Ladies, queens and decorum

LADIES, QUEENS AND DECORUM

The importance of queens in medieval literature was brought home to me by recent concentration on Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*. One can of course add Guinevere as she appears in other works (especially Chrétien's), Brunhild, Kriemhild, Isolde, and the German wooing-romances such as *König Rother*, to mention those that spring immediately to the Germanistic mind. In chivalric literature the common knighthood or knightly birth of the nobility can lead to an emphasis on the queen as lady and spouse rather than as ruler (Enite, Laudine, Isolde) just as on the king as knight rather than ruler (Erec, Iwein, Parzival until quite late in the story, Siegfried).[1]

By a rather undisciplined (though, as it turned out, fruitful) association of ideas I turned for illumination to chess allegory. In medieval times the movements of the queen in chess were very restricted, as probably in real life, but in romance this restriction on the board is sometimes overlooked to the enhancement of her role.[2]

In real life the queen is important for the succession, even elective kingship being frequently formalized as mere confirmation by the nobles of the previous king's nomination of his son;[3] in Norway at least we have signs of a Germanic belief in the value of hereditary kingship[4], and the period round about A.D. 1200 saw a revival of interest (in France) in Carolingian descent – through the queen.[5] The Mainz coronation *ordo* (basically identical with the Pontificale Romano-Germanicum)[6] includes a prayer for the good of the children of the couple being crowned[7], and after a time queens, who had previously been consecrated with unction, ring and crown, were consecrated with sceptre, rod and throne as well.[8]

In German literature, the dynastic wooing motif is prominent in the more old-fashioned poetry (*König Rother* etc.) and within the new-fashioned, sophisticated courtly poetry (*Tristan*); it is modified in accordance with some conventions of courtly love in the case of Siegfried, and stood on its head in the religiously-motivated social egalitarianism of *Der arme Heinrich*.[9] I omit the motif of the acquisi-

tion of jurisdiction by a man through marrying a dynastic heiress (*Lanzelet, Parzival, Gregorius, Iwein*). Gottfried's *Tristan* moreover reflects the queen's role as counsellor (the elder Isolde) and as regent (Isolde – hypothetically – in Mark's projected absence), while of Lanzelet's Iblis Ulrich says, 'diu riet im niht wan êre' (9387).

Jacobus de Cessolis, writing probably sometime between 1275 and 1300[10], established the allegory of chess as a kind of *speculum* of the character and behaviour proper to the participating pieces[11], in which the queen is presented as partaking of the king's dignity by grace, though her son will in time partake of it by nature; she (true to her antecedents as the *fers* or vizir of the Arabic game) shares by grace the authority of the rook or regent, but should share by nature and education in the wisdom of the *alfil* or judge (our bishop)[12]; she is not a military person (cf. Isolde in the bath scene, and Enite's malediction of the sword that has led to Erec's supposed death) unless she accompanies the king to camp to enhance the likelihood of progeny, or unless she belongs to a people like the Tartars (one is also reminded of Orendel's Palestinian Queen, half Amazon, half Joan of Arc)[13]; and her movements are very restricted because it is not fitting for women to run about the countryside (what could happen if queens were too mobile, even in their husbands' company, and too free to meet and clash can be seen from the results of the confrontation of Brunhild and Kriemhild in the *Nibelungenlied*.)[14]

So far I have been referring largely to Jacobus's chapter on the queen's movements, but this includes an element prominent in his (earlier) chapter on her character: the criterion of what is *fitting for women*. Her potential authority, her innate and developed sense of justice, belong to the sphere of politics and coronation ordinals; the desirability of staying at home comes from a totally different source: from the principles of a young lady's upbringing, which in their turn come to a great extent from the pastoral and ascetic writings of the church Fathers. It is this latter line of descent that I primarily wish to investigate, paying special attention to items which may throw light on the behaviour of characters in vernacular poetry. Vincent of Beauvais, writing under St. Louis (reigned 1226 to 1270) begins his section on the education of daughters in his *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*[15] with a chapter headed: Of the custody and seclusion of girls (42).

Jacobus's queen has five properties: she is wise (*sapientem*), chaste (*castam*), well brought-up (*morigeratam*, a term I have not seen elsewhere), of unblemished descent (*ex honestis parentibus natam*) and the bringer-up of her children, including sons (*in nutritura filiorum solicitam*). The last item, her obligation to attend to the education of her children, will of course entail aiming at the same character as she herself shows: in fact, Jacobus's reason (taken from an older anecdote) for paying attention to her parentage is that if her mother and grandmother were each *pudica* she is likely to be so too.

