Francigena
1 (2015)

The Avatars of Orable-Guibourc from French *chanson de geste* to Italian *romanzo cavalleresco*. A Persistent Multiple Alterity

PHILIP E. BENNETT
(University of Edinburgh)

LESLIE ZARKER MORGAN
(Loyola University Maryland)

Università degli Studi di Padova

Francigena *is an International Peer-Rewieved Journal*

ISSN 2420-9767

Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari
Piazzetta Gianfranco Folena, 1
35137 PADOVA

info@francigena-unipd.com

INDICE

The Avatars of Orable-Guibourc from French *chanson de geste* to Italian *romanzo cavalleresco*. A Persistent Multiple Alterity

Philip E. Bennett
(University of Edinburgh)

Leslie Zarker Morgan
(Loyola University Maryland)

ABSTRACT
Orable-Guibourc, a Saracen princess in the Guillaume d'Orange (or Monglane) cycle of *chansons de geste* epitomizes the «Saracen princess» story, in which a Muslim princess abandons her community for love of a Christian fighter. Yet Guibourc's character never becomes truly a part of her new community: linked to her previous religion and family, fears of treachery distance her from the Christians. Similarly, her having renounced her upbringing keeps her forever from her home, though her husband and family there still claim her as property. Writers from the first Old French texts where she appears through Renaissance Italians play upon this double jeopardy, interpreting and depicting her role and acts in different ways, emphasizing varying aspects of her personality, family and background, keeping her forever different, forever Other. This article outlines some of the historical contexts and forms in which authors worked to produce these avatars of Orable/Guibourc.

KEYWORDS
Guillaume d'Orange – Orable – Guibourc – Tiborga – Andrea da Barberino – *Prise d'Orange* – *Foulque de Candie*/*Folco di Candia* – Saracen princess motif – Medieval French – Franco-Italian – Epic poetry – *Romanzo cavalleresco*

This literary biography of the Saracen princess Orable, who became the Christian wife of Guillaume Fierebrace under the name of Guibourc, traces her development from the earliest representations of her in epics of the French Guillaume cycle to the adaptations of her persona and personality in Franco-Italian *chansons de geste* and the prose *romanzi* of Andrea da Barberino and his successors; in an episode of the fourteenth-century *Huon d'Auvergne*, in contrast to most expectations raised by her literary persona, the poet depicts her soul in the afterlife as being apparently consigned to hell. The quest for Orable-Guibourc must follow a chronological thread that is frequently more than a little tangled: most of the French poems in which she appears were written between ca. 1170 and ca. 1230, and regularly reveal the ways in which cyclic redactors also at work in the early thirteenth century adapted their inherited materials to co-ordinate data between previously independent poems. The Franco-Italian poems date mostly from the fourteenth century, while Andrea was working in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth, with his successors

composing into the sixteenth century. The mere chronological span of this development inevitably imposes changes of perspective on the character, as the importance of crusading and other political or commercial rivalries with the Muslim world wax and wane, and as considerations based on courtly or humanistic discourse gain in significance. However, what does become apparent is that throughout a career imposed on her by a succession of poets and authors of prose works in multiple languages over a period of five centuries, Orable-Guibourc remains the essential Other to both the Christian and pagan societies represented in the texts, and especially to their male representatives, despite her apparent abandonment of her birth community and integration into her marital and adopted religious one.

This persistent alterity is something that particularly afflicts Orable-Guibourc. Even other Saracen princesses wooed and won by heroes of the Guillaume Cycle in emulation of the Guillaume-Guibourc prototype do not suffer in the same way, although they are often the object of hatred and scorn from their abandoned kinsmen; rather, they are welcomed and protected in their new society, essentially because they are not seen beyond the confines of the Narbonnais clan which has adopted them.

Chronology poses problems here too, because our only witness to the presumed model in *La Prise d'Orange* dates from the 1190s at the earliest, while the most notable Saracen princess apart from Orable in the cycle is Anfelise, who marries the hero in *Folque de Candie*, a poem which may date from the 1170s, two decades earlier than the extant *Prise d'Orange*. Augaiete, who marries the hero in *Guibert d'Andrenas*, and Malatrie, who marries Girart in *Le Siège de Barbastre,* are less problematic, since these poems are clearly thirteenth-century productions. The only real link between these other women and Orable-Guibourc is that each is to some extent a prize of war, though all of them are willing prizes who choose their husbands as a result of a form of *amor de lonh*; the most obvious difference is that none of them is currently married to a pagan, though they may be promised to one, at the point where they enter the narrative of their respective poems. The roles and characters of Augaiete and Malatrie are complex[1]. Other Saracen princesses, Floripas in *Fierabras* who marries Gui de Bourgogne, or Esclarmonde who marries Huon de Bordeaux, become so integrated into the Christian community and move so far away from their birth community that the question of alterity hardly seems to be raised. One reason for this is that their marriages take place at the end of their poems, and, as in later plays and novels built on the same pattern of contested courtship, this closure leaves the public free to imagine a future of unalloyed bliss and harmony; any potential problems for Huon and Esclarmonde are resolved by their joint removal from earthly kingdoms to reign as sovereigns of

[1] Cf. Bennett 2006: 221-233; Meschiari 2001: 321-334; *Siège de Barbastre.*

Faerie[2]. Nor is alterity a problem for two other princesses in *Folque de Candie*: Faussete takes Guillaume's nephew Guion as a lover: the couple are the parents of Povre-Vëu, but never marry; Povre-Vëu's biography follows that of Rainouart or Maillefer, in that he is brought up as a pagan but later converts, marrying Canete, daughter of the *aumaçor* of Montire, only after her own conversion at the end of the poem. Similarly in romance the sense of alterity that we find with Guibourc is largely negated by the fiction of a unified chivalric universe, in which only the enemies of the hero and heroine, who are not part of their own community, appear as a monstrous, un-human Other.

The closest to Guibourc's case in romance is that of Iseut in Beroul's *Tristran*, in which the ancestral enmity between Ireland and Cornwall and the killing of her uncle by Tristan account for her personal sense of vulnerability in her husband's foreign court: her sense that it is her foreign-ness which motivates the hostility of the three *barons felons* provides a smokescreen to cover her true relationship to her lover. Although both her statements about the vulnerability deriving from her alterity come in scenes where Iseut's duplicity is certain, there is no reason to disbelieve her when she first says to Tristan «Tote sui sole en ceste terre» (line 174)[3], words intended for Mark's ears, and later says to Mark directly «Fors vos, ge n'ai nule defense: | Por ce vont il querant mon mal» (lines 3212-3213). The situation of Guenièvre, part Roman with family attachments in Cornwall according to Wace (lines 1105-1112)[4], is extremely complicated in both verse and prose romances, but there is never any question of her alterity. The situation of Laudine in Chrétien's *Yvain* would at first glance seem closer to that of Orable-Guibourc, since she marries the man who killed her husband, and, as we shall see, like Orable-Guibourc remains firmly associated with her home territory of which she appears as sovereign in her own right. However, unlike in the epic Laudine's castle is never purged of its lady's original vassals, whom she has to manipulate politically, without ever being the object of their hostility. This is diverted onto the person of Lunete, Laudine's lady-in-waiting, who assumes the role of scapegoat for both her mistress and Yvain[5]. By the mid-thirteenth century racial alterity is subordinated to questions of class in the convoluted affairs of Aucassin and Nicolette, in a parodic text which also enjoys transgressing generic borders. Like Rainouart, bought and put to work in the kitchen effectively as a slave by the emperor Louis, Nicolette, a Saracen princess known in the text by a French name, has been bought by the viscount of Beaucaire, and, although he acted as her godfather when he had her baptized, her status is still essentially that of a slave, whose person can be disposed of at

[2] Cf. Trachsler 2000: 187-202.
[3] Beroul, *Tristan*.
[4] *Brut*.
[5] Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)*: lines 3644-3692.

the discretion of the viscount[6]. Only at the end of the tale, with the disappearance of the older generation, can Aucassin marry Nicolette, and it is unclear whether he does this because she is revealed as the daughter of the pagan *roi de Cartage*, or without reference to that fact[7]. While these women remain vulnerable for several reasons, racial or religious alterity seems to diminish in importance as romance discourse comes to dominate imaginative narrative in all genres.

This sense of isolated vulnerability is shared by historical princesses married for dynastic reasons, even within the Christian kingdoms of Western Europe. A case obviously similar to that of Iseut is provided by Eleanor of Aquitaine, married to Louis VII of France, whose alterity with regard to the early twelfth-century court of northern France was stamped both linguistically and culturally. The legends which grew up around her even in her own lifetime, including that of her supposed scandalous relationship with her uncle, Raymond de Toulouse, are a sign of this alterity. She was kept a virtual prisoner, required to homologate charters which Louis issued styling himself Duc d'Aquitaine, as he strove to incorporate the duchy fully into the kingdom of France. Her divorce from Louis (which she may have orchestrated herself) and subsequent remarriage to Henry Plantagenet, improved her situation only superficially: her struggle to maintain any autonomy within and authority over her inheritance led to her actual imprisonment in 1174, an imprisonment from which she was released only on Henry's death. Despite enormous energy and considerable political abilities, still evident at the end of her life during her retirement to Fontevrault, she was through most of her life a political tool exploited for their own advantage by the kings she married and kept as far away from her own people in south-west France as possible[8].

Equally difficult, although no breath of scandal attached to her, was the position of Theophano, the Byzantine wife of emperor Otto II, the outward signs of whose alterity, her Greek dress and the luxury of her imported entourage, provided a focus for the enmity of a strong political faction led by Odilo, abbot of Cluny; even the prestige of Theophano's Byzantine relatives were of no help to her as she found it necessary to forge a political party of her own at the western imperial court[9]. Of no more avail was the very real power of the numerous relatives of Yolande of Bar, in her position of wife and then widow at the court of Aragon: Louis d'Orléans, in 1397, then Charles VI and Jean de Berry in 1413 wrote to successive kings of Aragon beseeching them to support their relative, apparently in vain. A phrase from Jean de Berry's letter to Ferdinand of Aragon seems like a distant echo of Iseut's words as he begs Ferdinand to give his protection to «une dame veuve en estrange pays, loing de

[6] *Aucassin et Nicolette:* §§ 3-4.
[7] *Aucassin et Nicolette*: §§ 34-40.
[8] Cf. Hivergneaux 2001.
[9] Cf. Riché 2001.

ses parens»[10].

In the light of the experience of these princesses married within the Christian community, it is not surprising that Orable-Guibourc's position as a converted Saracen, whose relatives continue to symbolize the main political and military threat to Christendom, is particularly fraught. What is surprising, in literary terms, is that the authors of poems of the Cycle de Monglane and its derivatives in France and northern Italy exploited the tensions raised by her alterity to the extent that they did. These tensions appear very starkly in the non-cyclic *Chanson de Guillaume* in a number of scenes which have often been analyzed: on the walls of Barzelone when Guillaume blesses the day of Guibourc's conversion as well as his marriage to her[11]; in Laon, the imperial capital, when Guillaume's sister, the empress, vilifies Guibourc as a poisoner (lines 2590-2596); the touching scene following Guillaume's first defeat at L'Archamp, when he brings the body of Guischart back to Guibourc, in which he first addresses his wife «en sun romanz» (line 1331) and then she, smiling through her tears, comments «en sun romanz» that disaster has not dulled her husband's appetite (line 1421). The last of these is the most problematical, since the expression *en sun romanz* occurs five times in the poem, once in the first part of *G'*, when Vivien addresses Girart (line 622), the other four in the interpolated episodes in the second part of *G'*, all but one of them associated with speeches by Guillaume[12]. Those at lines 1568 and 1591 introduce speeches before battle made separately to *nobles baruns* (the great men of the army) and to a mixed audience of *vavasurs*, knights and *bachelers*. There seems to be no doubt in these passages that *sun romanz* refers to the language or dialect of Guillaume himself. This seems meaningless until we remember that the army on this occasion is made up of 30,000 of Guibourc's own vassals and warriors (lines 1229-1235), who may, therefore, be racially and linguistically distinct from Guillaume, although in that case modern logic would lead us to query the efficacy of speeches which may have been incomprehensible to their audience. The expression seems equally out of place when Vivien addresses Girart, because nothing in the poem suggests that these two nephews of Guillaume speak different dialects, so we might conclude that the formula means no more than 'in his own style'. What we do observe, though, with the exception of the isolated example in the first part of *G'*, is the heavy concentration of the formula in the exchanges between Guillaume and Guibourc or her vassals. This might suggest that exchanges happen in a language other than northern French, particularly if, in lines 1568 and 1591 we assume that the poet or the copyist generating a formula automatically had kept *sun* when *lur* was more appropriate. Even if we do not go as far as to

[10] Ponisch 2001: 250; quotation from letter of September 15, 1413.
[11] *Chanson de Guillaume*: lines 938-947.
[12] Cf. Kinoshita 2006: 53-54.

assume that *sarrazinois* is the intended language, there is the possibility of a distant memory of the wives of Guillaume de Toulouse, Cunegunde and Guitburgis, either or both of whom might have been Goths[13] or Lombards[14], while Guillaume himself was a Frank. In the hotbed of ethnic and religious politics that was the ninth-century Kingdom of Aquitaine, the fact of Guitburgis being a Goth in a land which was now effectively a Frankish colony would mark her out as being Other and might also account, in the course of the twelfth century, for Guillaume's wife being presented as a Saracen.

This alterity within the Christian community, posited as we have seen in different ways for both wives of Guillaume de Toulouse, may also account for the exogamous origins of two of the female ancestors of Guillaume d'Orange. In his revision of the story of Girart de Vienne, dating from ca. 1180-1183[15], Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube gives the wife of his hero the name of Guibourc, presumably borrowing the name of the wife of Guillaume d'Orange for his purposes of uniting the various *gestes*. She is first presented to the audience in line 1541 on the occasion of her marriage to Girart:

> Or fu Girart a Vïenne el donjon;
> forment l'amerent cil del resne environ.
> Cel en meïsmes, aprés l'Acension,
> a une feste seint Jehen le baron,
> prist li dus fame qui fu de grant renon:
> Guibourc ot non, seror lou roi Oton[16].

