesione), places him in the wrong. As Logié explains: '[Priam] entérine le rapt d'Hélène. Ainsi l'oubli d'Hésione fait basculer le *droit* dans le camp grec. Benoît d'ailleurs prend soin de montrer comment les Grecs ont su exploiter cette faille'.[10] The question of causality is therefore made more complex: the Greeks lay the foundation for the war by abducting Hesione in the first place; Paris's abduction of Helen is retribution to avenge this earlier abduction; however, Priam's failure to exploit this opportunity for rebalance by exchanging Helen for Hesione is ultimately what leads to the outbreak of the first battle.

Moreover, it should be noted that this view of Paris as a 'rebalancer' is perhaps overly generous in determining his motivations for abducting Helen. Priam could indeed have framed it in this way in order to seek peace between Troy and Greece before a war became inevitable, but actually, Paris always had the intention of claiming a wife for himself (and keeping her), thanks to the 'Judgement of Paris'. He tells this story to the council of Trojans before they set out to Greece, and explains that this is why he is eager to go (ll. 3846-928). This episode is alluded to in Dares's text, and it is similarly part of Homer's account in the *Iliad*. However, what Homer includes, and what Benoît excludes (because he does not have access to Homer), is the origin of this golden apple. Benoît simply states: 'Une pome lor fu getee' (*an apple was thrown to them*, l. 3881), with no

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[10] Logié, 'L'oubli d'Hésione', p. 250.

indication of who has thrown it. We have to go to the *Iliad* to discover that it was Eris, the goddess of discord, who threw it to stir up animosity as revenge for not having been invited to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. What even the *Iliad* excludes, however, is the fact that it was Zeus who made the decision to cause a disastrous war among mortals and who uses Eris to bring this about.[11] John D. Reeves's study of the causes of the Trojan War notes that Zeus's involvement in the 'Judgement of Paris' is also excluded by other classical writers such as Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, Hyginus, Apuleius, Lucian, Quintus Smyrnaeus, and Colluthus.[12] In accounts that do include Zeus, he is presented as something of a modern-day environmentalist, his reason for wanting to cause war among men being to relieve the earth of the burden of mankind:

> There was a time when the countless tribes of men, though wide-dispersed, oppressed the surface of the deep-bosomed earth, and Zeus saw it and had pity and in his wise heart resolved to relieve the all-nurturing earth of men by causing the great struggle of the Ilian war.[13]

Reeves suggests (somewhat subjectively) that the reason why this version of the story fell out of fashion is that, in contrast to the Judgement of Paris story alone, it is not 'charming'.[14] He argues that the Judgement 'lingers in man's memory on that account, and probably on that account alone' whereas the 'plight of Earth, unable longer to bear the

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[11] Zeus's involvement is found instead in Stasinus's *Cypria*, Proclus's *Chrestomathy*, Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, and Euripides's *Orestes* and *Helen*.

[12] John D. Reeves, 'The Cause of the Trojan War: A Forgotten Myth Revived', *The Classical Journal*, 61 (1966), 211-14 (p. 212).

[13] Quotation taken from the *Cypria* and cited by Reeves, 'The Cause of the Trojan War', p. 211.

[14] Reeves, 'The Cause of the Trojan War', p. 214.

crushing weight of humanity, does not charm us'.[15] It is interesting to consider this theory

of the 'charming' to consider why Benoît retained the 'Judgement' episode in his version.

On other occasions Benoît omits or amends episodes from his source material, especially

those pertaining to the gods, and indeed Dictys also omits it. It may be that Benoît retains

it precisely because it is a well-known episode from the classical sources and therefore

helps in establishing his text as a faithful translation of the Latin sources. It may also be

that he, like Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, Hyginus, Apuleius, Lucian, Quintus Smyrnaeus, and

Colluthus, noted its value as a particularly 'charming' episode. Finally, it may be that he

wanted to retain it to show yet another possible cause of war: events such as the

abductions of Hesione and Helen and the failures of Priam were certainly factors, but in

retaining the 'Judgement of Paris' he also keeps the idea that there were external factors

that were outside the control of mortals in determining the outbreak of war. In Benoît's

society, one almost constantly plagued by conflict, the ability to move the burden of

responsibility to external and uncontrollable forces may have been quite comforting.[16]

This is part of a bigger topic regarding how far Benoît (and the other *romans*-poets)

recognised the power of pagan deities. Blumenfeld-Kosinski explains that although the

romans largely eliminate the pagan gods from their narratives, they retain them in places

where 'they could become literary devices, used to organise and reorient the narrative'.[17]

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[15] Reeves, 'The Cause of the Trojan War', p. 214.

[16] The Judgment of Paris also appears at the start of *Enéas* and is found in all its manuscripts, with the exception of MS P17. However, MS P17 contains all three *romans*, copied in chronological order and presented as one comprehensive narrative, and so it may be that it was omitted from this version of *Enéas* purely to avoid repetition rather than because it was not a valued episode. The arguments made above for why Benoît chose to retain it in *Troie* may similarly be applied to the *Enéas*-poet retaining it in his text, too.

[17] Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Reading Myth: Classical Mythology and Its Interpretations in Medieval French Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 15.

She argues that the appearance of mythology in medieval texts was dominated by a 'link between myth and love'.[18] In this instance we can see how the gods could be used not only to explain love (the love between Paris and Helen), but could also explain the outbreak of hostilities (as a consequence of that love).

The second way that women are presented as the origin of violence is when they are offered up as prizes to whomever is successful in battle. This is the case in *Enéas*. Lavine, the daughter of King Latinus, has been promised to Turnus, the king of the Rutuli, according to the wishes of her mother, but against those of her father (ll. 3314-19).[19] Once again the figures of the gods are brought into play, bearing partial responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities, for they have promised Aeneas that he will inherit the Latin lands and found the Roman dynasty. During his visit to the underworld, Anchises reveals to him that this dynasty will come about through his union to Lavine (ll. 3002-63). Lavine herself is almost entirely absent from the narrative until three-quarters of the way through, when she appears in conversation with her mother. The queen is attempting to persuade her to love Turnus, but Lavine is entirely resistant to the idea:

'Or sui a pais et a repoz,   *'Now I am at peace and repose,*
Ne m'i metray, car je n'en oz,   *I will not put myself, for I do not dare,*
En tel destroit dont je n'ai cure;   *in such distress for which I have no*
Ffors est li maulz a desmesure.   *care; [love] is an evil of very great*
Je n'enprendra oan amor   *strength. I will not involve myself in*
Dont cuit avoir mal ne dolor'.   *love, from which I believe only to have*
Moult est sauviage la meschine.   *pain and sorrow'. The maiden was*
    (*Enéas*, ll. 8077-83)   *very stubborn.*

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[18] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Reading Myth*, p. 45.

[19] There are no details given as to how this situation has come about, but based on the subsequent portrait given of Lavine's mother (who is never named) it is not difficult to believe that she simply bullied Latinus into consenting to her will.

The vocabulary used by the *Enéas*-poet is interesting for it links love with war. Lavine uses 'pais' and 'repoz' to describe her emotional state when not in love, and the words 'destroit', 'maulz', and 'dolor' to describe the state of being in love: she gives the impression that love is violent and painful. Her analysis is prescient, for when she eventually succumbs to love it is described in similarly aggressive terms:

Amors l'a de son dart ferue;	*Love hit her with his arrow;*
Ainz que se fust d'illeuc meüe,	*before she left that place,*
Chanja elle .C. foys coulor.	*she changed colour a hundred times.*
Or est cheoite en las d'Amor,	*Now she has fallen into Love's trap,*
Ou veulle ou non, amer l'estuet.	*and whether she wants to or not, she*
Quant voit que eschiver nel puet,	*must love him [Aeneas]. When she saw*
Ver Eneas a atorné	*that she could not escape, she turned*
Tot son coraje, son penser;	*all her heart and thoughts to Aeneas;*
Por lui l'a mout Amors navree;	*Love had wounded her deeply for him;*
La saiete li est coulee	*the arrow plunged into her*
Desi qu'al cuer soz la mamelle.	*right to her heart under her breast.*

(*Enéas*, ll. 8119-29)

The line 'ou veulle ou non' is perhaps the most powerful as it shows Lavine's powerlessness and her complete lack of agency. The description of her injuries as a result of Love continues in similar terms, with words such as 'cop mortal' (*mortal blow*), 'tressuer' (*to sweat*), 'trambler' (*to tremble*), 'tressaut' (*she shivers*), 'seglout' (*she sobs*), 'fremist' (*she shudders*), 'crie' (*she wails*), 'ploure' (*she cries*), 'gemist' (*she groans*), and 'brait' (*she screams*) being used to describe the process. Certainly it is not shown as a pleasant experience. But of course this amount of suffering was one of the tropes of courtly love, a concept that was

emerging contemporaneously with the *romans*.[20] Simon Gaunt's study of love and death in

medieval French literature makes a connection between the language of medieval love

literature and religious imagery to argue that the death of lovers is a sacrificial martyrdom

that adds an ethical significance to love and lovers.[21] Here we can see a link between the

language of medieval love and military images (arrows, traps, escapes, mortal blows) to

argue that Lavine's suffering can be conceived as a form of battle; she is wounded by an

arrow and suffers as she would in battle. It is therefore not just Lavine who causes Aeneas

to fight, but in return Aeneas causes Lavine to fight, although the former's fight is a

physical battle while the latter's is an emotional one. Of course Aeneas wins his battles,

while Lavine loses hers, and the narrative ends with their marriage and the prophesied

founding of Rome.

The third way that women are invoked as encouraging or stimulating violent

behaviour is in inciting knights to display martial prowess to those who watch their fights.

During one battle in *Thèbes*, several women seat themselves on a hill where they can watch

the fighting. When Parthenopeus kills a knight he sends that knight's horse as a token

both of triumph and love to Antigone, which she receives with gratitude:

Ceo sachez bien que por cest don	*Know that in exchange for this gift*
Li quit rendre gent guerdon.	*I will offer him a noble recompense.*
Bien le sace sanz nul doute	*He should know without a doubt*
Que il ad mei et m'amor toute.	*that I am his with all my love.*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 4716-19)	

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[20] For more on *Enéas* and the courtly love tradition, see Helen C. R. Laurie, '*Enéas* and the
Doctrine of Courtly Love', *The Modern Language Review*, 64 (1969), 283-94.

[21] Simon Gaunt, *Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature: Martyrs to Love*
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

There is something rather coquettish about this mysterious 'gent guerdon' that she will

offer him. When Parthenopeus is killed, there is an indication that they may have been

physically united at some point, for the narrator describes how his companion Dorceus

fans his dying body with a large ermine sleeve that Antigone had given to him 'par

druerie, | le jour qu'ele devient s'amie' (*through tender love, the day that she became his* amie, ll.

11165-66). However, his dying speech to Dorceus is rather strange in that case:

Mais tourne t'en en mon païs;	*But return to my country;*
A ma miere tout dreit iras,	*go straight to my mother,*
Froide message li porteras.	*bring her this sad message.*
Quant elle parlera oue tei,	*When she speaks with you,*
Si tu li dis come est de mei,	*and you tell her what has happened to*
Ele murra sempres, ceo crei;	*me, she will soon die, I believe;*
Di que naufrez fui al tornei	*tell her that I was wounded in battle*
Et pur yceo a luy t'envei:	*and it is for this that I have sent you to*
Pri li que ne meint doel pur mei.	*her: beseech her not to suffer for me.*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 11090-98)	

At no point does he mention Antigone as we may have expected. In this case, his *amie* has

inspired him to do great deeds on the battlefield, but once fallen he thinks only of his

mother. While Parthenopeus is keen for Antigone to share in his triumph as

demonstrated in the gift of the horse, he does not want her to share in his failure.

Through the ermine sleeve the narrator invokes her image by his side as he dies, but

Parthenopeus does not invoke her at all. If masculinity is partially constructed by military

prowess and success in battle, then his fall could be seen as emasculating, and not

something that he would want to share with her.

   Troie also contains a scene in which a horse is sent from a knight to his lady as a

token of affection. In this case, Diomedes sends a horse to Briseide, and the symbolism is

made even stronger by the fact that this horse has been won in battle from Troilus,

Briseide's former lover:

Diomedès est alez joindre	*Diomedes went to engage with*
O Troïlus por la danzele:	*Troilus for [the sake of] the maiden:*
Jus le trebuche de la sele.	*He knocked him from the saddle.*
Le destrier prent par le noël.	*He took the horse by the bridle.*
Un suen vaslet, un dameisel,	*He called his vassel, a young man,*
A apelé e si li tent:	*and gave it to him:*
'Va tost,' fait il, 'isnelement	*'Go now', he said, 'quickly*
A la tente Calcas de Troie	*to the tent of Calcas of Troy*
E di a sa fille la bloie	*and say to the blonde girl*
Que jo li envei cest destrier:	*that I am sending her this horse:*
Guaaignié l'ai d'un chevalier	*I won it from a knight*
Qui mout par se fait bien de li'.	*who really wants to do well for her'.*
(*Troie*, ll. 14286-97)	

His token is initially rejected by Briseide who does not appreciate him speaking ill of

Troilus. However, eventually he wins her over, and she gives him a token of her

reciprocated affection:

La destre manche de son braz	*She gave him the right sleeve from her*
Neuve e fresche d'un ciglaton	*arm, which was made of new and*
Li baille en lieu de confanon.	*fresh silk for him to use in place of a*
[...]	*banner. [...]*
Dès or puet saveir Troïlus	*From now on Troilus knew*
Que mar s'atendra a li plus.	*that it was futile to expect more from her.*
(*Troie*, ll. 15176-78, 15183-84)	

The scenes of Diomedes's gifting the horse to Briseide as well as her giving him her sleeve

in return are featured in some of the manuscript illustrations. In MS V1 we see

Diomedes's squire delivering the horse to Briseide in her tent while the battle contines to rage in close proximity (fig. 22). However, the later action of her gift of her sleeve is not illustrated and instead we only see them speaking in her tent (fig. 23); her reciprocation of love is indicated through their joined hands, but there is no sign of the sleeve. MS Vn is also missing the scene of the sleeve. It includes the scene in which Troilus is unhorsed by Diomedes and we see the squire taking hold of the horse, but the moment when it is delivered to Briseide is not shown (fig. 24). We later see Diomedes and Briseide talking in her tent, with Troilus's horse next to her; not only is the sleeve donation not shown but this time they are not even pictured holding hands (fig. 25).[22] However, the later copy of MS Vn, MS P18, does include the sleeve scene. As before, we have the illustration of Diomedes unhorsing Troilus and giving the horse to his squire to deliver to Briseide. In the corresponding scene for their later meeting in the tent we now see the moment at which she gives her sleeve to him (fig. 26). Perhaps the earlier illustrator of MS Vn had accidently omitted this sleeve from his rendition of this scene (as there certainly is space for it to be drawn, which perhaps explains the distance between the two). Regardless of why it was not included in MS Vn, the illustrator of MS P18, copying MS Vn, clearly noticed the mistake and thought it important to rectify it. If we look at MS Vt we see another slight variation in the illustrative scheme of these scenes. There are separate illustrations for Diomedes's unhorsing of Troilus (fol. 109) and the squire giving the horse to Briseide (fol. 110) followed by the scene in which the two are reunited in the Greek camp (fig. 27). In this image we see Troilus's horse tied up outside the tent, while the two figures do not appear to be speaking (Diomedes has his arms folded across his body). However, rather than a scene of conversation, this is in fact the moment at which Briseide

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[22] Troilus's horse's caparison has changed colour from green to pink but it is still recognisable from the circle *barry sable and argent* that is Troilus's device.

detaches her sleeve in order to give it to Diomedes: we see her right arm raised as her left

hand appears to reach for the right sleeve in order to detach it, just as the text relates.

Despite the variations in these manuscripts, the constant across all four is to show some

combination of Diomedes's unhorsing of Troilus, the transfer of the horse to Briseide,

and the subsequent union of the two lovers: Diomedes's actions on the battlefield

certainly seem to be influenced by his relationship with Briseide.

The manuscript illustrations in MSS P17, V1, and Vt also show images of women

watching the battles from the city walls. For example, one of the very few illustrations of

Lavine that we have (one of only two) is of her watching from a tower as Turnus and

Aeneas do battle (fig. 12). Similarly, MSS V1 and Vt have numerous instances of

unidentified women watching the battles from the windows or walls of Troy (fig. 28 and

fig. 29 provide just two examples).[23] The text tells us that the 'dames furent sor les murs

[...] | Por esguarder le grant tornei' (*ladies were up on the walls [...] to watch the great tournament*,

ll. 8081, 8084). It is difficult to translate the word 'tornei' here as it usually indicates a

tournament in the specific context of a jousting tournament and is rarely used to indicate

a battle in the context of warfare. Burgess and Kelly translate it as 'battle' in their

translation of *Troie* but this seems to miss the nuance of the word. In fact, the way in

which *Troie* presents the battles is very much as a chivalric spectacle that could be

compared to a tournament and the way in which women view and participate in this event

is comparable to the historical realities. David Crouch's study of tournaments shows that

as far back as the twelfth century, 'stands for the spectators were being erected [...] and

these were principally for women'.[24] He goes on to explain that the role of spectator was

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[23] Fig. 28 initially appears to have two knights displaying the same heraldry (*or, two lions rampant combatant gules*) but this is actually a sequence in which Hector is pictured twice (the rampant lions are Hector's device).

[24] David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and Continuum, 2005), p. 157.

'not necessarily a passive one' and that women would often be involved in judging the winners and losers of the events.[25] Moreover, E. Jane Burns's study of clothes in medieval French culture discusses the way in which a lady's sleeve 'might function as a love token [...] in combat' and that it served 'as a surrogate for her inspiring presence, propelling the knight who loves her to accomplish feats of extaordinary prowess'.[26] Therefore, if we combine the scenes of the ladies watching the battles (or *torneis*) with Briseide's gift of her sleeve to Diomedes, we are immersed in a milieu that seems to owe more to pageantry and tournaments than it does to warfare.

The final way that women are shown as provoking violence is directly through taking up arms themselves. The idea of women-warriors will be discussed in Chapter VI, but the women discussed in that chapter are not responsible for initiating the larger conflicts in which they participate. However, one group of women who do have an active role in initiating conflict are the Argive women who march to Thebes to reclaim the bodies of their loved ones: the narrator even describes them as a 'grant host' (*great army*, l. 11649). The new king of Thebes, Creon, refuses to allow them to recover the bodies, and so they implore the duke of Athens, Theseus, to assist them, and together the Argive women and the Athenian forces launch an assault on the walls of Thebes:

Donc veïssez femmes ramper,	*So you should see the women clamber,*
Oue mails d'acier les murs falser;	*to damage the walls with steel mallets;*
As ungles escracent forment,	*they tear [the walls] fiercely with their*
Pertus y fierent plus de cent;	*fingernails, they make more than a*
Ne lou chaleit quis oscist	*hundred openings there; it was of little*
Ne qui unques mal lour fist:	*importance to them who died or who*

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[25] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 157.

[26] E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 4.

Molt se combateient forment.	*caused them harm: they fought with*
Grant pitié en aveient gent:	*great strength. The people had great*
Por les femmes forment pluroient.	*pity on them: they cried a lot for the*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 11906-14)	*women.*

This description is powerful in showing that women will join in the fight if required, and will do so with great courage and strength. The tears of the city's people perhaps reflect the sorrow that the *Thèbes*-poet anticipates his audience will also feel upon encountering this scene. A situation in which women must take up arms themselves is clearly not a desirable state of affairs and it creates a contrast to the episodes discussed previously in this section. In those scenes, men's efforts on the battlefield demonstrated ideals of masculinity and strength to those watching, who were often portrayed as enthralled or even seduced by such viewing. But the violent behaviour of the women in this episode only results in the watchers feeling sadness and pity for them. Both sexes may participate in fighting, but the responses of those around them to their actions reveals their gendering.

Having looked at the ways in which women are invoked as either the origin, motivation, or justification for violence, we can conclude that they are represented as a necessary but not sufficient cause of war. Many of the knights who take part in violence are shown doing so in order to impress their *amies* who watch them from the city walls. The Trojan wars are provoked first by the abduction of Hesione, and then the abduction of Helen, and are continued by an unwillingness on the part of Priam to make peace when given the opportunity to do so. The Latin wars begin as Aeneas seeks to win Lavine from Turnus, fuelled by his desire to fulfil the prophecy of founding a great dynasty. However, this rather crude over-simplification of the causes of these wars certainly does not give the whole picture. We need to look at the other causes for the outbreak and continuation of hostilities.

III.ii. Other Causes of War

Gratian's *Concordantia Discordantium Canonum*, commonly known as the *Decretum*, appeared ten to thirty years before the *romans*, in around 1140. He decrees that there are three circumstances in which war is permissible: to recover stolen goods, to avenge injuries, and in self-defence.[27] The Trojan wars find their legitimacy in the first two circumstances, but it is more difficult to justify the Theban and Latin wars within Gratian's framework.[28] Instead, we might do better to look at the emergence of the medieval chivalric code. Maurice Keen argues that we see the chivalric age emerging as early as 1100, with 'the first systematic treatment of chivalry' appearing with Etienne de Fougères's *Livre des manières* (*c.* 1174-78).[29] Kaeuper's more recent work is rather more cautious in discussing the development of chivalry: he describes a 'thick European mist' obscuring its origins and cautions that close investigation is 'difficult' while any certainty is 'doubtful'.[30] Instead, he advises that we need to see values and practices emerging gradually over a considerable period of time, while recognising that 'chivalry' in the earlier Middle Ages could not anticipate the 'chivalry' of the later Middle Ages; essentially, we may be able to speak about chivalric practices in the eleventh century and we may be able to speak about them in the fifteenth century, but we would not be talking about the same thing. However, he

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[27] These are summarised by Alex J. Bellamy in *Just Wars: From Cicero to Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006), p. 33.

[28] Hesione and Helen are often represented as 'property' that has been stolen and must be recovered. The list of injuries suffered by the Greeks and Trojans at each other's hands prior to the outbreak of war is long and includes Laomedon's inhospitality to the Greeks, the Greeks' initial sack of Troy, the Greek refusal to return Hesione, the Trojan assault on Menelaus's homeland, and the Trojan refusal of Greek negotiators.

[29] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 1-4.

[30] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 63.

also writes that 'it seems equally unlikely that chivalry emerged suddenly and without precedent, instantly generating its classic phase in the long twelfth century. In previous centuries, important initial steps were undoubtedly taken'.[31] The period in which the *romans* were being written was exactly this time of burgeoning ideas around chivalry, that came to be more formally codified in later works such as the anonymous *Ordène de chevalerie*, Ramon Lull's *Libre del ordre de cavayleria* (*c.* 1250-1300), and Geoffrey de Charny's *Livre de chevalerie* (*c.* 1340-59).[32] Although these works were written after the *romans* they are still valuable sources as we can consider that they were writing down what had been developing at the time that the *romans* were written. In fact, the *romans* can even be seen engaging with the emergence and development of chivalric ideas as they too explore ideas of what the ideal chivalric hero looks like.

The *Ordène* provides four commandments that a knight must follow: 'he must not be consenting to any false judgement, or be a party in any way to treason; he must honour all women and damsels and be ready to aid them to the limit of his power; he must hear, when possible, a mass every day, and must fast every Friday'.[33] Ramon's work offers a more theological account of chivalry and suggests that the primary duty of the knight was to defend the Church against unbelievers; in his conduct he should prize honour above all else, eschewing falsehood, treachery, greed, and idleness.[34] Finally, Geoffrey's text reinforces the advice of the *Ordène* and Ramon, but extends it to all soldiers, not just knights; he goes against traditional Augustinian doctrine to suggest that earthly goods

[31] Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, p. 84.

[32] These three texts are identified by Keen as key works that 'make an attempt to treat chivalry as a way of life in its own right, and to offer instruction to that end' (Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 6).

[33] Summarised in Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 7.

[34] Summarised in Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 9-11.

were significant and that soldiers should be rewarded for chivalrous action.[35] However, despite the apparent ennobling and virtuosity that chivalry entailed, it could also have negative consequences. Kaeuper 'urges a somber reassessment of chivalric warfare' that takes into consideration not only the alleged virtues of the chivalric warrior, but also recognises the realities of greed, deception, and violence.[36] Meanwhile Craig Taylor's analysis of chivalric ideals similarly recognises that there could be a 'negative note' to the actions of these knights, many of whom were more interested in fighting and earning profit than they were in the causes or authority for war.[37]

One episode in *Troie* involves Achilles's attempt to persuade the Greeks to make peace with the Trojans. Part of his reasoning (as mentioned in the previous section) is that the motivation for the war (Helen's abduction) was not sufficient to justify the outbreak of hostilities. However, Thoas and Menestheus rebuke him and reveal the real reasons why the Greeks started to fight and will continue to do so. Thoas says:

Ne somes pas en ceste peine	*We are not in this struggle*
Por Menelaus ne por Heleine,	*for Menelaus or for Helen,*
Qui por aveir honor e pris.	*but to have honour and glory.*
Puis que si bien l'avez empris,[38]	*Since you have begun so well,*
Ja n'en partirons senz victoire,	*we shall never leave without victory,*
Si que de nos iert fait memoire.	*and without what we have done being*

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[35] Summarised in Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 12-14.

[36] Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, pp. 155-207 (p. 172).

[37] Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 121.

[38] This line appears as 'Si com orent nostre ancessor' (*as our ancestors had*) in MSS P7, P9, P17, and Vt. The fact that this breaks the rhyming couplet structure would have made it stand out and highlights how important certain scribes obviously felt about emphasising that this 'honor e pris' was part of an ancestral tradition, linking them back to their forefathers, just as the *romans* themselves sought to link medieval heroes back to their Trojan ancestors.

(*Troie*, ll. 18329-34)   *made memorable.*

Menestheus reinforces Thoas's sentiments:

Tant riche rei, tant amiraut,	*There are such powerful kings, such*
Tant duc preisié e tant baron	*military leaders, such renowned dukes*
A ci a ceste asembleison,	*and such barons in this assembly,*
Qui mieus voudraient estre pris,	*who would rather be taken prisoner,*
Mort e detrenchié e ocis,	*die and be beheaded and killed,*
Qu'ensi s'en fussent repairié.	*than to retreat like this.*
[...]	*[...]*
Proz d'ome ne deit doter mort	*A worthy man must not fear death*
Contre si faite deshonor.	*in the face of this kind of dishonour.*

(*Troie*, ll. 18372-77, 18382-83)

In response, all the assembled Greeks reply '[b]ien dit! bien dit! ço est li mieuz!' (*well said! well said! that is the best!*, l. 18399). What we see here is an example of what Irving Janis terms 'groupthink', whereby members of a decision-making group fail to voice their reservations over proposed courses of action in order to remain on good terms with the rest of the group.[39] An illusory consensus replaces critical thinking and any dissenters are isolated and excluded. The concept can be applied to this episode, where Achilles is rebuked for having dissented from the groupthink consensus that continuing with the war is the best policy, even facing almost certain death, in order to win glory and everlasting renown.

The concept of groupthink is also one that we can link to ideas of masculinity and homosocial bonding, and brings us back to the causes of war.[40] Current scholarship on

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[39] Irving L. Janis, *Groupthink* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), p. 38.

[40] Homosociality refers to same-sex relationships that are non-romantic and non-sexual.

war and gender suggests that masculinity is central to the ways in which war gains its meaning and legitimacy in society.[41] Recent analysis posits that masculinity is a significant explanatory variable in violence, though scholars differ on whether the relationship between war and masculinity is constitutive or causal: Nancy C. M. Hartsock's work suggests that masculinity is the key underlying cause of war, while Joshua S. Goldstein's work argues that it is the occurrence of war in the first place that demands the construction of such masculinities.[42] Of course masculinity is itself a near-impossible concept to define as it differs across cultures, time, location, social status, religion, and politics; Ruth Mazo Karras suggests that it would be more appropriate to speak of '"masculinities" in the plural rather than the singular'.[43] Nevertheless, she summarises that within a chivalric paradigm, 'violence was the mode of masculine expression'.[44] It therefore follows that if violence is required for the construction of a masculine identity, then men must seek out opportunities for violence. Without war they risk losing their homosocial bonds, which were of critical importance to social structuring, and their sense of gender identity. Rescuing an abducted woman or fighting to win the love of a woman may have been convenient and entertaining tales to justify their violence, but the

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[41] See, for example, Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003); Stefan Dudink and Josh Tosh, eds, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Robert A. Nye, 'Western Masculinities in War and Peace', *The American Historical Review*, 112 (2007), 417-38; Peter Spierenburg, ed., *Men and Violence: Gender, Honour, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998).

[42] Nancy C. M. Hartsock, 'Masculinity, Heroism and the Making of War', in *Rocking the Ship of State: Towards a Feminist Peace Politics*, ed. by A. Harris and Y. King (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1989), pp. 133-52; Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[43] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 3.

[44] Karras, *From Boys to Men,* p. 21.

underlying motivation is more essential: war is necessary for the continuation of gender

identity and gender distinctions. Women were largely excluded from the battlefield and

homosocial networks (though exceptions to this will be discussed in Chapter VI) and

therefore allowed a clear gendered hierarchy to be maintained and perpetuated. If this

were to falter, the threat to traditional masculinity would be strong indeed.

III.iii. Women as Causes of Peace

Having seen that war could find its origins in masculinity in the *romans*, it is fitting that we

therefore look at whether peace had its origins in femininity. Waltz remarks that '[h]uman

nature may in some sense [be] the cause of war [...] but by the same token it [is] the cause

of peace'.[45] Women may be invoked as the cause of war, but similarly, they are shown to

be the cause of peace. Indeed Christine de Pizan, writing in *Le livre des trois vertus* (*c*. 1405),

counselled noblewomen that it was their duty to do what they could to prevent any

outbreak of war or hostilities and to urge their husbands (or sons) to find non-violent

alternatives to conflict.[46] *Troie* is full of scenes in which women bring about a cessation in

fighting, or attempt to do so. Most striking is the case of Achilles and Polyxena. In a

complete reversal of the examples discussed in the first section, Achilles's infatuation with

Polyxena causes him to stop fighting, rather than inspiring him to show off his martial

prowess on the battlefield:

Qui tres bien est d'amor espris,	*Whoever is truly taken by love,*
Il n'a en sei sen ne reison.	*no longer has any sense or reason.*
Ensi par iceste acheison	*So for this reason*

[45] Waltz, *Man, The State, and War*, p. 28.

[46] Christine de Pizan, *Le livre des trois vertus*, ed. by Charity Cannon Willard and Eric Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1989), Part I, Chapter 9.

Laissa armes danz Achillès.   *Achilles gave up his arms.*
        (*Troie*, ll. 18458-61)

Polyxena herself does not actually attempt to dissuade Achilles from fighting. In fact at no point in the narrative do they ever communicate. Achilles's decision to renounce combat comes at the request of Hecuba, as a way of proving his devotion to Polyxena so that he can secure her hand in marriage. But his decision to give up battle is shown as a sign of madness, met with derision amongst his men. Similarly, as discussed in the previous section, when he tries to persuade his fellow Greeks to follow his example he is subjected to great scorn. Thoas declares:

Sire Achillès, vos dites mal.   *Lord Achilles, you speak badly.*
Tant par estes pro e vassal   *You are so worthy and valiant*
Que ne devez pas consentir   *that you must not accept or*
N'uevre loër a maintenir   *recommend such action [as this]*
Ou point aiez de deshonor.   *that would bring you dishonour.*
        (*Troie*, ll. 18257-61)

The adverse reaction of his male comrades is a reflection of their disgust not just at his renunciation of war, but again the underlying indication that there is a renunciation of masculinity.[47] Kimberly Hutchings's analysis of masculinity and war shows that at any given place or time, 'aggression, rationality, or physical courage are identified both as an

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[47] Keith Haines's study of pacifism in the Middle Ages shows that while certain groups (such as the Penitents in Italy and the Beguines in Europe) followed a spirit of pacifism, in general such groups were tainted with heresy as even the church was willing to condone warfare if it was in the pursuit of its own interests: Keith Haines, 'Attitudes and Impediements to Pacifism in Medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval History*, 7 (1981), 369-88.

essential component of war and also of masculinity'.[48] While there is not a causal or constitutive relation between the two, they are nevertheless linked because the 'properties of masculinity as a concept provide a framework through which war can be rendered both intelligible and acceptable'.[49] If the properties of masculinity are therefore removed, as with Achilles's apparent renunciation of aggression, rationality, and physical courage, then the framework for war is similarly lost. Malcolm Potts and Thomas Hayden's work on the link between human biology and warfare shows that in fact men 'have an inherited predisposition to team up with kin – or perceived kin – and try to kill their neighbours'.[50] However, as Valerie M. Hudson and others' more recent work shows, this does not mean that male dominance and violence are inevitable.[51] In fact, Hudson cites the research of Mary Hartman into twelfth-century northwestern Europe as a turning-point in traditional male-dominated hierarchies related to a 'break in traditions of patrilocality and the marriage of pubescent girls to grooms ten years older'.[52] This episode in which Polyxena's presence is able to provoke Achilles into renouncing his arms, which in turn threatens the homosocial bonds so critical to military cohesion, threatens his masculinity, and subsequently undermines the framework through which warfare is conceived, is therefore one of the most important scenes of *Troie*, and would no doubt have been viewed as such by medieval audiences, too. Two of the illustrated manuscripts make a point of showing

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[48] Kimberly Hutchings, 'Making Sense of Masculinity and War', *Men and Masculinities*, 10 (2008), 389-404 (p. 389).

[49] Hutchings, 'Making Sense of Masculinity and War', p. 389.

[50] The 'perceived kin' are to allow for ties such as national identity that can be substituted for biological kin ties: Malcolm Potts and Thomas Hayden, *Sex and War: How Biology Explains Warfare and Terrorism and Offers a Path to a Safer World* (Dallas: BenBella, 2010), p. 96.

[51] Valerie Hudson and others, *Sex and World Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 78-79.

[52] Hudson, *Sex and World Peace*, p. 79. Patrilocality is a concept that denotes the tendency in most cultures for women to relocate to the home of the husband's family upon marriage.

the impact of Achilles's absence from the conflict. In MS Vt we see Achilles and one of his knights playing chess in their tent while beside them several soldiers are shown bloodied on the battlefield (fig. 30). The action is so close that one of the horses's hooves almost touches the tent. In MS V1 he is shown in a similar style, playing chess next to a raging battle, not just once but in three separate illustrations over three folios (fols. 149ʳ, 149ᵛ, and 163ʳ). The other manuscript illustrations tend only to show him in his tent speaking with other Greek knights at this point. MSS Vt and V1 stand out for this sharp juxtaposition of the perhaps rather inappropriate pursuit of leisure activities such as chess whilst in the midst of war. Perhaps the dangers that women present in causing conflict pale in comparison to the dangers that women present in causing men to renounce it. Karras argues that the 'shared experiences of hardship and of violence created homosocial bonds' between knights;[53] if those experiences were taken away, then the bonds that they produce would similarly disappear.

We can also see this in the treatment of women who actively attempt to dissuade men from waging war. After the second battle of *Troie*, following the description of the Greeks and the Trojans burying their dead, Cassandra tries to convince the Trojans to make peace by predicting that if they do not they will all be killed and Troy destroyed (ll. 10417-48). However, before she can say more, she is locked up (by her family); her name and her prophecies are referred to on subsequent occasions, but she does not physically reappear until after the fall of Troy (when she is given to Agamemnon as one of the spoils of war). In addition, Andromache tries to dissuade Hector from returning to battle following a prophetic vision she has immediately prior to Battle X; she pleads with him and when rebuffed she hides his arms, persuades Hecuba and Priam to join her in dissuading Hector, and places his baby son in front of him, begging him not to render the

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[53] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p. 62.

child fatherless. However, it is all to no avail, and it causes a permanent rift between the

two:

Cele que ço li a basti.	*She who fought him on this*
Lui e s'amor e son cuer pert;	*lost his love and his heart.*
Quant el cel plait a descovert	*When she said this and he discovered*
Sor son devié, sor sa manace,	*her trickery, and her threat,*
Ja mais n'iert jorz qu'il ne l'en hace,	*there was never again a day that he*
E por un poi qu'il ne la fiert.	*did not hate her; and he very nearly*
(*Troie*, ll. 15404-09)	*struck her.*

This is the only glimpse of the potential for domestic violence within the courtly chivalric

setting of *Troie*, which makes it all the more shocking and memorable. In the way that the

'Judgement of Paris' was a 'charming' episode designed to stay in the memory, this is an

horrific episode that would no doubt have stayed with its audience as many of the battles

become blurred into one around it. In fact, if we look at the illustrative tradition of *Troie*

manuscripts, we see that this episode is often chosen for the miniatures. Andromache

pleading with Hector is illustrated five times, while Priam's attempt is illustrated four

times.[54] Taken together, this makes it the most illustrated episode out of the entire

narrative, while the second most illustrated episode is the anniversary service for Hector's

death.[55] For a text that contains twenty-three battles and has traditionally been lauded as a

great narrative of warfare, it is interesting that the illustrative tradition privileges scenes in

which attempts are made to prevent the hero from going to battle and the scene in which

the hero is dead. The discourse of the heroes may lead us to believe that renunciation of

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[54] Andromache's scene appears in MSS P6, P17, Vt, P18, and Vn while Priam's scene appears in
MSS P6, Vt, P18, and Vn. These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VII.

[55] This anniversary service (at which, incidentally, Achilles will see Polyxena for the first time)
appears in seven manuscripts: MSS P6, P8, P18, Vt, Mn, L2, and Vn.

battle is somehow dishonourable and emasculating, but the power with which the scenes are rendered both in text and image suggests that nonparticipation in battle was not a simple black and white case, but a complex problem fraught with anxiety.

III.iv. Conclusions

Whilst women are outwardly represented as the causes of war, the texts indicate that they are merely the channels through which the true motivation for violence is concealed: the rescue of Helen and Hesione is a case of vengeance and feuding that could just as easily have taken place over another 'object'. Aeneas's desire for Lavine is not so much motivated by love (no matter how much of an Ovidian atmosphere the *Enéas*-poet can create) but by a dynastic desire for political power. Most importantly, the narratives take place within a homosocial martial milieu that is concerned with constructions of gender identity, and in particular the construction of masculinity through violence. Hudson and others argue that violent patriarchy 'is the primary basis of cultural violence in human collectives' and that 'we would expect that neither a meaningful decrease in societal violence nor a sustainable peace among nations is possible [...] without a decrease in gender inequality'.[56] Their conclusion is clear: there will be no peace without gender equality. However, it is perhaps not surprising that in the twelfth century there was apparently little desire for gender equality, certainly among the clerics and monastic men who dominated the production of the medieval literary canon.[57] Gender equality would have been seen as a radically dangerous threat to the fabric of ordered and civilised

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[56] Hudson, *Sex and World Peace*, p. 94.

[57] For more on the attitudes of the church toward chivalric ideology (and how it changed over the Middle Ages), see Jean Flori, 'Knightly Society', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV, c. 1024 - c. 1198, Part I*, ed. by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 148-84.

society. War was therefore a way to ensure that traditional patriarchal structures were maintained, and women were vessels through which the masculine desire for warfare could manifest itself.

Chapter IV:

'Ocire vuelent la pucele':

Women as Victims of War

Linda Grant De Pauw, the President of the Minerva Centre (a foundation supporting the study of women in war), states that 'war must have victims' and that the role of victim is not just a 'classic women's role' but a 'feminine role'.[1] Yet if we look at scholarship on warfare in the Middle Ages there is surprisingly little about women as victims. As John Gillingham writes: '[d]espite the wealth of studies of early medieval women since the 1970s [...] there have been very few which have focused on women [...] as the [...] victims of war'.[2] The first section of this chapter looks at women who die during the general *melée* of the sack of a city, or are executed, or purposefully end their own lives. The second section considers women who are forced from their homes and held as hostages or given away as spoils of war. This section also asks to what extent rape is part of these processes. The final section treats women who are not physically harmed, but who suffer emotionally through the loss of their loved ones, homes, and other resources. Throughout all three sections, the analysis considers the ways in which men can be considered as victims, too, and whether suffering and victimisation are gendered. This chapter only treats victims who are considered as non-combatants. Much has been published about the problems of defining and differentiating combatants and non-combatants in the Middle

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[1] Linda Grant De Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to Present* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), pp. 18, 25.

[2] John Gillingham, 'Women, Children and the Profits of War', in *Gender and Historiography: Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford*, ed. by Janet L. Nelson and others (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012), pp. 61-74 (p. 62). Gillingham adds a note that those studies that do exist focus predominantly on rape and omit other forms of victimisation (p. 62, n. 5).

Ages, since medieval systems of military organization 'failed to accommodate sharp distinctions between soldiers and civilians'.[3] The working definition of a non-combatant adhered to here follows the general agreement of the medieval Peace of God movement that 'certain classes of people and property [were immune] from the depredations of war. Immune classes included clergy and pilgrims, peasants and the poor, merchants, orphans and women'.[4] There is one caveat to this (which will be important in later chapters), which is that this definition only holds if the individual in question is not subsequently presented in a fashion more fitting for a knight or otherwise integrated into the formal military structure of the battles.[5] Overall, the analysis examines the ways in which the texts present the suffering of non-combatants during war, and whether women disproportionately experience this pain. Essentially, do the *romans* serve as testaments not just to the heroism and honour of warfare, but to its horrors and misery, too?

IV.i. Death

The city of Troy is sacked twice during the course of *Troie*. Benoît gives us this account of its first destruction:

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[3] David J. Hay, '"Collateral Damage?" Civilian Casualties in the Early Ideologies of Chivalry and Crusade', in *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Niall Christie and Maya Yazigi (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 3-25 (p. 5). For more on the problem of non-combatants in the Middle Ages, see Christopher Allmand, 'War and the Non-Combatant in the Middle Ages', in *Medieval Warfare: A History*, ed. by Maurice Keen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 253-72; James Johnson, 'The Meaning of Non-Combatant Immunity in the Just War / Limited War Tradition', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 39 (1971), 151-70.

[4] Hay, '"Collateral Damage?"', p. 11.

[5] For example, *Thèbes* has an example of a warrior-bishop, while *Enéas* and *Troie* both have female warriors. These characters would therefore lose their right to 'immunity', and are considered as combatants.

Mainte dame, mainte pucele,	*One could see many ladies, many*
Mainte borgeise riche e bele	*maidens, and many rich and beautiful*
Veïst om foïr par les rues,	*bourgeois women flee from the men*
Paoroses e esperdues:	*through the streets, terrified and lost:*
En lor braz portent lor enfanz.	*they carried their children in their*
Tant par i esteit li dueus granz,	*arms. There was such great lamenting*
Onques ne fu en nul lieu maire.	*there, never in any other place was*
[...]	*there such great [suffering]. [...]*
Trestote ont la vile guastee.	*They [the Greeks] destroyed the city*
(*Troie,* ll. 2765-71, 2784)	*very quickly.*

The description also tells us that the Greeks plunder the city of its valuable possessions (silks, silver, gold, precious stones, rings, horses, goshawks, and cloth) before destroying its fortresses, towers, houses, walls, temples, palaces, and manors (ll. 2757-88). It describes how the Greeks raped many of the Trojan women and took others away with them. The account of the second sack of Troy gives us even more detail:

N'i remest povre n'orfelin,	*Neither poor people nor orphans*
Jovne ne vieil, cui il ataignent.	*nor the young nor the old could*
De l'ocise li palais teignent;	*escape. The palaces were stained by*
Tuit decorent li pavement:	*the dead, and the flagstones were*
De sanc sunt moillié e sanglent;	*similarly decorated: they are*
N'i a rue, n'i a sentier	*bloody and drenched in blood.*
Ou n'ataigne jusqu'al braier.	*There is not a road nor a path where*
Par les palais, par les veneles,	*[the blood] does not come up to the*
Par les sales riches e beles,	*thighs of the men. In the palaces, in the*
Par les maisons de marbre bis,	*alleys, in the beautiful and rich rooms, in*
Muerent dames as cors gentis […]	*the houses of dark marble, the noble*
Li portal furent bien guardé	*ladies died […] The gates were well*
Qu'uns n'en eissist ne eschapast,	*guarded so that nobody was able to get*
Qu'om n'oceïst e detrenchast.	*out or escape, or one would be*
Es braz as meres alaitanz	*killed and beheaded. In the arms of*

Ont detrenchiez les beaus enfanz;   *breast-feeding mothers their beautiful*

Après funt d'eles autretal.   *children are beheaded; and they [their*

    (*Troie,* ll. 26064-74, 26078-83)   *mothers] then die afterwards.*

The description is savage in its conveyance of the goriness of the city's fall. It is reminiscent of other descriptions of another city's fall, that of Jerusalem in 1099, approximately sixty years before *Troie* was written. Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (*c.* 1100-01) records the following scene as the crusaders took the city:

In temple et in portico Salomonis   *In the temple and porch of Solomon,*

equitabatur in sanguine usque ad   *men rode in blood up to their knees*

genua, et usque ad frenos equorum.   *and bridle reins. Indeed, it was a*

Justo nimirum judicio, ut locus   *just and splendid judgment of God*

idem euorum sanguinem exciperet,   *that this place should be filled with*

quorum blasphemias in Deum tam   *the blood of the unbelievers, since*

longo tempore pertulerat. Repleta   *it had suffered so long from their*

itaque cadaveribus et sanguine   *blasphemies. The city was filled*

civitate.   *with corpses and blood.*

    (*Historia Francorum*, XX, D-E)[6]

The tone is quite different from that of *Troie*. There is something almost celebratory about this horror as Raymond describes it as 'just and splendid'. Fulcher also tells this story in his *Historia Hierosolymitana* (*c.* 1101-28):

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[6] Quotations from Raymond are taken from *Recueil des historiens des croisades. I: Historiens occidentaux*, III (Paris: Imperial Printer, 1866) and are referenced by chapter and paragraph. Translations are from Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. by John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968).

