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The Songe d'Enfer of Raoul  
de Houdenc:  
An Edition Based on All the  
Extant Manuscripts



MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG TÜBINGEN

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## Preface

A versatile poet, Raoul de Houdenc has left us a variety of works in several styles and seems to have enjoyed a wide reputation in the Middle Ages. His *Songe d'Enfer*, a satirical allegory and parody of a pious visit to Hell, marks several innovations in medieval vernacular literature. As Hans Robert Jauss and Uda Ebel have noted, the *Songe d'Enfer* is the first known otherworld voyage in which the stages of the journey are represented by personified vices; it is the first fictional narrative, in the first person, to be presented as the report of a dream. In using allegory for non-religious ends – the customary moralizing explanation of the allegory is absent – it marks a new step in the progressive secularization of religious allegory. Its humorous feast of the devils is imitated in several later medieval works.

This short but fascinating poem deserves a reliable edition, prepared according to modern principles of textual editing, which can serve as a basis for further study of its literary merits and its position in the tradition of medieval vision and dream literature.

This volume presents the first such edition, for it is the first to be based upon all nine extant manuscripts. Previous editions by Achille Jubinal (Paris, 1837), by Auguste Scheler (Louvain, 1879), and by Philéas Lebesgue (Paris, 1908) depend upon only two manuscripts: Paris, B. N., *fonds français* 837 and *fonds français* 1593. Of these three previous editions, only Scheler's contains any critical apparatus, and it is not well prepared: the variants are inaccurate and the textual notes sketchy; numerous small changes in the text are not recorded in the variants or notes; the volume is marred by printer's errors. In 1897 and 1898 Mathias Friedwagner promised a critical edition of the *Songe d'Enfer* as Volume III of Raoul de Houdenc's *Sämtliche Werke*, but that edition did not appear.

The *Songe d'Enfer* was formerly contained in ten manuscripts, but one of them, MS Turin, L. V. 32 (formerly CXXXIV. g. I. 19), was destroyed by a fire in the Turin library in 1904. The nine remaining copies have all been examined in the original in the preparation of the present edition, and they are all described in its Introduction. This Introduction contains, in addition, a summary of what is known about the author and his poem, an account of previous editions and printings of individual manuscripts, an analysis of the manuscript relationships, and a statement of editorial principles. A summary of episodes also precedes the text. The critical apparatus accompanying the text includes var-

iants, textual notes, an appendix presenting the text of MS B. N., *fonds français* 25433 (MS *W*), a list of proper names from all the manuscripts, a glossary, a bibliography, and an index. Discussions of language and style have not been included, since such studies already exist in the works of Abbehusen, Boerner, and Zingerle, as well as in Friedwagner's introduction to *Meraugis de Portlesgue*.

I am grateful to the following people for help they provided me in locating the Ashburnham-Barrois manuscript (MS *F*), the whereabouts of which were unknown from 1901 to April, 1980: Miss Marjorie G. Wynne of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University; Mme A.-M. Bouly de Lesdain of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes; M. Jacques Guignard of the Association Internationale de Bibliophilie; Professor Richard H. Rouse of the University of California, Los Angeles; Dr. Albinia de la Mare and Mr. Timothy Rogers of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University; the late Professor A. N. L. Munby of Cambridge University; Dr. Paul Kelly, formerly of the Palaeography Room at the University of London Library, now of the National Library of Scotland; Miss Joan Gibbs of the Palaeography Room at the University of London Library; Mrs. Isabel Kenrick of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (of Great Britain); Mr. P. N. Poole-Wilson of the London firm of Bernard Quaritch; and the staffs of the Reading Room and the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library.

Especial thanks are due to the current owner of the Ashburnham-Barrois manuscript, Professor Claude Vaudecrane of Le Mans, and to his wife, Mme Alberte Vaudecrane, for the privilege of examining the manuscript in their home. Their courtesy and hospitality were memorable, and their efforts to aid my work are gratefully acknowledged.

I would also like to thank the Library of Congress for allowing me uninterrupted use of its Modern Language Association Rotographs during early stages of my work. The Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes made microfilms available and provided information from their files. The following libraries permitted me to study manuscripts in their collections: the Bodleian Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque Municipale in Reims, and the Burgerbibliothek in Bern.

My largest debt of gratitude is owed Professor William Roach, under whose exemplary guidance an earlier version of this edition appeared as a University of Pennsylvania doctoral thesis. Professor Roach gave unremitting attention to all stages of my work and offered me generously the benefit of his years of experience. It is a joy to acknowledge his encouragement and his many acts of personal kindness.

Finally, I thank my parents, Helmuth and Louise Timmel, for their sacrifices in behalf of my education; and especially my husband, Brian Mihm, whose patience and support ensured the completion of this work and to whom it is lovingly dedicated.

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## Introduction

### THE POET

Raoul de Houdenc, author of the *Songe d'Enfer*, has left us a variety of works in several styles. He is the author of *Meraugis de Portlesgueiz*, an Arthurian Gauvain romance<sup>1</sup>; the *Roman des eles*, a didactic allegorical «catéchisme du parfait chevalier»<sup>2</sup>; the *Songe d'Enfer*; and, probably, an allegorical *dit*, variously referred to as *Le Borjois borjon* and *Li Dis Raoul Hosdaing*<sup>3</sup>. Critical opinion has been divided on whether he is also the author of the *Songe* (or *Voie*) *de Paradis* and of the *Vengeance Raguidel*, but most recent critics since Micha believe he is not<sup>4</sup>. Ascription of the *Chevalier a l'espee* and the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole* to Raoul de Houdenc has long been recognized as false<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Meraugis de Portlesgueiz, roman de la table ronde*, ed. Henri Michelant (Paris: Tross, 1869); *Meraugis von Portlesgueiz, altfranzösischer Abenteuerroman*, ed. Mathias Friedwagner (Halle: Niemeyer, 1897, reprinted, Genève: Slatkine, 1975).

