

Dramatising the Romance: from *La Manekine* to *La Fille du roy de Hongrie*

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In the fourteenth century, a new kind of religious drama gained popularity in France, the miracle play or *miracle par personnages*.¹ The genre originated in the numerous legends of the Virgin Mary in both Latin and French, of which the most famous are those collected by the thirteenth-century monk Gautier de Coincy.² The miracle play was intended for the edification of the people, and its overarching theme is the Blessed Virgin's intercession in favour of mortals who have gone astray or who are otherwise in distress.³ The earliest-recorded dramatisation of the non-scriptural miracles attributed to Mary is Rutebeuf's well-known *Miracle de Théophile*,⁴ in which the cleric Theophilus rashly sells his soul to the devil and does his bidding for seven years; then, repenting of his sins and transgressions he invokes the aid of Mary, who conquers the devil and restores Theophilus to the path of righteousness. However, the major source of our knowledge of miracle plays is the two-volume Cangé manuscript (Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 819-820), a remarkable record of dramatic production comprising forty miracles composed and performed in Paris, over the lengthy period between 1339 and 1382, during the annual assembly of the Saint-Éloi Gold and Silversmiths' Guild.⁵

The miracle play typically draws its subjects from existing narratives, such as saints' lives or stories of epic heroes, or from sources in history, courtly romance and folktale. Among the themes taken from folklore, that of the wrongly-persecuted maiden is well represented, figuring in at least seven of the forty Cangé miracles.⁶ In each case, the Virgin Mary is instrumental in resolving the trials and tribulations of the innocent victim, who is eventually vindicated. Such is the theme of play number 29, *La fille du roy de Hongrie*,⁷ composed for performance in 1371. It has long been recognised that this play draws its inspiration from a verse romance by Philippe de Remy titled *La*

Manekine and written around 1230.⁸ Philippe's work initially appears to be a typical courtly romance written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, coloured by the aesthetic markers and discourse of courtliness (for example, *descriptio puellae*, lengthy *laudatio*, inner debates between love and reason) and set against the customary background of kingdoms and courts, tournaments and festivities. Yet although many of its themes and motifs are courtly, the elements of incest and self-mutilation, injustice and jealousy belong to the darker world of folklore.⁹ In fact, it is widely accepted that this narrative of a woman's adventure is itself the first recorded vernacular inscription of the archetypal folktale known as "The Girl Without Hands" or "The Handless Maiden," an initiation story recounting a young girl's journey from adolescence, in which she is a powerless victim threatened with an incestuous (or other unacceptable) relationship, through to marriage, motherhood and an acceptable place in society.¹⁰

The textual relationship between Philippe's courtly romance and its dramatisation for the Saint-Éloi Guild, more than a century later, has to date received little attention beyond notices in editions of *La Manekine*.¹¹ However, significant differences might be expected given that genre influences creativity, and the same material is often mediated differently depending on the real or perceived conventions governing a literary type or category. Furthermore, as Hans Robert Jauss argues, the cultural norms and assumptions (or "horizon of expectations") that shape the way in which the audience understands a literary work at a given time are not fixed; not only are such values subject to historical change, they also vary according to genre and literary convention; the work of art is "a sign and carrier of meaning for a social reality."¹² Thus the divergent temporal framework and different social conditions constituting the context of production for each text, together with differences of genre, will in all likelihood have a significant influence on its mode of presentation.

This comparison of the source-narrative and the miracle play will attempt to identify the similarities and differences in the narrative texture, with particular reference to the changes imposed by considerations of genre, tone, and each audience's horizon of expectations. In addition to a general analysis of the process of generic experimentation and its consequent textual transformation, a specific comparison of the two authors' construction of the female protagonist will serve to highlight the intersecting values of courtly romance and miracle play.

Philippe de Remy's *La Manekine*

In the introductory lines of his romance, Philippe is at pains to establish his role as an author and to shape the reception of his work, for this is his first attempt at literary

creativity and he wishes to present a work that is at one and the same time pleasing and instructive:¹³

Phelippes de Remi ditier
 veut un roumans, u delitier
 Se porront tuit cil qui l'orront.
 Et bien sacent qu'il i porront
 Assés de bien oïr et prendre,
 Se il a chou voelent entendre.

[Philippe de Remi wishes to compose a romance in which all who hear it can take pleasure. And let them know that they will be able to hear and get much good from it if they wish to pay attention (1-6).]