In a way I would have liked to be able to delay introducing the key-word *pudica* (which the Middle High German translation of Jacobus renders as *schämig*)[16] so as to build up to it with greater effect later on, but perhaps it is as well to be confronted early with two facts which will become abundantly apparent in the course of our investigations. One is that in the view of medieval moralists concerned with the education of the aristocratic young, modesty and chastity were cardinal virtues: 'modesty is a keystone of all comportment' says Wolfram von Eschenbach, 'scham ist ein slôz ob allen siten'[17], or, as Jerome put it in a chapter-heading, 'Muliebrium virtutum principatus pudicitia'[18], and the other fact is that the basic feminine virtues recur everywhere and tend to be rather undifferentiated: the all-embracingness and therefore vagueness of *pudor, pudicitia, verecundia* (which I translate 'bashfulness' since one needs 'shame' for *pudor* and 'modesty' for *pudicitia*), of *honestas* and of *castitas* correspond to the all-embracingness and therefore vagueness of the epithets *kiusche* 'chaste' and *reine* 'impeccable' constantly applied to – Isolde.

Jacobus himself does not number his queen's properties, but the published (and best) Middle High German translation makes them five and then loses the fifth. This I think is because the queen's descent and her function as educator are so interwoven in Jacobus that the translator forgot to disentangle them, so I have taken the liberty of doing it for him. Here as elsewhere Jacobus supports his argument with anecdotal illustration, some model, some cautionary. His sources for this are classical Latin and both patristic and non-patristic post-classical Latin authors; the only allusion to the Bible I have noticed is the warning example of Dinah. This is interesting, because his patristic sources and his predecessors in the field of the *speculum principum* draw heavily on the Bible; perhaps he felt it might be a little rash to bring in Scripture in

attempting to rescue a morally dubious pastime for a high moral purpose, though later allegorizers show little restraint in anticipating General Booth's rescue of the best tunes from the devil by using them as hymn-tunes: they allegorize the queen as Charity, the human soul, and the Virgin Mary.[19]

The queen's wisdom will be expressed, not (in this chapter) in the exercise of justice, but in her discretion, her ability to keep secrets: and we have a cautionary tale about a Roman Senator's wife from Macrobius's *Somnium Scipionis*, and statements about its being contrary to the nature of women to be able to keep a secret; and we think of Kriemhild letting out the story of Brunhild's ring and girdle, and of Siegfried foreshadowing his chastisement of her with the comment: '"Man sol sô vrouwen ziehen," sprach Sîfrit der degen, "daz si üppeclîche sprüche lâzen under wegen"' (str. 862). Vincent of Beauvais would have agreed with Siegfried. Belonging to the age of St. Louis, the first great age of *specula principum* ushered in by John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*, Vincent's highly ascetic work in the taste of the saint-king who also personified an almost Arthurlike combination of kingship and chivalry[20] is written for this *princeps*, though the *nobilium* in its title suggests a wider application. In his chapter (46) on the humility, taciturnity and maturity of daughters, Vincent quotes Ambrose *De virginibus*[21] to the effect that a virgin had better speak too little than too much. Ambrose in *De officiis ministrorum*, dealing with clergy in general, asserted that silence was the highest act of *verecundia* (bashfulness).[22] In Ambrose's presentation, in the following paragraph, bashfulness is a fellow-virtue to *pudicitia* (modesty), and both are allied to *pudor* (shame) in protecting *castitas*. Jerome as already quoted[23] regards *pudicitia* as the chief virtue of women. Jacobus de Cessolis, under his queen's third virtue, regards *verecundia* as more external than *pudicitia*, since the loss of it can lead to the loss of *pudicitia*, according to a quotation from Symmachus (not identified by Jacobus's editor, Vetter, in 1887).

Augustine lists verbosity as one of the vices of virgins who are not virgins at heart (the subject of virginity inevitably comes into his treatise *De bono conjugali*)[24], and it is one of the vices of women in the Book of Proverbs, which is copiously cited in Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, a defence of abstinence of various kinds and the mediator of more than one illuminating anecdote, whereas Augustine's works are largely disquisitions and not illustrated.

