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RÉSUMÉ – L'adaptation en prose d'*Erec et Enide* de Chrétien de Troyes, rédigée au quinzième siècle, ajoute un tournoi après le couronnement du couple. Cet événement forme un contrepoids au tournoi du mariage, que le prosateur récrit. Les deux sont des mêlées plutôt que des joutes individuelles. Pourquoi l'adaptateur a-t-il fait ces choix ? Dans cette étude on essaiera de répondre à cette question. Le prosateur accorde beaucoup de place aux prouesses chevaleresques d'Erec, ce qui prouve qu'il est préparé à devenir roi.

ABSTRACT – The fifteenth-century prose adaptation of Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide* adds a tournament after the couple's coronation. It forms a pendant to the wedding tournament, which the adaptor rewrites. Both events are presented as *mêlées*, rather than individual jousts. Why the prose author made these choices is a question that this essay attempts to answer. The prose emphasizes Erec's chivalric prowess, proving that he is prepared to rule his kingdom.

SWORDPLAY AND WORDPLAY

Tournaments in the Burgundian prose *Erec*

Written in the context of the Burgundian court during the reign of Philip the Good, the fifteenth-century prose adaptation of Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide* retains the general outline of the story but makes numerous modifications. One of the most striking is the addition of a tournament after Erec and Enide's coronation. The prose also appends a brief epilogue relating the couple's life after that time and the legal succession to their eldest son at their death. In fact, the adaptation reworks nearly all the episodes, often abbreviating but occasionally expanding. Many details are changed; motivation and characterization are affected, as are the meaning and structure of the romance¹. The rewriting is not a simple *dérimage*: the prose evidences stylistic recasting².

The prose romance survives complete in one manuscript, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 7235, a paper copy in one column, with little decoration, dated between 1450 and 1460. The codex was held by Philip

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- 1 Some changes may be due to acculturation; on this aspect, see J. H. M. Taylor, "The Significance of the Insignificant: Reading Reception in the Burgundian Prose *Cligès*", *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 24, 1998, p. 183-197. On motivation, consult N. J. Lacy, "Motivation and Method in the Burgundian *Erec*", *Conjunctures: Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly*, ed. K. Busby and N. J. Lacy, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1994, p. 271-280; and M. L. Wallen, "The Art of Adaptation in the Fifteenth-Century *Erec et Enide* and *Cligès*", PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972, Chapter 2, especially p. 31-38. See also her "Significant Variations in the Burgundian Prose Versions of *Erec et Enide*", *Medium Ævum*, 51, 1982, p. 187-196, and C. J. Chase, "'Transmuer de rime en prose': The Transformation of Chrétien de Troyes's *Joie de la Cour* Episode in the Burgundian Prose *Erec* (1450-1460)", *Arthurian Literature*, 30, 2013, ed. E. Archibald and D. F. Johnson, p. 101-115.
 - 2 M. Colombo Timelli has traced some of the stylistic features of the prose work; see in particular "Expressions de temps et progression de l'histoire dans *L'Histoire d'Erec*, roman en prose du xv^e siècle", *Temps et Histoire dans le roman arthurien*, ed. J.-C. Faucon, Toulouse, Éditions Universitaires du Sud, 1999, p. 74-82, and "*L'Erec* en prose, ou quelques traces de l'implication du lecteur dans un roman du xv^e siècle", *Le goût du lecteur à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. D. Bohler, Paris, Le Léopard d'Or, 2006, p. 117-132.

the Good; it is listed in the inventory prepared in 1467 after his death¹. Although the prologue that the prose author substituted for Chrétien's does not indicate a patron, it is therefore probable that the work was prepared at the Burgundian court². A longer version of the beginning has also come down to us in a codex presenting the compilation, *Guiron le courtois*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), fr. 358-363, executed towards 1480-1490 for Louis de Bruges, a bibliophile in the ducal entourage at the court of Burgundy³. A single folio of this version survives as well, undoubtedly thanks to the illumination that graces it. The fragment in question is from a manuscript that also contained a copy of *Guiron le courtois*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 383; it recounts Erec and Enide's wedding night and the beginning of the tournament at Tenebroc⁴. The miniature, which marks a chapter break, depicts two

- 1 On the manuscripts, see the introduction to *L'Histoire d'Erec en prose: roman du XV^e siècle*, ed. M. Colombo Timelli, Geneva, Droz, 2000, p. 9-15. R. Middleton notes that the Brussels manuscript does not have author corrections, adding: "Despite the carelessness of the script it is a copy, not the original working draft"; in "The Prose Adaptation of Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*", unpublished paper presented at the XVth International Arthurian Congress, Leuven, 1987. The date of composition may therefore be earlier than that assigned to the manuscript. I wish to express my thanks to R. Middleton for sharing his work with me. All citations from the prose *Erec* are from the Colombo Timelli edition; for the verse *Erec et Enide*, I use the edition prepared by J.-M. Fritz in Chrétien de Troyes, *Romans*, Paris, Livre de Poche, 1994, unless otherwise noted.
- 2 The work is designated as "Burgundian" for this reason; this qualification also serves to distinguish it from the work edited by C. E. Pickford, *Erec: roman en prose*, Geneva, Droz, 1968, which was extracted from interlaced episodes in some *Lancelot-Grail* manuscripts; see N. J. Lacy, "The Form of the Prose *Erec*", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 85, 1984, p. 169-177.
- 3 In this manuscript, the first part of the *Erec* is woven into a late continuation of *Guiron*; the insertion, which is in BnF fr. 363, fol. 193-222, includes the hunt for the white stag, the sparrowhawk episode, Erec and Enide's wedding, the tournament that follows, and the couple's departure for Erec's land. Colombo Timelli provides a transcription on pages facing the first portion of the text of the Brussels manuscript. On BnF fr. 358-363, see B. Wahlen, "Adjoindre, disjoindre, conjoindre. Le recyclage d'*Alexandre l'Orpelin* et de l'*Histoire d'Erec* dans *Guiron le Courtois* (Paris, BnF, français 358-363)", *Le texte dans le texte. L'interpolation médiévale*, ed. A. Combes and M. Szkilnik, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2013, p. 235-247; I. Hans-Collas and P. Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux. I. Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges*, Paris, BnF, 2009, p. 210-214. Hans-Collas and Schandel revise the date of these codices; it was earlier thought they were prepared around 1470.
- 4 Douce 383 conserves a number of folios of diverse provenance, including 17 folios of a copy of *Guiron* prepared between 1480 and 1500 for Englebert of Nassau, a figure at the Burgundian court. The fragment is transcribed by Colombo Timelli in *L'Histoire d'Erec*, p. 237-238. On this manuscript, see Wahlen, "Adjoindre, disjoindre, conjoindre", p. 237, n. 2, and Colombo Timelli's introduction to her edition of the *Erec*, p. 14-15.

