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Collection Notes. The South German predella with kneeling figures has been taken to the Fogg for the laying of the blisters. Mr. Stout found everything else in excellent condition.

Three more of the "Egyptian" bronzes have gone to Gettens for further tests. The Fire Snake will go to Dr. Vaillant today.

Publication Prospects. The following articles on the Collection will soon appear: by Hanns Swarzenski, in The Art Bulletin; by Miss Segall, in The American Journal of Archaeology; by Marvin Ross, (the Early Christian & Byzantine Collection), in the special number of the Fogg Bulletin which will be devoted to D.O. A large number of off-prints of the Swarzenski and Segall articles are being ordered so that Mr. and Mrs. Bliss may have a generous supply.

Shaw Coin Collection. Professor Sherbowitz-Wetzor has been continuing his study of the coins and is increasingly impressed with them. One, a silver coin of Trebizond, in excellent condition, is of great rarity, dating from the very brief reign of Theodora Comnena (of Trebizond)

Grégoire Lecture. There was so great a provocative contagion in Professor Grégoire's lecture on Friday that it temporarily turned various members of the Underworld into research students, with their desks covered with stacks of books. And they believe that you should not miss the fun of this mental game, so the Courier of this week brings you, on the following pages, a brief outline of the lecture as taken down by Miss Diehl and certain supplementary reference notes.

On the Eve of the Crusades: The Chanson de Roland and Byzantium--Notes

Henri Grégoire--March 7, 1941

I do not wish to be considered a Byzantinist. Byzantine literature is extremely annoying and tiring. Byzantium had a civilization which in the course of ten centuries never produced a good poem. Its greatest defect was its greatest quality. It never had a period comparative with the medieval period between the ancient civilization and the renaissance. There was no interruption. The people were able to defend the Eastern provinces of the Empire against the barbarians. They almost always achieved this by bribing. The currency was good and almost never debased. Everything went on, the schools continued teaching the old language. Thanks to the continuity of the schools the vulgar language really had no chance of emerging from the lower classes to become the language of the upper classes. Old Greek in slightly altered form was always used. There was a colloquial Greek but it was an underground language. It almost never emerges in literature proper. This was the reason why there was no poetry. Except for the Arabs, it is almost impossible to conceive of a living poetry in the true classical form. The people could create epic ballads but it was forbidden for the best writers to quote the poetry of the soldiers. These epic ballads have been preserved mysteriously by the people down to the present day, all due solely to the faithful memory of the people. They are preserved in the Dodocanese, and Cyprus by people who came from Asia Minor.

1099. (the conquest of Jerusalem) is the date of the First Crusade. But before this first crusade there were other expeditions. There are many more crusades than 8. Before 1096 there had been clashes between the East and West. Some already bore the character of holy wars, to punish the infidels for outrages in Jerusalem and in the Christian East. One of these pre-crusades is almost unknown now. Because of the formidable impact of the first crusade people have forgotten the preceding events. The first crusade reestablished contact between two parts of the civilized world almost separated for centuries. The aspect of life in these two worlds had been completely different. In the East, the old habits of ancient life went on materially and spiritually. In the West there had been profound changes, due to

the German invasions and also due to the Arab and Moslem invasions of the Eastern Mediterranean. The seafaring nations almost entirely disappeared. Riches did not exist in the west. There was no trade. Education failed in the west. But ignorance had aroused the creative forces of the western mind. Because the old education system had been destroyed the westerners became more creative than the easterners. When tradition is interrupted, the forces of mankind always produce something new. By the time of Charlemagne, except for the clergy, no one could write Latin. The living language of the people was set free to transform itself into higher linguistic meanings of expression. Some were used in great poetic contributions. The Chanson de Roland is not the first of its kind.

It is wrong to compare the Chanson de Roland with the Iliad. The spirit of the Chanson de Roland is not always refined. It is a poem full of the spirit of struggle and hatred. It is evident that the author must have had in mind contemporary events.

The Chanson de Roland was kept in the minds of the people through the ages, but not till 1837 when Francisque Michel found the manuscript, did the west re-discover the Middle Ages. Michel tried to date it, and ever since there has been a controversy, some scholars placing it before the crusades and some placing it after them.

