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UNPLEASANT TRUTH AND LACK OF AUDIENCE INTEREST - LE ROMAN DE SILENCE. THE REDISCOVERY AND NEW APPRECIATION OF A LONG-LOST LATE MEDIEVAL ROMANCE AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE CURIOUS LITERARY DISCOURSE THROUGHOUT TIME

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Abstract: *When we review critically our literary histories, we quickly realize the many different strategies behind the canon formation. This was already at work during the Middle Ages, where we easily observe numerous examples of individual texts that enjoyed considerable popularity, as indicated by the surviving manuscript copies and references by other poets, and also of many other cases that did not experience any noteworthy reception. After a brief review of the odd, skewed, and often politicizing process of engaging with the available wide range of texts, this study focuses on the case of Heldris de Cornwall's Roman de Silence that has survived in only one manuscript. Although re-discovered as late as in 1911, its reception did not begin until the late 1970s, which forces us to reflect deeply upon the transitory nature of all our literary categories used to establish a canon and on the categories for the critical evaluation of texts also from the pre-modern period.*

Keywords— ***Literary canon; forgotten texts; Heldris de Cornwall; reception history***

INTRODUCTION: MODERN PERSPECTIVES

The process of literary history runs odd courses, with many ups and downs, with the popularity of an individual work waxing and waning, with scholarship responding in various, at times even contradictory ways. Most famous, highly popular works, even bestsellers, if not especially those, can disappear quickly from public view, and literary histories, as a genre, involuntarily mirror this constant revaluation. We know only too well that each generation of readers/listeners and literary scholars develops its own categories in the evaluation of fictional works, which are constantly the objects, if not victims, of changing values, ideals, political concepts, and the like. Prizes for literary

accomplishments, such as the Georg-Büchner-Preis, awarded yearly by the Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung in Darmstadt, Germany, reflect the political character of these efforts (granted to the Turkish-German author Emine Sevgi Özdamar [b. 1946] in August 2022; https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/buecher/autoren/emine-sevgi-oezdamar-erhaelt-den-buechner-preis-2022-18231336.html). From a negative perspective, most notoriously, the Nazis organized book burnings in 1933, but they were neither the first nor the last to try to eliminate books that seemed to contradict their own ideology.[i]

In fact, in the United States, increasingly public and school libraries are forced to remove certain books from their shelves because of their allegedly politically incorrect content, certainly a new form of censure aimed against LGBTQ and Black writers.[ii] Books have always been suspicious to all those who pursue ideological agendas and feel threatened by different opinions. The almost exponential growth of private schools in the USA and elsewhere is a clear indication that parents no longer want their children to be exposed to teaching material that might not meet their own value system, or to social conditions with racial integration and desegregation. Elitism and thinly veiled racism undergird those efforts all across the country, and this to the global disadvantage, impoverishment, and even failing of public schools. It won't need further comments that this development fundamentally threatens democracy and promotes autocracy.

Literary history itself has always mirrored the standards, values, and basic notions of scholarship, the academy, and hence also of society at large funding advanced research. In recent years, a growing number of scholars has additionally subscribed to the notion of world literature, which has been presented in various multi-volume publications. In this regard, we observe yet another feature of the curious selection process of literary texts from the past and the present. In order to do more justice to the concept of 'world' in that regard, individual editors have made great efforts to allow the vast body of other, particularly non-Eurocentric voices to come forward. This has had the great advantage that the audience is increasingly exposed to an ever-widening corpus of literary texts from all over the world, all of which reflecting the enormous multiplicity of the literary discourse globally.

However, in order to handle this complex situation with its enormous and quantitative challenges, almost as many traditional authors or poets are then suddenly ignored or deliberately left out, irrespective of their status as major or minor contributors to their own culture, as new voices are paid attention to. In a way, this truly irreconcilable dilemma has led to many new problems in writing

literary history because quantity threatens to overshadow quality, as some critics have rightly pointed out. Or, the profound concern with Eurocentrism or Asiacentrism might lead to the deliberate ignorance of traditional literary giants, often male, white, and Christian. The famous proverb, 'throwing the baby out with the bath water,' might apply in this case, as much as we must credit those efforts of coming to terms with world literature as productive and forward-looking since we live today in a global world and must or at least ought to pay respect to all worthy voices in literary terms (see, e.g., Lawall, ed., 2002; Chism, 2020).