knights jousting during the marriage tournament; beneath it is a rubric-chapter title that reads: “Comment messire Gavain et aultres chevaliers enprinrent ung tournoy dont Erec emporta le pris et l’honneur.”¹

The miniaturist presents the combat in a way that was undoubtedly similar to what he or she knew from personal experience: an audience consisting of both men and women observes the duel, which occurs within a tourney yard. The women sit inside a pavilion, while the men watch from a standpoint outside the enclosure. Two knights on horseback confront each other, swords in hand, inside a yard surrounded by a wooden fence. On the ground lie two broken lances, indicating the actors have already completed “round one” in their fight. The armor and clothing worn in the illustration resemble fifteenth-century modes: the women’s headdresses and close-fitting bodices and sleeves are typical of the period, as is the plate armor².

However, the presentation of the combat in the illumination does not correspond to the description of the tourney found in the fifteenth-century text – for the prose author evokes a *mêlée* in a plain³, with Erec confronting a series of knights, much as in Chrétien’s poem, and the coronation tourney is depicted in a similar way. Historians have shown that although the *mêlée*-tournament, which was prominent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, continued to exist in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was more and more often replaced by events featuring jousts between single knights⁴. Why, then, did the

1 The wording is the same as that in BnF fr. 363 (ms P), Chapter 6; it corresponds to Chapter 15 in the Brussels codex (ms B), whose rubric-title reads “Comment ceulx de la court du roy Artus firent ung tournoy après lez nopces”, *L’Histoire d’Erec*, p. 161.

2 See F. Piponnier and P. Marne, *Se vêtir au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Biron, 1995; they point out that towards 1430 women began to wear dresses that were close-fitting in the arms and upper torso (p. 99). A reproduction of the miniature appears on the cover of *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose. The Burgundian Erec and Cligés*, trans. J. T. Grimbart and C. J. Chase, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2011. It can also be viewed online at the Bodleian Library website.

3 “...lez chevaliers de la Table Ronde entreprinrent ung tournoy qui seroit fait XV jourz après lez nopcez...auprés de Teneborc en une plaine qui encorez illecquez est.” (p. 161).

4 By the fifteenth century the *mêlée*-type tournament had evolved, becoming part of an elaborate ritual and a theatrical spectacle. See P. Contamine, “Les tournois en France à la fin du moyen âge”, *Das Ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter*, ed. J. Fleckenstein, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, p. 425-449, at p. 438-441; M. Keen, *Chivalry*, New Haven / London, Yale University Press, 1984, p. 205-207; J. Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Hachette, 1998, p. 147-151. R. Barber and J. Barker evoke a tournament held in Brussels in 1428, which opened with a “traditional” *mêlée* and was followed

author of the prose *Erec* feature *mêlées* in his adaptation? Why did he add a tournament after the coronation? In this essay I will attempt to answer these questions, while studying the prose redactor's art. Since the coronation tournament is an invention on his part, it will allow an examination of his techniques in their own right. However, for the wedding tournament, a brief comparison of the work of our adaptor with the version in Chrétien's poem will highlight certain aspects of his methods. In both cases, I will refer to the socio-historical context¹.

THE WEDDING TOURNAMENT

Both Chrétien and the prose redactor detail an event that, though stylized², resembles twelfth- and thirteenth-century tournaments: a date is decided on in advance and two opposing sides are set up; the event itself takes place in a large open space and is a *mêlée* involving a good number of knights, though individual jousts occur³. In contrast,

by two days of jousts; the festivities in 1468, at the time of Charles the Bold's marriage, included six days of jousts and a final *mêlée*; see their *Tournaments. Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, New York, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989, p. 109 and 121-124. Contamine points out that different types of *faits d'armes* seem to have coexisted, "Les tournois en France", p. 442.

