

Francophone Literature in Angevin Italy, 1265–1328

Ella Williams

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I, Ella Williams, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle

Abstract

This thesis explores the francophone literary culture of the Kingdom of Sicily (the Regno) during the first sixty or so years of Angevin rule, from the arrival of Charles I in Rome in 1265 to the death of his great-grandson, Charles of Calabria, in 1328. Following a review of the historical and cultural context, Chapter One explores patterns of itinerancy of the early Angevin court(s) to determine the extent to which they were geographically and culturally mobile.¹ Chapter Two discusses manuscript evidence of the *Faits des Romains* (c. 1213/14): it suggests that the text entered Italy via a friendship network involving Charles I and the extended Montfort family (across England, Italy and the Holy Land). The analysis shows how the text was harnessed during the reign of Robert ‘the Wise’ (r. 1309–43) as a form of Angevin intradynastic cultural inheritance for Charles of Calabria’s marriage to Marie of Valois (m. 1323). Chapter Three analyses documentary and manuscript evidence of cultural itinerancy between northern France and the Regno during the 1290s, suggesting that northerners (from France and Flanders) maintained cultural connections to the kingdom long after their political and military ties had expired. Chapter Four considers Charles II’s (nominal) authorship of *le Coseill del Roy Karles*, a text concerned with the recovery of Jerusalem (following the fall of Acre in 1291), alongside two late thirteenth-century francophone literary texts set in Sicily, namely *Enfances Renier* (after 1266) and *Floriant et Florete* (after 1268). Finally, the thesis situates itself within the increasingly international perspective through which medieval literary history is being rewritten, offering comparative insights between the Regno and other regions where francophone literary texts circulated during this period, including England, France, northern Italy and the Crusader States.

¹ I use the plural ‘courts’ to reflect the changing character of Angevin rule during this period.

Impact Statement

By exploring the francophone literary culture of the early Angevin courts in the Regno, this thesis offers new insights into the international circulation of francophone texts in the Middle Ages, and provides a starting point for further research into a rich and under-explored period in francophone literary history. The itinerant methodological approach, which ranges across manuscript, documentary and textual sources, offers insights to medievalists across the disciplines, and problematises single-source approaches to the period. This study challenges our perception of French as a national language, representing francophone court culture as an international mode, which criss-crossed territorial and linguistic boundaries during the Middle Ages. The evidence it presents has much to tell us about our modern understanding of nationhood and cultural identity.

Distinct outputs from the research undertaken for this thesis include four papers presented to academic seminars;¹ a publication in a leading peer-reviewed journal;² and a presentation to a non-specialist audience.³ Several themes relevant to this project were also published for a general readership as part of my blog contribution for the *Medieval Francophone Literary Culture Outside France (MFLCOF)* project.⁴

¹ ‘Multilingualism in the Angevin Archive’, presented at the UCL conference *The Italian Angevins: Naples and Beyond* (5th June 2013) which I co-organised with Jane Gilbert and Catherine Keen; ‘Between Arras and Puglia: Minstrels at the court of Robert II of Artois’, presented at the *IHR Late Medieval Italy* seminar (5th December 2013); ‘Eastern fantasies: Francophone literature and territorial politics in Angevin Italy’ presented at the *Cambridge Medieval French* seminar (5th February 2015); ‘History and prophecy in Naples: the *Faits des Romains* at the court of King Robert “the Wise”’ presented at the *IHR European History* seminar (2nd March 2016).

² Ella Williams, ‘Two Manuscripts of the *Faits des Romains* in Angevin Italy’, *Naples and Beyond*, 157–76. This article appeared in a Special Issue of *Italian Studies*, which was co-edited by myself, Jane Gilbert and Catherine Keen.

³ ‘The French of Southern Italy and Sicily’ presented at UCL Festival of the Arts 2013 (15th May 2013).

⁴ Ella Williams, ‘Baggage Allowances: Diasistema in Manuscript Culture’, <<http://www.medievalfrancophone.ac.uk/blog/baggage-allowances-diasistema-in-manuscript-culture-12/>> and <<http://www.medievalfrancophone.ac.uk/blog/baggage-allowances-diasistema-in-manuscript-culture-22/>>.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Abstract	5
Impact Statement	6
Conventions	8
Maps and Genealogical Tables	9
Abbreviations	11
Figures	13
Introduction	
<i>i. Introducing the Angevins</i>	14
i.i The Reign of Charles I (1265–1285)	18
i.ii A Disrupted Inheritance: Robert II of Artois as Regent (1285–1289)	23
i.iii The Reign of Charles II (1289–1309)	26
<i>ii. Francophone Literary Culture in the Regno</i>	29
ii.i. The Norman-Hohenstaufen Legacy	29
ii.ii. Angevin Rule	35
Chapter One	
Before Naples: Locating the Early Angevin Courts	49
<i>i. Mapping the Early Angevin Courts</i>	52
i.i. Charles I	56
i.ii. Count Robert II of Artois	63
i.iii. Charles II	64
Chapter Two	
From Charles I to Charles of Calabria: The <i>Faits des Romains</i> across the Generations ...	67
<i>i. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 726</i>	69
<i>ii. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 295</i>	81
Chapter Three	
Itinerant Courts: North-South Connections at the End of the Thirteenth Century	103
<i>i. Itinerant Orality: Minstrels in the Service of Count Robert II of Artois</i>	105
<i>ii. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 25566</i>	128
Chapter Four	
The Loss of Sicily and the Fall of Jerusalem: Charles II's Recovery Treatise, <i>Floriant et Florete</i> and <i>Enfances Renier</i>	168
Conclusions	202
Bibliography	210

Conventions

The Regno is the term here used to describe Angevin territories in Italy. For the period 1265–82 it refers to the Kingdom of Sicily, an area previously under the control of the Norman and Hohenstaufen dynasties, encompassing both the southern-Italian mainland and the island of Sicily. Following the popular uprising against Angevin rule and subsequent war involving the Kingdom of Aragon (known as The Sicilian Vespers), Charles I lost control of the island of Sicily in 1282, from which point the Angevin Regno refers to the Kingdom of Naples (mainland southern Italy) only. For this reason, my references to post-1282 events occasionally specify locations in 'insular Sicily', i.e. on the island territory of Sicily itself, to distinguish them from places on the southern mainland that still formed part of the Angevin-controlled domain.

Names have been rendered into English approximations as much as possible, for the sake of consistency, especially where different usages are associated with different regions e.g. Robert II of Artois rather than Robert d'Artois or Roberto d'Artois; Guy of Montfort rather than Gui de Montfort or Guido di Monforte. Where a single form is widely used, as for literary characters, I have adopted the variant which I consider to be most familiar to English readers e.g. King Arthur.

Maps and Genealogical Tables

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Please see reference below.*

Figure 1: The French royal family in the thirteenth century
Copied from Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998), p. 244

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Please see reference below.*

Figure 2: The royal family of Charles I of Anjou
Copied from Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266–1305* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. XI

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Please see reference below.

Figure 3: Map of the Regno (1262–82)¹

Adapted from Paul Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. XV

¹ After 1282 the Regno excluded insular Sicily.

Abbreviations

<i>ADAP</i>	<i>Atti della Accademia Pontania</i>
ADPC	Arras, Archives Départementales de Pas-de-Calais
Allaire and Psaki	<i>The Arthur of the Italians: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Italian Literature and Culture</i> , ed. by Gloria Allaire and F. Regina Psaki (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014)
<i>ASPN</i>	<i>Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane</i>
<i>Boccaccio e Napoli</i>	<i>Boccaccio e Napoli: Nuovi materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento</i> , ed. by Giancarlo Alfano and others (Florence: Franco Cesati, 2014)
Durrieu, <i>Les archives angevines</i>	Paul Durrieu, <i>Les archives angevines de Naples: Étude sur les registres du roi Charles Ier (1265–1285)</i> , 2 vols (Paris: Thorin, 1887).
<i>EA</i>	<i>L'État Angevin: Pouvoir culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle</i> , Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 245 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998)
<i>France and the Holy Land</i>	<i>France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades</i> , ed. by Daniel Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004)
<i>Literature of the Crusades</i>	<i>Literature of the Crusades</i> , ed. by Simon Thomas Parsons and Linda Paterson (Cambridge: Brewer, 2018)
<i>MGH, Const.</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum</i> , ed. by L. Weiland and others, 14 vols (Hanover and Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1893–2019)
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, scriptores</i> , ed. by Georg H. Pertz and others, 39 vols (Hanover and Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1826–2009)
<i>Naples and Beyond</i>	<i>Italian Studies Special Issue: The Italian</i>

Angevins: Naples and Beyond, 1266–1343, 72.2
(2017)

Saba Malaspina, *Die Chronik*

Saba Malaspina, *Die Chronik des Saba Malaspina*, ed. by Walter Koller and August Nitschke, *MGH SS*, vol. 35 (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1999)

Saltzstein, *Musical Culture*

Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle ed. by Jennifer Saltzstein (Leiden: Brill, 2019)

Figures

Figure 1: The French royal family in the thirteenth century, p. 9

Figure 2: The royal family of Charles I of Anjou, p. 9

Figure 3: Map of the Regno (1262–82), p. 10

Figure 4: Areas most frequently visited by Charles I (map), p. 57

Figure 5: Locations of ritual celebrations during the reign of Charles I, p. 61

Figure 6: Areas most frequently visited by Count Robert II of Artois (map) during his time in the Regno, p. 63

Figure 7: Heraldic decoration of Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 726, f. 109r, p. 70

Figure 8: BnF, MS f. fr. 295, p. 691, p. 87

Figure 9: Text, glosses, and associated index entries for BnF 295, pp. 292-93, pp. 97–102

Figure 10: Minstrels at the court of Robert II of Artois at the end of the thirteenth century, p. 108

Figure 11: Itinerancy of Count Robert II of Artois (from April 1292 to June 1302), pp. 165–67

Introduction

i. Introducing the Angevins¹

The popularity of the Angevins as a subject of historical and cultural inquiry has seen a significant increase over recent decades, due in part to the reconstruction of the Angevin registers.² This monumental work of textual revival, begun in the aftermath of the Second World War and now in its fiftieth volume, has reopened the Angevin dynasty and its day-to-day intrigues to archival scrutiny. The sustained and continuing effort of international scholars to re-evaluate the cultural history of medieval southern Italy,³ and the increasingly internationalising perspective through which we are beginning to interpret medieval institutions and systems of thought, is casting the spotlight on the Angevins as a nexus of political intrigue in the Middle Ages.⁴ As Laura Morreale has stated, recent investigations into the international production of French-language texts in the Middle Ages is beginning to establish ‘a new conceptualization of the question [which] repositions Naples and the Angevin court as part of the integrated,

¹ Not to be confused with the Angevin dynasty of England (1135–1217), the Angevin courts at issue here are those of Charles I (1226–1285) and his family, descended from the Capetian line of the Kings of France. See above for the relevant family trees. For relevant history of Angevins in Italy during this period see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958, repr. 2007); Dunbabin, *Charles I and The French*. For the later Angevins see Samantha Kelly, *The New Solomon: Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and Fourteenth-Century Kingship* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) and Elisabeth Casteen, *From She-Wolf to Martyr: The Reign and Disputed Reputation of Johanna I of Naples* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

² *I registri della Cancelleria Angioina*, ed. by Riccardo Filangeri and others, 50 vols (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1951–2010). The reconstruction of the Angevin registers was made possible by the extensive archival work undertaken by Paul Durrieu and Bartolommeo Capasso in the nineteenth century, before the obliteration of the records during the Second World War. See Bartolommeo Capasso, ‘Le fonti della storia delle province napolitane dal 568 al 1500’, *ASPN*, 1 (1876), 604–10 and ‘Nuovi volume di registri angioini ora formati con quaderni e fogli che già esistevano dimenticati e confuse nell’Archivio di Stato di Napoli’, *ASPN*, 10 (1885), 761–90 and ‘I registri angioini dell’Archivio di Napoli che erroneamente si credettero finora perduti’, *ASPN*, 22 (1887), 801–22; Durrieu, *Les archives angevines*.

³ For a useful survey, see Sarah Davis-Secord, ‘Medieval Sicily and Southern Italy in Recent Historiographical Perspective’, *History Compass*, 8.1 (2010), 61–87. For a more general overview of the historical subordination of southern Italy to northern Italy see Jonathan Morris, ‘Challenging Meridionalismo: Constructing a New History for Southern Italy’, in *The New History of the Italian South: The Mezzogiorno Revisited* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997), pp. 1–19.

⁴ ‘The family is one of those great dynasties around which the political history of later medieval Europe could be (though by and large it is not) written’ in D. L. d’Avray, *Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), p. 89.

international network of the larger francophone world, not a provincial outpost or poor relative of the Franco-Venetian or Franco-Lombard communities of the north'.⁵ A central ambition of this thesis is to shed new light on these networks through an exploration of francophone cultural artefacts, including textual, documentary and manuscript sources.

Recent historiography has already made significant progress in re-evaluating the Angevin dynasty, both in terms of broad-brush analysis of its (approximately) one-hundred-and-fifty-year rule,⁶ and through tightly focused studies of its various (and highly varying) rulers. Literary scholarship, in contrast, is yet to offer a comprehensive analysis of the cultural legacy of the Angevin court in its early years. Literary approaches tend to generalise Angevin court culture across time and, in light of its celebrated Neapolitan identity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to adopt a similarly Naples-centric approach to the early years of Angevin rule.⁷ Previous attempts to locate a francophone cultural legacy for the early Angevins have therefore been hampered by an often unacknowledged blind-spot, namely the fact that although Naples became the seat of Angevin power in the fourteenth century, the early Angevin courts were geographically itinerant, with increasing localisation in Naples brought about during the reign of Charles II (r. 1289–1309).⁸ The effect of this has been a narrowing

⁵ Laura K. Morreale, 'The Hospitaller's Hand and the *Conseil du Roi Charles*', *Naples and Beyond*, 135–47 (p. 137).

⁶ Classic studies include Édouard Jordan, *Les origines de la domination angevine en Italie* (Paris: Picard, 1909); Emile-Guillaume Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954).

⁷ Francesco Sabatini, *Napoli angioina: cultura e società* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1975), the foundational study of Angevin culture, which establishes the synonymy between the Angevins and Naples which continues in recent scholarship. See also Nicola De and Alberto Varvaro, 'Il regno angioino: la Sicilia indipendente', in *Letteratura Italiana. Storia e Geografia. L'età Medievale* (Turin: Einaudi, 1987), pp. 457–88; Charmaine Lee, 'Avignon and Naples: An Italian Court in France, a French Court in Italy' in *Avignon & Naples: Italy in France, France in Italy in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Marianne Pade, Hannemarie Ragn Jensen and Peterson Waage Peterson (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1997), pp. 141–48.

⁸ For detail on the operation of Charles I's itinerant government see Stefano Palmieri, 'La chancellerie angevine de Sicile au temps de Charles I^{er} (1266–1285)', *Rives méditerranéennes*, 28 (2007), 45–55 <<http://journals.openedition.org/rives/1183>> [accessed 13 August 2019] (pp. 48–49).

of our understanding of Angevin court culture and a tendency to isolate it from northern-Italian and international literary networks.

This study considers the early years of Angevin Italy as a lens through which to consider the development of francophone literary culture during a defined historical moment. Its central hypothesis is that the geographical itinerancy of the Angevins in the late-thirteenth century, as they marched, sailed, and crusaded through diverse European territories, brought about a cultural itinerancy involving the transmission and production of francophone literature in late-medieval Europe. By focusing on the early years of Angevin rule in Italy, this thesis engages with the dynasty in its nascence, a period during which it was engaged in near-perpetual war, first during the Crusade of 1265 against the Hohenstaufens, and then against the local uprisings which took place across the kingdom, culminating in the outbreak of the War of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, following which the Angevins lost control over the island of Sicily. It was also a period in which the Angevins' dynastic succession was interrupted by Charles II's imprisonment in Aragon, which left the Regno in the hands of two regents, Robert II of Artois and Cardinal Gerardo Bianchi, from 1285 to 1289.⁹

As well as decentring our geographical reference point for Angevin cultural influence, this thesis contends that, in view of the Angevins' dynastic, political and territorial instability during these early years, the notion of a singular 'Angevin court' is anachronistic to this period. The medieval court was both an objective reality, composed of people, their animals and possessions, and an imaginary landscape representing allegiance, tradition and communal identification.¹⁰ It is true that the

⁹ For background see Pietro Silanos, *Gerardo Bianchi Da Parma (†1302): La Biografia di un cardinale-legato duecentesco* (Rome: Herder, 2010). A useful summary of his career is given in Julian Gardner, 'Seated kings, sea-faring saints and heraldry: some themes in Angevin iconography' in *EA*, p. 121.

¹⁰ Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* (c. 1181–93) shows that, as early as the twelfth century, commentators have grappled with the definition of a court. See Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. by M. R. James (Oxford: Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1914).

Angevin dynasty stabilised its hold on mainland southern Italy from the early fourteenth century onwards, yet during the early decades of its rule in the Regno it was far from a singular, coherent power base, but was mediated through the very diverse ideological and political imperatives of its first leaders.¹¹ We should therefore more accurately talk of multiple ‘Angevin courts’ during the period in question.

The idea of the medieval court as an imaginary and ideological construct raises interesting questions about the cultural environment of the Angevin Regno in its earliest years. The inauguration of the rule of Charles I did not represent the inheritance of an established legacy, or the continuation of a dynastic tradition. When Charles entered Rome in 1265,¹² he could not claim to represent sacral kingship or rightful inheritance; he brandished his power claims as a warrior, a conqueror, and a crusader.¹³ As a fief of the Church, the Regno represented a territory to be conquered militarily, and a symbolic sphere to be saved from the Hohenstaufen enemy, which had been in conflict with the papacy in consequence of Frederick II’s attempts to assume imperial rights over the Italian peninsula.¹⁴ As such, it was papal endorsement, rather than dynastic inheritance, upon which Charles I depended for the legitimising ideology of his reign. Rather than the rightful continuer of a bloodline, as his father and brother had been as kings of France,¹⁵ Charles I represented a soldier of Christ, sent to liberate Sicily from the clutch of the infidel.¹⁶ It was papal, rather than familial, alliance that brought about Charles’s

¹¹ Namely Charles I (r. 1266–1285), Count Robert II of Artois’s regency (1285–1289), Charles II (r. 1289–1309) and Robert ‘the Wise’ (r. 1309–1343).

¹² Thirteenth-century accounts of Charles’s arrival in Rome are given in: Salimbene de Adam, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, ed. by Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi and John Robert Kane (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986), p. 479; Saba Malaspina, *Die Chronik*.

¹³ For the background to Charles’s crusade see Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 15–34.

¹⁴ For the history of this conflict see David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Penguin, 1988), pp. 290–407.

¹⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).

¹⁶ See Andrew of Hungary’s description of Charles I’s address to his troops after the battle of Benevento, in which he is reported to address them as ‘the soldiers of Christ’. Quoted in Housley, *Italian Crusades*, pp. 164–65.

rule; and it was as crusaders that thousands of men and their families abandoned their homes in northern France, Provence and Lombardy and travelled to the Regno in support of his conquest.¹⁷ As a crusade preached to the whole of western Christendom, the Angevin conquest of the Regno was immediately established as an international affair. With the Regno cast as a crusading territory, it thus became symbolically linked to the history of the crusades and the Crusader States, an association which would remain long after the death of Charles I. Charles I's court, then, represented a common ideal through which people drawn from different territories, and who spoke different languages, could find common ground.

As part of establishing their dominance in the Mediterranean, the early Angevins self-consciously and triumphantly presented themselves as conquerors of the Regno, a feat modelled on the conquest of the kingdom by their Norman predecessors approximately two hundred years prior. The traditional long-lens historicising narrative of this period has seen that the Angevins became increasingly Italianised as they stabilised their grip on mainland southern Italy. Seen in closer perspective, however, the territorial stability which saw the Angevins rule over southern Italy for nearly a century and a half is punctuated with a seemingly endless series of international conflicts which challenged their right to rule in the Regno and continually threatened the heroic legacy of their founding father, Charles I.¹⁸

i.i The Reign of Charles I (1265–1285)

The early members of the Angevin family were users of French both as native speakers and as players in an international political elite whose *lingua franca* was French. Alongside the private, familial performance of French at the Angevin court, the

¹⁷ For the composition of Charles I's armies see Dunbabin, *Charles I*, pp. 166–78.

¹⁸ Even the reign of King Robert, usually seen as a period of stability in Angevin history, was a period of significant upheaval with a background of 'the fragility generated by rebellion and war, uncertain agricultural production and fiscal pressure'. See Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 6.

dynasty also harnessed the language in its international dealings.¹⁹ Documents were routinely issued from the early Angevin treasury in French, and were registered by its administrators in both French and Latin. As Stefano Palmieri has explained, the employment of bilingual record keeping at Charles I's treasury was exceptional.²⁰ And as Andreas Kiesewetter has argued, 'la cancelleria del Regno fu in quest'epoca più francese di quella reale della madrepatria, dove il francese fu usato di rado come lingua cancelleresca alla fine del Duecento'.²¹ As I have discussed in detail elsewhere, Charles I's adoption of French coincided with his acquisition of the rights to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the production of Francophone treasury documents may have coincided with an increasingly international focus.²² Yet, most of the documents produced in French relate to internal communication with members of his bureaucracy, and it is possible that French provided a more personal mode of communication between the peripatetic king and his treasurers stationed in Naples. The documentary use of French diminished over time, with a marked reduction in francophone output during the reign of Charles II until it virtually disappeared from use during the reign of King Robert.

Following his proclamation as King of Sicily by Clement IV in May 1265, Charles I began to enact his rule over his new kingdom. His territorial claims were not legitimised by dynastic ideology, but were brought about only through hard-fought conquests over diverse territories, both geographical and psychological. For the majority of his twenty-year rule in the Regno, Charles I was on the offensive; the crusade mission was on going, and he was to live out his status as an itinerant warrior until his death in 1285.²³

¹⁹ Morreale, 'The Hospitaller's Hand', p. 138.

²⁰ Stefano Palmieri, *La cancelleria del Regno di Sicilia in età angioina*, (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 2006), p. 22.

²¹ Andreas Kiesewetter, 'La cancelleria angioina', in *EA*, pp. 361–415 (p. 397).

²² Ella Cullen, 'An Exploration of the Bilingual Registers of the Reconstructed Neapolitan Archive, Relating to the Royal Treasury of Charles I' (unpublished master's thesis, University College London, 2012).

²³ A second crusade was launched on Charles's behalf in 1283, following the outbreak of the Sicilian-Aragonese rebellion (the Sicilian Vespers) the previous year. Dunbabin, *The French*, p. 158.

The framing of Charles I's conquest as a crusade on behalf of the papacy did not only help to attract men to his army, but also worked as a powerful weapon in what we might nowadays term 'the battle of hearts and minds'. Notwithstanding his vilification by some contemporaries as an avaricious land-grabber,²⁴ for a number of commentators (and in the majority of extant francophone sources), Charles I's military and territorial success made of him *the* crusading hero of his age.²⁵ In Jean de Meun's continuation of the *Roman de la Rose*, Charles I epitomises the absolute Christian hero, whose defence of the Church may never be challenged.²⁶ Despite the negative appraisals of his rule by some later historians,²⁷ there can be no doubt that the celebration of his exploits, together with the papal endorsement which he enjoyed throughout his rule, made him a magnet for those seeking glory, territory and absolution.²⁸ His image as a crusader not only legitimised his usurpation of the Sicilian throne, but also triggered the international celebration of his success.²⁹

In support of his image as a crusader, the propaganda launched on behalf of Charles I's conquest of the Regno repeatedly staged his war with against the Hohenstaufens as a battle between good and evil, through which the Antichrist would be driven from Italy and Christian supremacy would rise again, figuring in such representations as the natural precursor to the reconquest of the Holy Land.³⁰ According to Angevin propaganda, the evil excesses by which the kingdom had been governed under Frederick II would be quashed by the arrival of Charles I on the Sicilian throne, and the

²⁴ Even Saba Malaspina, a papal ally, had cause to condemn Charles's territorial greed. Quoted in Dunbabin, *Charles I*, p. 114.

²⁵ The glorification of Charles I's exploits was widespread in contemporary sources. See Alessandro Barbero, *Il mito angioino nella cultura italiana e provenzale fra Duecento e Trecento* (Turin: Deputazione subalpina di storia patria, 1983), pp. 49–67 and Housley, *Italian Crusades*, p.153.

²⁶ Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. and trans. by Armand Strubel (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1992), pp. 370–72.

²⁷ See, for example, Giuseppe Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli: Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese 1266–1474* (Turin: UTET, 1992), p. 43.

²⁸ For the success of recruitment initiatives for Charles's crusades, see Dunbabin, *Charles I*, pp. 166–78 and 'Charles of Anjou: Crusaders and Poets', in *Literature of the Crusades*, pp. 150–57.

²⁹ Barbero, *Il mito*, pp. 49–67.

³⁰ Housley, *Italian Crusades*, pp. 42–70.

kingdom would return to the glory days of the Normans under Good King William (r. 1166–1189).³¹

Notwithstanding the vilification of the Hohenstaufen enemy by the propagandists employed on Charles I's behalf, part of the practical process of laying claim to his new territory involved taking on much of the extant machinery of the Hohenstaufen regime, including not only its buildings, personnel and bureaucratic processes, but also many of its economic policies, including those that had been strongly criticised by the anti-Hohenstaufen propagandists who had supported Charles I's claim to rule. Whether drawing on its archives, making use of its military infrastructure or enforcing its taxation policies, Charles made extensive use of many features of Hohenstaufen legacy and its traditions of government became part of the core apparatus of his rule.³²

Charles's dependence on Hohenstaufen precedent is likely to have presented significant challenges for his regime. On the one hand, his absorption of the Regno's advanced administrative practices must have enhanced the prestige of conquering such a richly civilised and highly organised realm.³³ On the other hand, the way in which Charles continued to promote and benefit from the economic legacy of the Hohenstaufen regime must have been ideologically troubling for his followers.

It cannot have gone unnoticed, for example, that Charles continued to protect and derive significant resources, both military and financial, from the Muslim colony of Lucera, after he had suppressed its rebellion of 1268.³⁴ Whereas the protection of the colony by the Hohenstaufens had been a convenient target for crusading propaganda in

³¹ Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, 4 vols (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Association, 1976), I, *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, p. 141.

³² See Stefano Palmieri, *La cancelleria*, p. 22.

³³ Jean Dunbabin has convincingly shown a number of ways in which the administration of the Regno had developed more advanced practices than that of the Kingdom of France. See Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 250–59.

³⁴ The essential study is J. A. Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003).

the run up to Charles I's conquest,³⁵ once Charles had suppressed the colony's rebellion, he largely adopted the same policies as the Hohenstaufen dynasty had done before him, drawing on the Muslim inhabitants of Lucera for a significant quantity of his tax revenue and for their skills as warriors.³⁶ Quite how the members of his crusading army interpreted this accommodative U-turn towards the Muslims of Lucera is impossible to say with certainty.³⁷ It is not difficult to imagine that such a divergence between the ideological justification for Charles I's crusade, on the one hand, and its practical enactment, on the other, must have been somewhat troubling to those who had committed practically, or financially, to the campaign.

Charles's image as a warrior of the Church was fundamental to his successful conquest of the Regno. This image was bolstered by his dynastic heritage as a Capetian.³⁸ During the thirteenth century, the Capetians saw themselves as heirs to Carolingian lands and as descendants of the Carolingian line.³⁹ Thus we might see in Charles's international ambitions not only the reconquest of Christian territories on behalf of the Church, but also the recuperation of a Carolingian empire; this idea is indeed at stake in Géraud de Frachet's *Cronica*, a text which presents Charles as the new Charlemagne and which Charles went to significant effort to acquire.⁴⁰

Throughout his lifetime, and despite his physical distance from the French court centred in Paris, Charles continued to depend on, and self-identify with, the financial and military power of his relatives at the French court. There are moments during Charles's reign when it is hard to separate the Capetian cause from the Angevin cause,

³⁵ For bibliography relating to papal propaganda against Hohenstaufen support of the colony, see Housley, *Italian Crusades*, p. 65.

³⁶ Taylor, *Muslims*, pp. 148–72.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Charles stressed this crusading heritage when promoting the sanctity of the Capetian dynasty: Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, ed. by Fredric L. Cheyette, trans. by Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), p. 190.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43, 182.

⁴⁰ Cornelia Coulter, 'The Library of the Angevin Kings at Naples', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 75 (1944), 141–55 (pp. 148–49).

such as, for example, during the Tunis Crusade of 1270, when Charles took the cross alongside his brother, King Louis IX, and the rest of the western-European ruling elite.⁴¹ The inseparability of the Angevin and Capetian causes was widely remarked by contemporaries, such that Clement IV remarked in 1267 that the conquest of Sicily by Charles I was ‘a great exaltation of the whole French nation’.⁴²

i.ii A Disrupted Inheritance: Robert II of Artois as Regent (1285–1289)

The outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, and the capture and imprisonment of Charles of Salerno (who would later become King Charles II) by the Aragonese fleet in 1285, meant that the death of Charles I later that year, which should have been the foundational moment of Angevin dynastic succession, set in motion a prolonged period of dynastic intermission.⁴³ On his deathbed, Charles I appointed Count Robert II of Artois, his nephew and long-serving ally in the War of the Vespers, to the regency of the kingdom, a position Count Robert II would hold for the next six years.⁴⁴

Count Robert II’s leadership in the Regno was conducted in a very different ideological context from that of Charles I. Whereas, as we have seen, Charles I’s Italian expedition was presented as a crusade from the outset, the defence of the kingdom following the outbreak of the Vespers was preached as a crusade only from March 1283.⁴⁵ When Count Robert II and his men arrived in the Regno in 1282, therefore, they did so not in the spirit of religious fervour, but for reasons of family loyalty and personal connections. As nephew and cousin of Charles I and Charles II respectively,

⁴¹ For further discussion of Charles’s Capetian heritage, see Dunbabin, *Charles I*, pp. 9–24.

⁴² Housley, *Italian Crusades*, p. 152.

⁴³ For a full account of this period, see Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*.

⁴⁴ Charles of Salerno (later Charles II) remained in captivity in Aragon until 1289. After a brief return to the Regno to receive his coronation, he travelled to France to perform various diplomatic missions, before returning to the Regno to take up his rule in 1291. For an overview see Stephen R. Davies, ‘Marriage and the politics of friendship: the family of Charles II of Anjou, King of Naples (1285–1309)’ (unpublished doctoral thesis: University of London, 1998), pp. 40–68.

⁴⁵ Dunbabin, *The French*, p. 158.

Count Robert II of Artois had previously served at the Angevin court from 1274 to 1276, as a result of which he became one of Charles's surest allies.⁴⁶

Not only were the ideological contexts of Charles I's and Count Robert II's leadership in the Regno very different, but also their military and political challenges had little in common. Unlike Charles I's conquest of the Regno, which had been the result of crusading offensive, Count Robert II and his army were on the military defensive; their task was to subdue the Aragonese-sponsored insular rebellion, and to stop its incursion into mainland southern Italy.⁴⁷ Whereas the crusade of 1265 had everything to gain, that of 1283 had everything to lose. Furthermore, although Count Robert II was successful in preserving the mainland from the Aragonese-Sicilian army, his regency saw a rapid increase in economic hardship in the kingdom.⁴⁸

Alongside his assumption of duties as regent of the Regno, Count Robert II retained his role of Count of Artois and, as such, attracted great numbers of men from northern France to his service. Count Robert II also took control of the military infrastructure previously commanded by Charles, including a polyglot army containing Frenchmen, *Provençaux*, Lombards, *Regnicoli* and Muslims.⁴⁹

Further complicating the idea of an Angevin court during this period is the appointment of Cardinal Gerardo Bianchi as co-regent of the Regno by the papacy. A recent study has suggested that the coalition between Count Robert II and Cardinal Gerardo Bianchi was cooperative and successful, partly due to the fact that they operated in different spheres of influence, with Gerardo overseeing ecclesiastical affairs from Naples and Count Robert II in command of an itinerant military force.⁵⁰ They together shared in the government of the kingdom by each focusing on distinct

⁴⁶ Dunbabin, *Charles I*, p. 186.

⁴⁷ Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 101–19.

⁴⁸ For background on the economic conditions of Robert's regency, see Giuseppe Del Giudice, 'Una legge suntuaria inedita del 1290', *ADAP*, 16 (1886), 1–154.

⁴⁹ Dunbabin, *Charles I*, pp. 166–78. Housley, *Italian Crusades*, pp. 157–58.

⁵⁰ Silanos, *Gerardo Bianchi Da Parma (†1302)*, pp. 233–54.

territories: Count Robert II of Artois oversaw the South (Puglia, Calabria and Basilicata), and Gerardo focused mainly on the North (Terra di Lavoro, Abruzzo and Principato). Gerardo seems to have spent most of his regency in Naples and was based at the Castel Capuano, where he probably lived among members of the Angevin family, in contrast to Robert II whose military role kept him engaged in a near-constant itinerancy.

Scholars such as Malcolm Vale and Carol Symes have done much to illuminate the Artesian context of Count Robert II's court, and Jean Dunbabin has masterfully explored the military and political environment of his southern experience, and its influence on his household and its administration once he had returned to Artois in 1291.⁵¹ Rather little is understood, however, about the literary and cultural experience of Count Robert II's court in the Regno.

The fact that Count Robert II of Artois and Cardinal Gerardo Bianchi, as outsiders of the Angevin dynasty, were able to govern the Regno, using the political, military and administrative networks already in place, demonstrates the extent to which the court was not (only) to be found in the body of the king; its power was exerted institutionally, through pre-established networks and cooperative governance. In this way, it was not necessarily enacted through the corporeal presence of the monarch, but through whoever could pull its purse strings and navigate its networks. In light of this, this thesis suggests that Angevin influence and thus the notion of an 'Angevin court' during this period was not restricted to the dynastic heirs only, but could also be harnessed by those in command of its institutional bureaucracy, such as Count Robert II of Artois and Cardinal Gerardo Bianchi.

⁵¹ Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 101–19.

By the time of Charles I's death in Foggia 1285, Count Robert II of Artois had been stationed as head of the Angevin army in Calabria for more than two years, fighting to maintain Angevin hold of southern Italy against the allied Sicilian-Aragonese troops. This was not Count Robert II's first experience of military turmoil in the Regno: he had returned to Arras through Sicily following the aborted Tunis Crusade of 1270 during which his uncle, the French King Louis IX, died from dysentery. He then returned to the Regno a few years later, where he remained for almost two years from 1274 to 1276, this time to gain military experience at the Angevin court and, perhaps, as Jean Dunbabin has suggested, as preparation for Angevin succession should Charles I's sons not have survived.⁵² This first extended stay in the Regno saw him assume the role of vicar, i.e. caretaker, of the kingdom during Charles I's short absence in Rome in 1274. Count Robert II of Artois also had dealings at the papal *curia*, about what we cannot be sure, and his first wife, Amicie of Courtenay, died in Rome in 1275.⁵³

When he returned to the Regno for a nine-year stint in 1282, Count Robert II was already familiar with the kingdom and its customs, having been a member of Charles I's entourage (and having served as his vicar) just over five years earlier. In addition to this early experience, he had more than two years' unbroken service in the Regno by the time of his regency, during which time he led war efforts in Calabria against the Aragonese-sponsored uprisings.

i.iii The Reign of Charles II (1289–1309)

The memory of Charles II's twenty-year reign has been almost completely eclipsed by that of his more illustrious father, Charles I, and son, Robert, such that he has been

⁵² Dunbabin, *The French*, p. 102.

⁵³ *Ibid.* Angevin records show that Charles I commissioned her tomb and arranged for it to be erected in St. Peter's Basilica.

aply termed a ‘historiographical bridesmaid’.⁵⁴ Unlike Charles I, Charles II never went on crusade during his reign;⁵⁵ instead, he spent much of his energy on diplomatic missions between his home in Naples and the Pope’s temporary residence in Avignon, Provence.⁵⁶ Charles II’s reign was characterised by obsessive striving to resolve the Sicilian war through negotiations with the Papacy, the French royal court and Aragon.⁵⁷ In the documentation relating to these negotiations, Charles II appears as a willing peacemaker, eager to resolve the conflict and ensure the release of his sons, held captive by the Aragonese until 1295.⁵⁸ Through these negotiations he was also able to expand the geographical and political reach of his family by arranging a lengthy series of marriages for his numerous offspring, which saw the Angevin dynasty inserted into positions of power throughout the Mediterranean.⁵⁹

Unlike the spirit of optimistic expansionism that defined the reign of Charles I, the reign of Charles II was a period of territorial contraction for the Angevins in Italy. Having been captured in 1284 by his Aragonese adversaries during the Sicilian Vespers, Charles of Salerno (as he was then known) was held in jail, first in Cefalù, Sicily, and then in Aragon, until he was released under the treaty of Canfranc in 1288. Upon his release, his father was dead, his Sicilian inheritance had been lost, and his freedom depended on brokering a near-impossible peace. Crowned at Rieti in 1289, within two years he had lost his titular rights over the kingdom of Jerusalem, and he was destined to spend the rest of his life battling to restore his fractured Sicilian inheritance.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Charles II ruled the Regno from 1289 to his death in 1309. Davies, ‘Marriage’, p. 17. In the absence of a full-length study see A. Nitschke, ‘Carlo II d’Angiò’, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 20 (1977), 227–35.

⁵⁵ He did, however, accompany his father, Charles I, on crusade in 1276, long before his reign. See Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: the Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 45.

⁵⁶ See Davies, ‘Marriage’ for an in-depth study of Charles II’s diplomatic marriage negotiations on behalf of his children.

⁵⁷ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 265–79.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Davies, ‘Marriage’, p. 41.

⁶⁰ For background on these events see Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 265–66.

Charles II was too caught up in the Sicilian conflict with Aragon to involve himself properly in the politics of the Holy Land. This made way for Henry II of Lusignan (1270–1324) to promote his claim over the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He launched an attack on Acre in 1286 which resulted in his effective rule of the kingdom such that ‘for the last five years of the kingdom’ existence the Lusignan claim was unchallenged in practice’.⁶¹ From then on, Charles II was King of Jerusalem in name only. The period that followed Henry’s usurpation of the Jerusalem throne saw the collapse of Christian rule in the Holy Land, culminating in the fall of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291, a catastrophe for Christendom whose effects were felt from west to east.⁶²

In contrast to his father’s legacy as a crusader-warrior, the reputation of King Charles II was founded on the performance of piety rather than martial brilliance. He promoted his claim to have discovered the relics of Mary Magdalene in the crypt of the church of Saint Maximin in Provence while he was still Prince of Salerno.⁶³ Once he had become King, he promoted the cause for canonisation of his son, Louis of Toulouse (1274–1297) — who was posthumously canonised in 1317 — as part of a programme designed to promote the *beata stirps* (sacred lineage) of the Angevin dynasty.⁶⁴ Both endeavours had a clear political purpose: as Vassiliki A. Foskolou has explained, ‘[Charles II’s] father, Charles I, had put all his might into creating the Angevin kingdom; it fell to Charles II to consecrate his efforts by selecting a saintly protector for

⁶¹ Norman Housley, ‘Charles II of Naples and the Kingdom of Jerusalem’, *Byzantion*, 54.2 (1984), 527–35 (p. 529); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954 repr. 1990), III, *The Kingdom of Acre*, p. 396.

⁶² Schein points out that contemporaries did not consider the loss to be permanent. See Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, p. 73.

⁶³ He claimed to have found the relics in 1279. See Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalene: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp.41–43.

⁶⁴ Gabor Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, trans. by Susan Singerman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 111–28 and André Vauchez, *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires: Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999), pp. 67–78.

their dynasty'.⁶⁵ The promotion of the cults of the Magdalene and Louis of Toulouse was enormously successful, with both represented artistically in contemporary medieval artworks across the Italian peninsula, including in Rome, Assisi, Bologna and Venice.⁶⁶ The political purpose of Charles II's piety was also made apparent through his extensive programme of religious architecture to establish Naples as 'the new capital of the kingdom after the loss of Palermo and [...] the political and administrative center in the realpolitik of a regime mutilated by the loss of [insular] Sicily'.⁶⁷ As further demonstration of his piety, in the 1290s Charles relentlessly persecuted Jewish populations from his own kingdom and organised the destruction of the Muslim colony at Lucera by selling the inhabitants to slavery, justifying his actions through the promotion of Christianity in the region.⁶⁸

ii. *Francophone Literary Culture in the Regno*

The rest of this Introduction will discuss our current understanding of the place of francophone literature in the medieval Regno and the political and military context of the Angevins' early rule in the South.

ii.i. The Norman-Hohenstaufen Legacy

Following centuries of external domination, first by the Greeks and later by the Muslim Arabs, the Kingdom of Sicily was invaded by the Norman army led by Robert Guiscard in 1061; it was a conquest which marked, for the first but not the last time, the seizure of the region by a francophone dynasty. Norman Sicily has been characterised, by both contemporaries and modern scholars alike, as an age of cultural and linguistic

⁶⁵ Vassiliki A. Foskolou, 'Mary Magdalene between East and West: Cult and Image, Relics and Politics in the Late Thirteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 65–66 (2011–2012), 271–96 (p. 286).

⁶⁶ Gardner, 'Seated Kings', pp. 121–24.

⁶⁷ Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples: Church Building in Angevin Italy, 1266–1343* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 75.

⁶⁸ For Charles II's persecution of Jews living in the Regno, see Joshua Starr, 'The Mass Conversion of Jews in Southern Italy (1290–1293)', *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 203–11. For the destruction of Muslim Lucera, see Taylor, *Muslims*, pp. 177–88.

multiplicity; according to Peter of Eboli, the kingdom was endowed with a ‘populo [...] trilingui’, who represented the co-existence of Arabic, Greek and Latin traditions,⁶⁹ and a ruling class which ‘used Islamic literary, artistic and architectural conventions to celebrate a kingdom ruled by a Christian monarch’.⁷⁰ Visitors to Sicily today can have no doubt — when confronted with the Arabic inscriptions and Byzantine dome of the Christian church of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (c. 1140–70) — of the Sicilian Normans’ adaptation of Arabic and Byzantine forms.

In addition to the tripartite Arabic-Greek-Latin identity of the island’s documentary and architectural legacies, there is a fourth element to be considered in the cultural environment of the Normans in Sicily: evidence suggests that the Normans’ domestic and intra-dynastic communication was enacted through French. As the twelfth-century Sicilian chronicler, Hugo Falcandus, thought to point out to newcomers to the island, it was the language of their native Normandy which ‘maxime necessaria esset in curia’.⁷¹ The practical utility of French as an international *lingua franca* for Norman territories, which at their height stretched from Ireland to North Africa, cannot be overestimated. Whether or not the vast occupation of lands by the Normans can be considered an empire has been subject to much recent debate.⁷² In consideration of how the Normans’ navigated their connections across northern and southern European lands, David Bates has adopted the conceptual framework of ‘diaspora’ to understand how the Normans saw themselves in relation to their past and future: ‘the new rulers legitimated themselves as the successors to previous powers [...] ideologically therefore, the Normans were programmed to disappear at the same time that the act of conquest

⁶⁹ Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, quoted in Karla Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily, 1100–1250: A Literary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 31.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷¹ Giulio Bertoni, *Il Duecento* (Milan: Vallardi, 1911), p. 50.

⁷² Recently summarised in David Bates, *The Normans and Empire: The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford during Hilary Term 2010* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1–27.

ensured that their memory would endure'.⁷³ The Normans' conquest of diverse territories was, therefore, 'an intermittent dilution and reinforcement of identity among many of the participants as time and generations pass'.⁷⁴

The Sicilian Normans' use of French played into this framework of self-identification as it provided both a linguistic connection to their historical roots and a pan-European vernacular through which the whole dynasty could conduct their international affairs, and with which the Sicilian Normans could converse with the great number of visitors who arrived from far-off territories. There was a continuous exchange of nobles and intellectuals from England to Sicily, which undoubtedly played a key role in the exchange of francophone literature across western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Two of the oldest visual representations of King Arthur in Italy are located in the church of San Nicola in Bari and in Otranto cathedral.⁷⁵ The Otranto example is particularly interesting, as Arthur is depicted within an intricate and extensive mosaic floor, and thus demonstrates the adoption of Byzantine aesthetics in the service of European romance culture.

Evidence for the reception of Arthurian tradition in Norman Sicily also arises in folkloric topographical descriptions of insular Sicily. The local nomenclature for the spectacular mirage witnessed above the Straits of Messina, 'La Fata Morgana', demonstrates the allure of the Arthurian world as a guiding narrative for striking local phenomena. Intriguingly, the appellation 'Fata Morgana' represents an external, Calabrian perspective on the port city of Messina, for the mirages in question are visible only from the mainland side of the Strait. As a perspective on the city imposed from the outside, it is an external gaze of looking over to, but not yet arriving in, insular Sicily. It

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁷⁵ See Gloria Allaire, 'Arthurian Art in Italy', in Allaire and Psaki, pp. 205–32 (pp. 207–08).

casts Sicily as a mysterious, semi-magical place, whose association with Morgane *la fée*, an Arthurian figure associated with the supernatural and magic, forms part of a wider trend of associating insular Sicily with the Arthurian world.⁷⁶ The continued use of this designation in modern times bears witness to the Sicilians' internalisation of this external gaze, and demonstrates the portability and appeal of Arthurian legend across centuries of use. Scholars have typically assumed that the 'Fata Morgana' appellation represents Norman legacy, whereas Roger Sherman Loomis has suggested that the abundance of Arthurian material in Sicily during the Middle Ages might have been the legacy of Breton *conteurs* who are known to have assisted in the Norman conquest of the island. Such *conteurs* would have been responsible for nativising Arthurian tradition in Sicily through oral, rather than textual, routes.⁷⁷ That Sicily, and specifically Messina, became a hotbed for the oral transmission of Arthurian stories is unsurprising when we consider that it was one of the busiest ports in the Mediterranean through which countless international travellers would have passed; it was 'the meeting point of travellers and traders of all faiths, origins and backgrounds'.⁷⁸

The association of Sicilian geography with Arthurian literary culture is first represented in written culture by Gervaise of Tilbury, an Anglo-Norman cleric who visited Sicily in the early thirteenth century and reported the local oral storytelling tradition (which he says he heard from the '*indigenae*') of imagining King Arthur's palace within Mount Etna.⁷⁹ Rather than the product of a newly arrived Norman population, trying to make sense of a foreign land, Gervaise's testimony suggests that Arthurian culture was harnessed by Sicilian locals as part of their own process of self definition. We might also wonder whether the *Roumanz de la conquete de Cecile*

⁷⁶ Roger Sherman Loomis, 'Morgain la fée in Oral Tradition', *Romania*, 319 (1959), 337–67, (p. 364).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 340–41.

⁷⁸ Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, pp. 184–85.

⁷⁹ Loomis, 'Morgain la fée', p. 340.

which, although now lost, is among the items listed in a Norman inventory, perhaps also contained a version of King Arthur's exploits in Sicily.⁸⁰ The story of Arthur in Etna to which Gervaise of Tilbury's writing attests, presents the Arthurian world as a nativised story which, as we have seen, was probably brought to Sicily by oral tradition, where it developed a unique trajectory of its own, which will be explored in further detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Certain francophone texts are suggestive of a Norman-Sicilian origination; in the absence of further research, however, their context of production remains unresolved. In the case of *Guillaume de Palerne*, for example, a ten-thousand-line verse romance set in Sicily, the narrative includes extensive geographical descriptions of the Sicilian Kingdom indicating direct experience of the region's geography and topography.⁸¹ The narrative is also finely tuned to the political particularities of its Sicilian setting; it provides an explanation, for example, of Benevento's dual allegiance to both Imperial and Papal powers.⁸² A reference to 'la contesse Yolent | la boine dame, la loial', who 'cest livre fist diter et faire | et de latin en roumans traire' (vv. 9656–57; 9659–60) has led to its attribution to Countess Yolande, daughter of Baldwin IV, count of Hainault (c. 1131–1223). This attribution largely rests on the fact that the *Escoufle*, the accompanying text in the manuscript, is dedicated to the 'gentil conte en Hainaut' (v. 9060), who has been identified as Baldwin VI of Hainault.⁸³ Although the question of the true identity of the Yolande dedicatee, and the text's ultimate place of origin, remains unresolved, *Guillaume de Palerne* provides testimony for the allure of Norman Sicily for francophone patrons and writers.