As a knight and landowner, serving as the bailiff of the Gâtineau from 1237 to 1250, Philippe was a member of the seigneurial class. We may therefore speculate that the intended audience of this romance (and the later *Jehan et Blonde*) might include members of his household and neighbouring families of the minor nobility. Philippe is, in fact, an intrusive narrator, who comments on characters and events and interprets the significance of his narrative for his audience. He establishes the following order of events:

Joïe is the daughter of the king of Hungary who proposes to marry her in order to keep the promise he made to his wife on her deathbed, that he would marry only a woman who resembled her. Joïe, a devout young woman who prays daily before her statue of the Virgin Mary, is horrified by the prospect of an incestuous marriage contrary to the laws of God and man. She resorts to cutting off her left hand and is promptly condemned by her irate father to be burnt at the stake. However, she is saved by a compassionate seneschal, who casts her adrift in a boat without sail or rudder, at the mercy of the waves.

Praying to the Virgin for deliverance, Joïe is miraculously preserved from harm and lands in Scotland, where she refuses to divulge her identity and is known henceforth only as "Manekine," meaning the girl without a hand. She inspires the love of the young king of Scotland and marries him but falls victim to the jealousy of his mother. Through the latter's machinations during the king's absence at tournaments in France, Manekine is again condemned to death at the stake, together with her newborn son. However, she pleads with the king's seneschal at least to spare her son and he secretly casts Manekine and her son adrift in the same boat, without sail or rudder.

Manekine again prays to the Virgin for deliverance and this time lands safely in Rome, where she is taken in by a senator. Seven years later, the king of Scotland, who has spent the interval searching for his wife and son, arrives in Rome at the same time as the now-repentant king of Hungary. All are finally reunited and Joïe's hand, preserved intact in the belly of a sturgeon, is reattached by the pope. The king of Scotland is recognised as the heir to the throne of Hungary and, through Joïe, to that of Armenia, following which the royal couple settles in Scotland.

La Manekine and La fille du roy de Hongrie

Philippe's *Manekine* is doubly suitable for adaptation as a miracle play both in view of the protagonist's devotion to the Virgin Mary and the numerous miraculous events that occur. Joïe's wound heals without any medical attention during her nine-day journey from Hungary to Scotland, and though she is twice condemned to death at the stake and twice cast adrift in a rudderless boat, her prayers to the Virgin are answered and she is preserved from harm, *Maugré perieus, malgré tormens, / Malgré tous les contraires vens* "In spite of perils, in spite of storms, in spite of all the contrary winds" (4759-60).¹⁴ Likewise, when the king of Scotland prays to the Virgin to intercede on his behalf, after a fruitless seven-year quest for his wife, the boat heads for Rome, where he will be reunited with his wife: *Vers Romme est tornés lor vaissiaus* "Their vessel is turned towards Rome" (5784). Finally, the most miraculous event of all, the pope himself reattaches Joïe's rediscovered hand, acting on instructions from a voice from heaven.¹⁵ That Philippe intended his work to be both romance and *exemplum*, and its heroine both courtly and pious, is abundantly clear not only from narrative events but also from his own words in the epilogue:

Se vous tentation avés
Ou aucun grief en vous savés,
Prendés garde a la Manequine,
Qui en tant d'anuis fu si fine

[If you feel temptation or know some affliction within yourself, pay heed to Manekine, who in so many trials was so pure (8543-46).]

Although there is no explicit acknowledgement of the source, Miracle 29 does appear to be an adaptation of *La Manekine*. The explanatory rubric preceding the play—*Cy commence un miracle de Nostre Dame, comment la fille du roy de Hongrie se copa la main pour ce que son père la vouloit espouser, et un esturgon la garda set ans[sic] en sa mulete*—is consistent with the general outline of Philippe's romance, as Suchier notes in his

introduction to *La Manekine*, in which he posits the connection between the two texts. The latter further observes that the play's protagonist undergoes the same adventures and misadventures as Joïe / Manekine, and that the same events take place within much the same temporal and spatial parameters as those established by Philippe, including the names of countries and towns (1:lxxxv-vi). And although the anonymous dramatist names the daughter of the king of Hungary "Bethequine" or "Berthequine," on one occasion he calls her "Jouye" (559) and on another "Manequine" (1519).

