Book Reviews

"ACTAS DEL I CONGRESO SOBRE LA JUGLARESCA"

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La Juglaresca: Adas del I Congreso Internacional sobre la Juglaresca. Ed. Manuel Criado de Val. Madrid: EDI-6,1986. Pp.x + 759.

This is a difficult book to review. Although it contains many valuable contributions, it is also disappointing in many ways. One of the main problems is the heterogeneity caused by the apparent decision not to establish or enforce any limitations whatsoever. According to the title, the volume is dedicated to the *juglares,* those traveling medieval minstrels and entertainers known to us especially for their role in the oral composition and transmission of epic poems and ballads, whose various repertoires also included many other genres, but the book seeks to cover the subject all the way from the Middle Ages to the present. The 71 essays that it gathers are divided into five sections:

I. Los orígenes: el juglar [16 essays]
II. Juglaría en la literatura medieval [22 essays]
III. El romancero [4 essays]
IV. La Juglaresca moderna en España [13 essays]
V. La Juglaresca americana e internacional [16 essays].

A perusal of the first two sections to which I decided to confine this review reveals additional problems. One contribution deals with India (89-92), another with a German poet (157-65). Some of the articles break new ground, several constitute competent, useful surveys of relevant topics, but others gather general information that can easily be found elsewhere. There are papers that attempt to systematize the obvious, leaving the reader with the impression that their authors, lacking a better subject, merely stitched together a few hastily gathered notes in order to attend the congress where the book originated. Some articles were included because the influence of folk literature and *lo juglaresco* on a particular writer were regarded as being essentially the same. A couple are simply impressionistic. This obvious lack of selectivity constitutes a disservice to the scholars whose pertinent, well-researched contributions advance our knowledge of the field considerably. There is no question that they deserved to be in better company.

Section I covers a variety of topics ranging from epic language to the repertory f the *juglares.* In the opening essay, Francisco Rodriguez Adrados evaluates several problems related to the study of formulas, with emphasis on the *Poema de Mío Cid* [PMC], and the approaches that focus on the relationship between epic poetry and society. In its transmission across the centuries, the early, orally composed Indo-European popular epic adapted itself to changing conditions (i.e. the differentiation of the Indo-Europeans into various peoples; the rise of Christianity), while preserving a core of traits inherited from the distant past.

John S. Miletich establishes a new, welcome distinction between genuine, orally composed folk poems, learned poems composed in writing that make use of some folkloric elements, and hybrid, intermediate texts of a semi-popular character that, though composed in writing, have much more in common with the oral tradition. Since the study of formulas has done little to resolve the controversy between neotraditionalists (oral composition, oral transmission, and the resulting variants) and neoindividualists (written composition by a single author, period), Miletich believes that the frequency of repetitive sequences at a microstructural level can elicit better results. In a detailed survey of a great number of Hispanic, Russian, and Serbo-Croatian narrative poems, he discovered that, in texts deemed to be genuinely folkloric, such repetitions are used regularly 33% of the time. Their appearance in intermediate texts, which is more sporadic, amounts to only 16%. Moreover, whereas such repetitions always have an æsthetic function in learned poems, their aesthetic utilization in folkloric intermediate texts is 15% and 68% respectively. These findings lead him to conclude that though composed in writing, the PMC belongs to the intermediate category. Thus Miletich, provides a compromise for the impasse between neotraditionalists and individualists.

Luis Díaz G. de Viana hypothesizes that the term *romanz* first designated an epic poem which, upon performance, was preceded by a *fabla,* a prose or semi-prose recapitulation and commentary destined to prepare the audience for the sung version, which would have consisted of a *cantar* or series of *cantares* that, in time, became known as *romances.*

Steven Hess reviews the path that Menéndez Pidal followed in order to reconcile the theory that traditional poetry is essentially anonymous, living in the multiple variants that influence each other constantly, and the concept of *autor legión,* with the existence of an original author. Menéndez Pidal accomplishes this when he defines the anonymous *juglar* who created the PMC. Contrary to recent objections, he did not minimize the artistic value of that poem, nor did he view it only in terms of its historical importance.

J.A. Carpentier de Gourdon and Cosme Carpentier de Gourdon trace the extremely complex development of courtly love in Southern France to its equally complex Eastern (India, Yemen, the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, Persian Manichæism) and Spanish (Ibn Hazm, Ibn Quzman) sources. If the web of origins is such that "sería vano y futil intentar separar" (87) its Eastern and Western components, then what is the point of this useful paper? I also find it difficult to imagine *juglares* composing and disseminating courtly love poems; the authors fail to take into account the crucial distinction between *trovadores and juglares.*

Judging from the title of Ben Pena's contribution ("El culto a Mahoma en la literatura juglaresca hispanocristiana del medievo"), the Christian *juglares* would seem to have also been fervent followers of Mohammed, but the author hastens to explain that he means to focus on their misconceptions concerning Muslim religious beliefs. Noting that the *juglares* deify the prophet of Islam, Pena quotes a series of well-known passages where the Christian poets cause the Muslims, who are invariably defeated, to praise, adore, or call upon Mahoma's assistance in battle, thus pointing implicitly to the superiority of their own religion.

Focusing especially on the *Cancionero de Baena,* Julio Rodriguez Puértolas examines the transformation and decline of *the juglares* during the fifteenth century, when their profession came to be regarded in a negative way. There were learned, courtly poets, but there also numerous examples of poetic mendacity and a clear tendency towards the comical and the obscene. The last two categories pave the way for the appearance of the buffoon.

With passages culled from the *Libro de buen amor [LBA],* the PMC, Berceo and *Razón de Amor,* Antonio Torres Alcalá argues that the concept

of *ars gratia artis* did not begin in the Renaissance. Medieval anonymity is merely incidental, and the need to conform to the demands of the public does not necessarily mean that the *juglares* and other authors composed their works in a completely impersonal way, without any critical awareness of the æsthetic value of their art.

Juan Paredes Núñez hypothesizes that, notwithstanding the scant evidence that has come down to us, there were in *Spain juglares* of lower rank who included rhymed stories, some of which were probably folk tales, in their repertories.

From the title of her paper, "Presencia del juglar en España," it would seems that Maria Paz Hortega set her sights on the formidable task of proving that such a figure did indeed exist in the Iberian peninsula. After some generalizations concerning Provençal, Galician and Castilian *juglares,* she quotes a song from Lope's *El caballero de Olmedo, a fandango* from Huelva, and alludes to one of Lorca's poems and modern folk songs, to come to the startling conclusion that "Todas podrían haber sido compuestas por juglares" (129).