- 1 Although the prose *Erec* has begun to attract attention since the publication of Colombo Timelli's critical edition, nothing has been published on the tournaments. In a study comparing the prose *Erec* to the prose *Cligés*, M. Colombo Timelli examines lexical items related to combat scenes, pointing out that they are important moments in the narration, "*Erec et Cligés en prose: quelques repères pour une comparaison*", *Traduction, dérivation, compilation, la phraséologie*, ed. G. Di Stefano and R. M. Bidler, special issue of *Le Moyen Français*, 51-52-53, 2002, p. 159-175, at p. 167-169. M. Colombo Timelli provides an overview of critical work done on the prose *Erec* and *Cligés* in "Fictions de vérité dans les réfections en prose d'*Erec* et de *Cligés* (xv^e siècle)", *Fictions de vérité dans les réécritures européennes de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. A. Combes, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2012, p. 59-70, n. 6. See also the bibliography in Grimbert and Chase, *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose*.
- 2 On the issue of stylization, see C. Ferlampin-Acher, "Les tournois chez Chrétien de Troyes: l'art de l'esquive", *Amour et chevalerie dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes. Actes du colloque de Troyes (27-29 mars 1992)*, ed. D. Quéruel, Besançon, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, no. 581, 1995, p. 161-189, at p. 162-171.
- 3 See Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 138. The flat field is part of the stylization; Flori describes the zone where tourneys took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a vast area comprising open fields and pastures but also woods and even vineyards.

fifteenth-century spectacles usually took place inside an enclosed space. The events were strictly regulated. Stands were usually constructed for the spectators¹. As noted above, jousts between single knights grew in importance, but *mêlées* continued to take place; however, they became more strictly regulated and were often part of an elaborate, theatrical spectacle². The prose redactor's version seems to be a somewhat archaic, idealized view of the tournament, an aspect that may well be in keeping with the revival of chivalric values involving a certain nostalgia for the past that is reflected in Philip the Good's founding of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1430, at the time of his marriage to Isabel of Portugal, and in the numerous chivalric treatises produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries³. Maurice Keen points out that this penchant does not have negative implications: "The men of that period did not ... [confuse the march of time with progress; they were more inclined to think that things were going downhill as the world grew older. Their nostalgia had in consequence a positive force, prompting men to strive to maintain or to revivify past values."⁴

A quick look at an outline of the wedding tournament will show how the adaptor worked.

	Chrétien, <i>Erec et Enide</i>	Prose <i>Erec</i>
1.	Description (14 verses)	Description, including arrival of women spectators (13 lines)
2.		Call to arms and arming (10 l.)
3.	<i>Mêlée</i> (12 v.)	<i>Mêlée</i> (7 l.)
4.	E unhorses Orgueilleux de la Lande (19 v.)	E unhorses Orgueilleux, who lands feet upwards (10 l.)

1 Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 147-151. Chroniclers provide descriptions of the elaborate jousts held by the Burgundian dukes; see, for example, "George Chastelain, premier indiciaire des ducs de Bourgogne", trans. C. Thiry, *Splendeurs de la cour de Bourgogne*, ed. D. Régnier-Bohler, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1995, p. 860-862 and 872-874.

2 See note 4 p. 375.

3 R. Brown-Grant demonstrates the links between these treatises, many of which were produced in the context of the court of Burgundy, and fifteenth-century romance, in *French Romance of the Later Middle Ages: Gender, Morality, and Desire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 17-78.

4 Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 216.

5.	E unhorses Rinduranz (19 v.)	E unhorses Aguischans, king of Scotland (5 l.)
6.	E unhorses king of the Red City (24 v.)	E unhorses king of the Red City (6 l.)
7.	E's lack of interest in booty; his prowess (he captures prisoners and horses) (9 v.)	E enters general fray; his prowess (9 l.)
8.	Gauvain's prowess (takes prisoners and horses) (8 v.)	Gauvain's prowess (5 l.)
9.	Battle before the castle gates (6 v.)	Battle before the castle gates (9 l.)
10.	Sagremor is thrown; E to the rescue (9 v.)	E unhorses Sagremor; rescues Meliador from Gauvain. E and Gauvain fight (10 l.)
11.	Opposing side is driven inside castle (6 v.)	Not wishing the duel to continue, King Arthur has retreat sounded, ending the tournament (3 l.)

Although he follows Chrétien's general, stylized organization of the event, the *prosateur* makes a major change (#10): Erec fights against Gauvain's side, unhorsing Sagremor instead of coming to his aid! He then jousts with Gauvain himself. Moreover, once the two knights have fallen and jumped to their feet, ready to continue their fight, King Arthur has the tournament called to an end, whereas in Chrétien's original the tourney closes once the losing side has been driven back, inside the castle (#11)¹. The adaptor abbreviates or amplifies parts of the combats. Notably, he quickens the pace as Erec confronts his first three opponents (# 4-6). He adds a comic element: when Erec unhorses the Orgueilleux de la Lande, the latter lands on the ground with his feet in the air (#4). And the adaptor substitutes a more

1 This may resemble how tournaments ended in Chrétien's time. Verse 2248, which closes the passage, is difficult to interpret. In the manuscript used by Fritz, BnF fr. 1376, it is stated that "Les vespres remestent a tant", which Fritz translates as "Ainsi prit fin la première journée (du tournoi)." He adds a note explaining that, according to Tobler-Lommatzsch, the term "vespres" referred to the jousts preceding the tournament proper but according to Littré, to the last episode of a tourney, neither of which is satisfactory in this context (p. 131). An interesting variant is furnished in Paris, BnF fr. 794 (the codex copied by Guiot): "Les vespres sonnerent a tant", which could be interpreted as sounding an official end to the day, as P. F. Dembowski translates, but which might simply signal impending nightfall: *Erec et Enide*, ed. P. F. Dembowski, in Chrétien de Troyes, *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Gallimard, 1994, v. 2212 (p. 55).

well-known knight, Aguischans, king of Scotland, for the second knight Erec unhorses (# 5)¹.

