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The Legend of Guy of Warwick

Velma Bourgeois Richmond

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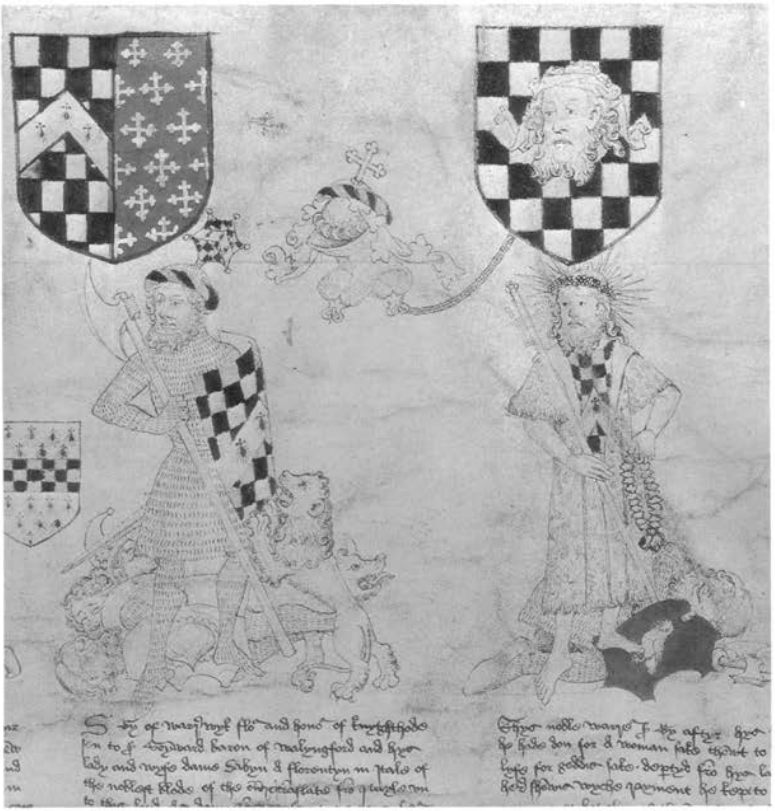

Guy as worldly hero and pilgrim champion, Rous Roll, B.L. Additional 48976.

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Velma Bourgeois Richmond

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For Elizabeth and Claire

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General Editors' Foreword

Garland Studies in Medieval Literature (GSML) is a series of interpretative and analytic studies of the Western European literatures of the Middle Ages. It includes both outstanding recent dissertations and book-length studies, giving junior scholars and their senior colleagues the opportunity to publish their research.

The editors welcome submissions representing any of the various schools of criticism and interpretation. Western medieval literature, with its broad historical span, multiplicity and complexity of language and literary tradition, and special problems of textual transmission and preservation as well as varying historical contexts, is both forbidding and inviting to scholars. It continues to offer rich materials for virtually every kind of literary approach that maintains a historical dimension. In establishing a series in an eclectic literature, the editors acknowledge and respect the variety of texts and textual possibilities and the "resisting reality" that confronts medievalists in several forms: on parchment, in mortar, or through icon. It is no mere imitative fallacy to be eclectic, empirical, and pragmatic in the face of this varied literary tradition that has so far defied easy formulation. The cultural landscape of the twentieth century is littered with the debris of broken monomyths predicated on the Middle Ages, the autocratic Church and the Dark Ages, for example, or conversely, the romanticized versions of love and chivalry.

The openness of the series means in turn that scholars, and particularly beginning scholars, need not pass an *a priori* test of "correctness" in their ideology, method, or critical position. The studies published in GSML must be true to their premises, complete within their articulated limits, and accessible to a multiple readership. Each study will advance the knowledge of the literature under discussion, opening it up for further consideration and creating intellectual value. It is also hoped that each volume, while bridging the gap between contemporary perspective and past reality, will make old texts new again. In this way the literature will remain primary, the method secondary.

In this fourteenth volume in the series Velma Bourgeois Richmond presents a comprehensive and exhaustive treatment of the legend of Guy of Warwick. This survey begins with the antecedents of the legend,

i.e., those models and elements, particularly of romance, that preceded the earliest narrative, which is the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic*. The Anglo-Norman poet who created the first Guy romance clearly had many sources to draw upon from which he could create a legend that appealed to the medieval centuries. Extant manuscripts and surviving library lists suggest that the story of Guy was among the most popular in the thirteenth century. The poem's theme of traditional chivalric values in service of the preservation of order as well as its account of Guy's withdrawal from the world in expectation of union with God appealed, as Richmond shows, to both castle and cloister. The later medieval centuries continued and developed Guy's association with the secular and the sacred. This dual theme continues in the Middle English versions of the story, but the increasing popularity meant as well mere popularization and a political association with the dynastic interests of the Earls of Warwick. The advent of printing contributed to the wide dissemination of the legend of Guy, who outstrips his rival in romance, Bevis of Hamtoun. Renaissance and Restoration updates, however, including dramatic and ballad versions, effect other changes, notably the "degeneration" of Guy into a hero of popular fiction and an object of contempt for more elite intellectual interests. Guy continues his encounters with the Dun Cow and with other prodigies, but he does so in children's books. Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Guy is in minor literature at best: there was no Tennyson to rescue him. His most recent manifestations are connected with pub advertising and regional tourism. From this summary it is clear that Richmond has produced a book that offers a foundation for the study of the legend. In bringing visual and material evidence to bear on a textual tradition originally only literary, Richmond offers a full, interdisciplinary perspective, while her emphasis on the post-medieval reception of the legend creates a scholarly standard for all who seek to assess the impact of the Middle Ages on subsequent cultural forms.

The editors are happy to welcome this volume to the series. They furthermore wish to express their appreciation for Dr. Richmond's special efforts in bringing so complicated a project to a successful conclusion.

Christopher Kleinhenz
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Paul E. Szarmach
Western Michigan University

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PREFACE

This book was fifteen years in the making so that there are many to whom I am indebted. The American Council of Learned Societies provided a Fellowship that made possible early research in Britain. Holy Names College granted me two sabbaticals, one at an early stage and then another to complete the project, which had been set aside for several years while I served as Dean of Academic Affairs and completed other projects. For this personal encouragement and financial support I am extremely grateful. Many librarians and staff members have been unfailingly helpful and courteous at the Bodleian Library, British Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, National Library of Scotland, Cambridge University Library, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Magdalen College, Cambridge, Bibliothèque Nationale, Warwickshire County Library, Warwick Castle, the New York Public Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Library of Congress, and Libraries of the University of California, Berkeley, U. C. L. A., and the University of Texas, Austin. In addition, I want to thank those who provided assistance at Guy's Cliffe, the Saxon Mill, the Collegiate Church of St. Mary in Warwick, Warwick Castle, St. Mary Redcliffe Church at Bristol, Wells Cathedral, and Gloucester Cathedral. I particularly appreciate generosity in permission to reproduce photographs. There are legions of antiquarian booksellers (especially in Wales, Warwickshire, Oxford, and London, but also in California), who allowed me to browse and also helped my search for items about Guy, some of which were not in libraries. Paul E. Szarmach read my very long manuscript with care and guided the editing. Donna Fellows and Stanley Fong at Holy Names College helped during many hours of computer time, as did Julie Threlkeld at Garland. Throughout this project my husband Hugh has been a companion and colleague, always supportive, interested and tolerant wherever the search led. Finally, as the dedication indicates, I want to thank our daughters, who were children when I began the study and are now sophisticated readers.

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The Legend of Guy of Warwick

INTRODUCTION

The study and praise of literary texts like Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* have until recently needed no justification, but whether most others will be esteemed or neglected is less certain. The history of literature has many examples of authors and works once widely known and celebrated only to be forgotten later, or once unnoticed and then found to be memorable. A hero may gradually fade from public notice and survive mostly in academic footnotes. Although Guy of Warwick remains known to specialists, usually remembered from a list of "romances of pris" that Chaucer criticized in his *Tale of Sir Thopas,* the medieval romance is not fashionable; it is not anthologized, and there is no handy paperback edition. A later *Guy of Warwick,* the chapbooks frequently printed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has reappeared in two facsimilies, part of current interest in popular literature. Guy shares with Arthur and Robin Hood a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* an honor not accorded other legendary figures, and his literary history is rich and varied through eight centuries. Surveys of medieval literature regularly list the major versions; more than seventy-five years ago Ronald S. Crane established "The Vogue of *Guy of Warwick* from the Close of the Middle Ages to the Romantic Revival."[1] Recent histories of popular and children's literature often mention Guy. Scholarly interest in medieval romance in the 1980s has mitigated patronizing attitudes.[2] However, the legendary history of Guy of Warwick has never been considered from its origins to the present. Only in the last fifteen years have there been detailed discussions of the medieval romance, almost nothing has been written about Guy in the Renaissance, there are not even bibliographic listings for accounts of Guy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[3] Many texts, both medieval manuscripts and early printed editions produced for a popular audience in modern times, have not survived. But the number and variety of versions are impressive and provide the basis for a substantial study.

The significance of non-canonical works, both in history and in literature, has been increasingly recognized, especially in the last twenty years. Romances, particularly Middle English ones, have been read more sympathetically and thoughtfully; popular and children's literature have received critical attention. Similarly, historians have expanded exploration of cultural history as an ancillary of traditionally favored intellectual and political history. It is widely recognized that fuller

understanding comes when interests, beliefs, experiences, and feelings of ordinary men and women are considered as well as those of the eminent. Current favored literary theories describe texts as forms of power and as configurations of gender. In many ways a traditional story cuts across these distinctions. Like a fairy tale, it was originally intended for adults and gradually taken up by children. Evidence for medieval origins and development of Guy's legend is strongly tied to the nobility, albeit provincial, but subsequent readers and hearers come from across the social spectrum. Guy's "popularity" is rooted in quintessential adventures and themes readily adapted to mirror the concerns of each storyteller and audience.

The legend of Guy of Warwick sets its hero in the tenth century, the first romance was written in the thirteenth century, yet several new versions have appeared in late decades of this century. One account, the fifteenth-century Catalan *Tirant lo Blanc,* was finally translated into English in 1980 and became a best seller. Thus for hundreds of years there have been retellings and reevaluations, not only in England and France, but also in other parts of Europe in Latin, German, Catalan, and Italian, as well as the United States. However, versions of Guy's legend are not so numerous or complicated as those about Arthur. Thus the present book considers how Guy's legend has flourished, the cultural context and historical moment that influenced different tellings and illustrations, and the responses of its modified audiences. The legend of Guy of Warwick is a microcosm of literary and social development, for it provides a record of changing genres and emphases to tell a story of self-improvement via chivalric adventures with a hero who is a romantic lover, an ambitious knight in tournaments and war, as well as other marvelous encounters, a loyal friend and sworn brother, a patriotic and Christian champion, a pious pilgrim and hermit.

This diversity of roles expresses the romance's thirteenth-century origin, a time when completeness was sought not only in encyclopedic summaries of knowledge but also in secular narrative like the Arthurian Vulgate Cycle or in the collection of (and addition to) old *chansons de geste* into cycles. The romance of Guy combines many legends and spans the hero's life from early youth to death and salvation, with his son's early knightly adventures as assurance of continuity. Such inclusiveness results in a long work, a "novel in verse."[4] Romance is the major secular genre of the Middle Ages, as is the novel of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[5] The original Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic* reflects breadth of Norman achievement and draws richly upon traditions of *chansons de geste,* romances of Chrétien de Troyes, hagiography, chronicles, recent history, and social customs. Closeness of translations shows these interests persisting for centuries. Further,

the legend does not become exclusively English, even though Middle English romances are typically regional and Guy is closely tied to the Earls of Warwick, who developed it as baronial propaganda. From the fourteenth century Guy is also a figure in history, whose most patriotic feat, the killing of Colbrond, appeared in chronicles, starting with Langtoft and not denied until the eighteenth century. Guy's place in history made him an obvious favorite when England developed a national literature under the Tudors.[6] Thus the most varied adaptations come in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when "new" heroic accomplishments were added as in the *chansons,* Guy became one of the Nine Worthies, and all social classes enjoyed the legend. Subsequently, Guy's legend was presented in abbreviated, highly selective and simplified versions written for the mass reading public formed in England through a combination of elementary educational facilities and widely available chapbooks. Changes in audience and responses to values expressed by the original romance became overt. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Guy enjoyed yet another "vogue" as a hero of children's literature and of histories and guides to Warwickshire. For centuries he has been a type of English hero, redefined to reflect prevailing attitudes in constantly changing social contexts but surviving as an exemplary knight, demonstrating and inspiring high idealism amidst imperfect realities.