With 2545 lines, the play is just over one-third as long as the 8586-line romance, and whereas the latter is composed in the octosyllabic rhyming couplets common to verse romances, the versification of the play is more complex. Like the other miracles in the Cangé manuscript, the dialogue is arranged in tirades of varying length, comprising octosyllabic lines ending with a four-syllable *cauda* or tail; the rhyme of the tail is repeated in the first line of the following tirade, all other lines being arranged in rhyming couplets. The play concentrates on dramatic action rather than on courtly discourse and description. Thus, it contains no speeches similar to the romance's one hundred-line description of Joïe, its lengthy *laudatio* delivered by the king of Scotland and its numerous inner debates (such as Joïe's one thousand lines of deliberation about her love for the king of Scotland). And whereas Philippe delights in describing the trappings of courtliness, recounting in detail courtly scenes such as the magnificent banquet celebrating the marriage of Joïe and the king of Scotland or the pageantry of tournaments in France, no such descriptions occur in the play. Without these features which give Philippe's romance its characteristic colouring,¹⁶ the miracle is not only shorter but also markedly less courtly in tone.

An overview of the dramatic action of *La fille du roy de Hongrie* confirms Suchier's observation that the geographic space of the two works is much the same and leads us to identify ten principal *mansions* or scenes in which the play was staged:¹⁷

Mansion I	the court of the king of Hungary
Mansion II	the papal court in Rome
Mansion III	the court of the king of Scotland
Mansion IV	the Dowager Queen's castle
Mansion V	Senlis, France, where the tournament is held
Mansion VI	on the high seas, between Scotland and Rome
Mansion VII	in heaven
Mansion VIII	the shore near Rome
Mansion IX	the Senator's home in Rome
Mansion X	St Peter's Basilica in Rome

However, a more detailed analysis reveals significant differences between romance and play. The play opens at the court of the king of Hungary, where the barons are urging the king to remarry in order to secure a male heir to the throne. The second scene takes place at the papal court in Rome. A messenger arrives from the king of Hungary, requesting permission to marry his daughter to resolve the problem of keeping his promise to his wife and begetting a male heir. The pope grants the dispensation for the express purpose *de lignie avoir / Qui le peuple gart et deffende / Qu'estrangle seigneur ne l'offende* "that he may have an heir who will preserve and defend the people so that no foreign lord may harm them" (228-30). This is in contrast to Philippe de Remy's more ambiguous treatment of the pope's role: in *La Manekine*, the barons and clerics urge the marriage, stating that they will assume responsibility and will then inform the pope that it took place for the best: *A l'apostole monterront / Le grant pourfit pour quoi fait l'ont* "They will demonstrate to the pope / The great benefit that caused them to do it" (339-40). But there is no confirmation that they do so.

Like Joïe, Bethequine refuses the marriage and chops off her left hand, provoking the king to condemn her to the flames; she is rescued by her father's knights, who light a great fire to deceive the king but secretly set Bethequine adrift in a boat. Significantly, the king's reaction is different from that of the king in the romance. Believing that Bethequine has perished, the king immediately repents of his rash words—contrary to Philippe's king, who apparently does not suffer pangs of sorrow and remorse for fully seven years. Foregrounding the pope's concern for the well-being of the people and the king's immediate repentance of his sins does much to affirm their authority as spiritual and temporal leaders, an authority that might be subverted by their sanctioning of incest; it thereby enhances the religious and moral dimensions of the play.

The next scene takes place at the court of the king of Scotland, where Bethequine's miraculous arrival in a boat without mast or sail, oars or rudder is recounted. Thereafter, the play follows the same sequence of events as in the romance: the king of Scotland marries Bethequine against the wishes of his mother; he leaves for a tournament in Senlis; through the Queen Mother's ploy of false letters, Bethequine and her baby are condemned to death but saved by being cast adrift. These events lead to the triple mechanism of invocation, intercession and salvation that characterises miracle plays. In these plays, the Virgin Mary engages in the affairs of men and women who are in danger either because of their own actions or those of others: the commission of sins, crimes or acts of immorality on the one hand and unjust

accusations or wrongful persecution on the other. Through her active participation and intervention, Mary becomes the medium whereby sinners are saved and the innocent rescued, so that God's law and his justice prevail. Thus, outcast and alone, Bethequine invokes Mary's aid. There follows a scene set in heaven, where Mary intercedes with God on Bethequine's behalf; she then descends with God and the angels to reassure the wretched maiden that her worst trials are over.