In these lines Bertrand makes several changes to his sources: the primitive *Girart de Vienne*, *Girart de Roussillon* and the lost *Girart de Fraite*[17]. The introduction of Guibourc as a lady of great renown can only have evoked a smile of complicit recognition from the first audience, who will have recognized the name from the *Chanson de Guillaume*, and perhaps from other poems of the Guillaume cycle. René Louis's suggestion that she was already called Guibourc in the primitive *Girart de Vienne*[18] is unsound because posited on a reference in the *V4* version of the *Chanson de Roland* and in the rhymed *Roland*; recent work on dating *V4*, the rhymed Roland and Bertrand's *Girart* suggests that the *Roland* texts copied the name from Bertrand's poem. The same may have been true of the name given to her brother. Oton was king of Hungary in *Girart de Roussillon*, being either the heroine's uncle or her father in different redactions[19]; although his name may appear merely to provide a

[13] Cf. Salrach 2006: 43.
[14] Cf. Lauranson-Rosaz 2004: 55.
[15] Cf. Emden 1969: 68-70.
[16] *Girart de Vienne*, lines 1536-1541.
[17] Ivi: XXVIII.
[18] Cf. Louis 1946-1947: I, 65.
[19] *Girart de Roussillon* 1993, lines 7234, 7430, 7922; Louis 1946-1947: II, 72-78.

rhyme, familiarity with that tradition would cover Guibourc with a cloak of foreign-ness. However, since the audience would have been attuned to poems about Guillaume Fierebrace they may have made an even more shocking association, with the Oton who in *Le Charroi de Nîmes* succeeds Gui d'Allemagne in his challenge for the imperial crown[20]. In the atmosphere of anti-Capetian politics at the court of Champagne, which van Emden sketches for the years 1181-1183[21], the particular nature of the alterity which this would attribute to Guibourc would provide both a frisson of satisfaction and draw an even closer parallel with her namesake in the *Chanson de Guillaume*.

The other female relative of Guillaume d'Orange who introduces a notable element of alterity into his family tree is his own mother, Hermenjart, wife of Aymeri de Narbonne. The name itself is unexceptionable, being traditional in the family of the counts of Vienne and going back to the wife of Boson, father of the eighth-century Girart who was probably at the root of the whole tradition[22]. The innovation of the author of *Aymeri de Narbonne* is to make his Hermenjart a Lombard, which, as we have seen, may also have been the origin of Cunegunde, the first wife of Guillaume de Toulouse. Relations between the Frankish and Lombard kingdoms were complex at the end of the eighth century; in addition to the possible Lombard origins of Guillaume's wife, Carloman may have had a Lombard wife, Gerberga, and Charles himself a Lombard concubine, Himiltrude. These relationships were of serious concern to Pope Stephen III, whose vilification of Desiderius and the Lombards in a letter to Charles outdoes anything found in French epic[23]. More immediately, in terms of twelfth-century cultural and literary politics and polemics, Hermenjart, though apparently untainted herself, passes to the Narbonnais clan the blood of a race lampooned in French epic for its softness, love of money and luxury, and for its lack of warrior capacities. That blood may account for some of the less heroic features of Guillaume himself in a number of poems in the French tradition, though not in later Italian poems, particularly his being eclipsed by a sequence of nephews in *La Chanson de Guillaume*, *Aliscans* and *La Prise d'Orange*[24]. It is also noteworthy that at the end of *Aliscans*, following Rainouart's baptism, when Guillaume gives him a present of 500 marks, most manuscripts, but not the *A* family edited by Régnier, add the comment:

> Il nes mist mie en tresor n'en achas
> Ains en a fait le jor molt riche pars.
> Tot sormonta le lignage au Lombart [*M* = Bambart]

[20] *Charroi de Nîmes*, lines 213-219.
[21] Cf. Emden 1969.
[22] Cf. Louis 1946-1947: I, 88.
[23] Cf. McKitterick 2008: 79-88; the letter is quoted on p. 84.
[24] *Chanson de Guillaume*, lines 24-37.

Molt l'en ama la contesse Armenjart[25].

A further comment is added about the host of pagans Rainouart kills (line 15). Not only does this underscore Hermenjart's ambivalent position between Lombard and French communities, but adds to the renewal of heroic effort by Rainouart a counterbalance to the Lombard blood introduced by Hermenjart, the failings of which clearly continue to concern her[26].

Despite the perception of alterity which raises fear and suspicion in the mind even of Guillaume's sister, the Queen of France, in both *La Chanson de Guillaume* and *Aliscans*, Guibourc's principal role in these poems, as in many others of the cycle, is as nurturer, supplier of arms and indeed of warriors and women. What is notable in these apparently contradictory roles is that they mark Guibourc as double-gendered: the only unambiguously feminine role she takes is to raise Guillaume's nephews Vivien and Gui, supplying them also with arms, in Gui's case with arms of Saracen origin. This role of helping to raise a young warrior returns in the late poem *Les Enfances Renier*, in which, although she cannot raise him *stricto sensu*, because, like his father Maillefer, the young Renier is kidnapped and sold to pagans, Guibourc is closely concerned with events surrounding her great-nephew's birth[27]. The whole literary process of producing Renier is a complex one. The death of Rainouart's wife Aëlis, his own death seven years later and the installation of their son Maillefer as *roi*(*s*) *et amira*[*l*] of Monnuble, the second title implying his continuing status as pagan following his kidnapping, are all listed in the final laisse of *Aliscans*[28]. In this scenario Maillefer appears to have no heirs of his own, a situation replicated, as we shall see, in all but one cyclical manuscript.

The textual and editorial traditions of *Aliscans* are also very complicated, to the extent that assessing the role of Guibourc at the end of that poem is a delicate matter. The *A* family of manuscripts, as edited by Régnier, writes her out of the whole closing sequence, barring two incidental mentions, from the point at which she reconciles her husband and brother[29]; in contrast the Franco-Italian manuscript *M* increases her role considerably: it is Guibourc who persuades her brother to engage in the ritual of the quintaine following his knighting[30], and it is she who, at her brother's request, takes the leading role in organizing the baptism of Rainouart's cousin Baudin/Bauduc which provides the climax of the Franco-Italian version[31]. In this episode Régnier notes

[25] *Aliscans* (WHR), laisse CLXXXIV[e], lines 8-11.
[26] Cf. Combarieu du Grès 1993.
[27] *Enfances Renier*, lines 1-520.
[28] *Aliscans* (ed. Régnier 1990), lines 8164-8185; the reference to Maillefer as «amiral» is at line 8184.
[29] *Aliscans* (ed. Régnier 1990), lines 7763-7873.
[30] *Aliscans* (ed. Holtus 1985), lines 7701-7707.
[31] Ivi, lines 7748-7772.

Guibourc's role in persuading her brother to tilt at the quintaine, present in a number of manuscripts but not in the *A* family, but makes no comment on other aspects of the enhanced role these manuscripts give her[32]. Additionally, the WHR edition of the poem, in laisses edited from a range of manuscripts[33], gives Guibourc a voice alongside that of Guillaume and Aymeri in demanding from Louis that Aëlis should be allowed to marry Rainouart and gives her a role in the wedding ceremony itself[34]. Even more significantly, in lines not included in the Régnier edition, she comforts Guillaume when he spends days mourning the departure of his family, and especially when he reflects on the death of Vivien in a way that closes the circle of the poem; very noticeably the young warriors whom she has nurtured are associated with her in comforting Guillaume:

> Molt l'en conforte Guibors la seignoris
> Et li enfant qu'ele ot soëf noris,
> Li quens Bertrans, Gerars et Anseïs (*D* = li quens Guis)[35].

She is then given a long speech[36], effectively a biblically-based homily, on death and salvation, concluding with an admonition to rebuild Orange, which was laid waste by Desramé's pagans before Guillaume brought the relieving army from Laon. The last section of her speech is introduced by the startlingly direct words:

> Molt doit liés estre hom qui bone feme a;
> Et, s'il vaut auques, de bon cuer l'amera.
> Le bon conseil, se li done, crera,
> Et je sui cele qui bon le vos donra[37].

Taken with the lines which open a similar admonition to Rainouart as he prepares to depart for Portpaillart,

> Frere, dist ele, por deu de maiestés,
> Vostre moillier, vos proi, molt honorés,
> De tot en tot faites ses volentés[38].

These lines present a self-confident and feminine, even proto-feminist, Guibourc, whose moral authority rises well above that of the male characters.

---

[32] *Aliscans* (ed. Régnier 1990): II, 215.
[33] The sigla now attributed to the manuscripts used to generate this part of WHR are *Ars*, A^2, A^3, A^4, *F*, *D*, *M*, B^1; the critical apparatus attached to the edition does not make it possible at all points to determine the precise source of any given reading.
[34] *Aliscans* (WHR), lines 8232 and 8284-8285.
[35] Ivi, lines 8390, 8390^{a-b}.
[36] Ivi, lines 8393-8416.
[37] Ivi, lines 8409-8412.
[38] Ivi, lines 8446-8448.

That husband and brother both approve and act on her words underlines that authority, raising questions as to why the *A* family, as represented by the Régnier edition, suppressed these lines: the presence of significant parts of the text in *Ars*, *M*, *D*, *B*^{1} and *F* ensure that we are not dealing with late accretions. A similar question has to be asked, though no concrete answer can be given, as to why the author of *La Bataille Loquifer* gave Guibourc no role in Aëlis's lying-in or in bringing up the now motherless Maillefer. One can only note that in this poem she is essentially the object and focus of the aggression of Thiebaut and Desramé, and especially of the duel in which Desramé is killed[39]; inevitably the important role played by Desramé in *Folque de Candie* causes the redactors of *Ars* and *C* to revise the ending, leaving Desramé wounded but not killed[40].

The history of Maillefer and his marriage, and consequently of a role for Guibourc, shows a similar complexity in the various redactions of *Le Moniage Rainouart*. The *Ars-C* redaction calls Maillefer's wife Ysoire and makes her the daughter of a Milon de Puille[41]; this is clearly not the same Milon de Pouille who is Girart de Vienne's brother, because his daughter is a niece of Guillaume d'Orange. Whether independently or under the influence of *Les Enfances Renier*, which the redaction nonetheless rejects from its tradition, this version of the *Moniage Rainouart* is using a ploy also used in the *Enfances Renier*, of borrowing a name from Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube to create a continuity in the *geste*. In the best patriarchal tradition Guillaume and Rainouart arrange this marriage, Maillefer merely has to acquiesce in it, and Guibourc plays no part. The only time she is mentioned is on the morning following the wedding night when she goes with other women to bathe the bride[42]. Also, although we are informed that during the wedding night the young couple «ensamble sont, si font lor volenté»[43], there is not the usual formulaic reference to the begetting of an heir, and, indeed Ysoire then disappears from the poem, and is not mentioned when Maillefer dies of a broken heart following the death of his father[44]. The *D* redaction reduces Guibourc's role to nothing[45], but equally shows signs of confused abbreviation in dealing with Maillefer's marriage. Neither the bride nor her father is named at all in *D*, she is merely Guillaume's niece; the whole episode is expedited in very few lines[46]. *E* returns to and in some respects expands on the version conserved in *C*; the relationship of *E* to the rest of the tradition in *Le Moniage Rainouart* is particularly complex[47]. As in *D* Guillaume's

[39] Cf. Bennett 2006: 237-245.
[40] Cf. Tyssens 1967: 267.
[41] *Moniage Rainouart I*, lines 2968-3043.
[42] Ivi, line 3039.
[43] Ivi, line 3037.
[44] Ivi, lines 7505-7513.
[45] *Moniage Rainouart II et III*, I.
[46] Ivi, I, lines 2965-3026.1.
[47] *Moniage Rainouart I*: XX-XXI; *Moniage Rainouart II et III*: I, IX-XIV; Tyssens 1967: 279-281.

niece is not named in *E* — she is merely «une niece qui molt a de biauté»[48]— but her father is named and Guillaume is even more explicit about his own role here than in *C*:

> fille est *Milon* de Pulle le sené;
> ses pere est mors, ce m'a esté conté.
> Sa biele fille et toute l'ireté
> est en ma garde, si en ferai mon gré[49].

What this version makes clear is that the young woman is residing at Guillaume's court; it intercalates a betrothal feast before the wedding night[50], for which Guibourc specifically gives her new clothes — «uns noviaus dras»[51]— and gold braid to dress her hair[52]. In this role Guibourc appears in place of the anonymous four ladies of *C*, line 2983, resuming in feminine mode her role of providing appropriate costume for the young, usually realized as arms for new knights. As in *C*, but not in the much abridged version of *D*, Guibourc also takes charge of the young women who prepare a bath for the bride following her wedding night. The *A* family manuscripts and B^1 go even further than *C* and *D* in writing Guibourc out of the episode of Maillefer's marriage[53]. These manuscripts are also particularly shy about identifying Guillaume's niece: not only is she not named but her father simply becomes «Milon, le franc duc nature»[54]; also, although Milon's death «donc tens passé»[55] is noted there is no indication that Guillaume is the ward of his niece and her inheritance. It is perhaps the more carnivalesque approach of the *AB* redaction which leads to the suppression of Guibourc's role here: lines devoted to her careful tending of the new fiancée and bride are replaced by a frank *charivari* in which the knights joke that the gigantic proportions of the husband give the bride little chance of surviving her wedding night[56]. Although the redactor comments «La demoiselle dont il ont tant parlé, | puis vesqui ele et yver et esté»[57] there is again no indication of progeny from the marriage. In their inexplicable childlessness, if in nothing else, Maillefer and Ysoire seem to be a mirror image of Guillaume and Orable-Guibourc. At the end of the poem in most manuscripts, when Maillefer dies still childless, his spouse has vanished from the story, and Guibourc is the only woman left to mourn him and his

[48] *Moniage Rainouart II et III*, I, App. III, line 2969.
[49] Ivi, I, App. III, lines 2970, 2971, 2971.1, 2972.
[50] Ivi, I, App. III, lines 2983-3005.
[51] Ivi, I, App. III, line 2983.1.
[52] Ivi, I App. III, line 2984.
[53] *Moniage Rainouart III*, II, lines 2967-3047.1.
[54] Ivi, II, line 2970.
[55] Ivi, II, line 2971.
[56] Ivi, II, lines 3023.1-3026.15.
[57] Ivi, II, lines 3026.16-3026.17.

father, Rainouart[58].

B^2 totally revises this material so as to allow the developments of the *Enfances Renier*, which it alone conserves. The daughter of Milon de Puille is replaced in this version by Florentine, daughter of Grebuedes, king of the Illes desus mer, a title which seems to belong to Arthurian romance rather than to *chansons de geste*: it recalls the origins of Perceval's family[59]. In this version the redactor resorts to the expected formula concerning the wedding night:

> La nuit premiers a bonne destinee
> que Mallefers jut lez la bele nee,
> engendra il un fils de renommee[60].

The wedding episode is highly abbreviated in *B*^{2}, with the exception of the necessity of adding an embassy to Grebuedes to ask for his daughter's hand, but, once the princess is safely in Orange, Guibourc is given the role of welcoming her, and taking her to her own quarters for private festivities among the ladies before dressing her for her wedding[61]. The rejection by *B*^{2} of the raucous, male, carnival atmosphere of the *A* family is typical of this version, and, for all its brevity, underlines the civilized femininity of Guibourc and her entourage, giving her a measure of autonomy in what remains a purely male transaction between Guillaume and Grebuedes. This revision also requires some manipulation of locations for the action. Florentine and Guillaume's messengers land at Portpaillart before travelling overland to Orange[62]. The opening scenes of *Les Enfances Renier*, in which Guibourc has a major role, take place in Portpaillart, without any manuscript indicating her removal thence; Portpaillart has been identified with Lattes, between Montpellier and Maguelone[63]; despite the cautious note of D. Dalens-Marekovic[64], the identification is reasonable and the itinerary plausible in this instance, particularly since the only other possible port of arrival for Orange, Marseille, is represented in *Les Enfances Renier* as being in the hands of pagans: it is there that Grymbert takes Renier to sell him into slavery after kidnapping him from Portpaillart[65].

