

The Date of the Chanson de Geste *Fierabras**

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The first complete performance in Britain of the opera *Fierabras* was performed on Tuesday the 18th of February 1986, at 7:15 p.m. It was composed 163 years earlier in 1823. It is not so easy to date the work which inspired Schubert's opera and provided its title. *Fierabras* was an extremely popular medieval tale undergoing many transformations and translations; this compounds the problem for even if it is clear that another poem owes something to *Fierabras*, it is not always clear which version of *Fierabras* was used.

Gaston Paris was the first to account for the abrupt opening of the extant poem by positing the existence of an older *chanson*. Our best evidence for the contents of this poem is the summary found in Phillippe Mousket's chronicle, supported by other evidence.¹ This earlier poem related the story of a Saracen attack on Rome, when the pagans robbed the city of important Passion relics, as well as killing the Pope and sacking Rome itself. Following Bédier's example we call this work *Rome perdue et reconquise* or, more briefly, *Rome perdue*.² It would have ended with a single combat between Fierabras and Oliver, with Fierabras being defeated and the relics no doubt being reclaimed. From this poem there developed the extant *chanson de geste*. The *remanieur* starts with the last scene of *Rome perdue*, the combat between Oliver and Fierabras. Although Oliver defeats Fierabras, as in the earlier poem, he is himself taken prisoner by the Saracens along with four other peers. Charlemagne sends the remaining peers to Balan, Fierabras's father, to ask for their release. Balan, being the archetypal wicked Saracen, decides to imprison these seven peers along with the others. There follows a series of adventures with the peers taking over the castle helped by Floripas, Fierabras's sister, who has been in love with one of the twelve, Gui de Bourgogne, since she saw him fight outside Rome. Balan and his men then besiege the peers, Floripas and her maidens in Balanis's own castle. Richard de Normendie manages to break out through the Saracen lines and win his

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way back to Charlemagne who promptly comes to the rescue of the peers. Balan and his pagans are defeated; Balan refuses to be baptised and is killed. Gui is married to Floripas and with Fierabras will rule over Balan's lands. The relics which had been taken from Rome are regained by Charlemagne.

To this *chanson de geste* there was added a later prologue, the *Destruction de Rome*, re-telling the story of the attack on Rome in which the Passion relics were taken. Although this poem deals with the same part of the legend as the earlier *Rome perdue* it is a complete re-working of the legend. The *laisse* structure, or rather lack of it, suggests a late date. The treatment of the subject matter supports this: one of the main incidents concerns a heraldic trick, whereby a Saracen enters the first *baile* of the city of Rome by carrying the arms of one of the Christian lords, a Count Savari. Such a ruse would have been unlikely before the second half of the twelfth century.³ The only other indication of the date of this prologue is given by the date of the earliest manuscript, which is late thirteenth century.⁴

The most commonly accepted date for the extant *chanson de geste* is around 1170. Recently Hans-Erich Keller has suggested the much later date of the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁵ Several attempts have been made to date the extant poem. Gustav Groeber, who edited the *Destruction de Rome* and worked extensively on the *Fierabras* tradition, gave 1152 as a *terminus post quem*, the date he believed the relics of St Florian were translated to Roye.⁶ As *Fierabras* is identified as St Florian de Roye at his baptism (ed. Kroeber and Servois, ll.1847-51), the extant poem could not have been written before the moving of the relics. The reasoning is sound, but it relies on the accuracy of the date of the translation of the relics, which has also been dated to 1135, rather too early to be of any help in the dating of our poem.⁷

M. Tits, in an unpublished thesis on *Fierabras*, dated the *Fierabras* *chanson* to 1218-1250 and the "Savari-chanson," which she saw as the kernel of the tradition, to anytime between 1100-1240.⁸ There is no evidence that the Savari section of the *Destruction de Rome* is any older than the poem as a whole, nor that it ever had any independent existence. G.A. Knott examined her dating, which is based on the assertion that the *Fierabras* poet borrowed the defense of the bridge of Mautrible by the giant Agolafre from the poem *Gui de Bourgogne*.⁹ Knott argues that the borrowing could have been in either direction (see below).

Tits's *terminus ante quem* of 1250 is based on an article by Jeanroy in which he argues that Jean Bodel borrowed from *Fierabras* in his *Jeu de Saint Nicholas*.¹⁰ Even if we accept Jeanroy's arguments (see below), the date of 1250 for the *Jeu* is some 50 years too late, so the *terminus ante quem* would be 1202, not 1250; this would create a problem for Tits's *terminus post quem* of 1218.¹¹

On linguistic evidence Knott dates the poem to between 1190 and 1250.¹² His linguistic analysis is carried out as part of the study of the versification of the poem and takes into consideration such important evidence as the effect on the versification of the linguistic characteristics. He also argues from literary evidence, suggesting a borrowing from *Aimeri de Narbonne*, giving a thirteenth-century date for *Fierabras*. He finally gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1240 on historical grounds. He identifies Aigremore, the Saracen stronghold, with Aiguës Mortes and argues that after 1240, when Louis IX used Aiguës Mortes as his departure point for the fifth crusade, the geography of the region would have been better known.¹³ However, even if we accept the rather doubtful identification of Aigremore with Aiguës Mortes there is really no reason why a southern French town could not have been presented as having once been a Saracen stronghold.

These rather varied dates have been put forward using different criteria, the date of manuscripts, linguistic, historical and literary criteria. All of these must be examined in any attempt to date *Fierabras*,

Manuscripts

The 1200 date for ms E, which has been used as an indicator of the date of the text, is not at all reliable. The Escorial Catalogue gives the fourteenth century as the date of the manuscript, and Knott's analysis of the language of the manuscript, which was the base manuscript for his edition, supports this later date.¹⁴ Unfortunately none of the other manuscripts is early enough to be at all helpful.

Literary Allusions

Allusions to *Fierabras* in other works, and debts of *Fierabras* to other works, provide us with our most important evidence for the dating of the extant poem.

A possible debt to the *Charroi de Nîmes*, composed in the 1150's or 1160's, would provide an early *terminus post quem*.¹⁵ In *Fierabras* Richard de Normandie, leading Charlemagne to the rescue of the peers, tricks his way on to the bridge of Mautrible, with a small group of knights, all dressed as merchants. (Four knights actually go onto the bridge but there are 500 in the company). This is reminiscent of the disguise of Guillaume and his men in the *Charroi*, when they trick their way into Mimes disguised as merchants. It is perhaps a rather obvious stratagem however, and therefore of limited significance.

More important is the knowledge displayed by our poet of some version of the *Roland*. There are direct references to the events of Roncevaux. When Ganelon and Hardré first stand up to support Oliver's nomination of himself to fight Fierabras the *chanson* is set in fictional time, three years before the peers are betrayed, a betrayal leading to the death of all concerned (eds. Kroeber and Servois, ll. 292-96), an obvious reference to Roncevaux.¹⁶ This is picked up again at the end of the poem with a further reference to the events three years later when Ganelon "sold" Roland and was himself consequently pulled apart by horses, and Pinabel was also killed:

6207 Ne tarda que .iii. ens qu'Espagne fu gastée;
Là fu la traïsons de Rollant pourparlée:
Guenelon le vendi à la gent desfaée,
Puis en fu à cevaus sa car detraïnée.
Pinabiaus en fu mors sous Loon en la préée;
Là le tua Tierris au trencant de l'espée,
Puis fu pendus armés par la geule baée.