The appearance of the Virgin on stage is an innovative and distinctive feature of the miracle plays. In the Cangé miracles, angels herald her descent from heaven to earth singing a rondeau, this one with the refrain *Tresdoulce vierge debonnaire, / Sejour de vraie humilité, / En qui Dieu prist humanité* "Gentle and noble lady, in whom dwells true humility, in whom God was made man" (1782-4). After she accomplishes her mission, she returns to heaven, again to the accompaniment of the angels' rondeau.¹⁸ Since the play's dialogue is otherwise structured in octosyllabic tirades ending with a four-syllable tail-rhyme, the change in versification is noticeable and serves to highlight the Virgin's intervention in the fate of the innocent persecuted heroine. Thereafter, the final scenes in Rome (1855–2542) are devoted to reparation and reconciliation, ending with the miracle of Bethequine's restored hand.

A comic episode offers a striking contrast to these religious scenes in *La fille du roy de Hongrie*, and further contrasts with the parallel scene in Philippe's romance. In both texts, when the protagonist gives birth to a son, a messenger is sent to France (where the king of Scotland is taking part in a tournament) to announce the birth of their son. The Dowager Queen plots to exchange this letter for one stating that Manekine has given birth to a monster. In order to do so, she gives the messenger so much wine that he falls asleep. In the romance, this prompts an outburst of indignation from Philippe, who launches into a diatribe against drunkenness, but in the miracle, a comic scene develops as Lembert staggers around drunkenly on stage and makes amorous advances to the Dowager Queen:

Lembert: Vezci bon vin. Ça vostre main!
 Je vous jur et creant, ma dame
 De vous feray demain ma femme,
 Par mariage.
 La mère: Voire, mais qu'il n'y ait lignage.
 Il est yvre, je te promet.
 Maine le couchier et le met
 En un bon lit.

Godeffroy: Lembert, il vous fault par delit
Venir couchier.

Lembert: Si feray je, mon ami chier,
Moy et ma dame.

Godeffroy: Voire, aussi est ce vostre femme.
Alons devant.

Lembert: Alons, mon ami, or avant.
Venez couchier aussi, ma belle;
Hurtez bellement, je chancelle.

[Lembert: This is good wine. Here, give me your hand! I swear to you, my lady that tomorrow I will make you my wife in marriage.

The mother: Certainly, but let there be no offspring. He is drunk, I assure you. Take him and put him in a good bed for the night.

Godfrey: Lembert, you must for your pleasure come to bed.

Lembert: I will do so, good friend, and my lady too.

Godfrey: Certainly, and she is your wife too. Let's go ahead.

Lembert: Let's go, my friend, come along. You come too, my lovely one; Come carefully, I'm stumbling (1194-1210).]

To the modern mind, it may seem paradoxical that the tone of the romance should prove to be more moralistic than that of the miracle play. However, as we have noted above, Christian principles play a particularly significant role in *La Manekine*. Not only does Philippe portray Joïe as an exemplary Christian heroine, whose piety, steadfast faith in God and charity toward the *petits gens* he explicitly commends, he also extols Christian virtues and deplores vices throughout the romance in general. Conversely, the miracle play, in common with other forms of religious drama intended for the edification of the public such as saints' lives, morality plays, and mysteries, is not infrequently also a source of entertainment. The *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* and the dramatic adaptation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, *Courtois d'Arras*, are notable examples, both containing realistic tavern scenes tinged with comedy. "Any opportunity for comic treatment is eagerly seized on by the dramatists," affirms Allardyce Nicoll, remarking that "deliberate deviations from the story are made for the purpose of introducing lower-class characters and of indulging in popular satire."¹⁹ Comic characters and scenes are ample proof that in medieval times there was little division between the religious and secular worlds and modern distinctions between genres are often artificial. Even two genres which are apparently totally different, such as the morality play and the farce, may contain elements in common, as Alan Knight notes:

“The explicit function of the medieval morality plays was to teach, though they often entertained in the process; the function of medieval farces was to amuse, though there was usually a lesson implicit in the joke.”²⁰

Joïe and Bethequine

Comic scenes notwithstanding, edification of the faithful remains the most important objective of the miracle play. The moral and religious message of *La fille du roy de Hongrie* is largely conveyed through the words of the protagonist, whose trust in God and the Virgin Mary never wavers throughout her trials and tribulations. In his courtly romance, Philippe as author-narrator comments on the action and tells the audience what lessons to draw from events. No such direct authorial intervention occurs in the play, but Bethequine’s own voice is heard clearly as she articulates her hopes and fears, her joy and sorrows, and even her sexual desires and revulsions.

