Observations on the grouping of epics of revolt in manuscripts and compilations

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Observations on the Grouping of Epics of Revolt
in Manuscripts and Compilations *

The final stages of the development of a cycle of poems are the formation of cyclical manuscripts, and of compilations. Thus, the majority of the poems of the Guillaume cycle, the most developed of the epic cycles, have come down to us only in cyclical manuscripts. On the other hand, although poems of the cycle du roi are grouped together in some manuscripts, there is, as far as I know, no extant manuscript which attempts to connect the poems; this reflects the relative lack of cohesion of the cycle du roi. Similarly, we can expect the grouping of epics of revolt to reflect the degree to which the cycle developed. The factors that determined the grouping of texts in a manuscript indicate what were seen to be the most important elements connecting the various poems.

The manuscripts of the cycle de Guillaume and the cycle du roi illustrate a distinction which I will apply to the manuscripts containing epics of revolt. In some cyclical manuscripts of the Guillaume cycle there are passages of transition, written in order to make the poems read as a continuous whole. For example, in manuscript D (according to the sigla used by Mlle Tyssens) eight laisses, called Le Departement des Fils Aimeri, make the transition from the Enfances Guillaume to the Couronnement Louis. [1] The same aim, uniting the matter of the different poems, lies behind the incidences of the B family of the Guillaume manuscripts, interrupting one poem by another for chronological accuracy. Indeed, care to place the poems in chronological order is an important aspect of the cyclical Guillaume manuscripts, or rather, is a characteristic of the cyclical manuscript. Such links between the poems as we find in the Guillaume manuscripts are the hallmarks of the cyclical manuscript, as distinct from the collective manuscripts.

Part of British Library Royal manuscript 15 E VI exemplifies the collective manuscript in its most developed form. The table of contents includes: 'le livre de Charlemagne ouquel a quatre volumes'. One book is in fact missing and we are left with Simon de Pouille, Asprement and Fierabras. These three poems of the one cycle, the cycle du roi, have been deliberately brought together here, but no attempt is made to connect the poems so that they read as one story, or even to place them in chronological order. The most closely connected poems of the cycle du roi can however be found in logical sequence elsewhere, for in Paris BN MS fr. 860 the rhymed Roland has its natural suite, Gaydon.

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*   See 'Notes', p.16.

Bearing in mind this distinction between cyclical manuscripts, in which the poems follow on from one another, and collective manuscripts, in which poems are assembled in no particular order, we can now turn to the grouping of revolt poems in manuscripts before looking at the place they occupy in the later medieval compilations. The poems to be considered as members of the epic of revolt cycle are Girart de Roussillon, Renaud de Montauban, Girart de Vienne, La Chevalerie Ogier, and, finally, a poem connected thematically to both the epic of revolt and to the feudal epic, Raoul de Cambrai. [2]   This is a smaller cycle than that which forms the complete geste de Mayence. This cycle united in one family both traitors and rebels and in one cycle of poems epics about rebellion and epics about feudal vendetta. This distinction between the cycle des barons revoltés, a cycle united by theme, and the geste de Mayence, a cycle united by family, is an important one.

(a)   The Manuscripts

The Manuscripts containing epics of revolt can be discussed under four headings:

- (i)   Cyclical and collective manuscripts
- (ii)   Manuscripts grouping epics of revolt with poems of other cycles
- (iii)   Miscellaneous collections
- (iv)   Manuscripts containing only one poem

(1)   The first of these groups, the cyclical and collective manuscripts, is the most interesting, since it is possible to perceive the principles by which the texts were grouped together in each manuscript.

The only extant cyclical manuscript containing epics of revolt is manuscript H247 of the Faculty of Medicine in Monpellier. It contains:

Doon de Mayence
Gaufrey
Ogier le Danois
Gui de Nanteuil
Maugis d'Aigremont
Vivien de Monbranc
Renaud de Montauban

The manuscript has been described as having 'le caractère d'anthologie anti-régalienne', [3] a description that suggests grouping by subject-matter, in much the same way as the epic of revolt cycle is united primarily by subject-

matter. It can be seen, however, that each of these poems is also connected to the family of Mayence. [4] The poems are placed in chronological order. It is clear that the manuscript was compiled with the intention of forming a whole, but it is a cyclical manuscript, not of the epic revolt, but of the geste de Mayence, which developed from the epic of revolt.