⁸⁰ As referenced in Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis's Introduction to his edition of Amato di Montecassino's *Storia de Normanni*. See *Storia de Normanni*, ed. by Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1935), p. 11.

⁸¹ *Guillaume de Palerne, roman du XIII^e siècle*, ed. by Alexandre Micha (Geneva: Droz, 1990).

⁸² 'Bounivens ot la cites non/Si estoit l'apostoile lige/Fors que la souveraine justice/En estoit a l'empeor' (vv. 3888–3891).

⁸³ This attribution has been suggested from the limited biographical information available for Jean Renart, the text's author. See Vernon Frederic Koenig, 'New Studies on Jean Renart: The Date of the *Escoufle*', *Modern Philology*, 32.4 (1935), 343–52.

As Norman rule gave way to the Hohenstaufen empire,⁸⁴ the Sicilian Kingdom came to be ‘reinvented as a Latinate Christian territory’, from which a poetic tradition in the Italian vernacular would emerge: the so-called *scuola siciliana*.⁸⁵ In contrast to the many studies emphasising the Arabic nature of Frederician court culture, however, only very limited attention has been paid to the circulation of francophone culture in Hohenstaufen circles. Despite this, however, there is evidence to suggest the continued cultural currency of francophone culture in Frederick’s kingdom. The extant royal registers, for example, provide a direct picture of the Emperor’s personal appetite for francophone writings, as we see in a record of a letter to his secretary in Messina, thanking him for his gift of the ‘libro Palamidis’ which is thought to be a version of *Meliadus / Guiron le Courtois*,⁸⁶ French therefore played a part in the multilingual cultural world of Frederick II’s court.

We also see in the Italian poetry of the *scuola siciliana*, cultivated at the Frederician court, numerous references to Tristan and Iseut. It is unclear whether these allusions were gleaned directly from francophone or Occitan sources, but they demonstrate that literature concerning the *matiere de Bretagne* found favour in Hohenstaufen circles. Heraldic evidence also suggests that Frederick II’s court may have produced some of our earliest surviving romance manuscripts.⁸⁷ Beyond any entertainment value provided by such material, there are also strong indications to

⁸⁴ First under the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI (1165–1197), whose claim to Sicily arose through his marriage to King Roger II’s heir, Constance (1154–1198), and then under their only son and heir, Frederick II (1196–1250).

⁸⁵ Mallette, *The Kingdom*, p. 6.

⁸⁶ The letter dated 5th February 1240. See J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, 2 vols (Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1958), II, p. 21 n. 4; see also Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, *I romanzi cavallereschi miniati a Napoli* (Naples: Società editrice napoletana, 1979), p. 8.

⁸⁷ Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414, e un riesame dell’arte nell’età fridericiana*, Saggi e studi di storia dell’arte, 2 (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1969), pp. 38–41.

suggest that it was harnessed for political ends, with Arthurian material used in the promotion of prophetic ideas.⁸⁸

Furthermore, John Haines has suggested that the fashion for writing Sicilian-dialect songs, cultivated at the court of Frederick II, was taken up by compilers of francophone songbooks in subsequent decades, who emulated the formal characteristics and international social prestige conveyed by such compilations. In this way, the absorption of francophone culture at Frederick's court, and its repackaging into elaborate Sicilian-language songbooks, found its way back into the francophone literary culture of the later thirteenth century.⁸⁹

ii.ii. Angevin Rule

A central premise of this thesis is that the early years of Angevin rule in Italy represent a discrete period for the circulation of francophone literary culture in the Regno, which should be distinguished from the culture of the later Angevin court centralised in Naples. At the Neapolitan court of the mid-fourteenth century, writing in French presented a specific historical mode through which members of the Angevin family could engage with their dynastic past. During the reign of Queen Joanna (r. 1343–1382), a period which marked the apex of the Angevins' Neapolitan identity, the Angevin court self-consciously sought to promote the memory of its dynastic origins through French-language texts.⁹⁰ In one of the starkest, most overtly political examples of the revival of francophone cultural inheritance in the Regno, Queen Joanna's court commissioned an extremely elaborate francophone chivalric manuscript, the *Statuts de*

⁸⁸ Donald Hoffman, 'Was Merlin a Ghibelline? Arthurian Propaganda at the Court of Frederick II', in *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend, Essays in Honor of Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. by Martin B. Shichtman and James Carley (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), pp. 113–28.

⁸⁹ John Haines, 'The Songbook for William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844): A Crucial Case in the History of Vernacular Song Collections', in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. by Sharon E. J. Gerstel (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 57–109 (pp. 72–73).

⁹⁰ Note especially the expensive manuscript relating to French history purchased by the court in 1335. See Coulter, 'The Library', p. 146.

l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit au Droit Désir (also known as the *Ordre du Noeud*), which celebrates the inheritance of Angevin cultural legacy by Louis of Taranto who would later become King Louis I (r. 1348–1362).⁹¹ Elizabeth Casteen has argued that the overt political purpose of this text was to ‘portray [Louis] as a courtly monarch, as the scion of the Capetian and Angevin lines and heir of their *beata stirps*, and as the champion of the Church’.⁹² This example of politically motivated nostalgia for a lost age of chivalry undoubtedly chimed with the fashions of the age.⁹³ It represented the codification of nostalgic yearning for the Angevins’ dynastic past in support of Louis’s assumption of the Neapolitan throne. Alongside the overtly political function of the *Statuts*, there is also a sense in which French-language writing was caught up with a private, familial past. As Elizabeth Casteen has said ‘the order’s importance for the historian lies in its conceptual refashioning of Naples’s monarchy on the model of its earliest Angevin kings’.⁹⁴ The later Angevins displayed an overt self-consciousness of their francophone, distinctly chivalric, cultural inheritance.

For scholars working from this Neapolitan perspective, the francophone culture of the early Angevins has been seen as an importation of Frenchness from France. In the most influential study of Angevin court culture, Francesco Sabatini has seen the reception of francophone literary culture in the Regno as an offshoot of Parisian court culture.⁹⁵ Contrasting this with the francophone literature of northern Italy of this period which ‘si esercitava attraverso gli scambi commerciali e culturali affidati alle classi medie’ and which resulted in the flowering of ‘una propria cultura’, francophone

⁹¹ For background see Casteen, *She-Wolf*, pp. 92–100.

⁹² Casteen, *She-Wolf*, p. 99. As Casteen also explains, the Statutes’ gendered fashioning of Louis as a chivalric king also served to imply that Joanna was excluded from the intimate power circles of the Angevin court.

⁹³ Other such orders which were created in the fourteenth century include Alfonso XI of Castile’s Order of the Band (1330), Edward III of England’s Order of the Garter (1348) and John II of France’s Order of the Star (1351). For background see Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, rev. edn (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 179–99.

⁹⁴ Casteen, *She-Wolf*, p. 100.

⁹⁵ Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, p. 35.

literature in Angevin Italy ‘coltivò e preservò con spirito aristocratico il patrimonio culturale d’Oltralpe’.⁹⁶ In other words, francophone texts produced in northern Italy during the late thirteenth century are generally considered to be Italian, while those of the Regno are thought of as distinctly foreign i.e. imported from France.

Recently, however, new perspectives have been brought to bear on international francophone literary production during this period: it is no longer ‘a matter of French being “owned” by one nation and dispersed from the north-western centre of the modern “hexagon”-shaped French state’.⁹⁷ Studies of French-language writings in areas outside France, such as in England after the Norman Conquest, or the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, are determining that ‘Medieval French developed as a pluri-local *lingua franca* in regional configurations that were both distinctive and mutually intelligible’.⁹⁸ Exploring how the francophone literary culture of the early Angevin courts fits within this ‘Global French’ perspective is a key consideration for this thesis.⁹⁹ As Laura Minervini has recently argued, the use of French during the early years of Angevin Italy was not limited to courtly circles; as a living language used for international trade and cultural exchange, and in view of the large number of francophones present in the Regno during these years, it would have been used ‘nelle logge dei mercanti, nei centri

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 40.

⁹⁷ *Vernacular Literary Theory from the French of Medieval England: Texts and Translations, c. 1120–c. 1450*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Thelma Fenster and Delbert Russell (Cambridge: Brewer, 2016), p. 3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* See also Simon Gaunt, ‘French Literature Abroad: Towards an Alternative History of French Literature’, *Interface: A Journal of Medieval European Literatures*, 1 (2015), 25–61 <<https://doi.org/10.13130/interfaces-49.38>>: ‘the most salient feature of the proprietorship of French in the Middle Ages is precisely that it belongs to no one, or perhaps more accurately to any Francophone Christian, as the vernacular language that transcends borders, linguistic or otherwise’ (p. 49).

⁹⁹ For a discussion of the difficulties in approaching the Angevins from within modern academic disciplines and the ‘inbetweenness’ of Angevin Italy see Jane Gilbert, Catherine Keen and Ella Williams, ‘Introduction’, *Naples and Beyond*, 121–27 (p. 122). For more general bibliography see Christopher Kleinhenz and Keith Busby, *Medieval Multilingualism: the Francophone World and its Neighbours* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

di copia e miniatura di manoscritti, nei cantieri edili e negli insediamenti monastici promossi dai sovrani'.¹⁰⁰

Determining a corpus of texts or manuscript artefacts to be considered within this international perspective is, however, far from straightforward. The dearth of direct, incontrovertible evidence of specific francophone texts or manuscripts associated with the early Angevin courts has led to the conclusion that there was only 'un faible mouvement littéraire dans le sens français', and that the Angevins left virtually no trace on the evolution of francophone literary culture.¹⁰¹

Extant manuscript evidence suggests, however, that French was sometimes used for the expression of a locally orientated historical narrative, particularly in the later period of Angevin rule.¹⁰² In this case, the use of French neither relates to France nor to the status of French as an international language, but seems to reflect local usage in Angevin Naples during the second half of the fourteenth century. The recent discovery of a fragment of a francophone biblical translation hailing from Naples, which is peppered with Italianisms, implies that 'there might be a specific cultural programme behind these translations that has recourse to French, albeit a mixed variety, perhaps a native variety: "Neapolitan French"'.¹⁰³

For the earlier period of Angevin rule, Cornelia Coulter's study of Angevin treasury records identified the purchase or production of approximately one hundred

¹⁰⁰ Laura Minervini, 'Il francese a Napoli (1266-1442). Elementi per una storia linguistica', in *Boccaccio e Napoli*, pp. 151–74 (p. 164).

¹⁰¹ Paul Meyer, 'De l'expansion de la langue française en Italie pendant le moyen-âge', *Atti del Congresso internazionale di Scienze storiche*, 4 (1904), 61–104 (p. 95).

¹⁰² The manuscript witness is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fonds français 688, which is discussed in Fabio Zinelli, "'je qui li livre escrive de letre en vulgal": scrivere il francese a Napoli in età angioina', in *Boccaccio angioino: Materiali per la storia culturale di Napoli nel Trecento*, ed. by Giancarlo Alfano, Teresa D'Urso and Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 149–173 (pp. 151–54).

¹⁰³ Charmaine Lee, 'Writing History in Angevin Naples', *Naples and Beyond*, 148–56 (p. 155). This impulse of the later Angevins to harness francophone literary forms for the construction of their dynastic lineage will also be seen through our discussion of manuscripts of the *Faits des Romains* in Chapter Two of this thesis, in which this trend can be seen as early as 1323 when, as I shall suggest, a manuscript of the *Faits* was produced for the marriage of Charles of Calabria to Marie of Valois. I will suggest that this manuscript was produced as a form of literary inheritance from the era of Charles of Calabria's great-grandfather, Charles I.

books from 1280 to 1342, yet only one was written in French.¹⁰⁴ Most of the manuscripts logged in the treasury accounts date from the Robertian period (1309–43). Relating to Charles I's reign, they detail his commissioning of the translation of Al-Razi's *Kitab al-Hâwi*, a tenth-century Arabic medical encyclopaedia given him by the King of Tunis, which he instructed to be translated into Latin by his Jewish translator, Faracius, as well as the copying of Géraud de Frachet's *Cronica*, in which Charles is imagined as the new Charlemagne.¹⁰⁵ Both of these manuscripts were produced in Latin and are still extant.¹⁰⁶

There are, however, limitations to Coulter's study: first, her analysis relates only to records dating from 1280 to 1342, and therefore misses out the first fifteen years of Angevin rule of the Regno; second, since it relies on the expense reports detailed in Angevin treasury documents it takes account only of manuscripts which were directly commissioned or purchased by the Angevin court; third it omits manuscripts which were already in the court's possession or which were received as gifts, or manuscripts privately owned by the many individuals who formed part of the court at a given moment (such as Robert II of Artois), or who were in cultural contact with the Angevin court either locally or from afar.

Coulter's idea of the 'library', which in our modern understanding of the term is suggestive of a centralised area where books could be consulted, is perhaps misleading for the period with which we are concerned. Although books were stored at the Castel

¹⁰⁴Coulter, 'The Library'. The records refer to only one manuscript written in French, a devotional book 'in vulgari Gallico', produced for Charles of Calabria c. 1316. See Coulter, 'The Library', p. 147. It is possible that other manuscripts were written in French, such as the richly illuminated copy of Marco Polo's travels ordered by King Robert (p. 149). The copying of this manuscript is recorded in the registers under the text's Latin name, *De Mirabilibus Magni Canis*, although, as Coulter points out, early redactions of the text circulated in French and Italian vernaculars as well as in Latin. All surviving illustrated manuscripts of Marco Polo are in French.

¹⁰⁵ Coulter, 'The Library', pp. 148–49.

¹⁰⁶ For discussion of the *Kitab al-Hâwi* see Jean Dunbabin, 'Cultural Networks in the Early Angevin Kingdom of Sicily, 1266–1309', *Naples and Beyond*, 128–34 (pp. 130–33); for the *Cronica* see Régis Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin: la conquête du royaume de Naples chez Hélie Autenc et Géraud de Frachet', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 158 (2000), 443–73.

dell’Uovo in Naples, the most valuable ones were kept under lock and key.¹⁰⁷ In view of the early Angevins’ itinerant lifestyles, it is likely that the manuscripts they wished to consult frequently were not locked away along with the kingdom’s treasures but, like the important documents relating to the royal archive, were carried with the court on its travels. Records show that Charles I was willing to incur significant cost and inconvenience to ensure that the essential written tools of government were made available to him: in 1275, forty-two mules were required to transport records from Melfi to Naples for his use.¹⁰⁸ In view of the increasing difficulty of transporting his documentary archive with him, in 1275 he established two archives, one in Naples and the other in Capua, where certain documents would be held safely, yet as late as 1284 he requested that all the treasury accounts be sent to him in Puglia.¹⁰⁹ We might similarly imagine that, along with his documents, his important manuscripts were also transported around the kingdom.

Archival records outside Coulter’s study demonstrate that Charles I personally sponsored the production of francophone literary culture at his court, such as his commissioning of a copy of the *Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon* (now lost) in 1278.¹¹⁰ Stories about Godfrey of Bouillon’s heroism during the First Crusade (1095–1099) abounded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries such that Godfrey ‘emerged as a totemic cultural paradigm of the crusades’.¹¹¹ Charles’s commissioning of this manuscript signals his interest in the crusading legacy which he saw himself as continuing during his own lifetime. Alongside Charles I’s interest in the crusading

¹⁰⁷ Coulter, ‘The Library’, p. 150

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5. Before they were centralised in Naples in the fourteenth century, records relating to the Angevin administration were held at various sites of importance across southern Italy.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ G. Orofino, ‘Cavalleria e devozione: Libri miniati francesi a Napoli e a Bari in età protoangioina’, in *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, ed. by V. Pace and M. Bagnoli (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1994), pp. 375–89 (p. 380).

¹¹¹ Simon John, “‘Claruit Ibi Multum Dux Lotharingiae’: The Development of the Epic Tradition of Godfrey of Bouillon and the Bisected Muslim’, in *Literature of the Crusades*, pp. 7–24 (p. 8).

glories of old, contemporary francophone writers were charged with promoting the Angevin crusade to Italy. Surviving works by contemporary poets such as Rutebeuf provide evidence of the ‘considerable use of song in recruiting young men to the army’.¹¹²

Ownership of francophone writings, such as Brunetto Latini’s encyclopaedic *Trésor* and manuscripts of the *Tristan*, has also been linked to families who were in the orbit of the Angevins at the end of the thirteenth century.¹¹³ These texts are known to have enjoyed a wide circulation in northern Italy during this period, and their contemporaneous circulation in the Regno reminds us of the fluidity of literary culture across the Italian peninsula during this period.¹¹⁴ Local audiences also sponsored translations of Latin texts into French such as Seneca’s *Epistulae morales* and works by Livy.¹¹⁵ The translation of Seneca’s text was dedicated to Bartolomeo Siginulfo, Count of Caserta in the Regno (1308–1310), and it is thought that a Tuscan translator enacted the translation.¹¹⁶

A consideration of Guido delle Colonne’s *Historia destructionis Troiae*, begun in Sicily during the reign of Charles I and completed during the reign of Charles II, demonstrates that francophone literature circulated among the *regnicoli* and was not necessarily a self-conscious display of Frenchness: the text is a translation of Benoît de Sainte Maure’s *Roman de Troie* and was commissioned in 1271 by Matteo Porta, archbishop of Salerno. The local reception and adaptation of francophone literary culture is also suggested by the presence of French poetic refrains in the work of the

¹¹² Dunbabin, ‘Charles of Anjou: Crusaders and Poets’, p. 151. The poems are *La chanson de Pouille* (1264) and *Le dit de Pouille* (c. 1265).

¹¹³ Fabio Zinelli, “je qui li livre escrive”, p. 160 and pp. 168–69.

¹¹⁴ Alison Cornish, *Vernacular Translation in Dante’s Italy: Illiterate Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 74 and 78–79.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹¹⁶ For linguistic analysis of the Seneca translation attributed to Angevin Naples see Luciano Formisano and Charmaine Lee, ‘Il “francese di Napoli” in opera di autori italiani dell’età angioina’, in *Lingue e culture dell’Italia meridionale (1200–1600)*, ed. by Paolo Trovato (Rome: Bonacci, 1993), pp. 133–62; for further discussion see Minervini, ‘Il francese a Napoli’, p. 154.

southern-Italian poets Odo delle Colonne, Rinaldo d'Aquino, and Giacomino Pugliese.¹¹⁷

An inconsistency in literary scholarship of this period is that the Angevin court is frequently mentioned as the source of francophone literature employed by writers in Italian, such as Boccaccio, and yet there is a relative absence of literary evidence for the early years of Angevin rule in the Regno. It is unlikely that the Robertian era was entirely responsible for the production of this material. Undoubtedly, evidence has been lost. It is also possible that we have been looking at surviving evidence in the wrong way. Over recent decades, art historians and literary specialists have debated the possible Angevin provenance of a group of twenty-four francophone manuscripts produced at the end of the thirteenth century.¹¹⁸ Many studies have upheld the Angevin provenance of these manuscripts,¹¹⁹ while others have suggested that they were produced in Lombardy or Genoa, based on their illuminations and decorative features.¹²⁰

Fabrizio Cigni has argued that the manuscripts' cursive style is more illustrative of a bourgeois than courtly context (and so is less likely to be attributed to Angevin circles) and Daniela Delcorno Branca has provided evidence of a strong interest in

¹¹⁷ Bertoni, *Il Duecento*, pp. 52–54.

¹¹⁸ The debate has been recently summarised by Zinelli in “‘je qui li livre escrive’”, pp. 159–62.

¹¹⁹ Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, ‘Classical Mythology in Medieval Art’, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 4 (1932–1933), 228–80; Bernhart Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450, I: Süd- und Mittelitalien*, 4 vols (Berlin: Mann, 1968) and ‘Frühe angiovinische Buchkunst in Neapel. Die Illustrierung französischer Unterhaltungsprosa in neapolitanischen Scriptorien zwischen 1290 und 1320’, in *Festschrift Wolfgang Braunfels*, ed. by Friedrich Piel and Jörg Traeger (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1978), pp. 71–92; Saggese, *I romanzi cavallereschi* and ‘Romanzi cavallereschi miniati a Napoli a tempo del Boccaccio’, in *Boccaccio angioino*, pp. 347–56.

¹²⁰ For Lombardy see Roger Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York: Modern Language Association of America and Oxford University Press, 1938); Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia fino alla metà del Quattrocento: dai più antichi monumenti alla metà del Quattrocento* (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1912); for Genoa see François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset, with Claudia Rabel, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine italienne*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, Centre de Recherche sur les manuscrits enluminés, 3 vols (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits, 1984–2013), I, pp. 42–52; Marie-Thérèse Gousset, ‘Étude de la décoration filigranée et reconstitution des ateliers: le cas de Gênes à la fin du XIII^e Siècle’, *Arte medievale*, 2.1 (1988), 121–49.

Arthurian literature among the mendicant orders in the Genoa area.¹²¹ Cigni has also suggested that several of the notes contained in these manuscripts are written in Franco-Italian with a Pisan dialect, and has pointed to the many thousands of Pisan prisoners held in Genoa from 1284 to the end of the thirteenth century as a likely context for the production of these manuscripts.¹²²

Part of the difficulty rests in the discrepancy between art-historical studies of the manuscripts' decorative features, which have identified specific decorative traits with certain zones of production, and linguists' attempts to identify a characteristic dialect of French used in Angevin Italy during this period, from which it has not been possible to define a specific linguistic profile.¹²³

The contested provenance of the above-mentioned manuscripts does not lead to outright support of one hypothesis over another. What is shown, rather, is that a group of francophone manuscripts from late thirteenth-century Italy display a diverse range of stylistic influences and no singular cultural-geographical orientation. Furthermore, what is missing from the current provenance debate is a discussion of how the textual contents of these manuscripts interact with their physical assembly.

It was in part due to the itinerancy of artisans not only throughout Italy but also internationally that diverse cultural registers within a single artefact could arise. As Charmaine Lee eloquently explains, '[evidence] in the documents from the Angevin chancellery points to scribes and artists hailing from different parts of Italy as well as from France, the Low Countries, England and Germany working on the same manuscripts'.¹²⁴ Furthermore, language traces are not always a reliable indicator of

¹²¹ Daniela Delcorno Branca, review article, '*La grant Queste del Saint Graal*', *Lettere italiane*, 43 (1991), 308–18.

¹²² Fabrizio Cigni, 'Manoscritti di prose cortesi compilati in Italia (Secc. XIII-XIV): stato della questione e prospettive di ricerca', in *La Filologia Romanza e i Codici*, ed by S. Guida and F. Latella, 2 vols (Messina: Secania, 1993), II, pp. 419–41.

¹²³ '[I]l francese di napoli non è riuscito a creare un suo tipo linguistico', in Zinelli, "'je qui le livre scrive'", p. 170.

¹²⁴ Lee, 'Writing History', p. 150.

cultural geography during this period, and it would only need a workshop to contain one or two native Genoese members – wherever it happened to be – for traces of a Genoese dialect to be discerned in a manuscript’s annotations.¹²⁵ We must ask ourselves whether our instinct to connect literary artefacts to specific places is the right approach when dealing with an itinerant society of nobles and artisans.

It is unlikely, unless new evidence is uncovered, that a single, stable location for the production of these manuscripts will ever be found. Just as attempts to fix the early Angevins’ cultural geography to Naples represent an oversimplification of their extensive international reach, so too do these manuscripts resist our attempts to categorise and define them along narrow geographical lines.¹²⁶ The early Angevin courts were constantly on the move, as were contemporary manuscripts and the people who made them.

Rather than self-contained spheres of cultural isolation, therefore, during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, places such as Lombardy, Pisa, Genoa and the Regno were by no means cut off from one another’s influence. As we will see in the following chapter, all of the early Angevin rulers spent significant time outside the Regno. It is small wonder, then, if they entered into many forms of cultural exchange and commission with craftsmen and artists from all over Italy and beyond. As art and manuscript historians have explored, in employing painters from Tuscany, or scribes from northern France, Charles I engaged the best craftsmen he could source — whether *regnicoli*, northern Italian or hailing various other parts of Christendom —thereby

¹²⁵ As Alison Stones has recently pointed out, ‘we are still poorly informed (except for Paris) as to the degree to which scribes and illuminators were itinerant’. See Alison Stones, *Manuscripts Illuminated in France: Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320*, 4 vols (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller and Brepols, 2013–14), I, p. 36.

¹²⁶ In terms of the physical characteristics of the manuscripts, Zinelli has highlighted that Angevin-Neapolitan commissions of the fourteenth century were often copied by Italian scribes and illuminated by French artists such that ‘si tratta di una copartecipazione quasi caratteristica in un contesto come quello della Napoli angioina’. See Zinelli, “‘je qui le livre escrive’”, p. 158.

endowing his new kingdom with a sense of international cultural prestige.¹²⁷ The early Angevin rulers sourced the most highly skilled craftsmen for their manuscript production, in just the same way that they were accustomed to employ the most highly skilled painters and sculptors of their age. The evidence attests to cultural networks of artistic professionals which were fluid, highly mobile, and subject to diverse influences. In the case of Charles I, as a self-styled international ruler in the culturally hybrid Regno, perhaps the heterogeneity of his court's cultural influences was something to be celebrated rather than suppressed: he was not afraid to glorify the diverse cultural contacts of his court through his manuscript commissions, as we can see through the employment of an international team of craftsmen in the production of his copy of *al-Hāwī*, a text which was itself designed to display the expansive cultural contacts of his court.¹²⁸

This discussion therefore seeks to re-orientate our approach to the provenance debate by suggesting that we need not fall into 'either...or' categorisations, but that we should appreciate the diverse cultural registers contained in the francophone manuscript artefacts of late thirteenth-century Italy. In conceptualising the inherent hybridity of medieval francophone textual culture, Simon Gaunt refers to this as a '*bricolage*' of influences, which may present a useful paradigm for considering the diverse cultural registers discussed here.¹²⁹

A central awareness of this project is that written sources can only offer partial truths concerning literary culture in the late Middle Ages, since the conduits of literary culture were not limited to manuscripts. As such, this thesis is also a study of performers (oral) and audiences (both aural and visual), and will address archival and

¹²⁷ See Cornelia Coulter's analysis of the names of scribes that appear in the Angevin registers show that in addition to the presence of local *regnicoli*, the majority were 'from other parts of Italy, from France, England, the Low Countries, or Germany', 'The Library', p. 143.

¹²⁸ See Saggese, 'Romanzi cavallereschi', p. 353.

¹²⁹ Simon Gaunt, 'French Literature Abroad', p. 25 and p. 59.

iconographical evidence to identify ways in which the itinerancy of the Angevin courts contributed to the dissemination and production of francophone literary cultures in Angevin Italy in the late thirteenth century.

Presenting manuscript, textual, archival and iconographical sources side-by-side offers substantial research opportunities, allowing us to look inside and outside textual worlds, to the literary imaginings of a period, and to those responsible for their production and performance. In opening out this discussion to diverse historical registers, this thesis seeks to widen the scope of current thinking about Angevin literary culture (and its perceived absence). The investigative itineraries suggested by this discussion, in as much as they bridge a number of gaps between disciplines and sources, rely, ultimately, on the area I will refer to as the ‘intersource’. If we rely solely on the individual witnesses of our sources, we know that our image of the past is wholly incomplete. It is only by looking across our sources for a given period, by offering postulation in the places where they fall silent, that we can attempt to access that which we can be most certain about i.e. that the majority of evidence of literary culture has been lost.

A particular angle through which this thesis seeks to legitimate the intersource as a legitimate mode of historical inquiry is that of itinerancy. Just as we know that the Angevin courts of the late thirteenth century travelled widely, so too do we know that francophone literary culture had an international transmission. Whereas we have strong archival evidence for the whereabouts of the courts and their retinues, we have a less secure basis for determining *how* francophone literary culture of this period was transmitted internationally. Extant manuscripts of literary texts provide tangible evidence of their dissemination (and, in the case of multiple surviving copies, circulation), yet only seldom do they bear direct evidence of their provenance and reception. Furthermore, the prevalence of oral literary culture together with the low

rates of manuscript survival, seen particularly in personal codices as opposed to patronised or ‘coffee table’ volumes, has led to many cases of attested textual transmission for which no manuscript trace remains.¹³⁰

Chapter One of this thesis explores patterns of itinerancy of the early Angevin courts to determine the extent to which they were geographically and culturally mobile. In Chapter Two we will consider two manuscripts of the *Faits des Romains*, MS Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 726 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 295, which were produced for the Angevin dynasty at two very different points in its history, and which form beginning and end points for the temporal scope of this study.¹³¹ In the case of Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 726, which also contains the text of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu’à César*, we will discuss evidence to suggest that Charles I’s friend and ally, Guy of Montfort, produced the manuscript for him with assistance from the extended Montfort family in the Holy Land. Such analysis may suggest that this gift was both responsible for introducing these francophone texts of ancient history and also the source of their successful diffusion in the Regno and, perhaps, northern Italy. The second of the manuscripts to be discussed, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 295, shows the way in which the Robertian court harnessed the memory of this gift on the occasion of Charles of Calabria’s marriage to Marie of Valois (m. 1323). Produced in entirely different contexts, these two manuscripts show how francophone literary works helped to form a cultural inheritance for the Angevins to impart on subsequent generations. Chapter Three analyses documentary and manuscript evidence of cultural itinerancy between northern France and the Regno during the 1290s, suggesting that northerners (from

¹³⁰ A good example of this is the wealth of evidence to suggest that Arthurian material was known in Italy long before we have any manuscript testimony of this transmission. See Marie-José Heijkant, ‘From France to Italy: The Tristan Texts’, in *Allaire and Psaki*, pp. 41–68 (p. 41).

¹³¹ Guy of Montfort entered Italy, along with Charles I, in 1265; Charles of Calabria died in 1328.

France and Flanders) maintained cultural connections to the kingdom long after their political and military ties had expired. Crucially it is only in the intersource between these two evidence sources – documentary and manuscript – that we can infer a connection between the *Chansonnier* texts and the Angevin Regno. Chapter Four considers Charles II's (nominal) authorship of *le Coseill del Roy Karles*, a text concerned with the recovery of Jerusalem (following the fall of Acre in 1291), alongside two late-thirteenth century francophone literary texts set in Sicily, namely *Enfances Renier* (after 1266) and *Floriant et Florete* (after 1268). French, here, represents a mode of expression for imaginary itineraries in Angevin Sicily, and a way in which to reinvigorate an expansive and ambitious territorial programme at a time when the Angevin dream was undergoing significant contraction. Finally, the thesis situates itself within the increasingly international perspective through which medieval literary history is being rewritten, offering methodological insights as to how we should interpret the itinerant nature of francophone literary culture during this period.

A central aim of this thesis is to break down the barriers that separate Angevin research from other cultural currents of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. The courts of the first Angevin rulers were highly mobile, travelling far and wide throughout Italy and beyond; we should not be surprised if their legacy, whether historical, cultural or literary, should bear witness to fashions, trends and patterns present in Italy and beyond. The early Angevin courts were not confined to Naples, nor should we be in our assessment of their cultural influence.

Chapter One

Before Naples: Locating the Early Angevin Courts

From the early fourteenth century onwards, Naples was a city in which royal patronage allowed the Angevin dynasty to construct itself as a munificent religious and cultural benefactor in service to its own prestige.¹ The predominantly Latinate and increasingly Italo-phonetic nature of Angevin cultural production during this period has helped to establish ‘Angevin Naples’ as a distinctive stage in modern narratives of Italian cultural history. Within this historicising framework, the court culture of King Robert and his descendants has been fêted as the point of departure for an emerging protohumanism, and has been thus incorporated into the cultural history of the early Italian Renaissance.²

Although some aspects of Naples’s position as symbolic capital of the Regno, along with the Angevins’ carefully constructed Neapolitan self image, were set in motion during the reign of Charles I, the cultural environment of the first Angevin rulers was very different from the Neapolitan reign of King Robert the Wise and his successors. During the sixty (or so) years with which this thesis is concerned, before the Angevins had fully established themselves as a distinctly Neapolitan royal house, the Angevin court in the Regno was characterised by a near permanent itinerancy and was dominated by military rather than cultural imperatives.

In contrast to the rich ‘Italian’ cultural legacy left by the dynasty’s later Neapolitan monarchs, we know very little about the cultural environment of the early

¹ The extensive church-building programme designed to establish Naples as a spiritual centre began following Charles II’s return from Provence to Naples in 1294. According to Bruzelius, *The Stones*, p. 140, ‘the number and scale of [Charles II’s churches] may well surpass the religious patronage of any other medieval monarch’.

² See discussion and bibliography in Kelly, *The New Solomon*, pp. 41–49. Kelly has somewhat nuanced this view and has emphasised the continuation of medieval ideas and trends during the Robertian era, *ibid.*

rulers of the Angevin Regno, or as one scholar recently put it, we are faced with ‘il silenzio dei primi anni di dominazione angioina’.³

Although Charles I is frequently thought of as the founding father of the ‘Angevins of Naples’, it is through hindsight alone that historians have been able to position him as the fountainhead of a dynasty, and the point of departure for a distinctly Neapolitan court culture. During his lifetime, Charles I could not have foreseen, and probably would not have desired, that the results of his conquest of the Regno would have been a Neapolitan home for his offspring. As the head of a crusading army, Charles I had his sights not only on the Kingdom of Sicily, but also on Jerusalem and Byzantium; if his incursion into southern Europe had gone according to plan, Naples would not have been the final destination of his dynasty, but a preliminary victory in the reconquest of Christian lands across the Mediterranean.⁴

This is not to suggest that Naples was not important to Charles I’s reign; the city was well connected to Rome — a papal enclave and seat of imperial ambition — and, as a port, was crucial for the import and export of men and supplies. Charles I concentrated on fortifying the city and building a new royal residence and Angevin seat of power, the Castel Nuovo.⁵ As for the existing Neapolitan castle, the so-called Castel dell’Ovo, it was here that Charles I sought to centralise his administrative and justice systems, and to establish the royal treasury.⁶ It was also here that he centralised much of his

³ Chiara De Caprio, ‘La storiografia angioina in volgare: Lessico metaletterario, modalità compositive e configurazioni stilistiche nella *Cronaca di Partenope*’, in *Boccaccio e Napoli*, pp. 427–48 (p. 428). De Caprio refers here specifically to historical writing but the silence she refers to concerns all forms of non-documentary writing.

⁴ For further background, see Gian Luca Borghese, *Carlo I d’Angiò e il Mediterraneo: politica, diplomazia e commercio internazionale prima dei Vespri*, Collection de l’École Française de Rome, 411 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2008).

⁵ Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr, ‘Introduction’, in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, ed. by Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004), pp. 1–12 (p. 1).

⁶ The rest of the administration was peripatetic, and accompanied the King as he travelled through the Regno. See Andreas Kiesewetter, ‘Il governo e l’amministrazione centrale del Regno’, in *Le eredità normanno-sveve nell’età angioina: persistenze e mutamenti nel Mezzogiorno*, ed. by Giosuè Musca (Bari: Dedalo, 2004), pp. 25–68 (pp. 66–67).

architectural ambitions, such that it later became the favoured site of royal burial.⁷ Having been a second-tier city of the Hohenstaufen regime, Naples provided a prominent canvas on which Charles I could make his mark as the kingdom's new ruler.⁸

Despite the many practical benefits offered by Naples, the city had not been a favoured seat of power during the Norman-Hohenstaufen regime, and did not carry the same cultural prestige as places such as Palermo and Capua.⁹ By way of illustration, let us consider Charles I's self-presentation in the *intitulatii* of his official correspondence. In 1277, for example, after just over a decade as King of the Regno, he could boast of nearly a dozen territories under his control:

Roys de **Ierusalem** et de **Secile**, dou duchée de **Puille**, de la princée de **Capès**, de la **Seinte Cité** senateur, d'**Ango** de **Provance**, de **Foulquaquier** et de **Tonnairre** conte, et dou Romayn Ampire au **Tousquane** par la seint Eglise Vicaire generale.¹⁰

In a self-presentation which serves to promote the wide geographical extent of Charles I's power claims, it is striking that Naples does not feature in this titular role call.¹¹ We see instead that the areas prized by Charles I in his surviving correspondence, on to which he sought to stake his rulership claims, were those of titular rather than economic or political importance. Rather than offering practical advantage, such territories were emphasised for their symbolic and ceremonial prestige.¹² The *intitulatio*, here, serves to

⁷ See Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, p. 81 n. 22.

⁸ Although Naples (and Foggia) did increase in importance during the reign of Frederick II; see Hiroshi Takayama, 'Law and monarchy in the south', in *Short Oxford History of Italy: Italy in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by David Abulafia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 58–81 (p. 74). For an overview of the centres of the Kingdom of Sicily under Frederick II see C. A. Willemsen, *I castelli di Federico II nell'Italia meridionale* (Naples: Società editrice napoletana, 1978).

⁹ Whereas the early Norman rulers had established Palermo as their capital and permanent base, Frederick II's court, like that of the early Angevin rulers, '[moved] from one transit camp to another, in a ceaselessly itinerant life', Abulafia, *Frederick II*, p. 253. For a discussion of the importance of Palermo as the capital of the early Norman kingdom, see *Ibid.* pp. 38–39.

¹⁰ The letter is dated 27 October 1277. See Durrieu, *Les archives angevines*, I, p. 106 (my emphasis).

¹¹ I have not yet found a single reference to the city in any of the *intitulatii* of Charles's correspondence.

¹² Capua, for example, was where Frederick II had chosen to build the imperial gateway.

stress the geographical reach of Charles I's power, whose scope is neither centralised nor contained, but is shown to radiate uninterrupted across political and territorial boundaries. Naples's absence from this roll call suggests that, although it would become an important seat of royal power in the later Angevin period, by the late-thirteenth century it did not yet have the political and cultural status of the historical centres of Norman-Hohenstaufen rule in the Regno.¹³

We see a similar pattern in terms of Charles I's physical presence in the Regno, for which evidence suggests that he spent less than eleven percent of his reign in Naples. As a leader by conquest rather than inheritance, Charles I could not afford to station his court in only one area of the kingdom, but had to conduct his rule in continual movement between the various (and often belligerent) localities under his command. As one of several regions in the Regno regularly frequented by Charles I's court, we should be careful not to overstate the importance of Naples as a centre during the early years of Angevin Italy. Rather than approaching Angevin cultural legacy as a geographically stable entity, therefore, a central focus for this thesis is the extent to which, during the period under investigation, the itinerancy of Angevin rule in the Regno influenced the development of francophone literary culture.

i. Mapping the Early Angevin Courts

The introduction to this thesis suggested that pre-existing studies of Angevin court culture have not fully taken account of the itinerant nature of the early Angevin courts, and that the patterns and frequency of the Angevins' itinerancy has not yet been considered as a contributing factor to the spread of francophone culture in Italy.¹⁴ In order to begin to address this aspect of court life in Angevin Italy, I shall attempt to map

¹³ According to Abulafia, although Naples fulfilled an important administrative function during the Frederician era, it was not personally favoured by the Emperor. Abulafia, *Frederick II*, p. 253. It was increasingly used as a setting for ceremonial displays following the building of Castel Nuovo (1279–1283). See Dunbabin, *Charles I*, p. 189.

¹⁴ Kieseewetter has discussed the impact of the early Angevin courts' itinerancy on the administration of the kingdom in 'Il governo e l'amministrazione', pp. 66-67.

the principal geographical areas in which the early Angevin courts were to be found in the late thirteenth century.

Before so doing, however, it is worth pausing to reflect on the implications of itinerancy in our attempts to locate a cultural geography for the Angevin court. To a certain extent, geographical location (place) becomes somewhat irrelevant to an itinerant society. Like the global elite of our own time, whose movements between territories and jurisdictions allow them to transcend rather than conform to the customs and constraints of any particular location, the itinerancy of a medieval court also implies movement through rather than situatedness in, such that court culture exists independently of geographical context.

Itinerancy for the aristocratic courts of the Middle Ages was also a state of mind. In his conceptualisation of Norman inter-regional connectivity David Bates has applied the framework of a diaspora to understand a ‘mental infrastructure that facilitated movement and migration, a factor of absolutely central importance to the histories of power and identity’.¹⁵ The early Angevin courts would have seen themselves as participants on an international stage, members of an ‘adventurous, acquisitive and pious aristocracy’ who were involved in ‘far-flung expansionary enterprises’.¹⁶ As we have just seen in our analysis of the *intitulatii* of Charles I’s correspondence, his rule derived prestige from places of symbolic rather than political significance.

On the other hand, place is central to the experience of an itinerant society which, although passing through rather than residing in diverse locations, seeks to leave a footprint of its presence, and to appropriate artefacts — both real and imaginary — along its travels. Fully conscious of the caution we should apply to equating cultural mobility with cultural transfer or cultural exchange, a knowledge of the patterns and

¹⁵ Bates, *The Normans and Empire*, p. 44.

¹⁶ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London: Penguin, 1993), pp. 24–59. Bartlett also uses the framework of diaspora in his analysis.

frequency of the itinerancy of the early Angevin courts may help us to ascertain geographical zones of Angevin cultural activity in Italy; the extent to which this activity was hermetic or open to external influences will also be in question.

Analysing the *salutatii* of the surviving documentary records relating to Charles I, Count Robert II of Artois and Charles II is one way to gain a measure of their itinerancy.¹⁷ A limitation of this approach however, is that it provides evidence of a singular moment in time, rather than general patterns. Despite this, the records are sufficiently numerous to allow us to suggest certain patterns of itinerancy and, by inference, certain geographical zones favoured by the early Angevin courts in Italy.

A further assumption to be made in the analysis of these records is that wherever each of the above-named leaders travelled, so too did their extensive retinues. In certain records, for example those addressed from known battle sites, ceremonies or other congregations, we can be reasonably sure that the individual itinerancy recorded is representative of a collective itinerancy. In other records, where we have limited contextual understanding of the reasons for the court's presence in a certain area, we can be less sure of the numbers of people involved. However, with enough data for a sufficiently long period, we can develop a reasonable basis to establish patterns and trends of travel.

That the itinerancy of the Angevin courts had a direct influence on the circulation of Francophone literature in late-thirteenth-century Europe is suggested by Bernard Guenée's study of the *Fait des Romains*, which hypothesised that Charles I's arrival in Rome in 1265 provided the context for the arrival of the text in Italy, and which stands as a rare example of scholarly consideration of the Angevins' cultural influence outside

¹⁷ This analysis does not include King Robert or Charles of Calabria. While not usually considered part of the Angevin dynasty, Count Robert II of Artois was responsible for leading the Angevin cause during the interregnum (1285–1289) and so his movements will be considered a proxy for the itinerancy of the Angevin court during this period.

of Naples.¹⁸ Literary attributions such as this, made to the Angevin courts on a historical basis, are surprisingly rare, when we consider a combination of factors by which we might suppose the Angevins had an impact on the transmission of francophone literary culture in the late thirteenth century, namely the enormous breadth of their influence throughout Italy, and the large number of extant manuscripts, produced in Italy and containing francophone writings, attributed to the same time period.

Part of the reason for the dearth of francophone writings attributed to Angevin circles is, I suggest, due to a misinterpretation of Angevin cultural geography on the part of modern scholars. The following analysis will attempt to demonstrate the anachronism embedded in constraining the Angevins to Naples during the period in question. It will highlight the areas of Italy where the Angevin courts of the late thirteenth century spent a large proportion of their time, where their presence would have been most strongly felt, and where they were most likely to have produced and consumed literary works.

Determining a cultural geography for the early Angevin courts is not just a question of working out where the Angevins were at a single moment. Time on the battlefield, in active combat against the enemy, was less likely to be spent in the performance and production of literary works than on the occasion of their ritual celebrations, such as, for example, the feast days of Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, All Saints and Christmas, where large audiences would assemble for feasting, singing, dancing and storytelling. Undoubtedly, the performance of literary culture was not constrained to (or guaranteed

¹⁸ Bernard Guenée, 'La culture historique des nobles: Le succès des *Faits Des Romains* (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)', in *La Noblesse Au Moyen Age, XI^e–XV^e siècles: Essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutruche*, ed. by Philippe Contamine (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1976), pp. 261–88. Guenée postulates that 'en 1265–66, Charles d'Anjou, appelé par le pape, fait un premier séjour à Rome. Jusqu'en 1284, par intermittences, il a été maître de Rome. Parmi les Français qui l'ont suivi et ont séjourné à Rome, un seigneur, peut-être Poitevin, aimait assez les *Faits des Romains* pour en faire emporter le manuscrit qu'il possédait [...] L'arrivée des *Faits des Romains* en terre italienne est un accident dû à l'entreprise de Charles d'Anjou. Cet accident fut à l'origine d'un magnifique succès', p. 274.

by) organised celebrations such as those listed above, but in the absence of further evidence, they provide a reasonable proxy for when literary culture was likely to have been of most use to the court.¹⁹

Locating which areas were favoured by the Angevin courts for these activities may help to map their cultural geographies and so ask questions of how and where their literary cultures were transmitted and received, and whether they had any impact beyond the immediate inner circles of court society.

i.i. Charles I

In spite of the devastating loss of records from the Angevin archive, surviving records provide a clear picture of Charles I's movements throughout his kingdom. Such was the frequency and intensity of his correspondence, both with his officers within the Regno and with a vast network of contacts throughout Christendom and beyond, that we can build up a very detailed view of where he (and, we might suppose, his retinue) was and when. Paul Durrieu carried out much of this analysis in his 1887 study of the Angevin registers, which presents, in tabular form, a month-by-month analysis of Charles I's movements through the kingdom.²⁰ The data contained in this table has not been fully interpreted by Angevin scholars and, as far as I am aware, has not been harnessed for cultural analysis of Charles I's court.

Given the large quantity of data relating to Charles I's movements, to try to analyse all of it on equal terms does not give rise to readily interpretable results.²¹ In order to try to make some sense of the available data, I have established certain parameters to ascertain the likely cultural centres of Charles I's reign.

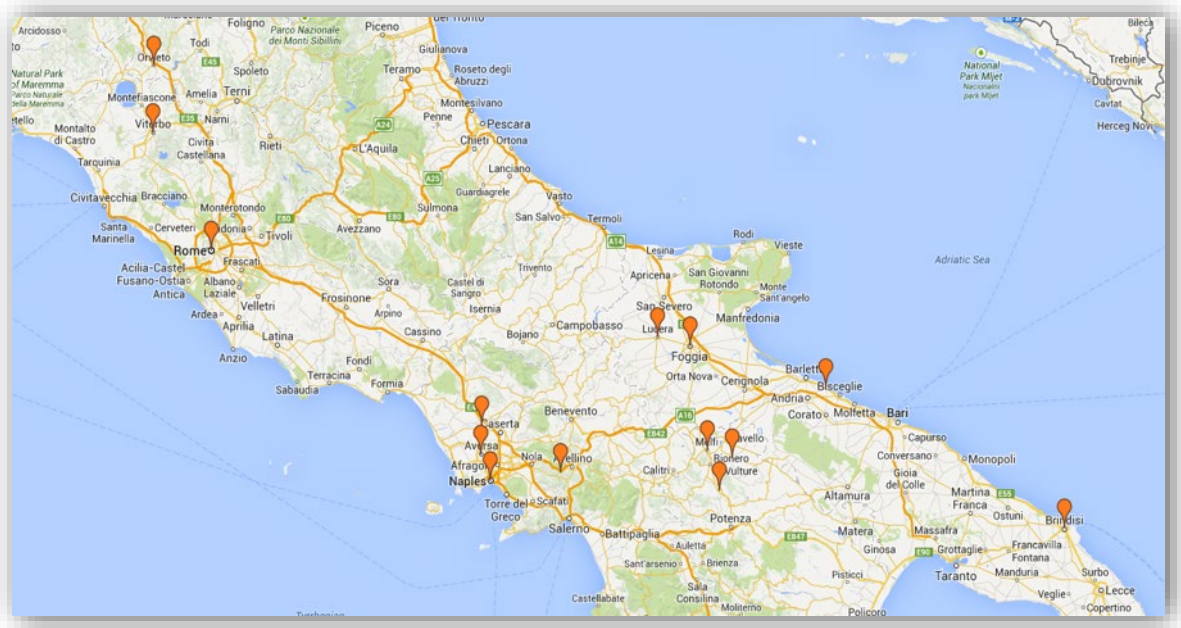
¹⁹ For a view of communal feasting and gathering at the court of Charles I, see Jean Dunbabin, 'The Household and Entourage of Charles I of Anjou, King of the Regno, 1266–85', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), 313–36.