In quo etiam templo decem millia	*In this temple almost ten thousand*
fere decollati sunt. Quod si inibi	*were beheaded. If you had been there*
essetis, pedes vestri sanguine	*your feet would have been stained*
peremptorum usque ad bases	*up to the ankles with the blood*
tinguerentur. Quid narrabo? Nullus	*of the slain. But what more shall*
ex eis vitæ est reservatus. Sed	*I tell? Not one of them was*
neque feminis neque parvulis	*allowed to live. They did not*
eorum pepercerunt.	*spare the women and children.*

(*Historia Hierosolymitana*, XXVII, D)[7]

Meanwhile the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* (*c.* 1100-01) adds these details:

Mane autem facto ascenderunt nostri	*In the morning, some of our men*
caute supra tectum templi, et	*cautiously ascended to the roof*
inuaserent Saracenos masculos et	*of the temple, and attacked the*
feminas, decollantes eos nudis	*Saracens, both the men and the*
ensibus.[8]	*women, beheading them with naked*

(*Gesta Francorum*, X.xxxviii)   *swords.*

Two details are striking about these descriptions that link them with the description from *Troie*. The first detail is the depth of blood: Fulcher describes it reaching 'ad bases' of the feet, while Raymond has it running 'ad genua' of the pilgrims and 'ad frenos' of their horses. Benoît's description of the blood of the Trojans running 'al braier' of the Greeks

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[7] Quotations from Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana* are taken from *Recueil des historiens des croisades* and are referenced by chapter and paragraph. Translations are from Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969).

[8] Quotations from and translations of the *Gesta* are taken from *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. by Rosalind Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

captures this same drama. The second detail is the method of slaughter: Fulcher describes the Jerusalemites as being 'decollati' while the *Gesta* author eschews the passive voice for the active 'decollantes' in describing the same action. Benoît also chooses this detail in his description of the slaughter of Trojan citizens. He uses the words 'detrenchast' and 'detrenchiez' within the space of three lines. These details (the depth of blood and decapitation) are not in either Dares's or Dictys's accounts of the sack of Troy. Whether Benoît read Raymond, Fulcher, the *Gesta* or other First Crusade chronicles is not definitely known. As discussed in Chapter II, Faral's and Constans's studies of Benoît's sources focused only on the influence of Ovid, *Thèbes*, and *Enéas* as sources.[9] However, it is not too great a stretch of the imagination to speculate that Benoît, a literary scholar and historian with a strong command of Latin, would have been familiar with or had access to other historical chronicles.[10] The graphic scenes of slaughter as Troy falls may therefore have been intended to resemble the powerful descriptions of the capture of Jerusalem to make it more vivid and recognisable to a contemporary medieval audience.

Additionally, it may owe its style to a biblical topos that had originally influenced the crusade chroniclers themselves. In their edition of Raymond's *Historia*, John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill point out that his description of the blood coming up to the bridle of the horses is drawn from the book of Revelation: 'and the wine press was trodden outside the city, and blood flowed from the wine press, as high as a horse's bridle'.[11] Benjamin Z. Kedar's article on the ways in which the Jerusalem massacre has been described and interpreted over the centuries similarly discusses the ways in which these

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[9] Faral, pp. 415-16; Benoît, *Le roman de Troie*, VI, p. 246.

[10] As was discussed in Chapter II.i, Battles has made a strong case for the fact that the *Thèbes*-poet used First Crusade chronicles as a source, and Benoît may have, too.

[11] Revelation 14:20.

chronicle accounts were influenced by biblical topoi.[12] Whether Benoît was using the Bible directly as a source of inspiration for his description of the sack of the city, or whether he was influenced indirectly through his use of the crusade chronicles, will probably never be known. Instead, what is important is that he constructed his destruction of Troy to resemble horrors that may have been familiar to members of his audience who had a religious background or biblical learning, as well as to those with a martial background or knowledge of the crusades. In this way, Benoît adds himself into the tradition of writers describing terrible massacres, and makes *Troie* a text that can sit alongside both crusade chronicles and the Bible (as indeed it does in MSS P9 and L4).

The fact that women were vulnerable to slaughter, alongside men and children, during the sack of a city is something attested to in both *Troie* and the historical sources. But women are vulnerable to death in another way in *Troie*, one that does not seem to have an equivalent in contemporary historical sources: ritual execution. This is graphically illustrated following the sack of Troy, as the Greeks are apportioning the spoils of war. Dares and Dictys briefly mention that Polyxena, the object of Achilles's desire, is executed by Pyrrhus in an act of revenge for Achilles's demise (*Dictys*, V.13 and *Daretis*, D.43). Benoît expands this scene from one line in the Latin to over one hundred lines in *Troie*. The moment of execution is relatively concise (four lines), but he adds two elements. Firstly, he adds descriptions of the Greek forces mourning the decision to execute Polyxena and expressing their reluctance to see such an action carried out:

Quant li pueples sot la novele,	*When the people learned the news*
Qu'ocire vuelent la pucele,	*that they wanted to kill the maiden,*

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[12] Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 15-75.

Tuit i corent, nus n'i remaint;	*all without exception ran there;*
Chascuns la plore e crie e plaint.	*each one cried and lamented and*
[...]	*wailed. [...]*
S'el poüst estre rachatee,	*If they had been able to buy her*
Li comuns toz de l'ost Grezeis	*[back], all the common people*
La raensist d'or set cenz peis.	*of the Greek army would have paid*
(*Troie,* ll. 26441-44, 26540-42)	*a ransom of seven hundred*
	pieces of gold.

Secondly, he gives Polyxena to make a long speech in which she first admonishes the Greeks, while simultaneously offering herself up 'willingly', preferring to die a virgin than to live as a Greek's concubine:

'Seignor,' fait ele, 'vil concire	*'Lords', she said, 'it is a wicked*
Avez tenu de mei ocire.	*decision you have made to kill me.*
Onc ne fu mais venjance faite	*Such an act of vengeance will be*
Que en si grant mal fust retraite.	*harshly judged. Aren't you too noble*
Haut home estes e riche rei	*as lords and too powerful as kings*
A faire tel chose de mei?	*to do such a thing to me? I deserve*
N'ai mort ne peine deservie.	*neither death nor punishment.*
[...]	*[...]*
D'ocire e d'espandre cerveles	*Surely you must already be satiated*
E d'estre en sanc e en boëles	*with killing and splattering brains*
Deüsseiz estre tuit saol.	*and being covered in blood and entrails.*
[...]	*[...]*
Que c'est merveille quos avez	*It is a marvel that you still have*
De ma mort faim ne desirier.	*appetite to kill me.*
[...]	*[...]*
Ço sachiez bien,	*But know this: that I*
Que jo ne vueil por nule rien	*no longer wish to live after*
Vivre après si faite dolor.	*all this pain.*
[...]	*[...]*

Vienge la mort, ne la refus,   *Come death! I do not refuse it, because*

Quar n'ai talent de vivre plus.   *I no longer wish to live, and so [it is*

Mon pucelage li otrei: *to death] that I pledge my virginity.*

Onc si bel n'ot ne cuens ne rei.   *Neither count nor king will ever*

  (*Troie,* ll. 26475-81, 26491-93,   *have this beautiful thing.*

  26501-02, 26512-14, 26521-24)

In adding these features to Polyxena's execution, Benoît introduces complexity to the scene. The sadness and disagreement of the 'comuns' compared to the resolution of the 'seignor' creates a class tension over military strategy and morality that is rarely seen in the *romans*; indeed it is rare to have scenes in which the 'comuns' are referenced at all, let alone for them to disagree with their lords. Polyxena's speech then raises even more questions of morality. Firstly, it calls into question the ethical expectations that one would have of someone who is 'haut' and 'riche', implying that truly noble men do not execute young innocent women. Secondly, it suggests that men cannot perpetrate violence indefinitely, for at some point they must be 'saol'. Thirdly, her speech gives her a degree of agency over her death that she does not have in the classical sources. This is not to suggest that she is suicidal or would voluntarily choose to die, but the language with which Benoît frames her embracing of death and dedication of her virginity to death is reminiscent of virgin martyrs and saints. For example, the earliest surviving Old French hagiography, the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie* (*c.* 880), for which evidence exists that it was being read in the twelfth century, recounts the life of a virgin martyr who survives burning before eventually being beheaded:[13]

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[13] A manuscript of the *Cantilène* is listed in the Abbey of Saint-Amand's inventory, which was drawn up between 1150 and 1168: Roger Berger and Annette Brasseur, *Les Séquences de Sainte Eulalie* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), p. 59.

Melz sostendreiet les empedementz	*But she would endure impediments*
Qu'elle perdesse sa virginitet;	*Rather than lose her virginity;*
Poros furet morte a grand honestet	*Thus she would die in great honesty.*
Enz enl fou lo getterent, com arde tost;	*They threw her into the fire,*
Elle colpes non avret, poro nos coist.	*that that burned fiercely. She had*
A czo nos voldret concreidre li rex pagiens.	*no sins, so she did not burn.*
Ad une spede li roveret tolir lo chief.	*The pagan king did not want*
La domnizelle celle kose non contredist.	*to believe that. He ordered her to be*
(*Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*, ll.	*beheaded with a sword. The*
16-23)[14]	*maiden did not oppose this.*

Just as Eulalie has no 'colpes' (*sins*), so too Polyxena is 'senz malice' (*without evil*); just as Eulalie wishes to guard her 'virginitet' (*virginity*), so too Polyxena treasures her 'pucelage' (*virginity*); just as Eulalie does not oppose the order to execute her, nor does Polyxena refuse it; and just as Eulalie is beheaded, so too Polyxena is eventually 'detrenchiee' (*beheaded*). Benoît's reworking of this scene transforms Polyxena's fate from one of passive, silent, and sacrificial lamb in the classical sources, to one of a martyr-like figure who would not be out of place in a hagiographic text. In this way she serves a double purpose as she not only exposes the suffering of women in war, but also provides an example of how such suffering can be turned into a devotional act.

Polyxena is not the only woman to be executed. While her fate could be interpreted as almost inspirational (within the hagiographic paradigm), the fate of Hecuba (her mother) illustrates a less ennobling alternative. Upon seeing Polyxena beheaded, she is seized with rage and lashes out against the Greeks. The men 'ne la porent sofrir' (*were not able to endure this,* l. 26565) and so they stone her to death, which Benoît explains 'fu damage e grant dolor, | Qu'el morut a tel deshonor' (*was a great shame and very sad for she*

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14 Quotations from the *Cantilène* are taken from L. C. Porter, 'The "Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie": Phonology and Graphemics', *Studies in Philology*, 57 (1960), 587-96 (pp. 589-90).

died in such dishonour, ll. 26585-86). She is not given the opportunity to make a speech and to die with dignity, but is stoned in the street like a 'fole' (*mad woman,* l. 26579).[15] Even the method of execution is relevant: beheading with a sword was considered 'a privileged method of execution' suitable for royalty, the aristocracy and knights, whereas stoning was a baser form of punishment, frequently occurring in the Old Testament as the form of execution for sinners.[16] By juxtaposing the scenes of Polyxena's and Hecuba's death in this way, Benoît provides two 'models' of death by execution: one that is dignified and saintly, and one that is humiliating and ignoble. These were not just examples that would resonate with women, but might speak to both sexes within an audience.[17]

Illustrations of this episode tend to combine Polyxena and Hecuba's deaths in a single frame. MS Vt shows Polyxena's execution in the centre of the frame with Hecuba's protests to the left and Hecuba's death by stoning to the right (fig. 31). MSS Vn and P18 show her execution in the centre, while Hecuba is clubbed (rather than stoned) to the side (figs. 32 and 33). These three are also faithful to the text in showing the executions taking

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[15] It is worth noting, however, that Benoît actually softens the harshness of her fate compared to Dictys, whose version recounts that her tomb 'statuitur appellatum Cynossema ob linguae protervam impudentemque petulantiam' (*was called Cynossema (The Tomb of the Bitch) because of her mad and shameless barking,* V.16).

[16] Martha Easton, 'Pain, Torture and Death in the Huntingdon Library *Legenda aurea*', in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe,* ed. by Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 49-64 (p. 61). See also, Florike Egmond, 'Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy: A Morphological Investigation', in *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. by Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 92-127; Klaus P. Jankofsy, 'Public Executions in England in the Late Middle Ages: The Indignity and Dignity of Death', *Omega: Journal of Death and Dying*, 10 (1980), 43-57; Katherine Royer, 'The Body in Parts: Reading the Execution Ritual in Late Medieval England', *Historical Reflections*, 29 (2003), 319-39.

[17] For more on public executions and the relationship to punishment and dishonour, see Egmond, 'Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy', pp. 92-127.

place at the tomb of Achilles, above which was an effigy of Polyxena herself. This composition of the serene statue of Polyxena looking down on the bloodied and dying body of the actual Polyxena makes for a cruel and striking justaposition. MS V1 does not include the statue of Polyxena on Achilles's tomb, but it does include more individual illustrations to relate the sequence of events: one illustration for the execution of Polyxena (fig. 34), one for Hecuba's protestations (fig. 35), and one for her stoning (also fig. 35). MS P6 is the only French manuscript to illustrate this scene and it does so as part of a full-page miniature (fig. 36). The top register shows the slaughter of Trojans by the Greeks (including the execution of Priam by Pyrrhus) while the bottom register shows three events each contained by an archway: the distribution of women as booty, the execution of Polyxena, and the execution of Hecuba (who is shown being beheaded rather than stoned). All five manuscripts, whether though the composition of the scenes or through the number of miniatures, create strong visualisations of violence against women that cannot be missed.

Polyxena's embracing of her death is taken a step further if we consider Dido's suicide. The reason why Dido's fate can be considered as dependent upon warfare is that her affair with Aeneas would never have occurred were it not for the circumstances of the Trojan war, nor would it have (necessarily) ended were it not for the expectation that he continue to Italy to fight the Latins and found his empire. Devastated at his departure, Dido decides it is better to die and she kills herself with Aeneas's sword. The narrator is clear that her actions are far from honourable. He describes her suicide as an act of 'deverie' (*madness* or *devilishness*, l. 2112) and on her tomb is the (eternal and public) inscription that she died because she loved 'trop follement' (*too madly* or *too stupidly*, l. 2228): hardly an ennobling epitaph. This tomb is the invention of the *Enéas*-poet, for it does not appear in the *Aeneid*, and therefore the judgement is entirely of the poet's making. The way that he has reworked this episode from his source material suggests that

he was more interested in highlighting the foolishness of her actions, than in the tragedy

of her predicament. As Aeneas says to her when they meet again in the underworld:

Je vous sui achoison de mort,	*I am the reason for your death,*
Mais je n'i ay coupes ne tort.	*but I have not done anything wrong.*
[...]	*[...]*
Quant je de vous me departi,	*When I left you, I did not believe*
Ne cuiday pas que fust ainsi,	*that it would be so, that you would*
Ne trouvassiez aucun confort	*not find any comfort that would*
Qui vous pleüst miex que la mort.	*please you better than death.*

      (*Enéas,* ll. 2716-17, 2730-33)

Dido does not reply but she flees into a wood to join her husband. Again, the *Enéas*-poet

has reworked this scene to cast a harsher judgement on Dido than does Virgil. In the

Aeneid, Dido's husband then 'respondet curis aequatque [...] amorem' (*answered her grief with*

grief and her love with love, Book VI, l. 474) and the classical Aeneas 'casu percussus iniquo*

prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem' (*was no less stricken by the injustice of her fate*

and long did he gaze after her, pitying her as she went, Book VI, l. 475).[18] In *Enéas*, however, when

Dido reaches her husband's side there is no tender comfort:

Ne s'osoit point vers lui torner,	*She did not dare to turn toward him,*
Ne s'ossoit droit regarder,	*nor did she dare to look right at him,*
Ne prez de lui ne s'aproimoit:	*nor to approach him too closely:*
Por son forfait se vergondoit.	*for she was ashamed of her*
(*Enéas*, ll. 2742-45)	*transgression.*

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[18] Quotations from the *Aeneid* are from Virgil, *The Aeneid*, ed. by J. W. Mackail (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930) and translations are from Virgil, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, trans. by Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

Meanwhile the detail in which Virgil's Aeneas gazes after her in sympathy is completely

omitted, and the poet moves straight on from the above extract to describing Aeneas's

continuing journey through the underworld. The *Enéas*-poet makes it clear that Dido's

actions are neither honourable nor justifiable, and casts her as a suicidal hysterical woman,

who in her final scene is denied even a single word.[19] The reduction in the scene and the

minimal attention given to her suicide show that it was obviously an awkward topic for

the poet to address. Juanita Feros Ruys's work on suicide concludes that 'in the Middle

Ages, suicide was not necessarily a concept that was unthinkable, but it was one that

remained largely unspoken and sometimes – even for the most articulate of writers –

ultimately unspeakable'.[20] The *Enéas*-poet, certainly an articulate writer, speaks about the

suicide of Dido because it is in his source material. However, rather than turn his poetic

skill to her reasons for suicide, he expands only the sections in which he can judge and

condemn her. Unlike Polyxena who can be honoured for embracing death, Dido is

dishonoured for causing her own death rather than displaying cardinal virtues such as

prudence and temperance.[21] Despite this dishonour associated with suicide, two images of

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[19] Dido's reputation was later salvaged by Christine de Pizan in the *Cité des dames* (*c.* 1405). Christine dedicates a whole text to Dido in Part I (text 46), in which the name Aeneas is not even mentioned and instead the entire focus is on her good sense and cleverness in the way that she founded and ruled Carthage.

[20] Juanita Feros Ruys, '"He Who Kills Himself Liberates a Wretch": Abelard on Suicide', in *Rethinking Abelard: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by Babette S. Hellemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 230-50 (p. 230).

[21] The cardinal virtues were prudence, justice, temperance, and courage (alongside the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity). They were initially derived from Plato's *Republic* but were later expanded by Saint Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo, and Thomas Aquinas. See István P. Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), especially pp. 69-134 for a discussion of their reception and development in the twelfth century. For more on the way that such virtues can be applied to pagans, see A. J. Minnis, *Chaucer and Pagan Antiquity* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1982), pp. 31-60.

Dido's death are nevertheless found in the admittedly sparse tradition of illustrations accompanying *Enéas*.[22] There is an historiated initial of her suicide at the start of the text in MS P13 (fig. 37) and it forms the final scene in the frontispiece to the text in MS P17 (fig. 38). The flames that feature in both illustrations make it particularly dramatic. We can imagine that at the time these manuscripts were produced, when burning at the stake was still a form of execution used across Western Europe and something that readers of this manuscript may even have seen in real life, it would have evoked particularly strong emotions.

IV.ii. Hostageship, Abduction, and Rape

Although the dead may seem to be the ultimate victims of warfare, more has been written about hostageship, abduction, and rape as phenomena of warfare, than about dying. Perhaps because they cannot occur without human organisation, planning, codes of conduct, and strategy (whereas death can happen for a myriad of non-human related reasons), added to the fact that they occur with greater frequency during times of war, means that there is more to be done to untangle the reasons why they were (and continue to be) a feature of warfare. Although characterising rape as 'organised' or a 'strategy' may seem unusual or even inappropriate, and certainly this is not to suggest that there is not a plethora of examples in which it occurs spontaneously, nevertheless more recent studies have shown that it often occurs within a codified normative 'culture' in a civilian environment or can even form part of a strategic plan in military structures during

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[22] MS P17 has fourteen illustrations accompanying *Enéas*, MS Mn has one, MS P10 has one, and MS P13 has two.

warfare.[23] We begin by looking at hostageship, a topic that has been given considerable attention in medieval scholarship in recent years.[24] Defining a hostage is no simple task: Adam J. Kosto's work claims that 'medieval hostageship is best understood as a guarantee [...]. Hostageship is rarely, however, simply a guarantee, and in that fact lies the institution's political power and utility'.[25] The scholarship on medieval hostageship suggests that both men and women were subject to capture for ransom. However, Yvonne Friedman states that if 'there is one part of crusader history in which women seem numerically dominant [it is] the sphere of captivity. Women were often the first and sometimes the only ones taken captive on both the Muslim and the Christian sides' and that 'their experience of captivity and the need for their ransom would seem to be central to the history of warfare in the Latin East'.[26] Meanwhile Gillingham argues that the treatment of prisoners in warfare undergoes a shift between 'phase one' warfare during

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[23] Rape culture is defined by the *Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies* as one in which rape, or sexual assault, is an expected, normal occurrence, found worldwide, and often related to hegemonic masculinity, language, politics, and rape myths. See also Emilie Buchwald and others, eds., *Transforming a Rape Culture* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 1995). There are numerous studies of the strategic military use of rape during warfare. Recent works include: Aniruddha Vithal Babar, 'Rape as a Continuing Weapon of Psychological Warfare, Suppression and Subjugation', *The International Journal of Indian Psychology*, 3 (2016), 80-97; Janet Benshoof, 'The Other Red Line: The Use of Rape as an Unlawful Tactic of Warfare', *Global Policy*, 5 (2014), 146-58; Sabine Hirschauer, *The Securitization of Rape: Women, War and Sexual Violence* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[24] See for example, Matthew Bennett and Katherine Weikert, eds, *Medieval Hostageship* c. *700-1500* (London: Routledge, 2016); Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Adam J. Kosto, *Hostages in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[25] Kosto, *Hostages*, p. 2.

[26] Yvonne Friedman, 'Captivity and Ransom: The Experience of Women', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Edgington and Lambert, pp. 121-39 (p. 121).

the 'earliest medieval centuries' and the 'second, more chivalrous phase' of warfare.[27] In the first phase, 'women [...] were not the unlucky victims of the "collateral damage" of war, but were among its intended victims'. In the second phase, 'women [...] continued to suffer, but they were no longer targeted'.[28] This shift between phases one and two occurs around the twelfth century, the time that the *romans* are being composed. Gillingham goes on to argue that while women suffer in both phase one and two warfare, there is a shift in the reception of this behaviour: he cites Robert Bartlett in explaining that the capture of women in phase one warfare was 'not the occasional excess of the lawless [...] not a cause for shame but, if successful, a source of pride', whereas violence against women in phase two warfare 'was regarded as reprehensible by those men who wrote about war'.[29]

We have examples of both female and male hostages in *Troie*, though the case of Briseide does not really help to clarify the definition of a hostage. She is the daughter of Calcas, a Trojan soothsayer who deserts Troy to join the Greeks. He leaves Briseide in Troy, at which point she becomes a *de facto* hostage, owing to the fact that her father is now a traitor on the Greek side. Priam states that the only reason she is not 'arse e desmenbree' (*burnt and dismembered*, l. 13113) is because she is 'franche e proz e saige e bele' (*young and noble and wise and beautiful*, l. 13112). Calcas later makes a formal request to the Greeks to petition Priam for her return. This they do, and after some discussion and debate, Priam agrees that she may return to her father. However, when Briseide learns this, she collapses in distress for she has no desire to rejoin her father, and when she arrives in the Greek camp she admonishes him for having brought her out of Troy. We

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[27] Gillingham, 'Women, Children and the Profits of War', p. 61.

[28] Gillingham, 'Women, Children and the Profits of War', p. 61.

[29] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 303 (cited in Gillingham, 'Women, Children and the Profits of War', p. 73).

therefore have a rather curious example of female hostageship, for she has no desire to be released. It also appears that she is released without anything being received in exchange. The sole reason for clemency on Priam's part appears to be based around the fact that she is noble and beautiful.

However, if we compare the return of Briseide with another instance of hostage release that occurs directly before the episode in which she is returned, we find a different story, but one that helps to explain Briseide's. The Greek king Thoas is captured in Battle IV and the Trojans hold a council in which to discuss his fate (ll. 11764-844). At first, Priam only wants advice on what method of execution would be most fitting. However, Aeneas reasons that if they execute him they will provoke the ire of the Greeks for he 'trop a amis' (*has many friends*, l. 11788). Hector supports Aeneas, and adds that if they keep him they have the chance for a 'raençon' (*ransom*, l. 11823) of 'tresors' (*treasures*, l. 11823). Priam is convinced, and agrees not to execute Thoas. Their counsel turns out to have been wise, for in the following battle, the Greeks capture Antenor:

Por Antenor sont deshaitié,	*[The Trojans] were worried about*
E mout s'en fait Prianz irié:	*Antenor, and it made Priam very*
Trop ont en lui grant perte faite,	*angry; he was a great loss to them.*
Mais ço les conforte e rehaite,	*But the only comfort and consolation*
Qu'il ne li feront se bien non	*that they could take was that they*
Por Thoas, qu'il ont en prison.	*still held Thoas in prison.*
[...]	*[...]*
Polidamas fu mout pensis	*Polydamas was thinking a lot*
Por son pere, que Greu ont pris;	*about his father, who the Greeks*
Mais ço comence a porpenser,	*had taken. He began to wonder if*
Se demain vuelent assembler,	*the Greeks wanted to battle the next*
Mout lor voudra chier s'ire vendre	*day because he wanted to make them*
E tel rei d'eus ocire o prendre,	*pay for his anger by killing or taking*
Par quei sis pere iert ostagiez,	*one of their kings, in exchange for*

O, s'il l'ociënt, chier vengiez.   *whom his father would be freed or, if*
          (*Troie*, ll. 12633-38, 12675-82) *killed, avenged at great cost to them.*

Here we have the word 'ostagiez': the earliest recorded use of the word before *Troie* was in the *Chanson de Roland* (*c.* 1040-1115), just a few decades earlier. Forms of the word are used at other points throughout *Troie*. For example, when Hector proposes to Achilles that they end the war through single combat, part of his terms are that both sides will return their 'ostages' (*hostages*, l. 13174). Neither Dares nor Dictys includes hostages in their texts, nor are Thoas and Antenor taken hostage, and of course Briseide's character is entirely of Benoît's own invention. The inclusion of hostages is therefore clearly an issue that Benoît has been exposed to from outside his literary sources, and therefore more likely came more from the realities of warfare of which he heard tell around him.

Thankfully, both sides have kept their hostages safe, and Antenor and Thoas are exchanged. The value of hostages, and of treating them well, is clearly displayed in this episode. It is perhaps no coincidence, then, that the very next scene is that of Calcas's request to have his daughter returned to him. Although the return of Briseide is treated more briefly, and there is no mention of her being exchanged, the fact that it is placed in such close proximity to the episode of Antenor and Thoas allows us to imagine that similar negotiations and discussions would have occurred. Priam, having seen the benefits that noble conduct toward a hostage could have, as opposed to executing or mistreating them, may have been keen to continue such conduct; the Greek's request for the return of Briseide allows him to show this prudence and magnanimity.

However, while the Antenor and Thoas episode illustrates the reasons why captors would take care of their captives, those who find themselves given away (with no expectation of return) may not be so fortunate. After the fall of Troy, the Greeks discuss how to divide the 'aveir' (*goods* or *riches*, l. 26276), which include the few noble women

who escaped during the city's sack. Cassandra is given to Agamemnon, Climena to Demophon, Aethra to Acamas, and Andromache and her two sons are given to Pyrrhus, along with apparently the only remaining son of Priam, Helenus.[30] Perhaps it goes without saying that these women are given no choice as to their fates. Nor is there any suggestion that they are being given to the Greeks for the purposes of marriage, perhaps by way of a 'peace agreement', as some historical women were.[31] Troy has been razed to the ground and its people slaughtered so there is no need to make peace since the 'enemy' has been annihilated. Instead, we are left to infer that they are being given away as slaves or concubines. The distribution of women as 'booty' is illustrated in MS P6 (fig. 36), MS V1 (fol. 200ᵛ), and most interestingly in MS Vt (fig. 39). In this illustration, we see 'le grant tresor de Troie' (*the great treasure of Troy*), as the rubric reads, piled up in a room being looked over and discussed by four Greek soldiers in advance of its distribution. This 'tresor' includes gold, silks, chests, goblets, and (trying to hid behind a pillar), three women. The scene gives the impression that these women are to be treated in just the same way as a gold bowl would be: assessed for their 'value' and then distributed as plunder.

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[30] Helenus, like his sister Cassandra, had also predicted that Troy would fall if they provoked war with the Greeks. Although we can assume that he is not a child (he is older than Troilus) and therefore would be eligible to be a knight like his brothers, he does not take up arms at any point during the narrative. Interestingly, illustrations of Helenus tend to depict him dressed in the habit of a monk or with the tonsure of a monk (MS Vt fol. 201ʳ and MS V1 fol. 205ʳ). There is no suggestion that he is a religious figure (and certainly in the classical sources he could not have been a monk) and so the illustrators seem to have fixed on this way of representing him as a way to explain why a man of fighting age was not actually fighting.

[31] See, for example, the case of Margaret and Isabella of Scotland in the early thirteenth century, who were both a 'contractual part of a peace agreement, given in tandem with other hostages, and expressly held by the king for the purpose of their marriages': Katherine Weikert, 'The Princesses Who Might Have Been Hostages: The Custody and Marriages of Margaret and Isabella of Scotland, 1209-1220s', in *Medieval Hostageship*, ed. by Bennett and Weikert, pp. 237-71 (p. 239).

The reality of the medieval post-conflict landscape in which 'all the men [are] killed and the women and children [are] taken captive' is a formula that is used in descriptions of warfare in both Christian and Muslim chronicles from the twelfth century.[32] However, as the case of the Trojan women suggests, the capture and distribution of women has overt sexual references. When Saladin's secretary and chronicler, Muhammad ibn Hamed Isfahani, describes the women taken captive in Jerusalem in 1187, he can barely contain his excitement at the prospect of such prisoners:

> Women and children together came to 8,000 and were quickly divided up among us, bringing a smile to Muslim faces at their lamentations. How many well-guarded women were profaned, how many queens were ruled, and nubile girls married, and noble women given away, and miserly women forced to yield themselves, and women who had been kept hidden stripped of their modesty, and serious women made ridiculous, and women kept in private now set in public, and free women occupied, and precious ones used for hard work, and pretty things put to the test, and virgins dishonoured and proud women deflowered, and lovely women prostrated, and untamed ones tamed, and happy ones made to weep! How many noblemen took them as concubines, how many ardent men blazed for one of them, and celibates were satisfied by them, and thirsty men sated by them, and turbulent men able to give vent to their passion.[33]

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[32] Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, p. 162. See also, Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land*, p. 43 and Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin* (Harvard: Belknap Press, 2011), p. 299.

[33] Translation taken from Francesco Gabrielli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 162-63.

 Friedman argues that this 'formula' of women being taken captive is not a topos but an accurate reflection of warfare.[34] Although more attention has generally been paid by historians to enslavement by Muslims than to enslavement by Christians, this is partly because 'Islamic laws of war, including the treatment of prisoners, were reduced to writing as early as the eighth century, long before the earliest such discussions in the medieval West [...] in the fourteenth century, by which time enslavement had long been unthinkable in intra-European war'.[35] However, as Gillingham shows in a recent study, not only did the Christians of the First Crusade have a 'slave-owning polity' in their Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, but even as late as the Third Crusade there is evidence to suggest that some crusaders 'may have come to see it as a profitable line of business'.[36] So, while some scholars may confine slavery to Roman Europe, and others believe it to be a predominantly Muslim practice in the Middle Ages, there is evidence that it was practised by Christians at the time that *Troie* was being composed and read. The scene in which the Trojan women are shared out amongst the victors of war was perhaps therefore not completely unfamiliar to some in the audience.[37]

The implication that women who were held captive or enslaved may also have been sexually assaulted brings us to a final concern: abduction and rape. The reason why these two are so inextricably linked within a medieval context is based in the lexicon of medieval Latin discourse. The word *raptus* in medieval legal terms could include both

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[34] Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, pp. 162-65.

[35] Gillingham, 'Crusading Warfare', p. 134.

[36] John Gillingham, 'The Treatment of Male and Female Prisoners of War During the Third Crusade' (forthcoming). I am grateful to Professor Gillingham for having shared an early draft of this paper with me.

[37] We may also want to think here of *Aucassin et Nicolette* (*c.* 1175-1215), a *chantefable* in which the female protagonist is a Saracen maiden (later revealed to be a princess) who had previously been sold to (and bought by) the Viscount of Beaucaire.

'forcible abduction as well as forcible sexual relations'.[38] In addition, not all *raptus* cases

involved unwilling 'victims': *raptus* cases 'were often elopements of a girl with a suitor of

whom her parents disapproved'.[39] Indeed John B. Post and Sue Sheridan Walker argue

that some *raptus* cases were 'consensual abductions' where the alleged abductor had a pre-

existing relationship with the abductee, and actually the abductee was asserting her own

freedom of choice (against her father or guardian) in choosing her future lover or

husband.[40] Cases of abduction can therefore be difficult to interpret: are they abductions

(with no sexual connotations) in the simple sense of taking someone away from their

home or family, or are they cases of sexual assault and rape as we understand it in a

modern sense? Furthermore, are they cases in which the target of the abductor is willing

or unwilling? The ambiguity of the language means that we must look elsewhere for

clues.[41]

The abduction of Helen is the most famous case of abduction and has already

been discussed in Chapter III.i. We will look instead at the case of Hesione, who has been

rather neglected in current scholarship in comparison to Helen.[42] Having described the

first destruction of Troy and the massacre of its citizens, Benoît gives the following

details:

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[38] James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 2009), p. 48.

[39] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, p. 148.

[40] Post, 'Ravishment of Women', pp. 150-64; Sue Sheridan Walker, 'Punishing Convicted
Ravishers: Statutory Strictures and Actual Practice in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century
England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 13 (1987), 237-50.

[41] For the varying implications and meaning of abduction, see Cannon, '*Raptus* in the
Chaumpaigne Release', passim and Post, 'Ravishment of Women', passim.

[42] Indeed, in Baumgartner and Vielliard's edition of extracts from *Troie* they omit the abduction of
Hesione but include that of Helen.

Des femmes firent lor voleir:	*They did as they wished with the*
Assez i ot des vergondees,	*women: they dishonoured many of*
Sin ont des plus beles menees.	*them, and abducted the most*
La fille al rei, Esiona,	*beautiful. The daughter of the king,*
Ja mais plus bele ne naistra,	*Hesione, was the most beautiful woman*
Ne plus franche ne plus corteise,	*ever born; never was there another*
Grant ire en ai e mout m'en peise,	*woman so pure and courtly. I am*
Cele en a Telamon menee:	*very angry and it weighs on me*
Danz Herculès li a donee,	*that Telamon abducted her. Hercules*
Por ço qu'en Troie entra premier.	*gave her to [Telamon] because he had*
N'en ot mie mauvais loier,	*entered Troy first. He did not have*
E s'il a femme l'esposast,	*a bad reward! And if he had married*
Ja guaires donc ne m'en pesast;	*her and made her his wife, I think it*
Mais puis la tint en soignantage,	*would not weigh on me [so much]. But*
Ço fu grant duel e grant damage.	*afterwards he kept her as his concubine,*
(*Troie*, ll. 2790-804)	*and that was very sad and very*
	shameful.

Benoît cannot stop himself from inserting his own authorial judgement on the Greeks in order to condemn their actions and highlight their double sin: first in abducting Hesione, and secondly in keeping her as a concubine. Not only is she done this dishonour, but Priam later laments her fate: 'esteit menee en servage' (*she was abducted into slavery*, l. 2876). This detail of 'servage' is of Benoît's own invention. Dictys does not mention the abduction of Hesione at all, while Dares only says the following:

Telamon primus Ilium oppidum	*Telamon proved his prowess by*
introiit, cui Hercules virtutis causa	*being the first to enter Troy.*
Hesionam Laomedontis regis filiam	*Therefore, Hercules gave him the*
dono dedit [...]. Inde domum	*prize of King Laomedon's daughter*
proficisci decreverent, Telamon	*Hesione [...]. Then they decided to*
Hesionam secum convexit.	*set out for home. Telamon took*

(*Daretis,* D.3)   *Hesione with him.*

Hesione is mentioned on various occasions after this, but never is it stated that she is a concubine or a slave. However, evidence from multiple sources suggests that the 'sexual abuse of female captives was more or less taken for granted. Women were raped during the conquest of a city as a matter of course'.[43] Perhaps Benoît was therefore just saying (or writing) what everyone would have been thinking: that women would have been raped during the sack of the city, and those abducted would probably have become the concubine (and perhaps subject to further sexual assault) of their abductor.

Hesione's abduction is not illustrated in any of the French manuscripts but does appear in four of the Italian manuscripts (MSS Vt, V1, Vn, and P18). Unlike scenes of Helen's abduction where she is often pictured with Paris, her *ami* and eventual husband, Hesione is always taken by unidentified armed and armoured soldiers. She is shown being seized by the arms or wrists and her head is always cast down looking at the floor (for example, as in fig. 40). Diane Wolfthal's work shows that such a posture was an indicator of rape.[44] The demureness of her posture may even mean that she could be considered equally responsible for the occurrence of any subsequent sexual assault. Kenneth Varty's study of sexual consent in twelfth-century France finds evidence in both customary laws and sermons that women must 'cry out' and 'bite, scratch, and struggle with all [their] might' or else they are at fault.[45] He cites a story from the Bible that treats rape: 'If a girl

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[43] Friedman, *Encounters Between Enemies*, p. 169.

[44] Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 101.

[45] Kenneth Varty, 'The Giving and Withholding of Consent in Late Twelfth-Century French Literature', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 12 (1986), 27-49 (pp. 36-37). For more on rape in medieval canon law, see James A. Brundage, 'Rape and Marriage in the Medieval Canon Law', *Revue du droit canonique*, 28 (1978), 62-75 and Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, pp. 99-126.

who is engaged is seduced within the walls of a city, both she and the man who seduced her shall be taken outside the gates and stoned to death – the girl because she did not scream for help, and the man because he has violated the virginity of another man's fiancée [...]. But if the deed takes place out in the country, only the man shall die. The girl is as innocent as a murder victim; for it must be assumed that she screamed, but there was no one to rescue her out in the field'.[46]

The final line of this last quotation, that the raped woman of the story is innocent because there was 'no one to rescue her', brings us to the final point on the question of abduction and rape and that is its place within the chivalric tradition, or rather, within the chivalric literary tradition. Kathryn Gravdal's work on rape in medieval French literature and law argues that 'rape (either attempted rape or the defeat of a rapist) constitutes one of the episodic units used in the construction of romance [...]. It is a genre that by its definition must *create* the threat of rape'.[47] While Gravdal's work is not universally supported by other scholars, nevertheless, the abduction of Hesione and Helen fit within Gravdal's paradigm. She explains that sexual violence includes both the motif of the *pucelle esforciée* ('rape, or forced coitus') or *raptus mulieris* (the abduction of a woman where the 'sexual threat to her can either be made explicit or remain implicit').[48] Gravdal uses Chrétien de Troyes's romances as her primary source and identifies five 'functions' of rape: a chivalric test, an ethical test, a social marker, patriotism, and a marker of physical beauty.[49] Gravdal's theory can also be transposed from Chrétien to *Troie*. Firstly, the abduction of Hesione and Helen function as chivalric tests, for they result in both the

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[46] Varty, 'The Giving and Withholding of Consent', p. 37.

[47] Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 42.

[48] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, p. 44.

[49] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, p. 44.

Trojan forces and the Greek forces setting out on a mission to recover and rescue their stolen women. Secondly, the abduction of Helen provides an ethical test, as toward the end of the narrative the Trojans petition Priam to return her to Menelaus to bring an end to the war, which he refuses, for he believes that it is now his duty to protect her within Troy, regardless of the consequences. Thirdly, the choice of Hesione and Helen functions as a social marker and their abduction denotes their nobility; those who are not of the aristocracy are either slain or omitted from the narrative. Fourthly, the abduction of Helen and Hesione encodes a patriotic message, because it provokes a test of the military strength of their homeland in provoking the forces of each to set out on a mission to rescue them. Fifthly and finally, the abduction of these women can be used as a testimony to their physical beauty. As Gravdal says, 'the heroine is subjected to the threat of assault in poetic demonstration of her attractiveness'.[50] Benoît's rhetorical reasons behind expanding the attention given to women who are abducted or distributed as plunder are therefore clear. He does not give any direct descriptions of sexual assault, but he allows the threat of sexual violence to pervade multiple scenes throughout the narrative, and therefore includes the necessary 'threat of rape' as an 'episodic unit' of his *roman*.

IV.iii. Collateral Suffering

We turn now to women who are not physically assaulted, but who nevertheless suffer as a consequence of warfare's occurrence. This includes women who suffer when the men to whom they are connected through familiar or romantic ties are killed or taken hostage.[51] The first group is the largest, as thousands of men die in the *romans*, which corresponds to

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[50] Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, p. 44.

[51] There are no examples of men who are ritually executed, abducted, or sexually assaulted, so women connected to them cannot be considered.

thousands of women suffering as a result of their loss. This chapter cannot to look at each individual case of a grieving woman, so it takes two cases that are representative of two categories: mothers and *amies*. For mothers, we look at Hecuba. Her suffering is shown on multiple occasions: she makes a great speech of lamentation following the death of her first son, Hector (ll. 16425-58); as her third son, Deiphobus, lies dying on the battlefield during Battle XII, Paris evokes her in his lament, saying that she is a 'mere chaitive' (*wretched* or *unfortunate mother*, l. 18728) subject to 'grant haschiee' (*great tortures*, l. 18729); after Achilles fights and kills her fifth son, Troilus, she reaches breaking point and takes matters into her own hands:

Un jor comença a penser	*One day she began to think*
Com sereient si fil vengié	*about how her sons would be*
Del traïtor, del reneié	*avenged on the traitor, on the*
Qui les li a morz e toleiz.[52]	*renegade who had killed them and*
Pensé i a par maintes feiz:	*taken them from her. She*
S'ele engigne par traïson	*thought about it many times: she*
Sa mort e sa destrucion,	*devised his death and destruction*
Come de lui se puisse vengier,	*through betrayal, for that was how*
Ne s'en deit nus hom merveillier	*she could have vengeance, and no*
N'a mal ne a blasme atorner.	*person should be surprised by this*
(*Troie*, ll. 21844-53)	*or condemn or blame her.*

Following this scene, she engineers the plot in which Achilles is lured to the Temple of Apollo to be ambushed and murdered by Paris. However, her joy at the death of Achilles is short-lived, for not long afterwards the city falls to the Greeks. She attempts to escape

[52] The word 'toleiz' is interesting, for it can literally mean 'abducted', though of course Hecuba is using it figuratively here.

the city with Polyxena and encounters Aeneas, where she castigates him for his role in the

betrayal of the city while entreating him to protect Polyxena by way of atonement:

'Coilverz, traïtre, reneiez,	*'Scoundrel, traitor, renegade! Even*
Quant de mei ne vos prent pitiez	*if you do not take pity on me or*
Ne de Troie, que si decline,	*on Troy, which has now fallen, at*
Guardez seveaus ceste meschine,	*least protect this maiden, so that*
Si que Grezeis n'en seit saisiz.	*the Greeks cannot take her.*
Ja mar de mei avront merciz'.	*They will never have mercy on me'.*
(*Troie,* ll. 26181-86)	

However, as we saw at the beginning of this chapter, Hecuba's desperate attempt to save

Polyxena is doomed to failure, while Hecuba herself is eventually stoned to death. The

intensity of suffering that Hecuba endures as she watches her children either slaughtered

on the battlefield or executed by soldiers following the battles is inescapable.