<sup>2</sup> Alexandre Micha, *Une Source latine du Roman des ailes*, *Revue du moyen âge latin*, I (1945), 305; editions by Prosper Tarbé, *Le Tornoient de l'Antechrist par Huon de Méry* (Reims: Regnier, 1851), pp. 149–164; by Auguste Scheler, *Li Romans des eles par Raoul de Houdenc, publié ... d'après un manuscrit de Turin, et accompagné de variantes et de notes explicatives* (Bruxelles: Muquardt, 1868), extract from the *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*, XXIV, 2<sup>e</sup> série, t. IV (1868); reprinted in Scheler's *Trouvères belges, nouvelle série* (Louvain: Lefever, 1879), pp. 248–271, with variants on pp. 271–284 and notes on pp. 374–392.

<sup>3</sup> On the *dit* and on its editions, see below, p. 25 and footnotes 11 and 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Raoul de Houdenc est-il l'auteur du Songe de Paradis et de la Vengeance Raguidel?* *Romania*, LXVIII (1944–1945), 316–360. All references in the present edition to the *Songe de Paradis* are to Scheler's edition in the *Trouvères belges, nouvelle série*, pp. 200–248. A survey of the argument on the authorship question, with bibliography, is provided by Micha on pp. 316–317 and pp. 333–335 of his article; longer accounts of the critical debate, with good summaries of the types of arguments used, can be consulted in Verena Kundert-Forrer, *Raoul de Houdenc, ein französischer Erzähler des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, *Studiorum Romanicorum Collectio Turicensis*, Vol. XII (Bern: Francke, 1960), pp. 110–115 and 121–128. Kundert-Forrer disagrees with Micha's conclusion on the *Raguidel*; hers is that «alle diese Übereinstimmungen genügen meines Erachtens, um die Identität von Raoul und Raoul de Houdenc sicherzustellen» (p. 136).

<sup>5</sup> E.g., «*Le chevalier à l'Espée*. – Joli fabliau, attribué d'abord par erreur à Chrestien de Troyes, et reconnu depuis comme appartenant positivement à Raoul de Houdeng,»

Huon de Méry is our authority that Raoul de Houdenc enjoyed the high regard of at least some of his contemporaries. Huon places him, especially for his style and his use of language, in the same illustrious position as Chrétien de Troyes. In the *Torneiement de l'Antechrist*<sup>6</sup>, Huon cites Raoul again and again<sup>7</sup>; he declares, at the end of the work, that it has been difficult to write his poem because so little *bel François* was left for him to «glean» after Raoul and Chrétien had finished their work:

3528 [Huon] ... n'osoit pas prendre a delivre  
 Le bel François a son talent,  
 Car cil qui troverent avant  
 En ont coilli tote l'eslite,  
 Pour c'est ceste oeuvre meins eslite  
 Et plus fu fort a achever.  
 Molt mis grant peine a eschiver  
 Les diz Raol et Crestien,  
 C'onques bouche de crestien  
 Ne dist si bien com il disoient.  
 Mes quant qu'il dirent il prenoient  
 Le bel François trestot a plein  
 Si com il lor venoit a mein,  
 Si c'apres eus n'ont rien guerpi.

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Arthur Dinaux, *Trouvères, jongleurs et ménestrels du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique*, IV (Paris: Técheiner, 1863), p. 607 – Van Hasselt was of the same opinion, according to Scheler; Fauchet, and La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (*Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage François*, X [Paris: Niort, 1882], index, s.v. *Raoul de Houdanc*) attributed the *Roman de Guillaume de Dole* to Raoul de Houdenc. See Scheler, *Trouvères belges, nouvelle série*, pp. xviii–xix, and G. Servois, *Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, SATF (Paris: F. Didot, 1893), pp. xxx–xxxiv. For a recent view on the authorship of *Le Chevalier à l'épée* (Chrétien or one of his pupils), see R. C. Johnston and D. D. R. Owen, *Two Old French Gauvain Romances: Le Chevalier à l'épée and La Mule sans frein* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1972), pp. 7–9.

<sup>6</sup> The three editions of Huon's work are *Le Torneiement de l'Antechrist*, ed. Prosper Tarbé (Reims: Regnier, 1851) – only 250 copies; *Li Torneiementz Antecrist*, ed. Georg Wimmer, *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*, No. 76 (Marburg: Elwert, 1888); *Le Torneiement Anticrist*, ed. Margaret O. Bender, *Dissertation North Carolina*, 1970 (University, Mississippi: Romance Monographs, No. 17, 1976). The spelling of the title has been adopted from Tarbé's edition, but all citations are from Wimmer's, since it is more easily available in the AA series.

<sup>7</sup> See Friedwagner's list of Huon's direct allusions to Raoul, *Meraugis*, p. lx, note 2: lines 412, 822, 1233, 1847, 2239, 2240, 3417, 3535 of Wimmer's edition. More correspondences with Raoul's works are, for example, line 1091, «Roberie la taver-niere»; line 1994, «Gorvains Cadrus et Meraugis»; line 2163, «Larrecin, le fil mie nuit»; line 2180, «Qu'a murtrevile a .I. gibet»; lines 2397–98, «Largesce n'a mes le cuer sain; / Sa mein senestre a en son sain»; see also Kundert-Forrer, *Raoul de Houdenc*, p. 155, note 141. According to Marc-René Jung, lines 3167–68 may also be a reminiscence of Raoul de Houdenc, although not only that: «En esté, a .I. mer-quedi, / Fu la feste que je vos di» – see *Etudes sur le poème allégorique en France au moyen âge*, *Romanica Helvetica*, 82 (Berne: Francke, 1971), p. 271.

