

Communicating with Horses: Women as Equestrians in 12th- through 14th-century Old
French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English Literature

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INTRODUCTION

While horses served riders in all realms of medieval society, no single human-equine relationship has inspired more reverie and scholarly criticism than that of a knight with his charger. In the early Middle Ages, the rise of a class of mounted warriors known as *milites* led to the codification of this bond between a knight and his horse.¹ Chivalry conjures images of violent chargers ridden by fully armed men, whose metallic bodies evoke the brutal violence of their profession and yet whose behavior subscribes to ideals of courtly behavior and gentility. These interspecies partnerships were defined by the mobilization of weapons, equipment, clothing, and armor in such a way that transformed the knight and his horse into an embodied, hybrid, and mechanized machine of war and agent of feudal and courtly society.

While horses are omnipresent in representations of knights and of their behavior, their presence, like their service to their riders, may be implied rather than acknowledged directly. A knight's social deportment, moral virtue, and prowess are completely imbricated with his material hybridity, with the particular and peculiar partnership he

¹ Marjorie Chibnall explains the shift in knighthood in the mid-11th and early 12th century that was defined by the ubiquity of horses and of mounted combat (6-7). The horse is central to knighthood for the *milites*, the itinerant young men who traveled widely to tournaments in order to seek riches and renown. See Chibnall's chapter "I. Aspects of Knighthood: The Knight and His Horse" in *Chivalry, Knighthood, and War in the Middle Ages*, edited by Susan J. Ridyard (Sewanee, TN: University of the South Press, 1999), 5-26. Chibnall also reminds of the many contradictory but overlapping meanings of the term *milites* in this Middle Ages (51). Because the interpretive problems posed by the *milites* cannot be completely resolved by any particular translation as soldiers, warriors, or knights, we must acknowledge its ambiguity. Chibnall discusses this in another chapter in the same collection, "II. Aspects of Knighthood: Knights and Monks," 27-52. For more on the *milites*, see one of the most foundational medieval historians, Georges Duby, who studies the rise of knighthood and chivalric identity in the Middle Ages. See his monographs, *Féodalités* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996) and *La Société chevaleresque : Homme et structures au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009). See also Nigel Saul's chapters on the rise of knightly culture and on the link between chivalry, nobility, and violence—"The Making of Chivalric Culture, 1100-1250" (37-59), "Chivalry and Nobility" (159-177), and "Chivalry and Violence" (178-196)—in *For Honor and Fame: Chivalry in England 1066-1500* (London: The Bodley Head, 2011).

forges with his charger. Nowhere more than in literary sources do we see a knight's military acumen, courtliness, and morality intrinsically linked to the horse he rides and the horsemanship² he practices. The sustained, detailed, and thorough portraits of chivalric literary characters—though infrequently bestowed on the horses who serve them obediently—provide the most complete portrait of medieval knighthood and horsemanship, while also illustrating where these constructs can falter and fail.

Meanwhile, during masculine displays of military equestrian prowess, women are relegated to the role of watcher, encourager, or fervent supplicant for the safety of their bellicose beloved. Whether men fight in tournaments, on quests, or on battlefields, we imagine their beautiful courtly *amies* remaining indoors, perhaps in a tower, hoping and praying for the safe return of their beloved. However reductive this view of medieval society may seem, literary, iconographical, and historical documents from throughout the Middle Ages do confirm its validity and prevalence. Women *did* often remain at home while their husbands departed in search of adventures, glory, and reputation on distant battlefields.³ Women *did* bestow tokens on their favorite knight and watch, spellbound and fearful, as he tilted against fierce opponents in jousting competitions.⁴ The stringent

² The term horsemanship is used in this dissertation to describe the methods by which men and women ride and care for horses. (Equestrianism, on the other hand, indicates solely those displays of skill on horseback, excluding the care needed to maintain a horse's health.) While horsemanship is the most apt term to describe a combination of horse care, management, healing, and riding techniques, it is also fundamentally androcentric. The practitioners of horsemanship discussed in this dissertation, however, are as often female as male. Female literary equestrians deserve scholarly acknowledgment for their exemplary horsemanship. Horsemanship contradicts the assumption of male equestrian hegemony, one embedded in the term *horsemanship*, and troubles the belief that *horsemen* are the superlative practitioners of the chivalric craft.

³ In her book about female knights, Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet addresses the expectation of universally male participation in war and tournaments. While she contrasts this view with numerous examples of women who went on crusades, fought in tournaments and in battle, and participated in female chivalric orders, these exemplary women were nevertheless the exception and not the rule. See her monograph *Chevalereses: Une chevalerie au féminin* (Paris: Perrin, 2013).

⁴ The tradition of female spectatorship of tournaments is well-established by David Crouch in his book *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005). He describes the presence of women at

division between female passivity and male activity in literary, iconographical, and historical sources confirms the stereotype of women who lacked determinacy and autonomy in their own lives.

Numerous literary texts reinforce these gendered generalizations, especially those that relegate women to the role of spectator while men demonstrate their equestrian prowess. In Chrétien de Troyes' *Chevalier de la charrette*, for example, Guinevere's abduction by Meleagant first provokes Lancelot's departure to rescue her and then precipitates his attack against her former captor to defend her honor and assert his superior masculinity.⁵ The anonymous *Roman d'Eneas* reveals another woman who is perpetually a prize awarded to the victorious participant in a combat. Lavinia's beloved Eneas wishes to prove his love for her and so fights against and defeats her former lover Turnus while she watches from distant ramparts.⁶ Both Eneas and Turnus hope to win Lavinia by defeating their opponent, making her doubly prized and doubly passive in relation to her marital prospects.

Perhaps the most compelling example of female passivity and spectatorship, however, comes from Marie de France's *Chaitivel*, in which tale a beautiful *Nantaise*

tournaments looking at the lists (*lices*), cheering from the stands (*loges*), and giving favors (80-83; 139; 156-159).

⁵ See the Old French/Modern French edition of Chrétien de Troyes' *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*, translated by Charles Méla (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1992). The English translation by William W. Kibler is found in his book, co-written with Carleton W. Carroll, *Arthurian Romances* (New York: Penguin, 1991).

⁶ See *Le Roman d'Eneas*, edited by Aimé Petit (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1997). In particular, see the scene in which Lavinia watches as Eneas, her beloved, departs from the fortress to fight Turnus, her previous suitor. She sees him leave and disappear from sight, at which point she is so overcome with emotion (love of Eneas, fear that he might be killed) that she tears her hair out and changes color (8435-8498). She does not recover her full strength until two conditions are satisfied—she must first assured of his survival and then must know he loves her in return (9873-10238). See also its English translation by John A. Yunck, *Eneas: a twelfth-century French romance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

with an insufficient vantage point cannot see which of her four suitors is the best knight.⁷ The subject of this Breton lay is the upcoming marriage of an unnamed and indecisive woman from Nantes. Though she bestows a token upon each man, she awaits the conclusion of the tournament before selecting the winner as her husband. All four eligible bachelors arrive to compete for her hand, each one encouraged and emboldened by her gift. During the tournament, the four barons are attacked by violent opponents. The maiden watches her lovers fight from her distant tower, a vantage point that proves insufficient to determine which of her lovers is the superlative knight. When the dust clears after the first day of combat, three of her suitors have been killed and the fourth has received a grave wound in his thigh, a location linked to impotence⁸ as in *Guigemar* and the *Graal* romances. The maiden and her one surviving but possibly impotent suitor compose a lay called “The Miserable One” or “The Four Woes”—either to honor its sole survivor, who lacks the sexual fulfillment through marriage that the tournament promised, or to honor the four ill-fated barons, none of whom achieves the marriage they sought with the *Nantaise*. Additionally, her own displeasure with the process of selecting a husband based upon a man’s tournament prowess transforms her into a female Miserable One from the beginning. She is both unable to escape her passive voyeuristic state and robbed of the choice she takes so seriously by the death of all but one suitor. Therefore, the *Nantaise* is doomed to misery.

⁷ See Laurence Harf-Lancner’s edition and translation of British Library Harley 978 version of *Chaitivel* in *Lais* (London: Bristol Classical, 1995), 248-261, and a corresponding English translation by Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby in *The Lais of Marie de France* (London: Penguin, 1999).

⁸ See Laurence Harf-Lancner’s edition of *Chaitivel*, in which she notes frequent association of the fourth suitor’s thigh wound with impotence (259).

The melancholy experienced by women who are permitted to watch but not to determine the path of their own lives exceeds the realm of the written word in medieval manuscripts. Illuminations often transformed female characters into spectators in their own lives: women often sit near an open window as the world unfolds outside. They view but do not physically engage with the conflicts depicted just outside of their window. Women are depicted as distant viewers of—but not participants in—spectacles of chivalric masculinity. The frequency of such depictions of medieval courtly femininity—to say nothing of the dogged adherence of modern audiences to them—only makes the exceptions to such rules more significant.

Nonetheless, male literary characters are not alone in their equestrian prowess. Their female counterparts in Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English literature also ride and care for horses skillfully. Evoking an equestrianism that is distinct from masculine chivalry, these women avoid intimidating communication with horses in order to forge partnerships based on trust and compassion for the horse. Their female equestrianism sharply contrasts with that of their male knightly counterparts who often use violent tools of coercion like spurs, whips, and harsh bits in order to force obedience. Women instead achieve a symbiotic coexistence with their horses that transcends the boundaries of species.

The following study explores the woman/horse bond as foil to the union of knight and horse. It examines certain exemplary medieval heroines—whether human or fairy—who subvert patriarchal and heteronormative courtly traditions through their union with the equine. These medieval portrayals of the relationship between women and their horses help debunk medieval myths about women as only damsels in distress, ever

awaiting knightly rescue. In these texts, women claim agency in their environments, refusing to depend on knightly rescue to achieve their goals and assert their independence. While many female literary characters are manipulated or controlled by counterparts who see them as tools for male advancement, a woman with equestrian acumen can exceed the limitations others might attempt to place on her. The relationship a female equestrian has with her horse becomes the key to her recourse against patriarchal domination. By riding horses with great skill, female characters demonstrate courtly, chivalric horsemanship typically reserved for their male counterparts.

In addition, the horsemanship practiced by these female characters is distinct from that of male knights. In particular, the disparate means by which men and women use spurs reveal the role of a character's horsemanship in the establishment of their gender difference. Namely, men spur and kick their horses as they race into battle or charge against opponents in a jousting tournament, whereas women show restraint with their spurs, seeming to recognize them as a tool of abuse rather than a mere means to ask the horse to increase his pace. As a fundamental component of equestrian attire and equipment, characters of both genders wear spurs, yet women use them less frequently and with less violence. The particular version of female equestrianism in each text—Enide as a squire and servant for her husband, Camille and Panteselee as armed warriors, and the fairy ladies as chivalric benefactors and alternatives to patriarchal feudal lords—shows that even when other stereotypical gender distinctions are inconsistent, the women maintain their gentle treatment of horses.

Distinct approaches to spurring help distinguish male and female literary characters according to the relative violence each shows to animals and also serve to earn

women praise for chivalric skill that, in turn, elevates them above their male counterparts. In fact, the heroines studied in this dissertation embody the mindful horsemanship advocated by Jordanus Rufus in his 13th-century veterinary manual, *La marechaucie des chevaux*.⁹ Unlike the common literary and iconographical representations of chivalry, those characterized by violent spurring and even sometimes the bloody wounds they cause to a horse's ribs,¹⁰ Rufus demands that horse trainers and riders show respect for the horse's own emotional nature and, when delivering commands, consider a horse's hesitation to trust human beings. For example, training should begin with a period of gradual habituation during which the trainer will accustom the horse to being touched by a person. The introduction of communication through touch will honor the horse's inherent nonverbal language. In turn, respectful tactile communication will earn a horse's trust and facilitate the creation of successful interspecies partnerships. Moreover, Rufus demands that trainers consider the emotional needs of each mount when administering commands and progressing through the stages of training in order to strengthen each individual human-horse bond. Rufusian horsemanship presents an analogue both to literary representations of horses as military and courtly accessories and to philosophical appropriations of horse-human relationships as metaphors for moral Christian living.¹¹ Rufus provides a historical perspective on medieval horsemanship that counterbalances

⁹ See Brigitte Prévot's edition of Rufus' manual in *La science du cheval au Moyen Âge : le traité d'hippiatrie de Jordanus Rufus* (Paris: Collège Sapience/Klincksieck, 1992).

¹⁰ See the manuscript called "The Crusader Bible" (Morgan Library MS M.638). Many images show war horses with spur wounds on their barrels that have been caused by the sharp spurs their male riders wear. In one image, for example, Saul is pictured killing King Nahash and fighting the Ammonites. Saul rides a horse who has spur wounds on his rib cage. However, they are not represented as a gory detail of chivalric life, but as a sort of beautiful monogram embossed into equine flesh that bears witness to the transmutation of wounds from emblems of equine suffering to artistic embellishment (fol. 23v).

¹¹ See Keith Busby's edition of the *Ordene* entitled "*Le Roman des Eles*," and the *Anonymous: "Ordene de Chevalerie": Two Early Old French Didactic Poems* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1983).

the use of horses to establish literary chivalric masculinity or to advance a moral agenda in which the abusive spurring of horses serves a Christian purpose. Rufus, conversely, expresses such profound gratitude for the faithful service of horses that he devises methods of interspecies communication to honor and encourage their nobility, grace, and obedience. By employing thoughtful cues similar to those Rufus recommends to direct horses, female literary characters gain mobility, autonomy, and independence while honoring their horses in return.

Each relationship between a woman with her mount or mounts is central to this study of female equestrianism, one which correspondingly engages heavily with ecofeminist and material feminist theories, posthumanism, and critical animal studies. Ecofeminism reveals the similar marginalization experienced by women and nonhuman animals, both of whom were often treated as mere property in the Middle Ages, and elevates both above the positions afforded to them by their patriarchal society and those who run it. Material feminist discourses, on the other hand, consider the materiality of female bodies as a central factor in their literary representations. This perspective illuminates the bodily concerns of women and the horses with whom they forge chivalric partnerships. In addition, posthumanist and critical animal studies seek to correct anthropocentric tendencies in literary criticism and theory. They argue that nonhuman and even inanimate forms deserve the same meticulous analysis given to human beings. These critical traditions help uncover and dissect the marginalization of both female characters and horses in medieval literature.

Beyond their individual abilities to mobilize and propel their narratives, the interactions *between* female literary characters and horses are symbiotic. Female

characters gain mobility and autonomy if they can demonstrate equestrian prowess, and their horses receive respectful and gentle communication and skilled care from their female riders in return. Several notable works by Jean-Christophe Bailly, Donna Haraway, Vicki Hearne, and Karen Barad reinforce this idea by theorizing the interactions between species as an embodied, corporeal experience that enriches both participants. In *The Animal Side*, for example, Jean-Christophe Bailly explores the extraverbal means by which animals communicate.¹² Interestingly, Bailly's assertion of the animal's determination of the nature of interactions with human animals also recalls Rufus' argument that the most effective way to communicate with horses is to assume their nonverbal language. Bailly thus confirms the relative equality of their partnership while also affirming the difficulty with which contact between species may be deciphered.

The contact between species evoked by Bailly implies both physical and visual contact. This contact ranges from the distant—an encounter with a wild animal mediated by binoculars—to the proximal—scratching an animal behind the ears. Haraway takes this idea of contact to an identitary and even biological level.¹³ She argues that these “contact zones” imply a communicative-turned-biological interaction by which the human and the animal trade cells and bacteria, arriving eventually at a mutual constitution. For Haraway—as for Rufus before her—exchanges between animals and humans are bidirectional: both parties influence and are influenced, speak and listen,

¹² See Jean-Christophe Bailly's book *The Animal Side*, translated by Catherine Porter (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 2011).

¹³ Two of Donna J. Haraway's texts that present most clearly her view on interspecies partnerships are *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003) and *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

teach and learn. The materialist Karen Barad responds to this idea when she argues that the participants in such relationships are mutually-constructed due to the intra-activity they share.¹⁴ In *Adam's Task: Calling Animals by Name*, Vicki Hearne translates these mutually enriching relationships between species into the context of the close working relationship between a horse and her trainer.¹⁵ The exchanges shared by human and horse come to permit a profound understanding of their distinct personalities. Like Rufus, Hearne asserts that the particular personality of each horse demands, first and foremost, that riders adapt training theories, equipment, and methods to strengthen their individual bonds with that horse.

Still, the animal individuality posited by Rufus, Haraway, and Hearne is an embodied, material condition, not one merely connected to emotionality or trainability. Hearne and Rufus highlight the materiality of horses and the interspecies partnerships in which they participate as a key concern. In particular, tack, equipment, and commands from riders physically touch horses. A horse's receptiveness to these materials or actions depends on his ability to read the meaning of these forms of contact through his very skin (Hearne 110). Each of these theorists establishes horse-human training relationships as a symbiotic rapport that enriches and transforms both human trainer and equine pupil.

Harmonious and transformative interspecies partnerships like those evoked by Bailly, Haraway, and Hearne also appear between the female characters and horses of medieval literature. These exemplary women practice respectful, bidirectional communication with their mounts as a means to proving equestrian prowess. Still, while

¹⁴ See Karen Barad's chapter "Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of how Matter Comes to Matter" in *Material Feminisms*, edited by Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 120-154.

¹⁵ See Hearne's book *Adam's Task: Calling Animals by Name* (New York: Knopf, 1986).

the equestrian talent of a literary character is certainly a marker for his or her social, military, courtly, and moral virtues, these valuable qualities comprise only a part of the horsemanship of medieval female literary characters. Interactions between women and horses evoke mythic, linguistic, and practical equestrian subject matter: they recall certain popular female deities of celtic mythology, the often problematized nature of female speech, whether it be verbal, silent, or performative, and the communicative principles of 13th-century compassionate horsemanship.

The mythological component of female horsemanship pervades all representations of women as chivalric or equestrian characters. Indeed, female/equine relationships in 12th- through 14th-century literary texts reflect a preoccupation not only with female prowess, but also with the supernatural potential inherent in bonds between female characters and horses. In addition to the Amazonian female equestrians of Homer and Virgil who certainly inspired the poets of the *romans antiques*, fascination with the Gallo-Roman goddess Epona also drives each portrait of female equestrians. Epona, a popular Celtic goddess later adopted by the Romans and venerated throughout their vast empire, protects horses and ensures fertility for those who worship her.¹⁶ She is linked fundamentally and etymologically to horses:

Épona est liée d'une façon ou d'une autre au cheval. Ce n'est pas seulement l'iconographie ou son rôle de protectrice des chevaux qui nous le dit, c'est son nom : Épona, en effet, vient du mot gaulois *Epo*, issu d'un indo-européen *ekwo* qui a lui-même donné le latin *equus*. Elle est donc étymologiquement « la Cavalière », ou même franchement « la jument » (Markale 114).

¹⁶ Jean Markale, *La femme celte : mythe et sociologie* (Paris: Payot, 1972), 114. See also Miranda Green's book, *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth* (London: Routledge, 1992), 197; 204-210.

Epona is more than a mere rider of horses, she is equine in her own right. Born of the union between a man who hated women and a supernatural mare, she is biologically double and fundamentally zoomorphic (Markale 115). Epona is even named by her magical mother, making her not only the namesake but also the heiress of an equine legacy. In addition, her ubiquity throughout Britain and the Roman Empire made her a likely inspiration for literary bonds between women and horses dating from the Roman occupation of Britain.

In particular, the *Mabinogion*, an ensemble of traditional Welsh folk tales finally committed to writing in either the 12th or 13th century, shows the ability of woman-horse bonds to foster supernatural power. These tales feature an Epona-like figure called Rhiannon. This queen of horses dresses in luxurious garments and mounts a white horse in order to attract the attention of Pwyll, the king of Dyvet, who immediately falls in love with her and agrees to make her his bride (Markale 111-112). Following a spurious accusation of infanticide, Rhiannon is transformed instantly from virtuous mother into homicidal temptress, confirming the underlying symbolism of a horse hoof as a satanic icon (Markale 76). Her husband then condemns her to equine servitude to atone for her supposed crime: Rhiannon is deprived of verbal speech to link her still further to the horses by which she is identified.

Rhiannon's punishment points to a link between her lack of verbal speech and her bond to horses. Her service at the mounting block is laden with gendered and sexual subtext to highlight her service to male, patrilineal interests. The silence of this punitive state also evokes the phallogocentrism¹⁷ frequent in medieval literary texts, one which

¹⁷ For more on the term phallogocentrism, see its initial appearance in Jacques Derrida's preface "Tympan" in *Marges de la philosophie* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1972) and Derrida's elaboration of the

alienates female characters from verbal speech and relegates them to the supposedly-inferior realm of the material body. Female characters, however, are not the sole victims of such restrictions: animals, too, are silenced and exploited. In the context of representations of women and animals in medieval literature, phallogocentrism may be understood not merely as a means by which male utterance is unduly privileged, but as a way human speech and agency eclipse the subjectivity of nonhuman animals. The voicelessness of nonhuman animals is not a component of the natural order of things but rather a condition imposed by domineering and thoughtless logocentrism on the part of humans. As an extension of logocentrism, phallogocentrism underscores the silent connections between women and animals in medieval literature, both of whom experience linguistic repression at the hands of patriarchal, feudal, chivalric society.

The humanist bias for verbal speech over nonverbal and performative speech, coupled with misogynistic opposition to women speaking, are phenomena driven by the same—or a similar—matrix of domination¹⁸. As ecofeminist critics argue that the exploitation of women and of the natural world are both authored by patriarchal and capitalist domination, so does phallogocentrism capture the linguistic dimensions of such discrimination, by incorporating the politics of speech and silence that inform representations of women and animals in general and Rhiannon in particular. When Rhiannon violates the patrilineal and biological strictures of her society and her place in it

term in *L'écriture et la différence* (Paris: Seuil, 1967). Continental feminist philosophers have also used this concept as a basis for concepts like Hélène Cixous' "écriture féminine". See Cixous and Catherine Clément's *La Jeune née* (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1975) in which they argue against phallogocentric and reductive oppositions like writing/speech, male/female, and logic/emotion.

¹⁸ This term, matrix of domination, was created by Patricia Hill Collins, a feminist sociologist and philosopher who argues for the multiplicity of types of domination inherent in society, for example, on the basis of sex, age, socio-economic status, or region. See the second edition of her original 1990 book, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

as queen, she must become a beast of burden to atone for her alleged sexual transgression by waiting silently at a mounting block and carrying any passersby into court. This humiliation cements her association with the animal world and recalls the requirement of her service to male interests. The *Mabinogion* also features disappearing newborn boys and colts to highlight Rhiannon's interspecies maternity. She is mother to horse and human alike, just as she is equally horse and human. Identitary links between female characters and horses—both of whom are asked to serve men and to obey patriarchal conventions in silence—foreshadow those demonstrated throughout medieval literature.

While silence is often levied as a punishment on female characters whose unruly tongues undermine patriarchal conventions, silence can also yield strength. By falling silent, they may also reject masculine, chivalric, and courtly traditions of codified behaviors and speech. Far from removing them from power, the paucity of their verbal speech can valorize their mastery of nonverbal and nonhuman languages.

Although they typically speak less than their male counterparts, each female character in this dissertation receives a detailed portrait from her poet. Not all are protagonists or even central characters, nor does each woman pronounce copious verbal speech, but all are presented through vivid physical descriptions and are central to the development of plot and of other characters.

Whether the women's speech is verbal, performative, or interspecies, the poets and other characters pay close attention when women speak in each of these texts. The links between the frequent silence and the mastery of nonverbal commands to horses shown by each of these female characters point to the complex, dynamic, and nuanced portraits they receive. In Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide*, in the anonymous *Roman d'Eneas*

and Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, and in Marie de France's *Lanval* and its Middle English adaptations, the anonymous *Landevale* and Thomas Chestre's *Launfal*, poets use the woman/horse relationship as a lens through which to evaluate a female literary character's chivalric or equestrian prowess as a performance of her gender.

I begin in chapter 1 by considering the prescriptions for horse-human interactions included in an influential 13th-century veterinary and horsemanship manual, *La marechaucie des chevaux*. Its writer, Jordanus Rufus, demands that horsemen act as stewards of the horse's well-being while benefiting from his service and the status he confers. The Rufus method raises questions about human determinacy within the chivalric assemblage of man-horse-spurs-sword-armor by concentrating on the methods and tools of interspecies communication, advocating a gradual and individualized progression through training, and encouraging trainers to minimize the use of intimidating equipment like spurs, harsh bits, and whips. Instead of allowing the rider to force his mount's obedience through punishment and fear, Rufus demands the rider honor the horse as the most delicate and crucial element of a hybrid knighthood. Rufusian horsemanship is not posthumanist, but prehumanist: his medieval iteration of material and species hybridity subordinates the rider and his or her inorganic equipment to the interests of the horse.

The dependence of riders on their horses renders equine willingness crucial to the safety and pleasure of both, and Rufus' fundamentally gentle method of training encourages the horse's devotion to and trust in his rider. As a response to the violence, dominance, or perhaps simply the contingency of bonds between a man, his horse, and their equipment, Rufus protects the agency of the horse by allowing him to participate

willingly, exempting him from coercive practices, and by cultivating the horse's own individual emotional and psychological needs through holistic training.

Rufusian strategies for developing horse-human partnerships based on respect for each horse's inherent sensitivity are also employed in literary sources, though more often by female characters than by their male counterparts. The subsequent three chapters of this study assess the equestrian prowess of female characters, the praise each one earns for her horsemanship, the partnership each forges with her horse or horses, and the impact of her relationship with horses on her identity as a woman, as a chivalric figure, and as a heroine.

Beginning in chapter 2, Chrétien's *Erec et Enide* reveals a female version of horsemanship distinct from male knighthood. From horse care to spurring—each illuminated still further by the gentle nonverbal communication promoted by Rufus in his *Marechaucie*—Enide's interactions with horses illustrate an equestrianism without violence. Her connection with gentle and silent horsemanship at home and on the quest road earns praise first from her father and then from Chrétien.

While Enide's silence has often been cited as a consequence of spousal repression, it also reveals the nonverbal speech by which Enide communicates masterfully with horses. Enide shows restraint with artificial aids (namely, spurs) whereas Erec "speaks" ferociously, demanding silence from Enide and goading his horse into a fast gait by incessant spurring. The way Erec punishes Enide and his horses creates an implied parallel between Enide and horses as his victims.

Meanwhile, Chrétien validates Enide's version of horsemanship through the palfreys she receives as gifts befitting a horsewoman. These exemplary horses reward her

merit, just as she, too, is given in marriage to Erec as a bride worthy of him. Once married, Enide serves her husband just as their horses do: facilitating his chivalric campaigns and serving his interests, however imperfectly. Although Erec intended to train his wife and curtail her undesirable speech, their marriage is reestablished when Erec sees that she does love him and not because he has successfully modified her behavior. In this way, Chrétien presents Erec's domination of Enide as ineffective, just as his violent communication with horses is unnecessary for achieving a rapid pace. Though Erec's punitive marital quest catalyzes the recovery of his good reputation, it also reveals his ineffective communication with horses and with his wife. Indeed, Erec punishes Enide for speech *he* forced her to repeat—the famous “que mar i fustes”—even though the precision of her analysis of her husband's shortcomings recalls the same communicative clarity that makes her an effective, capable horsewoman. Erec fails to see Enide's verbal skill—one which allows Enide to alert him to his flagging reputation, warn him of danger during the quest, and thwart the physical and emotional abuse of her false husband, Count Limors—as crucial to his own success as a knight, and he attempts to train her to eliminate all speech, whether advantageous or insubordinate.

The final erasure of women and horses from Erec's retelling of their adventures—together with their service to his quest, the abusive communication they endure, the trading of women and horses like commodities, and the ineffective spousal training Erec attempts—contributes to the romance's proto-ecofeminist argument whereby *Erec et Enide* challenges, instead of reinforcing, normative medieval patriarchal practices that reduce women and animals to objects or tools for male advancement. Before their reconciliation and the end of Enide's ordeal, Erec uses horses and Enide to rehabilitate

his reputation, though he ignores the contingency of his own knighthood on Enide's horsemanship. Chrétien responds to Erec's lack of consideration by expanding horsemanship to include Enide and by depicting her as a talented equestrian. As a result, Enide becomes a protagonist, one fundamentally connected with knighthood and venerated by her society.

Composed in the same period as Chrétien's first romance, the *romans antiques* also present developed portraits of female equestrians. In chapter 3, I analyze two romances in the *trilogie antique* that prominently feature Amazon equestrians who contrast the portrait of Enide with their chaste femininity and military prowess. Camille in the *Roman d'Eneas* and Panteselee in the *Roman de Troie* are described as feminine bodies riding swift warhorses, dressed in rich textiles and shining armor, and wielding deadly weapons. The female hybrid assemblage and its mobilization as a warrior and military general exemplify the Amazon. In addition, an Amazon's constructed, material body is defined by its relationship to horses, and its mastery of equine language facilitates equestrian excellence. Camille and Panteselee's interactions with horses cement their hybrid chivalric identities, influence their predisposition to nonverbal and interspecies speech, and facilitate their overwhelming success in defeating their opponents on the battlefield.

The communities in which each Amazon fights do not, however, tacitly accept their hybrid alterity. Each Amazon experiences taunts and threats from an opponent on the battlefield, and each responds decisively. She rebuts those slanderers—with both language and a deadly attack—who would undermine her subjectivity and return her to the domestic sphere awaiting so many courtly women. Nevertheless, the slander each

Amazon experiences reveals the fragility of her assemblage. As a woman on the battlefield, she is transgressive.

Even after the Amazon is killed, her corpse inspires passionate and disparate responses. While Camille is buried with the highest honors, Panteselee is dismembered and her attackers sink her corpse in a river. Yet, neither Amazon disappears altogether: the Amazon figure recurs in subsequent literary texts and feminist criticism.

The hybrid bodily composition and transgressive violence of the Amazons are illuminated by Haraway's cyborg theory, Barad's material feminism, and Hearne's human-equine interspecies communication. By applying these theories to medieval Amazon figures, we can examine the medieval female literary characters who unite with their horses, with organic and inorganic matter, and with the weapons they wield against male power and slander. The medieval Amazon reveals herself to be just one of many cyborg figures who recur throughout literature and feminist theory as symbols of transgressive material hybridity and violent resistance against the patriarchy.

Finally, chapter 4 moves from romance tales to the Breton lay, whose supernatural Celtic inspiration connects them particularly strongly with Epona. The fairy women in the Breton lays of the Lanval corpus rescue their lover from poverty and a judicial indictment, help him rehabilitate his chivalric masculinity, and finally bring him into Avalon as the consort of their choosing. Their supernatural connection to horses permits them to assess their lover's peril in the valley, provide him with the money and horse he needs to continue his displays of courtly generosity and chivalric duties, and save him at his trial by riding boldly into Arthur's throne room. These fairies and their horses evoke different interspecies bonds than those of the wifely squire Enide or the

militaristic Amazons. Their embellished attire and delicate posture transform them into virtual artwork whose aesthetic appeal qualifies as evidence in a trial and earns them the right to take their lover away into their own kingdom. Fairy equestrians resolve chivalric crises on behalf of their lover while also challenging the notion of feudal patriarchal hegemony.

These women and fairies use their horsepower and femininity to undermine patriarchal conventions and to contradict any supposition of chivalry's universal masculinity. These female characters and the equestrian partnerships that define them resist phallogocentric expectations about gender, species, and speech and wield extraordinary influence in each narrative. Moreover, by challenging men in marriage, on the battlefield, and at court, these women exercise their prowess in the most male-dominated areas of medieval society and reveal the profound impact of their relationship with horses on their performance of gender.

By riding with precise interspecies communication that shows regard for their mount's well-being, female literary characters exercise their extra-verbal, performative agency and surpass the patriarchal restrictions placed upon both their speech and actions. These women are contrasted with their objectified, passive counterparts, women like Guinevere, Lavinia, and the *Nantaise*, each of whom serves as the prize that motivates men to engage in a chivalric combat with the goal of winning her. The fate of women like Guinevere, Lavinia, and the *Nantaise* depends on the actions of men who desire to possess them. These women contrast directly with the female equestrians of this dissertation. While the stereotype of female objectification in medieval literature as well as society cannot be unilaterally debunked, the empowerment of exemplary female

literary equestrians contradicts the erroneous expectation that all women will be passive, objectified, or helpless.

The distinction between objectification and empowerment, however, is not absolute. For female equestrians who successfully care for horses, travel widely, seek chivalric renown, or exercise political and financial autonomy, the same bonds with horses that yield their freedom can nevertheless invite censure from their patriarchal societies. While the skill of female literary equestrians can both allow their autonomy and invite derision from the men around them, their poets establish their prowess and virtue as unparalleled. The multiple female characters who demonstrate equestrian talent reveal a medieval literary preoccupation with female prowess that underscores a curiosity about female autonomy and the social, military, or even financial benefits it might confer. Far from obsessed with keeping women locked away in towers, these poets betray a desire to free the cloistered and empower their female characters to be chivalric heroines.

CHAPTER 1

Chivalric Partnerships, Kinesthetic Speech, and Equine Emotional Welfare in Jordanus Rufus' *Marechaucie des chevaux*

“True communication is a revelation, not a contest.” - Hans Senn¹⁹

The imbricated roles of equine physical, psychological, and emotional well-being factored in to equine veterinary and horsemanship texts long before the advent of recent animal behavioral studies and compassionate training methods. As a means to develop horses' trust in their riders and confidence in the varying circumstances of their service to humans, *La marechaucie des chevaux* [The healing and care of horses]—the oldest Old French manuscript of Jordanus Rufus' 13th-century veterinary manual entitled *De medicina equorum*—advocates the careful consideration of a horse's emotional needs through gradual training that generally minimizes violence and domination. Starting with the initial habituation of a young horse, Rufus teaches that every interaction between horse and human contributes to—or detracts from—interspecies trust. The dependence of riders on their horses rendered equine willingness crucial to the safety and pleasure of both, and Rufus devised a fundamentally gentle method of training which would encourage the horse's devotion to and trust in his rider.

The wide diffusion of Rufus' treatise, including especially its arguments against spurs, harsh bits, and other violent equipment, confirms its importance throughout Europe

¹⁹ Hans Senn was a 20th century equestrian famed for his teaching philosophy designed to help riders understand their role in this interspecies partnership and obligation to honor their horse. This quote comes from his book, *Apropos...Horses and Riders* (Hans Senn, 2006), in which he published the most popular of his training methods (7).

as a source of training guidelines as well as medical and surgical treatments. In addition to the earliest extant Old French copy, *La marechaucie des chevaux*,²⁰ four later Old French copies,²¹ twenty-six Latin copies,²² seventeen Italian copies, two Sicilian copies, three Catalan copies, one Provençal copy, and two German copies appearing between the 13th and 16th centuries remain to bear witness to Rufus' extraordinary breadth of influence.²³ This extensive copying and translation reflects the popularity, throughout the late Middle Ages, of Rufus' theories of maintaining horse health and well-being with gentle treatment and achieving clear communication between riders and horses with tactile language. Additionally, the manuscripts and translations of Rufus' original are the only surviving 13th-century horse training manuals, making them the sole remaining artifact that can illuminate medieval theories of horse-human interaction.

²⁰ The date of completion of the original *De medicina equorum* has been estimated by Prévot as being between 1250 (the death of Frederick II) and 1256 (the year in which the Rufus family became destitute) (Prévot, *La Science* 7). BnF fr. 25341—the 13th-century copy entitled *La marechaucie des chevaux*, known also as manuscript *M*—can therefore be dated between 1256 and 1300, making it the earliest remaining manuscript in Old French as well as the only one to bear Rufus' name. Prévot selects this manuscript as the basis for her study *La Science du cheval au Moyen Âge: Le Traité d'hippiatrie de Jordanus Rufus* (Paris: Collège Sapience/Klincksieck, 1992) due to its completeness and relatively good condition compared with her next choice, manuscript *N* (Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 1177, dating from the 14th century) (21-23).

²¹ The most often studied Old French copies, outside the *Marechaucie (M)*, are *Le livre de la cure et garde des chevaux (R)*, *Le livre de marescallie des chevalz (W)*, and the *Livre de la maréchaussée (S)*, an edition of which I have included as an appendix.

²² Among the Latin titles are *De medicina equorum*, *De doctrina, custodia et medicina equorum*, *Mariscalcia equorum*, *De cultu et curatione equorum*, *Liber de cura equorum*, and *Liber de medicaminibus equorum* (Prévot, *La Science* 12-13). Another Latin version of Rufus, *Marescalcia equorum*, appears in print in Whittocksmead's miscellany produced in England in the mid-15th century. This particular exemplum indicates the likelihood that Rufus' manual was influential to the vernacular tradition developing in England in the late medieval and early modern periods. For more on this miscellany and Rufus' influence on later horsemanship and veterinary manuals, see George R. Keiser's article, "Medicines for Horses: The Continuity from Script to Print" (*The Yale University Library Gazette* 69.3/4 [April 1995]): 111-128.

²³ Prévot produced the definitive study of this oldest Old French copy. See her introduction for a detailed description of each extant manuscript (*La Science* 12-14). Interestingly however, she omits many of the Italian manuscripts, possibly because they cannot be definitively attributed to Rufus. For more on these texts, see Pasquino Crupi's edition, *Giordano Ruffo - Libro della Mascalcia* (Soveria Mannelli, Italy: Rubbettino Editore, 2002) and in particular the catalogue of manuscripts he provides.

To understand where Rufus' manual fits into the already heavily studied role of horses in medieval society, I will consider current critical opinions about medieval horse-human relationships that highlight the monetary investment and masculine embodiment central to relationships with horses. Interestingly, recent scholarship has limited discussion of Rufus to citations drawn most notably from his preface.²⁴ These brief appearances fail to address his recommendations for preparing young horses for chivalric careers.

Many scholars have addressed the proto-posthuman bonds exhibited between knights and their chargers. Modern²⁵ posthuman theories advanced by such scholars as Cary Wolfe and Donna Haraway attempt to combat speciesist assumptions about an exclusively human subjectivity.²⁶ Haraway has notably moved beyond the organic limits of what Wolfe calls "the animal question" into the theoretical implications of cyborg beings constructed from technical materials and living flesh. But these are not exclusively contemporary concepts: medieval horsemanship evokes the same hybrid material selves. Rufusian interactions between human bodies, equine flesh, tack, and equipment exemplify this proto-postmodern bodily hybridity.

In particular, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, Joyce Salisbury, and Susan Crane situate such horse-human interactions either in the context of value-added capital or of chivalric

²⁴ See Cohen's chapter "Chevalerie" in *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2003), 35-77; also, see Crane's chapter "Knight and Horse" in her *Animal Encounters* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 137-168. See pages 46 and 141 in Cohen and Crane, respectively, for their discussions of Rufus' preface.

²⁵ The word modern recurs frequently in this chapter and may pose difficulties without clarification. I use modern according to its primary *OED* definition, one which refers to present or recent events, people, or phenomena in contrast to the distant past.

²⁶ See Jodey Castricano in the introduction to her own edition, *Animal Subjects: An Ethical Reader in a Posthuman World* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 1-3.

identity,²⁷ especially considering the role of multiple materials (man-horse-spurs-sword-armor) in a proto-posthuman identity that either enriches²⁸ or impugns²⁹ the sovereignty of the human participants. Crane elucidates the relationship between theories of medieval chivalric bodies as either technological machines or affective interspecies partnerships:

Oscillating along the lines of difference between a combat mechanism and a conscious partnership, the medieval conception of knight and horse embraces a fundamental instability. On the one hand, elite technologies extend the knight's physical capacities, enmeshing him in an assemblage that wields immense social and military authority. Simultaneously, but quite differently, the coordinated performance of knight and horse brings two living creatures into relationship. The intermingling of these opposed conceptions expands chivalric self-definition in two directions that may look contradictory, but even the apparent contradiction reinforces chivalry's special importance. Mechanization and living relationship could each be suspect in the absence of the other. [...] the superposition and shuffling of mechanistic and cross-species elements insist on the rich complexity of chivalric performance ("Chivalry" 70).

As both a combat alliance and a mindful partnership, medieval chivalric relationships required total equine obedience in dangerous circumstances along with the acknowledgment of the significant communication differences between the two species. Crane underlines not only the mechanized military service of the horse-knight pair but also the interspecies communicative exchanges that characterize chivalric partnerships.

These theories, however, do not fully incorporate Rufus' influential approach. *La marechaucie des chevaux* demands that horsemen act as stewards of the horse's well-being while benefiting from his service and the status he confers. The Rufus method raises questions about human determinacy within the chivalric assemblage of man-horse-

²⁷ Joyce E. Salisbury's *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1994) contains effective arguments for the role of horses in medieval European economies. In particular, see her chapter "Animals as Property" (13-41).

²⁸ See, in particular, Susan Crane's "Chivalry and the Pre/Postmodern" (*Postmedieval* 2.1 [2011]): 69-87.

²⁹ See Cohen's "Chevalerie."

spurs-sword-armor. In this chapter I examine his methods of interspecies communication, gradual and individualized progression through training, and the minimization of punishment and intimidating equipment like spurs, harsh bits, and whips as means by which he challenges human hegemony and valorizes the formative role played by horses in medieval chivalric identity.

Instead of allowing the rider to force his mount's obedience, Rufus demands the rider acknowledge the horse as the most delicate and crucial element of what may be considered a hybrid proto-posthuman knighthood. By considering psychological well-being as a key factor in physiological health and in performance during training, Rufus elevated the horse to near-equality with the rider. *La marechaucie des chevaux* thus shifts focus away from the human and identifies the horse as the determining agent of their partnership.

The Rufus Family and the Imperial Stables

According to manuscript *M*, Jordanus Rufus served as knight and stable master at the stables of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen.³⁰ The central role of horses in the maintenance of Frederick's empire afforded the Ruffo family a position of power at the imperial court.

As Crupi explains:

Nessuna legge, nessuna struttura amministrativa avrebbe potuto il quel tempo sostituire i contatti personali. Era infatti il legame con cavallo che permetteva a Federico il governo dell'Impero. La curia del regno era itinerante: "in motu vel in discursu" (...). A Federico II, come già agli altri sovrani, per governare il paese non rimaneva che cavalcare di continui e in

³⁰ The name of Jordanus Rufus appears regularly throughout manuscripts attributed to him, often having been latinized or in the case of manuscript *M*, rendered more French as Jourdein Ruf. Neither of these were likely his given name as his uncle was Pietro Ruffo. I have made the decision to keep Rufus' latinized name—instead of the Sicilian Giordano Ruffo or the French Jourdein Ruf—as it is the most recognizable among scholarly works on his contribution to veterinary medicine.

ogni direzione per controllare i suoi vasti domini con la sua personale presenza nei luoghi più importanti del Regnum (8).³¹

This crucial role of horses in the governance of his regime thus elevated those men able to train and heal them to a high status among those under Frederick's patronage. While his biography remains incomplete, it is known that his uncle, Pietro Ruffo, was the grand master at the imperial stables from 1244 to 1250, and that the Ruffo family enjoyed great favor with Frederick (Prévot, *La Science* 4).³² As such, Frederick seems to have conferred on Pietro's nephew, Jordanus, the honor of "grand officier de la couronne" (4).³³ With this title, Jordanus enjoyed a management role at the stables and also pursued research into preventative and surgical medicine for the horses in his care.

While scientific research and philosophical thought were already a priority for Frederick II, he also sought the brightest minds from across Europe and the Middle East to work for advancement in the field of horse training and of equine medicine (Haskins 671).³⁴ Although the Sicilian kingdom lacked scholars when Frederick II rose to power, he strove to correct this deficiency following his ascension to the throne and offered liberal compensation to those masters who would work for advancement under his patronage (671). Scholars from Greece, Rome, Western Europe, and the Middle East

³¹ Crupi cites here Salvatore Tramontana's study, *Il regno di Sicilia : uomo e natura dall'XI al XIII secolo* (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1999), 277.

³² See Charles H. Haskins, "Science at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II" (*The American Historical Review* 27.4 [1922]): 669-694.

³³ For a more detailed study of Rufus' family connection to the imperial stables see the introduction of Pasquino Crupi's edition (7-10).

³⁴ See Prévot's *La Science du cheval au Moyen Âge*, notably pages 3-5. In addition, Duby's *Féodalités* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996) and *La Société chevaleresque : Homme et structures au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009) provide useful analysis of the important role of horses in medieval society, including but not limited to their role in the formation of male identities based on contemporary principles of chivalry. Another comprehensive study of horses in the Middle Ages may be found in Brigitte Prévot and Bernard Ribémont's *Le Cheval en France au Moyen Age: sa place dans le monde médiéval ; sa médecine, l'exemple d'un traité vétérinaire du XIVe siècle, La Chirurgie des chevaux* (Caen: Paradigme, 1994).

soon came to Sicily to study astrology, astronomy, philosophy, logic, and natural sciences (682-685). Among the innovators at Frederick's court, Jordanus Rufus and his uncle Pietro applied their decades of combined experience to solve the training challenges and equine ailments which had long plagued medieval horsemen.

La marechaucie des chevaux assembles the knowledge Jordanus Rufus gathered during his tenure at Frederick II's Sicilian court,³⁵ where many scholars argue Rufus was exposed to sources from Europe and throughout the Arab world, as well as classical Greek and Roman texts (Prévot, *La Science* 5-7).³⁶ Rufus also tested his remedies and methods for many years and demonstrates throughout his manual a detailed and practical understanding of each method and remedy. *La marechaucie* informs horsemen on the proper management of horses, whether young or old, healthy or infirm. Rufus presents information that adheres to two overarching principles: first, to prevent emotional distress, disease, and injury through environmental control, and, if unavoidable, to use remedies ranging from the herbal to the surgical to slow or halt the progress of disease or injury.

³⁵ Brigitte Prévot, "L'hippiatrie au Moyen Âge" in *Le cheval en France au Moyen Âge* (336-337). We must also note that the date of completion for *De medicina equorum* has been placed after 1250, and it is likely that Jordanus continued writing in this period immediately following his work at the imperial stables.

³⁶ A long tradition of Greek and Latin veterinary medicine both precedes and informs the Rufus manual. There are striking parallels between the methods and treatments outlined in Greek medical texts like those written by Hippocrates and Vegetius and those in Rufus' own manual. For a summary of these approaches, see the article "Greek and Chinese Horse Medicine: Déjà vu All Over Again" by Paul D. Buell, Timothy May, and David Ramey (*Sudhoffs Archiv* 94.1 [2010]: 31-56, especially 40-43). For an overview of the extant Greco-Latin sources, see Klaus-Dietrich Fischer's article "Ancient Veterinary Medicine: A survey of Greek and Latin sources and some recent scholarship" (*Medizinhistorisches Journal* 23.3/4 [1988]): 191-209. For the relationship of these sources to medieval veterinary manuals, see Fischer's article "'A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!'" Versions of Greek Horse Medicine in Medieval Italy" (*Medizinhistorisches Journal* 34.2 [1999]): 123-138. In the latter, Fischer argues that Charlemagne's rise to power and interest in writing, education, and preserving ancient texts is responsible for the transmutation and translation of ancient veterinary texts into medieval manuscripts and languages (125). Following the example of his distant predecessor, Charlemagne, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II promoted intellectualism and research. Under his patronage the first treatise of veterinary medicine since Vegetius, 800 years earlier, was written by none other than Jordanus Rufus (Fischer "Versions" 128-129).

La marechaucie des chevaux presents a prologue followed by six sections, each of which addresses important aspects of breeding and training a horse, assessing each horse's physical condition and the potential injuries which any defects in condition may cause, diagnosing illnesses and injuries, and finally selecting appropriate remedies. The sections are as follows:

- I. "Ci commence la marechaucie des chevaux, laquele fiz Jourdein Ruf, chevalier et mestre de la mare estables a l'empereour"
 - II. "Ci commence la premiere partie : de la créacion et de la nativité dou poulain"
 - III. "Ci commence la seconde partie : comment l'an doit prendre et donter³⁷ le poulein"
 - IV. "Ci commence la tierce partie : comment le poulain doit estre gardeez"
 - V. "Coment en doit connoistre la biauté et les façons des chevaus"
 - VI. "Ci commence la quinte partie : des enfermetez qui avienent par defauste de nature"
 - VII. "Ci commence la VIeseme partie : des medecines qui sont profitables contre toutes les enfermetez de cheval"
-
- I. Here begins the healing of horses, written by Jordanus Rufus, knight and master of the greatest stables of the Emperor
 - II. Here begins the first part: on the reproduction and birth of the young horse
 - III. Here begins the second part: how one must start³⁸ and tame the young horse
 - IV. Here begins the third part: how the young horse must be kept
 - V. How one must recognize³⁹ the beauty and the physical features of horses
 - VI. Here begins the fifth part: of those illnesses that occur by defect of nature
 - VII. Here begins the sixth part: of medicines that are useful against all equine illnesses

³⁷ The verb *donter* has many meanings, including to train, to tame, to subdue, to master, to dominate, and to subjugate. I have elected to translate *donter* as to tame because of the docility required of trained horses. Anything more violent seemed excessive, as Rufus endeavors to limit violence against horses whenever possible. Although the rider/trainer maintains a position of power over the horse, "dominate" seemed incompatible with his largely gentle methods and tone.

³⁸ The verb "to start" refers to the initial interaction between horse and handler at the age at which the horse is deemed ready to begin training. The contemporary discipline of horse racing, for example, usually requires that colts (young males) and fillies (young females) be put in training (or "started") as yearlings (one year old) since preparations for races must begin in order to have horses performing—and winning—by age two. Interestingly, Rufus follows a schedule which allows the young horse more time turned out to pasture by his mother's side in order for his body to mature before beginning any work. This decision to delay training is an effort to avoid the injuries to underdeveloped joints and bones that may befall those horses who enter a training regimen as yearlings (Prévot, *La Science* 32-33).

³⁹ This section elaborates the particular physical qualities that contribute to a horse's long-term soundness and health, as well as the ways to evaluate and prioritize the particular faults and gifts to determine the overall usefulness of each horse for a particular career in hunting, in battle, or carrying ladies safely on their travels.

The organization of his treatise reveals Rufus' appreciation of each developmental stage in a horse's maturation and training. He understood that early interactions with handlers and trainers would influence the horse's emotional state and that, regardless of very positive interactions in these early stages, certain attributes and weaknesses might still prevent horses from enjoying long and healthy careers. In the fourth section after his introductory remarks, Rufus presents a list of both beneficial and undesirable traits which may illuminate the particular strengths and weaknesses of each individual horse.

As it monopolizes over four fifths⁴⁰ of the text, critics have unsurprisingly focused recent attention on Rufus' strategies for diagnosing problems and prescribing herbal and surgical treatments to restore each patient to health.⁴¹ However, the training methodology Rufus proposes in the first three folios of BnF fr. 23541 (known as manuscript *M*) is the only remaining medieval equestrian manual, as well as the crucial link between classical veterinary and training manuals and those often studied 15th- and 16th-century treatises.

For a Language of Touch

⁴⁰ Following the fourth section Rufus discusses the diagnosis and treatment of various diseases and injuries. Therefore, 26 of the 30 total folios in this, the oldest of the Old French manuscripts attributable to Rufus, are dedicated to recovery from injuries ranging from abrasions to broken bones.

⁴¹ In addition to studies of Rufus from Prévot and Ribémont cited at length in this chapter, Tony Hunt has published extensively on the challenges of studying translations in Old French of medieval medical texts ("Old French Translations of Medical Texts", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* xxxv.4 [1999]): 350-357. He also published his own edition of four previously unedited texts, one of which is a Rufus manuscript located in London at the Wellcome Library (*Old French Medical Texts*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011). While Prévot presents an edition of manuscript *M* without commentary or particular focus on one section or another, Hunt's work on Rufus and other medical treatises does center on general remedies and surgical procedures.

Beyond any affective connection between handlers and horses, Rufus recognizes mindful training as the first and most effective way to foster a horse's trust in humans. He identifies trust and reliance between horse and human as the key component to an emotionally and physically healthy horse and, therefore, as the foundational principle of his sections on horse training. Rufus is at his most persuasive in his discussions of training methodology in the second and third sections of the manual, despite the brevity of these excerpts compared to his extensive discussion of ailments and their remedies. Here he advises reassurance through touch, a training regimen dictated by the horse's willingness, the avoidance of spurs and harsh bits that may frighten and injure horses, and—perhaps above all else—a constant concern for the horse's emotional stability. By beginning his manual with the concept of communication through touch, Rufus' 13th-century *Marechaucie* shows the fundamentality of interspecies communication in horse training.

The second section in *La marechaucie*—"comment l'an doit prendre et donter le poulein" [how one must start and train the young horse]—begins by delineating the particular methods for communicating with a young horse during the early stages of training. Rufus points to the environmental changes introduced in a training regime as stress-inducing for horses.⁴² Moreover, the challenges horses experience while trying to understand the demands made upon them by their handlers may also provoke anxiety and fear. It is crucial, therefore, to mediate the stresses of communication failures between

⁴² For more on the interactions horses have with each other, with their environment, and with humans, see the extensive study by Jean-Claude Barrey and Christine Lazier, *Ethologie et écologie équine : Etudes des relations des chevaux entre eux, avec leur milieu et avec l'homme* (Paris: Vigot, 2010). Key among the stress-inducing lifestyle changes imposed during training are reduced foraging for grass and changes to the feeding schedule, both of which can cause anxiety that may lead to gastric distress and even fatal colic. As such, reducing the stress of the actual training interactions is crucial for the horse's physical and emotional health.

human trainer and equine trainee. To assuage this stress, Rufus explains that the handler should introduce a horse to work with compassion and patience:

<34> Nus hons ne se doit courroucier contre le poulein, especialment au commencement, car il en pourroit prendre aucun mauvés vice ou aucune mauvese tache non convenable. <35> Et tourjours soit acoustumez de lui touchier son cors et touz les membres simplement, juques tant qu'il soit simples et humbles et dontez en tele manière que l'en le puisse touchier seurement par tout le cors, especiaument les piez en maniere de lui ferrer (Prévot, *La Science* 34).

[<34> No man should get angry with a young horse, especially at the beginning, because the horse could take from it some bad vices or bad qualities that aren't suitable. <35> And the man should always be accustomed to touching him simply on his body and all legs, until he is steady and submissive and tamed⁴³ in such a manner that one can touch his body easily all over, especially the hooves as though shoeing him.]⁴⁴

Rufus explains the importance of touch as the key to habituating the horse to cues from his handler, *especialment au commencement* of training. A crucial ambiguity remains in the reading of <35> due to the difficulty of establishing a clear subject for *soit acoustumez*. While I have tended to see the handler as the subject—resulting in the translation above which states the trainer must be *acoustumez de lui touchier*—another possibility remains: that the horse, too, is implicated in the habituation.⁴⁵ The validity of each reading resonates with Rufus' recommendation of behavioral changes for both the trainer and the horse. For Rufus, both horse and trainer must become accustomed to new activities and interactions. Though he stops before asserting the act of touch as a form of

⁴³ Regarding the selection of tame to stand in for versions of *donter*, refer to the initial presentation of Rufus' table of contents and corresponding footnotes.

⁴⁴ All translations of Rufus' text are mine, based on Brigitte Prévot's edition published in *La Science du cheval au Moyen Âge : Le Traité d'hippiatrie de Jordanus Rufus* (Paris: Collège Sapience/Klincksieck, 1992).

⁴⁵ The alternative translation yields "<35> And the horse should always be accustomed to the trainer touching him simply on his body and all legs, until he is steady and submissive and tamed". Moreover, the text provides other examples of ambiguous subjects. See Rufus <76>, in which ambiguity may be similarly reconciled by placing the horse in the subject position (Prévot, *La Science* 37).

nonverbal equine speech, Rufus does imply that communication with a horse originates in touch, thus establishing touch as the foundational element for a horse's chivalric service.

Interestingly, many recent studies of interspecies relationships argue that touch is a form of language. Communication achieved through touch and variable pressure is central to any interaction with horses.⁴⁶ Vicki Hearne describes this dialogue one in which the rider must read the movement of the horse through his or her own skin, as well as make his or her own body "kinesthetically legible" to the horse (110). The challenges of developing interspecies communication resonates, therefore, with both the human cue-giver and the equine command-receiver. The inevitable confusion caused by misplaced or improperly administered cues often originates in the distinct sensory perception of the horse and the rider. The rider must learn to assess the horse's sensitivity to touch and adapt his or her tactile "speech" to suit each mount. As Hearne argues, "Every muscle twitch of the rider will be like a loud symphony to the horse, but it will be a newfangled sort of symphony, one that calls into question the whole idea of symphonies, and the horse will not only not know what it means, s/he will be unable to know whether it has meaning or not" (108). Hearne underscores the stress a horse experiences when he cannot comprehend the means with which a rider communicates. Riders must never command a horse without first considering the perception of those cues by each individual horse.

Hans Senn reiterates this constant struggle to achieve clear communication in terms of

⁴⁶ For a close look at the training relationships between human trainers and their canine and equine pupils, see Vicki Hearne's *Adam's Task: Calling Animals by Name* (New York: Knopf, 1986). In particular, the last third of her chapter "Tracking Dogs, Sensitive Horses and the Traces of Speech" addresses the impoverished phenomenological skills of trainers and the need to adapt our language to accommodate the sensitivity to touch that exemplifies and informs the training relationship with horses (106-116).

speaking and listening across species and across modes of speech, “Given the different order of priorities of the horse and the rider, communication will be full of difficulties and misunderstandings. [...] When talking and listening occur, a conversation gains clarity and horse and rider begin to realize that they now occupy a common ground” (7). Indeed, each rider must direct the horse—using cues known since the early modern period as aids—in such a way that the horse understands and can respond accurately to the content and intent of the message.

Prefiguring contemporary posthuman criticism and animal studies, Rufus establishes a similar communicative exchange between horse and human that he deems necessary to mutual understanding. In her brief theoretical treatise *The Companion Species Manifesto*, Haraway illuminates the nuances of interspecies communication, “We are training each other in acts of communication we barely understand. We are, constitutively, companion species. We make each other up, in the flesh”.⁴⁷ Haraway notes the difficult, endless negotiations between interspecies communicators to devise new signs and cues with which to connect.

Following Hearne and Haraway, Vinciane Despret discusses the *rapprochement* of humans and horses in kinesthetic terms.⁴⁸ The rider internalizes the movements he or she desires from the horse; mental visualization of the desired movement then subconsciously influences the rider’s posture and predisposes the horse to comply. According to Despret, the commands of the rider and responses of the horse overlap so that, “[b]oth, human and horse, are cause and effect of each other’s movements. Both

⁴⁷ Donna Jeanne Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003), 2-3.

⁴⁸ See Vinciane Despret, “The Body We Care For: Figures of Anthro-zoo-genesis,” (*Body & Society* 10.2-3 [2004]): 111-134.

induce and are induced, affect and are affected. Both embody each other's mind" (115). These delicate exchanges between humans and horses are characterized by intentional cues from the rider that provoke equine thoughts—in which the horse mentally evaluates his rider's command—and, subsequently, active equine responses. The deep and subtle connections advocated by Rufus reflect the shared intentionality and communication at the heart of successful bonds between horses and humans. While not articulated explicitly, his treatise explores the possible comingling of thought—or mutual mental engagement—between rider and horse through which the most delicate movements produce the most willing responses.

Rufus' system is defined by the rider's assumption of equine communication in order to breach the species gap between him and his horse. As Susan Crane argues in her monograph on human/animal interactions in the Middle Ages:

Organic prostheses also shift our perception toward the nonhuman, this time toward not the mechanical but other species. The seeing-eye dog, the seizure dog, the cow pony, and the medieval warhorse are mobilized in consistent, consequential, direct physical contact with a human handler. Such creatures remain alien to the handler in that they must be drawn into service, even as their service has tactile and communicative content that reaches across the species line (*Encounters* 144).

Crane explains the pre-posthuman knight as both mechanized and animal. When defined by a knight mounted on a *destrier*, or war horse, knighthood also demands shared language that transgresses the boundary of species. Just as Rufus introduces the training of a young horse with tactile, nonverbal, or animal "speech", Crane argues that the communicative bond between knight and horse is central to chivalric identity. Just as Cohen evokes the knight as a centaur (47), Rufus believes the best horsemen will, themselves, become more animal in order to gain the horse's cooperation.

Despite the behavioral changes Rufus required of both human and equine, the rider still bears the burden of intelligibility. Trainers must transmit clear cues to their horses without collapsing all the linguistic and species differences between them. In his influential text, *Give Your Horse A Chance*, Hungarian Olympian and famed horse trainer and riding coach Lieutenant Colonel A. L. d'Endrödy explains that the aids must be comprised of the rider's mental visualization and then precise physical cue, a description that harks back to Despret's isopraxis.⁴⁹ First, the rider delivers aids that correspond to "the rider's mental activities associated with his physical actions in giving signals" (74). Despret's isopraxis continues where d'Endrödy stops, by establishing a mental connection between horses and riders to link both in thought and action. The horse interprets his rider's cue and then responds actively, and must then relax or yield after giving a command (75). The rider must respect each horse's response as an indication of the rider's successful or failed aid.

Rufus foregrounds touch-based communication between rider and horse as the most important component of a long and fruitful working partnership. The building blocks of trust remain the establishment of clear communication between rider and horse. Handlers must *touchier* the horse to reassure and calm him during training. Even the horse's passive submission is encouraged via the handler's reassurance. Rufus seems to argue that gentle human touch may persuade the horse to choose cooperation instead of resistance. The rider and handler must adopt this equine system of tactile communication as more persuasive than any human speech. By dictating the method of communication used by the rider, horses determine the nature of chivalric partnerships.

⁴⁹ Lt. Col. A. L. d'Endrödy, *Give Your Horse A Chance* (London: J. A. Allen, 1959).

Individualized Training and Equipment for Each Horse

While ownership, mastery, and control defined medieval dominion over animals, Rufus' recipe for the horse's submission to human control nuances this construct (Salisbury 16). Instead of coercing obedience, Rufus exercises patient, mindful consideration of each horse's needs as he becomes accustomed to his service to humans. He prescribes a gradual process of training for two-year-old horses so they may transition smoothly into a consistent regime. In addition to selecting a bit tailored to each horse's needs, Rufus advocates gradual progression through the stages of training only when each horse demonstrates readiness for more complex tasks. These strategies will ensure that each horse gains confidence in himself and in his rider. For Rufus, each horse should be treated respectfully by his handlers. Rufus honors a horse's noble service by subordinating the handler's needs to those of his equine pupil.

After teaching the horse to act *simples et humbles* so that one *le puisse touchier seurement par tout le cors*, Rufus introduces the method for training the horse to lead and carry a rider. In an equally gentle manner, the rider will—with only a simple halter—gradually work with the horse until he willingly completes increasingly difficult tasks (Prévot, *La Science* 34). Rufus describes a horse both ready and relaxed around his handler, as he has never experienced violence at the hand of a human:

<74> Après ces choses, (...) l'an le doit conduire a la main, le matin et le soir, de ça et de la, par aucuns jours, juques tant que li poulains aille tres bien après celui qui le maine. <75> Après ce, soit cheveuchez sanz nule noise et sanz selle et sanz esperons le plus legerement et le plus soef que l'an puet (Prévot, *La Science* 37).

[<74> After these things, (...) one must lead him by hand, both morning and evening, here and there, for a number of days, until the young horse

goes very well after the one who leads him. <75> After which, he should be ridden without any noise,⁵⁰ without a saddle and without spurs in the gentlest and safest way possible.]

Rufus demands that the phase of leading the horse continue regularly and slowly, *juques tant que li poulains aille tres bien après celui qui le maine*. Human time stops and only the horse's understanding of the task may determine when an activity has reached completion. Rufus grants the horse the power to accept or reject the teachings of his trainer. Instead of prescribing a certain number of hours for an activity—or weeks for a stage of training—Rufus specifies that each activity or phase will continue *par aucuns jours* and will end only when the horse obeys.

Moreover, the term *le poulein* itself refers not to a plurality of horses, but to an individual. Rufus establishes throughout his manual the need that each horse should determine—albeit indirectly through compliance or disobedience—the length of each stage of training. As Olympic champion and famous horse trainer William Steinkraus explains over 700 years later, “we must never deny the horse his final authority as to the appropriateness of our methods, and we must never cease examining his response as the verification of our success or our failure”.⁵¹ Rufus puts into place here an adaptable system whose value and application remains today: an individual horse's response can be the only indication of the success or failure of any training method.

Just as horses are the sole determinants of progression through the stages of Rufusian training, Rufus also requires that minimal equipment be used on young horses.

⁵⁰ Here, noise refers to both literal and figurative noise. The rider must, therefore, endeavor to avoid any disturbances in the environment which might upset, startle, or frighten the young horse. Without such distractions the young horse can better focus on the skills he is being taught and not the potential threats of his surroundings.

⁵¹ See Steinkraus's preface to Lt. Col. A. L. d'Endrödy in *Give Your Horse A Chance* (2).

In the first stages of riding, each horse should experience the feel of a rider without the interference of distracting equipment. This initial riding phase must occur *sanz selle et sanz esperons* and therefore without the added security provided by these tools. While originally devised as tools of interspecies communication between riders and horses, spurs and whips will delay early training and provoke rebellion against the rider.

The rider must also sit astride *le plus legerement et le plus soef que l'an puet*, relying only on his balance to avoid being thrown. The bond between man and horse, therefore, begins with the rider's vulnerability to an unpredictable young horse. With the equilibrium between seat bones and dorsal muscles, the bond between trainer and horse originates in touch and, despite the equipment required during the future tasks of a *destrier* or *palefroi*, the crux of training remains this equalizing contact. Rufus' methodologies complicate Cohen's argument that the knight, his horse, and the equipment and weapons they wear form a Deleuzoguattarian apparatus, an "amalgam of force, materiality, and motion" ("Chevalerie" 37-38). While this cyborgian⁵² construct may hint at what Crane calls "an embodied performance, a mastering of techniques and technologies" that defines knighthood ("Chivalry" 69), the bond at its core relies upon organic connections and not upon the fearsome equipment that may undermine the trust between horse and rider.

Because fear undermines the young horse's developing confidence, Rufus also requires a gentle bit at the beginning of training. In addition, the handler must coat it with honey to make its cold, harsh metal more palatable:

⁵² For more on the cyborg, and on posthuman identity, see Donna Haraway's *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991). For her work on interspecies interaction, see *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota Press, 2007) and also *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*.

<70> Ci commence de la garde et dou fraig et danseignier le poulain. Ci commence a enseigner le poulain. <71> Il est convenable chose et naturele, et reson le requiert, que l'an ait .I. fraig foible et le plus leger que l'an puet avoir. Après soit oins le mors dou fraig d'un poi de miel, ou d'aucune austre chose douce. <72> Et, si comme j'ai dit, le fraig doit estre dous et legiers et faibles, pour ce que, quant le fraig fet mains moleste au cheval et a la bouche dou cheval, <73> tant le prendra il plus voulantiers des en avant, et plus legerement, et pour la douçour qu'il aura santue, siques il le retendra plus vouantiers une autre foiz (Prévot, *La Science* 37).

[<70> Here begins the section on the care, on the bridling, and on the training of the young horse. Here begins the training of the young horse. <71> It is both useful and natural, as well as reason requiring it, that one have a gentle bridle⁵³ and the lightest that one can have. Afterwards one is to coat the bit of this bridle with a small amount of honey or any other sweet thing. <72> And, just as I said, the bridle must be light and gentle, so that, when the bridle does less harm to the horse and to the mouth of the horse, <73> he will take it yet more willingly in the future, and more lightly, and for the gentleness that he will have felt, he will therefore take it again more willingly another time.]

To avoid the often violent evasions of horses who learn from the beginning that the bit—and, by extension, *any* training—equate to pain and stress, Rufus introduces the bit with honey. A gentle initiation to the bit and bridle should make the horse easier to bridle in the future. Rufus also hopes to avoid any disobedience by providing each young horse with a bit suited to his mouth and behavior. Selecting the gentlest bit suitable for each horse will prevent any association of pain with rider aids given through the reins, which the rider will use often to teach the horse to turn and slow down. A gentle bit is, therefore, a crucial kindness for a young horse.

The compassion with which Rufus selects equipment also pervades his approach to healing injuries and curing illnesses. His Hippocratic approach harks back to the Greek

⁵³ In her glossary, Prévot lists the terms that Rufus uses interchangeably to signify bit and bridle. [*fraig, fraing, frain, freim, frein*, all from the Latin, *frenum*.] Here because Rufus goes on to describe the bit [*mors*] attached to said bridle [*fraig*] I have translated the latter as bridle. Note that, later on, the same term will denote the bit, or the specific piece of metal equipment placed in the horse's mouth that allows the rider to communicate with him using the reins (*La Science* 209).

tradition that dominated the field of veterinary medicine in the 12th and 13th centuries (Prévot, *La Science* 7). In her study of medieval veterinary medicine⁵⁴, Poulle-Drieux compares Hippocrates and Rufus, both of whom believed that nature was a source of profound wisdom (59-60). Though nature's organisms and materials might remain inscrutable, Hippocrates and Rufus valued the answers which they might contain. Rufus also sought the hidden answers within each horse according to the principle of *cooperante natura*⁵⁵. Rufus listened to each horse at every stage of training to evaluate his readiness to progress to more complicated tasks. This affords the horse a modicum of autonomy in a system designed—despite all evidence to the contrary—to ensure his obedience and submission.

As a metal tool that functions due to contact with the horse's sensitive mouth, the bit may easily injure or frighten the horse. In the 14th-century Old French manuscript *R* entitled *le livre de la cure et garde des chevaux*⁵⁶, Rufus provides more requirements for equine bits and describes the various bit styles from gentlest to cruelest:

<89> (*R. fol. 56 v*) *Mais por ce que ce que j'ay dit est de la teste, tout la plus grant part appartient au frain, et por ce convient il que je die la maniere a cellui qui l'afreinne, la forme et la maniere du frain. <90> Il est doncques une maniere de frain qui est appelé a barre, pour ce qu'elle est faite de deuz barres, une du lonc et l'autre du travers Il est ainsi composé et fait pour ce qu'il est plus legier et plus able que les autres. (...)*
 <93> *Il est encores une autre maniere de frain qui a nom caralde, et dedenz a beaucoup de falles*⁵⁷ *dedenz le mors, lequel frain est plus fort et*

⁵⁴ Yvonne Poulle-Drieux, "L'Hippiatrie dans l'occident latin du XIIIe au XVe siècle." *Médecine humaine et vétérinaire à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Eds. Guy Beaujouan, Yvonne Poulle-Drieux, and Jeanne-Marie Dureau. (Geneva: Droz, 1966), 9-114.

⁵⁵ See the Molin edition of Rufus' original Latin *De medicina Equorum: Jordani Ruffi Calabriensis Hippiatria*. Ed. Girolamo Molin (Typis Seminarii Patavini, 1818), 105.

⁵⁶ Prévot, too, includes this folio from the *livre de la cure et garde des chevaux* in her edition of the more complete 13th-century version, *La marechaucie des chevaux*. I have continued her use of italics to insist upon the different manuscript and also the century from which this text was recovered.

⁵⁷ Prévot remains uncertain of the part of the bit designated by the term *falle*. She argues, "Nous ne savons pas quelle partie de la bride est désignée par ce mot. Il pourrait s'agir du canon du mors, mais il existait autrefois des mors doubles, à deux canons parallèles, nous ne comprenons comment Rufus pourrait

*plus cruel de touz ceulz dessus dit. <94> Encores il y a unes autres manieres de fourmes de freim, desquelles usent aucuns provençaux, qui sont horribles et aspres sanz raison, que je laisseray a dire pour leur cruaulté (Prévot, *La Science* 38-39).*

[<89> But because I was speaking about the head, the most important part relates to the bit and, as such, it is necessary to explain its usage to he who bridles, (as well as) the form and use of the bit. <90> There is first a type of bit that is called barred, for it is made of two bars, one along (the bit) and one across. It is thus composed and made to be lighter and more suitable than others. (...) <93> There is then another type of bit that has the name “caralde”⁵⁸, and whose mouthpiece has many components, therefore this bit is stronger and more severe than all the aforementioned bits. <94> Again, there are some other types of forms of bits, which some people from the country use, which are terrible and cruel without reason, that I will refrain from saying because of their cruelty.]

