

THE MEDIEVAL SOCIETY ROMANCES

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PREFACE

THE aim of this study is to define a type of medieval romance which in spirit and literary technique is the prototype of the modern psychological novel of manners. Representative romances are analyzed to show the influence of the medieval cult of courtly love, which gave the type its important place in the development of fiction. Since many of the romances are not easily accessible, summaries of the plots are given in an appendix. Brief bibliographical notes have also been added.

In coping with the difficulties of the undertaking I have received assistance which it is here my duty and pleasure to acknowledge. For stimulative interest and helpful suggestions during the early stages of investigating and organizing, I am indebted to Professors A. H. Thorndike and H. A. Todd of Columbia University; for reading the manuscript and offering salutary criticism, to Professor H. M. Ayres of Columbia, and to Professor W. H. Hulme of Western Reserve University. For the subject itself and for the most valuable help generously given at every stage of the work I am inexpressibly grateful to Professor W. W. Lawrence of Columbia.

Through a delay in the office of the publishers, the appearance of the book has been postponed for over a year, and in consequence it has been impossible to take into consideration contributions to the subject which have appeared during that time.

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THE MEDIEVAL SOCIETY ROMANCES

CHAPTER I

DEFINITION OF THE MEDIEVAL SOCIETY ROMANCE

THE courtly romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may seem, at first reading, very remote from modern fiction; literary and social conventions have changed greatly between the era which produced the *Yvain* and the *Châtelain de Coucy* and that which has given us *Un cœur de femme* and *The Patrician*. Prose has taken the place of verse; narration has gained directness and force; characters have become more complex and individual; chivalry has yielded to politics and other present-day interests, (the artificial system of courtly love to realistic study of passion) Yet the medieval poems foreshadow the modern novels both in human interest and in narrative art; they too reflect contemporary life in stories shaped and made real by psychological and social themes. In fact, the romances of Chrétien de Troyes and his school of courtly poets, with their subordination of action to motive, their analysis of thought and feeling, and their attention to social background, clearly point the way to the work of such novelists as Bourget and Galsworthy.

And the elements which thus ally the old with the new also differentiate a distinct type of medieval fiction—the society romance. Histories of literature, while they recognize the presence and importance of these elements, do not make them the basis for classifying the romances. The usual divisions are: the cycle of antiquity, the Arthurian stories, the tales from Byzantine and Greek sources, and romances of adventure.¹ In the fourth group is included what cannot be classed with

¹ Cf. Gaston Paris: *La littérature française au moyen âge*, III-IV. For a different principle of grouping cf. Madame Lot Borodine: *Le roman idyllique au moyen âge*.

any of the other three. Its name might better be applied to medieval romance in general,¹ for the knightly heroes always arrive at success by way of hazardous enterprise, whether in the pursuit of glory or of happiness in love. Yet in many of the stories adventure itself is of secondary importance, yielding in interest to sentimental psychology and to social refinement and picturesqueness. In others, of course, it is the dominant feature. This difference may be made the basis for distinguishing two literary types, the society romance and the romance of adventure.

Emphasis on the one or the other of the two great themes of romance, love and adventure, has very significant artistic effect. Narration with the interest centered in stirring action which is controlled throughout by knightly prowess alone may be entertaining, but it is likely to become erratic and unwieldy. A hero called upon the highroad of perilous encounters and novel experiences to achieve a specific quest or to follow the general lure of glory, usually rides far and deviously with nothing to limit his journey but the too easily deferred accomplishment of his initial task, or the exhaustion of the narrator's resources. Unity naturally suffers in a plot made up of a series of adventures and held together only by the continuity of the hero's rôle. The knight errant, actuated by the impersonal motives of chivalry, valor and courtesy, the duty to dare fearlessly and to achieve nobly, passes from adventure to adventure in strange places, often in the no-man's-land where giant and fay lie in wait for the wanderer from ordinary human thoroughfares. And, as a rule, he wins his way to glory without the inner stimulus of thought and feeling to unite immediate with ultimate purpose which the love theme insures.² Though love also, oftener than not,

¹Cf. Clédat: Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, vol. I, p. 254, note 2.

² The Grail romances, though ennobled by an idealism which puts them on a higher plane than the common level of medieval romance, share the faults of other adventure romances. They move toward a definite goal, it is true, under the control of a spiritual motive, but they move slowly and darkly through a maze of adventure more or less symbolic, in a confused world of wonder and mystery, often far from the landmarks of reality.

affects his career, it is all in the day's work. If the succor of a beautiful lady in need of a champion wins him her favor, he usually accepts it with chivalrous grace or with human complacency, taking it as an agreeable by-product of knightly merit, not as the goal of his ambition. Giglain, the hero of the *Bel inconnu*,¹ for instance, helps many ladies in the course of his hazardous journey to release the fair Esmerée from enchantment; and, that great task accomplished, he dallies long with a beautiful fay in the happy thralldom of love before he returns to Arthur's court and marries Esmerée. But for all the preponderance of the feminine element, love here is not the dominant force. Prowess draws Giglain out upon a quest abounding in opportunities to prove his knighthood, and the demands of chivalry insure his response to the cry of a lady in distress; but the attraction of a tournament breaks the spell of love binding him to a "fairy mistress," and the marriage to Esmerée, which rounds off his career in conventional fashion, is not of his seeking, but is accepted as a fitting return for services rendered in the pursuit of glory.

A good example of the same type of romance, in its comparative independence of the love motive, its emphasis upon the broader, more masculine aspects of chivalry, and its succession of exciting adventures, is the *Richars li biaux*.² Richard, the hero, a foundling ignorant of his royal descent, well equipped by his foster father with arms, a horse, and two squires, rides away at the age of twenty, an unproved knight, to find his parents and distinguish himself in the world of chivalry. His first noble deed is the freeing of a fountain from the dangerous guardianship of a fierce knight, and his second the rescue of a lady from a giant who wishes to marry her against her will. In the latter service there is a twofold triumph; Richard slays the giant and makes a conquest of the lady's heart. However, he refuses her proffered favor, and is on the point of leaving her when the giant's brother

¹ *Le bel inconnu; ou Giglain fils de Messire Gauvain et de la fée aux blanches mains*, by Renauld de Beaujeu, ed. C. Hippeau, 1860.

² *Richars li biaux*, ed. W. Förster, 1874.

arrives to put the lady in jeopardy. Her champion again slays her foe, and then goes away, apparently to forget all about her in the course of more interesting experiences, until chance brings him again to her castle, when he obligingly bestows her upon a friend. But that is much later in the story. In the meantime he finds his mother, saves her from a sultan who has come with an army to carry her away, goes out in search of his father, destroys a band of robbers who die hard but are killed to a man, and fights, in a great tournament, a very able knight who turns out to be his father. Having brought his parents together, Richard devotes himself to brilliant proofs of his prowess in tournaments. On his way to a tourney to which knights are flocking from all parts, drawn by the chance to win both renown and a beautiful wife with a kingdom for a dower, he pays all he has to redeem the body of a dead knight from his creditor who is holding it from burial until payment of a debt. The spirit of the dead man comes to the hero's aid and helps him win much glory as well as the prize of the tournament, the princess Rose. Not long after his marriage to this fair lady, Richard succeeds her father on the throne. Then, after seeing his parents in possession of his grandfather's kingdom, he settles down to enjoy the companionship of his wife.

Here we have the episodic plot of the typical romance of adventure, held together by the invariable prowess of the hero. The story falls into two parts: the first, made up of six or more loosely connected episodes, includes the history of Richard's search for his parents and proof of his knighthood; the second, the account of his success in a tournament through chivalrous generosity as well as through courage and skill at arms. The "bielle Rose" does not appear until the last episode, where she is of less prominence than Richard's ghostly friend, the White Knight, and the charm of her presence is felt less than the excitement of the tournament.

In such tales love has a very minor rôle. In the romances of sentiment, on the other hand, adventure, however abundant and creditable to knighthood, is subordinated to love. The

hero may travel extensively and accomplish much, but unchanging devotion to the heroine is responsible for his going, for his return, and for most of what he does along the way. Valor, the call of adventure, the impersonal obligations of chivalry cannot long distract the course of the true lover's duty from his lady. As for her, she holds her place as heroine by right of love alone; she has no other excuse for being. And upon the lovers all things converge. An obvious effect of thus subjecting action to sentiment is better plot structure than the adventure romances usually attain; but probably the most important result, in view of the subsequent development of fiction, is the shift of interest from deed to motive and the consequent elaboration of the psychological element.

Emphasis on the love theme is not, however, enough by itself to put a romance into the "society" group. Such charming, idyllic love stories as *Aucassin et Nicolette* or *Floire et Blancheflor*, and so powerful a tale of passion as the *Tristan* of Thomas or of Gottfried are not of this class. In none of the three is love that exotic of chivalry, *fine amor*, which gives distinctive form and atmosphere to the society romances of Chrétien de Troyes, Jehan Renart, the Sire de Beaumanoir, Adenés li Rois, Jakemon Sakesep, and the authors of the *Amadas*, the *Eneas*, and the *Durmart*. The all-powerful passion refined by *cortoisie*, which these poets celebrate and analyze, is but a fashionable ideal of the aristocratic society which they picture with poetic heightening for the pleasure of knights and ladies of courtly circles. This particular treatment of love, as well as the elaboration of social setting and the exclusively aristocratic appeal, has led to the designation "society romances" for the metrical tales in which it is the controlling motive.

CHAPTER II

THE MACHINERY OF COURTLY LOVE IN THE ROMANCES

SOCIETY fiction of any period is more or less seriously concerned with some aspect of love; that of the middle ages is deeply affected by "courtly love," the well-defined system of set theories and stereotyped etiquette which underlies practically all aristocratic treatment of sex in later medieval literature.¹ This system, an amalgamation of ideas from the songs of the troubadours, the erotic works of Ovid, medieval medical treatises, and discussions fashionable in courtly circles such as those presided over by Eleanor of Poitou and Marie of Champagne, is fundamentally social, a matter of manners idealized into a cult, something to be known and practiced by polite society, to be taught by the handbook as well as celebrated in song and story.

The best-known manual for lovers, that of Andreas Capellanus, while largely indebted to the *Ars Amatoria* of Ovid for method and psychology, and influenced directly by the conventions of troubadour poetry, draws its science, in the main, from the social laboratory, where the precepts of Ovid and the motives of Provençal lyric have already become a part of general thinking and talking. With scholastic gravity unrelieved by imaginative sympathy, Andreas records accepted theories and approved laws, basing his selection upon recognized classical and contemporary authorities, and setting down his definitions, rules, and illustrations, in a bare frame-

¹ For detailed consideration of courtly love see L. F. Mott: *The System of Courtly Love Studied as an Introduction to the "Vita Nuova" of Dante*, Boston, 1896; W. A. Neilson: *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, Harvard, 1899; K. Heyl: *Die Theorie der Minne in den ältesten Minneromanen Frankreichs*, Marburg, 1911; W. G. Dodd: *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, Harvard Studies in English, Boston, 1913.

work of scientific exposition. His book is dry reading. In spite of evidence that it had some vogue,¹ it is hard to credit the *De Amore* with popularity enough to influence thought or literary convention to any great extent. Nevertheless it is of value to the student of medieval society or of the literature born of that society; for it is a social document affording the best contemporary view of courtly love. Its formulas embody the psychological and social ideas inherent in the poets' themes, and for this reason make a good starting point for an examination of the love machinery characteristic of the society romances.

According to the *De Amore*,² love is a passion engendered by looking with appreciative eyes upon an attractive person of the opposite sex, and is nourished by visual and mental contemplation of the loved one's charms, which should consist in graces of mind and manners as well as in physical beauty. It seeks reciprocal affection, and union. After explaining who are suitable objects of this passion, Andreas proceeds to show how to win love and how to retain it. More than thirty laws set forth the constitution of love.³ In accordance with the moral laxity of Ovid and the conventional attitude of the troubadours, the first article of the code sets aside the claims of conjugal fidelity: marriage is not a justifiable reason for denying a lover. Corollary to this postulate, but also necessitated by other conditions, is the injunction to secrecy. But lovers need help; Andreas permits a confidant, and suggests a trustworthy servant as a go-between. Absolute loyalty is the lover's first duty. No one can be bound by a double love; though being loved by more than one is not preventable, the true lover may seek and enjoy the favor of but one. Loss of beauty, even mutilation, cannot diminish love. Nor can death break the bond at once; the survivor must be faithful

¹ It was translated into French, Italian, and German.

² *De Amore*, ed. Trojel, Copenhagen, 1892. Text probably of the twelfth century.

³ For a full statement and discussion of these laws see A. Méray: *La vie au temps des cours d'amour*, Paris, 1870; W. A. Neilson, *op cit.*, pp. 177 ff.; W. G. Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-37.

for two years. The passion is spontaneous, and only willing response to its suit can give joy. The symptoms of love are change of color, sleeplessness, loss of appetite, and timidity and palpitation of the heart in the presence of the beloved. Perfect obedience even to the caprice of love marks the true lover. Liberality and temperance are also requisite. The knight is courteous and valorous for his lady's sake, and his thoughts are ever upon her. Jealousy and suspicion increase the passion. Perfect integrity alone makes it durable.

This careful formulation of sentimental thought current in the world of fashion is something more practical than a mere analytical record for the curious; it is intended as a guide for conduct. *Verus amor* is presented in its relation to social life; its problems of sex appear as those of chivalrous society. And here is the point of departure common to the treatise and the romances. The trouvères who introduced the love-cult into narrative poems reflecting the society which nourished it, purposed, ostensibly at least, to teach the doctrines of *fine amor*. Even the charming *Lai de l'ombre* is a handbook, a model dialogue for lovers,¹ and hardly a romance fails to point the moral that adorns the tale of true love. The artistic as well as the scientific impulse was likely in the middle ages thus to serve didacticism. Chrétien, Gautier d'Arras, Hue de Rotelande, Jehan Renart, and the authors of the *Éneias*, the *Partonopeus*, and the *Amadas et Ydoine*, like Andreas, sought to instruct society in the art of loving, but they chose the better way—that illumined by imagination and fair with poetic grace.

From the first the society romance was a "problem" story, trying to answer psychological and ethical questions raised by sentimental theories and social conditions. The problem was limited by convention to some phase of courtly love, and two ends were to be attained: the correct demonstration of the psychology of love, and the safe-conduct of love beset by hostile forces. To the former end the poets tried to do artistically what Andreas tried to do scientifically. They

¹Cf. *Lai de l'ombre*, ed. J. Bédier. *Société des anciens textes français*, pp. iii-vi

aimed to show the true nature and the natural phenomena of *fine amor*, that irresistible, compelling, inexorable affection of the heart, which enslaves mind and body, subdues the will, refines the manners, inflicts agonies of doubt, fear, and despair, works havoc with physical health, but repairs its ravages with its joys, and rewards devoted loyalty with lasting happiness. For their purpose the trouvères of the twelfth century¹ fashioned the machinery of fine-spun analysis, reflection, complaints, pleas, symptoms, and stereotyped subtleties of thought and imagery, which marks the medieval society romance.

Conventional alike in psychology and rhetorical device, the system in vogue among the romancers for studying love in connection with narration varies little in the long course of its popularity. Plot-situation and the individual bias or skill of the poet may modify it in some respects, but the general line of procedure, the underlying theories, and even details of phrase and metaphor are remarkably stable.

The course of true love, according to this system, has five stages: (1) Incipency; (2) Development; (3) Betrothal; (4) Ordeal; (5) Union.² Though circumstances may sometimes eliminate or obscure one stage or another, as a rule the study begins at the beginning of the passion for one lover or for both and completes the cycle of alternate pain and joy.

The first stage involves two important questions: Under what circumstances does love originate? And how does it actually begin? Usually the romancers answer the former question concretely, without much psychological elaboration. Relying upon the obviousness of the power inherent in youth, beauty, courtesy, leisure,³ and propinquity, they prepare

¹The superior literary skill and prestige of Chrétien de Troyes apparently had most to do with determining and establishing the conventional formulas of this machinery.

²Cf. the four stages of troubadour love: (1) Love aspirant, (2) Love suppliant, (3) Love recognized, (4) Love accepted. The favorite medieval narrative motives of quest and ordeal have added a stage to the romances.

³The value of leisure for love is sometimes the subject of psychological analysis in connection with preparation for falling in love. Cf. *Flamenca*, 1820 ff.

for the advent of love simply, by endowing their heroes and heroines with ideal attractiveness, personal and social, and bringing them together in a situation affording an opportunity for charm and merit¹ to have their natural effect. The fateful moment of appreciation may come suddenly in the normal course of established association. Amadas, an enemy to love and no stranger to Ydoine, "was overcome by that for which he had never had concern,"² when he lost his heart to his lord's daughter one day at a banquet;³ and Jehan's devotion to Blonde began when "par aventure" he glanced at her while serving her at table, after he had known her for eighteen weeks.⁴ A particularly brilliant exhibition of qualities conducive to love may turn admiring interest into passion. La-fiere's heart, divided between appreciation of Ipomedon's courtesy and disapproval of his indifference to prowess, succumbs to his display of skill in a hunt.⁵ The princess Ganor begins to love Ille a little when she hears of his prowess and recalls his modesty, nobility, and beauty; his triumphal return to court from war completes the conquest of her affections.⁶ Love at first sight amid more or less exciting circumstances, as in the *Yvain*, the *Meraugis*, and the *Knight's Tale*, is common. On the other hand, with some lovers, with those in the *Galerent*, for instance, *fine amor* is the gradual result of long, intimate companionship in favorable surroundings.

Occasionally there is careful psychological preparation for the beginning of love. Claris is put into the proper mood by reading romantic love stories in a garden where the songs of birds and other charms of nature in the "fair season" stimulate his sentimental vein.⁷ Conrad, the love-hero of the *Guillaume de Dole*, is emotionally quickened by music and poetry, by the delights of out-door life, and by his interest in the love

¹ According to the romances as well as to the *De Amore*, love seeks mental and social virtues with beauty.

² Scorn of love is a special challenge to the passion. Cf. *Troilus*, Book I, stanzas 31-37.

³ *Amadas*, 191 ff.

⁴ *Jehan*, 429 ff.

⁵ *Ipomedon*, 583 ff.

⁶ *Ille*, 3211 ff, 3312 ff.

⁷ *Claris et Laris*, 155 ff.

affairs of others. Both Flamenca and William of Nevers are psychologically prepared for love; she by a dull, irksome life under jealous surveillance and without diversion or affection;¹ he by knowledge of the science of loving and by the ideals proper to a young nobleman of spirit and refinement.²

But though the romancers sometimes thus approach *fine amor* through a study of preliminary conditions, their psychological analysis commonly begins with the mystery of inception, with such conventional subtleties as the marvel of the arrow which wounds the heart without injuring the body, the relative responsibility of the eyes and the heart for the origin of love, and the paradox that a heart may remain after its owner has gone away, or that two persons may exchange hearts. Then there is minute description of the effects of falling in love on mind and body. The initial stage of the lover's experience ends with his full realization of what has happened to him.

Normal access to the heart is through the eyes, whether the incentive force enters as a spark to kindle an inextinguishable fire or as an arrow to inflict an incurable wound.³ Amadas chances to look at Ydoine, and straightway "in the glance a spark leaps from the girl to the heart and sets it on fire with true love."⁴ A dart pierces the body of Alexander, the father of Cligés, "without leaving trace of wound outside. . . How did it enter? Through the eye." The eye is not injured; the heart alone feels the hurt.⁵ Beaumanoir, in the *Manekine*, explains the part the eyes play in the service of love:⁶ "All eyes are by nature less intelligent than the beasts of the field, for they look at what pleases

¹ *Flamenca*, 1001 ff.

² *Id.*, 1778 ff. William has read all the authors who treat of love and teach, lovers how to act.

³ The *fine amor* of the society romances is a natural passion, coming from "no eating of fruit or drinking, whereby some have been undone, like Tristan and others"; the lovers wound one another "naturally with true *amistié*." (*Amadas et Ydoine*, 1181-1190.) Magic potions may be used to cloud a lover's memory but are not the cause of his true love.

⁴ *Amadas*, 243-245.

⁵ *Cligés*, 692 ff.

⁶ *Manekine*, 1393 ff.

them without reason for it except the will of the heart . . . which cannot see except by them. And the eyes, by counsel of nature, are very covetous of fair appearance. . . And when they perceive their pleasure, they quickly make the heart behold. The heart now looks without taking thought before that which it sees leaps by the eyes to the heart where it kindles desire."¹

But love reaches the heart by other avenues than by the eyes. Melior, the heroine of *Guillaume de Palerne*, reflecting on her incipient love for the hero, decides that her eyes are not culpable since they only do the will of her heart. As a matter of fact, it is not so much what she sees as what she hears and appreciates that is responsible for her passion: "She hears the lad's great merit praised and perceives his peerless beauty and valor."² The character of Ille rather than his appearance captivates both Galeron and Ganor.³ Durmart hears of a beautiful queen whom only the noblest need seek, and he loves her at once though he has never seen her.⁴ Conrad falls in love with Lienor upon hearing her name for the first time: "A spark from that beautiful name" fires his heart; the unknown lady "pleases him by hearsay."⁵

In many cases the affection is mutual from the first, but often love must win response.⁶ The heart may be free and reluctant to be won, but *nonchaloir* can be kindled into *fine amor*. Authorities deprecate not only the easy conquest but the lack of *merci* as well. The sufferings of Amadas and Jehan conquer the resisting disdain of their ladies through love's

¹ The sensuous beauty which thus generates love through sight is the outward and visible sign of the "gentle heart," for according to medieval theory the good and noble are fair of form, the evil and low, ugly and coarse. The eyes of true lovers make no mistakes.

² *Guillaume de Palerne*, 817 ff., 862 ff. ³ *Ille*, 902 ff., 3211 ff.

⁴ *Durmart*, 1116 ff. Cf. the story of Rudel in the *Lives of the Troubadours*, which has been given modern form in Rostand's *La Princesse Lointaine*.

⁵ *Guillaume de Dole*, 790 ff.

⁶ Usually it is the heroine's heart that must be won, but sometimes the heroine makes the first advances. (Cf. *Partonopeus* and *Fergus*). Ladies who offer their love unsought are as a rule minor characters; the typical heroine, if she becomes conscious of love before her lover speaks, has too much delicacy to confess it to him then.

powerful ally, pity, which "renneth sone in gentil herte." The cruel Ydoine, seeing Amadas at her feet, without breath or warmth, motion or color, pities him, and immediately, "by the command of love, pity and generosity and fear forge . . . a piercing dart. They have shot her through the heart."¹ The transition from indifference to love is slower in Blonde, and involves a long inner struggle in which the forces of *fine amor* combat those of pride.² The Lady of Fayel³ in the beginning refuses to consider the Châtelain's suit, but in the course of time she is moved by admiration for his brilliant versatility, pride in his devotion, pity for his suffering, and remorse for her own cruelty. Lidoine's impartial attitude toward her two suitors gives way at a kiss,⁴ which infects her with a decided preference for Meraugis. "A little love issued from him and came to meet Lidoine, so that at the moment of kissing it happened that love shot into her heart, which swallowed it as the fish does the hook."⁵ And when her heart said to her, 'I love him,' there was no gainsaying it."⁶

Whatever the circumstances of the beginning, the affection causes great emotional upheaval. "For love is a wonderful thing. Whoever examines it well finds many à marvel; for it makes honey of bitterness, gall of sweetness, deadly rage of desire, a pale countenance of one with color, and the precious of the hateful."⁷ The suddenly smitten Amadas is completely bewildered. He cannot determine whether he has joy or grief, bitterness or sweetness. He does not know whether he sees her [Ydoine] in a dream or waking, and he is so confused and his vision is so darkened that he is temporarily incapable of action.⁸ Jehan is dazed by the first of the two glances which are his undoing, and at the second is so rapt that he forgets to serve the expectant Blonde, who speaks to him twice before he hears her.⁹ Meraugis, overcome by the beauty and the courtesy

¹ *Amadas*, 1058 ff.

² *Jehan*, 991 ff.

³ *Châtelain de Coucy*.

⁴ The lover's kiss is very potent at every stage of *fine amor*. Cf. *Amadas*, 1155-1161, and *Claris*, 8107 ff., 16720 ff.

⁵ Cf. the medieval derivation of *amor* from *hamus*, *De Amore*, p. 9.

⁶ *Meraugis*, 1197 ff.

⁷ *Amadas*, 291 ff.

⁸ *Id.*, 246 ff.

⁹ *Jehan*, 435 ff.

of Lidoine, is unable to speak and like a man in a dream, remains gazing at her, unable to go forward.¹

While the agony which develops upon infection and continues throughout the second stage of the malady is chiefly mental, the body suffers too. The common physical symptoms are change of color, trembling, yawning, loss of appetite, sleeplessness, sighing, weeping, cold, heat, and, often, swooning. Galerent and Fresne, at the awakening of their love, appear "pale and wan; for who loves well loses color. . . . Love irks them, impairs their appetite. . . . They change from laughter to weeping; they stretch and yawn."² Melior asks herself at the beginning of her love for William of Palerne: "Heavens! what ailment is it of which I suffer so much, which makes me stretch so and tremble, as if taken with a fever?"³ Amadas changes color, sighs, and swoons.⁴ When Guinevere, on the voyage across the English Channel, notices that Alexander and Soredamors "often blanch and heave deep sighs and tremble," she naturally thinks they are seasick,⁵ but she is mistaken; they are in love. Jehan's symptoms make Blonde suspect that he has "set his heart upon her, but she does not believe that any one can suffer such distress for love."⁶ Little she knows of the malady! Her lover's almost fatal prostration, like that of William of Palerne, or that of Amadas, or that of Arcite, under similar circumstances, is a malignant, but not unnatural, development of unrequited *fine amor*.⁷

At first the victim of uncertainty in love agonizes in secret. Before the floodgates of emotion are allowed to open for confession or plea, the love-sick heart communes with itself, now analyzing its condition, now complaining, now reflecting, now hoping, now despairing, now screwing courage to the sticking point. The lover, yearning for his lady's favor and

¹ *Meraugis*, 510-13.

⁴ *Amadas*, 279 ff.

² *Galerent*, 1335 ff.

⁵ *Cligés*, 541 ff.

³ *Guillaume de Palerne*, 836 ff.

⁶ *Jehan*, 715 ff.

⁷ In treating love as a disease, the romances agree with the medieval scientific treatises on pathology. Cf. J. L. Lowes: "Loveres Maladye of Hereos." *Mod. Philol.*, 11:491-546, April, 1914.

new to the discipline of exacting love, debates with himself over the psychological or social obstacles to his happiness. What has happened to him? How did it come? Is he helpless against it? What is love? What does it require of its servants? How can he ever win his lady? Dare he speak? What will be the consequence of avowal? What are the reasons against hope? For it? Thus he questions himself, usually in the watches of the night, in long soliloquies.

Jehan complains in conventional terms of the trials that afflict one who loves not wisely but too well. "Alas!" he cries, as he repines upon his bed, tortured by the first pangs of love:¹ "why is it that I cannot control myself as usual? . . . Is it love which strikes me? Love? No, it is rather hate which my eyes have given me. . . I am wounded with a poison which kills me and pleases me, nor do I ever wish to be rid of it.² I would rather die than rue the ills I am obliged to feel. If I must die for my lady, I believe God will put my soul in Paradise with the martyrs; for I shall be love's martyr. . . . Alas! . . . I can call myself a fool to love where I cannot expect favor. If the king had no wife, he would like to consider my lady. . . . And if she had no treasure except her beauty, a realm would be too little for her desert. For I see that God has given her heaped up what others have in moderation. . . . Not nature, but God himself has formed her.³ . . . Now it is to be nothing but suffering as long as I can stand life. And when death will come, let it come." For almost three years Amadas lies helpless. The spirit of youthful prowess bids him be glad and not grieve; but his weakness and his will countenance no alternative to Ydoine's favor but death.⁴

Fear and prudence both enjoin silence during this period of uncertainty, aspiration, and weakness. A man may be

¹ *Jehan*, 505 ff.

² The lover often testifies to the pleasurable nature of the pain of loving. Cf. *Cligés*, 3072 ff., *Amadas*, 288-90.

³ A common conceit in the romances. Nature was supposed to make all things according to God's law; in miracles God worked directly.

⁴ *Amadas*, 869 ff.

ever so brave, but in the presence of his lady he trembles. Explaining why Cligés does not confess his passion, Chrétien analyzes the natural fear of the lover:¹ "God! whence comes this fear of a girl, alone, weak, timid, simple, and gentle? . . . Love without alarm or fear is like fire without flame or heat, day without sunlight, comb without honey, summer without flowers, winter without frost, sky without moon, and a book without letters . . . Whoever would love must fear, otherwise he cannot be in love. But he shall fear only her whom he loves, and for her sake brave all the world besides." The Châtelain de Coucy, usually conspicuous for his courage and poise, sits before the Lady of Fayel silent, "esbais . . . com beste mue."² Later he explains this silence to her as the result of the fear natural to a lover. He might also plead caution, for his lady is the wife of another man and as yet far from the thought of *fine amor*. With most of the lovers in the romances the situation makes silence advisable, and however helpless passion may render hero or heroine, it usually leaves enough will-power for discretion. Amadas so conceals the cause of his suffering that no one surmises it. Nor does he ever confide his trouble to any one else except her who is responsible for it. William of Palerne refuses to tell Alexandrine what is the matter with him; as long as he has soul in his body he will say that to no one.³ Aelis instinctively covers her use of the tell-tale "ami" by employing with it the misleading "frère," to hide from others her true feeling for William.⁴

A lover's hope may awake with the advent of a helpful confidant like Thessala,⁵ or from the gift of a favor such as that the Lady of Fayel gives the Châtelain to wear in the jousts,⁶ but there is no real joy until both lovers are sure of the unity of heart for which they have longed and which they know will insure loyalty. The third stage of *fine amor* is marked by the perfect understanding and mutual devotion

¹ *Cligés*, 3845 ff.

² *Châtelain de Coucy*, 175 ff.

³ *Guillaume de Palerne*, 1525-26.

⁴ *Escoufle*, 1986 ff.

⁵ *Cligés*.

⁶ *Châtelain*, 645 ff.

which is the first demand of true love, the only basis of its happiness. Now love compensates for the severity of the preceding period, and grows in strength under the influence of companionship and common hope. Chaperoned by the discreet and indulgent Lohier, Galerent and Fresne pass Arcadian days in the fair abbey park, where they talk of love and declare their readiness to stand its tests. The elopement of Aelis and William before the theft of the ring by the kite separates them, is bright with idyllic charm and confident love; "often the day is too short for their solace and delight."¹ Amadas and Ydoine, after the first happy interview in which they talk happily together and exchange rings, see little of each other, for she sends him away at once to win "los et pris" in war and tournament, but he goes wearing her favor and inspired to great deeds by her love. During his absence they exchange messages and gifts and are happy in their consciousness of reciprocal affection.

