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An Anonymous Old French Translation  
of the Pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle*



An Anonymous  
Old French Translation  
of the Pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle*

A Critical Edition of the Text Contained in  
Bibliothèque Nationale MSS fr. 2137 and 17203 and  
Incorporated by Philippe Mouskés in His *Chronique rimée*

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**Semper eidem**



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# Foreword

THE PRESENT WORK takes up a suggestion which I made in my edition of the Johannes translation of the Pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle* (University of California Press, 1976). This was to the effect that the whole jigsaw puzzle of the Turpin tradition could be put together only when each piece lay restored in as clear shape as possible before us. The Johannes translation was one piece; the present translation is another. It has hitherto been known as "Turpin II," for no other reason than that Fredrik Wulff edited it long ago in sequel to another translation which he called "Turpin I" (*Acta Universitatis Lundensis* 16, 1880). Wulff published his "Turpin II" from a manuscript which he thought unique. My researches have, however, turned up another, and my study of the text which both manuscripts represent has revealed their close relationship to the *Chronique rimée* of Philippe Mouskés. A critical edition therefore had to be made.

Wulff edited his "Turpin I" from a manuscript which he also thought unique. But there are really nine manuscripts extant in which this translation is preserved for us. Some of them show important textual variations. "Turpin I" therefore must likewise be re-edited and fitted as revealingly as possible into the Turpin picture. That will be tomorrow's story, *Deo volente*.

For the present, there remains to me the pleasure of acknowledging with gratitude the generosity of the Mediaeval Academy of America which made possible the publication of this book, and of expressing my indebtedness to Dr. Ian Short of the University of London for reading the work in manuscript and giving me most helpful advice and criticism. I would express particularly my gratitude to Mr. Luke Wenger, Deputy Executive Secretary of the Mediaeval Academy, for his exquisite courtesy and unfailingly attentive expertise in seeing the book through all its stages of proofreading.

# INTRODUCTION



# The Pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle*

THE Pseudo-Turpin's *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*<sup>1</sup> is an almost completely fictitious account of Charlemagne's purported wars against the Saracens in Spain. The author is unknown to us. He wrote in the mid-twelfth century, assumed the name and title of "Turpinus, archiepiscopus remensis," and defined his *Historia* as an eyewitness's account of the great deeds which he pretends Charlemagne accomplished in Spain. As the professed companion of Charlemagne in his Spanish expeditions and warrior among the renowned peers in the emperor's army, the author no doubt assumed the name and rôle of the well-known and beloved Turpin of the *Chanson de Roland*:

Li quens Rollant veit l'arcevesque a tere,  
...  
Desur sun piz entre les dous furceles  
Cruisiedes ad ses blanches mains les beles.  
Forment le pleignet a la lei de sa terre:  
"E! gentilz hom, chevalier de bon aire . . .  
(ed. Whitehead, vv. 2245-52)

The name Turpin was moreover identified in clerical circles with the historical "Tilpinus," "Tulpinus," first monk and then treasurer of the abbey of Saint-Denis and later, ca. 751, promoted archbishop of Reims. The imposture was brazen in its audacity, clever and calculated. The pseudonym endowed the personality of the author with the respect in which the historical Turpin was held and with the heroic and endearing qualities of the Turpin of poetic fiction. In the *Roman bourgeois*, Furetière wrote: "Un beau titre est le vrai proscénète d'un livre." So, one might add, is "un beau nom d'auteur." Turpin's *Historia* is really an artificial and ramshackle compilation of material. It was drawn in part from legendary sources, some of which survive, like the stories of Roland and of Agolant, variously and sometimes fragmentarily in the extant tradition of Old French epic poetry. It was drawn in part also from the imagination of its very inventive author — the great fiction, for example,

1. References throughout this work will be by page and line to the edition of C. Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin*.

which makes Charlemagne undertake his long crusade in Spain at the behest and under the protection of St. James.

Of course we ask at once: why did he do this? In broad terms, we may answer, as the character of the *Historia* unfolds before us as we read, and as we see it in its mid-twelfth-century setting, that he did it to enhance the portrait of the king and emperor Charlemagne and to make him, at that moment in the continuous rivalry in thought and practice between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, between Church and State, the leader of his people under God, endowed with heroic and saintly quality, the very perfection of kingship and imperial authority.<sup>2</sup> This was no difficult task even for a conscientious historian. Einhard in the ninth century and reputable historians who came after him had passed on to posterity a not unfaithful image of Charlemagne who, in his concept of his imperial rôle and in his sustained effort to realize it in practice, had won not only the admiration of discerning minds but also the veneration of ordinary people through successive generations. By the middle of the twelfth century, on this firm basis of historical truth, had grown the legend of Charlemagne; in part, a natural growth in the popular mind which, under the narrow and uncertain rule of the early Capetians, had been taught by a lively poetic tradition to look back nostalgically to the reign of Charlemagne as to a heroic age and one of a strong and beneficial government; in part, a growth fostered by clerics concerned with the problem of crown and altar, with wise and authoritative government on which depended the public weal. The Pseudo-Turpin inherited this tradition, but, it would seem, he found its articulation lacking in command and power of persuasion. He took the traditional material but used it in propagandistic fashion to spread abroad and inculcate the great moral on which he felt the need to insist: the beneficence of kingly and imperial power, of all power and strength, when wielded under the law of God and in harmony with God's ministry, the Church. His book, by explicit precept and by patterned example, dwells relentlessly on this lesson.

It was one which the age was most ready to heed. As the prologue to one of the old French translations reads, ". . . por ce sunt les bones vertuz el siegle defaillies et li cuer des seignorages affebloié que l'en n'ot mes . . . les estoires ou li bon fet sunt qui enseignent coment l'en se doit avoir en Dieu et contenir

2. Cf. the *Historia*, 126, vi-ix: "Ut enim Dominus noster Ihesus Christus una cum duodecim apostolis et discipulis suis acquisivit mundum, sic Karolus Gallorum et Romanorum imperator cum his pugnatoribus [in our translation: "avec ses .xii. pers.," XII, 31] Hispaniam adquisivit ad decus nominis Dei."

el siegle honoreement.” “Abeunt studia in mores.” And so in the Pseudo-Turpin’s chronicle, the old stories found a new life; they were transformed into a schoolbook of moralizing history, pseudo-history for us, but not for the nobles and ladies, the bacheliers and demoiselles, of the early thirteenth century who clearly loved it, for it was spread abroad and down the centuries in proliferating copies and in the vernacular translations which reached out to lay audiences, both high and low, gathered in the princely and baronial courts of Western Europe. Both high and low. Mouskés assures us of this, indirectly perhaps, but, I think, none the less surely. In vv. 11666 ff. of his *Chronique rimée*, he draws a portrait of Charlemagne, based on the one given by the Pseudo-Turpin, but much enlarged with a conglomeration of details, culled from his reading, from hearsay, and from his own imagination, haunting his mind as again and again he expressed his admiration for his great hero, Charlemagne. Most interesting for us here, as we try to imagine what sorts and conditions of men and women listened to the recital of his *Chronique rimée* and so, doubtless, at other times, to our French Turpin, is his expatiation on the kinds of people for whom Charlemagne felt affection and esteem:

et s’amoit clers,  
Tous çaus k’il sot loiaus et fers,  
...  
Et chevaliers moult ounouroit,  
Mescines, pucieles, et dames  
Destornoit volentiers de blames;  
Si amoit bourgeois et vilains,  
Quant il les sot d’aucun bien plains . . .

So then, all people of goodwill, *les gens de bonne volonté*. We, who look back with more informed minds and greater critical facilities on the distortions of the historians and on the rhapsodies of the poets, see in the Pseudo-Turpin’s chronicle a work of ecclesiastical propaganda, over-emphasizing the saintliness of the national heroes, serving the interests of the pilgrimage to Compostela, preaching the crusade. But few contemporaries could be thus critical, and so the Turpin became the most popular history of Charlemagne throughout the Middle Ages.

The vernacular translations of the Turpin — in the thirteenth century there were at least eight of them in Old French and others were made into Provençal, Catalan, Galician, Welsh, and Old Norse — bear eloquent witness to this popularity. In this they have their first and most immediate interest, as

separate pieces, with centers of interest, local patronage, origins and development all peculiarly their own. They are elements too in the whole Turpin tradition, Latin and vernacular, whether existing as separate entities or taken, sometimes with adaptations, into the general chronicles to form part of the history of France under Charlemagne. The first ones among them were made in the early years of the thirteenth century; some of them were copied again and again down to the end of the fifteenth century.

It was a newly awakened interest in prose as the vehicle of historiography which gave the impetus to the early translators. As a literary language, French had been used until then mainly in poetic form, as epic, romance and fable; prose was little used and remained relatively undeveloped. But at the turn of the twelfth century there came a demand, explicit in a number of writers and implicit in the patronage offered to prose writers by many high-placed and educated noblemen of the day, for the use of prose in the writing of history.<sup>3</sup> Prose, it was said, is more truthful than poetry, the rhymed chronicles evidently seeming too close in form and style to the romances, and rhyme itself, so it was argued, necessitating a warping of expression. The early Turpin translations were made explicitly in response to this demand; they have therefore a particular interest as being amongst the first examples of French narrative prose. They are, of course, translations, and they show the translator at once laboring under the constraint of his Latin model and striving to find the free and apt expression of his native French. In certain general chronicles of France written at the time, the French and Norman chronicles of the Anonyme de Béthune for example, the history of earlier times is a translation of Latin chronicles written long before, but the modern part, dealing with contemporary history, is the writer's own creation. The freedom from the ties imposed by the Latin original and the zestful interest in the live events which were being recounted give here a particular vivaciousness to the French style; it is as though the very language spoken by the participators in the events described were proving the natural medium for historical narrative.

Besides their literary interest, the translations have also a social importance for us. The patrons who sponsored them — for example, Yolande, countess of Saint-Pol in Artois, sister of Baldwin VIII of Flanders; Hugh, count of Saint-Pol, her husband and crusader in Palestine; the Norman, Warin

3. See Brian Woledge and H. P. Clive, *Répertoire des plus anciens textes en prose française depuis 842 jusqu'aux premières années du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1964), pp. 24 ff.

fitz Gerold, administrator in John of England's court, a crusader with Richard I in the Holy Land and pilgrim to Compostela; Renaud, count of Boulogne, a powerful feudatory who hovered in allegiance between the royal courts of France and England — turned to them not only as trusted narratives of Charlemagne and of his crusading wars, but also as the story of their own forbears, whose exploits they sought to emulate in the feudal and crusading life of their own day. They were sympathetic to the thoughts and ideals of conduct which permeated the epic poems and romances to which they listened in their hours of recreation. They found many of the same thoughts and ideals set forth less allusively in the plain prose tale told by the Pseudo-Turpin, where the heroes must have seemed more real and therefore closer to them. The Pseudo-Turpin, writing with a didactic purpose, chose his material and adapted his form with a view to winning the wide attention of his clerical readers and audiences. The translators pursued a similar end, and adjusted their versions of his work to meet the minds and tastes of their own prospective lay auditors. The Latin Turpin and, still more, the Old French translations bear indeed upon them the impress of the mediaeval mind, and from this point of view demand our sympathetic study.

Naturally enough, some of these translations were taken into the vernacular compilations of universal history as ready-made elements comprising part of Carolingian history. They form therefore a portion of the complex and still unravelled web of these general histories. To give one example, the Old French Johannes translation of the Turpin was adopted by one copyist of the *Chronique de Baudouin d'Avesnes*, although the Carolingian matter was differently treated by the author. The translation which engages our attention now was taken bodily, though a little brokenly, by Philippe Mouskés into that large compilation of legendary history, his *Chronique rimée*.<sup>4</sup> We do not know whence he drew much of his material; some of it undoubtedly came from lost forms of epic poems of which the traditions are known to us only partially in late and altered forms. It is interesting therefore to have available one sure and complete source and in a form, faithfully represented by the concurrence of our two manuscripts, so close to Mouskés's own text as to afford a sure means of studying his method and, if the term is not too lofty to apply to Mouskés's mundane gifts, his art.

Long ago, in 1880, Fredrik Wulff of the University of Lund published

4. Ed. Frédéric-Auguste-Ferdinand-Thomas, Baron de Reiffenberg, *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskés*, 2 vols., Collection des chroniques belges inédites (Brussels, 1836-1838), *Supplément* (Brussels, 1845).



the text of our translation from Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 2137.<sup>5</sup> He thought that this manuscript was the unique representative of the translation and published it with a few textual notes but with no other editorial contribution. His text has served us well, but it abounds in errors of transcription and leaves many difficulties unresolved. Its relationship to Mouskés went unnoticed. A searching study did not, indeed, belong to Wulff's purpose of the moment. The discovery of another text, the one contained in Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 17203, gives us the means of improving on the copy in MS 2137. Our critical text will make a surer comparison with Mouskés possible. Mouskés probably worked at his *Chronique rimée* in the library of the counts of Hainaut in Mons.<sup>6</sup> He must have had at his disposal there a treasury of epic poems and chronicles from which he borrowed at will, interweaving accounts from different sources and ordering the material to suit his own notion of the proper progress of his story. So it is with his Turpin material. It is taken up in his *Chronique* at v. 4726. It continues, with displacement of some episodes and many interpolations from other sources, down to v. 9813. But when he comes to Turpin's description of Charlemagne's death, he still has far more to tell us of the emperor; so he holds back the end of the Turpin for later use in vv. 11764-11911, and even then, with self-evident justification, displaces the last, adventitious, chapter in our text, Chapter LXIII, and puts it in the reign of Louis the Pious, vv. 12218 ff. The Pseudo-Turpin therefore appears in

5. Fredrik Wulff, "La Chronique dite de Turpin, deux anciens textes français," *Acta Universitatis Lundensis. Lunds Universitets Års-Skrift* 16 (1879-80) IV/I: "Le texte contenu dans le ms. B. N. n° 1850 f. fr." pp. i-vi, 1-42; II: "Texte contenu dans le ms. B. N. 2137 f. fr.," pp. 43-76

6. He says he took his material from a book in the abbey of Saint-Denis:

Mater l'en a enseignie  
 Li livre ki des anchiiens  
 Tiesmoigne les maus et les biens  
 En l'abeïe Saint Denise  
 De France ou j'ai l'estore prise  
 Et del latin mise en roumans.

(vv. 6-11)

But that was the approved formula for poets and chroniclers alike desiring to claim authenticity for their works. As for his translating Latin chronicles into French verse, that is at least open to question. Towards the end of his work, perhaps looking back over the task he had done, and not now forward to the one he meant to accomplish, he tells us that he was writing "Selonc les estores rimés" (*sic*, v. 11974).

Mouskés as a “sartor resartus”; a thorough collation of our text with that of Mouskés would allow us to enter the latter’s workshop and watch the sewing and patching as it went on in that laborious and well-intentioned process of compiling a national history to satisfy the demand and suit the taste of cultured laymen of the day.

# The Manuscripts of the Translation

## 1. P1. *Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 2137*

P1 contains 198 parchment folios measuring 220 mm x 170 mm, foliated in a modern hand. There are three paper guard sheets at the beginning of the manuscript. The text is written in a strong and handsome Gothic book-hand. The script throughout is the same, and perfectly consistent. There are two columns to the page containing invariably 27 lines to a column. The hand and general execution of the manuscript seem thoroughly professional. The script is probably Parisian, a localization that is confirmed by the column of *J*'s attached as adornment to the larger initials and by the orthographic system of the scribe, which is almost pure Francien. The hand would seem to belong to the last part of the thirteenth century. The rounds of *e* and *o* overlie with those of preceding *b*, *p*, *h*, but the scribe shows hesitation with preceding *u* consonant. Final *s* is usually but not always written in the round form; the long letter is constant as initial and within the word. The shaft of *t* appears above the bar, *u* consonant when initial is frequently written *v*, and *y* with a short bar above it is often used for *i*: *ymage*, *eglyses*, *yroient*, etc. The declensional system is in complete disarray. We read close together: *fu il aporté, il estoit tornez, fu il enseveli*, and at XVII, 13 *touz les Sarrazins qui furent trouvez furent ocis*. *Charles* is the form of the complement in *Puis manda Charles* as it is again in *Li chevaus Charles*. *Agoulant* and *Rollant* are used constantly as the forms of the subject, and in the names of the heroes listed in Chapter XII the following forms occur as subject in sequence: *Gaifiers*, *Geliers*, *Salemon*, *Estouz*, *Gondebuef le roy*, *Hoiaus*, *Ernaut*. Again, as plural subject forms, we find (XIV, 14): *ne tes peres, ne tes ayous, ne ti ancesseurs*. On the third guard sheet at the beginning is written: "Volume de 198 feuillets. Le feuillet 142 est mutilé. Les feuillets 149, 150 sont blancs. 8 Décembre, 1897." The manuscript is rather plain. There is no illumination, but the initials alternate in red and blue; the larger ones at the head of each item are more elaborately ornamented with interior and exterior filigree, and, as has been mentioned, with a column of *J*'s. But the style of ornamentation is restrained and simple throughout.

The manuscript is for the most part a collection of historical texts. Item 1, however, is the *Roman des Sept Sages*, fols. 1-46r°. It is followed on fols.

47r<sup>o</sup>-148v<sup>o</sup> by Villehardouin's *Conqueste de Constantinople*. Then come the two blank folios, 149 and 150, after which there is a *Description des Sainz Lieux*, fols. 151-152v<sup>o</sup>,b. Here, at the bottom of col. b, comes the incipit to our Turpin: "Ci parole de saint Jaque coment il s'aparut a Charlemainne," a dramatic but incomplete announcement of all that is to follow. After it, however, comes a first chapter serving as prologue presenting to us a list of contents of the Turpin which we are invited to *savoir, oïr, et entendre et lire*. The Turpin contains the matter proper to the *Historia Karoli Magni* and also the adventitious chapters printed by Mr. C. Meredith-Jones as supplements in his Appendices A, B and C. To these correspond our Chapters LXI, LXII, LXIII. At the bottom of col. a on fol. 186v<sup>o</sup> and the top of col. b, comes the explicit: "Ci faut / et fine l'estoire Charlemainne." This is followed at once, without incipit, by the Anonyme de Béthune's *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, beginning "Nous trouvons es anciennes estoires . . ." and ending, incomplete, at the bottom of fol. 198v<sup>o</sup>.

In the bottom margin of fol. 189v<sup>o</sup> comes the signature: "Ce livre est a moi Jean Sala." Jean Nicolas Sala and his better-known brother, Pierre, were poets active in Lyon during the reign of Louis XII and the early years of Francis I. They were both ardent bibliophiles. Attached to the royal court, they had the means and the opportunity of indulging in their literary pursuits. Jean owned, among other notable manuscripts, the Lyons redaction of the *Chanson de Roland*; Pierre treasured a manuscript, now Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 1638, of the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troyes, of which he made his own verse redaction. The Sala manuscripts remained in the family throughout the sixteenth century. Later they were acquired by Mazarin, from whose library they passed to the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>7</sup> The manuscript has a modern binding in brown calf, adorned with the lilies of France in gilt, and bears on the spine the title *Roman des Sept Sages* with the old shelf-mark, 7974.

## 2. P2. Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 17203

P2, like P1, is a collection of historical texts. It contains 125 parchment folios measuring 300 mm x 200 mm. There are two paper guard sheets at the beginning and two at the end. The folios are numbered in a modern hand. At the end, a parchment folio numbered 126 is bound in upside down; on it are

7. See L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1868-1881), 1:285.

written the numbers "523, 6, 702," the last two crossed out, and "St. Germain Lat. No. 1513." On fol. 125v<sup>o</sup>, a hand, perhaps of the later fifteenth century, has written ".vii.<sup>xx</sup>.v. feuilles," indicating a loss suffered since that time of twenty folios from the manuscript. The script, which is the same throughout the manuscript, is an exquisitely neat book-hand of, I would say, the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The manuscript is written in two columns containing 38 or 39 lines. The scribe, though writing a formal hand, adds a few ornamental touches. The slender shafts of long letters are often finished with fine hooks to the left. Final *i*, and the last stroke of *h*, *n*, and *g* are prolonged and curved below the line; the diacritic above *i*, which is used in all positions, is a long line sloping away to the right. Instead of using the diacritic, the scribe sometimes distinguishes *i* from preceding or following *u*, *n*, etc., by prolonging it below the line; so he writes as it pleases him, *auint* or *aujnt*, *ujnt* or *uint*. Usually initial *u* consonant is written *v*, but not always; in the interior *u* stands for the consonant or the vowel. The letter *s* is written mainly with the long form, but in final position the rounded *s* is sometimes used and is written large. The letter *t* shows no protrusion above the bar; the bar itself passes across the stem and makes the letter quite distinct from *c*. The tall stroke of *d* has the beginnings of the cursive form, curving from the left to come down and form part of the rounded body of the letter. The rounded form of *r* is used only after *o*. There is consistent blending of rounds between *b*, *d*, *p*, *v* and following *e* or *o*. In *poour*, the first *o* fuses with *p*, the second *o* with the first. The letter *y* is occasionally written for *i*: *yimages*, *Lyons* (The Spanish *Léon*), *lyons* "lion." The ornamentation is in keeping with the script. The initials are small, alternating in red touched up with blue, and blue with red, bedecked a little with filigree and with long lines in the margin looped at the ends and tendrilled along the sides. At the head of each item, the initials are larger and adorned in similar but more florid style.

On fol. 1 begins a French translation of the first book of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Orientalis*. At the top of the folio is written in a fifteenth-century hand the title *Histoire de la Terre sainte*. The *Histoire* is interrupted on fol. 47v<sup>o</sup> by the loss of a number of folios, probably a whole gathering, which has also taken away the first part of the Turpin, which follows. The Turpin text begins on fol. 48 with the words *quant uns rois*; they correspond to our Chapter V, l. 6. Other leaves have been taken away from the Turpin. They lay between the present fols. 53 and 54, the gap in the text corresponding to *de leur chevaus* in our Chapter XXV, l. 20 down to the first two

noi ce que eulz ne pue  
ent ueoir ne touche di  
re ne cuer penser. Cest  
laioie des neuis que de  
apareille a ceulz qui lai  
ment. Lors estendi ses  
mains & dist ceste priere  
pour touz ceulz qui esto  
ent mortz avec lui en  
la bataille

**S**ire diez la vostre  
misericorde sur lui  
et mene seur touz ceulz  
qui marire ont receu  
avec moi en la bataille  
pour talor esluancier. q  
il sont mortz pour l'amour  
de toi. Et tu vueilles  
et lauer les ordures de  
leur pechie. Et ne fue  
fre que la mort de enfer  
sur en eulz par. En  
noie tes angel seur eulz  
qui les ames en portent  
& les ostent des paines  
de enfer & les merent en  
la grant clarte de paradis

si quil puissent avec  
toi & auer tes saintz  
mairis regner sains  
sain qui vis et regnes  
diez peres & filz & saintz  
espeit per omnia se  
cula seculoz amen

**A** ces paroles sen  
sa lame dou co  
rr legioneus marir  
rollant. & fu portee des  
angel en la celestie  
compaignie ou ele se  
ra parmenablement  
par la merite de sa des  
tre & fu coniointe a  
uec les saintz marirs

**Q**ue vous diroie  
tiers que la tenenree  
arme de rollant sen  
isoit dou cors. Je touz  
pint arceuesques de  
tant celebre moelle  
des seuf dieu. denant  
monseigneur en la

des maiz retournent qui sunt dep  
ne parmenablement. <sup>CCCCCCCCCCCC</sup>  
par ces .lx. & mille dangiers q  
sont od toutes les et agoulde  
par et paigne. & li le trouuerent  
en vne terre que l'on apiele des  
cham' sa leue de fese en vne pte  
me en .i. plain. la or puit sure  
vne eglise de .ij. glous. marci  
sunt fagoy & .z. pammies par le  
mandement .lx. .<sup>CCCCCCCCCCCC</sup>

**Q**ant les ynes al furent puit des  
autres. Agoulant manda .xl.  
baraille ou .xl. contre .xl. ou .c.  
contre cent ou .cc. contre .cc.  
ou .i. seul contre .i. auere .lx. i  
onuaia .c. de ses cheualiers con  
cent des Agoulant & si se comba  
rent. or li sarrasin furent ocs  
puit remoua .cc. contre .cc. & furent  
ocs li sarrasin . puit remoua Agoul  
oul contre mil & li sien furent ocs.  
& puit remoua .ij. mille contre .ij.  
mille. & l'unc parre des sarr. fu  
rent ocs & li auere son furent  
au terre or ieta Agoulant ses foies  
& un que se perdesoit hastuement.  
& li manda plentiere bataille alon  
demain. & .lx. li orna . l'oc auer  
que li coethen qui les lances auoient  
apavelles par combatre les enti  
eresent l'auer deuant lor tres. et  
puit & es ent desor leure dont se  
vos des ocs. sine auoy. lendemain les  
rouerent tout et dangier deluoc  
& des ocs. & ce furent les lances  
de cels qui lendemain deuoient re  
couire marciue ou la bataille. il sa

mesuelherent milz diuement. &  
siles coentent puit de ceure. &  
les riques q venissent courent .ij.  
& auere i .i. .ij. .xl. & gur hors  
de cel bos dont les lances furent  
destruite & desap & auerces bos.

**Q**ant fu li myrdes & li oie & li  
biens. al armes. & al cas li da  
mages. cel or fu la bataille. & li or  
ment .xl. mille coethen. li mille  
dangiers pere rollant veur au  
ture auoc cels qui les lances flou  
rent. & li caual. lx. fu desor luy  
oat. & .lx. fu apie auoc .ij. mille  
coethen apie. & coist sapes &  
tu les sarrasin que on auelan  
ionne. si en oait maule des tuis.  
et se ce ynt au cor leure & li  
coethen den alerent aler coest.  
lendemain vindrent au idat .lx.  
.iij. marot de lombardie .i. mille  
cheualiers. <sup>CCCCCCCCCCCC</sup>

**Q**ant Agoulant vit francois  
recomer si sen ala alpons. &  
se repant en fise auoc la Gene  
qui or. en ceste bataille si dones  
entendre de cels se sda qui pour  
dieu se combarene. car ausi es li  
chle charle s'apavellearene d'armes  
contre la bataille. ausi uat demant  
nou' apavelles en bien? & en uer?  
& oter les molant uisot de noue.  
qui deuant face la bataille contre  
le diable. car qui boine face a contre  
mescoance. apree contre haue.  
large contre auuiste. humbre con  
tre aguel. estoe contre l'ure.  
ouon contre rempillon de dea

syllables of *ataignoit* in Chapter XXXIV, 1. 4. A rough calculation suggests that the loss corresponds to two folios of P2. The catalogue says categorically that the translation was made by Pierre: "traduite en français par Pierre."<sup>8</sup> There must be some confusion here, for though it was once thought that Pierre, that is to say, Pierre de Beauvais, was the author of the Johannes translation of the Pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle*, the attribution to him of our present translation is quite unwarranted.<sup>9</sup> The Turpin ends on fol. 59v<sup>o</sup>, a, with the explicit: "Ci fine l'estoire de Carlemainne et de ses gens." It is followed without announcement of any kind by the Anonyme de Béthune's *Chronique française des rois de France*, which begins: "Si com nous trovons en escrit es anciens livres, Troies fu ancianement. . . ." It reaches down to the year 1204. Fol. 68 contains a column of notes on events which happened during the years 1244-1249, which establishes for us a *terminus post quem* for the date of the manuscript. Fols. 68v<sup>o</sup>-124 contain a text of the Anonyme de Béthune's *Histoire des ducs le Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* which begins "Par la devison que li ancien home firent del monde . . ." and which ends with events of the year 1220. Fols. 124 and 125 contain a text of the *Ordre de chevalerie* in prose. Item 4 has already supplied us with a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript, namely 1249. The script, the ornamentation and the language, which we shall study in a moment, allow us to date the manuscript in the third quarter of the thirteenth century and to localize it in Artois. In the seventeenth century, the manuscript was owned by the chancellor of France, Pierre Séguier. It remained in the possession of that family until 1731, when it was bequeathed by a descendant, Henri Charles du Cambout, duc de Coislin, to the Benedictines of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, whence it passed with the rest of their collection to the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>10</sup> The Saint-Germain shelf-mark is, as we have seen, recorded on fol. 126. The book is now bound in light brown calf; on the spine is the title, evidently taken from the one written at the top of fol. 1: *Histoire de la Terre Sainte*.

8. Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français*, Sér. 3: *Ancien St.-German Français*, 2 (Paris, 1898).

9. For the evidence see my edition of the Johannes Turpin, pp. 89 ff.

10. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS*, 2:46 and 78 ff.



# The Language of the Turpin in MS P1

THE LINGUISTIC FORMS in P1 are almost pure Francien. This accords with what we have seen of the general confection of the manuscript. There are, however, in the graphical system of the scribe a few dialectal features. They are so exceptional and represent such momentary derogations from the norm that they appear to be lapses on his part into the use of forms native to his speech but which he sought to avoid in the professional exercise of his expertise as copyist. Or should one rather see in these the influence of a model from which he managed for the most part to eradicate the dialectal features?

He tends to unvoice the voiced palatal fricatives, a well-known Picard trait. So he writes *galices* for *chalice* V, 12, LXII, 6; *domache* for *domage* VI, 49, VIII, 23; *charchiees* VI, 44 for *chargees* (cf. VIII, 19, XXXI, 4, XLI, 7); and *venchance* for *vanjance* VI, 12. See too the note to VI, 64, concerning *lecherie*, which he wrote for *legerie*, as though the sound which he had in his mind as he copied the latter word was the palatal surd. In the early part of his Turpin he writes intervocalic *d* instead of *z* in *Sarradins*; cf. the note to V, 7. The *d* represents a popular pronunciation, widespread in the *langue d'oc* as well as in the *langue d'oïl*. He writes *ou* for the initial vowel in *Tourpins*, the form which he uses throughout except for one case of *Torpins* (XXVII, 1), in *resouciter* (XXXVIII, 6), *resoucitera* (XXXVIII, 17, var.), and in *joustice* (XLIII, 2). The fact that, in providing a "senefiance" for *Tourpins*, he gives *turcoples* (LXI, 16), suggests that we have in these spellings an example of the alternation in writing between *ou* and *u*, a feature of the Picard scripta (cf. Gossen, *Grammaire*, p. 85, §28b). The question remains as to the pronunciation of *ou* and *u*. It is difficult to accept Gossen's conclusion that it was [ú]. We have, perhaps, a clue at XXXII, 3, where our scribe, copying *leur vindrent sus soudainement*, omitted *sus* — surely by haplogy: [su]–[su]? He uses throughout *dou* for the Francien *du* < *de* + *le*: e.g. *les genz dou païs* (I, 5), the form prevalent over a wide region in the North, Northeast and East. It is the form we find used constantly in Mouskés, whose language is the *rouchi* of Hainaut. Our scribe has also two cases of the form *le* for the Francien fem. pron. *la* (IV, 6, VII, 11) and three Picard forms of the poss. pron. in *la seue* (XIII, 5) and *la teue* (XIV, 19). Once he writes *-oiz* for *-ez* as the ending of the 2nd pers. pl. of the future or conditional, a form which was

common in the neighboring region of Champagne: *avroiz* LVIII, 11. There are sporadic examples of *n'r* showing no intercalated *d* – *retenront* VI, 27, *tenroit* XXV, 34 – and of *-iaus* from *-ellus*, *-ellos*: *coutiaus* XLIV, 5, *biau* LXI, 5 and 6, *chastiaus* LXIII, 9. The scribe writes *aus* (*illos*) once XVII, 3, but *euls* elsewhere, and shows one example of the 1st pers. pl. pres. subj. ending in *-iens*: *soiens* XIV, 35. At VIII, 19, *chargiez* is perhaps the Picard form corresponding to the Francien *chargieez* (see note).

Among other features which deserve mention, though they do not belong in the category of dialectal or popular influences, is the scribe's consistent use of the ending *-iere(s)* instead of *-ere(s)* from *-ātor*. The form *-iere* is due to reduction in pronunciation of *ie* from *ja* in *\*-jator* to *e*, resulting in a homonymy between *-iere* and *-ere* and so in a confusion of spelling which led to the substitution of *-iere* for *-ere*: *enperiere* XII, 30, XXX, 1; *desfendieres* XLIII, 5; *relevieres* XLIII, 7; etc. I have mentioned above the scribe's neglect or incomprehension of what had been the nominal declension. Its almost total disintegration in his copy would corroborate our dating in the latter part of the thirteenth century. So too would his hesitation over the writing of *s* before an unvoiced consonant. He usually writes it, but there are signs that he did not pronounce it: *meismes*, *osteés*, *coustume*, *fist*, *dist* but occasionally the pret. *dit* XXIII, 40, 48, 57, with *dist* in l. 43, and *hante* (*hasta*) XLIII, 2, *blamer* XVI, 5. He hesitates, too, about the writing of *e* before the tonic vowel. Along with *fussent* which is his usual form he writes *feussent*; evidently the *e* had been lost in pronunciation before tonic *u*. One further detail pointing to a date in the second half of the century is the form *demande* XV, 24, the 1st. pers. sing. pres. indic. with final analogical *-e*. It is a single occurrence; *demant* follows almost immediately in l. 25 and at XIV, 31 we find *comant*, at LVIII, 10, *conjur*.

# The Language of the Turpin in MS P2

THE LINGUISTIC SYSTEM which shows through the orthography and morphology of the scribe who copied the Turpin in MS P2 suggests that he was a Picard, a cultured man and a conscientious copyist. Though writing in the second half of the thirteenth century, he is scrupulously attentive to the declensional system, and while the Picard habits of his normal usage are imprinted, as we shall see, in many of the written forms which he uses, the absence from his text of so many well-known and ingrained features of the Picard dialect indicates that he was concerned to write more formally, that is, more in the Francien manner, than in the manner of his community. The Picard features of his text are as follows.

## I. ORTHOGRAPHY

### *The Vowels*

Latin free tonic *a* is represented by *ei*: *preis* (*pratum*) with *pré(s)*, *teil* used often and without exception, *seil* (*sal*), *morteil*, *leis* (the prep. from the noun *latus*), *bleit* (from Frk. \**blad*), *neis* (*nasus*), *neis* (*navis*) but always *nés* (*natus*), *remeist* (pret. 3 of *remanoir*); but pret. 6 is *remesent*. The feature occurs over a wide area to the north, but is characteristic of northeastern Picardy, the area in which Walloon and Picard meet and blend.

The ending \**-jata* in past participles and nouns which gives *-iée* in Francien is reduced to *ie*: *apareillie* etc., *bracie* "an arm's length."

Short Latin *e* in blocked position shows diphthongization, again a characteristic of the northeastern region of Picardy: before pre-consonantal *r* or *s* in *sierf*, *pierdi*, *enviers*, *deviers*, *nierf*, *ynfier*, *souffiers*, *couviers*, *diestre*, *seniestre*, (*re*)*viesti*, *viesture*, *iestre*, *tieste*, *bieste*, and before double *l*, *s*, or *r* in *apiele*, *rapiele* etc., *biele(s)*, *bielement*, *capiele*, *castiele*, *siele*, *aissiele*, *priés*, *apriés*, *confiés*, *fier* (*ferrum*), *tiere*, *entiera*. Along with the p.p. *couviers* we find one case of *couvers*, showing perhaps the influence of the scribe's model, but apart from that the *ie* is used consistently.

Open or close *e* followed by *l* or *l'* and another consonant gives *-iau*, too widespread a feature to allow a close localization, yet so consistent here as to

indicate again a Picard scribe: *castiaus, caviaus, biaux, capitiaus, vaissiaus, hiaumes, ciaus*. In *paraus* (*paricūllūs*), *eu* has opened to *au*.

Where open *e* came in contact with *u* the result is *iu*: *Diu* (with *Dieu, Deus*), *liues* (*\*legua*), *triuēs* (*\*treuwa*), *Mahius*. Similarly *rēgula* has given *riule*.

Where close *e* was nasalized, the scribe uses the spelling, common in Picardy, *air-e*: *paindre*, and the p.p. *pains, paines, plain, plainne*.

In the forms derived from *vīlis* and *fīlius*: *viels, vielment, fiels* and *fielx* (with *fiis*) the *l* probably represents the vocalization to *u* and we have the Picard triphthong *ieu* often reduced to *iu* in contrast to the Francien forms which show the elimination of the *l* after close *i*. We find, too, *poestius* contrasting with the Francien *poestis*.

In *orison, ancissor, occison*, we have the usual Picard reduction of pre-tonic *ei* to *i*.

In the case of Latin short *o*, I note first that the scribe, consistently but for one exception, uses the Picard form *bos* corresponding to Francien *bois*. His forms from *fōcum* and *lōcum* are *fu* and *liu*, showing the reduction of *ieu* to *iu*. From *abōcūlis* we find the forms *auuloient, auulis* where the *uu* probably represents *v* from intervocalic *b* and *u* from *o* resulting from the rounding of the vowel under the influence of the bilabial velar fricative through which *b* passed to *v*.

Close *o*, free and tonic, is represented by *o* in words which ended in *-ōrem*, by *ou* in words which ended in *-osum*: *segnor, peceor, mellors*, etc.; *joieuse, mervellouse, glorious, bonneurouse* etc. There are a few exceptions (*segneur, glorieus*), but these are rare. Noteworthy is the spelling *u* in the p.p.: *repus, repuse* and in *crupe* (*la crupe de son cheval*). For the sound [u] the scribe uses *ou* in *proumesis, couvers, souffiers, Agoulant, desous, amour*, and in *doune* where the *o* had closed before the nasal. For the pronunciation of *u* see Gossen, *Grammaire*, p. 85.

From *gloriam, victoriam* the scribe's forms are *glorie, victore*. But he always writes *estoire*.

From *bonus* his forms are without exception *boin, boins, boinne*.

He uses without exception too the Picard forms *glise* and *vesques* in which the *e*- has been lost by deglutination.

### *The Consonants*

The scribe's forms deriving from the Latin palatal plosives are typically Picard. Where Latin [k], initial of a word or syllable, was followed by *e* or *i* it

is usually represented in our scribe's system by *c*: *cit , ciel, ciaux,  ou, ocis, enrici*. The same spelling is used to represent the development of [kj] within the word: *embra a, (la) bracie (d'un home)* "an arm's length," *onces*; and of [tj] supported by a consonant: *maces (\*mattea), ten on, ble a*. That the *c* represents the dialectal pronunciation as an affricate (t ) seems assured by a few alternative spellings in *ch*: *chiaux, chou, rechoit, makes, noncha, blechoit* and by the use of *c* to denote the result from [pj] in the interior of a word: *sacent, saci s, reproces, apro a, haces, ca a*. From *tertium* and *bracchium* we have the Picard forms *tierc, brac*.

Initial Latin [k] before free *a* is represented mainly by *c*: *cief, cemins, ceval, cevaliers, cevalerie, ceval oient, ceoir* (with *ca r, ca * and cf. *queances* below), *peci s, bouce, brances, trencierent* etc. Along with the spelling *c* we find *ch* in *chevaliers*, often written also as *cevaliers*, where we see rival domestic and Francien influences. The scribe also uses *ch* in *cha r*. Apart from this, we also find the use of *k* or *qu*: *Mikiels, ka , felenskement, quevilles, esquieles, riquece*. At one point the scribe writes *les keances et les mesqueances*, proof that in these cases, and probably in those where the spelling was with *c*, the pronunciation was the Picard [k].

Before blocked *a*, the scribe almost invariably uses *c*: *canter, cantera, caviaus, castiaus, capiele, caste , caude, calor, car (carnem)* etc. So too before *o* from *au*: *cose, coisi*. In *ca r, ca rent, ca * the retention of *a* ensured the retention of the velar plosive. Along with *c* we find a few cases of *ch*: *chans (cantos), Charles* (frequently along with much rarer *Carles, Carlemaine), chalende*; and we have *k* in *kaisne (\*cassanus)*.

The scribe's spelling of *herberghi s* with *gh* shows the Picard pronunciation of the *g* as a plosive. He also writes *herberga*, where he may have thought that the *h* was not needed after *g* before the *a*, and *langhe*, from *linguam*; but, inconsistently, *hebergi s*.

From *aqua*, the form most used by the scribe is *euwe*, characteristic of the eastern part of the Picard territory. Along with *euwe* come *auwe, eawe, iaue, eve* and *aigue*, the *gu* in this last probably being simply a graphy for *w* (see Gossen, *Grammaire*,  43). From *aequale* his form is *uweles*.

Between the groups *pr, tr, dr, vr*, he intercalates *e*: *esperit, perderoit, combatera, vainteroit, receveroit, recevera* etc.

Latin *populum* is represented by *pule*.

Another feature characteristic of northeastern Picard is to be seen in the scribe's retention in writing of final *t* in the endings *-et, -it, -ut: laissiet, lasset,*

*nommet, alet, eslit, reciut* (p.p.), *seut*, and, among nouns, *peciet, bleit* (Frk. \**blad*).

There is usually no intercalary consonant in the groups *nr, lr*: *avenroit, venroient, devenrai, vinrent, volrent*, but here there are a few exceptions: *vindrent, avindrent, engendra, prendre*.

The result from Latin *l* + yod is represented by *ll*: *mellor, aparella, aparellié* etc., *pavellon, esmervella, esvella, travellié, soumellous, mervellouse*. Far more rarely we find *ill*: *oreilles, vermeille*. Latin *l* + yod in final position is represented by *-l* in *orgoel* and *voel* (pres. indic. I of *voloir*). That the spelling denotes a non-palatal pronunciation seems confirmed by the scribe's use of *il* in (*je*) *paroil*, pres. indic. of *parler*. This too is a distinctive Picard trait.

## II. MORPHOLOGY

### *The Verb*

There are a few examples of *-eu-* in the strong perfects of the *-ui* class: *seu, seuc, peuc, euc* (all 1st pers. sing.) and *seut*. However, the forms in *-o-* are more frequent: *pot, sot, ot, porent*.

In the pret. of *-ui* verbs we also find the Picard forms *reciut, reciurent, aperciut* and *giut*.

The future and conditional forms showing svarabhaktic *e* inserted between the groups *tr, dr, vr* have been noted above under the heading *Consonants*: *combatera, perderoit, recevera, averas, averoit* (these last two forms along with *aront, aroit*, with which cf. *sarioie*).

Examples occur of Picard forms showing the analogical *-c* ending (an extension from the type *facio, -fach, fac*), in the 1st pers. sing. of the pres. indic. and extended to the preterite: *comanc, demanc* (both occurring often), *peuc, euc, seuc*.

The use of the sigmatic forms in the preterite and imperf. subj. is one of our scribe's consistent dialectal traits: *fesis, desis, presis, proumesis, destruisis; presist, quesist, garnesist, desissent, fesissent*. I note in contrast *feisse* and *feissent*.

In the pret., 3rd pers. pl., of the sigmatic verbs, we find the consistent use of *fisent, prisent, disent, quisent, ocisent, remesent* (*remanoir*).

In the pres. subj., the scribe uses the forms *mecent* (*mettre*) and *oscent*

(*oster*) showing the analogical extension to these verbs of the ending *-che*, *-ce*, etymological in the Picard forms *fache*, *senche* etc.

### *The Article and the Pronoun-Adjectives*

The forms of the def. article used by the scribe are Francien. He uses once the oblique *le* for *la*: *le premiere eskiele*. In combination with *de*, enclitic *le* results in *dou*, which is the form consistently used throughout. There is one case of *le* for *la*, the oblique fem. pron.

From *ego*, the scribe's forms are, in tonic or atonic position, *jou* mainly and, more rarely, *je*. From *me* we have a single case of *mi*, *l'ame de mi*, followed at once by the good Francien, *la moie ame*.

Almost without exception, *illos* has resulted in *aus*, once written *als*. The exceptions are *eus*, written also *elx*. Cf. the demonstrative pron. *chiaux*, *ciaus* and the rare exceptions *ceus*, *cels*. From *ecce-hoc* the scribe's invariable forms are *chou*, *çou*.

The possessive pronouns show Francien forms throughout. Exceptions are two cases of *sen* (*sen baston*, *sen oncle*), elsewhere *son*, and one of the weak form *vo* in the acc. sing.: *a vo segnor*.

It does look as if our scribe, in this aspect of his morphology, knew and used dialectal forms in his daily conversation, but studiously avoided them as he wrote, with occasional lapses into his less formal usage.

We may describe him therefore as a Picard scribe, to whom the forms of speech used in the eastern part of the territory were native, a professional and trained scribe using language with care and who, while consciously avoiding many of the dialectal features which were habitual to him, allowed himself the use of others as proper to the common script in which, in some Picard atelier, he had been trained to write and practised his profession. It is interesting to note that the language of our scribe is very close to the language of the manuscript in which Mouskés's *Chronique rimée* is preserved, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 4963 (formerly 9634). It is quite probable that the translation of which P2 is a representative was made in the same general region to which our scribe belonged and in which Mouskés lived and wrote, a center of interest of which the activity led to the dissemination of the Pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle* and to the compilation of local and national histories.

## The Classification of the Turpin Texts in MSS P1, P2 and in the *Chronique rimée*

TO BEGIN our classification, let me give attention for a moment to the question of what type of Latin text, among so many manuscript groups which make up the Latin Turpin tradition, served as the original for our translation. It was most certainly a manuscript of the A group, one of the family of manuscripts listed by M. de Mandach on p. 367 of his *La geste de Charlemagne*<sup>11</sup> and discussed by him on pp. 89 ff. According to Mandach's very plausible argument, the surviving group of A texts, and some lost intermediaries which he stars and includes among them, had their origin at the abbey of Saint-Denis. The more distant source of our translation, the source from which the Saint-Denis manuscript was copied, is not known and remains the subject of controversy. The oldest Latin text of the Turpin which we know is the one which, in the middle of the twelfth century, formed Book IV in a compilation known as the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* treasured in the library of St. James at Compostela. The *Liber* was a heterogeneous miscellany, comprising five books, the first made up of texts of the services dedicated to Saint James, the second giving an account of his miracles, the third describing his translation from Jerusalem to Galicia, the fourth being the Turpin, and the fifth a guide for the pilgrims to St. James. We can see that a central theme is given to the *Liber* by the presence of Saint James, but the dissimilarity in tone and matter of the Turpin to the other books has provoked the question as to whether it was originally written as part of the *Liber* or whether it was composed independently and later taken into the *Liber* with adaptations made to fit in with the great *Book of St. James*. Critics remain divided in their opinion on this matter, but there is no decisive proof on either side. Hamel and Mandach have shown us that the *Liber* as we have it in the so-called *Codex Calixtinus* at Compostela shows clear signs of having been revised there at the hands of successive scribes, the Turpin along with the other books. The text of the Turpin in the *Codex* is the oldest one extant, but it has an early history during which it underwent a series of modifications. How far back does its history go? To the moment when, possibly, it was written to form part of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*? or further back still to the moment when it was com-

11. André de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe*, 1: *La geste de Charlemagne et de Roland* (Geneva and Paris, 1961).



posed independently as a new *Historia Karoli Magni*? However that may be, scholars agree that it passed through successive stages of redaction before emerging in the final form it has acquired in the *Codex*, stages interesting in themselves as showing particular concerns on the part of the several redactors, important also as guides for the classification of the manuscripts comprising the large and complex tradition in which the Turpin proliferated during the Middle Ages. The manuscript groups stem from the Turpin text at different stages in its evolution; so it has become possible to discern a pattern in the Latin manuscript tradition and, for those particularly concerned with vernacular translations, to trace within this pattern, if not a single manuscript, at least the manuscript group from which a given translation was taken. In Mandach's view, the A text of Saint-Denis was copied from the Turpin before it reached Compostela. Hamel's opinion was that the A text springs from one of the early stages of redaction which the Turpin in the *Liber* underwent at Compostela. Our distant, primal, source remains hidden in the still obscure ur-history of the Turpin. We must therefore rest content to see our source in the clearer view of extant A texts offered by M. de Mandach.