²⁰ Durrieu, *Les archives angevines*, ii, pp. 163–89.

²¹ Durrieu's analysis provides more than eight-hundred discreet data points for Charles's whereabouts for the years 1265–85.

In the first place, therefore, my analysis discounts several stretches of Charles I's reign during which he was engaged in battle or on crusade for isolated stretches of time. When Charles I and his retinue spent significant time in Messina, Pisa, Poggibonsi, Reggio, or Tunis, these visits were conducted on one-off bases, as a result of military imperative; as such, these areas are less likely to represent zones of Angevin cultural production and influence than areas of habitual return.

Figure 4: Areas most frequently visited by Charles I. Copyright, Google Maps 2013.



Having momentarily discounted these sites, therefore, let us look at the areas where surviving records suggest that Charles I's court was most frequently to be found for the period 1265–85.

The first observation to be made from the map shown above is that Charles I's court was constrained neither to Naples nor to the Regno. Rome, Orvieto and Viterbo – the main centres of the papal *curia* during this period – represent some of the places

most frequently visited by Charles I and his retinue.²² Charles I's court was to be found in one of these areas for nearly twenty percent of his reign.²³

When Charles I was in the Regno, his visits to Naples and Capua seem to have gone hand-in-hand, and the two sites were particularly important in the winter, as it was here that the court enjoyed the majority of Christmas festivities. The registers are full of days split between Naples and Capua, and the journeys between these two places appear to have been broken up by stops in Aversa. Capua was one of the major stopping places for travellers in southern Italy, replete with amenities for the weary traveller.²⁴ Taken as a whole, this zone represents the location of the Angevin court for just over twenty percent of Charles I's reign.

Charles I's court was to be found in Basilicata (Lagopesole, Melfi and Venosa) on a regular basis during the summer months. The regularity with which it returned here, and the extended periods that it spent in the region, suggest that it represented a favoured site, with approximately fifteen percent of his reign spent in this region. The area had been a favourite site of the Emperor Frederick II who frequently spent the summer months there and planned to build one of his largest castles at Lagopesole, which he started but did not manage to finish before his death.²⁵ It is likely in this area, during the summer, that Charles I visited many of Frederick II's favoured areas of retreat inspired by the memory of the Norman conquest of the Regno.²⁶ The importance

²² For papacy's preference for these areas during this period see Julian Gardner, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 55.

²³ During certain years, such as 1276, Charles I seems to have spent the whole year at the papal *curia* outside the Regno.

²⁴ Paul Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, pp. 187–88. The city is recorded as having five hospitals by the beginning of the thirteenth century.

²⁵ Cresswell Shearer, 'The Castles and Hunting Lodges of the Emperor Frederick II', in *The Art of Falconry by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, trans. and ed. by Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie Fyfe (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1943), pp. xcv–cix.

²⁶ 'The grandson of King Roger II of Sicily, Frederick drew on the models of his childhood in Sicily when he developed, in the region of Apulia, his own water parks, hunting lodges and leisure centres. Indeed, it seems that Frederick had a special taste for rural residences with panoramic views: he named three of his rural residences 'Belvedere', and one account emphasises that a room in one of his residences had an ocean view', in Sharon Farmer, "'La Zisa / Gloriette": Cultural Interaction and the

of this area during the reigns of both Frederick II and Charles I is probably a reflection of its status as the historical heartland of the Regno during the kingdom's Norman rule. Melfi was the original Norman stronghold in the kingdom, with nearby Venosa chosen as the location of the Hauteville family tomb. Robert Guiscard decided to create a family tomb at the monastery of Santissima Trinità in Venosa and brought the remains of his brothers there by 1069. Venosa was also important as a stopping point on the Via Appia, the pilgrimage route from Rome to Jerusalem.²⁷

Lucera, the site of the Muslim colony established during the reign of Emperor Frederick II, was a frequently visited site, most probably out of necessity, since the violent uprising against Angevin forces in 1268 had nearly destroyed the settlement.²⁸ Nearby Foggia was a favoured area, probably more for pleasure and relaxation. The castle there, recently built by Frederick II in 1223, had been envisaged as the centre of royal power during the Hohenstaufen era, and is thought to have been modelled on the Norman buildings in Palermo where Frederick had spent his youth.²⁹ As a favoured site of Charles I's reign, it was the location of the marriage of his daughter, Beatrice, to Philip of Courtenay in 1273, an occasion of great extravagance, which concluded the Treaty of Viterbo, through which Charles hoped to extend his power base across the eastern Mediterranean.³⁰

Architecture of Repose in Medieval Sicily, France and Britain', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 166.1 (2013), 99–123 (p. 117).

²⁷ G. A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 87; Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, p. 184.

²⁸ After the siege, Charles undertook an enormous re-fortification programme and made substantial efforts to resettle the town with Christians. See Taylor, *Muslims*, p. 144–73.

²⁹ An inscription survives which reads, 'The Emperor Frederick ordered this to be built so that the city of Foggia might become the illustrious royal seat of the empire'. See Gary M. Radke, 'The Palaces of Frederick II', *Studies in the History of Art*, 44 (1994), 179–86 (p. 180–01).

³⁰ Dunbabin, *Charles I*, p. 202.

Charles's itinerancy was motivated by the need to secure and defend the kingdom. The Angevin registers show intense efforts to fortify internal strongholds and the castles along the eastern coast, which is reflected in his numerous journeys there.³¹

In order to determine how far were these sites were centres of Angevin cultural influence, we shall now consider the extent to which these areas were frequented during the periods of ritual celebrations of Charles I's court.

³¹ Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, p. 77.

Figure 5: Locations of ritual celebrations during the reign of Charles I (^ indicates that the relevant information is not available)

	1265	1266	1267	1268	1269	1270	1271	1272	1273	1274	1275	1276	1277	1278	1279	1280	1281	1282	1283	1284	1285
Epiphany		Rome	Naples	Pisa	Foggia	Naples	Catania	Naples	^	Taranto	Lucera	^	Viterbo	Naples	Naples	Naples	Brindisi	Orvieto	Reggio	^	Foggia
Easter		^	^	^	Foggia	Naples	Rome	Rome	Foggia	Brindisi	^	Rome	Bari	^	Capua	Capua	Santa Cristina	Naples	^	^	
Pentecost		^	Viterbo	Foggia	Lucera	Naples	San Gervasio	^	Orvieto	^	^	Rome	Venosa	Rome	Capua	^	Orvieto	Naples	Bordeaux	^	
All Saints	Rome	Capua	Poggibonsi	Naples	Naples	Tunis	Melfi	Aversa	Foggia	Foggia	Naples	Viterbo	^	Barletta	Manfredonia	Brindisi	Orvieto	Reggio	^	Brindisi	
Christmas	Rome	Capua	Pisa	Foggia	Naples	Palermo	Naples	Naples	^	Percina	Naples	Viterbo	Naples	Naples	Naples	Brindisi	Orvieto	Reggio	^	Melfi	

This table confirms the itinerant nature of Charles I's court, which celebrated ritual festivities wherever it happened to find itself at a given time. Naples is shown here to be an important site for the principal celebrations of Charles I's court alongside Foggia, Capua, Brindisi, and the papal enclaves in Rome, Viterbo and Orvieto; in all of these places, therefore, Charles I's predominantly francophone retinue feasted and celebrated, and it was here that their festive rituals were sung and performed and where, we might infer, the opportunity for contact with the local cultures of Italy arose.

Whereas the Basilicata region was an important area for the summer months, when Charles I is likely to have indulged in hunting and other rural pursuits,¹⁶⁹ it is shown, here, to have been of less importance as a place of ritual gathering and feasting, represented only three times in the table above. Furthermore, whereas Charles I spent a number of extended summer periods at Lagopesole, it never seems to have been the venue for official congregations. Perhaps, we might infer, therefore, that the Basilicata region in general, and Lagopesole in particular, represented a site of Charles I's personal preference and private refuge, rather than an area of collective gathering and celebration. As an area where the memory of Robert Guiscard and family was particularly present, Charles's numerous unofficial visits there are suggestive of a form of personal pilgrimage and refuge to the historical Norman heartland of his new kingdom.

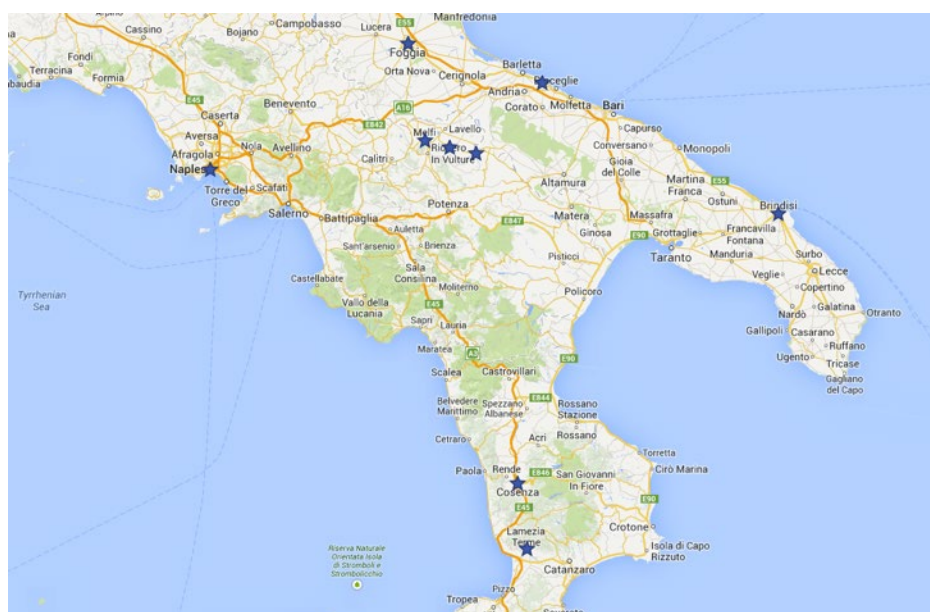
Thus we see that Charles I's reign was conducted from various areas in Italy, both within and outside the Regno, and that they served different functions for his rule. Charles I's constant movement between these key areas increased the opportunity for contact with local Italian cultures and for the influence of the culture of his court on local populations.

¹⁶⁹Lagopesole was also a favoured retreat of Charles's second wife, Margaret of Nevers. See Dunbabin, *Charles I*, p. 182.

i.ii. Count Robert II of Artois

Although the documentary legacy for the regency of Count Robert II of Artois is not as complete as that of Charles I's reign, the surviving traces provide some insight into the key localities for his court in the Regno.¹⁷⁰

Figure 6: Areas most frequently visited by Count Robert II of Artois. Copyright, Google Maps 2013.



Whereas the Calabrian sites of Cosenza and Nicastro did not feature as key sites for Charles I's court, it should be of no surprise that, as the gateway to Sicily, these sites gained in importance during the regency of Count Robert II of Artois, as strategic areas from which to lead the defence of the mainland during the War of the Sicilian Vespers.

Interestingly, Capua and Lucera, both important sites for Charles I's reign, seem to lose their importance during Count Robert II's regency, whereas Naples, Trani, Brindisi and – above all – the Basilicata region, continued to be major locations for his court in the Regno. Whereas Lagopesole was the favoured Basilicata location for Charles I's reign, Palazzo San Gervasio together with Melfi and Venosa, were favoured areas for

¹⁷⁰ My analysis has been taken from A. de Loisne, 'Itinéraire de Robert II, Comte de' Artois (1267–1302)', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1913, 362–83.

Count Robert II of Artois's court in the Regno. The increased importance of Palazzo San Gervasio during Count Robert II's regency may be explained by the fact that it was the location of a stud farm for Angevin war horses, the supply of which would have been all the more important during the turbulent time of war during which Count Robert II oversaw the kingdom.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, Naples itself seems to have lost importance during Count Robert II's regency: while it was the single most frequently visited place under Charles I's reign, it features as joint third (with Melfi) during Count Robert II's regency, with Foggia and Palazzo San Gervasio representing more important centres of his court's activity.

i.iii. Charles II

Using a variety of documentary and chronicle sources, Andreas Kieseewetter has painstakingly put together Charles II's itinerary on a month-by-month basis.¹⁷² From the beginning of his reign, it is clear that the political imperatives of negotiating peace with Aragon, together with his duties as Count of Provence, demanded his absence from the Regno for significant stretches of time: from October 1289 to February 1294 when he was in Provence executing his duties as count; from March 1297 to June 1298; and from August 1306 to April 1308, when he was entirely absent from the Regno and, indeed, the Italian peninsula. Kieseewetter's analysis shows that the period of King Charles II's main residency in the Regno was from August 1298 to July 1306. During these eight years, Naples was clearly Charles II's home, and the location where he could be found for the vast majority of time. On the occasions when he did travel elsewhere in

¹⁷¹ Its function as a breeding centre for horses had been established during the reign of Frederick II. See Radke, 'The Palaces', p. 182.

¹⁷² Andreas Kieseewetter, 'Das Itinerar Königs Karls II. von Anjou (1271–1309)', *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, 43 (1997), 85–283. For further analysis of Charles II's itinerary, see Jean-Marie Martin, 'Le cas du royaume de Sicile: traditions et influences occidentales', in *Les palais dans les villes: Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. by Patrick Boucheron and Jacques Chiffolleau (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2004), pp. 77–94 (pp. 92–93).

the Regno, such as during his trip to Salerno in 1299, he chose to return to Naples immediately afterwards, rather than embarking on a more extensive itinerancy. Although he travelled throughout these eight years, he spent by far the greatest proportion of time in Naples. His travels elsewhere were usually of a short duration, and functional in nature, such as his six visits to Rome (the most regular of his destinations during these years) from 1300 to 1303 and his three trips to Anagni from 1299 to 1301. In 1301 and 1304 he made trips to the coastal towns of Barletta and Bari, causing him to stop at Foggia and Melfi (in 1301) en route. Charles II's itinerancy during these years is relatively infrequent, targeted and carried out over well-trodden routes.¹⁷³

What does this analysis tell us, and why is it important for our consideration of Angevin literary culture and the networks along which it was transported? First, although there is increasing scholarly interest in the transmissions and intersections between France and Italy in the late thirteenth century, the contribution of the Angevins to the spread of people, ideas and objects during this period has often been overlooked. As has been suggested, part of the reason for this marginalisation of the Angevins in Italian cultural history can be seen in the confinement of their influence to Naples alone. The preliminary statistical analysis shown here, however, suggests that Charles I spent only eleven percent of his reign in Naples. Furthermore, from 1285 to 1291, during the years of Count Robert II of Artois's regency, Naples does not seem to have been as important to his court as Basilicata and Foggia, and the implications of this for

¹⁷³ (not including journeys to nearby Aversa or Capua or Torre S. Erasmo or places stopped on way to other destinations): September / October 1298: Rieti (via Aquila); January 1299: Salerno; May 1299: Anagni (via Minturno); August 1299: Salerno; January 1300: Rome; March / April 1300: Rome; June 1300: Anagni; November 1300: Rome (via Frosinone); January 1301: Bari (via Foggia & Barletta; ret. via Gaudio & Melfi); February 1301: Rome; August / September 1301: Anagni (via Mignano, Cassino & Montecassino; returned via Ferentino, Ceccano, Ceprano, Aquino, Cassino, Mignano Monte Lungo, Melito bei Aversa); November 1301: Eboli (via Scafati, Curteri, Montoro, Salerno, Olévano sul Tusciano; returned via Castel San Giorgio, Ottaviano); December 1301: Scafati (via Mount Vesuvius); February / March 1302: Rome (via Torre S. Erasmo, Calvia Risorta, Mignano, Cassino, Ceprano, Ferentino, Valmontone, Grottaferrata; returned via Molaro Frosinone, Ceprano, Cassino, Mignano, Pietravairano); May 1302: Scafati; October–November 1303: Rome; January 1304: Foggia / Barletta / Bari; February–April 1305: Perugia.

understanding the Angevins and their cultural networks has not yet been fully appreciated.

By more accurately mapping the Angevin courts to assess their journeying and centres of activity, this study seeks to re-evaluate the cultural spheres within which they operated, the literary networks in which they participated, and thus to re-integrate them into the cultural history of Italy at the end of the thirteenth century.

Chapter Two

From Charles I to Charles of Calabria: The *Faits des Romains* across the Generations¹

This chapter will focus on two francophone manuscripts which illustrate how Charles I's arrival in the Regno, and his contact with the international Montfort dynasty spread across England and the Holy Land, led to the importation of francophone texts of ancient history into Italy. It will discuss how the recopying of one of these texts, more than fifty years later, helped to establish a family tradition of francophone cultural inheritance for the Angevin dynasty. The manuscripts in question, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 726 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 295, contain copies of the *Faits des Romains*, a francophone text of ancient history which enjoyed huge popularity throughout the Italian peninsula during the late thirteenth century.² It will suggest that the earliest of the manuscripts to be discussed, MS Chantilly 726, was produced for King Charles I by the Montfort family. The later manuscript, BnF, MS f. fr. 295, was produced three generations later for the marriage of King Charles I's great grandson, Charles of Calabria, to Marie of Valois in 1323. The marginalia of the manuscript suggests that the *Faits* was harnessed to serve the dynasty's increasing Neapolitan identification and to strengthen family bonds, both in terms of the marriage for which it was produced, and through intra-generational identification by recalling the memory of Charles I's achievements in the Regno.

Both of the manuscripts to be discussed here bear the heraldic arms of the Angevin dynasty.³ Despite much uncertainty regarding the francophone literary

¹ An earlier version of this chapter has been published in Williams, 'Two Manuscripts'.

² Hereafter MS Chantilly 726 and BnF, MS f. fr. 295 respectively. See Cornish, *Vernacular Translation*, pp. 79–83 for the circulation and development of the *Faits* in Italy during this period.

³ Hereafter *Faits*.

environment of the Angevin court during this period,⁴ the manuscripts in question provide a rare example of a text read across multiple generations of the dynasty, and suggest that the *Faits* occupied a special place in its literary culture. Originating in northern France in the early thirteenth century, and frequently associated with clerical and university circles, the *Faits* is a francophone text of ancient historiography concerning the life of Julius Caesar.⁵ The nature of the text's circulation in France has been subject to various interpretations,⁶ and it is understood to have entered Italy in the 1260s, where it was so extensively copied and adapted that its modern editor identified nearly two-dozen Italian versions.⁷

The survival of two lavishly decorated manuscripts of the *Faits* which bear the arms of the Angevin dynasty, and which were produced over a period of approximately sixty years, suggests that the text enjoyed a high status among the rulers of the Regno. MS Chantilly 726 represents one of the earliest Italian manuscripts of the text, and the earliest surviving witness to the co-circulation of the *Faits* (ff. 175v–334v) and the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (ff. 1r–75r).⁸ The *Histoire ancienne* recounts the history of the world up to Caesar's conquest of Gaul, and so stands as a kind of pre-history to the events described in the *Faits*. Like the *Faits*, the *Histoire ancienne* enjoyed considerable success at the Angevin court during the reign of King Robert the Wise.⁹

In the case of BnF, MS f. fr. 295, the second manuscript of the *Faits* to be

⁴ See the Introduction above for discussion of the contested regional provenance of francophone chivalric manuscripts produced in Italy during this period.

⁵ For a comprehensive summary, see Lee, 'Writing History'; Gabrielle Spiegel has argued convincingly that the *Faits* also reached a northern, aristocratic audience: Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 122.

⁶ Lee, 'Writing History', p. 155.

⁷ See Louis-Fernand Flutre, '*Les Faits des Romains*' dans les littératures française et italienne du xiii^e au xvii^e siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1932).

⁸ Hereafter *Histoire ancienne*.

⁹ See Marilyn Desmond, 'Translatio imperii and the Matter of Troy in Angevin Naples: BL Royal MS 20 D I and Royal MS 6 E IX', *Naples and Beyond*, 177–91 and Lee, 'Writing History'. See also Maria Laura Palermi, '*Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*: forme e percorsi del testo', *Critica del testo*, 7.1 (2004), 213–56 (p. 228).

discussed in this chapter, the inclusion of the shield of Charles of Calabria, eldest son of King Robert the Wise, alongside that of his wife, Marie of Valois, suggests the manuscript's status as a marital volume for the Angevin heir. Through an exploration of the heraldic decoration of MS Chantilly 726, and the extensive paratextual apparatus of BnF, MS f. fr. 295, this chapter will consider the context for the success of the *Faits* in Angevin circles, and suggest ways in which the text was employed to promote the family's political and dynastic aims.

i. Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 726

MS Chantilly 726 survives in 334 finely executed folios whose decoration recalls southern-Italian and Bolognese styles. Doris Oltrogge's study of the manuscript identified the work of two painters: in ff. 1r–108v she perceived the style of the so-called Conradin Bible atelier, present in southern Italy in the second half of the thirteenth century, and in ff. 109r–334v she saw the hallmarks of the so-called 'Maestro del 1285', active in Bologna during roughly the same period.¹⁰

Oltrogge also brought to light the manuscript's Angevin connections, which she inferred through the placement of an Angevin shield on folio 109r and the presence of *fleur-de-lis* decoration on several folios. She suggested that the positioning of a pair of heraldic arms at the point in the *Histoire ancienne* describing the alliance of King Pyrrhus with Taranto, was in service to the Angevins' ambitions to dominate the eastern Mediterranean, specifically in commemoration of the marriage of Philip of Taranto, grandson of King Charles I and favoured son of King Charles II, to Thamar, daughter of the Despot of Epirus, which took place in 1294.¹¹

¹⁰ Doris Oltrogge, *Die Illustrationszyklen zur 'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César' (1250–1400)* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989), pp. 39–41, 142–43, 243–46. The main decorative similarities between MS Chantilly 726 and the Conradin Bible are the presence of gold dots and shared drapery design.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

Figure 7: Heraldic decoration of MS Chantilly 726, f. 109r. Copyright IRHT-CNRS. By kind permission of the Bibliothèque du Musée Condé.



Subsequently, Rebecca Corrie has endorsed Oltrogge's suggestion that MS Chantilly 726 and the Conradin Bible were produced by a southern-Italian atelier, and she has linked this workshop to eight religious manuscripts and two copies of the Latin translation of the *Kitab al-Hâwi* encyclopedia, made for King Charles I in 1282.¹² In seeking to reconcile the decorative similarities between MS Chantilly 726 and the Conradin Bible, dated to 1268, Corrie has sought to shift the heraldic attribution of MS

¹² Rebecca Corrie, 'Angevin Ambitions: The Conradin Bible Atelier and a Neapolitan Localization for Chantilly's *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*', in *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 230–49.

Chantilly 726 to an earlier date and suggested a number of Angevin marriage alliances which took place during the reign of King Charles I.¹³

In contrast to BnF, MS f. fr. 295, whose heraldic shields have been solidly attributed to the marital union of Charles of Calabria and Marie of Valois, Oltrogge and Corrie's attempts to attribute MS Chantilly 726's heraldic scheme to an Angevin marriage alliance rest on shaky ground.¹⁴ The heraldry of MS Chantilly 726 does not correspond to the shields of Philip of Taranto and Thamar of Epirus, as represented on a beautiful gilded casket produced on the occasion of their marriage, and none of Corrie's alternative suggestions is borne out by extant heraldic evidence.¹⁵

Furthermore, as the Angevin shield in MS Chantilly 726 is depicted on the *sinister* side of the arrangement, it occupies the traditional position of female shields within a heraldic representation of marriage alliance, and so is unlikely to represent the arms of Philip of Taranto, or indeed any male member of a heterosexual coupling.¹⁶ In contrast to BnF, MS f. fr. 295, in which the arms of Charles of Calabria and Marie of Valois are presented as two sides of the same shield, and thus symbolise the coming together of two dynasties through marital union, the arms in MS Chantilly 726 are presented as two distinct shields, perhaps suggesting a different kind of partnership than that represented by marriage.

An alternative hypothesis for the manuscript's heraldic scheme has been put forward by Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, who has suggested that the *dexter* shield

¹³ Corrie, 'Angevin Ambitions', pp. 240–41.

¹⁴ For analysis of the shields in MS Chantilly 726, see François Avril, 'Trois manuscrits néapolitains des Collections de Charles V et de Jean de Berry', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 127 (1969), 291–98 (pp. 297–98).

¹⁵ For photographs and discussion of the casket see Pierluigi Leone De Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence: Cantini, 1986), pp. 28, 164. Corrie's suggestions included the marriages of Charles I's daughter, Beatrice, with Philip of Courtenay, (1267) and of his son, Philip with Isabelle of Villehardouin (1271). See Corrie, 'Angevin Ambitions', p. 241.

¹⁶ It was for this reason that Flutre suggested that the arrangement of the shields represented the marriage of an Angevin princess: 'ce dernier, placé à droite, appartiendrait à une femme, sans doute une princesse de la maison d'Anjou', in Louis-Fernand Flutre, *Les Manuscrits des 'Faits des Romains'* (Paris: Hachette, 1932), p. 34.

belongs to Guy of Montfort (1244–1291), one of the key members of King Charles I's army in his conquest of the Regno.¹⁷ This shield, described by the text's modern editor as *gueules au lion d'argent ou de sable*,¹⁸ bears a forked tail, which corresponds to the representation of Montfort arms in surviving seals and documents.¹⁹

Its identification with Guy of Montfort reflects the close allegiance that Guy and Charles I are known to have enjoyed. In the following discussion, I intend to develop Perriccioli Saggese's identification of the shield as that of Guy of Montfort, to suggest that MS Chantilly 726 was commissioned by Guy as a gift for King Charles I. I will also suggest that the manuscript's inclusion of the *Histoire ancienne* suggests that the extended Montfort dynasty, based in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, may have had a hand in its compilation. Along with his elder brother, Simon, Guy had joined Charles I's army in Italy in the late 1260s. The Montfort brothers had been exiled from England after the Battle of Evesham, which had seen their father, Simon, Earl of Leicester, defeated and killed by the army of King Henry III.²⁰

Guy went on to play a crucial role in the Angevin army, notably during the Battle of Tagliacozzo in 1268, which helped to secure Charles I's conquest of the Regno. In recognition of his achievements, Guy was appointed as Charles I's vicar in Tuscany from 1270, and also acted as his *podestà* in Florence. In both of these roles, Guy played

¹⁷ Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, 'Un codice bolognese alla corte angioina di Napoli: l'*Histoire ancienne* di Chantilly appartenuta a Guy de Montfort e il problema della Bibbia di Corradino', in *Napoli e l'Emilia: studi sulle relazioni artistiche*, ed. by Andrea Zezza (Naples: Luciano, 2008), pp. 19–30 (p. 21), and 'Riflessi delle crociate nella committenza di un manoscritto miniato destinato a Carlo I d'Angiò', in *Medievo: I committenti. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 21–26 settembre 2010*, ed. by Arturo Quintavalle (Milan: Electa, 2011), pp. 570–74 (p. 570). Saggese downplays MS Chantilly 726's similarities to the Conradin Bible and problematises the use of the term 'Maestro di Corradino', instead stressing the manuscript's decorative similarities to Bolognese codices: 'Un codice bolognese', pp. 21–22.

¹⁸ Flutre, *Les Manuscrits*, p. 33. Guy of Montfort's arms appear in the Wijnbergen roll as *de gueules au lion à la queue fourchée et passée en sautoir, d'argent*. See Paul Adam-Even and Léon Jéquier, *Un armorial français du xiiiè siècle: l'armorial Wijnbergen* (Lausanne: Archives héraldiques suisses, 1955), p. 22 n. 91.

¹⁹ See also the arms of Simon of Montfort, Earl of Leicester, in the so-called Trinity Apocalypse, represented as *gules a lion rampant queue fourché argent*, in Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. by Peter R. Coss and Maurice Hugh Keen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 83–104 (p. 84). I am grateful to Adrian Ailes for his advice on the heraldry of MS Chantilly 726.

a prominent part in leading Angevin troops against the Ghibellines, and was instrumental in securing Charles I's victory at the Battle of Poggibonsi.²¹ It is striking, in this context, that the Montfort shield included in MS Chantilly 726 also features alongside Charles I's shield in the Council Hall of the Palazzo Comunale in San Gimignano.²² Having led the Guelf cause in Tuscany, Guy was fondly remembered by the citizens of San Gimignano, and the inclusion of his shield alongside that of Charles I was an appropriate tribute to his unstinting loyalty to the Angevin cause, and to the high esteem in which he was held in the region.

Early in his Italian career, Guy married Margherita Aldobrandeschi, 'the heiress of the most prominent man in southern Tuscany',²³ and went on to have two daughters who married into established Italian families.²⁴ Alongside his extensive military involvement in the region, Guy was also well integrated into local cultural networks, as evidenced by his correspondence with Guittone d'Arezzo, one of the foremost Tuscan poets of the age.²⁵

Guy of Montfort's illustrious Tuscan career, however, has contributed less to his reputation than his murder of Henry of Almain, which he committed on the occasion of a church service at Viterbo in 1271 in revenge for the murder of his father at Evesham, and for which he was excommunicated.²⁶ He was brought back into Charles I's service in 1281, captured by the Aragonese in insular Sicily in 1289, and then died during his

²¹ C. Jean Campbell, *The Game of Courting and the Art of the Commune of San Gimignano, 1290–1320* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 72.

²² Montfort arms also appear in a southern-Italian armorial manuscript, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MS V.A. 42, c. 39. See Saggese, 'Un codice Bolognese', p. 29 n. 47.

²³ F. M. Powicke, 'Guy de Montfort (1265–71)' in *Ways of Medieval Life and Thought, Essays and Addresses* (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1967), pp. 69–88 (p. 80).

²⁴ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 161.

²⁵ Saggese, 'Riflessi', p. 573.

²⁶ Alighieri, Dante, *La Commedia, secondo l'antica vulgata*, ed. by G. Petrocchi, 4 vols (Milan: Mondadori, 1966–67), II: *Inferno*, XII. 118–20 (accessed via Dante Online, Società Dantesca Italiana: <<http://www.danteonline.it>>). All further references to the *Commedia* are cited from this edition of the text. The murder of Henry of Almain is also described in Steven Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 145–46. Guy's brother, Simon, died in Italy in 1271 and appears not to have achieved the same renown. Dunbabin, *Charles I*, p. 59 n. 5.

captivity in 1291.²⁷

Before Guy's arrival in Italy, his cousin, Philip, Lord of Castres-en-Albigeois, had been one of Charles I's most loyal supporters, and had been charged with leading the Angevin descent into Italy.²⁸ Guy and Philip worked side-by-side on a number of Angevin missions in the Regno, and were sent together to insular Sicily in 1269 to suppress local revolts.²⁹ Following Philip's death on the Tunis crusade of 1270, his son, John, inherited his territories, so becoming 'the only sizeable French landholder (apart from the king) in the whole island of Sicily'.³⁰ John and Guy then served Charles I side-by-side, and F. M. Powicke has claimed that John became 'the best friend Guy de Montfort ever had'.³¹ John went on to exert considerable influence through the reigns of Charles I and Charles II and, like Guy, was captured by Aragonese forces in Sicily. Upon his release, he served the Angevin court in its negotiations to secure the release of Charles II's sons from Aragonese captivity, and seems to have played an active role in the Regno as late as 1310.³² The longevity of his service would have been a living testament to the longstanding support of the Angevin dynasty by the Montfort family, which continued uninterrupted from Charles I's conquest of the Regno to the illustrious rule of King Robert the Wise.

Guy's loyal service in Angevin Italy was the natural continuation of the friendship his father had enjoyed with Charles I. Simon of Montfort, Earl of Leicester, is reported to have been Charles I's sworn brother-in-arms.³³ As brothers-in-arms, Charles I's and Simon's relationship was 'domestic and familial, not feudal', and represented a personal friendship through which they considered each other as

²⁷ Dunbabin, *Charles I*, p. 186.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, *The French*, p. 161.

²⁹ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, p. 72; Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 124.

³⁰ Dunbabin, *The French*, p. 163.

³¹ Powicke, 'Guy de Montfort (1265–71)', p. 77.

³² Sylvie Pollastri, *Le Lignage et le fief: L'affirmation du milieu comtal et la construction des états féodaux sous les Angevins de Naples (1265–1435)* (Paris: Publibook, 2011), p. 134.

³³ J. R. Maddicott, *Simon of Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 244 n. 72.

familiares.³⁴ As Simon's son, Guy entered the highest echelons of Charles I's court, and the presence of Montfort-Angevin arms side-by-side in MS Chantilly 726 may have symbolised the continuing close allegiance between Charles I and the Montfort family.³⁵

Furthermore, the manuscript's inclusion of the *Histoire ancienne* alongside the *Faits* points to Charles I's dealings with another branch of the Montfort dynasty, following his purchase of the titular rights over the kingdom of Jerusalem from Maria of Antioch in 1277. His loyal friend, Philip of Montfort, Lord of Castres-en-Albigeois, whom we mentioned earlier, had a half-brother, John of Tyre, who held important positions in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Philip's father, also called Philip (d. 1270), had been an important lord in *Outremer*, allied with the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, whose territorial rights in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem passed to John of Tyre.³⁶ John of Tyre had cemented the Cypriot alliance through his marriage to Margaret of Lusignan, sister of King Hugh III of Cyprus.³⁷ As a prominent lord in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem from 1270 until his death in 1283, John of Tyre found himself caught between opposing loyalties once Charles I started to assert his authority in the Holy Land. On the one hand, John owed allegiance to the Lusignans of Cyprus, on the other, Charles I's claims to the kingdom called on him to support one of his late father's closest allies.³⁸ It is clear that the arrival in Acre in 1277 of Roger of Sanseverino, Charles I's bailiff, forced John to temper his hostility towards the Venetians, who were close allies of the Angevins and John's long-standing enemy in the region. Under the guidance of William of Beaujeu, Charles I's cousin and ally, John concluded a treaty in

³⁴ M. H. Keen, 'Brotherhood in Arms', *History*, 47 (1964), 1–17 (p. 12).

³⁵ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 120, also describes Guy of Montfort as 'amongst the King's closest friends'.

³⁶ See Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 91

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

July 1277 to allow the Venetians to participate in his lordship of Tyre.³⁹

There is no direct evidence that John of Tyre formally recognised Charles I as king of Jerusalem; it is clear, however, that he needed to maintain Charles's support.⁴⁰ A hypothesis for the context for the inclusion of the *Histoire ancienne* alongside the *Faits* in MS Chantilly 726 is, therefore, the politically tricky (and potentially dangerous) situation that John of Tyre found himself in following Charles I's attempts to seize the Holy Land from Lusignan control.⁴¹

The *Histoire ancienne* was one of the most popular texts produced in illuminated manuscripts by scribes working in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.⁴² Furthermore, as the example of the so-called *Chansonnier du roi* demonstrates, it would not have been the first example of a francophone secular manuscript given as a diplomatic gift to Charles I by the Latin rulers of Outremer.⁴³

Evidence to suggest that Guy was in contact with his family in the Latin kingdom, and that this contact was mediated by manuscripts of the *Histoire ancienne*, is suggested by Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 562, thought to be one of the earliest examples of copies of the *Histoire ancienne* produced in the Holy Land, whose *ex-libris* reveals that it eventually entered the possession of Peter of Nola, Guy's own son-in-law.⁴⁴

A hypothesis for the heraldic symbolism of MS Chantilly 726 is, therefore, an attempt by the Montfort family to cement its relations with Charles I, both in Italy and

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Evidence suggests that John of Tyre's shield was identical to that of Guy. See T. A. Archer and Charles L. Kingsford, *The Crusades: The Story of the Latin Kingdom* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), p. 411.

⁴² Bianca Kühnel, 'The Perception of History in Thirteenth-Century Crusader Art', in *France and the Holy Land*, pp. 161–86 (p. 162); Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting: 1250–1500* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), p. 103.

⁴³ John Haines's analysis suggests that a francophone songbook was repeatedly exchanged between Charles I and the Villehardouins of the Morea in reflection of their political alliance: John Haines, 'The Songbook', pp. 57–110 (p. 104).

⁴⁴ Saggese, 'Riflessi', p. 573.

the Latin kingdom. Positioned at the point in the narrative where King Pyrrhus sets sail to claim Sicily, the heraldic scheme endorses Charles I's role as Sicilian sovereign, suggesting that the manuscript may have been commissioned as a gift for Charles I himself. Through the paralleling of ancient and contemporary Sicilian conquerors, the inclusion of the Montfort-Angevin shields in MS Chantilly 726 ensured that this manuscript of the *Faits* told the history not only of how the Romans conquered Italy and how Caesar conquered Rome, but also of how the Montfort family helped Charles I enter Italy and seize the Regno.

The role of the Montfort family in the commissioning of MS Chantilly 726 has significance not only within Angevin studies but also for the history of the text's transmission. MS Chantilly 726 is not the only manuscript of the *Faits*, from this early period of the text's circulation in Italy, which carries traces of Montfort dynastic influence. In the footsteps of Bernard Guenée's astute suggestion that the *Faits* arrived in Italy as a result of Charles I's Italian enterprise,⁴⁵ I would like to suggest that it was Guy of Montfort who brought the *Faits* to Italy. The combination of Montfort-Angevin heraldry in MS Chantilly 726, and references to the Montfort dynasty in an addendum of a subset of Italian manuscripts of the *Faits*, to which we shall now turn, seem to place the Montforts at the centre of the text's Italian transmission.

Four Italian manuscripts of the *Faits* include a chronology of the world from the birth of Adam to the so-called Barons' Crusade of 1239. This first details the lives of saints before proceeding to a secular history listing the dates of notable events, such as the reigns and deaths of various kings (of England, France, and Castile), celestial events, and financial concerns. The chronology then homes in on the major events of the Capetian conflict over Poitou. It was because of the focus on Poitou and the chronology's reference to Savari of Mauléon, a noble troubadour deeply embroiled in

⁴⁵ Guenée, 'La culture historique des nobles', p. 274.

this conflict, that Guenée suggested that the chronology had been appended to the *Faits* by a member of Savari's household.⁴⁶

Despite Guenée's convincing suggestion that the *Faits* found favour in court circles connected to the Poitevin conflict, a close inspection of the chronology, in light of the evidence provided by MS Chantilly 726, points to the Montfort family rather than Savari of Mauléon as its likely patron. Strikingly, although the chronology mentions the fact that Savari died in 1233, it continues to narrate events well beyond this date. Furthermore, Savari only features insofar as the date of his death is given.⁴⁷

In contrast to this perfunctory reference to Savari, however, the chronology progresses to its lengthiest description, detailing how sixty-five Christian soldiers were captured in Gaza in 1239, of whom two are mentioned by name and provide the final words of the text: 'li cuens de monfort et li uiscuens | de baumont' [the count of Montfort and the viscount of Beaumont].⁴⁸ The 'cuens de monfort' referenced here is Amaury, Guy of Montfort's uncle, who was a celebrated constable of France, and one of the leading participants in the crusade of 1239.⁴⁹ By invoking his memory, the text draws attention to the history of the Montforts as champions of the Church and as participants in recent crusading initiatives.

The description of the major events in the Capetian conflict over Poitou reveals

⁴⁶ Guenée, 'La culture historique des nobles', p. 271.

⁴⁷ The text reads 'a m cc (et) xxxiii anz morut | sauaris demaulion'. This and subsequent transcriptions are from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 23082 (hereafter, BnF, MS f. fr. 23082), f. 249v.

⁴⁸ The full transcription reads, 'a. m. cc. (et) xxxix. anz de | lincarnation ih(es)u crist ala g(ra)nt | miete enla terre de iherusale(m) | (et) passerent iusque en esclauo | nie ensamble (et) lapristrent (et) | lendemain de la feste saint mar | tin dyuer cheuacherent bie(n) | cccc cheualier enla terre dega | dres alen iornee les enconterre | nt lisarrazin (et) secombatirent | a ais (et) furent pris des crestien | cheualier bien lxvi (et) ifu pris | li cuens de monfort (et) li uiscue(n)s | de baumont'. The 'uiscuens de baumont', here, is most likely to be Richard II of Beaumont-au-Maine. Historians have disagreed as to whether he was captured at Gaza during the Barons' Crusade; this reference to the event in MS Chantilly 726 suggests that he was. See A. Angot, 'Les vicomtes du Maine', *Bulletin de la Commission historique et archéologique de la Mayenne*, 30 (1914), 180–232, 320–42, 404–24.

⁴⁹ The Barons' Crusade was a Montfort family affair: Simon, Earl of Leicester, Guy's father and Amaury's brother, also participated, as well as Philip, Guy's cousin, who went on to play such a significant part in the Regno under Charles I. See Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and its Consequences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 57–58.

a subtle bias, which further challenges Guenée's suggestion that the chronology was composed at Savari's household. Savari occupies an ambivalent place in the history of Poitevin conflict, having flip-flopped between the Plantagenet and Capetian sides, before finally siding with the Plantagenet cause.⁵⁰ In the chronology, however, the perspective through which events are relayed is consistently on the side of the Capetians: having been informed of Capetian victories in 1205 and 1224, we are then told that in 1231 King Henry III of England went to Nantes and Bordeaux and then 'sentorna | en engleterre sanz riens faire' [returned to England without doing anything].⁵¹ The reference to the Capetian victory in 1224 at La Rochelle is particularly telling, since this was a battle in which Savari of Mauléon was defeated.⁵² Furthermore, the negative portrayal of Henry III as achieving precisely nothing from his expedition to La Rochelle fails to align with the loyalty Savari subsequently showed to him.⁵³

This negative portrayal of Henry III begins to make sense, however, in the context of the text's reference to Amaury of Montfort. Amaury's brother, Simon of Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was involved in a lengthy and tumultuous series of quarrels with Henry, which begin in 1239 and ended with his death at the hand of Prince Edward, Henry's son, at the battle of Evesham. This, as we have seen, was the pivotal event in Guy of Montfort's life which caused him to relocate to Italy.⁵⁴

Moreover, even the text's single reference to Savari of Mauléon serves to invoke the memory of Montfort achievement in crusading initiatives. Since it was Guy's grandfather who stood at the head of the crusading army which fought against Savari's troops during the early years of the Albigensian Crusade, his memory is implicitly

⁵⁰ H. J. Chaytor, *Savaric de Mauléon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. 1–61.

⁵¹ Guenée, 'La culture historique des nobles', p. 271, provides a transcription of the same section of BnF, MS f. fr. 23082, which reads: 'il [...] s'en retourna en Engleterre sans aultre chose faire', but the manuscript clearly reads 'sanz riens faire', which is rather more condemnatory in tone.

⁵² Chaytor, *Savaric*, pp. 50–51.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁵⁴ Maddicott, *Simon of Montfort*, pp. 28–31.

evoked through the text's reference to Savari's death, and through the reference to the beginning of the Crusade itself in 1209.⁵⁵

Having suggested that the chronology was composed at the household of Savari of Mauléon in Poitou, Guenée then inferred that it was brought to Italy where it was appended to the *Faits*. Consideration of another addendum to the *Faits*, however, which appears in three of the four manuscripts containing the chronology, namely a history of the twelve emperors of Rome from Augustus to Frederick II, calls this into question. The Italian origin of the text of the twelve emperors is made apparent through its references to two prominent Guelf families from Rome, the Colonna and Malabranca.⁵⁶ In all three of the extant examples of the *Faits* which contain both the text of the twelve emperors and the chronology, the latter is seamlessly positioned as the continuation of the former and, as such, is presented as its conclusion, rather than as a stand-alone text. This is clearly demonstrated from the colophons inserted at the end of the chronology section.⁵⁷

It seems likely, therefore, that the combined text of the twelve emperors and the chronology was initially conceived as a single work in Italy. In light of the implicit and explicit references to the Montfort dynasty in the chronology, Guy of Montfort appears a suitable candidate to have brought about this compilation of texts, perhaps as a way to connect the history of the ancients, as told in the *Faits*, with that of his family, as told in

⁵⁵ BnF, MS f. fr. 23082, f. 249v.

⁵⁶ Guenée, 'La culture historique des nobles', p. 273.

⁵⁷ 'Explicit li empereor' (BnF, MS f. fr. 23082); 'Explicit li empereor. Deo gracias Amen Amen' (Venice, Biblioteca marciana, MS fr. III) and 'Expliciunt facta imperatorum' (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4792). The single surviving manuscript that contains the chronology independent of the text of the emperors is dated to 1447, and so provides witness to the extraction of the chronology at a much later date. This manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 672. A further three manuscripts include the text of the emperors without the chronology, of which one dates to the fourteenth century and two are dated to 1449. For details see Flutre, *Les Manuscrits*, pp. 38–40, 65–67.

the emperor-chronology text.⁵⁸

Given Guy's intimate involvement in military, marital, and cultural networks in Angevin Italy, his patronage of the *Faits* would have presented an ideal environment to ensure the text's reception among local literary elites. Descended from one of the most highly educated secular families in England, with connections throughout Christendom, Guy may have been a key facilitator of the importation of francophone literature into Italy and, due to his successful integration into Italian cultural networks, of its circulation and adaptation in local literary circles.⁵⁹

If, as I have suggested, MS Chantilly 726 represents a luxury volume gifted to Charles I by Guy of Montfort, it would have subsequently entered the Angevin royal library which became, in later years, a treasure store for manuscripts over multiple generations of the Angevin dynasty.⁶⁰ The recopying of the *Faits* within the marital volume for Charles of Calabria and Marie of Valois, three generations after it was included in MS Chantilly 726, supports the idea that the memory of the early Angevin achievements in the Regno lived on. By enacting a copy of a text previously employed to immortalise the Montfort family's support of Charles I's conquests, both in the Regno and Outremer, BnF, MS f. fr. 295 memorialises not only the marital union of Charles of Calabria and Marie of Valois in 1324, but also the couple's inheritance of the dynastic prestige of their family's triumph in Italy and beyond.⁶¹

ii. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 295

Among the celebrated codices produced at the court of King Robert the Wise are

⁵⁸ Although the emperor-chronology addendum does not appear in MS Chantilly 726, the manuscript in its present state cuts off partway through the *Faits*, so we cannot say whether it originally formed part of the volume.

⁵⁹ For the Montfort family's high level of education, see Maddicott, *Simon of Montfort*, pp. 43–44. For evidence connecting the Montforts with Arthurian adaptations in Italy, see Catalina Girbea, 'Flatteries héraldiques, propagande politique et armoiries symboliques dans quelques romans arthuriens (XIIe–XIIIe siècles)', in *Signes et couleurs des identités politiques du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. by Denise Turrel and others, (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2008), pp. 365–80 (pp. 365–70).

⁶⁰ See Coulter, 'The Library', 141–55.