Chrétien begins his description of the tournament with a detailed enumeration of arms and horses, in a rainbow of colors (#1 – 14 verses). The prose author follows suit, but he focuses on the tents and armor shining in the sun and the sumptuous fabrics, rewriting and expanding the scene (#1 and 2 – 23 lines, equivalent to approximately 46 octosyllables). He omits the colors and the extensive list of arms and horses that Chrétien furnishes. He further diverges from his source by adding spectators. In the twelfth-century poem Chrétien evokes no onlookers; those who observe and admire Erec's prowess are on the field of action with him (#6 and 7). The fifteenth-century adaptor retains this aspect but also introduces women spectators, who ride to the site of the tournament on their palfreys. The narrator enlivens the description by taking their point of view; they have so much to behold that they have all they can do to look "puis cy puis la" (p. 161). Before turning to the combat, the prose redactor makes another addition, describing the call to arms – the sounding of trumpets and bugles – and the actual arming (#2). He lists the large number of "mancettes, penons et recongoissances" that decorate the helmets, then the elements of the harness, insisting on the beauty of all the sights (the adjective "beau" is repeated six times in the space of 15 lines) (p. 161, 163). This official beginning to the event, which presents the pageantry, is more like the tournaments of the later Middle Ages². The changes here are stylistic: they point up the adaptor's art of description. As we shall see, other modifications are more important, affecting the meaning and structure of the romance.

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- 1 Aguischans is listed in Chrétien's poem among the knights who attend the wedding tournament, v. 1966 ("Aguisiez, uns rois d'Escoce"). He appears in a number of prose romances; Rinduranz (var. Randuranz) is present only in Chrétien's poem and *Le bel inconnu* (in this text he also participates in a tournament). See G. D. West, *French Arthurian Prose Romances. An Index of Proper Names*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978, entry "Aguisant", p. 8-9; and G. D. West, *An Index of Proper Names in French Arthurian Verse Romances, 1150-1300*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969, entry "Randuranz", p. 36. Interestingly, there is no entry for "Rinduranz" in the prose index.
 - 2 Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 148 points out that earlier tournaments did not start with a massive charge, but rather with a phase marked by individual jousts, usually on the part of the youngest, the *bachelers*.

When the verse and prose narrators address the combat, much like film-makers, they give a general picture of the over-all *mêlée* before focusing on Erec. Chrétien's vision is figurative: he uses synecdoches, evoking the clash of lances, shields and hauberks to highlight the confrontation. Christine Ferlampin-Acher notes that Chrétien devotes very little space to the actual fights; he is more interested in the aesthetic side of the tournament¹. The adaptor, more action-oriented, selects a series of verbs to describe the beginning of the event: "Et bons chevaliers d'espringuier, saulter et couchier lancez, puis rencontrer a flacz sur cez escus..." (p. 163). He then signals the "bellez chevaleriez" of the leaders of the two sides, Gauvain and Sagremors, Melis and Meliador (16 lines), finally turning to Erec, who enters the fray after it has begun. In both verse and prose our hero unhorses in quick succession three knights (#4-6). The prose redactor abbreviates the last two combats, quickening the pace. Above, all, he eliminates much of Chrétien's description of these more and more worthy adversaries.

Once Erec has unhorsed the three knights, the description is general and brief in the original by Chrétien, who stresses Erec's prowess in part by signaling that he captures prisoners and horses, even though he is not interested in booty (#7), details the prose author omits. The *prosateur* devotes twice as much space as Chrétien to Erec's feats in this section, insisting on the marvels he performs by utilizing a series of superlatives (Chrétien: 9 verses; prose: 9 lines, equal to about 18 octosyllables).

As the tournament nears its close, Gauvain's side has gained the upper hand and is pushing the adverse party up to the castle gates. In the prose version Erec unhorses Sagremor, then rescues Meliador, one of the leaders of the opposing side, from Gauvain, who was about to take him prisoner. During Erec's fight against Gauvain, who has been established as a worthy adversary through the earlier evocation of his exploits (see #8), the two knights seem equally matched. Once they meet, the shock of shields, bodies, and horses is so violent that all tumble to the ground; the two men leap to their feet to continue the fight, at which point Arthur has the tournament called to an end by having retreat sounded: "Il saillent apertement sur piés, et ja ilz se fussent outrement entreessaiéz a l'espee se le roy Artus, qui ce ne vouloit point veoir, ne eust fait sonner la retraite" (p. 167).

1 Ferlampin-Acher, "Les tournois", p. 177.

Readers familiar with Chrétien's romances will recall that Arthur acts in a similar way in *Cligés*: on the last day of the Wallingford tournament, the king stops the joust between Cligés and Gauvain. Likewise, in the prose adaptation of this romance, which was prepared in the context of the Burgundian court around the same time as the prose *Erec*, the king has the combat stopped¹. In all three cases, the outcome of the joust is therefore indecisive; but the hero has measured himself against Gauvain, showing he is at least his equal.

