Arthurian Material in a Late-Medieval French Miscellany: Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 215

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Manuscript 215 is described in the catalogue of the Médiathèque François Mitterand in Poitiers as a late 15th-century "recueil de mélanges et d'extraits" (62). The whole codex seems to have been written by one scribe and decorated throughout by the same hand. It comprises historical texts, extracts from the *auctores*, some "factual" information (dates and measurements), moral aphorisms and short poems, and may have been an encyclopedia of exemplary material designed for a late-medieval aristocratic male.[1] This miscellany contains four texts with Arthurian connections: two lists of Knights of the Round Table, a copy of the *Serments, lois et ordonnances de la Table Ronde*, and reference to King Arthur in the context of the *Neuf Preux*. It is the aim of this contribution in honor of Keith Busby, who was once a student at the CESCM in Poitiers, to consider the role this material plays within the codex and to demonstrate the importance of manuscripts in regional libraries for our understanding of the production and dissemination of Arthurian material in the late Middle Ages.

The evidence concerning the ownership of this manuscript is tantalizingly fragmentary. Its beautifully decorated borders contain the initials AM in monogram and the Old French *devise* "Ie n'en voy nul jusques au trespas" in banderoles. However, the motto has been painted over an earlier one in Italian, visible from the other side of the parchment: "Piu no vole." Since two quires and one folio from the beginning of the codex are missing, further evidence of authorship/patronage may have been lost. AM is identified by a modern hand in the catalogue as Aymon de Monfalcon, presumably the Bishop of Lausanne (1491-1517). Perhaps the source of this identification was

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[1] The numerous pearls of wisdom on the subject of women suggest that the ideal reader for this manuscript was male.

Alfred Piaget, who argues that the interlaced AM found everywhere in the bishop's castle[2] is reproduced in "le manuscrit nº 215 de la Bibliothèque de Poitiers, qui est un recueil de la fin du XVᵉ siècle d'extraits du Roman de la Rose et d'œuvres d'Alain Chartier et d'autres poètes de l'époque. Ce livre faisait partie de la librairie d'Aymon de Montfaucon."[3] Unfortunately, no list of *devises héraldiques* known to me identifies the owner of either the French or the Italian motto. Moreover, the letters in the ubiquitous monogram in Aymon's castle are of a different shape from those found in the Poitiers manuscript. If the book did belong to the Bishop of Lausanne, whose *devise* from Virgil's *Aeneid*, I, 18, "si qua fata sinant" (if in any way the fates were to allow it) is carved in a frieze in the Musée de Cluny in Paris,[4] it contains an appropriate mixture of texts for someone who was a poet himself and presided over his own literary court. Moreover, "Ie n'en voy nul jusques au trespas" befits a young poet heavily influenced by the works of Alain Chartier who turned to clerical duties and bade farewell to amatory adventure when his love was unrequited.[5] Yet the Poitiers manuscript does not (despite the catalogue entry) contain works by Chartier (see note 10 below).

Since Aymon seems to have had no connection with Poitou, and it is unclear how his book ended up in the municipal library, it is possible that the AM in question is some unidentified noble from the region. A local link may be suggested by the presence in this manuscript of works by Pierre d'Anché,[6] a poet from Anché, a village on the river Clain south of Poitiers. However, Pierre moved in wider literary circles, participated in poetry competitions organized by Charles

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[2] See http://www.swisscastles.ch/Vaud/chateau/stmaire.html for the monogram on the ceiling of Aymon's castle St-Maire.

[3] Alfred Piaget, "Aymon de Montfaucon et sa cour littéraire," in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Droz, 1928) 447-67, here 455.

[4] See http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde_fr?, inventory number Cl. 8637 A.

[5] See Piaget 455, who suggests that the A of the monogram represents Aymon, while the M was his beloved's initial.

[6] See the rubrics on fol. 35r "Cy apres s'ensuit l'epytaphe du bon cappitaine sallezart faict par pierre danche" and on fol. 97r "Louange faicte par pierre d'anche a la exultation de madame anne de france duchesse de bourbonnoys et d'auvergne."

d'Orléans at Blois and may therefore have been known to Aymon in Lausanne.[7]

The dating of Poiters 215 is easier to establish. The *terminus post quem* for the copying of this collection is 1480, the date of the Siege of Rhodes by the Turks, described on folios 67v-70r. This text is preceded by a letter or speech addressed to the King of France by Robert, Conte de Cayace,[8] dated 18th November 1477 on the death of the Duke of Milan in the previous year (fols. 64r-67v). On folio 36r there is an epitaph for "monseigneur de Bueil," who died in 1478, followed on folios 36v-37r by the epitaph written on the tomb containing his heart in his castle at Vaujours, Touraine.[9] The hero in question is Jean V de Bueil, admiral of France, plague of the English at the time of Joan of Arc, and author of *Le Jouvencel*, quoted on folio 48r, but wrongly attributed by the rubricator to Alain Chartier.[10] Although the *Chronique de France* on folios 1-8 ends in 1383, many of the later items in the manuscript refer to events in the final decades of the 15th century, when it seems likely that the compilation was produced.