Among current critical explanations of romance an emphasis upon the idealistic pervades.[7] The term "a secular scripture" is used to indicate a parallel between a vision of the world with man as hero and the sacred scripture where the hero is God.[8] Much has been written about the emergence of romance in the twelfth century as a reflection of the spirit of the times, as a shift from endurance to seeking--characterized by challenges, journeys, and formidable combats both martial and amatory--and as a manifestation of interest in the classics. Romance has also been described as dialectic, both for modes of disputation and for ordering meaning.[9] As the main type of medieval fiction, romance provided a complement of secular idealism to the dominant religious idealism. *Guy of Warwick,* as I argued in *The Popularity of Middle English Romance,* is the most eloquent fusion of the two ideals, a rich articulation of the high sentiments and excellences of the temporal world but also a pious seeking of eternity because of a recognition of the real limits of chivalric ideals. Early audiences perceived the two parts of Guy's career as a unity, parallel adventures which record a growing self-awareness that seeks the highest values accessible to the human person. Only in the modern world does the hero's piety appear an inappropriate concession. Persistence of an essentially unchanged romance for centuries argues an appeal that lasted

as long as Christendom; later preservation and adaptations of Guy of Warwick's legend, reflecting a drastically changed social, economic, and religious ethos, show its archetypal strength. Many episodes in Guy's story are of dragon-slaying and giant-killing, mythic acts that suggest a civilizing force, or simply an allegorical triumph of good over evil, but require little introspection. Jack the Giant Killer is the native English fairy tale and St. George the patron saint that perpetuate the archetypes. Mid-twentieth-century folklore is the site of the most recent versions of Guy's legends.

Guy of Warwick is typically identified as a medieval romance, but that term is increasingly recognized as difficult to define, so that many scholars prefer to recognize a "romance mode."[10] Many view the early narratives in relation to later "romances"--novels, thrillers, science fiction, television and film fantasies.[11] These recognitions of similarities of mode identify essential experiences--honor, prowess, love, friendship, anxiety, self-knowledge, belief--realized through adventures most typically expressed as a quest. This is the constant in Guy's legend; endless seeking and remarkable achievements reassure and inspire barons, bourgeois, the barely literate, bairns, whoever longs for more than "real life." The romance mode was sustained as each storyteller and audience recreated and created the hero, whatever genre was used.[12] Some recent studies, influenced by the New Historicism, have stressed specific social and religious circumstances. The mimetic truths of the Anglo-Norman romance are altered by its English and French translators, fade in Renaissance adaptations, only to be changed in later popular printings, and altered again for children's literature. However, symbolic truths of fundamental and universal realities have made the legend of Guy of Warwick significant for centuries. Even in the late twentieth century, when many deny "fundamental and universal realities," Guy survives as a hero of folklore, similar in many ways to heroes of today's popular film epics, where his story would be spectacular. Both the taking of traditional materials and, usually, an imaginative identification with the hero have been appropriate (ME *appropriaten* < Late Latin *appropriare*, to make one's own) to many.

It is not possible to recover retellings of oral tradition, many manuscripts were not preserved, and countless printed versions, partially because they were familiar and popular, did not survive. Most comments about audience and audience reaction are conjectural. Nevertheless, we possess a very rich tradition for Guy's legend, both many versions and the long history they provide of the role of a renowned and famous English hero who for more than eight hundred years has triumphed over a variety of opponents.

CHAPTER ONE
ANTECEDENTS FOR GUY'S LEGEND

Modern accounts of Guy of Warwick identify him as an English champion, and the legend's success owes much to patriotic appeal. But Guy began as an Anglo-Norman hero whose adventures take him across Europe and to Constantinople and the Holy Land; many episodes in the original romance are unrelated to England. Guy is a Saxon knight of the tenth century, but his deeds belong to the Norman world established in the second half of the eleventh century and crucial to the formation of Christian Europe in the twelfth century. The Norman achievement included conquests of Apulia and Sicily as well as of England, and contemporary chroniclers recognized a Norman world of connections.[1] The eleventh-century Amatus of Monte Cassino begins by linking William's conquest of England, Norman campaigns in Italy, and a Norman share in the capture of Barbastro from Saracens in Spain. William of Poitiers, chaplain of the Conqueror, connected the valor of the Normans in England with successes in Apulia and Sicily; Ailred of Rievaulx in the twelfth century, tells of a Norman leader who urged his men in Yorkshire with the precedent of Norman success in England, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily.

By the early thirteenth century, when *Gui de Warewic* was written, there was a decline of such confidence and high sentiment. Henry II's creation of an Angevin empire, including a stable state in England (1154-89), had been quickly decimated. King John formally lost Normandy in 1204 and with the signing of Magna Carta in 1216 both defined feudal obligations precisely and admitted limitations of the king's power. Immediate consequences of the enunciation of the principle of legality were disloyalty, disorder, and destruction; in short, a significant example of the collapse of power that inspired attempts to understand the signs of the times. Amid chaos a view of history as redemptive was less convincing, and Anglo-Norman historians record tragic human limitations and evil as well as achievements.[2] Biographical significance is stressed by English chronicler Roger de Hoveden (Howden, fl.1174-1201), who emphasizes contemporary events, and the characters of Henry II and Richard I. Others like William of Malmesbury sought strength in a Saxon past, as in King Athelstan.

Imaginative literature offered more to emulate than recent history, and the *Gui* poet drew upon rich and diverse antecedents. So many sources have been suggested that the author is often attributed only with

compilation, which is seen as plodding and arbitrary, not creative and coherent.[3] An alternative is to recognize a remarkably broad knowledge plus a capacity to choose and combine effectively to create a story of exciting adventure and high idealism whose centuries of popularity argue a very significant achievement. In comparing the Anglo-Norman romance with antecedents, my interest is not so much to identify all the specific sources as to demonstrate the breadth of the poet's resources and his skill in choosing significant themes and episodes, as well as structure and style. What emerges is a principle of selection and transformation by which heroic quality and action are usually heightened, even when the antecedent already offers high sentiment. Chronicle accounts of the Saxon King Athelstan, the Anglo-Norman biography of William Marshall, the hagiography of Saint Alexis, *chansons* of William of Orange, and the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, especially *Yvain*, contribute to the formation of an exemplary hero whose legend begins as a synthesis of ideas from some of the most distinctive works available.

1. The Norman World

The world of Guy of Warwick is the Norman world. Although knighted at Warwick, Guy begins his adventures at Rouen, capital since the tenth century of the province of Normandy, where the best tournaments were held. The convener is the Emperor of Alemagne (Germany). This suggests the power of the Empire, but what had been Europe's greatest state in the eleventh century had been dissipated by the start of the thirteenth century when *Gui de Warewic* was written. Thus Guy's refusal to marry Blanche and form an alliance with the German Emperor expresses more than a lover's devotion to Felice. It is one of several episodes that reflect Norman antagonism and superiority to the Holy Roman Empire. Guy's greatest enemy is Duke Otun of Pavia, leader of the Lombards and vassal of the Emperor of Germany. The particularization is not random. Lombards were among the earliest barbarian invaders, whose history was written by Paul the Deacon (c.725-99?). From the ninth through the twelfth centuries the Iron Crown of Lombardy was received at Pavia by Italian, and some German, kings. In the eleventh century Lombards held principalities below Naples; Norman capture of Salerno in 1077 was among their last successes, and Lombard loyalty persisted in Italy. Otto of Brunswick (d.1218) led the opposition against Frederick Hohenstaufen, who barely evaded Otto's Milanese allies in Lombardy.[4] Both the name and ambush of Otun against Guy thus are analogous to contemporary circumstances.

The extraordinary divisiveness of the Empire is mirrored in the dispute between Duke Seguin of Louvain and the Emperor, a matter of revenge that Guy resolves as a mediator, and when Guy's friend Terri de Gaurmise (Worms) is accused of treason before the Emperor. Thus the Anglo-Norman poet recalls inadequate leadership among magnates in the German Empire that had also been forced to yield to papal power. Guy's final burial in Lorraine is perhaps the most obvious detail of the hero's Norman as distinct from English character and is an analogue to Fontevrault, an abbey built by Normans and containing the tombs of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry II, and Richard the Lion Hearted. Lorraine was the northern extremity on the great trade route from Constantinople along the Rhine and Danube. The list of lands where Earl Jonas seeks Guy--Germany, Lorraine, Spain, Apulia, Saxony, France, Burgundy, and England (*Gui*, 8135-39)--shows the extent of Norman influence. Going from one fight to another, supported by rich rewards that he uses to pay his followers, Guy epitomizes the Norman warrior who could be in any number of places, pursuing many allegiances. The restless Norman aristocracy, an élite of mounted and well armed knights, were impelled to conquests by a wish for social and economic advancement; such ambitious motives are idealized in Guy.[5]

Normans did not restrict their activities to western Europe; they were closely associated with the eastern empire through powerful Greek influence in southern Italy. Involvement in the Crusades was intense and encompassing; five of the eight leaders of the First Crusade were Norman, and Antioch was a Norman principality.[6] Suspicion characterized Greek and Norman relations, perhaps inevitably in a complexity of religious fervor, economic interests, and power. Envious Morgadour, who tries to destroy Guy, is placed at the court of Hernis, Emperor of Constantinople. This mirrors the severance of good relations between Normans and Greeks that recurs throughout the Crusades. Guy's first venture to Constantinople is rather like a response to a plea for crusaders. He learns of the needs of the Eastern Emperor when, on the river at Spires, he meets merchants who tell him of the Soldan's siege of the city and of the possibility of fighting pagans (2880). Although German Emperors had dissipated their considerable powers by the start of the thirteenth century, German merchants, particularly from Cologne, enjoyed privileges that were substantially increased under King John's charter in 1213. This mercantile interest, begun under Henry II, may explain why the area is favored in *Gui*. There are more references to Constantinople than to Jerusalem. Moreover, pilgrim Guy begins his adventures in Norman territory; he meets Earl Jonas near Antioch, the base of Norman involvement in the

Crusades until the middle of the twelfth century. Guy's physical violence is mild compared to much Norman action.

Although by 1100 the Normans had vigorously assumed French social ideals and were asserting Christian propaganda, their disavowed roots were Viking.[7] Cnut, King of Denmark (d.1035), had been ruler of England. The threat of Danish invasion was not a distant memory, but a reality for William the Conqueror, particularly in 1085 when he added mercenaries to his forces.[8] A Norman Scandinavian association went back to the Norwegian Rolf (Rollo), who in the tenth century moved along the Loire, was defeated at Chartres and baptized by the archbishop of Rouen before receiving lands that were to form Neustria (Normandy). By the early thirteenth century Scandinavian did not dominate, but there was a strong link with the Anglo-Saxon past.[9]

2. Anglo-Saxon Athelstan

Written in England, *Gui de Warewic* exploits local tradition; the story is set in the reign of King Athelstan (925-39), and Norman chronicles provide reasons—in addition to the victory at Brunanburh—why this king was an apt choice in a story of knighthood and piety. The tenth century, when Normandy was established as a kingdom, is an obvious starting point, and Athelstan's character and reign provided a frame. As readers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* know, the most impressive metrical insertion is the *Battle of Brunanburh*, seventy-three lines of great poetic worth, celebrating the victory of 937, a climax of the reign and a notable battle before Hastings. Olaf/Anlaf Guthfrithson, ruler of the Norse kingdom of Dublin, suffered an annihilating defeat even though he had combined forces with Constantine, king of Scots, and with the King of Strathclyde. In *Gui* the large battle is transformed into single combat between Athelstan's pilgrim champion Guy and Anlaf's champion, the Saracen giant Colbrond. Similar to combats in *chansons de geste*, this episode always appeared in later chronicles beginning with the Norman Peter Langtoft in the fourteenth century.

The tenth century in Christendom is a time generally lacking inspiring moments so that Athelstan's victory is a triumphant event. Aelfric (c.955-?) placed Athelstan "among the three English kings whose histories might encourage a harassed people." The grandson of Alfred the Great (848?-900), who fought the Danes until he achieved victory and freed his people, Athelstan is the great uncle of Edgar (king from 959 until his death in 975), who secured peace without a battle. Among Saxon kings, Athelstan's only rival for reputation and respect beyond his kingdom is Offa (757-96). Unlike Alfred and Edgar,

Athelstan had close relationships with the leading rulers of the West; Normans could admire his diplomacy and reputation. Later chroniclers devote more space to his peaceful activities than to his battles: arranging marriages, collecting relics and exchanging gifts, establishing and endowing monasteries, fostering the arts and book production, and a style of court Latin to match his "baroque" tastes. Athelstan is the kind of king who would appeal to an Anglo-Norman need for an "ancestral romance," since he is a model of success and piety.[10]

Part of Norman effort to become acclimated after the Conquest was to assimilate earlier British history, to develop and exploit traditions both local and national to gain prestige and to acquire a sense of belonging.[11] In this context *Gui de Warewic* is not simply a compendium of traditional narrative episodes and themes, but an expression of Norman/English interest in history. Strong French influences should not obscure the significance of Saxon origins. Athelstan is more than a king to establish a historical time; his character markedly influences heroic definition of Guy.

The opening lines of the *Battle of Brunanburh* identify Athelstan as "cyning, eorla dryhten, / beorna beahgifa" ("king, lord of warriors, / ring-giver of men").[12] The poem is less a heroic description of battle than a celebration of victory, a paean centered on a collective effort rather than individual heroes. Guy saves Athelstan's kingdom through an individual victory over Colbrond, but the difference is only superficial. Guy comes in pilgrim's weeds, garb that provides anonymity and eliminates any notion of a special champion. The idea of dedicated service, the inevitability of fighting against the invaders expressed in the opening of the *Battle of Brunanburh,* is expressed in the terms of the central Middle Ages. The panegyric stresses the power of the West Saxons, who frequently had to defend their land and treasure, but quickly gives a perspective:

siðþan sunne up
on morgentid maere tungol,
glad ofer grundas, godes condel beorht,
eces drihtnes oð sið aþele gesceaft
sah to setle. (13-17)

(The field grew dark with the blood of men after the sun, / That glorious luminary, God's bright candle, / Rose high in the morning after the horizon, / Until the noble being [creation] of the Lord Eternal / Sank to its rest.)[13]

The poet shifts from the participants' point of view to time's passing and to accounts of the dying.[14] Defeated enemies are in wretched plight,

abandoning all to escape with their lives but "no cause to exult."