Among the most significant words ascribed to the protagonist are those leading to her decision to escape marriage with her father by cutting off her hand. In Philippe’s *Manekine* this event is described at length, in a segment extending over some three hundred lines (503-822). As preparations are made for the wedding, sanctioned by ecclesiastical and secular authorities to provide a male heir to the throne, Joïe is distraught as she goes from room to room seeking some way out of her predicament: obeying the will of her father the king is contrary to God’s laws and will place her soul in jeopardy, *Car qui s’ame pert, trop compere* “For the one who loses her soul, pays too dearly” (572), she says. When her gaze falls upon a cleaver and she conceives the idea of cutting off her hand, she is well aware that her father will punish her mercilessly:

Car se jou ai ma main colpee,
De moi nule pitié n’avra
Li rois, car vraiment savra
Que colpee l’arai pour lui
Escondire. Lasse! mar fui!
Bien sai qu’il me fera ardoir

[For if I cut off my hand, the king will take no pity on me, for in truth he will know that I shall have cut it off to thwart him. Alas! How unfortunate I am! I know well that he will have me burned (696-701).]

When she appears before her father the king, having done the dreadful deed, she refuses

to become his wife with the argument that a king cannot marry a maimed woman, stating defiantly:

Sire, bien vous ai entendu;
 Mais roïne ne doi pas estre,
 Car je n'ai point de main senestre,
 Et rois ne doit pas penre fame
 Qui n'ait tous ses membres, par m'ame!

[Sir, I have understood you well; but I may not be a queen, for I do not have a left hand, and a king may not take a wife who does not have all her limbs, upon my soul! (794-98).]

With these words, Philippe constructs a young woman of strong religious principles, who accepts God's law as higher than man's and who shows twofold courage: moral courage in flouting royal and paternal authority regardless of the consequences and physical courage in mutilating herself to escape the marriage.

Strangely, divine and moral law are less clearly articulated in the miracle play. What is expressed forcefully is the prohibition of marriage by affinity enshrined in canon law, whereby a man may marry neither his daughter nor his adopted daughter:²¹

Vous m'engendrades une foiz;
 Et, se vous n'estiés pas mon père,
 Si espousates vous ma mère:
 Par ce point devez vous savoir
 Que la fille et la mère avoir
 Ne pouez mie.

[You sired me once; and even if you were not my father, you were married to my mother: for this reason, you must realise that you cannot have both the daughter and the mother (298-303).]

As she reiterates this irrefutable argument in a brief prayer to the Virgin, her plea resonates also with the physical revulsion she feels at the prospect of marrying her own father:

Ne consentez ja qu'il appère
 Que je soie femme mon père;
 Car miex vouldroie mort souffrir

Que mon corps a ce faire offrir,
Tant me semble estre horrible chose!

[Don't ever let me become my father's wife; for it seems such a horrible thing to me that I would rather die than offer up my body in this way (347-51).]

Bethequine, then, chops off her hand to make herself unattractive and even repugnant to the king, *afin qu'il n'ait plus de moy cure* "so that he will not want me any more" (1.355). In addition to her moral and religious response to the threat of incest, she expresses her physical revulsion.

Such dramatic moments open a window on the different construction of the protagonist here. Realism permeates the play, sometimes moderating the effect of the spiritual and religious tone of the play as well as contrasting with the courtly tone of the romance. The contrast is apparent in the scene in which Bethequine gives birth to her child:

Diex, le ventre! Diex, les costez!
Trop sens d'angoisse et grant ahan.
Amy Dieu, sire saint Jehan,
Et vous mère debonnaire,
Jettez me hors de ceste haire.
Certes, je muir, bien dire l'os.
Diex! or me prent l'engoisse au dos.
Que pourray faire?

