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SOME MEDIEVAL PERSPECTIVES  
ON THE TRADITIONAL  
HEROIC QUEST.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in French at  
Massey University.

Patricia Mary Sims  
1983.

To the memory of  
my parents.

### Abstract.

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine certain features of the quests of selected heroic characters in three significant literary periods. As worthy heroes tend to represent the noblest features of man, the heroic quest can be expected to reflect man's deepest yearnings and his fundamental experiences.

The principal authors who have been selected for this study are Homer, Vergil and Chrétien de Troyes, as they all occupy a conspicuous place in literary tradition. For in Homer's epics is the climax of a lengthy Greek oral tradition; Vergil looks back to Homer, and in doing so, adapts the older epics to the portrayal of the achievements of Augustus and the glory of the new Roman empire; Chrétien de Troyes, in his turn, is conscious of many aspects of antiquity as well as Celtic influences and reflects both secular and spiritual aspirations of twelfth-century France. Thus the works of these three authors, together with the Roman d'Eneas show in different ways man searching for the good.

There is a basic similarity in the heroes' experiences. The hero is, initially, a man of great promise who, to some extent, is distinguished from the rest of his society. Through pride, excessive self-love, blindness or failure to understand his vocation, he commits a sin of ὑbris or excess, or sometimes fails in his duty. This fault is generally associated with a false quest where the hero sees personal gain and personal glory as the principal object of his quest. In most cases, however, his fault enables him to see himself as he really is, and forces him to embark upon a quest for 'wholeness', his true quest, which is directed to restoring a sound balance between the physical, rational and spiritual aspects of his nature. In order to do this, the hero sometimes has to assume a role where, for a time, he has to 'stand outside' himself in order to know himself better. This quest

frequently necessitates a journey of renewal where the hero expiates his fault and is tested through suffering. Although this journey is sometimes identifiable in geographical terms, the focus is on the hero's spiritual progression. The hero's successful confrontation with Other World forces proclaims not only his uniqueness and his election; it also proclaims the extent of his achievements and the degree of goodness he has attained. Finally, in different ways, the heroes are all portrayed as men capable of a high degree of loving and indeed, the perfection of love is frequently a sign that the hero has fulfilled his quest.

Some of the heroes experience conflict with their society. As the quest progresses, they reject, in different ways, the false values with which society may be contaminated and are forced, instead, to choose true and lasting values. The hero thus becomes the man who can be looked up to, the liberator from enslaving forces.

Although, inevitably, there are many differences in the portrayal of heroes of three such distinctive literary periods, the heroes of Homer, Vergil and Chrétien de Troyes have many features in common. This is due, in part, to a translatio studii, but more particularly to the tendency of honest human beings to discern the truth and to pursue the good.

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In presenting this thesis, I recall with gratitude certain discussions with the late Professor H.A. Murray of Victoria University who saw many ways in which some classical heroes challenged the values of their society as they sought the truth. As I grew more familiar with Chrétien de Troyes' romances and with his background, I began to see that a similar challenge was faced by certain twelfth-century heroes. At the same time, it became clear that in spite of the inevitable difference in background, the same fundamental quest pattern was common to certain heroes of significant Greek and Roman epics as well as to the heroes of some of Chrétien de Troyes' romances. It thus became my task to see what features these medieval romances had in common with the classical epic, in regard to the pattern of their quests, and to note the effect which twelve centuries of Christianity must inevitably have on heroic quest.

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## Preface.

As a preamble to the thesis proper, an attempt has been made to follow the practice of medieval authors who felt it a duty to explain and justify their selection of material according to the principles outlined in the rhetorical process of inventio, or the finding of suitable subject matter, and dispositio, or the arranging of the topic.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the first task is to define the key words of the title of the thesis, testing these definitions against the main works studied and against some other medieval genres which might have been thought to resemble the classical epics. Of these terms, traditional, heroic belong to the inventio, whereas quest belongs to dispositio.

The term traditional is to be understood in two ways. Firstly, it refers to statements, beliefs or practices which are derived from tradition, that is, transmitted, especially orally, from generation to generation.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, outstanding deeds accomplished in the past were recalled, recorded in poetry or song and eventually written down. In this way, poets and historians have helped people to develop pride in their ancestry and to achieve a sense of identity with their civilisation. It is inevitable, however, that as accounts of famous events and actions are repeated, they are subject to alteration and transformation, while remaining constant in essence. The epics of Homer, which relate the wrath of Achilles, its course and its effects, and the wanderings of Odysseus, have behind them a long oral tradition which dates from the Trojan War itself,<sup>3</sup> both the Iliad and the Odyssey containing evidence that the principal characters were already known to contemporary audiences.<sup>4</sup> The Iliad and the Odyssey and the oral tales which precede them, therefore, exemplify tradition.

Secondly, the word, traditional may be understood in relation to the kind of myth in which models of human activities are presented. For, as Joseph Campbell and others have shown,<sup>5</sup> many fundamental human experiences, particularly those representing different stages

of human development, have been portrayed in myth and in the experiences of significant heroes, and have thus been transmitted from one generation to another. For myth is an external manifestation of man's experiences, his conflicts and ultimately, his glorification. Jerome S. Bruner has written that myth:

. . . is at once an external reality and the resonance of the internal vicissitudes of man.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, man can recognise himself and his experiences as they are projected in myth. In using the term traditional, therefore, we refer to a pattern which reflects and transmits by myth certain tendencies in human nature and the universality of human experience.

To define the second term of the title, we have begun by examining the characteristics of the heroes of the Iliad and the Odyssey, and then, by exploring certain implications of the term, heroic. In Homer's writing, ἥρως, 'hero' has a variety of meanings.<sup>7</sup> It is used of King Agamemnon who, in spite of his shortcomings, is a fine soldier:

ὧς εἰπὼν ἔτρεψεν ἀδελφειοῦ φρένας ἥρως, (Iliad VI, 61).<sup>8</sup>  
(With these words, the hero persuaded the heart of his brother.)

It is a title of honour given to warrior-chiefs and their followers, especially to the Greeks who are besieging Troy. In the Iliad, Agamemnon addresses his men:

ὦ φίλοι ἥρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρης, (II, 110).  
(My friends, Danaan warriors, henchmen of Ares.)

Elsewhere, ἥρως frequently means no more than 'warrior', for example:

φεύγοντ' . . . Φύλακον δ' ἔλε Λήτιος ἥρως  
(VI, 35-36).  
(And Leitos the warrior caught Phulakos as he fled.)

In the Odyssey, also, ἥρως is used of warriors, for example:

εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιρον ἔγχος, ἀκαχμένον ὅζει χαλκῷ,  
βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν, τῷ δάρμνησι στίχας ἀνδρῶν  
ἥρῳων, τοῖσιν τε κοτέσσεται ὄβριμοπάτρη.  
(Odyssey, I, 99-101)

(Then she (Athens) took up a powerful spear bordered with sharp bronze, heavy, large, thick, with which she beats down the battalions of fighting men against whom the daughter of the mighty father is angered.)

But ἥρως was also given to men who had, evidently, nothing to do with war or command. When Odysseus is admiring the buildings of the Phaeacians, a peace-loving people, we are told:

θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσσεύς λιμένας καὶ νῆας εἴας  
αὐτῶν θ' ἥρώων ἀγορὰς καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ  
ὑψηλά, . . . (vii, 43-45).

(But Odysseus admired the harbours, the balanced ships and the meeting-places of the heroes themselves and the long, lofty walls.)

Furthermore, the term ἥρως is used of the blind minstrel, Demodocus, who is not directly concerned with warfare (VIII, 483). Thus, in the pre-Hellenic age, although ἥρως was applied principally to leaders and to warriors, and often suggested superhuman strength, courage and ability,<sup>4</sup> it could be applied to any free man.

But in general, the principal characters in the Homeric epics are qualified by a variety of well-known epithets. Some of these are applied to more than one hero. δῖος, 'lordly', 'god-like', for example, is used of Achilles (e.g. *Iliad*, I, 121), Odysseus (e.g. I, 145), Hector (e.g. XXIV, 175). ποιμὴν λαῶν, 'shepherd of the people', is used of Agamemnon (II, 254). Both Achilles and Hector are ψαίδιμος 'brilliant' and διογενες 'heaven-sprung'. Menelaus and Diogenes are distinguished because they are βοῆν ἀγαθός, 'good at shouting' and therefore, fierce in battle. Other epithets have become associated with specific heroes. Agamemnon is ἀνὰ ἀνδρῶν 'lord of men' (I, 172), and even ἀρίστος Ἀχαιῶν 'best of the Achaeans' (I, 91) who are themselves considered ἀρίστοι (e.g. *Iliad*, X, 214; *Odyssey*, IV, 272). Achilles is πόδας ὠκὺς 'swift-footed' (*Iliad*, I, 84), Odysseus is πολῦρῆις, 'crafty', 'cunning' (*Iliad*, X, 554), πολυτροπος 'of many ways' (*Odyssey*, I, 1), Hector is κορυθαίολος, 'with glancing helm' (*Iliad*, vi, 116). Sometimes, too, a hero's title includes

reference to his lineage, so that pride in ancestry is evident. Achilles is frequently Πηλεΐδης, 'son of Peleus', just as Agamemnon is Ἀτρεΐδης, 'son of Atreus'. These heroes, then, form a class of men whose qualities of body, mind and spirit are denoted by the title which distinguishes them. Their excellent physique, their prowess in battle, their surpassing achievements and their qualities of leadership were a source of admiration to those who learned of their exploits. Furthermore, some have divine ancestry and are praised for their likeness to the gods. The author recognises the excellence of Achaean and Trojan alike. All these warriors can be called outstanding heroes and as such, were well known to Homer's audience.

Four meanings of the corresponding adjective, heroic, are relevant to this discussion.<sup>10</sup> Firstly, it denotes the period of Grecian history preceding the return from Troy, for this was the age of pride and courage associated with Homer's heroes. The epithet heroic can also describe a person who has recourse to bold, daring or extreme measures, and one who attempts great things. When such deeds are described in narrative verse the term epic or heroic verse is used. A certain nobility of style and subject is implied. Finally, heroic means 'characteristic of or suitable to the character of a hero'; 'of a bravery, virtue or nobleness of character exalted above that of ordinary men.' In using the term heroic, we refer to the attitudes, longings and behaviour of certain heroes of antiquity, particularly Achilles and Odysseus who were representatives of the heroic age. They were known, admired and exalted above their peers for their daring and courage. After being transmitted orally for several generations, their deeds were recorded in heroic verse. Finally, they adhered to what could be called an heroic ideal.

Certain standards of behaviour were expected from heroes of this type, and formed a kind of heroic code or rule of conduct. The Homeric hero considered honour to be of supreme importance in all his activities. Honour compelled him to strive for his own personal excellence or ἀρετή and to uphold the rights of his companions. A wrathful Achilles explains to Agamemnon why he has followed him to Troy:

ἀλλὰ σοὶ ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς, ἄμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὄφρα σὺ χείρης  
τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάῳ σοὶ τε, κυνῶπα, (I, 158-60)  
πρὸς Τρώων.

(But for your sake, you shameless one, we followed, to do you favour, to win honour for Menelaus, and for you, dog-face, from the Trojans.)

The tangible signs of the honour in which a hero was held were gifts and spoils of war, including women. The conduct of the hero was not divorced from fear. Indeed, there are times in the Iliad when the Achaeans would quite happily cease fighting and return home (e.g. IX, 27). Furthermore, distaste for warfare is evident when both Trojans and Achaeans react favourably to Menelaus'

suggestion concerning peace:

ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἰχάρησαν Ἀχαιοὶ τε Τρῶές τε  
ἐλπόμενοι παύσασθαι δὴ Λυροῦ πολέμοιο. (III, 111-12).

(So he spoke, and both Trojans and Achaeans rejoiced, hoping to be rid of dreary warfare.)

But although fighting was not essential to this heroic code, it was the means by which the hero could gain glory and so enhance his reputation. Thus, honour compelled the hero to fight steadfastly, at the cost of his life, if need be. This attitude is exemplified by Hector as he refuses to be persuaded by Andromache to abstain from battle:

ἢ καὶ ἔροι τάδε πάντα μέλει, γύναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς  
βίβωμαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπεπλους,  
λί κε κακὸς ὥς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάλῳ πολέμοιο·  
οὐδὲ με θυρὸς ἀνώγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς  
αἰεὶ καὶ πρῶτοισι μετὰ Τρῶεσσι μάχεσθαι,  
ἀρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἦδ'  
ἔμὸν αὐτοῦ. (VI, 441-46).

(All these things are in my mind, lady; but I would feel deep shame before the Trojans and the Trojan women who wear trailing garments if, like a coward, I were to withdraw from battle; and my spirit would not let me, since I have learnt to be valiant and to fight always amidst the first of the Trojans, winning great glory for my own sake and for that of my father.)

Odysseus utters similar sentiments:

"ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυρός;  
οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποΐζονται πολέμοιο,  
ὅς δ' ἐκ' ἀριστεύῃσι μάχῃ ἐνὶ, τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεὼ  
ἑστάνενα κρατερῶς, ἢ τ' ἐβλήτ' ἢ τ' ἐβλή' ἄλλον." (XI, 407-10)

(But why does my dear heart debate these things? For I know that evil men retreat from battle, but the man who would gain honour in war, let him stand his ground firmly, whether he be struck or whether he strikes another.)

Death is considered as inevitable. But if he dies with glory, the hero will be remembered in heroic song and his glory will remain and be transmitted to later generations.<sup>11</sup> Hector's prayer for his son exemplifies the familial aspect of this desire for glory.

"Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοί, δότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε γενέσθαι  
παῖδ' ἑρόν, ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ περ, ἀριπρεπέα Τρῳέσσιν,  
ὥδε βίην τ' ἀγαθόν, καὶ Ἰλίου ἱφί ἀνίσσειν·  
καὶ ποτέ τις εἴποι 'πατρός γ' ὅδε πολλὸν ἀρείνων'  
ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα." (VI, 476-80)

("Zeus and all you other gods, grant that this boy, who is my son, may be as I am, foremost among the Trojans, great in strength; and let him rule over Ilium; and let it be said of him some day, 'He is better by far than his father', as he comes home from battle.")<sup>12</sup>.