These early lines on the passing of time, with their image of God's bright candle and the sinking sun, establish a pervasive tone. The battle is placed in a perspective of eternity. The terse form of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reiterates this; immediately after poetic celebration comes a characteristically stark entry: "In this year passed away king Athelstan, on 27 October, forty years all but a day after King Alfred" (110). There is no elegiac reflection, but the chronicle makes clear the impermanence of individual life and achievement. This, as I have argued at length, is the wisdom of Guy of Warwick, who puts worldliness aside to live as an unknown who uses his great prowess to help those in need; he also refuses gifts and recognition. Guy's return to the city after defeating Colbrond is in a procession with a singing of *Te Deum* (hymn for matins, perhaps suggesting the rising sun). But he leaves immediately for a hermitage at Warwick, after declining Athelstan's offer of half the kingdom. Earlier, when no one would come forward to meet Anlaf's challenge, Athelstan had chided himself for lack of generosity upon which he blamed the loss of worthy knights, and later chronicles emphasize Athelstan's *largesse* more than his victories.

3. William of Malmesbury

William of Malmesbury (1095-1143), author of the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (c.1125), significantly developed the Athelstan of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Usually praised as the most scholarly Anglo-Norman historian, with one Norman and one English parent, William was part of both traditions. His ambivalent attitude toward the Anglo-Saxons, brave but not warlike, resembles the tension in Guy's career. As a successor to Bede, William was especially influenced by biographical and hagiographical traditions, both crucial to the account of Athelstan and to Guy's legend.[15] After describing the king's distribution of booty, he explains that Athelstan's rule of conduct was "liberally to expend all his acquisition either on monasteries or on his faithful followers."[16] The king's devotion and intellectual curiosity made him a great collector of books; perhaps more significantly he, like no other English king, collected relics on a vast scale. Where the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* merely notes the marriage of his sister in 923, William supplies rich details (Book II, ch. 6). The enumeration of perfumes, jewels, horses, is dazzling; but that of the relics is awesome. Included are the sword of Constantine the Great with a nail from the Cross in its hilt and fragments of the Cross and Crown of Thorns set in crystal. Guy's armor is most richly described before the fight with

Colbrond, and the details emulate those of Athelstan's relics. Athelstan, William tells us, was "delighted with such great and exquisite presents, made an equal return of good offices, and gave part of the cross and crown" (136) to Malmesbury Abbey, where after his death he was "buried under the altar" and more gifts were presented. Even the dissolution of the monasteries did not obliterate Athelstan's piety. Some manuscripts survived from the library that William made one of the finest, as did the twelfth-century church and tomb of Athelstan, albeit Norman rather than Saxon, a precedent for Guy's burial.

Described in his charters as "King of the English and ruler of all Britain," Athelstan was the heir of the West Saxons but brought up in Mercia by Æthelflaed, his aunt, who had a fortress at Warwick. His forces went north into Scotland and west into Wales. Needing a tradition, William the Conqueror presented himself as successor to the kingdom created by the house of Wessex. William of Malmesbury includes a popular legend of Athelstan's illegitimacy that is an analogue for William's bastardy and suggests a deliberate comparison; the two also share accomplishments in unifying the English, founding monasteries, and establishing detailed records/charters. Athelstan's one possible stain, that he was born of a concubine, is turned to account: "he cast all his predecessors into the shade by his piety . . . so much more excellent it is to have that for which we are renowned inherent, than derived from our ancestors; because the former is exclusively our own, the latter is imputable to others" (128). Guy is a legitimate child, but as a steward's son he must raise his state to become a perfect hero.

Other additions in William's chronicle seem to have influenced *Gui de Warewic*. Although he expresses some skepticism about what he learned "from old ballads popular through succeeding times," the Anglo-Norman historian includes a story about Athelstan's having his brother drowned and subsequent penance. Penance is a medieval commonplace, but Guy is notable for devoting the second half of his career to it.[17] Athelstan fasts for three days and nights at Winchester with all his nobles and clergy before an angel tells him that a pilgrim champion will defend England against Anlaf. Both accounts of success stress God's power and human virtues of fortitude and humility.

Guy's victory over Anlaf is not the only episode involving Athelstan; the last success of Guy's early career is also a saving of the kingdom. Guy slays a dragon, a beast out of Ireland, that is ravaging Northumberland, eating men and cattle. This reflects the first encounter between Athelstan and Anlaf, whom the Northumbrian Vikings had just accepted as heir in 927. Athelstan invaded, gained supremacy in the north, and ruled in York--which is where Guy first meets the king. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records an invasion of Scotland in 934.

Launched from Winchester, this was a prelude to Brunanburh, and Athelstan's progress is suggested by gifts made along the route north. This movement may explain Guy's defeat of Anlaf's champion at Winchester, the southern capitol; William has Anlaf penetrating far southward before Athelstan fights him.

A processional *Te Deum* marks Guy's victory over Colbrond. This familiar ritual was especially associated with Winchester; Athelwold (d. 985) required monks to sing *Te Deum* after each miracle involving St. Swithun (d. 862), whose miracles were still stressed in the eleventh-century *Book of the Monastery of Hyde*. The remains of the Saxon saint were carefully translated in 970, according to Roger de Hovedan's *Annals*, during the monastic reform of St. Ethelwold.[18] Second only to St. Thomas Becket in esteem, St. Swithun, like Guy, witnessed Danish invasions. Medieval annalists and chroniclers prefer signs of divine agency to explanations and evidence of human actions.[19] Several later chronicles that include Guy's victory over Colbrond and his axe as a relic specify St. Swithun and Hyde. William of Malmesbury fuses Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman traditions to create a distinctive chronicle that provides not ecclesiastical but secular national history; his lively style was a model for literary narrative form.

4. An Anglo-Norman Legend

By the time *Gui* was written, the Anglo-Norman world was already becoming less Norman. Although many details of places and political attitudes suggest the Norman world outside England, there is a distance and nostalgia. In *Gui* patriotic zeal and some particularized knowledge are for England.[20] Typically, cultural achievements were the work of those ruled by the Normans rather than of the conquerors themselves, who respected local customs and concerns. Norman chroniclers like William of Malmesbury and Ordericus Vitalis, who wrote in the language of Latin Christendom, were fascinated by the Saxon past and regarded England as their own country.[21] Locales in *Gui de Warewic* show adaptation. King Athelstan's capital is Winchester, still favored by Normans, especially as a center of religious learning and a place for scholars, even as a commercial rival to London. The story begins and ends in Warwick, an important Norman earldom. Guy's father is from Wallingford. Here William the Conqueror crossed the Thames on his march to Berkhampstead, where he received final submission from the Archbishop of York, Earls, and chief men of London and was urged to be crowned king as in English custom.[22] The name *Gui* is usually called a derivative of *Wigod*, which is pronounced *Gui* in Anglo-

Norman. A cupbearer of Edward the Confessor (1042-66), Wigod came from Wallingford, a village near Oxford, and one of his daughters married Robert d'Oilli.[23] Thomas, Earl of Warwick, was heir to the d'Oilli estates through his mother. Both Oxford and Wallingford, which in the early tenth century guarded the Thames, became permanent habitations at this time. Several *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entries give Warwick as the site of a fortress built by Athelstan's aunt Æthelflaed of Mercia; the surviving medieval defenses of the city are believed to be built upon these. Alfred the Great's grandson was reared in the court of the much praised Æthelflaed. In short, Saxon connections are numerous and precise in *Gui de Warewic*.

Gui is a familiar name. Guy, bishop of Amiens before 1086, is the supposed author of a Latin poem about the battle of Hastings. Another Guy is in the *chansons* of William of Orange; both the father and son of *Boeve de Hamtoun* are called *Gui*. The name *Guido* (Lat. *guidare*) means leader, one who sets the standard, paralleled in today's phrase "What a guy!" The name of Guy's companion *Thierry* is also familiar as the champion against Ganelon in the *Chanson de Roland* and as Theodore, the militant saint, of whom a fourteenth-century wall painting survives in the crypt of the fine Norman cathedral at Trani, a city visited by Guy on his way to the Holy Land. The heavenly messenger to Guy is Saint Michael, special patron of Normans. Pilgrims honored St. Michael at Monte Gargano and San Michele near Turin, as well as at Mont St. Michel, from whence William the Conqueror set out, as the Bayeux Tapestry shows, and at St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which was given to the Normans after the Conquest. *Rohand* is another name for Kurvenal, faithful retainer of Tristan's mother, and Florentin is father of Iseult of the White Hands.

The goal of the Christian republic, according to the analyses of John of Salisbury and Hugh of St. Victor, was universal salvation in the next world. The special distinction of Guy's legend is that it, more than any other Anglo-Norman romance, is a literary expression of the peculiarly Norman experience of secular and religious, worldly and supernatural, ruthless realism and reliance on the divine. Guy as knight become penitent is a type of Saint Alexis, but a rapid change from successful fighting to pilgrimage in the Holy Land was, in fact, the way of Duke Robert I, father of William the Conqueror. Peter the Venerable, elected abbot of Cluny in 1122, tells in his *Liber de miraculis* of a benefactor, a wealthy knight who "tactu divino spiritu" (touched in spirit by the divine), renounced the world, presenting his riches to Cluny and setting out for Jerusalem.[24] Such quests were a familiar idea. Although historians are cautious about details, there is a tradition linking Norman advent in Italy with Norman pilgrims

returning from Jerusalem, either by invitation at Salerno or from Meles at Monte Gargano.[25] At the very least, these accounts supply an example of propaganda, both Norman zeal for pilgrimages and justification of exploits by reference to religion. Guy's victories over Amorant and Colbrond were totally understandable to a people who believed, according to Eadmer, that God Himself had intervened to grant victory at Hastings and that the successes of Robert Guiscard were due to divine aid, as Ordericus Vitalis has him tell his followers.[26] The second part of Guy's life affirms such attitudes, strongest in the eleventh century and thus an ideal longed for in a later age and most clearly expressed in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Pope Innocent III's best service to the church, this great reform council stressed instruction of the laity, yearly confession to the parish priest and communion, combating heresy and church abuse. Guy is a lay hero who answers the longings of his age and hybrid culture.

5. William Marshal

One man was a model to inspire an Anglo-Norman poet concerned with ideal history, and he is celebrated in *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Marechal,* the earliest biography preserved in French. The *chanson* is an extraordinary resource for understanding chivalry in the twelfth century; it is not "legend" but "history," an authorized life written by a *trouvère* called Jean, at the behest of William's heir who wished a record and a paean to "the flower of chivalry." Drawing upon recollections of those close to William, the *History* is a richly detailed account of the remarkable career of a knight whose long life (1145-1219) was filled with adventures, martial successes, and honored service to kings.[27] Written in the dialect of western France, favored by the kings and nobles of England, the *History* was composed on the banks of the Thames, at William's favorite estate of Caversham, across from Reading Abbey. No direct connection has been established between the *History* and *Gui de Warewic,* but William was the unique Anglo-Norman model of loyalty and prowess.[28] Reading is not too distant from Wallingford, where the romance was perhaps written by a canon of Oseney Abbey that the Earl of Warwick served as patron.[29] Wallingford was a stronghold of Queen Matilda, whose cause was supported by William Marshal's father. There is no way of knowing whether family histories were composed frequently, but this seems likely. A Latin chronicle of Lambert of Arles confirms an interest with a scene where the young Arnold of Arles and his companions urge Walter of Cleves to

tell the story of the founding of the family.[30] On a blustery night, before a roaring fire, such a "winter's tale" delighted and inspired.

Many details and episodes in *Gui* are similar to those in the *History*, a "pure" record of chivalry written by a secular figure. Any young knight's greatest resource was physical strength. The *History* describes William as attractive and compelling, as beautifully formed as a sculpture (717-36), and Guy is similarly first presented as handsome, the fairest of Dame Nature's creatures (136-42). A young knight's way of securing fortune was tourneying, which brought fame and wealth from prizes, armor, and horses taken. William's first victories were in Normandy and Brittany, the lands of opportunity for such adventuring, and he returned to England only briefly during his early career. This pattern recurs in Guy's successive trips to the continent. Crucial early recognition came to William because of a daring exploit soon after he returned to France with his uncle Earl Patrick of Salisbury. He fought bravely in a rescue of Queen Eleanor from an ambush led by Geoffrey and Guy de Lusignan (a family celebrated in the romances *Partenay* and *Melusine*), who attacked those holding their ancestral seat. The ambush was a violation, a rebel killing his sovereign lord's representative, and William's hatred of the house of Lusignan was inevitable and persistent. The episode has the excitement of romance; its parallel is Guy's hatred of the Otoun family, who also set an ambush (1187ff.), when Guy's companions are slain, as was William's uncle.