They are characterized by two main peculiarities, namely, a shortened version of the debate between Roland and Fernagu on the tenets of Christian faith, Chapter XVII in Mr. Meredith-Jones's edition (see especially pp. 154-160), and the omission of the Pseudo-Turpin's portrait of Charlemagne, Chapter XX in the edition (see pp. 174-179). A little carelessness in the scriptorium at Saint-Denis led to the persistence in the Table of Contents of the mention of Charlemagne's portrait, "De persona et fortitudine Karoli," after the portrait itself had been eliminated from the text of the Turpin. Our two manuscripts have the shortened text of Chapter XVII, our Chapter XXIII, and Mouskés obviously worked from it. The debate in his *Chronique rimée* ends at vv. 6015-6017, which agree exactly with our Chapter XXIII, 57.<sup>12</sup> P1 and P2 have no portrait of Charlemagne; it should have come be-

12. The correspondence between our translation and the text of the Latin A manuscripts as we may see these in Meredith-Jones's edition is not exact. The A text breaks off at 154, xvii, "Qualis pater, talis filius, talis spiritus sanctus," which is represented in our translation by "Teus conme li Peres est, est li Filz et li Sainz Esperiz" (XXIII, 50). But our French text continues with a version similar to, though not identical with, the Latin of the B, C, and D texts as represented on the right-hand pages of Meredith-Jones's edition. The translation omits the sentence: "In personis est proprietatis, in essencia unitas et in magestate adoratur aequalitas" (155, xviii-xix). Perhaps, though it hardly seems likely, the translator found the sentence difficult, though it does but echo the creed of St. Athanasius: certainly, some, though not all, of the scribes copying the Old French translations found the sentence obscure and

tween our Chapters XXIX and XXX. Neither does Mouskés have the portrait, though in different contexts he has other descriptions of Charlemagne's physique and personality. I should add, too, that P1 has the mention of the portrait in the list of contents which makes up its prologue: "Queus estoit Charles et combien fort" (l. 9). It will be remembered that P2 has lost this prologue, carried away among the lost folios between the present fols. 47 and 48.<sup>13</sup>

Agreement in textual details corroborates the evidence of these broad concordances. M. de Mandach, in order further to establish and identify the A group of manuscripts, has presented a few examples from the proper names which uninformed scribes corrupted in their copies (*La Geste*, pp. 294 ff.). The forms which he quotes, distinct in the A manuscripts as compared with the forms in the other manuscript groups, B, C, D, are reproduced in P1, in P2 except where P2 lacks the relevant folios, and in Mouskés. I add a very clear example: the A manuscripts have *Bellariga* 96, ii for *Berlanga* 97, ii; P1, Chapter III, 5 and Mouskés, v. 11990, have *Bellarige*. At 114, ii (cf. 113, xxii), the Latin A texts omit *Aethiopes*, *Sarannos*, *Pardos*, *Affricanos*; so do P1 and P2, Chapter VII, 2, and Mouskés (vv. 4997-98). There are other omissions in the A text as compared with the B text, e.g., at 185, ii-xi, 191, ix-xvi, 197, viii-xvii; we find our translation here, too, in agreement with the A text. Our translator, therefore, quite certainly worked from a Latin manuscript of the A type. M. de Mandach has shown (op. cit., p. 97) how the A manuscripts, originating in Saint-Denis, proved to be the source manuscripts for the Turpin tradition which developed under the patronage of the great feudatories of northern and northeastern France, the region which was the home of Mouskés and, as we have seen, of the scribe of P2.

As representative of the Latin A group of manuscripts, Mr. Meredith-Jones printed on the even pages of his edition the text of Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 13774 to which he gives the sigil A6. He adds at the foot of the page variants from the text of Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 17656, his MS A1, and from Bibl. Nat. MS

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transmitted it corruptly. But then our translation continues with Roland's effort to explain to Fernagu the concept of the triune God with the comparison of the trinity in unity offered by the sun, the wheel, the almond and, finally, Fernagu's own self. There the discussion ends in P1, P2, and in Mouskés (157, vi; XXIII, 57; v. 6017).

13. This characteristic, inherited by our translation from the original Latin A manuscript in Saint-Denis, is one detail among others which M. de Mandach adduces to prove that the exemplar which the Saint-Denis scribe copied contained these elements and that the short A text results from their deliberate omission at Saint-Denis (*La geste*, p. 95).

nouv. acq. lat. 369, his MS A10. Mr. Jones was not aware of the true place which these manuscripts occupy in the Latin textual tradition. In a memorable work published in 1937,<sup>14</sup> H. M. Smyser brought a necessary correction to Meredith-Jones's classification, and the more recent and complementary studies by Hamel and Mandach have enabled us to see more clearly how the A manuscripts are related to each other. A6 stands in the direct line between our translation and the original A text made in Saint-Denis. A10 stems from another and slightly differing copy of the Saint-Denis manuscript. A1 is a much rehandled text of a third copy; in Smyser's terms it is an embellished copy of a plain, abridged version of the Turpin. Along with Meredith-Jones's MS A6, Mandach lists in the same line of descent his MS A.01, Vatican MS Regina 88, which Meredith-Jones did not know. I have compared readings in the Regina manuscript with those of our translation and find that the former text cannot be considered as the model from which the latter was taken. Another manuscript should be included in Mandach's A group. It is Arras, Bibl. Municipale MS 163 (formerly 184), which somehow has strayed into Mandach's "Maître Jehans" category on his p. 389. It is, however, an A manuscript, beautifully written in a formal gothic hand and showing the characteristics which, as we have seen, identify the A group. The Arras manuscript lacks a number of folios between fol. 100 v<sup>o</sup> and fol. 101 and between fol. 105v<sup>o</sup> and fol. 106 but is complete where our important comparisons need to be made, and here it proves again not to be the original from which our translation was made. In place of this lost original we must perforce turn to the text of A6 as printed by Meredith-Jones. Where I need to make references to the Latin text, it will therefore be to the A6 text as given to us by Meredith-Jones on the left-hand pages of his edition.

The fact that the Old French translation of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* which is represented by our manuscripts P1 and P2 was the source from which Philippe Mouskés drew his Turpin material was established in my earlier study, *Philippe Mouskés and the "Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle"* published in 1947.<sup>15</sup> Much of what has been presented above to show the affinity of

14. *The Pseudo-Turpin. Edited from Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin, MS. 17656 with an Annotated Synopsis*, by H. M. Smyser, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 30 (Cambridge, Mass., 1937).

15. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 26 (1974), No. 4, pp. 331 ff.

P1, P2, and the *Chronique rimée* with the Latin A texts will have helped to confirm this conclusion. It may not be too tiresome to offer a further detail in corroboration. The passage in our Chapter L, ll. 18-23, is not in the Latin Turpin (cf. 218, xvi), but it occurs in both our manuscripts and the gist of it is also in Mouskés, vv. 9644-51.

My earlier study led to a further conclusion, namely, that Mouskés could not have used either of our two manuscripts. They were both, as we have seen, copied after 1243, the date at which the *Chronique rimée* ends, and shortly after which Mouskés probably died. Both manuscripts show lacunae where Mouskés is complete; an example will appear below, used in another context. It is certain, then, that Mouskés used an earlier manuscript from which P1 and P2 also derive.

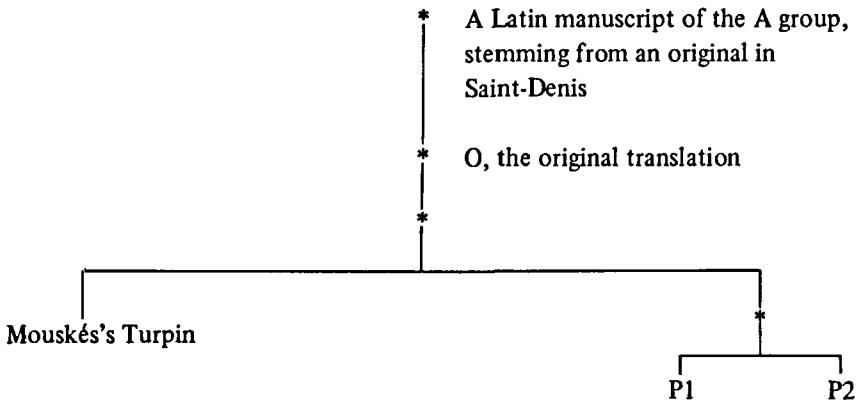
But not directly; this is a further conclusion to which my earlier study led me and which is too important to dismiss here with a mere reference. The evidence lies in Chapter LVII, 3-4 of the text printed below. Here P1 and P2 omit a passage on necromancy which is present in the Latin (226, x-228, iii) and which appears also in Mouskés (vv. 9804 ff.). But at the point of omission our manuscripts show an interpolation; they add what is said there about *fusique* (LVII, 4), a detail which occurs in no Latin text so far as I know. Mouskés has this mention of *fisique* (v. 9785), which he develops on his own in an exposition which might have been written by an apothecary. The agreement between our manuscripts and Mouskés in the matter of *fusique* is yet another proof of their common origin, but the presence of the disquisition on necromancy in the Latin Turpin and in Mouskés and its absence in P1 and P2 show that our two manuscripts are at fault here. They must owe their error to an omission—probably deliberate, since the subject was such a touchy one—in an intermediary manuscript which served as their common source but of which Mouskés was independent. Another omission, common to P1 and P2, points to the same conclusion (see the note to Chapter XXV, 16). Further evidence for this particular relationship between P1 and P2 appears in a conspicuous error which they share in contrast with Mouskés, who has the correct reading. At 142, xvi, the Latin Turpin tells us that having defeated and killed Agolant, Charles and his army moved forward “usque ad pontem Argae, via iacobitana,” that is, from Pamplona to Puente la Reina. P1 and P2 show here (Chapter XIX, 1-2) a passage strangely confused (see the note to the text). P1: “et ala toute la voie a Saint Jaque jusques au perron d’Argue”; P2: “et ala

toute la voie saint Jaqueme dusques au perron d'Arge." Mouskés reads correctly:

Et puis s'en ala vers St. Jake  
Od sa gent, trosques al pont d'Arge.  
(vv. 5672-73)

Again, at Chapter XXIII, 29, P1 and P2 show an interpolation. It occurs at the moment when Fernagu, during a lull in his duel with Roland, seemingly with great naïveté, reveals to his enemy where the weak spot in his body lay. The Latin text clumsily tries to explain his revelation by saying that he spoke in Arabic, thinking, wrongly, that he would not therefore be understood. In P1 and P2 we find an adventitious but more satisfying explanation: "(Fernaguz) qui sommeilleus estoit et garde ne s'en donoit (li dist . . .)." Nothing like this is in the Latin (cf. 152, xiv-xvi) or in Mouskés (cf. vv. 5908-5914).

The errors common to P1, P2, and Mouskés in the forms of proper names suggest that these passed to all three texts through a faulty copy or series of copies of the original translation. We must then suppose one or more intermediaries between Mouskés on the one hand, and the immediate source of P1 and P2 on the other, and the original translation. We may, then, draw as follows the family tree of our three Turpin texts:



The Mouskés Turpin is nearer to the text of P2 than to that of P1. Examples of the closer relationship of P2 to Mouskés follow.

- VII, 2 P1: Sarre  
P2, Mouskés (v. 5000): Barre. *The Latin form is Burrabellum*, 114, iii.
- VII, 4 P1: Amphimore (roi de Maiorç *lacking*)  
P2: Anfimore roi de Maiorc  
Mouskés (v. 5006): Anfimore, roi de Majore
- VIII, 13-14 P1: et li manda . . . contre lui *lacking*  
P2, Mouskés (vv. 5087-94): *are both complete here*
- XVI, 8 P1: perdi tant  
P2: p. tant de pule  
Mouskés (v. 5589): Pierdi tel peule
- XVI, 15 P1: .c. et .xxx. mile  
P2: .c. et .xxxiv. mile  
Mouskés (v. 5619): C et XXXIV miliers
- XVII, 6 P1: le roy Costentin d'autre  
P2, Mouskés (v. 5639): Coustentins li provos de Roume . . .
- XLI, 10 P1: vostre seigneur  
P2: vostre buisnier  
Mouskés (v. 8321): vostre buissineour
- XLIV, 5 P1: encisiez  
P2, Mouskés (v. 8508): escorciés

This comparison will have suggested that P2, as far as it goes, offers a better text than P1. The collation of our two manuscripts confirms this. The scribe of P1 seems to have been rather ignorant and rather heedless. How could he write at I, 8 that Charlemagne was much feared for his *bonté*? There must have been an obscure word in his exemplar, but it was rather irresponsible of him to rest satisfied with *bonté*. Heedless too is his error *Charles otroie* for *Charles ot joie* at XIX, 1. When he makes a personal intervention he is quite fatuous, as at XXI, 4; and how unlettered he must have been to write at L, 34 that the palace was painted with scenes from old testaments and new! Or at LX, 15 to write that the walls of Jerusalem, not Jericho, fell down at the sound of the trumpets! And at XLIX, 3 to write that the Burgundians came from Roncevaus to Arles via Orleans! His text, though beautifully written, is often stupidly corrupt. So we must regret the more that P2 has been despoiled of so many folios.

Here then is our manuscript tradition. It will be interesting now to look up from our collation of texts and consider for a moment where to place our translation in the social environment of its day. Its day; probably not later than the first third of the thirteenth century. We have seen that our two manuscripts date from the second half of the century. Mouskés's *Chronique*

ends with events which happened in 1243; the manuscript of our Turpin translation which he used must therefore be dated certainly not later than 1240. Behind Mouskés's model lies an intermediary already corrupted in transmission; we are justified in seeing an unknown but surely existing line of descent from the original text of the translation to Mouskés and to our surviving manuscripts, P1 and P2 (see the stemma on p. 26). So we move back from ca. 1240 towards the third decade of the century as the probable date of our translation.

Let us take another stance and look down the years from that moment of awakened interest and patronage which saw the initial promulgation of the Turpin in French prose. Our survey begins with the literary activity of Baudouin V, count of Hainaut from 1171, count of Flanders, too, after 1191, until his death in 1195, who showed a particular interest in the *Historia Karoli Magni* of Archbishop Turpin. Baudouin was an exceptionally well-educated nobleman, able to read both Latin and French. He cherished with predilection the memory of Charlemagne whom he claimed as his ancestor. But his learning had led him to distrust the stories of the emperor as he heard them in the songs of the jongleurs; he therefore sought out with much diligence a true history of Charlemagne and acquired for his library manuscripts of the reputedly veracious *Historia Karoli Magni* of Archbishop Turpin. They were copies of the A text, as we know now, the story of whose later dissemination has been told by M. de Mandach.

When he died, Baudouin bequeathed one of these Latin manuscripts to his sister, Yolande, the countess of Saint-Pol-en-Ternois, who, between 1195 and 1205, had one of her clerics, Nicolas de Senlis, translate it into French. Here is the first among the Old French translations of the Turpin; it was followed by a whole series of others: the translation made by one Johannes about 1205 and disseminated immediately by copies made for Count Renaud de Boulogne, for an Artesian gentleman, Michel de Harnes, and for the Norman Guillaume de Caieu; the Anglo-Norman translation made by William de Briane for Warin fitz Gerold shortly before 1218; an anonymous translation made probably in Artois about the same time; and our present version. These Old French renderings of the Turpin bear witness to the beginning and lively development of a literary and social trend: in general, a gentler culture spreading among laymen of gentle rank and, in particular, an interest in local and national history narrated in the prose which promised to guarantee its reliability. The reasons why the Turpin in French form proved so satisfying an answer to such a demand are not hard to find. The crusading spirit had

been brought to a high pitch of fervor in the resolve to regain the lost Jerusalem. Robert de Clari, Villehardouin, and Henri de Valenciennes were giving eyewitness accounts of events beyond the sea, enthralling no less to those who avidly read or heard the news at home than to the participators themselves. To these active and involved people, the Turpin presented in Charlemagne the first and model crusader, saintly in character and foremost in prowess. They saw in him, moreover, not only a supreme exemplar of what they themselves wanted to be, but also, their ancestor. In the princely and baronial courts of northern and eastern France, the redaction of family genealogies was a prevalent fashion which thrived with the development of historiography. The genealogists, writing under most interested sponsorship, sought above all to attach the great families of the region to the Carolingian dynasty. Baudouin V himself claimed descent from Charlemagne through Judith, wife of Count Baudouin Bras de Fer of Flanders. His daughter, Isabelle, in marrying Philip II of France, was said to have restored the continuity between Charlemagne and the royal house of France. Louis VIII boasted of his double descent from Charlemagne through Isabelle and through Adele de Champagne. It was to Louis's great ancestor, Charlemagne, that Aegidius Parisiensis in his *Karolinus*, dedicated to the young prince in September, 1200, bade him look as to the example he should emulate when he came to the throne.<sup>16</sup> Yolande de Hainaut claimed descent from Charlemagne through her ancestor Alexandre de Namur, and Renaud de Boulogne had a similar pretension as descendant of Ermengarde the sister of Charles de Lorraine. This ambition to prove themselves sons and daughters of the great emperor transcended feudal personalities and rivalries. After Canossa, France rose out of the shadow into which it had been cast by the access of the Ottonians to the imperial throne, and it was a proud sense of belonging to the Carolingian tradition which determined Philip Augustus's policy of checkmating the ambitions of Otto IV and of restoring French hegemony in Europe. The Latin Turpin had been born in its own day when statesmen like Suger saw what France was, recalled what it had been under Charlemagne, and knew what under vital leadership it might become again. The Old French translations were caught in and fed the same current of opinion, broadened now, informing and tempering the minds of practical and influential lay men and women. The translations mark a moment in the political as well as the literary history of France, when the sense of pride and nationhood were guiding France

16. See the recent edition of the *Karolinus* by M. L. Colker, "The 'Karolinus' of Egidius Parisiensis," *Traditio* 29 (1973), 199-325.



under a strong king towards a national ideal and national enterprises. May we not, then, as we look from this viewpoint at our problems of date and social context, insert our present translation in time and place among those others as proceeding from the same impulse and reaching towards the same effect? All in all, I would conclude that, as we look up the years from the discernible dates within our manuscript tradition or down the years during which the fashion of translating the Turpin was in its heyday, the evidence suggests that we should date the making of our translation in the decade 1220–1230. The fact that it was made from a Latin A manuscript suggests further that it belongs to the region of Mons, the center of diffusion of the Latin A texts. The language of Mouskés's *Chronique rimée* is the rouchi of Hainaut; that of our manuscript P2 is that of a region not far removed, probably the borderland between the counties of Hainaut, Flanders and Artois. It seems justified to think, then, that our translator was a Hainuyer and that his French Turpin had a local popularity of which the height is marked for us by Mouskés inclusion of it in his *Chronique rimée*, that plodding but sincere panegyric of Charlemagne and eulogy of the kings of France.

A comparison of our translation, in so far as we can discern it behind the extant textual tradition, with the Latin A manuscripts which we know, suggests that the translator rendered his Latin model faithfully and competently. He seems to have been in difficulty on one or two occasions; these are examined in the notes to Chapter VII, 12 and Chapter XXVII, 6. At LVIII, 26, where we read "amaladi li rois et fu morz" he seems quite unintentionally to have omitted an important passage in the Latin, 230, xvi–232, ii. It is evident, though a little surprising, that his glance fell from *aegrotasse* to *erogasse* a few lines below. At times he seems to have found problems in some of the Latin words. The Pseudo-Turpin tells us that, after the martyrdom of St. James, his *asseclae* ("followers"), 88, iii, bore his body to Galicia and there preached the Gospel. Our translator rendered *asseclae* by (*les*) *genz dou pais*, I, 5. He does not seem to know who the Pardi were (98, xii) and contents himself with the rendering: "la terre des Turs," III, 22 (see the Index of Proper Names, s.v. *Turs*). Yet he often takes great care in his translation. Faced with the problem of rendering *heros misericordiae*, he wrote (LXI, 13): "ber et verais escuz de misericorde." "The shield of compassion" is not quite felicitous, but *ber* does justice to *heros*, and the breaking of the Pseudo-Turpin's strained metaphor into the composite phrase of the translation shows how conscientious our translator was in his labor. Again, at the beginning of his story, the Pseudo-Turpin tells us how the followers of the martyred Saint James evangelized Galicia, how Galicia relapsed into paganism until the coming of Charlemagne

and how Charlemagne, weary after his long wars, made up his mind (*proposuit*) to rest for a while. At which point (88, xvii) the Pseudo-Turpin continues: “Statimque intuitus est in celo . . .,” where he saw the starry way pointing to Galicia – and his manifest destiny. *Statimque!* The connective adverb makes a most inept link with *proposuit*, a carelessness which our translator remedies with: “Une nuit se gisoit Charles en son lit et vit . . .” (I, 13). It is not surprising that he found the Pseudo-Turpin difficult to translate in places; on the whole, however, he does him better than justice and leaves the story more readable than it is in the Latin original.

We can see him at this work, criticizing his model, changing it where he thought fit. At 180, xxiii, the Pseudo-Turpin tells us explicitly that Ganelon and Turpin (here mentioned in the third person) were not in the rearguard but went with the main body of the French army over the Port de Cize. Yet at 182, xi–xii, after having described the defeat and annihilation of the rearguard, he adds that the only survivors were Roland, Baudouin, Turpin, Thierry, and Ganelon. Our translator removes the confusion by omitting the mention of Ganelon and Turpin in the second passage (XXXII, 15).<sup>17</sup> The

17. The question as to whether or not the Pseudo-Turpin was nodding here remains controversial. See *Romania* 73 (1952), 244 ff. The matter turns on the sense of the word *pugnatores* at 182, xi. Does it mean, as M. Rychner thinks, and as does M. André Burger after him, “the barons” listed in Chapter XI (our Chapters XI and XII), or, as it had been thought until M. Rychner brought the question up, all the combatants, the peers and the twenty thousand men? The matter has not been thoroughly argued. In describing the muster of Charlemagne’s army, Chapter XI, the Pseudo-Turpin distinguishes the *virorum* (var. *pugnatorum*) *maiorum*, 122, i, the *barons* of our translation, XI, l. 1, from the thirty-four thousand *virorum bellatorum*, the *gent combatant* of our Chapter X, who made up the body of the army. At Roncevaux he tells us, 182, x, that besides the *viginti milibus Christianorum* of the rearguard, *omnes pugnatores praeter . . .* “touz nos bons chevaliers,” XXXII, 14, were killed. It does seem, therefore, in spite of the Pseudo-Turpin’s use of *pugnatorum maiorum* in one context and the unqualified *pugnatores* in the other, that *pugnatores* here means the barons, and indeed of these the only survivors were Roland, Oliver, Baudouin, Thierry on the battlefield, and Ganelon and Turpin who had gone with Charlemagne over the pass to Val Carlos. But, however that may be, our mediaeval translators did not go to the trouble we have taken to decide. For most of them – for some of the Latin copyists too – the mention of Ganelon and Turpin in the second passage was unnecessary or at least unclear. The two names were left out by Nicolas of Senlis, by Johannes, and by the authors of the so-called Turpin I and of our present translation. The Burgundian translator included them, but William de Briane thought the matter over and found it necessary to explain: “. . . fors soulment Baudewyn le frere Rollant, e jo Turpin e Genyloun ke fumes ou Charles, e autres ke ço mucyrent par les bois e issy eschaperent” (ed. Short, ll. 1042–45). We must conclude, then, that our translator found the passage unsatisfactory and tried to give us a better one.

Pseudo-Turpin, lucubrating in his scriptorium, intent on his propagandistic purpose and more theoretical than practical in his experience, often let his imagination express itself in an overwrought style, seeking in this way to make his story more impressive, perhaps more compelling. At 192, vi-ix, he describes how Roland, mortally wounded, blew his horn to rally to him the few survivors of the rearguard lurking in the forest for fear of the Saracens, in order, he writes, that "ad se venirent, suoque funeri adessent, spatamque suam et equum acciperent, et Sarracenos persequerentur." The thought that these few men, defeated and leaderless, should, after seeing to the proper disposal of Roland's body, and after taking his sword and horse into their protective keeping, set off in pursuit of the enemy is the extravagance of an uncontrolled imagination. Our translator omitted the phrase "et S. persequerentur" (XXXVII, 3). As we compare our Latin and French texts and find many similar omissions, we can see in all of them our more realistic translator addressing his more realistic audience in the instinctive knowledge that the laconic understatement of epic style was their proper medium of communication.

With similar understanding and taste he is at pains to eliminate the crude excesses of the Pseudo-Turpin's rhetoric. So "trucidavit multos Sarracenos per medium" becomes "si en ocist moult de Turs," "urbem magno triumpho intravit" becomes "Charles entra en la cité," and "patet quia christiana lex omnibus ritibus et legibus totius mundi excellit" becomes "Bien nous montra Dieus en cele bataille laquele loy devoit estre tenue." At one of the most poignant moments of his *Historia*, so much of which was borrowed and adapted from the epic tradition, the Pseudo-Turpin tells us how Roland, having slain Marsile and driven Baligant from the field, dismounts, wounded to the death, near the marble stone and unsheathes his sword over which he makes his distressful lament: "Habebat enim adhuc spatam suam secum, opere pulcherrimam, acumine incomparabilem, nimia claritate resplendentem nomine Duranda" (188, x-xii); and our translator: "Encore avoit il sa bone espee Durandal." The Pseudo-Turpin's style is one divorced from all living contact, out of touch too with the live poetic tradition. He should have minded St. Bernard's admonition: "Experto crede: aliquid amplius invenies in silvis quam in libris." Our translator, a different man writing for a different audience, eliminated from his work as much as he could of the Pseudo-Turpin's cant.

Much of the Pseudo-Turpin's inopportune display of erudition, too. This was a method of amplification which the Pseudo-Turpin had learned in

school; no doubt it came familiarly and probably pleasingly to his clerical audience. But our translator judged it out of place in a chronicle addressed to lay people, cultured certainly, though not trained in the arts of grammar and rhetoric, and retaining unspoiled the sense which can distinguish between art and artifice. So, for example, he reduced the showy erudition displayed in the passages describing the seven arts, Chapters LI-LVII. Often he felt compelled to deflate his model's windy verbosity: "Isti praefati sunt viri famosi, heroes bellatores, potentibus cosmi potentiores, fortioribus fortiores, Christi proceres, Christianam fidem in mundo propalantes" (126, iii-vi) — "Cist que nonmez vous ai sont noble combatant et furent apareillié a la volenté Nostre Seigneur et a sa loy essaucier" (XII, 27-28). At times he found it necessary to correct the opposite fault. At I, 10 he renders the cliché, meaningless in its context, "a mare usque ad mare," by "des la mer de Brandiz jusques a la mer d'occidant." At times he brings an airy moral down to earth. In Chapter XIV, where Charles is demonstrating to Agolant the advantages of the Christian faith, our translator brings home to his audience the assurance of afterlife in paradise for the Christian, in hell for the pagan, by adding the parentheses: "de ce ne doutons nous mie" (l. 28) and "ce savons nous bien" (l. 29), commonplace assertions of popular convictions. Witness too his use of direct speech, in contrast with the Latin, at XV, 24 and XXXIII, 12. The whole trend of the changes he made in his original was to make the narrative more lifelike, less abstract, more in keeping with the practical and familiar experiences in which men and women like himself had learned to know life, to distinguish values, and to judge character.

Perhaps to judge other matters too. In the story, told in Chapter VI, of the executor who made away with funds bequeathed to the poor by a testator, the Pseudo-Turpin gives the warning: "sed quia malis factis divini iudicis vindicta proxima esse solet" (106, viii ff.) and goes on to describe the awesome punishment which came at once upon the evil doer. But our translator changes the passage to read: "Mes la venchance de Dieu soloit estre plus hastive et plus aperte que ele n'est ore (ll. 12-13), permitting himself an anachronism and, surely not without humor, relegating to bygone times the immediate and visible vengeance wreaked by God upon sinners. His rendering is really a smiling aside to a very understanding audience.

More than the Pseudo-Turpin, our translator was alive to the poetic legend of Charlemagne. He knew intuitively that the audience he had in mind shared the warmth of his feeling, and that he and they were at one in recalling at the Pseudo-Turpin's prompting, scenes, episodes, and characters made

familiar to them in the recital of the ever popular epic poems. So he makes the *pugnatores* of 180, iv the *arrieregarde* of XXXI, 6. He presents Roland in formulaic fashion as *le neveu Charle*, Roland's sword as *Durandal* (*spata propria* 150, v), Thierry as Roland's squire, Pinabel as Ganelon's nephew who, like his uncle, suffered the ignominy of being dragged to death by horses; and he insists beyond the Latin (XLVII, 4) that Roland's ivory horn was cracked: *qui d'ivoire estoit et si estoit croissuz*, and that Charlemagne drew, not his own sword, but *Joieuse* (XXV, 29; 166, xvii).

As we see the character of our translator thus reflected in his work, he rather endears himself to us: competent in his translation but not to the point of perfection, faithful but not servile to his model, transforming the Pseudo-Turpin's pretentious style into one more realistic, more natural, evidently sharing with his auditors a love of his subject and of the traditions surrounding it. Thinking much as they thought, feeling much as they felt, writing much as they talked together, he becomes for us one of the voices of his time, telling his story to his contemporaries with conviction, engagingly and so enduringly.

## Editorial Method

SINCE P1 is complete whereas P2 lacks many folios, P1 must perforce form the basis of our edition. I tamper with it as little as possible, provided it makes sense. But where it does not, I replace its reading with the reading in P2, keeping the Picard forms of P2 as they are in the manuscript. The rejected readings of P1 are listed underneath each page of text. The P2 variants are listed below these. Sometimes of course P1 and P2 are both corrupt; I then show in the notes by what process of comparison with Mouskés and with the Latin A text and by what exercise of divination on my own part I arrive at my proposed emendation. These emendations appear in the text printed in italics.

The proper names, above all the place-names, present a problem. They are already corrupt in the Latin A manuscripts, and have become more so in the process of transmission through translation to our surviving texts. In many cases there is no possibility of discerning the form given by the translator to a name. I leave them therefore as the scribe of P1 wrote them. The Index of Proper Names will help to identify them, and there is some advantage for future possible collation of our text with others in having the scribe's forms unaltered before us.

A special problem is presented by the frequent lack of clear distinction between the scribe's *n* and *u*. But the *amiranz de Babyloine* at XXI, 3 is indeed the *amirauz de B.* at XXX, 5 and *Cesaranguste* at XXV, 37 does seem to be an alternative spelling for the *Cesairauguste* of XXX, 4. The *Ozius* of LXII, 20 is clear. Our scribe was dealing with names which he could not recognize or which he did not know, and probably copying from a model in which the two letters were indistinct. The confusions represent the best he could do and I forbear to "correct" them.

There is as usual no systematic punctuation in the manuscript. The scribe used a dot to mark every kind of pause where we would distinguish them with a comma, semicolon, colon, or full stop. To mark a period he also uses, but very rarely (e.g. fol. 172b, 1. 13), the inverted semicolon above the line. There is no systematic use of capitals to mark the beginning of a sentence or as the initial of proper names. So editorial intervention has had to provide punctuation throughout. I print *i* consonant as *j*, *u* consonant as *v*; the scribe

himself uses *v* for *u* consonant in initial position. I put a cedilla under *c* before *a*, *o*, *u* when the pronunciation was [ts] or [s]. The scribe uses a few abbreviations, but they offer little difficulty. He writes *coment* occasionally in full, and also *cōme*, *come*; but he uses the abbreviation *ḡ* far more frequently: *ḡme*, *ḡverti*, *ḡmanda*, *ḡques* etc. Along with these abbreviated forms he writes in full at times *conme*, *conmandement*, *conment*, *commencoit* etc., so throughout I expand the abbreviation to *con-*. Quite exceptionally, however, he writes *combatre*, *combatent*, *combatirent* etc., almost always in full, so where he writes *cōbatre*, as at L, 17, I expand to *combatre*. Similarly I expand the rare *cōme* to *comme*. *Compostele* is usually so written, but we find *Conpostele* at III, 3, and the occasional abbreviation *Cō-*. This I expand to *Com-*, in line with the scribe's preferred spelling. The preposition *pour* is often abbreviated as *ḡ*; so too as prefix *ḡsivi*. But it is as often written in full, *pour*, so my expansion follows the scribe's example. The preposition *par* is sometimes written in full, sometimes in abbreviation as *p*. There is no danger of confusion between *pour* and *par*. The scribe writes *moult* a few times in full, so I expand *mlt* accordingly. He uses *-x* for *-us* sporadically, preferring to write *-us*; I expand the abbreviation wherever it occurs, and print *Dieus*, *cieus*, *queus*, *biaus*, etc. The name of the emperor appears as *Charles*, *Charle*, *Charlemainne*, and *Charlon*, but is often written in abbreviation as *K*. I expand to *Charles* or *Charle* according to the case, although the scribe sometimes uses *Charles* as the accusative. Roland's name is often abbreviated to *Roll*, but here the full form is always written *Rollant*, and so this is the form I adopt to replace the abbreviation. The word *saint* is often abbreviated to *s*. The scribe uses *saint* as the subject form ("Ainsint aparut . . . l'apostre saint Jaque a Charlemainne"), so I expand *s*, whatever its case, to *saint*. The scribe sometimes writes numbers in words, sometimes in figures; since they are always perfectly clear, I leave them as he wrote them. I treat compound prepositions and adverbs the same way. The scribe writes *pour ce que* and *pource que*, *par mi* and *parmi*, *par devant* and *pardevant* etc.; I keep his forms throughout. Hence *d'ore en avant*, *adroit lisant* etc. His indifference, or ignorance, is such, however, that he writes, e.g., *la prouchoit*, *sa seoit* for *l'aprouchoit*, *s'aseoit*; these and similar dislocations I correct. The Notes and Glossary are rather full; they are designed to help the student as well as to interest specialists in points deserving attention. No attempt is made to note every occurrence of each word listed. The chapter divisions are the scribe's own, but I have numbered them and also numbered the lines in each to facilitate references to the text.

**TEXT**





Ci parole de saint Jaque coment il s'aparut a Charlemainne.

(152v<sup>o</sup>,b)

[Prologue]

Ci poez savoir, oïr et entendre et lire coment saint Jaque s'a/parut a Charle-  
mainne. Coment li mur de Pampelune fondirent par euls meismes. Des nons  
de toutes les citez d'Espaigne. De l'ymage Mahonmet. Des eglyses que Charle-  
mainne fist. D'Agoulant coment il fu vaincuz. Comme il est grant pechié de  
retenir le lés des morz. De la bataille Saint Fagon quant les lances florirent.  
Quanz milliers de genz Charles ot en son ost. La destrincion de Charlemainne  
et d'Agoulant. L'afere des povres. La bataille de Fourré. La mort d'Agoulant.  
Des Crestiens coment il retournerent pour les morz rober. La bataille de Navre.  
La bataille de Roncevaus. La batail/le de Rollant et des .xii. pers. Queus estoit  
Charles et combien fort. La mort Charle. Les miracles que Dieus fist pour  
Rollant en la cité d'Ais. La mort l'arcevesque Tourpin et coment il fu trouvé.  
De l'aumaçour de Cordres.

(153r<sup>o</sup>,a)

(b)

I

Le glorieus apostre monseigneur saint Jaque, ausi comme li autre apostre  
furent envoieé par le monde pour preeschier la loi Jhesu Crist, s'en vint preeschier  
en Espaigne. Mes en sa vie n'i pot mie granment monteplier. Il s'en retourna  
ariere en la terre de Jherusalem, et la fu il ocis par le conmandement le roy  
Herode d'une espee. D'ilec fu il aporté des genz dou païs en Espaigne / en  
Galice dont il estoit tornez et la fu il enseveli. Ilec preeschierent cil qui avec  
lui vindrent, mes pou monteplierent jusques au tans Charlon. Cil Charles estoit  
moult cremuz pour *sa nomee* en maintes terres et moult avoit terres conquises  
en diverses parties: France, Engleterre, Alemaigne, *Baiviere*, Loheraine,  
Bretaigne, Lombardie, Bergoigne et toutes les terres *des la mer* de Brandiz

(153v<sup>o</sup>,a)

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I (P2 lacking until V, 7)

8 sa bonté

9 Bahaigne, Loheraine

10 terres jusques a la mer de B.

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Rejected  
Readings  
from P1

- jusques a la mer d'occidant avoit a lui souzmises et ostees des mains aus  
 12 *Sarrazins*. Lors se pourpensa Charles qu'il se reposerait et plus em batailles  
 fere ne se travailleroit. Une nuit se gisoit Charles en son lit et vit en avisi/on (b)  
 .i. chemin d'estoiles qui conmençoit des la mer de Frise et venoit entre  
 France, Alemaigne et Lombardie et passoit entre France et Aquitaine, parmi  
 16 Gascoigne et Bascle et Navarre et aloit parmi Espagne jusque en Galice ou le  
 cors monseigneur saint Jaque gisoit et n'estoit pas seus. Quant Charles par  
 plusieurs foiz ot veu ce chemin, si pensa en soi que ce senefioit. Après une  
 eure que il si durement y pensoit, si li aparut uns granz sires en vision. De  
 20 grant biauté estoit plus que l'en ne porroit deviser et dist: "Que fez tu, biaux  
 filz?" Charlemainne respondi: "Qui es tu?" "Sire," dist il, "je sui l'apostre  
 Jaque, norriz de Jhesu / Crist, filz *Zebedee* et frere Jehan l'evangeliste que (154r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 Dieus eslut a apostre sus la mer de Tabarie par sa grace pour sa loi preeschier  
 24 aus genz. Et si est mon cors en Espagne, mes l'en ne set ou, et si est entre  
 Sarrazins; dont moult me merveil quant tu n'i vas qui tantes terres as conquises  
 et tantes citez et que Deus t'a eslit a estre le plus poissant des rois de terre.  
 Pour ce te mande Dieus que tu ma voie et ma terre ou je repose ostes des  
 28 mains as Sarrazins et que par ce aies tu la coronne des cieus après ta mort.  
 La voie et le chemin que tu as veu es cieus senefie que tu yras avec genz  
 d'autres contrees pour mon sepu/cre et ma chapelle et ma terre delivrer de (b)  
 la gent mescreant. Et après toi toutes les genz de l'une mer jusques a l'autre  
 32 iront em pelerinage pour querre pardon de leur pechiez et conteront les  
 loenges et les vertuz Dieu jusques a la fin dou siecle. Va la tantost comme tu  
 porras, car je te serai tout tans en aide, et pour guerredon de painne t'en  
 ferai je rendre a Dieu la gloire des cieus, et si sera tes nons en memoire jusques  
 36 a la fin dou monde." Ainsint aparut trois foiz l'apostre saint Jaque a Charle-  
 mainne. Li rois, pour cest commandement, asambla son ost et ala en Espagne  
 sus la gent mescreant. / (154v<sup>o</sup>,a)

## II

- La premiere cité que Charles asist ce fu Pospelune. La sist il .iii. mois  
 que onques ne la pot prendre, car bien estoit garnie de paiens et de forz  
 murs. Adont fist Charles priere a Dieu et si dist: "Sire Dieus, pour qui foi  
 4 avancer je sui venuz en ceste terre, otroiez moi a prendre ceste cité a l'ennur  
 de vostre non. Et tu, saint Jaque, s'il est voirs que tu m'aparez, done la moi

## I

12 aus François

22 Zehedee

- prendre si conme tu me prameis aide." Tantost charent li mur de Panpelune par la priere de l'apostre par la volenté de Dieu. Li Sarrazin qui vouldrent estre
- 8 baptisié furent em pes, et cil qui ne vouldrent furent ocis. Par les noveles de  
(b)  
cestui fet, s'enclinerent moult de Sar/razins a Charle la ou il aloit et li rendirent partout treu. Moult se merveilloient li Sarrazins des Crestiens qu'il veoient si biaux et si forz et si bien apareilliez et si les recevoient a biau samblant et getoient jus leur armes. Puis visita li rois Charles le cors saint Jaque,
- 12 et ala jusque au Perron, et ficha sa baniere en la mer, et rendi graces a Dieu et a l'apostre, et dist que avant ne pooit il aler. Ceuls de la terre de Galice qui par la predicacion saint Jaque devant ce avoient esté converti et l'avoient
- 16 lessié pour la pour des Sarrazins, fist li rois baptisier a l'arcevesque Tourpin, qui devant n'estoient baptisié, et ceuls qui ne se vouldrent baptisier / fist  
(155r°,a)  
ocirre *ou* metre en chetivoisons. Puis ala li rois par la terre de l'une mer jusque a l'autre.

## III

- Ci parole des citez que Charles *conquist*: Cisimus, Dume, Colimbre, Luque, Aurenne, Ure, Jude, Mindoine, Vracarie qui mestre citez est de Nostre Dame, Vinmare, Erinne, Conpostele qui adont iert *petite*, Ispale, Auscale,
- 4 Godelfaz, Talemanche, Uzede, Ulme, Cavalais, Jadrite, Maquede, Saint Jale, Talevaire qui moult est bone, Altente, Bellarige, Osine, Seguntiene, Segoibe qui granz est, Avile, Salemande, Sepulnege, Toulete, Glarame, Radaiot et Turgel, Godiane, Emeride, Altacore, Palence, Luserne, Ventouse qu'en apele
- 8 Car/tons et si est *en Val Vert*, Gapte, Esturges, Oventin, Lyon, Karyon, Burs, Nadres, Carroges, Urence qu'en apele l'Estoile, Glatan, Mirade, Tudele, Sarragonne qu'en apele Cesaranguste, Panpelune, Laione, Jace, Osche ou il soloit avoir .ix. tours, Terrascone, Barbastre, Rosez, Urgel, Ulne, Geronde,
- 12 Latyone, Teride, Tourtouse, Algene, Adame, Yypalite, Ascalone, Hore, Barbetoe .i. chastel bon, Aurele, Alagne, Borriane qui sont deus contrees, Bede, Maience, Brutoise ou en fait le bon argent, Valence, Bechie, Sative,
- (b)

---

17 n' lacking (see note)

18 o. et metre

## III

1 Ch. ocist (*the o is written at the end of a line, the -cist underneath at the end of the next line. The scribe corrected cist to quist, but he forgot to write in a c before the o and a nasal sign above the o.*)

3 iert perie

8 est enulert (*cf. l. 26*)

---

- 16 Granande, Sebile, Cordes, Abule, Atentive, et la gist li glorieus confessor  
 saint / Torquis qui fu deciple saint Jaque, et a sus lui .i. olivier croissant (155v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 qui florist et porte fruit meur chascun an le jour de sa feste en mai, et Bist  
 qui citez est bone et s'i a bons chevaliers qu'en apele Arabites, Hongrie ou il  
 a roy, Agaibe, Boaire qui citez est *en* Barbarie, Meloide, Eniche, Formentine,  
 20 Alcore, Aumarie, Gilbatare, Carthage, Seppe qui siet es destroiz d'Espaigne  
 la ou la mer est estroite, Gesir, Garuth. Toutes prist Charles les terres d'Espaigne,  
 la terre Alaudaluf, la terre de Portingal, la terre des Sarrazins, la terre des  
 Turs, la terre de Castele, la terre des Meurs, la terre de Navarre, la terre de  
 24 Biscarre, la terre de Bas/cle, la terre de Palalabre. Toutes ces terres furent a la  
 volenté Charle, et toutes les citez en prist, les unes par bataille, les autres par  
 art et par engin, fors la cité de Luiserne en Val Vert qui bien estoit garnie; si  
 ne la pooit prendre jusque au derreain qu'il l'asist par .iiii. mois et fist priere  
 28 a Dieu et a saint Jaque pour li prendre et li mur chaïrent et fondirent et est  
 encore la cité deserte jusque a nostre tans. Et a dedenz une eve crevee qui  
 soloit norrir les poissons noirs. Autres rois de France devant cestui Charle  
 pristrent de ces terres une partie, et convertirent moult de la gent, mes a son  
 32 tans estoient reperié tuit a la loi des Sar/rasins quant li autre roi premerain  
 furent mort. Cloevis qui fu premiers rois crestiens, Clotaires après, Dagouberz, (156r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 Pepins, Charles Martiaus, Charles li Chaus en conquirent partie et partie en  
 lessierent a conquerre, mes cil Charles a son tans les conquist toutes. Cestes  
 36 sont les citez que Charles maudist pour ce que a grant travail les conquist:  
 Luiserne Ventouse, Caparre, Adame. Pour ce sont eles encore sans abiteurs.

## IV

- Toutes les ydoles que Charles trouva en Espaigne fist il destruire fors une  
 ymage qui siet en la terre Alaudaluf que l'en apeloit *Salancadis*. "*Cadis*"  
 4 *estoit apelez* le leu ou ele estoit, et l'ymage / avoit a non "Salan." Et vaut au-  
 tant "Salan" en caldieu comne "nostre Dieu," et dient li Sarrazin que cele  
 ymage fist Mahomet en sa vie en son non et si seela dedenz et enclost par  
 nigromance une legion de deables qui en tel force le tenoient que nus ne li (b)

---

18 si a bons chevalier  
 19 en *lacking*

## IV

2 *Salaneadis*. Jadis estoit ainsint apelez le leu  
 3 leu ou ou ele

8 pooit mal fere. Et quant aucuns Crestiens l'aprouchoit si moroit, et se aucun  
oiseil s'aseoit sus, si moroit.

## V

Sus le rivage de la mer avoit une pierre entailliee noblement d'uevre  
sarrazine, estroite desus et par desouz large et quarree et si estoit merveilles  
4 haute. Et la fu cele ymage mise et fu fete de fin loton en la samblance d'ome (156v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
et estoit desus ses piez. Et / avoit torné vers midi son chief et tenoit en sa  
main destre une grant clef. Li Sarrazin disoient que cele clef devoit cheoir  
de sa main quant .i. roy de France y vendroit qui toute la terre conquerroit  
et quant li Sarradin la verroient cheoir, si s'enfuiroient atout ce qu'il em  
8 porroient porter. De l'or que li prince et li roi d'Espaigne donnerent a Charle  
fist il fere le moustier Saint Jaque en trois anz qu'il y demora et si y mist  
chanoines regulers qui tenoient la ruile saint Ysidoire qui fu evesque et  
confessor. Et si y mist le roy Charlemainne aornemenz de pailles et de veste-  
12 menz et *galices et saintuaires d'or et d'argent. De l'or et de l'argent qui li*  
*estoit re/més quant* reperiez en fu, si fist fere autres eglyses assez: l'eglyse ma (b)  
dame Sainte Marie a Ais en Gascoigne, l'eglyse Saint Jaque a Toulouse, et cele  
qui est en Gascoigne entre la cité qu'en apele Anxe et Saint Jehan seur Dur-  
16 ance, et l'eglyse Saint Jaque de Paris entre Sainne et Monmartre et si fist  
pluseurs abaïes.

## VI

Quant Charles s'en fu reperié en France, li rois d'Aufrique que l'en

## V

12 g. d'or et d'a. et saintuaires qui li estoient remés. Quant

Rejected  
Readings  
from P1

## V

7 avoec çou que porter en p.

