Materials for an Edition of
Gui de Bourgogne*

O SATISFACTORY ACCOUNT of the textual transmission of the early-thirteenth-century *chanson de geste* Gui de Bourgogne has to date appeared in print.¹ This seems to reflect a gradual loss of critical interest since the end of the last century, despite the fact that the poem deals with the assistance rendered to Charlemagne in Spain by Gui shortly before Rencesvals and reworks material from the *Chanson de Roland.*²

The only published text is that prepared by Frédéric Guessard and Henri Michelant to initiate the series *Les Anciens Poètes de la France* which ap-

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¹The theme of the poem is succinctly alluded to in the *Chanson de Gaydon,* which is not earlier than ca. 1230, according to J. Subrenat. *Étude sur Gaydon, chanson de geste du XIII e siècle* (Aix-en-Provence, 1974), p. 27. In the edition by Guessard (*Anciens poètes de la France,* 7) we read (vv. 8-10): "Aprèz, de Charle, notre emperere ber / Qui en Es-pagne fu tant por conquester, / Qu’aprez les peres convint les fiuls aler." In the second half of the thirteenth century, *Les deux bourdeurs ribauds,* an invective by one jongleur against another, humorously interverts the titles of celebrated epic poems, including Gui de Bourgogne: "Si sai de Guion d’Aleschans, / Et de Vivien de Bourgogne; / Si sai de Bernart de Saisogne, /' Et de Guiteclin de Brebant." See E. Faral, *Mimes français du XIII e siècle: contribution à l’histoire du théâtre comique au moyen âge* (Paris, 1910), p. 95 (vv. 74-77).

²The only recent discussion of the poem is by Jules Horrent in the *GRLMA,* Vol. 3 (*Les épopées romanes,* t. 1, fasc. 2 (Heidelberg, 1981), pp. 36-38, who recognizes that the poem "possède de vraies qualités littéraires" (p. 36) and that the poet "grâce à sa verve créatrice, sait donner aux lieux communs épiques l’attrait de la variété et créer l’illusion de la nouveauté: la vivacité de son sens dramatique enlève enfin ses dialogues avec une preste justesse" (p. 37).

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peared in 1859. There the title page describes it as "publiée pour la pre-
mière fois d'après les manuscrits de Tours et de Londres," but that is a little
misleading, as the edition simply reproduces the Tours manuscript with a
handful of corrections (including nine whole lines) from the London
manuscript. There are, in fact, three copies of *Gui de Bourgogne* which de-
serve to be described in full.4

I. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale 937.

This manuscript, which measures 210 x 125 mm., dates from the first
quarter of the thirteenth century and comprises 72 folios (approximately
30 lines to the page), which present a remarkably correct copy of *Gui de
Bourgogne*, with few cases of expunction or erasure and no instances of
crossing out. There are two red and blue decorated initials on fol. Ir° and
thereafter a red capital is used to mark each new *laisse*. The manuscript
was acquired from the monastery of Marmoutier, three kilometers from
Tours, and the right-hand margins of fols. Ir° and 2r° bear the inscription
"Majoris monasterii congregationis sti Mauri 1716" (at the top of fol. 1r° a
post-medieval hand has added "Guyon de Bourgogne").5 In modern times
the manuscript has been twice foliated, with identical results, and at the
end of the poem, before the explicit ("Explixit li romans de Guion de
Borgoigne," repeated lower down the page in a second hand) a florid hand
has written what looks like "Centra f (?) de la dane D." The text contains

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3Les Anciens poètes de la France ... sous la direction de M. F. Guéssard, t. 1: Gui
de Bourgogne — Otinel — Floovant (Paris, 1859); *Gui de Bourgogne, chanson de geste : pub-
liée pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Tours et de Londres par MM. F. Guéssard
et H. Michelant*, pp. v. 144.

4A fourth, unedited fragment of a few lines has also been recently discovered at
Sées, Bibliothèque de l'Évêché, in a fol. de garde. It is described by Lucien Musset in
"Quelques épaves d'une riche bibliothèque médiévale extraite de reliures au Grand
Séminaire de Sées (Orne) et un manuscrit de chansons de geste à l'évêché de Sens," *Bulletin de
la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 51 (1963-64), pp. 570-574. I am grateful to Prof.
John Robin Allen for having brought this text to my attention.