J. Thomas, who recognised the manuscript as a manuscript of the geste de Mayence, has made a thorough examination of it, and observed certain distinctions in the grouping, which he schematised thus:

Doon / Gaufrey + Ogier // Gui // Maugis ⌐ Vivien + Renaud

where

+ = transition from one poem to the next in one column
/ = change of column between poems
// = change of column with a significant space left between poems.

This pattern corresponds approximately to the pattern in the changes of gathering. There is a change of gathering after Ogier and again after Gui de Nanteuil. Thomas concludes that only Gaufrey - Ogier and Maugis - Vivien form true sub-groups in the organisation of the manuscript. [5] As these two pairs of poems are the most closely connected to each other by family bonds this can be accepted as intentional on the part of the compiler of the manuscript.

The songs are kept separate by formulae such as 'Chi commence ...' or by an explicit, but there are some links between the poems. The Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements describes them as connected 'par des prologues et des épilogues'. The fact that the poems are closely connected has resulted in the compiler of the catalogue wrongly attributing them all to the same author. [6]

An example of an artificial transition preparing the way for the following poem comes at the end of Vivien de Monbranc. Here certain events related in Renaud de Montauban are forecast: the messenger going from Charlemagne to Beuves, the war with the four brothers, and the reconciliation - 'Que il vous iert conte' (l.1080). It is also stated that 'apres vous chanteron des .iiii. fieus Aymon' (l.1097). The cause of the war between Beuves and Charlemagne given in Vivien differs however from that given in Renaud, thus underlining the artificiality of such connections. Professor W. G. van Emden has used this discrepancy between these two poems as evidence that Vivien is not itself simply a transition written to join Maugis to Renaud in this particular manuscript, but rather a poem which had existed outside this manuscript. [7]

The Monpellier manuscript is the only extant cyclical manuscript containing epics of revolt, and it reflects a stage of cyclical development beyond simply thematic cohesion. It is, in fact, much more than an 'anthologie anti-régalienne'; it is, as stated above, a manuscript of the geste de Mayence.

One franco-italian manuscript, Codex Marcianus XIII dating from the early fourteenth century, has been described as a 'geste des traitres'. [8] It contains, in chronological order:

Bovo d'Antona
Berta de li gran pié
Karleto
Berta e Milon
Enfances Ogier
Rolandin
Chevalerie Ogier
Macario

It has also been described thus: 'le manuscrit XIII entier est un poème sur la famille de Charlemagne'. [9] Interest in traitors and interest in the King obviously overlap. The coming together of the family of traitors and the family of rebels has encouraged the bringing together into one manuscript of poems concerned with rebellion and with treachery; indeed rebellion and treachery are not always distinguished. [10] In the codex Doon de Mayence figures in Bovo d'Antona; the false Berta in Berta de li gran pié is the Contessa di Maganza; the traitor Macaire is a member of the Mayence family: Ogier is a long-established member of the family.

There is evidence of another French cyclical manuscript containing epics of revolt. This manuscript is described by the sixteenth-century bibliophile Fauchet, who wrote:

Je croy que les Romans de Regnaut de Montauban, Doon de Nanteuil, et Aie d'Avignon, Guiot de Nanteuil et Garnier son fils, sont tous d'un mesme poete. Premierement, parce que c'est une suite de contes et que je les ai veus cousus l'un apres l'autre. [11]

This clearly indicates a cyclical rather than simply a collective manuscript. Again the poems contained form part of the geste de Mayence. From this it appears that the grouping of texts depended more on the family bond than the thematic bond.

In Fauchet's notes (Paris BN fr. 24726) we find extracts from Renaud de Montauban, Doon de Nanteuil, Aye d'Avignon, Gui de Nanteuil and Raoul de Cambrai all grouped together. This does not necessarily mean that he found them all in one manuscript, [12] though Fauchet himself presumably perceived some thematic relationship between Raoul de Cambrai and the Mayence poems.