10 qui devoient —vesques et confés

12 et de calices et de s. et d'or et d'a. qui li remeist quant

13 la glise de nostre dame

14 S. J. a Toulete

15 Ante

16 a Paris —et si f. p. a. *lacking*

Variants  
from P2

## VI

1 (*s'en lacking*) fu

- apeloit Agoulant vint a grant ost en Espagne et la reconquist et osta et ocist  
 les Crestiens que Charles y avoit lessiez. Quant Charles li rois le sot, si s'esmut  
 4 a granz olz pour aler en Espagne, et ala avec lui Miles d'Angiers, dus et  
 mestre / de son ost. Mes .i. grant miracle y avint que Dieus y moustra de ceuls (157r°,a)  
 qui retienent les lés des morz. Quant li rois fu hebergiez atoute son ost a  
 Baione, une cité de Bascle, *uns chevaliers que l'en apieloit Romanc* si  
 8 amaladi moult. Pres fu de morir et fu confés et prist corpus domini et con-  
 manda a .i. sien cousin, *qui gardé l'avoit, que il son cheval vendist et donast*  
*as povres* ce qu'il en avroit. Quant mort fu le chevalier, cil vendi le cheval cent  
*sols*, ne riens n'en departi aus povres, ainz les despendi a ce que mestiers li  
 12 fu. Mes la venchance de Dieu soloit estre plus hastive et plus aperte que ele  
 n'est ore. Oez qu'il en avint! Quant .xxx. jorz après sa mort furent / passé, (b)  
 cil qui morz estoit s'aparut une nuit a son cousin et li dist: "Pour ce que je  
 mis seur toi mes aumosnes a doner pour redempcion de mes pechiez et de  
 16 m'ame, saches que Nostre Sires m'a pardoné mes pechiez, et pource que tu  
 retenis mes aumosnes a tort, je ai esté .xxx. jourz es painnes d'enfer. Et saches  
 bien que tu enterras demain es painnes dont je sui issuz." Quant li morz ot  
 ainsint dit, si s'en ala, et li *vis* s'esveilla et si ot grant poour. L'endemain  
 20 raconta cil coment avenu li estoit, et ainsi comme il et li autre parloient de  
 ce, si furent oiz en l'air urlemenz sus celui ausi comme de lions et d'ours et de  
 leus / . Einsint en mi l'ost fu cil raviz touz vis. Par .iiii. jorz fu quis de ceuls a (157v°,a)

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7 uns . . . Romanc *lacking*

9 cousin que il . . . donast au povre qui gardé l'avoit ce qu'il en a.

11 cent livres

19 (et li) morz (s'e.) *is corrected by a different hand to vis*

---

2 apiele —et si le r.

3 Quant li rois Ch.

4 a aler

5 demoustra

6 qui les lais des m. r. —a B., une cité de Basque, od toute s'ost

12 la v. (de *lacking*) Dieu —sielt estre —aperte assés

13 ne soit —qu'en avint —j. furent p. apriés sa m.

14 et se li

15 por la r.

17 ai jou esté

19 rala —s'esv. s'ot

20 cil *lacking* —et si com les gens parloient

21 sus celui *lacking*

22 r. de diables tous sains et tout vis —de ceuls *lacking*

- 24 pié et a cheval mes ne pot estre trouvé. Après ce .xii. jourz, si conme l'ost  
 passoit par la terre de Navarre, si trouverent le cors de celui tout debrisé  
 seur une moult haute roche loing de la cité a .iiii. jornees, et la l'avoient  
 geté li deable mes l'ame avoient getee en enfer. Pour ce sachent bien cil qui  
 les lés des morz retenront qu'il sont dampné pardurablement. Après ce Charles  
 28 et Miles d'Angiers *quisent od toutes les os Agoulant par Espangne* et le trou-  
 verent en une terre que l'en apele Des Chans sus l'iaue de Seie en une pree en  
 .i. plain leu. La ot puis fete une egly/se de .ii. glorieus martirs, saint Fagon (b)  
 et saint Primitif, par le comandement Charlon. Quant les unes olz furent  
 32 pres des autres, Agoulant manda bataille a Charle selonc son plesir, .xx.  
 contre .xx. ou .xl. contre .xl. ou cent contre cent ou deus cenz contre  
 deus cenz ou .i. seul contre .i. autre. Charles y envoya cent de ses chevaliers  
 contre cent des Agoulant, et se combatirent, mes li Sarrazin furent ocis.  
 36 Après en y envoya Agolant deus cenz contre deus cenz et refurent ocis li  
 païen. Puis y envoya Agoulant cent contre cent, et refurent li sien  
 ocis. Et puis y envoya il .v. mile contre .v. mile, si en fu une partie ocise  
 et l'autre s'en/foï. Au tierz jour geta Agoulanz ses sorz et vit que Charles (158r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 40 perdroit hastivement et li manda pleniere bataille a l'andemain, et Charles li  
 otroia. Lors avint que li Crestien qui leur lances avoient apareilliees pour la  
 bataille, les enfichierent par nuit devant leur tentes es prés et es chans desus  
 l'iaue dont je dis ore qui Seie a non. L'andemain les trouverent toutes  
 44 charchiees de branches et d'escorces, et furent les lances a ceuls qui le jor  
 devoient recevoir martire en la bataille. Il s'en merveillierent moult durement

28 quirent l'ost a Agoulant (par E. *lacking*)

25 (a *lacking*) .iii.

26 en avoient portee (en e. *lacking*) —tut cil

27 retiennent —parmenablement

28 et la le

29 sor —praerie

30 leu *lacking*

32 a K. bataille —selonc son p. *lacking* —.xx. contre .xx. *lacking*

35 et si se

36 Puis i en. (Ag. *lacking*) —furent o. li Sarrasin

37 renvoia A. mil contre mil et li sien furent o.

38 .ii. mile contre .ii. mile et l'une partie des Sarrazins furent ocis et li autre s'en fuirent

41 por combatre

42 enf. la nuit —lor très —desor

43 je vos dis —qui *lacking*

44 escorce —et ce f. —de cels —qui l'andemain

45 s'esmerveillierent



et les trenchierent pres de terre, et les racines qui demorerent crurent puis,  
 et encore y a il granz arbres et granz / bois de cele maniere d'arbres dont les (b)  
 48 lances estoient, de fresne et d'autre bois. Grant fu le miracle et la joie et  
 le bien aus ames et aus cors le domache. Ce jour fu la bataille, si y ot morz  
 .xl. mile chevaliers. Li dus Miles d'Angiers, peres Rollant, reçut martire avec  
 ceuls qui leur lances florirent. Et li chevaus Charles fu desouz lui ocis, et  
 52 Charles fu a pié avec .ii. mile Crestiens a pié et trest l'espee que l'en apeloit  
 Joieuse, si en ocist moult de Turs. Quant ce vint au vespre, li Turc et li  
 Crestien s'en alerent a leur tentes. L'endemain vindrent au secours Charle  
 .iiii. marchis de Lombardie a .iiii. mile chevaliers. Quant Agoulant vit / Fran- (158v°,a)  
 56 çois retourner, si s'en ala a Lyon, et Charles si s'en revint en France avec  
 la gent que il ot. En ceste bataille si devez entendre le salut de ceuls qui pour  
 Dieu se combatent. Car ausi comme li chevalier Charle s'apareilloient d'armes  
 contre la bataille, ausi nous devons nous apareillier en bien et en vertuz et  
 60 oster les mauvés vices de nous qui devons fere la bataille contre le deable. Car  
 qui bone foi a contre mescreance, charité contre haine, largesce contre  
 avarice, humilité contre orgueil, chasteé contre luxure, oroisons contre temp-  
 tations de deable, povreté pour Dieu contre *riquece*, *perseverance contre*  
*.egerie*, silen/ce contre tençon, obediencia contre mauvés corage, sachiez que (b)  
 cil avra sa lance vert et fueillie au jour dou juise. Ha! Dieus! Tant sera l'ame  
 dou *venkeor* bele, vert et florie qui loyalement avra estrivé en terre *contre*  
 ses mauvés vices. Car Deus dit: "Ja ne sera de moi coroné qui loialment ne  
 se combatra."

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55 .iiii. *lacking*

63 contre (*riquece*, *perseverance contre lacking*) lecherie (*see note*)

66 vengeur —contre *lacking*

---

46 et si les t. —qui remesent

47 i a .ii. arbres —de cel bos dont

48 furent —de f. et de sap et d'autres bos

49 et si ot

50 mile Crestiens

52 s'espee en mi les Sarrasins que on

53 des T. —au soir

56 et K. repaire

57 de cels le salu

58 s'apareillarent

59 en biens

61 large

65 la lance

66 et verde —contre les visces

## VII

- Puis avint que Agolant asambla gent sanz conte et sanz mesure, les Sar-  
radins, les Meurs, *les Moabites*, *les Perses*, Terefin le roy d'Arrabe, Sarre le  
roy d'Alixandre, Nivot roy de Bougie, Hospinel roy de Gaibe, Fatuel roy de  
4 Barbarie, Elis roy de Marath, Amphimore, Lormon roy de Ynec, Cebreon  
roy de Sebile / , l'aumaçour de Cordres et leur genz. Donques vint Agoulant a (159r°,a)  
la cité de Gene et la prist. Puis manda *Charle* qu'il venist a lui a pou de  
chevaliers et si li pramist or et argent et granz richescs .xxx. somiers s'il se  
8 voloit souzmetre et obeïr. Pour ce le dist Agoulant qu'il le voloit connestre,  
par coi il le peust ocirre em bataille. Mes Charles, qui s'en aperçut, a .ii. mile  
chevaliers s'en ala prés de la cité et lessa sa gent reposte et vint a .xl. chevaliers  
sanz plus jusques au mont qui prés estoit de la cité si que bien le pooit en  
12 veoir, et lessa ceuls ilec et mua ses *vestemenz*, *sans* lance, et son escu mist  
sus la croupe de son cheval come me/sagier a cel tans, et entra en la cité (b)  
avec un seul chevalier. Cil de la cité issirent encontre et demanderent que il  
queroient, et il respondirent: "Nous sommes li chevalier *Charle* qui nous  
16 envoie a Agoulant." Cil les menerent a Agoulant, et quant il furent devant li,  
si li dirent: "Charles nos envoie a toi, et vient a toi si comme tu li mandes a  
.xl. chevaliers et veult estre enclins a toi se tu li veuls doner ce que tu li

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2 Meurs, Lemoabite roy de Perse, Terefin (*see note*)

6 Charles

12 ses v. Sa lance et

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1 les S., les Turs, les Moabite roi de Perse, Terefin (*see note*)

2 Barre (le *lacking*)

3 Auroc r. de Bogie

4 Aelis r. de Marroch —A. roi de Maiorc —Merinon r. de Mec —Hebraïm roi d S.

6 cité d'Agene —et si la —v. la a —de gent

7 soumiers cargiés

8 a lui sousmetre —conn., qu'il

10 s'en ala apriés de la c. a .ii. m. ch.

11 prés est —l'en p. on

12 ses v. Sa lance et

13 sor

15 Nous s. messagier K. —qu'il envoie a vo segnor. Cil

16 devant A. —et quant il f. d. li *lacking*

17 et li d. —nos a envoiés —mandas

20 promeis. Et vien a lui parler atout .xl. des tiens em pes!" Lors s'arma Agoulant et leur dist qu'il s'en alassent ariars a Charle et li deissent que il l'atendist.

## VIII

Agoulant ne savoit pas que ce fust Charles qui a lui parloit. Mes / Charles (159v° ,a)  
le connut bien et esgarda de quel part la cité estoit plus feible, et vit les rois et les amirauz qui la estoient, si s'en repera aus .xl. chevaliers qu'il avoit  
4 lessiez, et s'en alerent jusques aus deus mile a l'embuschement. Agoulant sivi le roy moult tost a .vii. mile Sarrazins a armes et avoit empensé qu'il l'ocirroit. Charles li rois, qui s'en aperçut, s'en ala ariars en France et rasambla grant ost et revint a Gene et si l'asist et y fu .vi. mois et au septiesme ot  
8 apareilliez ses engins divers pour la vile prendre. Quant ce vit Agoulant, il et si roy et si aumaçour et si meilleur prince si s'en issi/rent de la vile par les chambres privees et s'en foïrent par l'iaue de Gironde et passerent l'iaue si eschaperent par nuit. Charles entra le jour *apriés* en la cité et fist ocirre .x.  
12 mile Sarrazins qu'il y trova. Agoulant vint adont a Saintes qui lors estoit aus Sarrazins et demora la. Charles le sivi *et li manda qu'il li rendist la cité. Mais il ne le valt rendre, ançois issi a bataille contre lui* par tel couvent que la vile seroit celui qui vaincroit. Au vespre, quant li François gisoient en leur  
16 tentes aus prez qui sont entre le chastel de Taleborc et la cité joustes l'iaue de Caire et il ierent apareillié de la bataille qui devoit estre le landemain, il

## VIII

11 *apriés lacking*

13 et li . . . contre lui *lacking*

19 lui atout . . . tiens pour parler a lui en boinne pais

20 Charle et lor dist qu'il desissent qu'il

## VIII

1 parlast

3 Lors s'en r.

4 laissiet avec les .ii. mile chevaliers qui estoient a l'e.

5 (S. a *lacking*) armés

6 (qui *lacking*) s'en a. —et si s'—rala

7 grans os —vint —a Agienes —mois. Au s. mois ot

9 et il

10 et s'en f. . . Gironde *lacking*

12 en vint (adont *lacking*) —qui dont

15 fust celui

16 es prés —entre la cité de —dejouste

17 de Karc

avoient fichiees leur lances devant leur / trez. A l'ajorner les trouverent (160r°,a)  
 d'escorce et de fueille chargeiz cil qui le jour devoient recevoir martire pour  
 20 Dieu. Mult furent lié de cel miracle et trenchierent lor lances prés de terre  
 et si s'armerent et firent la premiere eschiele de la bataille. Moult firent grant  
 destruicion de Sarradins le jour, mes en la fin furent ocis et estoient quatre  
 24 mille. Li chevas Charles fu ocis souz lui, et quant il fu a pié, si fist domache  
 a ses anemis durement, car ses genz li aidierent. Li Sarradin furent lassez et  
 ne porent souffrir l'estour, si se mirent en la cité. Charles les / sivi et assist la (b)  
 vile a la reonde fors par devers l'iaue. Cele nuit s'en foï li rois Agoulanz et  
 si Sarrazins par mi l'iaue, et Charles s'en aperçut, si les chaça et ocist le roy  
 28 de Gaibe et le roy de Bougie et autres Sarrazins jusques a quatre milliers.

## IX

Agoulant s'en rala et passa les porz de Sire et vint a Pospelune, et manda  
 Charle que il l'atendroit a bataille. Quant Charles oï ce, si s'en vint en France.  
 Par grant humilité manda ses genz et prés et loing, quanque il en pot avoir, et  
 4 que tuit li serf qui desouz mauvés usage et mauvés seignorage estoient et  
 rachatez de leur / chiés, et toute leur ligniee, des lores en avant seroient franc (160v°,a)  
 parmenablement pour aler en cel ost. Et conmanda que tuit cil qui yroient  
 ne fussent desormés servant ne home a nelui ne sozmis. Touz les emprison-  
 8 nez delivra et les povres enrichi et les nuz revesti. Ceuls qui s'entrehaoient  
 acorda, les desheritez et les eschis rapela et mist en leur heritages. A touz

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18 l'ajornee

19 cargies d'escorces et de feuilles

20 terre. Si

22 ocis .iiii. mile chevaliers

23 desous —pié, il fist

24 de ses

25 porent plus —et se —cité et K.

27 K. les perciut

28 S. bien deci a .iiii. mile

## IX

2 l'at. la a —s'en rala —F. et manda ses g. par g. h. et priés

3 et mande que tuit

5 racatant —avec toute —lignie, très dont en avant p. seroient franc en ceste ost

7 d. home ne serjant ne sousmis a n. —Tous ceus qu'il sot en prison d.

8 (et *lacking*) les nuz

9 racorda —et les d. —et les essiliés —remist

- ceuls qui pooient armes porter dona selon ce qu'il estoient. Et ceuls qui par aucun forfet estoient esloigné de lui, il les atrest a s'amour et a son servise.
- 12 Amis, anemis, estranges, privez acompagna d'aler avec lui en cele voie. Je Tourpin, / arcevesque de Rains, par l'autorité Dieu les beneï et asou de leur pechiez. (b)

## X

Lors ot asamblé Charles, le bon roy, au service de Dieu fere, de gent combatant cent et quarante quatre mile, et entra en Espagne contre Agou-lant le roy qui toutes ses genz ot asamblees.

## XI

- Or poez oïr les nons des barons qui avec Charle furent adont. Je, Tour-pins, qui chascun jour par predicacion fesoie le pueple des Crestiens forz et hardiz contre Sarrazins et de leur pechiez les asoloie, et ocis de mes mains
- 4 mainz Sarrazins et contai et mis en escrit pour savoir le nombre. / (161r°,a)

## XII

Rollant y fu, niés le roy Charle et mareschal de toute l'ost et si estoit dus d'Angiers et de Blaive, filz Milon d'Angiers et *de Bretaine la seror* le

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 XII

2 de B. quens et filz de la seror

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 10 qui por

11 lui, retraist a —(et a son s. *lacking*). Et anemis e. et p.

12 ceste v. —[J] ou .

13 par l'a. Nostre Seignor et la nostre les —de tous lor

## X

1 ot K. li r. asamblé —(de *lacking*) Dieu

2 et trente quatre milliers

## XI

1 porrés —nons nomer —avoec lui alerent a.

2 faisoie par p.

3 les S. —de tous

4 maint Sarrasin. Les contai

## XII

1 [R]ollans —(et *lacking*) m. —toutes les os

2 quens d'A. —et fils —(et *lacking*) de B. seror

- roy Charle; si y mena de sa propre gent quatre mile homes. *J. autre Rollant i*  
 4 *ot, mais or n'en dirai plus. Oliviers i fu, preus et fors et sages en bataille et*  
*estoit dus, fils au conte Renier de Gennes et si mena .iiii. mile homes; Estouz*  
 de Lengres, filz au conte Odon, a .iiii. mile; Arestans, rois de Bretaigne, a  
 .vii. mile. *.I. autre roi avoit adont em Bretaigne, mes je n'en dirai plus. Ange-*  
 8 *liers, cil d'Aquitainne, y fu a quatre mile combatanz, a ars et a saestes armez*  
*richement. Au tens cest Angelier estoit uns autres quens en Aquitainne en la*  
 cité de Pigtavie, dont je ne dirai plus. Cil Angeliers estoit Gascons de lignage  
 / et dus de la cité d'Aquitainne qui siet entre Limoges et Poitiers et Boourges. (b)  
 12 Et si la fist Cesar Agustes et nonma Aquitainne, et souzmist a lui Boourges  
 et Lymoges, Saintes, Poitiers, Engolesme et tout le païs, et tout est Aquitainne.  
 Cil Engeliers fu ocis en Roncevaus, et puis sa mort agasti et apetisa  
 tout le païs car tuit li preudome morurent avec lui. Gaifiers li rois de Bordiaus  
 16 y fu avec Charle a quatre mile, Geliers, *Gerins*, Salemon, Estouz ses compainz,  
 Baudoyne le frere Rollant, Gondebuef le roy de Frise: cist y furent a .vii.  
 mile homes; Hoiaus de Nantes a trois mile, Ernaut de Biaulande / a .ii. mile, (161v°,a)  
 Naines, li dus de Bavieres, a .x. mile, Ogier, roy de Danemarque, a .x. mile,  
 20 et toutjors chantera l'en mes de lui et bien le doit en fere car merveilles y  
 fist; Lambert, prince de Boourges *i fu a .ii. mile*, Sanses li dus de Bergoigne  
 a .x. mile, Costentins, prevost de Rome, a .xx. mile, *Rainnaus* de l'Aube  
 Espine, Gautier de Termes, Guillaume et Guarin, dus de Lorraine, a .iiii.

3 .I. autre Rollant . . . .iiii. mile home (*l. 5*) *lacking*  
 16 Geliers, Vernis, S.  
 21 i fu a .ii. mile *lacking*  
 22 Tenant de l'A.

3 et mena  
 6 O., en ot —(a *lacking*) .vii.  
 7 roi de B. avoit a. —mes or n' —A., dus d'  
 8 a ars . . . richement *lacking*  
 10 or plus —Cis A. —estoit quens de grant l.  
 11 qui est  
 13 et L. *lacking*  
 14 Cis Eng.  
 16 avec C. *lacking* —mile chevaliers  
 17 (le *lacking*) frere —(le *lacking*) roy  
 18 trois mile, E. de B. a *lacking*  
 19 (li *lacking*) dus  
 20 cantera on de —bien est drois car —(y *lacking*) fist  
 22 d'Aubespain  
 23 (de T. *lacking*) et Guil.

- 24 mile homes, Begues et Auberi de Bergoigne, Bernarz de Nubles, *Guimars*, Estormiz, Thierriz, Yvoire, Berengier, Haste, Guenes qui puis fist la traïson; cist i furent a grant plenté de gent. Et de la propre terre Charle y furent .xl. mile a che/val, et tant en i ot a pié que nus n'en sot le nombre. Cist que (b)
- 28 nonmez vous ai sont noble combatant et furent apareillié a la volenté Nostre Seigneur et a sa loy essaucier. Car autresi comme Jhesu Crist, Nostre Sires, avec ses .xii. apostres, souzmist a lui le monde, autresi Charles, enperiere de Rome et rois de France avec ses .xii. pers conquist Espagne a l'enneur Dieu.

## XIII

- Adont, si conme je vous ai dit, asamblèrent toutes les olz aus Landes de Bordiaus et couvroient toute la terre en lonc et en lé .ii. jornees de .xiiii. liues et le bruit de la noise estoit oïz de .xii. liues loing. Er/naut de Biaulande (162r°,a)
- 4 passa premiers les porz et vint a Pospelune. Et puis passa Estouz atot son ost; après, Arestanz li rois, et Angelier après avec leur genz, Gondebuef avec la seue. Ogier passa après et Costentin avec leur gent. En la fin passa li honorez rois Charles de France atouz ses olz, et covrirent la terre des l'iaue *de Rune*
- 8 jusque au mont qui loing est de la cité a .iiii. liues par devers la voie Saint Jaque et mirent .viii. jourz a passer les porz. Puis si manda Charles a Agoulant qui estoit en la cité de Pospelune, et l'avoit refete et garnie, qu'il li rendist ou il issist a bataille contre lui. Agoulant vit qu'il ne pot te/nir la cité (b)
- 12 contre Charle et vost mieulz venir a bataille contre lui que *laidement*

24 *Guimars lacking*

## XIII

7 l'iaue de Gironde  
12 que l'andemain

24 homes *lacking*

25 et Y. —B. et Othes

27 Cist i sunt que nommet vos avons li n. c. qui furent

29 ess. en terre —si com —Nostre Sire J. C.

30 enperiere . . . France *lacking*

## XIII

1 es Landes

2 de .xxiiii. liues

3 (de *lacking*) .xii.

5 puis, Ar. —atoute lor gent

6 sa gent

7 rois de F., K. —avoec toutes —corurent le camp —tres l'ave

8 a trois l

9 si *lacking* —au roi A.

11 porroit la cité tenses contre

morir en la vile, et demanda trives tant que sa gent fust de la cité issue et  
 apareillie de combatre. Et li manda qu'il parleroit a lui bouche a bouche se il  
 li plesoit; moult volentiers et trop le desirroito. Et Charles li dona trives ainsint  
 16 et dit qu'il i parleroit.

## XIV

Quant li rois Charles ot einsint doné trives au roy Agoulant, il issi de la  
 cité avec toute sa gent apareillie, et lessa ses genz jouste la cité, et s'en vint  
 4 atout .xl. de ses plus hanz homes au paveillon le roy Charle qui estoit loing  
 de la cité une liue. *D'une part et / d'autre estoient les os en .i. plain liu mult* (162v°,a)  
*biel qui duroit de lonc et de large .vi. luies si comme la voie Saint Jaque va,*  
 et le chemin les departoit. Agoulant fu en estant devant le roy Charle. Et puis  
 li dist Charles: "Tu es Agoulant qui ma terre m'as tolue felonnesment:  
 8 Espagne, Gascoigne, que je avoie conquise a l'onneur de Dieu et a sa loi.  
 Quant en France m'en reperié, tu preis mes citez; mes chastiaus et ma terre et  
 ma gent as destruite, dont je me plain moult." Quant Agoulant oï le roy  
 parler sarrazinois, moult s'en esmerveilla et ot grant joie. Et Charles l'avoit  
 12 apris a Tolete quant il y fu enfes avec le roy Galafre. Lors respondi Agoulant /  
 a Charle: "Sire, je te pri que tu me dies pourcoi tu nos as tolue ceste terre  
 ou tu, ne tes peres, ne tes ayous ne ti ancesseurs n'orent onques riens." (b)

## XIV

4 luie l'une p. et d'a. et estoit en deus plains leus mult bias et duroit

13 ses gens fust —issue de la vile

14 por c. —se li p.

15 moult v. et trop le d. *lacking*

16 paarroit a son plaisir

## XIV

2 l. sa gent

3 a .xl. —des p. h. homes qu'il ot —le *lacking* —Ch., et estoit

4 et d'une

5 dure —et de lé

6 Et K. li dist

7 les tu —qui tiens ma terre feleneskement

8 de *lacking*

9 preis mes castiaus et destruisis mes cités et ma terre

10 m'as —mult me p. —oi parler K.

11 si s'en e. mult —et en ot

12 y *lacking*

13 que tu nous d. —(nos *lacking*) as

14 aives



- 16 “Pour ce,” dist Charles, “que Jhesu Crist, fesierres dou ciel et de la terre,  
 eslut nostre gent crestienne seur toute autre gent, et seur toutes choses vost  
 qu’il eussent seignorie, et ai de ta gent paienne convertie a nostre loi tant  
 comme je puis.” “Granz torz est,” dist Agoulant, “que nostre gent doive  
 estre souzmise a la teue quant la nostre loi vaut mieus que la teue. Nous avons  
 20 Mahomet qui fu mesagier Dieu, et le nous envoia, et nous fesos ses con-  
 mandemenz, et *avons* autres dieus qui par / le conmandement de Mahomet (163r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 nous dient ce qui est a venir, et nous les honorons car nous vivons et regnons  
 par euls.” “Agoulant,” dit Charles, “*en ce que tu dis foloies tu* qui tiens les  
 24 conmandemenz Mahonmet et ces autres dieus, car nous ne tenons conmande-  
 ment que d’un seul Dieu et vous le tenez de mainz homes. Nous avons un seul  
 Dieu qui Peres est et Filz et Sainz Esperiz et tout *est* .i. seul Dieu et lui  
 aorons nous, et vous aorez *le deable* et ses ymages et creez ce que eles dient.  
 28 Nos ames, par nostre creance — de ce ne doutons nous mie — après ceste  
 mortel vie que nous ore avons, monteront em paradis, et / les vostres — ce (b)  
 savons nous bien — descendront en enfer. *Par ce savons nous* bien que nostre  
 loi vaut mieulz que la vostre. Et pour ce vous comant je que vous recevez  
 32 baptesme et vivez em pes, *ou vous venez* a nous combatre.” “Ne sera mie  
 ainsint,” dit Agoulant, “que nos baptisiez soions. Ainçois nous combatrons  
 contre toi et contre ta gent par si que se la vostre loi est plus *plaisans* a Dieu

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21 et a nos autres d.

23 Ch., ce que tu diz est folie, car tu qui tiens

26 tout (est *lacking*)

27 les deables

30 Car nous savons

32 et venez

34 plaisans *lacking*

---

16 nostre c. gent —toutes gens

17 la s. —de *lacking*

18 je peuc

20 messages —et si faisons

21 le commant —Mahon

22 qu’il est a avenir

24 et ses —commandemens

25 vains h.

27 mais vos —les y.

28 nous pas

30 monteront a ynfier —bien *lacking* —que la nostre

32 baptestire —sera pas

34 se la *lacking*

que la *nostre*, que nous soiens veincuz, *et se la nostre est meldre a Dieu que*  
 36 *vos soiés vaincu*, et pardurable reprouche en soit aus veincuz et loenge tout-  
 jourz aus veinqueeurs, et se je sui veincuz, je recevrai baptesme.” Ainsint fu  
 acordé d’ambedeus parz. Puis furent esleuz .xx. / Sarrasins contre .xx. Crestiens (163v°,a)  
 a combatre par tel couvenant, et tantost furent ocis li Sarrazin. Et puis .xl.  
 40 contre .xl. et furent ocis li Sarrazin. Et puis cent contre cent et furent ocis li  
 Sarrazin. Et puis cent contre cent *autres* et furent ocis li Crestien por ce  
 qu’il cremirent la bataille et s’en foïrent. Ce senefie que qui por la loi Dieu se  
 combat qu’il ne se doit douter ne esmaier ausi comme cil firent qui s’en  
 44 tornerent fuiant. Dont li apostres dist: “Cil ne sera pas coronnez qui loial-  
 ment ne se combatra.” Et puis furent envoieez .cc. contre .cc. et furent ocis li  
 Sarrazin. Puis mil contre mil et furent ocis li Sar/razin. Lors donerent trives (b)  
 d’une part et d’autre, et vint Agoulant parler au roi Charle et si aferma et dist  
 48 que mieulz valoit crestiene loi que cele aus païens et pramist que l’andemain  
 recevroit baptesment. Puis s’en ala Agoulant a sa gent et dist a ses rois qu’il  
 se feroit baptisier et leur dist qu’il se baptisasent. Li pluseurs l’otroierent et  
 pluseurs le refuserent.

## XV

L’endemain revint Agoulant a Charle pour soi fere baptisier endroit eure  
 de tierce, et trouva le roy Charle seant au mengier et vit moult de tables ça et

35 que la vostre (*the scribe wrote nostre in l. 34 and changed it to vostre, but he forgot  
 to change vostre in l. 35 to nostre*) –et se . . . soiés v. *lacking*

41 autres *lacking*

36 en *lacking*

37 si (je *lacking*) rec. baptestire –fu ottroïé

38 .xx. Crestien c. .xx. S.

39 Et puis . . . li S. (l. 41) *lacking*

42 et si s’en

43 qu’ *lacking* –qui s’en fuirent et retournerent de la bataille

44 Dont *lacking* –Cil *lacking*

45 Et *lacking* –envoiez *lacking*

46 Puis mil . . . li S. *lacking*

47 et d’une

48 la loi cr. –et dist que

49 baptesme –rala –a als

50 se baptiseroit –lor proia –Li *lacking* –P. li octroierent et p. li r.

## XV

1 pour faire soi b.

2 vit ça et la m. de t. et vit moult b. et princes qui

- la et de bachelers qui menjoient avec Charle, et vit esvesques et / arcevesques, (164r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 4 prestres et clers et autres genz de religion, et vit dus et contes et barons. Si  
 demanda a Charle de chascune maniere de gent quele gent ce estoient. Li rois  
 Charles li respondi: "Ceuls que tu voiz vestuz d'une maniere de vestemenz  
 de brunetes a ces longues robes, ce sont arcevesques, esvesques et prestres  
 8 de nostre loi qui nous donent la beneïçon Dieu et nous asolent de nos pechiez.  
 Cil a ces blans dras et a ces noirs dras qui si sont haut tondu et coroné et ont  
 leur robes si mal fetes et encombrans, il sont moïne blanc et noir qui ne  
 cessent de prier Dieu pour nous et nuit / et jour; et saches que de greigneur (b)  
 12 religion sont li blanc que li noir. Ceuls que tu voiz la revestuz de diverses  
 robes bien fetes et devisees de cendal et de samit, il sont mi duc et mi conte  
 et mi prince et mi baron et mi chevalier." Puis vit Agoulant .xii. povres qui  
 se seoient a terre sanz table et menjoient a pou de viande et de boivre. Agolant  
 16 li demanda qui cil estoient. Charles li respondi: "Cele gent la sont mesagier  
 Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist et sont chascun jour ceenz au mengier en remem-  
 brance de Dieu et de ses .xii. apostres." Lors dist Agoulant: "Cil qui sont  
 environ toi et prés de toi sont / beneuré car il ont assez a boivre et a mengier (164v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 20 et bien sont honoré, mes cil que tu diz a moi qui sont mesagier Dieu et sien  
 lige, pourcoi sont il si povrement vestu et ledement et vilainement esloigné  
 de toi? Malement aime son seigneur qui son mesagier reçoit en tel maniere.  
 Ta loi que tu diz qui vaut mieulz que la nostre, ci nous moustres tu qu'ele

---

3 avoec lui

4 et priestres —autre gent —et si vit —et barons *lacking*

5 gent qu'il vit —quels gens

6 (li *lacking*) respondi —vois la

7 cil sunt

8 et nos d.

9 ces noir d. et a ces blans d. —si *lacking*

10 sunt noir moïne et blanc —qui ne . . . que li noir *lacking*

12 Et cil —vestus

13 et devisees *lacking* —de cendaus et de samis —et mi conte *lacking*

14 (et *lacking*) mi p. —et mi baron *lacking* —(et *lacking*) mi ch. —Puis esgarda A. et vit

15 se *lacking* —par terre —mangierent

16 (li *lacking*) d. —Li rois K. li dist —gent que tu vois la

18 A. a Charle

20 et sien lige *lacking*

21 vestu et si nu et l. et vielment sunt de toi.

22 message

23 qu'ele valt

24 est fausse. Je m'estoie venuz fere baptisier, mes or te demande je congié, si m'en irai ariere et si te demant bataille a demain." Einsint s'en rala Agoulant.

## XVI

Lors s'aperçut Charles que par les povres qui mauvaement estoient vestu et peu et vilainement tretié, avoit Agoulant refusé baptes/me. Et touz les povres que il trouva puis en l'ost fist revestir soufisanment et bien les fist pestre et abevrer pour Agoulant qui pour tele occasion lessa a prendre baptesme. Or poez savoir comme cil font a blamer qui riche sont et amender le pueent, quant il lessent les povres Dieu avoir soufrete de vesteure et de soutenance ausi comme Charles avoit la fet. Et quant Charles par tele maniere perdi tant, que sera donques au jour que chascuns trovera selon ce qu'il avra fet et deservi quant Dieus dira: "Fuez ensus de moi, li maleoit! Alez ou feu pardurable! car je oi fain, si ne me peustes mie, et si oi soif, si ne m'abevrastes / mie," et autres reprouches leur dira Dieus. Esgarder devons que pou vaut foi ne loi qui en oeuvre ne le fet. De ce dit li apostres: "Ausint comme cors sanz ame est chose perdue et morte, est oiseuse foi sanz oeuvre." L'andemain vindrent tuit cil de l'ost d'une part et d'autre toz armez pour combatre pour le couvenant des .ii. lois, et avoit Charles en son ost .c. et .xxxiiii. mile homes, et Agoulant cent mile. Li Crestien firent .iiii. eschieles et li Sarrazin .v.

## XVI

15 .c. et .xxx. mile

24 faire venus

25 la bataille

## XVI

1 par *lacking* –malement –furent v.

2 Et *lacking*

4 cele o.

5 poés vos s. –comment

6 soufrance –de v. (et *lacking*)

7 quant (Charles *lacking*) pierdi p. t. m.

8 tant de pule --sera dont

9 feu p. Quant

10 repeustes pas –m'a. pas

11 Dieus *lacking* –Esgardés de vos que

12 ne la met

13 morte, autresi fois sans oeuvre est chose morte et perdue

14 par le c.

15 avoit en l'ost K.

## XVII

La premiere eschiele des Sarrasins qui asamblèrent fu veincue tantost,  
 et après celui, l'autre qui vint. Et quant li Sarrazin / virent leur *mescheance* (b)  
 si s'asamblèrent tot entour le roy Agoulant si qu'il fu en mi aus. Et quant  
 4 nos Crestiens virent ce, si les aceindrent environ. De l'une part fu Ernaut de  
 Biaulande et son esfort, et li rois Arestanz avec le sien esfort fu d'autre part,  
 et d'autre part fu le roy Gondebuef, et le roy Costentin *d'autre*. *Ogier* le  
 8 Danois et le roy Charle chascuns avoit sa gent avec lui. Ernaut de Biaulande  
 se mist premiers entre euls et tant feri a destre et a senestre que parmi euls  
 ocist le roy Agoulant de s'espee et de sa propre main par l'aide de Dieu. Lors  
 con / mencierent Sarrasins a crier, et li Crestien se ferirent entr'euls de toutes (165v°,a)  
 parz et les ocirent c'onques n'en eschapa que le roy de Sebile et l'aumaçour  
 12 de Cordres. Cil s'en foïrent a pou de gent. Tant fu la foison dou sanc grant  
 que nos Crestiens estoient dedenz jusques aus chevilles, et touz les Sarrazins  
 qui furent trouvez furent ocis.

## XVIII

Bien nous moustra Dieus en cele bataille laquele loy devoit estre tenue.  
 Ha! Crestien! Comme bone loy avez se garder la savez! Veraïement le poez

## XVII

2 mescreance

6 C. d'autre, li emperieres de Rome d'autre part. Ogiers (*see note*)

## XVII

1 assambla

2 une autre (qui vint *lacking*) —(Et *lacking*) Quant

3 (le *lacking*) roi

4 les acloisent

5 atout son —(et *lacking*) li rois —(avec . . . fu *lacking*) d'a. p., li rois Gondebues d'a. p.,  
 Coustentins li provos de Roume d'a. p., Ogiers li D. d'a. p. et li rois Ch. d'a. p. et  
 cascuns

8 tant ala ferant

9 (le *lacking*) roi

10 li S.

12 la plentés grande del sanc

13 estoient ens —et li S. que on trouva en la cité f. tout o.

## XVIII

1 cele b. que la nostre lois doit miels estre tenue

2 Crestien. Tant boinne foi vos avés —g. le volés. —Et v. poés

4 savoir qu'ele nous fera monter sus les anges et estre avec Jhesu Crist qui est  
nostre sires et nous somes si home se nous avons / droite creance.

(b)

## XIX

Charles *ot joie* et rendi a Dieu graces de sa vitoire, et asambla sa gent, et  
ala *jusques au Pont d'Argue en la voie Saint Jacque*, et la se heberja. Mes  
aucuns des Crestiens par couvoitise se departirent de l'ost Charle cele nuit  
4 et vindrent la ou la bataille avoit esté et se chargierent d'or et d'argent, puis  
si vouldrent revenir en l'ost. Mes l'aumaçour de Cordres qui de la bataille  
estoit eschapé et estoit repost avec moult d'autre gent leur corurent sus et  
les ocirent touz, et bien estoient mil. Ce done essample que, ausi comme cil  
8 qui les *anemis* avoient veincuz qui par couvoitise retournerent / et furent ocis,  
ausint cil qui penitance pranent ne doivent en nule maniere retourner au  
pechié dont il sont parti qu'il ne soient ocis dou deable nostre anemi qui  
*tousjours* est repost. Ausint cil de religion qui le siecle ont lessié, se puis y  
12 reperent, Dieu en perdent et mort d'enfer en ont.

(166r<sup>o</sup>,a)

## XIX

1 Ch. otroie

2 et ala toute la voie a Saint Jaque jusques au Perron d'Argue, et la

8 *anemis lacking*11 tout nous est (*cf. XII, 20*)

3 vos fera –sor

4 nostre ciés –si membre

## XIX

1 et si rendi –sa *lacking* –et ala toute la voie Saint Jacqueme dusques au Perron d'arge  
et la

2 se h. il –Mais auquant

3 se d. cele n. de l'ost Ch. et

4 si se –arg. et volrent

5 repairier a l'ost K.

6 repost estoit –d' *lacking* –coru seure si les ocist7 bien *lacking* –Ci doune Deus ess.

8 lor an. –quant par

9 repairier au

11 Ausint . . . en ont *lacking*

## XX

L'autre jour après fu noncié a Charle que a Monjardin estoit venuz uns princes *de Navarre qui avoit non Fourré*, et voloit combatre a lui quant il iroit la. Charles y ala, et Forrez issi l'andemain contre lui a bataille, et Charles  
 4 fist sa priere a Dieu que il li demoustrast liquel devoient la recevoir mort et  
 mar/tire. L'andemain, quant tuit furent atorné por combatre, si aparut une  
 croiz vermeille comme sanc sus la destre espaule de ceuls qui morir y devoient,  
 par desus les hauberz. Mes ceuls qui furent seigniez fist Charles demorer en  
 8 sa chapele qu'il ne fussent ocis en la bataille. Moult sont li jugement Dieu  
 tapi et couvert quant ne pueent estre descouvert ne ses voies conneues. Charles  
 se combati le jour a Fourré, et fu ocis Fourré avec trois mile de Sarrazins,  
 et li rois n'i perdi nus des siens. Mes quant il revint a sa chapele, si trouva  
 12 morz touz ceuls qu'il y avoit lessiez, et furent .c. et .l. Moult est la compaignie  
 Dieu glorieuse car, se cil ne mo/rurent em bataille, por ce ne perdirent il mie  
 que il ne fussent martir. Lors prist Charles Monjardin et toute la contree de  
 Navarre. (166v<sup>o</sup>,a)

## XXI

Puis nonça l'en a Charle que a Nadres estoit venuz uns jaianz. Fernaguz  
 ot a non, et fu dou lignage Goulias et estoit venuz des contrees de Sire. Si

## XX

2 princes qui de N. avoit

## XX

2 et avoit —a non —a K.

3 ala. F. volt l'endemain issir contre

4 liquel de sa gent

5 furent aparellié

6 comme sanc *lacking* —sor —y *lacking*

7 par deseure —qui ensi f.

8 qu'il . . . bataille *lacking*

9 estre conneu ne

10 avec .iiii. mile —de *lacking*

11 i *lacking* —nul —quant il fu repairiés et il vint en sa capiele, si trova ciaus mors et  
 furent

13 s'il ne —en la b. —il pas

## XXI

2 et estoit dou

l'avoit li amiranz de Babyloine envoieé avec .xx. mile Turs pour combatre a  
 4 Charle. Cil Fernaguz ne cremoit lance ne espee, ne dart ne coutel, ne quarrel  
 ne saeste, ne javelot ne autre arme, et si avoit la force de .xx. homes. Pour ce  
 si ala Charles contre lui a Nades. Quant Fernaguz vit qu'il estoit venuz la  
 vile aseoir, il issi de la vile et vint touz seus con/tre l'ost en une avangarde et  
 8 demanda bataille, chevalier contre .i. autre. Dont li envoia Charles Ogier le  
 Danois. Quant Fernagu le vit venir, si ala encontre lui. Quant il fu près de  
 lui, si l'embraça tantost de son braz destre et tout armé l'enporta devant touz  
 ausi comme une brebiz. Fernagu avoit .xii. piez de lonc, et son visage avoit de  
 12 large la braciee a .i. home; son nés de plaine paume; ses braz, ses cuisses, de  
 .iiii. braciees.

(b)

## XXII

Puis ala combatre a Fernagu Renaut de l'Aube Espine, et il l'emporta  
 souz s'essele et mist en sa prison. Et puis demanda Fernaguz bataille de lui  
 seul contre .ii. Dont y fu envoieé / Costentin de Rome et Hoel de Nantes, et  
 4 il les prist l'un a destre et l'autre a senestre et les emporta et mist em prison.  
 Puis en i ot jusque a .xx. envoieez, et il les prist et mist em prison deus et  
 deus. Quant ce vit Charles, si s'en merveilla moult et n'en y vost plus envoyer.

(167r<sup>o</sup>,a)

## XXI

11 .xx. piez

4 ne dart . . . javelot *lacking*

5 ne nule autre

6 errant contre

7 en une av. *lacking*8 .i. *lacking*

9 contre –Et quant il vint priés, si l'emb. desous son

10 voiant tous

11 et ses v. estoit de la bracie d'un home

12 plainne espane –et ses quisses

## XXII

1 d'Aub.

2 desous –(Et *lacking*) Puis3 de R. *lacking*4 et les emp. *lacking* –sa prison

5 prist .ii. et .ii. et mist

6 s'en m. m. et *lacking*



## XXIII

Rollant requist le roy le don de combatre a lui tout seul, mes li rois qui  
 moult l'amoit ne l'en vost doner congié. Rollant l'em pria moult et l'en fist  
 tant prier que li rois l'en dona congié. Et quant il l'ot, si oi messe et puis  
 4 s'arma et ala combatre contre Fernagu le jaiant. Mes Fernaguz le prist en son  
 venir ausi comme les autres a une main et l'en me/na devant lui sus le col de (b)  
 son cheval. Et si comme il l'enportoit vers le chastel, Rollant, qui moult fu  
 forz, avec l'aide de Dieu le prist par le menton et le torna par force derriere  
 8 seur le cheval et chaïrent ambedui a terre. Lors se releverent ambedui et  
 monterent sus les chevaus. Rollant tint Durendal s'espee et cuida le jaiant  
 ocirre et feri son cheval et le coupa pardevant la sele a .i. coup. Quant  
 Fernaguz fu a terre, si menaça Rollant de s'espee, et Rollant lui de s'espee  
 12 qu'il tenoit et le feri sus l'espee et sus la main dont il la.tenoit. Petit le bleça,  
 mes nepourquant s'espee li chaï. Dont cuida Fernagu ferir Rollant dou  
 poing / clos si feri le cheval Rollant et l'ocist. Puis furent ambedui a pié (167v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 et sans espees, et se combatirent des poinz et des pierres dont il avoit assez  
 16 ou champ jusques a none. Puis demanda Fernaguz trives a Rollant jusques  
 l'andemain, et deviserent qu'il vendroient combatre sanz lance et sanz espee  
 et sanz chevaus. Et quant il orent ce otroié, chascuns s'en ala la dont il estoit  
 venuz. L'andemain revint chascuns ou champ touz seus. Fernaguz y porta  
 20 s'espee, mes gaires ne li valut car Rollant aporta avec lui .i. baston de chesne

---

1 le don *lacking* —qui m. l'a. *lacking*

2 pria tant et fist proier

3 (Et quant . . . si *lacking*) Il oi

4 le j. *lacking*

5 et le leva devant —sor

6 Ensi com

7 torna d. sor le c. a force

9 sor

10 si feri —a .i. tout seul c.

11 R. le feri de la soie qu'il t. sor l'e.

12 sor sa main (don il la t. *lacking*)

13 et nonporquant —l'espee que il tint li

14 R. en mi le front et

15 dont assés avoit el c. et furent ensi dusqu'a

16 dusques al demain

17 combatre *put after* chevaus

18 il l'orent o. —rala

19 vint —tous seus el camp —i aporta

20 et gaires —.i. lonc b.

- noeilleus et retorz dont durement le feroit mes petit le bleçoit, et des pierres, dont moult y a/voit, s'entregetoient. Fernaguz le consentait pource que Rollant mal ne li fesoit. Dont demanda Fernagu trives a Rollant de dormir, et il li dona. (b)
- 24 Fernaguz comença a dormir, et Rollant qui forz et fiers et hardiz estoit, li aporta une grant pierre desouz son chief pource qu'il dormist plus a aise. Nus hons a cel tans n'osast trives enfreindre, et se il les enfrainsist, il fust ocis comme murtriers. Quant Fernaguz ot .i. pou dormi, si s'esveilla et vit Rollant seant encoste lui. Et Rollant li demanda coment il estoit si durs que espee ne baston ne li pooit fere mal. Fernaguz qui someilleus estoit et garde ne s'en donoit, li dist en / sarrazinois que il ne pooit estre navrez fors que parmi le nombril. (168r°,a)
- 28 Rollant l'entendi bien. Et Fernagu redemanda a Rollant coment il avoit a non, et il li dist: "Je sui apelé Rollant." "De quel lignage es tu," dit il, "qui si te combaz a moi?" "Je sui," dist Rollant, "dou lignage de France nez." Fernaguz li demanda: "De quel maniere de loi sont François?" Rollant li dist: "Nous somes, Dieu merci, bon Crestien et fesons les conmandemanz
- 32 Jhesu Crist, et pour sa loi essaucier et avancier fesons nostre pooir." Quant Fernaguz oï parler de Crist, si dist: "Qui est," dit il, "cil Crist en qui tu croiz?" Rollant li / dist: "C'est cil qui fu nez de la Vierge et souffri pour nous mort en la croiz et portez fu ou sepulcre et descendi au tierz jor en enfer et le brisa et en geta les siens amis hors." "Nous creons," dit Fernaguz, "que li faisierres dou ciel et de la terre est uns Dieus et que nus ne l'engendra (b)
- 40

---

21 et r. *lacking* –(dont *lacking*) Durement l'en f. mais poi l'en b. –de p.