There are also a number of parallels with the *Roland*: Ganelon goes as a messenger to the pagan camp, taking with him no companion, a point stressed in both the *Roland* and *Fierabras*; Ogier in *Fierabras*, like Roland in the *Roland*, is anxious that no bad song be sung about them:

5351 Gardés male canchons n'en soit de nous cantée.

Roland's famous line that Christians are always right:

1015 Paien ont tort e chrestiens unt dreit; (*Roland*, ed.
Whitehead)¹⁷

is reversed when uttered by Eialan in *Fierabras* :

5405 H ont tort et nous droit, François seront maté.

Fierabras offers Oliver his sister and in manuscripts P, T, and L of the *Roland* Pinabel offers his daughter to Thierris (but for this particular instance the *Roland* is not the only parallel).

There are other echoes of the *Roland*. The important question to ask about all of these is which version of the *Roland* did the *Fierabras* poet know. The clearest indication that it was not the Oxford version comes in the reference to Roncevaux at the end of the poem:

6211 Pinabiaus en fu mors sous Loon en la préée;
Là le rua Tierris au trencant de l'espée,
Puis fu pendus armés par la geule baée.

In the Oxford *Roland* (laisse CCXCIII, ed. Whitehead) Pinabel is killed by Thierris and there is no further mention of him. In manuscripts P, T and L of the *Rhymed Roland* we are told that his body was hung and in P and V7 specifically that he was not disarmed:¹⁸

T 5527 A ses fourches la sus le pendez d'une part,

L 2842 Or est mors Pinabel, sa chars est trainee
Entor le col H ont une corde noée.

6681 Un cein li font entor le cal noer

P Et d'une corde moult fièrement fermer;
En .i. haut tertre l'en ont fait traîner
L'escu au col; n'el voldrent desarmer
Ainsiz le firent sus as forches lever

7997 Son osberc en son dos ne volent dessachier
Ausi l'ont fait as forches contremont sus lever

V7 Pinabele saisent qui gist gelle bae
L'osberg de son dos ni volsent desarmer.
Ensi l'ont fais us contremont lever.

The closest parallels are found in manuscripts C and V7 where we also find specific reference to Pinabel having his *goule bae*:

C 7993 Pinabel ont saissi qi gist, goule baeae,

V7 Pinabele saisent qui gist gelle baeae

It is clear from these references that our poet knew the *Rhymed Roland* rather than the older version and on the basis of this evidence the version he was drawing upon was closest to C, which has both the reference to Pinabel not being disarmed and that to his *goule baeae*.

A confirmation that it was some version of the *Rhymed Roland* that the *Fierabras* poet knew lies in the location of Pinabel's death. In the Oxford *Roland* he dies at Aix; all the *Rhymed Roland* manuscripts (including V4) locate it at Mont Laon. Those *Fierabras* manuscripts which have any reference to this incident place it at Laon. Although two late manuscripts lack these important lines (L and B) and manuscript E has lost the last few hundred lines, the reference to Laon is found in three extant manuscripts and was in one manuscript lost in a fire in 1946, variants of which are given in Hilka's edition of H. This fourth manuscript (D) belonged to a different side of the stemma from the other three so it is reasonable to suppose that the reference came early in the tradition.¹⁹

Both *Fierabras* and the *Rhymed Roland* also use various forms of the name of Roland's horse, called Viellantif in the Oxford text. Two *Fierabras* manuscripts use forms similar to the Oxford *Roland* form: Viellantin (ms V) and Viaillantif, Wiellatif, Villantis and Wiellantim (ms E); one manuscript has Voilanius and Voilantin (ms B); the remaining manuscripts have forms in Val- Valantin, Valantis, Valentin (ms H), Valenti (P) and Malatis (A). These last forms beginning in Val- (or Mal-) can be considered as approximating to the original name in the *Fierabras* tradition, on the principle of *lectio difficilior*, the Oxford form in Viell- being the most commonly used form in other *chansons de geste*, according to Langlois.²⁰ In the *Roland* tradition 0, as we have noted, has Veillantif; this form is reflected in P's form Viellantin and T's Villantin and Viellantis; the remaining manuscripts (L, C, V7 and V4) all have forms beginning with Val- or Vail-. This does not, of course, correspond to the usual PTL versus CV7 versus V4 division of the *Roland* manuscripts.²¹ We may interpret this as giving fuel to those who think that to construct any stemma is basically a waste of time, and it certainly reminds us that no stemma is watertight. The explanation here is probably quite simple. The Oxford

Roland form could have been sufficiently well known to affect the forms in the other *Roland* manuscripts, even if their source had Valantin or something similar. Other poems do use variant forms of the name of Roland's horse—the forms Viellantin (*Renaud de Montauban*), Vieullantin (*Galien le restore*) and Villantif (*Gaidon*) are found, but I have found no other form in Val-. It would therefore seem likely that the *Fierabras* poet took the name of Roland's horse from some version of the *Rhymed Roland*.

Oliver's horse Ferrant also figures in *Fierabras*. In the Oxford *Roland* (and in Konrad and the *Karlamagnussaga*) Oliver's horse is not named. In P and V7 Oliver's horse is Ferrans; in TCV4 he is called Rondel. In PTL CV7 Ganelon makes his bid for escape on a horse called Ferrant, unnamed in V4. In all manuscripts of the *Rhymed Roland* Thierry fights on Ferrant. Of course, the word *ferrant* can also be used as a common noun, so perhaps it is trying to read too much into this one case, but it is possible that the common source of all the expanded versions named Oliver's horse Rondel and the other horses were called Ferrant. Ferrant is also the name of Oliver's horse in *Girart de Vienne* (ed. van Emden, 1. 3307) and could easily have been introduced as the name of Oliver's horse in the *Rhymed Roland* manuscripts from *Girart de Vienne*. The evidence again points to a *Rhymed Roland* source for the *Roland* material in *Fierabras*, although it is true the poet may have taken the name of Oliver's horse directly from *Girart de Vienne*.

The possible parallel between *Fierabras*'s offer of his sister to Oliver and Pinabel's offer of his daughter to Thierry which occurs only in PTL suggests a possible link between *Fierabras* and the PTL branch of the *Rhymed Roland*, but I think that this is outweighed by the close textual parallel with CV7 in the description of Pinabel's hanging. Both C and V7 have variant forms for Viellantif beginning with Val- and V7 also has Ferrant as the name of Oliver's horse so a link with the CV7 branch seems more likely. What is certain is that the version known by the *Fierabras* poet belonged to the *Rhymed Roland* tradition rather than an older text. The *Rhymed Roland* itself shows a knowledge of relationships first established by Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube in *Girart de Vienne* which has been dated by its editor to c.1180.²² There must be some time gap between *Girart de Vienne* and the *Rhymed Roland* and between the *Rhymed Roland* and *Fierabras*. If we allow a gap of say ten years, that gives us a *terminus post quem* of c. 1190 for *Fierabras*.