Although this manuscript has some local connections with Poitou and Touraine, there are also links with Italy (the piece on the death of the Duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza,[11] the overwritten motto, an inscription copied from the church of St George in Rome (fol. 22r), and the "testament de Surgot de Florence" (fols. 51v-52r). However, the compiler's interests range more widely still to include some Turkish material, translations of Latin and Greek historical and philo-sophical texts, and lengthy extracts from Jean de Meun's section of the *Roman de la Rose*. Thus Poitiers 215 may well have been produced for a cosmopolitan Swiss bishop steeped in the learning of late-medieval France and Renaissance Italy and fascinated by Arthurian literature and ritual.

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[7] On Pierre d'Anché, see Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, "'Gardez vous bien de ce Fauveau!' Co-textualisation et symbolique animale dans un rondeau de Pierre d'Anché," *Reinardus* 11 (1998): 131-48.

[8] See Antoine Varillas, *Histoire de Charles VIII* (La Haye: Adrian Moetjens, 1691).

[9] The latter text is also to be found on fol. 13v in BnF, fr. 18668, a 16th-century *recueil*.

[10] The rubric "Maistre allain chartier dit ou livre de Juvencel" misled both the modern cataloguer and Piaget. Chartier is merely quoted here.

[11] This event is also mentioned in a work dedicated to Aymon de Montfaucon by a certain Antitus or Titus; see Piaget 462.

The first text with Arthurian connections is to be found on folio 8v and consists of a list of the Nine Worthies with the dates of their deaths:

Rubric: Les nons des .ix. preux et le temps qu'ilz trespasserent avant et apres l'incarnation de Jhesucrist

Hector de troyes xi cens lxx ans.	
Alixandre iii ^{c} x ans	Avant l'incarnation
Julles cesar xlii ans	

["juifs" written in a later hand here]

Josue xiiii ^{c} xxix ans	
David mil ans	Avant l'incarnation
Judas macabeus. c xl ii ans.	

["xpiens" = Chrétiens written in a later hand here]

Artus v ^{c} xlii ans	
Charlemaigne viii ^{c} xvi ans	Apres l'incarnation
Godeffroy de buillon xi ^{c} ans	

Several French manuscripts contain material on the Nine Worthies, ranging from depictions of their armor in heraldic armorials,[12] to full biographies.[13] It is rarer to find a simple listing of names with the dates of their demise, although this is the case in BnF, fr. 1093 (a paper manuscript dated 1459), which, according to the general catalogue, contains on fol. 106 "les noms des neuf preuz et le temps qu'ilz trespasserent."[14] This information could, however, have been gleaned independently from the longer biographies which the copyists generally include. Although there is some confusion in the manuscripts over the calculation of the dates on which the Jewish and pagan worthies died, there is a general consensus on the more recent dates, especially Arthur's in 542, the source for which would have been

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[12] For example BnF, fr. 5233, which also contains the arms of the Knights of the Round Table; the 15th-century armorial of Gilles le Bouvier, dit Berry, herald of Charles VII, BnF, fr. 4985, fols. 198-203; Paris, Archives nationales, MM 684-1, fols. 125-28; Paris, Mazarine 3711, fols. 65-67. The latter two manuscripts also contain versions of the *Serments, lois et ordonnances de la Table Ronde*, discussed below.

[13] See BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 11679 and BnF, fr. 12598 (18th century).

[14] Since I have not yet been able to consult this manuscript, it is unclear whether or not it shares with Poitiers 215 an already fixed text on the deaths of the Nine Worthies.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. The Poitiers manuscript offers the usual typological arrangement of worthies,[15] underlined by the later hand's addition of the words "juifs" and "xpiens," unlike the 16th-century manuscript BnF, nouv. acq. fr.11679 (fols. 455v-458r), which begins with the Christians: Arthur, Charlemagne and Godefroy de Bouillon, thus stressing the importance of King Arthur.

In Poitiers 215 the *Neuf Preux* come after two "historical" texts: a short chronicle of France, beginning with 1270, the death of Louis IX, and ending on the death of "Messire Loys," Count of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, Nevers and Retel in 1383, and an account of the foundation of Paris by the Trojans:

> Paris fut fondee par les troyens viii ^{c} iiii ^{xx} xv [895] ans avant l'incarnacion nostre seigneur et illec habiterent depuis que leurs ancesseurs se furent partiz de sicambre xii^c lxx ans [1270]. Sicambre souloit estre en allemaigne mais elle est destruicte de si long temps qu'il nen est plus de memoire.

Thus we find in the historical and pseudo-historical figures of the Nine Worthies and in the Parisian foundation story a combination of historical and mythical material characteristic of the medieval mentality. However, unlike the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, which claims that a group of Trojans led by Francio founded the city of Sicambre in Thrace by the river Danube, were then forced to move to Germany, but a splinter group went off to France and eventually founded Lutèce (Paris) in 895 BC,[16] our text suggests that the Parisians had both Trojan and Germanic ancestors and suppresses the reference to Thrace. Given the inclusion in Poitiers 215 of texts treating contemporary Turkish conquests, the compiler may have deliberately suppressed any link between Trojans and Turks, perhaps out of anxiety produced by the threat of "Ottoman expansionism."[17]

The *Neuf Preux* is followed on folios 8v-9r by geometrical and astronomical material including the dimensions of the earth, the distance to the moon, the size of hell ("par ymagination," we are told,

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[15] As do BnF, fr. 4985 and BnF, fr. 5233.

[16] See Joachim Leeker, "La Présence des auteurs classiques dans l'historiographie des pays romans (XIIIe au XVe siècles)," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 47 (1996): 325-58, here 343.