Guibourc's role in *Les Enfances Renier* is limited to just the first third of the poem, which rapidly chronicles the decay and death of the entire older generation of Narbonnais before launching Renier, as reincarnation of the founding spirit of the clan, on his career of conquest of the future. However,

---

[58] *Moniage Rainouart I*, lines 7517-7523.
[59] Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, lines 384-403; Blaess 1978.
[60] Ivi, II, App. V, *B*^{2}, lines 2947.281-2947.283.
[61] Ivi, II, App. V, lines 2947.259-2947.268.
[62] Ivi, II, App. V, lines 2947.248-2947.250.
[63] Cf. Barnet 1956.
[64] *Enfances Renier*, line 931.
[65] Ivi, line 525.

the first fourteen hundred lines of the poem are drenched in her presence, largely concerned as they are with Guibourc's helping Florentine as she gives birth to Renier, with the now habitual confrontation between Guillaume and Thiebaut over the possession of Orange and Orable-Guibourc, and with the death of Guibourc. There is nevertheless an ambiguity in the portrait of Guibourc and her situation that emerges from these episodes. In the context of Florentine's lying in and the baptism of Renier she is called «Guibourc l'ensegnie»[66], which would appear to refer to her «feminine knowledge», though where this is derived from is not made clear. However, the line occurs just after three fairies have established the destiny of the young prince, according to a custom common in Provence at that time[67], which suggests that her knowledge may be supernatural. This impression is increased rather than diminished by the narrator's reticence over who arranges the room with chairs and a table offering three loaves of bread and three pots of wine, each pot accompanied by a goblet with the baby nearby and his mother put to bed[68], and by his very pointed attempt to distance Guibourc from these proceedings:

> La dame couchent, qui moult fu agrevee
> Puis s'endormi tantost sanz demoree.
> Si font les autres par la chambre paree
> Car tele y ot qui bien fu abrevee
> Et tele aussi qui moult estoit lassee.
> Dame Guibours s'en estoit ja alee[69].

The deliberate separation of Guibourc from the drunkenness of the other women is reminiscent of Vivien's refusal to join Tedbalt de Burges and Esturmi in their boastful drinking in the *Chanson de Guillaume*:

> E li botillers lur aporta le vin,
> But en Tedbald, sin donad a Esturmi;
> E Vivien s'en alad a sun ostel dormir[70].

While the other ladies fall into an exhausted and possibly drunken stupor in Florentine's *chambre* Guibourc leaves for an unspecified location. Noticeably she is reported as re-entering the *chambre* at dawn the next morning, and it is at this point that she is called «l'ensegnie», so that her presence is there between the lines, as it were, throughout the scene, and continues in importance as she elicits from Maillefer the name to be given to the baby, then, in a most unusual development in these poems, acts as godmother, holding the baby over the

[66] Ivi, line 108.
[67] Ivi, lines 22-102.
[68] Ivi, lines 26-28 and 37-40.
[69] Ivi, lines 39-44.
[70] *Chanson de Guillaume*, lines 89-96.

font while the male participants are merely indicated as being present[71]. In this way Guibourc provides a link between the pagan world and the Christian one. However, in this version of a very widely-used motif[72] the pagan world seems derived less from the Saracen world of the epic than from Arthurian legend or the popular folklore also exploited by Adam de la Halle in his *Jeu de la feuillée* in which Crokesot, messenger of king Hellekin, and three fairies, Morgue, Maglore and Arsile, satirize the bourgeoisie of Arras; it is notable in this passage that Maglore is ill-tempered, because, when the table was set, only two knives were put out for cutting up food, and she does not have one[73]; this is in contrast to the episode in *Les Enfances Renier*, in which three places are fully set, so that no fairy condemns Renier to an evil fate. This unsettling undercurrent of the persistence of Orable the Saracen with magical powers in the person of Guibourc is further reflected in her death scene, in which she is able to predict the precise moment of her death, though not, worryingly, the place in which her soul will be housed:

> «A mienuit, quant le coc chantera[74],
> L'ame du cors adont departira,
> mes je ne sai ou se herbergera»[75].

Her fears on that account arise from her knowledge that she has been the cause of many deaths[76], a realization that much of the fighting reported in *Aliscans* and *La Bataille Loquifer*, and even at the end of *La Prise d'Orange* in the Berne manuscript, has only nominally been holy war between Christendom and Pagandom: at its heart has been a feud between two clans over possession of Orable-Guibourc and the lands which her conversion and remarriage transferred from one husband to another[77]. Her concern for the health of her own soul is followed by expressions of similar fears for Guillaume's salvation, urging him to cease his wars against pagans and devote the rest of his life to

---

71 *Enfances Renier*, lines 134-146.
72 Cf. Tøgeby 1969: 151.
73 Adam le Bossu, *Le Jeu de la feuillée*, lines 578-875.
74 This allusion to the cock crowing at midnight appears obscure, but is probably an allusion to the belief that the crowing of the cock marks the passing of each hour of the day and night, cf. Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou tresor*, «Du coc» (Chabaille 1863: 222), so may simply mean 'on the stroke of midnight'; this view, but with the additional implication of consolation, expectation of the coming of the light and redemption is found in the Bestiary tradition: «Est etiam galli cantus| suavis in noctibus, et non solum| suavis sed etiam utilis, qui quasi| bonus cohabitator et dormien|tem excitat, et sollicitum ad|monet, et viatem solatur, processum noctis canora significatione| prestans… Istius cantu spes omnibus | redit, egris relevatur incommodum, minuitur dolor vulnerum,| febrium flagrantia mitigatur, revertitur fides lapsis» (Aberdeen UL 24, f. 39^{r}).
75 *Enfances Renier*, lines 1355-1357.
76 Ivi, line 1361.
77 Cf. Bennett 2012: 93-96.

praying for forgiveness of his sins[78], a plea to which her husband readily accedes. However, the insecure position of the female counselor, even *in articulo mortis*, is reflected in the fact that following her embalming, when Guillaume formally laments her as Orable who loved him, he makes a vow, modeled on that of Aïmer le Chétif, to be a pilgrim under arms and to win his salvation and hers with his hauberk permanently on his back[79]. Only after her funeral, when he has formally lamented her as Guibourc, his countess «"qui me souloit donner | Les bons consauls et folie blasmer"»[80], and after addressing God in what is less a prayer than a cry of despair, in which he refers to Guibourc in courtly terms as his «joie» and his «delis»[81], does he abandon the world and join the monastery at Aniane. It is far from clear, however, whether this is strictly following Guibourc's injunctions to save his soul, or if in this case he acts from a feeling that the world holds nothing more for him now that his lady is dead. Certainly the whole order of events, which includes a scene between Maillefer and Florentine, who has fallen ill as a result of Renier's abduction, in which Maillefer urges his wife to pull herself together and cheerfully asserts that if only she could get better they could have plenty more children[82], suggests that the old feud between Guillaume, Thiebaut and Desramé died with Guibourc, and that the future of that fight belongs to younger generations.

That future is presented in the poem as the career of Renier; in terms of the time of the narrative the poem looks forward to and prepares the Norman interventions in southern Italy, Sicily and Syria in the eleventh century, the Guelph-Ghibelline struggles of the thirteenth and the installation of French emperors of Constantinople following the Fourth Crusade. It is the marriages of Maillefer's two children, Renier and Gracïenne, to Ydoine, heiress of Venice, and Bauduïn of Greece respectively which generate these futures. The descendants of Bauduïn and Gracienne are the Guelphs, whom the poet unequivocally favors: the Ghibellines are presented as the descendants of Bauduïn's illegitimate half-brother, Pierrus, a serial seducer and rapist, who fathers fifteen children on his unfortunate victims[83]. The poet then brings us into the time of narration with a comment on the descendants of the half-brothers:

> .I. grant lignage des enfans [de Pierrus] esleva:
> Gybelin furent, ainssi l'en les nonma.
> Enquore durent, qui le voir en dira,
> Male gent sont, poi de bons en y a.

[78] *Enfances Renier*, lines 1364-1371.
[79] Ivi, lines 1421-1430.
[80] Ivi, lines 1467-1468.
[81] Ivi, line 1472.
[82] «laissiez ester», ivi, lines 1447 and 1451-1453.
[83] Ivi, lines 17898-17902.

> De Bauduïn uns lignage istra,
> Gerfe ont a non, ce seurnon leur donna
> Un apostole qui de cuer les ama.
> Cil sont preudonme, chescun a bien penssa,
> La loy soustiennent se nul encontre va[84].

However, the actual descent of the Guelphs remains problematic, since the only son attributed to Bauduïn and Gracïenne by the narrator dies at age three[85]. No such complications affect the link of the poem to the epoch of the First Crusade, or rather to the narrative and characters of the epics of the First Crusade Cycle, because by collapsing poetic and historical time Tangré (Tancred) is the son of Renier and Ydoine, and Buyemont (Bohemond) the son of Robert Ricart (Robert Guiscard) and Ydoine's anonymous mother; in addition all the other heroes of the First Crusade Cycle are miraculously conceived simultaneously on the same night as Tangré and Buyemont[86]. Guibourc's position in these developments is indirect, because the line of descent is from Maillefer and his father, Rainouart, so that she is great-great-aunt of Tangré and the short-lived Jehan. Her relationship to Buyemont is even more distant, since he is simply Renier's brother-in-law, as the son of his mother-in-law. Moreover, Guibourc herself has been dead for over 16,500 lines at this point. What is operating here is the transfer of functions[87], as Ydoine in particular, daughter of the pagan king of Venice, renews her role of enamored Saracen princess. She also shares with Orable-Guibourc totally ambivalent magical powers:

> Preudefame iert de cuer et de penssé.
> N'avoit si sage el mont de son aé
> Fors sa mestre[sse], Gonssent au cors mollé.
> D'art d'yngromance savoit a grant plenté
> Et de clergie et de divinité[88].

As with Orable her powers are evoked in the context of her wedding night, but not for the same purposes: while Renier falls into a deep and natural sleep «Quant [il] ot son deduit tant mené»[89], Ydoine remains pensively awake, whereupon the archangel Gabriel arrives, in a scene modeled on, but not parodying, the Annunciation to Mary and Gabriel's earlier announcement to Zacharias of the birth of John the Baptist in the Gospel according to St Luke, 1, 5-38, with strict instructions from God about the upbringing of her child

[84] Ivi, lines 17903-17911.
[85] Ivi, line 17943.
[86] Ivi, laisse DCLXXVII.
[87] Cf. Morgan 2012: 369-371.
[88] *Enfances Renier*, lines 17996-18000.
[89] Ivi, line 17991.

destined to suffer great hardships in God's service[90]. As with Guibourc at the beginning of the poem, Ydoine utters no explicit spell or conjuration to summon supernatural powers. Gabriel is sent by God simultaneously with, and therefore perhaps in response to, a prayer of thanksgiving uttered by Ydoine:

> «Diex, dist Ydoine, vrai Roy de majesté,
> Vous soiez, Sire, gracïé et loé!
> Donné m'avez ce qu'ai tant desire»[91].

At the point when it is uttered it appears to be concerned solely with sensual and personal gratification; it is the archangel's speech, modeled on that made to Zacharias, which redefines the whole scene in Christological terms. Thus a motif strictly associated with Orable-Guibourc in this cycle, which has provided a troubling theme from the earliest poems, and which was only half recuperated for Christianity in the fate established for Renier by the three fairies at the start of the poem, by the end of the song is totally assimilated to the aims of the *Opus Dei per Francos*. By female association and through a progeny denied her in her second marriage Guibourc's soul, the fate of which was still troubling both her and Guillaume on her death bed, seems finally brought to rest in an implicit prophecy of salvation and liberation for Jerusalem.

Other aspects of Guibourc's role in the *Chanson de Guillaume – Aliscans* tradition are highly complex in the way they represent her status. Although Guibourc is an isolated case in epic, in romances women not uncommonly have men under their command in castles which they control. A significant feature of the motif of the «lady's army» in such romances, however, is that warriors under female command are seen as ineffective until the male protagonist arriving from without assumes leadership. The motif underpins all romances of the «Gareth of Orkney» or *Bel Inconnu* type, in which a lady threatened with marriage by military conquest sends to Arthur's court for a rescuer. Prominent examples of the motif are Yvain's rescue of the Dame de Noroison[92] and Perceval's rescue of Blancheflor[93]. A variation on the motif is offered by the case of Tristan, extant only in the German adaptations of the French verse romances, in which he defeats the enemy of the aged king Havelin (Eilhart) or Herzog von Arundel (Gottfried), and wins the hand of his daughter, Iseut aux Blanches Mains[94]. This episode is analogous to Guillaume's rescuing Gaifier de Police, who offers his daughter in marriage to the hero in

[90] Ivi, lines 18009-18041.
[91] Ivi, lines 18001-18003.
[92] Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)*, lines 2120 ff.
[93] Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, lines 1657 ff.
[94] Eilhart von Oberge, *Tristan*, lines 5488-6142; Gottfried von Strassbourg, *Tristan*, lines 18686-19548.

Le Couronnement de Louis[95].

However, the emotional and psychological ramifications of the Tristan story do not apply in the epic, because the apparent complication of the existence of Orable is a product of the construction of the cyclic redactions, not an inherent part of Guillaume's legend. Although Laudine's knights are shown as equally incapable of defending her lands and fountain, her situation in Chrétien's *Yvain* is more ambivalent than that of the other ladies at the heart of this motif, since this role is attributed solely to the knight who has won the right to defend the lady and her fountain by defeating and killing her previous husband. Orable-Guibourc is in some ways a literary relative of Laudine, since the lordship of Orange and control of Gloriette, undoubtedly her tower, pass to Guillaume by a conquest not unlike that of Yvain. So to an extent when Guibourc states that she will defend Orange with an army of 700 women in Guillaume's absence, having sent him very authoritatively to Laon to summon help from the emperor in *La Chanson de Guillaume*[96] she is acting with her own authority as lady of the town, an exercise of female authority and autonomy emphasized by the evocation of her army of Amazons. In *Aliscans* there is a variation on the theme, which decreases the sense of female power and privilege, because, although Guibourc mentions her army of ladies, and states that she will defend the town in full armor, she adds that she will also have the help of the Christian knights Guillaume had earlier rescued from their Saracen captors[97]. She exercises this same autonomous authority when with remarkable prescience she sends messengers to summon 30,000 of her own vassals to replace the army she knows Guillaume will have lost in his first sortie to L'Archamp to avenge Vivien[98]. However, in this case Guibourc's warriors, who replace those of her husband, prove as little capable of defeating the invading Saracens once under Guillaume's command as his own troops were. Unlike the heroes of romance narratives, whose successes remain absolute and untarnished, Guillaume appears to suffer the fate of those under the sovereignty of a lady, at least in the continuations of *La Chanson de Guillaume* and in *Aliscans*. His problematic status which seems inherent in his association with Orable-Guibourc generates a situation in which the successful defense of Orange and ultimate defeat of the Saracens is passed to other heroes: Rainouart, Maillefer, Renier or Folque de Candie.