Another manuscript, described in the Louvre inventories of 1373-1424, seems to have been in the nature of a collective rather than a cyclical manuscript, although since it is lost we cannot know whether any of the poems were actually inter-connected. The manuscript contained several epics of revolt and poems developed from them, but also included some disparate items:

Beuve d'Esgremont
La Vie saint Charlemainne
Les Quatre fils Aimon
Dame Aie d'Avignon
Les croniques de Jerusalem
Doon de Nantueil
Maugis le larron
Vivien
Raoul de Cambrai rimee

One can only speculate about the presence of Les croniques de Jerusalem. [13] It could be included in error because of the pilgrimage of Renaud and Maugis to Jerusalem, or because of the family connection with Yon, king of Jerusalem and his son Mabrian, who figure in the fifteenth-century redaction of the poem and in the prose version based on that redaction. [14] It is safe to assume that the Vie saint Charlemainne would be somewhat different in its attitude to monarchy from the anti-regalian poems accompanying it; although the tone of sanctity of the Vie is matched by the note of sanctity at the end of the Quatre Fils. It must be noted that some of the poems come in the wrong order chronologically; Doon de Nanteuil told of events occurring before those related in Aye d'Avignon; Maugis and Vivien should be before Beuves d'Aigremont and Renaud. This haphazard order supports the idea that this is a collective manuscript rather than a cyclical one. Meyer discussed the question of identifying this manuscript with the one described by Fauchet, but saw no reason to assume that they were the same manuscript. [15] The coincidence of some items in the manuscript is probably due to the family links between the poems, causing them to be placed together. It is possible that a cyclical manuscript of the geste de Mayence, similar to that described by Fauchet, though perhaps less obviously joining the poems, lay behind the lost Louvre manuscript.

There is one further record of a lost cyclical manuscript of the geste de Mayence, though it is impossible to know what poems it actually contained. A manuscript recorded in an act of donation to the Abbey of Bordesley is described as:

> un volume, qe parle des quatre principale Gestes de
> Charles, e de dooun, e de Meyence e de Girard de
> Vienne et de Emery de Nerbonne.

The original act of donation, which has been dated to 1305, has been lost; all that remains is a transcription made in the seventeenth century. Since the punctuation is probably seventeenth century, Miss Blaess has posed the question, 'faut-il supprimer la virgule et le "et" entre dooun et Meyence ou faut-il lire''dooun [de Nanteui] et [dooun] de Meyence'?'[16] The second solution would mean reading 'Girard de Vienne' and 'Emery de Nerbonne' as one geste in order to have only 'quatre gestes principals', and therefore really requires the suppression of the 'de' before 'Emery de Nerbonne' as well. To interpret the four as those of Charlemagne, of Mayence, of Girart de Vienne and of Aimeri de Narbonne, would involve a strange division of the Guillaume cycle, but less interference with the text than would be needed for the alternative reading. It is surely better to suppress a comma and 'et' than to suppress 'de' and add 'de Nanteuil' and 'dooun'. The important question, which must remain unanswered, is whether the 'geste de dooun de Mayence' consisted of more than one poem in this particular manuscript.

As well as these manuscripts of the 'grand cycle de Mayence' we find some manuscripts of the sub-cycles which developed from the epics of revolt. Thus Maugis is found with Renaud de Montauban in BN manuscript fr. 766 and in Peterhouse, Cambridge 2.0.5. British Library Royal 16 G II contains an unusual combination of verse and prose texts, with 617 lines of Renaud in verse, followed by the rest of the tale in prose, and the Mort Maugis in verse.[17]

Beuves d'Aigremont figures as the prologue to Renaud in some of the extant manuscripts. In several the scribe is aware that there should be a separation, but this is not always given at the correct place. Of BN fr. 766 Thomas writes:

> L'explicit du f°92 vient évidemment à contretemps:
> il prouve que dans l'esprit de son auteur, il
> existait une chanson de Buef d'Aigremont bien
> distincte de Renaut si l'on en juge par la
> séparation plus importante entre ces deux oeuvres
> qu'entre Maugis et Buef. Mais le fait que

l'endroit choisi, trop mal choisi, coincide avec
une subdivision connue d'autre MSS (DPZVL)
me fait supposer que N [fr. 766] a projeté
sur cette subdivision préétablie la notion mal
définie d'un Buef d'Aigremont qui serait distinct
de Renaud de Montauban. [18]