William's salient characteristic was scrupulous loyalty that gained the respect of all the Plantagenets, who quarreled with each other and upon occasion withdrew favor from William, but ultimately accepted his honorable and loyal service, a major theme in the *History*. He was successively attached to Henry II, Richard I, and John, and was regent for Henry III. Until his final role, William eagerly sought responsibilities; a worthy knight's career alternated tournaments with war and was founded on a group of companions held together by feudal obligations and a leader's *largesse*. Royal generosity came most bountifully to William in 1190 in a match planned by Henry II and carried out by Richard I. William wed Isabel of Striguil, the second richest heiress in England. Guy serves only one king but on different occasions, first just before his marriage to Felice, when he was richly rewarded (27-50, 7501-08), far beyond his father's estate at Wallingford, which he gives to his master Heralt (7415-22). King John on his coronation day formally designated William Earl of Pembroke. The status of *comes* meant a companion of the king, a chosen counselor as defined in Roman law, and enhanced social standing. With due feudal complications William and John were soon estranged; though the Earl was loyal to the English king, he was also loyal to Philip Augustus,

whom he esteemed more, and did all that was necessary to protect his holdings in Normandy. Competition between king and baron continued for years, but both scrupulously observed feudal proprieties. William's support of John and marshalling of loyalty in Ireland, his sound advice of reconciliation with the Church to forestall Philip Augustus' plans to take England by enlisting Pope Innocent III as an ally to quell the rebellious barons and to remove his excommunication, his significant contributions to Magna Carta--these were enough to reassure even the always untrusting John. King John, like King Athelstan in *Gui*, had only one loyal baron upon whom to rely. The *History* records John's need and plea to a few loyal followers at his deathbed in Newark in 1216: only the Marshal can make the future of the kingdom safe (15,153-90). To take charge of a virtually penniless nine-year-old boy king was no mean task for a man of about seventy. William hesitates before the enormity of the job, even exaggerating his age as eighty. Friends counsel acceptance by recalling his high reputation as "one of the first knights of the world." But the argument that succeeds is that of the papal legate, who urges William to undertake the almost hopeless task as penance for his sins (15,465-561). John d'Erley argues that William would assuredly increase his honor, but though the old knight may have been heartened by this, he casts himself as a St. Christopher figure, who will carry his youthful burden (15,624-96).

Perhaps no episode in the *History* is closer to *Gui* than the saving of the kingdom by an aged warrior. There are major differences: much of William's achievement is administrative, and he is not a humble and unnamed pilgrim. However, he accepts the responsibility as a penance, and the battle of Lincoln is an analogue of the fight against Colbrond; both save the kingdom from foreign invasion. William inspires his men first with promises of glory but also of paradise if they fall in battle (16,277-310). He is, as always, a good strategist and a courageous leader of the attack, where bravery is heightened by the cries of Bishop Peter of Winchester: "Ca! Dieu aide au Maréchal!" (16,577-628). The battle was fought like a tournament through the streets of Lincoln, and English chivalry triumphed over the French. Only two were killed, but forty-six rebel barons and three hundred knights were captured. These invaders, like the Danes in *Gui*, were despatched without loss of English lives. A follow-up victory at sea against the reinforcements sent by Louis' wife Blanche of Castile, assured that Louis of France was out of England. William's forceful personality garnered rebellious barons to defend the young king. Similarly, Guy's strength offsets the weakness of Athelstan's barons.

Religiosity is not a major theme in the *History* as it is in *Gui*, but William makes pilgrimages to Cologne and to the Holy Sepulchre to

bear the cross of the dead young Prince Henry. About his activity against Saladin, the *History* notes that in two years he accomplished more than another could in seven (7275-95). After acquiring wealth, William was generous to the Church. The only land he owned in his own right, as distinct from his marriage, was Cartmel, where he endowed a priory for regular canons --not subject to a monastic order but to William or his descendants. His will provided several additional bequests to religious foundations. However, the most often cited passage in the *History* is William's refusal to act upon the clergy's argument that salvation comes only to those who had divested themselves of anything taken from another:

> The clerks are too hard on us. They shave us too closely. I have captured five hundred knights and have appropriated their arms, horses, and their entire equipment. If for this reason the kingdom of God is closed to me, I can do nothing about it, for I cannot return my booty. I can do no more for God than to give myself to him, repenting all my sins. Unless the clergy desire my damnation, they must ask no more. But this teaching is false--else no one could be saved. (18,480-502; Painter translation, 285-86)

Its distinction between worldly and eternal makes this one of the strongest claims for the secular quality of chivalry; it comes after William has renounced much, but by no means everything. Guy renounces all personally, but he preserves the estate for his heir.

Much about William's death argues piety. He formally joins the order of the Temple and has the Templar's mantle, white with its red cross, spread over him. His farewell to his countess Isabel suggests Guy's parting from Felice: "*Belle amie*, you are going to kiss me, but it will be for the last time" (18,359-60). The death scene includes several statements that William is in a state of grace. The master of Templars assures him that he will never be separated from God; the Abbot of Nutley brings word that prayers for the salvation of William's soul will be offered by every house of the order of Arrouaise. The dying man has a vision of two men in white, one on his left and one on his right. Like other great heroes, he knows that his life is over and summons his family exactly when he is dying. At this moment the Abbot of Reading arrives with a message from the papal legate who, having a vision of William, absolves him of all sins that he had committed from birth and confessed. The body was taken to the abbey at Reading, then to Staines, and on to London, where William was buried in the Temple church. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced the eulogy: "We have here our mirror, you and

I. Let each man say his pater noster that God may receive this Christian into His Glory and place him among His faithful vassals, as he so well deserves" (19,075; Painter, 289). This is very close to Guy as an exemplary hero (11,633-42 and 12,913-26). The manner of dying, "tamed death" as Philippe Ariès called it, is that of heroes much favored, with Roland as the type.[31]

William's career lacks the formal balance of Guy's dual life. The powerful death scene in the *History of William Marshal* shows the importance of Christianity in his life and to his survivors who ordered the biography. But the view of the knight is a very worldly one: salvation comes from knightly prowess that serves feudal lords and one's own fame. William is a fine example of the active life that needs no contemplation, the distinct version of piety that united fame in this world with salvation in the next, an articulation of the eleventh century here idealized.[32] To fuse this concept with an ideal of pious asceticism and self-abnegation required another model.

6. Saint Alexis

Ascetic renunciation came to Christianity from the East; its practice is a favorite theme in early lives of the saints. This may well reflect, as Peter Brown has argued, the circumstances of Late Antiquity when a choice for virginity was a way to declare independence of family structures.[33] There are a remarkable number of virgin saints, usually from wealthy senatorial families where marriages were made for family advantage rather than personal choice. This situation is very like that of feudal society. In a world dominated by a warrior ethic it is significant that among all the hagiographies few exceeded in popularity that of St. Alexis, who became a type of the man who married as expected but renounced family wealth and position, as well as his bride, to become a holy man. After years in Edessa [Alsis] he returned to his family home in Rome, where he lived in humility under the stairs. Alexis' piety was perceived, but his identity unknown until just before he died with a saint's foreknowledge, a clear antecedent for Guy's legend.[34]

The Latin *Vita* was translated into at least eleven vernacular languages, and the French *Vie de saint Alexis* is both the earliest and best, an eloquent start for European literature. French literature began in the mid-eleventh century as a careful adaptation of Latin classical literature, notably devices of rhetoric and the epic style of Virgil put to the use of Christianity.[35] Alexis is the type of passive hero that appealed in early Christianity before the warrior ideals of the *chansons de geste* gained ascendancy. Seven surviving manuscripts, dating from

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and knowledge of Alexis, indicate that many others, as well as oral transmissions, once existed.[36] The story belonged to cloister and city. A sermon of Peter Damian uses the *Vita*, citing particularly Alexis' return to Rome and the manner of his death.[37] An anonymous chronicle from Lyon records the conversion in 1173 of Valdesius (Peter Waldo) when he heard a jongleur sing the life of St. Alexis before a crowd in a merchant's house on a Sunday. St. Alexis also appears in visual arts; a dramatic reminder is an eleventh-century fresco at San Clemente, the finest medieval church in Rome.

At the time the Anglo-Norman poet of *Gui de Warewic* sought materials, then, St. Alexis was widely admired. Influence has long been noted, if not fully explored.[38] The most frequently praised version of the *Life of Saint Alexis* survives in an Anglo-Norman copy, made at St. Albans, where an altar was consecrated sometime before 1119 and the poem was probably sung as part of the ceremonies. It was prepared for the anchoress Christina de Markyate, whose life imitated that of St. Alexis. The original author was probably Norman, and the verse *Life* flourished in Normandy and England. For Guy's legend later versions are more revealing; they show a transition from early to late medieval, from Romanesque to Gothic style, from cell to castle and city.

The shift in emphasis is vividly illustrated by a thirteenth-century manuscript, Paris B.N. 12471, that contains the oldest of the much expanded versions. A rubric "C'est li roumans de saint Alessin" introduces the 1331-line poem, and an accompanying miniature shows a wedding. Both the term *roumans* and the illumination indicate changes that reflect ideals of the twelfth century (the text is dated before 1187), when Chrétien de Troyes' romances made love and marriage crucial themes. In contrast, the earliest Hildesheim MS (c.1120) has three scenes to dramatize Alexis' withdrawal: giving a ring and belt to his intended wife, escaping from the house, and entering a boat. The latest manuscript of the "Alsis-family" is dated thirteenth-fourteenth century, Paris B. N. 1553. Its rubric is "Li vie saint Alesis. Et comment il morut," and a tiny historiated capitol C shows Alexis dying in the presence of a man and a woman. Emphasis has changed again, to the saint's death rather than his wedding and sacrifice of the world. Medieval texts often show both adaptation and continuity.[39]

The most interesting version is not early purest hagiography but the later expanded *roumans*. *Alexis S*, MS B.N. 13471, begins:

> Signour et dames, entendes un sermon
> D'un saintisme home qui Allessis ot non
> Et d'une feme que il prist a oissor
> Que il guerpi pour Diu son creatour,

> (Lords and ladies, listen to an account of a most holy man named Alexis and of the woman that he took to wife, that he rejected for God his creator.)

An audience of men and women perhaps explains why the *Life* became romance. There is heightened interest in family relations, both parent-child and husband-wife, and a recognition of the attractions of a knight's life (561-62). The power of Alexis' call to God remains strong, but is combined with other values. Alexis' bride, now named Lesigne, has a significant role. Usually the bride silently accepts Alexis' decision to leave her on the wedding night and thus she seems an occasion rather than a character. Here, in a much expanded scene, she first articulates amazement and distress over her husband's decision; then, after his explanation that he must follow the life of the soul since life in this world is both sinful and brief, she concurs in his decision.[40] Reasoned argument and intense feelings are combined and the story humanized. Both weep at parting, and through such emotion *Alexis S* shows value in the alternative way of marriage to a beautiful lady and the warmth of family love as well as in individual renunciation and lonely endurance. Alexis' concern for his wife's salvation is heartfelt. He still feels remorse after many years of exile and virtuous living because he knows that his chosen dedication to God has been at high cost to his wife and to his parents, who sent servants to seek him. The transcendence of saintliness remains, but it is combined with human experiences and suffering in the *roumans* of Alexis, who serves as a type of the married man who, as Scripture notes, will leave his parents and cling to his wife (1093-1100, laisse 92). A strength of vernacular poetry over Latin was its *laisse*-form that fostered highlighting of individual scenes of great emotion and exploitation of dialogue in an elevated style to idealize the single events that stand out in a hero's life.[41]

The *Life of Saint Alexis* does not include romantic love and wooing of the lady, but its treatment of emotion and women's worth probably influenced characterization of Felice, especially her parting from Guy. The sustained dialogue, centered on Guy's reasons for leaving and concern about Felice's fate, finishes with the wife's consent to her husband's going (*Gui*, 7595-726).[42] Another similarity comes in the second part of the narrative, when the saint is dying. Only in *Alexis S* do husband and wife meet at his deathbed (966), another occasion for reconciliation and a precedent for Guy's summoning of Felice, which is again more elaborate, particularly with the ring as token of recognition. Finally, Alexis' deathbed letter goes to the Pope, but in *Alexis S* it flies miraculously to the bosom of Lesigne, so that the wife has a last contact with her husband. She also finds "la moitié de l'anel" (1120 half

of the ring), the sign explained by Alexis when he left (215). Guy's final moments with Felice are longer and more emotional, but the basis is here. In both poems understanding comes with the soul's flight to heaven, a joyous and predicted reward; saints and the worthiest knights have foreknowledge of their deaths. True to the story's asceticism, Alexis' wife is discovered to wear a hairshirt, a parallel to her husband's self-mortification. The active pilgrim knight Guy performs numerous feats to help others; Felice becomes a paragon of charitable good works, succoring the poor that come to Warwick Castle. Transformation from disdainful lady to loving wife and generous countess is an extension of the private mortification of Lesigne. The women, like the men, reflect the way social roles were evolving in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[43] The lady's initial refusal of her suitor is a survival from the lives of virgin saints who rejected their husbands, but the married Felice, devoted wife and mother, is a feudal heroine.