Within the structures of Old French literary narrative Guibourc's ambivalent position and potential regendering as masculine, is further developed in her providing women (wives) to go with the lands which, according to Guibourc, Guillaume will give those warriors who will follow him

[95] *Couronnement de Louis*, *AB*, lines 1336-1361.
[96] *Chanson de Guillaume*, lines 2422-2451.
[97] *Aliscans* (ed. Régnier 1990) lines 2345-2362; the release of the knights is recounted in laisses XLVI-LIX.
[98] Ivi, lines 1229-1239.

to L'Archamp[99]. The supply of lands and wives to *bachelers* as a reward for service is a function normally fulfilled by the king: Louis performs this function in the *Charroi de Nîmes*[100] and Arthur does so in Marie de France's *lai* of *Lanval*[101], though neither monarch does so without creating further problems for the court and kingdom. The oft-cited example from twelfth-century history of William Marshal, married to the heiress of the counties of Pembroke and Striguil by Richard I after a lifetime serving Henry II and his sons[102], while indicating that the practice was not just a literary convention, proved remarkably unproblematic. The singularity of Guibourc's intervention in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, when compared to all these examples, is that it is proactive, providing an incentive to service, rather than rewarding service freely given. This adds an extra layer of complexity, even beyond that apparent in the provision of warriors by Guibourc: on the one hand she is associated closely with her husband in what is at least a shared lordship, while, in anthropological terms, remaining within the third function by providing the means of revitalizing the community through procreation: her stock of women to provide warriors with wives to go with the lands to be given by Guillaume compensates, as does her nurturing of nephews, for the barrenness of her own second marriage[103]. On the other hand the failure of the army sent out associates her, at least by default, with the failings of the Christian cause at this point. The hollowness of the promises made by the husband, and particularly the wife, are underlined by the proleptic commentary of the narrator, although this is presented as a commentary on the pipe-dreams of the warriors themselves: «Tel s'aati de choisir la plus bele | Qui en l'Archamp perdi puis la teste»[104].

This troubling ambivalence of Orable-Guibourc, and perhaps also at one level of the lord and lady of Orange as a couple, is never fully resolved within the evolving French poems. It will be increasingly exploited in the Franco-Italian and Italian works drawn from the French poems in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Old French *chansons de geste* were copied with more or less accuracy in the Italian peninsula; some were expanded or otherwise modified. Two poems of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle that enjoyed wide-spread popularity there were *Aliscans* and *Folque de Candie*. From its original *chanson de geste* form, *Folque* was reworked into prose histories, a novella, and *cantari*[105]. Guibourc and her avatars are important throughout versions of *Folque de Candie* and the prose histories, but Guibourc as a character

[99] *Chanson de Guillaume*, lines 1386-1397.
[100] *Charroi de Nîmes*, lines 32-43; 315-333.
[101] Marie de France, *Lais* (*Lanval*, lines 13-20).
[102] Cf. Keen 1984: 20-21.
[103] Cf. Grisward 1995.
[104] *Chanson de Guillaume*, lines 1398-1399.
[105] Cf. Morgan 2012.

then disappears; some Italian texts propose her possible location in the afterlife. It is, rather, the male figures who capture the imagination of succeeding authors and critics, in spite of the seeming importance of female figures such as Anfeliza (Old French [OF] *Anfelis*), suggested by some to be a reincarnation of Guibourc. In the Italian peninsula, many patrons of literature might have a peculiar relationship to *belles sarrasines*, reflected in depictions of foreign women and the fear and disapproval of them: for female domestic slavery of non-Christians remained a reality in coastal and commercial towns. Finally, the female literary descendants of Guibourc are subsumed into European Christian upper-class norms: young women are married, bringing lands and goods to the male line and producing heirs who are willing to avenge their families, and the concern for outsiders preying upon men-folk and property is (literarily) dissipated.

Keith Busby has suggested that the popularity of *Aliscans* and *Folque de Candie* in Italy may be due to the fact that

> the events they describe and their protagonists are connected generally with southern Europe […] there may [...] be some notion of a meridional identity operating in this network of texts, in which the distant past of both Spain and Italy is viewed as the arena where the struggles, both of rebel vassals with their sovereigns and between Christians and Saracens were played out[106].

The geographical links already present were reinforced (as they were in the Charlemagne cycle by claiming Roland as being born in the peninsula), by understanding events to have taken place in the peninsula and by continuing the generations of Guillaume's family in further intrigues in the peninsula and its properties. In particular, Càndia, the Italian name for both the island of Crete and its capital (now Heraklion), was possessed for a time by Venice.

The first trace of Guibourc in *chansons de geste* in the peninsula comes from the northeast, from Mantua[107]. The inventory made in 1407 at the death of Francesco Gonzaga I that lists 67 manuscripts in «lingua francigena» includes one manuscript of *Aliscans* and two of *Folque de Candie*; all three are now at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, along with other *chansons de geste* from that same list[108]. Also mentioned in the list is the *chanson de geste Huon d'Auvergne,* of which the eponymous protagonist is himself an Aymeride[109]. That manuscript is now in Berlin at the Kupferstichkabinett, while two others of *Huon* remain in the peninsula.

The Franco-Italian *Aliscans* appears alone in its manuscript, as do the

106 Busby 2002: 629.

107 For the appearance of the name «Guibourc» in the tradition, see Tyssens – Wathelet-Willem 2001: 543-549. In Wathelet-Willem 1961, feminine names are not examined.

108 Cf. Braghirolli – Meyer 1880; Bisson 2008.

109 Cf. Morgan 2006.

Franco-Italian versions of *Folque de Candie*, V19 and V20[110]. The Franco-Italian *Aliscans* is available in a modern edition[111], but the Franco-Italian *Folque* is not included in the standard edition by Schultz-Gora, and is less-well known than *Aliscans*. There are ten manuscripts and nine fragments of *Folque*. The plot begins at the end of the first battle of Aliscans, where Guillaume has lost his nephew Vivien and is fleeing back to Orange; it presents an alternative future, continuing the tale of Guillaume and Guibourc's extended family after the defeat. Rainouart is not present; rather, it is the female side of the family that saves Christian armies and brings new lands and new heirs to the Christian line; even Guillaume and his male counterparts are referred to as the «lignage Ermengard» more frequently than the «lignagne Naymeri*n*s» which appears once only[112]. The female line beyond Guibourc in *Folque* is extended through two iterations: first Anfeliza, together with her companions Falseta (OF *Faussete*) and Falsaprent (OF *Fox-s'i-prent*) who are paired with Guillaume's nephews; then subsequently through Caneta who marries Falseta's son, Povero Avveduto (OF *Povre-vëu*).

The second and third generations follow only in part the model of Guibourc-Orable. Though the inspiration for such marriages may lie with Guillaume and Guibourc, there are substantive differences: the initiative in *Folque* lies with the women, unlike in the case of Guibourc, their supposed literary model. In the *Prise d'Orange*, Guillaume hears of Orable, of her beauty and her city[113]. It is Guillaume who decides to see the lady and conquer her city. But in *Folque de Candie*, the maidens first hear of and seek the Christian men; and they are maidens, not married women. *Folque* can be divided into three parts, each featuring one lady and her retinue. The first section centers on Guibourc; the second on Anfeliza with her companions, Falseta and

110 The Stockholm manuscript is also from Italy (SG 4: 2; Moreno 1997: 26-29), but is not traditionally listed as Franco-Italian (Holtus – Wunderli 2005: 182-183). It will not be included in this discussion, though at a later date it should be brought into analysis. For more information about the manuscripts of St. Mark's, see Bisson 2008. SG 4: 5 notes, «V1 ist für den kritischen Text nicht kollationiert worden» [V1 (= our V19) was not collated for the critical text]. He bases his edition upon the thirteenth-century Paris BNF fr. 25518, and says of the Italian version (V19 and V20), «sie eine ziemlich freie franko-italienische Bearbeitung darstellt und daher auch eine Heranziehung derselben für den Variantenapparat sich verbietet» (SG 1: VII). I have transcribed the text of V19, and will be referring to it for the Franco-Italian version. I include line number and folio to assist anyone wishing to examine the text directly. I number lines sequentially and give the folio location so that when and if an edition appears others can trace the references. I resolve abbreviations according to the most frequently found forms in the text, «n» for the nasal and vowel+r or r+vowel for the lateral. Angle brackets < > are used for emendations or additions. Please note that henceforth «SG» will abbreviate the Schultz-Gora edition in contrast to the Franco-Italian text [LZM].

111 *Aliscans* (ed. Holtus 1985).

112 For the «lignage Ermengard»: V19 7349, 9801, 10626, etc.; «lignage Naymeris»: V19 1725, cf. SG 5250, 5829, 8670, etc.

113 *Prise d'Orange*, lines 202-207.

Falsaprent; and the third, Caneta. Each third also involves a different city with its environs: Orange; Candie (with Arrabloi and Montire); and Babiloine (with Aquilleia and Orcanie).

Guibourc continues to play the role well-developed in *Aliscans*: she welcomes Guillaume, consoles him, and enjoins him to go for help or send for help (e.g., laisse 13 in V19). She is also in close contact with Guillaume's nephews, and very upset at their tribulations. Her appearance is not her most important aspect. The one longer description of her reads:

> Dama Giborg asa lor s*er*va de volu*n*te;
> Fo vestue d'u*n* briald de çe*n*dele.
> Asa fo grailles, si oit cint un baudre;
> Blancha ot la carne co*n* flor en este,
> Un poco fo tinta qu'ot de paor plurer:
> P*er* la batailla lo stri fure*n*t alee[114].

She is serving the house, and the primary emphasis in the description is her clothing.

Her affection for her husband and his family appear through their mutual physical contact as well as speech: not only does Guillaume call her his «amie» (283 [f. 2vb]), so too does the narrator (1349 [f. 10r b]; 1437 [f. 11r a]). Guillaume has only two brothers left, Bernart and Bovo; their sons, Bertran, Girart and Guion, respectively, are also closely linked to Guibourc. Guillaume has a number of sisters as well, including the mother of the lamented Vivian. Guibourc reassures their great-nephew, Folco, when he arrives at Orange, embracing and kissing him (1833-1837 [f. 13vb]). Guiçart hugs and kisses his aunt to console her for the loss of Vivian (2684 [f. 19va]). Not only is Guibourc referred to as Bertran's «amie» (he is her nephew) but he is reminded of having sworn an oath to her: «Il li salva da parte Giborga sa mie, | E de la fey che il i ot plovie» (600-601 [f. 5ra]; cfr. SG, lines 565-567); he too calls her his «amie» (2694 [f. 19vb]). He evokes the many times she has kissed him (without sin!) to ask for her intercession with Guillaume for help (6292-6299 [f. 44vb]). Missing in Franco-Italian is the account of Girart de Danemarche, present in SG (6111-6127) saved by Guibourc; in V19 he is saved by Guillaume (6310 [f. 44vb]). Though not a nephew of Guillaume's, his affection for Guibourc and her help further demonstrate her support of the younger generations.

Guibourc remains in and near Orange. There, messengers report to her before they report to Guillaume (e.g., 985 [f. 7vb], when Morant asks for surrender; 2656 [f. 19rb-va], news arrives that their nephews are freed; 2450-2451 [f. 18ra], that Anfeliza wants to marry Folco). Guibourc gives advice and

[114] Venezia BNM fr. Z. 19, lines 3927-3932 [f. 28r b]. Henceforth referred to as V19 following long tradition.

all listen, following her directives (1041-1042 [f. 8rb]: «Tuit furent quit et Giborga co*n*tralie; | Desor tot autres fo sa rayson oie»). In short, Guibourc dominates the command center at Orange, directing action on multiple fronts and acting as center of communications while her «amis» fight. Guillaume relies upon her as second-in-command, deferring to her wishes, and relying upon her to keep him from the depths of despair (e.g., 2565-2594, where, when Orange is besieged, more forces arrive of unclear origin). She is universally called «Guibourc» (in various orthographies); «Orable», her pre-baptism pagan name — appears once only, when Tibaldo laments his fate (9365 [f. 66ra]; cfr. SG 9475)[115]. Even Anfeliza and her messengers call her «Giborga». «Tiborga» does appear once (7278 [f. 51va], as typically in Italian texts)[116].

The second section of *Folque* is dominated by Anfeliza. The Saracen maiden initially comes into view at the siege of Orange, as audience to the results of Guibourc's actions, at the beginning of the poem: Tibaldo, Guibourc's ex-husband, has returned to Orange, attempting to regain it from Guibourc and Guillaume. At that point, Anfeliza is an accessory to Tibaldo. Anfeliza (and her companions) watch and evaluate, compare and act. Tibaldo and his uncle, King Desramé, plan to marry her to one of the Saracen warriors. She appears first in the Franco-Italian text at line 765 (f. 6rb), but once she hears of Folco during the announcement of his arrival to Orange, she begins to fancy him without seeing him (896-940 [f. 7r]), and takes action. She goes out to ride:

> Tibald si li oit soa seror inviee,
> Al sbaldoier si la hot molt bie*n* coree.
> Sor une mule bie*n* fo apariclee;
> Blanch oit la carne e p*er* li flanch dolce:
> Asa fo gent, s'ela fuist batiçee.
> Armeç la mena Malduch a cui el est charçee. (1887-1891 [f. 14ra])

While riding, Folco fights Malduch, her guard, and unhorses him. She vows to get baptized for Folco (1929-1931[f. 14rb]). Folco and his men even capture her briefly (1990-2007 [f. 14vb]). Her insistence on not wanting the arranged spouse causes Tibaldo and her uncle Desramé to send her to her tent, where she listens to a love song sung by a Breton (2224-2236 [f. 16r-v]). This literary trope fixes her role as a lover within the poem, and links her to Folco, also enjoying harping when her messenger seeks him (2472-2474 [f. 18r])[117]. The

115 There is confusion between Erabloi|Arrabloi and Orable; for example, line 9790 [f. 69r a] shows «Horable» where SG 2, line 9923, reads «Errabloi» (p. 3).