Another curious phenomenon proves to be the political approach to the history of literature, which is often judged by later generations according to new power structures, irrespective of the literary quality of individual works. For instance, writers who adapt to political demands by the political system they live in (the Nazis, Stalinism, East Germany, contemporary China, North Korea, etc.) and try to survive by means of internal exile, hiding their true ideas from public screening, suddenly face new criticism by the next generation and then disappear from public view, either because they had allegedly accommodated or compromised too much, or because they had been too religious, too political, too feminist, too patriarchal, etc. (for a recent case study, see Werner Bergengruen [1892-1964]; cf. Classen, "Ein vergessenes literarisches Juwel," 2022). Or, many of the former East German writers such as Christa Wolf (1929-2011) face suddenly sharp criticism because they had submitted under the pressure of the Stasi and complied with demands to spy on their fellow writers (Vinke, 1993).

Other writers enjoy tremendous popularity at certain times because they succeed in appealing to their contemporary audiences through their specific themes, motifs, images, or language (e.g., use of local dialects, anti-fascism, ecocriticism), but later, again because of ideological concerns or for other reasons, they are suddenly dismissed and treated as a *persona non grata*, such as the Austrian Salzburg author Karl Heinrich Waggerl (1879-1973; cf. Classen, 2017). At the present time, we face numerous culture wars, with various groups fighting against each other over charges of racism, sexism, liberalism, wokeness, etc. The real issue, however, should always be the literary quality of a certain work, whether determined by its style, language, metaphors, musicality, or its messages, idea, or concept. Little wonder that major authors such as Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Jane Austen, Emily Dickinson, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Mann, or Yoko Tawada – certainly a subjective listing here – have survived the many different discourses and criticisms. Literature that affirms a political ideology, a system, a party, or one-sidedly supports an ethnic group over others, a

specific gender over another, a unique age group over another, etc. would not be able to claim the rank of true literature; instead, it would belong to propaganda or might be compromised by a certain ideology. However, each individual writer subscribes to values, ideals, concepts, and norms of life, and can thus easily face all kinds of opposition by the reading audience. The book market is fickle, and that has always been the case.

One consequence of this observation would be that those texts that have been lost, have disappeared, or that have been ignored for a long time could suddenly prove to be intriguing challenges for literary scholarship since their destiny, unfortunate for them, allows us to probe more deeply the historical conditions of the literary discourse and to understand the social, mental, and ideological framework determining certain works from the past and the present. It is one thing to study, fully justifiable, authors such as Homer, Ovid, Marie de France, Chaucer, Shakespeare, or William Faulkner who enjoy highest respect until today. It is another thing to examine why many of their contemporaries did not achieve the desired results and were quickly forgotten again. Both phenomena deserve our attention, even though they subscribe to different methodologies and aim for different outcomes of their investigation. What is trivial literature, and why is it identified as such, for instance, and what would be the differences between something commonly identified as 'classical' or 'canonical' (see the contributions to Classen and Parra Membrives, ed., 2013), and something regarded as trivial?

Until today, for instance, the many different texts (plays, poems, calendar stories, parables, etc.) created by Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956) appeal to many different audiences in many different social systems, although he formulated strong criticism of capitalism from a socialist perspective. But there is no guarantee that he will maintain this strong position within literary history, especially within the US context where increasingly political groups are hard at work censoring the library holdings, both public and private to ensure that their own ideology is not undermined through literary works their children might be reading.

In short, literary history easily proves to be the result of many different debates that have easily changed their directions throughout time. Literary histories written from a Socialist or Western perspective differ considerably from each other in their selection of the highlights and their interpretation, hence in their canonical concepts. During the Nazi period, for instance, many writers were brutally eliminated from the ranks of publicly recognized authors and were banned from publishing, whereas many others were suddenly hailed as significant and politically relevant voices.

With the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945, much of all that radically changed. This implies for us that literary history can profit almost as much from studying those writers or poets who were eliminated or marginalized as from examining the most respected authors, the 'approved' public figures. The formation of a literary canon has hence always been the topic of intense theoretical discussions, and those in turn have shed important light on the contemporary social, political, and economic conditions (see, e.g., the contributions to Neuhaus and Schaffers, ed., 2016; to Rippl and Winko, ed., 2013).