[17] See James G. Harper, "Turks as Trojans; Trojans as Turks: Visual Imagery of the Trojan War and the Politics of Cultural Identity in Fifteenth-Century Europe," in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005) 151-79, here 172.

no doubt in the absence of empirical data!), some of which information the writer has on clerical authority, although the repetition of "ie croy que ce soit" and "et dient aucuns clers" betrays a degree of concern about the accuracy of his sources.

On folio 9v begins a text by Sebastien Mamerot referred to as *Les Trois grands*.[18] This consists of first-person harangues by Alexander the Great, Pompey and Charlemagne in praise of themselves and in defense of their appellation "the great." Its inclusion suggests that one of the Poitiers compiler's sources may have been a Mamerot anthology containing his *Trois grands* and his *Histoire des Neuf Preux et des Neuf Preues*. The latter, a lengthy account of the worthies' achievements, was composed between 1460 and 1468 for Louis de Laval ᵃnd was copied by the latter's secretary Robert Bryart in 1472.[19] The Arthurian part of the *Histoire* not only confirms the date of Arthur's death as 542, but also includes a list of laws by which the Knights of the Round Table were ruled. Thus the Poitiers compiler has included several texts associated with Mamerot: the *Trois grands* (fols. 9v-14v), the *Neuf Preux* (fol. 8v), and a code of behavior for the Knights of the Round Table (fol. 42r-v). In all cases, models of chivalry (i.e. martial and political excellence) are offered by these works, which may also have played a role in the recreation of Arthurian pageantry so popular in the late Middle Ages.[20]

A further Mamerot connection may be afforded by the list of the six most famous Knights of the Round Table which appears on folio 38v of Poitiers 215:[21]

Rubric: Les six chevaliers plus renommez de la table Ronde. Cest assavoir

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[18] Jacques Monfrin, in his review of Brian Woledge's *Bibliographie des romans et nouvelles en prose française antérieurs à 1500. Supplément 1954-73* in *Romania* 97 (1976): 429, attributes this work to Mamerot and notes that it is to be found also in his *Neuf Preux* and in the Mamerot anthology in BnF, fr. 5594, fols. 277ff. There is a further copy in the 16th-century manuscript BnF, fr. 1390, fols. 75r-78r.

[19] Richard Trachsler, "Les Lois de la Table Ronde," *Studi francesi* 120 (1996): 567-85, here 575-76. For an edition of extracts from the Arthurian section of Mamerot's text based on the one surviving copy in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MSS 2577-78, see Richard Trachsler, *Clôtures du cycle arthurien: étude et textes* (Geneva: Droz, 1996) 420-64.

[20] See Louis-Fernand Flutre, *"Li Fait des Romains" dans les littératures française et italienne du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1932) 179.

[21] The list is sandwiched between poems on debt and folly.

Messire galaad le bon chevalier qui fist la conqueste du sainct greal
Perceval le galays Bohort de gaunes
Lancelot du lac Messire gauvain nepveu du roy artus
Et messire tristan nepveu du roy marc de cornoaille.

This text is also to be found in Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 11679, fol. 455r, with the difference that Tristan and Lancelot have swapped places. However, the order in the Poitiers manuscript is the same as that in the Mamerot text (Trachsler "Les Lois" 577) which immediately follows the laws of the Round Table in Vienna, MS 2578, fol. 60b. Here the author claims that the knights were bound by these rules and swore also to return to Camelot at Pentecost each year so that their deeds could be commemorated at Arthur's court. Thus the idea of renown is introduced:

Entre lesquelz chevaliers de la Table Ronde, se dient avoir esté les plus renommez Galaad, qu'ilz appellent le Bon Chevalier et dient qu'il acomplit le siege vuyt, aultrement dit perilleux et maintes aultres aventures, et meismes la queste du Saint Graal, et morut vierge. Et Boord de Gaunes, chaste, car il se corrompit une fois tant seulement et lors engendra Helain le Blond, qu'ilz dient avoir esté empereur de (de) Constantinople. Aprés ces troys chiefz principaulx de la queste dient avoir esté de moult haulte vaillance Lancelot du [60c] Lac, qu'ilz dient pere de Galaad et qu'il l'engendra cuidant estre couchié avec la royne Guenyevre, car onques ne fut marié, duquel estoit Boord cousin germain; et estoient nez de France. Aprés, messire Gauvain, nepveu du roy Artus, et messire Tristan, nepveu du roy Marc de Cornouaille […]

Clearly Perceval should be mentioned after Bohort as the words "Aprés ces troys chiefz principaulx" indicate, but he has been omitted either by the scribe or by the modern editor. Thus, the Poitiers compiler and Mamerot privilege the protagonists of the Vulgate *Queste*, over Tristan, a later addition to the grail questers.[22]

At the point in the *Histoire des Neuf Preux et des Neuf Preues* when Mamerot deals with the foundation of the Round Table he inserts a version of the *Serments, lois et ordonnances de la Table Ronde* in 13 articles.[23] Trachsler has shown that this text evolved in many stages. The earliest attestation of the material is in Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*. This Latin account of the laws regulating Arthurian chivalry was then translated into French and expanded by Laurent de Premierfait. Although Mamerot seems to have been the first named

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[22] However, this trend is reversed in the second list of knights discussed below.
[23] See Trachsler, "Les Lois" 576-77.