In Chrétien's other romances Gauvain is depicted as an excellent knight who remains more or less unchanged; the hero shows his excellence by surpassing him in some way, but never by defeating him in combat². The adaptor of the prose *Erec* seems to be aware of Gauvain's reputation; his reworking suggests knowledge of Chrétien's other works as well as familiarity with the great thirteenth-century prose romances, all of which were readily available in the duke of Burgundy's library³ as well as in the collections of other figures at the Burgundian court, such as Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruythusse⁴. The modification

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- 1 Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligés*, ed. and trans. C. Méla and O. Collet, in Chrétien de Troyes, *Romans*, v. 4987-5899; *Le Livre de Alixandre empereur de Constantinople et de Cligés son filz. Roman en prose du xv^e siècle*, ed. M. Colombo Timelli, Geneva, Droz, 2004, p. 131-132.
 - 2 Numerous critics have called attention to Gauvain's role in Chrétien's romances; see for example N. J. Lacy, *The Craft of Chrétien de Troyes. An Essay on Narrative Art*, Leiden, Brill, 1980, p. 96 and 100.
 - 3 On the duke's holdings, consult G. Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne; Philippe le Hardi, Jeans sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire*, Paris, Champion, 1909; repr. Geneva, Slatkine, 1970, and *Les mises en prose des épopées et des romans chevaleresques du xiv^e au xv^e siècle*, Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1939; repr. Geneva, Slatkine, 1969; R. Middleton, "Index of Former Owners", *Les manuscrits de / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. K. Busby, T. Nixon, A. Stones and L. Walters, 2 vols., Amsterdam / Atlanta, Rodopi, 1993, vol. 2, p. 87-126, at p. 105-107. See also P. M. de Winter, *La bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404): Étude sur les manuscrits à peinture d'une collection princière à l'époque du "style gothique international"*, Paris, Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1985, and J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque prototypographique, ou librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens*, Paris, Treuttel and Würtz, 1830.
 - 4 Recent work on the holdings of nobles at the Burgundian court is illuminating; see, for example, the catalogue of Louis de Bruges' holdings cited in n. 3 p. 274; D. Quéruel, "Du mécénat au plaisir de lire: l'exemple de quelques seigneurs bourguignons et en particulier de Louis de la Gruythusse", *Le Goût du lecteur à la fin du Moyen Âge* (work cited in n. 2 p. 373 above), p. 197-211. In this study, Quéruel quotes (p. 199) from the prologue to *Le roman de Jean d'Avesnes* in Paris, BnF fr. 12572, f. 1, which depicts the author browsing in the *estude* of a noble, looking for a source of inspiration; the scene is suggestive of how writers may have had access to the books in the collections of aristocrats. In the same

of the outcome of the Tenebroc tournament may therefore have been influenced by romance traditions.

However, why Erec is pitted against Gauvain is a question that deserves further contemplation. As we shall see, Erec will joust again with Gauvain during the coronation tournament; this time, he will unhorse his opponent, an innovation that shows the hero has surpassed Gauvain in combat. The prose redactor has therefore set Erec against Gauvain in the wedding tournament in order to prepare and reflect his actions in the later event. I will return to this question below.

As in Chrétien's original, the description of Erec's participation in the tourney consists largely of a series of single combats in which he quickly unhorses his opponents in a variety of ways. Erec's feats are in two phases: first, he fights with a lance; when that breaks, he pulls out his sword¹. There are few details of his actual confrontations. The lengthiest description is of his fight with Gauvain, in which a third phase is announced but is arrested – combat on foot.

In the prose version of the romance, the tournament is a one-day event, and Erec is declared the winner. (Chrétien's tournament is a two-day affair, but the second day is not described.) As in Chrétien, the prose combat is stylized; combatants fall to the ground, but their wounds are not evoked, and no one dies; it is clear from the start that Erec will gain all the honor. It is therefore striking that, unlike Chrétien, the prose author does not mention booty at all – Erec does not gather up the horses of those who fall to the ground, and he takes no prisoners. Only Gauvain nearly takes Meliador prisoner, but he fails. The economic side is thus played down, in contrast to Chrétien's poem, where Erec and Gauvain capture horses and prisoners, even though Erec is depicted as uninterested in gain (#7)².

volume, the essay by C. Rabel, "L'estude d'un tres noble seigneur garny a planté de plusieurs beaux livres. L'iconographie des bibliothèques médiévales dans les manuscrits enluminés", p. 245-289, describing the material conditions of personal libraries, is instructive.

- 1 Both of these phases are on horseback. This schema, which Chrétien established in his first romance, is utilized in nearly all romance depictions of combat; the stages are similar to those in the *chanson de geste*; see G. Bergeron, *Les combats chevaleresques dans l'œuvre de Chrétien de Troyes*, Oxford etc., Peter Lang, 2008, p. 28-34.
- 2 It is noteworthy that the prose *Cligés* also differs from the verse in that the hero no longer takes prisoners; see the article by J. T. Grimbart in this volume. Despite the many similarities between the prose *Erec* and *Cligés*, they were probably not written by the same author; see Colombo Timelli, "Erec et Cligés en prose: quelques repères".

Historians have shown that in Chrétien's time booty – and the ransom obtained from prisoners – was an important part of tourneying¹. Chrétien's evocation therefore reflects reality. By the fifteenth century tournaments had evolved: their resemblance to real warfare had diminished. Combats had become highly codified, and they were less risky. Weapons were defined beforehand; special armor was used. These events took place within a closed field, often in the heart of a city. *Mêlées* continued to exist, before or after single jousts, but they were more regulated. Expensive prizes were given to the winners of both jousts and *mêlées*; instead of being imprisoned for ransom, the loser agreed to a forfeit². While booty and ransom continued to play an important role in warfare, this aspect had more or less disappeared from tournaments³. Interestingly, the *Erec* adaptor's description of the tournament at Tenebroc does not reflect many of these fifteenth-century changes. The main points of evolution are the disappearance of any reference to booty as well as the official beginning and end of the tournament and the attendant pageantry. As we will see, the coronation tournament is presented in a similar fashion.