Unfortunately, however, throughout time and in many different cultures, individual texts appeared and were forgotten again, and this for many different reasons. Marketing, as we call it today, might not have worked well, or an individual work might have seemed to be too abstract, too radical in its outlook, too extreme in its perspective, or too progressive traditional. The happenstance that made a text disappear right after its first publication might have been at play, or tragic circumstances leading to its physical disappearance.

THE CASE OF MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The history of literature is filled with examples of texts that once had been lost and were rediscovered at a later moment in time as valuable intellectual products. This finds an intriguing example in the case of the large collection known as the *Ambraser Heldenbuch*, copied down by the Innsbruck toll keeper Hans Ried on behalf of Emperor Maximilian I from ca. 1504 to ca. 1516. Some of the texts contained in it had been highly popular before, such as the *Nibelungenlied*, but a good number of them were the only copies created of texts that had disappeared from public view already hundreds of years ago (Klarer, ed., 2022).

Many times, medieval works were recorded and preserved in manuscripts from much later centuries, and we are often rather lucky when a fairly large percentage of the original copies was preserved. But there are also extreme cases which in turn shed valuable light on the entire process or lack thereof involving major works that were basically forgotten already since the late Middle Ages. Turning our attention to the situation of medieval European literature promises to facilitate a closer look at the conditions through which any texts managed to survive, either as a copy in a manuscript containing only that work, or in a compilation, a miscellany manuscript (Pratt, Besamusca, Meyer, and Putter, ed., 2017).

REDISCOVERY OF A LATE MEDIEVAL FRENCH ROMANCE

All these preliminary reflections can be conveniently examined by way of studying the rather odd case of *Le Roman de Silence* by Heldris de Cornwall, composed sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century (Heldris). No medieval poet seems to have referred to it; there is only one manuscript available containing the text, and the depth of silence could easily have meant the complete death of *Silence*. The manuscript was discovered in the attic of Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, by W. H. Stevenson when he created a report of the manuscripts of Lord Middleton (1911). This did not mean, however, that Heldris's romance immediately gained respect by modern scholarship. It took more than fifty years until a reliable edition of a text was produced by Lewis Thorpe in a serial fashion in the *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* from 1961 to 1967, and then, in book form, in 1972 (Thorpe, 1961; Thorpe, 1972). Thereafter, however, modern scholarship suddenly realized the enormous potentials of that text, and ever since it has been catapulted into the center of critical attention (for latest research, see Bozkaya, Bußmann, and Philipowski, ed., 2020).

A parallel case has been the anonymous Middle High German verse narrative, *Mauritius von Craûn* (ca. 1220), which has survived only once in the *Ambraser Heldenbuch*, obviously not appealing to the contemporary audience. It remains a bit mysterious why this short composition made its way into that massive collection from the early sixteenth century, especially because it is deeply determined by sharp criticism of traditional knighthood, chivalry, and the concept of courtly love. Although the protagonist triumphs in the tournament that he had organized in order to impress the lady whom he is wooing, he overdoes everything, becomes a caricature of the ideal model of a knight, and later replaces courtly love with sexual violence (Classen, 2011). Nevertheless, modern research has reacted with greatest enthusiasm to this text (Fischer, 2006), fully acknowledging its fascinating structural complexity, its biting criticism of the traditional values of courtliness, and the hollowness of knightly masculinity. We might even marvel that *Mauritius* survived in the first place since it must have made its medieval audience rather uncomfortable.

Certain texts have obviously addressed issues that were virulent already at their time but which the readers/listeners did not want to engage with. We today approach this very differently, which explains the enormous interest in the *Roman de Silence* at present times. Let us briefly summarize the plot line before we proceed further.

King Ebans (Evan) of England witnesses that two of his best knights kill each other in a fight over their wives' inheritance since both are sisters and hence entitled to their father's property. Consequently, he issues a law forbidding any woman from succeeding her father as the owner of the

family estate. This then has devastating consequences for one of his barons, Cador, whom the king had greatly honored for slaying a dangerous dragon, granting him the hand of the princess Eufemie in marriage. Both love each other deeply, and soon they have a girl as their offspring.