Secrecy is still required. The happy lovers must protect themselves from envy and jealousy, the natural enemies of such relations as theirs. The malicious and the jealous are ever ready to spoil happiness, as Conrad,² Gerard,³ Yder, the Châtelain, and the lovers in the *Escoufle* and the *Galerent* learn to their sorrow.⁴ If marriage complicates matters, the utmost discretion is imperative both for decorum and for safety. A glance and a sigh betray the Châtelain's secret to jealous eyes and open the way to tragedy.⁵ Innocent betrothal is also beset with social dangers, and its happy moments, too, are stolen and liable to calamitous discovery. Although Galerent and Fresne are shielded from "cruel, envious ill-nature" by Lohier, who "follows them closely to ward off suspicion," they do not elude betrayal with all its dire consequences.⁶

The great lessons of *fine amor* in courtesy, morality, and

¹ *Escoufle*, 4322 ff.

² *Guillaume de Dole*.

³ *Violette*.

⁴ Cf. also the tragic story of the *Châtelaine de Vergi*, in which violation of the law of secrecy wrecks love and costs several lives.

⁵ *Châtelain*, 3929 ff.

⁶ *Galerent*, 1950 ff., 3638 ff.

loyalty are always learned through suffering, and for the most part come after the happiness of plighted troth has established mutual faith and the strong sense of sentimental duty characteristic of true lovers.¹ Human frailty or malice, cruel destiny, or the tyranny of social convention intervenes to give love a chance to prove through travail and sorrow its strength to punish, to hold, and to overcome. Not until the hero and the heroine have stood the test of many hardships, will *fine amor* make good the promise of betrothal. Here, in the fourth stage, is the crux of the love problem, for here the lovers prove their loyalty to each other and their mettle as *fins amans* and *fine amante*. Fortunately for the plot the situation demands action. The lovers must cope with concrete difficulties and with other minds and wills besides their own, and so have less time for inner struggles than in former days of suffering. However, the psychological machinery of analysis and emotional reaction to experience is not wanting; the pain of bereavement, regret, often remorse, the strain of "hope deferred," doubt, and despair, work great havoc and give rise to complaint and reflection.² The mind dwells upon the absent lady or knight, and ever the noble deed or gracious sacrifice bears witness to the power of love and the fidelity of its servants.

Occasionally the mind cannot bear the burden of affliction.³ Amadas, Yvain, and Fergus go mad, and for a time can neither reason about the situation nor try to cope with it. The aberration is but temporary, however; they regain their sanity and forthwith dedicate themselves to the service, penitential or simply devoted, of rigorous love. Partonopeus, while retaining the power to think, suffers from paralysis of will and wasting melancholy, overcome by the realization of his disloyalty.⁴ His case is worse than Adam's, for he must

¹ For exceptions see *Ipomedon*, *Durmart*, and *Yder*.

² The lover nearly always blames himself for the separation, though his fault may be very slight—a momentary carelessness with a gift, for instance, as in the *Escoufle*, or unwise obedience to the lady's will, as in the *Cléomadès*.

³ For the relation of love to madness see Professor Lowes's article cited above, p. 14, n. 7.

⁴ *Partonopeus*, 5179 ff.

expiate alone the sin for which he loses the equivalent of Paradise, while Adam had Eve to comfort his disgrace. He does not deserve to die at once, but should languish, dying in slow agony. "His heart," says the poet, "is killing him with remembrance of his treachery and his great dole."¹ Certainly it is too faint to win its fair lady without external encouragement and material aid. Gerard² has perhaps as strong reason for remorseful despair as Partonopeus, but grief and loyalty send him out at once to hunt for the wronged Euriaut, and he accomplishes the task without other help than his valor and his love. In fact most of the separated lovers, despite their terrible inner desolation, brace themselves to the service demanded by *fine amor*.

With or without adequate reason, the lovers, in trouble as in happiness, always distrust the rest of the world and prefer the counsels of their own hearts. That pink of perfection, Cléomadès, spends many laborious days searching for his lost Clarmondine, and wins much glory in the name of chivalry and love, but he takes care not to advertise the object of his errantry through Europe, veiling his trouble even from his friends.³ Clarmondine, on her side, sacrifices veracity freely to discretion, deceiving the wicked Crompart and the kind Meniadus alike, in the interest of loyalty to Cléomadès.⁴ Gerard's disastrous lack of reserve is offset by the prudence of Euriaut, who carefully evades curiosity and covers with deceptive plausibility the strange situation in which his folly has placed her.⁵ The Manekine keeps the secret of her identity and the specific facts of her misfortune from the Roman senator who befriends her, though his character and his treatment of her naturally invite confidence. Aelis, after telling her story to her humble friend Isabel, who could do little or nothing to help her find her lover, says nothing of her quest to patrons who would have been sympathetic and helpful.⁶

¹ *Partonopeus* 5231-32.

² *Violette*.

³ *Cléomadès*, 10915 ff.

⁴ *Id.*, 6341 ff., 7191 ff.

⁵ *Violette*, 1155 ff.

⁶ *Escoufle*, 6120 ff.

Another convention of the separation period is the souvenir. Any gift, any article that has belonged to the beloved, is of great significance and is cherished with extravagant tenderness. When Lancelot finds the ivory comb with its golden combings from the queen's hair, he is almost overcome upon realizing that he is in the presence of so precious a relic. . . . "A thousand times he lifts them to his eyes and mouth, his forehead and countenance. . . . He puts them next his heart, . . . Nor does he fear any wound or sickness now; he despises essence of pearl, treacle, and the remedy for the pleurisy; he needs not St. James and St. Martin. He has such faith in this hair that he seeks no other help."¹ Cléomadès wears next his heart night and day a glove dropped by Clarmondine as she was carried away, and the device upon his shield is a white glove upon a black ground.² The Châtelain de Coucy bears upon his helmet "for love of his lady who has his heart . . . tresses of wrought gold," in likeness of the lock of hair given him by his sweetheart at their last meeting. The gift itself he keeps in a silver casket, and when he is dying, he instructs his confidential squire to carry it back to her with the heart from his body, that she may know that he has been loyal unto death. A lover should never part from such gifts. William is almost beside himself with chagrin at the carelessness which enabled the kite to carry off the ring just received from Aelis; for "she gave . . . her heart with the gift. . . . Now she will say that I was less courteous than Tristan, who kept one [a ring] for love of Isolt many a year; and I have lost so soon the first she gave me."³ The mysterious rival of Amadas at Ydoine's tomb shows the ring which Amadas gave the lady at the time of betrothal, and says, "Now you may be sure by the fact that she gave a strange knight the dearest thing she had of you. that she was not loyal."⁴

Any reminder of the lost sweetheart has a strong emotional effect upon the disconsolate lover. Cléomadès, looking from

¹ *Lancelot*, 1471 ff.

² *Cléomadès*, 8290 ff.

³ *Escoufle*, 4614 ff.

⁴ *Amadas*, 5770 ff. ff.

a window, sees the tower of the palace where he first saw Clarmondine, and falls into a melancholy mood of regret and self-blame.¹ Galerent, stirred to the depths by the resemblance of his host's daughter to the vanished Fresne, sits beside a window opening upon a garden which recalls to mind the abbey park where he and Fresne used to meet, and is lost in grief and thoughts of the strange girl who looks like his *amie*.² When William recognizes the mule which once belonged to Aelis and which he has not seen for seven years, he is almost frantic. "The mule renews all his grief. . . . Never before was any one in such a state because of a dumb beast: he kisses its head a hundred times and its eyes, for the sake of his friend. . . . He lay until morning in the stable litter beside the mule. Now you know love does much thus to debase and degrade him."³ In this case some of the emotion is due to the fact that the reminder is also a clue, but there is besides a sentimental reaction illustrating the subtle power of love to reach the heart by strange media. Had Euriaut known the ways of *fine amor* as well as the poets knew it, she would not have grieved so bitterly when her pet lark flew away with the ring Gerard had given her.⁴ The sight of that ring on the neck of a bird taken by his falcon, releases Gerard's memory from the magic spell which is threatening his loyalty; the mysterious power of an object that has belonged to his lost and temporarily forgotten lady, exorcises the new love conditioned upon a Lethean charm.⁵ At another time he hears a girl sing a song about a "biele Euriaus," while he lies ill of grief for his friend of that name, and is roused from his lethargy to go in search of her whom he laments.⁶

A frequent test of constancy during the period of separation

¹ *Cléomadès*, 10860 ff.

³ *Escoufle*, 6206 ff.

² *Galerent*, 5276 ff.

⁴ *Violette*, 3895 ff.

⁵ *Id.*, 4182 ff.

⁶ *Id.*, 2306 ff. The name of a lover is of great potency. At the name of Ydoine the madness of Amadas leaves him. (*Amadas*, 3391 ff.) The name "William" sends Aelis into a paroxysm of grief. (*Escoufle*, 7280 ff.) Cf. also the difficulty a heroine may have in pronouncing the name of her lover (*Yder*, 2697-99; *Partonopeus*, 7247 ff.)

is the supposed death of one of the lovers. Galerent thinks Fresne may be dead since his efforts to find her have been futile, but his heart is devoted to her living or dead, and though there is no joy in loving a dead woman, he will continue to love her, for they are of little worth in love whom death separates.¹ Enide's ordeal includes the proof of faithfulness that transcends death,² and the affection of Lancelot and Guinevere is tried by the same test.³ Amadas declares his loyalty to Ydoine as he stands by her inanimate body: "But . . . my heart will always, forever and ever, be with your spirit! Never an hour will it part from it as long as I have life in my body, and when the soul shall go thence, it will go, sweet friend, to bear yours company."⁴ However, such sentimental triumph is rarely subjected to the trial of real death.⁵ Enide, Guinevere, Lancelot, and Amadas have hardly defied the power of the grave to bury their love, when they learn that they have been deceived by appearances or by false report. Fresne and Galeron appear exactly at the psychological moment of proof, each emerging from the death-like void of long, silent absence just in time to interrupt the marriage of her lover to another lady.

What might have happened but for such opportune re-appearance we may infer from the subsequent course of Ille's affections. Like a loyal servant of love, that hero refuses to go on with the marriage to Ganor when he finds that Galeron is still alive; "true love will not allow it." But he assures the disappointed princess that if it were not for his wife he would be wholly hers.⁶ Later, when the prior claim upon his loyalty has been nullified by ecclesiastical and social law,⁷ he decides, after due reflection and debate with himself, that he is free to entertain a second love. Grief for the lost Galeron passes by a quick but logical transition to regret for the rejected Ganor. "Ille grieves very much," but what comforts him "more

¹ *Galerent*, 4387 ff.

² *Erec*, 4813 ff.

³ Sometimes it is, however, as in the *Chatelain de Coucy*.

⁴ *Ille*, 4807 ff.

⁵ *Lancelot*, 4175 ff.

⁶ *Amadas*, 5497 ff.

⁷ Galeron enters a convent.

than the priest's prayer" is the recollection of Ganor's grief when he took leave of her. "Pity makes him feel its pain again; that pain which commenced then, softens the present grief." "Ah Galeron, God help thee!" he ejaculates piously. "And God grant that I may recompense the gracious maid who swooned one day for pity and partly for love; and may God put me again in the way to do her will."¹ The struggle between the old love and the new gives him more than one sleepless night, but in time he succumbs to the new. Evidently bereaved *fine amor* was not necessarily inconsolable.²

The great law of constancy, however, forbids yielding to anything less final than death or the cloister. The ideal tenacity of true love is well illustrated in the *Galerent*. After the hero has proved the futility of such attacks on his loyalty as the efforts of Esmerée to win his heart,³ while he is still mourning for Fresne, he meets her twin sister Fleurie, and unconscious of the relationship, is so overcome by the stranger's resemblance to his lost *amie* that he takes the young girl in his arms and kisses her,⁴ as much to his own instant dismay as to her shocked sense of propriety. On reflection he decides that in kissing the likeness of Fresne in Brundoré's daughter he has been guilty of no greater treachery to love than in kissing the portrait of his sweetheart embroidered in the sleeve she gave him. He does not know whether his lady is dead or has deserted him, but nature restores her to him in this living image of her. Therefore, however the girl he has kissed may regard his act, he will not repent it.⁵ "For the sake of another he looks at and loves her, . . . and is not false to his love. Fleurie has harbored the affection which Galerent has lent her, and so she has only borrowed it."⁶ When the conduct motivated by this idea brings him to the point of marriage, Galerent is much depressed, and the night before the wedding day he lies awake troubled by his aversion to the very thought of it. "If Fresne were there, he would

¹ *Ille*, 5358 ff.

² Cf. the case of Laudine in the *Yvain*.

³ *Galerent*, 4466 ff, 5181 ff.

⁴ *Id.*, 5225 ff.

⁵ *Id.*, 5279 ff.

⁶ *Id.*, 5375 ff.

refuse to consider any one else.”¹ However near disloyalty in deed circumstances may have brought him, he is scrupulously faithful in thought and feeling, as a true lover must be as long as there is the slightest chance of reunion with the lost sweetheart.

One or both of the separated lovers must repulse or evade undesired love. Clarmondine feigns madness to save herself from marriage with Meniadus.² Gerard,³ though loved by several charming ladies, is in danger only when under the spell of witchcraft, and then one should pity not blame him. Euriaut successfully defends her fidelity to Gerard both against the honorable Duke of Metz and the evil Meliadir. Ismene and Meleager's queen in vain offer their love to Ipedon, steadfast in his devotion to La-fiere. A preëmpted heart protects the true lover from temptation: “The knight has but one heart, and that is no longer his, but has been given to another, and so he cannot bestow it elsewhere. Love requires it to be lodged in a single place.”⁴

The knowledge that there are fickle hearts in the world gives more than one anxious lover doubt of the loyalty on which happiness depends. The most grievous moment in the ordeal of Amadas is that in which he is confronted with proof of Ydoine's faithlessness.⁵ Galerent fears the effect of absence; for it has happened . . . that love loses its power somewhat when the lover cannot see for a long time the one desired.”⁶ Fresne, hearing of his marriage to Fleurie, questions the sincerity of the love Galerent has professed for her.⁷ Lunette, speaking for Laudine, condemns Yvain as a “false, treacherous thief,” one of those who “go about deceitfully making love.”⁸ Jehan suffers some bitter moments of doubt upon learning that Blonde is about to marry the Earl of Gloucester.⁹ Yet, as a rule, *fine amor* is more trusting than the circumstances warrant, and want of faith in the loved one, whatever the grounds for suspicion, is rarely of long

¹ *Galerent*, 6822 ff.

² *Cléomadès*.

³ *Violette*.

⁴ *Lancelot*, 1240 ff.

⁵ *Amadas*, 5807 ff.

⁶ *Galerent*, 4415 ff.

⁷ *Id.*, 6485 ff.

⁸ *Yvain*, 2725 ff.

⁹ *Jehan*, 2555 ff.

duration. Reproaches, threats, actual mistreatment, even the most convincing evidence of disloyalty, may strain but cannot break the confidence of a true lover. Erec's harshness, Gerard's blind fury, The King of Scotland's apparent cruelty,¹ Guinevere's capricious abuse of love's power, Laudine's hardness, Ydoine's deathbed confessions, Partonopeus's disobedience, Melior's severity, the Lady of Fayel's unexpected denial of the promised rendezvous, do not dampen the ardor of the affections they try.

Less use is made of jealousy and suspicion than the law as set forth by Andreas allows.² The romancers make use of both motives, as they do of practically all the aspects of love dealt with in the *De Amore*, but they prefer to emphasize the nobler emotions which sustain and strengthen devotion, to show love strong through faith and hope rather than through doubt. The influence of Christian ideals is apparent in this preference. The thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians as well as the *Ars Amatoria* may have contributed to the evolution of *fine amor*. Galerent, suffering from the thought that Fresne may cease to love him, can still say, "And if she hate me, I will not for that hate her."³ Only for a few minutes does Amadas allow slander to embitter his heart against his lady. He looks at the marble tomb, weeping, and thinks of Ydoine lying there, recalls the sweetness of their love, and feels his rage give way to tenderness. He reproaches himself for blaming his friend who lies buried before him, unable to exonerate herself from anything of which he may accuse her.⁴ Enide's loyalty never wavers under persecution; instead of the distrust and resentment which her undeserved ordeal might naturally have aroused, she feels only grief, self-blame, and solicitude for her ungracious husband.⁵ On the other hand, Erec is apparently moved chiefly by suspicion and wounded pride; but however compatible with ordinary human

¹ *Manekine*.

³ *Galerent*, 4421-22.

² *De Amore*, p. 311, Rules XXI-II.

⁴ *Amadas*, 5959 ff.

⁵ Cf. the patience of the Manekine under persecution. The romancers seem to have taken the model for their heroines, in such cases, from the legends of saints.

love such emotions may be, they are seldom in the romances made the major motives of a hero's treatment of the heroine. Jealousy and suspicion are usually studied as the marks of the enemies of love.

Pride is also deprecated. It may be the last infirmity of the noble mind of a lover, especially of a heroine, but must yield. Esmerée, seeking an excuse for making advances to the indifferent Galerent, says to herself, "Who loves well humiliates himself."¹ Lancelot, after hesitating several steps, jumps into the cart in which a knight may not ride without loss of dignity, "since love demands it, untroubled about the shame, since he is prompted by love's command."² One may see the strength of William's love for Aelis in his willingness to lie all night in the stable litter beside her mule.³ The elegant Countess of Nevers wakens with kisses the unkempt maniac lying on his wretched bed; and when he, restored to consciousness by her tenderness, in shame at his condition, begs her to leave him in his degradation, she responds with tears that his words hurt her, since they make her realize that he does not love her well enough to overlook his humiliation for her sake. "For know well," she tells him, "if I had been a lunatic, and so crazy that I went about like a savage madwoman, from land to land, receiving indignity from ten thousand, I should have thought that had you found me afterward, you would have taken me more willingly than any lady or maid, however worthy or fair! But now I know well that I have loved you with a much truer heart than you have me; it is evident enough when you let shame for what you have done on my account be between us."⁴

Whatever the obstacle between the lovers, let them be but faithful, and reward will be theirs. Medieval sentimental fiction, like that of later times, endues love with the virtue which triumphs over evil and with power to insure happiness

¹ *Galerent*, 4604.

² *Lancelot*, 376 ff.

³ *Escoufle*, 6303-5. That true love humiliates itself is one of the principal lessons of this romance.

⁴ *Amadas*, 3492 ff.

"ever after."¹ Gautier d'Arras expresses in a few lines the lesson of the romances: "Love wills not that any one seek there anything beyond what he deserves there; but no one will lose there his service, provided that he be of good hope."² Sometimes, though seldom, the romancer rewards the perfect loyalty that he celebrates, with a purely sentimental victory, such as that which closes the *Châtelain de Coucy*. In general, however, romantic prejudice is in favor of material guerdon. Beautiful as it may be to die for love, the substantial joys of life have a stronger appeal to the imagination that would shape things human to its liking, and so most of the martyrdoms of *fine amor* stop short of death and at the entrance to an earthly paradise. In stories like the *Lancelot* and the *Flamenca*, where the fundamental situation involves danger even at the end, the fruits of service are better understanding and appreciation between the lovers themselves and greater security in the conduct of their liaison. Romances that can end in marriage remove every drawback and leave the lovers united in a world that smiles upon their happiness.

The fifth and last stage of courtly love is usually short and likely to be overshadowed by the pageantry of weddings and coronations, the general administration of poetic justice, and all the other business of conclusion. The final restoration of the lovers to each other, however, is marked by some psychological analysis, and occasionally furnishes a study of conflicting motives. When Ipomedon meets La-fiere at the end of his long campaign for her favor, he salutes her with trembling voice; his heart palpitates and almost fails him. "For it is the custom of lovers who are separated several years, when they come together, their hearts palpitate, quiver, and tremble, and their thoughts come and go. They hardly know what

¹ The infidelity of Criseyda is unique. Chaucer may have meant to show the flimsiness of the claims for courtly love. Cf. on this point, G. L. Kittredge: *Chaucer and his Poetry*, Harvard University Press, 1915, pp. 142-145; and W. W. Lawrence: "The Love Story in 'Troilus and Cressida,'" *Shaksperian Studies by Members of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University*, Columbia University Press, 1916, pp. 198-199.

² *Ille*, 1240-1244.

they do.”¹ Aelis listens to William’s tale, gradually becoming convinced that the strange falconer is her long-lost lover.² “His lady and his friend knows him not at all yet, but she will in time. . . . Now I wonder that she has not recognized him. . . . These words have pierced her heart and changed her thought. . . . Love says, ‘It is he truly.’ Common-sense says ‘Love, how do you know it is her friend?’ Great is the discord in her heart. . . . Her Sense makes her fear and doubt; Love opposes this; Reason bids her wait until she has heard all.” Not until he utters her name is she fully convinced, and then she runs to him and throws her arms around his neck. He asks her who she is, for his heart is less quick, apparently, to know his sweetheart than it was to recognize her mule. Aelis’s announcement of her identity results in no inner struggle on his part; he takes her word for the fact immediately and is almost beside himself for joy. When Lidoine recognizes Meraugis, “love strikes her through the eyes and makes her tremble. . . . She would sigh but cannot; from the desire of sighing she faints.”³

Reconciliation is usually quick and remarkably free from hesitation. When Lunette tells Laudine that the Knight of the Lion is her husband, Laudine trembles and replies: “You will make me love, against my will, a man who neither loves nor prizes me. . . . And if it were not an unworthy thing to break one’s word, he would never make his peace with me. . . . This purpose would always have lurked within me . . . but I do not wish to renew it now, . . . since I must be reconciled with him.” He responds humbly, “Lady, a sinner should have every mercy . . . I have had to pay dearly for my mad act. . . . I have been very bold in daring to appear before you; but if you will deign to keep me now, I never again will do you wrong.” She says that if she should refuse to accede to his wish she would be guilty of perjury, and so she will grant it. “Now my lord Yvain is reconciled,

¹ *Ipomedon*, 10421 ff. Cf. the reunion of Galerent and Fresne, *Galerent*, 7016 ff.

² *Escoufle*, 7550 ff.

³ *Meraugis*, 4981-4989.

. . . and, in spite of the trouble he has endured, he was never so happy. . . ."¹ Erec, satisfied at last, kisses Enide and tells her that his proof of her is complete. She need suffer no more concern, for he loves her more than he has ever done before. If she has spoken ill of him, he pardons it fully. "Now Enide is not ill at ease, when her lord enfolds and kisses her, telling her that he loves her still."² Love demands expiation through inner suffering as well as through actual hardships, but the lover's penitential service in thought and deed having proved his loyalty, bygones may then be forgotten in the joy of restoration to favor.³

Union may follow at once the renewal of companionship, but usually it waits upon narrative motivation long enough to allow for a public demonstration of some kind, and often for a final display of skill and courage in the service of love.⁴ Occasionally the period of delay is utilized to illustrate the perfection of love-refined courtesy between the lovers. Cléomadès, moved to kiss the sleeping Clarmondine when they are on their way to Spain from the court of Meniadus, is withheld by the delicacy of *fine amor*. His mental struggle over the propriety of stealing a kiss is allegorically conducted. Boldness, supporting Desire, urges his kissing the lady; Reason forbids on the ground that he would be stealing from love, and loyal love will have no thieving. Boldness reminds him that he kissed her in her sleep the first time he saw her. Reason rejoins that that was right, for he was not then "d'amour saisis ne retenus." Now he is more bound by love than then. Boldness would know about the second kiss at Castle Noble after he became love's servant; Reason agreed to that kiss because Clarmondine on that occasion had to be awakened without noise. Besides, Cléomadès was not at the time so completely under the control of love as he is

¹ *Yvain*, 6759 ff.

² *Erec*, 4917 ff.

³ In the *Partonopeus* the heroine's resentment at the hero's disregard for the command of love is strong enough to prepare the reader for a slow reconciliation, but victory over pride and resentment is effected before the lovers meet again.

⁴ Cf., for instance, Gerard's punishment of Lisiart, *Violette*, 6288 ff.

now. . . Reason says that if Clarmondine were awake and he should pray for a kiss, that kiss would please, being free from all folly and evil. The hero, like the courteous lover that he is, obeys Reason; Boldness gives up. Desire remains, and Reason, Counsel, and Temperance will stay with him always. When Clarmondine wakes up and hears of the conflict, she grants him a kiss in appreciation of his loyalty. That kiss is rightly pleasing to love, for it is loyal and courteous.¹

The happiness of betrothal renewed is intensified by the ordeal through which the lovers have passed. Jehan and Blonde, lingering in their lodge of boughs and blossoms, or wandering hand in hand through the woods near Dover, know the sweetness of pleasure after pain. "If I thought today and tomorrow," comments Beaumanoir, "I could not say the great delight nor the joy that love has taught them. . . . Never is he of good heart who disdains Love on account of the torment that one may have of him, for he so recompenses the ills of the loyal lovers who hold out, that in the end they come into such joy and are made so happy from such solace that all troubles are forgotten. . . ." ² As Hue de Rotelande puts it, "however the beginning, good end of travail is worth much." ³

The first time that Meraugis and Lidoine meet in the castle of Belchis they conceal from others the fact that they know each other, but at their next meeting⁴ they amaze every one by rushing into each other's arms, exclaiming simultaneously "Beaus amis!" "Bele amie!" And thus most of the heroes and heroines, if not quite so suddenly or with such abandon, in the course of time and safety can throw off the restraint of secrecy and be happy before the world, not regardless of its criticisms but secure in its sympathy. The reader is likely at this point to lose sight of love itself; the poet, having pre-

¹ *Cléomadès*, 14414 ff. Cf. *Amadas*, 6665 ff, *Durmart*, 4543-4550 and *Lancelot*, 4625-4633. These passages illustrate the obedience of perfect love to the will of love.

² *Jehan*, 3588 ff.

⁴ *Meraugis*, 5709-14.

³ *Ipomedon*, 10412.

sented his lessons in sentimental psychology, devotes himself to the pageantry which his audience loves. That pageantry may be taken as a symbol of the final harmony between love and society. Throughout the preceding stages of *fine amor* the lovers have found themselves, if not at variance with their social world, at least not on terms of mutual confidence with it; but now, at the moment of their union, they find that that world loves nothing so much as lovers like them—that is, lovers after its own heart, decorous, loyal, courteous, of high rank and ample fortune, who will not scant the wedding festivity. They see their love honored as the soul of a great social institution and the occasion of great social rejoicing.

CHAPTER III

COURTLY LOVE AND SOCIETY IN THE ROMANCES

IN his prologue the medieval romancer often assumes the virtuous pose of conscientious instructor. He may content himself with an assertion of mild altruism, declaring that since there is much good in authentic stories of former times, he has undertaken to tell one, in accordance with his belief that it is a man's duty to give others the benefit of his knowledge and talent.¹ Or he may offer his poem from the angle of reform: the corrupt and degenerate times need a model from the golden age of love and good behavior.² He is also likely to sound again in his epilogue the didactic note struck in his prologue, to remind his audience that his tale is an *exemplum* animated by a high purpose.³ Although this strain of didacticism is conventional and general, usually as applicable to one romance as to another, it is not without some justification. Trite motivation, the confusion of motives due to unskillful adaptation of borrowed material, and, particularly, indifference to consistency and proportion, may dull his point, but the poet always seeks, however perfunctorily and clumsily, to enunciate some principle of conduct, to demonstrate through the object lesson of his story that certain virtues of the heart are the most potent influence and the most exquisite grace of refined society.

He not only sets forth the science of love, but as a rule, endeavors also to define its relation to social ideals. His eye is on society as well as on his lovers. Nor is this altogether the result of his aim to make his tale convincing through realistic setting and motivation. (In most cases he is dis-

¹ Cf. *Ipomedon*, *Escoufle*, and *Guillaume de Palerne*.

² Cf. *Yvain*, and *Claris et Laris*.

³ Cf. *Jehan et Blonde*, *Durmart*, and *Châtelain de Coucy*.

tinctly interested in the social significance of his sentimental theme.) The passion he analyzes is no elemental force amenable only to the rude laws of nature and accepted without challenge as its own excuse for being. As he conceives it, love is powerful beyond arbitrary control, but essentially refined and excluded by the law of its own nature from any other than the "gentle heart," that shrine of courtesy dear to chivalrous society. Only true knights and gracious ladies, exponents of a self-conscious and fastidious culture, whose every experience must necessarily have its social aspects, are susceptible to *fine amor*, can stand its tests. As members of society they are subject to conventions which are often inimical to love. This clash gives rise to problems at once sentimental and social. The career of the model lover, then, must be studied in connection with general standards of conduct. Whether the trouvère's purpose be to show how true love nobly overrides opposition and proves its superiority to opposing forces, or to bring out its power to refine, strengthen, and inspire the lover for the world's work, the gist of the lessons embodied in the romances is that love is a great social force, which in consequence partly of established conventions and partly of its own nature must, in the individual case, win social recognition. It must prove itself what the chivalrous world delights to honor as the fine flower of its culture—*fine amor*.

The range of the theme is not wide, hardly wider than the scope of the *De Amore*. On certain points the romancer and Andreas are at one; there is no difference of opinion as to the refining, elevating effect of love on manners, as to the moral significance of the passion, its claim to the respect and sympathy of all well-bred and right-minded people, or its high place among the dominating forces of chivalry. There are, however, two main lines of divergence between the doctrine of the handbook and the ideals of the romances, the one line moral, the other purely chivalrous. The romancers generally prefer *fine amor* free from the adulterous taint condoned and legalized by Andreas, and in their tales of "love and arms" often exalt prowess to a degree beyond the reach

of the *De Amore*. The romances, indeed, may be divided into two groups according to their emphasis on the one or the other of these two variable aspects of love; the one group opposing sentimental to worldly and moral values, the other, chivalrous to erotic ideals. In the first division marriage and universal applause reward the victory of loyal affection over adverse fortune, or love, substituting the sentimental for the moral law, wins happiness in defiance of marriage; in the second division, courtesy, valor, and love shape the perfect knight, who maintains a noble balance of power between glory and homage to his lady, or the perfect lover, who is ready to sacrifice even knightly honor to the will of his mistress. Two standards of conduct make the problems of each group: namely, the ideal which subordinates everything to refined eroticism; and that which tempers love with social wisdom, aiming at a propriety of deeper moral significance than the superficial decorum imposed by the system of courtly love, and in the interplay of love and chivalry giving precedence to knightly rather than to erotic motives.

The romances of the first group, those chiefly concerned with the union of the lovers, very often deal with situations involving no distinctly moral barrier to love, but offering social obstacles such as discrepancy in rank and fortune, parental opposition, or deference to conventional prejudice. The goal in these cases being marriage, the poet naturally takes care that his lovers do nothing to spoil the effect of a wedding which brings together, in union sanctioned by church and society, those whom *fine amor* has disciplined to its own and the world's satisfaction. The heroine exerts the authority with which the law of love invests her, to preserve her chastity; and the hero, obedient to her will as a *fins amans* should be, does not cross the line she draws between them. However, circumstances may require the temporary deception of society in the interest of love, and in that case, the most honorable lover may exercise the proverbial license of love, concealing and deceiving without scruple. In fact, except in the matter of chastity, *fine amor* troubles itself little about moral obligations.