116 Cf. Morgan 2012.

117 It seems that the Franco-Italian adaptor has failed to understand his original: the French, as in SG 1, 2070-2071, «Trova Folcon qui faisoit vïeler, | une atempree de fläustes noter», probably means 'was having a viol played for him and a tuned set of flutes'. Franco-Italian «se

parallelism of the situations of Anfeliza (entertained rather oddly by a Breton jongleur) and Folco, in the midst of his own courtly assembly, also being entertained by musicians, distinguishes the couple very much from Orable and Guillaume in the *Prise d'Orange*, where the paradisiacal setting of Gloriette is much less courtly and more hieratic[118]. Furthermore, Anfeliza arranges for Salatré to take a message with three gifts to Folco (2240-2290 [f. 16v]; cf. SG 2097-2099), and to propose a rendez-vous (2329-2335 [f. 17r]), which further distinguishes her as the actant. The Franco-Italian version emphasizes this message and Anfeliza's insistence upon it, unlike the Old French, with three similar laisses beginning alike: «Salatreç, frere», addressed to the messenger, expanding upon Anfeliza's love-sickness. Each of the three laisses ends with a promise of recompense for Folco's taking her. Anfeliza then manages to persuade Tibaldo and Desramé to send her to Candie (3863 [f. 27vb]; SG 3453).

Anfeliza follows through her plan, rendez-vousing with Folco accompanied by her maidens (SG 3700 ff.; 4061-4108 [f. 29rb]). She then invents a story when her co-religionist knights meet her and her ladies returning from their meeting (4252-4259 [f. 30va]). Finally, she leaves safely for Candie (4389-4433 [f. 31va]) and installs herself there (4404-4435 [f. 31va]; SG 4063). She subsequently helps Folco enter and be acclaimed as ruler (she sends a message to Folco 4444-4477 [f. 32ra]; cfr. SG 4100). Unlike Guibourc, she is not a woman previously married to another. Thus there are no children to be sacrificed or lack of children to be explained, an issue with Guibourc, and emphasized in the most regularly quoted lines of *Folque de Candie*, which include an accusation that distinguishes Guibourc strongly from other Saracen princesses in the *geste*:

> Tibald parolla, dolenç et abrociç:
> «Hay Orable», ce dist li Arabiç [that is, Tibaldo],
> «Mauvassie feme renege et meutriç!
> P*er* vui e fui primerame*n*t traiç;
> Vos me tolistes Orenge al mur volçiç;
> Ainç acollistes Guillo' et ses noriç.
> Malame*n*t m'a da mes filç despartiç:
> Prend lor testes sor un peron*n* voltiç» (9364-9371[f. 66ra]).

It should be noted that this accusation (that appears in all versions) is strongly

soit» for «faisoit» is easily explicable as a copying problem. The next line seems to have been impenetrable for him, whence the reference to something «una de plea» being played on a harp. The difference between V19 and SG versions is perhaps more apparent than real [Bennett].

[118] Guibourg's Gloriette is seen as paradise when Guillaume arrives: «Dex, dist Guillelmes, Paradis est ceanz!», *Prise d'Orange*, line 676, and this is frequently commented on by critics (see for example, Luongo 1993: 354).

denied in some subsequent rewritings, specifically Andrea da Barberino, though it remains an implied stain on her personality.

Anfeliza's two companions, Falsaprent and Falseta, are never as fully described as Anfeliza, or as attractive physically; they act as foils in short episodes playing a role similar to that of Guielin to Guillaume[119]. As companions, they do not rank as highly as Anfeliza; they accompany her to the rendez-vous with Folco, as Gui and Guiçart accompany him. All three pair off, and that evening Guion and Falseta conceive a son, though they do not marry (4105-4106 [f. 29va]). That son, Povero Avveduto, will be brought up by her uncle Dinel in Baudras as a pagan for his first fourteen years (9773-9777 [f. 68vb]). Anfeliza thus continues to illustrate the role of class, position, and initiative, through the poem, in contrast to her ladies.

The third section, which includes the *Zusatzdichtung*, a later addition[120], is abbreviated in the Franco-Italian texts, since V19 ends at the equivalent of 14797 (SG continues to 14916). Here, the taking of Aquilleia and Orcania precedes the joint French-Saracen conquest of Babilonie for Tibaldo. Most disturbing to the plot in the Franco-Italian version is the absence of laisses 592-689, which contain Caneta's courting of Povero Avveduto. There, she, the daughter of Fauseron, converts to Christianity and marries Povero Avveduto, following through on her promise to give over the citadel of Montire to the Christians (SG laisses 659, 673-685). As a result, in sharp contrast to the French text, which firmly establishes her relationship to Povero Avveduto, Caneta's name appears only three times in the Franco-Italian, and in three different forms; she is primarily Povero Avveduto's inspiration, without any explanation for its origin: «Che li dona Chaneta la fila l'alma*n*sor» (line 9863 [f. 32ra]); when the reader encounters her name for the first time, it is unclear why Povero Avveduto has anything from her and what that is. From shortly before (line 9861) we know that Caneta has sent Povero Avveduto a *capiron* and *mantes,* favors that belong very much to the courtly world of jousts and tournaments[121]. Similarly for the «mulo de Sorie | Che li dona Caneca la proç e la se fie» (11773-11774 [f. 82v]); we do not know when or how he received the gift of the mule, which is normally used for peaceful riding. Finally, in «Mostrer voldra a Caneta, ke ne pax m'are*n*te» (11803 [f. 83r]) he is striving to impress his lady, about whom we know nothing. Although the relationship between Caneta and Povero Avveduto may be modeled to some extent on Orable and Guillaume, in the Franco-Italian the connection – courtship and conversion –is lost due to lack of context. Thus, though Caneta's surrender of the fortress allows the Christian forces to complete their conquest by providing a stronghold from which to continue, in the Franco-Italian text she is little more

[119] Cf. *Prise d'Orange*, lines 1579 ff.

[120] SG 2, laisses 690-end, as discussed in SG 4: 7-13; see also Moreno 1997: 107-109 and 212-215 for further discussion.

[121] SG 2: 6 (lines 9983), mentions instead «manche et penon».

than a name. Throughout this last part, Falseta appears through her son Povero Avveduto, since references are made regularly to her as well as to Anfeliza.

While V19 shows a break in the text where the section of laisses 592-689 of SG is missing — a gap larger than normal between laisses on f. 75v, at the bottom of the first column — there is nothing in V20 to show missing text. Since the entire section in which Caneta hears of Povero Avveduto and proposes giving him the city is missing from the Franco-Italian text, following her role and parallels to that of Guibourc and Anfeliza is difficult. Going by the Shultz-Gora version, Caneta shares several traits with Guibourc that Anfeliza does not: Caneta is at Montire and hears of Povero Avveduto (11923). She invites Povero Avveduto to see her. In common with Anfeliza, she sends a message and ring to the recently converted Christian. The sequence is interrupted, however; in SG 9984 (equivalent to the first appearance in V19) he wears a sign sent by Caneta; in 11923 we hear of the ring and message (the actual giving is not narrated); in 12224 ff., the two meet in her tower, and her father (away fighting) gets word of her betrayal in 12321, after a dream in which he foresaw losing the city and her.

Schultz-Gora, in his comments to the standard edition of *Folque*, writes at length of Anfelise. He notes the lack of verisimilitude in some portions of the plot around her, but also praises the felicitous rendez-vous scene and the cleverness of giving Anfelise two suitors to create a motivation for her return to Candie for advice[122]. Wathelet-Willem picks up from Schultz-Gora and Mölk, noting the

> similitude entre le rôle d'Anfélise, sœur de Tiébaut, dont l'amour permet à Folque de s'emparer de Candie (Gandria, au centre de l'Espagne) et celui d'Orable, épouse de Tiébaut, qui aide Guillaume à se rendre maître d'Orange[123].

She states that Anfelise was clearly inspired by Orable, and that in both cases a young Saracen falls in love with a Christian knight uniquely because of his reputation for courage, and that both women betray their co-religionists by revealing features of a coming battle. They both are baptized for their love, and their conversions are sincere[124]. The most recent scholar of *Folque*, Paola Moreno, states that

> dans *Folque de Candie*, le héros tombe amoureux d'une belle sarrasine, Anfelise; le couple est calqué sur le modèle Guillaume-Guibourc; à son tour, le couple Guy de Commarchis-Falsaprent, dont naît le Povre-veü [sic], est constitué selon le même schéma: Falsaprent est l'une des dames de compagnie d'Anfelise, que Guy a

[122] SG 4: 37-38.
[123] Tyssens – Wathelet-Willem 2001: 154.
[124] Ivi: 25-26.

malheureusement abandonnée[125].

However, in the third section a series of male figures dominate, most particularly converted Saracens, from Povero Avveduto to Frocuer. In general, it is by far *masculine* appeal that is emphasized in *Folque*: there are a few mentions of women's attractive clothing and the standard pale skin, but Folco, Gui and Girart are the focus of physical description and abilities. Thus, Anfeliza is described as «Plus gente dame ne fui de le veyxa» (766 [6rb]) and «Ele fu grail e bie*n* fu se cors vestuç: | D'un verte blia*n*t de soie estoit tesuç» (3666-3667 [26va]). But the first description of Folco that evokes his appearance, his dress and attitude as seen by his mother:

Huge hot un filç ki homo apella Folcho*n*,
Gra*n*t fo e larges, molt o e gent fauçon;
Lors punçe la barba un poy en son me*n*ton.
Per me lo loçes pascha*n*t un fauchon
En la çambra entra ca*n*tant un novel son (487-491[4rb]; cf. SG 3573 ff.)

and again:

Folcho oit blançes a<r>mes pl*u*s che n'est flor d*e* lis
Et doe ma*n*ces v*er*mel *et* d'un lioncel bis,
Et capiron de paille a glos d'or asis.
Bel e*st et* ge*n*s; del cor e*st* fiers *et* cler oit le vis:
Orgolos sopt so*n* heume co*ntre* ses enemis. (10450-10454 [73va]; cf. SG 3894-3904)

Several times, the poem offers similar descriptions of male characters; in the first part, of Guillaume (80-83 [1va]); in the second, descriptions of Folco, both in contexts of family and love, as above, but also in contexts of war (2718-2721 [19vb]); and in the final third, of Povero Avveduto:

[...] le valet fo gra*n*t et del cors me*n*bruç.
Çivaler l'oit fait sus lo palais a Babruç;
P*er* ço k'el fo sença tera, si ot nome Pover Aveuç.
El fo molt bel et cent, lo pieç volt *et* aguç:
D'un çer drap d*e* Palerme fu caceç *et* vestuç.
Lo ma*n*tel de son col fo mil bexa*n*t ve*n*duç,
So bo*n* bra*n*d fo d'aucogne *et* so*n* heume fo*n*duç;
So*n* hauberg fo forçeç en l'Islle de P*er*duç
P*er* pl[u]s de ce*n*t, si e des esmereç et batuç:
No*n* Falxere*n*t Karel ta*n*t soie d'açer moluç.
So*n* çival fo d*e* Spa*n*gna, u*n* <ni>gro d*e*xtrer crenuç
Covert d'u*n* bla*n*ch diaspre; v*er*mel fo <s>o*n* escuç. (9777-9788 [69ra])

And it is not for Christians alone; Anfeliza, once she has set her heart on

[125] Moreno 2008: 151.

Folco, then sees Malduch in battle (4349-4352 [31rb]), and admires his prowess; but she resolutely turns away (4355). Male prowess and physical beauty are clearly the dominant factor in this poem. That concentration is even, to a certain extent, at the expense of lineage. When Folco is in danger and Anfeliza is concerned for him, part of her concern is that she is pregnant (10047 [70vb]). But, the (presumably) all-important heir to arrive is never mentioned again[126]. As Roussel points out about the late *chanson de geste* in general

> Le nombre important de personnages féminins ne doit pas faire illusion. L'amour ne constitue que marginalement la source de la prouesse et ne suscite ni doutes ni débats intérieurs: il n'est qu'un rouage narratif parmi d'autres[127].

Orable-Guibourc, the Saracen wife converted to Christianity, support of a Christian frontier warrior, is followed by Saracen maidens – Anfeliza, Falsaprent – who bear heirs to continue the Aymerides, and who take the initiative from the beginning of their love affairs, yet who are at marriage or childbirth assimilated into society.

The culture in Tuscany, where *Folque de Candie* continues, is different from that in that of the north in some ways. The frontier model is not necessary in commercially active cities. Guibourc – Tiborga (7278 [51v a]) – appears in the Florentine Andrea da Barberino's influential Italian prosifications about Guillaume of Orange at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. These remained popular through the next two centuries. He wrote six prose narratives, *I Reali di Francia, Aspramonte, Le Storie Nerbonesi, Aiolfo del Barbicone, Ugone d'Alvernia* and *Guerrin(o) Meschino*. Little is known about Andrea's background; notarial documents give us approximate dates. He seems to have been born by 1372 and have died by 1433[128]. The

[126] Anfeliza heads to Babilonia with the armies to help reconquer lands for Tibaldo, because the grown and nearly-grown men are essential. Schultz-Gora comments, in a note to his line 13588, that the sudden appearance of Anfelise in this line has not been prepared in any way. Her arrival at the French and Saracen camp is noted (SG 12889) and she is charged by Louis with ensuring that the peace he has just negotiated with Thiebaut is maintained (SG 12896-12897); she replies that she will and she urges Louis to prosecute the war against the Soudan (SG 12898-12905). These lines correspond very closely to V19 11100-11116. After that the army leaves and no women accompany them. At SG 13573 Folque puts on a mantel belonging to Anfelise («.I. mantel afluba Anfelise s'amie»); it seems that at some stage in the copying someone misread that line to have Anfelise present and putting on a cloak, so wrote her explicitly into line 13588. V19 confirms this misreading by having Anfelise as subject put the mantel on Folco («Un ma*n*tel li aflibla Anfelis sa mie», 11770). She appears just once more (V19 12027 = SG 13862) in a line which could also have been added during transmission, then she disappears from the rest of the poem. Her presence in the three lines mentioned contradicts SG 12896-12897, in which she is given a role very similar to that of Guibourc in the rest of the Cycle — to guard the home front [Bennett].

[127] Roussel 2005: 176.

[128] Cf. Allaire 1997: 7.

Storie Nerbonesi date to approximately 1410[129].