5Richelieu made Marmoutier a commendatory abbey of the Benedictine congre-
gation of St. Maur in 1637. On the history of Marmoutier (Maius monasterium) see *Gallica
Christiana*, t. 14 condidit B. Hauréau (Paris, 1856), cols. 192ff., and on its books see E. Lesne,
*Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France, t. 4 Les livres...* (Lille, 1938), pp. 563-564.
4,296 alexandrines, to which Guessard and Michelant added nine from the London manuscript, erroneously omitting a line after 1950, but rightly clearing the dittoography of 2600 in the manuscript. Their line references are arbitrary, for they also made a series of mistakes in the numbering of the lines (the last line on p. 46 should be 1514; that on p. 49 and on p. 53 should also be further reduced by one). In the absence of any other published edition their line numbering will perforce be adhered to in the present study. As has been mentioned, the manuscript contains a number of red capitals. The rubricator responsible for these failed to supply them on fols. 1 v° (v. 53), 8r° (v. 427), 26v° (vv. 1540 and 1556), 31r° (v. 1828), 41 v° (v. 2457), 67v° (v. 4003) and 70r° (v. 4152). At three points a space was left and a capital supplied where there is no change of assonance: fol. 23r° (v. 1334), 35v° (v. 2071, misplaced), 37r° (v. 2180). Catchwords still visible are .ii. tres-tous (fol. 16v°) and .vii. (fol. 56v°). The absence of corrections, glosses or marginalia makes this an unusually "clean" copy (though there are deficiencies in the parchment at fols. 53 and 59).6

Bibliography

Guessard & Michelant, ed. cit. (see above, note 3).


This manuscript, which measures 225 x 155 mm., consists of three parts. On p. 1* (paper) there is a list of contents in the hand of a former

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6The only cast's of expunction are: fol. 37r° (v. 2161) est(es) et ber; fol. 57r° (v. 5366) per(n)drore. On fol. 128r° an insertion mark (") is used to mark the place of marginal bone in v. 1648. There seem to be one or more lines missing after vv. 736 and 2818, and there is an erasure on fol. 69 v°. There are some cases of haplography (e.g., empere) and dittoography (e.g., orguiguilleus). In line 2262 we read einsi demain einsi and line 2600 has been written out twice. About 60 lines require the application of some metrical therapeutic. The omission of the nasal bar (e.g., bie[n], poi[n]) is surprisingly rare.
owner, Sir Simonds D'Ewes:

- Vita Caroli magni metro gallice
- Vita Beneti metro gallice imperfect
- Historia Britonum ad Cadwallader
- Historia vitae et mortis Alexandri magni
- Isidorus de ortu et obitu patrum
- Historia Saracenorum metro gallice

The top of fol. lr°a bears the inscriptions (seventeenth-century hand) "Vita Caroli magni" and "R. Benet Vita ...." Benet, who may have been a mayor of Romney, owned the manuscript in the sixteenth century. At the top of fol. 59r°a, a fifteenth-century hand has written "N. Ffrencey," apparently an owner at that time. Another owner, in the seventeenth century, seems to have been Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602-1650), first bart. (1641) of Stow Hall, Stowlangtoft near Bury St. Edmunds. The contents of the manuscript are best indicated thus:

1. (s. xiii)

- Fols. lr°a-32r°a: Gui de Bourgogne: alternating red and green initials, text frequently corrected. Written in double columns, 37 lines per column.

- Fols. 32v°a-46v°b: Le Chastoiement d'un père à son fils: incomplete at end. One of many Old French verse adaptations of the Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi. The text is written in a slightly smaller hand and paler ink than the first item, 37 lines to a column, two columns per page, with alternating red and green initials.

7 On the misunderstanding behind this and the following entry, see A. G. Watson, The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (London, 1966), pp. 131-132.
8 See C. E. Wright, Fontes Harleiani (London, 1972), p. 70.
9 The version of Manuscript B.L. Add. 10289 is edited by Edward D. Montgomery, Jr., Le Chastoiement d'un père à son fils: a critical edition (Chapel Hill, 1971). This unsatisfactory edition has nothing on the manuscripts but borrows a number of exempla from MS Harley 527 in Appendix B (pp. 187-193).
2. (s. xii ex)

Fols. 47r°-56v°: an acephalous text of the *Epitome*, by Julius Valerius, of the life of Alexander the Great ("Explicit vita et mors Alexandri magni Macedonis"). There are no chapter headings or divisions and no coloring of any sort.

Fols. 56v°a-58r°a: Isidore's *De ortu patrum et obitu* c. 1-V. There are red initials throughout: a red rubric at the beginning reads "De ortu patrum et obitu Ysidorus" and a later rubric has "Item Ysidorus in libro de ortu et obitu patriarcharum." A thirteenth-century hand has added at the end "Expliciunt historie." On the blank verso of fol. 58 there is a pen trial "A son trescher amy sire" and "Amen dico tibi hodie mecum eris."

3. (s. xiii°)

Fols. 59r°a-73v°b: the *Romance of Horn* (Fol. 59r° in Benet's hand "Historia Saracenorum"), written 46 lines to a column in a hand of the second half of the thirteenth century. The text is imperfect at both beginning and end and contains vv. 1455-4234 of M. K. Pope's edition. On fol. 59r° there are green initials. Thereafter the rubricator failed to supply the capitals indicated by guide letters, with the exception of three red capitals on folks 65v°-66r°.

Bibliography

H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (1883), p. 113 (Julius Valerius); vol. 2 (1893), pp. 253-258 (Chastoiement).

Guessard & Michelant, ed. cit., pp. 133-134 (cites first 22 lines) and pp. 135-144 (notes with variant readings from the London manuscript).

