



Literature - Publications

This page offers introductory texts to my publications in the field of literature. The following works are concerned :

RIDOUX Charles, *Evolution des études médiévales en France de 1860 à 1914 (Evolution in medieval studies in France from 1860 to 1914)*, Paris, Champion, 2001.

Parcs et Jardins au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance (Parks and Gardens in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance) – L'Apocalypse (The Apocalypse). Actes des Colloques de Rambures (juin 2004 et juin 2007), dir. Charles RIDOUX, Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2008.

RIDOUX Charles, *Tolkien, le Chant du Monde (Tolkien, the Song of the World)*, Encrage - Les Belles-Lettres, 2004.

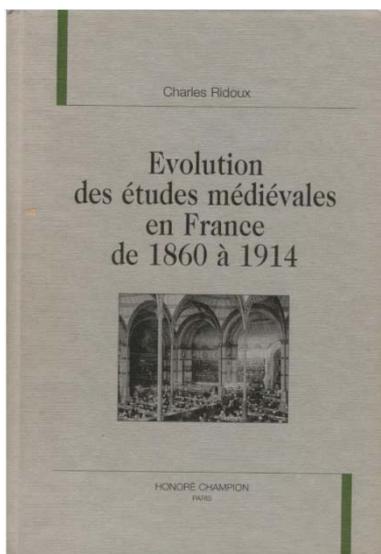
RIDOUX Charles, *Dossier « Napoléon dans le roman populaire » (Napoleon in the popular novel)*, *Le Rocamboles*, n° 27, 2004.



PRESENTATION OF PHD THESIS DURING SUPPORT

Paris – Sorbonne – december 5, 1998

Jury composed of MM. Philippe Ménard (President), Jean Dufournet (Supervisor), Francis Dubost, Aimé Petit and Mrs Mireille Saccotte.



Lady and Gentlemen of the Jury,

Life is sometimes paradoxical and surprising. When I arrived at the end of my studies at the University of Neuchâtel, I was thinking of undertaking a thesis, the subject which seemed to impose itself on me was Dostoevsky's work, since I had written a long memoir on "The evolution of metaphysical themes" in this author and that I had learned the Russian language in order to be able to read it in the text. And yet the seed had already been sowed which would lead me to present today before you this thesis of Doctorate of State whose subject is "the evolution of medieval studies in France from 1860 to 1914". It is in fact thanks to the course that Jean Rychner devoted to the *Tale of the Grail* of Chrétien de Troyes in 1967 that my curiosity had been awakened not only with regard to the subject matter studied but also with the criticisms which had attached to it since then the end of the last century. Subsequently, reading Mikhail Bakhtin's book on *Dostoevsky's Poetics* helped me to engage in research on Yuri

Lotman and the Semiotics of the Tartu School in Estonia. But I did not feel at ease in the abstract structuralism of this school and, having now in charge of the teaching of medieval language and literature at the University of Valenciennes, I chose to study the spatio-temporal in the *Mysteries of the Passion*. My interest was then concerned with the problems of transition from one cultural system to another, and this autumn period of the Middle Ages of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seemed particularly conducive to this type of questioning. But I was at odds with this subject and confronted with a new paradox : when I was always taken literature to the novel, I was attacking the theater and I had to deal with all sorts of questions relating to staging, while the text of the mysteries, it must be said, was not what medieval literature left us the best. Where to turn ? I will always remember the joy shown by Professor Jean Dufournet, my thesis supervisor, when, one afternoon in October 1991, I timidly evoked the idea of working on the founding fathers of our discipline : I did not suspect that this was one of his wishes, but I realized at once that I had found my way and that I would benefit from his precious advice in my work.

I set out on this new path without preconceived ideas, and without any other method than that of a historical inquiry aimed at exposing the achievements of a particular group - the French Romanists of the second half of the nineteenth century - by situating them in the context of their time and judging the results on the one hand according to their own projects, on the other hand in view of the further developments of our discipline. Quite quickly I became aware of the need to situate the new school in the double line of scholarly work in France during the first half of the nineteenth century and the new contributions of German science. I benefited in this regard from the work of Michaël Glencross, author of a thesis at the University of Grenoble on Arthurian matter and scholarship until 1860. Jane Dakyns' thesis on the reception of the Middle Ages among French authors of the second half of the nineteenth century provides me with a starting point for situating the contribution of French medievalists in relation to the ideological and aesthetic debates of the time. But the main part of my work during the first two years consisted in taking the measure of the field of my studies, in setting the limits, in establishing the guidelines. As early as December 1994, I had a detailed plan that was virtually unchanged, except for minor alterations.

A first substantive question to be resolved was that of periodization. From the outset, we agreed with M. Dufournet that the framework of the thesis should encompass the period 1860-1914: this covers in essence the period of activity of Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer with, at the turn of the century, the rise of a new generation of medievalists around Joseph Bédier. The Great War would bring about such a change in the historical and cultural landscape as a whole that the place and function of the Middle Ages in ideological and aesthetic debates would be greatly altered. I was led by my subject to reflect on what constituted the main characteristic of this period and to describe it as the era of medievalism. By this I mean the synthesis of three elements that merged during this half century, allowing the emergence and expansion of what can be called a new school of Romance philology. These three elements are constituted by a method applying to an object within the framework of a particular institutional configuration. The method is the result of the synthesis carried out by a group of young people who emerged from the *Ecole des Chartes* in the early 1860s, drawing inspiration from the work of French scholarship in the first half of the 19th century and of the progress of German science in the field of philology and comparative grammar. The object to which this method will be applied is the whole literary legacy of medieval France which these young scholars are sorry to see abandoned, for lack of qualification, to scholars of foreign origin. As for the institutional configuration, it is characterized by a sort of repugnance from the University of that period, attached to classical rhetoric, for studies that seem too arid and too specialized. Already on the eve of the Great War, the new Sorbonne will be replaced by the new school, the method will have borne fruit and medieval literature gained an honorable place in the course of the literary history of France. The constitutive elements of medievalism, in the narrow sense in which I have defined it, cease to be relevant, and the studies of Romance philology are now well integrated into the French University.

In the half-century which was the subject of my study, three distinct periods distinctly separated themselves : the 1860s, when the new school was making its first steps, without yet having any real means ; then the long period when the two directors of *Romania* worked from 1872 to 1903 until the death of Gaston Paris ; finally, a third period which seemed to me to be the time of the succession. In the long central period it was impossible for me to make subdivisions of a chronological order ; I preferred to treat this period as a whole, which had the advantage of underlining the unity of views and actions of the two leaders of the new school.

As for the organization of matter within these three parts, it was posed in a specific way to each. In the first part, I was led to emphasize the foundations which presided over the new scientific spirit

borne by the generation that emerged from the *Ecole des Chartes* in the early 1860s and which was going to experience a serious crisis of conscience during the disasters of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and of the Commune. I have tried to highlight here the double contribution made up of the legacy of French scholarship and the methods of German science; I have shown that for this generation, in France as in Germany or in other European countries, the love of science and the love of the fatherland were indissolubly linked; I have finally observed that our scholars, with regard to literature of the Middle Ages, had an approach which I described as a documentary, seeking in the texts documents relating to the history of manners or language without seek to understand them according to specific aesthetic criteria, corresponding to the specific genius of medieval civilization.

For the second period, from 1872 to 1903, I divided my study into two major parts, the first devoted to the expansion of the new school, the second to examining its achievements through the main genres of literature Medieval times. In the first part I was interested in the way in which our predecessors set out to conquer the University by investing first of all scholarly institutions more favorable to their methods than at that time the old Sorbonne attached to teaching based on classical rhetoric and the critique of taste. I have thus made the history of the institutions by which they took their first steps and where they soon became famous : the *Ecole des Chartes*, where Paul Meyer taught from 1869 to 1915 and of which he became the director in 1882, at he death of Jules Quicherat, the *Collège de France* and the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, the two bastions of Gaston Paris, which the latter will pleasantly name as his "great church" and his "little chapel," but also the *Académie des Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres* and the *Académie française* which will crown the rise of the Romanesque philology by electing, in 1896, Gaston Paris to the chair left empty by Louis Pasteur. I then showed how the new school has given itself tools to transform minds, such as various scholarly journals and scholarly societies. I thus presented the foundation and the history of journals such as the *Revue Critique* and then *Romania*, founded by Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer respectively in 1865 and 1872, as well as the history of the *Bibliothèque des Chartes* which, of 1839, had hitherto welcomed the works of the French Romanists, and I also underlined the essential role of *l'Histoire littéraire de la France* a legacy of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur, I evoked the attachment of Gaston Paris in the *Journal des Savants*, which he helped to save from an almost certain disappearance, and I encamped the two rival constellations which then divided the field of historical studies around the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, the focus of a Catholic movement, and the *Revue historique* of Gabriel Monod, which claimed the new scientific spirit.

Finally, through the multiplication of fundamental works, all this activity was to culminate in an indispensable synthesis of acquired knowledge : I examine the grammars, the dictionaries, the histories of literature which then appear. Finally, I presented a picture of the expansion of the new school in Europe and America, thus highlighting the intellectual influence that was Gaston Paris with the Romanists of many countries come to train with the French master at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes (School of Higher Studies)*.

The first part also contains sorts of monographs devoted, for example, to the problems of the editing of texts and the search for manuscripts. In this connection, the case of the theft of manuscripts carried out by Mr. Libri and recovered by the tenacity of Paul Meyer and Leopold Delisle presents itself as a detective novel. This is another monograph devoted to the great intellectual adventure of *l'Atlas de la France (the Atlas of France)* realized by Jules Gilliéron thanks to the support of Gaston Paris and Mario Roques. Another, finally, deals with the astonishing enigma of *Barzaz-Breiz* and the silence of its author, Count Hersart de la Villemarqué, faced with the criticisms and accusations he was made of having constituted a false literary in the manner of *The Ossian* of MacPherson. The recent work of Donatien Laurent, a specialist in Breton folklore, has partly renewed the question.

In the second part, I tried to show the progress of studies in the main genres of medieval literature by focusing on the main debates which then agitated the critics, especially in the field of the Old French Epic and in that of the Arthurian literature which constitutes, I confess, my favorite domain. A long chapter deals first with the *Chanson de Geste*, successively tackling the *Chanson de Roland*, the cycle of Charlemagne, the cycle of William of Orange, the Old French Epic of Revolt, the Old French Epic of Crusade ; two subdivisions deal on the one hand with Franco-Italian literature, on the other hand the various approaches in the field of the *Chanson de Geste*. This last section deals successively with the positions defended by Leon Gautier, Gaston Paris, Paul Meyer, Pio Rajna and Mila y Fontanals. Chapter eleven, on Occitan lyric, presents the thesis of Alfred Jeanroy and the positions of Gaston Paris on the May holidays, disputed with a slight irony by Joseph Bédier. Chapter twelve, dealing with historians and chroniclers, exposes and discusses the works relating to Villehardouin and Robert de Clari, then to Joinville, Froissart and Commynes, as well as two notices on Wace and on

Philippe de Novare, whose work is particularly appreciated by Gaston Paris. Chapter 13, which presents Chrétien de Troyes and the novel of verse, revolves essentially on the editions of Wendelin Förster, the questions of attribution to Chrétien of *Philomena* and *William of England*, as well as the reserved literary judgments made at the time on the great novelist of Champagne. A long chapter is devoted to the novels of the Round Table and the Legend of the Grail. Emphasis is placed on the difficulty of these studies because of the extreme complexity of the manuscript tradition and the extent of the prose literature of the thirteenth century, as well as the progression of Celtic theses, despite divergences which oppose the supporters of the Anglo-Norman thesis defended by Gaston Paris, the Armorican thesis supported by H. Zimmer and the insular thesis spontaneously and fiercely argued by Ferdinand Lot. After presenting the various positions on chronology issues and on the relationship between the Robert de Boron and Gautier Map cycles and the Arthurian tradition from Nennius to Wace, this chapter broadly develops the studies of Gaston Paris on the novels of the Round Table as well as the numerous debates aroused by these works, encompassing the *Continuations of the Grail Tale*, the cycles of Robert de Boron and *Lancelot-Graal*, the main novels about Gauvain, *Méliador* de Froissart and foreign versions. Chapter fifteen deals with the legend of Tristan, the seminar devoted to this subject by Gaston Paris at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes having contributed to arousing numerous studies from 1886. Chapter thirteen to ancient novels, chapter seventeen Lyric poetry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the eighteenth chapter is devoted to the theater, the interest being now on the southern theater studied by Alfred Jeanroy and on the profane theater which benefited particularly from the works of Emile Picot on *sottie*. Finally, chapter nineteen deals with various works, difficult to classify in the genres previously discussed, but which give rise to works often worthy of interest, such as the thesis of Leopold Sudre on the *Roman de Renart*, studies of Gaston Paris on *The legend of Barlaam and Josaphat* and on the *Dolopathos*, those of Paul Meyer on *William the Marshal* and on treatises on geomancy.

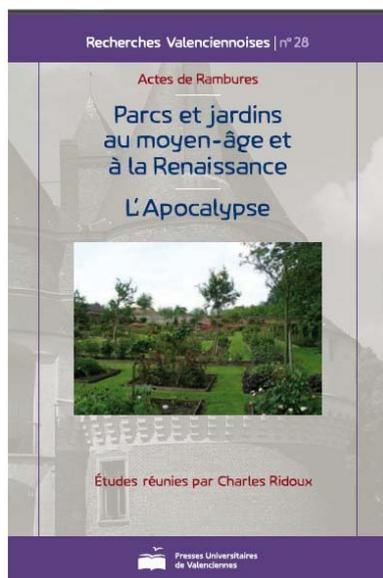
But I have also been very interested and even attached to the men who have devoted the best of their strength and intelligence to these studies, and have endeavored to judge fairly their personal contribution and their scientific personality. Chapter twenty presents, for the leading leaders of mediaevalism, their career, their works and a portrait of their scientific personality. The solar radiation of Gaston Paris and the indefatigable activity of Paul Meyer are naturally highlighted, but a place is also made to the endearing personality of Leon Gautier, too often neglected. The generation of succession is presented around the three figures of Joseph Bédier, Mario Roques and Ferdinand Lot, and the chapter concludes with a series of portraits that endeavor to identify different types of scholars who embody the originality, Melancholy and a passion for learning.

The last period, after the disappearance of Gaston Paris, was shortened - fortunately - in relation to my first intentions, because of the existence of the thesis of Alain Corbellari on Joseph Bédier, which allowed me to contain the limits of my work without spilling over more than a single page the fateful threshold of a thousand. The last chapter, covering the period 1903-1914, presents this time of the succession, after the disappearance of the undisputed master, Gaston Paris, time marked by renewals and extensions. The rising star was Joseph Bédier who published his famous *Epic Legends* during this period, while Edmond Faral took a prominent place in the study of ancient novels. Studies on the theater reveal the name of Gustave Cohen, who is interested in staging, while in the field of lyric poetry we can notice the studies of Jean Beck on the music of the troubadours, much appreciated by Mario Roques, those of the Russian critic Vladimir Chichmaref on Guillaume de Machaut and the contributions of Pierre Champion on François Villon, following the researches of Auguste Longnon and Marcel Schwob. Finally, one can note in the research devoted to the novels of the Round Table a less historical and more literary approach, which appears clearly in the articles of Gédéon Huet and in the works of Jessie Weston.