It ought to be a simple matter to identify a poet who was held in such esteem, whose works were evidently widely distributed – to judge from the relatively large number of extant copies – and who took pains to indicate his full name in his works. Yet we know very little about this man; as has recently been observed, in Raoul de Houdenc we are faced with «une triple incertitude»: «incertitude sur son origine, incertitude sur sa date, incertitude sur sa condition sociale.»<sup>8</sup>

## I. Incertitude sur son origine:

One approach to the problem of Raoul's origin has been to identify «Houdenc» by examining all the spellings of the word in all MSS of all the works. Mathias Friedwagner collected these spellings (*Meraugis*, pp. lvii-lviii, note 1) and provided the following list: *Hodenc*, *Houdenc*, *Houdanc*, *Houdaing*, *Hosdaing*, *Hodeng*, *Hodenge*, *Hodent*, *Hosdent*, *Hodan*, *Houdon*. Anthime Fourrier (pp. 165–166) finds twelve locales whose various medieval spellings correspond with one or more of the spellings cited by Friedwagner:

1. Hainaut belge: Houdeng-Aimeries-Goegnies
2. dép. Nord: Houdain-lez-Bavay
3. dép. Pas-de-Calais: Houdain près de Béthune
4. dép. Somme: Hodent, près de Tours-en-Vimeu
5. dép. Seine Maritime: Hodeng-au-Bosc, Hodeng-Hodenger, Nesle-Hodeng
6. dép. Oise: Hodenc-en-Bray, Hodenc-l'Evêque
7. dép. Seine-et-Oise: Hodant, arr. Pontoise, c. L'Isle-Adam; Hodent, arr. Mantes, c. Magny-en-Vexin; Houdan, arr. Mantes, ch.-l. de canton.

Of all the spellings of «Houdenc»<sup>9</sup> in the extant MSS of the *Songe d'Enfer*, only *Houdan* (MS *R*) and *Hodent* (MS *R*, *explicit*) are not represented in Friedwagner's list<sup>10</sup>. But they do not add any new clues, since they both appear in Fourrier's list of medieval spelling variants for his twelve locales. Nor is any new information added by the Middleton MS of the *Borjois*, *borjon*, which Friedwagner did not know. The spelling in that text and in the thirteenth-century marginal note in the MS is *Hosdaing*<sup>11</sup>, a spelling already represented in Friedwagner's list. «Houdenc» does not appear at rime position in the *Songe*

<sup>8</sup> Thus Anthime Fourrier, by way of introduction to his *Raoul de Hodenc: est-ce lui?* in *Mélanges de linguistique romane et de philologie médiévale offerts à M. Maurice Delbouille* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1964), II, p. 165 (cited hereafter as Fourrier).

<sup>9</sup> The spelling «Houdenc» has been adopted in this edition after Scheler, Friedwagner, and Micha.

<sup>10</sup> *Houdani* in the title of the poem in MS *T* is not reliable, since it was added in a later hand.

<sup>11</sup> Charles H. Livingston, *Li Dis Raoul Hosdaing*, *Romanic Review*, XIII (1922), 293; Lewis Thorpe, *Raoul de Houdenc: a Possible New Poem*, *Modern Language Review*, XLVII (1952), 513.

*d'Enfer*, and the forms at rime position in Raoul's other works and in Huon de Méry's *Torneiement de l'Antechrist* are also inconclusive, since the three resulting forms – *Hodenc*, *Houdenc*, and *Hosdenc* – are attested for almost all of Fourrier's twelve locales<sup>12</sup>.

A second approach to the problem of Raoul's origin has been to localize the dialect of his various poems. A good historical sketch of this approach is provided in Friedwagner's *Meraugis*, pp. lviii–lxiii, and a more condensed summary appears in Fourrier, pp. 167–168. Most scholars have chosen either Hodenc-en-Bray, near Beauvais, or Houdan in Seine-et-Oise, which was Friedwagner's tentative choice: «Immerhin hat Houdan die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich; ... jedoch keine Sicherheit zu gewinnen ist ...» (*Meraugis*, p. lxiii). This sort of debate was rendered moot, as Fourrier notes, by Gertrud Wacker's<sup>13</sup> conclusion that the relationship between dialect and written language does not allow a search for a uniform dialect that will reveal an author's homeland<sup>14</sup>. It might be pointed out, finally, that a third approach to the problem – to rely on the assertion of the *trouvère* «Raoul»: «Dame, je sui de Picardie» (*Songe de Paradis*, line 630) – is now out of date, since Raoul de Houdenc is no longer accepted as the author of that poem. Thus, neither a study of the written forms of «Houdenc» nor an analysis of the dialect of his poems has succeeded in identifying Raoul's homeland.

## II. Incertitude sur sa date:

The generally accepted *terminus a quo* for Raoul de Houdenc's works is Chrétien's *Perceval*<sup>15</sup>, and the *terminus ad quem* is the *Torneiement de l'Antechrist* by Huon de Méry; the date for the latter work was long considered to be 1234, but has recently been set back to 1235–1237<sup>16</sup>.