José Luis Alonso Hernandez tries to establish a difference between *cazurrismo* and carnival through an apparent application o reception theory. The first category, exemplified through Juan Ruiz's *Copias de la Cruz panadera,* is dearly defined as "un tipo de producción que se debate entre la socarronería y la sexualidad" (132). The convoluted hypothetical definition of carnival is a little harder to fathom: "El carnaval séria mas una representación icónica de tema impreciso, aunque subversivo antaño y divertido y vacío en la actualidad, que ningún tipo de comunicación" (132). Alonso Hernandez then goes on to examine carnival through the "despedazimiento enumerativo del cuerpo humano" because Bakhtin lists this as being typically carnivalesque, even though he himself lists thinks that such a classification "nos parece algo abusiva" (132).

In a splendid, profusely documented paper, Brian Dutton examines numerous epic formulas, some of which also occur in the *romancero,* in order to show that they originated with jurists. Those formulas became part of the language of the *juglares* (and everyone else's, for that matter) because more common people often served as witnesses in judicial affairs, and legal documents were "published" through public

proclamations. In other words, one did not have to be a lawyer to be familiar with such language.

Although the surrealistic title chosen by Fernando Rielo Pardal ("Estudio comparado de la juglaría con la mística española y su Quijote hablado") gives a fairly good idea of the contents of have to quote two incredibly revealing passages: "La novela cervantina sella, junta a los libros de caballerías, la tradición de juglares y trovadores. Don Quijote es un trovador; Sancho, su juglar. El trovadorismo de Don Quijote son sus sentencias; el juglarismo de Sancho, sus refranes" (154); "La naturaleza de la juglaría española tiene cuatro caractères: en lo espiritual, místico; en lo literario, romántico; en lo ornamental, plateresco; en lo politico, democrático" (154).

Section II gathers papers on anonymous works and known writers: the *PMC,* the Poema de Fernán González [PFG], Ramón Lull, Berceo, the *LBA,* Santillana, and so on.

The section on the PMC opens with Carmelo Gariano's useful, intelligent discussion of the manifestations of humor in that poems, which he divides into five different categories.

James Burke sheds new light on some of the problematical toponyms enumerated to describe the voyage of the Infantes de Carrión to Corpes: Ansarera, Elpha and its *caños,* and Griza.

Though frequently suggestive, Sofia Carrizo Rueda's examination of the symbolic function of temporal references in the PMC, which focuses especially on the utilization of daylight (positive) and the darkness of night (negative), is not always convincing. For example, in the Robledo de Corpes the Infantes de Carrion make love to their wives at night, which corresponds to their evil intentions, but mistreat them at daybreak because "Las tinieblas en ellos surgen de su propio corazón" (188).

Adriana Beatriz Martino's verbose, sophomoric comparison between the protagonists of the PMC and the Byzantine *Dighenis Akritas* is replete with groundless generalizations and many specific errors. For example, she seems to imagine that the concept of blood purity had become important centuries earlier, emphasizing that the Cid is of "pure Christian blood," whereas his less fortunate counterpart is of "hybrid,"

"mixed origins" (Christian mother and Muslim father). Although Martino may be factually correct, the truth of the matter is that the subject of blood purity is never mentioned in the PMC.

Nancy Joe Dyer juxtaposes passages of the *Cantar del Destierro* with its prosified correspondences in two chronicles, refers to a fifteenth-century ballad studied by Samuel G. Armistead that supports Menéndez Pidal's reconstruction, on the basis of chronistic evidence, of some missing verses at the beginning of the PMC, and concludes that the PMC glimpsed through the prosifications of the *Primera Crónica General* and the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* belonged to an oral, living tradition.

The next two articles are of the PFG. Fernando de Toro-Garland lists the allusions to Almanzor in three parallel columns drawn from three different editions even though the number of references [35] is exactly the same in each of them. From this he concludes, without attempting to marshal any other type of evidence, that the lost *poema juglaresco* that served as a basis for the surviving thirteenth-century *poema de clerecía* was probably composed in the eleventh century, shortly after the death of Almanzor (1002; Fernán González had died in 970).

John Lihani examines oral techniques in the PFG through a comparison with the formulistic diction of the PMC and the repetition of tripartite episodic structures in both poems. The formulaic density of the PMC (32%) indicates that it is one of those hybrid poems that, though composed in writing, was based on an orally created precedent; the PFG, on the other hand, must have been exclusively composed in writing, for John S. Geary determined that only 17% of the poem is formulaic. The PFG also exhibits fewer tripartite episodic structures because such repetitions are less frequent in written works.

Juan Portera subdivides the process of revenge in the tragic story of the Infantes de Lara and the PMC into no fewer than seven detailed stages: *la genesis, la tensión, las gestiones, la entrega, la afrenta, la incubation, la venza* [sic] *propiamente dicha* (247). So what?

The next two pieces are on Catalan writers. In a splendid article that cannot be adequately summarized here, Juan Corominas demonstrates that, though omitted by Menéndez Pidal in his pathfinding *Poesia juglaresca y juglares* (1924), the work of Ramon Lull contain important

data for the study of the *juglar* and his art, After his conversion at the age of 32, Lull, who had been an accomplished troubadour in the Provençal manner, used his poetic talent to further his didactic and apostolic ideals, becoming a *juglar a lo divino.* He did this through both rhymed and prose works, organizing the latter so that they could be publicly recited everywhere.

In "Guillem de Cervera y/o Cerveri de Girona," Jaime Ferrán reviews the problem concerning the identity of the poet: are we dealing with two different persons (K. Lewent, J. Corominas), one of which can be described as a *juglar* because of his *trobar plan* and a troubadour who prefers the *trobar ric* and at times the *trobar dus,* or with a single individual (M. de Riquer) who combines the two (or three) styles in his work? Ferrán does not seem to make a clear choice, and goes on to examine several poems which he, nevertheless, attributes to Cerveri de Girona, in a manner that has all the earmarks of an apotheosis of his *patria chica.*

Michèle S. de Cruz-Sáenz argues that, notwithstanding its clerical French origin, the Spanish *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca,* which she views as the work of a highly accomplished, learned poet, was also greatly influenced by the art of the juglar at its best.

Lia Noemí Uriarte Rebaudi reviews Berceo's apparently ambivalent attitude towards the *mester de juglaría* and the *juglar es,* his utilization of techniques borrowed from them in his own works, as well as his clear, unambiguous prayer to Santo Domingo, where he tells the saint that he ought to protect him because he has been his *juglar.*

The next cluster of articles is on the *LEA.* Vicente Reynal makes an excellent evaluation of its profuse utilization of several aspects of the art of the *juglar,* which he weaves within 24 sections that can be described as cogent explanations of the manner in which apparently disconnected parts of the *LBA* are linked together. Throughout, Reynal insists constantly on his thesis that Juan Ruiz wrote the *LEA* against clerical celibacy.