⁶¹ Avril, 'Trois manuscrits', pp. 297–98.

elaborate copies of the *Histoire ancienne* and the *Faits*, the very texts contained in MS Chantilly 726.⁶² As manuscripts such as London, British Library, MS Royal 20 D I attest, copies of the *Histoire ancienne* were commissioned in lavish volumes, whose pictorial strategies sought to juxtapose the textual narrative of ancient history with images of contemporary chivalric exploits.⁶³

BnF, MS f. fr. 295 shares many decorative features with MS Royal 20 D I and is thought to be a product of the same workshop.⁶⁴ It represents an enormous commitment of time and resources, with more than one quarter of its eight-hundred pages devoted to an extraordinarily complex system of glossing and indexing, executed in Latin, which follows the French text of the *Faits*.⁶⁵

At first sight, the commissioning of the French *Faits* within a volume commemorating an Angevin royal marriage seems to jar with accepted understanding of the cultural priorities of King Robert's court. Although King Robert's patronage embraced a huge range of disciplines, its usual language of expression was Latin.⁶⁶ As Francesco Sabatini has suggested, vernacular texts were 'assenti sul piano della cultura autorizzata dal sovrano', as the francophone environment of Charles I had, over the years, given way to a proto-humanist, predominantly Latin court culture.⁶⁷

Surviving records make clear, however, that King Robert the Wise inherited French-language manuscripts from his mother, Maria of Hungary, and there is also

⁶² See Desmond, '*Translatio imperii*' and Lee, 'Writing History'. A book of French history was also one of the most expensive manuscripts purchased by Robert's court, see Coulter, 'The Library', p. 146.

⁶³ Hereafter MS Royal 20 D I. See Costanza L. Cipollaro, 'Una galleria di battaglie per Roberto d'Angiò: nuove riflessioni su l'*Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* di Londra (British Library, Ms. Royal 20 D I)', *Rivista d'arte*, 3 (2013), 1–34.

⁶⁴ Avril, 'Trois manuscrits', p. 295 n. 3, and 'Un atelier 'picard' à la cour des Angevins de Naples', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1986), 76–85.

⁶⁵ See the manuscript's entry in the BnF online catalogue for a full description: BnF (2016), *Le Catalogue BnF Archives et Manuscrits* <<http://archivesetmanuscrits.BnF.fr>> [accessed 07/09/16]. The manuscript has been paginated and all references will include page numbers rather than folio references.

⁶⁶ Kelly, *The New Solomon*, pp. 22–54.

⁶⁷ Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, p. 85.

evidence to suggest that he cultivated a francophone culture in his own day.⁶⁸ It has also been suggested that female members of Robert's court, such as Marie of Valois, promoted francophone culture at court.⁶⁹

That this interpretation chimes well with Boccaccio's vision of ladies at court who enjoyed reading 'franceschi romanzi' has only increased the appeal of this hypothesis.⁷⁰ The evidence presented by MS Royal 20 D I and BnF, MS f. fr. 295, however, puts francophone historiography, rather than romance, in the spotlight of King Robert the Wise's cultural programme.⁷¹ BnF, MS f. fr. 295 features Marie of Valois's coat of arms within an elaborate decorative scheme, which establishes it within an official programme of Robertian court production.⁷²

As we shall see, the extensive system of indexing and glossing reveals the influence of intellectual currents already present at the Angevin court, and suggests that the manuscript stands as a cultural product of King Robert's reign. Notwithstanding Latin's status as the principal language of Angevin manuscript production during the Robertian period, in 1316, long before Charles of Calabria's marriage to Marie of Valois, King Robert ordered a book to be made for his son, which is described in the registers as 'in vulgari gallico scriptum' [written in the French vernacular].⁷³

King Robert's court had relocated to Avignon in the years leading up to, and immediately following, Charles of Calabria and Marie of Valois's marriage.⁷⁴ In King

⁶⁸ Maria of Hungary's will detailed six religious works and a romance written in French. See Sabatini, 'Napoli angioina', pp. 84–85.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ As famously presented in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (viii. 7). See Giovanni Boccaccio, *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta. Corbaccio*, ed. by Francesco Ermani (Milan: Garzanti, 1988), p. 186.

⁷¹ That is not to say that the *Histoire ancienne* and the *Faits* did not contain borrowings from romance texts. See the description of 'romantic histories' in Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (London: Phaidon Press, 1994), p. 165.

⁷² Avril recognised the work of the same decorator in other court manuscripts from Angevin Naples, including London, British Library, MS Royal 20 D I (*Histoire ancienne*); Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 53 (Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*); Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Lat. Z. 10 (bi-lingual French and Latin New Testament). For a full discussion see Avril, 'Un atelier', pp. 76–85.

⁷³ Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, p. 85.

⁷⁴ Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 189.

Robert's absence, it was Charles of Calabria, as vicar general, who was charged with the day-to-day administration of the Regno.⁷⁵ Through his leadership of the vicarial tribunal, he sought to increase his reputation for fairness and justice, and in this he seems to have been largely successful, judging by the terms in which he was remembered after his death.⁷⁶

A more ambivalent legacy was left by his time as *signore* of Florence from 1326–28, a position he accepted for ten years in order to lead the city's opposition to the Ghibelline threat of Ludwig of Bavaria.⁷⁷ His priorities were made plain when he left Florence in order to protect Naples as Ludwig approached.⁷⁸

Although his military contribution to Florence's defence seems to have been meagre, the extensive cultural contacts he made during his signory have been credited with introducing the nascent humanist movement to Naples. Although Charles of Calabria's leadership of Florence was intended to last for ten years, his untimely death in 1328 cut it abruptly short. The fact that he was publicly mourned by some of the leading figures in Florentine humanism provides an additional measure of the high esteem he enjoyed within intellectual circles.⁷⁹

The discovery of Charles of Calabria and Marie of Valois's heraldry within BnF, MS f. fr. 295 adds another aspect to our understanding of the couple's cultural priorities, and analysis of the manuscript's paratextual features provides a fascinating insight into how the text of the *Faits* was intended to be read at the Angevin court in the early fourteenth century. As well as his contacts in intellectual circles, archival evidence also suggests that, in the established tradition of Angevin rulers, Charles of Calabria was a bibliophile: we have already noted the francophone volume commissioned for his use in

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* For details of the sermons preached about Charles following his death see d'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, pp. 191–92.

⁷⁷ Kelly, *The New Solomon*, pp. 227–33, and Léonard, *Les Angevins*, pp. 246–47.

⁷⁸ Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 232.

⁷⁹ Sabatini, *Napoli angioina*, p. 78.

1316, and the registers further detail the production, on his behalf, of an elaborate book of hours in 1327.⁸⁰ Not only did he have full access to the Angevin library, but also many books were probably commissioned for his education, of which BnF, MS f. fr. 295 is undoubtedly an example.

François Avril was the first to suggest that the manuscript was intended as an educational manual for Charles of Calabria, and that the design of the index recalled thirteenth-century university books used for the teaching of works by Aristotle and Saint Thomas Aquinas.⁸¹ It was Elzéar of Sabran, a high-ranking member of King Robert's court, who was charged with Charles of Calabria's education, and we can imagine that he had a hand in the preparation of books for his pupil's instruction, including BnF, MS f. fr. 295.⁸² Although we cannot be sure whether Marie of Valois, as future queen of the Regno, would have received a formal education at court, the fact that BnF, MS f. fr. 295 features her shield alongside that of her husband perhaps suggests that she did indeed share in Charles of Calabria's lessons.⁸³

Elzéar was a Tertiary Franciscan, whose vow of marital chastity with his wife, Delphine, was met with significant controversy in his native Provence. The couple found a warmer reception following their relocation to Naples in 1310, where King Robert granted them leave to make a public avowal of their chastity, and where Queen Sancia sought to make a similar avowal herself.⁸⁴

Elzéar was sent to Paris by King Robert to negotiate Charles of Calabria's marriage to Marie of Valois. Although he was to become a major figure throughout Christendom following his canonisation in 1371, Elzéar's influence in Naples was

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Avril, 'Trois manuscrits', p. 293 n. 4, and 'Un atelier', p. 79 n. 11.

⁸² Elzéar of Sabran was Baron of Ansouis (in Provence) and Count of Ariano (in the Regno). See Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 164.

⁸³ For example, Elizabeth Casteen suggests that Angevin women did not receive an education in Latin: Casteen, *She-Wolf*, p. 3.

⁸⁴ Carl Brandon Strehlke, 'A Celibate Marriage and Franciscan Poverty Reflected in a Neapolitan Trecento Diptych', *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 15 (1987), 79–96 (pp. 84, 87).

dramatically cut short, since he died during this diplomatic marriage mission at the French court, but not before he had secured Marie of Valois's hand for Charles of Calabria, his final act of service for his Angevin king. Following Elzéar's death, Delphine divested herself of all of her assets and retired to the Franciscan convent of Santa Croce in Naples, as Queen Sancia would too.⁸⁵

It is interesting, in light of Elzéar's experience in Provence and of King Robert's residence there in the years around Charles of Calabria and Marie of Valois's marriage, that the complex Latin index of BnF, MS f. fr. 295 has much in common with the indices contained in manuscripts produced for Pope John XXII (1316–34), whose pontificate in Avignon has left considerable evidence of the employment of professional index makers.⁸⁶

Furthermore, it is not the only manuscript linked to King Robert which contains this kind of paratext: similar index tables are included in the surviving copies of two other Angevin commissions, including manuscripts of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, and King Robert's treaty on the *Vision bienheureuse*, which share many decorative features with BnF, MS f. fr. 295 and are thought to be products of the same workshop.⁸⁷

The Latin index of BnF, MS f. fr. 295 is organised first alphabetically and then sequentially such that, by way of illustration, from pages 691–93 there are eighty-three items listed in the 'Cesar' section, which refer to passages of the *Faits* from page 3 to page 664.⁸⁸

Associated with each index entry is a gloss beside the relevant section of text to which it makes reference. Thus, for example, the first index entry in the 'Cesar' section,

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

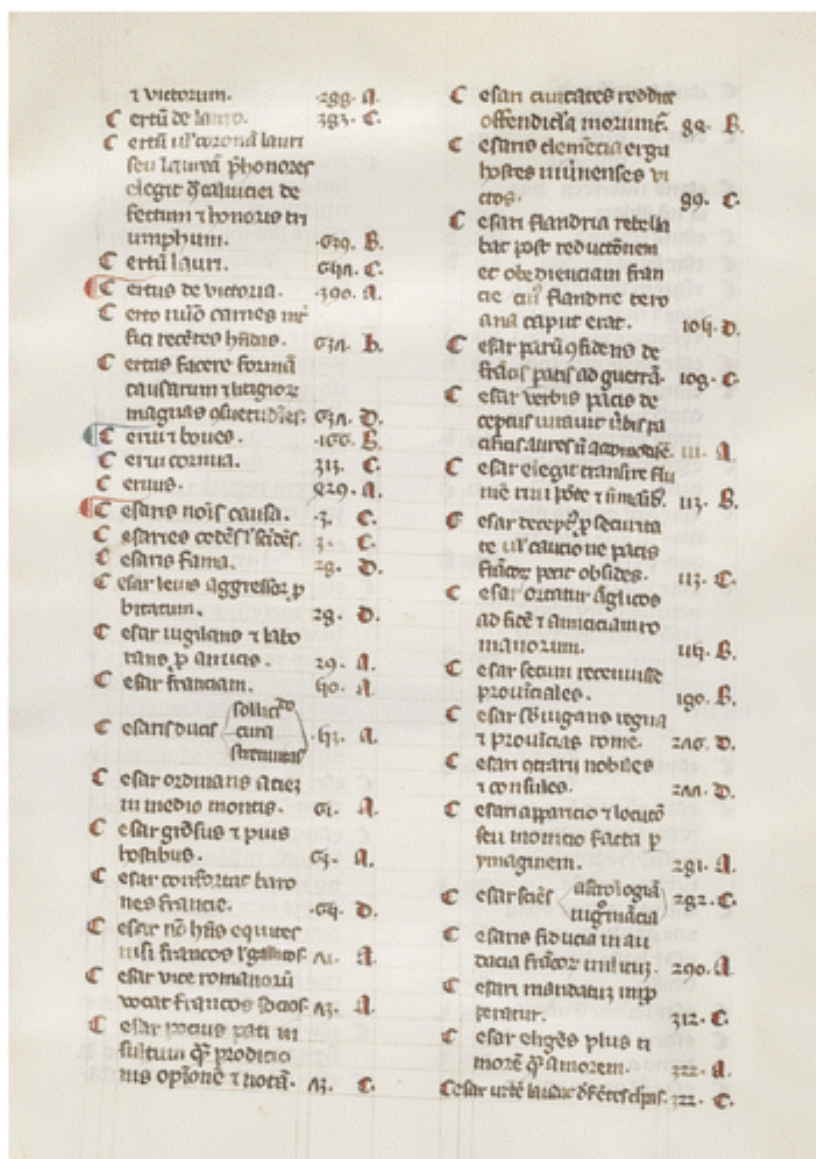
⁸⁶ Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, 'La naissance des index', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. by Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier, and Jean-Pierre Vivet, 4 vols (Paris: Promodis, 1982), I, pp. 77–88 (p. 85).

⁸⁷ Avril, 'Un atelier', pp. 78–79.

⁸⁸ Not all entries in the index appear in sequential order. For example, for the entry 'questor' (p. 839) the reference to p. 6d appears before the reference to p. 3a. The entries listed under 'terra' (p. 870) are particularly out of order. The index is alphabetised by first word only.

‘Cesaris no(min)is causa’ [the reason for Caesar’s name] (p. 691) refers the reader to page 3, where we find a repetition of this entry next to the section of the *Faits* explaining a number of reasons for Caesar’s name. In this case, as in many others, the index functions in much the same way as its modern counterparts: it signposts specific points of interest in the narrative, without providing all the detail contained in the text itself.

Figure 8: BnF, MS f. fr. 295, p. 691. By kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Entries in the index are frequently repeated, such that the same glossed section of text is referenced in multiple index sections. The entry quoted above, for example, also

appears in the ‘no(min)a’ section of the index (‘nominis cesaris causa’, p. 805) as well as the ‘causa’ section (‘causa no(min)is cesaris’, p. 689). As Figure 9 at the end of this chapter demonstrates, these repetitive entries serve to point the reader, again and again, to the same sections of text. The multiplicity of references to the same sections of text suggests the compiler’s concern that the reader should consult specific sections of the *Faits*, and increases the likelihood that the text was meant to be read not as a continuous narrative, but as a series of episodes, or *exempla*, that could be individually consulted, with the index providing the navigational key. The prominence of the index within the volume, and the insistence with which it directs the reader to certain sections of the *Faits*, inverts our modern sense of text/paratext hierarchy, as the continuous narrative of the *Faits* is subordinated to the privileging of certain key episodes by the index.

The manuscript contains two systems of glossing: a primary system, which is highly systematised and carefully planned, which serves as a bridge between the index and related passages in the *Faits*; and a secondary system, differentiated from the primary system through the use of underlining, which makes no reference to the index and seems to be the result of the reader’s spontaneous responses to discrete passages of the *Faits*. Whereas the primary glosses form part of the original compilation of the manuscript and show how the text was intended to be read, the secondary glosses, which are not linked to the index, allow insights into how the text was actually read by its early-fourteenth-century Angevin users.

An underlined gloss on page 610, for example, reveals that the *Faits* was read alongside newly discovered works of classical philosophy. Alongside the section of the text which describes the members of a Libyan tribe who ‘gisent conmunament as femme(s) et prennent une et puis autre, autresi come bestes’ [lie communally with women and take them one after the other, in the manner of beasts], there appears a gloss which reads ‘No(ta) hic de politia platonis’ [N.B. Plato’s government]. In referring to

the argument made by Plato in *The Republic* that women were communal goods to be shared between men, the gloss provides new evidence of the Angevin court's reception of classical philosophy.⁸⁹ It was only as recently as 1320 that *The Republic* had become known to a Latin reading audience, as this was the year in which Samuel ben Judah of Marseilles undertook his Hebrew translation of Averroes's Arabic commentary on Plato's text.⁹⁰

Although no documentary evidence has come to light to indicate his contact with the Angevin court, he was present in Provence at the same time as King Robert, and it is possible that King Robert encountered his translation there, perhaps directly or through one of a number of Jewish intellectuals whom he employed in his service both in Naples and Provence.⁹¹ It is clear that King Robert was interested in Averroes's translations of classical works, as his employment of Calonymus ben Calonymus of Arles as his translator makes clear.⁹² That Plato's text is referred to in the gloss of BnF, MS f. fr. 295 raises the possibility that a copy of Samuel ben Judah's translation was brought to Naples, translated into Latin, and consulted by Charles of Calabria during his lessons with Elzéar.

The local context of the Neapolitan court is further evoked by an underlined gloss on page 634, positioned next to the part of the *Faits* describing the savagery of the crowds who vie to watch the gladiatorial combats organised by Caesar, which reads 'nota hic de ludo carbonarie' [N.B. *Carbonara* games]. The gloss refers to the lawless throngs of spectators who gathered to watch tournaments at a site known as the

⁸⁹ For Plato's views on this see Luc Brisson, 'Women in Plato's *Republic*', trans. by Michael Chase, *Études Platoniciennes*, 9 (2012), 129–36.

⁹⁰ Samuel ben Judah's second edition of his translation was finished in 1322. See L. V. Berman, 'Greek into Hebrew: Samuel ben Judah of Marseilles, Fourteenth-Century Philosopher and Translator', in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. by Alexander Altman (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 289–320 (pp. 294–95).

⁹¹ For Samuel ben Judah's presence in Provence in the early fourteenth century see *ibid.*, pp. 289–303. For Robert's contact with Jewish intellectuals see Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 29.

⁹² Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 29.

Carbonara outside the Neapolitan city walls.⁹³ In staging the medieval reader's paralleling of the classical past with life in the fourteenth century, the gloss renders classical Rome an archetype for Angevin Naples, and provides an example of *translatio imperii* which serves to legitimise Angevin rule in Italy through the narrative of ancient Rome.⁹⁴

This underlined glossing also reflects the preoccupations of Neapolitan Franciscanism in the 1320s. We see, for example, on page 537, next to the section of the *Faits* which describes the pagan tribe who 'disoient lor charmes si menuement sanz entrerompement' [were recanting their spells in great detail without stopping], an underlined gloss, 'nota de orat[i]o[n]e [con]tinua sine m[a]numissione' [N.B. continuous, uninterrupted prayer]. The gloss, here, seeks to cross-reference the story of the pagans' appeals to their gods with the biblical instruction to pray continually.⁹⁵

Although the notion of continuous prayer was an ideal promoted to all Christians in the Bible, it had acquired special significance through popular writings associated with the Franciscan Order. In the *Compilatio Assisiensis*, a Franciscan text containing stories about Saint Francis and his followers, Franciscan worship is described in the following terms: 'conservabant sanctitatem eius cum continua oratione die noctuque' [they nurtured its holiness with continuous prayer, day and night].⁹⁶ The representation of the pagans at worship in the text of the *Faits* is reconfigured, by the glossing of BnF, MS f. fr. 295, as the enactment of a Christian, specifically Franciscan, ideal.

Additionally, an underlined gloss on page 565 highlights a section of the *Faits*,

⁹³ The Angevin court's attendance at the *Carbonara* games is referenced by Petrarch in *Rerum familiarum libri*, vi. See Samantha Kelly, *The 'Cronaca di Partenope': An Introduction to and Critical Edition of the First Vernacular History of Naples (c. 1350)* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 298.

⁹⁴ Desmond, 'Translatio imperii' and Lee, 'Writing History'.

⁹⁵ The biblical instruction appears in i Thessalonians 5. 17, 'sine intermissione orate'.

⁹⁶ Extract and translation from Bert Roest, 'The Discipline of the Heart: Pedagogies of Prayer in Medieval Franciscan Works of Religious Instruction', in *Franciscans at Prayer*, ed. by Timothy J. Johnson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 413–48 (p. 413).

taken from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which describes Caesar in Alexandria and states that 'li esperance de sa | uie estoit de lui bien en | clore et enserrer' (the hope of his life was to enclose and lock himself away) as 'Nota di claustralib(us)' (N.B. those who enclose themselves). Taken out of context, we may wonder whom the term 'claustralib(us)' is intended to describe; in 1320s Naples, however, this gloss makes reference to the contextually specific practice of religious enclosure, which was one of the defining practices of members of the Franciscan Orders, and was even adopted within the Angevin household. The Church of Santa Chiara, founded by King Robert and Queen Sancia, and destined to become the Neapolitan home of the Poor Clares, followed a strict rule of claustration.⁹⁷ The queen herself had requested permission to leave the court and pursue an enclosed life, a wish that was only granted following the death of King Robert.⁹⁸ Furthermore, she had 'created something of a convent within the palace by surrounding herself with a retinue of Clarissas who lived with her in the Castel Nuovo', and so the glossing of BnF, MS f. fr. 295 reflects the contemporary practice of enclosure and withdrawal from the outside world which was practised by the highest levels of Angevin society.⁹⁹ By seizing on a passing description of Caesar in the *Faits*, the glossing of BnF, MS f. fr. 295 demonstrates the Franciscan preoccupations of its Angevin reader(s).

Among the passages of the *Faits* which are given particular prominence by the index and its primary system of glossing is that which describes how Caesar crossed the Rubicon and marched to Rome to defeat Pompey and the Senate during the civil war. The passage goes on to describe a series of apparitions which appeared to the people of Rome before the arrival of Caesar's army. Whereas most of the previous one hundred or so pages contain only a few glosses, from pages 280–315 the glossing increases

⁹⁷ Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, pp. 134–35.

⁹⁸ Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 85 n. 45.

⁹⁹ Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, p. 142.

dramatically so that there are, for example, nearly thirty glosses from pages 292–93. Furthermore, this is the only part of the manuscript where there appear drawings which are not part of the overall decorative scheme, and which seem to have been composed spontaneously. On page 294, for example, there is a drawing of a fish next to the annotation ‘mars bello(rum)’ (Mars, god of wars), and a rampant lion, in heraldic style, at the bottom of the page. At the top of page 297 there is a dog which appears to be running, in imitation of the style of dogs drawn in the marginalia of the preceding folio and elsewhere. The importance of this section is further indicated by the inclusion of three glosses, ‘arronus’ (Aruns) (p. 293), ‘figulus’ (Nigidius Figulus) (p. 294), ‘causa uictorie’ (the cause of victory) (p. 302), all larger in size than elsewhere in the manuscript. While ‘causa uictorie’ (p. 302) is listed in the index (p. 688), the two other glosses are not. So distinct are these informal annotations from the rigorous paratextual scheme employed elsewhere in the manuscript, it is tempting to see them as the additions of its students, Charles of Calabria or Marie of Valois, during a lengthy lesson. The significance of Aruns and Nigidius Figulus in the *Faits* as seers or prophets, who interpret the omens which precede Caesar’s march on Rome (Aruns reads the entrails of an ox, and Nigidius Figulus interprets the positioning of the stars) is drawn out in great detail by the index and related glosses, as shown in Figure 9 at the end of this chapter.¹⁰⁰

The paratext’s focus on the prophetic roles of Aruns and Nigidius Figulus, minor characters in the *Faits*, suggests that this episode had special significance in Angevin circles. The prophetic interpretation of Caesar’s march on Rome, as described in the *Faits*, presumably called to mind contemporary prophecy surrounding the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict in Italy, through which Ludwig of Bavaria, as a descendent of

¹⁰⁰ Aruns appears in *Inferno*, XX. 46.

Frederick II, was frequently referred to as the Antichrist.¹⁰¹ There was a long Angevin tradition of associating the Angevin-Hohenstaufen conflict with prophetic works. Charles I had ordered a manuscript to be copied containing the prophecy of the Tiburtine oracle, through which he sought to position himself as champion of the Church against the Hohenstaufens.¹⁰²

Furthermore, at Charles of Calabria's court in Florence, the notorious Cecco of Ascoli was employed as an 'astrolago' and had 'dette e rivelate per la scienza d'astronomia, overo di nigromanzia, molte cose future, le quali si trovarono poi vere, degli andamenti del Bavero e de' fatti di Castruccio e di quegli del duca'.¹⁰³ Like Aruns and Figulus in the *Faits*, called upon to predict the outcome of Rome's civil war, Cecco was employed to interpret the signs of the natural world to help the Angevins to overcome the Hohenstaufen threat.¹⁰⁴

The prophetic interpretation of apocalyptic signs was also connected, during the fourteenth century, to the Franciscan writings of Joachim of Fiore. Whereas Aruns, Figulus, and Cecco had interpreted the signs of the universe to see into the future, Joachim and his followers applied a symbolic reading of Scripture to see into God's plan, an approach which 'essentially meant that history has a meaning and direction that can be seen only if Scripture could be interpreted accurately'.¹⁰⁵

One of the main tenets of Joachim's view of history and Scripture was that the

¹⁰¹ See, for example, John of Rupecissa, *Liber secretorum eventuum*, ed. by Robert E. Lerner and Christine Morerod-Fattebert (Fribourg: Editions universitaires, 1994), pp. 39, 53.

¹⁰² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds latin 5005a. The manuscript's colophon (f. 209v) states that Charles I's physician, *familier*, and papal chaplain, Jean of Nesle, ordered the manuscript to be copied on the king's behalf. See Régis Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin'. For more on the Tiburtine oracle see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: a Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 299–300.

¹⁰³ Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. by Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols (Parma: Guanda, 1991), II, p. 1004: xi. 41.

¹⁰⁴ That Cecco was eventually burnt at the stake for his predictions, on Charles of Calabria's watch, suggests the seriousness with which his visions of the future were received. See Dario Del Puppo, 'Cecco d'Ascoli', in *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Christopher Kleinhenz, 2 vols (New York: Routledge, 2004), II, pp. 203–04 (p. 203).

¹⁰⁵ Delno C. West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore: A Study in Spiritual Perception and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), p. 10.

Old and New Testaments were ‘concordant in person, type and event’, and that a third epoch would ensue, ‘springing naturally from the other two and following their pattern’.¹⁰⁶ In this cyclical understanding of spiritual progression, Joachim’s teachings focused especially on the vision of the Apocalypse, as contained in the Book of Revelation, to interpret the hidden workings of God’s project.

A series of secondary (underlined) glosses in BnF, MS f. fr. 295 recalls the epochal nature of history described by Joachim, and establishes the *Faits*’ characterisation of Pompey as a counterpoint to the apocalyptic imagery associated with Caesar’s descent on Rome. On page 499, at the point in the *Faits* describing Pompey’s death, when his soul ‘sen al avers la lune en lair’ [rose up towards the moon in the sky], a gloss has been inserted which says ‘No(ta) pro victoria martirii’ [N.B. for the victory of the martyrs], thus creating a parallel between the death of Pompey and the spiritual triumph of Christian martyrs. The underlined glosses repeatedly identify Pompey as a Christ figure despite the absence of any such comparison in the text of the *Faits* or in the manuscript’s primary system of glossing and indexing. Thus, for example, Pompey’s murder is glossed ‘patiencia Christi’ (the suffering of Christ) (p. 491) and introduces a section in which the events surrounding his death are directly compared with Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection: the description of Codrus’s hasty burial of Pompey is compared with the entombment of Christ, ‘nota di titulo c[hristi]’ (N.B. the *titulus* of Christ) (p. 497), and Codrus’s failure to write a complete account of Pompey’s life prompts a comparison with the evangelists’ writings about Christ.¹⁰⁷

The interpretation of Pompey as a Christ figure is unusual in a work of secular historiography and, as far as I am aware, is absent from other surviving manuscripts of the *Faits*. Christopher MacEvitt has linked the increasing interest in martyr narratives in Franciscan circles in the 1320s to the *usus pauper* crisis, which led to the condemnation

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ BnF, MS f. fr. 295, p. 497.

of the so-called Spiritual faction of Franciscanism. Accordingly, ‘the stories of *passiones* were a demonstration of Franciscan spirituality that replaced poverty with martyrdom as the highest expression of *imitatio Christi*’.¹⁰⁸

Through the association of the death of Pompey with that of Christ, alongside the apocalyptic imagery connected with Caesar’s arrival in Rome, the glossing of BnF, MS f. fr. 295 enacts a typological reading which creates a parallel between the Roman civil war and the great battle between good and evil that will take place in the Apocalypse, as foretold in the Book of Revelation. The apocalyptic emphasis of this comparison creates an implicit association with the contemporary Guelf-Ghibelline conflict, in which the arrival of Ludwig of Bavaria in Italy was framed as the coming of the Antichrist. Although scholars have noted that the miniatures of BnF, MS f. fr. 295 establish a parallel between Caesar and King Robert,¹⁰⁹ the glossing shows the way in which the terms of reference for the interpretation of the *Faits* could be inverted: Caesar, as the figure of limitless imperial ambition, here represents the enemy of the Angevins, Ludwig of Bavaria, with Pompey representing the Franciscan ideal of sacrificial martyrdom. Furthermore, Elzéar of Sabran, Charles of Calabria’s tutor and, as I have suggested, the likely sponsor of the compilation of BnF, MS f. fr. 295, had himself led Angevin troops against the imperial army of Henry VII in Rome in 1312. This provides another context for the demonisation of the unbounded imperial ambition represented by Caesar in the *Faits*.¹¹⁰ That such discordant interpretations can be found within a singular manuscript of the *Faits* indicates the complex and intellectually fraught relationship between the Angevins and their classical past, as they sought to navigate

¹⁰⁸ Christopher MacEvitt, ‘Victory by Desire: Crusade and Martyrdom in the Fourteenth Century’, in *Centre and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan*, ed. by Katherine L. Jansen, G. Geltner and Anne E. Lester (Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 223–35 (p. 223).

¹⁰⁹ Lee, ‘Writing History’, p. 150.

¹¹⁰ Strehlke, ‘A Celibate Marriage’, pp. 80–81.

notions of empire and monarchy to find their place within them.¹¹¹

The commissioning of BnF, MS f. fr. 295 in light of MS Chantilly 726, a gift from Guy of Montfort to Charles I, reveals the way in which these two manuscripts of the *Faits* came to tell, above all else, an intra-dynastic history within which Charles and Marie could situate themselves as future rulers of the kingdom. The *Faits* allowed the Angevins not only to legitimise their rule within the history of the ancients but, as rulers of a kingdom won by conquest rather than inheritance, to establish a family tradition of cultural inheritance to be passed down through the generations of Angevin rulers. As their self-perception as a ruling dynasty changed, so too did their interpretation of the life of Caesar. Whereas MS Chantilly 726, produced during a period of Angevin territorial expansion, stages ancient empire building as Angevin inheritance, BnF, MS f. fr. 295, produced during a period of Italo-centric Angevin politics, frames Caesar as a dominant outsider, whose descent on Rome was seen as prefiguring the end of days. From a gift of allegiance to an educational volume for the future King and Queen of the Regno, the *Faits* came to inform the Angevins about ancient history, their dynastic inheritance, and their role as future sovereigns. Furthermore, with their education entrusted to Elzéar of Sabran, the text offered an arena in which Charles of Calabria and Marie of Valois could explore Franciscan ideals at a time when such ideas were subject to question. The manuscripts of the *Faits* thus bear witness to the endless malleability of ancient historiography for medieval readers, and provide a fascinating insight into the prophetic mentality of the Angevin court in the 1320s.

Figure 9: Text, glosses, and associated index entries for BnF, MS f. fr. 295, pp. 292-93

¹¹¹ The echoes of Spiritual Franciscanism present in this manuscript are, I think, the product of a local, private encounter with the *Faits* and not reflective of the Spiritual movement in general terms, which overwhelmingly supported Ludwig of Bavaria against the papacy's endorsement of the Angevins. For background see David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), p. 276–77.

Text	Gloss	Index
colmete [...] ne se ra ia ueue se il ne doit e stre grant mortalitei de gent. ou muemens de roi aume quant princes doit morir ou perdre regne.	Colmeta signu(m) morti(s) multi(tudinis) regno(rum) (et) p(ri)ncipum	<p>colmeta signu(m) mo(r)tis m(u)ltitudinis regn oru(m) (et) p(ri)ncipu(m), p. 697.</p> <p>mortis m(u)ltitudinis reg(norum) (et) p(ri)ncipum signum co meta, p. 796.</p> <p>multitudinis regnorum (et) p(ri)ncipu(m) mortis signu(m) cometa, p. 800.</p> <p>principum et regnorum multitudinis mortis signum colmeta, p. 830.</p> <p>regno(rum) et p(ri)ncipu(m) m(u)l titudinis mortis sig num colmeta, p. 842.</p> <p>signu(m) mortis m(u)ltitud(in)is regno(rum) (et) p(ri)ncipu(m) colmeta, p. 859.</p>
Foudre cheoit el plus cler tans sans tonoile et sans tem peste.	fulgur / fulme(n) absq(ue) tonitruo	<p>fulgur absq(ue) tonitruo, p. 753.</p> <p>fulmen absq(ue) tonitruo, p. 753.</p>
diuer ses fourmes de feu i apa roient souuent.	Apparit(i)o(n)es uaria(rum) forma(rum) ignea(rum) in aere	<p>aere apparitiones uari arum formar(um) formar(um) [<i>sic</i>] ignearu(m), p. 669.</p> <p>apparit(i)ones uaria(rum) for marum ig(ne)aru(m) i(n) aere, p. 674.</p> <p>formarum uariarum ignearu(m) apparit(i)ones in aere, p. 747.</p>

		uaria(rum) formaru(m) ignea rum apparit(i)ones in aere, p. 876.
Lez estoilles que len ne sieut ueoir se par nuit non ap parurent a plain miedi.	apparit(i)o(n)es stella(rum) de die	apparitiones stellarum de die, p. 674. stellarum apparitiones de die, p. 863.
Li solaus et la lune deui(n) drent obscur.	solis / lune ob scuratio	lune (et) solis obscuration, p. 784. obscuratio lune / solis, p. 807. solis (et) lune obscuration, p. 861.
La mers de uint uermeille	mare rubru(m)	mare rubrum, p. 787. rubru(m) mare, p. 848.
la endroit ou li perils est qui a ano(m) caribdis qui les neis en glout.	caribdis de glutie(n)s na ues	caribdis deglutiens na ues, p. 687. deglutiens naues carip dis, p. 712. naues deglutie(n)s caribdis, p. 802.
Silla uns autrez perils de mer getoit abais comme de mastins	silla latra(n)s ut canis	latrans silla ut canis, p. 778. silla latrans ut canis, p. 860.
Li fus qui fu un iour el temple du ne diuesse qui uesta ot non pour un sacrefice ar doit sour un autel fu en .ii. parties.	sacrificu dee uestis fla(m) ma diuisa i(n) duas p(ar)tes	dee uestis sacrificu fla(m) ma diuisa in duas p(ar) tes, p. 715. flamma diuisa in duas partes sacrificu dee uestis, p. 746. sacrificu dee uestis fla(m) ma diuisa i(n) duas par

		tes, p. 849. uestis dee sacrificu fla(m)ma diuisa in duas partes, p. 878.
Si que la fla(m) be ieta .ii. chies contremo(n)t	flam(m)e ignis	flamme ignis, p. 746. ignis flamme, p. 763.
il estoit choze destinee	destinatio diuino(rum)	destinatio diuinorum, p. 714. diuino(rum) destinatio, p. 720.
les festes as rou mains cesseroient lonc tans.	cessatio festo(rum) Roma no(rum)	cessatio festo(rum) ro(ma)no(rum), p. 693. festorum romanorum cessatio, p. 743. romano(rum) festo(rum) cessat(i)o, p. 847.
La terre crolla si durement que la nois q(ui) estoit gelee en som les ar bres chei contre ual.	t(er)remotus	terremotus , p. 870.
La mers emfla ses ondes	p(ro)cella / te(m)pestas / elac(i)o(n)es maris	elaciones maris, p. 730. maris procelle / te(m)pestates / elaciones, p. 787. procella maris, p. 833. tempestas maris, p. 868.
Les ymages del temple plouroient.	ymaginu(m) lac(ri)me / flet(us)	fletus ymaginum, p. 746. lacrime ymaginu(m), p. 778. ymaginu(m) lacrime / fletus, p. 890.

et suoient lez mesons	parietu(m) / domo(rum) sudor	domo(rum) sudor, p. 723. parietum sudor, p. 814. sudor domo(rum) / parietu(m), p. 866.
en seigne fieme(n)t que roume seroit en tra uail.	Rome / civitatis / urbis labor	civitatis labor, p. 695. labor rome / ciuitatis / urbis, p. 777. rome labor, p. 848. urbis labor, p. 887.
Li oisel nuitrinal uoloient a plain miedi.	noctue de die uolantes	noctue de die uolantes, p. 804. uolantes de die noctue, p. 887.
Les bestes sauages lai(s) soient les fores par nuit et uenoient iesir dedens rome.	fere des(er)entes nemora ad ciuitate(m) (con)fu gientes	confugie(n)tes fere ad ciui tate(m) (et) nemora des(er)entes, p. 700. deserentes fere nemora (et) ad ciuitatem (con)fugie(n)tes, p. 713. fere nemora des(er)entes (et) ad ciuitatem (con)fugie(n) tes, p. 742. nemora fere deserentes (et) ad ciuitatem confugi entes, p. 803.
Les bestes parloie(n)t comme home.	bruta loque(n)cia ut ho(m)i(n)es	bruta loque(n)cia ut ho(m)i(n)es, p. 685. loquencia bruta ut ho mines, p. 783.
Les femez enfantoient moustres.	p(ar)turientes mostra	

Par foi ie croi que nous somes ue nu a la destruction que sebile nous promist en escriis.	Sebilla	Sebilla , p. 853.
par fer. par feu. par flambe.	destructio urbis ferro / igne / fla(m)ma	destructio urbis ferro / igne / fla(m)ma, p. 714. ferro urbis destructio, p. 742. flamma urbis destruct tio, p. 746. igne urbis destructio, p. 763. urbis destruct(i)o ferro igne et fla(m)ma, p. 887.
Li os gemis soient es sepulcres.	ossa geme(n)tia in sepulcris	gementia ossa i(n) sepulcris, p. 755. ossa gementia i(n) sepulcris, p. 812. sepulcris ossa geme(n)tia, p. 856.
Len soit .i. grant escrois de a mes en lair.	fragor armo(rum) i(n) aere	aere fragor armoru(m), p. 669. armo(rum) fragor in aere, p. 676. fra[n]gor armorum in aere, p. 751.
unes uoiz qui aloient criant par cez fores	clamor i(n) nemorib(us)	clamor i(n) nemoribus, p. 695.
un ombre espoen table apparoient si que li cultiueour sen fruioi ent des chans. Une for me laide et espoentable aloit leis les murs au ronnant toute escheue lee	umbra / forme terribiles ymago circu(n)da(n)s muros	forme et umbra terri biles, p. 747. terribiles umbra / forme, p. 870. umbra (et) forme t(er)ribiles, p. 886. circunda(n)s muros ymago, p. 694. muros circundans ymago, p. 800.

		ymago circu(n) dans muros, p. 890.
et ietoit uis de son col un pin ardant.	pinu(m) deiciens de collo	deiciens piru(m) [<i>sic</i>] de collo, p. 712. pinu(m) deicie(n)s de collo, p. 821.

Chapter Three

Itinerant Courts: North–South Connections at the End of the Thirteenth Century

The death of Charles I in 1285 has been seen as a watershed in the connections between northern France and the Regno, marking the end of the ‘Francesizzazione’ of the Angevin kingdom, and a rapid decline in the number of northern settlers in the south.¹ Evidence suggests that new arrivals from northern Europe were scarce on the ground, and that a great many of those who had already settled in southern Italy — at least those who had survived its wars, famines and stringent economic regime — chose to uproot their families and return home, thereby abandoning their territorial, economic and political stakes in the Regno. For the majority of Angevin settlers, therefore, the attractions of returning home outweighed the benefits of establishing roots in the kingdom.²

Certain members of the higher nobility, however, a number of whom had become part of King Charles I’s inner circle and had drawn significant assets from their new kingdom,³ were not in a hurry to abandon their stakes in Angevin territories. When they did so, it was generally because of familial and feudal obligations to those they had left behind in their birth lands.⁴ This chapter will discuss evidence to suggest that some higher-ranking nobles continued to sponsor cultural connections between the Regno and northern Europe long after the death of Charles I. It will suggest that the cultural networks supported by these individuals, which were mediated by the itinerancy of their minstrels and manuscripts during the 1290s, were integral to the transmission of francophone literary works between

¹ Galasso, *Il Regno*, p. 43; Dunbabin, *Charles I*, p. 59.

² ‘It is clear that most French soldiers went home as soon as they honourably could’, Dunbabin, *The French*, p. 163.

³ See Sylvie Pollastri, ‘La noblesse Provençale dans le royaume de Sicile, 1265–82’, *Annales du Midi*, 100 (1988), 405–34; Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 164–70.

⁴ For a discussion of how north-south connections endured throughout this period, see Jean Dunbabin, ‘Philip of Chieti in Flanders, 1303–1305’, in *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcom Vale*, ed. by Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner and R. L. J. Shaw (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 211–20.

Artois, Flanders and the Angevin kingdom during the closing years of the thirteenth century.

Central to this discussion will be the court of Count Robert II of Artois in the Regno. As has already been discussed, the Count was nephew and cousin of Charles I and Charles II respectively, and from 1285 to 1291 not only Count of Artois but also regent of the Regno. This chapter will explore how the itinerancy of his court brought about a transmission of literary culture from Artois to southern Italy and back again. Routes of commercial exchange and cultural transmission between Arras and the Italian peninsula had been established from as early of the twelfth century when the thriving mercantile centres of northern Italy were in frequent commercial contact with Arras, the most important international centre for trade in northern France.⁵ Arras, during the period with which we are concerned, ‘was to northern France what Venice was to the Mediterranean world: a powerful center of trade, industry, and banking — “the hub of the fastest-growing, most densely populated, and most affluent region in Europe”’.⁶

This chapter will also explore evidence for the existence of francophone literary circles in the Regno following the death of Charles I, and their interaction with literary currents in contemporary Flanders and Artois. In so doing, it will suggest that literary networks, and the minstrels and manuscripts which bore them, were key to facilitating and maintaining relationships between aristocratic families whose members were spread over diverse territories during the closing years of the thirteenth century. It will suggest ways in which these literary networks interplayed with the political alliances and confrontations with which their members were simultaneously engaged. This discussion will also offer initial thoughts as to how these literary networks contributed to the circulation of francophone

⁵ For connections between Venice and Arras as early as the twelfth century see John Haines, ‘The Songbook’, p. 96.

⁶ Haines, ‘The Songbook’, p. 73 Carol Symes, *A Common Stage*, p. 30.

writings in Italy, and how they were reflected in Italian texts of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

There are two types of evidence to be discussed here: first, the extant archival records attesting to the itinerancy of Count Robert II's minstrels in Italy in the closing years of the thirteenth century; second, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fonds français 25566, a manuscript witness of francophone literary networks between the Regno and northern European courts during the same period.

i. Itinerant Orality: Minstrels in the Service of Count Robert II of Artois

The extraordinary resilience of the Artesian archive, which preserves an enormous wealth of records relating to the county's history,⁷ has allowed scholars to reconstruct a highly evocative and excitingly vivid portrait of the cultural life of the region and its ruling household in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁸ One might be forgiven, in this context, for equating the culture of Count Robert II's court with that of his county and its capital. Partly because of the great wealth of records surviving from medieval Artois, and partly because there is, as yet, no complete biography for Count Robert II's life, his international experience, above all in the Regno, is largely overlooked in existing cultural assessments of his court. Despite this, 'between the ages of twenty and forty-one, he spent almost half his time abroad, advancing the interests of members of the French royal family in North Africa, northern Iberia and southern Italy'.⁹

A large part of Count Robert II's formative years were spent in the Regno (on the way back from the Tunis Crusade in 1271, from 1274 to 1276, and from 1282 to 1291); unfortunately, the destruction of relevant historical record obscures much of his experience

⁷ In the words of Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court*, p. 82, the Artesian archive 'remains one of the great unexplored archives of later medieval Europe'.

⁸ Symes, *A Common Stage*; Vale, *Princely Court*; Jules-Marie Richard, *Une petite nièce de Saint Louis: Mahaut Comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne* (Paris: Champion, 1887).

⁹ Farmer, 'La Zisa / Gloriette', p. 117.

in the kingdom.¹⁰ One way in which scholars have navigated this problem has been to explore the riches of the Artesian archive relating to his return to Artois from 1291 onwards, to guide our understanding of Count Robert II's earlier years in the Regno.¹¹ By adopting a similar approach, this chapter will explore the Artesian archive's records relating to the activities of Count Robert II's minstrels in the years following 1291 in order to suggest evidence for the cultural activities supported by his court during, and following, his service to the Angevin court in Italy.

Minstrels attached to northern courts during this period occupied fluid roles at the centre of court life. Records indicate that they enacted musical and dramatic performances,¹² as well as producing original compositions.¹³ They were professional performers who played a variety of roles at court, such that, during the period with which we are concerned, 'the herald-minstrel-poet combination could [...] be found in one person'.¹⁴ In considering the minstrels who travelled to the Regno with Robert II of Artois, therefore, we should focus less on their specific description in the records, 'parfois les jongleurs faisaient des folies, les fous faisaient des vers; il y avait échange et parité d'emploi',¹⁵ and more on the fluidity of their roles at the centre of the literary and musical culture of court life.¹⁶

¹⁰ Extant records from Artois contain very few entries prior to 1291, when Robert II returned to the county following his regency of the Regno. As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, large parts of the Neapolitan archive have been irrecoverably lost following the indiscriminate destruction of the city's records by German soldiers during the Second World War.

¹¹ Symes, *A Common Stage*, pp. 232–33.

¹² We should not create too strong a distinction between a minstrel's role as *conteur* of existing material and author of new material, for the act of performing existing works was inherently creative. See Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), p. 51, '[m]ost likely, the high number of variants within the lyric tradition is due to the continued modification of songs by performers and to the scribes who in turn edited their work in conformance with the performance practices with which they were familiar'.

¹³ Adenet le Roi, who we know wrote many original compositions and who, in modern terms, we would classify as an author, is frequently referred to in contemporary records as 'le menestrel'. See p. 293.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 294. The centrality of their role in a medieval court meant that they were intimately involved in many aspects of court life. See *Ibid.*, p. 293, where see a minstrel at the Flemish court performing the role of *traicheur de dens*.

¹⁵ Arthur Dinaux, *Trouvères, jongleurs, et ménestrels du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique*, 4 vols (Paris: Techener, 1837–63), I, p. 378:

¹⁶ Despite their various designations in the archive (trompeurs, menestreux, nakaires), therefore, we shall refer to all of Count Robert II's performers as minstrels.

The fullest investigation of the role of minstrels at the court of Count Robert II of Artois is provided by Carol Symes, who vividly recreates the theatricality of his court in the vibrant context of commercial city life in medieval Arras.¹⁷ As its title suggests, Symes's study is, first and foremost, a cultural study of Arras and, as such, takes only limited account of the activities of Robert's court outside its home county. The following discussion will attempt to illuminate the activities of his court performers during his extended periods of residency in the Regno.

Within the thousands of surviving records for Robert II's court during the 1290s are numerous references to the activities of his minstrels. A measure of the Count's appreciation of his performers is provided by the large monetary payments they received.¹⁸ Alongside many generic references to *trompeurs* (trumpeters), *menestreux* (minstrels), *nakaires* (drummers) are details of named individuals who achieved individual recognition, some of whom remained in the service of the Count for many years.¹⁹

¹⁶ Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 293.

¹⁷ Symes, *A Common Stage*.

¹⁸ Henry Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres littéraires du trouvère Adan de le Hale* (Paris: Hachette, 1898), pp. 154–55.