author to transpose this material into 13 articles, Trachsler notes that the 16th-century manuscript BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 11679 (fol. 454r) also has 13 articles, two of which (articles 12 and 13) are closer to Laurent's text than to Mamerot's. He therefore hypothesizes that BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 11679 represents an intermediary stage of transmission which influenced both Mamerot and the longer versions of the *Serments* containing 15 or 20 articles attested by other extant manuscripts, such as BnF, fr. 12597.[24] A comparison with BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 11679 shows that Poitiers 215 presents an identical text (fols. 42r-v):

> Rubric: Les loix de la table ronde
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> La premiere loy de la table ronde fut que tos ceulx qui en seroient sappelleroient compaignons.
> La seconde que ne mectroient ius les armes de leurs corps Si non pour le brief repos de la nuyt.
> La troysiesme quilz querroient adventures merveilleuses.
> La iiii^e quilz deffendroient de toutes leurs forces le droit des hommes foibles.
> La ve quilz ne reffuseroient ayde puys quilz en fussent requeruz.
> L a vi^e quilz ne feroient violence a nully
> La vii^e quilz ne feroient offence ne dommage les ungs contre les autres.
> La viii^e quilz combatroient pour le salut de leurs amys.
> La ix^e quilz exposeroient leurs corps et leur vie pour leur pays.
> La xe quilz nacquerroient auchune chose que honneur et par honneste tiltre
> La xi^e quilz ne briseroient la foy ne le serment por achoison quelconque.
> La xii^e quilz honnoreroint tresdiligemment religion.
> La xiii^e quilz herbergeroient et recepvroient en leurs hostelz tous hommes et femmes honestes sans riens prendre d'eulx.

Thus, the Poitiers codex provides evidence for the circulation of a textually fairly stable *version courte* in the late 15th century.

The *Serments* seem originally to have been based on the idealized comportment of figures in Arthurian literature, although their later form and content may also have been inspired by the orders of chivalry and Round Tables which flourished in 13th-century Tuscany, and

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[24] "Les Lois" 578. Trachsler's argument that the short version, which is very close to Mamerot's, does not represent an abbreviation of the longer one more commonly preserved is somewhat undermined by Mamerot's statement: "lesquelles loys j'ay couché yci en briesve forme" (Vienna, MS 2578, fol. 59d), nor does Trachsler explain how the Boccaccian reference to seeking out monsters is absent from the short version but appears in the longer one in article 2. Perhaps Mamerot and BnF, nouv. acq. fr. 11679 do, in fact, represent two slightly different abbreviations of longer lists.

which are probably reflected in Boccaccio's description of King Arthur's Knights in his *De casibus virorum illustrium* (Trachsler, "Les Lois" 572). Their inclusion in the Poitiers manuscript along with the "Worthy" King Arthur attests to the popularity in late-medieval France of Arthuriana which may have influenced contemporary practice. Indeed, there is evidence for this in Poitou, where a chivalrous alliance and order of knighthood called the "Tiercelet" was founded between 1377 and 1385. Members in the late 14th-century included Renaud de Vivonne (a location not far from Anché) and Pierre de Montfaucon, though sadly no relation of Aymon. As M. G. A. Vale concludes, "perhaps we should picture it as a fighting company, activated by ideas borrowed from the romances and from the princely orders, attempting to transpose those ideas into reality on a narrower, provincial stage."[25] Arthurian pageantry and Boccaccian connections would have been equally relevant, though, to the Bishop of Lausanne.

According to Trachsler ("Les Lois" 569) the *Serments* often circulated with Arthurian armorials and with a *Livre des Tournois*. In the case of the Poitiers manuscript, they are found with two lists of Arthurian knights, the longer of which entitled "Les noms des chevaliers de la table ronde" (fols. 42v-43r) is presented in Table 1 (see Appendix). This list of 50 names has many in common with those in Arthurian armorials (with or without biographical essays), but is identical with none, either in terms of the characters mentioned or their place in the "pecking order." In Table 1 the position of knights in the Poitiers list is compared with their ranking in two sets of material published by Trachsler: armorials with and without biographies (*Clôtures* 533-65). Column 1 gives the number allocated to the knight by Michel Pastoureau in his *Armorial des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde.*[26] Columns 2-4 relate to armorials with biographies, 5-7 to those without, while the last column indicates the position given to the knight in the heraldic list preceding *Gyron le courtoys* published by Anthoine Vérard in 1501.[27]

It is obvious that the Poitiers compiler has not used a known heraldic list as his source, but that the armorials with biographies

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[25] M. G. A. Vale, "A Fourteenth-Century Order of Chivalry: The 'Tiercelet'," *English Historical Review*, LXXXII, no. 323 (1967): 332-39, here 338-39.

[26] Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1983.

[27] See the facsimile in *Gyron le courtoys avec la devise des armes de tous les chevaliers de la Table Ronde*, ed. Cedric E. Pickford (London: Scolar Press, 1977).

