Samantha J. Rayner*

Female Arthurian Scholars: An Initial Collection of Tributes

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When we sent out for help with a piece on female Arthurian scholars, we had no idea what a rich set of responses we would receive. What follows is an eclectic collection of over twenty short pieces on international female Arthurian scholars, past and present: some are very personal reminiscences, some more formal appreciations, but together they constitute the start of a wonderful bank of information recording the impact female scholars have made on our field. This is not a comprehensive, or selective, survey: we hope this initial chapter will be the inspiration for more submissions for future issues of JIAS, so we can continue to collect these histories. Please get in touch if you would like to offer an entry; meanwhile, we hope you enjoy this compendium, and send thanks to all our valiant contributors who responded with such speed and enthusiasm to our SOS!

Samantha Rayner

ELIZABETH ARCHIBALD

Elizabeth F. Archibald’s continuing contribution to the field of Arthurian studies is as rich as it is, in part, because it belongs to a larger contribution she is making to medieval studies generally. Also trained as a classicist, she is one of our most perspicacious readers of medieval Latin texts and traditions. Besides her monograph Apollonius of Tyre: Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), she has published on ancient romance, the Ruodlieb, and fifteenth-century macaronic poetry. Those whose research involves medieval representations of incest will know her monograph Incest in the Medieval Imagination (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) as well as her numerous articles and book chapters on that theme. These currents of inquiry, as readers of this journal will know, also drive Professor Archibald’s publications, lectures and teaching on Arthurian subjects. Her articles and book chapters addressing Latin Arthuriana have helped to give the Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Wahuuanii (among other texts) the critical attention, and the sensitive readings, that they deserve. Professor Archibald’s work on medieval incest has, of course, an imme-

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diate Arthurian application, as witness ‘Arthur and Mordred: Variations on an Incest Theme’, in Arthurian Literature VIII, ed. by Richard Barber, Tony Hunt and Toshiyuki Takamiya (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989), pp 1–27; that essay is also significant as inaugurating her many and important contributions to the study of Arthurian literature, and especially of Sir Thomas Malory, of whose Morte Darthur Archibald is one of our foremost scholars. (Regarding Malory, Professor Archibald’s erudition is deep, but she is also one of those readers for whom Malory’s prose goes straight to the ‘harte-roote’.) As co-editor of A Companion to Malory (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996) and The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), as well as the journal Arthurian Literature (from 2012 to 2018), Professor Archibald has also had a major part in developing the wide interest, academic rigour and also the inclusivity that Arthurian scholarship currently enjoys. Most impressively, perhaps, Archibald’s scholarship refuses to be stuck on any one track: her publications tackle medieval Latin, literary genre, the realities of domestic life, the comedies and tragedies of King Arthur, and are still free to follow another text or theme wherever it leads. An article of hers which I have just discovered, for example, is this: ‘The Flight from Incest as a Latin Play: The Comoedia Sine Nomine, Petrarch, and the Avignon Papacy’, Medium Aevum, 82 (2013), 81–100, which I – who know nothing of these things – can’t wait to read. Thus Elizabeth can keep us from getting stuck, too: what a gift!

Thomas Crofts, East Tennessee State University

Geraldine Barnes’ research has covered Middle English, Old Norse and Old French romances, literature and science, travel writing from the Middle Ages to early Australian exploration and various form of medievalism. In Counsel and Strategy in Middle English Romance (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), her study of ‘working by counsel’ in Plantagenet England gave several English Arthurian romances interesting new gender, political and religious emphases. If good advice and clever plans are a protagonist’s best aids, rather than physical prowess, then the role of women counsellors, such as Lunet in Ywain and Gawain, takes on special significance, and Merlin, more than Arthur, may be said to rule the kingdom in Of Arthour and of Merlin. In Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, the hero’s big mistake is not to keep trusting in God’s advice.

Barnes’ later work is notable for exploration of themes – such as the tradition of the monstrous – that cross normal period boundaries, and for comparative studies of genre that connect diverse linguistic, geographical and cultural locations. Arthurian literature comes interestingly into these broad-based analyses. In an essay on the Old Norse Perceval, she shows how the mother’s positive atti-
tude to Perceval’s becoming a knight differs strongly from the Old French. The mother draws on popular wisdom literature and the mirror for princes tradition to give the young man practical instruction. As Bjørn Bandlien notes in a review of *The Bookish Riddarasölgr: Writing Romance in Late Mediaeval Iceland* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014), Barnes ‘argues that Constantinople is made into a kind of Camelot in *Kirialax saga*, and that knightly excellence, represented by the protagonist, is transferred from the West to the Eastern empire in *Siggrard’s saga ok Valbrands*. This is then a kind of reversing of the *translatio imperii* from East to West as we find it in, for example, Chrétien de Troyes’ *Cligès*.1

Getting the balance right between wisdom and fortitude has remained a major preoccupation in Barnes’ work. Setting Chrétien’s *Perceval* against the Old Norse *Dínuts saga dramblátar*, she reads them, respectively, as a reflection on failure to understand instruction and the problems that occur when ‘knowledge is extended beyond its authorized limits and misapplied’. As these examples indicate, Barnes’ work on Arthurian studies has been important and illuminating through situating romance in wider literary, political and intellectual contexts.

Andrew Lynch, University of Western Australia

EMMANUÈLE BAUMGARTNER, 1940–2005

Until 1975, the prose *Tristan* suffered from a dispiriting press: Bédier had dismissed it as a hotch-potch, a ‘fatras d’inventions chevaleresques’; Löseth’s summary, the only means of access we had, was dry and pedestrian.2 Unsurprisingly, very few of us were tempted to explore it other than dutifully, and as briefly as possible. And then, in 1975, there appeared Emmanuèle Baumgartner’s doctoral thesis, supervised by Jean Frappier and published by Droz in Geneva: *Tristan en prose. Essai d’interprétation d’un roman médiéval*. It was a revelation: on the one hand, it provided us with keys to the narrative: summaries, lists of major characters, comparisons between the competing manuscript traditions. But her subtle readings also brought out the sheer originality of its author(s), the exuberance of what had seemed until then no more than a sequence of rather banal romance commonplaces. If we now have at our disposal a string of excellent studies; if we have a complete edition (provided by a team of scholars directed by Philippe Ménard),3 along with an edition of one of the major manuscripts, Paris, BnF, MS

2 It was to become available, certainly, to readers in 1976 – but only via Pickford’s facsimile of the 1489 printed edition.
fr. 757,\(^4\) and a full modern French translation;\(^5\) if conferences and colloquia have proliferated – then this owes much to Baumgartner’s pioneering enthusiasm and scholarly creativeness.

But if the prose Tristan retained a special place in her academic heart, she also made an indelible impression on Arthurian literature more broadly – especially perhaps with those texts that had seemed least obviously engaging: the Estoire de Merlin,\(^6\) for instance, the Estoire du Graal – but also with the more canonical and familiar Queste del saint Graal or La Mort le roi Artu. She provided modern French translations,\(^7\) and nice, brief, perceptive studies, informed by scholarly research but usefully accessible to undergraduates;\(^8\) she organised colloques and journées d’étude on Arthurian topics and published their proceedings. At any such event, she was a centre of lively discussion – asking pertinent questions, making useful suggestions; she could be acerbic, but never to younger scholars. She directed Champion classiques, with Laurence Harf-Lancner, for many years. Above all, perhaps, she inspired: the list of doctoral theses that she supervised, carefully and generously, on a wide range of topics but especially on Arthurian ones, is startling, and contains the names of many – most? – of today’s most innovative and adventurous of French Arthurian scholars.

Her commitment to her scholarly work did not prevent her being great fun: as happy in a pub or at a dinner as in a lecture theatre. If she organised colloquia, it was because she enjoyed them, and enjoyed her friendships with scholars from all over the world. She was witty, convivial, open – to new approaches, new experiences. Her place at the centre of French Arthurian studies, based ultimately in the Sorbonne Nouvelle, was, and remains, central.

Jane H. M. Taylor, Durham University

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7 She translated the first into modern French as La quête du Saint Graal (Paris: Champion, 1979); her translation of the second, with Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros, published as La Mort du roi Arthur (Paris: Champion, 2007), appeared after her death.
FANNI BOGDANOW (1927–2013)
Not every literary scholar is able to establish the content and context of a literary masterpiece to such an extent as to be practically its discoverer. That, however, is just what Fanni Bogdanow did. She was a prodigious and meticulous scholar and critic who contributed careful and well-reasoned studies on a variety of subjects, from Anne Frank to the romance of *Palamède*. Her major focus, however, never strayed far from textual and thematic problems in medieval French Arthurian literature. She wrote insightful analyses of many of the most important characters and themes of medieval Arthurian romance, primarily French romance. However, she will be forever associated with her greatest achievement, the establishment and elucidation of the Post-Vulgate Cycle of Arthurian Romances, the work that she has taught the world to call *The Romance of the Grail*.9

The daughter of Russian emigrants to Germany, Fanni Bogdanow was born in Düsseldorf, Germany on 20 July 1927. When the Nazis came to power, her family fell victim to this regime. Young Fanni was fortunate enough to be evacuated to England and fostered by an English family. However, her father was interned in the concentration camps of Dachau and later Wülzburg, and her mother spent the war forced into a kind of slavery as an itinerate domestic labourer.10 While in England, she attended the University of Manchester at an especially propitious time, when the eminent Frederick Whitehead and his own mentor, the even more eminent Eugène Vinaver, were guiding lights in the French Department.