[God! My belly! God! My side! What dreadful pains and torments I feel. God, St John, Blessed Mother, help me out of this horror. I'm dying, I'm sure I'm dying. Oh, God! Now my back is killing me. What can I do? (1028-35)]

Another crucial event occurs when the seneschal informs Joïe that she is to be put to death, together with her infant son. In Philippe's version, this gives rise to a most moving expression of maternal love, as Joïe pleads for her baby's life:

Mais puis que de moi est ensi,
Mes dous fix c'a il desservi?
Qu'a il mesfait, ne pour quel tort
Devera il recevoir mort?...

Si ferai, sire, par couvent
 Que laissiés vivre mon enfant,
 Et de moi faites vostre gre.

[But since it is so with me, has my sweet son deserved this? What wrong has he done? For what misdeed is he to receive death?...So I shall, sir, on the understanding that you let my child live, and do with me as you will (3709-12, 3725-7).]

In the miracle play, the threat to her son evokes the protagonist's longest speech, thirty-five lines in which she briefly laments her own fate but makes an impassioned plea that her son be spared (1604-39). Significantly, it is also Bethequine's only speech which includes stage directions: the instruction *Cy baise son filz* appears during her words of protest:

Mais de ceste douce rousée
 Qui est un si pur innocent,
 Vostre voulenté s'i consent
 Qu'il soit ars et la mère ensemble?

[But what of this tender infant, this pure and innocent babe? Is it your will that he be burned at the stake with his mother? (1616-19)]

Her discourse is marked by *doux enfant*, *doux filz* and a second stage direction, *Cy le baise*, highlights her display of tender maternal love, which ends with Bethequine's practical suggestion that they be banished, rather than put to death: "*Si vous pri pour misericorde / Souffrez que loing de ceste terre / Je puisse aler noz vies querre / Com porre femme*" "And I implore you to be merciful, allow me to seek a life for us far from this land, as a poor woman" (1636-9).

Conclusion

Thus, Philippe de Remy's core narrative relating the experiences of the protagonist is mediated differently according to the requirements of the miracle play, foregrounding the Blessed Virgin Mary as the chief mediator between God and humanity. In dramatising the courtly romance, the anonymous cleric did more than rewrite the verse romance of the daughter of the king of Hungary in the metre of the *Miracles de Nostre-Dame par personnages*; he added or subtracted scenes, modified dialogues and changed characters. One manifestation of such authorial latitude is the construction of a quite

different female protagonist. Although Bethequine, like Joïe, is the daughter of the king of Hungary, she is distinctly less courtly than her model. Gone are the courtly utterances; gone, too, the inner conflict between love and reason. Bethequine's reaction to her father's proposal, her screams of pain in childbirth, her tender love for her child and her practical suggestion of banishment all indicate that she is physically rooted in the everyday world of women, far removed from the courts of kings or nobles. Surprisingly, this robust heroine of the miracle play also seems less pious than her courtly model, Joïe—a fact that underscores anew the great importance of Christian principles in Philippe's *Manekine*. Bethequine's portrayal is nonetheless consistent with the aims of the popular miracle play, with its simple message of trust in the Virgin Mary as intermediary between God and humanity.

The inclusion of comic elements in this religious play honouring the miraculous powers of the Virgin Mary also reminds us of the intended audience for whom the adaptation was conceived. Whereas Philippe addresses a group gathered at his court, entreating them to listen quietly or leave, *La fille du roy de Hongrie*, performed for the Saint-Éloi Gold and Silversmiths' Guild, can be seen as a product of the wealthy urban bourgeoisie, a segment of medieval French society conscious of its status and privileges but perhaps less sophisticated in its literary taste than Philippe's audience.²² In the midst of the religious solemnity of the guild's annual feast, the sight of the drunken messenger staggering around and propositioning the Dowager Queen no doubt afforded some comic relief.

Taken together, these two works contribute to our understanding of vernacular narrative, its accommodation to another genre or mode of transmission and the contextualisation undertaken in view of the intended audience. From the individual oral delivery of a courtly romance in the thirteenth century to the public performance of a miracle play in the fourteenth, the presentation changes depending on the different horizon of expectations. In short, the aesthetics and ethos of *La fille du roy de Hongrie*, at the intersection of the courtly and the clerkly, the secular and the spiritual, are quite different from those of the source narrative, Philippe de Remy's *La Manekine*.