It is not just mothers who are shown in grief; there are also scenes of paternal

suffering. For example, at the news of his son's death, King Evander of *Enéas* has a strong

physical reaction:

Ses crins que ot blanz et chanuz	*He pulled out his old white hair with*
A ses .II. mains a derompus,	*his own two hands, and plucked*
Sa barbe enrache a ses dois.	*out his beard with his fingers. He*
Il se pame plus de .XX. foys,	*fainted more than twenty times,*
Hurte son chief, debat sa chiere,	*hit his head, smacked his face,*
Plorant en vait contre la biere.	*while crying and approaching*
(*Enéas*, ll. 6313-19)	*the coffin.*

If we were to compare only these immediate reactions we might be tempted to conclude that the suffering of mothers and fathers was equal. But if we follow the lamentations of Evander further into the text we see how their grief differs:

Qui maintendra mais mon paÿs,	*Who now will maintain my country,*
Mon royaume, toute m'onnor	*my kingdom, and my honour,*
Dont tu fuisses hoir aucun jor?	*of which one day you [Pallas]*
Je n'ay enfant qui mon reigne ait	*would have inherited? I have no*
Ne nul baron qui me manait,	*other child to take my realm or any*
Car tuit sevent bien mon pooir,	*baron to help me, because they all*
Que vielz hom sui, si n'ai nul hoir;	*know well my fear: that I am an old*
N'avront mais hoir de mon lignaje	*man without an heir. There is now*
Qui sires soit par heritaje.	*nobody of my lineage who can*
(*Enéas*, ll. 6365-73)	*inherit and become the lord.*

Evander's sadness at the death of his son is not the simple mourning of a parent mourning his or her child, but the mourning of the end of his dynasty and his kingdom. His grief is therefore political as well as emotional.

The other category of grievers is *amies*. Within this category we can include Andromache, Helen, and Polyxena from *Troie* and Antigone, Argia, Deiphyle, Galatea, and Ismene alongside the unnamed Argive and Theban women of *Thèbes*. We will use Ismene as our case study here. In Statius's *Thebaid*, the last scene in which we see Ismene is when she mourns at the side of Atys's dead body (*Thebaid*, Book VIII). However, while the mourning scene is retained in *Thèbes*, a subsequent overtly Christian scene is added:

Ismeine chiet as piez le rei,	*Ismene threw herself at the feet of the*
Mais il l'en dresce tost vers sei.	*king and then got up and went towards*
Demanda lui: 'Que velz tu, suere?	*him. He asked her: 'What do you want,*
[...]	*sister? [...]*

- Frere, fait ele, n'en voil mie,	*'Brother', she replied, 'there is nothing*
Mais je voil mes changier ma vie.	*I want, but I do want to change my*
Nonain serai, vivrai souz regle,	*life. I will be a nun, and I will live under*
Car n'ai mes cuer d'icest siecle;	*an order, because there is nothing left*
De ta rent soul tant me livre	*in this world that my heart wants. Give*
Que cent femmes en puissent vivre.	*me from your wealth enough money to*
Athes t'ama molt en sa vie,	*support one hundred women. Atys loved*
Faic ci por lui un abbeïe.	*you a lot when he was alive, so found*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 7053-55, 7059-66)	*an abbey for him.*

As there is (obviously) no classical source for this scene, we can look to contemporary historical examples that may have provided the *Thèbes*-poet with his inspiration. Fontevraud Abbey, where Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II are buried, provides some interesting examples: Bertrade of Montfort became a nun there after the death of her husband, King Philip I of France, in 1108;[53] Matilda of Anjou, following the death of her husband William the Atheling (heir to Henry I of England) in the White Ship disaster of 1120, never remarried but took her vows as a nun at Fontevraud in 1128 and later became its abbess.[54] Eleanor of Aquitaine, a supporter of this abbey throughout her lifetime, retired there in 1194 (and remained there until her death in 1204) and perhaps took the veil, following the deaths of her husband and eldest son (Henry the Young King), and during the time that her eldest surviving son, Richard I of England, was being held hostage by the duke of Austria.[55] Away from Fontevraud, the Benedictine nunnery of La Pommeraie was founded by Matilda of Carinthia in 1152, almost immediately after the

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[53] Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 96.

[54] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, trans. by Thomas Forester (London, Henry G. Bohn, 1856), VI, p. 59, n. 3.

[55] Jean-Marc Bienvenu, 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et Fontevraud', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 113 (1984), 15-27 (p. 23).

death of her husband, Thibaut IV of Blois.[56] Ismene's story therefore provides an example of an apparently honourable and noble route for women to follow if and when their husbands (or indeed any kin upon whom they were dependent) were to die, whether in battle or not.[57]

Not only are there scenes in the *romans* of women mourning their *amis*, but there are also scenes in which men mourn their *amis*. Here the double-meaning of the word *amis* becomes important, for while the relationship between women and their *amis* is usually romantic with sexual undercurrents, the relationship between men and their *amis* is platonic with homosocial undertones. Aeneas suffers greatly at the death of Pallas and provides him with an elaborate funeral and tomb (*Enéas*, ll. 5700-6591); similarly, Achilles is reduced to tears at the death of Patroclus and constructs a beautiful tomb for him (*Troie*, ll. 10307-98); Eteocles deeply mourns the death of Atys and as well as endowing the abbey in his memory, holds a great funeral during which he frees five hundred prisoners and serfs in his honour (*Thèbes*, ll. 6847-7082); Polynices is so grief-stricken at the death of Tydeus that he has to be prevented from committing suicide (*Thèbes*, ll. 7317-7482). But men do not grieve only over their fallen male comrades: Turnus's lamentation of Camille and the description of her funeral occupy over three hundred lines of *Enéas* while Priam's despair at the death of Penthesilea in *Troie* precipitates the end of the

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[56] Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, p. 75.

[57] It seems that this example was limited neither to the twelfth century nor to Western Europe. Deborah A. Deacon and Paula E. Calvin's study of war imagery in women's textiles cites the example of the Serbian poet Jefimija (1349-1405) who lived at Prince Lazar of Serbia's court but became a nun after the death of her husband in battle: Deborah A. Deacon and Paula E. Calvin, *War Imagery in Women's Textiles: An International Study of Weaving, Knitting, Sewing, Quilting, Rug Making and Other Fabric Arts* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2014), p. 32. My thanks to Carly Silver at Harlequin Books for drawing my attention to this example.

narrative's pitched battles. However, as these are all examples of grief experienced by combatants at the death of other combatants, this will be considered in Chapter VI.

Scenes of women grieving are frequently included in the illustrative schemes of manuscripts. Indeed, in manuscripts with limited illustrations it is often the only place that we find women. We see women grieving in MSS M, P6, L2, Vt, P14, Mn, P17, V1, Vn, and P18.[58] Some illustrators choose to depict this grieving in a restrained manner. For example, in MS Mn the historiated initial show a woman standing by the body of Hector (which has been discreetly covered with sheeting) with her hands clasped together in prayer (fig. 41). The two attendants either side of her look down with their hands to their faces as if wiping away tears but the overall effect of the scene is calm and peaceful. In contrast, the illustrator of MS Vt adds in energy and drama (fig. 42). We see Hecuba bending over the body of Hector (which is still dripping blood) and clasping him around the shoulders; Priam is fainting into the arms of his attendants to the left; Andromache throws her hands into the air in a wild gesture of grief, as does Cassandra; Helen and Paris clasp at their breasts while Polyxena pulls at her hair. The scene is crowded with people, not all of whom are named, and contains a cacophony of colour (reds, blues, greens, yellows, greys, browns, and pinks). The overall effect is one of noise and chaos. It contrasts sharply with the scene seen in MS Mn. However, though both are very different, they still each convey the sense of mourning: MS Mn's is perhaps a more contemplative and reflective mourning, while MS Vt's is a raw and visceral reaction to grief.

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[58] We can deduce that the illustrations of MS P16 also planned to show scenes of grieving women. For example, there is a space left for a miniature on fol. 97ʳ above which the rubric reads: 'Ci parle de la grant douleur qui fu a troie quant hector fu ochis et comment il fu plainz et regretez' (*Here one speaks of the great suffering that was felt in Troy when Hector was killed and how he was mourned and missed*).

As well as relatives of victims who die, we can also look at the relatives of hostages. For this case, we will look at Darius the Red in *Thèbes*:[59] Darius is allied to Eteocles, but his son (who is never named) has been taken prisoner by Polynices, which causes much distress to Darius and his wife. Polynices agrees to free his son in return for control of Darius's tower, which will give him a strategic advantage over Eteocles. Darius does not wish to betray his king and so he petitions him on whether he will agree to this exchange. Eteocles refuses, and so Darius secretly hands over the tower to Polynices. Eteocles then convenes a trial to decide how to punish Darius, but Jocasta and Antigone engineer a solution whereby Eteocles can take Darius's daughter, Salamander, as his betrothed in exchange for leniency. Darius therefore suffers not only through his trial (during which he is beaten) but also by being placed in an ethical, patriotic, and familial conundrum to which there is no right answer. And Salamander, like the women given away as prizes, is essentially given away as 'payment' for leniency. Although the text suggests that Salamander eventually comes to love Eteocles, from the start it is made clear that she does not wish to be with him, for we learn that he has already propositioned her and been rejected on previous occasions:

Chiere tout morne vait humblement	*Her face was very sad as she walked*
Et plura molt avenauntment;	*humbly and she cried very gracefully.*
De plorer ot moillé le vis.	*Her face was covered in tears.*
[...]	*[...]*
Li reis l'aime et sanz mesure,	*The king [Eteocles] loved her without*

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[59] For a thorough examination of this episode, see Aimé Petit, 'La trahison de Daire le Roux dans le *Roman de Thèbes*', *Bien Dire et Bien Aprandre*, 25 (2007), 179-95 and Stephen D. White, 'The Problem of Treason: The Trial of Daire le Roux', in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. by Pauline Stafford and Janet L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 95-115.

Mais elle est vers le rei trop dure;	*limit, but she was very harsh to the king.*
Il l'aime plius que rien que vive,	*He loved her more than anything in*
Mais elle est vers lui trop eschive.	*life, but she wanted to avoid being*
[...]	*too close to him. [...]*
Jocaste sourist vers le rei:	*Jocasta smiled to the king: 'Son', she*
'Filz, fait elle, n'as dreit en tei,	*said, 'you have no respect for yourself,*
Nen as dreit en chevalrie,	*and no right to be a knight, if you*
Si d'iceste ne faiz t'amie.	*do not take her as your amie'.*
[...]	*[...]*
Vers sa sorour li reis s'en torne,	*The king turned to his sister, who*
Qui est pur l'autre triste et morne:	*was full of sadness for [Salamander]:*
'Suere, fait il, ja savez vous bien	*'Sister', he said, 'you know very*
Que touz jors l'ai prié en vein;	*well that I have begged her many times*
De lui merci aver ne dei	*on many occasions always in vain; I*
Car ne l'ot unques de mei'.	*should therefore not have to have mercy*
Elle dit: 'Ore estes desus,	*toward her because she never had*
Ore ne vous estoet prier plus'.	*it for me'. Antigone replied: 'Now you*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 10233-35,	*are above her, you no longer have to beg*
10241-44, 10251-57, 10267-74)	*her'.*

There is something disturbing about the way that Jocasta and Antigone are complicit in orchestrating this exchange. The fact that Antigone is 'triste' betrays the fact that she may not be entirely comfortable with her actions, but nevertheless goes ahead with it. Essentially what we see here is the way in which the female relative of the male hostage ends up suffering. Again, this is an episode that the *Thèbes*-poet has added himself with no classical source. However, we probably do not have to stretch our imaginations too far to conclude that the question of hostages, ransoms, and on whom the burden of responsibility lay, were all topics that would have been debated at the court at which the *Thèbes*-poet was writing. Yves Gravelle's work on prisoners during the crusades shows that the responsibility for liberating a prisoner was with his family, including the women:

'en plus des épouses et des filles, les mères et les autres membres de la famille immédiate jouèrent un rôle aussi'.[60] Salamander, willingly or not, has a role to play in the liberation of her brother.

Finally, we come to the case of women who experience collateral suffering through the destruction of their homes and resources. We have already seen the case of the Trojan citizens during the sack of the city who, if they are lucky enough to escape the slaughter, are nevertheless faced with a world in which their homes and possessions have been burned to the ground or carried off as plunder. However, this case focuses on one particularly poignant story from *Enéas*, involving a woman named Sylvia. Her experience seems to encapsulate what was probably the experience of many women during times of war. Her story is told in the *Aeneid* (Book VII): she has a tame stag and, thanks to the machinations of the gods, the Trojans hunt it down and shoot it (though it does not die). This provokes a battle between the Trojans and the Latins, and from this point on, the war between the Latins and the Trojans commences. However, the *Enéas*-poet reworks this episode with details that increase its tragedy. Firstly, the gods are not involved at all: the decision by the Trojans to hunt the stag is made entirely of their free will. Secondly, while the shooting of the stag does provoke a battle, the *Enéas*-poet gives us details not just of the fighting but also of the devastation brought to the surrounding lands and the pillaging of the homes. Finally, and most emotively, there is a brutal description (not in Virgil) of the fate of the stag:

Aprez ont lor cerf escorcié.	*Afterwards they flayed the stag.*
Ascanïus a son chien pris	*Ascanius took his dog that had been*
Qui en une chambre estoit mis:	*hidden in a room by Sylvia, tied up*
La pucelle l'i ot mucié	*with her belt, and gave it the stag's*

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[60] Gravelle, 'Le problème des prisonniers', p. 104.

Et de sa çainture lié;	*hide [to eat]. They chopped up the*
Li damoisiaus le deslïa,	*stag and distributed its pieces: a*
De la cuirie li donna.	*young man took its antlers and*
Le cerf ont deffait et chargié,	*another took its head. They*
Uns damoisiaus prist le forchié,	*conquered it through great power.*
Uns autres porta la teste:	
Conquis l'orent par grant poëste.	

<div align="center">(Enéas, ll. 3845-55)</div>

So many details about this added scene enhance the poignancy of the episode as a whole: the fact that Sylvia has attempted to hide Ascanius's dog from him (but has not hurt it), perhaps as a way to negotiate with him later through some form of animal hostage exchange; the fact that the most valuable and trophy-like parts of the stag, (the antlers and the head), are not even taken by noble named knights, but simply *uns damoisiaus* and *uns autres*; finally, the way that the poet uses the word *conquis* to describe their victory over the stag. This creates an obvious connection to the fact that the Trojans are in Latium to conquer it, and the implication is that they will be just as ruthless with the lands and its citizens as they were with Sylvia's stag. We never hear about Sylvia again, and are left to imagine her sitting alone in her pillaged home, with her dead kinsmen around her, and the skinned and headless carcass of her beloved stag abandoned in the courtyard. We can interpret it as a microcosm for part of the experience of war as suffered by the general non-combatant population. Matthew Strickland's study of the conduct of medieval warfare with regard to the targeting of non-combatants exposes 'the sheer human suffering which devastation, on whatever scale, must have caused' and he notes that other writers (roughly contemporaneous with the *romans*-authors) such as Orderic Vitalis (*c.* 1075-1142) and the author of the *Gesta Stephani* (*c.* 1148-53) were also 'clearly moved by

the human suffering that raiding caused'.[61] The *Enéas*-poet's rendering of Sylvia's story paints a vivid picture of the suffering that a passing military force could inflict upon a local population; again, something that may have been familiar to its audience.

IV.iv. Conclusions

There is no doubt that women are certainly shown in the role of victim in the *romans* and there is some evidence to support the claim that this is a feminised role. It is true that a lot of female suffering does have a male equivalent, too: for example, both men and women are shown being killed as a result of warfare. In addition, both men and women are shown being taken hostage. And, both men and women are shown grieving and suffering as the result of their loved ones being killed, injured, or taken hostage. However, there are certain forms of victimisation that are specifically restricted to women alone: ritual execution, suicide, abduction, and sexual assault. This gendering of victimisation means that women are shown as more vulnerable to a wider range of suffering. This reflects the realities of warfare at the time that the *romans* were composed and indeed as they continued to be copied over the centuries. There is an oft-quoted statistic in modern commentary on conflict that non-combatant fatalities in wartime climbed from five per cent at the turn of the twentieth century to more than ninety per cent by the turn of the twenty-first century.[62] The accuracy and methodology in calculating such statistics is much debated, but certainly William Eckhardt has convincingly argued that the five per cent statistic is a gross misrepresentation, and that non-combatant deaths in wartime have

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[61] Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 274, 283; see also Sean McGlynn, *By Sword and Fire: Cruelty and Atrocity in Medieval Warfare* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2008).

[62] See, for example, the UNICEF website: <https://www.unicef.org/graca/patterns.htm> [accessed 1 July, 2017].

always tended to rest at around the fifty per cent mark.[63] Such statistics are not calculable

for the *romans* (given the massive fluctuations in the number reported by the narrators,

who were admittedly aiming for drama rather than statistical accuracy) but the overall

structuring of the texts' descriptions seems to suggest that the poets were interested in

reflecting the realities of non-combatant suffering, and that women were just as likely to

face death, pain, and suffering as men, especially if they were citizens of a city under siege.

By the end of *Troie* all the citizens of Troy are either dead or prisoners; whether or not

they died on the battlefield or in their homes seems almost inconsequential to the final

bodycount.

To emphasise this effect, women are more likely to be shown experiencing this

pain in manuscript illustrations. For example, those gathered around the bedside of an

injured or dying male warrior are usually women, and women occupy the prime spots

closest to the body. In illustrations of the sack of the city there is usually priority given to

the slaughter of women and children, rather than including male citizens of the city, too.

Anyone browsing the illustrative cycles of these manuscripts would be forgiven for

assuming that if men avoided the battlefield during times of war then they would be

relatively safe, whereas there are no safe spaces for women: as well as dying on the

battlefield they are also slaughtered within the city; they are taken hostage (and often in a

way that implies sexual assault); they are executed; they kill themselves; and they are

distributed as booty. These texts do not shy away from showing (or warning) that the

violent ramifications of war were inescapable for women.

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[63] William Eckhardt, 'Civilian Deaths in Wartime', *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, 20 (1989), 89-98.

Chapter V:

'L'auberc li traient de son dos':

Women as Ancillaries in War

Winston Churchill once made an observation about the boundaries of gender roles during

World War II:

> The war effort could not have been achieved if the women had not
> marched forward in millions and undertaken all kinds of tasks and work
> for which any generation but our own [...] would have considered them
> unfitted [...]. Nothing has been grudged, and the bounds of women's
> activities have been definitely, vastly, and permanently enlarged.[1]

However, he might have been interested to know that his was not the first generation (nor

the second, third, or even fourth) to afford women an ancillary role during times of

conflict; indeed, feminist historians have demonstrated that women have been making

such contributions for hundreds (if not thousands) of years.[2] This chapter investigates the

women as an auxiliary force in warfare, and the extent to which this was significant

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[1] Quoted in Charles Eade, ed., *The War Speeches of the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill: September 11, 1943 to August 16, 1945* (London: Cassell, 1952), p. 38.

[2] See, for example: Carol Cohn, ed., *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); Bernard A. Cook, ed., *Women and War: A Historical Encyclopedia from Antiquity to the Present* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2006); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*; Jacqueline Fabre-Serris and Alison Keith, eds, *Women and War in Antiquity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015); Grant de Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies*; Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); Joyce P. Kaufman and Kristen P. Williams, *Women and War: Gender Identity and Activism in Times of Conflict* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2010).

enough to be included in the *romans*. It is also a reminder that this role has been largely overlooked in the current scholarship on these texts. Firstly, it will look at women's roles in basic but essential tasks such as providing food, drink, and washing. Secondly, it will explore the ways in which women provided care and comfort to the men in the form of physical care and companionship. Finally, it will examine whether women were also involved in the handling and maintenance of military equipment (such as weapons and armour). Overall, it will ask whether there is sufficient evidence from the *romans* to suggest that women's involvement in the logistical structuring of warfare was just as vital as men's involvement.

V.i. Basic but Essential: Food, Water, and Cleanliness

We start with a basic but essential task necessary for the logistical success of warfare: the provision of food and water. The earliest of the *romans*, *Thèbes*, provides some examples of the way in which this requirement was fulfilled. The Argive army marches from Argos to Thebes at a time when there has been no rain for three months. The direness of its situation is made clear:

En terre vint tiel secheresse	*There was such a drought in that land*
Que toute creature sece.	*that all creatures were dehydrated.*
Un jorné dure entiere	*There was one whole day during which*
Qu'en l'ost, ne davant ne darriere,	*the army could not find either mountain*
Ne trovent Greu ne mont ne val	*or valley either before or behind them*
Ou il beivent, ne lor cheval.	*where they or their horses could drink.*
Molt estoient destreit li Grieu;	*The Greeks were in a very critical*
Sovent reclamoent lor dieu	*situation; many times did they call on*
Que lor tramette ploie en terre,	*their god to send rain to that land,*
Car ne sevent ou eve quere.	*because they did not know where to*
Molt les angoisse d'une part	*find any water. The heat made them*

Li chauz, del autre sei lez art.	*suffer on the one hand and the thirst*
Destrier, roncin et palefrei	*burned them on the other. The chargers,*
Rerent si angoissous de sei	*the pack-horses and the palfreys were so*
Qu'il ne poeient faire un pas,	*weakened by their thirst that they could*
Tant esteient matez et las.	*not take a single step for they were so*
Et li plusour de ceux a pié	*vanquished and tired. Also the majority*
Por poi n'erent tout estanchié.	*of the foot-soldiers were almost*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 2196-213)	*completely exhausted.*

The description is reminiscent of an episode in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, which, as was discussed in Chapter II.ii, may have been one of the sources for *Thèbes*. Albert describes the crusaders:

Sabbati dehinc cuiusdam eiusdem	*Then the day came, a certain Saturday*
mensis instante die defectus aque	*of the same month, when the great*
magnus accreuit in populo.	*shortage of water worsened among*
Quapropter, sitis anxietate oppressi,	*the people. And therefore,*
utriusque sexus quam plures, ut	*overwhelmed by the anguish of*
dicunt qui affuerunt, circiter	*thirst, as many as five hundred*
quingentos ipsa die spiritum	*people of both sexes gave up the*
exalauerunt. Preterea equi, asini,	*ghost on that same day – so they*
cameli, muli, boues multaque	*say who were there. In addition horses,*
animalia eodem fine grauissime sitis	*donkeys, camels, mules, oxen, and many*
extincta sunt. Comperimus etiam illic	*animals suffered the same death from*
non ex auditu solum, sed ex ueridica	*extreme thirst. We actually found all*
eorum relatione qui et participes	*this out not merely from hearsay, but*
fuerent eiusdem tribulationis in	*from the truthful account given by those*
eodem sitis periculo uiros et mulieres	*who also shared in that same trouble:*
miseros cruciatus pertulisse, quod	*that in that same trial of thirst men*
mens humana horrescat, auditus	*and women endured wretched tortures,*
expauescat et de tam miserabili sitis	*such that the human mind dreads to*
infortunio contremiscat.	*contemplate and trembles to hear of*

(Book III.1-2)[3]   *such a pitiable affliction of thirst.*

However, the resolution to the thirst problem is found in a different way in *Thèbes* compared to the *Historia*. Albert states that while 'omnibus in hac pestilential laborantibus optatus quesitusque aperitur fluuius' (*everyone was thus suffering with this plague [of thirst], the river they had longed for and searched for was revealed*, Book III.2). The passive 'aperitur' is ambiguous for it gives no clue as to the circumstances in which this river 'was revealed'. It appears as if by miracle. But there is no such ambiguity in *Thèbes*. The leaders of the Argives, Tydeus and Adrastus, take it upon themselves to seek out a source of water, and deviate from their route to the garden of a nearby castle. Here they meet a noble lady by the name of Hipsipyle and ask for her help in their quest for water. She replies that she knows of:

'[...] une ewete   *'[...] a small stream, that is very*
Que molt par est et clere et nette: *clear and pure, known as the River*
C'est la riviere de Lannie,   *Lannie, that will, I believe, restore*
Que vous rendra, ceo quit, la vie.   *life to you.*
[...]   *[...]*
Seignors', dist elle, 'estez arriere; *Lords', she said, 'stay behind me; I*
Jeo vous menrai a la rivere'.   *will lead you to the river'. Once she*
Quant fu esloigné del parc   *was away from the park, the*
Quatre treitees d'un arc,   *distance of four bow-lengths, she*
L'eve lor moustre oue son deit.   *pointed out the water to them.*
    (*Thèbes,* ll. 2312-15, 2342-46)

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[3] Quotations and translations are taken from Edgington's edition and are referenced by book and paragraph number.

Several things are notable about this episode in comparison to the *Historia*. Firstly, this river does not passively and miraculously 'appear', but is precisely described and pointed out by Hipsipyle. It is she who is responsible for enabling the Argives to find water. Secondly, the Argives do not hesitate in appealing directly to Hipsipyle herself, although they have come across her purely by chance in the grounds of a castle belonging to King Lycurges, who is a known ally of Adrastus. We may have expected Adrastus to appeal to Lycurges for help, but evidently Hipsipyle is considered viable and appropriate alternative. Thirdly, the river is only the distance of 'quatre treitees d'un arc', which is somewhere between five hundred metres and a kilometre.[4] Given that the Argives have been desperately seeking water from the highest mountains to the lowest valleys (even adjusting for poetic licence), they are reliant upon Hipsipyle to point out a river that is within a kilometre of their position. There is almost a sense of the supernatural, whereby the river can only be seen once it has been pointed out by Hipsipyle.[5] It appears that, unlike Albert,

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[4] My thanks to Laura Crombie at the University of York and Daniel P. Franke at the University of Rochester for providing estimates on this distance based on twelfth-century French bows and arrows.

[5] The association of women with the supernatural and bodies of water (particularly rivers, streams, and fountains) is a fairly common trope in medieval literature, particularly later Arthurian literature. Hester Less-Jeffries argues that knights often meet their future paramours by bodies of water (particularly fountains) in Arthurian literature specifically because of this relationship: Hester Lees-Jeffries, *England's Helicon: Fountains in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 27. See also Yoko Hemmi, 'Morgain la Fée's Water Connection', *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature: The Japan Society for Medieval English Studies*, 6 (1991), 19-36. The subject of women and water is currently the focus of two interdisciplinary studies: firstly, the Women at Sea Symposium held at the National Waterfront Museum in Swansea on 1 July 2016 (organised by Rachel Moss, Roberta Magnani, and Kristi Castleberry) focused on women and water in medieval narrative and was followed up by two sessions at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds from 4-6 July 2017. A publication of the papers presented at both the symposium and the congress is now in production. Secondly, a special collection on 'New

the *Thèbes*-author was keen to make a connection between soldiers' need for water and the ability of women to fulfil that need. Indeed, in the only manuscript to contain a significant illustrative scheme for *Thèbes*, MS P17, one of its fourteen miniatures is of Hipsipyle (fig. 43). Given that the only other female character from *Thèbes* to be illustrated is Jocasta, this makes her stand out as an important character, even if the amount of text in which she appears is relatively small.

There are three further observations to be made about this scene that set *Thèbes* and the *romans* apart from other contemporary accounts of the connection between women and water in warfare. The first is that this is the only episode across the three r*omans*, which together account for at least fifty thousand lines and over thirty battles, in which any connection between women and the provision of water is made at all. The second is that this connection is not made during a battle scene itself, but only in the movement of troops. In contrast, crusade narratives tend only to give accounts of women bringing water to the soldiers actually during the course of battle. For example, the *Gesta Francorum* describes women bringing water to men on the battlefield during the Battle of Dorylaeum in 1097 (Book III, Chapter 9); the *Chanson d'Antioche* (*c.* 1180) describes the same event (laisse 99), and indeed Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham note that women bringing water for the soldiers occurs 'with tedious frequency' throughout the *Antioche*.[6] Such women also appear in the *Chanson de Jérusalem* (*c.* 1180) again 'armed with the inevitable waterbottles'.[7] William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*c.* 1170-84) gives an account of women bringing water to the fighters on the battlefield

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Approaches to Medieval Water Studies' edited by Hetta Howes and James Smith is forthcoming with the Open Library of Humanities, which will also include articles examining water and gender.

[6] Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham, *The* Chanson d'Antioche: *An Old French Account of the First Crusade* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 74.

[7] Edgington and Sweetenham, *The* Chanson d'Antioche, p. 74.

during the siege of Jerusalem in 1099 (Book VIII, Chapter 16);[8] finally, Oliver of

Paderborn recounts in the *Historia Damiatina* (*c.* 1219-23) how women brought water to

the soldiers during the siege of Damietta in 1218.[9] As Lambert observed, it does seem that

women bringing water to the men on the battlefield is a trope. And yet the *romans,* which

(as discussed in Chapter I.ii and II.i) may have been inspired by crusading narratives and

whose manuscript context also shows a crusading connection, do not make use of this

topos. Rather than reflecting contemporary realities in their representation of warfare, the

poets seem to neglect an apparently common practice. Perhaps this is because their

sources do not mention this, but they so frequently deviate from their source material in

other ways that this is not a satisfactory explanation. Instead they are perhaps adapting a

standard contemporary practice (women bring water to men on the battlefield) and

converting it into one that is more suitable for romance (a noble lady revealing a source of

water to them).

Food is dealt with differently, as women are not presented with an active role in

this aspect of essential supplies. Charles R. Glasheen's study of provisioning Peter the

Hermit during the First Crusade outlines four ways an army could access food: taking it

with them from the outset; purchasing it *en route*; pillaging or stealing; or having it

provisioned by a local ally.[10] In *Thèbes*, after the third battle of the siege of Thebes, the

Argive army runs out of the food that they had brought with them, the land is devastated

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[8] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. by Emily A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).

[9] Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. by John J. Gavigan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948), p. 38.

[10] Charles R. Glasheen, 'Provisioning Peter the Hermit: From Cologne to Constantinople, 1096', in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades: Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 30 September to 4 October 2002*, ed. by John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 119-30 (p. 121).

and so 'ne poent prier ne prendre | Et poi trover vitaille a vendre' (*they were not able to beg or to pillage and they found very little to buy*, ll. 7891-92), and they are far away from any allies. The leader of the Argive army, Hippomedon, proposes to take a company of men on an expedition to find food:

Mil chevaliers conreiez meine,	*[Hippomedon] took a thousand well-*
Ne vendra mais de la semaigne.	*prepared knights, for he would not*
[...]	*return before the end of the week. [...]*
De l'ost eissit molt grant frapaille	*A great multitude came from the*
Por alere quere la vitaille.	*army to go and seek out the food.*
[...]	*[...]*
Par le guast fait mal chevalchier;	*They rode through the devastated*
Qui pain y ot, si l'ot molt cher:	*land and whomever had bread held*
En lor rote rien ne troverent,	*on to it very dearly: they found*
Si yceo non qu'il y porterent.	*nothing on their route, except what*
(*Thèbes,* ll. 7957-58, 7963-64,	*they already carried.*
7971-74)	

When they reach their destination and can load their horses with supplies, they are set upon by the army of the local lord and a battle ensues in which the Argives are eventually triumphant: 'Double joie ont: un de vitaille, | Et l'autre fu de la bataille' (*They have double joy: on the one hand for the food, and on the other for the battle*, ll. 8247-48). This episode illustrates why women were not able to be involved in the gathering of food in this case (assuming that any had accompanied them in the first place). Firstly, those who undertake the expedition must be mounted, for their journey takes several days on horse-back and would not have been possible on foot within a comparable time-frame; given that it is only (male) knights who have horses, this prevents women from participating. Secondly, the risk of engaging in combat in order both to obtain and then defend the supplies is high, and *Thèbes* (unlike *Troie* and *Enéas*) does not have any female warriors. This division of women

having responsibility for water and men having responsibility for food also appears to be supported to some extent by the historical sources. For example, although there is evidence to show that women were employed grinding corn and maintaining markets for fish and vegetables in the camps, it was only men who travelled further distances to procure foodstuffs.[11]

There are signs of this gendered split between food and water in *Troie*, too. Although there are no descriptions of the logistics of gathering or preparing food during war, the vocabulary of the text makes these associations itself. For example, the word 'vitaille' (*foodstuffs*) appears only nine times (in just over 30,000 lines) and all in association with either male discourse or male actions: the narrator describing the contents of Hercules's ships (ll. 2179-82), twice Priam speaks of the abundance of food in Troy (ll. 3681-83 and 10459-60), the contents of Paris's ships (ll. 4135-36), the contents of the Greeks' ships (ll. 5636-38 and 19316-17), the contents of Achilles's ship (ll. 6633-36), the provisions of Troy during the siege (ll. 24718-19), Hector's speech during a time of truce (ll. 12982-83), and Telamon speaks of the Greek suffering endured from lack of food (ll. 26615-16). In several of these cases, the indicators for men, battle, and food are even found within the same clauses. For example, a Greek ship is described as 'pleine | D'omes, d'armes e de vitaille' (*full of men, arms and food*, ll. 5636-37) and the inhabitants of Troy are described as happy because '[c]hevalerie i a assez | E de vitaille granz plentez' (*they had sufficient knights and plenty of food*, ll. 10459-60). In contrast there is no mention of drinking water (though of course water is mentioned frequently in the context of the sea). *Troie* may not treat the occurrence of food and water in its narrative in the practical way that *Thèbes* does, so perhaps Benoît was consciously differentiating his *roman* from the

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[11] Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land*, p. 42 and Thomas F. Madden, 'Food and the Fourth Crusade', in *Logistics of Warfare*, ed., by Pryor, pp. 209-28 (pp. 226-27).

chronicles that had come before him by eliminating logistical details, but nevertheless it maintains the subtle indications that not only were food and water basic necessities and features of warfare, but food was a masculine space, while water was a feminine one. The purpose and significance of creating this gendered split was perhaps to demonstrate a way in which both men and women could be present on a military campaign but without blurring the lines between male and female roles and responsibilities. In this way, the presence of women in a traditionally masculine space was made to seem less threatening or socially unacceptable. Women are shown as practical and useful to the male campaigners, but without any indication that they are distracting men or usurping male roles.

Building on this idea of water as a feminine space, we come to the final aspect of the 'basic but essential' tasks, which is washing. Washerwomen were the only group of women to receive authorisation to join the crusades, and were supposed to be 'elderly and unattractive' to discourage fraternisation between the sexes.[12] In some cases not only were they the only women allowed to join a crusade, but they were the only ones allowed to remain with it, too: when Richard I of England withdrew from Acre during the Third Crusade he ordered that any women who had joined the army during the campaign should stay behind, with the exception of washerwomen, who were allowed to follow the troops.[13] In addition to the basic expectations of a laundress (washing clothes and

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[12] Herbert Schultz, *The Medieval Empire in Central Europe: Dynastic Continuity in the Post-Carolingian Frankish Realm, 900-1300* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), p. 179.

[13] Wilhelm Haberling, 'Army Prostitution and its Control: An Historical Study', in *Morals in Wartime I: General Survey from Ancient Times*, ed. by Victor Robinson (New York: Publishers Foundation, 1943), pp. 3-90 (p. 18).

bandages), they were also reported to have picked lice and fleas from men's bodies.[14] It is perhaps unsurprising that we do not find mention of laundresses in the *romans*, for unnamed non-aristocratic characters appear infrequently. Nevertheless, there is an indication that women were responsible for the washing of the soldiers and their clothes. After Battle IV of *Troie*, Hector returns to his chambers where he is met by his mother, sisters, wife, and other noble women:

Sa merel prist entre ses braz,	*His mother took him in her arms,*
E ses sorors ostent les laz;	*while his sisters (who loved him with*
Del chief li ont son heaume osté	*all their heart) undid the laces of*
Del sanc de lui ensanglenté;	*his helmet, which was all covered*
L'auberc li traient de son dos;	*in blood, and lifted it from his head.*
La nuit n'ot guaires de repos;	*They also lifted away the hauberk*
Ses genoillieres li esterent	*[that covered] his back; that night he*
Celes qui de bon cuer l'amerent.	*had hardly any rest. And those women*
Remés est en un auqueton	*who loved him removed his knee-*
Porpoint d'un vermeil ciclaton:	*protectors. The only thing remaining*
Li sans de lui glaciez e pers	*was his embroidered tunic, made of a*
Le li ot si al dos aers	*very precious silk. His blood, now*
Qu'a granz peines li ont osté.	*dried and black, was so stuck to his*
La ot mout tendrement ploré.	*back that it was difficult to remove*
(*Troie*, ll. 10219-32)	*[this tunic]. There was much piteous*
	crying.

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[14] Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare*, p. 61. Nicholson adds a rather enjoyable note to this point: 'For this service the chronicler Ambroise labelled them "good as apes", the comparison with apes always being an insult during the medieval period [...]. In modern British society women who pick lice off their dependents are generally known as mothers, and if Ambroise had said that his women were "as good as mothers", he would not have caused nearly so much resentment' (p. 208, n. 108).

Despite the blood and suffering, this is a tender and intimate scene. Although the Trojan royal family certainly had servants in attendance at the palace, and indeed we see them on other occasions, the task of undressing Hector and removing his bloodied clothes falls to the women of his family. It is unlikely that Hecuba or Andromache would have gone on to wash these clothes, but nevertheless the fact that they take primary responsibility for removing and collecting them makes for a striking scene. It also raises the idea that laundry was not only a practical and dirty task, but could create a bond between the launderer and the person whose clothes are being laundered. This bond may not be intimate in all cases, but is the result of a moment of interaction and shared space between men and women.

Such scenes are occasionly chosen for illustration and appear in MSS Vt, P17, and V1. In MS P17 we have a miniature that has been split into two registers (fig. 44): the left register shows a woman removing Hector's helmet while another woman looks on with a concerned expression; the right register shows Hector (now without armour), tucked into bed, with the women (and Priam) standing by his bedside. The split miniature is intended to show the 'before' and 'after' and explicitly makes clear the role that the women had in creating this scene. Similarly, in MS V1 we see a group of women tending to Hector: one removes his helmet while another kneels to remove his knee-pads and a third embraces him (fig. 45). Despite the domesticity of the setting and the lack of narrative criticality these scenes have, they were nevertheless important enough to be included in certain illustrations, showing that they must have been valued, too.

V.ii. Care and Comfort: Health and Companionship

The scene in which the Trojan ladies care for Hector after battle in *Troie* has already given glimpses of what could be classified as physical care in the *romans*. However, there are

more direct examples of 'professional' physicians in all three texts: an unnamed Armenian

doctor in *Thèbes*, Goz of Puglia in *Troie*, and Iapus in *Enéas*. The summoning of the

Armenian doctor in *Thèbes* occurs after a scene that is reminiscent of the *Troie*-scene

described above. Tydeus arrives at Adrastus's court having been attacked by Theban

knights:

Entre sez bras soef l'ad pris,	*[Adrastus] took [Tydeus] gently in his*
Sanglent en fu sis manteals de gris.	*arms; his fur coat was all bloodied.*
Tout sauvet et belement,	*With great care and gentleness he*
Le descendit el pavement.	*lay him down on the floor. He quickly*
Isnelment l'auberc entrait,	*removed [Tydeus's] hauberk and*
Et as plaies demande entrait.	*requested a treatment for the injuries.*
Sor le pez ot un grant plaie:	*There was a great wound on his chest.*
Quant il la vit, molt s'en esmaie;	*When the king saw it he was greatly*
Quant vit la cobe de la lance,	*dismayed. When [Adrastus] saw the*
En sa vie nen ot fiance.	*injury made by the lance he despaired of*
[...]	*[Tydeus's] chances of staying alive. [...]*
Li reis fait maunder un Ermine	*The king had an Armenian summoned*
Qui molt saveit de medicine.	*who knew much about medicine. [This*
Tant y pena et seir et main,	*doctor] dedicated himself to [treating]*
Al chief d'un meis le rendit sain.	*the pain both night and day, and after*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 1933-42, 1953-56)	*a month Tydeus was healed.*

What is interesting in this scene is what happens between Adrastus's reception and initial

treatment of Tydeus, and the eventual summoning of the doctor:

Sa femme, eschevelé et pale,	*[Adrastus's] wife, dishevelled and*
Vint acorant par mie la sale;	*pale, came running into the middle*
Par mie la sale, eschevelé,	*of the room; in the middle of the*
Acourt come femme desvee.	*room, dishevelled, she ran*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 1945-48)	*like a mad woman.*

The repetition of 'eschevelé', 'par mie la sale', and 'femme' in just a few lines gives this short passage its own sense of rambling repetitiveness and senseless madness. There is no indication that Adrastus's wife might be able to provide the tender loving care that we saw from Hecuba and Andromache. It is not surprising therefore that Adrastus chooses to summon a doctor rather than entrust the care of Tydeus to such 'feminine' care.

Physical care in *Troie* is somewhat more equitably split, though the association specifically with 'mires' ('*doctor*') or 'mecines' ('*medicine*') is still the exclusive domain of men. Having been cared for and put to bed by his female relatives after Battle IV, Hector is attended to by a doctor:

Li bons mires Goz li senez,	*The good doctor Goz the wise, who*
Qui devers Oriënt fu nez,	*was born in the East and was just*
Qui plus preisiez fu en son tens	*as valued in his time as Hippocrates*
Que Ypocras ne Galiëns,	*or Galen, examined [Hector's]*
Li a ses plaies reguardees	*wounds, and cleaned and washed*
E afaitiees e lavees.	*them. He made him drink a potion*
Beivre li fist une poison	*that soon healed him.*
Que tost le traist a guarison.	
(*Troie,* ll. 10245-52)	

When Hector is more seriously injured after Battle VIII and is moved to the Chamber of Beauties, Goz reappears:[15]

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[15] Constans's edition of *Troie*, using MS V2 as his base manuscript, gives the name of the doctor at this point as 'Broz', while Baumgartner and Vielliard's edition, using MS M as their base, give it as 'Brot'. However, Constans notes that MSS P5 and P9 both give alternatives of 'Goz' at this point. Given that there is no ambiguity in the name the first time the doctor appears (all the manuscripts

Broz [Goz] li Puilleis, li plus senez	*Goz of Apulia, the most*
Qui de mecines fust usez,	*knowledgeable of men, practised*
Ne d'oignement freis ne d'enplastre,	*medicine using fresh ointments and*
Dedenz la Chambre de Labastre,	*plaster, treated Hector while in the*
Tailla Hector si gentement	*Chamber of Alabaster so carefully that*
Que mal ne trait, dolor ne sent.	*he did not feel any pain. All the ladies,*
Totes les dames, les puceles,	*maidens, and rich young women*
Totes les riches dameiseles	*were there before him both*
Sunt davant lui e nuit e jor.	*night and day.*

(*Troie,* ll. 14605-13)

Once again we see the juxtaposing of both men (Goz) and women in relation to the care and healing of Hector. Illustrations of these scenes are faithful in their inclusion of women alongside the doctor. For example, in MS P18 we see Goz seated on Hector's right side, holding his hand, but we also see four women on the left side of his bed, and one of them also holding his hand (fig. 46). We also see women standing at the head of his bed. The other men in the scene stand at the edges and do not have any actual contact with Hector or the bed. Goz may have the prime position, but women occupy the second, third, fourth, fifth, and even sixth most prominent spots in the room. Similarly, the importance of the Chamber of Beauties scene is indicated in MS Vt by the fact that it is one of only two full-page illustrations (fig. 47).[16] Once again we see the prominence that women are given in the composition of the scene: Goz stands closest to Hector, but the figures who are then closest to him are Hecuba, Helen, Cassandra, and Polyxena. Only after the women do Priam, Hector's brothers, and other attendants appear. The women may not

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agree on 'Goz'), and there would not appear to be any particular 'purpose' in replacing one doctor with another, I have chosen to retain the name 'Goz' throughout, following MSS P5 and P9.

[16] This full-page illustration shows signs of having been touched or exposed frequently.

have the official 'training' of Goz to qualify them to be classified as *mires*, but nevertheless their presence is clearly not unwelcome or inappropriate. There is historical evidence to suggest that women may have tended to the wounded and sick during warfare albeit it in an unofficial capacity.[17] But this 'unofficial' capacity is important. Monica H. Green argues that 'the definition of "medical practitioner"… must be as broad as possible if we are to catch more than a handful of women in our analytical net'.[18] The women in *Troie* may not administer ointments or potions like Goz, but they do provide care and attention. The dictionary defines a nurse as a person who cares for the sick, injured, or infirm: the word is first recorded in English in the early seventeenth century, but it certainly appears that the concept was recognised many centuries before. It would be problematic to apply this terminology retrospectively to these women, but it is nevertheless important to acknowledge that images of what we would now call nursing do seem to be apparent in such twelfth-century texts, even if there was not the vocabulary to capture it.