The tournament at Tenebroc takes up a fairly large amount of space in Chrétien's text – 118 verses out of 6950 in the Fritz edition, 1.7 % of the poem⁴. But the prose devotes even more space to it: 78 lines out of approximately 2010 total⁵, equivalent to about 156 octosyllabic verses, that is, 3.9 % of the whole work. The prose author has thus expanded the wedding tournament; moreover, it takes up relatively more space in the romance than it does in Chrétien's poem⁶. On average, the prose *Erec* contains about 50 % less text than the verse; nevertheless,

1 On the importance of booty and the economic side of tournaments in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 139-141.

2 Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 147-150; Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 200-215; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 2-10 and 107-125; Contamine, "Les tournois en France", p. 438-447. On the evolution of tournaments, see also J. Flori, *La chevalerie en France au Moyen Âge*, Paris, PUF, 1995, p. 55-58.

3 Flori, *La chevalerie en France*, p. 55. On ransom during warfare in the late Middle Ages, consult R. Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

4 *Erec et Enide*, v. 2130-2248.

5 *L'Histoire d'Erec*, p. 161-167 (on alternate pages).

6 M. Szkilnik has used a quantitative method to highlight the methods of the adaptor of the prose *Cligès*, in "Le prince et le felon: le siège de Guinesores dans le *Cligès* de Chrétien et dans la prose bourguignonne", *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales*, 24, 2007, p. 61-74.

there are expansions as well as abridgements¹. These alterations can be unexpected; they are not without meaning. For example, Jonna Kjaer has shown that Enide's monologues are more developed in the prose, giving her a more important role². Why the prose augments the space devoted to this chivalric spectacle is therefore a significant question to consider.

THE CORONATION TOURNAMENT

Indeed, by adding another tournament after Erec and Enide's coronation, the prose author considerably increases the amount of space devoted to these events: 66 lines are devoted to this second tourney, about 3.3 % of the 2010 lines of the prose romance. Together, the two tournaments occupy 144 lines – about 7.2 % of the entire text³. The prose thereby emphasizes Erec's feats, an aspect I will return to below.

The addition of this chivalric spectacle at the time of the coronation may be due to the fact that at the Burgundian court, a tournament

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- 1 In the introduction to her edition, Colombo Timelli estimates that the prose version is 50 % shorter than Chrétien's poem, p. 32.
 - 2 J. Kjaer, "Les plaintes d'Enide dans *L'Histoire d'Erec en prose*, roman bourguignon", *"Contez me tout": Mélanges de langue et de littérature offerts à Herman Braet*, ed. C. Bel, P. Dumont and F. Willaert, Louvain and Paris, Peeters, 2006, p. 243-258, at p. 250. Kjaer concludes that the prose redactor considered Enide to be more important than Erec and that Isabel, the wife of Philip the Good, may have been the *destinataire* of the romance (she states that Philip would have found the romance of little interest, since there are few chivalric spectacles, p. 243). While I agree that Enide receives attention in the prose, Erec is glorified through descriptions of his combats; I do not subscribe to Kjaer's hypothesis regarding the duchess's role, nor to her evaluation of Philip's possible lack of interest in the prose text. We do not know how the prose *Erec* was received at the time it was written; see Colombo Timelli's nuanced remarks about this question in the introduction to her edition, p. 21-23. See also C. J. Chase, "Le diable est dans les détails: les vêtements d'Enide dans l'*Erec en prose* du xv^e siècle", *Pour un nouveau répertoire des mises en prose. Roman, chanson de geste, autres genres*, ed. M. Colombo Timelli, B. Ferrari and A. Schoysman, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2014, p. 101-115.
 - 3 Furthermore, Erec's combats outside of the tournaments take up nearly as much space in the prose as they do in Chrétien's verse, thus weighing more heavily, relatively speaking, in the romance as a whole. According to my calculations, Chrétien devotes a total of about 479 lines, roughly 6.9 % of the poem, to these conflicts, whereas in the prose they occupy roughly 223 lines, or 11 % of the text.

was always held at the time of any important event¹. But there are undoubtedly other reasons behind the choice made by our author: first, his sense of what constitutes a proper ending to the story; second, concerns related to structure, meaning, and characterization. Before attending to these questions, let us look at how the prose author depicts the coronation tournament.

At the time of Erec and Enide's coronation, King Arthur offers livery and horses to 300 knights and orders a "small" tournament. It is noteworthy that the prose author omits all of Chrétien's description of the coronation itself, including that of the famous *robe* worn by Erec; he dispenses with the ceremony in one, albeit long, sentence, hurrying on to describe King Erec's secret preparation of black armor in order to participate in the tournament incognito, and then the tournament itself. An authorial intervention conforming to the brevity topos precedes the depiction of the combats, stating that Erec performed feats that would be too long to recount but that they will be briefly presented according to custom: Erec "fist pluseurz vaillancez et proessez qui trop seroient longuez a racompter, mais nous nous en passerons en brief selon la maniere" (p. 208-209), a statement suggesting that a description of the tournament was a sort of requirement, a set piece².