Suspecting that the art of the *juglar* could provide a glimpse of a popular, underlying world view suppressed by the dominant class and its culture, Jacques Joset examines the joyful reception of the triumphant

Don Carnal on the last day of Lent, which ought to be a day of meditation and sorrow, and the equally happy reception of Don Melon on Easter Sunday. Since Don Carnal and Don Amor, whose arrival coincides with the spring cycle, also stand for material goods and the pagan Eros, their festive reception and the merrymaking that goes on for several days after— and the *juglares* play a key role here— subvert official Christian norms because they constitute a manifestation of suppressed pagan rites that had been preserved as popular customs.

Eric Naylor also dwells on the arrival of Don Carnal just before Easter. The presence of hunters in the procession that comes to receive him (the Church disapproved of hunting during Lent) explains the presence of a pack of hounds, confirming that, contrary to what Juan Corominas suggests, the *galga* that Don Carnal sends after the hares that chance by (1219d) is a type of dog.

Juan Cano Ballesta discusses the *cantares caçurros* of the lowest rank *of juglares,* also known as *caçurros,* as a manifestation of popular culture related to carnival, which, being a subversion of official culture, was tolerated during festive occasions. He does this through an examination of bawdy anticlerical songs and the euphemistic street cries of a seller of sieges, a key maker, and a fruit vendor found in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio.* The paper is in this subsection because the author includes the *Copias de la Cruz panadera* in his discussion, but it should have been placed elsewhere.

Amalia Dishman's analysis of the deadly sins in the *LBA* is difficult to follow. Theologians made a distinction between capital and mortal sins, but Juan Ruiz seems to use both terms interchangeably. According to some authorities, there were seven such sins; others listed eight and, at times, the number reached twelve because they were connected with the Zodiac. At one point Juan Ruiz enumerates seven deadly sins, but adds an eighth one elsewhere. Although Dishman is aware of the fact that he identifies *codicia* as the root of all the other sins (339), she later hypothesizes that "Para Juan Ruiz la lujuria pareciera ser el pecado mortal por excelencia" (343). The conclusion seems to come in the very first page, where the author says that all this confusion is not related to the well-known ambiguity of the *LBA,* paralleling "la complejidad de las ideas filosófico-morales que eran parte de la ideología medieval" (337) instead.

According to André Michalski, the proud, noble war horse that insults the humble loaded ass in one of the *enxiemplos* of the *LBA,* calling him a villain, is an allegory of class struggle as well as a mock epic. The epic includes a singular combat that occurs when the situation is reversed and the ass berates the horse, which was used to plough and as a beast of burden after being defeated and badly wounded in battle. Since singular combat was viewed as a trial by ordeal and the ass defeats the horse, what we have here is an example of *juglaría subversiva,* a reinvidication of the lower classes, for it is God who punishes the horse for its pride.

Josep Moragas Pagés surveys the confluence of genres in Santillana's *serranillas,* including their popular sources, and concurs with a hypothetical sequence for their composition.

Essentially, Ignacio Elizalde's lengthy article consists of synopses of troubadours who happened to refer to Navarre in their works.

This section ends with Elena Gascón-Vera's review of Santillana's much debated reference to "romances e cantares." Although he favors learned poetry, his *Seranillas* show that he also admires the beauty of the traditional lyric. Thus, Santillana paves the way for the subsequent combination of learned and popular elements by Golden Age poets.

The book has another 33 articles, but the vast majority fall outside the areas of interest to the readers of this journal.

"KELLOGG'S MEDIEVAL ARTISTRY AND EXCHANGE"

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Judith Kellogg. *Medieval Artistry and Exchange: Economic Institutions, Society and Literary Form in Old French Narrative.* American University Studies II, Romance Languages and Literature, Vol. 123. New York: Peter Lang, 1989. Pp.x + 198.

Judith Kellogg begins her book with the premise, despite several decades of New Critics, Structuralists, and Deconstructionists to the contrary, that "one cannot fully encompass a text without some awareness of historical context" (3). To make clear my bias from the outset, it is a point with which I happen to agree. In setting the parameters and direction of her work, she acknowledges a debt to Marxist critics, New Historicists, and certain medievalists who draw on "recent theoretical advances," notably Erich Köhler, R. Howard Bloch, Eugene Vance, and William Calin. Looking at shifting societal values from a gift-giving to a market economy, she expands on the old notion of dividing medieval people into the categories of "those who fought, those who prayed, and those who worked" to include "those who sold" (35) as well. It is Kellogg's contention that the economic changes they brought to medieval society had a profound influence on literary texts.

The book is written in a clear and elegant prose, deliberately avoiding what Kellogg calls "the rarefied and often self-referential discourse of contemporary criticism" (11). The text's greatest weakness is that it tends to be somewhat repetitious, particularly in the last two chapters which, although useful, tend to reiterate and expand on points already made in the first three. This time, however, rather than focusing primarily on the texts themselves and their revelations about the economic context, she turns the tables to look more closely at the shifting attitudes toward gift-giving in particular and the inevitable impact these changes wrought on literary language. Despite the repetitions, Kellogg has a talent for reflective and intelligent synthesis which draws together a number of familiar ideas in a new context, thereby forcing the reader to look at the works in question with a fresh eye.

Her use of three epic poems points up a deteriorating relationship between monarch and vassal within a "military, feudal world, where gift-giving, sustained by pillage and manorial production, forms the base of the economy" (61). She begins with the "monologic" or single-value discourse of the *Chanson de Roland* which is, she contends, ill-equipped to show "multiple layers of meaning implicit in the discrepancy between word and intention" (24). As a consequence, Ganelon becomes "a jarring element of ambiguity and double meaning" (23), his greed bringing with it "a whole network of moral associations with specific ties to economic concerns" (37) and pointing already toward a society in transition.

In *Le Charroi de Nîmes,* Guillaume d'Orange demonstrates a complexity unthinkable in the more rigidly categorical *Roland.* The book explores two sides of his character, "the utterly sincere knight and the manipulative trickster" (63), each of which manifests itself in a particular set of circumstances. His role of feudal knight in Louis's court during the first part of the epic contrasts sharply with his later ability to take on "the guise of a merchant" and participate in "commercial ethos." This facility for adaptation, according to Kellogg, reveals "a sophisticated recognition of the two distinct economic systems which co-existed in the Middle Ages" (47).