Under their direction, Bogdanow became fascinated first by the prose *Tristan* and then by its inter-relationships with the other medieval French Arthurian prose romances. At this time large questions remained as to priority, content and even the nature of extant prose romances.11 She earned her MA and then a PhD while

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10 Her own moving account, to which the present piece is generally indebted, can be read in Bogdanow, ‘From Holocaust Survivor to Arthurian Scholar’, in *On Arthurian Women: Essays in Memory of Maureen Fries*, ed. by Bonnie Wheeler and Fiona Tolhurst (Dallas, TX: Scriptorium, 2001), pp. 387–94.

establishing the existence of the cycle now known as the Post-Vulgate Cycle. Previously, this work had been commonly called the pseudo-Robert de Boron Cycle and was thought to have preceded the Vulgate Cycle and to have been mostly lost. Her discovery and study of lost and neglected manuscripts allowed her to demonstrate that the Vulgate was prior and that the cycle did survive, albeit in Spanish translations. By thus establishing the text, Bogdanow exorcised not a few literary ghosts based upon the hypothetical dimensions of this cycle. This led her to write the chapter on this cycle, which had originally been assigned to Vinaver, for the highly influential *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, the standard reference work for more than a generation, which established her as a leading scholar from almost the very beginning of her career.12

Her subsequent career did not belie its promising beginning. At this time, Arthurian studies was dominated by the efforts to establish Celtic antecedents for all of the major characters and themes. Such studies paid only scant attention to an understanding of the medieval stories as works of art in their own right and often seemed to value them for the *disjecta membra* of lost mythologies and lost works of superior construction that the investigator believed to have found.13 Bogdanow was one of the relatively few scholars of this time, along with scholars-critics such as Vinaver and C. S. Lewis, to try to study the pieces of medieval literature as works of art that deserve to be understood in their own terms.14 This conviction led her to write classic analyses of the use of traditional characters in specific literary works, such as Morgan le Fay and Gawain, and important themes, such as love in Chrétien’s *Chevalier de la charrette* and the ‘Old Law’, i.e. Judaism, in the medieval Grail stories, to name only a few.15

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13 The apex of this approach may be found in R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1949) in which Loomis is able to propose a Celtic antecedent for almost every character and for most of the themes and motifs in Chrétien’s romances.
The larger part of her academic work was scholarly as opposed to critical. In one notable instance, Fanni Bogdanow entered into such a debate with R. H. Wilson, one of Malory’s greatest source-study scholars. Wilson believed that the war that King Arthur has to fight at the beginning of his reign against a group of rebellious kings was Malory’s independent addition into the story of his source, the Post-Vulgate *Suite du Merlin*. This conclusion was based upon Wilson’s understanding of the evidence for the *Suite* as preserved in its two manuscripts known at the time. Bogdanow argued, on the contrary, that the rebellion was probably in the original version of the *Suite* but removed from one of the witnesses. In this case, Bogdanow, uncharacteristically, seems to have been incorrect. However, her cogent observations led to a more careful presentation of clarification of the issues involved and therefore benefitted the academic world generally. It was a bold move to challenge a senior scholar, some might say the senior scholar, in his own domain, and her contribution to the debate was an impressive achievement for one so young. Her life’s work, however, was establishing the text of the Post-Vulgate Cycle. The final volume of her edition only finally appeared in 2001. Her progress was no doubt slowed by her meticulous study of so many medieval manuscripts, which she had an uncanny ability to discover. She worked on elucidating and editing many of them until the end of her life.

Despite the troubles of her early life and the uncompromising nature of her scholarship, Fanni Bogdanow was well known for her kindness and warm disposition. Although she apparently never took to e-mail, she was still always willing to go to the greater effort to return unsolicited correspondence to answer questions from students.

When Fanni Bogdanow passed away in the summer of 2013, Arthurian Studies lost one of its greatest scholars. However, she left behind numerous contributions of the highest quality, and her work on the Post-Vulgate Cycle will be


18 See n. 7 above.

the foundation of the study of that monument of medieval literature for centuries to come. Few departing scholars will have made so great an impact on their fields or advanced knowledge to such a degree.

Ralph Norris, Sam Houston State University

RACHEL BROMWICH (1915–2010)
Rachel Sheldon Bromwich (née Amos) was born in Hove in 1915, and one of the most influential books of her childhood was the Arthur Rackham illustrated edition of Malory, which led to a lasting interest in the Matter of Britain. She attended Newnham College at Cambridge, initially to read English, and then moved to Anglo-Saxon Norse and Celtic under the Chadwicks. Here she learnt medieval Welsh under Kenneth Jackson and graduated with first-class honours. In 1938 she went Bangor to study with Professor Ifor Williams, who suggested she might be interested in editing the Welsh triads. In 1945 she returned to Cambridge as a lecturer, and later reader, in Celtic languages and literature – a post she held until her retirement in 1976. She continued to publish important works throughout her retirement and until her death on 15 December 2010.20

Her Arthurian interests are apparent in her earliest articles on the Irish and Welsh analogues in the Anglo-Norman Tristan legend, building upon the work of Gertrude Schoepperle,21 as well as in a detailed edition and translation of the late Medieval Welsh tract Pedwar Marchog ar Hugain Llys Arthur [the twenty-four knights of Arthur’s court].22 A chapter on the Welsh triads for the Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages series brought their importance to a wider audience, and 1961 saw the publication of her best known work, Trioedd Ynys Prydein, which edits and translates ninety-six triads and provides extensive notes on the personal names they contain.23

In 1963, she published the article ‘Scotland and the Earliest Arthurian Tradition’ focusing upon material associated with the ‘Old North’ and laying the groundwork for her important 1975 article ‘Concepts of Arthur’, which provided her fullest discussion of the issues surrounding Arthurian Welsh sources.24 She was an active member of the British Branch of the International Arthurian Society from 1953 and was Secretary 1966–70 and Vice-President 1971–2009.25

In 1988 she co-edited an edition of Culhwch ac Olwen in Welsh followed by an expanded version in English which remains the definitive edition of this important work.26 She was one of the editors of The Arthur of the Welsh, making two contributions herself on Tristan and the transmission of Arthurian material to France.27 Rachel Bromwich was a pioneering female scholar in a very male-dominated discipline and made many valuable contributions in bringing Welsh Arthurian material to a wider audience.

Scott Lloyd, University of Bristol

JANE CHANCE
As a medievalist and as a scholar of Tolkien, Jane Chance hardly needs any introduction. She retired in 2011 as Andrew W. Mellon Distinguished Professor Emerita of English at Rice University in Houston, where she had taught since 1973 following a two-year stint at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. Her PhD from the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana was the basis for her first book, The Genius Figure in Antiquity and the Middle Ages (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1975). Since then, by my count, she has published eleven self-authored books and edited an additional nine. Many of her numerous articles and book chapters have become classics and subsequently anthologised. Of direct interest to Arthurian Studies are her edited volume (with Miriam Youngerman Miller) on Approaches to Teaching Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (New York, NY: MLA, 1986, reprinted several times), and various essays. Among them one might single out ‘The Arthurian Knight Remythified Ovidian: The Failure of Courtly Love in

25 Information from Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society volumes.
Three Late Medieval Glosses’, in *The Legacy of Courtly Literature*, ed. by Deborah Nelson-Campbell and Rouben Cholakian (Cham: Palgrave, 2017), pp. 9–40, based on a paper given at the International Congress of the International Arthurian Society in Bangor, Wales (2002). Professor Chance’s major contribution to Medieval Studies has been her work on Medieval Mythography, the centerpiece of which are the three volumes, *From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres, AD 433 to 1177* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1994), *From the School of Chartres to the Court at Avignon, AD 1177 to 1350* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000) and *The Emergence of Italian Humanism, 1321–1475* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2015). To these may be added the edited collection, *The Mythographic Art: Classical Fable and the Rise of the Vernacular in Early France and England* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1990) and *The Mythographic Chaucer: The Fabulation of Sexual Politics* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1995). The title of this latter volume reminds us that she has been at the forefront of the struggle for gender equality in the academy, both politically and intellectually, struck as she had been by the fact that as a university student in the late 1960s, she only ever encountered one female professor in English. In 1976, the year after her first book appeared, she gave a paper on the problem of Grendel’s mother, the first of a series of presentations that would culminate in her study *Woman as Hero in Old English Literature* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), a pioneering and influential volume in medieval gender studies and one which continues to be required reading. More recently, she paid tribute to those women who, despite all odds, made careers for themselves as medievalists in the twentieth century and earlier by editing the volume, *Women Medievalists and the Academy* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), which includes entries on Arthurian scholars such as Jessie L. Weston, Laura Hibbard Loomis, Helaine Newstead, Rachel Bromwich and Marie Borroff. 

*Karen Cherewatuk*

It is with immense personal pleasure that I accepted the invitation to be involved in this tribute to Arthurian women, all the more so since I get to sing the praises of Dr Karen Cherewatuk (MA and PhD from Cornell University). Although what I say is true regardless of whether or not Karen is still teaching, I should clarify before I alarm anyone that this is very much a tribute to an active scholar-teacher: to the best of my knowledge Karen has no plans for immediate retirement.

The two things that I most admire about Karen are that she is equal parts scholarly and welcoming. As these *JIAS* tributes illustrate, the Arthurian community is especially collegial and user-friendly, but part of my respect for Karen is based on the fact that she is simply a great human being. When I first met Karen I
was already familiar with several of her Malory publications, including her influential reading of Launcelot’s hagiographic death (details are given below); but over the years I have read much more of Karen’s scholarship and I am always struck by the viability of her arguments. As a scholar Karen has published widely both as author and editor. Her non-Arthurian books and articles include Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre, co-edited with Ulrike Wiethaus (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), a collection that includes Karen’s ‘Radegund and Epistolary Tradition’ (pp. 20–45), a companion paper of sorts to her stand-alone article ‘Germanic Echoes in Latin Verse: The Voice of the Lamenting Woman in Radegund’s Poetry’, Allegorica, 14 (1993), 3–21.