But what distinguishes the selected Greek heroes, Achilles and Odysseus, from their peers? What particularly marks them as heroes in a society where so many excellent warriors were described by Homer with well-earned epithets and, in later generations, were admired and exalted as a race of demi-gods? <sup>13</sup>. Firstly, Achilles and Odysseus are protagonists, that is, they initiate the principal action of the epic and play the principal role. <sup>14</sup>. Thus, although the term, hero, can be applied to all the free men among the Trojan

and Achaean combatants, the term, protagonist can be applied to only Achilles in the Iliad and to Odysseus in the Odyssey. In both epics, as the author invokes the Muse, he ensures that the audience will recognise the protagonist. The Iliad begins:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλλῆος  
 σὺλομενῃν, . . . (I, 1-2)  
 (Sing, goddess, of the ruinous wrath of Achilles,  
 Peleus' son, . . . .)

Similarly, in the Odyssey:

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὅς μάλα πολλὰ  
 πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν προλίεθρον ἔπερσε. (I, 1-2)

(Tell me, Muse, of the man of many ways who wandered distant  
 journeys when he had sacked Troy's holy citadel.)

For the author is writing for an audience and must, therefore, state his theme in a clear, straightforward manner, in order to inform his hearers of the precise role of his protagonists. Like the other heroes in these epics, both Achilles and Odysseus are conscious of an heroic code of conduct, and are described by characteristic epithets. Like many of their companions, they are dear to the gods and are frequently called godlike.

Achilles and Odysseus, however, look beyond the heroic code and the possibility of gaining superficial glory. Achilles, for example, in questioning the right of Agamemnon, the principal figure of authority, to deprive him of his bride, also questions the value of war. In his speech to Agamemnon, he says:

“ . . . ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μετὰ ζῶ  
 οὐρεῖ τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἤχέσσα. ” (I, 156-57)  
 (‘ . . . seeing that there lies between us a long  
 space of shadowy mountains and loud-sounding sea.’)

Jasper Griffin has noted that Achilles, here, is suddenly opening  
 'a wide and inhuman vista, the world of empty space far from the

quarrels at Troy.' <sup>15</sup> As Achilles makes frequent reference to distant places (e.g. I, 157; 349 sq; IX, 381; 395; XVI, 233) and speaks of his resolution to return home (I, 169-71; IX, 359-63), he not only emphasises his alienation; <sup>16</sup> he symbolically questions and criticises warfare and death as a means of obtaining glory. He also criticises the compensation which his king offers, for he sees that material gifts, no matter how splendid (IX, 379-87), can give no satisfaction for insult to a hero's honour. He says to the embassy:

οὐδέ κεν ὥς ἔτι θυρὸν ἐρὼν πείσει Ἀγαμέμνων,  
πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πάσαν ἐμοὶ δόρμεναι θυμολγέα λώβην. (IX, 386-87)

("Not even so will Agamemnon persuade my heart, until he has paid back this heart-rending insolence.")

For Achilles is a man to whom truth is all important, as he himself states:

ἔχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἄϊδαο πύλῃσιν  
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κευθῇ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄλλο δὲ εἰπῇ. (IX, 312-13)

("For I detest as the doorways of Hades, the man who conceals one thing in his heart, but says another.")

Thus, he shows that he would prefer to perceive the truth behind empty words and superficial gestures, and he professes his alienation not only by virtue of his physical isolation, but also, by his intellectual integrity.

Odysseus, too, stands beyond his society. Early in the Odyssey, before Odysseus appears, the audience is prepared for his cunning, his perception and his self-command. At the palace of Menelaus, Helen describes to Telemachus some of Odysseus' exploits at Troy, prefacing her tale:

πάντα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω  
ὅσσι Ὀδυσσεύης ταλασίφρονος εἰσιν ἄεθλοι. "

(Odyssey, IV, 240-41)

("I could not tell you the number, nor could I name all that make up the deeds of enduring Odysseus.")

At the same time, Menelaus admires Odysseus' failure to be deceived by Helen's wiles at Troy. As he begins to recall the incident of the Wooden Horse, Menelaus pays Odysseus the following tribute:

"ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γύναι, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.  
ἦ δὲ μὲν πολέων ἐδάην βουλήν τε νόον τε  
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, πολλὰ δ' ἐπελήλυθα γαῖαν.  
ἀλλ' οὐ πῶ τοιοῦτον ἔγνων ἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
οἶον Ὀδυσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἔσκε φίλον κῆρ." (IV, 266-70)

("Yes indeed, my wife, you have spoken rightly in all that you have said. I have long studied the wit and the counsel of many men who are heroes and I have journeyed over much of the world; but nowhere have I seen with my own eyes anyone like him, or known an inward heart like the heart of enduring Odysseus.")

Furthermore, on the homeward journey, Odysseus alone resists temptations and overcomes the most perilous trials. He is, finally, the only one of all his company to bridge the gap between the battlefields at Troy and the altered, domestic world at Ithaca.

To sum up, the hero in Homer's epics is a prominent leader among outstanding warriors who are, themselves, entitled to be referred to as heroes. He can rightly be described by the expression, 'primus inter pares',<sup>13</sup> for, until his leadership qualities are displayed, he is only one of many combatants who are engaged in the same campaign and subject to the same hazards of warfare. The selected heroes, Achilles and Odysseus are also protagonists in the respective epics, for the action of the epics is centred on their exploits and conflicts. The hero is often described by characteristic epithets which denote such exceptional gifts of body, mind and spirit that he is a true exemplar. The hero's ancestry is sometimes divine and if he has champions among the gods, he himself

is an intermediary on behalf of his fellow men. He is aware of the same code of conduct as his companions and is, therefore, motivated by honour in his activities. But instead of adhering unthinkingly to contemporary ideals and practices, he questions and criticises his society and thus, he seeks for himself the true meaning behind society's practices. This necessitates that, for a time, he stand outside society until he has fully assessed his own values. He therefore risks coming into conflict with his king who generally upholds society's standards. Joseph Campbell has commented on the special characteristics of the hero:

The hero, therefore, is the man or woman who has been able to battle past his personal and local historical limitations to the generally valid, normally human forms. Such a one's visions, ideas and inspirations come pristine from the primary springs of human life and thought. . . . The hero has died as modern man, but as eternal man - perfected, unspecific, universal man - he has been reborn.<sup>18</sup>

This is the transformation which characterises Achilles and Odysseus. They are not only great warriors, distinguished by their likeness to the gods, their gifts of character and ancestry, their assertiveness and their achievements. Their uniqueness consists in their rigorous honesty which compels them, in some way, to stand outside their society, to scrutinise themselves, to reassess their own values and to rise above their contemporaries. Thus, our heroes transcend their own human limitations and become timeless, universal symbols of honour and endurance.

\* \* \*

In the Aeneid, a literary epic based to a considerable extent upon Homeric tradition<sup>19</sup> and written in order to glorify the deeds of

Augustus, differences in the notion of hero are inevitable. How closely, then, does Aeneas meet the criteria which have been established for the Greek epic heroes? Firstly, he is recognised as the protagonist from the opening lines of the epic:

arma virumque cano . . . . . (Aeneid, I, 1.)<sup>20</sup>.

and from the nature of his role as leader and chosen founder of Rome which requires that, on behalf of the gods, he initiate the principal action and perform the principal task. Furthermore, the epic is centred on Aeneas' exploits, his sufferings and his potential greatness. Although he seldom shows the obvious assertiveness of Achilles and Odysseus, he is prominent in battle scenes and readily takes the initiative.

Epithets are used of Aeneas, his family and close friends, but their use is far more restricted than in Homer's oral tradition. Although Achilles and some of the other Greeks are occasionally described by terms which denote reputation in battle,<sup>21</sup> the epithets which are used for Aeneas and the other future Romans denote their noble ancestry, their relationship to the hero or their fine moral qualities. Thus, we find references to 'nate dea' (e.g. I, 582), Dardanio Aeneae (e.g. I, 494), Troius Aeneas (e.g. I, 596), pater Anchises (e.g. III, 9), 'puer Ascanius' (e.g. IV, 156), 'fidus Achates' (I, 189). Aeneas himself is described by his men in terms of high praise:

"rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter  
nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis." (I, 544-45).

Thus, he clearly not only a leader and master, as the term rex implies;<sup>22</sup> but he is also an exemplar of both peaceful and warlike

qualities. The excellence of his character is recalled by the use of the term magnanimus (e.g. I, 260), a quality which he has in common with the Trojans as a race (VI, 649). But above all, Aeneas is pius (e.g. VI, 9), which means that he acts dutifully and responsibly towards gods, parents, kindred and society.<sup>23</sup>

Like the Greek heroes, Aeneas claims divine ancestry and is constantly helped by his mother and the other favorable deities who intercede for him. In Book II, for example, it is only the apparition of his mother, Venus, that encourages him to resolve to leave Troy. She makes the following promise after begging him to flee:

"eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori;  
nusquam abero et tutum patrio te limine sistam." (II, 619-20)

When asking permission to descend to the Other World, Aeneas recalls his divine ancestry and is thus granted access: "et mi genus ab Iove summo." (VI, 123). During his visit there, he is able to act as intermediary between the known, living world and the world of the dead.

The term heros appears in the Aeneid, but its implications are limited and its use much less frequent than in either of the Greek epics. It gradually yields to the characteristically Roman term vir, with its overtones of courage and honour.<sup>24</sup>

The three occasions when the term, heros, appears in Book VI, however, are significant. Firstly, when Aeneas addresses the Sibyl and prepares to undertake his journey to the Underworld, he is 'Aeneas heros'. (VI, 103). The term is used of Misenus, who is connected

with the past at Troy:

Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros  
addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus. (VI, 169-70)

And finally, in the Underworld, Aeneas meets:

magnanimum heroum . . . defunctaque corpora vita (VI, 306-07).

Vir, on the other hand, is the term by which Aeneas is first introduced in the epic: 'Arma virumque, cano (I,1). It is associated with the noble qualities which attracted Dido:

multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat  
gentis honos . . . (IV, 3-4)

As Aeneas arrives at Laurentum, the oracle of Apollo predicts the arrival of a new ruler:

. . . "externum cernimus" inquit  
"adventare virum et partis petere agmen easdem  
partibus ex isdem et summa dominarier arce." (VII, 68-70)

Thus, indirectly, the term heros is associated with the Trojan past, whereas vir signifies the Roman future.

How does Vergil's hero meet the requirements of the term heroic which was applied to Homer's heroes? Firstly, although the Aeneid is concerned with future Roman viri rather than with warriors of the so-called heroic age, it describes the deeds of bold and daring men who have to undertake great exploits in order to found a new civilisation. Secondly, the epic is reputed for the nobility of its sentiments and style.<sup>25</sup> Finally, Aeneas and his men are conscious of a code of conduct which, in a sense, can be called an heroic ideal.

In the journey of Aeneas and his men, however, the emphasis is not so much on an heroic code as on the acquisition of the qualities

which, ideally, are considered Roman. At Carthage, Aeneas is reminded of the evil of luxus (IV, 193) which was contrary to the Roman ideal of labor and industria which Vergil himself applauded.<sup>26</sup> Aeneas, at least, was expected to be loyal and single-minded in his pursuit of his new land and in the founding of a new dynasty. Mercury reminds him:

"quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?  
 Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum  
 (nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,)  
 Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli  
 respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus. (IV, 271-76).

Thus, Aeneas was to lay aside personal aspirations and desires for the benefit of the nascent Rome, as is evident from the Dido affair and from his reluctant slaying of Turnus (XII, 938-41). The personal honour of the hero must, therefore, in Vergil's epic, yield to the greater honour of Rome and the ordinances of the gods.

Aeneas, however, conforms to most of the criteria established for the Greek epic heroes. As protagonist, he is central to the principal conflict. As leader, exemplar and intermediary, he is described by a number of epithets, especially by the epithet, pious which is peculiar to him. He is helped and guided by the gods as is appropriate to both his divine ancestry and his lofty vocation. Unlike Achilles and Odysseus, he does not stand apart from his society or challenge existing values, for his task is to build a new civilisation.

We shall now apply the established criteria to La Chanson de Roland, a French epic close to the traditional type with an historical basis, existing in oral tradition before becoming a full scale literary work.<sup>27</sup>

What in particular distinguishes Roland beyond his peers? Is it clear to an audience that this particular knight is the protagonist? For the tone and subject of this epic are determined not by Roland but by Charlemagne and by the account of the great achievements for which, in the interests of Christianity and the glory of God he has been responsible:

Carles li reis, nostre emperere magnes,  
Set anz tuz pleins ad estet en Espaigne,  
Tresqu'en la mer cunquist la tere altaigne.

(La Chanson de Roland, 1-3)<sup>28</sup>

Unlike King Agamemnon who, in the Iliad, introduces an element of discord, Charlemagne gives authority, dignity and unity. Roland first appears in a scene dominated by Charlemagne and does not stand out in any way from the other knights present:

Ensembl'od els li quens Rollant i vint  
E Oliver li proz e li gentilz. (175-76).

Whereas it is known at once that Ganelon is to be the traitor (178), Roland's role emerges only gradually. Although he has the perception to see the potential treachery behind King Marsile's proposal and enough authority to advise Charlemagne accordingly (196-213), Roland is only one of the several knights present who volunteer to take Charlemagne's message to Marsile (244-73). Yet Roland is undoubtedly the protagonist, for he initiates the conflict which is essential to the epic when he provokes Ganelon (277) and invites his treachery (574-79).

Roland's greatness emerges as the action develops. When he is put in charge of the rearguard, he shows his leadership qualities:

Sun cumpaignun apres le vait sivant  
E cil de France le cleiment a guarant. (1160-61),

and he encourages his men to battle by his words (1165-69).

Roland's singularity is confirmed when the earthquake and darkness foretell his death:

Il ne.l se vent, ne dient veir ni ent:  
Co est li granz dulators por la mort de Rollant. (1436-37).