Towards the end of the battle of Roncevaux, thirty divisions (escheles) came under Baligant to the aid of the Catalonian moslems. The first of these came from Butrentot.*

*From the Bodleian MS.--La premiere est de cels de Butrentot,
E l'altre après de Micenes es chefs gros:
Sur les eschines qu'il unt en mi les dos.
Cil sunt seiet ensement cume porc; AOI.
E la terce est de Nubles e de Blos,
E la quarte est de Bruns e d'Esclavoz,
E la quinte est de Sorbres e de Sorz,
E la siste est d'Ermines e de Mors,
E la sedme est de cels de Jericho,
E l'oitme est de Nigres e la noefme de Gros,
E la disme et de Balide la fort:
Ço est une gent ki unches ben ne volt.

Butrentot is opposite Corfu on the mainland. It was formerly called Buttrotos, now it is Butrinto. Probably the Chanson de Roland was produced in the 11th or 12th century when Butrentot attracted the attention of the world. Michel tried to connect the mention of Butrinto with an expedition in the East but he was not successful.

There were fighting bishops in the crusading armies who were a most horrible example to the Byzantines who did not believe the clergy should shed blood even of infidels. The reaction of the Byzantines is noted in the Alexiad of Anna Comnena. This is a key to what the Byzantines thought of the Crusades. A bishop like Turpin is hard to conceive of in the time of in the time of Charlemagne. It seems very logical to think of the Chanson being written after the crusades. Bédier has written pages about this. But I (Grégoire) think it was composed before the crusades. My date is 1085.

Butrentot figures in the history of a war which is a pre-crusade. 1081-85 made a great impression on the minds of people in the west and east. This pre-crusade was the first invasion of Greece by an Italian invader who landed troops on the shores of Epirus, fought on the same battlefields as the contemporary invader and probably achieved the same results.

Robert Guiscard was the leader of this expedition. He was a Norman from southern Italy. The Norman had conquered this country from the Byzantines and made the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Handfuls of picked men, or brigands invaded Sicily and expelled the Byzantine governors and Arabs and founded a state that was absolutely modern, not branded by any medieval prejudices. It was a mixture of Normans, Byzantines, Lombards and Arabs. Three or four languages were generally spoken. The highest forms of art were practised. The acts of Robert were delivered in Greek, Latin and Arab. There was no persecution because of race or creed. That was the Norman spirit.

They were great imperialists. They wanted to conquer the rest of the classical world. They formed the "Norman plan of conquest." The Germans inherited this plan, and altered completely the holy aim of the Crusades. They made them capture Constantinople and destroy the whole Christian empire of the east. This plan was

conceived by the Normans, but executed to the full during 1203-1204. This is probably the greatest shame of western history, they destroyed the legacy of a whole world. That was the Norman idea. It came from Robert Guiscard who was clever enough to make use of Gregory VII who was fighting Henry IV at the time. The pope was rescued by Robert Guiscard. With the pope in his hands Robert Guiscard received his authorization for the venture. He received the banner of Saint Peter.

Robert provided himself with a puppet Emperor, the pseudo-Michael. The other Michael had been deposed. The account of this can also be found in Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*. Almost every name in that story figures also in the enumeration of troop units in the *Chanson de Roland*, (See Note, p. 2) with towns in Epirus or nations belonging to Balkan ethnography. Jericho and Canina were two Syrian names but they were also towns in Epirus. Jericho is at the end of the Bay of Valona. It was formerly Oricum or Hiericho. It was a fancy of the 11th century to change it to Jericho.

Guiscard made his soldiers also think they were fighting a holy war, by having them believe that he was a second Joshua storming the walls of Jericho. The end was a catastrophe. The emperor Alexius Comnenus succeeded in bribing Robert Guiscard's captains. Robert had to go back to Italy to save the pope and left his son Bohemond in command. Bohemond was beaten and went back to Salerno. Robert Guiscard at the age of 74 began a new crusade in 1085, took the same islands, but died in Cephalonia, vanquished by fever. In his last moment he promised his son a glorious future.