In the *Manekine*, inequality of rank and fortune makes the initial difficulty, and this is further complicated by active maternal interference. The King of Scotland, reflecting¹ on the situation created by his love for the mysterious stranger whom fate has thrown upon his mercy, perceives two difficulties. If he enter into an unlawful relation with her, then his love will prove false and volatile, true love being above such connections. On the other hand, he cannot marry her, for he does not know who she is. While he is sure from her appearance and bearing that she is good and of gentle birth, he fears the public censure which he would undoubtedly incur by making an unknown, mutilated woman his queen. She, on her side, analyzes the situation and sees that it is not conducive to hope. How can she, without proof of her high birth, poor and marred as she is, expect to become his wife? And she would rather be burned than be his paramour. For a year the social barrier keeps them apart, but their secret becomes evident to the king's mother, who resolves to checkmate love for the sake of pride. She forbids the Manekine's seeing anything more of the king, and the girl obediently tries to avoid him. When he seeks her, she receives him with an embarrassment so obvious that he insists upon an explanation. Her reply precipitates a declaration of his love. She acknowledges her affection for him and consents to a union with him on condition that he maintain her honorably; whereupon he hastens to find a chaplain and have the marriage ceremony performed at once in the presence of his royal household. His mother is asleep while this is happening; she hears about it too late to interfere, but she expresses great displeasure and refuses to have anything to do with her daughter-in-law. When the king learns that she will not see his wife, he says coolly, "If she will, let her come; if she won't, let her stay." Later the Manekine persuades him to make overtures to the old lady, but to no avail. Her son ignores her, and devotes his attention to the wedding fête, which affords an opportunity to show his beautiful bride to the people and

¹ *Manekine*, 1529 ff.

put them in the right frame of mind for approval. Generosity combined with beauty and graciousness wins the popular favor needed by the hero and the heroine to complete their happiness. When the court breaks up and the guests go home, no one blames the king for his marriage. The rest of the story illustrates the loyalty of wedded love tried by slander, apparent injustice, and separation. The first test is that of evil report. When the king, busy distinguishing himself in tournaments on the Continent, hears that in his absence his wife has borne a monstrosity instead of a child, he is greatly distressed, for the report, if true, proves her to his mind a creature unworthy of any man's love. Without questioning the truth of the message, he still refrains from condemning her to the fate that such evidence of evil warrants. His duty as a knight prevents his going home at once, but he writes a letter himself to insure the safety of his wife until he can be present at her trial. His mother's treachery renders futile this resistance of love to slander and superstitious prejudice. On her side, the young wife is forced by the machinations of her mother-in-law to believe that her husband has turned against her. Knowing her innocence, she can explain the treatment to which she is subjected only as wanton cruelty. Nevertheless, though she never doubts the king's responsibility for her sufferings, she continues faithful to him through the years of separation that follow. His vengeance on his mother and his long search for his lost wife testify to the strength and loyalty of the love pledged to the Manekine when, for her sake, he defied his mother and braved public opinion.

The combination of well-meaning parental interference and a very natural distrust of a mysterious, abnormal situation, strengthened by religious scruples, in the *Partonopeus* has a temporary effect upon love itself and leads to dire results for the lovers by causing a lapse in the mutual confidence and fidelity upon which love is based. The hero's mother has his good at heart; she honestly believes that the strange lady who will not let her lover see her is a fairy and so not

a suitable wife for a Christian prince. Why not break the spell by interesting Partonopeus in a young girl of undoubtedly suitable beauty, rank, and religious qualifications? She almost accomplishes her purpose, but fails at the crucial moment; a reference to his *amie* by the princess whose beauty has begun to have effect upon him, clears away the cloud that drugged wine has cast over his memory, and sends him from her to Melior. His mother next tries to divert his affection by raising doubts of his lady's physical and spiritual fitness for love: she may be a hideous deformed creature of unhallowed connections. With the help of a bishop the conscientious meddler succeeds in convincing her son that he ought to disregard the taboo and find out what kind of creature, godly or ungodly, his friend really is. Here the motives and methods are human enough, whatever the marvelous elements in the situation. And it is at this point of social intervention that the love theme takes on the conventional character of *fine amor*. Violation of the taboo destroys the magic power of Melior and makes of her simply a lady whose lover has broken his sweetheart's command and subjected her to scandal, an unpardonable offense in a *fins amans*. Outraged sentiment even renders her deaf to her sister's urgent plea that she unite mercy and prudence—forgive her lover, obviously worthy despite his breach of faith, and marry him to save her good name. The appeal is doubly powerful, for a medieval heroine should ever eschew the pride which hardens the heart, and should ever be mindful of reputation. Later, after terrible suffering, by brilliant service before the world, Partonopeus wins Melior's hand in marriage, though not until her sister's mediation has effected the sentimental reunion to which his bitter atonement entitles him. A splendid wedding ends the story.

Yet for all its concluding tribute to propriety, the *Partonopeus* is unmoral to a degree rare in the romances that end in marriage, though the indifference is conditioned upon no sentimentally justified evasion of the moral law such as we find in other romances dealing with illicit love. The hero and the heroine, both unmarried, are united before the church

sanctions their union, but as long as Melior's household and the barons of her realm know nothing of it, no one need be troubled about it. The unnaturalness of the relation, not its immorality, disturbs the mother of Partonopeus. A similar indifference to morality in a romance culminating in marriage is characteristic of the *Escoufle*. Aelis knows what it is to shrink from ill-fame. Fear of it makes her waver at the moment of elopement,¹ and her first thought upon realization that she has lost William, is that her father's men have taken him away and left her as a social outcast unworthy of further consideration.² However, her relations with William are not so clearly innocent as those of betrothal usually are in romances of this group. The moral element throughout the story is very slight. After the clash between love and society has resulted in elopement, the lovers are for awhile in an idyllic paradise altogether out of the world of morals. Then, separated by a vagary of destiny, they wander among men of different classes, seeking one another and adapting themselves to circumstances as they find them. The heroine's lines fall in doubtful places; she consorts with the lowly and earns her livelihood by needlework and by washing the heads of knights and citizens.³ In time the excellence of her work and the perfection of her manners bring promotion to a social rank nearer that to which she belongs. She becomes an attendant of a countess. The husband of her patroness, the Count of St. Gilles, enjoys the love of his wife and that of an *amie* too.⁴ In his home he makes himself comfortable among his wife's ladies-in-waiting; when William comes to explain his mysterious treatment of a kite taken by the count's falcon, he finds that gentleman in negligee after dinner, lying with his head in Aelis's lap, waiting for his dessert.⁵ The scene is not suggestive of rigid decorum. It is hardly surprising that the lovers meeting in such surroundings should

¹ *Escoufle*, 3910 ff.

² *Id.*, 4668-73.

³ *Id.*, 5482-5511. For the questionable nature of this occupation of head-washing, see the Introduction to text, p. xiv, n. 2.

⁴ *Id.*, 5826 ff.

⁵ *Id.*, 7016 ff.

have no scruples about union before marriage. Their wedding, like their coronation in Rome, is but public evidence of love's victory over hostile fortune, a victory without moral aid.

The *Galerent*, on the other hand, shows a distinct effort to maintain a good standard of morality. Having confessed to her godfather that she is in love, Fresne hastens to assure him that she has never been guilty of wrong that merits disgrace. Nor, please God, may it ever happen that he or the world look upon her as shamed. She has no regard for the woman who, for love of king or count, would yield herself to shame.¹ Galerent will make her his wife, the lady of his house, she is sure. Lohier is troubled, for he is doubtful about Galerent's intentions. However, that young nobleman declares that he will marry Fresne and no one else.² Convinced of Galerent's good faith and of Fresne's virtue, Lohier agrees to help the lovers. All might have gone well but for gossip. Public opinion, influenced by the inequality in rank, puts the worst interpretation upon the count's interest in the poor foundling, and the general attitude toward the situation is disapproving: a young man in his position ought not to set his heart upon a poor, low woman. The abbess assails her nephew with bitter reproaches and sends him away from the abbey. In despair, he is ready to kill himself when his kinsman, Brun, bids him be a man and learn in the lists how to deserve the favor of a lady. This advice has the desired effect; Galerent begins his training for knighthood. While thwarted love thus makes a knight of him, pride makes an outcast of Fresne. The abbess drives her from Biausejour to find refuge where she can. The young girl persuades a good widow to give her lodging in her respectable bourgeois home, and there she leads an industrious, circumspect life, commanding the respect of all who come in contact with her. We find nothing lax in her environment, nothing doubtful in her conduct;³ and in the end, when she marries Galerent, we see moral virtue as well as loyalty crowned with happiness.

¹ *Galerent*, 1548 ff, 1580 ff.

² *Id.*, 4273 ff.

³ *Id.*, 1770 ff.

During the period of separation which proves the strength and sincerity of the betrothal vows, one of the commonest tests is a counter matrimonial engagement, and here we see reflected not only the social conditions which, by leaving affection out of account, gave excuse for the type of love upheld by the *De Amore* and celebrated in some of the romances, but also the normal, conventional attitude toward marriage opposed or ignored by such lovers as the Châtelain de Coucy or Lancelot. In the stories of love threatened by a loveless marriage, neither hero nor heroine is inclined to think lightly of the relation endangering their hopes. In every case it is abhorrent to them; apparently, the principles set forth by such authorities as Andreas do not enter into the lovers' distressed reasoning about it. They regard it as an end to their happiness. Occasionally a minor character finds comfort in the thought that the undesirable marriage need not be a calamity. Among the ladies rejected by Eraclés, when that unerring judge of gems, horses, and women undertakes to pick out a wife for the Emperor of Rome, is one who, at the moment she believes herself about to be chosen, dreams of how she will deceive her husband for the sake of her lover.¹ Usually, however, neither the precepts of the *De Amore* nor the example of Tristan and Isolt serves to mitigate the suffering of a lover subjected to the marriage ordeal.² It is a situation to try the mettle of loyal hearts.

Blonde's is a normal case, such as might have come under the poet's eye. She has entered into a secret engagement with a young French squire in her father's household, who goes away to France with the understanding that he is to return a year later to take her away with him. During his absence, her hand is sought by an Englishman of rank and wealth. According to the medieval custom of making marriage a social rather than a sentimental matter, the Earl of Oxford, satisfied that Blonde can do no better in a worldly way and

¹ *Eraclés*, 2272 ff.

² Cf. the behavior of Amadas, of Clarmondine, of Galerent, for instance, when confronted with this test of their love.

concerned with no other aspect of the affair, makes the contract with his prospective son-in-law and then notifies his daughter that she is to become the Countess of Gloucester. Protest apparently does not occur to her, and social conditions make her reticence very natural under the circumstances. Though her father is a kindly, indulgent man, he is so distinctly within his rights here that she does not dare confess to a previous engagement with a young man of inferior rank and fortune. Nevertheless Blonde is resolved to marry none but Jehan. On the eve of the day set for the wedding, she expects her lover to come for her, and she goes to the trysting place, prepared for elopement. While waiting for him she faces the possibility of his not coming in time, and thinks that she may not escape going to the altar with the Earl of Gloucester.¹ There, she reflects, she can refuse to pledge herself to him. She can answer negatively the questions addressed to her in the wedding ceremony; the priest would hardly proceed after such an avowal on her part. Yet she shrinks from the scandal that this would entail. With her, as with all other medieval heroines, even Isolt, the fear of public censure is potent. It is of course futile to speculate as to what would have been Blonde's attitude toward the bond had she actually married the Earl. Once a married woman with her virgin spirit broken by a loveless union, she might have developed the sophisticated conscience of a Flamenca. But Beaumanoir does not put her to the test; he lets her elope with the man she loves and find happiness with him in marriage.

The heroines of the *Cligés* and the *Amadas*, less fortunate than Blonde, do not escape the dreaded test. Bound by law to husbands of their fathers' choosing, they find themselves in a situation demanding a compromise, more or less moral, between the social and the sentimental conscience. Both ladies rise to the emergency and win a victory for love without challenge to scandal. Fenice renounces first the union without love and then that with love at the cost of shame. Before

¹ *Jehan*, 2915 ff.

her marriage to Alis, she tells Thessala that she would rather be torn to pieces than be talked of as men talk of Isolt; she will not consent to a double life like Isolt's. There is no way to escape the wedding, but Thessala's witchcraft enables the unwilling bride to evade infidelity to love. With her mind at rest on that score, Fenice is ready to solve the problem of securing happiness with her lover in spite of adverse circumstances. Again she refuses to follow the example of Isolt. Cligés's simple plan of elopement to Arthur's court does not meet with her approval; for no one, she says, would believe the truth, and everybody, thinking that she has belonged to Alis as well as to Cligés, would consider her a wanton and Cligés a madman. It is her advice "to bear in mind the commandment of St. Paul: should any one be unwilling to keep chaste, St. Paul counsels him to act so that he shall incur no gossip, no reproach. It is a good thing to stop evil mouths."¹ So she feigns death, is entombed, and is carried away from the tomb by Cligés to a beautiful retreat, where they live happily together until fate brings them back into society. There the loyal mistress becomes the honored wife of the man to whom alone she has given her heart and herself. One can hardly call Fenice's motives strictly moral, though she may have considered them so; they are rather social and sentimental. Their importance to us here is their opposition to the adultery motive conventionally operative in most of the romances that deal with love hampered by marriage. Perhaps, as some think,² Chrétien intended the romance as an "anti-Tristan;" Fenice certainly saw herself as an anti-Isolt. And we may also see her as a *fine amante* who will not avail herself of the course opened to lovers by the system of courtly love as set forth in the *De Amore*.

Ydoine's defense of her chastity against a loveless marriage is in obedience to the first law of true love—perfect loyalty. The code of the school represented by Andreas permits, as involuntary,³ the infidelity to a lover involved in such a

¹ *Cligés*, 5325 ff.

² Cf. Förster: *Cligés*, Introduction.

³ Only voluntary favor counted.

situation as hers; but she does not consider that line of compromise. She devises a plan¹ which makes of her marriage with the Count of Nevers a merely nominal union of unexceptional appearance in the eyes of the world, and leaves her absolutely loyal to Amadas. She also refuses to consider illegal union with her lover even under circumstances insuring immunity from gossip.² Her objection is on religious grounds. She insists that he must wait for her until they may be united without sin, and no one can find fault with their union as unworthy or wicked. She thinks she can bring about a divorce from her husband and marry Amadas "without sin, honorably before God, according to Christian law." Violation of her honor now would be a mortal sin. Amenable to reason, or rather to her will, Amadas leaves the matter to her. Events prove the wisdom of trusting her; she contrives to clear away the legal obstacle to love, and also to make her social world select for her the very husband she has secretly chosen for herself.³ The wedding, which takes place in the richest and biggest church of the land, delights everybody and scores a signal victory for virtuous love.

Sometimes conjugal fidelity is tried and not found wanting. Lydaine's⁴ conscientious scruples keep her true to her husband, to whom she is bound by moral and social duty, not by love. The King's age gives her reason to hope that she may soon be free to marry Claris, but until she can accept the love of the young hero honorably, she will consent only to a betrothal conditioned upon her husband's death. Claris himself has had qualms of conscience about loving his lord's wife,⁵ and has waited long before avowing his passion. When he does confess it, Lydaine expresses lively displeasure; she thinks he must care very little for her when he asks her to dishonor her husband. Her brother, Laris, intercedes for his friend and gains her consent to give the restorative kiss to Claris, who of course has fainted at her rejection of his suit. She is also prevailed upon to allow him to be her *ami* with the

¹ *Amadas*, 1979 ff.

² *Id.*, 7485 ff.

³ *Id.*, 324 ff.

⁴ *Id.*, 6665 ff.

⁵ *Claris*, 7975 ff.

understanding that he must go away at once in order not to tempt the proverbial frailty of her sex by propinquity.¹ Later, finding herself a helpless widow besieged by the King of Spain, she regrets her honorable stand with her lover, fearing that it has cost her the champion she now needs.² Her fears prove groundless; Claris comes to her rescue and marries her immediately. Thanks to the age of her husband, her own prudence, and her lover's courtesy, she escapes the sin of adultery; and thanks to the ways of romance and the invincible strength of *fine amor*, she finds herself the wife of her *ami*.

In the first love story of the *Ille*, *fine amor* between husband and wife triumphs over both social and sentimental forces which threaten it. Supposing Galeron dead, Ille consents to marry Ganor, who brings all Rome as her dowry. Without doubt the marriage is an honor thrust upon him; there is no evidence that either his ambition or his affection has any part in his complaisance. Up to the time when Galeron appears at the door of St. Peter's to interrupt the wedding, the marriage with Ganor is purely a social matter for him, a union dictated by the convenience and pleasure of others. Galeron is fully aware of the injury that her interference may do her husband, but she fears to let him be married lest the unintentional sin bring him greater disaster. The ceremony must be averted now; it can take place later after she has had time to enter a nunnery and thus release him.³ He must marry the King's daughter; Galeron will pray for him in a convent. All this she tells him behind the altar while the wedding party waits. Ille does not waver in his duty though he believes that his refusal to keep his engagement with Ganor will raise the city against him. It is a serious matter to humiliate the king's daughter; still, he braves the danger and gives up for his wife all that the second marriage promises him. To be sure, joy in reunion and appreciation of Galeron's devotion are tinged with regret for what he is renouncing. Pity for the heartbroken Ganor unites with recognition of her rank to make him measure the relative value of his wife

¹ *Claris*, 8131-8132.

² *Id.*, 13672 ff.

³ *Ille*, 4145 ff.

and her claim upon him. He is much troubled and decidedly uneasy when he goes to take leave of the disappointed princess;¹ he fears that he has not treated her well, but he knows that he has right on his side. Galeron loved him first, and he belongs to her, as "right, law, logic, and the priest testify." "Priest, logic, law, and right," comments the poet,² "often cause lovers distress; woman and love often undo the agreement of these four. Woman and love have such a nature that they frequently oppose the right. . . . When they are both on one side, it is a marvel if any one parts them from what they wish." Naturally, Ille enters Ganor's room with some trepidation. The interview is painful for both, nor is the whole of Ille's discomfort due to pity for the frankly distressed lady: "there is not a man in the world more sincerely attached to his wife, for she is fair and very loyal; but this maid is royal, and as fair or fairer. If the one is the daughter of a duke, the other is the daughter of a king." Ille goes away with Galeron to Brittany, there to be a model husband until she, in accordance with a vow made when she was very ill, enters a convent. Then the beautiful girl and the crown relinquished for duty occupy his thoughts and, in time, his heart—that is, the lady has his love, and the crown comes with the lady.

Gautier d'Arras combines *fine amor* and social advancement for his hero in this romance. Each union marks a rise in fortune for Ille, and each is the result of true love of the most refined type. Upon finding himself in love with Galeron, he is depressed by the social obstacles to hope. He believes he has set his heart upon one beyond his reach, and he confesses the state of his affections only when Galeron's brother, the Duke of Brittany, offers him the coveted hand in marriage as a reward for his services in war. Ille is duly appreciative of the condescension of the duke and his sister. When he lies bemoaning the loss of his eye and the consequent danger to his happiness, a recollection of that condescension aggravates his fear that his injury will cost him his wife's love: if he had

¹ *Ille*, 4645 ff.

² *Id.*, 4656 ff.

died, she would have grieved for him, who now will be his enemy. When he had two eyes he had little to recommend him to the duke's sister, then the son of Eliduc had little, now he has not half so much.¹ At the time of the reunion he recalls gratefully her sacrifice in marrying him, only to bethink him, however, of Ganor's superior rank. Similar thoughts occur to him in the course of transition from the old to the new love; he regrets both Ganor and her crown while he is still grieving for Galeron,² and under the influence of wistful remembrance finds not only comfort for his wife's pious desertion but also stimulus to enter the service of *fine amor* once more. After deeds of great prowess for Ganor he achieves all that he so nobly gave up for his first love: "of Rome is Ille emperor and king and lord and commander." Beauty, love, and great elevation of rank, by right of marriage universally approved, naturally fall to the lot of exquisite refinement of heart, conscientious loyalty, and brilliant valor.

Love is commonly thus a source of worldly gain in romances of this group. The marriage of the hero and the heroine is likely to bring social advantages to one or the other, and it rarely involves any real sacrifice of caste or fortune for either.³ The *Jehan*, which points the moral of laudable fortune-hunting, shows that marrying an heiress is one way to the importance in the world that every rightly ambitious youth should seek. In his prologue Beaumanoir lays down the precept that a young man ought to go out into the world to find the opportunities which may be wanting at home: "many a man has come to naught simply because he has not traveled for the chance to rise." The tale thus prefaced illustrates the opening to success that a foreign land may afford a clever squire of good birth but small patrimony, whose efficiency and courtesy qualify him for skillful service and make him a fit subject—and object—for love. To do *Jehan* justice, one must admit, however, that his intention to make his way in society is only indirectly responsible for his marriage. He falls in love

¹ *Ille*, 1690 ff.

² *Id.*, 4705 ff.

³ For exceptions see the *Eraclés* and the *Erec*.

against his judgment. Recognition of the difference in fortune between himself and his lady causes much of his early "martyrdom" and most of his anxiety at the time of separation. And when, upon his return to England, he hears of her engagement to the Earl of Gloucester, he is the more troubled at the news for his reflection that his own comparative insignificance makes his aspiration to the hand of a lady whom a king might wed, seem sheer presumption. So Blonde herself regards it before it touches her heart, but once in love, she is ready to sacrifice pride to true affection. That readiness is the extent of proof demanded of her love; even before her father's sanction of her marriage to Jehan she has no real loss of social dignity, no danger of hardship to face; for Jehan soon puts his affairs on an excellent basis; and she is not long without the paternal blessing that means a good dowry now and a rich heritage later.

Indeed, a romancer may teach the independence of love, may sympathize with its defiance of social barriers, may exalt its indifference to wealth and position, but when he comes to write the marriage contract for his hero and heroine, he makes even better terms with fortune than the most ambitious parent, unassisted by romance, could devise. Whatever the sacrifice in the rough course of true love, whatever the power of love to quell worldliness, in the end discrepancies are evened to the highest level, opposition of every kind gives way to general approval, all possibility of hardship vanishes, and a social paradise lies before the husband and wife, where, inseparably united by *fine amor*, they will live all the days of their life in happiness.

But that consummation, however devoutly to be wished by moralist or conformist, is ordinarily denied the sentimentalist who leads the cause of courtly love against "priest, logic, law, and right."¹ Success for him lies through the breaking not the making of the "compact of these four"; the circumstances of his fundamental situation, as a rule, preclude the happy readjustments which mark the close of romances like

¹The conclusion of the erotic episode in the *Eracles* is an exception.

the *Ille*, the *Claris*, the *Cligés*, and the *Amadas*. Love still binds Ille to Galeron when he is called upon to choose between her and Ganor, and his affection for Ganor does not assert itself until after fate has freed him from his wife. The fact that the formidable alliance of "love and woman" has not been effected at the time of temptation combines with hope of widowhood to avert breach of faith on Lydaine's part. Ydoine and Fenice join forces with love before "priest and law" attack their happiness, and while moral principles may still be on their side. The case of heroines like Flamenca and the Lady of Fayel is different; they have accepted the four-fold bond of marriage before the advent of love, and can be loyal to the new obligation only through violation of the old. The liaison resulting from such situations is the basis of courtly love as conceived by Andreas and other medieval writers. While some romancers prefer to moralize *fine amor*, or at least to regard it as normally consistent with the moral ideals of society and to find that consistency to their artistic or didactic purpose, others hold up for sympathy or emulation, occasionally for distrust, the artificial type of free love which characterizes much of the amatory literature of the middle ages.¹ The *Flamenca*, the *Jouffrois*, the *Eraclés*,² the *Troilus*, and the first episode of the *Durmart*, all present studies of passion that defies or ignores the moral code imposed by religion and public opinion. Hero and heroine in these romances regulate their conduct according to the sentimental principles which take the place of morality in such a system as that analyzed in the *De Amore*. They transgress the law which forbids their union, and the poet justifies the breach on the ground that love has right of way, supporting his postulate with psychology and etiquette.³ Results are not always of a nature to inspire confidence. Durmart's experience with the

¹ Particularly the society lyric.

² *Eraclés*, 2800-5120.

³ The situation in the *Troilus* is not complicated by marriage; though Criseyde is a widow and Troilus unmarried, they seek no other bond than that of their love. (Cf. Karl Young: "Aspects of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde," *Studies by Members of the Department of English, University of Wisconsin*, 1918, pp. 367-394; W. G. Dodd: *op. cit.*, pp. 129 ff.)

seneschal's wife shows how bad for a young man's character and career a criminal liaison may be; and whether Chaucer's caveat in the *Troilus* is directed against the doctrine of courtly love or the frailty of woman, the disloyalty of his heroine certainly implies a warning to lovers who may put their trust in the theory that true love is inevitably triumphant. On the other hand, the more usual treatment of the theme leads to a different conclusion. The triumph of love over circumstances in the *Flamenca* testifies to a trustworthy power; the sacrifice of life itself to loyalty in the *Châtelain* is a martyrdom to rouse admiring pity and to strengthen faith in the essential integrity of such affection as that binding the ill-fated lovers together.

Where the treatment of free love is sympathetic, the moral element receives scant recognition, but the break with conventional duty is not made without some cognizance of social obligation. The *Joufrois*, the *Flamenca*, and the *Eraclés* justify a wife's infidelity on psychological grounds. A jealous husband by shutting his wife away from the world defeats his own purpose; instead of safeguarding his honor and insuring fidelity through isolation and vigilance, he succeeds only in causing the inevitable reaction from restraint, ennui, and unmerited suspicion. The fair Agnes of Tonnerre looks out from her dull tower upon Joufrois's fascinating display of chivalry, and straightway fills her empty life with thoughts of that charming hero and her own dreary existence. How dismal her life is!—Shame on her husband for keeping her in such bounds!—Very willingly she would repay him with evil reward, if she could—She wishes she could be the *amie* of Joufrois. . . . But she is so watched that her life and beauty will be wasted.¹ Her state of mind is as unmoral as Joufrois must have foreseen when he planned his campaign against her virtue. Once his cleverness has opened her prison and brought them together, he does not find it necessary to plead against scruples of any kind. She tells him that she has loved him ever since she saw him under the

¹ *Joufrois*, 1413 ff.

pear tree before her window, and that it would be silly to make him plead a year or two. The only question implied is on a point of etiquette: does she yield too soon? The poet argues that she does not; it is foolish for a lady to make her lover sue long for favor when he and she obviously love each other loyally.¹ The well-laid plans of Joufrois render scandal unlikely and her husband innocuous; her weary days in the tower have freed the mind of Agnes of all sense of duty to her jailer. The laws of love alone—and those without much ado—need apply in her case.²

Archambaut himself, by his insane, baseless jealousy, which makes him subject his young wife, the beautiful Flamenca, to treatment by no means of a nature either to support his claims upon her or to give her moral stamina, prepares the way for deception. It is not surprising that love finds her ready to ignore the law represented by Archambaut and accept that represented by William of Nevers. She troubles herself as little as Agnes of Tonnerre about the right or wrong of breaking the marriage vow, but she measures carefully each step toward capitulation. Alis and Marguerite, her companions, expound the principles of love applicable to her case, and advise her to follow William's lead graciously in accordance with the dictates of *fine amor*. Sure of his sincerity and of her own wish, she should not hesitate for fear of yielding too soon. Having reached the point of consenting to a rendezvous, she reflects immediately, while she is still at church, where the whole courtship has been conducted, that her previous hesitation has been wrong, and she vows to herself that she will love William always, for he alone has desired to succor her. He is risking his life for her sake; he has a right to her love. When she tells Marguerite and Alis that she

¹ *Joufrois*, 2041 ff.

² The second love episode in the *Joufrois* presents the hero as the secret lover of the Queen of England. She grants him her love in appreciation of his courtesy in defending her good name in the lists against the King's seneschal, who has accused her of a liaison with a "garchon de la cosine," a dishonoring relation for a lady. Joufrois's rank and other social qualifications apparently make a liaison with him proper enough.

has promised her lover a meeting, they point out how justifiable her decision is. Nevertheless Flamenca is much agitated over the thought of that rendezvous. Fear, shame, and love contend within her. She is afraid of her husband, who can have her burned alive; she dreads the blame of the world; but love tells her that fear and shame have never deterred a true lover. She knows that love is a king to whom she owes tribute, and who now demands of her his right. Yet the resolve to discharge her sentimental duty in defiance of the tyranny forced upon her by social law, is a severe strain; she faints upon announcing it to her friends. Her condition alarms even Archambaut when he comes in shortly after the utterance which marks her inner emancipation. She takes advantage of his fright to make him consent to conduct her to the baths the next day, where she has agreed to meet William. To her lover she is all graciousness, for she believes that is unworthy pride which withholds favor from an *ami*. "The lady without mercy will one day regret having said no; she does wrong when she repulses love for fear of scandal; she should harden her heart against that fear. Let gossip do its will. Why sacrifice one who will do more for you than all the rest of the world. . . ? One ought to be ready to defy public opinion, to face the hostility of all society for the sake of love."¹

To such sentiments Flamenca gives enthusiastic expression in her elation over the perfection of William and the blindness of Archambaut. She sets aside the claims of a system which binds her to a hateful husband and denies her happiness with a beloved friend, but she by no means despises the attractions of social life, and she soon directs her love-sharpened wits to the task of securing freedom to enjoy the pleasures of that world from which she has been an unwilling exile. Emboldened by secret liberation, she makes an open but wily attack upon Archambaut's weakened guard, with the result that she becomes the custodian of her honor, which she promises to protect as effectually as he can with all his restric-

¹ *Flamenca*, 6189 ff.

tive measures. Having agreed to the institution of self-government, or rather of self-watching, Archambaut once more opens his house to society, and so gives Flamenca the gaiety she loves, now the more delightful for William's part in it. She can see her *ami* the hero of tournaments, and glory in the thought that she is the inspiration of his prowess. On his side, he can feel the twofold joy of social applause and his lady's appreciation of that applause. For Flamenca and William *fine amor* is at first an incitement to break social law, and then a stimulus to fashionable life, which in turn reacts upon love, heightening delight in its service.