The key word around which the interpretation of Rufus’ biting method turns is *able*, which means “well-adapted” or “suitable” in Old French. Interestingly though, Prévot notes that the Latin manuscript *S* gives “debilius”—meaning “weak” or “soft” (*La Science* 39). Prévot addresses the multiple adjectives used by Rufus to designate effective or gentle bits:

recommander un mors à plusieurs « falles »” (*La Science* 206-207). I would argue that he does not recommend this bit at all. On the contrary, he cites it as an example of one bit which is one of a terrible group he calls “*horribles et aspres sanz raison, que je laisseray a dire pour leur cruaulté*”. The term may be synonymous with the early modern Italian, *fallo*, which appears in a description of bits included in book three of Federico Grisone’s 1550 treatise, *Gli ordini de cavalcare*. He explains that the *fallo* are circular disks beside the *canone* mouthpiece (269). In the glossary to Elizabeth MacKenzie Tobey’s edition, Tobey defines a *fallo* as a “round, disk-like ring (*anelletto*) placed near the joint of the mouthpiece or on both sides of the bit, wedged between the end of the mouthpiece and the upper part of the guard or shank” (529). See her edition, *Federico Grisone’s The Rules of Riding: An Edited Translation of the First Renaissance Treatise on Classical Horsemanship*, which she translated into English with Federica Brunori Deigan (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014). Tobey also includes several illustrations that demonstrate the placement of the *falli* in relation to the *canone* of the bit (424, 426-427, 430-431). This piece is highly recommended by Grisone unlike the opposition of Rufus to this and any other multi-piece bits. Grisone’s consistent expression of disagreement with any anterior horse training methods and equipment confirms his divergence from Rufusian biting practices.

⁵⁸ The proper name of the bit “caralde” lacks a direct equivalent in contemporary usage. Rufus describes its longer bars compared to other bits, suggesting the shanks, or branches outside the horse’s mouth, to which the reins attach and which also apply leverage by rotating and causing variable pressure to the horse’s soft palate and on the poll (an area between the horse’s ears), are longer, contributing leverage to the function of the bridle and rein aids. Rufus claims this particular leverage bit is too cruel to discuss further, though it seems to be the severity of the mouthpiece and not the presence of a leverage mechanism which renders it so horrible.

Or, le texte latin correspondant comporte l'adjectif *debilius*, de *debilis* = « faible ». *Debilius* renforce ici logiquement *levius* (de *levis* = « léger », « doux »). Il faut conclure que le traducteur a lu *habilius* pour *debilius*, ou bien qu'il a utilisé une copie où l'erreur avait déjà été commise. Ainsi le texte bilingue du manuscrit *S* offre les leçons *abilius*—« avable ». Dans le contexte, le sens de *debilis* paraît meilleur. Remarquons que plus loin nous trouvons à nouveau *able*, qui traduit *decens* (= « convenable ») (39).

Prévoit reveals many bits and training procedures were called *able* to designate their usefulness according to Rufus. Despite the ambiguity of this particular term, Rufus' message remains clear: he recommends bits that are gentle on the internal structures of a horse's mouth and encourage the horse's confidence.

Rufus protects the horse's oral health by avoiding harsh bits that may injure the horse's mouth, even stating that some commonly used bits too barbaric even to cite. By recommending a bit called *a barre*, which resembles a modern single-jointed snaffle, Rufus demonstrates an understanding that less is more, and that a harsh bit will sour the horse to being bridled and ridden. Just as Rufus identified this vulnerability to injury by a harsh bit, horsemanship manuals from the 19th and 20th centuries express similar views regarding bit selection. James C. Wofford, former vice-president and member of the United States Equestrian Team and former president of the American Horse Shows Association, also cites the need to select a bit suitable for each individual horse.⁵⁹ Stating the effect of the rider's hand on the horse's mouth as “the most important part of riding,” Wofford would agree with Rufus that a simple bit is the best bit. He argues, “Any gadget bit, or any bit which depends on pain and leverage rather than pressure, is a substitute for training. Substitutes will eventually let you down” (25). Rufus attests to the need for

⁵⁹ See his book, *Training the Three-Day Event Horse and Rider* (New York: Bantam Doubleday, 1995).

similarly uncomplicated tack when he suggests the most effective bridles are the simplest (Prévot, *La Science* 39).

Although he disapproves of harsh bits, Rufus indicates their possible utility if aligned with the specific needs of individual horses. The relative hardness of a horse's mouth might, for example, make a harsh bit necessary to slow him down:

<95> Adonc on doit considerer la mollesse et la duresse de la bouce du cheval. Et selon la qualité de la bouce, on le doit mettre le frein, que le chevaucheur soit content et qu'il li satisface le frein. Et comme j'ay dit dessus, il doit chevauchier sanz violence, et tout doucement courre le cheval continuelment (Prévot, La Science 39).

[<95> Therefore, one must consider the softness or the hardness of the mouth of the horse. And, according to the quality of the mouth, one must bit the horse, so that the rider is content and that the bit is satisfying to him. And as I said above, he must ride without violence, and softly run the horse steadily.]

The appropriate tack depends on the needs of each horse. The hardness and softness of the mouth refers not to the density of oral tissue as assessed through palpation, but to the sensation only the rider can perceive based upon the way the horse holds the bit in his mouth. The tension the horse may bear in his jaw when being ridden renders his mouth hard, whereas a soft-mouthed horse produces a delicate feel on the reins for his rider. In this way, the bit exemplifies bidirectional communication between horse and rider. The horse may lean on or evade the bit, and the rider must use this information to select the optimal bit, either a simple snaffle using direct pressure or a long-shanked bit that uses leverage on the horse's poll⁶⁰ to multiply the effect of the rein aids.

Although Rufus highlights the importance of bit selection for each individual horse, he still reiterates the need for sensitivity and delicate use of the reins by the rider.

⁶⁰ See note 29 for more information on the role of the horse's poll in the function of a long-shanked leverage bit.

The delicate touch of a hand on the rein will then bring pleasure to the rider—whose job is rendered easier by eliminating the need for physical domination of the horse—as well as to the horse—who will appreciate the lack of constant pulling on his mouth. No horse will respond positively to a rider pulling incessantly on the reins, and under Rufus’ system the trainer must make riding and being ridden a generally pleasant task for horse and rider alike.

While Rufus recommends gentle bits and mindful consideration of the needs of each individual horse, his text nevertheless presents a challenge to scholars who rightly identify its incompatibility with the demands and equipment of horses who serve in battle or on the hunt. In particular, the *magnus equus*—or “great horse”—carried heavily-armored warriors into battle while also wearing a set of his own metal protective equipment. Both archaeological discoveries and detailed manuscript illuminations in sources such as the Luttrell psalter reveal that equine battle equipment served both decorative and protective functions.⁶¹ In particular, pendants and metal armor worn by medieval *destriers* included metal bells which would have certainly hit the horses on their sensitive flanks as they charged into the fray. The realities of equine service to medieval knights would seem incompatible with the gentle and quiet (literally) methods Rufus advocates in order to accustom each horse to the requirements of his eventual career.

⁶¹ For information about excavations in England and the archaeological evidence of particular 13th- and 14th-century equine tack and equipment, see John Clark’s *The Medieval Horse and Its Equipment c. 1150-c. 1450*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2004) which is the fifth installment of the series “Medieval Finds from Excavations in London.” In particular, we must note that archaeological digs in the 1940s revealed a surprising lack of curb bits in relation to their frequent depiction in manuscript illuminations (47). We may surmise, then, that the stereotypical heavily-bitted *destrier* may have been less a historical occurrence than a figment of medieval imaginations and a useful vessel for chivalric fantasies. The lack of recovered curb bits does indicate at least some consistency in decisions to use milder bits near London.

Though Rufus' methods deal directly with young horses destined for the battlefields and tournaments of medieval Europe, his insight illuminates the inherent sensitivity of all horses. Once his system of tactile communication and gradual habituation built trust in human handlers, Rufus then introduced horses to inorganic aids. As an integral part of their assemblage as battle-ready *destriers*, it was necessary that they become accustomed a whip and spurs. Though a species of prey, naturally resistant to tools and to unpredictable, threatening environments, Rufus taught each horse to overcome his innate fears and act with bravery.

The Inorganic Aids of Hybrid Knighthood

According to Rufus, trainers must prevent supplemental equipment from undermining the fundamental system of touch-based communication with horses. He argues against the use of potentially violent aids (spurs, whips) to admonish horses and reinforce rider dominance when young mounts are at their most vulnerable (<75>, Prévot, *La Science* 37). Such inorganic tools, referred to as artificial aids among 20th-century horsepeople, will cause the young horse to fear humans and being ridden.⁶² In other words, an inorganic periphery detracts from the organic heart of the union, particularly for a young horse at the most vulnerable time of his nascent career. Artificial aids corrupt Rufusian touch-based training. Additionally, Rufus' practical recommendations for spur use contrast with their symbolic and metaphorical as symbols of Christian obedience or

⁶² For more on the avoidance of harsh equipment, see Edward L. Anderson's *Curb, snaffle, and spur: A Method of Training Young Horses for the Cavalry Service and For General Use Under the Saddle* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1894) and also Lt. Col. A. L. d'Endrödy in *Give Your Horse A Chance* with its preface by William Steinkraus.

feudal allegiance. In this section I evaluate the physical impact of artificial aids in order to elucidate the bonds between man, horse, and equipment.

Despite assertions that chivalric selfhood exemplified, “[p]ostmodern versions of the self embedded in performance and open to integration with other species of being, both organic and mechanical,” Rufus believed that mechanical, metal, and/or punitive additions to interspecies communication contributed only fear (Crane, “Chivalry” 84). Just as Hearne evokes the horse’s difficulty in distilling meaning from human attempts to communicate (108), so Rufus establishes the artificial aids as exterior to the system of touch-based cues to which horses are accustomed. Rufus advocates for methods of communication that acknowledge the horse’s predisposition to fear and mistrust of humans while also allowing the riders to use tools—always in moderation—which may produce obedience through effective communication.

Despite his reservations about the use of artificial aids on young horses, Rufus does recognize their ability to call a distracted horse’s attention back to his rider. Rufus recommends using artificial aids for this purpose during the transition from protected settings to uncontrolled environments when a horse is likely to become overwhelmed. Once the horse understands the system of aids, the rider will start habituating him to unpredictable surroundings like those he will eventually encounter in his career of service to knights and noblemen. Amidst the strange places, startling noises, and threatening circumstances, Rufus must use—perhaps paradoxically—artificial aids to disrupt any panic the horse may feel:

<96> Il est bien aussi utile et prou a chevauchier le par la cité souvent et tout doucement, et especialement la ou demeurent fevres, et encores par lieux ou il y a martèlement, ou il y a noise et grant son et rumeur, <97> car le cheval en devient plus seür et en prent plus hardement et ne se fait

*pas tant paoureux. <98> Et se le cheval a paour a passer par le dit lieu, il ne le doit pas efforcer cruelment, ne de fortes bateüres ou de verges ou d'esperons, <99> mais le doit convenablement et legierement battre et le mener tout doucement, de quoy il cuideroit tousjours estre ainsi batus ; pour quoy, quant il orroit quelque rumeur ou aucun son, de ce il devenroit paoureux (Prévoit, *La Science* 39).*

<96> It is also very useful and noble to ride the horse by the town often and gently, and especially where metalworkers are found, and also by places where there is hammering or where there is noise and much sound and commotion, <97> because the horse may therefore become more confident and tough and will not become frightened. <98> And if the horse is afraid when passing by the aforementioned place, the rider must not force him cruelly, neither by beating him heavily nor by rods or by spurs, <99> but the rider must hit him reasonably and lightly and lead him gently, for which the horse would always expect to be thus hit; this is why, when he would hear a noise or any sound, of this he will become afraid.]

With this exposure to unpredictable environments, the horse will become more confident, tougher, and braver, even when he would typically become startled. Although the horse will still have a natural tendency to react immediately and violently when afraid, the well trained horse will continue to obey, even when he feels afraid.

According to Rufus, the act of *legierement battre et le mener tout doucement* will interrupt the horse's fear of external stimuli and allow the rider an opportunity to reclaim his mount's attention. The light tap of a whip interferes with the survival instincts at work which tell the horse to flee in the face of danger. Hitting the horse gently with a whip—without inflicting pain—will return his attention to the rider and command him to keep moving forward. Rufus believes that even a young horse can obey in these circumstances—pause before bolting away, assess the situation, and wait for the rider's next cue—if the rider uses appropriate aids. While the rider may not be able to remove

fear altogether, he may ensure the horse pays attention to and obeys his cues.⁶³ Once these circumstances cease to produce misbehavior, the horse will perform well in future battles and tournaments. At this stage in training, artificial aids have become acceptable tools to recall the horse's attention in frightening circumstances.

Though they are effective tools, the use of artificial aids requires the rider's patience and compassion. Rufus explains that, when the young horse becomes afraid, the rider must never intimidate or force compliance because violent beatings with whips and spurs will only multiply his anxiety. Rufus identifies and strives to curtail the tendency of humans toward violent reaction against horses during training because intimidation is so detrimental to a horse's trust in his rider.⁶⁴ Under no circumstances may a rider allow the stresses of training a young horse result in frustration, impatience, or violence. Riders must respect equine emotions and instincts and avoid gratuitously punishing the horse. Like Rufus, Wofford states that the rider must use artificial aids (here, spurs) without increasing the horse's stress:

Spurs strengthen the effect of the leg. They can be used as a tool for punishment, but only under very limited circumstances and for a very short duration of time. Two or three sharp prods with the spur should be sufficient punishment for the horse. [...] All of these aids should be used judiciously and with the idea in mind that when the horse needs a correction it was a mistake on the part of the rider that caused all of the trouble in the first place (59).

⁶³ In her instructional handbook for natural horsemanship training (a non-violent method of schooling horses of all ages to create successful working relationships with their handlers) entitled *Teach Your Horse Perfect Manners: How You Should Behave So Your Horse Does Too* (London: Trafalgar Square, 2010), Kelly Marks identifies the basis of trust in these scenarios as the means by which a trainer may prevent a violent equine flight response and instead help the horse to react in a controlled manner (20-21).

⁶⁴ For an ethological (related to the study of animal behavior) history of human aggression and its difference from aggressive impulses in other mammals, see Richard W. Burkhardt, Jr.'s chapter, "The Founders of Ethology and the Problem of Human Aggression: A Study in Ethology's Ecologies" in Angela N. H. Creager and William Chester Jordan's edition, *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 265-304. He addresses Konrad Lorenz and Niko Tinbergen's influential assessments of the persistent and worsening violence of which they believed humans capable (268-269).

Wofford demands that the rider create a clear rapport between misbehavior and its clear correction. If the spurs still fail to produce the action desired, the rider must then acknowledge his own fault in any communication failures. The rider is thus implicated in the cause of any disobediences and, therefore, should correct the mount fairly and gently.

Horsemen throughout history have argued for the vulnerability of horses to artificial aids. Like Rufus, the 19th-century horseman Edward L. Anderson highlighted that “neither whip nor spur should be used in punishment” (15-16).⁶⁵ Unlike Rufus, however, Anderson refers to a lifetime of interactions between horse and rider, whether a young horse during his initial training or a mature partner with years of experience. If a rider punishes with whips, spurs, or harsh bits, the horse will associate those aids with pain and with domination by his rider.⁶⁶ On the contrary, the use of each aid must always correspond directly to a thought (as in Despret’s isopraxis) and to a desired response from the horse.

By exercising patience and consistent application of those tools available, the rider may transform artificial aids into assets for interspecies understanding. Indeed, both Rufus and Wofford seem to claim that a calm rider will communicate ease and courage to

⁶⁵ Hearne also emphasizes the importance of never punishing an animal in training, whether dog or horse. She suggests that any response to an undesirable animal behavior be both conceived of and administered like a consequence. The correction should be fleeting, cause little or no discomfort, and should not be repeated unless the disobedience (or incorrect response) is also repeated (44-47).

⁶⁶ Rufus argues that the possible violence of equipment is largely dependent on the means of its application or use by a rider. To recapitulate, the evidence of Rufus’ position on aids can be found in arguments against anger towards horses in all training situations (<34>, Prévot, *La Science* 34), against any violence while riding (<95>, Prévot 39), against spurs when starting a horse under saddle (<75>, *La Science* 37), and against using whips and spurs to force a horse to confront something which frightens him (<98> and <99>, *La Science* 39). Rufus’ arguments also include possible violence inflicted while teaching a horse to take a bit (<72> and <73>, *La Science* 37), as well as those particularly harsh bits which may cause physical hard and incite fear (<93> and <94>, *La Science* 39).

the horse in unpredictable circumstances. The steadiness of the rider reinforces his role as a source of gentle guidance rather than as a contributor to the horse's apprehension. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Rufus states, "Nus hons ne se doit courroucier contre le poulein, especialment au commencement, car il en pourroit prendre aucun mauves vice ou aucune mauvese tache non convenable" (Prévot 34). Rufus' thoughtful approach will avoid the exponential increase in fear for horses who anticipate threats in their environment as well as from hostile riders.

The distinction between moderation with and violent use of various tools epitomizes Rufusian training and healing. While he seeks to minimize the horse's pain and suffering, certain interventions fundamental to medieval horsemanship made the total avoidance of violence an impossibility. For example, Rufus states that a young horse should have the four *scallions*⁶⁷ removed in order to facilitate the placement of the bit in his mouth (Prévot, *La Science* 40). He does try to mollify the brutality which almost certainly characterized equine dental surgery in the Middle Ages by commanding that the teeth be removed "l'en doit le plus doucement que on puest esracher ceulz qui sont en la maschouere dessoubz" (Prévot, *La Science* 40) [one must as gently as possible extract those that are in the lower jaw]. He states that after the wounds heal for some days, the rider must use the mildest bit possible, the "freim a barre" (Prévot, *La Science* 40) [straight-mouth snaffle] to prevent further injury and so that the horse "fera plus satisfaction au chevauteur" [will bring more satisfaction to the rider]. Again, Rufus

⁶⁷ Prévot discusses the difference in types and placement of teeth which Rufus recommends removing (*La Science* 192-193). The *escallions* correspond to the canines and often caused problems for both mastication and biting (*La Science* 200). Interestingly, the mention of canine teeth also provides further insight into the type of horses training according to the Rufus method. Only male horses are born with canines as an evolutionary precaution to allow them to fight in the wild and defend their herds and mares. This indicates, therefore, that the horses under Rufus' care were almost exclusively male and, as we may infer from other allusions in the text, probably stallions intended for chivalric military service.

makes arguments that evoke a clear disparity between concern for the horse's well-being and what he seems to consider justified violence against horses in order to form them into obedient mounts for their riders.

Rufusian horsemanship also expounds upon the compassionate horsemanship theories of Xenophon.⁶⁸ Susan Crane recalls Xenophon's theory that "what a horse does under constraint, he does without understanding, and with no more grace than a dancer would show if he were whipped and goaded" (*Encounters* 158; Xenophon 62).

Prefiguring Rufus, Xenophon states:

If you desire to handle a good war-horse so as to make his action the more magnificent and striking, you must refrain from pulling at his mouth with the bit as well as from spurring and whipping him. Most people think that this is the way to make him look fine; but they only produce an effect exactly contrary to what they desire, — they positively blind their horses by jerking the mouth up instead of letting them look forward, and by spurring and striking scare them into disorder and danger. This is the way horses behave that are fretted by their riders into ugly and ungraceful action; but if you teach your horse to go with a light hand on the bit, and yet to hold his head well up and to arch his neck, you will be making him do just what the animal himself glories and delights in. A proof that he really delights in it is that when a horse is turned loose and runs off to join other horses, and especially towards mares, then he holds his head up as high as he can, arches his neck in the most spirited style, lifts his legs with free action, and raises his tail. So when he is induced by a man to assume all the airs and graces which he puts on of himself when he is showing off voluntarily, the result is a horse that likes to be ridden, that presents a magnificent sight, that looks alert, that is the observed of all observers (55-56).

For Xenophon, the horse cannot perform gracefully or joyfully if he has been coerced.

Moreover, his dancing metaphor captures a deep appreciation for the power of a horse's movement. Xenophon inaugurated a tradition—one in which Rufus also participates—of respect for the horse's beauty and sensitivity.

⁶⁸ Xenophon. *The Art of Horsemanship*. Trans. Morris H. Morgan (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1893).

Prefiguring Wofford's idea that "substitutes will always let you down," Rufus places consideration of the horse's needs at the heart of his system. This perspective situates Rufusian horsemanship in opposition to Cohen's understandings of medieval chivalric relationships. Though Cohen defines the knights as Deleuzoguattarian assemblages, no element of which is integral or whole unto itself (43), Rufus would assert that such a conglomerate of man, horse, and metal fails to protect its equine component. Metal equipment, for Rufus, inherently betrays the horse—who remains ignorant to human motivations and inimical to the impassive violence of metal—but also spoils the obligation to protect the horse's psychological and emotional needs.

Although Rufus does not discuss the equipment acceptable for use on a fully-trained *destrier*, his theories about young horses insist upon their tendency to react violently when threatened. For Rufus, spurs and whips create a coercive and intimidating training atmosphere for a young horse (Prévot, *La Science* 37). While Rufus' ban on spurs and whips is designed to build the horse's trust in humans, it also contrasts with our expectation of knightly hybridity as intrinsically linked to metal and violence. Trust in his rider will permit the horse to remain steadfast during the hunts, jousting tournaments, and battles in which he will eventually participate, yet will expose him to the artificial aids he intrinsically fears.⁶⁹ As such, the communication that unites knight and horse captures Rufus' attention just as it stimulates continued debate by scholars.

⁶⁹ We must acknowledge that the horses Frederick II owned would have been used for such tasks, considering his passion for falconry, his reign as King of Sicily, and his later position as Holy Roman Emperor requiring extensive military forces. For more information on Frederick's own research into falconry in his book, *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, see Charles H. Haskins, "Science at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II".

As we understand from posthuman readings of medieval horse-human relationships, equipment invariably mediated contact between knights and their chargers. Bloody combat and artificial aids were a central part of the chivalric careers awaiting young chargers after their training. Rufus does not argue otherwise, but demands that artificial aids in particular be used with restraint and consideration to enhance and not undermine the communication between rider and horse. Both Crane and Cohen elaborate upon this hybridity by stating the requisite presence of each element (horse, knight, armor, weapons, spurs) in order to constitute a chivalric assemblage capable of acts of knighthood. Ranging from the technical, mechanistic bonds to the affective interspecies connections, chivalric assemblages are fundamentally hybrid (Crane, “Chivalry” 137). Crane’s understanding of the multi-material mechanics of chivalric assemblages as well as the affective rapport between knights and their riders alludes to both the eventual military careers awaiting Rufusian mounts and the gentle interactions which inaugurated a young horse’s relationship with humans.

Unlike the equally affective and mechanical connections argued by Crane, Cohen identifies the communion between the organic (man, horse) and inorganic (sword, spurs, armor) as a precondition for the “embodied chivalric subject” (69).⁷⁰ He suggests that bonds between knights and their chargers provide power, mobility, and status to all participants, while also arguing for a chivalric hybridity which is “always embattled, compromised, dispersed, and as a result was also forever nostalgic for an immutability it never in fact possessed” (69). The dispersal of autonomy across organisms and materials

⁷⁰ See Duby’s *Féodalités* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), especially pg. 764. For more on the hybridity of humans with inorganic technology, see Haraway’s *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* and Susan Crane’s *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain* (139).

contradicts the symbiotic relationships evoked by Rufus. Unlike Cohen's arguments for an impossible immutability or Crane's theories regarding the "symbolic loop" (141) in which knights and *destriers* mutually endow each other with nobility, Rufus establishes the horse as the central component in knightly identity. Instead of multiple bodies and materials which—according to Crane and Cohen—perform together in dynamic knighthood, Rufus prioritizes the equine. Rufus' system challenges us to reevaluate the role of armor, spurs, and other metal prostheses. Instead of equal parts knight, horse, and equipment, Rufus values the horse above his rider and the equipment both wear.

Still, the military service in which *destriers* were engaged would not afford these horses a life without metal or without violence. In particular, "mounted shock combat" exemplified the high medieval combat (*Encounters* 139). This style of warfare or tournament display involved two knights on horseback who charged at each other, each with the goal of unhorsing and then killing his opponent. The correct position of the rider, his accuracy with a lance, and the horse's powerful gallop would correlate with—hopefully—a wounded foe as result. In addition, displays of hybridized man-horse-lance prowess involved violence perpetrated by the *destriers* (Crane, *Encounters* 142-143). Crane describes the encyclopedic 13th-century veterinary and horsemanship treatise *De Animalibus* written by Albertus Magnus in which chargers react violently⁷¹ against wild animals and the mounts of any opponent. Albertus states that, "For chargers, being uncastrated, are strong and, in their boldness, are eager to attack a lion and fight with it. Geldings, however, are so timid that neither spurs nor whips are useful in urging them on

⁷¹ For more on the roles of the charger in establishing social status, see Ribémont's chapters "Le Vocabulaire" (179-183), and on chargers in literary sources, "Le Cheval littéraire" (208), both in *Le Cheval en France au Moyen Age*.

to come near that which they wish them to approach” (I: 754). Indeed, knightly assaults with swords and lances were coupled with those of chargers who used teeth and hooves to attack the mounts of any opponents. These depictions of complicit warrior stallions who have perhaps been trained according to gentle Rufusian methods evoke the paradox of medieval horsemanship. Rufus’ recommendations of gentle interactions with horses nevertheless lead to the bloodthirsty violence shared by men and chargers on battlefields across medieval Europe.

The multiple materials and organisms of chivalric assemblages may facilitate the equal participation of knights and chargers in military endeavors instead of undermining their partnership. For this reason, Crane describes the pre-postmodern knight as both becoming-machine and becoming-animal due to his metal “skin” and galloping gait (*Encounters* 144-147). As his identity derives from both skill on horseback and ability to use various weapons, the knight’s imagined body intrinsically becomes less human as it commits itself to chivalric service. Knightly bodies absorb the mobility of the equine upon which they sit, the metal skin offered by the chain mail they wear, and the prosthetic lance/arms they seek to thrust into their opponents (*Encounters* 144). Despite preparation for violent combat and the inclusion of organic and inorganic components in his constructed, hybrid body, even the most richly-equipped warrior must reckon with his ultimate vulnerability on the battlefield, where other knights will attempt to defeat him by cleaving his assemblage into a heap of parts. The equipment worn by knights, however, accomplished more than the protection of bodies from violent weapons. In particular, the

spurs⁷² and bits that rendered the rider's aids both more precise and more immediate were also appropriated by Christian writers who used them as an allegory of faith and feudal loyalty.

Spurs in particular became symbols of the division between body and soul and of obedience to a higher power. Instead of a communicative bridge between human and horse, spurs represented the service horses owed to their riders as their superiors in the Aristotelian organismal hierarchy, the *Scala Naturae*. Saint Gregory maps Christian virtue on to the horse-rider-equipment assemblage, stating, "Indeed the horse is the body of any holy soul, which it knows how to restrain from illicit action with the bridle of continence and to release in the exercise of good works with the spur of charity" ("Chivalry" 73).⁷³ Likewise in the anonymous *Ordene de chevalerie*,⁷⁴ the character Hue explains the Christian significance of spurs to Saladin:

Sire, tout autressi isniaus
 Com vous volez que voz chevaus
 Soit de bien corre entalantez
 Quant des esperons le hurtez,
 Qu'il voist partout a vo talent,
 Et ça et la isnelement,
 Senefient cist esperon,
 Qui sont doré tout environ,
 Que vous aiez bien en corage
 De Dieu servir tout vostre eage,
 Quar tuit li chevalier le font
 Qui Dieu aiment de cuer parfont;
 Adés le servent de cuer fin (189-203).

⁷² Ribémont explains the function of various riding equipment in his chapter "Le cheval et son équipement" in *Le Cheval en France au Moyen Âge* (127-164). Ribémont describes the exaggerated point of medieval spurs in common use by knights (155-157; 161).

⁷³ Crane cites V. A. Kolve's *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984), 241-241. Crane adds also Beryl Rowland, "The Horse and Rider Figure in Chaucer's Works" (*University of Toronto Quarterly* 35.3 [1966]): 246-259.

⁷⁴ See Keith Busby's edition "*Le Roman des Eles*," and the Anonymous: "*Ordene de Chevalerie*": *Two Early Old French Didactic Poems* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1983). Busby presents both an edition of the text (73-158) and an English translation (170-175).

[Sire, as quickly as you would want your horse to be inclined to run when you spur him on, to go everywhere at your will, now here and now there speedily, so these spurs, gilded all about, mean that you should always be of a mind to love God all your life, for thus do all knights who love him deeply from the heart they always serve him with a tender heart.]

According to the terms outlined in the *Ordene*, spurs point to a metaphorical link between a horse and a Christian knight. The spurs represent a chivalric body/soul dichotomy where the horse's physical reality and a man's moral compass combine in what Crane would call an "embodied performance" (Crane, "Chivalry" 69). She elaborates:

In this metaphor, the horse-body is importantly at odds with the rider-soul, the latter vigilantly resisting the horse-body's base impulses and reforming its sinful proclivities. In the chivalric counter-tradition, one strategy for resisting the horse's abjection is to remetaphorize the horse to express chivalric virtues. The *Ordene de chevalerie* proposes that the spurs in the knighting ceremony signify that God desires the knight to serve him just as the knight desires the horse to respond to his commands (Crane, "Chivalry" 73).

The spur is a tool of purification used to cleanse the carnal sins of lesser, carnal beings. If society "remetamorphizes" the horse to embody chivalric social and moral values, his service to mankind becomes central irrespective of his animality. The tactile communication, physical domination, or violent punishment of which spurs are capable can be overshadowed quite easily by the moral meaning ascribed to them.

Indeed, the physical impact of spurs must supercede their allegorical meaning or—as Rufus might suggest—we betray our own inconsideration for the health and well-being of the horse. Rufus stood against the damage a spur might inflict,⁷⁵ regardless of its

⁷⁵ Medieval writers and horsemen understood the damage inflicted by improper use of a spur. Repeated kicks of the horse's barrel using typical spurs of the period would likely result in deep wounds where the sharp points connected with flesh. Albertus Magnus, for one, provides particular remedies for these spur wounds in his treatise *De Animalibus*. For an English translation of this Latin text, see *On animals: a medieval summa zoologica*, trans. Kenneth F. Kitchell, Jr. and Irven Michael Resnick (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). His section entitled "Equi" offers many

role as a metonym for a knight with status and power. While a golden spur wrapped around the boot of a knight as he is dubbed evokes the height of his military career and social status, Rufus believed that horsemanship alone gives a knight his prowess, his status, and his nobility.

Despite these unyielding metal tools' role in the hybrid apparatus of medieval knighthood, the horse remains most central to chivalric status according to *La marechaucie des chevaux*. This equine-centric conception of knighthood requires a reconsideration of the symbolic and identitary compositions of chivalric forms. As a form "composed of flux rather than essence, a centaur sustained through malleable alliance, a fantastic becoming-horse" (Cohen 47), the knight embodies an inexorable heterogeneity, despite the misguided tendency to consider him as wholly male or even entirely human. The knight becomes horse throughout chivalric exploits in which his will must morph into and merge with that of his charger. Each rider must perfect his ability to think like his horse to earn his trust and cooperation.

The Thoughts and Tendencies of the Equine Brain

Throughout *La marechaucie*, Rufus establishes the importance of consistent respect and consideration of the horse through clear instructions, thoughtful management of the horse's emotional reactions to pain and surprise, and fair use of simple equipment to which the horse must be introduced gradually. Equally, Rufus insists that the active mind of *le poulain* remain at the forefront while executing training exercises. Even before any mounted work with the young horse, the trainer must consider his busy mind by

medical recommendations for horses, including remedies for wounds on the horse's ribcage caused by abuse with spurs (II: 1486).

designing exercises that minimize distractions and allow him to focus only on the tasks he must learn. Rufus explains the need to adapt training to suit various climates, for example, as well as conceding the need to keep horses together while they eat:

<30>Aprés ce, li pouleins doit ester laciez a temps tempré et nuble, pour ce que, se li temps estoit chaus, il se pourroit tant traveillier qu'il se pourroit mehainger en aucune partie de ses membres. <31> Puis que li pouleins est laciez si con j'ay dit devant, l'en li doit mestre en son chief .I. chevestre de chanvre. Et soit menez en compaignie d'aucun cheval, pour ce que toutes choses semblables devisent a estre ensemble et li pouleins en sera menez plus sauvement (Prévot, *La Science* 34).

[<30> After this, the young horse must be tied when the weather is temperate and cloudy, because, if the weather were hot, he might not be able to work without injuring some part of his limbs. <31> Then, once the young horse is tied as I said before, one must place on his head one (1) halter of hemp rope. And he should be fed in the company of some other horse, because all similar things desire to be together and the young horse will therefore be managed more advantageously.]

The trainer must modify and control environmental factors as disparate as weather and the presence or absence of other horses in order to facilitate training. Interestingly, Rufus suggests that one combine habituation to human contact and to tack—for example, wearing a halter—with other activities which allow his natural sociability with other horses.⁷⁶ The need of equine obedience and submission, therefore, coexists with methods that acknowledge the horse's own needs as an animal accustomed to social interaction with a herd. While the horse must learn to respect and obey his handler, the best way to achieve this goal may be to accommodate the horse's needs as an emotional and social being. This echoes his previous statement about the early stages of a horse's physical

⁷⁶ Kelly Marks discusses the natural herd mentality of horses who both enjoy socializing with each other and also depend upon the strength of numbers in order to survive. This instinctive nature links horses to each other and explains the comfort they find when not isolated from others of their species. Her chapter "A Zebra in Your Stable?" summarizes these evolutionary tendencies of equine species in general and their implications for training and behavior, and extending also to a horse's particular phenomenological perception as it influences relationships to humans (19-25).

development, “<21> li philozophes dit: « nature et acoustumence en euvre fait toutes choses »” (Prévoit, *La Science* 32) [the philosopher says: “nature and habituation make all things at work”]. Rufus uses Aristotle to propose a theory of horse training that is composed of both nature and habituation.

According to Rufus, the trainer will facilitate the horse’s cooperation by imitating his natural environment. If the horse remains in the company of his pasture mates it will reduce his anxiety and he will be more likely to obey. Even at the beginning of training, the young horse will be more easily touched and soothed by his handler if he is not isolated from other horses:

<33> Et endementrés qu’il est sauvages, il doit avoir compaignie d’aucun cheval, pour ce que l’en le pourra touchier plus seurement de la main. Et torjors le doit on touchier souffisanment par tout le cors et les membres bien souvent (Prévoit, *La Science* 34).

[<33> And while he is wild he needs to have the company of some horse because one will be able to touch him with the hand more surely. And as always one should touch him sufficiently on the whole body and limbs very often.]

Both the epitome of physical strength and emotional sensitivity, horses register constant data from their environment, classifying each perceptible change as either innocuous or threatening, responding according to the fight or flight instinct that each stimulus provokes. However, Rufus observed that young horses acted calmer when allowed to remain in the company of other horses. The other horses—ones we may imagine have already advanced in their training—encourage the young horse to feel confident in unpredictable environments. Though horses find it difficult to resist the influence of external phenomena on their internal state, the company of other horses will be soothed by an appeal to the horse’s social nature.

Echoing the Rufus method, d'Endrödy proposed similar techniques to manage responses to potential threats. Both horsemen explain that the aids may serve as tools to encourage relaxation without relying upon coercion to achieve it:

In the event of meeting such objects with a young, inexperienced horse it is best to come to a halt and, allowing as much freedom of the reins as possible, wait in a stationary position until the object has passed by. Because of the freedom from the reins, the animal will feel that its master has no interest in the approaching “dangerous” objects, and thus will be convinced they offer no cause for alarm. If the rider starts to pull or jerk the reins as a means of prevention, and tries to enforce calmness on the horse, the effect will be quite the reverse. His actions will serve as a warning to the animal that something dangerous is coming and that it must take care. Thus, instead of calming the animal, fright is aroused (269).

The human, therefore, serves to support or complement a horse's innate ability to identify and either flee or fight danger in his surroundings. Instead of forcing calm upon the horse, the handler or rider must allow the horse to navigate the potential threat. While horses remain alert to potential dangers in their environment, they may learn to be brave when frightened if their riders can demonstrate that they have no need to be afraid.

D'Endrödy and Rufus both describe the horse as a reasonable animal who may learn courage if given encouragement and insulated from the abuse of an overly demanding rider.

As demonstrated, Rufus' progressive training system places confidence in the horse's adaptability and his ability to learn commands, execute complex maneuvers, and show bravery in frightening circumstances. Additionally, Rufus advocated the use of mentally-stimulating training exercises. Trainers must earn and maintain the horse's interest in his work by developing varied activities:

<86> Après ce que le poulain soit acoustumé de bien troter par l'espace de tens et de torner a destre et a senestre, le chevaucheur se doit lever bien matin, et le doit fere galoper a petit pas par les jacheres devant dites; <87>

mes ne le doit mie moust ennuier, pour ce qu'il en seroit plus pereceus une autre foiz ou, par aventure, il pourroit devenir retis legerement (Prévoit, *La Science* 38).

[<86> After the young horse is accustomed to trot well for a stretch of time and to turn to the right and to the left, the rider must get himself up early in the morning, and must make him gallop easily on the aforementioned fallow fields; <87> but he must not let the young horse grow bored, because he would be more lazy another time or, by accident, he could become increasingly unruly⁷⁷.]

Rufus points to the concept of mental stimulation as a means to cultivate the horse's focus on and engagement with his work. The rider *ne le doit mie moust ennuier* to prevent the horse from becoming *plus pereceus* or *retis legerement*. Rufus believed the horse's mind was as important as his body during training and beyond, and he addressed the horse's mental self to encourage his willing participation and enjoyment of his training.

Rufus also highlights the adaptability of his method to accommodate each horse. Throughout *La marechaucie*, the expression *le poulain* or *li poulains* [the young horse] always appears in the singular, highlighting a method focused on one horse at a time. Each phase requires that an individual *poulains* become *acoustumé* to trot for some time, and to turn right and left. After this, the onus is on the rider to maintain his mount's interest in training, an interest which may vary widely from horse to horse. Each rider must earn the willing participation of his mount.

Beyond providing mental stimulation, Rufus also asks the trainer to manage the horse's work load, the surfaces on which he works, and the frequency and speed of his exercise in order to avoid boredom and subsequent misbehavior. The handler and rider

⁷⁷ Rufus uses the term *retis* ("rétif" in modern French) which translates to stubborn, unruly, disobedient, especially those horses who resist their riders by ignoring of commands and refusing to move forward when the rider applies leg aids.

must cultivate the mental focus and physical balance of his horses by designing a training regime to keep their interest and to prepare them to perform in varied situations:

*<122> Il y a une chose que par le trop courre que l'en fait souvent, le cheval s'en fait plus impatient (fol. 57 v) et mal a tenir, et en pert une grant part de son affrenacion. <123> Il y a une chose toutevoies qui n'est pas d'oublier : depuis que le cheval sera parfaitement acoustumé et aprins, le chevaucheur ne se doit pas souvent ennuyer de souvent galoper, mais moyennement courre le cheval et sauter, <124> car le trop reposer fait pigresse et chaitiveté, et ce qu'il aura aprins par artifice li convendra oublier (Prévot, *La Science* 41).*

[<122> There is one thing which is when a horse is overworked, which one often does: the horse becomes too impatient and difficult to restrain, and the rider loses a great deal of ability to slow the horse by the bit and bridle. <123> There is one thing nevertheless that is not to be forgotten: once the horse is perfectly habituated and trained, the rider must not often grow bored with running the horse often, but moderately run and jump the horse, <124> because resting the horse too much creates laziness and weakness, and that which the horse will have learned by training will be easy for him to forget.]

Rufus counsels moderation and consistency in training as a means to avoid depleting the horse's strength and energy. Overworking the horse will only discourage his enjoyment of riding and training and, therefore, will be inimical to a healthy chivalric partnership.

In *La marechaucie des chevaux*, Jordanus Rufus proposes that the trainer has the ability—if not also the obligation—to help the horse focus during training to begin a legacy of cooperation with his rider. By considering each horse's skills and adapting work to suit his individual preferences and talents, Rufus' system cultivated the horse's interest in his work and facilitated obedience, the ultimate goal of his system. This respect, in turn, would beget a lifetime of service to and coexistence with humans. The Rufus method does not overturn the often-discussed idea of medieval anthropocentrism, but rather illustrates a belief that the best way to build a chivalric bond was by encouraging a horse to engage willingly in partnership with his rider.

The Most Noble of Beasts

When Rufus penned *La marechaucie des chevaux*, he responded to a demonstrated need in medieval Europe. Exorbitantly expensive, physically delicate, and emotionally volatile, horses constituted a risky investment. The Rufus method, however, brought real, concrete solutions by directly addressing the places where handlers and riders encounter difficulties with their mounts. The assertion that the horse should not fall victim to human anger further demonstrates Rufus' respect and affection for horses: he expresses this belief by requiring adjustments in rider behavior from the outset. The determinacy of the horse during Rufusian training challenges previous understandings of knightly dominance. Even the mutually-implicated human, equine, and inorganic components place more importance outside the horse than Rufus would like to concede. According to the Rufus method, we must appreciate the horse as the most noble but also the most fragile part in the chivalric assemblage. In turn, Rufus challenges us to rethink the underlying Great Chain—one both sociopolitical and organismal—of feudal Europe as one dependent on—perhaps more than on any other being—a beast of burden.

For Rufus, horses were more than servants to their riders. His oft-cited preface to the *Marechaucie* elucidates his respect and love for horses while also acknowledging their participation in an economy of property and social status. Rufus states:

<2> Come ce soit chose que entre toutes les bestes qui soient créés de Dieu et qui soient subjetes a humain lignage, nule beste soit plus noble d'un cheval, <3> car par celui li roy, li prince sont conneüz des austres povres gens [...] (Prévot, *La Science* 31).

[<2> Of all the beasts created by God and subjected to human beings, no beast is more noble than a horse, <3> for by him kings and princes are distinguished from the other humble people (...)]⁷⁸

Indeed, the nobility of the horse, as Crane and Cohen have argued, provides the knight with his status, however embattled or compromised that status might be (Cohen 69).

Although still a beast, the horse is elevated as a superior being because of his nobility.

Unlike the swords wielded, armor worn, and quests undertaken, horses distinguish noblemen from commoners.

Rufus strove to protect the horse's intrinsic nobility and autonomy in hopes that he would share those qualities with his rider. While Cohen and Crane have proposed an embodiment achieved through communion with the organic (man, horse) and inorganic (sword, spurs, armor), Rufus did not concern himself with the maintenance of such chivalric identities. Instead, Rufus aims to protect the well-being of the horse both as a significant financial investment and an animal for whom he has immense respect and admiration. As a response to the violence, dominance, or perhaps simply the contingency of bonds between a man, his horse, and their equipment, Rufus protected the agency of the horse by allowing him to participate willingly, exempting him from coercive practices, and by cultivating his own individual emotional and psychological needs through holistic training. Rufus demanded that horsemen treat their animals with the respect they deserved as the invaluable partner he knew each horse to be.

Medieval literary sources reveal relationships between rider and horse that espouse a similar gratitude and awe for the horse's immense gifts to humankind. In order

⁷⁸ See also R. H. C. Davis' *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989), 107-108. Crane also elaborates the relationships of power and submission between men and their horses in her article "Chivalry and the Pre/Postmodern."

to examine the relative equestrian and horsemanship skills of literary characters, we must keep close at hand the tenets of mindful, non-violent horsemanship in Jordanus Rufus' influential manual. A thorough understanding of the Rufus doctrine will permit us to reexamine the role of horses in literary texts, as well as those women who ride them skillfully, who respect and care for them, and who exercise their own agency through their deep and mutual bond with horses in battle, on quests, and at court. At the heart of the respect these women show their horses, Rufus' doctrine shines through: communication through touch, respect for the horse's individuality, and commitment to non-violent riding practices to nurture instead of castigate this most noble of beasts.

CHAPTER 2

Silence, Obedience, and the Becoming-Horse of an Ecofeminist Heroine

Au moment même où nous craindrions de verser dans une effusion ou une confusion, nous voyons que la seule universalité qui s'envisage à partir de là est une universalité de l'adresse : l'univers qui est parlant se parle à lui-même et nous parle, mais ces langues infinies infiniment libérées, nous ne les connaissons pas et le langage, en nous, est la forme de leur apprentissage : avant d'être et pour pouvoir devenir parole, il a fallu que le langage soit d'abord une écoute, il a fallu que les hommes, patiemment, écoutent, c'est-à-dire cherchent à entendre ces langues infinies qui les entourent et qu'ils ne comprennent pas. Cette somme des existences et des actes d'existence, ces langues infinies, et cette adresse infinie, en grande partie perdue (adressée en pure perte), ce n'est rien d'autre que ce que la philosophie, depuis qu'elle existe elle-même, a appelé l'Être, qui est moins à proprement parler un nom que le nom de ce qui excède tout nom.

-Jean-Christophe Bailly, "Les animaux conjuguent les verbes en silence"⁷⁹

In his influential *Marechaucie des chevaux*, Rufus explains that knights—the noblest of men—and horses—the noblest of beasts—are destined for fruitful partnerships. Created by God to serve mankind, horses surpass all beasts because their presence distinguishes kings and princes from ordinary men. Rufus places horses at the center of the chivalric system as key in the making of kings and kingdoms in the 13th century. While Rufus grounds his ideas about horses in their influential roles within the historical nobility, horses also have an enormous impact within medieval literary texts.

Literary horses wield extraordinary identitary capital that often transforms the people—both male and female—who interact with them.⁸⁰ Horses facilitate geographic

⁷⁹ Bailly explores the need to accept non-verbal language when communicating or communing with animals (109-110). See his article "Les animaux conjuguent les verbes en silence" (*L'Esprit Créateur* 51.4 [2011]): 106-114.

⁸⁰ Ribémont offers an excellent synthesis of key equine literary figures in his chapter entitled "Le cheval littéraire" (203-254) as part of the book *Le cheval en France au Moyen Âge*. He evaluates the central role of horses in the *chansons de geste*, the *romans antiques*, and also in certain romances. He analyses horses as an indicator for the status of their (typically male) riders, their metaphorical presence in medieval literature, their role as an expensive commodity, and their human-like moral qualities. Ribémont considers both the role of horses who occupy a distinctly equine place in their milieu—for example, pack horses—

as well as social mobility for their riders, making them incompatible with the milieux of many female literary characters whose physical containment often begets social limitation, as Georges Duby argues.⁸¹ But, contrary to Duby's analyses, certain female literary characters care for horses, ride skillfully, and participate in quests. Despite the fact that their proximity to horses helps them surmount many of the social boundaries imposed upon them, these female equestrians have received little scholarly attention.

One such exemplary *équestrienne* arises in Chrétien de Troyes' first romance, *Erec et Enide*.⁸² In this work dating from between 1160 and 1170, Chrétien gives copious attention to Enide.⁸³ Enide exemplifies the tradition beginning in the *romans antiques* of expanding female secondary characters—many of whom are *équestriennes* and also

and the horse as *être merveilleux*, which may be identified by a marvelously unrealistic color like the palfrey given by Guivret to Enide.

⁸¹ Though he has been heavily criticized by Cassagnes-Brouquet (19-20), Duby's research into the role of young male chivalry in the formation of identity and as the driving force of literary texts provides immense insight into the male-dominated Middle Ages. His *Mâle Moyen Âge* and *La Société chevaleresque: Homme et structures au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Flammarion, 1988) together provide a comprehensive study of the medieval male knight, from young bachelors (*juvenes*) starting their careers to established seigniorial lords.

⁸² I have selected the critical edition and translation by Jean-Marie Fritz (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1992). It is based on the manuscript BnF fr. 1376, or manuscript *B*, which dates from the late 13th or early 14th century and is discussed at length in Keith Busby's study of all 43 remaining Chrétien manuscripts and fragments, *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993). Most translations are based in William W. Kibler and Carleton W. Carroll's edition that includes combines all extant manuscript versions, *Arthurian Romances*, except when their translation differs from the Fritz critical edition (New York: Penguin, 1991). The decoration and adept interpretation displayed in BnF fr. 1376, which shows the only scribe to highlight with a *lettrine* verse 1238 "Or redevons d'Erec parler" (106) make it a compelling basis for a critical edition. In particular, the chapter (in Busby's volume) written by Françoise Gasparri, Geneviève Hasenhor, and Christine Ruby, provides thorough analysis of the implications of systems of abbreviation, punctuation and decoration in *Erec et Enide*, including the relative use of *lettrines* to mark the proper names Enide/Enyde and Erec. See "De l'écriture à la lecture : réflexion sur les manuscrits d'*Erec et Enide*" (97-148). Allison Stones' introduction to the volume provides a useful background on available copies; Roger Middleton explores the use of decoration in relation to structure in manuscripts of *Erec et Enide* in "Coloured Capitals in the Manuscripts of *Erec et Enide*" (149-194).

⁸³ Dating Chrétien's romance has provoked much debate among scholars. Most recent work has placed this romance between 1160 and 1170, with scholars falling at both ends of the range as well as squarely in the middle. For more information on the dating of the romance, see Danièle James-Raoul's *Chrétien de Troyes, la griffe d'un style* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2007) as well as Anne Berthelot's overview of medieval French literature, *Histoire de la littérature française du Moyen Âge* (Rennes, France : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006).

Amazones—into fully-developed portraits.⁸⁴ The figure of Enide deserves attention because her interactions with horses define her character’s linguistic predilections, social status, and even suitability for courtly marriage.⁸⁵ The character of Enide has been read and discussed for over two centuries, though little scholarship has considered the impact of her relationships to horses as a fundamental component of her character and role in the narrative.

In this romance, horsemanship and mounted shock combat⁸⁶ typify the chivalry Chrétien explores as potentially incompatible with courtly marriage. As Frappier explains, Chrétien explores a marital union based simultaneously on love, nobility, and duty, which nevertheless falls short of achieving balance and harmony.⁸⁷ By introducing the themes of noble marriage and chivalric duty from the exposition of his tale, Chrétien highlights their fraught incompatibility as the central conflict of *Erec et Enide*.⁸⁸

Their shared quest results from this intersection of marriage and duty and juxtaposes Erec and Enide’s different approaches to horsemanship and equestrian skill. From horse care to use of spurs—illuminated still further by the nonverbal communication promoted by Jordanus Rufus in his 13th-century manual *La marechaucie*

⁸⁴ For more comparison of the *Roman d’Eneas* and *Erec et Enide*, see Raymond Cormier’s “Remarques sur le *Roman d’Énéas* et l’*Erec et Enide* de Chrétien de Troyes” (*Revue des langues romanes* 82 [1976]: 85-97).

⁸⁵ For a general picture of social class in Chrétien’s romances, see Judith Kellogg’s “Economic and Social Tensions Reflected in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes” (*Romance Philology* 39 [1985]: 1-21). As Wright summarizes, “Kellogg examines the ways in which the monarchy’s new power threatened the nobility and how the romances of Chrétien de Troyes represent this conflict. She asserts that Chrétien’s romances bolster a ‘class consciousness’ among the nobility while at the same time depicting a changing social reality that challenges it” (288).

⁸⁶ Susan Crane identifies mounted shock combat, in which two knights charge at each other on horseback with the objective of unhorsing their opponent, as the preferred fighting style of tournaments and wars (139). See chapter 1, as well as her chapter “Knight and Horse” in her *Animal Encounters* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 137-168.

⁸⁷ Jean Frappier, *Amour Courtois et Table Ronde* (Geneva: Droz, 1973), 14.

⁸⁸ Françoise Pont-Bournez, *Chrétien de Troyes : Père de la littérature européenne*, (Paris: Harmattan, 2010), 90-100.

*des chevaux*⁸⁹—Erec and Enide’s disparate interactions with horses distinguish male chivalry from an alternative woman-horse bond. Interestingly though, only Enide uses the nonverbal “language” Rufus believed best to communicate with horses, whereas her husband eschews gentle Rufusian methods. This significant difference in interspecies communication demands attention. This study will expose the ways in which relationships and communication between Enide and those horses around her are different from those of men and horses, and it will assess the influence of these details on her identity as a literary character.

The horses won, given or received also impact identity in *Erec et Enide*. Factors such as gender, social status, and species—whether of the giver or receiver, the equine or human—reveal the concurrent monetary value and objectification of horses who are subjected to ownership and trade, obviously without their consent.⁹⁰ Moreover, horses are not the only sentient and noble beings given, traded, or won in this romance. By comparing horses to Enide, who is given in marriage without her consent, we see deeper similarities between horses and Enide. Her status as marital currency also prefigures the covetous gazes upon her by villains on the quest road and by Count Galoain. The pattern of trying to possess Enide without her expressed consent establishes her persistent

⁸⁹ In chapter 1, I discuss the ways the Rufus method of horsemanship—as it appears in the oldest extant manuscript copy, the Old French *Marechaucie des chevaux*—espouses methods which address the inauguration of each horse to work with people, the use and abuse of artificial aids, and the management of nervous temperaments in a way that honors the horse as the most noble ingredient of the chivalric assemblage. I argue that Rufus understood the horse’s irreplaceable role in these interspecies relationships and therefore strove to protect the horse’s own intrinsic nobility in hopes that he would share those qualities with his rider. Rufus believed that by exempting the horse from coercive practices the trainer or handler could address each horse’s physical, emotional, and psychological needs and guarantee his entry into a lifetime of faithful service to humans.

⁹⁰ See Prévot and Ribémont’s *Le Cheval en France au Moyen Âge* (Caen, France: Paradigme, 1994), in particular Ribémont’s chapter “Le vocabulaire” (173-202) where we encounter a thorough description of these relative qualities. Paul H. Rogers also examines the relative value and symbolic associations of each type of horse in medieval literature. See his article “Rediscovering the Horse in Medieval French Literature” (*Neophilologus* 97 [2013]): 627-639.

objectification by men. Like horses, Enide functions as property and becomes a harbinger of an underlying ecofeminist perspective which may be traced through *Erec et Enide*. The ecofeminist argument that patriarchal systems dominate women, animals, and the environment appears in Chrétien's similar placement of Enide and horses under male authority. Horses, mules, and even unicorns form ecofeminist pairings with women in medieval literature due to the frequency with which they are made to bear meaning but cannot freely create their own. Horses are beasts of burden for male riders, just like wives are made to serve their husbands.

Ecofeminist theory proposes that male domination within patriarchal systems similarly subjugates women and animals. Ecofeminist critics such as Carol Adams, Karen J. Warren, Mary Mellor, and Douglas A. Vakoch build upon feminist arguments by proposing a link between the control men exert over nature and nonhuman animals and the control they wield over women. These shared models of male dominance illuminate the interspecies interactions in *Erec et Enide* that reveal a similar suppression of female and equine agency at Erec's hands. When his wife's shame at his *recreantise* challenges his chivalric masculinity, Erec reacts violently against her, just as he does against the horses he incessantly spurs. These and other parallels between Enide and horses contextualize the quest undertaken by Erec and his wife as grounded not just in a recovery of his masculinity and knightly prowess, but also as a way to punish a woman for overstepping her place and to reform her as an obedient, subservient wife. This indoctrination of women and horses prefigures ecofeminist theories of species, gender, and power.

The Rufusian Horsemanship Practices of a Dutiful Daughter and a Spousal Squire

From her first appearance, Enide demonstrates her aptitude for horse care when her father requests that she take care of Erec's horse upon the knight's arrival as a guest in their home. Later, after her marriage and while she accompanies Erec on his quest as his only companion, Enide manages not only their horses but also those Erec wins by defeating various knights and outlaws in combat along their travels. While many scholars⁹¹ have argued that the Champenois poet presents Enide as a model of nobility and grace, her particular skill at caring for horses also serves to establish her as obedient, educated, and practical. However, these interactions with horses also originate in demands made of Enide by her father and, later, her spouse. This intersection of willingness and duress must ground any study of her horsemanship and, by extension, of her development as a literary character through male domination and violence before she ultimately regains her position as Erec's valued wife and, later, queen. Her service to horses actually places her in a position of servitude which both lowers her as a squire and elevates her as a dedicated spouse who supports her husband's endeavors. In either sense, her service occurs to fulfill first paternal and then spousal demands, both important phases of obedience within her patriarchal marriage.

⁹¹ Critics have often identified the nobility of Enide and her suitability as a spouse for Erec. Many discuss Enide's courtliness and wisdom and how each influences her relationships with other characters as well as her symbolic role in the narrative. In particular, see Margaret Jewett Burland's chapter "Chrétien's Enide: Heroine or Female Hero?" in *Arthurian Women: Essays in Memory of Maureen Fries*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and Fiona Tolhurst (Dallas, TX: Scriptorium, 2001), 167-186, Margaret Burrell's "The Specular Heroine: Self-Creation Versus Silence in *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* and *Erec et Enide*," (*Parergon* 15.1 [1997]): 83-99, and finally Kurtis B. Haas' article "Erec's Ascent: The Politics of Wisdom in Chretien's *Erec et Enide*" (*Romance Quarterly* 46.3 [1999]): 131-140. Unlike Burland's chapter, Haas states that it is Erec who must undergo trials to prepare him for kingship, as Enide has already acquired wisdom through "a combination of study and divine grace" (133).

Initially, Enide enters the stables at her father's request—the first instance of male control over her—in order to take care of the horse ridden by a guest in their home. The guest is Erec, and Chrétien states that he does great honor to his host through his visit (v. 396). Her father immediately asks that she take care of Erec's horse, thus providing the catalyst for the reader's first image of Enide as a horsewoman⁹². Though she is filled with grace and exhibits courtly behavior—qualities which make her a worthy wife and eventual queen—her father sends her to the stables to do the chores of a groom or squire:

Bele douce fille, prenez
 Cest cheval et si le menez
 En cel estable avec les miens.
 Gardez que ne li faille riens,
 Ostez li la sele et le frain ;
 Se li donnez avoinne et fain,
 Conreez le et estrilliez,
 Si qu'il soit bien aparoiliez (v. 451-458).

[Fair sweet daughter, take this horse and lead it into the stable with mine. Be sure it has everything it needs: take off the saddle and bridle, and give it oats and hay; rub it down and curry it so that it is well cared for.]⁹³

Perhaps due to a lack of trust in her skills, Enide's father specifies the exact tasks his daughter should perform to put Erec's horse at ease. She must ensure nothing bothers the horse, untack him, feed him oats and hay, and even bandage and groom him. She obeys, almost to the letter, though we should not understand his orders as a reflection of Enide's ineptitude. Enide actually exceeds the responsibilities he lists, which reveals her competence and ease around horses:

La pucele prent le cheval,

⁹² The Oxford English Dictionary gives a primary definition of the term "horseman" as a person who exhibits skilled riding of horses. However, the Merriam Webster Dictionary also gives secondary and tertiary definitions to include the skilled care and management of horses and the breeding or raising of horses, respectively.

⁹³ The English translations (from the manuscript BNF fr. 1376) are from Carleton W. Carroll (*Penguin Books*, 1991).

Se li deslace le poitral,
 Le frain et la sele li oste.
 Or a li chevax mout bon oste,
 Mout bien et bel s'en entremet :
 Ou chief un chevestre li met,
 Si le torche, estrille et conroie,
 A la maingëoire le loie,
 Et se li met fain et aveinne
 Assez devant, novele et seinne (v. 459-469).

[The maiden took the horse, undid the breast strap, and removed the saddle and bridle. Now the horse was in good hands; she took excellent care of it. She put a halter on it, curried it well, rubbed it down and cared for it, tethered it to the manger and put hay and fresh, wholesome oats before it.]

In this passage, Enide adapts her father's commands to ensure the horse's well-being. Chrétien differentiates between her father's descriptions and those tasks Enide completes, praising her automatic and instinctive movements in the stable. For example, Chrétien uses accurate technical terms to highlight Enide's skill at untacking the horse in a logical order not prescribed by her father.⁹⁴ Chrétien states that the horse is now in good hands ("Or a li chevax mout bon oste, / mout bien et bel s'en entremet"), indicating the skilled care Enide provides to Erec's horse. Enide's horsemanship reflects Rufus' system of ideal horsemanship and the interconnectedness of the horse's physical and emotional health. Furthermore, Enide seems to relish the chance to serve and honor her father.

When Enide finishes caring for Erec's horse, she returns indoors for further orders. Once at her father's side, he speaks first, demanding she take their guest by the hand to his rooms, which her mother has prepared (v. 469-484). Even in taking Erec's hand, Enide is associated with the voiceless execution of orders. Between the

⁹⁴ See William Sayers' article "Norse Horses in Chrétien de Troyes" (*Romania* 125 [2007]): 134. In addition to mention of Enide's facility with horses, Sayers also examines the preponderance of Norwegian horses in Chrétien's romance and connects this fact to historical evidence of their small size, coloration, and bodily conformation to add to our understanding of Erec and Enide's Norse horses.

horsemanship she demonstrates in the stable and her service in the home, despite the destitute financial status of her family, Enide embodies the ideal daughter.

Many scholars have studied the father-daughter relationship in *Erec et Enide* as an apparatus which illuminates Enide's character. One study from Catherine White explores, in particular, Enide's obedience to her father as a sign of patriarchal control (189). White goes so far as to call Enide a "cipher for male power" because her presence and actions are limited to situations involving her father and later her husband (190). By exerting physical and emotional control over her, men involve Enide in their cycle of domination and power. Despite this male control, Enide also benefits when the men whom she has served succeed, making her both a victim and beneficiary of male power. Although these considerations help reveal gendered power dynamics in Chrétien's romance, there is still a pervasive critical blind spot for the role of horses in the identity of literary characters.

In fact, Enide is as much a cipher for horses as for male power. White notes the juxtaposition of father and husband but barely acknowledges the reason she enters the stable at all: horses. White underlines Enide's imminent shift from daughter to wife, stating, "The visual metaphor is stunning; Enide's father asks her specifically to take her future husband's horse and to lead it to the stable 'near his own horses'" (191).⁹⁵ She

⁹⁵ Scholars have also argued that Enide's tattered clothes establish her inferior social class in relation to Erec. This sartorial detail, combined with her work in the stables, illuminates the status and station of Chrétien's female protagonist. Burrell's article "The Specular Heroine: Self-Creation Versus Silence in *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* and *Erec et Enide*" explores the role of her clothes in her status as a beautiful object whose dress Erec controls. Monica L. Wright suggests that clothing and the status it represents eclipse character in portraits of Arthurian protagonists and of Arthur and Guinevere in her article, "What Was Arthur Wearing? Discrepancies in Dress Descriptions in Twelfth-Century French Romance" (*Philological Quarterly* 81.3 [2002]): 275-288. Kathryn Gravdal discusses Enide's clothing as a device to titillate male readers of the romance in *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 55-59. These arguments help to illuminate the exchange which occurs between Erec and Enide's father. Her beauty is her value in this

relates to horses effortlessly and shows that she understands the requirements to keep horses safe and healthy according to Rufusian principles of both horsemanship and interspecies communication. Moreover, only Enide and Erec's horse cross the stable threshold, silently serving their masters, one juxtaposed against the other. No other human—whether noble, squire, or impoverished servant—enters the stable, which invites comparison not only between Enide and the squirely duties she performs but between her and the horses around her.

Although her interactions with horses originate in obedience to her father and her future husband, the bond she shares with them complements her more stereotypically feminine qualities. After stating and restating the superiority of Enide's beauty, her father acknowledges her specific value to him as a virtuous and gifted young woman. He lavishes praise on her, citing her extraordinary wisdom and courage and calling her his pleasure, his solace, and his comfort (v. 509-546). But, despite his effusive praise, Enide's father still uses her as a stable hand. Indeed, Enide must serve her father—and later her husband—as a squire. Yet rather than dishonoring her, this equestrian knowledge renders her value beyond price for her aristocratic yet impoverished family.

Arming a knight for battle, although more militaristic than the horsemanship she displays in the stables, constitutes yet another of the talents Enide seems to have acquired without training or apprenticeship. Erec and his horses appear properly attired each time

exchange, and her unclothed body provides an excuse for Erec to assert additional control over his future wife. He elects for her to be re-clothed by Guinevere, which facilitates her rise in social standing through sartorial and marital means, a rise which culminates in her eventual coronation as queen. For more on Enide's reconfiguration as courtly wife, see E. Jane Burns' chapter "Rewriting Men's Stories: Enide's Disruptive Mouths" in *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 151-202, particularly 168. Conversely to those who claim Enide's social inferiority, Burns addresses the arming ritual that Enide performs with ease, contending that although the arming ritual falls outside Enide's nobility, it also makes her indispensable for Erec.

he meets a foe, regardless of the lack of a professional servant, a fact which points to the accomplishment of these quotidian tasks by another character. Erec does not arm himself—it would have been unusual and difficult for a knight to do so, due to the unwieldy and heavy equipment required for combat. Just as Nature has endowed her with natural beauty (v. 411-420), Enide seems to have been destined to aid and serve Erec.⁹⁶ Even his shortcomings appear perfectly aligned with her surprising talents: Enide functionally exempts Erec from need of a squire starting when she prepares Erec for the sparrowhawk contest. Enide's mastery of arming Erec (v. 707-726), along with her skill at ensuring a horse's physical health, make her integral to his success as a knight and foreshadow her increasing role in the maintenance of his chivalric masculinity during their marriage. Resulting from the crisis in Erec's reputation, their quest provides ample opportunity to juxtapose the disparate responses of Erec and Enide to horse management. The logistical challenges of a quest without servants or soldiers result in Enide managing the horses ridden or won in combat.⁹⁷

Enide and her husband are caught in a state of constant comparison and contrast during their travels. Enide's mounted and unmounted horsemanship on the quest demonstrates her care of—as well as Erec's inattention to—the horses' physical and emotional needs. Whether in the diligence she shows by feeding and managing the horses

⁹⁶ Although any marriage between a prince and an impoverished young noblewoman would have been considered very provocative in the 12th century, the physical beauty shared by Erec and Enide serves to make their future union more equal (Kinoshita 116-117). In particular, Enide's wisdom serves to elevate her well beyond her rank.

⁹⁷ Marjorie Chibnall explains that it was customary for a fully trained knight to travel with at least one war horse of his own, plus a spare horse and a third horse to carry the equipment and baggage (8). The more horses a knight traveled with would also indicate his higher status. See Chibnall's chapter "I. Aspects of Knighthood: The Knight and His Horse" in *Chivalry, Knighthood, and War in the Middle Ages*, edited by Susan J. Ridyard (Sewanee, TN: Universtiy of the South Press, 1999), 5-26

over night while her husband sleeps or the restraint she exercises with the artificial aids⁹⁸ at her disposal, Enide's behavior reveals a very different approach to horse care than Erec's. Enide's work caring for horses places her in the hybrid role of servant-squire-*mareschal* (horse healer), and her ability to manage multiple horses at the same time shows her exemplary abilities. She replaces the squires and servants who would ordinarily accompany a knight on a quest and can, thus, help him repair his diminished reputation. Her aptitude allows her to perform tasks typically reserved for men, even if those tasks are also indicative of service to those of higher birth or to her husband and lord within their noble marriage.

The quest, however doesn't merely reveal Enide's aptitude for horsemanship. These violent episodes also demonstrate the punishment she experiences for voicing her unfavorable opinion of Erec's behavior, specifically his delinquency in his duties, also referred to as his *recreantise* (v. 2574-2579).⁹⁹ Erec stipulates that his wife alone will join him on the quest instead of the typical bevy of squires, attendants, and soldiers who would accompany a knight. Despite his father's fervent pleading that he take servants and squires (v. 2588-2711), Erec refuses to acquiesce:

Sire, fait il, n'en puet el estre.
Je n'en menrai cheval en destre,

⁹⁸ Artificial aids are defined as those pieces of equipment used to supplement the legs, seat, hands, and voice, also known as the natural aids. Those bridles, bits, spurs, and whips used are all considered artificial both because they are outside the rider's own body and because their use is outside the standard cues prescribed to command each horse. Barring any exceptional circumstances, the natural aids should suffice to direct the horse and the artificial aids must not be a substitute for correct riding (Wofford 51-60; d'Endrödy 38-91).

⁹⁹ We may understand the quest and, perhaps, Enide's involvement as reflections of the idea that love and military skill were inextricably linked in 12th-century knightly identity. Danièle James-Raoul argues the situation is predicated upon an understanding of virtuous chivalry based upon military skill and romantic fulfillment. James-Raoul notes, "La prouesse fait le chevalier et l'amour en est l'aiguillon. Plus de prouesse, plus de chevalier digne de ce nom. Pèse aussi, sur cette opinion l'idée communément admise depuis l'Antiquité que les plaisirs de l'amour sont censés amollir le guerrier. La crise, centrée sur le mot *mar*, qui fait entendre le problème du mari, comme le suggérait Daniel Poirion [1986, p. 147], éclate (119)."

N'ai que faire d'or ne d'argent,
 Ne d'escuier ne de sergent ;
 Ne compaignie me demant,
 Fors que ma fame soulement (v. 2715-2720).

["Sire," he said, "it cannot be otherwise. I shall take along no spare horse; I have no need of gold or silver, squires or men-at-arms; I ask no company other than my wife's."]

Erec clearly understands the particular needs which will arise during their travels—fresh horses, chests of money, and professional squires—but he nevertheless refuses to travel with any of these resources. Perhaps Erec harbors an underlying hope that his wife will, should he acquire horses or riches, be equal to the task of managing both. Conversely, the massive responsibilities of managing potential winnings of horses and gold may simply add to her conjugal punishment¹⁰⁰ and lend additional suspense to the plot.

In either case, Enide chokes back overwhelming hesitation and, at the outset of the quest, not only obeys her husband but leads the way.¹⁰¹ Erec has placed her ahead of him to ride headlong through unfamiliar land, which—as Zrinka Stahuljak argues—requires that she do the seeing, thinking, and interpreting for their quest.¹⁰² Far from

¹⁰⁰ The link between wives and horses is significant not only in the context of Enide's punishment at the hands of her spouse, but in fact is a common theme in Indo-European myths from India to Britain. In her article on the figure of Rhiannon in the Welsh myth, the *Mabinogion*, Jessica Hemming identifies the well-established tradition of women asked to serve as horses or mules in order to atone for alleged violations of their husbands' orders. The punishments levied on such wives ranged from carrying goods to wearing a saddle or being violently beaten. Some were actually magically transformed into equines and forced into servitude as beasts of burden. For more on these punitive links between women and equines, see Hemming's article "Reflections on Rhiannon and the Horse Episodes in 'Pwyll'" (*Western Folklore* 57.1 [Winter 1998]): 19-40.

¹⁰¹ Interestingly, Erec stipulates that, if he dies, Enide receive half of the king's lands for the remainder of her life. While Kinoshita reminds that his stipulation conforms to traditional dower rights, the motivation behind Erec's request is more nuanced than mere social convention (125). Perhaps even more significant is his reasoning: Erec explains that his father should respect his son's wishes not because Enide deserves some compensation for her marital vows, but because loving and cherishing his widow would demonstrate his love for his fallen son. These generous arrangements contrast sharply with his subsequent demand that Enide remain silent (Burland 172).