10A new edition of this work is needed. All but inaccessible is *Julii Valerii Epitome. Zum ersten mal herausgegeben von Julius, Zacher. Zur Begrüssung der germanistischen Section der XXV Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Halle* (Halle, 1867).


R. Brede & E. Stengel, Das Anglonormannische Lied vom wackern Ritter Horn, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, 8 (Marburg, 1883) pp. 64-217 (diplomatic print of the Harley text of Horn).

III. Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek 3306.

This is a thirteenth-century fragment, of eleven folios, measuring 200 x 120 mm., written 30/31 lines to a page in an ugly hand with an aptitude for carelessness. The individual laisses are marked with a red capital. The folios have been cut down, with some loss of the writing area, notably the bottom lines on fols. 1 and 6, and the top lines on fols. 2 and 5. There are not infrequent cracks and holes in the parchment. At the top of fol. 3r° is written, upside down, "Johannes de Garlandia de misteriis ecclesie [Tobijas et plu[rali]a tabulam require in fine libri," which led Adolf Schmidt to conclude that the fragment had served as a wrapper for manuscript 14 in the same library (containing works by John of Garland and Matthew of Vendôme), which came, like so many of the manuscripts in the library, from the monastery of St. Jacques in Liège. The fragment was full bound in black calf in 1887. Schmidt's edition gives line references to the work of Guessard and Michelant and represents approximately vv. 3613-3789, 3976-4035, and 4157-4219.

Bibliography

Irene Hall, op. cit., pp. 403-434 (edition) and 445-446 (rejected readings).

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The three copies of *Gui de Bourgogne* differ greatly in accuracy and care. The Tours manuscript poses the fewest problems. From this copy Guessard and Michelant produced a text free from blunders (except for the omission of a line after 1950), sensibly corrected for the meter, but marred by a large number of misreadings of the sort which are usually corrected on checking the transcription against the manuscript. In the manuscript the principal abbreviations used are as follows:

- larch' = l'archevêque(s);
- B' = Berars/Berart or Bertrant/Bertrans/Bertran;
- chr(s) = chevalier(s);
- d'(s) = denier(s);
- .G. = Gui/Guis/Guion;
- Huid' = Huidelon(s) or Huidres;
- Na. = Naimes/Naimon;
- pa. = païen(s);
- p 9 = puis;
- Roll' = Rollans/Rollant;
- s' = saint(e);
- Sar' = Sarasin(s);
- v 9 = vos.

The editors are often inconsistent in their resolution of such abbreviations. The trickiest case is perhaps the series designating the Emperor: k = Karles/Karle; km = Karlemaine; kon = Karlon. The written-out forms are *Charle(s)* and *Charlon* ("Karlemaine" is never written out) and only three words exhibiting initial k- are found in the text, namely *keronez* (615), *keues* (1107), and *keurent* (2274). A modern editor would prefer to expand to *Charles* etc. The common abbreviations "ho", "ml't"and "v9"are treated inconsistently by Guessard and Michelant, though it must be admitted that a variety of spellings (hom/hon, nos/vous) is used by the scribe. It would be best to standardize on *hom*, *molt*, and *vos* (it is curious that fol. 1r° contains the spellings *seignour, baroun*, and *jour*, which are scarcely used thereafter). The editors are also inconsistent about the endings -er / -ier, apparently failing to notice that the poet never mixes them at the assonance. The following manuscript readings should be restored to the Guessard-Michelarit text:

13 enfé; 21 por; 44 n'an; 56 pansa; 71 ge; 87 Einsi; 96 vos; 113 latimers; 135 panriès; 136 l'entandirent; 146 l'entandirent; 184 premerain; 238 ariée; 253 Charlon (=kon); 263 acomplis; 308 fu; 311 Damedieu; 344 bie[n]; 361 cheus; 378 dit; 380 paranté; 393 fon[t]; 397 trenchans; 408 widiès; 410 ancombrrier; 415 baillier; 427 [S]or; 429 onques; 431 soiez; 443 m'aït; 452 conquere; 472 Escorfaut; 473 ques; 478 lour; 480 tuit; 484 avroient il mort; 509 evquesques; 516 onques; 533 latimer; 573 the line should follow 575; 589 should follow 575; 589 should follow 587; 638 penre; 649 Tolouse; 685 conquere; 687 bias; 691 aïder; 693 archier; 703 chascun[s]; 705 Bertrant; 724 de .ii. jors; 725 estov[e]ra; 736 treoust; 739 Jusc'a; 803 decopé[s]; 808 senestres; 816 même; 828 ae(e); 833 an; 838 emperere; 879 sires; 917 metre; 940 dit; 990 sires; 1019 quit; 1030 qui; 1033 bacheler;
1036 justiciers; 1039 ge; 1045 doné; 1050 terres; 1068 l'avons; 1075
toldront; 1085 en; 1090 conso illier; 1105 despoillier; 1116 l'entandi: 1131
créés; 1148 l'entandi; 1171 chascuns; 1183 moillier; 1191 Huede
de; 1192 wident; 1225 enfans; 1240 sui; 1295 mervillier; 1311 l'empere(r); 1312 sa cité; 1319 vos; 1337 latimiers; 1350 vos;
1351 salver; 1381 Mes (a) Charlemaine (km’); 1400 peust(t); 1430
vos gardez; 1444 li empereres; 1454 en fu; 1482 joiait; 1496 font;
1500 bachelers; 1505 cegt Asiron; 1529 .vii. mois; 1560 entandez;
1563 S’iront [corr. S’irons]; 1579 il et sa; 1583 ambes .ii.; 1597 dit;
1598 Diez; 1609 gita; 1618 de vous; 1628 ont fait; 1676 commanda;
1680 chev(ch)auche; 1703 arvoic; 1715 eus; 1716 fait; 1727 gardez;
1748 (et) il et; 1795 pandoient; 1798 l’em ploiaissent; 1838 bonet;
1839 braier; 1855 il et si; 1856 ile; 1879 (cil) chevalier; 1887 il a le;
1911 sains; 1945 Huidelon; 1949 Huidre; 1950 sui; 1950a add new
line: "En la tere d’Espaigne a lomc tans traveillié”; 1964 changier;
1978 fait; 1974 archevesques; 1983 fist; 1985 Tolouse; 2002 Sara-
sin; 2012 l’orgu(gu)illeus; 2021 vos; 2040 maigres; 2047 a volte;
2070 les vit; 2076 mesagier; 2078 mengier; 2098 L’enfes Guis de
Borgeigne; 2140 otroïes; 2153 venimes; 2176 an; 2179 qu’en; 2193
note (p. 142): s’an va; 2247 enpliés; 2262 mie einsi demain (einsi);
2278 que; 2294 meintenant; 2302 paiene; 2364 ore; 2373 li Turs;
2450 ramembrer; 2457 chevaus; 2459 chevaus; 2460
Mervilleus; 2484 cop soffrîr; 2513 la destre jambe; 2519 vos;
2521 rever(ê)res; 2539 s'an; 2552 an; 2559 Jherusalem; 2581 vos;
2583 ert; 2598 emperir; 2600 repeated in manuscript; 2633 chieft;
2635 peres; 2643 aparissant; 2662 Qu'en; 2680 Desour; 2684 an; 2691
s'an; 2703 gentils; 2728 Bertrant; 2729 ensamble; 2731 vos; 2732
membrès; 2733 Francois; 2743 a la court; 2751 m’erite; 2758 se fist;
2764 vos sarisse ou vos; 2775 a qui; 2788 encore; 2808 ert; 2826 Se
seroit; 2836 peres; 2864 vos; 2870 est roist . . . gardez nel
me celez; 2873 vos; 2889 deseur(e); 2906 je; 2933 note (p. 143):
cest li angres; 2943 ert; 2968 MS = li voiloit [corr. le v.]; 2991 vos;
3020 l’orguilleus; 3023 feront [corr. ferons]; 3024 ceus; 3036 vos;
3042 Margerite; 3048 Qu’ele; 3051 Quant el vit; 3053 bone; 3081
Baiviere; 3122 ne baisier; 3123 retornés; 3144 qu’encor; 3176 as en
baillie; 3184 que; 3187 est (est) esclercie; 3190 ce dist; 3196 de ce;
3206 qui manront; 3211 jo; 3226 choisi; 3234 et Berart; 3236 dist;
3236 x. anz; 3260 chiere; 3307 Vos; 3333 omnipotant; 3335 ostes
qui ce; 3338 vos; 3379 tot; 3398 vos; 3407 Guis; 3418/21 Sarasin;
3442 Et (l’enfes) Guis; 3455 le roi; 3462 dist; 3468 de mer; 3481 Ne
demorera; 3482 ne mes fai et mes diz; 3491 ensamble; 3501 son[t];
3512 Se . . . n’antareron; 3514 Sarasin; 3517 mesferoient; 3520
Piere; 3522 hommes; 3525 haubere; 3533 Piere; 3582 veés; 3592
chaitis; 3595 ensamble; 3621 lecheres; 3626 Escorfaust; 3627 les
pons; 3628 Sarasins; 3629 deslié et enfant [corr. li]; 3650 mar mes-
deistes; 3655 an; 3656 ta terre; 3661 crerai celui; 3668 penitance;
3671 Sarasin; 3675 is followed in the manuscript by 3680; 3693
Sarasin; 3730 Emaudraz; 3732 (sainte) Marie; 3756 Mes . . . Baivi-
ere; 3771 esclerci; 3778 vos; 3782 vos; 3788 forment esfreeze; 3790 comment; 3798 vos; 3800 l'entandi; 3806 Sarasins; 3815 cele; 3816 Sarasins; 3821 doi; 3823 iselement; 3827 Li rois; 3831 iselement; 3834 mantiaux . . . font; 3837 maintenant; 3865 biauz; 3868 vos; 3876 homes; 3887 n'alès; 3889 Baiviere; 3890 Ogier; 3894 se li Sarasin; 3904 (que) ne vodrent; 3916 assure; 3918 assure; 3928 con; 3938 Que doit ce; 3953 s'entressissent; 3991 Noi; 4000 Gile; 4003 [Q]uant; 4040 s'an; 4051 Ne poes an; 4052 geuner; 4053 Nos; 4058 mes niez li dus; 4080 Et quant; 4095 Aussi; 4104 Que cie; 4110 quant; 4113 Ogier; 4124 Mes; 4129 Sarasins; 4143 Sarasins; 4151 Sarasins; 4152 [Q]uant; 4163 as murs chasen d'aus; 4169 trespass; 4171 conquere; 4181 enclina; 4189 riens; 4199 d'araine; 4210 li vaut; 4232 Sarasin; 4257 Eins tant; 4262 chier; 4263 chier; 4271 mente; 4273 vos; 4279 encore; 4281 ire (ne) pris (pas); 4291 golouse.