Part of the appeal of Guy's legend is its combination of an older ascetic heroism with new chivalric ideals that gave greater roles to women. Although this social view was significant to an audience whose taste for romance produced a major poetic mode in the central Middle Ages, there remained audiences with different interests. The Carlisle Cathedral manuscript of the *Life* dates from the same time as *Alexis S.* However, it is much severer and shorter.[44] Presented with the generalized notation "Vers d'Alexis," it is not a romance, even though closely related to *Alexis S.* Internal evidence indicates that the poem was designed to be read rather than performed orally (1085-93, laisses 100-01). Several other points suggest a clerical audience: the ascetic content is intensified, emotion is restrained, there are more references to study and learning, and interest in women is markedly less. In short, this twelfth-century version, a hagiography scarcely touched by elements of romance, preserves the narrower concerns of the Latin *Vita.* The strength of that asceticism may explain why monasteries that owned romances often included *Gui de Warewic.* Perhaps the fame of the pious pilgrim knight offset the fact that Alexis never became a popular saint in England, where no church is dedicated to him today.[45]

7. William of Orange

Roland is the preeminent hero of French *chansons de geste,* from the Middle Ages to the present day; his companion Oliver and his king Charlemagne are also widely known. But William, Count of Orange, whose medieval popularity was second only to theirs (and that of Ogier the Dane, also somewhat forgotten today) enjoys less modern fame. In

Dante's *Divine Comedy* warriors are seen in the Heaven of Jupiter; Guglielmo (William) and Rinoardo (Rainouart) follow directly behind Roland and Charlemagne; they are the only heroes from the *chansons de geste*. For the thirteenth century William of Orange was a brave hero of patriotic loyalty and self-abnegating service, albeit a man with vociferous protestations and disarmingly simple motivations. The Anglo-Norman poet of *Gui de Warewic* found inspiration in him, most obviously in the way the hero ends his life as a hermit and dies not as a warrior knight but as a quiet saintly figure. *Le Moniage de Guillaume*, which tells how he becomes a monk and then a hermit, is traditionally mentioned as a source for *Gui*, though the *Vie de saint Alexis* is cited more frequently.[46] William provided many ideas, but not the robust noisiness and marvelous humor that distinguish and endear William as a hero. The romance echoes the cycle in structural design, its focus on a noble family but with a hero with broad appeal, in many specific episodes of heroism, and in its interest in a strong female character.

The *chansons* of William number twenty-four and were composed by different authors from the start of the eleventh century to the end of the twelfth century. Together they form a cycle that covers an entire life, not just a few episodes.[47] Written at different times and in reverse biographical order, from prime to youth, these *chansons* contain contradictions but express an urge for completeness. *Gui de Warewic* is a single narrative that relates the hero's life from youth to death, showing him as knight, lover, national champion, Christian pilgrim knight, and hermit. Anglo-Norman taste, as is characteristic in a provincial culture, developed more slowly, so that French texts and forms were imitated longer in England than on the continent. Thus the latest phase, the development of a cycle for William's life at the end of the twelfth century, roughly coincides with the composition of *Gui*. [48] Indeed the earliest surviving text of *Gui* was originally part of the manuscript from which *La Chanson de Guillaume* survived and has been dated 1206-14.[49] *Chansons* about William correspond to the *Quatre Age de l'homme*—youth, middle age, later middle age, and old age—designations that relate to the cycle of spring, summer, autumn, winter and thus contain a universal myth.[50] William and Guy poems deny simple generic description as epic or romance; Frappier's term "un genre bâtard" aptly, without denigration, describes their composite quality. Any mixed culture, like Anglo-Norman, produces strengthening and enriching; merging is the principle of composition in *Gui*.

Marvelous physical exploits, descriptions of combats and violence, hearty exulting and distraught lamentation, epic catalogues of engagements, victories and deaths, were commonplaces readily transferred from *chanson* to romance. However, there is a subtle change:

men are still angry, but rarely "mad" or "berserk" with fury in the Anglo-Norman poem, which idealizes heroism to a more rational condition. In *chansons* the enemy is pagan, Saracen infidels whom the French battle ceaselessly in the *Chanson de Roland* and most prominently in the cycle of Garin de Monglave, especially in the mini cycle of William of Orange. Guy's two most distinctive single combats are against Saracen giants, Amorant in the Holy Land and Colbrond in England. Comparison readily shows indebtedness to William's legend. Single combats resolve disputes; but both champions want to serve, to protect Christian interests rather than simply to acquire fame and material rewards. Guy is more idealized because freed of self-interest.

The *Couronnement de Louis* recounts William's loyalty to the ineffectual young king whom he has sworn to support in spite of his cowardice and lack of *largesse*. On pilgrimage to Rome William has a warning dream that the Saracens are approaching (*CL*, 15).[51] The Pope parleys with Emir Galafre, who sportingly proposes a single combat. Corsolt is the pagan champion: "ugly and squint-eyed, as hideous as a devil, his eyes were red like coals in a blazing fire; his head was broad with bristling hair; the distance between his eyes was half a foot and from his shoulders to his waist was a good two yards. A more hideous man never ate bread" (*CL*, 19). The giant declares his real enemy is God, and he fights all on earth who believe. Prayers mingle with blows. The "long prayer" of Old French is illustrated amply when William begins with Creation, moves quickly through the typology of the Old Testament and a summary of Christ's ministry, Crucifixion, and Resurrection (*CL*, 22). Corsolt taunts William as "mad" and offers rewards if he will "adore Mahomet." After a few blows William offers another long prayer from Creation to Judgment. Corsolt has a huge cache of weapons; William's victory finally comes when the giant is so weighed down by his heavy armor that he cannot rise! The blow is to the helmet which, with the head inside, flies four feet away (*CL*, 28). But Corsolt had previously marked William, with a mace cutting off half his nose. Thus the hero acquires his name "Shortnose," as well as booty of a wonderful horse and weapons, and wittily reckons that this may lengthen his fame. William thanks God for his victory, completed by the defeat of the retreating Saracens. Captive King Galafre recognizes that Mahomet cannot help him and is baptized; William is godfather.

Guy's role as champion against the Soudan's giant Amorant has many similarities. Guy fights for Earl Jonas, who seeks aid to free Christian prisoners held by the pagan King Triamour of Alexandria. The quarrel is between pagans, but Christian lives are at risk, and Triamour agrees to become a Christian and to allow safe passage through his country for all Christians in the future. Guy's prayers are

not so long as William's, but also assert superior worth to Mahomet (*Gui*, 8043ff) and occur when the hero is hard pressed (*Gui*, 8195, 8236). Like Corsolt, Amorant is not a man but a "diable" (*Gui*, 8444). Armor is important: Guy's stresses his heroic role, for his hauberk is from King Charles, his helmet from Alexander, and his sword from Hector (*Gui*, 8400-10), while Amorant's sword belonged to Hercules and was bathed in a river of hell (*Gui*, 8461-72). These classical allusions subtly replace the *chanson*'s emphasis on bulk, and situating the combat on an island--a Celtic motif-- rather than a hilltop suggests modesty. In the midst of fighting both Saracens ask their opponents to identify themselves; William replies quickly, but pilgrim Guy only when he is desperately bargaining for the drink that Amorant has treacherously refused. This leads to Guy's plunge into the water, where the giant knocks him down for what Guy describes as a "baptism" (*Gui*, 8824-26), symbolic experience that is part of the romance's idealism. Corsolt gave William a "shortnose" and longer fame; slaying Amorant is Guy's first triumph as a pilgrim seeking grace.

William and Guy share the role of Christian champion against pagan giant, in typology David against Goliath, Christ against Satan. For both, the greatest expression of this role is a patriotic saving of country at the end of a life of service through a victory possible with God's grace and not proclaimed to the hero's fame. Guy's defense of England for Athelstan by defeating Colbrond at Winchester owes much to *Le Moniage II*, when the hermit William saves Paris by killing Ysoré. In an elaborate prelude William's cousin Landri slays Synagon, the Saracen King of Palermo, after a great battle at which William is largely a spectator. Freed after seven years of imprisonment, the old hero returns to his hermitage in Provence; Landri goes back to Paris.

Synagon's nephew is a giant Ysoré, who seeks revenge and hopes to become King of France. He marches to Paris, encamps an army on Montmartre, and lays siege (4620-29). This situation is echoed when the Danes besiege Athelstan at Winchester (*Gui*, 10,781-804). Each king regrets the absence of his greatest champion, who is feared dead. The *Gui* poet again idealizes ritual circumstances. The French king sends a knight to search for William, but Anseys does not recognize the hero at the hermitage, in spite of a symbolic discourse in the orchard (5001-32). However, Galeran, an old man at court, understands, and William collects his armor and loyal horse from the monastery and goes to Paris. Although the champion's identity is obvious, his victory over Ysoré is not a public event. William arrives at the city gate and is refused entry by a watchman who takes him for a Saracen; he then spends the night outside the walls in the hut of Bernard, a poor man. In this fine episode of the common man, noble and peasant get on well.

While they feast on supplies bought with William's money, Bernard tells of Ysoré's habit of riding out alone early each morning. Then William gets a good night's sleep, and Ysoré dreams that William has come. The hero rides out to meet Ysoré; the fight is fierce but brief and concludes, as William intended, before Louis arrives. William gives Ysoré's head to Bernard with instructions to present it to the king only if someone falsely claims the victory, and he returns to his hermitage without contacting anyone (6530-629).

Le Moniage II thus provides the idea of hermitage and a champion savior against a pagan giant, but the *Gui* poet transforms them. Throughout the cycle William serves Louis, an ungrateful and unworthy king. In Athelstan's court no baron is brave and strong enough to fight Anlaf's champion; however, the king himself is humble, pious, and very generous. Most importantly, William, whose family incited Ysoré's vengeance, comes because of Louis' messenger. Guy is not implicated in the Danish invasion, and an angel tells Athelstan that a pilgrim will be found at the gate to serve as champion against Colbrond. This requires greater faith from the English king and his court—an expansion of the religious ideal—who must entrust themselves to an unlikely appearance. William's reliance upon a poor man is humble, but this is less a characteristic of the hero than a criticism of Louis. A formal challenge and combat in *Gui* provide a ritual conclusion, marked by a *Te deum*. In *Le Moniage* there is no reconciliation between knight and king; in *Gui* king and champion show mutual respect. In short, tensions in the *chanson* are resolved. Because Guy becomes a hermit only at the end of his life, following years as an unknown pilgrim champion, there is no interruption or return to the world. The way to contemplation is slow but steady.

The most distinctive link between William and Guy is how their lives end. All good knights fight valorously, and many love, but few turn to a life of religious devotion. *Le Moniage*, written probably in the second half of the twelfth century, places William firmly in the strong monastic tradition of the early Middle Ages. He becomes a hermit only after being humbled in a monastic community and rejecting its life to which he is so ill suited. Guy's piety is highly individual and not connected to a religious community. These are significant differences, yet both heroes die in the sweetness of sanctity.[52]

The distinction is less than the title *Le Moniage* suggests because William's experiences as a monk form only the first third of the *chanson*. A more accurate title would continue "et ermitage," since William leaves the monastery in the habit of a penitent and finds another refuge.[53] The episode in the monastery reflects contemporary invectives against monastic abuse, not least in anti-clerical epic. Even

Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux agreed on this point; Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, put the case eloquently, and Jocelin of Brakelond reports difficulties at St. Edmundsbury, one of England's greatest abbeys. Monks usually became hermits only for a brief period, as a kind of retreat. Hermits were typically nobles, or at least very important personages, who chose this state as a natural last phase of chivalric life. Renewal of hermitages was made possible by the relative ease of life that transformed Europe in the twelfth century. The *trouvère* of *Le Moniage* reflects interest both in opposing ways of religious devotion and in the larger conflict between heroic and saintly life. His original invention is to reconcile the two ways by having William follow both, and this provides inspiration for *Gui de Warewic*. Such resolution greatly appealed in the thirteenth century, when there were public debates over the choice between the active and contemplative life, but the solution is more literary than real, for the poems offer a resolution that was rarely achieved. Wolfram von Eschenbach wrote *Willehalm*, and also *Parzifal*, choosing heroes whose lives combine knightly achievement and unusual dedication to God. William's appeal is further attested by the great success of Guy's legend throughout the Middle Ages and later centuries.[54] The second part is a refinement of the ideal initiated by the *trouvère* of *Le Moniage*.[55]

William of Orange is characterized by his impetuosity and forcefulness, qualities that he brings from the community of family and companions to the community of a monastery. Although highly motivated, the transition is not easy. William wants to alleviate sadness for the loss of his faithful wife Guiborg. Having killed many men, he is also remorseful--regretting even the slain pagans--and fearful about his salvation. Because of strong family ties he receives advice and entreaties from various people at court to dissuade him from so uncharacteristic a course of action. A true hero of the time of Charlemagne, William fought against Saracens, and his prayers were answered, but he shows no unusual religious conviction and enters the monastery anticipating periodic returns to his life as a champion. At first he is well served by natural enthusiasm and behaves humbly, as expected of a man dedicated to God, but his energy and enthusiasm soon conflict with the constraints of monastic rule. William's physical strength and voracious appetite are intimidating and difficult for other monks, whose lack of sympathy disappoints and angers him. His decision to become a hermit is welcome: a free and solitary approach to God suits a knight better than monastic regimen.