¹⁰² Stahuljak identifies the centrality of performative speech acts in each narration (or retelling) of one's experiences on an adventure. Her arguments connect Enide's silence and emergent speech both to her animality and to the spousal punishments she endures. See her chapter—"Adventures in Wonderland:

placing her in a position of power, Enide's emergent thinking is a burden that she bears as punishment. Her position at the head of their quest is designed by Erec to terrify and subdue her:

Enide is too gripped by fear to think her thoughts through to a result of abstracted knowledge. Her speech is not the result of having thought through her experience, for each time the situation repeats itself she goes through the same internal process of emergent thinking. We see Enide reduced to the representation of sense perception, which she verbalizes; but never has the time to think through to abstract knowledge. And so sense perception, never fully rehabilitated, remains in the subaltern position (as does Enide) (99).

Though Enide expresses panic, fear, and regret as a result of her experiences on the quest, Chrétien does not develop her reactions beyond sensorial reactions. Frozen like an animal in a cycle of transgression, reprimand, and anticipation of the next punishment, Enide is denied the subjectivity—and the consideration and autonomy that constitute it—required for prolonged reflection that might lead to insight. As Stahuljak states, “In [Chrétien's] romances, knowledge remains the vanishing mediator between adventure and narrative” (107). Bombarding Enide with constant threats prevents her from developing knowledge and keeps her in a subaltern position in relation to the adventure and the narrative.

Instead, she risks her own safety to lead her husband and tormenter through dangerous territory. While Erec may watch over Enide from afar, his ability to intervene before roving bands of ruffians cross their path remains in doubt, indicating a possible disregard for her safety. Indeed, Erec seems to use Enide as bait for any outlaws who might cross their path and engage him in combat (Burland 172). Erec is looking for a fight and his attention—and that of the reader or listener—is largely oriented to those

Between Experience and Knowledge”—in *Thinking through Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Zrinka Stahuljak et al (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 75-109.

unforeseen dangers along the quest road. With Enide as first line of defense, she immediately becomes a target for the outlaws who reside in the woods, preying on unsuspecting travelers (v. 2791-2818). If she, as a worthy “prize,” can attract criminals, Erec will have more opportunity to demonstrate his valor by defeating her assailants and to defend his—and, by extension, her—honor. If Erec may strike fear into her heart simultaneously, the situation will be doubly advantageous. Still, though Erec continues to antagonize Enide, she rises to the occasion, responding, “Sire, fait ele, a bon eür.” (v. 2772) [“My lord,” said she, “as you wish.”] Although she moans to herself, she hides her fearful lamentations from Erec and rides bravely ahead (v. 2773-2790). Her monologues seem almost to disappear under the rapid hoof-beats of the horses who carry them swiftly through the countryside. Enide is, as Sharon Kinoshita argues, both “locked in retrospective regret” and “incapacitated by past action,” although none of her plaintive remarks remain to reach Erec’s ears.¹⁰³ The overlap between Enide’s voice and the implied sound of her horse’s hooves creates an insinuated sonorous link between the two, figuring both her silence and her care for horses.

The horsemanship tasks that characterize Enide’s involvement in the quest begin after Erec’s first battle. When Erec defeats this initial group of three villains (v. 2900-2903), it falls to Enide to lead their warhorses.¹⁰⁴ Fresh from a brief but bloody combat, they are doubtlessly energized and aggressive from the recent fray. As unaltered stallions,

¹⁰³ See her chapter “Feudal Agency and Female Subjectivity” in *Thinking through Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Zrinka Stahuljak et al (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), 123.

¹⁰⁴ When the text refers to the first group of three horses they are referred to as “les trois chevax” (v. 2904), though it must be noted that the second and third outlaws Erec defeats are said to have been riding “destriers” (v. 2883, 2903). While we may assume that knights engaging in combat would naturally select the most fearsome and violent of horses to ride, these ignoble thieves do not encourage the same assumption. They likely stole the horses they have, and we cannot be sure they would have the wealth to procure those horses widely-considered to be the most valuable. For more about relative value in horses, see again Ribémont’s chapter, “Le vocabulaire” (173-202).

chargers were identified as very aggressive, making Enide's ability to manage them quite remarkable. Erec gives Enide control of the horses, while also demanding her silence:

Les trois chevax li commandoit
 Devant li mener et chacier,
 Et si la prent a menacier
 Qu'ele ne soit mais tant hardie
 C'un sol mot de boche li die,
 Se il ne l'en done congié (v. 2912-2917).

[He ordered her to drive the three horses ahead of her, and he began to threaten her, so that she should not again be so rash as to let a single word escape her lips, unless he gave her leave to speak.]

With the new horses tied together by the reins (v. 2905), Enide has an enormous amount of responsibility managing her own mount along with the three additional horses. Not only must she take full control of the horses, but she must continue to lead them in an unfamiliar direction, all while enduring the derision of her husband who continues to scorn and punish her. Enide functions as a sort of marital whipping boy, compass-less navigator, bait for brigands who seek to attack and rob her, and manager of multiple horses, all while continuing to pray for the well-being of her spouse. Chrétien highlights the punitive nature of their quest as the horses won begin to compound. Chrétien describes, "De[l] mener fu Enide en poinne : / Les cinq avec les trois li baille" (v. 3074-3075) [Enide struggled to lead them: / He gives her five to add to the first three.] Enide nevertheless remains silent and they continue on their path. Although managing the horses no longer points to effortless horsemanship as it did with only three horses in her charge, Enide still rises to the occasion and fulfills her duty.

Additionally, Enide's extraordinary ability to lead all eight horses contrasts directly with our first image of Enide being led by Erec to the sparrowhawk contest. As townspeople first see the knight leading the young lady, all marvel at the handsome pair:

Erec chevauchoit lance droite,
 Delez lui sa pucele adroite.
 Tuit l'esgardent parmi les rues,
 Et les granz genz et les menues.
 Trestoz li pueples s'en merveille,
 Li uns dit a l'autre et conseille :
 « Qui est? Qui est cil chevaliers?
 Mout doit estre hardis et fiers
 Qui la bele pucele en moinne.
 Cist emploiera bien sa poinne,
 Cist puet bien desrainier par droit
 Que ceste la plus bele soit » (v. 747-755).

[Erec rode with lance upright, the comely maiden beside him. In the streets everyone looked at him, the great folk and the small. All the people marveled, saying to one another: "Who is this? Who is this knight? He must be very brave and proud to lead the beautiful maiden. His efforts will be made for good reason! He must rightfully contend that she is the most beautiful.]

Onlookers awaiting the sparrowhawk contest automatically identify Enide as an object under Erec's control. All the townspeople line the streets to watch the contestants arrive and ask themselves who Erec might be, remarking that he must be brave and proud. They also identify the relationship between Erec and Enide as one in which Erec leads Enide, though Chrétien merely states that she accompanies him. In failing to notice Enide's capable horsemanship the bystanders assume the knight controls her as well as their horses.

Though never praised by Erec, Enide's skillful riding and ability to manage multiple horses distinguish her from other characters in this romance. Once on the quest with Erec, she proves her worth before the first day has ended by managing eight new horses in addition to the two they began with. After setting up camp in the forest (v. 3082-3085), Enide—still filled with regret and shame over multiple instances of unrestrained speech—refuses Erec's offer to watch over the horses at night. She claims

magnanimously that he deserves rest more than she (v. 3086-3091). When he stretches out to sleep, Enide tenderly lays her own coat across him:

Cil dormi, et cele veillea ;
 Onques la nuit ne someilla,
 Ainz tint par les frains en sa main
 Les chevax jusqu'à l'endemain ;
 Et mout s'est blasmee et maudite
 De la parole qu'ele ot dite,
 Et dit que mal a exploitié,
 Ne n'a mie de la moitié
 Tant de mal qu'ele a deservi (v. 3095-3103).

[He slept and she kept watch; she did not sleep at all that night. She held on to the horses all night until the next day. She bitterly blamed and cursed herself for the remark she had made, saying she had acted badly and had not half as much misfortune as she deserved.]

Enide illustrates in this passage both her generosity and her skill. Holding these chargers overnight requires Enide to control violent stallions who, especially while she is unmounted, have the overwhelming physical advantage. Despite this trial by fire, she cares for Erec thoughtfully and manages his affairs tirelessly. Furthermore, she shows genuine contrition—here and throughout the quest—for her initial remarks and the subsequent instances that show an inability to hold her tongue. She struggles to balance policing her own language while still showing appropriate contrition for her violation of her husband's command. Her sleepless night is a selfless and resolute step toward reconciliation with her husband. Her determination and constancy also illustrate her immense emotional strength and self-sufficiency both as an *équestrienne* and as a wife who remains faithful without any encouragement from her spouse.

In addition to supervising the horses overnight, Enide also saddles the horses. Even when squires are present—for example, when Erec and Enide depart from the castles of King Lac and of Count Galoain—Erec demands that Enide order their horses

tacked. The onus lies with Enide to manage all things equestrian. As they leave Lac's castle, Enide retains her composure and orders her lady-in-waiting to find a squire to prepare the horses (v. 2612-2619). Later, when both must flee Galoain after his attempts to seduce Enide, Erec expresses pleasure with his wife's cleverness—and "verbal dexterity" (Kinoshita 117)—at deceiving the count, yet still demands she have the horses saddled (v. 3476-3488). Erec does not, however, thank Enide for her equestrian work, whether caring for the horses herself or ordering another to perform the requisite tasks.

Despite this lack of recognition, Enide continues to facilitate her husband's quest. In fact, she manages so many horses that it takes more than one male squire to replace her. When the couple share a meal with Galoain's squire, two valets must step in to manage the eight horses she previously led (v. 3120-3126; 3163-3164). The valets merely hold the horses in one place whereas Enide single-handedly led them at a rapid pace while riding her own horse. The discrepancy between her aptitude under duress and the need for two men to fill her place highlights her unusual and extraordinary facility with horses.

Immediately following their luncheon, Erec offers their host his choice of any one horse among their growing herd to show gratitude for his hospitality. Later, when the squire escorts Erec and Enide into town, the dumbstruck Count Galoain is shocked to learn his own squire has received a superlative dappled charger (v. 3210-3216). Following this expression of doubt, the squire launches into praise for Erec and his beautiful companion (v. 3218-3243). He remarks at the prowess of Erec, who has managed to obtain and then manage eight horses while also ensuring the safety of his beautiful lady companion (v. 3238-3243). Once again, Enide is the unsung hero of the

tale. Although her horsemanship has helped her husband silence any gossip about his *recreantise*, her efforts and skills go unnoticed once again.

Enide's aptitude for horsemanship and her relationships with the horses she manages are integral components of her selfhood and of her identity. While the central relationship of the text remains that of the marriage of Erec and Enide, the assiduity she demonstrates in caring for horses—whether Erec's or those he wins in combat—increases her value to the men around her and changes the way we understand her marriage and her quest. Interestingly, her unmounted horsemanship skill—while ordinarily associated with a serf or squire—actually makes her a suitable wife and an able companion on their post-nuptial quest.

Caring for horses sets Enide apart from Erec while also giving her qualities usually reserved for men. By managing the horses' feed, equipment, and general well-being according to principles also advocated by Rufus in *La marechaucie des chevaux*, Enide presents a female alternative to the male chivalry of courtly tournaments, dangerous quests, and violent combat. Enide's horsemanship skill makes her invaluable to her family, to her spouse, and within her chivalric milieu. Still, Enide and the horses in her charge facilitate Erec's movement and indicate his chivalric prowess for all who see them. Enide's horsemanship skills marginalize and elevate her, lower her into voiceless servitude and glorify her successful communication with horses.

Spurs, Speed, Speech

Enide's silence complements her practice of Rufusian tenets of nonverbal commands and thus her effective horsemanship. Silence—first as a personality trait and later as an

externally-imposed condition—facilitates Enide’s horsemanship. Her silence fosters horses’ trust in her as handler, allows her to manage multiple horses in chaotic situations, and highlights her mastery of nonverbal cues as well as her avoidance of spurs to produce the obedience and cooperation she seeks from her horses.

Still, Enide’s silence is also problematic considering that even her astute and valuable observations are curtailed. Erec’s speech, on the other hand, is effusive and ferocious. He communicates with Enide and horses using harsh tones, punishment, and—in the case of the horses—spurs.¹⁰⁵ These tendencies are never questioned in the tale: only Enide experiences training and conditioning during the romance whereas Erec’s violent linguistic predilections go unchecked. Though fictional, *Erec et Enide* has the potential to reveal both overt and implicit medieval notions about when, how, and what women should speak.¹⁰⁶

The silence imposed on women in courtly literature has been read by many as a systemic trend among male poets to reduce and marginalize female perspectives. This is,

¹⁰⁵ The role of spurs in the abuse of horses has been well-established in chapter 1. The link between spurs and the abuse of women, however, exceeds the similar virulence of men trying to subdue horses and coerce women until they offer silent obedience. In fact, one name for the later medieval rowel spurs—those whose pronged wheels turned when used against a horse’s sides—was “St. Catherine’s wheels,” after the early Christian saint who was tortured on a wheel of a similar shape. Federico Grisone mentions “rote di Santa Catherina” in his classical horsemanship manual, *Gli ordini di cavalcare* (1550). See Elizabeth MacKenzie Tobey’s edition, *Federico Grisone’s The Rules of Riding: An Edited Translation of the First Renaissance Treatise on Classical Horsemanship*, trans. Elizabeth MacKenzie Tobey and Federica Brunori Deigan (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014), 125.

¹⁰⁶ For more discussion of female speech, see Burns’ chapter “Rewriting Men’s Stories: Enide’s Disruptive Mouths,” Ramey’s article “Representations of Women in Chretien’s ‘Erec et Enide’: Courtly Literature or Misogyny?” and McCracken’s article “Silence and the Courtly Wife: Chrétien de Troyes’s *Erec et Enide*.” In addition, Sullivan’s article “The Education of the Heroine in Chrétien’s *Erec et Enide*” connects the phases of Enide’s speech with her education—or perhaps even indoctrination—as Erec’s wife. In particular, Sullivan states, “The hero’s decision to leave Carnant is taken to reflect his need to test his own abilities, to prove that he can still fight effectively, and to learn how to balance the conflicting claims of love and social duty. Critics who have adopted this approach have seen Enide as being blameless; or guilty only of hesitation in approaching Erec; or at fault simply in refusing to tell him the truth when asked, thereby causing him to doubt her love” (321). She explains how Enide’s monologues permit her to remain a speaking subject despite her husband’s interdictions.

of course, based on the assumption that speech equates to agency, an argument that recalls Jane Burns' statement that a silent Enide can be manipulated and controlled more easily than a speaking one (158). According to this paradigm, if Erec is to control his wife, he must curtail her speech. Furthermore, Erec is desperate to avoid the doubled indignity of disrespect in his community and insubordination in his marriage. However, rather than opposing Erec as speaking subject with Enide as silent object—thereby continuing what Burns calls, “a rivalry between *boche d'home* and *corps de femme*” (161)—Chrétien challenges the validity of these problematic categories.

Moreover, Enide frequently disobeys Erec's command that she remain silent. Demonstrating a lack of linguistic restraint and overstepping the role of supportive wife make Enide more animal according to theories of 12th-century philosopher John of Salisbury. Amidst the male/female, human/animal, rich/poor, and rational/emotional dichotomies likewise identified by ecofeminists, Enide signifies the disadvantaged sides of each opposition. As Denyse Delcourt synthesizes, “Selon Jean de Salisbury, l'utilisation mauvaise du langage entraînerait un renversement dramatique de l'ordre des choses qui ferait qu'alors les hommes deviendraient semblables à des bêtes” (124).¹⁰⁷ Immoderate language renders human beings like animals, overturning the natural order of things. The lack of restraint Enide shows with her numerous “insubordinate” utterances places her in that same marginalized role and lowers her to the level of beasts.

Furthermore, the rhetorical treatises of John of Salisbury establish verbal self-control as a

¹⁰⁷ Jean de Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, P.L. 199, I, cap. 1, col. 827: “Brutescent homines, si concessi dote priventur eloquii; ipsaeque urbes videbuntur potius pecorum quasi septa, quam coetus hominum, nexu quodam societatis foederatus, ut participatione officiorum, et amica invencem vicissitudine eodem jure vivat.” Then, Delcourt cites, for further evidence of these medieval theories of discourse and linguistics, Alain de Lille's *Prose* 4.

determining factor in the distinction between human existence and that of animals and lesser beings. The apt equestrian metaphor of “reins of moderation” aligns control over verbal speech with propriety (Delcourt 125).¹⁰⁸ Failing to exercise linguistic restraint, Enide becomes like a beast and is forced into marital purgatory.¹⁰⁹

Enide occupies a position of service to her father and husband, much like the ubiquitous horses of their chivalric environment. Her obedience to men includes performing both chores and silence. Her unrestrained speech—however accidental—constitutes an obvious departure from her legacy of submission. Indeed, their marital conflict arises not from Enide’s desire to castigate Erec but from his desperation to force her confession and then to interpret it according to his own insecurities. Despite her reticence to repeat the criticisms uttered while believing Erec asleep (v. 2481-2539)—not to mention the acknowledgment that her speech is both accurate and warranted (v. 2572-2573)—her husband reacts with violent censure against any future pronouncements. Any intemperance, therefore, arises in large part from his own rushed interpretation of his wife’s speech. Nevertheless, her speech provokes Erec and he takes measures to reform her as a submissive wife.

Enide’s speech, in all its varieties, sets in motion a firestorm of consequences which unfold throughout the romance. Enide’s infamous embarrassment¹¹⁰ with her

¹⁰⁸ Jean de Salisbury, *Lib-II*, cap. 8: “Linguae autem volubilitas tunc demum prodest, si ad sapientiam disponatur; in udo enim est, et cito labitur. Licet autem sit membrum modicum, rotam humanae nativitatis succendit, conturbat vitam, et totum hominem, nisi moderationis vinculo refrenetur agit in praeceptis.”

¹⁰⁹ Carlos F. C. Carreto argues that her unrestrained speech also connects Enide to the metaphorical aspect of their quest in which Enide must learn to control her language by adopting these “rênes de la modération”. See “La parole (dé)bridée : esquisses d’une métaphore” (*Wodan: Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter* 72 [1997]): 11-31, in particular 25-31.

¹¹⁰ The role of social standing in *Erec et Enide* recalls also the prominent role of the *discours collectif* in the *romans antiques*. Alexandre Micha has argued for the role of collective opinion notably in *Thèbes*, though it appears in *Enéas* and *Troie* as well in *De la chanson de geste au roman* (18).

recreant husband—“que mar i fustes” (v. 2571)—triggers their quest and has inspired many critics to interrogate the role of her speech in this pivotal, peripatetic moment.

James-Raoul, for example, cites the emasculation which results when Erec interprets her speech—however valid it might be—as critical of his chivalric prowess.¹¹¹ Erec believes Enide no longer respects or loves him and, thus, her speech is both insubordinate and injurious.¹¹²

While Enide’s observation spurs her husband to repair his reputation, her speech also provokes a turn from marital affection to spousal abuse. Lynn Tarte Ramey interprets Enide’s speech act as one that defines and complicates their quest:

The speech act to a large extent defines Enide. When she speaks out, conveying the thoughts of the general public on Erec's *recreantise*, she sets the central episodes of the text in motion. Erec's reaction to her words moves Chretien’s work from a predictable tale of knightly-prowess-rewarded-by-marriage-to-exemplary-beauty to the realm of the uncertain. The status of the couple is unclear—Does Erec still love Enide? Is he angry with her? Is he punishing her? Their voyage is left conspicuously open-ended (377).¹¹³

Interestingly, the central role of public opinion about characters in the *romans antiques* seems reflected also in the struggle to maintain reputation in Chrétien’s romance.

¹¹¹ We must not fail to acknowledge that Enide’s speech is designed both to help rehabilitate her husband’s flagging reputation and also, perhaps, to punish him for his failure to protect her from social alienation. Indeed, we may easily imagine that Enide, as wife to the highly-praised knight Erec, never predicted she would encounter the sort of dissidence from the community that she overhears after Erec neglects his duties. Her speech, therefore, gives voice to both her hope for change and her frustration that such a situation would be foisted upon her in the first place. After all, the speech that earns Enide the censure of her spouse is not the only time Enide unleashes her sharp tongue and high standards on a character. Paupert also argues that Enide “apprend aussi à se servir de la parole comme d’une arme pour sauver son amour,” notably when she refuses to give herself to the count (106).

¹¹² See again E. Jane Burns’ chapter, “Rewriting Men’s Stories: Enide’s Disruptive Mouths” (151-202).

¹¹³ Ramey provides an extensive bibliography demonstrating the many scholarly responses to Erec’s possible misogyny. See her article “Representations of Women in Chretien’s ‘Erec et Enide’: Courtly Literature or Misogyny?” (*The Romantic Review* 84.4 [1993]): 377-386. She cites, among others, Sun Hee Kim Gertz’s article “Rhetoric and the Prologue to Chretien de Troyes’ *Erec et Enide*,” (*Essays in French Literature* 25 [1988]): 1-8; Joan Grimbert, “Misrepresentation and Misconception in Chretien de Troyes: Nonverbal and Verbal Semiotics in *Erec et Enide* and *Perceval*,” *Sign, Sentence, Discourse: Language in Medieval Thought and Literature*, ed. Julian N. Wasserman (Syracuse University Press, 1989), 50-79. Each of these studies addresses the gendered implications of Enide’s speech in the tale, as well as the interpretations of their sexual relationship and Erec’s final forgiveness—that presumptuous pardon he gives her near the end of the romance, just before the *Joie de la Cort*.

Erec, reacting violently to reports of his suffering reputation, forbids Enide from speaking and she resumes the silent passivity that characterized her entrance into the tale. Still, his response indicates embarrassment more than full-fledged hatred, and Erec seems incapable of reconciling two crucial needs. On one hand, he must ameliorate his reputation—something he may well accomplish by complying with Enide. On the other, he wishes to remain the decision maker and acting/speaking subject within his marriage—something he cannot do while also following his wife's advice.

An alternative theory, that Erec and Enide function in tandem, may also explain their different relationships to speech. Reto R. Bezzola has argued that Erec and Enide are functionally the same character—engaging together in the quest as two halves of the same solitary chivalric figure so common in Arthurian romance (Ramey 3, Bezzola 150). Interestingly, each shows immoderation, albeit differently. While Enide cannot restrain her speech, Erec shows intemperance by punishing Enide for speech he forced her to repeat. Prior to his interdiction, she only addressed him when required or forced to do so (Kinoshita 125). The two seem to suffer from fatal deficiencies in communication that point once again to an underlying similarity between them rooted in the difficulty with which they evaluate the nature of speech. Erec does not understand that Enide still loves him in spite of her unfavorable opinions, and Enide does not realize that Erec already anticipates the threats of the quest road, rendering her warnings superfluous. Each spouse exhibits interpretive and speech deficiencies that will illuminate their communication with horses.

The extensive critical attention to Enide's verbal speech actually serves to obscure the other speech acts she offers. Her performative or otherwise nonverbal speech acts are

equally revelatory about her character and her devotion to her spouse. Indeed, after Erec mistakenly believes Enide no longer loves him, she works tirelessly to return to his good graces. Only after her staunch resistance to the Count of Limors does Erec understand that she loves him perfectly (v. 4919).

This exchange at Limors also illustrates the type of speech deemed acceptable in this narrative context: Enide must use both verbal and nonverbal speech to serve her husband. Upon further reflection, it becomes clear that Enide has shown throughout the quest—whether misleading Galoain (v. 3391-3400) or managing the horses Erec wins—that she is capable of using both verbal and nonverbal speech to help their shared cause.¹¹⁴ Her communication with horses exemplifies this nonverbal speech.

Perhaps surprisingly, though, scholars have not considered Enide's interspecies communication. Only Anne Paupert has alluded to the ways Enide appropriates chivalric and equestrian action as an alternative to verbal expression. She argues that Enide usurps narrative action from a typically-male chivalric epicenter in order to help salvage her embattled marriage, "Si Enide, bien davantage qu'Erec, incarne l'amour, ce n'est pas tant par des paroles d'amour que par ses actes - paroles comprises, mais des paroles qui sont aussi des actions - tout au long de la quête aventureuse" (Paupert 98). While Enide previously embodied love itself, her actions during the quest supplant her physical beauty

¹¹⁴ Enide's warnings show she is capable of using speech to protect her husband, even risking physical violence to herself by doing so (v. 2962-2977). This ability shows her increasing preparedness for the role of queen as Theresa Earenfight explains it in her article "Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe" (*Gender & History* 19:1 [2007]): 1-21. Interestingly, though, McCracken has argued that Enide appears ignorant—both to Erec and to a medieval reader—because she cannot read chivalric situations accurately (113). Enide does not understand rules of chivalric engagement which prohibit unequal combat, for example, where a group of three or five brigands might engage Erec in battle at the same time. Instead, each must attack separately until he is victorious or defeated, before the next may begin. Moreover, even when she thinks she has information crucial to Erec's success, he often perceives the dangerous or benign situations unfolding both earlier and more accurately than she.

and silent virtue to define her as a literary character. Still, Paupert does not directly cite the communication which links Enide to horses.

Enide's ability to speak to horses, one grounded in knowledge she alone possesses, permits her to serve her husband and highlights shortcomings in his chivalry. Indeed, Chrétien reveals Enide to be as skilled with horses as her spouse, though they ride very differently. The use of artificial aids distinguishes Erec from Enide and male chivalry from female horsemanship. In particular, Erec and the outlaws he fights often spur their horses. By comparing their use of this particular aid—one Rufus identifies as a source of stress for young horses in particular—we may evaluate the relative consideration Enide and her husband show to their horses and, thus, the alternative forms of horsemanship they present in the tale.

Erec begins spurring from his first appearance in Chrétien's romance, at the beginning of the hunt for the white stag, "Après les siut a esperon / Uns chevaliers, Erec ot non" (v. 81-82). [A knight came spurring after them: his name was Erec.] The action of spurring is so integral to his character, therefore, that it arises before even his name when Chrétien introduces his first action in the romance. While the presence of golden spurs on the heels of a horseman indicates his knightly status, Erec remains inextricably linked with the *action* of spurring as opposed to spurs as the particular equipment that helps others identify him. Of the fifteen times a character spurs his or her horse in the romance, eight refer to Erec. Among all the villains, brigands, and evil counts in the tale, Erec proves himself the most violent to his horse and is furthest removed from Rufus' prescription of gentle application of the aids. Although Rufus addresses only those practices concerning young horses in training, his identification of the imbricated nature

of the horse's physical, emotional, and psychological health remains relevant throughout the horse's life. Considering the frequency with which Erec spurs his horse—namely, whenever he needs to ride quickly or engage another knight in battle—his pattern of constant urgency will induce the horse to associate Erec with spurring and stress.

Moreover, the particular spurs used in this era by knights and warriors caused severe damage to the horse's barrel if used too vigorously.¹¹⁵ This was, after all, the time of the very sharp "prick spurs" which did not roll like the gentler rowels which came into usage in the 13th century (Ellis 1). Although horses, as Rufus argued, became accustomed to spurs throughout the training phases of gradual habituation, the pain and stress of being goaded incessantly with prick spurs would have an extremely negative effect on the partnership and cooperation between the horse and his rider (Prévot, *La Science* 37-41). If the horse experiences pain and violent domination at the hand of the rider he will create negative associations with being ridden and with combat, therefore undermining their partnership. As Xenophon explains, "For what the horse does under compulsion (...) is done without understanding; and there is no beauty in it either, any more than if one should whip and spur a dancer. There would be a great deal more ungracefulness than beauty in either a horse or a man that was so treated" (62). The parallel between a horse and a dancer helps to elevate the horse as one endowed with grace and beauty whose delicacy must be protected.

Despite running the risk of corrupting the horse's willing participation by goading with spurs, Erec uses these artificial aids at his disposal throughout his combat engagements. He spurs toward the terrible dwarf to punish him for whipping the queen's

¹¹⁵ Blanche M. A. Ellis, *Prick Spurs 700-1700* (Finds Research Group AD 700-1700, 2002).

lady in waiting¹¹⁶ during the white stag hunt, “Erec cele part esperone, / Des esperons au cheval done, / Vers le chevalier point tot droit” (v. 205-206) [Erec galloped off, giving his horse the spurs, and rode straight to the knight]. Again, he spurs his horse onward to engage Galoain and his men, “Parmi la forest a droiture / s’en va poignant grant aleüre” (v. 3615-3616) [Straight through the forest, he galloped off spurring]. Later, Erec spurs his horse while chasing down the two giants who have captured the young girl’s *ami*, “Erec s’en va tote la trace, / a esperons les jeanz chace” (v. 4375-4376) [Erec went spurring off along the trail in pursuit of the giants]. Chrétien clearly establishes Erec as one who spurs his horse, perhaps to highlight his valor and bravery in combat against all foes.

Though spurs were a required item in a knight’s battle attire and a helpful tool in times of extreme need to reinforce the rider’s leg aids, Erec’s use of spurs implies an abusive relationship with his horses. Erec seems to find himself exclusively in dire situations where spurs are required to produce great speed from his mount with immediate effect. He relies on these artificial aids instead of demonstrating his competence in the saddle without them.

Furthermore, the violence Erec shows to horses throughout the romance mirrors the violence he shows his wife. Erec ekes out every advantage he can from his wife and horses, using both as a means to succeed on his quest and prefiguring ecofeminist arguments about male domination. During their quest, Erec frequently berates and

¹¹⁶ It is also significant that the first incidence of violence against women occurs so early in the romance. The first conflict of Chrétien’s tale occurs when a man (a monstrous dwarf, no less) behaves reprehensibly towards an innocent women by attacking her without provocation. Chrétien explicitly links this opposition between women and violent male attackers to Erec’s identity as a man and as a knight who uses his spurs to enact violence upon his horses.

derides Enide for violating his demand that she remain silent. Interestingly though, Erec's methods resemble those of Rufus in that both demand obedience from their trainees. Erec seems to expect that Enide will obey him as her husband like she did her father.

Rufus' system of producing obedient, well-trained horses resonates within the romance, though not simply in its recurrent human-horse dynamics. Unlike the harmonious newlywed year anticipated after such a blissful wedding, Erec begins their marriage with indoctrination. Erec uses the quest to punish his wife for her unrestrained speech and to restore her to her former silence/perfection. The marriage between Erec and Enide more closely resembles a dysfunctional horse/horse trainer relationship—one characterized by a vicious cycle of violence rather than a gentle progression to gradually more complicated tasks, each of which is rewarded by positive reinforcement—than blissful matrimony. Enide seems to accept this new marital reality, saying, “ne set qu'est bien qui mal n'essaie” (v. 2606) [you cannot recognize good fortune if you have not tasted misery.] Even with the stress at the outset of the quest, Enide seems already indoctrinated by Erec. She expresses a belief that after being purged of her shortcomings, her ordeal will ultimately bring happiness.

Enide's optimism belies the misery she will experience on the quest. Erec's objective on this quest, while often understood as an opportunity to recover his chivalric masculinity and his high reputation, is to train—or, more nearly, to test—his wife. Even Erec admits he was testing her, even using the verb *essaie*, when they reconcile after leaving Limors' court (Burland 177-178). The quest evokes underlying parallels between punishment, training, and conditioning—whether of humans or horses—that contrast Enide's Rufusian gentleness with Erec's dominance and force.

Instead of instilling new, positive behaviors in his wife, Erec desires Enide to return to the silent obedience she displays at their first meeting. By putting Enide through an ordeal of threats, violence, sleep-deprivation, and fear, Erec may test the limits of her training. If Enide remains obedient to Erec instead of, for example, allowing her anxiety for his safety to provoke her to violate his command, it will demonstrate the profundity of her loyalty and love. She must show full submission to her husband, just as she submitted to her father. If not, however, her purgatory may prove endless. Although she never changes her behavior, always finding it difficult to remain silent when danger seems nigh at hand, she still benefits from his recognition of her constancy in the end. It is not a change in her comportment but in Erec's perception of it that determines the end to Enide's training. Moreover, the means by which he demands—and then tests—spousal obedience distinguish Erec from the tenets presented in *La marechaucie des chevaux*.

Instead of employing the system of nonviolence and gradual progression to more difficult tasks that Rufus introduces, Erec seems determined to use violence and domination to coerce obedience from his wife. The situation during the quest deteriorates quickly as he ignores Enide's contrition. Erec's continued punishment leads Enide to fear his violence:

Lasse! fait ele, je ne sai
 Que je die ne que je face,
 Que mes sire mout me menace
 Et dit qu'il me fera ennui,
 Se je de rien parol a lui.
 Mais se mes sire estoit or mors,
 De moi seroit nuns reconforz :
 Morte seroie et malbaillie.
 Dex ! mes sire ne les voit mie ;
 Qu'aten[t] je donc, mauvaise fole ?
 Trop ai or chiere ma parole,
 Quant je ne li ai dit pieç'a.

Bien sai que cil qui viennent ça,
 Sont de mal faire encouragié.
 Et Dex, comment li dirait gié ?
 Il m'ocira. Assez m'ocie !
 Ne lairai que je ne li die (v. 2962-2977).

[“Alas,” she said, “what shall I do? I don’t know what to say or do, since my lord threatens me so and says that he will punish me if I say anything to him. But if my lord were killed here, nothing could comfort me; I would be dead and destroyed. God! My lord does not see him; what am I waiting for, wicked fool? Now I am putting too high a value on my words by delaying speaking for so long. I know full well that those who are coming are bent on doing ill. Oh, God, how will I tell him? He’ll kill me. All right, let him! I shall tell him nevertheless.”]

Her struggle to navigate two undesirable outcomes comes to the fore in this passage.

Either Enide stays quiet to protect herself, or she speaks to warn her husband, saving his life but violating his command and risking spousal violence. Although she worries Erec may kill her, she elects to save his life over her own, even as one capable of uxoricide.

Despite the strain of Enide’s marriage and quest, her obedience and loyalty to Erec are boundless. She rides swiftly when commanded yet, surprisingly, she does not spur her horse. Interestingly, though women in the Middle Ages also rode horses, traveled, and hunted, certain historical studies indicate that women did not wear spurs.¹¹⁷ Ellis explains that women didn’t wear spurs while riding due to concern that they become caught in a lady’s skirts (124). She also reminds us that, because spurs (golden or otherwise) were a chivalric fashion statement and public sign of social status, they were superfluous if covered by voluminous skirts.

The quest episodes of *Erec et Enide* do not contradict this understanding of women’s riding habits and equipment in the Middle Ages. Enide manages to ride at great

¹¹⁷ See John Clark’s edition *The Medieval Horse and Its Equipment c. 1150-c. 1450* (2nd ed. Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2004), especially the chapter “Spurs and Spur Fittings” by Blanche M. A. Ellis (124-156).

speed without them at all. Erec demands that his wife ride in silence and at a breakneck pace, “Gardez ne parlez ja a moi, / Se je ne vos aresne avant. / Grant aleüre alez devant / Et chevauchiez tot a seür.” (v. 2768-2771) [Mind you do not speak to me unless I speak to you first. Go ahead briskly, in complete confidence.] Although speed is often associated with spurs, she nevertheless manages to avoid using hers for the majority of their quest. She rides *a grant aleüre* as Erec commands, following his brutal order without treating her horse brutally.

In a single moment of desperation, however, Enide does spur her horse. This episode brings Count Galoain, a lord who has coveted Enide from afar, across Erec and Enide’s path. Both fear the ardor of Galoain’s affections—which he admits aloud to his barons (v. 3640-3643)—and they flee his advances, despite his change of heart and decision to stop pursuing Erec’s wife. Chrétien describes Galoain’s realization that he has acted unwisely by seeking to kill the husband of the woman he covets (v. 3631-3652). The count believes he has earned his misfortune by seeking the ruin of another, and he calls his soldiers off Erec’s trail. Significantly though, Galoain’s men only cease their pursuit *after* Erec and Enide have fled the scene. With this use of dramatic irony, the reader knows what Erec and Enide do not: the threat posed by the count has resolved. Still, Erec and Enide believe their marriage and their lives are at risk. This fear pushes Enide to spur her horse for the first and only time in the tale:

Ainsi s’est Erec delivrez.
 Erec s’en va toz eslaissiez¹¹⁸
 Une voie entre deus plaissiez,
 Il et sa fame devant lui.
 A esperon en vont andui (v. 3658-3662).

¹¹⁸ Here, the indent and bold initial indicate the end of a paragraph and the insertion of a blue lettrine in MS BNF fr. 1376, or manuscript *B*.

[And so Erec was delivered. Erec galloped off along a path between two hedges, he and his wife in front of him. They went off spurring.]

Both feel similar pressure to flee and they spur their horses onward as fast as possible. As they fear for their lives believing Galoain at their heels, their flight begets urgent nonverbal speech in the form of spurring. Although Enide has not previously required spurs to put her horse into a rapid gait, her haste and the means with which she achieves it here are justifiable. Chrétien introduces the only circumstance dire enough to induce Enide to use her spurs: the loss of her husband and dissolution of her marriage.¹¹⁹ This episode marks a shift in the tale after which Enide is more afraid of her husband's death than his abuse.

In addition to the threat to her marriage that motivates Enide to flee, this episode provides the first indication to the reader that Enide wears spurs at all. If she has been wearing spurs during their entire journey, Enide has exercised restraint up until this episode. She either avoids using spurs in order to show kindness to her horses—echoing the gentleness with which she cares for horses—or because her polished riding skills render spurs superfluous. As a pertinent equestrian detail, descriptions of spurring would likely resonate with the reader or listener of Chrétien's tale as an indication of a rider's haste and a horse's rapid pace. Chrétien presents Enide as noble and loyal throughout the ordeals of her marriage quest and doesn't suggest her use of spurs makes her unladylike.

¹¹⁹ Though Chrétien shows Enide's quiet virtue and ability to communicate nonverbally with horses, this tale fundamentally focuses above all else on the intersection of marriage and duty. As such, it is crucial to remember that Enide and Erec love each other dearly and strive to maintain their marriage at all costs. For the most recent work on marriage in Chrétien de Troyes, see Keith Nickolaus, *Marriage Fictions in Old French Secular Narratives, 1170-1250: A Critical Re-evaluation of the Courtly Love Debate* (London: Routledge, 2013).

On the contrary, Enide remains dedicated to her husband and applies her skill at communicating with horses to facilitate his progression on the quest.

Nevertheless, following consistent demonstrations of her equestrian skill during the quest Enide experiences a significant reduction in the time she spends mounted. Once she believes Erec has died she cannot help but swoon. The moment of Erec's "death" illustrates the interconnectedness of Enide's equestrian prowess with her marital well-being. As he falls into a death-like slumber, Enide seems to lose all ability with horses and is medically and emotionally incapacitated by the loss of her husband:

Erec ont sus couchié envers,
 S'i ont deus chevax estelez.
 Enide chevauche delez,
 Qui de son duel faire ne fine.
 Sovent se pasme et chiet sovine ;
 Li chevalier pres la tenoient.
 Entre lor braz la sostenoient ;
 Si la relievant et confortent (v. 4726-4733).

[They laid Erec upon this on his back, and hitched two horses to it (the stretcher). Enide rode beside it in never-ending sorrow. Often she fainted and fell backwards; the knights who were escorting her supported her in their arms, and lifted her up and consoled her.]

Enide has become a shadow of the competent woman who managed her own horse and eight others. She cannot even remain upright in the saddle notwithstanding the slow pace: her equestrian competency evaporates without Erec. Fainting and lamenting beside his stretcher, Enide embodies the *planctus* mode in which she began the quest.

The final transformation in Enide's riding skill occurs when Enide manages to perform a speech act that confirms her love for Erec. Once at Limors' court, the recently widowed Enide finds herself forced to marry the count against her will (v. 4746-4767). Even his name—Limors, *li mors, mors*, bite, and by extension the equestrian "bit"—

points to the parallel between consumption of food at the wedding feast and the count's desire to consummate his marriage with Enide. His efforts to silence her are consistent with Carreto's arguments about female speech, while the violent tactics he employs as their disagreement escalates evoke the same harsh bits used to force unruly horses to submit.¹²⁰ Similarly, Limors attempts to curtail Enide's speech by physical violence.

Despite his best efforts, however, Enide refuses to remain silent. During the banquet following the marriage, Enide speaks out against her new spouse much as she spoke against Erec's *recreantise*. She declares in front of all courtiers and knights at her wedding that she remains faithful to Erec and rebukes Limors (v. 4834-4846). At the sound of his dear Enide screaming following yet another slap from Limors¹²¹, Erec leaps up from the table where he lay in a death-like slumber and slays the count with one swift blow (v. 4854-4862). Here, Enide manages to use her voice—though previously considered venomous and disobedient—to extract Erec from desperate straits. The very speech once so maligned and mistrusted, judged superfluous and hated, is now unleashed to save Erec's life.

Interestingly, Enide speaks “insubordinately” to both men who claim to be her husband, Erec and the Count of Limors. Erec may have reacted brutally to her speech

¹²⁰ His name also eerily foreshadows the extra-judicial early modern “scold's bridle,” which was used to punish loquacious women, scolds, and gossips by means of a metal cage around their heads complete with an often barbed metal bit. For discussion of the use of scold's bridles to punish women for unpleasant speech, see Lynda E. Boose's article “Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member” (*Shakespeare Quarterly* 42.2 [Summer 1991]): 179-213.

¹²¹ The Count of Limors hits Enide several times following their marriage ceremony, to the chagrin of both Enide and the onlookers. His violence escalates as he pleads and threatens her so that she will calm down and smile (v. 4775-4778), then as he tries to persuade Enide that she is lucky to have found a new, rich husband (v. 4793-4798), and finally as he threatens her by saying she must avoid making him angry and eat her dinner (v. 4806-4807; v. 4813-4817). When, following this threat, Enide still disregards the count and he slaps her across the face (v. 4820). She cries and the townspeople object, but he still maintains his right to treat his new wife as he pleases (v. 4831-4833). When she replies that she will never be his, he hits her again (v. 4836), provoking yet more objections from Enide (v. 4838-4846). It is at this moment that Erec awakens (v. 4847-4853), kills the count, and escapes with Enide.

before and during their quest, but the truth in her words nevertheless resonates. Although Erec hated hearing words that appeared to reveal his wife's lack of love for him, her criticism of his behavior was valid. Later, when Enide offered numerous warnings to her husband on their travels, her concerns were legitimate. They fell on deaf ears only because their recipient was already aware of the imminent danger. In this episode at the Limors, however, the same speech that had been so hurtful saves Erec's life and demonstrates her unflagging love and devotion for her spouse. Robbed of consent and forcibly remarried to an evil and violent man, attending a second wedding feast in the same great hall where Erec's dead body is displayed, nevertheless Enide demonstrates undying loyalty to Erec.

When Erec and Enide flee Limors' court, horses once more symbolize their escape to safety. Together on a single horse, the couple is reunited:

Tuit s'en fuient ; Erec les chace ;
 Et trova hors en mi la place
 Un garçon qui voloit mener
 Son destrier a l'eve abeverer,
 Atorné de frain et de sele.
 Ceste aventure li fu bele :
 Erec vers le cheval s'eslesse,
 Et cil tot maintenant le lesse,
 Que paor ot grant li garçons.
 Erec monte entre les arçons,
 Puis se prent Enide a l'estrier
 Et saut sor le col dou destrier,
 Si con li commanda et dist
 Erec, qui sus monter la fist.
 Li chevax andeus les en porte,
 Et truevent overte la porte ;
 Si s'en vont que nuns n'i areste (v. 4889-4905).

[Everyone fled. As Erec pursued them outside, he found in the middle of the square a boy who was about to lead his horse to drink at the water, saddle and bridle still in place. This was a fine chance for Erec; he rushed towards the horse, and the boy let go of it instantly, for he was absolutely

terrified. Erec got into the saddle; then Enide put her foot into the stirrup and jumped on to the neck of the charger, just as Erec had demanded and instructed her to do. The horse bore them both away; they found the gate open and away they went, for no one stopped them.]

The two reunited lovers have raced from the great hall to find a valet watering Erec's own charger, already saddled, and Erec leaps on, followed by Enide who settles in front of him on the horse's neck.¹²² Though this is a precarious position from which she can neither steer nor rate the horse's speed, Chrétien gives no indication of her discomfort or instability. The two seem returned to marital bliss as Erec has envisioned it: Enide follows Erec's orders and they leave together in marital and equestrian harmony. Enide, having accomplished an acceptable speech act in resisting the count and waking Erec from his "death," has thus earned her husband's forgiveness and may resume her place as his beloved wife.

Chrétien describes their reconciliation as an effusion of emotions (v. 4923-4925). Erec pardons Enide for her speech, explaining that he thought she didn't really love him. He forgives her transgressions, praises her constancy, and welcomes her back into wifehood. Once Erec has excused her *parole*, Enide interacts with horses differently. After this she must no longer lead Erec in unknown lands nor lament under her breath to hide her subversive speech:

Or n'est pas Enide a malaise,
 Quant ses sire l'acole et baise,
 Et de s'amor la raseüre.
 Par nuit s'en vont grant aleüre,
 Et ce lor fait grant soatume
 Que la lune cler lor alume (v. 4927-4932).

¹²² Chibnall explains that medieval chargers were ridden with a high-pommelled saddle that was specifically adapted to help a knight stay securely seated while engaging in mounted shock combat (10). While we cannot be certain she uses this style of saddle, however, it would have seriously impact Enide's ability to remain balanced while riding the same horse as Erec.

[Now Enide suffered no more as her lord embraced and kissed her and reassured her of his love. Through the night they rode swiftly on, and it gave them much comfort that the moon shone brightly upon them.]

This passage paints a picture of equality as the two ride together on the moonlit road. Enide still rides effectively and provides company to her husband, but she no longer blazes the trails they travel in order to attract the attention of those who might wish her harm. Her marital trials have ended. Her equestrian skills are shifting as the mobile quest phase of their romance comes to a close, and Erec and Enide move into a spatially limited mode in which they are largely unmounted, traveling less, and demonstrating their value with two feet instead of four hooves.

Throughout the romance, the relationship between Erec and Enide is constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed around horses and equestrian scenarios. Their ultimate reconciliation recalls their first kiss, during which they are also riding. Indeed, the budding love between the sparrowhawk champion and his beautiful prize remains unspoken—perhaps even unimagined—until they find themselves alone on horseback. Following a tearful but happy farewell from Enide’s uncle and her parents (v. 1451-1474), the two protagonists leave for King Arthur’s court. Once they leave Erec, looking with loving awe upon his future bride, can no longer contain his affection for Enide:

Erec de son oste se part,
 Car a merveilles li est tart
 Que a la cort le roi venist.
 De s’aventure s’esjoïst ;
 Mout estoit liez de s’aventure,
 Qu’amie ot bele a desmesure,
 Sage, cortoise et debonaire.
 De l’esgarder ne pot prou faire :
 Quant plus l’esgarde, plus li plait,
 Ne puet müer que ne la bait.
 Volentiers près de li se trait,
 En li regarder se refait ;

Mout remire son chief le blanc,
 Ses iauz rianz et son cler franc,
 Le nes et le vis et la bouche,
 Dont granz douceurs au cuer li to[u]che.
 Tot remire jusqu'a la hanche,
 Le menton et la gueule blanche,
 Flans et costez et braz et mains ;
 Mais ne regardoit mie mains
 La damoisele le vassal
 De bon huil et de cuer leal
 Qu'il fesoit li par contençon.
 Ne preissent pas raançon
 Li uns de l'autre regarder :
 Si estoient igal et per
 De cortoisie et de beauté
 Et de grant debonairété,
 Si estoient d'une matiere,
 D'unes mors et d'une meniere,
 Que nuns, qui le voir en vuet dire,
 N'en porroit le meillor eslire,
 Ne le plus bel, ne le plus sage.
 Mout estoient d'igal corage
 Et mout avenoient ensamble.
 Li uns a l'autre son cuer emble ;
 Onques deus si beles ymages
 N'asambla lois ne mariages.
 Tant ont ensa[m]ble chevauchié
 Qu'en droit midi ont aprochié
 Le chastel de Caradigan,
 Ou andeus les atendoit l'an (v. 1475-1516).

[Erec left his host, for he was extremely impatient to return to the court of the king. He rejoiced at his adventure and was delighted in it, for he had an extremely beautiful lady, wise and courtly and well-bred. He could not gaze at her enough; the more he looked at her, the more she pleased him. He could not keep from kissing her; eagerly he drew near to her. Looking at her restored and delighted him; he kept looking at her blonde hair, her laughing eyes and unclouded brow, her nose and face and mouth; and from this a great affection touched his heart. He admired everything, down to her hips: her chin and her white throat, her flanks and sides, her arms and hands. But the damsel, for her part, looked at the knight no less than he looked at her, with favorable eye and loyal heart, in eager emulation. They would not have accepted a ransom to leave off looking at one another. They were very well and evenly matched in courtliness, in beauty, and in great nobility. They were so similar, of one character and of one essence, that no one wanting to speak truly could have chosen the

better one of the more beautiful or the wiser. They were very equal in spirit and very well suited to one another. Each of them stole the other's heart; never were two such beautiful figures brought together by law or by marriage. They rode together until, right at noon, they approached the castle of Cardigan, where they were both expected.]

Mounted on their noble steeds, they share their first kiss, a gesture made possible by the silent forest, by Enide, and by their equestrian compatibility. In his explorations of the ambiguities Chrétien both introduces and refuses to resolve, Per Nykrog explores the crucial role of chivalry—and of horsemanship in general—in the interpretive dilemmas posed by *Erec et Enide*.¹²³ The kiss on horseback signals an important and yet unstudied shift in the tale from Erec's winning of a bride to their mutual affection and compatibility (60). Here, Enide's horsemanship is neither coercive to horses nor coerced by her father or her husband, but rather a romantic expression of the equestrian identity she shares with Erec. Indeed, Chrétien describes their compatibility in bravery, beauty, and wisdom, as well as the sexual attraction they share (v. 1500-1509). Chrétien even states that never before were two more ideal people joined in marriage. Beyond their stated compatibility and the litany of their personal and moral qualities, the most central factor of their shared kiss in the forest is the fact that both are on horseback. Their kiss demands balance in the saddle because both Erec and Enide must lean from horse to horse in order for their lips to meet. In addition, the horseback kiss reinforces the continuation of equestrian scenes that reflect the compatibility—or at least the togetherness—shared by Erec and Enide.

When this togetherness and intimacy return after Erec's supposed death, Enide also interacts with horses differently. During Erec's recovery from his injuries, Enide

¹²³ For more on the proliferation interpretive quandaries in Chrétien's romances, see Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner's "An Interpreter's Dilemma: Why Are There So Many Interpretations of Chrétien's *Chevalier de la Charrette*?" (*Romance Philology* 40.2 [Nov 1, 1986]):159-180.

intervenes on his behalf with both verbal speech and equestrian action. Because Erec is still weak, Enide leaps into action to defend him against Guivret, “S’onques ot duel, or ot greignor. / Vers Guivret vint, si le saisist / Par la reinne, puis si li dist : / « Chevaliers, maudiz soies tu !” (v. 5020-5023) [If she had felt grief ever before, now it was greater. She moved towards Guivret, seized his reins; and said to him: “Cursed be you, knight!”] Enide intervenes boldly with both verbal speech and equestrian prowess to advocate for her husband, and Erec and Chrétien respond approvingly to her speech. By grabbing the reins of Guivret’s horse, Enide limits his mobility even while she remains unmounted. Indeed, Enide’s unmounted state signals a change in her horsemanship as well as in her role in the narrative.

From this point on Enide either rides leisurely or remains unmounted, which nevertheless allows her to fulfill the new requirements of their relationship as it shifts into a less mobile phase. Even after losing her dappled palfrey during the ordeal at Limors, Enide rides with ease thanks to the mule procured for her:

Enide ont baillie une mure,
 Car perdu ot son palefroi ;
 Mais ne fu pas en grant esfroi,
 N’onques n’i pensa par semblant.
 Bele mule ot et bien amblant,
 Qui a grant aise la porta (v. 5168-5173).

[To Enide they gave a mule, since she had lost her palfrey; but she was not greatly troubled by this and apparently never gave it a thought since she had a fine, sure-footed mule that carried her very comfortably.]

Enide’s equestrianism transitions into a courtly, wifely role where riding is no longer inflected with an urgent duty to flee villains, manage multiple horses, and avoid her husband’s censure. Her new mount, a steady mule, carries her easily. Enide appears to trust the surefooted albeit less fleet animal to carry her to Guivret’s castle at Penuris,

and—although the mule seems a marked demotion from the glorious and mystical palfrey she rode in earlier episodes—their moderate pace and lack of urgency appear to indicate this mount as a perfectly acceptable alternative.

Nevertheless, riding a mule in medieval literature often signaled a change in fortunes or status for a noble and this fact merits acknowledgement in relation to Enide.¹²⁴ Ribémont discusses the perceived change in status indicated by a shift in mount in his chapter “Le cheval littéraire” (218-223). He explains that defeat in or retreat from battle might be highlighted by forcing a knight to choose between mounting a *destrier* bareback and selecting a mule to ride—both unsuitable and potentially humiliating options. Any demotion from a *destrier* or *palefroi* to a “lesser” type of equine, like a mule, might also signify a shift in character identity, narrative pace, or subject matter. A knight may have lost funds temporarily, the narrative may move from combat into peace, or a warrior may adopt a non-military profession. Although Ribémont does not identify riding a mule as a particular demotion for a lady, the mule does reflect a change from the palfreys Enide has previously ridden. Namely, Enide rides a mule when escaping Limors and reconciling with Erec. For her this is a transitional phase before she receives the most remarkable, marvelous palfrey as a gift from Guivret. Enide’s worth—chivalric, moral, or otherwise—is not, therefore, impugned by riding a mule. The mule rather provides a contrast for the subsequent gift of the best horse of the romance, one which elevates Enide as an exemplary courtly lady and horsewoman.

¹²⁴ Sayers highlights the role of the mule’s infertility as a factor in the indignity of a noble riding it (136). As a cross between a horse and a donkey, a mule cannot reproduce. Still, mules were a common means of transportation for medieval knights. Their hardiness made them ideally suited to traveling across mountainous or rocky terrain (Chibnall 22).

After Enide receives the palfrey, Chrétien's explorations of speech—verbal and nonverbal, human and animal, genteel and unrestrained—begin to conclude. At the outset of the *Joie de la cort* episode (v. 5457), Enide verbally acknowledges each baron by name as she prepares to leave Brandigan with Erec, and she receives their acknowledgment in return (v. 6396-6399). When Enide finally returns to a courtly environment, Chrétien reveals her as a silent listener to Erec's tales of their adventures (v. 6463-6487). Interestingly, Erec tells Arthur only of his exploits and not of his wife's participation. Enide's silence combined with Erec's omission of her role indicate a new understanding that both her presence and her speech must serve to support her husband. Burns highlights this erasure of Enide's service:

Erec's tale at the end of the romance simply omits the unflattering incident that Guenevere's story so pointedly records. But his *conte* goes further, erasing the presence of this female protagonist altogether, along with many other women who have populated the romance, including the poem's heroine, Enide. Speaking only of his chivalric encounters and omitting his less courtly moments, Erec retells Guenevere's story according to the terms laid out in Chrétien's prologue. He tells a *conte* about men from which women are absent (164).

Much like the invisibility of horses in literary criticism on *Erec et Enide*, Burns also ignores their absence from Erec's retelling: she comments only on his elimination of Enide. Although Erec has reconciled with his wife and praised her constancy during her ordeal at Limors' castle, he still omits her contributions to his quest when recounting them to Arthur and his court. Though her presence was so integral, her husband has expunged her participation entirely from the record. This reveals Erec's apology to and reconciliation with Enide to be quite feeble. Still, study of Enide's relationship to horses requires consideration of the concurrent deletion of horses from Erec's retelling. In fact, *both* Enide and horses disappear from his public version of their adventures. Erec's

perspective includes only men, not even the horses who carry knights to glory deserve mention. The significant figures in his mind are, revealingly, exclusively human and male, notwithstanding the praise he received at winning horses in battle or the valor onlookers believe he must possess in order to merit beautiful Enide.

The coronation follows Erec's tale and the romance concludes with one last indication of the underlying linguistic material within his romance. Chrétien states:

Or ne porroit langue de boche
 De nul home, tant sache d'art,
 Deviser le tierz ne le quart
 Ne le quint de l'atornement
 Qui fu a son coronement (v. 6694-6698).

[The tongue or lips of any mortal man, no matter how artful, could not describe a third or a quarter or a fifth of the display that was present at his coronation.]

Chrétien seems to nod coyly at the extraverbal speech pervading his tale by citing the insufficiency of language to explain the joy of the coronation. Through linguistic interplay between verbal and nonverbal languages, accessible speech and impenetrable silence, interpretive failures and violent reactions, the romance explores the multifaceted nature of communication and its shortcomings. Spur use, in particular, facilitates the linguistic juxtaposition of Erec and Enide during their quest. Enide's tactful use of spurs seems a consequence of both her silence and her inherent courtliness rather than of an acute understanding of the Rufus method. Conversely, Erec responds to the high-stakes quest by using his spurs violently—more than any other character in the romance—as a way to recover and reassert his masculine chivalric status. During this quest, in which both Erec and Enide seek redemption, only Erec physically dominates his mount.

Meanwhile, Enide remains determined in the face of spousal aggression, dangerous criminals, and supposed widowhood.

The diverse types of speech practiced by Enide—from beleaguered monologue to reticent disapproval, from obedient silence to decisive spurring—reflects a wide verbal and nonverbal vocabulary. Whether communicating with horses, her husband, or a lecherous count, Enide regularly demonstrates her ability to adapt her own speech to suit her environment and those humans and animals within it. Enide’s silence and proximity to horses place her in a process of “becoming horse”. In particular, Chrétien seems to use the obedience demanded by her father and husband to separate Enide from human company and verbal discourse, electing instead to place her with horses in the stables and during the quest.

Enide’s separation from verbal discourse with Erec does not, however, prevent her from employing a broad array of speech through which she may contribute to her husband’s success and establish herself as both a key figure in their quest and a protagonist in her own right. In this romance, speech between the human characters often falls short of clarity: characters misinterpret the speech of others, force others to speak when they wish to remain silent, and use speech to cajole, manipulate, or coerce for personal gain. Enide’s own failed communication with Erec and bitterly regretful monologues, which she delivers with a passion and lucidity missing from their discourse, must not exhaust our consideration of her language. Despite the linguistic limitations imposed by Erec, Enide converses fluently with horses. In the romance, communicating with horses leads to military victories, accompanies a first kiss, and demonstrates filial obedience. Equine language is just as critical as verbal human speech in *Erec et Enide*.

Whether ridden, dominated, cherished, traded, won, given, or stolen, horses “speak” volumes. As indications of valor, worth, indebtedness, or servitude, horses in this romance constitute, however wordlessly, the fabric of Chrétien’s tale and of Erec and Enide’s marriage.

The Giving and Receiving of Horses and Women

Many scholars have been captivated by the marital relationship in *Erec et Enide*. In particular, Enide’s curtailed speech and the threat of violence she perceives if she disobeys her husband’s interdiction have inspired much critical attention. The tale has often been read as an exploration of normative gender roles, of female speech, and of the place of women in medieval society and chivalric romance. Indeed, the quest provides Erec the opportunity to reform Enide into a proper courtly wife and eventual queen.¹²⁵ However, concurrently with Erec’s training, Enide experiences treatment that likens her to the nonhuman or, more specifically, to horses. Her service to her knight-husband allows her to facilitate chivalric action in combat and on the quest road, placing her in the position of horse, not of wife.

Chrétien insists upon a persistent erasure of Enide’s consent throughout the romance in order to explore her role as an object that may be traded, constructed, and possessed by others. Her objectification¹²⁶ relates directly to Erec’s interdiction against

¹²⁵ Burland argues that the crisis of the quest is one of Enide’s subjectivity (175). She argues that because she wants the earth to swallow her up for embarrassment at Erec’s flagging reputation (v. 2492-2500), Enide shows herself to be unprepared for the intensely public responsibilities of a queen. She must, therefore, endure the trials of the quest to prepare herself for her ultimate coronation as Erec’s queen.

¹²⁶ The objectification of Enide develops thanks to the collaboration of men around her. Interestingly, Chrétien places Enide as object of desire for both Galoain and Erec, with marriage as the objective of their conflict over her (McCracken 118-119). This should also recall the erasure of Enide’s consent during the negotiation of her marriage to Erec (120).

her speech, especially if one is operating under the assumption that verbal speech equals agency. Verbal consent certainly plays a central role in marriage in the 12th century. In fact, McCracken argues that Chrétien uses Enide's silence to challenge the new requirement of mutual verbal consent. She states that Enide's invisibility during the marriage negotiations shows the erasure of her consent while simultaneously linking her silence to her highly-prized *sagesse*.¹²⁷

Just as silence aids Enide's interspecies communication, gifts of horses, tack, and armor to men and women facilitate travel, help characters prepare for combat, and reward exemplary beauty, virtue, or prowess. Though still objects, valuable horses receive extensive description and are awarded only to the most deserving characters.

Like Chrétien's exemplary equine gifts, Enide is given as a bride to a superlative knight. Though her autonomy is compromised by this exchange, the favorable union honors them both. Their marriage also involves gifts of a horse and arms, which her father, *li vavasors*, offers so that Erec may win the sparrowhawk contest and establish Enide as the most beautiful lady in the land:

Li ostes respond comme frans :
 « Ja mar en seroiz en espans :
 Bones armes et bêles ai,
 Que volentiers vos presterai.
 Leanz est li hauberz tresliz
 Qui entre .v^c. fu esliz,
 Et chauces ai bones et chieres,
 Cleres et beles et legieres.
 Li hiaumes est et bruns et beax
 Et li escuz fres et noveax.
 Le cheval, l'espee et la lance,
 Tout vos presterai sanz dotance,
 Que ja n'en sera riens a dire » (v. 611-623).

¹²⁷ McCracken explains Chrétien's desire for speech to reinforce the established patriarchal order in *Erec et Enide*. This also resonates with Guinevere's suggestion to delay the kiss of the white stag. Here, a woman intervenes but only to strengthen the existing custom and provide a means to include Erec therein.

[The host replied generously, “You need never be concerned on that account: I have good and beautiful armor that I will gladly lend you. Inside there is a hauberk of woven mail, chosen from among five hundred, and beautiful and expensive greaves, good and new and light; the helmet is similarly good and elegant and the shield brand new. I shall lend you a horse, sword, and lance, without hesitation, so that you need ask for nothing more.”]

By offering a horse and arms to Erec, *li vavasors* reveals his belief in Erec’s prowess and gives his support for his participation in the sparrowhawk contest. He offers items of great price and quality to honor their virtuous recipient. While Erec does not accept the horse or the sword—finding his own already perfectly suited to his needs (v. 624-628)—the gesture made by his future father-in-law mirrors the gift of Enide in marriage.

The marriage negotiations immediately follow the horse, weapon, and armor offered to Erec so that Enide, horses, tack, and weapons are all placed in parallel positions as objects. Just as horses and objects do not consent to their exchange, Enide’s consent is superfluous to her marriage. Enide smiles, but her pleasure does not satisfy the requirement for verbal consent. Her reaction is only an approximation. She is the, “silent object of the homosocial exchange between her father and future husband (...) her silence is the public face of an unexpressed agency that delights in the unexpected fortune of her betrothal to a valiant and courtly husband” (Kinoshita 119). Even in the joyful moment following the revelation of Erec’s name, high birth, and intention to make Enide the queen of three cities (v. 650-690), Enide remains silent.

Chrétien explains her lack of response as evidence that she approves of their advantageous union. By eliding her speech, Chrétien might seem complicit in her persistent state of silence. This, I believe, would be a mistaken reading. The proximity and resemblance of Enide to horses—she is led, follows commands, eschews verbal

speech, and is traded as a commodity from father to husband—establishes a rapprochement between Enide and the equine. Though she does become less autonomous in this patriarchal exchange, she also becomes, in a way, more equine: noble, delicate, silent.

In addition to gifts of arms, armor, a horse, and a beautiful young bride, Erec receives many courtly gifts throughout the romance. When he and Enide visit King Lac, he receives that include an expensive palfrey, a pair of hunting dogs, and a Spanish charger:

Le jor ot Erec mainz presentz
 De chevaliers et de borjois
 De l'un un palefroi norrois
 Et de l'autre une cope d'or ;
 Cil li présente un oistor sor,
 Cil un brachet, cil un levrier,
 Et cil autres un esprevier,
 Cil un corrant destrier d'Espagne,
 Cil un escu, cil une ensaigne,
 Cil une espee, cil un hiaume.
 Onques nuns rois en son rëaume
 Ne fu plus liement veüz
 N'a greignor joie receüz (v. 2384-2396).

[Erec received many presents that day from knights and burghers: from one a Norwegian palfrey, and from another a golden cup; one gave him a red goshawk, one a pointer, one a greyhound, and another a sparrowhawk, another a Spanish charger; this one a shield, that one a banner, this one a sword and that one a helmet.]

Erec is flooded with gifts during this return to Carrant. Knights, lords, and bourgeois offer him gifts that evoke hunting, combat, and nobility. Moreover, his warm reception bears witness to his sterling reputation and these gifts of horses reflect the collective jubilation over the return of their beloved prince. Here, beautiful and valuable horses do not reward action but rather Erec's innate virtues.

In addition to acknowledging the recipient's inherent virtue, gifts in *Erec et Enide* demonstrate the largesse of the giver. Erec and Enide receive horses both because of their outstanding qualities and also to illustrate the generosity of their hosts. Indeed, the mere fact of receiving horses as gifts does not necessarily single one out as virtuous.¹²⁸ Arthur, for example, distributes horses and expensive garments as gifts to all his knights and barons in the last scene of the romance. He gives in a volume almost impossible to comprehend: each of the 400 knights he dubs receives three horses and two pairs of robes (v. 6652-6658). Then, as a final gesture, Arthur gives still more horses, weapons, and money to the banquet guests. Taking Chrétien's calculations of over 100 guests per table and five enormous rooms filled with tables, we understand the recipients of his generosity to be in the tens of thousands (v. 6917-6927).¹²⁹ Arthur's generosity reflects his nobility and also shows his love for Erec, whose coronation the feast commemorates. The horses here do not reflect upon those individual guests who receive them, but rather illustrate Arthur's limitless wealth, generosity, and desire to honor the newly-crowned King Erec.

Outside of kingly *largesse*, Chrétien's characters also use horses to repay debts or remunerate others for their labor. After *li premerains vers*, for example, Erec gives *li vavassors* five pack horses and precious goods as recompense for armor and Enide's hand in marriage:

¹²⁸ Later in this chapter we will explore the effect of episodes when extraordinary or even marvelous horses are given to Enide on the reader or listener's perception of her value and her particular role in society. First, however, I will concentrate on the function of normal horses as gifts before considering those exceptional ones.

¹²⁹ Chrétien states that if he claimed there were 500 tables at the feast his audience it would seem an obvious lie, so he instead claims that the five great rooms were filled to capacity with tables. The implication seems that 500 tables might be the true figure, but that it would be perceived as a lie nonetheless. As such, we might also consider the number of guests to whom Arthur gives gifts to be in the vicinity of 50,000. While this number of recipients is certainly incredible—whether for medieval audiences, as Chrétien acknowledges, or for contemporary readers—we are certainly in the realms of romance and fantasy.

Quant li baisier[s] dou cerf fu pris
 Lonc la costume dou pais,
 Erec, comme cortois et frans,
 De son oste fu en espans :
 De ce que promis li avoit
 Covent mentir ne li voloit.
 Mout li tient bien son convenant,
 Qu'il li envoia maintenant
 Cinq somiers sejournez et gras,
 Chargiez de robes et de dras,
 De boqueranz et d'escarlates,
 De mars d'or et d'argent en plates,
 De vairs, de gris, de sebelins,
 Et de porpres et d'osterins (v. 1841-1854).

[When the kiss of the stag had been bestowed according to the tradition of the land, Erec, like a courtly and generous man, was concerned for his poor host: he did not want to neglect his promised undertaking to him. He kept his promise very well, for he immediately send him five packhorses, rested and well-fleshed, loaded with clothing and cloth, with buckram and scarlet, with gold marks and silver bullion, vair and miniver and sable and precious oriental fabrics.]

Following the white stag hunt and kiss awarded to Enide as the most beautiful woman, Erec can finally return *li vavasors'* generosity. Interestingly, Erec gives pack horses carrying rich fabrics, furs, and silks. The pack horses both physically carry and represent the movement of rich materials. These pack horses represent utility more than nobility and chivalric prowess. Though less valuable than other gifted *destriers* or *palefrois*, they still represent significant monetary value and transport crucial equipment for trade, combat, and travel.

The payment of performers at Erec and Enide's wedding points again to the monetary value horses represent. Interestingly, these *jongleurs* have differing opinions about the best way to receive their pay. One prefers money, and the other wants to have horses (v. 2105-2114). The cross-over between a horse and the value he represents

reinforces his role as a desirable status symbol, not merely as physical embodiment of the money necessary to purchase him.

Excluding horses given as reward or payment, horses change hands following victory or defeat in combat. In particular, this scenario arises when Keu le seneschal takes Gauvain's famous horse, Gringalet, "por envoiseüre" (v. 3950-3958) [as a joke]. Keu's joke blurs the lines of chivalric propriety and even resembles theft, especially considering Gringalet's reputation as an extraordinary mount throughout Arthurian literature. After defeating Keu, Erec shows his superlative *courtoisie* by respecting the ownership of the horse. He allows Keu to return his "borrowed" mount to his rightful owner, thus forsaking his prize and diverging from the custom of awarding the defeated knight's horse to the victor. Erec often achieves victory in battle (v. 2904-2913; 3071-3075; 4044-4068), frequently claiming the equine spoils of his superlative prowess. Although Erec reneges on his right to Gringalet, horses in *Erec et Enide* are often currency with which men reward each other for talents at violence.

Discussion of horses given, won, and stolen, has thus far centered on male agents of such transactions. However, although not involved in combat or theft, women do receive horses as gifts. In particular, Enide receives several exemplary horses by which Chrétien establishes her widespread association with the equine by others in her community. Many characters of high social standing deem her worthy of expensive gifts, both horses and dresses.

The examples of her uncle and of King Guivret will illuminate these gifts and place into context the selection of horses instead of dresses as the most fitting gifts for the lovely Enide. As her uncle and the highest noble in Enide's town, the count wants to give

her a dress before she leaves for Arthur's court. He asks his other niece to choose her loveliest gown for Enide, but Erec refuses, stating that he prefers Guinevere to provide any new dresses to his future bride (v. 1370-1375). As an alternative, Enide's cousin offers three of her own palfreys:

Quand la damoisele l'oï,
 Si li respont et dit : « Ohi,
 Sire, quant vos en itel guise
 En blanc chainse et en sa chemise
 Ma cosine en volez mener,
 Un autre don li vuil doner.
 Quant vos ne volez entresait
 Que nule de mes robes ait.
 Je ai trois palefroiz moût buens,
 Onques meillors n'ot rois ne cuens.
 Jn sor, un vair et un baucent.
 Janz mentir, la ou en a cent,
 N'en a pas un moillor dou vair :
 Li oisel qui volent par l'air
 Ne vont plus tost dou palefroi ;
 Et si n'est pas de grant esfroi :
 Tex est con a pucele estuet,
 Uns enfes chevauchier le puet.
 Qu'il n'est ombrages ne restis.
 Ne mort, ne fiert, ne n'est ragis.
 Qui moillor quiert, ne set qu'il vuet ;
 Qui le chevauche, ne s'en duet,
 Ainz va plus aise et plus soëf
 Que s'il estoit en une nef (v. 1381-1398).

[When the damsel heard this, she answered him and said: "Well then, good sir, since you wish to take my cousin with you in only the white dress and shift, I want to give her another gift, since you absolutely do not want her to have any dress of mine. I have three very fine palfreys: no king or count ever had a better one. One is sorrel, one dapple-grey, and one has white stockings. In all truth, from among a hundred there would be found none better than the grey: the birds that fly through the air go no more quickly than that palfrey. No one ever saw it bolt or rear; a child can ride it. It is just right for a maiden, for it is neither skittish nor stubborn, nor does it bite, nor strike, nor get violent. Whoever seeks a better one does not know what he wants; whoever rides it does not suffer, but rather goes more easily and gently than if he were on a ship."]