Vincent of Beauvais links silence as evidence of *verecundia* with modesty in gestures and mien. Writers on this subject are vague about what are and what are not modest gestures, but they are quite explicit about the eyes. These should be cast down; wandering, rolling, uplifted eyes are a sign of immodesty – so for instance St. Augustine on virgins, Seneca and various books of the Bible. So also the *Winsbeckin*, a Middle High German treatise in strophic form on the becoming behaviour for a girl of the knightly class: 'Ez heizent wilde blicke wol,/als ich ze hove bewîset bin,/als ein wîp vür sich sehen sol,/daz ir diu ougen vliegent hin,/sam ob si habe unstaeten sin,/und âne mâze daz geschiht' (str. 7)[25]. Gottfried von Strassburg, depicting the ceremonial appearance of Princess Isolde at the Irish court, expresses himself (10996 ff.) as if the admittedly deliberate and controlled roving of her gaze were all within the bounds of decorum of her movements and her silence – but would (or should) her chaplain have thought so? The difficulty is to know how much allowance to make in the courtly romances for breaches made in patristic educational ideals by the supervention of the ethos of courtly love and its effect on public manners. The mother in the *Winsbeckin*, quite apart from devoting most of her instruction to how to be a worthy object of courtly love, is so far from being of one mind with the church Fathers that she holds up Lunete, the procuress of a second marriage in the Yvain-Iwein romance, to her daughter as a model of courtliness (str. 11), whereas Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine were all for saving widows from marrying again, and could assure them on occasion that their merit in abstaining from a second marriage was almost as great as a virgin's in abstaining from a first.[26]

The masculine counterpart of the *Winsbeckin*, the *Winsbecke* (longer, as the masculine part of Vincent's *speculum* is longer than the feminine) contains what sounds like garbled Ambrose: *guotiu wîp* are in the dispensation of God's creation the equivalent on earth of the angels in heaven: 'genâde got an uns begie,/dô er im engel dort geschuof,/daz er si gap vür engel hie' (str. 12). Ambrose, in *De institutione virginis*, praises God and his *pietas* because 'in virginibus sacris angelorum vitam videmus in terris, quam in paradiso quondam amiseramus.'[27] I need not labour the differences. Incidentally, Vincent, who of course provides for his lord's daughters to embrace the celibate state if they wish, claims that the merit of virgins is greater than that of angels, since virgins have to win what angels possess by nature. (51).

These by-ways away from Jacobus had to be followed as they offered themselves, the only alternative being to deal with Jacobus succinctly and the rest of the material separately, thus jettisoning the framework afforded by Jacobus to this study and also involving more repetition.

After *sapientia,* the next virtue of Jacobus's queen is the central one of chastity: 'castam et honestam decet esse', rendered in the German by 'Darnach ... sol dew chünigin sein rain und käwsch'. If this is not a virtually tautological translation one could read it as chiastic or else suppose that the translator is treating the Latin pair as an inseparable whole and dividing it up afresh in German into its component parts within the German semantic network. One of Jacobus's examples, taken from Augustine's *City of God,* is that of the raped Roman matron Lucretia, who submitted to being raped by Sextus Tarquinius rather than risk being found dead beside the body of her servant, which Sextus threatened to engineer if she refused him, but who then called her menfolk together, urged them to vengeance, and killed herself. Another example of chastity, whom Jacobus's source, Jerome, praises on this account for being *pudica, schämig,* is Ylia, the wife of Duellus, whose husband, old and frail, overheard himself described by *emulo suo* (a rival, or perhaps just an enemy?) as having bad breath. He asked Ylia why she had not warned him, and she replied that she would gladly have done so, but that she imagined all men were the same. This is given as an example of chastity, not of discretion: Ylia is declared praiseworthy whatever the cause of her silence, whether because she was unaware of her husband's infirmity (i.e. presumably of its being an infirmity, through lack of familiarity with other men sufficient for comparison), or whether because she preferred to put up with it patiently and let him learn of it from the reproach of an enemy rather than from disgust on the part of his wife. Vincent lists as one of the signs of a wife's affection for her husband (with the Duellus story as illustration), 'ut eius infirmitates ac defectus pacienter et amabiliter sustineat' (48). Does this, I wonder, give us a clue to what Enite's fault, in *Erec,* really was? Should she have borne with Erec's uxoriousness, in which she had connived, and have waited for him to be upbraided by his vassals or despised and attacked by his enemies, rather than have been herself the means of bringing her husband's shame home to him? On the basis of Jerome's story and any use preachers might have made of it in Hartmann's hearing, Erec might well infer from her revelation (as Enite fears he will and as his subsequent treatment of her suggests

he thinks) that besides being garrulous she is not *pudica* like Ylia, not an example of *castitas* but – the opposite.[28]