The tournament itself has already begun when King Erec arrives, having secretly set off when he learned that the king and the ladies were on the sidelines and that the knights had begun the combat. The *prosateur* does not state where the combat takes place; the setting is vague. He begins his description *in medias res*, upon Erec's arrival. Much like Lancelot and other heroes of thirteenth-century prose Arthurian romances, Erec chooses to fight on the weaker side, against Gauvain and Blioberis who are performing marvels. Henceforth the focus is on Erec, who immediately unhorses Gauvain, then fights Blioberis, piercing

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- 1 See R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 2002 (new edition with some revisions; first published London, Longman, 1970), p. 145-149; B. Schnerb, *L'état bourguignon 1363-1477*, Paris, Perrin, 1999, p. 319-322; Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 151.
 - 2 Fifteenth-century prose rewritings often expand depictions of tournaments; see Brown-Grant, *French Romance*, p. 55, n. 137. A version of the fifteenth-century romance *Paris et Vienne* that was prepared for the Burgundian court features a lengthy interpolation describing "the jousts and festivities organized to celebrate the couple's wedding"; R. Brown-Grant, "Adolescence, Anxiety and Amusement in Versions of *Paris et Vienne*", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, 20, 2010, p. 59-70, at p. 60.

his shield and hauberk and wounding him in the left side as he throws him to the ground. After these actions, he enters the press, where he accomplishes numerous feats. The adaptor introduces heralds who are on the field in this tournament, an aspect that reflects the evolution of their role¹; upon seeing Erec's feats, they cry out "Honneur soit donnee au chevalier aux armez noires qui vainct tout." (p. 210) Likewise, the spectators admire his prowess, which is such that the other knights fear to meet him. The narrator insists on the fact that Erec never seems to tire. At this point, Gauvain, who has gotten up and is remounted, attacks Erec with a lance; it breaks on Erec's shield, and Erec strikes Gauvain's helmet with his sword, stunning him so that he loses his saddle-bows and stirrups and falls. Erec, who does not recognize Gauvain, continues on his way; Gauvain's side flees and is defeated. Erec leaves the tournament secretly, but is followed by Arthur, who forces him to reveal his identity. The festivities that follow last two weeks, but an authorial intervention invoking once again the brevity topos suggests that the audience knows very well what they were like: "...pour la fere briefve, dez disners, souperz, dansez et esbatemenz qui furent fais durant XV jourz, nous ne ferons nulle mencion, car l'en puelit asséz savoir et entendre qu'il en y eust asséz et que toute noblesse y estoit respandue." (p. 211)

Erec's "disguise" in black armor makes him into an anonymous knight, allowing the combats with Gauvain to take place (since it is stated that Erec does not recognize him). It is reminiscent once again of *Cligés* – in both Chrétien's verse and the prose adaptation, Cligés fights in four different sets of armor during the four-day tournament. On the first day, he sports black arms; on the last day, Cligés confronts Gauvain. The *Erec* author insists on the hero's superiority to Gauvain by having him unhorse him not just once, but twice! Gauvain thus becomes something more than a counterpoise to the hero – unlike the role he plays in Chrétien's romances. His defeat might be seen as humiliating, but the adaptor does not develop this aspect, dwelling rather on the enhancement of the hero, Erec.

1 Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 134-136, outlines the origins and growing importance of heralds, noting Chrétien's early depiction of a herald who recognizes Lancelot in the *Chevalier de la Charrette* and announces his victory (see Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*, ed. C. Méla, in *Romans*, 1994, v. 5536-5574), and their presence on the field in Jacques Bretel's description of the 1285 tournament at Chauvency (see J. Bretel, *Le tournoi à Chauvency*, ed. M. Delbouille, Liège, Vaillant-Carmanne / Paris, Droz, 1932).

It is noteworthy that this second tournament is an amalgam of stylization and realism: more romance-type elements are present than in the wedding tournament, but there are also realistic touches. On the one hand, for example, Erec's disguise resembles Cligés's anonymity and also that of Lancelot in tournaments in Chrétien's *Chevalier de la charrette* and the *Lancelot-Grail* cycle¹. And, as noted above, the fact that he fights against Arthur's knights, joining the weaker side, also reflects literary traditions². Moreover, there is no mention whatsoever of forfeits for the losers. On the other hand, Blioberis is wounded, as was often the case historically³; furthermore, in the final joust, Gauvain wields a lance, while Erec hits him with his sword⁴. These realistic notes serve as highlights to a somewhat archaic, literary view of the tournament; the prose adaptor's description is once again action-oriented; it seems nostalgic but more attuned to the way these events were presented in the great prose romances than in the way the wedding tournament was presented.

The coronation tournament forms a matching piece, a pendant, to the wedding tournament, in which Erec and Gauvain's combat is interrupted. It also provides a final event in which Erec, now king, can further demonstrate his prowess. The choice of a *mêlée*, which was considered more prestigious than a single joust⁵, allows the depiction of the hero

1 See in particular the Winchester tournament in *La Mort du roi Arthur*, ed. D. F. Hult, Paris, Livre de Poche, 2009, p. 214-223. It is noteworthy that in this case Arthur, who has learned that Lancelot will be present, prevents Gauvain and his brother Gaheriet from participating in the event.

2 Historically, fighting against one's ally could cause offense; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 23, cite a tournament held in 1169 at which Baldwin of Hainault fought against his natural allies, the Flemish, leading to an attack by Philip of Flanders as if he were at war.

3 Even though fifteenth-century events were less risky, they were still dangerous; see Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 145; Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 128-130.

4 Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 138, states that in early *mêlées* participants fought with a variety of weapons; it seems likely that this practice continued in later free-for-all *mêlées*.