This date can be supported by knowledge of other texts shown in *Fierabras*. In his work on the Troy legend, E. Gorra dated *Fierabras* at the end of the twelfth century saying that it alludes to the *Roman de Troie*, dated by him c.1180, although this date is rather late compared to the opinions of other scholars.²³ The allusion to Jason's finding of the Golden Fleece comes in the description of Floripas's clothing:

2029 D' un rice singlatum ot mantel affublé;
 Une fée V ouvra par grant nobilité,
 En l'ille de Corcoil dont on a moult parlé,
 Là où Jason ala, là ù fu endité,
 Por l'ocoison d' or fin, ce dient li letre
 Pour ce fu puis destruite toute la grande cité

The passage is lacking in some *Fierabras* manuscripts (P, L and B, and H lacks from l. 2032) but it is present in manuscripts from both sides of the stemma and so was probably in the common source. Although other versions of the Troy story would be available at the end of the twelfth century the *Roman de Troie* would be the most likely source for a vernacular poet. The only indication of a particular version given in *Fierabras* is in the form of the name of the island, classically *Colchos*, but here the *Fierabras* tradition is unclear, with ms E having *Colchon*, V *Coloile* and the now lost Anglo-Norman D misunderstanding completely and having *en ovre de coton* (omitting l. 2032, and l. 2033 making very little sense). On the basis of *lectio difficilior* we might accept the A form, as in the edition, with the other manuscripts approximating either to A or to the classical forms in E's *Colchon*. Of the forms in the *Roman de Troie* (*Colcos*, *Colcon*, *Celcos*, (M 1.765), *Corcat* (C 1. 765) that of manuscript R comes closest to the form in *Fierabras* manuscript A with *Corcot* (l. 765) and *Corcos* (l. 838).²⁴ The variants are so diverse in both traditions that it would be a slender thread on which to base a relationship between *Fierabras* and the *Roman de Troie*. This can perhaps be used to support the other evidence for a later date for *Fierabras* but it is not totally convincing, especially as other versions of the story were available.

The relationship between *Fierabras* and the *Prise d'Orange*, first pointed out by Bédier, is problematic.²⁵ Philip Bennet argues, on the basis of the constant undermining of the narrative logic in the *Prise d'Orange*, that it is "a parodie re-working of the theme of the capture of an enemy stronghold by forces originally trapped in it," and *Fierabras* does of course contain such an incident as its turning-point.²⁶ If

the extant *Prise d'Orange* is a parody of *Fierabras* then we have a *terminus ante quem* of 1190, the date of the *Prise*.²⁷ This causes problems as we have already established that *Fierabras* could hardly have been written before 1190. However, *Fierabras* itself has a strong parodie element in the treatment of the *Roland* material so it could be *Fierabras* which is the parody, or perhaps both the *Prise* and *Fierabras* are parodying some lost *chanson*.

Knott points out a parallel between an anecdote told in *Fierabras* and a reference in *Aimeri de Narbonne*.²⁸ The *Fierabras* anecdote is told by Brutamont, Balan's gaoler, to Floripas, when he refuses to allow her to see her father's prisoners:

Encor me membr'il du caitif Aymer,
 Cil qui ocist l'aufage à son branc d'acier cler;
 Et sa mollier se fist bauptizier et lever,
 Et Aymer le prinst à mollier et à per.
 (ll. 2074-77)

Two *Fierabras* manuscripts (E and B) name the lady; three manuscripts lack the reference (P, L and H), but it is attested on both sides of the stemma. It corresponds to the following tale related in *Aimeri de Narbonne*.²⁹

4589 Li sistes fiz qu'engendra Aymeris
 Si ot a non Aymers li chetis,
 Li preuz, li sages, li cortois, li gentis,
 Qui en sa vie ot tant paiens ocis,
 4593 Si ne vost onques gesir, tant con fu vis,
 En tor entie ne en palés votiz,
 Ainz guerroia sor Sarrazins tot dis
 Et si conquist Venise et le pais,
 4597 Et Soramonde, le bel o le cler vis,
 Toli par force a l'aufage Persis.
 Bautisier fist la dame seignoriz;
 Si crut en deu qui en la croiz fu mis,
 4601 Pu is l'espousa li gentesz hom de pris;
 Sire fu de la terre.

Knott admits that "it is of course impossible to say whether this passage is culled immediately from the *chanson* known to us or whether it is derived from the earlier or intermediate version."³⁰ It seems

unlikely that the *Aimeri de Narbonne* poet borrowed from *Fierabras* an incident which is merely mentioned in passing and seems to be assumed to be a well-known one, perhaps taken from a lost poem, used independently by the two poets.

Aimeri de Narbonne has recently been dated rather earlier than Knott assumed it to be. Van Emden, examining the relationship between *Girart de Vienne* and *Aimeri* in his edition of *Girart*, suggests a date before 1200 for *Aimeri*.³¹ This would give a narrow 1190-1200 date for *Fierabras* but the evidence from *Aimeri* alone is not really strong enough to support such a firm conclusion.

Mile Tits's late date for *Fierabras* depends on her claim that the *Fierabras* poet drew the incident of Agolafre's defense of the bridge of Mautrible. Knott also sees a link here but says that the borrowing could have been in either direction.³² In *Gui de Bourgogne* the defense of Montorgueil, a town surrounded by rivers, by a hideous giant (*Gui de Bourgogne*, eds. Guessard and Michelant, ll.1764-1827), and his death at the hands of Gui is certainly reminiscent of *Fierabras* where the giant Agolafre defends the bridge at Mautrible, a town protected by a river. The giants are described in fairly similar terms:³³

1776 Il ot les sorcils grans et s'ot le poil levé,
Et si avoit les dens de la bouche getés,
Les oreilles mossues et les eus enfossés,
Et ot la jambe plate et le talon crevé
(*Gui de Bourgogne*)

4745 Li paiens estoit grans, hideusement formés:
El haterel deriere avoit les ex tornés.
Plaine paume ot de langue et demi pié de nés,
Oreilles ot velues et les grenons mellés,
Et devant et deriere estoit ensi formés

4750 Si avoit .ii. oreilles, onques ne furent tels,

Cascune tenoit bien demi sestier de blé;
Sor sa teste les torne quant les souprent orez.
Les bras avoit moult lons et les piés fokelez.
(*Fierabras*)

However, such elements as hairy ears and mis-shapen feet are rather obvious choices in a description of ugliness. The giant in *Gui de Bourgogne* tries to strike Bertrant, but instead kills his horse (ll.1207-1809) just as Agolafre tries to strike Riol "mais Riex l'a destorné" (1.4834). On the other hand there is no disguise on the part of Gui and his companions, while Richard de Normandie and his companions are disguised as merchants. The giant in *Gui de Bourgogne*, unlike Agolafre, is unarmed (1. 1813). It is possible that one of these texts is drawing on the other, but impossible to prove. One can only say that a borrowing from *Fierabras* by the *Gui de Bourgogne* poet would give a *terminus ante quem* of c.1218 which fits well with other poems that borrow from *Fierabras*.

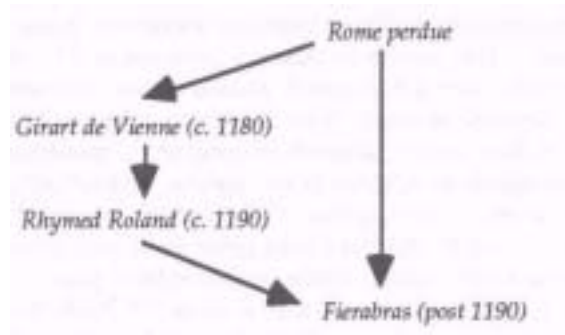
A similar problem regarding the direction of the borrowing is posed by the relationship between *Fierabras* and *Girart de Vienne*. Van Emden has argued convincingly that *Girart* imitated *Fierabras* rather than the other way around.³⁴ This however poses a problem, for how can *Girart de Vienne*, a source for the *Rhymed Roland* have known *Fierabras* which used the *Rhymed Roland*? Van Emden concludes that Bertrand "a puisé dans *Fierabras* non seulement la conception générale du grand combat chevaleresque entre Olivier et un guerrier redoutable entre tous, qui finis par se réconcilier, plein d'admiration, avec son adversaire, mais sans doute aussi le nom de Garin (père de Renier dans *Fierabras*), que Bertrand aura affublé du domaine de 'Monglane' pour en faire le père de Girart et le fondateur de sa 'fierce geste.'" ³⁵ With the exception of Garin's name the borrowings made by Bertrand are limited to the combat scene and therefore could have been borrowings from the lost *Rome perdue*. Van Emden argues that the borrowing was most likely to have been by Bertrand: matters which are given considerable development in *Fierabras* such as the sword Munificans, the horse of Oliver, or the miraculous balm, are included quite gratuitously, in brief mentions by Bertrand. A remarkable feature of *Girart de Vienne's* account of the single combat between Oliver and Roland is the stress on Oliver's faith in God, which although used with skill to stress the danger he is in contrasts surprisingly with Roland's silence as to his own faith. This feature may well be explicable in terms of imitation of *Fierabras* where expressions of faith are natural and necessary in a combat in which Christendom opposes Islam.³⁶ However, the combat in *Fierabras* seems to be very close to its model in *Rome perdue* so the imitation by Bertrand could be of the combat in the earlier poem.