22 dont m. y. a. *lacking* –mult s' –R. *lacking*

25 plus aise

26 osa –ocis *lacking*

27 R. seoir

28 dejouste lui –Dont li d. R. –ne b. ne piere

29 ne li faisoit

30 fors parmi

31 demanda

33 si *lacking* –dist R. *lacking*

34 de lois

35 merci Dieu

36 loi avancier et ess.

37 dit il *lacking*

38 V. Marie

39 et fu posés –et au tierc jor d. –a infier

40 (amis *lacking*) fors

41 uns seus D.

- ne il n'engendra nelui. Si est uns Deus et n'est mie trebles." "Tu diz voir,"  
 ce dist Rollant, "quant tu diz qu'il est .i. Dieus, mes quant tu diz qu'il n'est  
 44 mie trebles em personnes, la doutes tu. Se tu croiz ou Pere, dont croiz tu ou  
 Fil et ou Saint Esperit, car Dieus est Peres et Filz et Sainz Esperiz mananz  
 en trois personnes, et tout est .i. Dieu." "Se tu diz," dist Fernaguz, "que / li (168v°,a)  
 Peres est Dieus et li Filz, Dieus et li Sainz Esperiz, Deus, dont est il trois  
 48 Dieus et non mie .i. seul." "N'est pas ainsint," dit Rollant, "car cil Dieus  
 dont je parole n'est que uns Dieus et si est trebles, et les trois personnes  
 jumeles entr'elles. Teus conme li Peres est, est li Filz et li Sainz Esperiz."  
 "Ne puis pas veoir," dist Fernaguz, "coment trois choses soient une chose."  
 52 "Je le te mousterrai," dist Rollant, "par humaines samblances. Esgarde que  
 ou soleil a chaleur et resplendeur et rougeur, et tout est .i. soleil. Et en la roe  
 de la charrete sont les raiz et les jantes et li moiel et li cercle et tout n'est que  
 une roe. En l'amande et en la noiz a escorce et eschaille et noel et tout / est (b)  
 56 noiz ou amande. En toi meismes sont les membres et l'ame et le cors et tout  
 est uns cors." "Or alons combatre," dit Fernagu, "par si que se ta loi est  
 meilleur que la moie que je soie veincuz, et se la nostre est meilleur que la  
 vostre, si soies tu vaincuz, et loenge soit donee au veinqueur et honte per-  
 60 durable au veincu." "Soit," dist Rollant, "ainsi." Lors se dreça Fernagu et  
 geta de s'espee .i. cop a Rollant, mes il le reçut sus son baston, et il li trencha.  
 Lors le prist Fernagu aus mains et le mist desouz lui a terre mult legierement.

---

42 uns seus D. —et non pas t.

43 ce *lacking* —uns seus Deus —n'est pas

44 la cloces tu en la creance

46 dist F. *lacking*

47 sunt il

48 uns seus D.

49 uns seus D.

50 sunt iuwels

51 pas *lacking*

52 te ferai veoir

53 (Et *lacking*) En

54 tout est une

56 et amande

57 nos alons

58 mieldre de la nostre —mieldre de

59 que tu soies —honte p. soit

60 Ensi soit

61 a R. .i. colp —il r. le colp —sor

64 Rollant vit que par nule maniere ne se pooit relever, si reclama et apela en  
 s'aide le filz / de la glorieuse pucele Vierge Sainte Marie et dist: "Dieus! tu (169r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 sez et voiz que nule enneur terrienne ne vueil aquerre mes que ta loi essaucier.  
 Dieus! or essauce ton nom pour toi non mie pour moi." Adont se releva  
 Rollant de desouz lui *et par force torna Fernagu desous* et trest s'espee et  
 68 li bouta legierement par mi le nombril. Et Fernaguz conmença a crier:  
 "Mahoumet! Mahomet! secor moi car je muir." Quant Fernagu fu morz,  
 Rollant s'en repera tout sain et tout hetié, et les Sarrazins vindrent pour le  
 cors si l'enporterent en la cité.

## XXIV

Mes les Crestiens les sivrent de si prés qu'il entrèrent communalment en  
 la cité avec euls. Einsint fu / la cité prise et li prison delivré qu'il avoit pris (b)  
 et menez en la vile.

## XXV

Aprés .i. pou de tans si fu dit a Charle que Hebraïns li rois de Sebile et li  
 aumaçours de Cordres, qui de la bataille estoient eschapé de Panpelune avec  
 leur genz, estoient a Cordres et l'atendoient a bataille avec les genz de .vii.  
 4 citez qui leur estoient venus aidier: de Sebile, de Gar, de Setive, de Denie,

## XXIII

67 et par . . . desous *lacking*

63 en nule –*se lacking* –si ap. et recl.

64 Vierge Sainte *lacking*

65 conquerre –mais ta

66 or en ess. –et ne mie –se leva

68 (Et *lacking*) F.

69 car *lacking*

71 cité avoec aus

## XXIV

1 Ensi fu la cité prise que li C. –en la cité communalment

2 Ensi furent li prison d.

3 m. em prison

## XXV

1 de terme –(li *lacking*) rois

2 de P. *lacking*

3 et si –la gent

4 de Granace

- de Ubele, de Aubule, de Betie. Dont apareilla Charles son afere pour aler droit a euls et tost y ala. Quant Charles vint prés de Cordres, cil issirent hors a trois luies contre lui, et estoient .x. mile Sarrazins, et li Crestien
- 8 n'estoient que .vi. mile. Lors apareilla Charle / ses genz en trois eschieles. La (169v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 premiere fu de ses meilleurs chevaliers; la seconde fu de sa gent a pié; la tierce *refu de gent a cheval*. Ausi furent li Sarrazin. Quant les .ii. olz s'entreprouchierent et la premiere eschiele aproucha par le conmandement Charle vers
- 12 les Sarrazins, si vint une eschiele de Sarrazins encontre euls a pié, et avoit chascuns barboere de deable cornue, et avoient tabours et timbres et fesoient en leur venir merveilleuse noise. Quant les chevaus de nos Crestiens les virent et oirent, si furent moult espoanté et commencierent a foïr si que l'en ne les
- 16 pooit en nule maniere retenir. Li Sarrazin en furent / moult lié. Einsint vont (b)  
 le petit pas jusque au mont a .ii. luies de Cordres. Illec s'asamblèrent li François et firent chastel d'euls meesmes et les atendirent por combatre. Mes cil de Cordres se trerent ensus, et li nostre furent el mont jusque au matin. Quant
- 20 Charles ot pris conseil, si conmanda que tuit couvrissent les testes de leur chevaus et leur estoupassent les oreilles qu'il ne poissent oïr leur tabours ne veoir leur barboeres. Quant il orent ce fet, si alerent seurement contre leur anemis. Dont se combatirent li nostre fierement jusque au midi et moult en
- 24 ocirent, mes non mie / touz. Et estoient li Sarrazin tuit asamblé, et enmi euls (170r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 avoit .i. char et le treoient .viii. bues, et avoit sus .i. lonc fust et sus ce fust une lance et une vermeille enseigne. Tele coustume avoient il pource que nus ne s'en foïst de la bataille tant comme cil estendarz fust droiz. Le roi Charle

---

10 la tierce fu de gent autretele

---

5 Lors ap.

6 et si i ala tost

7 fors contre lui .iii. liues loing —et est. entor .x. m. et nostre C.

8 La p. eskiele

9 tierce fu

10 cheval, et autresi fisent li S. —s'entrecontrerent

11 la pr. par le c. Ch. aproça les S.

12 cels a pié (*see note*)

14 nos François

16 lié, et les sivirent le p. p.

17 a un mont —li Franc

20 testes (*Here, at the bottom of fol. 53v<sup>o</sup>, b, the text of P2 is interrupted by the loss of what, judging by a comparative word count with the text of P1, would be four folios. The text of the Turpin in P2 as it follows on the present fol. 54r<sup>o</sup>, a corresponds to our Chapter XXXIV, l. 4, the final syllable of ataignoit.*)

- 28 s'en aperçut, et par l'aide de Dieu se feri tout armé entr'euls, et ala ferant a  
 destre et a senestre jusques au char, et trest Joieuse, et coupa a .i. seul cop le  
 fust ou l'enseigne iert si que ele versa. Et tantost s'en foïrent ça et la li  
 32 Sarrazin et commencierent a glatir et a uller. .viii. mile en y ot ocis. Ebrains li  
 se mist en la cité et l'andemain la rendi a Charle par si qu'il recevoit baptesme (b)  
 et seroit au roi enclin et tenroit la terre de lui, et Charles l'otroia ainsint.  
 Quant ce fu fet, Charles departi les terres qu'il avoit conquises a cels qui la  
 36 voudrent demorer. Aus Bretons dona la terre de Bascle et de Navarre, aus  
 François dona la terre de *Castele; cele de Nadres aus Griens dona et Cesar-*  
*anguste as Puillois, la terre d'Aragone aus Poitevins, la terre Alandalus decoste*  
*la mer aus Alemanz, la terre de Portingal aus Danois et aus Flamens.* Et li  
 40 François ne voudrent demorer ne abi/ter en Galice pource que trop estoit (170v°,a)  
 aspre et fort. Puis ne trouva Charles en cele terre qui contre lui osast reveler.

## XXVI

- Dont y lessa li rois de ses granz genz et ala a monseigneur Saint Jaque et  
 edifia et honora les Crestiens qu'il y trouva et ceuls qui furent a la loi des  
 François reperiez, et fist ocirre les Sarrazins ou envoier en France en essil.  
 4 Puis establi Charles esvesques et arcevesques par la terre d'Espagne. Lors  
 asambla Charles concille a Compostele et establi pour l'amour de saint Jaque  
 que tuit li arcevesque et li prelat, li roy, li duc, li conte et li prestre qui  
 present estoient et cil qui estoient a venir fussent obeïssant a l'arce/vesque (b)  
 8 Saint Jaque. A Aure ne vost il pas fere esvesque ne ne la tint pas pour cité,  
 ainz conmanda qu'ele fust souzmise a Compostele.

## XXVII

- En cel concille je, Torpins, arcevesques de Rains, avec touz les arcevesques  
 et les evesques de *la* terre, par le conmandement Charle dediai l'eglyse Saint  
 Jaque. Li rois soumist a lui toute la terre d'Espagne et de Galice et dona en  
 4 doaire, et conmanda que chascun seigneur d'ostel de toute Espagne y donast

## XXV

- 37 *Castele et de Nadres aus Griens dona Cesaranguste, as Puillois la terre d'Aragone aus  
 Poitevins la terre Alandalus decoste la mer, aus Alemanz la terre de Portingal, aus  
 Danois et aus Flamens. Et (my commas correspond to the scribe's dots)*

## XXVII

2 la lacking

- chascun an .iiii. deniers de rente et par ce feussent quites de touz autres services de roy. Et conmanda Charles que de cel jour en avant fust l'eglyse Saint Jaque apelee / siege d'apostre pour ce que li bons apostres sainz Jaques (171r°,a)
- 8 y gist. Et dist Charles que la fussent tenu li concille de toute Espagne des evesques, et les verges et les dignetez des evesques et les coronnes des rois fussent donees des mains a l'arcevesque Saint Jaque en l'onneur de lui. Et se foi et creance defailloit ou apetoisoit es autres citez, par le conseil l'esvesque
- 12 Saint Jaques fust *reconciliee*, et droiz estoit. Car ausi come par monseigneur saint Jehan l'evangeliste, frere saint Jaque, vint foi et creance en la contree d'orient, en Ephese, et que pour ce est apelee siege d'apostre, ausi par monseigneur saint / Jaque foi vint et creance en la contree d'ocident et en Galice. (b)
- 16 Si en doit estre apelee sieges d'apostre par droit.

## XXVIII

- Ces .ii. citez, Ephese et Compostele, sont li dui siege que la fame Zebedee requist nostre Seigneur quant ele dit si come ele cuidoit qu'il regnast en terre et dist: "Sire, conmande que mi dui filz soient li uns a destre et li autres a senestre en ton regne." Et si sont il, car Ephese siet a destre et Compostele a senestre.
- 4

## XXIX

- Et trois sieges sont principaus seur touz les autres: Rome, Ephese et Galice. Car ausi come Dieus eslut trois apostres principaus seur les autres: Pierre, Jaque et Jehan / a qui il descouvri ses secrez et sa revelacion, ausi par (171v°,a)
- 4 euls veult il que cil troi siege soient sus les autres. Et a droit sont cil principal; car cil troi apostre, par la digneté d'euls, sont mis desus les autres, et li siege ou il reposent sont mis devant. Par droit est Rome la premiere, car saint Pere fu le premier et fu principaus des autres par sa predicacion, et il fist Rome de
- 8 son sanc et de sa sepouture estre beneuree. Après est Compostele, car monseigneur saint Jaque entre les autres apostres, par digneté et par enneur, fu après saint Pere de greigneur non et tient *es cieus* seignorie de ce qu'il fu li

## XXVII

12 reconciliez

## XXIX

10 erives s.

12 premiers qui martire re/çut, et fist Compostele beneureuse de sa predicacion (b)  
 et de sa sepouture. La tierce si est Ephese, ou monseigneur saint Jehan  
 conmença premierement: *In principio erat verbum*, par devant touz les  
 esvesques que il meismes avoit mis par les citez qu'il apele "anges" en s'Apoca-  
 16 lipse, *et honora ycele cité et de predicacion et d'eglyse*, et ilec entra il en terre  
 pour sepulture. En toutes les regions, se lois et decrez ne pueent estre desclair-  
 iees ne seues, en ces trois citez doivent estre determinees par concile d'esves-  
 ques de la terre. Par tele maniere fu la terre de Galice ostee et delivree des  
 mains / aus Sarrazins. (172r<sup>o</sup>,a)

## XXX

4 Puis que li granz Charles, emperieres de Ronme, rois de France, partout  
 douté et cremuz, ot conquise Espagne a l'enneur Dieu et saint Jaque, il s'en  
 retorna avec son ost d'Espagne et vint a Panpelune et si se heberja. En  
 Marsilles et Baliganz. Li amirauz de Babiloinne les avoit envoiez de Perse, et il  
 se soumirent a Charle; mes il le servoient faintement.

## XXXI

4 Charles leur manda par le conte Guanelon que il receussent baptesme ou  
 il li rendissent treu. Adont li envoierent il / .xx. chevaus chargez d'or et (b)  
 d'argent et des plus granz richeces d'Espagne, et quatre cenx somniers aus  
 chevaliers de l'ost touz chargez de vin, et mil Sarrazines moult beles pour  
 fere lor plesir. Et a Guanelon donerent il .xx. chevaus chargez d'or et d'argent  
 pource qu'il leur livrast l'arieregarde a ocirre. Guanelon leur otroia et prist  
 8 l'avoir. Et quant il orent la couvenance de la traïson fete et pourparlee,  
 Guanes s'en repera en l'ost Charle et li presenta l'avoir que cil li enveioient, et  
 dist que Marsilles et Baliganz vendroient a lui en France et la se feroient  
 Crestien et toute la terre d'Espagne tenroient de lui / d'ore en avant. Aus (172v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 chevaliers de l'ost departi le vin tant seulement et aus autres menues genz  
 12 dona les fames. Pour ce y furent eles envoiees que, quant li Crestien seroient  
 yvre, qu'il geussent aus Sarrazines et par celui pechié leur lessast Dieus rece-  
 voir mort. Charles crut ce que Guennes li dist et s'atoma a passer les porz de

## XXIX

15 (et *lacking*) honora



16 *Cire* por revenir en France et en prist conseil a Ganelon. Puis conmanda li  
 rois a ses meilleurs barons a fere l'arieregarde, a Rollant son neveu qui quens  
 estoit dou Mans et sires de Blaives, et avec lui les plus hanz homes de l'ost; et  
 si ot .xx. mile Crestiens. Einsint fu fet comme li rois conmanda par le conseil  
 Guanelon. Ha! / Dieus! com felonessse traïson, et com male! Et bien doit  
 20 estre comparee a la traïson Judas! Li rois Charle s'en ala devant et lessa  
 Rollant son neveu et sa gent en l'arieregarde. Mes pource que li Crestien  
 furent la nuit yvre dou fort vin, si prirent les Sarrazines et jurent avec eles et  
 aus François dont assez y avoit et firent fornicacion, par coi Dieus souffri  
 24 qu'il receussent martir le jour. Que vous diroie plus?

(b)

## XXXII

Endementiers que Charles passoit les porz avec .xx. mile Crestiens et avec  
 Ganelon et Tourpin et ses barons, et que que Rollant et li .xii. per fesoient  
 l'arieregarde a .xx. mile homes, Marsilles et Ba/liganz leur vindrent *sus* sou-  
 4 dainement a .xlii. mile Sarrazins, et issirent d'un bois au jour parant, et ainsint  
 estoient repost es montaignes et es valees par deus jourz, et tout par le conseil  
 Ganelon. Et firent .ii. batailles rengiees, l'une partie de .xx. mile Turs, *l'autre*  
 8 *de .xxii. mile*. Cele qui fu de .xx. mile asambla premierement, et ne s'en  
 donerent garde li nostre jusques il les asaillirent par derriere et comencierent  
 a ferir. Li nostre retournerent seur euls et comença la bataille des le matin  
 jusques au vespre, si que de touz les .xx. mile Sarrazins n'en eschapa pié.  
 Après les desconfiz asambla l'autre eschiele de Sarrazins et furent .xxii. mi/le.  
 12 Li nostre, qui devant ce furent lassé, ne porent l'estour souffrir ne endurer car  
 il estoient lassé et traveillié, et leur armes rompues, si les couvint morir en  
 deffendant. Einsint furent ocis touz nos bons chevaliers que onques n'en  
 eschapa que Rollant et Baudoyne son frere et Tierri, l'escuier Rollant. Baudoyne  
 16 et Tierri s'atapirent par le bois quant il furent de la bataille eschapé, et puis

(173r<sup>o</sup>,a)

(b)

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15 Chypre (cf. XXXV, 7)

## XXXII

3 *sus lacking*

6 *l'autre de .xxii. mile lacking*

---

vindrent il ariere. Dont se trerent li Sarrazin ariere une grant liue. Ci endroit  
 doit en demander pourcoi Nostre Sires soufri ceuls morir em bataille qui  
 n'orent fet fornicacion: car il ne vost pas qu'il reperassent en leur païs que par  
 20 aventure plus pechas/sent et plus griefment et leur vost rendre loier de martire (173v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 pour leur deserte. Ceuls qui fornicacion avoient fete soufri il a morir car il  
 vost qu'il purjassent par martire cel pechié. Cil qui furent yvre seneffient les  
 prestres et les homes de religion qui *combatent* contre les vices a qui il ne  
 24 loist, ne ne doivent, estre yvre ne a fames abiter, et se il le font, sachent qu'il  
 seront destruit.

## XXXIII

Quant la bataille fu fete et Rollant poursivi les Sarrazins qui estoient  
 auques loing de lui, il trouva .i. Sarrazin let et noir, et moult las estoit de la  
 bataille et s'aloit defuiant par le bois. Rollant le prist si le lia moult fort a .i.  
 4 ar/bre et le lessa. Dont monta Rollant en .i. mont et esgarda les Sarrazins et (b)  
 vit que moult en y avoit. Lors revint ariere a la voie de Roncevaus. Par la  
 aloient cil qui les porz voloient passer. Puis sona Rollant son cor, et par  
 l'oïe dou cor se rasamblèrent a lui .c. Crestien qui s'estoient mucié par le bois.  
 8 Avec ceuls s'en vint Rollant ariere jusque a celui qu'il avoit a l'arbre lié. Il le  
 deslia et trest s'espee seur son chief et dist: "Se tu viens avec moi et me  
 moustres Marsille, je t'en lerai aler, et se tu ne le fez, je t'ocirrai." Encore  
 ne connessoit pas Rollant Marsille. Li Sarrasins ala avec lui et li moustra  
 12 Marsille / entre les Sarrazins et li dist: "Veez le la seur ce cheval rous a cel (174r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 escu reont." Dont lessa Rollant le Sarrazin aler, et a tant de gent comme il  
 avoit se feri entre les Sarrazins, et en choisi .i. qui plus granz estoit que li  
 autre, et le feri si que a .i. seul cop ocist lui et le cheval, et l'espee coula  
 16 jusque en terre, et la moitié dou chevalier et dou cheval chaï a destre et  
 l'autre a senestre.

## XXXIV

Quant li autre Sarrazin virent ce cop, si lessierent Marsille a pou des siens  
 et s'en foïrent. Dont vint Rollant si se feri entre les Sarrazins qui Marsille  
 avoient enclos, et feroit a destre et a senestre et acraventoit / quanque il (b)

## XXXII

23 qui abitent

- 4 ataignoit, et Marsille s'en cuida foir, mes Rolland l'ocist a .i. cop. La furent ocis li cent compaignon, et Rollant meismes fu navrez de .iiii. lances, et de haches, d'espees et de darz, et tant fu feruz de pierres et defroissiez de maces que a painnes escapa il *vis*.

## XXXV

- Quant Baliganz sot la mort de son frere, si s'en foï. Baudoyne, le frere Rollant, et Tierri, son escuier, s'en aloient par le bois muçant ça et la, et autres Crestiens; et li autre passoient les porz. Mes Charles, qui ja les avoit passez, ne savoit pas que avenu estoit. Rollant, qui las estoit de la bataille qu'il avoit fete, touz seus, tristes *et dolans por la mort de tant pseudomes et affliz* (174v<sup>o</sup>,a) et malmis des plaies dont il avoit moult, s'en vint au mieulz qu'il pot jusque aus piez des porz de Cire touz seus, et descendi joust une pierre de marbre
- 8 desouz .i. arbre en .i. pré moult plain d'erbe. Encore avoit il sa bone espee Durandal. Il la trest et tint en sa main et l'esgarda; a granz pleurs et a criz dist ainsint conme nous entendons par les paroles Tierri, son escuier, qui l'oï et le tesmoigna. Et dist Rollant en sa plainte:

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7 eschapast il (*vis lacking*)

## XXXV

5 tristes de la mort, affliz  
7 au piez

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4 -noit. *Here, on fol. 54r<sup>o</sup>,a, the text of P2 continues, from fol. 53v<sup>o</sup>,b -et lacking*  
-R. l'atainst si l'o. Iluec f. mort

5 tristes de la / mort, affliz  
6 fu *lacking*

## XXXV

1 de *lacking*  
2 m. par mi le bos  
3 alcun C.; et alcun p.  
4 pas *lacking* -av. li estoit  
5 et tristres  
7 as piés (des porz *lacking*) -et d. de son cheval -lés une  
8 avoit (il *lacking*)  
9 et dist a g. p. et cris et souspirs si com

## XXXVI

Ha! bone espee tres bele! la riens que je plus amoie, *en longor droituriere*,  
 tres ferme de force, de poing et de heult d'yvoire blanche resplendissant, de  
 croiz d'or, et pardesus / avironnee des hauz nons Nostre Seigneur, trenchant et (b)  
 4 ague sus toutes autres espees et riche de la vertu Nostre Seigneur! A qui avras  
 tu mestier d'ore en avant? Qui te tendra mes? Ja ne sera veincuz qui t'avra,  
 ne ne doit craindre son anemi, ne fantosme ne li puet mal fere, car tu es  
 aceinte de la divine aide Dieu! Par toi est destruite la gent sarrazine! Par toi  
 8 est essauciee la deité et la loi Dieu et la loi crestienne, et le glorieus non  
 Nostre Seigneur est par toi essauciez! Espee tres beneuree, a qui nule ne fu  
 onques pareille ne jamés ne sera, cil qui te fist ne fist onques la pareille! Qui  
 de toi fu na/vrez ne pot garir. Se tu d'ore en avant viens en mains de mauvés (175r°,a)  
 12 ne de couart ne de Sarrazins, certes, moult en serai dolenz." Par iteus paroles  
 se plaignoit il por ce que s'espee ne venist en mains de Sarrazins. Et feri en la  
 pierre de marbre par trois foiz pource que brisier la voloit. Que vous diroie  
 je plus? En .ii. moitez fendi la pierre que onques l'espee mal n'en ot.

## XXXVII

Dont conmença Rollant a sonner son cor pource que aucuns Crestiens  
 qui fust ou bois repost venist a lui et fust a sa mort et preist s'espee et son  
 cheval. Lors corna son cor par tel vertu que si grant alainne en / issi que le cor (b)

## XXXVI

1 La bone –en l'onneur de droiture

## XXXVI

2 et tres –resplendis  
 3 et *lacking* –av. de si haus nons N. S. com sunt li plus grant  
 4 sor –avironnee et rice –v. Dieu  
 5 Ki t'avra mais? Ki t'avra? Ja ne s. v. qui t'avra  
 9 boinne eurouse –n'en fut  
 10 fist ne ançois, ne apriés ne forja o. –ta p.  
 11 fu ferus ne n. –onques ne –main de coart ne de S. ne de m.  
 12 j'en serai mult d.  
 13 se p. Rollans et dolousoit –Ensi se plaignoit et feri  
 15 que *lacking* –ot ne ne fu encrenee

## XXXVII

2 qui el bos fust repus –Durendal s'e.  
 3 resonna

- 4 fendi par mi, et si dist en et cuide que les voinnes dou col Rollant li rompirent.  
 Cele voiz dou cor emporta li anges jusques aus oreilles Charlemainne qui ses  
 tentes avoit fichiees, il et son ost, en une vatee qu'en apele la Val Charle; et y  
 avoit .viii. luies de la ou Rollant gisoit vers Gascoigne. Dont vost Charles  
 8 retourner pour secourre son neveu et ses genz. Mes Ganelon, qui bien savoit  
 s'aventure, li dist: "Sire! Ne retornez! car Rollant, vostre neveu, *sielt* bien  
 chascun jour buisiner pour pou d'achoisson, et sachiez qu'il n'a ore mestier  
 de vostre aide, ainz chace a aucune beste par cel bois, et pour ce va il ore  
 12 cornant." Ha! Deus! / tant sont mauvés et felon li conseil de Judas! Rollant, (175v°,a)  
 qui moult avoit grant soif, se coucha a terre, et Baudoin, son frere, y vint. Et  
 Rollant li fist signe qu'il avoit grant soif et qu'il li queist de l'iaue pour boire.  
 Baudoin ala ça et la, mes il n'en pot point trover, ainz revint a lui. Et quant il  
 16 le vit pres de morir, si le beneÿ et ot pour que paiens ne venissent; si prist  
 l'espee Rollant et monta sus son cheval et ala après l'ost Charles. Quant  
 Baudoin s'en fu partiz, lors y vint Thierrî, son escuier, qui li dist qu'il li  
 garnissist son cors de foi et de confession. Rollant avoit cel jor meismes au  
 20 matin, ainz qu'il entrast em batail/le, reçut corpus domini aus prestres de (b)  
 l'ost dont moult y avoit, et ce estoit la coustume que li esvesque et li prestre,  
 le jour qu'il se cremoient, les conmenioient. Rollant leva ses eulz haut et dist  
 tieus paroles si comme Tierri le tesmoigne que le vit et oi:

---

9 set bien

---

4 en fendi —R., et li neirf —li *lacking*

5 Carlon

6 ficies avoec s'ost —Ch., .viii. l. avoit dusques la

7 Ch. por son n. r. por lui aaidier. Mais

9 l'av. —ne r. pas —car vostre niés R. —bien *lacking*

10 a poi —et s. c'ore n'a il m.

11 ançois —a *lacking* —ces bois —ore *lacking*

12 Deus *lacking*

13 a t. sor l'erbe del pré —B. i vint ses f. —Et li quens R.

15 la; rien pot —et revint —il revint et il le vit, si

16 et prist

17 sor

18 y *lacking* —(li *lacking*) garnissist

19 foi et de creance et de c. —le jor m. —au m. *lacking*

20 en la b.

21 et tele estoit

22 acumenioient —en haut ses ielz

## XXXVIII

- “Sire Jhesu Crist! pere espiritabile! pour qui foi et creance avancier j’ai  
 mon païs lessié et ving en ces diverses contrees et estranges pour essaucier  
 crestienté, meintes batailles ai soufertes et fetes contre ceste gent mescreant  
 4 par t’aide, et fain et soif enduré, et en ai soufert plus que je ne diroie. A toi,  
 Sire Dieus, en cest / point conmant je l’ame de moi. Si veraiement comme tu (176r°,a)  
 daignas nestre de la Vierge Marie pour passion sofrir, et morir et resouciter  
 pour touz homes, si voirement delivre la moie ame de la voie d’enfer et me  
 8 pardone, Sire, ce que je t’ai mesfet et reçoif m’ame et met em pardurable  
 repos. Tu ies cil qui nus cors ne *perist*, ainçois est *mués* en mieulz vaillanz.  
 Sire Dieus! qui desis: ‘Je ne vueil mie la mort dou pecheur mes la vie,’ je  
 croi de cuer et rejehis de bouche que pour ce veuls tu trere l’ame de cest  
 12 cors que tu la faces vivre en meilleur vie. Cest sens, cest entendement, avra  
 ele en/core moult meilleur de ce que ele repose en cest cors.” Puis prist la  
 pel d’entre ses deus mameles et la char d’endroit son cuer si comme Tierri le  
 disoit, puis dist criant et plorant: “Jhesu Crist, Filz Dieu et de la Vierge  
 16 Marie! de tout mon cuer rejehis et croi et sai que mes Rachetierres *vis*, et au  
 jour dou juisse *resouciterai* de terre et en ceste char meismes verrai mon  
 Sauveur.” Einsint dit par trois foiz. Puis mist sa main a ses eulz et dit: “Cist

---

9 ne prist —*mués lacking*  
 16 mes R. vint  
 17 resoucitera

---

1 j’ *lacking*  
 4 et soufiers en ai plus —que ne saroie dire  
 5 en cest p. *put after* moi —je *lacking* —Si v. que  
 6 et passion  
 7 tes h. —la passion d’ —et p. moi  
 8 Sire *lacking* —et m’ame r. en ton paradis  
 9 cil a cui  
 10 voel pas —la vie *lacking*  
 11 vielt (tu *lacking*) ceste ame  
 13 et encore (moult *lacking*)  
 14 d’entre . . . char *lacking* —le conta  
 15 p. et c. —Sire J. —(de *lacking*) la V.  
 16 que me racaterés vie  
 18 Ensi le dist —ses mains —et cist

20 oeil le verront.” Après ouvri ses eulz et esgarda le ciel et seigna son cors et  
 ses membres et dist: “Toutes choses terriennes ne valent riens au regart des  
 esperitueus, car je / voi ce que eulz ne pueent veoir ne bouche dire ne cuer (176v°,a)  
 penser, c’est la joie des cieus que Deus apareille a ceuls qui l’aiment.” Lors  
 24 estendi ses mains et dist ceste priere pour touz ceuls qui estoient mort avec lui  
 en la bataille:

## XXXIX

“Sire Dieus! la vostre misericorde soit hui esmeue seur touz ceuls qui  
 martire ont receu avec moi en la bataille pour ta loi essaucier, quar il sont  
 mort pour l’amor de toi. Et tu vueilles eslaver les ordures de leur pechiez et ne  
 4 suefre que la mort d’enfer ait en euls part. Envoie tes anges seur euls qui les  
 ames enporteront et les ostent des painnes d’enfer et les metent en la grant  
 clarté de paradis / si qu’il puissent avec toi et avec tes sainz martirs regner (b)  
 sanz fin, qui vis et regnes Dieus Peres et Filz et Sainz Esperiz per omnia secula  
 8 seculorum. Amen.”

## XL

A ces paroles s’en issi l’ame dou cors le glorieus martir Rollant et fu  
 portee des anges en la celestiele compaignie ou ele sera parmenablement par  
 la merite de sa *deserte* et fu conjointe avec les sainz martirs.

## XL

3 sa destre

19 et ses m. *lacking*

20 choses me sunt viels car

21 voi par la volenté Dieu chou —ielx ne puet —ne b. dire *lacking* —cuers d’ome ne  
 peut penser

22 a apareillie

23 avoec lui est. m.

## XXXIX

1 la v. m. Dieu —hui *lacking*

3 ne s. mie

4 ait sor aus —lor ames oscent d’enfer

6 si *lacking* —les sains —r. en paradis sans

7 Deus et P.

## XL

1 s’ *lacking* —l’ame del glorieus

2 emportee l’ame de tous les anges en paradis la ou —por (la merite de *lacking*)

3 sainz *lacking*

## XLI

- Que vous diroie je plus? Endementiers que la beneuree arme de Rollant s'en issoit dou cors, je, Tourpins, arcevesques de Rains, celebroye messe des feus Dieu devant Monseigneur en la / Valee Charlon en la .xvi. kalande de (177r°,a)
- 4 juing, et fui raviz en esperit et oï chanz et sons moult douz en l'air et ne savoie que ce estoit, et montoient aus cieuls. Après ce oï je granz ullemenz d'ours et de lyons et de chiens et de pors et d'asnes, et glatissoient et demenoient grant noise, et estoient maligne esperit qui estoient chargez de proie. Je
- 8 leur demandai que ce estoit qu'il portoient, et il respondirent: "Nos portons *le roi Marsille en enfer et toutes ses gens*, et Michieus, li arcanges, avec ses anges emporte l'ame *de vostre buisinier et de ses compaignons* em paradis." Quant / je oi la messe finee, je ving a monseigneur le roy Charle et li dis: (b)
- 12 "Sire, sachiez que saint Michiel emporte l'ame de vostre neveu Rollant em paradis, et li deable emportent l'ame de Marsille et des siens en enfer, et li nostres sont sauf, mes je ne sai de quel mort il sont mort."

## XLII

Endementieres que je parloie au roy sifetement, es vous Baudoin sus le cheval Rollant, son frere, et aportoit son cor et s'espee moult dolanz. Et

## XLI

- 3 la sepme  
8 Nos portons ces genz en enfer. Et  
10 l'ame dou beneuré Rollant et de ses c. avec vostre seigneur em p.

## XLI

- 1 Qu'en d. –boinneurouse  
2 des fils D.  
4 oi en l'air chans  
5 es c. –je *lacking*  
6 menoiert  
7 Et ce estoient –malisme esperit –et si erent cargié  
8 (et il resp. *lacking*) Nous p., disent il  
10 emportent –v. b. em p. et de ses c.  
11 Charle *lacking* –et se li  
12 vostre n. *lacking*  
13 li vostre sont  
14 tuit sauf

## XLII

- 1 sifetement *lacking* –sor



Thierry vint après et nous conta la bataille et toute l'aventure, et comment il  
 4 lessa Rollant gisant encoste le perron et si penoit a la mort. Lors commença  
 li / pleurs et li criz par tote l'ost et retournerent tuit. Premièrement trovasmes (177v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 Rollant mort gisant envers, et tenoit ses mains croisées sur son piz. Li rois  
 Charles se lessa cheoir sur le cors de si haut comme il estoit, a granz criz et  
 8 pleurs et soupirs, et commença ses poins a tordre et ses cheveux a tirer et sa  
 barbe a errachier et sa face a esgratiner a ses ongles et commença a plorer et a  
 crier ensamble et dist:

## XLIII

“Ahi! biau niés Rollant! Destre braz de mon cors! Enneur de France!  
 Espée de joustice! Hante qui ne pot onques fraindre! Hauberc qui n'empira  
 onques! Hiaume de salut! Samblant de / bonté et de coustume a Judas le (b)  
 4 Machabé, a Sanson de force, a Saül et a Jonatas samblanz en mort! Chevaliers  
 bien creanz, sages em bataille, forz sur les forz! Desfendierres de Crestiens!  
 Murs de clers! Baston d'orfelins! Escuz de veeves dames! Viande et refections  
 de povres et de riches, amours de chevaliers! Li sires d'armes! Relevierres et  
 8 essaucierres de Sainte Eglise! Langue qui ne sot onques mentir! Droituriers  
 en jugement! Quens nobles *seur* François! Dus et mareschaulz des olz qui  
 contre Sarrazins chevauchent! Pourquoi t'amené je morir en estranges con-  
 trees? Pourquoi te voi je ci / mort? Pourquoi ne muir je avec toi? Pourquoi m'as (178r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 12 tu lessié vain et triste derriere toi? Ha! las! que ferai je? Tu vives avec les

## XLIII

9 souz F.

3 toute *lacking*

4 si *lacking* —Lors c. li cris et la noise par

5 et r. lués tout —Premiers

7 (de si . . . estoit *lacking*) et a —et a grans plours

8 et soupirs, et *lacking* —detordre

9 et sa face . . . crier ensamble *lacking*

## XLIII

2 qui onques ne pooit f.

5 et sages —des C.

7 de cevalerie

8 onques ne sot

10 amenaie en ces e. c.

11 Par coi te voi (je *lacking*)

12 tr. et vain —ferai je? Que devenirai je? Tu —od les

anges! Tu aies joie en la compaignie des martirs et de touz les sainz. *Sanz fin plorerai* pour toi ausi comme David plora et dolosa pour la mort son filz Absalon, et Saül et de Jonatas, ses bons amis. Tu t'en vas a Dieu et nous lesses  
 16 ou monde. La sale de paradis t'est apareilliee, et nous remanons en vie de travail. Biau niés Rollant! tu ne nous as tenu compaignie que .xxxviii. anz! Vierges et chastes ies montez es cieus! De ce dont li mondes pleure pour toi, s'esjoïst la com/paignie des anges." Par itieus plains dolosa Charles Rollant  
 20 son neveu tant comme il vesqui puis. Tantost fist li rois tendre son tref la ou Rollant gisoit, *et li autre tendirent lor tentes ensement, cascuns leis sons ami*. Le cors Rollant fu tantost embaussumez de mierre, et d'*aloés* partout enoint, et fist en grant luminaire entour et son service hautement, mes ce fu a granz  
 24 pleurs et a granz criz. Et fist en grant feu toute nuit par le bois, et chascuns quist son ami ou son parent, et firent fere leur service aus clers qui sivoient l'ost. (b)

## XLIV

L'andemain matin vindrent tuit armé ou champ ou la bataille avoit esté, si troverent leur amis, les / uns morz, les autres devorez, les autres qui vivoient  
 4 encore mes a mort estoient plaié. Olivier fu trouvé gisant mort a terre envers, estendu en croiz, liez de quatre harz par mains et par piez a pieus en terre fichiez, et fu encisiez de coutiaus des les ongles des mains jusque aus ongles (178v°,a)

## XLIII

13 sainz sanz fin. Je plorerai  
 21 gisoit, et chascuns plaint son ami. Le cors  
 22 aloel

13 les *lacking*

14 pour *lacking* – A. son fil

17 c. fors .xxxviii.

20 puis *lacking* – ou li cors R.

22 de R. – de mirre et partout enoins

23 entour et fist on son – a g. c. et a g. p.

24 grans fus – t. la nuit – par tout le

25 requist – ami et – lor services – aux c. qui s. l'ost *lacking*

## XLIV

1 Al demain

2 morz, les autres demis mors (les autres qui . . . plaié *lacking*)

3 mors gisans enviers a tiere

4 loiés par m. et par p. de .iiii. h.

5 fu escorciés – de c. *lacking* – tres les o.

- des piez, et touz ses membres estoient defroissiez de maces et de bastons. Dont leva grant pleur et grant cri que onques tel ne fu oï que chascuns fesoit  
 8 pour son ami. Touz les monz et toutes les valees estoient plainnes de pleurs et de lermes et de criz et de douleur. Dont jura Charles qu'il ne fineroit tant qu'il avroit ceuls atainz qui ce avoient fet et eschapez estoi/ent. Tantost les sivi avec sa chevalerie et lessa ceuls a pié pour garder les morz. Charles chevaucha, (b)  
 12 et ses genz a cheval, et le soleil aresta ou ciel, et dist en que cil jourz fu aloigniez l'espace de trois jourz. Et trouverent les Sarrazins joustes l'iaue d'Ebre pres de Cesarraguste. Li un se reposoient, li autre menjoient. Li rois et ses genz leur corurent sus et les ocirent touz; si en y ot .iiii. milliers. Puis s'en revint li rois en Roncevaus et fist porter toz les morz et les navrez jusque la ou li cors Rollant gisoit. Guenes, qui fu a Marsille mesagiers, en ot grant blasma par l'ost. Charles fist enquerre s'il estoit voirs qu'il les eust traiz, et / fu seu et entendu qu'il les avoit venduz et traiz par Tierri, l'escuier, qui (179r°,a)  
 20 l'en apela de murtre, et il s'en deffendi par Pinabel, son neveu. Pinabel fu vaincuz et fu lors traïnez. Quant la verité fu seue et esclairee, li rois Charles conmanda que l'en liast Guanelon le traiteur a .iiii. chevaux par les .iiii. membres, et le traïnast en en .iiii. contrees tant comme piece en porroit durer.  
 24 Einsint morut Guanes de laide mort despite et vilaine.

### XLV

Aprés ce, apareillierent les cors de lor amis pour emporter, li uns de mierre, l'autre d'encens, li autres de basme, li autres de sel, li autre en getoient

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6 estoient *lacking*

7 Dont commença —que *lacking* —oï com

8 toutes *lacking* —de l. et de p. (et de c. et de d. *lacking*)

9 ne f. s'aroit

10 et e. e. *lacking*

12 s'aresta

14 et li autre —Et li rois

15 c. seure —.iiii. mil en i ot mors

17 m. a M.

18 en l'ost —enq. et savoir se voirs estoit qu'il —avait traïs

19 traïs et vendus. Thieris, li esc. Rollant, l'en a. ausi com de

21 et traïnés lués

22 le traiteur *lacking*

24 despite *lacking*

### XLV

2 basme et de seil

- fors les boelles / et les saloient. Li uns les emportoient em bieres de fust, li  
 4 autre les portoient seur leur chevaus et seur somiers, li autre seur leur espauls,  
 li autre entre leur mains, li autre les enfoient ilec en plorant, li autre em-  
 portoient leur amis en France et li autre jusque la ou il leur covenoit lessier  
 pour la peur; dont les enfoient par voie ça et la ou il venoient. (b)

## XLVI

- En celui tans estoient deus cimetières de haute digneté. Li uns estoit en  
 Aleschans a Arle et li autres a Bordiaus, que Nostre Sires beneï par les mains  
 de .vii. arcevesques. Li uns fu Maximiens, esvesque d'Es, sainz Tro/phins (179v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 4 d'Arle, Paul de Nerbone, Saturnins de Tolose, Frontins de Pierregort, Martiaus  
 de Limoges, Eutropes de Saintes. Moulte de morz furent enfoïz en ces .ii.  
 cimetières, et cil autre qui furent mort devant Monjardin, en l'oratoire Charle.

## XLVII

- Rollant fu aporté en une litiere sus deus mulez et fu richement atornez,  
 et vindrent jusque a Blaves. La fu Rollant honorablement enfoï en l'eglyse  
 Saint Romain qu'il avoit edifiée et si y avoit mis chanoines ruilez. Durendal  
 4 s'espee fu enfoïe a son chief, et a ses piez fu son cor mis qui d'ivoire estoit et  
 si estoit croissuz. Puis fu Rollant en haut levé pour sig/ne de sa proesce. Et (b)  
 puis fu le cor d'ivoire aporté a Bordiaus en l'eglyse Saint Severin. Beneuree  
 est l'eglyse Saint Romain de Blaives, et la cité meismes, qui tel oste ont

---

3 et si —emp. sor lor cols em

4 les emportoient sor cevals —et seur s. . . leur mains *lacking*

5 li auquant les enf. —ilec en *lacking*

6 dusques en Fr. et cascuns en son pais, li autre les portoient tant qu'il les c. l. par poure-  
 ture; lors si les enf. ça

## XLVI

1 en haute —a Arle en Al.

3 as .vii. vesques

5 Mult grans parties de ces m. fu enfoï —.ii. *lacking*

6 et cil . . . Charle *lacking*

## XLVII

1 sor —couvers et at. et fu aportés dusques

3 s'i avoit (mis *lacking*)

6 d'ivoire *lacking* —Boinneeurouse

- 8 hebergié. A Belin le chastel fu Olivier enfoï, Gondebuef li rois de Frise, Ogier de Danemarche qui rois estoit, Arestains, rois de Bretaigne, Garins, dus de Loorainne et meint autre. Beneuré est le chastel de Belin et la mere eglise qui tant bons ostes ont hebergiez.

## XLVIII

- A Bordiaus, en l'eglise Saint Severin et ou cimetiére, est enfoiz Gaifier, rois de Gascoigne, Angelier, dus d'Aquitaine et Lambert, roy de Boourges, Ge/liers et Gerins, Renaut de l'Aube Espine, Gautier de Termes, Guillaume, (180r°,a)
- 4 Begues et avec euls .v. mile d'autres. Hoiaus, li quens, fu portez a Nantes *sz* cité. Quant cist furent einsint enterré, li rois, pour salut et pour redempcion de leur ames, dona .x. mile onces d'argent et autretant de besanz d'or aus povres en la remembrance de Judas Machabieu. Et *si* dona la terre toute qui
- 8 siet a .vi. liues environ a l'eglise Saint Romain de Blaives, et le chastel et ce qui y apent, et la mer prochaine et ce qu'il y avoit, en franc aluef pour l'*amour* de Rollant. Et comanda aus chanoines que d'ore en avant ne feissent
- 12 ser/vice pour nul home fors tant seulement por l'arme de son neveu, de ses compaignons et de touz ceuls qui furent avec lui mort en Roncevaus, et chascun an, le jour de leur passion, revestissent .xxx. povres pour euls, et si (b)

---

 XLVIII

- 4 la cité  
7 Et li dona  
10 l'ame de

- 
- 8 O. li Danois  
9 A., li rois  
10 Boineurous —est Belin  
11 tant de

---

 XLVIII

- 1 G. li rois  
3 (et *lacking*) Guielins, R. —d'Aubespain —G. de T. *lacking*  
4 (sa cité *lacking*) et mult autre Breton  
5 cil —redempcion de *lacking*  
6 .xii. mile  
7 en la . . . J. M. *lacking*  
8 environ a .vi. l. de l' —ch. et quanqu'il i  
9 et ce . . . aluef *lacking*  
11 tant s. *lacking* —(de *lacking*) son n., et por ses c., et por tous  
12 avoec lui f. m. —en la bataille a R.  
13 de la p. —pour lor ames

- leur donassent a boivre et a mengier, et .xxx. messes chantassent et .xxx. sautiers leussent et feissent plain service de morz en remembrance de ceuls qui furent ocis en Roncevaus et es autres batailles d'Espagne. Li chanoine qui adont estoient, l'otroierent einsint, et jurerent a ainsint fere chascun an, et l'eglyse le creanta pour ceuls qui revendroient au service de l'eglyse. Et / (180v°,a)  
ainsint l'ont fet les uns après les autres.

## XLIX

- Aprés ce, li rois Charles atoute s'ost se parti de Blaives et s'en ala parmi Gascoingne et par Toulouse, et vindrent a Arle la cité. Et la trouverent il les Bergoingnons qui d'euls estoient departi en Roncevaus, et par *Morlens* et par  
4 Toulouse estoient venuz atouz leur morz et leur navrez qu'il portoient en litiere sus les chars avec euls pour enfoir *en Aleschans*. En cel cimetiére fu enfoiz Estouz de Lengres et Salemons et Sanses, li dus de Bergoigne, Ernaut de Biaulande, Auberi le Bergoignon, Guimarz, Estourmiz, Othes, Thierriz,  
8 Yvoires, Bernarz de Nubles, Berengiers, Naimés / dus de Baviere et .x. mile d'autres. Costentins, li prevolz de Rome, en fu portez par mer a Rome enfoir avec ses Romains et avec ses *Puillois*. Pour les ames de ceuls dona Charles .ii. mile mars d'argent et autant de besanz aus povres d'Arle et ailleurs. (b)

## XLIX

- 3 par Orliens  
5 enfoir par les chans ceuls qui morz seroient  
10 avec ses pluseurs barons.