¹⁹ Robert died at the battle of Courtrai in 1302. Other performers are also mentioned, such as Robert 'the Idiot' and Paul 'the minstrel', but we cannot infer from the records their length of service at Count Robert II's court. Analysis taken from the following records: ADPC, A. 2 (8 March 1299); 32.29; 35.9 (3 November 1289); 39.36 (20 October 1294); 44.32/3 (16 May 1299); 46.22 (5 October 1302); 46.25 (26 October 1302); 46.27 (18 November 1302); 131.2 (13 August 1288); 133.5 (12 December 1292); 139.15 (11 March 1295); 139.22 (25 March 1295); 140.8 (30 January 1296); 140.32 (26 April 1296); 151.7 (25 January 1299); 151.16 (3 February 1299); 153.11 (10 October 1299); 184; 185; 193 (1303); 194 (1303); 203; 224 (1308).

Figure 10: Minstrels at the court of Robert II of Artois at the end of the thirteenth century

	Year of earliest recorded entry	Year of latest recorded entry	Minimum service at Robert's court (years)
Jehan 'le fou'	1288	1295	7
Guillaume 'le trompeur'	1291	1298	7
Januce	1294	1302	8
Simon 'dit chevrete'	1296	1302	6
Pariset	1296	1302	6
Lyon	1299	1302	3

The vast majority of extant records relating to Count Robert II's minstrels relate to the last decade of his life after he had departed the Regno in 1291. A single letter, dated 1288, attests to the presence of his minstrels in the Regno during his regency of the kingdom. Although Robert was engaged in an intense and prolonged period of war on behalf of the Angevin-Papal alliance,²⁰ this record provides evidence that his army contained not only soldiers but also entertainers; furthermore, it shows that the performance of these roles could not always be separated. The letter, dated 13 August 1288, is sent on behalf of the Count, stationed in Venosa, in Basilicata, to Miles of Nangis, his *bailli* in Artois, instructing him to make payment to Jehan 'le fou', 'tant por monoie saiche prestee a nostre com[m]andement quant por cheuaus quil a eu mort en / nostre service et por cheuaus [et] jouiaus que nus avons eu de lui'.²¹ By August 1288, when this letter is dated, Count Robert II had been serving as regent in the Regno for more than three years, and he and his army had been battling the Sicilian-Aragonese uprising for more than six years. The fact that the letter specifies that Jehan le fou's horses died in service to the Count suggests that he was both an entertainer and part of

²⁰ See discussion contained in the Introduction to this thesis.

²¹ ADPC, A. 131.2.

the Angevin army, which consisted not only of men who had travelled from Artois but also those originating from the rest of France, Provence, Lombardy and the Regno who had been recruited by Charles I and who were now under Robert II's command.²² It is likely, therefore, that the audience to the 'jouiaus' performed by Jehan le fou was comprised not only of his compatriots from Artois but also of the diverse members of Robert's southern army, which included Muslims alongside Christians.²³ Perhaps, then, the 'jouiaus' performed by entertainers such as Jehan le fou were designed to entertain and unite Count Robert II's men through a shared sense of belonging, which would have been crucial for unifying his composite army towards the common purpose of defending the Angevin kingdom, which had been home to none of them and to which, in all likelihood, they felt little in the way of patriotic connection.

And what kind of 'jouiaus' might an entertainer such as Jehan le fou have performed? Unfortunately, the archival record falls silent regarding the specifics of Jehan's performances in the Regno, yet evidence from other periods of Robert II's life suggests the kinds of performances that took place among the members of his entourage.²⁴ Furthermore, and as will be discussed later in this chapter, certain manuscripts bear traces of Count Robert II's cultural patronage in the Regno, and the kinds of performances that his minstrels may have carried out there.

The record relating to Jehan's service raises the question of how the experiences of Count Robert II's minstrels in the Regno might have been reflected in their compositions and performances after 1291, once they had returned to Arras. As can be seen from Figure 10, Jehan continued to serve Count Robert II for at least another four years following the end of his time in the Regno. It is hard to imagine that the Count would not have desired his minstrels to relay his southern experiences to audiences at

²² For the composition of the Angevin army during the Vespers, see Dunbabin, *Charles I*, pp. 166–78.

²³ Taylor, *Muslims*, pp. 148–72.

²⁴ Symes, *A Common Stage*, pp. 232–33.

home in Artois. As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, what had started out as a family matter, in which Robert II had travelled south to his uncle's aid, had been retroactively declared a crusade, preached by the Pope in favour of the Angevin struggle.²⁵ Certainly the Count would have missed an opportunity to promote his status as a crusader if he had not engaged his minstrels to bring home stories from his leadership in the south.

As is also suggested from this and many others records contained within the archive, the Count bestowed a high degree of personal favour on his minstrels: the same individuals feature frequently in the records and seem to have been consistently by his side at the most crucial moments of his life.²⁶ Surviving records make clear that Robert II regularly engaged his minstrels on the battlefield: minstrels such as Pariset died alongside the Count during the Battle of Courtrai in 1302.²⁷ Robert II's minstrels were firmly part of his inner circle: their service to the Count was multi-layered, encompassing war, entertainment and, we might be tempted to imagine, friendship.

That is not to say, however, that the Count's minstrels were always by his side: elsewhere in the Artesian archive, records suggest that they were accustomed to travelling independently. For example, in a letter to the *bailli* of Saint Omer, dated 8 March 1299, Count Robert II instructs additional payment to be made to 'paul nostre menestrel' who, 'ait este de haitiez hors | de [nostre] co[m]paigne a saint omer et ailleurs par lespace de trente [et] deux jours. conte le jour de huy.'²⁸ This record shows that, as well as providing entertainment to Robert and his entourage, minstrels such as Paul could be sent away to perform in other parts of the county: as itinerant performers

²⁵ Count Robert II arrived in the Regno in support of Charles I in 1282. Pope Martin IV declared a crusade against the Sicilians in 1283. See Housley, *Italian Crusades*, p. 20.

²⁶ Symes, *A Common Stage*, pp. 232–33.

²⁷ Robert II, who was leader of the French army, was defeated by the Flemish army. Pariset's wife, Mafie, continued to receive a pension from the Artesian court even once she had remarried. See Guy, *Essai sur la vie*, p. 155.

²⁸ ADPC, A. 2.

they could extend the reach of Robertian influence beyond the Count's immediate vicinity.²⁹ Minstrels such as Paul belonged to a culture of shared patronage, with records showing that minstrels from elsewhere also visited Robert II's court.³⁰ By analysing the patterns of itinerancy of these minstrels, we might gain a better understanding of how stories were shared and how literary and musical culture travelled.³¹ Similar to the itinerancy of minstrels across Artois, which contributed to the development of a shared lyric culture, we should consider the extent to which the movements of Robert II's minstrels from northern France to the Regno (and back again) contributed to an exchange of culture between these regions. The exchange of personnel was a key means of establishing connections between distinct aristocratic households during this period, and the role of minstrels within this economy of people would have ensured a means of intercultural transfer between the geographically dispersed courts of the European elite.³²

The record also provides further evidence of the trusted position of minstrels at Count Robert II's court: sure of their allegiance, he could dispatch them to other centres of his county with confidence of their loyalty. It also suggests the skill with which they entertained, and the cultural prestige of their performances. Furthermore, it is clear that certain northern French court performers extended their reputations internationally: Charles of Anjou had connections with a number of Artesian poets, such as Raoul de Soissons and Rutebeuf during his time in the Regno.³³ It may well have been through

²⁹ This particular example fits within a wider trend during the period when 'England, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Brabant and Holland witnessed the constant passage of minstrels and singers from court to court'. See Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 292.

³⁰ As Malcolm Vale states, in relation to the northern courts, 'Individual singers and players were often associated with particular princes, lords, or towns, and were clearly retained by them, but this in no way prevented them from performing (and, no doubt, composing) at other courts', *Princely Court*, p. 293.

³¹ Guy, *Essai sur la vie*, p. 156.

³² Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 277 also discusses the fluidity and connections between various households.

³³ Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 163–64.

his close relationship with Count Robert II that he came into contact with the poetic celebrities of Artois.

Evidence suggests that Robert II himself strove to preserve and promote the memory of his time in the Regno once he had returned home to Artois in 1291. An obvious way in which he did this was by populating the highest levels of his Artesian household with the Italian followers he had attracted during his regency of the Regno, who brought with them the advanced governmental and administrative practices inherited from the Angevin and Norman-Hohenstaufen regimes.³⁴ The wide range of individuals with whom Robert came into contact in the Regno is suggested by the list of people who received compensation following his death at the battle of Courtrai. Among the individuals listed we find ‘Robers de Calabres’, ‘Lombars’, ‘Le conte de bar’ (Bari?), ‘Jean de Melfe’ (Melfi?) and ‘Henri le Sarasin’.³⁵ Key among the *regnicoli* appointed to the Artesian court was Rinaldo Cognetti, who had served as Robert II’s chief administrative agent in the Regno, and who took over the administration of Artois in order to adapt its governmental practices to those of southern Italy.³⁶ Other members of Robert II’s southern retinue appointed to official positions upon their arrival in Artois included a physician, a tree grafter and three stable officers. Through their service to the Count, they brought about a transfer of medical, arboricultural and equine-husbandry skills from the Regno to Artois.³⁷

Count Robert II’s experience in the Regno also came to be represented visually through the construction of the elaborate pleasure garden that he commissioned at his castle in Hesdin.³⁸ The scale and cost of the garden demonstrate its importance to his

³⁴ Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 250–59.

³⁵ Vale, *Princely Court*, pp. 336–38.

³⁶ Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 110–14.

³⁷ For a complete list see Sharon Farmer, ‘Aristocratic Power and the ‘Natural’ Landscape: The Garden Park at Hesdin, ca. 1291–1302’, *Speculum*, 88.03 (2013), 644–80 (p. 644).

³⁸ Anne H. van Buren, ‘Reality and literary romance in the park of Hesdin’, in *Medieval Gardens: Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture (9th)*, ed. by Elizabeth

cultural programme, and it ‘remained the most famous garden of northern Europe until the end of the fifteenth century’.³⁹ Among those who have studied the documents relating to its construction, there have been divergent views as to the source of the Count’s inspiration. The debate has been summarised most recently by Sharon Farmer.⁴⁰ Anne van Buren has upheld the view that the Count’s inspiration for the garden was sourced in French romance literature;⁴¹ others have argued that his inspiration was drawn directly from his southern-Italian experience.⁴² With its automata, pleasure fountain and pavilion complex, the garden was designed as a sensory spectacle where the Count and his guests could marvel at its technological novelty and audacious design.⁴³ It was similar in concept to the famed Arabic-inspired Norman pleasure gardens in the Regno, especially in La Zisa, Palermo, where Robert II is thought to have stopped on his return from the Tunis Crusade in 1270.⁴⁴ It is possible, then, that the garden at Hesdin reflects a further way in which Count Robert II sought to represent life in the Regno after his return to Artois.

Furthermore, Sharon Farmer has shown how the Count imported gardeners and horticultural practices from the Regno in order to establish an elaborate breeding programme of falcons, herons and war horses.⁴⁵ Like the pleasure garden at Hesdin, such animals would have brought with them the cultural prestige of the Count’s

B. MacDougall (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), pp. 117–34; Farmer, ‘Aristocratic Power’, 644–80.

³⁹ The park spread over 2,200 acres. Farmer, ‘Aristocratic Power’, p. 645. The quotation is from Farmer, ‘La Zisa / Gloriette’, p. 100.

⁴⁰ Farmer, ‘Aristocratic Power’, p. 646.

⁴¹ van Buren, ‘Reality’, pp. 127, 132–34.

⁴² Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 116–17. Farmer, ‘Aristocratic Power’, p. 646.

⁴³ Farmer, ‘Aristocratic Power’, p. 645, states that ‘Kings and queens were entertained at Hesdin in 1288, 1299, 1301’.

⁴⁴ The context for his visit has been vividly suggested by Farmer in ‘La Zisa / Gloriette’, p. 99: ‘[Robert II] was a guest, at that time, of his uncle, King Charles I, who would have been eager to visit, and to show off to his royal guests, the splendours of the pleasure palaces of Palermo, which had become his when he conquered the kingdom of Sicily and southern Italy in 1266’. For discussion of the Arabic written sources and Norman gardens which may have influenced Robert II, see Simone M. Kaiser and Matteo Valleriani, ‘The Organ of the Villa d’Este in Tivoli and the Standards of Pneumatic Engineering in the Renaissance’, in *Gardens, Knowledge and the Sciences in the Early-Modern Period*, ed. by Hubertus Fischer and others (Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2016), pp. 77–102 (p. 81).

⁴⁵ Farmer, ‘Aristocratic Power’, pp. 648–80.

association with the Regno, which was further increased by the recent appearance in northern Europe of Emperor Frederick II's falconry treatise *De arte venandi cum avibus*, whose influence had spread to the highest levels of the northern nobility.⁴⁶ Count Robert II's garden at Hesdin and the people, animals and automata with which he populated it, provided a means by which he could immortalise the memory of his experience in the south, and present it in physical form to his court and those whom he welcomed as its guests.

That Count Robert II enjoyed representing the spectacle of his service in the Regno to audiences back home in Artois is further implied by his return to the county in the company of a wolf.⁴⁷ Just as the spectacle of his garden at Hesdin would have been unprecedented to those who saw it, his domestication of a wolf would have presented a strange novelty, not to mention fright, to all those who encountered it.⁴⁸ The status of wolves in northern Europe in the thirteenth century was as quarry: seen as a pest and a threat to both livestock and humans, wolves were to be hunted and killed. Their frequent representation in northern writings was as evil predators, carriers of vice and sin, both in ecclesiastical and secular contexts.⁴⁹

The status of the wolf in Italy, however, whence Count Robert II had just returned, was altogether more ambivalent. The foundational mythology of Rome, inherited from ancient writers, cast the she-wolf's nurturing instinct as the saviour of Romulus and Remus and, therefore, saw the wolf as a symbol of the city's protection.⁵⁰ The importance of the wolf was also emphasised in contemporary mythology concerning the life of Saint Francis, which was gathering momentum during Count

⁴⁶ A French translation of the treatise was commissioned by the Dampierre family. See Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, pp. 449–56. Farmer, 'Aristocratic Power', pp. 668–69, has suggested that Robert may have encountered the treatise during his service in the Regno.

⁴⁷ William Chester Jordan, 'Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, 155.4 (2011), 404–17.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

⁴⁹ Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 97–109.

⁵⁰ Thomas Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Robert II's time in Italy. The tale of how Saint Francis had tamed the wolf of Gubbio came to represent proof of his sanctity, and is featured in all surviving versions of Saint Francis's biography.⁵¹ It is likely that Count Robert II encountered this story during his time in the Regno, and that his domestication of the creature was staged as both a demonstration of his fearless bravery and, in the context of the Italian tradition, as a sign of his piety, perhaps in support of his image as a crusader.⁵² Returning home in the company of such a culturally significant animal was a further way in which the Count strove to ensure that his service in the Regno would not be forgotten.

As well as upholding the memory of his southern experience back home, Count Robert II continued to hold financial and territorial interests in the Regno and northern Italy following his return to Artois. In contrast to the majority of new settlers in the Regno, whose property and lands had to be sacrificed upon their return home, Count Robert II had been allowed to keep hold of his landholding in Puglia following his return to Artois.⁵³ He also continued to own a house in Genoa.⁵⁴ The Artesian records show that he continued to maintain a household of around twenty people at his property in Puglia, mostly drawn from his northern personnel, who had remained behind in the Regno when the Count had returned to Artois in 1291.⁵⁵ Given the expense of maintaining these properties, it is to be inferred that they continued to provide strategic advantage to the Count following his departure from the Regno. Furthermore, new

⁵¹ David Salter, *Holy and Noble Beasts: Encounters with Animals in Medieval Literature* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2001), pp. 25–32.

⁵² A number of surviving records attest to Robert's wolf's destruction of local properties and killing of livestock, suggesting that Robert was not as successful in taming his wolf as St. Francis had been. Robert had used animals to symbolise his strength before: the *Roman du Hem* records that he had appeared in the tournament of 1278 as the character of the knight Yvain (the lion) from Arthurian romance. He adopted the lion as his heraldic symbol after his return from the Regno. See Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'Performing Romance: Arthurian Interludes in Sarrasin's *Le roman du Hem*', in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. by Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado and Marilyn Lawrence (Cambridge: Brewer, 2005), pp. 103–20 (p. 115).

⁵³ Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 101–19.

⁵⁴ See Symes, *A Common Stage*, p. 258 for a discussion of the connections between Genoa and Artois during the period. Malcolm Vale notes that Robert II conducted livery ceremonies at his Genoese residence. See Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 123.

⁵⁵ ADPC, A. 147.1.

evidence, to be discussed below, suggests that he sought to maintain cultural connections in Italy, specifically with Genoa and the Regno, long after his service to the Angevin court had come to an end.

Among the thousands of documents extant today in the Artesian archive is a set of four witnesses to Count Robert II's continued cultural connection the Regno long after he had left to return to Artois. The value of these documents is not only in their suggestiveness for his continued interest in the Angevin kingdom, but also in what they might reveal about the literary culture of his court during his period as regent. Two of the documents did not escape Carol Symes's notice in her above-mentioned study.⁵⁶ Let us first look at these documents in detail, before evaluating their relevance to this study and their relation to two additional documents not attested to in Symes's study.

The first of the documents in question (Document A) is dated 30 January 1296. It is a record of a payment instruction sent by the Count to Rinaldo Cognetti, his administrative officer, for various day-to-day expenses incurred in Artois.⁵⁷ Among the various expenses itemised in this record is an intriguing instruction for a payment of sixty-four *livres parisis* to be made, 'a januce | [et] a pariset n[ost]res trompeurs p[our] leurs despens daler en puille [et] Revenir [et] p[our] laisser a leur femmes | p[our] un an'. There then follows another record of a letter, dated 10 October 1299, (Document B) this time addressed to the *paigeur de bapalmes*, which is an instruction to make

⁵⁶ Symes, *A Common Stage*, pp. 232–33.

⁵⁷ It is interesting to note, here, as in a number of other documents in the archive, that the *regnicoli* present at Count Robert II's court in Artois, such as Rinaldo, seem to have had no problem navigating the francophone environment of Artesian bureaucracy. A large number of surviving records show that Rinaldo was equally at home in Latin and francophone bureaucratic registers. Charles I's bureaucracy in the Regno had been bilingual, carried out predominantly in Latin with French used for the internal records and correspondence relating to the treasury after 1277. Language switching between linguistic registers is a fertile area for further research with relation to the Regno. Robert II conducted his Artesian affairs uniquely in French, even when stationed in the Regno (as we have seen in the document relating to Jehan le fou, dated August 1288, discussed above), and even when Italians were employed in Artois (as we shall see with the documents relating to Rinaldo Cognetti). Robert's administration of the Regno seems to have been conducted entirely in Latin, thus indicating that Robert was comfortable in either register.

payment to the above-mentioned Pariset. The itemisation of the payments is of sufficient interest to quote here in its entirety:

a pariset n[ost]re menestral [...] p[our] loutreplus quil [et] januche le tro[m]peur despendire[n]t de la mo[n]noie q[ue] nous leur fesimes baillier q[uant] | il en alerent en Puille Quatre livres parisisis It[em] p[our] .iii. voies quil fist de venouse a naples [et] il ala querre | lyon le nacaire Quatre livres Item pour .i. ronchi quil achata p[our] le sien qui fu mors en lostel n[ost]re a Gennes Dis livres It[em] p[our] les despens de lui [et] de sa femme en son revenir de puille en france vint [et] q[ua]tre livres | It[em] p[our] den[iers]s quil p[re]sta a lyon n[ost]re nacaire q[ui] vint avocques lui de puille douze livres It[em] pour den[iers]s quil | p[re]sta au dit lyon p[our] achater .i. cheval p[our] le sien quil li morut dis livres.⁵⁸

On account of their references to the activities of Count Robert II's minstrels in the Regno, Carol Symes understood that these documents provided evidence of the Count's 'intermittent presence in Italy throughout the 1290s'.⁵⁹ In contrast to the many insightful observations offered in Symes's study, this theory is easily disproved. Thanks to the archival excavations of the Count of Loisine in the early twentieth century,⁶⁰ we can ascertain a very full picture of Count Robert II's whereabouts in the last decade of the thirteenth century, from his return to Artois in 1291 to his death in 1302, as shown in Figure 11 at the end of this chapter.

It is clear from analysing this table that Count Robert II travelled to a number of clear and distinct zones during these years. The first of these was during the period from

⁵⁸ ADPC, A. 153.11. 'to our minstrel, Pariset, [...] for the additional costs that he and Januche the trumpeter incurred over and above the money that we gave to them when they went to Puglia, four Parisian *livres*. *Item* for three trips that he made from Venosa to Naples and he went to find lyon the drummer, four Parisian *livres*. *Item* for a war horse that he bought as a replacement for his own which died in our household in Genoa, ten *livres*. *Item* for the expenses for him and his wife during his return from Puglia to France, twenty-four *livres*. *Item* for the money which he lent to Lyon our drummer who returned with him from Puglia, twelve *livres*. *Item* for the money that he lent to the aforementioned Lyon to buy a replacement horse for his own which died' (translation my own).

⁵⁹ Symes, *A Common Stage*, p. 250.

⁶⁰ de Loisine, 'Itinéraire de Robert II'.

1292 to 1295 when he was to be found either in his home county of Artois or at the French court in Paris, where he owed service to his cousin, King Philip the Fair. The second relates to the period from April 1296 to June 1297, when he was sent by the French king to Gascony to fight the English army, on account of England's alliance with Flanders to support the latter's resistance to French overlordship of their county.⁶¹ The third zone relates to the years following Count Robert II's return from Gascony in 1297, to his death at the battle of Courtrai in 1302, during which time the war between France and Flanders continued and the Count was to be found either in Artois or Flanders, where he continued to fight in support of the French crown. We can, therefore, be secure in the knowledge that, following his return to Artois in 1291, Count Robert II was never again to find himself in the Regno.⁶²

It is precisely because Count Robert II was absent from the Regno after 1291 that his minstrels' continued presence in the kingdom is particularly intriguing. There must have been a compelling reason why the Count continued to fund their journeys to and within the Regno during a period in which he was engaged in active war elsewhere. It is worth thinking through the evidence of these journeys in more detail, and what they suggest about the Count's efforts to maintain cultural connections to a kingdom in which his political and military duties had expired.

Returning to Documents A and B, therefore, let us try to piece together the details of the minstrels' journeying.

Document A shows that:

- (i) Pariset and Januce were to make a return journey from Artois to Puglia together;
- (ii) They were to be apart from their wives for one year

⁶¹ Joseph Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 319–24.

⁶² Where there are gaps in the archival record for Count Robert II's whereabouts (shown in the table in green) none of these is of sufficient length to suggest that he could have completed a return trip to the Regno; moreover, with his responsibilities for Artois, and his support of the French crown, there would have been little time to pine for his time in the Regno.

Document B shows that:

- (i) Pariset and Januce overspent their allocated funds when they went to Puglia;
- (ii) Pariset made three trips from Venosa to Naples;⁶³
- (iii) Pariset went to fetch Lyon the drummer;
- (iv) Pariset stayed at Count Robert II's house in Genoa where his horse died and he had to buy a new one;
- (v) Payment was provided for both Pariset and his wife during his return journey home from Puglia;
- (vi) Lyon the drummer accompanied Pariset on this journey.

The immediate interpretative question which emerges from considering these documents side-by-side is whether Documents A and B refer to the same return journey from Arras to Puglia. Both documents state that Pariset and Januce set off to Puglia together; however Document B makes no reference to Januce's return to Arras. We know from later archival documents, however, that Januce did return to the county, since there are payment records relating to him in the years following Count Robert II's death in 1302.⁶⁴ Since Document B refers to a surplus of spending by Pariset and Januce ('loutreplus'), it implies that there was an original allocation of funds for the trip, and since it does not describe when the trip took place, it could suggest that there was only one trip, for which the testimony provided by Document A would be a good candidate. There is, however, a timing discrepancy between the two documents: if Documents A and B refer to the same trip, the length of the minstrels' trip to Puglia far exceeded the timescale implied by Document A, which stipulates that funds are to be left for the minstrels' wives for a duration of twelve months, whereas Documents A and B are dated almost four years apart.

⁶³ Whether this means three separate journeys or one journey made by three people is not clear.

⁶⁴ Presuming, of course, that this is the same Januce.

A further document, Document C, dated 25 January 1299, sheds further light on the timing of the trip. It is another instruction from Count Robert II to Rinaldo Cognetti to make payment to Jehan ‘le Breton’ and his brother, Yves, Parisian furriers, for extra livery expenses incurred at All Saints (1 November) and Christmas (25 December) 1298.⁶⁵ Among the various Christmas expenses is an instruction to pay an amount of forty-four *sols* for ‘iiii pennes daigniaus pour pariset [et] le nakaire nouuelement uenus de puiille’.⁶⁶ Placed in the document shortly after an instruction to make a payment of thirteen *livres* four *sols* for ‘xxiiii pennes daigniaus a la raison de onze sols la piece’,⁶⁷ the separate itemisation of the minstrels’ liveries, together with the reference to their recent return from Puglia, implies that they had not arrived back in Artois in time for the Christmas livery ceremony, and so were granted their sheepskins on a separate occasion.⁶⁸

If we assume the drummer (‘le nakaire’) referenced here is the very same ‘Lyon le nakaire’ of Document B and, as I have suggested, Pariset and Lyon received the Christmas livery at a separate occasion from the main ceremony, we can surmise that they must have completed their return journey to Artois at some point between 25 December (the date of the main Christmas livery) and 25 January (the date of Document C).⁶⁹ The instructions for extra payments in Document B (dated 10 October 1299) therefore represent a significant time lag (approximately ten months) between the minstrels’ return and their eventual reimbursement by the court. Perhaps this delay was

⁶⁵ The *salutatio* and *arenga* read, ‘Robers...cuens dartoys A son ame [et] feal Renaut coignet de Barlete ch[evalier] Garde de nostre terre / salut. comme Nous soiemes tenu a jehan le Breton [et] a yve son frere peletiers de paris p[our] pennes p[our] nous [et] pour / [nostre] gent p[ar] conte fait a therri n[ostre] clerco[n]te la livree de la toussains dacrainnement passee’.

⁶⁶ ‘for four sheep skins for Pariset and the drummer who have recently returned from Puglia’ (translation mine).

⁶⁷ ‘twenty-four sheep skins costing eleven sols each’. If we are to assume that each recipient, like Pariset and Lyon, received two sheepskins each, then it seems that there were twelve other members of the court who also received sheepskins.

⁶⁸ See Malcolm Vale, *Princely Court*, pp. 93–135, for a discussion of livery ceremonies in Artois and other regions of northern Europe.

⁶⁹ Pariset and Januce are consistently referred to as minstrels (‘menestrels’) or trumpeters (‘trompeurs’) in the records.

a function of an expansive bureaucracy, under pressure through war and substantial financial commitments. Furthermore, the fact that Document C, like Document B, refers only to Pariset and Lyon having made the return journey, adds further weight to the idea that only they returned from Puglia, and that Januce was left behind in the Regno.

The fourth, and final document to be considered, Document D, bears the date 3 February 1299 (i.e. executed one week after Document C), and instructs payment, ‘pour treze aunes de | piers donne a le fenme pariset [et] a la fenme lyon le nacaire [...] It[em] a eles meismes p[our] leur hosteus estaper’.⁷⁰ The idea that the wives of Pariset and Lyon would need money to furnish their homes suggests that they remained in Artois while their husbands were away.

It is possible that Document A refers to a different trip to Puglia than referenced in Documents B, C and D, but this seems unlikely. Document B makes clear reference to a spending surplus by Pariset and Januce (although the latter does not appear to have returned to Arras), and to Pariset’s fetching of Lyon. It seems likely that Pariset spent approximately three years in the Regno, and Januce substantially longer; it is possible that the latter remained there throughout the 1290s. Furthermore, Lyon was already stationed in Puglia; the fact that Document B refers to Pariset ‘a la guerre’ suggests that Lyon was already in Count Robert II’s service in the Regno before he returned to Artois with Pariset. We can be sure that Januce did not die in Puglia, however, and that his failure to return to Artois was not an act of desertion, by the fact that he continued to be financially supported by Count Robert II’s court into the early fourteenth century. What then, was he up to during his Italian expedition?

A clue might be found in the fact that his extended presence in the Regno coincided with the return of Lyon to Artois. Perhaps this implies that Count Robert II was keen to maintain a connection to his time in the south via his minstrels, who took

⁷⁰ ADPC, A. 155.16. ‘for thirteen lengths of blue fabric given to the wife of Pariset and to the wife of Lyon the drummer [...] *Item* to these same women to furnish their homes’ (translation mine).

turns to remain on the Italian peninsula, as the substitution of Januce for Lyon suggests. As we have seen, the Count continued to maintain properties in Genoa and Puglia (with the latter property probably situated in Venosa, as implied by Document B), and it is possible that Pariset, Januce and Lyon were fulfilling a similar role in the south as that of Paul the minstrel in Artois. Perhaps these minstrels were deployed to support the morale at Count Robert II's properties in the Regno. Their continued presence in the south suggests the Count's desire to maintain a level of cultural connection to the Regno, and his confidence in his court performers as a means of ensuring this. It is also interesting to note Count Robert II's ties to Genoa, as reflected in the multiple examples of his minstrels' travels to his household there. His association with Genoa was, presumably, built on the longstanding economic ties between the city and his Artesian home, founded by so-called 'trans-Alpine merchants' at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries.⁷¹ Scrutiny of notarial records from the 1180s onwards has revealed that 'the city of Arras, month after month, is represented in the Genoese market by a considerable body of wealthy merchants who move with perfect familiarity in the commercial life of the port', and that the main product traded by Artesians in Genoa was northern textile.⁷² The commercial routes and networks which linked Arras and Genoa were long-lasting such that 'regularity of communications and ease of movement of merchandise and merchants were the rule and not the exception'.⁷³

It may have been that minstrels from Artois continued to travel to the Regno even long after Count Robert II's death in 1302. It has been noted that Giovanni Boccaccio's first text, the *Caccia di Diana* (c. 1333), an allegorical love chase involving named members of the Angevin court, written at the Neapolitan court of Charles I's grandson, King Robert the Wise (1309–43), bears much in common with the French

⁷¹ See R. L. Reynolds, 'Merchants of Arras and the Overland Trade with Genoa', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, IX (1930), 495–533.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 498, 503.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 524.

text *La prise amoureuse* composed the previous year by Jean Acart (or Acars) de Hesdin.⁷⁴ The *Caccia*'s recent editors and translators have asked whether, in light of the numerous points of comparison between the two works, 'Acart's piece...[could] have travelled from the court of France to the French Angevin court of Naples and reached Boccaccio?'.⁷⁵ Jean Acart is described in a manuscript bearing his name as a 'hospitalier' and it has therefore been inferred that he was 'a friar living at the foundation of the countess of Artois in Hesdin', which as we have seen, was a magnificent Artesian castle whose gardens had been singularly designed to recall Count Robert II's service in the Regno.⁷⁶ As we shall see shortly, Countess Mahaut, Count Robert II's daughter, continued to promote the memory of her father's service in the Regno at the castle of Hesdin. It is possible that this memory was also perpetuated by the continued deployment of Artesian minstrels to the Angevin court, which during her lifetime was increasingly centred in Naples. Such a continuation of the practice of her father would have provided the perfect opportunity for Jean Acart's text to become known in Naples and eventually adapted by the young Boccaccio in his first Neapolitan work.

Did the continued journeying of Artesian minstrels between Artois and the Regno during this period also facilitate a transfer of literary culture from the Angevin kingdom to northern France? It should be noted that the minstrels' journeys from Arras to southern Italy followed the main trade route linking northern Europe to the Levant, which would have brought them into contact with merchants and artisans hailing from many different regions.⁷⁷ It is clear from the Artesian archive that Count Robert II

⁷⁴ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Diana's Hunt: Caccia di Diana, Boccaccio's First Edition*, ed. and trans. by Anthony Cassell and Victoria Kirkham (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 20–21.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by William W. Kibler and others (New York & London: Garland, 1995), p. 5.

⁷⁷ Haines, 'The Songbook', p. 95.

sought to import items of economic and cultural value from the Regno, following his return to Artois in 1291. As has already been referenced, the Count did not forget the advanced practices of bureaucratic administration, animal husbandry and horticulture that he had experienced in Italy, and he incurred significant expense in trying to replicate these strategies in his native county. Furthermore, his household records show that, during the 1290s, he sought to make visual display of luxury items associated with his time in the Regno. In looking again at Document C, we see that the amount paid to the Parisian furriers for animal skins and furs for the feast of All Saints, Christmas and Pentecost exceeded two thousand Parisian *livres*. Document C is a payment instruction for additional money owed to the Parisian furriers, on top of the payment total of the two thousand two hundred and eight *livres* already calculated in the earlier payment instruction. The itemisation of the payments to be made in Document C begins as follows:

Cest asavoir p[ar] la main oudin n[ostre] tailleur p[our] nous. sept aumuches de dos descureus de calabre dont il en iot une fourree de gris fin [et] les autres furent fourrees de menus escureus de calabre a la raison de vint et deus sols la piece sept libr[es] quatorze sols.⁷⁸

The commissioning of seven ‘aumuches de dos descureus de calabre’ by the Count at the end of the thirteenth century is intriguing, for evidence studied to date suggests that Calabrian squirrel fur was a luxury item in northern Europe, but not until the last quarter of the fourteenth century at the earliest.⁷⁹ In William Langland’s *Piers Plowman* (c.

⁷⁸ ADPC, A. 151.7. ‘That is to say, by the hand of Oudin, our tailor, on our behalf, seven caps made from Calabrian squirrel hide, of which he had one of them furred in fine grey squirrel fur and the others furred in fine Calabrian squirrel fur, at a cost of twenty-two *sols* each. Seven *livres* and fourteen *sols*’ (translation my own).

⁷⁹ See charts in Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (London: London Record Society, 1966), p. 139, which shows the various import tolls levied on different types of squirrel furs in London in 1384. *Calabre* is listed as the second most expensive, costing only a fraction less than *lucwerk*, the most highly prized squirrel fur. For a description of an *aumuche* see Françoise Pipponier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Caroline Beamish (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p.166, ‘a headdress in the shape of a long hood, lined with fur’.

1370–90), for example, the Doctor (‘Phisik’) wears a ‘cloke of Calabre’ to designate his elevated social standing.⁸⁰

Document C, dating from January 1299, seems to represent one of the earliest extant witnesses for the use of Calabrian squirrel fur by the aristocracy of northern France.⁸¹ Contemporary livery records from nearby Flanders, Hainault and England appear to make no mention of it at all.⁸² It is tempting to think that Count Robert II’s commissioning of the use of Calabrian squirrel fur was a result of his time in the Regno. With a white belly and black back, the colouration of the Calabrian squirrel was distinct from that of its northern European counterpart.⁸³ It must have brought an element of novelty to the headwear (*aumuches*) it adorned. Furthermore, the attribution of the items ‘pour nous’ suggests that it was for the Count and his immediate circle that the *aumuches* were intended.⁸⁴ The differentiation of one of the *aumuches*, ‘fourree de gris fin’, lends further weight to the idea that this was a luxury commission and that one item was meant to stand out above the others, perhaps confirming its intended use by Count Robert II himself.⁸⁵ The relatively high expense of these items would preclude their being commissioned for lesser members of the court: at a price of twenty-two *sols* each, the Calabrian squirrel *aumuches* cost twice as much as the sheepskins given to the minstrels and were comparable to the cost of crimson robes for knights of the court in 1313.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Clothing: Clerical and Academic Clothing in the General Prologue to the ‘Canterbury Tales’* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 221–22. Although by this point the material had lost its association with Calabria and were bought in England through the Hanseatic league. See Veale, *The English Fur Trade*, pp. 217–18.

⁸¹ Imports of Calabrian squirrel fur are documented from 1296 in Paris. See Veale, *The English Fur Trade*, pp. 217–18.

⁸² See Vale, *Princely Court*, pp. 93–135.

⁸³ Veale, *The English Fur Trade*, pp. 217–18.

⁸⁴ An Artesian document of 1295 details a supply of cloth ‘pour nous et pour nostre gent a vestir’, thus identifying ‘nous’ as relating to the Count (and perhaps his family) directly, see Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 123. The ‘royal we’ was used widely in medieval royal documents. For further examples, see Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), p. 14.

⁸⁵ See Veale, *The English Fur Trade*, p. 139.

⁸⁶ Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 126.

All of this suggests that it could have been Count Robert II and his six closest vassals who wore the Calabrian squirrel fur at the livery ceremony. By importing a foreign and novel material from the Regno to his native county, Count Robert II created a spectacle of his clothing, which provided a further way in which he sought to remind his compatriots of his far-flung experience in the south. Whether, like his pet wolf, he had brought the Calabrian squirrel back to Artois with him, where it was subsequently bred and farmed, or whether he had had the skins imported from the Regno, it is clear that, by commissioning Parisian furriers to make the *aumuches*, the Count's experience in the Regno was making its mark on his courtly fashion sense back home in the north. As Malcolm Vale has observed, during this period clothing was the principal outward expression of 'cultural and ethnic difference, or a reorientation as a result of conquest', and it seems that Robert II was keen to make his reorientation towards the Regno apparent to all of his court.⁸⁷

As far as I am aware, Document C contains the only reference to Calabrian squirrel fur in the extant Artesian archive. Perhaps its use in 1298 represented something of a fad, since extant archival records show no evidence of its re-use at court until late into the fourteenth century. Its use at the All Saints livery seven years after Robert's return to Artois suggests that he had not forgotten his experience in the south, and that he did not want his court to forget it either. It is possible, therefore, that by contemporaneously sending his minstrels to his households in northern Italy and the Regno, Count Robert II was also taking advantage of his enduring association with, and continuing influence in, these territories. Furthermore, as well as providing entertainment for his households in Genoa and Venosa, figures such as Pariset, Januce and Lyon may well have related their experiences in Italy to audiences back home in Artois. Like the importation of Calabrian

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

fashions, perhaps Robert's minstrels' journeying was part of a strategy not to forget the legacy of the Count's years in the southern Mediterranean.

It should not be overlooked that Count Robert II incurred significant expense in maintaining his minstrels' presence in the Regno. As well as the opportunity cost of not having them by his side, particularly important during the war-filled years of the 1290s, we see that, from the four documents discussed above, the Count spent more than one hundred and fifty *livres* facilitating their absence from Artois for three or so years from 1296 to 1299, an amount which was enough to keep a knight at court for more than a year.⁸⁸ By continuing to support his association with the Regno at significant personal expense, Count Robert II must have wished to maintain cultural links with the kingdom, even when his military and political ties had long expired. In so doing, he is likely to have provided a distinct means of travel for the francophone culture of northern Europe to become known in the south.

Moreover, evidence from the Artesian archive suggests that the performers at Count Robert II's court were highly literate, at least in the francophone vernacular of their native Artois.⁸⁹ It is therefore likely that they carried their performance material with them in written form,⁹⁰ and that their travels also facilitated the spread of written texts between northern France and southern Italy. The rest of this chapter will turn to manuscript and iconographical evidence which contain echoes of the journeys made by Count Robert II's minstrels during the 1290s, and which present traces of cultural transfer between northern France and the Regno during the same period.

⁸⁸ The monthly cost of keeping 'Simon de Cinq Orme', a knight, at the court of Robert II of Artois was 10 *livres* in 1300. See Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 334.

⁸⁹ Symes, *A Common Stage*, pp. 232–33 analyses Robert's minstrels' documentary legacy.

⁹⁰ The significant areas of overlap between *chansonnier* books from the period suggests that scribes may have had access to multiple manuscripts when compiling their collections, which Sylvia Huot suggests may have belonged to court performers. See Huot, *From Song to Book*, p. 51.

ii. *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 25566*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), fonds français, 25566 (hereafter BnF, MS f. fr. 25566) has been widely discussed by literary, art-historical and musicological specialists.⁹¹ The manuscript is richly decorated, elaborately conceived, and, far from being a ‘coffee table’ volume, bears the scars of having been much used by its owners.⁹² The manuscript represents ‘a major commission, where the remarkable full-page miniatures set it apart from most secular manuscripts of the period where such ambitious compositions, closely related to their accompanying texts, are exceptional’.⁹³ It has been variously dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, and its decorative features have much in common with northern French *chansonnier* manuscripts.⁹⁴ Its textual contents and linguistic features have been interpreted to support a theory of Artesian influence,⁹⁵ although other literary traditions, particularly that of Flanders, have also been perceived.⁹⁶ It is important to remember, however, that geographically orientated signs of manuscript production, in this case the manuscript’s use of Picard *scripta* and its codified decorative scheme, may have carried cultural rather than geographical significance. For just as we have said that the city of Arras during this period represented wealth and status, so too was the Picard *scripta* a vector of social prestige rather than geographical specificity.⁹⁷ Rather than denoting a local sphere of influence, Arrageois artefacts such as BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 may have carried universal appeal as items of luxury production.

⁹¹ See Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, pp. 173–74 for relevant bibliography. Full descriptions of the manuscript is given in Federico Saviotti, ‘Precisazioni per una rilettura di BNF, Fr. 25566 (canzoniere Francese W)’, *Medioevo Romano*, 35 (2011), 262–84; and Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, pp. 167–73.

⁹² Alison Stones, ‘Some northern French chansonniers and their cultural context’, in *Ars musica septentrionalis: De l’historiographie à l’interprétation*, ed. by Barbara Haagh and others (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011), pp. 169–87 (p. 182).

⁹³ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, p. 172.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 167–73; Stones, ‘Some northern French’, pp. 178–82.

⁹⁵ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, pp. 167–73.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ For the cultural prestige of Arras during this period see Haines, ‘The Songbook’, p. 96; for the Picard *scripta* as a ‘superregional’ literary mode see R. Anthony Lodge, *French: From Dialect to Standard* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 87, 98–101.

The manuscript's linguistic and decorative features, as well as its inclusion of works by Artesian poets, aligns it with northern French *chansonniere* codices; yet other aspects of its production distinguish it from vernacular song books of this period. The first distinguishing feature, which has been frequently remarked upon by modern critics, is its methodical internal organisation, particularly its inclusion of a vast anthology of Adam de la Halle's poems (ff. 10–68),⁹⁸ in which the arc of the poet's life is seemingly reflected in the order of the works. As Sylvia Huot and others have explored, the manuscript's anthologising imperative is a key component of its overall conception and design.⁹⁹ Embedded in the manuscript's efforts to anthologise, to preserve an authorial collection for posterity, can be seen a historicising impulse on behalf of its compiler. As Sylvia Huot has seen in *Li jus du pelerin*, a dramatic prologue positioned at the midpoint of the Adam de la Halle section (f. 37v), this text functions as a eulogy for Adam's life by describing his achievements and announcing his death.¹⁰⁰ The text also announces Adam's service in the Regno, where it is claimed he died, and thus constitutes our evidence for Adam's time in the south. As will be discussed in further detail shortly, outside the Adam de la Halle section, further anthologising imperatives can be seen, such as the inclusion of multiple versions of the *Dit des trois morts et trois vifs*.¹⁰¹ This, together with its cohesive design, suggests that the manuscript was planned and completed as a single project.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Navigating the manuscript can be confusing on account of its two systems of foliation (caused by the insertion of a contents page and additional quire at the beginning of the manuscript, which is counted in the modern foliation). The online *Gallica* catalogue for the Bibliothèque nationale de France provides the modern foliation only; Alison Stones in *Gothic Manuscripts* provides both the medieval and modern foliation references. This discussion will rely on the modern folio references provided in Huot, *From Song to Book*, p. 67 for the Adam de la Halle section, and the modern folio references provided in the *Gallica* catalogue entry for the additional texts in the manuscript. (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001348v.image>).

⁹⁹ Jennifer Saltzstein, 'Introduction', in Saltzstein, *Musical Culture*, pp. 1–17 (p. 6) and Huot, *From Song to Book*, pp. 64–74.

¹⁰⁰ Huot, *From Song to Book*, p. 68.

¹⁰¹ There are three versions of the *Trois morts* tradition represented in this manuscript: that of Badouin de Condé (f. 217), Nicolas de Margival (f. 218), and a unique, anonymous version (f. 223)

¹⁰² Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, p. 172.

In addition to the highly planned internal organisation of the texts, BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 also sets itself apart from other contemporary songbooks through the inclusion of three full-page illustrations (f.175, f. 178v, f. 220v). Each of these illuminated pages has been purposefully executed in relation to an adjacent text. Alison Stones has suggested that these illustrations were once part of an elaborate programme of bifolium illustrations, most of which have now been lost.¹⁰³ A further differentiating feature is the manuscript's inclusion of eighteen texts for which it provides our single surviving witness. This provides further indication of the codex's value to medieval studies and, perhaps, of an exceptional context of production.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, through its careful textual framing, it stages a number of these texts as works of foreign import and provides a narrative for their integration into the Artesian poetic canon.

Although discussions of the manuscript to date have mainly focused on situating it within the context of manuscript production in medieval Arras, several elements of the manuscript's composition convey an association with Angevin circles in Italy. Most prominent among these is the inclusion of the texts, *Li jus du pelerin* (f. 37v), *Li gieus de Robin et de Marion* (f. 39) and the (*Chanson*) *du roi de sezile* (f. 59v), all within the Adam de la Halle anthology section of the manuscript.¹⁰⁵

It is thanks to these texts, in particular the *Pelerin*, that we have come to learn of Adam de la Halle's patronage by Count Robert II of Artois and his service at the court of King Charles I in the Regno. Whoever compiled BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 certainly did

¹⁰³ Stones, Alison, 'Some northern French', p. 182.

¹⁰⁴ The texts are: f. 37v, *Li jus du pelerin* (Adam de la Halle?); f. 59v, *Du roi de Sezile* (Adam de la Halle); f. 67v, *Li vers de le mort* (Adam de la Halle?); f. 68, *Li jus de Saint Nicolai* (Jean Bodel); f. 179, *Des III evangelistres* (anon.); f. 207v, *Li consaus d'amour* (Richard di Fournival); f. 218, *des trois mors et des trois vis* (anon.); f. 227, *De le honnine* (anon.); f. 229v, *Des III signes* (anon.); f. 231, *Du honteus menestrel* (anon.); f. 232, *Li dis dou vrai aniel* (anon.); f. 235, *Li dis de le lampe* (anon.); f. 239v, *Li jus des esquiés* (Engreban d'Arras); f. 244, *De cointise* (anon.); f. 247, *Du courtois donneur* (anon.); f. 250v, *Du songe du castel* (anon.); f. 253, *Li congié Baude Fastoul* (Baude Fastoul); f. 273, *Li honeurs et li vertus des dames* (Nevelot Amion / Jehan Petit d'Arras?).

¹⁰⁵ Henceforth these texts will be referred to as *Roi de Sezile* (published in Adam de la Halle, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. and trans. by Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Lettres Gothiques, 1995), pp. 376–93), *Pelerin* and *Robin et Marion* (published in Adam le Bossu, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion suivi du Jeu du pèlerin*, ed. by Ernest Langlois (Paris: Champion, 1924)).

not want Adam's experience in the Regno to be forgotten. The *Pelerin*, a dramatic prologue to *Robin et Marion*, claims that Adam de la Halle was in the Regno with Count Robert II and that he later died there.¹⁰⁶ The inclusion of this text along with the *Roi de sezile* and *Robin et Marion* reveals how, through Count Robert II's patronage, Adam de la Halle went to the Regno and entered into the service of King Charles I, where he composed a biographical poem about the king (*Roi de Sezile*), the only surviving copy of which is preserved in this manuscript. As well as informing our understanding of Adam de la Halle's career, the inclusion of these texts also provides an insight into the literary environment of the Angevin court in its early years in Italy. With Charles I drawing on alliances from all over Christendom, his court saw the arrival of poets and performers from afar. If, as the eponymous pilgrim-narrator of the *Pelerin* claims, *Robin et Marion* was written in the Regno, it demonstrates the way in which the playful theatricality of mercantile Arras found a home in royal circles in the Angevin kingdom. It provides a test case for the way in which the conditions of itinerant warfare in the late thirteenth century created the opportunity for an intermingling of courtly retinues in which cross-patronage could ensue. Just as we saw the minstrel Paul sent out by Count Robert II to various parts of his county, so it seems that the Count deployed his court poets to foster favour with his companions-in-arms and, as the example of the *Roi de Sezile* suggests, with his lord and uncle, Charles I.