The entire romance is determined by the battle between Nature and Nurture, both allegorical figures competing against each other over that young woman. The parents decide, and Silence agrees, to raise her as a boy because that would be the only opportunity for the family to preserve their inheritance, which otherwise would return to the king's possession. Husband and wife, and one of their seneschals concoct a plan to hide the truth, which then becomes reality, and Silence soon rises to being a shining star at the royal courts wherever he appears, performing exceedingly well, certainly better than most of the other knights. The details do not matter for our topic, whereas we have to pay close attention to the debates between Nature and Nurture, with the former bitterly complaining about any attempts to expel it from its own realm. Nothing should be allowed to become de-natured ("desnaturer," 2272). The example then provided about the deep conflict and dangers illustrates the issue well: "a little tumbler-full of gall / would harm a measure of honey / more than a measure of honey / could improve a quart of gall, if you poured it in" (2335-38). This comment is then applied to all of education, insofar as a little bad nurture might do great harm to good nature. Or, the other way around, even lengthy instructions would not be powerful enough to improve an intrinsically evil heart (2342-43). Heldris thus raises the most important scepter of good nature versus evil social influence, or, inversely, of good nurture controlling or subduing evil nature. We do not need to decide the case here and can be content with observing only that this romance, a long time before the issue rose to critical mass in the modern world, already addressed a most important issue in the contemporary debate about gender, gender roles, and gender identity, and then also about the fundamental questions regarding ethics.

At one point, Silence begins to reconsider his/her situation, and almost formulates a wish to return to his/her female nature, but then s/he realizes that as a young, valiant, highly renowned young man s/he enjoys much higher appeal and social esteem: "and weighed in his heart of hearts / all female customs against his current way of life, and saw, in short, that a man's life / was much better than that of a woman" (2635-38). We clearly recognize here not too subtle criticism of patriarchal society and a lament about women's status as second-class citizens within a world of men.

To be sure, Silence grows up perfectly assuming the male role, and this to a point where he becomes the object of erotic passion by Queen Eufeme who does not know anything about his true

gender identity and is simply attracted by his masculine role behind which the female is hiding. The queen openly tells him her what she desires: "I'm offering you my body in complete surrender" (3784), and then begins to disrobe herself, trying to seduce him. Silence valiantly fights her off and does not get aroused at all "because his nature kept him from responding" (3824). In short, we clearly face here a case of cross-dressing only (Hotchkiss, 1996), and certainly not a form of transgressive or queer love (Krueger, 2000; Campbell, 2019). This soon transforms the queen's passion for him into hatred, very close to the 'classical' account of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Genesis 35). She also claims that Silence tried to rape her, which leads the king to send the young 'man' to the king of France with the request that he be executed on the spot, which does not happen, however. Instead, Silence later returns to England and can rescue the king from a dangerous rebellion, all of which mirrors an extensive lack of political stability and of governmental ethics.

The poet invests in some extended commentaries about women's character, which we would probably dismiss today as highly stereotypical, but the final comment by the narrator deserves to be highlighted: "as soon as she has a grudge against a man, / she doesn't give up hating easily" (3923-24). The queen calls him a heretic, hence a homosexual ("erite," 3935), and soon begins plotting against him with the goal of eliminating him by whatever means available to her.

All her conniving, however, ultimately leads to her own unraveling because she convinces her husband to force Silence to go for the most challenging adventure, capturing the prophet and magician Merlin, who can notoriously only be caught by a woman. This fairy-tale motif helps Heldris to solve the entire issue addressed in his romance, not only because Merlin is caught, but because his laughter in the presence of various groups of people leads to profound epistemological revelations and to the unraveling of the queen's many machinations.

Merlin was of course a popular figure within medieval Arthurian literature (see, for instance, Lupack, 2005), so his appearance here in the *Roman de Silence* does not come as a real surprise. But Heldris did not write an Arthurian romance; in fact, King Arthur and his court do not figure here at all. Instead, we hear of different political characters (the king of England, the king of France) and learn much about minstrels whom Silence had joined and from whom he acquires their craft exceedingly well, to a point at which they become so jealous that they scheme to murder him. The majority of this romance hence reflects much of political history and combines those allusions with the fantasy of the cross-dressed woman who exceeds all of her male contemporaries and can even capture Merlin alive.