The name of Garin as Renier's father comes rather later in *Fierabras* so could not be said to come from the earlier poem, which it may be remembered only takes the story up to the Fierabras-Oliver combat:

4482 Ains Garins vostre peres n'ot de terre .i. arpent

This could as easily be a borrowing back from *Girart de Vienne* by *Fierabras* whose author has some recollection of Garin as an ancestor of Girart and Oliver and one who was not wealthy, and uses it when the traitor family wants to discredit Renier's family.

The relationship between the *Rhymed Roland*, *Fierabras*, and *Girart de Vienne* can be shown diagrammatically:



This gives us a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1180 for *Rome perdue* and a *terminus post quem* of c. 1190 for *Fierabras*.

The earliest *chanson de geste* to mention an Emir Balan, the name of Fierabras's father, is *La Chevalerie Ogier*, dated c.1215, which speaks of a horse conquered by Charlemagne from the Emir Balan (ed. Eusebi, ll.10078).³⁷ The only other Balan known to us in the corpus of *chansons de geste* is in *Aspremont* and he is not an Emir. If Balan was an invention of the *Fierabras* remanieur—as is quite possible, there being no mention of him in the first 1500 lines of the extant poem (the section of the poem immediately derived from *Rome perdue*), nor is he mentioned in the account of the lost *chanson* by Philippe Mousket—then the *Chevalerie Ogier* poet probably took the name from the extant *Fierabras* poem. There is further evidence that the *Ogier* poet knew *Fierabras* in certain parallels between the Fierabras-Oliver

combat at the beginning of *Fierabras* and the Brather-Ogier combat in the *Chevalerie Ogier*. In *Ogier*, as in *Fierabras*, an unarmed Saracen under a tree awaits the arrival of the Christian knight.

There is a refusal to arm on the part of the Saracen and a hiding of identity. In both poems the Saracen says that if armed his appearance will frighten the Christian. There are comments from the sidelines by Charlemagne (and in *Fierabras* only by Roland). The Christian is injured and prays. The pagan offers his magic balm to the Christian who refuses it. At different points in the two combats the pagan is injured and uses the balm; in *Fierabras* it appears that the balm can be taken internally or externally and this ambiguity is resolved in *Ogier* where it is applied externally to the wound. In both poems the Christian's horse is killed and the pagan reproached by the Christian for killing it. Fierabras and Braiher are ultimately both injured and ask to be taken to Charlemagne for baptism. In each case the Christian renders what assistance he can to the wounded pagan and each Christian is set upon by an ambush of Saracens. One important difference is that Fierabras is sincere in his desire for baptism while for Braiher it is a trick. The balm motif is of importance in both poems but not only is it more likely that an adaptor would iron out inconsistencies in the use of the balm than introduce them, the motif is also more important in *Fierabras* where the balm is one of the relics which provide a thread of continuity through the picaresque tale. It thus seems more likely that the *Chevalerie Ogier* poet borrowed this motif from *Fierabras* than *vice versa*. There are also some textual resemblances in the prayers; these are, however, formulaic so can only support other evidence of a link. Much of this could of course have come from *Rome perdue*, but there is no evidence of there having been a pagan ambush in the earlier song.

The final link between *Fierabras* and *Ogier* clearly concerns the extant *Fierabras*. This is the white deer motif, which although common in romance is found in only four epics: *Fierabras*, *Ogier*, *Anseïs de Cartage* and *La Chanson des Saisnes*. The last we will return to later. The relationship between the first three *chansons de geste* is discussed in some detail by H. Bretschneider in his study of *Anseïs*.³⁸ He saw the resemblance between *Anseïs* and *Fierabras* as closer than that between *Anseïs* and *Ogier*. As *Anseïs*, like *Ogier*, shows other evidence of knowing *Fierabras* it is not unlikely that they both owe the motif of a supernatural white deer to *Fierabras*. All the evidence taken

together shows a clear pattern of borrowing from *Fierabras* in *La Chevalerie Ogier*.

In *Anseïs* we find reference to Fierabras's sword:

10339 Namles, li dus, ot el cuer grant engaigne,
Quant vit ses gens, k'on ochit et mehaigne.
Le morel broce, l'espee tint *grifaigne*
Ke Fierabras porta en la montaigne,
Quant le conquist Oliviers, li cataigne.

Alton's edition is based on ms A. C has the variant name *Gebere* and D has *Gerbe* which is nearer to *Garbain* (ms A) or *Gerben* (ms E) in *Fierabras*. The description of the swords comes early in *Fierabras* and could have been in *Rome perdue* but *Fierabras* and *Anseïs* also have parallel endings: the *blonde sarrasine* marries the knight and her father dies. Again this on its own is rather too commonplace to be very significant, but the parallel endings, the reference to the sword and the white hart motif together suggest that the *Anseïs* poet knew the extant version of *Fierabras*. This confirms an early thirteenth-century date rather than later, although *Anseïs* is dated rather later than Ogier at around 1230.³⁹ *La Chevalerie Ogier* thus still provides us with our *terminus ante quem* of c.1215 for *Fierabras*.

An early thirteenth-century *terminus ante quem* is also suggested by narrative parallels with *Jehan de Lanson*, which has been given the unhelpfully wide date range of 1202-34.⁴⁰ J.V. Myers, the recent editor of this poem, suggests that references to *Fierabras* could have been added by the fifteenth-century scribe, but that there are "enough parallels between *Jehan de Lanson* and *Fierabras* to assert that the latter was a principal source."⁴¹ Moreover the parallels that occur throughout *Jehan de Lanson* are clearly integral to the poem. First of all there is the identity of Basin de Germes, possibly derived from Basin de Genevois in *Fierabras*.⁴² The first of the narrative parallels comes early in *Jehan de Lanson* when Charlemagne is calling for a volunteer. Roland responds and is appointed but the other peers object and are then ordered to accompany him. This parallels closely the scene in *Fierabras* when Charlemagne orders Roland to go to Balan to rescue the imprisoned peers (itself a parody of the *Roland*). The other peers object and are in turn ordered to accompany him.⁴³ The famous swords made by Galans and his two brothers are described in detail in *Fierabras*; we are told in *Jehan de Lanson* that Durendal, Cortain and

Hautecler were made by Gallant. In *Jehan de Lanson* there is an attack on a bridge, a tribute is demanded, Naimon deals with the situation and Roland kills one of the defenders. In *Fierabras* when the seven peers cross the bridge of Mautrible a tribute is demanded. Naimon deals with it and Roland kills one of the saracens. During this episode in *Jehan de Lanson* each of the peers gives a name or a pseudonym and delivers his message. In a similar way when Oliver and his five companions are first taken to Balan they hide their identities and later each of the remaining seven peers gives his message in turn. In *Jehan de Lanson* the peers capture a galley loaded with supplies for Jehan. In *Fierabras* they capture pack-horses loaded with supplies for Balan. In both poems Charlemagne, worried about the delayed return of the peers, is reassured by Ganelon. In *Jehan de Lanson* Charlemagne hears suggestions of how the pilgrims could be executed; in *Fierabras* Balan hears suggestions about the treatment of the peers. In *Jehan de Lanson* Basin puts the rebels to sleep by enchantment; in *Fierabras* Maupyn puts the peers to sleep by enchantment. In both poems we are told that the story is in a roll found at St Denis.