In order to carry out this undertaking, I have carried out the review of several magazines, often over more than fifty years, each annual volume usually reaching six hundred pages, but I did not count tens of thousands of pages thus traveled. I have devoted particular attention to the chronicles which relate the everyday life of these journals and the scholarly activity of the period, as well as the innumerable reports-often substantial and sometimes very lively - that enabled me to enter the thought of Gaston Paris or Paul Meyer in the course of the development of knowledge. To this must be added the reading of numerous prefaces and introductions to the principal works published during this half century, be it editions of texts or critical works, as well as numerous substantive articles published in the principal organs expressing themselves then the French Romanists. But I had to choose, in principle, to stick to the published texts, without integrating in my work the rich correspondence between the scholars of the time. The use of this correspondence seemed to me premature, as long as

the general picture of scholarly activity was not fixed at that time, and as long as I did not have a sufficiently clear idea of the relations of scholars, others. Now that my thesis has enabled me to acquire, at least to some extent, this preliminary knowledge, it would perhaps be desirable to extend these studies by a commented examination of these correspondences, and I envision to commit myself precisely in this kind of researches, hoping that my dear master, Jean Dufournet, will be kind enough to guide me there with as much security and kindness as he has done for the work which I now submit to your examination.

PRESENTATION OF COLLOQUIUMS OF 2004 AND 2007



Since 2007, the Colloquies of Rambures have found a new impetus, after an interim period of three years following the retirement of their founder, Professor Jean-Marc Pastré, a Germanist and a medievalist who taught at the University of Rouen. These conferences, which benefit from the generous hospitality of the Count and the Countess de Blanchard, owners of the Castle of Rambures, situated just at the limit of Normandy and Picardy, have a style peculiar to themselves, it is perhaps good to remind him ; this is because they combine a high scientific and intellectual level with an openness to personal exchanges favored by the privileged setting in which these meetings take place and by the fact of living together for three days. Without being naturally assimilated for its prestige Rambures at the famous colloquiums of Cerisy, there is a spirit somewhat similar which rests on the desire for intellectual exchanges of quality in an environment devoid of any competition and any pretentious display of its know. The guests at the Rambures symposiums are experienced researchers who have nothing more to prove their competence and are thus perfectly available for fruitful

exchanges of views. And the spirit of these colloquies seems to be inspired by the Ciceronian *amicitia*, which demands a mutual esteem between persons who enjoy meeting to share their respective works. This does not prevent, on the contrary, Rambures from being welcoming towards young talented researchers, who can thus, as is also the case in Cerisy, rub shoulders with old people in charge of knowledge and experience. The interdisciplinary nature of these symposia, which we wish to maintain and extend - not only to historians, scholars of art history, exegetes and historians of religions, but also to scientists and historians of science - a guarantee of outreach and promising encounters in the futur.

It is an event unique to the life of Rambures that inspired the theme of the 2004 symposium on "Parks and gardens in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance": the creation of a magnificent rose garden that now comprises about 350 species and makes the joy of visitors. For various reasons, I have chosen to publish some of the papers presented at this symposium together with the proceedings of the next symposium, dedicated in 2007 to the theme of the Apocalypse. There was not in this choice of circumstantial reason : the participants of the colloquium of 2004 had chosen this theme in preference to others that were proposed to them. I was well aware that each of these two subjects - both the gardens and the Apocalypse - have given rise in recent years to many scholarly encounters which have undoubtedly advanced the level of knowledge in these fields. Thus, meetings at the Abbey of Saint-Arnoult in 1988¹ and at the abbey of Flaran in 1989², the colloquium of Aix-en-Provence of 1990³, that of the Abbey of Noirlac in 1995⁴, that of Versailles⁵ in 2004 ; to which can be added various

¹ *Le Jardin médiéval (The medieval Garden)*, colloquium at the Abbey of Saint-Arnoult (3-4 september 1988), éd. Adama, 1990.

² *Jardins et vergers en Europe occidentale (VIII^e-XVIII^e s.)*, Neuvièmes journées internationales d'histoire, Auch, Centre culturel de l'abbaye de Flaran, 1989.

³ *Vergers et jardins dans l'univers médiéval, Proceeding of the colloquium*, march 1990, Aix-en-Provence, 1990 (Gardens and orchards in Western Europe (8th-18th centuries), Ninth International Days of History, Auch, Cultural Center of Flaran Abbey, 1989. (*Senefiance* 28)

⁴ *Jardins du Moyen Age (gardens of middle age)*. Colloque au Centre de l'enluminure et de l'image médiévale, Abbaye de Noirlac (Colloquium at the Center of Medieval Illumination and Image, Abbey of Noirlac), éd. Le Léopard d'Or, 1995.

⁵ *Le Jardin : Figures et métamorphoses*, textes réunis par Anne-Marie BRENOT et Bernard COTTRET (THE GARDEN: FIGURES AND METAMORPHOSES, TEXTS COLLECTED BY ANNE-MARIE BRENOT AND BERNARD COTTRET), Editions Universitaires de Dijon, Dijon 2005, coll. Art et Patrimoine.

works published during the last twenty years⁶. As far as the Apocalypse is concerned, it is doubtless always useful to refer to Leon Gry's work on millenarianism, which appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century⁷, then to the work of Bernard McGinn⁸, those from Richard Emerson⁹, from Pierre Prigent¹⁰, from Claude Carozzi¹¹, from R. Rusconi¹² and from André Vauchez¹³. One can add to this list, non exhaustive it goes without saying, the two volumes of the Encyclopaedia of the Apocalyptic published under the direction of Bernard McGuinn¹⁴, As well as various other collective works, proceedings of symposia or blends in honor of a scholar¹⁵, André Vauchez¹⁶. In his presentation of the papers on the theme of eschatology and millenarianism in Oslo in August 2000 at the 19th International Congress of Historical Sciences, he highlighted the evolution of research during the second half of the twentieth century; whereas at a previous congress held in Rome in 1955 this theme had aroused a lively confrontation between Marxist historians and others more attached to a "spiritualist" reading of these movements, contemporary historians are more interested today in the interaction between the messianic or apocalyptic currents in Judaism, Christianity and Islam and research tends to be part of a comparative history of religions and cultures.

The Colloquies of Rambures do not pretend to renew science in these *Acts*; nevertheless the reader of these Proceedings will find original contributions, often very erudite and approaching very varied aspects both at the colloquium on the gardens and in that which was devoted to the theme of the Apocalypse. We present below the various communications of these two symposia in the alphabetical order which appeared to us the most convenient

Charles Ridoux

Amfroipret, January 16 2008

⁶ *Le temps des jardins*, Melun, Comité départemental du Patrimoine de Seine-et-Marne, 1992; PÉRNOUD Régine et HERSCHER Georges, *Jardins de monastère*, éd. Actes Sud, 1996; CAMBORNAC Michel, *Plantes et jardins du Moyen Age* (préface de Régine Pernoud), Hartmann éd., 1998; HUCHARD V. et P. BOURGAIN, *Le jardin médiéval: un musée imaginaire*, Paris, PUF, 2002; VALÉRY Marie-Françoise et LE TOQUIN Alain, *Jardins du Moyen Age*, Roubaix, La Renaissance du Livre, 2002 (*The time of the gardens*, Melun, Departmental Committee of the Patrimony of Seine-et-Marne, 1992; PÉRNOUD Régine and HERSCHER Georges, *Monastery Gardens*, ed. South, 1996; CAMBORNAC Michel, *Medieval Plants and Gardens* (preface by Régine Pernoud), Hartmann ed., 1998; HUCHARD V. and P. BOURGAIN, *The medieval garden: an imaginary museum*, Paris, PUF, 2002; VALÉRY Marie-Françoise and LE TOQUIN Alain, *Gardens of the Middle Ages*, Roubaix, La Renaissance du Livre, 2002).

⁷ GRY Léon, *Le Millénarisme dans son origine et son développement* (Millennium in its origin and development), Paris, 1904.

⁸ MCGINN Bernard, « « Apocalypticism in the middle ages: an historiographical sketch », *Medieval Studies*, t. 37, 1975, pp. 252-286; MCGINN Bernard, *Visions of the End. Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1982.

⁹ EMMERSON Richard K., *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature*, Manchester University Press, 1981; EMMERSON Richard K. et HERMANN R.B., *The Apocalyptic Imagination in Medieval Literature*, Philadelphie, 1992.

¹⁰ PRIGENT Pierre, *L'Apocalypse de saint Jean (The Apocalypse of Saint John)*, Genève, Labor et Fides, 1995.

¹¹ CAROZZI Claude, *Apocalypse et salut dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval* (Apocalypse and salvation in ancient and medieval Christianity), Paris, 1996.

¹² RUSCONI R., *Profezia e profeti alla fine del Medioevo*, Rome, 1999.

¹³ VAUCHEZ André, *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires. Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Age* (Saints, prophets and visionaries. The supernatural power in the Middle Ages), Paris, 1999.

¹⁴ *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. I. *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. J.J. Collins, vol. II. *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, dir. Bernard McGinn, New York, Continuum, 1998.

¹⁵ *L'Apocalypse de Jean, Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques (I^{er}-XIII^e siècle)* (*The Apocalypse of John, Exegetical and iconographic Traditions (II-XIIIth century)*), Colloques Fondation Hardt 1976, Genève, 1979; *Prophecy and Millenarism. Essays in honour of Marjorie Reeves*, dir. A. Williams, Harlowe, 1980; *Les textes prophétiques et la prophétie en Occident (XII^e-XVI^e siècles)* (*The prophetic texts and the prophecy in the Occident (XIIe-XVIe centuries)*), ed. André Vauchez, Rome, Ecole Française de Rome, 1990 (Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Mhg – Temps Modernes, 102); *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.K. Emmerson et B. McGinn, Ithaca, 1992; *L'Attente des temps nouveaux. Eschatologie, millénarisme et visions du futur du Moyen Age au XX^e siècle* (*The Expectation of the New Times. Eschatology, millenarianism and visions of the future from the Middle Ages to the 20th century*), dir. André Vauchez, Turnhout, Brepols, 2002.

¹⁶ *L'Attente des temps nouveaux* (*Waiting for new times*), *op. cit.*, p. 7.

PRESENTATION OF THE "PARKS AND GARDENS IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE" CONFERENCE

Faithful to his analysis of the presence of ancient myths - particularly the myths related to the Arthurian gesture - in the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ROBERT BAUDRY evokes the first part of a trilogy due to the pen of Jack Vance, Great figure of the heroic fantasy; According to a tendency peculiar to this genre, the author belongs to the tradition of cyclical novels (which was the subject of a thesis by Anne Besson¹⁷) and his *Cycle de Lyonesse*¹⁸ refers to the legend of Tristan de Loonois and the world of the fairy islands of the Arthurian universe. The first volume of the trilogy, *Le Jardin de Suldrun (Garden of Suldrun)*, tells of the unfortunate adventure of a contemporary princess of Merlin and Uther Pendragon in a paradisiac garden that will eventually become a land of exile and expiation. Robert Baudry constantly reconciles the subject treated here with the works of Tasse (*Les Flèches d'Armide et la Jérusalem délivrée (The Arrows of Armida and the Jerusalem Delivered)*) and he also cites the work of the late Alain Labbé on the gardens in the epic imaginary. In this article, Robert Baudry advocates a thesis that is dear to him : that of the re-elaboration of ancient myths around a unifying myth, such as that of the Garden, which naturally refers to the myth of Eden and of the Lost Paradise. One can thus speak of a "force of magnetization" that one finds, for example, around the theme of the Forest in works such as that of André Dhôtel, cantor of the Ardennes forest or, in the Germanic domain, in the melancholic novels of Ernst Wiechert, poetic evocative of the deep forests of East Prussia.

It is also from Paradis threatening to transform into a "love prison" that it is mentioned in the article that ANNE BERTHELOT devotes to the garden in the Arthurian novels in prose of the thirteenth century. For the author, garden and forest are opposed as spaces respectively reserved for the feminine element and the masculine element : fence and roundness of the garden, protective place favoring the fulfillment of the amorous desire ; forest wild, privileged place of the warrior and chivalrous adventure. If the knight is the master of the game in the forest, in the orchard - a kind of outer annex of the "ladies' room" - the lady is all powerful. But most often in the novels of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, behind the face of the courtly lady is the figure of the fairy, with its enchanting powers whose use is likely to make the knight-lover a prisoner. The author invites us to traverse the gardens and orchards of the novels of Chrétien de Troyes (*Cliges and Erec and Enide*), the famous Val without Return of the *Lancelot* in prose, but also the *loci amoeni* of the *Perceforest* (work happily made accessible to readers thanks to the monumental edition of Gilles Roussineau). With Avalon, the pattern of the garden merges with that of the island, and there is no longer a possible escape from the imprisonment in perpetuity of the knight in a place of delights that the deprivation of freedom ends up making bitter. But the prison size of the garden works in both directions : if the knight is often the prisoner of his lady, the garden can also prove a protective place that forbids the lady the temptations of the outside world and any contact with potential rivals. Anne Berthelot analyzes with precision the ambiguity of the garden, an ambiguous place at the same time of satisfaction and frustration desires, both masculine and feminine.

With the contribution of MARIE-ODILE BODENHEIMER, we leave the profane domain of the courteous novel to enter the religious universe of the *Miracles de la Vierge (Miracles of the Virgin)* of Gautier de Coinci : we go from the celebration of the Lady to the exaltation of our Lady. A first privileged place of meditation which presents itself is the garden of the cloister, where the song of the birds that the poet hears with rapture evokes the harmony of nature. But here, in the line of the great century of Romanesque art that so well evoked Marie-Madeleine Davy¹⁹, this harmony of the visible world is essentially a reflection of the hidden reality which, in divine thought, orders all things, visible and invisible. The cloister, like a mystical ladder, is one of the symbols that show the link between the earth and the sky. The author shows how Gautier de Coinci associates the legacy of pagan antiquity with more clearly Christian symbols : thus, in connection with the miracles in which Notre Dame leaves as a trace of his intervention a rose in the mouth of a personage to whom She came to the aid, the poet adds the lily, symbol of purity and the violet, symbol of humility. The Romanesque

¹⁷ BESSON Anne, *D'Asimov à Tolkien : Cycles et séries dans la littérature de genre (From Asimov to Tolkien: Cycles and series in the genre literature)*, Paris, CNRS, 2004.

¹⁸ VANCE Jack, *Le Cycle de Lyonesse (The Lyonesse Cycle)*, Paris, Gallimard, 2004, « Folio SF », coffret de 3 vol.

¹⁹ DAVY Marie-Madeleine, *Initiation à la symbolique romane (Initiation to the Romanic symbolism)*, Flammarion, 1999, « Champs ».

symbolism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries merely perpetuated an approach that was already, in the first centuries of Christianity, that of the Fathers of the Church, anxious to preserve the riches of ancient culture while adapting it to the " Spirit of the new religion". But sometimes man leaves the rose for the nettle, prefers to the mystical joys of purely carnal pleasures: the garden is transformed from a paradisiac place into an ambiguous space, the theater of the conflict between the powers of darkness and the forces of light. The author concludes with fine remarks on the rhetoric of the edifying discourse at work in the *Miracles de la Vierge (Miracles of the Virgin)* of Gautier de Coinci.