5 Geoffroi de Charny's scale of prowess suggests that deeds in *mêlée*-type tournaments are more honorable than those in single jousts: see Geoffroi de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny. Text, Context, and Translation*, ed. R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996, p. 84-91. Philip the Good held a copy of this text in his library; see Schnerb, *L'état bourguignon*, p. 352. This historian points out (p. 352-353) that there were a number of treatises on the military arts in the ducal collection. On the prestige of the *mêlée*-type tournament, consult also Flori, *Chevaliers*, p. 147: "Le tournoi-mêlée reste presque seul en faveur jusqu'au XIII^e siècle, voire au-delà. Son étroite similitude avec la guerre et son caractère collectif lui confèrent un prestige inégalé."

in triumph over all the other knights, thus enhancing his standing. Indeed, the prose author insists on this aspect of Erec's character. As I have shown elsewhere¹, he eliminates or condenses all the descriptions of Erec's clothing and armor, focusing more on the hero's definition as a warrior through extensive descriptions of combat. Moreover, he disambiguates Erec's motivation: it is clear from the start that the quest he undertakes is to test Enide; Erec himself admits no fault, as he does in Chrétien when he is accused of *recreantise*. Other changes work to modify the relationship between Erec and Enide, who emerge as a responsible couple, ready to take on the challenge of ruling a kingdom.

However, in adding the coronation tournament the prose redactor may also have been motivated by other considerations: perhaps he did so because the ending of Chrétien's *Erec et Enide* seemed inadequate to him. As Peter F. Dembowski has shown, the conclusion to Chrétien's romance is problematic in four of the seven complete manuscripts². In two manuscripts, Chrétien's poem ends rather abruptly in the middle of the banquet held after the coronation (Paris, BnF fr. 794 and 1376)³; one codex offers a garbled ending (Chantilly, Condé 472); another in which the last folio is torn down the middle suggests that some kind of chivalric event took place after the coronation (a *quintaine* was set up in a field), perhaps improvising an ending (BnF fr. 24403). Only three manuscripts have a "full epilogue"⁴ that brings the coronation festivities to an end with Arthur's largesse. We do not know which manuscript of Chrétien's work might have been the source for our adaptor; though the suggestion of a chivalric spectacle in one of them (BnF fr. 24403) is tantalizing, the adaptor may very well have used a codex that is now lost⁵. Whatever the case may be, Chrétien leaves the story "open" – we do not know anything about Erec and Enide's lives after the coronation

1 Chase, "Le diable est dans les détails", p. 110-111.

2 P. F. Dembowski, "Textual and Other Problems of the Epilogue in *Erec et Enide*", *Conjunctures: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly*, ed. K. Busby and N. J. Lacy, Amsterdam / Atlanta, Rodopi, 1994, p. 113-127. On the ending, see also D. James-Raoul, *Chrétien de Troyes, la griffe d'un style*, Paris, Champion, 2007, p. 235-240.

3 The edition prepared by M. Roques, *Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes I. Erec et Enide*, Paris, Champion, 1957, based on BnF 794, presents this truncated version.

4 Dembowski, "Textual and Other Problems", p. 121, argues that this ending should be included in a critical edition.

5 Wallen suggests that the prose translation is closest to this manuscript and to Chantilly 472, "Art", p. 23-25.

– whereas the prose author brings closure to the story not only by adding the tournament but also the epilogue recounting the couple's deaths and the legal succession of the kingdom¹.

The abbreviation of the coronation ceremony itself and the addition of the tournament and epilogue modify the structure of the romance – the tournament replaces the coronation as the culminating event. The de-emphasis of the coronation may have implications related to the political situation in the fifteenth century. Dembowski points out that in Chrétien's original the coronation "ceremony is described in detail and with obvious seriousness."² Chrétien devotes some 520 verses to it; the prose author, a single, five-line sentence! Furthermore, he changes the site from Nantes to the legendary English archbishopric, Canterbury. There may have been external, political reasons for Chrétien's choice: Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann has argued that the coronation scene alludes to a ceremony held in Nantes in 1169 proclaiming the son of King Henry II of England as duke of Brittany³. By moving the location to England, to a site connected to the Arthurian past, and playing down the ceremony itself, the prose author eases any political tensions or rivalries that a coronation held in such pomp and splendor on the continent might have evoked for his fifteenth-century contemporaries. The first half of the fifteenth century was marked by political strains, shifting alliances and war – the Hundred Years War, during which the Burgundians sided with the English for a time, but also the war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians⁴.

By focusing on the chivalric spectacle of the tournament at the time of Erec and Enide's coronation, rather than on the ceremony itself, the prose author emphasizes Erec's knightly qualities – traits that, according to didactic treatises and historical biographies written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, would prepare him to be a good ruler⁵. The

1 This aspect may reflect historical concerns on the part of the dukes of Burgundy; similar concerns are expressed in marital romances prepared around the same time (see Brown-Grant, *French Romance*, p. 129). It is striking that the prose *Cligés* ends in a similar way.

2 Dembowski, "Textual and Other Problems", p. 123.

3 B. Schmolke-Hasselmann, "Henry II Plantagenêt, roi d'Angleterre, et la genèse d'*Erec et Enide*", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 24, 1981, p. 241-246; cited by Dembowski, "Textual and Other Problems", p. 123, n. 25.

4 R. Vaughan outlines the political background in *Valois Burgundy*, London, Allen Lane, 1975, p. 7-11.

5 See Brown-Grant, *French Romance*, p. 16.

epilogue demonstrates that this was indeed the case and that Erec's lineage was assured, his kingdom being passed on to his eldest son. Overall, the prose redactor's artful reworking of Chrétien's story reflects the values of his contemporaries at the Burgundian court; moreover, and more importantly, it demonstrates a different perspective on structure, style and characterization.

Carol J. CHASE
Knox College