While some of these parallels are little more than literary *topoi*, for example the roll found at St Denis, others are more significant, notably the sending of the reluctant peers, an inversion of the scene in the *Roland* when the peers rush to volunteer to take the message to Marsile. Moreover, while the author of *Jehan de Lanson* could have taken such motifs as this, or the reassurance of Charlemagne by Ganelon, directly from the *Roland*, taken together with other parallels they are quite convincing. This confirms an early thirteenth-century *terminus ante quem* for *Fierabras*.

There are also clear parallels between *Fierabras* and the longer redaction of the *Moniage Guillaume* (*Montage II*).

In the *Moniage* (ll. 3223-27) we read of *eau salée* entering Guillaume's prison, as it does that of the peers in *Fierabras* (ll. 2083-89). In the *Moniage* (ll. 3392-404) Londris tries to give a false identity, as do Oliver and the peers in *Fierabras*. Sinagon (l.3937) offers Guillaume his sister, as Fierabras offers Floripas to Oliver. Guillaume fights Ysoré without revealing his identity (ll. 6103-65), although unlike Oliver in *Fierabras* he does not actually give a false name. Finally, in the name of Ysoré de Coninbre we find an echo of Sortinbrant de Coninbre.

The relationship between the *Moniage* and *Fierabras* could work in either direction. *Fierabras* may have borrowed from the *Moniage*, but this seems unlikely; the particular parallels found are relatively unimportant in the *Moniage* but very significant in *Fierabras*. M. Tyssens, although arguing that the *Moniage II* is the earlier redaction of the *Moniage Guillaume* gives it a late twelfth-century date.⁴⁴ This would push our *terminus ante quem* back into the twelfth century, and we would have to assume that the *Moniage* poet knew *Fierabras* shortly after it was written, as we already have a *terminus post quem* of c. 1190.

Also suggesting a late twelfth-century, or very early thirteenth-century, date, is a link with the *jeu de St Nicolas* first suggested by Jeanroy, and taken up by Vincent in his study of the *Jeu* and by Tits.⁴⁵ The first point of comparison concerns these lines from the *Jeu* when a young knight wants to go into battle:

Seigneur, se je sui jones ne m'aies en despit!
On a veü souvent grant cuer en cors petit
(ed. Henry, ll. 408-9)

This Jeanroy compares to Naimon's refusal to be left guarding the gate while the other peers make a *sortie* against the Saracens:

3207 Rollans, li niés Karlon, a Namlon apelé:
"Sire, vous remanrés o Tieri l'aduré
"Por garder ceste porte tent k'estrons retourné."
— Sire, respont li dus, dont ai ge mal déhé,
3211 Se je suis vos portiers en trestout mon aé,
Pour ce se je sui viex, ne m'aies en vilté,
Que je ai les ners durs et le cuer acéré;
Si sai bien eslaissier mon destrier séjourné
3215 Et férir de l'espée parmi hiaume gemmé.

Knott dismisses the parallel and Vincent comments that "the couplet of Jean Bodel's is reminiscent of Naimon's is undeniable but Jeanroy would appear to have over-emphasised their similarity."⁴⁶ Any similarity could be the result of exploitation of a common *topos*, although the *puer senex topos* stands on its head in *Fierabras*, with Naimon protesting his usefulness in battle despite his age rather than his youth.

The second parallel is more striking; Auberon is sent on a message in the *Jeu*:

248 Sire n' en doutés ja, nus cameus une lieue
N'est tant isniaus de courre que je nel raconsieue.
Derrier moi ne le mèche devant demie lieue.

Similarly in *Fierabras* Balan's messenger refuses a dromedary, because he can run faster:

4279 Mais n'i voel dromadaire pour cevaucer mener,
En .i. jour en vauroie .xiiii. trespasser;
Ja pour .c. lieu[e]s courre ne me verrés lesser.

Knott dismisses this too: "The fast-running messenger may well have been no more than a common-place of fantastic adventure stories."⁴⁷ I have found no other case quite as close to *Fierabras* as the *jeu de saint Nicholas* parallel although Galopin in *Elie de Saint Giles* can outrun a horse (ed. Raynaud l. 11190).⁴⁸ The fast running messenger on its own would not however be sufficient to suggest a borrowing from *Fierabras* in the *Jeu de saint Nicholas*.

The third parallel pointed out by Jeanroy comes when the Saracen King rages at his god in the *Jeu*:

134 A! fieus a putain, Tervagan,
Avés vous dont souffert tel oeuvre?
Con je plaing l'or dont je vous cuevre
Che lait visage et che lait cors!
138 Certes, s'or ne m'aprent mes sors
Les crestiens tous a confondre,
Je vous ferai ardoir et fondre
Et departier entre me gent
142 Car vous avés pass'argent,
S'iestes du plus fin or d'Arrabe

His seneschal protests and advises him to ask pardon and make amends, giving his god:

163 Dis mars d' or a croistre ses joes.

In a parallel incident in *Fierabras* Balan rages against Mahomet and indeed attacks the idol and is reprimanded by Sortibrant who urges him to 'faites li droit' (ll.5145-76). An offering is made in recompense:

5175 Tant ont prié Balan li paiens Sortinbrans
Et ti niés Tempesté, Cordroés et Brulans
K'il a amendé de XX^m besans:
De tant li fera croistre les costés et les flans

Knott argues that the "giving of money to a heathen god must have seemed perfectly natural to a medieval Christian seeking to portray, in his usual concrete and externalised fashion the falsity and foolishness of the heathen gods."⁴⁹ He ignores, however, the parallelism of structures: rage against god, counsellor's reprimand, offering, and the similarity of expression between line 163 of the *Jeu* and line 5176 of *Fierabras*. There are other similar incidents in Old French literature. Vincent mentions parallels between the *Jeu* and the *Siege de Barbastre* which include an idol being threatened with destruction.⁵⁰ The *Jeu* and *Fierabras* do seem to be closer in the structuring and expression than other texts.

The fourth passage used by Jeanroy is the unwillingness of the Emir d'outre l'arbre sec to be converted (*Jeu* ll. 1477-1511) which he believes to be based on Balan's refusal to be baptised (*Fierabras* ll. 5904-44). The Emir d'outre l'arbre sec refuses, then yields under compulsion, but protesting; Balan refuses, yields momentarily, but at the last minute strikes the bishop and spits into the font. There are similarities but it is not a particularly striking parallel, with no verbal similarities and only the refusal of the Emir in common.

None of these parallels would be very significant on its own, except perhaps the chastisement and offering, but they cannot be so readily dismissed when taken together. It seems more probable that Jean Bodel, who appears to have taken a lot of material from epic in this play, borrowed from *Fierabras* than the other way around. This would give us a *terminus ante quem* of 1202 for *Fierabras*.⁵¹

Confirmation of a knowledge of *Fierabras* might be expected in Jean Bodel's other great work, *La Chanson des Saisnes*. However, the echoes of *Fierabras* here confuse rather than enlighten. There is of course a *belle sarrasine* but she probably owes nothing to Floripas; Sybille and Floripas are very different examples of the same topos.