Readers of JIAS, however, will obviously be most interested in Karen’s Arthurian publications. Karen is an astute editor, and her ability to bring out the best in her contributors’ scholarship is evident in her co-editing of two special issues of Arthuriana: 13.4 (2003) on ‘Malory Aloud’, and 29.1 (2019) on ‘Malorian and Scholarly Retraction’. In addition to their high-quality Arthurian content, both of these volumes publish papers from International Arthurian Congresses: respectively, Bangor in 2002 and Würzburg in 2017. Karen is also instigator and co-editor of the essay collection The Arthurian Way of Death: The English Tradition (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009). As worthy as these volumes are, what to my mind particularly marks Karen’s contribution to the discipline is her own consistently fine work on Sir Thomas Malory’s Morte Darthur and its contexts. Karen’s is one of the leading voices in emphasising the orality of Malory’s text (see her ‘Introduction to Aural Malory: Sessions and Round Tables’, Arthuriana, 13.4 (2003), 3–13). She also has several perspicacious studies elucidating the social or cultural backdrop against which Malory weaves his considerable reworking of the French book. In ““Gentyl” Audiences and “Grete Bookes”: Chivalric Manuals and the Morte Darthur’, Arthurian Literature, 15 (1997), 205–16 and ‘Sir Thomas Malory’s “Grete Book”’, in The Social and Literary Contexts of Malory’s Morte Darthur, ed. by D. Thomas Hanks Jr and Jessica G. Brogdon (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 42–67, Karen contextualises Malory’s Morte in its manuscript and chivalric reading contexts. In her monograph Marriage, Adultery, and Inheritance in Malory’s Morte Darthur (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), she convincingly outlines Malory’s reflection of gentry concerns with marriage, lineage and inheritance. She also has two influential readings of Launcelot’s death: ‘Malory’s Launcelot and the Language of Sin and Confession’, Arthuriana, 16.2 (2006), 68–72 and – especially – ‘The Saint’s Life of Sir Launcelot: Hagiography and the Conclusion of Malory’s Morte Darthur’, Arthuriana, 5.1 (1995), 62–78. Individually and collectively these are important studies, partly because they are all grounded in equal parts by textual evidence, historical or cultural contexts and academic rigour. I always learn something from Karen’s scholarship, and even when I have the temerity to disagree with her,
her work can never be easily ignored or dismissed. Accordingly, this body of work makes Karen Cherewatuk one of the leading voices in Malory criticism.

If my little paean serves any purpose beyond thanking Karen for her friendship and scholarship, I hope to draw further attention to the significance of her voice in Malory studies: a voice that (as always) I very much look forward to hearing more of in the future.

K. S. Whetter, Acadia University

VICTORIA CIRLOT VALENZUELA

Victoria Cirlot Valenzuela is publisher, translator and professor of romance philology at the Pompeu Fabra University of Barcelona. An expert in medieval literature, history and culture, she has published extensively on medieval mysticism, Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179), symbology and surrealism from a Jungian-oriented approach. She commenced learning in these areas thanks to the prestigious scholar and poet Juan Eduardo Cirlot (1916–73), her father. Indeed, she has edited and revised his world-acclaimed Diccionario de símbolos (1968) and the rest of his works on multiple occasions. Due to her interests, which she frequently applies to the matter of Britain, she can rightly be claimed to be a major Spanish scholar on the Grail and other Arthurian motifs, as is proven by her research publications and translations into Spanish. Among her many studies, perhaps the most important are: Figuras del destino. Mitos y símbolos de la Europa medieval (Madrid: Siruela, 2007), La visión abierta. Del mito del Grial al surrealismo (Madrid: Siruela, 2010), Grial. Poética y mito (siglos xii–xv) (Madrid: Siruela, 2014), and Luces del Grial (Barcelona: Alpha Decay, 2018). Together, these position her as a unique, international and well-regarded researcher of the Grail. Additionally, her edition of the thirteenth-century anonymous Perlesvaus o El Alto Libro del Graal (Madrid: Siruela, 2000), translated from medieval French, and her anthology of medieval Arthurian texts, Historia del Caballero Cobarde y otros relatos artúricos (Madrid: Siruela, 2011), as just a couple of examples, show her to be a devoted promoter of Arthurian stories for Hispanic audiences.

Juan Miguel Zarandona, Universidad de Valladolid

HELEN COOPER

Discussing Helen Cooper’s scholarship concisely is challenging and necessarily selective. She is a distinguished scholar and critic and first-rate literary historian whose publications, particularly on Chaucer (e.g., The Canterbury Tales)28 and medieval and Renaissance romance, are important.

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She has written on the layout of the Winchester manuscript of the *Morte Darthur*, and other essays on Malory emphasise ways in which he adapted French romances for English readers. Thus the English stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, not the French *Mort Artu*, is the primary source for Malory’s final tale; and differing with scholars who have condemned the adultery of Lancelot and Guenevere, she shows that Malory ‘effectively insists that God’s approval of faithful love far outweighs his disapproval of adultery’. She argues that Malory, in a ‘radical change of direction’ from his French sources, wrote ‘the consequences of sin out of his work’, preferring instead to link the downfall to Arthur’s role ‘as king under law’. Her abridged modernisation of the Winchester *Morte Darthur* retains a substantial amount of the book: 576 pages including Caxton’s preface, index of characters and explanatory notes that are right on the mark. Her comment, for example, on Gawain’s address to Arthur beginning ‘My king, my lord, and my uncle’ (Tale VIII) succinctly explains Gawain’s influence over Arthur (an explanation further developed in her ‘Arthur in Transition’). Upon first reading the note, I felt, as I often have with her work, that I learned more from a paragraph than from others’ entire essays.

Her ‘Romance after 1400’ discusses the continued popularity of English fourteenth-century romances in the fifteenth century, as well as characteristics that distinguish English romances from continental ones and their writers’ tendency to conflate romance with history in such works as *Richard Coeur de Lyon* and the *Morte Darthur*. The largely male audiences valued romances for ‘immediate topicality’ instead of escapism and often transferred ‘romance ideals to real life’.

Her books *Pastoral* and *The English Romance in Time* stress the influence of medieval literature upon later writers like Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton and Bunyan, and argue that contrary to what many have thought, the Renaissance is

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not grounded solely in the ‘great classical authors’ or ‘contemporary European works’.34 (And yes, she calls that period the Renaissance.)

Her inaugural lecture at Cambridge in 2005, ‘Shakespeare and the Middle Ages’, discusses further how difficult it is to understand the English Renaissance without knowledge of the Middle Ages and is notable, too, for its concern that programmes in Medieval and Renaissance Studies often serve ‘as a cover for the downgrading of the Middle Ages’ and produce specialists in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature who think ‘medieval’ is synonymous with ‘barbaric’.35 (I would add that they use the term like fifteenth-century humanists, notably Leonardo Bruni, who coined it as a pejorative to refer to the vast abyss that existed between the fall of Rome and his own time.)

Helen’s studies perceptively show the merits of medieval literature and its importance to the Renaissance, and they are written in clear, elegant prose that is free of theoretical jargon and thus accessible to us all. Scholars can be grateful to her for that, as well as for the work she has produced.

*Edward Donald Kennedy, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

**ISABEL DE Riquer i Permanyer**

Student, professor and emeritus professor of medieval romance philology at the University of Barcelona, Spain, Isabel de Riquer i Permanyer’s academic career has been specialised in the fields of French, Provençal, Catalan and Spanish medieval literature. She has also authored many translations from medieval French and Provençal texts both into Catalan and Spanish, from epic compositions to troubadour lyrics. Thanks to her many research and scholarly interests, De Riquer is to be regarded as a major Iberian Arthurian Scholar. Her dissertation was entitled ‘La indumentaria cortesana en las novelas de Chrétien de Troyes’ (PhD thesis, University of Barcelona, 1964). Together with Martí de Riquer (1914–2013), she translated Chrétien de Troyes in *El cuento del Grial y sus continuaciones* (Madrid: Siruela, 1989). She also translated Chrétien’s *El caballero del León* (Madrid: Siruela,1984) and *Tristán e Iseo* (Madrid: Siruela, 1995) from different sources: Thomas d’Angleterre, Béroul, Marie de France and Gerbert de Montreuil. These translations have been republished many times. She has also published extensively on medieval Hispanic Arthurian texts in Provençal and Catalan, such as *La Faula* (c. 1370) by Guillem de Torroella (c. 1348–?), and the anonymous

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Curial e Güelfa (c. 1445–48) and Jaufre (c. 1770). The Arthurian monograph *La caballería de ficción como educación sentimental* (Salamanca: SEMYR, 2010) is also an important part of her bibliography. A perfect example of her particular interest in disseminating knowledge among wider audiences was her lecture on *Tristan* at the March Foundation in Madrid in 2012.

*Juan Miguel Zarandona, Universidad de Valladolid*

**MAARTJE DRAAK (1907–1995)**

Dragons are back in modern fantasy literature and movies, from Tolkien’s Smaug, by way of Ursula leGuin’s *Orm Erbar* and Robin Hobb’s *Tintaglia* and *Icefire*, to the three dragons in *Game of Thrones*. In Middle Dutch Arthuriana and Celtic Studies, there was (and is, in many ways) another kind of Dragon, called Maartje – not really scary, yet daunting in her importance to both fields as a scholar who not only kept Celtic studies alive and viable in the Netherlands, but also repeatedly set Dutch Arthurian studies onto new and rich tracks. As a child, she fell in love with fairy tales, especially those from China. All her life, Asian Art (Japanese prints, Chinese porcelain) fascinated her and she became an avid and famous collector. Her doctoral dissertation of 1936 demonstrated how a well-known fairy tale (‘The Golden Bird’; Aarne-Thompson type 550) provided the model for the threefold quest, as well as the motif of enchanted fox, in the Middle Dutch *Roman van Walewein*, an idea that went uncontested until very recently. Maartje graduated in Dutch language and literature and eventually became a high school teacher (which inspired her to create several books that allowed high school pupils to read medieval stories). The war unsettled the Dutch academic world, and when it was over in 1945, it turned out that Maartje was the only surviving specialist in Celtic studies, so she became chair in this field in both Utrecht and Amsterdam. She was present when the International Arthurian Society saw the light, as volume 1 of the *Bibliographical Bulletin* testifies, and she attended several other international conferences (Winchester (1951), Rennes (1954), Bangor (1957), Aberdeen (1963)), and edited the Dutch bibliography for the years 1940–62.

Maartje Draak was the first female scholar to become a member of the Literature section of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences, and she made the most of the authority and leadership that this function gave her. Several of her talks in the monthly meetings of the section sparked important new research in Celtic studies, but also and especially in Middle Dutch Lancelot studies. In 1954, she explained that there had been at least three independent translations of the Old French Prose *Lancelot* into Middle Dutch verse and prose, urging her colleagues to study these texts in depth. This plea was repeated in a 1978 return to this topic in another Academy lecture, which then inspired her pupil and Utrecht successor as chair in Middle Dutch literature, W. P. Gerritsen, to set up the
so-called Lancelot project (which came to be supported by the Royal Academy). This has so far has resulted in modern editions of most of the Middle Dutch Lancelot romances, and contributed to an enormous increase in the study of the texts, by – amongst others – Frits van Oostrom, Orlanda Lie, Bart Besamusca, Frank Brandsma and Marjolein Hogenbirk. The discovery of the phases in the making of the most elaborate Lancelot text, the famous Lancelot Compilation, is in large part due to Maartje Draak’s discovery, made in the 1950s and revealed in 1985, that a specific leaf had been moved from one spot in the manuscript to another.