Raoul *de Cambrai,* in turn, reflects increasing tension and antimonarchic sentiment within the nobility as vassals (Gibouin de Man, Raoul de Cambrai, and Bernier de Ribemont) engage in a "heated struggle for a portion of the finite resources" (62) doled out by an insensitive monarch who seeks to reassert his authority at the expense of his vassals. Bernier, she contends, represents "a new kind of epic figure who, for the first time embodies complex psychological tensions" (55) and "who would substitute words for military action as a potential vehicle for a negotiated end to violence" (57). Taken together, the three epics show "a world in which sources of wealth and power are becoming narrower and more ingrown" (61) and therein lines the root of inevitable conflict within the aristocracy itself.

Turning from epic to romance in late twelfth-century France, Kellogg argues that in this new genre the aristocracy was seeking a "safe fantasy haven" for the traditional values that were being threatened in the later epics. Using Chrétien de Troyes's Erec *et Enide* and *Yvain* as her

examples, she tries to force the court of Arthur into an idealized mold. But the Arthurian ethos is inevitably found wanting in Chretien's world where the knight-hero can attain his fullest being only outside the court of Arthur. I would agree rather with L.T. Topsfield that Chretien's Arthurian court, in contrast to the depictions of Geoffry of Monmouth and Wace, is "less martial, less robust and... increasingly decadent."[1] Nevertheless, Kellogg is correct in contending that the special world created by Chrétien for his heroes is unable to keep out the mercantile values of time and money in its language and its images. A medieval "sweat-shop," a sense of "urban time," credit metaphors, a "debt-redemption pattern," the landlord-nobleman—all proclaim and awareness of the merchant mentality on the rise in the economic centers of Champagne.

Finally, in Jean de Meung's *Roman de la Rose,* the last work that Kellogg examines, we see a frank and open shift from courtly values to commercial ones. Jean depicts a world where, when "wealth is absent, hypocrisy and deception can conveniently be substituted" (124). If Dame Richece will not help the lover, he can fall on Faus Semblant to see him through. In the context of a profit economy, Kellogg contends, "the word often only has a tenuous relationship with actions" (133), and Faus Semblant can function quite comfortably.

Mercantilism, however, has no corner on hypocrisy and false dealing, which are, in fact, present from the *Chanson de Roland* on. And while the quest for profit through shrewd tactics (otherwise construed as greed and trickery) may have increased in prominence and even acceptability during the course of two centuries in which these works were written, it was there from the outset. The primary difference is the fact that where Ganelon fails, thanks to divine intervention and one brave man, the lover of the *Roman* succeeds. While we cannot perhaps say that Jean admires the strategy of Amant in league with Faus Semblant any more than the *Roland* poet admires Ganelon, he does show that there is more than one way to succeed in the game of life.

[1]L.T. Topsfield, *Chrétien de Troyes: A Study of the Arthurian Romance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 1981) 12-13.

In documenting the shift away from the feudal code, in which *largesce* was a principal virtue to a world where it became increasingly "a polite symbolic and ceremonial gesture" (150) and is, in effect, replaced by a profit economy, Kellogg explores the unraveling of a cohesive aristocratic community which gave way to increased alienation.

One can hardly dispute the thesis of Kellogg's book, for she makes abundantly clear the literary mirroring of societal economic concerns. There is an occasional error in the bibliography. For example, both Glyn Burgess's and Gerard Brault's names are misspelled. And one wonders why, so many years after John Benton first questioned the 1164 dating of the marriage of Marie de Champagne to Henri le Libéral, some passing reference, at least, is not made to the alternate (and in my opinion, more probable) date of 1159 in note 7 on page 105. But in light of the text's many virtues, these are small matters indeed. Overall, the work contains many fine insights, to which a brief review can scarcely do justice. The text runs well under two hundred pages, and, because Kellogg so assiduously avoids critical jargon, it is easily accessible to the specialist and the general reader alike.

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"KELLER'S AUTOUR DE ROLAND "

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Hans-Erich Keller. *Autour de Roland: Recherches sur la chanson de geste.* Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge 14. Paris: Champion, 1989. Pp. 378.

In *Autour de Roland,* Hans-Erich Keller has brought together nineteen studies on the epic, all but one of which had previously been published in essentially the same versions in various journals, congress proceedings or homage volumes. Three first appeared in the pages of *Olifant: "La Pastorale de Roland:* A Basque Theatrical Interpretation of the Battle of Roncevaux" *(Olifant* 5 [1977-78]: 29-41); *"The Song of Roland* and Its Audience" *(Olifant 6* [1979]: 259-74); and "Saint Sylvestre in the *Chanson de Roland" (Olifant* 11 [1986]: 189-203).

The articles reprinted in this volume, which were originally written in English and German as well as French, all appear here in French, which assures the widest audience possible for Professor Keller's important, though at times controversial, insights. Because of the nature of the collection there is a fair amount of repetition, particularly among the articles that comprise the first section, devoted to the *Chanson de Roland* proper. This section, to which I attach also the Introduction, which first appeared as "Changes in Old French Epic Poetry and Changes in the Taste of its Audience,"[1] contains eight studies originally published (with the exception of the *Olifant* article on St. Sylvestre) between 1974 and 1979. The second section of seven articles, entitled "La matière de Roland en Europe," features a hodgepodge of studies on the German *Roulantes Liet* and *Fierrabras,* the Faroese ballad "Runsivals stríd," the Spanish ballads of Juan José López's *Carlo-Magno,* the Basque theatrical *Roland* mentioned above, and *Galien le restore.* These articles first appeared for the most part between 1978 and 1987. The third and final section, "L'histoire poétique de Charlemagne en Occitanie," combines three articles on the *Roland de Saragosse* with one on *Ronsasvals.* An epilogue, an *Index rerum,* and the *Table des matières* dose the volume.

The initial section, containing Professor Keller's viewpoint on the development of the *Chanson de Roland* in France, merits a brief summary for those not familiar with his arguments: there existed at least as early as the eleventh century an orally circulating version of the *Roland* centered on the battle of Roncevaux itself without, notably, the Baligant episode and the final vindication of Roland's policies through the full elaboration of the judgement of Ganelon episode. Sometime during or immediately after the regency of Abbot Suger of St-Denis (1147-49, when Louis VII was on crusade), a *written* version of the *Roland,* which now included the Baligant episode and was composed to favor Suger's nationalistic policies and increase the prestige of the Capetian monarchy, was produced by a monk from the Abbey of St-Denis, The Oxford

[1] Harald Scholler, ed. *The* Epic *Medieval Society: Æsthetic and Moral Values* (Tubingen: Max Niemeyer, 1977) 150-77. A French version appeared in the following year in *Mélanges de philologie et de littératures romanes offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem* (Liège: Marche Romane, 1978) 257-85.

version of the *Roland,* which was produced after 1170 and gives a superficially Anglo-Norman flavor to the text, added the episode of the conversion of Bramimonde, but otherwise differed only in minor details from the poem inspired by Suger. This all too brief summary does not, of course, do justice to the complexity and richness of Professor Keller's demonstration, but perhaps it will inspire the interested reader to consult the articles themselves.