Apart from the grouping of the Nanteuil poems in the manuscripts of
the 'grand cycle' there is some evidence that Aye d'Avignon and Gui de
Nanteuil were grouped together in at least one other manuscript. On the
verso of the last folio of BN fr. 2170, containing Beuves de la Montagne and
Aye d'Avignon is written the first line of Gui de Nanteuil, 'Oy avez d'Áen
la bel d'Avignon'. [19] This may mean that the extant manuscript was copied
from a manuscript containing Gui de Nanteuil, or that it was originally in-
tended that Gui de Nanteuil should follow Aye d'Avignon in this manuscript.

These manuscripts of sub-cycles are similar to some of the manu-
scripts of the Guillaume cycle, which also show a recognition of sub-cycles;
three manuscripts of the Guillaume cycle deal only with the 'cycle d'Aymeri',
three others with the 'petit cycle d'Aliscans'. [20]

The sub-cycle groupings, as well as the other cyclical and collective
manuscripts, are centred on family groups rather than theme. The sub-cycles
deal with different branches of the Mayence family.

(ii)   We are reminded that the cycles interconnect when we find epics of
revolt in manuscripts with epics from other cycles.

Four of the five manuscripts of Girart de Vienne are cyclical manu-
scripts of the Guillaume cycle (for the exception, BN fr. 1374, see below).
The poem belongs to the epic of revolt in terms of its moral conception and
themes, but in terms of cyclical development the family connection is seen to
be the most important link. Girart never became a member of the family of
Mayence, and therefore the poem is not found with any other epics of revolt
in a collective or cyclical manuscript.

Ogier is found with Anseïs de Cartage in Durham University Cosin
V° II° 17. The contents of the codex now come in the following order:

ff 3-54	Anseïs de Cartage 11.2762 to the end
ff 55-133	Ogier 11.1-12451
ff 134-141	Anseïs de Cartage 11.1425-2761.

It is by an accident of binding that Ogier interupts Anseïs. [21] It may not be

entirely an accident, however, that they are found in one manuscript. There is some connection between them, though not thematic, but concerned with shared names and motifs and with the question of Ogier as a source of Anseïs. Only Ogier, Anseïs de Cartage and Fierabras, among the epics, use the white hart motif. 22   The rebellion of Ogier is, in any case, part of the story of Charlemagne's reign, and it may be that the poem is placed in this manuscript simply because the patron was interested in the life of that great Emperor.

(iii)   Several manuscripts contain heterogeneous mixtures:

BN fr. 24403:
> Garin de Montglane
> Erec
> La Chevalerie Ogier
> fragment from the crusade cycle

BN fr. 1374:
> Parise la Duchesse
> Cliges
> Placidas
> Girart de Vienne
> La Violette
> Floriment

BN fr. 24387:
> Renaud de Montauban
> Livre de Sapience

Bodley. Laud misc. 637:
> Renaud de Montauban
> Four writings in Latin)
> One writing in French) about the kings of England

These manuscript groupings tell us about nothing bar the taste of the patrons.

(iv)   Considering the length of the epics of revolt it is not surprising that most of the manuscripts contain only one poem. It is far more surprising to find that there are any records at all of the 'grand geste' of Mayence united in a manuscript.

The study of the manuscripts reveals clearly that the grouping of poems was made above all by family rather than by subject matter. There may be some recognition of thematic links, but these are always secondary to the

family links.   The family and thematic bonds are not always distinct, as one
family can represent a certain ethos.   It is important that the manuscripts do
not group epics of revolt as such; instead, as we have seen, they group poems
of the cycle of Mayence.   The cycles which develop sufficiently to form
cyclical manuscripts would appear to be those connected by family bonds.
We have remarked on the paucity of cyclical manuscripts of the cycle du roi
in which family ties are not important as a connection between poems; there
are no cyclical manuscripts of the cycle of relics; [23] the epics of revolt form
no cyclical manuscript independent of their family bonds with feudal epics.