In 1988, Maartje Draak’s eightieth birthday was celebrated with a symposium on both Celtic and Arthurian topics. The best part of that day was the final hour, in which the birthday girl as an ‘octogenarian dragon’ spoke about her life. Of the different roles dragons take in stories and fairy tales, she felt most connected to the Eastern dragon that brings prosperity and happiness. Having given my first paper that day, I came away suitably impressed and inspired by this Dutch Dragon, and so are all Dutch Arthurians to this day.36

Frank Brandsma, Centre for Medieval Studies, Utrecht University

SIÂN ECHARD

Siân Echard is professor of English, and current head of department, in the Department of English Language & Literatures at the University of British Columbia (UBC). She holds degrees from Queen’s University at Kingston and the University of Toronto. Siân also completed her doctoral research at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto in 1990, under the supervision of A. G. Rigg. She has taught in the English Department at British Columbia ever since. Siân’s first monograph, *Arthurian Narrative in the Latin Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), which was based on her PhD thesis, is a seminal work in the much under-studied field of Latin Arthurian literature. Notably, this book played a crucial role in introducing an entire set of neglected Latin texts to a modern audience and readership. Her work in this area has proven to be instrumental in shaping our understanding of the Latin Arthurian tradition, and of its complex relationship to vernacular literature and the wider Arthurian canon.

Siân’s main research interests are in book history and twelfth-century Anglo-Latin literature. Her other publications include *A Companion to Gower* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004) and *The Arthur of Medieval Latin Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011). She is also the author of a multitude of articles on a variety of medieval topics, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, the works of John Gower, Chaucer and the transmission of medieval manuscripts and their


Siân’s significant contribution to both research and teaching at UBC has also been recognised by her home institution, where she received a Killam Research Prize in 1998, a Killam Teaching Prize in 2001 and was named a Distinguished University Scholar in 2004.

*Johnny McFadyen, Independent Scholar*

**LOTTE HELLINGA**

Arthurian scholarship seems to have begun in an all-male environment, with an attempt at a comprehensive account of Arthur by an eighth-century Welsh monk. Arthurian literature itself may also have begun in an all-male context: the monk’s main source seems to have been a poem celebrating Arthur’s battles, which might have been sung in front of Arthur himself, perhaps first by a male bard to an all-male war-band. The Arthurian legend would not, however, have become the most successful non-religious story in the world if it had ignored half the human race, and Arthurian stories and songs soon showed an interest in women, who returned the compliment as readers, patrons, owners of manuscripts and authors, and who, as soon as they were allowed a regular place in universities, distinguished themselves as Arthurian scholars.

There have been so many outstanding Arthurian women scholars that this volume could not include all of them. One common factor, however, in the lives of almost all of those who have been included and those who might have been – such as Vida Scudder, author of the first (and for at least half a century the best) literary-critical monograph on Malory’s *Morte Darthur* – is having produced a major Arthurian monograph or edition. My subject, Lotte Hellinga did not do that. She was (and, because happily she is still with us, still is) a leading authority in another discipline, who made a single intervention in Arthurian studies. That intervention was half of a joint essay, but it has rightly been more influential than many worthy monographs.37

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Lotte Hellinga was born in the Netherlands in 1932 and first made her mark in at the University of Amsterdam on the early history of the printed book. It was in Britain, however, that she rose to the very top of her profession, becoming Deputy Keeper of the British Library, a Fellow of the British Academy, and a member of the council of the Academy. It was inevitable that when the British Library bought the unique manuscript of Malory’s *Morte Darthur*, she should be called on to evaluate the traces of printer’s ink on its pages. The printer’s ink is not obvious to the naked eye, but it is a different colour from the ink used by the scribes of the manuscript, and she maximised that contrast by every available method, from the most advanced cameras to the Mark One human eyeball. When the British Library’s cameras failed her, she persuaded the Metropolitan Police currency fraud unit to let her use theirs, and the library to allow their four-million-pound manuscript to be taken (under escort) off the premises. She established that there is printer’s ink on over sixty pages of the manuscript, and that a few marks in that ink were made by identifiable pieces of type. She was able to identify them because she knew the relevant typefaces better than anyone else in the world. Some of the marks were made by type from a fount that William Caxton started using in 1480, and others from one he stopped using in 1483. As she pointed out, that meant that at some time during the years 1480–83 the Malory manuscript spent a period open in Caxton’s printing shop, and a large number of newly printed pages from two books then in production were laid on top of its open pages, wet ink side down. (Early printer’s ink took a long time to dry.) The natural inference was that the manuscript was open because Caxton was printing his edition of the *Morte Darthur* from it, but his printing method required marking up his original, and the manuscript had not been marked up. Caxton must therefore have had two manuscripts of the *Morte*, and printed from the other one. So far, so very good.

At this point, however, she lost the plot, and dallied with the notion that Caxton printed from a transcript of the surviving manuscript. She knew Vina-ver’s argument that the passages in Caxton’s edition that are missing from the manuscript but have counterparts in Malory’s sources can only be explained if the Caxton text derived from those sources through Malory but independently of the Winchester manuscript, but she did not realise that the number and close-ness of the parallels ruled out any alternative explanation based on chance and coincidence. A Malory scholar as competent as she is would have known that, but none of the Malory scholars who had access to the manuscript (myself included) made or came anywhere near making any of her discoveries. The nearest any of us came was in raising one question about one printer’s ink mark, but then dismissing it as a mere chance variation in the colour of the scribes’ ink. When her findings appeared, however, a part of Malory studies was immediately and irreversibly changed. A learned and wide-ranging reassessment of the history of the
Malory manuscript by the scholar who discovered it, which was published almost simultaneously with her essay and which proposed that the manuscript was commissioned as part of the celebrations in Winchester over the birth of Henry VII’s son Prince Arthur, which in the ordinary course of events might have dominated academic debate for a generation, instead sank without trace, as did a number of less admirable pieces. But forty years after the appearance of Lotte Hellinga’s discoveries about what happened in Caxton’s print shop in 1480–83, the detailed implications of her discoveries are still being worked out on the basis of foundations she established.

P. J. C. Field, Bangor University

SARAH KAY
Sarah Kay is professor of medieval French literature, thought and culture at New York University. Her areas of research also include the history of philosophy, especially Aristotelian and Scholasticism and modern theory, especially psychoanalysis. Of her many publications, I would like to mention two that have been of great inspiration for my work on Old Norse Arthurian literature. The first one is her book *The Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), where she focuses on the development of the two genres of *chansons de geste* and romance, and the dynamics between them during a particular historical period. She addresses, and nuances, the traditional distinction between the two genres, the former considered as anchored in oral tradition and formulaic style, the latter being seen as more literate and reflecting a higher degree of subjectivity and individuality. Kay shows that the link between the two genres was not a historical shift from one to the other, but rather simultaneity and mutual interference and influence, a parallelism in terms of historicity and contemporaneous relevance, at a particular socio-political moment. The other of Kay’s works that I wish to highlight is her recent extended essay *Philology’s Vomit: An Essay on the Immortality and Corporeality of Texts* (Zürich: Chronos, 2017). With Martianus Capella’s *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* as a starting point, Kay reflects on philology’s ‘reinvention as a theoretical discipline’ and ‘the corporeal qualities of texts’. The text includes an episode where the personified Philology vomits and, through her spasms, the vomit turns into a great variety of books, which are collected by the Arts, the Disciplines and the Muses. In that moment Philology is touched by Immortality and her books are blessed by Apotheosis. After studying various commentaries on this text from different historical periods, Kay conclusively reflects on the discipline of philology’s dual function, its concern with materiality and corporality, as well as ‘making sense of the text’, by clarifying its meaning, its ideology and immortality. The richness of Kay’s discussions, the elegance and intricacy of her arguments are of great inspiration.
when interpreting Old Norse texts and manuscripts as well. In my work, I have been inspired to look for the common characteristics, mutual co-existence and influence of ‘oral’ and ‘literate’ Old Norse genres; the historicity, politics and sociology of Old Norse literature; the combined and intertwined significance of the materiality and the textuality of Old Norse texts. I have thus read the translated Old Norse Arthurian texts as indebted to and conditioned by their European origin, their contemporary Norse literary and political contexts and the materiality of their individual manuscripts.

Stefka G. Eriksen, Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research

BEVERLY KENNEDY

Beverly Kennedy’s contributions to the field of Arthurian studies are not extensive in number: in addition to her study *Knighthood in the Morte D’Arthur*, published as Arthurian Studies XI (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985) with a second edition in 1992, there are a handful of articles in *Arthurian Interpretations* and *Arthuriana*, and a chapter in Raymond H. Thompson and Keith Busby’s *Gawain: A Casebook* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006). The best known of Kennedy’s contentions is that knighthood in Malory can be divided into three categories (Heroic, True and Worshipful), categories to which individual knights permanently belong, with there being only one occurrence of adultery between Launcelot and Guinevere in Malory. These are rightly contested claims; it is hard to argue that there is clear proof for either.

However, these contentious subjects may have obscured Beverly Kennedy’s achievements: firstly, that of explicitly discussing the diversity and multiplicity of chivalric ideals in Malory. Her doing so refutes the common idea – held by Mikhail Bakhtin, for example – that the knightly class had a homogeneous view of chivalry. Two decades later, Kenneth Hodges points out that Malory ‘is not juxtaposing high and low styles as much as he is juxtaposing various chivalric styles; there are fissures in the knightly class Bakhtin did not expect’. 38 While Hodges is explicitly demonstrating that the codes of chivalry to which Malory’s knights adhere are changing and manifold, rather than set in three stable patterns, it is clear that his approach draws on, even if to contradict, the division of chivalry in Kennedy.