More importantly there is a "*cerf-guide*" seen as a sign from God, which shows the French the depth of the river (ll. 3410-44). Annette Brasseur sees this as reminiscent of *Fierabras* but the work of continuators;⁵² in any case the parallels are not very exact as the deer in the *Chanson des Saisnes* does not appear as an answer to prayer, nor does he actually lead the French across the river. The giant "Fierabraz de Rossie," a pagan killed by Baudouin (l. 6175), may well owe his name to Fierabras who "Roussie à gouverner," (*Fierabras* l. 52) but the use of the title and name for one who dies a pagan does not suggest an intimate knowledge of the extant *chanson*. However, Jean Bodel (or his continuators?) may well have taken only what he wanted from *Fierabras*, that is, the name, and possibly some of the characteristic traits, of Fierabras. Despite the existence in the genre of many monstrous giants (e.g. Agolafre in *Fierabras*), his Fierabraz, like Fierabras, is no monster, but rather as Brasseur points out, a large human being.⁵³ In the single combat with Baudouin we read that:

Chascuns est chevaliers et vaillanz et cortois. (L l. 6133)

The combat does not however parallel that in *Fierabras*. If these are echoes of *Fierabras*, it may reinforce an early thirteenth-century *terminus ante quem*, but not necessarily add to our understanding of Jean Bodel's use of the poem.

This date would be supported by Professor Colin Smith's belief that the *Poema de Mio Cid*, generally dated to 1207, on the basis of the date given in the manuscript, borrows from *Fierabras*.⁵⁴ His main evidence comes from a highly formulaic occurrence, which clearly owes its origins to French epic:

352 Longinos era çiego que nunquas vio aluandre.
diot con la lança en el costado dont ixió la sangre,
corrio la sangre por el astir ayuso, las manos se ovo de
un tar.
355 alçolas arriba, legolas a la faz,
abrio sos ojos, cato e sodas partes
en ti crovo al ora por end es salvo de mal

This reference to Longinus he suggests to be derived from *Fierabras* and *Parise la Duchesse*, both of which refer to Longinus in *prières du plus grant péril*:

Fierabras

946 Quant Longis vous feri de la lance trenchant,
 Il n'avoit ainc véu en trestout son vivant;
 Li sans H vinst par l'anste juques as ex coulant,
 Il en terst à ses ex, tantost en fu véant.

1207 Et Longis vous feri de la lance es costés;

 Il n'avoit ainc véu de l'eure qutil fu nés;
 Li sans fu par la lance duques as puins coulés;
 Il en terst à ses ex, tantost fu alumés.

*Parise la Duchesse*⁵⁵

813 Et Longins de la lance, biau Sire, vos ferit;
 Aval parmi la lance H sang clers en salit,
 Il en tardi ses euz, alumer li feïs;
 Ses pechiez pardonas, qu'il te cria merci.
 (ed. Pouzeau)

Professor Smith points out close linguistic parallels between the three poems but the Old French is very formulaic here. Longinus is one of the most common themes in the *prière du plus grand peril*. In his study of such prayers E.R. Labande found that Longinus figured in 30 of the 83 prayers examined.⁵⁶ One other textual parallel with *Fierabras* does add some weight to the argument:

Fierabras

1178 Puis alastes par tere .xxxii. ens passés

Poema de mio Cid

343 por tierra andidíste xxxii años, Señor spirità!

Again the Old French is formulaic. Professor Smith points out the clumsiness of the metre in the Spanish and attributes this to the fact that the poet is borrowing from another poem. Neither of these parallels on its own is very convincing, but taken together they are more difficult to dismiss, particularly as the Spanish poet is clearly very familiar with the Old French epics.

On the basis of this literary evidence it can be said that the extant poem probably came into being sometime in the last decade of the twelfth century, or at the very beginning of the thirteenth, although it seems clear that the combat between *Fierabras* and Oliver already

existed in an older version in substantially the same form. Historical evidence supports this date.

Historical Evidence

The topical references which have been used in the past to try to date *Fierabras* are the translation of the relics of St Florian to Roye and the identification of Aigremore with Aiguës Mortes. Neither, as we have already noted, is particularly helpful.

A more useful reference comes at the beginning of the poem where the poet protests about the infringement of the rights of the Lendit fair:

16 Ja n'i doit estre treus ne nus trésors donnés,
 Mais puis par convoitisse fu cis bans trespases.

and at the end of the poem:

6205 La foire du lendi fu par ce estorée,
 Que ja n'i devoit estre cens ne taille donnée.

Bédier saw the relics and the Lendit fair as the main purpose of the extant *chanson*, the force which inspired and united it.⁵⁷ They are certainly one of the main threads to run constantly through the poems of the *Fierabras* legend. The relics, the crown of thorns, the nails, and the sudary, taken from Rome by *Fierabras*, play a role in the protection of the besieged peers when they are held up by Naimon before the besiegers, causing the pagans to fall back. The relics are mentioned frequently throughout the poem and after the return of Charlemagne to France are distributed: part of the crown and one nail go to St Denis, the sudary goes to Compiègne and the other relics are distributed amongst "mainte église" (l. 6204). St Denis's rival, the Cathedra! of Notre Dame, is not mentioned. From these relics, given to St Denis, came the Lendit fair. The whole history of the fair is so steeped in legend that it is difficult to separate fact from fiction. There is no historical basis for the legendary tales of the institution of the Lendit fair by Charles le Chauve. He is said to have transferred to St Denis the relics brought back from Constantinople by Charlemagne who had deposited them at Aix-la-Chapelle, but these tales must have been of considerable propaganda value to the monks, particularly in their rivalry with Notre Dame.⁵⁸ *Fierabras* seems to be aligned with that propaganda, establishing the antiquity of the fair, indeed suggesting that

Charlemagne himself established it. The exact dates when the abbey acquired its relics of the Passion are difficult to establish. It probably possessed one of the nails in the twelfth century, but there is no evidence that it had part of the crown of thorns as early as this.⁵⁹ According to Rigord they acquired in 1205 part of the Cross, a relic notably absent from the continental versions of our poem.⁶⁰ This does not mean that the extant poem *must* have been pre-1205, although the literary evidence suggests this: Notre Dame possessed part of the Cross and this relic was part of the Lendit procession.⁶¹ The St Denis claim of precedence rested on the idea that the Lendit fair had its origins in their relics, so there would be no point in including a relic whose acquisition was known to be recent.

The complaint made by our poet implies that an unlawful, or simply much resented, levy of some sort was being charged at the fair. The monks themselves seem to have derived considerable profit from the fair as the merchants set up their loges on land belonging to the monastery. The monks consequently sought an extension of the fair beyond its previous three days. This was granted in 1212.⁶² It is unlikely that our poet would be complaining against an extension of the fair. The general tenor of the poem is to support the monks' claim to precedence over the cathedral regarding the fair by stressing the St Denis relics, so it is unlikely that this rent was the source of his complaint.

A more likely source for that complaint is the imposition made by the University of Paris on the sale of parchment at the fair. In 1291 the right of parcheminiers of the University to buy before all others was affirmed, but this could have been happening unofficially for some time previously.⁶³ According to the historian P. Huvelin it was the practice of the early thirteenth century for the rector and four parcheminiers to go every year "y lever son 'droit' sur tout le parchemin expose en vente."⁶⁴ The earliest record of regular visits by members of the University is in 1218, when the Pénitencier asks if scholars should be absolved as they had been fighting on the occasion of the visit to the fair.⁶⁵

Investigation into the history of the University reveals that it would scarcely have been sufficiently well-organised to have made any levy much before the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ The title *recteur* used by Huvelin is perhaps deceptive as the earliest record of the Rector of the Faculty of Arts acting as an officer of the whole University comes late in the thirteenth century. In the early thirteenth

century there was little distinction between the terms *proctor* and *recteur* and as the proctor was responsible for the handling of finances he would be an appropriate officer to be in charge of this levy.⁶⁷

The university was confirmed as a corporate body by Pope Innocent in 1215 but appears to have been in existence in a reasonably organised form from at least the early thirteenth century.