But what happens at the end, and how is Silence's identity finally revealed? Merlin begins to tell the reasons for his bouts of laughter in various scenes and then proves to be correct in all of them. He also exposes Silence as a woman and the nun in the queen's company as a man. His laughter resulted from his realization that even he and the king had been deceived by the false gender appearance of the various people at court, and the outcome then proves to be shocking for everyone involved. Both Silence and the queen feel deeply embarrassed, but whereas the former then receives the highest praise for her valiance and bravery, Eufeme faces severe punishment and is executed by being drawn and quartered; the false nun, as a man is executed, which finishes the entire masquerade.

The situation proves to be highly shameful, but Merlin had spoken the truth, which everyone then has to acknowledge, as shocked as they all are. The king publicly pronounces: "'Silence, you have been a very valiant, / courageous and worthy knight: / neither court nor king ever fathered better" (6579-82). He also praises her loyalty as his vassal, but then quickly translates this into her praise as a woman: "There is no more precious gem, / nor greater treasure, than a virtuous woman. / No man can assess the value / of a woman who can be trusted" (6633-36). However, the king really has Silence's military accomplishments in mind, and he respects her greatly as a valiant fighter for a good cause, so he reverts his own rules and lifts the ban on women to inherit their father's properties (6643).

The narrative account concludes with nature winning of nurture again since Silence is then dressed as a woman, receives her female name back (Silentia), and, after three days of healthcare treatment, all of her male features fall away and her female physique comes through again. Subsequently, the king marries her, and the narrator concludes with global comments on women's nature that tends not toward the good: "Doing the right thing comes unnaturally to her" (6691) because women have less occasion to do the good (6691). If this sounds contradictory, Heldris rushes to address this problem, reminding his female audience that he was balanced in his evaluations of evil Eufeme and praiseworthy Silence, urging all good women to "strive all the harder to do what is right" (6701).

There are some sources which Heldris probably drew from for the composition of his romance, such as the story of the maiden Grisandole in *L'Estoire Merlin*, the *Roman d'Eneas*, and the *Seven Sages of Rome* (Roche-Mahdi, ed. and trans., xii-xvii, and for the English translation of the Grisandole story, 317). We might also consider the *lai* "Lanval" by Marie de France (Waters, ed. and trans., 2018), at least as far as the episode of the queen trying to seduce the young male vassal is concerned.

However, what happened subsequently? It seems that Heldris's work quickly disappeared in

silence and was not recognized again until 1911, when the manuscript containing the text was discovered by accident (Thorpe, 1972). There are many reasons why the contemporary audience might not have enjoyed the various aspects, statements, and concepts characterizing the *Roman de Silence*, such as its highly negative comments about the king of England, and about the failures of the other knights, which regularly leaves Silence rather isolated and unrecognized in what she is in reality.

Unless we might acknowledge unexpected lines of reception – *Le piacevoli notti* by Gian Francesco Straparola from 1550 and 1553 come to mind, especially the first story told in the fourth evening (Straparola, 2015; cf. now Classen, "The Survival," 2022.) – there was no noticeable history of reception, as documented by later manuscript copies, and this for many possible reasons. The romance might have deeply disturbed the audiences due to its preference for ambivalence and ambiguity, making it hard for readers or listeners to accept the account with a straight face (Allen, 1989). Although Silence does not really question her own gender identity in biological terms, she revises it deliberately throughout her life until Merlin exposes her, but by then she has already proven to be as manly as any knight might be at court. There is no other figure who would be a match for her in her struggles to establish her own existence at court and as a loyal vassal defending the king.

Heldris explicitly, and perhaps uncomfortably plays with the tension between nature and nurture, and he leaves us wondering, after all, despite Silence's eventual return to being female in bodily and external appearance, about the stability of the social gender roles (Campbell, 2019; Tanner, 2012; Terrell, 2008; etc.).

Further, when Merlin begins to laugh, and then continues to do so in every new episode at court, he demonstrates most disturbingly that the material dimension proves to be highly untrustworthy and deceptive. People tend to wear masks and assume roles that no one is aware of. Even he himself has to admit, despite being gifted as a prophet, that he had been wrong about Silence, which might have severe consequences for all human relationships. While modern readers obviously respond to all those issues with great interest, those might have overwhelmed the thirteenth-century audience, for which all those elements of disguise and illusion might have been too much to digest and to enjoy. Hence, no further patrons appeared and asked, we must assume, for an additional copy of the text.