Most of the names of troop units in the *Chanson de Roland* (see note p. 1) were parts of the Byzantine army that fought Robert Guiscard. Alexius Comnenus had to create a new army in a few months. He had lost much territory, but kept his money. He could always have mercenaries. These are the names in the new armies. There were the Germans, Nemizi (a slavic word) or Micenes backwards, who were the bodyguard. It is the first time they appeared. The Wallands, who were Russians or Scandinavians, the English, or Anglo-Saxons who were fighting

the Normans in the Byzantine army, the Pechinez, Turks of a savage sort, Bulgarians (people of Samuel, a Bulgar king), Rumanians, Vlachs and others were represented. The first thing Alexius Comnenus did to fight the invader was to make an alliance with the Turks who sent him 4000 men.

Undoubtedly, the Chanson de Roland was written under the fresh impression of the adventure of Robert Guiscard. It was meant as a kind of propaganda in favor of the second expedition of Robert Guiscard.

In stanza 391, Charlemagne is really Robert Guiscard. "Par force iras en la tere Debire." Debire could ^{be} D'Epire.

In Italy Robert Guiscard preserved a tradition as a kind of Joshua. This is seen in Dante, the 18th Canto in Paradiso, where his name appears in the same series as Joshua and Charlemagne.

"Io vidi per la croce un lume tratto
dal nomar Giosuè, com' el si feo;
nè mi fu noto il dir prima che il fatto.
Ed al nome dell' alto Maccabeo
vidi moversi un altro roteando;
e letizia era ferza del paleo.
Così per Carlo Magno o per Orlando
due ne seguì lo mio attento sguardo,
com' occhio segue suo falcon volando.
Poscia trasse Guglielmo e Rinaldo,
e il duca Gottifredi la mia vista
per quella croce, e Ruberto Guiscardo."

Encore la Chanson de Roland et Byzance

Henri Grégoire--BYZANTION
Tome 14, Fascicule 2

En attendant notre livre sur l'élément historique dans l'épopée, Clio et Calliope, signalons notre mémoire intitulé: La Chanson de Roland de l'an 1085: Baligant et Califerne ou l'étymologie du mot Californie ⁽¹⁾. Nous y avons repris plusieurs questions que nous n'avions fait qu'effleurer dans l'article de Byzantion, notamment le rôle de Βούθητρον dans la guerre gréco-normande de 1081 à 1085, les diverses mentions de Jéricho d'Épire dans la littérature historique, l'étymologie de Californie et plus précisément l'identification de Califerne et d'Oluferne avec Céphalonie et Corfou, l'identification de Baligant avec Paléologue, la mort de R. Guiscard à Céphalonie, l'identification d'Argoilles de la Chanson, le vexillum Sancti Petri de R. Guiscard, et enfin la réputation légendaire de Robert qui a bientôt passé pour un véritable croisé, réputation consacrée par Dante dans sa Divine Comédie.

Voici les points nouveaux que nous avons établis. Quand la Chanson dit que ceux de la première échelle sont "ceux de Butentrot," c'est l'écho à peine déformé d'un important fait historique qui est resté généralement ignoré, parce que l'histoire de cette guerre d'Épire a été écrite principalement d'après Anne Comnène, et non d'après la meilleure source qui est le poème de Guillaume d'Apulie. En effet, c'est près de Βούθητρον qu'eut lieu, en 1081, la première grande bataille de la guerre. L'avant-garde de l'armée byzantine, composée de 2,000 Turcs, était commandée par Basile Mésopotamites. Cette bataille est racontée par Guillaume d'Apulie, livre IV, vers 322-745. Le fait est capital. La circonstance que les premiers Byzantins combattus et vaincus en rase campagne par les Normands étaient tous des Turcs, a dû fortifier Guiscard et les siens dans leur conviction qu'ils avaient affaire, non à des chrétiens, mais à toutes les forces de la païennité. Nous espérons qu'on ne nous objectera plus la prétendue impossibilité d'un travestissement de l'armée d'Alexis et de Paléologue en armée musulmane ou païenne! Ni

(1) Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique (Classe des Lettres), t. XXV, 1939, pp. 211-273. This is not at Dumbarton Oaks, but we are trying to get it from the Library of Congress.

Chalandon, ni aucun autre historien moderne, à notre connaissance, n'ont tenu réellement compte de cet épisode, passé sous silence par Anne Comnène parce qu'il était peu glorieux pour Byzance. Une fois de plus il apparaît que, lorsque l'on nie légèrement l'importance de l'élément historique dans l'épopée, c'est surtout par ignorance de l'histoire vraie.