The historical evidence fits with the rather vague end of the twelfth century—beginning of the thirteenth century date indicated by the literary evidence, favouring the latter end of the time span.

Linguistic Evidence

The final criterion for the date of the *chanson* is the linguistic one. It was on linguistic evidence that Knott dated the poem 1190-c.1240. He points to effaced consonants at the rhyme as evidence for an early thirteenth-century date.⁶⁸ This is also found in earlier *chansons*, notably Girart de Vienne, dated c.1180, but still indicates that the traditional date for *Fierabras* of c. 1170 is too early.⁶⁹

R.C. Johnston also believed the 1170 date to be early on linguistic grounds. He pointed to the use of double consonants, found in all the manuscripts, and therefore possibly in the original.⁷⁰ Again this supports a later dating for the poem, although as it does depend on the orthography of the extant manuscripts it can be used as supporting evidence only.

Finally, a study of the imperfect and conditional first and second person plural forms reveals that in almost every case the -ions and -iex endings count for one syllable only. Out of some 40 uses I found only six where the ending counted two syllables (*estions* l. 1.4126 and 1.2362; *vouliez* l. 4086; *porriez* l. 4654; *aviez* l. 5441; *feriez* l. 5442). This would suggest a rather later date in the thirteenth century and this pattern would certainly be untypical of a twelfth-century poem.⁷¹

Unlike Schubert's opera then, we cannot give an exact date for the composition of the Old French *chanson de geste Fierabras*. The literary evidence suggests that it was written some time between 1190 and 1202. The historical and linguistic evidence supports this, favouring the later end of the time span.

Notes

1. Gaston Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1865) 251-53. There is a considerable amount of evidence regarding the lost *chanson* the most important being the accounts in Philippe Mousket's *Chronique rimée* (ed. le Baron de Reiffenberg, 2 vols, 1836, 1838) and in Jean d'Outremeuse's *Myreur des Histors*. Fossil evidence in the extant poem can also be of help. See also M.J. Ailes, "A Comparative Study of the Medieval French and Middle English Verse Texts of the *Fierabras* legend," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Reading (1989) 26-38.

2. Joseph Bédier, "La Composition de la chanson *Fierabras*," *Romania* 17 (1888) 22-51. I prefer to use this title than *Balan*, that used by Paris, *op.cit.* 251, as *Balan* may not have figured in the original poem.

3. A similar device is used in Chrétien's *Cligés*. Heraldry would not have been sufficiently developed for such a ruse much earlier than this. For literary and actual examples see Adrian Ailes, "The Knight, Heraldry and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry," *Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, eds. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992) 4.

4. ms H (Hanover Staatsbibliothek IV 5/8) dates from the fourteenth century and forms the basis of an edition prepared by A. Hilka and published by A. de Mandach (Neuchâtel, 1981). This edition also gives us variants for D, the Didot ms, destroyed by fire in Louvain in 1946.

5. Hans-Erich Keller, "La Technique des mises en prose des chansons de geste," *Olifant* 17 (1992) 7, gives no reason here for the dating. We are in agreement that the traditional earlier dating needs revision.

6. G. Groeber quoted in G.A. Knott, "An Edition of the Old French *Chanson de geste, Fierabras*," unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Cambridge (1954) 161.

7. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (1955-59) 3: 505.

8. A. Tits, "La légende de *Fierabras*," unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Louvain (1938). Unfortunately I have been unable to see Mile Tits's thesis. It is fully discussed in Knott, "*Fierabras*" esp. 163-65.

9. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 162.

10. A. Jeanroy, "Reminiscences de *Fierabras* dans *Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas* de Jean Bodel," *Romania* 50 (1924) 435-38.

11. *Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, ed. A. Henry (Paris, 1962) 181; P.R. Vincent, *The Jeu de saint Nicholas and Jean Bodel of Arras* (Baltimore, 1954) 3, dates the play 1190-1201.

12. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 115.

13. *Ibid* 165-66.

14. *Ibid* 161. The date of 1200 for ms E was proposed by E. Knust, "Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Escorial-Bibliothek," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische literatur* 9 (1868) 43-68.

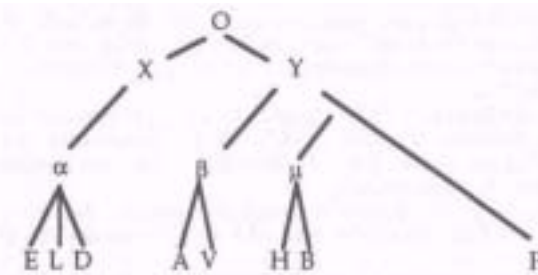
15. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 144-45, is not at all convinced that there is a connection; P.E. Bennett, "The Storming of the Other World, The Enamoured Muslim Princess and the Evolution of the Legend of Guillaume d' Orange," *Guillaume d' Orange and the chanson de geste: Essays presented to Duncan McMillan* (Reading, 1984) 1-14, takes the opposing view. On the date of the *Charroi de Nîmes* see J. Frappier, *Les chansons de geste du cycle de Guillaume d' Orange* (Paris, 1955, 1963) 2: 186-87.

16. All line references are to *Fierabras*, eds. A. Kroeber and G. Servois, *Anciens poètes de la France* (Paris, 1860). The ms sigla are as follows: B BN f.fr. 1499; Escorial M-111-21; L BL Royal 15 E VI; V Vatican Library Regina 1616; for mss H and D see above note 4

17. *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. F. Whitehead (Oxford, 1970).

18. Quotations from the *Rhymed Roland* are from R. Mortier, ed., *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris, 1940-44).

19. The stemma of *Fierabras* is very difficult to establish. See Ailes, "A Comparative Study of the Old French and Middle English Verse Texts of the *Fierabras* Legend" 122-269. A working model showing the major filiations would be:



The most detailed published work on the stemma is R. Mehnert, *Neue Beiträge zum Handschriftenverhältnis der chanson de geste Fierabras d'Alixandre* (Göttingen, 1938) and Idem, "Alt und neue *Fierabras* Fragen," *ZRP* 60 (1940) 49-62. For the Hilka edition see above note 4.

20. E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste* (New York, 1971) 666-67; A. Moissan, *Répertoire des noms propres... dans les chansons de geste* (Geneva, 1986) 2:954.

21. On the *Roland* stemma see especially J. Bédier, *La Chanson de Roland commentée* (Paris, 1927) 83-93; *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. C. Segré (Milan, 1971) ix-xviii; on recent disputing of this stemma see K. Schlyter, *Les Énumérations des personnages dans la Chanson de Roland* (Lund, 1974); E.A. Heineman, "Sur la valeur des manuscrits rimées pour l'étude de la traction rolandienne: tentative pour trouver les filiations des manuscrits TLP," *Le Moyen Age* 80 (1974) 71-87.

22. *Girart de Vienne by Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube*, ed. W.G. van Emden, S.A.T.F. (Paris, 1977) xxx-xxiv; on the relationships established in *Girart*, see xxv and xxxiii.

23. E. Gorre, *Testi inediti di Storia Trojana* (Torino, 1887) 33. I am grateful to Dr. Rosemary James for pointing this reference out to me. On the dating of the *Roman de Troie* see R.R. Bezzola, *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident (500-1200)* (Paris, 1963) 1: 147, where he gives the date 1165-70.