A number of scholars have given more specific estimates. In 1897, Friedwagner tentatively concluded, «wäre Raoul's Thätigkeit nicht gar lang vor 1215, möglicherweise aber auch erst später abgeschlossen gewesen» (*Meraugis*, p. lxxv). In 1898, criticizing Lucien Vuilhorgne's proposed dates of 1170–1226

<sup>12</sup> On the name at rime position see Friedwagner, *Meraugis*, pp. lxii–lxiii, and Fourrier, p. 167.

<sup>13</sup> *Über das Verhältnis von Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzösischen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, 11 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1916), p. 87.

<sup>14</sup> One of the more recent investigators of Raoul de Houdenc, Verena Kundert-Forrer, avows simply: «Wir wissen nicht sicher, welches «Houdenc» des Dichters Heimatort war» – *Raoul de Houdenc*, p. 89.

<sup>15</sup> Friedwagner, *Meraugis*, p. lxiv, note 2.

<sup>16</sup> Jung, *Etudes sur le poème allégorique*, p. 272. Fourrier, p. 170, believes that the date of Huon's work may be even later: «Le *Torneiement* n'a pas dû être composé longtemps après [novembre 1234] et se situe, par conséquent, selon toute vraisemblance entre 1235 et 1240 au plus tard. A ce moment-là, Raoul de Houdenc ne vivait plus.»

as arbitrary, he suggested: «Il a pu mourir vers 1215 ou peu après.»<sup>17</sup> In 1908, Philéas Lebesgue set Raoul's dates as 1170–1226 and «son époque» as 1180–1230, without indicating sources or reasons for his choice<sup>18</sup>. In 1944, Micha, discussing the authorship of the *Songe de Paradis*, dated that work as not earlier than 1218–1219 from an allusion to the Dominicans and the Franciscans<sup>19</sup>, and asked, «n'est-ce pas un peu tard pour l'attribuer à Raoul de Houdenc ...?» In 1951, Jean Frappier placed the *Songe d'Enfer* «vraisemblablement entre 1220 et 1230,»<sup>20</sup> but did not discuss his reasons. In 1959, Edmond Faral remarked that the *Songe d'Enfer* was «écrit par Raoul de Houdan dès les environs de l'année 1225,» deriving this date from an allusion in lines 398–401 to «l'écroulement de l'église de Vernon.»<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, Faral did not indicate where he found the information on the date of this collapse; Verena Kundert-Forrer reported that «Faral äußerte mündlich die Ansicht, daß SE v. 398–401 sich auf den Einsturz einer Kirche von Vernon beziehen, welcher tatsächlich kurz nach 1220 geschah,» but she did not know, or did not comment on the source of this information, either<sup>22</sup>. In 1964, Fourrier found it impossible to verify this information (p. 170):

malgré toutes mes recherches, je n'ai trouvé aucune mention relative à l'accident de Vernon. Tout ce que l'on sait ... c'est que l'érection de la tour centrale de N.-D. de Vernon eut lieu «aux environs de 1220» et qu'il s'agissait sans doute d'une reconstruction, laquelle semble inachevée. Mais y eut-il écroulement? Je l'ignore<sup>23</sup>.

Fourrier dated the *Songe d'Enfer* 1214–1215, partially because of an allusion to the burning of heretics in Paris. See below, p. 10, and textual note to line 491.

Four more recent scholars follow one or another of the previous theories: Uda Ebel, 1968, dates the *Songe d'Enfer* «gegen 1225»; Hans Robert Jauss, 1970, places it «um 1200»; D. D. R. Owen, also 1970, suggests 1170–1230 for Raoul's lifespan (probably following Lebesgue); Marc-René Jung, 1971, dates the *Songe* 1214–1215<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Rev. of *Un Trouvère picard des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Raoul de Houdenc, sa vie et ses œuvres (1170–1226)*, by Lucien Vuilhorgne, Romania, XXVII (1898), 319.

<sup>18</sup> *Le Songe d'Enfer, suivi de La Voie de Paradis, poèmes du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Sansot, 1908), pp. 229, 13 (reprinted, Genève: Slatkine, 1974).

<sup>19</sup> Romania, LXVIII (1944–1945), 333.

<sup>20</sup> *Châtiments infernaux et peur du diable d'après quelques textes français du XIII<sup>e</sup> et du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, an address to the Association internationale des Etudes françaises, published in its Cahiers, 1953, p. 89.

<sup>21</sup> Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin, *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, I (Paris: Picard, 1959), p. 337, note 1. Jung, *Etudes sur le poème allégorique*, pp. 253–254 and note 54, believes, however, that the church was destroyed and did not collapse.

<sup>22</sup> *Raoul de Houdenc*, p. 153, note 117.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Docteur Coutan, *L'Eglise Notre-Dame de Vernon*, Bulletin des Amis des monuments rouennais, année 1911 (Rouen, 1912), 89–104, especially pp. 91 and 96; Fourrier, p. 170, note 3, cites pp. 6 and 12 of a separate printing of this work (Rouen, 1912). See below, textual note to line 401.