We continue to bathe in a mystical climate with the article of MARIE-GENEVIEVE GROSSEL, while passing from the Romanic symbolism and the invasive allegory from the time of *Roman de la Rose (The Novel of the Rose)* to the last centuries of a Middle Ages that enchanted, in the past, Huysmans, especially in the hagiography he dedicated to *Sainte Lydwine de Schiedham (Saint Lydwine of Schiedham)*. The starting point, once again, is the Garden of Eden, a paradise place; but for the Rhenish and Flemish mystics of whom Marie-Geneviève Grossel consistently treats, this primordial garden echoes with two others, the bearers of the privileged encounter of the creature with its Creator: the Garden of *Cantique des cantiques (Songs of Canticles)*, the place par excellence of Mystical nuptials, and the morning garden of Easter shining with the light of the Resurrection and where the Divine Gardener manifests to Mary Magdalene. The author evokes the influence of the writings of the Greek Fathers, especially those of Origen, on these Rhenish and Flemish mystics, for whom the sacred garden is first and foremost an encounter with the Beloved: Mechtilde of Hackeborn, nailed on a bed of pains, whose luscious visions feed on the symbolism of the liturgical offices; Gertrude de Hefta, to the soul of fire, who aspires to be quenched, like the "desert and waterless land" of the Psalms, and for whom the garden is but the passing place of a soul that aspires to the desert to meet his God there; Hildegarde of Bingen, a sensitive visionary, especially in the image of the garden as *hortus conclusus*, of which Mary, who is pregnant with the Savior by the work of the Most High, is the perfect figure, and whom the prophets, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, also; finally Hadewijch of Antwerp, the *God-Finder*, as Marie-Genevieve Grossel calls her; with her, the stylized decor of the garden contrasts the icy winters with the sunny springtime: landscapes of the soul and the mystical wandering which are clothed in the rhetoric of great courtly song. From "the land of promise" that was the primordial garden of Eden, this image is projected into a "place of desire" oriented towards the Kingdom whose hope nourishes the aridities of asceticism and mystical wandering.

Even more than mystical, it is a matter of traditional knowledge transmitted by the art of gardens at the time of a Christian Renaissance marked by neo-Platonic currents that is mentioned in the article by AUDE DE KERROS, The work of Princess Emanuella Kretzulesco, whose recent death I have learned. A painter and engraver who has created more than four hundred works among which seven series of engravings constitute a great Cycle between Genesis and Apocalypse, co-founder of the Fontevault Festival of France, Aude de Kerros, having published in 2001 *Les Echelles du Ciel (The Scales of heaven)* attempts to compare the mystical experiences of different traditions and religions²⁰, recently delivered a new book on reflection, *L'art caché (Hidden art)*.²¹ Princess Kretzulesco Quaranta, for her part, was known and admired for a book, *Les Jardins du Songe (Gardens of dream)*, devoted to the famous *Songe de Poliphile (Dream of Poliphile)*, long attributed to Francesco Colonna²². Aude de Kerros operates a suggestive rapprochement between the tribulations experienced by a remarkable elite, grouped in the Roman Academy around the popes Nicolas V and Pius II (Piccolomini), where were humanists as distinguished as Nicolas de Cues or the cardinal Greek Bessarion, and the trials endured by so many scholars, artists and intellectuals subjected to the Communist regime behind the Iron Curtain, which had to suffer Prince Nicolas Kretzulesco, an eminent physicist, held twenty years in Romania as a storm of the Soviets. The neo-Platonists of the sixteenth century were indeed persecuted, tortured and eliminated when the Papacy under the Borgias tyrannically exercised the three cultural, spiritual and temporal powers. Emanuella Kretzulesco, studying the incunabula of Aldus Manutius, all kept in her sister's library at Soragna, was led to follow the strange destiny of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published in Venice in 1499. The persecution from Rome then falls on the Florentine Academy united around Laurent the Magnificent and

²⁰ KERROS Aude (de), *Les Echelles du Ciel, les voies de l'extase (The Scales of Heaven, the ways of ecstasy)*, Editions du Savoir Perdu, Soragna, 2001.

²¹ KERROS Aude (de), *L'Art caché :Les dissidents de l'art contemporain (Hidden Art: The dissidents of contemporary art)*, Eyrolles, 2007.

²² KRETZULZSCO Emanuela, *Les Jardins du Songe (Gardens of Dream)*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1976 (2^{ème} édition en 1986).

illustrated by the names of Pic de la Mirandole and Marcile Ficin. It is among the members of this academy that Emanuella Kretzulesco will succeed in identifying the true author of the *Songe (Dream)*, the architect Leon Batista Alberti, who had been entrusted with the task of recording the ruins of the monuments of antiquity ; from there, she will reconstruct the drama that surrounded this book. The contribution of the communication of Aude de Kerros is all the more precious since she personally knew and long frequented the Princess Kretzulesco and that it brushes a portrait of its personality and its singular destiny which explain the reasons why she was able, five centuries after the publication of the *Songe (Dream)*, to find the key to the enigma. It was because she herself, through her education and her encounter with an exceptional man who was trained in a genuine humanistic culture, gave her the gift of reading "in an open book" the lost language of traditional gardens and their forests of symbols. Yet this humanist culture, which was already at the time of its full rise to the persecution of powerful power-hungry people, suffered during the lifetime of Princess Kretzulesco the attacks of the two totalitarianisms, National Socialist and Communist, of the twentieth century, and survives with great difficulty the ravages caused today by the simplifying power of the media and the mercantile spirit.

The garden being the place par excellence of the encounter in love, one will not be surprised to find this place associated privately with the legend of Tristan and Iseut. It is the theme of the rendez-vous spied that attracts the attention of JEAN-MARC PASTRE, insofar as are associated the two complementary motifs of the rendez-vous announced by the chips and the presence of the king in the tree. The landscape of Tristan's rendez-vous is one of the most classical : the tree (pine or olive according to the versions) set at the edge of a fountain, traditionally linked place, as in *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes for example with the famous episode of the fountain of Barenton, to the warrior confrontation between an adventurous knight and the appointed protector of a fairy. The author evokes other works, both French and German (the *Iwein* of Hartmann von Aue or the *Lanzelet* of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven), which present the same type of situation. We will follow with interest the analysis of the adaptation by Wolfram von Eschenbach of the episode of the Perilous Ford of the *Tale of the Grail* during which Gauvain prevails over the knight-friend of a proud young lady ; Wolfram transforms the motif by the addition of another famous theme : the conquest by the hero of a leafy branch which will adorn, after his victory, the crest of the conqueror. Jean-Marc Pastré, who has long been involved in comparative studies, does not fail to mention the famous work of Frazer, the *Golden Branch*, and in particular the legend of the King of the Wood, which depicts a practice of succession Royal assault based on a ritual murder ; legend associated with the figure of Diana, symbol of the Sovereignty represented in the narratives of the Middle Ages, the Laudine of Chrétien or the Orgelus of Wolfram. It is in the light of this traditional background that Jean-Marc Pastré proposes his interpretation of the orchard scene in the *Tristan* de Béroul. Another Tristanian scene comes within the framework of this analysis : the episode of sleeping lovers surprised by King Marc. The author inscribes these episodes which involve the obtaining or preserving of Sovereignty in the framework of the Durandian nocturnal regime, in which the garden becomes, in the darkness and the chiaroscuro, the place of compromises and dalings. Referring to the works of Lévi-Strauss, Jean-Marc Pastré examines the link between this nocturnal regime and a "pathology of communication" which manifests itself in Tristan's material under the three modalities of indiscretion, oblivion and misunderstanding. The complex dialectic of speech and silence replaces the complex dialectic of speech and silence : the enclosed garden is a propitious place for these ambiguous games.

The *Legendarium* of J.R.R. Tolkien does not belong to medieval literature ; however, many features relate the author and his work to the Middle Ages, as is recalled by the recent publication of a book published under the direction of Leo Carruthers²³. Tolkien was, in fact, a distinguished philologist who taught at Oxford, and whose work on *Gawain and the Green Knight* or on *Beowulf* is considerable. But it is as an artist - whose pictorial work has been studied in detail²⁴ - and especially as a philologist who loves the life of words, their sounds and the superb calligraphies to which the languages of which he was the inventor lend themselves, that Tolkien explores in his *Legendarium* the beauty of the world - a beauty unfortunately devoted to the corruption of the fact of the dark forces at work in Middle-earth. Tolkien's creation originates from language, from the happiness of creating

²³ *Tolkien et le Moyen Age (Tolkien and the Middle ages)*, dir. Leo CARRUTHERS, CNRS Editions, Paris, 2007.

²⁴ HAMMOND Wayne G. et SCULL Christina, *J.R.R. Tolkien Artiste et Illustrateur (J.R.R Tolkien artist and illustrator)*, Christian Bourgois, 1996.

languages, then from characters capable of speaking them, and finally from adventures that bring together various peoples and languages evolving during the ages. If the garden, as such, is not very present in Tolkien's work, the legendary world is rich in a specific flora invented by Tolkien, whose vocables vary according to the epoch and the region. Both of a permanence during a very long history that goes back to the account of the Creation, but also of the spatial and temporal distance that generates the turbulent history of Middle-earth. CHARLES RIDOUX analyzes a passage from *Contes et légendes inachevés (Unfinished Tales and Legends)* in which Tolkien evokes the flora of the island of Númenor in a way that arouses this "happy reverie" of which Bachelard spoke so well in his works devoted to the poetry of the elements. The author then examines three aspects of the garden theme in Tolkien's work : the link between the garden and the dream, the garden and the rebirth of life, and finally the healing garden in relation to the theme of the King Thaumaturge. Indeed, Tolkien's garden is often associated with dreams as a privileged means of traveling in time and space, and it is sometimes also related to the theme of healing, from rebirth to life.

PRESENTATION OF THE "APOCALYPSE" SYMPOSIUM

Still faithful to his approach to exploring the echoes of ancient myths in the literature of our time, ROBERT BAUDRY presents here the five volumes of Stephen Lawhead's *Pendragon Cycle*, composed from 1987 to 1997. The interest of this cycle lies in that it conjugates the Arthurian legend with the myth of Atlantis. This expansion of the myth is not the prerogative of modernity since, in medieval literature, great traditional cycles are seen to develop as species of clusters of singular galaxies : The *Lancelot-Graal* associates the material of the Cart and the Grail ; *Tristan* in prose connects the lovers of Cornwall with the cycle of Lancelot and the Grail ; still later, with a singular audacity, the *Perceforest* connects the time of Alexander with that of Arthur. It is hardly surprising, then, if contemporary authors who seek their inspiration in legends inherited from the Middle Ages make such expansions of their romantic space. The collapse of Atlantis presents, as appropriate, an "apocalyptic" picture, of which the author gives us a large excerpt and which depicts the combined outburst of all the natural elements. But this apocalypse - like the swallowing of the island of Númenor in the *Legendarium* of Tolkien - is only a partial apocalypse, not the end of the world, but the end of a world. The survivors of Atlantis will find themselves on an island, which is none other than Brittany, where "barbarians" welcome them as supernatural beings. Robert Baudry accurately observes the tendency of modern authors to "rationalize" the myths they borrow from medieval literature at the expense of the traditional marvel ; but he observes that in return the myth "takes revenge" in a way, provoking other forms, if not marvelous, at least irrational, more adapted to the modern era. The cycle of Stephen Lawhead does not escape to this double trend.

It was a bit of a challenge to undertake a reading of the *Chanson de Roland (Song of Roland)* in comparison with the text of the Apocalypse of Saint John. MARIE-ODILE BODENHEIMER ventured bravely into this undertaking, although the harvest remains somewhat meager because this work does not fit at all into an eschatological perspective although there are some apocalyptic notations, notably in the Presages announcing the death of Roland. Nevertheless, the author is right to point out that, from the concluding verse of the first, the fate of Marsile, king of Zaragoza, is sealed : misfortune will fall upon him because of the hatred of God which he bears him. And the whole song emphasizes the forces of light against the powers of darkness in a constantly affirmed manichean vision : this dialectic of shadow and light, combined with the paradigm of the top and bottom, is present in a number verses of intonation which give the leash its own tone. Marie-Odile Bodenheimer insists on the recurrence of the ideological motives which convey the eschatological spirit of the song, an element which appears, for example, in the speeches addressed by Turpin to the Frankish warriors. Moreover, the ideological aim of the song is revealed in the opposite fate reserved for the traitor Ganelon and the hero Roland, whose death can be recalled as a victor on the battlefield of Roncevaux. In the perspective of an apocalyptic reading of the song, the Baligant episode - Charlemagne's vengeance of Roland's death - appears as a necessity, since it opens up to the perspective of a new world, symbolized by baptism of queen Bramimonde who takes the Christian name of Julienne. The author concludes by insisting that the apocalyptic perspective, in the *Chanson de Roland*, leads to a hope that removes all fatality from misfortune.

Deep bonds unite the first and last book of the Bible, Genesis and the Apocalypse ; it is the starting point of DOMINIQUE BOUTET which deals with the theme of divine punishment in glossed

Bibles of the thirteenth century and which analyzes the resumption of biblical themes in renewed contexts, developing this subject about three works: a tale of *La Vie des Pères* (*The Life of the Fathers*), the *Suite du roman de Merlin* (*Suite of the novel of Merlin*) and the prologue of *Jugement du roi de Navarre* (*the Judgment of the King of Navarre*) by Guillaume de Machaut. One of the first effects of original sin is the rupture of the original harmony and an upheaval in the previously peaceful relations between man and animals ; one could mention in this respect the restoration of this original harmony within the framework of holiness, with various examples, such as the tamed wolf of St. Francis of Assisi or as the bear companion of St. Seraphim of Sarov. The theme of a rupture, consecutive to original sin, between man and the cosmic order, traverses texts such as the *Quinze signes du Jugement dernier* (*Fifteen Signs of the Last Judgment*), which can be considered as the third part of the *Jeu d'Adam* (*Adam Game*), or The complaint of Nature in the *Roman de la Rose* (*Novel of the Rose*) of Jean de Meun. Dominique Boutet reports the relationship between the *Quinze signes* (*Fifteen Signs*) and various texts of Irish origin or a series of terrifying prodigies follow one another over a period of fifteen days as a prelude to the Last Judgment announced by the angelic trumpets. The author studies the glosses contained in the apocalyptic trumpets of the *Apocalypse* in a prose apocalypse of the thirteenth century (which appears in ms. BNF 403) and that which closes the immense versified *Bible* of Mace of Charity. From the comparison between these two texts it appears that the apocalyptic text at the origin of these glosses is capable of providing the material for various speculations used by the authors for pedagogical or philosophico-moral purposes. Thus, the tale "Brandons," which belongs to the *Troisième Vie des Pères* (*Third Life of the Fathers*), shows a vision of St. Francis, in which the Virgin intervenes to intercept and extinguish the flaming brass which Angels throw upon the earth for the punishment of sinners ; the author shows the complexity with which the tale relies on various glosses to transform the meaning of this episode. The motif of the flaming firebrands resonates with the Sorrowful Punch which is at the heart of the *Suite du roman de Merlin* (*Suite of the novel of Merlin*) and where one can detect many biblical reminiscences. By making the disastrous Blow of Balaain a resumption - by a transgression of the forbidden - of the fatal act of Eve, the author of the *Suite* operates a transposition of the *Apocalypse* which takes itself root in a transposition of *Genesis* : thus the biblical and apocalyptic marvel, as much as the Celtic substrates, nourishes the romantic vein of the Arthurian novel.