Professor Keller's theory, most fully elaborated in the first article of the first section, "La version sandionysienne de la *Chanson de Roland* (37-75) rests primarily on the identification of a number of characters in the poem with historical figures in the entourage of Suger and Louis VII. Other key proofs, too closely argued to summarize here, involve the evocation of the *oriflamme,* the identification of Baligant with Ben Ali Ghâniya, who defeated decisively a Christian army at Fraga in 1134, and the literary and intellectual climate of St-Denis in the first half of the twelfth century.

The articles in the latter two sections are too disparate to attempt to summarize them here. Nearly all, however, give evidence, of Professor Keller's wide-ranging familiarity with the principal languages of medieval Europe and his keen interest in placing the literary works in their historical settings. As in the first part, he is often able to suggest specific events or personages which might have shaped the works as we have them. The traditional questions of sources and origins are constantly foregrounded in a work of painstaking philological research rather than speculative literary theorizing. Recurring speculations about lost manuscript sources will not convince everyone, but those interested in the development and elaboration of the Roland legend throughout the late medieval period, both in French and in other western languages, will find much material here for further consideration.

The book contains a relatively high number of typographical errors, but they do not seriously mar what is basically a carefully produced volume. More annoying were the many footnotes that appeared a page after their reference number, rather than immediately at the bottom of the page. This somewhat nullified the convenience of having footnotes rather than endnotes and, in some cases, made the checking of cross-references difficult (as, for example, that in footnote 4 or page 79). If this was due to a computer program, as I suspect, I would suggest that

Champion invest in a more versatile program. If the book was set by hand, there is really no excuse for this repeatedly happening.

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"HECHT'S CHANSON DE TUROLD"

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Michael Hecht. *La Chanson de Turold.* Paris: Bailly, 1989.

Scholars have long been aware of the significance of number in ancient and medieval philosophy and theology. Greek philosophers and their successors from Pythagoras onward have perceived numerical relationships in the physical order of nature and have posited a deeper numerical order governing the universe. Early Christian theologians and exegetes, who saw the universe as an emanation of God's creation and reflective of divine realities, perceived hidden symbolic relationships between God's word as recorded in scripture and historical reality. Embedded within the biblical narrative lay a kind of spiritual reality and essential essential history closely, if obscurely, related to man's existence and to the unfolding events of world history. Given their philosophical perspective, it is not strange that medieval Christian writers searching for the divine order should structure their own works in such a way as to reflect an underlying numerical order.

Dante's appreciation and respect for an inherent numerical structure in poetry is well known, and scholars have demonstrated that the number three and the perfect number, 100, provide the very foundation for and shape the inner structure of the *Divina Commedia.* In the eleventh-century Old French saint's life, *La vie de saint Alexis,* the author provides not only a numerical structure to the poetic lines and strophic divisions themselves (built on the number five: ten-syllable lines, five-line strophes, and 125 strophes), but he structures the narrative of Alexis's life written in the *imitatio Christi* tradition, according to an underlying numerical pattern which recalls and symbolizes Christ's own life. It is no accident that Alexis dies in the thirty-fourth year after his "new-birth" on the night of his wedding. Nor is it chance that he

becomes the man of God in the thirty-third stanza, is named the man of God in the thirty-fourth, and goes to heaven in Une 333, etc. The author's pleasure at having his own narrative's relation to order reflect a similar relationship between history and the divine order must have been immense.

Whereas scholars have been quite receptive to studies which suggest such numerical structures in medieval texts in general, they have been less cordial toward attempts to discover underlying numerical patterns in the *Chanson de Roland.* C.A. Robson treats arithmetical divisions in the Digby-23 Oxford manuscript without suggesting a direct metaphoric relationship to the meaning of the poem;[1] and Eleanor Bulatkin, who uses the 291 *laisse* Mortier edition, argues at length for the presence of two arithmetic patterns governing the narrative structure of the poem: a pattern of 66 deeply interwoven within the narrative structure from the poem's beginning to Roland's death and burial; and a pattern of 91, less elegant, created by the redactor who added the Baligant episode.[2]

If these demonstrations have not been widely accepted, it is not because scholars reject intricate structures and patterns in the narrative. In his analysis of oral composition, Jean Rychner demonstrated the repetitive nature of oral practice in the *chanson de geste* and the highly structured and ordered nature of the poetic lines within the *laisse.* Nor would scholars consider a poem with such heavy religious overtones an unlikely composition to be based on a deep arithmetic structure involving biblical analogues. Rather it is the widely accepted oral nature of the *Chanson de Roland* that diminishes the likelihood of an exacting arithmetical structure. if one accepts the nature of oral delivery as it has been described, no two performances if any given poem would be the same. One would have no set number of *laisses* and even the lines within each *laisse* would vary from performance to performance. In the case of the *Chanson de Roland,* of course, no two manuscripts are alike in content, nor can one collate the texts. But what of the Oxford *Roland* as a special

[1]C.A. Robson, "The Technique of Symmetrical Composition in Medieval Poetry," *Studies in Medieval French Presented to Alfred Ewert,* ed. E.A. Francis (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 26-75.

[2] Eleanor Webster Bulatkin, *Structural Arithmetic Metaphor in the Oxford "Roland"* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1972).

manuscript whose final redactor, while maintaining the oral style might have carefully organized and orchestrated a text with a precise numerical structure?

Michael Hecht's "essai de déchiffrement" takes as its point of departure Jean Rychner's study of oral technique and his division of the *laisse* into basic elements. Hecht then organizes groups of *laisses* into episodes and groups of episodes into larger chapters. Within these divisions Mr. Hecht has worked out an elaborate system of numerical relationships even to the extent that he sees in some lines numerical patterns in the stressed vowels. As one reads Mr. Hecht's demonstration, one is not surprised by the fact that the proportions and balances in the structure reflect the careful construction and order for which the work is celebrated. But as one works his way more deeply into the precise numerical relationships, one becomes aware of an increasing uneasiness and numerous questions that remain unanswered. Mr. Hecht is aware that the nature of oral composition makes the Oxford *Roland* a rather unstable text, but he treats the manuscripts and copyist as if he were dealing with a work completely in the literate tradition. He begins by noting that to be persuasive the numerical structure must be so apparent that the reader will not be able to ignore its prominence in the text. he then notes that the undiscovered proof of the authenticity of his numerical pattern in a marginal notation on folio 57v that accords perfectly with his reading that lines 3193-94 reintroduce a "resurrected" Roland in the Baligant episode to lead the revenge of the fallen heroes. The more one probes Mr. Hecht's analysis the more one becomes aware of the instabilities that preclude any precise numerical structure. Although the Oxford manuscript has 4002 lines, there are lacunæ and a problem of *laisse* sequence. Mr. Hecht follows Whitehead's edition, but he must change four of the editor's *laisse* divisions and change the position of the Abisme episode to make his scheme work out. This he justifies by the numerical pattern he has discovered or by a specific interpretation of the text that "requires" the alteration. Moreover, although it seems that the numerical sequences are discovered in the text, it is Mr. Hecht who selects what a motif is and where to divide the episodes. One is disappointed to discover in reaching the promised discussion of the marginal indication on folio 57v that the author admits he has no idea who made the Unes in the margin or for what purpose. By then he has come to believe so strongly in his own system that he perceives the lines as mute witness that some other reader had made the