<sup>24</sup> Ebel, *Die literarischen Formen der Jenseits- und Endzeitvisionen*, in Grundriß der

### III. Incertitude sur sa condition sociale:

Despite, or because of, a lack of specific information on this question, a whole sequence of theories has grown up about Raoul's social status: individual scholars criticize one another and put forth their own «mehr oder weniger begründete Vermuthungen.»<sup>25</sup> An early view (Fauchet, Gaston Paris) suggested that Raoul was a cleric: indeed, he does show animosity toward heretics and they receive a variety of punishments in Hell; furthermore, didactic and moralistic literature like the *Roman des eles* was often the province of a cleric. Some scholars believed Raoul to be a member of a mendicant order because of an ambiguous notation at the end of the Vatican MS of *Meraugis* to the effect that «hom qui d'ausmosnes doit vivre / Doit toz jors ses pechiez plorer.»<sup>26</sup> Then too, the theory that Raoul was a cleric gained support from Micha's argument that the source of the *Roman des eles* was the Latin *De sex alis Cherubim* of Alain de Lille<sup>27</sup>. But, it has been argued by opponents, the passage at the end of *Meraugis* has been misunderstood<sup>28</sup>. Furthermore, the composition of so *courtois* a work as *Meraugis* and so irreverent a work as the *Songe d'Enfer* can scarcely be reconciled with a religious vocation. After all, when Raoul arrives in Hell he says he is «bien salüez / De clers, d'evesques et d'abez» (lines 409–410). He also reports that black-robed monks and nuns are served at the infernal banquet (lines 592, 594).

Some have pictured Raoul, secondly, as a poet in the employ of a patron. However, none of his works contains a dedication to a benefactor. Was he, then, a member of the bourgeoisie? Verena Kundert-Forrer, for example, finds in the short works certain «deutliche Spuren der bürgerlichen Welt, in welcher Raoul daheim ist.» Again, «im *Roman des Ailes* sind Vergleiche aus dem bürgerlichen Alltag ziemlich zahlreich»; «Raouls einfache Gedankenwelt ist ein weiterer Hinweis darauf, daß er nicht in die höfische Welt hineingewachsen ist.»<sup>29</sup> The usual counter-argument to this bourgeoisie theory rests on the an-

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romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, Vol. VI, t. 1 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1968), p. 210 (cited hereafter as GRLMA); Jauss, *Ernst und Scherz in mittelalterlicher Allegorie*, in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature ... offerts à Jean Frappier* (Genève: Droz, 1970), I, p. 438; Owen, *The Vision of Hell: Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971 [1970]), p. 171, note 5; Jung, *Etudes sur le poème allégorique*, p. 255 (he follows Fourier).

<sup>25</sup> Friedwagner, *Meraugis*, pp. lxx–lxxvi. In note 2 on the same pages he provides bibliography on the early work on the problem, the most thorough of which was, according to him, F. Wolf's *Über Raoul de Houdenc und insbesondere seinen Roman Meraugis de Portlesgueiz*, *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, phil.-hist. Classe, XIV (1865), 153–198.

<sup>26</sup> See G. Servois, *Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, SATF (Paris: F. Didot, 1893), pp. xxx–xxxiv.

<sup>27</sup> *Une Source latine du Roman des ailes*, *Revue du moyen âge latin*, I (1945), 305–309.

<sup>28</sup> See, for a counter-argument to Fauchet's identification of Raoul as a monk, Lucien Foulet, *Romania*, LI (1925), 88–94; «ce n'est pas l'auteur de *Meraugis* qui est le moine, c'est le scribe ...» (p. 93).

<sup>29</sup> *Raoul de Houdenc*, p. 80; but on p. 81 she finds courtly traits in *Meraugis*.

ti-bourgeois satire in the *Borjois borjon*, e.g., «Car en borjois a un borjon / Qui Prendre a non; si lor aprent / Que borjois est fols qui ne prent / Quanque il puet de chevalier prendre» (ed. Livingston, lines 106–109).

Another opinion with wide support maintains that Raoul was a «jongleur errant.»<sup>30</sup> Such a theory coincides with the well-known facts that Raoul praises Largece in the *Roman des eles* (the two wings of Prouece are Largece and Cor-toisie)<sup>31</sup>; that he bewails Largece's defeat by Avarisce in the *Borjois borjon* and the *Songe d'Enfer*; that he pictures Doner as «povres et nus et en destrece» in the latter work (lines 118–134); and that he approves so heartily of the hellish custom of eating dinner with the doors open so that all who want to may enter<sup>32</sup>. If we accept Raoul's words in the *Songe d'Enfer* as fact, he has been to Saissoingne, Champaingne, Borgoingne, Lombardie, and Engleterre (lines 413–416); indeed, he says he has «cerchie toute terre,» and he may have wandered to these places in his profession as *jongleur*. As Friedwagner points out, Raoul does exhibit familiarity with Paris and Chartres, and perhaps with Poitou (*Meraugis*, p. lxvii). As the GRLMA points out, in the *Roman des eles* Raoul «accorde aux conteor, hiraute et aux vileor des titres de gloire: eux seuls auraient reçu la vocation, de chevalerie esprover» (lines 55–59); is this, the GRLMA asks, an «allusion à sa propre position sociale?»<sup>33</sup> Opponents of this theory point to Raoul's harsh treatment of the *fols menestrels* in *Songe d'Enfer* 625–651, and of the *rimeor de servantois* in *Meraugis* 10–16. But D. D. R. Owen suggests an alternative explanation for such caustic treatment: «At first sight, one might think this good evidence that Raoul was not himself a *menestrel*, but this is not necessarily so. What is certain is that he was an enemy of the «fols menestrels» – an enemy, or a rival? He could well be indulging here in one of the medieval minstrels' favourite pastimes: taunting their rivals.»<sup>34</sup> Owen concludes with a synthesis of the cleric-*jongleur* theories: «Surely the inference is that here we have a sharp-tongued clerk who has passed through the schools and who, while retaining his religious loyalties, has sought to make his living in the world of secular entertainment.»<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Kundert-Forrer, for example: «Wir müssen uns Raoul als Spielmann vorstellen, welcher bald an einem kleineren Hof, bald auf einem Marktplatz sein Brot fand,» *Raoul de Houdenc*, p. 90.