This is the only time a woman gives a horse in this romance. Enide's cousin insists upon the quality of the horses she gives. In particular, the *vair*¹³⁰ is equal to the horse of any king or count. Her cousin describes this horse as both agile and gentle, both brave and docile. In sum, this horse is an ideal example of the obedience that Rufus strove to produce through his training system. The horse perfectly combines battle-readiness with suitability for a woman to handle. As such, the *vair* palfrey also evokes the dichotomy within Enide between social graces and, conversely, acumen with horses fresh from combat. Although he is well-suited to his noble and capable *équestrienne*, the *vair* palfrey is nevertheless not the most outstanding horse she receives.

Enide receives a still-more-extraordinary palfrey as a gift from Guivret following her reconciliation with Erec and before the *Joie de la cort*. Not only is this horse the most beautiful of this romance, it also stands out as exemplary within the medieval French literary tradition:

Guivrez de monter les semont
 Maintenant sanz nule demore.
 Ja ne cuide veoir cele ore
 Enide qu'il soient monté.
 Un palefroi de grant bonté,
 Soëf ambient, gent et bien fait,
 Li a l'on fors au perron trait ;
 Li palefroiz fu beax et buens,
 Ne valoit pas moins que li suens,
 Qui estoit remés a Limors.
 Cil estoit vairs et cil ert sors,
 Mais la teste estoit d'autre guise :
 Partie estoit par tel devise
 Que tote ot blanche [l']une joe
 Et l'autre noire comme choe ;

¹³⁰ The term *vair*—or “dappled” in English—refers to the type of bluish grey fur used to trim garments as well as to a dappled pattern of a horse's coat. While this may apply to various horse colors—from bay to chestnut to grey—the typical association with dappled coats is with greys who have an almost white base color overlaid with dark grey spots. Whatever the exact hue, we may be certain the best of these three palfreys is a type of grey (Sayers 135).

Entre deus avoit une ligne
 Plus vert que n'est fuelle de vigne,
 Qui departoit le blanc dou noir.
 Dou lorain vos sai dire voir,
 Et dou peitral et de la sele,
 Que l'uevre fu gentix et bele :
 Toz li peitrax et li lorains
 Fu d'or et d'esmeraudes plains.
 La sele fu d'autre meniere,
 Coverte d'une porpre chiere.
 Li arçon estoient d'yvoire,
 S'i fu entaillie l'estoire
 Coment Eneas vint de Troie,
 Coment a Cartage a grant joie
 Dido en son lit le reçut,
 Coment Eneas la déçut,
 Coment ele por lui s'ocist,
 Coment Eneas puis conquist
 Laurente et tote Lombardie
 Et Lavine, qui fu s'amie.
 Sutis fu l'uevre et bien taillie,
 Toute a fin or apareillie.
 Uns brez taillierres, qui la fist,
 Au taillier plus de set anz mist,
 Qu'a nule autre oevre n'entendi ;
 Ce ne sai je qu'il la vendi,
 Mais avoir en dut grant deserte.
 Or ot bien Enide la perte
 Dou vair palefroï restoree,
 Quant de cesti fu honoree.
 Li palefroiz li fu bailliez
 Si richement apareilliez,
 Et cele monte liement ;
 Puis montent tuit isnelement
 Li seignor et li escuier (v. 5304-5353).

[Guivret urged them to mount up straight away, without delay. Enide thought she would never see the moment when they would be mounted. An excellent palfrey, sure-footed, handsome, and well-built, was brought out to the entrance steps for her. The palfrey was fine and gentle; it was worth no less than her own which had stayed at Limors. That one was dapple-grey and this was sorrel, but the head coloring was unique: it was divided in such a way that it had one cheek completely white and the other as black as a crow. Between the two there was a line, greener than a vine-leaf, that separated the black from the white. The workmanship, I can tell you truly, of the bridle, and of the breastplate and the saddle, was fine and

beautiful; the entire breastplate and the bridle were full of emeralds. The saddle was made in another way, covered with expensive cloth. The saddle-bows were of ivory, and carved upon them was the story of how Aeneas came from Troy, how in Carthage with great joy Dido received him in her bed, how Aeneas betrayed her, how she killed herself because of him, and how Aeneas later conquered Laurentum and all of Lombardy and Lavinia, who was his lover. The workmanship was delicate and the carving fine, all embellished with fine gold. A Breton sculptor, who had made it, spent more than seven years at the carving, for he worked on nothing else; I don't know what he sold it for, but he must have been richly rewarded. Enide was very well repaid for the loss of her palfrey when she was honored with this one. The palfrey was given to her richly fitted out in this fashion, and she mounted it joyfully; then the lords and the squires speedily mounted too.]

Even the horse's color is extraordinary, with one black cheek and one white and a brilliant green stripe between them.¹³¹ The palfrey also wears an ornate halter and breastplate encrusted with gold and emeralds and a saddle covered in luxurious purple fabric. The saddle trees and pommel are ivory in which a Breton sculptor engraved the story of Aeneas. The trees show the tryst between Aeneas and Dido and her subsequent suicide, followed by his conquests and his mistress Lavinia. Chrétien states that the palfrey and equipment were so honorable that they assuage any regret over the loss of the previous grey palfrey.

While male knights might be the typical recipients of horses as gifts or rewards, the palfreys Enide receives show that other characters associate her with horses despite

¹³¹ In his brief study of Enide's horses, Thomas D. Hill uses Salernitan color theory to unpack the colors of the horse Guivret gives to Enide. He explains that green was believed to be the middle point between white and black, and therefore that the marvelous palfrey she receives symbolizes her need to achieve balance between being too passive or too outspoken (527). See "Enide's Colored Horse and Salernitan Color Theory (*Erec et Enide*, lines 5268-81)" (*Romania* 108.4 [1987]): 523-527. Additionally, Brian J. Reilly discusses the issues of chromatic realism explicit in the horse's odd coloration, as well as possible literary allusions or symbolism which might explain its oddity in his article "Enide's Colored Horse and Color Theories: *Erec et Enide* Lines 5268-81" (*MLN* 125.4 [2010]): 846-860. Douglas Kelly reads the horse's stripe as an analog for the emerald scepter. He reads the horse's odd coloring as an announcement of the eventual coronation and his obedient behavior as an indication that Erec and Enide will reconcile and repair their marriage. See Kelly's book *The Art of Medieval French Romance* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 260-261.

being a woman and not a knight. The fact that she has a palfrey of superlative beauty who also wears expensive tack shows that others deem her worthy of knightly gifts. Moreover, Enide's horse links her, albeit implicitly, to Camille in the *Roman d'Eneas*. Each of these two women rides the most exemplary horse of her respective tale, a horse to which each poet devotes a long description that confirms the superiority of the women and the horses to all others.

Ecofeminism and the Making/Breaking of Enide

Throughout *Erec et Enide*, relationships with horses reinforce the social, marital, and personal status of both protagonists. In particular, Enide's relationship to horses bears witness to the changes in her environment as she first lives under her father's roof, then marries Erec, experiences a sort of purgatory in her marital quest, and finally returns to court for her coronation. These extreme shifts in social standing and physical environment reveal changes in her proximity to and communication with horses over the course of the romance.

Enide's juxtaposition with horses anticipates the ecofeminist identification of male domination of women, animals, and the environment. At its core, ecofeminist theory exposes dualisms within patriarchal societies that marginalize beings and concepts outside the male and rational. Unlike other philosophical traditions, ecofeminist analyses can identify the domination and abuse of women and animals in *Erec et Enide* and throughout courtly literature. Ecofeminist theorist Carol Adams links the patriarchal, misogynistic marginalization and domination of women to that of animals and the environment (127). Her arguments against the marginalization of female agency, the

exploitation of animals, and the destruction of the natural world are as extreme as they are useful.¹³² The conditions upon which men gain and exercise their privilege undermine alternative ways of being that lie outside their gender and species.¹³³ Pervasive discriminatory patterns of sexism and speciesism identified by ecofeminists establish the injustices done to women and animals not benefiting from the privilege of being born human males.

As a means to end these abuses, ecofeminists argue for identification with animals by acknowledging their distinct—but nevertheless sovereign—ways of being. Adams argues that female and animal being(s) have been systematically ignored and marginalized on the arbitrary basis of difference, “From this process of identification with animals’ experience as instruments arises an ecofeminist argument on behalf of animals: it is not simply that we participate in a value hierarchy in which we place humans over animals and that we must not accede rights to animals, but that we have failed to understand what it means to be a ‘being’” (129). Identification, therefore, constitutes an important method for repairing the injustices done to women and to animals.

This identification of women with animals expressed throughout much ecofeminist theory crosses also into fiction, to include literary characters like Enide. Experiencing persistent violence, control, and objectification on the part of men, Enide

¹³² The passion of ecofeminist critics is often revealed in their emotional responses to and analyses of the shared persecution of women, animals, and the environment. For more on the divisions between scholars advocating restraint and “objectivism” and those ecofeminists who have reclaimed their emotions as part of their politics and philosophy, see Susan Fraiman’s article “Pussy Panic versus Liking Animals: Tracking Gender in Animal Studies” (*Critical Inquiry* 39.1 [2012]): 89-115.

¹³³ For further discussion on the tenets of ecofeminism and their opposition to Cartesian rationalism or its strict dualisms, see Luc Ferry’s chapter “In Praise of Difference, or The Incarnations of Leftism: The Case of Ecofeminism” in *The New Ecological Order* (Trans. Carry Volk. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 108-126.

becomes reduced to the status of those horses around her through forced silence and subjugation to male control. Men unapologetically use Enide as a tool for their own advancement. This state of becoming horse begins in *li premiers vers* when she serves in the stables of her father's home. As Enide demonstrates silent obedience to her father, the poet states that Enide behaves, "comme dame bien enseingnie" (v. 2380) [like a well-trained woman]. The language surrounding Enide supports a reading of her character as one who behaves herself, follows directions, and knows her place.

This language also insinuates a sort of noble training whereby Enide learns to carry herself properly and to honor her family. Like a horse facilitating a knight's victory in battle, Enide alone can ensure the fortunes and future of her family. If she can behave with the grace and nobility endowed in her by Nature, she will gain Erec as a husband. Just as horses carry with them an inherent nobility that must be accompanied by obedience to their masters, Enide's grace and loveliness must be tempered by loyalty and submission to her husband. Yet Enide is also of a lower class than Erec, who is not only noble but royal. She therefore finds herself in a doubly-inferior position—both of birth and gender—that places her at the mercy of men and of those with more power and status. At no point in the narrative may we expect a reckoning of the unjust treatment Enide experiences. As a woman of lower birth, Enide becomes a beast of burden and must serve.

In conclusion, the marginalization and domination Enide experiences at male hands occur due to spousal punishment of her imprudent speech and also arise in conjunction with her inferior social status, her gender, and her closeness to other nonhuman species. Enide falls consistently on the disadvantaged side of the societal

binaries—male/female, rational/emotional, and human/nonhuman—established and argued against by ecofeminist theorists. Nevertheless, proximity to horses also affords Enide certain liberties. Enide demonstrates her innate gifts as a squire, equestrian, and supportive spouse to a knight who desperately needs her service and *literal* guidance through the uncharted territory of their quest.

Being close to horses concurrently gives Enide power and takes it away. This relationship makes her mobile while on horseback yet cloisters her in the stables doing barn chores. Her management of horses demonstrates her obedience to her husband—a valuable quality in a wife—but also serves as penance when she offends Erec by suggesting she regrets their marriage. The same proximity to horses—dubbed by Rufus as “the most noble of beasts”—elevates her above her family’s poverty and also lowers her into a position of servitude as she performs the tasks of a lowly squire. Enide inhabits a dichotomy whereby her social class makes her eligible for service as a squire but her intrinsic nobility also links her to horses themselves. Indeed, the relationship between nobility and equestrianism was universal: the horse served as a marker for nobility and, in return, the noble, courtly rider selected only the most elite horses in talent, breeding, and beauty. Enide, too, has been selected for her suitability to Erec, for the qualities she possesses that elevate her and, in turn, will elevate all associated with her. She is also honored by gifts of horses, including the most expensive palfreys and tack in the tale. Enide may be a servant, but she makes Erec a king, just as gifted palfreys indicate her reputation as an exemplary courtly lady and horsewoman.

Speech also connects Enide to the equine and the animal. By expressing her disapproval of his *recreantise*, Enide makes herself more animal. Her unrestrained speech

recalls John of Salisbury's theories linking animality to a lack of verbal control and also provides the impetus for the recovery of Erec's good social standing on their shared quest. Indeed, as a literary character, Enide demonstrates how a relationship to horses can contribute to the development of character and the advancement of plot. Enide's horsemanship is a source of value to her husband and within their shared society as they rise towards the throne. The resolution to Chrétien's first romance illustrates Enide's return to the indoor environments that often contain medieval female literary characters. Here, she practices inoffensive courtly speech, salutes courtiers, and stands silently beside her husband during their coronation. The courtly conclusion to the romance nevertheless belies the equestrian material which defines it. Indeed, none of *Erec et Enide* would be possible without the alternately terrified and determined young girl who—while life as she knows it slips through her fingertips—still finds the courage to care for horses with tenderness, ride efficaciously yet with compassion, and communicate with horses using the nonverbal equine language she speaks fluently.

CHAPTER 3

The Lives, Deaths, and Legacies of Camille and Panteselee

Our bodies, ourselves; bodies are maps of power and identity. Cyborgs are no exception. A cyborg body is not innocent; it was not born in a garden; it does not seek unitary identity and so generate antagonistic dualisms without end (or until the world ends); it takes irony for granted. One is too few, and two is only one possibility. Intense pleasure in skill, machine skill, ceases to be a sin, but an aspect of embodiment. The machine is not an *it* to be animated, worshipped, and dominated. The machine is us, our processes, an aspect of our embodiment. We can be responsible for machines; *they* do not dominate or threaten us. We are responsible for boundaries; we are they.

-Donna J. Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto"¹³⁴

At the English court of Henry II Plantagenêt and Eleanor of Aquitaine, several writers under the patronage of the king and queen adapted and translated classical epics to propose the heroes of ancient Greece and Rome as distant ancestors of the royal family.

Three of these voluminous literary works now known as the *romans antiques*¹³⁵—the *Roman de Thebes* (circa 1150), *Roman d'Eneas* (circa 1156-1160), and Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (circa 1165)¹³⁶—combine to form the *trilogie antique*, a

¹³⁴ Donna J. Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 180.

¹³⁵ *Le roman d'Alexandre*—written by Alexandre de Bernay, more often known as Alexandre de Paris, circa 1170—is the only romance often identified as a *roman antique* but omitted from the *trilogie antique*. Alexandre de Paris does invent an Amazon figure, Thalestris, with whom Alexandre has a dalliance, though because she does not wage war on horseback like the Amazons in *Eneas* and *Troie* she falls outside the scope of this chapter.

¹³⁶ I have selected the recent Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Françoise Vieillard edition of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Le Roman de Troie* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1998). However, Baumgartner and Vieillard cannot present the full 30,000 verses. The remaining appearances of Panteselee appear in volume 4 of the Léopold Contans edition (Paris: Firmin Didot & Cie, 1908), 47-61, 109-158; or v. 23781-24070, 24954-25849. For *Eneas*, I am using the Aimé Petit edition, *Le Roman d'Eneas* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1997).

progression of epics associated thematically with Wace's *Brut* that established the ancient ancestry of the Plantagenêt dynasty (8).¹³⁷

These poets reinvented their parent text or texts by mapping the courtly and feudal customs of the 11th and 12th centuries onto classical heroes and heroines.¹³⁸ The rewriting of ancient myth into medieval social structures situates the *trilogie antique* at the intersection of both time periods and societies.¹³⁹ In particular, the *Roman d'Eneas* and the *Roman de Troie* feature Amazons to solidify the national myth-building of their tales.¹⁴⁰ Karma Lochrie explains:

Whatever the Amazon's relationship to the Trojan myth of European origins, she functioned in medieval romances and chronicles as an atavistic point of reference for emerging narratives of nation. As a

¹³⁷ The term *trilogie antique*, along with the most recent work on dating the romances, appears in Francine Mora-Lebrun, "Introduction," *Le Roman de Thèbes* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1995), 6-9. In his edition of *Eneas*, Aimé Petit presents different dates for *Eneas* and *Troie*, circa 1160 and exactly 1165, respectively. Regardless of the exact year, both were composed during Eleanor's reign as Queen Consort of England between 1154 and 1189.

¹³⁸ Abby Wettan Kleinbaum characterizes these medievalized epic poems as a "complete recasting of the Troy story into the idiom of the medieval world" (51). See her book *The War Against the Amazons* (New York: New Press, 1983). Similarly, Emmanuèle Baumgartner states that Benoît in particular, "permet une réflexion sur le devenir des civilisations" (16). See her chapter, "Statut et usage du légendaire troyen," in *Contes de Troie et d'Alexandre*, eds. Laurence Harf-Lancner, Laurence Mathey-Maille, and Michelle Szkilnik (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2006). For a broad perspective on the Amazons in classical myths, see Mary R. Lefkowitz's *Women in Greek Myth* (2nd Ed. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). Her first chapter, "Princess Ida and the Amazons" (1-13), notes the principal transgression of these female warriors as the one which separates them from domesticity and motherhood (12). Familially and reproductively Other, these women refuse the confines of normative Greek femininity. However, Lefkowitz also notes that characters in the *Illiad* do not always make a firm distinction between men's and women's roles. In particular, Andromache gives Hector's horses grain and pours out wine for them as a way to serve the husband to whom she's devoted. In this instance, Andromache's squirely service to her husband mirrors that of Enide to Erec. Both women extend their wifely duties to the horses who facilitate their husbands' military or chivalric careers, not to mention ensure their physical safety (31). William Blake Tyrell follows this study with his own that posits Athenian marital domesticity as the opposite of Amazon bellicose femininity. See his book *Amazons: A Study in Athenian Mythmaking* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

¹³⁹ In addition to the intersections of epochs, societies, and families, Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner argues that Benoît intertwines past, present, and future violences with memory in order to instruct, rather than simply to ingratiate, his Plantagenêt patrons (366-367). See her article, "Remembering the Trojan War: Violence Past, Present, and Future in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*" (*Speculum* 90:2 [April 2015]): 366-390.

¹⁴⁰ The *Roman de Thebes* does not feature any women warriors or Amazons. Jocaste, Antigone, and Ismene ride horses when they are chosen as envoys from Thebes to speak with the Greek generals to negotiate for peace. Their expensive horses receive brief mention to depict them as courtly ladies worthy of their knightly suitors.

boundary-crossing figure who transgressed both gender codes and sexual mores, the Amazon was safely positioned in abject relation to contemporary chivalric codes and national myths.¹⁴¹

Amazon marginality helps the poets delineate the national boundaries of these foundational myths. In other words, “The Centaurs and Amazons of ancient Greece established the limits of the centred polis of the Greek male human by their disruption of marriage and boundary pollutions of the warrior with animality and woman” (Haraway 180). Indeed, the medieval literary Amazons Camille and Panteselee oppose the male human with their femininity and their identitary bonds with horses. Still, Camille and Panteselee become heroes despite their alterity. They gain superlative horses, jousting talent, and praise for their ability as military leaders.¹⁴² Moreover, the expanding roles afforded to female characters may also signal each poet’s desire to gain favor with his powerful Plantagenêt patron, Eleanor of Aquitaine.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Karma Lochrie, “Amazons at the Gates,” *Heterosyncracies: Female Sexuality When Normal Wasn’t* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 104. Lochrie also explains how the Amazon figure provokes excitement and fear by rejecting male governance and using military skill to reinforce and defend their matriarchal society. Indeed, even the Amazon name evokes their reputation as sexual predators who sought out men for both pleasure and procreation, rejected or killed any male offspring, and removed a breast to facilitate fighting (103). Interestingly, however, neither Camille nor Panteselee appear to have had a breast removed.

¹⁴² In the *Aeneid*, Camilla appears as an *aspera virgo*, or terrible virgin. See Virgil, *L’Énéide*, Ed. Henri Goelzer, Vol. 2. (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1967), v. 664. For more on Virgil’s description of Camille, see Jean-Charles Huchet’s chapter “Camille” in *Le roman médiéval* (Paris: PUF, 1984), 60-80, as well as Kleinbaum (26-30). The *Eneas* poet and Benoît reject the brevity and hyperbole of their Amazons’ initial appearances and in favor of fully-developed characters. While this classical antecedent falls outside the purview of my study of female equestrianism in literary sources—due both to the period and my decision to focus solely on characters granted fully developed portraits by their poets—many studies do trace the links between medieval versions of the *Aeneid* and their Latin inspiration. For more on these relationships, see Christopher Baswell’s chapter “The romance *Aeneid*” in his own *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the twelfth century to Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 168-219.

¹⁴³ Unfortunately for the poetry of this study, no viable accounts exist to prove Eleanor of Aquitaine rode her horse into battle during the Second Crusade (1145-1149). Michael Evans explains that all such claims are predicated upon the accuracy of a single Byzantine chronicler, Niketas Choniates, who was born several years after Eleanor and Louis’s visit to Constantinople in 1147 (23). In fact, his *Historia* does not specify whether the woman warrior in question was Eleanor of Aquitaine, nor whether she was even French or royal (24). See Evans’ article, “Penthesilea on the Second Crusade: Eleanor of Aquitaine the Amazon queen of Niketas Choniates?” (*Crusades* 8.1 [2009]): 23-30.

Despite the greater attention paid to the Amazons by the *Eneas* poet and Benoît, critical responses to Camille and Panteselee and have concentrated on their unusual combination of female gender and military prowess, but their relationships with horses merit more attention. In particular, Huchet's chapter on Camille—against which I will argue—posits Camille as an ambiguously gendered figure. Despite Huchet's arguments to the contrary, the Amazons remain ideally feminine while demonstrating notable difference from other female literary characters by pursuing warfare and renown instead of marriage and motherhood. Their military prowess both differentiates Amazons from stereotypical courtly women and encourages their comparison to male knights. However, the particular material relationship between an Amazon knight and her horse has remained unstudied.

The relationships between these woman and their horses become a crucial aspect of their characterization and—when combined with beauty and virtue—a source of their value to society. This chapter considers the ways Camille, the virginal Amazon-like¹⁴⁴ warrior, and Panteselee, the queen of Femenie, gain power, autonomy, and public renown through mounted combat.

The relationship between such Amazons and their horses will provide a new optic through which to evaluate and understand these warrior women. In this chapter I will first consider their hybrid material bodies whose horseflesh, metal armor, weapons, furs, and rich textiles signify their equestrian talent as a combination of military prowess and

¹⁴⁴ Although Camille is treated as an Amazon in the *Roman d'Eneas*, Lochrie reminds us that she is only identified by the poet as being “like an Amazon” (117). Because she functions as an Amazon in the tale and is often discussed as such in secondary criticism, I will use the same term even though it does not technically apply to a queen of the Volsci (v .4047), an Italic tribe often in conflict with the Roman Republic.

femininity. Second, I will examine their leadership ability as they command male and female troops from the backs of their horses, all while fighting and jousting in their own right. Their leadership is anchored in mounted-ness, and they also joust as well as, if not better than, the most formidable male warriors. Lastly, I will examine the male opponents who denounce their female chivalry, the way the women respond to male insults, and the final battles that lead to their deaths. In these exchanges societal anxieties about female horsemanship and combat finally catch up to Camille and Panteselee. Male fears about a castrating female warrior—one whose very presence on the battlefield embodies emasculation or even death—lead men to destroy the Amazon threat.

Throughout this chapter I will correlate the Amazons with their horses, armor¹⁴⁵, troops, and even their postmortem legacies. The binaries destabilized by these medieval figures recall the junctures at which Haraway locates her postmodern cyborg. The cyborg transgresses and troubles Cartesian dualisms—human/animal, organic/machine, and physical/non-physical oppositions—as a means to resist and reverse patriarchal control (“Cyborg” 151-153). Unlike the cyborgs common to contemporary science fiction, Haraway explains, “A cyborg is a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction” (149). She would seem to extend cyborg status to humans like Camille and Panteselee when she argues, “By the late twentieth century, our time, a mythic time, we are all chimeras, theorized and fabricated hybrids of machine and organism; in short, we are cyborgs” (150). Like their

¹⁴⁵ To supplement descriptions of Amazon, Greek, and Trojan armor in *Eneas* and *Troie*, see Charles Henry Ashdown’s book *British and Continental Arms and Armour* (New York: Dover 1970). Of its hundreds of illustrations, the most useful are those in chapter 5, “The Norman Period to 1180” (65-80) followed by chapter 6, “The Chain Mail Period, 1180-1250” (81-96) and chapter 7 “Chain Mail Reinforced, 1250-1325” (97-138).

postmodern cyborg descendants, Camille and Panteselee are only partly human, their hybrid bodies rejecting essentialist notions of humanity, species, and materiality. Meanwhile, opposition to patriarchal control makes Camille and Panteselee cyborg in a way their male opponents can never be more than simply hybrid.

Due to her particularly violent resistance to male control, I have privileged Haraway's cyborg and the "transgressed boundaries, potent fusions" it both embodies and advocates in my examination of the Amazons Camille and Panteselee (154). Cyborg theory, however, tends to lose sight of the animal component and interspecies bonding that characterize any Amazon cyborg. In a later essay, however, Haraway expands her cyborg to accommodate animal concerns and materialist feminist arguments.¹⁴⁶ She exhorts her readers to acknowledge nonhuman animals' "subjectivities, histories, and material lives" (162). By including animals in cyborg theory, Haraway points indirectly to the identitary impact of Amazon equestrian interactions.

The human-animal-machine interactions that characterize the cyborg also epitomize the Amazon. Karen Barad theorizes such interspecies and inter-material exchanges as "intra-activity".¹⁴⁷ Like the discursive interspecies interactions explored by Vicki Hearne,¹⁴⁸ Barad explains the overlapping yet distinct agency of beings and materials. She connects matter to its agency through the practice of relating with other matter, stating, "matter is not a fixed essence; rather, matter is substance in its intra-active

¹⁴⁶ See Donna Haraway's chapter "Otherworldly Conversations, Terran Topics, Local Terms" in Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman's edited volume, *Material Feminisms* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 157-187.

¹⁴⁷ Karen Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of how Matter Comes to Matter," also in *Material Feminisms*, 120-154.

¹⁴⁸ In chapter 1 I examine Hearne's analysis of animal trainers' relationships to their pupils as dialectical relationships into which all participants contribute agency. See Hearne's monograph *Adam's Task: Calling Animals by Name* (New York: Knopf, 1986).

becoming—not a thing but a doing, a congealing of agency” (146). Haraway and Barad both implicate beings, their nonhuman affiliates, and their surrounding organic and inorganic materials in endless interspecies, intra-active exchanges that characterize not only each Amazon life cycle but also each subsequent adaptation of the Amazon cyborg figure.

The popularity of Amazon cyborg figures in the medieval French *trilogie antique* points to the relevance of Haraway’s unstable boundaries and false binaries for the premodern period. The postmodern intra-active, multi-material assemblages she posits also define medieval literary Amazons. Just as Haraway argues the cyborg is “oppositional, utopian, and completely without innocence” (151), Camille and Panteselee are contingent, transgressive, and dangerous. Their womanly bodies, aggressive warhorses, shining armor, expensive garments, and deadly weapons trouble and transgress all material, species, and gender boundaries.

Hybrid Knights

The introductory description of each Amazon queen reveals a fundamental hybridity.¹⁴⁹ The *Roman d’Eneas* and the *Roman de Troie* emphasize the commingling of Camille and Panteselee, respectively, with their horses and knightly equipment. War horses, battle armor, lances, and swords dress their bodies and define their societal roles. In this way, Amazon bodies lack independence, forming intra-active bonds with the surrounding

¹⁴⁹ The poets make full use of medieval *ars poetriae*, both *effictio*, or physical description, and *notatio*, or character description. In particular, the *Eneas* poet’s *descriptio* applies the common order that moves downward from the head both to Camille and to her marvelous horse. For more on the use of *descriptio* to establish Camille as a marginal and transgressive figure, and on the role of the extensive death scene to highlight the premature end to her life and exploits, see Kathryn Marie Talarico’s article “*Fundare domum*: Medieval Descriptive Modes and the *Roman d’Eneas*” (*Yale French Studies* 61 [(1981)]: 202-224).

organic and inorganic components of their assemblage. Amazon women use superlative equipment to limit their vulnerability to attack, both because they are knights and because they are women engaging in violent and dangerous warfare.

As female warriors, Amazons present themselves as hybrids consisting of a female body, typically male weapons, and aggressive warhorses. Their penchant for chivalry and military valor has also provoked scholars like Huchet to explain them as androgynous figures, citing their stereotypically male profession. This assertion has rightly provoked much critical disagreement. Westphal has sought to debunk this myth of androgyny, citing the incontrovertible femininity of Amazon bodies that are only rendered ambiguous due to the stereotype of universally-male chivalry:

One could call Camilla an androgynous figure, but only in the sense of joining reified parts of a tendentious ideal—a patriarchal polarity something like John Wayne and Brigitte Bardot scotch-taped together. The weakness in this allegorical reading is that it confirms the text's most superficial norms without responding to its struggle to achieve and maintain those norms ("Camilla" 244).

Westphal decries such readings for their reduction of Amazon chivalry to a dilution of femininity with masculine warfare, instead of acknowledging the Amazon's ability to balance chivalric duties with feminine beauty and grace. Though the meaning within her non-normative body becomes diffused over that which surrounds it, her femininity remains constant. Her body and identity are composite but never male.

The hybrid contingency of such cyborg figures implicates Haraway's "ironic political myth faithful to feminism, socialism, and materialism" (149). She elaborates, "Irony is about contradictions that do not resolve into larger wholes, even dialectically, about the tension of holding incompatible things together because both or all are necessary and true. (...) At the centre of my ironic faith, my blasphemy, is the image of

the cyborg” (149). Like the Amazon, the cyborg exists where her incompatible parts intersect and make her whole. To examine both Camille and Panteselee I will start with the contrasting materials that constitute their Amazon assemblages: first, the human/equine organisms, then the opulent sartorial materials and knightly armor that dress both women and horses. Just as Haraway states the instability of the human/animal binary as a launching point for the cyborg figure, I, too, argue that the relationship between the *équestriennes* and their horses is the first building block of their alterity and their first transgression against the established order.

In the *Roman d’Eneas*, the extensive opening descriptions of Camille and her palfrey evoke the hybridity they share. Description of Camille’s exemplary beauty flows directly into discussions of her horse and his accoutrements.¹⁵⁰ Camille rides forward on a palfrey, her hair cascading down to her feet, “Vers l’ost chevauchoit la meschine ; / cheveuls ot blois jusqu’a ses piez” (v. 4095-4096). Her hair seems to link her body to the elements of her bodily assemblage. Hair becomes another type of garment covering Camille and her horse, one which opens along with her cloak to reveal the marvelous palfrey she rides:

Ele en ot entrovert les pans
 que li parut li destres flans,
 et chevauchoit .I. palefroi,
 souz li demenoit tel effroi.
 Onques ne fu tant gente beste :
 comme noif ot blanche la teste,

¹⁵⁰ Helen Solterer writes about the objectification of female combatants in her article “Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France” (*Signs* 16.3 [1991]): 522-549. She considers the role of male onlookers in evaluating the women who participate in a jousting tournament in the early 13th-century *Tournoiement as dames de Paris*. She posits this style of dream poem transforms women into objects of male fantasy while also permitting new consideration of contemporaneous female participation in military campaigns at the time of the Crusades, either in the Middle East or at home while their male relatives were away. She contrasts the presentation of women warriors in the *Tournoiement* to Camille and Panteselee whose fighting was justified by their geographically and temporally distant origins, especially in Panteselee’s case as queen of the Amazons.

le top ot noir, et les oreilles
 ot ambedeus toutes vermeilles ;
 le col ot bay et fu bien gros,
 les crins yndes, vermeuz par flos,
 toute ot vaire l'espaule destre,
 et bien fu grisle la senestre ;
 les piez devant ot lovinas
 et fu tout brun par les costas ;
 sor le ventre fu leporins
 et sor la crupe leonins,
 et fil tout noirs desor les alves ;
 les deuz jambes devant ot flaves,
 les .II. derriers rouges com sans ;
 les .III. piez ot trestous blans,
 noire la coue une partie,
 l'autre blanche, toute crespie,
 les piez coupez, les jambes plates :
 moult fu bien fais et bien aates (v. 4132-4155).

[She had left the panels of it (her cloak) open, so that her right side was exposed, and she rode a palfrey, which showed a great spirit beneath her. Never was there such a noble beast: its head was white as snow, its forelock black, its ears both all red. Its neck was bay and very large, its mane blue and gray in tufts, the right shoulder all gray and the left, wholly black. Its forefeet were like those of a wolf, and it was all brown on its sides. Under the throat it was like a hare, but on the croup like a lion, and it was all black beneath the saddle. Its two forelegs were fawn colored, its two hind legs, red as blood. All four feet were white, its tail was all curly, black on one side and white on the other, the feet light, the legs straight: it was very well formed and agile (136-137).]¹⁵¹

The bare flesh peeking out underneath Camille's garment directs the reader back to organic matter and shifts the focus to her palfrey, an unparalleled equine specimen who, like his rider, is composed of many colors and textures. Like his description of Camille, the poet starts with the horse's head, and scans down through neck, shoulder, and finally

¹⁵¹ The English translations of the *Roman d'Eneas* come from John A. Yunck, *Eneas: a twelfth-century French romance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974). He chose the earliest extant manuscript for his translation, manuscript *A*, Bibl. Laurent., Florence, Plut. XLI, cod. 44. This manuscript hails from the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century (Yunck 4). Due to significant departures between manuscript *A* and *D*, I have used the Yunck translation as a starting point for my own, modifying it to accommodate the particular language of *D*.

to its hooves. Camille's marvelously colored palfrey recalls Enide's similarly multicolored horse.¹⁵² His snow-white head, red ears, brown bay neck, and grey shoulder mark him with both alterity and hybridity. Moreover, with the paws of a wolf, the throat of a hare, and the croup of a lion, the horse is more mythical beast than ordinary knightly steed. These animals evoke ferocity, agility, and strength and transform him into a fearsome hybrid and deadly combatant in his own right.

Unlike Camille's marvelous or monstrous palfrey, Benoît aligns Panteselee's horse with traditional descriptions of knightly mounts:

En un cheval d'Espagne bei,
Plus grant, plus fort e plus vaillant
D'autres chevaus e plus corant,
Est montee delivrement,
Pleine d'ire e de mal talent (v. 23440-23444).

[On a Spanish horse with a bay coat, taller, stronger, braver, and faster than any other horse, she mounted quickly, full of anger and resentment.]¹⁵³

Her horse's bay coat, Spanish origins, and athleticism are common in descriptions of chivalric mounts. Paul H. Rogers suggests that possession of a well-bred knightly horse will mark a literary character as a worthy battlefield adversary. He states, "Possession of a *destrier* or a *coursier* was a sign of an individual's nobility, and in the idealized world of the epic poem, honorable struggles could only occur between protagonists of equal social rank" (631).¹⁵⁴ In particular, Spanish horses were of extremely high value

¹⁵² Brian J. Reilly, "Enide's Colored Horse and Color Theories: *Erec et Enide* Lines 5268-81" (*MLN* 125.4 [2010]): 846-860. Reilly cites the probable literary allusion made by Chrétien to the *Roman d'Eneas* through the similarly magical colors of Enide's and Camille's palfreys (851-852).

¹⁵³ No translations of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's complete *Roman de Troie* are available in English. Those provided here are my own.

¹⁵⁴ See Rogers' article, "Rediscovering the Horse in Medieval French Literature" (*Neophilologus* 97 [2013]): 627-639.

(Ribémont 211).¹⁵⁵ Her horse's bay coat, however, seems to be perfectly ordinary, appearing with the greater frequency than all other colors combined in medieval historical documentation (Ribémont 242). This color also presents a parallel with the practices of the Scythian warriors who were believed to inspire the Amazons of Greek myth. Adrienne Mayor explains that these tribes selected bay, black, and chestnut horses to use in battle so their opponents wouldn't be encouraged by the sight of blood on the horses' coats.¹⁵⁶ Unlike Camille's grey charger, the coat of Panteselee's bay would hide any human or equine blood. His body absorbs and conceals blood to present an image of battle—and the horses who participate in it—as invulnerable. While we cannot prove Benoît had knowledge of these Scythian practices, Panteselee's horse nevertheless resembles those of other knightly mounts in the medieval French literary tradition and indicates his rider as a worthy opponent for her future adversaries.

Additionally, the equal footing on which horse/armor stand relative to their rider/wearer highlights the equal attention paid to human, animal, and inorganic matter. The organic bodies and inorganic accoutrements that constitute the assemblage we know as Panteselee each receive comparable attention in Benoît's descriptions. She is equally woman and horse, organic and inorganic, human and machine. As Kleinbaum suggests,

¹⁵⁵ In addition to being highly prized in literary sources, Spanish horses were also known throughout Britain for their beauty, speed, and strength. In the 11th century, Robert de Belesme, third earl of Shrewsbury, imported stallions from Spain to his native Wales to enrich his breeding program. As Gerald of Wales writes in the 12th century, "In this third district of Wales, called Powys, there are most excellent studs put apart for breeding, and deriving their origin from some fine Spanish horses, which Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, brought into this country: on which account the horses sent from hence are remarkable for their majestic proportion and astonishing fleetness" (134). See the republication of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's 1806 translation of Gerald's *The Itinerary Through Wales and the Description of Wales* (London: J. M. Dent, 1908).

¹⁵⁶ See Mayor's book *The Amazons: lives and legends of warrior women across the ancient world* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 176.

this hybridity extends beyond the materials of Amazon assemblages and to the gendered virtues they demonstrate:

Benoît's Amazons are more interesting because Benoît sees them as a hybrid of both male and female virtues. They are great ladies and chivalrous knights at the same time, worthy of fighting for, and protecting, yet capable of doing the job of combat themselves. The fact that his Amazons do not resemble the women of his day creates no problem for Benoît. His Amazons have their own dimension in space. They come from a faraway nation belonging to the most oriental section of the world—the land of Feminie, or Amazoine (51).

In part, Benoît maps the material hybridity of the Amazon cyborg figure onto her geographical alterity. Her distant provenance helps explain her marked difference from courtly women, her penchant for warfare, and the ease with which she wields her sword and wears her armor. However, each Amazon woman relates differently to her horse, armor, and weapons.

Each poet adjusts the order in which each material appears to suggest shifting or fluid relationships between Amazons and their equipment. For example, Benoît describes Panteselee's armor before her horse, unlike Camille whose armor appears later:

Un hauzberc vest Panteselee,
 Plus blanc que neif de sus gelee :
 Onques nus hom, ce sai de veir,
 Si bel arme ne pot veir.
 Dous puceles molt henorees
 E de lur dame molt amees
 Li unt son hiaume el chef asis.
 Riches dut estre e de grant pris,
 Car li cercles e li nasaus
 Fu tot a pieres preciaus ;
 Ainc n'ot si cher prince ne rei (v. 23429-23439).

[Panteselee put on a hauberk, one whiter than snow on frozen ground: I truly know that no one ever saw such a beautiful piece of armor. Two maidens of great renown who were well-loved by their mistress fastened her helmet. It was truly magnificent and very expensive because the

circular band and nose piece were totally encrusted with precious stones.
Neither king nor prince ever had one so rich.]

The early introduction of Panteselee's hauberk, and the maidens who fasten it, establishes the greater importance of her inorganic accoutrements and their superlative quality, though Panteselee remains classically female. As Lochrie summarizes:

Courtliness, fine clothing, military prowess, and chivalric virtue mark the masculinity of Penthesilea and her Amazon warriors, yet they are never taken for men. Penthesilea denies femininity as the Greeks and medieval readers know it, that is, as a hybrid of misogynistic gendering of vice and a domestic division of labor, yet Benoît's descriptions of the queen and her troop reference classic morphological components of femininity, including the golden hair, beauty, and implied sexual purity (114).

Despite the importance of her battle armor, descriptions of Panteselee as an ideal courtly lady still resonate with the reader. Notably, Panteselee reacts with courtly grief upon learning of Hector's death in battle (v. 23383-23388; 23395-23416).¹⁵⁷ Although Benoît's physical descriptions of the queen pale in length to those afforded to Camille, Panteselee nevertheless becomes associated with courtly manners through her genteel reaction to the loss of Hector.¹⁵⁸ Interestingly though, she offers her military acumen to King Priam to avenge his son's death. Her response is indeed courtly, but associated with both femininity and masculinity.

¹⁵⁷ Francine Mora-Lebrun reminds us, as many scholars have, that Panteselee lacks femininity in the *Iliad*. Homer opts instead to portray her as a warrior above all else (33). In the *Roman de Troie*, however, Benoît highlights her love for Hector and the courtly language she uses to express her feelings. See Francine Mora-Lebrun, "D'une esthétique à l'autre : la parole féminine dans l'*Iliade* de Joseph d'Exeter et le *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-Maure" in *Contes de Troie et d'Alexandre*.

¹⁵⁸ Kleinbaum cites Benoît's fascination with the codified tropes of courtly love as an influence on his concept of Panteselee's grief following Hector's death (51-53). She argues that Panteselee is transformed into a courtly man by her show of support to Priam following his son's death, a fact underscored by the adulterous nature of her love for Hector as a married man. While I disagree that she becomes masculine in this exchange, Benoît does evoke tropes of courtly male devotion to an object of affection.

Panteselee's superlative equipment also affiliates her with male knighthood. Her jewel encrusted armor, for example, exceeds that of any king or prince. In particular, Panteselee's jeweled helmet gives her apotropaic protection, making her less vulnerable to injury or death. The jewels on her helmet also differentiate her from Camille who is denied any apotropaic elements in her assemblage. Additionally, these jewels prefigure the rich materials her horse also wears. Like the mount of any medieval ruler, the Amazon queen's horse wears the most expensive courtly materials:

Coverz fu toz d'un drap de seie
 Qui plus qui flor de lis blancheie.
 Cent eschilletes cler sonanz,
 Petites, d'or, non mie granz,
 I atachent. Sans plus targier
 A ceint le brant forbi d'acier
 Dom el ferra granz coups maneis.
 Un fort escu plus blanc que neis
 O une bocle de fin or —
 Orlé de pieres tuit li bor,
 De buens rubins clers e ardanz
 E d'esmeraldes verdeianz —,
 Par la guige d'orfreis l'a pris ;
 Si l'a au col serré e mis.
 Une lance de fust freisnin
 O un trenchant fer acerin
 Li a bailee une pucele,
 O une enseigne fresche e bele (v. 23445-23462).

[He was completely covered with a white silk blanket whose brilliance surpassed even the lily. On it were one hundred clear-ringing tiny gold bells. Without waiting any longer, Panteselee girded on her steel sword with which she will soon strike heavy blows. Her strong shield, whiter than snow, with a pure gold buckle—bordered with precious stones, beautiful fiery rubies, and sparkling green emeralds—, by the orphrey strap she took it and held it close to her neck. A young maiden handed her a steel-tipped oak lance with a beautiful new banner hanging from it.]

Panteselee's horse wears a white silk blanket, a garment also covered in gold bells. This sartorial detail, like those before it, bleeds into others across different species as well as

both organic and inorganic materials. The gold bells are juxtaposed with gold rings on the white background of Panteselee's shield. The horse's lily white coat dressed with a white cloth and bells mirrors Panteselee's whiter than snow shield with gold buckles, linking the horse and his rider both aesthetically and sartorially. There is no essence in the organic for Panteselee: all materials combine to provide a complete but heterogeneous depiction of Amazon chivalry.

Whether fully armed or dressed in feminine, courtly attire, Camille and her horses embody the same heterogeneous Amazon chivalry. The palfrey Camille rides initially is party to a similar effusion of luxurious garments and metal equipment, of organic and inorganic material:

Li palefrois fu bien amblanz,
 et li frains fu moult avenanz ;
 de fin or fu li chavesçaus,
 fait a pierre et a esmaus,
 et les renges furent d'argent
 bien trenchies menuement ;
 la sele ot bone, et li arçon
 furent de l'uevre Salemon,
 a or trenchié de blanc yvoire,
 l'entaille en fu toute trifoire ;
 d'une porpre ert la couverture
 et toute l'autre afeltreüre,
 et d'un paile amdeus les cengles,
 de bon orfrois les contrecengles ;
 li estrier furent de fin or,
 li poitraus valut .I. tresor (v. 4156-4171).

[The palfrey cantered very well. Its bridle was most handsome: its tether was of fine gold, set with precious stones and enamel work, and the reins of fine silver, very carefully braided. The saddle was good, and the bows were the work of Solomon, with an inlay of white ivory which was decorated by arch-work in gold. The covering and all the other padding were of royal silk. Both the stirrup leathers were good deer hide, and the saddle girth of fine, gold-embroidered bands. The stirrups were of fine gold, and the breastplate was worth a treasure (137).]

The tack on Camille's horse appears as exemplary as her marvelous horse itself. The materials of the bridle and saddle are extremely rare and valuable. Precious stones, varnishes, gold encrusted with ivory, and orphrey intermingle on the horse's tack to adorn and elevate the horse to an optimal courtly level. The *Roman d'Eneas* presents a parallel here between the horse's coloration and also the multiple materials and colors from which his saddle is made. The descriptions of the organic equine body and inorganic chivalric equipment evoke the superlative qualities of both: the marvelous horse deserves his tack and the rich tack merits a great horse.

Although the *Eneas* poet emphasizes the inorganic less than Benoît de Sainte-Maure in his depiction of Panteselee, inorganic equipment still becomes a part of Camille's hybrid identity. Unlike Panteselee, though, the poet has identified Camille by her sartorial opulence in preceding passages (Stock 63). When she arrives on the battlefield, she is armed even though the *Eneas* poet omits her arming scene (Stock 57, 60-63):

Camille ot moult belle maisnie
 et si fu bien appareillie,
 et sist dessor .I. vair destrier
 qui valoit d'autres .I. millier.
 D'ermine estoit la couverture,
 environ ert la bendeüre
 d'une porpre toute vermeille ;
 moult ert bien faite a grant merveille
 et autressi sa connoissance.
 Apoiee estoit sor sa lance,
 a son col avoit son escu
 a boucle d'or, d'ivoire fu,
 et la guinge estoit d'orfrois.
 Ses haubers fu blans comme nois,
 et ses hayaumes luisans et clers,
 de fin or estoit li cerclers.
 La coife du hauberc fu faite
 en telle maniere qu'elle ot traite

sa bloie crine de defors,
 et li couvrirent tout le cors ;
 derier li venteloit aval
 dessor la crupe du cheval (v. 6980-7001).

[Camille had a very fine following, and she was handsomely clothed and sat upon a grey charger which was worth a thousand others. Its covering was ermine, and the bordering around it was of a red silk. It was wonderfully well made, as was her blazon. She was leaning on her lance, with her shield hung around her neck. Her shield was of ivory, with a boss of gold, and its grip was of orphrey. Her hauberk was white as snow and her helmet glittering and bright, all quartered with fine gold. The cape of the hauberk was made in such a way that she had drawn her blond hair outside, so that it covered her whole body. It fluttered down behind her as far as the horse's back (191-192).]

As earlier, hair seems to connect the young girl with her horse, and vice versa. Blonde tendrils spill out from underneath Camille's helmet onto her deadly charger's haunches. Even her *destrier*—not a horse typically considered suitable for a lady—wears ermine bordered with purple and has 1,000 times the value of ordinary war horses. The hair and furs—human and equine, living and dead—point to organic materials that counterbalance the metal equipment Camille must wear as a proper medieval knight. Her body is constituted with and defined by the combination of armor and arms, fur and flesh, body and embellishment. As Lochrie explains, “Just before battle, however, it is Camilla's accoutrements that are lovingly described: her gray charger in red silk, her lance and ivory shield, her white hauberk and gold embossed helmet, and her cape” (117). Although her charger is simply grey unlike her marvelously colored palfrey, the melding of equine and feminine qualities still defines the poet's *descriptio* as Camille heads into combat.

Stock explains this hybrid description as a deliberate mixing of male-associated valor with typically-female beauty, “Capitalizing upon the already serious and sustained

tribute to the capabilities of a warrior woman in his Virgilian literary source, the *Eneas* poet substantially expands Camille's role in a way that, superficially at least, literally 'valor'-izes her femaleness" (58). She explains that Camille's expanded portrait—from 17 lines in Virgil to almost 150 in *Eneas*—accompanies the shrinking *descriptio* of male warriors (58-59). This shift in the proportional length of warrior descriptions establishes her as a worthy opponent by emphasizing her impressive physical appearance in full armor.

Amazon women, warhorses, and metal armor form amalgams in which each element enriches the others. Detailed portraits of each element of the assemblages are compounded to elevate each surrounding component. Likewise, the identities of Camille and Panteselee are fundamentally imbricated with these materials. Camille and Panteselee unite with armor, tack, and horse to facilitate their chivalry, like the posthuman male knighthood posited by Cohen and Crane.¹⁵⁹ Each Amazon is hybridized—an amalgamation of metal and carbon, of violent masculinity and graceful femininity, of warrior and damsel. Camille and Panteselee form posthuman assemblages of iron and leather and of human and animal, but the addition of multicolored horseflesh and fur-lined garments highlights the gender difference in their material composition. From their first appearances, each Amazon displays the multiple materials of her composite form and the masculine pursuits of her ideally feminine body.

¹⁵⁹ Both Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's and Susan Crane's work has been treated at length in chapter 1. See Cohen's chapter "Chevalerie," *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota P, 2003), 35-77; Crane's chapter "Knight and Horse" in *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 137-168; and her article "Chivalry and the Pre/Postmodern" (*Postmedieval* 2.1 [2011]): 69-87.

While engaged in the stereotypically male tasks of knighthood, jousting, and swordplay, the Amazon is a female figure. As such, Huchet identifies a phenomenon of inextinguishable femininity despite knightly surroundings. He describes Camille's femininity like a brilliant light exuding from her very body, "A l'inverse, lors de la seconde apparition de Camille (v. 6907 et sq.), l'armure ne parvient pas totalement à dissimuler la femme, pas plus que l'éclat des armes ne réussit à éclipser le rayonnement d'une beauté tout entière résumée par les cheveux débordant le heaume pour se répandre sur la croupe du cheval" (70). Overflowing her shining armor and exceeding the clamor of the battle, Camille's beauty and femaleness remain, much like Enide's loveliness despite her tattered garments. Additionally, the allure that connects Camille—and by extension, Panteselee—to Enide also attracts the attention of onlookers. However, it is crucial to distinguish between the scopophilic fantasies about Amazon women and the theoretical implications of their hybrid bodies, of fluidity and mobility between their components, and of their transformation into proto-cyborg figures.

The contrasting elements—horse, armor, weapons—that constitute these Amazons' formal and material hybridity provide the foundation for their alterity, their cyborg quality, and their subversive femininity. Unsurprisingly, Huchet contradicts the subversive hybridity of Amazon assemblages and would seem to deny them the alterity they overtly embrace. In particular, he argues that Camille's hybridity undermines her reality and that of her mount, stating, "l'inflation de détails contradictoires irréal[is] complètement la monture et, d'un même mouvement, sa cavalière" (66). Although the assertion of a fantastical hybridity minimizes Camille's military influence, Huchet's analysis of her horse's monstrosity is nevertheless intriguing, even if imprecise. He

asserts that the horse's freakish appearance serves as a contaminant for the young Amazon. He states, "La multiplication des contrastes, produits à partir d'une série d'oppositions binaires (...) fait glisser la description du cheval vers le fantastique et produit un effet d'« inquiétante étrangeté » qui contamine celle de la jeune fille, comme si la monstruosité de l'animal n'était que l'envers, la caricature, de la beauté de Camille" (66). Terminological inaccuracy in this passage obscures Huchet's claims and undermines their overall validity. Huchet claims the horse's monstrosity mirrors Camille's beauty, but this interpretive leap ignores the high praise awarded to multicolored horses throughout the medieval French literary tradition, notably the praise of the marvelous horse that Guivret gives to Enide, previously discussed in chapter 2. Likewise, Camille's hybrid palfrey is not monstrous but extraordinary.

Unlike Camille's marvelous palfrey, Panteselee rides a suitable—though normative—bay stallion from Spain. In the *Roman de Troie*, Panteselee's horse receives marvelous equipment like Camille's horse before him (v. 23445-23449). Though discussing *Eneas*, Huchet's arguments about the implications of hybridity apply to all the Amazons in the medieval French epic tradition. He contends, "L'inflation de détails concernant le cheval fait basculer dans l'excès la sobriété de l'évocation de la « meschine » et (...) transforme la *descriptio* en pur jeu d'écriture inapte à cerner la moindre essence, perdue qu'elle est dans la pléthore rhétorique qui prétendait la saisir" (67). Huchet explains that Camille escapes definitive signification through the plethora of disparate materials in her *descriptio*, a fact that also applies to Panteselee. Camille and Panteselee become fantastic exaggerations in the effusion of rhetoric that surrounds them but fails to grasp or communicate their essence.

Both Amazon warriors certainly receive a conglomerate *descriptio*, but the question of essence must be challenged and rebutted. Huchet suggests that the volume of details concerning the horse highlights the relatively few that depict Camille, an odd observation considering the previously discussed enumeration of all her superlative physical traits (v. 4074-4094). Additionally, Huchet suggests these copious details fail to articulate an essence either for Camille or her full assemblage. The concept of “essence,” however, is fundamentally incompatible with the cyborg identity.

Essence imposes homogeneity and forces fixed definition on the many beings and materials that comprise the Amazon assemblage. Conversely, acknowledgment of Amazons as cyborgs recognizes not just their plurality of bodies but also the imbrication of each body with each material. Amazons’ interdependent, contingent bodily assemblages preclude the flatness of essence and force reconsideration of the relationships between gender, species, and materiality. In Amazon assemblages, no component is singular or individual, because all materials and bodies act, interact, and intra-act.

These human/animal and organic/inorganic overlappings are integral to cyborg figures and inimical to ideas of wholeness or homogeneous quiddity. Or, as Haraway observes, “the cyborg appears in myth precisely where the boundary between human and animal is transgressed. Far from signaling a walling off of people from other living beings, cyborgs signal disturbingly and pleasurably tight coupling” (152). The linking of women with their nonhuman surroundings is not hostile to cyborgs like Camille and Panteselee. On the contrary, the easy descriptive shifts from women to horses to tack to armor, seem to be a consistent and deliberate rhetorical strategy by both the *Eneas* poet

and Benoît de Sainte-Maure who present their Amazon warriors as marvelously Other due to the profound bonds they form with their horses.

Regardless of their stereotypically male chivalric pursuits, Amazons remain female. Although they wear armor, carry weapons, and engage in combat, Amazons are never mistaken for men. Fellow soldiers, townspeople, and adversaries all identify them—and the historical and literary *chevaleresses* cited by Cassagnes-Brouquet—as definitively and ideally feminine.¹⁶⁰ Their physical beauty never fades with the dirt and sweat of a fray: these female warriors, these Amazon maidens, these queens and noblewomen glow with the allure of their sex. Coded as virtuous and dangerous, distinct from the knights teeming around them in battle, these women never lose their femininity because of their chivalry, their hybridity, or their equestrianism.

Brave Generals, Fearsome Warriors

Descriptions of Camille and Panteselee focus on their hybrid cyborg bodies as sites of subversive meaning and alterity.¹⁶¹ Following the litany of items attributed to each Amazon assemblage, the links between Camille and Panteselee and their horses—as with their armor and arms—become both active and communal in battle. Both Amazons act as

¹⁶⁰ Additionally, see Megan McLaughlin's historical study of women warriors and their roles as both generals and combatants. She considers the acquisition of military knowledge from seeing brothers trained to fight in their homes and also the clear decline in female participation in war starting in the 12th century at the same time as warfare was being professionalized. See "The woman warrior: gender, warfare and society in medieval Europe" (*Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 17.3-4 [1990]): 193-209.

¹⁶¹ Lorraine Kockanske Stock explains that initial descriptions of Camille's armor and clothing are passive, perhaps as part of an authorial attempt to distinguish her from the active arming *topoi* used for male knights (60). This claim does not, however, apply to Panteselee, who receives a typical arming scene. See her article, "'Arms and the (Wo)man' in Medieval Romance: The Gendered Arming of Female Warriors in the *Roman d'Enéas* and Heldris's *Roman de Silence*" (*Arthuriana* 5.4 [1995]): 56-83. She also cites Derek Brewer's essay, "The Arming of the Warrior in European Literature and Chaucer" in *Chaucerian Problems and Perspectives: Essays Presented to Paul E. Beichner*, ed. Edward Vasta and Zacharias P. Thundy (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 221-243.

warriors in their own right while also leading their armies and encouraging their warriors from horseback. Their bodies inspire awe and fear not merely because of their knightly trappings or expensive materials, but because of their transformation into machines of destruction on the battlefield.¹⁶²

The role of verbal and nonverbal commands in Camille and Panteselee's military leadership and in their combat acumen will reveal the depth of their nonverbal language. They direct their well trained horses in accordance with Rufus' interspecies linguistic system of communication by aids. The Amazons use spurs to deliver discrete commands but never to punish. They also command their troops efficiently, though by different means. While Camille directs her warriors without a single verbal cue, Panteselee commands her troops through verbal direction, even commanding her cavalry to spur their horses into the fray. Later when Camille and Panteselee are insulted by Tarson and Pyrrhus, respectively, their rebuttals against their slanderous opponents reveal their mastery of verbal and nonverbal language, respectively. Whether violent and silent or determined and discursive, their language provides a new lens through which to evaluate Amazon prowess.

Horses are the key to Amazon military leadership and combat skill. Whether guiding their troops to victory or slaying their foes, both Camille and Panteselee exhibit their military talents largely on horseback and show mastery of chivalric combat. Indeed, while many scholars have considered the storied bond between knights and chargers, the same attention has not been paid to Amazon equestrian prowess. Rogers, for example, analyses the symbolic virility represented by horses in mythology, bestiaries, and

¹⁶² Interestingly, the women become hybrid through very different processes of arming.

literature, concluding, “The horse is always associated with the knight, and is therefore an indicator of social condition. The horse is often a mirror image of his rider: the more formidable the knight, the more deadly and powerful his steed. One can understand therefore why medieval man prized his horse” (638). His androcentric language erases Amazon equestrianism and the identitary impact of interactions with horses for their female riders. The mobility and speed that horses afforded to Camille and Panteselee fundamentally influence their military leadership and combat acumen, and they permit a dynamic hybridity instead of one grounded in static *descriptio*.

In *Eneas* and *Troie*, the Amazon assemblages are mobilized to achieve victory in battle and to establish the overlap between apparatus and myth inherent to cyborg embodiment. They are vessels for social (diegetic) meaning and also mythological figures whose transgressive nature poses challenges to interpretation and inspires study and critique. Haraway explains, “The boundary is permeable between tool and myth, instrument and concept, historical systems of social relations and historical anatomies of possible bodies, including objects of knowledge. Indeed, myth and tool mutually constitute each other” (“Cyborg” 164). The Amazon—a mythical figure integral to the origin stories of Rome, Greece, and 12th-century England—is defined by this fusion of physical tools and legendary qualities. As archetypal Amazon warriors, both Camille and Panteselee become cyborg through the items in their assemblage—those which they use and in which they are embodied—and then through the lasting legacies they leave behind.

Beginning with their appearance on horseback at the head of thousands of troops, both Camille and Panteselee inspire awe with their confident and effective leadership. In *Eneas*, Camille first appears leading 15,000 troops:

Camille vint moult richement
 a l'ost et amena grant gent :
 bien amena de chevaliers
 enjusque a .XV. milliers (v. 4172-4175).

[Camille came to the army very splendidly equipped, leading a large following. Indeed, she had with her as many as fifteen thousand knights (137).]

The sheer number of knights she brings with her makes her presence significant, both for its visual impact on the battlefield and its potential to turn the tide of the battle. Notably, Camille leads male knights and not female warriors. She is, as Lochrie has discussed, the queen of the Volsci, not of Amazonia like Panteselee. As such, Camille's society lacks the female exclusivity of the Amazon kingdom and it seems at first that her troops are not women, but rather men. Yet regardless of their gender, Camille leads them with confidence and they obey willingly. Later, as the final warrior in a full enumeration of Latin troops, Camille seems at ease leading her troops. Although she arrives at Turnus' encampment with a smaller battalion, her fully armed knights, mounted on their warhorses and bearing standards, are visually powerful:

Atant Turnus point le cheval,
 vient jusqu'a la porte aval.
 Illuec a Camille trouvee
 ou elle l'atent toute armee ;
 bien ot .III. mille chevaliers
 toz conraez sor lor destriers ;
 n'i a celui n'ait a devise
 congnoissance de mainte guise (v. 6972-6981).

[With that, Turnus spurred his horse and went as far as the gate below. There he found Camille where she was waiting for him, fully armed. She had with her a good three thousand knights, all equipped, on their chargers. There was none who did not have a heraldic device—blazons of many kinds (191).]

This passage paints a picture befitting Camille's prowess. She rides gallantly at the head of this well-equipped army of warriors in a sea of their colorful blazons. Her female body performs typically male skills, its female chivalric prowess and military leadership commanding attention.¹⁶³ In this moment Camille's *valeur guerrière* appears at its height, due in large part to the hybrid troops she leads.

Like Camille, Panteselee overtly exhibits her value as a combatant and military leader. She receives unfettered praise from Benoît as "La proz, la franche, l'onoree, / La plus vaillant que onc nasquist" (v. 23979-23980) [the courageous, the true, the revered, the most valiant ever born]. In addition, Panteselee leads superlatively armed troops into battle:

Mil dameiseles de valor
 Armees sor chevaus braidis,
 Forz e isneaus e mal traitis,
 La sivent : n'en i a pas treis
 Qui n'aient heaumes Paviëis,
 Escuz e blans haubers tresliz.
 De ciclaton e de samiz
 Sont les enseignes es espiez,
 Qui trenchanz sont e aguisiez,
 E es granz lances acerees (v. 23983-23992).

[One thousand valorous damsels armed on their fierce, strong, rapid, and intractable horses followed her: there were not three who didn't have helmets from Pavie, shields, and white mail hauberks. The banners on the spears were of ciclaton and of samite; sharp and pointed were the great steel-tipped lances.]

Panteselee is a superlative knight and leads women whose valor and armor mirror her own. Not only do the women show superlative valor, their horses are brave, and their

¹⁶³ Huchet identifies Camille as "un diptyque, dont les deux volets soulignent deux aspects contradictoires et pourtant complémentaires du personnage : la beauté (v. 3989-4084) et la valeur guerrière (v. 6913-6934), la féminité et la virilité" (66). His problematic suggestion that female prowess is non-normative ignores the many female literary characters who ride horses with great skill and defeat many male foes either while jousting or in open combat.

banners, spears, and lances are made of the best materials. The troops who follow Panteselee into battle are brave and well-equipped and reflect the strength and prowess of their leader.

Westphal establishes Amazon military prowess as an integration of individuals with superlative fighting technique and centralized control under a respected general. She explains:

Amazons add a stark and rather terrifying dimension to medieval stories of war and statecraft: they are a futuristic image of an efficient army, professionally dedicated to its purpose, under strong central control. They contrast with other modes of military representation, which is to say they do not have the problems and entanglements that often occupy male knights. Amazons have group cohesion rather than errant individuality; they are not competitive with comrades in arms, as Arthurian knights often are; they are ruthlessly efficient in battle and tend to avoid messy truces and pardons; they are never idle, corrupt, or gluttonous; they leave the scene when the work is done; they obey their leadership without question (“Amazons” 25).

Ruthless efficiency, unflagging obedience to orders, and extraordinary unity among the ranks facilitate the Amazons’ great military victories as well as their reputation as valiant warriors and worthy opponents for any male knights.¹⁶⁴ As Westphal argues, “Amazons were thought to be so ferocious in battle that in antiquity, to kill an Amazon was the highest military achievement, a benchmark of true heroism (“Camilla” 247).¹⁶⁵ The Amazons in *Eneas* and *Troie* certainly live up to their stellar reputations. The *Eneas* poet highlights the Trojans’ stunned reaction to the Amazon charge when they surge forward into battle like goddesses defending the city. The movement of Camille’s battalion—this

¹⁶⁴ Sarah Westphal, “Camilla: The Amazon Body in Medieval German Literature” (*Exemplaria* 8.1 [1996]): 231-258. Although this article concentrates on the role of Camilla in the Middle High German romance, many of Westphal’s arguments apply readily and productively to the character of Camille in the 12th-century Old French *Eneas*.

¹⁶⁵ Here, Westphal cites Kleinbaum (11-12).

time one comprised solely of Amazon warrior maidens—immediately provokes awe and fear:

Camille yssi fors au tornoy,
 .C. pucelles mena o soy,
 bien armees de couvertures,
 tout de diverses armeüres :
 moult par y ot belle compaigne
 quant eulz furent fors en la plaine.
 Li Troïen les esgarderent,
 a grant merveille les douterent.
 Quant poignoient a euaz damesses,
 cuidoient que fuissent deuesses
 qui deffendissent la cité ;
 moult en furent tuit effréé,
 ne s'osoient vers eulz deffendre
 ne n'en vouloient une atendre ;
 a merveilles les redoutoient.
 Les puceles les enchaüoient
 quant cil vers eulz nes defendoient,
 n'est merveille s'els y feroient.
 Moult y fierent bien les meschines,
 gesir les font par les eschines,
 moult firent sanc en poy de temps (v. 7045-7065).

[Camille rode out to the tourneying, leading a hundred maidens with her, well clad in mail, each in a different armor; it was an extremely beautiful company when they were in the midst of the field. The Trojans gazed at them, and feared them immensely. When they spurred on at great speed the Trojans thought they were goddesses who were defending the city. They were all thoroughly frightened. They did not dare defend themselves against them, or even await them at all: they feared them too much. The maidens pursued them, and since the Trojans did not defend themselves, it is no wonder that the maidens struck them down. The maidens laid on very well there, and left them lying on their backs. They shed much blood in a little time (192-193).]

Camille's body and her charger's coalesce in an amalgam of species and gender, just as she becomes one with her female troops. The women appear to their as opponents as simultaneously *damesses*, *deuesses*, *pucelles*, and *meschines*, far more than simply *chevaliers*. These Amazon warriors become cyborgs through their transgression of gender

norms and defiance of mortality, according to the opponents who witness them flying deftly like Valkyries across the battlefield to deliver deadly blows to the most revered male knights.

Their mesmerizing alterity originates in their blending of sovereignty, divinity, grace, and speed¹⁶⁶ as they cross the battlefield to engage the male Trojan warriors. As Sarah Westphal argues, the Amazon is a unique figure in the way that she challenges women's social role as the property of either their fathers or their husbands by becoming, instead, men's adversary.¹⁶⁷ Stated otherwise, "The beauty and magnificence of the Amazons, however, cannot be bracketed by conventional femininity. The desire of the narrative is constituted around the armored beauty of the Amazons, their refusal of domesticity and heterosexuality as medieval readers thought of it, their chivalric reputations, and their prowess in battle" (Lochrie 114). As threats to masculinity and challenges to patriarchal control, Camille and Panteselee must confront opposition to their military advances and their subversive bodies. Despite seeming other-worldly during their charge, these Amazons enter battle as mortals, risking life and limb to aid their allies.

¹⁶⁶ In fact, Rebecca Gottlieb notes that the *Eneas* poet replaces Virgilian references to Camilla's skill as a runner with references to Camille's speed on horseback (156). Medieval Camille's chivalric warfare demands a horse as an avatar for athleticism of her predecessor on foot. See Gottlieb, "Why We Can't 'Do Without' Camille" in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, eds. Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), 153-164.

¹⁶⁷ Sarah Westphal, "Amazons and Guérillères" (*Medieval Feminist Forum* 23.1, 1997): 24. Here Westphal discusses the literary Amazons who reappropriate the traditionally-male pursuits of warfare and chivalry, albeit without the romantic entanglements that so often accompany male chivalry. These women are both armored and feminine, yet their femininity in no way impedes their exhibition of deadly skill on the battlefield.

The Amazon cavalry attacks the Trojan forces with Camille at the head of their brigade.¹⁶⁸ The femininity shared by Camille and her cavalry provides an interruption to the litany of feats of male bravery in *Eneas*. Still, her use of spurs befits a male knight, as do her violent behavior in battle and the deadly force with which she strikes her enemies. In *Eneas*, the violence of nonverbal communication with spurs—though a fundamental component of a specific linguistic system to command horses—reflects the bellicose pursuits of the Amazons and the speed of their battlefield charges. The interspecies communication practiced by the Amazons contrasts with that of Enide, whose gentle application of aids and generous care for her own and her husband's horses reflect her role as a noble courtly wife. Amazon military careers, however, did not afford the same luxury of gentle treatment to the cavalry mounts. These horses were required to respond immediately and decisively to spurs. Each movement of the unified Amazon army, therefore, contained a multitude of individual interspecies communications in which war horses obeyed the commands of their Amazon riders.

Like the nonverbal cues used by Amazons to put their mounts into a gallop to charge against the enemy, Camille mobilizes her troops without verbal commands. She directs her warriors voicelessly while mounted on her galloping horse. Indeed, though *Eneas* transmits voluminous female speech from Lavinia and Dido, Camille speaks almost entirely through her actions. Her military valor—above even her virtue and

¹⁶⁸ As discussed in chapter 2, Ribémont underscores the physical and behavioral characteristics of each type of horse in two chapters from his volume coauthored with Brigitte Prévot, *Le Cheval en France au Moyen Age: sa place dans le monde médiéval ; sa médecine, l'exemple d'un traité vétérinaire du XIVe siècle, La Chirurgie des chevaux* (Caen: Paradigme, 1994). First, "Le vocabulaire" details the terminological differences between different types of horses (173-202). The aggression of the *destrier* and its use in battle are particularly relevant (179-183). The chapter "Le cheval littéraire" subsequently reunites examples of the role of horses in the epics, *chansons de geste*, and romances (203-254). The section on *destriers* is most useful for studies of the *trilogie antique* (218-223).

beauty—ensures she is remembered by the living. Even as a secondary character and one without much verbal speech, she commands the focus of the narrative at its climax. As Danièle James-Raoul argues, Camille constitutes the only original and fully-developed portrait of the entire romance.¹⁶⁹ Despite the rareness of verbal speech on her part, she also manages to mobilize her troops. They are unified and fluid like a school of fish, moving silently in unison to destroy their opponents.

Unlike Camille's voiceless command of her troops, Panteselee launches the assaults in the twenty-second battle with direct speech to come to the defense of Philemenis, king of Paphlagonia (v. 24035-24042). She orders her troops to spur (*poigniez*, v. 24043) and without a word, or even a prick of a spur, the women and their horses race towards their opponents, "A tant laissent chevaus aler" (v. 24047) [With that they allow their horses to charge]. Interestingly, Panteselee's verbal order demanding that her troops spur into battle does not result in obedient compliance. The female troops manage to achieve the rapid gait their general demands without the means she stipulates. While Panteselee uses language typical of the *chansons de geste* with their violent application of artificial aids like spurs, her female troops avoid abusing artificial aids. Their gentle equestrian prowess apparently permits them to gallop without spurring.