This same characteristic of chastity is illustrated in Jacobus by the story of a widow who refused to marry again for fear that if her second husband were good like the first she would be apprehensive of losing him, and if he were bad, she would experience an unhappy marriage after having known a happy one, a dilemma very similar to that of the farmer's daughter in *Der arme Heinrich* when confronted with the prospect of a first marriage. One could expatiate profusely on patristic advice to widows – it is a subject which leads to a good deal of listing of virtues and activities on the basis of St Paul's commands – but much of it would be only marginal to my present purpose. For our purposes what is important about the topic of chaste widowhood, usually exemplified by Anna the prophetess when a biblical example is required, is that linked with the perseverance essential to virgins and the *fides* urged on married ladies, it may have provided the moralizing and educational substructure for the faithfulness of widows and quasi-widows in vernacular literature, whose tears are also exemplary. Courtly romances and the *Nibelungenlied* are far from avoiding second marriages, but the recently widowed conform to the patristic ideal in their attitude to their husbands, and while Hartmann von Aue spices his narrative with immediate figurative second unions, Enite's to Death or that of Gregorius's mother (whose celibacy is a penance for incest) to God, it is only Laudine who actually succumbs that soon, and Hartmann as narrator makes no attempt to see life from within Laudine's consciousness as he does from within all his other heroines as well as his heroes, an aloofness which perhaps reflects a certain reserve on the poet's part towards this particular heroine. The disastrous effect of Gregorius's mother's second human union, her incest with her son, I need not dwell on. It is tempting to wonder whether, ironically, patristic sources may be responsible for the abandon with which Enite sets about attempting to kill herself: had not Jerome preferred Portia, who could not survive Brutus, to Marcia, who could survive Cato very well? This is, of course, to isolate one aspect of patristic writings; twelfth-century Christians would have known very well that suicide, proper as an expression of loyalty in a pagan Roman who had no revealed knowledge of the Creator or the resurrection, would be sacreligious in a Christian.[29]

The third virtue of Jacobus's queen is to be *morigeratam*, 'wohl gesittet, wohl gesinnt', according to Habel-Gröbel.[30] This is the

word used in the opening summary of what is to come. In the body of the text he says that her *mores* must be *maturos*, so that she may possess *timor* and *verecundia*. *Maturitas* we have met in Vincent's chapter dealing also with humility and silence. It seems to indicate self-control, in which case both it and *morigeratam* could be contained in the German *zuht*. *Wol gezogen* is a past participle implying a completed process. But what it boils down to again, according to Jacobus, is *verecundia* and *pudicitiam*. Seeing that Ambrose recommended a *verecundus* and *modestus aspectus* for men, Jacobus considers it must be an even greater ornament in women.[31] His illustration, a very moving one, is a story of a lady who placed a bag of money for an impoverished relative to lie on rather than let him know the giver, since he was too embarrassed to admit to his poverty. 'Delicacy' is the term that best fits this illustration; ought one perhaps to translate *morigeratam* or one of our other near-synonyms accordingly? It is today a more positive word than 'shame'.

I have not touched on the virtues of humility (which according to Vincent is as great as virginity)[32] and obedience (greater than continence according to Augustine).[83] Vincent has a whole chapter (48) on the duties of a wife. I also omit more occasional virtues, some of which are relevent only in specific situations. Nor have I drawn attention to the popularity of Judith as a model, whether in Ambrose or coronation ordinals, and as an example of a widow.

My sources are few compared with the size of the literature, both primary and secondary, extant on the subject: I have drawn on various treatises by Ambrose, one of Augustine (*De bono conjugali*), and Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, and I just touch on the anti-feminist John of Salisbury (Vincent too is patently ascetic in his approach. The *Legenda Aurea* I have omitted altogether, and I have ignored the 'ritterliches Tugendsystem'; what I have done is to explore tentatively one tradition that seems to have contributed to the education of princes once the Carolingian *specula* had fallen into disuse.[34] I have ignored Vincent's recipe for suitability in a spouse (congruity of age and size, the latter from Ovid; wisdom and virtue; less important are wealth and handsomeness) and Jerome and John of Salisbury's rare ideal from Theophrastus: beauty, virtue (*bene morata*), birth (*honestis parentibus*), health, wealth – one can imagine it in Middle High German: *schoene, tugent, art, gesunt, guot*; Laudine has the lot, with the substitution of youth for health (*Iwein* 2423–5).