- 14 a m. assés  
16 autres *lacking*  
17 i est. —et jurerent . . . an *lacking*  
18 venroient

## XLIX

- 1 departi —et si —par G.  
2 a Ais —(Et *lacking*) la —tr. il cels qui  
3 parti  
4 sor lor litieres  
5 sus les chars *lacking*  
6 E. de B., A. le B. *lacking*  
7 Est. *lacking* —Thierriz . . . Berengiers *lacking*  
8 N., li dus  
9 C. fu emportés a R. por enf. a Roume avec  
10 et avec ses P. *lacking* —Por lor ames dona —.xii. mile dragmes d'a.  
11 d'A. et a. *lacking*

## L

- Puis venismes a Vienne tuit ensamble, et ilec, pour les travaux et pour les painnes que je avoie eues, remés je, arcevesques Tourpins, pour sejourner, car moult estoie travailliez en Espagne. Li rois Charles, mes sires, qui moult estoit afebloié pour les travaux qu'il avoit euz, s'en rala a Paris, et ses genz avec lui. Dont asambla il de ses esvesques et de ses barons et / par leur conseil s'en ala a Saint Denis et rendi gracias a Dieu et a saint Denis qui force et pooir li avoit doné de souzmettre a soi la loi et la terre des Sarrazins. Dont dona a Saint Denis toute France en alue ausi conme saint Pol et saint Climent li aposteles li avoient einçois donee. Et conmanda que touz les rois de France et les esvesques qui estoient venu et a venir, fussent obeissant a Dieu et a saint Denis, et que nus rois de France ne fust coronnez d'ore en avant sanz son asentement, ne evesque ne fussent a Rome *receu* ne dampné. Après ce, quant il ot moult doné, si conmanda li rois que chascuns qui tenoit meson en France / donast quatre deniers a l'edifiement de l'eglise. Dont s'estut li rois devant le cors saint Denis et pria pour touz ceuls qui ces .iiii. deniers donroient d'ore en avant, et pour touz ceuls qui leur païs avoient lessié et avec lui s'en estoient alé en Espagne combatre aus Turs et avoient deservi par leur martire la corone des cieus, et si dist: "Sire saint Denis, je vous conmant l'ame de Rollant mon neveu et de touz ses compaignons. Vous qui estes en France nostre avoiez de la loi crestienne, soiez *avoés de* leur ames vers Dieu Nostre Pere. Sire saint Denis, toute enneur terrienne vous ai rendue, et ore pren je

---

12 *receu lacking*  
 20 *soiés avec leur*

---

2 jou T., a. de Rains  
 3 Charles *lacking*  
 4 par les  
 5 as. K. —*esv.* et de ses abeis et  
 6 et rendi . . . saint D. *lacking*  
 8 en franc alues —li ap. *lacking*  
 10 qui erent et ki estoient a venir  
 12 assens —*deceu*  
 13 il i ot —ki m. tenoit  
 14 donast cascun an .iiii. —au redefiement —rois K.  
 15 ces *lacking*  
 17 deservi la c. des c. por lor m.  
 18 si *lacking*  
 20 Dieu *lacking*  
 21 je *lacking*

- congié a vous." Il se leva / *et issi* dou moustier lermoiant et touz li pueples (181v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 plorant qui le conveoient a Paris. La nuit après aparut saint Denis au roy en  
 24 avision et li dist: "J'ai prié pour trestouz ceuls qui donront quatre deniers a  
 m'eglyse chascun an, et pour Rollant ton neveu et pour touz ses compaignons  
*requis* pardon de touz leur pechiez a Nostre Seigneur, et il le m'a otroié dou  
 tout." L'endemain le raconta Charles devant les genz. Puis avint que qui  
 28 donnoit les .iiii. deniers de bon cuer et de bon gré, qu'il estoit *apielés* "frans  
 Saint Denise" pource qu'il estoit *frans* de touz *autres* services par le com-  
 mandement le roi Charle, et par ce si furent touz *apielé* "François" et / la (b)  
 terre "Franche," qui devant estoit apelee "Gaule." Puis s'en ala li rois a *Ais*  
 32 *la Chapele* et fist iluec faire les bains d'iaue chaude et bien atrempee. Et fist  
 fere l'eglyse Nostre Dame Sainte Marie a Ais, et l'aorna d'aornemenz d'or et  
 d'argent, et la fist peindre d'estoires anciennes et *del nouvel testament et dou*  
 36 *viez*. Et son palés meismes fist peindre de toutes les batailles qu'il avoit fetes  
 en Espagne et ailleurs et fist après peindre le pooir des .vii. arz tout.

## LI

Gramaire fu premiere fete qui est mestresse de toutes les .vii. arz et qui

- 
- 22 se l. einsint dou m.  
 26 requis je (*see note*)  
 28 apielés *lacking*  
 29 (frans *lacking*) de touz –autres *lacking*  
 30 apielé *lacking*  
 31 Ais a la Ch.  
 34 et de noviaus testamenz et de viez

- 
- 23 plouroit –convoia arriere a  
 24 vision –pour tous cels  
 25 ton n. *lacking* –touz *lacking*  
 26 touz *lacking*  
 27 K. oiant la gent  
 28 de son gré  
 29 que frans estoit  
 30 le roi *lacking* –et por ce  
 31 devant avoit a non Gale  
 32 fisent –tempree  
 33 Sainte M. *lacking* –et si l'aorna d'or  
 35 Et en son p. meismes qui prés estoit fist  
 36 paindre des .vii. ars toute l'estoire

## LI

- 1 fu p. painte –qui maistres est



- nous demoustre et enseigne coment en doit / escrire les figures et asambler. (182r°,a)  
 Par cest art sont li clerz adroit lisant et entendant es eglises et ailleurs, et  
 4 par ce sevent il entendre ce qu'il lisent, car sanz gramaira aprendre ne puet  
 nus savoir clergie.

## LII

- Aprés est musique qui les clers enseigne et aprent les divers chanz a  
 chanter. Et par tel art est le service Dieu moult embeliz. Et fu trouvee par  
 voiz d'anges; et par li esperons nous les nostres voiz estre comparees a celes  
 4 des anges qui devant Dieu chantent.

## LIII

- Dialetique est après qui les clers enseigne a desputer l'un a l'autre et  
 connoistre / le voir dou faus et le faus dou voir et le bien dou mal. (b)

## LIV

- Rectorique est après qui nous enseigne a droit parler et par beles paroles,  
*et rent lais et clers bien parlanz et belement et as haus et as bas.*

## LV

- Geometrie est après qui nous enseigne les mons et les valees a mesurer,

LIV

- 2 rent l'aise aus clers b. p. et b. et haut et bas.

2 dem. et lacking

- 4 par li —aprendre *lacking* —puet on

## LII

- 1 les clers *lacking* —et aprent *lacking*

- 2 cele art —moult *lacking*

- 4 d'angeles

## LIII

- 1 et a conn.

- 2 des faus et les faus

## LIV

- 1 droit a parler

- 2 clers et lais —(et *lacking*) as haus

## LV

- 1 les vals

et les hauz et les bas, et toutes les amples terres. Et par la furent contees et devisees premierement les luies d'un leu a autre.

## LVI

Arimetique est après qui nous enseigne le pooir de conter. Qui bien justement le set, si doit savoir quantes pierres il a en une haute tour et quanz / (182v°,a)  
grains il a en .i. muy de blé.

## LVII

4 Aristologie est après qui devise le pooir et le cours des estoiles et enseigne les choses qui sont a venir. Et si enseigne les cheances et les mescheances des rois et des autres genz. Et chascune de ces .vii. arz a une fille souz soi des- queles fusique est une qui fet connestre les maus.

## LVIII

4 Après ce ne mie lonc tans, si fu conmise a moi la mort mon seigneur Charle par verais signes; et oez comment! Je, Tourpins, arcevesque de Rains, si conme je estoie a Vienne .i. jour dedenz l'eglyse devant l'autel, si fui raviz ausi conme en esperit. Je disoie mes prie/res a Dieu et estoie en cestui siaume dou sautier qui commence: "Deus in adiutorium." Lors si oï compagnie de chevaliers passer devant moi et s'en aloient vers Loorraine. Quant (b)

---

2 et les h. et les b. *lacking* –par li –furent trovees les l.

## LVI

1 Apriés est a. –Conter et qui –bien vistement  
2 bien haute

## LVII

1 Astrologie  
2 a avenir  
3 desous

## LVIII

1 conneue a –mon s. *lacking*  
2 or oiés  
3 devant l'a. dedens l'e.  
4 ausi c. *lacking* –ceste s.  
5 qui c. *lacking*  
6 et si s' –envers –Et quant

- il furent presque touz passez, si en y choisi .i. plus noir d'un Mor, et aloit  
 8 moult ensus des autres. Je li demandé: "Ou alez vous?" "Nous alons", dist *il*,  
 "a Ais la Chapele a la mort Charle pour l'ame apoter en enfer se nous  
 poons." Je dis a celui: "Je te conjur de par le non dou grant Dieu qui vit que  
 quant tu et ta compagnie avroiz fet, que vous revenez *par moi*." Dont s'en  
 12 alerent si tost que a painnes oi je finé le siau/me que je disoie quant il furent (183r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 revenu. Je dis a celui a qui je avoie parlé premierement: "Dites moi que vous  
 avez fet." Cil respondi: "Neent; car Jaques li apostres le nous a tolu, car il  
 mist em balance tant de pierres d'eglise qu'il avoit fondees, et tant de bos et  
 16 tant d'aornemenz d'or et d'argent, que plus poise son bien que son mal, et  
 pour ce l'enporte saint Jaque et le nous a tolu." Donques s'en alerent. Ainsint  
 soi je certainement la mort Charle a ce jour *et* que s'ame estoit portee es cieus  
 par l'aide saint Jaque. Car le jour meismes que je parti de lui a Vienne li avoie  
 20 je prié que, se il pooit estre, qu'il y envoiast cer/tain message *de l'eure et del*  
*jor de sa mort s'il moroit ains de moi, et ausi m'avoit il requis que se jou*  
*moroie ains de lui que jou li feisse a savoir. Par ce recorda mesire quand il*  
*giut el lit de la mort de ce que je li avoie requis, et commanda .i. cavalier de*  
 24 *sa maisnie ançois qu'il morust que, tantost qu'il seroit ensevelis, le me venist*  
*dire. Qu'en diroie je plus? .xv. jors apriés sa mort seu je par cel mesage que*  
*des lors qu'il parti d'Espaigne amaladi li rois et fu morz ou jour et en l'eure*

---

8 *il lacking*

11 r. par ci par moi

18 et *lacking*

20 de l'eure . . . cel mesage (*l. 25*) *lacking*

25 car des

---

7 priés tuit —s'en coisi —d'une meure d'Ethiope

9 Karle porter a infer se nos poons l'ame de lui

10 "Or te c. je" —de *lacking* —non dou *lacking*

11 que tu repaires p. m. et li autre. Lors

12 mult tost si que —la saume

13 a qui . . . parlé p. *lacking*

14 Il r. —J. sans tieste, cil de Galisse, le

15 pierres contre nous des eglises —bos et (tant *lacking*)

16 plus ont pesé si b. que si m.

17 D. s'en a. *lacking*

19 de s. J.

20 requis et proié —qu'il m'envoiaist

25 que tres dont qu'il se p.

26 si am.

28 que je oi veue l'avision de lui, si fu en la quinte kalande de fevrier, en l'an de l'incarnacion Dieu le Pere .viii. c. et .xiii. et fu enfoiz en l'eglyse ma dame Sainte Marie la Reonde a Ais la Chapele qu'il avoit fondee et edifiee. Je, Tourpins, oï deviser et soi les signes qui estoient avenuz devant et si furent tel:

## LIX

Le soleil et la lune par .vii. jourz furent *continuellement nerci* et mué. Ses nons qui fu escriz et painz a or musique sus le chancel de l'eglyse par soi meismes esfaça. Li porches qui estoit entre la sale et la / chapele par ou en (183v°,a)  
4 aloit a l'eglyse chaï le jor de l'Acenssion devant sa mort. .I. pont de fust qu'il avoit fet fere et haut et grant a Maience par .vii. anz s'en ala touz aval l'iaue. Devant le roy meismes, si conme il s'en aloit d'un leu en autre, obscurci et atenebri li jourz, et une flambe passa devant lui et vint vers destre et passa  
8 a senestre. Li rois en ot tel pooor qu'il chaï de son cheval d'une part et *li resnes qu'il tenoit kaï d'autre part. Si chevalier l'en releverent*. Et puis que cil signe avindrent, ne vesqui il pas granment. Bien puet en savoir, et je bien  
12 le sai, qu'il est en la ce/lestiele compaignie, et par lui savons nos que grant aumosne et haute et bele est de sainte eglyse fere edefier. (b)

## LIX

1 furent converti et mué

8 Et par la regne qu'il tenoit d'autre part le releverent si compaignon et si chevalier. Et puis

27 je vis —et si

28 inc. Nostre Signor .viii. —eg. Nostre Dame a

29 avoit faite et fondee. Jou

30 qui devant sa mort est. av.

## LIX

1 jors devant sa mort —furent continuellement verti et

2 qui *lacking* —sor

3 esraça —Li porcet qui estoient

4 en l'e.

5 (et *lacking*) haut —s'en avala et ala aval

6 il aloit et il ert en .i. autre pont, si obscurci

7 deviers destre

8 jus de

10 cist signe —pas longement

12 et edifijer et avancier

## LX

- Bons est li biens que nous vous racontons .i. grant miracle que Dieus fist por Rollant et pour sa priere a sa vie. Rollant, avec grant plenté de gent, avoit asis Granopole et y fu a siege bien .vii. anz. .I. jour li vindrent nouveles que li
- 4 rois Charles, ses oncles, estoit asis de Sarrazins en une tour a Nourmaise en la contree de *trois rois*, de Gandlois et de Sesnes et de Frisons et d'autres genz assez. Charles, a cel tans que je di, manda Rollant son neveu / qu'il le se- (184r°,a)  
coureust et delivrast. Rollant fu moult angoisseus de son oncle secourre et
- 8 moult dolenz estoit quant ainsint li couvenoit lessier le siege ou il avoit tant sis et tant traveillié et pené, et volentier l'eust mise a la loi crestiene. Moult doit estre bien partout loee la valeur de Rollant et bien doit on ouvrer si conme il ouvra et la et ailleurs. Par trois jourz et par trois nuiz fu il la en
- 12 oroisons qu'il ne menja ne ne but se pou non, et apela Deu en s'aide et dist: "Sire Dieus! qui en trois parz trenchas la Rouge Mer et conduisis parmi le pueple Israël et tre/buchas le roy Pharaon en cele mer avec toute s'ost! Sire Dieus! qui *les murs de Jericho* feis cheoir par le son des buisines sanz ce que
- 16 nus les atouchast! Sire Deus pieus et verais! destrui les murs et abat de ceste cité par ta poissance et destrui la gent paienne qui ne te croient, ou tu fez qu'ele soit convertie a ta loi et sachent qu'il n'est dieu fors Toi!" Que diroie je plus? Par la volenté Nostre Seigneur, avec la priere de Rollant, fondirent li

---

5 .iiii. rois et de  
15 qui le mur de Jherusalem feis

---

1 li biens *lacking*  
2 en sa  
3 Garanople —au siege —li rois *lacking*  
5 des trois —Wandlois —et des S. —gens moult.  
6 cel jor (que je di *lacking*)  
7 rescourre  
8 qu'ensi  
9 sis et tant *lacking* —et volentier . . . crestiene *lacking*  
10 bien *lacking* —on oir comment  
11 fu Rollans  
13 menas et conduisis  
14 mer meisme —a toute  
16 Sire dous et p. —d. et abas les m. de  
17 et confont la gent —croit  
18 Qu'en

- 20 mur de Granopole et li paien furent pris et achetivé et mort, et li auquant furent baptisié. Rollant avec sa gent ala au secours Charle et le delivra et osta des mains aus Sarrazins. /

(184v°,a)

## LXI

- Tourpins, li bons arcevesques, martir Nostre Seigneur, après la mort Charle vesqui moult petit et demora a Vienne tant que par les douleurs et par les painnes que il avoit eues en Espagne si amaladi et morut moult belement et fu enfoï d'autre part le Rosne devers France vers oriant en une eglise. Ses cors i fu trovez au tans ui, *ensepeli* en .i. moult biau sarqueu et moult riche, et estoit vestuz de moult biaux aornemenz comme arcevesques. D'ilec fu il oster et apotez en une autre eglise en la cité, et la est il encore et a la coronne des cieus, ce savons nos bien car il l'aquist en terre et devons bien croire que cil qui reçurent / martire en Espagne et en Roncevaus sont coronné devant Dieu. Charles, Tourpins: pour ce s'il ne furent ocis en Espagne ne sont il mie mains parçonnier de la gloire Dieu, car li apostres dit que se il furent compaignon en *paines* ausi sont il compaignon en desertes. Rollant: cist moz nous dit autretant comme "rolles de science." Oliviers senefie "ber et verais escuz de misericorde," car il fu sages et hardiz et frans et deboneres seur touz. Charles senefie "lumiere de char," car il fu seur touz rois posteiz et sires deseur touz après Dieu tant comme il dura. Tourpins senefie ausi comme "turcoples":

(b)

## LXI

5 au tans Eusepe le pape en  
11 furent c. en Espagne en paines

20 li Sarrazin –et achetivé *lacking*  
21 furent *lacking* –ses gens –s'en ala –K. son oncle et l'osta

## LXI

2 les d. et les travals et les plaies qu'il  
3 en E. et aillors  
4 devers F. *lacking*  
5 au tans Eusebele pape en –(moult *lacking*) riche  
7 encore. La c. des c. a il, ce  
8 et si le devons nos b. c., car cil  
10 K. et T. –en E. por ce ne sunt il pas mains  
12 es painnes –es desiers –cist nons dist  
13 et viers et escus  
14 sages et f. et h.  
15 sires desous Dieu  
16 il vesqui –turcoples et serjans Dieu

- sages et douz / et biaux, car ledes oeuvres haoit et vilainnes paroles durement, (185r<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 et moult amoit Dieu et cremoit. En la .xvi. kalende de juignet est leur anni-  
 versaire. Adont doit en fere plener servise pour euls des mors, et non mie  
 20 tant seulement pour euls mes pour touz ceuls qui en Surie et en Grifonnie et  
 en Espagne et ailleurs sont mort pour l'enneur Dieu avancier.

## LXII

- Ci poez vous savoir et oïr coment il avint en Espagne après la mort  
 Charle. Uns granz sires que l'en apeloit l'aumaçour de Cordres vint avant et  
 dit qu'il voloit avoir toute la terre que Charles avoit tolue aus Sarrazins. Dont  
 4 asam/bla ses olz et ala toute la terre degastant par Espagne ça et la et vint (b)  
 jusques a monseigneur Saint Jacque et prist et roba quanque il trova en  
 l'eglyse, et livres et galices et dras de soie et toute rien, et firent *el moustier*  
 estables a leur chevaus et firent leur besoignes partout vilainement par coi  
 8 l'une partie de ceuls covint morir, car pardesouz leur sailloit le sanc et les  
 boelles par le conmandement saint Jacque et li autre avugloient. Qu'en diröie  
 je plus? Li aumaçours meismes fu entrepris d'autretel maladie et fu avuglez,  
 mes par le conseil d'un prestre de l'eglyse conmença a apeler l'aide Dieu et  
 12 dist: / "*Dieus* des Crestiens! Deus Sainz Peres! Deus seur toutes choses! se tu (185v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
 me renz santé, je ne mesferé jamés riens encontre toi et renoierai Mahonmet  
 mon dieu, ne jamés ou mostier Saint Jacque rapine ne ferai. Ha! saint Jacque,  
 qui si granz sires ies! Se tu me renz santé, je te rendrai tout ce que je t'ai

## LXII

6 *el moustier lacking*  
 12 dist, li Dieus

17 dous et frans, car –laide oeuvre –et v. p. d. *lacking*  
 18 la quinse –de julie  
 19 et adont –pour euls *lacking* –de mors  
 21 pour la loi Dieu

## LXII

1 puis la  
 4 ala gastant t. la t.  
 6 et d. de s. *lacking*  
 7 lor besoingne  
 8 d'aus –morir, si que pardesouz –lor issoit  
 12 Cr., Deus de saint Jacque, Deus de saint Piere –toute cose  
 13 vers toi –et si r.  
 15 santé a mes iels et a men ventre je

- 16 robé, et mes genz ausi." Après ce .xv. jourz fu touz gariz et rendi a double ce  
 qu'il i avoit pris, et aus eglises et aus genz ausi. Et issirent de la cité, et dist li  
 amiranz que li Dieus aus Crestiens estoit seur touz les deus poissanz, et saint  
 20 Jaque estoit de haute merite. Li aumaçours s'en ala en Espagne gastant tant  
 Romain qui moult estoit richement aornee de vessiaus d'or et d'argent et de  
 pailles. Li amiranz et ses genz roberent quanqu'il y troverent et tout gasterent.  
 Et quant hebergié se furent, uns dus de sa mesniee entra ou mostier Saint  
 24 Romain et vit les coulombes de pierre riches qui soustenoient les *maisieres* et  
 qui avoient les chapitiaux dorez. Par couvoitise prist cil .i. coing de fer et le  
 feri entre les jointures. Et si conme il le feroit a force *enz a .i.* mail de fer  
 pour l'or avoir dou piler, par la volenté de Dieu et de saint Romain devint  
 28 pierre li chevaliers et est encore *en semblance d'ome ilueques, et est encore*  
 d'autel couleur / conme sa quote estoit au jour qu'il devint pierre, et dient li  
 pelerin qui l'ont veue que ele est de male oudeur et si put. Quant li aumaçours  
 le vit, si dist: "Certes, moult fet a honorer et a douter le Dieu aus Crestiens et  
 32 li saint qui après leur mort se vengent si malement de leur anemis. Jakes  
 Sans Teste me toli avantier les eulz; Romains, cist autres, m'a fet une pierre  
 d'un de mes chevaliers. Mes Jakes est plus deboneres que cist Romainz, car

(b)

(186r<sup>o</sup>,a)

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24 les mestres pilers qui

26 *At the end of a line, after ens comes an e followed by the first minim of another letter, as though the scribe began to write enz a second time*

28 en s. d'ome . . . encore *lacking*

---

16 ne mes —il rendi au d. quanqu'il avoit pris as eg. et en la vile et

17 li aumaçours

18 tous rois p.

19 Li amiranz —(en *lacking*) Esp. —et tant

20 en la vile —Ovis

21 et moult

22 y *lacking* —et tout g. *lacking*

24 rices et bieles

25 (qui *lacking*) avoient —les *lacking* —dorés. Cil dus prist par c. .i. quing

26 outre les j. —(Et *lacking*) Si —.i. martiel

27 por l'avoir —la v. Dieu et s. R.

28 ome. Ilueques est

29 autreteil c.

30 qu'il est —li amiranz vit ce

31 et a d. *lacking* —des C.

32 si saint —si cruelment

33 l'autrier —mes iels —si a fait

34 cils R.



- 36 Jacque me rendi santé et clarté, et cist Romains ne me veult rendre mon  
home. Il n'i a plus, mes fuions nous en de ci." Lors / s'en parti li aumaçors et  
toutes ses genz, ne onques puis en la contree saint Jaque ne retorna ne onques  
puis nus Sarrazins ne li osa mal fere. (b)

## LXIII

- Si come l'estoire le dit et aferme, Julius Cesar envoa *Nubiliens*, Escors,  
Cornualois pour Espagne conquerre pource qu'il ne li voloient rendre treu.  
Et conmanda qu'il tuassent touz les homes et aus fames ne feissent nul mal.  
4 Quant il furent venuz en Espagne et il furent armé, si despecierent et ardirent  
toutes leur nés a *Baionne* et essillierent la terre toute jusques a Cesaraguste.  
Mes il ne porent aler avant car cil du pais s'asamblèrent et les vainquirent et  
les cha/cierent hors dou pais et assez en ocirent. Cil qui s'en foïrent s'en (186v<sup>o</sup>,a)  
8 alerent sus la mer entre Nasres et Pospelune et Baione en la terre de Biscaire  
et d'Alerne. Et la firent moult forz chastiaus et ocirent les homes et prirent  
lor fames dont il orent puis enfanz. Cil enfant après leur peres furent apelé  
Navars et ce sont cil de Navarre, et dist autretant Navars come "nons vrais"  
12 pource qu'il ne furent pas estret de droit lignage. Nadavre fu une citez qui fu

## LXIII

1 Nubilicus

5 Baiole

35 clarté et s. —cist *lacking*36 mes *lacking* —li amiraus37 (ne *lacking*) r. —ne onques puis nus . . . mal fere *lacking*

## LXIII

1 le *lacking* —envoia en son tans2 li *lacking*

3 qu'on tuast —et espargnast on les f. Quant

4 par mer en —furent arrivé —si arsent et d.

5 lor neis toutes —toute la terre

7 (les *lacking*) cacierent —fors —et en o. assés

8 sor

9 Et iluec f.

10 les femes

12 qui fu *lacking*

en Aufrique et y preescha saint *Mahius* l'apostre. Et de cele cité Nadavre si ont encor non cil de Navarre et avront toutjourz car cil qui les enchacierent les nomerent einsint. Ci faut et fine l'estoire Charlemainne.

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13 Mahi

---

13 et s'i p.

15 faut et *lacking* —de C. et de ses gens.



## Notes to the Text

[Prologue]. The table of contents which follows the incipit in the form of a prologue is not in conformity at all points with the text. "La bataille de Fourre" should come after "La mort Agoulant." "La bataille de Navre," *Nadres* in the text, refers to Chapters XXI-XXIV which describe the encounter between the French and the Saracen champion, Fernagu, before that city. The table makes no reference to the battle which follows against Hebraïns, king of Seville, and the aumaçor de Cordres, and does not mention the settlement which Charlemagne made of his Spanish conquests, matters which form the subject of Chapters XXV-XXIX. "La bataille de Roncesvaus" and "La bataille de Rollant et des .xii. pers" is the scribe's confused reference to the series of events which constitute the whole episode of Roncevaux from Ganelon's embassy to Saragossa to the burial of the fallen French in the cemeteries of Blaye, Belin, Bordeaux and Arles. "Queus estoit Charles et combien fort" has nothing corresponding in the text, but is certainly a reference to the Pseudo-Turpin's chapter *De persona et fortitudine Karoli* (ed. Meredith-Jones, Chapter XX) which usually is placed in the Turpin tradition just before the Roncevaux episode but which, in some texts, Latin and French, was removed to the end of the *Chronicle* as to a more appropriate context. The mention of this portrait in the Prologue and its absence in the text reproduce an anomaly which characterizes certain of the Latin manuscripts of the Turpin from one of which, no doubt therefore, our translation was made (see p. 22 above). The table makes no reference to the contents of Chapters L-LVII, which tell how Charlemagne left the ailing Turpin in Vienne, how a vision of St. Denis appeared to him and led to his conferring exceptional favors upon the abbey of Saint-Denis; how he built the chapel of St. Mary in Aix-la-Chapelle and adorned it with representations of the battles fought in Spain and of the seven liberal arts. "La mort Charle" corresponds to Chapter LVIII with its dramatic description of Turpin's vision and the emperor's rescue from hell by the timely intervention of St. James, and also to Chapter LIX which tells of the marvelous events which presaged Charlemagne's approaching death. "Les miracles que Dieus fist pour Rollant en la cité d'Ais" refers to Chapter LX, that anachronistic adjunct to the Turpin which forms Chapter XXXIII of Mr. Meredith-Jones's edition and recounts how the city of *Gratianopolis*, "Granopole," fell like Jericho in answer to Roland's prayer and thus freed him to go to Charlemagne's help against the Saxons. The story is quite out of place, since the purported events which it recounts belong to a period before Charlemagne or Roland had undertaken any of their expeditions to Spain. What is particularly interesting here is the reference in the Prologue to the scene of the miracle as being *en la cité d'Ais*. The text of Chapter LX reads *Granopole* and so the Prologue brings

one more detail to add to the discussion of the problem as to the identification of *Gratianopolis-Granopole*: is it *Noples*? and is *Noples Ais-en-Gascogne*, the modern Dax? See further the note to Chapter LX below. "La mort l'arcevesque Tourpin et comment il fu trouvé" tells us circumstantially of Archbishop Turpin's death, of his burial outside the city of Vienne and of his later reburial within it as recounted in our Chapter LXI; but the announcement contains no reference to what follows in the text of the *Chronicle*: the symbolical interpretations of the names *Rollant*, *Oliviers*, *Charles*, *Tourpins*, further examples of what G. G. Coulton once referred to as the excruciating etymologizing practiced in the Middle Ages; no reference either to the mention of the anniversary of these heroes which was to be observed, for them and also for all those who had suffered death in war against the infidels in Spain, on June 16th, *.XVI. Kalendas Iulii*. The last item in the Prologue, "De l'aumaçour de Cordres," corresponds to our Chapter LXII which is a translation of Appendix B in Meredith-Jones, *De altumaiore Cordubae*; but this item is followed in the text by another, of which the list in the Prologue makes no mention, concerning the origin and naming of the Navarrese, a rendering of Appendix C in Meredith-Jones, *De hoc quod Navarri non de vera prosapia sunt geniti*. It is with this adventitious fable, or rather fables, for there are two, the second one blandly contradicting the first, that the Turpin ends in our manuscript. There follows the explicit: *Ci faut et fine l'estoire Charlemainne*.

Prologue, 6 *destrincion*. No diacritic marks the *i* in the manuscript. The scribe does not always make a clear distinction between his *n* and his *u*, but he does so here: the *n* following the *i* and the final *n* are made alike.

The word *destruicion* (from *destruere*) occurs at VIII, 22, but it is written quite distinctly: the *i* has a diacritic and the *u* is perfectly distinguishable from the final *n*. The meaning *destrincion* "conflict" is needed here and, at VIII, 22, *destruicion* "destruction," "slaughter."

I, 3, 7 *montepplier*. The form is usually explained as due to progressive nasalization, the *o* being influenced by the initial *m*. But it may have been due to a simple confusion in spelling. The *o* in *montem* having closed to [u] before the nasal consonant and the nasal consonant then having been absorbed in the nasal vowel, the pronunciation of *mont* from *montem* fell in with that of *mout* from *multum*. From the identity of pronunciation could arise the confusion in spelling. Cf. the frequent occurrence in Old French texts of *mont* along with *mout* from *multum*.

I, 8 *mout cremuz pour sa bonté* is what our scribe wrote quite clearly in his beautiful script, but some process of corruption must lie behind his silly phrase. Probably he alone is responsible for thoughtlessly reading as *bonté*, *force* or *nomee* ("renown") in his original. I print *nomee* as the preferable of

my two conjectures as to the translator's word. The sentence *Cil Charles . . . maintes terres* is not in the Latin passage (cf. 88, vii-xv), which the translator has clearly tried to simplify. Strangely, his interpolation coincides with the Johannes translation: *En cest grant pooir que Charles ert si cremuz et si renomez par les batailles . . .* (ed. Walpole, II, 1-2). I do not think we need conclude from this that our translator borrowed his statement from Johannes; it arises quite naturally from the Latin, 88, xiv-xv: *invincibili brachio potentiae suae adquisivit. . . .* But cf. note to XXIII, 64.

I, 10 *jusques a la mer de Brandiz*. The *jusques a* seems to be the scribe's error induced by *jusques a la mer d'o*, which follows. For so many mediaeval people, sailors, merchants, crusaders, the sea at Brindisi was indeed the sea opening on the east.

I, 10, 15 *Lombardie*. "Italy." Cf. Mouskés, v. 126: *Or est ytale Lombardie* and v. 599: *En Ytale, qu'est Lombardie*.

I, 23 *Tabarie*. Cf. the Latin, 90, x: *mare Galileae*, and the fourth gospel, John VI, 1: *mare Galileae quod est Tiberiadis*.

I, 25 *moult me merveil quant tu n'i vas . . . et que*. The temporal meaning of *quant* has passed to that of a causal subordinating conjunction. The *que* repeats the *quant*, a rather uncommon construction at this relatively early date, but conveys also the oppositional sense "even though."

I, 26 *rois de terre*. The phrase renders *regnum terrenorum*; *de terre* is the equivalent of *terriens* and means "terrestrial," "earthly."

I, 27-28 *que tu . . . ostes . . . et que par ce aies tu . . .* The coordination of the two subordinate clauses seems awkward to us, the first being final and the second consecutive. The translator evidently felt no impropriety, taking *mande* with the meaning "bids" (you set free) as principal of the final clause and with the meaning "tells" (you that in so doing) as principal of the consecutive clause. The inversion *aies tu* follows normally on the adverbial phrase *par ce*.

I, 29 *La voie et le chemin que tu as veu . . . senefie*. We have in *voie* and *chemin* an example of synonymic repetition, a device frequently used in the old language, both poetry and, later, prose, for enhancing the style. Our scribe uses it constantly: *ceciderunt, chärent et fondirent* (III, 28); *sigillavit, si seela dedenz et enclost* (IV, 5); *gentes innumeras, gent sanz conte et sanz mesure* (VII, 1); *reges, les rois et les amiraus* (VIII, 2); *desiderabat enim, moult volentiers et trop le desirroit* (XIII, 15); *affirmans, si aferma et dist* (XIV, 47); *tondu et coroné* (XV, 9); *timpana, tabours et timbres* (XXV, 13); *fides, foi et*

*creance* (XXVII, 11, 13, 15); *defecerint, defailloit ou apetoit* (XXVII, 11); *secreta, ses secrez et sa revelacion* (XXIX, 3); *terminari, desclairiees ne seues* (XXIX, 16); *expedita, ostee et delivree* (XXIX, 18); with which cf. *souffrir ne endurer* (XXXII, 12); *chanz et sons* (XLI, 4); *plora et dolosa* (XLIII, 14); *force et pooir* (L, 6); *demoustre et enseigne* (LI, 2); *destrui et abat* (LX, 16); *prist et roba* (LXII, 5); *dit et aferme* (LXIII, 1). See Lommatzsch, "Zur Einführung," in vol. 1 of T.-L., *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, pp. xiii ff.

The singular form of the p. p. *veu* (cf. the agreement of the p. p. in *l'ame avoient getee*, VI, 26) and of *senefie* is in accord with the singular sense conveyed by the two subject nouns.

II, 3 *pour qui foi avancier*. Here *qui* is a graphy for *cui*. Cf. XXXVIII, 9.

II, 8 *furent em pes* "were left in peace." The translation is surprising. The Latin reads (92, xviii): *ad vitam (Karolus) reservavit*. Mouskés follows our French text: *Caus . . . Fist Karlemaine en pais laisier* (v. 4825). We might compare the expression as used here with its use at VII, 19: *vien a lui parler . . . em pes*, where it translates the Latin adv. *pacifice* (114, xxvi), and understand it as having the sense of the biblical "peace": "tranquillity," "amity."

II, 15 *et l'avoient lessié*. The *le (l')* offers an example of the neuter object pronoun used in reference to an idea implicit but unspecified in the preceding sentence. Cf. similar occurrences to which L. Foulet refers us in his *Glossaire* to Bédier's edition of the *Chanson de Roland*, p. 412, s. v. *le*.

II, 17 *qui devant n'estoient baptisié*. The text in our manuscript is certainly corrupt here, but it is not easy to discern what the translator wrote and what was the process of corruption. The Pseudo-Turpin's thought is unclear and his style clumsy. His Latin reads (94, v ff.): *Galetianos vero, qui post beati Iacobi praedicationem discipulorumque eius ad perfidam gentem paganorum conversi erant, baptismatis gratia per manus Turpini archiepiscopi regeneravit, illos scilicet qui ad fidem converti voluerunt, qui nondum baptizati erant*. In the first part of this sentence, he tells us that Archbishop Turpin baptized those Galicians who had relapsed into heresy after the death of St. James. He must mean the descendants of those first apostates wishing, at the time of Charlemagne's conquest, to be converted. He adds as an afterthought, with the self-justifying *scilicet, illos . . . c. voluerunt* and, after that, the needlessly explicative *qui nondum baptizati erant*. This is, by the way, a good example of the Pseudo-Turpin's makeshift style.

Our main problem is, why did our scribe write the affirmative *qui devant estoient baptisié*? Is his transcription faithful here, and did our translator omit *illos scilicet . . . c. voluerunt* as superfluous, reject the *qui nondum . . . erant* as even more unnecessary, and express rather a thought in line with the first part of the Pseudo-Turpin's sentence: *qui devant estoient baptisié*

“(Galicians) who had been baptized long ago”? This is possible, but, I think, most improbable. It is more likely that he felt quite uncritical of the passage with which he was dealing here. He probably wrote: . . . *fist li rois baptisier a l'arcevesque Tourpin, ceuls qui se vouldrent convertir et qui devant n'estoient baptisié*. What exactly happened to his text in transmission we cannot know. Mouskés is no help:

Caus de la tiere et del païs  
 Que St. Jakes ot conuertis  
 A son vivant, et laisciet l'orent  
 Pour Sarrasins, quant mious ne porent,  
 Caus fist li rois rebatisier  
 Turpin l'arcevesque, et laisier  
 En pais . . . (vv. 4862-68)

It is certain that Mouskés was using our translation here; cf. his *et laisciet l'orent* (v. 4864) and our text: *et l'avoient lessié* (l. 15), but he has nothing corresponding to our *qui devant n'estoient baptisié*, which may have come to him in the form shown by P1 and which may, therefore, have puzzled him as it puzzles us. Possibly the repetition of *qui* (*ceuls qui . . . et qui*) led in our text to the loss of the clause *ceuls qui . . . convertir*, and our own unthinking scribe was perfectly capable of losing the negative *n*. As he wrote, the sounds in his mind were [*devān n*], the final *t* having fallen in the course of the thirteenth century, and then, by haplology, he lost the negative adverb in the sequence *-n n*:

III, 3 *iert petite*. The scribe wrote *perie* which may be an error either of transcription or of understanding. The Latin has *parva* (94, xvii) and Mouskés has *moult petite* (v. 11984) and there is no difficulty in the form or meaning of the text. Did the scribe of P1 deliberately change *petite* to *perie*? As the p. p. of *perir*, *perie* is usually taken to mean “fallen into decay,” whereas Compostela is described here by the Pseudo-Turpin as not having as yet begun to grow. However, we have the use of *peri* in Marie de France's *Guigemar* (v. 67) where the callow protagonist is described as *peri* and where the meaning seems to me to be “of no consequence,” “underdeveloped.” Perhaps we should reconsider the glosses given of the word by editors of *Guigemar* and the compilers of Old French dictionaries.

III, 14 *Maience*. The Latin text reads here (96, xiv-xv): *Malaguae, Hora Burrianae, Hora Quotantae, urbes Ubeda, Baetia, Petroissa in qua fit argentum optimum, Valentia, Denia, Sativa*. We can see the correspondences *Malaguae* (*Alagne*), *Burrianae* (*Borriane*), *Ubeda* (*Bede*), *Petroissa* (*Brutoise*), *Valentia* (*Valence*). In the translation, *Baetia* seems to be displaced to the next line (so too in Mouskés, v. 12018), and rendered *Bechie*; *Denia* seems to



be omitted. In l. 12, *Hore* translates *Hora* (*Barbagalli*) as the name of a town, but in l. 13, *Hora* (*Burrianae*), *Hora* (*Quotantae*), the two *Hora* seem to be fairly rendered by *qui sont deus contrees*, but *Quotantae* is lost, and the two "regions" (classical Latin *ora*) are indicated as *Alagne* and *Borriane*. Whence then comes *Maience*? From *Quotantae*? Anything seems possible in the confusion and corruption of this list, but I do not have any convincing answer to the question.

III, 18 *et s'i a bons chevaliers*. The scribe wrote: *et si a bons chevalier*, with *chevalier* in abbreviation as *chr*. He evidently did not pronounce, and forgot to write, the final *s* of the acc. pl. I correct his error. But we have a more ticklish problem in how to read *si a*. It may be *si a* in which *a* would be a personal verb having as subject *qui*, sc. *Bist*, and *si*, the adverb from Latin *sic*, would add to *et* an amplifying sense: "and, what is more, has. . . ." But the Latin text is: *Urbs Bisertum, in qua milites fortissimi . . . habentur* (99, iv), where *habentur* is used impersonally: "there are," a syntactical form which our translator in all probability kept. So it may be better to read *si a* but understand *a* as the impersonal verb used without a subject as was quite common in old French (cf. l. 16 above): "and what is more, there are. . . ." Or again we may read *et s'i a*, taking the verb as the present tense form of *i avoir* and *s'* as the elided form of *se*, itself the weak form of *si* reduced in meaning to a mere connective particle tautological with *et*. Or yet again, reading *s'i a* we may see *a* as impersonal, *s'* as *se* and the *i* as the locative adverb retaining its full force: "and there are there exceptionally stalwart fighters. . . ." I print *s'i a* and understand it in this last sense.

III, 27 *jusque au derreain qu'il l'assist par .iiii. mois*. Here *derreain* is a noun meaning "the last time" and *que* a relative adverb meaning "when." The *par*, like the Latin *per* from which it derives, has the temporal sense "through," "during," "for." Cf. I, 17.

III, 28 *pour li prendre*. Old French used the strong form of the personal pronoun as complement before an infinitive. Cf. XV, 1: *pour soi fere baptisier*.

III, 28-29 *et est encore la cité deserte*. The inversion of subject and verb here after *et* (cf. Lerch, 3, §424) is determined by the obviously felt need to have the sentence stress fall on the noun subject as contrasted with the subject of *chärent* and *fondirent* and on the circumstantial complement to the verb, *encore*.

III, 29 *Et a dedenz une eve crevee*. The scribe wrote *crevee* quite clearly. Perhaps it is the translator's word, expressing the meaning "burst through," and by extension "surged up"; if so, this meaning should be added to those

recorded for *crever* in the dictionaries. In the Latin text the verb is *surrexit* (100, i), so it may be that the translator wrote *creue* from *croistre*. Cf. Moussés: *En milieu croist .i. lais* ("pool") *dormans* (v. 12092). A scribe copying *creue* in the later thirteenth century could easily read *creue* as *crevé*, and taking it as a fem. p. p. in which the final fem. *e* had been lost after the accented *e*, as it frequently was both in pronunciation and in writing at that time, "corrected" it to *crevee*. I think it more likely that the translator wrote *creue* than *crevee*, but do not think that I should change what the scribe wrote here with evidently clear understanding.

We still have to ask how we are to understand *a . . . crevee*. It is a perfect but, as often in French prose of the time, it has the meaning of a preterite. The p. p. conjugated with *avoir* here agrees with the subject. For further examples, see T.-L. 1:768, ll. 5 ff. Old French did, however, distinguish the compound from the simple tenses according to their verbal aspect, describing an action as in process or as complete. Looking at the verbs *chàirent* and *fondirent* marking actions instantaneously accomplished in the past, and *soloit*, the durative imperfect, we can see that the *a . . . crevee* is distinct as presenting a past action with effects lasting down to the present of our translator.

IV, 2 *Salancadis*. *Cadis estoit a. le leu*. The rejected reading seems to show a process of corruption. First, *Cadis (estoit)* was probably lost by haplogogy; then *-cadis* was wrongly copied *-eadis*; finally a scribe made what sense he could of the passage by "amending" it to read as in our manuscript. Moussés is in no difficulty here:

L'uevre ot a non Salancadis  
Et Cadis ot a non li lius (vv. 6459-60)

IV, 4 *en caldieu*, "in Chaldee." Chaldaea was identified in the Middle Ages with Babylonia. The words translate *in lingua arabica* (100, xvii) as to which one might be interested in Roger Bacon's opinion that Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee were as one language. Cf. Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon Mundi*, ed. Andreas Schottus, *Hispaniae Illustratae Auctores*, 4 (1608), p. 77: *Civitates desertas, ex quibus Adefonsus maior Chaldaeos eiecerat, iste (sc. Ordonius) populavit.*

IV, 6 *le tenoient*. The form of the fem. pron. *le*, representing *cele ymage*, is Picard. See too the *le* at VII, 11.

V, 6. After *de sa main*, the text of P2 begins (fol. 48r<sup>o</sup>, a): *quant uns rois*. . . . The variants of P2 from here on are printed in their own series below the series of readings rejected from P1.

V, 7 *Sarradin*. The scribe writes *Sarrazin(s)* for the first nine occurrences of the word. Here, and at VII, 1, VIII, 24, for intervocalic -z- he writes -d- but later keeps to the spelling with z. The pronunciation of intervocalic *d* as [z] is well known as a feature both of the *langue d'oïl* and of the *langue d'oc*; cf. *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 7 (1964), 343.

V, 10 *ruile*. The *i* is marked with a diacritic. The interversion of *i* and *u* is of not infrequent occurrence. So we meet with *riule* and *ruile*, *lui* and *liu* (*lōcum*), *tiule* and *tuile* (*tēgula*), *siu* and *sui* (*\*sequo*). Cf. *luiēs* XIII, 2.

V, 12 *galices*. The word is a borrowing from Latin *calicem*, for which the Old French forms appear as *calice*, *chalice*, *galice*. The written form with initial *g* for *ch* or *c* leaves us with the problem of what sound is represented by the *g*: [g], [dʒ] or [ʒ]. Probably the last; see note to VI, 63–64.

V, 12–13 *galices* . . . *reperiez en fu*. The passage in both P1 and P2 is corrupt. It must have been so in Mouskés's model too, for he shortened it. His text gives us no help:

Et s'i mist li rois en apriés  
 Et kalises et vestemens  
 Et tous autres aornemens.  
 Quant li bons rois parti de la . . .  
 (vv. 6521–24)

The Latin reads: *eamque tintinnabulis palleisque, libris ceterisque ornamentis decenter ornavit. De residuo vero auro et argento inmenso quod de Hispania attulit, regressus ab ea, multas ecclesias fecit* (102, xix–104, iii). Our translator seems to have rendered the passage freely, omitting the bells and the books but adding what was perhaps more popularly striking, the costly chalices and reliquaries. These he seems to have made *d'or et d'argent*, a formulaic description. His next sentence, in keeping with the Latin, probably began: *De l'or et de l'argent qui li estoit remés* (or *qui li remest*), with the verb in the singular agreeing with the collective antecedent to *qui*, *l'or et l'argent*. A scribe copying this probably skipped from the first *argent* to the second, leaving the text: *d'or et d'argent qui li estoit remés (li remest)*. A later scribe emended the singular verb to the plural in order to make agreement with the plural antecedents of *qui*, *galices et saintuaires*. The *qui li remeist* of P2 (I recall that in P2 *ei* is for *e* < Latin tonic free *a*; see Introduction, p. 16 above) may well reproduce the translator's own word, but it is not possible to decide surely between its preterite and the pluperfect of P1. I keep the pluperfect, make what is, I think, the necessary change to the singular number and restore the lost *De l'or et de l'argent*.

VI, 4 *a granz olz* "with a great army." The word *oz*, *ost* is often used in the plural with this meaning, to denote the whole army made up of its com-

plement of feudal and national contingents. The form *olz* is a spelling for *oz* and is frequently used by our scribe. The *o*, < *ō* in *hostis*, had closed by the time he was writing and various spellings were used to represent the closed sound: *ost*, the most common form, with *oost*, *oust* and, since *l* had vocalized to [u] before a consonant, *olz*.