By the mid-thirteenth century monasticism no longer dominated Europe, and Guy does not even consider joining a religious community. He becomes a pilgrim, following a solitary way except when he aids

others, and then a hermit. His decision is individual, stemming from a moment of personal spiritual awareness, and not a matter for discussion with others. Guy tells only his wife that he is leaving, and her arguments against his going do not weaken his conviction. His conversion is more compelling because it comes at the height of his achievement, both as a knight and as Felice's loved husband, while William is a widower, old and exhausted by Louis' incompetence and ingratitude. The change is smoother because Guy is not a hearty, outrageous hero; there are no parallels to comic scenes of monkish disarray. The idealizing of romance is clear in their lives as hermits. William's final efforts go to building a bridge for pilgrims to cross to Saint Gelles and Rocamadour; he fights the devil who is interrupting this last service to community. In contrast, Guy prays in his hermit cell near Warwick and receives the sacraments; while William continues the active way, Guy ends his life as a contemplative. After he dies, the soul of "Saint Guillaume del Desert" is immediately taken by God.[56] Guy is forewarned by the angel Michael, who returns to take his soul to God, and Felice soon follows.

Advocacy of masculine martial action is consistent throughout the cycle. In *Les Enfances Guillaume* he sets out to be a knight because his passion is to be a warrior. Guy's inspiration is typical of romance; he undertakes all challenges to prove himself the greatest knight in the world and thus win his lady in marriage. In contrast, love comes to William rather late in life. In *Le Prise d'Orange* William loves Orable, the Emir's sister, even though he has never seen her and she is already married to King Tibalt of Africa. Although this sounds like a troubadour song of Pierre Vidal, Orable is "probably the most important female character in the whole corpus of the *chansons de geste*."[57] She is one of those "forth-putting" Saracen women who first help Christians to escape or to gain victory and then convert to marry the hero. But the baptized Guiborg is different because she spends thirty years married to William, admirably discharging both the traditional female responsibility of inspiring the man who loves her and the less celebrated task of providing practical assistance. Her immediate and open love differs dramatically from Felice's distance, and there are several domestic scenes of tender affection (*SW*, 99-100, 105, 145, 185), as well as a crisp dismissal of William's despairing idea of withdrawal from the world (*SW*, 148). Guiborg goes beyond good advice to her husband (*SW*, 149) to rally her ladies to defend the fortress. She is resourceful, brave, totally supportive of her lord--exactly the qualities of a warrior companion. Orable/Guiborg, living in the Eastern splendor of Gloriette, also provides an exotic alternative with her silken garments, sumptuous feasts, and chess games. Details of

castle life are echoed in *Gui,* but lack domesticity. Felice is less a companion than an inspiration; she also has a separate independence, first as one highly learned in the seven liberal arts, then as a competent manager of estates and performer of charitable deeds. Finally, as the mother of a son, Felice secures the future.

The romance's indebtedness to the William cycle extended to Guy's surviving heir. His son's name *Reinbrun* [*rain* (*ramum*) means "branch"] echoes that of Guiborg's long lost brother Rainourt, who ably fights with his cudgel; there are similarities in their stories. Rainourt's adventures, recounted in *La Chanson de Guillaume*, begin when he slips away to play with his ball and boards a ship that is carried out to sea so that merchants take him and sell him as a slave. He is brought to Paris and works in a kitchen; then he goes with William to the Archamp, where his extraordinary feats are crucial to the old knight's victories. Rainourt slays Saracens and Slavs, steals a ship, and finally kills the giant Tabur of Canaloine (*SW,* 175). Thousands more die before he is baptized and settles with fief and bride. Reinbrun, son of Felice and Guy, is stolen by merchants and taken to Africa, where he is nurtured by the daughter of King Argus before undertaking adventures that owe more to Chrétien's *Yvain* than to William of Orange. William has no son, but his designated successor is a nephew named *Guy* (*SW,* 103), who fights valiantly but is captured and taken to the Saracen ships in the Archamp campaign. Perhaps it is not too fanciful to think of William of Orange's heir as another Guy--of Warwick. An explicit connection is made in the fifteenth century; Joanot Martorell begins his great Catalan romance *Tirant lo Blanc* with a wise and noble hermit called William of Warwick.

8. Chrétien de Troyes

A thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman poet who wanted to create a romance looked to works of Chrétien de Troyes, whose narratives shaped the direction of "romance" in western Christendom.[58] This is not merely a modern critical assertion about the twelfth-century poet who is called "the father of romance." Chrétien's significance is evident in the number of surviving manuscripts, many allusions to his work, and perhaps most crucially translations and adaptations made by medieval authors. Today's praise of *Yvain* is but a continuation of early esteem, expressed in Hartmann von Aue's German adaptation *Iwein* and in the Icelandic *Ivens saga Artuskappa* and the Swedish *Herra Iwan.* [59] Although English taste seems not to have favored the courtly Chrétien, *Ywain and Gawain* was translated in the fourteenth century.[60]

Chrétien's influence was not limited to full imitations; many French authors found his romances a rich source, and the Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic* is similarly indebted. Typically Normans in the thirteenth century were interested in "home," the continent, and Chrétien's romances were the finest models. Greatest indebtedness is to *Yvain*, in the crucial lion-dragon combat and several lesser episodes, and in the structure. *Cligés* provided suggestions for the love story and several locations; other details correspond to *Erec et Enide* and *Perceval*.

Knowledge about Chrétien is limited to what is provided in his works.[61] His language is consistent with Troyes, Champagne's southern capitol, where the dialect was largely that of the Ile de France. Chrétien says, in *Cligés*, that he wrote imitations of the Roman poet Ovid as well as romances. In addition to asserting French inheritance of the classical tradition Chrétien identifies himself by name and expresses a hope for fame. This confidence marks him a man of the twelfth-century "Renaissance," long recognized as the author who epitomized and led a shift from the older epic quality of the *chansons de geste* to romance, a literary development that expressed the change from enduring to striving and from a male society of warrior companions to one where individual knights seek fame, and also love women. Although his education was clerical, there is no evidence that Chrétien was in holy orders. Two poems contain references to patrons. *Lancelot* (*Le Chevalier de la Charette*) was written at the behest of Marie, Countess of Champagne, daughter of King Louis VII of France and Eleanor of Aquitaine, who married King Henry II of England. *Perceval*, on which Chrétien was working when he died, was undertaken for Philippe d'Alsace, Count of Flanders, who died while on crusade in the Holy Land. In short, Chrétien served the courtly society that flowed from France to England to the East. His romances, probably written in the 1170s, were a crucial part of the literary tradition available to an Anglo-Norman poet creating *Gui de Warewic* for a thirteenth-century provincial barony. Commonplaces abound, and romances of novel-length, like *Gui*, use many ideas found in several stories. Chrétien, whose genius lay not in making original plots but in synthesizing, depended heavily upon sources. He explores themes of knighthood combined with love of woman, and the final unfinished *Perceval* treats religious quest, a seeking of transcendent spirituality by a knight who as a youth was not devoted to God. Guy's legend fuses these familiar themes. Moreover, the distinctive structure of Chrétien's romances is reflected in *Gui de Warewic*, which for all its length and multiplicity of episodes uses a similar organization to strengthen the biographical line.

In *Erec et Enide* one very memorable scene is the carrying into hall of the supposedly dead Erec on a litter (4672-710). Interest centers on

the grieving and threatened Enide and on a mounting tension in the nervous crowd trying to identify the cause of mourning. Similar effects appear in the episode of Earl Florentin (*Gui*, 6956-65); Guy slays the son and then unwittingly secures hospitality from his father, only to have the corpse brought into hall. When Erec revives, he kills the brutal Count Oringles, who has been beating his wife, and then leaves in a flurry of confusion as knights flee before one they think is a demon. The event marks a turning point in Erec's behavior; it provides the anxious husband with an occasion for reconciliation as a dedicated and confident lover, with assurance. The Earl Florentin episode marks a similar change; in this last action before Guy returns to England to marry Felice, thoughtless killing and the hero's vulnerability initiate a questioning of his early career, a time of pride and fame-seeking.

Chrétien was notoriously unwilling to supply names of his characters. Biographical interest of *Gui* makes avoidance of his name unlikely, but this information is often withheld from characters in the romance, especially when Guy is a pilgrim with altered appearance. Most notable is the highly dramatic exchange with Amarant (8778-82), but giving names in a combat often occurs. Rival suitors are also not unusual, but the fight against the Duke of Saxony in *Cligés* (3536-70) is echoed in Duke Otoun, Guy's persistent and jealous opponent. Both dukes are boastful and treacherous, and a key event is the abduction of a woman who is betrothed. Cligés rides deep into the enemy's ranks, puts on false arms, and even suggests his death by carrying a head impaled on a lance. When the Saxons pursue him, he turns strategically, identifies himself, and leads the attack against the Duke. Guy rides into an assembly in Pavia, confronts Otoun, and then reveals his identity before making the fatal challenge and decapitating the Duke, and finally riding away with the lady (6481-531). In *Gui* the lady is Oisel, beloved of Guy's companion Terri, while in *Cligés* the lady is the hero's own love, albeit betrothed to his uncle. Chrétien's romance is an anti-Tristram story in which the obstacle is that the lady is married; in *Gui* the obstacle is the lady's superior rank and initial pride.[62] The course of love for both heroes is very similar emotionally, especially in the initial stages of long analyses, transports and despair (*Gui*, 161-642). A number of points suggest indebtedness to *Cligés*. The appearance of several physicians to examine one who appears ill is crucial to Chrétien's treatment of the Empress, since they become the torturers in an analogous elaborate paralleling of Christ's Passion before her "resurrection." In *Gui* doctors are sent to identify the hero's illness (235-45, 463-90). The idea of a single physician who can cure (*Cligés*, 5657-718) is thus adapted, and Chrétien's elaborate tower becomes the object of Guy's complaint (425-40). Cligés' love is called *Fénice*, since

the phoenix is the medieval symbol for the Resurrection; Guy's love is *Felice*, happiness that is both earthly and eternal. These names suggest imitation. Like Chrétien's Soredamour (and Blancheflour, Tristan's mother), Felice dies of grief soon after her husband. Finally, *Cligés* has Chrétien's richest use of place names, and many are significant to the Anglo-Norman poet. When Cligés arrives in Britain, he goes initially to Wallingford; King Arthur's tournament, the first in which he fights, is held on a plain outside Oxford (4575-99). The same geographical references are the most specific in *Gui*, as is particularization of Pavia.

A mark of the *Gui* poet's skill in choosing sources is that greatest indebtedness is to Chrétien's most esteemed romance, *Yvain*, or *Le Chevalier au Lion* (*The Knight of the Lion*) because this is the knight's name during the second part and the lion is crucial to the poem's hermeneutics. One of the most memorable events is the hero's rescue of a lion that is being attacked by a dragon deep in a forest. The lion humbly and gratefully joins its forepaws and offers fealty to the knight (3341-484). Subsequently the lion serves the solitary Yvain in hunting, in killing a giant, and in fighting the accusers of Lunette, who had encouraged her lady Laudine to wed Yvain. When Yvain returns to be reunited with his wife, the lion is still alive. Guy's adventure is similar, but briefer. The meeting and rescue of the lion, stalked by a serpent, are imitated exactly; the grateful lion offers loyalty as a vassal, and they return to the castle of the Emperor Hernis (*Gui*, 4115-90). There the envious seneschal Morgadur stabs the sleeping lion, in jealous fury because Guy is to wed the Emperor's daughter. A witness, a maid in the castle (perhaps suggested by the helpful Lunette) tells Guy, who angrily seeks vengeance and kills Morgadur. This treachery is an excuse for Guy's necessary withdrawal, since he must marry Felice. A temporary lapse of memory about his beloved, a serious weakness, is minimized; Guy fiercely upbraids the Emperor for having faithless followers and secures gifts for his help against the Saracens (*Gui*, 4121-513). Although lions appear at about the same point in both romances (*Yvain*, 3341 and *Gui*, 4321), they have very different functions. Chrétien makes a lion a lasting sign that defines the narrative's meaning; the *Gui* poet redeploys it in a single sequence, albeit a complex one, to reiterate the conflict of good against evil.

The grateful lion is a familiar figure in the Middle Ages. The story of Androcles and the Lion recounts the youth's kind service in removing a thorn from a lion's paw and the animal's gratitude and loyalty. Saving the lion from a dragon is a significant change in the occasion for human help, part of medieval adaptation of classical story for a didactic Christian purpose. The "serpent" (dragon) is a traditional emblem of evil, and the lion of good, indeed even of Christ. Combat between the

two dramatically shows the conflict between vice and virtue that was never far from the minds of people in the Middle Ages, whether in learned texts like Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (sixth century) or carved Romanesque figures in churches and cloisters.[63] The fusion of this medieval concept with the classical story occurs in the Epistles of Peter Damian (d.1072). Closer to Chrétien is Alexander Neckham's account in *De Naturis Rerum* at the end of the twelfth century, and a *Chronicle* of Jaufre de Vigeois for 1184 reports how a knight Galfier de Lastours in the Holy Land saved a lion from the attack of a dragon and subsequently received the lion's fidelity and support in the hunt and feats of arms. Any distinction between legend and history is typically irrelevant, an analogue to the transfer of Colbrond from *Gui* into fourteenth-century chronicle accounts of Athelstan.