24. The information comes from *Le Roman de Troie, attributed to Benoît de St Maure*, ed. L. Constans, S.A.T.F. (Paris, 1904-1907).

25. J. Bédier, "La composition de la chanson *Fierabras*" 45-48.

26. Bennett, "The Storming of the Other World" 11.

27. There is much disagreement on the dating of the *Prise d'Orange*; see Bennett, *ibid* 2 and Frappier, *Les Chansons de geste du cycle de Guillaume D' Orange* 2:258.

28. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 165.

29. *Aimeri de Narbonne*, ed. L. Demaison, S.A.T.F. 2 vols (Paris, 1887).

30. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 165.

31. Van Emden, *Girart de Vienne* xxxv-xxxvii.

32. Tits cited in Knott's introduction 162-63

33. *Gui de Bourgogne*, ed. F. Guessard and H. Michelant, *Anciens poètes de la France* (Paris, 1859).

34. Van Emden, *Girart de Vienne* xxxiii; a more detailed discussion is found in van Emden's doctoral thesis, "An Edition of *Girart de Vienne*," London University (1962) 167-72.

35. *Girart de Vienne*, xxxiii.

36. Van Emden, "An Edition of *Girart de Vienne*," (PhD thesis) 167-72.

37. *La Chevalerie d'Ogier de Danemarque*, ed. M. Eusebi (Milan, 1963). Eusebi, in the introduction to his edition gives for *La Chevalerie Ogier a terminus post quem* of 1185 and a *terminus ante quem* of "la data di composizione del romanzo di *Huan de Bordeaux*," dated by M. Rossi to 1261-68. K. Togeby, *Ogier le danois dans les littératures européennes* (Munksgaard, 1969) 47-48, suggests a date of c. 1200-1215.

38. H. Brettshneider, "Der *Anseis de Cartage* und die *Seconda Spagne*," *Romanistische Arbeiten* 27 (Halle, 1937) 115-16. *Anseis* was edited by J. Alton, Stuttgart, 1892. I am grateful to Mr Alex Kerr, who is currently preparing an edition of *Anseis*, for the variants.

39. J. Subrenat, "De la date d'*Anseis de Cartage*," *Mélanges de langue et de littérature offerts à Pierre le Gentil*, eds. M.J. Dufournet and M.D. Poirion (Paris, 1973) 821-85.

40. J.V. Myers, *Jehan de Lanson* (University of North Carolina Press, 1965) xi-xiii.

41. *Ibid* xiv.

42. *Ibid* xvi.

43 Many of the following parallels are discussed in Dominique Boutet, *Jehan de Lanson: Technique et esthétique de la chanson de geste au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1988). Boutet suggests a number of stylistic parallels between *Jehan de Lanson* and *Fierabras* and other *chansons de geste*. She refers to the taking of the *somiers* in her shady of motifs (102). She denies any possibility of humour in the parallel scenes of the intervening peer when a volunteer is called for (165-66). Many of the parallels and differences pointed out by Boutet concern *Fierabras* as an example of the tradition as well as specific borrowing from *Fierabras*.

44. M. Tyssens, "Le problème du vers orphelin dans le cycle d'Aliscans, et les deux versions du *Montage Guillaume*," *La Technique littéraire des chansons de geste*, ed. M. Delbouille (Paris, 1959) 441.

45. Jeanroy, "Réminiscences de *Fierabras* dans *Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas* de Jean Bodel" 435-38; Vincent, *The Jeu de saint Nicholas and Jean Bodel of Arras* 40-65, looks at the *Jeu* and epic in general, with specific discussion of *Fierabras* on 41-42 and 48-63; Tits cited in Knott, "*Fierabras*" 163-65.

46. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 163; Vincent, *The Jeu de saint Nicholas* . . .

47. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 164.

48. Although the motif of the messenger is given some attention in Jean Pierre Martin, *Les Motifs dans la chanson de geste: définition et utilisation* (Centre D'Étude Médiévales et Dialectales de Lille III, 1992), there is no mention of the fast-running messenger as a topos, only a specific reference to the speed of Galopin. This suggests that it is not an important motif in *chansons de geste*. I know of no similar messenger.

49. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 167.

50. Vincent, *The Jeu de saint Nicholas* . . . 58-60.

51. Jean Bodel's play is now generally dated to 1202. See note 11 above for references.

52. A. Brasseur, *Etude linguistique et littéraire de la Chanson des Saisnes de Jean Bodel* (Geneva, 1990) 223. On the date of the *Chanson des Saisnes* see *ibid* 270-71; *Le Chanson des Saisnes*, ed. Annette Brasseur (Geneva, 1989) 1: ix-x

53. Brasseur, *Etude* . . . 231. Brasseur assumes, not improbably, the name *Fierabraz* to have come from the *chanson Fierabras* (*Etude*, 227); see also her edition, note to l. 5666, 842.

54. Colin Smith, "La Metrica del *Poema de Mio Cid*: Nueva posibilidades," *Nueva Revista de Filología hispánica* 28 (1979) 51; C. Smith, "Further Analogues for the *Poema de Mio Cid*," *La Cronica* 6 (1977) 15; C. Smith, *The Making of the Poema de Mio Cid* (Cambridge, 1983) 112, 119-20, 156, 158-60. I am grateful to Professor Smith for his comments on this section.

55. *Parise la Duchess*, ed. M. Plouzeau, 2 vols (Aix-en-provence, 1986).

56. E.R. Labande, "Le Credo épique: à propos des prières dans les chansons de geste," *Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunet* (Paris, 1955) 2:65, esp n.5.

57. Bédier, "La Composition de la chanson *Fierabras* " passim, and *ibid*, *Les légendes épiques* 4:160-61. H. Jarnik, *Studie über die Komposition der Fierabras Dichtungen* (Halle, 1903), also saw the relies as a central idea.

58. The legend is accepted by M. Félibien in his *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Denis* (Paris, 1706) 96, but rejected by l'Abbé Lebauf in his *Histoire de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1883-93) 1: 501 and 512.

59. W.M. Conway, "The Abbey of Saint Denis and Its Ancient Treasures," *Archaeologia* 2nd series, 66 (1915) 103-158; A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961); Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques* 4:125-27, seems to accept that the monks had a "relic" of the Crown of Thorns by 1124, the date of the institution of the Lendit Fair by Louis le Gros. On the fragment of the Cross and Notre Dame see E.M. Hallam, *Capetian France 987-1328* (London, 1980) 176-77.

60. Rigord "Anno Domini MCCV, Philippus rex Francorum in pignus caritatis et delectionis ecclesie Beati Dionysii Areopagite contulit pretiosissimas reliquias, quas Balduinus imperator Constantinopolitanus de sancta capelle imperatorum . . . cum timore et reverentia premissis jejuniis et orationibus acceperat, scilicet de sancta cruce, in qua salvator mundi pependit, ad quantitatem unius pedis in longum . . . de capillis domini nostri Jesu Christi pueri; de spinea corona Domini spinam unam," *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, Historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H. François Delaborde, Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1882-85) 1:162-63.

61. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques* 4:137-41.

62. P. Huvelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires* (Paris, 1897) 266-68.

63. *Ibid* 267.

64. *Ibid*. 65. *Ibid*.

66. H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, eds. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (Oxford, 1936) 1:301.

67. *Ibid* 312-314.

68. Knott, "*Fierabras*" 97.

69. *Girart de Vienne*, ed. van Emden xxx-xxxiv.

70. R.C. Johnston "On Editing *Fierabras*," an unpublished paper given to the British Branch of the Société Rencesvals, Lincoln, December 1980.

71. P. Fouché, *Le Verbe français: étude morphologique* (Paris, 1931) 239.