It is in line with the masterful studies of Michel Pastoureau on colors in the general symbolism of the Western world that the scholarly and precise researches of DAVID DUBAR, who has chosen for his study the tapestry of the Apocalypse of Angers. It was to the Duke Louis d'Anjou, brother of King Charles V, that the tapestry was ordered around 1377. Originally composed of six large pieces, each with 14 scenes (84 paintings), Tapestry, which was then 140 meters long and 6 meters high, now comprises only 67 paintings (103 meters long by 4.50 meters high). It is only since a refurbishment dating from 1982 that we rediscovered the original colors of the decoration, which are preserved on the reverse in a state close to the origin, whereas on the place they were altered. David Dubar endeavors to illuminate in his article the underlying codes of the Western Middle Ages, which have motivated the choice of colors and illuminated the meaning of their chromatic declensions in relation to the themes treated. In turn are evoked blue, divine, moral and royal color ; the red, symbol of power, life and death ; the green, associated with the instability of the elements ; the yellow, whose semantic range covers fields as varied as gold, fertility and infamy ; the white, the color of innocence, purity and wisdom ; the brown, often evil and which sometimes connotes austerity. But the semantics of colors is enriched by their confrontation with one another ; thus the relationship between red and blue is part of a game that emphasizes opposition (in scenes depicted) and continuity (when used as background colors) ; the yellow with the green is associated with what arouses anxiety and it is, for example, the game of colors that characterizes the Insane in the book of *Psalms*. Michel Pastoureau had admirably shown, in connection with the coat of arms of Sagremor le Desreé, a tumultuous knight of the Round Table who plays a major role in the *Troisième Continuation* (*Third Continuation*) in verse at the *Conte du Graal* (*the Tale of the Grail*) by Chrétien de Troyes, how disturbing was this association of yellow and which connotes both excesses and marginality. As for the red-green pair, two garish colors in the medieval mentality, it is an aggressive combination that evokes an imminent danger. In his study on the tapestry of Angers, the author confirms Michel Pastoureau's conceptions of a change in the color system that took place in the West during the thirteenth century : the traditional trio of white, red and black has replaced a new combinatory that encompasses in addition blue, green and yellow. It is in the figurations of the rainbow and the heavenly Jerusalem that the tapestry unfolds

the full range of the six colors. Moreover, David Dubar, thanks to his mastery of the computer tool, illustrated his communication brilliantly, both pedagogically and aesthetically..

In the apocalyptic "scenario", if one may say, two great figures confront each other in an implacable war : the Woman crowned with stars and the Antichrist. This character, which must appear at the end of time (a term that must not be confused with the End of the World) has fascinated many minds in every generation since the beginnings of Christianity. At the end of the 19th century, with the novels of Dmitri Merejkovsky and Robert Hugh Benson, the Antichrist became the central figure of a very particular genre that could be called the "Apocalyptic novel". During the Middle Ages, the *Antichristo* from Adson de Montier-en-Der, which can be dated from the middle of the 10th century, is the undisputed source of the representation of this figure during the following centuries. MARIE-GENEVIÈVE GROSSEL had the excellent idea not only to comment on this treaty but to publish a translation of it in the vulgar language, which she found in the manuscript BN en 1038, under the title of short narrative on *l'Avènement de l'Antichrist (the advent of The Antichrist)*. This very brief text concedes nothing to the attraction for the marvelous and Marie-Geneviève Grossel calls it "austere and colorless". Adson begins his treatise by presenting the Antichrist as a figure inverted point by point to the person of Christ. The touch of blasphemous parody is thus present from the birth of the Antichrist, who is to be born in Babylon among the Jews of Dan's lineage. But it is in Jerusalem that he triumphs for a time, rebuilding the Temple in order to be worshiped under the name of the Son of God. The persecution of Christians is effected by the triple means of seduction, terror, and prodigies. As for the date of its appearance, it is linked to the appearance of an ultimate king of France who will go to Jerusalem to lay down his crown and scepter (the famous myth of the Grand Monarch, The time of Césaire d'Arles). The final fall of the Antichrist, which will be struck down on the Mount of Olives, is preceded by the appearance of the "two witnesses", the prophets Enoch and Elijah. The author presents the sources from which Adson has drawn and examines some passages in which it seems that the medieval translator misunderstood Adson's text. Then the author compares the translation of the ms. BN 1038 with two other translations: that of Thibaud de Marly, a little noble of Champagne, in whom the Antichrist holds but little space; and the version given by Hildegarde of Bingen in the eleventh vision of *Scivias*, in which the nun freely and with great lyricism develops certain data from its source, producing in a way a "discussed Adson". Very diverse are also verse texts that deal with the Antichrist. Marie-Geneviève Grossel evokes those of Henri d'Arci, a Templar who scrupulously follows Adson, of Bérengier, with an overflowing imagination, and an anonymous who privileges, instead, the Scriptural sources. His poem evokes the famous *Fifteen signs of the Judgment*, each associated with a different day ; the source of this text could go back to apocryphal apocalypse, that of Thomas. Finally, the *Livre de Sebile (Book of Sebile)*, strongly tinged with millenarianism, adds to the inspired background of Adson remarks relating to the peoples of Gog and Magog as well as the legend of the Dry Tree. Let us be doubly grateful to Marie-Geneviève Grossel: first for her edition of the fragment of the ms. BN fr. 1038, and then for not having followed, with regard to Adson and his epigones, the severe judgment of Paul Meyer who treated with disdain the text which he himself wrote of "childish little composition" ...

No one more than CHRISTIAN DE MERINDOL, who was curator at the Museum of Angers, was in a position to deal with the most famous singularity of the Apocalypse tapestry, which is the perfect conservation of colors on the underside of the tapestry. The author himself took part, as far as the emblematic study is concerned, in the writing of a reference book published in 1986 (*La tenture de l'Apocalypse d'Angers - The tapestry of the Apocalypse of Angers*). In this article he analyzes the relationship of this work with the biblical text and the iconographic sources in order to better understand the spirit in which it was conceived and realized. The tapestry of the Apocalypse is composed of six pieces at the beginning of each of which is represented a great personage, after which follow fourteen pictures spread over two registers. Christian de Mérindol analyzes in the first place the presentation of the character of Saint John. Then comes a study of numbers which makes it possible to understand certain choices of the directors of the tapestry, where it differs from the text of Saint John or the traditional miniatures. Then comes the study of the background of the paintings, which is divided into three groups according to whether the background is united without a motif, squared obliquely or finally decorated with various motifs - plants, birds and letters. The orientation of the characters reflects the ultimate eschatological struggle between the celestial armies and the powers of darkness : the right-to-left orientation is generally that attributed to God and to Christ as well as to creatures belonging to heaven, the inverse orientation, from left to right, is that of the demon and his

supporters, as well as that of the plagues sent by God. The architecture of forms also respects the traditional meanings such as those of Henri de Lubac in his *Exégèse médiévale (Medieval Exegesis)*, with the circle referring to the celestial world, while quadrature is associated with the terrestrial world. The author reviews successively the architecture of the divine, that of Satan, that of the great personages and finally the edicule of John, particularly rich in games of echoes and contrasts. He then proceeded to examine various attributes of the celestial world : book and phylactery, stylized clouds and mandorla. The combination of all these elements must serve to highlight the way in which the text and sometimes the image are priority. The author recounts the valorisation in the tapestry of the character of John, in charge of transmitting to the earthly world the vision granted to him by Heaven. To conclude, the author examines the strips with angels that surmounted the two registers of paintings, some of which have been preserved. Christian de Mérindol insists on the importance of the orientation of the entire hanging from left to right, which he analyzes as an indication of the destination of the apocalyptic message to the terrestrial world.

Having in preparation a book on Jan Van Eyck, author of the famous polyptic of l'Agneau mystique (*the mystical Lamb*) of Ghent, Jacques PAVIOT, who also published a book on Bruges²⁵, introduced to a reading of this work, emphasizing at the outset that the two saints John the Baptist and the Evangelist are highlighted as beneficiaries of the devotion of the two donors, Josse Vijd and his wife Élisabeth Borluut: *Mystical Lamb* puts us face to face with the two great announcements of the First Coming of Christ and the Second Coming in glory at the end of time. After establishing the date of the polyptic on the day of All Saints' Day 1433, Jacques Paviot relies on the work of Erwyn Panofsky, who noted two styles in the representation of this solemnity (*Allerheiligenbild*), the fourteenth century constituting the moment of fixation of the new style, where the divinity is no longer represented by the Lamb adored by all the saints, but in the form of the Trinity (the Throne of Thanks). Then he explores the sources of inspiration that have guided the artist in the representation of various aspects of his work, starting with the very text of the Apocalypse ; which could be supplemented by the study of the comments of the Apocalypse dealt with in another communication (Thierry Victoria's). The scholars have established that the main textual source for the iconography of the mystical Lamb is that of a Liège theologian of the beginning of the twelfth century, Rupert of Deutz, whose glosses, such as the *Song of Songs* or the *Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, illuminate the general conception of the inner panels of the polyptych. Another source to be questioned is *La Légende dorée (Golden Legend)* of Jacques de Voragine, now accessible in the library of the Pléiade ; however, the careful examination of the painting shows that the textual sources are not necessarily followed with great fidelity. The explanation for these often fruitful divergences between text and image is perhaps to be found in the particular significance of certain details of the polyptych for the two donors in Ghent. Moreover, the artist probably benefited from the advice of a theologian, about the identity of which various hypotheses have already been issued. If the Apocalypse was certainly one of the references submitted by this theologian to the artist, it is far from being the only one, and the investigation on this subject remains open.

Should we see as a sign of the times that, since the end of the nineteenth century, a new novel genre appeared, which would be called the "apocalyptic novel", illustrated by the trilogy of Dmitri Merejkovsky entitled *Le Christ et l'Antéchrist (Christ and the Antichrist)*, by the *Maître de la terre (Master of the Earth)* of Robert Hugh Benson, by the *Court récit sur l'Antéchrist (Short narrative on the Antichrist)* which closes the *Trois entretiens (Three interviews)* of Vladimir Soloviev, and especially by the *Prélude à l'Apocalypse ou les Derniers chevaliers du Graal (Prelude to the Apocalypse or the Last Knights of the Grail)* published by Louis Lambert in 1982. However, this pseudonym of Louis Lambert was chosen by the great Catholic theologian Louis Bouyer, whose work has many affinities of structure and content with that of Father Serge Bulgakov published by Prince Constantine Andronikoff. And it is also found that Father Louis Bouyer was a personal friend of J.R.R. Tolkien, and that he was even, as Michaël Devaux showed, the first to evoke in France the major work of the English novelist, the *Lord of the Rings*²⁶. After a few partial studies devoted to various episodes of the *Prelude* which presented themselves as rewritings of Arthurian episodes

²⁵ PAVIOT Jacques, *Bruges, 1300-1500*, Autrement, 2002 (Collection Mémoires).

²⁶ DEVAUX Michaël, « Louis Bouyer et J.R.R. Tolkien : une amitié d'écrivains », *Tolkien, les racines du Légendaire*, Cahier d'études tolkieniennes réunies sous la dir. de Michaël Devaux, ("Louis Bouyer and J.R.R. Tolkien : a friendship of writers", Tolkien, the roots of the Legendary, Book of Tolkien studies under the direction of Michaël Devaux) Genève, Ad Solem, 2003 (*La Feuille de la Compagnie*, n° 2), pp. 85-146.

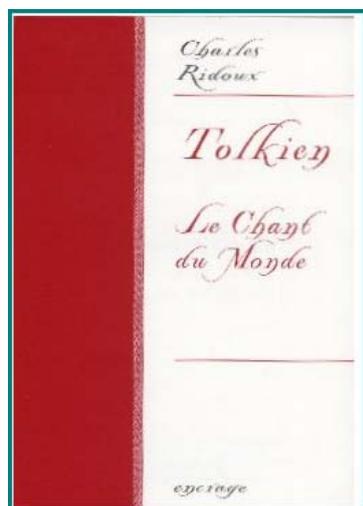
situated in a contemporary setting, CHARLES RIDOUX addresses here an exhaustive analysis devoted to this singular and complex novel in which he discovers a triple spiral structure. The reader is led through the most varied registers, going from the zany to the heroic through the idyll. The first part has the appearance of novel scout centered around a treasure hunt that leads from the Valois to Nerval resonances to the outskirts of Gisors, where is supposed to be the Baphomet, mysterious relic attributed to the Templars. In the second part, the theme of the Grail takes over and the adventure moves first in the cathedral of Toledo on a Good Friday day and then in Brocéliande where are two poetic episodes that recall the passage of Calogrenant, Yvain at the Fontaine de Barenton as well as the visit of Perceval to the Castle of the Roi-Pêcheur. Father Louis Bouyer, author with Mireille Mentré's of the book on *Lieux magiques de la légende du Graal (the Magic Places of the Grail Legend)*, proposes a Christian reinterpretation of the Celtic myths culminating in the last part of his novel, which takes place on the solemn place of the Holy Grail, the Tor of Glastonbury, near the abbey where the tombs of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere were "invented" in the 13th century. The apocalyptic theme proper is treated in the *Prelude* with much subtlety and the emphasis is more on the spiritual degradation that accompanies the end times than on a spectacular description of the events that contribute to the emergence of the "master of the world". It should also be noted that this novel, which seems to have been insufficiently inscribed in the social and political realities of the contemporary world, is anchored in a very acute political and religious conjuncture which puts Poland's revolt against the communist system at the beginning of the 1980s, in the early years of the pontificate of John Paul II. The author of this article endeavored to account for Louis Lambert's novel without summarizing it and without defending its interest for a possible reader ; one can only wish for the reissue of this work, which is currently being planned.

Former student of the Biblical School of Jerusalem, doctor of history of ancient Christianity (Paris IV-Sorbonne), and member of the I.R.E.R. (Research Institute for the Study of Religions), SYLVAIN JEAN GABRIEL SANCHEZ is the author of two monographs, one dedicated to Justin and the other to Priscillien. Priscillianism is a Christian movement which spreads from the second half of the 4th century onwards in the Iberian Peninsula and in Aquitaine, which eventually evolved on the margins of Catholicism, finally taking a heretical orientation until its disappearance in the 6th century. This movement has, among other characteristics, that of encouraging the reading of the apocrypha, and it is to the study of the influence among the Priscillianists of one of these texts - *the Apocalypse of Thomas* - that Gabriel Sanchez devoted its communication. This Apocalypse has a brief recapitulation, perhaps dating from the end of the third century, and a longer, later (second half of the fifth century) recounting a prophetic introduction to history, which was disseminated in England and Ireland. The author questions the source from which Priscillian could have been inspired : in spite of persistent uncertainties, it appears that the Priscillianists of the second generation were well acquainted with the Apocalypse of Thomas. The Introduction to the Long Recension was perhaps composed in this milieu at the height of the great invasions in the first half of the fifth century. The author dismisses the interpretations which see in the Apocalypse of Thomas manichean allusions or gnostic hints ; however, he admits as probable the redrafting of this text by the priscillianists of the fifth century. First, the historical context of the barbarian invasions lends itself to an interpretation of tragic events as signs of the end of time. Sylvain Sanchez presents an interesting typology of the positions of Christians with regard to the power of Rome, considered by some as a diabolical empire destined to destruction, by others as the sacred and inviolable center of the universe which is called to last until the end of time. Then the author develops his argument in favor of the thesis according to which the long recension of the Apocalypse of Thomas would be a Priscillian interpolation written in Spain. He assumes that the Apocalypse of Thomas could have been carried away by exiled priscillianists in southern Cornwall, in the Scilly Islands, from which it could have spread to England and Ireland. This hypothesis opens the way to new research on the role of diffuser of apocryphal literature in the medieval West that was able to play the priscillianist movement.