In *Enéas* we find a different situation again. Aeneas is injured during the final battle and is taken into a pavilion on the battlefield while the doctor is summoned:

.I. moult bon mire, Ÿapis,	*A very good doctor, Iapus, came; he*
Y est venus et vit la plaie,	*saw the wound, felt the iron tip and*
Senti le fer si s'y assaie	*tried to see if he could extract it; but he*

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[17] For example, evidence for this occurring during the Fifth Crusade (1213-21) is given in James M. Powell, 'The Role of Women in the Fifth Crusade', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. by Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), pp. 294-301 (p. 300). Similarly John of Joinville relates how a Parisian 'bourjoise' treats Louis IX of France when he is afflicted with dysentery during the Seventh Crusade: Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis,* ed. by Natalis de Wailly*,* Twelfth Edition (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1874), Book LXII, paragraph 310. See also, Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare*, p. 61.

[18] Monica H. Green, 'Women's Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe', *Signs*, 14 (1989), 434-73 (p. 450).

Savoir se traire l'en porroit;	*was unable to remove it in any way,*
Nel pot avoir en nul endroit	*even with forceps or tongs, and Aeneas*
A tenailles n'a ferement,	*cried out loudly. The doctor went to*
Et Eneas crïa forment.	*his bag and took a box, from which*
A sa malle li mires vait,	*he took some dittany, soaked it, and*
Prent une boiste, s'en a trait	*then made Aeneas drink it. When he*
Du ditan, si l'a destrenpé,	*had done so, the arrowhead*
Boivre li fist; quant l'ot passé,	*came out [of the wound] and the*
La saiete en est vollee	*shoulder was quickly healed.*
Et la plaie sempres sanee.	

(*Enéas,* ll. 9604-16)

Here the healing episode appears to be an entirely male-dominated episode, which is perhaps not surprising given that it takes place in the encampments of the itinerant Trojans and next to the battlefield, rather than in a domestic setting such as Hector's chambers or the Chamber of Beauties. However, the actions and emotions of Ascanius and the barons are similar to those of the women in *Troie*: while Hector is being treated for his wounds Andromache 'mout tendrement ploré' (*very tenderly cried*, l. 10232) as do the other ladies, and while Aeneas is being treated for his wounds Ascanius and the barons 'plorent forment' (*cry a lot*, l. 9599). The narrator therefore creates a space that is similar to the domestic space that we have seen elsewhere.

Another physical care process in which women are involved, and which would perhaps better be classified as 'when physical care fails', is care for the dead; specifically, the logistical aspects of handling the dead. It goes without saying that the three *romans*, with their fifty thousand lines and thirty-three battles, rack up quite a tally of dead. It is not possible to calculate how many people actually die across all three (not least because the reporting is inaccurate and used predominantly for poetic effect), but we can assume that it is in the thousands. Of the named characters who are killed, a not insubstantial amount

of space is often dedicated to describing their tombs, funerals, and commemoration ceremonies. Hector and Achilles in *Troie* and Pallas and Camille in *Enéas* are afforded particularly impressive tombs, having already had elaborate mourning ceremonies before their funerals.[19] But it is *Thèbes* that affords the most interesting insight into the treatments not just of named heroes, but of the general masses of dead. The first we see of this is after Tydeus has killed the fifty knights that Eteocles had sent after him and the women of Thebes learn of their deaths:

Trestout ensemble en vont al rei;	*All together [the women] went to find the*
Demandent li par grant effrei	*king (Eteocles) and asked him with great*
Que il ad fait de lor amis,	*distress what he had done with their*
Ou les troveront, en quele païs,	*loved ones, where they would find them,*
Quele part irront lor amis quere	*in what land, where they must go to*
As aporter, as mettre en terre.	*find their dear ones and bring them back*
Li reis lor enseigna la val	*and bury them. The king indicated*
Ou giesent mort li vassal;	*the valley where they would find the*
Et cil y vont oue granz dolors.	*dead soldiers, and they went there*
[...]	*with great sadness. [...]*
Quant il orent assez ploré,	*When they had cried a lot and*
Et de lor amys dementé,	*lamented their loved ones, they*
Enterrent les, car countre mort,	*buried them, for against death they*
Ce sievent bien, n'ad nul resort.	*knew that there is no solution.*

(*Thèbes,* ll. 2047-55, 2061-64)

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[19] For analysis of the tombs in *Enéas* and *Troie*, see Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'Tombeaux pour guerriers et Amazones. Sur un motif descriptif de l'*Enéas* et du *Roman de Troie*', in *Contemporary Readings of Medieval Literature*, ed. by Guy Mermier (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989), pp. 37-50; Daniel Poirion, 'De l'*Enéide* à l'*Enéas*', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 19 (1976), 213-29 (pp. 221-24); Charles Ridoux, 'Trois exemples d'une approche symbolique: le tombeau de Camille, le nain Frocin, le lion', in *Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble: Hommage à Jean Dufournet* (Paris: Champion, 1993), pp. 1217-21.

Burial of the dead is not an easy task; it is very physically demanding.[20] Nevertheless, the

location, repatriation, and burial of their deceased menfolk is clearly a task that falls to the

women (and nobody challenges their suitability for this task). At the end of *Thèbes*, the

lengths to which the women (this time the Argives rather than the Thebans) will go to

fulfil this duty are even more extreme. They walk from Argos to Thebes to retrieve the

bodies:

Les piés sont nuz, a doel sont myses.	*The feet [of the women] were bare,*
Par les munz et par les valees	*and this caused them suffering.*
En vont dolentes, esguarrees.	*Through mountains and valleys they*
Treis jours aveient ja erré […]	*travelled, sad and dejected. They*
A Thebes vont, a grant efforz,	*walked for three days[…]*
Pur eux veer et enterer,	*They are going to Thebes, which is*
Pur sevelir et cunreier,	*very painful, to find them [their fallen*
Que nes mangucent chiens et porcs;	*men] and bury them, to shroud them,*
Ensevelir violent les cors.	*and protect them, so that the dogs*
(*Thèbes,* ll. 11652-55, 11811-15)	*and boars cannot eat them; they wish*
	to bury the bodies.

The lengths to which the women will go to afford their men a proper burial are

impressive. It is worth nothing that this episode, in which the ladies walk barefooted for

days to Thebes is the *denouement* of the entire narrative. Having described the sadness and

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[20] In Sandy Bardsley's now somewhat infamous response to John Hatcher during an exchange over her publication of research on gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England, she relates her experiences as a gravedigger during which she learnt that 'stamina was at least as important for the job as brute strength' and that the male gravediggers on her team 'were only slightly faster over the course of a day': Sandy Bardsley, '[Women's Work Reconsidered: Gender and Wage Differentiation in Late Medieval England]: A Reply', *Past and Present*, 173 (2001), 199-202 (p. 201).

lamenting of the women, the narrator ends with: '[d]e tiel guise fina la guerre' (*in such a way the war ended*, l. 12046). It feels rather like the precursor to the final stanza of T. S. Eliot's 'The Hollow Men': 'This is the way the world ends | Not with a bang but a whimper'.

Finally, we have examples of women caring not just in physical ways, but in emotional ways, too. Two episodes from *Troie* give us examples of these emotional needs being fulfilled in both platonic and romantic ways. The platonic support often comes from members of their family. For example, between Battles IV and V, three of the Trojan men (Aeneas, Polidamas, and Troilus) go to visit the Trojan ladies (ll. 11845-11944). The narrator does not tell us their intentions for this visit, but it seems that they are there for a break from the horrors of the battlefield and some comfort. Hecuba obliges by making a speech about how grateful they (the ladies) are to them (the warriors) for fighting and defending their city and how important their actions are. Helen gives them gifts (though it is not specified what these gifts are). Polyxena kisses Troilus. The illustrations that sometimes accompany this scene show these intimate moments of support and closeness between the men and women. In MS Vt (fig. 48) we see Helen in the process of giving a gift to Polidamas in the centre, while next to them we see Polyxena embracing Troilus.[21] MS V1 illustrates this scene by showing the men gathered on one side of the room and the women on the other, with the only point of contact being the moment at which one of the ladies (probably Helen) is shown giving a gift to one of the men (fig. 49). It is not clear what the gift is but it looks like a length of fabric from the way that it hangs and may represent a sleeve that could be warn as a favour. Intriguingly, it looks as though the scribe

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[21] The illustration also includes Antenor, though the text does not describe him as being present. Aeneas and Antenor are often pictures together, so it may be that the illustrator assumed he was also present even without any textual specificity on this. The lady on the far right is not given a name and is probably intended to represent the other nameless noblewomen who are described as being present in the room, too.

has left the space for the miniature but written the name 'Doroscaluz' in the bottom

centre of the folio underneath the gap, with pen flourishes around it. Doroscalu was one

of Priam's illegitimate sons who had been killed in Battle IV; his burial is described

following the visit of the men to the women. Perhaps this is a sign where the scribe and

the illustrator have disagreed over the illustrative scheme of this manuscript: the scribe has

written in Doroscalu's name to indicate that an image of his burial should appear here, but

instead the illustrator has chosen to illustrate the meeting of the men and women.

Doroscalu's burial is never actually illustrated in this manuscript. Clearly the illustrator

thought that the meeting scene was of greater importance, even in the face of specific

instructions from the scribe.

Alongside scenes such as this, we also find scenes of romantic love between the

male warriors and their *amies* as a source of support and comfort. As was discussed in

Chapter II.ii, there is historical precedent for women accompanying men on marches and

campaigns to provide support that may have included comfort and companionship (either

sexual or platonic).[22] The relationship between Briseide and Diomedes is a good example

of this, as are its accompanying illustrations. It is after Diomedes is injured in Battle XIV

that Briseide finally reciprocates his feelings and gives her love to him. The scene is

illustrated in both MSS Vn and P18 and shows Briseide sitting by Diomedes's bedside,

holding his hand (fig. 50).[23] The composition of the figures is almost identical to the scene

seen earlier in which the doctor attended Hector at his bedside (fig. 46). This gives the

effect of showing Briseide's love as being comparable to the attentions of a medical

practitioner; in essence, her love is as powerful to Diomedes in restoring him to health and

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[22] As was also previously discussed, these women are sometimes (unfairly and inaccurately)
categorised as prostitutes, but this was not (usually) the case.

[23] The corresponding image from MS Vn is almost identical and therefore only one is reproduced.

fighting capacity as had he been attended by a doctor. This scene demonstrates that the

effect of a woman's love can have positive consequences not just in sexual or emotional

terms but in physical and military terms, too: were it not for Briseide's affections,

Diomedes may not have regained his strength to return to the battlefield.

V.iii. Military Equipment

The manufacture and provision of medieval military equipment largely appears to have

been an almost entirely male domain.[24] However, as Green argues that 'the definition of

"medical practitioner"… must be as broad as possible if we are to catch more than a

handful of women in our analytical net', it might be fruitful to adopt a similar strategy in

defining providers of military equipment. As noted in Chapter II.ii, Shahar has shown

evidence for women sharpening tools and making scabbards and Goldberg has found

evidence that women were involved in the manufacturing of certain arms (particularly

coats of mail, bows, and arrows). However, while scabbards, mail, and archery

accoutrements can easily be categorised as military equipment, there are other items that

could similarly be placed in such a category for the purposes of 'widening our net'. For

example, there are several accounts of women providing stones to soldiers to be used as

missiles and projectiles. Oliver of Paderborn provides this detail during his description of

the capture of Damietta in 1249, while in the *Chanson d'Antioche* they even resort to

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[24] See for example, David S. Bachrach, 'The Royal Crossbow Makers of England, 1204-72',
Nottingham Medieval Studies, 47 (2003), 168-97; Malcolm Mercer, 'King's Armourers and the
Growth of the Armourer's Craft in Early Fourteenth-Century London', in *Fourteenth Century
England, VIII*, ed. by J. S. Hamilton (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 1-20; Mario Scalini,
'Armi e Armature', in *Arti e Storia nel Medioevo, 2: Del costruire. Tecniche, artisti, artigiani, committenti*, ed.
by Enrico Castelnuovo and Giuseppe Sergi (Turin: Einaudi, 2003), pp. 441-53. These studies
describe crafts and industries for the manufacture of arms and armaments that appear to be
exclusively occupied by men.

throwing the stones themselves.[25] They also helped in the maintenance of military equipment: during the siege of Jerusalem in 1099, Albert of Aachen describes how girls and women helped to transport materials to weave the panels of a siege engine (an activity at which they also may have been skilled, though Albert does not provide details on this).[26] Additionally, they helped optimise the conditions in which military technology operated: for example, in Ambroise's account of the siege of Acre they helped to clear rubble and fill in ditches so that the siege machines could be brought as close to the city walls as possible.[27] In one particularly committed scene, a woman is shot by a Saracen while filling a ditch and uses her dying words to beseech those around her to use her dead body as further filling for the ditch.[28] Finally, though not technically a piece of military equipment, most strategists would agree that intelligence is an essentially military tool, and there is also evidence of women acting as intelligence gatherers and spies. Bachrach and Bachrach tell the story of women from Orléans who were sent to the court of Henry V of England in 1417 to gain information about his intentions regarding their city.[29] Indeed, they go on to state that the role of women in intelligence gathering was so well-known that certain military commanders issued ordinances to remind men not to reveal and sensitive information to local women.[30]

The *romans*, as with the section on food and water, do not feature the tropes that are found in the contemporary historical literature: the women do not provide stones to

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[25] Oliver, *The Capture of Damietta*, p. 38; *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. by Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols (Paris: Paul Geuther, 1977), I, l. 8936.

[26] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Book VI, paragraph 3.

[27] Ambroise, *L'estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. by Catherine Croizy-Naquet (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2014), ll. 3620-60.

[28] Ambroise, *L'estoire*, ll. 3635-60.

[29] Bachrach and Bachrach, *Warfare in Medieval Europe*, p. 346.

[30] Bachrach and Bachrach, *Warfare in Medieval Europe*, p. 346.

soldiers, fill in ditches, or assist with the maintenance of equipment. Nevertheless, they do provide examples of the ways in which women provide equipment or tokens for men that are of use to them in battle. For example, in *Enéas*, Venus makes a deal with Vulcan, her estranged husband and the god of the forge and metalworking, whereby he will manufacture a hauberk, helmet, shield, breeches, lance, and sword for Aeneas.[31] The items that he produces are (of course) unparalleled:

N'i mist mie Vulcans .I. mois	*It did not even take Vulcan one month*
Qu'il a les armes aprestees,	*to complete the arms, and to give*
A sa femme les a donnees.	*them to his wife [to give to Aeneas].*
Bonnes furent, onc n'ot hom talz,	*They were excellent, no man ever*
Nez peüst faire home mortalz.	*had the same, nor could any mortal*
(*Enéas,* ll. 4495-99)	*man have made [such arms].*

The only illustration we have of this scene does not show Vulcan producing the equipment, but it does show Venus giving the armour to Aeneas's messenger (fig. 51). The miniature has been split into two registers: Aeneas is in conversation with Evander about the war in the left register and Venus and the messenger are in the right register. The construction of these two registers firstly shows why armour will be needed (on the left) and then shows the provision of that armour (on the right). Here we have a woman taking responsibility for providing a knight with equipment and tools for his upcoming battles. Of course Venus is a pagan goddess. However, Singerman successfully argues that the gods in *Enéas* are 'manageable and domesticated, [they are] not the gods of Virgil' and the *Aeneid*.[32] Not only this, but medieval audiences saw themselves as descended from Aeneas,

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[31] In return Venus agrees to go to bed with Vulcan, something that she has not done for seven years (*Enéas,* ll. 4426-39).

[32] Singerman, *Under Clouds of Poesy*, p. 39.

yet their reworkings of the classical epics made no attempt to recast Aeneas's mother as a mortal. It appears that there was a certain tolerance threshold for pagan deities as an historical truth, whereby a certain amount (such as a 'domesticated' goddess), was acceptable and credible.[33] There is a parallel here with Jean d'Arras's *Roman de Mélusine* (*c.* 1382-94). In one version of this narrative, we learn that Jean de Berry inherits the Lusignan territories from Mélusine, a supernatural woman who turns into an hybrid woman-snake once a week. Burns has referred to this episode as 'magical politics', whereby Jean d'Arras entirely redefines the relationship between motherhood and dynastic inheritance.[34] Can we apply the same theory to *Enéas*? If Venus becomes a figure legitimately connected to the dynasties of the medieval aristocracy, surely we must be able to interpret the episode of her provisioning of arms to Aeneas as similarly legitimate?

Finally we have illustrations of women taking responsibility for the handling of military equipment. For example, in MS Vt we see Troilus's return from battle and his subsequent reunion with the women: one holds his sword, another his shield, two carry his mantel, one has his helmet, another his hauberk, and another his coif (fig. 52). There is a similar scene in MS V1 after Hector returns from battle: one lady holds his sword, another his helmet, and a third removes his knee pads (fig. 53). Later in the manuscript we see Troilus receiving the same treatment: two ladies carry away his helmet and hauberk (fig. 54). There is no indication that these women are passing the armour and weapons on to another party before they are removed from the room; indeed in fig. 54 it is quite clear that they are carrying them out of the room, presumably to replace them in storage. It almost appears as if they are performing duties that we may have expected a squire to

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[33] This is linked to the ideas of euhemerism that were discussed in Chapter II.i.

[34] E. Jane Burns, 'Magical Politics from Poitou to Armenia: Mélusine, Jean de Berry, and the Eastern Mediterranean', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 43 (2013), 275-301

fulfil. However, there is no indication either in the text or the illustrations that it was

inappropriate for these women to take responsibility for these items any more than it was

for them to have taken responsibility for the washing of clothes (as discussed above).

Certainly the illustrations suggest that women could be involved in the care and upkeep of

armour and military equipment, just as much as they could be involved in the care and

upkeep of clothing or physical health. In this sense, there is no gendering of care in terms

of what that care encompasses: it may be that women are generally cast in the role of

carer, but that care can be for masculine items such as hauberks and swords just as it could

be for more traditionally feminine items such as laundry.

V.iv. Conclusions

The ways in which the *romans*-poets present women's ancillary roles deviates from the

historical sources. Chronicles of the crusades and sieges often describe women with

responsibilities such as providing water to soldiers on the battlefield or gathering sticks

and stones to be used as ammunition. Such scenes do not appear in the *romans*. However,

that is not to say that women are absent from this role. *Thèbes* adapts the trope of women

providing water on the battlefield to one in which a noble woman helps to lead the Argive

army to water. *Enéas* describes how Venus is responsible for Aeneas's fantastic armour and

weaponry. *Troie* has multiple examples of the ways in which women can support the

warriors: they are responsible for undressing the men after battle and ensuring that the

bodies of these men are clean and taken care of as well as ensuring that the armour and

weaponry is removed and returned to their rightful places. There are actually more

illustrations of women handling the weapons and armour of the Trojan heroes than there

are of these heroes' squires doing the same thing. They also support the doctors in tending

to the injured warriors. In the case of Diomedes, where there is no doctor available, the

illustrations of Briseide at his bedside in MSS P18 and Vn positions her at his bedside in the exact same way as Goz had been positioned at Hector's bedside. And finally, they provide emotional support and love to help keep them psychologically strong. The visit of the Trojan men to the women was so important to MS V1's illustrator that he ignored the instruction to include an image of Doroscalu's funeral so as to have the space to illustrate this visit instead. So the *romans* do show women performing ancillary functions during times of warfare, even if those anciallary functions are different to those that we find in other historical sources. Nevertheless, that is not to say that they are less valuable or less likely to be reflective of the contemporary realities at the time. Instead, we might say that the *romans* are once again contributing to the contemporary debate on medieval women by showing other possible ways in which they could support medieval war efforts. With this evidence, perhaps Churchill would be willing to concede that medieval women also undertook tasks and work that helped support the war efforts of their generation.

Chapter VI:

'Femme ne doit mie combatre':

Women as Warriors in War

In Plato's *Republic* (*c.* 380 BCE) the role of women in the Ideal State is discussed and it is suggested that they should be educated and trained with men for physical combat as part of 'the art of war'.[1] The idea of women-warriors has captured the interest and imaginations of various and diverse societies, cultures, and peoples for thousands of years. *Troie* and *Enéas*, written two thousand years after the *Republic*, also contribute to this debate. The *Enéas*-poet presents us with a scene from this debate in which the Trojan warrior Tarchon meets the Volscian queen, Camille, on the battlefield. He says:

Femme ne doit mie combatre.	*A woman must not fight.*
[...]	*[...]*
L'escu metez jus et la lance,	*Put down the shield and the lance, and*
Et le hauberc qui trop vous blece.	*the hauberk that is so bad for you.*
[...]	*[...]*
Ce n'est mie vostre mestier,	*This is not your calling, which is*
Mais bien filer, coudre ou taillier.	*really to spin, to sew, or snip [fabric].*
(*Enéas*, ll. 7142, 7148-49, 7151-52)	

Camille responds by killing him on the spot, thereby rather undermining his argument that she was not suited to battle. However, before conducting an examination of *Troie* and *Enéas*, it is worth reviewing the development of the woman-warrior debate from the classical period up to the end of the medieval period to see how the *romans* (both at the

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[1] Plato, *The Republic*, trans. by Benjamin Jowett < http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.6.v.html> [accessed 1 April 2017], Book V.

time of their composition and the times of their later commissioning in manuscripts) would have fitted into it. It also explores literary precedents of women-warriors that the *romans*-poets may have read or known. The third section considers the virtues and characteristics of the female warriors in the texts and the manner in which these features position them as a 'chivalric hero'. Finally, it analyses the manner in which their role is gendered: firstly, through their status as virgins and secondly, through the manner and impact of their deaths.

VI.i. Philosophical Debates and Literary Precedents

Plato had begun exploring the idea that women could participate in warfare long before the *romans*. This is not to suggest that Plato was a proto-feminist; James M. Blythe clarifies that although Plato argued for women's inclusion in his ideal polity this was for 'pragmatic reasons' and he was nevertheless 'deeply sexist' and 'misogynistic'.[2] When Aristotle (*c.* 384-22 BCE) started writing, just one generation after Plato, he took a rather different line and it was his *Politics*, rather than Plato's work, that was first translated into Latin and was widely studied by medieval thinkers.[3] Whereas Plato argued that women should be assigned roles equal to men, Aristotle restricted women to the domestic sphere in subservience to men. Plato argued that 'women and men have the same nature in respect to the guardianship of the state' but Aristotle declared that 'the male is by nature superior and the female inferior, the male ruler and the female subject'.[4]

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[2] James M. Blythe, 'Women in the Military: Scholastic Arguments and Medieval Images of Female Warriors', *History of Political Thought*, 22 (2001), 242-69 (p. 243).

[3] Blythe, 'Women in the Military', p. 242.

[4] Plato, *Republic*, Book V; Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. by H. Rackham, 23 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1944), XXI, Book i, Section 1254b.

Early medieval chroniclers (who would probably not have read Plato or Aristotle due to the fact that they were not translated into Latin until the thirteenth century) often documented the exploits of warrior women without particular comment.[5] Additionally, the Abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable (*c.* 1092-1156), wrote to Heloise in the 1140s that 'it is not altogether exceptional among mortals for women to be in command of men, nor entirely unprecedented for them even to take up arms and accompany men to battle'.[6] The Bishop of Rennes, Marbod (*c.* 1035-1133), praised the biblical Judith for beheading Holofernes and taking up arms against her enemies.[7] Yet from the thirteenth century, (roughly contemporaneous with the translation and circulation of Aristotle and Plato), they and other writers begin to 'express astonishment' at women who participated in military activities.[8] For example, Albert the Great (*c.* 1206-80) believed that women were not capable of military activity because of their 'natural timidity';[9] Ptolemy of Lucca (*c.* 1236-1327) and Giles of Rome (*c.* 1243-1316) used Aristotle's theories on the alleged mental and physical weaknesses of women to support their political treatises in which they categorically rejected the idea of female participation in warfare.[10] Ptolemy of Lucca argued that, even if women were physically capable of fighting, their minds were still 'unsuitable'.[11] Indeed, so corrupting did Ptolemy view the influence of women that he

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[5] For examples, see Megan McLaughlin, 'The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe', *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 17 (1990), 193-209 (p. 194).

[6] Peter the Venerable, 'Letter 115', in *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, ed. and trans. by Betty Radice (New York: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 279-80.

[7] Marbod of Rennes, *The Book with Ten Chapters*, Chapter IV (cited by Alcuin Blamires, ed., *Women Defamed and Women Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Cambridge: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 231).

[8] McLaughlin, 'The Woman Warrior', p. 194.

[9] Blythe, 'Women in the Military', p. 252.

[10] Blythe, 'Women in the Military', p. 254.

[11] Blythe, 'Women in the Military', pp. 260-63.

considered a complete ban on contact between soldiers and women and only conceded to

allow interaction to 'prevent homosexuality'.[12] Meanwhile canon lawyers argued over the

validity of a woman's crusader vow, the relationship between the vow and combat, and

whether she needed her husband's consent to take the vow in the first place.[13] Writers,

thinkers, and lawyers were clearly just as engaged in debating the relative merits and

demerits of women warriors in the Middle Ages as were writers and thinkers from

centuries before them. It is into the midst of this debate that the *romans* appear and offer

their own contribution to the argument.

The narrative role of these women came from the poets' Latin sources but the

way in which their characters are developed and their roles expanded is something that

comes from the poets themselves. As was outlined in Chapter II.ii, there were numerous

historical women who could have been influential or inspirational, including the three

Matildas and Eleanor of Aquitaine. But it is not just historical warrior women who may

have influenced the poets. There are literary influences to consider, too: classical warrior

women, holy warrior women, and poetic warrior women. The classical sources, of course,

include the texts that the *romans*-poets were translating (Virgil, Dares, and Dictys) as well

as other sources containing Amazons and warrior women to which we know the *romans*-

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[12] Blythe, 'Women in the Military', pp. 265-66.

[13] Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land*, pp. 109-110 and Maureen Purcell, 'Women Crusaders: A Temporary Canonical Aberration', in *Principalities, Powers and Estates*, ed. by L. O. Frappell (Adelaide: Adelaide University Union Press, 1979), pp. 57-67 (pp. 59-61). Purcell explains that taking the vow was generally accepted for the First and Second Crusade on the condition that combat was not involved, but later twelfth-century regulations aimed to prevent unarmed pilgrims (of either sex) accompanying the military expeditions. Nevertheless, a number of women, including Ida of Austria (*c.* 1055-1101) and Margaret of Provence (*c.* 1221-95), did lead (or considered leading) crusade contingents well into the fourteenth century. For more details, see Leigh Ann Craig, '"Stronger than Men and Braver than Knights": Women and the Pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 153-75.

poets had access: the Amazons appear in Aethicus Ister's *Cosmographia* and Isidore of

Seville's *Etymologiae*, while Ovid's *Metamorphoses* gives us warrior women such Diana,

Callisto, and Atlanta.[14] Biblical warrior women such as Judith and Deborah may also have

played a part in encouraging the *romans*-poets to develop their female warriors more fully.

Deborah leads ten thousand Israelite troops alongside their general, Barak, who only

agrees to go into battle if Deborah is with them (Judges 4). Meanwhile Judith takes up a

sword and beheads the Assyrian general, Holofernes, before instructing the Israelites on

the strategy for the subsequent battle, from which they emerge victorious (Judith 13-15).[15]

There is also a strong tradition of women-warriors in Germanic literature that

predates the *romans* to which a substantial amount of scholarly attention has been given.[16]

Although there is currently no definitive evidence to suggest that the *romans*-poets had

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[14] Callisto is even described in similar terms as those quoted above in reference to *Enéas*'s Camille
regarding "'not liking women's tasks'": 'non erat huius opus lanam mollire trahendo / nec positu
uariare comas' (*it was not her task to soften wool by drawing it out nor to vary her hairstyle*, *Metamophoses*, 2:
411-12)': Alison Sharrock, 'Warrior Women in Roman Epic', in *Women and War in Antiquity*, ed. by
Jacqueline Fabre-Serris and Alison Keith (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), pp.
157-78 (p. 168).

[15] The figure of Judith was particularly and increasingly popular throughout the Middle Ages. For
example, she is the protagonist of the Old English poem *Judith* (*c*. 700-1025); she appears in the
Vita of Christina of Markygate (*c*. 1096-1155) as a 'favourite' of the Virgin Mary; she is carved into
the stone archivolt of Chartres Cathedral (est. 1184-1220); she is referred to in at least four of
Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (*c*. 1387-1400), including *The Merchant's Tale*, *The Tale of Melibee*,
The Monk's Tale, and *The Man of Law's Tale*; she is also admitted into Christine de Pizan's *Cité des
dames* and is evoked in her *Ditié de Jeanne d'Arc* (*c*. 1429). For more on Judith in these sources, see
Peggy L. Curry, 'Representing the Biblical Judith in Literature and Art: An Intertextual Cultural
Critique' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 1994) and Peter J.
Lucas, '*Judith* and the Woman Hero', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 22 (1992), 17-27 (p. 17).

[16] For example: Judith Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1991);
Jenny Jochens, *Old Norse Images of Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996)
and *Women in Old Norse Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

contact with Germanic sources, nor that they could read Germanic languages were they to have had access, there is evidence to suggest that they worked with Latin sources that related episodes from Germanic mythology and history. For example, when Benoît wrote the *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* after completing *Troie*, he traces the ancestry of the dukes of Normandy back to Troy, via the Danes.[17] In this work he describes the culture and traditions of the Danes, including their belief-system and mythology, which opens the possibility that he may have known of other Germanic epics and sagas.[18] Exactly when Benoît first acquired his knowledge of Germanic cultures (that is, whether it was before or after his composition of *Troie*) cannot be known, but it is possible he had already read some such related literature or indeed had heard accounts of their stories and mythologies. It is unlikely that he had a detailed knowledge of the traditions of women-warriors in Germanic culture, but it is not impossible that he was aware of figures such as *valkyries* and *skjoldmø* (shieldmaidens) who are often mentioned in Germanic and Danish sources, and was therefore influenced by the popularity of these figures in their respective literatures.

Figures of warrior women were already familiar when the *romans*-poets started composing their works. However, what was new was the way in which the poets expanded and developed their functions and their descriptions to turn them into fully realised characters who played critical roles in the progression of their respective narratives. Not only did the poets pay them particular attention, but many of the

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[17] For more on the Danes in Benoît's *Chronique*, see Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'Les Danois dans l'*Histoire des ducs de Normandie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure', *Le Moyen Âge*, 108 (2002), 481-95.

[18] Benoît's main sources for his knowledge of the Danes were Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *Historia Normannorum* (*c.* 996-1015) and William of Jumièges's *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* (*c.* 1070). See Baumgartner, 'Les Danois dans l'*Histoire*', passim.

illustrated manuscripts also suggest a special interest in these female warriors, showing

that they were figures who continued to capture the attention of their audiences.

VI.ii. *Courtoisie*, *Prouesse*, and *Loyauté*: Three Knightly Virtues of the Chivalric Hero

The question of what distinguished a savage brute (immorally and unethically slaughtering

those around them) from a courtly chivalric knight (with a code of honour whose actions

are legitimised as worthy and righteous) was important to the medieval mind.[19] The *romans*

were written at a time when the idea of chivalry was becoming increasingly discussed and

conceptualised; numerous other sources (textual, artistic, and material) attest to this

exploration but it is not really possible to speak of anything close to a code of chivalry in

the mid-twelfth century. Keen states that the earliest texts with claims to a 'systematic

treatment' of chivalry include Etienne de Fougères's *Livre des manières*, Thomas of

Zerclaere's *Der Wälsche Gast* (*c.* 1216), and the anonymous *Ordène de chevalerie*.[20] It is this

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[19] There is a substantial amount of scholarly work on medieval ethical and moral attitudes to
military conduct and martial behaviour. See, for example: Maria Grazia Cammarota, 'War and the
"Agony of Conscience" in Ælfric's Writings', *Mediaevistik*, 26 (2014), 87-110; H. E. John Cowdrey,
'Christianity and the Morality of Warfare during the First Century of Crusading', in *The Experience
of Crusading, 1: Western Approaches*, ed. by Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 175-92; Rory Cox, 'Asymmetric Warfare and Military
Conduct in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 38 (2012), 100-25; Thomas K. Heebøll-
Holm, 'Apocalypse then? The First Crusade, Traumas of War and Thomas de Marle' in *Denmark
and Europe in the Middle Ages, c. 1000-1525: Essays in Honour of Professor Michael H. Gelting*, ed. by
Kerstin Hundahl, Lars Kjær and Niels Lund (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 237-54; James
Johnson, 'Thinking Morally about War in the Middle Ages and Today, in *Ethics, Nationalism, and
Just War: Medieval and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. by Henrik Syse and Gregory M. Reichberg
(Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), pp. 3-10; Kaeuper, *Medieval
Chivalry*, pp. 155-207; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 219-37.
[20] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 4-6.

latter text, combined with the later *Libre de l'Ordre de Cavalleria* of Ramon Lull and the *Livre de chevalerie* of Geoffrey of Charny, that come to form the canon on instruction for chivalry as a codified way of life.[21] Keen adds that courtly romances that predate these three works were also enthusiastic in presenting 'a model of true chivalry' and highlights the works of Chrétien de Troyes as establishing the five 'qualities' of chivalry: *prouesse*, *loyauté*, *largesse*, *courtoisie*, and *franchise*.[22] However, Keen dismisses romances as sources for chivalric models as he judges them to be 'a literature of escape' rather than 'a promising model for a social historian'.[23] Despite this judgment, he concedes (in the next paragraph) that '[w]e shall in fact need to return to the romances, many times', for they do contain important details that have been lost or excluded from non-literary sources.[24] Keen draws the majority of his examples to support his theory that romance is purely 'a world of fiction and fantasy' from a limited selection of romances (primarily Chrétien's) within the *matière de Bretagne* tradition.[25] Had he looked at a wider selection of texts he may have found something more of interest. For in fact, due to the *romans*-poets' development of their female warriors, who (as will be shown) are most certainly presented as belonging to the emerging chivalric tradition, they exemplify an additional gendered chivalric virtue that has subsequently been largely omitted both from medieval and modern analyses of chivalry and is therefore almost entirely original to this thesis: this is the virtue of virginity.

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[21] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 6-17.

[22] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 2. For reasons of space, this section will consider only the first three.

[23] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 3.

[24] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 3. Indeed Keen's view is now considered rather outdated on this issue. More recent scholarship does recognise the importance of literature. See, for example, Kaeuper's more recent study of medieval chivalry that uses evidence from *chansons de geste*, Chrétien de Troyes, the *Lancelot-Grail* cycle, *Lancelot du Lac*, the *Merlin Continuation*, Malory's *Morte Darthur*, and *Perceforest* to supplement his arguments and conclusions: Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*.

[25] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 2.

The reason that this quality is probably because it was associated with what I am terming 'feminine chivalry'. However, there are still echoes of it in later medieval romances, exemplified by both male and female warriors, as will be discussed. The fact that virginity does not consistently appear as a chivalric virtue in later medieval texts may have been part of a strategy to exclude women from the chivalric tradition, while the omission by more recent historians to acknowledge this aspect could be similarly motivated. It may also be related to the fact that aside from the Grail-knights, most of the other knights were current or future rulers who needed heirs in order to continue their line. This section will therefore first demonstrate the ways in which the women warriors of the *romans* contribute to an early example of a 'model of chivalry' in the same way that their male counterparts do by exemplifying *courtoisie*, *prouesse*, and *loyauté*. The next section will explore the ways in which they represent a form of 'feminine chivalry' through the added virtue of virginity. Finally, it considers the way this 'feminine chivalry' was alluded to in later medieval texts, but was ultimately supressed until it largely disappeared, and left knighthood as a predominantly male space.

From the moment that Penthesilea is introduced in *Troie* and Camille in *Enéas*, there is little doubt as to their knightly virtues as the poets use the same chivalric vocabulary with which they had previously described the male heroes. For example, the following description of Hector is given in *Troie*:

Sol pröece li remaneit	*Prowess alone was always with him and*
E li frans cuers, quil somoneit	*his noble heart summoned him all*
De toz jorz faire come ber.	*the time to act like a baron [should].*
Puis qu'il n'aveit a armes per,	*Nobody could equal his arms or*
Ne n'eüst nul de sa largece,	*match his largesse, so*
De tant valeit mieuz sa pröece.	*that his prowess was all the more*
De corteisie par fu teus	*praiseworthy. His courtesy was such that*

Que cil de Troie e l'oz des Greus	*those of Troy and from the Greek*
Envers lui furent dreit vilain:	*army were like peasants next to him.*
Onc plus corteis ne manja pain.	*No one more courtly ever broke bread.*
De sen e de bele mesure	*In wisdom and in good judgment*
Sormontot tote creature.	*he was above all others in the world.*

    (*Troie*, ll. 5347-58)

This we can compare to an extract from the introductory description of Penthesilea:

La reïne Panthesilee,	*Queen Penthesilea,*
Proz e hardie e bele e sage,	*worthy and hardy and beautiful and wise,*
De grant valor, de grant parage,	*of great valour, and of high nobility;*
Mout ert preisiee e honoree;	*she was very much prized and honoured,*
De li esteit grant renomee.	*and had a great reputation.*
Por Hector, que voleit veeir	*She wanted to see Hector*
E por pris conquerre e aveir,	*and to win and achieve great glory,*
S'esmut a venir al socors.	*which is why she had come to his aid.*
Mout furent riches ses ators,	*Her equipment was very rich,*
Mout amena riche compaigne,	*and she led a noble army,*
E fiere e hardie e grifaigne.	*who were proud and hardy and fierce.*

    (*Troie*, ll. 23360-70)

Both descriptions allude to the *prouesse* and *courtoisie* of their subjects. The immediate reference to Hector confirms that as this description is being heard or read, the audience will have an image of Hector figuratively standing alongside Penthesilea. They are both 'hardi' and have 'riche' equipment; she is 'sage' and he has good 'sen'; she has 'grant valor' and he has great 'pröesce'; she is of 'grant parage' and he excels in 'corteisie'. The way in which Penthesilea's army is introduced is also interesting. Baumgartner and Vielliard's modern French edition translates 'compaigne' as 'guerrières' (*female warriors*) but my translation retains the gender-ambiguity of the original text. The feminine forms of 'fiere',

'hardie', and 'grifaigne' relate to the fact that the word 'cumpaigne' is feminine, rather than necessarily suggesting that this particular company is made up exclusively of women. Although Benoît goes on to explain that Penthesilea's army consists of virgin warriors, at this earlier point there is perhaps a deliberate strategy of ambiguity to keep the audience or reader guessing as to whether Penthesilea could be commanding an army of men. The words 'fiere', 'hardie', and 'grifaigne' have all been previously applied in this same combination to all-male companies (cf. ll. 6886, 7412, and 10632) and certainly she has been introduced as a leader with the qualities needed to hold such a position.

Camille is introduced in similar terms to those used for Penthesilea:

A grant merveille par fu bele,	*She was of an extraordinary beauty,*
Et moult estoit de grant pooir;	*and had very great abilities;*
Ne fu femme de son savoir.	*no other woman had her knowledge.*
Moult ert courtoise, preuz et sage	*She was very courteous, worthy, and*
Et demenoit moult grant barnage;	*wise and she kept a great number of barons in*
A merveilles tenoit bien terre	*her company; she governed her land very well*
Et fu touz temps norrie en guerre,	*and was brought up in constant wars,*
Et moult ama chevalerie.	*and she really loved* chevalerie.[26]

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[26] The translation of 'chevalerie' presents a particular challenge to translators, which is why it has been left as *chevalerie* here. It could be translated as the concept of 'chivalry', or as 'knighthood' or 'knightliness', or simply as 'horsemanship'; the *Dictionnaire Étymologique de l'Ancien Français* gives all these possible translations for a mid-twelfth-century context. However, as chivalry became increasingly discussed and conceptualised during the Middle Ages, and after the circulation of texts such as the *Ordène*, Ramon's *Libre*, and Geoffrey's *Livre* as discussed above, it is probable that later readers and audiences of *Enéas*, when they heard or saw the word *chevalerie*, would have been thinking of the virtues and qualities that were associated with this as a way of life, rather than purely associating it with horsemanship or being a mounted warrior. Petit's modern French translation in his edition of *Enéas* is able to retain the word *chevalerie* as the modern French 'chevalerie' also retains the double meaning of both 'chivalry' and 'knighthood', thereby avoiding

(*Enéas*, ll. 4049-56)

There is also a similar initial ambiguity as to the sex of Camille's followers:

A l'ost et amena grant gent:	*She led an army of many people:*
Bien amena de chevaliers	*for she led at least fifteen-*
Enjusque a .XV. milliers.	*thousand knights with her.*
(*Enéas*, ll. 4173-75)	

The masculine 'chevaliers' and 'barnage' (from the previous quotation) could imply that her army is made up of men. A later instance in which a description of her army is given similarly suggests that she is commanding men: 'Bien ot .III. mille chevaliers | Toz conraez sor lor destriers (*She had three thousand knights all armed on their war-horses*, ll. 6977-78). Again we have the masculine 'chevaliers' and the 'celui' seems to confirm that they are male. However, in the mid-twelfth century there was no one word to denote female knights: the feminine words *chevalière* or *chevaleresse* were used to signify the wife of a knight rather than a female knight.[27] However, when her army launches its attack on the Trojans, the narrator describes the following scene:

Camille yssi fors au tornoy,	*Camille went forth to the tourney,*
.C. pucelles mena o soy,	*taking a hundred maidens with her,*
Bien armees de couvertures,	*all well defensively armed,*
Tout de diverses armeüres:	*all with different equipment:*
Moult par y ot belle compaigne	*they were a beautiful company*
Quant eulz furent fors en la plaine.	*when they took to the field.*

the need to choose between the two, although this does exclude the possibility of the less value-loaded term of simple 'horsemanship'.

[27] See their respective entries in the *Dictionnaire Étymologique de l'Ancien Français*.

Li Troïen les esgarderent,	*The Trojans saw them,*
A grant merveille les douterent.	*and were very afraid of this*
Quant poignoient a euz damesses,	*marvel. When the women*
Cuidoient que fuissent deuesses.	*galloped to them, they believed*
(*Enéas*, ll. 7045-54)	*they were goddesses.*

This is the first time the narrator has mentioned Camille being accompanied by anyone other than 'chevaliers', yet here we have a hundred 'pucelles' riding into battle. Subsequent descriptions of Camille in battle only mention her fighting alongside women. So, are we to assume that the thousands of 'chevaliers' she is described as leading in earlier descriptions were also women, and that therefore the apparently masculine word 'chevaliers' was in fact being used to describe a group of women?[28] Or is it the case that Camille was leading thousands of men, amongst which were (at least) one hundred warrior women? This is left ambiguous and leaves us with the possibility that the masculine 'chevaliers' is therefore being used to describe a group of both men and women (as would be the standard grammatical structure since there is no way of differentiating whether the plural masculine form denotes exclusively male objects or a mixture of male and female). Whatever the answer, it means we cannot assume (at least in *Enéas*) that 'chevalier' necessarily denotes only a male knight: the *Enéas*-poet uses it interchangeably for both male and female warriors.

Returning to the way in which Camille is introduced, unlike in *Troie* where there are numerous other portraits of the narrative's heroes against which we can make a comparison, there are relatively few opportunities to do so in *Enéas*. The description of

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[28] The word 'chevaliers' is used in all the manuscripts of *Enéas* for these passages. There is no variation (apart from spelling) or alternative suggested.

Aeneas is only twelve lines long and limits itself predominantly to his physical features and clothing:

Eneas ert uns gens, .I. grans	*Aeneas was a noble and great*
Chevaliers, preus et avenans.	*knight, worthy, and valiant.*
Le corps ot gens et bien mollé,	*He had a noble well-formed body,*
Le chief ot blont recercellé,	*his hair was curly and blonde,*
Cler ot le vis et la figure,	*his face and form was clear,*
Moult fiere la regardeüre.	*his expression was very proud.*
Le pis ot gros et les costés	*His chest was large and his thighs*
Lons et deugiez et bien molez,	*were long, slender, and well-moulded,*
D'un cendal d'Andre fu vestus,	*he was dressed in taffeta from*
A .I. fil d'ore estroit cousus.	*Andros, carefully embroidered with*
.I. mantel gris ot aufublé,	*gold thread. He wore a grey mantle*
Chauciez fu d'un paile roé.	*and shoes of ornate silk.*[29]
(*Enéas*, ll. 648-59)	

Similarly amongst the Latin troops, there is little description. Turnus is introduced almost in passing during the council of Latinus with Aeneas (ll. 3314-17). His allies are given sparse introductions at best: Messentinus is simply a 'riches hom moult et duis de guerre' (*rich man with much experience in war*, l. 3994); the son of Lausus is 'preus et gentilz: | onques plus bele creature | d'omme vivant ne fist Nature (*worthy and noble: Nature had never made such a beautiful living creature*, ll. 3999-4001); Mesapus, the son of Neptune, has 'chevaus n'a souz ciel plus vaillanz' (*the most valliant horses in the world*, l. 4024) but there is more description given to the horses than to him. In contrast to the few lines given to the male

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[29] Burns explains that such luxury materials came to France in the twelfth century either via trade, pilgrimage, or crusade. The appearance of such items in the descriptions may therefore be a nod once again to sources of inspiration that were influencing the *romans*-poets: Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, pp. 179-210.

heroes, the description of Camille occupies a hundred and forty-eight lines (ll. 4046-4193).