This, the typical interplay of social and sentimental motives in the romances, is especially evident in the *Châtelain*. At no point in that story does the reader lose sight of the life which at once hampers and stimulates love, with its troublesome morality, its suspicious decorum, its jealousies, its scandal, its dangers, but withal its piquant charm, the exhilaration of its sympathetic interest and the excitement of its risks. To its graces, to its criterion, are due the awakening of the heroine's affection and the consequent breaking down of her resistance. What her friends praise and she admires with them wins her heart. When the Châtelain first avows his passion, she refuses to countenance it. "Alas!" she exclaims, "you are ill-advised to make such an appeal to me, which is not to my honor nor to my husband's. You know full well that I am bound by the strong bond of marriage. I have a husband, worthy, valiant, and wise, whom I should betray for no man. . . . Châtelain, you speak to no avail; I will not and ought not to comply with your request. I can, however, assure you that I know no bachelor to whom I would give preference over you if I should love any one. But I shall not love you or anybody else except the lord whom I have married."¹ Her reflections upon this interview show that she is touched. Though resolved to love only her husband, she recalls the elegant bearing of the Châtelain and the beautiful words that he used in pleading his suit.² He is

¹ *Châtelain*, 212 ff.

² *Id.*, 294 ff.

comforted by the recollection that she was not proud or disdainful when she denied him, and he resolves to try to win her through valor and courtesy. He forthwith devotes himself to the task, and soon acquires a great reputation for prowess, which those who come to Fayel from tournaments discuss in terms of admiration. The lady listens with pleasure. In time she hears a minstrel sing a song composed by him, celebrating love in fashionable vein and elegant style, and is pleased that he is in her service.¹ Yet when he again pleads for mercy, she replies that she has never loved and will not now. Nevertheless she goes the length of the first step toward favor, promising him some trinket, such as a silken lace, or sleeve, or ring.² Despite her caution against hoping for more, he is hopeful; the favor may be merely to comfort him, but it is an auspicious sign. By service he may yet be successful; courage, valiance, and prowess being allies of love.³ At this stage the lady reflects that she would love him if she did not fear blame. Good sense forbids love which would shame her. Wisdom reminds her: "You are good, rich, beautiful, and of a noble family; you have a good husband. Everything ought to forbid a culpable act and command you to preserve your honor and your lord's." "Prudence thus quenches the fire of love, but the coals will be alight again. . . ." ⁴ The Châtelain looks forward to seeing her soon at a tournament, which he thinks may be an opportunity to win her completely. As a perfect knight he must attain honor, be generous, courteous, valorous, gay, gallant and loving. He also looks carefully to his equipment for the jousts.⁵

On the first evening of the brilliant assembly he claims the promised favor, and the next day she sees him accomplish wonders in the lists, wearing her gift. Between the jousts are fêtes enlivened by dance and song, which bring the Châtelain and the lady together in an atmosphere very favorable to his suit. Full of admiration for his achievements during the day, and excited by the gaiety and the sensuous charms

¹ *Châtelain*, 417 ff.

² *Id.*, 747 ff.

³ *Id.*, 860 ff.

⁴ *Id.*, 645 ff.

⁵ *Id.*, 777 ff.

of her surroundings, she acknowledges that she is willing to grant his prayer, and bids him come to see her on a certain day when her husband will be away.¹ At the stipulated time they meet and discuss ways and means of carrying on their intrigue.² The lady, after he has convinced her that her honor will be perfectly safe in his loyal keeping, from the scandal she fears, determines the method of procedure because of her greater risk and also because of her position as donor. He goes away sure of success, not reckoning on an influence that will delay his joy. Isabel, the young kinswoman and attendant of the lady, on whom the lovers have decided to rely for help, when she hears her mistress's story, though willing to be of assistance, sees fit to remonstrate. Such an agreement as that made by her lady with the Châtelain is wrong; Isabel wonders that a high-born lady with an honorable, valiant husband should have a lover too. She does not deny that a lady may honorably love a bachelor and even give him a favor . . . but she ought to guard her honor from clandestine meetings with him. Still, if the lady loves the Châtelain, Isabel is willing to aid her.³ Her words make an impression; the Châtelain waits in vain at the door he expects to see opened to him.

The illness which results from this experience causes the Châtelain's friends great distress, his contrite lady especially. At Isabel's suggestion she goes to a fête at Chauvigni, not for pleasure but to hear news of her lover. One day the ladies of the company discuss his condition in terms that show how highly they value him as an accomplished knight.⁴ A kinswoman of his declares her intention to go to see him, and turning to the Lady of Fayel, asks the loan of Isabel as a companion in place of her own maid, whom a carriage accident has recently incapacitated. The request meets with a gracious but duly guarded compliance. The note which Isabel manages to write and deliver on this call brings healing joy to the sick hero with its announcement that his lady wishes to see him.⁵

¹ *Châtelain*, 1983 ff.

² *Id.*, 2354 ff.

⁵ *Id.*, 2831 ff.

³ *Id.*, 2147 ff.

⁴ *Id.*, 2781 ff.

Soon after her return home, the Lady of Fayel receives a letter in which the Châtelain implores the favor of a meeting in so elegant a style that lady and maid, much impressed, pronounce the author courtly and of high distinction, a lover not to be denied. Having made the bearer of the missive comfortable and happy with the money which Isabel says is more acceptable to his kind than the trinket suggested by her mistress, the two women set about composing a favorable and worthy reply to the Châtelain's eloquent rhetoric.¹

And from this point on *fine amor* runs its course in like manner, through the obvious ways of intrigue, against a realistic background of fête and daily life, at first bending social conditions to its advantage, and then fighting them vainly, but with a courage and a steadfastness of heart which turn worldly defeat into sentimental triumph. Rendezvous, betrayal to suspicion and jealousy, fatal separation, martyrdom—all this is staged with a realism which brings out the social aspects of the love problem with unusual distinctness, and enacted with a psychological naturalness which at times obscures the factitious nature of the sentimental theories underlying that problem. Yet in translating the principles of courtly love into the concrete terms of real life, the author keeps the conventional point of view, bases all upon the fundamental postulates of the system: that the might of love is right; that whatever hampers it is justifiably set aside, whatever opposes it, honorably resisted; that loyalty is a lover's first duty; that the greater the odds against fidelity the greater the glory of the faithful. The Châtelain and the Lady of Fayel act in accordance with the ideals of conduct which determine the service of lovers in all the romances of this type. The heroine's slow yielding, which is motivated so directly from the situation that at first it seems only the natural reluctance of a woman in her position to give up safe morality and honorable well-being for a criminal happiness involving danger of shame, perhaps disgraceful death, marks her as a *fine amante* of the requisite delicacy and wisdom.

¹ *Châtelain*, 2988 ff.

Her failure to keep faith with the Châtelain on the occasion of the first rendezvous, the result though it is of Isabel's moralizing, is but a test of her lover's sincerity, the delay that Agnes of Tonnerre and Flamenca consider but waive, and an instance of that tantalizing waywardness of the woman whose captive heart is not yet subdued to tenderness—the *dangier* so often deprecated by the poets. The strength of her scruples and the want of anything in her original situation to warrant discontent and rebellion, make the Châtelain's victory more significant than that of Joufrois or William of Nevers. He has only prowess and courtesy to oppose to "priest, law, right, and logic," while they have "logic" too on their side. Moreover, "law and right" assert themselves more in his case; his lady really has a moral conscience, as well as a fear of scandal, to be overcome by *fine amor*. Yet for all that he prevails. And what he wins he holds—at least the best of it from a sentimental point of view; the heroine's affection is his from the moment of her yielding until the end, and he never, even when away from her beyond the seas, loses the dear solace of that possession, nor the knightly grace and skill due to favored love.

The poisoned dart which means death strikes him in battle against the heathen, after a brilliant career and in the full tide of loyal devotion, just when, his valor and noble sacrifice to chivalrous honor having virtually defeated the malicious power of jealousy, he hopes soon to be with his lady again, the happier for the ordeal of separation. The tragic irony of its conclusion might make this lesson in courtly love a sterner warning than the *Troilus* or the *Durmart*, but for the narrowing of the struggle to a contest between love and jealousy on an unmoral plane, the sentimental heightening of motive and conduct on the lovers' side, and the degrading of the opposition to meanness and cruelty. As it is, the integrity of love and its superior delicacy and nobleness make the romance a plea for, not against, the type of *fine amor* that defies instead of conciliating society. However, it is not a bold, sweeping defiance. The passion which ignores morality and

secretly disregards convention still does homage to decorum, finds stimulation in the pageantry and achievements of courtly life, and identifies itself with the ideals of chivalry. The Châtelain, who succeeds as a wooer because he is an accomplished knight, conducts himself as a lover with the refinement of manners and the consummate confidence of prowess which his social world demands of its heroes. And his death owes its glory to the fact that it is a sacrifice to the common cause of love and knightly honor. Having in the zeal of his devotion to his lady pledged himself to service in the Holy Land, he cannot, either as a knight or as a true lover, turn renegade to his public duty; whatever the risk, he must go, for *fine amor* and society both demand it.

Nor can any *fins amans* be without *los et pris*. As Andreas declares and the typical hero of romance proves, the right kind of love inspires men to noble deeds and gives strength and matchless skill to knightly effort. In all the romances chiefly concerned with the union of the hero and the heroine, prowess and courtesy are powerful, though secondary, motives. Ille, Amadas, Cligés, Galerent, William of Palerne, Jehan, Partonopeus, William of Nevers, Joufrois, and the Châtelain, are to a man perfect in the requirements of chivalry. But whether employed to win or to hold, valor, with these heroes, is in the service of *fine amor*, not its master nor its rival. The problem is how to be a successful, happy lover in spite of opposition, and the solution depends upon the power of love to cope with the ideals of chivalry, whether the end be marriage or an illegal amour.

A different emphasis characterizes such romances as the *Ipomedon*, the *Yder*, the *Yvain*, the *Erec*, the *Fergus*, the *Claris*, the *Meraugis*, and the *Durmart*. In these tales of knightly adventure love appears as the complement of prowess—as an incentive to valor, a refiner of manners, a cause to fight for, and an ideal to live by, at once a reason for glory and a part of it. Sometimes, as in the *Lancelot*, it gains the ascendancy, humiliating knighthood to prove its own power, but as a rule it works with courage and noble ambition,

through the trained, strong hand and the gentle heart, to glorify true chivalry. In the *Yder*, the *Ipomedon*, the *Meraugis*, and the *Claris*, the two motives, love and prowess, combine harmoniously to make a model career; in the *Yvain*, the *Erec*, and the *Fergus*, there is instructive rivalry between the two; in the *Durmart* the proper relation is brought out by two episodes, the one proving the evil of love that does not incite to chivalry, the other showing the great power for good in true love united with knightly aspiration. These are all lessons in chivalry rather than in love, teaching either the value of *fine amor* to the knight who would win glory, or the relative values of sentimental devotion and chivalrous ambition in the career of the ideal hero.

Ipomedon seeks the court of La-fiere because he has heard it praised for its courtesy, and because he wishes the benefit of such surroundings. He takes a conspicuous part in the gay social life of Calabria, and soon distinguishes himself for his courtesy, but for some reason he takes no part in jousts and similar pastimes dear to the truly valorous heart. His great beauty and his many accomplishments make the young duchess and her knights wonder at his lack of prowess. If he had as much valor as other admirable qualities, La-fiere might have loved him immediately without breaking her famous vow to love none but the best knight in the world, but under the circumstances one can hardly blame her for not doing so, for cowardice deserves ill.¹ It is his remarkable skill in hunting that finally opens the way to love through admiration. However, pride does not yield at once. She remembers her vow in time to express in her lover's hearing her contempt, society's contempt, for lovers "who go sighing and pensive before they have won *los et pris*."² She regrets this speech later, but too late to undo its work with Ipomedon, whom it drives away ashamed and despairing. On his way home from Calabria he confides his trouble to his tutor Tholomeus, who is well pleased at the turn of affairs, for he knows that "he who loves conquers the more praise and merit

¹ *Ipomedon*, 537 ff.

² *Id.*, 663 ff.

since he always takes pains to be more noble, brave, and skillful."¹ In the meantime La-fiere's confidante, Ismene, has comforted her remorseful mistress by assuring her that Ipomedon has gone away only to return some day the champion of the world. The remainder of the romance is devoted to the triumphs of the hero which verify Ismene's optimism.

The interest of the *Yder* also centers in the making of a good knight from a devoted lover. As the first part of the romance is missing, we do not know the exact motivation of the lovers' separation, but from frequent references to the occasion, we may infer that both the hero's want of knightly experience and the heroine's fear of yielding too soon—two conventional motives—are responsible for his probation, which runs its triumphant course through brave deeds, withstanding temptation and treachery, aiding the weak and needy, upholding justice, braving danger, and winning renown, until the conquering hero, in the natural sequence of romance, becomes the successful lover, the husband of a fair, rich queen. Lidoine, the heroine of the *Meraugis*, consents to pledge herself to Meraugis on condition that he do knightly service for her sake, and when he sets out on the first adventure of this service, she accompanies him. He loses her for awhile in the storm and stress of achievement, but love for her motivates directly or indirectly all that he does, and makes him a champion inferior to none, not even to Gawain himself. And this is the regular experience of the love-inspired knight. Claris, moved to thoughts of love by tales of true lovers, turns from sad contemplation of their suffering to the pleasing consideration of the joy and virtue that their affection brings them.² "He cannot amount to anything," he says to himself, "to whom love is indifferent, for it is the source of courtesy, the right motive of prowess, the sustenance of largess, the confusion of avarice, the destruction of malice, the foundation of charity, the treasury of truth." The astute Queen Blanche, more than half ready to give her heart to Claris, her champion, guesses his secret passion for another from the rare quality

¹ *Ipomedon*, 1583 ff.

² *Claris*, 185 ff.

of his courtesy and valor; without love, as she tells him, "there could be no such knight, for chivalry proceeds from love, whence proceed all virtues. . . ." ¹ It takes more than thirty thousand lines to tell all that Claris and Laris, with some assistance from other knights of the Round Table, accomplish in the common cause of love and knighthood. Prowess is the more conspicuous motive, but love, though yielding it the foreground, serves it as incitement and stimulus, furnishes it with a definite goal, and gives it the sentimental refinement which the authors of the society romances always affect. As in the *Ipomedon* and the *Yder*, the final reward of knightly merit in the *Claris* is marriage with the lady for whose sake the great deeds are done.

But the lady won, what should be the married knight's career? This question Chrétien answers in both the *Yvain* and the *Erec*. Persuading the recently wedded Yvain to leave his bride,² Gawain expresses his contempt for those who degenerate after marriage, and warns Yvain that by inaction he may forfeit his lady's affection with her respect; now he ought to increase his fame, not to substitute a life of ease for the travail of the lists. These words make such an impression on Yvain that he obtains from Laudine a year's leave of absence for activity in tournaments, that no one may reproach him with the indolence which marks the decay of prowess. The fascination of constant success in the exercise of valor makes him forgetful of love, to his lady's bitter resentment and his own terrible remorse. After the madness which is the first effect of Laudine's repudiation, follows a period of heroic expiation through service in behalf of the weak and oppressed, which, by putting his courage and courtesy to the severest tests without apparent personal gain for him in the only direction that matters to him, proves the mettle of his chastened prowess and entitles him to the admiration and pity that eventually lead to reconciliation with his wife. The lesson of the romance seems to be in favor of a love-directed chivalry. A knight should not forget his

¹ *Claris*, 1602 ff.

² *Yvain*, 2485 ff.

lady in the pursuit of glory, but if he does, the surest road to pardon, as the noblest penance, is chivalrous service, brave, courteous, and without selfish ambition. As a matter of fact, it is Yvain's conduct as a knight, not his rôle as a lover, that Chrétien emphasizes, and notwithstanding the sentimental motivation of his career, the Knight of the Lion stands out as the model champion rather than as a warning to lovers.

Erec¹ has actually fallen into the state against which Gawain warns Yvain, when Enide's involuntary murmur and subsequent explanation rouse him to the angry protest of an ordeal which reëstablishes his reputation for valor, while it tests the loyalty of Enide, made doubtful to his mind by the theory that degenerate knighthood undermines a lady's respect and with it her love. Suddenly made to see himself as he must appear to others, a doting husband lavishing tenderness upon a wife who all the time regards his devotion as deplorable weakness, he realizes that in the zeal of love he has risked his honor as a knight, his happiness as a lover, his dignity as a husband. Enide's very grief is the criticism his pride cannot brook, representing, as it does, the condemnation of the world. The final outcome is victory for prowess, with vindication of the love which waives supremacy in favor of knightly honor. The lady sees the reckless courage of her lord with no thought but for his safety even when his rough mood robs the valorous deed of the courtesy which charms the heart; he watches her under trial until he can no more ascribe her grief over his lapse in chivalry to vanity eager for the flattery of showy service admired of the world or to loss of respect for his uxoriousness, than she can question his courage. The parting from her before the fight with Mabinograin illustrates the proper relation of true love to prowess, of a noble wife to her knightly husband. Having made up his mind to conquer the "Joy-of-court," Erec takes leave of Enide, "who in her heart makes great dole, though she is silent," and tells her that he knows her fears for him, but bids her take comfort in the thought that if there were in him only so much valor

¹ *Erec*, 2439 ff.

as her love inspires, he would not fear to face any man alive.¹ Then, since she must stay behind, he kisses her and commends her to God as she in turn commends him. Not allowed to follow him, she remains grieving while he goes down the path to danger. The challenge which he here accepts is motivated by a love very different from that which gives strength to his valor. His adversary serves a mistress whose heart is so selfish that it has made her exact of her lover a promise which restricts his prowess to combat with the daring invaders of her garden. The narrow range irks him, for he longs to serve chivalry at large as well as his lady, who, unlike Enide, would fain subjugate prowess to love. Erec's victory brings "joy to the court" of King Evrain, because it releases Mabinograin from a deplorable bond, and no one is happier than Mabinograin himself. As a whole, the *Erec* may be interpreted as a plea for knighthood against its rival, *fine amor*.² It seems to say that love should serve valor, not dominate it.

The *Fergus*, evidently composed under the direct influence of Chrétien's romances, is the story of a young countryman who becomes a courteous knight and a *fins amans*. Not quite sure of what etiquette requires of him, when Galiene offers him her love, he refuses to consider it until he has accomplished his quest. On his return from his successful encounter with the Knight of the Black Mountain, he learns that his lady has disappeared. Thereupon he goes mad, and for a time is of no use either to love or to society, but when he comes to himself, he travels far and wide through many knightly adventures, seeking his lost *amie*. In the course of this task he works up to such skill at arms that he can overcome most of Arthur's knights, can hold his own against Gawain. After the wedding of Fergus and Galiene, when Gawain is taking leave of the bridegroom,³ he admonishes him not to give up

¹ *Erec*, 5828 ff.

² Cf. Madame Lot-Borodine: *La femme dans l'œuvre de Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris, 1909, pp. 22-76; K. Heyl: *op. cit.*, p. 7; W. A. Nitze: "Erec's Treatment of Enide," *Romanic Review*, X, 1, pp. 26-37; "Romance of Erec, Son of Lac," *Mod. Philol.*, 11:445-89, April, 1914.

³ *Fergus*, 6958 ff.

chivalry for his wife's sake. Fergus swears that he will never hear of adventure that he will not seek. The story is too closely modeled on the *Yvain* for this promise to mean much more than a mere literary echo; but there is significance in the fact that the poet, whose purpose is to shape an uncouth boy into an accomplished man of the courtly world, while he is careful to make his hero love and grow in courtesy and prowess under the influence of love, emphasizes more than anything else his valor and his manly readiness to exercise it, whatever the challenge to chivalry.

The author of the *Durmart* offers his romance as the biography of a model prince. In his prologue he announces that he intends to tell a royal tale of adventure—that is, a tale of a king's son who deserves renown;¹ and in his epilogue, after a general eulogy of his hero, he says that Durmart's good deeds have been recounted because of the virtues just enumerated, which entitle him to the honor of having his life told.² Having enlarged upon this theme to rouse the spirit of emulation among his hearers or readers, that they may be inspired to follow the example of Durmart, and having prayed God's pardon for inadvertent offense in the course of his "ystoire," he adds a benedictory tag significant for its return to the heroine: "The tale of King Durmart and of his sweet *amie* ends, and now let us pray God who dwells above, that He lead us into His Paradise."³ This conventional inclusion of the heroine in the final reference to the hero reminds us that while the career of Durmart is the main theme, it is love that guides the chivalry by which the perfect king evolves from the successful knight.

Lacking the requisite refinement, and degrading instead of ennobling, Durmart's first love, his liaison with the seneschal's wife, is not genuine *fine amor*, and soon loses its hold upon him. The example of his father and mother, a model couple, should have given the prince high standards, but when he falls in love with the young wife of his father's elderly seneschal, he does not concern his conscience with

¹ *Durmart*, 14-20.

² *Id.*, 15932 ff.

³ *Id.*, 15995-98.

ideals of any kind. Still a boy, before he has sought *los et pris*, he yields to the beauty of a lady whose inferior rank and position as the wife of another man preclude an honorable union, and whose indifference to prowess makes her a bad influence. The king, his father, sends for him as soon as he knows of the affair and tells him that either the unworthy amour must give way to the interests that lead to knighthood, or Durmart must get along without parental favor of any kind. Durmart responds that he will not give up his mistress. Dismissed from court under the cloud of the king's displeasure, he goes straight to his lady, who bids him not to let the matter trouble him; she will love him always, and when his father dies the realm will come to him.¹ Then the thoughtless pair sit down to a game of chess. Conditions go from bad to worse; Durmart is reduced to pawning his clothes and jewels, and he and his squire have but one sorry mount between them. Everywhere people blame him and forebode evil for the realm doomed to fall under his degenerate sway.² But one day in spring, the songs of birds, ever potent to stir the heart and make one thoughtful, set Durmart thinking about his position, which appears to him distasteful in the light of reflection.³ He calls his squire and tells him that he is ashamed of the life that he is leading, for there is nothing good in it, and it is his duty to maintain chivalry, his shame to stay there. "One ought to give up the love by which one degenerates." People who blame him now will praise him, for he will soon gladden his father with his prowess. Parting from the lady is not difficult;⁴ she only laughs when he tells her that he is about to leave her, and says that she will love him as long as she knows that he is true to her. If she finds out that he is not, she will know what to do. She did not make the first advances, nor will she make the last. She will pray God to reconcile her with her husband. Then they part without kissing. . . . No one knows from her appearance that she is grieved or angered by the separation. And so

¹ *Durmart*, 539-42.

² *Id.*, 551 ff.

³ *Id.*, 567 ff.

⁴ *Id.*, 655 ff.

ends that love, the hero's youthful folly, an easy conquest of little worth, without root in courtesy and chivalry.

Durmart's second and lasting passion is at first but an inspiring ideal leading him out upon a quest which promises many a chance to prove his valor and courtesy. When his father asks him what he wants with the arms he has demanded, he refuses to say until he has been fully armed; then he declares his intention to seek the beautiful Queen of Ireland; for true love commands him to do so. That his eye is upon glory too is evident from his further declaration: no squire, no knight shall accompany him, for he does not wish it said, if he finds some difficult and dangerous adventure, that anybody else but himself accomplished the work; if he led knights with him and found adventure, or killed ten giants, his praise would never be the greater, rather people would say that it was done by his men.¹ The king is inclined to condemn his purpose as foolish, but Durmart insists upon going to find the fair queen described to him by the old pilgrim, for his heart tells him that by her he will be honored.² His father asks her name. "Sire, I do not know her name," is the reply, "I have never seen her, but all my thoughts are on her." The long search, rich in adventures redounding greatly to his credit, ends in the achievement that commonly terminates errantry like Durmart's—his rescue of the heroine from a besieging host. To his plea for her favor, she replies:³ "Certainly, fair, sweet friend, fear not . . . If you have sought my love, you have nobly conquered it, and so have asked nothing unreasonable. You are the son of a powerful king and a queen, and so it is my counsel, if it suit you, that we be united, and God grant us such union as may seem good to all the world." The next day they are married by the bishop of the city, to their lasting joy and the approval of the world.

Commenting on the marriage, the poet says: "Some blame . . . all those who marry their sweethearts; but they [such critics] do not love. Surely one ought not to censure

¹ *Durmart*, 1318-1330.

² *Id.*, 1342-3.

³ *Id.*, 14856 ff.

true lover who marries his mistress; . . . for *fins amans* ought to prefer the joy which is given to that which is lent. He is in great peril who does not make his *amie* his wife; for another can take her from him before his eyes. . . . Who marries his friend, will not lose her, but takes her to have always. . . . Who sees another caress his lady, finds it too great distress if he loves her with all his heart; then ought true lover to desire to have his sweetheart completely, firmly in his possession. . . . Surely he is no true lover who refuses to marry his sweetheart. . . . Sir Durmart . . . loved like a true lover; for he loved without repenting and without deceiving; know well that he never feigns who takes to wife his friend."¹ Nor has he done an unwise thing from any point of view. Crowned King of Ireland by right of marriage, Durmart settles down to a happy life with Fenise. They live so well and love each other so dearly that they delight all their people. For Fenise is very different from the seneschal's wife. When her mother-in-law, to test her,² remarks that Durmart would do wrong to leave her for tournament or war or to seek adventure, that he should keep in repose what he has won by travail, the young queen replies: "If he loves me with good true love, he ought the better to guard his renown for his honor and for mine, and God grant that he guard it so well that no one can blame him at all." The hero, on his side, "maintains well his prowess. . . . For all his great love for his lady he never on her account stayed when he thought errantry would advance his fame."³

In the *Durmart* love is above reproach in its relation to society; it is moral, refined, and cognizant of a knight's duty to himself and to the world. Moreover it is a noble and inspiring ideal, filling the mind and heart of the hero with great and pure aspiration and stimulating him ever to noble deeds. Yet despite its idealistic plane, it is essentially the same *fine amor* as that of the other romances, seeking through prowess and courtesy, through sentimental thinking and graceful, courageous conduct, happiness in union, and taking

¹ *Durmart*, 14995 ff.

² *Id.*, 15363 ff.

³ *Id.*, 15446-68.

care that caste, fortune, and etiquette are all that they should be for a king's son.

In truth, courtly love is, in the final analysis, always of the world worldly. For all his exaltation of his theme, for all his emphasis upon the delicacy, the sweetness, the mysterious strength of the passion that he celebrates as the noblest that can animate a hero, the medieval romancer does not spiritualize love. With him it is throughout erotic and social. However disciplined and refined, however ennobled by Christian ideals it may be at its best, its ultimate level is material, not spiritual. The poet raises it above the plane of sensuality by purifying it through *cortoisie*, dignifying it through psychological science, and giving it the grace either of moral or sentimental virtue. But notwithstanding his pious benedictions, the fame of his lovers is not heavenly meed, but rather in "broad rumor lies," is the "glistening foil set off to the world"—the world of knights and ladies, of fine manners and gay courts, of tourneys and fêtes, of wealth and rank, of deeds conspicuous for their daring and skill, of fair loyalty and gracious reward—the world of chivalry.

CHAPTER IV

LITERARY TECHNIQUE IN THE ROMANCES

To a modern reader probably the chief outstanding characteristic of the medieval society romance is its conventionality. The *Amadas*, the *Châtelain*, the *Galerent*, the *Guillaume de Dole*, the *Ipomedon*, and the *Durmart* are too obviously the work of the same school of narrative art. Still, though their plots show a common formula, though their sentimental psychology is identical in theory and monotonously similar in method of presentation, and though their characters represent the same social types, their setting the same aspects of society, and their technique in general the same rhetorical devices, they nevertheless differ from one another in significant ways. And *fine amor* is largely responsible for the variety of appeal as well as for much of the common likeness; for while the artificial system conventionalizes the stories motivated by its laws, giving them the peculiar uniformity which distinguishes them as a class, its fundamental connection with real life, on the other hand, insures some plasticity, and affords a fair chance for freshness of individual effect.

I. THE HANDLING OF PLOT

Under the influence of courtly love medieval narration gained the logical structure which distinguishes plot from mere chronicle. The simple episodic narrative presenting a hero's adventurous career or a military campaign gave way to the natural evolution of situation, the development of action from initial cause to final result, represented by the following formula:

- I. Beginning: (1) Opening situation: an opportunity for love, with some barrier to union; (2) inciting force: falling in love.

- II. Development: Initial struggle (1) against fear of repulse, and (2) against pride or indifference.
- III. Culmination: Temporary success: betrothal.
- IV. Reversal: Separation or estrangement. (Period of complication and trial.)
- V. Dénouement: (1) Decisive victory over the last obstacle to union, or final defeat; (2) union and the assurance of permanent happiness, or the death of the lovers.

It will be observed how naturally this scheme fits the very large number of stories new and old, in which the course of events is determined by a clash between love and circumstances, and by the demands of love for reciprocal affection and loyalty. The correspondence between the five divisions of the formula and the five stages of *fine amor* is also obvious. And it is not difficult to see how courtly love, the theme of lyrics and the subject of psychological exposition, was combined with the narrative motives, quest and ordeal, to shape the romancers' plan.

The value of a courtly lover's career depends on how impressively he measures up to two standards: he must first prove an irresistible wooer and then an invincibly loyal *ami*. These two duties divide the history of his case into two chapters, the one chiefly psychological and confined to the problem of how to make love beget love, the other more concerned with action and devoted to ways and means of proving the fidelity and power of love. The first serves as a kind of prelude establishing the personal relation tested in the second. It is developed principally through monologues and dialogues, and is usually made up of only a few scenes, some showing the hero and heroine apart, trying alone or with the help of friendly counsel, to reach a decision for or against love; others presenting the interviews between the lovers which lead to betrothal. The second chapter is more comprehensive and less well-knit, for the medieval romancer could not forego the opportunity to crowd his story with knightly exploits and strange adventures.

The *Amadas* illustrates the full, normal development of narration controlled by *fine amor*. The hero falls in love with the heroine despite such adverse conditions as the lady's pride and indifference, her superior social position, and the custom which made marriage a matter for the judgment of parents, not for the volition of youths and maidens. The difficulties of the situation give rise to the struggle of Amadas first to overcome his own fear of circumstances and then to win Ydoine's favor. His success with her means hope but not certainty; it necessitates his winning fame as a knight in order to become a suitable husband for the heiress of Burgundy. While he is engaged in this task, the duke's arrangement of a marriage for Ydoine with the Count of Nevers reverses the situation for the lovers, changing hope to despair and successful service to a fierce struggle against terrible odds. Amadas and Ydoine stand the rigorous tests; they win the victory over loveless marriage, insanity, degradation, physical danger, supernatural opposition, doubt, fear, and the temptations of love itself. Then, having demonstrated their right to have and their power to hold the happiness of *fine amor*, they are married and live happily ever afterward.