The pericope of chapter 20 of the Apocalypse, which shows an angel chaining Satan and enclosing him in the well of the abyss for a thousand years, has aroused many interpretations among the Fathers of the Church, among them that of the "millenarists" or "chiliastes," starting from the Greek), whose origin goes back to Papias, disciple of the apostle John and familiar with Polycarp. If the heretic Cerinthus and many others after him interpret these thousand years as a period of purely terrestrial happiness and enjoyment in which the delights of lust and gluttony would flourish, orthodox authors such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Justin - and even St Augustine in Book XX of the *City of God* -

present this period of peace and happiness on earth in a primarily spiritual sense. THIERRY VICTORIA, who coordinates the translation team of the Apocalypse in the framework of the French Biblical and Archaeological School of Jerusalem, presents, with a splendid and impeccable erudition, the speculations and the expectations related to the belief of this Reign of a thousand years among the commentators of this passage of the Apocalypse, from ancient Christianity to the fifteenth century. The author aims to illuminate the scriptural and apocryphal roots from which millenarianism was constituted in belief. It reflects both its expansion and the resistance it has provoked, until it is challenged by Saint Augustine, until this doctrine regains a new breath from the writings of Joachim of Flore. The conception of a reign of happiness and prosperity of the Messiah on earth dates back to the prophets of the Old Testament, especially to Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, but also to the little prophets, such as Agee or Zechariah. The millenarian scenario is repeated in some Pseudigraphs of the Old Testament, such as the *Book of Enoch*, the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Psalms of Solomon* and the *Sibyline Oracles*. In the New Testament the evangelists and St. Paul emphasize the spiritualization of the theme of the messianic kingdom which is to be fulfilled in the Second Coming of Christ in glory. Thierry Victoria analyzes the appearance and development of millenarianism in Asia Minor during the patristic period, then its apogee in the second century, with Justin and Irenaeus, as well as Tertullian, Victorin and Lactance, mentioned by Saint Jerome in his *De viris illustribus*. But with Origen, in the third century, an allegorical reading will replace the literal interpretation. The author also shows that the rejection of millenarianism is linked to the problem of the canonicity of the Apocalypse. The decisive refutation will come from St. Augustine, under the influence of Tyconius, a secular commentator of the Apocalypse. From this moment the "thousand years" will be interpreted as representing the totality of the history of the Church from the Incarnation to the Last Judgment. During the Middle Ages, when Augustinian thought prevailed (from the 5th to the 12th century), "post-millennial islands" remained. It is with the *Concordia Novi and Veteris Testamenti* by Joachim de Flore that the period of the thousand years of the chain of Satan is again situated in the eschatological scenario of the last times of history and no longer applied to history of the Church. This new millenarian vein will find a posterity in the writings of Pierre de Jean Olieu or Jean de Roquetaillade, as well as those of Arnaud de Villeneuve and Alexander the Minorite. However, concludes Thierry Victoria at the end of his inquiry, chiliasm was not the principal interpretive current of the Middle Ages, which remains faithful to the Tyconian and Augustinian approach, as witnessed, for example, by the commentary of Denys the Carthusian. It is with the upheavals of the Renaissance that the millenarian expectations revived in a totally different context.

PRESENTATION OF THE BOOK TOLKIEN, LE CHANT DU MONDE (*TOLKIEN, THE SONG OF THE WORLD*)



Order from a publisher, because I never imagined writing one day about JRR Tolkien, my book *Tolkien, the Song of the World*, published in 2004 to the Belles-Lettres, had to flow under a binding structure, involving a succinct biography, a chapter on the critical reception of the work, a critical bibliography, a chronology. The body of the book was to constitute a synthesis of Tolkien's entire work, and I have presented this synthesis in a series of chapters for which I present a brief introduction. These chapters deal with the spatio-temporal framework of the *Legendarium* ("The Beginning and the End"), the Order of the World, modulated according to three perspectives (Cosmic order and the sacred, the Order of beings, People "). In the next chapter entitled "The Last Fine", the metaphysical themes of death and evil are treated. As for the chapter entitled "The Legendarium," it includes analyzes on various facets of Tolkien's art, and at the end of my presentation I deal with the notion of "mobility", which illuminates Tolkien's creative process. Finally, there is a chapter entitled "The Synthesis of Traditions" which concentrates my general conclusions on the meaning of Tolkien's work - which the readers can read *in extenso* in *Tolkien, le Chant du Monde* (*The Song of the world*).

THE BEGINNING AND THE END

« Song is the most sacred act in all Tolkienian work »²⁷ It is by a great song that the conception of Arda at the Beginning takes place, and it is also by a great song that its recommencement after the Great End must take place. Such is the totalizing aim, which is not unlike the temporality proper to the great mysteries of medieval theater - particularly that of Arnoul Gréban in the middle of the fifteenth century - whose unfolding extended from the narrative of Adam's fault to the Pentecost, opening to the perspective of the Second Coming in the glory of Christ and the Last Judgment. But Tolkien opens the field of vision to its extreme limits, since he immediately situates the framework of his work "beyond the Circles of the World", both in time and space, in a Beginning before the Beginning (the conception of Creation preceding the very act of creation) and in an End after the End (the Second Great Music). Thus, Tolkien's mythology clearly falls within a metaphysical perspective, exceeding the capacities of apprehension of a purely historical approach. Moreover, if there is a Beginning and an End in this work, there is also a series of secondary ends and beginnings which seem to take place in the sense of an involution, a degradation, A loss of a primordial splendor and a separation from the divine powers; a movement of cyclic involution present, in various forms, in many religious or metaphysical traditions, which is expressed in particular through the doctrine of the Four Ages, leading the world from a Golden Age to an Iron Age, as illustrated, for example, by the famous dream of Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of the prophet Daniel. But if at first it may be useful to locate certain references or kinship between Tolkien's mythology and other narratives specific to various traditions (in the Bible or Indo-European mythologies), my perspective aims at presenting and to understand the richness and significance of the "secondary creation" to which he dedicated his life. Tolkien is neither a theologian nor a philosopher, although his work undeniably involves a theological and philosophical dimension. He is certainly a poet, in the sacred sense of that function on which he expresses himself in his poem *Mythopoeia*, and he is also a prophet, by the eschatological breath underlying his work, by that memory of Paradise which arouses both a poignant nostalgia and a lively hope.

²⁷ Edouard J. KLOCZKO, "Smith of Wootton Major, un testament poétique", in *Tolkien en France*, dir. E.J. Kloczko, Éditions Arda, 1998, p. 51.

THE ORDER OF THE WORLD - 1. THE COSMIC ORDER AND THE SACRED

Rooted as it has been since his childhood in the narratives of the Nordic mythologies, whether they belong to the Indo-European or the Finno-Ugrian domain, Tolkien could not fail to be profoundly marked in his own mythology by a traditional point of view on the world from which its sources are based - a traditional vision with which Christianity is to a large extent in perfect harmony, even if the specificity of the Gospels and of the apostolic tradition brings faith in God made man and the light of the one sung during Christmas time, such as the Sun of Righteousness - a qualifier attributed to Christ that is a counterpart to the ancient pagan formula of the *Sol Invictus* ("Unbeaten Sun"). To this traditional conception which implies in the first place the certainty of an order of the world manifested on the cosmic plane as well as through the relations of men with the sacred and the organization of human societies, a current of thought which was developed during the 20th century around the work of René Guénon and his epigones, gave a dimension of metaphysical order. Regarding Tolkien, to my knowledge, he has had no connection with this current of traditional metaphysical thought during his life; and it would be inconsiderately forcing things to relate it - to some extent in spite of himself - to this current of thought and to interpret his work as a metaphysical message to be deciphered according to an esoteric grid of reading. This is perhaps a trend not always evident in, for example, Nicolas Bonnal in his book *Les univers d'un magicien (Worlds of a magician)*, whose title has rightly aroused the perplexity of some, and it is undoubtedly the perspective of the authors of a special issue devoted to Tolkien by the magazine *Totalité (Totality)*, which is part of the branch of the traditional current in reference to the work of Julius Evola. Let's say it again : Tolkien is a poet and artist, a creator of myths, he is not a *pater metaphysicus* or a doctor of the Church. Nevertheless, his vision, imbued with the legacy of Nordic mythologies, carries values that are also those of this traditional metaphysical current of thought. And among these values there is the clear awareness of an order of the world, which is in itself an excellent thing, but also the lucid apprehension of a fragility of this order of the world subject to the degradation and corruptibility of all things in our space-time, a law of involution and the constant threat of a breakup and a dissolution in a chaotic disorder. In Tolkien, this vision is expressed by Verlyn Flieger, a brilliant symbol of light confronted in this world with works of darkness. A vision that has nothing manichaeian, in spite of certain appearances, since, fundamentally, light alone proceeds from the Being - of the One who is - whereas the Shadow, so often present, can develop only in a process of nihilation, by capturing and devouring light, as evidenced in the mythology of Tolkien the destruction of the Trees of Valinor by Melkor and Ungoliant.

This world order structures both space and time which, in traditional thought, are a sacred space and a qualified time, both governed by Numbers, on the contrary of the cold and mechanical neutrality of the frame imagined by the thought of Kant, in which space and time depend on quantity and not on quality, and where the Number degrades into numbers and statistical objects. In time, Tolkien is inspired, but not slavishly, by the traditional doctrine of the four ages of humanity (from the Golden Age to the Iron Age through the Silver Age and By the Age of Ayrain) with the succession of the Ages of his *Legendarium* which range from the Spring of Arda to the advent of the Men and the effacement of the Elves, in the perspective of the Great End where a new Great Music. In space, Tolkien is quite clearly inscribed in the perspective of an "Atlantean" tradition, favoring an East-West axis (with a predominance of the Western Pole), and not in a tradition Hyperborean "organized along a north-south axis (with predominance of the northern pole), although of course these two axes are present in its mythology. As for the social order, resonating with the cosmic order, it is translated by a vertical axiality, by a scale of beings which goes from the highest (Manwë to the top of the Taniquetil) to the lowest (the powers of the Shadow hidden in the depths, like the Balrog of Moria, imprudently awakened by the greed of the Dwarves in search of mithril). This coherent vision, which is at the same time rigorous and of great simplicity in its general structure and of great flexibility and infinite variety in its details, is basically only the global conception conveyed by all the great traditions in the world, at all times and on all continents, and from which only the conception of the modern world erected from the Enlightenment to the paradigm of progress and which leads to the "disenchantment of the world". Tolkien's world, by his nostalgic tonality of Paradise Lost and by the sadness that colors the conscience of the Elves in their songs, testifies to this disenchantment. But at the same time the work strongly affirms the permanence of the sacred and is tended by the hope of a possible restoration of the traditional order, of which the "Return of the King" is the most striking manifestation.

THE ORDER OF THE WORLD — 2. THE ORDER OF BEINGS

In the traditional conception of the great mythologies, of which Tolkien is inspired, chaos is ordered in cosmos and all beings, situated on a scale that goes from the greatest to the most humble, have a place of their own and which suited to their profound nature. For Tolkien, in whom the creation of the "secondary world" proceeds above all from language, beings are rooted both in a language and in a territory, and it is from this double belonging that their integration also takes place in a people and to a particular lineage. But at the same time, chaos has been introduced into the world by the revolt of Melkor, from the Great Music of Ainur, and discord reigns most often among peoples, while teeming at the bottom of the scale of beings, various monsters or hybrid and denatured creatures. Eru, the One, the one who gives beings their existence, is thus placed outside the scale of beings, at the top of which enthroned the Valar. And the one who should be the first among them, who is presented as the most powerful, Melkor, will tend, in an irremediable fall because of his pride, into nothingness and end in the outer darkness, after having sunk into the depths of its fortress in Middle-earth, at Utumno. It is between these two exceptional cases that the scale of beings which, in the universe of Tolkien, presents itself with a diversity and wealth uncommon, to my knowledge, with any other work of European literature .

But above all, what gives Tolkien's vision such a power of life, such dynamic impetus, is due to two characteristics peculiar to his order of beings and peoples: their respective position in the scale of beings, on the one hand, refers to the intensity of their participation in the light, according to an implicit theology which refers to the vision of a Dionysius Areopagite whose writings, translated into Latin by John Scotus Erigena in the ninth century, will mark all the thought of the Middle Age and will inspire this poetics of the light that bursts forth in the royal art of cathedrals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries - and Verlyn Flieger has masterfully treated this diffraction of light in the world of Tolkien. On the other hand, Tolkien's conception is not static, but it follows the flow of Time which sees first the long preparation of the dwelling of the Children of Ilúvatar on Arda by the Valar - thwarted by the evil seeds of Melkor, then the successive awakening of the Elves and the Humans, before the entry into the Fourth Age, that which succeeds the War of the Ring, marks the effacement of the first and the increasing domination of the Humans on the Earth middle. Thanks to the combination of these two elements - participation in variable intensities of light and evolution in the course of time which allows the great tapestry of history to be woven - beings and peoples, but also languages and the lands come to life and unfold in a splendid diversity of forms and colors. And it is then that the harmonious fusion of the thinker, the artist and the poet can take place in Tolkien's work.

THE ORDER OF THE WORLD — 3. THE MEMORY OF PEOPLES

On the vertical scale of beings in the ontological order corresponds, on the earth plane shaped by geography, the horizontal distribution of peoples. One can even speak of a geopolitics of Middle-earth and Pierre Jourde, in particular, believes that the geographical coherence of this part of Arda rests on the paradigm "civilization and barbarism". The first notion that must be taken into account in the study of a geopolitical space is that of the boundaries which at the same time constitute and limit it. The question is redoubled by the complexity of the fact that the very forms of Middle-earth change over the ages, following the cataclysm that occurs at the end of the Second Age during the Númenor Submersion. Without going into too much detail, it should be noted that during the First Age, after the Noldor returned to Middle-earth and their constitution into kingdoms, the main conflict axis was the North, where Morgoth was established in his fortress of Angband. The kingdoms of Fingolfin and the sons of Fëanor which constitutes a protective barrier behind which are formed the protected kingdoms of Turgon to Gondolin and of Thingol to Doriath where the Ring of Melian prohibits any foreign penetration (Fonstad, p. 19).²⁸ Further south, the geography of Beleriand is structured by the two great rivers running from the north to the south, the Sirion, to the west of which is the kingdom of Finrod to Nargothrond, and the Gelion, watered by the seven rivers which descend to the east of the mountains of the chain of Ered Luin. Beyond these mountains are first the cities of the Dwarves, Nagrod and Belegost, then immense expanses, without any known limits, which are like a reservoir from which new human peoples can come. While the North and East, dangerous zones, are clearly delimited by mountains, the South has no marked boundary. Only two places seem to be important : the mouth of the Sirion, where the survivors of Gondolin and the island of Tol Galen end, on the most southerly of the rivers that flow into the Gelion, where Beren and Lúthien come to finish their days.

In the Second Age, the heart of civilization is no longer found in Middle-earth but on the island of Númenor, in the middle of the great Belegaer Sea, halfway between Valinor and Middle-earth. It is from this point that the Men of the West, the Kings of Númenor, will reintroduce elements of civilization, first with kindness, teaching men the culture of vine and wine, before imposing on them an arrogant tyranny. At that time, the fundamental geopolitical axis was that of the Númenoreans, turned first towards the East - where Ar-Pharazôn finally obtained from Sauron (established at Barad-Dûr, in Mordor, around 1,000 this Second Age) an apparent submission which will be fatal to him - then towards the forbidden West, where, in the year 3319, the armada of Ar-Pharazôn, after thirty-nine days of navigation, comes to challenge the Valar on the Shores of Túna.