(b)   Compilations

The final development of the cycle du roi, the Guillaume cycle and
the crusade cycle was the compilation.   The epic of revolt does not seem to
have lent itself very readily to this sort of treatment.   The action of one poem
does not follow from the action of another, and the presence of what might be
'rebels' in one poem fighting against 'rebels' in another poem could cause
enough difficulties for a poet (e.g. in Renaud [see ed. Michelant, p.64,
ll.2-12] Ogier is on the king's side, but is torn between family loyalty and
feudal loyalty.   Such tensions are, of course, not without potential for en-
riching the poem).   Such change in roles would certainly be a problem for
the compiler.   Even the poems of the geste de Mayence were not united in a
family chronicle.

Some compilations and chronicles did associate the rebels with one
another.   The earliest example comes towards the end of the twelfth century,
in Walter Map.   Raoul de Cambrai and Isembart (strictly speaking a renegade
rather than a rebel) are associated together in Map's De Nugis Curialium:

Louis, the son of Charles the Great, incurred the
loss of almost all the nobles and all the army of
France at Evore through the foolish pride of his
nephew, Ralph of Cambrai.   From that day he ruled
the realm of the Franks in a sorry enough plight
up to the coming of Gurmund and Ysembard, against
whom he waged battle in Ponthieu. [24]

It has been suggested that 'Map may already have known a poem in which
Isembart had been drawn into the rebels cycle'. [25]   The association is made
presumably because both tales were set in the reign of Louis and were concerned
with opposition to him.

A French chronicle which borrows much material from the chansons de
geste (BN fr. 5003) groups a considerable number of tales of rebellion in the

section dealing with the life of Charlemagne:

f.95v	–	The beginning of Ogier
f.97v	–	Rebellion against Charlemagne at the instigation of Hardre, 'nepveu de Guenes'
	–	Description of the family of Ganelon
f.100v	–	Continuation of Ogier
f.101r	–	The hanap used by Turpin to give Ogier drink remains at Laon
f.101v	–	The tale of Aymer and Ernais d'Orleons
f.102	–	Huon de Bordeaux, without Oberon
ff.102v-109r	–	Les Quatre Fils Aimon
ff.109v-110r	–	The sons of Renaud
ff.110r-112r	–	'Voyage en Orient' (from the Latin)
ff.112r-113r	–	First part of the Pseudo-Turpin
f.113	–	Death of Roland
f.121r	–	The taking of Narbonne
f.121v	–	The Emperor Charlemagne demands a tribute from the French (a tradition also realised in the barons herupois episode of the Chanson des Saisnes)
ff.121r-123	–	The tale of Richer, son of Naimon

Apart from what was taken from the Pseudo-Turpin and the 'Voyage en Orient' these tales deal with rebels or traitors and show the less flattering aspects of the Charlemagne of the chansons de geste. [26]

The tale of Aimer is centred on the misdeeds of Charlot, and is there-fore thematically as well as chronologically a suite to the legend of Ogier in which Charlot causes the quarrel between Ogier and the King. The group-ing of the adventures of the sons of Aymon and the sons of Renaud again illustrates a general tendency to group by family.

Grouping of the family sub-cycles in compilations, and in manuscripts of prose versions, is more common than grouping by theme. Two manuscripts of the prose Renaud contain, with Renaud, prose versions of Maugis and Mabrian. [27]

Philippe Mousket, although he does not group the rebels in one family, groups them according to their behaviour to Charlemagne:

Car losengier et traitor
Li fisent grant anui maint jour
Ki devoient estre si home.
L'estore Doon premiers nome

Quant il fist Bertran mesagier
Pour aler Nantuel assegier
Et cil Bertrans fu fius Namlon,
De Baiwiere le preu baron
Ki sages iert sor toute rien
Et maintes fois le siervi bien.
Puis ot il anui, ce dist-on
Par Aiglentine et par Guion,
Car Hervils ot ocis Garnier,
Pere Guion buen cevalier
Et Dame Aye reprist pour bien
Ganor, I rice roi paien
Et Bazins li fist maint anui,
Ki l'emmena enbler od lui.
Et par Renaut, le fil Aymon,
Ot-il maint anui, ce truéve-on
Mais li rois Yus ki tient Gascogne,
Tray Renaut en se besogne.
                    (ed. Reiffenberg, II.8436-47)

Here, alongside the Nanteuil poems, he groups the lost poem of Bazin [28] and Renaud de Montauban, thus combining grouping by family and by theme.