(especially BnF, fr. 12597, from which only four names are missing) contain more of his personnel than those without. Moreover, all but six of the Poitiers knights are to be found in the *Guyron devises*. Drians and Hector de gaunes are in none of these texts, while Dannain le Roux and Le morhot d'irlande are only in the *Guyron devises*. No armorial presents the same order as Poitiers 215, which seems to have promoted members of the older generation (whose stories are told in late 13th-century romance compilations) [28] over the Vulgate heroes, apart from Galahad. His low ranking in the armorials with biographies is explained though by the fact that they treat kings before other knights; this is the case with BnF, fr. 12597, whose author states on folio 19r that he treated kings in his "premiere partie tant pour honneur de leur royaulté comme pour ce que la plus partie estoient chevaliers anciens et du temps du roy uterpandragon" and then begins his "seconde partie" with "Galaad le meilleur chevalier du monde." Poitiers, unlike all the other texts in the table, has privileged both Galahad and the older generation kings over the remaining grail heroes.

The late 15th-century Arthurian armorial with biographies in BnF, fr. 12957 may also give us a clue as to the literary origin of these lists. Whereas the naming of knights at tournaments and court festivities had been a feature of Arthurian literature since Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide*,[29] BnF, fr. 12957 (which also contains the *Serments*) implies that its material was drawn from the episode when Arthur's knights swore to seek out the Holy Grail: "Ce sont les noms armes et blasons des chevaliers et compaignons de la table ronde au temps que ils iurerent la queste du sainct graal a camaloth le jour de la pentecouste" (fol. 1r). While the Vulgate *Queste* simply notes that Galahad swore an oath, followed by Lancelot, Gauvain, Perceval, Bohort, Lyonnel, Helains li Blans, and then the rest of the Knights of the Round Table, 150 in all,[30] the Prose *Tristan* offers a much fuller list:[31]

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[28] See Richard Trachsler in *The Arthur of the French*, ed. Glyn S. Burgess and Karen Pratt (Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 2006) 364.

[29] *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, édités d'après la copie de Guiot (Bibl. nat. fr. 794)*, 1, *Erec et Enide*, ed. M. Roques, CFMA 80 (Paris: Champion 1952), vv. 1667-706.

[30] *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Albert Pauphilet (Paris: Champion, 1923) 23.

[31] In the following (from which repetitive phrases have been omitted), italics have been used to indicate names present in the Poitiers list. Text adapted from *Le Roman*

Aprés jura *Lanselos* tout autretel serement conme cil [*Galaad*] avoit fait; aprés jura mesire *Gavains*, aprés jura *Percevaus*, [then] *Boors*, *Lyonnel*, *Elyas li Blans*, li rois Baudemagus, li rois Ydiers, li rois Rions, li rois Carabans, li rois de Clarés, *Gaheriet*, *Agravain*, *Mordret*, *Kex li senescaus*, *Yvain li fiex au roi Urien*, *Saygremor li Desreés*, Girflet, li fiex Do, *Dodyniaus li Savages*, Gosenains Cuer Hardi, Galegantins li Galois, Guheret de Lambale, Mador de la Porte, *Blyoblerys*, *Baniers*, *Hestor des Marés*, *Dynadant*, *mesire Tristrans*, *Yvain li Aoutres*, Artus li Petis, *Agloal*, *Erec*, *li fix Lac*, Brunor li Noirs, Guiglain, Artus li Blois, *Calogrenant*, *Brandelis*, Meraugis de Balesgués, Gorvain Gadrus, Faron li Noirs, *Kex d'Estraus*, Lambegues, Taulas, Abaradam, Damatha, Amant li Biaus Jousterres, Ganemor li Noirs, Harpin li Durs, Acoustant, Laval, Sinados, li Biaus Couars, li Lais Hardis, Melianderis, Mandrin li Sages, *Andelis*,[32] Bruiant des Illes, Ossenet d'Estrangot, li Cevaliers d'Escor, li Valles au Cercle d'Or, *Kahedins*, li Vallés de Gluie, Eroés, Fergu, Lot, Bedoiiers li Connestables, Meliadus li Noirs, Aglous des Vaus, Lambourc, *Lucans li Bouteilliers*, li rois Galegantins, li rois Aguiscans d'Escose, Brunor du Plaissié, li rois Malaquins, Percides, Kalaart li Petis, Sibilias as Dures Mains, Aplasat li Gros, Sadoc li Blons, Malios de l'Espine, Argoiier le Fel, Batridés au Cercle d'Or, Mandin li Envoisiés, Gringalés li Fors, Malaquin li Galois, Acricor li Biaus, Galindés, Margondés, Kaerdins, Ayglins des Vaus, Hervix, *Esclailebort li Mesconneüs*, *Sephar*, Nabon, Clamor, Alibel, Aran, Arganor, Melios, Meliadus li Blans, Malaquin li Gros, Argaad li Biaus, Narmans li Noirs, Harmin li Fel, Phelis.

Thus, this episode from the Prose *Tristan* could have supplied at least 29 of the Poitiers knights. An alternative source was the *Post-Vulgate Roman du Graal*, evidence for which survives in the Portuguese *Demanda*.[33] Here we find Banin (closer to Poitiers' Bannys than the Prose *Tristan*'s Baniers) and the Donzel da Saya Mal Talhada = Le chevalier a la cote mautaillee, absent from the *Tristan*. Although these "Quest" lists may well have furnished the core material for the armorials and the Poitiers codex, they were obviously supplemented by names gleaned from later medieval Arthurian romances. Again BnF, fr. 12957 provides evidence for this process. The author of this work on Arthurian chivalry, identified as Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours,[34] explains on folio 71v in his prologue and dedication

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de Tristan en prose, vol. VI, ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Michèle Szkilnik (Geneva: Droz, 1993).

[32] Brandelis?