During the Third Age, space is structured around the framework of the great chain of the Misty Mountains that separates the Eriador in the West, with the Kingdom of Arnor, the Rhovanion to the East, Anduin. Further south, the great river separates the two powers that will compete in the War of the Ring, the Gondor and the Mordor. The axis of conflict here is that which opposes the free peoples whose alliance is concretized in the Company of the Ring, the people enslaved to the dark power of Mordor. These peoples come from the unlimited expanses of the East and the South. As for the North, it remains as a vast empty zone where only the memories of distant epochs, of disappeared kingdoms, rustle (Fonstad, p 53). Pierre Jourde defines with clarity and relevance the elements of the civilization / barbarism paradigm :

The notion of civilization is inseparable from the notion of closure, of limit. An evolved society implies the existence of a state, that is, of an entity with boundaries and an internal structure, in short a *form*. Conversely, barbarism is identified with the formless, it occupies an unorganized space, and hence it is unstable, stirring.²⁹

But if the negative space in Tolkien's world is, as Pierre Jourde says, "an endless territory of the earth", which emphasizes the weight of a materialistic world closed to all spiritual openness, it is worth noting that Mordor, on the contrary, with the mountains which enclose it on all sides (except in the East), present the structure of a petrified world, where the *excess of form* testifies to Luciferian pride of Sauron and prevents all circulation and spiritual openness, all the more so since Mordor has no access to the sea and that the Lake of Núrn, with bitterness waters, collects only the water of

²⁸ Fonstad refers to: Karen Wynn Fonstad, *The Atlas of Tolkien's Middle-earth*, (cf. biblio).

²⁹ JOURDE Pierre, *Géographies imaginaires de quelques inventeurs de mondes au XX^e siècle. Gracq, Borgès, Michaux, Tolkien (Imaginary geographies of some inventors of worlds in the twentieth century. Gracq, Borgès, Michaux, Tolkien)*, José Corti, 1991, p. 259.

rivers flowing from the mountains that surround the Mordor (Fonstad, p. 93). Tolkien's geographical conceptions benefit from being enlightened by the vision of a "sacred geography", which carries spiritual rather than political teachings - even though some political wisdom also emerges from Tolkien's work. In this imaginary ethnology, which ranges from the natural to the supernatural, there is a concordance between the characteristics of the different races - their territory, their language, their physical appearance - and their spiritual state as well as their degree of civilization. Thus, longevity appears as a prerogative of wisdom among humans, and it is generously granted to the first kings of Númenor before they embark on the path of revolt against the Valar. And at the beginning of the Fourth Age, the reign of Elessar will again enjoy an exceptional longevity, a sign of the quality of a new Golden Age. To use a fine formula of Pierre Jourde, "the place is dreamed as the form of a possible fullness of being" (Jourde, p 185), an adequation between being and the world. But as the world is subjected to the defilement and brutal deformations introduced by Melkor, fullness can be perceived only in the manner of nostalgia, the feeling of loss, with the hope, however, of a recovery. This is the very foundation of the necessity of a Quest, which will be symbolized, as in the Arthurian novel, by the motif of the broken and soldered Sword, which leads to the Return of the King.

THE LAST ENDS

Works of fiction, especially the novel, offer even more than philosophical discourse with its academic constraints the possibility of approaching, in the most lively way, the "ultimate questions" which are those of the meaning of the Last Ends, the meaning of life and death, the mystery of evil. The great Russian critic Mikhail Bakhtin showed in his *Poetic of Dostoevsky* how this author could have been inspired by the great genera inherited from antiquity - Socratic dialogue and meniatized satire - to deal with these fundamental questions in modern life.³⁰ In Tolkien, these themes are treated simultaneously in two registers: in sorts of mini-philosophical treatises, which present themselves as reflections on elements belonging to his "secondary world" (for example the question of the reincarnation of the Elves), but also in exchanges of ideas between characters in which interfere their personal situation, their own feelings and their action. This is particularly true of the magnificent dialogue that bears the title of *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* or "Conversation of Finrod with Andreth", which brings together the elf king and a woman renowned for his wisdom. This dialogue tackles the ultimate destiny of the Elves and the Humans in the depths of reflection in the final fate of Arda - which represents our solar system and not only the Earth - and examines the hopes of some and others, posing in filigree the possibility of an incarnation of Ilúvatar in his Creation. Thus, it appears that the two dimensions - individual and collective (and even cosmic) - of the Final Ends are closely related.

THE MYSTERY OF EVIL

Among the theological questions, one of the most sensitive is that of the origin and meaning of Evil, and Tolkien's work is, as well as a reflection on death and immortality, an exploration of this mystery and evil seeds in the depths of Creation. In the *Legendarium* there are two distinct and complementary figures of Evil : Melkor / Morgoth and Sauron (of which Saruman appears as a sort of doublet); But there is another evil "filiation" that is incarnated in the monstrous spiders, from Ungoliant to Shelob (or Arachnè). Evil also attaches to precious objects or magical powers, such as the Ring or the Silmarils, to the extent that they become a source of covetousness or instruments of power. The creators of these objects, Fëanor or Sauron, eventually become themselves possessed by their creation - which is related to the element Fire and the art of the blacksmiths - and they spread in the world curses which bring about terrible consequences. The power of evil in the world is counterbalanced, however, by the commitment of beings of goodwill to the protection of all that remains of beauty and good in Arda, and by the secret and discreet but constant intervention of Providence who seeks to preserve the work of the One from annihilation by the powers of darkness. In Tolkien's world, victory over evil is always possible, it is never definitive, at least as long as Arda lasts, and it most often presents itself as a spectacular and unexpected reversal which the author describes as the term 'eucatastrophe'. Moreover, one of the conditions of this victory over evil is the alliance of the powerful and the humble.

³⁰ BAKHTINE Mikhaïl, *La Poétique de Dostoïevski (Poetic of Dostoevsky)*, Le Seuil, 1970.

THE LEGENDARIUM – THE CONCEPT OF *MOUVANCE*

In many respects, Tolkien's work (as well as its reception by the public) may seem paradoxical. The first work that is worth Tolkien's notoriety, attested by the award of a literary prize, is *The Hobbit*, published in 1937. It has been twenty years since Tolkien built his mythology, from the poems of the war years and the *Book of Lost Tales*, and restructured it. But the very success of *The Hobbit*, which fully responds to the canons of children's literature, gives its author a false image and arouses in the public (and its publisher) a horizon of waiting that does not correspond to what the author carries within him. *The Lord of the Rings* in turn will eclipse the entire background of the *Legendarium*, Tolkien having failed in his attempt to find a publisher who agrees to publish *the Lord of the Rings* and the *Silmarillion* together. But at the same time the unexpected success of this completed work paves the way for posthumous publication by Christopher Tolkien of the *Silmarillion* in 1977. But this published version, which oscillates in a certain way between the developed narrative and the summary or the sketch, demands endless additions which will come gradually, as the *Unfinished Tales and Legends* (1980) and above all of the immense series of *The History of the Middle-earth* (from 1983 to 1996), whose completion does not mean the complete publication of the *Legendarium*, since many texts have been left out, especially those which relate to the study of the many languages that abound in the mythology of Tolkien. The success of *The Lord of the Rings* as a cult book from the mid-1960s onwards and the fascination it inspires in the United States creates a new image of the author. His work is related no longer in the context of children's literature but to the genre of *heroic fantasy*. Thus creating a new horizon of public expectation that the reading of *The History of the Middle-earth* - if indeed it is one day accessible in full in French - will no doubt correct later. But we must now rely on the distorted view of the work through the media success of Peter Jackson's film, which will undoubtedly further blur the richness of the *Legendarium*. The very life of the work, taken as a whole, seems to exceed the usual canons of the production of modern works which are characterized by well-defined limits, indicated by bibliographical references including the name of author, title of the book and (often) reference to a particular literary genre.

It is a notion that seems to us capable of enlightening Tolkien's creative approach, which is a singular case in modern literature, insofar as his work unfolds according to a logic close to that found in several genres of medieval literature. I want to talk about the notion of *mouvance* of the work, highlighted by Paul Zumthor in the early seventies in his *Essai de poétique médiévale (Essay of Medieval poetics)*. This scholar, who has tended more and more to pay great attention to the dimension of orality present in the culture of the Middle Ages, insists on "the essential mobility of the medieval text" : "The work floats, surrounds itself less of borders than of a halo in which incessant mutations occur"³¹. The critic focuses his attention on the dynamism of the work which grows, transforms and declines, according to an organic logic.

But the notion of *mouvance* of the medieval work is not limited to the epic and the novel. One find it in other genres, as in lyric poetry, where subtle variations give a courtly song a new meaning - a process Tolkien inspired in the treatment of his songs. It is also found in medieval historiography where chroniclers take over from one another. The case of Froissart, the famous chronicler of the Hundred Years' War, is one of the most interesting, since, on the one hand, he began his career as a continuator of his model, Jean le Bel, Canon of Liège, he will somehow become his own continuator, constantly revising Book I of his Chronicles as the writing of the other Books proceeds, especially after the mutation that occurs in his work when, in narrative objective history, it tends more and more to take the form of memoirs in which the subjective vision proper to the author can be expressed. Tolkien, too, has made himself the continuator of his work by the constant rewriting of his *Legendarium*, and the editor of *The History of the Middle-earth* is often confronted with problems close to those encountered, In the second half of the 19th century, the two great publishers of Froissart, Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, and Siméon Luce, commissioned by the Société de l'Histoire de France (Society of the History of France) to compete with the company of his Belgian colleague. What needs to be done, in particular with some contradictions which present however each one a special interest ? Must the richness of the work and its abounding character be sacrificed in the name of a coherence hard to maintain, if it is not to establish, because it happens sometimes that the author refuses himself to decide between contradictory versions.

Reading *The History of the Middle-earth*, like that of *Unfinished Tales and Legends*, allows us to truly enter the writer's laboratory and follow the evolution of Tolkien's creative process. Often, the

³¹ Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale (Essay of Medieval poetics)*, Paris, Seuil, 1972, p. 72.

process of creation goes through a first phase of expansion, as evidenced by the emergence of the tales in *the Book of Lost Tales*, followed by a phase of concentration, abbreviation (for example the *Sketch of the Mythology* at the end of the 1920s), followed by a new wave of expansion on new foundations (such as the *Quenta Silmarillion* of the 1930s). But when the creative activity is in a phase of expansion, one can observe a permanent and rapid evolution of the thought of the author, as if the latter "thought with his pen, exploring various narrative paths". But Tolkien may have a tendency to think with his pen in the manner in which the painter Niggie thinks with his brush, paying exaggerated attention to minor details at the expense of the whole : the meticulous love and care given to each sheet can lead to no longer see the tree whose adornment they are. However, Tolkien himself takes care to straighten out his hero's vision (which is somewhat double) by giving him the advice to "take a few drops of water from the Source" - what could possibly be heard as a call to recharge oneself in the first creative impulse, the one that gives the overall vision of the *Legendarium*, from the Great Music of Ainur to the End of Arda.

PRÉSENTATION OF COLLOQUIUM OF RAMBURES « TOLKIEN TODAY » (JUNE 2008)



The Castle of Rambures – located at the border between Picardy and Normandy, about twenty kilometers south of Abbeville - has for several years now, thanks to the generous hospitality of the Count and the Countess of Blanchard, a symposium Mid-June, which brings together literature, historians, heraldists, art historians, philosophers or theologians, around a common theme generally related to the French literature of the Middle Ages. The spirit of these symposia consists in bringing together, for three days, in an atmosphere both studious and friendly, seasoned specialists and young researchers, French and foreign.

For the year 2008, the theme was a little different, although presenting a number of links with medieval literature, since the theme - *Tolkien today* - was devoted to a broad overview to present various which is still too often reduced in France to the *Lord of the Rings* when he conceived, built and constantly developed and enriched, from his youth, before the Great War until his death 1973, an immense and magnificent *Legendarium* that unfolds throughout three Ages whose *Lord of the Rings* is only the final moment - but not ultimate, since the perspective of other later Ages is evoked and even sketched in part. This 2008 Tolkien Colloquium was not the first to be held in France on this subject, but it was the first to present a truly international dimension, thanks to the participation of speakers from various European countries as well as which included some seasoned specialists in Tolkien's work. The Colloquium of Rambures also testified to the vivacity and richness of the studies devoted to Tolkien in the French academic field, since numerous papers were presented by young researchers preparing or supporting a thesis in relation with Tolkien. Last but not least, we were delighted by the warm and attentive presence of *tolkiendili* - Tolkien's "lovers" - enthusiastic and demanding readers, known by the excellent French-speaking JRRVF site, names that now wear faces.

I'm not going to summarize the presentations of the speakers, but rather situate the research of each one in their personal and general context in relation to the Tolkien studies; And I shall follow, in order to do so, the order in which these communications were presented.

One remembers this magnificent flight of Tolkien in *Faerie* : "I wanted the dragons of a deep desire". This desire is like the promontory from which springs the creative imagination of the poet. But in his lecture about *Beowulf* before the British Academy in November 1936, Tolkien nuanced his thoughts by acknowledging that "good dragons are rare." This is the starting point of the inaugural conference given at Rambures by THOMAS HONEGGER, a professor at the University of Jena, who examines the symbolic and narratological functions of dragons in Germanic literature and which contrasts the originality of these beings in Tolkien's work (especially Smaug in *the Hobbit* and Chrysophylax Dives in *Farmer Giles of Ham*). Professor of medieval literature at the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, Thomas Honegger has among his research fields Chaucer, Shakespeare, historical pragmatics and courtly literature of the Middle Ages.

He is, along with Tom Shippey and Verlyn Flieger, one of the world's best specialists in Tolkien studies, and he has been the mastermind of two important series of books: a series devoted to the problems of Tolkien's translation into various languages; another series explores the place occupied by Tolkien's work in the contemporary world, as a response to the challenges posed by the modern world³². The question of time, freedom and creativity are, among others, examined in relation to world wars in the twentieth century, Einstein's theory of relativity, totalitarianism and the atomic threat. Thomas Honegger's research on dragons will not stop at his contribution to the Colloquium of Rambures, since an investigation is under way on the dragons in the East and the West under the double direction of Professor Fanfan Chen of Taiwan and of our confrere of Jena : this is how the dragons blow on the whole planet, animating a literary dialogue between East and West !

Following this inaugural conference, a first series of papers, grouped under the title "Tolkien's Spiritual Lectures," opened, and it was up to MICHAËL DEVAUX to open this first part of the Colloquium with a paper entitled "The spirit of Hope ", which treated, at the same time subtle and rigorous way of this philosopher specialist of Leibniz and at the same time great connoisseur of Tolkien, of the possible relations between the elf terms *amdir* and *estel* and the Christian notions of "hope" And "expectation". Michaël Devaux, a Doctor of Philosophy specializing in the seventeenth century (Descartes and Leibniz), who teaches at the University of Caen, directs the publication of *La Feuille de la Compagnie (The Company sheet)*, the first two issues of which appeared in 2001 and 2003 respectively, are characterized as well by the interest of the articles presented as by the richness of their accounts and their bibliographical indications which open the French public to the works on Tolkien coming from all horizons.³³ The relay was then taken by another associate professor of philosophy, also a doctor of comparative literature, but above all a poet devoting most of his efforts to poetic writing, SEBASTIEN HOËT, editor of the visual arts magazine *Tausend Augen*. His communication was about a very original and rarely treated subject, it seems to us: "Exhausted bodies: effort and fatigue in the *Lord of the Rings*". He recalls that during my first reading of this book in 1976, I had particularly felt a sort of dejection throughout the interminable penetration of Frodo and Sam into Mordor. What would have become of the literary destiny of Tolkien in France if Roland Barthes - of which Sébastien Hoët quotes an extract of the *Fragments d'un discours amoureux* (Fragments of a discourse of love), where it is said that it was necessary to wait for Maurice Blanchot to see the fatigue taken into account by the Literature - had then, instead of Blanchot, appointed the author of *the Lord of the Rings* ?