Mousket also brings together the characters Girart de Fraite and Girart de Vienne (II.4424-69). The poem of Auberi le Bourgoing, like Mousket, reflecting an earlier stage of the Girart tradition, conflates Girart de Fraite, Girart de Roussillon and Girart de Vienne. [29] Ly Myreor des Histors attributes to Girart de Fraite the position in the family of Mayence normally reserved for Girart de Roussillon. [30]

In this work, Ly Myreor des Histors, Jean d'Outremeuse groups together a number of the tales of rebellion:

Quant Charles fut revenus en France, sy gueriat tantost tous
les princez qu'il avoit mandeit pour aleir en Espaingne avec
luy et n'estoient point venus. Si commensat tout premier au
conte Gerart de Viane et luy fist grant paine. Maiz la paix
fut faite parmy l'estour que Rollant oit a l'encontre Olivier,
sy comme sa gieste le diste, qui s'accorde bien aux cronicquez.
Aussy vous dis que le roy Charlez gueriat Doon de Nantuelh et
Arnaulz de Moncleir, que Ogier ne confortat oncquez, ne
se mellat d'ung costeit ne d'aultre pour les convens que Ogier
avoit au roy, ou il oit en convent qu'il n'aideroit a gueroyer
personne qui luy atenist contre le roy, en cas ou le roy awist

droit. Et Doon fut assez orguilheux, sy ne tenoit riens du
roy. Sy le chassat fors de sa terre de Brandeborch, dont il
avoit osteit Mahon. Sy vint demoureir a Naintuelh qu'il
avoit pris, avecques Sibilhe sa femme, fille au conte de
Lovain. Puys fist Ogier la paix et luy donat Charlez la
terre de Bohemme et Lemborch qu'il tient du roi, et fut son
homme. Aprés, fut la guere de Beuve d'Aigremont et de
Magis son filz, ainsy qu'il contient en la gieste qui en est
faite. 31

Outside France family and theme meet in the Italian La Storie di
Rinaldo, written at the end of the fourteenth century. This work gives an
important place to Ogier in the story of Renaud, and, moreover, relates in
its third book the legend of Ogier. 32

It should be remarked, finally, that Girart de Vienne is never com-
bined with other tales of rebellion in compilations (except when the various
realisations of the Girart character are brought together) in the same way
as it remains apart from them in the manuscripts. Bertrand, in linking his
poem with the family of Guillaume d'Orange, isolated it from any natural
grouping with other poems on a similar theme.

In all these compilations it is as part of the history of Charlemagne
that the rebels figure. His biography is thus a combination of the poems of
the cycle du roi and those of the cycle des barons revoltés. In the case of
Girart de Roussillon the history is taken into accounts of the reign of Charles
Martel in the Fleur des Histoires of Jean Mansel and L'Histoire de Charles
Martel (1448, revised by David Aubert, 1463). 33

These observations show that the grouping of texts in manuscripts
tended to be by family rather than theme. Manuscripts and compilations do,
however, show some awareness of thematic connections between different
poems. This situation reflects the medieval concept of geste covering both
family and cycle; the strongest bond between poems of one cycle is the
family connection between the heroes. 34 The epics of revolt, a cycle of
poems connected primarily by theme, are not grouped in manuscripts because
the cycle had not reached that stage of development before turning into the
geste de Mayence, which includes feudal poems not thematically part of the
geste des barons revoltés. The family of rebels does not remain independent
of the family of Mayence for long enough to form cyclical manuscripts of its
own. Poems whose heroes were never drawn into the family of rebels or the
larger family of Mayence, such as Girart de Vienne and Raoul de Cambrai,
were not normally placed with other revolt poems in cyclical manuscripts and