same discovery. Mr. Hecht's book is not easy reading. Those who are interested in the numerical interpretation of medieval texts will, I am afraid, be disappointed in what they find.

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"CAMPBELL'S THE PROTEAN TEXT"

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Kimberlee Ann Campbell. *The Protean Text: A Study of Versions of the Medieval French Legend of "Doon and Olive."* Garland Monographs in Medieval Literature, Vol. I. New York: Garland, 1988.

As indicated in the Preface of the General Editors, this new monograph series is comprised of interpretive and analytic studies of Western European literatures of the Middle Ages and includes both outstanding recent dissertations and book-length studies. It is thus intended to serve both junior scholars and their senior colleagues. The present volume would appear to be a further development of the author's 1984 New York University dissertation, *"Doon de la Roche* and *Enrrique,fi de Oliva:* The Changing Face of Legend."

Campbell's purpose is to explore the changing textual manifestations of a medieval legend, the legend of Doon and Olive: Doon's marriage to Olive (daughter of Pepin); her apparent "infidelity" as arranged by a traitor; Doon's refusal to acknowledge her innocence; his banishment of his wife and remarriage to the traitor's daughter; Landri's (son of Doon and Olive) attempts to find help in Europe and his subsequent attempts at fortune in the Orient; separate adventures of Doon and Olive; and the eventual reunion and reconciliation of Doon and Olive along with the punishment of the traitor. Campbell is concerned with making a careful distinction between the elusively Protean legend "with a life of its own, separate from any fixed and complete version of it" (95) and its textual manifestations, texts which represent passage rather than being. In that regard, she departs from the well-established scholarly tradition concerned with text archives ("true versions," "textes de base," etc.) to

study the process of literary modulation and adaptation. She would thus align herself the approach of Zumthor and others concerned with literary production and intertextuality. The texts she uses for this study are the late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century French *chanson de geste* "Doon de La Roche," the 1498 Spanish *novela, Historia de Enrrique, fi de Oliva,* "Olif and Landres of the *Karlamagnússaga,* and the nineteenth-century Faroese ballad entitled *Oluvu Kvædi.* She deals primarily with the first two works, using the northern ones to demonstrate the protean face of the text across time and space but also the essential immutability of the legend.

Campbell's five principal chapters deal, respectively, with the extant texts in historical context; the narrative structures of the two Romance versions; a comparative study of the generic differences of the Romance texts, the socio-cultural milieux surrounding these two versions; and a discussion of the Northern versions.

The chapter on historical contexts contains brief discussions of the manuscripts of the Romance and Scandinavian texts adequate to orient the reader for the study that is to follow. Campbell also points out where elements of the legend are reflected in other Romance and Scandinavian texts in order to demonstrate the story's popularity.

The chapter on narrative structures analyzes the basic structural units of the two Romance texts in detail, units which she calls "narrative configurations." Campbell finds a high degree of correlation between the *Doon* and *Enrrique* texts; her analysis of the French and Spanish texts provides a careful detailed comparison of the two while noting significant differences in terms of characterization, use of motifs, and reasons for certain actions. In this, she demonstrate clearly that while some narrative configurations may be very different, or even non-existent, in one text, the basic story is unchanged. Interestingly, she is able to show that the two versions dedicate very similar percentages of their respective texts to the major narrative structure composed of a succession of episodes in chronological order, while the sequential continuity of *Doon is* considerably more complex, appearing almost haphazard. She notes what is observed in the latter, however, is not to be unexpected of a *chanson de geste.*

Chapter Three deals with the process of generic modulation as exemplified by the differences in the Romance texts. Campbell identifies two distinct axes or guiding principles in the texts, the first being clarity and causality. *Enrrique,* by comparison with the *Doon,* is characterized by greater simplicity or clarity of expression and an explicit narrative causality. She points out also that characteristics of the *chanson de geste,* such as calls to attention, certain epic formulae, rhyme and assonance, announcements are recapitulations, are not taken into the *novela.* In her comparison, Campbell demonstrates some limited psychological development in the central characters in both versions, highly developed imagery in *Doon* as contrasted with a minimum of imagery in the *Enrrique,* and greater sensual awareness in *Doon.* The second axis, then, is that of the enhancement of the marvelous and hagio-religious theme in the *Enrrique* as contrasted with the *Doon.* She identifies the hagio-religious theme not as a function of style but as a conceptualization in order, for example, to expand on the trial by ordeal portions and the depiction of Enrrique as a quasi-saint, the chosen of God. The effect of the addition of the marvelous is to shift the story's ethical structure from the socio-political in the *Doon* to a vastly simplified "good versus evil" in the *Enrrique.* Campbell's conclusion to this part of the study is that the two axes of novelization affect the generic shift from the *chanson de geste* to the *novela.*

Campbell's analysis is careful and serves to differentiate the two texts genetically in a clear manner. There are some troubling points, however. She affirms that certain elements of Enrrique's character are at variance with the hagio-religious theme she outlines in the Spanish text such as his occasional startling ruthlessness, his attempts to convert his enemies, his execution of his enemies, and his forcible seizing of a pilgrim's costume. This "brutal" side of Enrrique is viewed by Campbell as coexisting with uneasily with the "saint," and she explains it as the result of the hagio-religious theme's having possibly been superimposed on an earlier text without regard for the "transgression against the unity of the character." The unity she would like to see may only be hers; the apparent conflict of "brutality" with "saintliness" does not seem at all incongruent with what is widely observed in medieval literature. The good, the saintly of the Middle Ages is not characterized solely by the long-suffering pacifistic demeanor of later times.