His very survival through the main part of the battle, together with the few whom 'Deus i ad esparniez' (1689), is a sign of his extraordinary strength and prowess. The Archbishop sees Roland as an exemplary knight, as the pagans flee before him (1876-80). Finally, the manner of Roland's death distinguishes him for his strength, his valour and his divine election. He is wounded, not by the enemy, but by his own strength as he blows his horn (1761-65). It is Roland who commends the dead Archbishop to God when the opposite roles might have been expected (2252-53). As he is dying, he recovers sufficiently from his swoon to slay a covetous Saracen (2274-96). In spite of his distress, he can still indicate that he was 'mort conquerant' (2363) as he turns his face towards Spain. It is in keeping with Christian practice that he recalls the details of his life and prays for forgiveness of his sins; his proffering of his glove to God is a symbolic act which a Christian might make at the point of death. But the presence of the angels who come to accept Roland's proffered glove and take his soul to paradise, not only anticipates the answer to the liturgical prayer for the dead: 'In paradisum deducant te angeli' which is echoed by Charlemagne:

"Ami Rollant, deus metet t'anme en flors  
En pareïs entre les gloriüs!" (2898-99)

but it is also a sign of divine approval.

What terms are used to describe the hero in La Chanson de Roland? Is Roland himself designated by any characteristic epithet? Neither the term heros nor any derivative is found in La Chanson de Roland. The term vasselage provides the link which connects the terms used to describe the courage of combatants of this period.<sup>29</sup> The praiseworthy warrior must, irrespective of whether he be Christian or pagan, be a loyal vassal who performs worthy service for his lord. The term is used of Roland after he has sounded his horn (1777) and describes his bravery in battle:

Tient Durendal, come vassals i fiert, (1870).

Both Christians and Saracens are designated ber, baron and chevalier. Ber, baron refers to Charlemagne as well as to King Marsile, the pagan (125), to the pagan lord, Baligant (3164) and even to Ganelon, who is to betray Roland (648).<sup>30</sup> It implies valour in warfare as in the following description of Roland's appearance:

Mais son espiét vait li ber palmeiant,  
Encontre.l ciel vait la more tornant, (1155-56)

and later, in the Archbishop's exclamation of praise:

"Cist cols est de baron." (1280)

Ber and baron, therefore, convey the expertise with which a vassal defends the rights of his lord.

All the combatants are designated chevalier,<sup>31</sup> principally

because they fight on horseback. But this term is frequently qualified by adjectives such as franc and bon. For, as Burgess has noted: 'Pour servir son seigneur et la chrétienté, le bon vassal a besoin de bons chevaux.'<sup>32</sup>

Thus, the term chevalier, also, is connected in a practical way with the notion of vasselage.

Proz is an epithet which is applied to many of Charlemagne's knights and denotes a high degree of both valour and esteemed service and therefore, the usefulness with which a vassal serves his lord.<sup>33</sup> But the term is flexible in meaning and can refer to the objects of war (1277) and to the worthiness of the combatants in general (604; 1557). Although we are told:

Rollant est proz e Oliver sage (1093),  
there are many times when Oliver, also is said to be proz.<sup>34</sup>  
Roland uses the term to praise Charlemagne for his decision which is expected to benefit France:

"Il fist que proz qu'il nus laisad as porz,  
Oï n'en perdrat France dulce sun los." (1208-09)

According to the Archbishop who praises Charlemagne's men:

"Nostre hume sunt mult proz.  
Sus ciel n'ad home, plus en ait de meilleurs." (1441-42).

Burgess sees that Roland's exemplary proece results in his role as intermediary:

Roland est l'intermédiaire entre Charlemagne et ses vassaux,  
et sa prouesse idéale sert d'exemple pour une vision du monde  
qui exige la prouesse, pour donner l'auxilium aux seigneurs.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, a knight who is proz is one whose usefulness resides in his skill in warfare and consequently, in his valued, loyal service towards lord and country, as Roland manifests.

Finally, the term gent is used to describe the general appearance of the participants (e.g. 118; 895; 1794), the nobility of their lineage and their excellence in battle (e.g. 1274). Although it denotes nobility in the sense that beauty and nobility are closely associated, gent indicates, in Burgess' words: 'un aspect digne d'un bon vassal'.<sup>36</sup> The term indicates, also, the type of fighting which could be expected from such a vassal. There is mention of 'gente chevalerie' (594), 'gente bataille' (1274), and 'colps genz' (1712). Roland is described:

Cors ad mult gent, le vis cler e riant. (1159),

and he is later recognised by Grandonie:

Al fier visage e al cors qu'il out gent. (1640)

But again, this term is used of both Christians and pagans (e.g. 118; 284; 895).

Thus, the principal epithets used in this epic enhance the notion of nobility of birth and valour in action. They constantly remind the audience of the noble rank of the combatants, their qualities of body, mind and spirit and their roles in the epic. But above all, they emphasise the high quality of vasselage which is evident in the participants. Roland himself is described by the same terms as his companions and adversaries. His greatness lies in the fact that he not only possesses the same lofty qualities; he also exemplifies them.

This twelfth-century account of Charlemagne and his subjects can be considered as heroic for the following reasons. Firstly, La Chanson de Roland describes the deeds of bold, daring men who

undertake great exploits for a noble cause. Secondly, the epic is written in a noble elevated style. Finally, it praises the attitudes and behaviour of medieval barons who were exalted because they were proz, which means that they showed bravery, a sense of purpose, nobility of character, and loyal and useful service.

The 'heroic code' of conduct of the classical epics is, in La Chanson de Roland, paralleled by a similar code. Honour is essential to the behaviour of the knight as Roland acknowledges in the following four statements.

Firstly, the knight must be prepared to suffer and to die for the honour of his king:

"Ben devuns ci estre pur nostre rei:  
Pur sun seignor deit hom susfrir destreiz  
E endurer e granz chalz e granz freiz,  
Si n deit hom perdre e del quir e del peil." (1009-12)

Secondly, the knight is bound to uphold the good name of his lineage and his country:

Respont Rollant: "Ne placet Damnedeu  
Que mi parent pur mei seient blasmét,  
Ne France dulce ja cheet en viltét!" (1062-64).

Thirdly, he has a duty to maintain his own personal reputation:

Respunt Rollant: "Jo fereie que fols,  
En dulce France en perdreie mun los." (1053-54).

Finally, death is preferable to shame. Roland tells Oliver:

Ne placet Damnedeu ne ses angles  
Que ja pur mei perdet sa valur France!  
Meiz voeill murir que huntage me venget;  
Pur ben ferir l'emperere plus nos aimet." (1089-92).

By his actions, Roland gives substance to these lofty ideals.

There are, therefore, several points of similarity between Roland and the classical epic heroes. Roland is known to be the protagonist, both by the title of the epic and by his role in precipitating the principal action. He exemplifies the vassal who, at first, is no more prominent than his distinguished contemporaries. He, too, is 'primus inter pares'. Like the classical epic heroes, he is described by the same terms as his companions and adversaries. He practises to an exemplary degree the code of honour which he proclaims. Although there is no question, in this epic, of divine ancestry, Roland is obviously favoured by God. There are, however, certain differences to be found. Roland is not known, in the early scenes, to be the hero, but assumes the role of leader only gradually. Unlike the heroes of the classical epics, Roland does not need to isolate himself from his society in order to assess his own values. Nor does he have to 'battle past his personal and local historical limitations'. Finally, there is no kind of conflict with kingly authority. Rather, Roland is the embodiment of all that his king and his society hold dear and his death is the ultimate expression of his dedicated vasselage.

Why do Roland's exploits overshadow those of Charlemagne whose great achievements are proclaimed in the opening lines of the epic? Why is Charlemagne not the hero? He dominates the epic as the champion of France and of the interests of Christianity. He presides at councils (103, sq.), grieves for the dead (2855-2973), dispenses justice (3742-3837; 3947-74) and commands the armies

of France (2987-3095). This whole episode in the life of Charlemagne extends beyond Roland's death until, after vengeance has been exacted on Ganelon, Charlemagne is portrayed in the final scene as at the beginning of the epic, planning to undertake new exploits. Charlemagne, however, is not the protagonist. He neither initiates the principal conflict nor does he directly take part in the central action. For Charlemagne represents both the continuity and the greatness of France and Christianity and provides the background against which great deeds of vasselage can be accomplished on their behalf. Charlemagne's role is not to meet the kind of glorious death which Roland experienced, but to remain as a living exemplar of the principles for which Roland died.

Let us now consider some attributes of the hero in two examples of medieval hagiographical writing: La Vie de Saint Alexis and Le Voyage de Saint Brendan. In these works, the hero is no longer a knight devoted to the service of his God and his king through the glory of warfare, but a saint dedicated to God through the holiness of his life.

La Vie de Saint Alexis,<sup>31</sup> one of the many versions of a story which was popular in the middle ages,<sup>32</sup> exemplifies the saint as hero. There is, consequently, a significant omission of many features which characterise the epic hero. Alexis is distinguished by the nobility of his lineage (13-20). He is born in answer to his parents' prayers (21-30). But instead of glorying in his ancestry and his divine election, Alexis is called to renounce a

comfortable existence, his family and a noble bride in order to lead a life of extraordinary austerity and holiness. He is drawn by God alone whom he loves above all earthly possessions:

Dunc li remembret de sun seinor celeste,  
Que plus ad cher que tut aveir terrestre. (57-58)

and beyond the noble family to which he is born:

Plus aimet Deu que [fres] tut sun linage. (250).

Instead of showing the outstanding physical prowess which was displayed by Roland, Alexis is called to undertake a way of life requiring him to attain a high degree of spiritual prowess, in order to glorify God by the fulness of his commitment.

Alexis is frequently referred to by the title danz which denotes noble rank.<sup>39</sup> But he is also 'l'ume Dieu' (170-71; 343), 'saint hume' (330), 'bons cristiens' (340), 'sain(t) home' (347), 'le Deu serf' (348), and, in the words of the Pope and the emperor who are praying for his intercession after his death, 'saintismes hom!' (359). The epithets are, therefore, directed principally towards Alexis' exceptional holiness until finally, after his death, he becomes 'saint Alexis' (541; 598). Indeed, the adjective saint appears to replace the term proz which appeared so frequently in La Chanson de Roland. Burgess has drawn an interesting parallel between the use of the two terms, and concludes:

Alexis est l'intermédiaire entre Dieu et le monde d'ici-bas,  
et la qualité par excellence qui sert à lier ces deux mondes est  
la sainteté.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, if Roland showed exemplary courage and valour in his service of the king, and in maintaining honour at all costs, Alexis shows exemplary courage and valour in rejecting worldly honour and reputation and in serving God and the poor with all his heart (245-55).

The role of honour, which was such an important feature of the epic heroes, is now reversed. Alexis reminds his bride that temporal honours are transitory:

"La vithe est fraisle, n'i ad durable honur;" (69).

He refuses to be honoured by those who want him to intercede for them:

Trestuit l'onurent, li grant e li petit,  
E tuit le prient que d'els ai(e)t mercit.  
Quant il co veit quel volent onurer:  
"Certes", dist il, "n'i ai mais ad ester,  
D'icest honur nem revoil ancumbrer." (184-88).

After Alexis' death, his father grieves:

Ma grant honur t'aveie retenude  
Ed anpur tei, mais n'en aveies cure. (407-08).

But if Alexis rejected temporal honours during his lifetime, there is no doubt about the spiritual honours which he receives after his death:

Sainz Alexis out bone volentét,  
Puroec en est oi cest jurn oneuré.  
Le cors an est an Rome la citét,  
E l'anema en est enz el paradis Deu:  
Bien poet liez estra chi si est alüez. (541-45).

Thus, a spiritual dimension predominates in this presentation of a hero, as Alexis abnegates all the temporal honours which his society esteems and chooses, instead, the honour and glory of God.

Saint Brendan, on the other hand, is an example of a didactic saint. Although he is a monk of noble lineage (19-22),<sup>41</sup> there is little emphasis placed on the pride in ancestry which Charlemagne's knights showed. Except for one example in the prologue, the term saint is not used of the hero. He is referred to simply as 'Brandan', 'Brandan li pius' (36), 'li abes Brandan' and occasionally, when there is no chance of ambiguity, 'li abes'.

Although Brendan and his companions undergo severe physical trials, there is no indication given of any extraordinary physical gifts. There are, however, several references to Brendan's mental alertness, to his intellectual gifts and to his mental integrity, for example:

Li abes Brendan prist en purpens,  
Cum hom qui ert de mult grant sens,  
De granz conseilz e de rustes  
Cum cil qui ert forment justes, (39-42).

Saint Brendan is obviously a leader. Not only does he lead his chosen companions on a difficult and dangerous journey; he also shows practical commonsense mingled with trust in God. For example, when his men are becalmed, he encourages them:

"Metéz vus en Deu maneie  
E n'i ait nul qui s'esmaie!  
Quant averez vent, siglez sulunc;  
Cum venez n'i ert, nagez idunc!" (225-28).

For he is also a spiritual leader who, together with his men, continually refers to God in all his activities (305-06; 375-77).<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, he is an exemplar, for after the momentary vision of Paradise (1701-81), Saint Brendan's virtue inspires many followers:

Li plusurs d'els ensaintirent  
Par la vertud qu'en lui virent. (1827-28).

Saint Brendan is inquisitive. For he embarks upon the expedition through curiosity as well as piety (49-52). Nor does he hesitate to ask questions about the strange apparitions which he sees. He inquires about the birds which are fallen angels (501-05) and asks one of them directly:

"Si tu es de Deu creature,  
De mes diz dunc prenges cure!  
Primes me di que tu seies,  
En cest liu que tu deies,  
E tu e tuit le altre oisel,  
Pur co que a mei semblez mult bel." (513-18)

Nor does he hesitate to question the sorrowing Judas about his grief (1255-60). But because of his human limitations, Brendan is not able to absorb all the delights of Paradise which he sees and hears (1768-72), for such a vision is too great for mortal men to endure for long:

Lur nature ne poet prendre  
Si grant glorie, ne entendre. (1783-84).

Saint Brendan, then, is portrayed as a holy man who embarks upon a voyage of discovery through which his mind is enriched and his faith tested and confirmed. Except for his position as abes, his initiative and his wise advice, Saint Brendan does not stand out beyond his companions. He is alienated from his people because of his voyage rather than for the sake of criticising the values of his society. In a sense, he is intermediary between the real world and the world of fantasy and again, between this world and the contemporary notion of Paradise. There is no glory in warfare, evident pride in ancestry or pursuit of honour by means of spectacular heroic achievements. The emphasis is now on the glory of God, the pursuit of His will and the vision of Paradise which the hero cannot yet possess for:

"O or venis carnalment  
Tost revendras spiritalment.  
Or t'en reva; ci revendras,  
Le juisse ci arendras." (1795-98).