Pour Jéricho, il faut noter, comme nous l'a fait remarquer M. E. Honigsmann, que cette ville d'Épire n'était pas seulement une forteresse, mais une stratégie, un thème. Schlumberger, dans sa Sigillographie, pp. 733-734, publie le sceau de Thomas, protospathaire et stratège de Jéricho.

En ce qui concerne l'identité de Céphalonie et de Califerne, elle résulte surtout du passage de la Chanson déjà allégué, vers 2920 *sgg.*, où tous les noms de lieu évoquent des pays conquis par Robert Guiscard, puis révoltés contre lui, ou, comme "ceux d'Afrique," des adversaires qui sont venus le gêner dans ses entreprises. Autant que Rome, la Pouille, Palerme et l'Afrique, Céphalonie a gêné Robert Guiscard. En 1085, il consacra toutes ses forces à la reconquérir, et mourut avant d'avoir achevé cette tâche.

J'ai examiné, dans mon mémoire académique, les divers récits de la mort de Robert Guiscard, et j'ai reconnu que, pour l'essentiel des faits, Anne Comnène est parfaitement d'accord avec Guillaume d'Apulie. C'est bien dans la partie nord de l'île que Robert est mort de maladie, en des circonstances qui ont ému son imagination et celle de ses hommes. S'il a été frappé du nom du promontoire Ather ou Atheras, c'est que ce nom figurait dans le chapitre XV du Livre de Josué, que le vainqueur de Jéricho s'était fait sans doute relire plus d'une fois. Dans ce même chapitre, il a dû remarquer des noms de lieu comme *Αἰλῶν* et *Ἰθάκη*, que des prêtres grecs, ou de rite grec, ont dû lui signaler, et qui, par leur ressemblance avec *Αἰλῶν* et *Ἰθάκη*, auront confirmé ses "impressions de Terre Sainte." Mais le chef normand a dû être persuadé qu'il mourait aux portes de Jérusalem, lorsqu'on lui montra dans l'île de Céphalonie un site de ce nom. On avait douté de ce récit d'Anne Comnène: j'ai retrouvé la Jérusalem de Céphalonie

dont parle la Porphyrogénète. Tout cela prouve que l'île où mourut Guiscard était bien propre à exciter l'imagination normande; et il est tout naturel qu'elle soit citée dans la Chanson, au passage pathétique où Charlemagne, découragé, songe aux rébellions qu'il lui faudra dompter. Sur Céphalonie, étape sur la route de Jérusalem, j'ai cité un passage des Gesta Pisanorum: Jerosolymitanum iter impedire consueverat.

Ces faits et ces textes répondent suffisamment aux objections de ceux qui, sous prétexte de métathèse, feraient difficulté d'identifier dans la Chanson la dernière conquête de Guiscard.

On a cherché à grandir encore le rôle de Guiscard, aussitôt après sa mort. On lui a prêté des entreprises plus vastes encore que celles qu'il a réellement accomplies. On a fait de lui, comme de Charlemagne, un véritable croisé, et Dante est l'écho de cette tradition, lorsqu'il le transporte au Paradis avec d'autres "soldats de la foi". Josué, Macchabée, Charlemagne, Roland, Guillaume d'Orange, Rainouart, Godefroid de Bouillon: (1)

"Poscia trasse Guglielmo, e Rinoardo
E il duca Gottifredi la mia vista
Per quelle croce, e Roberto Guiscardo."

BRUXELLES.

Henri Grégoire.

(1) Paradiso, chant XVIII, vers 46-48.

Les Mots de M. Focillon. Talking of the muse, who turned out to be a nice, solidly built little woman, sprightly and human: "Elle a quelque chose de populaire qui me plaît - comme une cousine de province. J'aurais eu horreur d'une jolie fille".