And in that contradiction, in this case by Hodges, lies the second important contribution by Beverly Kennedy: that of starting discussions. The adultery issue of *Arthuriana*, and in particular her article on adultery in Malory, led to a heated

debate between her and Maureen Fries, on the subject of reading Malory. This discussion, carried out with some anger but remaining entirely focused on the reading of Arthurian texts, points to the importance of controversial ideas being given space and argued on their merits. This is where Arthurian scholarship has always impressed me most: in the ability, especially among senior scholars, to change their minds, argue their positions and re-examine the texts on which we work. Our work on chivalric ideals, medieval Christianity and adultery in Malory are the better for these discussions, in which ‘the final say’ has certainly not been achieved.

Kristina Hildebrand, Halmstad University

ELSPETH KENNEDY (1921–2006)

Elspeth was one of the greatest Arthurian scholars of her day, and a list of her publications and achievements is much too long to set out here.

But – to be brief in this brief memoir – I remember her saying, in response to somebody vapouring about scribal ‘interference’, that the somebody ought to have looked at her seminal article ‘The Scribe as Editor’. ‘My only seminal article’, she added a little sadly. This article was a huge step towards getting away from an obsession with ‘the author’ and opening out so many other aspects of writing and book production, now flowering out of all recognition fifty years later.

I was lucky enough to attend the Medieval French seminars in Oxford while she was at St Hilda’s. She welcomed me as a refugee from English! And she was a great inspiration in my research on medieval romance (largely Arthurian).

She was hugely entertaining, and her reputation was, if possible, even more so. She would gallop around a classroom being Lancelot on his destrier, she slept with Excalibur under her bed; and she told us herself about spending the war in Wormwood Scrubs reading good German literature so as not to hate the nation she was working to defeat.

Another memory of Elspeth was her fierce loyalty and her even fiercer tongue. Once, I was at a conference where Elspeth was chairing the session, and somebody very justifiably queried a point the speaker had not made very well. Elspeth tore into the questioner, who had to be soothed afterwards!


It is sad that after she died her library was thrown into a skip; some colleagues got to hear of this and dashed off in the rain to rescue what they could, and eventually some damp volumes appeared for us to share out and cherish.  

*Jane Bliss, Independent Scholar*

**MILDRED LEAKE DAY**

Mildred Leake Day is an independent scholar. She obtained her PhD from the University of Alabama in 1975, and was for a time Adjunct Professor at Birmingham Southern College, Southern Benedictine College and the University of Alabama at Birmingham. As well as founding and editing the Arthurian journal *Quondam et Futurus*, her quest has long been to bring the neglected Arthurian literature written in Latin to a wider readership, and to open up to study the many questions that it raises. She had excellent training and inspiration, for her mother, Marjory Moore Leake, was a teacher of Latin at Shades Valley High School in Birmingham.

In the 1980s, Mildred’s two parallel-text publications, *De Ortu Waluuanii (DOW)*[^41] and *Historia Meriadoci (HM)*[^42], replaced earlier editions and supplied welcome translations into English. Her *Latin Arthurian Literature* volume in D. S. Brewer’s Arthurian Archives series[^43] added to these the important werewolf story of *Arthur and Gorlagon* and the *Epistola Arturi regis ad Henricum regem Anglorum*.

In addition to her editions and translations, Mildred has published articles and presented conference papers on specific aspects of the Latin texts, in particular drawing on descriptive matter to support her view of an earlier dating for *DOW* and *HM* than has previously been accepted. At the International Arthurian Congress in Bristol in 2011 she revealed a detailed knowledge of medieval ship design.

Now that the Latin texts have received modern editions and translations, it is possible to see how they can contribute, sometimes in surprising ways, to the wider Arthurian picture. To give personal examples, I noted parallels with a Gawain story collected orally in Tiree in 1865[^44] and even took a new look at *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.[^45] Over the years, Mildred has always been a keen,  

supportive and helpful contact. She celebrated her ninetieth birthday on 25 January 2019.

Her many friends were greatly saddened to hear of the death on 6 April 2019 of her husband Jim Houston Day, Sr. They had been married for sixty-eight years, and it is comforting to know that Mildred is surrounded by the love and support of their five children, eleven grandchildren, five great-grandchildren and two step-great-grandchildren.

*Linda Gowans, Independent Scholar*

**JILL MANN**

Jill Mann is best known as a Chaucer scholar, but like her Chaucer criticism her studies of Arthurian texts communicate original and compelling visions of the imaginative worlds of great writers. Her work on *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* deserves more than the mention I give it here, but as she supervised my 1992 PhD dissertation on that poem it is easier for me to give an objective overview of her criticism on Sir Thomas Malory, and that is what I hope to do. Jill Mann's essays on Malory had their origin in a set of undergraduate lectures at the University of Cambridge. This explains why her Malory essays are basic in the best sense of that word: they deal with fundamental questions of interpretation, and in Malory's case the key question is: what makes Malory one of our big writers, when he ought to be bad? The terms of my question echo E. M. Forster's statement about Dickens. Almost all of Dickens' characters are flat, Forster observed, and '[t]hose who dislike Dickens have an excellent case. He ought to be bad. He is actually one of our big writers' (47). The case against Malory is even stronger: not only does Malory spurn 'round characters', he also writes unpolished prose.

Jill Mann's earliest published essay on Malory, 'Taking the Adventure: Malory and the *Suite du Merlin*', provides an entirely convincing answer to the question. Mann first clarifies what is distinctive about Malory by comparing his *Tale*
of King Arthur with the French source-text, the Suite du Merlin. The comparison clearly shows that Malory does not ‘discriminate’ (as Mark Twain complained): he removes explanations; events are not calibrated so that one is in the foreground and another in the background or so that one explains the other. But the ‘consequent difficulty of assigning relative importance to its various episodes or details’ is also a strength: the lack of explanation puts the knight and the reader at a distance from the unfolding events, and it is precisely that distance, coupled with the human desire to overcome it, that captures the essence of romance. The ‘adventure’ is not rationally explicable, and the chivalric duty to ‘take the adventure’ launches us on a journey of discovery in which we are all propelled forward by the search for answers: are the adventures a gateway to the knight’s destiny? And will they eventually reveal a meaningful design?

One of the many insights to be gained from reading this essay is that Malory does in fact convey a mysterious sense of design that is aesthetically satisfying. I emphasise ‘aesthetically’ because Malory does not immediately come to mind when we think of writers that were ‘aesthetes’. However, as Mann shows, Malory was capable of both seeing and conveying deeply moving shapes and patterns. The lament of Balin and Balan as they die in each other’s arms – ‘We came bothe oute of one wombe, that is to say one moders bely, and so shalle we lye bothe in one pytte’ (90/26–28) – is a case in point. Balin’s adventures have indeed finally taken shape, and that shape is aesthetic precisely because we cannot comprehend it as the outcome of rational human designs: its fatal circularity is not to be explained; it is something we can only marvel at, as we might marvel before a painting that moves us.

It is a measure of the explanatory power of Mann’s argument in this essay that readers of Malory will instantly see ways in which it could be extended to other parts and aspects of Malory’s narrative. In ‘The Narrative of Distance, The Distance of Narrative in Malory’s Morte d’Arthur’, she herself shows us the way. In this essay distancing is explored both as a stylistic device and as a narrative theme: knights separate, or in Malory’s poignant word ‘depart’, meaning both ‘to part ways’ and ‘to fragment’, to splinter the ‘wholeness’ that is the fellowship of the Round Table; and they ‘come together’ in love and in combat. These two distances, distance as narrative theme and distance as narrative mode, reinforce each other in Malory. The point is memorably illustrated in the episode of the Tale of the Sankgreal where Lancelot and Galahad’s trajectories momentarily inter-
As father and son the two could hardly be closer but destiny separates them, just as for a brief moment it unites them on board the Grail ship. In Malory’s source, Lancelot has been on the Grail ship all along, guarding the dead body of Perceval’s sister, when Galahad comes aboard. In Malory, Lancelot briefly leaves the ship on the very night that Galahad enters it. Happily (in the medieval and modern senses of the word) father and son do meet aboard the ship, but by taking Lancelot off the boat Malory has made the reunion both more adventitious (how easily the two might have missed each other) and more satisfying. Malory’s description of the meeting between Galahad and Lancelot is too good to miss:

And then sir Launcelot dressed hym unto the shippe and seyde, ‘Sir, ye be wellcom!’ And he answerd, and saluwed hym agayne and seyde, ‘Sir, what ys your name? For much my herte gevith unto you.’ ‘Truly’, seyde he, ‘my name ys sir Launcelot du Lake.’ ‘Sir’, seyde he, ‘than be ye welcom. For ye were the beginner of me in this worlde’. ‘A, sir, are ye sir Galahad?’ ‘Ye, forsothe’. And so he kneled downe and asked hym hys blyssynge. And aftir that toke of his helme and kyssed hym, and there was grete joye betwyxte them, for no tunge can telle what joy was betwyxte them.

The strength of mutual feeling between the two is beautifully balanced by an awareness of their spiritual distance. Lancelot, as Galahad says, was his ‘beginning’ in this world, but God (with whom Galahad will soon be permanently reunited) was his beginning in the other world. All this Lancelot knows, but he overcomes the distance by acknowledging it and by asking Galahad to reach out to him from across the divide. And so Lancelot kneels before Galahad and asks for his blessing in a striking reversal of expected father-son behaviour (compare Sir Ector kneeling before Arthur and asking for his favour after he has pulled out the sword in the stone). The acknowledgement of distance in the gesture is rewarded by a fragile moment of union, which is best described by Jill Mann herself: ‘the distance created by anonymity, by the mysterious process of begetting, by disparity of spiritual state, by physical separation, suddenly and inexplicably gives way to the fulfilment of a personal destiny. Past and future meet and acknowledge the ties that hold them together; Lancelot’s fragmented destiny is submerged in the wholeness of union with the son it has created’ (p. 294).