But there is no question of his 'transcending the limitations of his human state' until the time comes when he 'Ralat u Deus lui destinat' (1832) and possessed the glory of Paradise for eternity.

These examples of French medieval heroes in different literary genres show great noble men who are leaders, exemplars and intermediaries. How do they relate to the classical epic heroes? And are there

any essential differences between the classical epic and the medieval epic and its related genres which affect the presentation of the hero? In the classical epics, the protagonist belongs to a race of warriors who are frequently designated by the term heros. In the medieval epic, the protagonist emerges from a class of noble knights who possess qualities similar in essence to those of the classical epic heroes. All are distinguished for their outstanding gifts and for their prowess in battle. But whereas Achilles, Odysseus and Aeneas also show remarkable mental and spiritual gifts and are presented as complete, integrated characters, these medieval writings present a limited view of the hero. Roland is noted more for the physical qualities and for his adherence to his ideals as a dedicated man of action than for any extraordinary intellectual or spiritual prowess. He does not criticise or question his society as Achilles does, nor, like Odysseus, does he survive through extraordinary use of his intellectual gifts. Alexis, on the other hand, is endowed with a high degree of spiritual prowess, and the concentration is on his feats of spiritual endurance. In Le Voyage de Saint Brendan, an antithesis is shown between the physical and spiritual aspects of the hero's vision. But in spite of Brendan's mental alertness, there is little evidence of intellectual or spiritual growth during the course of the journey. Although both Alexis and Brendan spend time away from their habitual environment, they do not question or criticise the practices of their society, but seek to enrich it by the sanctity of their lives.

There are limitations, too, in the subject matter of both the medieval epic and the hagiographical writings. In both the

Odyssey and the Aeneid, the scenes of fighting are relieved by elements of mystery, fantasy and romance. Odysseus meets giants and one-eyed monsters; he escapes apparently insuperable perils; he is loved by goddesses and mortal women. Aeneas, also, meets strange, supernatural creatures and is loved by Dido in an episode which is one of the most original and outstanding sections of the epic. La Chanson de Roland is not completely devoid of such incidents. For example, grief for Roland's death is anticipated by hail, thunder and earthquakes (1423-37), just as Achilles' death is strangely prophesied by his horses (Iliad XIX, 408-17). But we do not read of any love or longing for Aude, Roland's fiancée, who dies of grief when she hears of his death (3717-21). Nor is any mention made of Alexis' feelings when he has to forsake his earthly bride in order to become totally consecrated to God (56-70). Le Voyage de Saint Brendan, on the other hand, abounds in episodes of mystery and fantasy. But the nature of the hagiographical writings excludes such elements of romance as appeared in the classical epics and the battle scenes which are an essential feature of all epic.

A more complete presentation of the hero is, however, to be found in the medieval French romance, particularly in the writings of Chrétien de Troyes, where not only are elements of battle, fantasy and romance once more combined, as in the classical epics;<sup>43</sup> but also, the hero himself is presented as a person possessing gifts of body, mind and spirit which develop as his quest progresses. But first, let us examine some features which relate to the twelfth-century view of man as a whole, integrated being, and to his relationship with his creator.

In the early twelfth century, theologians were writing prolifically in order to preserve and transmit the doctrines which they themselves had received and to promote the spiritual advancement of their followers. Of these, William of Saint-Thierry (c.1085-1148), a Cistercian monk who was a contemporary and close friend of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux,<sup>44</sup> strenuously criticised the laxities which he saw in certain monastic orders, notably Cluny.<sup>45</sup> In his doctrinal treatises, William showed that he was a traditionalist who was familiar with patristic writings. He firmly opposed what he considered to be the innovations of such theologians as Abelard and William of Conches.<sup>46</sup> But although William of Saint-Thierry wrote for the would-be ascetic, his teachings refer to any person who sincerely seeks God.

Of the many topics which William discussed, three are particularly relevant for our purpose. Firstly, there is the doctrine of 'image and likeness'. This is not a new doctrine, for it has its origin in the Book of Genesis and was taught by Saint Paul and by other theologians including Saint Augustine.<sup>47</sup>

Man is in the image of God:

Ipse enim imago Dei est. Et per hoc quod imago Dei est, intelligibile ei fit, et se posse et debere inhaerere ei cuius imago est.<sup>48</sup>

This likeness should be the source of man's aspirations and his hope for, as William commented when discussing man's rational faculties:

Ab ipso (Deo) enim et ad ipsum conditus est rationalis animus, ut ad ipsum sit conversio ejus, ut sit ipse bonum ejus. Hic autem ex illo bonus, ad imaginem et similitudinem ejus conditus est: ut quamdiu hic vivitur, quam proprius potest, accedat ad eum similitudine, a quo sola receditur dissimilitudine: ut sit is sanctus, sicut ille sanctus est; in futuro futurus beatus, sicut ille beatus est.<sup>49</sup>

Furthermore, man carries within himself the image of the Trinity;

cum Trinitas Deus hominem crearet ad imaginem suam, quamdam in eo formavit Trinitas similitudinem, in qua et imago Trinitatis creatricis reluceret; <sup>50</sup>.

Therefore, the faculties of the human soul, when developed according to their true nature, form an integrated whole as they reflect the completeness of the Trinity. Finally, because God is perfect, man ought to strive to be perfect:

Propter hoc enim solum creati sumus et vivimus, ut Deo similes simus, cum ad Dei imaginem creati simus. <sup>51</sup>.

William's spiritual teachings, therefore, are permeated with his conception of the ascent of the soul towards God and the perfection of which man is capable.

Secondly, William wrote about love, particularly about the origin of love, the nature of love and the heights of love to which a Christian might aspire. Love is essentially a movement of the will:

Nihil enim aliud est amor quam vehemens in bono voluntas. <sup>52</sup>.

Love has its origin in God:

Primum igitur ejus nativitas locus Deus est. Ibi natus, ibi alitus, ibi proventus; ibi civis, non advena, sed indigena. A Deo enim solo amor datur, et in ipso permanet, quia nulli nisi ipsi et propter ipsum debetur. <sup>53</sup>.

Following Saint Augustine's teaching,<sup>54</sup> William insisted that the root of love is memory, where a mysterious recollection of the creator slumbers:

in ejus quasi quadam arce vim memorialem collocavit, ut Creatoris semper potentiam et bonitatem memoraret. <sup>55</sup>.

Memory, together with reason and will, forms a kind of lesser trinity which is parallel in origin and function to the Blessed Trinity:

sicut in illa summa Trinitate una est substantia, tres personae: in qua Trinitate sicut Pater est genitor, Filius genitus, et ab utroque Spiritus sanctus; sic ex memoria ratio gignitur, ex memoria et ratione voluntas. <sup>56</sup>.

Love can be directed towards a higher or a lower good according to the dispositions of the lover. But for the person who truly seeks God, there is a natural progression in love which is likened to a man's journey through life:

Sic enim secundum aetatum incrementum vel decrementum puer mutatur in juvenem, juvenis in virum, vir in senem; secundum qualitatum mutationes, etiam aetatum nomina mutantes: sic secundum virtutum profectum voluntas crescit in amorem, amor in charitatem, charitas in sapientiam.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, amor grows into charity, an adult, altruistic love until, finally, charity culminates in wisdom<sup>59</sup> which is nothing other than the enjoyment of God in contemplation and ultimately, in the Beatific Vision, for, in William's words:

Primum enim ad Deum voluntas animam movet, amor promovet, charitas contemplatur, sapientia fruitur.<sup>60</sup>

Progression in the spiritual life is, therefore, signified by progression in love.

Finally, the most original aspect of William's teaching concerns the need for self-knowledge which must be attained by those people, especially contemplatives, who strive for perfection.<sup>61</sup> In his spiritual treatises and exhortations William, following Origen, insisted on the development of the whole person, and he encouraged his monks to recognise their gifts of body, mind and spirit, in order to achieve integration of their faculties. Using the divisions made by both Saint Paul and Origen, William developed the trichotomy - anima - animus - spiritus - and hence, the concepts of 'homo animalis', 'homo rationalis' and 'homo spiritualis' which are indications of an aspirant's progress in the spiritual life and of his ascent towards God. A similar trichotomy exists in Saint Paul's writings, with the terms ψυχικός, 'natural', λογικός, 'rational', 'thinking' and πνευματικός, 'living according

to the Spirit'.<sup>62</sup> Saint Paul, however, limited the division and contrasted only the ψυχικός and πνευματικός. For the man who is ψυχικός is concerned with this world only, whereas the πνευματικός, enlightened by the πνεῦμα, the Spirit of God, is concerned with the things of God.

For William, as for his contemporaries, the essential purpose of monastic life was to direct human love back to the creator, from whom it had been deflected by original sin.<sup>63</sup> The way back to the creator was marked by three stages or 'estates'. The first of these 'estates' is dominated by the anima. In itself, the anima is neither good nor bad, for it is nothing more than the life-giving spirit which human beings have in common with the rest of creation:

Porro secundum nostros, id est ecclesiasticos doctores anima spiritualis propriaque est substantia, a Deo creata, vivificatrix, rationabilis, immortalis, sed in bonum malumque convertibilis.<sup>64</sup>

This definition reflects the teaching of Saint Paul, for whom the ψυχικός is the 'natural man who lives without the eschatological gift of the πνεῦμα, or the Spirit of God'.<sup>65</sup> According to Saint Paul, the psychical nature is neither sinful in itself, nor does it incline to the πνεῦμα. But it is corruptible and, without the grace of God, it finds no access to the Kingdom of God. Therefore, the 'animalis homo' has only a limited view of life. In William's words:

Sunt etenim animales, qui per se nec ratione aguntur, nec trahuntur affectu.<sup>66</sup>

Such a man, dominated by his anima, tends to live principally according to his senses:

animalitas est vitae modus sensibus corporis serviens: scilicet

cum anima, quasi extra se per sensus corporis circa dilectorum delectationes corporum affecta, eorum fruitione pascit, vel nutrit sensualitatem suam. <sup>67</sup>.

For the ascetic who has seriously undertaken conversion, a characteristic virtue of this state is simplicity, by which the will becomes wholly turned towards God, and the convert is more concerned with the inner reality of virtue than with gaining a reputation for it. <sup>68</sup>. The will is turned to God, but has, as yet, to be fully formed and illumined:

Vel simplicitas est sola ad Deum conversa voluntas, sed nondum ratione formata ut amor sit, id est formata voluntas, nondum illuminata ut sit charitas, hoc est amor iucunditas. <sup>69</sup>.

At this stage, too, obedience is particularly necessary, for the aspirant whose ratio has not been properly formed, is not yet capable of trusting his own judgment. <sup>70</sup>. The 'animalis homo' grows in the virtues, particularly in the cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude, all of which help to perfect him as a human being and are, therefore, called moral virtues. <sup>71</sup>. The aspirant's main task is to eradicate vice and to prepare the body and the outward man for the positive acquisition of virtue. <sup>72</sup>.

The second part of William's trichotomy is concerned with the animus. According to William, when the anima, which man possesses in common with all living creatures begins to possess perfect reason, it renounces its feminine character and becomes spirit endowed with reason. <sup>73</sup>. This is the animus which indicates the 'homo rationalis'.

Quamdiu enim anima est, cito in id quod carnale est, effeminatur: animus vero vel spiritus non nisi quod virile est et spirituale meditatur. <sup>74</sup>.

The rationales in William's terms are, therefore, those:

. . . qui per rationis iudicium et naturalis scientiae

discretionem, habent et cognitionem boni, et appetitum: sed nondum habent affectum. <sup>15.</sup>

William makes a clear distinction between the preoccupations of the 'animalis homo' and those of the 'rationalis homo'.

. . . status animalis vigilat circa corpus et hominem exteriorem componendum, et aptandum studio virtutis: sic rationalis circa animum agere debet, vel faciendum si non est vel excolendum et ordinandum si est. <sup>16.</sup>

The faculty of reason is clearly described:

Et nunc vere est ratio, hoc est habitus mentis per omnia conveniens veritati. <sup>17.</sup>

together with its way of looking at the truth:

Aspectus animi est, quo per se ipsum, non per corpus, verum intuetur. <sup>18.</sup>

The 'rationalis homo' must develop his will in order to acquire more positive virtues for, in William's words:

Bona enim voluntas in animo est origo omnium bonorum et omnium mater virtutum. <sup>19.</sup>

The will, when properly formed in line with ratio, helps in developing virtue:

Quid est virtus? Filia rationis, sed magis gratiae. . . . Virtus est voluntarius in bonum assensus. Virtus est aequalitas quaedam vitae, per omnia congruens rationi. <sup>20.</sup>

Obedience is still necessary at this stage:

Bona ergo custos voluntatis est oboedentia. <sup>21.</sup>

The task of the 'rationalis homo' is, therefore, to prepare his mind in order to grow in virtue and to learn to discern between true and false values.

The third part of William's trichotomy refers to the 'homo spiritualis'. There are, however gradations in the use of the terms, spiritus, spiritualis, according to the context in which they appear. There are four different uses of the terms in the

treatise De Natura Corporis et Animae. Firstly, where William contrasts the anima, the intangible part of man, with the corpus, the tangible aspect, spiritus denotes 'breath'.

Spiritus quippe per arteriam repulsus ex follibus spiritum recipientibus impetu quodam sui arteriam in vocem roborat aerem percutiendo; <sup>82</sup>.

Secondly, in the same treatise, the spirit dominates the senses and therefore, denotes the aspect of man which contrasts with the sense life of the animals:

Spiritus vero hominis longe aliter. Nam sensibus dominatur et de sensibus iudicat. <sup>83</sup>.