Lastly, *moraliteit daz süeze lesen* (Gottfried's *Tristan*, 8002 ff.): Vincent of Beauvais' second chapter on girls directs parents how to breed a chaste mind in daughters by moderation in eating and drinking, avoidance of bad company, and what our forebears called 'improving' reading (the first step is playing with wooden or ivory letters).[35] This chapter (43) is headed: *De litterali et morali earum instruccione et 1° de castitate*. On the principle that idleness is the root of voluptuousness, young girls are to be kept busy in mind and body ('da solten alle vrouwen mite in ir jugent unmüezic wesen . . . hie baneketes ir sinne / und ir gedanke dicke mite'; Isolde's *unmüezekheit mit handen*, be it noted, is confined to playing musical instruments and writing, she does not spin and sew like the women in Vincent's sources). Arguments for austerity are brought not only from the Fathers but also from works of Ovid referred to coyly as *de arte* and *de remediis*! The young lady in question is to remain in ignorance of *mundi cantica*, a protection which was not afforded Isolde (e.g. 8072ff.). But in spite of Vincent's ubiquitous caution (the chapter contains more monitory quotations than original text) it could nonetheless be said of his *litterali et morali . . . instruccione* as of Tristan's that 'ir lere hat gemeine / mit der werlde und mit gote', for it is desirable that the young lady 'omnibusque sit amabilis et universa propinquitas rosam ex se natam esse gaudeat' ('si leret uns in ir gebote / got unde der werlde gevallen . . . . Sus kam diu süeze junge / ze solher bezzerunge . . . daz . . . ouch ir vater der künec da van / vil groze vröude gewan; / ir muoter wart es sere vro'). The emphasis above all should be on instructing the young lady 'in pudicitia siue castitate et in humilitate et in taciturnitate et in morum siue gestuum maturitate' ('hie von so wart si wol gesite, / schone unde reine gemuot, / ir gebaerde süeze unde guot').

Admittedly we have no post-Carolingian educational manuals of a date prior to Hartmann and Gottfried (apart from the only incidentally relevant John of Salisbury), but I hope that the tenacity of the tradition once it appears and the antiquity of its sources will seem to my readers as to myself most reasonably explained by assuming that Vincent and later writers were simply committing to parchment in treatise form what had long been established educational theory wherever a court chaplain was the main educational counsellor of parents, especially mothers. In attempting to gain new insights into, or a new perspective on, vernacular literature by applying these patristic criteria (intended originally for Christian ascetics or Christians living in non-christian surroundings), I have

not presupposed first-hand acquaintance with patristic sources among vernacular poets, but only the local chaplain's and the lay churchgoer's knowledge of patristic ideals of behaviour, mediated probably in part through some of the more memorable anecdotes. On this basis I find, for instance, Enite's weaknesses and virtues emerging in sharper outline than when I thought of her in terms of purely secular and chivalric ethics. I have traced what safely can be traced, the incorporation of patristic material, itself sometimes drawing on pagan sources, in the educational programme of the noble young and the application of these general principles of behaviour to royalty, where of course they are reinforced both with inherited Germanic concepts of kingship and with christian ideals of the *rex justus*. I find Gottfried's passage on *moraliteit* far clearer than before, with more 'profile' as the Germans say, if I imagine *moraliteit* as a course of the kind of reading Vincent would have recommended for St. Louis's daughter or a secularized variant of it; and of course if the Fathers and Vincent and Jacobus are anything to go by there would have been plenty of spicy 'moral' tales without resorting to fiction, while even Ovid was indispensable as a moralizer, to the tutor if not to the pupil. The tone of Isolde's repertoire is indisputably secular and amorous, whether the tragic love stories of 17184ff. might rank as 'cautionary tales' or not.

What is sad for medievalists is that we have to spend so much of our time elucidating the mental furniture and social assumptions of our poets and their audiences before we can see their utterances in proper perspective.