Andrea's works link the Old French *chanson de geste* system into one genealogical line, with the Monglane line being the last generation of the *Reali di Francia* (French royal family). His direct sources are unclear, though Franco-Italian antecedents, or something close to them, are evident. Andrea traces the Monglane family line in *Reali di Francia* (book 6, chapter 71), from Gostantino, through Gostantino Fiovo, Fiorello, Fioravante, Bovetto, Guidone d'Antona, Buovo d'Antona, Sinibaldo, Guerrino, Bernardo and Amerigo, to Guglielmo (pages 691-693). There are no mentions of wives, and the genealogy concludes «Di Guglielmo, sesto figlio d'Amerigo, non rimase reda, né ebbe mai figliuoli» (page 693). Andrea's prose volumes are self-referential, so the *Reali di Francia* continues in his *Storie Nerbonesi* and *Ugone d'Alvernia.* The most important of Andrea's works for Guillaume and Guibourc's story is *Storie Nerbonesi*, where Andrea retells the entire Guillaume *gesta*. There he repeats the same genealogy that he gives in the *Reali di Francia* several times (e.g., book 3, chapter 22). In the *Nerbonesi*, he recounts elaborated versions of the Old French *Enfances Guillaume*; *Macaire*; *Siège de Narbonne*; *Couronnement de Louis*; *Guibert d'Andrenas*; *Charroi de Nîmes*; *Aïmer le Chétif*; *Siège de Barbastre*; *Prise d'Orange*; *Chevalerie Vivien*; *Aliscans*; *Folque de Candie*; *Bataille Loquifer*; *Moniage Rainoart*; *Moniage Guillaume*[130]. These are intercalated to create a sequential tale. Orable-Guibourc appears multiple times, from Book I, where she becomes Tibaldo's wife, through Book VIII, where she dies. Of particular interest is Tibaldo's marriage to Orabile. Tibaldo «tolse per moglie Orabile per avere Oringa»[131]. Orabile's father, Anibaldo di Roma, holds Orange, above Avignone on the Rhone. Tibaldo had already taken Mizi (Nimizi, Nîmes) so Tibaldo «fece parentado con questo re, e tolse per moglie Orabile, ed ebbe per dote Oringa» (v. 1, 38), the only personal name in a long list of city names. The next chapter, however, specifies that Tibaldo «promise di non la menare s'egli non forniva il suo talento di menarla in Vignione» (40), and he leaves immediately for Soria to raise troops for further conquests. To Orabile, he sends a hostage, Guidone, son of King Ansuigi of Spain (whose character and role may have been inspired by Girard de Danemarche from *Folque de Candie*), and he also leaves «uno suo figliuolo ch'avia avuto d'un'altra donna» (41). Other than brief mentions in passing, Orabile does not appear again until Book 4. This episode may reflect the Tuscan phenomenon described by Charles de La Roncière at exactly the era of Andrea's works, the second half of the fourteenth century, brides who were *maritate* but not *ite* from their maternal homes[132]. Similarly, *L'Acquisto di Ponente,* published with the *Seconda Spagna* by Ceruti, and dated to 1470 by the scribe,

[129] Cf. Colby-Hall 1981: 346.
[130] Cf. Gautier 1887-1892: IV, 44-45, notes.
[131] Andrea da Barberino, *Storie Nerbonesi*: I, 36, rubric XIII.
[132] Cf. La Roncière 1988: 294.

narrates the Siege of Orange[133]. There we meet Orabile at sixteen and hear of her first marriage, to Tibaldo:

> Con grandissimi navilii si partirono dal porto d'Iscalona, e navicarono tanti dì, che giunsono al porto di Ragona, e ivi ismontarono, e Tibaldo andò a vicitare il re di Rames, e lo re di Rames avía una sua figliuola d'età d'anni sedici, ch'avía mandato per lei in Noringa, che la volía maritare; onde vedendola Tibaldo re d'Arabia, molto gli piacque la dama, e aviá nome dama Orabile. Questa fanciulla era la più bella che si trovasse per tutto Ponente; ell'era grande, grossa, bianca, bionda, savia, graziosa a tutte le persone. In que' tempi non era la più bella criatura che dama Orabile; onde Tibaldo re d'Arabia vedendola tanto bella, ne innamorò e tolsela per sua donna, e grande festa se ne fe per tutto il reame; e come l'ebbe tolta, le giurò de non la menare, se prima no avía la città di Vignone, e ivi la volía menare. Così le promise, e 'l re di Barberia le diè di dota la città di Nimisi e la città d'Oringa[134].

Tibaldo then gives her his three-year old son by another wife to care for, and she withdraws to Orange as he continues on into battle.

Tibaldo's affection and thoughts for Orabile are evident in this work; later on, Tibaldo has gone to Càndia when his uncle Annibale di Càndia dies:

> L'Almansore si tornò in Soria, e Tibaldo si partì di Candia per ire a fare vendetta del zio, e menò seco tutta la sua gente dell'arme; e camminando molti dì, giunse in Romania e presela, ch'era a'confini di Schiavonia [...] e volía pigliare Vignone e attenere la 'mpromessa fatta a Orabile sua donna per menarla. (253-254)

Andrea's terminology is interesting since in the French *Roman* Guibourc remains a virgin through sorcery, following the account given of the «jeux d'Orange» in *Enfances Guillaume*[135]. The episode is darkly comical in the thirteenth-century poem, where Orable uses her magic as a weapon, acting as a surrogate for Guillaume in the duel with Thiebaut which the hero is never allowed[136]. The use of magic to preserve the heroine for her true love becomes a commonplace of courtly and courtly influenced texts. Heroines like Fenice, who wishes to escape the fate of Iseut, or Beatrix, determined to remain faithful to her missing husband, Bernier act in this way, but without any of the troubling undertones of Orable's exploitation of magic[137]. It is the positive and courtly aspect of the motif which is to the fore in the fifteenth-century *Roman*. In Andrea's *Nerbonesi*, Tibaldo never gets to «menare» Guibourc because he promises to take her only to Avignon. Historical dictionaries generally suggest «menare moglie» or «menare donna» as a synonym for «togliere (torre) moglie»,

133 Cf. Gautier 1887-1892: IV, 32, n. 4; Allaire 1997: 43 ff.
134 *Acquisto di ponente*: 134-135.
135 *Enfances Guillaume*, lines 1869-2000; *Roman de Guillaume:* I, 247-248; 313-315.
136 Cf. Bennett 2006: 138-144; Grisward 1990.
137 Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, lines 3039-3326; *Raoul de Cambrai*, lines 6665-6708.

or «pigliare moglie», citing an example from Boccaccio[138]. Yet the fact that Andrea is not prurient – on the contrary, he is explicit about Folco's friend Guido's «lavoro» being impregnating Anfeliza's companion[139] – it is odd that there is no marriage consummation. The terminology for Tibaldo's marriage contrasts with that used for Guglielmo's marriage: «Guglielmo la isposò per sua donna, e grande festa si fece quando s'accompagno con lei» then «E alquanto tempo istette in posa [...] e con Tiborga tuttavia si stava» (book 4, 415). There is clearly a distinction between making the alliance and consummation of it. Tibaldo's brothers later rebuke him for his mistake for «avere perduto troppo, e ch'eglino gli maritarono Orabile, e come l'aveva lasciata sola a Oringa, ed egli se n'era andato in Candia, e averla perduta per suo difetto» (volume 2, book 6, 147). When Anfeliza and Folco meet there is merely a chaste kiss, rebuked by Anfeliza (in contrast to Faliprenda and Guidone). When Anfeliza and Folco marry, after her baptism, Andrea says, «E la sera si coricò Folco con Anfelis, pigliando con lei il dilettevole matrimonio e sollazzo, e gran piacere da amendue le parti» (volume 2, book 6, 324) and within a month she is pregnant (volume 2, book 7, 401). So similarly to Guglielmo and Tiborga, the converted princess and her new husband are carefully allowed time together after marriage. There is no use of the term «menare» except for Tibaldo in relation to Orabile/Tiborga.

Guglielmo's conquest of Orabile-Oringa remains a thorn in Tibaldo's side throughout his life; Tibaldo repeatedly laments the robbery and several times also the death of his son (e.g., volume 2, book 5, 77). Furthermore, Anfeliza (here, Tibaldo's cousin who refuses to marry the Saracen knights chosen for her) redoubles Tibaldo's sense of being wronged, he threatens that «egli ne mena dama Tiburga» (volume 2, book 6, 211). There remains a link between Tibaldo and Tiborga throughout their lives, for in Book 8, after the truce of Càndia, Tibaldo comes to France to solicit Guglielmo's assistance, but avoids Orange when he hears of Guglielmo's absence in Paris, «è da credere per paura di dama Tiborga, e forse per non mettere sospetto» (volume 2, book 8, 532), even though Tibaldo blames all his losses on her, «per colpa delle malvagie femmine […] per tradimento» (volume 2, book 8, 454).

Toward the end of their lives, when Guglielmo and Tiborga are in a hermitage to repent their sins, «gli [=a Tibaldo] venne una notte in visione Tiborga» (volume 2, book 8, 550), and upon hearing that Guglielmo is underground, he goes to retake Orange. Here Andrea cites Tibaldo as one of the 12 *prodi*, the exemplars of all faiths, all men (volume 2, book 8, 582-583). Guglielmo succeeds in killing Tibaldo, who has broken his oath in attacking Orange before Guglielmo's death. Tiborga will only believe Tibaldo's death by seeing his heart, with two little flesh lions on the sides. This she then hugs,

138 *Dizionario Crusca*: V, 150.
139 Andrea da Barberino, *Storie Nerbonesi*: VI, 30 ff.

kisses, and bites, saying, «Tu se' morto per lo mio amore, ed io morrò per lo tuo, e questo sarà l'ultima mia vivanda». She dies three days later, «e fu seppellita vituperevolmente perchè era morta disperata» (585). Though Tiborga supported Guglielmo and his family — Gotueri, writing to Guglielmo for help from Càndia, ends his letter, «Caro Gesù glorioso e sommo Iddio, vi dia grazia a salvamento, e salutateci dama Tiborga nostra madre» (volume 2, book 7, 373) in an almost sacrilegious manner — she does not end well.

Perhaps this is why, in Andrea's *Ugone d'Alvernia*, Tiborga is in Hell. *Ugone* picks up at the end of the *Nerbonesi*, and in four books recounts the adventures of Ugo d'Alvernia under the rule of Carlo Martello. Ugone's guide through hell is Guglielmo, who introduces himself, «... io sono di tua schiatta, e sono colui ch'uccisi Tibaldo, e tenni la corona in questo braccio per lo Re Aluigi»[140]. The portion where Ugone is in Hell seeking tribute from Satan is in the unique form of alternating prose and *terza rima*. Tiborga appears twice, only in the prose section. However, Orabile, «che fu poi chiamata dama Tiburga», appears there with Tibaldo:

> «vedi il Re Tibaldo? [...] e quella è dama Orabile, che poi fu chiamata dama Tiburga» [...] Tiburga corse a serrare la porta [...] E Tibaldo fuggì insino dov'era Tiburga, e disse: «noi siamo rapiti!» (134-137)

without any reference to the fact that she became Guillaume's wife. In Franco-Italian texts of *Huon d'Auvergne*, source of Andrea da Barberino, the earliest (dated to 1341) has Guillaume defend her, saying it is an illusion for the devils, she is really 'above'; but by the end of the fourteenth century or early fifteenth (Padua manuscript), she is in hell for an unexpiated sin: perhaps still loving Tibaldo or dying for his love, or alternatively, for killing Tibaldo's children[141].

Few other Italian authors mention Guillaume d'Orange. Francesco da Barberino, originally from Tuscany, wrote *Documenta amoris*, a collection of proverbs and manners at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. There he says

> E quando parli, abbraccia
> brievi e gran cose (l'ordine servato
> ch'io t'ò di sovra dato)
> e lassa dir in meço a tue novelle. (389-392)[142]

He annotates this saying it is not a good idea to talk about Guillaume and his

[140] Andrea da Barberino, *Ugone d'Alvernia*: 78.
[141] Cf. Bennett 2012: 101-103; Morgan 2012.
[142] Francesco da Barberino, *I documenti d'amore*: I, 30. Francesco da Barberino spent a number of years in Provence during the fourteenth century (from 1309 to 1313), and finished his book, *I documenti d'amore* (written between 1305 and 1313), there (Thomas), yet da Barberino does not mention Guillaume's wife.

doings, the stories are so patently false[143]. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the anonymous collection *I Conti di antichi cavalieri* (probably from Arezzo) includes part of the *Folco di Candia* tale, in which Tibaldo and King Louis of France make peace[144]. Guibourc is only mentioned there as source of the war. Finally, the *cantari* pick up themes and topics from earlier works such as Andrea da Barberino. The *Cantare dei Cantari* (dated to before 1450, according to Rajna[145]) and «La Schiatta de' Reali di Francia e de' Nerbonesi discesi del sangue di Chiaramonte e di Mongrana» rehearse Guillaume d'Orange's family line, reproducing in verse Book 6, chapter 71, of Andrea da Barberino's *Reali di Francia.*

It is primarily through *Folco di Candia* and Andrea da Barberino's incorporation of it that the tradition of Guillaume persists in the Italian peninsula. However, little of that includes Guibourc. The only continuation (as opposed to adaptation or incorporation) of the Guillaume epic is of the *Folco* story by the Pulci brothers, in the *Ciriffo Calvaneo,* toward the end of the fifteenth century. The story of Povero Avveduto is there continued in conjunction with Ciriffo Calvaneo, his milk-brother and son of a soldier in Tibaldo's army, for a doubling of male adventures. Their births are due to the war in Càndia, and Povero Avveduto vows to get Guibourc back for Tibaldo, so her name appears twice[146]. However, it is truly the male adventures and continuation of those that matter in *Ciriffo.*

In the Italian tradition Guibourc ends up in hell, and after the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, the female side of the Aymerides is no longer mentioned[147]. Guillaume and Guibourc of course were without children, though Guillaume's nephews-sons of his brothers and sisters who had presumably not married Saracens — produce heirs. And this offspring that would inherit property as well as personal characteristics was perhaps the concern.

Several cultural factors in the Italian peninsula might have affected reception of the *belle sarrasine*: there may have been reasons to omit Guibourc and similar foreign princesses, as part of the distrust of female Saracens in particular. From the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, slave trade was conducted by Venetians, Genoese and Pisans and filled domestic positions in their home cities and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Slaves came largely from the eastern Mediterranean, with major depots at Tana and Caffa on the Black Sea. Slave markets were held «on the quays of Genoa, Pisa and Ancona, on the Rio degli Schiavoni or the Rialto in Venice»[148]. Sales of slaves in Genoa are recorded as early as 1128; legal and commercial documents as well as private

143 Francesco da Barberino, *I documenti d'amore*: II, 63.
144 *Conti di antichi cavalieri*: 118-122.
145 *Cantare dei Cantari*: 420.
146 Pulci, *Ciriffo Calvaneo*: 734 (Canto I, ottava XXXI), 795 (Canto VII, ottava VII).
147 Cf. Morgan 2012.
148 Origo 1955: 329.

letters bear witness of the trade lasting into the seventeenth century, but diminishing steadily after Tana was seized and sacked by the Tartars in 1410, Constantinople fell in 1453, and Caffa fell to the Turks in 1475, rendering obtaining slaves from the eastern Mediterranean more difficult and costly.

Though slaves were baptized and given Christian names upon purchase, foreign females living in close contact with the family clearly caused major problems; they were considered a threat by women of the household[149], as a source of sexual diversion for the men and a threat to property, since the slaves would wish to better their position, both with goods and with the means to purchase their freedom. Foundling care demonstrates the sexual connection between slaves and free males: the Ospedale degli Innocenti for foundlings opened in 1445 in Florence, and they knew the origins of many of children admitted, 41 of the first 100; Najemy says, «many of the city's abandoned children were the issue of illicit sexual unions between upper-class men and slave mothers»[150]. Legal documents indicate problems with slaves: stealing, disruption, and gossiping[151]. In Venice there is legislation against the dangers of witchcraft and poison[152]. Other legal records legislate concerning theft, brawling, rape. Personal accounts specify incidents with domestic slaves; Margherita Datini (ca. 1360-1423, in Prato) speaks of «femmine bestiali» in a letter to her husband[153]. Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi (1406-1471, Florence) demonstrates too how disruptive of households slaves were perceived to be. Writing her son in Naples, she comments among other things about having heard

> della Marina, de' vezzi ch'ella ti fa. E sentendo tante cose, non mi maraviglio che vogli endugiare ancora un anno, e che si vada adagio al darti donna ['about Marina, and the care that she gives you. And hearing such things, I'm not surprised that you want to wait another year, and that we go slowly in finding you a wife'][154].