"L'Architecture est le seul forme de l'art dans lequel on peut entrer. Il a en même temps un dehors et un dedans"

Speaking of a beautiful woman (who is not unknown to us all!) "sur elle les étoffes forment des jolies plies"

Speaking of museum directors and the necessity for mutually complementary types in any joint undertaking: "Il faut le magicien et le mandarin"

After speaking of a one-sided person: "...quant à moi, je suis pourri de vielseitichkeit"

"Merci pour vos compliments; mais si vous trouvez que je parle bien, vous devez entendre mes silences. Ils sont beaucoup plus beaux"

While arranging books in the Oval Room: "Ne les mettons pas trop près. Il ne faut pas qu'ils se battent les nuits" La Princesse de Clèves et Mme. du Deffand, "le plaisir à côté du virtue"

"La bonne Duchesse de Dino, qui était si gentille pour son oncle, le Comte de Talleyrand". "Les petits écrivains sont des hommes fait pour s'étendre"

"Les grands messieurs, même quant ils s'appellent historiens, on peut les mettre avec les grandes textes"

Speaking of games: "Je suis innocent dans les jeux. Je joue en fantaisiste, comme un romantique"

Weather Report. After a week-end of magnificent storm, today it is as if nature had stopped all the wheels for a while to show how benign she can be. The sun is high and warm, the air still and limpid, with no wind. All about is a peculiarly gentle sound of quietly melting snow: little settlings and shiftings - a "noiseless noise". The snow slips off the trees and bushes. The winter jasmine shows its bright yellow blossoms again, and the faint blur of coming buds softens the outline of most of the trees. (The snow and sleet, by the way, did no damage. At least, so far as one can see)

Census. The Brooklyn Coptic Exhibition has been the means of inducting the dealers into the Census. Miss Dow and Miss Bellinger have been busy taking notes and ordering photographs, and have prevailed upon both Kevorkian and Kelekian to let us have pictures of their things. Lelek has led off with a number of prints for which he refuses to be paid. (See copy of his echt Kelek letter)

(Census, with certain off-side comments, continued in excerpt from letter of Louisa Bellinger. See next p.)

Letter from Louisa Bellinger addressed to Mrs. Sessions, ^{New York} March 3, 1941.

.....

Alfred and Charlotte are driving down to the opening of the National Gallery and I think I may go down with them if that would meet with your approval. Mrs. Reifstahl is collecting a bunch of pictures for me which I hope to pick up when I lunch with her next Wednesday, and a few days in Washington would let me get them in order for Lane to mount. As a lot of them are Antinoë I do want them in the file before I forget having seen them. (My careful examination was last April.)

The work here⁺ ^(Burdette, Coptic skins) is breezing along and I think quite well. I now have the firm conviction that when I get the cards all done and they are ready to stand on their own feet they might do well to be gone over by someone with no knowledge of textiles but who has been blessed with an orderly mind! I am trying to keep them uniform but occasionally a really brilliant thought strikes me at 11:30 instead of 9:00 A.M. and far be it from me to muzzle a brilliant thought. They come too seldom.

I saw the world and his aunt at the Needle and Bobbin Club annual meeting. And incidentally did a little of the fastest moving of my career. At 5:05 I was at the Winlock's - 80th and Park Ave. - having tea. At 6:55 I was at the Faculty Club - Elm St., New Haven - having supper! The lord of creation was there⁺ and made as good a tea as possible while watching Miss McAllister, Mrs. Little, and Miss Bolles be very clubby with an indiscrete chit. Poor man! I really shall have to beard him in his den sometime soon and bury the hatchet. Dr. Ackermann has been doing some work on Coptic rags for a forthcoming book (?) and went to Chicago after I left so I hear. (She was not at the meeting.) Mrs. Rowe told me that, and also that A.U.P. is very busy with a committee planning ways of bolstering civilian morale during invasion! I also got a sidelight on Cooper which I will hand on when I see you. I hope to see Miss Gibson some day this week and will try to find out more.

⁺ Dr. Diamond, presumably!

P.S. March 5:

Yesterday I didn't lunch with Mrs. Reifstahl because she had to take on the French Minister. However I went over every rag in the show and would here state that No. 263 in their cat. is not linen but cotton - which makes a difference. Mrs. Reifstahl said that their chemist had analyzed it and might still have the slide. He did and I went up to the lab. and we went over it again. It is cotton we all agree. The pictures were not ready as usual but Mrs. R. is going to arrange with Pratt for me to examine all their rags before they are sent back and she is getting us pictures. That is something.

My report⁺ is nearing completion and is a valiant attempt to make one big thing out of 4,000 little ones, - also to entertain you while instructing others. It was conceived on that high plane to which we were elevated in our late but not lamented luncheon party.

⁺ for the D.O. section of the Fogg annual report to the President.