The theme I have not mentioned so far in Jill Mann’s Malory criticism is the body, but it cannot be left out in any account of her two remaining Malory essays: ‘Malory: Knightly Combat in Malory’s Morte d’Arthur’ and ‘Malory and the Grail

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Legend’. Knightly adventure involves exposing the body to peril, and the body is the medium through which the knight’s true worth is revealed. In ‘Knightly Combat’ Mann draws attention to Malory’s insistence on the body both in knightly action and in a whole range of phrases that occur in alterations from his French sources: ‘here is my body to make it good, body against body’; ‘that I will prove on your body’; ‘by the faith of my body’, and so on. In the above-cited episode of Galahad and Lancelot’s reunion, the body is also instrumental. Galahad may be spiritually superior, but he experiences the pull of kinship physically. ‘Much my herte gevith unto you’, he says, in a typically Malorian phrase. Knights have a sixth sense for family relations. Gawain’s kindness to Gareth in the Tale of Sir Gareth is similarly instinctive (they are brothers and although Gawain’s mind does not know this, his body does: ‘that came of his blood’, Malory writes). The mystique of ‘blood’ comes to the fore in the Tale of the Sankgreal. In much Arthurian criticism, the Quest of the Holy Grail has been presented as a critique of secular knighthood, but Jill Mann convincingly argues that the Grail romances, including Malory’s Tale of the Sankgreal, use religious rituals and objects (the Eucharist, the vessel of Christ’s blood) to exalt the dignity of knighthood. The connection between the realm of religious ceremony and secular chivalry is rooted through the body: the knight’s body and blood are the medium in which his destiny is revealed, just as Christ’s mission of redemption is made manifest in his body and blood. In Jill Mann’s words, ‘What the knight sees in the Grail vision, therefore, is the apotheosis of his own existence’ (p. 318).

Not surprisingly, these essays have been influential in more recent Malory criticism. The focus on the body in Malory was not fashionable back in 1982 (Mann arrived at it by responding to Malory’s lexical habits, not by following fashions), but it has certainly provided a model for others. Andrew Lynch’s Malory’s Book of Arms is much indebted to Jill Mann’s work. Similarly, her position that Malory is profound not in spite of him taking the role of ‘adventure’ so seriously but rather because of it, is continuing to inspire Malory criticism. Any readers of Malory

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52 See the note in Oxford English Dictionary s.v. give, VI 22.b.
who have not read Mann’s Malory criticism should ‘take the adventure’ and try it
for themselves.

_Ad Putter, University of Bristol_

**CAROLINE PALMER**

Caroline Palmer, or Caroline of Woodbridge as she was renamed at a recent cel-
eration of her career, has been a very influential figure in medieval publish-
ing for a quarter of a century. She is the North Star of the modern medievalists’
cosmos, always there to guide her authors, whether they are experienced scholars
or new PhDs. Her attention to detail is astonishing, given the large number of
books she oversees each year. All who have worked with her at Boydell & Brewer
will have admired her excellent judgement, her eagle-eyed reading, her insight-
ful suggestions, her encouragement, her patience and her tact. Continuing the
work of Derek Brewer and Richard Barber, with whom she worked very closely
and productively, she has developed several series and journals which are central
to Arthurian Studies, including _Arthurian Literature_, _Arthurian Studies_, _Gallica_,
_Manuscript Culture in the British Isles_ and _Romance Studies_.

Caroline worked for many years with Derek Brewer and was devoted to him,
as he was to her. Conferences were particularly fun when they were both there,
enlivening the after-dinner talk at the conference bar with their wit and charm
and wicked sense of humour. It was entirely appropriate that at Derek’s memo-
rial service Caroline read the eulogy for Lancelot from the end of Malory’s _Morte
Darthur_, and she did it beautifully, hard though it must have been not to cry (as
we listeners did). She shares Derek’s gift of making all around her feel appreci-
ated, as well as amused and entertained.

Boydell & Brewer authors have been extraordinarily well served over the
years by editors who are active medievalists. Caroline has produced a volume
of the Arthurian bibliography, and is the Secretary of the Allen Brown Memorial
Trust and the Battle Conference. Perhaps she will produce another scholarly work
herself, when she ever has time – or perhaps she will write her memoirs. If the
latter, we may be embarrassed to recognise ourselves in some unflattering scenes,
but we shall also be enlightened about the splendours and miseries of life as a
publisher, and astonished to discover that Caroline works even harder than we
had realised – and of course we shall be vastly entertained. The many acknowl-
edgements in Boydell & Brewer publications make it very clear how indebted the
discipline of medieval studies is to Caroline.

_Elizabeth Archibald, Durham University_
ANN MARIE RASMUSSEN

Both of us recall similar experiences as graduate students in the 1990s. As doctoral students, we were hungry for feminist research, for new ways to look at canonical medieval German texts, for new ground to be charted in what is essentially still a ‘white male’ dominated academic field, yet there was little scholarship at the time that broke out of that established research. Indeed, Evelyn remembers the day in the late 1990s well, when her dissertation advisor Ray Wakefield returned from the International Congress on Medieval Studies (ICMS) to the Middle High German seminar at the University of Minnesota full of enthusiasm for a book that had been featured in the annual New Book Roundtable sponsored by the Society for Medieval Germanic Studies (SMGS). That book was Ann Marie Rasmussen’s *Mothers and Daughters in Medieval German Literature* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997). Ann Marie’s book was an exhilarating gust of new ideas that not only breathed fresh air into our academic lives but those of many others as well.

One would not categorise *Mothers and Daughters* exclusively as a work of Arthurian scholarship; in fact, the book only treats one text of the medieval German Arthurian canon, Gottfried’s *Tristan*, a work itself considered only marginally Arthurian compared to its contemporaries. On the other hand, *Mothers and Daughters* showed up-and-coming feminist scholars the potential applications of cutting-edge, cross-disciplinary theory for a range of medieval genres, including Arthurian literature. The book examines the roles of mothers and daughters in select canonical or prominent secular texts in Middle High German from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries covering both noblewomen and common women. Seeking ‘to analyze in selected fictional texts the wider implications of the mother-daughter theme as a literary and cultural paradigm’ (p. xi), Ann Marie explored each text in its historical context as an expression of literary and cultural systems that use specific stereotypical representations of mothers and daughters for specific purposes. Several dominant stereotypes emerge in this study; compliant versus unruly and compliant versus subversive behaviours, the sexualisation of women, the access of noblewomen to (and exercise of) power that lies at the heart of representations of femininity in medieval literature. This study laid a foundation for truly interdisciplinary, feminist scholarship in the field of medieval German studies by including fictional, non-fictional, didactic, biographical, epic, romance and lyric texts to expose their unstable views of women’s roles. We see how the texts address and reflect socio-political order, and how the use of stereotypes reflects historical changes such as ‘the emergence of patrilineal kinship organization among the nobility, changing feudal marriage practices, and the attendant renegotiations of noblewomen’s exercise of power’ (p. xi). This book moved the study of sexuality and gender roles in medieval
German literature out of the realm of ‘patriarchal scholarship’ and out of a strictly literary model of interpretation. *Mothers and Daughters* thereby opened up the entire field of German medieval literary studies beyond that narrow audience of experts to scholars of other vernacular medieval traditions as well as modern scholars of gender roles and feminist theory, among many others. With this book, Ann Marie blazed the trails with an innovative and new approach to the field of feminist medieval German studies that has opened doors for many to follow in her footsteps. In fact, this book and her scholarship since then have had the same impact on German medieval studies that the work of E. Jane Burns (*Bodytalk* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993)), Roberta Krueger (*Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)) and Kathryn Gravdal (*Ravishing Maidens* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991)) arguably had in French: like them, Ann Marie is the foremother of feminist medieval studies in the field of German Studies.

_Evelyn Meyer, Saint Louis University and Alexandra Sterling-Hellenbrand, Appalachian State University_

**FELICITY RIDDY**

I first encountered Felicity Riddy’s pioneering study of Thomas Malory’s *Morte Darthur* as a graduate student in the late 1990s: *Sir Thomas Malory*. This pocket-size, perhaps to some unassuming, ‘little book’, changed the way in which I approached late Arthurian prose romance and later medieval England forever. Felicity’s engagement with all aspects of the story was, from the ground up, a completely new and bold layering of in-depth knowledge of literary meaning, manuscript, cultural and political contexts, all related to the old, yet newly refashioned Wars of the Roses narrative that Malory wrote. She wore her scholarship lightly, and her immersive approach to text and context was one that resonated with me. With my background in Continental scholarship, literary studies and some philosophy, working with _mentalité_ was second nature to me. At the same time, I was deeply interested in delving into manuscript culture, the intricacies of what and how the gentry, Malory’s first audience, read, and the ramifications of that culture in high as well as local politics, cultural trends, anything that would link in my joint interests in the international appeal of the legends and the political implications of their use in fifteenth-century England.

For me Felicity did not remain a distant scholar whose work I read in a library. Based as I was at the University of Manchester, which I had chosen for its rich Arthurian collections, and not least the unique copy of one of the first

printed editions of Malory’s text (the other one being much further afield for me, at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York), the proximity of Felicity’s base, the famous – and oldest in the UK – Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York was very lucky. Yet I was to meet her for the first time in Cardiff, at a conference organised by another strong female scholar, Ruth Evans, with Felicity and Louise Fradenburg as the other speakers. That conference persuaded me that female scholars can shape the future of medieval studies. I discussed my PhD project with Felicity, who, irrespective of whether or not I would be able (i.e. afford) to study with her at York, offered guidance, good humour, advice, support. I recall, with fondness, that, upon introducing myself to her as the shy MPhil student I was, she immediately invited me to sit next to her during the conference, introduced me to other participants, and acted as a kind of academic godmother.

I was to meet Felicity again at the gentry seminar that she and Philip Morgan organised over the years, and other events, including the external board meeting of the project ‘Imagining History’, led by John J. Thompson at Queen’s University in Belfast, on the topic that I also picked up from her interests, the Middle English Brut chronicles – another area that has remained a strong interest of mine to the present day. Together with my PhD supervisor, the gentle and ever patient Carole Weinberg, as well as Bonnie Wheeler and Helen Cooper, Felicity became a role model and pathbreaker for my career.