Whether Benoît ascribes direct or indirect speech to Panteselee, her female troops interpret their general's orders and obey them while still practicing equestrianism based on interspecies communication. During the twenty-first battle, Panteselee uses indirect speech to direct her ladies. This relative silence seems to unite her with the hoard of

¹⁶⁹ Danièle James-Raoul, *Chrétien de Troyes, la griffe d'un style* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2007), 693. In this extensive study of Chrétien's work James-Raoul also discusses the role of female speech in Chrétien and in works composed during his time, including the *trilogie antique* as part of the greater group of *romans antiques*.

women warriors surrounding her. She and her 1,000 completely armed troops are described like an ensemble of armor, lances, shields, and banners:

Hastivement, sans demorer,
 A fet sa meisnee monter :
 Mil sunt e plus ; n'i a pas dis
 Qui bien n'aient armez les vis
 E toz les cors e les costez.
 Sor les haubers tresliz safrez
 Sunt lor biaux crins toz detreciez,
 Si reluisanz e si pignez
 Que fins ors resenblast obscurs.
 O hardiz cors e o seürs
 Chevauchent dreit vers les portax,
 Les escuz pris, sor les chevaux.
 Puis que li mondes commença
 Ne ja mes tant cum il durra,
 Ne verra nus hom tiel conpaigne :
 N'i a une qui n'ait enseigne
 E grosse lance o fer d'acier.
 Molt oïsseiz les deus prier
 As gentis dames henorees
 Qui de la vile esteient nees,
 Qu'il les desfendissent le jor
 De mort, de perte e de dolor (v. 23463-23484).

[Immediately, without any delay, she gave the order to her troupe to mount their horses: one thousand women and more were there; there were fewer than ten who weren't totally armed. Faces and bodies and sides are all well-protected. Onto their hauberks of sapphire mail, their beautiful hair floated down, so shimmering and smooth, as to make pure gold seem dark. Full of bravery and confidence they ride on their horses directly toward the gates, their shields locked together. Never, since the beginning of the world and as long as it will last, did one see such a company. Each had a banner and solid, steel-tipped lance. Many prayers to the gods were audible, uttered by the noblewomen of the city of Troy for the gods to protect the warrior women and save them that day from death, loss, and pain.]

This image of Panteselee at the head of her troops evokes the intense inorganic materiality of Amazon warriors. They appear not merely as female bodies, as *équestriennes* mounted on violent warhorses, or as combinations of female bodies with

horses, armor, weapons. The thousand-strong Amazon division is, rather, a mass of golden tendrils, hauberks, shields, banners, and metal-tipped lances. Benoît insists upon the multiplicity and uniformity that makes one Amazon indistinguishable from another:

Molt furent riche ses ators,
 Molt amena noble cumpaigne,
 Fiere e hardië e grifaigne :
 Mil damaiseles adurees,
 Forz e aidanz, bien atornees
 De bons chevaux arrabieis ;
 Molt par orent riche herneis.
 Tant errerent par lor jornees
 E trespasserent des contrees
 Qu'a Troie vindrent : c'ert mestiers ! (v. 23368-23377)

[Her equipment was sumptuous and her troops were many, populated with proud, fearsome, and cruel warriors. There were a thousand damsels, hardened by combat, strong and dedicated, well-armed on good Arabian horses; their tack was very expensive. They rode along for many days across many countries before arriving finally at Troy: this was their duty!]

The anaphora—and alliteration, for that matter—with *molt* underlines the multiplicity of Amazon identity. Instead of describing individual characters, Benoît evokes the plurality of the group. They are many and one, a community of female warriors populated by many exemplary individual soldiers.

Panteselee, as queen and general of the Amazons, is interconnected with and independent from these troops. Although Benoît provides more detail about her appearance than he does about the women in her battalion, she nevertheless becomes part of the surrounding masses once the battle begins. Moreover, unlike the silent warriors of *Eneas*, Panteselee and her troops utter resounding battle cries:

Adoncs avint Panteselee
 O sa gent estreite e serree.
 Qui molt est fiere e cumbatanz.
 Li bruiz des lances i est granz.
 Haut s'escrient a l'avenir,

Mes soz ciel n'est riens a oïr
 Avers eles : lai de Breton,
 Harpe, viele n'autre son
 N'est se plors non avers lor criz (v. 23593-23601).

[Then Panteselee arrived with her warriors who formed close ranks. They were very cruel when fighting. The forest of their lances was great. They let loose a battle cry as they marched forward, unlike anything ever heard under the heavens: the Bretons' lays, the harp, the vielle, or any other sound were just moans in comparison to this battle cry.]

Here, Benoît highlights Panteselee's leadership of her battalion, placing her at the head of ordered rows of brave female soldiers. Despite the centralized control over multitudes of warriors, however, the cries of Panteselee's troops resound as melodies amidst the brutal clamor of the battle. Amazon utterance is harmonious and unified, much like their unified and awe-inspiring attack. The twenty-second battle reveals the same battle cries, this time linked explicitly to the divine. Benoît states, "Ne semblent pas voiz femenines, / Que d'esperitaus riens devines" (v. 24001-24002) [They did not resemble female voices, but like spiritual, divine things]. Panteselee and her troops exercise powerful speech that supersedes their opponents' expectations of their gender, species, and mortality. Amazon speech links general to troops, women to warfare, mortal to divinity. Dangerous and beautiful speech unites Panteselee with her troops.

In both *Eneas* and *Troie*, the poets transition from orders given to the deployment of Amazon material assemblages in mounted combat. The *Eneas* poet and Benoît show the troops assuming their battlefield positions with lances aimed skyward, awaiting their general's order to begin the full assault. In *Eneas*, the assault is particularly effective. The maidens sweep through Trojan ranks, delivering blows to their opponents with great accuracy (v. 7060-7065), and Camille alone fells 100 with ease:

Camille point parmi les rens,

souvent jouste aus Troïens,
 tiex .C. en y fait enverser,
 onc ne porent puis relever.
 Bien fiert de lance, miex d'espee,
 a grant merveille estoit doutee ;
 ne getoit point son cop en vain :
 qui ferus estoit de sa main
 ne languissoit pas longuement,
 mire ne li valoit naient.
 La mort sivoit son cop touz tenz ;
 n'i avoit neant de deffenz
 por bon hauberc, por bon escu :
 ele i feroit de grant vertu (v. 7101-7114).

[Camille spurred among the ranks, jousting often with the Trojans. She brought down one hundred of them there who could never after rise up again. She struck well with the lance and better with the sword, and was wonderfully feared. Her blow did not fall in vain; he who was struck down by her hand did not languish long: medicine was of no value to him, for death always followed her blow. She struck with such great strength that there was no defense against her in a good hauberk or a strong shield (193-194).]

Camille spurs her charger and weaves into and out of the ranks, delivering blows from which none can recover. Camille executes her job as warrior and as leader with economy and precision. Each hit she delivers from the back of her charger ends in immediate death for her victims, emasculating her male opponents and shattering any illusion of male superiority on the battlefield.

Camille is one with her mount and they move in concert against her foes. She rides adroitly throughout the troops, piercing Trojan flesh with her lance and sword and setting an example for the rest of her troops. The warrior maidens under Camille's command wield their swords with the accuracy of their leader:

Bien i feroient les pucelles,
 as Troïens font voidier selles,
 verser i font maint chevalier,
 dont li cheval vont estraier.
 Par le champ gisent li escu,

li confanon a or batu,
 lances, espees, haubers fourbis,
 couvertures, hyaumes brunis.
 Quel part que les pucelles vont,
 li Troïen voie lor font,
 nes povoient mais plus souffrir,
 si commencierent a fuïr (v. 7115-7126).

[The maidens laid on well there, making the Trojans leave their saddles. They upset many knights, whose horses went wandering. On the field lay the shields, the pennons embroidered with gold, lances, swords, polished hauberks, coverings, darkened helmets. In whatever direction the maidens went the Trojans gave way before them. They could not withstand them long, and began to flee (194).]

Camille's soldiers, charging on horseback at their enemies, leave unhorsed knights and scattered equipment in their wake. Their superlative equestrian skill permits them not only to fight well from the back of a galloping horse but also to dismantle other competent horse-rider pairs in combat. By unhorsing knights the maidens amass victories and send their opponents' horses wandering the battlefield. Through their efficacy in battle these women warriors prove the validity of male anxiety regarding their combat prowess as well as the powerful visual impact of their assemblages.¹⁷⁰ Their merciless treatment of their adversaries illustrates a stereotypically male thirst for blood and enjoyment of the fray yet it is contained in the non-normative form of female warriors.

Like Camille, Panteselee uses her jousting technique to engage the most noble of the Greek forces. In particular, she rides against and defeats Menelaus:

O Menelaus josta la bele,
 Envers le mist jus de la sele.
 Au meinz en ot le milsoldor ;
 Maint en i gaigna le jor.

¹⁷⁰ Madeline H. Caviness takes biblical, literary, and historical examples to nuance the understanding of the relationship between medieval female warriors and their equipment. In particular she argues that warrior women provoke male castration anxiety because they fight with phallic weapons. See her article, "Of Arms and the Woman in Medieval Europe: fact. fiction. fantasy" (*FKW//Zeitschrift für Geschlechterforschung und visuelle Kultur* 54 [2013]): 64, 70-71.

Ele e Diomedés josterent.
 De plein eslés tiels se donerent (23630)
 Que d'escu n'ot ainc puis seisine : (23633)
 Voler le li fist la raïne. (23634)
 Soz lui s'aarbra le destrier,
 Molt par fu pres del trebuchier :
 Coneü a bien sa visteice
 E sa vertu e sa pröece.
 Redotee est en petit d'ore.
 Es greignors presses lur cort sore,
 Sovent lur fet müer estaus
 E guerpir seles e chevaus.
 Bien li aïdent ses puceles :
 Sanc i espandent e cerveles ;
 Toz les conreiz funt trere ariere.
 Si vos di bien que la poudriere
 Est de sanc vermeil destenpree (v. 23625-23647).

[The beauty jousted against Menelaus and threw him backward from his horse. She first took his expensive horse and then many others that day. She jousted with Diomedes. With great skill they each deliver such (blows) that Diomedes lost his shield: the queen made it fly out of his hands. Diomedes' charger reared up under him, and he almost fell off. After this, Diomedes knew the Queen's speed, strength, and prowess. Panteselee is soon feared. Where the warriors are most numerous, she attacks and disperses them, making them leave their saddles and horses. Her maidens help her greatly: they caused bloodshed and split heads; they made all the opposing troops retreat. I tell you, the dust on the battlefield is soaked with red blood.]

Benoît describes Panteselee's skill at riding and jousting as beyond parallel. Panteselee separates her foes easily from their horses, even unhorsing King Menelaus and winning his charger. In the twenty-second battle she again jousts with a valorous opponent, King Telamon. Once again she delivers her opponent a deadly blow (v. 24016-24030).

Throughout *Troie*, Panteselee receives praise for her violent combat prowess:

La reïne de Femenie
 Vos di que nes espargne mie :
 Les vis lor trenche e les costez.
 Mout est li suens branz redotez :
 Veie li font li orgoillos
 E tuit li plus chevaleros.

N'est merveille, s'ele est dotee :
 Bien fiert de lance e mieuz d'espee (v. 24059-24066).

[The queen of Femenie, I tell you, doesn't spare them at all: she cuts off their faces and ribs. Much is the blade of her sword feared: it breaks all the proud and all the most valiant. It is not shocking that she is gifted: she strikes well with the lance and better with the sword.]

The ability to wound her opponents earns Panteselee effusive praise from Benoît. Her sword penetrates skulls and rib cages, effortlessly splitting bodies with deadly force.

Even the proudest and most valiant adversaries cannot risk the mortal wounds she levies upon them. In another passage, Panteselee and her warriors appear in battle with a wake of their opponents' brains and bowels behind them (v. 23861-23862). Indeed, Panteselee shares with Camille the ability to maim all adversaries, just as both dismantle the bonds between man and horse. These Amazon women are a danger to human flesh and the interspecies, multi-material bonds of their opponents' chivalric assemblages.

This equestrian and chivalric prowess demonstrated by both Camille and Panteselee associates them both with a virility that is no longer exclusively male. Huchet suggests that the *Eneas* poet deliberately problematizes any alienation of femininity from virility—a noun which typically evokes male power, potency, energy, or even sex drive. He explains, “par le choix de la chevalerie, Camille franchit la ligne de partage des sexes, non pour en jouir tour à tour, mais pour valoriser la virilité et transformer sa féminité et sa beauté en pur spectacle invitant le désir à déposer les armes” (74). This calculated authorial choice stresses the desire of the Amazon figure to bear arms. Camille shares this female militancy with Benoît's Panteselee in the *Roman de Troie*. Like their male counterparts, both women joust against their opponents, impale their adversaries, and win horses and renown on the battlefield. The Amazon women of the *trilogie antique* show

equal talent for deconstructing competent male rider-horse pairs as the male knights fighting on the same battlefields.

In addition to challenging the tendency to gender chivalry as perpetually male, the romances of the *trilogie antique* display a total warfare that leaves no character untouched. Westphal reads this strategy as fundamentally linked to frequent portrayals of female warriors. She explains, “Putting women into this man’s world has the symbolic effect of converting bystanders into agents of violence, and of making everyone a combatant” (“Amazons” 26). Other characters becomes complicit in Camille’s violence, just as the reader, too, stands on the battlefield amidst deadly blows and bloodied bodies, watching the Amazon myths unfold.

Despite the strong literary impact of female knighthood, few have studied the historical incidence of female chivalry as a foundation for literary Amazon characters. Scholars have instead concentrated on the influence wielded by male knights.¹⁷¹ However, the narratives of Valkyrie Amazon warriors do more than weave fantastic narratives about female power and prowess; their messages bear witness to the exemplary medieval women who fought on the battlefield, managed estates, and negotiated political treatises.

By demonstrating women’s participation in chivalric orders, merciless combat in influential battles, and adroit tactical maneuvering of the troops they commanded and inspired, Cassagnes-Brouquet shows that female knights filled all of the chivalric roles

¹⁷¹ Although Cassagnes-Brouquet disagrees with Georges Duby, she acknowledges the central role of his scholarship on the male-dominated Middle Ages in the history of medieval studies. Duby certainly inspired a great deal of scholarship on the male historical figures who were agents in medieval history and, by extension, literature. For an example of a study that limits women’s sphere of influence largely to the domestic sphere and marriage market, Cassagnes-Brouquet cites Jo Ann McNamara and Suzanne Wemple’s article, “The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500-1100” (*Feminist Studies* 1.3/4, 1973): 126-141.

long-supposed to be limited to men (203). She cites Nina Pancer's arguments that, "Les aristocrates ont souvent été décrites par les historiens comme des instruments passifs au service des politiques matrimoniales de leurs familles, mais, dans bien des cas, elles se montrent fort actives, en particulier des reines, bien sûr, et cela dès le début du Moyen Âge" (Cassagnes-Brouquet 14).¹⁷² Cassagnes-Brouquet examines cartularies, chronicles, and literary texts to reveal the numerous women and female literary characters who did challenge those medieval sociocultural expectations that demanded female passivity and vulnerability. Whether wives or mothers, noble or common, medieval women often showed willingness to assume typically male roles when deaths, wars, crusades, or other needs demanded it. They fulfilled their obligations with aplomb and demonstrated talent for physically-demanding tasks such as managing agricultural production, protecting political and familial dynasties, and defending their estates from would-be usurpers, tasks which required physical stamina and competent horsemanship.¹⁷³

Cassagnes-Brouquet argues, like Huchet, that literary *cavalières* are affiliated with both genders. She identifies Amazons with virility and with the trope of the *virago*, a female stock character of sorts defined by "male" pursuits and gender non-conformity (21). Contrary to previous ideas about an inherently pejorative *virago*, Cassagnes-Brouquet establishes a positive literary resonance:

¹⁷² Nina Pancer, *Sans peur et sans vergogne. De l'honneur et des femmes au premier temps mérovingiens* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2001).

¹⁷³ Cassagnes-Brouquet dedicates her 4th chapter, "Dames et guerrières au temps de la chevalerie," to several women who took control of family lands, armies, and political dynasties when external concerns prevented their male relatives from fulfilling those obligations. She discusses Marie de Champagne (15-16), Mathilde de Toscane (24-26), Anne Comnène (27-29), Richilde de Hainaut (29-30), Clémence de Bourgogne (30), and others who either supported or undermined their husbands to advocate sometimes unpopular beliefs in their respective communities. Cassagnes-Brouquet's argument details the various roles medieval women played in military, economic, and political circles, but does not factor in their particular relationship to horses.

Le terme n'est pas forcément péjoratif au Moyen Âge et est utilisé par les auteurs pour louer des femmes qui ont exercé des pouvoirs généralement réservés aux hommes. Pour leurs contemporains, il n'entre pas forcément en contradiction avec la féminité et la maternité et n'induit pas que ce pouvoir soit contre nature ou usurpé. Il est d'ailleurs rarement employé par les auteurs qui lui préfèrent les adverbes ou adjectifs, virilement ou viril (*viriliter*, *virilis*). Ces femmes seraient nées avec certains traits physiologiques masculins qui les rendraient capables d'agir comme ou mieux que les hommes (22).¹⁷⁴

As Cassagnes-Brouquet argues, these *viragos* may equal and even surpass men in violent and dangerous tasks. Both Camille and Panteselee, for example, defeat numerous male warriors who are described as valorous and deadly. Their talent for fighting on horseback matches that of their adversaries, and they amass hundreds and even thousands of victories. Camille and Panteselee, however, meet defeat regardless of military acumen.

Their deaths on the battlefield, while an unavoidable hazard for all those who wage war, are most significantly a consequence of the collective anxiety caused by their species, material, and physical hybridity. As cyborgs, these women inspire reverence and also provoke apprehension and mistrust. Their deaths illustrate not just the act of organic death, but the compromise of their Amazon cyborg assemblages. Unfortunately for the Amazons, their intrinsic commingling of military virtuosity and femininity never ceases to irritate their communities. The fatal covetousness that Camille shows in dismounting to seek a superior helmet and Panteselee's violent dismemberment followed by her ignominious river burial point to their opponents' desperate attempts to censure their transgressive Amazon cyborg bodies. Despite their idealized military skill and superlative

¹⁷⁴ Kimberly A. LoPrete challenges the contemporary assumption that the term *virago* was a pejorative designation for women who wielded political, economic, or military power in medieval society. Lochrie argues that, in fact, powerful women were often revered. For more on the literary trope of the *virago*, see her chapter "Gendering Viragos: Medieval Perceptions of Powerful Women" in *Victims or Viragos?* Ed. Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 17-38.

beauty, the Amazons must constantly defend their composition and their lives against external threats, symptoms of the normative gender ideals that surround them.

Threats, Death, and Destroying the Cyborg

Camille and Panteselee encounter the threats expected of characters whose lives revolve around military campaigns, cavalry charges, and hand-to-hand combat. As warriors, their death in battle is an expectation rather than an aberration. As women, however, Camille and Panteselee also encounter misogynistic resistance—from Tarson and Pyrrhus, respectively—to their prowess. Each romance includes a distinct but strikingly similar instance of a man verbally insulting each superlative Amazon warrior. These battlefield insults and the Amazons' disparate verbal and nonverbal responses to them demonstrate that the danger to the Amazons' physical bodies is coupled with ideological threats to their identity as woman-warriors, as constructed hybrid assemblages, and as cyborgs. Subsequently, the placement of each Amazon's rebuttal and the role of horses in their defeat in battle prefigure the disparate societal responses to each Amazon cyborg corpse.

Eneas and *Troie* present different relationships between male battlefield insults and Amazon defeats. In the former, Tarson insults Camille and her violent but silent response curtails his licentious speech. Camille utters her rebuttal to Tarson's corpse. She only succumbs later when she dismounts to retrieve Cloreus' helmet, which she has coveted from across the battlefield. At this moment, the cowardly eavesdropper Arans impales her from behind. Panteselee, on the other hand, dies immediately following her apparently ineffective rebuttal to Pyrrhus' insults. Pyrrhus overtakes her, drags her from

her horse,¹⁷⁵ and proceeds to dismember her corpse and shatter her skull. Although their defeats arise in different circumstances, horses play key roles in the deaths of their Amazon riders.

The transition from riding their horses to being unmounted plays a significant role in the Amazons' increased vulnerability. Whether dismounting willingly or being dragged forcibly from a horse, the undoing of Amazon/horse bonds cripples their assemblages and prevents them from exercising the military prowess they display on horseback. Without their horses, the Amazons are neutralized.

Misogynist taunting in the form of battlefield jokes is another technique for neutralizing Amazon agency. Camille and Panteselee's opponents deride the women in order to curtail their female chivalric prowess. Tarson and Pyrrhus give voice to societal conservatism by denouncing the female militarism that Westphal reads as a principal barrier to heteronormative fetishes of the Amazon body:

This context of unruly women blocks the easy allegorization of the Amazon as a pastiche of feudal values, and blocks also the effortless enjoyment of her body as fetish. Another layer of Amazon resistance to heteronormative desire is literal, plotted, and embedded in action. Above all, it lies in the murderous quality of Amazon warfare ("Camilla" 245).

Although the Amazons resist heteronormativity in word and deed, their attackers insult them by linking them to domesticity and sexuality. Their speeches point to insecurities about women surpassing men in warfare and use objectifying language to relegate each Amazon maiden to the normative order of the day. Tarson even descends to *ad feminam*

¹⁷⁵ Dictys' gives Panteselee's hair a more central role in her dismantling in his version of the epic. Achilles, who attacks and unhorses Panteselee in Dictys' version, sees her hair as a point of vulnerability. While Benoît's Pyrrhus merely drags her from her horse, Kleinbaum explains that Achilles grabs her hair to pull her to the ground (45). While not present between the medieval *Eneas* and *Troie*, these capillary links connect Camille and Panteselee. Their long blonde hair, as a fundamental part of the formulaic feminine beauty of medieval literature, becomes a central aspect of their material and gender identities.

attacks on Camille, calling her sexual appetite so voracious that she would only reach satisfaction through prostitution with scores of men. Indeed, both Camille and Panteselee confront vicious criticism from Tarson and Pyrrhus, respectively. Both opponents seek to discredit female chivalry.

By considering the circumstances of personal attacks against Camille and Panteselee and then evaluating their combat responses, verbal rebuttals, and proximity to their mounts during their final battles, we may form images of these Amazon warriors in which their chivalry implicates also their verbal speech, materiality, and equestrianism.

The *Eneas* poet begins by describing the attention Camille attracts on the battlefield. In particular, the same golden hair that links her body with that of her horse also evokes her feminine sensuality. Stock considers the appearance of her blond hair cascading down her armor as both an indication of the dichotomy between her femininity and her chivalry and also the very foothold from which Tarson launches his attacks against her:

Camille's exposure of her extremely long, blond hair, on one hand, puts her at risk of both physical entanglement (like Absalom in the Old Testament) and high visibility, making her a vulnerable target on the battlefield. On the other hand, in terms of gender construction, long hair is a traditional signifier of the femininity that not only distinguished Amazons from male warriors, but to some extent sexualized them. This eroticizing of Camille's long blond hair is demonstrated in Tarcon's leering 'compliment' of her coiffure (...) just prior to offering her money to have sex with him (64).

When Tarson sees this sign of sensual femininity, he strikes out at its audacious presence on the battlefield. He responds decisively in order to remove the threat she poses to what was previously an exclusively male environment:

Vers Camille se retorna,
moult fierement l'araisonna.

« Dame, fait il, qui estes vous
 qui ci vous embatez seur nous ?
 Nos chevaliers vous voi abatre :
 femme ne doit mie combatre
 se par nuit non et en gissant,
 la puet faire homme recreant ;
 mais ja nul preudom o l'escu
 par femme ne sera vaincu.
 Laissiez ester desmesurance,
 l'escu metez jus et la lance,
 et le hauberc qui trop vous blece ;
 ne moustrez point vostre prouesce.
 Ce n'est mie vostre mestier,
 mais bien filer, coudre ou taillier ;
 en belle chambre soz cortine
 fait bon combatre o tel meschine.
 Venistes ça por vous moustrer ?
 Je ne vous veul mie acheter.
 Pour quant blanche vous voi et bloie :
 .IIII. deniers ai ci de Troie,
 qui sont moult bon, de fin or tuit ;
 ceuz vous donra por mon deduit
 une piece mener o vous ;
 je n'en seray point trop jalous,
 bailleray vous aus escuiers.
 Bien vous veul vendre mes deniers :
 se tant y perch, point ne m'en plaing,
 vous en avrez double gaaing :
 l'un ert que de mon or avrez,
 l'autre que vostre bon ferez ;
 mais ne vous souffiroit naient,
 je cuit, se il estoient cent ;
 vous en porriez estre lassee,
 mais ne seriez mie saoulee » (v. 7137-7172).

[He turned to Camille and addressed her very haughtily: "Lady," he said, "who are you, that you do battle against us here? I see you striking down our knights, but a woman should not do battle, except at night, lying down; there she can make any man abandon his duties. But a bold man with a shield will never be defeated by a woman. Let this arrogance be. Put down that shield and the lance and the hauberk, which cuts you too much, and stop exhibiting your prowess. That is not your calling, but rather to spin, to sew, to clip. It is good to do battle with a maiden like you in a beautiful chamber, beneath a bed-curtain. Have you come here to show yourself off? I do not want to buy you. But nevertheless, I see that you are fair and blond. I have here four Trojan deniers, all of very good

fine gold; I will give you these to have my pleasure with you a little while. I will not be too jealous of it, but will share you with the squires. Indeed, I wish to offer you my deniers; if I lose a little by it I will not complain. You will have a double profit from it: the one in that you will have of my gold, the other in that you will be doing your pleasure; but that will not suffice you at all, unless there are a hundred of us; you may become tired, but you will not be satisfied" (194-195).]

Such scandalous remarks to any woman—much less to the virtuous and chaste Camille—would ruin any knight's chivalric reputation. Tarson relies on the basest stereotypes about women to call Camille frivolous, weak, and sexually promiscuous. He proclaims that women should only show such ardor in the bedroom and asserts that she would hardly gain pleasure except from the hundreds of squires with whom he would share her. As Westphal states, "Tarchon's speech performs smut's most ideological task: to compose womanhood *entirely* of elements that are sexual. The joke powerfully merges all of the meanings that attach to Amazons—strength, courage, chastity, beauty, murderous efficiency in war, gender disorder—into a simplified idea of womanhood as sexual property available for a price" ("Camilla" 251). He claims that she cannot defeat any man in battle, a falsehood already disproved hundreds of times and which he himself contradicts in his initial apostrophe to her.

Unsurprisingly, the misogynist Tarson would restrict female enthusiasm to sexual intercourse. He evokes the passion of intercourse by using the term *gissant* (v. 7143), one which usually indicates a supine position, though it may also connote giving birth or having sex. The image of a reclining Camille also foreshadows her upcoming defeat and burial. According to Stock, the *Eneas* poet authorizes Tarson's misogyny, though he affords Camille a decisive response when she slays her slanderous opponent (65). By

insisting that women belong in the bedroom while also foreshadowing Camille's death, Tarson inspires Camille's wrath.

By this battlefield insult, Tarson offends, disparages, and ridicules Camille. He attempts to minimize her and turn the tide of the battle in his favor, though Westphal asserts that his speech also introduces a comic dimension to their exchange. She explains:

The battlefield joke, as a medieval plot convention, is related to smut as conventions of bodily description are related to the fetish. Smut, according to Freud, consists in the naming of sexual acts and organs in a scene that always involves three people at least. This naming may be direct, or it may be allusive and metonymical. Smutty jokes carry out the process of recuperation by embodying the Amazon as desirable and defenseless in scenes filled with rage, conflict, and female resistance ("Camilla" 235).

Tarson's smut does not simply evoke the humor of the Amazons crossing gender lines by engaging in warfare. The particular fact of women wielding swords also creates an anatomical link between these women and their male opponents. Tarson references the innate anomaly of a woman on the battlefield by contrasting a warrior with a prostitute.

Arans—the Freudian third party required to transform this scene from a sexually explicit joke into smut—also announces a link between Tarson's insult and Camille's death. The joke provides the first example of Camille's vulnerability. Arans witnesses this vulnerability and later takes advantage of Camille dismounting by attacking her when she is still vulnerable, albeit differently.

When Tarson offends Camille, his insults precipitate a change in her fighting that accompanies her demise. For the first time in the romance, she strikes out in anger when she has previously fought in a cold, calculated manner. She is a military expert who executes tactical moves without emotional involvement until the moment when Tarson attacks her body, her gender, and her profession. His threats of deconstitution,

objectification, and prostitution publicly confirm the contingency of the Amazon cyborg and her vulnerability to the heteronormative medieval environment where she fights. The personal offense she takes may imply her awareness of this hostile environment, and Arans seizes this opportunity to strike. Following the discourse that has suggested her vulnerability, Arans eliminates the threat she poses, once and for all.

Camille presents an ideological challenge to her society at large and runs the risk of attack as long as she fights. Like the cyborg as Haraway imagines it, Camille is ironic, meaning that she embodies “contradictions that do not resolve into larger wholes” (149). Haraway explains the cyborg as a figure of social change and innovation, “a condensed image of both imagination and material reality, the two joined centres structuring any possibility of historical transformation” (“Cyborg” 150). Likewise in the medieval *trilogie antique*, the Amazon cyborg challenges the dominant heteronormative order in this literary form. Camille’s violent sword-wielding threatens Tarson, and his smutty speech gives voice to his underlying fear and discomfort about her professional and sexual appropriation. Westphal continues:

Another trait that smut shares with poetry is the emotive power to communicate feelings as well as ideas, arguments, or mental images. Its supercharged affect as wooing or seductive, hostile and cruel, embarrassing, shameful, pleasurable, or funny, offered the medieval poets an apt, if not ideal, linguistic medium for the recuperation of female beings who, it was feared, had neither compassion nor desire for men—that is, no feelings at all from a heteronormative standpoint (“Camilla” 255).

In *Eneas*, Tarson’s smut aims to transform Camille from a valiant adversary into a sexual object. Whether motivated by anxiety over a possible defeat, by sexual desire precipitated by her golden hair, or by his own normative view of society, Tarson uses smut to assert his verbal superiority. Westphal explains that smut transfers power from its female object

to its male subject (“Camilla” 256), calling it, “a process in language, including medieval poetic language, that transforms resisting female beings into sexualized female bodies from a standpoint that labors to be normative” (“Camilla” 257). His insulting speech wounds Camille deeply, but she curtails his linguistic attempt at domination and objectification with her nonverbal combat prowess. The *Eneas* poet affords Camille the rebuttal denied to many female literary characters.

In contrast to Tarson’s effusive smut and Camille’s silent response, Pyrrhus offers a brief attack against Panteselee. He addresses his soldiers, urging them to fight bravely against the women who dare bear arms against them:

Tornez, fait il, franc chevalier !
 Trop vos laissez estouteier !
 Ce sunt femmes, ce m’est avis,
 Qui ci vos tolent voz avis,
 Voz cumpaignons, les biaux, les prouz !
 Mes se n’en est lor li desoz,
 Ja mes ne quier armes porter.
 Enuier nos deit e peser
 Quant femmes vers nos tienent place (v. 24079-24087).

[Stand together, he says, noble knights! You are letting yourselves be slaughtered! These are women, as far as I can see, who are taking your friends from you, your handsome and valiant comrades! But if they will not soon be overtaken, I will forever renounce bearing arms. How can we bear it when women try to take our place?]

Pyrrhus, like his father Achilles, shows his bravery on the battlefield and his ability to motivate his men. Moreover, Pyrrhus needs his men to confront the Amazon threat in order to prove their mettle—and their material metal—against the threat of woman warriors. As Adrienne Mayor reminds, “every great champion of myth—Heracles,

Theseus, Achilles¹⁷⁶—proved his valor by overcoming powerful warrior queens and their armies of women (11).” Though he impugns his female opponents and their abilities in battle to galvanize his men, he stops before evoking the Amazons’ female anatomy or suitability for prostitution. Pyrrhus does not need his troops to face down feeble or easily-vanquished woman: they must beat the unified and fearsome Amazons. Only this victory can guarantee Pyrrhus’ inclusion among the ranks of mythic heroes he hopes to join. His military and verbal attacks against the Amazons are designed to achieve this exact purpose.

Just as Tarson and Pyrrhus insult their female opponents differently, so Camille and Panteselee reply differently to their respective attackers. Camille’s silent, active response contrasts to Panteselee’s verbal discourse. Camille becomes what I call a dangerous listener, a term that evokes her passive reception of insulting speech followed immediately by a decisive, active response to eliminate the speaker who offended her. Ironically, the dangerous listener Camille is slain by Arans, another dangerous listener as the third party who qualifies Tarson’s speech as smut (Westphal “Camilla” 254). Conversely, Panteselee’s lengthy verbal rebuttal exemplifies Mora-Lebrun’s female *parole argumentée* (“Parole” 36-37). Her speech detracts from her combat response and seems to compromise her ability to survive and defend herself ideologically. Panteselee fails to silence her slanderous attacker before delivering her pithy retort, and her ill-timed speech precipitates in her defeat, dismemberment, and death. Speeches from Tarson and

¹⁷⁶ Pyrrhus is not listed amongst these classical heroes because he does not attack an Amazon in the original sources. Only later in Benoît’s *Troie* does he take the place of his father, Achilles, and lead troops against Panteselee.

Pyrrhus code Camille and Panteselee for violent deaths from which no action or speech will save them.

Camille, for example, prefers action over verbal speech. Initially, Camille responds to Tarson with violence, in true knightly fashion. Her reaction to him is swift and just: “le bon cheval brioche et point, / vers Tarson vait et a lui joint” (v. 7175-6) [She dug and spurred her good horse, letting it charge at Tarson, and attacked him (195)]. The force of her blow shatters his shield and hauberk. Camille closes his eyes permanently even before he hits the ground. Her duty accomplished, she looks down on his silent corpse to answer his profanity:

Ne ving point ça por moy mostrer
 ne por putaige demener,
 mais pour faire chevalerie.
 Vostre denier ne veul je mie,
 trop avez fait folle bargaigne ;
 ne vif mie de tel gaaigne ;
 miex say abatre .I. chevalier
 que acoller ne donoier :
 ne say mie combatre enverse (v. 7183-7191).

[I do not come here to show myself off, or to indulge in debauchery, but to practice chivalry. I want none of your deniers: you have made a most foolish bargain. I know better how to strike down a knight than to embrace him or make love to him; I do not know how to do battle on my back (195).]

Camille has the final word when she refuses Tarson’s insinuations about her lascivious lifestyle and states plainly that she desires neither fame nor renown, but merely knighthood. These words—uttered only to his corpse—underline Camille’s understated prowess: even as she nears the already foreshadowed end of her life, she remains true to the chivalric values of duty and honor. Additionally, Stock argues that the speeches invented by the *Eneas* poet create a verbal parallel with the battlefield combat and gender

warfare (66). By mapping warfare, gender difference, and verbal argument onto each other, the *Eneas* poet emphasizes the intersection of knighthood, gender, and logos on the battlefield and within Camille.¹⁷⁷

Unlike Camille, Panteselee immediately rebuts the attacks against her. While Camille slays Tarson before delivering her reply to his bloody corpse, Panteselee contradicts Pyrrhus' misogynist commands to his men before engaging him in battle, declaring:

Vassal, fet ele, se devient,
 Tu cuides que nos seions tels
 Cum autres femmes comunels,
 Qui les cors ont veins e legiers.
 Ce n'est mie nostre mestiers :
 Puceles somes, n'avons cure
 De malvestié ne de luxure.
 Le renne qui nos apartient
 Desfendons si que rien ne crient ;
 N'est peceiez, ars ne maumis.
 Porter armes por avoir pris
 Somes a cest secors venues.
 N'est mie del tot sans aiües
 Qui mes cumpaignes a e mei !
 E, si come je pens e crei,
 Tu savras, ainz que cest jor faille,
 De que nos servons en bataille.
 A tei e a la töe gent
 Vendrai encui mon mautalant.
 Por Achillés cui tu es fiz,
 Qui a Priant a mort sis fiz,
 Hector le prou e le vaillant
 Qui de son cors par valeit tant
 Qu'en tot le siecle trespasé
 Ne fu ainc nus de sa bonté,

¹⁷⁷ The pattern of verbal insult followed by violent combat appears throughout the medieval French literary tradition. In particular, the *Chanson de Roland* figures five instances where Pagans insult Christians who respond with violent attacks instead of verbal rebuttals. Like Camille, Roland, Oliver, and Archbishop Turpin utter their responses to the corpse of their attacker. By eliding the difference between combat and speech, the *Roland* poet makes abusive language an integral part of battlefield violence. For more on speech and violence in the *Chanson de Roland*, see Sharon Kinoshita's article, "'Pagans are wrong and Christians are right': Alterity, Gender, and Nation in the *Chanson de Roland*" (*Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31:1 [Winter 2001]): 79-111.

Dont ai dolor, ire e pesance,
Tei desfie de mort ma lance (v. 24090-24116).

[Vassal, she said, perhaps, do you imagine that we are just like other women who are prostitutes, whose bodies are weak and wayward. This is not the case: we are maidens and care nothing for vice or lust. We protect our realm from all dangers: it is not ravaged or burned or pillaged. We came to the Trojans' aid to gain glory for ourselves. He is not without aid, who has my comrades and me at his sides! And, as I think and believe it, you will know, you as well, before the end of the day, just how we behave in combat. On you and on your men I will bring all my fury. For Achilles—your father who killed Priam's son, the brave and valiant Hector, whose body was so worthy and, among all people, he had unequalled beauty, whose death filled me with pain, anger, and distress—my lance threatens you with a deadly challenge.]

Panteselee tailors her speech directly to the attacks Pyrrhus makes against her. He criticizes the Amazons' military pursuits as unsuitable for women, and he vows, despite the bodies lying dead in their wake, that he will get the upper hand over Panteselee and her troops or he will lay down his arms. Panteselee explains that the Amazons are unlike prostitutes because they do not succumb to *malvestié* (vice) nor to *luxure* (lust). Her rebuttal distances the Amazons from the behavior of the licentious women to whom Pyrrhus alludes (Lochrie 114). She only defends the Amazons and does not attempt to disprove Pyrrhus' opinion about women remaining in the domestic sphere (Kleinbaum 55). Instead, Panteselee asserts their chivalric valor and explains that they express their emotions—namely, their *mautalent* (anger, irritation, bitterness, and rancor)—and achieve their renown in combat.

Interestingly though, the Amazon women's use of language distinguishes them from one another. Panteselee expresses herself verbally at such length that she undermines her own predilection for speaking through action on the battlefield. Conversely, Camille does not speculate or wager, even though the insults to her character

are both more specific and more nefarious than those against Panteselee. Because Camille reacts decisively and lets her sword speak for her, she defeats Tarson with ease (v. 7173-7191). Her sword is authoritative and swift, counterbalancing her restrained and delayed speech. Yet despite her decisive victory over Tarson, Camille is marked for death.

Frequent use of dramatic irony foreshadows Camille's ultimate defeat. The *Eneas* poet suggests both that her attacks slay all opponents and that death awaits her on the battlefield when he states, "La mort sivoit son cop touz tenz" (v. 7111) [Death always followed her blows]. He also refers to the skulking Trojan, Arans, who haunts her every movement on the battlefield (v. 7205-7222). Because Arans lacks the confidence to attack her properly (v. 7210-7214), Camille takes no notice of him as he lies in wait for the chance to strike, assuming wrongly that no knight would dare violate the tenets of chivalry¹⁷⁸ and attack her from behind (v. 7215-7226). Nevertheless he waits, finding the perfect moment to strike just as she catches a glimpse of Cloreus wearing his signature golden armor and helmet adorned with pearls and precious stones (v. 7233-7242).

Camille covets Cloreus' helmet—the most decadent piece of armor in the romance—as a means to modify her Amazon cyborg assemblage:

a or ert toute s'armeüre
 et connoissance et couverture,
 et avoit .I. hyaume tant cler
 que l'en nel povoit esgarder :
 contre soleil reflambioit.

¹⁷⁸ Like Tarson's speech, Arans' dishonorable behavior relegates him to an inferior position according to the chivalric code. By prowling about unnoticed, Arans' behavior contrasts with Camille's idealized chivalric comportment. Medieval historians and literary scholars alike insist on the importance of honorable conduct in battle, love, and society for medieval knights. In particular, see Jean Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie au Moyen Age* (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 1998) on "les tactiques de la chevalerie" (119-126) as well as "littérature et éthique chevaleresque" (255-263). Additionally, Maurice Hugh Keen establishes the severe consequences for disobedience, dishonor, and treason—violations comparable to those of Tarson, Arans, and later Pyrrhus. According to Keen, a knight who committed any of these violations would be subjected to punishments ranging from loss of status and insignia to execution. See Keen's book *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 175-176.

Sus el chief une pierre avoit
 qui estoit de maintes coulors ;
 en fin or sist, taillie a flors ;
 touz li cercles et li nasalz
 ert a pierres et a esmalz (v. 7233-7242).

[His armor and his blazon and his covering were all of gold, and he had a helmet so bright that none could gaze upon it as it glittered in the sunlight. Beneath the crest it had a multicolored stone, set in fine gold carved with flowers. The rim and nose-guard of the helmet were entirely made of precious stones and enamel (196).]

The gold, floral carvings, multi-colored jewel, precious stones, and enamel work transform the helmet into a work of art that, though a single item, adds several new materials to Camille's existing assemblage. In addition, Keen notes that jewels adorning a chivalric armor also indicated the different types of military engagements in which a knight had participated (169-170). For example, turquoise represented the assault of a city or castle. By seeking the gem-encrusted helmet to supplement her own chivalric assemblage, Camille might be said to bypass the legacy of battle and service typically required to merit such totems. This, however, would be a mistake. Pillaging was a fundamental practice in medieval warfare, one protected by the chivalric code (Flori 153-176). Still, the standards to which Camille is held often deviate from those applied to male warriors. Whether due to an incompatibility between her past chivalric exploits and the particular jewels on Cloreus' helmet or a conservative reaction to the unstated unseemliness inherent in a woman who pillages like a male knight, Camille's efforts to take the helmet are presented as transgressive.

Each expensive material on the helmet magnifies her covetousness and she becomes single-mindedly focused on it. She spurs her horse toward Cloreus and toward the helmet she hopes to win by defeating him:

Camille a le hyaume aperçu
 au Troÿen, qui riches fu ;
 porpense soy, s'elle ne l'a,
 malvaisement se prisera.
 Le cheval broiche sel requiert,
 sor l'escu d'or tel cop le fiert
 l'auberc desmaile et derrompt,
 si le trebuche en .I. mont.
 Elle a sa reigne retenue,
 du bon cheval est descendue ;
 la vait ou cil gist en la place,
 le hyaume saisist et deslace.
 De grant naient s'est entremise,
 mais ainsi vait de couvoitise :
 mainte chose couvoite l'en
 dont l'en n'avra ja se mal non.
 Elle s'en peust bien consirer,
 ne li laira ja retourner,
 mais maulz et sa mort y gissoit
 la ou dessor le mort estoit (v. 7243-7262).

[Camille saw the Trojan's helmet, which was rich. She thought to herself that if she did not get it, she would value herself poorly. She spurred her horse, caught Cloreus out, struck him on the gilded shield, ripped his hauberk, and tore off its mail, and threw him dead on a hillock. She drew in her reins, got down from her good horse, went to where he lay on the ground, seized the helmet, and unlaced it. She was occupied with a great deal of nothing, but thus it goes with covetousness: men covet many things from which they will gain nothing but their deaths. She could well have left the helmet, and not let herself be drawn to it: her harm and her death lay there (196).]

The tragedy of Camille's covetousness is palpable. She cannot resist Cloreus' shining gold helmet and desires it for herself. Although the *Eneas* poet cites Camille's fatal mistakes as her desire for the possessions of others, her decision to dismount provides the moment of vulnerability Arans seizes to assassinate her.

Considering the scholarly inattention to Amazon equestrianism, it is unsurprising that critics have concentrated on covetousness as the principal factor for her demise.

Lochrie cites this sin but connects it to the desire to adapt her female body to the perils of battle:

The masculinity of Camilla and all Amazons is crucially displayed through their weapons and war accoutrements. Camilla's desire for the helmet of gold encrusted with gems is aimed at the masculine prosthetic at its finest. It is this desire for the masculine to the exclusion of all else, including sex, that leads to her death. Her covetousness, in a sense, is a gender greed, that is, a desire to possess the attributes of masculinity. (...) She and Penthesilea together form the abject space of chivalric empire building, one that must finally be sidelined, either through the dismembering of the masculine female body or the condemnation of the Amazon's desire (118).

Lochrie equates Camille's desire for the helmet with a desire for the masculinity linked with constructed knighthood. Camille, with her idealized female body, pursues the male domain of battle, both as one who desires to participate in chivalry and as one who styles her body with male accoutrements. Westphal links Camille's transgression to her desire for subjectivity and self-determination ("Camilla" 254). Stock identifies the apotropaic nature of the gems on Cloreus' helmet as an important acquisition that will help make Camille invincible in battle just like those jewels Eneas already wears (61, 63-64, 69). She suggests that by acquiring such jewels, Camille may become impervious to defeat in battle:

What we learn from the representation of Camille, as juxtaposed against such male warriors as Eneas, Turnus, and Cloreus in the *Roman d'Eneas*, is that wearing 'vertuously'-jeweled armor is a gendered privilege rooted in the very linguistic association between stones, jewels, and the Latin definition of masculinity itself, *virtus*. As is clear from Camille's attempt to appropriate such 'stones' *in propria persona* as a female in Eneas, such audacity or 'unnaturalness' exhibited by a woman is punishable by death (75).

Stock's argument fails to explain why, immediately after acquiring the apotropaic jewels, Camille could be impaled. She argues that this attempted acquisition leads directly to her

death, but Camille does not merely attempt to acquire the helmet, she successfully takes it, forcing us to look to her decision to dismount to explain her sudden demise.

In order to retrieve the helmet from her slain opponent, Camille must dismount. Until this point in the *Roman d'Eneas*, Camille has fought from the back of her charger and has been universally successful. When she dismounts, however, she separates from her horse, the first element of her chivalry, her constructed material body, and her Amazon cyborg assemblage. Camille is so intrigued by the other materials she might add to her assemblage that she dismounts to secure them. This moment is her weakest and least mobile of the tale, and Arans seizes the opportunity to attack when the odds are in his favor.

Panteselee also experiences the contingency of her chivalric assemblage at the moment of her death, although her circumstances differ from those of Camille. Panteselee engages in a formal joust with Pyrrhus following his insult and her rebuttal (v. 24119-24271). Their combat builds into a full battle, but Benoît redirects his focus to the Panteselee-Pyrrhus rivalry in time for the twenty-third—and Panteselee's last—battle. He describes both in a state of compromise: Panteselee has wounded Pyrrhus during the previous round of jousting, though she failed to unhorse him (v. 24289-24294), and when he returns to charge at her the buckles of her helmet have been severed. Neither enjoys the wholeness of their previous chivalric assemblages. Pyrrhus, however, is inflamed with a desire for revenge (v. 24300-24303). Benoît continues:

Öez cum fete destinee !
 El n'aveit pas l'ieume lacié :
 Tot li aveient detrenché.
 Quant el le vit vers sei venir.
 Premiere le cuida ferir ;
 Mes Pirrus tant s'esvertua

Q'un coup merveillos li jeta
 A dreit entrel cors e l'escu :
 Sevré li a le braz del bu,
 Tot le li trencha en travers.
 Ensanglentez, pales e pers
 E demi morz la ra seisie.
 O l'esforz de sa cumpaignie
 Qui des danzeles le desfendent
 E qui o Troïens contendent,
 L'a trebuchee del destrier.
 Sor li descent, cruels e fier,
 Granz coups mortiels li meist e done
 Del brant d'acier qui cler resone.
 Sor l'erbe vert, fresche e novele,
 Li espant tote la cervele ;
 Toz les membres li a trenchez ;
 Ensi se rest de li vengiez.
 C'est damages, tiels ne fu mes (v. 24304-24327).

[Listen to this terrible turn of fate! The queen's helmet was not laced then but instead had been totally shredded. When she saw Pyrrhus come towards her, she believed she would hit him first. But Pyrrhus turned around and that he struck her with a marvelous blow directly between her body and the shield: he severed her arm from her torso, cutting it off cleanly. Though he was covered with blood, pale, turning blue, and half dead, Pyrrhus seized the queen. With his comrades, who helped protect him from the maidens and who held the Trojans back, he knocked her off her charger. He leaned over her, terrible and fearsome, and he delivered great deadly blows on her with his steel sword that echoed clearly. On the green grass, cool and new, he split open her skull and dismembered her. Pyrrhus thus got revenge on her. Never had anyone seen such a catastrophe.]

Pyrrhus charges, seized with hatred and fearing neither Panteselee nor death. Benoît describes Panteselee's erroneous belief that she will strike her adversary first. Instead, her opponent surprises her when she is unprepared for battle, sitting on her horse with her helmet unbuckled. The comparison made by Westphal between Cloreus' helmet and the subjectivity sought by Camille becomes relevant here. With her helmet in a precarious position, Panteselee fails to perceive the danger of her situation or to identify threats around her.

This Amazon cyborg body provokes both anger and anxiety that manifest themselves in the violent treatment of Panteselee in her final moments. Pyrrhus not only destroys the unions of her body with armor, weapons, and horse, he also mutilates her corpse. His response to what he perceives as an audacious and transgressive woman is to cleave her arm from her body, drag her from her horse, smash her skull, and dismember her while her troops watch in horror. As Lochrie states, “The Amazons retaliate with ferocious attacks but end up fleeing in despair over their queen’s death” (114). The violent dismemberment and death of this Amazon queen are so decisive that her troops cannot recover. They disband shortly thereafter.¹⁷⁹

The material struggles of the Amazon cyborg lead to her demise, an end that resolves her alterity. In the end, both texts resolve this disparity between courtly female normativity and the Amazon cyborg alterity that contravenes it by killing the Amazon. Westphal argues that, in *Eneas*, the poet resolves this incongruence with the figure of Lavinia:

Not accidentally, all three unruly women are deceased by the end of the story, whose final focus is on the singular and triumphant figure of Lavinia. It is she who brings female embodiment and feminine desire (modesty, restraint, harnessed sexuality, the appropriate marriage partner) into “proper” courtly alignment to create the perfect lady, despite (or because of?) her tender age and lack of experience. Lavinia, unlike Camilla, has progeny, in the literal sense of becoming a mother in the text, and in the figural sense of becoming the model for courtly ladies in other narratives (“Camilla” 245).

Lavinia’s emergence as wife for Eneas and future mother to his children concludes the tale. Unlike Camille, she can be incorporated into traditional marriage and motherhood.

¹⁷⁹ In her study of the Amazon figure from Ancient Greek through the late 20th century, Kleinbaum relates Benoît’s description of Panteselee’s death to his inspiration from Dares and Dictys. She provides a thorough discussion of the Latin origin of his accounts, including the debates over how to dispose of her corpse in her chapter “The Sword of Vengeance: Amazons in the Middle Ages” (57-58).

Lochrie adds also that the Amazons are absorbed into this conservatism by way of their courtly behavior. She explains, “Amazons can still be praised for their exotic origins and their fierceness in battle, but they must be contained, too, through a twelfth-century assimilation of them into courtly ladies” (119). This argument fails, though, because it does not acknowledge the phenomenon of Camille and Panteselee’s epic battlefield deaths.

Camille and Panteselee die before they can be assimilated into full courtly femininity, an assimilation neither poet seems eager to effectuate. The tragic violence of each demise freezes each Amazon cyborg in a nuanced portrait of hybrid female warfare that cannot be reconciled with expectations of female courteousness and domesticity.

Although they leave their textual environments, the Amazon legacy is inextinguishable. Even in death Camille and Panteselee continue to impact their environments through the combination of femininity and valor that defined them in life. The descriptions of their entombed bodies as well as their disparate burial procedures evoke the lasting portraits of each Amazon cyborg as one who provokes responses ranging from murderous rage to passionate devotion.

Burying the Cyborg

Mayor identifies extraordinary deaths as a way for Amazons to achieve eternal glory and surpass their male counterparts:

In the Greek myths Amazons always die young and beautiful. But a short, splendid life and violent death in battle was the perfect heroic ideal in myth. Indeed, this destiny (*kleos aphthiton*, ‘imperishable glory’) was what every Greek hero craved for himself—the ‘beautiful death’ was supposed to guarantee eternal fame and glory. (...) In fact, what is truly surprising about Amazons is the realization that these non-Greek women

actually *surpass* the Greek mythic heroes in the manner of their deaths (28).

Postmortem responses to the Amazons, however, often diverge from this legacy of honor. Amazon burials are as varied as they are vehement. While both figures provoke collective grief, Camille's corpse is buried immediately with the highest honors, whereas Panteselee is dismembered and dishonorably floated on her shield down the Scamander River before her corpse is recovered at the Trojans' urging. Whether living or dead, the constructed, transgressive bodies of Camille and Panteselee are polarizing. Their different postmortem trajectories as well as the styling of their burials reveal their materiality to be as embattled in death as it was in life. Their femininity, relationship to horses, and military acumen come once more into question.

The treatment of each Amazon corpse before burial also reveals disparate responses to the horsemanship and combat to which she dedicated herself in life. Though knights are buried with armor, spurs, and weapons to commemorate their military careers, it is significant that each Amazon is deprived of her physical chivalric accoutrements in death. In particular, erasing the material signs of horsemanship and chivalry from their entombed bodies allows the poets to depict the Amazons' opponents as villains. By lionizing the Amazons while opposing the Trojans and Greeks, respectively, the *Eneas* poet and Benoît illustrate Amazon equestrianism as a material construct worthy of praise, not censure.

Of the two Amazon cyborgs, Camille receives the more generous treatment after her defeat. Her equestrian skill, military expertise, and ethical conduct justify an elaborate mourning period, multiple expressions of public grief, and a tomb to rival that of any knight or king. Though a woman, Camille remains an ideal knight. Her defeat

sparks an eight day truce to bury the dead, rest the horses, and then allow the soldiers to regain strength (v. 7339-7346). During this time Turnus leads the city in grieving Camille as both a valiant warrior and a chaste maiden who changed their way of life by her extraordinary pursuits (v. 7440-7445; 7464-7480; 7581-7598). Her prowess in battle figures among her greatest attributes, proven by her adroit horsemanship and deadly accuracy with sword and lance alike. Although Turnus' vehement lament echoes those spoken after Pallas' death by both Eneas and Pallas' parents (v. 6212-6432), there is nothing conventional about the assertion—one also inscribed on her epitaph (v. 7729-7734)—that Camille's extraordinary blend of femininity and chivalry changed society for the better. For her comrade in arms, Camille is nothing short of revolutionary.

In recompense, the same society she has fundamentally changed honors her memory. The verbal expressions of public grief are immortalized in the romance (v. 7556-7576; 7581-7598). Even more extraordinary is the tomb built as a final resting place for the Amazon (v. 7599-7703; 7709-7727; 7735-7790), an architectural masterpiece not unlike the one built for Pallas earlier in the romance.¹⁸⁰ Her tomb befits her as a knight and bears witness to her community's veneration for military exploits and prowess.

¹⁸⁰ Noah D. Guynn studies Pallas' and Camille's tombs as monumental edifices that advance the romance's project of national myth-building. He argues that their shared inclusion of the eternal flame, "suggests the flickering of political and sexual subjectivity and the disruptive effects of what I will call, following Joel Fineman, *allegorical desire*: an erotic, semiotic, and narrative drive both for hierarchical, structural order and for the polysemic, anamorphic production of meaning 'otherwise'" (289). See his article, "Eternal Flame: State Formation, Deviant Architecture, and the Monumentality of Same-Sex Eroticism in the *Roman d'Eneas*" (*GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6.2 [2000]) 287-319. Additionally, Charles Ridoux presents a cursory reading of the tomb as a symbolic object and bearer of meaning in his essay "Trois exemples d'une approche symbolique : le tombeau de Camille, le nain Frocin, le lion" in *Et c'est la fin pour quoi sommes ensemble : hommage à Jean Dufournet : littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Age*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1993), 1217-1221. Ridoux insists upon the triple construction of her monument and the influence of elements which link Camille to heaven. Additionally, the architectural evocation of Paradise on Camille's tomb also highlights the eternal aspect of her legacy, one which is immortalized in stone, in the heavenly place she may have earned by her virtue, and in the continued inspiration she provides to contemporary poets and theoreticians alike.

Moreover, the epitaph chiseled into this monument acknowledges her non-normative femininity:

Ci gist Camille la pucelle,
 qui moult fu preus et moult fu belle,
 qui moult ama chevalerie
 et maintint la toute sa vie.
 En porter armes mist s'entente,
 occise fu dessouz Laurente (v. 7729-7734).

[Here lies the maiden Camille, who was very brave and very beautiful, who loved chivalry greatly, and upheld it her whole life. She gave herself to the bearing of arms, and by arms was killed beneath Laurente (205-206).]

This epitaph describes Camille's knighthood as both unlikely and ideal. Though a maiden of delicate beauty, her chivalric commitment rivaled that of any male knights. As such, her community praises her sacrifice without reservation and her tomb bears eternal witness to the honor showered on her by the Trojans.

Panteselee's death precipitates a debate over her burial, unlike the praise showered on Camille. Although the city seems stricken with significant grief, the Greek leaders remain scandalized by the audacious woman who dared kill so many of their soldiers:

En¹⁸¹ la cité ot grant dolor,
 Grant perte, grant esmai, grant plor.
 Nule riens n'i prent heitement :
 Ne veient mes cum feitement
 Il aient secors ne aïe.
 La raïne de Femenie
 Fu plainte molt e regretee
 E tendrement de toz ploree
 Cil de hors unt le cors miré
 E dient que de sa biauté

¹⁸¹ The Baumgartner/Viellard edition of *Troie* states, "Au v. 24425 figure une lettrine (8 lignes) : dans la partie supérieure du E, Penthésilée enveloppée dans un linceul est couchée sur une civière ou un bouclier ; dans la partie inférieure, deux Amazones ; l'une, en rouge, s'arrache les cheveux, l'autre, en gris-vert, se tord les mains" (572-573).

Ne nasqui onques rien vivant.
 Parlé en unt peti e grant,
 Saveir que del cors sereit fet.
 Dient que grant honte e grant let
 Lur fist de venir encontr'els,
 Si lur a fet damage e dels :
 Par li e par le suen esforz
 I a des lor dis mile morz ;
 Par maintes feiz les a vencuz.
 Seit l'en tiels guerredons renduz
 Que ja ne seit ensevelie.
 Neptolomus n'agree mie,
 Ainceis vout qu'el ait sepulture
 E son mestier e sa dreiture ;
 « Dolor sereit e retraçon
 Se s'ame aveit dampnatiön. »
 Tot ce desvout Diomedés ;
 Sor toz en est fels e engrés.
 A toz vout fere otreier
 Qu'a chiens la dongent a mangier
 O en un des flueves gitee.
 Ce est la veritez provee
 Que a Schande la traïnerent ;
 La savons bien qu'il la giterent :
 C'est une eve granz e parfunde.
 Damedeus trestoz les confunde,
 Car molt i firent que vilein (v. 24425-24461).

[In the city there was great pain, great loss, great emotion, and great lamentation. None could find any comfort; none could see the manner by which they could be helped. The queen of Feminie was mourned greatly and missed and tenderly lamented by all. Those outside the city (the Greeks) also thought of her corpse and said of her beauty that no other could equal it. All people, humble and great, spoke in order to know what would be done with her corpse. They said that great shame and great outrage were done to them by Panteselee fighting against them, harming them, and causing them pain. She and her army killed 10,000 of their men; many times she defeated them. As a penalty they decided that she will never be buried. Neptolomus did not agree with this: he wanted her to have a tomb and funeral, as are her right, "It would be very sad and reprehensible if her soul were damned." Diomedes disagreed. Above all the others he was perfidious and cruel. He wanted the others to help feed her corpse to dogs or throw it into one of the rivers. It is proven truth that she was then dragged to the Scamander, and we know full well that they threw her into the wide, deep water. May God punish the Greeks because they behaved like savages.]

The tide of public opinion ebbs and flows in this passage between those sacrilegious Greeks who wish to punish Panteselee's audacity by denying her burial and their virtuous counterparts who argue she deserves an honorable interment. Among those of the first opinion, Diomedes spearheads the campaign against her by demanding they feed her to wild dogs or throw her corpse in the river. The savage Greeks ignore what Benoît presents as a clear transgression of the divine order. Only Neptolomus opposes the condemnation of her soul caused by a lack of proper burial. Despite his objections, the Trojans must plead with the Greeks to achieve the return of Panteselee's corpse (v. 24939-24951). The treatment of Panteselee's polemical corpse in death precipitates extensive argument and negotiation; responses to her corpse distinguish the valorous Trojans from the perfidious Greeks. Once more, the Amazon figure contributes, as Lochrie argues, to the national myth-building of the *romans antiques*.

Benoît resolves the arguments over her burial by returning her to the allies with whom she shared the bonds of combat. After extensive debates over her corpse, Panteselee receives the honorable burial she had been denied and the Trojans retrieve her corpse:

Panthesilee refu traite
 Del flun ou ele fu getee.
 En la vile fu aportee :
 Ja si granz dueus n'iert mais retrait
 Com ses puceles en ont fait
 E come en firent Troïen.
 Embasmee fu bel e bien.
 Puis que li monz fu establiz,
 Ne fu ne n'iert cors seveliz
 Si richement n'a tel honor,
 N'ou tant eüst ne duel ne plor (v. 25268-25278).

[Panteselee was pulled from the river where she was thrown. She was brought to the town: never will there be greater suffering than that of the retreat her maidens did and the Trojans did. She was beautifully and well embalmed. Since the world was created, there never was nor will be a corpse buried so richly or with such honor or that had such grief and lamentation.]

This passage concludes the trajectory of Panteselee's corpse after death, though its resolution is incomplete. Though the Trojans give her an honorable burial, Panteselee lacks unity in death. Benoît describes the recovery of Panteselee's corpse from the Scamander River followed immediately by the full retreat of the Amazon troops and the Trojans. When Panteselee-*corps* becomes Panteselee-corpse, the troops she leads and with whom she is allied also suffer. By juxtaposing her corpse with the disbanding of her warriors and the Trojan allied troops, Benoît underlines the interchangeability of their fates: the loss of one Amazon threatens their cause entirely.

Unlike the ignominious defeat that fundamentally informs Panteselee's burial rituals and the unity of her troops and allies, Camille never falls into enemy hands. The preparation and styling of Camille's corpse for burial does not provoke discussion or debate. Camille's corpse is never in the possession of the enemy, so her own comrades in arms treat her with great care and admiration. The *Eneas* poet describes her attire as she lies in her tomb:

Camille vestent de chemise
 et d'un b্লাiut de baudekin ;
 coronne ot en son chief d'or fin,
 le sepre tint en sa main destre,
 dessor son pis tint sa senestre (v. 7704-7708).

[They clothed Camille in a gown with a fine tunic of Baghdad silk. On her head she had a crown of fine gold, and in her right hand she held the scepter. Her left hand was placed above her breast (205).]

This distinct styling evokes her duality as a female knight. By remaining connected to masculinity and femininity even in her tomb, Camille's corpse never ceases to trouble monolithic gender categories. In her role as female warrior knight, Camille upends expectations of a universally male chivalry, and she embodies gender duality even in her coffin, where her styling reflects masculinity and femininity. Huchet cites medieval burial customs to highlight this dichotomy, "le côté droit est, au Moyen-Age, imparti à l'homme et le gauche réservé à la féminité. Dans son cercueil, Camille tiendra le sceptre, insigne de la royauté, de la main droite, la gauche désignant le sein qui la fait femme" (70). This bilateral coding of Camille's corpse extends her hybridity into the grave.

The inclusion or exclusion of spurs on a knight's corpse is a significant element of such burial coding. Both a critical tool for combat riding and a symbol of the dubbing ceremony in which each knight would receive one golden spur, spurs play an important role in medieval literary texts. Françoise Pont-Bournez discusses the symbolic attachment of the right spur to the newly-dubbed knight and elucidates the gesture of deference implicit in the act of bowing before the new knight to attach this well-earned token.¹⁸² Pont-Bournez identifies the golden spur as a symbol of maturation for each member of Duby's class of *juvenes*. The spur represents for a knight that moment at which he became a venerated member of the feudal hierarchy. In fact, the symbolism of spurs on a knight's boots continued even to his burial. Camille does not, however, bear the chivalric equipment typical of a fallen knight.

¹⁸² Pont-Bournez explores the role of spurs in Chrétien's romances as a means to determine their significance to chivalric society and their relationship to medieval social mores. See *Chrétien de Troyes : Père de la littérature européenne* (Paris: Harmattan, 2010), 80-81.

Compared to Pallas' corpse, Camille lacks any equestrian signs in her tomb. Pallas, on the other hand, wears, “espourons d'or ot en sez piez / de bon orfroy encorïez” (v. 6460-61) [spurs of gold strapped to his feet with good orphrey (181)]. A knight—whether during tournaments, battle, quests, or even burial—was clearly incomplete without his spurs, an item that followed him from dubbing through his death as a virtuous warrior, and finally into his tomb and to the hereafter. When Camille is prepared for burial, however, the poet omits spurs from the description of her corpse.

Without spurs to identify Camille as a knight during her journey into the hereafter we must reconsider her material knighthood. Although her epitaph highlights her *chevalerie*—and therefore also her equestrianism—and she holds a royal scepter in her tomb, she lacks the discrete tools of interspecies communication and violent combat with which male knights like Pallas were buried. Unlike Pallas, Camille enters her tomb with neither sword nor spurs. Whether in literary representations or in the lives of actual medieval knights, spurs are a ubiquitous element. Still, they also create many problems regarding the violence toward horses. Chapter 1, an examination of the 12th-century veterinary treatise, *La marechaucie des chevaux*, illuminated the link between spur use and the intimidation of young horses. Still, the Rufus approach did not lead to the elimination of spurs either in literary texts or life, where speed in combat could make the difference between life and death for knights. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of their appearance and use in literary texts is the disparity between *chevaliers*—male knights who demonstrate frequent spurring—and *cavalières*—female riders who display minimal, if any, use of spurs. Camille only spurs her horse four times in the 817 lines between her appearance (v. 6974) and the end of her burial sequence (v. 7790), despite felling

hundreds of foes. Perhaps her infrequent use of spurs compromises their suitability for her entombed corpse. Perhaps spurs are reserved only for male knights. Either way, Camille's epitaph reiterates her chivalric career, but her styled corpse lacks the accoutrements of material knighthood.

While her introduction in the romance presents her body as dually linked to materiality and chivalric action, Camille's corpse enters the hereafter in a different manner. Stripped of the knightly materials that reflected her role in the narrative and its epic battles, Camille exits the tale in supine repose, frozen in death and divorced from the spurs, metal arms, and armor that previously defined her. Unlike Pallas, Camille is materially deconstructed and made myth. Her knightly pursuits, like her constructed cyborg body, persist only in the epitaph and epic poem that evoke her grace and valor. To commemorate her adroit interspecies and military communication, Camille receives a marble inscription, along with oral and manuscript traditions, to transmit her legacy, not as a material body but a linguistic one. Her body becomes logos.

Une sphère infinie: An Inconclusive Conclusion

The living and dying of Amazon cyborgs reveal the intersection of ephemeral mortality and eternal renown.¹⁸³ Ill-fated Amazons persist in literary texts and feminist theory from

¹⁸³ The sheer number of stereotypes surrounding the Amazon figure bears witness to persistent interest in the figure of the woman warrior. A recent historical, archaeological, and socio-cultural study by Adrienne Mayor considers the inspiration Amazon stereotypes based upon classical historians' writings on the nomadic Scythian and Sarmatian tribes of the northern steppes. Mayor addresses horse-centered cultures (170-190), rumors of single breasted female warriors (21, 84-94), nomadic sexual mores (129-141), and fighting techniques (209-233) of these tribes. In the third part of her study she uses her historical and archaeological findings to analyze Amazon figures in classical literature. Notably, the Scythian society that likely inspired classical and medieval literary Amazons embraced gender parity. Equestrian prowess placed the men and women of the steppes on equal footing, and horses thus were central to their culture and customs (171). In addition to their equestrian talents, mothers fed their children mare's milk and the dead were buried with their favorite horses (34).

Ancient Greece and Rome through medieval France and England, continuing their trajectories into contemporary literature and feminist theory.¹⁸⁴ In the 20th century, radical feminist theorist Monique Wittig revisits these figures as timeless symbols of resistance against the patriarchy.¹⁸⁵ Wittig's text evokes the deadly prowess of female combatants whose femininity and warfare are two sides of the same Amazon coin (Kleinbaum 217). Wittig uses capitalization to evoke the urgency of their motivation, "C'EST L'ARDEUR AU COMBAT / CHALEUR INTENSE MORT ET BONHEUR / DANS LES POITRINES MAMELLÉES" (8). Yet their femininity extends beyond their single-breasted bodies to include the "O continue" of their battle cries (35, 120, 143, 167), the horseshoes on their chargers (61, 147), and their elliptical vulvas (61). Wittig collapses all three into a *sphère infinie* (97), in which a shared spherical form links Amazon speech on the battlefield to their most gendered anatomy and to the horseshoes on the chargers who carry them swiftly into battle. *Les Guérillères* recognizes the integral bond between woman and horse as a crucial aspect of Amazon identity. Wittig's cyborgian warriors surpass Haraway's in hybridity by uniting with horses to become superlative knights and to leave a chivalric legacy that endures generations after their fictional deaths.

Wittig's juxtaposition of horses, metal tools, and female anatomy also calls into question their relative positions within Amazon assemblages. This model of Amazon cyborg identity minimizes equine subjectivity. Although the spurring and adroit

¹⁸⁴ Much like Mayor, Alain Bertrand traces the Amazon figure from her ancient origins through contemporary literature. His overview considers the matriarchal, gynocratic, military, sexual, man-killing, and religious valences of the Amazon "archmyth." His study does not, however, include the medieval adaptations of classical texts and instead focuses on each generation of Amazon figures and not those poets that adapted Amazons from previous texts. See Bertrand's *L'archémythe des amazones* (Diss. Université de Paris IV, 1999. Lille: ANRT, 2000).

¹⁸⁵ Monique Wittig transforms Amazons into lesbian feminist icons in *Les Guérillères* (Paris: Minuit, 1969).

maneuvering around the battlefield implies the horses' reception of and response to cues from their Amazon riders, the horses' emotional needs—like those of the unflinching female combatants who ride them into battle—fade into the background. Unlike Enide's thoughtful, courtly horsemanship, the bonds between Amazons and their horses are forged in violent combat, where neither rider nor horse is afforded the luxury of introspection or gentleness. In a sense, both horses and Amazon women become tools, units within individual cyborg assemblages and within the battalion of Amazon assemblages. Both horses and Amazon warriors are components of the greater machine of destruction that sweeps across the battlefield alongside their allies to attack the Trojans.

In fact, the true role of horses in Amazon assemblages only becomes clear during each Amazon's final battle, when willing or unwilling separation from their mounts leads immediately to vulnerability and bodily death. Without their horses, no apotropaic jewels or bold rebuttals can shield them from the gruesome warrior deaths for which they are fated. Camille and Panteselee enter the non-physical world because of the dismantling of their bonds with horses. Separation from horses begets their bodily deaths, though neither Amazon cyborg assemblage ever dies completely.

As their horses wander the battlefield after their riders' deaths, the women move from mortal life to immortal myth, to their version of Haraway's cybernetic non-physicality. However, Camille and Panteselee are not connected to each other—or to us—by soundless, invisible cyberspace where information flows freely according to Haraway's contemporary imagining. The non-physical turn for Amazons—marking their shift into literary texts, historical archives, and myth—occurs due to the loss of their chargers. Nevertheless, horse-Amazon bonds remain intact in their non-physical forms,

ripe for later reconstitution, subsequent destruction of their interspecies partnership and bodily death for the woman, re-entry into myth, *ad infinitum*.