Thirdly, spiritual means nothing more than 'non-material', as in the expression: 'rei spirituali et incorporali'. <sup>84</sup>. Finally, the term spiritualis is interchanged with other terms. Its flexibility is evident in the exposition about the nature and origin of the anima:

Quid sit, nemo comprehendit; quia nulla ejus est materia, quia res est spiritualis, intellectualis, Deoque simillima. <sup>85</sup>

Similarly, we read:

spiritualis vel rationalis usus. <sup>86</sup>.

and:

sic ad spiritualem vel rationem vitam ordinandam vel consummandam. <sup>87</sup>

But there is no flexibility about the meaning of spiritus, spiritualis in William's trichotomy. Here, the 'homo spiritualis' closely resembles Saint Paul's πνευματικός, 'living according to the Spirit'. <sup>88</sup>. Such a man knows God's saving work by virtue of the Spirit of God, to which the ψυχικός, or 'natural man' is, as yet, blind. <sup>89</sup>. William states the characteristics of those who have arrived at the third stage:

Sunt perfecti qui spiritu aguntur, qui a sancto Spiritu

plenius illuminantur. Et quoniam sapit eis bonum cuius trahuntur affectu, sapientes vocantur. <sup>90</sup>.

Now the entire preoccupation is with God and with matters relating directly to God:

Cum vero de his quae de Deo vel ad Deum sunt cogitatur, et voluntas eo proficit ut amor fiat, continuo per viam amoris infundit Spiritus sanctus, spiritus vitae; <sup>91</sup>.

Thus, in 'becoming love', the truly spiritual man participates, through the Spirit, in the very life of God, and is thus led to transcend the limitations of his humanity.

et (Spiritus) omnia vivificat, adjuvans seu in oratione, seu in meditatione, seu in tractatu infirmitatem cogitantis. <sup>92</sup>.

This is the extent of the perfection which man might reasonably attain in this life:

. . . quia factus est unus spiritus cum Deo, spiritualis est. Et haec in hac vita hominis perfectio est. <sup>93</sup>.

When man possesses true sapientia, which is a characteristic of this estate, he possesses also a foretaste of the vision of God in the future:

Sapientia enim pietas est, hoc est cultus Dei, amor quo eum videre desideramus, et videntes in speculo et in aenigmate credimus et speramus: et in hoc proficimus ut eum videamus in manifestatione. <sup>94</sup>.

Thus, having fallen from grace by sin,<sup>95</sup> man has the opportunity of returning to the state from which Adam fell, by recognising his gifts of body, mind and spirit and by subsequently developing his faculties in order to regain his lost perfection. His progression could be called a spiritual journey by which he passes from the darkness of his first conversion, through intellectual knowledge where he acquires virtues and learns to love until, finally, as a composite human being, he is possessed by the

Spirit of God which fosters unity and achieves new life among believers. But this cannot be achieved without effort and difficulty, as William comments:

. . . nec continuo, nec nisi cum magnis et diuturnis  
laboribus relucere potest in nobis Factoris imago. 46.

William wrote first and foremost for aspirants to the religious life. 47. Certain features are, however, contained even in the classical epics and are evident to a fuller degree in the medieval romances. The doctrine of 'image and likeness of God' can have no place in the classical epics. But the best of the heroes were, in their limited way, described as 'godlike'. 48. William's doctrine is more clearly reflected in the medieval romances where it is contended that the heroes are seeking perfection. 49. Throughout their quests, the epic heroes are portrayed as men capable of loving and of showing various degrees of love. This is more evident in the medieval romances where the heroes experience a clear progression in love. Finally, the tripartite view of man and the insistence on self-knowledge which was fundamental to William's doctrine is clearly evident in both the classical heroes and in the heroes of the medieval romances.

\* \* \*

In a recent study entitled 'The Game and Play of Hero', 100. John Leyerle has shown that the hero and indeed, the whole of his society, is playing a kind of game to which certain rules apply. On the face of it, these rules and the game they control might be applicable to the literature being studied here. It is

therefore necessary to consider the rules and to compare them with the criteria established for the classical epic hero. At the same time, we shall consider to what extent the rules apply to the romance heroes themselves.

1. 'There is a relatively passive figure of authority, often a king, who tends to be aloof from the action or even ineffectual in controlling it. His presence sets an aristocratic and martial tone to the society portrayed in the text. An example is Charlemagne in La Chanson de Roland.' <sup>101</sup>.

The king is not passive in the classical epic. Rather, kingly power is, in different ways, a source of conflict. In the Iliad, Agamemnon is neither passive nor aloof from the action. Instead, he precipitates conflict by his selfishness and greed and thus, he enables Achilles to intrude upon his authority. Agamemnon, however, becomes ineffectual in controlling the Trojans' supremacy in battle, the result of Achilles' wrath, for he cannot hope to defeat the Trojans as long as Achilles withdraws his services. Odysseus is himself a king, but although he has abundant heroic qualities, his kingly authority is, as W.T.H. Jackson has pointed out, weak until he regains his former position at Ithaca. <sup>102</sup> For as long as he is cut off from his roots by war and by fate, he has no power as king. Odysseus, therefore, has to earn his position once more as King of Ithaca by intruding upon the society of the suitors, the petty princes who have usurped his kingdom and disturbed the order of his world. None of the major figures in the Aeneid can be called passive. The death of King Priam (Aeneid II, 554-58), symbolises the fall of Troy, a prominent kingdom. Aeneas himself is king by virtue of his leadership and his vocation. Like Achilles and Odysseus, whenever Aeneas intrudes as hero, he challenges the order of an established kingdom, and uses his heroic qualities to consolidate

his position. Thus, unlike Charlemagne in La Chanson de Roland, the figures of authority in the three classical epics are, in different ways, challenged by the hero who is, himself, of royal status. In the selected medieval romances, however, King Arthur remains generally in the background, his presence gives unity to the action and his court is a pivotal point during the knight's journey.

2. 'The hero makes a formal commitment to accomplish a notable feat and thereby takes upon himself the playing of a role. The feat frequently involves a quest, or hunt, which has a long tradition of erotic associations.' <sup>103</sup>.

The heroes in the classical epics do not make a formal commitment in this way. <sup>104</sup> Rather, Achilles denies his own war-loving nature and withdraws his services. A quest is involved, which is a search within himself, but there are no directly erotic associations. <sup>105</sup> Odysseus does not make a formal commitment. Any challenge to accomplish a notable feat ensues from his situation as exile from his home and from the obstacles which he faces on his return, together with his human limitations. There is no association with a hunt in his quest. Aeneas' challenge is imposed upon him by fate. He makes no formal verbal commitment, but as he sees the stricken crowd of survivors after the final battle at Troy, he steps forward to accept his destiny:

"Cessi et sublato montis genitore petivi." (Aeneid II, 804.)

The medieval heroes do, however, make a formal commitment to accomplish a difficult feat and a quest is involved for the selected characters. This is exemplified by the departure en aventure of Erec and Enide, by Yvain's determination to seek Laudine's pardon, by Lancelot's seeking after Queen Guinevere and by Perceval's resolution to find the Grail.

3. 'The hero has courage, a sense of purpose, and strength beyond that of ordinary men; he often faces opponents with supernatural powers, or even with mythic significance. If the hero's opponents are ordinary men, they tend to attack him in large numbers. Examples may be seen in La Chanson de Roland or in Havelock the Dane.' <sup>106</sup>.

These statements are true of the classical epic heroes, also.

Achilles' physical courage, clearly evident when he finally urges his men to battle (Iliad, XXII, 353-63), remains steadfast when he fights the superhuman powers of the river Xanthus (XX).

Early in the epic, Achilles showed moral courage by opposing his king on a matter of principle. Both Odysseus and Aeneas show a high degree of courage by dominating the fear which they experience when confronted by apparently insurmountable obstacles. <sup>107</sup>

After the vision in the Underworld, when Aeneas knows his destiny and is confirmed in his vocation, his courage is unshakeable.

The medieval heroes also show extraordinary courage and a sense of purpose. Not only do they sometimes face adversaries who are superior in numbers, but they also successfully vanquish hostile Other World forces.

4. 'The hero has a costume, often armour of magical origin and power. This costume tends to be used for trickery or even deception. . . . These costumes are important because they symbolize the metamorphosis inherent in the hero's assumption of the role he has to play.' <sup>108</sup>.

Both Achilles (Iliad, XVIII, 457-615), and Aeneas (Aeneid, VIII, 608-72) have armour made for them by the gods before they enter their principal battles. This armour serves not so much for trickery or deception as for assurance of divine protection. Odysseus is disguised by Athena, particularly at Scheria and Ithaca. At Scheria, Athena simply causes Odysseus to look taller and more handsome (Odyssey, VI, 227-37), so that the effects of the storm

and shipwreck are effaced, and Odysseus has more chance of being kindly received at the palace of King Alcinous. At Ithaca, Odysseus uses his disguise as a beggar to test the loyalty of his household. Thus, in these epics, the hero's arming and disguise have a strictly practical purpose. There is nothing magical about the armour of Chrétien's heroes. They are, however, helped by equipment of fairy origin.

5. 'Fighting is stylized into single combat. When a hero faces heavy odds, the opponents are encountered one after the other even though we are expected to understand that the hero is facing them in numbers. The stylization frequently takes the form of a tournament; . . . . The tournament is particularly suitable to the literary game of hero because it allows the ladies, whose sexual favours are usually the underlying issue, to be present and watch as the hero plays his game of combat, hoping that it will end in eros, not thanatos.<sup>104</sup>

The classical epic heroes, also, generally fight in single combat. There is not, however, the stylization in the form of a tournament in which the hero's personal excellence is judged. Nor is the question of the lady's sexual favours given prominence. Although the Trojan War was initiated because of Helen, and the conflict in the Iliad centres on the ownership of the girl, Briseis, and the subsequent dishonour done to Achilles, there is more emphasis on the battles themselves than on the women who are indirectly the cause. Odysseus' encounters at Ithaca are as much for the sake of establishing his right as king once more, as for the sake of winning his lady. The union of Odysseus and Penelope is, rather, a sign that Odysseus is reinstated into his kingdom.

(Odyssey, XXIII, 232-40). Similarly, in the Aeneid, Turnus' words:

"tua est Lavinia coniunx,  
ulterius ne tende odiis." (XII, 937-38),

are a sign that Aeneas has conquered the most formidable of his enemies and that he can now reign in Latium. Leyerle's statement is, in essence, true of the selected medieval romance heroes. Apart from in Le Chevalier de la Charrette, however, the formal tournament has little prominence in Chrétien's romances, and the lady's sexual favours are not the underlying cause of the fighting. Chrétien's heroes generally encounter opponents of increasing severity either in order to survive a hostile force or in order to deliver the oppressed.

6. 'No one, as the economists say, is gainfully employed. Gold may be won in war and is dispensed by the victor as gifts to his followers for their loyal service.' <sup>110</sup>.

While this is generally true of the epic heroes, it is clear, also, that Odysseus, at any rate, derived wealth from his land, his cattle and his flocks. <sup>111</sup> The selected medieval romance heroes do not appear to have any specific source of income.

7. 'As in all games, there is an element of chance, the hazard of the play; the outcome depends on the hero's luck or simply on fate. . . . Often the outcome turns on a mistake which can be no more than a clumsy move or an accident; The mistake often enough does arise from a flaw, especially the hero's tendency to hubris in defining the role he is to play.' <sup>112</sup>.

The element of chance is not so obvious in the epics, for these heroes are supported to a considerable extent by the intervention of the gods. But the hero is often the victim of fate. <sup>113</sup> The epic heroes are also tainted by a flaw or hubris which frequently precipitates the action of the epic. Most of Chrétien's heroes lament the capriciousness of Fortune and try to reconcile themselves with its unpredictable ways .

8. 'The protagonist is a man, never a woman.' <sup>114</sup>.

This is true of both the epic heroes and the medieval romance heroes. All have to maintain their authority and resolve their conflicts by force of arms, which was an occupation reserved generally for men.

Apart from the differences noted between the heroes of the classical epics and those of the medieval narrative poems, Leyerle's 'rules' for the medieval hero are incomplete. Leyerle does not include that the hero needs isolate himself, however temporarily, in order to question and criticise his society, or that he be leader, exemplar or intermediary. Leyerle does not suggest that the hero 'transcend the limitations of his human state' in order to achieve his goal. Leyerle does not refer to any gifts of body, mind and spirit which were evident in the definition of the classical epic heroes, nor to the anima - animus - spiritus trichotomy which William of Saint-Thierry used, to show the gifts with which man has been endowed, and of which evidence will be found in the development of the medieval romance heroes. Indeed, the whole spiritual dimension is absent. We shall, therefore, seek these features in medieval romance. But before doing so, let us investigate the acknowledged means of transfer by which elements of classical culture passed into medieval culture, and thence into Chr tien de Troyes' romances.

The concept of translatio studii, which had become important by the twelfth century, expresses the transference of culture and learning <sup>115</sup> which, according to E. R. Curtius, is 'co-ordinated' with translatio imperii, or the replacement of one empire by another; <sup>116</sup> in other words, as one empire fell and another succeeded it, the centre of culture and learning was correspondingly transferred.