Although the unusual concentration upon one line of interest, with exceptional proportion and consistency, give this particular plot a symmetry rare in medieval romance, its general plan is typical.¹ Yet many romances show the *trouvères*' freedom and skill in ringing the changes on convention. In the *Guillaume de Dole* the use of lyrics and the division of interest between the fortunes of love and those of court favor justify the author's claim of novelty: songs take the place of monologues and analyses;² the Emperor's wooing

¹ The *Joufrois* and *Gowain and the Green Knight*, though society romances by virtue of their attention to social setting and their aristocratic appeal, are not sufficiently concerned with *fine amor* to show the common formula. The *Joufrois* is the biography of a gay young nobleman whose career gives us the annals of a Don Juan, not an Amadas. The *Gowain* is a tale of adventure, and of courtesy tried by sex but loyal to higher claims of knighthood.

² Cf. the *Cléomadès* and the *Violette*, in which lyrics supplement the conventional psychologizing, but without taking its place.

is addressed to the heroine's brother instead of to her; the understanding which corresponds to the stage of betrothal is between the lover and the brother; and in the period of suspense which ensues, when the heroine's reputation and her brother's career, not loyalty in love, are at stake, one would lose sight of *fine amor* but for the Emperor's grief and the dependence of his happiness upon Lienor's exoneration. In the *Ipomedon* there are but three distinct plot divisions—beginning, test, and union.¹ The hero does his wooing in deeds not in words, and enjoys assurance of favor only after his prowess has won the heroine's hand in marriage. The *Lancelot* begins with the separation of the lovers, reaches its climax in reunion after an ordeal of suspense due to denial of favor,² and ends with a test of the hero's loyalty in love. Though given over to the casuistry of love until after the betrothal of the hero and the heroine, the *Meraugis* from that point on is more concerned with adventure than with sentiment, and follows the rambling, episodic plan of the romances of adventure. However, love is not forgotten; in time it brings Meraugis and Lidoine together and concludes the romance conventionally. The *Violette* consists of a series of adventures testing the loyalty of the separated lovers and entitling them to the reunion which ends all their troubles and makes them happy for life.

In romances which present supplementary lessons in love through the combination of two stories, each plot is usually complete in itself, demonstrating the full course of *fine amor*, though modifications resulting from varied emphasis prevent exact doubling of the formula. In the *Claris*, for instance, the history of Claris's prowess-ridden love repeats itself in the story of his friend Laris, but naturally the Laris plot, which demonstrates the exquisite sensibility of a *fins amans* and the sinister possibilities of an uncourtly liaison, does not parallel exactly the structure of a plot concerned with the

¹ A similar plan underlies the *Yder*, the *Fergus*, and the second part of the *Duymart*.

² As a result of the cart episode.

proper relations of love to valor and to marriage. The tale which precludes the main action in the *Cligés*, being a tale of true love crossed only by its own delicacy, needs but the stages of inception, inner conflict leading to avowal, and union. The loyalty motive, which shapes the fourth and fifth stages of the complete formula, is left to the history of Cligés and Fenice. This second plot develops like the first through the psychologizing which prepares the way for an understanding between the lovers, but because of moral and social obstacles diverges in a new line of development before avowal. After a separation which proves the loyalty of the lovers, come in quick succession the plighting of troth, the supreme test of devotion, secret union, discovery, danger, safety, and permanent happiness in marriage.¹ In the *Flamenca*, which contrasts jealousy with love, the general evolution of the former theme is similar to the regular course of *fine amor*. The awakening of suspicion in Archambaut causes an inner conflict leading to the social degeneracy and marital tyranny which make the opening situation of the love plot. The failure of jealousy to stand the test to which it is subjected proves its impotence and opens the way to the restoration of its victim to social decency and inner peace. The love story develops slowly and amply, without reversal, to happy union.²

As a rule, the romancer who tried to tell two stories as one did not succeed in unifying his plot very well. The *Galerent*, however, in which a typical story of courtly love is skillfully woven into the history of a foundling who comes into her own

¹ Cf. the *Ille* and the *Durmart*. In the former the two plots are very similar in plan, though the final stage of the first is modified by adjustment to the sequel, and the initial struggle, elaborated in both stories, emphasizes in the first the hero's cognizance of his inferior social rank, in the second his reluctance to be "off with the old love and on with the new." The *Durmart* presents two contrasting lessons in love, the first worked out briefly according to the common plan, the second much longer and somewhat different in structure, showing, like the *Ipomedon*, only three stages. (See p. 71.) Cf. also the *Manekine*, in which a study of an abnormal, despicable passion is followed by one of pure courtly love, the latter conventional in structure, the former ending after avowal.

² The end of the romance is missing, but there is no hint of tragedy for the lovers at the point where the story breaks off.

in the end, shows how two medieval plots could be adjusted to give something like the unified complexity of a modern novel. Renaud, it is true, found the plan of his tale ready-made in the lay *Fresne*, but his success is none the less remarkable, for, by keeping to the usual course of *fine amor* and not losing sight of his fundamental situation in his task of expansion and elaboration, he managed to secure the superiority of a lay with the fullness of a romance. Yet the literary defects of his age and his school mar his work; the *Galerent* is overburdened not merely with the accessories to narration natural in a romance involving interest in social background and sentimental psychology, but also with imperfectly assimilated action. Modern narrative art would either reject the Esmerée-Guynant episode altogether and rely for its contribution to the theme upon the Fleurie episode, or condense it and give it greater dynamic plot value. Renaud's conception of effective narration was inimical to such economy. Bent upon demonstrating the beauty and duty of loyalty rather than upon plot-building, and trained in a school of composition which sought emphasis by repetition, neglected synthesis for analysis, and aimed at integrity rather than unity, he could have little interest in short cuts to his dénouement. It is surprising that he proceeded to it as directly as he did.

Serious fiction in the middle ages being ostensibly historical and didactic, the romancer felt in a measure bound to maintain a show of recording action with circumstantial and chronological accuracy, and to make his lesson impressive by full analysis and illustration. A complete, unbroken chain of events and plenty of proof for his thesis are his aims, and in attaining them he secures the continuity of action which results from attention to time order, place and character relations, and prominence of a distinct line of motivation, but he is prone to emphasize the part at the expense of the whole, constantly sacrificing proportion and consistency to the psychological, narrative, or pictorial opportunities of a situation. Moreover, while he is careful to make clear the reasons for action at any important moment, usually making

"what happens next" a logical outcome of what immediately precedes, he seldom takes pains to harmonize these motives with earlier or later motivation—a negligence that tends to make narrative development seem arbitrary and inconsistent. The *Escoufle* is a typical product of these methods, with its long, over-developed introduction, the elaborate, realistic transition from the biography of Count Richard to the love story of his son, the sudden turn of fortune against the lovers by the improvisation of the kite accident, and the equally incidental use of the second kite to illustrate the hero's loyalty and also to give the key to his identity necessary for the dénouement. The author's defense of his title, while it shows regard for plot coherence, suggests indifference to plot values. Near the end of his romance he says: "Those who have read the book have found there many a fair adventure which happened to the beautiful Aelis on account of the samite purse which the *escoufle* (kite) carried away. Therefore he is wrong who blames and despises the title. If the *escoufle* had not taken the purse, there would have been no talk of it, and by eating the heart of an *escoufle* the lover found his sweetheart."¹

The plot of the *Amadas*, though exceptional in its unity of interest and directness of movement, is typical of the society romances in general evolution and massing. In the first part of that history of *fine amor* narration is clogged with psychological analysis, in fact, almost stands still until the alternation of plea, repulse, and prostration, repeated several times in ascending scale of severity, finally breaks down the heroine's pride and indifference. Then we have a general account of the hero's love-inspired chivalry, to which succeeds a surprise for the reader as well as for Amadas. While the fears of the aspiring lover and Ydoine's objections to his suit are based on social obstacles to love, the first part of the story does not emphasize those difficulties sufficiently to prepare for their later importance. It is the lady's consciousness of her superiority and her personal aversion to love which the

¹ *Escoufle*, 9086-97.

hero must first overcome, and the author, interested in one problem at a time, pays little attention to elements of the situation without value for his immediate purpose; he lets them alone until he comes to the need of them in his plot. For a modern reader, trained to depend on artistic prevision, and not prepared by convention for what may have seemed commonplace enough in the poet's day, the suddenness of the announcement that Ydoine is to marry the Count of Nevers weakens coherence, giving the impression of an entirely new tack in motivation. Reaction to this second inciting force is swift and progressive for both hero and heroine; then there is a pause while the author expatiates on their sad condition. Action begins to quicken again with Ydoine's resolve to find her lover, and works up to a climax in her victory over his misery and shame. This crisis safely passed, we relieve the tedium of waiting for something else important to happen by watching Amadas win all the laurels of a tournament which has little or no plot value, but proves that the hero has not lost his prowess—luckily, in view of the tax put upon it by the subsequent unexpected abduction of the heroine and the terrible combat later at her tomb. The romance might easily have ended without that tax. Although it has some weight with the public, accustoming people to think of Amadas as a probable and deserving lover when the prevalence of that idea is convenient for Ydoine's plan to make her counselors suggest him as a candidate for her hand, the adventure which culminates in the tomb scene does not advance the action. Position and elaboration indicate that it was intended as the climax of the romance, but its connections with what precedes and what follows are slight and arbitrary. The abduction of Ydoine is an experience incidental to travel in medieval story, and her abductor, the *maufé*, having crossed the course of true love and delayed it long enough for a series of romantic and sentimental effects, departs as suddenly as he came, leaving scarcely a trace of his interruption upon the course of plot-development. Apparently the function of the episode is to balance credit between the

lovers, to illustrate certain laws of love necessary to round out a perfect case of *fine amor* for the hero, to make the tale of proof convincingly ample, and to complete the medieval scale of emphasis—in short, to meet the demands of the author's conventional theme and art. Beyond its victory over supernatural violence, guile, and strength, still lies the work of adjusting circumstances to the will of love, a task accomplished quickly and without opposition, by taking advantage of conditions developed before the advent of the *maufé*.

The management of plot in the *Châtelain* is more modern than in the *Amadas*, though there also courtly love and medieval literary methods interfere with the kind of effectiveness that our theories of narration require. As in the *Amadas*, the interest is concentrated throughout upon the lovers; few of the scenes fail to present a study of their liaison, or to bring it closer to its catastrophe. Moreover, the continuity of the opposition prevents breaking up into episodes. The obstacle to the lover's suit most emphasized from the beginning is the heroine's marriage, and that is the constant menace of the established amour, the cause of its overthrow and ruin. One seldom loses sight of the whole character-triangle of husband, wife, and lover, from the lady's first repulse of the hero, with its recognition of her duty to her husband, until the end, when the Lord of Fayel, responsible for the death of the lovers, dedicates his life to remorse and futile penance. On the other hand, ingenious ruses to elude jealousy and show the unwavering loyalty and reliable efficiency of true love fill the interval between the interrupted rendezvous, which marks the beginning of the end, and the final separation, with narration illustrating the theme without advancing the plot.

⌈ In such romances as the *Ipomedon*, emphasis on the prowess motive with its affinity for adventure results in a less logically direct development of the action than that motivated more exclusively by courtly love. The very elaborate account of the three-day tournament which puts Ipomedon in the position

of an accepted suitor, La-fiere being the tourney prize, includes many incidents which do not advance the plot. The chapel scene in which Ipomedon's host, in exact accordance with full instructions, distributes the gifts and delivers the messages of the vanished champion, ends that chapter of achievements in arms and love, but the hero's unexplained refusal to claim the hand which he has won leaves him something still to do. La-fiere's husbandless state is responsible for conditions which enable him later to prove his loyalty and his power to hold his lady by prowess against the world. By carrying over the heroine's suspense and the hero's ambition from one crisis to another the author avoids complete breaks between episodes, but the linking is too mechanical. The concealment of identity, common in the adventure romances, in the *Ipomedon* loses much of its effectiveness by weak motivation and unskillful management. The reader finds the hero's postponement of well-earned happiness almost as arbitrary as it seems to the less enlightened court of Meleager.

The artifice of delayed explanation is much more effectively employed in *Gawain and the Green Knight*, where a mystery, frankly offered at the beginning of the story as something to be solved as well as something to be dared, is kept from us until the very end, stimulating our interest and heightening the effect of the hero's ordeal. However, instead of an artistic gradual elimination of misleading clues and accumulation of evidence, we have the characteristic medieval heightening of bewilderment up to the moment of complete revelation, when narration drops to the dead-level of exposition,¹ as, indeed, it too often does in modern mystery stories. Of course the *Gawain* is but the more delightful for its medievalism; its grace and charm lose nothing in our eyes, rather gain a glamor from the tracery and color of a by-gone art at its best. We do not object to the way in which the poet solves his mystery any more than we object to the nature of that

to his
brother

¹ Cf. the management of mystery in the *Lancelot* (cart episode), the *Durmart* (sparrowhawk episode), the *Amadas* (maufé episode), and the *Merangis* (most of the hero's early adventures).

mystery itself, but we notice that all the explanation comes at once, is a full report, point by point, of reasons for action [obviously significant but hitherto apparently erratic.

It is the practice of supplementing action with analysis that makes the medieval handling of narrative situations generally disappointing to modern readers. In the romances which we are considering, there is hardly a climax not to some extent impaired by it. If the author himself does not stop his chronicle to explain its course, he makes his characters speak long and minutely to that purpose. He has three aims for every important scene: it must make a complete narrative link, must be clear, and must be impressive. They are essentially the aims of all narrative artists; the difference between the medieval and the modern schools lies in the means to these ends. One does not need extensive reading in the romances to realize that the trouvères' conceptions of adequate fullness, clarity, and effectiveness are not those which prevail with us to-day. Only one thing at a time but all of that, is their concern; whereas our narrators, particularly those dealing with psychological interests, feel responsible for as many issues as the part itself and its relations to the whole plot may involve, and they may trust much to suggestion and a judicious distribution of emphasis, with telling economy in the use of detail. Besides, the older romancer has not learned to make his point without analysis, apparently not perceiving that the deed can speak eloquently for itself.

The medieval writer recognizes the necessity for a careful approach to a crisis, but his preparation is late and mechanical, usually a naïve promise or warning to the reader. In the midst of affliction we are assured that joy is close at hand; happiness is damped by foreboding of evil not far ahead.¹ Familiarity with the conventions of his art also enables us to see the trend of action: great emphasis upon the lovers' bliss before the end of their story is sure to presage misfortune, an elaborate description of physical beauty is likely to prelude important

¹ Cf. *Amadas*, 1992 ff., for an encouraging forecast; 4750 for a warning of disaster.

psychological effect, and the introduction of the spring motive, with its out-of-door charms of sunshine, verdure, flowers, and birds, usually means a return of the sentimental or reflective vein. Even when the preparation is dynamic, it does not begin soon enough and is almost always accompanied by comments of an analytical or emotional nature which so interpret the action that there can be no question about its direction. How much of this vehicular machinery is due to the demands of oral transmission it is impossible to say, but it is probable that the trouvère was influenced to some extent by the fact that originally, if not throughout its history, his art was addressed to the ear. That may account for his constant care to point out what is significant for later development, lest the audience fail to catch the keynote. It may also explain his frequent summaries of past action where a mere reference would suffice, as well as the elaborate expositions which too often supplement action at important moments.

Sometimes an author aims at effect through condensation, especially in scenes involving only two persons and turning upon the reaction of the one to words of the other. Renart's management of the dialogue between Conrad and the seneschal in which the latter slanders Lienor,¹ shows a consciousness, not yet sure of itself, of the aesthetic possibilities of brevity. When the villain returns to Cologne from Dole, ready for the "worst treason since the time of Robert Macié," he finds the emperor impatient to see him. The two walk apart, and Conrad broaches the subject of his marriage to his trusted counselor, who pretends not to know whom the emperor wishes to make his wife. Conrad must tell him: "She is the sister of my friend, the good knight of Dole. Whoever had seen him yesterday on horseback had well said, 'This is valor itself'!" The seneschal acknowledges that William is a peerless knight, but he objects to the marriage, much to Conrad's surprise. To be sure the lady is not the sister of the King of England, but the emperor has land and fortune enough. He accuses the seneschal of envy. At this point the author

¹ *Guillaume de Dole*, 3451 ff.

abandons dialogue to summarize briefly the most important speech of the interview, simply stating that the slanderer, pressed by Conrad, declares that Lienor has been his paramour, and to prove the intimacy tells the secret of the rose. Upon hearing this, "the king, overcome, crosses himself and says sadly after a time, 'Never did king lose queen at chess until his play was made; now let us leave the matter as it is, since God does not will it to be otherwise. Do not let her brother get wind of it. I am going straight to Mayence tomorrow morning.'" And here the scene ends. If Renart impairs the effectiveness of his dialogue by indirect presentation of its climax, he goes far toward redeeming it with the emotional restraint and simple directness of Conrad's last speech. He also concludes the painful interview between William and Conrad in which the young courtier learns why his sister may not become empress,¹ with a remarkably deft touch. The dialogue, well sustained throughout this scene, culminates in a speech which silences William with its damning evidence of Lienor's dishonor. He draws his mantle over his head and goes away to his hostel. It is true that afterward we see him in transports of grief and rage, but his passion soon motivates action important for the development of the plot.² Nor does Renart allow prolixity to spoil his next crisis, the accusation of Lienor at Dole.³ Attack and defense, charge and explanation, grief and resolution follow one another swiftly, hurrying over opportunities for exposition and hardly pausing for emotional demonstration. In less than two hundred lines the romancer swings his plot as far toward catastrophe as he intends to let it go, and turns it toward its happy conclusion, omitting nothing necessary for coherence, including only essential detail, and involving three distinct character interests—an artistic triumph for one of his school.

His massing of picturesque and interpretative material for his final climax in the *Guillaume de Dole* is typical in its spectacular lavishness of detail.⁴ We follow Lienor from Dole

¹ Guillaume de Dole, 3643-3727

² Id., 3757-3845.

³ Id., 3898-4063.

⁴ Id., 4064-5140.

to Mayence, seeing her set out, sad and anxious, and arrive amidst the gaiety of May Day; we note her great beauty, hear the court marvel at it, as she goes to lay her case before the emperor; and we listen to her plea against the astonished seneschal. We accompany the crowd that throngs the ivy-covered church where he undergoes the ordeal by water to prove his innocence of the charge she has brought against him, and, better informed than the rest of her audience, we await her triumph. To the emperor's "Damsel, now is the seneschal cleared," she replies with a long speech explaining who she is, how the seneschal deceived her mother, how her mother betrayed the secret of the rose, and finally how the exoneration of the traitor from her first charge proves the truth of her second,—that he has slandered her. Conrad hears her through and then exclaims, "Are you my sweetheart?" At her reply, "Never doubt it, I am the fair Lienor," he leaps up and there before all the people, embraces her, kissing her more than a hundred times. His joy expresses itself in a love song which all the others sing with him. "It was," declares the poet, "*Te deum laudamus.*" And here he should end his story. Instead he makes the emperor harangue his court, telling them that now they may know why he summoned them to Mayence: it was to announce his intention to marry this very lady. They are his masters; he will do nothing without their consent. "By these words he has won them to his will. . . . Without speaking and without deliberation all agree to it." Then William is made happy with the news, the seneschal is punished, and the story closes with the pageantry of Lienor's wedding and coronation.

The romancers like what we call a dramatic situation, but they seldom get beyond a theatrical approach and spectacular setting for such crises. They manage to bring together all the elements of an impressive, momentous scene, without, however, often succeeding in making a perfect synthesis. The account of the imperial council in the first part of the *Escoufle*,¹ for instance, shows a recognition of dramatic possi-

¹ *Escoufle*, 2225-2340.

bilities, but makes little of them, relying too much upon the mere assemblage of striking narrative details and too much upon analysis. The speech with which the emperor softens the hearts of his barons, winning their consent to his wishes before they know them, is a brief, vague flourish to the effect that he is their lord, they are his tried and deserving supporters, and that mutual good will should prevail between them. Whatever we may think of his words, they are potent for his audience; Renart tells us that the nobles are so moved that they are ready to give their lord anything. When the emperor perceives that he may ask the boon that he covets, he plays upon the affection of his barons, thanking them for their readiness to concede before he announces what he wishes them to sanction. Important as the announcement is, the author merely summarizes it, and proceeds to analyze its effect upon the barons. The appearance of the children, a chance for changing or intensifying the suppressed hostility to their betrothal, receives hasty, descriptive treatment, conventional and as lifeless as the bones of the saints on which the nobles swear to regard the emperor's wishes. Throughout the scene selection of detail and interpretation testify to an eye for effects that the author's narrative methods cannot quite attain.

X In his interest in the purely aesthetic opportunities of his material and his unusual indifference to its didactic aspects, Renart is more modern than Chrétien and Gautier d'Arras. Like all medieval romancers, these psychologists, when presenting the lively give and take with sword or spear in the lists or on the field of battle, allow action to have right of way from the first shock of attack to the last blow of victory. They know how to make sparks fly from hammered armor, to crush helmets, splinter lances, unhorse knights, conduct duels with swords, to turn apparent defeat into great triumph, to lead single-handed valor to victorious combat with appalling odds—in short, to chronicle the heroic deeds of their heroes with enough circumstantial detail to satisfy the contemporary taste for the hurly-burly of prowess in action. It

is in the management of situations demanding conduct significant of psychological conflict that they fail according to our standards. With all its spectacular staging and its emphasis on the clash of interests, the interrupted wedding in the *Ille* is most ineffective. We may pardon the neglect of the guests, the officiating clergy, and the King of Rome, but we cannot overlook the slighting of the disappointed bride. We reluctantly leave her to accompany Ille and Galeron behind the altar, not knowing how it will fare with her while we listen to explanations and plans of great moment for her. But Gautier attends to one thing at a time; there is no leisure for Ganor's thoughts and feelings at a juncture when he must avert bigamy, reunite the hero with his long-lost wife, and make him display the right degree of loyalty for a true lover. The deficiency is made up later when Ille goes to take leave of Ganor; then she and the author between them give us all the light we need for a thorough understanding of her state of mind and heart.

Crises are well handled in the *Châtelain*, but there, too, deliberate movement and prolixity weaken the force of presentation. One of the most dramatic scenes in the romances is that in which the Châtelain faces the Lord of Fayel at the entrance to the heroine's apartment.¹ We have first the terror of the girl Isabel, who has opened the door; then the husband's accusation of the lover; the alarm and breathless prudence of the listening wife; Fayel's attempt to rouse the house, checked by the Châtelain's reminder of scandal and the possibility of mistake; then the bold denial of the truth and the attempt to divert suspicion from the lady to Isabel; the timely appearance of Gobert, whose exclamation upon seeing the Châtelain gives an opportunity for explanations again incriminating Isabel; and, at last, Isabel's "You speak truth . . . My lady knows nothing about the matter. . . . I know well that when she knows it she will dismiss me." This is the lady's cue. She calls out in pretended alarm that robbers are in the house. The friendly Gobert tries her door and

¹ *Châtelain*, 4558-4782.

calls his master's attention to the fact that it is locked; then he runs to the door on the other side of her room, and tells her that her husband is about to kill the Châtelain. She goes with the squire "there where the others are debating and contending in words." When Fayel sees her, he accuses her and vows vengeance; whereupon she bursts out into denials and abuse of Isabel. Her husband, uncertain what to do, bids the Châtelain go and take Isabel with him. Gobert gains a few days' grace for Isabel, but the Châtelain must go at once, as soon as he has sworn that the lady is innocent and that he will never seek her. After this oath he reiterates assurance of her innocence and goes away. The whole scene is handled with skill, but it does not make the powerful impression that an artist of the same ability to-day would produce with the same material. The action is too slow, the speeches too long, the individual rôles too obviously timed, each too distinctly the next step in the chronicle. We miss the compression of dialogue, the significant concrete details of behavior, and the vivid consciousness of all issues at every moment that the situation demands.

Pathos also suffers from the romancers' want of restraint. The closing scenes of the *Châtelain* offend modern taste with their excessive sentimentality and their sacrifice of truth and delicacy to the factitious and the bizarre. The death of the heroine loses effectiveness through the grotesque details of its cause. In the account of the hero's last hours the poem prosés, smothering sympathy with platitudes and stereotyped analysis. Circumstances are sad enough. The yearning, despairing heart, the wasting body, the mind striving to weigh values and to save something from the general wreck of hope, the grim irony of the salvage, are all in the situation and in the broad lines of its development; but prolixity, analysis, and conventional psychologizing, with lachrymose sentimentality and the desire for the unusual, spoil the workmanship. The poet falls between the two principal aims of medieval romance,—to depict real life and to cater to the prevailing taste for the remarkable—and again between the

expository and the narrative methods of expressing the inner life.

As these romancers gained the effects that they sought, they cannot be called bunglers. To judge them fairly we must measure their achievement by their own literary theories, but nevertheless their anticipations of modern narrative art challenge trial by canons which prevail to-day, and so tried their work is disappointing. While the trouvères found their way to unity and psychological significance of plot, and to the secret of its growth, they seldom, if ever, worked out a romance conforming satisfactorily to modern standards in the management of situation and the adjustment of parts to the whole.

2. CHARACTER

The treatment of character in the society romances is even more conventional than the treatment of plot. Despite the emphasis on psychological and social interests, in a large measure because of it, the men and women responsible for what happens in the stories are hardly more than personifications of social ideals and prejudices. The important characters are models or warnings, illustrating psychological theory and certain principles of fashionable sentiment. Minor plot agents and mere human background are sufficiently characterized by social classification, as the "bourgeois," the "villains," the kings and counts, the rich men, the clergy; each class having its conventional characteristics too generally accepted to necessitate explanation.

The laws of knightly prowess, of social etiquette, and, above all, of courtly love, allow little chance for individuality in a *fins amans*. He feels much and thinks long before he acts, and he is called to action by a special, it may be an exceptional, development of circumstances; but he feels and thinks according to the rules of courtly love, and acts in accordance with the requirements of that system as determined by its arbitrary control of social laws. Variety comes partly from the demands of the narrative, but more from the author's efforts to illustrate

different lessons in the science of refined erotic psychology. Through the portrayal of an Amadas we study the ideal sensibility of true love; through an Ydoine, its devoted tenderness; through an Aelis, its power to overcome even social degradation; through a Durmart, its ennobling chivalrous value; and through a Châtelain, its irresistible charm when united to social grace, its daring ingenuity, and its faithfulness unto death.

Of course caste plays an important part in the aristocratic society romance. Hero and heroine are always of good lineage; rank and wealth are their natural right.¹ The true lover must be of this class; for *fine amor* is not an affection of the unrefined; its dependence upon courtly rules of conduct, upon sensitiveness to qualities and conditions that only culture can produce or appreciate, excludes it from the *vilain's* heart. Nothing uncouth, nothing coarse, enters into the theory of the passion represented by such heroes and heroines as Amadas and Ydoine, Fresne and Galerent, the Châtelain and the Lady of Fayel. The love of the foundling, Fresne, for the Count of Brittany is unquestionable proof that she is not of lowly origin,² and her noble lover's devotion to her before the secret of her gentle birth is revealed to him shows the subtle power of *fine amor* to find its right social level in spite of adverse circumstances.³

The opposition to love is usually led by persons of the courtly class, but among the friendly agents there is more range, thanks not to democratic principles but to social conditions and the mechanics of plot. The confidant, the go-between, or the shelterer may be a friend of the hero and a member of the heroine's family, like Laris and Pandarus;⁴ a kinswoman or other lady attached to the household of the heroine, like

¹ Fergus is the son of a peasant, but his mother is of gentle birth.

² *Galerent*, 1607-1610.

³ Cf. the love of Meleager's queen and Ismene for Ipomedon when he was far from knightly and noble in appearance and behavior.

⁴ Cf. Savj-Lopez: *Romania*, 1898, XXVII, pp. 442 ff.; and Karl Young: "Aspects of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde," *Studies by Members of the Department of English, University of Wisconsin*, 1918, pp. 367-394.

Isabel, the attendant of the Lady of Fayel; or a squire of good family, like Jason, the cousin of La-fiere. Sometimes a tutor or a duenna, like Tholomeus in the *Ipomedon* and Thessala in the *Cligés*, is the useful counselor; sometimes it is a jongleur, like Pinchonnet, the adviser of Cléomadès, and Jouglet, the protégé of Conrad and the friend of Lienor's brother, William of Dole. Occasionally a "citizen" figures actively in the plot, nearly always as a kind generous host, who in his unstinted liberality and becoming appreciation of his superiors evinces some of their refinement and social dignity.¹ Even the common people may aid *fine amor*; such a lowly friend as Isabel in the *Escoufle* may minister to the needs of distressed aristocracy. However, in the social background there is a preponderance of knights and ladies, who furnish the glitter and sparkle of social pageantry and constitute the world whose favor the lovers defy or conciliate—the only public that can mean much to them.

While the delineation of the hero is very similar to that of the heroine, there is always a certain recognition of sex in psychology and social detail. The knight and his lady represent the same types of physical beauty—blonde hair, red and white complexion rivaling the rose and the lily, shapely figures, and great elegance and graciousness of manner. Both are generous, refined, courteous models of social and sentimental culture. There is a distinct line of differentiation, however. Usually the traits they have in common vary in degree; some graces, such as largess, receiving more emphasis in the portraiture of the hero, others, such as sweetness and charm, insisted on more in the study of the heroine. There is often a deliberate balancing of femininity against masculinity; as in the romances of Chrétien, where we find the capriciousness and pride of the lady set over against the chivalry and ambition of the knight, in the *Lan-*

¹ Cf. *Ipomedon's* host in Calabria, the host of Amadas and Ydoine in Lucca, and the hostess of Fresne in Rouen. The citizen episode in the *Joufrois* (3406 ff.) is apparently intended to bring out the hero's superiority to his bourgeois father-in-law.

celot; womanly tenderness and submissive devotion against manly pride, in the *Erec*; and feminine solicitude for decorum, insistence upon fidelity at all costs, and power of endurance, against masculine regard for honor, loyal devotion, and ever-ready courtesy and valor, in the *Cligés*. Lessons in *fine amor* naturally contain such contrasts or complements. In the *Escoufle* Aelis and William both teach the same general lesson—how lovers should endure the loss of luxury and rank as well as separation from each other, but she shows how a woman, he how a man, may rise to the emergency.¹

The hero is a man of noble deeds and fine feelings, both a model knight and a model lover, though circumstances sometimes make him more one than the other.² *Fine amor* demands of him sweetness with his strength, gentleness with his valor, courtesy in thought as well as in deed, but withal indubitable prowess. Emphasis upon the sentimental qualities produces the sensitive, emotional type of character, all courtesy and passion, saved from effeminacy by courage and skill at arms. The author of the *Amadas*, interested more in the might and tenderness of love than in its connections with chivalry, though giving his lover a chance to show himself a worthy knight, throws the weight of emphasis upon sentiment, and makes of Amadas a hero who might have won laurels in the eighteenth century. Apparently in the twelfth century too there was a premium on sensibility. But times were more violent in the earlier period; tournaments and *maufés* require more strenuous, if less admirable action than tender-hearted philanthropy. The physical exercise must be good for a hero; Mackenzie's "Man of Feeling," worn by his sensitive reaction to personal and vicarious troubles, long a prey to concealed love, hears Miss Walton's faltering "I know your worth—I have loved it as it deserves," only

¹ Cf. the complementary rôles of Galerent and Fresne, of Ille and Galeron, of Cléomadès and Clarmondine, of Amadas and Ydoine, and of Jehan and Blonde.