In contrast to the relatively standardized Franco-Picard
scripta of the Tours manuscript (there are few strongly dialectal traits), the
Harley manuscript displays considerable Anglo-Norman coloring (the
assonances are often obscured) and extreme metrical irregularity (lines vary
from eight to sixteen syllables, and a noteworthy number have ten). There
are usually 37 lines to a column (there are 36 on fol. Ir°a and 12 on fol. 32r°a), making a total of 4596, though some of these have to be recon-
structed from separate hemistichs which have been telescoped into one
line, though originally belonging to two separate lines. In her thesis, Irene
Hall adds 46 lines based on the evidence of the Tours manuscript. In com-
plete contrast to the latter, the Harley copy is often careless and has been
frequently corrected. In the manuscript there is no division between laisses
75 and 76 (vv. 3314-3315, Hall's edition) and no initial, despite the change
of assonance. The same is true of laisses 96 and 97 (vv. 4226-4227) and
laisses 109 and 110 (vv. 4565-4566). There are alternating red and green ini-
tials, but here too mistakes have been made. Line 181 begins with a normal
size letter in the brown ink of the text accompanied by a red paragraph
mark; at 2264 there is a green initial E instead of the A required by the text
and at 3149 a green L instead of H. Some lines omitted from the text have
been inserted in the margins with a red line to indicate the place of inser-
tion; 192, 306, 344. Line 565 is written between two columns on fol. 4v°b
and the word lettrez is written at the end of 2181 with a red line indicating
its correct place at the end of 2183. The following are corrections entered in
a later hand: ne pernez mie si mal (1578); mult natural (1579); cum passag-

13When referring to the London manuscript I employ Hall's line numbers.
ers (1637). Diacritics are sometimes missing as in fonce [France] (1145); vre (1345); mutez (1659, 2387); meitenant (1778, 2738); Mutorgoil (2759, 3507); maga (3011); chers [chevalers] (3139); fi[nc] [Francesis] (3901); demta [dementa] (4113); ut [unt] (4408). Cases of dittography are found at 235 (Gerin), 397 (ja), 2095 (esteieient), 2259 (dist), and 4333 (Berarard); of haplography at 661 (per[er]es); of homoeoteleuton at 62/64 (vestie), 3605/8 (Huâdelon), 1697/8 (ciel) and 3848/9 (le quinze). Interversion marks (" ") have been employed by the scribe in vv. 698, 1300, 1834, 2397, 2775, 2971, 3882, and 4464. There are superscript corrections at vv. 370, 545, 604, 1467, 1521, 2121, 2294, 2433, 2768, 2866, 2867, 3051, 3172, 3295, 3645, 3674, 3743, 3773, 3852, 3856, 4013, 4126, 4176, and 4551, most of which are in the hand of the text. The letters n and u are frequently not distinguished. The scribe seems regularly to write Escorfant and we find Mandra for Maudra (4318), Uoiron for Noiron (1960), deus for dens (2842, 2965), Amandras for Amaudras (3823, 3918, 3920, etc.) and so on. There is a small number of erasures and perhaps a dozen cases of expunction. Because of a large hole on fol. 16, line 2291 is written as two lines and 2292-2293 as four lines. Catchwords are found at the end of the first quire (fol. 12v° Il meimes sun cors fest meinentant armez) and of the second (fol. 24v°, where the words have been lost through the cutting down of the page). The commonest abbreviations in the text are:

N' = Naimes/Naimon; G's = Guis; Joh' = Johan; G. = Gui/Guiun; O' = Oliver; Rol' = Roland; Roll' = Rolland; Mah' = Mahun; chr = chevaler; K. = Karle(s); K-lon = Karlon; Burg' = Burgoine; s' = seint; K-st'm' = Karleimein (see 3791).

Unlike the Tours manuscript, the London copy of Gui de Bourgogne needs considerable correction. There are wide-ranging textual differences between the two, as we shall see. In the Tours manuscript the first laisse has 23 lines, in the London copy 28; apart from the "mouvance" of formulaic hemistichs, we find that Tours has three lines not in London, and London eight which are not in Tours.