Several less distinctive episodes suggest an influence of *Yvain*. Assisted by his lion Yvain kills a giant, Harpin of the Mountain, who in fury over his rejected love, had razed a market town to the ground. Harpin had also taken captive the sons of the baron of the castle, who is Gawain's uncle, and killed two of them. With the death of Harpin Yvain frees a captive family (3770-4312). Guy kills the giant Amorant to save the sons of Earl Jonas, who are held captive at Alexandria. The occasion is the Soudan's revenge against Triamour, but Guy like Yvain restores beloved sons to a grateful father. The Amorant combat is imaginatively detailed, the dismemberment of the giant recalling the lion's treatment of Harpin. Furthermore, in this episode Guy calls himself "Jun" (*Gui*, 8270), and the challenge occurs the day before the feast of Saint John (*Gui*, 8571), just as Yvain's initial adventure to the fountain was planned for his arrival on the Vigil of the feast of Saint John the Baptist (668-70). Church feasts often indicate time in medieval narratives, but the correspondence suggests a specific connection. Other details of the fountain are echoed in the enchanted palace entered by Reinbrun near the end of *Gui* (12,281-372).

The more obviously Celtic elements of *Yvain*—the fairy lore of lady, magic fountain, ring of invisibility—do not suit a hero like Guy, who owes too much to the *chansons*. These interests seem appropriate to the next generation, and they are echoed in Reinbrun's major adventure, an encounter with the fairy knight who has imprisoned his father's old companion Amis of the Mountain. Chrétien's most distinctive effects are the magic tempest and the perron (775), a pillar that became a feature both of other romances and in actual *pas d'armes*, an illustration of chivalric life imitating chivalric literature. There is no fountain in *Gui*, but an extraordinary river (12,339-62) is more challenging than the moat; Reinbrun's sinking deeply into the water as he rides across replaces the terror brought by the fountain's tempest.

The crystal palace is elaborately described, and the two most interesting details are derived from *Yvain*. In Chrétien's poem the tree fills with birds all singing different songs but in accord, after the tempest; in *Gui* the birds sing continuously, and the fairy knight completes the distinctive pillar (12,337). The Anglo-Norman poet keeps the magic but with less terror and finally a reconciliation rather than a defeat.

Reinbrun's adventures, the familiar circumstance of companion knights who unwittingly fight each other, lack the fatal consequences of his father's actions. The title of the Middle English romance *Ywain and Gawain* indicates that the single combat and friendship of these two champions are crucial. Following his usual principle of expansion, the *Gui* poet includes two such fights: the first, between Guy's mentor Heralt and Reinbrun, Guy's son, who was also taught by Heralt; the second, between Reinbrun, who is attended by Heralt, and Avelac, Heralt's own son. This doubling at first seems excessive, but it demonstrates the Anglo-Norman's interest in careful structure.

There is a tendency to think of medieval romances, especially long ones like *Gui de Warewic*, as somewhat randomly organized, as narratives that develop without the causality that readers of modern novels regard as crucial, or as relying on a mythic pattern. Chrétien is described as exceptional because although his romances of adventures are necessarily episodic, there is a clear narrative structure. This has been analyzed in several ways: as tripartite with Exposition, Crisis, and Adventures. A fourth component may be recognized, a postponement through two elaborate episodes that delay reconciliation. In *Yvain* the crisis comes when the hero's cousin Gauvain challenges his neglect of knightly pursuits and Laudine agrees to a year's absence for tourneying. The time is overstayed, and Lunette appears with Laudine's accusation before Arthur's court. The crisis (2476-95) comes about a third of the way into the story, and adventures continue until the last 300 lines of reconciliation. Thus the exposition, crisis, and reconciliation combined fill fewer lines than the adventures that take an extra 700 lines.

The structure of *Gui de Warewic* imitates Chrétien's narratives by its use of crisis, involving a moral problem, that marks the division of the hero's career into two parts.[64] Yvain's conflict is between the claims of knighthood and of marriage; it is precipitated by the expectations of companion and wife. Guy's conflict is between the claims of this world and the next; his own self awareness, climaxed by a mystic experience of God when beholding the wonder of His creation (*Gui*, 7563-94), is the occasion of the crisis. The issue echoes the story of St. Alexis, but its position in the structure of the romance suggests Chrétien. Guy's crisis comes more than half way in the story (12,926 lines). His beginning adventures include unrequited love, tourneying,

fighting in company against envious rival and pagans, helping a sworn companion, killing an impertinent youth while hunting, slaying a dragon, and winning a wife. Yvain won his wife with one spectacular adventure. There are no tournaments in the second part of *Gui*; the hero's adventures, like Yvain's, involve service of others, but they are not eagerly sought by the pilgrim. Actually there are only three adventures (the slaying of the Saracen giants Amarant and Colbrond, separated by the killing of Bernard of Pavia), and the postponement is brief references to Guy's son Reinbrun. The final 1550 lines, an eighth of the poem, are devoted to the pilgrim's return and death in Warwick (11,375-632) and to a postponement episode in which Reinbrun is shown to be Guy's worthy successor through his response to Heralt, his help of Amis, and a return to the English locale of Wallingford.

The *Gui* poet adapts Chrétien's model to his own purposes: he maintains the dramatic effect of a crisis that shifts the direction of narrative. However, he divides the adventures into two approximately equal portions that are clearly contrasted. The first is many layered and the second sharply focussed, a treatment of episodes that reflects the hero's state of mind. Finally, the *Gui* poet richly expands the reconciliation and also eloquently indicates both the end and beginning of knightly adventures. Guy is the transcendent ideal; his son remains to continue the best of worldly knightly achievement. Personal realization, the objective of courtly, chivalric romance is sustained but in a context of eternity as well as political present. The Anglo-Norman poet, who relied heavily upon *Yvain*, was a lesser poet than Chrétien, but wrote well beyond slavish imitation.

Even this brief review of the most important antecedents of the legend of Guy of Warwick indicates that the Anglo-Norman poet's knowledge of history and literature was wide-ranging. The society that produced *Gui de Warewic* possessed a rich tradition, both French and English, as well as Latin. The early thirteenth century was a time of synthesis, an era of *summae*, a bringing together of significant ideas and traditions to create an ordering of experience. The romance, which admits great variety of matter, appealed to a robust courtly audience that was still being established. From many antecedents was fashioned a knight/pilgrim champion whose courage, loyalty, generosity, physical strength, love, patriotic service, and piety fulfill a variety of wishes for an ideal hero whose story is both exciting and inspiring. The *Gui* poet was a sensitive and knowledgeable reader, who drew upon many sources to create a legend that appealed for centuries.

CHAPTER TWO
AN ANGLO-NORMAN HERO: THE FIRST GUY OF WARWICK

Gui de Warewic, an Anglo-Norman romance composed early in the thirteenth century, is the earliest written account of the legend.[1] As is often the case with medieval literature, the author is unknown, but use of the toponymic Warwick encourages specific associations. The poem shows less precise knowledge of Warwick than of Wallingford, near Oxford, so that area has been suggested as its place of origin. The strength of Oseney Abbey, an important Augustinian house founded in 1129 by Robert d'Oilly and his wife and enriched by the family during the next century, makes it a likely site for composition, either by a member of the order or by a clerk serving the community with the intention of pleasing benefactors. Medieval religious houses were centers for the production of historical writing, which did not sharply distinguish between chronicle and romance. Recording of important events was well established by Anglo Saxon annals; by the twelfth century detailed reporting and commentary, including speeches and analysis of motives, were typical in Norman chronicles.

Several theories have been advanced about a specific occasion for the writing of *Gui de Warewic* to flatter the d'Oilly family and foster its Warwick connection. These include a marriage between the Newburgh and d'Oilly families, Henry de Newburgh's acquisition of estates through the inheritance of his d'Oilly wife, the influence of Thomas, Earl of Warwick through his d'Oilly mother.[2] All are plausible, but no one most convincing. In later centuries evidence of direct connection between Guy's legend and the Earls of Warwick is substantial, but in the early thirteenth century there was not yet a Warwick "affinity" to provide both cultural and administrative interaction.[3] The poem's immediate success was greater than the earldom's; there were a series of complications in succession, since no direct male heir was left. History seems to be imitating legend: Guy of Warwick gained his title through marriage to Felice, only heir to Earl Rohalt; William de Beauchamp IV, having become Earl in 1269 by succeeding his maternal uncle, named his heir Guy in 1298. The name entered the family and was often used subsequently, as was Reinbrun. A tower added to the Castle, completed in 1394, was called Guy's Tower, and "relics" began with this Earl Guy's mementos.[4]

A list of forty books given in 1305 by Earl Guy de Beauchamp to Bordesley Abbey, Worcestershire, includes a copy of "Un Volum del

Romance de Guy e de la Reygne tut entrement." The act of donation to this Cistercian house is a remarkable record of a literary taste that brought together a variety of interests and suggests an emphasis upon high moral purpose. M. Blaess distinguishes five groups: the major one is works of religious character; then there are epic legends, varied but not so numerous; courtly romances are well represented; didactic literature and historical literature are the last.[5] Included among religious works are Gospels, Apocalypse, Genesis, many lives of saints, meditations of St. Bernard. Epic legends are of Charles, Ferebras, Alexander, and Brut. Most pertinent is "Un Volum del Romaunce de Williame de Oreenges," the *chanson* to which *Gui* is greatly indebted. This evidence of family interest in the older heroes is reinforced by the high proportion of epic legends. Even the Arthurian selections--Lancelot, [Joseph of] Arimathea and the Holy Grail, the Death of Arthur and Modred--have a didactic emphasis. Blaess concludes by questioning whether the list, especially the epic *chansons* and Arthurian items, indicates that Earl Guy was putting aside the old books that no longer pleased. Whatever the reason--and a change to English may be crucial--the list tells much about a thirteenth-century collection and establishes *Gui* as a part of baronial taste. Combination of religious and secular titles and donation by a lay person to an abbey show natural affinities in the Middle Ages, when cleric and knight enjoyed close associations, not least because they were frequently of the same families.[6]

A copy of *Gui de Warewic* is also mentioned in Canterbury Library in 1279, and a catalogue of 1485 made at St. Augustine's monastery in Canterbury includes four copies of "Geste Guydonis de Warewyk in gellico." One of these became a part of Bishop Matthew Parker's Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 50.[7] Survival in numerous manuscripts that show at least two distinct versions, indicates a wide audience.[8] Accident of preservation suggests but does not prove importance; works valued today--*Chanson de Guillaume, Beowulf, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*--survive in unique copies. But frequent references and numerous copies indicate wide availability; the appeal of *Gui de Warewic* can be discerned in the society for which it was created.

The thirteenth century was not a time when high sentiments prevailed in England. Normandy was lost in 1204, so that earlier harmony had dissipated. Between 1208 and 1213 England was under interdict because of a dispute between King John and Pope Innocent III. Internal rivalries were the most recent experiences of the court, whether between followers of King Stephen and Empress Matilda or between King Henry II, Eleanor of Acquitaine, and their quarrelsome sons, or the

Anglo-Norman barony themselves in land disputes. The inspiration of the First Crusade had degenerated into the quarrels of the Third Crusade that left Jerusalem in Saracen hands. Knowledge of the past shows that all periods contain a mixture of anxiety and confidence, of horror and beauty, of war and peace. Nevertheless, the thirteenth century was a time of particular change, if not of decline, from the expanding world of the previous century with its burst of chivalry, art, literature, architecture, theology, and strong personalities. Many difficulties and disappointments required an alternative, an exemplum to inspire.

The opening lines of *Gui de Warewic* state that since God created, there have been many "aventures" from which men may take "esperemenz" (examples 6) because the adventures had truth, faith, loyalty. Discretion is enjoined in knowing these deeds.

Ico estenu a bele mestrie, Ki fait le sen e laist la folie. (18-19)	And y it holde a fayre mastrye, To occupye wisdome and leue folye. (Caius,19-20)

This intention is a long honored one, and the *Gui*-poet goes on to specify what is to be learned: to love prowess and hold faith, to do all good things and to reject evil, to hold pride and riches in scorn. Finally, "la sume de sa valur," Gui's ultimate worth, was to forsake all for his Creator. As a model for human behavior, Gui exceeds the capacity of most, but he provides an inspiring ideal, one that is developed over a long period. The poem, which recounts all of the hero's life, is 12,926 lines in length; it offers a complex combination of themes, a synthesis of the best from many antecedents.

Gui de Warewic was written in a particular circumstance, and the baronial society that was its first audience makes Legge's term "ancestral romance" a useful way of distinguishing Anglo-Norman narratives that tried to provide a sense of belonging. It also suggests continuity with "genealogical literature," George Duby's designation for the phenomenon in twelfth-century France by which texts were written to present the lineage and remarkable deeds of a family who were patron to the author.[9] Authors of such histories were usually secular clerks or chaplains who belonged to a noble household. They did not hesitate to fill in past ancestors by recourse to a mythical founder from a heroic past.[10] *Gui* may be read as a protracted example. It does not give an account of contemporary thirteenth-century persons but is part of medieval storytelling that sought to reconstruct the past as it ought to have been.[11] Set precisely in the reign of King Athelstan in the tenth century, *Gui de Warewic* looks back to an earlier period--both Saxon and Norman. Standing and dignity for the house of Warwick are

established, as the Beauchamps' later exploitation of Guy's legend makes clear. Family histories gave nobles who were not part of a true royal line a way to celebrate their memorable deeds and lineage, as chronicles served kings. This broadening of interest was especially easy in England where the social structure was characterized by much greater mobility than in France. The first Norman king was a bastard, and Norman knights were men of great energy and ambition who went far afield--to Sicily as well as England--to make a place for themselves. One theme in *Gui* is baronial concern for establishing, recovering, and holding a heritage, but this is only part of the poem's interest. Throughout his life Gui refuses personal gifts, so that his interest is not centered in possessions, even in the first part of the narrative.[12] The success of the legend rested upon its complex combination of themes; this richness, suffused with an exemplary quality, explains a popularity not shared by other Anglo-Norman romances.