[33] See *La Version Post-Vulgate de la Queste del Saint Graal et de la Mort Artu: troisième partie du Roman du Graal*, ed. Fanni Bogdanow, 5 vols. (Paris: SATF, 1991), vol. II, 53-55.

[34] See Edouard Sandoz, "Tourneys in the Arthurian Tradition," *Speculum* 19 (1944): 389-420 and on the bibliophile Jacques d'Armagnac, see Roger Middleton in *The Arthur of the French* 66-69.

that he has included a description of tournaments from the time of King Arthur, the oaths sworn by knights when they became members of the Round Table and their names and armor, "lesquelles choses iay concueillees en plusieurs livres traictans de ceste matiere […]." Later, after the 20th article of his *Serments*, he elaborates further (fol. 81v):

> Et pource qu'il me semble qui [qu'il] sert en la matiere de savoir les noms et armes des chevaliers et compaignons de la table ronde a ceulx qui veulent ensuivir la facon a leur tournoyer en la maniere qu'ilz en usitoient au temps du roy ar[82r]tus ay cerchié et concueilli les noms et armes des dessusdits chevaliers en la saison qu'ils iurerent la queste du sainct graal tant au livre de maistre helye maistre robert de borron maistre gaultier moab le bret[35] que de maistre Rusticien de pise qui en parlent en leurs livres la ou sont escriptz les grans faiz de tous les chevaliers de la table ronde.

It is noteworthy that the first author mentioned is associated with the Prose *Tristan*, which contains a detailed list of Arthurian grail questers. Yet it is also interesting that Jacques drew on the late thirteenth-century compilation by Rustichello of Pisa.

Table 2 (see Appendix) is designed to assess the influence on the Poitiers list of literary texts like those mentioned in the text attributed to Jacques d'Armagnac. It includes explanatory remarks concerning the characters in question, their family affiliations (A=Arthur; L=Lancelot; P=Perceval; T=Tristan) and their occurence (y = yes, x = no) in the following Arthurian romances: *LA = Livre d'Artus; PT =* Prose *Tristan; PM = Les Prophecies de Merlin; GC = Guiron le courtois; CRP = the compilation by Rustichello of Pisa; 112 = the compilation by Micheau Gonnot in BnF, fr. 112.*[36]

A comparison between the Poitiers list and characters appearing throughout the Prose *Tristan* reveals that in addition to the 29 grail

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[35] Cedric E. Pickford, *L'Évolution du roman arthurien en prose vers la fin du moyen âge d'après le manuscrit 112 du fonds français de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Nizet, 1959/60) 257, seems to imply that "le bret" refers to a work, the exact nature of which is unclear (76), but it is more likely to be an epithet describing Walter Map.

[36] Table 2 is indebted to the work of Flutre, Pickford (*L'Évolution*), Lathuillère, and West: Louis-Fernand Flutre, *Table des noms propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les romans du moyen âge écrits en français ou en provençal* (Poitiers: Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1962); Roger Lathuillère, *Guiron le Courtois: étude de la tradition manuscrite et analyse critique* (Geneva: Droz, 1966); G. D. West, *An Index of Proper Names in French Arthurian Prose Romances* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1978).

questers there are another 13 names shared by both texts. However, although the total of 42 out of 50 is high, the Prose *Tristan* was obviously supplemented by names from *Guiron le courtois* and Rustichello's compilation. One text which seems to have contained everyone in the Poitiers codex is the compilation by Micheau Gonnot in BnF, fr. 112, which, according to Pickford (*L'Évolution* 79) has combined elements from the Vulgate *Queste*, the Prose *Tristan* and the Post-Vulgate *Queste* in composing its quest narrative with its list of grail questers.[37] Again, the quest episode alone does not furnish the names of all the knights present in Poitiers 215, but they are to be found scattered throughout the Gonnot compilation. For example, the latter includes knights absent from *Guiron* and Rustichello (Yvains ladvoultres, Drians, Calogrenant), but also those absent from the Prose *Tristan* (Giron, Le bon chevalier sans peur, Dannain le Roux, Herve de Rivel, Aryolant de sessonne). It is tempting to conclude, therefore, that the Poitiers copyist, or his exemplar, collected his names from a massive compilatory manuscript of Arthurian tales very like Gonnot's.

It is possible that the Arthurian armorial with biographies attributed to Jacques d'Armagnac (pre 1475) was one of the sources for the Poitiers compiler (only 4 knights are absent from it) and that Micheau Gonnot's Arthuriad, composed for Jacques in 1470,[38] furnished the material for both. However, this is unlikely, given the discrepancies in the spelling of names and ordering of items.[39] Yet BnF, fr. 12957 does give us an insight into how these lists may have come about, for whom they were intended: "a ceulx qui veulent ensuivir la facon a leur tournoyer en la maniere qu'ilz en usitoient au temps du roy artus" and what they (accompanied by the *Serments*) were used for—the re-enactment of tournaments from the literary past by those who wished to model their behavior on Arthurian exempla. No doubt this was the

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[37] On Gonnot's compilation, see Fanni Bogdanow in *The Arthur of the French* 370-82. Although Pickford's *L'Évolution* has been consulted, Gonnot's first book has not survived and so it has been impossible to ascertain the exact contents of his work, hence the question marks in the table.

[38] See Bogdanow, *The Arthur of the French* 370.