Of course, there is always the option that later manuscripts containing Heldris's work might have been lost in the subsequent centuries. After all, the percentage of medieval texts during the early modern age that were destroyed, burned, cut into pieces, or got lost in other ways is enormous (Busch

and Reich, ed., 2014; Haye, 2016). With respect to *Le Roman de Silence*, however, we might face a different situation, which takes us back to our initial reflections. Masculinity at large proves to be severely undermined by the account of Silence. She as a woman has little difficulty in training her body in all the traditional male skills and achieving full accomplishments in them. No other knight is as brave, loyal, intelligent, and powerful as s/he is. If Merlin had not revealed her true gender identity, there would not have been any reason for her to abandon her knightly role. There is no indication ever that she might feel any erotic attraction to a man, or to a woman, for that matter. Only when the truth about herself has been revealed, and when the king has lifted the ban on women inheriting their fathers' properties, does she accept her female identity and then marries the king.

Moreover, there is much rotten at the royal court, with the queen enjoying an adulterous affair with a man masked as a nun. She has also no hesitation to seek a new lover once she has encountered Silence, which altogether makes her husband look rather like a cuckolded man who knows nothing about what is going on at his own court. But Merlin then laughs about them all, and laughs so hard that all pretenses by Silence, the nun, and the queen Eufeme are destroyed (Classen, ed., 2010; Velten, 2017). The king himself has to realize how much he had been fooled by his wife, who had made him into a laughingstock for those who understood the hidden truth. We do not learn anything about that political background but can imagine it well.

Even the traditional domain of male artistic performance, done by minstrels, is undermined by Silence who quickly learns their art and supersedes them easily. They plan on getting her killed, but the young man/woman is smart enough to figure out their secret scheming and can subterfuge them effectively without hurting her previous masters. We also should keep in mind that the king's ruling banning women from inheriting is severely questioned as wrong-headed and hurtful for many noble families with no sons as heirs.

CONCLUSION

As much as Heldris's romance is determined by a highly intelligent, brave, and valiant protagonist, it is a female in disguise. Nature and nurture battle over this issue, and the former wins, but not after nurture has fully demonstrated its significant role in the life of the young woman who demonstrates how much a woman could achieve in life with proper education and resoluteness of character. *Le Roman de Silence* did not really enter the mental horizon of medieval scholars until the 1970s, and it has gained tremendous traction only since then. It demonstrates, by itself, the curious, often rather

subjective, and highly uneven process of the literary discourse. Already in the Middle Ages, there were canonical texts, 'bestsellers,' marginalized texts, and ignored works. It took ca. 700 years for this romance finally to receive its full recognition, and we can be certain that the literary annals are filled with countless other examples of titles that simply did not experience any success at their time and yet might appeal to much later audiences. Indeed, the world of literary scholarship is fickle, often rather subjective, and hence the object of constantly changing perspectives, values, and ideals.

I have illustrated that in the beginning with a few modern examples, and we have then recognized that the same problems and challenges had been in place already in the Middle Ages. It will be interesting to observe what future generations might have to say about either the literature produced during our time, or about our selection of so-called relevant works from the pre-modern period. Heldris's romance proves to be an outstanding piece of late medieval French literature, and it can also appeal deeply to modern concerns and interests. But this does not mean at all that the contemporary audiences could understand or appreciate those topics and concerns addressed in this work. All this should sensitize us to the many problems inherent in our literary histories and to the relative constructedness of our concept of the literary world of the Middle Ages, but also of our own time. What we can appreciate today was often very strange and inappropriate for medieval readers/listeners, and what we regard as sentimental and perhaps even meaningless might have appealed to our predecessors. Both the public recognition of individual literary works and their rejection or belittling reveal much about the epistemological, sociological, political, ethical, and also religious process.

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i. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Book_burning; or https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/B%C3%BCcherverbrennung_1933_in_Deutschland (both last accessed on Aug. 7, 2022.
ii. See, for instance, https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/30/books/book-ban-us-schools.html; https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/04/books/banned-books-libraries.html (both last accessed on Aug. 7, 2022.