A brief outline of events in *Gui de Warewic* indicates that although the narrative is long, it is not diffuse, as its detractors claim.

I. THE AMBITIOUS YOUNG KNIGHT (1-7226)

1. Exemplary Prologue: adventures provide examples; take the good and leave folly. (1-18)
2. Lineages of Rohalt, Earl of Warwick, and his steward Sequard, father of Gui. (19-160)
3. Gui falls in love with Felice but is rejected because he is the steward's son. (161-698)
4. Gui seeks fame to win Felice's love. (699-4544)
   a. First venture: tournaments abroad (699-1167)
   b. Second venture, after Felice demands greater fame and prowess
      (1) Ambush by envious Duke Otun (1167-1637)
      (2) Duke Segyn is reconciled to Emperor Reiner. (1637-2872)
5. Sworn Brotherhood (4545-7226)
   a. Gui rescues Terri and Oisel, whom Otun sought to wed. (4545- 5034)
   b. Defense of Terri's father Alberi from Otun (5035-5948)
   c. Gui kills Otun, and the lovers wed. (5948-6804)
   d. Gui kills Earl Florentin's son. (6805-7226)

II. TRIUMPH IN ENGLAND (7227-7857)

1. Gui slays the Irish dragon in Northumberland at Athelstan's request. (7227-7408)

2. Gui weds Felice joyously. (7409-7562)
3. Gui recognizes the limitations of worldly seeking and dedicates himself to God, leaving Felice to bear their son and to perform works of charity in England, while he goes to the Holy Land. (7563-7790)
4. Heralt searches for his lord Gui. (7791-7856)

III. THE PILGRIM KNIGHT SERVES GOD (7857-10,774)

1. The pilgrim Gui champions Earl Jonas, slays the pagan giant Amorant. (7868-8974)
2. Felice performs good works, son Reinbrun is stolen, and Heralt searches for him. (8975-9392)
3. Pilgrim Gui is reunited with Terri and slays Berard, Otun's vengeful nephew. (9393-10,775)

IV. APOTHEOSIS IN ENGLAND (10,775-11,631)

1. The pilgrim champion (Gui) defeats Colebrant, Saracen giant of Anlaf, King of the Danes, to save England for King Athelstan at Winchester. (10,775-11,375)
2. The pilgrim (Gui) returns to Warwick; unrecognized, he receives alms from Felice, lives as a hermit, dies, and his soul is taken to heaven by St. Michael. Felice, who was reunited with her husband just before he died, follows him in death in a fortnight. They are buried together. (11,375-11,631)

V. FAMILIES AND COMPANIONS UNITED (11,632-12,926)

1. Heralt goes to Africa, fights a young champion, who is Reinbrun. (11,156-12,146)
2. Reinbrun rescues Gui's old companion Amis de Montaigne from imprisonment by a fairy knight. (12,147-12,571)
3. Reinbrun fights Aselac, until he identifies himself as Heralt's son; they all return to England. (12,572-12,912)
4. Exemplary Epilogue: Gui is the best example; God helps all. (12,913-12,926)

Gui's story is quite varied, but principal characters are limited. For example, a single child/heir is given to Roalt, Sequard, Gui, and Heralt. In the world of chivalry Duke Otun is Gui's principal antagonist. He envies Gui's success; this leads to a treacherous ambush; Gui's help and sworn brotherhood with Terri lead to the defense of Alberi and Otun's

death. Otun's nephew Berard seeks vengeance, and this leads to pilgrim Gui's fighting for Terri in the second half of his life. Reinbrun's rescue of Amis of the Mountain also was necessitated by that knight's support of Gui against Otun. The poet seems to use a principle of doubling.[13] This device may be based on Chrétien de Troyes' two-part structure: provisional victory, jeopardy, final resolution.[14] Gui has two ventures outside England to become the worthiest knight in the world and be accepted by Felice; two dragons are slain, one in each part of Gui's career; there are two series of adventures in the Holy Land, again one in each part; Gui kills two huge Saracen giants, one to save the oppressed abroad and one to preserve England; there are two pairs of lovers, Terri and Oisel, Gui and Felice; two antagonists, Otun and Morgadour, are driven by envy of Gui. The narrative moves easily and energetically.[15] Gui links its many actions, but concentration on a few major figures who reappear and doubling of episodes also give unity to contrasted adventures.

What emerges is a hero set in a definite world, a world of chivalry that occurred both in literature and in life and that even today provides an ideal.[16] Gui's adventures were told as an example, a model for knighthood in a world of warriors who, at their best, have ethical and religious values as well as physical skills and strength. Life and literature of chivalry are closely related, mutually enriching; the concept of honor has longest lasting influence, but there is much ordinary detail.[17] The sequence of Gui's adventures parallels the life of a man like William Marshal. The early training of a knight receives less attention than his first adventures in the field. The treatment of boyhood is brief, but the opening gives a context. Gui has a mentor, Heralt of Ardern, who is a foster father, from whom he learns of hunting, jousting and fencing, how to spur and handle a horse, and also to treat generously poor knights and prisoners (143-60). The narrative begins with Gui as a member of Earl Roalt's household, where he is cupbearer, partially because his father Sequard is the Earl's trusted steward. This role of master is reinforced when Gui instructs Felice that their son is to be entrusted to Heralt's tutelage (7702-704), and the mother duly gives him the boy Reinbrun, whose development is noted at age seven and ten years. Two other knights participate in his education, which is cut short when merchants kidnap Reinbrun. Gui progresses from youthful learning of skills with horse, lance, and sword to be dubbed, at his request, as a knight by Earl Roalt along with twenty companions who are sons of rich barons (643-56). This detail suggests something about evolving ideas of nobility in the early thirteenth century when admission to knighthood required a clear ancestral line, as an ordinance of Frederick II illustrates.[18] Sequard is a man of "grant parage" (86) so

that Gui has just claims, although his family lacks the wealth and power of the Earl of Warwick, whose daughter/heir understandably finds Gui's love presumptuous. Later Gui frees himself from marrying Laurette by declaring to her father, Emperor Hernis of Constantinople, that he is "le fiz d'un povre vavasur" (4471), a lesser vassal.[19] Gui's physical beauty and high chivalric achievements fulfill qualifications of personal worth. The ceremony of knighthood is a colorful one. It takes place on Trinity Sunday; all are richly attired, beautifully armed, and provided with splendid horses (657-72). Gui quickly learns that ceremony and early training do not make a knight. Felice's insistence that he become the best knight in the world (621-28) is intense personal motivation, but the progress of his early life is a typical knight's way.

The young knight must prove himself in a larger, competitive world, and the place to do this, and to further his skills, was the tournament. Here he could also win riches--armor, horses, ransoms from those he defeated, prizes, and a lady's favor. Next the knight moved to a less controlled area, battles in which he characteristically served a lord and his companions. There were also judicial, single combats of the most exacting kind. *Gui de Warewic* is a rich storehouse of information about weapons, armor, war horses, strategy, techniques and consequences of blows. The effect is like a play-by-play sports broadcast today, and no doubt elicited similar fascination and enthusiasm from medieval audiences. Consequences were more serious, since lives were lost and injuries often severe. But chivalry, like modern sport, formalized male physicality, limited violence, and channeled aggression.

Early tournaments typically filled a large area, for instance between Warwick and Kenilworth, according to an ordinance of Richard I, so that they were a training for battle.[20] The most important tournaments were held in northern France, where in the last quarter of the twelfth century the practice of such chivalric games had developed.[21] Gui is a typical knight errant in seeking fame; his extraordinary generosity, a consistent distribution of the fruits of his victories, underlies the idealism of a character who is above the desire for profits (horses, armor, ransom) that inspired many to fight. This is the more notable because Gui is not a lord of great wealth; it is a harbinger of further renunciation of the world. Chivalric engagements led, of course, to enmity and were often exploited to seek vengeance for prior harms. Gui's greatest enemy is Duke Otoun, and the animosity begins with his pride and envy at the first tournament in Rouen, when Gui wins prizes as the best knight.

Rivalry and vendetta were common in life and major themes in the *chansons de geste* that greatly influenced *Gui de Warewic*. By the thirteenth century the Carolingian stories, with their dual themes of

feudal rivalry and holy wars against the pagans, were giving way to Arthurian legend; twelfth-century romances, especially those of Chrétien de Troyes, were disseminated and imitated with remarkable speed. *Gui de Warewic* combines traditions of epic *chanson* and romance probably more than any other--though *Boeuve de Hamtoun* is usually a rival claimant. One manuscript includes: "Ici finist la chancun De Gui le vaillant Barun."[22] This rubric indicates that medieval vernacular literature shows less genre consciousness than has been expected since the Renaissance; it is as difficult to define epic as to define romance.[23] *Gui* is a very long poem and part of a widespread early thirteenth-century interest in a hero's entire life rather than a limited adventure. Development of *chansons*, like those telling of Guillaume d'Orange, into cycles is one example. The presence of *chansons* of William of Orange and the romance of *Gui* in the same manuscript collection or library suggests a certain unanimity of appeal to the audience for which they were prepared.[24] The affinity of Gui with William's cycle is most broadly evident in the theme of Christian warring against pagans. Well known because of the *Chanson de Roland*, this struggle did not predominate in other cycles, but it pervades William of Orange *chansons*, albeit family struggles dominate.[25] The zeal of the Crusades that inspired Roland and William to defend Christendom from Saracen advances through Spain is superseded in Guy's legend by his adventures and pilgrimages into the Holy Land itself, a Norman experience.

Holy Wars were a chivalric version of piety, and penitential themes are rare in twelfth and thirteenth-century romances. Heroes of *chansons* are more given to the active than the contemplative life. The preaching of Crusades called knights to a mission that conveniently allowed a continuing pursuit of martial exploits and fame into the seeking of salvation; in the early Middle Ages the Church adapted the older heroic ideas of the Teutonic warrior so that his service was to God as well as to his companions.[26] Gui fights for the Emperor of Constantinople against the Soldan as the climax of his first adventures. There are echoes of the *chansons* of Roland and Guillaume in the fury of the Soldan against his gods which he curses and breaks (3644-64). As to Charles, an angel promises Athelstan the saving of his kingdom (10,930-46); as an angel takes Roland's soul to heaven, so Michael leads Gui's soul to the presence of God (11,563-68). Gui is singularly blessed by Michael's foretelling his death and salvation (11,448-72), and a sweet smell emanates from the corpse (11,578-90).[27]

Gui's dying is private rather than a community experience.[28] This follows naturally from his choice of an individual way to God as a nameless pilgrim. The early thirteenth century was a time of conflict and uneasiness with institutions, particularly the Church, which after

the eleventh century gradually had its influence weakened. Pope Innocent III's fierce and proud assertiveness was a desperate attempt to secure temporal power, but the humility of St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) inspired and did more to rebuild the Church. Francis began as a soldier but emerged from imprisonment, an almost inevitable corollary of chivalry, to eschew worldly goods and offer himself to God. A soldier's conversion to religious service is an often repeated Christian story and provides a context for Gui.[29] Francis' pilgrimage to the Holy Land was not as a militant Christian but as a missionary, a role also filled by Gui's conversion of King Triamour (8343-62, 8900, 8906-07). Gui's victory over Amarant comes through knightly prowess, but the cold water in which he fights the giant recalls baptism (8825).

The spirit of St. Francis is popularly evoked in the story of his talking to the birds, telling them to be thankful to God their Creator; this spirit pervades *Gui de Warewic*, since the prayers most frequently offered are to God the Creator.[30] The sentiment is that of Psalm 8: "When I see the heavens, the work of your hands," and Gui's conversion comes precisely with the experience of seeing the heavens (7568-94). He regrets that all he has done as a knight has been self-seeking, to win fame and love, not for his "criatur" (7587). The scene on the tower recalls one in the story of William of Orange, when that hero delights in the extent of his domain, and shows how the world of the *chanson* has been left. William surveys his lands, the most valued possession in a feudal temporal world; Gui's vision moves from the land to the heavens to God (7571-73). His meeting with Athelstan at the city gate echoes a passage from Amos (5.14-15, 21-24) that urges a seeking of good, avoiding showing celebrations to have a flow of justice and integrity. The concluding lines express the same vision: the sum of Gui's valor was to forsake all for his "criatur" (12,922). The theme is a familiar one; for example, the earliest troubadour William IX of Aquitaine in "Pas de chanter m'es pres talentz" writes of his sorrow, abandoning joy and gaiety to accept the will of God.[31] However, this poem was written when William was old and under excommunication, not at the peak of his realization of worldly good.

Forsaking the world is a crux in Guy's legend, particularly for modern readers, so that it is useful to recall the temper of the thirteenth century. Even Frederick II, "the greatest of the princes of the earth," died a Cistercian, according to Matthew Paris, in 1250.[32] Death was the moment elaborated in Cistercian collections of saints, who were taken by angels to heaven, receiving an immediate reward that balanced the austerity of their lives on earth.[33] The mystical tradition, popularly known through St. Francis, was deeply influenced by an expectation of a third epoch of the Holy Spirit, an age of monkish contemplation, the