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NOTES

[1] 'Lanzelet and the Queens', in: *Essays in German and Dutch Literature*, ed. W. D. Robson-Scott, London: Institute of Germanic Studies, 1973, pp. 42-64; Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, 4th ed. by L. Wolff, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 39, Tübingen, 1967; *Iwein*, 7th ed. by L. Wolff, Berlin, 1968; Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isold*, ed. F. Ranke, 5th ed., Berlin, 1961; Wolfram von Eschenbach, ed. K. Lachmann, 6th ed., Berlin and Leipzig, 1926: *Parzival; Das Nibelungenlied*, 20th ed. by H. de Boor, Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, Wisebaden, 1972.

[2] H.J.R. Murray, *A History of Chess*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 423,505, and chap. IX.

[3] P.E. Schramm, 'Die Krönung in Deutschland...', *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte (=ZRG)* 55, *Kanon. Abt.* 24, 1935, 307.

[4] W. Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 2, 1938, p.8.

[5] Schramm, 'Der König von Frankreich,' *ZRG* 56, *Kanon. Abt.* 25, 1936, 335.

[6] Schramm, 'Der König von Frankreich', *ZRG* 55, *Kanon. Abt.* 24, 1935, 309 ff.

[7] *ibid.*, p.313.

[8] Schramm, 'Der König von Frankreich', *ZRG* 57, *Kanon. Abt.* 26, 1937, 195.

[9] F. Beyerle, '"Der Arme Heinrich" Hartmanns von Aus als Zeugnis mittelalterlichen Ständewesens', in: *Kunst und Recht*, Festg. H. Fehr, Karlsruhe, 1948 = Arbeiten zur Rechtssoziologie und Rechtsgeschichte, 1, pp. 27-46.

[10] Murray, p.539.

[11] *Das Schachzabelbuch Kunrats von Ammenhausen*... ed. F. Vetter, Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz, Ergänzungsband, Frauenfeld, 1887-92.

[12] A. van der Linde, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels*, 1881, repr. Osnabrück 1968, pp. 68ff.

[13] *Orendel*, ed. H. Steinger, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 36, Halle/S., 1935.

[14] See A. Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, London: Cassell, 1952, pp. 35-39 for Eleanor's Amazonian guise on the crusade of 1147, and pp. 60-63 for the impact of her thirst for independence on the outcome of that crusade.

[15] Arpad Steiner ed. Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication 32, 1938.

[16] *Das Schachzabelbuch des Jacobus de Cessolis, O.P., in mittelhochdeutscher Prosa-Ubersetzung*, ed. G.F. Schmidt, Texte des späten Mittelalters, 13, Berlin, 1961.

[17] *Parzival* 3,5.

[18] *Adversus Jovinianum*, Migne, Patrologia Latina (=*MPL*) 23, lib. I, § 49.

[19] A. van der Linde, *Quellenstudien*, p. 70.

[20] Schramm, *ZRG* 56, *Kanon. Abt.* 25, p. 344.

[21] *MPL* 16, col. 187 ff.

[22] Cap. xviii, *MPL* 16, col. 43C.

[23] See above, note 18.

[24] *MPL* 40, col. 373 ff.

[25] *Winsbeckische Gedichte*...3rd ed. by I. Reiffenstein, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 9, Tübingen, 1962.

[26] Ambrose, *De viduis*, cap. i, *MPL* 16, col. 235A.

[27] Cap. xvii, *MPL* 16, col. 330ff.

[28] Chrétien's Enyde accuses herself of *orguel*, as fundamental a sin as *castitas* is a virtue.

[29] Hartmann von Aue, *Gregorius*, ed. F. Neumann, Deutsche Klassiker des Mittelalters, Neue Folge 2, 3rd. ed., Wisebaden 1968. I have another theory about Enite's attempted suicide which is irrelevant in our context; these two tentative explanations are not mutually exclusive.

[30] E. Habel & F. Gröbel, *Mittellateinisches Glossar*, 2nd ed., Paderborn, 1959.

[31] According to Vetter *De officiis ministrorum*, *MPL* 16, lib. I, cap xviii.

[32] Cap. 46; in Vincent's example, more important than virginity in the situation cited.

[33] *De bono conjugali*, cap. xxiii, *MPL* 40, col. 493.

[34] Berges, *Fürstenspiegel*, pp. 3f.

[35] Cf. *Tristan* 10111 ff. and 10609 ff. (accounts of how Isolde solves the riddle of the names 'Tan-tris' and 'Tris-tan').

This version of a paper given at Reading University on 10 February, 1972 was intended to initiate a line of investigation which then seemed promising. Steiner's edition of Vincent of Beauvais contains many clues to further inquiry, both into primary sources and scholarly studies.