While the number of slaves was never overwhelming, slavery was widespread, and not confined to the wealthiest classes. The same families held slaves who consumed vernacular literature and in the same areas from which we have late romance epic texts: the northeastern peninsula and Tuscany.

---

149 Cf. Philipps 1985: 101-102.

150 Najemy 2008: 239.

151 See also, for example, letter 14: «è ladra pessima: sì che no te ne venissi pensiero di torla» ['she's a terrible thief; don't even think of buying her'; my trans.] (Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, *Lettere*: 155), and other letters as well.

152 Cf. Origo 1955: 340-341; see also Bruckner 1971: 224-228 about a deceived slave girl.

153 Cf. Origo 1955: 342; Origo also cites Strozzi complaining of Cateruccia who won't do anything and asks her son to come beat her; another woman slave they sold because «wine was beginning to go to her head and make her cheerful; and besides, she was immoral, and the wives, since they had young daughters, would not keep her in the house» (340-342).

154 Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, *Lettere*: 280. My translation.

Grendler notes that Florentine inventories from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries include not only saints' legends and classical materials but also «"cantarie," [sic] chivalric romances in verse» that «migrated from home to school»[155]: that is, teachers needed schoolbooks in the second half of the fourteenth century, and vernacular culture supplied the textbooks. He lists texts taught by Venetian teachers (unfortunately only for the sixteenth century), that include Andrea da Barberino and various «libri di batagia»[156]. The books were thus part of a circle of readings that influence life and life that influences readings, choices that pleased and fulfilled interests, or responded to concerns with life at the time.

Secondly, there is the geographical area in which events take place. Schultz-Gora annotates «Candie» as Gandía in Spain, Moisan does also, allowing however that it might be Cadix[157]. However, Schultz-Gora comments too upon the changes in locale and discontinuities in narrative, including questions of location[158]. The geographical links between cities employing slaves are important as well in understanding possible literary reflections of slavery. Crete, with an indigenous Greek population, was not only an employer of slaves but also a source. Both the island of Crete and its capital were called «Càndia» in the Italian peninsula and the capital is still so called. After the fourth Crusade, in 1204, Venice gained control of the island, on which it solidified its hold in 1211, and which it then held until 1669, when the Turks took it[159]. Other cities, both Italian and eastern Mediterranean, appear in the text of *Folque*, from Otranto (Ortre*n*çe, 555) to Mo*n*gibel (5301), Aquille*n*te (Aquila, 558), Orcania (in SG; perhaps at the south of the Caspian Sea). Candie (Heraklion, or Crete itself) is on the sea («sor mer», 4360), not in the middle of Spain. Other locales, of course, are in Spain: the Texin River (11165), as also Barcelona[160]. Thus a voyage to Candie by sea might make sense, as would the saving of the three prisoners sent away by boat.

Finally, the question of Saracen language also arises in *Folco di Candia*. Though the Franco-Italian follows the original Old French in this, the public reading or hearing the story in the Italian peninsula might interpret it differently from the French. In the poem, there is a play between Latin, Romance and Greek. As noted above, Guillaume and Guibourc raise questions of language already, «his» or «theirs». Here, Saracens speak Greek (1673, 6134, 7008, 7051, 8790, 10363). There is no mention of Arabic or Saracen language; «Arab» means Tibaldo or his people (one does find *saracinois* in other texts; in the *Entrée d'Espagne*, for example, Ogier the Dane is attributed the ability to

155 Grendler 1989: 276.
156 Ivi: 274-278.
157 SG 3: 413; Moisan 1986: I/2, 1092-1093.
158 SG 4: 39-40.
159 Cf. McKee 1995.
160 Cf. Tyssens – Wathelet-Willem 2001: 28-30.

speak *Saracinois*, line 9563)[161]. Latin, while also 'language' in general, is distinguished as a specific language seven times and contrasted with 'romance' (the term appears six times). Awareness of the difficulty of communication is high; Povero Avveduto must use 'body language' to communicate submission to Christians (10596-98 [74va]) and Frocuer is described as «bien enromaneç» to be able to speak with Louis and the French (11749 [82va]). If the typical language of Saracens /pagans is Greek, then Mediterranean inhabitants like those of the Italian peninsula might think of an eastern Mediterranean origin for the character in question. Slavs would not appear that different from French and other Europeans[162], so could be candidates in their minds for these roles — blonde Saracens are quite possible. Those foreigners would be of lower or lesser status and also possibly to be feared, not only because of battle threats but also because of concern in the home.

Knowledge of the Guillaume cycle in the Italian peninsula thus reflects a double distance from the original: first in a different (though related) language, *canzoni di gesta* feature plots dominated by heroes that, secondly, are from another geographical area and narrated in a chronologically different era. These cultural and linguistic contexts affected the Guillaume tradition in the Italian peninsula in multiple directions: the choice of manuscripts copied; the geographical area of action; characters (in the development of their personalities and community relationships); and finally, most importantly, the relationship of Christian and pagan, to each other and within their own communities. In Italy, the nearness of the Saracen, the threat of both the men, armed and yet attractive, as well as the women (though perhaps captured slaves), in their own homes and available to the menfolk, created a different perspective from that of more northern peoples.

Travelling to lands and in later times where the Other is differently defined, Guibourc, her female relations and friends acquire a further layer of alterity that distances them in a different way from the Italian audience than from the French. Guibourc may be a 'foremother' of the Saracen princess motif, doubled and redoubled, a desirable presence to keep at arm's length and to reutilize and fear, ever the Other, despite her leaving her birth community and her willing acceptance of the Christian political and genealogical community into which she marries. *Folque de Candie – Folco di Candia*, in its rewrites and continuations, only seems to take the route of a female lineage: in fact, it progressively assimilates the Saracen female into a world where combat and male protective garments define beauty and desirability; the beautiful young Saracen woman becomes a further male decoration, with a dowry of lands for the most handsome and proficient Christian warrior, distinguished in her role by class, and losing her unique initiative in supporting her (only)

161 *Entrée d'Espagne*: II, 59.
162 Cf. Hahn 2001.

spouse. Thus Guibourc, the brave converted Saracen princess, appears initially in Franco-Italian versions of texts like *Aliscans* and *Folco di Candia*; she continues to live in Andrea da Barberino's Tuscan prose adaptations of the Franco-Italian poems. But when ancestry and appropriate manners or morals of city-state citizens are the main interest, as they are in *cantari* and *novelle*, Guibourc is absent: without descendants, outspoken and ruler of a city, however supportive and nourishing, her role no longer coincides with the ideal.

Bibliography

I. Manuscripts

Aberdeen UL 24	Aberdeen	University Library		24[163]
Berlin K 78 D 8	Berlin	Kupferstichkabinett		78 D 8[164]
Paris BNF fr. 25518	Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale de France	français	25518
Venezia BNM fr. Z. 19 [V19]	Venezia	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana	francese	Z. 19 (=232)
Venezia BNM fr Z. 20 [V20]				Z. 20 (=233)

II. Texts

Acquisto di Ponente

La Seconda Spagna e L'Acquisto di Ponente ai tempi di Carlomagno. Testi di lingua inediti del sec. XIII tratti da un ms. dell'Ambrosiana per Antonio Ceruti, Bologna, Gaetano Romagnoli, 1871; poi Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1968.

Adam le Bossu, *Le Jeu de la feuillée*

Adam le Bossu, trouvère artésien du XIII^e siècle. Le jeu de la feuillée. Édité par Ernest Langlois, deuxième édition revue, Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1923 («Classiques Français du Moyen Âge», 6).

Aliscans

Aliscans, kritischer Text von Erich Wienbeck, Wilhelm Hartnacke, Paul Rasch, Halle, Niemeyer, 1903 [referred to as WHR].

La versione franco-italiana della 'Bataille d'Aliscans': Codex Marcianus fr. VIII [=252]. Testo con introduzione, note e glossario a cura di Günter Holtus, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1985 («Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für

[163] *Aberdeen Bestiary*: cf. http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/translat/1r.hti.
[164] *Huon d'Auvergne*.

romanische Philologie», 205).

Aliscans, publié par Claude Régnier, Paris, Champion, 1990 («Classiques Français du Moyen Âge», 110-111).

Andrea da Barberino, *I Reali di Francia*

Andrea da Barberino, *I Reali di Francia*. Introduzione di Aurelio Roncaglia; note di Fabrizio Beggiato, Roma, Casini, 1967.

Andrea da Barberino, *Ugone d'Alvernia*

Andrea da Barberino, *Storia di Ugone d'Avernia volgarizzata nel sec. XIV*, ed. F[rancesco] Zambrini, A[lberto] Bacchi della Lega, 2 voll., Bologna, Romagnoli, 1882 («Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare», 188); poi Bologna, Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1968.

Andrea da Barberino, *Storie Nerbonesi*

Andrea da Barberino, *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, romanzo cavalleresco del secolo XIV pubblicato per cura di I[ppolito] G[aetano] Isola, Bologna, Romagnoli, 3 voll., 1877-1887 («Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua pubblicata per cura della R. commissione pe' testi di lingua nelle provincie dell'Emilia», 47-49).

Aucassin et Nicolette

Aucassin et Nicolette. Chantefable du XIII^e siècle, éditée par Mario Roques, Paris, Champion, 1954[2] («Classiques Français du Moyen Âge», 41).

Beroul, *Le Roman de Tristan* see *Tristan et Iseut*

Bertand de Bar-sur-Aube, *Girart de Vienne*

Girart de Vienne par Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, éditée par Wolfgang van Emden, Paris, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1977 («Societé des anciens textes français»).

Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou tresor*

Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou tresor par Brunetto Latini*, publié pous la première fois d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal et plusieurs manuscrits des départements et de l'étranger par P. Chabaille de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France, des Antiquaires de Picardie et de la Société d'Émulation d'Abbeville, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1863 («Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France», Première série. Histoire littéraire), http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k29286n/f1.zoom [read on 02/05/2012].

Brut

La partie arthurienne du roman de Brut (Extrait du manuscrit B. N., fr. 794), édition avec introduction, glossaire, notes et bibliographie par I[vor] D. O. Arnold et M[argaret] Pelan, Paris, Klincksieck, 1962 («Bibliothèque française et romane, publiée par le Centre de Philologie romane de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg. Série B: Textes et documents», I).

Cantare dei Cantari

Pio Rajna, *Il Cantare dei Cantari e il Serventese del Maestro di tutte l'Arti*, in «Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie», II (1878), pp. 220-254, 418-437.

Chanson de Guillaume

La chanson de Guillaume, publiée par Duncan McMillan, 2 voll., Paris, Picard, 1949-1950 («Societé des anciens textes français»).

Charroi de Nîmes

Le Charroi de Nîmes. Chanson de geste du XII[e] siècle éditée d'après la rédaction AB avec introduction, notes et glossaire Deuxième édition revue et corrigé par Duncan McMillan, Paris, Klincksieck, 1978 («Bibliothèque française et romane», 12).

Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)*

Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain). Édition et traduction de David F. Hult, d'après le manuscrit BN fr. 1433, in Chrétien de Troyes, *Romans. Suivis des chansons avec, en appendice, Philomena.* Ed. Michel Zink, Paris, Le Livre de Poche – Librairie Générale Française, 1994 («Classiques Modernes – La Pochothèque»), pp. 705-936.

Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*

Cligès. Édition et traduction de Charles Méla et Olivier Collet d'après le manuscrit BN fr. 12560, in Chrétien de Troyes, *Romans. Suivis des chansons avec, en appendice, Philomena.* Ed. Michel Zink, Paris, Le Livre de Poche – Librairie Générale Française, 1994 («Classiques Modernes – La Pochothèque»), pp. 285-494.

Conte du Graal

Le Conte du Graal ou le Roman de Perceval. Édition et traduction de Charles Méla, d'après le manuscrit Berne 354, in Chrétien de Troyes, *Romans. Suivis des chansons avec, en appendice, Philomena.* Ed. Michel Zink, Paris, Le Livre de Poche – Librairie Générale Française, 1994 («Classiques Modernes – La Pochothèque»), pp. 937–1211.

Conti di antichi cavalieri

Conti di antichi cavalieri, a cura di Alberto Del Monte, Milano, Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1972 («Testi e studi romanzi», 1).

Couronnement de Louis

Les Rédactions en vers du Couronnement de Louis. Edition avec une introduction et des notes par Yvan G. Lepage, Genève – Paris, Droz, 1978 («Textes Littéraires Français», 261).

Eilhart von Oberge, *Tristan*

Eilhart von Oberge, hrsg. von Franz Lichtenstein, Strassburg, Trübner, 1877 («Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker», 19); poi New York – Hildesheim, Olms, 1973.

Enfances Guillaume

Les Enfances Guillaume. Chanson de geste du XIII^e siècle, publiée par Patrice Henry, Paris, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1935 («Société des anciens textes français»).

Enfances Renier

Enfances Renier. chanson de geste du XIII^e siècle, éditée par Delphine Dalens-Marekovic, Paris, Champion, 2009 («Classiques Français du Moyen Âge», 160).

Entrée d'Espagne

Entrée d'Espagne. Chanson de geste franco-italienne, publiée d'aprés le manuscrit unique de Venise par Antoine Thomas, 2 voll., Paris, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1913 («Societé des anciens textes français»).

Fierabras

Fierabras. Chanson de geste du XII^e siècle: éditée par Marc Le Person, Paris, Champion, 2003 («Classiques Français du Moyen Âge», 142).

Folque de Candie

Folque de Candie von Herbert le Duc de Dammartin. Nach den festländischen Handschriften zum ersten Mal vollständig herausgegeben von Oskar Schultz-Gora, 3 voll., Dresden, Niemeyer, 1909, 1915; Halle, 1936 («Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur», 21, 38, 49). Abbreviated SG and cited by volume.

Folque de Candie von Herbert Le Duc de Danmartin. Nach den festländischen Handschriften zum ersten Mal vollständig herausgegeben von Oskar Schultz-Gora. *Band IV*, Einleitung bearbeitet und herausgegeben von

Ulrich Mölk, voll. 4, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1966 («Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie», 111). Cited as SG 4.

Francesco da Barberino, *I documenti d'amore*
Francesco da Barberino, *I documenti d'amore*, a cura di Marco Albertazzi, 2 voll., Lavis, La Finestra, 2008 («Littera», 7).

Girart de Roussillon
La Chanson de Girart de Roussillon, traduction, présentation et notes de Micheline de Combarieu du Grès et Gérard Gouiran, Paris, Librairie Générale Française, 1993 («Le livre de poche. Lettres Gothiques», 4534).