The origins of this notion are uncertain. In the following passage from the Epistles, Horace demonstrated the relationship between translatio imperii and translatio studii:

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis  
intulit agresti Latio: sic horridus ille  
defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus  
munditiae pepulere; (Epistles, II, 156-59). <sup>117</sup>

There are several relevant texts which show that medieval writers were aware of this concept. Curtius considered that the earliest example was found in Heiric's epistle to Charles the Bald, which he did not, however, quote. <sup>118</sup> Another significant reference is found in the writing of the anonymous monk who adapted the Chronicle of Saint Gall (c.884-87), and who refers to Alcuin's influence and the vast extent of his learning. E. Gilson, explaining it as 'l'amorce du thème de translatione studii', cites the passage:

cujus in tantum doctrina fructificavit, ut moderni Galli  
sive France antiquis Romanis et Atheniensibus aequarentur. <sup>119</sup>

A similar comment about Alcuin's learning appears later in les Grandes chroniques de France:

Tant multiplia et fructifia sa doctrine à Paris que, Dieu merci!  
la fontaine de doctrine et de sapience est à Paris aussi  
comme elle fu jadis à Athènes et à Rome. <sup>120</sup>

The principal feature of the translatio studii is that,

co-ordinated with the translatio imperii, it transmitted through cultural achievements the greatness of the respective dominant civilisations. Thus, scholars recognised with pride that their civilisation was heir to a rich culture. Consequently, writers experienced a great sense of responsibility to protect and transmit their cultural heritage. Gilson has commented:

Ce qu'on trouve de plus apparent, c'est la conscience qu'eut le moyen âge d'être l'héritier d'une antique culture morale et intellectuelle, la fierté d'en avoir reçu le dépôt, l'inquiétude de le laisser perdre ou corrompre.<sup>121.</sup>

The teaching of rhetoric ensured this transfer of culture. Students were taught to use as their models writers who were considered to be stylistically sound. In the Ars Poetica, Horace acknowledged the debt which Roman writers owed to Greek poets and he exhorted his readers:

Vos exemplaria Graeca  
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna. (268-69)<sup>122.</sup>

Alcuin, in his turn, gave the following advice which is, in essence, similar to Horace's:

Legendi sunt auctorum libri eorumque bene dicta memoriae mandanda: quorum sermoni adsueti facti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem poterunt loqui nisi ornate.<sup>123.</sup>

In a passage in the Metalogicus, John of Salisbury described how Bernard of Chartres conducted his lessons:

. . . in auctorum lectione quid simplex esset et ad imaginem regulae positum ostendebat; figuras grammaticae, colores rhetoricos, cavillationes sophismatum, et que parte suae propositae lectionis articulus respiciebat ad alias disciplinas proponebat in medio. . . .  
Quibus autem indicebantur praeexercitamina puerorum in prosis aut poematibus imitandis, poetas aut oratores proponebat et eorum jubebat vestigia imitari, ostendens juncturas dictionum et elegantes sermonum clausulas. . . .<sup>124.</sup>

Thus, the critical study of ancient authors was fundamental to

medieval education. Although Bernard condemned open plagiarism,<sup>125</sup> he encouraged his pupils to imitate worthy models in order that they, in their turn might be worthy models for posterity:

Si vero redargutum, si hoc tamen meruerat inepta positio,  
ad exprimendam auctorum imaginem modesta indulgentia conscendere  
iubebat faciebatque, ut qui majores imitabatur, fieret posteris  
imitandus.<sup>126</sup>

But as students and writers absorbed, translated and adapted ideas from older civilisations, they were, inevitably, influenced by contemporary ideas and tastes. Consequently, old themes were subjected to new interpretations and reshaping. This is exemplified in many aspects of the romans antiques, particularly in the Roman d'Eneas where, although the essential story of the Aeneid remains, contemporary interest in love and the influence of Ovid predominate over the glories of the nascent Roman empire and the influence of Vergil.<sup>127</sup>

In the prologue to Cligès, a romance completed before 1176,<sup>128</sup> Chrétien de Troyes describes the pattern of translatio studii. He gives due credit to books and to education as the normal means by which learning is transferred:

Par les livres que nos avons  
Les fez des anciens savons  
Et del siegle qui fu jadis. (Cligès, 25-27)

He next traces the progression of chevalerie, 'chivalry' and clergie, 'culture'.<sup>129</sup>

Ce nos ont nostre livre apris  
Qu' an Grece ot de chevalerie  
Le premier los et de clergie.  
Puis vint chevalerie a Rome  
Et de la clergie la some,  
Qui or est an France venue. (28-33).

But the progression, according to Chrétien, is to stop in France,

for it has come, there, to its rightful place.

Dex doint qu'ele i soit maintenue  
Et que li lues le abelisse  
Tant que ja mes de France n'isse  
L'enors qui s'i est arestee. (34 - 37).

This prologue is not only the first complete literary expression in French of the nature and progression of translatio studii,<sup>130</sup> but it is also the expression of Chrétien's own pride in the noble deeds of the past and the literary achievements which they inspired.

\*   \*   \*

It is time to situate Chrétien de Troyes in his social, intellectual and spiritual environment and to note briefly some of the factors which are likely to have influenced his work. Chrétien is known to have been a clerc at the court of Marie de Champagne where interest in culture was fostered, particularly in matters concerning love and chivalry.<sup>131</sup> He enjoyed the patronage of Philippe de Flandre who was, evidently, a man of strong principles and loyalty to his Church, practising exemplary justice and charity. In Chrétien's words:

Li quens est teus que il n'escoute  
Vilain g[ap] ne parole estoute,  
Et s'il ot mesdire d'autrui,  
Quels que il soit, ce poise lui.  
Li quens aime droite justise  
Et loiauté et saint eglise  
Et toute vilonnie het;  
S'est larges que l'en si ne set,  
Qu'il done selonc l'evangille,  
Sanz ypocrisie et sanz gille, (Le Conte du Graal, 21 - 30).<sup>132</sup>

Although it has been contended that Chrétien's purpose in writing this prologue was, principally, to flatter his patron, it is clear that Philippe's virtues were a source of admiration

to Chrétien and could well have reflected his own attitude.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, Chrétien lived in an age which was affected profoundly by the development of Cistercian monasticism. In the bailliage of Troyes itself, monastic houses proliferated largely because of the influence of Saint Bernard and his monks.<sup>134</sup> There were great theologians among Chrétien's near contemporaries, notably, Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1142) whose teachings reflect the thought of Saint Augustine and prepare the way for a logical, clearly-defined spirituality. Like Saint Augustine and William of Saint-Thierry, Hugh insisted that a high degree of self-knowledge is necessary for those who earnestly seek God. Furthermore, Hugh of Saint-Victor was among those twelfth-century teachers who, like William of Saint-Thierry, emphasised that man is made in the image and likeness of God and that perceptible images are signs or 'sacraments' of invisible realities.<sup>135</sup>

As a clerc, Chrétien will have been educated in the trivium and the quadrivium.<sup>136</sup> His work shows that he was influenced by Celtic tradition, by la matière de Bretagne and by the Latin classics.<sup>137</sup> Chrétien appears to have fused elements from these sources in a highly original way. Frappier has commented:

On dirait en le lisant que des rayons de la Grèce et de Rome ont rejoint les reflets des légendes celtiques dans l'air irisé dans la Champagne et de l'Ile-de-France.<sup>138</sup>

There are, also, references to Sacred Scripture, implications of patristic teaching and signs of the author's familiarity with Christian practice. Chrétien, therefore, absorbed, re-shaped and transmitted elements of both the sacred and the secular culture of his time.

What characteristics, then, can we expect in Chrétien's heroes? Will they show the same characteristics as the classical epic heroes? To what extent do they reflect the interests of a sophisticated twelfth-century audience? Can any indications be found in Chrétien's works of twelfth-century spirituality?

In Chrétien's romances, the hero is to be understood as the protagonist, for he initiates the principal action and plays the principal role. The term hero is not used, for there is no longer any question of an heroic age, but rather, of an age of chivalry, which, in itself, can be seen as embodying an heroic ideal. Burgess has defined the heroic ideal as it emerged in the middle of the twelfth century:

La tension établie entre la réalité sociale et les aspirations chevaleresques des barons se stabilise dans un idéal - le Chevalier ou l'homme courtois parfait, sans but politique, dont la seule quête est soi-même, la connaissance de soi, la réalisation de ses propres qualités.<sup>139</sup>

The ideal knight of this age, therefore, requires a high degree of self-knowledge and self-acceptance, and this is the principal object of his quest.

The terms used to designate these knights are, in general, similar to those used in La Chanson de Roland, and refer to the knight's nobility, his courage and his skill in warfare. Thus, ber, baron and chevalier are widely used, (e.g. Erec, 337, 526, 2458; Yvain, 676; Lancelot, 560, 1064; Perceval, 1627, 2039). Both knights and other noblemen are, at times, designated as preudom (e.g. Erec, 382; Yvain, 3211, 3972, 4009; Perceval, 1011, 1019). The epithets used are also

similar to those in La Chanson de Roland. Erec is 'biax et preuz e genz' (89), 'preuz et hardiz' (9673), 'preuz et cortois' (687). Yvain's proesce is a source of hope to all Gauvain's oppressed relatives (4008). Yvain and Gauvain are admired for being 'franc et jantil' (6358).<sup>140</sup> Lancelot is acknowledged to be 'molt preuz' (1983) when he raises the stone. Furthermore, Chrétien's knights are designated by titles of respect which denote their class: sire, mes sire, messire, mon seignor.<sup>141</sup> But the hero's name is sometimes suppressed during a significant part of the narrative. Yvain becomes 'le chevalier au lion' during the central section of his adventures; neither Lancelot nor Perceval is named until comparatively late in the romance, but in spite of such indefinite appellations as: li chevaliers, li vallés, there is no doubt for the reader concerning the identity of the knight nor of his role as the preeminent character.

There is altered emphasis on the conduct expected from the courtly hero. Courtoisie, 'courtliness' has replaced vasselage as the predominant term in the twelfth-century romance.<sup>142</sup> The emphasis is here on courtly behaviour which the courtly knight is expected to practise. Frappier has enumerated the qualities which true courtoisie implies:

En réalité les termes de courtois et de courtoisie tantôt désignent, dans un sens large, la générosité chevaleresque, les élégances de politesse mondaine, une certaine manière de vivre, et tantôt, dans un sens plus restreint, un art d'aimer inaccessible au commun des mortels, cet embellissement du désir érotique, cette discipline de la passion et même cette religion de l'amour qui constituent l'amour courtois.<sup>143</sup>

As is evident from the prologue to Le Chevalier au lion, love is the mainspring of courtoisie which degenerates when true love is absent (Le Chevalier au lion, 20 - 28). But it is a

disciplined love which exacts vigilance and constant service. Thus, a high standard of military, social and moral conduct is expected from the knights. It is practised by most, upheld by King Arthur as arbiter and by Gauvain as the exemplar. Honour is fundamental to the hero's activities and the pattern -honour lost, honour sought, honour regained- is found in Chrétien's romances. The knight has a responsibility not only to gain 'pris et los', but also to maintain and increase it, principally by defending the weak and upholding the cause of justice. If he has earned the love of a lady, he is expected to treat her with suitable devotion and for her sake, to defend other ladies in distress. Chrétien's knights are of noble birth and are expected to be able to perform spectacular feats. In Frappier's words:

C'est surtout dans les romans arthuriens, et d'abord dans ceux de Chrétien de Troyes, que le chevalier est le type de noblesse, comme le baron l'avait été dans les chansons de geste pour la génération précédente. Gauvain, Erec, Yvain et les autres héros de la Table Ronde appartiennent à de très hauts lignages, mais leur gloire est inséparable de leur qualité de chevaliers et de leurs exploits proprement chevaleresques.<sup>144</sup>

Thus, Chrétien's knights show by their behaviour that they belong to court society and adhere to its practices. Through their exploits they seek to perfect themselves as men.

Like the classical epic heroes, Chrétien's heroes will be forced to stand outside their society, to scrutinise their own human nature, to assess their own values and to look for the true meaning behind the surface practices of their society. Like Achilles, Odysseus and Aeneas, they are forced to 'battle past their personal and local historical limitations' and to stand beyond their contemporaries.<sup>145</sup> A promising knight thus

becomes an exemplar, a leader, an intermediary and, in some cases, approaches being a Messiah, for some of Chrétien's heroes assume the role of a deliverer who conquers a demonic power.<sup>146</sup>

Chrétien's heroes encounter Celtic elements: magic, strange creatures, Other World forces. But, as can be expected from an author who was so obviously aware of translatio studii, elements of Greek and Latin antiquity are also present.<sup>147</sup> Chrétien's heroes conform at least in part to the contemporary view of hero discussed by Leyerle. Furthermore, they not only show that they are familiar with Christian rites and practices,<sup>148</sup> but they also reflect, at least by analogy, contemporary spiritual tendencies. We shall, therefore, endeavour to study the heroes' qualities of body, mind and spirit, and we shall look for evidence of their self-knowledge and subsequent spiritual growth.

Because Chrétien was subjected to a variety of influences, his characters are sometimes ambiguous, and their functions can be interpreted in several different ways. Enide, for example, can be seen, on the one hand, as an altered form of Morgain la Fee,<sup>149</sup> whereas she has also been convincingly compared with Alan of Lille's Prudentia.<sup>150</sup> But in Chrétien's romance, she is above all the perfect complement to Erec. The gratitude of Yvain's lion recalls the lion of Androcles. The lion itself has been seen as Yvain's ira.<sup>151</sup> But above all, it resembles the lion of the Bestiary, which is the symbol of Christ.<sup>152</sup> Loomis has presented evidence to show that Le Chevalier

de la charrete <sup>153</sup>. could have derived from Celtic seasonal myth in which Guinevere was abducted. <sup>154</sup>. Similarly, the Grail has been given numerous interpretations ranging from the Celtic Horn of Plenty to the Chalice used at the Last Supper. <sup>155</sup>. While these and other interpretations have been convincingly proposed elsewhere, the concentration here is on the Christian significance to be attributed to the heroes and to the people and objects closest to them in their quests. For, as the perfection of Christian love, either by analogy or reality signifies the climax of these romances, the Christian perspective has been adopted.

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The selection of material was organised according to an arrangement or order, the dispositio. Under this heading, the quest, which gave an outline or pattern to the narrative of epic and romance, must now be examined and defined. <sup>156</sup>.

The heroes are faced with a quest <sup>157</sup>. which can be understood in a general sense as a 'search or pursuit, made in order to gain something'. <sup>158</sup>. A quest is one aspect of the notion of task or 'piece of work that has to be done'. <sup>159</sup>. In mythology, for example, the labours of Hercules can be considered as a task. In literature, Roland is entrusted with the task of commanding the rearguard (742-44). A quest, on the other hand, is a searching for something not yet possessed. <sup>160</sup>. More specifically, in medieval romance, the term quest has been defined as 'an expedition or adventure undertaken by a knight to procure something, or to achieve some exploit'. <sup>161</sup>. E. Köhler has commented, furthermore, that in the Arthurian romances, the quest is closely linked with the

restoration of order:

. . . aventure et queste sont des entreprises de réintégration.<sup>162.</sup>

But the hero must first re-establish order and seek reintegration with himself before he can transmit them to society.