As the central character of the *Pelerin*, the pilgrim stages his arrival in Arras as a homecoming, through which he claims to enact the restoration of Adam de la Halle's legacy, in the form of the memory of his life and his literary production, from the Regno to Arras. His pilgrimage, which he claims took him to far-flung areas of the world, has now brought him full circle, and presents itself as a *mise en abyme* of the literary

¹⁰⁶ Although the *Pelerin* is positioned in the middle of the Adam de la Halle anthology section of the manuscript, scholarly consensus is that it was written after his death.

homecoming suggested by the Adam de la Halle anthology section of BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 itself:

Bien a trente et chieu[n]c ans que je n'ai aresté, | S'ai puis en maint bon lieu et a maint
saint esté, | S'ai esté au Sec Arbre et dusc'a Duresté. | Dieu grasci qui m'en a sens et
pooir presté || Si fui en Famenie en Surie et en Tir | S'alai en un país ou on est si entir |
Que on i muert errant quant on i veut mentir; | Et si est tout quemun.¹⁰⁷

As a literal description of his pilgrimage, the pilgrim's opening claims are thoroughly implausible. References to 'sec arbre' and 'dur esté', rather than serving as a literal indications of precise geographies, stand as conventionalised proxies, which engage with a standardised, symbolic mode of representing the orient which had currency during the thirteenth century. Less important is the actual detail of the pilgrim's pilgrimage than the sense of exotic remoteness that it suggests. These descriptions of his wanderings serve to represent the idea of his homecoming, a return from estrangement to collective identity, of re-emerging from the cultural wilderness to a distinctly Artesian poetic community, and in so doing, present the Regno, whence he set out on his journey, as a place of otherness and remoteness.

The pilgrim's physical restitution to Arras parallels the homecoming he claims for Adam de la Halle's memory, as he presents himself as the restorer of the poet's artistic achievements to his native city. In contrast to the physical presence of the pilgrim before his imagined Artesian audience, however, Adam de la Halle cannot be brought home in person (since, as the pilgrim explains, his corpse is entombed in Puglia), and can only be conveyed through his literary corpus.

In prompting the performance of Adam de la Halle's lyrics, and in preserving his memory for an Artesian audience, the pilgrim (and the journey he makes) can be

¹⁰⁷ *Pelerin* ll. 9–15 in Adam le Bossu, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, p. 69.

read as a metaphorical *mise en abyme* for this manuscript in which he, and the text which contains him, uniquely survives. Through this *mise en abyme* we see that Adam de la Halle's body remains in Puglia, entombed in the stasis of death, while the manuscript bears him homeward. The homeward direction implied by the return of the pilgrim to Arras, and the manuscript's specifically Artesian performance of Adam de la Halle's literary and musical corpus, alerts us to the manuscript's historicising programme to preserve Adam de la Halle's memory for the people of Arras.

Although, as has been suggested, the pilgrimage is described in symbolic rather than literal terms, the description of the pilgrim's return journey, namely the route he claims to have taken from the Regno to Arras, is punctuated with a series of geographically realistic reference points, in Italy and present-day Switzerland. Far from maintaining a symbolic mode of representation, the pilgrim's homeward journey becomes a biographical account, incorporating plausible itineraries, references to well-known contemporary figures, and personal anecdotes with direct significance for the implied audience:

Car je sui mout lassés: esté ai a *luserne*, | En *terre de Labour* en *Toskane* en *Sezile*; |
 Par *Puille* m'en reving, ou on tint maint concille | D'un clerc net et soustieu, grascieus
 et nobile | Et le nomper du mont; nés fu de ceste ville. || **Maistre(s) Adans li Bochus
 estoit chi apelés | Et la Adans d'Arras.** ¹⁰⁸

Through such claims of biographical veracity, the pilgrim's monologue has become our main account of Adam de la Halle's time in the Regno and his patronage by

¹⁰⁸ *Pelerin*, ll. 20–26, p. 70. The *Roi de Sezile* is also unfinished; the death of Charles or that of Adam himself possibly interrupted it. The claim that Adam died in the Regno is further corroborated by a colophon written in a *Roman de Troie* manuscript c. 1287–88 by a certain Jean Mados, who claims to be the nephew of Adam de la Halle, who he says died while away from Arras. The discovery of an English record dated 1306 relating to 'maistre Adam le Boscu' however, has thrown this into doubt. However, as Carol Symes says, the fact that Adam does not appear in the Artesian archive after Robert's return from the Regno in 1291 lends further weight to the idea that he died while in southern Italy. See Carol Symes, 'The "School of Arras" and the Career of Adam', in Saltzstein, *Musical Culture*, pp. 21–50 (p. 29).

King Charles I. The pilgrim claims to have personally witnessed Adam de la Halle's presence in the Regno, and he offers as evidence a description of how Adam came to be known as 'Adam from Arras' in southern Italy. The Pilgrim's speech simultaneously promotes its status as a historical witness while also staging its potential unreliability: alongside the non-literal, symbolic mode with which the play opens (in which the pilgrim's assertion to have been travelling for 'trente et chienc ans' is surely a great exaggeration), the monologue begins with an immediate reference to the deadly effects of lying, claiming that the pilgrim has returned from a faraway land where 'on i muert errant quant on i veut mentir'.¹⁰⁹ The interpretation of his words, here, is ambiguous: does it serve to increase the reliability of his claims, since it shows his awareness of the potentially deadly consequences for those who deviate from truth; or does it imply a warning to his audience not to trust him, since he is no longer present in the country where such punishment applies, and is therefore at liberty to speak mendaciously? The mere fact that the subject of lying features in the pilgrim's opening words is perhaps enough in itself to alert us to the potential for his truth-claims to deceive, and for his audience's inability to decipher truth from lies concerning such geographically remote events.

Thus there is no absence of irony in the fact that the pilgrim's speech has come to represent our primary historical source material for our contextual understanding of Adam de la Halle's poetic compositions in the Regno. Although Adam has become the most celebrated of the performers and poets associated with Count Robert II's court — perhaps even 'the most prolific and important artistic voice' of the period —¹¹⁰ he is

¹⁰⁹ *Pelerin* l. 14, p. 69.

¹¹⁰ Saltzstein, 'Introduction', in Saltzstein, *Musical Culture*, p. 1. The full quote is 'Adam undoubtedly stands as the most prolific and important artistic voice of thirteenth-century France'. As the following discussion will suggest, Adam de la Halle's voice may not necessarily be 'of France' but of the international experience he gained at the court of Robert II of Artois.

entirely unrepresented in any archival evidence associated with the Count.¹¹¹ As such, it is difficult to infer the extent to which his experience in the Regno was comparable with that of other minstrels who were patronised by Robert II, such as Jehan le fou or Pariset, whom we referenced earlier. It is also impossible to ascertain with any certainty how typical his compositions were of the literary environment of Count Robert II's court. It is clear, however, not only from the pilgrim's words but also from Adam de la Halle's literary production, that his experience in the Regno brought him into contact with the highest echelons of Angevin society, and that he was able to find a patron in Charles I himself.

As well as claiming authority over Adam de la Halle's biography, the *Pelerin* also presents itself as a mediator for the performance and reception of Adam de la Halle's literary works, since the characters of the play enact a performance of Adam's musical compositions. Their performances of Adam de la Halle's lyric, within a text celebrating his achievements, within a manuscript anthologising his literary corpus, demonstrates the concern of the *Pelerin's* author to construct a monument to Adam de la Halle's life, whose function is highly reminiscent of the Puglian tomb which it describes, since both objects seek to embody Adam's memory following his death.

As much as the *Pelerin* is a monument to Adam de la Halle, it is also a celebration of Count Robert II of Artois, and his artistic patronage in Puglia. The Count is credited, here, with providing the impetus (and no doubt the money) for Adam de la Halle to write *Robin et Marion*; it is also he who is shown to appreciate the work most highly, valuing it over great wealth. He is credited with ensuring Adam de la Halle's posterity, since he is described as guiding crowds of people to Adam's tomb.¹¹²

¹¹¹ The Artesian archive does not provide any documentary records of Adam's service to Count Robert II, since there are only a few records relating to the period 1284–88, with the bulk of material relating to the years post 1288, after the presumed death of Adam in the Regno.

¹¹² *Pelerin*, ll. 45–48, p. 71, 'Or est mors maistre adans diex li fache merchi | A se tomble ai esté don jhesucrist merchi | Li quoins le me moustra le soie grant merchi | Quant jou i fui l'autre an'.

Furthermore, the pilgrim claims to have witnessed Adam de la Halle in the Regno at first hand, and to have been personally responsible for the importation of his legacy to Arras. The figure of the pilgrim, and the cultural transfer which he claims to have facilitated, therefore represents a metaphor for the cross-cultural mediation performed by the poetic anthology itself: just as the pilgrim's journey has enacted a homecoming of Adam de la Halle's southern compositions, whose presentation has been adapted for a specifically Artesian audience, so too has the manuscript packaged Adam de la Halle's works in a consciously Artesian form.¹¹³ So successful is the manuscript's self-presentation as an Artesian artefact that, if it were not for the *Pelerin's* claims about Adam de la Halle's service in the Regno, and the textual and contextual evidence by which they are supported, we would have no reason to suspect that Adam de la Halle went to the Regno at all.

The staging of this cultural transfer is further emphasised by the manuscript's inclusion of the unique surviving text of the *Roi de Sezile*, which is immediately preceded by a miniature depicting a knight on horseback in which both the knight and the horse bear the heraldry of King Charles I. It is striking that in a manuscript which features imaginary kings in full regal garb featuring orb and sceptre, the miniature of a poem devoted to a real-life king depicts him as a heraldic emblem rather than as an enthroned monarch.¹¹⁴ In so doing, it reflects the focus of the accompanying poetic work, which recasts the ascent of Charles I to the throne of Sicily in the terms of a heroic *chanson*. Adam's presentation of Charles in this poem is more in the guise of an amorous knight than a king.¹¹⁵ Charles I, as King of Sicily, is re-imagined, here, as a chivalric hero whose foreign exploits have been packaged in legendary terms. The text

¹¹³ *Pelerin*, p. 9.

¹¹⁴ For example, the representation of King Auberon in the *Jus de saint Nicolas* (f. 68). King Auberon's regal status is designated not only by a crown but also by his enthroned position and a sceptre in his hand.

¹¹⁵ It is similar to the iconography of the aristocratic *trouvère* as explored in Huot, *From Song to Book*, pp. 53–63.

of the *Roi de Sezile*, together with its accompanying miniature, returns Charles I to northern France in the guise of a recognisable hero. Adam de la Halle's poetic craft in representing Charles I as a chivalric hero, and the packaging of this work within the manuscript, serve to glorify Charles I's exploits in the Regno for the benefit of northern audiences. It seems apt to suggest that this was a very deliberate attempt at a thirteenth-century kind of public relations to present the Angevin struggle in the south in terms that northerners would recognise. The need for such an approach is understandable when we consider the large numbers of northern men, and often their families, who had participated in the Angevin war. Furthermore, with a lot of northerners returning home during this period, the glorification of Charles I's achievements would have furthered the heroic reception of those who returned to the north following their service in the Angevin army.

The text's preservation of Adam de la Halle's legacy in the Regno, and the manuscript's packaging of his southern works for an Artesian audience, provides an echo of Count Robert II's enduring cultural connections to the Regno during the last decade of his life when, as we have seen, he continued to promote his personal associations with the kingdom and to fund his minstrels' presence in Italy. The claims the pilgrim makes about his journey home to Arras, his announcement of Adam de la Halle's death in Puglia and Count Robert II of Artois's role in preserving the poet's memory, stages artistically the kind of cultural transfer which the documentary sources suggest were being enacted through the continued itinerancy of Robert II's minstrels between Arras and Italy during the 1290s.

Count Robert II's commitment to celebrating Adam and, by implication, his personal prestige as a patron, was to be continued by his daughter, Countess Mahaut, after his death. We find in the archival records relating to the castle at Hesdin that in 1313 she paid for craftsmen to 'ouvrer en la grant sale et refaire les lettres des canchons

Robin et de Marion'.¹¹⁶ Transposed to the walls of the castle, *Robin et Marion* here fulfils its role as a monument to both poet and patron. The continued association of this play with the family of Count Robert II of Artois in the early decades of the fourteenth century indicates the extent to which the memory of the Count's patronage in the south had made its way into his dynastic legacy; perhaps it was manuscripts such as BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 which had a role in transmitting this cultural inheritance down the Artesian family line.

A further example of the attempt to preserve the memory of Count Robert II's time in the south can be seen in the work of another minstrel with whom Robert was associated, Adenet le Roi (c. 1240–c. 1300), who is known to have travelled through the Regno in the entourage of Guy of Dampierre (and likely in the presence of Count Robert II) on his return from the Tunis Crusade of 1270.¹¹⁷ At the end of Adenet's final text, *Cléomadès* (c. 1283), Robert II is explicitly invoked as Adenet declares that he will send his poem to the Count:

A noble conte preu et sage, | D'Artois, qui a mis son usage | En Dieu honorer et servir |
 Envoi mon livre, pour oyr | Comment il est fait et dîtés, | Or vueille Diex que il soit tés |
 Que li quens le receive en gré | Et li doinst par sa grant bonté | Honnor d'armes et
 d'amor joie. Si m'ait Diex! je le vorroie. | Ainsi soit-il que je l'ai dit! | Amen, amen, et
 explicit (vv. 18687–98).¹¹⁸

Telling of a hero's adventures on a magical horse over almost twenty thousand verses, *Cléomadès* is an elaborate francophone rendition of the transcultural story of the Ebony Horse, a tale with a long tradition in world literature, most widely known

¹¹⁶ Richard, *Mahaut*, p. 259.

¹¹⁷ *Les Oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, 1, *Biographie d'Adenet / La Tradition manuscrite*, p. 21.

¹¹⁸ *Les Oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, ed. by Albert Henry, 5 vols (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1971), v, *Cléomadès*, 1: *Texte*, p. 552.

through the Arabic *One Hundred and One Nights* and the closely related *One Thousand and One Nights*.¹¹⁹ *Cléomadès* represents the earliest rendition of this Arabic tradition in northern Europe, and appears to have become part of a programme of manuscript production emanating from Paris.¹²⁰ Adenet names the patrons of the text as the Queen of France, Marie of Brabant (1254–1322, r. 1274–1285) and her sister-in-law, Blanche of France, Infanta of Castile (1253–1323). The latter was the daughter of King Louis IX of France (1214–1270), who in 1268 married Fernando de La Cerda, Infante of Castile (1255–1275). Following her marriage, she lived in Spain until Fernando's death in 1275, when she returned to the French court in Paris. In view of her Spanish experience, and the story's Arabic transmission, it has been suggested that the Ebony Horse tale became known to Adenet through Blanche of France who, it has been presumed, encountered it during her time at the court of Castile where it is believed to have arrived via Arabic networks from North Africa.¹²¹ A recently discovered fourteenth-century Spanish manuscript of the Arabic *One Hundred and One Nights*, which includes an incomplete version of the Ebony Horse tale, contains a text which ends with a colophon dated 1235.¹²² Presuming that the texts in this manuscript represent co-commissions, this provides evidence for the story's circulation in Spain around the time of Blanche's presence there. Adenet le Roi is also at pains to establish the story's Iberian connections at several points in the text, stating at the beginning of

¹¹⁹ 'L'histoire du cheval d'ébène a connu, dans les littératures d'Orient et d'Occident, un destin singulier: née en Inde, elle s'est fixée sous la forme d'un conte relativement complexe dans le monde arabe, puis a pénétré l'Occident à la fin du XIIIe siècle.' See Aurélie Houdebert, 'L'histoire du cheval d'ébène, de Tolède à Paris: propositions sur les modalités d'une transmission', in *Byzance et l'Occident: Rencontre de l'Est et de l'Ouest*, ed. by Emese Egedi-Kovács (Budapest: Collège Eötvös József ELTE, 2013), pp. 143–56 (p. 143).

¹²⁰ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Illiterati et uxorati. Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), I, pp. 99–114. Rouse and Rouse determine at least eight francophone manuscripts of the story which were part of this programme of production, five of the *Cléomadès* and three of Girart d'Amiens's *Méliacin*, another francophone version of the story produced at approximately the same time as the *Cléomadès*.

¹²¹ It is thought that Adenet's story was sourced from the North African Arabic *One Hundred and One Nights* (closely related to the most famous *One Thousand and One Nights*), which was copied c. 1235 in Muslim Spain. See Houdebert, 'L'histoire du cheval d'ébène', pp. 143–45.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

that it has been sourced from the kings of Spain and, towards the end, that the reader should seek it out its sources in Toledo or Seville.¹²³

Intriguingly, however, large portions of the text are concerned with Italy, specifically the Regno, and much of the hero's journeying takes place in southern Italy and Tuscany. The text pays substantial attention to the local customs of the Regno drawn from folkloric and classical sources. It details the wonders of the Pozzuoli thermal baths near Naples, the local legends associating Virgil with the protection of the city, and the mythical origin of the Neapolitan castle, the Castel dell'Ovo.¹²⁴ If the story has its origins in Spain, then its emphasis has been transformed through Adenet le Roi's re-writing into a travelogue of his own journey through Angevin territories. Moreover, Roberta Morosini has noted that Adenet's text contains a unique version of the Virgilian story concerning the Castel dell'Ovo which diverts the focus of Virgil's activities from Rome to Naples.¹²⁵ It suggests the possibility that Adenet's knowledge of this Classicising folklore was not gained from books but rather from his experience in the Regno.

Let us now look at Adenet's invocation of Robert II of Artois in more detail. If, as has been postulated, his text was completed in 1283 or 1284,¹²⁶ then it coincides with the period when Robert II was engaged in fighting on behalf of the Angevins in the War of the Sicilian Vespers in the Regno. By sending his text to Count Robert II, Adenet is implicitly sending it to the Regno, the region in which, as we have said, a large part of its action also takes place.¹²⁷ As Adenet specifies his desire for Count Robert II to '**oyr** | Comment il est fait et dités' (my emphasis), he foresees Robert II

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 153 n. 28.

¹²⁴ See Roberta Morosini, 'Boccaccio and the Mediterranean Legend about Virgil the Magician and the Castle of the Egg in Naples with a Note on MS Strozzi 152, *Filocolo IV 31* and *Decameron X V*', *Scripta Mediterranea*, 23 (2002), 13–30.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

¹²⁶ Dunbabin, 'Cultural Networks', p. 130.

¹²⁷ This is not as far-fetched as it might seem: as Dunbabin has said, *The French*, p. 36, 'between 1266 and about 1305, messengers flew almost ceaselessly between the royal court at Paris and the royal court in Naples'.

experiencing its contents aurally, perhaps inferring that it would be read aloud by a minstrel at his court. Another rendition of this scenario is visualised by two of the earliest surviving manuscripts of the text (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 3142 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 24404), in which the text’s invocation of Robert II is accompanied by a miniature depicting a crowned Adenet (‘le Roi’) physically handing the manuscript of the text to the Count, who appears in full armour bearing the arms of Artois on his shield and those of Brabant on his epaulettes, presumably in reflection of the manuscript’s dedication to Marie of Brabant. In depicting Adenet literally handing the text to Count Robert II, the implication is that Adenet himself travelled to the Regno to deliver the *Cléomadès*. The Rouses have surmised that the inclusion of this image in two manuscripts of the text ‘must have been stipulated by those who commissioned the early manuscripts’, which would further suggest the importance of the text’s association with Count Robert II during his time in the Regno.¹²⁸

As has been mentioned, Adenet le Roi travelled to the Angevin kingdom with his patron Guy of Dampierre during the Tunis Crusade of 1270. Their return journey to northern France saw them travel through the Regno and northern Italy in the company of the transnational crusading aristocracy, which included Charles I and Robert II of Artois.¹²⁹ The journey took seven months and saw them traverse the full length of the Italian peninsula, encompassing almost all the major sites in the Regno (including insular Sicily) and northern Italy.¹³⁰ Could it have been this journey through the Regno which provided the inspiration for the numerous references to the Angevin kingdom in

¹²⁸ Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati*, I, pp. 99–114.

¹²⁹ Dunbabin, *The French*, p. 122.

¹³⁰ *Les Oeuvres d’Adenet le Roi*, I, *Biographie d’Adenet / La Tradition manuscrite*, p. 21. Morosini, ‘Boccaccio and the Mediterranean’, p. 14, lists the places visited with reference to their modern names: ‘Sicily, Trapani, Calatafimi, Alcamo, Termini, Caltavuturo, Polizzi, Gangi, Nicosia, Troina, Randazzo, Taormina, Messina Catona (*sic*), Seminara (in Calabria), Monteleone (now Vibo Valentia), Nicastro, Martirano, Cosenza, Tarsia, Trebisacce, Rocca di Nieto, Policoro, Scanzano, Torre di Mare, Matera, Gravina, Barletta, Foggia, Troja, Benevento, Acerra, Napoli (*sic*), and many central and northern cities from Florence to Aosta’.

Cléomadès? Or, as the miniatures in the above-mentioned manuscripts suggest, could Adenet have travelled to the Regno again, where he entered into direct association with Robert II of Artois? The extended autobiographical description which Adenet offers at the end of *Cléomadès* confirms that he was under the patronage of ‘le bon conte Guion | De Flandres’ (Guy of Dampierre) when the text was written.¹³¹ In elaborating his praise for his patron he goes on to laud ‘ses bons enfans [...] en cui loiautez est manans’.¹³² In view of the many descriptions of Italy in the *Cléomadès*, and the manuscript’s implication that Adenet presented his text to Robert II of Artois in person, it is worth considering the possibility that Adenet spent time in the Regno, where two of Guy of Dampierre’s children had become part of Charles I’s inner circle.

Charles I enjoyed a longstanding friendship with the Dampierre family, which had been a firm ally of the Angevin cause from the very beginning of his rule in the Regno. The Dampierres owed Charles a great debt of allegiance following his intervention in their succession crisis during the 1250s.¹³³ Robert III, Count of Bethune (1249–1322), Guy of Dampierre’s oldest son and successor to the county of Flanders, had joined Charles of Anjou’s army at the beginning of its crusade to Italy in 1265. In that same year he also married Charles’s daughter, Blanche. Robert remained in the Regno, fighting alongside his father-in-law in the battles of Benevento (1266) and Tagliacozzo (1268), after which he settled in the Regno with his Angevin wife until her death in 1270. He returned to Flanders shortly after her death. He was clearly trusted by Charles I, and Jean Dunbabin suggests that he may have seen himself as a possible Angevin heir in the event of the death of Charles’s own sons.¹³⁴

At the beginning of the 1280s, around the same time that Adenet is thought to have written *Cléomadès*, Philip (c. 1262–1308), Guy of Dampierre’s fifth son,

¹³¹ vv. 18655–56.

¹³² vv. 18661–62.

¹³³ For background see Dunbabin, *The French*, p. 120–21.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 120–24.

continued his family's tradition of loyalty to Charles I and travelled to the Regno to join the Angevin army during the War of the Sicilian Vespers. Philip stayed in the Regno for more than twenty years before family loyalty dictated that he should return to Flanders in 1303. He then returned to the Regno c. 1305 where he died in 1308.¹³⁵ Although Philip had initially embarked on a clerical career in Paris, he was recruited to the Angevin army by Charles I himself when the latter visited the city in 1282.¹³⁶ Like the cross-generational relationships the Angevins enjoyed with the international members of the Montfort family, as we saw in Chapter Two, their relationship with the Dampierres extended to numerous members of the dynasty. Upon Philip's arrival in the Regno, Charles I almost immediately arranged a socially and economically advantageous marriage for him to Mathilda, daughter of Raoul de Courtenay, through which Philip was endowed with the counties of Chieti and Loreto in the Abruzzi, an important area for the defence of the Regno.¹³⁷ He thus became an important landowner in the Regno and, along with Count Robert II of Artois, was one of the most important leaders of the Angevin cause during the War of the Vespers.

Despite the high standing to which he was elevated in the Regno, historians have underlined the hardship of Philip's time in the kingdom. He was almost immediately embroiled in the War of the Vespers, during which he was captured by Aragonese forces and imprisoned in Sicily. His release was secured only with a huge ransom such that 'for most of his life, he was scraping and scrimping to pay off debts of one kind or another, from lands that suffered the devastations of war'.¹³⁸ It is clear that he enjoyed

¹³⁵ Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 126–32. See also Dunbabin, 'Philip of Chieti'; Benedetto Croce, *Vite di avventure di fede e di passione*, Scritti di storia letteraria e politica, 30, 2nd edn (Bari: Laterzae, 1947); Marc Gheerardijn, *Historische en Numismatische studie over Filips van Chieti en Loreto: 'Filippo di Fiandra olim comes Theatinus et Laureti'. Van schatrijke 'Italiaanse' brutale veldheer tot arme Vlaamse vredesengel* (Gheerardijn: 2006) (I wish to thank Stephanie van Gemert for her help with the Dutch translation of this text).

¹³⁶ Gheerardijn, *Historische en Numismatische studie over Filips van Chieti en Loreto*, p. 7.

¹³⁷ Dunbabin, *The French*, p. 124.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

significant contact and a strong bond with Robert II of Artois, who was present in the Regno at the same time, and who seems to have favoured him.¹³⁹

Adenet's praise of Guy of Dampierre (and, notably, his children) and Robert II of Artois in *Cléomadès*, together with the text's multi-layered allusions to the Regno, could suggest that the text was produced in the orbit of Philip of Chieti and Robert II of Artois's friendship while they both served as high-profile members of the Angevin army during the Sicilian Vespers. This hypothesis would open up another potential route of transmission for the Arabic story of the Ebony horse to have entered into francophone literary culture. As a result of the Tunis Crusade of 1270, (which, as has been alluded to, was one of the major international events during this period which brought together the ruling houses of western Europe),¹⁴⁰ Charles I had entered into a peace settlement with the Emir of Tunis through which the Emir sent 2,777 ounces of gold to Charles every year.¹⁴¹ As we saw in the Introduction of this thesis, on one of those occasions the Emir sent a copy of an Arabic medical treatise, the *Kitab al-Hâwi*, which Charles had translated into Latin in a luxury volume whose commission he personally oversaw.¹⁴² Charles evidently cherished his commissioning of the translation, which represented a continuation of the cultural practice of the kingdom's Norman and Hohenstaufen rulers.¹⁴³

The possibility has not yet been considered that Adenet might have encountered the story of the Ebony Horse during his time in the Regno, perhaps in the company of Philip of Chieti and Robert II of Artois, either during the Tunis Crusade or subsequently

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* Dunbabin states that Robert II took land from Adenolfo of Aquino and gave it to Philip. Robert II had also enjoyed a friendship with Philip's father, Guy of Dampierre, before his time in the Regno: see Vale, *Princely Court*, p. 78 which details the lavish banquet enjoyed by the pair in Paris in 1278.

¹⁴⁰ Charles I, Robert II of Artois, Guy of Dampierre, Robert III of Bethune and Adenet le Roi are all known to have taken part in the Tunis Crusade and are likely to have come into contact with one another.

¹⁴¹ Dunbabin, 'Cultural Networks', pp. 132–33.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

during Philip and Robert II's service in the Regno during the 1280s. We know from documentary records that Arabic literary and linguistic forms continued to circulate in the Angevin Kingdom, and that Charles I, like the Norman and Hohenstaufen rulers of the Regno before him, cultivated a personal interest in their dissemination.¹⁴⁴ It is possible that Charles I's continuing contact with the Tunisian Emir might have resulted in other Arabic material arriving in the Regno, including the tale of the Ebony Horse.¹⁴⁵

Further evidence also emerges to indicate that the story of the Ebony Horse was known in Angevin circles during the fourteenth century: Queen Joanna I (1326–82) made a gift of a manuscript of *Méliacin* to the Carthusian priory of San Lorenzo, which had been founded by her father, Charles of Calabria, who fostered an interest in his dynasty's francophone cultural legacy, as we saw earlier in Chapter Two of this thesis.¹⁴⁶ That such a manuscript was thought to be an appropriate sign of royal beneficence suggests the elevated status of this story in the literary culture of the Angevin court during the later years.

We might also note that Boccaccio's *Decameron* (c. 1349–1353) suggests the possibility that Arabic story collections circulated in the Regno during the Angevin era. Boccaccio's experience in Angevin circles furnished him with 'that remarkable imaginative openness to the greater Mediterranean (Greek and Arab) world, which in Naples formed part of everyday life'.¹⁴⁷ As Maria Rosa Menocal has suggested in her masterly exploration of the influence of Arabic culture in western medieval literature, Arabic story collections, such as the *One Thousand and One Nights* (or, indeed, the closely related *One Hundred and One Nights* from which the *Cléomadès* is thought to

¹⁴⁴ See Cullen, 'The Bilingual Registers', pp. 34-35 for examples of Arabic vocabulary such as *dīwān* (*dohane*), *qabāla* (*cabelle*), *makhazin* (*magozene*) which entered French through Angevin documentary sources.

¹⁴⁵ Houdebert, 'L'histoire du cheval', p. 145 n. 7 notes that the version of the tale which forms the basis of Adenet le Roi's text is likely to have derived from North Africa rather than Andalusia.

¹⁴⁶ See Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati*, pp. 99–114.

¹⁴⁷ David Wallace, *Giovanni Boccaccio: Decameron* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 7.

derive) should be considered as possible analogues to Boccaccio's narrative project in the *Decameron*.¹⁴⁸ Specific instances of narrative transmission between Arabic story collections and the *Decameron* provide further suggestion of the diffusion of these traditions in Boccaccian circles,¹⁴⁹ although, for the most part, the circumstances of this transmission remain elusive, with Arabic-inspired material in the *Decameron* forming part of 'the vertiginous complexity of this world of circulation, accommodation, and exchange'.¹⁵⁰

It is not clear, at this stage, how to connect these new suggestions for the Regno's role in the production of Adenet's text to the more widely held view, which Adenet le Roi himself promoted, that the story came from Spain and was told to him by Blanche of France. However, the large proportion of the *Cléomadès* devoted to descriptions of the Regno, its acknowledgment of the Dampierre family, its association with Robert II of Artois while he was stationed in the Regno, the continued reception of Arabic material at the Angevin court, and the (re-)emergence there of another francophone version of the Ebony Horse story in the fourteenth century, suggest that we should look further at the possibility that the text became known in Europe through Angevin circles in the Regno. Certainly we can say that the story appealed to Robert II, the work's ultimate dedicatee, who might even have drawn inspiration from it for the installation of automata at his pleasure garden at Hesdin.¹⁵¹

Returning now to our discussion of BnF, MS f. fr. 25566, scholarly consensus has accepted the pilgrim's claims about the southern-Italian provenance of *Robin et Marion*, and has inferred the same origination for the *Roi de Sezile*. The question has

¹⁴⁸ María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 141.

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, F. D. Lewis, 'One Chaste Muslim Woman and a Persian in a Pear Tree: Analogues of Boccaccio and Chaucer in Four Earlier Arabic and Persian Tales', in *Metaphor and Imagery in Persian Poetry*, ed. by Ali Asghar Seyed-Gohrab (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 137–203.

¹⁵⁰ Sharon Kinoshita and Jason Jacobs, 'Ports of Call: Boccaccio's Alatiel in the Medieval Mediterranean', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 37.1 (2007), 163–95 (p. 187).

¹⁵¹ Farmer, 'La Zisa / Gloriette', p. 116.

not yet been asked as to whether other elements of the manuscript's composition attest to an association with the Angevin kingdom. The focus of the rest of this chapter will be to begin to address this question. In approaching the manuscript from textual, linguistic, musicological or artistic perspectives, the question is not an obvious one: as we have already observed, many such indicators point towards an Artesian provenance and circulation.¹⁵² As we have seen from the *Pelerin*, and the texts whose contexts it directly illuminates, *Robin et Marion* and the *Roi de Sezile*, however, the evidence provided by such indicators does not preclude a text's composition and circulation elsewhere. With this in mind, the rest of this chapter will reopen the question of the manuscript's cultural allusions. Looking beneath its surface characteristics, this discussion will focus on a number of elements of the manuscript's production suggestive of cultural itinerancy between northern and southern Europe at the end of the thirteenth century.

Critical attention paid to BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 has largely centred on the Adam de la Halle anthology, yet this section accounts for only one quarter of the total length of the manuscript. The rest of this chapter will explore how the Adam de la Halle section fits within the manuscript as a whole, both in terms of its composition and in its connections to the Angevin Regno.

As has already been suggested, the Adam de la Halle anthology section is not the only section of BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 in which an anthologising imperative can be seen. Looking at the three versions of the *Dit des trois morts et trois vifs* also contained in the manuscript,¹⁵³ we see a similar concern to preserve multiple forms of a literary tradition. Of the five known francophone texts of the *Dit des trois morts et trois vifs*

¹⁵² As we saw in the Introduction to this thesis, however, establishing a localisation for manuscripts based on their physical characteristics can be problematic during a period in which patrons and artists travelled extensively.

¹⁵³ See folio references below.

tradition, three are to be found in this manuscript. They each tell a similar story of three living men's encounter with three corpses. Each of the texts in the tradition offers the same *memento mori* example, reminding the reader that death is around the corner, and that the pleasures of this world are only fleeting.¹⁵⁴ As well as the shared narrative trajectory and moral example, each version of the tale is composed in octosyllabic verse comprised of equivocal couplets in which the sounds of the words are repeated while their meaning is altered, for example, 'Ensi con li matere conte, / Il furent, si con duc et conte, / Troi noble homme de grant arroi / Et de rice, con fil a roi'.¹⁵⁵ The thematic and formal similarities between these poems indicate that whoever was responsible for their compilation was concerned to preserve these *dits* as a set of writings, associated by their narrative, moral lesson and form.

The rubrication of the texts attributes the first two versions to Badouin de Condé (f. 217) and Nicole de Margival (f. 218) respectively; the third version (f. 223) remains anonymous and is not represented in any other surviving manuscript. More than twenty surviving works are attributed to the career of Badouin de Condé (fl. 1240–1280), yet relatively little detail is known about his life, apart from the fact that he was a minstrel at the court of Flanders during the rule of Countess Margaret II (1244–1278).¹⁵⁶ He is understood to have participated in the Tunis Crusade of 1270. He would therefore have accompanied the Dampierre family, along with many other members of the northern European elite, on its return journey through the Regno.¹⁵⁷ The life of Nicole de Margival is even less certain: from his other extant work, *Le dit du panthère*, it is clear that he had extensive knowledge of and appreciation for the works of Adam de la Halle,

¹⁵⁴ For editions of all extant versions, see *Les Cinq Poèmes des trois morts et des trois vifs*, ed. by Stephen Glixelli (Paris: Champion, 1914).

¹⁵⁵ These are the opening lines to the version of the *Dit* attributed to Badouin de Condé, as quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁵⁶ Bart Besamusca and others, 'Author Attributions in Medieval Text Collections: An Exploration', in *Amsterdamer Beiträge Zur Älteren Germanistik*, 76 (2019), 89–122 (pp. 100–01).

¹⁵⁷ Badouin de Condé and Jean de Condé, *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean, d'après les manuscrits de Bruxelles, Turin, Rome, Paris et Vienne et accompagnés de variantes et de notes explicatives*, ed. by Auguste Scheler (Brussels: Devaux, 1866–67), p. 12.

suggesting that he was perhaps part of Adam's literary circle, and that he may also have known Robert II of Artois.¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, in the *Roi de Sezile*, Adam de la Halle describes Charles I as 'panthère', and copies of Nicole de Margival's *panthère* text appear in the will of Clemence of Hungary (1293–1328), great-granddaughter of Charles I.¹⁵⁹ It is possible, but unprovable, that Nicole de Margival served at the Angevin court in the Regno in the late thirteenth century, and that his *Dit du panthère* is a product of his service there.

Along with the emergence of multiple textual versions of the *Trois morts* tradition during the thirteenth century, there also developed a parallel iconographical scheme of representation of the story, which was enormously popular from the late thirteenth to the mid fifteenth centuries.¹⁶⁰ This iconographical tradition found fullest expression in France although, like the textual tradition with which it was associated, its influence was also felt in Italy and Germany, before eventually spreading to England. The oldest surviving version of this iconographical tradition resides in Italy, located on the walls of a rupestrian church of Santa Margherita, Melfi, one of a number of Byzantine rock churches in Basilicata.¹⁶¹ Since its rediscovery by Giambattista Guarini in 1899, the dating of the fresco was, for a long time, something of an enigma for art historians.¹⁶² Pia Vivarelli achieved a breakthrough in its contextualisation. In revising the dating of the nearby frescoes of another Melfitian rock church, Santa Lucia, from the late eleventh century (1092) to the late thirteenth century (1292), Vivarelli attributed

¹⁵⁸ See Eliza Zingesser, 'The Vernacular Panther: Encyclopedism, Citation, and French Authority in Nicole de Margival's *Dit de la panthère*', *Modern Philology*, 109.3 (2012), 301–11. Also of interest are Nicole's references to Adam de la Halle in the *Panthère* as 'Adams d'Arras' (ll.1516 and 1569). According to the *Pelerin*, Adam was only known by this designation when he was in the Regno, whereas 'Adam le bossu' was his name in Arras.

¹⁵⁹ Nicole de Margival, *Le Dit de la Panthère*, ed. by Bernard Ribémont (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000), p. 16.

¹⁶⁰ For its representation in France, see Groupe de recherches sur les peintures murales, *Vifs nous sommes, morts nous serons: La rencontre des trois morts et des trois vifs dans la peinture murale en France* (Vendôme: Cherche-Lune, 2001).

¹⁶¹ The unique allure of southern Italy's cave churches to pilgrims and visitors is suggested in Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage*, pp. 222–23.

¹⁶² Giambattista Guarini, 'Santa Margherita (Cappella Vulturina del Duecento)', *Napoli nobilissima: rivista di topografia ed arte napoletana*, 8 (1899), 113–42.

the same artist's hand to the *Trois morts* fresco in Santa Margherita.¹⁶³ If we follow Vivarelli's thesis, the artist responsible for the Melfitian *Trois morts* fresco was active during the years of Angevin rule in the Regno and not, as earlier scholars had suggested, during the Frederician period. Ferdinando Bologna, who identified Capetian *fleur-de-lys* decoration on the purses carried by the three living men represented in the Melfitian fresco, has endorsed this hypothesis.¹⁶⁴ Noting stylistic similarities between it and Catalonian art of the same period, Bologna linked the composition of the Melfitian *Trois morts* to the return of Charles II to the Regno following his release from Aragonese captivity, suggesting that its composition was a product of the new King's commission upon his release from Aragon and subsequent return to the Regno.¹⁶⁵

Unavailable to Ferdinando Bologna when he made this hypothesis was Andreas Kiesewetter's detailed reconstruction of Charles II's itinerary, which shows that, following his release from Aragon, he remained for less than six months in the Regno before travelling to France to negotiate a truce between France and Aragon, which was one of the central conditions of his release from captivity.¹⁶⁶ Charles II would not return to the Regno for more than four years, during which time the kingdom was left in the hands of his eldest son, Charles Martel, who would remain under the guardianship of Count Robert II of Artois until 1291. Kiesewetter's study shows that Charles II visited Melfi on only one occasion following his return to the Regno in 1294, and we can see from the extant archival records that the purpose of this visit was as a stopover en route to the eastern coastal towns of Barletta and Bari.¹⁶⁷ For Charles II, then, Melfi was never a destination worth visiting in its own right. As we have already seen, however, Melfi was a key area for Count Robert II in the Regno, as it had been for his uncle,

¹⁶³ Pia Vivarelli, 'Pittura rupestre nell'alta Basilicata: la Chiesa di S. Margherita a Melfi', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 85.2 (1973), 547–85.

¹⁶⁴ Bologna, *I pittori*, pp. 60–61.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Kiesewetter, 'Das Itinerar'.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 181–82.

Charles I.¹⁶⁸ It is altogether more likely, therefore, that the Angevin context to which the Melfitian *Tre morti* fresco should be attributed is that of Count Robert II and his court.

It is striking that BnF, MS f. fr. 25566, a manuscript containing direct and indirect allusions to the literary patronage of Count Robert II, contains three versions of a story whose iconography we find in the region where the Count is known to have spent much of his time during his regency of the Regno. The associations between the Melfitian *Tre morti*, Count Robert II's time in the Regno, and BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 could imply that it was the Count's presence in the Regno which was responsible for transmitting the tradition to Italy. We have seen that, based on its compositional similarities to the nearby Santa Lucia fresco, dated 1292, the Melfitian *Tre morti* is datable to the early years of the 1290s, the same decade in which BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 is thought to have been produced.¹⁶⁹ In considering these frescoes alongside BnF, MS f. fr. 25566, particularly in light of the numerous instances of Robert II's minstrels travelling between northern France and the Regno, we can hypothesise a specific route of transmission which saw the *Trois morts* tradition spread internationally during this period.

As has been seen, Count Robert II of Artois left the Regno in 1291 and was never to return in person. What does the dating of BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 suggest about the manuscript's compositional context, and its relation to both the Melfitian fresco and Count Robert II's departure from the Regno? The manuscript has been variously dated to the late 1290s or early 1300s, based on its decorative features and numerous

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter One of this thesis. My analysis of the records relating to Robert II's itinerary suggests that he spent up to six months in Melfi in 1286, three months there in 1288 and it was where he spent Christmas in 1289. The records after 1289 are patchy, but he was certainly there in May 1291, just before he left the *Regno* to head back to the north.

¹⁶⁹ Vivarelli, 'Pittura rupestre', pp. 547–85.

consistencies with other francophone *chansonniers*.¹⁷⁰ An earlier date is precluded by its two distinct references to the fall of Acre in 1291, contained in two allegorical texts: *Renart le nouvel* (f. 109) by Jacquemart Gielée — written c. 1288 as a continuation of the *Roman de Renart* — and the anonymous *Li dis du vrai aniel* (f. 232), both of which are preserved uniquely in this manuscript.¹⁷¹ As well as their allusions to the loss of the Holy Land, both of these texts make reference to Count Robert II, thus presenting a further way in which the manuscript inscribes itself within the Count’s cultural orbit, and lending weight to the idea that Robert’s influence can be seen in multiple aspects of the manuscript’s composition, and not just within the Adam de la Halle anthology section.

The references to Count Robert II in the *Dis du vrai aniel* are particularly urgent and politicised. The poet-narrator decries the loss of Acre, ‘li vraie pierre’ (l. 397) and calls upon the powers of western Christendom to work together for its recovery.

*Li dis du vrai aniel*¹⁷²

ll. 347–65 and 393–415

Ch’est ou dieus fu de vierge nes.
 Li lieus est vuis et fourmenés;
 Crestien en sont decachie.
 Ch’a bien no aniel deffachie.
 Acre en estoit li vraie pierre,
 Dont li verge n’est mie entiere,
 Ains est froissie en plusieurs lieus;
 Car chiaus que dieus avoit eslieus
 A l’aniel garder et rescourre
 (Ch’est no lieu), nului n’i voi courre.

¹⁷⁰ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, pp. 167–73.

¹⁷¹ Jacquemart Gielée, *Renart le Nouvel*, ed. by Henri Roussel (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1961); *Dis dou vrai aniel: Die Parabel von dem ächten Ringe, französische Dichtung des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Adolph Tobler (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1884).

¹⁷² Quoted from *Dis dou vrai aniel*, pp. 14–16.

Dieus n'i est loës ne siervis,
Ains est nos frans lieus assiervis.
On en doit mout coser le pape
Et les grans segneurs; cascuns hape
Le grant mueble et le grant avoir,
Que li ouvrier doivent avoir
Ki l'aniel saroient refaire.
Mais il pensent a autre afaire:
Cardonnal, evesque et abé
[...]
Car on voit les segneurs des terres,
Ki sur lor viles font grans guerres,
Si que nus ne s'i puet garir;
Et si pöés vous bien vëir
Que no lois est mout avillie
Et crestientés essillie.
Mais se dieus, ki tant a poissance,
Donnoit trois prinches connoissance,
Tes que je les saroie eslire,
On pourroit bien canter et lire
De le sequenche dou haut jour.
Si nommeroie sans sejour
Chelui ki a pensee franche,
Ch'est **no seigneur le roi de Franche**;
Car mout est vaillans et courtois.
Et s'i seroit **li quens d'Artois**,
Robiers, ki mout s'est travillies
Por le loi dieu et essillies,
Ki adies a esté entiers.
Li quens de Flandres seroit tiers
Ki mout est vaillans et gentieus.
Par ches trois porroit bien li fieus
Iestre remis en poësté,
[...]

Alongside the King of France, ‘no segneur’ and the Count of Flanders, the text names Count Robert II as a potential restorer of Christian rule in the Holy Land, presenting him as an idealised crusader. As the text’s editor has suggested, Count Robert II’s privileged position in this text is indicated by the fact that he is the only one of the leaders mentioned specifically by name.¹⁷³ Since the reference to the fall of Acre provides a *terminus post quem* of 1291, then the reference to Count Robert II as one of its potential saviours of the Holy Land provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1302, the year of his death at the Battle of Courtrai. Adolf Tobler has seen in the side-by-side convocation of the French King, Count Robert II of Artois and the Count of Flanders a *terminus ante quem* of August 1294, when Guy of Dampierre’s pact with the King of England, which proved to be a key trigger for the ensuing Franco-Flemish war, would have prohibited such an alliance.¹⁷⁴ While I agree with Tobler that the political and, eventually, military conflict between the houses of France and Flanders is key to the contextual understanding of this poem, my interpretation of its relevance, and therefore my view of the dating of this text, stands apart from Tobler’s interpretation, as will be explained below.

The poet-narrator turns to contemporary events to lay the blame for the fall of Acre with two segments of society: the Church, for its lack of oversight in the Holy Land, and its diversion of crusading funds; and the nobility, which has been too concerned with in-fighting to come to the assistance of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The poet-narrator continues with this line of argument to suggest that the ills of the Church and the loss of the Holy Land could be rectified if the French King, Robert II of Artois and the Count of Flanders received ‘connoissance’ of the situation from God. This argument is not precluded by the outbreak of conflict between France and Flanders

¹⁷³ *Dis dou vrai aniel*, p. xvi.

¹⁷⁴ *Dis dou vrai aniel*, p. xvi.

but, I would like to suggest, motivated by it.¹⁷⁵ For what seems impossible in the actual world does not prevent its enactment in the textual world: in referring to an alliance between the three great powers of northern Europe in the same breath as accusing those who ‘sor lur viles font grans guerres’ for contributing, by their neglect, to the crisis in the Holy Land, the argument, both explicitly here and symbolically through the recounting of the *Three Rings* parable, is that of cooperation between Christian powers in order to correct the ills of the Church and so to recover the Holy Land. That the writer would have felt the incentive to express such a view during a time of war between Christian powers seems more likely than during a time of peace; furthermore the text’s use of the conditional tense defers the actualisation of this reconciliation to an as-yet-unknown, hypothetical period in time. I suggest that this text is therefore a three-fold entreaty: for peace between the Houses of France and Flanders, for the alliance of Christian forces for the recovery of the Holy Land, and for the reform of the Church.