This elaborate description has been somewhat exhaustively compared to Virgil's version

by Erich Auerbach, who considers the *Enéas*-poet's skills to be entirely lacking: in

Auerbach's judgement, Virgil's description of Camille is 'grand and sublime' in its brevity

(of fifteen lines) while the *Enéas*-poet 'utterly destroys all this by diluting it with long

moralistic and ornamental descriptions'.[30] Essentially the *Enéas*-poet gives more details of

her beauty, her clothing, and equipment, the splendour of her horse, and the wonder and

admiration that she inspires in all those who see her. Jessie Crosland is similarly

disparaging and suggests that Camille has been transformed into 'a kind of Lady Godiva'

and that we should 'positively blush for the taste of author and audience'.[31] However,

although it is true that there is a great deal of attention given to Camille's physical

appearance, both Auerbach and Crosland ignore the density of vocabulary that establishes

her not just as a beautiful lady but simultaneously as a figure from the realm of hitherto

masculine *chevalerie*: 'pooir' (*power*, l. 4050), 'courtoise, preuz et sage' (*courteous, worthy, and

wise*, l. 4052), 'grant barnage' (*great bravery*, l. 4053), 'norrie en guerre' (*brought up with war*, l.

4055), 'ama chevalerie' (*loved chevalerie*, l. 4056), 'amoit armes a porter, | a tournoier et a

jouster, | ferir d'espee ou de lance' (*loved to bear arms, to tourney, and joust with an iron sword or

lance*, l. 4060), 'vaillance' (*valliance*, l. 4063), 'ert roys' (*she was a king*, l. 4064), 'sagement'

(*wisely*, l. 4069), 'richement' (*richly*, l. 4172), 'l'ost et amena' (*she led an army*, l. 4173), 'preuz'

(*worthy*, l. 4181), 'ele se deüst combatre, | jouster et chevaliers abatre' (*she had to fight, to

joust, and to battle against knights*, ll. 4184-85). All of these terms can be (and are) equally

applied to the male warriors of the narrative. The *Enéas*-poet does go to great lengths to

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[30] Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Pantheon, 1965), pp. 190-91.

[31] Jessie Crosland, '*Enéas* and the *Aeneid*', *The Modern Language Review*, 29 (1934), 282-90 (p. 289).

illustrate that she is a beautiful woman but he also goes to similar lengths to illustrate that she is a warrior; he obviously did not see the two as mutually exclusive.

Penthesilea and Camille's introductions establish them as exemplars of *courtoisie* through their noble birth, rich apparel, and wisdom. The poets go on to provide examples of the chivalric virtues of *prouesse* and *loyauté* that they display on the battlefield. From Penthesilea's first battle, we are left in no doubt as to her martial prowess. She uses swords and lances to engage the enemy in the *melée* until the ground is 'de sanc vermeil destenpree' (*soaked with red blood*, l. 23647). She fights with Greek heroes in one-to-one combat: she 'josta' (*jousted*, l. 23625) with Menelaus and unhorsed him and she and Diomedes 'josterent' (*jousted*, l. 23629) until he loses his shield and retreated. Telamon attempts to attack her by surprise, but her comrades help her and she overcomes him and takes him prisoner. By the end of the battle, the Trojans agree that she '[a]veit le pris de cel jornal' (*should have the prize for that day*, l. 23715) for nobody else 'fet tant d'esforz, | Ne tant des lor ocis e morz' (*made such a show of force nor killed as many people*, ll. 23717-18). Priam is persuaded that through her and her army, his people will be 'rescos' (*rescued*, l. 23724). Benoît's enthusiasm for recounting Penthesilea's martial accomplishments continues throughout Battles XXII and XXIII. His version is substantially longer and more detailed than his sources. In Dares's version, Penthesilea's battles are described in a single sentence: '[o]ccurrit Penthesilea et fortiter in proelio versatur, utrique per aliquot dies acriter pugnaverunt, multosque occiderunt' (*Penthesilea, having entered the fray, proved her prowess again and again. For several days they fought fiercely, and many were killed*, D.36). In Dictys's version she fights in only one battle and he describes her exploits as equalling but not exceeding those of one of the Greek warriors: '[c]adunt sagittis reginae plurimi neque ab Teucro secus bellatum' (*the queen slaughtered many, using her bow; as did Teucer for us [the Greeks]*, IV.2). Despite the fact that Benoît reiterates during one of her battles that he is retelling everything exactly 'cum l'estoire me retret' (*as the history [his source] tells him*, l.

24252) in actual fact he is substantially elaborating upon his sources to show in unambiguous detail that she was a warrior of great prowess who was the martial equivalent (or indeed superior) of any of the male warriors.

There are ten manuscripts that include illustrations of Penthesilea (making up thirty illustrations in total) and these most commonly show her in battle.[32] Eighteen of these thirty show her on the battlefield. Of these eighteen, thirteen show her in the midst of combat and often at the point of victory (for example, with her spear or sword penetrating the body of her opponent). The remaining five illustrations show the moment at which she is killed. She usually wears armour that has no discernible difference from male armour; she rides astride (not side-saddle), and she often has a helmet that covers her face. However, even when she has her face covered, the illustrators still ensure that she is identifiable. For example, in MS P6 she carries a white shield and her horse has a white caparison (as described by the text) as well as having a long blonde plait visible under her helmet and a crest shaped as a crown (fig. 15); in MS Vt she carries a shield that was heraldically styled *azure, a queen's head argent, crowned or* (fig. 2), and she carries this shield in subsequent battle scenes (for example, fig. 55);[33] in MS V1 her helmet has a crest shaped as a crown and she wears her veil as a lambrequin (fig. 56); in MS Vn she is styled with a distinctive heraldic pattern of *azure semé of marguerites* (fig. 57); and in MS P18 she is

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[32] These manuscripts are: MSS M, P6, L2, Nt, Mn, Vt, P17, V1, Vn, and P18. It is almost certain that MS SP1 also contains illustrations of Penthesilea given that it contains over three hundred illustrations and has been connected to MS Vt (which itself contains six illustrations of Penthesilea). However, as mentioned in the Introduction, I am excluding it from my discussion due to its inaccessability.

[33] Although the text describes her as carrying a shield that is pure white, from the fourteenth century onwards she is most frequently assigned the heraldic symbol of a crowned queen's head (or heads) on a field of azure: Sophie Harwood, 'Swans and Amazons: The Case of Penthesilea and Women's Heraldry in Medieval Culture', *The Mediaeval Journal*, 7 (2017), forthcoming.

similarly styled with a distinctive heraldic pattern as well as a plait showing under her helmet and a rubricated caption added above the illustration's frame (fig. 58). Clearly all the illustrators were keen that she should be distinctive on the battlefield.

One of the earliest illustrated manuscripts, MS P6, contains eight full-page miniatures (each divided into two or three registers); Morrison argues that these full-page miniatures are of particular importance in representing the superiority of the Trojans and their allies as part of a strategy of linking the Capetian dynastic to Troy (through Hector).[34] Penthesilea is included in one of these full-page miniatures and in fact the structure of its three registers presents her as an equal of Troilus and Paris (fig. 18). The top register shows Achilles dragging the body of the recently-deceased Troilus behind his horse; the middle register shows Ajax and Paris killing each other; the bottom register shows Pyrrhus killing Penthesilea. Although this miniature is admittedly illustrating her death rather than her success on the battlefield, what is important is that she is given the same treatment as one of Hector's brothers, positioning her as equal to Paris and Troilus, and figuratively (if not literally) as part of Hector's family. This manuscript had already illustrated an example of her triumphing on the battlefield (fig. 15) just as it had done for Paris and Troilus. This illustration of her eventual defeat is therefore not intended to show weakness or failure but quite the opposite; it places her as the knightly equal of Troilus and Paris. They fell not because of inadequacy, but because of the perfidious and cowardly Greeks;[35] the same can be said of Penthesilea.

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[34] Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 82-133 and 'Linking Ancient Troy and Medieval France', pp. 72-102.

[35] The perfidy of the Greeks is demonstrated through the dastardliness of their actions in battle, such as attacking from behind or unceremoniously dragging the body of a noble behind a horse: Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 117.

The *Enéas*-poet also elaborates on Camille's prowess in battle and carefully engineers the scene between Tarchon and Camille (quoted in the introduction to this chapter) in which her martial skills are directly questioned, only for her to prove conclusively that such questioning is unfounded. This scene is different from its equivalent scene in the *Aeneid*. In Virgil's version, Tarchon's disparaging comments are not directed at Camille, but are addressed to the Tuscans as a way to motivate them into battle:

Femina palantis agit atque haec	*And can a woman drive you off*
agmina vertit: quo ferrum quidve	*and smash your ranks? Then*
haec gerimus tela inrita dextris?	*what good is the sword? Why*
at non in Venerem segnes	*bother brandishing these useless*
nocturnaque bella, aut ubi curva	*weapons? Yet when it comes to*
choros indixit tibia Bacchi.	*love and night-time battles, or when*
(*Aeneid*, XI, 734-37)	*the curving flute proclaims the*
	dances of Bacchus, then you are
	not lazy.

The phrase 'nocturnaque bella' is particularly important here, because the *Enéas*-poet takes this idea and recontextualises it so that instead of being used to motivate troops, it is used by Tarchon to antagonise Camille:

Femme ne doit mie combatre	*A woman should not fight except*
Se par nuit non et en gissant,	*at night when she is lying down,*
La puet faire homme recreant.	*there she can make a man surrender.*[36]
(*Enéas*, ll. 7142-43)	

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[36] The sexual innuendo of this statement is also intended to humiliate Camille.

Virgil's 'nocturnaque bella' becomes the *Enéas*-poet's 'combatre | Se par nuit' but rather than motivating a group of men to fight against a woman, it motivates a woman to fight (and kill) a man. In addition, the last we see of Virgil's Tarchon is his triumph on the battlefield before the poet's gaze turns to another section of the fighting. But the last we see of the *Enéas*-poet's Tarchon is his death at the hands of Camille. *Enéas* revises the *Aeneid* to show that not only do his narrative's women-warriors demonstrate great prowess, but those who doubt or criticise it will end unhappily.

Finally, both poets show that Camille and Penthesilea demonstrate *loyauté* to their companions, and are treated loyally in return. This is not loyalty only between women, but loyalty across the sexes. It is loyalty that finds its common ground in military comradeship. Firstly, Penthesilea shows loyalty to Hector, a man whom she has never met, but to whom she is nevertheless loyal out of respect for his reputation and legacy. Benoît makes it clear that her motivation for fighting the Greeks is to avenge Hector: '[s]a mort lur farai comparer: | Ja ne s'en savront si garder' (*I will make them pay for his death: nothing will protect them*, ll. 23415-16). Again, Benoît is departing from his source-material here. Dares does not propose any motivation at all for Penthesilea's participation in the war while Dictys's Penthesilea is motivated either by 'pretio an bellandi cupidine' (*money or love of war*, III.15). Penthesilea's loyalty to Hector is entirely of Benoît's own invention and part of his strategy of fitting her into a chivalric mould.

Penthesilea's arrival at Troy is a commonly chosen scene for illustration as it appears in six manuscripts.[37] In four of these she is shown being greeted by Priam, often accompanied by a form of embrace (their arms entwined in greeting as they reach out

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[37] There are fewer total illustrations of her arrival than of her on the battlefield (six versus eighteen respectively), but her arrival scene appears in a greater number of manuscripts (six instead of five). These six are: MSS Nt, Vt, Mn, V1, Vn, and P18.

across their mounts). In MS Vt she is welcomed by Paris (fig. 2). Interestingly, the only

illustration that shows her arriving without being greeted is MS Mn, in which she is simply

shown riding towards Troy, and this illustration has itself been damaged or defaced in a

way that none of the other illustrations in this manuscript have been (fig. 9). The

illustrative scheme of MS Mn has been linked to MS P14, which is one of the manuscripts

that does not include any illustration of Penthesilea at all, and MS L2, which only

illustrates her dead body.[38] Furthermore, neither of these manuscripts contains the

descriptions of Femenie that Benoît includes as an introduction to Penthesilea's entry into

the narrative (ll. 23302-56).[39] It seems the producers of these three manuscripts (and at

least one later user) were not quite so fond of the Amazons.

Returning to the virtue of *loyauté*, Penthesilea is not only loyal to others, but others

are loyal to her in return. We see the bonds between her and her troops: for example,

when she is killed by Pyrrhus, her soldiers are spurred to exact revenge on the Greeks:

E des danzeles que dirons?	*And of her maidens, what can we say?*
Veient que lor dame ont perdue.	*They saw that they had lost their lady.*
[...]	*[...]*
Fors de lor sen e pleines d'ire,	*Out of their minds and filled with*
Se vuelent totes faire ocire.	*rage. They all wanted to die.*
[...]	*[...]*
Tuit se vuelent a mort livrer:	*All wanted to give themselves to*
Mesle pesle s'entrefereient,	*death. They fought pell-mell, and*
E si a fais s'entrociëient	*killed so many that the living were*
Que sor les morz erent li vif.	*walking on the [bodies of the] dead.*

  (*Troie*, ll. 24334-35, 24337-38, 24344-47)

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[38] This link is made by Morrison in 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 160-80.

[39] Highlighted by Jung in *La légende*, p. 184.

Again, this loyalty is of Benoît's invention. In Dictys's and Dares's versions her followers simply flee the battlefield after they see her fall (*Dictys*, IV.3 and *Daretis*, D.36). We also see a bond of loyalty between Penthesilea and Philemenis. The former comes to the aid of the latter during Battle XXII and is able to recover him from the clutches of the Greeks:

La reïne de Femenie	*The queen of Femenie rallied*
Ra ajosté sa compaignie:	*her troops. Quickly she helped*
Hastivement refait monter	*Philemenis of Outre Mer back*
Philemenis d'outre la mer:	*into his saddle: he was very grateful*
Grant gré l'en sot, mout l'en mercie;	*and very thankful to her, and said*
Dit qu'el li a rendu la vie.	*that she had given him back his life.*
(*Troie*, ll. 24169-74)	

It comes as no surprise, then, that when Penthesilea's body is eventually recovered from the river into which it has been thrown after her death, it is Philemenis who determines that it should be returned to Femenie and volunteers to accompany it (ll. 25279-83 and ll. 25767-808). The return of Penthesilea's body to Femenie is absent from Benoît's sources and is his invention. Again, we can surmise that not only did he want to show Penthesilea as a loyal warrior, but in return she earned the loyalty of others. It is this reciprocity that marks her as an accepted warrior within the larger martial structure.

The bonds of loyalty between Camille and Turnus, as well as Camille and her troops, are also something that the *Enéas*-poet represents in detail. The first interaction between the two presents not just a military bonding but almost a playful friendship. Camille and her army are awaiting Turnus and when he arrives, the narrator recounts the following scene:

Turnus la vit, celle part vait,	*Turnus saw her, and went to where*
La meschine vers lui se trait,	*she was, the maiden went towards*

Parla a lui en sourïant:	*him, too, and spoke to him with a*
'Vous nous alez trop demorant;	*smile: 'You have lost too much time*
La fors sont ja lor correour,	*in getting here; the scouts are already on*
Et nous demoron toute jor'.	*their routes, and we have been*
(*Enéas*, ll. 7002-07)	*waiting all day'.*

Were it not for the 'en sourïant' her greeting and admonishment of his tardiness might have seemed insubordinately critical. But the 'en sourïant' communicates that there is a bond between the two that is not just martial but friendly, too; this gentle mockery is as close to boisterous camaraderie as we get in *Enéas*. The two go on to discuss their strategy for facing Aeneas's army, which includes Camille setting an ambush for Aeneas. It is during this ambush and the ensuing battle that Camille is set upon by two Trojans, but one of her ladies, Tarpeia, comes to her aid, and between the two of them they kill the two men (ll. 7192-204). This episode is not in the *Aeneid* and again was invented by the *Enéas*-poet to create a scene in which Camille is shown with loyal followers as well as being a loyal follower herself. Following Camille's death in the *Aeneid*, she is avenged by the goddess Diana but the *Enéas*-poet changes this, too, so that in his version she is avenged by one of her ladies:

Une pucelle l'a veü	*A maiden saw him [Camille's*
Et point aprés, si l'a feru	*killer] and followed him and*
Que mort l'abat, puis li a dit:	*struck him so hard that he died,*
'Ceste joie a duré petit:	*and she said to him: 'His joy*
De ma dame ai pris venjance'.	*was brief: I have avenged my lady'.*
(*Enéas*, ll. 7273-77)	

Turnus's reaction to her death is extreme and it helps determine the next stage of development in the plot, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Suffice to say here that he is devastated at her loss.

Penthesilea and Camille are therefore paragons of *courtoisie*, *prouesse*, and *loyauté* in much the same way that as male heroes are and they display the requisite virtues that allow them to participate in the chivalric tradition. Of course, Penthesilea did later became one of the *Neuf Preuses* just as Hector was one of the *Neuf Preux*, confirming that she was seen as much a part of the chivalric tradition as was Hector. However, Penthesilea, Camille, and their followers possess another virtue that their male equivalents do not, and which is not a virtue typically discussed or included in later manuals of chivalry or in many later *romans*: this is the virtue of virginity.

VI.iii. The Gendered Virtue of Virginity

Penthesilea, Camille, and their followers, are all virgin warriors, yet the poets never specifically use the word *vierge* or its derivatives. In fact, this word is almost entirely lacking from both narratives; it is never used in *Enéas* and it only appears once in *Troie* as Polyxena proclaims her willingness to be executed: 'O ma virginité morrai' (*I will die with my virginity*, l. 26511). *Vierge* is actually a loaded term as it is connected to a specifically Christian concept of virginity and it was a word intrinsically associated with the Virgin Mary;[40] however, the Amazons, the Volscians, the Greeks, and the Trojans were of course not Christian. Instead, the poets prefer the word *pucelle* when referring to virginal women: Benoît uses *pucelle* at least eighty times and the *Enéas*-poet uses it at least thirty times (roughly the same proportion given the comparative length of their two texts).

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[40] Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 22-31.

Pucelle could be ambiguous as it could also be used as a synonym for a girl or young woman without any necessary implication as to the status of her virginity.[41] However, there are clear indications that the *romans*-poets used it as a synonym for *vierge*, possibly because they simply wanted to avoid the Christian connotations with which the word *vierge* were associated. Firstly, they never use it to denote a woman who is married (and, presumably, sexually active): Helen and Andromache are almost always and exclusively described as *dames* or *femmes*.[42] And secondly, they use a derivative of *pucelle* to describe the loss of virginity: when Jason goes to bed with Medea the narrator tells us 'la despucela' (*he [Jason] deflowered her / took her virginity*, l. 1648), and when explaining the ways and traditions of the Amazons, Benoît explains that 'ja n'erent despucelees' (*they were never deflowered / never lost their virginities*, l. 23350). The other terms used for Camille, Penthesilea, and their followers are *meschine* and *damoisele*, though not with as great frequency, and often for the purposes of rhyme within the couplet structure of both texts. Both these words were used to denote young women, with *meschine* often being used for particularly young women or girls and *damoisele* primarily being used a method of address; both had the implication of virginity (because of the implication of youth and an unmarried status) though they were slightly more ambiguous than *pucelle* in this sense.[43]

As if acknowledging the potential imprecision of language, both poets give descriptions of the sexual practices (or absence of such practices) of their women-warriors:

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[41] Auguste Grisay, G. Laris and M. Dubois-Stasse, eds., *Les dénominations de la femme dans les anciens textes littéraires français* (Gembloux: Editions J. Duculot, 1969), pp. 156-66.

[42] For comparison, Camille is only referred to as *Dame* once and this is by Tarchon during his attempted defamation of her character in suggesting that she would be better off providing sexual services to him and his comrades rather than fighting on the battlefield.

[43] Grisay, Laris, and Dubois-Stasse, *Les dénominations de la femme*, p. 187.

D'eles i a mout grant partie	*A large section of them [the*
Que ja a nul jor de lor vie	*Amazons] never made [sexual]*
Ne seront d'omes adesees	*approaches to men for even a single*
Ne ja n'ierent despucelees.	*day of their lives and they never lost*
Armes portent: mout sont vaillanz.	*their virginities. They [the virgin*
(*Troie*, ll. 23347-51)	*Amazons] bore arms, and were very valiant.*

Meanwhile the *Enéas*-poet is almost coy in his description: 'Ne la nuit nulz homs n'i entrast | Ens en sa chambre ou ele estoit (*At night no man may enter there into the room where she was*, ll. 4067-68). The poet's use of enjambment here rather makes the second line redundant, although without it the first line would be quite crude.

This virginal state, and desire to maintain said virginity, sets them apart from the male warriors. In *Troie*, the principal heroes such as Jason, Hercules, Hector, Paris, Troilus, Ulysses, Ajax, Diomedes, Achilles, Agamemnon, and Menelaus all have (or have had) wives or *amies* with whom they engage in sexual activity. In *Enéas*, Aeneas begins the narrative having just lost his wife during the sack of Troy, then has his affair with Dido, and finally marries Lavine. Turnus is promised to Lavine and while there is no indication that they have consummated their relationship, there is certainly no indication that he would remain celibate once married. The exception may be Pallas, who is never described as having an *amie* nor does he show any inclination to desire women. This may partly be due to his youth and inexperience: when he is introduced, he has not yet been knighted and this rite only takes place once he has met Aeneas (l. 4889), after which he joins the war and is killed soon after. There is no suggestion that he is devoted to bachelorhood, rather that he has just not had the opportunity to engage in a romantic relationship with a woman. In contrast, the women-warriors are completely devoted to the maintenance of their virginity. When Tarchon suggests to Camille that she should prostitute herself to the

Trojans, she feels 'honte et grant ire' (*shame and great anger*, l. 7173). The word *honte* is particularly important for it shows that her abstention from sexual activity is something of which she is proud.

Indeed the state of virginity is exactly what enables them to be warriors in the first place. *Troie*'s description of Femenie explains that Amazonian women are divided into two: those who procreate and those who fight (ll. 23302-56). It is not possible to do both. Perhaps more importantly, it also allows them to be taken seriously by the men around them by showing them as transcending the alleged female vice of lust that was of such concern to male medieval thinkers. It was a frequent assertion of misogynist writers that 'women were naturally more lustful and voracious in their sexual appetites than men, and that they could easily exhaust and destroy their husbands' health with their importunacies'.[44] Isidore of Seville suggested that '[a woman] is called "female" [*femina*] through the Greek etymology for "burning force" [φως] because of the intensity of her desire. For females [*feminas*] are more lustful than males, among women as much as among animals'.[45] When Joan of Arc appeared in the fifteenth century, one of the reasons she was considered miraculous (and able to lead an army) was because she elicited no sexual arousal from her soldiers.[46] Being devoted virgins means that Penthesilea, Camille, and their ladies can escape being tarnished with accusations of lustfulness or desire only for sexual gratification when operating within a male-dominated sphere.

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[44] Carolyne Larrington, *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 50.

[45] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 11.2.23, in Alcuin Blamires, ed., *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 43.

[46] Kelly DeVries, 'A Woman as Leader of Men: Joan of Arc's Military Career', in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. by Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), pp. 3-18 (p.12).

Furthermore, their virginity and celibacy also make it possible that they were intended to be used as moral exemplars. Virginity was considered to be the greatest virtue to which a medieval woman could aspire. For women for whom virginity was not a viable option (because of the expectation or requirement to procreate) it could nevertheless become spiritually attainable 'through the practice of chastity', creating a kind of 'reformed virginity'.[47] Penthesilea and Camilla are examples of traditional virginity but they are also examples of chastity, something to which anyone could aspire, both men and women.[48] If we look female warriors in later medieval literature, they are either virgin maidens who subsequently marry (like Silence in the *Roman de Silence*) or 'reformed virgins' through their practice of chastity after child-bearing (like Zenobia in Christine de Pizan's *Cité des dames*). In fact, Semiramis (another of the *Neuf Preuses*) seems to be the single example of a female warrior who was sexually active at the time of

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[47] Christine Reno, 'Virginity as an Ideal in Christine de Pizan's *Cité des dames*', in *Ideals for Women in the Works of Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Diane Bornstein (Detroit: Medieval and Renaissance Monograph Series, 1981), pp. 69-90 (p. 76). Indeed Sarah Salih, Anke Bernau, and Ruth Evans argue that there was no singular understanding of virginity in the Middle Ages and that there were in fact 'numerous different virginities', each conceptualised in varying and variable ways depending on gender, status, age, region, and time: Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih, eds, 'Introduction: Virginities and Virginity Studies', in *Medieval Virginities*, ed. by Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 1-13, (p. 2).

[48] The virtue of virginity for medieval men is made rather more complicated by the fact that there seems to be some confusion (in the medieval sources) over how to distinguish between male virginity and male chastity. For more on male virginity, see John H. Arnold, 'The Labour of Continence: Masculinity and Clerical Virginity', in *Medieval Virginities*, ed. by Bernau, Evans, and Salih, pp. 102-18, and Kathleen Coyne Kelly, *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 91-118.

carrying out her martial action.[49] Sexual purity seems to be a prerequisite for women who want to hold the title of *chevalier*.

However, while none of the male warriors in the *romans* are virgins or to practise chastity, and while virginity appears to be a virtue only associated with 'feminine chivalry', it is important to a small subsection of later male knights: the Grail-knights.[50] During the quest for the Holy Grail as summarised and recounted by Thomas Malory in his *Morte Darthur* (*c.* 1460-70), only three knights are successful in reaching it: Percival, Galahad, and Bors. All three are chaste and Percival and Galahad are virgins, while Bors 'would be if virginity could be born again'.[51] It may be that male knights are not in the habit of remaining virginal or chaste, but the Grail story shows that when they do, they achieve the greatest of all rewards. In addition, Karen Cherewatuk highlights that Malory refers on occasion to Galahad and Percival as 'maydyns' (*maidens*) while Helen Cooper

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[49] Despite Semiramis's position as a *Preuse*, she is frequently depicted in both classical and medieval sources as a lustful woman with questionable morals due to this lasciviousness. Her active sexuality does not therefore go unnoticed or unjudged; clearly it is seen as inappropriate: Deborah Levine Gera, *Warrior Women: The Anonymous Tractatus De Mulieribus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), p. 65.

[50] The Grail narrative first appears in the twelfth century in Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval, le conte du Graal* (*c.* 1180-91) but it gains the most popularity in the thirteenth century with appearance of the four *Continuations* to Chrétien's text as well as the prose Vulgate Cycle and the later post-Vulgate Cycle. It is worth noting again that Grail-narratives (Chrétien's work and the *Continuations*) appear in MSS P2 and P5, showing that they were occassionally seen as companions to the *romans* in the manuscript context.

[51] Karen Cherewatuk, 'Born-Again Virgins and Holy Bastards: Bors and Elyne and Lancelot and Galahad', *Arthuriana*, 11 (2001), 52-64 (p. 53). Bors is essentially a 'reformed virgin' having begotten a child but subsequently practised chastity and prioritising his knightly duties to defend women's virginity.

points out that Galahad is referred to as a 'pusyll' (*pucelle*).[52] This seems to reinforce the idea that the concept of virgin warriors was nevertheless gendered, hence these male knights being referred to with feminine nouns.

Virginity (whether technical or honorary) is clearly a virtue that is embodied by the *romans'*s female knights and is seen in later courtly chivalric narratives such as Malory's *Morte* to be exemplified by male knights. However, Malory's language allows us to infer that the image of the virgin warrior never lost the association of being a feminine trait, despite the great deeds and achievements to which it could lead. When the men who wrote the great treatises and manuals of chivalry were gathering their source material, they perhaps excluded virginity or chastity as a virtue precisely because of this association with femininity and the concern that it could lead to the feminisation of what they wished to construct and retain as a masculine space. Returning to the *romans* specifically, this strategy of gendering is not just something we see in the representation of knightly virtues, but is something we can also see in the death of the warriors.

VI.iv. The Death of the Warrior

Having seen how Camille and Penthesilea are described as virtuous warriors, there are also lessons to be learned about the gendering of warriors through their deaths. David M. Halperin's study of ancient Greek models of male warrior friendships concludes that death served as 'the seal' of the friendship and would allow for 'the most extreme expressions of tenderness on the part of the two friends'; he claims that death is 'to

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[52] Cherewatuk, 'Born-Again Virgins', p. 55 and Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, ed. by Helen Cooper (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 548, n. 283 (cited by Cherewatuk, 'Born-Again Virgins', p. 56).

friendship what marriage is to romance'.[53] Meanwhile Gaunt's study of the *chansons de geste*

in his study of gender and genre in medieval French literature finds that a number of texts

'derive their impetus from the relationship of a pair of men' and that the idealisation and

disintegration of male bonding in these texts are of central importance.[54] *Enéas* and *Troie*

are sometimes credited as the first examples of a new genre, romance, and mark a

departure from earlier epic literature.[55] Nevertheless, they were influenced by the classical

and vernacular traditions that had come before them and indeed continued to thrive

around them, with Gaunt arguing that *Enéas* provides 'a bridge between epic and

romance' in part because of the way that it displays this shift in which love and sexuality

became used to 'regulate the bellicose tendencies of the medieval aristocratic male rather

than male bonding within a male brotherhood'.[56] Knightly bonding is clearly of central

importance to these earlier texts, which Gaunt and others classify as 'homosocial'

bonding, following Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick.[57] The death of a man in one of these pairs is

obviously important. So what happens when we find that one of the knights is female?

Can we, as Burgwinkle suggests, see aspects of homoeroticism, regardless of the different

sexes of the two protagonists, for is the 'homoerotic' (and by extension, the homosocial)

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[53] David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: And Other Essays on Greek Love* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 76.

[54] Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, Chapter 1.

[55] See, for example, Aimé Petit, 'De l'épopée antique au roman médiéval', in *D'un genre littéraire à l'autre*, ed. by Michèle Guéret-Laferté and Daniel Mortier (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2008), pp. 41-50 and Petit, *Naissances du roman*.

[56] Simon Gaunt, 'From Epic to Romance: Gender and Sexuality in the *Roman d'Enéas*', *Romanic Review*, 83 (1992), 1-27 (p. 9).

[57] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 3.

based on their gender roles rather than sex?[58] By looking at the impact that female

warriors' deaths have on the development of the narrative, we see their gendering not just

through their virtues in life as the previous section explored, but in their deaths, too.

When warriors die, they are mourned by their companions, compatriots and allies,

and this outpouring of grief is usually public. For example, Hector and Penthesilea are

mourned not just by their armies but by the non-combatant citizens of Troy, too. Firstly

for Hector:

Quant en la vile fu entrez,	*When they entered the city, there*
Oc nel vit nus sor piez estast,	*was not a single inhabitant who,*
Ne de dolor ne se pasmast.	*upon seeing [Hector's body],*
Braient femmes, braient enfant,	*could stay standing and stop*
Toz li pueples, petit e grant.	*themselves fainting from sadness.*
(*Troie,* ll. 16320-24)	*Women, children, all the people,*
	all cried together.

And this is the scene of mourning following Penthesilea's death:

En la cité ot grant dolor,	*There was much sadness in the*
Grant plaint, grant esmai e grant plor.	*city, great loss, much dismay and*
Nule rien n'i prent heitement:	*many tears. Nobody was able to*
Ne veient mes com faitement	*find any comfort. They could not*
Il aient socors ne aïe.	*see from where any aid would*
La reïne de Femenie	*now come. The Queen of Femenie*
Fu plainte mout e regretee	*was deeply mourned and regretted.*
(*Troie,* ll. 24425-31)	

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[58] William Burgwinkle, 'Knighting the Classical Hero: Homo/Hetero Affectivity in *Enéas*', *Exemplaria*, 5 (1993), 1-43 (p. 2).

However, what is different is the response of their armies in the moments immediately following their deaths: when the male warriors die it evokes such deep shock that their men lay down their arms and faint or retreat. In contrast, when the female warriors die, it evokes a desire among their comrades to seek bloody revenge. For example, this is the immediate reaction to Hector's death:

Gietent lances, gietent escuz:	*They threw down their lances*
La mort Hector les a vencuz	*and shields, for the death of*
Et si en sont descoragieé,	*Hector had vanquished them.*
Si angoissos e si irié	*They were so tired, so helpless*
Que li plusor, estre lor gré,	*and so angry, that many of*
Se sont en mi le champ pasmé.	*them fainted on the battlefield.*
(*Troie,* ll. 16239-44)	

It is a similar scene when Paris is killed:

Mout en furent descoragié,	*They were so discouraged,*
Desconforté e esmaié;	*so upset and troubled,*
Tel duel en ont qu'onc puis le jor	*their sadness was such that*
Ne tindrent place ne estor.	*they refused to stay on the*
(*Troie,* ll. 22843-46)	*battlefield any longer that day.*

But the reaction to Penthesilea and Camille's deaths by their fellow warriors is quite different. As already discussed as examples of the virtue of loyalty, both Penthesilea and Camille are avenged by their followers who enact swift vengeance on their leaders' assailants. Again it seems that there is a gendering of the emotional response, whereby the death of a male warrior elicits such strength of sadness that it causes his troops to abandon the battle, whereas the death of a female warrior incites her troops to fight all the more fiercely.

Secondly, the impact that their deaths have on the development of the narratives offers the starkest contrast between male and female deaths: *Enéas* contains four pitched battles and Camille dies in the fourth; *Troie* contains twenty-three battles and Penthesilea dies in the twenty-third. Essentially, after the deaths of the leading female warriors, the wars stop. This is not to suggest that their deaths are the sole causal factors behind ending the wars, but they do seem to be contributing reasons. After Penthesilea's death, the Greeks persuade Priam into negotiating a peace treaty by pointing out that Troy has nobody left to defend it:

N'avez mais qui por vos contende	*You have nobody left to fight for*
Ne qui vostre cité desfende.	*you nor anybody who defends*
De vostre gent est mort la flor.	*the city. The flower of your*
(*Troie,* ll. 24531-33)	*people is dead.*

The word 'flor' could represent one of the male warriors such as Hector or Troilus, who at various other points in the text had been referred to as the 'flor de chevalerie', but it could also represent Penthesilea: indeed with its feminine form and occurring in the scene directly proceeding Penthesilea's death, it is a possibility. It is only at this point, when the final 'flor' of Troy has gone, that Priam agrees to surrender.

Similarly, when Camille dies it provokes Turnus into a pessimistic analysis of his chances of success should he continue fighting. Just as Priam realises that with Penthesilea gone he has nobody left to defend Troy, so Turnus realises that with Camille gone he has nobody left to support him:

Ne say par cui soie rescous.	*I do not know who would be able*
Vous estïez a mon besoing	*to save me, for you [Camille] were*
Preste, ou fust ou pres ou loing.	*always ready to help, whether*

(*Enéas,* ll. 7460-63)   *from near or far.*

And the use of 'flor' appears again:

D'autres femmes estiez la flor: *You [Camille] were the flower of*
Onques Nature, ce me samble,   *all other women, for Nature could*
En .I. cors n'ajousta ensamble   *never again combine such*
Si grant prouesce o tel biauté.   *[martial] prowess with such*
        (*Enéas,* ll. 7464-67)   *beauty again in one body.*

Indeed, Camille's funeral and the decision of the Latin king to negotiate a peace settlement are put in direct juxtaposition in just a few dozen words:

Quant Camille fu entomblee,   *Once Camille was put in her*
L'uiserie fu estoupee,   *tomb, the entrance was sealed,*
Et tuit li aleoir deffont   *and all the means of access*
Qui estoient lassuz amont   *leading to where Camille had*
Par ou Camille fu portee   *been carried were destroyed; the*
La sepulture ont delivree.   *sepulchre was emptied. During*
Endementiers que ce fu fait,   *this time, the Latin king wanted*
Li roys Latins voult faire plait   *to negotiate with the Trojans to*
Aus Troïens d'acorder soy.   *agree terms of a peace.*
        (*Enéas,* ll. 7785-93)

Turnus persuades him to propose a deal whereby he and Aeneas will face each other in one-to-one combat and whoever wins the duel, will win the war: he wants to end the large-scale slaughter of the battles. The power of a single death is evident: one of their deaths will truly end the war, but it is Camille's death that has caused such a solution to be conceived in the first place.

Why do the deaths of Camille and Penthesilea have such a profound effect? There must be another reason other than the fact that they are simply the 'last ones standing' and therefore the war must end. One possibility is that their status not just as female warriors, but again as virgin warriors, may have a role to play. Virgins could be seen as a threat to the patriarchy, for in refusing to have sex with men they refused to be fully incorporated into the patriarchal system. Indeed, despite entering the conflicts in order to support and avenge male characters, Penthesilea and Camille are somewhat doubly threatening: not just in their virginity, but in their occupations as warriors. They may have been accepted during the wars themselves, but these were exceptional circumstances and drastic measures had to be taken; perhaps only at the moment of their deaths are the male characters reminded that such extraordinary events are not desirable and should not be normalised.

Illustrations of Penthesilea's dead body are common: eight out of the ten manuscripts either show the moment of her death on the battlefield or her body being thrown into the river (or both).[59] MSS M, L2, and P17 are the only three to show her dead without having shown her previously in battle (as MSS P6, Vt, V1, Vn, and P18 do), thereby disassociating her from her triumphs on the battlefield and choosing only to focus on her downfall. MS P17 is a particularly interesting case. This is the only manuscript that contains an illustrated copy of *Enéas* and so the only opportunity we would have to find an image of Camille. However, while there are illustrations of Pallas's death and his funeral, there are no illustrations for Camille's death or her funeral; this is despite the fact that both of their deaths are critical to the development of the narrative

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[59] If we combine the number of manuscripts that show the moment of her death with the number of manuscripts that show her being thrown into the river, it would actually exceed the number of manuscripts that show her arrival into Troy, which was previously cited as the most widely illustrated scene.

and that both of their tombs are described in elaborate detail.[60] The illustrator seems to have excluded her deliberately. MS P17's illustrations of *Troie* with regard to women-warriors are also notable: it only shows Penthesilea once, and this is when her dead body is being thrown into the river (fig. 59). Not only is this a rather ignoble scene to choose out of all the possible scenes in which Penthesilea features, but she is not even afforded the entirety of a double-column frame: it has been broken into two registers and she is in one half.[61] It would appear that this manuscript's illustrator was not enthusiastic about illustrating women-warriors as successful and therefore either omitted them or only showed them dead and in a small register. Morrison notes that its illustrator places a greater emphasis on love scenes than do earlier illustrated manuscripts;[62] perhaps its patron was more comfortable with women being objects of love rather than instruments of war. Indeed, this may be true of the majority of the illustrated *Troie* manuscripts that were produced in France. Of these, only the earliest, MS P6, actually shows her in battle. The others either only show her arriving (MSS Nt and Mn) or dead (MSS L2 and P17). In contrast, the illustrated Italian manuscripts give a much more complete version of her exploits: they show her arrival (MSS Vt, V1, Vn, and P18), at least two of her in battle (MSS Vt, V1, Vn, and P18), her death (MSS M, Vn, and P18), and her funeral (MS V1). Part of this is no doubt due to the fact that the Italian manuscripts have a richer illustrative tradition anyway, so it is not surprising that Penthesilea would appear more frequently because all the characters do. Nevertheless, the way in which they contrast to the French manuscripts, which seem to be more reluctant to illustrate women as warriors,

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[60] Pallas's funeral and tomb are described from l. 6168 to l. 6591 and Camille's funeral and tomb from l. 7427 to l. 7790.

[61] All of the thirty-one illustrations accompanying *Troie* in MS P16 occupy the width of two columns and only eight are split into two registers like this.

[62] Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', pp. 215-17.

suggests that there may be an historical explanation for this pattern. Whereas Italy had

had women such as Matilda of Canossa providing a powerful example of what could be

achieved when a woman was in control, France had already shown itself to be rather more

reluctant to see women in such positions. For example, the strict adherence to Salic law

during the succession crises of the fourteenth century ultimately led to conflict with

Isabella of France (the wife of Edward II of England) and laid the foundations for the

Hundred Years War.[63] Perhaps women such as Isabella of France had made certain

(male) patrons nervous of depicting women as warriors without any context: removing

the illustrations and leaving only the text as a way to access these women meant that

casual handlers of the manuscript could not stumble across images of warrior women on

horseback with weapons, but would have to read the text, which (as discussed above) is at

pains to stress the other virtues that a woman-warrior must demonstrate. Having read the

text it might not seem as simple to emulate as an image on its own might have

inadvertently suggested. This strategy encourages the reader to extrapolate and imitate the

virtues, but not necessarily the actual physical state of being a warrior.[64]

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[63] Salic law barred women from inheriting the crown and also prohibited anyone from inheriting it through women alone. This law had rarely been tested as all the Capetian kings from 987 until 1316 produced male heirs. However, after Louis X died in 1316 without male heirs, there was a crisis of succession: his only surviving child was female, Joan II of Navarre. She was compelled to renounce her right to the throne in favour of Philip V of France (Louis's brother). Philip V also died without a male heir in 1328, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles IV of France. When Charles IV died without a male heir the crown passed to his nearest living male relative, Philip of Valois. However, Charles IV's sister, Isabella of France, argued that her son, Edward III of England, had the better claim, despite the stipulations of Salic law. These were the foundations of the Hundred Years War, which was still raging at the time that many of these manuscripts were being commissioned and read.

[64] In contrast, Rosalind Brown-Grant has shown how the illuminations of Jean Miélot's reworking of Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9392, shifted the reader's attention 'away from the moral and allegorical levels of the [text] to the literal and visual':

Returning to the fate of Penthesilea's body, it is important to note that only four

of the manuscripts show her retrieval from the river or her subsequent funeral and return

to Femenie. Most of the manuscripts make a point of showing the mourning around the

bedsides, bodies, or funeral monuments of the male heroes; indeed the anniversary of

Hector's death is one of the most illustrated scenes in the entire *Troie* tradition.[65] It is

therefore of note when the illustrators make a similar effort to afford Penthesilea the

same space for mourning. Interestingly, while MSS M (fig. 60) and V1 (fig. 61) specifically

show the dead body of Penthesilea with weeping mourners nearby, MSS Vn and P18 do

not show her body at all; instead, they show Priam weeping within Troy while Philemenis

and his followers ride away (fig. 62 and fig. 63). In her detailed description of the

illustrations of MS Vn, Dagmar Thoss describes this scene as follows: 'die Verbündeten

der Trojaner ziehen fort, um an dem bevorstehenden Abschluß des Friedensvertrages

nicht teilnehmen zu müssen. Am Stadttor bleibt Priamus mit dem Ausdruck der Trauer

zurück'.[66] However, we can be confident that these illustrations actually represent

Penthesilea's funeral cortège, despite the absence of her body in the frame. The

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Rosalind Brown-Grant, 'Illumination as Reception. Jean Miélot's Reworking of the *Epistre Othea*',
in *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan*, ed. by Margarete Zimmermann and Dina
De Rentiis (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 260-72 (p. 260). The illustrators of these
manuscripts seem keen to follow a different strategy and therefore structure their miniatures so
that the reader's attention is focused on the moral lessons of the text rather than the literal or
visual.

[65] It is illustrated in thirty-five miniatures across eight manuscripts: once in MS P6, once in MS P8,
once in MS Mn, twice in MS L2, seven times in MS Vt, eleven times in MS V1, six times in MS
Vn, and six times in MS P17.