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Notes

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2 See Charles Mazouer: “Un nombre considérable de recueils spécialisés rassemblaient, selon le genre ancien des miracles latins puis français, des *Miracles de Notre-Dame*; la collection la plus célèbre de ces miracles narratifs a été réunie par le moine Gautier de Coinci (mort en 1236)—à la fois excellent poète, critique de la société de son temps, fin analyste des comportements humains, et, selon une religiosité toute populaire, fervent dévot de la Vierge qu’il fait intervenir à tout moment dans la vie de ses personnages.” (*Le théâtre français au moyen âge* [Paris: SEDES, 1998], p. 126). According to Pierre Kunstmann in *Vierge et merveille. Les miracles de Notre-Dame narratifs au moyen âge* (Paris: Union Générale d’éditions, 1981), more than two thousand miracles were composed in Latin, whilst in French four hundred and ninety verse miracles and some six hundred prose miracles are extant (see p.13). See also Pierre Boglioni, *Les recueils de miracles* (Turnhout: Brépols, 2000), pp. iii-vi.

3 The role of the Virgin Mary is fundamental to the miracle plays. Often, a prose sermon, devoid of significance to the dramatic action, is delivered at the beginning of the play or inserted in the action, serving only to glorify the Virgin. She is the chief mediator between God and humanity. She varies her modes of intervention and enacts them in favour alike of the faithfully devout and the worst sinners. Although she acts and speaks like an ordinary character, her powers are not bounded by ordinary human limitations. She demonstrates supernatural powers in her ability to awaken people from the dead, save condemned men from flames at the stake, and recover children or lost souls kidnapped by the Devil.

4 *Le Miracle de Théophile*, ed. Grace Frank (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1986).

5 The Cangé manuscript is edited by Gaston Paris and Robert Ulysse under the title *Les miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages* 8 vols (1880; New York: Johnson, 1966).

6 The importance of the theme of the innocent persecuted woman was recognised by A. Micha, “La femme injustement persécutée dans les *Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages*,” *De la chanson de geste au roman: études de la littérature médiévale* (Geneva: Droz, 1976), pp. 85-92, who identifies seven miracles including numbers 12, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32 and 37. His grouping has largely been followed by subsequent specialists. In a persuasive article, Kathy Krause argues in favour of adding three other miracles

(numbers 18, 26 and 30), although the narrative of number 30 (*Saint Jehan le Paulu hermite*) diverges markedly from the standard motif, as she herself admits. Krause demonstrates that despite the thematic integrity of these seven plays and the similar formulae used to generate their plot, they derive from different cycles of texts of the innocent persecuted woman identified in taxonomies; see “The Falsely Accused Heroine in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*,” *European Medieval Drama* 3 (1999): 161-75.

7 In Paris and Ulysse, ed. *Les miracles de Nostre-Dame*, 5:3-88.

8 Hermann Suchier first established the relationship in his edition, *La Manekine* in Volume 1 of his *Oeuvres poétiques de Philippe de Remi, Sire de Beaumanoir* (1884-5; New York: Johnson, 1966). Quotations from *La Manekine* are taken from this edition. A modern French prose translation of the romance is in Christiane Marchello-Nizia, *La Manekine, Roman du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Stock+Plus, 1980), and Barbara Sargent-Baur gives an English verse translation in her *Philippe de Rémi, Le roman de la Manekine* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999). All translations of *La Manekine* are from Sargent-Baur; translations from *La fille du roy de Hongrie* are my own.

La Manekine inspired several imitations and adaptations in other genres, including *Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, a fourteenth-century epic of 15,538 alexandrines (ed. Claude Roussel [Geneva: Droz, 1995]), an episode inserted in another epic poem, *Lion de Bourges* (eds William W. Kibler, Jean-Louis Picherit and Thelma S. Fenster [Geneva: Droz, 1980]) and a fifteenth-century prose version by Jehan Wauquelin in *Oeuvres poétiques de Philippe de Remi*, ed. Suchier 1:265-366.

9 The interplay between elements of romance and folktale is discussed in full in my article “Courtly Discourse and Folklore in *La Manekine*,” in Evelyn Mullally & John Thompson, eds *The Court and Cultural Diversity* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 395-404.