compilations.   These final stages of cyclical development are the almost exclusive reserve of cycles united by family.
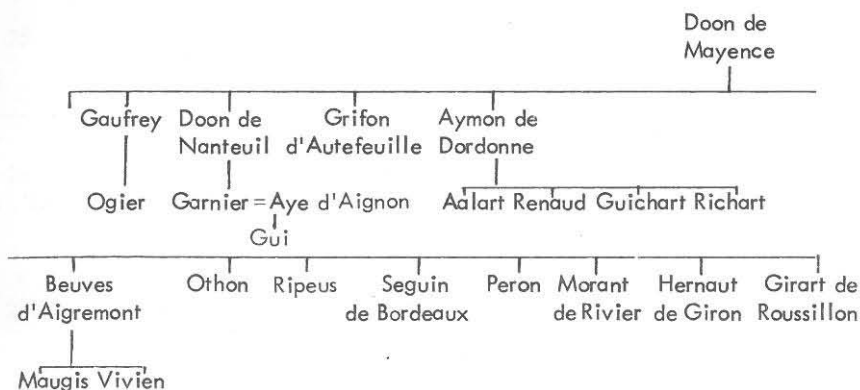

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NOTES

*   This article was originally part of an unpublished dissertation, sub-
mitted in part fulfilment of the degree of M.A. in Medieval Studies
at the University of Reading.

1.   M Tyssens, La Geste de Guillaume d'Orange dans les manuscrits
cycliques, Paris 1967, pp.419-420; pp.419-427 deal with the
various transitions between poems of the Guillaume cycle in
cyclical manuscripts.

2.   Information on the contents of manuscripts comes largely from the
introductions to the following editions:
Raoul de Cambrai, ed. P. Meyer and A. Longnon, (S.A.T.F.)
Paris 1882.
Girart de Vienne, ed. W.G. van Emden, (S.A.T.F.) Paris 1977.
Girart de Roussillon, ed. M. Hackett, (S.A.T.F.) 3 vols.,
Paris 1953-55).
La Chevalerie Ogier, ed. M. Eusebi, Milan 1963.
L'Episode ardennais de Renaut de Montauban: Edition synoptique des
versions rimées, ed. J. Thomas, 3 vols., Bruges 1962.
Aye d'Avignon, ed. S.J. Borg, Geneva 1967.
The edition of Vivien de Monbranc cited is the forthcoming edition
by Professor W.G. van Emden. I am grateful to Professor van Emden
for allowing me to use his typescript.

3.   W.G. van Emden, 'Le Personnage du roi dans Vivien de Monbranc
et ailleurs', in Charlemagne et l'épopée romane: Actes du VIIe
Congre International de la Société Rencesvale, 2 vols., Liege 1978,
vol.1, 241-250 (241).

4. The heroes of the poem are connected to the family of Mayence thus, according to the family tree based on Gaufrey and Aye d'Avignon:

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                                                          Doon de
                                                          Mayence
                                                             |
  _____
  |            |              |               |
Gaufrey    Doon de        Grifon         Aymon de
           Nanteuil    d'Autefeuille     Dordonne
  |            |                             |
Ogier     Garnier = Aye d'Aignon    Aalart Renaud Guichart Richart
              |
             Gui
  _____
  |              |         |            |         |         |         |
Beuves        Othon    Ripeus       Seguin     Peron    Morant    Hernaut   Girart de
d'Aigremont                       de Bordeaux          de Rivier de Giron  Roussillon
  |
Maugis Vivien
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5. J. Thomas, pp.80-81.

6. The Catalogue is quoted by M.E. Pey, introduction to Doon de Mayence, Anciens poetes de la France, Paris 1859, p.xi.   Pey attributed the error on the part of the compiler of the catalogue (i.e. attributing all the poems to one poet), to some degree of re-working of the poems when the manuscript was compiled.

7. Van Emden, 'Le Personnage', p.242.

8. K. Togeby, Ogier le Danois, Copenhagen 1969, p.125. On this manuscript see also Le Danois Ogier, ed. C. Cremonsi, Milan 1971. Cremonsi (p.vii) describes the manuscript thus: 'una compilazione che comprede opera legate potremmo dire, da un nesso cronologico-genealogico ...'.