[39] Although the forms Tristain, Lucains (and perhaps Dynadain) in Poitiers 215 might suggest Italian orthography (see Cigni 372), there is no particular correlation between the spelling of the Poitiers list and those copies of the relevant literary texts known to have been produced in Italy. Thus, despite the overwritten motto and other possible Italian connections, there is no firm evidence that Poitiers 215 was originally produced in Italy or copied by an Italian scribe, although its language deserves further study.

case for the AM of Poitiers 215, who would have been as keen to model himself on King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table as he was to emulate Charlemagne and the other worthies included in his private miscellany.

   Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 215 is not unique in contributing to our understanding of the evolution and transmission of Arthurian material in the late Middle Ages. Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 513, a parchment manuscript dating from the 15th century, also contains "les noms, armes et blasons" of Knights of the Round Table and a text which sounds like the armorial with biographies by Jacques d'Armagnac. Similarly, the Bibliothèque muni- cipale de Carpentras has a 17th-century manuscript (402) which contains material on the Knights of the Round Table, a text "de l'usage des tournois," along with extracts from Jean de Bueil's *Jouvencel*.[40] It is to be hoped that the pioneering codicological work by Richard Trachsler on the Round Table material and by Keith Busby on verse romances might be extended to include Arthurian prose texts preserved in French municipal libraries.

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[40] See the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* for these items.

Appendix

Table 1

Name in Poitiers 215	Past. no.	BnF fr. 12597	BnF fr. 1437	Ars. 4976	BnF fr. 14357	Ars. 4800	Ars. 5024	*Guyron devises*
1. Messire gallat	77	34	34	x	1	1	1	48
2. Giron le courtoys	91	2	2	2	x	x	x	22
3. Le Roy meliandus	131	5	5	5	x	x	x	25
4. Le bon chevalier sans peur	42	10	10	x	x	x	x	143
5. Messire lancelot	114	36	36	x	3	3	3	2
6. Messire tristain	170	39	39	28	58	13	7	5
7. Messire palamides	145	129	120	118	55	152	151	169
8. Lamourat de galles	111	33	33	26	x	x	x	47
9. Messire perceval	149	35	35	x	2	2	2	49
10. Messire bohort	34	37	37	x	4	4	4	3
11. Messire gauvain	83	38	38	27	57	6	6	4
12. Lamorat de liscannoys	112	24	24	17	x	x	x	38
13. Dannain le Roux	58	x	x	x	x	x	x	39
14. Messire lat	108	9	9	x	x	x	x	29
15. Le morhot d'irlande		x	x	x	x	x	x	36
16. Messire blioberis de gaunes	32	44	44	33	68	22	53	10
17. Hector des mares	94	43	43	32	67	25	52	9

18. Messire heriet[41]	63 (76)	69 (56)	62 (x)	58 (45)	94 (82)	43 (33)	67 (79)	62 (50)
19. Le chevalier a la cote mautaillee	43	48	47	37	72	8	57	14
20. Messire gaheriet	76	45	45	34	69	26	54	11
21. Messire Yvains filz au Roy Urien	176	47	46	36	71	10	56	13
22. Sagremor le defroyez	157	55	x	44	80	29	77	21
23. Messire lyonnel	117	40	40	29	59	14	8	6
24. Messire dynadam [or –ain]	60	68	61	57	93	40	66	61
25. Dodinaux le sauvaige	61	60	57	49	85	37	82	54
26. Messire khedins[42]	102	100	x	89	125 (9)	74 (104)	38 (105)	93
27. Yvains ladvoultres	178	61	x	50	86	38	83	55
28. Messire bannys[43] [or baunys]	27	67	60	56	92	39	65	60
29. Queulx destraulx	107	80	73	69	105	54	30	73
30. Lucains le bouteillier	120	109	100	98	134	87	47	102
31. Queux le senechal	76	46	45	35	70	9	55	12
32. Messire saphar	158	54	53	43	79	28	76	20
33. Blanor de gaunes	31	30	30	23	x	x	x	44
34. Drians	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

[41] This may be Erec or Guerrehet (numbers in brackets). In the *Guyron devises* there is a knight called Gueriet de lemballe, called Guheret de Lambale in the Prose *Tristan*. However, in the latter text Erec is also present in the list of Grail questers.

[42] Probably Kahedin who goes on the grail quest in the Prose *Tristan*. Whether he is Trachsler's Kaedins de Louvezerp or Kaerdins de la vallée (numbers in brackets) is not clear.

[43] If this is not Banyers (variant Banin) le forcené, then none of these sources records him.

35. Messire agloval	4	49	48	38	74	24	59	16
36. Messire brandelis	36	74	67	63	99	51	72	x
37. Calogrenaux	47	73	66	62	98	48	71	66
38. Karados briesbras	105	8	8	x	64	18	49	x
39. Agravains l'orgueilleux	5	57	54	46	81	30	78	51
40. Mordret	139	58	55	47	83	34	80	52
41. Herve de Rivel	98	32	32	25	77	11	74	46
42. Galeholt Roy des ysles	80	29	29	22	x	x	x	43
43. Hector de gaunes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
44. Blarior de gaunes	31	30	30	23	x	x	x	44
45. Esclabor le mescogneu	63	53	52	42	78	12	75	19
46. Sifar	158	54	53	43	79	28	76	20
47. Alphayar le mescogneu[44]	20	116	107	105	144	94	93	112?
48. Clain le blons[45]	95	41	41	30	60	18	9	x
49. Aryolant de sessonne [or sessoinie]	17	26	26	19	x	x	x	40
50. Leodegant de carmelidie	115	14	14	7	x	x	x	x

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[44] Is this Arphazar le gros cuer found in the *Guyron* list, no. 112?