Dr. Hall’s edition of the Harley manuscript of Gui de Bourgogne renders valuable service to students of this chanson de geste, for she has provided an extremely full and clear critical apparatus. Nevertheless her text shows some departures from the manuscript readings, which should be restored as follows:

6 rengné; 9 E ot; 21 purrium; 34 Si m'en irrai; 36 Vus nus; 40
In the case of the Darmstadt fragment we have editions by both Schmidt and Hall. The two editors differ mainly in their expansion of abbreviations, Hall transcribing 7 as e, not et; p as per, not par; G. as Guis / Guion, not just Guis; q’ as que, not qi; B. as Borgoigne, not Bourgone; Sarr‘ as Sarrasin(s), not Sarrazin(s). Other discrepancies arise from interpretations of obscurities in the manuscript, especially words that are badly written. The fragment itself is in poor condition. The bottom of fol. 1 and the top of fol. 2 have been cropped; there is a large hole at the top of fol. 4; the top of fol. 5 and the outer margin of fol. 6 have been cropped; on
fol. 8 a triangular portion has been cut from the top of the page and part of the outer margin has been severely cut down; on fol. 9 a large part of the outer margin in the upper half of the page has been cut back with the loss of the endings of several lines; fol. 10 is intact; on fol. 11 the upper part of the page has been cropped and some letters lost. The scribe writes in a large, ugly hand. The dialect of the copy is that of the Lorraine. This had led to some inconsistencies in the editors' expansion of abbreviations, the most commonly used of which are:

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B' = \text{Bertran(s)}; \quad \text{Torp}' = \text{Torpin(s)}; \quad .G. = \text{Gui(s)/Guion}; \quad N = \text{Naimes/Naimon}; \quad N' = \text{Naimes}; \quad Kl'm' = \text{Karlemaine}; \quad Kl'n' = \text{Karlon}; \quad Kl' = \text{Karles}; \quad J'h'us = \text{Jhesus}; \quad Rol' = \text{Rolan(s)}; \quad Hud' = \text{Hudelon}; \quad Hued' = \text{Huedelon}; \quad Hued' = \text{Huedelon}; \quad Hued' = \text{Huedelon}; \quad Borg' = \text{Borgoise}; \quad ch'er = \text{chevalier}; \quad ml't = \text{molt}; \quad d = \text{denier}; \quad ch'v = \text{chaus}; \quad p. = \text{paeins}; \quad pai' = \text{paeins}.
\]

There are frequently hairlines over \(i\) and there are superfluous nasal bars at \(nait\) (4108) and \(haut\) (4118). The scribe repeats lines on two occasions. The following corrections should be made to Schmidt's published text (using his line numbering):

3104 dongier; 3108 que an; 3132 que lor; 3135 choisi . . . ci lies; 3136 Reinnier; 3137 Naimes; 3159 me nies; 3163 Sanses; 3170 vodrait; 3178 Qi ait; 3196 nes vos; 3201 l'an mercie; 3208 nes i. contredit; 3212 mes dis; 3214a donst; 3224 que an; 3226a votis; 3229 bonne; 3235 Estoul; 3236 que ne mantit; 3240 ces os; 3242 ces homes; 3243 ses ait; 3256 garixent; 3260 que an; 3264 cu Jhesus; 3269 que pais; 3272 Huedelon . . . ouvrirent; 3274 nos François; 3289 que tant; 3295 Saulorie; 3297 chevellerie; 3302 Barart; 3312 grans cos; 3316 ancu; 3319 d'Amairie; 3324 Per Mahommet; 3326 branc; 3334b com ne l'antant niant; 3336 que molt; 3340 soit sos ciel; 3348 [le] pies; 3350 Estoul; 3361 sai force; 3363 bran; 3365 que lou; 3373 vostre (vostre) terre . . . de fi; 3376-3378 repeated in manuscript with var. avreis; 3385 nes i. contredit; 3393 Escorfaus; 3395 jus del bu; 3400 ames; 3408 l'esploiter; 3409 anesable; 3622 que; 3641 cu je; 3662 l'antandit; 3663 son boin; 3676 moutreir; 3676 herdement (herdie written out on fol. 8v'); 3685 Sertes; 3688 fier; 3691 conbahtant; 3694 que les; 3699 cu Jhesus; 3702 da vant aul; 3707 mer[. . .]it . . . ont granit; 3713 cu deus; 3717a ferent; 3717d panr . . . au verai; 3719 laixe; 3723 conpaignie; 3738 des tandent; 3757 que an; 3759 gardent; 3763a treif; 3778 millier; 3779 en anclinait; 3783 que tres; 3784 que son; 3788 fornent; 3789 babeit; 3982 meimes . . . aleis; 3986 Barart; 3987 aleis a Naime; 3990 Lauzeron; 3998 beneiison; 4000 premerain; 4009 que ot; 4010 Et que; 4011 no Et in manuscript; 4032 araisonet; 4165 que
It is clear that the Tours and London manuscripts have no direct affiliation and that the London manuscript amplifies the poem at many points. If one corrects the occasional failure to mark a new laisse one finds that T(ours) has 102 laisses, whilst L(ondon) has 110. The number of laisses of a given length in each manuscript may be seen from Table I.