² William, the hero of the *Escoufle*, is brave and courteous but too young to be an accomplished knight. He is not ready to show his valor until the end of the story, when he leads an army to Rome.

to change color, smile faintly, and die. Amadas lived to enjoy the companionship of Ydoine many years.

With his intensity, the ideal *fins amans* must have self-control; he must have the delicacy to keep his perturbation of heart from spoiling his manners. The King of Scotland's restraint at the time of his great distress over the bad news about his wife¹ is of more social importance than the conventional reserve of courtly lovers. At first he gives way to his grief, weeping and tearing his hair and clothes, but upon being reminded by his friends that such behavior is unbecoming, he controls his emotion, and later, before the company gathered for the tournament, he hides his sorrow and puts on the appearance of gaiety, for his *sens* makes him restrain himself. Cléomadès, ever refined and punctilious, keeps his tears for the lonely watches of the night,² and when for a moment he cannot conceal his sadness, he excuses it on physical grounds, ashamed of his betrayal of emotion.³

Emphasis on a hero's valor may result in a knight like Yvain, whose adventures often make us forget his love, or one like Erec, whose reckless chivalry and rough mood raise questions about his attitude to his lady. As a rule, however, the elements are so mixed that the true knight is also the true lover. Embodying the traits of both the Squire and the Knight in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, he represents a stage between them. He is always young, usually about the age of the Squire, but he is more seriously in love. Before the advent of love and during the period of betrothal, Amadas is not unlike the Squire, a youth expert in all sports with dogs and hawks, "humles . . . et amiables, frans et courtois et serviabile,"⁴ serving nobly the knightly apprenticeship "to standen in his lady grace," and singing gayly⁵ such songs as the Squire "coude . . . make and wel endyte." And we can easily imagine the hero of the tomb scene matured into a middle-aged knight like the Squire's father, adequately

¹ *Manekine*, 3230 ff., 3335 ff.

² *Cléomadès*, 8310 ff.

³ *Id.*, 10915 ff.

⁴ *Amadas*, 61 ff.

⁵ *Id.*, 1651 ff.

characterized by the honor-roll of his military campaigns and the catalogue of his moral and social virtues. Durmart certainly had such a maturity, but his youth is not at all suggestive of the Squire's; at first it is too gross in its selfish waywardness and indifference to shame, its want of deference to the judgment of his father, and its absorption in a relation that precludes chivalry; and later it is too idealistic in the passionate earnestness of its quest for the unknown queen. There is nothing of the charming freshness and naturalness of the Squire even in the gay, sensuous, accomplished Conrad, patron of all the graces, chivalrous, literary, alert to sentiment, but wise in policy, and practical in the conduct of affairs; nor in the canny Jehan, versed in the arts of pleasing, agreeable of person and manner, hardly ingenuous; nor in the serious-minded Yder, intolerant of all but high chivalry and loyal love; nor in the amazingly ingenious William of Nevers; nor in the naïve young Fergus any more than in the precocious boy of "escoufle" fame. The poise of sophistication and the intensity of passion pitted against social law make the Châtelain, for all his brilliant youth and charm, a type too different for comparison.

There is very little complexity of character observable in these promising squires and accomplished knights. The romancer rarely attempts to show his hero from more than one angle—the chivalrous or the sentimental. The Châtelain, for instance, always and everywhere, in hall or bower, in the lists, at fêtes, on the battlefield, at home and abroad, is the lover playing to a feminine audience. He is most versatile: he writes poetry and letters the style of which has its share in his conquest of his lady's heart; under her eyes he jousts to the admiration of all; and in war he accomplishes great deeds for the sake of his *amie*. He can command the loyalty of the go-between, and he knows how to win a lady's favor, whether by the wooing of true love or by that of seduction. In emergency he is cool and ready, and he can adapt himself to intrigue with consummate cleverness. It is hard to see how, even in an age accustomed to justification of the adultery

motive in fiction, his deliberate campaign against the honor of a friend who trusts him,¹ and his spiteful, cruel humiliation of a woman by deception based upon her passion for him, could fail to mar the chivalrous integrity of his character. However, it must be remembered that in the eyes of devotees to *fine amor* husbands and all other persons who spied upon lovers were outside the pale of sympathy. William of Nevers and Joufrois are but lively, clever young men of the courtly world, full of zeal for love and intrigue and perfect masters of both arts. Lancelot is merely a true lover completely at his lady's command; the steadfastness of his devotion and its humble submission to the caprice of Guinevere, keep the lines of character portrayal extremely simple, in spite of the conflict between the sentimental and the knightly demands upon his conduct.

The struggle between love and knighthood makes Erec a less obvious, if not more complex personality. Chrétien shuts the reader out of the secret of exact motivation by omitting the conventional analysis of the hero's inner life. This reserve leaves us a real problem of interpretation, for which modern criticism has found several solutions.² According to one explanation Erec is cut to the quick by the realization that the wife whom he has raised from poverty to luxury, for whom he has sacrificed the chance for a more suitable marriage, and on whom he has lavished all that wealth and affection can give, is not satisfied with him. Another interpretation ascribes his strange behavior to wounded pride and the intolerable suspicion that he has been judged an unmanly, wife-ruled husband. It may also well be that, conscious of his undiminished valor, deeply hurt by the thought that his wife can doubt it, believing that he has lost her respect and with it her love, recalling, perhaps, in his bitter inventory of grievances against her, all that he has sacrificed for her, and reasoning that a heart all his could not harbor criticism of such de-

¹ Cf. Gawain's steadfast loyalty to his host in *Gawain and the Green Knight*.

² Cf. articles cited above, p. 62, n. 2; also E. S. Sheldon: *Romanic Review*, vol. v, No. 2, April-June, 1914, pp. 115 ff.

votion as his, he acts strangely for a courtly lover but not unnaturally for a proud, affectionate man, accustomed to applause, sure of himself, strong-willed, and intense, who suddenly sees himself in the most unfavorable light conceivable to his class, and this through the eyes of the person he loves best and has labored most devotedly to please. In short, we must allow in our estimate of Erec more of the human alloy than usually falls to the lot of a courtly lover.

The continuous prominence of the heroine's rôle is one of the most important characteristics of the medieval society romance. Though usually secondary to the hero, she does more than merely show off his perfection, for she is always intimately connected with the plot, is the center of the psychological interest, and brings with her the social problem and the social atmosphere. She is the object of her lover's activity, the subject of his thoughts, the cause of his quarrel with society, his chief excuse for dalliance in hall or bower or palace garden, the stimulus to his courtesy—indeed she is the main complicating and unifying agent in the story, and the principal determinant of its mood and setting.

She is, of course, idealized, but she is no angel and rarely much of a saint. The glorification of her beauty and sweetness, of her social graces, and of her wise and loyal efficiency in the service of love, is not infrequently tempered with a recognition of her tendency to caprice and her genius for duplicity. Until fully under the sway of love, Blonde and the Lady of Fayel are both capricious. And there is hardly a heroine who is not an adept at the deception justified by the system of courtly love. Moreover, the lady's virtues are on a mundane level, social and sentimental, rather than moral and spiritual. Decorum instead of morality, the desires of the heart instead of the aspirations of the soul, dictate her conduct and color her inner life. The slave of social environment, hedged round with convention, made timid by danger and weakness, she can circumvent opposition only by subterfuge, can hope for security only through care for appearances. Though this excuse is not explicitly stated by the romancers who turn her

unscrupulous ingenuity and her fear of scandal to narrative and psychological account, it is implied in their treatment of her situation and their reflection of her social world as a whole.

For help in the moment of physical danger the most competent medieval heroine must look to the hero's valor and skill at arms, but when quickness of wit and politic device will avail, she is amply able to take care of herself and sometimes of the hero too. She rarely owes her escape from harm to the appeal of helpless beauty in distress; she is oftener in danger from it than protected by it. Nor is the defensive power of true love her immediate reliance in time of need, though it is the real source of her strength. What she can count on always is her feminine guile, her ready tongue, her skillful hand, and her worldly wisdom. She is competent in a practical way. When Aelis finds herself alone in the world, she weeps long and bitterly, but she braces herself to the problems of action. She decides what to do and proceeds to do it well. Her education as a lady of rank has equipped her with winning manners, an irresistible needle, and a knowledge of what vanity will pay for. With these assets she goes into business with a girl of the laboring class and not only earns a livelihood but social respect and favor besides. Fresne, too, is equal to an emergency demanding intelligent activity. Her replies to the insults of the abbess show self-respect, independence, and spirited courage.¹ She refuses to become a nun, declaring fearlessly that she has learned enough about the cloister to know that it is not the place for one with her ideals; "no one works there to please God; each one is there to live in comfort." In vain the abbess warns her: "If you think you are going to be a countess, you are bargaining for your disgrace. . . . If you live ten years you will have trouble earning your bread carding wool and washing heads for pence." "Please God not so," responds Fresne. . . . "My heart, madame, teaches me no other trade than reading my Psalter, working with gold or silk, . . . playing lays on my harp, and checkmating at chess. . . . Often have I heard my master say such habit

¹ *Galerent*, 3789-3996

comes of refinement. . . . If now it could be that I loved a count and he loved me, I might yet be called countess and lady of high estate." The dialogue continues in this vein, the abbess growing angrier and more insulting, Fresne refusing to give in. Finally dismissed from the abbey, she goes away to earn her livelihood respectably until she sees her chance to make fortune yield her the honor and happiness she so confidently assured the abbess she is entitled to expect.

Ydoine is an unusually clear-cut and consistent representative of the feminine type evolved from the exigences of a conflict between social and moral duty on the one hand and *fine amor* on the other. The poet's attitude to women is without illusion; more than once he speaks out in the current vein of his day about their bias toward duplicity.¹ His heroine is ideally tender, faithful, and chaste, as woman at her best may be, but she is a very woman in her will and skill to deceive, in her unhesitating deviation from the truth in the interest of love, in her clever finessing, and in her promptness to translate desires into schemes. One sees her as the highest exponent of her sex—loyal in love, truly virtuous in her decorum, efficient, determined, but withal, tricky. The romancer extols her devotion, and profits by her unscrupulous ingenuity to the advantage of his plot. Nowhere does her cunning have better play than in her management of the Count of Nevers, her husband. First she puts him into a timorous state of mind; then she employs tears and illness; and finally, with the tale of holy vision, confirms her early work upon his fears and brings his vacillation to the stand she wishes. Throughout the story she is the most significant initiative and constructive force, a striking example of what courtly love and femininity can accomplish between them.²

All heroines are not so active; there is an ideal of passive loyalty, exemplified in Enide and the Manekine. Both, poor adies, are martyrs of the Patient Griselda type, suffering

¹ *Amadas*, 3569 ff. and 7061 ff.

² Cf. the efficiency of Clarmondine and Lienor and the clever duplicity of Flamenca, Athanais (*Eraclés*), and Fenice (*Cligés*).

mEEKLY the blows of outrageous fortune for the sake of love, and never, for all their real or imagined grievances against their husbands, abating a tittle of their devotion. The Manekine, finding herself adrift on the open sea, by her husband's orders as she thinks, sighs over the extremes of Fortune, and grieves over the king's cruelty. Though Providence steers her boat to a safe and comfortable refuge, she continues to sorrow for what she has lost; never during the years with the fatherly senator and his affectionate daughters is she seen to smile, and she eschews the very colors of gaiety, dressing always in sombre robes. Love has in her the meek, pining type of response to its hardships, and the passive inner loyalty of heart and thought that cherishes, without hope, its broken relations, letting memory and sentiment triumph over absence and the sense of injured innocence. We must look for her prototype among the saintly heroines of holy legend. Enide is more human. She can assert herself for Erec's good, as her timely disobedience, her evasion of Count Galoain's suit, and her defiance of Count Limors show. Her thoughts are ever upon the situation; though she may indulge in such generalities as "Silence never harmeth, speech often causeth woe," her reflections are not busy with moralizing but with regret for things as she sees them, things for which she blames herself after the fashion of her devoted kind. It is not saintliness, rather that sensitive conscience of hers combined with a habit of adoring her husband, which excludes resentment. Fiction long since the days of Chrétien has found her type natural enough for sympathetic presentation. If Ydoine and Fresne at times seem dimly to foreshadow Becky Sharp and Vivie Warren, Enide much more definitely promises Amelia Sedley and Lucy Desborough. Feminine passivity has gone out of fashion in literature as in society, but occasionally to-day a novelist shows a liking for the ideal which gave us the Manekine and Enide.

Without the moral stamina and the initiative of Ydoine, and with far more worldliness than Enide, the Lady of Fayel stands with them only on the ground of loyalty in courtly

love, and is much nearer Stendhal's Madame Rénal. She is not a colorless personification of sentimental laws. With her natural recoil from temptation before her heart has been touched; her vacillating conscience; her susceptibility to the charms of elegance and social brilliancy, to the sensuous appeal of society in gala mood and array, and to the mere consciousness of being loved by the universally admired Châtelain; her cleverness in devising, as well as in seconding, schemes for evading her husband's jealousy; and her whole-hearted, unwavering allegiance to the lover for whom she has risked all, to whom she has given herself for better or for worse, she is among the most convincingly real of all the *fines amantes*.

Take the medieval heroine all in all, she is neither wholly saint nor wholly sinner, but like the majority of her literary descendants, a little of both; sometimes too good, it may be, for "human nature's daily food"; sometimes planned to warn, to comfort, and command not very nobly, according to modern ideals; always blessed—or cursed—with some touch of feminine nature to make the whole world smile or shrug. She is obvious to the reader; we have the key to her character from the first.¹ Interest in man's work for society may make of the hero something more than a lover, but the heroine is always the *amie*. The schemer Ydoine, unlike Becky Sharp, plays her game against circumstances not for herself but for her lover; necessity and the hope of finding William, not the call of a career, makes Aelis self-supporting; faith in Galerent gives Fresne courage to defy the abbess and live laborious days outside the cloister. Whatever the heroine does, in fact, must be seen in the light of her relation to her lover. If she has more individuality than he, she may thank not the trouvère's art but society—the fashionable sentimental cult of her day with its apotheosis of woman, the medieval counter tendency to regard femininity with a satiric eye, and the conventions which restricted and challenged her. The romancer remembers that "woman brought us all our woe," and lets his *fine amante* appear a true daughter of Eve at

¹ The elusive complexity of Criseyde is exceptional.

moments convenient for his plot and his theme, but he also idealizes her and makes her the guiding star of his hero's life. The result, accidental or not, is a distinct promise of feminine types characteristic of modern fiction. The limited point of view which shows woman only as a sentimental figure dedicated to love has not been lost. Courtly love has vanished from romance; the all-for-love motive as the dominant trait of feminine character has not.

The enemies of *fine amor* are likely to be hardly more than personifications of danger or difficulty. The hero may win the heroine from other knightly competitors in a tournament, as in the *Ipomedon*, from a besieging army under a very objectionable person, as in the *Fergus* and the *Durmart*, or rescue her from imprisonment in the castle of an unscrupulous nobleman, as in the *Meraugis*. Such opponents are merely obstacles to be surmounted by prowess and have little to recommend them to the reader. Then there are the supernatural beings, *maufés* and fairy ladies, who sometimes complicate matters. As a rule, they are incidental menaces, strong beyond common human strength but unable to withstand love combined with valor. The lady Madoine, who keeps crossing the fortunes of Claris and Laris, has supernatural power and consorts with fairies, but her motives are human. While her desire to hold her lover away from his kind is no more than tradition leads us to expect of beings like her, her efforts to further her son's interests by preventing his father's marriage with Marine bring her into the world of ordinary mortals.

It is in that world of social values and conflicting human motives that we find most of the characters who cross the course of true love in the society romances. They are of three classes: parents, rivals, and husbands. The first class includes mechanical agents of convention, like the Duke of Burgundy in the *Amadas*; unintentional blunderers like the mother of William and Lienor of Dole; and deliberate opposers of the lovers' union, like the mother of Partonopeus, the parents of Aelis in the *Escoufle*, and the dowager Queen of Scotland in the *Manekine*. Usually parental interference comes early in the

story and is soon lost sight of in trials resulting from it, but it nearly always involves some interesting characterization, commonly such realistic stuff as comedy is made of; however wicked and disastrous the conduct, there is behind it or in it an element of very human folly. The father of Aelis has a bad record for weakness when he enters the story; on his first appearance he must beg Count Richard's aid against the effects of his unwise favoritism and his inability to deal with the situation himself. While he is strong with the strength of Richard, he can defy his nobles, but as soon as he is left to face his troubles alone, he is the easy victim of their will seconded by that of his wife. The empress is influenced by the nobles' objection to William's social deficiencies of rank and fortune, and brings her husband to her point of view and nerves him to the expulsion of William. Then emperor and empress drop out of the plot, but they have had their influence on the course of action. The Earl of Oxford, Blonde's father, though, like the Duke of Burgundy in the *Amadas*, only a social means to the separation of the lovers, is a much more distinct personality. From the time that he and Jehan join company on the Dover road until his good-natured, sensible acceptance of the irrevocable at the end, he impresses the reader as a real person, kindly, shrewd, a good judge of men, open-minded, and appreciative of wit as well as of material worth. His evident disgust at the stupidity of his prospective son-in-law, his enjoyment of Jehan's cleverness, and his British decision in favor of fair play, contribute their pleasant share of the scene in which he listens to the Earl of Gloucester make merry at the expense of the silly young fellow who was so amusing on the road from London. Upon hearing that Blonde has disappeared, with Jehan, as he immediately surmises, he coolly leaves the situation to the rivals.

The poor Lady of Dole is the fond mother of all time, amusing in her maternal credulity and her feminine garrulousness under the influence of flattery for her son and daughter, touching in her distress over consequences. The mother of Partonopeus is a well-meaning woman with an eye to her son's

worldly advancement, and a normal distrust of what she does not understand. As long as matters are on an ordinary social basis she knows how to deal with them, but magic and the transports of crossed *fine amor* are beyond her unsentimental genius. Reduced to helpless grief by her son's incomprehensible condition, she passes from our notice, forgotten in the trials of the hero. The Manekine's mother-in-law is also actuated by social pride. Unwilling for her son to marry a waif from nobody knows where, she bids the girl avoid the king, and then, accustomed to obedience, she relaxes vigilance. She is literally caught napping, for it is while she is asleep that the lovers steal a march on her and are married. Her behavior is consistent throughout. She refuses to see her daughter-in-law, and withdraws to her own house to nurse her wrath and bide her chance to make trouble. When her opportunity comes, she acts promptly and cleverly, but, though she knows how to make her diabolical scheme seem plausible, she fails to count on true love, a natural oversight for an old dowager of her worldly malignancy. She is very wicked, and her son doubtless does right to imprison her for life; but she is far from unreal, with her officiousness, her sulky obduracy, and her tenacious insistence upon her own way. She is an ancestress of Lady Kew, Ethel Newcome's redoubtable grandmother, and of Madame de Bellegarde in Henry James's *The American*.

Rivals beset the paths of lovers, many of them, like Fleurie in the *Galerent*, unconscious of the rôle; others, like the malicious lady in the *Châtelain*, fully aware of it. Most of them are conventional victims of the hero's or the heroine's charms, but some are quite as interesting as the persons they rival, and not a few afford entertaining comedy.¹ In the *Violette*, the passionate, willful, spoiled girl, Aiglante, is more vividly real than the model Euriant. Jehan's rival, the Earl of Glou-

¹ Besides rivalry in love, there is social rivalry to make trouble for the lovers and to furnish comic scenes. Kay's egotism and cowardice in his contests with Yder are farcical despite the vicious envy which accompanies them. The seneschal who slanders Lienor is made ridiculous by her in the scenes in which he falls an easy prey to plans based upon his vanity.

cester, is one of the best comic figures in the romances, with his bad French, slow wit, complacency, and derisive contempt for what he does not understand. When he realizes that the silly Frenchman has made a fool of him and robbed him of his bride, he becomes a raging, dangerous foe, and if the hero were less ready with the sword than the tongue, the Earl might turn the laugh against him; but Jehan has French valor to support French cleverness, and is again more than a match for the Englishman. Beaumanoir may have admired the English—Blonde and her parents indicate that he did—yet the Earl of Gloucester is proof that he found some of their national peculiarities amusing. More bitter satire marks the treatment of the Chatelain's betrayer, the poet's fling at spying, meddling gossip, so often attacked by troubadour and trouvère as the most dangerous foe to courtly love. The lady pretends to be doing the Lord of Fayel and society a service by opening his eyes to his position, but she is really moved by spite and jealousy. How little she prizes what she professes to regard appears in her readiness to deceive her own husband.

(In the romances that oppose love to marriage, husbands are at a disadvantage. Alis puts himself in the wrong by marrying Fenice contrary to his agreement with the father of Cligés, but thanks to Thessala's magic potion, he is not an active force until he discovers the deception of which he has been the victim, when he behaves like any other irate, vengeful character in romance. Except in his connivance at the doctors' cruelty to Fenice, he does not suggest the conventional jealous husband. The Count of Nevers in the *Amadas*, though even less active, is of more psychological interest. We are told¹ that he is a hardy, courageous knight who does not believe in visions and supernatural warnings of any kind; nevertheless once the idea that his marriage may cause his death gains a place in his consciousness, he cannot get rid of it. When Ydoine adds her cunning to that of the sorceresses, behaving in exact accordance with their prophecy, he has not the cour-

¹ *Amadas*, 2318 ff.

age to challenge fate, and settles down to a timorous passivity. The crazed Amadas, insulted and beaten in the streets of Lucca, is a pathetic figure; the Count of Nevers, able to reason but thinking to little purpose, the innocuous creature of a woman's wit and will, is comical, if not contemptible. His cowardice is psychological, not physical, but fear that deters from action—except in a lover before his lady—is despicable in a medieval gentleman. Only seneschals, husbands, bullies, and women, show the white feather in the romances, and only women have sympathy in their fears. Pertelote voices public sentiment in romance at least when she chides Chantecler for being afraid. Ydoine's husband is not a more unnatural character than Conrad's Lord Jim or Barrie's Aaron Latta, but medieval convention excludes him from their appeal to sympathy. A husband and a coward, he is fair game for the romancer's satire.

Flamenca's husband is even more ridiculous. Obsessed with jealousy, Archambaut degenerates into a slovenly boor and niggardly recluse, who shuts his door upon society and keeps a close watch over his wife, never allowing her out of his sight on the rare occasions when he lets her leave the house. Nevertheless, if he can still see a church in the daytime, he cannot see all the possibilities of the church service; William carries on his courtship of Flamenca in Archambaut's presence at mass. Moreover, Flamenca makes him an unwitting party to her rendezvous with William until, by fooling him to the top of his bent, she exorcises the devil of suspicion and restores him to normal behavior in order that she may be free from his irksome, though futile, surveillance. Possibly Archambaut becomes a model for husbands who would avoid contempt and enjoy the blessing of unsuspecting ignorance, but unfortunately the tale of his reformation is incomplete, and we see him only as a warning against the unworthy passion he exemplifies.

The Lord of Fayel is a more serious warning. Before jealousy poisons his mind, he is a kind husband,¹ a skilled knight,² a hospitable friendly gentleman, believing in his friend's honor

¹ *Châtelain*, 212 ff. and 2363 ff.

² *Id.*, 1573 ff.

and his wife's goodness and wisdom. When the officious betrayer of the lovers tells him what he would never have suspected, he is at first incredulous,¹ but at the meddler's suggestion he stoops to espionage. In his rage at discovering the Châtelain entering his house clandestinely he is on the point of killing him, when the unexpected incrimination of Isabel stays his hand and renders him irresolute at his one opportunity to act decisively and directly. His position becomes intolerable. Tormented by doubt steadily growing into conviction, deceived, humiliated, afraid of his wife's kindred, and shrinking from scandal, he broods over his situation until it drives him to the mean brutality which at once avenges and ruins him.

The lovers' most natural and efficient aids are the young squires and ladies-in-waiting attached to the household of the hero or the heroine.² Accustomed to hear *fine amor* talked of in hall and park, to listen to songs celebrating it or to discourses on its laws and beauties, to hear the heralds appeal from the lists to pity for the knights who have fought and fallen there for love,³ Gobert, Isabel, Garinet, Lunette, the attendants of Flamenca, and the ladies who wait upon Clarmondine, have all learned their science and developed their sympathies in the same school that shaped the romancers' art. They know, as the trouvères know, the nice balance between tolerance and decorum that the hero and heroine must preserve, and they know also the duties of an ideal go-between. The more intrigue in the story the better defined the type. Garinet, Ydoine's messenger, needs only discretion, sympathy, and loyalty to discharge his duty, and mere prudence would have embarrassed the attendants of Clarmondine. Flamenca's companions, however, must be versed in the rules of the game she is to play, and as ready of tongue and as pliable to emergency

¹ *Châtelain*, 4113 ff.

² For the rôles of Pandarus and Laris, cf. articles cited above, p. 86, note 4.

³ In the descriptive poem, *Les Tournois de Chauvenci*, the heralds throw the responsibility for the casualties of the lists upon the ladies and love; guests and musicians sing of love in the castle hall; and a "sermon" on love delivered by the poet at the request of one of the guests, concludes the poem. These scenes doubtless reflect the pastimes of real society.

as the risks demand. There is something in their mental agility, their pleasure in plaguing Archambaut, the touch of impudence in their wit, and their talent for intrigue, anticipative of the wide-awake Marias and Lucies whose clever shifts and smart repartee still enliven comedy. The unselfish devotion, superior accomplishments, and general refinement of Isabel, the Lady of Fayel's confidante, give her a dignity which sets her somewhat above others of her class, but her part in the humiliation of another woman¹ shows her kinship with Flamenca's friends. Her fellow agent, Gobert, is also disappointing. His zeal for love and affection for the Châtelain hardly prepare us for his betrayal of his mission and surrender of the casket entrusted to him by his dying master. Even at his best he suffers in our respect by serving two lords at once, Fayel treacherously, the Châtelain faithfully. His virtues must be accepted to-day at their full thirteenth century value to make him seem to us better than the officious, unscrupulous underling on the low moral plane of the go-between of later fiction.

Minor characters in the romances count for little or nothing beyond some momentary demand for them. Narration and courtly love need a faithful servant, a kindly host, a spy, a fairy, an ambitious mother, a devoted friend, a rival, exacting barons—somebody to advance or interpret the action, to illustrate a principle or bring out the ideal qualities of the hero or the heroine, and the romancer finds the proper person in the social environment of his lovers, makes him serve the purpose and then lets him go, to pick him up for reward or punishment at the end, or not, as the final situation suggests. Here and there we catch glimpses of real personalities among these creatures of narrative or sentimental convenience, and not infrequently a group of nameless men and women stand out from dead convention with vivid reality. One cannot easily forget the phenomenon of the Countess of St. Gilles in a romance dedicated to unmoral, artificial *fine amor*;² nor the "artful dodger," Dodiniax;³ nor the, brutal, ignorant mob in pursuit of the crazed

¹ The victim of the Châtelain's revenge.

² *Escoufle*, 5900 ff.

³ *Claris*, 26855 ff.

Amadas;¹ nor Josefant's courtiers scorning the young prince in disgrace.² In fact, the minor characters often are more realistic than the hero and the heroine. The romancer's care to perfect his principal characters in conventional virtues of heart and conduct refines their individuality to the vanishing point; his freer treatment of less important figures not seldom vivifies scene and incident with striking reality. Yet the most impressive of them have but precarious footing in the story; we rarely see them again after they have served the immediate purpose that called them there.

When the trouvère attempts any limning at all, the technique of his portraiture is simple and conventional. He labels a character when he introduces him, analyzes him, describes his personal appearance—clothes included—notes his breeding and his popularity, and then proceeds to show how he behaves under the influence of love, hate, jealousy, whatever the passion to be illustrated. We learn what he thinks and how he feels partly through the poet's analysis and partly through his own monologues. The thinking is conducted according to the rules of courtly love, and consists chiefly of conventional psychologizing. If he is a hero, he commands wherever he goes the admiration of men and the love of women. Society recognizes him as its ideal, exalts him to its highest positions, and celebrates his success in love and war with acclaim and pageantry. Or if he is an enemy of the lovers, he receives the scorn of public opinion, and is often held up for ridicule in analyses of his futile thinking, descriptions of his uncouthness, and accounts of his absurd conduct. For all characters emotions are strong and obvious, controlled by courtesy or not according to connection with the theme; behavior is consistent with conventional ideas of class and ruling motive.

The society romances, however, depend largely upon character interest for their distinctive effects, and it is a character interest which prepares the way for modern psychological fiction, with emphasis on personal relations, attention to man's inner life, and recognition of his career as the logical

¹ *Amadas*, 2739 ff. and 3132 ff.

² *Durmart*, 437 ff. and 727 ff.

outcome of what he feels, thinks, and is. The psychological element is too conventional and too mechanically adjusted to narration and portraiture for real delineation of personality. But, though in our judgment the elaborate psychologizing clogs the story with exposition and smothers character under subjective analysis, to the romancers' contemporaries it was one of the chief ornaments of these poems, one that gave distinction, refinement, and weight. It had not only didactic value, teaching the nature of love and the right way for lovers to feel, think, and speak, but also somewhat of the appeal of the essay, or more nearly that of the essay-like "author's comment" such as we find in the novels of Fielding and Thackeray, or that of its analogue, the psychological analysis of individual character in novels like those of George Meredith and Henry James.¹

A stiff, formal description of a character's beauty, which begins at the head and works down to the feet,² including practically the same details, whatever the situation, whoever sits for the portrait, appears sooner or later, nearly always once and often several times in the course of a romance. The inventory of beauties of face and form hardly presents the charm of a doll, but in the middle ages it apparently had power to conjure admiration, to stir the imagination, and quicken the emotions. To appreciate its appeal we must let an orderly catalogue of accepted elements of beauty suggest a beautiful woman to us, as it does to Conrad on the occasion of his surrender to love for a lady whom he has never seen.³ Jouglet enumerates the charms of a wonderfully fair lady: blonde hair, curly and falling in waves around a face in which the red of the rose mingles *soutilement* with the whiteness of the lily; eyes beautiful *por esgarder*, *vairs* and brighter than the ruby; well-formed eyebrows that do not meet; exquisite teeth, mouth, and nose; white neck and bust;

¹ The romances often contain "author's comment" on other themes besides love. Cf. *Yder*, 4444 ff. and 5143 ff.; *Galerent*, 96 ff.; *Amadas*, 3569 ff. and 6887 ff.

² Cf. Brunetto Latini: *Li Tresor*, ed. Chabaille, Bk. I, Pt. 1, Ch. 35.