This palimpsestic cycle of construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction exemplifies Amazon cyborg assemblages. Beyond Haraway's argument that, "The cyborg is a kind of disassembled and reassembled, postmodern collective and personal self" (163), the Amazons' pre-postmodern progression through assembly, disassembly, and finally reassembly extends the notion of cyborg permanence. Amazon cyborgs weather their deconstitution, however violent, as a fundamental stage of their being. Amazons inhabit the Wittigian *sphère infinie*, one which both traps and frees them in a cycle of life, death and rebirth, just as it links their battlefield rallying cries to their vulva and to the shoes on their charger's hooves. These integral ingredients—combat, femininity, equestrianism—influence the Amazons' progressions through time and space, materiality and mythology. Each component of Amazon cyborg assemblages is imbricated with the others, though none more crucially than the valiant charger. The charger an Amazon rides into battle marks her most audacious affront of the established male order and her most transgressive foray into the chivalric milieu. Mounted on their horses they slay many foes and win great acclaim; unmounted or dragged from their horses they face certain death.

The identitary relationship between Amazons and their horses becomes, therefore, a matter of life and death. Amazon female chivalry is as transgressive and contingent as it is idealized and exemplary. In this bloody milieu of combat and catastrophe, Camille and Panteselee depend on their horses and demonstrate superlative knighthood in order to survive, circumstances that differ from the connubial consequences faced by Enide. No longer does an *équestrienne* merely witness feats of prowess: the Amazon-horse bonds

facilitate female knighthood, challenge normative assumptions of universally male chivalry, and leave legacies of combat acumen and knightly virtue through which the Amazon becomes immortal.

CHAPTER 4

Rescuing Women in the Lanval Corpus

And now I see with eye serene
 The very pulse of the machine;
 A Being breathing thoughtful breath,
 A Traveler between life and death;
 The reason firm, the temperate will,
 Endurance, foresight, strength, and skill;
 A perfect woman, nobly planned,
 To warm, to comfort, and command;
 And yet a spirit still, and bright
 With something of angelic light.

-William Wordsworth, "She Was a Phantom of Delight"¹⁸⁶

This chapter is about rescuing women: rescuing female literary characters from oblivion and stereotype; acknowledging women who rescue others. In the 12th-century Anglo-Norman *Lanval*, mid-14th-century Middle English *Landevale*, and late-14th-century Middle English *Launfal*, each titular Arthurian knight either fails to receive or squanders gifts from his liege lord. Each flees court in shame with only his horse. Each dismounts in a supernatural valley either due to an ill horse or the need to rest by a peaceful river. Each is saved by maidens who summon him to their fairy mistress. Each meets his lover-to-be in an opulent woodland tent where he receives wealth and affection before promising to obey her sole request that he keep her existence private. Each then returns triumphantly to Arthur's court only to be propositioned by Guinevere. Each refuses her, she accuses him of homosexuality¹⁸⁷, and he corrects her claim by breaking his vow to his fairy and

¹⁸⁶ See Wordsworth's full poem, composed in 1807, in *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*, edited by Margaret Ferguson, Mary Jo Salter, and Jon Stallworthy (5th ed. New York: Norton, 2004), 802.

¹⁸⁷ For more on the circumstances of each accusation against Lanval, Landevale, and Launfal, along with further discussion of the use of the term homosexuality across the three versions of the Lanval myth, see notes 220 and 225.

revealing her superlative beauty. After insulting Arthur's wife, each knight is indicted and his benevolent fairy lover must free him. Together with her entourage of lovely courtly beauties, her appearance proves her to be the most beautiful of women.

Afterwards, the knight accompanies her—sometimes even riding her own horse in yet another reversal of the damsel in distress trope—into fairyland, whence he never returns.

The central relationship in each text of the *Lanval* corpus has typically been identified as that of the eponymous protagonist with his fairy lover, though the fairy ladies of Avalon and their noble equine partners share a deep bond that influences their identity and the plot of each tale. Each woman-horse binary demonstrates aesthetic power and kinesthetic grace. Atop beautiful white palfreys, surrounded by courtly animals such as greyhounds and falcons, these young fairies can fill the shoes of any knight. They ride confidently into Arthur's throne room, save their lover from his indictment, and withdraw with him to their secluded, wealthy kingdom. Their autonomy, boldness, and allure are expressed through their confident horsemanship.

Together, horses and fairies save the knight. Horses function as vehicles for the knight's rescue, for the participation of the maidens and their queen in the patriarchal Arthurian justice system, and for the revelation of female chivalric prowess. Horses and their supernatural riders reverse the damsel in distress trope. Or, as Sharon Kinoshita argues, "*Lanval* is, if anything, a *male* Cinderella story in which the usual gendered stereotypes are inverted" ("Cherchez" 269). The *Lanval* corpus depicts a sociopolitical world in which female equestrians become heroes.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ There is a well-established conversation in medieval literary criticism that considers the role of male heroes and the possibility of fully-actualized female characters who act as heroes. Maureen Fries defines these distinctions and seeks examples in Arthurian literature in her chapter, "Female Heroes, Heroines, and Counter-Heroes: Images of Women in Arthurian Tradition" in Thelma S. Fenster's edition,

Each fairy is perfectly suited to help her lover who, since the beginning of each tale, has an embattled relationship with his horse, to his feudal lord, and to his chivalric identity.

The superior equestrian prowess and feudal status of each fairy correspond to the knight's shortcomings and make her the ideal candidate for his rescue and chivalric rehabilitation.

The three medieval Breton lays that constitute the Lanval corpus are Marie de France's original *Lanval*¹⁸⁹, followed by the two extant Middle English adaptations—first, the anonymous *Sir Landevale*, which in content and form (four-beat couplets) is closest to Marie's original, and second, Thomas Chestre's *Sir Launfal*, whose tail-rhyme diverges from its predecessors' form and also adds copious new material and extensive descriptions.¹⁹⁰ Regardless of their differences, each medieval adapter grapples with the particular gendered interspecies dynamics first introduced in Marie's original. The

Arthurian Women (New York: Garland, 1996), 59-73. Subsequently, Margaret Jewett Burland's applies Fries' definitions to Chrétien's Enide in order to address the potential misogyny of poets who depict female characters as fundamentally passive. Burland's belief in female heroism runs counter to these regressive views. See her chapter "Chrétien's Enide: heroine or female hero?" in *On Arthurian Women: Essays in Memory of Maureen Fries*, eds. Bonnie Wheeler and Fiona Tolhurst (Dallas: Scriptorium, 2001), 167-186. See also Nadya Aisenberg's discussion of female characters who exist as reflections of their male counterparts. See her book *Ordinary Heroines: Transforming the Male Myth* (New York: Continuum, 1994), 16-17. A traditional approach to female characters' passivity may be found in Diane Bornstein's *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1983), 9-10.

¹⁸⁹ For this chapter, I use Laurence Harf-Lancner's edition of Lanval. See her *Lais* (London: Bristol Classical, 1995): 134-167. For the English translation, I use Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby's *The Lais of Marie de France* (London: Penguin, 1999): 73-81; 139-155. Both editions and translations are based on the only manuscript containing all twelve lays, British Library Harley 978. On Marie's identity itself, the subject of much conjecture, see the introduction to Sharon Kinoshita and Peggy McCracken's book, *Marie de France: A Critical Companion* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), 1-3. For a comprehensive treatment of Marie's lays see Philippe Ménard's *Les lais de Marie de France : Contes d'amour et d'aventures du Moyen Âge*, 3rd edition (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997). His study addresses the generic concerns, courtly love material, historical context, narratology, and stylistics that have long inspired medieval literary scholars to study Marie.

¹⁹⁰ Editions of both tales are included in Anne Laskaya and Eve Salisbury's TEAMS edition, *The Middle English Breton Lays*, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995). Although A. J. Bliss's edition of *Sir Launfal* (Nelson, 1960) remains the standard choice, the normalized spelling in Laskaya and Salisbury's makes it easier to follow. For more on the frequency of adaptations of Marie's lays, see Sylvia Huot's "The Afterlife of a Twelfth-Century Poet: Marie de France in the Later Middle Ages" in *Li Premerains Vers" : Essays in Honor of Keith Busby* (New York: Rodopi, 2011), 191-203. For more on the distinction between octosyllabic couplets, four-beat couplets, and tail-rhyme stanzas, see the introduction to Rhiannon Purdie's *Anglicising Romance: Tail-Rhyme and Genre in Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), 1-12.

female-equine bonds explored in each adaptation reveal distinct relationships of each fairy lady to chivalric pursuits and courtly mores. Extensive sartorial and physical descriptions transform the hybrid woman-horse body into a site of courtly, gendered, and identitary meaning. Medieval courtly justice, feudal largesse¹⁹¹, and heterosexual masculinity revolve around these bodies. By adapting their behavior and attire to contravene the patriarchal court and demonstrating mastery of courtly pastimes like horseback riding, falconry, and hunting, these women wield stereotypically male power while retaining their ideal femininity.

The centrality of horses in the tales of the Lanval corpus, however evident, has not been acknowledged in scholarship on these Breton lays. Instead, scholars have chosen to focus most notably on the masculinized damsel in distress trope,¹⁹² sartorial descriptions,¹⁹³ psychoanalytical dimensions and scopophilic fantasies,¹⁹⁴ and the Celtic

¹⁹¹ Medieval largesse was defined as a sort of splendid generosity by which people like knights, feudal lords, and kings bestowed gifts on their friends, communities, and vassals. This system of exorbitant giving required limitless wealth to sustain it. Because Arthur does not give gifts to Lanval and Landevale, and Launfal spends his gifts very quickly, only the seemingly inexhaustible wealth of each fairy lady can fulfill their need of funds.

¹⁹² One central concern of criticism on the Lanval corpus remains the inversion of stereotypical gender roles—in other words, the replacement of the damsel in distress with an imperiled knight. See Jane Chance's article "Marie de France Versus King Arthur: Lanval's Gender Inversion as Breton Subversion," in *The Literary Subversions of Medieval Women* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Stephen Guy-Bray addresses the structural problems of chivalric maleness in "Male Trouble: Sir Launfal and the Trials of Masculinity" (*ESC* 34.2-3 [June/September 2008]): 31-48; Sharon Kinoshita reads Lanval like a reversed Cinderella story in "Cherchez la femme: Feminist Criticism and Marie de France's *Lai de Lanval*" (*Romance Notes* 34.4 [1994]): 263-73; in addition, Judith Weiss examines a lady's selection of her own consort in "The Wooing Woman in Anglo-Norman Romance" in *Romance in Medieval England* (Cambridge, England: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 149-161; finally, Nora Cottille-Foley evokes Lanval—albeit briefly—in her chapter "The Structuring of Female Empowerment: Gender and Triangular Relationships in Marie de France" in *Gender Transgressions: Crossing the Normative Barrier in Old French Literature* (New York: Garland, 1998), 153-180.

¹⁹³ Commentary on textile and fabric helps to see the ways that sartorial materials influence the development of characters and their particular gender identity. In particular, see E. Jane Burns' *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2002).

¹⁹⁴ In conjunction with the crises in masculine chivalric identity experienced by these three protagonists, notable studies have used psychoanalysis to parse the gendered and familial dynamics in each tale. See A. C. Spearing's Freudian analysis—in particular of voyeurism in each lay—in his article "Marie de France and her Middle English Adapters" (*Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 12 [1990]): 117-56; see also

mythological content.¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, horses, courtly equestrianism, and chivalric mores connect the rescuing damsels, courtly fashions, voyeurism, wish-fulfillment, and mythology of previous studies. As courtly accessories, chivalric status symbols, and even transportation, horses pervade all aspects of the Lanval corpus, but they do not exist independent of their riders. Fairy-horse bonds actually heal the embattled chivalric equestrianism of each male protagonist.

This chapter considers the scenes in each tale of the Lanval corpus—the crisis in the valley, the fairy’s woodland tent, and the judicial indictment of the protagonist—where the fairy lady and her courtly equestrianism resolves each peril the titular character faces. Throughout the adaptations, the role of horses, the rapport between the titular

his chapter “The Lanval Story” in *The Medieval Poet as Voyeur: Looking and Listening in Medieval Love-narratives* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 97-119. Jean-Claude Aubailly’s Jungian approach also considers the fairy lady as the protagonist’s mother and analyzes their relationship as a means by which he may discover himself. See “*Guingamor, Graelent et Lanval: l’Anima, guide et médiatrice vers l’Autre Monde*” in *La fée et le chevalier: Essai de mythanalyse de quelques lais féeriques des XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1986), 71-100.

¹⁹⁵ The Celtic underpinnings of Marie’s original lay—followed by those of the two medieval adapters—are defined by fairies and supernatural phenomena that act as agents in the narrative. Marie’s consciousness of Celtic sources also informs the adapters’ decision to include magical elements in their narratives, though their knowledge of Celtic mythology has not been proven beyond familiarity with Marie’s *Lanval* or, as Spearing argues about Chestre, perhaps only with *Landevale* (“Story” 97). Though their relationship to Celtic sources differs, each of these three Breton lays has inspired studies from numerous scholars. Most notably, see Elizabeth Williams’ article “‘A Damsell by Herself Alone’: Images of Magic and Femininity from Lanval to Sir Lambewell” in Jennifer Fellows and Maldwyn Mills’ edition *Romance Reading on the Book: Essays on Medieval Narrative Presented to Maldwyn Mills* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1996), 155-170. See also the extensive studies of Laurence Harf-Lancner: first, her chapter “La Reine ou la fée : l’itinéraire du héros dans les *Lais* de Marie de France” in Jean Dufournet’s *Amour et Merveille : Les Lais de Marie de France* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2013), 81-108; second, for a more expansive portrait of mythology and the supernatural, see her book *Les fées au Moyen Âge : Morgane et Mélusine, La naissance des fées* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1984), in particular chapters 1-3 and 10; for a close reading that focuses largely on Lanval and its mythological material, see Francis Dubost’s chapter “Les Motifs merveilleux dans les *Lais*” in *Amour et merveille : Les Lais de Marie de France*, edited by Jean Dufournet (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1995), 41-80; for traditional philological approach, see Tom Peete Cross’s exhaustive analysis of the relationships between selected Breton lays and their Celtic inspiration in “The Celtic Elements in the Lays of ‘Lanval’ and ‘Graelent’” (*Modern Philology* 12.10 [Apr., 1915]): 585-644. Jonathan A. Glenn expands on these Celtic analyses by examining in great detail the rapport between Launfal’s Tryamour and the Celtic goddess Epona. From the smooth ambling of their white palfreys to the courtly animals that surround them, Glenn establishes Tryamour as an Eponaic figure through her relationship to horses. See Glenn’s article “Sir Launfal and the Horse Goddess” (*Medieval Perspectives* 7 [January 1992]): 64-77.

knight and his mounts, and the activity or passivity of female equestrianism vary widely. Each fairy embodies mythological celtic tropes that link her with nonhuman animals while her patronage of her lover evokes chivalric vassalage: both debunk assumptions that practitioners of equestrian prowess are universally male. Though *Chestre* and the *Landevale* poet present female horsemanship as courtly, feudal, sartorial, and anthropocentric in relation to Marie's more ambiguous interspecies mysticism, all three tales visualize interactions between women and horses as both restorative for a virtuous knight and fundamentally opposed to patriarchal society, whose dysfunction they reveal and critique.

Impoverished and Horseless in a Supernatural Valley

Each tale in the Lanval corpus introduces its eponymous protagonist as a knight of great renown who nevertheless ends up destitute—whether after failing to receive lands from Arthur or after depleting his own funds through excessive largesse. Their unceremonious fall from grace belies the favorability of each protagonist's initial portrait while it also introduces the need for rescue that is external to the fickle Arthurian court. Each protagonist only has his horse when he enters the valley, and without wealth and recognition even this horse-knight connection is soon compromised. Each tale presents a progression starting with the loss of wealth that leads to the knight's vulnerability. This peril demands a solution exterior to Arthur's patriarchal court, and each poet supplies a fairy benefactress to rescue the man she has loved from afar. Much as Erec's shortcomings find their answer in Enide, the fairy ladies are tailored to their chosen *ami*.

With their equestrian prowess and exorbitant wealth, each fairy is uniquely poised to repair her knight's reputation and facilitate his chivalry.

In the original *Lanval*'s exposition, King Arthur is distributing lands and wives to his loyal subjects, but passes over the virtuous and envied protagonist (*Lanval* v. 11-26). Lanval is mysteriously omitted from consideration despite his valor, generosity, beauty, and prowess. This omission violates the reciprocal fidelity and obligation required of ideal feudal bonds (Kinoshita and McCracken 53). Moreover, no one defends Lanval's claim because of the overwhelming jealousy he inspires. He is deserving but deprived, and the tale proposes a fantasy of wish-fulfillment as a means to resolve the protagonist's troubles. As A. C. Spearing argues:

Wish-fulfilling fantasy may seem to be offered as compensation for an unpleasant reality; but the 'reality' in which the hero begins can equally be interpreted as a fantasy, not of wish-fulfillment but of persecution. Lanval is a knight of 'valor, ... largesce, ... beaute, ... pruesce' (21-2), whose very virtues cause him to be envied and singled out for disregard when Arthur is distributing 'Femmes et tere' (17) to everyone else (103).

Arthur's acts correspond to the envy others feel toward Lanval (Chance 57). In addition, the public denial of funds implicates all Arthur's courtiers and barons in the same campaign against a knight whose virtues and abilities eclipse all others.¹⁹⁶ Because those at court value their political and social position over advocating for justice for Lanval, the solution to his problems comes from outside the patriarchal political realm. Marie directly links Lanval's plight to the arbitrary denial of his inheritance by Arthur, "femmes et terres departi, / fors a un sul ki l'ot servi. / Ceo fu Lanval ; ne l'en sovint" (v. 17-18)

¹⁹⁶ Kinoshita notes that the dysfunction at Arthur's court exceeds the scene when wealth is distributed. In fact, "as the tale opens, the kingdom of Logres is being ravaged by Scots and Picts, yet the knights of the court are consumed by their petty jealousies while Arthur himself neglects a worthy knight impoverished by his pursuit of chivalry precisely because he is a foreigner" ("Cherchez" 270). She considers this feudal dysfunction a condition that Marie resolves with "compensatory love".

[He apportioned wives and lands to all, save to one who served him. This was Lanval, whom he did not remember] (Burgess and Busby 73). In addition, Lanval spends without reservation and doesn't speak up when he requires more funds, "Tut sun aveir a despendu ; / kar li reis rien ne li dona, / ne Lanval ne li demanda." (v. 30-32) [He had spent all his wealth, for the king gave him nothing and Lanval asked for nothing] (Burgess and Busby 73). The disconnect between virtue and reward and the protagonist's inability to advocate for himself precipitate the mythological solution of fairies and horses.

When *Landevale* opens, the poet tells of a prodigal son whose economic strife and silence rival that of *Lanval*. He¹⁹⁷ highlights the protagonist's readiness to leave court, seek fortune elsewhere, hide his mounting debt, and escape the shame of his poverty. His shameful financial status and fear that it be revealed publically points to a link—established by D. Vance Smith in his reading of *Launfal*—between telling and counting.¹⁹⁸ He links speech—and, by extension, public opinion and reputation—to monetary value or personal wealth (Smith 166-167). The *Landevale* poet suggests Landevale's debts are unusual for a vassal of the generous king Arthur:

For ryche geftys and tresoure
 He gayf to eache man of honoure.
 With hym there was a bachiller,
 [And hadde ybe well many a yer],
 A yonge knyght of mucche myght:
 Sir Landevale, forsoith, he hight,
 Sir Landavale spent blythely,
 And gaf geftys largely;
 So wildely his goode he sette

¹⁹⁷ A brief note on the choice of masculine singular pronoun: there have been no conclusive findings regarding the identity of the *Landevale* poet but the assumption among scholars is of a male author, in part because of the less-progressive role he writes for the maidens and the fairy queen. While it is certainly possible the poet is female, I have chosen not to suppose wildly and to maintain the standard assumption of maleness, not in general, but in this particular case.

¹⁹⁸ See Smith's chapter, "'How fer schall al thys good?' Sir Launfal and the Sumptuary World," in *Arts of Possession: The Middle English Household Imaginary* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

That he felle yn grete dette (v. 15-24).

Landevale's tendency to spend "blythely"—whether due to personal irresponsibility or excessive largesse—leads to his need for funds. When Arthur overlooks Landevale when distributing gifts to his knights, the protagonist's situation becomes more serious. The role of the hero in his own financial and feudal trouble demonstrates the anthropocentrism of the tale: Landevale's humanity—to say nothing of his masculinity—makes his agency a determining factor in his fate, a fact which differentiates him from Lanval. While Lanval was a victim of a forgetful feudal lord—and perhaps of peers who did not care to help their rival—Landevale is at least partly to blame for his difficulty.

Beyond a similar accentuation of the hero's prodigality to that of *Landevale*, Chestre makes women the gift-givers of his tale. *Launfal*'s exposition is set at the marriage of Arthur and Guinevere and then places Guinevere in the position of gift-giver. Guy-Bray connects the replacement of Arthur with Guinevere in the gift-giving position directly to Chestre's preoccupation with masculinity: the poet creates a protagonist of troubled masculinity by making him an early victim of the queen's capricious and conniving femininity (34). By making the queen's initial power detrimental to Launfal, the poet makes men beholden to female benefactors (Guy-Bray 35). Guinevere's villainy in *Launfal* exceeds that in *Lanval* and *Landevale* when she withholds Launfal's gift before attempting to seduce him. This tight-fisted and promiscuous Guinevere shows poor judgment and a lack of self-control. Her social and moral shortcomings prefigure the appearance of the fairy queen who excels where her predecessor falls short. Throughout the Lanval corpus, women manipulate, control, seduce, and support the male protagonist who becomes what Guy-Bray calls "the conduit for a power struggle between women"

(37). In *Launfal*, Guinevere introduces the pattern of women who give money, attendants, and horses to male knights.

Although his disgrace seems assured after his pattern of excessive spending forces the departure of his two knights (v. 133-144),¹⁹⁹ Launfal's fall from grace is not complete. In the town of Carlisle, Launfal is omitted from the list of guests to a feast with the earls, barons, ladies, and burghers of the county (v. 181-189). When the mayor's daughter invites him to dine with her during the baronial feast, he is too depressed to eat (v. 191-204).²⁰⁰ He asks his host's daughter for help in taking a ride to clear his head:

“But o thyng, damesele, y pray the:
 Sadel and brydel lene thou me
 A whyle forto ryde,
 That I myghte confortede be
 By a launde under thys cyté,
 Al yn thys underntyde.”
 Launfal dyghte hys courser,
 Wythoute knave other squyer.
 He rood wyth lytyll pryde;
 Hys hors slod, and fel yn the fen,
 Wherefore hym scornede many men
 Abowte hym fer and wyde.

Poverly the knyght to hors gan sprynge.
 For to dryve away lokynge,
 He rood toward the west (v. 205-219).

Another woman gift-giver, she lends him the saddle and bridle he requests, and Launfal departs alone on his courser. O'Brien connects this exchange with the mayor's daughter

¹⁹⁹ As his knights prepare to leave, Launfal asks only that they hide his destitution from others at court because of the shame it would cause him. This is the earliest acknowledgment of the protagonist's shame in any tale of the Lanval corpus.

²⁰⁰ This scene also shows him in sartorial and proprietary difficulty: he lacks proper attire and is troubled by his unsuitable appearance, yet another way Chestre feminizes him beyond the protagonists of Lanval and Landevale. See Timothy O'Brien's article "The 'Readerly' Sir Launfal" (*Parergon* 8.1 [1990]): 42.

to Chestre's parodic²⁰¹ approach to his source material (35, 42). His humiliation only increases when his mount slips in the mud, which—as Smith notes—is “the only material in the poem that is not an object of delight, not an object subject to the comparisons of the poem's lurking logic of exchange” (172). The ride he began in order to seek solace from the back of his trusted horse ends with him thrown to the ground before scornful and mocking onlookers, covered in “excrement, the detritus of the self” (Smith 172). Launfal's risible behavior and chivalric ineptitude further compromise his masculinity, and his public shame is directly connected with the visibility of his embarrassment to others. While throughout the Lanval corpus, shame is linked to the protagonist's fear of presenting an unfavorable image of chivalric masculinity, this is never more central than in *Launfal*. Chestre establishes shame as a public phenomenon, one explicitly linked to being seen and judged harshly, which Smith refers to as “a looking that animates the narrative” (173).

Unlike Chestre's elaborate portrait of a knight's figurative and literal fall from favor, *Lanval* and *Landevale* offer restrained portraits of their protagonists' departure from Arthur's court. Marie describes Lanval's departure as a diversion, “un jur munta sur sun destrier, / si s'est alez esbaneier” (v. 41-42) [One day he mounted his horse and rode off for his amusement] (Burgess and Busby 73). The rhymed *destrier* and *esbaneier* clarify that Lanval leaves court with his only remaining possession: his charger.

²⁰¹ There is a great deal of disagreement between critics about Chestre's possibly parodic tone. Spearing argues that there is no viable evidence for this approach (“Adapters” 150). Sif Rikhardsdottir, on the other hand, reads the misfortunes that befall Launfal as an indication of Chestre's tendency toward realistic portrayal (156). See Rikhardsdottir's article, “The Imperial Implications of Medieval Translations: Old Norse and Middle English Versions of Marie de France's Lais” (*Studies in Philology* 105.2 [Spring 2008]): 144-164.

Landevale also seeks distraction. Like Lanval, he hopes a ride through beautiful countryside on a trusted horse will assuage worries about the future. The *Landevale* poet writes, “He lepe upon a coursier, / Withoute grome or squier, / And rode forthe yn a mornynge / To dryve away longynge” (v. 31-34). He emphasizes the lack of groom or squire, perhaps indicating an extended absence from court that would ordinarily necessitate attendants. Landevale’s lack of companions echoes the solitude he also feels after his ordeal at court. Moreover, he rides out to reduce “longynge”; this term refers to anxiety, sorrow, yearning, and even sensual or sexual desire, while also creating a parallel with Launfal’s “lokyng” (v. 218). Despite their different purposes, Arthur’s denial of each protagonist’s inheritance leads directly to his departure from court and arrival in the valley.

Entry into the supernatural valley—site of the first of two peripatetic moments in the Lanval myth where female equestrians rescue the title character—brings each protagonist into contact with a new fairy value system. As Kinoshita and McCracken explain:

Movement also brings different places together, and since places are associated with values—the feudal hierarchies that structure courts are an example—travel between places brings different values and value systems into contact. Movement between places also puts different relations of loyalty into contact and sometimes into conflict, and this is key to the way Marie constructs plot (116).

When each protagonist leaves court and enters the supernatural valley, his previous feudal life comes into contact with its mythological, feminine foil. The feminized, supernatural valley environment—whose regenerating, purifying waters signal a return to the primordial—provides respite from the dysfunction of court (Aubailly 81). The

supernatural equine illnesses, intemperate weather, and personal shame in each environment, respectively, separate each knight from his horse.

In Marie's *Lanval*, the horse experiences a sort of supernatural seizure when he enters the valley environment. Lanval dismounts and untacks his horse so it may walk freely, find a place to lie down, and—he hopes—recover:

Fors de la vile en est eissuz ;
 tuz suls est en un pre venuz.
 Sur une ewe curant descent ;
 mes sis chevaux tremble forment :
 il le descengle, si s'en vait,
 enmi le pre vultrer le fait.
 Le pan de sun mantel plia
 desuz sun chief, si se culcha.
 Mult est pensis pur sa mesaise,
 il ne veit chose ki li plaise (v. 43-56).

[He left the town and came alone to a meadow, dismounting by a stream; but there his horse trembled violently, so he loosened its girth and left it, allowing it to enter the meadow and roll over on its back. He folded his cloak, which he placed beneath his head, very disconsolate because of his troubles, and nothing could please him.] (Burgess and Busby 73)

Almost immediately the horse succumbs to an unexplained illness. The horse's vulnerability is linked directly to the supernatural phenomena in the river valley, a site which—according to Celtic mythology—constitutes a portal to a mysterious otherworld.²⁰² The horse's collapse also evokes emotional connections with the newly

²⁰² The river in Celtic myth is often a border to a mysterious land (Stokoe 398; Harf "Reine" 98). Laura S. Oaks also discusses the horse goddesses—Epona (Gaul), Macha (Ireland), and Rhiannon (Wales)—to whom people prayed to protect themselves and their horses (315, 326). In addition, many of the remaining artifacts from the cult of Epona have been unearthed near water sources or the mouths of rivers, much like the environment in which the knights of the Lanval corpus find themselves (297). See her chapter "Epona in the Aeduan Landscape: Transfunctional Deity under Changing Rule" in *Regional dynamics; Burgundian landscapes in historical perspective*, edited by Carole L. Crumley and William H. Marquardt (San Diego: Academic Press, 1987), 295-333. The literary version of Rhiannon, in the Pwyll episode of the *Mabinogion* shows particular connections to horses, even being forced to sit next to a mounting block and to carry visitors to her husband's castle as punishment for the crime of infanticide (which she did not commit). Jessica Hemming traces the connections between Rhiannon and horses through their origins in myths from many Indo-European cultures and establishes the frequent link between women and horses as both mythological and punitive, or designed to punish female transgressions and

vulnerable knight and with the ailing horse: the knight's success or failure depend on the horse recovering from his medical/supernatural/emotional breakdown and resuming his role as chivalric accessory, vehicle, and companion for the knight.

While the horse languishes, Lanval feels deeply sad.²⁰³ By choosing to dismount and, therefore, depart from his chivalric social rank, Lanval faces his own ruin (Chance 45). His abandonment of his horse also shows that his heroic evolution as a knight cannot continue and that he will be absorbed by the fairies into their realm and the sexual desire it represents (Dubost 52). While horseless and, thus, immobilized, Lanval is vulnerable to the marvelous arrival of two beautiful damsels. Interrupting Lanval's sleep, the ladies materialize in response to his unstated desire and lead him to their mistress who then becomes his romantic partner and provides him with the money he needs to reassume his largesse. As Spearing argues, Marie seems to place magic and wishes very close together ("Story" 98). The magic of the damsels fulfills Lanval's wish for the *femmes et terres* that Arthur should have provided.

Landevale, on the other hand, more clearly casts the knight's departure from court as a reaction to his financial situation. Disappointed and angry about being passed over when Arthur doles out gifts, his ride allows him to clear his head and contemplate his future and his diminished prospects:

Then he takyth toward the west
 Betwene a water and a forest.
 The sonne was hote that underntyde ;
 He lyghte adowne, and wolde abyde.
 For he was hote yn the weddir,
 Hys mantelle he toke and folde togeder;

return women to their subservient wifely and motherly roles. See Hemming's article "Reflections on Rhiannon and the Horse Episodes in 'Pwyll'" (*Western Folklore* 57.1 [Winter 1998]: 19-40.

²⁰³ The Anglo-Norman *mesaise* evokes sadness, pain, anguish, and embarrassment.

Than lay downe that knyght so free
Undre the shadow of a tree (v. 35-42).

Even the setting—hot sun and a weary knight—underscores *Landevale*'s distinction from *Lanval*. Overheated from galloping across the countryside, Landevale decides to rest before continuing again.²⁰⁴ Unlike *Lanval* whose equine crisis indicates the presence of supernatural elements in and around the valley, this human-centered tale presents a temporarily-fatigued knight. Landevale's exhaustion claims no magical source. Instead, it relates directly to the weather: he dismounts because he is overheating. His horse, loose in the prairie, is likely to be grazing happily nearby. The weakening bond between horse and knight foreshadows the reduced interactions between the fairy ladies and their horses in the courtroom.

As silent bonds between horse and rider diminish, *Landevale* ushers in verbal speech as a means to describe the plight of its protagonist. Landevale is alone among the three titular characters to bemoan his lot. He fears he will have to beg, but seems unable to stomach the indignity of mendicancy; he regrets the pity the fierce knights of the Round Table—his former peers—would likely feel for his lack of prospects:

How shalle I doo? I can not crave!
All the knyghtys that ben so feers,
Of the Rounde Table they were my pyers.
Every man of me was glade,
And now they be for me full saide (v. 44-48).

This speech confirms *Landevale*'s anthropocentrism by permitting the human knight to elaborate fully on his own pitiful state. The *Landevale* poet points to the protagonist's shame as a disinherited chivalric knight while also making a human subject the

²⁰⁴ In *Landevale*, the hot weather affects Landevale and his fairy lover. Both are described in terms of the hot weather of their environments. The fairy, however, uses her luxurious garments to prevent her from overheating. Courtly manners facilitate equilibrium with her environment.

determinant of and commentator on the narrative. Moreover, Landevale's remarks connect successful chivalry to positive public opinion and prefigure the role of voyeurs in the fairy ladies' exoneration of their indicted lover. Instead of supernatural forces, the pity of courtiers and former colleagues and the inability to fund largesse and military exploits threaten his chivalric masculinity.

Since the knights' horses no longer falter in the valley, the rescuing maidens do not read equine distress telepathically through the supernatural valley atmosphere. Instead, the ladies respond directly to Landevale's own need. In conjunction with this anthropocentrism, the ladies in *Landevale* are described in great aesthetic and sartorial detail. They refigure beauty according to courtly literary conventions as opposed to aesthetic or mythological mores. The *Landevale* poet details their attire and beauty when they approach from the forest to rescue Landevale:

Owte of the forest cam mydyns two,
 The fayrest on grounde that myght goo.
 Kyrtyls they had of purpyl sendelle,
 Smalle i-lasid, syttyng welle;
 Mantels of grene velvet
 Frengide with golde were wele i-sette;
 They had on atyre therwithalle,
 And eache of them a joly cornalle;
 With facys white as lelyfloure,
 With ruddy, rede as rose, coloure,
 Fayrer women never he see —
 They semyd angels of hevin hie (v. 53-64).

When they appear, the focus goes directly to the garments, accessories, and materials that complement their beautiful, feminine forms. Harking back to Marie's original, the physical and sartorial description of the maidens ends with the *Landevale* poet's conclusion that the ladies seem to have descended from heaven to greet the protagonist.

While Landevale's problems involve social exile, political disenfranchisement, and economic hardship, they also originate in the dysfunction of Arthur's court. The fairy maidens' rich clothes, independence, and courtliness lead the *Landevale* poet to conclude they are supernatural. They are emissaries from an anti-Arthurian extra-patriarchal fairy otherworld in which money, autonomy, and position are abundant.

Although the two ladies bring Landevale to the fairy lady who fulfills Landevale's need for money and status, he still greets them before they have a chance to speak. The *Landevale* poet diverges from Marie's original by allowing a man to speak first when the damsels arrive:

The knyght anon agaynse hem went.
 "Welcome!" he said, "damsels fre."
 "Sir knyght," they seide, "Wel thu be!
 My lady, that is as bright as floure,
 The gretith, Landavale, paramour;
 Ye must come and speke with her,
 Yef it be your wille, Sir."
 "I graunt," he said "blythely,"
 And went with them hendly (v. 68-76).

In this way Landevale asserts verbal power over the ladies. His boldness reflects both the anthropocentrism of the tale and the diminished severity of his circumstances in the valley. Applying male *logos* to the arrival of fairy women undermines their supernatural determinacy in the valley: Landevale's speech obscures the supernatural arrival of fairy ladies to valorize his courtly manners.

Marie, on the other hand, insists upon the mythological qualities of her fairy ladies. The horse's trembling and the knight's despair seem to call the beautiful and sumptuously dressed fairy maidens to Lanval (v. 57-59)²⁰⁵. They arrive together and greet

²⁰⁵ While these ladies come from another world, Williams notes that their attire seems styled to attract male attention. She explains, "The tight lacing and rich colour suggest opulence and sensuality

an isolated man who arises from his reclined position not of his own power but of the strength of his courtly education and manners:

Eles en sunt alees dreit
 la u li chevaliers giseit.
 Lanval, ki mult fu enseigniez,
 cuntre eles s'est levez en piez (v. 65-68).

[They went straight to where the knight lay and Lanval, who was very well-mannered, stood up to meet them.] (Burgess and Busby 74)

The ladies of *Landevale* approach a knight from equal footing, while Marie captures the plight of a helpless and hopeless knight whom only the powerful and independent ladies can rescue.

In addition, the trembling horse is implicated in the crisis of Lanval's chivalric masculinity. The horse in *Lanval* becomes a barometer for the supernatural elements in the environment around the knight. As Stokoe explains, "Marie clearly knows her horses, or at least her folk-lore: the horse trembles because it feels the presence of the supernatural."²⁰⁶ She combines knowledge of both the psychology of horses—skittish, nervous, and sensitive to their sometimes hostile environment—and the Celtic mythological tradition that binds women, horses, and the supernatural.

The Gallic equestrian goddess, Epona, demonstrates this interspecies hybridity that defines certain Celtic mythological figures. As Miranda Green explains, Epona and her horse share a zoomorphic hybridity that links them across species.²⁰⁷ Their inseparability prefigures that of fairy ladies and their horses, especially in the original

rather than magic, the garments accentuating the shapely bodies beneath" (158-159). This link between clothing and their revelation of the female form underneath also prefigures the mastery of such sensual dressing by the fairy queen who awaits them all in her woodland tent.

²⁰⁶ William C. Stokoe, Jr., "The Sources of *Sir Launfal: Lanval* and *Graelent*", *PMLA* 63.2 (Jun., 1948): 398.

²⁰⁷ See Green, *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth*, (London: Routledge, 1992), 204-210.

Lanval. These bonds are also fundamentally supernatural. Jean Markale also evokes the other-worldly qualities the Celts identified in horses which allowed them to travel, bringing with them a rider, between the human world and a fairy realm.²⁰⁸ The horse-human pair implies fairy travel between the otherworld and the Arthurian court and foreshadows the protagonist's and his lover's eventual horseback escape to Avalon.

Unlike both *Lanval* and *Landevale*, Chestre's *Launfal* depicts milder and less mysterious circumstances for its protagonist. The secluded valley relieves Launfal's most immediate concerns: he flees "lokyng" instead of Landevale's "longyng" after his public embarrassment when his horse slips and he falls. He then rides off to escape the derisive gazes of the onlookers in town. Additionally, the valley provokes no supernatural crises for his horse: the animal's struggles, like those of his rider, are confined to the embarrassing fall in the mud. Launfal dismounts, as Landevale did, in order to rest and collect his thoughts:

The wether was hot the underntyde;
 He lyghte adoun, and gan abyde
 Under a fayr forest.
 And, for hete of the wedere,
 Hys mantell he feld togydere,
 And sette hym down to reste.
 Thus sat the knyght yn symplyté,
 In the schadwe under a tre,
 Ther that hym lykede beste (v. 220-228).

Launfal's horse does not succumb to supernatural ailments, though he does temporarily separate from his rider after slipping in some mud. Launfal's masculine chivalry is damaged, therefore, by his bad luck at crossing a muddy path, some modicum of inexperience at being unable to remain astride when his horse faltered, and the possibility

²⁰⁸ See Markale, *La femme celte : mythe et sociologie* (1st ed. Paris: Payot, 1972), 76.

that the borrowed tack did not suit his particular mount. While Chestre does not blame the unsuitable tack or the young woman who lent it, her role in Launfal's preparations adds another potential human error that influences his fall. Regardless of its exact cause, Launfal's fall from his horse is fundamentally anthropocentric. Later, when Launfal later selects a hospitable tree under which to rest, contemplate his bruised ego, and avoid the hot weather, his reflective attitude advances Chestre's anthropocentrism yet further. The central representation of practical, material concerns that influence the hero allow Chestre to tell this mythological celtic tale in an anthropocentric way.

While Launfal reflects upon his recent misfortunes, the maidens approach much as they do in *Lanval* and *Landevale*. Like Landevale, Launfal courteously seeks the maidens and shows his charm (v. 250-260). While the courtly maidens verbally announce their intention to take each of the three knights to visit their mistress, the purple clothes—which represent libido and liberation through love according to Celtic custom (Aubailly 87)—they wear indicate the purpose of this proposed meeting.²⁰⁹ This sartorial foreshadowing prefigures the rescue their mistress will offer, both by love and the financial means at her disposal. Regardless of the different physical and discursive response status of the three knights, each desperately needs funds, equipment, and a fresh horse in order to resume his place as an Arthurian knight. Each man dearly hopes that the mysterious fairy woman awaiting him in the forest will offer some answer to his troubles or, as Spearing puts it, will become the “pleasant fantasy” to replace his “unpleasant reality” (“Adapters” 136).

²⁰⁹ While we cannot be certain that Chestre was aware of the exact celtic symbolism of the colors he assigned to fairy garments, it does seem likely that he repeated colors and materials from other Breton lays and romances. Purple was, regardless of its celtic significance, a color common to literary depictions of royal garb.

Lanval, Landevale, and Launfal seek external fulfillment for their chivalric shortcomings. The tales differ not in the need of rescue, but in the means with which each poet evokes the equine/equestrian crisis that drives each protagonist's chivalric desperation. While *Lanval* depicts a knight in financial crisis whose horse trembles and collapses in response to a supernatural environment and who is rescued by a wealthy fairy benefactor, the Middle English versions modify the circumstances in which the knight dismounts to highlight the social consequences of their embattled knighthood. The poets' anthropocentrism begets a focus on the male protagonists: Landevale struggles with hot weather and Launfal experiences public embarrassment, both of which increase their need of rescue. In particular, Launfal is driven into the valley by the shame of falling from his horse into a mud puddle. The Middle English poets reinforce Marie's link between the horse and his rider's status to emphasize the social and material impact of horselessness on a male knight. Their anthropocentrism ultimately serves to transform not only their protagonist, but also the fairy equestrian who rescues him. While she is a supernatural and financial benefactor in *Lanval*, the Middle English poets add social, sartorial, and material depth to increase her courtly capital as a condition of her equestrian persona.

Fairy Charity in a Woodland Tent

When each knight first encounters his soon-to-be lover in her opulent tent, she embodies exactly the wealth and courtliness he needs.²¹⁰ Her identity and independence beget his

²¹⁰ Aubailly notes also that her tent, a place of spirituality where the divine manifests itself to the knight, is capped with a golden statue of an eagle, an animal that evokes spiritual renewal and immortality (88). The eagle, an ideal predator and symbol of royal might and imperial power, lords over the fairy's tent. The representative nature of the eagle also includes its carbuncle features, which give the fairy apotropaic

own through a transitive exchange of value. Their sensual first meeting concludes when each fairy lady restores her lover to good financial and equestrian standing. In *Lanval*, *Landevale*, and *Launfal* the fairy mistress' beauty, luxury, and sensuality influence the various materials that comprise her clothing and accessories. Velvet, silk, and ermine combine to transform each fairy's body into a site of material hybridity. Their marvelous bodies combine white flesh, expensive textiles, and luxurious furs to make the fairies themselves materially interspecies.

The tales of the Lanval corpus create parallels between female and equine courtly beauty even when horses are not present. *Lanval's* fairy lady wears expensive clothing to reveal the curve of her hip and her face, neck, and chest (v. 91-106; Burns 172). Marie's fairy earns praise for her beauty at the same anatomical junctures often mentioned when describing a handsome palfrey. According to Jordanus Rufus in his *Marechaucie des chevaux*, the delicacy and curve of her face, neck, and chest also take precedence when appraising a horse for a chivalric career.²¹¹ In particular, the horse's haunches and neck conformation influence his ability to perform various chivalric tasks and respond to his rider:

<129> Le cheval qui a grosses joes et bon col court, il n'est mie
enfraignez legerement. <134> Le cheval qui a la bouche bien fendue et les
joes meigres et le col lonc et soustil vers le chief, il doit estre legiers a
enfraigner. <137> Le cheval qui a la crope longue et amplie et les hanches
longues et estandues et est plus haust devant que derrieres, il est souffrant
a fere lonc cors (Prévot, *La Science* 42-43).

protection much like the gem-encrusted helmet Camille seeks in the *Roman d'Eneas*. As Smith notes, the eagle's eyes in *Launfal* are made of carbuncle stones, thus drawing attention to its vision and ability to surveil (178-179). Smith links this shift from the eagle's carbuncle mouth in *Landevale* to the increasing centrality of vision and visibility in Chestre's tale. For more on the symbolism of eagles, see Christian Heck and Rémy Cordonnier's book *The Grand Medieval Bestiary: Animals in Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York: Abbeville, 2012), 140-145.

²¹¹ See Brigitte Prévot's edition of Rufus in *La science du cheval au Moyen Âge : le traité d'hippiatrie de Jordanus Rufus* (Paris: Collège Sapience/Klincksieck, 1992).

[<129> The horse who has big jowls and a good short neck, he is not reined in easily. <134> The horse who has a well split mouth and thin jowls and a long neck (that is) delicate near the head, he will be easy to rein in. <137> The horse who has a long, full croup and long, stretched haunches and is higher in front than behind, he struggles to do long rides.]

The length of a horse's neck influences his responsiveness to the reins. If short, the horse will not respect the rider when he asks the horse to slow down. If long and delicate, the horse will obey the rider's rein aids. While only a negative definition of the haunches appears here, it follows that shapely, full haunches are preferable to indicate a horse's stamina. Like horses' haunches that permit their sustained aerobic effort in service to their knights, the fairies' hips also facilitate male chivalry by expediting the resolution of the trial with their combination of physical beauty and superlative courtly manners. Scanning the ladies' bodies up and down, the onlookers confirm the superiority of their beauty to that of Guinevere and this leads directly to the unanimous exoneration of the lover.

In addition to comparisons between women's and horses' bodies, references to women's hair, fur garments, and palfreys' coats connect fairies and horses across species. While *Landevale* and *Launfal* lack the parallel between women's and horses' bodies, all three tales describe the fairy mistress as a hybrid of furs and flesh (*Lanval* v. 97-106; *Landevale* v. 91-112; *Launfal* v. 277-300).²¹² Each juxtaposition of flesh against ermine stoles highlights the heterogeneous fairy composition as well as, according to Spearing, her sensual self-display. The ermine each fairy wears in her woodland tent recurs when she appears in court, at which point her alabaster skin and golden hair are juxtaposed with

²¹² Myra Seaman notes that Chestre reduces Tryamour to an amalgam of beauty and wealth. Unlike Marie who notes the concurrent virtue and nobility of her fairy lady, Chestre presents his fairy's role as pecuniary and aesthetic more than mythological (Seaman 113).

her palfrey's brilliant white coat, one Bernard Ribémont describes as a common feature of mounts ridden by noblewomen.²¹³ Fur covers both female and equine forms (but interestingly, not the bodies of male characters in the Lanval corpus) to create a tactile link between ideally beautiful women and horses that recalls the Amazons' fur trimmed clothing juxtaposed with their mounts' coats.

The fairies' link to horses indicates their equestrian, political, and financial strength. After selecting a horseless, penniless knight as her lover, each boldly stipulates the rules of their union, according to which her lover can never disclose her existence (*Lanval* v. 143-150; *Landevale* v. 153-164; *Launfal* v. 361-365).²¹⁴ Interestingly, the requisite silence of the eponymous knights also places them in a position much like that of Enide (Kinoshita "Cherchez" 269). In the Lanval tales, the lover replies that he will do her bidding forever and abandon all others for her.²¹⁵ However, also like Enide, none of the knights is able to keep his vow and stay silent when truly in peril. Marie illustrates a relation of dominance, but where the knight owes his lady his life, his livelihood, and his obedience. As a sort of gender-queer damsel in distress, Lanval must remain devoted and

²¹³ For more on a horse color, breed, and type as a reflection of the male and female literary characters who ride them, see Ribémont's chapter "Le Cheval littéraire" in *Le cheval en France au Moyen Âge* (Caen, France: Paradigme, 1994), 203-254.

²¹⁴ Francis Dubost reads the fairy's foreknowledge of Lanval's name—a knowledge matched by the ladies of *Landevale* and *Launfal*—as further evidence of her mythological qualities. He writes, "Connaître les choses cachées, connaître à l'avance le nom des mortels est l'apanage des dieux et des créatures féeriques. Lorsque ce pouvoir de nomination prématurée se manifeste en discours (*Lanval, fet ele, beus amis* ...), il révèle une nature féerique. Plusieurs implications sont à relever dans ce motif. La connaissance du nom implique la connaissance de l'être, selon un mode de pensée archaïque, contemporain peut-être de ces premiers lais bretons où s'origine la référence merveilleuse. Ayant perdu le secret de son identité, Lanval devient transparent aux yeux de la fée. La prescience attribuée à cette dernière lui confère une position de supériorité, celle de l'aigle ou celle de Dieu. Lanval est déjà « conquis » par celle qui savait le nommer, l'aimait même, avant de le rencontrer" (57).

²¹⁵ Patrick John Ireland notes that, in Lanval's promise to his fairy lady, he states clearly that he will "Pur vus guerpirai tutes genz" (v. 128) [for you I will abandon everyone] a promise that foreshadows his eventual abandonment of all things mortal in order to accompany her into fairyland (135). See his article "The Narrative Unity of the « Lanval » of Marie de France" (*Studies in Philology* 74.2 [Apr., 1977]): 130-145.

submissive: his lover requires his promise of loyalty before she will give him money and equipment.

The Lanval corpus presents fairy ladies and their damsels as central determinants of the fate of the male protagonist in each tale. Their autonomy responds directly to the titular knights' lack thereof, and each fairy queen exudes power and independence that contrast with the imperiled position of her lover. By selecting her chosen consort, each fairy queen becomes a proto-feminist answer to the stereotype of male chivalric heroism and romantic determinacy.

The gifts Lanval, Landevale, and Launfal receive from their fairy lovers also transform the fairies into chivalric benefactors for their lovers. By their generous gifts, the women ensure that each protagonist has the horse, funds, and even sometimes armor needed to continue his chivalric campaigns and largesse. Weiss also argues that the power and money of such "wooing women" permits them to pursue that which they desire (155).

Giving a horse to the knight also connects each fairy with Macha and Cûchulainn, Melior and Partonopeu, and other supernatural women who give horses to their male lovers (Aubailly 90). In this Jungian analysis, the horse comes to symbolize maternal sensuality and libido (90). While Carlos F. C. Carreto agrees with the importance of the maternal role played by the fairy benefactress in *Lanval* and *Graelent* alike, he also envisions both gifts of horses as particularly imbricated with the linguistic subject matter of each lay.²¹⁶ Carreto elaborates:

la libéralité dont il peut désormais faire preuve (*Lanval*, 209-214) permet au chevalier de réintégrer le système de la cour et, par là même, de

²¹⁶ See Carreto's article "La parole (dé)bridée : esquisses d'une métaphore" (*Wodan: Greifswalder Beiträge zum Mittelalter* 72 [1997]): 11-31.

(re)trouver sa place au sein d'une société essentiellement logocentrique. Identité toutefois extrêmement fragile car elle repose toute entière sur le respect de l'interdit – pacte verbal – imposé par la fée (17).

Whether or not this maternal evocation resonates, it must be said that each horse that is given facilitates the man's equestrian pursuits and connects him, both financially, verbally, and psychologically, to the women whose gift permits him to continue the work of chivalry.

Before she gives a horse, each of the women gives money to permit her lover to continue his largesse (*Lanval* v. 135-139; *Landevale* v. 129-134; *Launfal* v. 318-324).²¹⁷ Marie includes clothes with this generous gift (*Lanval* v. 173-174), and Chestre adds weapons and ermine (*Launfal* v. 328-329). Burns describes the dressing scene in *Lanval* as:

key to the amorous couple's place in the sexual and social hierarchies of court life. (...) the pucele's servants dress him as they dress themselves, in *riches dras* that literally replace the armor of knights at Arthur's court with the fabric that characterizes this competing courtly economy of feudal and amatory allegiance (170).

Lanval receives a new uniform that represents his new feudal loyalty; his clothes come to reflect the "textile-based economy of the *pucele*'s alternative court" (170). The fairy lady transforms his body into a site of her own making and meaning. Burns situates Lanval and his lover on a "gendered sartorial continuum" (178), one which applies also to *Launfal*, but differently. Unlike Lanval's undetailed *riches dras*, the armor and ermine *Launfal* receives from Tryamour code him as a warrior and a nobleman.

²¹⁷ Seaman notes that the adorned "alner" (coin purse, v. 319) Tryamour gives to *Launfal* refers metonymically back to her as his benefactor (114). She is inextricable from her own physical adornment and the wealth she provides to *Launfal*.

The central component from a practical and symbolic standpoint, however, is the horse each fairy gives to her lover. Marie's fairies actually retrieve Lanval's previously ill mount, presumably from the valley where Lanval abandoned him to follow damsels to the fairy's woodland tent:

sun cheval li unt amené.
 Bien li ourent la sele mise ;
 mult a trové riche servise (v. 190-192).

[When they had risen from table, his horse was brought to him, well saddled. Lanval was richly served there.] (Burgess and Busby 75)

Unlike Chrétien, who describes the sleepless nights Enide spends caring for Erec's horses, Marie insinuates only that fairy methods have been effective and rapid. While distinct from Rufusian methods, magic appears just as useful. In addition, the interventions—whether magical, medical, or otherwise ambiguous—of mythological fairy figures are ideally suited to fetching and healing a horse stricken with a supernatural illness. In this sense, fairies seem to be the cause and cure for equine illness. Moreover, the horse appears saddled with Lanval's tack and ready to depart. The fairies must then have saddled and bridled him, as Lanval removed all of his tack in the valley (v. 47). Fairy skill, therefore, includes squirely tasks like healing and tacking horses.

Like Marie, the *Landevale* poet evokes the horse's mysterious appearance, fully tacked, after being abandoned in the valley, "The maydeyns bringe hys horse anone" (v. 165). The ladies seem to have brought Landevale's horse to the tent from the valley where he was wandering loose overnight. The ladies manage to catch the horse, bring him back to their mistress's tent, and have him tacked up and ready for Landevale to mount and leave straight away. Perhaps Landevale's maidens call the loose horse to them much as Lanval's ailing mount summoned fairies to it. In this way, the mysterious horse-

fairy links in both tales seem almost reciprocal, with both fairies and horses signaling each other supernaturally.

Launfal, however, presents an exchange of chivalric accoutrements befitting the sponsorship of a knight. Tryamour announces, “I yeve the Blaunchard, my stede lel, / And Gyfre, my owen knave” (*Launfal* v. 325-327). Spearing describes the specificity of her gifts as a result of Chestre’s focus on materialism (“Adapters” 152). Provision of a servant and a horse befits Launfal’s demonstrated preference to travel in company. Gyfre, however, shares the ability to see Tryamour and, as an oddly voyeuristic servant, may become another source of embarrassment for the protagonist (“Adapters” 152-153). In addition, Tryamour’s gift of her very own loyal steed, Blaunchard, is the utmost honor for Launfal. The convention of naming horses is afforded to only a very few of the most famous knights in medieval romance, the most notable example being Gawain and his horse Gringalet. Gawain owns Gringalet, however; Launfal receives the warhorse Blaunchard from his female benefactor. As Glenn argues, Chestre links Tryamour and Blaunchard by giving each a name in a marked departure from the previous tales of the Lanval corpus (68-69). The fairy/giver and horse/gift are thus explicitly linked to Launfal and to each other. As such, following his disobedience of his lover’s sole condition for their relationship, Launfal suffers the painful loss of both Tryamour and Blaunchard.

Prolific, if still conditional, gift-giving makes each fairy into a fitting replacement for her lover’s current feudal lord, Arthur (Kinoshita and McCracken 62). Not only does she provide him the wife (herself) and lands (Avalon) that each knight was denied, she also provides the means to continue his chivalric life. Each fairy heals her lover’s chivalric status and his masculine knighthood when she provides him with a horse, one

who reminds the reader of each knight's need of his lover, restores his chivalric masculinity, and permits his return²¹⁸ to Arthur's court, site of the second peripatetic scene in the tale and the location of its resolution.

Judicial Indictment and Fairy Resolution in Arthur's Throne Room

In the final scene of the Lanval corpus, each poet resolves the central conflict of his or her protagonist, who is in judicial hot water after challenging the assumption that Guinevere possesses superlative beauty beyond that of all other women.²¹⁹ Each poet provides a *deus ex machina*—the appearance of a cohort of ladies in waiting followed by their fairy leader—to save the protagonist from his predicament. Each fairy lady appears before court so that Arthur, his barons, and all the courtiers might determine if her beauty

²¹⁸ As Guy-Bray notes, *Launfal* does not immediately move to Guinevere's seduction scene: Chestre first shows Launfal attempt to prove his courtly masculinity by participating in a tournament against Sir Valentine, whose very name evokes the sexual undertones of any competition to renew one's good, masculine reputation (40-43). While Launfal emerges victorious after killing Valentine, the tournament brings his desirability to Guinevere's attention and he, once more, requires Tryamour to save him. Of note also is Gyfre's role in saving Launfal from defeat by Valentine: the magical servant makes himself invisible in order to replace the helmet and shield that his master has dropped in combat ("Adapters" 150-151). Among many things, this supernatural ability confirms the extent of Tryamour's miraculous giving while also highlighting Launfal's powerlessness that is so antithetical to his status as an Arthurian knight.

²¹⁹ We must note that the judicial proceedings constitute a much graver consequence for Lanval than Guinevere's accusation of homosexuality. As Didier Godard explains in *Deux hommes sur un cheval: L'Homosexualité masculine au Moyen Âge* (Paris: H & O, 2003), the period around the year 1000—even extending as far as the beginning of the 13th century—demonstrated great tolerance of homosexual acts. He goes so far as to call it, "une homosexualité répandue, facilement et tranquillement vécue, dans une atmosphère assez différente de celle que nous pourrions imaginer, a priori, s'agissant de l'Europe chrétienne au Moyen Âge" (99). Although this period includes that in which Marie wrote the *lai de Lanval*, he also explains that, in the mid-12th century, new social and political restructuring led to systems and currencies that increased the disparity between the poor and the rich, explaining also that, during this period, homosexuals were often described in the same terms as social or cultural outsiders. In Godard's words, "Les tensions s'accroissent, et ce n'est pas par hasard que les hérétiques sont fréquemment décrits, dans la littérature de l'époque, comme des vagabonds et des déracinés, qui ne tiennent aucun compte des barrières sociales. De plus en plus, au cours des siècles suivants, l'homosexualité sera pareillement perçue, non peut-être sans raison [...], comme dangereuse pour l'ordre établi et la hiérarchie sociale" (103). William E. Burgwinkle echoes the same unlikelihood of conviction for homosexual acts that Godard asserts in the 12th century. See his book *Sodomy, Masculinity, and Law in Medieval Literature: France and England, 1050-1230* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 151-152.

surpasses that of Guinevere. Her horseback arrival surrounded by hunting dogs and carrying a falcon also codes her as a master of courtly mores. The townspeople, courtiers and barons are so awed by her beauty and courtliness that the judicial matter is resolved. Of all her courtly qualities, fairy equestrianism permits her to enter Arthur's throne room, stride confidently before the court to resolve her lover's judicial problems, and flee with him to her fairyland. Horses and women rescue a male knight, repair his flagging chivalric status, and take him, her lover and consort, into her home country.

As the antagonist, Guinevere's non-equestrian femininity contrasts with the fairy queen. The conflict with Guinevere begins when she declares her devotion to each knight and invites him to betray his king and his anonymous mistress by lying with her.²²⁰ She grants him her love and states plainly that he is lucky to have her (*Lanval* v. 265-270; *Landevale* v. 210-218; *Launfal* v. 676-681). Their proclamations are severe and bold: Launfal's Guinevere even states that she will die of love for him (v. 680). Despite the depth of love Guinevere professes, Lanval, Landevale, and Launfal refuse the Queen's shocking proposition. Each knight cites his own devotion to Arthur as the initial reason he cannot become romantically involved with her (*Lanval* v. 271-276; *Landevale* v. 219-222; *Launfal* v. 683-684).²²¹ This commitment, even to a liege lord who does not provide sufficient gifts for a knight to fulfill his chivalric duties, confirms each protagonist's

²²⁰ Both vying for the protagonist's affection, Guinevere and the fairy queens are alternately romantic rivals and, in a psychoanalytic sense, maternal rivals. As Spearing writes, "If Lanval's relationship with the fairy lady is pre-Oedipal and guiltless, his relationship with Guinevere is Oedipal and guilty. She too offers herself to him without any initiative on his part. But she is a seductive mother, wickedly proposing to take the son in her husband's place (or, to put it differently, this scene is a repetition of the earlier seduction by the fairy lady, but now regarded in the light of a post-Oedipal awareness). Hence Lanval's horrified repudiation of the betrayal that would be involved, and his reaffirmation of his earlier, more innocent fantasy" (138).

²²¹ Guinevere's offer violates two allegiances to which the knight is pledged: Arthur as his feudal lord and the fairy queen as a hybrid romantic-feudal-pecuniary attachment. Ireland explains that Lanval's promise to serve his fairy queen makes her a second feudal allegiance in addition to a romantic one (138).

status as an exemplum of chivalric virtue and feudal loyalty. Nor is the intersection of romantic love and feudal duty unique to the Lanval-Guinevere-Arthur triangle. The passion of a vassal for his lord's wife both seems incompatible with and mirrors feudal loyalty:

In this perspective, courtly love does not so much challenge the hierarchical relationship between lord and vassal as graft itself onto it. The lover's profession of obedience and devotion simply substitutes the lady in the place normally reserved for her husband, maintaining or even intensifying the central values of homage. The coordination of the two registers, feudal and courtly-erotic, is facilitated by their shared vocabulary of love, expressed by the verb *aimer* and its derivatives (Kinoshita and McCracken 54).

Love is exchanged between the fairy lady and her lover, between Guinevere and her husband's vassal, and between Arthur and the knight bound to him by feudal loyalty. Love pervades chivalry and romantic dalliances alike.

Unfortunately for each Guinevere, none of the protagonists reciprocates her affection. While not invoking his lady at first, he eventually breaks his vow and reveals the fact that he already has a lover.²²² Each man strikes out in anger²²³ after Guinevere's insinuation of homosexuality²²⁴, stating that Guinevere's beauty cannot compare to that

²²² Lanval's revelation reinforces Marie's dichotomy of male failure and female heroism (Chance 46). However, the possibility presented by Ireland is also intriguing. He states that Guinevere's proposal presents Lanval with two options: defend the fairy's honor by revealing her existence or keep her secret and allow her to be besmirched (139). By choosing the former, Ireland argues that, far from acting solely in his own self-interest, Lanval upholds his higher obligations to serve her.

²²³ Chance argues that anger in this situation further establishes the protagonist in *Lanval* (and, we might infer, those in *Landevale* and *Launfal* by extension) as an antihero. She states that his lack of confident masculinity appears clearly when he lashes out at Guinevere, overcompensating for the fact that her accusation of homosexuality wounded him (51).

²²⁴ Only in Marie's Anglo-Norman lay does Guinevere accuse Lanval of harboring homosexual desires. The Middle English lays do not say this outwardly, saying only that he loves no woman and no woman loves him (*Landevale* v. 226; *Launfal* v. 689). In addition, we must note that, among medievalists, the most common terminology for Guinevere's accusation is to say she denounces Lanval as a homosexual, despite the anachronistic use of the term. The first use of the term homosexual is in an 1869 anonymous German pamphlet opposing a Prussian anti-sodomy law. This appearance was soon echoed in Gustav Jager's *Discovery of the Soul* (1880) and then in Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886).

of his beloved fairy lady (*Lanval* v. 295-304; *Landevale* v. 228-235; *Launfal* v. 694-699). Guinevere is shamed, especially by his second refusal. Particularly in *Landevale* the thought that Guinevere's beauty is surpassed—not just by a single woman but also every maid in that woman's entourage—directly provokes her shame, “Tho was she ashamyd and wrothe” (v. 235).²²⁵ Landevale's financial shame at the beginning of the tale is followed by romantic shame for Guinevere. Beyond wish-fulfillment, these tales examine identity impact of public and private shame. The causes of shame include disinheritance, interspecies communicative failure, supernatural equine illness, and certainly the romantic rejection that engulfs Arthur, Lanval, and Guinevere in public scandal ending with the judicial trial (Kinoshita and McCracken 59-60).²²⁶ Supernatural influences, meteorological conditions, and equestrian shortcomings provoke the separation of each knight from his last remaining chivalric possession and, thus, bring shame upon him.

The supernatural ladies in *Lanval*, along with their palfreys, present the evidence that resolves the judicial quandary, truncates the trial, and interrupts the shame of each

For more on the evolution of homosexuality since Ancient Greece, see David M. Halperin's *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

²²⁵ Marie adds a sartorial component (as do the *Landevale* poet and Chestre) to the implicit rivalry between the fairy queen and Guinevere. As Monica L. Wright argues, without richly detailed and luxurious garments, Guinevere cannot hope to emulate the fairy queen, her yet-hidden rival (282-283). See her article “What Was Arthur Wearing? Discrepancies in Dress Descriptions in Twelfth-Century French Romance” (*Philological Quarterly* 81.3 [2002]): 275-288.

²²⁶ The shame in the Lanval myth may arise from same patriarchal system it critiques. Chance writes, “The queen's legal recourse against Lanval depends upon a patriarchal system in which women have virtually no voice, except when queens are involved and sexual advances translate into treason against the king” (58). In such a system, Guinevere's shame is connected to her husband's sovereignty and made more central by the reduction of women's roles to that of faithful courtly wife. Aubailly sees this causal relationship between Lanval's assertion of the fairy's superiority and Guinevere's relay of his “treason” to her husband as an opportunity to make Guinevere banal, whose jealousy and deceit confirm misogynistic expectations of the female sex and reform her into a more easily detestable figure (78-79).

protagonist. *Lanval*'s ladies exude grace and ease when they enter the throne room on horseback:

Quant il deveient departir,
 dous puceles virent venir
 sur dous beals palefreiz amblanz.
 Mult par esteient avenanz;
 de cendal purpre sunt vestues
 tut senglement a lur chars nues.
 Cil les esguardent volentiers. (...)
 Celes sunt alees avant
 tut a cheval; par tel semblant
 descendirent devant le deis,
 la u seeit Artur li reis.
 Eles furent de grant belté,
 si unt curteisement parlé (v. 473-479; 487-492).

[When they were about to give their verdict, they saw two maidens approaching on two fine ambling palfreys. They were extremely comely and dressed only in purple taffeta, next to their bare skin; the knights were pleased to see them. (...) The maidens continued to approach, still on horseback, and then dismounted before the dais where King Arthur was seated. They were of great beauty and spoke in courtly fashion.] (Burgess and Busby 79)

Marie conveys the beauty and brazenness of the first group of ladies who ride their palfreys directly up to King Arthur's table, in full equestrian splendor. These women stride confidently into a foreign land and demonstrate their female-centered power as foil to the domination of Arthur's patriarchal court.

Marie presents a *cortège* of beautiful equestrian fairies to build suspense. A second wave shows ladies arriving on Spanish mules, but in the same glorious display of the female form placed lithely upon a noble equine:

Quant il erent en cel esfrei,
 dous puceles de gent cunrei
 (vestues de dous pailles freis,
 chevalchent dous muls Espaigneis)
 virent venir la rue a val.
 Grant joie en ourent li vassal ;

entre els diënt qu'ore est guariz
Lanval, li pruz e li hardiz (v. 513-520).

[While they were in this troubled state, they saw two finely outfitted maidens coming along the street, dressed in garments of Phrygian silk²²⁷ and riding on Spanish mules. The vassals were glad of this and they said to each other that Lanval, the worthy and brave, was now saved.] (Burgess and Busby 80)

The young girls on Spanish mules are an intermediate step between the first pair of ladies who interrupt the trial and the final arrival of the fairy queen. The two waves of arrivals before the fairy queen might encourage a tendency to read them hierarchically with each successive group of ladies nobler, richer, and mounted on better horses than their predecessors.²²⁸ The Spanish origin of the mules may support this theory, as chargers from Spain are among the most revered in medieval literature (Ribémont 211). The alternative fairy court from which they come may also eschew hierarchies altogether in contrast to the dysfunctional Arthurian system. In either case, they lead the reader directly to the final apparition:

A tant furent celes venues ;
devant le rei sunt descendues.
Mult les loërent li plusur
de cors, de vis et de colur;
n'i ot cele mielz ne valsist
qu'unkes la reïne ne fist" (v. 531-536).

[When they had arrived, they dismounted before the king and many praised them highly for their bodies, faces, and complexions. They were both more worthy than the queen had ever been.] (Burgess and Busby 80)

²²⁷ Kinoshita and McCracken note that, as the sign par excellence of wealth, mention of silk as the material of the fairies' garments is a calculated measure to assert the superiority of the lesser maidens to Guinevere (77).

²²⁸ Riding a mule does not always constitute a demotion in literature, as evinced by Enide riding a mule to flee Limors' court, a moment of victory and spousal harmony in the romance. For more discussion of Enide riding a mule, see chapter 2.

Even these preliminary fairies possess beauty that eclipses the queen's. The combination of their beauty and their equestrian ability gives them ultimate power over the men at trial who cannot resist the appeal of their physical presence. Marie uses anatomical descriptions to connect the desirable areas of women and horses. These aesthetic and corporeal links between women and their horses demonstrate fairy equestrianism and extra-feudal agency.

Following Marie's juxtapositions of juridical and mythological material the *Landevale* poet might also highlight the difference between the ladies and the trial they attend. He does not, preferring instead to describe them gliding into the trial. Inseparable from the judicial procedures of Arthur's court, they arrive immediately following a speech by the Earl of Cornwall:

While they stode thus spekyng,
 They sawe in fere cum rydyng
 Two maydyns, whyte as flower,
 On whyte palfrays, with honour;
 So fayre creaturys with ien
 Ne better attyryde were neuer seen.
 Alle ther judgyde theym so sheen
 That over Dame Gaynour they might be a queen (v. 349-356).

The *Landevale* poet describes ladies whose skin—like their palfreys' coats—is brilliantly white. Their complexion links them directly with their horses, and together the maiden-horse pairs seem constructed specifically to invite visual appraisal and assessment as part of the judicial proceedings. Unlike Marie's profound and mysterious supernatural rapport, the *Landevale* poet creates a superficial link between the horse and fairy: the identical color of their skin/fur. Their whiteness exudes perfection and eliminates doubt as to the innocence of their mistress' beloved. They immediately attract the attention of those present at trial who judge them queenlier than Guinevere.

In *Launfal*, female beauty, expensive horses, and a litany of arrivals compound to expand the *Landevale* poet's description of the fairies' arrival in court. Chestre adds more ladies to multiply their visual impact. The barons bear witness to the arrival of the first ten maidens, whose fair complexions and beauty were so stunning that the least among them might easily be a queen (v. 853-857). Later, ten more women arrive:

Tho saw they other ten maydenes bryght,
 Fayryr than the other ten of syght,
 As they gone hym deme.
 They ryd upon joly moyles of Spayne,
 Wyth sadell and brydell of Champayne,
 Har lorayns lyght gonne leme (v. 883-888).

While these ladies are marked by wealth and equestrianism like their predecessors in *Landevale*, *Launfal*'s ladies become more like a faceless crowd by their sheer volume. All seem to possess superlative tack and prized horses or Spanish mules to make it impossible to distinguish amongst them. The ladies who precede Tryamour add to her imagined wealth and importance without being agents themselves.

When the fairy ladies of *Lanval*, *Landevale*, and *Launfal* finally arrive, their solitary²²⁹ appearance confirms exactly what their many attendants prefigured: these ladies are every bit as beautiful as their knightly lover stated and Guinevere's accusations of homosexuality are instantly debunked. The poets delineate each fairy's relationship to horses, hunting dogs, and falcons using verbs of decreasing activity throughout the successive adaptations. As the ladies and their animals move and interact less, their assemblage seems increasingly designed for visual consumption. Beginning with Marie, the fairy lady's link to her palfrey anchors her *descriptio*:

²²⁹ Williams insists upon the fact that the fairy lovers arrive alone, albeit at the end of a cortège of maidens and attendants. She explains the "dramatic solitariness" of their rides, particularly those in the Middle English adaptations (165).