Moreover, one has some difficulty accepting Campbell's treatment in this chapter as a demonstrable "shift"in genre. She demonstrates clearly that the two texts are generically different. What would have been much more interesting and useful in a discussion of the protean nature of this legend is an analysis of the mechanism by which this shift has taken place, not just a differentiation between two fixed texts.

Chapter Four, "Cultural Artifacts," is an attempt to explain the reasons behind the protean dimension of the medieval text, or an analysis of the socio-cultural milieux responsible for the production of these texts. Taking off from the point that *Doon* is the product of a feudal society that relies, at least partly, on the oral transmission of the text, and that *Enrrique* reflects the shift toward a "paper" society, Campbell begins with a look at the onomastics of the texts. This includes a discussion of how the names of *Doon* have been taken into the *Enrrique,* the possible historical personages who lent their names to the texts, and the connections of textual material with historical events or geographical locations. Campbell has made a good attempt to trace likely sources for manes and historical references, but she is also led to the inevitable, "It is quite possible that the names were random choices or that the justification for them existed in a version that has been lost" (65). She also remarks about the fact that certain historical allusions are anachronistic and that it is almost impossible to explain the same with respect to *Enrrique.* But, this is clearly a given in the transmission of medieval narrations. In looking, then into historical references to the Crusades, Spanish law and heraldry, Campbell shows that the Spanish text is a mixture of Franco-Germanic and Spanish cultural artifacts. Likewise she shows that legends and literary patterns are mixed in the *Enrrique.* Her point is to show not that the author of the extant *Enrrique* used any specific text expressly for purposes of borrowing, but to show the literary traditions or legends with which the author was familiar.

Fair enough. But, to conclude then that a survey of other *chansons de geste* confirms the hypothesis of the French epic repertory as central to the development of the legend of "Doon and Olive" is really a statement of the obvious; one would hardly have expected otherwise. She does, however, provide a fairly careful analysis of possible sources of textual material for the *Enrrique.* She also shows that the hagiographie material could have come from a number of sources. One of the most troubling

points, however, is her view that the didacticism in Enrrique's showing his father the folly of believing everything one sees, a graphic humorous episode in which Doon awakens next to an ugly laundress as a result of trickery, equally as guiltless as was his wife, is not normally a feature of either epic or chivalric literature. This is hardly foreign to either genre. Her conclusion to this part of the study is that although written in Spanish, the *Enrrique* is not a particularly "Hispanic" text, that the reconquest of lands controlled for centuries by the Arabs would easily have engendered an interest in crusading tales even though much of the literary material is solidly rooted in the French.

Chapter Five, "Beyond Romance," considers finally the two Northern versions that Campbell has chosen to study. She notes that they are linked to the Romance versions in terms of narrative structure and generic identity. The Scandinavian versions do reflect some French origins onomastically but have eliminated largely Franco-Germanic historical-cultural artifacts. This, she suggests, may give testimony to the wide diffusion of the legend and the possibility of a lost English version. Campbell's analysis shows that certain features appear in the *Enrrique* and *Karlamagnússaga* but not in the *Doon* or *Oluvu Kvædi,* but that certain details are common to the *Enrrique* and *Oluvu Kvædi* but not found either in the *Doon* or *Karlamagnússaga.* One of the features Campbell discusses here is enchantment or magic. She points out that the Northern texts both include this centrally, but that it is absent from the Romance versions. This leads her to speculate about a lost version known in Spain, the British Isles and Scandinavia. This is curious for someone wishing to separate herself from the text-archive tradition; there is simply no reason to postulate "lost versions" when it may simply be that the Northern poets have recast the legend in ways common to them in much of their literature. Her analysis also shows that the verse versions of the story, *Doon* and *Oluvu Kvaedi,* possess more imagery than the prose versions, *Enrrique* and *Karlamagnússaga. Also,* the narrative configurations of the Northern texts display a considerably different makeup and disposition. In assessing the percentages of text devoted to certain episodes, Campbell shows that the material leading up to Doon's repudiation of his wife comprises 11.2% in the *Doon,* 20.8% in the *Enrrique,* but 43.8% and 623% respectively in the *Karlamagnússaga* and *Oluvu Kvaedi,* indicating a definite break between the Romance and Northern versions. And, in conclusion, we find that the overall

orientation of the texts is toward the father and son in the Romance versions, but rather toward the feminine in the Northern versions.

In her concluding chapter, Campbell sums up the major comparisons and contrasts in the four text, noting the centrality of the female protagonist in all of them. She views Olive's story, therefore, as the source of the generative power of the legend, a legend which contains a very supple core narrative lending itself to endless modulations, transcending socio-cultural and aesthetic boundaries, and giving the legend a life of its own that escapes any definition but that of its own movement.

Campbell's monograph is a good exercise in comparative analysis. It displays careful reading, attention to detail, a respect for historical sources and documents, and it avoids, in the main, drawing conclusions on insubstantial evidence. And, I think she has largely succeeded in what she has set out to do, which is to show the clear immutability of legend while simultaneously demonstrating the protean nature of its manifestations. It is well written. At times it has a tendency to assume unnecessarily that the reader is not familiar with certain traditions or scholarship of medieval literature, things well known to any medievalist likely to have something to do with her text. This work could have been strengthened if Campbell has pursued more of what she purported to do, which is to show "how" the texts changed across time and space instead of focussing almost solely on what they changed into. In other words, the *process* she wants to get at is not brought into sharp relief, and she is forced to rely upon the *products* of that process in demonstrating the protean nature of the texts. This perhaps could have been accomplished better with an attempt to get at the actual narrative process in each socio-cultural milieu (semiotics, narratology, reader-response...?). Nevertheless, this is a study worthy of attention by anyone interested in the changing face of medieval legend across time and space.

"*LEVINE'S* FRANCE BEFORE CHARLEMAGNE"

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Robert Levine, Trans. *France Before Charlemagne: A translation from the* Grandes Chroniques. Studies in French Civilization 3. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990. Pp.287.

The subtitle "A Translation from the *Grandes Chroniques"* is misleading suggesting that *France before Charlemagne* may be an excerpted compilation. In fact, this is not the case. Its single volume contains a full translation by Robert Levine of the first two unexcerpted volumes of Jules Viard's nine-volume edition on the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (published by the Société de l'Histoire de France in 1920 and 1922). thus it begins with Priam and the Trojan ancestors of the French, and ends with the coronation of Pepin's two sons Charles and Carloman at Soissons on October 9, 768.

The significance of the *Grandes Chroniques,* and the consequent value of an English translation, is not made clear by Levine's ten-page introduction. Any historical interest in the work might have had is undermined as early as Levine's second sentence (a sentence molded by the "relatively loose" [10] style of the French source):

> Twentieth-century historians of the middle ages have little use for the *Grandes Chroniques,* since, for much of the period, they have the sixth-century text of Gregory of Tours, whose work, though no model of scientific history, is a more appropriate text for historians of the period, since he lived at the time of many of the events he relates (1).