³ *Guillaume de Dole* 600 ff.

beautiful body, arms, and hands; such courtesy and sense with the beauty that no one could be boorish in her presence! Conrad needs little more to rouse his susceptible heart. He fears he will die without such a friend, but Jouglet assures him that he knows one like her whom he has described. Conrad hears her name, and the work of the description is complete; he is in love.

Beaumanoir, in the *Manekine*, uses the conventional details for special effect.¹ As the King of Scotland lies sleepless one night thinking of the Manekine, he raises the question of her lineage and answers it by recalling her beauty; "Suppose she is of low origin," he says to himself. "Low? Never! . . . I ought to do penance for such a thought. It is evident in her face and her figure that she is of gentle birth; for nature never fashioned another so well. . . . So I think when I see her grey eyes, her sweet look which seems to say, 'I like you.' . . . Blonde lashes, beautiful nose . . . and lovely ears. . . . God! what a little mouth she has, and what teeth. . . . Now I am overcome by describing her sweet face, which conquers my heart and holds it hers. . . ." The review is potent; he resolves to make her his wife.

The paragon of beauty may be the delight of many eyes on some momentous occasion. Lienor, wearing a blue samite dress trimmed with ermine, and a white embroidered chemise cut low to show her flawless throat, mounts a dappled palfrey richly caparisoned, and rides to court, holding her reins with one hand, the fastening of her mantle with the other.² All the rich citizens of the Exchange get up to look at her. . . . "One could cut the purses of those who follow gaping. . . ." At court the knights and squires rush to assist her at dismounting, and the Lord of Nivele runs to announce her arrival to the Emperor, who comes at once to see her. When she finds herself in the royal presence, she drops her mantle, as etiquette requires, and then all the barons of the realm see her golden

¹ *Manekine*, 1529 ff.

² *Guillaume de Dole*, 4519 ff. Cf. *Ipomedon*, 359 ff. and 2201 ff.; *Violette*, 790 ff.

hair shining under a chaplet of flowers and falling in waves around her sorrowful face and down over her shoulders upon her blue dress. It is not strange that she finds favor with the beauty-loving Conrad.

Such portraits are highly artificial, but at their best they are effective, and owe their charm not wholly to the glamor of old romance and the quaintness of an art that pleased long ago. Made by rule and of conventionalized details, with special attention to purely ornamental possibilities, they nevertheless are of dynamic value to the stories they adorn. A reader must not only see and admire, he must also appreciate the effect upon action, must realize the sensuous appeal that reaches the hero's heart and motivates his deeds. It is a long way from the *Guillaume de Dole* to the *Egoist*, from Lienor in her blue robe kneeling before Conrad to Clara Middleton as Vernon Whitford sees her under the canopy of the blossoming cherrytree at Patterne; yet the two pictures serve the same artistic purpose and aim at a similar psychological effect.

3. SOCIAL BACKGROUND

No medieval society romance fails to give attention to social background. Important occasions are almost always elaborately staged, and the natural habitat of *fine amor*, society, is constantly pictured in realistic or poetically heightened vignettes. This pictorial element gives the romances their very ornate character and the realism which makes their scenes valuable to the student of medieval social conditions.

Yet in the handling of setting, as in the management of the psychological machinery, there is imperfect assimilation with narration; the pictures too often are mere spectacular embellishments. Most of the gorgeous wedding and coronation scenes which conclude many of the poems are but decorative pageants, obviously planned to give a grand finale. Inserted early in the action, such scenes may serve the theme not only by showing how love may exalt a hero or a heroine, but also by enhancing through contrast the effect of subsequent reverses in the course of true love. The slight narrative value of this device,

however, appears when we compare Chaucer's summary, but adequate, account of Constance's marriage with Beaumanoir's elaborate description of the Manekine's public wedding and coronation. The Man of Law simply tells us¹ that Christ has "y-maad Custance a quene," and then, after describing Donegild's disapproval of the union of her son "with so strange a creature," he proceeds to say:

"Me list nat of the chaf nor of the stree
Maken so long a tale, as of the corn.
What sholde I tellen of the royaltee
At mariage, of which cours gooth biforn,
Who bloweth in a trompe or in an horn?
The fruit of every tale is for to seye;
They ete, and drinke, and daunce, and singe, and pleye."

Beaumanoir, on the other hand, devotes many lines to the eating and drinking and dancing and singing and playing.²

Because of his mother's objection to the Manekine, the King of Scotland wastes no time over the actual wedding ceremony; it is the matter of a few minutes in the court chapel before a small group of courtiers.³ This private marriage is followed two weeks later, at Pentecost, *en la douce saison* when the nightingales sing and the meadows are green and bright with flowers, by a fête to which all the people of the land are invited in honor of the bride, who is crowned that day. "The day before the fête the court assembled at Dundee, and many an ox, many a pig, and many a bear were killed there. . . . Then to see the ladies come hand in hand with the knights! Dukes, counts, barons filled all the pavilions. In the evening after supper all walked in the meadows as if it were noon, for I assure you that there were torches burning—one never saw larger. . . . When they had reveled all night, they went to bed for a little rest." The next day, after the coronation, ladies and knights with no low-born person among them sit down at the more than five hundred tables spread for them in pavilions strewn with rushes,

¹ *Man of Law's Tale*, 690 ff. Chaucer's poem is a "virtue story," not a society romance.

² *Manekine*, 2179–2346.

³ *Id.*, 2005 ff.

mint, violets, and other small flowers. As for the menu, the poet says: "If I described their food, I should stop here forever. . . . Each had what he liked: flesh and fowl, game, and fish of all kinds." The minstrels, each according to his specialty, then proceed to "earn their pay" with marvelous music on viols, pipes, flutes, musettes, harps, and horns, citoles, and psalterions, trumpets, and clarions. After listening a little while, the company run to take part in the dance. . . . Ladies and knights, in silk and gold, sing and dance the carole. . . . The heart of each seems on wings. . . ."

This account of social festivity illustrates how the romancers make nature and society adorn their tales of sentiment and adventure. The season of spring frequently furnishes out-of-door setting for their picturesque fêtes. Their kings and counts, queens and court ladies, delight in open air pastimes when the bird is in the brake and the flower on the spray; they like to go into the woods and the fields, to camp in silken tents, to hunt, to stroll through the meadows, to dance and sing and feast on the greensward, to enjoy the pleasures of gay social life without its formalities, while they indulge a fashionable taste for idyllic scene and atmosphere.¹ The nature lyrics of his day may have given the narrative artist the hint for these fair interludes; so many of his situations and motives appear first in the songs of troubadours and trouvères, songs which may themselves form a part of the ornamental detail responsible for the sensuous charm of his romance,² that one not unnaturally looks to them for the probable source of this idyllic element,—the *fête champêtre*. Society itself, however, doubtless furnished much of the material for the scenes presenting song and dance, feasting and gay dress-parade in the fields or parks. The somewhat free and easy spirit pervading Conrad's merry camping party, who "have no great need for other chaplains than the birds,"³ suggests the relaxation of fashionable life at idyllic play.

¹ Cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, 138–555.

² Cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, *Violette*, and *Cléomadès*.

³ *Guillaume de Dole*, 225–7 ff.

The tournament furnishes another type of pageantry.¹ Though an out-of-door function and often combined with dancing and feasting in the open air, it usually presents society in a pose far from idyllic. As sure of a place in a romance as *fine amor* itself and much surer than a wedding, joust or tourney is one of the chief opportunities for the author to show his hero as a true gentleman in an age of chivalry. It may be a very bloody affair, like the three-day tourney in the *Ipomedon*, or the safe and sane lancing contest preferred by the author of the *Cléomadès* for social occasions,² or a compromise between the life-and-death battle and the innocuous exhibition of military athletics. The third type is the kind in which the Châtelain employs valor to win his lady's favor, and Amadas proves his knighthood.³ It is also the kind so elaborately described in *Les tournois de Chauvenci*,⁴ and doubtless best represents the fashionable sport in which knights excelled to the applause of ladies. At its most realistic pitch of interest its appeal is that of a horse show, a regatta, or a game of polo.

The relation of the tournament scenes to the plot is often very loose, though there is usually some attempt to give them significance for the development of the theme if not to make them decisive steps toward the dénouement. A knight traveling "at adventure" on a quest, like Durmart, may be drawn into a great tourney⁵ which accomplishes nothing for the direct evolution of the plot, but, if like Durmart, he is proving the value of love to knightly prowess, his achievements on the occasion serve the theme. Yet episodes of this more or less casual connection with the main line of narration contribute chiefly pageantry and glorification of the hero. When, however, the heroine is one of the witnesses of his great deeds in the lists, his laurels mean more for the story than general

¹ For a full discussion of such pageantry see L. Gautier's *La Chevalerie*, Paris, 1884.

² *Cléomadès*, 15985 ff., 17460 ff.

³ *Châtelain*, 884 ff.; *Amadas*, 4260.

⁴ By Jacques Breteux, 1285; ed., Hecq, 1898, and Delmotte, 1835.

⁵ *Durmart*, 6650 ff.

admiration for his prowess. The publicly acknowledged ✓
 tourney prize or the secret inspiration of his valor, she gives
 the pageant immediate narrative and sentimental impor-
 tance. Moreover, she often makes a link between more serious
 military activity and social life. The feminine audience may
 turn a siege into something very like a tournament. If it is
 an artificial battle that the ladies watch from seats built
 round the lists, while they enjoy the pageantry and the dis-
 play of fine technique in fighting, they can also look forward
 to the fête following the tourney; if they look from battlement
 or castle window upon the progress of attack and defense
 before the walls of a beleaguered citadel, their appreciation
 of the picturesque spectacle and the brilliant prowess of their
 defenders may be combined with pleasure in the prospect
 of merry-making in the castle after the fighting, for even in
 wartime life in hall need not be dull.¹

Other excuses for pageantry are found in the "adobements,"²
 the arrivals and departures of heroes,³ and the funerals of
 important persons.⁴ Nor are the romancers without an eye
 for the contrasts of society. Renart brings the readers of the
Escoufle from the worldliness and luxury of the imperial court
 at Rome to the idyllic life of the runaway lovers, from the
 carefree existence in the fields to the lowly life of poverty, from
 workshop and hostel to the daily life of a castle without the
 glamor of festivity, from the hunt with hawks to the mag-
 nificence of a fashionable wedding and a succession of
 triumphal scenes in Normandy and Rome terminating in a
 double coronation. The *Guillaume de Dole* delights us with
 contrasts between the rich court of Conrad and the quieter
 but equally refined and charming atmosphere of the pro-

¹ Cf. *Yder*, 1005 ff. and *Claris*, 878 ff.

² The arming of a young knight for the first time may be passed over lightly,
 as in the *Amadas*, 1311-1334, or it may be elaborated, as in the *Durmart*, the
Fergus, and the *Jouffrois*. In the *Jouffrois* it is combined with the ceremony of
 arming the hero for a very serious task. Cf. the arming of Gawain in *Gawain*
and the Green Knight.

³ Cf. *Escoufle*, 145 f. and *Erec*, 2310 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Escoufle* 2486 ff. and *Amadas*, 5322 ff.

vincial home of William and Lienor, between the jolly life of William in his bachelor quarters in the city and the more restrained, more elegant life in the palace, between the gaiety of private entertainments and that of a great tournament, between the May Day joyousness of the highway traveled by Lienor from Dole to Mayence and the anxious mood of her little party, between all the scenes of danger or disappointment and the closing pictures of triumphant beauty and virtue in a setting of imperial gorgeousness. The *Galerent*, too, is rich in varied scenes. The beautiful abbey of Biausejour surrounded by fair orchards and wooded hills¹ makes an ideal background for the young lovers. Beyond the abbey walls are tournaments and fêtes for Galerent and the quiet industry of a citizen's simple home for Fresne, until love transfers her to the luxurious environment in which she was born and where we leave her surrounded by the splendor of wedding pageantry.

✓ The pictures are legion; the romances are heavy with them. Yet the range is not great, for convention, social and literary, imposes its limitations upon setting as well as upon action and characters.² Scenes alike in details, arrangement, tone, and color, recur again and again, individualized only, if at all, by modifications more or less incidental to plot or theme. One tournament scene differs from another as little in matters of composition as in glory. In all there is emphasis on the crowds in attendance; an important tournament, as a rule, overtaxes the accommodations of the community, fills the roads and city streets with gay throngs, and sets up tents in the neighboring fields. Then there is usually an enumeration of notable participants, with attention to titles and magnificence of equipage. Church service and meals are almost always punctiliously recorded as preceding or following the activities of the lists. The audience is never slighted, for it is the effect of the combat on observers that carries a large part of the burden of description. We are constantly called

¹ *Galerent*, 812 ff.

² Cf. É. Mâle: *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century*, transl., Dora Nussey, New York, 1913. Chapter I.

upon to realize the scene with them, to see the squires busy with horses and armor before the signal for beginning the fight, to hear the chargers neighing, and to admire the glitter of arms, the gayly colored armorial bearings, the pennants, and the favors worn by the various champions. The actual combat is presented in a succession of duels, each more brilliant than the preceding, until the hero scores the greatest triumph of the day. That is the regular plan for jousts; the tourney is more like a battle between two armies. But even when the fighting is general, between groups rather than between individuals, the author is likely to follow the hero through single-handed struggles with powerful rivals. He likes to alternate the duel with the *mêlée*, to bring the fight to the point of death for one champion or another and then rush friends to the rescue, thus varying the battle and postponing the culmination of the contest. In the evening the knights revel in their hostels and discuss the prowess displayed in the lists. This is the opportunity for the hero to show his largess and hospitality, his indifference to the material prizes of the tourney, his social graces in general. It is also the author's chance to put in a word about the relation of the citizens to the knights who lodge with them, and to show the town stirred to unwonted life and merriment by the influx of courtly and chivalrous society. The romancer fits this conventional matter into his story for decorative, narrative, or psychological effect. It has its own independent appeal, as the descriptive tourney poems like *Les Tournois de Chauvenci* testify, but what it gains when made the background of courtly love, we may see when we compare the account of the three-day tournament which constitutes the whole of the *Tournois* with the account in the *Châtelain*.¹

Among other conventional devices for creating the proper setting and atmosphere for his romance is one furnished the romancer by the psychological rather than the social aspect of his theme. The power of music, of poetry, and of nature to stimulate love is responsible for many graceful scenes.

¹ Some of the details in the *Châtelain* are apparently taken from the *Tournois*.

Conrad's heart is prepared for Lienor by the poetic art of Jouglet and, before that, by his recent fortnight in the fields and woods. Claris, marked by love for loyal service, sits dreaming over tales of lovers, in a garden a-bloom with May and melodious with birds. Galerent and Fresne open their hearts to each other under the influence of music both of their own and of the birds' making in the abbey park. The joy of reunion is enhanced for Jehan and Blonde by the idyllic setting of their elopement through the woods near Dover. Aelis and William, Cléomadès and Clarmondine, sit down to talk of love beside limpid fountains that flow over white sand under leafy trees in green meadows, far from tourneys and coronations but not really far from the sylvan hunt or the *fête champêtre*. And in much of this "nature methodized," artificial, conventional as it is, there is a daintiness which gives these idyllic bits embroidered upon the fabric of psychological romance their own excuse for being.

The reality of castle life is always suggested by the routine of meals and the social relaxation after them. Tables are set up in the hall; water is brought in silver basins for ablutions; all sit down to abundant food—fish, fowl, game, and wine; the squires carve before the knights and serve each bountifully; musicians play and sing; the host gives the signal for water; servants respond; all wash and rise; the company breaks up into groups, some to play chess, some to sing, others to talk; at bedtime spiced wine is served and all retire. In the morning they get up and attend mass, and return thence to another meal much like the one of the evening before.

The descriptions of buildings and remarkable objects which frequently delay narration, are made by conventional patterns. The splendid castle that one hero approaches with admiration is hardly distinguishable from that which another sees rise before him at need of harborage; the gift that goes from one generous lord to another is as richly enameled, as gorgeously bejeweled, or as cunningly made, as any other that changes owners in the romances. The superlative qualities that make a house or a trinket, a robe or a magic

valuable are enumerated, and the reader must see the object and be impressed by the liberality of its giver or by the wealth and social position of its owner. Sometimes these objects have value for the story, as in the case of the gifts presented to the father of Cléomadès by the kings from Africa, but very often they serve only to excite wonder, contribute to the general impression of luxury and splendor, or testify to princely largess—the functions of the cup which Count Richard of Normandy gives to the church in Palestine,¹ Erec's coronation robe,² and Fresne's harp.³

At every turn we catch glimpses of medieval society. The romancer not only tells his story and solves his problem, but also fits his events into a picture of the life which gave him his theme. To please his audience with flattering pictures of their world and to obey the impulse of art to convey the charm of beauty and the force of reality, he tells his story of courtly love in the bright images of social life, now conventionalized to a quaint stiffness, now idealized or exaggerated, now very real.

4. REALISM

When Alexandrine suggests to William of Palerne and Melior the ingenious plan which she has devised for their escape from Rome, she puts in a word of doubt on the score of food:⁴ "But . . . I know not what to say about your eating." At this William smiles and says, "My fair sweet sister, do you think that I can suffer at all as long as I may be with my sweetheart? We shall live well on our love, on herbs, on leaves and on flowers." That is the proper optimism of true love at the point of eloping, disguised in a bearskin, through wild woods. It might be taken as the keynote of idyllic, of sentimental romance of all time. However, *fine amor* usually shares Alexandrine's practical thought for mundane necessities; eloping lovers provide amply for refreshment of body, and with admirable foresight, as benevolent werewolves are not much more abundant in the society romances

¹*Escoufle*, 575–616.

²*Erec*, 6735–6803.

³*Galerent*, 2025–2038.

⁴*Guillaume de Palerne*, 3027 ff.

than in real life. William and Aelis, Cléomadès and Clarmondine, Jehan and Blonde, do not start out with any thought of living by love alone, and their enjoyment of frequent lunches indicates a healthy appetite for substantial food. Jehan, looking at the lodge of green boughs and flowers which they have built in the Dover woods, remarks to Blonde, "Sweetheart, I counsel that we eat in our lodge on the mint and the rushes. We still have two pies, never will they be wasted by us." They spread an embroidered cloth on the mint and sit down, crowned with green wreaths. Jehan serves the pasties. To be sure their meal "was interlarded with what was more pleasing to them, delicious kisses," but "the two lovers ate the pasties and drank the wine until they had enough," when they folded up their tablecloth and "went playing through the wood to hear the songs of the nightingales."¹

This tempering of the idyllic with realism is typical of the society romances. The poets exaggerate and idealize, defy probability and ignore natural proportions, but they usually try to create the illusion of reality, and they very often succeed, for they evidently understand the value of everyday concrete detail in making the exceptional seem plausible. One reads the extravagant account of Jehan's love-sickness today with a heart hardened against its sentimental exaggeration; Beaumanoir may have written it in good faith, trusting to fashionable cult and convention to insure sympathy for his hero at the point of death for love, but no modern reader can take it seriously enough to find its psychologizing and its descriptions of wasting body and failing spirit in the least touching. There are realistic bits, however, that please now as much as they did in the thirteenth century, probably more; and some that suggest that Beaumanoir, like us, saw the absurdity of the situation to which he gave orthodox treatment. The little scene in which Blonde jilts her convalescent lover is very natural.² Jehan joins her in a little meadow where she is making a wreath, and politely wishes her good day. Her

¹ *Jehan*, 3554 ff.

² *Id.*, 860 ff.

courteous "bonne aventure" is followed by an awkward silence, which Jehan dares not break. He thinks what a fool he is and opens his mouth to say something but shuts it again without uttering a word. Blonde will not help him. Finally he blurts out a reminder of the promise she made him when he was ill and now seems to have forgotten, only to be told that she made it to cure him when he was beside himself, and that now he must be sensible, for she ought not to love him. Jehan leaves her to take to his bed and grow desperately ill. But he is not destined to die of a broken heart; Blonde, zealous in the service of newly awakened love, turns him back from death with kisses and a midnight luncheon of wine and cold chicken.¹

Narration is constantly given life-like naturalness by means of concrete detail. Ydoine's strange spell is broken by the removal of a magic ring, but she comes to herself naturally. "And the countess then moves very feebly, as if tired. . . . She heaves a great sigh; she stretches her arms and opens her eyes and sees the sky above her; sees that she is not in a house, but does not know why she is there at such an hour. When she exerts herself to speak, her voice is weak from languor and fear."² The sorceresses employed to make the Count of Nevers afraid of his wife are very marvelous beings according to the author's account of their powers, but the only magic they employ in the story is psychology applied with a little mummery. The horse which carries Cléomadès through the air is operated by a manipulation of pegs, not by mere wishing or conjuration, and is more like the aeroplane of modern science than the wishing carpets and seven-league boots of fairy lore. At almost every turn in a hero's adventurous career circumstantial detail gives the appearance of reality to extraordinary experience. The whole history of Durmart's campaign in defense of Fenise, from the description of her devastated country to the tale of his prowess, is told in realistic terms that suggest the report of an eye-witness.⁴

1 *Jehan*, 1280 ff., 1346 ff.
2 *Amadas*, 6566 ff.

3 *Id.*, 2007 ff.
4 *Durmart*, 10415 ff.

The endeavor to give his story verisimilitude sometimes leads the trouvère into prosaic exactness. Aelis is very warm one day in the fields and "puts her hand on account of the heat, under her chemise without any thought of touching the purse which hangs in her bosom, and feels the ring [in the bag]. The samite was a little stained with perspiration from her bare flesh."¹ We also find the naïve concreteness of popular narration pitched for convincing sensationalism, as in the episode of Yder's narrow escape from death by poison,² with its detailed account of the hero's thirst, Kay's treacherous trip to the poisoned well boarded up to prevent accident, the horrible physical effects of the polluted draught upon the victim, the finding of his bloated body, and the task of administering the antidote. Occasionally the realism is quite pointless. In the midst of Count Richard's obsequies, William, frantic with grief, "clutches the pall and overturns two candleholders on the pavement."³ And the realistic detail may be rather inconsistent with the general tone of refined characterization. Euriaut, it seems to us, might have escaped from Meliartir without kicking out several of his teeth.⁴

Social background, of course, furnishes the most significant realism in the society romances. The *Flamenca*, with its wealth of social detail, makes even courtly love seem possible, if not altogether natural. The first part of the *Fergus*, before the hero's likeness to Yvain and Percival becomes too marked for individuality, gives scenes apparently studied from life. The uncouth country boy facing his peasant father in the rude courtyard of the Scotch farmhouse in that part of Scotland "noted for its rich but stingy farmers," and asking for knightly equipment that he may follow the lure of chivalry and courtly refinement; the exasperated farmer ready to knock the boy down for his foolish request to be released from the plow which needs him; and the more refined mother who, thanks to her knightly ancestry, can understand what call her son is answering, and who is not afraid to intervene between him and her

¹ *Escoufle*, 4470 ff.

² *Yder*, 5705 ff.

³ *Escoufle*, 2536-7.

⁴ *Violette*, 3983 ff.

angry husband with a reminder of her family's superiority as an explanation of her son's ambition, are far more real to us than the fine knights and ladies with whom we later find Fergus consorting as an equal. The lifelike setting of the *Châtelain* and the *Guillaume de Dole* has already been noted. Even romances like the *Ipomedon*, the *Durmart*, and the *Yder*, in which strange adventure often gets the better of probability, keep close to actual society in setting. Idyllic stories such as the *Escoufle* and the *Galerent* abound in realistic detail, and the made-over fairy tale, the *Partonopeus*, is humanized partly by sentimental psychology and partly by such vignettes as the picture of the ladies of Melior's court preparing for her wedding.¹ In fact, it may be said of the society romances as a class that, despite convention and artificiality, they often make us see the real society of the age.

After the thirteenth century, the tendency of the society romance to merge into the romance of adventure partially motivated by courtly love grew until in time the latter type possessed the field. In the seventeenth century, modern criticism, impatient of trite and formless prolixity, motivation that had lost its connections with life, and all the literary débris of a past culture, completed the destructive work begun by Chaucer and Cervantes. But the thread of sentimental idealism, faded and worn, on which the late medieval romancers strung their numerous episodes, had done permanent artistic service to the development of fiction. To realize this, however, it is necessary to go back farther than the "heroic romances" of the seventeenth century, farther back than their predecessors, the *Arcadia* and the *Amadis de Gaule* and the *Morte Darthur*, farther back than the *Troilus and Criseyde*, back to the Old French society romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the time when *fine amor*, though conventional, had the shaping motive force of a living human interest. The trouvères' art is different from that of our

¹ *Partonopeus*, 10641-10690.

novelists, as different as the culture of the middle ages is in general from our own, but like a realist of today, the author of a medieval society romance sought to show his contemporaries how his chosen class lived and moved and had its being under the influence of current ideals and prevailing social customs. He wasted his energies on ephemeral psychology and factitious sentiment, on marvels in deed and scene, on platitudes and repetitions, but he discovered the way to psychological fiction and understood its relation to society.

APPENDIX

REPRESENTATIVE SOCIETY ROMANCES

Amadas et Ydoine

Ed. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1863; 7936 lines; anonymous; probably written in England toward the end of the twelfth century (Cf. Gaston Paris: *Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge*, p. 328, and H. Andresen, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XIII, 88-98). A psychological love story with a good plot, interesting treatment of character, and realistic social background.

The young squire, Amadas, suffers for several years from unrequited love for Ydoine, the daughter of his lord, the Duke of Burgundy. Finally, she yields him her heart and the promise of her hand, and sends him away to win glory as a knight. While he is absent, her father gives her in marriage to the Count of Nevers. At news of this Amadas loses his mind. Ydoine employs three sorceresses to make the Count of Nevers fear that the consummation of marriage with her will cause his death. Thus, though she becomes the Countess of Nevers, she remains faithful to Amadas. Through a trusted squire, Garinet, she learns that her lover is leading a wretched existence in Lucca, a lunatic and the miserable sport of the rabble. On pretense of a pilgrimage to Rome she goes to Lucca and restores Amadas to his senses. Then she continues her journey to Rome, leaving him to wait for her in Lucca. Returning from Rome, she is carried off by a strange knight, but is rescued by Amadas, who escorts her to Lucca. Very soon after their arrival she falls ill and dies. The night after her burial Amadas visits her tomb, where he encounters a mysterious knight who claims Ydoine's body, declaring that she has been his *amie*. In proof of his story he shows a ring which Amadas recognizes as the one he gave Ydoine at the time of their betrothal. Nevertheless the stricken lover defies the stranger, and overcomes him in combat. The vanquished knight acknowledges that he has slandered Ydoine, that he is a supernatural being,

that he is the knight who tried to abduct her on her journey from Rome, that while she was in his power he substituted a ring of his own for hers and thus threw her into the deathlike state which has deceived everyone, and that Amadas need only remove the ring from her finger to restore her to life. After this confession the *maufé* leaves Amadas to break the spell and conduct the lady back to her hostel. Before they leave the tomb, Amadas tries to persuade her to flee with him beyond seas, but she refuses to consider such a plan. She promises to bring about her marriage with him. By the story of a vision she influences her husband to consent to a divorce, and then she contrives to make her father's counselors advise her marriage with Amadas.

Châtelain de Coucy

Ed. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1829, with a translation into modern French; 8244 lines; late thirteenth century; according to Gaston Paris, *Romania*, VIII, pp. 343-373, by Jakemon Sakesep; a realistic, psychological story of courtly love in opposition to marriage, a poetical version of a twelfth century poet's biography. (Cf. Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*). The poem contains lyrics, a love epistle, and scenes interesting for their social detail.

The Châtelain de Coucy declares his love for the young wife of his friend, the Lord of Fayel. She repulses him, resolved to be true to her husband. Gradually the Châtelain's persistence and his social and personal charms overcome her scruples and win her love. All goes well until a lady who is in love with the Châtelain rouses the suspicions of the heroine's husband. The Lord of Fayel spies upon his wife and one night confronts the hero at the entrance to her apartments. Luckily, it is her confidential attendant, Isabel, who opens the door. The lady herself does not appear until she has heard Isabel and the Châtelain declare that they are lovers and that she does not know of their amour. Then she comes in to give support to their story. Her husband can but accept their explanation, but from then on he watches his wife so closely that meetings with her lover must be rare and fraught with great danger. The Châtelain, by feigning to love the lady who betrayed him, leads her into a compromising position

before witnesses and thus punishes and silences her. With the help of Gobert, a squire first in the service of the Lord of Fayel and then in that of the Châtelain, the lovers continue to meet until the jealous husband devises a means of separating them. He tells his wife that he intends to join a Crusade and to take her with him to the Holy Land. She communicates this plan to the Châtelain, who promptly commits himself to the Crusade, enlisting under King Richard of England. The Lord of Fayel then decides to remain at home. The Châtelain must go. In the Holy Land he acquits himself nobly, and at the end of two years thinks he can honorably return to France. But he is destined never to see his lady again, for he is fatally wounded in battle. On his deathbed he instructs Gobert to carry his heart to the Lady of Fayel. While trying to do this bidding, Gobert encounters the Lord of Fayel, who forces him to give up the casket containing the heart and to betray his mission. That day the Lady of Fayel eats a savory dish at table only to learn afterward that she has eaten her lover's heart. She dies of grief. Stricken with remorse and fear of blame, her husband has her honorably buried, and then goes away beyond the sea and remains a long time, but "never until his death does he have delight."

Chrétien's *Erec*, *Cligés*, *Yvain*, and *Lancelot*

Ed. Förster, Halle, 1884-99; twelfth century; typical society romances in their emphasis on social background, their aristocratic tone, and their sentimental psychology. English translation by W. W. Comfort, *Everyman's Library*, 1914; analyses and discussion of the stories by Madame Lot-Borodine: *La femme dans l'œuvre de Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris, 1909.

Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*

This is the most significant society romance in Middle English. Coming to it from the Old French representatives of the type, one is conscious of a new treatment. Not only is the plot more dramatically handled than those of the older romances, but the theme shows a different treatment: courtly love does not stand the test of real life to which it is subjected, Chaucer's reaction against conventional sentiment suggests that of recent fiction against the old-fashioned sentimental novel of fifty or sixty years ago. The *Knight's Tale* is fairly typical in its handling of theme and setting,

though there is less psychologizing than in the Old French romances. For Chaucer's treatment of courtly love, especially in the *Troilus*, see W. G. Dodd: *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, Harvard Studies, 1913; G. L. Kittredge: *Chaucer and his Poetry*, Harvard University Press, 1915; W. W. Lawrence: "The Love Story in 'Troilus and Cressida'," *Shaksperian Studies by Members of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University*, Columbia University Press, 1916, pp. 198-9; Karl Young: "Aspects of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde," *Studies by Members of the Department of English in the University of Wisconsin*, Madison, 1918, pp. 367-394; *Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer Society, 1908.

Claris et Laris

Ed. Johann Alton, *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Tübingen, 1884: 30369 lines; a thirteenth century romance of adventure with the machinery of courtly love.