A second session of Tolkien's "Spiritual Readings" consisted of four communications : those of Annie Birks, Christian Chelebourg, Sébastien Marlair and Laurent Alibert. On September 21, 2007, ANNIE BIRKS, who is now a lecturer at the Catholic University of the West in Angers, supported in the Sorbonne under the direction of Professor Leo Carruthers a thesis on " The reward in the Work of J.R.R. Tolkien ". Observing the trajectory of key figures and peoples, it shows the great coherence of the author in the treatment of this theme - reward or punishment according to what has been done - coherence founded in the Christian underpinning of the work. Examination of this theme focuses on the three major works of *Hobbit*, *Lord of the Rings* and *Silmarillion*, but also on the two tales *Leaf, by Niggle* and *Smith of Grand Wootton*. His communication of Rambures is a continuation of this thesis, since it deals with a comparison between Tolkien and C.S. Lewis on the theme of temptation. In fact she proposes a reading of Lewis's particularly interesting text, the *Screwtape Letters*, letters of a subtle and experienced demon who lavishes on her young nephew advice on how to induce men to sin and to oppose them to God. Tolkien apparently did not much appreciate the facetious tone with which his friend dealt with such a serious subject. CHRISTIAN CHELEBOURG, who teaches French language and literature at the University of La Réunion, is the author of a thesis entitled *Poétique de l'imaginaire (Poetics of the Imaginary)*, dedicated to the work of Jules Verne. His interest also includes nineteenth-century authors : Victor Hugo, Prosper Mérimée, Alphonse Daudet, Alexandre Dumas and Théophile Gautier, but also on youth literature. In his paper entitled "Narcissism and spirituality in the poetics of the subject J.R.R. Tolkien", Christian Chelebourg proposes a reflection on

³² WEINREICH Frank et HONEGGER Thomas (sous la dir. de), *Tolkien and Modernity*, Zurich-Berne, Walking Tree Publishers, 2006, 2 vol., (Cormarë Series volumes 9 and 10).

³³ *La Feuille de la Compagnie*, Cahiers d'Etudes Tolkieniennes, n° 1, Automne 2001 et *Tolkien, les racines du Légendaire*, Cahier d'études tolkieniennes réunies sous (The sheet of the Company, Tolkienian Study Papers, n° 1, Autumn 2001 and Tolkien, the roots of the Legendary Book of Tolkienian Studies meeting under the direction of) la dir. de Michaël Devaux, Genève, Ad Solem, 2003 (*La Feuille de la Compagnie*, n°2 . - The sheet of the company n°2).

the theory of subcreation, situated within the framework of a double competition of Tolkien with the traditional fairytale and with Lewis Carroll. Tolkien's accounts of his work, including his correspondence, take into account Tolkien's motivations for Tolkien's writing and uncover the tensions that energize him. Romanist by training, SEBASTIEN MARLAIR is an assistant at the Catholic University of Louvain, and his interests concern both literature and philosophy. It is to the notion of "applicability" that the communication of Sébastien Marlair is based, whose research is based on the geography of Middle-earth, designed in reference to Deleuze and Guattari as a "virtual" space. Author of a master's degree in Nanterre in 2002, "Imaginary medieval and mythological in the work of Tolkien", and a Master 2 supported in Montpellier in 2006, "Heroism and chivalrous love in *Jaufre* (anonymous Occitan), *Lays of Marie de France* and the *Lay of Leithian* of Tolkien", LAURENT ALIBERT is part of Georges Dumézil's approach to comparativism and emulator, both rooted in Occitan soil and open to broad Indo-European, since he is currently giving courses in Occitan culture in Ossetia. He treated at Rambures of "Heroism in Tolkien," by attaching himself to a work – the *Farmer Giles of Ham* – in which heroism is treated in a satirical and parodic fashion, and especially located no longer in time mythical that is that of the *Silmarillion* or *The Lord of the Rings*, but in a historical time.

In a third session devoted to "Tolkien's spiritual readings", F. GUGLIELMO SPIRITO, vice-president of the Theological Institute of Assisi, where he taught at the Faculty of St. Bonaventure and at the "Seraphicum" in Rome, Reflected on "Gandalf the Wise", which he compared not so much to the figure of the wanderer as Odin, but rather to the spirituality of the Copts, those Christians of Egypt whose icons carry three characteristics that meet at Gandalf's: beard, old age and strength. One can find a variant of the old man combining strength and wisdom, such as the portrait of Charlemagne in the *Chanson de Roland (Song of Roland)*. His task is not to act himself, but to revive courage in all the peoples who oppose the growing Shadow of Sauron, and to open their hearts to hope. He thus plays the role of a spiritual father, his wisdom giving birth and nourishing the heroism in beings such as Bilbo, Frodo or Faramir.

The second part of the Colloquium of Rambures concerned the sources and the filiations of the work of Tolkien, a vast field explored through seven communications. LEO CARRUTHERS is Professor of English at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne. He directs the Center of English Medieval Studies and his centers of interest revolve around the English language, literature and civilization of the Middle Ages. He directed a collective work, published in 2007, *Tolkien and the Middle Ages*, and he is also a specialist of *Beowulf*. His paper dealt with "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Annals of Valinor", a text that Tolkien wrote in several versions from the 1920s and which can now be read in French in volume IV of *L'Hst de la Terre du Milieu*³⁴. Some passages of these Annals of Valinor were written by Tolkien in Old English, in a style reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, composed in England between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. This seems to suggest that Tolkien would have identified himself with the fictional chronicler he calls Eriol or Ælfwine, an Anglo-Saxon who traveled to the solitary island of Tol Eressëa. As for the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it has, apart from an obvious historical interest, literary traits that testify to the evolution of historiographical writing during this period of the Middle Ages. The centers of interest of ANGELA BRAITO, doctoral student at the Stendhal University of Grenoble, are varied, since they encompass music, and in particular the influence of Wagnerism in literature, classical French literature, of the Memoirs of Saint-Simon, and finally the literature of imagination with Tolkien. Having collaborated in *Dictionnaire encyclopédique Wagner (the Wagner Encyclopaedic Dictionary)*³⁵, Angela Braitto was well placed to deal with "The Question of Wagnerian Influence in Tolkien's Imagination". The work of Wagner, by its anchoring in the soil of legends and mythologies, seems to be a reservoir of inspiration for the writers of Fantasy, all one playing a role of "filter" mythological elements and legendaries collected by the Fantasy. While Tolkien, as is well known, has clearly rejected any relationship between his Ring and the Wagnerian Ring. Tolkien's repulsion or fascination for Wagner's work ? Angela Braitto seems to look elsewhere for an answer : in the way in which each of the two great creators re-elaborated, according to their own genius, the material inherited from a common stock of myths, motifs and images. As a lecturer in general and compared literature to the University

³⁴ TOLKIEN J.R.R., *La Formation de la Terre du milieu (The formation of the Middle Earth)*, Christian Bourgois, 2007.

³⁵ *Dictionnaire encyclopédique Wagner (Wagner Encyclopaedic Dictionary)*, Timothée Picard (dir.), Actes Sud, 2009, Collection « Thesaurus ».

of Artois and co-founder of the association "Medieval Modernities", ANNE BESSON has a keen interest in romantic ensembles organized in cycles and series, as well as in everything which touches on paraliterature, science fiction and *fantasy*. It is to "Tolkien's posterity in *fantasy*" that she dedicated her communication of Rambures, aimed at highlighting the "fertility of a misunderstanding". Anne Besson is interested in the "crossed influences" of Tolkien on the *fantasy* after the *Legendarium*, but also of the *fantasy* about the critical reception of the work of Tolkien. One can certainly ask whether it is possible to present Tolkien as the founder of a genre producing "myths in series", whereas his literary posterity seems to neglect what is at the heart of the creative process in Tolkien : *philology* in the strongest sense of the term, the love of words, the love of the Word ...

A second session devoted to sources and filiations brought together the four papers by Chrystel Bourgeois, Antoine Dauphagne, Grégory Bouak and Thomas Fonet-Ponse. CHRYSTEL BOURGEOIS studied, in a master's thesis, the chivalrous and mythological inspirations present in *The Lord of the Rings* ; It does not hesitate to compare, for its "monumental" aspect, the *Legendarium* of Tolkien with the "cathedral" that constitutes the *Recherche (Search)* of Proust or with the *Comédie humaine (Human Comedy)* of Balzac. His intervention by Rambures focused on a more limited subject, although it also opened to broad horizons : "The tripartite system in the *Lord of the Rings*". It refrains from "plating" the system of Dumézil and forcing the characters into the framework of the Dumézil's functions, preferring to analyze their links with figures of Germanic mythology. On this subject of Tolkien's "trifunctionality", the beautiful analysis proposed by Frédérique Munier about the funeral song about Boromir remains, for me, a reference unavoidable.³⁶ There is a sociologist, doctoral student in the sciences of education at the University of Paris XIII, who dealt with the delicate question of "role playing and the heritage of Middle-earth": ANTOINE DAUPHRAGNE also dealt, in a Colloquium in Bordeaux, with the theme of the Middle Ages in role-playing, analyzing a horizon of expectation where the playful sphere finds its anchorage in a composite imagination corresponding to a need for adventure, heroism of which the post-modern technocratic society is destitute. In the *Legendarium* of Tolkien, the role-play draws countless elements that also respond to this need for heroism and adventure, but by transposing it into other contexts, often futuristic, and proposing, through the rules of the game, a system of values certainly quite different from that of Tolkien. However, the reference to Tolkien's imagination remains unavoidable, at least as a "showcase of *fantasy*", without neglecting other original contributions, such as Robert E Howard, Fritz Leiber and Michael Moorcock. GREGORY BOUAK, a Certified Professor in Modern Letters, is a doctoral candidate in Comparative Literature at the University of Poitiers, where he works on a thesis entitled "From the marvelous black to the *dark fantasy*" which deals with "two authors of transgression" Francis Berthelot and Clive Barker. But it is to the links between the work of Stephen King and that of Tolkien that he dedicated his intervention to Rambures. This author is the first to claim the influence of *The Lord of the Rings* as a source of inspiration. Gregory Bouak does not hide the distance between the heroic universe and inspired by Tolkien's highest mythology of prosaicism and the aesthetics of horror that marks the world of Stephen King, classed as a "popular" novelist. He believes, however, that a comparative reading of these two works ends up highlighting their hybrid and composite nature, mixing darkness and light within a non-monolithic aesthetic. THOMAS FONET-PONSE, a member of the board of directors of the German Society of Tolkien, is a lecturer at the University of Bonn. He is author of articles on theological and philosophical orientation on Tolkien and on Terry Pratchett and he has directed a collective work, published in 2005, devoted to the ethics of Middle-earth.³⁷ He spoke to Rambures about Tolkien's "intertextuality," based on a reception aesthetic in reference to the Russian formalist Mikhail Bakhtin and the semiotician Julia Kristeva, and examining the question of the intertextuality between *The Lord of the Rings* and the *Silmarillion*, two works that Tolkien strongly wished to be able to publish at the same time, as forming a whole indissociable in his eyes. Thomas Fonet-Ponse shows how the reading of the *Silmarillion* leads to a much more profound and symbolic rereading of the *Lord of the Rings*. The field of this intertextuality has been considerably enlarged with the publication by Christopher Tolkien of *The History of Middle-Earth* and the current French translation of this immense archipelago which overhangs the continent formed by the whole constituted by the *Lord of the Rings* and the *Silmarillion*.

³⁶ MUNIER Frédérique, « Une interprétation trifonctionnelle d'un poème de J.R.R. Tolkien » (A trifunctional interpretation of a poem by J. R.R. Tolkien), in *Tolkien in France*, dir. Édouard J. KLOCKO, Éditions Arda, 1998, pp. 77-103.

³⁷ FONET-PONSE, Thomas (dir.), *Tolkiens Weltbilder*, Düsseldorf, Scriptorim Oxoniae, 2005, « Hither Shore, 2).

"Peoples and Figures" : this was the third part of the Colloquium of Rambures. Lecturer at the Department of French Studies at Concordia University in Montreal, MIREILLE VADEAN pursues research that is located at the confluence of literature and music, with studies that deal with the "virtual symbolism, Wagnerian leitmotiv in the *Lord The Rings of Tolkien* ", or the "Wagnerian snobbery in the Belle Époque ". She also published in Romania an Essay about the *Reception of the Art of Richard Wagner*. His communication to Rambures dealt with "The Royal Entry of Aragorn II, King of Gondor and Arnor, in the City of Minas Tirith". The proclamation of Aragorn as king of Gondor and Arnor is considered here as a "semiotic act" which is a dynamic overlapping several strata of knowledge : literary, historical, anthropological and philosophical. Contemporary research on "royal entries", so important in the last centuries of our European Middle Ages, tends to define them as events, rites and texts. The distance between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, however, seems to have been very different from the practice of royal entries, which largely influenced the Theater of Mysteries, and the treatment of this theme in the hero-mythical context of the end of the War Of the Ring and of passage from the Third to the Fourth Age. AURELIE BREMONT is the author of a Master's thesis on the Hobbits in *The Lord of the Rings*, supported in 2000 at the University of Angers, of a DEA presented at Lyon II in 2001 on the study of sources at Tolkien. Author of a thesis - under the direction of Leo Carruthers, of Paris IV - which deals with "Celtic mythological and medieval influences in Tolkien". It is Hobbits that was mentioned in his communication of Rambures. The Hobbits, one of Tolkien's most original creations, which play so great a role in the War of the Ring, in which they introduce a form of heroism marked by Christian values rather than by the great epic models, do not come from of the mythological soil of which Tolkien was impregnated from his youth, but suddenly arise and above all will play a role of intermediary between the modern reader - the ordinary little man without quality of the industrial society - and the grandiose world of the *Legendarium* which unfolds through The Ages on Middle-earth and in the Blessed Kingdom of Valinor..

In the second session of Peoples and Figures, MARIE BURKHARDT of the University of Zurich, a specialist in magic in *heroic fantasy*, described "the representation of female characters in *The Lord of the Rings*, from Tolkien to Jackson. " It is thus a confrontation between novel and film, text and image that invites this analysis of some female figures. The film gives Arwen and Galadriel more presence than the novel, thus altering the structure of their function and role. The same goes for Eowyn and for Rosie Cotton, which the film staged in the first part, in the scenes of inn of the Shire. It is all the symbolism of the novel that is thus inflected, as the film tends to draw the female characters from the side of a warrior heroism which the novel does not attribute to them: a form of "masculinization" which does not necessarily contribute to value the beautiful female figures of *The Lord of the Rings*... The Dwarves, who have often been neglected in studies on Tolkien, found a defender in the person of ERIC FLIELLER, who in 2008 devoted an interesting reading inspired by Dumézil to the nicknames of three kings of Durin's lineage: Thorin Oakenshield, Dáin Foot of Steel, Thorin Stonehelm. His paper was entitled "From radical heteronomy to relative homonomy : evolution and permanence of the figure of the dwarves in the *Legendarium*". The Dwarves were constantly valued in the creative evolution of Tolkien's mythology, moving from a status of evil creatures in the *Book of Lost Tales* to complete integration among free Allied peoples against the threatening Shadow of Sauron. However, they remain strangers, a kind of people in the *diaspora*, having in the *Legendarium* a strange status of "presence-absence" and presenting a relation to the death which singles them with regard to the Men and the Elves.