9. Togeby, p.127.

10. The development of the family of rebels and the family of Mayence will be the subject of a future article.

11. P. Meyer, 'La Chanson de Doon de Nanteuil: Fragments inédits', Romania, 13, 1884, 1-26 (1).

12. Meyer and Longnon, p.xci.

13. L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des Manuscrits, 4 vols., Paris 1868-81, vol. III 165, no.1096. This manuscript is discussed in some detail in my article 'Doon de Nanteuil and the Epic of Revolt', Medium Aevum, 52, 1983, 247-57.

14. G. Doutrepont, Les Mises en prose des épopées et des romans du XIVe au XVIe siècle, Brussels 1939, p.191.

15. Meyer, 3. Like Meyer I see no reason to assume this.

16. M. Blaess, 'L'Abbaye de Bordesley et les livres de Guy de Beauchamp', Romania, 78, 1957, 511-518 (511-12).

17. G. Doutrepont, p.195.

18. Thomas, pp.92-93.

19. Borg, p.18.

20. J. Frappier, Les chansons de geste du cycle de Guillaume d'Orange, 2 vols., Paris 1955, vol.1, 43-46.

21. Eusebi, p.11, describes the codex as the fusion of two manuscripts executed by two different scribes. I would like to thank Mr Alex Kerr, who is at present preparing an edition of Anseïs de Cartage, for information on this manuscript and for allowing me to use his microfilm of it. The two texts are clearly written by different scribes, and the order of the poems could only result from an error in binding.

22. The possible connection between Ogier and Anseïs is discussed briefly by H. Brettschneider, Der Anseïs de Cartage und die Seconda Spagne, Halle 1937, p.166. Brettschneider argues that the source of the white hart motif in Anseïs is more likely to be Fierabras than Ogier. A more detailed examination of the relationship between Anseïs and Ogier is found in D. Behren's review of J. Alton's edition of Anseïs in ZfRSL, 15, 1893, 191ff. (193-5).

23. Only the prose Fierabras written by Jean Bagnon, and its translation by Caxton (ed. S.J. Herrtage, E.E.T.S. 36, 1881) group one after the other two different versions of the obtaining of the sacred relics by Charlemagne, namely, the version of the journey to Jerusalem found in Vincent de Beauvais' Speculum Historiale and the story of Fierabras itself. No attempt is made to reconcile the two.

24.   De Nugis Curialium, translated by M.R. James, London 1923,
       distinction V, chapter 5 (p.243).

25.   W.G. van Emden, 'Isembart and the Old French Epic of Revolt',
       Nottingham Medieval Studies, 7, 1964, 22-34 (32). Professor
       van Emden points out (33) that in Mousket and Baudoin d'Avesnes
       Isembart and Raoul are cousins.

26.   The contents of BN fr. 5003 are given by G. Paris, Histoire poètique
       de Charlemagne, 1905, Appendix V, pp.483-84. For the tale of
       Aymer see p.403, for that of Richer pp.323-324, and for that of
       the tribute demanded from the French p.329.

27.   Doutrepont, pp.191, 198-208. The connection of Renaud with other
       rebels is not forgotten even in the prose version.   The title of one
       chapter (Arsenal MS) ends:
             Et comment Maugist et Girard de Roussillon et
             Doon de Nanteuil s'en allerent avec Vivian et
             menerent deux evesques avecques eulx ...

28.   A reconstruction of the tale and discussion of the lost poem can be
       found in G. Paris, pp.315-22.

29.   R. Louis, De l'histoire à la legende, 3 vols., Auxerre 1946-47, vol.2,
       55-57 and 134 deal with Philippe Mousket, and 144 with Auberi le
       Bourgoing.

30.   L. Gautier, Les Epopées françaises, 4 vols., 1878-94, vol.2, 552.

31.   Ly Myreur des Histors, Fragment du second livre (années 794-826),
       ed. A. Goosse, Brussels 1965, pp.115-116.

32.   Gautier, vol.2, 370.

33.   Gautier, vol. 2, 547-9 on Jean Mansel; Doutrepont, pp.41-48 on
       L'Histoire de Charles Martel.

34.   W.G. van Emden, 'Contribution a l'étude de l'évolution sémantique
       du mot "geste" en ancien francais', Romania, 96, 1975, 105-122.