VI, 11 var. *cent livres*. The Turpin tradition in general has *cent sous* (*solidos* 106, vii). Our scribe is making the story taller: a *livre* was worth 20 *sous*. I think we must reduce his story to size.

VI, 28. The reading in P1 makes sense but, apart from the fact that P2 is much more in conformity with the Latin (and with Mouskés), the pronoun *le* (*trouverent*) in P1 strongly suggests that its text here is corrupt. The noun *ost* in P1 is feminine; cf. *les unes olz* in l. 31 below, so that *le* (*trouverent*) in all probability reflects an original in which the pronoun represented Agoulant (but cf. notes to IV, 6 and VII, 11). This is the case in the Latin texts and in that of P2 and Mouskés. The Latin reads: *Postea vero coeperunt quaerere Aigolandum per Hispaniam Karolus et Mulo cum suis exercitibus* (108, vii-viii), and Mouskés agrees with the Latin and P2:

Dont quist Karles et sa compagne  
Agoulant, par trestoute Espagne (vv. 4892-93)

So the text of P1 here must be relegated to the variants.

VI, 35 *des Agoulant* = "de ceux d'A." The article in *des* has kept its full demonstrative force. Cf. *le jor* VI, 44; VIII, 22; XX, 10; XXXI, 24; and *la nuit* XXXI, 22.

VI, 43 *l'iaue dont je dis ore qui Seie a non*. P2 reads here *dont je vos dis ore, Seie a non*, the scribe simply omitting the conjunction *que* before the subordinate noun clause, as was commonly done in Old French. But usage varied: the scribe of P1 uses a relative clause, *qui Seie a non*, instead of a completive introduced by *que*. This too was a quite common construction in Old French. Cf. below XV, 20, 23 and *Le chevalier de la Charrette* (ed. Roques) vv. 4186-87 (Queen Guenevere reproaches herself for her conduct):

vers celui don ele savoit  
qui suens avoit esté toz dis . . .

See too the discussion of the syntax in Lerch, 1:222-226.

VI, 63-64. The reading in P1: *povreté pour Dieu contre lecherie* is certainly corrupt. The scribe seems to have jumped from *contre* (*richesse*) to *contre* (*legerie*). So he lost *richesse, perseverance contre*. But why did he

write *lecherie*? He had already written *chasteé contre luxure* so that, neither in the list of virtues contrasted with vices, nor as a contrast to *poverté*, does *lecherie* fit the context. The Latin text is: *paupertatem contra felicitatem vel perseverantiam contra instabilitatem* (112, x-xi). His *lecherie* is obviously a corruption of *legerie*. Cf. the note above to V, 12, where he wrote *galisces* for *chalices*. He must have had *legerie* in his original but, as he read the word, the sound in his mind was rather a [č] than a [ž], and so he wrote *ch*. He confused the voiced and unvoiced fricatives elsewhere too: *venchance* for *vengeance* (VI, 12), *domache* for *domage* (VI, 49). The unvoicing of [ž] to [č] has been noted as a dialectal feature of eastern Normandy, western and southern Picardy, Beauvaisis, and parts of Champagne and Lorraine. Cf. Fouché, *Phonétique historique du français*, 3:938, and Gossen, *Grammaire de l'ancien picard*, §45. In Picardy today the pronunciation of *sauvage* and *orge* is *sauvache* and *orche* (N. Dupire, *Mélanges de linguistique romane offerts à M. Jean Haust* . . . [Liège, 1939], p. 138).

VII, 2 *les Moabites, les Perses*. The texts of both P1 and P2 are corrupt here, a corruption which seems due to the intrusion, at some earlier stage in the transmission, of *roy de (Perse)* from the line below: (*Terefin le*) *roy d' (Arrabe)* into the line above. My emended text simply follows the Latin (114, ii): *Mauros, Moabites, Persas, Teremphinum regem Arabum*. Mouskés too had a corrupt text of the tradition before him, but used it more sensibly:

Les Sarrasins, les Turs, les Mors,  
Les Arrabiteus preus et fors,  
Le roi de Perse a la grant barbe  
Et Théréfin, le roi d'Arrabe (vv. 4996-99)

VII, 6 I emend *Charles* to *Charle* here, because the scribe's form leads at first to misunderstanding of the passage. Negligence as to declensional forms is apparent in our scribe's text; where the meaning is not obscured, I leave his forms as he wrote them. Cf. *Li chevaus Charles* at VIII, 23.

VII, 11 *le pooit en veoir*. The *le* represents *la cité*; it is the Picard form of the fem. pron. Cf. IV, 6.

VII, 12 *sa lance et son escu mist sus la croupe de son cheval come mesagier a cel tens*. Readers will wonder at this spectacle of Charlemagne disguised as an envoy with lance and shield set somehow, as token of his peaceful mission, on the crupper of his horse. Both translator and a later copyist seem to be involved in the corruption of the Latin text here, which reads (114, xvii-xviii): *mutatis vestibus suis optimis, sine lancea, retro dorsum clipeo transverso, ut mos nunciorum tempore belli est*. . . . The phrase *retro dorsum clipeo transverso* seems to have been quite unimaginatively misunderstood by the translator. *Retro* here is a preposition, as often in late Latin, governing

*dorsum* in the accusative; the phrase means quite simply "with his shield slung behind his back," and so it was understood by all the other translators and scribes of the Turpin whom I know. Our present translator interpreted *retro dorsum* as meaning more broadly "behind him" and so put the shield in the only possible place: *sus la croupe de son cheval*. He was unthinking too as he rendered the phrase *tempore belli* with *a cel tens*, just forgetting that the customs of war are not necessarily those of peace.

But I do not think that we should hold him responsible for putting Charlemagne's lance with the shield on the horse's rump. It is more probable that he rendered this plain phrase with *sanz* or *sans lance* and that by haplography *sans lance* was reduced by a scribe to *sa lance*. So, at the hands of nonchalant copyists, this strange reading passed on to our two manuscripts. It must also have been in the model used by Mouskés. Mouskés was a gentleman who must have borne arms occasionally in war, in the lists, or in pageantry. In dealing with this passage he omits all details of Charlemagne's disguise except the change of clothes (v. 5041). He must have rejected as too ludicrous the description of Charlemagne setting out for Agen with lance and shield somehow perched on his horse's back behind him.

VIII, 19 *chargiez*. This is the Picard form of the p. p. fem. pl.; it agrees with *les* = *leur lances*. The form in *îg* for *iêg* is found beyond Picardy in a widespread region to the north and east. Cf. *apareillie* XIII, 14, XIV, 2, and *reconciliez* XXVII, 12 var.

IX, 3 *Par grant humilité*. This phrase represents the Latin *cum summa cura* (120, iv). It is a satisfactory translation, though less felicitous than the one found by the Catalan translator: *ab gran deligència* (ed. Riquer, XI, 5). Our translator's own phrase is perhaps retained by Mouskés: *a grant deliberation* (v. 5126).

The Old French translations, other than our present one, seem to have had difficulty with the phrase, hardly, one would presume, because it presents any linguistic problem, but rather because the translators found its literal and plain sense unacceptable. The phrase means "with utmost care," "taking the greatest care (to recruit every available man)," a meaning borne out by all that follows in the chapter. The manuscripts of the Johannes translation show *de toute sa cure* (Walpole's ed., XXII, 4 and note), *de tote sa terre*, *de tout son pooir*, *de sa seignorie*, turning the character of the Pseudo-Turpin's modal phrase from abstract to concrete. This is also the rendering in William de Briane: (*de loung et de lee*) *de sa terre* (ed. Short, I, 370); in Nicolas de Senlis: *de partot lai ou il les aveit en sa seignorie* (ed. Mandach, XI, 4-5); in the Burgundian translation: *per tote sa terre* (ed. Walpole, *Romance Philology* 2 [1948-49], XI, 4) and in the Turpin I (ed. Wulff, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift* 16 [1879-1880], p. 9, l. 31) where (*manda toz ses contes et ses dux et les haus barons*) *de sa terre* seems to reflect the same understanding.

IX, 5 *rachetez de leur chiés* “redeemed in their persons,” that is, “the price of their freedom (from serfdom) having been paid.” The Latin reads (120, vi-ix): *omnes servi . . . religati solita servitute proprii capitis, et venditione deposita . . . liberi permanerent*. The word *chiés* “heads” by metonymy is used in this legal phrase to mean the whole person. The variant in P2, *racatant*, is a gerund. The gerund was indifferent as to voice and is here used absolutely: “being redeemed.”

IX, 6 *pour aler* “by reason of their going,” “in return for their going.” Cf. the Latin prep. *pro* e.g. *pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen placari* (Caesar, *B. G.* VI, 16). The use of *pour* here is causal; cf. XVI, 4, L, 1 and see T.-L. 7:1449, 2. The phrase has nothing corresponding to it in the Latin. The translator, quite understandably, felt that the Latin passage did not make explicit the reason why Charlemagne accomplished this act of liberation. Cf. the next sentence: . . . *que tuit cil qui yroient*.

XI, 3 *ocis*. The Latin phrase (122, v) is: *Sarracenos propriis armis saepe expugnabam*, but our translator makes no bones about telling us what the warrior-archbishop did; like the other peers, he slew the enemy where he could. More than that, he adds to the Latin *et conta . . . le nombre* adding further relish to the Pseudo-Turpin’s statement: “I slew them, counted those I killed and wrote the number down to make it known.”

XII, 2 *Bretaigne*. This is a metathesized form, frequently used, of *Bertain*, nom. *Berte*, confused by our scribe with the name *Bretaigne* “Brittany.” It is noteworthy that there is nothing in the Latin MS A6 corresponding to the passage *filz Milon . . . le roy Charle*. I think that A6 lost these details because of homoioteleuton: *nepos Karoli . . . sorore Karoli* (122, vii); cf. A1 variant: *nepos Karoli, filius ducis Milonis de Angulariis, natus ex Berta sorore Karoli*.

XII, 4. The loss in P1 of ll. 3-5 is visibly due to homoioteleuton: the repetition in ll. 3 and 5 of *quatre mile homes*.

XII, 4 *en*. The pronominal adverb is here used with reference to a person, as was often the case in Old French. So again in l. 7.

XII, 8 *saestes*, from *sagitta* “arrow.” The *s* before the *t* is intrusive. Pre-consonantal *s* had fallen before both voiced and unvoiced consonants by the mid-thirteenth century; it is just an abusive spelling here.

XII, 20 *et toutjours chantera l'en mes de lui*. The adv. *mes*, here determining the sense of *toutjours* “ever more,” usually followed immediately the adv. which it modified, eventually joining with it to form an adverbial com-

pound *jamais, huimais, desormais* (cf. *evermore*). But not always. T.-L. gives a number of examples where, as in the present case, *tozjorz* or *tuzdis* precedes the verb and *mais, mes*, follows it. See 5:857, 44-45; 858, 5-9.

XIII, 14 *apareillie*. For the form of the p. p. fem. see note to VIII, 19, and cf. *apareillie*, XIV, 2.

XIII, 16 *il i parleroit*. It is tempting to prefer the reading in P2. There is nothing in the Latin or in Mouskés corresponding to this passage in our translation. P2 has perhaps the *lectio difficilior*, but the reading in P1 makes perfect sense. The use of *i* referring to a person is quite common in Old French, but it is surprising to read *i parleroit* along with *li dona* in the same sentence.

XIV, 8 *que j'avoie conquise a l'onneur de Dieu et a sa loi* "which I had won to God's honor and to His law." The preposition *a* in both cases has consecutive force.

XIV, 11 *Et Charles* "Charles, for his part." For this use of *et* before a proper noun, subject of the sentence, see Rychner, *L'articulation des phrases narratives*, p. 21.

XIV, 20 *et le nous envoia* "inasmuch as He sent him to us." The *et* here is a conjunctive particle of coordination with causal meaning. It is the equivalent of *car* and serves as a substitute for the relative pron. introducing a dependent clause.

XIV, 43. The conjunction *que* in l. 43 is a tautological repetition of the *que* in l. 42, a repetition common in Old French when a clause was inserted between the conjunction and the completive. The variants show that P2 does not have the second *que*. Cf. below, XXXI, 12-13; L, 27-28; LVIII, 10-11, 20 and 21-22.

XIV, 44. See II Timothy II, 5.

XV, 6 ff. *vestuz d'une maniere de vestemenz de brunetes a ces longues robes. . . .* The phrase, rendering the Latin: *birris unius coloris indutos* (136, viii) means "wearing cloaks of a single color and long frocks." In the Latin dictionaries, *birris* is glossed as "a cloak with a hood." The word is akin to the Greek *πυρρός* meaning "yellow," "fiery red," and in Latin had come to mean a garment of dark cloth, more particularly, a hooded cloak of this material. The extension of the meaning to creatures and materials and so to garments of the material represented is normal. The plural *brunetes* used by our translator shows that he understood *birris* as meaning "clothes made of (fine) dark woolen cloth." Cf. *Le Roman de la Rose* (ed. Lecoy, vv. 4303-04):



car ausint bien sunt amoretes  
souz bureaus conme souz brunetes . . .

“in homespun clothes or fine.” Mouskés uses the singular, meaning the material, “burnet”:

A ces dras de noire Brunette (v. 5493)

No doubt, the sense of *unius coloris* was conveyed by the idea of uniform color contained in *brunetes*. The distinctiveness of clothes of uniform color and style is emphasized by Wace in his *Brut* describing the appearance of the knights and ladies at King Arthur's court (ed. Arnold, vv. 10503 ff.):

Ja ne veïssies chevalier  
Ki de rien feïst a preisier  
Ki armes e dras e atur  
Nen eüst tut d'une culur.  
...  
Si rerent les dames preisiees  
D'une culur apareillees.

Here and in what follows the Pseudo-Turpin shows the laymen of military rank (our translation lacks mention of these in l. 3; there is an omission in MS A6 due to homoioteleuton, the repetition of *indutos*; cf. the B text), the secular clergy, the regular clergy *habitu atro*, that is the Benedictines, and then the canons regular *habitu candido*, the Premonstratensians. The regular clergy he describes as saintlier than the seculars, the canons as the best of them all. Our translator quite visibly was not faithful to his model. The secular clergy are there with dress and function duly noted (ll. 6-8). Then come the regular clergy *haut tondu et coroné*, that is “tonsured,” but divided into the Black Monks and White Monks of which the latter, the Cistercians, are *de greigneur religion* than the former (ll. 9-12). There is no mention of the canons regular in our translation. Then follows the translator's own colorful addition of the dukes, counts, princes, barons and knights in their silks and satins.

I may add here one further detail of interest. Mouskés, with a zest born undoubtedly of his own participation in many a ceremonial feast, develops this scene into a full review of all the ranks and orders that ever gathered in Charlemagne's banqueting hall, or rather in that of the noble counts of Hainaut (vv. 5412-5543).

XV, 14 .xii. *povres*. The Latin reads *tredecim* (136, xvi). The Pseudo-Turpin presented them as the representatives of Christ and the twelve Apostles, but among the Latin and the vernacular texts, though the number thirteen predominates, some scribes wrote *duodecim* or *xii*, no doubt with the twelve Apostles uppermost in their minds. Pius Fischer has a different, but, I

think, less acceptable explanation to account for the number thirteen (*Codex Gallicus* 52, *München*, p. 81). The Pseudo-Turpin, he writes, here likened Charlemagne to Gregory the Great, who, his *Vita* tells us, also brought daily to his table twelve poor people. Among these there appeared on one occasion an angel. It is he too who was represented among the humble guests in the royal tent before Pamplona.

XV, 20 *cil que tu diz a moi qui sont . . . mesagier Dieu*. Cf. the note to VI, 43 above and to XV, 23 below. Here again our scribe uses a relative clause, *qui* . . . instead of the conjunction *que* and a dependent noun clause. The *que* here corresponds to the *dont* in VI, 43. It is, as *que* often was, and is still, especially in popular French, a relative adverb and as such an indeclinable particle marking a relationship to the antecedent without expressing in its form its specific function according to number, gender, and case. Cf. *au jour que* below, XVI, 8.

XV, 23 *Ta loi que tu diz vaut mieulz. . .* See the note to XV, 20; and note the variant in P2 to l. 23: *qu'ele valt*.

XVI, 2 *Et touz les povres*. Here *et* is a conjunctive particle conveying the sense of consequence: "Wherefore. . ."

XVI, 4 *pour Agoulant* "because of." Cf. note to IX, 6.

XVI, 5 *font a blamer*. The construction of *faire* with *a* followed by an infinitive with passive meaning, is very common in Old French. The sense is consecutive: "act in such a way as to be blamed," "deserve reproof." Cf. *La Chanson de Roland*, v. 1174: *Cil ki la sunt ne funt mie a blasmer*.

XVI, 6. The temporal sense of *quant* is weakened here and has become purely causal: "now when," "now that," "since." Cf. *le Jeu d'Adam*, ed. Studer, vv. 181-182:

Molt te porras tenir por chier,  
Quant Deus t'a fet sun jardenier.

XVI, 12. The *qui* is the equivalent of *si l'on*, a very common use in Old French. See Lerch, 2:324 ff. The relative pronoun is used here absolutely, without antecedent expressed or implied, an anacoluthon which far from leaving the sentence obscure gives it rather a pithy concision. We may fill out the broken sequence with: ". . . faith and law are little worth when there is someone who does not fulfill them in deed."

For this passage cf. James II, 17; the whole moral is an echo of chapter two of the Epistle.

XVI, 15. The figure *.c. et .xxx. mile* in P1 is surely an error; the Latin texts, P2 and Mouskés agree in the number, "one hundred and thirty-four thousand." Probably the *.iiii.* after *.xxx.* was lost in P1 by haplogy with the first four minims of *mile*.

XVII, 2 *celui* is for *celi*, with which in our scribe's pronunciation it was homonymous. Cf. the note to XXVII, 3.

XVII, 6 *et le roy Costentin d'autre, li emperieres de Rome d'autre part, Ogier le Danois et le roy Charles chascuns avoit sa gent avec lui*. This is the reading in P1, with the scribe's own punctuation. At XII, 22, both P1 and P2 have *C.*, *prevost de Rome*, and in this they faithfully render the Latin: *Constantinus, praefectus romanus* (124, xiv). But in our present passage the Latin reads: *Constantinus rex* (140, xiii). This explains and must justify the *li roy C.* in P1. The variant in P2 is: *C. li provos de Roume*, which is also the reading in Mouskés (v. 5639; so too v. 5216); it seems to reproduce an adaptation made earlier in the transmission of our translation to bring the epithet here into conformity with the one used at XII, 22. Where did the reading in P1: *li emperieres de Rome* come from? *Li rois Costentin* could not of course be identified with *li provos Costentin*. It seems as if the scribe of a copy of our translation from which P1 derives identified *li rois C.* with the emperor, Constantine the Great, and wrote *li rois C., emperieres de Rome*. This, at the hands of the scribe of P1, or of some intermediary scribe, was punctuated and changed to mean two individuals: *le roy C. d'autre, li emperieres de Rome d'autre part*. I think we must keep *le roy C. d'autre* of P1, reject *li emperieres de Rome d'autre part* as a corruption and reject also *li provos de Roume* of P2 as being an interpolation due to an earlier scribe in the branch of the tradition now represented by P2 and Mouskés.

XIX, 1-2 *et ala toute la voie a (a lacking P2) Saint Jaque jusques au Perron d'Argue. . . .* The reading is identical in P1 and P2, but it is certainly corrupt. The Latin tradition (142, xviii) has *ad pontem Argae*; Mouskés has *trosques al pont d'Arge* (v. 5673). The other translations of the Turpin are not in difficulty here, though some read *porz* for *pont*. The tradition in general has it, then, that Charles, after his victory at Pamplona moved forward to Pont d'Arge which lay on the road to St. James's. Pont d'Arge is the modern Puente-la-Reina, a short distance from Pamplona to the southwest. Some scribe, whose copy of our Turpin translation passed on to P1 and P2, must have been confronted with an obscurity in his model at *au pont d'arge*. He would have remembered the passage which he had copied earlier, our Chapter II, 12: *Puis visita li rois Charles le cors saint Jacque et ala jusque au Perron* and used it here as the solution to his difficulty. Once he had written *au Perron d'Argue* an adaptation of the context had to follow; so: *Charles ala toute la voie a Saint Jacque*. We must correct the texts of P1 and P2. The cor-

rection proceeds naturally from the Latin and from Mouskés, though the exact wording is a little arbitrarily my own.

XIX, 6-7 *corurent . . . ocirent*. The scribe of P1, taking *l'aumaçour* and *moult d'autre gent*, linked with *avec*, as the subject, put the two verbs in the plural, an agreement according to the sense as was common in Old French. But usage varied, as we see in the P2 variants, *coru* and *ocist*.

XX, 8-9. So St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, XI, 33.

XX, 10 *trois mile de Sarrazins*. The scribe of P1 here uses *mile* as a noun; the scribe of P2 (see var.) uses it more normally as an adjective. Cf. *.xx. mile Turs*, XXI, 3.

XX, 11 *nus* is plural; P2 preferred the more usual singular.

XXI, 7 *en une avangarde*. The phrase has nothing corresponding to it in the Latin, which reads simply: F., *egressus ab urbe* (148, i). Mouskés has *En l'angarde s'en est venus* (v. 5765).

XXI, 11 *.xii. piez*. Cf. the Latin *cubitorum duodecim* (148, viii). The number *.xx.* in P1 is probably an error due to the scribe. P2 reads, with the Latin, *.xii.*, so that *piez* is indeed used as the equivalent of *cubitorum*. Below, in giving the proportions of Fernagu's face, arms, and legs, *cubitum* is rendered by *braciee*. It is noteworthy that the translator did not use the word *coute*, which is derived from *cubitus* and which is the word used in the other Old French translations.

XXII, 1 *de l'Aube Espine*. The Latin manuscripts A6 and A10, and also Arras MS 163, here (148, xi) show *de Bella Spina*, though at 124, xv and 214, vii, they all have the usual *de Alba Spina*. Our translation shows in all cases *de l'Aube Espine*.

XXIII, 2 and 3 *ne l'en vost doner congié . . . l'en dona congié*. The elision of *li*, the unaccented dative form, before *en* is usual in Old French, but it is very unusual to find it elided before other words. In l. 2, the elided form in *l'em pria . . . l'en fist tant prier* is the unaccented accusative *le*.

XXIII, 50 *jumeles*. The reading *jumeles* in P1 gives a satisfactory sense, "alike, identical," but the *iuwels* of P2 more probably represents the translator's word as he rendered the Latin *coaequales* (154, xvi); *iuwels* is one of the many Old French forms derived from *aequalis*. Mouskés omits the phrase; cf. vv. 5974 ff.

XXIII, 61 *il le reçut . . . et il li trencha*. The second *il*, representing Fernagu, was probably accented as the text was read aloud and thus contrasted with the first *il* which represents Roland. It will be remembered that *il* served as both the tonic and the atonic form of the nominative.

As usual in Old French, the direct object is omitted before the indirect in *il (le) li trencha*. Cf. below, 1. 67: *et (la) li bouta*; XXXI, 6: *Guanelon (le) leur otroia*; XLV, 6: *ou il (les) leur covenoit lessier*.

XXIII, 64 *et dist*: "*Dieus . . . non mie pour moi*." The passage is not represented in the Latin; but the interpolation corresponds closely to the one which we find at the same place in the Johannes translation, XLI, 1-3: "*Deus, ce voiz tu que por nul oneur terrien ne me combat se por ta foi non. Sire, esclaire ton non por toi non por ton serf*." The identity of sense and the closeness of the wording suggest very strongly that the interpolation in our present text was borrowed from Johannes. Cf. the note to I, 8. Mouskés, vv. 6026 ff., gives a more martial than clerkly account of the fight, and allows Roland to overcome Fernagu without any invocation to the Virgin Mary and without her intervention, so that, lacking unanimity in the extant tradition of our translation, we are left in doubt as to whether the interpolation is to be ascribed to the translator or to a later scribe whose copy passed on to our manuscripts, P1 and P2.

XXIII, 67. The loss of the sentence in P1 is no doubt due to the repetition of *dessouz*.

The *s'espee* is ambiguous. We have to remember that Fernagu had broken the pact of the day before and had brought his sword for the renewal of the combat (XXIII, 17, 19), while Roland had been faithful to the agreement and come without one. The poss. pron. *eius* of the Latin (162, iv) makes it clear that Roland drew Fernagu's sword.

XXV, 4 *de Sebile, de Gar*. . . . The scribe of P1 wrote the *de* with a capital *d* before each name of a city except in the case of *de Ubele*; in some cases it looks as if he wrote the *de* as part of the name.

XXV, 9-10 The reading in P1, *la tierce fu de gent autretele* leaves the meaning ambiguous. The reading in P2 is better, but not satisfactory. It suggests however what the corruption was which the scribe of P1 rather weakly tried to emend. The translator probably wrote: *la tierce refu de gent a cheval*; the prefix *re* was later lost, probably by a haplography in which the *-rce* of *terce* was confused with the prefix in *refu*.

XXV, 12 *euls*. The variant *cels* in P2 is interesting, and may well represent the correct reading. It renders the Latin *ex nostris* (164, ix) (cf. the B text, 165, x: *illorum*) with the demonstrative pronoun meaning "the former" and referring to the first French squadron which was of cavalry, against which

the Saracens came man to man on foot. The personal pronoun *euls* in P1 is clear enough but less explicit.

XXV, 16 . . . *retenir*. After this sentence there is an omission in our two manuscripts. The Latin reads: *Cumque illae turmae nostrorum exercituum primam turmam fugere viderent, in fugam omnes conversae sunt* (164, xv-xvii). Mouskés is translating very freely here, but he has the detail:

Si faisoient, par tel contraire,  
Tous les nostres arriere traire (vv. 6106-07).

The omission in P1 and P2 seems then to have been inherited from their common intermediary. It was probably due to a repetition at the head of the lost sentence of the *Quant les (autres eschieles?)* which began the preceding one: *Quant les (chevaus)*.

XXV, 25-26 *et avoit sus . . . vermeille enseigne*. With this detailed description our translator rendered the Latin: (*plaustrum*) *super quod vexillum rubeum erat elevatum*. Evidently, he had read what was to come in ll. 29-30. The other Old French translations are more simply literal, but the Catalan version, like our present one, elaborates on the sense of *elevatum*: . . . *sobre lo cal carro estave una senyera vermella d'aquells, llevade en alt en una perxa* (ed. Riquer, XVIII, 51-52).

XXV, 37-39. As Theseus said of Quince as Quince finished reading the wondrous Prologue to the Interlude in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, "This fellow doth not stand upon points"! The scribe of P1, quite subservient to his model and quite uncaring as he left his Danes and Flemings unprovided with lands, gives us a corrupt text which it is not easy to restore. It might be best simply to emend our text by making it conform to the Latin which reads (168, vii ff.): . . . *terram Castellanorum Francis, et Nagerae et Caesaraugustae Graecis et Apulis qui in nostro exercitu erant, et terram Aragonis Pictavis, et terram Alandaluf iuxta maritimam Theutonicis, et terram Portugallorum Dacis et Flandris dedit*. So we would emend P1 to read: *aus François dona la terre de Castele, la terre de Nadres et de Cesarauguste dona aus Griens et as Puillois*, and then put the commas after *Poitevins* and *Alemanz* and thus allot Portugal to the Danes and Flemings. But it is difficult to see how, if this was our translator's text, it could lead to such confusion as we see in P1 at l. 37. I think it probable that the translator understood the Latin to mean that Charlemagne gave the territory of Nadres to the Greeks and the territory of Cesarauguste to the Apulians. By restoring the text to give this sense, I leave it nearer to the corrupt wording in P1 and more understandable as a source of the corruption. Perhaps *Castele*, *cele de* led by haplography to the loss of *cele* and so began the misallocation of lands which gave *Nadres* to the French, *Cesarauguste* to the Greeks and forced the scribe to attach the *Puillois* to

Aragon, to give *Andalu* to the Poitevins, *Portigal* to the *Alemanz*, and to leave the Danes and Flemings syntactically and practically up in the air.

XXV, 39 *Et li François*. *Et* here is fully charged with meaning, which we might render: "As to all of which I must add that. . ." Cf. again Rychner, *op cit.* p. 21 ff.

XXVII, 3 *a lui* — that is, "to the Church of Saint James." The *lui*, confused in pronunciation with *li*, the tonic fem. pronoun, was often substituted for it in writing.

XXVII, 6 *services de roy*. The reading might seem to present no difficulty. It would mean, if correct, "obligations to the king." However, only P1 has the words *de roy*, in our present tradition. P2 lacks the folio, Mouskés reads quite simply: *Et pour itant tous frans seroit* (v. 6363) and all the other translations which I know reproduce the sense as given in Mouskés, e.g. Johannes: *frans de toz autres servises*. The Latin passage is as follows: *Et subiugavit rex eidem ecclesiae totam terram . . . deditque ei in dote, praecipiens ut unusquisque possessor uniuscuiusque domus . . . quatuor nummos annuatim ex debito daret, et ab omni servitute, rege praecipiente, liberi essent* (170, vi-xi). Why then the limiting phrase (*services*) *de roy* in P1? Did our translator misunderstand the phrase *rege praecipiente*, which repeats with insistence here the *praecipiens ut* of l. viii: "and should be, by the king's decree, absolved from all other obligations" and take it as the equivalent of a relative clause qualifying *servitute*: "(obligations) as ordained by the king"? I can see no reason why a scribe should have added *de roi* if the words were not in the original translation. I conclude therefore that the translator misconstrued *rege praecipiente*, that he wrote *services de roy* which P2 faithfully reproduces, and that Mouskés in his usual free manner omitted the words *de roy* in his rhymed adaptation of the Turpin.

The other translators did not render *rege praecipiente* (the Turpin I edited by Wulff, *op cit.* p. 23, ll. 6 ff., shows confusion here, and so do other manuscripts of this translation, but Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 17177 reads with the other translations: . . . *commanda que chascune maison donnast . . . et fussent franc de touz autres services*, fol. 269<sup>r</sup>, b). It seems to have been the repetition of *praecipiens (rex) ut* (l. viii) by the parenthetical *rege praecipiente* (l. x) which led our translator to attach the participial clause as a qualifier to *servitute*. Below, where there is no repetition, he was in no difficulty L, 29; 220, i).

XXVII, 9 *les verges et les dignetez*. The phrase *et les d.* has nothing corresponding to it in the Latin (170, xiv). It looks like another example of synonymic repetition, so favored in our translator's style, in which case *dignetez*, which usually bears the abstract meaning "high responsibilities," might here come close in sense to *verge*, the pastoral staff, sign of the bishop's

office, and have the concrete connotation "the insignia" (of the bishop's high responsibilities, such as the ring, which is the seal of faith). It would thus fit both in its meaning and in its plural form more aptly into the pattern of pastoral staffs and royal crowns. Such an extension of the normally abstract sense of *dignetez* is rare. Cf. *FEW*, s.v. *dignus* and L. Foulet's note on *deintet* in his *Glossaire* to Bédier's ed. of the *Chanson de Roland*.

XXVII, 10 *a l'arcevesque* "of the archbishop." As complement of definition to *mains*, the preposition *a* is used before the indeterminate noun *arcevesque*, the archbishop, whoever he might be at the time.

XXVII, 11 *se foi et creance defailloit*. When there were two or more subjects, the verb in Old French usually agreed in number with the last one. Here we have a case of synonymic repetition and so in logic a single subject calling therefore for a verb in the singular. So *fust* l. 12 and *vint* ll. 13 and 15.

XXVIII, 1 *la fame Zebedee*. Our translation gives the version of this story which is told in Matthew XX, 20-21. The Latin chronicle (170, xxvii ff.) followed by some, though, as we see, not by all, of the vernacular translations, told it according to the version in Mark X, 35 ff.

XXVIII, 2 *quant ele dit, si conme ele cuidoit, qu'il regnast en terre*. The translator has changed both the biblical and the Latin texts here; his purpose will become clear as we compare his version with the account given in Matthew X, 20-21: *Tunc accessit ad eum mater filiorum Zebedaei cum filiis suis, adorans et petens aliquid ab eo. Qui dixit ei: "Quid vis?" Ait illi: "Dic ut sedeant hi duo filii mei, unus ad dexteram, et unus ad sinistram, in regno tuo. The version in Mark X, 37 reads: . . . in gloria tua. There can be no doubt that in regno tuo, like in gloria tua, means "in your heavenly kingdom." But our translator had his attention fixed on the right hand and on the left hand of this earthly kingdom, that is, on Ephesus and on Compostela. So he insists that Salome had in mind Christ's kingdom here on earth and made his sense and hers explicit in the sentence which he added as an explanatory development to his Latin model: *quant ele dit . . . regnast en terre* "when she said, as she thought, that he would reign on earth (and asked that . . .)"*

XXIX, 3 *ses secrez et sa revelacion*. Here we have another case of synonymic repetition. The Latin has simply *sua secreta* (172, vi). The accepted synonymy here helps us to see the translator's understanding of *secreta*; these were the divine mysteries.

XXIX, 10 *et tient es cieus seignorie*. P1 writes quite clearly and apparently nonchalantly, *tient erives*, which is meaningless. The Latin gives us the clue to what lies behind the corruption: *et in celis primatum tenet* (172, xvii) "and holds preeminence in heaven"; *erives* would seem to represent the



scribe's vain effort to read an obscured *en ciel* or *es cieus*. Mouskés gives us no help here; cf. vv. 6422-24.

XXIX, 12 ff. *La tierce*. . . . What our scribe writes about *Ephese* is almost unintelligible until one compares it with the Latin. The Latin itself is diffuse and allusive and the difficulty is increased by our scribe's lack of punctuation. Under examination, however, the passage seems to reproduce more or less faithfully a translation which kept literally to the Latin text such as we know it. Here is the Latin text, which has the support of most of the manuscripts examined by Mr. Meredith-Jones (172, xxi-174, i): *Tercia sedes rite Ephesus dicitur, quia beatus Iohannes evangelista in ea evangelium suum, scilicet: In principio erat verbum, eructavit, coadunato consilio episcoporum quos ipse per urbes disposuerat, quos etiam in apocalipsi sua angelos vocat, eamque doctrina sua et miraculis et basilica, quam in ea aedificavit, immo propria sepultura consecravit.*

Our translation faithfully renders the Latin *coadunato consilio episcoporum quos ipse per urbes disposuerat*, the *pardevant* . . . being quite justified by the ablative absolute construction. The *conmença* in our text translates *eructavit*; the French word must have been used in mindfulness of the fact that St. John's gospel begins with *In principio*. Mouskés, like ourselves, found *conmença* strange, for he adapts his model to it.

La tierce après si est Epeze  
U mesire St. Jehans dist  
*In principio*, et puis fist  
Le mot après *erat verbum*. (vv. 6425-28)

Quite possibly the translator's word was *nonça*, but I would not presume so to emend our text. The *anges* are the angels of the seven churches represented by the seven stars in Apocalypse I, 20. By the time our scribe had reached this point he had lost the thread of the discourse and after *Apocalipse* continues, without punctuation and with no capital, *honora ycele cité*. I supply the conjunction *et*.

XXIX, 15 *et d'eglyse*. Mouskés uses the same form of the instrumental phrase:

Ounoura il ceste cité  
Et de glise et de dignité. (vv. 6434-35)

The Latin reads: *et basilica, quam in ea (sc. tertia sedes Ephesus) aedificavit*, but our translator has left *eglyse* quite indeterminate.

XXXI, 8 *cil*. The force of the demonstrative pronoun makes it clear that it represents the remote Marsille and Baligant.

XXXI, 12-13. For the repetition of the conj. *que* see above, n. to XIV, 43.

XXXI, 19-20 The outburst here belongs to the translator, not to the Pseudo-Turpin himself. AT XXXVII, 12, we find the almost identical objurcation, this time in conformity with the Latin. The contexts at XXXI, 19 and XXXVII, 12 are similar enough in their import to explain the interpolation at this stage in Ganelon's pursuit of his treacherous purpose. The translator, we may be sure, knew his Latin text from beginning to end before he began his work of translation, and such a reaction to Ganelon's treachery, no matter what its occasion, had already become a stereotype both of emotion and expression.

XXXII, 3. For the omission of *sus* in P1, see Introduction, p. 14.

XXXIII, 1 *et Rollant*. The *et* here links the main clause closely — that is, in this case, both in a temporal and in a causal sense — with the subordinate clause. It is a correlative of *quant*: “when . . . then.” More than that, we must not miss what must have been its affective impact on those listening to the story: “When . . ., that was the moment when R. went after the Saracens now away in the distance.”

XXXVI, 3 *des hauz nons Nostre Seigneur*. The high names are the Alpha and Omega of Apocalypse I, 8, made quite explicit in the Latin text and also in most of the vernacular translations.

XXXVII, 22 *le jour qu'il se cremoient*. The sense is: “. . . on the morning (l. 19) of the day when they were fearful that their hour had come.” The sentence is far from being a literal translation of the Latin (194, xiv ff.): *Erat enim mos ut omnes Christi pugnatores Eucaristia et confessione per manus episcoporum et sacerdotum qui ibi aderant animas suas munirent antequam ad bellum (var. pugnam) irent*. The fear is not the fear of death, but of the Lord; cf. Proverbs I, 26-27 and 33.

*conmenioient*. The *i* of the stem is marked by a diacritic. Cf. *juise* in which the scribe distinguishes the *i* from the *i = j* by a diacritic. The form here then is sure; it is the imperf. indic. of *conmenier*. Cf. the comment by Lecoy in *Romania* 91 (1970), 137.

XXXVIII, 1 *Jhesu Crist! pere*. It was quite common in the Middle Ages not to distinguish between God and Christ. So, in l. 5: *Sire Dieus* and at LVIII, 28: *l'incarnacion Dieu le Pere*.

XXXVIII, 2 *diverses contrees et estranges*. The adjectives, used to translate *barbaris horis* (194, xx) constitute a synonymic pair, “far off,” “foreign.”

XXXVIII, 5-7 *Si vraiment . . . si voirement*. The adverbial phrases, the first demonstrative, the second relative, are in correlation, making a comparison of equality: "As, verily, Thou didst deign . . . so, verily, deliver me. . ."

XXXVIII, 9 *cil qui nus cors ne perist*. The *qui* is a spelling for *cui*; the two words were confused in pronunciation and so often in writing. It is here used as a dative of the agent without a preposition; cf. the reading in P2: *a cui*. The construction is identical with the Latin which it translates: *Tu es enim cui non pereunt corpora nostra* (196, vi-vii) "through whom, because of whom."

XXXVIII, 12 ff. *Cest sens, cest entendement avra ele (l'ame, l. 11) encore moult meilleur, de ce que ele repose en cest cors*. The comparison is stated in the Latin as follows (198, i-ii): *Sensum et intellectum quem nunc habet tanto meliorem habebit, quantum differt umbra a corpore* "as the shadow differs from the substance" (cf. I Corinthians XIII, 12). Our translator turns the passage differently: "It (the soul) will have perception and understanding far better than what it commits to the repository of this body." He uses *reposer* (from *pausare* "poser") transitively, "to depose," "put," "consign."

XXXVIII, 16 *que mes R. vis*. Cf. the Latin (198, vi): *quod redemptor meus vivis*.

XXXIX, 3 *Et tu. . .* The *et* here is adversative. Cf. the Latin: *sed tu. . .*, and below LXII, 35.

XLI, 10 There can be no doubt that P2 has the right reading; cf. the Latin (202, xv): *tubicinem vestrum* (*vestrum* is Hamel's correction for the *virum* printed by Meredith-Jones). The word *buisinier* (from *buccinator*) caused trouble for many copyists of old French Turpin texts, so that one may feel sure that here as elsewhere, a scribe is smoothing out as well as he could a passage blurred in his model. The phrase in P1, *avec vostre seigneur*, suggests that the corruption which confronted him was *beau seigneur* for *buisineor*.

XLIII, 12-13 *Tu vives . . . Tu aies. . .* This is the subjunctive of the 2nd pers. used in Old French to express an attenuated imperative or, as here, a wish; made stronger by the use with it of the subject pronoun.

XLIII, 13 The Latin reads *Sine fine michi lugendum est* (204, xviii). The scribe of P1 punctuated very clearly: "*sanz fin. Je. . .*" However his use of the atonic *Je* at the head of a sentence is quite out of accord with practice at this date, and, although *sanz fin* very suitably modifies *Tu aies joie*, its absence from the next sentence leaves *plorera* a very weak expression of the thought. The scribe of P2 punctuates equally clearly: . . . *sains. Sans fin*

*ploerrai*. There can be no hesitation in relegating the P1 reading to the variants.

XLIII, 15 *et de Jonatas*. The syntax here is inconsistent. The defining genitive is expressed without a preposition in the case of *son filz Absalon* and in the case of *Saul*, but *de* is used with *Jonatas*. The scribe varies elsewhere in his usage: *la mort d'Agoulant* (Prol. 7), *la mort Charle* (Prol., 10; LVIII, 1, 9, 18), *la mort l'arcevesque Tourpin* (Prol. 11), *la mort de son frere* (XXXV, 1), and so we may accept this as the explanation of the different constructions in our present passage. Perhaps wrongly, one has a sense of awkwardness in the juxtaposition of the contrasting expressions. For the allusion, see II Sam. I, 19-27. This example of unbreakable friendship was a commonplace in the mediaeval schools.

XLIII, 18 The Latin phrase here, borrowed, like much of the whole passage, by the Pseudo-Turpin from Fortunatus's epitaph for Calacterius, bishop of Chartres, is "Ereptus terrae *iustus ad astra redis*" (206, iv). For *iustus* our translator has the synonymic phrase *vierges et chastes*, a purposed infidelity perpetrated, so far as I know, by our translator alone among all those who rendered the Latin Turpin into French. He is here, undoubtedly, furthering on his own the Pseudo-Turpin's intent to portray Roland as a saint. Cf. the comment on Chapter XLVII, 5 and on Chapter LX, p. 125 below.

XLIII, 21 The reading in P1 is suspect both because the coordinated clauses are poorly related and because the tense of *plaint* is out of keeping with the past tense of the accompanying verbs. Neither the text of P1 here, nor that of P2 has anything corresponding to it in the Latin (206, ix).

The word *leis* is a form of *lez* (*lātus*) "beside," "near to." I bring it into the text with the passage from P2, in which manuscript *ei* represents Latin free tonic *a* (see Introduction, p. 16).

XLIII, 22 *aloés*. P1 shows *aloèl* quite clearly, but the final *l* seems to be an error, perhaps induced by the preceding one or a mistake for a long *s* in the scribe's model.

XLIII, 23 *fist en; en* is the weak form of the pronoun *on*. So too in l. 24.

XLIV, 2 *les autres devorez*. The reading in P1 presents us with a problem. First, I must quote the Latin (206, xv-xvii): *et singuli amicos suos quosdam penitus exanimatos, quosdam adhuc vivos sed letaliter vulneratos, invenerunt*. We see that there is nothing in the Latin corresponding to *les autres devorez*. Apart from this phrase, and unlike P2, P1 offers us a quite literal rendering of the Latin; this must be ascribed to the translator. The phrase in P2, *les autres demis mors*, in its sentient brevity, is perhaps due to the scribe's stylistic intervention. Could the *devorez* of our phrase be a cor-

ruption of *demis mors*? I do not think so; first, because such a misreading is not likely; second, because the phrase was most probably not in the model which the scribe of P1 was using for, after *les autres demis mors*, the sentence *les autres qui vivoient encore mes a mort estoient plaié* would be patently tautological. So *les autres devorez* seems to be an addition made by the scribe of P1, another example among many of his proclivity for heightening the style of his original with melodramatic touches of his own.

The form *demis mors* in P2 shows that in Old French, an adjective used as an adverb modifying an adjective did not become indeclinable. Cf. XLVII, 6 var. *boinneurouse* and 10 *boinseurous*. At LXIII, 11 we see the extension of agreement from the adjective to the adverb *non*.

XLIV, 20 Pinabel is described as Charles's nephew in the later tradition of the *Chanson de Roland*, e.g. in the Châteauroux manuscript, where Guenes, knowing he may not return from his perilous mission to Saragossa, asks his men, if he should perish, to salute for him *Pinabel, mon neveu* (ed. Mortier, *Les textes de la Chanson de Roland*, IV, v. 527).

XLIV, 21 *et fu lors traïnez*. This detail is not in the Latin. According to MS V4 of the *Chanson de Roland*, Pinabel, slain in his duel with Charlemagne's champion, Thierry, was at once tied to the tail of a gray horse and dragged to the gallows on a hill nearby. See Queirazza, *La Chanson de Roland nel testo assonanzato franco-italiano* (Torino, 1954), p. 306, laisse CCCCXIV.

XLV, 2 *l'autre*. We have to ask whether this is a nom. sing. or a nom. pl.; the elision of *li* strongly suggests the former, in which case we should take *li uns (de mierre)*, *li autres (de basme)*, *li autres (de sel)* all as nom. sing. too. But *li uns* is clearly nom. pl. in l. 3; yet *li autre* is as clearly the nom. pl. form in ll. 2, 3-4, 4, 5, 6. The Latin (210, ii ff.): *alii . . . alii . . . alii*, and P2 quite consistently: *li un . . . li autre*, show the plural forms throughout the passage. It was a rule in Old French not to elide the nom. pl. masc. of the def. article, *li*. But there were exceptions: *Et se aucuns est drois magnanimes, je di qu'il ne quidera ja que l'onor ke l'en li fait soient trop grant* (Brunetto Latini, *Li Tresors*, ed. Carmody, 2, XXIII, 15-17). So I think it best to understand *l'autre (d'encens)* as another such case, and to take the whole series of *li uns . . . l'autre . . . li autres . . . li autre* as examples of the nom. pl. in the wayward usage of our scribe.

XLVII, 5. *Puis fu Rollant en haut levé*. . . . The sentence has no counterpart in the Latin, but P2 agrees here completely with P1 and so we must ascribe it as an interpolation to the translator. The phrase *en haut levé*, cf. *elevatio corporis*, used of Roland already in the tomb, is the formula used of saints whose remains were lifted up from the tomb and laid in a shrine for the veneration of posterity. The legend of "Saint Roland" was widespread in the later Middle Ages. In some illuminated manuscripts he is shown wearing a

halo, and the statue of a military saint in the south door of Chartres cathedral, dated early thirteenth century, has been securely identified with Roland (see Lejeune-Stiennon, *La légende de Roland*, 1:203, 2:pl. 154 A). As in the case of Charlemagne, the canonization of Roland in the popular mind was the natural outcome of his characterization in the Pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle* where, with insistence, he is described as *Rotolandus Christi martir* (194, xviii; cf. 202, vii). So too Turpin: *Turpinus – Christi martir* (240, i).

XLVIII, 4-5 *sa cité*. Cf. the Latin (214, ix): *Nantas, urbem suam* and Mouskés: *Droit a Nantes en sa cité* (v. 9063).

XLVIII, 9 *et ce qu'il y avoit* "and all that therein was" – from the fish to the flotsam and jetsam. The clause is not in the Latin text.

XLVIII, 10 *l'amour de Rollant*. The reading in P1 makes good sense, but it is not the sense of the Pseudo-Turpin. Charlemagne here is moved by his love for Roland, as the Latin tradition (*amore* 214, xvii) and the reading in P2 make clear. Mouskés too has *l'arme* (v. 9083): *pour l'arme Rollant son neveu*. There is a deterioration in the shift from *amour* to *âme*, a drift to the *lectio facillior*.

XLIX, 5 *par les chans . . . morz seroient*. The reading in P1 is visibly corrupt. The clause *ceuls qui m. s.* would seem to be an interpolation which grew out of the mistaken reading *par les chans*.