Why does the hero undertake a quest? Is it imposed upon him or does he freely undertake it? The quest is closely associated with the hero's need to gain honour and prestige. Thus, during the quest, the hero must explore his physical potential; he must increase his powers of discernment, test his courage and develop to a high degree his powers of endurance. The sufferings, strange encounters and dangerous situations which the hero faces, allow his qualities to be tested and developed. But the quest, which is one aspect of aventure, is a means by which the order and felicity lost by sin can be restored.<sup>163.</sup> For most of the heroes face a quest as a result of some flaw in their character which has caused them to commit a fault. As this flaw frequently results from a lack of balance between the hero's physical, rational and moral or spiritual qualities, the hero must embark upon a search for himself in order to learn both his weaknesses and his strengths, and to achieve integration of the qualities with which he has been endowed. This is particularly necessary in the case of Aeneas and other heroes who, during their quests, need to develop the qualities required for their vocation. Of the selected heroes, only Aeneas' quest is directly imposed upon him. The other heroes, as A.Viscardi has commented, undertake their quests:

non per obbedire a ispirazione divina, ma per deliberazione della loro autonoma volonta.<sup>164.</sup>

In the hero's quest, there is a pattern which is also fundamental to human experience. This pattern has its distant origins in solar myth with its contrast between light and darkness, and the corresponding opposition of the hero and his enemy.<sup>65</sup> Similarities can be discerned, also, with the pattern of the death and resurrection of the Year-god which is at the essence of Greek tragedy. Gilbert Murray has outlined the pattern:

The story of the Year-god is always the same: he is born a miraculous child, he grows in beauty and strength, he conquers, he wins his bride, he commits the sin of Hubris or excess, he transgresses the law, and thereafter must of necessity dwindle, suffer defeat, and die . . . . It is the story of all these vegetation-gods: it is the story of all life; of flower and tree, of bird and beast, of men and of cities . . . . Yet there is a further factor in the Year-ritual which may be of very great importance. This celebration of the Death of the Year-god takes place not in the autumn but in the early spring . . . . The year dies, but is immediately born again and proceeds through the same cycle.<sup>66</sup>

But this pattern is limited for our purpose because, firstly, in both the classical epics and the medieval romances, the heroes being considered are not gods but human beings. Secondly, the life, death and resurrection of the Year-god is a cyclic event in which there is predictable, annual repetition, without any suggestion that the hero develops or progresses. The heroes studied, on the other hand, atone for their faults and undergo stages of growth in their quests. Joseph Campbell has outlined what he calls 'the standard path of the mythological hero':

A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow

boons on his fellow man. '67

Although it conforms in many respects to the established pattern, this 'standard path' suggested by Campbell is limited, for there is no reference to the flaw in the hero's character and his subsequent fault which sometimes acts as a catalyst to his quest. Nor is there any reference to stages in the hero's quest. When discussing the romance as a literary form, Northrop Frye has made an observation similar to Campbell's, but has suggested a more tightly structured form and has limited his comment to the romance:

The complete form of the romance is clearly the successful quest, and such a completed form has three main stages: the stage of the perillous journey and the preliminary minor adventures; the crucial struggle, usually some kind of battle in which either the hero or his foe or both must die; and the exaltation of the hero. '68.

In order to be able to conquer his foe successfully, however, the hero needs to undergo a considerable degree of growth, for the ἀριστεία or 'decisive battle' by which he assumes heightened grandeur requires him to use his skills to the utmost. '69. The preliminary adventures help him to prepare for the principal confrontation. Similarities to this pattern and elements of this growth can be discerned in both the selected epics and in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes.

The pattern discerned in the selected quest heroes is similar in outline. We shall study, to begin with, the introduction of the hero and the qualities which, initially, seem to place him apart from other men. The hero then commits a fault, generally at a time when his worldly prosperity seems assured. After discerning the true object of his quest,

he embarks upon a journey of renewal or redemption for which he generally needs to be isolated from his own society and thrown upon his own resources. During this time he is tested by a series of adventures which often increase in difficulty until, finally, he has to encounter and overcome hostile Other World forces. Less emphasis is placed upon the 'exaltation of the hero' than upon the price paid for the restoration of order. For although all the heroes achieve their heart's desire, together with a kind of peace, they all experience the pain of self-knowledge, the pain of conflict and loss, and empathy with the pain of other people. Attention, therefore, will be given to the place of suffering as the price which the hero has to pay for the lessons which he learns during his quest. All the heroes, too, are men who are capable of a high degree of loving. Most are tempted by love; all are at some time inspired and enriched by love. The hero's progression as a fully integrated individual is indicated to a considerable extent by his attitude towards love. Love will, therefore, be considered as the sign of the hero's growth..

Notes to the Preface.

1. Inventio has been defined as 'the finding out, the discovery of the facts'; 'the action of devising or planning, invention'; 'the devising of the subject-matter of a speech.' Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford, 1968, 2 vols., p. 958.  
When discussing material suitable for the art of rhetoric, Cicero included these two terms: 'Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similium quae causam probabilem reddant; dispositio est rerum inventarum in ordinem distributio;' De Inventione I, vii, 9. Loeb Classical Library, London - Cambridge (Mass.), 1960.  
See also Quintilian's advice: 'nam quo minus adiuvat sermo, rerum inventione pugnandum est.' Institutionis Oratoriae, XII, 10, 36, ed. M. Winterbottom, Oxford, 1970. James J. Murphy has discussed these terms as used in medieval rhetoric. Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance, California - London, 1974, pp. 120-21.
2. Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford, 1961, 13 vols. vol. 10, p. 226.
3. See M. Bowra, Landmarks in Greek Literature, London, 1966, pp. 10 - 15; G. Murray, The Rise of the Greek Epic, Oxford, 1934, p. 29; pp. 195 - 217; J. Griffin, Homer on Life and Death, Oxford, 1980, pp. xv - xvi; C. Whitman, Homer and the Heroic Tradition, Cambridge (Mass.), 1958, p. 13.
4. Bowra, Tradition and Design in the Iliad, Oxford, 1958, pp. 2 - 8.
5. J. Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, New York, 1949; M. Eliade, Myth and Reality, London, 1964.
6. Jerome S. Bruner, 'Myth and Identity' in Myth and Mythmaking, ed. Henry A. Murray, Boston, 1968, pp. 276 - 287. See p. 276.
7. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek - English Lexicon, Oxford, 1855, p. 598. See also Walther v. Wartburg, Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Paris, 1948 - 83, 25 vols. Vol. 4, pp. 416 - 17.
8. Homeri Opera, ed. D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen, Oxford, 1902. 4 vols. All further references to the Iliad and the Odyssey will be to this edition. Unless otherwise stated, the translations are my own.
9. Oxford English Dictionary, vol. 5, pp. 245 - 46.
10. Ibid., p. 246.
11. Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, London - New York, 1961, p. 10.
12. M. I. Finley has commented on this passage: 'There is no social conscience in these words, no trace of the Decalogue, no responsibility other than familial, no obligation to anyone or anything but one's own prowess and one's own drive to power.' The World of Odysseus, London, 1977, p. 28.
13. See infra. p. 12; p. 55 n. 3.
14. Protagonist has been defined as 'the chief personage in a drama; hence the principal character in the plot of a story, etc.' and, 'a

leading person in any contest, a prominent supporter of any cause'. Fowler, Modern English Usage, 2nd, ed., rev E. Gowers, Oxford, 1965, pp. 488-89. This term is derived from the Greek πρωταγωνιστής or the 'actor who takes the chief in a play.'

15. Homer on Life and Death, p. 75.
16. W.T.H. Jackson, The Hero and the King: an epic theme, New York, 1982, See p. 6.
17. E. Köhler uses this expression when discussing the role of the consecrated king in feudal society. L'Aventure chevaleresque: idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois, Paris, 1974, p. 25. It can, however, apply to all the heroes being considered.
18. The Hero with a Thousand Faces, pp. 19-20.
19. For Aeneas' part in the Iliad and his protection by Poseidon because of his divine election, see infra., p. 20. See also, M. Grant, Roman Myths London, 1971, pp. 68-71.
20. Publii Vergilii Maronis, Opera, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1969. All further references are to this edition.
21. e.g. 'saevum Achillem' (I, 458); 'cristatus Achilles' (I, 468).
22. See Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, p. 1592.
23. Ibid., p. 1381
24. vir has been defined as 'a man of courage, principle, or honor, one who deserves the name of a man'. Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, p. 1994.
25. See, for example, Tennyson's tribute: 'Wielder of the stateliest measure / ever moulded by the lips of man.' ('To Virgil' in The Works of Tennyson, London, 1907-08, 9 vols., vol 6, p.315.
26. cf. infra., p. 105 n. 20. 'labor omnia vicit/ improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas'. (Georgic I, 145-46).
27. There is evidence for Charlemagne's expedition to Spain, for the ambush by the Basques in a narrow mountain pass and for the disaster which befell the rearguard" 'In quo proelio Eggihardus regiae mensae praepositus, Anshelmus comes palatii et Hruodlandus Britannici limitis praefectus cum aliis conpluribus interficiuntur'. Einhard, ed. E.S. Firchow and E.H. Zeydel, Vita Karoli Magni, Miami, 1972, ch. 9, p. 54. For the development of this incident into an epic poem and for its similarity to the definition of tradition which has been established, see P. Boissonnade, Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland, Paris, 1923, pp. 432-41; P. Le Gentil, La Chanson de Roland, Paris, 1955, pp. 68-69; F. Lot, Etudes sur les légendes épiques françaises, Paris, 1958, pp. 271-74; Murray, The Rise of the Greek Epic, pp. 331-37.
28. La Chanson de Roland, ed. F. Whitehead, Oxford, 1957.
29. The term vassal has been defined as 'homme noble qui suit un seigneur à la guerre et qui lui porte assistance fidèlement et vaillamment, jeune homme noble en général'. F. E. Godefroy,

- Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, Paris, 1881-92, 10 vols., vol.8, op.150-51. For its derivation, see O. Bloch and W. von Wartburg, Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue française, Paris, 1975, p. 664. In his discussion about the implications of the term vasselage, G.S. Burgess has defined it further as: 'mot qui jette le pont entre le contrat féodal et le serment d'une part et le rôle militaire et spirituel des chevaliers d'autre part'. Contributions à l'étude du vocabulaire pré-courtois, Geneva, 1970, p. 20. For full discussion of this term, see K.J. Hollyman, Le Développement du vocabulaire féodal en France pendant le haut moyen âge, Paris, 1957, pp. 114-22. See especially p. 114 where Hollyman makes the important point: 'En même temps il ne faut pas oublier que le vassal est le complément du seigneur'.
30. Ber, baron have been defined as 'homme distingué par sa naissance et ses hautes qualités et surtout par sa bravoure'. Godefroy, Dictionnaire, vol. 1, p. 589. For a full discussion of the origin and development of this term, see Hollyman, Développement, pp. 122-29.
  31. See Hollyman, Développement, pp. 134-35; Burgess, Contribution, pp. 61-62.
  32. Burgess, Contribution, p. 107.
  33. proz originates from prodesse, 'to be useful' or 'of use', 'to do good, benefit, profit', Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, p. 1477; F.E.W. 9, 420. Burgess has explained the specific function of Roland's proece. 'L'utilité du chevalier épique réside précisément dans son courage, sa proece, qui lui permet d'être un bon vassal. Le sens du mot proz est donc devenu celui de "courageux", ce qui double la notion de l' "utile". L'utilité de Roland est sa capacité exceptionnelle de défendre la terre de Charlemagne: Nen avrai ja ki sustienget m'onur; Suz ciel ne quid avoir ami un sul; Se jo ai parenz, nen i ad nul si proz. (2903-05). Contribution, p. 93.
  34. See I. Siciliano, Les Chansons de geste et l'épopée; mythes, histoires, poèmes, Turin, 1968, p. 355.
  35. Burgess, Contribution, p. 92.
  36. Ibid., p. 135. When used of people, gent indicates 'gentil', 'joli', 'beau', Godefroy, Dictionnaire, vol. 4, p. 261.
  37. La Vie de Saint Alexis, ed. Storey, Oxford, 1968.
  38. Ibid., p. viii.
  39. For the different titles and appellations given to Alexis after his baptism, see Burgess, Contribution, p. 92, n.3.
  40. See Burgess, Contribution, p. 92; supra, p. xviii.
  41. Benedeit, The Anglo-Norman Voyage of St. Brendan, ed. I. Short and B. Merrilees, Manchester, 1979.
  42. Although abbé generally means 'father', it eventually comes to denote 'chef d'une communauté religieuse'. O. Bloch and W. von Wartburg, Dictionnaire Etymologique, p.1.

43. See W.P. Ker, Epic and Romance; essays on medieval literature, New York, 1957. pp. 3-7; 16-33; E. Vinaver, The Rise of Romance, Oxford, 1971, pp. 1-14; 33-52.
44. See J-M. Déchanet, William of St. Thierry. The Man and his Work, tr. R. Strachan, Spencer (Mass.), 1972, pp. 24-33.
45. Ibid, pp. 118-33; J. Leclercq, Saint Bernard et l'esprit cistercien, Paris, 1966, p. 34.
46. Déchanet, William of St. Thierry, pp. 133-36.
47. De Civitate Dei, tr. G. McCracken, London - Cambridge (Mass.), 7 vols., 1963 - 72. XII, 24.
48. Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, PL 184, cols. 341-42. The Epistola as it appears in the Patrologia Latina is attributed to Guigo of Castro, the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse. Déchanet has discussed how this Epistola was also attributed to Saint Bernard, and has demonstrated conclusively that only William could have been the author. Introduction to The Golden Epistle, tr. T. Berkeley, O.S.C.O., Spencer (Mass.), 1971, pp. xiv-xxxiii.
49. Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, PL 184, col. 341.
50. Liber de Natura et Dignitate Amoris, PL 184, col. 382.
51. Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, PL 184, col. 348.
52. Liber de Natura et Dignitate Amoris, PL 184, col. 383.
53. Ibid., col. 382.
54. Cf. 'itaque ex quo te didici, manes in memoria mea, et illic te invenio, cum reminiscor tui et delector in te'. Saint Augustine, Confessions, X, xxiv, tr. W. Watts, London - New York, 1919; 'et dignatus es habitare in memoria mea, ex quo te didici', Ibid., X, xxv.
55. Liber de Natura et Dignitate Amoris, PL 184, col. 382.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., col. 383.
58. Ibid., col. 382.
59. For the connection between sapio and sapientia, see Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, p. 1629.
60. Liber de Natura et Dignitate Amoris, PL 184, col. 397.
61. De Natura Corporis et Animae, PL 180, cols. 695-726. See cols. 697-98.

62. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἁγιάσαι ὑμᾶς ὁλοτελείς,  
καὶ ἀλόκληρον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα  
ἀμέμπτως ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τήρηθεῖν.  
(I Thessalonians, 5:23).  
(May the God of peace make you perfect and holy; and may you all be  
kept safe and blameless, spirit, soul and body, for the coming of  
our Lord Jesus Christ.)
63. See William of Saint-Thierry, Aenigma Fidei, PL 180, col. 406.
64. De Natura Corporis et Animae, PL 180, col. 707-08. See also col. 720.
65. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, vol. 9, p. 662.  
See also, Saint Paul, I Corinthians, 2:14.
66. Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, PL 184, col. 315-16.
67. Ibid., col. 316.
68. 'Proprie enim simplicitas est perfecte ad Deum conversa voluntas,  
unam petens a Domino, hanc requirens, non ambiens multiplicari  
in saeculo. Vel est simplicitas, in conversatione vera humilitas,  
scilicet virtutis magis conscientiam amplectens quam famam, cum  
non refugit vir simplex videri stultus in saeculo, ut sit  
sapiens in Deo.' Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, cols. 316-17.
69. Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, col. 317.
70. Ibid.
71. The moral virtues are to be distinguished from the intellectual virtues  
which enable us to think correctly. They enable us to act rightly  
as creatures, but they do not amount to the theological virtues which  
respond immediately to God himself. See Aristotle, Nichomachean Ethics,  
II, vi, 5, tr. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library,  
London - Cambridge (Mass.), 1918.
72. De Natura et Dignitate Amoris, col. 385.
73. Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, col. 340.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid. col. 316.
76. Ibid. col. 340.
77. Ibid. col. 341.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., col. 344.
80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., col. 345.
82. De Natura Corporis et Animae, PL 180, col. 713.
83. Ibid., col. 711.
84. Ibid., col. 713.
85. Ibid., col. 717.
86. Ibid., col. 718.
87. Ibid.
88. See Supra, p. xxxv.
89. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, vol. 9, p. 663.
90. Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, col. 316.
91. Ibid., col. 317.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., col. 352.
94. Ibid., col. 351.
95. For the journey back to God, see William of Saint Thierry, Speculum Fidei, PL 180, cols. 365; 368-69; Aenigma Fidei, PL 180, col. 406-14.
96. De Natura et Dignitate Amoris, col. 385. See also, De Natura Corporis et Animae, col. 710.
97. William defines the special vocation of the monk: 'Aliorum est enim Deo servire, vestrum adhaerere. Aliorum est Deum credere, scire, amare, revereri: vestrum est sapere, intellegere, cognoscere, frui. Magnum est hoc, arduum est hoc.' Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei, col. 311. Nevertheless, all people are called to possess God. 'An solitarium Deus tantum? Imo et omnium.' Ibid., col. 312.
98. See supra, p. iii.
99. See Joan M. Ferrante, 'The Conflict of Lyric Conventions and Romance Form' in IN Pursuit of Perfection; Courtly Love in Medieval Literature, ed. J. Ferrante and G. Economou, New York - London, 1975.
100. 'The Game and Play of Hero' in Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. Norman T. Burns and Christopher J. Reagan, Albany, 1975, pp. 49-82.
101. Ibid., p. 69.
102. The Hero and the King, p. 108.

103. 'The Game and Play of Hero'. p. 69.
104. Gilbert Murray, however, considered that the Achaeans were votaries. They are frequently called κάρη κομόωντες which means 'letting the hair on the head grow long' rather than 'long-haired'. 'They had made a vow - ὑπόθεσις is the Homeric word - to take Troy, and this implied a vow not to do certain specified things until they had taken Troy.' Murray then notes the abstinences which were part of their vow. The Rise of the Greek Epic, pp. 132-33.
105. The famous 'hunt' similes in Book XXII of the Iliad are concerned only with the life and death of Hector. (Iliad, XX, 162-67; 188-93; 199-201.)
106. 'The Game and Play of Hero', p. 70.
107. See infra, pp. 22; 168; 170.
108. 'The Game and Play of Hero' p. 70.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. This is attested in many instances. But it is particularly evident when Eumaeus, the swineherd, is reviewing his master's substance. (Odyssey, XIV, 100-08).
112. 'The Game and Play of Hero', pp. 70-71.
113. fatum has been defined as firstly: 'An utterance or prophetic declaration'; secondly, 'that which has been ordained', thus destiny or fate; thirdly, 'the eternal immutable law of nature'; finally, 'the will or determination of the gods'. Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, pp. 729-30. A typically Roman attitude towards fortuna, however, is seen in the following statement by Sallust: 'sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur, ea res cunctas ex lubricine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque'. Catiline, VIII, 1, tr. J.C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, London - Cambridge (Mass.), 1965. See also, Bailey, Religion in Virgil, New York, 1969, pp. 204-40.
114. 'The Game and Play of Hero', p. 71.
115. Oxford Latin Dictionary, p. 1966.
116. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, London, 1952, p. 28. Curtius also cited the following passage from Ecclesiasticus to exemplify a theological reason for the replacement of one empire by another: 'Regnum a gente in gentem transfertur propter injustitias et injurias et contumelias et diversos dolos.' (Ecclesiasticus, 10:8)
117. Epistles, ed. A.S. Wilkins, London, 1926.

118. 'Luget hoc Graecia novis invidiae aculeis lacescita: quam sui quondam incolae iamdudum cum Asianis opibus aspernantur, vestra potius magnanimitate delectati, studiis allecti, liberalitate confisi; dolet inquam se olim singulariter mirabilem ac mirabiliter singularem a suis destitui; dolet certe sua illa privilegia (quod numquam hactenus verita est) ad climata nostra transferri.' ed. L. Traube, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, vol. III, 19-23, Berlin, 1964, p. 429.
119. H. Pertz, ed. Monumenta Germanica Historica, vol. 2, p. 731, cit. E. Gilson, Les Idées et les lettres, Paris, 1932, p. 183
120. ed. J. Viard, Paris, 1923. vol. 3, pp. 157-58. cit. Gilson, Les Idées et les lettres, p. 185.
121. Les Idées et les lettres, p. 185.
122. Horace, Ars Poetica, ed. A.S. Wilkins, London 1947. See also Quintilian's views: 'A sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo, quia Latinum, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus perbibet, simul quia disciplinis quoque Graecis prius instituendus est, unde et nostrae fluxerunt.' Institutionis Oratoriae, I, i. 12.
123. De Rhetorica, Dans Halm, Rhet. min., p. 544, cit. E. Faral, Les Arts poétiques du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge, Paris, 1962, p. 99.
124. Metalogicus, I, 24, cit. E. Faral, Les Arts poétiques, pp. 99-100.
125. 'Si quis autem ad splendorem sui operis alienum pannum assuerat, deprehensum redarguebat furtum; sed poenam saepissime non infligebat.' Ibid, p. 100.
126. Ibid.
127. See R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Old French Narrative Genres. Towards the Definition of the Roman Antique', Romance Philology, 34, no. 2, Nov. 1980, pp. 143-59.
128. Chrétien de Troyes, Cligès, ed. A. Micha, CFMA, Paris, 1970, p. viii. See also, M. Freeman, The Poetics of 'Translatio Studii' and 'Conjointure': Chrétien de Troyes' Cligès, Kentucky, 1979.
129. For the co-relation between these two concepts, see E. Köhler, L'Aventure chevaleresque, pp. 44-76.
130. Gilson, Les Idées et les lettres, p. 184.
131. Chrétien de Troyes, Le Chevalier de la charrete, ed. M. Roques, CFMA, Paris, 1974, I.1. See also, J.F. Benton, 'The Court of Champagne as a Literary Centre', Speculum, 36, 1961, pp. 531-91;

131. (ctd.) J. Leclercq, Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France, Oxford, 1979, pp. 109-36; J. Bednar, La Spiritualité et le symbolisme dans les oeuvres de Chrétien de Troyes, Paris 1974, pp. 41-47.
132. Le Roman de Perceval ou Le Conte du Graal, ed. W. Roach, Geneva - Paris, 1959.
133. T. Hunt sees this prologue as a stylised exordium which is 'a composite presentation of historical fact, general scriptural allusions (some of them proverbial), Ciceronian ethical theory and traditional Alexander material reminiscent of exempla contained in twelfth-century moral works of the 'miroir de prince' genre.' 'The Prologue to Li Contes del Graal, Romania, 92, 1971, pp. 359-79. See p. 374. Hunt's view contrasts with that of Frappier who has written: 'Il serait étonnant que Chrétien eût écrit ce prologue dans la seule intention d'une louange à l'adresse de Philippe d'Alsace et sans établir quelque rapport avec le sen de son roman; de fait, exemple le plus significatif, l'enseignement de l'ermite à Perceval - Deu croi, Deu aime, Deu aore - (v. 6459) fait écho au prologue et à sa spiritualité.' 'Le Graal et la chevalerie', Romania, 75, 1954, pp. 165-210. See p. 172.
134. T. Evergates, Feudal Society in the Bailliage of Troyes under the Counts of Champagne, 1152-1284, Baltimore - London, 1975, pp. 7-9; Leclercq, Monks and Love, pp. 109-10; Leclercq, Saint Bernard, pp. 11-12.
135. See M.- D. Chenu, Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West, Chicago - London, 1968, pp. 99-145.
136. See J. Frappier, 'Jeunesse de Chrétien de Troyes', in Amour Courtois et Table Ronde, Geneva, 1973, pp. 129-41. See p. 130.
137. Ibid., p. 131.
138. Ibid.
139. Burgess, Contribution, p. 21.
140. Chrétien de Troyes, Yvain, ed. T.B.W. Reid, Manchester, 1967.
141. See L. Foulet, 'Sire, messire', Romania, 71, 1950, pp. 1-48; 180-221.
142. cortésie and corteis originally denoted nothing more than 'conduite ou qualité digne d'un homme de cour', 'ideal du chevalier élevé dans une cour', Frappier, 'Vues sur les conceptions courtoises dans les littératures d'oc et d'oïl au XII siècle, in Amour Courtois et Table Ronde, p. 4. See also Burgess, Contributions, pp. 20-34. See p. 20. For the derivation of courtois, see Bloch and von Wartburg, Dictionnaire Etymologique, p. 164, quoted by Burgess, p. 21.
143. See Frappier, 'Conceptions', p. 3.

144. 'Le Graal et la chevalerie, pp. 167-68.
145. See Supra, p. x.
146. N. Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays, Princeton, 1973, p. 187.
147. W. Ziltener has endeavoured to show that Vergil is a direct source of Chrétien de Troyes. Chrétien und die Aeneis. Eine Untersuchung des Einflusses von Vergil auf Chrétien von Troyes, Graz - Cologne, 1957. Frappier, however, while recognising that Chrétien did use Vergilian elements, considered that a much broader classical background was evident in Chrétien's romances. 'Virgile source de Chrétien de Troyes?' in Amour Courtois et Table Ronde, pp. 143-52. See also, C.B. Lewis, Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance, London, 1932.
148. All the heroes and their companions attend Mass at least once. (Erec et Enide, 6470-74; Le Chevalier au Lion, 5452-56; Le Chevalier de la charrete, 535-38; Le Conte du graal, 6348-49). There are frequent commendations to God and signs of personal prayer. See also, P. Imbs, 'L'Element religieux dans le Conte du graal de Chrétien de Troyes', in Les Romans du graal dans la littérature des XII et XIII siècles, Paris, 1956, pp. 31-91.
149. See R.S.Loomis, Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes, New York - London, 1949, pp. 100-03.
150. C. Luttrell, The Creation of the First Arthurian Romance: A Quest, London, 1974, pp. 47; 70-71.
151. E.C. Schweitzer, 'Pattern and Theme in Chrétien's Yvain', Traditio, 30, 1974, pp. 145-89.
152. Julian Harris, 'The Role of the Lion in Chrétien de Troyes' Yvain, PMLA, 64, 1949, pp. 1143-63.
153. Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes, pp. 214-18.
154. For parallels with Paris' abduction of Helen, see Lewis, Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance, p. 152.
155. It is outside the limits of this work to consider all the relevant literature on the Grail. Frappier has made a particularly useful survey in 'Le Graal et ses feux divergents', Romance Philology, 24, 1970-71, pp. 373-440; 'Du Graal trestot découvert', Romania, 74, 1953, pp. 358-75. See also, D. Kelly, Chrétien de Troyes: an analytic bibliography, London, 1976, pp. 131-34.
156. See Oxford Latin Dictionary, p. 555. In discussing the five divisions of the ancient art of rhetoric, Curtius defined dispositio as 'disposition' or ars 'the art of arrangement' European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 68. See also, p. 71.
157. Quête has been defined as 'action de chercher', Bloch et von Wartburg, Dictionnaire Etymologique, p. 525. The earliest uses of this term include: Einsi est al la queste antree (Yvain, 4821), 'usure est et trop laide queste', Etienne de Fougères, Le Livre des manières, ed. A Lodge, Geneva, 1979, l. 910

158. Oxford English Dictionary, vol. 8, p. 46.
159. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 104.
160. For further differences and examples of tasks and quests, see Stith Thompson, The Folktale, New York, 1951, pp. 105-08.
161. Oxford English Dictionary, vol. 8, p. 46.
162. L'Aventure chevaleresque, p. 97.
163. In his study of the term aventure, R. Locatelli has commented that, in Chrétien's romances, aventure means not only 'prova di valore e di virtù', but also 'ricerca di una felicità perduta'. 'L'avventura nei romanzi di Chrétien de Troyes et nei suoi imitatori', Acme, Annali della Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere dell' Università Statale di Milano, 4, pp. 3-32. See p. 11.
164. Storia delle Letterature d'Oc e d'Oil, Milan, 1952, p. 212.
165. See Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, pp. 187-88.
166. Aeschylus, the Creator of Tragedy, London, 1940, pp. 6-7.
167. The Hero with a Thousand Faces, p. 30.
168. Anatomy of Criticism, p. 187.
169. Liddell and Scott, A Greek Lexicon, p. 181.