[45] This character is absent from the lists if he is Helyan or Helayn le Bloy, but present if he is Helain le blanc, son of Bohort.

Table 2

Name and description	*LA*	*PT*	*PM*	*GC*	*CRP*	112
Gallat (L)	y	y	x	y	y	y
Giron le courtoys	x	x	y	y	y	y
Le Roy meliandus (T)	x	y	x	y	y	y
Le bon chevalier sans peur = Brunor, father of Dinadan and Brunor le noir	x	x	x	y	y	y
Lancelot (L)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Tristain (T)	x	y	x	y	y	y
Palamides	x	y	y	y	y	y
Lamourat de galles = brother of Agloval, Drians and Perceval (P)	x	y	y	y	y	y
Perceval (P)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Bohort (L)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Gauvain (A)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Lamorat de liscannoys = Lamorat de Listenois (P)	x	x	x	y	y	?
Dannain le Roux	x	x	x	y	y	y
Lat = King Lac, Erec's father	x	y	x	y	y	y
Le morhot d'irlande (T)	x	y	y	y	y	y
Blioberis de gaunes (L)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Hector des mares = Lancelot's half-brother (L)	x	y	y	y	y	y
Heriet = Erec (Heret) or Guerrehet (A)[46]	x(y)	y(y)	x(y)	y(y)	y(x)	y(y)
Le chevalier a la cote mautaillee = Brunor le noir	x	y	x	y	y	y
Gaheriet (A)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Yvains filz au Roy Urien (A)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Sagremor le defroyez = le desreez	y	y	y	y	y	y
Lyonnel (L)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Dynadam	x	y	y	y	y	y
Dodinaux le sauvaige	y	y	x	y	y	y
Khedins[47]	y	y	y	y	y	y
Yvains ladvoultres (A)	y	y	y	x	x	y
Bannys = Bannin, godson of King Ban (L) or Banyers (variant Banin) le forcené[48]	y(x)	y(y)	y(x)	x(x)	y(x)	y

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[46] Information regarding Guerrehet is in brackets in the table.

[47] Given the proliferation of knights called Kahedin/Kehedin and the difficulty of distinguishing between them (West 181), any text in this table could have provided this name.

[48] The name Banis occurs in Fabrizio Cigni's index of proper names, p. 395; see *Il romanzo arturiano di Rustichello da Pisa*, ed. Fabrizio Cigni (Pisa: Cassa di Risparmio di Pisa: Pacini, 1994). This suggests that Banyers should be ruled out, yet

Queulx destraulx = Keu d'Estraus, uncle of Kahedin	y	y	x	y	x	y
Lucains le bouteillier	y	y	y	y	x	y
Queux le senechal = Kay	y	y	y	y	y	y
Saphar = Saracen, brother of Palamides	x	y	y	y	y	y
Blanor de gaunes = brother of Blioberis (L)	x	y	y	y	x	?
Drians = brother of Agloval, Lamorat and Perceval (P)	x	y	y	x	x	y
Agloval = brother of Drians, Lamorat and Perceval (P)	y	y	y	y	x	y
Brandelis[49]	x(x)	y(x)	x(x)	x(x)	x(y)	y(x)
Calogrenaux = Yvain's cousin	y	y	x	x	x	y
Karados briesbras = Caradoc briefbras, King of Estrangore (A)	y	y	x	y	y	?
Agravains l'orgueilleux (A)	y	y	y	y	y	y
Mordret (A)	x	y	y	y	x	y
Herve de Rivel	y	x	x	y	x	y
Galeholt Roy des ysles	y	y	y	y	y	y
Hector de gaunes = Nestor, brother of Ban (L)	x	y	y	y	x	?
Blarior de gaunes = Blanor?[50]	x	y	y	y	x	?
Esclabor le mescogneu = Saracen, brother of Arphasar, father of Palamides and Saphar	x	y	y	y	y	y
Sifar = Saphar again?	x	y	y	y	y	y
Alphayar le mescogneu = Arphasar, brother of Esclabor	x	x	x	y	x	?[51]
Clain le blons = Helain le blanc, son of Bohort, or possibly Helyan or Helayn le Bloy, uncle of Sagremor[52]	x(x)	y(x)	x(x)	x(y)	x(x)	y
Aryolant de sessonne = Ariohan, a Saxon prince	x	x	x	y	y	y[53]
Leodegant de carmelidie = father of Guinevere (A)	y	x	y	y	y	?

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he is the only knight of similar name to appear in the armorials and in the Prose *Tristan* list of grail questers.

[49] This knight, who took part in the grail quest, is sometimes confused with the brother of Erec (West 47). References to the latter are shown in brackets in the table.

[50] It seems that Blanor and Saphar appear twice in the Poitiers list, duplication being a feature of such lists elsewhere; see Pickford, *L'Évolution* 81-82.

[51] This is perhaps Alphanasar, mentioned by Pickford, *L'Évolution* 82, n. 12.

[52] References to Helayn are shown in brackets in the table.

[53] Arelant de Sansonne in BnF, fr. 112.