<sup>31</sup> See lines 140–145. Jung, *Etudes sur le poème allégorique*, p. 251, glimpses the «jongleur besogneux» in the *Roman des eles*.

<sup>32</sup> On laments among the *jongleurs* against eating behind closed doors, see Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris: Champion, 1910), pp. 149–150 (reprinted, New York: Burt Franklin, 1970).

<sup>33</sup> See Vol. VI, t. 2, p. 214a.

<sup>34</sup> *The Vision of Hell*, pp. 160–161. For an outstanding example of such taunting among performers, see *Des Deux Bordéors ribauz*, in A. de Montaiglon and G. Raynaud, *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux*, I (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1872), pp. 1–12.

<sup>35</sup> *The Vision of Hell*, p. 161. Faral, *Les Jongleurs*, pp. 32, 199, 218, showed that clerics who followed the worldly vocation of minstrel were not rare.

Such is the varied and tentative body of theory and counter-theory that has grown up about the origin, dates, and social status of Raoul de Houdenc. The single solid advance over this web of supposition was made in 1964 by Fourier, on the basis of previously unexamined documents. His meticulous article, preceded by a scrupulous insistence that his conclusions, too, are hypothetical, proposes the following plausible suggestions.

Peter the Chanter (*Petrus Cantor Parisiensis*), canon of Notre-Dame at Paris after 1169–1170 and *cantor* after 1184–1185, dead in 1197, was an important teacher and religious figure of his day<sup>36</sup>. Peter was also known as Pierre de Hodenc and was a native of Hodenc-en-Bray, near Beauvais<sup>37</sup>; according to chartulary evidence cited by Fourier and by John W. Baldwin, he remained in contact with the region, appearing as principal or witness in legal transactions near Beauvais. In some of these he appears together with his brother *Gauterus de Hosdengo* and with his nephews *Petrus* and *Radulfus*. For example, in 1183 the Bishop of Beauvais (Philip of Dreux) attested that *magister Petrus de Hosdenc* gave the small tithes of Hodenc to the Hôtel-Dieu at Beauvais, «ex assensu fratris sui Galteri, militis de Hosdenc, et Petri et Radulfi filiorum ejus.»<sup>38</sup> Again, in 1187, Peter made a donation, «annuente Galtero, fratre ejus, et filiis predicti Galteri, Petro et Radulfo.»<sup>39</sup> Other evidence cited by Fourier, pp. 174–178, and by Baldwin, names other members of the family: in 1220, *Radulfus de Hosdenc, miles*, appears in two documents with his wife Basilia and his children Giles and Aelina<sup>40</sup>. This is the latest evidence about *Radulfus* in the documents: he is attested, thus, from 1183–1220; Fourier suggests 1165–1170 and 1221–1230 for his birth and death dates. Without claiming certainty for his hypothesis, Fourier nevertheless finds no contrary evidence to forbid identifying Raoul de Houdenc with the nephew of Peter the Chanter, the *Radulfus de Hosdenc* of the charters.

<sup>36</sup> On him, see F. S. Gutjahr, *Petrus Cantor Parisiensis, sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Graz, 1899), and especially John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: the Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 2 vols., the second of which provides extensive bibliography.

<sup>37</sup> Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, I, p. 3, and II, p. 1, note 4: «several charters dealing with the donations of tithes and the disposal of a house identify Master Peter, Chanter of Paris, with the family which took its name from Hodenc-en-Bray in the Beauvaisis.» «Hodenc-en-Bray (département Oise, arrondissement Beauvais, canton Le Coudray) and not Hodenc-l'évêque (département Oise, arrondissement Beauvais, canton Noailles).»

<sup>38</sup> Both Baldwin (I, p. 3, II, p. 235, note 2) and Fourier (p. 173) depend here upon Victor Leblond, *Cartulaire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beauvais* (Paris: Champion, 1919), p. 9, since the original document is missing from the archives of Oise. The quotation is from Fourier, who has emended the text of Leblond.

<sup>39</sup> Leblond, p. 20. Fourier has seen this MS.

<sup>40</sup> Fourier, p. 177. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, II, p. 1, note 8, cites Raoul's wife's name as Albrega, reading from Leblond's 1292 obituary of the Hôtel-Dieu of Beauvais. Fourier cautions, p. 177, note 5, after checking the MSS, that this printed version contains errors.



If correct, this hypothesis settles on Hodenc-en-Bray, near Beauvais, as Raoul's homeland, and on 1165–1230 as his possible lifespan. It also sheds new light on Raoul's «condition sociale,» the third «incertitude» about his life. Baldwin states that «in his writings Peter made two oblique allusions to his relatives which suggest that his family were knights within the ranks of feudal society» (I, p. 3). One referred to a consanguinity problem that was settled in the high ecclesiastical courts (available only to the nobility); another concerned a cousin of the Chanter who was tried for not preventing «his brother from assaulting another vassal of his liege lord» (Baldwin, II, p. 1, note 2). Several of the charters, moreover, refer to members of the family, and to *Radulfus* himself, by the word *miles*: «Noverint universi quod ego Radulfus de Hodenc, miles, bonis hominibus ... vendidi» (Fourrier, p. 177). The family was not, however, wealthy or powerful: they «font figure de chevaliers pauvres,» to cite Fourrier's conclusion; «il faut se les représenter comme de petits hobereaux, car ils n'étaient pas seigneurs du lieu,» that title belonging to someone else at the time (p. 178). Raoul, especially, must have occupied a low position in the hierarchy, since he was the vassal of his brother<sup>41</sup>.