Levine then summarizes Gregory's world-view after which he turns to Aimon, the eleventh-century adaptor to *Gregorys* material. Once more Levine's comments do not invite interest:

> Much of the first two volumes of the *Grandes Chroniques* is based not upon Gregory's text, but on Aimon's

> eleventh-century rewriting (with help and hindrance from an intervening text, the eighth-century *Liber Historiæ Francorum) of* Gregory's *History of the Franks* Aimon correctly calculated that a medieval audience would prefer a grammatically and rhetorically "correct" text. In addition, as part to the task of composing a Capetian apologetic, Aimon excised much of the material involving non-aristocrats, thereby removing many of the elements that appealed to Auerbach. For two reasons, then, Aimon's stylistic and substantive changes survived: He had made the right rhetorical choice, and Capetians remained on the throne until the 14th century (2).

Such a summary leaves much unexplained. The "literary" qualities which ensured Aimon's popularity in their own day are revealed only through two anecdotal exemplifications of Aimon's "improvements" (the ironic quotation marks are not mine but Levine's). Levine's concluding comment on Aimon's material is that it "shows far more interest in fictional strategies that the later volumes (5)."

The thirteenth-century translator Primat receives a slightly linger treatment (8-9), but Levine's "appreciation" of him again lacks conviction:

> [Primat] offers a vernacular text that reflects centuries of rhetorical reinventions, although its large doses of panegyric, and its mechanical recording of births, deaths, battles, miracles, and natural disasters leave something to be desired. Nevertheless, enough remarkable, often dramatic narrative survives to satisfy most appetites or fiction .. the material, read in conjunction with Gregory of Tours *[sic] History of the Franks,* may serve as a vivid introduction to medieval historiography (9).

It is clear that at least Levine is targeting a literary audience for his translation of the

> writers who adapted [Gregory's] material to the tastes of their own times, thus giving twentieth-century students of literature the comparatively rare opportunity of watching medieval writers at work, reshaping their source in the light of the latest rhetorical, political, and social development (2).

It is just unfortunate that he himself appears not to have enjoyed that "opportunity."

Qua translation *France Before Charlemagne* is, like its immediate source, easy and agreeable to read. Levine has stayed with Viard's punctuation and formatting, and he has chosen to adhere closely to the original style rather than launch inappropriate idiosyncrasies. The English text is therefore in harmony with the original. It is important to mention, however, that the translation contains numerous mistakes and inconsistencies which range from typographical slips to real syntactic misunderstandings. Without presuming to distinguish the former from the latter, I shall signal a few types of error.

There are the orthographical bloopers which a more meticulous editing could have eliminated: "Suger *sewed* the seeds for the production of an official history of France" (4) or "geneology" (12). The errors of tense, case and number are more serious. For example, in a key passage from the prologue (where Primat leaves Aimon's text and adds his own remarks about the precellence of contemporary France) Levine converts several present-tense verbs into past tenses even though he is aware that the *Grandes Chroniques* was a "Capetian apologetic")2). Here is his translation.[1]

> As a result, our Lord, by his grace, gave ("a doné= has given) her a prerogative and advantage over all other nations, for after she was converted and began to serve her creator, no other country ever maintained the faith more ardently and correctly; she spread, upheld and defended the faith *("ne fu que* la foi *n'i fust plus*

[1]The source text is cited within parentheses whenever necessary.

fervemment et plus droitement tenue que en nule autre terre" = not only was it the case that the faith was more ardently and more correctly upheld there than in any other country; "par lie *est moutepliée,* par lie *est soustenue,* par lie *est defendue"* = by her it is multiplied, by her it is sustained, by her it is defended). If any other country damaged Holy Church, she came for refuge and help to France ("Se nule autre nation *fait* à saint Eglise force ne grief, en France *en vient* fere sa complainte, en France *vient* a refui et à secors" = If any other nation attacks or harms Holy Church, she comes to France for help and refuge); from France came the sword and the weapons by means of which the church was avenged, and France, like a loyal daughter, helped her mother in every need ("de France *vient* l'espée et li *glaives* par quoi ele *est vengiée,* et France comme loiaus fille secourt sa mere en touz besoinz = from France comes the sword and the spear by which the church is avenged, and France, like a loyal daughter, helps her mother in every need).

If the faith is more fervently and more correctly maintained in France, it is not without reason. The first reason is that St. Denis, the glorious martyr and apostle of France, by whose miracle *("mistere"* = ministry <MINISTERIUM) she was first converted, and who was sent to bring France to the faith, maintains and protects her as well as his own. The second reason may be that the fountain of the clergy, by whom holy Church is sustained and illuminated, flourishes at Paris. As some people now say, the clergy and the aristocrats are always united *("clergie et chevalerie* sont touz jors si *d'un acort, que* l'une ne puet sanz l'autre" = clergy *[i.e.* learning] and the chivalry are always so linked that the one cannot function without the other); they have always held together, and thank God, may they never be parted ("et encores, Dieu merci, *ne se départent* eles mie" = and, thank God, they are not yet diverging— the verb is a factual indicative and not an optative subjunctive). They have inhabited three lands at different times. First they reigned in Greece, for the fountain of philosophy was

> once in the city of Athens, and the flower of chivalry in Greece. From Greece, they then came to Rome, and from Rome they came to France. God by his grace wishes ("Diex par sa grace *vuelle que"* = 'May God be pleased to grant'— this time the verb is an optative subjunctive, not an indicative!) that they may long be Amen.

The mistranslations in the passage above are not unique. Errors stemming, it would seem, from an inadequate knowledge of medieval syntax jeopardize the accuracy of *France Before Charlemagne* throughout. The small *m* following the numeral *L* is ignored (or not understood) so that 50,000 becomes 50 (137; see Viard 275). Singulars are misunderstood as plurals and vice versa ("Quant li desloiaus out ensi ses neveuz occis" [Viard 133] is *not* 'When the traitors had killed their nephews' [69] but 'When the traitor [Lothar] had killed his nephew" [a story that was narrated on the preceding page). Meticulous editing and publishing could remove some lesser flaws (inconsistent translation of proper names, for example, especially those ending with the suffix *-eus;* the accidental omission of whole sentences, as on page 68; disparate positioning of the text on facing pages). But many errors are egregious. It is to be hoped, therefore, that in his admirable ambition to render service to his colleagues by translating all nine volumes of the *Grandes Chroniques,* Levine will not do *disservice to* the text That would be a pity.