10 Suchier was the first to posit this folktale (type 706) as the source of Philippe’s romance (xxiii-xxv). More recently, Laurence Harf-Lancner has shown that *La Manekine* also contains elements of a second folktale about the innocent persecuted woman, “Donkeyskins” (type 510B); for discussion of these motifs, see *Les fées au moyen âge* (Paris: Champion, 1984), p. 190.

11 The relationship is explored briefly by Suchier (1:lxv-vj) and most recently by Sargent-Baur (52-3). Elie Konigson’s article “*La fille du roy de Hongrie* et le calendrier de *La Manekine*,” in *Arts du spectacle et histoire des idées, recueil offert en hommage à Jean Jacquot* (Tours: Centre d’études supérieures de la Renaissance, 1984),

pp. 37-46, limits itself to a discussion of the time-frame of the two works and the cultural and religious significance of the dates of various textual events.

12 *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1982), p. 108.

13 A discussion of the narrative techniques Philippe employs to shape the reception of his work is found in my article "Recovering the Author in Philippe de Remy's *Manekine*," *Florilegium* 17 (2000), pp. 115-25.

14 Suchier reads *Malgré tous les contraires gens*. I concur with Sargent-Baur's reading of *vens*, which is in the same semantic field as *perieus* and *tormens*.

15 See also Jean Dufournet and Marie-Madeleine Castellani, "Temps liturgique, temps folklorique dans *La Manekine* de Philippe de Beaumanoir," *Le nombre du temps: en hommage à Paul Zumthor* (Paris: Champion, 1988), pp. 63-72. Marchello-Nizia discusses *La Manekine* as a *roman chrétien édifiant*, citing the importance of Christian holy days and the characters' exemplary piety and further noting Philippe's moral that a Christian must never abandon the virtue of Hope. Also, in a paper delivered at the Xth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Tübingen University, July 2001, Sargent-Baur discussed the role of the theological virtue of Hope in *La Manekine* in the context of other treatments of the basic story, concluding: "It is striking and curious that the clerical writers who handled the tale in various genres, both before and after Philippe's time, had little or nothing to say about the heroine's being sustained by hope; it was the layman Philippe de Remi who chose explicitly to make her story an *exemplum* of this virtue" ("Philippe de Remi and the Second Theological Virtue," *Conference Abstracts*, p. 51).

16 In his article "Chanson de geste et roman: remarques sur deux adaptations littéraires du conte de 'La fille aux mains coupées,'" Claude Roussel identifies the incorporation in the narrative of lengthy monologues exposing the joys and pains of courtly love and the depiction of courtly life as the romance's two main courtly markers. "Ces deux éléments jouent indiscutablement le rôle d'une sorte de balisage littéraire du texte qui proclame aux yeux du public l'appartenance de *La Manekine* au registre du roman courtois" (*Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin*, Actes du XIe Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l'Étude des Épopées romanes, vol. 2 [Modena: Mucci, 1984], p. 569).

17 In medieval stagecraft, the *mansion* represents a specific place such as heaven, hell, a palace, a church or a tavern. See Henri Rey-Flaud, *Pour une dramaturgie du moyen âge* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1980), p. 34.

18 The *rondeau*—or *rondel* as it was called in medieval usage—is a poetic form that is found between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries. In keeping with its Latin etymology of *rondellus*, it is a fixed poetic form based on a circular figure, usually set to music and accompanied by dancers. Typically, its eight lines follow the rhyme scheme ABa Aab AB. The *rondeau* was a highly flexible form for both sacred and profane themes. In the *Miracles de Notre-Dame par personnages* there are seventy-two *rondels* sung by the angels in honour of the Virgin Mary (Gérard Gros and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, *Les formes poétiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance* [Paris: Nathan, 1995], pp. 43-4).

19 Allardyce Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963), p. 180.

20 Alan E. Knight, “France,” in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, ed. Eckehard Simon (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), p. 163.

21 Popular thirteenth and fourteenth-century versions of the life of Saint Alban offer a similar case of father-daughter incest. Alban is born of the incestuous union of an emperor with his daughter, after the death of his wife. However, the emperor’s passion is consummated in secret; and whereas the king of Hungary’s marriage in both the romance and the play is proposed for the express purpose of producing an heir to the throne, Alban’s birth is concealed and he is taken into a neighbouring land in order to hide the sin.

22 Graham Runnalls, “Mediaeval Trade Guilds and the *Miracles de Notre Dame per personnages*,” *Medium Aevum* 39 (1970): 277-81.