XLIX, 7 *Thierriz*. The last we heard of Thierry was his victory over Pinabel in the trial by combat which decided Ganelon's guilt (XLIV, 19 ff.). He came into the present context from the Latin Turpin (216, xi); neither the Pseudo-Turpin nor our translator seems to have been aware of the question which his presence among those buried in the Alysamps would awaken in our minds. Johannes saw the difficulty and did not include his name here (ed. Walpole, LXVIII, 10). Perhaps I should list this Thierry separately with a query as to his identity.

XLIX, 10 *et avec ses Puillois*. The phrase offered by P1 is unacceptable. P2 has nothing corresponding to it. Mouskés reads:

Avoec lui maint autre preudome  
Roumain et puillois (vv. 9157-58)

which represents the Latin *cum aliis multis Romanis et Apulis* (216, xiv). The source manuscript of P1 and P2 evidently handed down a corrupt or illegible text. I print an attempted restoration.

L, 1. See note on *pour*, IX, 6.

L, 26 *requis*. The scribe of P1 took *requis*, far separated from (*j'ai*) *prié* (l. 24), as a preterite, and added the subject pron. *je*. The *j'ai prié* is used unmistakably as a perfect, and there is little likelihood that the translator would have changed the tense to the preterite in the coordinated verb.

L, 27-28. For the repetition of the conj. *que* see XIV, 43.

L, 34 *del nouvel testament*. . . . The descriptive genitive phrases are in apposition with the adjective *anciennes*: "ancient stories, stories from the old and new testaments."

LI, 3 *cest*. The noun *art* was masc. or fem. in Old French. The masc. form of the demonstr. adj. is used in P1 and P2 though *toutes* in l. 1 treats *arz* as fem. Cf. the tonic fem. *li* in l. 4 var. and LII, 3.

LII, 2-3 *Et par tel art . . . Et fu trouvee . . . et par li*. The sense of *et* in all these cases is "and, what is more," or "and, moreover." It is used to introduce clauses expressing ideas complementary to what precedes.

LII, 3 *par li esperons nous*. . . . The infinitive clause, akin to the "accusative and infinitive" construction in Latin was more frequent in Old and Middle French than in the modern language. It is used after declarative and affective verbs: *esperer* here falls into both those categories.

LIV, 2 *et rent lais*. . . . The passage is quite independent of the Latin (224, iii ff.). The reading in P1 makes sense, but very dubious sense.

LVIII, 4 *cestui siaume*. The word is feminine in P2: *ceste saume*. Cf. below, l. 12.

LVIII, 7 *plus noir d'un Mor*. The reading in P2 is captivating. In P1, the sense is plain: "blacker than a Moor," a colorful translation of *Ethiopi consimilem* (228, x). I am not sure what the scribe of P2 meant when he wrote: *plus noir d'une meure d'Ethiope*. Surely not "blacker than an Ethiopian blackberry," and probably not ". . . than a Moorish woman from Ethiopia." In his mind, *more* "Moor," a derivative like *mor* "Moor" from Latin *Maurus*, was probably identified, as in the folk etymology of the time, with *more*, or its alternative form, *meure* (modern French *mûre*) from *mōra*, the plural of *mōrum* "blackberry," so that for him *meure* meant both "Moor" and "blackberry." T.-L. (6:263) quotes Brunetto Latini: *Ethiope, ou sont les gens noirs comme meure, et por ce sont il apelé mores*.

LVIII, 10-11 and 20. Again we meet with the tautological repetition of *que*; see above, n. to XIV, 43.

LVIII, 26. Between the words (*amaladi li*) *rois* and *et (fu mors)*, the translator seems to have accidentally omitted a passage in the Latin. See Introduction, p. 30).

LIX, 1 *furent continuelment nerci et mué*. The text in P1: *furent converti et mué*, corresponds to the Latin: (*solem et lunam*) *atro colore contigit inmutari* (236, viii-x). It makes sense but seems to translate only *inmutari*, omitting *atro colore*. In P2 we read: *furent continuelment verti et mué*. Behind *verti* I think we may see *nerci* ("darkened"); *v* for *n* and *t* for *c* would be very understandable scribal errors, and *verti* made one of a pretty syntactic pair with *mué*. From a common source P1 and P2 seem to have inherited *verti et mué*; the *converti* of P1 is but the scribe's substitution of the compound verb for the simple one, involving no change of meaning: "transformed." He probably omitted *continuelment* as ill-suited to the verbal, rather than the adjectival, function of the two past participles. I relegate the readings in both our manuscripts therefore to the variants and print my suggested emendation. Mouskés reads simply:

Li solaus et la clere lune.

...  
Furent oscurci durement. (vv. 11720 ff.)

LIX, 5 *s'en ala touz aval l'iaue*. Neither P1 nor P2 tells us that the bridge burned down (*incendio funditus per semetipsum consumptus fuit* 232, xvi). But Mouskés does: *S'en vint argant par la riviere* (v. 11740) (*argant* is a form of the pres. part. of *ardoir* "to burn"). Perhaps the pret. of *ardoir*, *arst*, was lost earlier in the manuscript tradition by haplography with *anz* or *ans*. But the matter should not be labored; other translations omit the detail too.

LX. This chapter, which is Chapter XXXIII in Mr. Meredith-Jones's edition of the Latin Turpin, reveals itself as a late addition to the *Chronicle*. It is introduced in grossly makeshift fashion as something which happened before Roland went to war in Spain, not proper to the *Chronicle* therefore but visibly added further to enhance the saintliness of Roland: *sed valde dignum est ut inter cetera ad Domini nostri Ihesu Christi decus revocetur ad memoriam miraculum quod pro beato Rotholando dum adhuc viveret, antequam ingrederetur Hispaniam, ut fertur, Dominus ostendit*. "Ut fertur!" — but we still do not know where the story was first told or to which city it was originally attached. Readers interested in the problem will find a recent exposition of its elements in M. André de Mandach's *Chronique dite Sain-tongeaise*, pp. 127 ff. His own conclusion is that the city is the *Nobles* of early French epic legend and that *Nobles* is Aix-en-Gascogne, the modern Dax. In the list of contents which forms our Prologue, Chapter LX is thus described: *Les miracles que Dieus fist pour Rollant en la cité d'Ais. En la cité d'Ais*; that



is, precisely, Dax in Gascony. But here in the text itself we read that the city was *Granopole*, a faithful rendering of the name in the Latin original, *Granopolim* (234, xv). I have pointed out in my note to the Prologue discrepancies between the list of contents as set forth in the Prologue and the contents themselves as they appear in our translation, but I do not think that this lack of conformity need infirm the significance of the fact that the *Ais* of the Prologue is the *Granopole* of Chapter LX. Our scribe of the late thirteenth century seems to have taken it for granted that the story which his Chapter LX tells about *Granopole* was the story well-known in epic legend of what happened to Roland at Aix-en-Gascogne.

Mouskés sensibly transfers this chapter to the period of Charlemagne's wars against the Saxons and their momentary interruption by the campaign against Eaumont and Agolant in Aspremont. But his linking of these episodes is clumsily and obscurely done. See vv. 4548 ff.

LX, 4 *Sarrazins*. There is no mention of *Sarracenos* in the Latin text (234, xviii); later, the Pseudo-Turpin refers to the enemy as *gens pagana* (236, xvii), *paganis* (238, iv). The use of the name in our translation to refer to the Saxons besieging Charlemagne in Worms is in conformity with usage in the French epics and chronicles of the time. Jean Bodel, in his *Chanson des Saisnes*, calls the Saxon foe *la sarrasine gent* and when Sibille becomes a Christian in order to marry Baudouin, she disavows her Moslem faith and gods. In his *Rou*, Wace calls the Normans *la gent sarrasine* and so does Benoît in his *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*. The Normans who invade Brittany in *Aiquin* are the *Sarrasin*; in fact, the Saracen has become a literary type, the unbeliever or the treacherous foe of the French in general.

LX, 13 *en trois parz*. The Latin says more simply: *divisisti mare Rubrum in divisiones* (236, x-xi). Perhaps our translator had in mind the wall of water to the right, the wall of water to the left (Exodus XIV, 32) and the dry pathway in between. But still the expression remains unsatisfactory. Could it be that our translator had before him a Latin text in which, by dittography, *in divisiones* had been written *in in divisiones*, and read the second *in* as .iii.?

LX, 17 *la gent paienne qui ne te croient*. The plural verb shows agreement *ad sensum* with the collective *gent*. Cf. Rutebeuf (ed. Faral-Bastin, 2:183, vv. 115-116):

N'i a nule gent amiable  
Ainçois sont mal, qu'il sont deable.

*ou tu fez*. This is the imperative of *ferre* (*faire*), with *s(z)* analogical to the 2nd pers. sing. of the indicative which had become a common form by the

mid-thirteenth century. Occurring along with *destrui*, *abat*, the form with *tu* adds urgency to the plea: "do thou bring about its conversion."

LXI. The description of Archbishop Turpin's death is of course extraneous to his chronicle. It is, however, appended to the chronicle in all the Latin manuscripts where it occurs and is there attributed to Calixtus II who, before his elevation to the papacy, was archbishop of Vienne. Mr. Meredith-Jones has printed the chapter as Appendix A in his edition of the Turpin, pp. 240 ff.

LXI, 4 *d'autre part le Rosne devers France vers orient*. The Latin reads: *iuxta urbem ultra Rodanum, scilicet versus Orientem, in quadam ecclesia olim sepultus extitit* (240, iv-vi). The statement "across the Rhône on the east side" has puzzled and still puzzles commentators. The Rhône flows down the westward side of old Vienne; *versus Orientem* seems to have been written by someone who did not know the topography of that famous city. But why did the author of the chapter add the detail if he did not trust his knowledge? Mr. Smyser would adopt Gaston Paris's suggestion and punctuate: *iuxta urbem, ultra Rodanum scilicet, versus orientem in quadam ecclesia . . .*, understanding the passage to mean "near the city, that is on the far side of the Rhône, at the east end of a church . . ." (*The Pseudo-Turpin*, p. 49, n. 4). Others have thought that this interpretation of the passage calls for a more subtle understanding than could normally be expected of a mediaeval audience. The reading *scilicet versus Orientem* is general in the Latin tradition; apparently all the scribes accepted it. Did they find no difficulty there? Did they not pay attention to what they were copying? Some of those who translated the Turpin evidently thought about it; they omitted the phrase, no doubt thinking it erroneous. The reading in our MS P1 suggests that our scribe too, no lively intellect as we have had many an occasion to see, thought about it. He could hardly have added *devers France* to *vers orient* in the conviction that France lay across the Rhône eastwards in Burgundy. So what can the passage have meant for him if not "across the Rhône on the French side at the east end of a church . . ."?

LXI, 5 *au tans ui, enseveli*. The reading of both our manuscripts, *au tans Eusepe le (Eusebele) pape*, is visibly corrupt here. Mouskés has the same strange text, vv. 11842-44. The Latin reads as follows: *Cuius sanctissimum corpus nostris temporibus quidam ex nostris clericis in quodam sarcophago optimo . . . integrum invenerunt* (240, vi-ix). There is no Pope Eusebius in the Latin, and there simply was no Pope Eusebius in whose day Archbishop Turpin's body could have been discovered. The spelling in the P2 variant gives us the clue to the trouble. *Eusebele* is a corruption of *enseveli*. Once *enseveli* had been copied as *Eusebele*, *pape* was added to "identify" the *Eusebe*, and *ui (nostris temporibus)* was lost because it clashed with the dating afforded by *au tans Eusebe le pape*.

LXI, 11 The reading in P1: *furent compaignon en Espagne en paines* makes good sense, but it cannot be what the Apostle said. For what he did say, see II Cor. I, 7.

LXI, 12, 13, 14 . . . *Rollant . . . Oliviers . . . Charles . . .* These interpretive etymologizings are an example of a rhetorical device taught in the mediaeval schools with more stylistic purpose than linguistic understanding. The symbolical interpretation of proper names was a normal method of developing – and lengthening – a sermon. Cf. Lecoq de la Marche, *La chaire française*, p. 297. Behind the interpretation of Oliver lies, of course, the association with the olive tree, thought of here, it would seem, not so much as a symbol of peace and amity, but rather of the priestly, perhaps saintly, virtues. One may recall the description of the legendary Numa in Vergil:

Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae  
Sacra ferens? (*Aeneid* VI, vv. 808–809)

LXI, 16 *turcoples*. The word is used to translate the Latin *pulcerrimus*: *Turpinus interpretatur pulcerrimus, sive non turpis* (242, vii) and so, by hook and by crook, the Pseudo-Turpin and our translator establish the etymologico-semantic connexion. Godefroy (8:106; cf. T.-L., 10:727 and also Littré, s.v.) lists a number of examples from Old French epics, romances, and chronicles of the crusades, quoting in one of them Guillaume de Tyr: *turcoples – ce sont sergent a cheval, legierement armés*. The mediaeval Latin word was *turcōp̄d̄lus*, derived from *Τουρχόπουλος*. It was annotated by Gaston Paris in his edition of *Estoire de la guerre sainte* as follows: *On appelait ainsi originairement le fils d'un père turc et d'une mère chrétienne . . . ces métis formaient déjà une classe particulière de la population de Syrie au moment de la première croisade. Plus tard ils paraissent avoir spécialement fourni des troupes de cavalerie légère combattant à la manière des Turcs (Table des noms propres, s.v.)*. Among the Knights of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the *Turcoplier* was a commander of the light cavalry, one of a class of the Knights described as *fratres servientes armigeri* – a description which reveals point in the variant reading of P2: (*turcoples*) *et serjans Dieu*. Mouskés does not borrow the word *turcoples* from his source, but his text helps us to see the simple meaning which the translator meant to convey with his ingenious etymological invention:

Cis nons Turpin dist ausiment  
Comme tres fors outreement (vv. 11880–881)

Perhaps we may, then, add to the definition of *turcoples* given in the Old French dictionaries, its use as an adjective meaning “superlativement fort.”

LXII. This chapter is another supplement to the Turpin proper. It is printed by Mr. Meredith-Jones as Appendix B, pp. 244 ff. The author evidently thought that it would interest his readers to know what happened in Galicia after the death of Charlemagne. His story, no doubt retold from hearsay along the pilgrim roads to St. James of Compostela, has as historical background the incursion into Galicia of Al Mansour of Córdoba in the year 997.

LXII, 24 *maisieres*. The word usually means "walls." Here, however, it translates the Latin *tecta* (246, xvi). The plural suggests the meaning "roof, with its substructure of beams and vaulting."

LXII, 35 *et cist Romains*. The *et* is adversative here. Cf. the same use at XXXIX, 3 above.

LXIII. This is the third supplementary chapter to the Turpin and as such is printed by Mr. Meredith-Jones as Appendix C. It seems even more irrelevant to the Turpin than Chapters LXI and LXII. It was drawn from the *Guide du Pèlerin*, a guide book for pilgrims to the shrine of St. James of Compostela which formed Book V of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* in which the Turpin was once incorporated as Book IV. In the *Guide*, this unkind disquisition on the Navarrese occurs as a short passage in the lengthy Chapter VII (ed. Jeanne Vieliard, p. 28, ll. 11 ff.): *De nominibus terrarum et qualitatibus gentium que in itinere Sancti Jacobi habentur*, where these mountain people are denounced as something less than human: *Hec est gens barbara, omnibus gentibus dissimilis ritibus et essentia, omni malicia plena, colore atra, visu iniqua, prava, perversa, perfida, fide vacua et corrupta, libidinosa, ebriosa, omni violentia docta, ferox et silvestris, improba et reproba, impia et austera, dira et contentiosa, ullis bonis inculta, cunctis viciis et iniquitatibus edocta, Getis et Sarracenis consimilis malicia, nostre genti gallice in omnibus inimica.*

LXIII, 2 *il ne . . . voloient*. The translation is loose, and the sense of *il* ("the people in Spain") has to be drawn from the context. Cf. the Latin 248, xv ff.): *Iulius Caesar . . . tres gentes . . . ad expugnandum Hispanorum populos eo quod tributum ei reddere nolebant, ad Hispaniam misit.*

LXIII, 8 *sus la mer*. The sense is, "over towards the sea." The Latin, apart from irrelevant variants, reads 250, iv-vii): *venerunt ad montes Nervos qui sunt inter Nageram et Pampiloniam et Baionam, scilicet versus maritimam in terra Biscasgiae et Alavae*. The word *maritimam* is a feminine singular from the classical neuter plural *maritima -orum*: "regions by the sea," "coastal areas."

LXIII, 11 *nons vrais*. The *nons* shows the extension to an adverb of the inflection proper to the adjective which it modifies. Cf. the note to XLIV, 2.



# Glossary

The list is not exhaustive, though, as a help to students, it is fuller than the needs of specialists would require. Verbs are listed under the infinitive; when the infinitive does not occur in the text, it is given in the Francien form and placed in square brackets. Verbal forms which may not be easily recognized are listed separately. References to T.-L. are to Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*; references to F.E.W. are to the *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* of W. von Wartburg.

- aaidier – XXXVII, 7 var. *to help (the scribe wrote a aaidier, but a prep. a would be out of place after por and so a must be a prefix. Cf. T.-L., s.v. aaidier.*
- abevrer – XVI, 4 *to supply with drink; pret 5 abevrastes XVI, 10.*
- abiter – XXXII, 24 *abiter a fames to frequent, lie with, women.*
- [aceindre] – *to encircle; pret. 6 aceindrent XVII, 4; p.p. fem. aceinte XXXVI, 7 girded.*
- [achetiver] – *to imprison, to take captive; p.p. achetivé LX, 20.*
- acloset – XVII, 4 var. *pret 6 of aclore to enclose, surround.*
- [accompagner] – *to bring into one's fellowship, to gather around one, to recruit; IX, 12 pret. 3 acompagna: accompagner aucun de faire aucune rien to recruit someone to do something. The de is final.*
- [acraventer] – *to fell; imperf. 3 acraventoit XXXIV, 3.*
- adont – *adv. at that time III, 3, XII, 7, XLVIII, 17; then, so, therefore II, 3, VIII, 12, XXIII, 66, XXXI, 2. Cf. dont 2.*
- adroit – *adv. rightly, correctly LI, 3.*
- [afflire] – *to afflict, to hurt grievously; p.p. affliz XXXV, 5.*
- [agastir] – *to become waste; pret 3 agasti XII, 14.*
- aingois – XXXVIII, 9 *but rather; eingois L, 9 long ago; angois que LVIII, 24, conj. before. Cf. angois.*
- ainsint – I, 37 *et passim; thus, so; see too einsint.*
- ainz – XXVI, 9 *but rather; XXXVII, 15 instead, accordingly; ains de LVIII, 21, 22 prep. before.*
- aise – *ease; a aise XXIII, 25 adv. phrase, at ease, comfortably; cf. aise XXIII, 25 var., adv. comfortably.*
- ajornee – VIII, 18 var. *daybreak.*
- [ajorner] – *to dawn; noun: a l'ajorner VIII, 18 on the dawn of the next day.*
- aloés – XLIII, 22 *aloes (see note).*
- aluef – *en franc a. XLVIII, 9; en alue L, 8 (cf. var. en franc alues) in freehold, as an inheritance free of all dues or services.*
- amiranz – XXI, 3, LXII, 18 *(the n here is represented by a tilde over the a) emir. Cf. amirauz.*

- amirauz – VIII, 3, XXX, 5, LXII, 22, *and var. to 19, 30, 36 emir. Cf. amiranz.*  
 ançois – VIII, 14 *but rather. Cf. ainçois.*  
 [aorer] – *to worship; pres. indic. 4 aorons XIV, 27.*  
 aornemenz – V, 11, L, 33 *ornaments.*  
 aorner – L, 33 *to furnish with, to adorn.*  
 apareillier – VI, 59 *to prepare, to equip, to make ready; XII, 28: apareillié a la volenté Nostre Seigneur et a sa loy essauchier ready to do God's will and to exalt his law. The a is final in both cases. Cf. de used with the same force in apareillie (p.p. fem.) de combatre XIII, 14. Here P2 has a. por c.*  
 [apendre] – *to belong to, to depend on; pres. indic. 3 apent XLVIII, 9.*  
 [apetiser] – *to fall into decline; pret. 3 apetisa XII, 14.*  
 apriés de – VII, 10 *var. prep., near to.*  
 [aquerre] – *to acquire; pret. 3 aquist LXI, 8.*  
 [ardoir] – *to burn; pret. 6 ardirent LXIII, 4; cf. var. arsent.*  
 [arester] – *intrans. to stay, halt, to stand still; pret. 3 aresta XLIV, 12.*  
 aristologie – LVII, 1 *astrology (the scribe of P2 writes astrologie).*  
 arme – XLI, 1 *a form of ame soul.*  
 armes – II, 12 *arms, weapons; a armes VIII, 5 armed, in arms.*  
 [asambler] – *to advance to the attack; pret. 3 asambla XXXII, 7, 11.*  
 asens – L, 16 *var. assent, consent; cf. asentement.*  
 asentement – L, 12 *assent, consent; cf. asens.*  
 [asoudre] – *to absolve; pret. 1 asou IX, 12; imperf. 1 asoloie XI, 3; pres. indic. 6 asolent XV, 8.*  
 assez – V, 13, XXIII, 15, LXIII, 7 *many.*  
 [ataindre] – *to overtake; imperf. 3 ataignoit XXXIV, 4; pret. 3 atainst XXXIV, 4 var.; p.p. atainz XLIV, 10.*  
 [atapis (soi)] – *to hide; pret. 6 s'atapirent XXXII, 16.*  
 [atorner (soi)] – *to make ready; pret. 3 s'atorna XXXI, 14.*  
 [atremper] – *to temper; p.p. fem. atrempee L, 32 (well)tempered, comfortably mixed with cold water. Cf. tempree.*  
 aumaçour – VII, 5, VIII, 9, XVII, 11, XXV, 2, 32, LXII, 2, 10, 18 *var., 19, 30, 37 a Saracen military title; commander. The title is the application to use as a common noun of the name Almanzor, al-Mansur, "The Victor," the sobriquet applied to Ibn Abi 'Amir, commander in Andalucía under the caliph Hisham II. See also Cordres in the Table of Proper Names.*  
 aumosne – LIX, 12 *alms, gift, charity.*  
 auquant – XIX, 3 *var. indef. pron., some, a few; noun nom. pl. li auquant LX, 20 some.*  
 ausi – XXV, 10, *likewise, in the same way; aussi come . . . ausi XXVII, 12-14 just as . . . so.*  
 autel – LXII, 29 *the same, the like.*  
 autre – XX, 1 *next.*  
 autresi – XXV, 10 *var. likewise.*

- autretant — XLVIII, 6 *as many*; autretant . . . conme LXIII, 11 *the same as*.  
 autretele — XXV, 10 var. *similar*.  
 avangarde — XXI, 7 *watch-tower, look-out post. See note*.  
 [avironer] — *to surround*; *p.p. fem avironee (de) XXXVI, 3 ringed about (with)*.  
 avoez — L, 20 *protector, defender*.  
 [avugler] — *v.n. to be struck blind*; *imperf. 6 avugloient LXII, 9; v.a. to strike blind*; *p.p. avuglez LXII, 10*.  
 ayous — XIV, 14 *grandfather*.  
 bachelers — XV, 3 *young noblemen*.  
 baptestire — XIV, 32 var. *baptism*.  
 baptesment — XIV, 49 *baptism*.  
 barboere — XXV, 13, 22 *mask*.  
 bataille — Prol. 5 et passim *battle*; .ii. batailles rengiees XXXII, 6 *two corps, two divisions, in battle array*.  
 beneuree — XXIX, 8, XLI, 1 *blessed*.  
 beneureuse — XXIX, 11 *blessed*.  
 besanz — XLVIII, 6, XLIX, 11 *bezants*.  
 boinneurouse — XLI, 1 var. *blessed*.  
 bos — LVIII, 15 (*a dialectal form*) *wood, timber, building material*; cf. bois XXXII, 4, 16, XXXIII, 3.  
 braciee — XXI, 12, 13 *arm's length. The word translates the Latin cubitus. See note to piez, XXI, 11*.  
 bruit — XIII, 3 *le bruit de la noise. One might think that bruit and noise were synonymous. They sometimes formed a synonymic pair in Old French, e.g. Erec et Enide, ed. Roques:*  
     Enyde ot la noise et le bruit  
     de lor armes, de lor chevax (vv. 3538-39)  
*But the phrase in our manuscripts shows that the two words were used to express different things: noise, the din of the large army gathering on the plain, bruit, the distant sound of this as it was heard far away.*  
 brunetes — XV, 7 *clothes of fine wool, dyed dark brown*.  
 buisines — LX, 15 *trumpets*.  
 caldieu — IV, 4 *Chaldee. See note*.  
 ceenz — XV, 17 *in here*.  
 cendal — XV, 13 *sendal, fine silk (usually colored red)*.  
 cercle — XXIII, 54 *the rims (of wheels)*.  
 chaī — *see cheoir*.  
 chascun — XXVII, 4 *adj. each*.  
 chastel — XXV, 18 *fiorent chastel d'euls meismes closed ranks. See Reid, Horn, 2:161; note to vv. 3446-9*.  
 cheoir — XLII, 7, LX, 15 *to fall*; *pret. 3 chaī, LIX, 4, pret. 6 chairent II, 6*.  
 [choisir] — *to catch sight of, to descry, to mark, to single out*; *pret. 3 choisi XXXIII, 14*.



- clergie – LI, 5 *learning, clerkly skill*.
- [clocier] – *to halt, walk lame, to falter; pres. indic. 2 cloces XXIII, 44 var.*
- coing – LXII, 25 *wedge*.
- compaignie – XX, 12 *company, fellowship*.
- confés – VI, 8 *adj. confessed; estre confés to make confession*.
- [conmetre] – *to impart, to make known; p.p. conmise LVIII, 1*.
- [conveer] – *to accompany on one's way; impf. indic. 6 conveoient L, 23*.
- coroné – XV, 9 *tonsured (see note to I, 29)*.
- coulombes – LXII, 24 *columns*.
- coustume – XLIII, 3 *conduct, comportment, (way of) life*.
- couvenance – XXXI, 7 *agreement*.
- [couvenir] – *to behove (with acc. of the person and infin.); pret. 3 couvint XXXII, 13; covint LXII, 8*.
- [cremir] – *to fear; pret. 6 cremirent XIV, 42; imperf. indic. 3 cremoit XXI, 4; cremir (soi) XXXVII, 22 to fear, to be fearful; see note*.
- crevee – III, 29 *p.p. fem. of crever to burst through, surge up; see note*.
- croissuz – XLVII, 5 *cracked; p.p. of croissir*.
- croiz – XXXVI, 3 *the cross-guard (of a sword)*.
- dampné – L, 12 *condemned, rejected; p.p. of damner, dampner*.
- deboneres – LXI, 14 *gracious*.
- decoste – XXV, 38 *along, by*.
- [defroissier] – *to batter; p.p. defroissiez XXXIV, 6, XLIV, 6*.
- [desclairier] – *to make clear, to expound, to explain; p.p. desclairiees XXIX, 16*.
- [desconfire] – *to destroy, defeat; desconfiz XXXII, 11 p.p. masc. pl. used as a noun: the defeated*.
- desertes – LX, 12 *rewards. Cf. desiers*.
- desiers – LX, 12 *var. A Picard form of desers merits, rewards*.
- despite – XLIV, 24 *p.p. of despire to despise, used as an adj.: despicable*.
- destrincion – Prol., 6 (*see note*) *conflict; cf. T.-L., 2:2, 1792 s.v. destreinçon and F.E.W. 3:101a, s.v. distringere*.
- destruicion – VIII, 22 *destruction, slaughter*.
- [determiner] – *to define, to establish; p.p. determinees XXIX, 17*.
- deviser – *to divide, separate, order, design, arrange, decide, calculate, tell, talk about; I, 20 say, tell; XV, 13 fetes et devisees de cendal et de samit made and patterned in silk and satin; XXIII, 17: deviserent que arranged, decided that; LV, 3: contees et devisees (a synonymic pair) = counted and numbered; LVII, 1 to calculate; LVIII, 30 (infin. with passive force) = (heard) tell of, (heard) being talked about, (heard) news of*.
- devorez – XLIV, 2 *to cut to pieces, dismember*.
- digneté – XXIX, 5, 9, *worth, authority; dignetez XXVII, 9 high responsibilities, (perhaps) the insignia of these; see note*.
- diverses – XXXVIII, 2 *far off, foreign*.
- doaire – XXVII, 4 *dower, endowment*.

- [dolouser] – *to lament, grieve, grieve over; imperf. indic. 3, intrans.* XXXVI, 13 var. *dolousoit; pret. 3 dolosa* XLIII, 14; *trans.* XLIII, 19.
- donques – *adv.* VII, 5, LVIII, 17 *then, thereupon, so.* Cf. *dont*<sub>2</sub>.
- dont*<sub>1</sub> – *rel. pron.* XXIII, 21 *with which; of which* XXIII, 22, XLIII, 18; *from which* XIX, 8; *of whom* XXIII, 49, XXXI, 23; *from where, whence* VI, 18, XXIII, 18; *as to which* XIV, 10, 44.
- dont*<sub>2</sub> – *adv. then, thereupon, so* XXIII, 13, 23, XXV, 23, XXVI, 1; *whereupon* XLV, 7. Cf. *adont*.
- douter – LXII, 31 *to fear.*
- dragmes – XLIX, 11 var. *drachmas.*
- [durer] – *to extend (in space), spread; imperf. indic. 3 duroit* XIV, 5.
- edifier – XXVI, 2 *to edify, to strengthen in the faith.*
- eiņçois – L, 9 *see amņois.*
- einsint – XXV, 16; *see ainsint.*
- [embausser] – *to embalm; p.p. embaussumez* XLIII, 22.
- [empenser] – *to plan, contrive; p.p. empensé* VIII, 5.
- encisier – *to cut; p.p. encisiez* XLIV, 5.
- enclin (a) – XXV, 34 *subject (to).*
- encoste – XXIII, 20, XLII, 4 *alongside of, by.*
- encrener – *to nick, to notch; p.p. encrenee* XXXVI, 15 var.
- endementiers que – XXXII, 1, XLI, 1; *endementieres que* XLII, 1 *while.*
- endroit – XV, 1, XXXVIII, 14 *prep. near, towards; used with another adverb to give it insistence or precision: ci endroit* XXXII, 17 *here precisely, right here.*
- enfreindre – XXIII, 26 *to infringe, to break; imperf. subj. 3 enfrainsist* *ibid.*
- [enpirier] – *to suffer harm; pret. 3 enpira* XLIII, 2.
- ensamble – XLII, 10 *at one and the same time.*
- ensus – XVI, 9 *away, hence; XXV, 19 away, to a distance; LVIII, 8 at a distance (according to the Latin, he was "some distance behind" retro lento gradu alios insequentem, 228, x).*
- [entrecontrer (soi)] – XXV, 10 var. *to come together.*
- entrehair (soi) – *to hate each other; imperf. 6 IX, 8 s'entrehaoient.*
- entreprendre – *to seize, to overtake; p.p. entrepris* LXII, 10.
- envers, XLII, 6, XLIV, 3 *adv. supine, lying on (his) back.*
- errachier – XLII, 9 *to tear out.*
- errant – XXI, 6 var. *at once, without delay.*
- es – XLII, 1 *demonstr. adv. look! see! es vous Baudoin there comes Baldwin!*
- eschaille – XXIII, 55 *shell.*
- eschis – IX, 9 *outcasts.*
- escorce – XXIII, 55 *husk, hull.*
- [esfacier] – *intrans. to fade away, to disappear, to be effaced; pret. 3 esfaça* LIX, 3.
- esfort – XVII, 5 *army, forces.*
- esmaier (soi) – XIV, 43 *to be dismayed.*

- [esmovoir] – *to move, arouse, bring down; p.p. fem. esmeue XXXIX, 1.*  
 esperitable – XXXVIII, 1 *spiritual, heavenly.*  
 espoanté – XXV, 15 *frightened.*  
 [esrachier] – *intrans. to be eradicated, to be torn away, to fall off; pret.*  
 3 esraça LIX, 3 var.  
 essaucier – XXIII, 36, 65, XXXIX, 2 *to exalt; imperat. sing. essauce XXIII,*  
 66.  
 essaucierres – XLIII, 8 *enhancer, glorifier; the word forms one of a syn-*  
*onymic pair with relevierres: the stay and succour (of the Church).*  
 essele – XXII, 2 *the arm at the shoulder, armpit; souz s'essele under his arm.*  
 [ester (soi)] – *to stand; pret. 3 s'estut L, 14.*  
 estour – XXXII, 12 *conflict, fray.*  
 estranges – IX, 12 *strangers.*  
 estut – *see ester.*  
 et – *see notes to XIV, 11, 20; XVI, 2; XXV, 39; XXXIII, 1; LII, 2-3.*  
 fantosme – XXXVI, 6 *enchantment, an imagined (as distinct from a real)*  
*danger.*  
 felonese – XXXI, 19 *adj., fem. of felon treacherous.*  
 felonissement – XIV, 7 *disloyally, treacherously.*  
 fere – I, 13 *to do, to make; p.p. fet used absolutely LVIII, 11 done, finished;*  
*fere a + infin. LXII, 31 to deserve to be.*  
 feus – XLI, 3 *adj. used as a noun, faithful; messe des feus Dieu the Missa*  
*Fidelium.*  
 fierement – XXV, 23 *spiritedly, stoutly, fiercely.*  
 fiers – XXIII, 24 *high-spirited.*  
 figures – LI, 2 *figures of speech.*  
 [finer] – *to finish, to cease; p.p. fem. finee XLI, 11; p.p. masc. finé LVIII,*  
 12; *cond. 3 fineroit XLIV, 9.*  
 [fondre] – *to collapse; pret. 6 fondirent Prol., 2.*  
 fors que (*after a negative clause*) – XXIII, 30 *except.*  
 fort – XXV, 41 *difficult, inaccessible; fort here with aspre is one of a syn-*  
*onymic pair.*  
 fueille – VIII, 19 *fem. collective noun, foliage.*  
 fusique – LVII, 4 (*the art of*) *medicine.*  
 fust – XXV, 25 *pole, staff; XLV, 3, LIX, 4 wood.*  
 galices – V, 12 *chalices; for the form, see Introduction, p. 14.*  
 [garir] – *to cure; p.p. gariz LXII, 16.*  
 [garnir] – *to fortify; imperf. subj. 3 garnissist XXXVII, 19.*  
 [gesir] – *to lie; pret. 3 giut LVIII, 23, pret. 6 jurent XXXI, 22; imperf. subj.*  
 6 geussent XXXI, 13.  
 giut – LVIII, 23 *see gesir.*  
 glatir – XXV, 31 *to yap, to yelp; imperf. 6 glatissoient XLI, 6.*  
 griefment – XXXII, 20 *gravely, grievously.*  
 [haïr] – *to hate; imperf. indic. 3 haoit LXI, 17.*

- hante – XLIII, 2 *lance-shaft, lance*.  
 harz – XLIV, 4 *thongs*.  
 hetié – XXIII, 70 *in good health, in good spirits, tout sain et tout hetié hale and hearty*.  
 heult – XXXVI, 2 *hilt*.  
 iaeue – XXXVII, 14 *water*; XLIV, 13, LIX, 6 *river*.  
 iuwels – XXIII, 50 var. *equal*.  
 jantes – XXIII, 54 *the felloes (of a wheel)*.  
 jornees – XIII, 2 .ii. jornees (de .xiii. luies) *two days' journey*.  
 juignet – LXI, 18 *July*.  
 juise – XXXVIII, 17 *Last Judgment*.  
 jumeles – XXIII, 50 *alike, identical*.  
 [laier] – *to let, allow; fut. l. lerai XXXIII, 10*.  
 leis – XLIII, 21 *a form of les (latus) alongside of. See note*.  
 lerai – *see laier*.  
 lés – Prol., 5, VI, 6 *a form of lais, modern French legs, a legacy, bequest*.  
 lessierent a conquerre – III, 35 *lessier (laissier) a faire aucune chose not to do something, forbear to do something; cf. XVI, 4 lessa a prendre baptesme*.  
 let – XXXIII, 2 *ugly*.  
 lige – XV, 21 *liegemen, faithful followers*.  
 loier – XXXII, 20 *payment, return, reward*.  
 [loisir] – *to be permitted; pres. indic. 3 loist XXXII, 24*.  
 lors – XLIV, 21 *there and then*.  
 loton – V, 3 *brass; cf. F.E.W., 19:106 b, s.v. lātūn*.  
 luies – XIII, 2, 3, XXV, 7, 17, LV, 3 *leagues. The scribe also uses the form lieue(s) XIII, 8, XXXII, 17, XLVIII, 8; he writes both luies and luies quite clearly, with a diacritic over the i; the form luies shows simply interversion of iu to ui; cf. ruile*.  
*We cannot be sure what real distance is meant by the word, since the sense varied according to locality. Cf. Rutebeuf, Sainte Elysabel, 653-654:*  
     Tels uit lieus que, par droit conte,  
     L'une de la deus de ça conte  
*or Chrétien de Troyes, Chevalier au lion (ed. Roques):*  
     des luies qui el païs sont  
     car a mesure des noz sont  
     les deus une, les quatre deus (vv. 2955-57).
- mail – XLII, 26 *hammer*.  
 maisieres – LXII, 24 *walls, roof (see note)*.  
 [maleïr] – *to curse; p.p. pl. maleoit XVI, 9 accursed*.  
 maleoit – *see maleïr*.  
 mars – XLIX, 11 *marks (a marc = 8 ozs.)*.  
 martiel – LXII, 26 var. *hammer*.  
 maus – LVII, 4 *ailments*.  
 mes que – XXIII, 65 *but rather, but only*.

- mesage – LVIII, 20 certain mesage *official news*.  
 mesagier – VII, 13, XIV, 20, XV, 16, 20 *messenger(s)*. Cf. messages.  
 mescheance – XVII, 2 *mischance, misfortune, disaster* leur m. *the disaster which befell them*.  
 mesniee – LXII, 23 *household*.  
 messages – XIV, 20 var., XV, 20 var. *messenger*.  
 mestier – XXXVI, 5 avoir mestier a aucun *to serve someone*.  
 [metre] – *to put*; metre sur aucun a faire aucune chose VI, 15 *to lay upon someone the responsibility of doing something, to charge someone to do something*.  
 mierre – XLIII, 22 *myrrh*.  
 moiel – XXIII, 54 *the hubs, the bosses (of wheels)*.  
 monteplier – I, 3, 7 *the sense in both cases is "prosper."* For the form see *note*.  
 moustier – V, 9, LXII, 6; mostier LXII, 14, 23 *church*.  
 [mucier] – *to hide*; p.p. mucié XXXIII, 7; gerund muçant XXXV, 2.  
 [muer] – *to change*; p.p. mués XXXVIII, 9.  
 muy – LVI, 3 *modius, modern French muid*; a measure of solids and liquids equal to "52 litres 20 centilitres environ" (Robert Latouche, *Les origines de l'économie occidentale, Paris, 1956, p. 223, n. 4*).  
 neent – LVIII, 14 *nothing*.  
 nés – LXIII, 5 *boats*.  
 nierf – XXXVII, 4 var. a *dialectal form of nerf sinews*.  
 niés – XII, 1 *nephew*.  
 nigromance – IV, 6 *necromancy, magic*.  
 noeilleus – XXIII, 21 *knotty*.  
 noel – XXIII, 55 *kernel*.  
 noise – XIII, 3 *see bruit*.  
 noiz – XXIII, 55 *walnut*.  
 none – XXIII, 16 *the ninth hour, three o'clock in the afternoon, but here, as often, noon, translating (usque ad) meridiem (152, ii)*. Cf. F.E.W., 7:189 a, and especially 190 a.  
 ocire – *to kill*.  
 oi – XLI, 11 *pret. 1 of avoir*; ot XIV, 11 *pret. 3*.  
 or musique – LIX, 2 *gold mosaic*.  
 ostel – *house, home, dwelling-place*; XXVII, 4 seigneur d'ostel *householder, head of a house*; cf. L, 13.  
 [oster] – *pret. 3 osta* VI, 2 *drove out, expelled*. Cf. the Latin, 104, xii: *eiectis . . . de oppidis et urbibus*.  
 [otroier] – *to grant*; *pret. 6 otroierent* XIV, 50; with a + *infin.* II, 4.  
 ouvrier – LX, 10 *to act*.  
 paarroit – *see paroir*.  
 pailles – V, 11, LXII, 22 *silken cloths*.  
 par – *by, through, because of*; par .vii. anz LIX, 5 *over a period of, during*;

- par si que XXIII, 57 *with this understanding that*; par ce LVIII, 22 *because of this, wherefore*; par devant XXIX, 13 *before, in the presence of*.
- parçonner – LXI, 11 *partakers*.
- parmi – *prep.* XVII, 8 *amidst*; XXIII, 30, 68 (*par mi*) *through*; *adv.* LX, 13 *through it*.
- [paroir] – *to appear*; *cond.* 3 paarroit XIII, 16 var.; *pres. part.* parant XXXII, 4; au jour parant *at break of day*.
- paume – XXI, 12 *palm, palm's breadth, handbreadth*.
- [pener] – *to suffer, to labor*; *imperf. indic.* 3 penoit XLII, 4; *p.p.* pené LX, 9.
- perie – III, 3 var. *undeveloped, of no consequence*; *see note*.
- peser – *to weigh*; *pres. indic.* 3 poise LVIII, 16.
- pestre – XVI, 4 *to feed*; *p.p.* peu XVI, 2; *pret.* 5 peustes XVI, 10.
- peu – XVI, 2 *see pestre*.
- pié – XXXII, 10 *negative particle ne . . . pié no-one*.
- pieus – XLIV, 4 *pegs, stakes*.
- piez – XXI, 11 *a foot (in length)*. *The word translates the Latin cubitorium*; *see note*.
- piz – XLII, 6 *chest*.
- plains – XLIII, 19 *complaints, lamentations*.
- poing – XXXVI, 2 *the pommel (of a sword)*.
- pooir – *power, strength, authority, might*; L, 36 le pooir des .vii. arz *the property of the seven (liberal) arts*; LVI, 1 *ability*.
- porcet – LIX, 3 var. *galleries, arcades*.
- porche – LIX, 3 *gallery, arcade, corridor*; *cf. F.E.W., 9:223 b, s.v. porticus*.
- postreiz – LXI, 15 *powerful*.
- [pourparler] – *to talk over, to plot*; *p.p. fem.* pourparlee XXXI, 7.
- present – XXVI, 6 *then alive*.
- prison – XXIV, 2 *prisoners*.
- privez – IX, 12 *intimates, familiars, those privy (to him)*.
- pueur – XLV, 7 *offensive smell*.
- [puir] – *to smell offensively*; *pres. indic.* 3 put LXII, 30.
- puis – XIV, 38 *then, next*; XVI, 3, LXII, 37 *afterwards, since then*.
- pule – XVI, 8 var. *people*.
- put – *see puir*.
- quaque – XXXIV, 3 LXII, 22 *whatever, all that*.
- quant – I, 25 (*see note*), XVI, 6 (*see note*), XX, 9, LX, 8 *when (in a causal sense), because, considering the fact that, inasmuch as*.
- quarrel – XXI, 4 *quarrel, arrow, bolt (shot from a crossbow or an arbalest)*.
- que que – XXXII, 2 *conj. while*.
- quote – LXII, 29 *a form of cote tunic*.
- [racheter] – *to redeem*; *p.p.* rachatez IX, 5; *fut.* 5 racaterés XXXVIII, 16 var.
- rachetieres – XXXVIII, 16 *Redeemer*.
- raiz – XXIII, 54 *the spokes (of a wheel)*.
- [recorder] de aucune rien – *to remember something*; *pret.* 3 recorda LVIII, 22.

- reçut – XXXVII, 20 *p.p.* of recevoir to receive.  
 [rejehir] – to confess; *pres. indic.* 1 rejehis XXXVIII, 11, 16.  
 relevierres – XLIII, 7 helper, deliverer. See also *essaucierres*.  
 [remanoir ] – to remain; *pres. indic.* 4 remanons XLIII, 16; *pret.* 1 remés L, 2; *pret.* 6 remesent VI, 46 var.  
 remés – see remanoir.  
 [renoyer] – to deny; *fut.* 1 renoierai LXII, 13.  
 reont – XXXIII, 13 round.  
 [reparier] – to return; *pres. indic.* 6 reperent XIX, 12; *imperf. subj.* 6 reperassent XXXII, 19.  
 [reparier soi] – to return; *pret.* 1 m'en reperié XIV, 9; *pret.* 3 s'en repera VIII, 3, XXXI, 8; *past. ant.* 3 s'en fu reperié VI, 1.  
 [repondre] – to hide; *p.p.* reposte VII, 10, repost XIX, 6, XXXII, 5, XXXVII, 2.  
 [reposer] – to depose, put, consign, *pres. indic.* 3 repose XXXVIII, 13 (see note).  
 reposte – see repondre.  
 [requerre] – to request; *p.p.* requis LVIII, 23.  
 requis – see requerre.  
 [resplendir] – *intrans.* to shine, to be resplendent; *pres. part.* resplendissant XXXVI, 2; *trans.* to brighten, to make resplendent; *p.p.* resplendis XXXVI, 2 var. made resplendent, bright.  
 retorz – XXIII, 21 *p.p.* of retordre used as an *adj.*, bent at the end.  
 revelacion – XXIX, 3 revelation, the truth of Christ as revealed by Himself; see note.  
 reveler – XXV, 41 to rebel.  
 rien – LXII, 6 thing.  
 [rober] – to steal, to rob; *p.p.* robé LXII, 16; *pret.* 3 roba LXII, 5; *pret.* 6 roberent LXII, 22; to despoil Prol., 8.  
 rois de terre – I, 26 earthly kings; see note.  
 rolles – LXI, 13 scroll, depository.  
 rous – XXXIII, 12 bay (horse).  
 ruile – V, 10 rule; XLVII, 3 regular, subject to religious rule. For the form, see under *luies* and note to V, 10.  
 saeste(s) – XII, 8 (see note), XXI, 5 arrow(s).  
 saintuaires – V, 12 reliquaries.  
 samit – XV, 13 samite, heavy silk, satin.  
 sarqueu – LXI, 5 sarcophagus.  
 sauf – XLI, 14 saved, received into salvation.  
 [seeler] – to seal up; *pret.* 3 seela IV, 5.  
 [seignier] – to mark with a cross; *p.p.* seigniez XX, 9.  
 seignorie – XXIX, 10 preeminence, dignity.  
 sepouture – XXIX, 8, 12 burial place.  
 services de roy – XXVII, 6 services owed to the king, royal dues; see note.  
 servise des mors – LXI, 19 requiem.