**SHIGEMI SASAKI**

Ms Shigemi Sasaki graduated with a BA and an MA in French at Waseda University, one of the most distinguished private universities in Japan, where her lifelong mentor was Professor Teruo Sato, the doyen of Old French studies in Japan. In 1963 she went to the Sorbonne, where she undertook research under the guidance of Jean Frappier, one of the founding members of the International Arthurian Society. In fact, she was one of the last students he taught. Her thesis was entitled ‘Sur le Thème de Nonchaloir dans la Poésie de Charles d’Orléans’; she defended it in 1968, and it was published in Paris by Nizet in 1974. After acquiring her doctorate, she returned to Japan and taught French language and literature at Kanagawa University, and then Meisei University, of which she is now an emerita professor.

Since the 1970s Professor Sasaki’s papers and articles have been acclaimed at international conferences as well as in journals. She assiduously played a significant role in sending information on Old French studies in Japan out to the international academy. Her scholarly reputation was increasingly prominent in France as much as in Japan. In the 1980s, at the suggestion of Jean Frappier, she was
instrumental in forming, together with several Japanese medievalists in Middle English and Old High German, a Japanese Branch of the International Arthurian Society, with Professor Sato as its first president.


Toshiyuki Takamiya, Keio University

AYA SHIMIZU (1911–2012)

Aya Shimizu was a pioneering Japanese Arthurian scholar, responsible for translating numerous Arthurian works, and thus for introducing a generation of Japanese readers to these otherwise inaccessible texts.

Shimizu’s life spanned four Japanese Imperial periods. Born in Takayama, Gifu Prefecture, at the close of the Meiji Period, her childhood was spent in the Taishō Period, and her Arthurian interest sparked in the Shōwa, whilst her retirement dovetailed neatly with the beginning of the Heisei. She graduated from Tokyo Bunrika University in 1941, where her life-long mentor, Rintaro Fukuhara, initiated her into Arthuriana with the gift of a copy of the 1912 Everyman Library Morte Darthur. Shimizu taught English in Tokyo Gakugei University for thirty years from 1945, then moved on to Daito Bunka University, where she remained until her retirement in 1985.

Shimizu’s first publication, A Study of Arthurian Legends, came out in 1966, the same year as a new edition of Malory’s Morte Darthur. Translated by Professor Fumio Kuriyagawa and his wife Keiko, this edition was based firmly on Sommer’s text, whereas Shimizu’s Study opted to use the Globe edition as its base. Some may view this as regrettable, but in reality it was probably a purely practical decision. Aimed at a popular audience, the Globe edition was the most widely-available, ‘carefully’-edited text. Shimizu charted the development of Arthurian legends from the Historia Brittonum to the Stanzaic Morte Arthur, with a lengthy 228-page outline of Malory’s Morte Darthur. The text was helpfully equipped with a wealth of contextual material: a commentary on the Winchester Manuscript and on Caxton’s edition, a tabular comparison of the two, a list of British kings, family trees
of major characters and a full index and bibliography. This paratextual apparatus proved extremely useful to students and the book contained much of merit; her citation of Caxton as the first to attempt to popularise *Morte Darthur* may be the earliest such evaluation published in Japan.


Unfortunately, her scholarly work rarely reached an international audience, as she never published in English. Her aim was to introduce Japanese readers to the fascination of the Arthurian legends, and her somewhat archaic Japanese suited this task very well. Although domestic in its intent and scope, her studious and honest work demonstrated a genuine passion for, and understanding of, Arthuriana. She was a life-long member of the IAS.

*Yuri Fuwa, Keio University*

**JANE H. M. TAYLOR**


Si J. Taylor fait partie des chercheur(e)s qui ont le plus contribué à renouveler la recherche arthurienne, en particulier française, elle s’est intéressée à bien d’autres champs de la littérature médiévale des XIVe et XVe siècles (la production lyrique, *Jehan de Saintré*, les femmes lectrices...).

C’est cependant d’abord à un texte arthurien (marginal certes, mais néanmoins arrimé à la tradition arthurienne) que J. Taylor s’est intéressée, en se consacrant en pionnière à *Perceforest*. N’est-il pas surprenant que ce texte, dans lequel les femmes occupent une place tout à fait particulière, ait été en quelque sorte redécouvert, à une époque où le monde académique était encore très largement masculin, par deux femmes, Jeanne Lods dans sa monographie de 1951 et J. Taylor, qui en a édité le début du livre I en 1979. Ce choix original s’explique par l’intérêt de J. Taylor pour le Moyen Âge tardif: encore largement méconnu, cette période constitue par ailleurs un champ privilégié pour les approches qu’elle a
développées, sur la transmission des textes, sur les réécritures et l'intertextualité (par exemple dans le très bel article de *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes en 1987 ‘The Fourteenth Century: Context, Text and Intertext’* portant sur *Perceforest*, *Isaïe le Triste* et *Méliador* et mettant, en évidence, entre autres, la technique de la ‘queue d’aronde’ [dovetail technique] et la posture d’’antiquaire’ volontiers adoptée par l’auteur de *Perceforest*). Jouant souvent le rôle de passeuse entre les mondes universitaires anglo-saxons et français, J. Taylor aime les textes méconnus, mésestimés, voire malaimés, qu’elle ‘restaure’: elle a contribué à revaloriser *Perceforest*, *Méliador* ou *Isaïe le Triste*. Le goût pour les textes à la frontière de la matière arthurienne, inévitable quand on étudie une fin du Moyen Âge caractérisée par le mélange des matières, explique qu’elle se soit intéressée aussi bien à *Isaïe le Triste* et *Perceforest* qu’à *Tristan de Nanteuil*.

Son travail sur la transmission des textes l’a amenée, logiquement, à étudier la réception arthurienne dans les éditions de la Renaissance (avec la très belle monographie *Rewriting Arthurian Romance in Renaissance France*, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014)), mais aussi plus ponctuellement dans une pièce éliabethaine de Montgrel (qui reprend un épisode de *Perceforest*), dans les remaniements bourguignons d’*Erec* et de *Cligès* ou chez Pierre Sala.

Christine Ferlampin-Acher, Université Rennes 2

XENJA VON ERTZDORFF-KUPFFER (1933–2013)
Born in 1933 in Sindelfingen, the daughter of an old noble family from the Baltics, Xenja von Ertzdorff-Kupffer had studied German and Romance studies, as well as history, in Tübingen, Göttingen and Freiburg. Her dissertation (1958) and her Habilitation (1966) were devoted to German courtly literature. As a professor for German medieval studies in Giessen (from 1970), she concentrated on medieval cultural studies, narratology, intertextuality and comparative studies. She organised a series of interdisciplinary conferences and fostered comparative approaches in medieval literature, and especially in Arthurian literature. The conferences about marriage, love and adulterous love in medieval literature in 1983, about the lion knight in 1993, and about the Tristan-tradition in 1996 marked her major interests in Arthurian studies: *Iwein* and *Tristan*. At a time when the canon of medieval studies was still based on ‘classical’ texts, she drew the attention to variations of ‘classical’ topics in all European languages, explaining their differences as products of historical and cultural contexts. She explored the different ways

narrators communicate with their audience in diverse genres and changing cultures. Again and again, she drew long lines of comparison between medieval and early-modern romance and was fascinated by the way narrators across various ages refuse to offer simple moral teachings, and experiment with, for example, the performance of an ideal love, which cannot exist in society.57 Thereby, Xenja von Ertzdorff-Kupffer opened readers’ eyes to the complexity of medieval courtly literature. At the same time, she tried to make it more accessible to a broader readership. In 1979, she published a modern German translation of Gottfried’s Tristan,58 which has long been the standard translation of the text. Last, but not least, for eleven years she was bibliographer of the German Branch of the IAS, focusing on studies about Tristan.

Cora Dietl, Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen

BONNIE WHEELER
Through her numerous conference presentations, scholarly publications, television appearances, dynamic classroom performances, the two(!) edited book series for Palgrave Macmillan (The New Middle Ages and Arthurian and Courtly Cultures), her tireless work on numerous academic committees, service to (and in many cases, creation of) several scholarly societies, and – most especially – her support, encouragement and nurturing of young scholars, Bonnie Wheeler has profoundly and positively affected not only the fields of Arthurian studies and medieval studies, but she has also had a transformative impact on the academy writ large, and, dare I say, society as a whole. I know that I am only one among hundreds – if not thousands – of people who can point to Bonnie Wheeler as the colleague, mentor and friend who had a profound impact on the trajectory of their careers – be they academic or otherwise.

As a newly minted PhD at the start of my career, I was filled with a sense of ‘imposter syndrome’ coupled with that sense of competitive paranoia that seems, unfortunately, to be one of the by-products of successful completion of a PhD programme. The bravest, smartest and single most important thing I ever did in my academic career was, at the 1999 International Congress at Kalamazoo, raise my hand and volunteer when Bonnie Wheeler asked if anyone was interested in helping her with the journal Arthuriana. As I learned the ins and outs of academia and scholarly publishing, Bonnie also mentored me in countless other ways. She encouraged – and modelled – collaboration with other scholars; she gave me tasks that at first seemed far beyond what I considered my meagre abilities, but

Female Arthurian Scholars: An Initial Collection of Tributes

her confidence that I could complete the task meant that, almost always, I found a way. If Bonnie Wheeler thought I could do a thing, I had better figure out how to do that thing so as not to disappoint her. She believed in me and my abilities before I did. With her unwavering encouragement, support and endless supply of wise counsel, I grew as a scholar and teacher.

It’s been almost twenty years since I tentatively raised my hand and said ‘I’d be happy to help with the journal.’ Since that time, as my career has progressed, I have returned again and again to Bonnie for advice, counsel and sometimes a shoulder to cry on. I am not exaggerating when I say I am most certain that my career has become what it is because of Bonnie Wheeler. I do not think I am exaggerating either when I say that the field of Arthurian Studies as it exists today has been shaped in large measure by Bonnie Wheeler, both through her direct influence – as a scholar and member of any number of executive committees concerned with academic matters – and through the students she has trained who have gone on to break new ground in their own research and follow her example as scholars, teachers and generously collegial comrades.

The Bonnie Wheeler Fellowship Fund was established eight years ago to provide women academics in medieval studies time off from teaching to complete a significant scholarly project. As anyone in academia knows, while women and men receive PhDs in roughly equal numbers, the number of men advancing through the ranks of the professoriate from assistant to associate to full professor is disproportionate to the number of women who do so. The Bonnie Wheeler Fellowship seeks to re-dress this imbalance, and since its inception we have made a promising start, with several important scholarly projects completed that might not otherwise have made it to publication – or at least, not so soon. A fellowship designed to lift scholars up and assist them with their work is indeed an appropriate tribute to the woman who has been called ‘the godmother of medieval studies’. Every day, she lifts up, inspires, defends and supports Arthurian studies and those who are interested and active in the field. This short tribute hardly seems adequate, but it is a start.