This implied agenda for peaceful reconciliation between the Houses of France and Flanders decreases the likelihood that the manuscript was produced under Count Robert II’s direct patronage. The northern conflict undoubtedly placed him in a difficult situation since he had, through disagreements beyond his control, become the enemy of the Dampierre family in Flanders, a family with which he had been closely allied during his service in the Regno, as we have seen by his friendship with Philip of Chieti, and the shared cultural networks he was involved in, as invoked by Adenet le Roi in *Cléomadès*. Despite this difficult and conflicting position, it is incongruous to imagine that he would have surreptitiously supported petitions for peace between France and Flanders at the same time as leading the French military force against Flanders, which

¹⁷⁵ The French king referenced here is Philip IV and the Count of Flanders is Guy of Dampierre.

resulted in his death in 1302. It was as a warrior, not a peacekeeper, upon which his reputation was founded.¹⁷⁶

To recap on our discussion so far, we have seen that BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 invokes the memory of Adam de la Halle and his poetic achievement and, by association, the memory of Count Robert II of Artois, Adam's patron in Artois and the Regno. We have also seen that the manuscript contains textual versions of contemporary iconographical frescoes in the Regno, which can be connected to Angevin networks in Melfi in the years surrounding the regency of Count Robert II. We have briefly touched on the potential southern-Italian context for Adenet le Roi's *Cléomadès*, and the possibility that the text was produced under the shared patronage of Robert II of Artois and Philip of Chieti, youngest son of Guy of Dampierre. We have discussed the ways in which the *Dis du vraie aniel* engages with Count Robert II's public reputation, and its petition for peace among the warring aristocratic families in the north. On multiple levels and across multiple texts, therefore, BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 suggests its association with Count Robert II during his time in the Regno.

Despite the fact that the contents of the manuscript display numerous allusions to Robert II of Artois, its heraldic decoration complicates the idea of an association with Robert II of Artois. For the principal arms contained in the manuscript, and which have been used as a basis for ascribing its compositional context, do not relate in any way to the county of Artois. Before evaluating previous attempts to contextualise the manuscript based on its heraldry, let us first consider the many layers of heraldic symbolism which appear in the manuscript's highly planned and finely detailed decorative scheme.

Heraldic decoration forms an integral part of the manuscript's composition from the very first folio and influences our interpretation of the texts which it contains. The

¹⁷⁶ Chester Jordan, 'Count Robert's 'Pet' Wolf', p. 407.

Capetian *fleur-de-lys* decorates the background of the opening miniature of the Adam de la Halle anthology section of the manuscript, in which a man, presumably Adam himself, is shown to be reading from a written text to a seated audience before him. The text depicted in the miniature mirrors the opening words of the first text contained in the manuscript: ‘Damourous cuer uoel canter pour auoir’ (f. 10). This *mise en abyme* presents the manuscript as an integral part of the performance of the works which it contains, and represents its use by none other than Adam de la Halle himself. The miniature therefore functions as a pictorial enactment of the oral performance of Adam’s verse. The inclusion of the *fleur-de-lys* as a background to the depiction of the reception of Adam’s songs signals to the reader, immediately upon opening the manuscript, that it is aligned with the House of France. This alignment with the French crown is again reinforced on f. 23v, at the beginning of the section entitled ‘les partures adan’, which shows a miniature depicting two figures, one wearing a crown, against the same *fleur-de-lys* background as included on f. 10. Since the crowned figure lacks other markers of royalty, such as the orb and sceptre, as depicted in the representation of kingship elsewhere in the manuscript,¹⁷⁷ and since its stature is shorter than that of the figure standing next to him, his crowning is likely to be that of a poet at a *puy* rather than a king. Furthermore, his red robe is the same as that worn by the Adam figure at the beginning of the manuscript, and suggests that we are, once again, presented with a pictorial representation of Adam giving a performance of his own works, an interpretation which is reinforced by the hand gestures and inward-facing stance of both figures. The repetition of the *fleur-de-lys* suggests the performance of Adam’s works within a courtly context and, by extension, the essential courtliness of the works themselves. In contrast, however, the absence of heraldry from the miniature commencing the *Pelerin* (f. 37v) signals that this text and its performance belong to a

¹⁷⁷ For example, see the description of the manuscript’s visual representation of King Auberon above.

world outside the physical and symbolic sphere of the court, in which different rules apply. In a similarly performative mode, therefore, the absence of heraldry in the miniature depicts the pilgrim performing his monologue to an outdoor audience; the trappings of royal display, represented through the heraldic decoration of the earlier miniatures, is here displaced by a rustic scene befitting the rustic speech the pilgrim makes. The manuscript as a whole is undoubtedly a record of written rather than oral reception of the works that it contains, as can be seen by the Latin glosses at the beginning of the *Consaus damours* (f. 207v), but it is also a performative record of how Adam's texts reached their audience, both in the world of the court, bound by poetic and symbolic conventions, and also outside that highly stylised realm, where heraldic identification is displaced by the pilgrim's rusticism. In contrast to Adam's songs, associated with courtly splendour, the pilgrim's speech represents something external, outside the codified ceremony of courtly display. This staging does not mean, of course, that the text was not performed to courtly audiences, but that it signalled to those audiences that they were entering a world beyond the codified rules of court life.

This idea is continued in the miniature preceding the pilgrim's companion text, *Robin et Marion* (f. 39), which does not ascribe heraldic markings to its pictorial representation of the knight, thus rendering him a symbolic image of aristocratic knighthood rather than a specific representation of an individual chivalric hero, in direct contrast to the miniature depicting Charles I, which we discussed above. Here the miniature serves to decorate a rustic, non-courtly pastoral text, in which the knight's superior status is displaced as he is outwitted by the shepherd and the shepherdess.¹⁷⁸ This sense of remoteness from court culture is continued by the subsequent miniature on f. 48v, a visual enactment of the performance of the *Jus adans* depicting an outdoor environment without the trappings of courtly display. With its multiple references to

¹⁷⁸ Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, pp. 163–66.

civic life in Arras, the play belongs to a mercantile, non-courtly milieu outside the aristocratic order, in which the symbolism of heraldry, and therefore, the usual rules of courtly privilege, have no place.

With the inclusion of the text of the *Roi de Sezile* (f. 59v), however, the manuscript's staging of its own performance returns to a courtly setting, with the visual representation of King Charles I on horseback providing a striking contrast to that of the symbolic knight in *Robin et Marion*. At the beginning of the text celebrating the achievements of Charles I, a miniature represents him in full heraldic garb. The *fleur-de-lys* decoration of the manuscript's opening miniatures is recalled here in a specifically Angevin context, which presents Charles I as a valiant knight wearing the full trappings of courtly display. This representation of Charles I as knight (rather than a king) bears a striking resemblance to another surviving miniature representing Charles I in a lyric anthology, namely his depiction in the so-called *Chansonnier du Roi* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fonds français 844). John Haines has suggested that the songbook was owned by the Villehardouin family of the Morea before entering the possession of the Angevin court in Italy in 1267 at the signing of the Treaty of Viterbo when control over the Morea passed to Charles I.¹⁷⁹ Haines has further suggested that the manuscript had been originally commissioned by Charles of Anjou (as he was then known) in the 1250s for the Villehardouin family. The passing back and forth of this elaborate volume between the Angevins and the Villehardouins shows the role of luxury codices in establishing interdynastic networks, the terms of which changed with the rise and fall of political influence and social status. The similarity of the visual representation of Charles I in BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 to that of the *Chansonnier du Roi*, thought to have been commissioned by Charles himself, illustrates a degree of

¹⁷⁹ Haines, 'The Songbook', p. 91.

continuity in their representation of Charles as a poetic subject, perhaps another sign of BnF, MS f. fr. 25566's participation in Angevin literary networks.

In the examples so far discussed, heraldic decoration is used as a gloss on the social code represented by the texts with which it is associated. A different application of heraldic symbolism can be seen in the manuscript's three full-page illuminations which, as we have said, were extremely unusual in secular manuscripts of this kind.¹⁸⁰ In these folios, heraldry is not used as a part of the mimetic representation, but displayed outside the mimesis, beyond the frame of the text, alongside the faces of an imaginary audience, who are shown to be peering into the narrative scene from outside. As such, it is these heraldic designs which have been seen as evidence for the patronage of the manuscript. The heraldic shields depicted here are *or a lion sable* and *argent a cross gules charged with 5 shells or*.¹⁸¹ The arms *or a lion sable* are associated with the heraldry of Flanders and Hainault, and have been linked to the Dampierre family, specifically Guy of Dampierre; the arms of the *argent a cross gules charged with 5 shells or* have been associated with the Hangest family. Despite the apparent certainty with which these shields have been attributed to the Dampierre and Hangest families, no stable attribution to a specific member of either family has been possible.¹⁸² Furthermore, no likely context has been posited for an alliance between these two families; in fact, the Hangest family was allied to the French cause during the Franco-Flemish war, and so it has been impossible to ascribe a context to the shared patronage of this manuscript by these two families who represented opposing sides in the struggle.¹⁸³ These heraldic attributions also sit uncomfortably alongside the

¹⁸⁰ See Stones, 'Some northern French', pp. 178–82.

¹⁸¹ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, p. 172.

¹⁸² Alison Stones, 'Another note on fr. 25566 and its illustrations', in *Musical Culture*, pp. 77–94 (p. 87).

¹⁸³ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, pp. 167–73.

manuscript's Artesian features, as well as its multi-layered allusions to Count Robert II of Artois's service in the Regno.

I would like to suggest, here, a new heraldic attribution for the manuscript and, therefore, an alternative context of production. While the *or a lion sable* arms in the manuscript's full-page illustrations undoubtedly belong to the Dampierre family, it has not yet been considered that, rather than the product of co-patronage, the manuscript could have been produced under the patronage of a single member of the international Dampierre family who held multiple lands, titles and arms. Returning to our discussion of Philip of Chieti, while there is no surviving evidence of the appearance of his shield, recent evidence has emerged of his coinage, produced in Flanders after his return there in 1303, and of the seals which he used in his correspondence.¹⁸⁴ In both his coinage and seals, his heraldry features, along with the Lion of Flanders, variant numbers of scallops. In his discussion of the origin of these scallops, Marc Gheerardijn has suggested that their origin remains a mystery, but may relate to Philip's service in Angevin Italy.¹⁸⁵ It is possible that the appearance of the Lion of Flanders along with the scallops on Philip's coinage and seals relates to the conflation of two shields which he may have used during his lifetime. One of these might well have been the same as *argent a cross gules charged with 5 shells or*, which appears in BnF, MS f. fr. 25566.

When war broke out between France and Flanders, Philip's experience and allegiances in the Angevin kingdom meant that he found himself in a unique situation. Although family loyalty dictated his allegiance to the Flemish cause following his return to Flanders in 1302, he had returned from the Regno where he had been serving on behalf of the Angevin court, an offshoot of the House of France, for almost twenty years. The fact that an object of ostensibly Flemish patronage should be so heavily

¹⁸⁴ Gheerardijn, *Historische en Numismatische studie over Filips van Chieti en Loreto*, pp. 52–59.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

inscribed with direct and indirect references to Count Robert II, during a period in which Flanders and Artois represented opposing sides in the Franco-Flemish war, can perhaps be explained when we consider the long stretches of time during which Philip and Robert were together in the Regno. In this case, the production of BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 would memorialise personal allegiance over political enmity. It would suggest that francophone literary texts of this period, and the manuscripts which bore them, had the potential to transcend enemy fault lines as conduits of accords and personal friendships.

Alison Stones has pointed out that the three surviving full-page illuminations in BnF, MS f. fr. 25566, have been produced from thicker, larger-sized parchment and by a more sophisticated artist than that of the rest of the manuscript.¹⁸⁶ Could we be looking, here, at a manuscript whose textual contents were produced in the orbit of Robert II of Artois in the Regno, which subsequently came into the possession of his friend Philip of Chieti, who then added his personal heraldic programme? Or was this manuscript deliberately conceived as a work which undercuts the turbulence of the Franco-Flemish war in order to invoke the memory of the Regno where opposing sides in the war had worked cooperatively together in the Angevin kingdom?

Although the historical record falls silent regarding the detail of Philip's role throughout this turbulent time, the rare glimpses we have of him are as a peacemaker. He was tasked by his father with convincing the Pope to support the Flemish and later, against his father's wishes, he gave homage to the French king after the Flemish victory at the Battle of Courtrai.¹⁸⁷ Having spent his career protecting the interests of the Capetian-Angevin dynasty in the Regno, he appears to have been unwilling to take up an offensive stance against the House of France, at the same time as offering his support

¹⁸⁶ Although the full-size miniatures relate closely to the texts which accompany them through their inclusion of quotations from the texts and depictions of their scenes. See Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, p. 172.

¹⁸⁷ Dunbabin, *The French*, pp. 126–27, 130.

to his family in Flanders. He had, after all, spent almost twenty years allied to the Angevin cause, a dynasty directly descended from the Capetians, and only left the Regno out of necessity, to govern the county of Flanders while his father and brothers were held captive by Philip IV the Fair.¹⁸⁸ He left Flanders and returned to the Regno, which he undoubtedly considered his home, as soon as he possibly could.¹⁸⁹

In this context, it is tempting to see the commissioning of our manuscript as part of a political programme to promote the continuing loyalty of France, Artois and Flanders and to relieve the increasing tensions between these politically rivalrous families by promoting the personal networks and cooperation which they fostered in the Regno. The manuscript's inclusion of works by Adam de la Halle, and their promotion of Robert II's cultural prestige, acted as a souvenir of the cooperation between Philip and Count Robert II in southern Italy. The production of the manuscript therefore sought to enact the warming of relations between the leading houses of northern Europe, a desire which is explicitly invoked in the *Dis du vrai aniel*. Furthermore, the use of a manuscript to cement aristocratic loyalties in the Regno had a precedent in the gifting of the *Chansonnier du Roi* following the enactment of the Treaty of Viterbo. In memorialising the poetic achievement of Count Robert II's court in the Regno, the commissioning of this manuscript also memorialised the bond of friendship between Philip and Robert.

Angevin allies from the north, such as Robert II of Artois and Philip of Chieti, opened up routes of transmission for the interchange of southern-Italian and northern-European literary culture during the 1290s. Like the documentary evidence for the itinerancy of Robert II's minstrels during this period, BnF, MS f. fr. 25566 offers tantalising insights into a fluid world of literary exchange which crossed territorial and political borders. For an internationally orientated northern aristocracy, the Angevins'

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

adventure in southern Italy brought about new routes of transmission for its own court culture and, in turn, the absorption of external cultural influences. It also offered a canvas on to which could be projected new alliances and friendships, even when these were at odds with established political rivalries. The effects of these new cultural contacts would be felt well into the fourteenth century and beyond, and would influence the development of both northern-European and southern-Italian literary culture.

Figure 11: Itinerary of Count Robert II of Artois (from April 1292 to June 1302)

Analysis taken from de Loisne, 'Itinéraire de Robert II', p. 375–83.

Key: Grey shading = information unavailable; blue shading = we can infer that he remained in the last named place.

	1292	1293	1294	1295	1296	1297	1298	1299	1300	1301	1302
January			Paris	Boulogne-sur-mer, Montdidier	Paris	Paris	Desvres	Paris	Arras, Paris	Hesdin, Arras, Paris	
February		Corbeil, Melun	Paris	Paris, Hesdin	Paris	Orthez, Bordeaux	Hesdin, Paris, Saint-Omer	Paris	Longchamps	Paris	Hesdin, Paris, Vincennes, Béthune
March		Aire-sur-la-Lys	Hesdin, Montargis	Saint-Omer, Calais, Boulogne-sur-mer	Saint-Omer, Arras, Bapaume, Metz-en-Couture, Cantimpré		Hesdin, Calais	Calais, Eperlecques, Hesdin, Tournehem, Saint-Omer, Fauquembergues, Domfrony	Poissy, Hesdin, Arras	Saint-Omer, Sainte-Colombe-de-Blandecques, Hesdin, Arras, Paris	Hesdin, Bapaume, Ecouchy
April	Boulogne sur mer, Avesnes-le-Comte, Paris, Lucheux, Hesdin, Montargis	Hesdin, Pontoise	Hesdin		Paris, Cléry, Montrichard, Vivonne, Angoulême, Ribérac, Monréjeau, Mussidan	Saint-Macaire	Anet, Paris, FermaincourtIvry		Arras, Hesdin		Saint Mandé, Paris
May	Pauillac	Pontoise	Paris, Pontoise, Roye, Hesdin	Paris	Eymet, Langon, Bazas, Mont-de-Marsan, Capsus, Petit-Bersac, Canals, Cartou				Arras		Arras

June			Arras		Mont-de-Marsan, Montségur, Sainte-Foy	Paris	Paris, Miraumont, Hesdin	Paris, Melun		Hesdin	Coutrai (died)
July	Paris, Pontoise	Saint-Omer, Hesdin	Saint-Omer, Hesdin	Paris, Calais	Fronsac, Brugnac	Lens	Saint-Omer, Tournehem, Huplande, Desvres, Neufchâtel, Hesdin	Paris, Arras	Arras	Calais	
August	Paris	Vincennes, Paris, Pontoise, Arras				Lille, Aire-sur-la-Lys, Saint-Omer, Pont-à-Vendin, Furnes	Arras, Hesdin, Les Eclusiers, Paris	Arras, Boulogne-sur-mer, Paris	Saint-Omer		
September	Saint Mandé	Arras, Hesdin	Calais, Paris	Arras, Bapaume	Mont-de-Marsan, La Réole	Engelmonster	Paris	Arras, Compiègne, Paris	Saint-Omer, Avesnes-le-comte, Paris	Arras	
October	Paris	Paris, Avesnez-lez-Bapaume	Saint-Omer, Pont-Sainte-Maxence	Paris		Coutrai	Compiègne, Cambrai, Arras	Paris	Villers-Coterets, Saint-Pierre	Senlis	
November		Hesdin, Bray-sur-Somme	Compiègne, Paris	Paris, Arras		Saint-Germain, Paris	Hesdin, Arras, La Folie, Hesdin	Hesdin, Cambrai			

December		Melun, Saint-Mandé, Paris, Verberie		Arras, Saint-Omer, Hesdin, Paris		Saint-Omer, Arras, Creil	Rémy, Grandcourt, Paris	Les Loges	Arras	Hesdin	
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Chapter Four

The Loss of Sicily and the Fall of Jerusalem: Charles II's Recovery Treatise, *Floriant et Florete* and *Enfances Renier*

Due in part to the enormous difficulty of conducting transnational medieval research, the rule of King Charles II (r. 1289–1309) remains largely uncharted territory for medieval studies.¹ As a ruler of a southern-Italian kingdom descended from the House of France with an expansive, internationally orientated political programme, Charles II's reign challenges the nation-orientated cultural roadmap we have conceptualised for the Middle Ages in the modern era. It is precisely why his court should be of interest to those concerned with the development of francophone culture in regions outside France.²

Naples-centric studies of Charles II's reign have identified his rule as the beginning of a gradual Neapolitanisation of the Angevin court, enacted through an enormous programme of church building and administrative centralisation in Naples.³ It has been noted that this period marked the disappearance of the French language from Angevin diplomatic correspondence and its court culture became less 'French'.⁴ As we have already seen earlier in this thesis, however, the cultural agendas of Charles II's successors to the throne, namely his son, King Robert (r. 1309–1343) and great-granddaughter Joanna (r. 1343–1382), encompassed the promotion of francophone

¹ 'The loss of the Angevin registers means that basic material has to be sought from huge numbers of archives and printed collections; this, together with the problem of co-ordinating Charles II's Neapolitan, Provençal, French, Piedmontese, Hungarian, Albanian, Achaian, and Palestinian interests, has put off most aspiring scholars', Jean Dunbabin, review of Andreas Kiesewetter, *Die Anfänge der Regierung König Karls II. Von Anjou (1278–1295): Das Königreich Neapel, die Grafschaft Provence und der Mittelmeerraum zu Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts* (1999), *The International History Review*, 22.3 (2000), 623–24 (p. 623). While Kiesewetter's study is important for understanding the political events of Charles II's reign, it does not begin to assess the cultural climate of Charles II and his court.

² '[B]y focussing on Charles II of Sicily, it is possible to view the rise of a Capetian branch from a Mediterranean rather than a northern French perspective', Davies, 'Marriage', p. 17.

³ For Charles II's architectural programme, see Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, pp. 75–131; for the increasing bureaucratic centralisation see Kiesewetter, 'La cancelleria angioina'.

⁴ According to Andreas Kiesewetter, after the death of Charles I, the employment of French in the Angevin administration 'cadde definitivamente in disuso'. See Kiesewetter, 'Il governo e l'amministrazione', p. 63.

literary texts which served to revive the memory of their ancestors in the Regno and to glorify Angevin achievements in Italy.⁵ French-language writing, in this way, provided a specific mode of discourse for the later Angevins to engage with their dynastic past; it implies that they saw themselves as heirs to a francophone dynastic legacy, and suggests that we should be cautious in concluding that French-language writing was confined to the initial period of Angevin rule.⁶

With the perspective in mind of how French-language writing would later develop at the Angevin court during the fourteenth century, it is striking that in the early 1290s, Charles II was named as the author of a francophone text concerned with the recovery of the Holy Land following the fall of Acre in 1291, *le Coseill del Roy Karles* (c. 1292–1294).⁷ The aim of this chapter is to consider Charles II's treatise alongside two late thirteenth-century francophone literary works set in Sicily: a romance text, *Floriant et Florete*, and a *chanson-de-geste*, *Enfances Renier*. In both of these texts, insular Sicily is imagined as a francophone kingdom at the heart of an expansive Christian empire.⁸

Floriant et Florete and *Enfances Renier* have been loosely associated with Angevin circles by their modern critics, and this chapter will present further evidence to support this association, specifically in the years following the outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers (1282). Far from being a literary convention, the texts' representations of Sicily carry political overtones which achieve imaginatively that which was impossible politically, namely the restoration of insular Sicily to Angevin rule. Before turning to these texts,

⁵ See discussion in Chapter Two above.

⁶ It is difficult to imagine that the francophone culture supported by Charles II's heirs sprang out of nowhere; it is more likely that francophone literary works continued to find an audience at the Angevin court during the reign of Charles II. As we saw in the Introduction to this thesis, Charles II's wife, Maria of Hungary, owned a number of francophone literary works, and the naming of their children owed much to francophone romance tradition.

⁷ Charles II's concern with the Holy Land, as represented in *le Coseill*, coincided with his attempts to broker peace between the crowns of France and Aragon in order to resolve the crisis in Sicily and to fulfill the terms of his release from Aragonese captivity, see Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 265–66. The interplay between the crises in Sicily and Jerusalem is a central feature of Charles II's reign.

⁸ *Les Enfances Renier*, ed. by Delphine Dalens-Marekovic (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2016); *Floriant et Florete*, ed. by Annie Combes and Richard Trachsler (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003).

let us first look in detail at the political treatise nominally written by Charles II and the context in which it was produced.

Le Coseill del Roy Karles, a first-person treatise written in the name of Charles II, presents itself as an authority on how the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem should be recaptured following the fall of Acre in 1291. It survives uniquely in a fourteenth-century Cypriote Hospitaller manuscript.⁹ Charles II's nominal authorship of the text demonstrates, at the very least, that it was a credible possibility that the King of the Regno would continue to engage French as a mode of political discourse at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁰ The text is one of the earliest examples of a so-called 'recovery treatise', a genre which came to light at the end of the thirteenth century following a papal request for advice on how the recovery of the Holy Land should be undertaken.¹¹

Ostensibly dating to the period from 1292 to 1294, the *Coseill* presents Charles II as arguing against the idea of a crusade to the Holy Land. Against the backdrop of the siege of Acre in 1291, during which the army of the Emir of Egypt captured the city from its Latin settlers, the text shows Charles II advocating a blockade around the main Egyptian harbour cities as a means of cutting off the Sultanate from international trade in luxury wares and slavery. While nineteenth-century critics praised Charles II for his pioneering pragmatism, recent studies have highlighted the derivative nature of the text's proposals, which draw their ideas from pre-existing treatises by Raymond Lull and others.¹²

By engaging in contemporary debate concerning the recovery of the Holy Land, Charles II's treatise is structured according to the established norms of medieval

⁹ For a recent and illuminating study of the manuscript see Morreale, 'The Hospitaller's Hand'. Morreale considers the text to have been a collaboration between Charles and his Hospitaller associates.

¹⁰ For a convincing study of the use of French in this text see *ibid.*, pp. 135–47.

¹¹ G. I. Bratinau, 'Le conseil del Roy Charles', *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, 19 (1942), 353–61. The text survives in a fourteenth-century manuscript associated with the Order of Saint Jean of Jerusalem, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 6049.

¹² Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 110.

diplomatic correspondence and, as such, performs an official, authoritative function seeking to influence international political discourse.¹³ The text aligns in content and form with several other treatises of the period, indicating its author's self-conscious engagement with a specific mode of international diplomacy.¹⁴ Whereas the majority of such treatises were written in Latin, the choice of French as the language for Charles II's official, public correspondence on the matter of the Holy Land, when it is clear that the rest of his administration was transacted through Latin, reflects the treatise's concern with the military orders, the international nature of its intended audience, and provides further evidence that French continued to be the *lingua franca* of the Crusader States at the end of the thirteenth century. Laura Morreale's recent study of the *Coseill* addresses 'how the use of French in this short treatise served the communicative needs of the international networks to which the author, audience, and copyist belonged'.¹⁵

Connections between the Regno and Jerusalem had been established from the very beginning of Angevin rule in the south, thanks in part to the status of the Angevin conquest of 1265 as a crusade. In the francophone recruiting songs performed in promotion of Charles I's descent into Italy, the crusade to the Regno is overtly linked to the crusades to the Holy Land.¹⁶ Furthermore, both insular Sicily and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem were territories, in nominal terms at least, over which the Angevins had claimed sovereignty since the early years of their rule in the Regno: insular Sicily represented the base from which the Regno had been ruled by the Angevins' Norman and Swabian predecessors and formed part of the historic heartland of the Christianisation of the Regno; and the crown of Jerusalem had been claimed by

¹³ Morreale, 'The Hospitaller's Hand', pp. 143–44.

¹⁴ See Anthony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: the Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 16–24.

¹⁵ Morreale, 'The Hospitaller's Hand', p. 137.

¹⁶ 'Qu'a l'arme vuet doner santei | Oie de Puille l'errement! | Diex a son regne abandonei: | Li sien le nos vont presentant | Qui de la Terre ont sarmonei', Rutebeuf, *La chanson de Pouille*, quoted in Dunbabin, 'Charles of Anjou: Crusaders and Poets', p. 152.

Charles I since 1277, when he purchased the titular rights to the kingdom from Maria of Antioch.¹⁷

Both insular Sicily and the Kingdom of Jerusalem were irretrievably lost to the Angevins during Charles II's reign. In the case of insular Sicily, what started out as a local uprising against Angevin troops near Palermo at Easter 1282 led to an international war between, on the one side, the Angevin-Papal alliance which was supported by the Kingdom of France, and on the other side, an Aragonese-Sicilian alliance which was initially supported by the Emperor of Constantinople.¹⁸ The fallout from the Sicilian Vespers would define political relations across Western Europe for the next decade and beyond.

Since western Christianity was engulfed in a war with itself, it lacked capacity to deal with its decreasing grip on the Holy Land. Contemporaries made connections between the outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 and the loss of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem following the siege of Acre in 1291. A circular letter written by Marino Sanudo in 1328, for example, makes clear that, with hindsight, he saw Christianity's loss of the Holy Land as a direct consequence of the Angevins' loss of insular Sicily during the Sicilian Vespers:

ex qua guerra Siciliae, ut scitis, provenerunt tot mala Christianitati, propter quam mortuus excellentissimus Rex Franciae Philippus, filius Sancti Lodoyci, et Rex Petrus Aragonae, et quamplurimi Barones et Nobiles et populi infiniti et dispendium sine mesura et potest dici quod Acon et residuum Terrae Sanctae propter hoc amissum est.¹⁹

¹⁷ Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, p. 59.

¹⁸ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 214–19.

¹⁹ Marino Sanudo Torsello, 'Letters', in *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionum, et regni Francorum Hierosolimitani historia a variis, sed illius aevi scriptoribus, litteris commendata*, ed. by J. Bongars, 2 vols (Hannover: Aubrii, 1611), II, p. 305. 'As you know, from the Sicilian wars so many evils arose, resulting in the deaths of the most excellent king of France, Philip son of Saint Louis, Pedro

As Norman Housley has explained, for Marino Sanudo, ‘the Italian wars were, in fact, the principal cause of the disunity of the Christian Republic, a disunity which could lead to its downfall at the hands of its Muslim and pagan enemies’, such that ‘when the last Syrian ports fell in 1291, Angevin manpower, money and diplomatic energy were fully occupied by the grim struggle for southern Italy and Sicily’.²⁰

Insular Sicily and Jerusalem represented more than just geographical territory for western Christianity during this period: both were endowed with imaginative and symbolic status. The significance of the fall of Acre, and Christianity’s resulting loss of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, went far beyond territorial defeat for the western Christian world. Equally, the Angevins’ loss of Sicily to the Aragonese-sponsored rebellion of 1282 held deeply symbolic resonance for Charles II and his dynasty. Although Charles I had established his rule on the mainland of the Regno, the island of Sicily had been the centre of the kingdom under the Norman-Hohenstaufen dynasty. As the naval gateway to the eastern Mediterranean, insular Sicily had been strategically essential to the earlier crusades and was endowed with symbolic as well as practical value as a stopping place for naval journeys to the Holy Land. Its loss by the Angevins during the Sicilian Vespers not only deprived the dynasty of an economically productive territory but also of its ambitions to dominate the eastern Mediterranean and the platform from which any

of Aragon, many barons and nobles and innumerable others. The cost is immeasurable. It can be said that Acre and the rest of the Holy Land have been lost on account of them.’ Translation from Sherman Roddy, ‘The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971), p. 196.

²⁰ Housley, *Italian Crusades*, p. 90 and ‘Charles II of Naples’, p. 530. Furthermore, the territorial disunity of the southern Mediterranean was matched in northern Europe by a series of conflicts that brought the houses of England, France and Flanders into almost continuous war. Crippled by internal conflict, western Christendom was unable to confront its external enemies and lost its last outpost in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Acre, to the Sultan of Egypt in 1291. See Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 74–91.

attempt to reclaim the Holy Land could be launched. The loss of Sicily was, therefore, tied up both practically and imaginatively with the loss of the Holy Land.²¹

Charles II's public intervention in the matters of the Holy Land in the form of a francophone recovery treatise is intriguing, particularly when we consider the overall dearth of francophone material to have survived from his reign. Laura Morreale has argued convincingly that the use of French in this treatise, and its inclusion within a Hospitaller anthology, points to Charles II's alliance with the Hospitaller Order in Provence. She has suggested that the *Coseill* constituted Charles II's public endorsement of the Order at a precarious point in its history, and an overtly political gesture in support of its exile to Cyprus following the fall of Acre in 1291.²² Since Charles II had inherited the title of 'King of Jerusalem' following the death of Charles I in 1285, and still continued to use it, his support of the Hospitallers carried some political weight.²³ According to Morreale, the use of French in the treatise was also designed to reflect the francophone correspondence practices of the Hospitaller Order.²⁴

Alongside the international, diplomatic function of French during this time, and the *Coseill*'s associations with the Hospitaller Order, there might also be a local, familial context for Charles II's public authorship of this francophone work. As surviving examples of recovery treatises demonstrate, the *Coseill*'s composition in French was unusual within the genre, with most other surviving recovery texts written in Latin.²⁵ For Charles II, however, the son of a self-styled crusading hero, his nominal association with a treatise written in French created an implicit connection to the memory of his father and to previous Capetian achievement in the Holy Land. Charles I was himself

²¹ Stephen Davies points out that Charles II was 'determined to keep the kingdom of Jerusalem associated with that of Sicily in being passed on to his primary heir'. See Davies, 'Marriage', p. 149.

²² Morreale, 'The Hospitaller's Hand', pp. 141–42.

²³ For background on the Angevins' claim to these titles, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 220–24.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²⁵ The *Via ad Terram Sanctam* was also written in French although this text's limited circulation was unlikely to have influenced the production of the *Coseill*. See Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, p. 18.

cited within a francophone crusading memorandum back in 1273.²⁶ Charles II's authorship of the *Coseill* was an overt and public way to demonstrate his engagement in the affairs of *Outremer*, the protection of Jerusalem, and the continuation of his father's crusading legacy.

Sylvia Schein has argued that Charles II's commitment to the recovery of Jerusalem was secondary to his efforts to bring insular Sicily back under Angevin control. As the records of his negotiations in Avignon reveal, he was willing to lose Jerusalem to Aragon if he could secure the return of the island of Sicily to his rule. Doubtless Charles II's allegiance to the papacy required his support of its missions in the Holy Land, although Schein suggests that this support was offered in lip service to papal authority rather than the result of a genuine commitment to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁷

Although Charles II had to accept the harsh political reality of losing both insular Sicily and Jerusalem during his reign, it did not prevent him from drawing symbolically on the legacy of Angevin rule over these territories. The titles of 'King of Jerusalem' and King of Sicily continued to be promoted by Charles II and his son and heir, Robert, well into the fourteenth century.²⁸ In all practical and political respects, the Angevins had lost control of both territories; despite this, however, they continued to represent themselves as rulers of the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem through heraldic and artistic symbolism.²⁹ It seems likely that both losses were envisaged as a temporary state of affairs, and that the dynasty's rightful claims over insular Sicily and Jerusalem would, one day, be restored.

²⁶ Housley, 'Charles II of Naples', p. 530, n. 17. Housley says that Charles I wrote it, but it seems to be a third-person report on what Charles I supposedly said. Intriguingly, the document is written in French and warrants further investigation. See *MGH, Const.*, III, pp. 587–88.

²⁷ Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, p. 108.

²⁸ Kelly, *The New Solomon*, p. 210.

²⁹ See Diana Norman, 'The Sicilian Connection: Imperial Themes in Simone Martini's St. Louis of Toulouse Altarpiece', *Gesta*, 53.1 (2014), 25–45 (p.29).

We can perceive in the proliferation of recovery treatises during the early years of the fourteenth century the official, public voice of western powers in their attempt to regain the Holy Land. The imaginative reformulation of these ideas can also be seen in two francophone literary texts which circulated during this period, namely the Arthurian romance *Floriant et Florete* and the *chanson-de-geste* *Enfances Renier*.³⁰ Both texts indirectly stage the Angevins' re-appropriation of the island of Sicily within an expansive, eastern-facing Christian empire. The rest of this chapter will investigate how the Angevins' ambitions for territorial recovery were negotiated through these texts, and what they reveal about the imaginative connections between the loss of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and that of insular Sicily in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Both *Floriant et Florete* and *Enfances Renier* draw on Sicilian-Norman literary traditions, while also demonstrating their production during the Angevin era. This suggests that writers in Angevin circles looked back to Norman-Sicilian literary works as a basis for imaginatively exploring the politics of the post-Vespers world. In the case of *Floriant et Florete*, for example, the text draws on a Norman-Sicilian Arthurian tradition.³¹ As will be discussed below, by looking closely at the geographical orientation of its descriptions, we can be more assured of its connections to Angevin circles in the Regno. As for *Enfances Renier*, the text's extended descriptions of the Guelf and Ghibelline conflict has led scholars to date it towards the end of the thirteenth century. As we shall see, its staging of insular Sicily as the cradle of the First Crusade draws a parallel between the triumph of the Guelfs in Italy and the establishment of insular Sicily as a crusading territory, thereby joining the history of the crusades and that of the Christianisation of Sicily within a single narrative. In the context of the late

³⁰ *Enfances Renier* is a later re-working of the so-called Rainoaurt cycle, which forms part of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle.

³¹ The text also contains many borrowings from *Le roumanz de Claris et Laris* which was written after 1268 on account of its reference to the siege of Antioch. See *Claris et Laris*, ed. by Corinne Pierreville (Paris: Champion, 2008).

thirteenth century, when the War of the Sicilian Vespers had been declared a crusade on behalf of the Angevins,³² we might see the establishment of insular Sicily as a crusading territory in *Enfances Renier* as a means of garnering support for the Angevins' attempts to recover the island from the Sicilian-Aragonese rebels.

Despite *Floriant et Florete* and *Enfances Renier* representing different literary genres, their plots contain a number of similarities. In both narratives, a male child is born, is visited by three fairies and is then snatched from his parents. He grows up in a remote location associated with magic and otherworldliness (in *Enfances Renier* this is the Saracen kingdom of Venise;³³ in *Floriant et Florete* this is the magical kingdom belonging to Morgane *la fée* located in Mongibel, or Mount Etna, in Sicily). In both texts, the boy grows up unaware of the circumstances of his birth and, determined to locate his rightful inheritance, sets off to find his true parents. On his way he performs a number of (very long-winded) feats of bravery, before reclaiming his rightful inheritance, marrying an exotic princess and settling in Sicily. In both texts, the hero's ultimate achievement is not, however, found in his Sicilian exploits, but in his crowning as Emperor of Constantinople.³⁴

Enfances Renier forms part of the Rainouart cycle, a spinoff of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle.³⁵ It is clear from Dante's *Commedia* (c. 1320) that both of these cycles were known in Italy by the fourteenth century.³⁶ It is likely that they were known in the Regno much earlier, judging by the prevalence of the representation of Sicily in these

³² The Angevin struggle during the Vespers was declared a crusade in 1283. See Housley, *Italian Crusades*, p. 20.

³³ Scholars have disagreed as to whether this location is to be interpreted as Venice in Italy or as a location in Muslim Spain.

³⁴ For *Floriant*, this is achieved through marriage to Florete, the pagan daughter of the Emperor Filimenis; in *Enfances Renier*, the lacuna in the text's single surviving manuscript denies us the knowledge of how this is achieved, although the fairies' predictions at the beginning of the text assure us that Renier will take the Byzantine throne.

³⁵ The texts of the Rainouart cycle include: *Bataille d'Aliscans*, *Chanson de Guillaume*, *Enfances Vivien*, *Bataille Loquifer*, *Moinage Rainouart*, *Enfances Renier*. Renier appears in *Enfances Renier* as Rainouart's grandson.

³⁶ *Paradiso*, XVIII. 43–48: 'Così per Carlo Magno e per Orlando | due ne seguì lo mio attento sguardo, | com'occhio segue suo falcon volando. | Poscia trasse Guiglielmo, e Rinoardo, | e'l duca Gottifredi la mia vista | per quella croce, e Ruberto Guiscardo'.

texts. Sicily features in several of the texts relating to the Guillaume d'Orange cycle, and it has been suggested that the Sicilian Normans may have written some of the texts belonging to this *chanson-de-geste* tradition during the twelfth century.³⁷ The so-called *Bataille Loquifer*, for example, combines elements of Arthurian legend with *chanson de geste* and survives in two main versions.³⁸ One of these versions, the so-called Vulgate version, contains an extended reference to the text's Sicilian provenance in a prologue contained in four of the eight surviving manuscripts of this version of the text.³⁹ It enters into the orbit of Sicilian culture through the prologue's claim that the text was found by a certain Jendeus / Grandors / Gaudours de Brie of Sicily.⁴⁰

³⁷ Gaston Paris, 'La Sicile dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge', *Romania*, 5 (1876), 108–113 (p. 110).

³⁸ The ten surviving manuscripts of the *Bataille Loquifer* can be split into two distinct versions: the Arsenal/Boulogne (two manuscripts) and the Vulgate (eight manuscripts). The narrative is similar in each version, up to lines 3345 and 3410 respectively, after which they differ greatly. A fragment has also been found which seems unrelated to the Arsenal/Boulogne and Vulgate versions. See *La Bataille Loquifer*, ed. by Monica Barnett, *Medium Ævum Monographs*, 6 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), pp. 1–4.

³⁹ The fourth manuscript is London, British Library, MS Royal 20 D XI, ff. 166–85 which is not cited here as its text is that same as that of the third example (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS fonds français 24369) quoted above.

⁴⁰ Also known as the *Garin de Monglane Cycle*. Scholarship on the *Bataille Loquifer*, and indeed the whole *Rainouart Cycle*, has been patchy and largely dismissive. See Philip E. Bennett, *The Cycle of Guillaume d'Orange or Garin de Monglane: A Critical Bibliography* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004).

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fonds français 1448, f. 290 col. II

Cette chançon est faite grant piece a
Jendeus de brie qui les vers an trova
Por la bonté sit res bien les garda
Ans a nul home ne l'aprist n'ensaigna
Mais grant avoir en ot et recovra
Entor sezile lai ou il conversa
Cant il morut a son fil la laissa
Li cuens G a celui ansaigna
Que la chanson trait et soi et sacha
Et en I livre la mist et seela
Cant il lou sot grant deul en demona
Ans puis ne fut haitiés si devia
Si faitement ceste chanson ala
La mercit deu qui por nos se pena

Bern, Buergerbibliothek MS No. 296, f. 108

Ceste cançons est faite grant pieça
Por voir vous di C et L ans a trouva
Grandors de brie qui les vers en trova
Por sa bonté sit res bien le garda
C'ains a nul home ne le prist n'ensigna
Maint grant avoir en ot et conquest
Entor sessile u li bers conviersa
Quant il fu mors a son fill le douna
Li rois Guill. tant celui losenga
Que la cançon dedevers lui saça
Ens en I livre le mist et saïela
Quant cil le sot grant dolor en mena
Puis ne fu sains tant com il dura
Si fierement cest cançon d'ala
Le merci deu qui le mont estora
Cele a bien fait encore nos en ferra

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fonds français 24369, f. 242v

Ceste chançon est fete grant piece a
Gaudours de brie qui les vers en
Pour sa bonté mlt tres bien l'estora
Maint grant avoir en ot c'on li dona
Entour sezile ou le ber conversa
Quant il mourut a son filz le lesca
Et I frans hons tant celui losenja
Quar la cha[n]son traist a lui et sacha
Quant cil le sot grant duel en demena
Onc puis ne fu hietés si devia
Si faitement cest chançon ala
La merci dieu qui pour nous se pena
S'il a bien fet des ore le saura
Et si vous di ne m'en mescreéz ja

Each of these three versions of the prologue of the Vulgate *Bataille Loquifer* states that the text originated in Sicily where the author (Jendeus de brie / Grandors de brie / Gaudours de brie) guarded it closely, and that it survived after his death only through his son. We might wonder whether this Sicilian attribution applies uniquely to the section of text which has become known to us as the *Bataille Loquifer* (its nineteenth-century title), or to the Rainouart cycle as a whole, whose manuscripts present a continuous narrative cycle in which the boundaries between discrete texts are almost imperceptible.⁴¹ As Joseph J. Duggan has explained, the suggestion in this prologue is that the author did not write the text down, but transmitted it to his audience (and his son) orally.⁴² What follows is a narrative of cultural dispossession, in which a powerful

⁴¹ For example, see J. Runeberg, *Études sur la Geste Rainouart* (Helsinki: Aktiebolaget handelstryckeriet, 1905), p. 35, which shows the difficulty of determining where *Aliscans* ends and *Bataille Loquifer* begins in a manuscript compilation.

⁴² Joseph J. Duggan, 'Le Mode de composition des chansons de geste: Analyse statistique, jugement esthétique, modèles de transmission', *Olifant*, 8.3 (1981), 286–316 (pp. 305–06). Although, as

lord ('Li cuens G' / 'Li rois Guill.' / 'I frans hons') learns the text from the author's son and commits it to writing, thereby disinheriting him of his father's work. Crucially, the prologue tells us, it is thanks to this cultural dispossession that the text has been recopied in its existing versions. Could we see, here, an indirect reference to the appropriation of nativised Norman-Sicilian textual traditions during the Angevin era? The Bern manuscript further evokes an Angevin setting and is unique in suggesting a temporal distance of one-hundred-and-fifty years between the prologue and the original text written by 'Grandors de brie'. The allusion to 'Li rois Guill.', the alleged dispossessor of the text, is evocative of the Norman rulers of Sicily, William I (c. 1120–1166) or William II (1153–1189). If we follow the temporal relationship suggested here between the text of the prologue and that of the *chanson*, then the copying of the Bern manuscript would be placed during the Angevin era.

Floriant et Florete reflects the localised Arthurian traditions of medieval insular Sicily, in particular the nativised tradition of Mount Etna as an alternative Avalon (i.e. the place of King Arthur's eternal abode), which we discussed in the Introduction of this thesis. A *terminus post quem* of 1268 has been suggested for the text on account of its multiple borrowings from *Claris et Laris*, including a reference to the siege of Antioch in 1268 by the Sultan of Egypt.⁴³ A limited insight into the context for the manuscript's early circulation is provided by the accidental inclusion of a paper fragment, dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, of a legal text in Latin. The Latin text (which has now been lost) contained Occitan names, suggesting that it, and by implication *Floriant et Florete*, once circulated in Provence. A number of informal pen marks in the manuscript — 'A madame de riberac seiet rendues' and 'Tres chere amie Margot de

can be seen from the textual similarities between the three manuscripts cited, we are dealing, here, with a written transmission of the text.

⁴³ *Floriant et Florete*, p. XXIV.

Faurie (ou Saume?)’— also offer clues as to the manuscript’s provenance.⁴⁴ The first might be an allusion to Jeanne d’Albret (1305–1357), who married Renaud V de Pons in 1320, to whom the title of Riberac was subsequently transferred. It may be that the reference in the manuscript of *Floriant et Florete* refers to her before her marriage, or perhaps at the end of her life, after Renaud’s death in 1356. It would appear to support the idea that the manuscript circulated in Provence in the first half of the fourteenth century. The context for the reference to ‘Margot de Faurie’ is unclear, although it will be noted that La Faurie is in the Alpine region of southern France. Since the papal court was located in the Provençal city of Avignon from 1309 to 1377, an area with strong connections to the Regno, it seems fitting that a manuscript demonstrating such a clear preoccupation with the rightful rulership of Sicily should be identified with this region.

Although this codicological evidence points to the idea that the surviving manuscript of *Floriant et Florete* spent its early life in Provence, the text itself seems to have been composed in mainland Italy or insular Sicily itself, or at least by a person familiar with the island’s geography, or with access to sources which describe it in detail.⁴⁵ It is notable that within a work whose essentially derivative nature has been repeatedly underscored,⁴⁶ there is a sustained geographical (and, as I shall attempt to show, geopolitical) specificity in the choice of locations in which the action unfolds.

The reality of the Angevin kingdom following the outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 was one of political fracture and territorial disunity, with the Angevins losing control of the insular kingdom while maintaining their grip on the mainland. Because of these circumstances, the Strait of Messina became a border between the Angevin-controlled mainland and the Aragonese-Sicilian island. Repeatedly in *Floriant*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. XXI and n. 21.

⁴⁵ As the text’s recent editors suggest, ‘l’Italie est en effet le seul pays pour lequel les précisions géographiques sont nombreuses [...] l’intérêt de l’auteur est donc décidément ancré sur la Sicile et l’Italie, ce qui n’est pas habituel dans une fiction arthurienne’, *Floriant et Florete*, p. xxvii.

⁴⁶ *Floriant et Florete*, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

et Florete, however, the text presents the Regno as a unified kingdom under the rule of a single monarch, whose authority extends to both sides of the Strait:

Li rois Elyadus ot non,
Rois fu d'une riche contree:
Soe est Sezille la loee,
Qualarbre tint en son demaine
Et Puille qu'est de tot biens plaine.⁴⁷

This description of Sicily as a singular realm is positioned at a pivotal point in the narrative, when Floriant discovers his identity as heir to the Sicilian kingdom. The revelation is conveyed through the voice of Floriant as he reads a letter he has received from Morgane's messenger. The description of Sicily, here, is therefore Morgane's description of the kingdom. The nativised Sicilian-Arthurian tradition which connects Morgane to insular Sicily is here evoked and extended. Morgane's abode, 'Mongibel' (the Arabic name for Mount Etna), is the place where Floriant grows up under her tutelage and, at the end of the text, the place to which he and Florette retire for eternity, to be joined later by King Arthur. Sicily, in *Floriant et Florete*, is a mappable kingdom drawn from lived experience which, as we shall see, corresponds through its geopolitical references to the Angevin kingdom; it is also a magical kingdom whose fate rests in the supernatural powers harnessed by Morgane. With Morgane's letter announcing to Floriant the circumstances of his birth, she is presented here as the prime orchestrator of the narrative, who sets in motion Floriant's journey to Sicily in the company of King Arthur and his court. Within this fantastical narrative, the real-world geographical specificity of the places evoked here, 'Sezille', 'Qualarbre' and 'Puille', serve to emphasise the unity of the kingdom over which Elyadus rules: it is '**une** riche contree' (my emphasis).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 2532–36.