Ja departissent a itant,
 quant par la vile vint errant
 tut a cheval une pucele ;
 en tut le siecle n'ot si bele.
 Un blanc palefrei chevalchot,
 ki bien e suëf la portot ;
 mult ot bien fet e col e teste :
 suz ciel ne not plus gente beste.
 Riche atur ot el palefrei :
 suz ciel nen a cunte ne rei
 ki tut le peüst eslegier
 senz terre vendre u enguagier.
 Ele ert vestue en itel guise
 de chainse blanc e de chemise,
 que tuit li costé li pareient,
 ki de dous parz lacié esteient.
 Le cors ot gent, basse la hanche,
 le col plus blanc que neif sur branche ;
 les uiz ot vairs e blanc le vis,
 bele buche, nes bien asis,
 les surcilz bruns e bel le frunt
 e le chief cresp e alkes blunt ;
 fils d'or ne gete tel luur
 cum si chevel cuntre le jur (v. 553-576).

[Just as they were about to give their verdict, a maiden on horseback entered the town. There was none more beautiful in the whole world. She was riding a white palfrey which carried her well and gently; its neck and head were well-formed and there was no finer animal on earth. The palfrey was richly equipped, for no count or king on earth could have paid for it, save by selling or pledging his lands. The lady was dressed in a white tunic and shift, laced left and right so as to reveal her sides. Her body was comely, her hips low, her neck whiter than snow on a branch; her eyes were bright and her face white, her mouth fair and her nose well placed; her eyebrows were brown and her brow fair, and her hair curly and rather blond. A golden thread does not shine as brightly as the rays reflected in the light from her hair.] (Burgess and Busby 80)

Gliding from descriptions of harnesses and equipment to dresses and bodies, Marie establishes the bond between the two as a locus of their strength. She evokes parallels between the palfrey's well-formed neck and the fairy's white neck—descriptions so general as to be nearly interchangeable. Adjectives also link them: the horse is the most

gente beste in the world, just as the lady has a *cors gent*. The application of *gent*—a term that indicates handsome, beautiful, and pretty, one typically used in reference to people—to both the fairy and her palfrey adds a linguistic connection to their mythological interspecies bond. Additionally, the horse and fairy certainly share similar anatomy through his white coat and her pale skin, both common colors in idealized portraits of courtly ladies and their palfreys. In addition, the fairy queen acts as a knight in this scene (Burns 173). Her arrival expresses both her wealth and autonomy as it also displays an aesthetic ideal and troubles the supposition that power equals maleness.

To these physical descriptions of the fairy-palfrey pair, Marie also adds active verbs to involve both fairy and palfrey in their partnership. She comes into town (*vint errant*) and rides (*chevalchot*) her palfrey who, in turn carries her with ease (*bien e suëf la portot*). The horse and rider both contribute to their arrival in court. For Marie, the strength of the fairy comes equally from herself and from her horse: fairy autonomy is fundamentally interspecies.

In Arthur's throne room, both *Landevale* and *Launfal* assume an anthropocentric perspective demonstrated by the decreased participation of nonhuman animals. Unlike the original *Lanval*, *Landevale*'s horses do not become a part of the fairy's identity: she associates with horses without being defined by her relationship to the equine. Instead, the *Landevale* poet emphasizes the socioeconomic and cultural markers that characterize the lady. When the lady enters the throne room, her entry interrupts the testimony in *Landevale*'s trial:

While she spake thus to the kynge,
They saw where came ridynge
A lady, herself alle alone
On erthe fayrer was never none

On a white palfrey comlye;
 There nesse kyng that hath gold ne fee
 That myght by that palfrey
 Withoute sellyng of lond away.
 This lady was bright as blossome on brere,
 Her ieene lofsum, bright and clere;
 Jentylle and jolyffe as birde on bowgh,
 In alle thing faire ynowgh.
 As rose in May her rude was rede,
 Here here shynyng on her hede
 As gold wyre yn sonn bright;
 In this worlde nas so faire a wight.
 A crowne was upon her hede,
 Al of precious stones and gold rede;
 Clothid she was in purpylle palle,
 Her body gentille and medille smale;
 The pane of hir mantelle inwarde
 On hir harmes she foldid owtewarde,
 Whiche wel becam that lady.
 Thre white grehoundys went hyr by;
 A sparowhauke she bare upon hir hande;
 A softe paas her palfrey comaunde.
 Throw the citie rode she,
 For every man shuld hir see.
 Wiff and childe, yong and olde,
 Al come hir to byholde (v. 423-448).

This fairy rides her palfrey, like Marie's fairy lady, though the horse is far more expensive than his predecessor. The poet states that no king could afford such a horse without selling lands to cover the cost. Her horse becomes a metonym for the money required to purchase him, much as she, too, represents the financial support she can give to Landevale. While she associates with horses, their partnership evokes money more than interspecies cooperation.

The *Landevale* poet also expands the existing tradition of metaphors evoking adornment to emphasize the signs of wealth and courtliness layered on and surrounding her body. He adapts and deepens this topos from Marie's *Lanval*, in which the woman's neck is whiter than snow on a branch (*le col plus blanc que neif sur branche*, v. 570). The

Landevale poet compares her to a blossom on a briar and to a gentle bird on a branch, detailing her bejeweled crown placed atop her metallic golden hair, her fine purple cloak, her narrow waist, and the delicately folded arms that show her shapely figure to its best advantage. He presents her to maximize her assets—the beautiful features, rich clothing, and expensive courtly animals that appear like adornments on a body that, in turn, embellishes and complements male knighthood.

The proliferation of textural details and allusions to adornment invite the attention and desire of the men at Arthur's court. By mixing velvet and sparrowhawk feathers, a palfrey's sleek coat and the fairy's tendrils of golden hair, visual and the haptic become enmeshed as the onlookers are incited to desire the fairy. To resolve the personal-turned-judicial matter of whether the fairy or Guinevere is more beautiful, the fairy enters herself as physical evidence by which all may judge her physical appearance (*Landevale* v. 449-452). The visual impact of her body summons onlookers to appear just as her self-styling invites their assessment. The universal admiration of those who gaze upon her resolves the debate at court over the relative beauty of the fairy and mortal women, while also establishing the fairy mistress as a visual ideal.

The *Landevale* poet concentrates on the lady's mastery of chivalric socio-cultural manners, among which, of course, is her frequent appearance with courtly animals. She incarnates literary and social *topoi* of hunting: three white greyhounds follow her as she sits passively astride her smooth-trotting palfrey with a sparrowhawk resting on her hand. Her interactions with nonhuman animals become more superficial—and, by extension, visual—than those of the fairy lady in *Lanval*.

Landevale's fairy mistress's visibility is fundamentally linked to her role as the savior or wish-fulfiller, the knight on a white horse who rescues her beloved (Spearing 118). However, while the *Landevale* poet's fairy materializes at the moment of knightly desperation—suggesting that female characters act as fantasies that respond directly to the desires of their male counterparts—she also uses this moment of rescue to seduce the man she loves and, later, to bring him into her land as her consort. It is, therefore, both *Landevale* and his fairy mistress whose desires are sated and whose wishes are fulfilled.

In *Launfal*, Chestre inserts the fairy intervention at the exact moment when Guinevere speaks to Arthur about Launfal's brazen assertion. Dame Tryamour's public rebuttal directly answers the public accusations against Launfal. Arthur's barons witness her arrival, also referencing the judicial nature of this testimony, then produce a picture of her body, that of her palfrey, and the equipment both wear:

And as the Quene spak to the Kyng,
 The barouns seygh come rydyng
 A damesele alone
 Upoon a whyt comely palfrey.
 They saw never non so gay
 Upon the grounde gone:
 Gentyll, jolyf as bryd on bowe,
 In all manere fayr ynowe
 To wonye yn wordly wone.
 The lady was bryght as blosme on brere;
 Wyth eyen gray, wyth lovelych chere,
 Her leyre lyght schoone.

As rose on rys her rode was red;
 The her schon upon her hed
 As gold wyre that schynyth bryght;
 Sche hadde a crounne upon her molde
 Of ryche stones, and of golde,
 That lofsom lemede lyght.
 The lady was clad yn purpere palle,
 Wyth gentyll body and myddyll small,
 That semely was of syght;

Her mantyll was furryd wyth whyt ermyn,
 Yreversyd jolyf and fyn —
 No rychere be ne myght.

Her sadell was semyly set:
 The sambus wer grene felvet
 Ypaynted wyth ymagerye.
 The bordure was of belles
 Of ryche gold, and nothyng elles
 That any man myghte aspye.
 In the arsouns, before and behynde,
 Were twey stones of Ynde,
 Gay for the maystrye.
 The paytrelle of her palfraye
 Was worth an erldome, stoute and gay,
 The best yn Lumbardye.

A gerfawcon sche bar on her hond;
 A softe pas her palfray fond,
 That men her schuld beholde.
 Thorough Karlyon rood that lady;
 Twey whyte grehoundys ronne hyr by —
 Har colers were of golde.
 And whan Launfal sawe that lady,
 To alle the folk he gon crye an hy,
 Bothe to yonge and olde:
 “Her,” he seyde, “comyth my lemman swete!
 Sche myghte me of my balys bete,
 Yef that lady wolde” (v. 925-979).

The gaze starts at her head and travels down her body to her delicate figure, tiny waist, and the ermine trim on her cloak. Chestre describes her saddle adorned with gold bells as universally coveted. The saddle is not the only adornment on the fairy’s palfrey, whose breastplate alone is worth an earldom. While Spearing cites the gaudiness of this equipment, it seems compatible with Chestre’s penchant for excess²³⁰ and, as Spearing notes, his desire to “epicize” his lay (“Story” 107, 111). Despite the heavy, jewel-

²³⁰ The expanded descriptions in Chestre’s tale are also linked to its genre as a tail-rhyme romance whose style requires that once a 12-line descriptive stanza is begun, it must also be finished. The prohibition of such changes of topic, plus the requisite 12 rhymes in each stanza, result in expanded description that can become repetitive.

encrusted tack her horse wears, the palfrey carries his rider into court at an easy pace so she may be seen to advantage. The bodies of the fairy and her palfrey evoke ease and wealth in their every detail and adornment. Chestre uses metaphors of embellishment—like those in *Landevale*—to insist on the fairy’s ability to capture visual attention.

Her courtly animals come last as the final set pieces of this fairy assemblage. The falcon perched on her hand, three greyhounds in gold collars who trot alongside her, an increase—as Williams notes—from the two included in *Landevale* (165), and other nonhuman accessories serve only to identify her, to make her rich without enriching her. Like *Landevale*, a parallel appears between the falcon perched on her delicate wrist and Tryamour seated gently atop her horse. Interestingly, however, the very mounted position that seems so precarious may also connect Tryamour with the horse goddess Epona. Oaks notes the frequent depiction of Epona in a “serene posture on the horse, seated being a better term than mounted” (297). These images also often incorporate a small dog (though perhaps smaller than the greyhounds that follow the fairies) as well as birds (297). The literary tableau in which Tryamour and her courtly animals are portrayed, therefore, both freezes them in immobility and empowers them mythologically, like the pagan statuary in Oaks’ study. Interaction between these beings is almost non-existent, except at the end of Chestre’s description, when he states, “Through Karlyon rood that lady.” With only one verb to describe her movement, Dame Tryamour becomes more passive than the *Landevale* fairy. Chestre reduces the fairy’s agency by listing her accoutrements without a single active verb to describe her relationship to them. In the end, by not interacting with her horses, dogs, or bird, Tryamour and her nonhuman animals become decoration for and embellishment of masculine chivalry.

The impact and usefulness of the ladies' entry into Arthur's court room rely on several factors: their courtly attire, feminine beauty, and relationships with nonhuman animals. Each poet produces a distinct representation of courtly female equestrianism that serves as the ideal object of the male gaze. As Spearing states:

the lady consciously displays herself as a sight, moving slowly and wearing what will reveal enough of her beauty to stimulate the imagination to supply what is unseen; the description is detailed enough to amount to a formal *effictio*. The effect is such as to imply that the lady *wishes* to be fragmented by the onlookers' eyes, wishes that each of her parts should be fetishized as a means to power.²³¹

She is objectified and powerful, consumed by watchers in her diegetic environment in order to accomplish her goal of freeing Lanval. Her self-display as an equestrian beauty gives her visual power; her visual impact gives her judicial and political power.

Throughout the Lanval corpus, evocations of equestrianism are divided between its visual impact and active potential. The woman-horse pairs must—with their appearance alone—rebut the accusations against their beloved: their Mulvean “to-be-looked-at-ness” is central to their social salvation they provide in each narrative.²³² At the same time, the women arrive at Arthur's court and daringly enter his courtroom on horseback. The fairy ladies of *Lanval* and *Landevale* along with *Launfal*'s Dame Tryamour style their bodies for maximum aesthetic, material effect while also mobilizing themselves and their courtly animals in a passive invasion that curtails a judicial indictment. Their courtly animals—most specifically the superlative white palfrey each fairy leader rides—evoke their courtly manners, nobility, and graceful interaction with nonhuman animals. The multiple horses in each *cortège* foreshadow and facilitate the

²³¹ A. C. Spearing, “The Lanval Story,” *The Medieval Poet as Voyeur: Looking and Listening in Medieval Love-narratives* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge UP, 1993), 102.

²³² Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen* 16.3 (1975): 203.

manner of their subsequent departure from Arthur's court. The exonerated knight and his beloved will ride off on one of the very palfreys that secured his exoneration.

Horseback Retreat to the Fairy's Secluded Realm

In each tale of the Lanval corpus, a beautiful fairy equestrian saves the protagonist, her lover, from his legal trouble. She exploits the visual impact of her courtly beauty, manners, and dress to achieve his release. Then, she uses her equestrian prowess and connection with her horse to escape with her lover to a secluded, mythological other world.²³³ Known by an anagram of Lanval's own name, Avalon represents female governance, fairy mythology, and political independence befitting the consort of the fairy queen (Chance 53; Harf "Reine" 86). In each tale of the Lanval corpus, the manner of departure concludes the poet's exploration of female equestrianism as a saving mechanism for imperiled male knights.

The initial departure from court in *Lanval* shows a hulking mounting block in the courtyard. Lanval uses this marble block to leap onto his lover's palfrey after she has already mounted:

Fors de la sale avoir um mis
un grant perrun de marbre bis,
u li pesant hume muntoënt,
ki de la curt le rei aloënt.
Lanval esteit muntez desus.
Quant la pucele ist fors de l'us,
sur le palefrei detreiers li
de plein eslais Lanval sailli (v. 651-658).

²³³ Anne Berthelot rightly notes the ambiguity of their retreat from court. She explains that, without detail regarding the lady and her lover's arrival and subsequent life in Avalon, it is also possible their departure leads to his death. See *Histoire de la littérature française du Moyen Âge* (Rennes, France : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006), 84. Like Berthelot, Harf-Lancner notes that the "au-delà paradisiaque" is an "euphémisation de la mort" ("Reine" 97).

[Outside the hall there was a large block of dark marble on to which heavily armed men climbed when they left the king's court. Lanval: mounted it and when the maiden came through the door, he leapt in a single bound on to the palfrey behind her.] (Burgess and Busby 81)

Chance discusses the importance of the type of horse they ride—a palfrey—and his position on it relative to his lover. She states:

Lanval readily leaps into a secondary position literally and figuratively behind his beloved, on the horse a true chevalier would never ride, the palfrey. His leap of faith—to paraphrase Kierkegaard—commits him to Avalon, to himself, that is, a feminized culture of magical power, true nobility, and transcendent love, as he simultaneously renounces the patriarchal material culture of Arthur's court and its dependency on feudal oath, lineage, martial prowess, national identity, warfare, and landholding and wealth (53-54).

Despite the erroneous claim that a true knight never rides a palfrey, Chance's argument that Lanval assumes a secondary position to his lover does resonate with his dependency on her equestrianism.²³⁴ Or, in Spearing's psychoanalytic terms, Lanval rejects Arthur (the father) in favor of the fairy queen (the mother), therefore his position like a child on the back of his mother's horse is a fitting end to a fundamentally regressive fantasy ("Adapters" 137-139). Lanval is not in control of the palfrey while he sits behind his fairy lady, just as Enide is not in control when she rides on the neck of Erec's horse as they flee Limors. Lanval and Enide have similarly precarious positions because they do not sit on the saddle. Because they are respectively behind or in front of the person who truly pilots the horse, Lanval and Enide lack equestrian autonomy. For Lanval, this position further undermines his chivalric masculinity which has been under threat throughout the tale.

²³⁴ Ribémont corroborates the claim that male literary knights did ride palfreys (211). If a male knight is required to ride a palfrey into battle—a milieu typically reserved for *destriers* and sometimes *coursiers*—it may signal a decline in fortune, masculinity, or status, but riding a palfrey for travel is not incompatible with chivalric masculinity.

While riding a horse with his lover would ordinarily provoke shame, Lanval leaves before any can mock him. In fact, his new horse signals a transition in his chivalric being. Or, as Chance puts it, “For a knight to dismount from his horse *is* tantamount to rejecting the ordinary world—or to converting to another world. At the end of the lay, Lanval will remount a horse, but not his: it will be as an ancillary and symbolic female on the palfrey behind the fairy queen” (46). The shift in Lanval’s mountedness—like that of Landevale and Launfal—indicates his preparedness to depart his masculinist chivalric milieu.²³⁵ His final contact with patriarchal materiality is the toe of his boot on the marble mounting block²³⁶ as he leaps behind his fairy to depart forever.

This expensive marble mounting block in the courtyard becomes a touchstone around which bodies and genders interact. The stone facilitates knighthood: horses approach it and wait patiently to be mounted, its marble makes it a luxury item and worthy of envy, and its use is predicated—as Marie says—upon the heft of knights in full armor who cannot hoist themselves onto their horses without help. This tool evokes the divergent materialities of male and female courtly equestrians. Male equestrians are encumbered with armor that makes them heavier for the tasks of knighthood and for a horse to carry. Female fairy equestrianism, however, is physically light, unlike the armored Amazonian horsemanship of the *romans antiques*. Without full armor, however,

²³⁵ For more on the masculinist portrayal of Arthurian society in *Lanval*, see Chance’s previously cited chapter. With Lanval’s persistent feminization by Marie, his exclusion from Arthur’s patriarchal court reflects his queer gender identity (45, 48). In conjunction with his mythological and psychoanalytical analyses of the Lanval myth, Aubailly contrasts the patriarchal values of feudal Arthurian society with the mythical Beyond linked to goddess worship and femininity (100). He connects this opposition to the shifting balance between Logos and Eros with which medieval theologians and philosophers were so preoccupied.

²³⁶ Spearing rightly pauses over the puzzling and ambiguous presence of the mounting block at the close of the tale, citing the possible interpretations of its use as a realistic detail to anchor the scene or as a reminder of the unyielding patriarchal society that Lanval flees forever (“Adapters” 146-147).

use of a mounting block shows deficiency in Lanval's equestrian skill. Marie confirms his equestrian and chivalric shortcomings in these concluding verses by referring to him as *dameiseals* (v. 662) which refers to a young man's work as a squire before becoming a knight (Kinoshita and McCracken 62). With his equestrian and social status well below that of his lady, Lanval is ready for "social erasure" (Kinoshita and McCracken 63, 122).

Like Lanval, Landevale leaps onto the same horse as his lover. However, he manages to mount his horse without a mounting block like the one Lanval used:

When the jugement gyvyne was,
 At the kyng her leve she takys,
 And lepe upon hir palfrey
 And betoke them to Gode and goode day:
 The kyng fulle fare, and alle his,
 Besechit hir, withoutyne mys,
 Longer to make sojournyng.
 She said, "Nay!" and thankyd the kyng.
 Landevale saw hys love wold gone:
 Upon hir horse he lepe anone,
 And said, "Lady, my leman bright!
 I wille with the, my swete wight,
 Whedir ye ride or goo —
 Ne wille I never parte you fro!"
 "Landevale," she said, withoutyn lette,
 "Whan we first togedire mete,
 With dern love, withouten stryfe,
 I chargyd you yn all your lyffe
 That ye of me never speke schulde;
 How dare ye now be so bolde
 With me to ride withoute leve?
 Ye ought to thyng ye shuld me greve."
 Lady," he said, "faire and goode!
 For His love that shed His blode,
 Forgef me that trespace,
 And put me hole yn your grace!"
 Than that lady to hym can speke,
 And said to hym wyth wordys meke,
 "Landevale, lemman, I you forgyve
 That trespace while ye leve.
 Welcom to me, gentille knyghte!
 We wolle never twyn, day ne nyghte."

So they rodyn evenryghte,
 The lady, the maydyns, and the knyghte:
 Loo, howe love is lefe to wyn
 Of wemen that arn of gentylle kyn! (v. 493-528)

As in *Lanval*, *Landevale*'s fairy lady mounts first. Her lover mounts next—very quickly and with great agility in the absence of a mounting block—so that he doesn't get left behind at court. The ladies, her maidens, and *Landevale*—in this order—ride together toward Avalon. *Landevale*'s travel with the fairy lady and her maidens alters his and their traditional means of travel. The plurality of this scene—two lovers riding the same horse surrounded by an entourage of maidens—echoes that of the ladies' arrival on horseback in Arthur's throne room. Here, they proceed out of court just as they entered and retreat with *Landevale* to the fairy lady's gynocentric realm.

In addition, *Landevale*'s speech in this scene recalls the supernatural valley and bookends the tale with male *logos*. When *Landevale* implores his fairy lover to take him with her into her secluded land, he places himself in the speaking position of Ruth in Ruth 1:16. His speech no longer evokes his superlative courtly manners as it did in the valley, instead making him into the submissive woman in relation to the fairy's position as dominant ruler. Nevertheless, his lover chastises him for daring to ask to accompany her after previously violating her command of his silence. She asserts her power over him by keeping him powerless. Only when he appeals to her grace and Christian charity does she forgive him and agree to take him with her.

Chestre depicts a group's exodus from court much like the *Landevale* poet, though without the final verbal exchange between *Launfal* and *Tryamour*. His language both alienates the knight from his horse and from his lady's maidens by silently grouping women and horses together:

Wyth that Dame Tryamour to the quene geth,
 And blew on her swych a breth
 That never eft myght sche se.

The lady lep an hyr palfray
 And bad hem alle have good day —
 Sche nolde no lengere abyde.
 Wyth that com Gyfre all so prest,
 Wyth Launfalys stede, out of the forest,
 And stod Launfal besyde.
 The knyght to horse began to sprynge
 Anoon, wythout any lettynge,
 Wyth hys lemman away to ryde;
 The lady tok her maydenys achon
 And wente the way that sche hadde er gon,
 Wyth solas and wyth pryde (v. 1006-1020).

The conclusion to *Launfal* both punishes and empowers women. Dame Tryamour brings Guinevere, the licentious female gazer of the Lanval corpus, to justice with a blinding breath.²³⁷ While Dame Tryamour is a beautiful woman, one whose body and clothes are designed for maximum visual impact, the air from her lungs is toxic to those who abuse the gaze for their own means. Tryamour unleashes this breath on Guinevere as a would-be romantic rival who threatens Launfal individually and his relationship with her as his lover. Chestre places his male knight in the center of the departure scene: Gyfre and Blaunchard reappear to Launfal so that he may lead Tryamour and her maidens from court. Although Blaunchard was originally Tryamour's charger, the poet gives Launfal ownership of the horse when the tale concludes. Chestre valorizes the male by permitting him control over the horse Tryamour gave him and over their departure.

Departing ends each tale of the Lanval corpus. The knight, his fairy lover, her entourage of maidens, and the horses they all ride must leave Arthur's court forever.

²³⁷ When Tryamour blinds Guinevere she definitively ends the rivalry between them as Launfal's suitors. Justice is served and, in fact, Guinevere has asked explicitly to be blinded when she says, "Gyf he brynge a fayrer thyng / Put out my een gray" (v. 809-810; Guy-Bray 44).

They disappear from Arthurian politics, gazers, predatory women, patriarchy, and retributive justice, and none of the knights, fairy queens, or horses is seen again (*Lanval* v. 659-664;²³⁸ *Landevale* v. 525-536; *Launfal* v. 1021-1038). Their definitive departure from court ends each tale. Only in *Launfal* does any sign of them arise: Chestre explains that, one day a year, some may hear Launfal's steed neigh and then see him (v. 1024-1026), at which point anyone who requests may joust with Launfal himself (v. 1027-1032). The Middle English leaves two interpretive possibilities: either Launfal's steed Blaunchard is seen, or Launfal himself appears because of the ambiguous "hym se wyth syght". The elision of difference between Launfal and his horse mirrors that between the fairy ladies and their mounts whose imbricated identities ground their roles in each tale. Like *Lanval* and *Landevale*, *Launfal* only perfects his relationship to horses with his lover's help: only her interventions can produce the same amalgamation of his identity with that of his horse that she shares with her mount.

Still, however possible a reappearance of Launfal and Blaunchard, the tales must end. Each lay, in fact, comes to a close with the cessation of its own narrative. No one had heard any more about him, nor can I tell any more: "Nuls n'en oï puis plus parler, / ne jeo n'en sai avant cunter" (*Lanval* v. 663-664); "Of hym syns herde never man — / No further of Landevale telle I can" (*Landevale* v. 535-536); "Seththe saw hym yn thys land noman, / Ne no more of hym telle y ne can" (*Launfal* v. 1036-1037). The poets all state that they can telle/cunter no more of their protagonist: he disappears as the narrative ends, entombed and immortalized within his myth. The impossibility of further telling also

²³⁸ In *Lanval* there is some violence inherent in their shared departure from Arthur's court. Marie selects the verb *raviz*—one used elsewhere to denote rape and kidnapping—to describe the manner in which the fairy queen takes him into Avalon (Chance 53). In addition, this word typically takes a female object: its link with *Lanval* is evidence of his continued feminization (Kinoshita and McCracken 62).

brings back the financial—or at least numerical—context of the corpus—namely its omnipresent largesse and the innumerable wealth of its fairy benefactor. The tales end in such a void where the knight, his lady, and her wealth all disappear into Avalon, that place beyond telling. The protagonist is consumed by his narrative just as the knight is subsumed into his lover's wealth and fairy equestrianism.

When Lanval and Landevale ride on their fairies' horses and Launfal mounts Blanchard, the horse given to him by Tryamour, these men forego their individual chivalric masculinity for good. Each tale valorizes a fairy equestrian who selects her own lover, invests her money to support his chivalry, saves him from outside threats, and spirits him away to her secluded realm. The sartorial details that embellish both the horses and ladies inscribe them into an idealized literary tradition of aesthetic non-military equestrianism that distinguishes them from Enide, Camille, and Panteselee.

The tales of the Lanval corpus present a nuanced and dynamic portrait of fairy horsemanship. While *Lanval* lingers on its mythological Celtic subtext, *Landevale* and *Launfal* add more rich textiles and textures to create of the original fairy a sartorial specimen to coincide with their anthropocentric perspective on the Lanval myth. By increasing her displays of exorbitant wealth and expanding her sociocultural influence, Landevale's fairy and Launfal's Dame Tryamour complement and expand Lanval's fairy. Throughout the Lanval corpus, benevolent fairy equestrians rescue inept practitioners of male chivalry, restore their financial and social standing, and take them as romantic consorts into their distant fairy realm. Indeed, the Lanval tales do not present fairy horsemanship as a complement to male chivalry, but as an equestrian ideal in and of itself. Their social, financial, and political autonomy make fairy horsewomen the epitome

of courtly chivalry and earn them the admiration of all they encounter. Their reputation restored, they may finally retreat peacefully into Avalon, the unspeakably wealthy in their untellable realm.

CONCLUSION

Equestrian Prowess and Self-Determination

In medieval chivalric literature, female characters who exhibit equestrian mastery stand out from their male counterparts. More than merely placing female and male equestrians in direct physical, moral, or sociocultural conflict, each poet juxtaposes the particular methods of horsemanship practiced by different equestrians. While each of the equestrians studied here rides horses at great speed and exemplifies the influence of chivalric prowess on gender and other aspects of identity, the characters' methods differ widely. Indeed, the distinction between domination and partnership epitomizes the multiplicity of medieval equestrianisms. Riders who coerce or abuse their horses adhere to a rigid definition of interspecies interaction whereby riders use any means necessary to force horses to conform to their will. In this mode of relationship, a rider uses all elements of the equestrian assemblage to his or her advantage. Such an unyielding approach to chivalric equestrianism is distinct from those who, like Rufus, encourage the horse's obedience by establishing a coherent system of interspecies communication. This Rufusian dialogue between horse and rider is defined by its system of precise human commands as well as the use of equine responses to training activities and equipment to improve interactions between horse and rider. These bidirectional communicative exchanges require the input of both partners. Equestrianism is grounded in the rider's ability to establish a link between each command and an appropriate response as well as to perceive, interpret the meaning of, and react compassionately to the horse's unvoiced

reactions to the rider and to being ridden. Both rider and horse act with and react to each other and their environment.

The most fundamental decision in the practice of horsemanship concerns the use of consistent language to communicate with and direct the horse. Spurs, as the most visible tools of chivalric interspecies communication, receive the most attention by poets. In particular, spurs are, paradoxically, either a respectful or an abusive tool according to the one who wears them. While designed to transmit particular commands to horses, they can be easily appropriated by an aggressive rider to emotionally intimidate and physically abuse a horse. As a fundamental component of the practice of horsemanship, a character's particular use or abuse of spurs serves as a means to evaluate his or her treatment of animals and, by extension, to illuminate his or her gender identity.

The poets who composed *Erec et Enide*, the *Roman d'Eneas*, the *Roman de Troie*, and the tales of the Lanval corpus write characters who, according to their gender, adhere to opposing philosophies of communication with horses. The women in this dissertation use restraint with spurs as a means to facilitate the willing obedience of their horses and gain an immense amount of autonomy in return. Their horses follow commands and carry them bravely on quest roads, across battlefields, and into throne rooms. As a result, other characters view these women as capable, noble, and courtly. Male characters, on the other hand, treat their horses with violence in order to coerce immediate compliance. They employ methods that demand the subordination of the horse's desires to those of the rider.

Although they ride horses in similar circumstances and with identical equipment, these women choose communication while their male counterparts choose punishment.

Unlike her constantly spurring husband, Enide shows her compassion for horses by avoiding abusive commands. Her gentle riding technique and adeptness at horse care establish her widespread association with horses and earn her gifts of exemplary horses from her peers. Camille and Panteselee, on the other hand, employ their spurs less frequently than their male counterparts, while also embodying ideal battle leadership and challenging the patriarchal bias against female prowess. The fairies of the Lanval corpus, however, embody not only practical equestrianism but also the wealth and courtliness that so often accompany it. By adhering to the principles of communicative horsemanship advocated by Jordanus Rufus, these women gain renown from other members of their communities and are praised by their poets. In each text studied in this dissertation, the mutual understanding achieved between female equestrians and their horses helps justify their elevation to the level of literary chivalric exempla.

While the female equestrians of this dissertation have been lauded for their skill at interspecies communication and their consideration for the well-being of the horses they ride, women are not universally thoughtful riders. Several examples from medieval French literature reveal instances where women who treat horses with violence are relegated to the margins of chivalric identity. In Chrétien's romances, for example, two women beat equines. In the *Charrette*, a young woman riding to meet Lancelot spurs her mule incessantly.²³⁹ Her spurring mirrors the violence she requests of Lancelot when she asks him to bring her the head of the knight he recently vanquished. She demands Lancelot violate his compassion by killing the man he defeated, yet if he does not comply

²³⁹ See William W. Kibler and Carleton W. Carroll's translation of Chrétien de Troyes' *Charrette* (The Knight of the Cart) in *Arthurian Romances* (New York: Penguin, 1991). The episode with the monstrous damsel shows her violent tendencies to both people and the mule she rides (241-243).

it will illustrate his lack of generosity to a damsel. In *Perceval*, a monstrous woman known as the “demoiselle hideuse” rides her mule into court to announce upcoming misfortunes.²⁴⁰ By carrying a whip with her, even her equestrian equipment foreshadows future violence. Interestingly, both women cited here enact or threaten violence against mules, not palfreys or chargers. Perhaps the implication is that, as a slightly lower type of equine, mules deserve less consideration. Whatever his reasons, Chrétien uses the perpetration or threat of violence against equines as a means to establish these women as both unfeminine and uncourtly.

The link between unfeminine women and the abuse of horses also exceeds the realm of Chrétien’s romances. Unlike the young girl spurring her mule or the monstrous woman who announces harm to come, one extraordinary female literary character rides her horses according to the conventions of male knights. In the 13th-century *Roman de Silence* attributed to Heldris de Cornuälle, a family raises their only child, a daughter, as a son to ensure that she will be eligible to inherit their money, lands, and title.²⁴¹ Silence excels at mounted combat and develops a reputation for her deadly military prowess, one which naturally includes frequent spurring of her mount. Unlike the “demoiselle hideuse” and the women who beat mules, Silence’s transgression of her own gender is one forced upon her by her parents. Her assumption of violent horsemanship techniques mirrors the violent pursuits of her life as a *juvenis* seeking renown. Such contradictory depictions of female equestrians throughout medieval literature help expand views of female horsemanship to include those not characterized by an interspecies linguistic system,

²⁴⁰ See Kibler and Carroll (437-439) or Charles Méla’s translation of Chrétien de Troyes’ romance *Perceval ou le Conte du Graal* and its continuations (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2003), 164-166.

²⁴¹ See Sarah Roche-Mahdi’s edition and translation of the *Roman de Silence* entitled *Silence: A Thirteenth-Century French Romance* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2007).

concern for a horse's well-being, or chivalric excellence. Indeed, a female equestrian must earn her status as an emblem of courtly or military equestrianism according to different principles of horsemanship than those upheld by male equestrians. Women are expected to show Rufusian communication with and consideration for their horses if they are to be called exemplary courtly equestrians.

While a female equestrian must earn her place as an example of chivalric excellence, it seems that chivalric prowess, when practiced by men, is immanent in medieval literature. Male characters, especially those knights of noble birth who inspire the tales studied in this dissertation, seem to have been empowered to perform displays of chivalric prowess—whereby they achieve renown as a result—as a consequence of their masculinity. Even the men who experience setbacks or reveal shortcomings in their knighthood are able to recover, through a rehabilitative process imbedded in and central to in the narrative. Whether by their successful chivalric exploits or their shortcomings, men play a central role in the plot of each narrative.

Though uncommon, certain exemplary female literary equestrians have become recognized for their superlative chivalric prowess. Women are not, however, afforded the same opportunities for chivalric apprenticeship and rehabilitation as their male counterparts. They are required to maintain a perfect chivalric record in order to surpass their male counterparts. No female literary equestrians have the same shortcomings or experience the same chivalric setbacks as certain male characters—Perceval, Lancelot, and Erec, among others—who nevertheless recover their status and reputation. Through effective interspecies communication, dedicated horse care, brave combat service, and graceful courtly equestrianism, female equestrians in medieval literature show that they

are capable of adapting their diverse equestrianism to all manner of chivalric and courtly circumstances. Whether squirely wife, cyborgian Amazon, or supernatural fairy, these women are praised for their strong bonds with horses.

However, women earn something more than the praise of their communities and poets through their displays of skilled horsemanship in various environments: women gain self-determination. The choice they make to communicate equitably and gently with their mounts accompanies other choices, for example, those that govern speech, military leadership, or financial investments. The performative, nonverbal speech women use to command horses epitomizes the other instances of female speech uttered and enacted in these tales. Equestrian mastery both results from and contributes to the ability of female characters to express themselves through verbal speech and extra-verbal demonstrations of agency.

Although many scholars link verbal speech to agency and silence to weakness, female literary equestrianism contradicts these binaries. The nonverbal communication that characterizes this horsemanship is linked to the performative speech each female character uses to assert herself maritally, militarily, financially, romantically, and politically. Performative speech—whether equestrian or not—helps female literary characters exercise determinacy in their lives as much as, or more than, verbal speech. In the texts studied in this dissertation, Enide cares for her husband's horses and yet defies his orders by warning him of upcoming dangers on the road, Camille and Panteselee direct their troops and maintain political and military alliances, and each of the fairy ladies selects a male knight as her lover and the recipient of her financial support. A close partnership with horses—one grounded in an interspecies language of which women are

the best practitioners—links all these women by equestrian and linguistic prowess and, in turn, enables them to exercise self-determination in other aspects of their life.

The practice of exemplary horsemanship affords female characters prominence in their tales and permits poets to explore their prowess throughout all domains of their lives. However, women must earn their right to demonstrate chivalric prowess, a fact that poets use to differentiate them from their male counterparts. The female characters in this dissertation must serve silently, remain steadfast and faithful when all hope is lost, resist slander and misogynistic insults, do battle as well as or better than their male opponents, exhibit flawless courtly manners, or possess limitless wealth in order to earn the respect of their male counterparts. However, even the unhorsed, disgraced, or feminized among male heroes—for example, Erec, Lanval, Landevale, Launfal, Perceval, Lancelot, and Partonopeu de Blois—remain eponymous protagonists and retain the status conferred by that designation. Unlike so many male characters, who seem to occupy the role of protagonist with automatic ease, women must fight for their place and leverage their equestrian prowess.

The poets discussed in this dissertation write female characters whose equestrian skill gives them added control over their speech and, by extension, their lives. Instead of evoking the stereotype of a woman in a tower, one who passively watches her active male counterparts, these poets seek not to suppress female agency, but to encourage it, to free female characters, in part, from the patriarchal limitations under which so many women suffered. Horses, communicative horsemanship, and chivalric prowess facilitate the visibility, power, and self-determination of these female literary equestrians.

APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

Rufus and the Medieval *Maréchaussée*

Horsemanship, when performed with accuracy and grace, becomes a harmonious partnership in which rider and horse communicate with and understand each other. The trust between them cements their cooperation and collaboration. While horse and rider paint a graceful picture together, the nature of the minute communications between them also evokes musical performances in which sounds and movements convey meaning only if their execution is without fault. Vicki Hearne, an academic and Grand Prix show jumper and trainer, puts it best when she argues, “Every muscle twitch of the rider will be like a loud symphony to the horse, but it will be a newfangled sort of symphony, one that calls into question the whole idea of symphonies, and the horse will not only not know what it means, s/he will be unable to know whether it has meaning or not” (108). Harmony both epitomizes the interaction between horse and rider and the language upon which this interaction is founded.

The legacy of comparison between music and horsemanship is almost as long as the tradition of writing about horsemanship. The first known instance comes from Xenophon, who writes around 350 BC comparing horses to dancers.²⁴² He states “For what the horse does under compulsion, (...) is done without understanding; and there is no beauty in it either, any more than if one should whip and spur a dancer. There would be a

²⁴² Xenophon. *The Art of Horsemanship*. Trans. Morris H. Morgan (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1893).

great deal more ungracefulness than beauty in either a horse or a man that was so treated (62).” He sets compulsion and violence in direct opposition to the inherent grace and power of a horse’s movements.

Then, in the 16th century, the Neapolitan horse trainer Federico Grisone composed his foundational treatise, *Gli ordini de cavalcare* (The Rules of Riding). Though Grisone alludes to the musicality of horsemanship, his concept of harmony does not eschew violence.²⁴³ While this text inaugurated the tradition of classical dressage now continued at the French Cadre Noir in Saumur and the Spanish Riding School in Vienna, it also harks back to the methods and theories of Antiquity. When Grisone points to the importance of harmonious riding grounded in time (*tempo*) and measure (*misura*), he expands upon the arguments of Xenophon. Grisone’s Renaissance horsemanship manual and its late antique antecedent by Xenophon describe the ideal equestrian bond as one based on the principles of harmony and unison.

The writings of horsemen from all historical periods demonstrate a desire to improve the relationship between a human being and a horse. The scholarship about human-horse interactions throughout history, however, has given little consideration to the medieval horsemanship manuals that followed Xenophon and preceded Grisone.

Despite this critical blind spot, the most well-known of medieval horsemen, the Sicilian horse trainer Jordanus Rufus, also asserts the importance of mutual understanding in the formation of a bond between human and horse. Indeed, while both horsemen indicate in their emblematic manuals that harmony between horse and rider is

²⁴³ See Elizabeth Mackenzie Tobey’s edition, *Federico Grisone’s The Rules of Riding: An Edited Translation of the First Renaissance Treatise on Classical Horsemanship*, which she translated into English with Federica Brunori Deigan (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014).

paramount, they achieve it in vastly different ways. Unlike the classical horsemanship tradition established by Grisone, Rufus achieves interspecies harmony through gentleness and patience instead of violence and fear.

The many extant Rufus manuscripts, discussed at length in chapter 1, bear witness to the widespread popularity of Rufus between the 13th and 16th centuries. Still, his work and the work of the many scholars and horsemen who copied, translated, and adapted his theories have received little attention outside a small community of scholars of the history of medicine and human-animal relationships. In fact, very few Rufus manuscripts have been edited, translated, or analyzed, despite the marked variety in their content, provenance, and the period of their production.

One particular 14th-century version of the manuscript, the *Livre de la maréchaussée* (BnF Nouvelles acquisitions latines 1553), presents a departure from other manuscripts because of its incompleteness, brevity, and poor condition. While the most complete manuscript (*M*) was carefully presented and edited by Brigitte Prévot and Bernard Ribémont twenty years ago, the *Livre de la marechaussée*, a Latin version with a surrounding Old French translation, has been neither edited nor digitized. The incomplete, unfinished NAL 1553 has received little attention, despite the fact that this manuscript combines two linguistic traditions and promises insight into the translation and interpretation of Rufus' methodology—widely disseminated between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries—regarding the breeding, training, and healing of horses.

In fact, the linguistic nature of the *Maréchaussée* could justify study of this manuscript in its own right. Though, as Tony Hunt and Paul Meyer rightly argue, the writer and perhaps also the copyist seem to have had a limited understanding of the Latin

language, the *Maréchaussée* exhibits a particular—and peculiar—slippage between the Latin and the French texts.²⁴⁴ This linguistic fluidity makes it an interesting example of Franco-Latin medical vocabulary and the manuscript contains new variants that may help identify ailments and their corresponding cures in other medieval medical treatises.

The linguistic interest of the *Maréchaussée* is coupled with stylistically unique material. This manuscript also vividly describes the horse's reactions to training and vulnerability to grave illness. The *Maréchaussée* expresses the goal of training as the formation of the horse into a willing partner who is prepared for chivalric service and obedience to his rider in all situations. In one revelatory example, the *Maréchaussée* states, “Par lieus plains & non perreus soit chevauchiez dusqu’a tant que le chevauteur le manie sans compaignie en quel lieu que li plest” (fol. 6r) [Through flat and not rocky areas the horse should be ridden until the rider may direct him without company in whichever place pleases him].²⁴⁵ By obtaining the horse's trust and willing obedience, the rider gains a willing and eager partner who will go where duty calls them to serve. Because the horse's obedience permits the rider to travel freely where he wishes to go (*en quel lieu que li plest*), it also facilitates the rider's pleasure and his or her accomplishment of chivalric duty. In the deadly battlefield environments of medieval warfare, the difference between life and death might easily rest on the horse who, in partnership with his knightly rider, serves bravely and obediently.

²⁴⁴ See Hunt's book *Old French Medical Texts* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011), 36; also, Meyer's article “Notice sur un ms. de Fréjus contenant des traités de médecine vétérinaire” (*Romania* 23 [1894]): 349-357.

²⁴⁵ While the subject/object ambiguity of “que li plest” resembles that of “soit accustumez” (Prévot <35>) evoked in chapter 1, here I believe any confusion can be more easily resolved due to the importance that a horse follow the rider. The rider must be able to ride his horse where he pleases and not be limited by the horse's preferences.

Indeed, the Middle Ages were replete with circumstances in which life was endangered and death seemed certain. Whether for princes or common people, knights or warhorses, illness and injury were frequent and often very grave. Notably, certain medical treatments absent in the oldest manuscript, *M* (BnF fr. 25341), have been added in the *Maréchaussée* and bear witness to the fragility of equine health and well-being in the 14th century. In particular, the section dedicated to the “cheval demi-vif” evokes the delicate balance between life and death. Regardless of the superlative care a horseman might be able to practice, the vagaries of environment and illness could easily tip the scales in one direction or another. This section, one perhaps unique to the *Maréchaussée*, illustrates this fragility and demonstrates that, while the extreme cures Rufus often prescribed may reveal his hubris as the preeminent *mareschal* of his period, this manuscript nevertheless seems to admit the lacunary nature of medieval horse healers’ medical knowledge. More than the *Marechaucie*, the *Maréchaussée* acknowledges the fragility of equine health and thus is an important example of medieval beliefs about the relationship between horse healers, their equine patients, and the injuries and illnesses they strove to cure.

EDITION

Livre de la maréchaussée

[Fol. 1r. A] Comme entre ces autres bestes criees dou souverain quelque apertement soumises a l'usage de la ligniee humaine nule beste soit plus noble de cheval, por ce que par celui li prince, li chevalier & li grans signeurs sont devisés des autres et por ce que signorie entre nobles, vilains & mineurs ne pourroit estre conneüe avenamment fors par le cheval. Pour ce au profit d'iceus qui usent ensemble assidoument de cheval des ceus especialement qui se delectent a honeur de chevalerie & a prouesce assiduele de batailles par courage plus noble, j'ai ordené compiler aucunes choses dou cheval meesmes selonc l'opinion et l'entention de mon enging. [Fol. 1r. B] Non pas pour ce que je puisse en cherquier subtilement par toutes choses qui apartienent a lui et a sa ligniee, mes m'aherdrai dilijaument a la pure verite et par droit ordre selonc ce que j'ai esprouvé plusieurs fois et demonstrerai a bien pres de tous chevaus raisons veritables. Ausi par la priere d'un tres mes amis delittant soi en ces choses j'ai procuré escrire toutes ces choses desouz escrites, dont il est a dire premierement de la creation & de la nativite dou cheval, secondement de la prise & de la domation de celui, tercement de la garde et de la doctrine, quartefois de la connoissance de la biauté dou cors & des membres & des fachons di celui, quintement de la maladie [Fol. 1v. A] de celui meismes, tant nature comme accidentele, sistement des medecines & des remedes appartenent a la maladie de celui meesmes est a dire.

De la creation dou cheval.

Premierement adonc de la creation & de la nativité. Je escrivant di que le cheval doit estre engendrés de bon estalon, assiduelement & estudieusement gardé, & diligeamment ou peu ou nient chevauchié. Anchore, avec petit labour ou en chevauchement le mains que on porra, ad sa satisfation & profit por ce que l'estallon engendre greigneur cheval pour ce que comme en meneur labeur & plus profitablement l'estallon aura couvert la mere dou cheval, [Fol. 1v. B] il mettra plus grant semence & plus complie. Encore après ce le cheval est engendrés plus grant ou ventre de la mere, car il est asavoir que le cheval doit estre engendrés en tel tens qu'il naisce ou tens convenable de multes herbes por ce que la mere paissante done souffisanment lait convenable a son fils. Après ce est semblable a verité que se le cheval de sa nativité aura eu grant nourrissement et aura venu en grant habundance de lait & de herbes ses chars en sont faites plus fermes, encore le cors de celui & les membres ausi grangneurs. Mes la mere prains si comme j'ai dit ne soit ne trop maigre ne trop grasse mes tiegne le moien de l'un & de l'autre. Mes se trop [Fol. 2r. A] aura esté grasse, la graisse par dedens greveroit la persone dedens & le lieu dou fils en tel maniere que la persone & les membres de celui ne se porroient delectier convenablement par le ventre de la mere. Après de ce le cheval seroit fet petis ou febles. Mes se ele aura esté trop megre pour la grant megrece ele ne porra donner norrissement a son fils si comme il convient, et pour ce li chevaus naistroit febles & maigres ensemble.

De la nativite dou cheval.

Mes puis que le tens que le cheval doit nestre sera venu, naisse en lieu de montaigne rocheus ou perreus por ce que se le cheval naisant aura trouvé lieu perreus ou en montaigne, ses ongles en soient fetes plus dures por l'usaje assiduel des roches [Fol. 2r. B] ou des pierres. Certes dou lieu plain de montaignes, je di, ses cuisses estre fetes melleurs por le hautement des montaignes d'aler desus & dejus. Car Natura oeuvre forment ad la defension des cuisses estre fetes plus grosses ne la mere dou cheval entrante en cloistres en nule maniere ne de jour ne de nuit. Après le cheval ensive sa mere continuellement par bons paistis²⁴⁶ & herbeus dusqu'a tant que il parface²⁴⁷ l'aage de .II. ans & non plus. J'ai dit non plus por ce qu'il trespasant l'aage de .II. ans il se ha naturellement a saillir. Après se il ensuit sa mere assiduellement legierement empireroit dou delit dou saillir avec sa mere ou avec aucun de son genre femenin. Après en aucune partie de son cors [Fol. 2v. A] il porroit estre blechiés. Toutevoies je di que se il avoit franchise en paistis suffisans duques a la fin de trois ans sans compaignie de la mere ou sans conoissance de son genre feminin. Il seroit au cheval meilleur chose & puis saluable por ce que jisant en paistis & en champs assiduellement l'air & la liberté ou cors & es membres sunt naturellement gardans la sante dou cheval. Après especialment les cuisses sunt fetes netes de toutes theces²⁴⁸ & melleurs par toutes choses. En ce traittie de la creation & de la nativité dou cheval il ensient²⁴⁹ secundement de la prise & dou dantement de celui. Je di adonc que le cheval doit estre enlachié tant legierement comme souef de las gros & fort [Fol. 2v. B] avenanment fet de laine por ce que la laine est plus avable a ce pour sa mollece de chanivre ou de lin ou de aucun eil. Après li chevaus soit lachiés en tens frés ou couvert de nues car se il travaillast en trop en tens mult chaut par sa force en sa force. En sa prise il pourroit encorre legierement blecheure de ses membres & de son cors. Mes celui pris si comme il est dit & mis en prise chevestre fet de chanivre il soit menés a la compaignie d'aucun cheval danté au lieu ou il doit estre danté si comme je ensaignerai desous. Après por ce que toute chose semblable naturellement requiert son semblable il soit menez avec aucun de son genre plus saluablement. Enseurche tout adonc le cheval diligente cautele soit adjoustee c'est asavoir que le cheval de deus rennes [Fol. 3r. A] soit lié sajement en tel maniere que pour sa cruaute ne soit blechiez en aucune maniere es cuisses jectees hors les resnes. Après, tant comme il perseverera en sa crualte, il ait tous jors compaignie de son semblable por ce que plus seurement & plus hardiement se porra aherdre a lui en touchant celui o la main souvent & menu par tout legierement & souef. Mes envers le cheval au comencement on ne se doie pas courroucier ne desdaignier que par aventure il ne prengt par desdaing aucun vice non convenable, mes o grant perseverance de souavete & de mansuetude il se adebonairisse dusqu'a tant que il soit fet

²⁴⁶ *Paistis* here becomes *pastis* in the Godefroy dictionary. It refers to the pastures or grassy areas where horses were allowed to graze.

²⁴⁷ *Parfece* refers to the maturation of a young horse as he approaches the age at which he will be weaned from his mother and then will begin to be trained.

²⁴⁸ The cleanliness of stables and stalls was paramount according to Rufus. He uses several terms to indicate the detritus produced by horses, one of which—*thece* (also, *theches* or *taches*)—is most similar to the modern French *ordures*.

²⁴⁹ This term highlights the text's ability to teach. *Ensient* is related both to *science* and *instruction* and points to the link between Rufusian training and the later field of behavioral sciences of which this is a precursor.

acostumé & bien danté en toutes choses por l'asiduel & espes touchement des mains si comme j'ai devant dit. Après que a plain & seurement [Fol. 3r. B] ses membres soient touchiees tout entor especiaument les piés plus seurement & plus sovent levant les a maniere de ferer les piés. Après il est asavoir que li chevaus por le mieus de lui ne doit estre laciez ne estre dantés dusque a tant qu'il passe l'aage de .II. ans car la force des ners liee por les traveus dou dantement non pas acostumez porroit encorre par aventure aucunes blecheures es cuisses.

De la garde & de la doctrine dou cheval.

Dit par desus de la prise & deu dantement dou cheval il est a dire de la garde & de la doctrine de celui. Adonc au cheval tel garde soit bailliee ensievantment que cevestre ferm de cuir fort & mol soit mis premierement en la teste dou cheval. Après soit liez de .II. rennes avenantment [Fol. 3v. A] a la creche si comme par desus est dit. Après les piés devant de celui soient liez de la devant dite laine apareilliee et enseurchetout en liant es pres deriere un lian de laine a ce que il ne puisse aler avant en aucune maniere, et ce est fet pour la sante des cuisses garder. Après le lieu ou le cheval demoure assiduelment soit net de accaison d'ordure et en la nuit, li soit faite sa lettierre ou sa couche d'estrain ou de fein longue dusqu'as genous por bon repos et bien tres matin soit tret d'iluec. Après au tres matin son dos & ses cuisses et toutes les membres du cheval soient frotees de fein convenantment si comme on verra mels convenir. Après pour boire soit menez a l'aigue le petit pas [Fol. 3v. B] & soit tenu le cheval tant au matin comme au soir dusqu'as genous ou un poi plus sus entour l'espace de .III. hores dedens aigre douce et froide ou de marine pour ce que la froidure de l'eüe douce ou la sechete de l'aigue de la marine deseche naturellement les cuisses dou cheval restraignant les humors & les maladies descendantes as cuisses. Mes après le repairement dou cheval a l'estable, il n'entre en nule maniere le teit ou l'estable dusqu'a tant que ses cuisses soient terses & desechiés²⁵⁰ de l'aigue, car la fumosité de l'estable por sa chaleur seut amener cals²⁵¹ & mauveses humeurs as cuisses molliees. Mes une chose n'est pas a baillier a oubliance²⁵² : c'est asavoir que le cheval menjust assiduelment tant [Fol. 4r. A] en bas juxte les piés devant por ce que a paine il puisse prendre o la bouche la prouvende ou le fein et les autres choses, por ce que il esforchant soi estendre le col & la teste par necessité por sa viande prendre. La nature ouvrant le col & la teste est fet plus grelle & plus subtil & ensorchetout plus bel a veer. Après por ce ses chuiesses sont amendees chescun jor et rechoivent plus accroissement comme il facent assiduele oppression seur les cuisses devant dou mengier devant dit. Après menjuche le cheval fein, paille, herbe, orge, avaine, espiautre & choses semblables a celes meismes, lesquels choses sunt naturellement propres de chevaus provende. Se tu treuves herbes & fein avec orge ou autres choses [Fol. 4r. B] semblables sans orge menjuce suffisamment, car herbes & fein eslargissent le ventre e

²⁵⁰ The phrase *terses et desechiés* refers to the cleaning and drying of the legs after they have been soaked in cold water before the horse may be safely put into his stall.

²⁵¹ *Cals* is synonymous with the more common *galles*. Both indicate the infection called scabies, which is caused by mites that burrow under the skin.

²⁵² Rufus explains that it is not merely what the horse eats, but how he eats that can influence his health and well-being. Here, he states that one should not *baillier a oubliance* (or, that one must remember) that a horse should eat at his feet. He understands that, as foraging animals, horses were designed to reach down and eat their food off the ground.

acroissent naturellement le cors & les membres en leur croissance por leur humidite tout a point si comme il convient. Mes se le cheval parfait ou amene en aage compli²⁵³ menjuce paille et orge atempreement por ce que por la secheté & por l'atempree humidité de la paille & de l'orge ou de leur senblable, le cheval n'est pas de legier engraisiez superflument, mais est retenu plus fort en chars competentes. Et ensi il puet estre travaillie plus sauvement & plus seurement. Certes il est asavoir que le cheval ne doit pas estre ne trop gras ne trop maigres mais le moien [Fol. 4v. A] tiegne de l'un & de l'autre qu'il ait chars competentes prenantes leur forces comme il convient. Car se il aura esté trop gras les humeurs superflues courent de legier as cuisses & d'iluec vienent legierement maladies & blecheures qui seulent avenir as cuisses de cheval & se par aventure il fust tornez soudainement par aucuns travaux par maniere acoustumee la maladie ne porroit estre degastee car il li soufit a deporter sa graisse non atempree. Et se il aura este trop megres ses forches li defaillent du tout par sa maigrece et enseuchetout est plus horrible & plus laid a regarder. Après puis que le cheval sera pareceu & mené a parfait aage [Fol. 4v. B] il menjuce herbas ou danté ou non danté seulement a purgier c'est asavoir ou prin tens entour l'espace de .I. mois non pas hors a l'air ne maigne en l'air mes sous le toit & ensourchetout couvert de gros drap de laine car les herbes devant dites sunt naturellement froides & se il n'aura esté bien couvert le cheval porroit adonc de legier estre refroidiez ou en courre plus grieves maladies. Après l'aigue por le boire dou cheval doit estre mole & un peu salee nete & souef courant ou nient & ensemble troublé por ce que ces dictes eaus sunt chaudes por leur mollece & por leur grossece et retenantes grosse substance. [Fol. 5r. A] Et por ce, cestes sunt faites plus norrisables as cors des chevaus et plus refaisantes a plein. Et note que de tant comme l'aigue est plus froide & plus isnele de tant norrist ele mains et refet le cheval. Le cheval doit estre ferrés de fers convenables a lui, rooms a la maniere de l'ongle toutesvoies l'extremité de l'avironnement dou fer soit estroite & legiere. Car de combien les fiers seront plus legiers, de tant le cheval lieve ses piés plus haut & plus legierement. Après de tant comme l'ongle dou cheval use environ de plus estroit fer, de tant est il fet plus grant & plus fort si comme il convient. Toutesvoies seur ce il est a eschiver le cheval sué ou trop eschaufé non mengier auchune chose ou boire [Fol. 5r. B] dusqu'a tant que menant le petit & petit couvert d'aucun drap la suour ou la chaleur se partira de lui. Et est asavoir que chevaucement ennoieus & outrageus de soir ne profite pas as chevaus car por le travaill de devant si grant suour sourvient en lui que a poine puet il dessuer si comme il convenist por la nuit sorvenante & le cheval soit a prouvende par maniere acoustumee. Enseurchetout por l'air de la nuit qui est plus froit de celui du jor il porroit plus legierement estre refroidiés, et por ce la chevaucheur du matin en mult de manieres est loee. Toutesvoies il convient le cheval avoir continuelment couverture de toile en tens chaud, c'est asavoir en esté por [Fol. 5v. A] les mousches, semblablement il ait en yver couverture de laine. Et est a noter que por la sante du cheval garder plus sauvement li chevaus soit saignez .IIII. fois en l'an de la voine dou col acoustumee. C'est asavoir en prim tens .I. fois. en yver .I. fois en autompne .I. fois en esté .I. fois voirement souffisantment & atempreement il soit saigniez en ces .IIII. fois devant dites. Et est a noter ausi que le cheval bien & deligiaument gardez si comme j'ai raconté desus &

²⁵³ Like *parfece*, *compli* indicates the horse has reached maturity or that his juvenile phase has ended. Here, reaching maturity does not have training implications but instead demands the horseman make adjustments to diet.

atempreement chevauchiez si comme il convient il persevere fort en sa vertu et en sa bonte si comme en pluseurs entour l'espace de .xx. ans.

De la doctrine & de la maniere dou cheval.

Je di ensiantment en tel maniere de la doctrine. Ou commencement des meurs de la doctrine [Fol. 5v. B] soit mis frein le plus fieble & le plus legiers qui porra estre trové. Après comme le mors dou frein li soit mis il soit aucune fois oint de aucun peu de aucune douce liquor. J'ai dit le frain estre feble & legier car de tant comme il porte au commencement meneur mal en la bouche de celui de tant le soustendra il en avant plus legierement & plus prenablement. De miel ou de aucune chose douce doit estre mis premierement ou mors car la douchor tattee aucune fois il prendra volentiers de rechief le frain. Mes puis qu'il prent le frain sanz difficulté il soit menez decha & dela en main par aucuns jors au matin & au soir dusque a tant que il sieve tres bien son enseigneur. Après ce sans trepeis & sans noise soit chevauchiez sans sele le plus soef que on porra, [Fol. 6r. A] petitet & soit menés le petit pass alant a destre et a senestre, retornant le souvent & se mestier sera aucun meneur a pie²⁵⁴ voist devant si comme il est dit desus cheschun jour bien matin dusqu'a demie tierche. Par lieus plains & non perreus soit chevauchiez dusqu'a tant que le chevauteur le manie sans compaignie en quel lieu que li plest. Mes comme on l'avra chevauchié en tel maniere par l'espace de IIII mois ou la entour la sele soit mise a cil meismes sans trepeis & sans noise, et par empres il soit chevauchié avec la sele si comme j'ai dit dusqu'a tant que li fres tens aprochera, c'est asavoir yver. Mes toutesvoies puis que le chevauteur aura monté le cheval, il ne le mueve dusqu'a tant que il apparaille ses dras si comme il convient [Fol. 6r. B] seur lui, car le cheval de ce prent usage paisible. Pour proufit dou cheval la maniere de doctriner le cheval soit muee en tele maniere. C'est asavoir que le chevauteur le face chevauchier par guasquieres ou par pres ou par lieus champestres atempreement si comme est dit bien matin. Après retornant celui plus souvent a destre que a senestre par les rennes la dextre du frein estante plus corte de l'autre par un pous de travers, por ce que le cheval naturelment est plus prest a senestre que a destre en mutant li avant plus fort frein, se on verra convenir a ce que on le tengne plus legierement a volenté. Je ai dit le cheval trotter plus souvent par les ares que par plains lieus [Fol. 6v. A] por ce que por les valeetes & les montaignetes qui sunt faites es guasquieres²⁵⁵ & es champs ares. Li chevaus se a costume par maniere acostumee & est chescun jor enseigniez lever avenantment en son aler ses cuisses & ses piés plus haut & plus legierement. Après ce puet estre ausi fet par les lieus assés graveleus par semblable raison. Donc li chevaus pris l'usaje drecier ses cuisses et ses piés es lieus devant dis, a drecés voiajes plus seurement & plus sauvement. Après ensi grieve il mains le chevauchant en ses erres ou en soi meismes non offendant le cheval acostumé & bien avablement tractié par convenable espace de tens a destre & a senestre si comme est dit. Cen semblable maniere il soit galopé par les lieuz devant dis bien [Fol. 6v. B]

²⁵⁴ The role of a *meneur a pie* was that of an unmounted aide who could reinforce the commands given by the rider to a new horse. The *meneur*, or tutor, serves to support the person mounted on the horse who serves as the principal instructor and trainer.

²⁵⁵ Throughout the Rufus manuscripts there is a consistent recommendation that young horses be ridden and trained on fallow, unplanted land. *Guasquieres*—*jachères* in modern French—refer to exactly these types of land.

matin, toutesvoies petitet ou commencement, et a meneur saut que on porra, si comme est dit devant. Toutevoies il est a eschiver que ne trop longuement ne ennoisement il ne soit galopé en .I. jor que par aventure il ne li poise de recomencier en cel meismes besoing. Certes ce seroit tres grant erreur de chevauceure car le cheval de legier porroit por ce estre fet en après restif. Certes une chose est veüe non peu profitable que le chevauchant en troctant ou en galopant que mouvant le cheval au commencement dou cours traie o les mains les rennes dou frein tant bas entor le dos, que le cheval courvant & plient le col petit & petit encline solement le chief tant que continuellement le port delez la poitrine. [Fol. 7r. A] Après ceste chose soit fete petit & petit ou commencement si comme il sera miex avis au chevauchant & soit adjoustés au chevauchant, car quant le cheval porte le chief encourue assez prochain au pis et le col avenantment courue en trotant ou en galopant, si comme j'ai dit desus plus clerement & plus apertement regardé ses erres, et surtout ce il est mielx tourné a destre & a senestre & le retient on plus legierement a son voloir. Après a ce que je demonstre briefment ceste chose est a löer par toutes & en toutes choses. Mes por ce que ce que j'ai escript de la prise & de la contenance & dou portement dou cheval por la greignor part subgist²⁵⁶ au frain por ce il convient que ad afrener soit espressee mesure & maniere. [Fol. 7r. B] Adonc une forme de frain est laquele est dite barra, por ce qu'il est ordene a .II. barres c'est asavoir per lonc, liquel est plus avables et plus legiers au cheval de tous les autres. Après une autre forme de frain est laquele est apelee vulgaument demi mors, prennant nom de son oeuvre por ce qu'il ha demi mors detravers aiant seulement une barre et une autre double dedens plus forte & plus retenable de l'autre desus dit. Après .I. autre maniere de frain est dit a demi mors, semblable dou devant dit a falles tortes ou pleines mises ou mors dou frein ou milieu [Fol. 7v. A] de l'anel forgiees, lequel est encore plus fort & plus retenable d'aucun des devant dis. Et est un autre frain lequel est dit agaral, aiant le mors plus lonc des autres, alant par dedens dusques au palais dou cheval ou mors dou quel cheval sunt mises falles de multes manieres et diverses, lequel est prové plus aigre & plus legiers de tous les diz. Mes sunt autres formes de frains des quels aucuns provenciaus usent et sunt as chevaus plus horribles et tres apres sans mesure les queles je laisse pour lour cruaute & por leur asprece. Adonc doit estre trouvee la mollece & la durté de la bouche dou cheval et selonc que il aura bouche [Fol. 7v. B] dure ou mole frain soit mis a cil meismes, por ce que soit satisfet a plein au chevauchant. Et par enpres si comme j'ai desus raconté le cheval soit chevauchié chescun jour atempereement sans curs par force. Toutevoies profitable chose est non peu procurer chevauchier le souvent petit & petit la ou le fevres²⁵⁷ forgent par maniere acostumee ou la ou sonement est fet ou hutin ou noise, car por ce le cheval prendra greignor hardement & seurte et seurfet mains paoureux usant en hutins & en sonemens. Mes se il aura reculé passer pour les lieus dis ou il doutera ceus meismes [Fol. 8r. A] ne soit pas constraint plus cruelment ou par cruels lutemens de verge ou d'esperons mes soit conduit & souefment lobant le a competent batement. Car il ymagineroit assiduellement les appareillemens & les batemens fais a lui avenir a li

²⁵⁶ The verb *subgire* or *sougire* is linked to the horse's submission to the rider. In this part of this manuscript, that submission is linked to his obedience to the bridle and to the bit (*subgist au frain*).

²⁵⁷ The *fevres* or blacksmiths whose profession contributes loud noises (*sonements*) and strange sounds to city life were often frightening to young horses. For this reason, they provided a good opportunity to habituate the horse to intimidating circumstances before his service was needed in battle. This manuscript explains subsequently that the horse (and rider) will have the advantage (*seurfet*) of being less afraid and braver for having experienced these things earlier in life.

meismes dou huttin ou de la noise, et ensi il devenroit paoureux & esbahis. Tutevoies il convient le chevaucheur por le mieus souvent ou jor monter le cheval & souvent descendre toutesvoies souefment & legierement selonc son pooir por ce que il acoustume en montant & descendant aucun sour lui après comme il convenra arester le tant paisiblement comme en repos. Adonc ceste chose qui est desus enseigniee sera tant a garder dusqu'a tant que les dens dou cheval [Fol. 8r. B] auront este muees convenalment & parfètement, laquel chose est fete par complant l'espace de .v. ans. Mes les dens muees si comme est avenant les .IIII. dens de la joe desous soient traités le plus sauvement que on pourra, c'est asavoir .II. d'une partie & autant de l'autre lesqueles sunt apellees de plusieurs eschaillons & planes contrariantes continuellement au mors du frain. Ceste chose parfete si comme j'ai dit si le cheval a tenu dusqu'a ore dure & forte bouche. Premierement les plaies de la bouche de celui soient soufertes garir & souder. Après li soit mis frain ordené a barres qui est legier. Mes se il aura eu bouche mole & tenre frein [Fol. 8v. A] ad barre semblablement li soit mis ou segont ou en tiers jor de l'esragement des dens. Après si comme j'ai dit on le chevauche chescun jor en afrenant tutevoies en galopant si comme li convient atemprement. Ausi ce que j'ai dit ou enseignai s'il aura eu dure bouche les plaies de la bouche soient soufertes aucun poi reconfermer car les chars noveles des plaies esconvient²⁵⁸ mieus la satisfacion au chevauchant. Mes ce que je dis mol ou segont ou en tiers jour il soit chevauchié a frein par maniere acoustumee por ce que les plaies des dens se aferment sous le frein, et en usant assiduellement de celui les chars sunt faites es plaies calloses & autre si comme dures en après, dont [Fol. 8v. B] la bouche dou cheval est faite plus humble & meilleur a afrener. Il est a noter que la bouche dou cheval ne doit estre ne trop dure ne trop mole mes tiegne le moien de l'un & de l'autre. En ce apert il que le cheval ne porroit parfaitement ne par droit ordre estre affrené se les .IIII. dens de celui si comme est dit ne li fussent esrachiees. Après les chevaus ensurront²⁵⁹ en ceste chose autres utilités lesqueles j'ai esté enseignié maintes fois par experience c'est asavoir que ou devant dit esragement des dens le cheval en aquiert a lui graisse et grossece de cors, car il pert por ce sa forsenerie & son orgueil & sa fierte. Mes après

[Fol. 9r. A]²⁶⁰ ait ausi comme de buef sous le ventre ait longueur, les hanches ait longues et bien estendues, & ait ausi la fesse longue & large, mes la coue soit grosse a peu de crins & plains. Je di les cuisses estre lees & bien carnues, tutevoies les garés²⁶¹ soient larges et secs. Il ait les plois²⁶² courbes ausi comme cuisses de cerf après bien larges &

²⁵⁸ Following the removal of wolf teeth, the horse will have tender new scar tissue where the wounds have healed. In this manuscript, the horse's sensitive mouth is described as being more convenient or even necessary (*esconvient*) for the rider (*au chevauchant*). This is likely because the horse will be more responsive to the reins and bit due to the pain they inflict.

²⁵⁹ *Ensurront* is a variant of *ensuivre* (to pursue or follow) in the future tense.

²⁶⁰ The first 8 folios are complete, but there is a break between them. Folio 9 begins *in medias res* with the description of ideal conformational characteristics.

²⁶¹ The *garés* refer to the hocks (*jarrets*, in modern French).

²⁶² The term *plois* refers to the general outline or contour of the horse's haunches. This term seems to point to the importance that each chivalric mount be as pleasing to view in parades as he would be sound and strong on the battlefield.

peleuses²⁶³. Les jointures de la cuisse grosses et assés prochaines as uncles a semblance de buef. Les piés ou les uncles il ait larges & durs & calles²⁶⁴ si comme il convient. Mes le cheval soit plus haut de la partie derriere que de devant aucun peu ausi comme le cerf. Il port le col eslevé. C'est la grossece dou col [Fol. 9r. B] joust le pis. Après qui droitement aura volu regarder la biauté dou cheval il convenra les membres dou devant dit cheval convenir ensemble oelment tant a hautesce comme a hautece ordeneement. Mes dou poil dou cheval divers sentent diverses choses por ce non convient pas dire multes choses. Toutevoies je di en moi que le poil du cheval bay & demi blanc obscur seur tous est a loer. Après trop seroit obscure chose & longue a la fachon & la chascun membre rendre sa accason car il apert par foi a chascun que plus vraiment & plus apertement poët estre coneü le cheval sa maigrece apairant que la grassece s'ignoriant, car par la maigrece les membres [Fol. 9v. A] puent miex estre veues. Donc par la maigrece mex & parfaitement est demonstree la biauté des membres & des fachons dou cheval que par grassece.

De la maladie dou cheval.