- seu – *pret.* 1 of savoir LVIII, 25 I learned. Cf. soi.  
 seues – XXIX, 17 *p.p.* of savoir, understood.  
 si – *adv.* XXIII, 63, 71 and so; a correlative of a temporal clause XXV, 1, with sense so weakened as to correspond merely to a pause; cf. XXV, 22; correlative to a hypothetical clause LVI, 2 in that case, then; in a dependent question XXVIII, 2 how; thus, as you see XV, 9, 10; conj. XLIV, 9 var. until.  
 siege – *siege* LX, 3, y fu a siege besieged it.  
 sielt – *see* soloir.  
 sifetement – XLII, 1 thus.  
 sires – XLIII, 7 li sires d'armes excelling all others in arms.  
 soi – LVIII, 18, 30 *pret.* 1 of savoir I learned, I found out about.  
 [soloir] – to be accustomed; *pres. indic.* 3 sielt VI, 12 var., XXXVII, 9.  
 soufrance – XVI, 6 var. lack, want.  
 soufrete – XVI, 6 lack, want.  
 soutenance – XVI, 7 sustenance.  
 tabours – XXV, 13, 21 drums.  
 [tapir] – to hide; *p.p.* tapi XX, 9 hidden.  
 [temprer] – to temper; *p.p.* tempree L, 32 var.  
 tenses – XIII, 11 var. *trans.* to dispute, contest, defend.  
 timbres – XXV, 13 tambourines.  
 tondu – haut tondu XV, 9 tonsured. Cf. T.-L., 4:1019, ll. 18 ff., and see too coroné above.  
 tout, dou tout – L, 26 *adv.* with positive sense, entirely, completely.  
 [trainer] – to drag; *p.p.* tranez XLIV, 21; *imperf. subj.* 3 trainast XLIV, 23.  
 tref – XLIII, 20 tent.  
 trere – XXXVIII, 11 to pull, draw; *imperf. indic.* 6 treoient XXV, 25; *pret.* 3 trest XXXIII, 9, XXXV, 9; *refl.* to withdraw; *pret.* 6 se trerent XXV, 19, XXXII, 17.  
 tres dont que – LVIII, 25 var. conj. after, from the time when, since.  
 trestouz – L, 24 every single one, all.  
 treu – XXXI, 2, LXIII, 2 tribute.  
 trives – XIV, 46, XXIII, 16 truce.  
 trop – XIII, 15 very much.  
 turcoples – LXI, 16 exceedingly strong (see note).  
 ullemenz – XLI, 5 howls, ululations.  
 uller – XXV, 31 to howl, to ululate.  
 valeur – LX, 10 worthiness.  
 veoir – to see; *imperat.* 2nd pers. pl. veez XXXIII, 12.  
 verge – XXVII, 9 pastoral staff (sign of the bishop's office).  
 [verser] – *v.n.* to topple down; *pret.* 3 versa XXV, 30.  
 vesqui – *see* vivre.  
 vielment – XV, 21 var. meanly, wretchedly. Cf. viels.  
 viels – XXXVIII, 20 var. vile, worthless; a Picard form.  
 viez – L, 35 old.



vis – XXXIV, 7 *alive*.

vis – XXXVIII, 16; *see* vivre.

vivre – *to live*; *pret.* 3 vesqui LIX, 10; *pres. indic.* 2 vis XXXVIII, 16.

voie – *par voie* XLV, 7 *along the way*. *For the use of voie without the article*  
*cf. Brunetto Latini, Tresor, ed. Carmody, 2, LXIII, 73, encoste voie.*

voloir – *to wish, to want, to will*; *pret.* 3 vost XIV, 16.

vost – *see* voloir.

# Index of Proper Names

For many of the place names, corrupted in transmission (cf. Introduction, p. 35), I give in brackets the form of the name as it appears in Mr. C. Meredith-Jones's edition of the Latin "A" texts. I abbreviate *Charlemainne* to *Ch.*, and occasionally refer to my edition of the "Johannes" Turpin (Univ. of California Press, 1976) as *Johannes*.

- Absalon. *Absalom, David's son*, XLIII, 15.  
Abule (*Abula*). *Abla*, III, 15.  
Acension, le jour de l'. *Ascension Day*, LIX, 4.  
Adame (*Adania*). III, 12, 37. *Not surely identified; see Johannes, s.v. Adanie.*  
Agaibe (*Agabiba Insula*). *Zerbi, an island off Tunis*, III, 19.  
Agoulant. *A Saracen king from Africa*, Prol., 4, 7. *Invades Spain*, VI, 2, 28.  
*His war against Ch., his ultimate defeat and death*, VI, 32–XVII.  
Ais la Chapelle. *Aachen. Ch. goes there from Paris, builds there the hot baths and raises and adorns the church of Sainte-Marie*, L, 31 ff. *His soul endangered there*, LVIII, 9. *Ch. buried there in the church of Sainte-Marie-la-Ronde*, LVIII, 29.  
Ais, la cité d'. *Aix-en-Gascogne, the modern Dax*, Prol., 11. *Ais en Gascoigne; the church of Sainte-Marie founded there by Ch.*, V, 14 (*here the Latin has Aquisgranum*, 104, iv; *Mouskés agrees with P1, P2: v. 6525*).  
Alagne (*Malaguae*). *Málaga*, III, 13.  
Alaudaluf (*Alandaluf*). *Andalucía*, III, 22, IV, 2. *Alandalus*, XXV, 38, *given after the conquest of Spain to the Germans in Ch.'s army.*  
Alcore (*Alcoror*). *Alcoraz*, III, 20.  
Alemaigne. *Germany*, I, 9, 15.  
Alemanz (*Theutonicis*). *The Germans in Ch.'s army. Given Andalucía after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 39.  
Alerne, la terre d' (*terra Alavae*). *Álava*, LXIII, 9.  
Aleschans a Arle. *The Alyscamps at Arles*, XLVI, 2. *The Burgundians carry their dead to be buried in the A.*, XLIX, 5.  
Algene (*oppidum forissimum Alegen*). *Alegón*, III, 12.  
Alixandre (*Alexandriae*). *Alexandria*, VII, 3. *See also Sarre.*  
Altacore (*Alcancora*). *Zamora*, III, 7.  
Altente. III, 5. *The name is probably a corruption of Alte Cité. The Latin reads (96, i-ii): Medinacelim, id est urbs excalsa. The last two words must have given our translator Alte Cité. Later, a copyist could easily have read cité as nte. Mouskés too was in trouble here: Altetite, v. 11988; his error too seems to be a corruption out of Alte Cité.*  
Amphimore (*Anphinorgium*). *A leader in Agolant's army*, VII, 4. *The Latin calls him regem Maioricae, king of Majorca.*

- Angeliers. *Duke of Aquitania*, XII, 7, 9, XIII, 5. *By descent, a Gascon*, XII, 10. *Buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 2. Engeliers, XII, 14.
- Angiers. *See* Miles d'A.
- Anxe, la cité qu'en apele (*Axa*). *Dax*, V, 15.
- Apocalypse. *The Apocalypse*, XXIX, 14.
- Aquitainne<sub>1</sub>. *Aquitania*, I, 15, XII, 8, 9, 13.
- Aquitaine<sub>2</sub>, la cité de (*urbis Aquitaniae*). *An unknown city, but carefully situated by the Pseudo-Turpin*, XII, 11 ff.
- Arabites. *The name given to the elite Saracen troops of Bizerta*, III, 18.
- Aragone. *Aragón, given after the conquest of Spain to the Poitevins in Ch.'s army*, XXV, 38.
- Arestans. *King of Brittany*, XII, 6, XIII, 5, XVII, 5. *Arestains, buried in Belin*, XLVII, 9.
- Argue (*Arga*). *The river Arga. See Pont and Rune*.
- Arle. *Arles, site of the cemetery of the Alyscamps*, XLVI, 2. *Charles reaches there on his return from Spain*, XLIX, 2. *Its poor endowed by Ch.*, XLIX, 11.
- Arrabe (*Arabum*). *The translator (P1, P2, Mouskés, v. 4999, agree here) has taken Arabum (probably the gen. plur. of Arabs, possibly the accus. sing. of the adj. Arabus) as the name of a place*, VII, 2. *See too Terefin*.
- Ascalone (*Escalona*). *Escalona*, III, 12.
- Atentive (*Accintina*). *Gaudix el Viejo*, III, 15.
- Auberi de Bergoigne. XII, 24. *A. le Bergoignon, buried in the Alyscamps*, XLIX, 7.
- Aufrique. *Africa*, VI, 1, LXIII, 13.
- Aumarie (*Almaria*). *Almería*, III, 20.
- Aure (*Iriam*). *See* Ure.
- Aurele (*Aureliae*). *Aurelia? or Oreja?* III, 13.
- Aurenne (*Aurenias*). *Orense*, III, 2.
- Auscale (*Auschala*). *Alcalá de Henares*, III, 3.
- Avile (*Avilla*). *Avila*, III, 6.
- Babyloine, li amiranz de (*Babilonis Admirandus*). *The Emir of Babylon (Old Cairo, capital of the Fatimite empire)*, XXI, 3. *Li amirauz de B.*, XXX, 5.
- Baione (*Baionam*). *Bayonne*, VI, 7. *Cf. Laione. Invading peoples sent by Caesar burn their boats on landing there*, LXIII, 5, 8.
- Baiviere. *Bavaria*, I, 9. *See also* Naimes.
- Baliganz. *King, sent from Persia to Saragossa by the emir of Babylon*, XXX, 5. *With Marsiles suborns Ganelon*, XXXI, 2 ff. *They attack the French rear-guard*, XXXII, 3. *At the death of Marsile, B. flees*, XXXV, 1 and is heard of no more.
- Barbarie (*Barbaria*). *Barbary*, III, 19, VII, 4 (*cf.* Fatuel).
- Barbastre (*Barbastra*). *Barbastro*, III, 11.
- Barbetoe (*Hora Barbagalli*). *Berbegal*, III, 13. *See also* Hore.
- Bascle (*Basclam*). *The land of the Basques*, I, 16. III, 24 *la terre de Bascle*

- (*tellus Basclorum*). Baione, une cité de B., VI, 7. *Given to the Bretons after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 36.
- Baudouyn. *Roland's brother*, XII, 17. *Escapes the defeat at Roncevaux alive*, XXXII, 15. *Hides in the forest with Thierry*, XXXV, 1. *Finds Roland, and seeks water for him*, XXXVII, 13 ff. *Leaves Roland, taking with him R.'s horse and sword*, XXXVII, 16 ff., XLII, 1.
- Bechie (*Baetia*). Baeza, III, 14. Cf. Betie.
- Bede (*Ubeda*). Ubeda, III, 14. *See also Ubele*.
- Begues. XII, 24. *Buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 4.
- Belin, le chastel. *Belin, where Oliver and other heroes were buried*, XLVII, 8, 10.
- Bellarige (*Bellariga*). Berlanga, III, 5.
- Berengier. XII, 25. *Buried in the Alyscamps*, XLIX, 8.
- Bergoignons. *The Burgundians; Ch. meets with them in Arles on their homeward journey*, XLIX, 3.
- Bergoine. *Burgundy*, I, 10. *See also Sanses, Auberi*.
- Bernarz de Nubles (*Bernardus de Nublis*). XII, 24. *Buried in the Alyscamps*, XLIX, 8.
- Betie (*Baetia*). Baeza, XXV, 5. Cf. Bechie.
- Biaulande. *See Ernaut*.
- Biscarre (*Tellus Biscatorum*). Vizcaya, III, 24, LXIII, 8 (*terra Biscasgiae*).
- Bist (*Bisertum*). Bizerta, III, 17.
- Blaive (*Blavii*). Blaye, XII, 2. *See also Rollant*. *Blaves, Roland borne there for burial*, XLVII, 2; *Blaives*, XLVII, 7, XLIX, 1.
- Blaves. *See Blaive*.
- Boaire qui citez est [en] Barbarie (*Boaram quae est urbs in Barbaria*). Oran, III, 19.
- Boourges. *Bourges*, XII, 11, 12. *See also Lambert*.
- Bordiaus. *See Gaifiers; les Landes de Bordiaus*, XIII, 1. *The cemetery there*, XLVI, 2. *See also Severin*.
- Borriane ([*Hora*] *Burrianae*). Burriana, III, 13. *See Hore*.
- Bougie (*Bugiae*). Bougie, VII, 3, VIII, 28. *See also Nivot and Hongrie*.
- Brandiz. *Brindisi*, I, 10.
- Bretaigne (*MS A1: Berta; mention of B. is lacking in A6, A10, Arras MS 163*). *Berte, Bertain. Roland's mother, Ch.'s sister*, XII, 2.
- Bretaigne. *Brittany*, I, 10, XII, 6, 7.
- Bretons (*Britannis*). *Bretons. Given the land of the Navarrese and Basques after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 36.
- Brutoise (*Petroissa*). El Pedroso, III, 14.
- Burs (*Burgas*). Burgos, III, 9.
- Caire, l'iaue de (*Charanta*). *The Charente*, VIII, 17.
- Caparre (*Caparra*). III, 37. *See Gapte*.
- Carroges (*Kalagurria*). Calahorra, III, 9.
- Carthage (*Kirago*). Carteya, III, 20.

- Cartons (*Karcesa*), III, 8. *See* Ventouse.
- Castele (*tellus Castellianorum*). *Castile*, III, 23.
- Cavalais (*Canalias*). *Canales*, III, 4.
- Cebreon roy de Sebile (*Ebraum regem Cibiliae*). *A leader in Agolant's army*, VII, 4. *Escapes alive from the battle of Pamplona*, XVII, 11. *Hebraïns li rois de Sebile, yields Cordres to Ch. and becomes a Christian*, XXV, 1. *Slain*, XXV, 31.
- Cesar Augustes. *Augustus*, XII, 12.
- Cesaranguste (*Caesaraugustae*). *Saragossa. Given to the Apulians in Ch.'s army after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 37. *Cesairauguste, Marsile and Baligant reside there*, XXX, 4. *Cesarraguste, scene of Ch.'s avenging defeat of the Saracens*, XLIV, 14. *Invading peoples sent by Caesar advance towards it but are driven back*, LXIII, 5. *See also* Sarragonne.
- Charlemainne (Charles, Charle). *Incipit et passim. Conquered all Spain*, III, 30 ff. *Emperor of Rome*, XXX, 1. *Returns to war against Agolant*, VI-XIX, *against Fourré*, XX, *against Fernagu*, XXI-XXIV, *against Hebraïns*, XXV. *Organizes Spain and Compostela after his conquest*, XXVI-XXIX. *His betrayal and vengeance at Roncevaux*, XXX, 3-XLIV. *Endowments on behalf of the souls of the dead*, XLV-L, 31. *His benefactions at Aix*, L, 31-LVII. *His death*, LVIII. *Seeks help from Roland when besieging Worms*, LX, 6. *In heaven*, LXI, 10. *The meaning of his name*, LXI, 14. *What happened in Spain after his death*, LXII, 2 ff.
- Charles li Chaus. *Charles le Chauve*, III, 34.
- Charles Martiaus. *Charles Martel*, III, 34.
- Cire. *See* Sire.
- Cisimus (*Visunilia*). *Viseu*, III, 1.
- Climent, saint C. li aposteles (*Clemens papa*). *Pope Clement I; gave all France in freehold to the Abbey of Saint-Denis*, L, 8.
- Clovis. *Clovis*, III, 3.
- Clotaires. *Clotaire I*, III, 33.
- Colimbre (*Colimbria*). *Coïmbra*, III, 1.
- Conpostele (*Compostella*). *Santiago de Compostela*, III, 3. *Ch. calls a council there and makes it a metropolitan see*, XXVI, 5. *Its place of honor in Christendom*, XXVIII, 1 ff. *It is second only to Rome*, XXIX, 8.
- Cordes (*Corduba*). *Córdoba*, III, 15, XXV, 3, 4, 6, 17, 19. *See too* Cordres.
- Cordres, l'aumaçour de (*Altumaior Cordubae*). *The aumaçour of Córdoba; for aumaçour see the Glossary. Prol.*, 12, VII, 5. *Escapes alive from the battle of Pamplona*, XVII, 11. *Annihilates Christian despoilers after the battle*, XIX, 5. *Awaits Ch. at Cordres*, XXV, 1. *Escapes after the battle there and surrenders the city to Ch.*, XXV, 32. *He - or another? - leads a devastating raid as far as Compostela*, LXII. *St. James smites him with blindness*, LXII, 10. *Amiranz*, LXII, 18. *See too* Cordes.
- Cornualois (*Cornubilandos*). *Cornishmen*, LXIII, 2.
- Costentins, prevost de Rome. XII, 22, XIII, 6, le roy C., XVII, 6. C. de Rome,

- fights Fernagu and is taken prisoner, XXII, 3. C. li prevolz de Rome, carried to Rome by sea for burial, XLIX, 9.*
- Crestiens. *The Christian forces under Ch., II, 10 et passim. Christians in general, passim.*
- Dagouberz. *Dagobert I, III, 33.*
- Danemarche. *See Ogier.*
- Danois. *The Danes in Ch.'s army; given Portugal after the conquest, XXV, 39.*
- David. *David, King of Israel, XLIII, 14.*
- Denie (*Denia*). *Denia, XXV, 4.*
- Denis, saint. *St. Denis. Ch. offers thanks to him in his abbey for his help, L, 6. Prays before his shrine, L, 15. Calls him the advocate for France in the Faith, and prays that he will be advocate for the slain heroes before God, L, 18. Appears to Ch. in a vision, L, 23.*
- Denis, Saint. *The Abbey of Saint-Denis. Ch. goes there to offer thanks for his victory, L, 6. Ch. gives all France in freehold to the Abbey, L, 8. Places it in authority in France over kings and bishops, L, 9, and over the pope's jurisdiction, L, 12. Those who pay a yearly donation are to be called "frans Saint-Denise," L, 28.*
- Des Chans (*De Campis*). *Tierra de Campos, on the Cea, scene of the first battle against Agolant and of the first miracle of the lances, VI, 29.*
- Dume (*Dumia*). *Dumia, III, 1.*
- Durance (*Sordrae*). *Durance, V, 15. But the name is a corruption; no doubt, of de Sorge or de Sorges (Sorde, in the Basses Pyrénées), probably caused in the first place by the agglutination of the first syllable of Sorges with de, giving desor and an unrecognizable proper name, resolved, not unnaturally, as that of a river.. Mouskés has the same erroneous reading, v. 6532.*
- Durendal. *Roland's sword, XXIII, 9. Roland addresses it, XXXV, 9 ff. The sword buried at his head, XLVII, 3.*
- Ebre, l'iaue de. *The Ebro, XLIV, 14.*
- Elis roy de Marath (*Ailis, regem Marrohc*). *A leader in Agolant's army, VII, 4.*
- Emeride (*Emerita*). *Mérida, III, 7.*
- Engeliers. *See Angeliers.*
- Engleterre. *England, conquered by Ch., I, 9.*
- Engolesme. *Angoulême, XII, 13.*
- Eniche (*Evicia*). *Iviza, one of the Balearic islands, III, 19.*
- Ephese. *Ephesus. Converted by St. John, XXVII, 14. Its place of honor in Christendom, XXVIII, 1 ff. One of the three greatest sees in Christendom, XXIX, 1. Third among these, XXIX, 12 ff.*
- Erinne (*Ervina*). *La Coruña, III, 3.*
- Ernaut de Biaulande. *XII, 18, XIII, 3, XVII, 4. Slays Agolant, XVII, 7. Buried in the Alysamps, XLIX, 6.*
- Es. *See Maximiens.*
- Escors (*Scotos*). *Scots, LXIII, 1.*

- Espaigne. *Spain*. Prol. 3 et passim. *Made subject to the metropolitan see of Compostela*, XXVII, 3. *Conquered by Ch. a l'onneur Dieu et saint Jaque*, XXX, 2.
- Estoile (*Stella*). *Estella*, III, 9.
- Estormiz. XII, 25. *Estourmiz, buried in the Alyscamps*, XLIX, 7.
- Estouz de Lengres, filz au conte Odon. *Count of Langres*, XII, 5. *The companion of Salemon*, XII, 16, XIII, 4. *Buried in the Alyscamps*, XLIX, 6.
- Esturges (*Asturga*). *Astorga*, III, 8.
- Eutropes de Saintes. *St. Eutropius of Saintes*, XLVI, 5.
- Fagon, saint. *St. Facundus*, Prol., 5. *An abbey founded in his name*, VI, 30.
- Fatuel, roi de Barbarie (*Fatunum regem Barbariae*). *A leader in Agolant's army*, VII, 3.
- Fernaguz (*Ferracutus*). *A giant from Syria, descended from Goliath*, XXI, 1. *His challenge and the ensuing combats*, XXI, 4 ff. *Against Roland*, XXIII, 1 ff. *His death*, XXIII, 66.
- Flamens. *The Flemings in Ch.'s army; given Portugal after the conquest*, XXV, 39.
- Formentine (*Formenceria*). *Formentera, one of the Balearic islands*, III, 19.
- Fourré. *A Saracen prince of Navarre*, Prol., 7, XX, 2 ff. *Slain in battle*, XX, 10.
- France. *France, conquered by Ch.*, I, 9, 15 et passim. *Why its name was changed from Gaule*, L, 27 ff., LXI, 4.
- François. *The French in Ch.'s army. Given Castile after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 36. *Unwilling to settle in Galicia*, XXV, 39, XLIII, 9. *Why so named*, L, 27 ff.
- Françoises. *French women in the French army at Pamplona*, XXXI, 23.
- Frise. *Frisia*, I, 14. *See also Gondebuef*.
- Frisons. *Frisians*, LX, 5.
- Frontins de Pierregort. *St. Frontinus of Périgueux*, XLVI, 4.
- Gaibe (*Agaiæ*). VII, 3 (*Agabiae*), VIII, 28. *See Hospinel and Agaibe*.
- Gaifiers, li rois de Bordiaus. XII, 15. G. rois de Gascoigne (*Gaiferus rex burdegalensis*), *buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 1.
- Galafre. *King of Toledo, whom Ch. served as a youth while in exile*, XIV, 12.
- Galice. *Galicia in Spain*, I, 6. *Too rude a country for the French to settle in*, XXV, 39. *Made subject to the metropolitan see of Compostela*, XXVII, 3. *Its church one of the three greatest sees in Christendom*, XXIX, 2.
- Gandlois. *Vandals*, LX, 5.
- Ganelon. *See Guenes*.
- Gapte (*Caparra*). *Ventas de Caparra*, III, 8. *See too Caparre*.
- Garin. *See Guarin*.
- Garuth (*Tharuph*). *Tarifa*, III, 21.
- Gascoigne. *Gascony*, I, 16, XIV, 8, XLIX, 2.
- Gaule. *Why the name was changed to France*, L, 29 ff.
- Gautier de Termes. XII, 23. *Buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 3. *See also Termes*.

- Geliers. XII, 16. *Buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 3.
- Gene, la cité de (*civitatem Gasconiam Agenni*). *Agén*. *Captured by Agolant*, VII, 6. *Ch. visits him there in disguise*, VII, 9 ff. *Recaptured by Ch.*, VIII, 7 ff.
- Gennes. XII, 5. *Geneva, Genoa . . . ? It is not sure what place the poets, and those who borrowed from them, meant by Gennes. See Renier, and also Johannes, note to XXIII, 7.*
- Gerins. XII, 16. *Buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 3.
- Geronde (*Gerunda*). *Gerona*, III, 11.
- Gesir (*Gesir*). *Algeciras*, III, 21.
- Gilbatare (*Gilbalaria*). *Gibraltar*, III, 20.
- Gironde (*Garonnam*). *The Gironde, the lower Garonne*, VIII, 10.
- Glarame (*Klarrava*). *Calatrava*, III, 6.
- Glatan (*Klatathus*). *Calatayud*, III, 9.
- Godelfaz (*Godelfacar*). *Guadalajara*, III, 4.
- Godiane (*Godiana*). *Guadiana (the river, its name mistaken for that of a town)*, III, 7.
- Gondebuef, le roy de Frise. XII, 17, XIII, 5, XVII, 6. *Buried in Belin*, XLVII, 8.
- Goulias. *Goliath, ancestor of Fernagu*, XXI, 2.
- Granande (*Grananda*). *Granada*, III, 15. *Gar (Granda)*, XXV, 4 (*cf. P2: Granace*).
- Granopole (*Granopolim*). LX, 3 ff. *Grenoble? Nobles? See note to Chapter LX.*
- Grieus (*Graecis*). *The Greeks in Ch.'s army; receive the territory of Nadres after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 37.
- Grifonnie. *Particularly, the land of the Byzantine Greeks; more generally, that of the Eastern peoples against whom the crusades were directed*, LXI, 20.
- Guarin, dus de Lorainne. XII, 23. *Garins, buried in Belin*, XLVII, 9.
- Guenes qui puis fist la traïson. *Ganelon*, XII, 25. *Sent as ambassador to Saragossa, his treachery and punishment*, XXXI, 1–XLIV, 24.
- Guillaume (*Guillelmus*). XII, 23. *Buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 3.
- Guimars. XII, 24. *Buried in the Alysamps*, XLIX, 7.
- Haste (*Hato*). XII, 25. *Othes (so too Mouskés, v. 9144), buried in the Alysamps*, XLIX, 9.
- Hebraïns li rois de Sebile (*Ebraum, rex Sibiliae*). *See Cebreon.*
- Herode. *King Herod the Great*, I, 5.
- Hoel de Nantes. *See Hoiaus de Nantes.*
- Hoiaus de Nantes. XII, 18. *Hoel de N. Fights Fernagu and is taken prisoner*, XXII, 3. *Hoiaus li quens, taken to Nantes for burial*, XLVIII, 4.
- Hongrie (*Bugia*). *Bougie*, III, 18.
- Hore. III, 12. *See note.*
- Hospinel roy de Gaïbe (*Hospinum, regem Agaïae*). *A leader in Agolant's*



- army, VII, 3. *Agaiæ* is the *A* text reading for *Agabibæ*. Cf. *Agaiæ* (*Agabiba Insula*).
- Ispale, III, 3. *A corruption of In Hispania* (94, xvii), by which the *Pseudo-Turpin* meant: "after the list of towns taken in Galicia, here is the list of those captured in Spain"; *Mouskés* is in similar error: *Yspale*, v. 11985.
- Israël, le pueple. *Led through the Red Sea*, LX, 14.
- Jace (*Jacka*). *Jaca*, III, 10.
- Jadrite (*Madrita*). *Madrid*, III, 4.
- Jaque, saint. *St. James the Greater*, Incipit, Prol., 1. *Preached the gospel in Spain, martyred by Herod in Jerusalem, borne back to Galicia and buried there*, I, 21 ff. *Brings about the miraculous fall of Pamplona to Ch.*, II, 5 ff. *Ch. visits his shrine*, II, 12. *His miraculous aid brings about the fall of Luiserne*, III, 26 ff. *For love of St. J. Ch. favors the church in Compostela*, XXVI, 5. *The evangelist in Spain and Galicia*, XXVII, 14. *One of the three principal apostles*, XXIX, 3; *second among these*, XXIX, 8. *Rescues Ch.'s soul from evil spirits*, LVIII, 14 ff. *Causes disease to fall on the Saracen raiders in Compostela*, LXII, 9. *Jacques Sans Teste, more merciful than San Ramón*, LXII, 32 ff.
- Jaque, Saint. *Le moustier S. J., founded by Ch.*, V, 9. *St. J.'s in Toulouse also*, V, 14; *in Paris*, V, 16. *Monseigneur Saint J., the church of St. J. in Compostela, honored and enriched by Ch.*, XXVI, 1. *Its archbishop made metropolitan in Spain*, XXVI, 4 ff. *Named an apostolic see*, XXVII, 6. *Plundered by the aumaçor de Cordres*, LXII, 5 ff.
- Jaque, saint. *La voie Saint Jaque, the way of St. James*, I, 14, XIII, 8, XIV, 5, XIX, 2.
- Jehan. *St. John, brother of St. James*, I, 22. *His church seur Durance, q.v., that is, de Sorde, founded by Ch.*, V, 15. *Evangelized the East*, XXVII, 13. *One of the three principal apostles*, XXIX, 3.
- Jericho. LX, 15.
- Joieuse (*Gaudiosam*). *Ch.'s sword*, VI, 53, XXV, 29.
- Jonatas. *Jonathon, Saul's son*, XLIII, 4, 15.
- Judas. *Judas, with whose betrayal of Christ is compared Ganelon's betrayal of Ch.*, XXXI, 21, XXXVII, 12.
- Judas le Machabé. *Judas Maccabeus*, XLIII, 3. *Judas Machabieu, in his memory Ch. endows the poor of Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 7.
- Jude (*Tuda*). *Tuy*, III, 2.
- Julius Cesar. LXIII, 1.
- Karyon (*Kirrionem*). *Carrion de los Condes*, III, 8.
- Laione (*Baiona*). *Bayonne*, III, 10. Cf. *Baione*.
- Lambert, prince de Boourges (*Lambertus princeps bituricensis A1*). XII, 21. *L. roy de B. (L. rex bituricensis), buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, XLVIII, 2.
- Landes de Bordiaus. *The Landes of Gascony*, XIII, 2.
- Latyone (*Barcinona*). *Barcelona*, III, 12. *Mouskés: Baltione*, v. 12009.

- Lengres. *See* Estouz.
- Limoges. XII, 11. Lymoges, XII, 13.
- Loheraine. *Lorraine*, I, 9. *Lorraine*, XII, 23; *see* Guarin.
- Lombardie. *Italy*, I, 10, 15 (*see note*), VI, 55.
- Lormon roy de Ynec (*Maimonem regem Mequae*). *A leader in Agolant's army*, VII, 4. *See too* Ynec.
- Luque (*Lucum*). *Lugo*, III, 2.
- Luserne (*Lucerna*). *The name occurs three times in our Chapter III; here they are, with the scribe's own punctuation: Luserne, Ventouse qu'en apele Cartons et si est en Val Vert*, III, 7; *la cité de Luserne en Val Vert*, III, 26; *Luiserne Ventouse*, III, 37. *The problem of the identity of Luserne, Ventose, Cartons (Karcasa) is discussed in Johannes, note to Chapter X*, 12.
- Lymoges. XII, 13.
- Lyon (*Legio*). *León, capital of the province of León*, III, 8. *Agolant withdraws there after his first defeat*, VI, 56.
- Mahius, saint. *Saint Matthew, the apostle, who evangelized Nadavre, q.v.*, LXIII, 13.
- Mahonmet. *Mohammed. An idol in his likeness*, ProL., 3. *Mahomet*, IV, 5; *qui fu mesagier Dieu*, XIV, 20. *Commands lesser gods*, XIV, 21, 24. *Fernagu calls on him (Mahoumet, Mahomet) for help*, XXIII, 69. *The aumaçor de Cordres driven to deny him*, LXII, 13.
- Maience<sub>1</sub> (?). III, 14. *The name is corrupt; see note.*
- Maience<sub>2</sub> (*Magontiam*). *Mayence. The bridge built by Ch. there over the Rhine collapses as a portent of his death*, LIX, 5.
- Maquede (*Maqueta*). *Maqueda*, III, 4.
- Marath (*Marroch*). *Morocco*, VII, 4. *See too* Elis.
- Marie. *The Virgin Mary. Her church at Aix-en-Gascoigne founded by Ch.*, V, 13 (*see* Ais, *la cité d'*); *la Vierge*, XXIII, 38; *la glorieuse pucele Vierge Marie*, XXIII, 64. *Christ's mother*, XXXVIII, 15.
- Marie, Sainte. *The church of Sainte-Marie in Aix-la-Chapelle built by Ch.*, L, 33. *Sainte-Marie la Reonde, Ch. buried there*, LVIII, 28.
- Marsilles. *King Marsile, sent from Persia to Saragossa by the emir of Babylon*, XXX, 5. *With Baliganz, suborns Ganelon*, XXXI, 5. *They attack the French rearguard*, XXXII, 3. *Slain by Roland*, XXXIII, 9 ff. *In a vision, Turpin sees him carried off to hell*, XLI, 8 ff.
- Martiaus de Limoges. *St. Martial of Limoges*, XLVI, 4. *See also* Lymoges.
- Maximien, esvesques d'Es (*Maximini Aquensis*). *Maximin, bishop of Aix-en-Provence*, XLVI, 3 (*see Johannes, note to Chapter LXVI*, 4).
- Meloide (*Melodia*). *Melita, on the island of Zerbi*, III, 19.
- Meurs (*tellus Maurorum*). *Moors*, III, 23, VII, 2.
- Michieus. *The archangel Michael*, XLI, 9, 12.
- Miles d'Angiers (*Milo de Angleris*). *The dus et mestre of Ch.'s army as it goes to meet Agolant*, VI, 4, 28. *His death*, VI, 50. *Roland's father*, XII, 2.

- Mindoine (*Mindonia*). *Mondoñedo*, III, 2.
- Mirade (*Miracula*). *Milagro*, III, 9.
- Moabites (*Moabitas*). *The Almoravids, a contingent in Agolant's army*, VII, 2.
- Monjardin (*Montem Garzini, MS A10*). *Monjardin. Site of the battle against Fourré, between Estella and Logroño*, XX, 1. *Taken by Ch.*, XX, 14. *Those who died in the oratory there, buried in France*, XLVI, 6.
- Monmartre. *Monmartre, in Paris*, V, 16.
- Morlens (*Morlanum*). *Morlaas (Basses Pyrénées). The Burgundians pass through M. on their way from Roncevaux to Arles*, XLIX, 3.
- Nadavre, *une cité qui fu en Aufrique (no appositional phrase in the Latin). A city from which the Navarrese took their name*, LXIII, 12, 13.
- Nadres. *See Navre*.
- Naimés, *li dus de Bavieres*. XII, 19. *Buried in the Alysescamps*, XLIX, 8.
- Nantes. *See Hoiaus*.
- Nasres. *See Navre*.
- Navarre. 1, 16, III, 23, VI, 24. *Ch. takes the whole province*, XX, 15. *Given to the Bretons after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 36.
- Navars (*Navarri*). *The Navarrese; how they got their name*, LXIII, 11, 13.
- Navre (*Nageram*). *Nájera*, Prol., 8. *Nadres (Lageras)*, III, 9. *Fernagu awaits Ch. there*, XXI, 1, 6. *The territory of Nazres given to the Greeks in Ch.'s army after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 37. *Nasres*, LXIII, 8.
- Nivot, *roy de Bougie (Nuitum regem Bugiae). A leader in Agolant's army*, VII, 3.
- Nourmaise (*Warmatiae*). *Worms*, LX, 4.
- Nubiliens (*Nubilianos*). *Nubians*, LXIII, 1.
- Nubles. *See Bernarz*.
- Odon (*Eudonis*). *Eude, father of Estouz, q.v.*, XII, 6.
- Ogier, *roy de Danemarche*. XII, 19: *toutjours chantera l'en mes de lui*; XIII, 6. *O. le Danois*, XVII, 6. *Fights Fernagu and is made prisoner*, XXI, 8. *Buried in Belin*, XLVII, 8.
- Oliviers, *filz au conte Renier de Gennes (Oliverius . . . comes gebennensis, filius Raineri comitis)*. *Oliver*, XII, 4. *His body found*, XLIV, 3. *Buried in Belin*, XLVII, 8. *The meaning of his name*, LXI, 13.
- Osche (*Oscas*). *Huesca*, III, 10.
- Osine (*Osma*). *Osma*, III, 5.
- Othes. *See Haste*.
- Oventin (*Ovetum*). *Oviedo*, III, 8.
- Ozius (*Orniz*). *La Hornija, in the province of Valladolid*, LXII, 20.
- Palalabre (*tellus Palargarum*). *Apparently the settlement of a Moslem community in northern Spain*, III, 24.
- Palence (*Palentia*). *Palencia*, III, 7.
- Panpelune. *Pamplona*, Prol., 2. *Besieged by Ch.*, II, 1. *Captured through miraculous intervention of St. James*, II, 6 ff., III, 10. *Agolant withdraws thither from Saintes*, IX, 1. *The main French army approaches*, XIII, 4.

- The events culminating in Agolant's defeat and death there*, XIII, 9–XIX, 1. *Ch. halts there on his way back to France*, XXX, 3. LXIII, 8.
- Paris. *Ch. founds there the church of St. James*, V, 16. *Returns there from Spain*, L, 4. *The people convey him there from Saint-Denis*, L, 23.
- Paul de Nerbone. *St. Paul of Narbonne*, XLVI, 4.
- Pepins. *Pépin II, d'Héristal*, III, 34.
- Perron, Le (*Petronum*). *El Padrón, the place to which St. James's body was miraculously borne from Jerusalem. Charles goes there and marks it as the limit of his conquest*, II, 13. Cf. Ure.
- Perse. *Persia*, XXX, 5.
- Perses (*Persas*). *Persians, a contingent in Agolant's army*, VII, 2.
- Pharaon. *Pharoah, overwhelmed in the Red Sea*, LX, 14.
- Pierre. *St. Peter. One of the three principal apostles*, XXIX, 3. *He is first among these*, XXIX, 6.
- Pigtavie (*in urbe Pictavorum*). *Poitiers*, XII, 10. See also Poitiers.
- Pinabel. *Ganelon's nephew, takes his part in trial by combat, is defeated and dragged to his death by horses*, XLIV, 20. See note.
- Poitevins. *The Poitevins in Ch.'s army who were given Aragón after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 38.
- Poitiers. XII, 11, 13. See also Pigtavie.
- Pol, saint. *St. Paul, who, long before Ch., gave all France in freehold to the Abbey of Saint-Denis*, L, 8.
- Pont d'Argue (*pontem Argae*). *Puente-la-Reina*, XIX, 2.
- Portingal (*tellus Portugallorum*). *Portugal*, III, 22. *Given to the Danes and Flemings after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 39.
- Primitif, saint (*Primitivus*). *Saint Primitivus, in whose name an abbey was founded*, VI, 31.
- Puillois (*Apulis*). *The Apulians in Ch.'s army. They are given Saragossa after the conquest of Spain*, XXV, 38. *Buried with Constantine in Rome*, XLIX, 10.
- Radaiot (*Badaiot*). *Badajoz*, III, 6.
- Rainnaus de l'Aube Espine. XII, 22. *Renaut de l'A., fights Fernagu and is made prisoner*, XXII, 1 (see note). *Buried in Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*. XLVIII, 3.
- Renier. *Renier de Gennes. Oliver's father*, XII, 5.
- Rollant<sub>1</sub>. *Roland, Prol., 9, 11. Ch.'s nephew, marshal of the French army, duke of Angiers and of Blaye*, XII, 1. *Fights Fernagu*, XXIII, 1 ff. *Quens du Mans et sires de Blaives, put in command of the French rearguard at Roncevaux*, XXXI, 16. *Escapes the defeat alive*, XXXII, 15. *Goes in pursuit of the enemy*, XXXIII, 1 ff. *Sounds his horn to rally the remnants of the rearguard*, XXXIII, 6. *A captured Saracen points out Marsile to him; he slays Marsile*, XXXIII, 8 ff. *Addresses Durendal*, XXXVI, 1 ff. *Sounds his horn again to rally survivors*, XXXVII, 1. *His last prayers, and death*, XXXVII, 22 ff. *His body found*, XLII, 5. *Ch.'s lament over him*,

- XLIII, 1 ff. *Borne to Blaye for burial*, XLVII, 1 ff. *His body exposed for veneration*, XLVII, 5. *Ch. commends R.'s soul to St. Denis*, L, 18. *The miracle wrought for him at Granopole*, LX. *The meaning of his name*, LXI, 12.
- Rollant<sub>2</sub>, i. autre. XII, 3. *See note in Johannes*, XXIII, 4.
- Romain<sub>1</sub>. *Saint-Romain in Blaye. Roland buried there*, XLVII, 3, 7. *Endowed by Ch. for love of Roland*, XLVIII, 7.
- Romain<sub>2</sub>, saint. *San Román, in whose church at "Ozius," q.v., a plundering Saracen was turned to stone*, LXII, 20.
- Romain, le mostier saint. *The church of San Román in "Ozius," q.v.*
- Romains. *The Romans under Constantine, Provost of Rome, a contingent in Ch.'s army, all taken by sea to Rome for burial*, XLIX, 10.
- Romanc (Romaricus). *A French knight whose bequest to the poor was appropriated by a false executor*, VI, 7.
- Rome. *Its church one of the three greatest sees of Christendom*, XXIX, 1. *It is first among these*, XXIX, 6. *Costentins and his Romans are taken there for burial*, XLIX, 9. *Saint-Denis will accept neither its confirmation nor rejection of bishops elected by the abbey*, L, 12. *See also Costentins*.
- Roncevaux. *Roncesvaux*, Prol., 9, XII, 14, XXXIII, 5, XLIV, 16, XLVIII, 12, 16, XLIX, 3, LXI, 13.
- Rosez (Rosas). *Rosas*, III, 9.
- Rosne. *The Rhône. Turpin buried on its far side "devers France vers oriant," LXI, 4; see note.*
- Rouge Mer, la. *The Red Sea*, LX, 13.
- Rune, l'iaue de. *The river Rune, another name for the Arga (see Argue) at Pamplona (cf. Bédier, Légendes épiques, 3:293)*, XIII, 7.
- Sainne. *The river Seine*, V, 16.
- Saint Fagon. *Sahagún*, Prol., 5.
- Saint Jale (Sancta Eulalia). *Santa Olalla*, III, 4.
- Saintes. VIII, 12, *qui lors estoit aus Sarrazins*. XII, 13.
- Salancadis. *The name by which the statue of Mohammed in Cádiz was known*, IV, 2.
- Salemande (Salamanga). *Salamanca*, III, 6.
- Salemon. XII, 16. *Buried in the Alyscamps*, XLIX, 6.
- Sanses li dus de Bergoigne. XII, 21. *Buried in the Alyscamps*, XLIX, 6.
- Sanson. *The biblical Samson*, XLIII, 4.
- Sarragonne qu'en apele Cesaranguste (Saraguicia quae dicitur Caesar Augusta). *Saragossa*, III, 10.
- Sarrazines. *The Saracen women sent by Marsile and Baligant to the French army in Pamplona*, XXXI, 4, 13, 22.
- Sarrazins. *Saracens*, I, 12, 25, 28, II, 7 ff., 16; *la terre des S.*, III, 22; *la loi des S.*, III, 32; IV, 4, V, 5. *Sarradin*, V, 7, VII, 1, VIII, 22, 24. LX, 4 *the pagan Saxons; see note.*
- Sarre, le roy d'Alexandre (Burrabellum regem Alexandriae). *A leader in Agolant's army*, VII, 2.

- Sative (*Stativa*). *Játiva*, III, 14. Setive (*Desentina*), XXV, 4.
- Saturnins de Tolose. *St. Saturninus of Toulouse*, XLVI, 4.
- Saül. *Saul, King of Israel*, XLIII, 4, 15.
- Sebile (*Sibilia*). *Seville*, III, 14, VII, 5, XXV, 4. *See also* Cebreon.
- Segoibe (*Secobia*). *Segovia*, III, 5.
- Seguntiene (*Seguntia*). *Siguenza*, III, 5.
- Seie (*Ceia*). *The river Cea*, VI, 29, 43.
- Seppe (*Septa*). *Ceuta*, III, 20.
- Sepulnege (*Sepunulega*). *Sepúlveda*, III, 6.
- Sesnes. *Saxons*, LX, 5.
- Setive. *See* Sative.
- Severin. *Saint-Seurin in Bordeaux. Roland's ivory horn deposited there*, XLVII, 6. *Burial-place of many French heroes*, XLVIII, 1.
- Sire<sub>1</sub>, les porz de (*portus Cireseos*). *Le port de Cize*, IX, 1. *Cire*, XXXI, 15. *Scene of Roland's last moments: aus piés des porz de Cire*, XXXV, 7.
- Sire<sub>2</sub> (*Siriae*). *Syria*, XXI, 2. *Surie (Jerolimis horis)*, LXI, 20.
- Surie. *See* Sire.
- Tabarie, la mer de. *The Sea of Tiberias*, I, 23; *see note*.
- Taleborc (*Calaburgus*). *Taillebourg, scene of the second miracle of the lances*, VIII, 16.
- Talemanche (*Thalamanca*). *Talamanca*, III, 4.
- Talevaire (*Talaveria*). *Talavera de la Reina*, III, 5.
- Terefin (*Teremphinum*). "*Le roy d'Arrabe*," a leader of Agolant's forces, VII, 2.
- Teride (*Terrida*). *Lérida*, III, 12.
- Termes, *Termes-en-Termenés*. *See Bédier, Légendes épiques, 1:390-391. See also* Gautier.
- Terrascone (*Terracona*). *Tarragona*, III, 11.
- Thierriz. XII, 25. *Roland's squire, escapes alive with him at Roncevaux*, XXXII, 15. *Hides in the forest with Baudoyne*, XXXII, 16. *Witnesses Roland's farewell to Durendal*, XXXV, 10. *Finds Roland and is present at his death*, XXXVII, 18 ff. *Brings the news to the French camp*, XLII, 3. *Declares Ganelon's guilt and proves it in combat with Pinabel*, XLIV, 19 ff. *Buried in the Alysamps*, XLIX, 7 (*see note*).
- Tierri. *See* Thierriz.
- Tolete. *See* Toulete.
- Torquis (*Torquatus*). *St. Torquatus, a disciple of St. James; the miracle occurring on his feast day*, III, 16.
- Toulete (*Toletum*). *Toledo*, III, 6. *Tolete, where Ch. learnt Arabic in his youth*, XIV, 12.
- Toulouse. *Ch. and, separately, the Burgundians pass through Toulouse on their way from Roncevaux to Arles*, XLIX, 2, 4.
- Tourpin. *Turpin, archbishop of Reims, supposed author of the Chronicle. Quite inconsistently he refers to himself sometimes in the first, sometimes in the third, person. In the first person: Blesses the French army*

- and absolves the men of their sins, IX, 12. Leader as priest and warrior, XI, 1 ff. Dedicates the church at Compostela, XXVII, 1 (Torpins). Informed of Roland's death in a vision, XLI, 2 ff. Present as Baudoin and Thierry bring in the news, XLII, 1 ff. Remains, weakened by his wounds, in Vienne, L, 2. Informed of Ch.'s death in a vision, LVIII.
- Referred to in the 3rd pers.: Prol., 11. Baptizes the defeated Saracens in Galicia, II, 16. Leaves the rearguard and moves back over the pass with Ch. and Ganelon, XXXII, 2. The account of his death, LXI. In heaven, LXI, 7 ff. The meaning of his name, LXI, 16.
- Tourthouse (*Tortosa*). *Tortosa*, III, 12.
- Trophins, sainz. *St. Trophimus of Arles*, XLVI, 3.
- Tudele (*Tutella*). *Tudela*, III, 9.
- Turgel (*Turgel*). *Trujillo*, III, 7.
- Turs, la terre des (*Pardorum*). *Turks*, III, 23. Turs seems to be our translator's substitution for *Pardorum*, a people not surely identified; see the Latin text 98, xii and the note to 99, x. Cf. too David, *Etudes*, 3:32. Our translator uses Turs elsewhere as a synonym for *Sarrazins*, VI, 53 (cf. 35), XXXII, 6, L, 17. When he made his translation, the objective of the crusade was the defeat of the *Seldjuk Turks*; his use of Turs would then indicate his sense of continuity between Ch.'s crusade in Spain and the contemporary crusades in the East. Pope Urban II had stressed the fact that in his conception the crusades in Spain and the crusades in the East were spiritually one.
- Ubele (*Ubeda*). XXV, 5. See too Bede.
- Ulme (*Ulmas*). *Olmos? Olmedo?* III, 4.
- Ulna (*Elna*). *Elna*, III, 11.
- Ure (*Yria*). *Iria Flavia*, the modern *El Padrón*, III, 2. Aure, XXVI, 8; made subject to the metropolitan see of Compostela.
- Urence qu'en apele l'Estoile (*Urantia quae dicitur Arthus, Stella*). *Los Arcos*, III, 9. See also *Estoile*. *Mouskés* also has this reading, entailing the loss of *Arthus*, vv. 12,000-12,001.
- Urgel (*Urgellum*). *Urgel*, III, 11.
- Uzede (*Uzeda*). *Uceda*, III, 4.
- Val Charle, le (in *valle quae Karoli dicitur*). The *Val Carlos* which goes down from *Roncevaux* to *St.-Jean-Pied-de-Port*, XXXVII, 6; la *Valee Charlon*, XLI, 3.
- Valence (*Valentia*). *Valencia*, III, 14.
- Val Vert. III, 8, 26. See under *Luserne*.
- Ventouse qu'en apele Cartons et si est en Val Vert (*Ventosa quae dicitur Karcesa, quae est in Valle Viridi*). III, 7, *Castro de la Ventosa*. . . . See under *Luserne*.
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