Claris, a squire in the service of the elderly Ladont, King of Gascony, falls in love with Lydaine, the young wife of Ladont, but deciding that honor forbids his declaring his love, he goes away to win renown as a knight. He is accompanied by Laris, Lydaine's brother, who finds out that Claris loves Lydaine, and promises to aid him in his suit. The two knights are held against their will in a fairy castle until Laris purchases the knowledge of how to escape by yielding to the fairy Madoine's passion for him. Not long after the knights have joined Arthur's court, they learn that Ladont is being besieged by the King of Spain. Claris, assisted by Laris, drives the enemy from Gascony, and, also with the aid of Laris, comes to an understanding with Lydaine, who promises to marry him when her husband dies. Claris and Laris return to Arthur's court, whence they are again summoned to Gascony, this time to rescue the widowed Lydaine from the King of Spain. Claris and Lydaine are married and, after a year or two of happiness at home, accompany Laris to Britain, where he hopes to win the hand of Marine, Yvain's sister. They arrive at Arthur's court only to encounter troubles of various kinds, some of courtly love's making, some of Madoine's contriving. She has had a child by Laris and now wishes to prevent his marriage with Marine that she may keep the

way clear to his wealth and titles for her son. Besides the adventures due to her interference there are many others, which involve most of Arthur's knights, a series for each champion. At last all ends well: Laris and Marine are married, and, like Claris and Lydaine, are happy ever after.

Cléomadès

Ed. André van Hasselt, *Chroniqueurs et Trouvères Belges*, 2 vols., Bruxelles, 1865; 18688 lines; a story of love and adventure, by Adenés li Rois; latter half of the thirteenth century.

Three great magicians please the King of Spain, the father of Cléomadès, so much with three wonderful gifts that he rashly promises to give in return anything that the donors may ask. They demand his three daughters in marriage. Now one of the magicians, Crompart, is very ugly, and when Marine, the princess who falls to his lot, sees him, she is prostrated with horror. Her brother, Cléomadès, in his zeal to save her, mounts the horse to see if it is all that Crompart says it is, and Crompart makes it carry him out of sight. By experimenting with the pegs in the horse, the hero learns how to manage it. He descends into Tuscany, where he finds the Princess Clarmondine asleep, and awakens her with a kiss. Her father condemns him to death for his intrusion, but Cléomadès, having gained permission to die on his horse, mounts and flies away. After a short stay in Spain, he returns to Tuscany and persuades Clarmondine, who has been in love with him since their first meeting, to elope with him on the magic horse. Upon their arrival in Seville, his father's capital, he leaves her, at her request, in a garden near the city, while he goes to announce their coming to his family. Her singing attracts Crompart to the spot, and he carries her off to Salerno, where, imprisoned at her plea, he dies of a frenzy. Clarmondine feigns madness to evade the honor of becoming the wife of Meniadus, the King of Salerno. Cléomadès, after searching for her in vain a long time, comes to Salerno, guided by a jongleur, Pinchonnet, who thinks he may hear something about the lost lady through the well-

known fondness of Meniadus for collecting news from travelers. Cléomadès guesses that the beautiful mad girl whom, he hears, the king intends to marry as soon as she has recovered, is his Clarmondine, and pretending to be a physician he undertakes to cure her. He tells the King that he can effect the cure by means of the horse found with the lady. The machine is brought to him; he ties Clarmondine on its back, mounts it himself, and flies away. The lovers find, upon their return to Seville, that each has lost a parent, he his father, she her mother. However, mourning does not long delay the wedding festivity. Besides the marriage of the hero and the heroine there are five others, including that of the hero's mother to the heroine's father.

Durmart le Galois

Ed. E. Stengel, *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Tübingen, 1873; thirteenth century; 15998 lines; an Arthurian romance of adventure and courtly love. Although the strange, elusive heroine suggests the "fairy mistress," and the vision of the illuminated tree allies the poem with the allegorical romances, the setting is realistic, the action plausible.

While being trained for knighthood by his father's elderly seneschal, Durmart, the son of Josefant, King of Wales, becomes the favored lover of the seneschal's young wife. The amour makes him indifferent to chivalry; however, it is of short duration, the lady and he separating forever after a few years. Soon after his return to court, Durmart hears of a beautiful Queen of Ireland whom none but the most valorous may win, and sets out in search of her. On his way to the coast he sees a wonderful illuminated tree in a forest near Glastonbury. He passes over the sea to Ireland, where circumstances soon make him the champion of a beautiful damsel, for whom he wins a sparrowhawk held for the fairest. Wounded in a combat resulting from this victory, he is taken by the damsel to a red tent and there is nursed to health by the lady of the tent. He has barely recovered when he goes forth to fight a cruel knight in the forest. He turns from that combat victorious and sets out for the red

tent, but falling into a reverie about the lady of his quest, he loses his way. He learns from a hospitable knight who shelters him, that the damsel for whom he won the sparrowhawk is the queen whom he seeks. While looking in vain for the red tent, Durmart releases Queen Guinevere from captivity, but refuses her invitation to join Arthur's court. However, his search brings him to a tournament in which he fights with Arthur's best knights and proves himself their peer. Without waiting to enjoy the honor he has won, he continues his quest. Finally chance brings him to his lady's realm, which he finds wasted by war. He frees her from her enemies and marries her. Then, sent to Rome by a voice heard on the occasion of a second view of the illuminated tree, he acquits himself in the service of the Pope so well that he stands out as the great champion of Christendom. After his return home he settles down to a happy, useful life as an ideal husband and a model king.

Eraclés

Ed. E. Löseth, Vol. I, *Œuvres de Gautier d'Arras*, Paris, 1890, in the *Bibliothèque française du moyen âge*; 6593 lines.

The story falls into three parts: the tale of the hero's miraculous gifts, the history of Athanais and Paridés, and the account of the hero's conquest of the pagans who held the Cross. There is comparatively little chivalry, but a great deal of moralizing and psychologizing. The first part contains some interesting realistic details, but the second alone has importance for the present study. Athanais and Paridés are lovers of the conventional courtly type, who teach the lesson that love will find a way, as a part of the psychological lesson that the surest way to make a woman untrue to her husband is to shut her up and try to keep love out. Athanais is selected from all the most beautiful women of the Roman Empire by Eraclés, who has supernatural power to judge precious stones, horses, and women. She is the best of her sex, but the folly of her husband, the emperor, for whom Eraclés chooses her, and whom he warns against unwise treatment of her,

undermines her loyalty to him and paves the way for Paridés. At the counsel of Eraclés, Athanais is divorced and allowed to marry Paridés.

Escoufle

Probably by Jehan Renart (cf. Bédier's introduction to the *Lai de l'ombre*, *Société des anciens textes français*, 1913, pp. vii-xxii); thirteenth century; 9102 lines; ed. H. Michelant and P. Meyer, *Société des anciens textes français*, 1894; analyzed by Madame Lot-Borodine in *Le roman idyllique au moyen âge*, Paris, 1913; and by C. V. Langlois, *La société française au XIIIe siècle d'après dix romans d'aventure*.

William, the son of Count Richard of Normandy, is betrothed to Aelis, the daughter of the Emperor of Rome, but after the Count's death, the emperor, influenced by his barons and his wife, banishes William. Aelis and William elope and travel toward Normandy. One day while she is asleep in the fields, an "escoufle," or kite, carries off a ring which she has just given William, and he pursues the thief. She awakes and, believing herself deserted, goes to the neighboring city of Toul, where she is befriended by a poor maiden, Isabel. Accompanied by this humble friend, she travels to Normandy, hoping to find her lover. Her beautiful needlework attracts universal admiration and finally brings her the patronage of the Countess of St. Gilles. In the meantime William returns with the ring recovered from the kite to find that he has lost Aelis. In the course of his search for her he spends all his money and must work for his livelihood. One day he recognizes Aelis's mule ridden by a pilgrim, who says that he bought the beast in Toul. Following this clue, William in time finds himself in St. Gilles, where he takes service in an inn, not knowing that he is near Aelis. One day, when he is hunting with the count's falconers, he rouses their curiosity by his treatment of an "escoufle" taken by a falcon. They report the incident to the Count of St. Gilles, who sends for William and asks for his story. From the tale that he tells, Aelis, who chances to hear it, knows that he is her long-lost lover. After the marriage which follows this reunion, Aelis and William return to Rome to claim and secure their rights.

Fergus

By "William the Clerk;" 6985 lines; ed. E. Martin, Halle, 1872; thirteenth century; an Arthurian romance of love and adventure, made up of material very common in the romances, but distinguished by the local color of the first part, which concerns the transformation of a plowboy into a knight of the Round Table.

Soumilloit, the father of Fergus, who lives in Scotland not far from the Irish sea, is a wealthy farmer married to a lady of knightly lineage, and father of three sons, whom he sends to watch sheep in the hills or to plow in the fields. Fergus, clad in a shaggy lambskin coat and rough rawhide shoes, is following the plow near the highway leading to Carlisle when he catches a glimpse of Arthur and his knights returning to court from a hunt through Ayr and Galloway, and is fired with the ambition to join them. His father at first refuses to let him leave his farm work, but his mother intervenes, and he is permitted to go. Clad in the rusty armor once worn by his peasant father, he rides to Arthur's court. There he is given a difficult quest, and on that he meets Galiene, a beautiful queen, who offers him her love. He will not consider such matters until he has accomplished his quest, and then the lady has disappeared. He loses his mind at the news, but in time recovers his reason and seeks Galiene, doing noble deeds all along the way. In the end, having rescued her from a besieging army and proved himself the equal of Arthur's ablest knights, he marries her and goes with her to her realm, but not to forget chivalry in ignoble sloth.

Flamenca

Provençal text, ed. P. Meyer, Paris, 1865, with a translation into modern French; early thirteenth century; 8087 lines (introduction and conclusion both lost); excellent comedy of manners with much psychologizing, though not enough to smother the sprightliness of the story.

The Queen of France, jealous of her husband's gallantry to Flamenca, the young bride of Archambaut, Count of Bourbon, sows suspicion of his wife in the mind of Archambaut. Suspicion develops into jealousy, and soon Flamenca finds herself

shut away from the world, and watched constantly by a tyrannical husband, who allows her only two companions besides himself—Alis and Marguerite. She leaves the house only to go to church or to the baths of Bourbon, and is always accompanied by Archambaut. William of Nevers, attracted by the story of the beautiful young wife imprisoned by her jealous husband, visits Bourbon, sees her in church, and falls in love with her. Having perceived that there is one moment in the service when the priest's assistant might speak to the lady without being noticed by anybody else, he makes the good curé his unconscious tool, by pretending that he wishes to become an ecclesiastic. Tonsured and properly robed, he takes the place of the priest's young kinsman who has hitherto assisted at mass, and who now goes off to study in Paris at William's expense. A dialogue with Flamenca begins one Sunday when William, as he offers her the pax, sighs out, "Alas!" At the next service which she attends, she manages to ask him, "What is the matter?" At his first opportunity he answers that he is dying, and this brings the query: "Of what?" "Of love," murmurs William some days later. "For whom?" asks Flamenca in her turn. "You," replies William. It takes a great number of masses to complete plans for a rendezvous, but finally, three months after the initial "alas," William and Flamenca have an engagement to meet at the baths. She feigns illness and makes Archambaut take her to the baths for her health. He locks her and her attendants in and mounts guard outside the bath house. William enters the ladies' room by a subterranean passage excavated for the purpose, and conducts them to his house where he entertains them royally until it is time for them to leave the baths, when he leads them back to the place where he met them. Soon love emboldens Flamenca to ask for her freedom. Upon her solemn vow to guard herself as well as he has guarded her, Archambaut agrees to let her take care of her own honor. William goes to Flanders, where he wins a reputation for prowess which induces Archambaut, now reestablished in society and appreciative of such fame, to invite him to take part in a tourney at Bourbon. Upon his arrival in

Bourbon, Archambaut introduces him to Flamenca and leaves him to her hospitable care. In the tournament William acquits himself brilliantly. . . . (At this point the manuscript breaks off.)

Galerent

By the trouvère Renaut, thirteenth century; 7811 lines; ed. Anatole Boucherie, Montpellier and Paris, 1888; analyzed by Madame Lot-Borodine in *Le roman idyllique au moyen âge* and by C. V. Langlois in *La société française au XIIIe siècle d'après dix romans d'aventure*.

Gente, wife of Brundoré, lets her spiteful tongue wound the virtuous Marsile, mother of twin boys, with a remark to the effect that the mother of twins cannot be a good woman. So when she herself gives birth to twin daughters, Gente, afraid that others may say of her what she has said of Marsile, decides to acknowledge the existence of only one child. A trusted squire carries the baby chosen for abandonment into another country, and leaves it in an ashtree before the abbey Biausejour, where it is found by the nuns, who christen it Fresne. The other little girl is christened Fleurie by her devoted parents. Fresne and Galerent, nephew of the abbess and son of the Count of Brittany, who grow up together, love each other and are befriended by their guardian, Lohier, the good chaplain. When the abbess finds out that Galerent loves Fresne, she sends him away from Biausejour. He grieves until his kinsman Brun induces him to enter the service of the Duke of Metz and begin his training for knighthood. Fresne sends him a sleeve in which she has worked a likeness of herself, as a token of her love and her approval of his course. In Metz he becomes a great favorite. The Duke's daughter, Esmerée, makes no secret of her love for him. Fresne, dismissed from the abbey, finds shelter with a good widow and her daughter in Rouen. Galerent learns that she has disappeared and tries in vain to find her. Among the knights at Metz is Brundoré, and with him Galerent is very friendly. He visits him and meets Fleurie, whose likeness to Fresne causes Galerent to feel something like love for her. Indeed, he is about to marry her, when a strange

minstrel wearing a richly embroidered mantle and carrying a beautiful harp appears in the midst of the wedding festivity. She sings a song which Galerent recognizes as one he taught Fresne in the abbey garden, and Gente knows that the mantle she wears is made from the cloth wrapped around the baby abandoned years before. Acknowledged by her parents and reunited with her lover, Fresne has all that she can wish for. Fleurie enters a convent.

Gawain and the Green Knight

A Middle English alliterative poem of the fourteenth century; anonymous; a society romance by virtue of setting and emphasis on motives. For a full study of the poem see G. L. Kittredge: *Gawain and the Green Knight*, Cambridge, 1916.

Guillaume de Dole

Le roman de la rose, ou Guillaume de Dole, probably by Jehan Renart, author of the *Lai de l'ombre* (Cf. J. Bédier: *Lai de l'ombre, Société des anciens textes français*, 1913, pp. vii-xxii); thirteenth century; 5641 lines; ed. G. Servois, Paris, 1893, *Société des anciens textes français*; a tale of "love and arms," full of pictures of courtly life and lyrics inserted at appropriate moments in the story; told with considerable narrative skill.

Conrad, Emperor of Germany, falls in love with Lienor, sister of William of Dole, and resolves to marry her. His seneschal, jealous of William's popularity at court, travels to Dole to find out something against him. The Lady of Dole receives him hospitably, but he cannot see Lienor, for no stranger sees her except in the presence of her brother. However, the fond mother is garrulous and talks of her daughter, even describing the mark of a rose on the girl's body. The seneschal returns to court and tells the emperor that he has been the favored lover of Lienor, and in proof of his story describes the rose of which her mother told him. Conrad tells William that he cannot marry Lienor and explains why. In his shame and rage, William sends a kinsman to kill his sister. Lienor protests her innocence, and her mother confesses her indiscreet revelation to the seneschal. The slandered girl goes to Mayence, where the emperor is holding his court,

traps the seneschal into accepting gifts which she sends him, accuses him at court of having dishonored her, and, when he denies the charge, has him searched. Her presents are found on his person, but still he insists that he has never seen the lady before. The trial by water proves his innocence. Lienor then points out that his exoneration is also hers. He has pretended that he was the lover of Lienor of Dole; she is that lady. If he has never seen her before, and his ordeal has just proved that he has not, he lied to the emperor when he claimed intimacy with her. Lienor becomes empress, her brother again rejoices in imperial favor, the seneschal is punished, and the poor, remorseful Lady of Dole is made happy once more.

Guillaume de Palerne

Early thirteenth century; 9663 lines; ed. H. Michelant, 1876, *Société des anciens textes français*; analyzed by Madame Lot-Borodine in *Le roman idyllique au moyen âge*; a mixture of idyllic, realistic, and courtly elements. Fourteenth century English version by a certain "William," ed. Skeat, Early English Text Society, 1867, and also by F. Madden, Roxburghe Club, 1832.

William of Palerne, heir to the throne of Apulia, is carried off by a werewolf to save him from the plots of his uncle. The wolf, a son of the King of Spain, changed into a beast by his step-mother, carries William to a forest near Rome, where he is found and adopted by a cowherd. The Emperor of Rome sees William one day when he has become a handsome youth, and convinced by his appearance and the cowherd's account of the very rich clothes found with the child, that the foundling is of gentle birth, takes him into his service. William rapidly wins renown and becomes a favorite at Rome. He and Melior, the emperor's daughter, love each other and are secretly betrothed. The emperor promises Melior in marriage to the son of the Emperor of Greece; whereupon the lovers elope, sewed by their confidante, Alexandrine, into the skins of two white bears. The werewolf watches over them throughout their journey, furnishing them

with meat, and with fresh disguises. Finally they come to the castle of William's mother, now in need of a champion against the King of Spain. A dream leads her to discover William and Melior in her park and to put her defense into his hands. He forces the King of Spain to make peace on his terms. The Queen of Spain transforms the wolf into his original form, and when he becomes a man, he explains who William is. William marries Melior, the metamorphosed wolf marries William's sister, and Alexandrine becomes the wife of the wolf's brother.

Ille et Galeron

By Gautier d'Arras; twelfth century; 6592 lines; ed. Löseth, Paris 1890, *Bibliothèque française*, and Förster, Halle, 1891, *Romanische Bibliothek*. A sober study of courtly love, concerned with such problems as how the mutilation of a lover should affect love, and how a lover may love twice without incurring blame.

Ille, a knight of growing distinction, marries Galeron, sister of the Duke of Brittany. Soon after their marriage Ille loses an eye in a tournament, and tortured by the fear that his wife will cease to love him when she sees him thus disfigured, he goes away leaving no clue to his destination. Loyal Galeron sets out in search of him. Her friends lose all trace of her. In the meantime Ille serves the King of Rome so well that he is offered the hand of Ganor, the king's daughter. Learning of Galeron's disappearance, and believing her dead, the hero consents to marry Ganor. At the door of St. Peter's the wedding is interrupted by Galeron, come to save Ille from the sin of bigamy. Although he knows that Ganor loves him, and although he feels great pity for her, as well as regret on the score of the crown that he gives up with her, he leaves her and goes back to Brittany to make Galeron a model husband until she enters a convent in accordance with a vow made when she was very ill. Then he shows a proper grief tempered with recollections of Ganor. The king has died and Ganor is beset with enemies. Ille goes to her relief, inwardly disturbed by the struggle between his unwillingness

to stop loving Galeron and his growing passion for Ganor. The latter wins. Wholeheartedly devoted to her, he conquers the foes of the princess, marries her, and becomes King of Rome.

Ipomedon

By Hue de Rotelande; twelfth century; ed. Kölbing and Koschwitz, Breslau, 1889; 10578 lines. Middle English versions, ed. Kölbing, Breslau, 1889; a romance of adventure motivated by courtly love.

Ipomedon, Prince of Apulia, enters the service of La-fiere, Duchess of Calabria, who has vowed to marry none but the bravest knight in the world. No one knows who Ipomedon is, but he soon wins attention by his courtesy and his skill in hunting. But for his indifference to prowess, La-fiere might have loved him at once. She does favor him, and one day at table they exchange glances which result in mutual love. Pretending to rebuke another squire, La-fiere makes it plain to Ipomedon that he should not aspire to love before he has shown his prowess. The hero goes away early the next morning accompanied by Tholomeus, his tutor. He returns to Apulia and has himself knighted. Properly equipped, he sets out in search of knightly deeds. He enters Meleager's court as one of the queen's retinue at a time when all are astir over a great tournament which has been announced, and of which La-fiere is to be the prize. Ipomedon shows no interest in this tourney, going out to hunt on the days when the fighting takes place. In reality, however, he goes to a secret place in the woods and puts on his armor, and then enters the lists, to sweep all before him. In the evening he is back in his place among the queen's attendants. She falls in love with him, but is ashamed of his lack of interest in prowess. After the tourney he goes away, leaving his landlord to meet La-fiere, Meleager, and their courtiers, at a certain chapel and distribute gifts and messages. Some time later, learning that a hideous knight from India has invaded La-fiere's land and is besieging her, Ipomedon disguises himself as a fool and goes to Meleager's court to await La-fiere's appeal for aid. Ismene,

her confidante, soon appears to ask for a champion, and Ipo-medon demands the quest. Much to Ismene's disgust, he receives it. On the way to Calabria he defends her so valorously against assailants that she falls in love with him, and he finds it necessary to repulse her roughly. He overcomes La-fiere's foes and marries her at last.

Jehan et Blonde

By Philippe de Remi, Sire de Beaumanoir; thirteenth century; 6260 lines; ed. H. Suchier, Paris, 1885, *Société des anciens textes français*. A realistic story of courtly love.

Jehan, a young Frenchman of good family, handsome person, and engaging manners, finding his prospects at home unpromising, seeks his fortune in England, where he enters the service of the Earl of Oxford and falls in love with the Earl's daughter, Blonde. After suffering from unrequited love until he is at death's door, he is made well and happy by a secret betrothal with her. Called home to France by the death of one parent and the serious illness of the other, he goes away with the understanding that he will return a year from the date of his departure. While he is away, Blonde's father arranges a marriage for her with the Earl of Gloucester. Jehan arrives in London just before the time set for the wedding, and travels to Oxford with Gloucester, making great sport for that stupid, self-satisfied gentleman, who considers the Frenchman's enigmatical speeches very foolish. They part company near Oxford. Later Gloucester is telling Blonde's father about his silly traveling companion, when Blonde's disappearance is announced. The Earl of Oxford at once guesses what has happened. He leaves the matter to the disappointed bridegroom. The lovers travel to Dover, but there they find the way blocked by Gloucester and his men. Jehan and his friends overcome the greatly superior forces of the Earl and carry Blonde away to France in triumph. Reconciliation with the Earl of Oxford follows soon upon the lovers' marriage.

Joufrois

Early thirteenth century; 4611 lines; ed. Konrad Hofmann and Franz Muncker, Halle, 1880; a picture of a gay, frivolous, lax courtly society.

Joufrois, Count of Poitiers, while visiting the court of the King of England, clears the good name of the Queen by overcoming in single combat a seneschal who has slandered her. He is called home by his father's death. After taking possession of his patrimony and winning great renown as a knight, he proves his efficiency as a servant of love by his skillful management of an amour with Agnes of Tonnerre, whose jealous husband keeps her shut up away from the world. However, his interest in this lady does not dominate his life; he is still a fascinating young man when we find him in England, the favored lover of King Henry's wife. For a time after his return to England, he lives under a feigned name, and no one suspects his identity until the troubadour Macabru tells people who he is. The news is disturbing to the wife of Joufrois's landlord, whose daughter the hero has married to repair, with her dowry, his fortune diminished by lavish living. The mother knows that the marriage is not binding, for the discrepancy in rank is too great. The king, however, at Joufrois's request, provides her daughter with another husband and thus preserves her good name. Joufrois is again summoned home, this time by a hostile invasion of his country. He routs his enemy and marries his foe's daughter. [Here the story breaks off.]

La Manekine

By Philippe de Remi, Sire de Beaumanoir; thirteenth century; 8590 lines; ed. H. Suchier, 1884, *Société des anciens textes français*; a mixture of "conte dévot" and psychological romance of courtly love; analogue of Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*.

The King of Hungary loves and wishes to marry his own daughter. Thinking that he will not marry a mutilated woman, she cuts off her hand. This enrages her father, and he orders that she be burned. Instead she is set adrift in a boat, which carries her to Scotland. There she is kindly received and be-

comes the wife of the king. His mother in vain opposes the marriage and after it takes place retires to York to bide her time for revenge. The king goes to France to take part in tournaments, and while he is away his wife gives birth to a beautiful son. The messenger sent to announce the news to the king, stops at York, and while he is asleep the Manekine's mother-in-law substitutes for the letter he is carrying one containing a report detrimental to the Manekine. The king is much distressed, but writes his seneschal to do nothing until his return. This letter is also exchanged for one forged by the Dowager and her clerk. The second forgery commands that the young queen be put to death, but the seneschal has not the heart for the deed. He sets her adrift in a boat. She and her child are carried by wind and waves to Rome, and there befriended by a kindly senator and his family, with whom she lives for years. In the meantime her husband returns home to learn what his mother has done, and to punish her by immuring her in a tower. He goes in search of his wife and after a long time finds her in Rome. Her father also comes thither and is recognized and forgiven by his daughter. Then the Virgin miraculously restores the hand cut off in defense of virtue.

Meraugis de Portleguez

By Raoul de Houdenc; early thirteenth century; ed. Friedwagner, Halle, 1897; 5938 lines; an Arthurian romance of courtly love and much adventure.

Meraugis and his friend, Gervain Cadruz, fall in love with Lidoine and quarrel about her, each contending that his love is the more deserving of favor. Gervain loves her for her beauty, Meraugis for her "cortoisie". The case is turned over to the ladies of Arthur's court who argue it thoroughly and decide in favor of Meraugis. Lidoine then gives him a kiss which causes her to fall in love with him, but she says he must devote a year to chivalry before she will marry him. She accompanies him on his errantry, but in the excitement and perplexity of a difficult adventure, he loses her, and thereafter he must seek her far and wide. She is returning home when Belchis, an

unscrupulous noble who wishes her to marry his son, takes her prisoner. Gorvain Cadruz, to release her, besieges Belchis. Severely wounded in the task of overcoming a formidable adversary, Meraugis is found by friends of Belchis, lying unconscious by the wayside. They carry him to the castle where Lidoine is imprisoned. The lovers recognize one another but do not betray the secret of their friendship until it is safe to declare it. Meraugis helps Belchis against his besiegers to such advantage to his own cause that both Belchis and Gorvain must yield Lidoine to him.

MIDDLE ENGLISH ROMANCES

Middle English Romances of the courtly class, as a rule, contain hardly more than a trace of the system of courtly love. Emphasis is on action and setting. Sometimes, as in *Sir Degrevant*, "love paramour" as an influence on prowess is given some attention. Psychologizing is rare and never so elaborate as in the French romances. For full analyses, criticism, and bibliography of the Middle English romances, see J. E. Wells: *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, Yale University Press, 1916, pp. 1-163.

Partonopeus

Twelfth century; 10856 lines; ed. G. A. Crapelet, Paris, 1834; a tale of magic, courtly love, and chivalry; fifteenth century English version, *Partonope of Blois*, ed. A. J. Bödtker, EETS, 1912.

Partonopeus, lost in the Ardennes, wanders to the seashore, where he finds a magic boat which carries him to the palace of a lady named Melior. She is a queen who understands magic and has brought him to her by enchantment. If he does not try to see her until she says he may, she will be his *amie* and in time his wife. He returns home to win renown as a knight. His mother disapproves heartily of what he tells her about Melior, and endeavors to make him fall in love with a lady of her choosing. Luckily, a chance reference to his beautiful "fay" breaks the spell of counter charms and sends him back to Melior still loyal. His next visit to France is more disastrous, for his mother, with the help of an archbishop, persuades him to disregard the taboo. When he goes back to Melior, he takes

with him a lamp by the light of which he looks at her. Sent home in disgrace, he grieves until he is at the point of death. He goes to the Ardennes to die, and there Urraque, Melior's sister, finds him. She takes him away and nurses him back to health. Then she equips him for a tournament of which Melior is the prize. His prowess in the lists wins his *amie's* hand; Urraque's intercession has already restored him to his place of favored lover in Melior's heart. The poem ends with an account of their wedding.

Violette (or Gerard de Nevers)

By Gibert de Montreuil; dated at the end 1284; 6656 lines; ed. F Michel, Paris, 1834; probably an elaboration of the shorter, less courtly romance, the *Comte de Poitiers*. The use of lyrics and the mark of a flower on the heroine's body ally it with the *Guillaume de Dole*. (Cf. Gaston Paris: *Romania* XXIV, pp. 152 ff.)

Gerard of Nevers boasts of his lady's beauty and loyalty. Lisiart, a treacherous courtier, wagers his land against Gerard's that he can win her from Gerard. He visits Euriaut, the lady, and tries in vain to make her disloyal to her lover. Euriaut's nurse, an evil old woman, betrays to him the secret of a mark like a violet on her lady's body, and he uses this information to make Gerard believe in the faithlessness of Euriaut. Abandoned by her lover in a forest, she is found by the Duke of Metz, who falls in love with her and takes her to Metz, where he treats her with kindness and honor. Gerard, having learned that Euriaut has been slandered, sets out in search of her. At Cologne he attracts the love of Aiglante, daughter of the Duke, and is betrothed to her as the result of drinking a magic potion which makes him forget Euriaut. One day in Metz Euriaut's pet lark puts its head through a ring which Gerard gave her, and flies away with it. Soon after this Gerard, roused from his forgetfulness by finding her ring on the neck of a bird taken by his falcon, immediately resumes his search for her, and by chance comes to her rescue just as she is about to be burned at the instigation of a villain, Meliatir, whose attentions she has repulsed. Lisiart, Euriaut's nurse, and

Meliatir having been put to torture and death, the lovers are married amid general festivity.

Yder

Ed. H. Gelzer, Dresden, 1913, for the *Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur*; an Arthurian romance of adventure and courtly love, in which Arthur appears as an ungracious king and a jealous husband; thirteenth century; 6769 lines; first part of the story missing.

Yder, seeking his father, who disappeared before Yder's birth, falls in love with Queen Guenloie and resolves to win prestige in chivalry for her sake. He aids King Arthur at a time of need, but finding the King unappreciative, he leaves his court to aid Talac, with whom Arthur is at war. He does great deeds of valor in defense of Rougemont, Talac's castle, but is severely wounded, and saved from death by Guenloie, who dresses his wound and sends him to an abbey to be nursed back to health. On his recovery he is induced to return to Arthur's court. Not long afterward he finds his father near Rougemont and brings him to court. Arthur, jealous of Guinevere and Yder without reason, tries, with Kay's malicious help, to effect Yder's ruin when he is on a dangerous quest suggested by Guenloie, and though these efforts fail, Kay almost succeeds afterwards in killing him with a draught from a poisoned well. But Yder lives to marry Guenloie, to reunite his parents, and be happy a long time after.

The closing words of the *Yder* might well be the conclusion of every medieval society romance:

"This book . . . was made for kings and queens, clerks and knights, who like to hear fair words, for ladies and maidens who are very courteous and fair, and not for any other people at all. . . ."