The conclusion of the Symposium was left to two scholars not previously specialized in Tolkien's study. Professor of Comparative Literature at the University Paris XIII, ANNE LARUE has for research domains the history of art as well as the history of ideas and mentalities. She asks, in her communication "Tolkien, ancestor of himself ? about the wish of Tolkien to offer England a mythology of which she is deprived. The pretense of granting literature a national mission dating back to Romanticism, Anne Larue compares Tolkien's situation before the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* with that of the young Mac Person and questions the positive effects of the "false" In the history of culture, of which one of the finest examples in France was the publication of *Barzaz-Breiz* by Count Hersart de La Villemarqué. ISABELLE PANTIN, a professor at the University of Paris X and a teacher at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, has worked on the relationship between literature and science and on the poetry of nature. In particular, he was the author of two scholarly editions of Galileo (*The Celestial Messenger*) and Kepler (*Dissertation on the Heavenly Messenger*), and

published two books devoted to 16th century.³⁸ And it is expected of her a Tolkien, which must appear to the editions of the CNRS. His communication : "Tolkien and literary history: the aporia of the context" was a nice prospective and suggestive conclusion to this international colloquium on Tolkien. The place of this author, whom the British readers elected in 1997 as "author of the century", is still, in France, a source of debate and reflection which the Colloquium of Rambures has, I hope, helped to make progress.³⁹

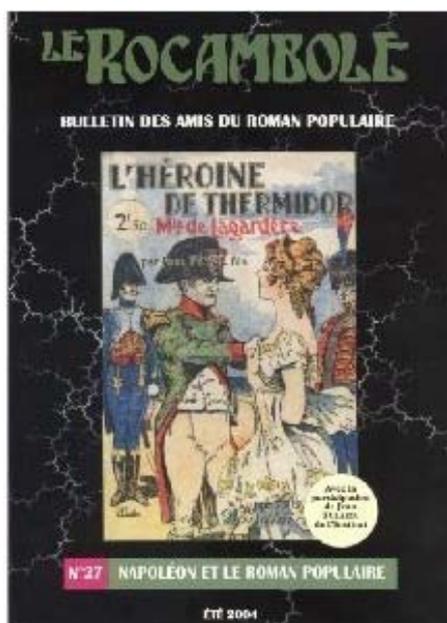
Charles RIDOUX

Amfroipret, avril 10, 2009

³⁸ PANTIN Isabelle, *La poésie du ciel en France dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle (The poetry of the sky in France in the second half of the sixteenth century)*, Droz, 1995 and *La poésie du XVI^e siècle, Ouvroir et miroir, d'une culture (Poetry of the sixteenth century, workroom and mirror of a culture)*, Bréal, 2003.

³⁹ In addition to the communications made during the Colloquy, these Acts include contributions prepared (but not read, for reasons of time) by two of the organizers, VINCENT FERRÉ et CHARLES RIDOUX.

PRESENTATION OF THE CASE «NAPOLEON IN THE POPULAR NOVEL»



It was with a book called *Madame Mère*, which I discovered at the age of twelve, Napoleon, while I was living in the Val-de-Travers, in Switzerland, not far from the Verrières, where, after the debacle of Sedan in 1870, the army of the Bourbaki was gathered. I thus had from the double imperial adventure the vision of a heroism at once exalting and disastrous, on which besides weighed the signature of the famous word attributed to Laetitia Bonaparte : "Pourvu que ça doure ! ". During the teenage years, I was introduced to the legend of Napoleon by the great writers of the nineteenth century : the Waterloo disaster depicted by Victor Hugo in *Les Misérables*, the Russian campaign from the point of view of the heroes of Leon Tolstoy in *War and Peace*, man and his regime under the sharp pen of Chateaubriand. The reading of Balzac and Dostoevsky would soon confirm to me the importance of the myth of Napoleon throughout the nineteenth century and throughout Europe. Finally, towards the end of my adolescence, a friend made me discover the endless and thrilling series of *Carot Coupe-Tête* by Maurice Landay, of which I took nearly a quarter of a century to get me the twenty-five volumes with Paris bookstores.

It is this attachment to the work of Maurice Landay that undoubtedly won me the proposal to collect for this issue of the *Rocambole* a file on Napoleon in the popular novel. Being in this field only a benevolent amateur, I could not pretend to aim at completeness, nor even to establish a complete bibliography on the subject. My aim was simply to offer the readers a few varied lights highlighting the reception of the Napoleonic myth by the popular novel in France and England. Much remains to be done to flesh out this file, and it is not impossible that a second volume will come, one day or another, to complete it. Having no prejudice on Napoleon, I leave the authors of the contributions to this file solely responsible for their possible judgments - praiseers or murderers - on the historical figure. My only objective was to examine the way in which the popular novel had seized upon an exemplary legendary figure and treated its myth in relation to the traditional themes and the narrative logic proper to this literary genre..

No one was better placed than GERARD GENGEMBRE - specialist of the Napoleonic legend in French literature⁴⁰ - to open the file with a general presentation about the reception of the Napoleonic myth in the popular novel, a subject which Jean Tulard addressed in an article covering the period 1870-1914⁴¹. After a brief history of the Napoleonic legend during the last years of the Monarchy of July and under the Second Empire, Gérard Gengembre evokes the first works that mark the entry of this legend in the popular novel, *L'Homme à l'oreille cassée* (*The Men with the broken ear*) of Edmond About (1862) and the *Romans nationaux et populaires* (*National and popular Novels*) of Erckmann-Chatrian. This literature will develop, thanks to the "popular book" to 65 centimes of Fayard under the Third Republic, when a new conflict with Germany appears. It was Ernest Lavisse, a great conscience of the Republic, who then set the tone : condemnation of the despot, but admiration for the victorious emperor. Gérard Gengembre illustrates how a romantic imagery combines with republican ideology in the popular novel. He also tackles the vast field of the popular English-language novel which gives a great place to the Napoleonic epic, as well as the narratives of political fiction that can be placed within the framework of the *uchronie*, the last in date of which, to my knowledge, is *Feld-Marshal von Bonaparte* of Jean Dutourd. The author concludes by the permanence of the Napoleonic myth and the enigma that is still the figure of the Emperor.

⁴⁰ GENGEMBRE Gérard, *La Légende de Napoléon* (*The Legend of Napoleon*), Ed. Pocket Jeunesse, 2002.

⁴¹ TULARD Jean, « Napoléon dans la littérature populaire (Napoleon in popular literature) (1870-1914) », *L'Histoire*, n° 6, novembre 1978.

The historian JEAN TULARD studied the subject of conspiracies against Napoleon, which abound in the popular novel. Under the Consulate, there were attempts to assassinate Bonaparte: Georges Ohnet, like Maurice Landay, treated the plots of Cadoudal, Pichegru and Moreau, and the famous attack on the Rue Saint-Nicaise on 24 December 1800, which G. Lenôtre magnificently evokes in his « Croquis de l'épopée » ("Sketches of the Epic")⁴²; Let us quote in passing the alert narrative given by G. Lenôtre of the lamentable adventure of the one who is known under the name of "accoucheur de Marie-Louise", an exalted German student who thought he was marked by Providence for to deliver Europe from the Ogre of Corsica and who systematically missed his attempts to assassinate the Emperor. Jean Tulard does not fail to emphasize that the posterity of the popular novel remains alive and he points to contemporary works that the readers of the *Rocamboles* will undoubtedly read.

With the *Carot Coupe-Tête* by Maurice Landay, it is the whole period of the Revolution and the Empire that is covered by the fierce struggle between Good and Evil, embodied by Carot d'Estrange, quickly repented of his Revolutionary errors, and by his cousin d'Eblis, who ended cardinal and general of the Jesuits. The Consul, then the Emperor, will be the main stake in their rivalry, with Eblis striving to destroy it, and Carot being indefatigable in protecting and advising him. Alas, when Carot is absent, Napoleon does nothing but stupidity, as in Spain or Russia, and the author spares his readers the account of these sad episodes of the Napoleonic legend. It extends, on the other hand, on the sentimental aspects that accompany the history of the divorce from Josephine and great is the surprise to see appear, at the time of the abdication of Fontainebleau, a personage that was no more expected: Louis XVII, survivor, and being, despite himself, at the heart of a conspiracy of great extent⁴³. Thrilling also is the account of the attempts to escape from St. Helena and the end of the Emperor "on French soil". One of the remarkable aspects of this series of twenty-five novels, of which the whole is well ten thousand pages, is to mark the superiority of the romantic hero (Carot) over the historical hero, which is somewhat diminished by a whole series of processes, especially those which put forward aspects of a physical degradation: Napoleon is most often passive, deceived, removed, imprisoned; certainly, his genius is exalted, but everything happens as if Carot were the incarnation of the will without which this genius would be nothing. The creature of the popular novelist seems to prevail over the mythical figure borrowed from the great History.

CHARLES MOREAU, who deals with *l'Histoire d'un paysan (The history of a peasant)* of Erckmann-Chatrion, emphasizes the implacable gaze carried by these two republican writers on the "citizen" Bonaparte who seizes power because of the moral decomposition of the Thermidorian regime. It is by the mouth of a fierce Jacobin, Chauvel, that all the actions of Bonaparte under the Directory are commented upon. This intractable criticism of the consular tyranny ends up being removed by the police of Fouché, the day after the attack of the street Saint-Nicaise. If the *Citizen Bonaparte* depicts the atmosphere in which the Consulate was established, *Waterloo*, which follows the Conscript of 1813, shows the end of the Eagle. It is a new indictment against the misdeeds of the Emperor who devours, like a vampire, the blood of French youth on the battlefields of Europe.

Like the epic legends in our medieval literature, the popular novel shows a tendency to flourish in romantic cycles whose principle is found in filiation between several generations. Perhaps the best example is that of the *hunchback* - and this for two reasons, since the son of the author continues the work of his father by giving his hero many descendants. Among these, Marie de Lagardère, the granddaughter of the Bossu, is the heroine of a first adventure in the middle of Terror, which allows the author to oppose the "tiger" (Robespierre) and to the "vulture" (Fouquier-Tinville) and to the "eagle" (Bonaparte). DANIEL COMPERE explores the two novels entitled *Mademoiselle de Lagardère* (1929) and *La Petite-fille du Bossu (The Hunchback's Granddaughter)* (1931), analyzing the relationship between historical truth and myth. As with Maurice Landay, the adventure ended at St. Helena, with an attempt to escape and the opprobrium cast on the executioner of the Emperor, Governor Hudson Lowe.

⁴² LENOTRE G., *Napoléon. Croquis de l'épopée*, Grasset, 1932.

⁴³ Curious readers of one of the most novelistic and enigmatic subjects in the history of France will be able to discover a voluminous dossier on the question of survival in the work of Xavier DE ROCHE, *Louis XVII*, Editions de Paris, 1986.

Another tendency of the popular novel is to associate the past with the present. One of the simplest means is to revive in the present a personage of the past of which it would be the reincarnation. The game is accentuated with the contrast between the glorious status of the ghost (a general of the Empire) and his obscure status as an official in today's dreary reality. Such is the case with *Un qui revient de loin* (*One who returns from afar*), by Theo Fleishman, published in April 1955, and which is the subject of an article presented by JEAN-LUC BUARD. Little by little the pale Florentin Passavent will disintegrate to make room, thanks to a reactivation of memory, to that which was general Baron Taillard. A third person, a contemporary historian writing the biography of the general, serves as a sort of intermediary between the present and the past. The search for a lost treasure - an icon brought back from Russia, set with diamonds and worth a fortune, lost in the region of Genappe and Waterloo - comes to give a stake to this quest of the past and allows to combine the romantic fantasy with the rigor of the historical descriptions of the battlefield of Waterloo. The erudition of Jean-Luc Buard - which rightly points out the importance for lovers of the popular novel of the Paul Marmottan Library in Boulogne-Billancourt - is intended to raise awareness of Theo Fleischman's literary and historical activity and his brother Hector, author of studies on the Revolution and the Empire, who was interested, like G. Lenôtre, under the great History and died prematurely in 1914 at the age of 31 years. As for Theo, known mainly as a radio professional in Belgium, he is also the author of two Napoleonic novels which form a suite (*Tapin, tambour de Bonaparte en Egypte* et *Tapin au soleil d'Austerlitz* (*Tapin, drum of Bonaparte in Egypt and Tapin under the sun of Austerlitz*) and *L'évadé de Sainte-Hélène* (*The escape of St Helena*), which takes up the theme of an escape from the Emperor to America, a theme also evoked in the last volume of Maurice Landay's *Carot Coupe-Tête* series.

FRANÇOIS HOFF presents a detailed study of the Napoleonic narratives of Conan Doyle which constitute a copious ensemble, with novels, tales and plays devoted to the exploits of Brigadier Gerard. François Hoff explains the genesis of the writing of these works and quotes a recent communication by Henri Suhamy (at the colloquium of Cerisy on Stevenson and Conan Doyle in September 2000), which analyzes the form and content of the adventures of the Brigadier. A chronology of the publication of the works devoted to Brigadier Gerard, in English and French, comes to the conclusion of this study, which places great emphasis on gender and narrative questions. According to François Hoff, Brigadier Gérard is "a caricature of a French soldier, and even a Gascon, seen by an English novelist" and he vows to the Emperor a quasi-religious worship. Unlike the ideological readings of the French novelists, we are here in the presence of a pure epic hero, with simple and clear values, that his inculturation does not encumber any doubt. The study of the narrative led François Hoff to emphasize the fusion of two discourses : that of the naive performer and that of the staff officer familiar with the high strategy. It also shows the influence of the "campfire story" implemented by Conan Doyle, according to a form illustrated by Balzac in his *Médecin de campagne* (*Field Doctor*). François Hoff sketches the ties of kinship that bring Brigadier Gérard closer to characters such as the brave soldier Chvéik or Charlot, whom he presents as avatars of Don Quixote. We are there in a sort of crossroads between the epic and the novelistic.

While Conan Doyle was first known for his series of Sherlock Holmes, Baroness Orczy was initially the author of the *Mouron Rouge* (*Red Pimpernel*), the English justice who snatched their victims from the hands of their tormentors during the Terror, to which she consecrated seventeen works. The merit of MATTHIEU LETOURNEUX is to draw attention to the historical novels of the Baroness Orczy, which take place at all times and in all countries. Among the thirteen novels outside the *Mouron Rouge* cycle that take place in France, five evoke the Napoleonic era. MATTHIEU LETOURNEUX decrypts the ambiguous position of the Baroness Orczy divided between her revulsion towards a bloodthirsty people and her disgust with a fanatic nobility and clinging to her privileges. In the eyes of the novelist, the great merit of Napoleon is to have rebuilt national cohesion by maturing revolutionary aspirations. However, as the episode of the Hundred Days shows, Napoleon remained an adventurer and, thus, a troublemaker, incapable of establishing a lasting order. Lastly, Matthieu Letourneux would like to draw the reader's attention to the work of Stanley Weyman (1855-1928), author of cape and sword narratives, influenced by Stevenson.

The variety of these approaches bears witness, it seems to me, to the fact that the popular novel has seized upon the Napoleonic myth by integrating it perfectly with the great archetypes which characterize this literature : the dazzling, pathetic and tragic side of the " Napoleonic adventure", with its dimensions both heroic and sentimental, undoubtedly made Napoleon a predestined figure for a long journey within the framework of the popular novel of yesterday and today.

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