In mapping the geographical extent of Elyadus's kingdom, the text is at pains to emphasise that it includes both the Italian mainland and insular Sicily. The concern to establish the full geographical extent of the Sicilian kingdom is again stressed when King Arthur explains to the Emperor Filimenis the extent of his daughter's territories upon her marriage to Floriant:

Ele n'iert pas mal mariee:
De Suzille sera douee
Dame de Puille iert, jel vous di,
Et de Calarbre autressi,
Molt iert de grant richece plaine.⁴⁸

Although the main action of *Floriant et Florete* unfolds in insular Sicily,⁴⁹ the status of the kingdom as a harmonious whole, connected rather than divided by the Strait of Messina, is repeatedly underscored. Furthermore, in presenting us with a detailed itinerary of Floriant's journeying through his kingdom, the text employs geographically accurate placemarkers which combine to produce an itinerary drawn from local knowledge, suggesting the writer's familiarity with the places described. The journey begins in Messina on the insular side of the kingdom and progresses to Calabria on the mainland. The specificity and accuracy with which the itinerary is described, both in terms of the locations visited and the journey times involved, suggests a degree of familiarity with the places described:⁵⁰

Le Fair prenent outre a nagier,
Em poi d'eure l'ont trespasé,
En **Calarbre** sunt arrivé

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 5523–27.

⁴⁹ Particularly in Palermo, Monreale, and Mongibel / Mount Etna.

⁵⁰ The specificity with which the Sicilian landscape is described, here, stands in contrast to the perfunctory and superficial descriptions of Constantinople. See Megan Moore, 'Hellenism, Islam and exoticism in French medieval romance', *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, 28 (2010–11), 47–73 (pp. 59–64).

A La **Katone** droitement.
 La nuit i prist herbergement
 Rois Florians et sa maisnie.
 L'andemain a l'aube esclarcie
 Resont en lor chemin entré.
 Tant ont dedans .v. jor erré,
 Toute Calarbre ont trespassee,
 Em Puille entrerent la loee,
 Mes dedens .vij. jors la passerent
 En **Terre de Labor** entrerent,
 Passee l'ont dedens quart jor
 N'i firent pas trop lonc sejour.
 Poi ont nului arresteü,
 Au **pont de Chipre** sont venu,
 Cele nuit s'i sont sejourné,
 C'iert li chief de la roiauté
 Rois Floriant, bien le vous di.⁵¹

The realism of this description stands out in what is otherwise a fantastical narrative. Here the Strait of Messina represents a gateway between the island and mainland sides of the kingdom, rather than a border or mark of division. In representing Floriant's journey across the Strait from the island of Sicily to the mainland, the text once again portrays the kingdom as a united whole. The references to 'Le Fair' and 'Terre de Labor' draw on local Norman names for areas of the kingdom. Although the text's modern editors have suggested that 'Le Fair' refers to Capo Faro,⁵² a recent study by William Sayers has shown that the term is actually an Anglo-Norman designation for the Strait of Messina ('le Far de Meschins').⁵³ As Sayers explains, the word *far* 'originated in the French of Normandy and was carried to southern Italy as part of the

⁵¹ *Floriant et Florete*, ll. 6744–63 (emphasis my own).

⁵² *Floriant et Florete*, p. 407 n.1.

⁵³ William Sayers, 'Le Far de Meschines — the Strait of Messina: origin and history of the topographical term', *Journal of Romance Studies*, 8.2 (2008), 9–20 (pp. 10, 15).

great wave of Norman expansion in the eleventh century’ where it became embedded in local (Norman) usage.⁵⁴ Sayers traces the derivation of the word from the Old Danish ‘fara’ (to move / travel) and ‘farvegr’ (a fairway / channel) and shows how, when transposed to Sicilian context, it became confused with an Anglo-Norman homonym, ‘phare’ (lighthouse), probably on account of the fact that there was a lighthouse positioned on the Strait.⁵⁵ This term entered Angevin usage and survives in the Angevin registers in phrases such as ‘ultra pharon’ (beyond the Strait, i.e. insular Sicily),⁵⁶ and is an example of the way in which the memory of Norman rule of the kingdom continued to have currency during the Angevin years. Like the text’s references to the Sicilian-Norman nativised Arthurian traditions, the appearance of ‘Fair’ in *Floriant et Florete* derives from a Norman source; since no explanation for the term is offered, the text assumes a common understanding among its audience, which is in common with a number of twelfth-century Norman texts which refer to the Strait simply as ‘le Far’.⁵⁷ While we are dealing, in *Floriant et Florete*, with a text composed, or at least interpolated, after 1268, and which, as we shall see, is informed by contemporary medieval accounts of Charles I’s entry into the Regno, its reference to ‘le Fair’ suggests its proximity to a Norman source.⁵⁸

The specific parts of the kingdom which are evoked in the description of Floriant’s journey through the kingdom are locations which have particular resonance for the Angevins’ rule of the Regno during the late thirteenth century. Catona, for example, was where the Angevin naval arsenal was stationed for long periods of time during the Sicilian Vespers, and the location of its decisive defeat by Aragonese forces

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10–11. Conversely, Sayers’s analysis suggests that later texts, such as the travels of Sir John Mandeville, felt compelled to explain the term, suggesting that term was not in use for their intended readership, p. 10.

⁵⁸ It is possible that the corruption of ‘Far’ to ‘Fair’ in the text was a result of scribal interference or, possibly, a lack of recognition of the term by the text’s author / interpolator.

under the command of Roger of Lauria.⁵⁹ The reference to the ‘pont de Chipre’ (l. 6760) evokes the defining moment of Angevin achievement in the Regno. The geographical and historical specificity of this reference, which I do not believe has been noted in previous scholarship on the text, adds further weight to the idea that this text was produced within the orbit of the Angevin Regno in the post-Vespers years. For Ceprano, and its bridge in particular, marks a literal and symbolic frontier between Hohenstaufen and Angevin rule of the Regno. It was specifically the moment when Charles and his army crossed the Ceprano bridge for the first time that was recalled in the medieval chronicle accounts of his conquest of the Regno. In such accounts, the bridge is represented as both a literal and symbolic threshold, which marks Charles’s entry into the Regno and the beginning of his victory over Manfred at the Battle of Benevento (1266), the decisive battle which saw Charles take over the rulership of the kingdom.⁶⁰ Although Ceprano was an important site during Norman rule, it was specifically Charles’s crossing of the bridge which became famous in early fourteenth-century accounts of the Angevin conquest of the kingdom.⁶¹

In *Floriant et Florete*, the urge for topographical mastery, and by implication, territorial dominance, can be seen in the text’s attempt to map out the very limits of the Sicilian kingdom, which implicitly suggests a contrast between the knowable, mappable territory and the world outside it. This contrast is directly evoked in the text’s description of ‘une terre sauvage’, which King Arthur and Floriant encounter during their journey across the sea from the Arthurian court in London to Floriant’s native

⁵⁹ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 222, 238.

⁶⁰ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 91.

⁶¹ See, for example, Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, II, VII. 5–6 and *The Old French ‘Chronicle of Morea’: An Account of Frankish Greece after the Fourth Crusade*, eds and trans. by Anne van Arsdall and Helen Moody, Crusade Texts in Translation, 28 (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), p. 436. Documentary records relating to Guy of Dampierre’s return through Italy following the Tunis Crusade of 1270 also refer to ‘Pont de Cypran’, for example in the records relating to Gui of Dampierre’s itinerary through Italy on his way back from the Tunis Crusade of 1270. See *Les Oeuvres d’Adenet le Roi*, I, p. 27. While *Floriant et Florete*’s modern editors note that Ceprano denoted the frontier between the Papal States and the Regno, they appear not to have registered the specific historical and symbolic significance of the bridge during the Angevin era.

Sicily in order to rescue the latter's mother who is under attack in Monreale by Maragot, the traitorous vassal who killed Floriant's father, King Elyadus. After sixteen days at sea, a storm brings them to the shore of 'une terre sauvage' (l. 2710) where around fifty of Arthur's men disembark in search of supplies. The island lies outside the civilised world '[m]es n'i avoit nul home né, | Chastel ne vile ne cité' (ll. 2717–18) and there they encounter a diabolical beast 'unes bestes Sathenas' (l. 2719), called 'sarduinas' (l. 2720). The text's modern editors have seen in the naming of this beast a reference to the island of Sardinia.⁶² During the late thirteenth century, the island of Sardinia was politically distinct from the Regno, and various parts of the territory were claimed by competing powers before it became unified under the Kingdom of Aragon in the fifteenth century.⁶³ Similar to the evocation of the Regno in this text, the portrayal of Sardinia, here, combines geographical realism with supernatural fantasies. In contrast to Elyadus's unified kingdom which can be traversed and mapped, Sardinia appears here as an untamable, threatening wilderness. The narrative of *Floriant et Florete*, then, is a text with an identifiable political strategy which seeks to evoke the kingdom of Sicily as a singular realm which is differentiated from the wilderness which surrounds it.

Within the Sicilian kingdom, the supernatural powers of Morgane occupy the Sicilian landscape and propel the narrative of the text forward. By drawing on the Norman tradition of representing Mount Etna as a site of Arthurian legend, the text at once enacts a gesture of familiarisation towards the volcano for its francophone readers, and also the staging of alienation, as the volcano is presented as a site of strangeness, mystery and unknowability. While, as we have seen, other parts of the Sicilian landscape can be explained, mapped and physically conquered, the volcano stands as a

⁶² *Floriant et Florete*, p. 165 n. 1.

⁶³ See Henri Bresc, 'Medieval and Modern Sicily and the Kingdoms of Sardinia and Corsica', in *A Companion to Sardinian History, 500–1500*, ed. by Michelle Hobart (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 141–64 (p. 141).

site of superstition and magic, whose strange power over the territory resists human attempts to control it. Furthermore, it is here, in the heart of the volcano, that the romance reaches its end: an end which is also the promise of a re-beginning. For it is inside Morgan's volcanic kingdom, we are told, that Floriant and Florette are to avoid mortality and find eternal life, soon to be joined by none other than King Arthur himself. And so we see Mount Etna, here, the ultimate symbol of the untamable wild, reimagined as a Sicilian Avalon, a magical harbour for an eternalised francophone tradition, whose second coming stands primed for reawakening.

This emphasis on evoking Sicilian geography, and the representation of Messina as a gateway rather than a border, is also reflected in *Enfances Renier*. The main action of the text takes place in the Sicilian city of Loquiferne, which, the text imagines, was the Saracen name for Messina before the city's conquest by Renier, the text's Christian hero. *Enfances Renier* is unique within the Guillaume d'Orange cycle for depicting Loquiferne as the Saracen precursor of Christian Messina.⁶⁴ Here the enemy is framed as a Saracen, bestial other and the moment of Renier's ultimate conquest is marked not only, as we might expect, by the mass conversion of the city's Muslim inhabitants to Christianity, but also by the francophone appropriation of Sicilian landmarks.

In Renier's victory speech at the moment of his conquest of Loquiferne / Messina, the military conquest of the city is re-enacted through a linguistic conquest: no longer will the place be known as *Loquiferne*; now it is to be called *Miesines*. The text then tries to reconfigure the city's Sicilian name, 'Miesines' (which, by the late thirteenth century, had been in use for more than eight hundred years), within a francophone mode of representation:

“Seigneurs, dist il, a la moie penssee,
Il est aoust, une saison amee,

⁶⁴ J. Runeberg, *Études*, p. 159.

Que toute rien est sus terre trouvee
 Dont la gent est peüe et saoulee.
 Bone meson avons hui conquestee
 Puis que Loquiferne aquitee.
 Or veull que soit par autre non nonmee,
Miesines iert par droit non apelee
 Quar en aoust est prise et recouvree;
 Cest grant eaue dont est avironnee
 Pour ce qu'ele est si plaine et si comblee,
 Iert apelee **le Phar** par la contree;
 Et ceste terre iert **Sezile** clamee
 Kar c'est une ysle de mer avironnee.”
 Dient li prince: “Tel reson nous agre[e]!
 Miessines!” crient a moult grant alenee.
 Onc puis ne fu autrement apelee.⁶⁵

Here the text offers a prehistory of the island's Christian conquest and a reimagining of the linguistic basis for its geographical terminology. Even more than *Floriant et Florete*, *Enfances Renier* focuses on Messina and its Strait, and similarly draws on Norman linguistic legacy in referring to the Strait as 'le Phar'. The appearance of this Latinised Norman term in *Enfances Renier* suggests that someone with experience of local Sicilian place names composed the text, and that they expected their audience to be familiar with such terms of reference too.

Enfances Renier's allusions to local placenames, such as 'le Phar' and 'Sezile', are accompanied by folk etymologies which seek to ground these meaning within a francophone world view. Not only has Loquiferne lost its Muslim name, its new name 'Miesines' is here linked to the old French 'messine' (harvest) on account of the fact that Renier conquered the city in on the first day of August (ll. 13868–69). As Renier conquers the city from the Saracen enemy within the mimesis, the francophone folk

⁶⁵ *Enfances Renier*, ll. 13868–84.

etymology seeks to naturalise ‘Miesines’ as a francophone term. Similarly, the text offers a francophone etymological explanation for ‘Sezile’, on account of its phonetic proximity to ‘cet île’. This pseudo etymology seems both self-consciously tongue-in-cheek and also designed to negate the linguistic, and therefore epistemological, distance between the francophone world of the text and the Sicilian location of its setting. At the very moment when Renier fulfils his mission as the hero-conqueror of a foreign world, the text seeks to absorb the strangeness of Sicilian placemarkers in order to redefine them within a francophone worldview.

Considering Charles II’s (nominal) writing of the *Coseill* which, as Laura Morreale has suggested, was composed in French in fulfilment of its international orientation, might the transformation of insular Sicily into part of a francophone world in *Enfances Renier* be a way to relate the subject of the text to a broader audience, one which might not have been familiar with local Sicilian affairs? From the perspective of a francophone writer composing *Enfances Renier* outside Sicily, we may see the text’s francophonisation of Sicilian place markers as a kind of linguistic colonisation. From a different perspective, i.e. from an Angevin perspective, the linguistic refashioning of Sicilian geography can be seen as a means by which to naturalise the use of French in the Angevins’ recently acquired kingdom, thereby enacting a fantasy of cultural belonging on an island which was famed for its absorption of external cultural influences.

In a similar way in which the difference represented by the Muslim occupiers of Loquiferne cannot be allowed to remain, the linguistic strangeness of Sicilian place markers must also be suppressed. By inventing francophone etymologies for both the city of Messina and its surrounding topography, the text lays claim to the city and its waters as a francophone space, appropriated through language as much as by Renier’s territorial conquest and religious conversion of the island’s inhabitants. In seeking to

position its hero, and thereby itself, as the authorial fountainhead of territorial land-marking in Sicily, the text is in reality trying to make sense, retrospectively, of pre-existing geographical designations. In posing as the original source of the island's nomenclature, the text enacts a rewriting not only of the island's history of conversion from Islam to Christianity, but also of its geographical terms of reference.

That these fictionalised etymologies for Sicilian geography are evocative of an Angevin compositional context was suggested as early as 1876 by Gaston Paris, and more recently by *Enfances Renier's* editors in 2009.⁶⁶ The text's attempt to make sense of Sicilian locations within a francophone worldview is, as the text's editors suggest, congruent with the attempts of a new regime to make sense of its newly conquered territories. Furthermore, in insular Sicily, French had a particular, local connotation during the post-Vespers years at the end of the thirteenth century. In contemporary accounts of the early years of the conflict, language became central to the Sicilians' identification of their Angevin enemies: '[a]ll the foreign friars were dragged out and told pronounce the word 'ciciri', whose sound the French tongue could never accurately reproduce. Anyone who failed in the test was slain'.⁶⁷ In accounts of the conflict sympathetic to the Angevins and their supporters, linguistic difference was therefore a matter of life or death. The nativisation of francophone names for Sicilian placemarkers in *Enfances Renier* creates a fantasy of cultural belonging on an island where the French language had become dangerous indication of foreignness.

The text's focus on Messina and its surrounding region further imply Angevin associations. Positioned at the closest point to the Italian mainland, Messina was the area of the island most influenced by Angevin rule in the late thirteenth century. Following the outbreak of the Vespers in 1282 the city then became the centre of the

⁶⁶ Gaston Paris, 'La Sicile', p. 111; *Enfances Renier*, pp. 11–12.

⁶⁷ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 212.

Angevin-Aragonese/Sicilian war zone.⁶⁸ Unlike the earlier Norman-Hohenstaufen dynasty which centred its rule in Palermo and Monreale, cities which had been previously privileged by the kingdom's Muslim rulers, surviving evidence indicates that the Angevins spent the majority of their reign on the southern-Italian mainland, only venturing to the island on rare occurrences, and usually as a gateway to the southern or eastern Mediterranean, such as during the Tunis Crusade of 1270.⁶⁹ As the part of the island closest to the mainland, and therefore with the strongest Angevin influence, Messina became the stronghold from which the Angevin armies mounted their defence during the War of the Sicilian Vespers, and it held out as one of the last parts of the island loyal to the Angevin regime.⁷⁰ If there were ever a centre of Angevin rule on the island of Sicily then it was here; as it turned out, however, it was through textual fantasy, not historical reality, that it could be maintained.

The strongest textual evidence linking *Enfances Renier* to Angevin circles in the post-Vespers world is its extended descriptions of the descendants of Badouin and his wicked half brother, Pierrus. The discussion of these half-siblings extends to include a lengthy explanation for the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict, which ravaged the Italian peninsula at the end of the thirteenth century:

De Bauduïn, qui moult preudom sera,
Et de Pierrus, qui onques Dieu n'ama:
Tant dis que tint le país par dela,
Mainte pucele honni et vïola;
Bien .XV. enfanz après lui demoura
Que le glouton en ce temps engendra.
.I. grant lignage des enfans esleva:
Gybelin furent, ainssi l'en les nonma.
Enquire durent, qui le voir en dira,

⁶⁸ Bresc, 'Medieval and Modern Sicily', p. 150.

⁶⁹ See discussion in Chapter One above.

⁷⁰ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 217–20.

Male gent sont, poi de bons en y a.
De Bauduïn uns lignage istra,
Gerfe ont a non, ce seurnon leur donna
Un apostole qui de cuer les ama.
Cil sont preudonme, chescun a bien penssa,
La loy soustiennent se nul encontre va.

Ces .II. lignages dont je vous vois contant
De Bauduïn, le preuz et le vaillant,
Et de Pierrus, le cuvert soudiant,
Li Gybelin amonterent puis tant
Onques n'amerent les Gerfes tant ne quant,
Ainz se guerroient et menu et souvent,
Enquore durent cil doi lignage grant
En Ronmenie et en Puille en avant
Et en Sezile, la contree avenant;
Ceuls qui la ont esté certainement
Bien en savroient dire le couvenant
Se li estoire en va le voir dytant.
Or vous dirons, s'il vous vient a talant,
Des .II. lignages comment vindrent avant.⁷¹

In this description of the origins of the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict, the text is once again staging itself as a pre-history of the Regno. The political and military war between the Guelf and Ghibellines has been transformed into a familial conflict, with Baldwin representing the legitimate Guelf inheritance and Pierrus the illegitimate, rapacious Ghibellines. In staging a family turned against itself, the text digests the internalised nature of the Italian wars, which saw the people of a shared religion, ancestry and cultural heritage turn against one another.⁷² By making the conflict a question of

⁷¹ *Enfances Renier*, ll.17897–17925 (my emphasis).

⁷² '[T]he factions had not been in conflict primarily for the sake of empire or Church [...] [w]hat they had been fighting for, quite independently of any wider issues and prior to them, were the fruits of office and the satisfaction of their blood feuds, and these still remained and grew. Hence, everywhere, once one party had exterminated its opponents and was supreme, it began to split into two new parties'.

bloodline, the text seeks to resolve one of the foremost difficulties for those who lived through the turbulent and violent years of late thirteenth-century Italy, namely the fractured and incomprehensible nature of an internalised war which tore regions and kin-groups apart. In a similar vein to its francophonisation of Sicilian place names, through which we can see an attempt to naturalise the use of French in a Sicilian setting, the text is attempting to naturalise the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict through a narrative of lineage. The internal strife at the heart of Italy is not a question of complex and ever-shifting alliances, but of familial inheritance: the confusion and destabilisation of the Italian wars has been condensed here to a Manichean conflict between good and bad. In staging Guelf-Ghibelline loyalty as a matter of familial descent the text suggests that the Guelfs owe unreserved loyalty to defending their inheritance and to battling against the usurpation of their territorial claims.

Although the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict took hold throughout the Italian peninsula, *Enfances Renier's* geographical reference points to Rome, Puglia and Sicily, and its silence regarding the communes to the north suggest its orientation to the Angevin Regno. Although the text is unambiguously on the Guelf side, it stresses (twice) that it is the Ghibellines who will rise up, which is perhaps a reflection of the circumstances of the Sicilian Vespers in which a Ghibelline-sponsored rebellion sought to oust the island's Angevin/Guelf rulers.

With Baudouin named as the father of the Guelfs, later in the text we see that Renier and his Saracen bride, Ydoine, conceive 'le bon vassal Tancrez' on their wedding night (l. 17597). Since the child is established as the nephew of 'Buyemont' (l. 17596), this is undoubtedly a reference to Tancred of Hauteville (1072–1112) whose uncle was Bohemond of Taranto (1054–1111). Despite setting out the uncle/nephew relationship between Bohemond and Tancred, *Enfances Renier* goes on to explain that

For relevant background to the Italian wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see John Lerner, *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, 1216–1380* (London: Longman, 1980), p. 108.

they were conceived on the same night. Bohemond, the text tells us, is born to Robert Ricard and Ydoine's mother. 'Robert Ricard' here is Robert Guiscard (1057–85), who was indeed the real-life father of Bohemond of Taranto. The significance of these conceptions is established early on in the text, when we are introduced to Tancred and Bohemond who, we are informed, 'en l'ost furent Godefroi le membré | Quant il conquist le Temple dominé | Et [le] Sepulcre au Roy de majesté, | Ou le sien cors fu couchié et posé' (ll. 5012–15). The appearance and co-conception of Tancred of Hauteville and Bohemond of Taranto in *Enfances Renier* is, therefore, a reflection of their status as leaders of the First Crusade (1095–99). This is again emphasised at several points in the narrative, which serve to emphasise their status as crusaders. For example, 'De [Renier] issirent Büment et Tancre. | Li uns fu dus, li autre quens clamez, | Preudome furent et plain de loiautez | Et si conquistrent le Sepulcre outre mer | Avoec le duc de Bullon sanz fauser' (ll. 11566–70) and 'Toute Anthïoche conquistrent par fierté, | Jerusalem et le Temple honnoré | Et le Sepulcre, qui tant a dignité, | Ou Jhesu Crist ot le sien cors posé | Quant les Juïs l'orent en crois pené.'⁷³

By merging the fictional world of *Renier* with the history of the Sicilian-Normans' role in the First Crusade, the text provides an ancestral narrative, a kind of fictionalised pre-history, for the history of the Christianisation of Sicily and the first successful crusade to the Holy Land. In so doing, it presents the fates of Sicily and Jerusalem as entwined by common genealogical heritage, and changes the terms of reference for the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict. Rather than a dangerous distraction from the more pressing concerns surrounding the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the success of the Guelfs in Italy is shown here to be essential to the protection of Christian rule in the Holy Land. This transhistorical narrative strategy serves to elevate the contemporary

⁷³ The text oscillates between representing Bohemond and Tancred's relationship as avuncular and fraternal; less important is the specifics of their relationship than their imagined common descent from a single event which takes place in insular Sicily.

turmoil in Italy to the status of the crusades through which the triumph of the Guelfs is linked to the Christian conquest of the Holy Land. *Enfances Renier* thus presents insular Sicily as the cradle of the entire crusading movement. As if the simultaneous conceptions of Tancred and Bohemond were not enough, the text then goes on to list the simultaneous conceptions of twelve other leaders of the First Crusade:

La nuit que fu **Buyemont** engendrez
Et son neveu, le bon vassal **Tancrez**,
A Cambrai fu **Godefroy** engenez
Qui de Buillon fu puiz sire clamez
Quar le sien pere, **Huistace** li membrez,
Qui de Bouloigne fu quens et avouez,
A Cambrai fu noçoiez et jurez,
A sainte crois fu d'**Idain** espousez;
Cele fu mere as .III. freres charnez
Qui plus conquistrent terres et richetez
Sus gent paienne, ainssi con vous orrez,
Quar Godefroy fu puis roy couronnez
Del Saint Sepulcre ou Jhesu fu posez.
Hüe li Maine fu la nuit engendrez;
Le roy Phelippe fu son frere charnez,
Cil qui tint France au temps dont vous oez;
Le bon **Estienne d'Ambemarle** li bers,
Li quens Rotols, qui du Perche iert chasez,
Et **Aÿmars**, qui fu boneürez,
Qui du Mautran fu puis vesque clamez;
Et **Bauduïn**, li preus et li senez,
Qui de Hainaut fu quens et avouez,
Li quens de Flandres qui Robert fu nonmez,
Le bon Ricart qui a Chaumont fu nez
Et cil de Bourges, **Harpin** le redoutez;
Et **Badouïn de Biauvais** li senez,
Raimbaut Creton, qui moult fu adurez,
Jehan d'Alis, qui fu hons moult osez.

Ces vaillanz homes que je vous ai nonmez
Par le vouloir au Roy de majestez
En une nuit furent touz engendrez.

Enfances Renier, ll.17956–86

With the Sicilian co-conceptions of Tancred and Bohemond at its centre, western Christendom appears united, here, through the simultaneous (indeed miraculous) creation of fourteen leaders of the First Crusade. Although fourteen crusaders are mentioned here, more than one third of the description is devoted to the circumstances of Godfrey of Bouillon's birth. Intriguingly, the narrator's direct address to the reader 'ainssi con vous orrez' (l. 17966) suggests that the text will go on to retell the crusading glories of Godfrey (and his two brothers). As our only surviving manuscript of *Enfances Renier* is incomplete, it is impossible to know how much of the subsequent narrative was devoted to Godfrey's exploits during the First Crusade. As we saw in the Introduction to this thesis, the chancery records relating to Charles I's reign bear witness to his commissioning of the (now lost) *Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon*. The exploits of the heroes of the First Crusade, at issue here in the *Enfances Renier*, clearly had currency at the Angevin court during its early years.

Through the miraculous co-conceptions of these crusaders, it is as if the abounding fertility of the island of Sicily has been transferred to its new inhabitants before spreading out as a spontaneous flowering of crusading fervour throughout Christendom. Whereas the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict was frequently blamed by contemporaries for the subsequent loss of the Holy Land to Islam in 1291, here we see that the original success of the crusading heroes is reframed as a Guelf success. The Guelfs are explicitly stated as the champions of Christendom against its external enemies and as the point of origin for the heroes of the First Crusade. This imaginary history also attempts to establish the late thirteenth-century Guelf struggle, in which the

Angevin dynasty played a central part, as the continuation of Norman legacy. In connecting the fates of Jerusalem and Sicily, *Enfances Renier* also positions the contemporary Guelfs as the continuers of Norman legitimacy and prestige.

In stepping outside of the fictional world of the *chanson*, to comment on the contemporary political conflict which ravaged the Italian peninsula from north to south, and to gloss the terms of this conflict in light of the glories of the First Crusade, the narrator gears the performance of the *chanson* to audiences interested in the Italian Guelf-Ghibelline wars and receptive to the legendary status of the leaders of the First Crusade. In the years following the outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers, the war became a headline issue whose publicity was internationally orchestrated by the papacy. Following the outbreak of the conflict, the papacy preached a crusade against the rebellious Aragonese-sponsored Sicilians. The preaching initially began in the Regno in 1283 before spreading to northern Italy and France 1284. This would provide a likely – albeit unprovable – context for the oral performances of *Enfances Renier* with its Sicilian setting and its explicit promotion of the Guelfs as the originators of the First Crusade and future protectors of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, it is clear that francophone songs were used to recruit crusaders to Charles I's army during his crusading conquest of the Regno in 1265; there is no reason to suppose that francophone songs were not similarly used following the attempted reconquest of insular Sicily following the outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. Furthermore, the *chansons-de-geste* belonging to the so-called Crusade cycle, which *Enfances Renier* evokes through its references to the heroes of the First Crusade, are understood to have been used as propaganda to support later crusading efforts.⁷⁴ *Enfances Renier's* extra-mimetic digressions into contemporary Italian politics and the

⁷⁴ Marianne Ailes, 'The *Chanson de geste*', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the Crusades*, ed. by Anthony Bale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 25–38 (p. 34).

legacy of the First Crusade may well have been designed to keep the Sicilian conflict alive and at the forefront of the minds of contemporaries.

This fantastical narrative of the Guelf and Ghibelline lineages is representative of a widespread trend in late thirteenth-century Italian writings of trying to make sense of the seemingly endless civil war which devastated Italy in the late Middle Ages, and in which, following Charles I's seizure of the Kingdom of Sicily, the Angevins took centre stage. The Angevins' success in the conquest of Sicily relied on an enthusiastic response by its supporters both to the initial crusade to conquer the kingdom from the Hohenstaufen regime, and then again, a little over fifteen years later to defending Sicily against its enemies. At every stage of conflict in southern Italy and Sicily it was apparent to contemporaries that the Angevins were facing an internal, Christian enemy. These were not the crusades against a readily definable pagan other, such as envisaged in Renier's war against the Saracens in *Enfances Renier*, but an internalised war fought by fellow members of the Christian faith.

Thus the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict in Italy, which saw western Christianity turn against itself, was often a bewildering and destabilising experience for contemporary observers. In Saba Malaspina's pro-Angevin late thirteenth-century *Rerum Sicularum historia*, the origins of the conflict are seen in the supernatural appearance of two female demons, which fight one another without any overall victory.⁷⁵ Their appearance coincides with the birth of Manfred, Frederick II's illegitimate son who was defeated by Charles I at the Battle of Benevento in 1266. Although the war between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines long pre-dated Manfred's birth in 1232, the illegitimacy of his claim to the Hohenstaufen empire weakened the Ghibelline position following the death of

⁷⁵ Saba Malaspina, *Die Chronik*, I.1, pp. 90–91.

Frederick II in 1250. Furthermore, Manfred's illegitimacy was a commonplace of anti-Ghibelline sentiment during his lifetime.⁷⁶

In *Enfances Renier*, this idea is carried over to the character Pierrus, who is imagined as the founding father of the Ghibellines. It is Pierrus's illegitimacy as a bastard son, and the illegitimacy of his entire dynasty – the result of his compulsive ravaging of women ('mainte pucele honni et viola' l. 17900) – that is emphasised from his very first introduction, which is then repeated as a refrain throughout the text.⁷⁷ As an illegitimate heir, illegitimacy is presented as a poison flowing through Pierrus's entire bloodline. This idea of the Ghibellines as representing a corrupted bloodline seems to have been influenced by pro-Guelf Italian sources in which the irredeemable wickedness of the Ghibellines is imagined as a diseased inheritance. For Saba Malaspina, for example, the Ghibelline offspring of Frederick II bore the seed of original sin.⁷⁸ A similar idea can be seen in *Enfances Renier*, in which Pierrus's fifteen descendants, who are, like himself, the product of rapacious sexuality, are represented as irredeemable carriers of his corrupted bloodline ('male gent sont, poi de bons en y a' l. 17906).

Alongside *Enfances Renier's* imagining of a united western Christendom, ready to launch a crusade against its external enemies, the text also reveals the deep anxieties at the heart of the crusading movement: how can Christendom seek defence against its enemies, let alone conquer the East, when it remains divided by warring factions? By attempting to naturalise the conflict within a Manichean narrative of, on the one hand,

⁷⁶ This is presented as a sore point for Manfred in *Ibid.*, I.5, pp. 101–04.

⁷⁷ 'Quar Perus est bastars de pute voie' (l.6519); 'Quar Pierrus fu bastars desloiautez' (l.14117); 'Pierrus fu fel, de male estracion, / Bastart estoit, onc ne fist se mal non' (ll.14559–60); 'Filz a putain, vous n'i garirez mie!' (l. 16788); 'Quant nos barons on le champ aquité, / Pierrus ont pris, le bastart forssené' (ll. 17006–07).

⁷⁸ Saba Malaspina, *Die Chronik*, IV. 23, p. 215, 'Infecerat enim suae propagationis rivulos Frederici dira contagione nequitia, et in traducem generationis suae materiam sceleris originale traduxerat, et exquisitae malitiae incentivum.'

virtuous lineage represented by Baldwin's family and, on the other, a perversion of dynastic transmission through the example of Pierrus's sinful and rapacious impregnation of many women, the narrative seeks to resolve the Italian conflict through a simplified narrative of good versus evil: Pierrus's Ghibelline offspring are a monstrous race, a distortion of the virtuous Guelf bloodline commanded by Baldwin.

As our only surviving late thirteenth-century francophone fictional narratives in which Sicily takes centre-stage, *Floriant et Florete* and *Enfances Renier* open up a range of readings which evoke the political and territorial complexities faced by the Angevins during this period: the anxieties of a conquering regime thwarted in its territorial ambitions; a regime caught between military and diplomatic action; and the tensions involved in reviving a crusading spirit against an internal, Christian enemy. Although, during the reign of Charles II, the Angevins lost control over insular Sicily and Jerusalem, the recovery of these territories remained an urgent priority. Perhaps it was because both territories had been lost in practical terms that their fictional representation was so symbolically loaded. Written during a period when Charles II was keen to promote his status as a defender of the Kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem, *Floriant et Florete* and *Enfances Renier* appeal to the francophone world to come to the defence of Christianity through the recovery of both kingdoms. By harnessing Sicilian-Norman literary legacy, both texts position the Kingdom of Sicily as the centre of an expansive Christian future.

Conclusions

Over the course of the first sixty-or-so years of Angevin rule in the Regno, the use of French changed. Initially a vernacular language at the courts of Charles I and Robert II of Artois, it then became a mode of performative discourse during the later years of Charles II and King Robert. The performance could be locally or internationally orientated. Locally, French-language writings, such as romance and *chansons-de-geste*, were an enactment of the Angevins' inheritance of Norman culture and, by the reign of King Robert, a nostalgic mode for accessing their own dynastic legacy. Internationally, they reflected the Angevins' status as a crusading dynasty and their engagement in the affairs of *Outremer*, particularly in the Crusader States.

During these early years of Angevin rule in the Regno, French was not just a language spoken or used by those who settled there. It was also the main mode of communication for those who passed through the kingdom as crusaders. During the Angevin conquest of 1265, the Tunis Crusade of 1270, and following outbreak of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, the Regno was a crusading territory in which the most illustrious families from Western Europe sought earthly glory and heavenly salvation. Whether they travelled through the kingdom over a number of weeks or several years, their transit brought about a convergence of aristocratic culture from all over Western Europe. The Regno, during these times, was less a self-contained region than a meeting place for the international elite. And it was here that new friendships were forged and poetic reputations made.¹ For the late thirteenth-century aristocracy, the Regno was a land of opportunity and, as a crusading territory, represented a stage on which to act out their heroic endeavours.

¹ See the discussion of Adam de la Halle, Robert II of Artois and Philip of Chieti in Chapter Three of this thesis.

In studying the literary culture of the early Angevin courts, the conclusions of this thesis are as much methodological as they are literary-historical. Let us now consider this by way of example, by turning to one of the earliest commentaries on the early Angevins' relationship to francophone literary culture, namely Giovanni Boccaccio's representation of Charles I in *Decameron* x. 6 (c. 1349–1353).² The text unfolds during the earliest years of Angevin rule in the Regno, before Charles I's defeat of Manfred at the battle of Benevento (1266).³

The tale presents King Charles and his friend, Count Guy of Montfort, whom we encountered earlier in Chapter Two of this thesis, in Castellammare, near Naples. They hear word of 'un dilettevole giardino' belonging to a certain 'messer Neri degli Uberti', a Ghibelline knight. With distinctly Edenic overtones,⁴ Charles is lured to the garden on account of its beauty, a move immediately established as compromising for the King of Sicily and leader of the Guelfs in Italy: he arrives in the garden 'chetamente' and is relieved that the meeting takes place 'senza alcun sentore e senza noia'. The clandestine and furtive nature of Charles's visit suggests that a Guelf king should not be cavorting in a Ghibelline knight's garden, yet here Charles is, the rumoured beauty of the place having offered too much temptation for him to resist. Charles, here, is behind enemy lines and, as such, must deny his identity. As long as Charles remains in the garden, he is at the mercy of his Ghibelline host; indeed, messer Neri orchestrates all aspects of Charles's visit, including the appearance of his twin daughters, 'due giovinette d'età forse di quindici anni'. The girls initially seem like angels, yet their presence quickly spurs King Charles to lustful and debasing thoughts.

² Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. by Vittore Branca, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 2014), II, pp. 1163–64.

³ This battle represents the decisive moment when Charles I overcame his Hohenstaufen enemies and took control of the Regno. For background see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, pp. 91–95.

⁴ References to Eden are further implied when the girls return to the table 'con due grandissimi piatteli d'argento in mano pieni di varii frutti'.

Boccaccio then immediately resets our interpretation of the scene: the girls' names are revealed as, 'Ginevra la bella' and 'Isotta la bionda'. No longer do they represent individual characters within an isolated story, but now they stand as symbols of an entire literary tradition. The characters of Guinevere (Ginevra) and Iseult (Isotta) were nothing less than international celebrities in the fourteenth century, albeit fictional ones, whose appearance in the text could not but evoke the world of francophone romance literature.⁵ The revelation of the girls' names suggests that we cannot simply carry out a surface reading of the text of *Decameron* X. 6 to decipher its meaning: we must look beyond Boccaccio's story to uncover its intertextual allusions.

It is on the advice of Guy of Montfort that Charles I ostensibly resists the bodily temptations represented by the girls, and seemingly commits a noble deed in arranging their honourable marriages. True self-mastery, however, is far from achieved: Charles continues to struggle against his passionate urges after the girls have married, to the extent that he 'con dolore inestimabile in Puglia se n'andò'. As a literal manifestation of the debasement of his status as king, Charles has had to move away from Naples – the political and symbolic centre of the Angevin kingdom during Boccaccio's lifetime – to struggle against his desires in exile from the court. Romance texts, and the lustful urges they inspire, cannot be un-thought or wholly forgotten; similarly, Charles is shown in a state of torment as he attempts to undo the passionate feelings that Ginevra and Isotta have inspired. Furthermore, despite Charles's efforts to conquer his desire, are we not left with the fact that messer Neri, established as Charles's Ghibelline enemy, stands as the ultimate victor? Charles's desires have chased him from Naples whereas messer Neri has remained in the symbolic heart of the Angevin kingdom, with his family

⁵ Francophone texts of Lancelot and Tristan enjoyed a wide circulation in Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See Daniela Delcorno Branca, *Tristrano e Lancilotto in Italia: Studi di letteratura arturiana* (Ravenna: Longo, 1998) and Marie-José Heijkant, 'From France to Italy', pp. 41–68. According to surviving evidence of manuscripts dating from the late thirteenth to the mid fourteenth century, close to the time when the *Decameron* was written, the language of transmission of romance texts in Italy was French, see Cornish, *Vernacular Translation*, p. 74.

having been socially and financially elevated through Charles's arrangement of the girls' marriages.

In the fourteenth-century Italian context in which the world of the *Decameron* takes place, the appearance of Ginevra and Isotta also evokes Dante Alighieri's *Commedia*. Inside the fifth circle of Hell, Virgil leads Dante, the poet-pilgrim, towards a group of licentious lovers.⁶ Here they meet the damned lovers Paolo and Francesca, whose adultery, we are told, was inspired by their readings of Lancelot's love for Guinevere in francophone romance texts.⁷ Romance, the *Commedia* warns us, inspires adultery, an aberrant distortion of the love ideal, which leads us from the path of virtue and causes us to commit sin.⁸

Fiammetta, as the fictional narrator of *Decameron* X. 6, attempts to hoodwink her audience into interpreting this *novella* as a positive example of Charles I acting 'cavallerescamente'. In contrast, however, the intertextual allusions of the tale – to the francophone romance tradition and to *Inferno* V of the *Commedia* – call into question the social ethics of romance and, by extension, *cavalleria* itself. Through these intertextual allusions, our reading of the tale has taken an entirely different course than that suggested by Fiammetta. Introduced as a positive tale of Charles's chivalric conduct, the *novella's* intertextuality causes us to change our interpretations entirely: instead, we see Charles as compromised and socially debased by an Edenic encounter with the dangerous temptations of the romance world. Whereas Fiammetta, as the tale's fictional narrator, promises an unambiguous story upon whose meaning her fellow travellers can all agree, the *novella's* self-conscious participation in a web of intertextual readings create an indeterminate narrative space which blurs the boundaries between friend and foe, king and madman, angel and harlot.

⁶ *Inferno*, v. 67.

⁷ *Inferno*, v. 127–29.

⁸ For discussion see Christopher Kleinhenz, 'The Arthurian Tradition in the Three Crowns', in Allaire and Psaki, pp. 158–75 (pp. 162–63).

Boccaccio engages with Dante's portrayal of the danger of the romance world in a number of his works.⁹ Intriguingly, his evocation of romance in the *Decameron* is contained to this tale and to the cryptic subtitle of the *Decameron* as a whole, 'Prencipe Galeotto'. Within the *Lancelot* tradition, Galehaut (Galeotto) was an intermediary between Lancelot and Guinevere: without his interventions the enactment of their desires would never have been possible. Returning again to Dante's *Inferno*, following Francesca's claim that her adulterous love for Paolo was inspired by the Lancelot tradition, she says 'Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse'.¹⁰ In other words, in presenting Galehaut as both the embodiment of the Lancelot text and its author, Francesca lays the blame for her illicit desire with the romance text itself. Rather than understanding the nature of her own sinful actions, Francesca seeks to exculpate herself via the romance tradition. Boccaccio's subtitle to the *Decameron*, 'Prencipe Galeotto', therefore seems to represent an intertextual move regarding his own role in the diffusion of romance texts.¹¹ Is he not, in transmitting these intertextual references through his own works, a fourteenth-century Galehaut, intermediating between his contemporary audience and the francophone romance legacy of Charles I?

The numerous references to Arthurian characters in Boccaccio's corpus demonstrate that he was well acquainted with romance tradition, and scholars have suggested that it was during his time at the Neapolitan court of King Robert that he would have had the greatest access to this material.¹² In *Decameron* x. 6, the image of Charles I's infatuation with the characters of Ginevra and Isotta implies an association between Charles' court and the francophone romance tradition. Romance, represented

⁹ See Christopher Kleinhenz's discussion of the *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (1343–1344) and *Il Corbaccio* (1355) in *Ibid.*, pp. 167–68.

¹⁰ *Inferno*, v. 137.

¹¹ Boccaccio's multiple points of engagement with Dante's Paolo and Francesca episode throughout his literary corpus, and the various ways in which modern scholars have interpreted them, have been summarised by Valerio Ferme, *Women, Enjoyment and the Defense of Virtue in Boccaccio's 'Decameron'* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 13–26.

¹² Daniela Delcorno Branca, *Boccaccio e le storie di re Artù* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), pp. 8–9.

by messer Neri's daughters, provides Boccaccio with a historical mode through which he could conjure the Angevins' dynastic and literary-historical past.¹³

The layers of intertextual readings in *Decameron* X. 6 assume the audience's participation in a shared literary culture encompassing francophone romance tradition and Dante's *Commedia*. In other words, they provide evidence of a shared, and multilingual, literary culture at the Angevin court during the Robertian years. With the tale establishing a connection between the francophone romance world and the reign of Charles I, it might suggest that Boccaccio accessed francophone romance through the textual artefacts handed down to Robert from Charles I's reign. Like Boccaccio's *novella*, these manuscripts were themselves involved in, and mediators of, this shared literary culture.

Considering the intertextual allusions of Boccaccio's tale provides a useful reading strategy for analysing surviving francophone textual artefacts (manuscripts, texts and documentary sources) from itinerant courts and non-national regions of the medieval world. Boccaccio's story is decipherable only through a complex web of intertextual readings; so too do the francophone textual artefacts of the late thirteenth century resist surface interpretations, but are instead part of a highly mobile and endlessly shifting matrix of social and intradynastic relationships.¹⁴ Within literary studies, we are accustomed to looking between texts and literary traditions in our interpretation of texts; similarly, when approaching francophone textual artefacts, produced by itinerant courts and craftsmen, we should develop analytical strategies to

¹³ This idea of francophone literary works as a codified mode of engagement with Angevin history has also been seen in our earlier discussion regarding the repeated, multi-generational reenactments of the *Faits des Romains*. Boccaccio's representation of Charles I in *Decameron* X. 6, together with the Angevin family's multiple written performances of the *Faits*, remind us that networks are not only spatial and cultural but also intradynastic. Within the medieval dynasty itself, particularly one so keen to forge an image of its own identity the Angevins, can be located a nexus of overlapping and crisscrossing networks through space and also across time.

¹⁴ For examples of francophone manuscripts' participation in complex social networks, see Chapter Three of this thesis; for examples of manuscripts as intradynastic carriers of culture see Chapter Two.

allow us to looking *between* our sources in order to begin to access their multi-layered cultural references. Rather than closing down literary artefacts to a certain period or place of production, we should be opening out their diverse cultural registers to reveal the way in which they exist as carriers of literary cultural across both space and time.

Boccaccio's presentation of the referential instability caused by Charles I's engagement with the *girl-cum-literary* constructs reveals something of our own attempts to engage with early Angevin Italy as a cultural-historical subject. The study of a lost kingdom necessarily challenges the nationally defined academic discourses within which we have been trained. The geographic, ideological and cultural fluidity of the early Angevin courts also destabilises the basis of our codicological and linguistic reference points: no longer can visual or linguistic features of manuscript production be reliably linked to defined geographical areas. Furthermore, we must attempt to become comfortable working *between* the academic disciplines in which we have been trained, and *between* the sources with which work. The meaning of Boccaccio's tale is refracted through a web of intertextual allusions; similarly, francophone textual artefacts of this period do not necessarily reflect the influence of a particular place or cultural context, but as products spatial and temporal mobility, they can be fully deciphered only through their interrelation with each other.

As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, researching the francophone culture of early Angevin Italy causes us to look again at the sources that we think we know. Through a mode of intertextual reading – of deciphering meaning in the spaces between our surviving sources – we confront the idea that the academic frameworks through which we conduct our research, whether codicological, linguistic, or literary-historical, have the potential to obscure as well as reveal. The study of cultural networks (rather than cultural centres) causes us to engage with the ephemeral yet tantalisingly evocative subject of lived experience. For networks are all about people, rather than

objects, and people are (and always have been) connected and interconnected in so many fluid and surprising ways, which frequently cross over established political and geographical boundaries.

Medieval francophone textual artefacts are also products of this lived experience, and through our analysis of them we push against the tools of our trade. In the very act of trying to pin them down (to a specific place, circle of influence etc.) we deny their interconnected histories as products of an itinerant and global aristocratic society. Just as medieval courts were not spheres of self-containment but were fluid and interconnected, so too are francophone textual artefacts the products – and mediators – of this borderless social fabric.

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