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laisse length (lines)</th>
<th>No. of laisses in T</th>
<th>No. of laisses in L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-99</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100+</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are approximate in that no account has been taken of the lines added by Hall to manuscript L, however necessary they may be. The clearest idea of the different textual configurations of the two major manuscripts may be obtained from Table II, which shows the size and number of each laisse (parentheses indicate the laisse number in L):

Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laisse:</th>
<th>1(1)</th>
<th>2(2)</th>
<th>3(3)</th>
<th>4(4)</th>
<th>5*(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>(8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tours:</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>96</td>
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<td>London:</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The extra lines are those added by Hall on the authority of the Tours manuscript.*
<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
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<td>96(103)</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>97(105)</td>
<td>98(106)</td>
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<td>13+2</td>
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<tr>
<td>102(110)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the question of the assonances in *Gui de Bourgogne* it is fruitless to turn to the London manuscript, since the Anglo-Norman *remaniement* has led to a complex picture of irregularity which it would be impossible to summarize here. The Tours manuscript, on the contrary, displays a striking purity of assonance which, taken with other factors, suggests an early date in the thirteenth century as the likely date of composition.\(^{16}\) The distribution of assonances is as follows:

**Masculine assonances**

- a: 36, 50, 58, 87, 99
- i: 6, 9, 15, 20, 56, 66, 74, 78, 81, 89, 100
- ié: 2, 8, 12, 14, 16, 19, 23, 26, 28, 30, 32, 42, 45, 47, 70, 72, 77, 79, 83, 85
- ô: 90
- ó: 61, 82, 97; (exclusively -on) 18, 21, 24, 38, 43, 68, 92
- oi: 48
- u: 57
- ã: 4, 34, 52, 62, 76, 80, 84, 95

**Feminine assonances**

- éé: 102
- i.e.: 3, 11, 35, 40, 54, 64, 71, 73, 75, 86, 94, 98
- ié.e: 59

**Remarks:** there are very few infractions of Bartsch's law: é and ié are carefully distinguished. However, at v. 629 lessiez appears in laisse 13 assonating in é, and at v. 2095 (laisse 47) the scribe writes ert in a laisse asso-

---

\(^{16}\)Since Antoine Thomas, “La date de *Gui de Bourgogne*,” *Romania*, 17 (1888), pp. 280-282, the terminus post quem has been taken as 1211 on the basis of the coin called a marchois, which appears in v. 2124 and which was not minted by the *comtes de la Marche* before that date. The Tours reading may not, of course, be authentic (*L* 2498 has un pois !). In any case, in the parodic chanson de geste known as *Audigier*, dated to the end of the twelfth century, we read "Haubère li ont vestu blanc et legier: / quinze sols de marcheis costa 1'au-

nating in \( i\epsilon \). Similarly, at v. 1857 (\emph{laisse} 42) we find \emph{Pamers} in a \emph{laisse} assonating in \( i\epsilon \). Nasal vowels are admitted, in notably small proportions, in \emph{laisses} assonating in \( i\), \( i\epsilon\), \( o\). \emph{Laisses} assonating in \( \acute{a}\) admit the products of both blocked \( a\) and \( e + \) nasal (orthographical confusion of \emph{an} and \emph{en} is common throughout the manuscript).

The limits of the present study do not permit an extended comparison of the textual differences between the two principal manuscripts, but an examination of the first 150 lines of the poem suggests a number of characteristic features:

\textit{Individual word substitution}

\begin{itemize}
  \item T2 \textit{chançon de grant barné / nobilité} L2
  \item T24 \textit{‘Baron’ dist. / ‘Seignurs’ dit} L25
  \item T25 \textit{estranges terres / estrange regnés} L30
  \item T30 \textit{teus est mes désiriez / tel est mi pensers} L34
  \item T30 \textit{vostre proesce / vostre poësté} L54
  \item T52 \textit{contraliez / ledengez} L55
  \item T60 \textit{ma broigne sartie / ma broine vestie} L64
  \item T100 \textit{M’amiestés / M’amur} L93
  \item T121 \textit{faucon / oisel} L112
  \item T141 \textit{Deu le roi amant / Deu le rei puissant} L131
  \item T150 \textit{resplandissant / reflambant} L139
\end{itemize}

\textit{(Formulaic) hemistich substitution}

\begin{itemize}
  \item T4 \textit{anz acomplis et passez / kar Deu l’ot mandé} L5
  \item T5 \textit{o lui son grant barné / cel estrange rengné} L6
  \item T34 \textit{o tot mains chevaliers / a cest derener fiés} L38
  \item T45 \textit{qui tout a a jugier / k’est vers justisers} L49
  \item T125 \textit{qui tant est bele et riche/ ke tant est ben garnie} L117
  \item T144 \textit{qui tant par est vaillant/ en trestut mun vivant} L134
\end{itemize}