Gottfried von Strassbourg, *Tristan*
Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan, nach dem text von Friedrich Ranke*. Trans. Rüdiger Krohn, Stuttgart, Reclam, 1981.

Guibert d'Andrenas
Guibert d'Andrenas, chanson de geste, éditée par Muriel Ott, Paris, Champion, 2004 («Classiques Français du Moyen Âge », 147).

Huon de Bordeaux
Huon de Bordeaux. Chanson de geste du XIII[e] *siècle, publiée d'après le manuscrit de Paris BNF fr. 22555(P).* Édition bilingue établie traduite, présentée et annotée par William W. Kibler et François Suard, Paris, Champion, 2003 («Champion Classiques», 7).

Macinghi Strozzi, *Lettere*
Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi, *Lettere di una gentildonna fiorentina del secolo XV ai figliuoli esuli*, pubblicate da Cesare Guasti, Firenze, Sansoni, 1877.

Marie de France, *Lais*
Marie de France, *Lais*, edited by Alfred Ewert, Oxford, Blackwell, 1944.

Moniage Rainouart
Le Moniage Rainouart, publié d'après les manuscrits de l'Arsenal et de Boulogne par Gérald A. Bertin, 3 voll., Paris – Abbeville, Picard – Paillart, 1973-2004 [I: Paris, Picard, 1973; II et III: t. I, Paris, Picard, 1988; t. II, Abbeville, Paillart, 2004], («Societé des anciens textes français»).

Narbonnais
Les Narbonnais, chanson de geste, publiée pour la premiére fois par Hermann

Suchier, Paris, Didot, 1898 («Societé des anciens textes français»).

Prise d'Orange
La Prise d'Orange. Chanson de geste de la fin du XII^e siècle, éditée par Claude Régnier, Paris, Klincksieck, 1983.

Pulci, *Ciriffo Calvaneo*
Ciriffo Calvaneo, in *Luigi Pulci e quattordici cantari*, scelta e introduzione di Ermanno Cavazzoni, apparati di Daniela Marcheschi, Roma, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2000, pp. 729-805 («Cento libri per Mille anni»).

Raoul de Cambrai
Raoul de Cambrai. Chanson de geste du XII^e siècle, introduction, notes, et traduction de William Kibler. Texte édité par Sarah Kay, Paris, Librairie Générale Française, 1996 («Lettres Gothiques»).

Roman de Guillaume
Le Roman de Guillaume d'Orange, édition critique établie en collaboration par Madeleine Tyssens, Nadine Henrard et Louis Gemenne, 3 voll., Paris, Champion, 2000–2006 («Bibliothèque du XV^e siècle», 62, 70, 71).

Seconda Spagna
Acquisto di Ponente.

SG see *Folque de Candie*

Siège de Barbastre
Le Siège de Barbastre, édité par Bernard Guidot, Paris, Champion, 2000 («Classiques Français du Moyen Âge», 137).

Tristan et Iseut
Tristan et Iseut. Les poèmes français. La saga norroise, éditée et traduite par Daniel Lacroix et Philippe Walter, Paris, Librairie Générale Française, 1989 («Livre de poche. Lettres Gothiques», 4521).

III. Studies

Allaire 1997
Gloria Allaire, *Andrea da Barberino and the language of chivalry*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1997.

Barnett 1956
Monica J. Barnett, *Portpaillart in the Cycle of Guillaume d'Orange*, in «The Modern Language Review», LI/4 (1956), pp. 507-511.

Bennett 2000
Philip E. Bennett, *La chanson de Guillaume and La Prise d'Orange*, London, Grant & Cutler, 2000.

Bennett 2006
Philip E. Bennett, *Carnaval héroïque et écriture cyclique dans la geste de Guillaume d'Orange*, Paris, Champion, 2006 («Essais sur le Moyen Âge», 34).

Bennett 2012
Philip E. Bennett, *Les Avatars de Guibourc I. Cycle de Guillaume, Wolfram, «I Nerbonesi»*, in *In limine Romaniae: chanson de geste et épopée européenne.* Actes du XVIII[e] Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes (20-24 juillet 2009), editée par Carlos Alvar and Constance Cecile Carta, Berne, Lang, 2012, pp. 93-105.

Bisson 2008
Sebastiano Bisson, *Il Fondo francese della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia*, Roma, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2008 («Sussidi eruditi», 76).

Blaess 1978
Madeleine Blaess, *Perceval et les «Illes de mer»*, in *Mélanges de littérature du Moyen Âge au XX[e] siècle offerts à Mademoiselle Jeanne Lods par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, 2 voll., Paris, École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1978, vol. I, pp. 69-77 («Collection de l'École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles», 10).

Braghirolli – Meyer 1880
Willelmo Braghirolli – Paul Meyer, *Inventaire des manuscrits en langue française possédés par Francesco Gonzaga I, Capitaine de Mantoue, mort en 1407*, in «Romania», IX (1880), pp. 497-514.

Bruckner 1971
The Society of Renaissance Florence. A Documentary Study, edited by Gene Bruckner, New York, Harper, 1971.

Busby 2002
Keith Busby, *Codex and context: reading Old French verse narrative in manuscript*, 2 voll., Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2002 («Faux Titre», 221-222).

Colby-Hall 1981
Alice Colby-Hall, *In search of the lost epics of the Lower Rhône Valley*, in «Olifant», 8 (1981), pp. 339-351.

Combarieu du Grès 1993
Micheline de Combarieu du Grès, Aliscans *ou la victoire des "nouveaux" chrétiens (étude sur Guibourc et Rainouart)*, in *Mourir aux Aliscans. Aliscans et la légende de Guillaume d'Orange*, études recueillies par Jean Dufournet avec la collaboration de N. Andrieux-Reix, D. Boutet, A. Brasseur, M. de Combarieu du Grès, B. Guidot, A. Labbé, Cl. Lachet, J.-P. Martin, F. Suard, J. Subrenat et J.-Cl. Vallecalle, Paris, Champion, 1993, pp. 55-77 («Unichamp», 39).

Dizionario Crusca
Accademia della Crusca, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, Padova, Minerva, 1829. *Google Book Search* [read on 28/02/2012].

Dumézil 1995
Georges Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*. I. *L'idéologie des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens*. II. *Types épiques indo-européens: un héros, un sorcier, un roi*. III. *Histoires romaines*. Preface de Joël H. Grisward, Paris, Gallimard, 1995.

Emden 1969
Wolfgang van Emden, *Hypothèse sur une explication historique du remaniement de «Girart de Vienne» par Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube* in *Société Rencesvals* IV[e] Congrès International (Heidelberg, 28 août – 2 septembre 1967), Actes et mémoires, Heidelberg, Winter, 1969, pp. 63-70.

Gautier 1887-1892
Léon Gautier, *Les Épopées françaises. Étude sur les origines et l'histoire de la littérature nationale*, seconde édition, entièrement refondue, 5 voll., Paris, Société générale de Librairie Catholique, 1878-1892.

Grendler 1989
Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: literacy and learning 1300-1600*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Grisward 1990
Joël-Henri Grisward, *Les jeux d'Orange et d'Orable: magie sarrasine et/ou folklore roman?*, in «Romania», CXI (1990), pp. 57-74.

Grisward 1995
Joël-Henri Grisward, *Introduction «Il était trois fois...»*, in Dumézil 1995: 7-34.

Hahn 2001
Thomas Hahn, *The difference the Middle Ages makes: color and race before the modern world*, in «Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies», XXXI/1 (2001), pp. 1-38.

Hivergneaux 2001
Marie Hivergneaux, *Aliénor, duchesse d'Aquitaine et deux fois reine*, in *Reines et princesses au Moyen Âge.* Actes du cinquième colloque international de Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry (24-27 novembre 1999), editée par Marcel Faure, Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry, 2001 («Les Cahiers de C.R.I.S.I.M.A.», 5), pp. 43-62.

Holtus – Wunderli 2005
Günter Holtus – Peter Wunderli, *Franco-italien et épopée franco-italienne*, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg, Winter, vol. III. *Les épopées romanes*, t. 1/2, fasc. 10, 2005.

Keen 1984
Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984.

Kinoshita 2006
Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval boundaries. Rethinking difference in Old French literature*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

La Roncière 1988
Charles de la Roncière, *Tuscan Notables on the Eve of the Renaissance*, in *A History of Private Life, II. Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Philippe Ariès (*et alii*), trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Cambridge MA, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 157-309.

Lauranson-Rosaz 2004
Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, *Les Guillelmides: une famille de l'aristocratie d'empire carolingienne dans le midi de la Gaule (VIII^e-X^e siècles)*, in *Entre histoire et épopée: les Guillaume d'Orange, IX^e-XIII^e siècles.* Actes du colloque international organisé par FRAMESPA (UMR 5136) les 29 et 30 octobre 2004, editée par Laurent Macé, Toulouse, Université de Toulouse – Le Mirail, 2006, pp. 45-81.

Louis 1946-1947

René Louis, *De l'histoire à la légende. Girart, comte de Vienne, dans les chansons de geste: Girart de Vienne, Girart de Fraite, Girart de Roussillon*, 3 voll., Auxerre, L'Imprimerie Moderne, 1946-1947.

Luongo 1993

Salvatore Luongo, *La* Femme magicienne*: Orable tra epopea e folclore*, in *Charlemagne in the North.* Proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference of the Société Rencesvals, Edinburgh, 4th to 11th August 1991, Edited by Philip E. Bennett, Anne Elizabeth Cobby and Graham A. Runnal, Edinburgh, Société Rencesvals British Branch, 1993, pp. 345-359.

McKee 1995

Sally McKee, *Households in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete*, in «Speculum», LXX /1 (1995), pp. 27-67.

McKitterick 2008

Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne. The formation of a european identity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Meschiari 2001

Matteo Meschiari, *Il sogno di Saline: la regalità dell'ultimo nato nel* «*Guibert d'Andrenas*», in *L'Épopée romane au Moyen Âge et aux temps modernes.* Actes du XIV[e] Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals pour l'Étude des Épopées Romanes (Naples, 24-30 juillet, 1997), a cura di Salvatore Luongo, Napoli, Fridericiana Editrice Universitaria, 2001, pp. 321–334 («Fridericiana Varia»).

Moisan 1986

André Moisan, *Répertoire des noms propres de personnes et de lieux cités dans les chansons de geste françaises et les œuvres étrangères dérivées*, 5 voll., Genève, Droz, 1986 («Publications Romanes et Françaises», 173).

Moreno 1997

Paola Moreno, *La tradizione manoscritta del «Foucon de Candie». Contributo per una nuova edizione*, Napoli, Liguori, 1997 («Romanica Neapolitana, 30»).

Moreno 2008

Paola Moreno, *Le Lignage de Guillaume d'Orange dans la tradition italienne: l'exemple du* «*Libro del Povero Avveduto»,* in *Autour du XV[e] siècle. Journées d'étude en l'honneur d'Alberto Varvaro.* Communications présentées au Symposium de clôture de la Chaire Francqui au titre étranger (Liège, 10-

11 mai 2004), éditées par Paola Moreno and Giovanni Palumbo, Genève, Droz, 2008, pp. 149-164.

Morgan 2006
Leslie Zarker Morgan, *Le merveilleux destin de Guibourc d'Orange*, in *Epic Studies*. Acts of the Société Rencesvals 17th International Triennial Congress, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Ct. (July 2006), in «Olifant», XXI/1-2 (2006), pp. 321-337.

Morgan 2012
Leslie Zarker Morgan, *Les avatars de Guibourc II. Orable, Guibourc, Tiborga. Métamorphose d'une protagoniste littéraire française en Italie*, in *In limine Romaniae: chanson de geste et épopée européenne*. Actes du XVIIIe Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes (20-24 juillet 2009), editée par Carlos Alvar et Constance Cecile Carta, Berne, Lang, 2012, pp. 355-374.

Najemy 2008
John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, Malden, MA; Oxford, Blackwell, 2008.

Origo 1955
Iris Origo, *The domestic enemy: the eastern slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, in «Speculum», XXX/3 (Jul., 1955), pp. 321-366.

Phillips 1985
William D. Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1985.

Ponisch 2001
Claire Ponisch, *Violant de Bar (1365-1431)*, in *Reines et princesses au Moyen Âge*. Actes du cinquième colloque international de Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry (24-27 novembre 1999), editée par Marcel Faure, Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry, 2001 («Les Cahiers de C.R.I.S.I.M.A.», 5), pp. 231-276.

Riché 2001
Pierre Riché, *Reines et princesses en l'an 1000*, in *Reines et princesses au Moyen Âge*. Actes du cinquième colloque international de Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry (24-27 novembre 1999), editée par Marcel Faure, Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry, 2001 («Les Cahiers de C.R.I.S.I.M.A.», 5), pp. 21-33.

Roussel 2005

Claude Roussel, *Le mélange des genres dans les chansons de geste tardives*, in *Les Chansons de geste*. Actes du XVI[e] Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals, pour l'Étude des Épopées Romanes. Granada, 21-25 juillet 2003, edd. Carlos Alvar – Juan Paredes, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2005, pp. 65-85.

Salrach 2006

Josep Maria Salrach, *Guillaume et Barcelone: la formation de la Marche Hispanique*, in *Entre histoire et épopée. Les Guillaume d'Orange (IX[e]-XIII[e] siècles)*. Actes du colloque international organisé par FRAMESPA (UMR 5136) les 29 et 30 octobre 2004, Laurent Macé éd., Toulouse, Université de Toulouse – Le Mirail, 2006 («Méridiennes»), pp. 25-44.

Stuard 1986

Susan Mosher Stuard, *To Town to Serve: Urban Domestic Slavery in Medieval Ragusa*, in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, edited by Barbara A. Hanawalt, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1986, pp. 39-55.

Thomas 1883

Antoine Thomas, *Francesco da Barberino et la littérature provençale au Moyen Age*, Paris, Thorin, 1883.

Tøgeby 1969

Knud Tøgeby, *Ogier le Danois dans les littératures européennes*, København, Munksgaard, 1969.

Trachsler 2000

Richard Trachsler, *Disjointures-Conjointures, étude sur l'interférence des matières narratives dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge*, Tübingen, Francke, 2000, («Romanica Helvetica», 120).

Tyssens 1967

Madeleine Tyssens, *La Geste de Guillaume d'Orange dans les manuscrits cycliques*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1967.

Tyssens – Wathelet-Willem 2001

Madeleine Tyssens – Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, *La Geste des Narbonnais (cycle de Guillaume d'Orange)*, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg, Winter, vol. III. *Les Épopées Romanes*, t. 1/2, fasc. 3.2, 2001, pp. 15-92.

Wathelet-Willem 1961

Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, *La pénétration en Italie de la légende de Guillaume vue à travers l'onomastique*, in *Atti del 2° congresso internazionale della «Société Rencesvalles»* [= «Cultura neolatina», XXI (1961)], pp. 155-163.