[66] Dagmar Thoss, *Benoît de Sainte-Maure: Roman de Troie (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Codex
2571)* (Munich: Helga Lengenfelder, 1989), p. 34. Thoss reorders the folio numbers of the
manuscript to reflect its original codicological structure whereas I have followed the folio
numbers given by the NL in their online catalogue. I have therefore given a folio reference of 161ʳ
for fig. 63 whereas Thoss identifies this illustration on fol. 166ʳ.

illustrations appear at the point in the text in which Penthesilea's funeral cortège is described:

Vait s'en li reis Philemenis	*King Philemenis departed with*
Moût angoissos e moût pensis:	*great anguish and in deep thought:*
De dous mil chevaliers de pris	*out of two thousand valued*
N'en meine que nuef cenz e dis.	*knights he took (only) nine*
Cist en conduit Panthesilee,	*hundred and ten with him. These*
Que tant fu proz e honoree	*knights bore Penthesilea, who was*
(*Troie*, ll. 25767-72)	*so worthy and honorable.*

The description goes on to explain that Philemenis accompanies Penthesilea's body back to Femenie (ll. 25777-808). We know that the mounted king in both figs. 62 and 63 is Philemenis because of the rubricated caption in fig. 62. The text gives no indication that Priam wept over the forthcoming 'Abschluß', but there is a description of him weeping over Penthesilea's death. Furthermore, the illustration shows two foot soldiers walking ahead of Philemenis on his horse, which is an unusual placement of figures: all the other illustrations in these two manuscripts in which a king leads his followers is just that, him leading, with nobody in front of him. We are left to deduce that these two soldiers are therefore not in front of Philemenis, but are actually following Penthesilea's cortège. The decision by the illustrators to omit Penthesila from this scene is strange; after all, previously they had illustrated her arriving in Troy, fighting on the battlefield, being killed by Pyrrhus, and being thrown into the river, so it is not that they were uncertain of how to draw her. They are also not unaware of how to represent dead bodies: for example, they show Hector dead on his bed immediately following his death. However, in the case of Penthesilea, they have chosen to remove her from the scene of her own funeral

procession, and instead to focus the viewer's attention onto a king who is accompanying her body (Philemenis) and a king who is mourning her loss (Priam).

The deaths of these two women, so valued in life as valiant warriors, are physical reminders that something is dangerously amiss in their societies to have come to such a point: not only to be at war, but to be in a situation where having women on the battlefield is considered normal and even desirable. The men must therefore eliminate the circumstances that allow such a situation to arise; that is, they must eliminate the state of war and return to a state of peace, where social structures and boundaries can be more easily contained. Perhaps this is the reason why the deaths of Camille and Penthesilea bring about the ends of their respective wars, and why their deaths are especially significant.

VI.v. Conclusions

The *romans* provide evidence that, at the time ideas and concepts around chivalry were emerging and being codified, there were two complementary strands: a masculine chivalric code and a feminine chivalric code. The only way in which the latter differed from the former was that it demanded the virtue of virginity be upheld, whereas this virtue was optional in the former in cases where it would have impeded the ability of the hero to procreate and ensure a stable line of inheritance. The development of the *Neuf Preuses* alongside the *Neuf Preux* also demonstrates that there was an idea of both masculine and feminine chivalry in the Middle Ages, even if modern studies of chivalry tend to prioritise the men alone. The gendering of warriors is further seen in their deaths: in both *Troie* and *Enéas*, the wars end after the battle in which the principal female warrior has been killed. This reflects their importance to the narrative structures of the texts and their value to the male warriors. The death of women on the battlefield is dramatic enough to highlight just

how dangerous the state of war could be not only in terms of death and descrution, but also in terms of allowing a set of circumstances to arise in which it was considered acceptable to have women acting as warriors. By returning to a state of peace, social structures and boundaries can be rebuilt, and women are no longer required as warriors.

Historically, women may not have been a common sight as warriors, but, there is evidence that they appeared with perhaps more frequency than current scholarship would have us think. The fact that early manifestations of what would later become a chivalric code show signs of making provisions for both male and female warriors suggests that women as warriors was not an entirely unthinkable suggestion: a form of feminine chivalry was therefore being explored alongside masculine chivalry so that (if required) women could be warriors without needing to be 'manly'. Of course, in an ideal world there would be no such requirement. But the Middle Ages, as now, was not an ideal world, and given that there may be such a requirement, it would have been sensible to make provisions for such an eventuality. Indeed, when Joan of Arc appeared, sources suggest that her contemporaries were surprised that she achieved her position not particularly (or just) because of her sex, but equally because of her low social status and lack of formal education or training. Penthesilea, Camille, and the *Neuf Preuses* had already helped to establish that a virgin warrior woman could be a perfectly capable chivalric hero.

Chapter VII:

'La dame set de grant saveir':

Women as Politicians in War

At the 2004 Battle Conference of Anglo-Norman Studies, J. E. M. Benham remarked that peacemaking (in comparison to warfare) has received 'little attention among medieval scholars'.[1] Since then, a few chapters on this topic have appeared, and Benham herself published a monograph on the subject, but there is still a dearth of material in comparison to the amount published on war and battles.[2] This chapter considers peacemaking as an important aspect of the political machinations of war. In particular, it analyses the role of women as political peacemakers; if there is limited scholarly work on medieval

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[1] J. E. M. Benham, 'Anglo-French Peace Conferences in the Twelfth Century', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXVII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 2004*, ed. by John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 52-67.

[2] J. E. M. Benham, *Peacemaking in the Middle Ages: Principles and Practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011). Chapters published since 2004 include: Isabel Alfonso Antón, 'The Language and Practice of Negotiation in Medieval Conflict Resolution', in *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honour of Stephen D. White*, ed. by Belle S. Tuten and Tracey L. Billado (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 158-74; John Gillingham, 'The Meetings of the Kings of France and England, 1066-1204', in *Normandy and its Neighbours, 900-1250*, ed. by D. Crouch and K. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 17-42; Esther Pascua, 'Peace Among Equals: War and Treaties in Twelfth-Century Europe', in *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History*, ed. by Philip de Souza and John France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 193-210. Prior to 2004, key scholars for medieval peacemaking included Christopher J. Holdsworth and Maurice Keen. See, for example: Christopher J. Holdsworth, 'War and Peace in the Twelfth Century: The Reign of Stephen Reconsidered' and Maurice Keen, 'War, Peace and Chivalry', both in *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Brian Patrick McGuire (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1987), pp. 67-93 and 94-117; Christopher J. Holdsworth, 'Peacemaking in the Twelfth Century', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1996*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 1-18.

peacemaking, there is even less on women's role in this process, despite the fact that women had (and still have) an important relationship to peace.[3] In fact, perhaps the reason that there is more on warfare than on peace is a gendering of these fields of research themselves. War has traditionally been thought of as the domain of men, and peace that of women; given that medieval historiography has traditionally been more heavily weighted to studying men, perhaps it is unsurprising that there is therefore relatively little research on peace so far.[4] This chapter seeks to redress this imbalance. To do this, the role of politician is broken down into three categories: advisor, negotiator, and intervenor.

VII.i. Advisors

Peter Marshall, a twentieth-century diplomat, states that the giving and receiving of advice is not just part of politics but an essential part of humanity: 'to offer good advice is one of the most fundamental of human rights. An equally fundamental human right is the right to reject that good advice'.[5] The length of time for which advice-giving has been debated

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[3] As an indication of the importance of women's roles in peace today, see Resolution 1325 of the United Nations Security Council, passed on 31 October 2000, affirming the importance of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, and humanitarian response. Furthermore, on 25 October 2016, the UN's Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon addressed the Security Council to remind them of this resolution, and cited UN-funded research that showed that peace accords are thirty-five percent more likely to last if women are included in the negotiations < http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=55392#.WDMX2KKLRE4> [accessed 27 October 2016].

[4] For a recent overview of the history and historiography of medieval women, see Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Women, Gender, and Medieval Historians', in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-20.

[5] Peter Marshall, *Positive Diplomacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1997), p. 165.

makes it clear that it is has always been an important aspect of social interaction. The Old Testament's Book of Proverbs makes frequent reference to the value of seeking counsel: '[w]here there is no guidance the people fall, but in abundance of counsellors there is victory' (Proverbs 11:14); 'a wise man is he who listens to counsel' (Proverbs 12:15); '[t]hrough insolence comes nothing but strife, but wisdom is with those who receive counsel' (Proverbs 13:10); '[l]isten to counsel and accept discipline (Proverbs 19:20); '[p]repare plans by consultation, and make war by wise guidance' (Proverbs 20:18); 'by wise guidance you will wage war, and in abundance of counsellors there is victory' (Proverbs 24:6). It also warns against poor counsel: '[t]he thoughts of the righteous are just, but the counsels of the wicked are deceitful' (Proverbs 12:5). Interestingly, Proverbs personifies wisdom and counsel as a noble woman:

> Wisdom shouts in the street, she lifts her voice: '[...] I will make my words known to you. Because I called and you refused, I stretched out my hand and no one paid attention; and you neglected all my counsel and did not want my reproof; I will also laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your dread comes, when your dread comes like a storm and your calamity comes like a whirlwind, when distress and anguish come upon you [...]. So they shall eat of the fruit of their own way and be satiated with their own devices. For the waywardness of the naive will kill them, and the complacency of fools will destroy them.
> (Proverbs 1:20-32)

The value of seeking and following wise advice and the pitfalls of ignoring advice or trusting in bad counsellors was clearly a topic of importance and interest in Scripture, and so it is not surprising that this was also important in medieval society. Sally Burch North explains that 'the seeking and giving of advice formed an habitual, constant pattern of action and thought' in the twelfth century, and its representation in literature is one way

of gaining insight into the questions that were being debated at the time.[6] North outlines the most common sources of counsel in the twelfth century: a person's own judgment, the family group, close *amis* (not necessarily romantic *amis*, but in the sense of close companions), the Church, and a feudal lord's vassals.[7] This last category has received particular attention in relation to its role in feudalism and kingship more generally. François-Louis Ganshof suggests that taking *consilium et auxilium* from vassals in Old French literature is one of the key determinants in the varying ideology of kingship.[8] However, it is the category of family and *amis* that will most concern us in this chapter as all the female advisors are related to their advisees. This already suggests a level of gendered of advice-givers: women are able to be advisors, but only by virtue of their familial or romantic connections to the person seeking advice. This is something we shall explore.

A paper at a conference on gender and emotion in medieval studies suggested that 'males are typically the dispensers of counsel [in twelfth century Old French and Anglo-Norman literature]' and that women 'contribute less frequently to the chorus of political and military advice' unless they are grieving; it is only in grief that women have 'agency to act as advisors in the male-dominated wartime sphere'.[9] However, in the *romans* we have

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[6] Sally Burch North, 'The Role of Advice in Marie de France's *Eliduc*', in *Studies in Medieval French Language and Literature presented to Brian Woledge*, ed. by Sally Burch North (Geneva: Droz, 1988), pp. 111-34 (p. 111).

[7] North, 'The Role of Advice', pp. 113-14.

[8] François-Louis Ganshof, *Qu'est-ce que la Féodalité?*, 4th edition (Paris: Tallandier, 1968), p. 87; Dominique Boutet, 'Carrefours idéologiques de la royauté arthurienne', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 27 (1985), 3-17.

[9] Cory Hitt, 'Burning Breasts: Mothers as Counsel-Givers in Old French and Anglo-Norman Literature', Gender and Emotion: Gender and Medieval Studies Conference, University of Hull, January 6-8, 2016 (unpublished conference paper abstract < https://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/feminae/DetailsPage.aspx?Feminae_ID=37824> [accessed

several examples of women acting as counsel-givers and advisors independently of grief. We will look first at women whose advice is not followed through the examples of Cassandra and Andromache, and secondly at a woman whose advice is followed through the example of Medea.

In classical versions of the Trojan legend, Cassandra has the gift of prophecy but is cursed never to be believed.[10] She foretells the fall of Troy but is ignored by the Trojans due to this curse. In Dictys's version, there is almost no mention of her ability to foretell the future; only in one case does she make a prediction but it comes late in the narrative and is related to the death of Agamemnon and the destruction of the Greeks following their sack of Troy (*Dictys*, V.16). Dares's version includes two occasions on which she predicts the fall of Troy but they are very succinct. The first is one line long and appears as the Trojans are chopping wood to build ships for their mission to Greece: 'Cassandra postquam audivit patris consilium, dicere coepit quae Troianis ratura essent, si Priamus perseveraret classem in Graeciam mittere' (*when Cassandra heard of her father's intentions, she told what the Trojans were going to suffer if Priam should send a fleet into Greece*, D.8). The next line relates that preparations were soon finished and the Trojan forces ready to depart, so we can assume that her words had no impact. The second occasion is when she sees Paris bringing Helen to Troy:

Quam ut aspecit Cassandra,	*When Cassandra saw [Helen], she*
vaticinari coepit memorans	*began to prophesy, repeating what*

November 2, 2016]). Yamine Foehr-Janssens's work also looks at the link between women's knowledge and achievements in relation to their suffering and afflication (including bereavement and grief), although her analysis is limited to thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Old French texts: Yasmine Foehr-Janssen, *La veuve en majesté: Deuil et savoir au féminin dans la littérature médiévale* (Geneva: Droz, 2000).

[10] This is the case in the versions of Hyginus, Aeschylus, and Euripides.

ea quae ante praedixerat.   *she had already said. Then Priam*

Quam Priamus abstrahi et   *ordered her carried away and*

includi iussit.   *locked up.*

      (*Daretis*, D.11)

Benoît recreates both these scenes in *Troie*, but he does so with subtle amendments that have the effect of framing Cassandra's words as advice that has been ignored, rather than as a prophecy that has not been believed. In the first scene, Benoît provides more detail in her prophecy on the manner in which Troy will be destroyed and includes the response of the Trojans:

Bien lor anonçot chose veire: *She told them all the things that were*

Cui chaut? qu'il ne la voustrent   *to come: but who was interested?*

    creire.   *They did not want to believe her. If*

Se Cassandra e Helenus   *Cassandra, Helenus and Panthus had*

En fussent creü e Panthus,   *been believed, then Troy would not*

Ancor n'eüst Troie nul mal.   *have had any suffering.*

      (*Troie*, ll. 4159-63)

Two things are important to note here. Firstly, Benoît states that the Trojans did not *want* to believe her; there is no suggestion that she has been cursed to be disbelieved and that they are *unable* to believe her through no fault of their own. Benoît's Trojans make a conscious decision to ignore her advice because it is not to their liking. The narrator makes an implicit judgment of this rejection of apparently valid advice. Indeed a later reader of this text also picks up on this and goes as far as to write a note into the margin of MS P3 to highlight this fact: we find the words '[r]esponsa non credentes divina nec formidantes hec omnia sunt in causa destructionis troiana' (*they did not believe her prophecy*

because of fear and so everything was lost in the [subsequent] destruction of Troy) on fol. 25ʳ just after this scene.

Secondly, Benoît mentions Helenus and Panthus, two other Trojan advisors and foretellers who have similarly attempted to dissuade Priam from authorising the mission to Greece. By grouping Cassandra with Helenus and Panthus, who in turn had been grouped together with Paris, Troilus, and Hector as advisors to Priam, Benoît places her counsel on the same plane as theirs and therefore gives her the same status as the other advisors, rather than isolating her as a voice of dissent.

Benoît also expands the second scene from Dares, in which Cassandra is locked up. Dares's version is two lines long but Benoît's version stretches to fifty-two lines (ll. 4883-4934). The difference in Benoît's version is that he specifically describes all those to whom she directs her advice, and this time she does not address the men, but the women: she addresses her mother, the ladies, and the young maidens, and implores them to flee the city. Cassandra has learnt that her advice will go unheeded by the male Trojans, and her change of tactic to address only the Trojan women shows a strategic acumen as well as casting a judgment once again on the men, who were too stubborn to listen to her previously and upon whom she therefore wastes no more effort. It also suggests that Priam's decision to have her locked away is a direct reaction not just to her words, but her potential to incite the other women to form a resistance, too.

Finally, Benoît creates an original scene showing Cassandra's prophecies that he places between Battles II and III. Whereas the first scene used her prophecies to advise the men (not to go to Greece), and the second scene used her prophecies to advise the women (to flee from Troy before it was too late), this third scene uses her prophecies to express despair at the now inevitable fate of Troy. She has already seen that her advice has no effect and so her speech is positioned more as a lament rather than as advice. Benoît tells us that this time she is speaking before 'la gent' (*the people*, l. 10448), with no

distinction as to whether they are male or female. Once again she is locked away, and this time she does not reappear until the sack of Troy. However, while her physical presence is missed, the memory of her words continues to pervade the text. For example, at the end of Battle IX, the narrator invokes her predictions:

> Ne cuit que nus hom oie mais   *I believe nobody has ever heard of*
> Si grant dolor, si grant damage.   *such great suffering, such great loss.*
> Ço que dist Cassandra la sage   *Everything the wise Cassandra said*
> Avendra tot dès ore mais.   *will soon happen from this point on.*
>   (*Troie*, ll. 15250-53)

And when the ladies are mourning Paris's death, they also invoke Cassandra's advice:

> Ha! Cassandra, les voz pramesses   *Ah! Cassandra, all your predictions*
> Sont bien veires e d'Eleni.   *are coming true, and those of Helenus.*
> Maleüré, dolent, chaiti!   *Those unhappy, sad, wretched [two]!*
> S'en eüssent esté creeit,   *If they had been believed,*
> Ne nos fust pas si meschaeit.   *We would not be so doomed.*
>   (*Troie*, ll. 16418-22)

The reminders of Cassandra's attempts to advise them to act otherwise are scattered throughout the narrative so as to remind audiences that this tragedy was potentially avoidable if advice had been followed.

Cassandra is not the only advisor who has counselled against the war; as mentioned above, so do Panthus and Helenus. However, it seems that the image of the female counsellor was of more interest to medieval illustrators, as the manuscript illustrations accompanying *Troie* depict a rather edited version of events. Four of the illustrated *Troie* manuscripts include Cassandra's prophecies. MS V1 illustrates the first

scene in which Cassandra attempts to dissuade Priam from authorising the expedition to Greece (fig. 64). It is a large illustration occupying the bottom third of the page. On one side, workers are shown constructing wooden ships. On the other side, Cassandra stands before Priam. She is pointing to the palm of one hand with the finger of her other hand, as if enumerating a list of reasons. The juxtaposition of the construction of the Trojan navy alongside the image of Cassandra speaking to Priam creates both a sense of urgency to the scene (willing Cassandra to convince Priam of the error of his ways before the fleet is complete) and a sense of futility (the decision has already been made). There seems to be a deliberate decision to isolate Cassandra as a figure of interest. The recto of the folio has another illustration of Priam's council with numerous men giving him advice, but it is not clear who these men are as there are no accompanying captions: it could well depict Hector, Paris, Troilus, Panthus, and Helenus but it could also represent the whole council chamber without particular emphasis on individuals. In contrast, the illustration of Cassandra leaves no doubt as to her identity; not only is she the only woman in the scene, but a caption has been added above her figure identifying her as Cassandra. The handwriting of the caption is found on a few other folios in the manuscript, but quite sporadically and infrequently. It does not appear to be the hand of the manuscript's illustrators or scribes, and is most likely an annotation by a later reader. This shows that not only was Cassandra considered important enough by the illustrator to have her own scene, but she was also of such interest to a later reader that she had her own caption.

MSS Vn and P18 also illustrate Cassandra's prophecies, but they choose a different scene. These manuscripts illustrate the third scene (the one which is original to Benoît), in which Cassandra makes her final prophecies as to the ineluctability of destruction (fig. 65 and fig. 66). As before, both illustrations are found at the bottom of the folios and stretch across both columns. And once again, as with the construction of the boats and the council chamber in MS V1, these illustrations depict two scenes within

one frame. On the left, Cassandra stands under an arch in Troy, with one arm reaching toward the other side of the frame. On this other side, a group of mourners are shown around the dead body of Cassibelan, one of Priam's illegitimate sons who has been slain in Battle II. The mourner closest to Cassandra's side of the illustration also has an arm outstretched, reaching back toward her, and while all the other mourners are concentrating on Cassibelan, this mourner has his gaze fixed on Cassandra. The enclosed arch represents the locked place in which she is put as punishment for her speech, yet the two outstretched arms suggest both a sadness on her part that she was unable to prevent the tragedy now unfolding, and an equal regret on the side of the unidentified Trojan mourner that they had not listened. The visual representation of the consequences of disregarding sage advice is unambiguous.

MS Vt also has a unique way of figuring Cassandra's prophecies in its illustrative scheme. She does not actually appear at the point in the text when her prophecies are given. Her first appearance is after Helen and Paris have already entered Troy. She is figured alongside Hecuba, Andromache, and Polyxena (fig. 67). One of her hands is pressed to her forehead, indicating distress. In her other hand she holds a scroll that is partially unfurled and upon which we can read the words: 'se Paris a de Grece ce feme destruit sera cest regne' (*if Paris takes a wife from Greece then this kingdom will be destroyed*). Rather than illustrating the point at which she first delivers her prophecies, this miniature acts as a reminder. The scenes before it have shown the happiness between Helen and Paris as they marry and the celebrations of the people of Troy as they are welcomed home. But this appearance of Cassandra and her scroll means that her warnings cannot be forgotten.

Another woman from *Troie* whose advice is disregarded with terrible consequences is Andromache, Hector's wife. On the eve of Battle X, she has a vision that he will be killed if he fights the next day and so she attempts to persuade him to stay

within Troy. Benoît uses several words to characterise the vision itself. The gods send her 'signes' (*signs*, l. 15285), 'visïons' (*visions*, l. 15285), and 'interpretatïons' (*premonitions*, l. 15286), while Andromache describes it as a 'merveille' (*marvel*, l. 15302). All of these words imply something supernatural or divine. Only Hector uses the simpler word *songe* (l. 15334), which merely indicates a dream. Hector's failure to recognise that her vision is of prophetic importance will eventually lead to his downfall.[11] He is angered by her attempts and so she goes to Priam and asks him to intervene. Priam does not want to forbid Hector from fighting as he relies on him to lead the Trojan forces. However, he is also reluctant to ignore Andromache:

Se il n'i vait, la perte iert lor:	*If he [Hector] alone does not go to battle, they*
Sor eus revertira le jor.	*[the Trojans] will have a great loss,*
Ensorquetot n'ose müer	*things will turn on them that day. But*
Qu'il nel retienge de l'aler:	*he [Priam] does not dare to do anything*
La dame set de grant saveir:	*but prevent him from going: for he*
Ne deit om mie desvoleir	*knows that the lady [Andromache] is*
Ço que por bien dit e enseigne.	*very wise. He must not refuse what she*
(*Troie*, ll. 15367-73)	*says and counsels for the good.*

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[11] Prophetic visions could carry authority and importance in medieval society and were not necessarily to be dismissed. The gospel of Matthew relates that Mary and Joseph were warned of Herod's plan to kill the babies in a dream-vision. Joan of Arc was guided by prophetic visions, which were used as a sign of her divine authority. Pope Innocent III endorsed St Francis of Assisi's order (the future Franciscans) after a prophetic dream. There are numerous studies on the importance of visions and prophetic dreams in the Middle Ages. See for example: Colum Hourihane, ed., *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams and Insights in Medieval Art and History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

The fact that Priam places Andromache's request to forbid Hector from battle above his own desire to send Hector to battle shows how deeply he respects her counsel. Priam therefore attempts to dissuade Hector from fighting, but is also rejected. Hecuba, Helen, and Polyxena also attempt to stop him from going, and he likewise rejects them, too. Andromache accosts him as he is putting on his armour and makes a final attempt to stop him by placing their infant son at his feet and making a desperate speech:

Hui iert ta mort, hui iert ta fin;	*Today will be your death, today will be*
De tei remandra orfelin.	*your last; he [your son] will be an orphan*
Crüel de cuer, lou enragié,	*because of you. Cruel heart, enraged*
A que ne vos en prent pitié?	*wolf, why do you not have any pity?*
Por que volez si tost morir?	*Why do you want to die so soon?*
Por que volez si tost guerpir	*Why do you want to abandon me and*
E mei e lui e vostre pere	*[your son] and your father and your*
E voz freres e vostre mere?	*brothers and your mother? Why are you*
Por quei vos laissereiz perir?	*leaving us to perish? How would we be*
Com porrons nos senz vos guarir?	*able to survive without you? Alas!*
Lasse, com faite destinee!	*What a fate is before us!*

(*Troie*, ll. 15475-85)

This speech is entirely of Benoît's own invention and its effect is powerful. The use of anaphora and parallelism in phrasing the rhetorical questions creates an intensity that would have been hard to miss, especially if read aloud. The emotive reference to their son becoming an orphan, while said son is physically in front of him, is also powerful. The implication that by following one duty (to battle) he would be abandoning another duty (to his family) highlights what was no doubt a pressing concern not just for Hector but for many members of the *Troie*-audience. The conclusion of the speech with exclamatory remarks gives it a dramatic ending. The narrator then tells us that she fell to the ground with her face in the dirt and has to be helped back up by Helen. Hector makes it clear that

he is sceptical about following the advice of 'une fole, une desvee' (*a mad woman, a crazy woman*, l. 15584). He rejoin the battle, and is killed, just as Andromache foretold.

The decision to reject Andromache's advice is not really commented on by the *Troie*-narrator. When Hector's body is brought back to Troy, there are lamentations that Cassandra's advice was not followed, but no mention of Andromache's advice. However, the illustrative tradition that accompanies this scene, as well as evidence from later texts that provide a commentary on these actions, suggests that it was an important episode for medieval audiences. It appears in six of the illustrated *Troie*-manuscripts (MSS P6, P17, Vt, P18, Vn, and V1). In the earliest illustrated manuscript, MS P6, Hector stands in the middle of the frame with his arms raised in speech, with Priam and Hecuba kneeling on one side with their hands in the prayer position, while Andromache kneels on the other side with her son in her arms (fig. 68). Hector has his face turned away from Andromache and looks only at Priam. This illustration actually appears in the wrong place in the manuscript as it is found before the start of Battle IX, whereas this scene should occur on the eve of Battle X. Perhaps the reason for this image appearing 'out of place' is because no space had been left for an illustration at the appropriate point in the text. The illustrator was therefore faced with the choice of either omitting this scene altogether or of putting it somewhere else. At this point in the manuscript the illustrator had already drawn six battle scenes (and would go on to include a further ten) so it is possible he decided it was more important to show this scene than yet another battle.

MS P17 has thirty-seven miniatures accompanying *Troie*, of which sixteen have an illuminated background in gold (as opposed to painted in colour).[12] The scene of

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[12] These sixteen are: Jason setting sail on his quest for the golden fleece (fol. 49^v); the first sack of Troy and the death of Laomedon (fol. 51^r); the reconstruction of Troy (fol. 54^r); Priam's council and decision for Paris to go to Greece (fol. 57^v); a sea battle (fol. 68^r); Priam and his knights riding out from Troy (fol. 72^r); two battles (fols. 73^v and 77^r); Hector injured in bed (fol. 79^r); two battles

Andromache's attempt to dissuade Hector from battle is one of these sixteen. It shows Hector and a companion riding from the gates of Troy with a lance in one hand and a sword in the other, while Andromache stands in front of them with her son in her arms, and surrounded by four other women (fig. 69). Unlike the illustration in MS P6, there is no indication of any discussion and no sign of Priam. The fact that Hector is mounted and armed (contrary to the description in the text) indicates that his mind is made up and he is virtually in battle already; Andromache's demure posture and gentle presentation of their son suggest that she is already doomed to failure.

The miniature of this scene in MS Vt makes an effort to show the desperation of Andromache's plight (fig. 8). Her hair is loose and cascading over her shoulders. This is a stark contrast with how she has been visualised in previous illustrations, where her hair has been styled to hang neatly just below her chin. She is without a crown, which again she has worn in all previous illustrations; her position as a princess of Troy is secondary to her status simply as a mother and wife. On the left of the illustration she kneels before Hector, holding their son. She appears smaller than the other women and smaller than Hector, suggesting already a certain impotence. Hector's squire is in the process of attaching his knee-protectors, implying again that Hector is on the verge of departure. On the right side of the illustration she speaks with Priam to beg him to intervene, while she tears at her clothes (or possibly her heart). The miniature shows rather more wear than the other miniatures in the manuscript, perhaps indicating that this scene attracted particular attention from one or more later readers or that the manuscript was sometimes

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(fols. 81ʳ and 84ʳ); Andromache trying to stop Hector going to battle (fol. 94ʳ); two battles (fols. 107ʳ and 113ʳ); Penthesilea's body being thrown into the river (fol. 126ʳ); Pyrrhus killing Priam (fol. 131ᵛ).

left often at this point. Again, we can therefore infer its importance not just to its illustrator, but to later users of the manuscript, too.

In MSS P18 and Vn (fig. 70 and fig. 71), Hector is seated while two squires hold his horse; Andromache kneels before him with their son in front of her and Hecuba, Helen, and Polyxena behind her. Hecuba and Andromache's arms are outstretched (in MS Vn only Hecuba's arm is outstretched), indicating their speech, while Hector's hands are placed on his armoured thighs, showing his reticence. Nevertheless, unlike MSS P6 and P17 the scene does not suggest that the situation is a *fait accompli*. There is a level of hope as Hector is prudently sitting and listening to counsel: unlike in MS P6 he faces Andromache, and unlike in MS P17 he is not already mounted. The texts show that Hector did not afford much respect to Andromache's counsel, but the illustrators diverge from the text and depict a different version.

MS V1 provides the fullest illustrated version of this scene as it includes nine frames in order to detail each aspect of the text: Andromache recounts her vision to Hector (fol. 118ᵛ), Priam attempts to persuade Hector to stay (fol. 119ʳ), Andromache asks Priam and Hecuba to intervene (fol. 119ᵛ), Hector rebuffs Hecuba as Andromache faints (fol. 119ᵛ), Andromache presents her son to Hector (fig. 72), Hector's squire brings him his horse as Andromache returns to Priam (fol. 120ᵛ), Priam speaks to Hector on the road (fol. 121ʳ), and Priam brings Hector back to Troy (fol. 121ʳ).[13] What is noticeable is that despite the differences between all five manuscripts, one feature that remains the same is that all of them choose this moment where Andromache presents their son in her arms. The framing of the scene around her may change, but this is a constant. This may

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[13] Due to the volume of illustrations, only the most significant one (the one in which Andromache presents their son to Hector) has been selected for reproduction. In other instances where a large number of illustrations of a single episode exist a similar strategy has been used.

be another clue as to why this scene was so popular, for the imagery in all five is reminiscent of images of the Virgin Mary holding the baby Jesus, an image that had become iconic (in every sense of the word) throughout medieval European art by the twelfth century.[14] The fact that many of the illustrations show her with her hair loose creates a parallel with Mary, as loose long hair was usually an indication of a virgin (which of course Mary was, but Andromache was not). This gives Andromache another source of authority for she is able to harness the power of this iconography. She is not represented as 'une folle', but as a dignified mother who deserves respect and veneration.

Furthermore, evidence from other literary sources on the reception of this scene suggests that Andromache was judged as a wise woman, and that Hector was a fool for ignoring her. For example, Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (*c*. 1400), a popular text in the late Middle Ages that is still extant in over thirty manuscripts, discusses this scene. The *Epistre* is a series of one hundred verse texts based around mythological figures accompanied by prose moral glosses. Andromache is one of the figures featured in this work and Christine's gloss gives us an insight into how Hector's rejection of his wife's advice had been judged by later audiences:

Andromacha a tout grans souspirs	*Andromache, with many great sighs*
et pleurs fist son pouoir que il	*and tears, used her power so that he*
n'alast en la bataille; mais Hector	*[Hector] not go to battle, but Hector*
ne l'en volt croire et il y fu occis.	*did not want to believe her, and there*
Pour ce dit que le bon chevalier ne	*he was slain. Therefore, a good*
doit du tout desprisier les avisions	*knight should not entirely undervalue*
sa femme, se elle est sage et bien	*the prophetic dreams of his wife,*

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[14] For a survey of medieval artistic representations of the Virgin Mary (and in particular the image of Mary as mother), see Timothy Verdon, *Mary in Western Art* (Washington: Pope John Paul II Cultural Centre, 2006), pp. 124-43.

| condicionnee, et mesmement | *if she is wise and well conditioned,* |
| d'autres femmes sages. | *and also those of other wise women.* |

(*Epistre Othea*, LXXXVIII, ll. 10-16)[15]

It is worth noting here that Christine also uses the example of Cassandra in the *Epistre* to make a similar point:

Quant parler lui couvenoit ja	*When she felt it appropriate to*
ne desit chose qui veritable ne	*speak she only said things which*
fust, ne en mençonge onques	*were true, she was never found*
ne fu trouvee. Moult fu de	*lying. Cassandra was full of*
grant savoir Cassandra, pour	*great knowledge, therefore it*
ce dit au bon chevalier que a	*indicates to the good knight that*
celle doit ressembler.	*he should resemble her.*

(*Epistre*, XXXII, ll. 10-14)

Christine was writing nearly two hundred and fifty years after the *romans* had been written and cannot be used as definitive evidence as to the ways in which the texts were received at their time of composition or by their earliest audiences. However, manuscripts of *Troie* were still being produced throughout the centuries leading up to Christine's composition of the *Epistre*, showing that its contents still had value for those beyond the twelfth century, and we can imagine that Hector's actions were still a topic of scrutiny. Indeed, the narrative framework of the *Epistre* takes the form of a letter to Hector, providing him with guidance on the moral and chivalric values of a good knights. The illustrations of *Troie*-manuscripts show that the scenes of Andromache's advice to Hector were important

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[15] Quotations from the *Epistre* are taken from Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. by Gabriella Parussa (Geneva: Droz, 1999) and are referenced by text and line number. Translations are my own.

to medieval audiences, not just in the twelfth century but throughout the Middle Ages, while Christine's text suggests that the reason it may have been valued was as a lesson in the indispensibility of heeding good counsel, even if it came from a woman.

In contrast, Medea's advice is heeded by Jason. However, while this is shown to be to *his* benefit, it is unfortunately not necessarily to *her* benefit. *Troie* opens with the Argonautic story of Jason and the quest for the Golden Fleece, which was a departure from Benoît's Latin sources. Dictys makes no reference to the story of the Golden Fleece at all, while Dares's account is only thirty-four lines long; Benoît's version is almost two thousand lines in length. Medea does not even appear in Dares's account, but she is a major figure in Benoît's. *Troie* introduces her as a beautiful and wise woman who has mastered the arts of magic and enchantment. She falls in love with Jason and attempts to dissuade him from his quest to capture the Golden Fleece because of the risk involved. He insists that he will continue the mission. She therefore proposes to help him if he agrees to marry her. She tells him that '[f]or mei, ne t'en puet riens aider | Ne avancier ne conseiller' (*except for me, nobody is able to help, support or counsel you*, ll. 1417-18). The verb 'conseiller' particularly stands out. He agrees to the arrangement and they spend the night together before he departs. She gives him five gifts to help on his quest: a magic figurine that will protect him; an ointment that can heal all wounds; a protective ring that can make him invisible; a parchment with a magic enchantment; and a potion to pour in the face of the bulls to render them harmless. In addition, she gives him advice on exactly how and in what order to face the dangers that guard the Golden Fleece. In essence, she makes it almost impossible for him to fail if he follows her guidance.

The illustrators did not fail to pick up on Medea's importance. She appears in five of the illustrated *Troie* manuscripts: MSS P17, V1, Vt, Vn, and P18. In MS P17 she only appears once, and the scene illustrated is her introduction to Jason and Hercules (fol. 47^r). However, the other manuscripts make more of her story. In MS Vt she appears six times:

entering Jason's bedchamber (fol. 11ʳ), with Jason in the Temple of Jupiter (fol. 12ʳ), in

bed with Jason (fol. 12ʳ), giving gifts to Jason (fol. 12ᵛ), watching Jason sail away (fol. 13ᵛ),

and watching him return (fol. 15ʳ). In MS Vn she appears eight times: her introduction to

Jason and Hercules (fol. 8ʳ); her standing in court (fol. 8ᵛ); her engagement to Jason (fol.

9ʳ); her lying in bed with Jason standing next to the bed (fol. 10ʳ); her giving the

parchment to Jason (fol. 11ʳ); she and Jason embracing (fol. 11ʳ); she and Jason in bed

together (fol. 11ʳ); and finally her watching Jason sail away (fol. 12ʳ). MS P18 has the same

illustrations. But it is MS V1 that gives the most thorough rendering of her story as it

shows ten scenes: her first meeting with Jason (fol. 8ᵛ), talking to Jason (fol. 9ʳ), alone in

her bedchamber (fol. 9ᵛ), standing next to her bed speaking with a maid-servant (fol. 10ʳ),

in bed with Jason standing next to her (fol. 10ʳ), giving the magic figurine to Jason (fol.

10ᵛ), in bed with Jason (fig. 13), giving the parchment to Jason (fig. 73), she and Jason

embracing (fol. 11ʳ), and finally watching Jason sail away (fol. 11ᵛ). Not only are the scenes

in which Medea physically appears important, but her presence can still be detected in

later illustrations that show Jason's exploits. For example, when we see Jason facing the

dragon and the bull (fig. 74) he is reading from the same parchment seen in the earlier

illustration (fig. 73). The illustrators were therefore keen to show not just how important

Medea was as an advisor, but how beneficial it was that Jason followed that advice.

VII.ii. Negotiators

Alongside female advisors, the *romans* also give us female negotiators. Negotiators are

distinguished from advisors in that they speak not just with those on their own side, but

those from the opposing side, too. The two most striking examples of this role are Jocasta

from *Thèbes* and Hecuba from *Troie*. The former volunteers to be part of a negotiation

party and travels to the enemy's camp in order to conduct talks, while the latter is

deliberately sought out by the enemy and conducts negotiations from within her own walls. Both women are shown as reliable negotiators but their success is sadly limited. This may in part be due to the fact that they are predominantly message-bearers, rather than being able to act unilaterally. Nevertheless, even as message-bearers they still hold an important role in diplomatic relations between the two opposing sides.

Jocasta is a powerful negotiator, and her strategy is three-fold, the specifics of which are original to the *Thèbes*-poet. Firstly, there is the physical impressiveness of her diplomatic delegation. In Statius's *Thebaid*, her envoy is described as follows:

Ecce truces oculos sordentibus	*Lo! Jocasta, wild-eyed, with hoary*
obsita canis exsangues Iocasta	*unkempt hair falling about her*
genas et bracchia planctu nigra [...].	*haggard face, her bosom bruised and*
Hinc atque hinc natae, melior iam	*livid and in her hand a branch of olive [...].*
sexus.	*On this side and on that her daughters,*
(*Thebaid*, VII, 474-79)	*now the better sex.*

The women may be shown to be the *melior sexus* in contrast to the warring men who refuse to negotiate, but they are not described in particularly dignified terms. In contrast, the *Thèbes*-poet begins by stating that Jocasta is 'bien vestue et bien conree' (*well-dressed and well-prepared*, l. 4112) and then devotes the next sixty-six lines (ll. 4113-79) to describing the beautiful clothes, horses, and attire of her and her two daughters. They are transformed from haggard women carrying sticks to noble ladies adorned with jewels and furs. These are not the actions of desperate lowly women, but part of a spectacle of ceremonial importance.

Secondly, her mission in *Thèbes* is different from that in the Statius. In the *Thebaid*, Jocasta's mission had been to convince Polynices to abandon his siege of Thebes and respect the original terms of the agreement (whereby he and Eteocles take it in turns to

rule the kingdom). However, in *Thèbes*, the barons devise different terms of negotiation and propose that the kingdom should be divided in two, with each son having dominion over his own part. Eteocles initially opposes the suggestion, but with the counsel of his barons and mother he acquiesces. The barons then argue as to who should deliver the terms of the agreement to Polynices as they fear that the messenger will be slain. The concept of diplomatic immunity for messengers was not one that was known either in the classical period or the twelfth century when the *romans* were written; indeed for most of the Middle Ages, 'negotiators [...] found themselves at risk'.[16] The mission of negotiator was not an easy one. However, Jocasta volunteers because she believes her status as Polynices's mother will give the messenger the immunity that he needs:

Co dist Jocaste: 'Jo irai,	*Jocasta said this: I will go,*
Que le message conduirai:	*I will accompany the messenger:*
Que mes fiz puesse, pas ne cuit	*for I do not believe that my son is able*
Que hon seit pris en mon conduit;	*to seize him if I accompany him;*
Polinicés bien guardera	*Polynices will ensure that*
Que on nul mal ne li fera'.	*nothing bad happens to him.*

<div align="center">(Thèbes, ll. 4083-88)</div>

This demonstrates one of the advantages of having a close relative, particularly a female relative, as part of the negotiating team. Their status as wife, mother, sister or daughter means that they may be perceived as less threatening (than a man) and also they may be a more sympathetic figure. The act of having Jocasta accompany the messenger is already

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[16] Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), p. 316. Bradbury gives examples of the perils suffered by negotiators (such as death or imprisonment) from the Merovingian age up to Henry V of England's reign.

the first step in the negotiation, reminding the two adversaries of their common link, and potentially facilitating a more open dialogue than had a male knight been sent instead.

Thirdly, *Thèbes* differs from the *Thebaid* in the role that Jocasta's daughters play. In the *Thebaid* they are there to support her in a physical sense; they hold her arms on either side to enable her to walk. But in *Thèbes*, they play a role in the negotiations and help build relations between the two sides. When Parthenopeus, one of Polynices's knights, sees Antigone, he falls in love with her and she with him. He asks Jocasta for her blessing to marry Antigone, and she consents:

Bien ottreia le mariage;	*She happily agreed to the marriage;*
Molt volentiers la li dorra,	*very willingly she gave her [Antigone]*
Mais oue son filz en parlera.	*to him [Parthenopeus], but only after she*
(*Thèbes*, ll. 4279-81)	*had spoken to her son.*

This marriage of a princess from one side to a baron of the opposing side serves two functions: firstly, it allows another opportunity for the *Thèbes*-poet to introduce the theme of courtly love.[17] Secondly, it is a form of diplomatic manoeuvring in itself and part of the peace negotiations between the two sides. In the historical context of the twelfth century, marriage was not an unusual strategy for seeking and sealing peace negotiations or as part of wider political machinations.[18] Furthermore, Gillingham makes the argument that even

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[17] The way in which the two lovers initially meet and greet each other uses language and tropes that are familiar to the courtly love topos. For example, they are described as being well suited to each other because they are the same age and have the same beauty and level of nobility (ll. 4206-07) and Parthenopeus falls in love with her at first sight (ll. 4208-10).

[18] Much has been written on the importance of marriage in twelfth-century French and English politics. See, for example: Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, trans. by Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) and *The Knight, The Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray

when marriages were ostensibly political, this did not preclude them from involving emotional bonds of romantic love, too.[19] This scene between Antigone and Parthenopeus encapsulates just such a situation: they are courtly lovers, but the placement of their betrothal during the negotiation envoy of Jocasta frames it as politically serendipitous in helping to cement peace negotiations. Up to this point, it appears that having an envoy of women as negotiators is nothing but beneficial.

However, despite the initially positive start, the peace talks are unsuccessful, and the *Thèbes*-poet makes a change to his source material in order to reflect that this breakdown is not Jocasta's fault, but rather the fault of the men with whom she is attempting to negotiate. Just as Hector and the Trojans are condemned for failing to follow good advice, so the Argives are judged for failing to respond appropriately to negotiations. In both *Thèbes* and the *Thebaid* the terms of her peace treaty are rejected after Polynices takes advice to that effect from his barons. In the *Thebaid*, this scene is followed by an episode in which a group of Argive warriors hunt down two tame Theban tigresses.[20] The killing of the tigresses prompts an outbreak of violence between the two sides, and Jocasta and her daughters flee the negotiations. In *Thèbes,* after Polynices rejects the terms, the narrator announces that '[p]or nïent et por legerie | Comencea le jor la folie' (*on that day the foolishness started for no good reason*, ll. 4602-03). He goes on to give his version of the story of the tigresses, which he changes. However, depending on which

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(Harmondsworth: Pantheon Books, 1983); Theodore Evergates, ed., *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); J. C. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 57 (1972), 3-52.

[19] John Gillingham, 'Love, Marriage and Politics in the Twelfth Century', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 25 (1989), 292-303.

[20] Mozley's translation of the *Thebaid* translates 'geminae [...] tigres' (*Thebaid,* VII, l. 564) as 'two tigers', but the grammatically feminine form of the Latin (as opposed to what would be the masculine form of *gemini tigris*) indicates that they should correctly be identified as twin tigresses.

manuscript of *Thèbes* we use, it changes in different ways. In MSS P8 and G we have a single tigress and she is described using much the same vocabulary as courtly ladies: she drinks wine, she plays games, she is beautiful, and she even displays a heraldic device: '[e]le aveit enz el front davant | Un escharboncle mout luisant' (*she had a shimmering carbuncle on her forehead*, ll. 4295-96).[21] The narrator describes how upon hearing the noise of the Argives outside the walls of Thebes, '[d]e la cité vers l'ost eissi' (*she went from the city toward the army*, l. 4302), mirroring the scene in which Jocasta has left the city to go toward the Argive army. The tigress is killed by the Argives, prompting the outbreak of Battle I, and there is no mention of Jocasta at all. Unlike in the *Thebaid* where she is described fleeing back to Thebes, in *Thèbes* her movements are completely omitted. It is as if the image of the dead tigress is enough to signify that the noble aspirations of feminine peacefulness have been killed and replaced by the *folie* of warring men.