\textit{Remodelling}

\begin{itemize}
  \item T23 \textit{Riches en porroit estre no povre parenté} L21
  \item T51f \textit{Je sui vostre droit sires, si faites grant pechié / quant vos an tel ma-
               nière si me contraliez} L55f
  \item T102 \textit{ains les nomerai, sire} L95
  \item T106 \textit{qui tant est bele et riche} L98
  \item T126 \textit{oïl certes, biaus sire}
\end{itemize}
L118 Je la sai ben par ma vie
T138 li vespres vint atant
L128 li vespres est bessant

Condensation
T14-15 Or ne sai mes chastel, bourc, vile, ne cité, / Où nos n'aions par
force mise Crestienté
L15 N'i a remis chastel, burc, n'enfermeté
T38-9 Non fait, par saint Denis ! vaillant .iii. deniers, / Ains les conqu-
iert Rollans et li cuens Oliviers
L43 Certes emz les conquist Rollans e Oliviers

Omission
T19-20 Or et argent et pailes i a a grant planté, / Et maint destrier corant
et maint faucon mué : om. L
L47 E beviez le claré, le piment, e le vin velz : om. T
T57 La merci Damedieu, le fil sainte Marie : om. L (cf. T98, om. L)
T63-5 D’Avignon sur la mer . . . . . . . . li mons torné : om. L
L69-71 Ays pris en Gasoine . . . . . . . . par ma chivalerie : om. T (by
homoeoteleuton; chevalerie in 68/71).
T77-8 Il fu moult sages hom . . . . . . et moult laide estotive : om. L
T80-6 (list of places) : om. L
T113-4 (description of Floriant) : om. L
T129 Et orgoil et outrage et moult grant lecherie: om. L
T135 Rois, lessiez les ester, vos nes pantiés mie (repeated from T130) : om.
L
L22-28 (last seven lines of the first laisse) : om. T
T146 Quant François l’entandirent, n’an i ot nul gabant : om. L

Palaeographically induced changes
T32 sovent / forment L36
T53 une rien vos voil dire / merveilles vus oi dire L85
T62 Je me vanterai ja / Je ne me terrai L65
T73 Enorez i serait/ Honurs i freit L75

Despite its greater number of lines overall, manuscript L often abbre-
viate (in over 43 laisses, in fact). A characteristic example is furnished by
the last stanza of the poem which is reduced from 47 lines (T) to 31, mostly
by shortening the dispute between Roland and Gui and curtailing the de-
scription of the city of Luiserne as it is destroyed in answer to Charle-
magne's prayers (T4293-4297, om. L). The greater length of the poem in L
is largely the result of a small number of substantial expansions, as fol-
low:
T, laisse 5: this is expanded in L from 96 lines to 268 lines, forming laisses 5-15. L153-193, which are not in T, describe how Charlemagne, after the angel commands him to go to Luiserne, sits outside the walls of Carsade, Muntorgoil, Augorie, Muntseclaire, and Maudrane (180: does not appear in T before v. 3150), for a year in each case, before spending seven years outside Luiserne. Lines 223-258, equally absent from T, elaborate the assembly in Paris, as is also the case with L 272-348 and 350-374.

T, laisse 6: expanded from 21 lines to 88 lines (L, laisse 16), L420-443 depicting Gui's reception by his mother and L447-493 presenting the figure of Maucion (absent from T) who here defies Gui by not joining the assembly in Paris for the preparation of the expedition.

L, laisses 24, 25 (not in T): lines 850-990 deal with an incident in which a number of messengers on their way to Luiserne pass Muntorgoil and are involved in a skirmish with the Saracens who, despite their superiority in numbers, eventually flee.

T, laisse 15: expanded from 30 lines to 63 lines (L, laisse 26). L1008-1041 depict the army outside Luiserne indulging in recriminations against Duke Richard (not in T).

T, laisse 40: expanded from 16 lines to 46 lines (L, laisse 47), mostly by unimportant expansion of the entry into Muntorgoil (L 2086-2115 not in T).

T, laisse 41: expanded from 64 lines to 82 lines (L2180-2195 not in T) by the elaboration of the posting of a guard of five men at Muntorgoil as another five enter to meet Huidelon.

T, laisse 65: expanded from 37 lines to 59 lines (L, laisse 72; L3099-3107 and 3120-3142 not in T) by the elaboration of Huidelon's view of the French troops under Gui.

- o-oO-o- 

It will be observed that none of the above changes involves significantly new material, but it is to be hoped that a future editor of this interesting epic, which has been unjustly neglected for so long, will provide a detailed assessment of the differences between the versions of the Tours and London manuscripts.
Critical Studies on "Gui de Bourgogne"*


Lenander, Johan H. R. Observations sur les formes du verbe dans la Chanson de geste de Gui de Bourgogne (Malmö, 1874).


*Excluding works mentioned in the footnotes.