Fourrier's theory, while tentative, is the first to be supported by external evidence, and it accords well with the internal evidence from Raoul's works used by other scholars: for example, Raoul's status as a knight might explain his choice of the courtly topic of *Meraugis* or his concern with knightly perfection in the *Roman des eles*; yet, his relatively low station and lack of wealth would explain his concern with the decline of Largece in his day; his relationship with Peter the Chanter might explain his clerical traits, his hatred of heresy and usury, and even his close acquaintance with Paris, if one assumes he studied there under his uncle's tutelage. Finally, Fourrier finds some additional internal evidence in the *Songe d'Enfer* to indicate that the influence of Peter the Chanter may have been literary as well as personal, as discussed below in the paragraphs on the poem and its sources.

## THE POEM

### I. Date and source:

The *Songe d'Enfer*<sup>42</sup> is generally agreed to be the last of the works now attributed to Raoul de Houdenc. In 1897 Friedwagner said, «Daß Meraugis den allegorischen Werken voranging, scheint mir sicher.... Am wahrscheinlichsten kommt es mir vor ... daß der Roman des Eles den Uebergang von der ritter-

<sup>41</sup> «Ego Petrus de Hodenc, frater supradicti Radulfi et dominus feodi ...» (Fourrier, p. 177).

<sup>42</sup> The title *Songe d'Enfer*, as opposed to *Voie d'Enfer*, has been adopted from the title and *explicit* in MS A.

lichen zur satirischen Dichtung gebildet habe» (*Meraugis*, p. lxxv). Scholars have retained the same opinion over the years: in 1944, Micha considered the *Songe d'Enfer* a later work because some elements of its style show improvement over *Meraugis* and the *Roman des eles*<sup>43</sup>; as recently as 1964, Fourrier said that the *Songe* «semble, en effet, être le dernier des poèmes de Raoul et il se peut fort bien qu'un assez long espace de temps sépare *Meraugis*, oeuvre de jeunesse, du *Songe*, produit de la maturité» (p. 179). There is no new evidence to contradict this deduction, in which the GRLMA concurs<sup>44</sup>.

However, precise dating of the poem has divided critical opinion. The most recent attempt at dating – from internal evidence as opposed to the charters he used to date the poet – is Fourrier's investigation of lines 487–509. The *bougres ullez* served a *la grant sausse parisee* are «hérétiques qui furent condamnés et brûlés à Paris... Durant tout le règne de Philippe-Auguste ce fait, à Paris même, ne se produisit qu'une fois: en décembre 1210» (p. 183). The heretics executed in 1210 were the followers of Amaury de Chartres, born at Bena, or Beynes, Seine-et-Oise, arr. Rambouillet, c. Montfort-l'Amaury, west of Paris, «quos laici Papelardos appellaverunt.» The instigator of the campaign against these *papelards* was Robert of Courson, who also pursued the usurers, to the degree that Philip Augustus complained to the pope about his activities in the spring of 1214 (Baldwin, I, p. 22). Thus, the intense criticism in the *Songe* of heretics and usurers, of gamblers, sodomites, and lawyers (castigated also by the Parisian council of 1213); the mention of *Robert de Corçon* in line 290b of MS U (B. N., *fonds français* 2168); the *bougres ullez* at Paris; even the insults about the Poitevins – all lead Fourrier to conclude: «il résulte que le *Songe d'Enfer* a dû être écrit peu de temps après [1214], à la fin de 1214 ou dans le courant de 1215» (p. 186).

Fourrier's identification, pp. 186–193, of a specific Latin source for the *Songe d'Enfer* reinforces his argument that Raoul de Houdenc was the nephew of Peter the Chanter. The latter's widely known *Verbum abbreviatum*, composed ca. 1191–1192, has come down to us in several versions in about ninety manuscripts<sup>45</sup>. The title, really an *incipit*, does not adequately describe the work, a two-part guide to the avoidance of vice and the practice of virtue. Part one treats sins – «pride, avarice, ambition, simony, sloth, gluttony, and their related manifestations. But ... it also includes those who practice as entertainers, usurers, and prelates»; the second part treats the theological virtues, the cardi-

<sup>43</sup> Romania, LXVIII (1944–1945), 331, note 1: «Raoul de Houdenc s'est guéri dans le *Songe* d'un autre tic qui devient fatigant dans *Meraugis*: les constantes interrogations par *Porquoi ?* ou *Comment ?* qui brisent le dialogue ou le récit. Il s'y laisse encore aller dans le *R. des Ailes*: c'est une des raisons pour lesquelles je placerais chronologiquement le *Songe* après les deux autres poèmes.»

<sup>44</sup> Vol. VI, t. 2, p. 256b.