Dorsey Armstrong, Purdue University

EVANGELINE WHIPPLE (1862–1930)

Standing at the foot of a long-forgotten grave, I raise my face to the warm winter sun. Clearly, I am not in Minnesota, where a polar vortex has sent temperatures plummeting to −34 C. Rather, I am in Bagni di Lucca, Italy, a fading nineteenth-century spa town tucked quietly in the mountains of Tuscany. I have followed an earlier Minnesotan here. Her name was Evangeline Marrs Simpson Whipple.

I have been on Evangeline’s trail since 2010, when a colleague at St. Olaf College recommended that I examine the murals of Galahad in Gilbert Hall, at
the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour in Faribault, Minnesota. The walls of the meeting room in the Guild House are decorated with reproductions of Edwin Austen Abbey’s sixteen Galahad murals. The replicas line the walls in the same position as the originals in the Boston Public Library. In Faribault, the scenes of Galahad’s life are beautifully framed in oak, each with a moralising summary of the legend carved beneath.

The originals of Abbey’s ‘Quest for the Holy Grail’ have adorned the Boston Public Library Reading Room since 1901. Although sometimes disparaged as ‘a bit of misplaced late-Pre-Raphaelite English Arthuriana that somehow stayed across the Atlantic’, 59 Abbey’s murals were immensely popular and influential. Abbey and his wife Mary Gertrude Mead Abbey created an amalgam of the Grail story, deriving their version from Chrétien’s *Perceval* and Gerbert de Montreuil’s continuation, Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival*, Robert de Boron’s *Joseph d’Arimathie*, and the Vulgate Cycle’s *Queste* – all as mediated by the Celtic scholar Alfred Nutt. 60 The Abbeys’ great innovation is the folding of the characters of Percival and Galahad into a single hero who fails to ask the question but comes to perfection through effort. The appeal of Abbey’s sixteen visual reenactments lay in a public hungry for moral reform after the scandals of the Gilded Age. 61 From their installation through the Great War, Abbey’s murals were available to churches, schools and libraries from Boston publisher Curtis & Cameron. One person made sure that a fine, large set of prints arrived in Minnesota from Boston very early in America’s Galahad craze.

That person is likely Evangeline Whipple (1862–1930), a Boston collector of art who found herself living at the edge of the prairie. Evangeline was fourteen years a widow when, in 1896, she became the second wife of Minnesota’s first Episcopal Bishop, Henry Benjamin Whipple. 62 Earlier, in her twenties, Evangeline Marrs had married Michael Simpson, a Boston textile baron. Simpson’s death – for he was nearly fifty years her senior – left Evangeline one of the wealthiest widows in Boston. During and after her first marriage, Evangeline spent several years in

60 See Alfred Nutt, quoted in Baird Eustis Jarman, ‘Galahad in the Gilded Age: Edwin Austin Abbey’s *The Quest of the Holy Grail* and the Campaign for Civic Virtue’ (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 2005), ch. 3.
62 Bishop Whipple is known for converting Native Americans and defending their rights against corrupt U.S. officials and policies. Today Henry Whipple is best remembered for his advocacy with President Lincoln of two hundred and sixty-five Dakota warriors condemned to hang for murders committed during the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. Lincoln commuted the sentences of all but thirty-eight of the warriors.
Europe collecting art and at least five years in a ‘Boston marriage’ with Rose Cleveland, sister of President Grover Cleveland. Evangeline met the bishop while wintering in Florida where an interest in serving the native Americans of nearby Georgia brought them together. A quiet woman, Evangeline left east coast society and her partner Rose to marry Whipple, putting her energy and money to the service of the fledgling Episcopal community in Minnesota. She travelled with her husband to Dakota missions and funded the five educational institutions he had founded. She added two large wings to the Whipple home, the See House, and filled them with his collection of First Nation artifacts and her art collection. Above all she used her wealth to support the material fabric of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour.

When Bishop Whipple was alive Evangeline underwrote the building of the Guild Hall, and after his death in 1901 the completion of a massive Gothic bell tower. That both projects were designed by premier architects – the Guild House in a Romanesque style reminiscent of Trinity Church Boston, by William H. Jewett of New Haven; the bell tower by American Gothic revivalists, Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Goodhue – show that Evangeline’s east coast connections remained strong. The classroom added to the Guild House became known as Gilbert Hall, in honor of Bishop Whipple’s assistant, Mahon Norris Gilbert. Newspaper accounts of its dedication in 1905 refer to the efforts of his daughters and their classmates at St. Mary’s Hall, the Episcopal Academy for girls, in bringing the project to completion. Nowhere in the accounts does the name Evangeline Whipple appear, yet she single-handedly funded the girls’ academy and was likely the only person in the community to have followed the enthusiastic response to Abbey’s Galahad murals. She also probably wrote the summaries, which are tighter than the two official guidebooks to the Boston frieze, and which move the plot smartly along.

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63 The term, from Henry James’ novel, *The Bostonians*, derives in part from the lack of men in Boston who survived the Civil War. In a Boston marriage two women, usually in possession of their own wealth, lived together and vowed their love, often in frankly erotic terms, while devoting their lives to social justice and or cultural advancement. Rose and Evangeline’s letters have just appeared in print, for the first time, in *Precious and Adored: The Love Letters of Rose Cleveland and Evangeline Simpson Whipple, 1890–1918*, ed. by Lizzie Ehrenhalt and Tilly Laskey (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, 2019).

64 In his book *Light and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (London: Macmillan, 1912), Whipple explains that Evangeline’s compassion ‘for the sorrowful and heavy-laden’ and ‘her deep interest in the brown and black races who have for so long held a place in my heart’ drew them together. Evangeline and Rose are known to have gone from Florida on missionary trips to Native communities in Georgia with Bishop Whipple.

65 The first official guide to the murals was written by Henry James, Mary Gertrude Mead Abbey, and Abbey himself in 1901. The second was by Ferris Greenslet in 1902.
for the uninitiated viewer: ‘To the child Galahad is granted a vision’, reads the first frame; the second, ‘Galahad grown a stalwart youth taketh the oath of Knighthood’, and so on. In mounting the Galahad murals in Gilbert Hall, Evangeline Whipple clearly expected children to absorb the moralising purpose of ‘medieval’ art. Yet through lectures held there for adults, Gilbert Hall also served the lyceum-like purpose of educating Faribault’s citizens about European and American art, architecture and literature.

I treated the Galahad murals as an example of American Arthuriana in a paper I presented at the Bristol IAS international congress before I had even learned of Evangeline’s name. Later, she came to my attention while I was researching a reproduction in oil of the Hoccleve Chaucer portrait owned by my college, but of which she was the patron. Evangeline’s life was quiet but extraordinary. In 1910 she left Minnesota hastily for Florence to care for her ailing brother. After his recovery, Evangeline never returned to the prairie, instead reconnected with Rose Cleveland, and settled in Bagni di Lucca. There the two established an orphanage and the town’s only hospital and together nursed victims of the influenza pandemic, which claimed Rose’s life. Evangeline lived on in Italy, putting her wealth toward female education in Tuscany and Minnesota. I do not know if she ever found her grail. I do know that her quest led her to two loving relationships and across the United States – from Minnesota, to Boston, to California – and finally to Tuscany. For more than a century the community at Our Merciful Saviour in Faribault has been living under Galahad’s and Evangeline’s influence. Evangeline led me to the joys of researching American medievalism. With my pilgrimage to her grave and the opportunity to write this note, I honour an uncelebrated Arthurian scholar, Evangeline Whipple.

Karen Cherewatuk, St Olaf College

MARY WILLIAMS (1883–1977)
Born into a Welsh-speaking, Nonconformist, politically Liberal family in Aberystwyth, Mary Williams had the advantages of early bilingualism and, unlike many of her contemporaries, an upbringing in an environment where education for both sexes was considered of paramount importance. She won scholarships to

68 For further biographical details, see Dictionary of Welsh Biography <https://biography.wales/> and the Mary Williams Papers at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
study for her BA in French and German at Aberystwyth and for her doctorate in Paris. Her doctoral thesis, ‘Essai sur la composition du roman gallois de Peredur’, was a pioneering study of the structure and evolution of the Welsh tale; published by Champion in 1909, it remains essential reading. Her training in Welsh and Irish as well as continental languages enabled her to contextualise individual texts by taking multilingual, comparative approaches.

Mary Williams was an important role model for women scholars. In 1921 she was the first woman to be appointed to a chair in Modern Languages in Wales and unusually for her generation she combined her successful career with marriage. Her husband, Dr George Arbour Stephens, a Welsh-speaking cardiologist from Carmarthenshire, shared her interest in folklore as well as the Arthurian legend. These two themes would form a constant theme in Williams’ research, and were reflected in her active membership both of the Folklore Society and of the Arthurian Society from its first meeting in Truro in 1930. Apart from her edition of Gerbert de Montreuil’s Continuation of Chrétien’s Perceval – her much-heralded edition of Marie de France’s Lais did not materialise – most of her work was published as articles. These are remarkably wide-ranging, but always return to medieval Arthurian texts, and especially to comparative studies, including relations between Welsh and French literature, and through public lectures and more popular publications she worked tirelessly to make scholarship in the field accessible to non-academic audiences, especially in Wales. In her later years, however, her ideas took a more eccentric turn when she was persuaded to endorse the ideas of the Research into Lost Knowledge Organisation about zodiac patterns formed by field patterns in Glastonbury.

Despite a rather formidable reputation, one of her former students, her successor at Swansea, Professor Armel Diverres, stressed that behind an austere exterior ‘she possessed a strong sense of fun and a genuine warmth of feeling’. This was confirmed by Elspeth Kennedy’s memories of Mary Williams at Arthurian conferences, bringing on a storm at the Fontaine de Barenton or, proud Welshwoman that she was, gleefully dancing on Offa’s reputed grave.

Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, Bangor University