Veu desus de la biauté des membres & des fachons dou cheval. Il est a traitier ou quint lieu des maladies & des enfermetés advenantes a lui tant naturellement comme par aventure & encore est a encerquier o grant diligence. Et di premierement des maladies advenantes naturellement au cheval selonc nature mult de fois par defaute ou par aucune accaison, ele amenuist ou acroit toutevoies ele acroist tres petit [Fol. 9v. B] c'est asavoir quant le cheval naist aiant la joe desous plus longue de cele desus. Et aucune fois le cheval naist aiant .II. coes & autres semblables après .II. il naist aucune fois aiant aucune superfluité de chars es piés ou en aucune partie dou cors qui est dite mur vulgalment acoilaire ou colsus, liquiex mur est fait sans cuir. Et aucune fois il avient que en aucune partie dou cors sunt fetes de chars ausi comme glandes desous le cuir. Mes ele amenuist comme il naist aiant une hanche plus courte de l'autre, dont toute la cuisse est aucune chose apetichié. Après la nature amenuist [Fol. 10r. A] et faut quant le cheval naist tort par les cuisses tant en la partie devant comme en la partie derriere. En tel maniere il avient des ongles ou des piés Car aucune fois il sont tortes naturellement. Après le cheval naist aucune fois avec es garés et avec galles advenans li es cuisses dou pere ou de la mere de celui aians zarde. Zarda est une enfleure en la maniere de l'uef ou plus ou mains, laquelle naist es garés tant en la partie devant comme en cele deriere. Galla est une enfleure a la maniere de vescie grande comme .I. nois ou peu plus ou peu mains, laquelle est engendree entour la jointure des cuisses ou entor les ongles.

Des mecines.

²⁶³ The adjective *peleuses* refers to a horse who has a thick coat. Many medieval veterinary manuals express the belief that a horse with a thick coat will also possess great strength and be predisposed to remain sound while doing strenuous work.

²⁶⁴ The hooves were perhaps the most important physical feature of any horse destined for extensive combat service and travel on varied and unpredictable terrain. As such, Rufus manuscripts spend ample time discussing the proper qualities of good hooves to permit horse buyers to eliminate suitable from unsuitable mounts. As an adjective, *calles* describes hooves that are both hard and thick; they do not chip or crack even on hard or rocky ground.

[Fol. 10r. B] **A** regarder dilijaument les maladies & les blecheures des chevaus et a raconter iceles enjus ordeneement, il convient premierement en cest capitre demonstrier si comme il convient & a cescun d'iceus mecines esprouvees valentes a eus et enseigner remedes as maladies & premierement as natureles.

De l'incurable.

Je di adonc premierement que de totes celes qui avienent ou ventre de la mere par default de nature du cheval non pooir li doner medecines convenables & toutevoies en aucunes il pöeut avoir remede. C'est asavoir quant le cheval naist o cuisses tortes ou piés tors tant en la partie deriere comme en cele devant asquex j'enseignerai tel remede.

Des cuisses tortes.

Se le cuisses derriere sont tortes par dedens [Fol. 10v. A] en ferant ou hurtant l'un pié a l'autre en l'aler dou cheval, en la partie dedens des cuisses joustes les coillons soit cuit de fers convenables a ce faisans trois lignes de travers en cheschune part des cuisses & par emprés soit chevauchie chescun jor par maniere acostumee, car en ses aleures l'une cuisse est contrainte touchier avec l'autre ou la freeure²⁶⁵ desus devant alante. Donc le cheval sentant les ardoirs assidueles par neccessité va plus ouvert & plus large que il ne soloit ou plus droit en eschivant por son pooir que les cuitures²⁶⁶ ne se frotent ensemble si comme j'ai dit. Ensemblable maniere soit fet as cuisses devant faisant les cuitures devant dites par dedens, c'est asavoir en lignes, et en tel maniere sont adrechiees les cuisses en aucune maniere en ses aleures. [Fol. 10v. B] **M**es as ungles ou as piés tors cest remede est trouvé car ferrant souvent les piés les ongles puent estre convenablement apareilliees & estre fetes ad maniere de roondece en quelque maniere. Toutevoies une chose remaint a recorder des rappareillements des ongles, laquele profite mult au cheval en la entrefreure ou la fereure²⁶⁷. C'est asavoir que les ongles soient reparees plus dehors que dedens & ausi soit ferré de plus haut fer en la partie dehors qu'en la partie dedens dou pié assiduelment et ensi le cheval aura remede en l'entrefreure devant dite. Mes voirement le cheval seut entreferer d'un pié a l'autre por la febleté de la maigrece de laquele il puet plus legierement estre aidiez la grasse adjointe.

De la connoissance de la moure.

Une autre maladie est avenant au cheval naturellement [Fol. 11r. A] de superfluité de nature laquele est crieie entor la jointure & le pié et aucune fois est crieie en aucune partie dou corps faisant une grossece de char graneleuse sans cuir & sans poil & aucune fois plus & aucune fois mains sormontante l'extremité de la char, laquele est dite vulgaument moure ou celse.

²⁶⁵ The concept of *freeure*, linked to those of *froieur* or *freeur*, indicates marks caused by the interference of the legs while the horse is moving. Prévot discusses this at length in *La Science du Cheval au Moyen Age* (<154>-<160>).

²⁶⁶ A *cuiture* is a cauterization made to correct an error in the horse's way of moving, heal an ailment, or help seal a wound.

²⁶⁷ The *entrefreure* and *fereure* both indicate the potential that a horse may brush his legs together while being ridden.

La cure des maladies de la moure.

Contre ceste enfermeté qui est dite more je di que cele superfluité de chars laquelle j'ai devant dite soit tailliee sajement dusques au plain dou cuir. Après se le lieu n'aura estre nervous nous subvenons en tel maniere o fers roons convenantment eschaufez. Nous poudrons illuec desus meismes de realgar, le pois d'un tarin, faisant de celui poudre subtilment et, se besoing sera, nous poudrons de celi desus plus ou mains selonc la quantité dou lieu, car le realgar degaste desueehement [Fol. 11r. B] & aigrement ausi comme feu. Après les racines de la moure degastees au fons estoupe en albin d'uef soit dedens mise en la plaie si comme j'ai dit. Après por la soudeure hastive de la plaie soit donc prise caus vive & autretant de miel et soient encorporez ensemble demenant l'un o l'autre & après soit fait de ce .I. panel petit qui soit en feu dusqu'a tant que de ce lui soient fet carbons & le pulverize subtilment & o cele poudre soit espendue ou envolepee estoupe²⁶⁸ et li met au matin & au soir dusqu'a tant que les chars soient affermees si comme il convient tous jors la plaie avant lavede o vino²⁶⁹ fort .I. peu tiedet. Et toutesvoies par defaute de realgar soit dedens mise chaus vive, tartoni, .I. lie de vin seche, orpiment²⁷⁰ & verderainz [Fol. 11v. A] et en fai poudre ensemble de oel pois dusqu'a tant que les devant dites racines de moure soient deguastees si comme il convient. La plaie premierement lavede de vin aigre et por ce que ceste poudre est mains cruele de l'autre devant dite, toutevoies il est asavoir que a paine ou jamais iluec naiscent peus. Mes es peus a naistre sera encore autre chose escripte par desous.

Des autres glandes.

Mes des autres superfluités de chars qui naiscent entre cuir & char & vulgaument sunt dites glandes ou escailles ou scrofes je di que fendu le cuit par lonc la ou est aucune des glandes soit hors trete o les mains descarnant la o les ungles ou premierement le cuir fendu par lonc ou ele est soit poudré de sus le realgar menussé ou soit cuit o deus de fer [Fol. 11v. B] ou soit poudré desus la poudre de caus vive & d'orpiment & de rasure de tonel laquelle j'ai devant dite & après on use de la cure qui est contenue ou capitre de la moure. Mes se pour la trencheure et por le descarnement aucune voine estrupue en sanc, tel remede est trouvé ad restraintre icelui sanc soient prises .II. pars d'encens et terche de partie d'aloes epatique et en soit faite poudre ensemble si comme il convient & soient demenees & mesllees en aubun d'uef souffisant & puis o peus de lievre souffisant & par empres soit mis desus a la voine ou ele a jeté sanc. A ce meismes vaut grapes triblé avec caus & avec grains de grapes. A ce meismes [Fol. 12r. A] fiens²⁷¹ de cheval noviaus meslle avec croie et meslle avec vin aigre tres fort, et note que se le sanc aura volu estre restraint. Les choses devant dites ad restraintre le sanc, si comme j'ai devant dit, ne doivent estre ostees dusques ou tiers jours ou en secont. Toutevoies il est asavoir que plus

²⁶⁸ *Estoupe* is tow, or a byproduct of textile production that can be used to make bandages.

²⁶⁹ The use of *vino* instead of *vin* is another example of Latin vocabulary migrating from the center Latin text to the surrounding French translation. *Tartoni*, in the same sentence, is also transferred directly from the Latin.

²⁷⁰ *Orpiment*, also known as orpiment or arsenic sulfide, was a mineral used in many ointments. See also Prévot <227> for more applications.

²⁷¹ *Fiens* is another term for manure.

sauvement nous usons a destruire les glandes devant dites de fiens ou de poil ou des poudres devant dites le cuir premierement taillie par lonc que par tailleure ou par arsure ou par traitement de main se eles gisent en lieus nervous ou plains de voines.

Ci commencent les chapitres de cest livre des maladies des chevaus accidenteles. [Fol. 12r. B]

Dou verm.	le premier ²⁷²
Dou verm volatif.	le segont
De anticoire ²⁷³ .	.III.
D'estranguoillone ²⁷⁴ .	.III.
Des vives.	.V.
De la douleur & dou sanc qui est trop.	.VI.
De doulor de ventosit�.	.VII.
De la douleur de la fluit� de trop mengier.	.VIII.
De la douleur dou retenement de l'orine trop.	.IX.
De l'enfleure des coillons.	.X.
De l'enfundu.	.XI.
Dou pultif.	.XII.
De l'enfostu ²⁷⁵ .	.XIII.
De l'eschaufe ou de deus sechiez.	.XIII.
De l'estaieus.	.XV.
De cimore.	.XVI.
Dou refroidie.	.XVII.
Des maladies des ex.	.XVIII. [Fol.
12v. A]	
Des maladies dedens la bouche.	.XIX.
De la blecheure de la langue.	.XX.
De toutes le blecheures dou dos.	.XXI.
De corne.	.XXII.
Dou poilement dou dos.	.XXIII.
D'espalatines.	.XXIII.
Des boches ou clous.	.XXV.
De la roigne & dou frotement esrachant au col ou au tronchon de la coue.	.XXVI.
Dou malferu esrains.	.XXVII.
De la blecheure de la hanche.	.XXVIII.
De la blecheure de l'espaule.	.XXIX.

²⁷² This table of contents has some inconsistency with the numbering, which I have preserved in the absence of more information about the structure of certain sections missing from the manuscript itself. Not wanting to alter the majority of the numbers in order to make a well-ordered list, I have followed the manuscript.

²⁷³ The *anticoire*, from the Latin *anticor*, indicates a swelling, tumor, or inflammation on the horse's sternum.

²⁷⁴ *Estranguoillone* (Latin *stranguillo*) is the malady of angina.

²⁷⁵ The *enfustif* corresponds to chronic laminitis. In particular, it is characterized by the persistent rotation of the coffin bone from its proper position down toward the sole of the hoof. Due to the inflammation of the laminae, weight-bearing on the affected hoof becomes very painful if not impossible.

De la blecheure de la faus.	.XXX.
De l'agravation dou pis.	.XXXI.
De la blecheure des cuisses.	.XXXII.
De zarde ou garet.	.XXXIII.
Des espaves ²⁷⁶ .	.XXXV.
De la courba.	.XXXVI.
Des espinellis.	
Des seuros ²⁷⁷ . [Fol. 12v. B]	
De l'armors ou del ataint.	.XXXVII.
Des gippes.	.XXXVIII.
Des gales.	.XXXIX.
Des crepaches ²⁷⁸ .	.XL.
D'escorceure.	.XLI.
De toutes enfleures de cuisses.	.XLII.
D'espine ou d'estoc ²⁷⁹ de fust ²⁸⁰ entrain as cuisses.	.XLIII.
De farma.	.XLIII.
De crepache de travers.	.XLV.
De cavere ²⁸¹ .	.XLVI.
De fistelle.	.XLVII.
Des mals de pincenese.	.XLVIII.
De sie.	.XLIX.
De toutes blecheures d'ongles.	.L.
De supposte en la corone ²⁸² .	.LI.
Des encloueurs ²⁸³ qui touchent le tuel.	.LII.
Des encloueurs qui non touchent le duel. 13r. A]	.LIII. [Fol.
Des encloeurs qui rompent la char entre la corone et l'ongle.	.LV.
De la figue ²⁸⁴ sous la sole dou pié.	.LVI.
Des espointeurs des ongles.	.LVII.
Des soleures des ongles.	.LVIII.
Des mutations des ongles.	
De la conoissance dou ver.	

Dit par desus des fachons & des maladies naturaus orendroit est a dire des accidentaus,

²⁷⁶ *Espaves* are osseous tumors on the hocks known as bone spavins.

²⁷⁷ The *seuros* are splints that form between the splint bones and the cannon bones of horses' legs.

²⁷⁸ The *crepache* (like its variants *crepace*, *crevache*, and *crevace*) are wounds that often present themselves on the pasterns due to excessively humid environments and unclean legs that allow bacteria or fungus to gather.

²⁷⁹ An *estoc* is a stick or branch of wood that may injure the horse.

²⁸⁰ A *fust* is a small piece of wood.

²⁸¹ *Cavere*, a hybrid of the French *caver* and the Latin *cavare*, seems to mean to extract or remove, though its section is one of the ones missing from this manuscript.

²⁸² The *corone* indicates the coronet band, the soft tissue from which the hoof grows.

²⁸³ The *enclouure* (and its variants, *encloure*, *encloeuure*, and *ancloure*, among others) is the injury that results when a nail punctures the hoof all the way through the horn to the interior.

²⁸⁴ A *figue*, according to Prévot, is also called a *figue*. She defines it as an "excroissance charnue survenant au pied du cheval à la suite de blessures de la sole" (Prévot 208).

adonc l'enfermeté accidentele est cele qui vient par aventure. Si comme vers & mult autres le verm est engendré par aventure ou pis et es cuisses entor les coillons après [Fol. 13r. B] descendant as cuissions et enfleures amenant a perchier les cuisses par plaies espesses & aucune fois par l'achaison dou ver devant dit sunt faites ou cors dou cheval plaies diverses. Après especiaument eles amenront ou cheval pluseurs & petites enfleures, faisant aucune fois mettre hors humeurs par les narilles dou cheval ausi comme aigue, & cest verm est dit volatif. Les vers devant dis sunt cries de mauveses humeurs superflues aunees ensemble de lonc tens. Laquel maladie verm est faite d'une glande que tout chevaus ont ou pis delez le cuer & ancore entor les coillons & es cuisses. A laquel glande [Fol. 13v. A] por aucun doulor venant iluec accidentelment dela & decha courent les humeurs & les espris & comme tout semblable requiere son semblable, dont les humeurs concourues s'enfleroit le pis & les cuisses & les cuisses enflees il convenroit les humeurs faire a eus voies es cuisses ad metre hors la pourreture.

La cure en contre le verm.

Contre ceste maladie qui est dite verm, j'enseignerai mechines profitables. Car si comme il est dit les vers sunt criés ou pis dou cheval ou es cuisses delez les coillons de la glande les queles je dis estre enflees ou estre acrués plus que ne soloient. Maintenant le cheval soit seigniés de la voine du col acostumee delez la teste & en chascune partie du pis ou [Fol. 13v. B] des cuisses des voines acostumees ausi comme dusques a la febleté dou cors ou soient vuiddiees les humeurs superflues comme se convient. Et soiens mis avenantment setons²⁸⁵ ou pis ou es cuisses dou cheval attrahans²⁸⁶ assiduelment les humeurs pour la desication assiduele & convenable par le seton apparellant voies d'issir les humeurs corues a la douleur de la glande & por ce que par les lieux doulans courent les espris & les humeurs²⁸⁷. Adonc se le lieu des setons deut & sueffre²⁸⁸ par raison, les setons demenés convenablement par coustume par la destrece des setons les humeurs courent iluec en laissant le detout en tout. Tant queles humeurs devant dites n'aient pas jurisdiction [Fol. 14r. A] descendre ad cuisses ne amener enfleures si comme j'ai dit desus. Toutevoies saches que li setones ne doivent estre demenés fors par l'espace de .II. jours passant. Mes après tant soient demenés chescun jor au matin & au soir que .II.

²⁸⁵ *Setons* are cloth drainage devices that permit the evacuation of undesirable fluids and materials from areas where the skin has already been broken.

²⁸⁶ The *cheval attrahant*—like the *cheval trahant* or the *cheval de trait*—refers to a work horse who did heavy manual labor, as opposed to those *destriers* who carried knights into battle or performed in jousting tournaments. While the general body type would've been heavier for such a horse, it is important to note that the myth of the 17 to 18 hand *magnus equus* is not accurate. Even the work horses were unlikely to be taller than 16 hands during this period. For more, see Ann Hyland's book *The Medieval Warhorse: From Byzantium to the Crusades* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1994).

²⁸⁷ The *espris* or the *humeurs* (in this Latin version, *sperz* or *humores*) are terms often used together in the Rufus manuscript tradition. Both evoke the circulating materials in all living things whose varying or fluctuating proportions determine a being's relative health or illness.

²⁸⁸ Throughout many manuscripts of Rufus' manual, the pain and discomfort of the horse are among the more serious concerns that must be addressed by the horse healers. Here, the manuscript states that the horse both experiences pain (*deut*, from *doloir*) and that he also suffers or endures with great pain (*seuffre*, from *souffrir*) due to the *setons*. The condition, therefore, demanded decisive and immediate intervention.

joenes²⁸⁹ a chescune fois soient travailliés le cheval après demené assés a petit pas. Et après le chesse chescun jor estre travaillié guardant le qu'il ne menjuce herbe fors soulement por reprendre forces et por le repos de la nuit soit mis assiduellement en lieux frois. Mes se cele glande ou le verm por les setons & dont la minution dou sanc ou por les autres choses devant dites ne descroisce mes tous jors habudent humeurs superflues enflant les jambes [Fol. 14r. B] adonc iceles glandes ou le verm soient traités sauvement en tel maniere que premierement le cuir fendu par lonc usques a la trouveure dou ver ou de la glande de laquele j'ai dit le fer osté. Iceles glandes soient eschanees o les ungles tant seulement tirant hors iceles o les mains si comme sera veü que bon soit & non remanant iluec aucune chose de la glande devant dite & après les vers ou les glandes soient ostees dusqua la rachine la plaie de tout en tout soit enplie d'estupe moullie souffisanment en aubun d'uef cosue après la plaie que l'estoupe nen puisse ester trete en nulle maniere. Mes se la plaie soit ou pis soit liee convenablement d'une pieche [Fol. 14v. A] lin ou de laine devant le pis & la plaie ne doit estre remuee dusques au tiers jor & toutevoies d'iluec en avant soit remuee .II. fois le jor estoupe molliee en oile et aubun d'uef meslés ensemble lavant premierement la plaie de vin chaud. Et use de tel cure l'espace de .IX. jours passant et puis après soit lavez la plaie .II. fois le jor de vin un peu chaudet et l'estoupe envolepee en la poudre soit mise dedens la plaie. Laquel poudre est faite en la maniere dejus escripte, c'est asavoir de chaus vive & de miel si comme il est demonstré ou chapitre de la moure & use de la poudre devant dite dusqu'a tant que la plaie soit convenablement soudee verement les setons demenez entretant, [Fol. 14v. B] & encore le cheval travaillie chescun jour, sicut comme desus est expressé. Note toutes que le cheval ne doit estre chevauchié jusqu'au tiers puis que le verm ait esté mis hors, et puis après, si comme j'ai dit, soit chevauchié chescun jour longument & sans mesure. Mes a ce que le dit verm soit trait plus sauvement j'escrirai enjus cure plus sauvable, c'est asavoir que le cuir fendu par lonc & les chars dusqu'a la trouveure des vers, si comme j'ai dit. Le realgar poulverizé convenablement soit desus espars endementieres a plus de pois selonc plus & mains une fois seulement au ver devant dit, coton mis après & cousu en la bouche de la plaie que le realgar ne [Fol. 15r. A] puisse issir de la plaie en aucune maniere de laquele le verm est deguasté²⁹⁰ par force entor l'espace de IX. jours. Après le verm deguasté ou destruit usques a la rachine, on use continuent de la cura laquele j'ai desus dite de la stirpation des vers. Mes se por les choses devant dites les humeurs ne peussent estre restraints ou desechiees que tous jors ne descendent as cuisses faisant pertuis²⁹¹ ou vescies²⁹² petites ou plaies lors maintenant celes plaies ou vescies soient cuites dusqua la rachine o un fer roont ou bout toutevoies cuisant premierement la maistre voine dou pis de travers, laquele tent enjus usqu'as piés. Et après cuis les pertuis des cuisses [Fol. 15r. B] si comme j'ai dit chaus vive soit mise sus es plaies .II. fois le jour seulement, la cuiture des pertuis entainte premierement de partie. Mes il est a noter que se por le verm la cuisse aura remese enflée, ele soit aidiee en tel maniere : c'est asavoir que

²⁸⁹ The two *joenes* who worked the horse each knight refer to young men who worked as aides and apprentices in the stable. Such workers were often assigned tasks that required less skill, such as those related to nutrition stated above.

²⁹⁰ The verb *deguaster* indicates the dissipation or removal of bad elements thanks to the interventions of the horse healer.

²⁹¹ *Pertuis*, as Prévot discusses, are holes or openings, whether occurring naturally or due to illness (like an ulcer) (Prévot 230).

²⁹² *Vescies* are tumors or hematomas.

le sanc soit pris & soit mis tout en tout les enfleures des cuisses reis generalment le lieu de l'enfleure devant dite ou toute la cuisse generalment reise. Et après tret le sanc de la single²⁹³ quant qu'il en porra issir soit emplastree toute la cuisse avec vin aigre & croie blanche mesllés ensemble ou soit tenu en eüe tres froide longuement au matin & au soir, [Fol. 15v. A] et ce soit fet chescun jor dusques a tant que les cuisses soient ramenees plus grailles.

La cure contre le verm volatif.

Après contre le verm montant ou chief dou cheval lequel est dit volatif. En tel maniere les humeurs soient traités : c'est asavoir que des voines acoustumees & des .II. temples soit saigné de sanc souffisant. Et après soient mis les setons sous la gorge et dou demenement des setons et dou mengier & dou chevauchement & dou lieu fres soit fait par toutes choses ausi comme j'ai dit desus de l'autre verm & se le verm volatif soit torné en cimore laquel chose est souvent de costume. Chaudes choses sunt a doner a lui, [Fol. 15v. B] le chief au cheval couvert d'aucun drap de laine, et le cheval mis en lieu chaut pour le repos et travaillant celui meismes en aucune maniere, et menjuce tous jours choses chaudes ou fein ou avaine car cele maladie est froide. Toutesvoies en pluseurs a poine eschape.

De la cognoissance de anticore.

Mes il avient aucune fois que cele glande qui est entor le cuer est si forment acréüe por les enfleures iluec meismes ensemble corues & par costume esbandues par les cuisses que l'enfleure ou l'acroissement de la glande est tournée en aposteume²⁹⁴. Et por ce que ele est assez voisine dou cuer continuelment li est ele contraire sans muer et d'iluec l'enfermete est vulgaument appelee anticor. [Fol. 16r. A]

La cure encontre l'anticore.

Ensivant je di contre la maladie anthicore, laquele est fete de la soudaine acroissement de la glande si comme desus est espressé, que tantost comme cele glande sera veüe estre acréüe soudainement avec fureur ou estre en groissie plus que costume. Sans nulle demeure ele soit ostee dou pis a grant haste dusqu'a la rachine. Toutevoies la stirpation soit fete en tel maniere comme j'ai devant escrit en l'exstirpation des vers car ceste enfermeté ou enposteume est assez prouchaine au cuer por ce doit ele tres sajement & o tres grant diligence estre estragchiee. Mes se en l'esrachment [Fol. 16r. B] ou en l'escorcement de celui meismes aucune voine soit escrevee a sanc lors maintenant la devant dite voine soit prise as mains estroite & soit liee o fil de soie. Mes se pour l'abundance dou sanc la voine ne peust estre prise soient mises en la plaie les mechies devant dites, les queles j'enseignai a restraindre le sanc, et après soit la plaie curree, si comme je traitai desus dou verm, fors des setons dou mengier, et dou chevauchier, & dou lieu froit par lesquels choses il n'est curé en nule maniere.

²⁹³ While the term *single* is absent in other Rufus manuscripts, the Latin indicates it is synonymous with the modern French *sansue* or *sanguie*: leeches.

²⁹⁴ The *aposteume* (Latin *apostema* or *glandula*) is an abcess (Prévot 177).

De la connoissance d'estraingoillon.

Et sunt aucunes autres glandes estantes entour le chief au cheval des queles aucunes giesent sous la gorge au cheval lesqueles sunt enflees [Fol. 16v. A] ou sunt acréües por les humeurs dou chief dou cheval enfroidie, descendantes ad dites glandes de la teste, de la grossece ou de l'enfleure desqueles tote la gorge est enflée, & ensi est estraint le voiage dou souflement de la gorge issant. Donc le cheval non puet reprendre sa alaine si comme il convient, et ceste maladie est vulgaument estranguellon.

La cure contre l'estranguellon.

Encontre la maladie de l'estraingoillon je sousmet tel medecine que comme les glandes que j'ai devant dites sunt veües soudainement croistre sous la gorge dou cheval ou estre accrues plus que n'est de costume. Setones convenables soient mis sous la gorge du cheval [Fol. 16v. B] menant celui meismes au matin & au soir suffisaument si comme on verra mieux convenire. Aprés ou chief du cheval soit mist couverture de laine & oignant plusours fois toute la gorge de burre et espacialment tout le lieu de l'estranguellons enseurchetout usant assiduelment en lieu chaut. Mes se iceles glandes ne descroissent pour se souvent demenement des setons ausi comme continuelment, il soient de tout en tout esrachiees ad la maniere dou verm et celes esrachiees dusqua la rachine. La plaie envielliee si comme j'ai dit devant soit poudree de poudre de realgar et ensi poent ces glandes estre esrachiees et destruites par la maniere desus racontee. Il est asavoir a la parfin que

[Fol. 17r. A]²⁹⁵ est lieu nerveus & graveleus entrelachié pour la jointure des os et comme ele avient au cheval ele est dite en vulgal scorciaques²⁹⁶.

La cure a le scorciaques.

A cui on aide en tel maniere soit fete pourre de gruel de fourment²⁹⁷ & demené avec aisil tres fort, & aprés soit mis tant chaut comme on porra soustenir seur la jointure doulante, liant icele tout en tout o une piece & ceste pourre soit remué sovent le jour. Mes se la jointure aura esté enflée par la indignation des ners soit fet emplastre de fingrec²⁹⁸ et de semence de lin et d'esquilles²⁹⁹ & autres choses si comme il est contenu au chapitre devant. Mes se par l'accaison de l'escorceure que j'ai dite l'os de la jointure [Fol. 17r. B] est remué de son lieu en aucune chose saches se le pié au cheval delez le clochant soit

²⁹⁵ As after folio 8, this manuscript jumps almost directly from *l'estranguellon* into the cures for *scorciaques* without discussion of its symptoms or the means by which it could be identified by horsemen.

²⁹⁶ *Scorciaques* is sciatica, or a pinched nerve in the hip. The Latin is *scortvatus* or *scortiatuz*.

²⁹⁷ *Fourment* is wheat. See Prévot's glossary in *La Science*.

²⁹⁸ *Fingrec* is the herb fenugreek.

²⁹⁹ *Esquilles* are spring squill (*scilla*, Latin), a flowering plant native to Western Europe. It also appears in Prévot (<653>).

levé en haut et soit tres bien lié en la coe³⁰⁰ dou cheval. Et après soit mené en main envers lieux de montaignes en alant petit & petit, car por l'oppression de la jointture neccessaire envers terre l'os desjoint aucune chose de l'autre ou osté sera maintenant drechié en son lieu si comme il convient. Toutevoies, les choses mollificatives doivent premierement estre fetes si comme j'ai dit. Toutevoies il avient aucune fois qu'en la jointure un os est desjoint de l'autre en tel maniere que a poine ou jamais est rejoint a son lieu convenablement, de laquel chose la jointure est contrainte estre enflée de enfleure tres dure laquele il convenra aidier plus sauvement par le benefice des cuittures. [Fol. 17v. A] Note que de toutes les mecines et cuittures desus racontees les cuittures ou le feu doit estre le derrenier remede.

De cognitance inflationis crurium.

Il avient aucune fois ensivantment que les cuisses dou cheval tant devant comme derriere s'enflent partout de la fluite des humeurs iluec corues. Laquel chose avient par coustume quant le cheval menjue herbes tenrres, esmouvant les humeurs par le cors dou cheval par costume et sans ce il li avient aucune fois ou printens por ce qu'en cel tens les humeurs sont naturellement esmeües par le cors & courent ensi as lieux bas c'est asavoir as cuisses et amenant iluec enfleures non pas petites de laquele le cheval souffrant especialment en la partie derriere [Fol. 17v. B] est fet perecheus, & ceste maladie est dite enflément de cuisses.

La cure as cuisses enflées.

A laquele il convient aidier en tel maniere par aidement saluable soit premierement lachiee sus en haut en la cuisse du souffrant c'est asavoir la maistre voine du cuir enflé et vuidié le sanc de la voine tailliee si comme il convient. Pren croie blanche & triblée convenablement soit demenee avec aisil tres fort et meslant iluec de sel bien trité³⁰¹ que de ce soit fet ausi comme paste, et de cel paste après ce soit emplastree l'enfleure de la cuisse partout, renovant cele meismes si comme je dis. A ce vaut si le sanc de l'ongle est mis entor la cuisse enflée renovant le tous jors .II. fois le jor. A ce vaut [Fol. 18r. A] le fiens de chievre dissolu en aisil tres fort et après autretant de ferine d'orge demené ausi comme paste de laquele toute la cuisse enflée soit emplastree, renovant cele maismes ausi comme j'ai dit. A ce vaut se le sanc de l'ongle soit mis habundanment entour la cuisse enflée. Toutesvoies le lieu enflé premierement res partout a ce que il s'aherdent miex & plus apertement & voident les mauvaises humeurs devant dis courus ad cuisses, faisantes iluec l'enfleure devant dite par le subtraïement dou sanc au dehors. Mes se l'enfleure des cuisses ne descroist avec les devant dites choses [Fol. 18r. B] les cuisses enflées soient cuites partout de cuittures convenables iluec, et après soient curees les cuittures si comme j'ai dit.

D'espine ou tronc entrant ad genous.

³⁰⁰ While *coe* might easily refer to the neck, its identical placement in relation to *queue* in Prévot (<654>) means it is likely to refer to the tail of the horse, to which Rufus recommends tying an injured leg to decrease the amount of weight it was required to bear.

³⁰¹ *Bien trité* is a combination of the Latin *trito* (crushed) and the French *triblé*.

Mes il avient que aucun tronchon de fust ou espine entre as genous ou en aucune partie de la cuisse et demourent en aucune maniere de dedens les chars de laquelle chose la plaie s'enfle tout entour et de ce meesmement se le tronchon ou l'espine bleche aucun nerf. Donc le cheval est contraint clochier aucune fois.

La cure.

As queles choses toutes on aide en tel maniere premierement soit resé la plaie partout, tout environ. [Fol. 18v. A] Après soient prises trois testes de laizardes et un peu tribles soient mises a la plaie & avec une pieche soient tres bien liees. A ce valent les rachines de roisiaus, puis tres bien liees. Ce meismes font limachons³⁰² triblés & demenés avec burre & puis cuis, et les mecines devant dites et souvent renovelees ameinent merueilleusement au dehors ou estoc ou espine estant entre les chars. Ancore note que a toute tumeur & enfleure molle novele laquelle est fete sans nature d'aucune fereure es genous ou es [Fol. 18v. B] jointures ou en aucune part des cuisses vaut asses la decoction de ceste mesure. C'est asavoir que soit prise d'aluisne, de paritaire, de branche ursine, des feuilles ce qui est tres terre, et avec oint de porc vieux soient triblés ensemble tant longuement que biens soient encorporees. Et après mises en .I. vaisel boillant & puis soit meslé .I. peu de miel & d'oile & de ferine de fourment et boillent ensemble demenant les tant souvent. Et cuites soient mises sus le lieu enflé tant chaudes comme on pourra et soient liees avenement sus le lieu enflé comme une pieche & on le doie souvent renouveler. [Fol. 19r. A]

De la connosance de farma & cura.

Ausi une maladie est fete qui est dite vulgaument farme, laquelle est fete entre la jointure et le pié sus la corone dou pié faisant aprement in la pastoure en son comencement une enfleure ou une callosité de chars sus le pié qui avient de percussion en aucun lieu dur. Mes toutevoies il seut avenir plus souvent par l'accasion de male trové & non convenable auquel se on ne secourre au commencement tost & sajement par la cure desous escripte. Il est fet seuros tres dur comme il envillist estandant soi aucune fois par tout seur la courone, a laquelle j'enseigne estre aidé en tel maniere : par toutes choses et qu'ele ne soit envilliee par negligence si comme il est enseignie desus es mecinements des seuros. [Fol. 19r. B] Ancore il est asavoir que la devant dite maladie est trop empeechiee & ennoieuse es alees dou cheval car cel lieu ou la farma³⁰³ est crieé est nerveus et enseurquetout il est entrechié decha & dela d'arteries.

De la crepace longue & grande qui est dite traverse.

De la crevace longue & grande qui est dite traverse laquelle est fete ou boulet entre la char vive & l'ongle et empechant les aleures. Si comme j'ai dit, laquelle n'est pas aidiee d'oignements ou d'autres choses fors de benefice de cautiere por ce je di que cele crepace

³⁰² *Limachons* are earth worms used in medicines (Latin *lumbricus terrestris*).

³⁰³ The *farma* (Latin *forma*) is known today as ringbone or sidebone, both are characterized by bony tumors that develop on and around the coronet band.

soit cuite dusques au funs en ses extremités o .I. fer roont ou bout pour ce que la ditte crevache ne puet estre acree par le benefice de feu, mes plus descroist. [Fol. 19v. A] Une autre maladie est fete entour les jointures de cuisses deles les piés venante de aucune plaie iluec fete & puis envielliee par negligence enflante aucune fois le lieu ou ele est fete, laquele avient de chevaucement assiduel quant le cheval aiant ja la plaie est chevauchié sans pourvoiemment si comme j'ai dit, & la plaie est ja envilliee & de ce est fete en chevauchant laquele est dite en vulgal cranque³⁰⁴.

La cure au cranche.

A la cranche qui est fete entor la jointure ou desus la jointure dou pié ou entre la jointure & le pié ou en aucune partie de la cuisse ou en aucune partie dou cors on li secoure par tel cure ou remede. [Fol. 19v. B] C'est asavoir soit pris le jus en bone quantité et soit demené longuement avec .II. parties de chaus vive & la tierce d'orpiment subtilment triblé. Après soit mis en .I. vaissel de terre estoupe a ce que le jus ou le vapour non puisse issir hors d'iluec & soient laissié tant boullir au feu et cuire dusques a tant qu'il soient parfaitement ramenés empoudre et de tel poudre soit mis dedens la plaie de la cranche souffisanment .II. fois le jour seulement dusqu'a tant que la cranche chiee ou soit mortefiee. La cranche ou la plaie mortefiee, la plaie soit curee avec aubun d'uef & altres choses. Si comme nos avons dit desus, premierement lavee [Fol. 20r. A] la plaie de la cranche tous jors de vin aigre. Mes le signe du chaiement & de la mortificacion de la cranche si est quant la plaie de la cranche s'enfle tout entour. A ce vaut fiens humain pulverizé et meslé avec tartare brullé en oel mesure. A ce vaut encore tartare brullé, meslé avec sel menu et mis desus. Je di encore .I. autre chose mortefiant le cranche, laquele chose est la meilleur : aill bien triblé avec pourre & psalperre et .I. peu de oint de porc viex bien trités ensemble soient mis dedens la plaie de la cranche & soit liee estroitement renovant de ce lui meismes .II. fois de jour tant seulement dusqu'a tant que la cranche chie du tout soit fet [Fol. 20r. B] après de la plaie, si comme j'ai dit devant. Après note que la pourre des aufodilles est la plus forte & plus violente de toutes les autres dites, des devant dites pourres est a user en lieus nerveus. Après entrelachiés de voines & d'arteries decha & dela car en ces lieus est a eschiver faire tailleures ou cuitures en aucune maniere. Toutesvoies es lieus carneus a plain n'est pas a douter et cuire et taillier dusqu'au fons et por ce on cure miex & plus legierement & plustost es lieus carneus o tailleures & cuitures qu'avec les pourres dites merveilleuses.

De la conoissance dou festre³⁰⁵.

Et se la plaie devant dite envillist [Fol. 20v. A] por l'antiquité de cele meismes ele porroit redunder en cune maladie qui est dite festre, laquele seront plus forte & pejeur a garir.

La cure contre le festre.

En la parfin se la plaie envillie ou la cranche pour son antiquité soit ramenee en festre, on

³⁰⁴ The *cranche* or *cranque* (Latin *cancer*) is now called a keloid scar. These growths typically form on the skin around a scar.

³⁰⁵ A *festre* is an ulcer or fistula.

li subvenir aucune fois avec la poudre des aufodilles, toutevoies mesllant avec la dite pourre, autant d'orpigment comme de chaus vive, por ce que ele soit plus violente ou cruele, plus de l'autre desus dite. Ancore ad repraindre le festre plus violement & plus sajement & plus forment soit prise chaus vive & autretant d'orpigment et pulverizés convenablement [Fol. 20v. B] et soient emsemble demenés avec jus d'aill et jus d'oignon et d'ieble³⁰⁶ et, mesllés ensemble, soient boullis convenablement ou suffisamment en miel cler & aisil, movant avec une astele³⁰⁷ dusqu'a tant que de ce soit fet naturel oignement & de tel oignement soit mis dedens la plaie dou festre .II. fois le jor suffisamment & soit liee, toutevoies le lieu lavé premierement avec aisil tres fort, se on verra convenir. Aprés autre chose valant a ce soit pris orpigment et verderain & cax vive, pulverizés ensemble en oel pois, soient ensemble meslés avec jus suffisant de poret & d'arrement et demenee longuement avec miel et aisil. Autre chose plus aigre [Fol. 21r. A] de toutes les devant dites : realgar pulverizé convenablement, meslé avec salive d'ome soit mis dedens la plaie dou festre, il rumge atrempeement le festre. Le signe de la mortification dou festre si est quant la plaie dou festre s'emfle et rongist, le festre consume. La plaie est a curer si comme il est expres des autres plaies. Mes se le festre soit crié en lieux carneus je di par toutes choses, ce meismes qui est contenu desus en la cure des cuisses.

De la conoissance du pincenese.

Autre maladie est qui est proprement fete es fellons des ongles dou cheval, c'est asavoir la ou les chars sunt conjointes a l'ongle voisine, laquel detient & empeeche les aleures dou cheval ausi comme l'enfondement. [Fol. 21r. B] Aucune fois est fete en .I. pié seulement & aucune fois avient as autres partout. Toutevoies il est a noter que se ele est en .I. pié seulement se ele n'est maintenant ardie ele seut venir es autres piés. Laquel chose avient de legier de mauveses humeurs corues iluec meismes & por la fumosité devant dite. Toutesvoies ele avient plus legierement de trop grant frequentation d'eau et de ordure por la fumosité de l'estable apparante les cuisses non convenablement sechiees o le terdeeur de l'eau ne des ordures. Lesquels choses adjoustent ausi blecheures ou plaies en la langue dou cheval & en sa langue puet estre de legier conneüe. La maladie devant dite laquele est nommee d'aucuns mal de pinzonese. [Fol. 21v. A]

La cure contre le mal dou pinconese.

Encontre ceste maladie dou mal pinzonese il ensient enseigner en cest present chapistre laquele est es boulletes des piés au cheval par les accaisons ja espressees par desus empeechant les aleures au cheval aucune fois de l'un pié & multe fois avient a tous les autres piés et contraint le cheval clochier des piés. Ausi comme l'enfondu n'aurant aucune fois la langue dou cheval auquel on seut aidier en la maniere sous escripte, c'est asavoir que les ungles dou cheval soient premierement parés dusques subtilleté & après les boullles dou soient anientees jusqu'au vif de l'ongle o la roignete de fer si que les dites bulles puissent plus apertement evapourer partout. [Fol. 21v. B] Aprés soit seigniés de chescune partie des bulles convenablement et d'iluec soient vuiddies les humeurs

³⁰⁶ *Jus d'ieble* is a juice made from an herb similar to the elderberry. In modern French, see *hièble*.

³⁰⁷ An *astele* is a splint used to brace the leg so that an injury may heal.

concorues ou soient cuites dusqu'au fons d'une part & d'autre o avec .I. fer agu et les piés dou souffrant sont a garder assiduellement d'ordures & d'eau et ensemment il ne doit estre travaillié en aucune maniere. Après soient fés pous de bien et d'aisil demenant ensemble boulent avenanment. Et après cex pous soient estendus en .I. peche large tant chaus comme on les porra souffrir et soient liés partout entour les piés blechiés renovant cele meismes .II. fois le jour. Toutesvoies il est a eschiver qu'il ne menjuce herbes en aucune maniere mes menjuce peu pailles dusqu'a tant [Fol. 22r. A] qu'il aura esté delivré de cele maladie, car herbes et mult autres viandes amainent humeurs de mouvement si comme j'ai ja esprés par desus, et en tel maniere sera delivré usant de tel cure. Mes de la langue qui est blechiee de tel maladie on dira en son lieu quant tens en sera des ongles & des piés a veoir est veü desus generaument des cuisses dou cheval, si comme je poi delijaument. Il est a voier des ungles & des piés si comme je l'ai esprouvé probablement.

Compli le chapitre des maladies & des blecheures des membres & des cuisses dou cheval, des blecheures des ongles ou des piés.

J'apuie la matiere de la sie.

Adonc une maladie est fete en l'ongle du cheval ou en pié dejouste dusques [Fol. 22r. B] au tuel dedens fendant l'ongle par le milieu & aucune fois dou cousté de la fendeure, laquele commence de la corone dou pié alant par lonc enjus a l'extremité de l'ongle ou dou pié, emettant hors aucune fois le sanc vif par la fendeure. Laquele avient de la blecheure dou tuel demorante dedens l'ongle laquele ditte maladie ha chief & commenchement dou tuel et aucune fois avient comme le cheval est joenes et est en ungle le tuel por la tenrreur de l'ongle tres tenrre. Aucune fois en ferant celi meismes en aucun lieu dur ou preniant aigrement le tuel devant dit est blechié de legier si comme j'ai dit, donc le cheval seuffre multe fois et de ce cloche comme il est souvent chevauchié.

Cure contre la sie.

[Fol. 22v. A] Il est adonc une maladie dou cheval fendant l'ongle parmi et aucune fois de costé. Si comme j'ai ja longuement dit laquele est dite vulgalment sie prenant son nom de lueure por ce que de costume ele fent l'ongle parmi, aiant commenchement de la corone dou pié tendant enjus vers le tuel de l'ongle & illuec double ses rachines, a cui on secoure sauvement par le mecinement desous escript, c'est a savoir l'entaillant desus o la roisneté les rachines de la sye vers le tuel & vers la corone dou pié entre le vif & le mort de l'ongle dusqu'a tant que ele commence a saignier. Après soit prise la couleure & soit trenchiee en menues pieches [Fol. 22v. B] premierement la teste & la coue dou sarpent taillies & jetees loing de lui et celes pieces dou sarpent soient cuites en un vaissel plein d'uile commun en tel maniere que les chars dou sarpent en cuisant se depiecent & les os dou tout sechent et de ce soit fet ausi comme oignement. Et de tel oignement les racines de la sie soient ointes un peu chaut chescun jor .II. fois le jor et en use l'eu dusqu'a tant que la sie soit convenablement munde³⁰⁸ de l'eau et l'ongle soit ramenee au premier estat, en eschivant toutesvoies que le pié malade de la sie ne soit touchié en nulle maniere d'eau ne d'ordures nec que le cheval malades ne menjuce herbes en nule guise. Après auchuns ont acostumé curer la sie devant dite [Fol. 23r. A] en la maniere desous escripte

³⁰⁸ *Mundee (munder)* means to purify or to clean.

que premierement l'ongle tailliee o la roisneté dusques au vif si comme j'ai dit desus, il cuisent les racines de la sie tout entour ou mortefient d'estaignant cele meismes avec pourre d'anfodilles ou avec pluseurs autres esperimens de la cranche. Après il ont acoustumé une mesleure de pourre d'olibane, de mastice meslé après & cuit avec sief de mouton & cere³⁰⁹ en oel mesure et funt de ce ausi comme oignement & après de tel oignement il usoient chescun jor .II. fois le jor pour le soudement de la char & la renovation de l'ongle. Mes j'enseigne par experience l'oignement dou sarpent que j'ai enseignié desus contre la sie plus d'aucune autre cure desus dit. Après note que se pieches grosses detrenchiees fussent arsés³¹⁰ en charbons [Fol. 23r. B] mises après en .I. espoigne dusqu'a tant que la graisse du sarpent commenche de gouter & puis cele graisse clere & chaude si comme ele est traitee du feu soit distillee souffisaument desus dedens le poumon du dos dou cheval. Il consume & destruit merueilleusement en .I. jor le poumon voirement il est a eschiver que ne chiet en aucune autre part. Autre blecheure est fete sus la corone du pié, c'est a savoir entre la char vive & l'ongle, faisant iluec roupture de char ausi comme envilliee et multefois est fete cranche, et ce avient quant le cheval met pié seur pié agrevant l'autre pié, laquel maladie ou blecheure est dite surposte.

De la supposta en la corone dou pié et de sa cure.

Aprés a la plaie ou a la roupture de char [Fol. 23v. A] laquele est fete dedens la corone dou pié c'est asavoir entre la char vive et l'ongle on use de tel mechinement que tantost que la plaie est fete par l'accaison devant dite on trenche tant o la roisneté de fer de l'ongle prochaine entour la plaie que l'ongle ne touche ne praint la char vive en aucun, car l'oppression qui est fete de l'ongle n'est pas convenable as blecheures de la char vive, mes est assés annuieuse et ne sueffre pas la plaie estre soudee de legier por la continue oppression de l'ongle si comme j'ai dit, et l'ongle tailliee entour convenamment premierement la plaie lavede de vin chaut ou d'aisil. La plaie soit curee & après soudee si comme il est contenu es chapitus devant, gardant tous jors le souffrant de ordures [Fol. 23v. B] et d'eau dusqu'a tant que la plaie soit soudee. Mes, se par negligence ou par cure non convenable, la plaie soit par aventure ramenee en cranche ele soit curee si comme je dis ou chapitre devant dou chancre. Et se ele est ramenee en festre – soit medecinee ansi comme festre.

De la connosance d'encloeuere.

Aprés il avient le cheval estre encloué par multes & diverses manieres, de laquele chose multes & diverses blecheures avient au cheval lesqueles tormentent le cheval de diverses douleurs selonc plus & mains. Mes entre ces autres encloueurs une est fete tres pesme laquele touche & bleche tuel de l'ongle, perchant l'ongle devant dite vers la corone dou pié par desus, rompant la char iluec meismes & d'iluec getant hors pourretture, donc il convient souvent le cheval [Fol. 24r. A] muer l'ongle se il n'est aidié.

Des encloeuers qui touchent le tuel.

³⁰⁹ Another Latin-French hybrid, *cere* combines the Latin version's *cera* with the French *cire*.

³¹⁰ *Arsés* indicates to burn or char.

Enseurquetout il est a voier des encloeuures qui touchent le tuel es piés dou cheval ou es ongles desqueles les manieres sunt premierement a distinguer par droit ordre. Adonc .I. maniere d'encloeuure est fete blechant le tuel dedens dusqu'au fons, et .I. autre est fete qui trespasse entre le tuel & l'ongle, mains blechant le tuel dedens, et la tierche est fete non blechant le tuel en aucune chose, mes touche & bleche le vif de l'ongle. Adonc la premiere maniere qui bleche le tuel a plain jusqu'au fons est au pié assés perilleuse, car ou tuel est .I. tendrece d'os fette a la maniere de l'ongle [Fol. 24r. B] nourrissant & gouvernant l'ongle et tendant ad soi les rachines de l'ongle.

La cure.

A cui se le tuel aura esté trop blechié on li aide sauvement par le benefice de dessoler³¹¹ l'ongle. Mes s'il aura esté peu blechié, descouvert avec aucun instrument de fer, la seule ungle entour la plaie soit trenchiee dusqu'au fons tout entour la blecheure des ongles, entant que la blecheure soit atteinte et soit descouverte avenamment. Et, descouverte, l'encloeuure soit puis soutilment atteinte en l'ongle universalment et especialment entour la blecheure taillant tant des ongles qu'espace soit devisant en l'ongle dou blechié en tel maniere que l'ongle prient ne s'aherde a la blecheure [Fol. 24v. A] car il empecheroit la soudeure de la char & la renovation de la novele ongle. Et ce parfet convenamment si comme j'ai dit la plaie ou la blecheure soit empliee d'estoupe moilliee souffisanment en aubun d'uef et après la plaie soit curee avec sel menu & aisill fort ou o pourre de galle ou de mortele ou de lentisc si comme j'ai dit ou chapitre devant. Mes se la blecheure dou clou passe entre le tuel & l'ongle qui est la seconde partie ele est mains perillouse car le tuel n'est pas blechié fors ou cousté.

La cure.

A cui on seut aidier en tel maniere premierement cele encloeuure soit descouverte dusqu'au fons & dusqu'au vif, taillant par le lonc de l'ongle & liant avenamment la plaie entour et enseurquetout [Fol. 24v. B] l'ongle prochaine a la blecheure soit entailliee si qu'en nule maniere s'aherde a la plaie. L'encloeuure après descouverte, la blecheure soit tote empliee de menu sel lavee premierement la plaie avec aisil mise desus ciroupe moulliee en vin aigre le pié blechié soit lie d'une pieche & puis soit curee la blecheure II. fois le jor si comme j'ai desus raconté.

Des encloeuures qui ne touchent le tuel.

Mes se la tierce partie de l'encloeuure qui ne touche le pié ne bleche le tuel se non passe par le milieu dou vif de l'ongle ce meismes soit fet partout que j'enseignai en la seconde espece. On adjoint tant que atteinte ou desouverte premierement l'encloeuure l'ongle soit tailliee par dehors dusqu'a la blecheure dou clou [Fol. 25r. A] que nule chose d'ordure ou d'aucune autre chose puisse estre retenue en aucune maniere dedens la blecheure. Et a la

³¹¹ The verb *dessoler* corresponds to a hoof resection. This procedure is recommended for the disease known today as laminitis, because the inflammation of the sensitive laminae creates extremely painful pressure inside the hoof. Only once the hoof wall has been resected may the horse have some relief from this condition.

parfin que ces autres encloeuers qui non touchent le tuel ne le blechent dedens puissent legierement estre curees & auenancement premierement les blecheures appareilliees si comme il convient c'est asavoir o les choses sous escriptes : sief & cire & oile ou aucune chose unctueuse, boillantes ou forment chaudes soient mises dedens la plaie et tribles avec sel ou lie. A ce vaut la suie demenee avec sel et oile. A ce vaut aubun d'uef avec aisil & oile demené. A ce vaut pourre de galle, de mortele & de lentisc dedens mis en la bleceure. Toutevoies la bleceure soit premierement .I. fois lavee de vin aigre tous jors. Et a noter est que a ces autres bleceures de piés ou d'ongles qui avienent par [Fol. 25r. B] accaision de clou ou de fust entrant dedens le vif de l'ongle, il est a enquerir si comme il convient por l'encloeuere avant que le pié ou l'ongle soit touchié soit fet pous de bien & de scief & de mauves lesqueles choses boulent toutes en aisill dusqu'a espesse et après soient mises en une picca tant chauds comme on porra souffrir et soient liees ou pié blechi dou soir dusqu'au matin ou a la converse car il assouagent la douleur. Il entreeuvre les pertus & amoitist por ce que l'ongle soit plus legierement et miex tailliee a son voloir. Toutesvoies il est a eschiver d'ordures & d'eau & de chevaucheure selonc ce que l'encloeuere est perigllose au souffrant.

Des encloeuers qui rompent la char entre le tuel & l'ongle.

Il avient aucune fois que par la negligence ce dou medecinant l'encloeuere [Fol. 25v. A] n'est pas bien attainte ne bien curree, donc il avient que la pourrecture de la bleceure enclose dedens l'ongle se face voie d'issir hors entre la char vive & l'ongle. C'est asavoir seur le pié rumpant la char iluec meismes & fait une getant hors pourreture laquele plaie est curee en tele maniere si comme je enseignai ou chapitre devant de la seurposte. Toutesvoies l'encloeuere soit de rechief cerquiee³¹² et soit attainte dusqu'au vif convenamment et puis soit curee, si comme je dis des autres encloeuers.

De la connoissance de la figue.

Il avient .I. autre bleceure desous c'est asavoir ou milieu de l'ongle laquele est fete de la bleceure dou tuel devant dite por l'accasion d'aucune chose dure entrant iluec, engenrrant une char nete³¹³ a la maniere [Fol. 25v. B] d'une nois de coudre & aucune fois greigneur de l'estraignement de l'ongle, laquele est apelee en vulgare figue.

De lesione ficus³¹⁴.

De la cure de la figue.

Il avient aucune fois que le pié est blechié desous l'ongle ou milieu de la sole c'est asavoir d'aucun fer ou d'os ou de pierre ou de fust entrant au duel & desquex choses le tuel est aucune fois malement blechié. De laquele bleceure por la negligence dou mareschal, l'ongle n'est pas tailliee, si comme je dis desus. Entour la plaie naist ou tuel .I. superfluité de char desus la sole dou pié issant de hors par la plaie. Donc por l'oppression

³¹² *Cerquiee* is a past participle variant of *cerchier*, meaning to look for.

³¹³ A *char nete* is an abundance of flesh—one referred to today as proud flesh—that occurs where a wound hasn't been kept clean and dry during the healing process. See *char neist* in Prévot (<766>).

³¹⁴ The *lesione ficus* represents a type of *fique* characterized by a lesion, as in the Latin *lesionis*.

et la coartation³¹⁵ de l'ongle cele superfluité de char est contrainte demourer desus la planece de la sole dou pié, [Fol. 26r. A] faite ad maniere de figue, et por ce est ele apelé en vulgal figue. **A** laquele est on secouré sauvement par la presente cure : premirement de l'ongle qui est entour la plaie soit tant taillié a fors que soit fet espace convenable entre la sole dou pié & la char superflue et puis soit tailliee la figue dusques a la planece de la sole. Et d'iluec trait sanc convenablement une espoigne de mer soit estroitement avec une pieche sus la figue a ce que le remanant de la figue remante ou pié soit rumgiee en parfont dusqu'au tuel. Et la figue rumgiee, la blecheure soit après curee si comme il est dit des autre blecheures du pié & toutesvoies por la de l'espoigne. Mult vaut la poure des anfodilles ou autres pourres corrosives desus dites, excepté le realgar, lequel [Fol. 26r. B] ni soit pas mis por ce qu'il est violent sans maniere. Toutevoies il est a eschiver de cuiture faire iluec en nule maniere quer le tuel, por sa tenrece qui est delié, porroit estre blechié dou feu en tele maniere que l'ongle meismes seroit contrainte a chair ou estre de partie dou tuel en aucune maniere.

Des espointteures des ongles.

Il avient aucune fois que l'enfondeure dou cheval non curee si comme il convient par negligence descent as piés dou mouvement des humeurs ja corues ad cuisses par maniere acostumee. A laquele se ele est novele ou d'orendroit ou secoure par tel remede : que l'extremité de l'ongle c'est a savoir en la partie devant dou pié soit cavee tant a fons o .I. petite roisneté dusqu'a tant que la grant voine du pié qui tent iluec soit rumpue o la dite roisneté & l'autre voine après ausi comme a fieblete [Fol. 26v. A] dou cors saigné. Et ce soit fet, se besoing sera, es autres piés clochans et après le restraintement dou sanc, la plaie soit emplie de sel menu estoupe moulliee souffisanment en aisill desus mise et le pié soit lié o une pieche convenable, deslié en nule maniere. Après soit curee la plaie o poudre de gale ou de mortelle ou de lentisc .II. fois le jour seulement la plaie premirement lavee tous jors de vin aigre et c'est a garder de ordures et d'eau dusques a tant qu'il sera guari convenablement.

De dissolueures des ongles.

Mes se les humeurs corues as piés, par l'accaison de la moulleure l'alonguement racontee, dedens les ongles par cure non convenable auront esté envilliees. Il convenra les piés clochans [Fol. 26v. B] por ce du tout dessoler et le sanc et les humeurs iluec encloses soient vuiddiees planurement, c'est asavoir que la sole sous l'ongle tout entour l'extremité de l'avironnement de l'ongle soit detrenchiee. Par enpres detrenchiee violement la sole dou pié tout entour soit esrachiee hors et estirpee avenamment soit laissiee l'ongle saignier a volenté, et le sanc trait après estoupe moulliee souffisanment en aubun d'oef soit mise dedens la plaie generaument liant le pié blechie d'une pieche et soit laissiee o tel mecinement dusqu'au jor segont. Après soit lavee la plaie d'aisil tres fort un peu tiedet et lavee maintenant de sel menu [Fol. 27r. A] & soit emplie la plaie de tartare bien triblé liant icele o une peche si comme j'ai dit, et nient renouvelant au pié blechié dusques au tiers jor. Après ce que on ja aura mis le sel & la lie soit mise desus estoupe

³¹⁵ *Coartation* is borrowed directly from the Latin text and indicates crowding or pressing together, confining and contracting are also possibilities.

moulliee en vin aigre tres fort après la blecheure dou pié soit lavec d'aisil, et soit geté desus de la pourre de galle ou de morteile ou de lentise, car il soudent les chars & estraignent les humeurs. Lavec la plaie tous jors o vin aigre & dusques au soudement des cuisses ou renovement de l'ongle tel cure li soit fete gardant tous jors le pié blechié c'est asavoir d'ordures & d'eau. Autre oignement porroit estre fet a la soudeure [Fol. 27r. B] de char et atraïement³¹⁶ des humeurs donc on doit user après la mise dou sel & de la lie. Soit prise poure d'oliban & de mastic et pois de grecee & sanc de dragon & soient meslé avec cire nueve chere & de scieu³¹⁷ de mouton et boillent ensemble si que ce soit fet oignement et de tel oignement use l'eu .I. peu chaut en la cure que je dis devant. Après note que multes & diverses maladies sunt par lesqueles il convendra de neccessite les ongles estre dissolet, laquel chose il avient comme les ongles soient dissolés on doit user de tels mecinements.

Des mutations des ongles.

Aprés il avient souvent [Fol. 27v. A] que por la negligence ou por la pereche dou mareschal que les humeurs corues as piés dou cheval & iluec longement enclos sont tant envilliees dedens l'ongle que de neccessité il deseurent l'ongle dou tuel dedens et enquerans voie d'issir donc le cheval est contraint muer l'ongle blechiee. Il avient aucune fois que la soula ungle³¹⁸ se desevre³¹⁹ dou tuel & chiet maintenant por la fureur & por l'insultation de multes humeurs corues a l'ongle. Aucune fois l'ongle se devise petit & petit dou touel et ouvrant nature la novele ongle renaissant, enseivant la vielle ongle prouchaine et ce [Fol. 27v. B] est fet por le peu de humeurs asquex choses puet estre doné tel remede.

La cure contre l'ongle.

Mes maintenant soit tailliee o la roisneté la vielle ongle tout entour un peu, c'est asavoir la ou ele est avec la novele, en tel maniere que la vielle ongle qui est forte & dure ne prieme ne bleche l'ongle tres tenre & de orendroit. Après soient prises .II. parties de sief de mouton et la tierce partie de cire et boulent ensemble movant tous jors et meslant iluec un peu d'oile et tant boulent que de ce soit fet oignement. Et après de tel oignement .II. fois le jor un peu [Fol. 28r. A] chaut soit ointe la novele ongle et note que cest oignement vaut a la croisance & a la renovation de tous ongles, c'est en gardant tous jors l'ongle d'ordures & d'eau. Mes de l'ongle qui est devisée maintenant dou tuel dou tout chiet, je laisse a dire aucune chose car je la cuide non curable et toutevoies aucun remede je trove. A quoi soit prise pois de grece, olibane, mastic, bole armenique, sanc de dragon, galliam de toutes ches choses comme & selonc la quantité que tu convoites faire. Lesquels choses toutes convenablement pulverizees soient faites cleres avec .II. parties de

³¹⁶ The *atraïement* of the humors refers to their agreement or the balance they achieve in the body. This manuscript follows the Rufus method by insisting upon the importance of humoral balance even when cures are being applied by an expert. Medicine cannot have its intended effect without the cooperation of the humors.

³¹⁷ The *scieu* (an accepted variant of *suif*, *sief*) de mouton indicated here refers to sheep tallow.

³¹⁸ The *soula ungle* is a Latinized version of the sole (*sola*) of the hoof.

³¹⁹ Here, *se desevrer* indicates the separation of the hoof horn from the live tissue underneath. This often occurs during the advanced stages of laminitis.

sief de mouton & les choses a tribler, triblé et soient cuites ensemble [Fol. 28r. B] et mouvant tous jors ensemble & après soit pris .I. drap de lin fort et soit mis en tel confection & tout soit entaint d'icele & de tel drap oint suffisamment de la dicte confection. Soit fait .I. chapel ou .I. soller ad la maniere dou tuel de l'ongle et soit mis desus en tel maniere que le devant dit tuel soit tous jors en la concavité dou chapel. Toutevoies le tuel soit lavé .II. fois le jor, le chapel hors tret de vin aigre tres fort un peu tiedet et de rechief mis desus le chapel desus le tuel gardant que le tuel ne soit feru³²⁰ en aucune maniere. Et por ce que le cheval por la perte de l'ongle ne porroit longuement estre droit en piés soit fait après un lit [Fol. 28v. A] de paille longue qu'il se repose convenablement a son vouloir. Et se par aventure le cheval ne peust estre droit en ses piés en nule maniere & por ce que jesir tous jours li seroit trop annuieuse chose & damajeuse, il est droit sus ses piés parait en tel maniere. Soit prise .I. canna³²¹ de drap grant & fort de canevar & qui soit fet plus fort se besoig sera avec aucunes cengles iluec desous & puis soit mis le drap sous les piés au cheval dou tout, si que la larguece soit estendue a la moitié dou pis liant cordes avenanment en chescun chief dou drap et soit lié a un tref³²² sus en tel maniere que le cors dou cheval soit soustenu dou drap partout ou des cordes devant dites. Toutesvoies le cheval meismes premie a terre le plus soef que on porra et ensi ad aidier la nature [Fol. 28v. B] tel remede porra estre trouvé por les ongles renaistre par l'engien desus dit. Après note que en toutes les maladies es queles le cheval porra a poine estre sus les piés. La nature dou souffrant porra estre aidie convenablement par le present artefice du drap ou des cordes. Après note medecine ad faire les ongles fortes & dures. Rechof³²³ : poure de gale et autant de bren³²⁴ et vin aigre tres fort & boulent ensemble, mouvant tout jours o l'espatete³²⁵ & de tel coction³²⁶ soit envolepé partout .II. fois le jor.

Ci commencent les regles des conoissances des chevaux.

D'isnelete.

Le cheval qui ha les guarés larges & estendus et les faus courbes et que les guarés regardent dedens doit estre ysnel & legier en son aler. [Fol. 29r. A]

De l'aleure.

Le cheval qui ha les guarés et les fans estendues et les hanches courtes doit molement

³²⁰ *Feru* is the past participle of *ferir*. It refers to the action of shoeing horses performed by a blacksmith.

³²¹ Here, *canna* is Latin for reed or cane. No French alternative is given in this text.

³²² A *tref* is a wooden beam from which one can suspend the lame horse. The linen (or other) cloth that goes around the horse's barrel will attach to the beam in order to relieve him of the need to bear weight on his injured leg.

³²³ *Rechof* corresponds with *recipe* in the Latin version. It seems to have been created to imitate the Latin instead of taken from common usage.

³²⁴ *Bren* means bran, or the small pieces of grain husk separated from the flour during milling and then finely ground.

³²⁵ The Latin *spatula* and French *epaule* give *espatete* here.

³²⁶ *Coction*, here, is another example of a term lifted from the Latin version's *coctione*, meaning a boiled substance, potion, or remedy.

aler.

De fortesce.

Le cheval qui ha les jointures grasses et les pastures ausi comme buef est jugié estre fort.

De soufrance.

Le cheval qui ha les costés grosses autre si comme buef et le ventre ample et le dos pendant est jugié travaillant & souffrant.

Dou non competent a affrener.

Le cheval qui ha les joes grosse ausi comme buef et le ventre ample et le col court n'est pas de legier affrené convenablement.

Dou cheval qui n'est pas de legier gracieus.

Le cheval qui ha les bauceneüres oeles & non pas oeles si comme en plusieurs n'est pas gracieus. [Fol. 29r. B]

Dou cheval qui n'a pas de legier bons piés.

Le cheval qui ha tous les ongles blans a poine ou jamais ara bons piés.

De ce meismes.

Le cheval qui ha les orailles pendantes et grandes et les ex encavés si est ou lent ou remis ou mol.

Dou cheval qui est hardi.

Le cheval qui ha narilles grandes et enflees & les ex gros & non encavés est naturellement trouvé hardis.

Dou cheval qui est avable a afrener.

Le cheval qui ha grant bouche fendue ou joes grailles & grandes & le col lonc et grelle vers la teste est assés avable a afrener.

Dou cheval fort & souffrant mes n'est pas ysnel. [Fol. 29v. A]

Le cheval qui tient a soi le tronchon de la coue et formen fichié entre les cuisses il est jugié fort & souffrant & non pas ysnel.

Dou cheval travaillant mes non pas legier.

Le cheval qui ha les cuisses & les jointures des cuisses assés peleuses & ha loncs peus³²⁷ en celes meismes est travaillant mes n'est pas legier trove de legier.

Dou cheval isnel en lonc cours.

Le cheval qui ha la crope longue & large & les hanches longues estendoues & qui soit plus haut derriere que devant est trové ausi comme en pluseurs isnel en lonc cours.

Dou cheval qui ha mal en l'ongle.

Le cheval clochant du pié devant & ne le suffre touchier a terre fors en l'extremité ou [Fol. 29v. B] soulement en la point dou pié il est malades en l'ongle.

Dou cheval blechie entour la jointture³²⁸ du pié.

Le cheval clochant en premant le pié vers terre ne plie nec corue ne tant ne quant les pastures ou les jointures entor les jointures est la blecheure.

Dou cheval blechie en l'espaulle.

Le cheval clochant devant et en son retor ou a destre du a senestre est plus clochant la douleur est veue estre en l'espaulle.

Dou cheval blechie en la hanche.

Le cheval clochant derriere & en son retournement est plus clochant, il est malade en la hanche desus.

Dou cheval souffrant ou pis.

Le cheval alans enjus vers lieus bas [Fol. 30r. A] faisant en son aler menus pas devant & espes est tormenté d'agravation de pis.

Do equo paciente in crure sive in spatula.³²⁹

Le cheval clochant devant comme il se repose, il tent un peu le pié clochant devant l'autre non apuiant soi au clochant, il sueffre en la cuisse ou en l'espaulle.

³²⁷ *Peus* means hairy. See Prévot also (<136>).

³²⁸ I have not altered the three variants on *jointure* (joint) that appear in this manuscript. Many are accepted in other copies and all—*joincture*, *jointture*, *jointure*—appear with some regularity in this version.

³²⁹ For no reason, the manuscript switches to Latin for this subheading. The linguistic flexibility demonstrated throughout this manuscript sets it apart from other extant Rufus exempla. The other manuscripts that remain are written in a single language and some are also quite beautiful physical objects. These folios, however, seem to have been heavily used and frequently consulted, as well as exhibiting frequent scribal errors and linguistic slippage from French into Latin.

De l'autre blecheure de la jointure.

Le cheval clochant par derriere & non apuiant soi en ses alees, fors soulement en la pointe dou pié derriere ne encorvant aucun point la jointure, mes lieve & dreche le pié clochant sans ploiment aucun en ses aleures, en la jointure est la blecheure. [Fol. 30r. B]

Dou cheval demi vif.

Le cheval qui ha douleur dedens le cors continuellement les oreilles froides et les ex encavés est jugié estre demi vif.

Dou cheval qui ha anticor qui est jugié por mort.

Le cheval qui ha anticor mettra hors ses narilles soufflement celes ex auront esté asiduellement lermans³³⁰ il est jugié ausi comme mort.

Dou cheval qui a cimore ou verm volatif est jugié por mort.

Le cheval qui ha la maladie de cymore ou dou verm volatif en la teste & geté ou met hors par les narilles humeurs continuellement ausi comme eau grasse & froide eschape a poine.

Des signes de la mort dou cheval araylié. [Fol. 30v. A]

Le cheval aiant la maladie d'arayche ou aracheure emetant hors assiduellement par le cul fiens clers si que nient de fiens³³¹ demeure ou ventre dou souffrant qu'il regete hors et se la maladie ne redunde³³² en effusion, il morra prochainement.

Du cheval qui ha les vives qui n'eschapera ja.

Le cheval qui ha l'enfermeté des vives & subitement est ramené partout en sueur et toutes les membres li tremblent, iceli souffrant les torsions de la teste continuellement, est veü non profitablement poir eschaperer.

Des signes de la mort dou cheval refroidié.

Le cheval travaillant de la doulor de la teste de froidure aiant le chief enflé & les ex enflés enseurquetot [Fol. 30v. B] portant en son aler la teste griefment pendant enjus et les extremités des oreilles pendantes et ensemment les narilles froides a poine ou jamais porra estre delivré.

Dou cheval qui ha l'estranguellon qui n'eschapera pas de legier.

³³⁰ *Lermanz* is synonymous with *lermoianz* and with the verb *larmier*, meaning to shed tears.

³³¹ *Nient de fiens* indicates that the horse suffers from diarrhea.

³³² *Redunder* means to be in abundance or to overflow.

Le cheval qui ha la maladie de l'estrangueillon & emet hors l'esperit a grant force et a son de narilles & de la gorge & remet ens en seurquetout toute la gorge enflée & grosse aura n'est pas de legier ardie.

De la douleur de la superfluité dou sanc.

Une autre maladie est fete qui est engendree dedens le cors dou cheval, amenant dedens le cors dou cheval doulors & torsions de moutes manieres & diverses laquele avient au cheval [Fol. 31r. A] de superfluité de sanc corrompu enclos dedens les voines, et ceste douleur est dite de superfluité de sanc qui n'amaine pas enfleure des ylliers ou dou cors du souffrant mes seulement ses voines sunt enflees et est contraint jeter soi souvent en terre.

De la dolor de ventosité.

Aprés autre douleur est fete dedens le cors dou cheval, venant de ventosité entrant par les pertus dou cors ou amenant ou cors dou cheval eschaufé ou sué grans enfleures des ylliers et aucune fois du cors, donc le cheval est tormenté d'encheement & ceste douleur est dite de ventosité.

De la douleur de trop mengier.

Une autre douleur est faite dedens le cors dou cheval [Fol. 31r. B] de la superfluité de trop mengier orge ou de aucune chose son semblable non digéré & enflé dedens le ventre ou en l'estomach, aportant au cheval enfleures tres dures, tourmentant le souffrant tant de doulors que il ne puet ester droit en piés qu'il ne soit contraint ausi comme continuellement jesir en terre de la doleur qui est dite de la superflue comestione³³³ d'orge enflé le ventre.

De la douleur por retenir l'orine.

Une autre douleur avient ou cors du cheval par dehors de trop grant retenement d'orine, enflante la vescie sans cesser faisant au cheval douleur & torsions en mult de manieres sans enfleure [Fol. 31v. A] aucune des ylliers. Toutevoies il amaine en tout le lieu de la verge dou cheval .I. petite enfleure & ce contraint le souffrant mener les ylliers laquele doleur est dite de superflue retenue d'orine en cest chapitre dict desus.

³³³ *Comestione* is linked to eating—the action and also the food consumed.

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