<sup>45</sup> Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, I, pp. 14–15, II, pp. 246–251; the *Verbum* was first edited by Georges Galopin (Mons, 1639) and is reprinted in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia ... Latina*, 205: 15–554.

nal virtues, and good works, but also contains a full discussion of the sins of the world<sup>46</sup>. The Munich MS, moreover, is entitled *Petri Cantoris Parisiensis viaticum tendentis in Jerusalem*, and Fourier finds that the work does in fact depict life as a voyage toward the celestial Jerusalem. «Facies eius erat euntis in Jerusalem» (Luke 9.53) appears frequently as a leitmotif; conversely, the section on vices represents the soul «euntis in gehennam.» So the work presents, essentially, a *Voie de Paradis* and a *Voie d'Enfer*. Besides the central *voie* motif, Fourier finds other traits which Raoul could have adopted from the Chanter: the concept of sins as linked by familial relationships («invidiae mater est superbia»); the path to Hell, or progression of sins, as starting at Covoitise («radix omnium malorum est cupiditas»), passing through Avarisce, Gloutonie, Fornication, and ending at Mort Soubite; the invectives against usurers who fatten themselves on others' goods; imprecations against the venal tongues of lawyers; the danger of Mort Soubite («tertia causa et periculum est mors subitanea»). Even the concept of Desesperance as «monjoie d'Enfer,» if compared to the earthly hill of Montjoie seven kilometers from Jerusalem, reinforces the interpretation of the *Songe d'Enfer* as the destiny of one «euntis in gehennam,» the inverse of the heavenly Jerusalem. «Il apparaît donc que Raoul de Houdenc pouvait trouver dans le *Verbum abbreviatum* de Pierre de Hodenc absolument tout ce dont il avait besoin pour écrire le *Songe d'Enfer*» (Fourrier, p. 192). Two further ideas of the Chanter may have served as models also for Raoul's *Roman des eles*: the praise of Largece; the concept of an abstract idea, *prouece* in Raoul and prayer in the Chanter, as being borne up by two wings («Est enim eleemosyna una alarum orationis et jejuniun altera»)<sup>47</sup>.

## II. Genre: Raoul de Houdenc and the «fabel sans fable»:

In the first line of the *Songe d'Enfer*, Raoul says that dreams are thought to contain *fables*, and in the last line<sup>48</sup> he says that from his dream he has made a *fabel*. The term *fabel* is used to designate, it is said, the satirical intent of the poem<sup>49</sup>, but in addition there exists between *fabel* and *fable* a relationship that is interesting to investigate.

<sup>46</sup> Baldwin, I, p. 15.

<sup>47</sup> Jung, *Etudes sur le poème allégorique*, p. 255, note 56, is not entirely convinced by the resemblance between the Chanter's work and Raoul's.

<sup>48</sup> Generations of critics have pointed out that line 678, «Qui cest fabel fist de son songe,» is the concluding line of the poem and that lines 679–682 (present in only two MSS) were added by a scribe or by the author of the *Songe de Paradis* to tie that poem to Raoul de Houdenc's.

<sup>49</sup> E.g., GRLMA, Vol. VI, t. 2, p. 256b: «*fabel* (v. 678) caractérise apparemment (à défaut d'une désignation du genre en langue vulg.) l'intention sat[irique].» Cf. GRLMA, Vol. VI, t. 1, p. 210: «Der Dichter ... vorgibt, durch einen erleuchtenden Traum zu seinem satirischen Werk (*fabel*) inspiriert worden zu sein....»

The meanings of *fable*, *dit* (*dire*), *conte* (*conter*), and other such terms, for the contemporaries of Raoul de Houdenc, have recently been made clearer in the studies of Hans Robert Jauss<sup>50</sup>. He finds that *dit* and *dire* usually refer to the telling of a truth (such as a Biblical truth), as in the expression *dire verité* (*veritatem dicere*), «par opposition à la littérature profane nourrie de fictions» (L'Humanisme, p. 120), which is often designated *fable*. There are sufficient examples in the works of Raoul's contemporaries to make the distinction clear. In the prologue of the *Bestiaire* by Gervaise (ca. 1200) Jauss finds, for example:

24 Mais celui qui vérité dit  
Et selonc divine escripture  
Covient sevre la letreüre.

In the *Songe de Paradis* (not before 1218–1219), ed. Scheler, one reads:

1038 Il pora bien de fi savoir,  
Que j'en dirai verité pure  
Selonc che que dist l'Escripiture,

And in the same poem:

878 Ne tenés pas mon dit à fable,

Faral quotes the following statement from Jean Bedel<sup>51</sup>:

Seignor, apres le fabloier,  
Me vueil a voir dire apoier;

Examples could be multiplied at will. D. D. R. Owen translates the word *fable* in a continental verse translation of the *Vision of St. Paul* as «fictitious tales» (*The Vision of Hell*, p. 85), which approximates Jauss's conception. It is clear, furthermore, that Raoul de Houdenc makes the same distinction between reciting truth and reciting fiction. In the *Borjois borjon* (Middleton MS) he says<sup>52</sup>:

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<sup>50</sup> See especially *Genèse de la poésie allégorique française au moyen-âge (de 1180 à 1240)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1962), a sample chapter for the GRLMA; *La Transformation de la forme allégorique entre 1180 et 1240: d'Alain de Lille à Guillaume de Lorris*, in *L'Humanisme médiéval dans les littératures romanes du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Anthime Fourier (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964), pp. 107–146 (hereafter cited as *L'Humanisme*); and *Entstehung und Strukturwandel der allegorischen Dichtung*, in *GRLMA*, Vol. VI, t. 1, pp. 146–244 (reprinted in Jauss, *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur: gesammelte Aufsätze 1956–1976* [München: Fink, 1977], pp. [154]–[218]).

<sup>51</sup> *Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris: Champion, 1910), p. 210 (reprinted, New York: Burt Franklin, 1970).

<sup>52</sup> Ed. Charles H. Livingston, *Romanic Review*, XIII (1922), 298, who notes that Raoul is here giving a definition, and who compares *La Vielle Truande*, in Montaiglon and Raynaud, V, 129: «Des fables fait on les fabliaus.» Cf. *Trubert*, ed. G. Raynaud de Lage, line 1: «En fabliaus doit fables avoir.»