In MSS P13, P17, and L4 the story of the tigress is almost identical to that in MSS P8 and G, but with one crucial difference: the tigress is no longer a tigress but has been transformed into 'une guivre' (*a serpentine dragon*, l. 4604).[22] Petit argues that MS L4, although the most recent of the *Thèbes*-manuscripts, actually contains the oldest version of

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[21] Note that as Mora-Lebrun's edition of *Thèbes* uses MS L4 as its base manuscript, quotations from MSS P8 and G are taken instead from Constans's edition.

[22] It is difficult to give an exact translation of *guivre* as this term was relatively new in the twelfth-century and its meaning could vary across texts. It generally seems to be a form of snake, or viper, possibly winged and with two to four legs, with the potential to be venomous or breathe fire. For a detailed discussion of its etymology and development in the Middle Ages, see William Sayers, 'The Wyvern', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 109 (2008), 457-65. Sayers explains that the word *guivre* appears in twelfth-century texts such as the *Chanson de Roland*, Guillaume de Berneville's *Vie de saint Gilles*, the *Roman de Claris et Laris,* and *Thèbes* to represent some kind of aggressive and exotic beast, before tracing its development in later centuries to become a two-legged winged serpent-dragon known as a *wyvern* in English heraldry.

Thèbes;[23] if this is true then the appearance of the tigress in the later versions of MSS P8 and G indicate later scribes attempting to revise the original text to bring it closer again to Statius's *Thebaid*, rather than reproducing the *Thèbes*-poet's transformed version.[24] The original version, with a tame serpent-dragon, represents not only a radical departure from the tigresses of Statius's *Thebaid*, but makes for a more dramatic scene when it is described and killed. It is worth emphasising that this *guivre* is also female and is described in the same terms as the tigress (beautiful, fond of wine, playful, and displaying the carbuncle). With the image of the serpent-dragon it is perhaps even more inevitable that she will be killed by the Argive knights, for the topos of men slaying dragons was already well-established in the twelfth century. What is interesting is the feminisation of the *guivre*, an image that became popular in later medieval Francophone culture through legends such as Jean d'Arras's *Mélusine* (1382-94), but which was relatively unusual in the twelfth century. In any case, regardless of whether the scene preceding that of the breakdown of negotiations depicts the killing of a tigress or a *guivre*, the overall effect is the same: the slaughter of this beautiful feminine creature mirrors the image of the failure of Jocasta's diplomatic mission to Polynices, and both result in the outbreak of the war. The peacefulness and beauty of neither Jocasta and her daughters, nor the tigress or *guivre*, are able to triumph over the *folie* of men unwilling to compromise and determined to fight.

Another female negotiator in the *romans* is Hecuba. Achilles contacts her because he wishes to negotiate for the hand of Polyxena, with whom he has fallen in love. He offers to withdraw his troops from the war in exchange for Polyxena's hand in marriage.

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[23] Petit, *Naissances du roman*, pp. 1085-87.

[24] The paleographical forms of *guivre* and *tigre* are sufficiently distinct (the former beginning with a descender and the latter beginning with an ascender and with a descender in the middle of the word) that we can rule out simple scribal accidental misinterpretation to explain the differences and conclude that the change must have been deliberate.

The decision to go to Hecuba (rather than, say, Priam) is not commented upon by either the messenger or the narrator. This course of action, to negotiate firstly with the mother, must therefore have seemed normal. This scene appears in Dares's account, while in Dictys's version the chosen negotiator is Hector rather than Hecuba. Notwithstanding the narrative problem that at this stage in Benoît's narrative Hector is already dead, Benoît nevertheless clearly felt that given the choice between Hecuba or one of Hecuba's sons as negotiator (he could have substituted Paris or Troilus, for example), Hecuba was the preferred choice. However, as soon as the messenger delivers his message, we see that while Hecuba is the primary point of contact, she occupies the more limited role of message-bearer. She wants to accept the terms but cannot do so without the consent of her husband and son:

> Por quant jol voudrai volentiers, *I would willingly [accept these*
> Se jol puis trover vers le rei. *terms] if I am able to obtain [the*
> [...] *consent] of the king. [...]*
> D'ui en tierz jor a mei revien: *Return in three days: then*
> De ço que jo avrai apris *I will have spoken with my*
> A mon seignor e a Paris. *lord [Priam] and with Paris.*
> (*Troie*, ll. 17838-39, 17852-54)

Hecuba can receive envoys of negotiation, but not accept or decline them. She makes a compelling case to Priam for accepting Achilles's proposal. First, she lays out the difficult situation they are in militarily due to the loss of forces and the death of Hector (ll. 17888-901). Next, she explains that Achilles has proposed a peace accord that would have two advantages: it would make Polyxena a powerful queen (ll. 17902-08) and it would end the siege (ll. 17909-15). Finally she ends by reminding Priam of the suffering endured by the people of Troy and the need for peace (ll. 17916-28). In terms of present-day global

politics, Hecuba is performing as a prenegotiator: prenegotiation accepts that both parties 'have important common interests as well as interests that divide them', that 'disaster will be inescapable if negotiations are not grasped', and that there is 'a possible solution'.[25] Prenegotiation is the gateway to negotiation, and is an essential stage in the diplomatic process. Hecuba may have limited powers as a true negotiator but she is well-placed to fulfil the role of prenegotiator without limitations. Priam does not give his consent to Achilles's proposal, for he states that Achilles's withdrawal from the war would be insufficient to end it. Instead, he asks Hecuba to propose new terms, stating that Achilles may only have Polyxena's hand if he can persuade all of the Greeks to cease hostilities. Achilles is ultimately unsuccessful in this task (as discussed in Chapter III). He refrains from fighting in Battles XII-XV, but is eventually convinced to rejoin the fray in Battle XVI. When Priam learns of this he vows that Achilles will never wed Polyxena. Any hopes for a peace-deal are quashed.

Despite the fact that Hecuba's role in these negotiations is limited to that of a message-bearer, and that they are ultimately unsuccessful in brokering a peace deal, the illustrated manuscripts of *Troie* nevertheless attest to the fact that these scenes were of interest as they appear in four manuscripts: MSS V1, Vt, Vn and P18.[26] MS V1 has eight illustrations to accompany this part of the narrative, appearing with such frequency that the text is almost redundant given the pictorial rendering of almost every stage of the negotiation. The first illustration shows Achilles speaking to his messenger (fol. 139ʳ); the second depicts the messenger walking from the Greek camp to Troy and speaking to Hecuba (fig. 75); the third and fourth are on the same folio and illustrate the messenger

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[25] G. R. Berridge, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 31.
[26] It was also probably intended to be included in the illustrations of MS P16 as there is space left for a miniature on fol. 107ʳ above which is written the rubric: 'Comment Achilles envoia un message al la fame au roy priant' (*how Achilles sent a messenger to the wife of King Priam*).

leaving Hecuba, walking back to the Greek camp, and speaking with Achilles (fol. 140^r); the fifth shows Hecuba speaking with Priam (fig. 76); the sixth depicts the messenger speaking with Hecuba (and Polyxena) (fig. 77); the seventh illustrates the messenger walking between Troy and the Greek camp (fol. 141^v); and the eighth show the messenger speaking with Achilles (fol. 142^r). The almost exhausting repetitiveness of the images gives a graphic representation of the many stages involved in the negotiation process. Hecuba's appearance four times (as compared with Priam being shown only twice) confirms her role as Achilles's primary contact in the negotiations and her centrality to this episode.

MS Vt provides three illustrations: Hecuba and Achilles's messenger speaking alone (fol. 135^v); Hecuba speaking with Priam (fig. 78); and Hecuba speaking with Achilles's messenger again, while Polyxena stands to the side (fig. 79). In all three, Hecuba is shown with one hand raised, indicating her speech. The messenger is always shown with his arms folded (showing his silence) while Priam rests his head on one of hands (showing that he is listening). Hecuba has the agency in all three as she is shown leading the discussions.

MSS Vn and P18 similarly dedicate a series of illustrations to representing the full extent of the negotiations: first, Achilles speaking with the messenger (MS Vn, fol. 105^v and MS P18, fol. 117^v); second, the messenger speaking with Hecuba (MS Vn, fol. 107^r and MS P18, fol. 118^r); third, Hecuba speaking with Priam (MS Vn, fol. 107^v and MS P18, fol. 119^r); fourth, Hecuba speaking again with the messenger (fig. 80 and fig. 81); and fifth, the messenger back with Achilles (MS Vn, fol. 108^v and MS P18, fol. 120^r). Once again, Hecuba dominates these illustrations as compared to Priam (appearing in three out of the five, while Priam is in only one). Irrespective of the success of these negotiations, the fact that Hecuba is central to their unfolding was clearly of importance. As with Jocasta, the breakdown of these negotiations for peace is not shown to be the fault of the

queen attempting to broker peace, but rather the fault of the men with whom she is negotiating and who are unwilling to put aside violence in the pursuit of their goals.

VII.iii. Intervenors

The final way in which women adopt a political role is as intervenors. In this role they do not offer advice and they do not attempt to negotiate. Instead, they take unilateral action entirely of their own devising. Returning to Hecuba, we have an example of the way in which she becomes an intervenor and takes action that affects the development of the war. The incident that drives Hecuba to become an active intervenor is the death of Troilus at the hands of Achilles in Battle XIX. Following this event, she devises a plot to have Achilles assassinated. Dares's version casts a negative judgment over Hecuba's decision to undertake such a course of action: 'Hecuba maesta [...] consilium muliebre temerarium iniit ad ulciscendum dolorem' (*mournful Hecuba devised, like the woman she was, a treacherous vengeance*, D.34). The word 'muliebre' is used with a decidedly negative connotation to suggest that her actions are dishonourable. However, Benoît is more sympathetic.

> Com de lui se puisse vengier,   *In this way she is able to be avenged on*
> Ne s'en deit nus hom merveillier   *him [Achilles], and nobody should be*
> N'a mal ne a blasme atorner.   *surprised nor put any blame on her.*
>   (*Troie*, ll. 21851-53)

Her plan is to send a messenger to Achilles telling him to meet her at the Temple of Apollo where she will give him Polyxena in marriage. In fact, she convinces Paris (against his better judgement) to lay an ambush in the temple, and to kill Achilles there and then. Once again, there is no suggestion that Achilles would be suspicious of receiving such a

message from Hecuba, implying that her power to undertake such action was not in question, and that her reputation as an honest diplomat was similarly intact.

The scene in which Achilles is assassinated in the Temple of Apollo is frequently illustrated. It appears in seven manuscripts (MSS P6, Nt, P17, Vt, Vn, P18, and V1). Five of these manuscripts also include the preceding scene showing Hecuba giving her instructions to Paris (MSS P6, Vt, Vn, P18, and V1).[27] That is to say that in the majority of cases, the scene of Achilles's death, the death of one of the greatest warriors of the Trojan legend, is not separated from a visual representation of the instigator of his death: Hecuba. It may be Paris who holds the sword, but it is Hecuba who has given the order. It is also important to comment on the difference in visual representations of Hecuba when she switches from negotiator to intervenor. In the illustrations of her speaking with Achilles's messenger and Priam as discussed in the section above, she is shown in several different postures: seated with the messenger kneeling before her, seated with the messenger standing, standing with the messenger standing, seated next to Priam (who is also seated), or standing in discussion with Priam (who is also standing). All of these take place in public rooms as several of them also have other (unnamed) figures in the background or she is seated on a throne. When it comes to the moment in which she gives her instructions to Paris, the scene always contrasts with the negotiation scene. For example, in MSS Vn, P18 and V1 she is shown instead lying in her bed (figs. 82, 83, and

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[27] It would also probably have appeared in MS P16 as there is space left for a miniature on fol. 133ᵛ above which is written the rubric: 'Comment la reine ecuba manda a achilles qu'il venist parler a lui et comment paris l'ochist (*how Queen Hecuba asked Achilles to come to speak to her and how Paris killed him*).

84).[28] This is a clear visual distinction: when she was a negotiator she was standing or seated, but when she is an intervenor she is lying in her bed. This is not to suggest that the bedchamber is a private or informal location. Indeed quite the opposite may be true. Robert Scheller has shown that there were many uses for beds as a form of ceremony and that they were often placed in public spaces from which a monarch was able to conduct formal proceedings.[29] The change of representation of Hecuba from one chamber to the bedchamber is therefore not necessarily an implication of a move from public to private, or implicit of either an increase or decrease of importance, but instead a visual way of signifying a change in role. Anyone browsing the manuscript would be able to see that a shift has taken place.

VII.iv. Conclusions

The historical record suggests that women were likely to play a political role during times of war. And undeniably, we do see women demonstrating a significant amount of agency in political roles such as advisors, negotiators, and intervenors. This is reflected not just in the text but in the illustrations, too: Andromache's attempts to stop Hector from going back into battle and Hecuba's role both in brokering the promise of a peace deal with

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[28] Granted in MS P6 she is shown standing speaking to a standing Paris, but this manuscript is not one of the ones that has illustrated the negotiation scene, and so there is nothing with which to compare.

[29] Robert Scheller, 'The *Lit de Justice*, or How to Sit on a Bed of Estate', in *Annus Quadriga Mundi: Opstellen over misseleeuwse kunst opgedragen aan prof. de. Anna C. Esmeijer* (Utrecht: De Walburg Pers, 1989), pp. 193-202. Similarly, Anne D. Hedeman's study of the earliest manuscript of Pierre Salmon's *Réponses à Charles Vi et Lamentation au roi sur son état* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 23279) reveals Charles VI of France frequently depicted as lying or sitting on his bed while in conversation with Salmon: Anne D. Hedeman, 'Pierre Salmon's Advice for a King', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), 113-23.

Achilles and then in plotting his assassination all stand out across the illustrated manuscripts in *Troie* as pivotal scenes.

When seen advising or negotiating there is an implication that they are wise advisors and peace-seeking negotiators, but that their counsel falls on deaf ears. The fact that Cassandra is locked up despite her accurate predictions for the future shows just how foolish the male characters are in physically removing counsellors who give advice that does not accord with their own views. Indeed, any negative criticism is placed on those who fail to listen, rather than those who fail to be heard. Later medieval writers' reception of the Trojan narrative (such as Christine de Pizan) suggests that those who fail to listen to their advisors will be judged negatively. Hector's failure to heed Andromache's advice not only led to his death, but to his later reputation being tarnished as a man who ignored wise counsel. Similarly, Achilles's failure to adhere to the terms of his negotiation with Hecuba causes his death, and Polynices and Eteocles's failure to conduct a peace negotiation, even in the presence of their mother, eventually results in their deaths.

However, in contrast to the historical context, the female characters in the *romans* seem almost exclusively preoccupied with making peace, whereas the historical women cited in Chapter II.ii are more varied in their political objectives. As with the women in the previous chapters, it may be that the *romans* are projecting a more idealised version of women's roles. Their rather neatly gendered version shows that women only get involved politically when it relates to the 'feminine' business of peace, rather than the 'masculine' business of war itself. But of course the texts are not completely restrictive in this way: Hecuba's switch from negotiator to intervenor shows how women can initiate violence, too. Indeed, the fact that her switch results in the death of one of the greatest heroes of the narrative shows just how potent the effect can be if women do turn their inclinations from peace to violence. The *romans*-poets and the manuscript illustrators seem very much to be anticipating Christine de Pizan's later sentiments: 'le bon chevalier ne doit du tout

desprisier les avisions de sa femme, se elle est sage et bien condicionnee, et mesmement

d'autres femmes sages'.

Conclusion

At the end of the nineteenth century, archaeologists uncovered a grave in Sweden containing shields, an axe, a sword, a spear, a bow and arrows, and two horses. They identified it as a Viking warrior's tomb, and the assumption was that its occupant must therefore have been male. However, a group of researchers from Uppsala University recently published a paper that uses DNA analysis to prove that the warrior was actually a woman.[1] Although their paper focuses on its laboratory-based methodology and scientific conclusions, its outcome has cultural and social ramifications that we can use in the humanities. Their conclusions challenged assumptions about gender roles that had been unfairly and inaccurately foisted upon this site by previous researchers who saw warriors, like warfare itself, as a space in which men alone could operate. Such assumptions regarding roles in warfare not only make women invisible in the historical record, but they distort our understanding of that historical period. Just as the Uppsala researchers used the evidence from that grave to overturn assumptions about Viking warriors, so this thesis has used the *romans d'antiquité* to show that the assumption that 'war is an entirely masculine endeavour' is a false one. Indeed, if we want to understand war then we cannot only look at men, but must expand our knowledge 'des danzeles, e des dames e des puceles' (*of women, of ladies, and of maidens*, *Troie*, ll. 203-04).

War is a multifaceted phenomenon through which to raise and explore questions around women, gendering, and gender roles. The *romans*' self-presentation as vernacular translations of classical texts meant that they were not necessarily seen as overtly political

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[1] Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson and others, 'A Female Viking Warrior Confirmed by Genomics', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (2017) < http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/ajpa.23308/epdf> [accessed 12 September 2017].

or social treatises. Their explorations of the boundaries of gender roles could therefore avoid any potential accusations of subversiveness by appearing only within the confines of their faithful 'translations'. However, by transposing the narratives into a recognisably medieval milieu they were still able to pass such commentary and could engage in contemporary debates on the place of women within medieval society. And indeed, as Chapter I explored, some of the manuscript contexts for the narratives suggest that certain patrons did value them for their political, historical, or social significance. Furthermore, certain ownership patterns, marginalia, and damage to illustrations of women, indicate that users of these manuscripts were often interested in the female characters. Similarly, the evidence in Chapter II showed that they used their contemporary environments, which certainly included several prominent historical women, in the development and expansion of the actions and characters of their female characters. So, let us review the roles and boundaries that this thesis has explored.

To some extent, the wars featured in these texts do create and reinforce gender restrictions between masculine and feminine: for example, Chapter III revealed how the male characters speak at length about the honour and glory that is associated with being a fierce and brave warrior on the battlefield and actively seek out opportunities to establish their martial prowess and courage. Similarly, Chapters IV and VII demonstrated that the gendering of victims and peacemakers meant that women could on occasion be seen in more passive or pacifist roles. However, the texts simultaneously challenge these limitations and ask us to re-examine the ways these positions might be defined. So as Chapters V, VI, and VII explained, we find women taking active ancillary roles in tasks such as providing water, handling weaponry and armour, and tending to the wounded after battle; we have female warriors who excel at martial exploits on the battlefield just as the male warriors do; and we see female political actors who occupy central roles in advising, negotiating, and intervening in the actions of men. *Troie* and *Enéas* even present

us with a specific idea of feminine chivalry as distinct from (but not inferior to) masculine chivalry. This feminine chivalry incorporates many of the traits associated with masculine chivalry, including *courtoisie*, *prouesse*, and *loyauté*, but also demands the additional virtue of virginity. This is particularly important for it shows that during the twelfth century, a period when chivalry was being discussed in multiple fora and had yet to emerge into a more formalised code of conduct, early ideas did not exclude women but sought to create a parallel code through which they too could participate.[2] Eventually both medieval writers and modern scholars alike come to treat female warriors as exceptions, rarities, or aberrations, but at least at the time of the *romans*'s composition we would do well to consider the gendering of chivalry and women's place within it more fully.

War may essentially have been structured as a patriarchal system in which women were fated to suffer, but the *romans* took the opportunity to explore ways for women to exert some agency and authority within that structure. This is not to suggest that women threatened this structure or attempted to overthrow it, but simply that the poets and illustrators aimed to provide exemplars for women on how they could be empowered within that system, as well as showing men the value of such empowered women. Understanding the *romans*-poets' motivation in this way could help us to understand later contemporary attitudes to women's role in warfare, too. The fact that these texts continued to be valued for centuries after their composition meant that some of these ideas or representations or characters must have had an enduring popularity. Indeed,

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[2] It is interesting to consider the extent to which the establishment of parallel male and female monastic communities may have influenced writers and theorists into devising structures that could accommodate both sexes in the systemisation of another of the medieval estates (i.e. male and female knights as well as male and female monastics). For more on women's monasticism in the High Middle Ages, see Cordula van Wyhe, ed., *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008) and Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*.

Deiphyle and Penthesilea both became *Neuf Preuses*; Argia, Camille, Cassandra, Clytemenestra, Dido, Hecuba, Helen, Hipsipyle, Jocasta, Lavine, Medea, Penelope, Penthesilea, and Polyxena were part of Giovanni Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris* (*c.* 1374); Argia, Camille, Cassandra, Dido, Lavine, Medea, Penelope, and Penthesilea appeared in Christine's *Cité des dames*; Andromache, Cassandra, Helen, Medea, Penthesilea, and Polyxena featured in Christine's *Epistre Othea*; Camille and Penthesilea were championed in Martin le Franc's *Champion des Dames* (*c.* 1461). In fact, from Christine up to the early the sixteenth century these texts (and these women) were an important part of the popular 'imaginative literature written in defence of women that is now ranged under the umbrella term "la querelle des femmes"'.[3] Similarly, historical figures of women with warring connections also continue to appear well after those mentioned in Chapter II: we could look at Blanche of Castile, Eleanor of Castile, Eleanor of Provence, Isabella of Aragon, Isabella of Castile, Isabella of France, Joan of Arc, Joan of Navarre, Joanna of Flanders, Margaret of Anjou, or Margaret Beaufort to name but a few. So perhaps these texts continued to be relevant because the struggle for women to find and exert their role in warfare was also on-going (as indeed it still is today) and the *romans*' exemplars provided some enduring models.

This thesis is certainly not intended to be the final word on this topic, for the *romans* were surely not alone in their exploration of the many and varied roles and connections that women had in relation to warfare. However, the tripartite methodology of this study has yielded particularly fruitful results that give us a new understanding of these particular texts and their diverse material, historical, and literary contexts. Following the principles of new philology led to an exploration of the manuscript context of the

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[3] Helen J. Swift, *Gender, Writing, and Performance: Men Defending Women in Late Medieval France (1440-1538)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), p. 2.

texts. This aspect of research was especially important in two ways: firstly, it highlighted the importance of looking at the texts not just at the time of their composition (within a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman milieu) but also at the later times of their copying (within a wider thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Franco-Italian context). This helped to uncover the changing ways that the texts were valued and received across different groups and periods, and showed that many of the manuscripts had particular connections to women. Secondly, this strand of the methodology widened the focus of the research from looking not at the written texts only, but considering the illustrative traditions that often accompanied them, too. Evidence from these illustrations showed that the illustrators (perhaps in certain cases working under the influence of a particular patron) were similarly interested in images of women and scenes of warfare in which women appear, demonstrating that there was an artistic appreciation of women's role in warfare, too. The specific physical attention paid to illustrations of women (often resulting in damage to the image) in certain manuscripts further highlights that later readers were similarly engaged with the subjects of these illustrations. The second methodological strand, gender theory, was instrumental in identifying the five roles of women in warfare that gave the last five chapters of this thesis its structure. It also informed many of the close readings of the texts and images and identified the ways in which certain roles could be gendered and to what extent these boundaries were explored and tested (as described in detail above). The third strand, new historicism, helped to draw the previous two strands together and locate them within a contemporary historical and cultural network. It was this strand that led to the identification of new sources for the *romans*, specifically by looking at historical women and events (such as The Anarchy and the Investiture Contest) that could be linked to Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II, at whose court the *romans* were most likely produced. Furthermore, it is this strand that allows us to position the findings of this study not just in the space of literary studies, but within the wider field of social history. A

large question now remains as to what extent similar debates and discussions could be found in other sources (both literary and historical) were we to approach them using this same tripartite methodology. It seems that the problem of there being a dearth of information on medieval women and warfare is not due to a gap in the sources, but rather to a blindspot in current scholarship. Where else could we look and what else could we find? Benoît's epilogue to *Troie* suggests that having reached the end of a long and complex work it is sensible to leave it behind and move on:

<blockquote>
Ci ferons fin, bien est mesure: *Here we shall end our book, which is right,*

Auques tient nostre livre e dure.   *for it covers much and at great length.*

(*Troie*, ll. 30301-02)
</blockquote>

But having reached the end of this thesis, it seems that our work on the topic of medieval women and warfare has only just begun.

Appendix I:

Catalogue of Manuscripts

Codicological and ownership information for *Troie*-manuscripts has been drawn from Jung, Morrison, Constans, and the relevant library catalogues.[4] Codicological and ownership information for the *Enéas*-manuscripts has been taken from Cormier and the relevant library catalogues.[5] Codicological and ownership information for the *Thèbes*-manuscripts has comes from Petit and the relevant library catalogues.[6] There are ten fragments of *Troie* (and no fragments of *Enéas* or *Thèbes*) but these have not been included.[7] The manuscripts are ordered first by alphabetical location and then chronologically.

MS F1: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plutei XLI.44

Date: *c.* 1190-1225

Place: Italy

Contents: *Enéas*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: None

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[4] Jung's *La légende*, Morrison's 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', Constans's edition of *Troie*.

[5] Raymond J. Cormier, 'Gleanings on the Manuscript Tradition of the *Roman d'Enéas*', *Manuscripta*, 18 (1974), 42-47.

[6] Aimé Petit, 'La réception de la *Thébaïde* à travers la tradition manuscrite du *Roman de Thèbes*', in *'Plaist vos oïr bone cançon vallant?' Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à François Suard*, ed. by Dominique Boutet and others (Lille: Éditions du Conseil scientifique de l'Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille III, 1999), pp. 703-12.

[7] Information on the fragments can be found in Jung, *La légende*, pp. 306-30.

MS F2: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2433

Date: *c.* 1344

Place: Florence

Contents: *Hector et Hecule*; *Troie*.

Ownership: Lucas Boni of Florence (possibly both scribe and owner).

Illustrations: No formal scheme, but numerous sketches and doodles.

Comments: There are several spare folios at the end of *Troie* onto which various hands have written in extracts from a variety of other texts including Latin verses of the *Ave Maria*, a calendar of religious festivals, a hymn by Thomas Aquinas, two Franco-Italian lyrics, and a few verses on Alexander the Great.

MS G: Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS Bodmer 18

Date: *c.* 1275-1300

Place: Unknown

Contents: *Troie; Thèbes*.

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: 1 historiated initial (for *Troie*)

Comments: This is the only copy in which *Thèbes* follows (rather than precedes) *Troie*.

MS L1: London, BL, MS Additional 30863

Date: *c.* 1200-20

Place: Champagne

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Possibly shared between two fourteenth-century women (or a gift from one to another) as there is a note that reads 'A madame de Martignie madame Maulevrier saluz et bonne amor' (fol. 14ᵛ).

Illustrations: None

MS L2: London, BL, MS Harley 4482

Date: *c.* 1250-1300

Place: Amiens or Arras

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1689-1741)

Illustrations: 15 historiated initials (connected to the illustrative cycle in MSS P14 and Mn)

Comments: Jung notes that nine of this manuscript's historiated initials are found in the same place as the historiated initials of MSS P14 and Mn, suggesting a connection between all three.[8] However, Morrison clarifies that despite this, the 'subjects of the initials do not parallel [...] the visual narratives of those manuscripts.[9]

MS L3: London, BL, MS Additional 14100

Date: *c.* 1340-60

Place: Italy

Contents: *Enéas*

Ownership: Arms of the Moro family appear on the flyleaf. Possibly put there by Cristoforo Moro (1390-1471), Doge of Venice.

Illustrations: None

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[8] Jung, *La légende*, p. 112.

[9] Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 177.

MS L4: London, BL, MS Additional 34114

Date: *c.* 1375-1400

Place: England

Contents: A *chanson de geste* on the First Crusade; *Enéas*; *Thèbes*; *Le Songe Vert*; *L'ordène de Chevalerie*.

Ownership: Henry Despenser, the 'Fighting Bishop' of Norwich (1341-1406); Maurice Johnson (1815-61).

Illustrations: None

Comments: Despite being the most recent copy of *Thèbes*, the text conserved in this manuscript is believed to be the closest to the twelfth-century original.[10]

MS M: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS D55 sup.

Date: *c.* 1190-1206

Place: Venice

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Geoffrey of Villehardouin (1160-1212) and Milon of Brabant (d. 1224); another thirteenth-century hand has inscribed it with the phrase '[i]ste liber est mei plonbeoli de plombeolis'; Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601); Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631).

Illustrations: 17 historiated initials

Comments: There is a note at the end of the manuscript (fol. 198ᵛ), dated between 1205 and 1206, explaining that it is to be shared between Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Milon

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[10] Petit, 'Introduction' to *Enéas*, p. 34.

of Brabant (two knights of the Fourth Crusade), which is witnessed by Marino Zeno (the *podestà* of Constantinople).[11]

MS Mn: Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, MS H.251

Date: *c.* 1300

Place: Paris or Picardy

Contents: *Thèbes* (probably, but no longer extant);[12] *Troie*; *Enéas*; Wace's *Brut.*

Ownership: Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio (1485-1548)

Illustrations: 2 miniatures (1 for *Enéas* and 1 for the *Brut*) and 23 historiated initials (all for *Troie,* connected to the illustrative cycle of MSS P14 and L2).[13]

MS N: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS XIII.C.38

Date: *c.* 1200-50

Place: Unknown

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio (1485-1548)

Illustrations: None

MS Nt: Nottingham, University Library, MS Mi.LM.6

Date: *c.* 1286

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[11] For more on the connections between these three men, see Jean Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1978), pp. 48-49.

[12] The manuscript is incomplete at the beginning and Jung suggests that *Thèbes* would probably have originally occupied this space: Jung, *La légende*, p. 117.

[13] For more on the illustrative connection between MSS P14, L2, and Mn, see the comments for the catalogue entry of MS L2.

Place: Flanders or North-West France

Contents: *Troie*; Gautier d'Arras's *Ille et Galeron*; Heldris of Cornwall's *Roman de Silence*; Alexander of Paris's *Roman d'Alexandre* (fragment); *La chanson d'Aspremont*; Raoul de Houdenc's *Vengeance Raguidel*; selected *fabliaux* of Gautier le Leu; Marie de France's *Esope* (fragment).

Ownership: Béatrice de Gavre (d. 1315); Anne de Laval (1385-1466); John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (1384-1453); John Bertram of Thorp Kilton (d. 1471).

Illustrations: 83 historiated initials (33 for *Troie*)

Comments: The manuscript was commissioned in Flanders for Béatrice de Gavre, the Countess of Falkemberg, on the occasion of her marriage in 1286 to Guy IX de Laval, a Breton nobleman.[14] It fell into the hands of the English in 1428 during the campaigns of the Hundred Years War when the Laval castle was surrendered to John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.[15] It was rediscovered in 1911 in a box marked '[o]ld Papers – no value'.[16]

MS P1: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3342

Date: *c.* 1200-25

Place: Unknown

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: None

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[14] F. A. G. Cowper, 'Origins and Peregrinations of the Laval-Middleton Manuscript', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 3 (1959), 3-18 (pp. 7-8).

[15] Cowper, 'Origins and Peregrinations', pp. 12-13.

[16] Cowper, 'Origins and Peregrinations', p. 17.

MS P2: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 794

Date: *c.* 1225-50

Place: Provins (Champagne)

Contents: Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*, *Le chevalier de la Charrette*, *Cligès*, and *Le chevalier au lion*; *Athis et Prophilias*; *Troie*; Wace's *Brut*; Calendre's *Empereurs de Rome*; Chrétien's *Conte du Graal*; *Première Continuation*; *Deuxième Continuation*.

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: 1 historiated initial (for *Le chevalier de la charette*)

Comments: This parchment manuscript is sometimes referred to as the 'Guiot manuscript' because of its scribe, whose signature is found on fol. 105ᵛ.[17]

MS P3: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3340

Date: *c.* 1237

Place: Unknown

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: None

MS P4: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2181

Date: *c.* 1200-1300

Place: Unknown

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Unknown

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[17] For more on this manuscript and its scribe, see Mario Roques, 'Le manuscrit fr. 794 de la Bibliothèque nationale et le scribe Guyot', *Romania*, 73 (1952), 177–99.

Illustrations: None

MS P5: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1450

Date: *c.* 1235-65

Place: North France

Contents: *Troie*; *Enéas*; Wace's *Brut* (Part I); Chrétien's *Erec et Enide* and *Le conte du Graal*; *Première Continuation*; Chrétien's *Cligès*, *Le chevalier au lion*, and *Le chevalier de la charrette*; Wace's *Brut* (Part II); Herbert's *Dolopathos*.

Ownership: Bertrand Goyon Matignon (there were four Bertrand Goyon Matignons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but it is not clear which one of these Bertrands owned the manuscript).

Illustrations: 1 historiated initial (for *Enéas*)

Comments: There is an apparent mark of ownership on fol. 202^v in the form of an abbreviated 'signature' for a 'Monsieur Bertrand Goyon Sire de Matignon'. However, we could question whether this is definitely a mark of ownership as the positioning of the signature in the middle of the manuscript, towards the end of *Cligès*, half way down the page, and written in an abbreviated form in a margin, seems rather haphazard.[18] Instead, it may be a note made by someone else, perhaps noting a part of a the text that reminded the reader of this Bertrand, or highlighting a part he or she wished to show Bertrand later.

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[18] It is roughly adjacent to the lines that would correspond to ll. 4917-21 of *Cligès*: 'Gauvains, li preuz, li alosez, | N'est gueires el chanp reposez, | Ainz point et broche, si s'avance | Et de quanquë il puet s'ajance | De bel joster, se trueve a cui' (*Gawain, the worthy, the glorious, does not seek repose on the battlefield, but spurs on and advances and endeavours to win as much honour as he can by jousting well, if he can find an opponent*).

MS P6: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1610

Date: 1264

Place: Paris or Burgundy

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: 38 miniatures (of which 8 are full-page illustrations)[19]

Comments: This manuscript is the oldest to have a full set of miniatures rather than just historiated initials.

MS P7: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1553

Date: *c.* 1285

Place: Picardy

Contents: *Troie*; *De Engerran, vesque de Cambrai ki fu*; Rutebeuf's *Une complainte des Jacobins et des Cordeliers*; Gossuin de Metz's *L'image du monde en romans*; Gui de Cambrai's *L'ystoire de Yozaphas*; extract from the *Chronique dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes*; *Saint Brandainne le moine*; *Li ensaignemens des sains lius d'outre mer*; *De Marie et de Marthe*; *Les enfances Nostre Dame et de Jhesu*; *Des soinges et des experimens des soinges*; *De Adam et Eve femme*; *De sainte Anne qui eut III barons*; Gerbert de Monteuil's *Roman de Gerart de Nevers et de la Violette*; *Romans de Witasse le Moine*; *Le roman des sept sages de Rome*; Alexandre du Pont's *Roman de Mahomet*; *La vengeance Nostre Seigneur*; *La vie de Saint Alesin*; *De Sainte Agnes*; *L'ordène de chevalerie*; *Le chevalier au barisel*; *La vie de Saint Jehan Paulus*; *De l'unicorne et du serpent*; Guillaume le Clerc's *Roman de Fergus*; *Le lai de l'espine*; *Courtois d'Arras*; *Auberee*; *Le epystles des femes*; Enguerran le Clerc d'Oisi's *Dou*

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[19] Four of the full-page miniatures were cut out of the manuscript in 1850 to be sold to a private collector. The missing four are reproduced in black and white in Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, plates 4-5.

maunier de Aleus; *Le prestre comporté*; *L'evangile aux femmes*; *Dou dieu d'amours*; Rutebeuf's *Ave Marie*; *Les quinze joies Nostre Dame*.[20]

Ownership: Cardinal Mazarin (1602-61)

Illustrations: 3 miniatures, 19 historiated initials, 11 diagrams (only one miniature is related to *Troie*).

Comments: This is the earliest example of a manuscript that contains French prose alongside French verse.[21] As with MS P8, it was also owned by Cardinal Mazarin.

MS P8: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 375

Date: *c.* 1288

Place: Paris

Contents: *Thèbes*; *Troie*; *Athis et Prophilias*; Jean Bodel's *Les Congés*; Lambert le Tort and Alexandre de Bernay's *Roman d'Alexandre*; Pierre de Saint-Cloud's *Mort d'Alexandre*; Gui de Cambrai's *Vengeance d'Alexandre*; a genealogy of the counts of Boulogne; Wace's *Rou*; *Le roman de Guillaume d'Angleterre* (possibly by Chrétien de Troyes, although this is debated); *Floire et Blanchefleur*; *Blancandin*; Chrétien's *Cligès* and *Erec et Enide*; *De la vielle truande*; Gautier d'Arras's *Ille et Galeron*; Gautier de Coincy's *De Theophilus*; *Amadas et Ydoine*; *De le Castelaine de Vergi*; *Épître farcie de la Saint-Étienne*; *Loenges Nostre Dame*; *Miracles Nostre Dame*.[22]

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[20] Despite the seemingly eclectic grouping of texts, Morrison points out that nonetheless they were 'a planned grouping, for most of the texts begin on the same folio on which the last one ended' and that the same illustrator has been used throughout: Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 156, n. 46.

[21] For a detailed description of this manuscript, see Yvan G. Lepage, 'Un recueil français de la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle (Paris, BnF, fr. 1553)', *Scriptorium*, 29 (1975), 23-46.

[22] Several scholars have published on the seemingly eclectic nature of this manuscript's contents. See Isabelle Delage-Béland, 'Une conquête problématique: Le statut ambigu de la fiction dans le manuscript Paris, BNF, fr. 375, un recueil de *romans*', in *Lire en context: Enquête sur les manuscrits de*

Ownership: Cardinal Mazarin (1602-61); Jean-Baptiste La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (1697-

1781)

Illustrations: None

MS P9: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 903

Date: *c.* 1275-1300

Place: Lorraine

Contents: *Troie*; Jehan Malkaraume's *Bible.*

Ownership: Philibert de la Mare (1615-87)

Illustrations: None

Comments: This manuscript is the only surviving copy of Malkaraume's *Bible* and, in the

opinion of Jean Robert Smeets (its only editor) is 'un autographe, chose très rare dans le

domaine de la littérature française de l'époque'.[23] *Troie* has been inserted into the *Bible* to

create an unbroken narrative.[24] At no point does Malkaraume refer to the fact that he is

using Benoît's *Troie*. In fact, on the four occasions that Benoît names himself in *Troie*,

Malkaraume replaces the name 'Benoît' with his own name, 'Jehans'.[25]

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fabliaux, ed. by Olivier Collet, Francis Gingras and Richard Trachsler (Montreal: University of

Montreal Press, 2012), pp. 95-113; Aimé Petit, 'A Commentary on Some Singular Aspects of

Manuscript A (BnF 375) of the *Roman de Thèbes*', *Le Moyen Âge*, 119 (2013), 597-620; Mary Rouse

and Richard Rouse, 'The Crusade as Context: The Manuscripts of *Athis et Prophilias*', in *Courtly

Arts and the Art of Courtliness: Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International

Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 29 July – 4 August 2004*, ed. by Keith Busby

and Christopher Kleinhenz (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), pp. 49-103.

[23] Jean Robert Smeets, 'La Bible de Jehan Malkaraume', in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. by W.

Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), pp. 220-35 (p. 224).

[24] The *Bible* occupies fols. 1-54 and 182-203; *Troie* occupies fols. 54-181. Jung, *La légende*, pp. 199-

200.

[25] Smeets, *La Bible de Jehan Malkaraume*, I, p. 10.

MS P10: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1416

Date: *c.* 1292

Place: Picardy

Contents: *Enéas*; Wace's *Brut*; Nun of Barking's *Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: 1 historiated initial (for *Enéas*)

Comments: The BnF's online catalogue lists the contents of this manuscript only as *Enéas* and Wace's *Brut*, but it contains an additional third item: the Nun of Barking's *Vie d'Edouard le Confesseur* (*c.* 1163-70).[26] Cataloguers may have previously missed the Vie because it has been 'inserted seamlessly' into Wace's text.[27]

MS P11: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 12600

Date: *c.* 1285-1300

Place: Northern France

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Possibly John II of France (an annotation on fol. 12ʳ reads 'Johannes dei gracia francorum rex') and possibly either Charles V, Charles VI, or Charles VII of France (an annotation on fol. 177ʳ reads 'Karollus dey gracia').

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[26] The online 'Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge (ARLIMA)' also fail to note its inclusion in their description of the manuscript, although when listing the extant manuscripts in which the *Vie* is found they do include it. See http://www.arlima.net/mp/moniale_de_barking.html. The presence of this text within this manuscript was highlighted to me by Delbert W. Russell in 'The Cultural Context of the French Prose *Remaniement* of the Life of Edward the Confessor by a Nun of Barking Abbey', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England* c. *1100-*c. *1500*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 290-302 (p. 290).

[27] Russell, 'The Cultural Context', p. 290.

Illustrations: One miniature and one historiated initial

MS P12: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 12603

Date: *c.* 1300

Place: Arras (Picardy)

Contents: *Le chevalier aux deux épées*; Chrétien's *Le chevalier au lion*; *Enéas*; Wace's *Brut* (fragment); *Enfances Oger le Danois*; *Roman de Fierabras*; selected *fabliaux*; Marie de France's *Fables*.

Ownership: Charles de Croÿ, Count of Chimay (1455-1527)

Illustrations: 1 historiated initial (for *Le chevalier aux deux épées*)

Comments: The final folio has an inscription that describes the contents of the manuscript as 'quatre livres en rime Cest assavoir Du roy Artus Des XII peres de France Du chevalier a deux espeez Et des Fables de ysopet' (*four books in verse relating to King Arthur, the Twelve Fathers of France, the Knight of the Two Swords, and Aesop's Fables*) and is signed (in the same hand) by Charles de Croÿ, who was the count (and later prince) of Chimay. [28]

MS P13: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 784

Date: *c.* 1300[29]

Place: Paris

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[28] For a survey of other manuscripts and books owned by Charles de Croÿ, see Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1550)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 324-27.

[29] There are questions over the dating of this manuscript with some claiming it was produced in the mid-thirteenth century and others believing it dates from the mid-fourteenth century. See Petit, 'La réception de la *Thebaïde*', pp. 711-12.

Contents: *Thèbes*; *Enéas.*

Ownership: Jacques II de Bourbon, Count of La Marche (1370-1438); Jacques

d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours (1433-77).

Illustrations: 2 miniatures and 2 historiated initials (1 miniature and 1 historiated initial

each for *Thèbes* and *Enéas*)

Comments: Morrison's work on this manuscript's illustrations and codicology has shown

that it can be linked to MS P14; in fact 'the two codices were originally intended as a set,

either rebound into separate manuscripts at some point later, or bound into two volumes

for some other reason at the time they were made'.[30]

MS P14: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 783

Date: *c.* 1300

Place: Paris

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Jacques II de Bourbon, Count of La Marche (1370-1438); Jacques

d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours (1433-77)

Illustrations: 1 miniature and 26 historiated initials (connected to the illustrative cycle in

MSS L2 and Mn)[31]

Comments: As mentioned above this manuscript was originally intended to form a

complete set with the other two *romans* found in MS P13.

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[30] Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*', p. 160.

[31] For more on the illustrative connection between MSS P14, L2, and Mn, see the comments for

the catalogue entry of MS L2.

MS P15: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 821

Date: *c.* 1300-25

Place: North Italy

Contents: *Hector et Hercule*; Section IV (Greeks and Amazons) from *L'histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*; Macé de Troyes's *Distiques de Caton*; *Épître de Saint Bernard*; Bonaventure de Demena's *Consolatio Philosphiae*; *Passion*; *Secret des secrets* (fragment); *Dits des sages*; *Troie*; Sections V-VI (Troy, Aeneas, and Rome) from *L'histoire ancienne*; *Landomata*; Section IX (Alexander) from *L'histoire ancienne*.

Ownership: Library of the dukes of Milan (1426-89)

Illustrations: Numerous medallion portraits (apparently with no specific connection to the texts).

MS P16: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 19159

Date: *c.* 1300-50

Place: North France

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: Space left for 39 miniatures but never completed.

MS P17: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 60

Date: *c.* 1330-40[32]

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[32] Petit edited this manuscript for his edition of *Enéas* and believes that it was '[s]ans doute' copied at the end of the fourteenth century: Petit, 'Introduction' to *Enéas*, p. 23. However, Jung's identification of the Fauvel Master meant that a more likely dating is between 1315 and 1340, which is when the Fauvel Master was active: Jung, *La légende*, pp. 147-49. Morrison's study explains that Richard de Montbaston was also involved in its illustrations, and that the only time

Place: Paris

Contents: *Thèbes*; *Troie*; *Enéas*.

Ownership: Étienne Tabourot, Lord of the Accords (1549-90); Louis XIV of France (1640-1715).

Illustrations: 53 miniatures (14 for *Thèbes*, 32 for *Troie*, 7 for *Enéas*).

Comments: This manuscript was copied in Paris by numerous scribes and its miniatures were added by two prominent Parisian illuminators: the Fauvel Master and Richard de Montbaston. It includes a form of 'introduction' at the start of the collection:

Ci commence li roumans de Tiebes, qui fu racine de Troie la grant, ou il y a moult de merveilles diverses. Item toute l'estoire de Troie la grant, comment elle fu. ij. fois destruite par les Grijois et la cause pour quoi ce fu et les mortalitez qui y furent. Item toute l'histoire de Eneas et d'Ancises, qui s'enfuirent apres la destruction de Troie, et comment leurs oirs peuplerent les regions de deça mer, et les granz merveilles qui d'euz issirent.	*Here begins the roman de Thèbes, that was the origin of the great Troy, where there are many different wonders. Then all the history of the great Troy and how it was destroyed twice by the Greeks and the reason for that and all who died there. Then all the history of Aeneas and Anchises, who fled after Troy's destruction, and how their descendants populated the regions of the sea, and the great wonders that became them there.*

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both he and the Fauvel Master could have worked together was between 1330 and 1340: Morrison, 'Illuminations of the *Roman de Troie*, pp. 207-11. Given Morrison's detailed research and analysis of this manuscript's illustrations I am inclined to follow her dating.

(fol. 2ʳ)

MS P18: Paris, BnF, MS fr. 782

Date: *c.* 1340-50

Place: Verona, Padua or Venice

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: 199 miniatures (same cycle as MS Vn)

Comments: This manuscript is a copy of MS Vn. The main difference is that its

illustrations all have captions to identify the names of the characters in each miniature. We

also know more about its production thanks to Cipollaro's study.[33] She is unable to

identify the patron of this manuscript, but is able to argue that while MS Vn may have

been produced to be sold speculatively at a book market, MS P18 was more likely

commissioned specifically by someone who had a relationship with the owner of MS Vn

and wanted their own copy.[34]

MS P19: Paris, BnF, MS nouv. acq. fr. 6774

Date: *c.* 1350-1400

Place: Italy

Contents: *Troie*; Sections V-VI (Troy, Aeneas, and Rome) from *L'histoire ancienne.*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: None

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[33] Cipollaro, 'Turone di Maxio', pp. 16-22.

[34] Cipollaro, 'Turone de Maxio', p. 17.

MS SP1: St Petersburg, Rossiiskaya Natsional'naya Biblioteka, MS fr. F.v.XIV.3

Date: *c.* 1340-60

Place: Bologna

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: 168 miniatures

Comments: This manuscript contains the same text as that of MS Vt and its miniatures may be linked to those in MSS Vn and P18. However, it was unfortunately not possible to consult the manuscript due to strict limits placed on its accessibility and the fact that it has not been digitised. As explained in Chapter I.ii, this thesis therefore does not include it in its analysis or discussion.

MS SP2: St Petersburg, Rossiiskaya Natsional'naya Biblioteka, MS fr. F.v.XIV.6

Date: *c.* 1380-1400

Place: Unknown

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Jean d'Averton, Lord of Couldreau (*c.* 1400-99); Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (1500-58).

Illustrations: None

MS Vt: Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. Lat. 1505

Date: *c.* 1275-1325

Place: Central Italy

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Possibly Robert of Anjou (1277-1343); Pierre Bourdelot (1610-85).

Illustrations: 257 miniatures (of which 2 are full-page) and 3 historiated initials.

Comments: Hugo Buchthal finds a similarity between these miniatures and those of other manuscripts commissioned by Robert of Anjou, the King of Naples, suggesting that he may also have commissioned this manuscript.[35]

MS V1: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS fr. 17

Date: *c.* 1330-40

Place: Naples

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Francesco I Gonzaga (1366-1407) (possibly inherited from his grandfather, Guido Gonzaga (1290-1369), who also owned MS V2).

Illustrations: 300+ miniatures[36]

Comments: Several different artists of varying quality have produced the miniatures. Many of them are incomplete and are sketched outlines only without any pigmentation. They focus on people and animals but pay very little attention to architecture or landscape. Jung notes that their style is similar to the illustrations in a copy of the *Histoire ancienne* (London, BL, MS Royal 20.D.I), which was also made in Naples at around the same time.[37]

MS V2: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS fr. 18

Date: *c.* 1360-69

Place: North Italy

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[35] Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, p. 14.

[36] The manuscript has been digitised but has not been made available online, and only selected miniatures have ever been published. Jung provides a comprehensive list of those images that have been published in *La légende*, pp. 288-90.

[37] Jung, *La légende*, p. 290.

Contents: *Troie*; *Hector et Hercule.*

Ownership: Guido Gonzaga (1290-1369)

Illustrations: 2 historiated initials (1 for each text)

Comments: The two texts were not originally copied into the same manuscript but were bound together at a later point.[38]

MS Vn: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 2471

Date: *c.* 1330-40

Place: North Italy, possibly Padua or Bologna

Contents: *Troie*

Ownership: Unknown

Illustrations: 196 miniatures (same cycle as MS P18)

Comments: This manuscript was the exemplar for MS P18, and they were probably produced in the same scriptorium.[39] H. J. Hermann and Dagmar Thoss have described its miniatures in detail.[40]

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[38] Jung, *La légende*, p. 292.

[39] Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, p. 14. Refer to the catalogue entry for MS P18 for further details and references.

[40] H. J. Hermann, *Italienische Handschriften des Duecento und Trecento* (Lepizig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1929), Vol. 2., pp. 136-52 and Dagmar Thoss, *Benoît de Sainte-Maure: Roman de Troie (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Codex 2571)* (Munich: Helga Lengenfelder, 1989).

Appendix II:

Network Diagram of Historical Women[1]

Key:

The dotted line represents that Matilda of Canossa defeated Henry IV during the Investiture Controversy and was later crowned Vice-Queen of Italy by Henry V. He inherited her lands after her death.

Names that appear in a red box indicate women who are discussed in more detail in Chapter II.
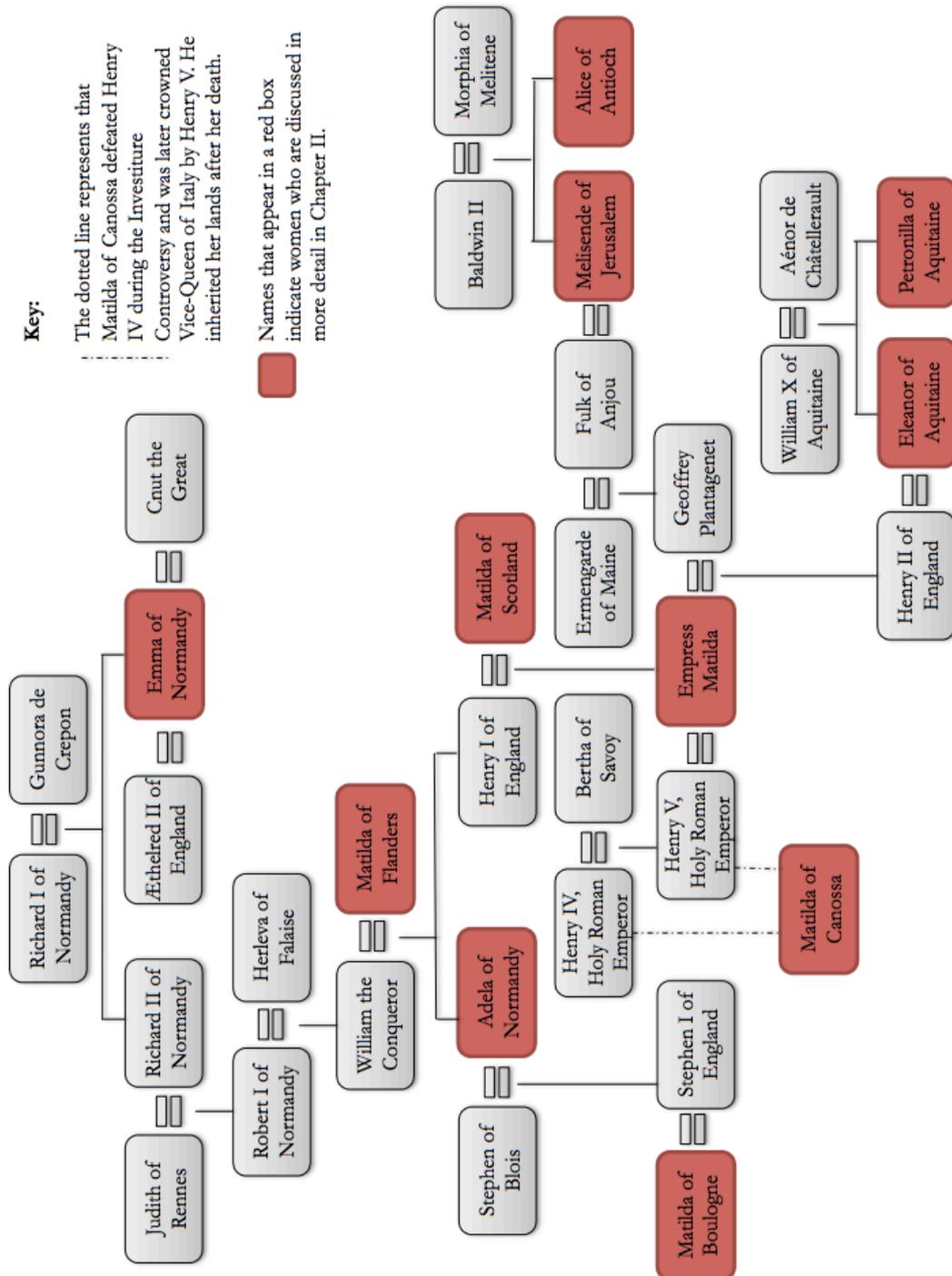
[1] For the purposes of concision in highlighting the connections between these women, the family trees have been simplified and not all descendants, siblings, and marital connections have been included. For example, William the Conqueror and Matilda of Flanders had nine children, but only two are shown here.

Appendix III:

Manuscript Illustrations of Women

MS L2

Fol. 109^r Hecuba, Polyxena, Helen, and other women mourn at Hector's tomb on

the anniversary of his death.

Fol. 151^r Penthesilea's body is thrown into the River Scamander.

MS M

Fol. 104^v A crowned woman (possibly Helen).

Fol. 156^v Penthesilea's body lies in state | Two women mourn.

MS Mn

Fol. 80^r Women mourn at the anniversary of Hector's death.

Fol. 106^v Penthesilea and the Amazons arrive in Troy (damaged).

Fol. 112^r Helen is brought before Priam by Antenor and Aeneas.

MS Nt

Fol. 12^r Woman dressed in white robes holding a bird.

Fol. 92^r Winged mermaid.

Fol. 121^v Penthesilea kneels before Priam and mourns the news of Hector's death

(damaged).

MS P6

Fol. 18ʳ   Hercules and Laomedon in battle | Women and children are killed during

the first sack of Troy (full page).

Removed[2]   Council of Priam | Paris and the Trojans sail for Greece | Abduction of

Helen (full page).

Fol. 90ʳ   Andromache, Priam and Hecuba plead with Hector.

Removed[3]   Achilles kills Hector | Women and mourners around the body of Hector

(full page).

Fol. 102ʳ   Women and mourners at the tomb of Hector on the anniversary of his

death.

Fol. 129ʳ   Achilles and his messenger (to and from Hecuba) | Hecuba instructs Paris

to kill Achilles.

Fol. 138ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 154ᵛ   Achilles drags the body of Troilus behind his horse | Ajax and Paris kill

each other | Pyrrhus kills Penthesilea (full page).

Fol. 155ʳ   Sack of Troy and execution of Priam | Women are given away, execution

of Polyxena, and execution of Hecuba.

MS P10

Fol. 1ʳ   Meeting of Dido and Aeneas.

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[2] The folio containing this miniature was removed from the manuscript in 1850 and is held in the private collection of J. H. van Heek at Huis Bergh Castle in 's-Heerenberg.

[3] See note above.

MS P13

Fol. 1ʳ   Jocasta and the birth of Oedipus.

Fol. 70ʳ   Dido watches Aeneas and the Trojans leave Carthage | Dido commits

                suicide.

MS P14

Fol. 109ʳ   Women mourn at the anniversary of Hector's death.

Fol. 141ʳ   Helen is brought before Priam by Antenor, Aeneas, Anchises, and

                Polydamas.

MS P17

Fol. 1ʳ   Jocasta with the baby Oedipus | Oedipus abandoned in a forest |

                Oedipus and the Sphinx | Battle (frontispiece).

Fol. 11ᵛ   Hipsipyle with Tydeus before Adrastus.

Fol. 42ᵛ   Jason fights the dragon | Abduction of Helen | Wooden horse is brought

                into Troy (frontispiece).

Fol. 47ʳ   Jason, Hercules, Medea, and Aeëtes.

Fol. 59ᵛ   Abduction of Helen (damaged).

Fol. 79ʳ   Women remove Hector's armour | Women and Priam at the bedside of

                Hector.

Fol. 91ʳ   Briseide is handed over by the Trojans to the Greeks.

Fol. 94ʳ   Andromache pleads with Hector.

Fol. 97ᵛ   Women and Priam mourn at the tomb of Hector.

Fol. 101ʳ   Women and Priam mourn at the anniversary of Hector's death.

Fol. 126ʳ   Burning of Troy | Penthesilea's body is thrown into the river.

Fol. 148ᵛ   Burning of Troy | Aeneas sails from Troy | Dido welcomes Aeneas |

                 Dido and Aeneas | Aeneas sails from Carthage | Suicide of Dido

                 (frontispiece).

Fol. 162ʳ   Betrothal of Aeneas and Lavine | Amata and messenger.

Fol. 165ʳ   Aeneas and Evander | Venus gives armour to Aeneas's messenger.

Fol. 182ʳ   Lavine watches as Aeneas and Turnus fight in single combat (damaged).

MS P18

Fol. 7ʳ   Medea, Jason, Hercules, and Aeëtes.

Fol. 9ʳ   Aeëtes, Medea, and Jason.

Fol. 10ʳ   Engagement of Jason and Medea.

Fol. 11ʳ   Jason and Medea in bed (damaged).

Fol. 12ʳ   Medea gives gifts to Jason | Jason and Medea embrace | Jason and Medea

                 in bed.

Fol. 13ʳ   Medea watches as Jason sets out for the Golden Fleece.

Fol. 20ʳ   Hesione and other Trojan women are abducted during the sack of Troy.

Fol. 20ᵛ   Priam and Hecuba learn of the death of Laomedon and abduction of

                 Hesione.

Fol. 31ʳ   Abduction of Helen from the Temple of Venus.

Fol. 32ʳ   Paris, Helen, and other Trojans sail for Troy.

Fol. 33ʳ   Paris and Helen at Tenedos.

Fol. 34ʳ   Paris and Helen are greeted by Priam.

Fol. 67ʳ   Cassandra mourns Cassibelan and makes her prophecies.

Fol. 77ʳ   Hecuba, Cassandra and Polyxena meet with Troilus and Paris while

                 Hector speaks with Priam.

Fol. 87ʳ   Troilus and Briseide lament their separation | Troilus and Briseide embrace.

Fol. 88ʳ   Briseide is handed over by the Trojans to the Greeks.

Fol. 89ʳ   Briseide and Diomedes ride together into the Greek camp.

Fol. 90ʳ   Reunion of Calcas and Briseide.

Fol. 96ʳ   Women and Master Goz gather around Hector's bedside.

Fol. 99ʳ   Briseide gives her sleeve to Diomedes.

Fol. 101ʳ   Andromache pleades with Hector.

Fol. 102ʳ   Priam pleads with Hector.

Fol. 104ʳ   Trojan women mourn as Margariton's body is brought back into Troy.

Fol. 105ʳ   Cassandra and Andromache watch a battle from inside Troy.

Fol. 108ʳ   Andromache, Priam, Paris, and other Trojans mourn around Hector's body.

Fol. 110ʳ   Women at Hector's funeral.

Fol. 116ʳ   Achilles sees Polyxena at the anniversary of Hector's death.

Fol. 118ʳ   Hecuba speaks to Achilles's messenger.

Fol. 119ʳ   Hecuba speaks with Priam.

Fol. 119ᵛ   Hecuba speaks to Achilles's messenger.

Fol. 136ʳ   Briseide cares for Diomedes at his bedside.

Fol. 148ʳ   Hecuba and Paris plot Achilles's death.

Fol. 151ʳ   Polyxena as a statue above Achilles's tomb.

Fol. 156ʳ   Women at Paris's funeral.

Fol. 158ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons arrive in Troy and are greeted by Priam.

Fol. 159ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 163ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 164ʳ   Pyrrhus kills Penthesilea.

Fol. 165ʳ   The Greeks throw Penthesilea's body into the river.

Fol. 173ʳ   Philemenis departs to escort Penthesilea's funeral cortège back to

                 Femenie.

Fol. 179ʳ   Antenor brings Polyxena before Agamemnon and Ulysses.

Fol. 180ʳ   Execution of Polyxena and Hecuba.

Fol. 184ʳ   Cassandra's prophecies to Agamemnon.

Fol. 193ʳ   Orestes kills Clytemenestra and Egistus.

Fol. 196ʳ   Ulysses meets Circe and Calypso.

Fol. 197ʳ   Ulysses and the sirens (as mermaids).

Fol. 201ʳ   Pyrrhus and Thetis.

Fol. 202ʳ   Andromache flees from Hermione and Menelaus.

Fol. 206ʳ   Penelope by Ulysses's deathbed.

MS Vt

Fol. 11ʳ   Medea outside Jason's bed-chamber

Fol. 12ʳ   Medea and Jason at the Temple of Jupiter | Medea and Jason in bed.

Fol. 12ᵛ   Medea gives gifts to Jason.

Fol. 13ᵛ   Medea watches Jason sail away on his quest for the Golden Fleece.

Fol. 15ʳ   Medea watches Jason return with the Golden Fleece.

Fol. 21ᵛ   Hesione is abducted during the first sack of Troy.

Fol. 33ʳ   Helen and Paris's first meeting in the Temple of Venus (damaged).

Fol. 34ʳ   Abduction of Helen and other Greek women.

Fol. 35ʳ   Helen and the Trojans sail for Troy.

Fol. 36ʳ   Helen and Paris at Tenedon.

Fol. 36ᵛ   Helen and Paris ride to Troy (damaged).

Fol. 37^r Helen and Paris ride into Troy.

Fol. 42^3 Cassandra, Hecuba, Andromache, and Polyxena. Cassandra holds a scroll
              of her prophecies.

Fol. 77^r Hector is cared for by Cassandra, Hecuba, Helen, Andromache, and
              Polyxena.

Fol. 78^v Cassandra watches as the body of Cassibelan is brought into the city.

Fol. 90^v Polidamas, Troilus, Antenor, and Aeneas visit Hecuba, Helen,
              Andromache, and Polyxena.

Fol. 91^v Antenor, Aeneas, Polidamas, and Troilus visit Hecuba, Helen,
              Andromache, and Polyxena. Helen gives a gift to Polidamas and Polyxena
              embraces Troilus.

Fol. 104^r Briseide is handed over by the Trojans to the Greeks.

Fol. 106^r Briseide inside the Greek camp.

Fol. 108^r Women watch a battle from the towers of Troy.

Fol. 110^r Diomedes's squire gives Troilus's horse to Briseide.

Fol. 112^v Women at Hector's bedside in the Chamber of Beauties (full page).

Fol. 115^v Briseide and Diomedes.

Fol. 118^v Andromache pleads with Hector (damaged).

Fol. 126^r Hecuba, Andromache, Helen, Cassandra, Polyxena, other women, and
              Trojan men mourn over Hector's dead body.

Fol. 128^v Women and men mourn at Hector's tomb.

Fol. 133^v Hecuba, Andromache, Helen, Polyxena, and Greek men. Probably the
              anniversary of Hector's death.

Fol. 135^v Achilles's messenger speaks with Hecuba.

Fol. 136^v Hecuba speaks with Priam about Achilles's proposal.

Fol. 137⁵   Hecuba speaks with Achilles's messenger, with Polyxena next to the
               messenger.

Fol. 157ᵛ   Polyxena, Helen, Hecuba, and other women care for and remove Troilus's
               armour and weapons.

Fol. 165ᵛ   Helen, Hecuba, Polyxena, Cassandra, other women, and Trojan men
               mourn over Troilus's dead body.

Fol. 166ᵛ   Hecuba plots the death of Achilles with Paris.

Fol. 168ᵛ   Hecuba plots the death of Achilles with Paris.

Fol. 170ᵛ   Polyxena depicted in effigy over the tomb of Achilles.

Fol. 174ᵛ   Hecuba, Cassandra, Polyxena, Andromache, Helen, other women, and
               Trojan men mourn over Paris's dead body.

Fol. 175ᵛ   Polyxena, Helen, Hecuba, Cassandra, other women, and Trojan men
               mourn at Paris's funeral.

Fol. 178ᵛ   Arrival of Penthesilea and the Amazons, who are met by Paris.

Fol. 179ᵛ   Penthesilea in battle.

Fol. 182ʳ   Penthesilea in battle.

Fol. 183ᵛ   Penthesilea in battle.

Fol. 184ʳ   Penthesilea in battle.

Fol. 185ʳ   Pyrrhus kills Penthesilea.

Fol. 192ᵛ   Helen pleads with Antenor during the sack of Troy.

Fol. 199ʳ   Cassandra and other Trojan women are taken prisoner or killed during the
               sack of Troy.

Fol. 199ᵛ   Pyrrhus kills Priam | Aeneas finds Polyxena and Hecuba during the sack
               of the city | Helen is seized by a Greek soldier.

Fol. 200ʳ   Andromache is taken prisoner during the sack of the city | Burning of
               Troy.

Fol. 200ᵛ	Trojan women wait with the other treasures of Troy for distribution as prizes to the Greeks.
Fol. 201ʳ	Cassandra, Andromache, and her children are given away to the Greek nobles.
Fol. 202ᵛ	Polyxena is held prisoner during the Greek deliberations.
Fol. 203ʳ	Execution of Hecuba and Polyxena.
Fol. 203ᵛ	Hecuba's tomb.
Fol. 213ᵛ	Egial speaks with Orestes | Clytemenestra speaks with Orestes.
Fol. 215ʳ	Clytemenestra and Egistus kill Agamemnon.
Fol. 216ʳ	Diomedes arrives home to be reunited with Egial.
Fol. 217ᵛ	Orestes kills Clytemenestra and Egistus.
Fol. 218ᵛ	Hermione and Menelaus.
Fol. 224ᵛ	Pyrrhus and Thetis.
Fol. 225ᵛ	Pyrrhus and Thetis.
Fol. 226ᵛ	Pyrrhus and Hermione.
Fol. 227ᵛ	Orestes kills Pyrrhus | Hermione and Orestes | Peleus and Thetis mourn over Pyrrhus's tomb.
Fol. 229ᵛ	Circe and Telegonus.
Fol. 231ʳ	Penelope at Ulysses's bedside.
Fol. 232ᵛ	Circe and Telegonus.

MS V1

Fol. 8ᵛ	Medea at a banquet with Jason and other men.
Fol. 9ʳ	Medea and Jason in conversation.
Fol. 9ᵛ	Medea stands next to her bed.

Fol. 10ʳ	Medea speaks with her maid | Medea in bed while Jason stands next to her.
Fol. 10ᵛ	Medea gives gifts to Jason | Medea and Jason in bed (damaged).
Fol. 11ʳ	Medea gives a parchment to Jason | Jason and Medea kiss.
Fol. 11ᵛ	Jason speaks with Aeëtes | Medea watches Jason sail away.
Fol. 12ᵛ	Medea watches Jason return.
Fol. 18ᵛ	Priam, Hecuba, Cassandra, Polyxena, and other Trojans on horses.
Fol. 28ʳ	Helen and her ladies arrive at the Temple of Venus.
Fol. 28ᵛ	Helen and Paris meet for the first time.
Fol. 29ᵛ	Helen and the other ladies are abducted.
Fol. 30ʳ	Helen is led up the gangplank onto the Trojan ships | Helen and the Trojans sail from Greece.
Fol. 31ʳ	Helen asks Paris to release her ladies' husbands.
Fol. 31ᵛ	Helen and Paris speak at Tenedos.
Fol. 32ʳ	Paris and Helen ride toward Troy and are met by Priam.
Fol. 32ᵛ	Helen and the other Trojans rid into Troy.
Fol. 33ʳ	Marriage of Helen and Paris.
Fol. 35ᵛ	Portrait of Helen and other Greek nobles.
Fol. 37ʳ	Portrait of Hecuba, Cassandra, Polyxena, Andromache, and Trojan nobles.
Fol. 58ʳ	Women watch a battle from Troy's walls.
Fol. 75ᵛ	Hector has his armour removed by Trojan women.
Fol. 76ʳ	Doctor and women at Hector's bedside.
Fol. 77ᵛ	Cassandra and other women mourn Cassibelan's death.
Fol. 79ʳ	Women watch a battle from Troy's walls.
Fol. 90ᵛ	Hector has his armour removed by Trojan women.

Fol. 128ʳ   Women and other Trojans mourn around Hector's bed.

Fol. 129ʳ   Women and other Trojans mourn around Hector's bed.

Fol. 129ᵛ   Women in attendance at Hector's funeral.

Fol. 137ᵛ   Women in attendance at the anniversary of Hector's death.

Fol. 138ʳ   Women in attendance at the anniversary of Hector's death. Achilles sees

                Polyxena.

Fol. 139ᵛ   Hecuba speaks with Achilles's messenger.

Fol. 140ʳ   Hecuba speaks with Achilles's messenger.

Fol. 140ᵛ   Hecuba speaks with Priam.

Fol. 141ʳ   Hecuba (and Polyxena) speaks to Achilles's messenger.

Fol. 148ᵛ   Women watching a battle from Troy's walls.

Fol. 158ᵛ   Women at the bedside of Agamemnon and Diomedes.

Fol. 161ᵛ   Troilus has his armour removed by Trojan women.

Fol. 169ᵛ   Women mourn around Troilus's body.

Fol. 170ʳ   Women mourn around Troilus's body.

Fol. 171ᵛ   Hecuba and Paris plot to kill Achilles.

Fol. 172ʳ   Hecuba and Paris plot to kill Achilles.

Fol. 175ᵛ   Statue of Polyxena on the tomb of Achilles.

Fol. 179ʳ   Women mourn around Paris's body.

Fol. 180ᵛ   Penthesilea and the Amazons arrive in Troy and are met by Priam.

Fol. 182ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 182ᵛ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 185ᵛ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 186ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 187ᵛ   Pyrrhus kills Penthesilea.

MS Vn

Fol. 107ᵛ   Hecuba speaks with Priam.

Fol. 108ʳ   Hecuba speaks to Achilles's messenger.

Fol. 122ʳ   Briseide cares for Diomedes at his bedside.

Fol. 132ʳ   Hecuba and Paris plot Achilles's death.

Fol. 136ʳ   Polyxena as a statue above Achilles's tomb.

Fol. 140ʳ   Women in attendance at Paris's funeral.

Fol. 141ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons arrive in Troy and are greeted by Priam.

Fol. 143ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 146ʳ   Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle.

Fol. 148ʳ   Pyrrhus kills Penthesilea.

Fol. 149ʳ   Greeks throw Penthesilea's body into the river.

Fol. 160ʳ   Execution of Polyxena and Hecuba.

Fol. 161ʳ   Philemenis departs to escort Penthesilea's funeral cortège back to Femenie.

Fol. 166ʳ   Women and children are killed during the sack of the city.

Fol. 166ᵛ   Women and children are killed during the sack of the city.

Fol. 167ʳ   Antenor brings Polyxena before Agamemnon and Ulysses.

Fol. 169ʳ   Cassandra's prophecies to Agamemnon.

Fol. 177ʳ   Ulysses meets Circe and Calypso.

Fol. 178ʳ   Ulysses and the sirens (as mermaids).

Fol. 182ʳ   Pyrrhus and Thetis.

Fol. 183ʳ   Andromache flees from Hermione and Menelaus.

Fol. 187ʳ   Penelope at Ulysses's deathbed.

Appendix IV:

Figures

Figure 1. Paris and the city of Troy. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 23ʳ.

Figure 2. Paris greets Penthesilea upon her arrival in Troy. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 178ᵛ.

Figure 3. Hecuba's tomb. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 203ᵛ.

Figure 4. Hector's tomb and funeral. *Troie.* MS P18, fol. 110ʳ.

Figure 5. Sketch of a woman. MS P17, flyleaf.

Figure 6. Helen and Paris meet in the Temple of Venus. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 33ʳ.

Figure 7. Helen and Paris ride to Troy. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 36ᵛ.

Figure 8. Andromache pleads with Hector. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 118^v.

Figure 9. Penthesilea and the Amazons arrive in Troy. *Troie*. MS Mn, fol. 106^v.

Figure 10. Dido watches Aeneas sail from Carthage. *Enéas*. MS Mn, fol. 148ʳ.

Figure 11. Abduction of Helen. *Troie*. MS P17, fol. 59ᵛ.

Figure 12. Combat of Aeneas and Turnus as Lavine watches from a tower. *Enéas*. MS P17, fol. 182[r].

Figure 13. Medea and Jason in bed. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 10[v].

Figure 14. Medea and Jason in bed. *Troie*. MS Vn, fol. 11ʳ.

Figure 15. Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle. *Troie*. MS P6, fol. 138ʳ.

Figure 16. The Greeks throw Penthesilea's body into the River Scamander. *Troie*. MS L2,

fol. 151ʳ.

Figure 17. Hecuba, Polyxena, and Helen mourn at the anniversary of Hector's death.

Troie. MS L2, fol. 109ʳ.

Figure 18. Achilles drags the body of Troilus behind his horse | Ajax and Paris kill each other | Pyrrhus kills Penthesilea. *Troie*. MS P6, fol. 154ʳ.

Figure 19. Jason fights the dragon | Abduction of Helen | Wooden horse brought into Troy and destruction of the city. *Troie*. MS P17, fol. 42ʳ.

Figure 20. Abduction of Helen. *Troie*. MS Vn, fol. 27ʳ.

Figure 21. Abduction of Helen. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 34ʳ.

Figure 22. Briseide receives Troilus's horse from Diomedes's squire. *Troie*. MS V1, fol.

112ʳ.

Figure 23. Briseide and Diomedes. *Troie.* MS V1, fol. 116ᵛ.

Figure 24. Diomedes instructs his squire to take Troilus's horse to Briseide. *Troie.* MS Vn, fol. 84ʳ.

Figure 25. Diomedes and Briseide. *Troie*. MS Vn, fol. 87ʳ.

Figure 26. Briseide gives her sleeve to Diomedes. *Troie*. MS P18, fol. 99ʳ.

Figure 27. Diomedes and Briseide. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 115ᵛ.

Figure 28. Women watch a battle from Troy's walls. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 111ʳ.

Figure 29. Women watch a battle from Troy's walls. *Troie.* MS Vt, fol. 108ʳ.

Figure 30. Achilles plays chess. *Troie.* MS Vt, fol. 145ᵛ.

Figure 31. Execution of Polyxena and Hecuba. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 203ʳ.

Figure 32. Execution of Polyxena and Hecuba. *Troie*. MS Vn, fol. 160ʳ.

Figure 33. Execution of Polyxena and Hecuba. *Troie.* MS P18, fol. 180ʳ.

Figure 34. Execution of Polyxena. *Troie.* MS V1, fol. 206ᵛ.

Figure 35. Execution of Hecuba. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 207ʳ.

Figure 36. Sack of Troy and execution of Priam | Women given away, execution of

Polyxena, and execution of Hecuba. *Troie*. MS P6, fol. 155ʳ.

Figure 37. Suicide of Dido. *Enéas*. MS P13, fol. 70^r.

Figure 38. Destruction of Troy | Aeneas sets sail from Troy | Dido welcomes Aeneas |

Dido and Aeneas | Aeneas sets sail for Italy | Suicide of Dido. *Enéas*. MS P17, fol. 148^r.

Figure 39. Trojan women and other treasures of Troy ready for distribution to the Greeks. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 200ᵛ.

Figure 40. Abduction of Hesione. *Troie*. MS P18, fol. 20ʳ.

Figure 41. Mourning for Hector on the anniversary of his death. *Troie*. MS Mn, fol. 80ʳ.

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Figure 43. Hipsipyle with Tydeus before Adrastus. *Thèbes*. MS P17, fol. 11ᵛ.

Figure 44. Women remove Hector's armour | Women and Priam at the bedside of

Hector. *Troie*. MS P17, fol. 79ʳ.

Figure 45. Hector's armour is removed by Trojan women. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 75ᵛ.

Figure 46. Women and Master Goz gather around Hector's bedside. *Troie*. MS P18, fol. 96ʳ.

Figure 47. Women at Hector's bedside in the Chamber of Beauties. *Troie.* MS Vt, fol. 112ᵛ.

Figure 48. Antenor, Aeneas, Polidamas, and Troilus visit Hecuba, Helen, Andromache, and Polyxena. *Troie.* MS Vt, fol. 91ᵛ.

Figure 49. Visit of the Trojan men to the Trojan women. *Troie.* MS V1, fol. 91ᵛ.

Figure 50. Briseide cares for Diomedes. *Troie*. MS P18, fol. 136ʳ.

Figure 51. Aeneas and Evander | Venus gives armour to Aeneas's messenger. *Enéas*. MS

P17, fol. 165ʳ.

Figure 52. Polyxena, Helen, Hecuba, and other women care for Troilus and remove his armour and weapons. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 157ᵛ.

Figure 53. Hector's armour is removed by Trojan women. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 90ᵛ.

Figure 54. Troilus's armour is removed by Trojan women. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 161ᵛ.

Figure 55. Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 179ᵛ.

Figure 56. Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 186ʳ.

Figure 57. Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle. *Troie*. MS Vn, fol. 143ʳ.

Figure 58. Penthesilea and the Amazons in battle. *Troie*. MS P18, fol. 159ʳ.

Figure 59. Burning of Troy | Penthesilea's body is thrown into the river. *Troie*. MS P17,

fol. 126ʳ.
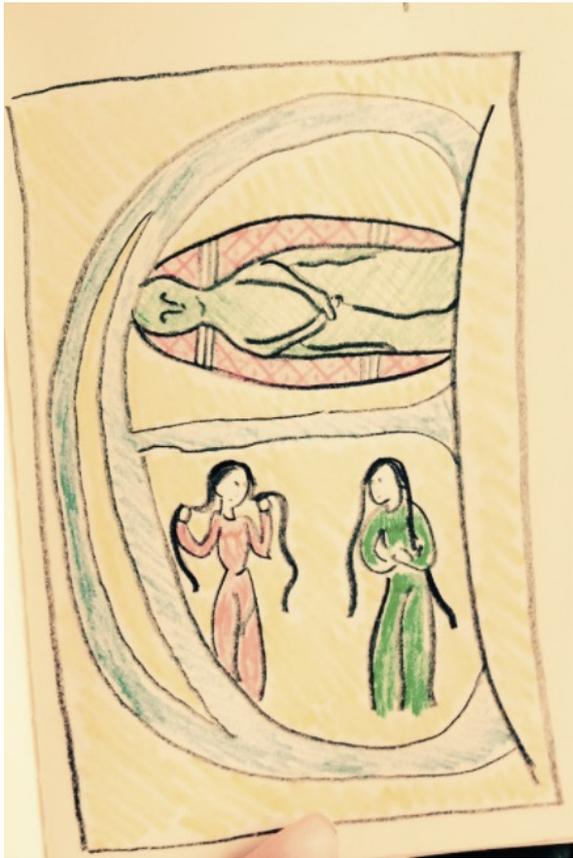
Figure 60. Body of Penthesilea with mourners. *Troie*. MS M, fol. 156ʳ (my own sketched copy made in September 2016 as photography was prohibited).

Figure 61. Philemenis accompanies Penthesilea's funeral cortège to Femenie. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 200ᵛ.

Figure 62. Philemenis follows Penthesilea's (unseen) funeral cortège. *Troie.* MS P18, fol. 173ʳ.

Figure 63. Philemenis follows Penthesilea's (unseen) funeral cortège. *Troie.* MS Vn, fol. 161ʳ.

Figure 64. Cassandra makes her prophecies to Priam. *Troie.* MS V1, fol. 26ᵛ.

Figure 65. Cassandra mourns Cassibelan and makes her prophecies. *Troie.* MS Vn, fol. 59ʳ.
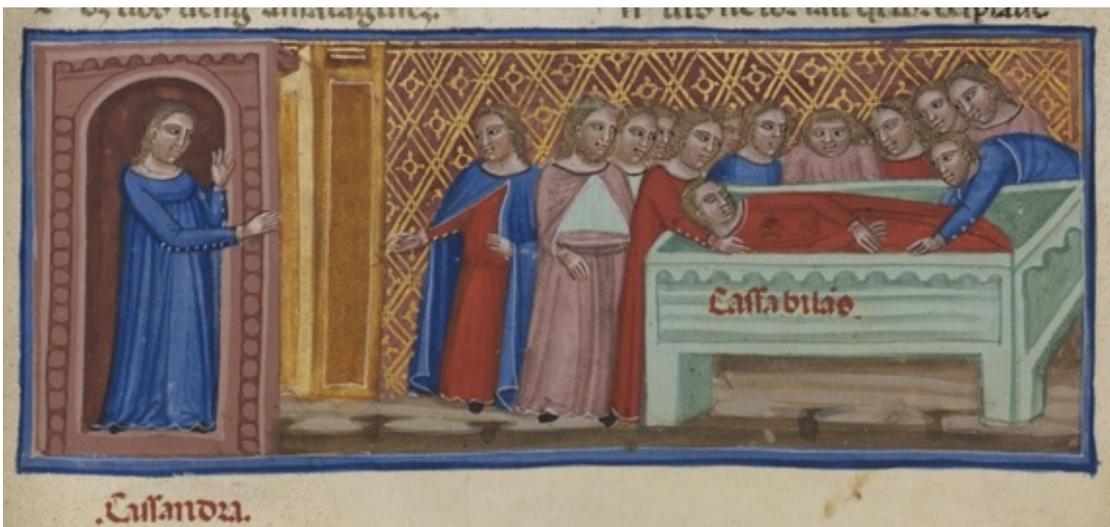
Figure 66. Cassandra mourns Cassibelan and makes her prophecies. *Troie*. MS P18, fol. 67[r].

Figure 67. Cassandra, Hecuba, Andromache, and Polyxena. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 42[r].

Figure 68. Andromache pleads with Hector. *Troie*. MS P6, fol. 90ʳ.

Figure 69. Andromache pleads with Hector. *Troie*. MS P17, fol. 94ʳ.

Figure 70. Andromache pleads with Hector. *Troie.* MS Vn, fol. 90ʳ.

Figure 71. Andromache pleads with Hector. *Troie.* MS P18, fol. 101ʳ.
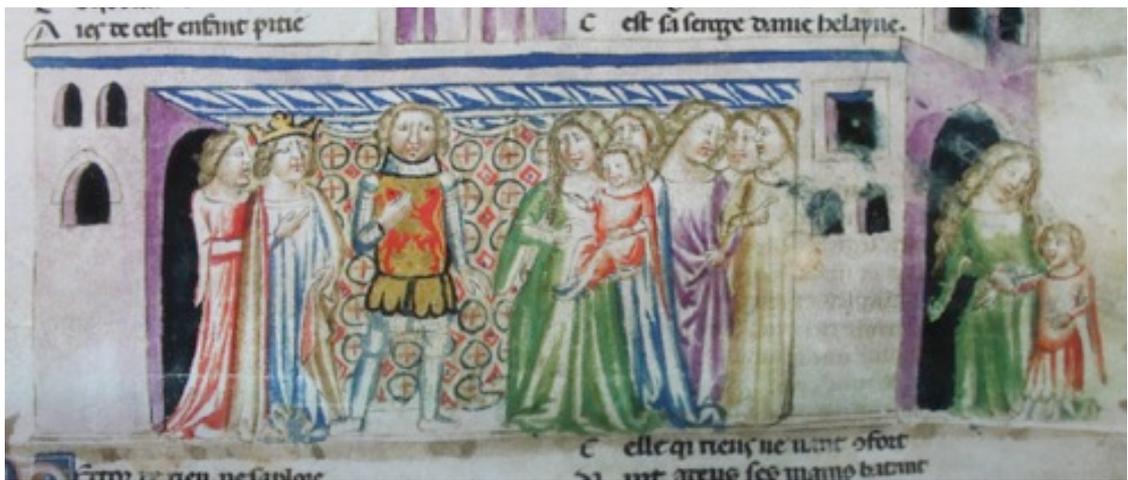
Figure 72. Andromache pleads with Hector. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 120ʳ.

Figure 73. Medea gives Jason a parchment scroll. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 11ʳ.

Figure 74. Jason fights the bulls and the dragon with the help of Medea's parchment.

Troie. MS V1, fol. 12ʳ.

Figure 75. Hecuba and Achilles conduct negotiations through a messenger. *Troie.* MS V1, fol. 139ᵛ.
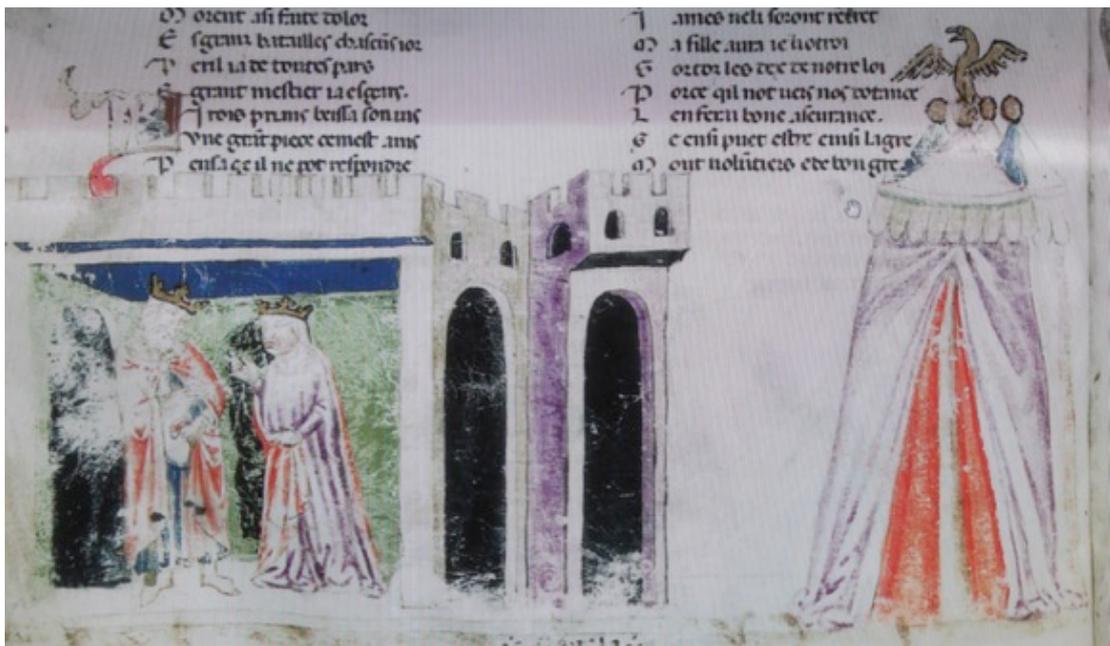
Figure 76. Hecuba and Priam speak about Polyxena and Achilles. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 140^v.

Figure 77. Hecuba (with Polyxena) speaks with Achilles's messenger. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 141^r.

Figure 78. Hecuba and Priam speak about Polyxena and Achilles. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 136ᵛ.

Figure 79. Hecuba (with Polyxena) speaks with Achilles's messenger. *Troie*. MS Vt, fol. 137ʳ.

Figure 80. Hecuba speaks with Achilles's messenger. *Troie.* MS Vn, fol. 108ʳ.

Figure 81. Hecuba speaks with Achilles's messenger. *Troie.* MS P18, fol. 119ʳ.

Figure 82. Hecuba plots Achilles's death with Paris. *Troie*. MS V1, fol. 172ʳ.

Figure 83. Hecuba plots Achilles's death with Paris. *Troie*. MS Vn, fol. 132ʳ.

Figure 84. Hecuba plots Achilles's death with Paris. *Troie*. MS P18, fol. 148ʳ.

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